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Contents

Articles

Elena RAPETTI

Jean-Robert Chouet e le *Expériences sur la nature et les effets du venin des vipères* 1–26

Alessandra FOSCATI

« Dicitur lupus, quia in die comedit unam gallinam »: Beyond the Metaphor: Lupus Disease between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period 27–53

Godefroid DE CALLATAÏ

Following the Steps of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' in the Ottoman World. II: 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī and His *tashjīr* Diagrams of Science 55–88

Juan Carlos VILLAVERDE AMIEVA

Desde el exilio morisco: las glosas de al-Ḥaḡarī Bejarano al código leidense del *Kitāb al-Musta'īnī* de Ibn Buklārīš 89–192

Álvaro José CAMPILLO BO

The Forgotten Gifts of Hermes: The Latin Reception of Proclus' Commentary on Euclid's *Elements* 193–278

Eleazar GUTWIRTH

Humanism, Transculturalism and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Jews 279–309

Riccardo SACCENTI

« Papa Eugenius transferri fecit »: Le *De fide orthodoxa* et sa reception entre XIIe et XIIIe siècle à travers le manuscrit Pise, Biblioteca Cathariniana, 2 311–376

C. Philipp E. NOTHAFT A Third Latin Translation of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's Treatise on the Uses of the Astrolabe	377–412

In memoriam

Virpi MÄKINEN In memoriam Simo Knuuttila (8.V.1946–17.VI.2022)	413–416
Camilla RUSSELL In memoriam John W. O'Malley, S.J. (11.VI.1927–11.IX.2022)	417–421
Steven HARVEY & Niran GARSHTein In memoriam Shlomo Sela (9.I.1948–26.VII.2022)	423–451

Review Articles

Ruedi IMBACH Endlich! Zum Erscheinen der kritischen Edition der lateinischen Fassung des <i>Wegweisers für die Verirrten</i> von Maimonides	453–462
Alexander FIDORA « Mahumetani sinenses velint de lege christiana et mahumetana disserere »: Una nota sobre el <i>Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis</i> de Carlo de Castorano (1673–1755)	463–469
Massimo TAMBORINI « Noi siamo fatti della stessa sostanza dei sogni, e nello spazio e nel tempo d'un sogno è raccolta la nostra breve vita »: Una riedizione del <i>Somniorum Synesiorum Libri IIII</i> e una nuova edizione del <i>De vita propria</i> di Girolamo Cardano	471–507

Roberto ZAMBIASI	
A New Season for the Study of Byzantine Theories of Vision	509–539

Notes

Griselda GAIADA	
La guerra privada: ¿Origen y fin del estado Moderno? De la estatización de lo bélico a la despersonificación del <i>jus belli</i>	541–563
Pieter BEULLENS	
Robert Grosseteste's Translation of Simplicius's Commentary on Aristotle's <i>De caelo</i> : Tracking down a Second Manuscript and the Greek Model	565–594
Russell L. FRIEDMAN	
Domingo Báñez (1528-1604) and the <i>novus philosophus</i> : Cajetan, Franciscus Toletus, and the (In)equality of Human Rational Souls	595–634

Reviews

Dominique O'MEARA	
George Amiroutzes, <i>The Philosopher, or On Faith</i> , edited and translated by John Monfasani, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2021 (Graphai, 1), 256 PP., ISBN: 9780884024859	635–642
Carla CASAGRANDE	
Jean-Claude Schmitt, <i>Le cloître des ombres</i> , suivi de la traduction française du Livre des révélations de Richalm de Schöntal avec la collaboration de Gisèle Besson, Éditions Gallimard, Paris 2021 (Bibliothèque des histoires), 469 PP., ISBN: 9782072931468	643–650

Charles BURNETT

Karla Mallette, *Lives of the Great Languages: Arabic and Latin in the Medieval Mediterranean*, The University of Chicago, Chicago – London 2021, 240 PP., ISBN: 9780226795904 651–652

María del Carmen MOLINA BAREA

Dario Gurashi, *In deifico speculo. Agrippa's Humanism*, translated from Italian by Brian Mcneil, Brill – Wilhelm Fink, Paderborn 2021 (Humanistische Bibliothek, I; Abhandlungen, 67), 218 PP., ISBN: 9783770566518 653–659

Aldri CELA

John Jeffries Martin, *A Beautiful Ending. The Apocalyptic Imagination and the Making of Modernity*, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 2022, VIII + 324 PP., ISBN: 9780300247329 661–671

Margherita FANTOLI

Steven E. Jones, Roberto Busa, S. J., and the Emergence of Humanities Computing: *The Priest and the Punched Cards*, Routledge, London – New York 2016, 196 PP., ISBN: 9781315643618 673–681

Carlos MARTÍNEZ CARRASCO

Manuel II Palaeologus Imperator, *Opera theologica. Apologia de processione spiritus sancti. Tractatus de ordine trinitate. Epistula ad dominum Alexium Iagoupem*, ed. C. Dendrinos, Brepols, Turhout 2022 (CCSG, 71), CLII + 433 PP., ISBN: 9782503528076 683–685

Natalia JAKUBECKI

Antonella Sannino, *Reading William of Auvergne*, SISMEL–Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2022 (Micrologus Library, 113), VI + 193 PP., ISBN: 9788892901667 687–690

ARTICLES

JEAN-ROBERT CHOUET E LE EXPERIENCES SUR LA NATURE ET LES EFFETS DU VENIN DES VIPERES

JEAN-ROBERT CHOUET AND THE
EXPERIENCES SUR LA NATURE ET LES EFFETS DU VENIN DES VIPERES

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Abstract

Jean-Robert Chouet è noto per aver introdotto la filosofia cartesiana dapprima all'accademia di Saumur e poi a quella di Ginevra. Questo articolo va invece ad indagare la sua attività scientifica attraverso l'analisi del manoscritto inedito intitolato *Expériences sur la nature et les effets du venin des vipères* (1671). Affidandosi alla sperimentazione per prendere posizione sulla vivace *querelle* che vide contrapposti Francesco Redi e Moyse Charas, Chouet mostra di riconoscere il ruolo importante svolto dall'esperienza accanto alla ragione nelle indagini di filosofia naturale. Sebbene risulterebbe scorretto paragonarlo ad un empirista radicale come Redi, Chouet può certamente essere avvicinato a Jacques Rohault per la sua tendenza a combinare ragionamento e osservazione.

Parole Chiave

Chouet, empirismo cartesiano, vipere, Redi, Charas

Abstract

Jean-Robert Chouet is known for having introduced the Cartesian philosophy first to the Academy of Saumur and then to that of Geneva. This article focuses on Chouet's activity as experimental scientist through the analysis of his unpublished manuscript entitled *Expériences sur la nature et les effets du venin des vipères* (1671). By relying on experimentation to take a position on the lively quarrel between Francesco Redi and Moyse Charas, Chouet recognises the important role played by experience alongside reason in natural philosophy. Although it would be incorrect to compare him to a radical empiricist like Redi, Chouet can certainly be related to Jacques Rohault for his penchant to combine reasoning and observation.

Key Words

Chouet, Cartesian Empiricism, vipers, Redi, Charas



Insegnante di successo, principalmente impegnato ad « inserire il pensiero di Cartesio in un sistema scolastico, completo di distinzioni ed esaustivo », ¹ prima a Saumur e poi a Ginevra, Jean-Robert Chouet seppe anche ritagliarsi degli spazi extra-accademici, dedicati espressamente alla sperimentazione in campo fisico: gli incontri del mercoledì pomeriggio, giorno libero dalle attività ufficiali d'insegnamento.

Sull'attività scientifica del cartesiano ginevrino si è soffermato Michael Heyd nella sua monografia intitolata *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment. Jean-Robert Chouet and the Introduction of Cartesian Science in the Academy of Geneva*. Lo studioso ha ricostruito la figura di Chouet sia quanto alla sua attività di *Teacher in the Academy*, sia quanto a quella di *Experimental Scientist*, mettendo a tema in particolare la relazione tra il nuovo metodo scientifico messo in campo negli incontri del mercoledì e il metodo di insegnamento che emerge dai suoi corsi universitari. L'intento di Heyd era quello di giungere in questo modo ad un'esatta valutazione tanto della figura di Chouet quanto del suo contributo allo sviluppo e alla 'modernizzazione' dell'Accademia di Ginevra attraverso l'introduzione della nuova fisica cartesiana, evitando gli eccessi di quanti – come Jacob Elisée Cellérier e Jacob Vernet – ne avevano fatto un *radical reformer*, fondatore della tradizione scientifica ginevrina, senza tener conto invece degli aspetti ancora tradizionali che caratterizzano il suo magistero. ²

Quanto allo Chouet 'sperimentatore', malgrado Heyd ammettesse che « the evidence for Chouet's scientific and experimental activity is quite fragmentary », ³ riteneva però che la documentazione disponibile fosse sufficiente, se non a tracciarne un profilo coerente, almeno a rispondere alla questione del rapporto tra il metodo utilizzato da Chouet nei suoi esperimenti e il suo metodo didattico. Attraverso lo spoglio pionieristico della corrispondenza del ginevrino e dei suoi

¹ MARIO SINA, « Con Jean Le Clerc alla scuola cartesiana », *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica*, 76/1 (1984), p. 6.

² MICHAEL HEYD, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment. Jean-Robert Chouet and the Introduction of Cartesian Science in the Academy of Geneva*, M. Nijhoff, The Hague 1982, p. 87. Jacob Elisée Cellérier – nella sua storia dell'Accademia di Ginevra – attribuiva al suo influsso il risveglio ginevrino delle scienze matematiche e fisiche di inizio Settecento (cf. JACOB ELISÉE CELLÉRIER, *L'Académie de Genève. Esquisse d'une Histoire abrégé de l'Académie, fondée par Calvin en 1559*, A. Cherbuliez & C^{ie}, Genève 1872, p. 41). Jacob Vernet, nel suo *Éloge historique*, lo dipingeva addirittura come colui che aveva vinto *les ténèbres du Peripatétisme* (JACOB VERNET, « Éloge Historique de Mr. Choüet », *Bibliothèque Italique ou Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie*, May-Août 1731, t. XI, art. V, p. 107–121, p. 109). Nella *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe*, Chouet era addirittura paragonato, come maestro, a Socrate. Cf. *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe*, Pour les Mois de Janvier, Février, et Mars 1732, t. VIII, pt. 1, p. 231 [p. 230–232].

³ HEYD, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment*, p. 88.

corsi, al tempo ancora inediti, Heyd procedeva spesso per ipotesi (in certi casi anche corrette), non trovando traccia – o una traccia molto esile – degli esperimenti del mercoledì all'interno dei corsi, così da giungere alla conclusione che l'attività sperimentale di Chouet non influisse quasi per nulla sul suo insegnamento.⁴

In tempi più recenti, anche René Sigrist ha indagato l'attività scientifica di Chouet nel ponderoso e documentato volume *La Nature à l'épreuve. Les débuts de l'expérimentation à Genève (1670-1790)*, ove ricostruisce con perizia il clima ginevrino circa l'insegnamento della filosofia naturale e le sue trasformazioni nello spazio di poco più di un secolo. Sulla scia dei risultati di Heyd, lo studioso afferma che, attraverso le sue conferenze del mercoledì, Chouet « pouvait exercer sa liberté d'homme de lettres et de philosophe de la nature en dehors des contraintes académiques ».⁵ A parere di Sigrist, sperimentare era per Chouet un modo per farsi un'opinione su temi controversi o di attualità e per avvalorare un metodo di ricerca basato sull'osservazione e sull'esperienza più che sugli aspetti logico-deduttivi.⁶

La pubblicazione della *Corrispondenza* di Chouet, nel 2008, e dei due volumi dei *Corsi di filosofia*,⁷ che offrono il quadro completo di quanto ci è rimasto del suo magistero a Ginevra (logica, metafisica, fisica e pneumatologia), nel 2010, consente ora di aggiungere nuovi elementi al lavoro svolto da Heyd e da Sigrist così da poter delineare in maniera più precisa il profilo dello Chouet sperimentatore e da poter fornire una panoramica più ampia della relazione tra la sua attività scientifica e quella professorale. In quest'ottica si colloca il presente saggio, che va inteso come

⁴ Il solo punto di contatto tra *public experimental performances* e *regular philosophy course* rilevato ed analizzato nel dettaglio dallo studioso è il capitolo *De his motibus qui ob metum vacui fieri dicuntur*, posto nel libro secondo della *Partis generalis sectio secunda* del *Syntagma physicum*, nel quale Chouet porta una serie di esperimenti a sostegno della tesi che i fenomeni comunemente associati all'*horror vacui* sono invece da ascrivere alla pressione dell'aria. Anche quel capitolo, tuttavia, resta per Heyd ancorato « in a metaphysical and deductive frame of reference », ancor più se messo in parallelo con l'analoga trattazione da parte di un altro cartesiano illustre, Jacques Rohault, nel suo *Traité de physique*. Rispetto a Rohault, questa la conclusione di Heyd, Chouet nei suoi corsi è « definitely more conservative » (ibid., p. 114).

⁵ Cf. RENÉ SIGRIST, *La Nature à l'épreuve. Les débuts de l'expérimentation à Genève (1670-1790)*, Classiques Garnier, Paris 2011, p. 77. Tale era anche il parere della Labrousse, che nella già menzionata recensione al volume dell'Heyd scriveva: « Toutefois Chouet a aussi fait de ces conférences, agrémentées d'expériences et destinées à un public adulte, dont les lettrés du temps étaient friands et qui, libérées des exigences d'un programme académique, n'avaient plus aucune couleur aristotélicienne » (ÉLISABETH LABROUSSE, compte-rendu de « Michael Heyd, Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment. Jean-Robert Chouet and the Introduction of Cartesian Science in the Academy of Geneva », *Annales*, 39 [1984], p. 177).

⁶ Cf. SIGRIST, *La Nature à l'épreuve. Les débuts de l'expérimentation à Genève (1670-1790)*, p. 79.

⁷ MARIO SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet professore di filosofia a Saumur e a Ginevra*, Olschki, Firenze 2008; JEAN-ROBERT CHOUET, *Corsi di filosofia*, ed. MARIO SINA, MARCO BALLARDIN, ELENA RAPETTI, 2 vol., Olschki, Firenze 2010.

il primo tassello di un'indagine più vasta che sto conducendo e che prenderà in esame la pratica scientifica di Chouet a partire dall'intero corpus documentale reperito.⁸ Questo articolo si propone – in maniera più limitata – di presentare e contestualizzare uno dei tre testi scientifici del cartesiano ginevrino che Heyd riteneva perduti o introvabili: le *Experiences sur la nature et les effets du venin des viperes*,⁹ di cui si riporta la trascrizione in appendice.

Questa indagine sullo 'Chouet sperimentatore', inoltre, pare ancor più utile a fronte del recente interesse degli studiosi dell'*aetas cartesiana* per i cosiddetti '*Cartesian Empiricists*', ovvero quei cartesiani « who give observation, experience, and/or experiment a key role for knowledge acquisition in their natural philosophy ».¹⁰ Il volume, edito nel 2013 e dedicato ai *Cartesian Empiricisms*, mirava a superare la tradizionale dicotomia storiografica che vede contrapposti 'razionalisti' e 'empiristi' e ad aprire la discussione circa il ruolo svolto dalla filosofia cartesiana nell'introduzione, nell'accettazione e nella diffusione di pratiche e metodologie sperimentali nella filosofia naturale del tardo Seicento. A tal fine presentava un'interessante carrellata di autori che spaziano dalla Francia, all'Inghilterra, ai Paesi Bassi e alla Germania. La Svizzera, però, manca ancora all'appello. Il presente saggio, che non intende dimostrare l'esistenza di un 'empirismo cartesiano' – formula non priva di ambiguità, dal momento che la compresenza di queste due tendenze in un autore non prova che ne costituiscano una, oltre al necessario chiarimento da farsi sulle categorie storiografiche di 'empirismo' e 'cartesianismo'¹¹ –, mostra un volto inedito del cartesiano ginevrino Chouet, alle prese con una questione – quella della natura e degli effetti del veleno delle vipere – che, negli anni Settanta del XVII secolo, divideva l'*Europe savante* e appassionava gli *amateurs des sciences*.

⁸ Recentemente, oltre ai manoscritti ginevrini su cui si basa la citata edizione dei *Corsi di filosofia*, sono stati ritrovati altri quattro manoscritti dei corsi di fisica di Chouet, di cui occorrerà tenere conto. Cf. ANNE BLAIR, ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, « Manuscripts as Pedagogical Tools in the Philosophy Teaching of Jean-Robert Chouet (1642-1731) », in SUSANNA BERGER, DANIEL GARBER (eds.), *Teaching Philosophy in Early Modern Europe*, Springer, Cham 2021, p. 165-203.

⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, LXIII^e portefeuille de Philibert de La Mare. — Tome II, MS-2891, Division 71, *Experiences sur la nature et les effets du venin des viperes*, fol. 246r-247v. Questo manoscritto – facente parte di uno dei portefeuilles di Philibert de La Mare, bibliofilo digionese la cui collezione fu acquistata dalla *Bibliothèque royale* nel 1717 – non è autografo. In assenza di ulteriori informazioni, si può verosimilmente ipotizzare che Chouet abbia commissionato alcune copie di queste *Experiences* per favorirne la circolazione, oppure che la grafia appartenga a uno dei collaboratori di cui egli si serviva per i propri esperimenti.

¹⁰ MIHNEA DOBRE, TAMMY NYDEN, *Introduction*, in MIHNEA DOBRE, TAMMY NYDEN (eds.), *Cartesian Empiricisms*, Springer, Dordrecht 2013, p. 12.

¹¹ Concordo con le osservazioni che Domenico Collacciani solleva nella sua recensione al volume. Cf. DOMENICO COLLACCIANI, « Rec. di *Cartesian Empiricisms* », *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 93/3 (2014), p. 674-678.

I. Gli interessi scientifici di Chouet e i suoi mercredis

La passione per la fisica e per le scienze in generale nei loro risvolti sperimentali accompagna Chouet nel corso della sua vita e trapela in maniera chiara dalla corrispondenza. Compare addirittura quando, trentatreenne, annuncia in maniera scanzonata all'amico Élie Bouhériau la decisione di sposarsi: « il a fallu [...] me rendre aux raisons de mes amis » – scrive – « qui m'ont dit qu'après auoir fait diuerses experiences de Physique, il estoit temps que i'en vinsse à la plus grande de toutes ».¹² Già nel 1664 Chouet aveva salutato con gioia il trasferimento a Saumur, sia per via del vivace e svariato ambiente culturale, che gli permetteva di conversare di filosofia tanto con i riformati quanto con i cattolici, sia per la vicinanza con Parigi – « la source des gens de lettres » – che gli consentiva di tenersi informato « d'une infinité de choses qui regardent les sciences ».¹³ Quando poi, nel 1669, si tratta di prendere accordi per il passaggio a Ginevra, egli pone come condizione che gli venisse accordato – salvo necessità impellenti dell'Accademia – il permesso di viaggiare per almeno sei mesi: « ie ne le demande » – scrive allo zio Louis Tronchin – « que pour me rendre plus utile au Public en voyant la Hollande, l'Angleterre, et Paris, où la veritable Philosophie est cultiuée avec soin ».¹⁴ La possibilità di viaggiare nei centri pulsanti della nuova scienza (l'Olanda, l'Inghilterra, Parigi) viene vista da Chouet come un'occasione per migliorare la propria preparazione, così da rendersi più utile al pubblico, tanto quello composito delle sue conferenze, quanto quello accademico delle sue lezioni. Proprio nel novembre di quell'anno, si reca a Londra, insieme a Tronchin, e fa conoscenza con il segretario della Royal Society, Henry Oldenburg, che offre loro una copia delle *Lectiones opticae* di Isaac Barrow, fresche di stampa.¹⁵ Nell'ottobre dell'anno successivo, da Lione, scrive a Bouhériau di aver visitato il *cabinet* del celebre inventore Nicolas Grollier de Servière nel quale è possibile ammirare « tout ce que les Mathematiques peuuent produire de plus beau et de plus surprenant ».¹⁶ Nel 1672, ottenuto un congedo di alcuni mesi, si reca a Parigi, ove ha modo di incontrare Pierre-Daniel Huet, sottoprecettore del Delfino e co-fondatore, insieme ad André Graindorge, dell'*Académie de Physique* di Caen. Testimonianza di questo incontro è la lettera *touchant les experiences de l'eau purgée* che Huet indirizza a Chouet, pubblicata a Parigi – chez Jean Cusson – nel 1673.

¹² Lettera del 18 febbraio 1675, in SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 159.

¹³ Lettera al Tronchin del 21 dicembre 1667, in SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 60.

¹⁴ Lettera al Tronchin dell'8 giugno 1669, in SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 96.

¹⁵ Così Oldenburg scriveva a Huygens il 21 novembre 1669: « J'ay baillé cejourd'huy a deux Genevois, passans d'icy à Paris, et nommés Monsieur Tronchin et Monsieur Chouët, l'Optique de Monsieur Barrow, dont ie vous parlay dans ma precedente » (CHRISTIAAN HUYGENS, *Oeuvres complètes*, t. VI: *Correspondance 1666-1669*, Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye 1895, p. 534). Oldenburg si riferisce a ISAAC BARROW, *Lectiones opticae*, Londini 1669.

¹⁶ Lettera del 4 ottobre 1670 in SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 112.

Ancora nel 1693, ormai lontano dall'attività accademica, Chouet ringrazia l'ex-allievo Jean-Alphonse Turrettini per l'invio che gli ha fatto dei *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*: « Les Experiences qui sont rapportées dans ces Mémoires contribueront infiniment à l'auancement des Sciences, non seulement par leur multitude, mais sur tout par l'exactitude avec laquelle elles sont faites ».¹⁷ Come non riconoscere, in queste parole, l'eco dell'*Advancement of Learning* baconiano?

Dei *mercredis* di Chouet si hanno, tuttavia, pochissime notizie. Alcuni particolari emergono da una lettera inviata da Saumur allo zio Tronchin il 23 marzo 1669. Chouet vi racconta che agli esperimenti compiuti dopo cena, nella sua camera, alla presenza di buona parte dell'*Académie*, aveva partecipato anche il sindaco di Ginevra Jean Lullin, restandone soddisfatto.¹⁸ Già a Saumur, dunque, egli aveva introdotto questa pratica che, secondo quanto scrive Joseph Prost, avrebbe adottato seguendo l'esempio del medico cartesiano Louis de La Forge.¹⁹ La seconda, preziosissima, testimonianza viene da Pierre Bayle che, in una lettera del 21 settembre 1671, comunica al padre Jean che Chouet « fait tous les mercredis des experiences fort curieuses où il va beaucoup de monde ». Bayle fornisce anche un elenco piuttosto dettagliato degli esperimenti fino ad allora condotti dal suo maestro – quelli sul veleno delle vipere, sul mercurio, sul sifone, sul termometro, sull'eolipila, sulle lacrime di vetro – e di quelli pianificati: sul magnete, sulla pressione atmosferica e molti altri (*plusieurs autres*).²⁰

Sulla base di uno spoglio del *Livre du Recteur*, René Sigrist ha formulato alcune ipotesi sui possibili frequentatori dei mercoledì di Chouet: oltre a Bayle, tra gli allievi dei corsi di filosofia o di teologia figurano Jean Le Clerc, i futuri medici Daniel Le Clerc, Jean-Jacques Manget e Jacques Chenaud (1654–1741), Dominique Beddevole, futuro anatomista, Antoine Léger, futuro successore alla cattedra di Chouet, Pierre Viollier (1649–1715), futuro geografo, il teologo Bénédict Pictet (1655–1724) e il bibliotecario Jean Sartoris (1656–1721). Tra i giovanissimi, Pierre Fatio (1662–1707). Incerta invece la presenza del medico Gabriel Cramer (1641–1724) e del matematico Samuel Bernard. Quanto agli 'stranieri', l'ipotesi di Sigrist è che fossero uditori provenienti da Losanna o da altre città svizzere.²¹

¹⁷ Lettera del 12 settembre 1693, in SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 295.

¹⁸ Lettera del 23 marzo 1669, in SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 83.

¹⁹ Cf. JOSEPH PROST, *La philosophie à l'Académie protestante de Saumur (1605-1685)*, Henry Paulin et C^{ie}, Paris 1907, p. 93.

²⁰ ÉLISABETH LABROUSSE, ANTONY MCKENNA (eds.), *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, Voltaire Foundation, Oxford 1999, vol. I, p. 47–48. PIERRE BAYLE, *Oeuvres diverses*, La Haye 1737², vol. I/B, p. 11.

²¹ SIGRIST, *La Nature à l'épreuve. Les débuts de l'expérimentation à Genève (1670-1790)*, p. 79. Sulla scorta dell'esempio di Chouet, a partire dal 1675 anche Vincent Minutoli tenne il giovedì delle conferenze letterarie nella propria dimora e Madame Windsor, nipote del medico Mayerne, aprì un salotto in cui venivano affrontate anche questioni di filosofia naturale. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 79 ma anche già HEYD, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment*, p. 100.

Al di là delle congetture e della mancanza di informazioni circostanziate, risulta quindi certo che Chouet, a Saumur prima e a Ginevra poi, abbia introdotto la pratica delle conferenze scientifiche, ove conduceva esperimenti pubblici, aperti a una platea variegata, simili alle *conférences* tenute a Parigi da Rohault.²²

Quanto agli esperimenti sul veleno delle vipere, se ne trova traccia all'interno del carteggio con Bouhéreau. Nella lettera del 18 agosto 1671, di ritorno da Lione, Chouet scrive all'amico: « Je suis fasché que mon papier finisse, et que la Poste soit si preste à partir comme elle est; sans cela ie vous entretiendrois de quelques Experiences que i'ay faites sur les viperes [...] mais il faudra remettre cela à une autre fois ».²³ Il 3 maggio 1672, da Parigi, informa Bouhéreau d'aver appreso da Valentin Conrart, l'influente segretario perpetuo dell'*Académie Française*, che l'amico sta lavorando alla traduzione del *Contra Celsum* di Origene. Chouet si mostra seccato con Bouhéreau e perciò gli scrive: «cela deuroit m'obliger à ne vous point enuoyer les Experiences que vous me demandés, puis que d'ailleurs c'est une chose qui en vaut peu la peine. Je le ferai pourtant, auant que de partir de Paris, pour vous faire voir ma franchise».²⁴ Infine, il 30 giugno 1672 comunica a Bouhéreau d'aver lasciato nelle mani di Abraham Tessereau «ces petits papiers que vous avez souhaîtés de voir»²⁵, tra cui figura il resoconto degli esperimenti sulle vipere.

Da queste rare indicazioni fornite dalla corrispondenza si trae dunque che questi esperimenti furono condotti da Chouet prima dell'agosto del 1671, che egli ne portò con sé una relazione durante il soggiorno parigino dell'aprile-maggio 1672 – probabilmente per poterle presentare in qualche circolo *savant* – e che ne fece avere una copia a Bouhéreau.

II. Tra Firenze e Parigi: la querelle tra Francesco Redi e Moyse Charas

In quegli anni il tema della natura e degli effetti del veleno delle vipere era particolarmente dibattuto a Parigi in seguito alla *querelle* che vedeva opposti Francesco Redi e il farmacista e chimico del *Jardin des Plantes* Moyse Charas.²⁶

²² Non solo a Parigi – dove il programma era davvero nutrito e impegnativo (il lunedì da Thévenot, il martedì da Bourdelot, il mercoledì da Rohault, il giovedì da Launay, il venerdì da Denis) – ma anche in alcune città di provincia: si pensi alle conferenze tenute da Pierre-Sylvain Régis a Tolosa, oppure a quelle tenute a Caen, ove era attiva un'*Académie de physique*, guidata da André Graindorge e Pierre-Daniel Huet, di cui faceva parte anche il cartesiano Pierre Cally, e che ospitava spesso alle proprie sedute un pubblico di *curieux*.

²³ SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 131.

²⁴ SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 141.

²⁵ SINA, *La corrispondenza di Jean-Robert Chouet*, p. 147.

²⁶ Su questa *querelle* rimando al volume di JUTTA SCHICKORE, *About Method: Experimenters, Snake Venom, and the History of Writing Scientifically*, Chicago University Press, Chicago and London 2017 e al suo articolo dal titolo « Trying Again and Again: Multiple Repetitions in Early Modern Reports of Experiments on Snake Bites », *Early Science and Medecine*, 15 (2020), p. 567–617. Sui risvolti di

Grande eco avevano avuto in Francia le *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere*, pubblicate da Redi a Firenze in forma di lettera a Lorenzo Magalotti nel 1664,²⁷ riedite poi a Parigi nel 1666²⁸ e prontamente commentate dal *Journal des sçavans* che, in una recensione informativa e senza fronzoli, ne metteva in luce le principali novità.²⁹

Contrariamente alla tradizione, che faceva del veleno delle vipere una sorta di fiele prodotto dal fegato e trasmesso ai denti del serpente attraverso dei condotti sottili, sulla base delle proprie osservazioni Redi riteneva che il veleno consistesse in un liquido giallastro prodotto nelle ghiandole vicine alle gengive delle fauci del serpente.³⁰ Escludeva poi che il veicolo del veleno fossero i denti o la coda mentre, attraverso una serie di esperimenti, mostrava che gli effetti fatali derivavano dalla combinazione di questo liquido col sangue delle vittime.

Quanto alle modalità di azione del veleno, Redi si mostrava cauto nel fornire una risposta definitiva per suggerire, piuttosto, varie ipotesi:

Se egli ve l'introduca operando con vn'occulta potenza, e dell'vmano intendimento non ponetrata, o se pure arriuato al cuore discacciandone gli atomi calorifici, del tutto lo raffreddi, e lo agghiandi; o pure moltiplicando, e rendendo più viui que' medesimi atomi, di souerchio lo riscaldi, lo riscchi, ed affatto risolua, e strugga gli spiriti; ouero se tolga a lui il senso; o se con dolorose punture stuzzicandolo, faccia sì, che il sangue al cuore troppo dirottamente ritornando, lo soffochi; o se impedisca il moto del medesimo cuore, facendo congelare il sangue nell'vna, e nell'altra cauità di lui, à segno tale, ch'e non possa più ristrignersi, e dilatarsi, o se pur faccia, che il sangue non solamente quagli nelle cauità del cuore, ma ancora, che si rappigli in tutte quante le vene.³¹

questa polemica in Inghilterra si veda PATRIZIA CATELLANI, RENZO CONSOLE, « Moyse Charas, Francesco Redi, the Viper and the Royal Society of London », *Pharmaceutical Historian*, 34/1 (2004), p. 2–10. Su Moyse Charas si veda FRED W. FELIX, « Moyse Charas, maitre apothicaire et docteur en médecine », *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacie*, 333 (2002), p. 63–80; PATRIZIA CATELLANI, RENZO CONSOLE, « Moyse Charas, Farmacista illustre e Medico del Seicento », *Memorie Scientifiche, Giuridiche, Letterarie*, Accademia Nazionale di Scienze lett. Arti di Modena, ser. VIII, fasc. 1 (2003), p. 135–198. Per un quadro della multiforme attività di Redi rimando a WALTER BERNARDI, LUIGI GUERRINI (eds.), *Francesco Redi, un protagonista della scienza moderna. Documenti, esperimenti, immagini*, Olschki, Firenze 1999.

²⁷ FRANCESCO REDI, *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere ... da lui scritte in una lettera all'Illustrissimo Signor Lorenzo Magalotti*, All'Insegna della Stella, in Firenze 1664.

²⁸ FRANCESCO REDI, *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere ... da lui scritte in una lettera all'Illustrissimo Signor Lorenzo Magalotti*, Chez Olivier de Varennes, A Paris 1666.

²⁹ Recensione delle « Osservazioni intorno alle Vipere, fatte da Francesco Redi, in Firenze. In 4 », *Journal des sçavans*, du Lundy 4 Janvier, 1666, par le Sieur G. P., p. 194–197.

³⁰ REDI, *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere*, 1666, p. 27–28: «Elemento in tal senso il colore del fiele, verde vivo; il sapore amaro, mentre il liquido in questione somiglia piuttosto all'olio delle mandorle dolci». Redi ipotizzava che il veleno giungesse alle guaine dei denti attraverso i condotti salivari scoperti da Warthon e da Lorenzo Bellini.

³¹ REDI, *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere*, 1666, p. 38–39.

La tesi atomistica – secondo la quale il veleno agiva sul cuore, inibendone la funzionalità muscolare – gli pareva la migliore e tuttavia non risultava suffragata in maniera univoca dall'esperienza che non mostrava in tutte le vittime del morso viperino « quel congelamento di sangue ne' ventricoli del cuore », congelamento presente peraltro anche in animali morti di stenti e addirittura in alcuni uomini deceduti per morte naturale.

Queste novità rediane non potevano passare inosservate nell'effervescente atmosfera scientifica parigina dei primi anni della neonata *Académie des Sciences*. Nel 1669, Moyse Charas – che si era avvalso della collaborazione di un gruppo di « Medecins sçavans et éclairés » – pubblicava le *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipère*.³²

Questi esperimenti conducevano Charas a concordare con Redi nel negare la tossicità del fiele della vipera, ma anche a contestare la velenosità del liquido giallognolo che il medico toscano aveva ritenuto responsabile degli effetti letali del suo morso. Smentendo Redi, Charas affermava che « ce suc n'est qu'une pure et simple salive », ³³ innocuo sia per gli umani, sia per gli animali, tanto che, applicato su piaghe aperte o su ferite, non aveva procurato alcun danno.

Piuttosto, Charas individuava la causa della velenosità del morso della vipera in quelli che chiamava « esprits irritez », i quali – mescolandosi a quelli del sangue della vittima – alteravano la circolazione sanguigna o procuravano un coagulo tale da impedire agli spiriti del sangue di raggiungere le parti vitali del corpo. Alla base di questi spiriti irritati stava per Charas l'immaginazione della vipera che, indispettita dall'idea della vendetta, conferiva agli spiriti un tal movimento – « qui ne se peut exprimer » – così da spingerli con violenza attraverso i nervi verso la cavità dei denti e da questi ultimi nel sangue dell'animale morso. Contro quanti supponevano che questi spiriti irritati fossero dotati di un'acidità segreta (« une acidité secrete ») in grado di coagulare il sangue e di impedire la circolazione, Charas suggeriva piuttosto che tale acidità potesse venir prodotta dalla stessa massa del sangue della vittima corrotta dagli spiriti della vipera. « Quoy qu'il en soit », concludeva,

il faut demeurer d'accord, que cette irritation, dans l'imagination, ou dans les esprits de la Vipere, est la principale cause de l'activité et de la penetration de son venin, et que sans elle il ne produiroit pas des effets si surprenans que ceux dont nous avons apporté divers exemples.³⁴

³² MOYSE CHARAS, *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere, où l'on verra une description exacte de toutes ses parties, la source de son venin, ses divers effets et les remèdes exquis que les Artistes peuvent tirer de la Vipere, tant pour la Guérison de ses Morsures, que pour celle de plusieurs autres Maladies*, Chez l'Auteur et Olivier de Varennes, A Paris 1669.

³³ CHARAS, *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere*, p. 93.

³⁴ CHARAS, *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere*, p. 97–98.

Nell'agosto dell'anno successivo Redi replicava a Charas con una lettera indirizzata ad Alessandro Moro e all'abate Bourdelot.³⁵ A fronte delle critiche ricevute, il medico toscano affermava d'aver inteso « iterare e reiterare le esperienze » già compiute, premettendovi alcune osservazioni generali sui fattori che potevano alterarne il risultato: le dimensioni dell'animale, la parte del corpo in cui veniva morso, le dimensioni della ferita. Dei numerosissimi esperimenti riferiti, ben superiori in numero rispetto a quelli praticati da Charas, i più determinanti per la questione di stabilire la causa della letalità del veleno viperino sono indubbiamente quelli che Redi compie o avvelenando colombi, piccioni e pollastri col veleno cavato dalle teste delle vipere che, decapitate giorni prima, « doveano ragionevolmente aver deposta ogni collera, e stizza, ed ogni pensiero di vendetta »³⁶ o addirittura avvelenandoli col veleno ridotto in polvere dopo averlo essiccato. Non senza ironia, in conclusione Redi scriveva che, a differenza di quanto accade per le vipere francesi,

dalle soprariferite esperienze provate, e riprovate molte, e molt'altre volte, potranno le Signorie Vostre facilmente riconoscere, che il veleno delle Vipere italiane non consiste in un'Idea immaginaria di collera indirizzata alla vendetta; ma ben sì in quel liquor giallo, che cova nelle guaine de' denti maggiori, o maestri.³⁷

Nel gennaio del 1671 interveniva il destinatario della missiva di Redi, l'abate Bourdelot, che proponeva al toscano le proprie *Recherches et observations sur les viperes*, lette nella sua accademia, presente Charas.³⁸ Riconosciuto il rigore scientifico tanto delle *expériences* praticate da Redi quanto di quelle, opposte, condotte da Charas e dai suoi *Observateurs* (« qui sont tous de mes amis »³⁹ – scriveva –), riferite poi per sommi capi le ragioni del contendere e le posizioni di entrambi, Bourdelot aggiungeva le proprie considerazioni, sorrette da alcuni esperimenti, ma soprattutto da una serie di *Histoires*, cioè di esperienze altrui che gli erano state riferite.

Con spirito irenico e forse senza cogliere l'ironia di Redi, Bourdelot ammetteva che ovunque, sia in Italia sia in Francia, per causare la morte fosse necessario 'il liquido giallastro', tuttavia avanzava la tesi che mentre in paesi caldi, come l'Italia,

³⁵ Lettera di Francesco Redi ... sopra alcune opposizioni fatte alle sue Osservazioni intorno alle vipere. Scritta alli signori Alessandro Moro e Abate Bourdelot, Nella Stamperia della Stella, In Firenze 1670.

³⁶ Lettera di Francesco Redi, p. 19.

³⁷ Lettera di Francesco Redi, p. 31. Come nota Antonella Bonciani, in questa lettera Redi ricorre ai principi della retorica dell'umiltà per evitare uno scontro diretto con gli accademici francesi, cf. ANTONELLA BONCIANI, « Esitazioni metodologiche di un empirista radicale », in BERNARDI, GUERRINI (eds.), *Francesco Redi, un protagonista della scienza moderna*, p. 31-45, qui p. 36.

³⁸ *Recherches et observations sur les viperes, faites par M^r Bourdelot, répondant à une Lettre qu'il a receüe de M^r Redi, premier Medecin du Grand Duc de Florence*, Chez Claude Barbin, A Paris 1671.

³⁹ *Recherches et observations sur les viperes, faites par M^r Bourdelot*, p. 5.

il veleno poteva risultare sufficiente ai propri esiti fatali, nei paesi freddi, come la Francia, esso abbisognava « d'estre fortifié et animé par le souffle ou haleine bilieuse d'une Vipere irritée, laquelle mord assurément pour se vanger ». Pur senza giungere ad invocare un vero e proprio 'spirito di vendetta', Bourdelot ipotizzava che tale « *Afflatus malignus, et Halitus teter* » di una vipera irritata avrebbe potuto fungere da fermento per quel liquido, animandolo.⁴⁰ Con questa ipotesi conciliante Bourdelot non riteneva tuttavia concluso quello che definiva « une affaire qui fait tant de bruit », ma anzi invitava le 'persone di buona fede' a continuare la sperimentazione così da farsi arbitri delle due parti in causa.⁴¹

Nel giro di pochi mesi, cioè nell'agosto di quel 1671, usciva alle stampe una *Suite des nouvelles experiences*⁴² nella quale Charas argomentava più ampiamente la propria tesi degli *esprits irritez* e soprattutto rendeva palese la sua fonte principale, quel Jan Baptiste Van Helmont che sia nell'*Ortus medicinae* sia nel *Tumulus pestis* si era servito dell'esempio delle vipere per dimostrare il ruolo decisivo svolto dall'immaginazione nell'insorgere di varie patologie.⁴³ Nel *Tumulus pestis* – richiamato da Charas – Van Helmont poneva all'origine dell'avvelenamento dovuto al morso della vipera non una determinata materia, ma l'*imago irae* trasmessa attraverso i denti. Come accade nel caso del cane – altro esempio portato da Van Helmont – il cui morso è di per sé innocuo, ma diventa letale quando si tratti di un cane rabbioso, così nel caso della vipera la velenosità aumenta in rapporto alla *voluntas nocendi* dell'animale.⁴⁴ Per Charas, dunque, questi 'spiriti irritati' venivano prodotti dall'immaginazione della vipera o dalla sua idea di

⁴⁰ *Recherches et observations sur les viperes, faites par M^r Bourdelot*, p. 29–30.

⁴¹ Scriveva il medico: « il s'en faut tenir là jusqu'à ce qu'une ardeur nouvelle enflâme quelques gens de bonne foy qui fassent mille épreuves exactes pour se rendre Arbitres entre les deux partys » (*Recherches et observations sur les viperes, faites par M^r Bourdelot*, p. 5–6).

⁴² Pubblicata successivamente in aggiunta alla riedizione delle *Nouvelles experiences sur la vipere, avec une Suite des nouvelles experiences ... et une dissertation sur son venin pour servir de Replique à une Lettre que Monsieur ... Redi ... a écrite à Messieurs Bourdelot et Morus*, Chez L'Auteur, Jean d'Hovry, Olivier de Varennes, Thomas Moette, A Paris 1672.

⁴³ Su Van Helmont si veda WALTER PAGEL, *Joan Baptista Van Helmont Reformer of Science and Medicine*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1982; GUIDO GIGLIONI, *Immaginazione e malattia. Saggio su Jan Baptiste van Helmont*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2000.

⁴⁴ JOAN BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT, *Tumulus pestis*, Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, Amstelodami 1648, p. 46–47: « Porrò imagines venenorum sic se habent: In bestiis enim venenosis, venenum fieri ex imagine irae, proverbio docemur. Morta la bestia, morto il veneno. [...] Canis namque ludens, si dente icerit, vulnus cito medicabile infligit: sin autem irato dente, non tamen quam praecedens, profundius momorderit, jam vulnus fecit, veneni irae particeps. Sin autem rabidus fuerit, jam non transiens venenum irae: sed rabie suae mortiferae, atque amentis compar, communicat. Accensa nimirum voluntate nocendi, per iram, imaginem, bellua, alias insons, parit venenosam, ac per dentem eandem tranmittit. [...] sunt ideo venefici, curiosi, ut prius iratis atque irritatis serpentibus, lethale virus mutuent ».

vendetta e, passando attraverso le cavità dei denti della vipera, penetravano nella vittima attraverso le ferite inflitte dal morso.⁴⁵

Forte della sua professione di chimico, avvezzo a separare quotidianamente « les parties spiritueuses d'avec les corporelles des mixtes inanimées », Charas ribadiva in conclusione che, non avendo riscontrato in qualcosa di corporeo e sensibile la vera causa degli effetti del morso di una vipera ancor vivente, si era perciò risolto ad attribuirla agli spiriti.⁴⁶

III. *Le expériences di Chouet*

È nel contesto di questo dibattito che vanno collocate le *Experiences sur la nature et les effets du venin des viperes* che Chouet condusse con i suoi collaboratori durante tre giorni, da giovedì 25 a sabato 27 maggio 1671, per un totale di undici 'esperienze': cinque effettuate il giovedì, tre il venerdì e tre il sabato. Nel settembre del 1671 Bayle scriveva infatti al padre che Chouet

en a fait de fort exactes touchant le venin des viperes, qui est une matiere sur laquelle les philosophes d'Italie et ceux de Paris sont partagés [...] Il s'est écrit plusieurs livres pour et contre, et chaque party s'appuye sur plusieurs epreuves faites sur quantité d'animaux.⁴⁷

È pensabile, dunque, che Chouet abbia raccolto l'invito di Bourdelot nella sua risposta a Redi, quando ricordava che *Plus vident oculi quam oculus*⁴⁸ e che le porte del suo *cabinet* erano aperte a tutti, e abbia voluto cimentarsi in questa questione *à la page*.

L'elenco degli esperimenti mostra come Chouet abbia inteso replicare alcune esperienze che avevano condotto Charas a formulare la propria tesi, smentendo nel contempo quella di Redi. È il caso del primo esperimento del 25 maggio 1671, in cui una vipera irritata morde nella parte più carnosa del petto un piccione, che muore in un quarto d'ora. Come in Charas, parte integrante dell'esperimento è la dissezione dell'animale, in seguito alla quale vengono rilevati del sangue coagulato nel ventricolo sinistro del cuore come pure l'annerimento e il rigonfiamento delle

⁴⁵ Cf. CHARAS, *Nouvelles experiences sur la vipere*, p. 166.

⁴⁶ CHARAS, *Nouvelles experiences sur la vipere*, p. 252: « n'ayant pû trouver dans les matieres corporelles et sensibles, la veritable cause des productions étranges et precipitées, qui se remarquent dans la morsure de la Vipere vivante et animée; J'ay crû la devoir chercher dans les esprits ».

⁴⁷ Lettera del 21 settembre 1671, in ÉLISABETH LABROUSSE, ANTONY MCKENNA (eds.), *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, vol. I, p. 48.

⁴⁸ « *Plus vident oculi quam oculus*: La science aujourd'huy se fondant en experience, il faut attendre les découvertes du grand concours des personnes qui travaillent sur les mêmes matieres » (*Recherches et observations sur les viperes, faites par M^r Bourdelot*, p. 55–56).

carni circostanti la piaga.⁴⁹ Anche il terzo esperimento della medesima giornata si ispira a Charas e consiste nel verificare se, privando la vipera del suo veleno – facendole addentare più volte un pezzo di pane – il morso risulti ancora letale. Questa esperienza veniva portata a riprova che il ‘liquido giallognolo’ non contribuiva in nulla al veleno, mentre rafforzava l’ipotesi degli spiriti irritati quali vera causa. Contrariamente a quanto era accaduto a Charas – e cioè che il piccione così azzannato era comunque morto dopo un’ora e mezza – il pollo utilizzato da Chouet era sopravvissuto, riportando soltanto un livido attorno alla ferita.⁵⁰ Nel quarto esperimento, è la volta di due gatti neonati, morsi nella coscia l’uno dopo l’altro da una vipera irritata. Entrambi periscono, seppure il secondo più lentamente del primo. Chouet e i suoi collaboratori constatano in entrambi i casi come le ferite e l’area ad esse limitrofa risultassero rigonfie e livide. Chouet replica infine anche un esperimento curioso di Charas che aveva fatto mordere da una vipera irritata un’altra vipera senza danno alcuno, e ottiene il medesimo risultato.⁵¹

Nell’intento di verificare la propria ipotesi circa la velenosità del liquido giallognolo, Redi aveva compiuto diversi esperimenti che consistevano nel cospargere di veleno una ferita, prodotta o da un dente di vipera o da uno strumento appuntito così da farne uscire il sangue, e nell’apporvi un bendaggio. Charas aveva ripetuto queste esperienze, ottenendo risultati contrari a quelli dello scienziato toscano: i vari animali così trattati erano sopravvissuti.⁵² Anche Chouet ripropone questo genere di test sia nella prima giornata, sia l’indomani. Nel primo caso il pollastro viene ripetutamente ferito da un dente di vipera, la piaga viene cosparsa di veleno e bendata; nel secondo l’animale viene ferito con un coltellino, dopo di che la procedura è identica alla precedente.⁵³ In entrambi i casi l’esito si

⁴⁹ Cf. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, LXIII^e portefeuille de Philibert de La Mare. Tome II, MS-2891, Division 71, *Expériences sur la nature et les effets du venin des vipères*, fol. 246r e CHARAS, *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere*, p. 85. In totale Chouet compie solo due dissezioni: questa di cui si è detto e quella del primo esperimento del venerdì, in cui si constata del sangue coagulato nella vena cava prossima al cuore del pollastro avvelenato.

⁵⁰ CHARAS, *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere*, p. 103. Charas spiegava il lungo intervallo intercorso tra il morso della vipera irritata e la morte dell’animale con la parziale occlusione dei pori dei denti del serpente ad opera del pane, la quale occlusione aveva ostacolato il passaggio degli spiriti irritati.

⁵¹ CHARAS, *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere*, p. 111. Chouet ripete questo esperimento due volte: la prima il 25 maggio e la seconda il 27, servendosi in quest’ultimo caso di una vipera irritata. In entrambi i casi il morso della vipera su un’altra vipera non aveva sortito effetti.

⁵² Charas aveva riferito le « expériences du suc jaune contenu dans les vésicules des grosses dents, faites sur divers animaux » nelle *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipere*, p. 100 e seguenti.

⁵³ La scelta del coltellino e la precisazione che Chouet annota nel primo esperimento del venerdì (« la blessure n’estoit point dangereuse » – scrive –) lasciano intendere che egli mirasse a disambiguare quanto accaduto il giorno precedente, in cui il pollastro era morto in seguito alla procedura messa in opera e tuttavia restava il sospetto che la morte potesse essere causata dalle

rivela fatale, differientemente dalle osservazioni di Charas e in accordo invece con quelle di Redi. Su questa stessa linea si colloca il secondo esperimento del venerdì, che nuovamente avvalora i risultati prodotti dallo scienziato toscano: il cane morsicato da una vipera irritata, cui era stato prelevato ogni veleno attraverso la lacerazione delle gengive, non subisce alcun danno.

Charas aveva dedicato la parte finale delle sue *Nouvelles experiences* alle virtù del sale volatile di vipera (fondamentalmente carbonato di ammonio) e alle diverse modalità del suo utilizzo, indicando anche le ricette di alcuni rimedi aventi a base quello che riteneva essere un ottimo strumento di contrasto alla velenosità del morso della vipera, per via della sua natura «subtile et spiritueuse», simile a quella degli *esprits* responsabili dell'avvelenamento.⁵⁴ Anche Chouet mira a testare le proprietà terapeutiche del sale di vipera che, nel terzo esperimento del venerdì, somministra a due riprese ad uno dei due gattini morsi da vipere.⁵⁵ La guarigione del gattino trattato con questo rimedio e la morte dell'altro sembrano comprovare l'efficacia di questo sale che Redi, invece, tendeva a sottostimare.⁵⁶

ferite inferte dal dente di vipera e non a seguito del veleno appostogli: « Il est uray que l'on le picquat plusieurs fois avec la dent de la uipere et assez auant dans la chair neantmoins ces blessures ne nous sembloient point mortelles d'elles mesmes ». Il giorno seguente, dunque, aveva avuto cura di escludere che la morte dell'animale potesse essere imputata ad altro che non fosse il liquido giallognolo.

⁵⁴ Charas si era servito con successo di questo rimedio per trattare un gentiluomo straniero che nel corso degli esperimenti era stato morso da una vipera irritata: « on ne pouvoit jamais mieux prendre ses mesures qu'en recourant au Sel volatile de Vipere; la cause estant subtile et spiritueuse, il fallait un remede de pareille nature [...] pour la faire sortir par les voyes qu'il luy avoit ouvertes » (CHARAS, *Nouvelles experiences sur la vipere*, p. 117). Questa era, ad avviso del medico, l'azione di questo sale che « par sa qualité subtile, volatile, et penetrante, est fort propre à dissoudre les coagulations du sang, et à faire la des-union des parties qui y estoient congelées, ou figées, s'il faut ainsi dire [...] ce Sel volatile, par la facilité qu'il avoit à s'accrocher avec ces esprits irritez, comme estant de mesme nature, se joignit aisément à eux, et les poussa aux extremités du corps, les entraînant par les pores de la peau, et sortant avec eux le premier, par ce chemin qu'il leur avoit préparé » (ibid., p. 118-119).

⁵⁵ In questo esperimento Chouet ha cura di far mordere i due gatti nella stessa parte del corpo – la coscia – in cui erano stati morsi i due del giorno precedente. Questa scelta è in linea con le indicazioni metodologiche che aveva fornito Redi nella lettera a Moro e Bourdelot, quando tra i fattori di cui tener conto nella conduzione delle esperienze aveva annoverato anche la parte del corpo dell'animale morso e la presenza maggiore o minore di vasi sanguigni. Cf. *Lettera di Francesco Redi Gentiluomo Aretino, sopra alcune opposizioni fatte alle sue osservazioni intorno alle vipere*, p. 16.

⁵⁶ REDI, *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere*, 1666, p. 52-53: « In queste mie naturali osseruzioni ho consumato gran quantità di Vipere facendone alla giornata vno strazio grandissimo, e per cauar, come si dice, il sottol del sottile, ho sempre messe da banda, e conservate tutte le loro carni, e l'ossa, che seccate in forno, e poscia al fuoco viuo con lungo, e faticosissimo lauorio abbruciate, e ridotte in cenere, con aqua di fonte n'ho cauato il Sale, e purificatolo, e ridottolo quasi in cristalli, ho voluto far'esperienza di sua virtù, ed hò rinuenuto, ch'egli è per l'appunto, come son tutti quanti gli altri Sali, estratti dalle ceneri di tutti gli animali, e di tutte le piante, che indifferentemente dati al peso di due dramme, e mezza in circa euacuano il corpo, come se beuuto

Nell'ultima giornata, Chouet va a testare la convinzione di antichi come Aristotele, ma anche di moderni come Campanella, quanto alla nocività della saliva per le vipere, esperimento che sia Redi sia Charas avevano compiuto, concludendo entrambi per l'infondatezza di questa opinione.⁵⁷ Come Redi, Chouet fa mordere un cane alla vipera che aveva inghiottito della saliva umana, dopo averla irritata. Se quest'ultima muore entro un'ora, il cane invece sopravvive per altre otto ore. Chouet attribuisce la morte dell'animale non tanto al morso della vipera quanto piuttosto alle ferite che si era auto inferto in seguito allo stato di estremo dolore in cui si trovava.

IV. *Sperimentare 'en cartésien'*

L'analisi delle esperienze condotte da Chouet mostra che Bayle si rivela un testimone affidabile quando scrive, nella lettera del settembre 1671, che « celles que Mr. Chouet a faittes sur des pigeons, des chats et des poulets qu'il a fait mordre à des viperes irritées sont beaucoup plus favorables aux Italiens qu'aux Francois ».⁵⁸

Benché queste *Experiences sur la nature et les effets du venin des viperes* non riferiscano le ipotesi o le conclusioni che Chouet avrebbe potuto trarre, non sorprende che la spiegazione di Redi, il quale per rendere ragione degli effetti del

si fosse vna di quelle consuete, ed ordinarie medicine, che Leniente de' Medici son dette. Questi Sali delle ceneri [...] anno tutti tra di loro vglual possanza, come s'è veduto centinaia di volte [...] ne altra differenza ho mai saputo scorgervi, che quella delle figure, la quale però (per quanto con ogni curiosa diligenza ho potuto osseruare) non rende ne più viuua, ne più infingarda la loro facultà solutiuua: quindi è che non senza ragione mi fò beffe di quegli Autori Chimici, che anno auuto gli occhi così lincei da poter ritrouare tante, e diuerse, e tra di loro contrarie virtu, più in vn Sale, che in vn'altro ».

⁵⁷ Redi aveva dedicato a questa credenza alcuni esperimenti: « Io rinchiusi dunque sei Vipere scelte in vna grande scatola, e per quindici mattine alla fila ad vna ad vna spalancando la gola, procurai, che alcuni vomini digiuni gliela empissero di sputo, e serrando loro la bocca, le costrinsi per forza ad inghiottirlo, e tutte sono vissute, e viuono ancora, ne da malattia sono mai state sopraprese, anzi per la dolcezza del nuouo, ed inusitato alimento, mi rassembrano molto più belle, e guizzanti del solito: e perche l'Aldrouando scriue ancora, che i Ciarlatani tosto, che anno presi i Serpenti, gli aspergono di sciliua, per la virtù della quale d'auuilscono, e perdono la malizia del veleno, volli anco di questo far la proua, e restai certo, che non si accosta, ne poco, ne punto al vero, posciachè si morirono tutti gli animali, che morere io feci dalle Vipere in quella guisa preparate, e le Vipere per lo bagnamento della saliuua non infralitono mica, ma disdegnose, et altiere più souente vibrauano l'acuta, e bipartita folgore della lingua» (Redi, *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere*, 1666, pp. 54-55). Così aveva commentato Charas l'esito del suo esperimento in cui la vipera non aveva riportato alcun danno: «quoy qu'il y ait des Auteurs qui veulent que la Vipere en devienne tabide; cela pourroit toutefois arriver, non pas par là, mais plutost par l'abstinence et par la tristesse, après avoir esté long-temps enfermées » (CHARAS, *Nouvelles experiences sur la vipere*, p. 114).

⁵⁸ LABROUSSE, MCKENNA (eds.), *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, vol. I, p. 48.

morso della vipera ricorreva all'azione meccanica del liquido velenoso sul sistema circolatorio, dovesse risultargli più congeniale rispetto a quella di Charas che, con la tesi degli 'spiriti irritati', metteva in campo un quadro teorico di difficile accettazione da parte di un cartesiano.

È nota la diffidenza di Descartes nei confronti della 'filosofia dei chimici', dal momento che – come ha osservato Bernard Joly – « la chimie se présentait alors comme la science spécifique d'un type d'objet – intermédiaire entre l'esprit et la matière – auquel la métaphysique cartésienne ne pouvait reconnaître aucune place ».⁵⁹ Nella lettera a Mersenne del 30 luglio 1640, Descartes si era espresso chiaramente contro le teorie di due medici: Lazare Meyssonnier e Christophe de Villiers. Il discorso del primo sul sale aereo e sulla differenza tra spiriti vitali e animali, paragonati al « Fuoco elementare e al Mercurio aereo » risultava a Descartes inintelligibile così come lo era quello di de Villiers a proposito dello 'spirito fisso'. « Et j'admire » – commentava – « que des personnes de bon esprit, en cherchant quelque chose de probable, préfèrent des imaginations confuses et impossibles à des pensées plus intelligibles et, sinon vraies, au moins possibles et probables ».⁶⁰

A fare problema – per Descartes come per Chouet – doveva risultare l'ambigua nozione di '*spiritus*', di ascendenza galenico-ippocratica, invocata da medici e chimici del XVII secolo per spiegare certi fenomeni naturali come la distillazione e la formazione dei sali ma anche l'unione di anima e corpo.⁶¹ L'idea poi di un *Esprit du Monde* – di eco ficiniana – come pure le tesi di Paracelso, che ai due principi dell'alchimia medievale – mercurio e zolfo – aveva aggiunto il sale, erano comunemente accettate al *Jardin royal des Plantes* in cui operava Charas, la cui fondazione risaliva proprio al paracelsiano Guy de la Brosse, medico ordinario di Luigi XIII.⁶²

⁵⁹ BERNARD JOLY, *Descartes et la chimie*, Vrin, Paris 2011, p. 13.

⁶⁰ Descartes a Mersenne, 30 luglio 1640, in RENÉ DESCARTES, *Oeuvres*, ed. C. Adam & P. Tannery, 11 vol., Vrin – CNRS, Paris 1964–1974 [d'ora in poi AT, seguito dal numero romano del volume e dal numero arabo della pagina], vol. III, p. 120 e p. 124 (tr. it. RENÉ DESCARTES, *Tutte le lettere (1619–1650)*, ed. Giulia Belgioioso, Bompiani, Milano 2005, p. 1228 e 1232).

⁶¹ Per un quadro generale del concetto di *spiritus*, si veda MARTA FATTORI, MASSIMO BIANCHI (eds.), *Spiritus. IV° Colloquio Internazionale del Lessico Intellettuale Europeo*, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma 1984 e in particolare gli articoli di DANIEL P. WALKER, « Medical Spirits and God and the Soul », p. 223–244 e ALLEN G. DEBUS, « Chemistry and the Quest for a Material Spirit of Life in the Seventeenth Century », p. 245–263.

⁶² La nozione di *Esprit du monde* svolgeva un ruolo importante nel *Traicté de la chymie* di Nicaise Le Febvre (1660), successore dello scozzese William Davisson sulla cattedra di dimostratore di chimica al *Jardin royal des plantes*. Su questi temi, oltre al già citato volume di Joly, si veda ANTONIO CLERICUZIO, « Medicina, chimica e botanica al Jardin Royal des Plantes di Parigi (1635–1700) », *Medicina nei secoli, arte e scienza*, 12/3 (2000), p. 565–585. Per il quadro generale della diffusione delle tesi di Paracelso e della chimica rimando a ALLEN G. DEBUS, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Science History Publications, New

Tali concezioni – che ponevano la chimica al servizio della medicina – venivano a configurarsi come un’alternativa alla tradizione aristotelico-scolastica concorrenziale rispetto alla filosofia di Descartes. Benché Charas indicasse in Van Helmont il suo principale ispiratore, non va dimenticato che anche Marin Cureau de La Chambre – figura di spicco nell’ambiente culturale parigino e dimostratore di anatomia al *Jardin des Plantes*, oltre che membro dell’*Académie des Sciences* – aveva sostenuto un’argomentazione simile sia nelle *Nouvelles pensées sur les causes de la lumière, du débordement du Nil et de l’amour d’inclination*,⁶³ sia nel secondo volume dei *Caracteres des passions*, ove attribuiva alla collera la capacità di attivare il veleno, agitando gli spiriti e rendendo così più pericoloso il morso non solo della vipera, ma in generale di ogni animale.⁶⁴

Apertamente contrario al meccanicismo e in linea piuttosto con l’animismo di Campanella, nel *Système de l’âme* Cureau de La Chambre aveva fatto largo uso della teoria degli spiriti, intesi come sostanze intermedie tra la materia e l’incorporeo, arrivando a sostenere che l’anima possiede un’estensione, per quanto diversa da quella propria dei corpi.⁶⁵ A queste tesi, che andavano a scardinare l’ontologia cartesiana, aveva inteso dare risposta Louis de La Forge, tanto nelle sue *Remarques a L’Homme* di Descartes quanto nel *Traité de l’esprit de l’homme* mostrando che « tutto

York 1977; DIDIER KAHN, *Alchimie et paracelsisme en France à la fin de la Renaissance (1567-1625)*, Droz, Genève 2007.

⁶³ In questo scritto, Cureau de La Chambre aveva supposto che nella peste il veleno fosse più contagioso all’approssimarsi della morte, per via della *grande esmotion des esprits*, ed aveva sostenuto che « la cholere [...] rend le venin plus actif et plus present: de sorte que les morsures du vipere, du chien et des hommes mesmes sont plus veneneuses et plus difficiles à guerir, quand ils sont eschaufez par cette passion: et partant il faut conclurre, que la plus efficace emission se fait par les esprits » (MARIN CUREAU DE LA CHAMBRE, *Nouvelles pensées sur les causes de la lumière, du débordement du Nil et de l’amour d’inclination*, Chez Pierre Rocolet, A Paris 1634, p. 33-34).

⁶⁴ Nei *Caracteres des Passions*, trattando espressamente del movimento degli spiriti e degli umori nella collera, ne spiegava in questa maniera gli effetti sulla pericolosità del morso degli animali: agitando gli spiriti e gli umori, la collera « separe la Bile et tout ce qu’il y a de plus malin dans les veines, et qu’elle s’en sert comme d’armes offensives pour destruire plus facilement l’ennemy: D’où vient que les morsures de toutes sortes d’animaux sont en quelque façon venimeuses quand ils sont en colere, et plus ils sont irritez plus elles sont dangereuses et difficiles à guerir: Ce qui doit faire iuger que leurs dents sont alors infectées de quelque humeur maligne que la Nature conduit en ces parties, après l’auoir separée des autres pour la rendre plus mal-faisante et plus propre pour l’effect qu’elle medite. Aussi-est-il veritable que la separation des humeurs les rend plus agissantes, les mettant en liberté et leur rendant la force que le meslange auoit affoiblie » (MARIN CUREAU DE LA CHAMBRE, *Les Caracteres des passions*, vol. II: *Où il est traité, de la nature et des effets des passions courageuses*, Chez P. Rocolet, A Paris 1660, p. 374-375). Su questo influente medico, si veda ALBERT DARMON, *Les corps immatériels. Esprits et images dans l’œuvre de Marin Cureau de La Chambre (1594-1669)*, Vrin, Paris 1985.

⁶⁵ Cf. MARIN CUREAU DE LA CHAMBRE, *Le système de l’âme*, Chez Jacques d’Allin, A Paris 1664, p. 339. In quanto creata, l’anima umana è limitata e perciò estesa, per quanto la sua estensione sia conforme alla sua natura, ovvero spirituale e indivisibile.

quel che pensa è immateriale » e che non si danno corpi senzienti.⁶⁶ In questo contesto, La Forge aveva utilizzato con cautela il termine «esprits», conscio che – come scriveva – « le mot est trop équivoque en cet endroit, et mes adversaires mesme en demeureroient d'accord », per parlare piuttosto di « substances sans aucune estenduë, et entierement détachées de la matiere » così da evitare ogni fraintendimento.⁶⁷

Chouet, che peraltro aveva stretto amicizia con La Forge durante gli anni di insegnamento a Saumur, condivide pienamente l'idea della materialità degli spiriti animali invocati in medicina che, nel *Tractatus de rebus viventibus seu animatis*, vede come prodotti

ex viuidioribus, tenuioribus ac subtilioribus sanguinis particulis quae a crassioribus secretae e corde per arteriam quamdam ascendunt in cerebrum in quo elaborantur ac conficiantur et e quo deinceps in neruos ac musculos deductae innumeris modis animalium corpora mouent.⁶⁸

Fedele a Descartes, egli ritiene che, per quanto tenui e sottili, gli spiriti siano pur sempre materia, ovvero estensione, e come tale passibili delle medesime leggi meccaniche che reggono la fisica.⁶⁹ Cartesianamente, la fisica è per Chouet scienza dei corpi naturali (e non degli spiriti, di cui si occupa la pneumatologia), il cui principio di composizione è dato dalla materia la cui essenza coincide con l'estensione e non con un insieme di qualità. Nel *Syntagma physicum*, egli esclude infatti non solo i quattro elementi di Empedocle e le omeomerie di Anassagora, ma anche le cinque sostanze in cui, secondo i chimici, tutti i corpi si risolvono e cioè sale, zolfo, mercurio, flegma e *caput mortuum*.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Cf. EMANUELA SCRIBANO, « The Return of Campanella: La Forge versus Cureau de La Chambre », in CECILIA MURATORI, GIANNI PAGANINI (eds.), *Early Modern Philosophers and the Renaissance Legacy*, Springer, Dordrecht 2016, p. 169–184.

⁶⁷ LOUIS DE LA FORGE, *Traité de l'esprit de l'homme, de ses Facultez et Fonctions, et de son union avec le Corps, suivant les Principes de René Descartes*, Chez Abraham Wolfgang, A Amsterdam, 1666, p. 39. Analoga cautela era presente in Descartes: « Descartes évite très évidemment d'introduire dans le domaine de la pensée le mot *spiritus* » (JEAN-ROBERT ARMOGATHE, « Note brève sur le vocabulaire de l'âme au Dix-septième siècle », in FATTORI, BIANCHI, *Spiritus*, p. 330 [p. 325–331]).

⁶⁸ CHOUET, *Corsi di filosofia*, vol. II, p. 287.

⁶⁹ Descartes aveva chiarito la propria opinione sugli spiriti a Vorstius, nella lettera del 19 giugno 1643, ove definiva 'spirito' « omne corpus constans ex particulis terrestribus, materia subtilis innatantibus, et magis agitatis quam quae aerem componunt, sed minus quam quae flammam, Spiritus dici potest » (Descartes a Vorstius, 19 giugno 1643, AT III 687, tr. it. DESCARTES, *Tutte le lettere (1619–1650)*, p. 1773: « può essere detto spirito ogni corpo costituito di particelle terrestri fluttuanti nella materia sottile e agitate più di quelle che compongono l'aria, ma meno di quelle della fiamma »). Descartes scriveva anche che « Nempe nulla fere est diversitas inter [Spiritus] Naturalem et Vitalem, nec illi duo a sanguine sunt sejuncti » (AT III 689).

⁷⁰ « Essentiam materiae in eo positam non esse quod sit dura res, grauis, colorata, odora, calida, humida, vel aliqua alia sensibili qualitate affecta, tum quia huiusmodi qualitates ex ipsa materia,

Allora, le esperienze dei chimici come Charas potevano certamente fornirgli dei dati empirici che, però, andavano ricompresi all'interno della concezione meccanica della materia e del movimento alla base, in ultima analisi, anche dell'ambito della medicina, senza necessità di ricorrere a principi immateriali prodotti dall'immaginazione della vipera irritata.

Da questo punto di vista, Chouet avrebbe potuto trovarsi in sintonia con le riflessioni che il medico cartesiano Jean-Baptiste Denis consegnava al termine della sua recensione delle *Nouvelles Experiences sur la vipere* di Charas nel 1672, quando non si diceva convinto della conclusione che il chimico traeva dai suoi esperimenti, ovvero che il veleno della vipera non fosse qualcosa di materiale, ma l'effetto – transitorio – dell'idea di vendetta prodotta nell'animale nell'istante della collera. Denis osservava che, per offrire una spiegazione in accordo coi principi meccanici, occorreva piuttosto dire che

ce Venin est une matiere tres-subtile, qui est ordinairement meslée et répanduë par toute la masse du sang de la Vipere, et que dans l'instant de sa colere, ces petits corps (qu'on peut appeller des esprits a cause de leur subtilité) se rassemblent et montent en foule à la teste, pour y porter la chaleur, et pour animer toutes les parties, que la Nature semble avoir destiné pour sa deffence.⁷¹

V. Conclusion

Queste *Experiences sur la nature et les effets du venin des viperes* forniscono un esempio concreto della pratica scientifica di Chouet. Se è vero che il cartesiano ginevrino non inventa nuovi esperimenti rispetto a quelli compiuti da Redi e da Charas (e in effetti i suoi mirano più a testare un'ipotesi che a formularla),⁷² è però altrettanto vero che si mostra uno sperimentatore attento: le postille ad alcune esperienze

salua eius essentia solui possunt [...] tum etiam quia materia, absque omnibus illis qualitatibus sygillatim sumptis, re ipsa subsistit » (CHOUET, *Corsi di filosofia*, vol. II, p. 21). Da ciò deriva che né i quattro elementi, né le omeomerie, né i principi dei chimici possono essere considerati materia prima dei corpi.

⁷¹ JEAN-BAPTISTE DENIS, *Reflexion Sur les Esprits irritez, ou Sur le Venin spirituel des Viperes*, in *Recueil des memoires et conferences qui ont esté presentées à Monseigneur Le Dauphin Pendant l'Année 1672*, Chez Frederic Leonard, A Paris 1672, p. 79.

⁷² Si veda il giudizio di Heyd: « Chouet shared then the interests and methods of the scientists of his generation. Still, he himself was not a creative scientist. Except for a treatise on vipers which was never published, he made no contribution of his own to the advancement of knowledge. Chouet does not seem to have pursued any one problem systematically and had no specific research program. Rather, he followed and repeated experiments which were performed by other scientists at that time. [...] Like many other educated gentlemen in the second half of the seventeenth century, Chouet was not so much a scientist as an *amateur* of experimental science » (HEYD, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment*, p. 100).

rivelano la sua accortezza metodologica nel rilevare eventuali impedimenti e la sua cautela nell'evitare di trarre conclusioni frettolose. Senza dubbio il numero di esperimenti è limitato: più che reiterare le stesse esperienze – come fa Redi – Chouet ne propone di comparative, come nel caso dei due gatti, morsi entrambi nella coscia, e della somministrazione del sale volatile ad uno solo dei due, così da avvalorare la tesi che il diverso esito dell'esperimento dipenda dalla presenza o dall'assenza del rimedio.

Nell'affidarsi all'esperienza per prendere posizione in questa *querelle* tra due diverse ipotesi, Chouet mostra di riconoscerne il ruolo rilevante, accanto a quello della ragione: se risulta azzardato paragonarlo ad un empirista radicale come Redi, egli può certamente venire accostato a Rohault per la tendenza ad integrare ragionamento e osservazione.⁷³

Senza dubbio, nel portare a Ginevra un dibattito internazionale qual era quello sul veleno delle vipere, Chouet contribuiva alla diffusione di pratiche e metodologie sperimentali comunemente accettate dalla comunità scientifica. Scendendo inoltre in un terreno che Descartes non aveva esplorato, con queste *expériences* Chouet dava prova di indipendenza e forse non aveva torto André Sayous quando gli ascriveva il merito di essersi adoperato

non à suivre Descartes dans ses imaginations particulières, mais à faire comprendre et prévaloir la méthode cartésienne dans ce qu'elle a de plus positif, et en l'appliquant avec intelligence à l'étude expérimentale des phénomènes naturels.⁷⁴

⁷³ Heyd colloca Chouet tra quanti, come Rohault e Régis, « managed to achieve a certain synthesis of the Baconian and the Cartesian programs, giving up the former's stress on induction and the latter's over-rationalist tendencies » (HEYD, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment*, p. 99).

⁷⁴ ANDRÉ SAYOUS, *Histoire de la Littérature française à l'étranger depuis le commencement du XVII^e siècle*, t. I, J. Cherbuliez, Paris – Genève 1853, p. 184–185.

*Appendice*⁷⁵

EXPERIENCES SUR LA NATURE ET LES EFFETS DU VENIN DES VIPERES

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, LXIII^e portefeuille de Philibert de La Mare.
— Tome II, MS-2891, Division 71, Fol. 246r-247v.

[Fol. 246r] A Geneue

Le jeudy 25 de May 1671 nous fismes les experiences suiuanes pour examiner *la nature et les effets du uenin des uiperes*.

1.^o Nous fismes mordre un pigeon dans la partie la plus charnue de la poitrine, par une uipere irritée: nous ne remarquames d'abord qu'un petit point rouge ou teint de sang dans l'endroit où la uipere auoit mis une de ses dents crochues, mais peu de temps apres il y parut de noirceur ou de la liuidité avec enflure qui s'étendit peu à peu autour de la playe et assez-loin; le pigeon deuint aussi tost fort foible et cette foiblesse augmenta avec tant de promptitude; qu'en un quart d'heure il fust mort. Nous l'ouurismes d'abord et nous trouuasmes que la chair qui estoit autour de la playe et où auoit paru cette liuidité estoit toute noire et comme corrompue. Toutes les parties nobles parurent en tres bon etat excepté le coeur car l'ayant ouuert le uentricule gauche se trouua plein de sang coagulé.

2.^o Nous prismes un petit poulet et apres auoir oté les dents crochues à une uipere, nous le blessames avec une de ces dents dans l'endroit le plus charnu de la poitrine de maniere que le sang parut: apres cela nous mismes sur la playe tout autant qu'il nous fust possible de ce suc jaune que les uiperes ont dans la genciue; et ensuite bandasmes la playe. Le poulet se trouua d'abord assez mal et cela augmenta tousjours de facon qu'il mourut une heure et demie ou deux apres auoir été blessé. Il est uray que l'on le picquat plusieurs fois avec la dent de la uipere et assez auant dans la chair neantmoins ces blessures ne nous sembloient point mortelles d'elles mesmes.

[Fol. 246v] 3.^o Nous fismes mordre plusieurs fois un morceau de pain par une vipere et mesmes nous luy pressames les machoires l'une contre l'autre sur ce pain qu'il parut manifestement humecté du suc iaune apres quoy lors que nous creusmes que ce suc iaune auoit esté tout exprimé et qu'il n'en restoit plus dans la genciue de la vipere, nous luy fismes mordre un poulet à la poitrine: cet animal là non seulement n'en mourut pas mais mesme n'en fust point malade il parut

⁷⁵ Si pubblica il testo nel più totale rispetto delle particolarità grafiche e ortografiche riscontrate sul manoscritto. Ai fini di conferire maggiore leggibilità, gli unici interventi sono limitati all'accentazione delle parole où/à per disambiguarle rispetto a ou/a e all'inserimento di alcuni caratteri interpuntori.

pourtant une petite tache liuide sur la playe mais qui ne s'estendit point comme sur le pigeon dont nous auons parlé.

4.° Nous prismes deux ieunes chats, il n'y auoit pas 24 heures qu'ils estoyent au monde, nous les fismes mordre par une vipere irritée dans le costé droit un peu au dessus de la cuisse. La vipere mordit le premier qu'on luy presenta d'abord qu'elle l'eut apperceu mais on eut beaucoup de peine a luy faire mordre le second quoy qu'on fit tout ce qui se pouuoit faire pour l'irriter. Cela fust cause qu'il ne fust mordu qu'assez longtemps apres le premier mais il receut deux morsures. Le premier deuint foible d'abord et mourut au bout d'une heure ou enuiron. Le second suruesquit quelque peu de temps au premier, mais il souffrit beaucoup deuant que mourir comme nous iugeasmes par les cris continuels qu'ils pousoit et par les mouuemens violens et conuulsifs qu'il auoit, les blessures de ces deux chats aussi bien que les parties voisines estoyent fort enflées et liuides.

5.° Nous fismes mordre un vipere par un autre et mesme plusieurs fois; mais il ne nous parut pas que cette morsure eust aucun effect.

Le lendemain, Vendredy 26 May 1671 nous fismes ces experiences.

1.° Nous blessames avec un ganif un ieune poulet dans le mesme endroit où celuy du iour precedent auoit esté blessé avec la dent de vipere, la blessure n'estoit point dangereuse, mais nous y mismes du suc iaune que nous tirasmes de deux viperes [Fol. 247r] et en suite le courisimes d'un linge. Le poulet mourut au bout d'une heure et demie. Ce poulet fust ouuert le lendemain; on trouua du sang coagulé dans la veine caue proche du coeur.

2.° Nous ostames à une vipere tout le suc iaune qu'elle pouuoit auoir. Nous nous seruismes pour cela de ciseaux avec quoy nous luy coupasmes les genciues sans luy oster les dens: elle auoit la gueule tout en sang; comme elle estoit extremement irritée du mal qu'elle venoit de souffrir, nous luy presentasmes un petit chien qu'elle mordit sous le ventre, mais parce qu'il ne paroissoit point de playe on luy appliqua par force les dens sur le mesme endroit, et on les luy pressa de sorte qu'on n'en peut plus douter que le chien n'eust esté bien mordu, ceste morsure ne fit aucun effect, le chien n'en fust point malade et la blessure ne parut ny enflée ny liuide.

3.° Nous fismes mordre deux petits chats par deux viperes differentes au mesme endroit où les deux du iour precedent auoyent esté mordus: mais nous en prismes un auquel nous donnasmes tout aussi tost du sel volatil de viperes. Celuy qui n'en auoit point receu mourut au bout d'une heure ou environ, l'autre parut fort malade pendant quelque temps, il vomit ce qu'il auoit dans l'esthomas; ce qui fut cause qu'on luy donna pour une seconde fois du sel volatil: apres quoy on le porta à sa mere qu'il tetta fort bien et guerit de cette maniere là. Les playes de ces deux chats estoyent fort liuides avec grande enflure tout au tour.

Le Samedi suiuant 27 de May on prit une vipere et apres luy auoir ouuert la gueule une personne de la compagnie qui estoit à ieun luy cracha dedans. La vipere enfla bien tost apres et au bout d'une heure mourut.

2.° On irrita deux viperes qui se mordirent l'une l'autre avec beaucoup de force et plusieurs fois mais elles ne receurent aucun mal de ces blessures.

3.° Lorsque la vipere eut aualé la saliué dont nous venons de parler on l'irrita et on luy presenta un petit chien qu'elle mordit au bas du ventre, cet animal ne mourut que huict heures apres auoir esté piqué. Sa playe et les parties voisines estoyent noires et fort enflées. Il souffrit beaucoup [Fol. 247v] deuant que de mourir, comme il parut par les mouuemens violens qu'il eut. Il ietta mesme du sang par la bouche et par les narines; mais il y a apparence que cela venoit de quelque blessure interieure qui s'estoit faite en se tourmentant comme il auoit fait et en effect on luy trouua l'os du crane rompu. D'ailleurs on ne trouua aucun sang coagulé mais il auoit les testicules extraordinairement enflés; ce qui fit croire que les dens de la vipere les auoit atteints.

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« DICITUR LUPUS, QUIA IN DIE
COMEDIT UNAM GALLINAM »:
BEYOND THE METAPHOR: LUPUS DISEASE
BETWEEN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD^{*}

ALESSANDRA FOSCATI
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Abstract

In the Middle Ages, a severe ulcerative lesion of the lower limbs consuming a sick person's flesh was named *lupus* because it was metaphorically associated with the wolf, probably with respect to the feared anthropophagic characteristic of this beast. Thirteenth-century theologians' commentaries on the Bible linked *lupus* with *morbus regius*, a polysemic term that could denote jaundice, *scrophula* or leprosy. Moreover, for reasons of lexical proximity, *lupus* was at times confused with *lupia*, a subcutaneous swelling. The aim of this article is to present an inquiry of the earliest appearance of *lupus* as nosographic name and its exact meaning(s) and possible synonyms found in different sources, as well as a study on the competition among these different diseases names. The investigation will serve as a significant heuristic example for the purpose of demonstrating the overall complexity of the nosologic lexicon of the past.

Key Words

Lupus; esthiomenus; morbus regius; lupia; medical metaphors



In the surgical treatise written by Rolando da Parma around 1230, an extension of Ruggero Frugardi's *Surgery* probably written at the end of the twelfth century,¹ we read in the chapter on cancer that it could take on different names depending on

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¹ On the relationship between Ruggero and Rolando's works, see MICHAEL McVAUGH, « Is there a Salernitan Surgical Tradition? », in DANIELLE JACQUART, AGOSTINO PARAVICINI BAGLIANI (eds.), *La Collectio Salernitana di Salvatore de Renzi*, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2008 (Edizione Nazionale « La scuola medica Salernitana », 3), p. 61–77.

the part of the body that was affected. If it affected the face, the name given to the disease was *noli me tangere*, for the following reason: if the lesion was touched with an unwashed hand, it tended to expand. In the central part of the body, the disease was called *cingulum*, because it « encircled the body ». If in the outer parts, such as the feet, shins and thighs, the disease was defined as *lupus* and was incurable.² Unlike *noli me tangere* and *cingulum*, Rolando does not explain the origin and reasons of the name *lupus*.

The expressions *noli me tangere*³ and *lupus*, which both do not belong to the classical nomenclature of the disease – as also confirmed by Bruno da Longobucco who, in his *Cirurgia magna* (1252), questioned them precisely because they were absent from the oldest authoritative sources⁴ – were included into the current language of medical and surgical treatises starting from the thirteenth century, apparently with Rolando's *Surgery*.⁵

As we shall see, the first to declare that the term *lupus* had its origin in a metaphor seems to have been the fourteenth-century physician and surgeon Guy de Chauliac who wrote that, just as the fierce beast, the disease 'devoured' the lower limbs of the sick persons, and to prevent this from happening, it was commonly believed that it had to be fed on the meat of a chicken.

² ROLANDO DA PARMA, *Cirurgia*, MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. Lat. 1318 (13th–14th c.), fol. 18vb–19ra: « Item in facie dicitur noli me tangere [...] si a manu non lota tangeretur augmentabitur eius malitia. In medio autem corporis dicitur cingulum quia corpus cingit. In partibus exterioribus, ut in pedibus cruribus et coxis dicitur lupus et tunc incurabilis est ». This passage was also quoted by Luke Demaitre, who considered the printed edition of 1498; LUKE DEMAIRE, « Medieval Notions of Cancer: Malignancy and Metaphor », *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 72 (1998), p. 616.

³ Although in most texts *noli me tangere* refers to a localized affection of the face, there are some exceptions. The most significant one is the testimony of the physician Jean de Tournemire in the *inquisitio in partibus* of Peter of Luxembourg's canonisation process (Avignon, 1390). The physician appointed this expression to indicate his daughter's breast cancer. See DEMAIRE, « Medieval Notions of Cancer », p. 634–637, and ALESSANDRA FOSCATI, *Ignis sacer. Una storia culturale del 'fuoco sacro' dall'antichità al Settecento*, SISMELEdizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2013 (Micrologus' Library, 51), p. 86–87. Even in others non-medical sources, *noli me tangere* could indicate different kinds of diseases. The subject definitely deserves further study.

⁴ BRUNO DA LONGOBUCCO, *Cirurgia Magna*, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci [...]*, apud Iuntas, Venezia 1546, fol. 114rb: « Ego autem Brunus Longoburgensis de huiusmodi distinctione non presumo aliquid veritatis: quia non vidi vestigium eius in libro veterum omnino ». For a summary of the content of the most important surgeons' texts of the Middle Ages and a comparison among them, see MICHAEL MCVAUGH, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages*, SISMELEdizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2006 (Micrologus' Library, 15).

⁵ This passage dedicated to *lupus* seems to be lacking in Ruggero Frugardi's work. I consulted the edition of Ruggero's *Chirurgia* edited by KARL SUDHOFF, *Beiträge, zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter*, Verlag von Johann Ambrosius Barth, Leipzig 1918, vol. II, p. 156–236.

If, on the one hand, the use of a metaphor has always been usual in the choice of medical terminology since antiquity⁶ – the term cancer itself, mentioned above, is an example⁷ – it is easy to think that the nosographic term *lupus* largely owes its origin to the obsession which developed in the late antiquity and the early Middle Ages with respect to the anthropophagic character of the wolf. An obsession that, as noted by Gherardo Ortalli, does not emerge in the classical literature devoted to this animal.⁸

In the Middle Ages, *lupus*, as a nosographic term, was sometimes associated with cancer, but mainly with *esthiomenus* (or *herpes ethiomenus*), and in medical sources, it conveyed the notion of a severe ulcerative lesion, a gangrene, localized on the lower limbs. This meaning was maintained in the early modern period, as revealed, for example, in the *Epistola* written by the physician and humanist Giovanni Manardo (1462–1536), devoted to the names of diseases occurring in the visible parts of the body («Lupum appellant ulcus [...] quod [...] inferiores partes, praecipue autem crura, infestat, celerrime depascens, et quasi lupus famelicus proximas sibi carnes exedens») ⁹ or in the well-known *Lexicon medicum* of Stephanus Blancardus (1650–1702), in the various editions of this work: «Lupus est species cancri crura et tibias occupans».¹⁰

Despite the fact that most medieval and early modern sources have conveyed the concept of *lupus* as a disease referring exclusively to the lower limbs, from the thirteenth century onwards, the moment of the maximum diffusion of the nosographic term in medical treatises, some religious texts use *lupus* with a different meaning by assimilating it to *morbus regius*. The latter expression was considered in antiquity and in the Renaissance as a synonym for ‘jaundice’,¹¹ whereas in the Middle Ages, starting from about the thirteenth century, it was used to indicate the *scrophula* (‘swollen glands usually in the neck’), healed by the ‘touch’ of French and English kings, as is well known from the seminal study of

⁶ On this topic, see the recent article by STEFANIA FORTUNA, «Metafore e traduzioni latine medievali dei testi medici greci», in NICOLETTA PALMIERI (ed.), *Métaphores et images médicales d’Alexandrie à Salerne* (forthcoming). I thank the scholar for giving me the opportunity to read her article before publication. For the metaphor in medical Latin lexicon, see also SILVANO BOSCHERINI, «Parole e cose. Raccolte di scritti minori», in GUY SABBAH (ed.) *Le latin médical. La constitution d’un langage scientifique. Réalités et langage de la médecine dans le monde romain*, Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, Saint-Étienne 1991, p. 187–193.

⁷ See DEMAÎTRE, «Medieval Notions of Cancer», p. 622–623.

⁸ GHERARDO ORTALLI, *Lupi genti culture. Uomo e ambiente nel Medioevo*, Einaudi, Torino 1997, p. 68–83.

⁹ GIOVANNI MANARDO, *Epistola secunda lib.vii. Ad Michelem Sanctannam chirurgum de nominibus morborum in exterioribus corporis partibus evenientium*, in *Epistolarum Medicinalium Tomus Secundus*, Iohannes Baptista Phaelus, Bologna 1531, fol. 26r.

¹⁰ STEPHANUS BLANCARDUS, *Lexicon medicum graeco-latinum*, ex Officina Johannis Ten Hoorn, Amsterdam 1679 (s.v. *lupus*).

¹¹ See PEDRO CONDE PARRADO, MARÍA JESÚS PÉREZ IBÁÑEZ, «De Varrón a Quevedo: sobre los nombres latinos de la ictericia», *Faventia*, 22/2 (2000), p. 51–66.

Marc Bloch.¹² Moreover, in the late antiquity, *morbis regius* could indicate a much more serious disease, sometimes comparable to leprosy, as attested by various non-medical sources.¹³ Related to this, the meaning of *lupus* could also vary depending on the texts considered, whereas the definition of the term transmitted by most medieval and early modern period medical treatises, as well as glossaries, does not take into account this semantic complexity.

As a further complication, for reasons of lexical proximity, *lupus* could also be confused, at least in the early modern period, with *lupia*, a term of medieval origin indicating an excrescence, a subcutaneous swelling. Proof of this is a quotation included in Rodrigo de Castro Lusitano's work on gynaecology, written in the early seventeenth century, while the possibility of such a misunderstanding was highlighted for the first time in a statement of the renowned surgeon Jean Tagault, in his *De chirurgica institutione* first published in 1543. Later, the same statement was transcribed again at least in one of the Petrus van Foreest's books of *Observationes* published posthumously in 1610.¹⁴

Although not subject of the following article, it is also necessary to more deeply specify that *lupus* as a nosographic term still exists and is used to indicate various pathologies. The most common among them is the Systemic Lupus Erythematosus, an autoimmune disease, which is different from the medieval *lupus*.¹⁵

Given these premises, this article aims to present a study of the first appearance of the nosographic name *lupus* and an investigation into its exact meaning(s) and possible synonyms of the term in different sources, as well as an inquiry on the competition among these different disease names. The first part of the article will deal with the history of the term and its metaphorical origin, including an analysis

¹² MARC BLOCH, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, Istra, Paris 1924. There is evidence that the same power was attributed to King Alfonso of Portugal: see FERNANDO SALMÓN, MONTSERRAT CABRÉ, « Fascinating Women: The Evil Eye in Medical Scholasticism », in ROGER FRENCH, JON ARRIZABALAGA, ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, LUIS GARCÍA-BALLESTER (eds.), *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, Ashgate, Aldershot 1998, p. 76, fn. 57.

¹³ See FRANK BARLOW, « The King's Evil », *The English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), p. 4–27; ANNE FRAISSE, « *Morbis regius*: les vicissitudes de la 'maladie royale' depuis les textes médicaux jusqu'à la littérature chrétienne », in CLEMENTINE BERNARD-VALETTE, JEREMY DELMULLE, CAMILLE GERZAGUET (eds.), *Nihil veritas erubescit. Mélanges offerts à Paul Mattei par ses élèves, collègues et amis*, Brepols, Turnhout 2017, p. 763–777.

¹⁴ PETRUS VAN FOREEST, *Observationum et curationum chirurgicarum Libri quinque, de tumoribus praeter naturam*, III, VII, ex officina Plantiniana, Leiden 1610, p. 253.

¹⁵ See ELIZABETH E. COOPER, CATHERINE E. PISANO, SAMANTHA C. SHAPIRO, « Cutaneous Manifestations of 'Lupus': Systemic Lupus Erythematosus and Beyond », *International Journal of Rheumatology*, 2021 <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1155%2F2021%2F6610509>> (Accessed March 2022). Changes in the meaning of the term *lupus* and juxtapositions with other disease names emerged in the nineteenth century, leading to today's diseases. It is a subject that deserves to be better studied. For a brief excursus on the subject, see BRIAN POTTER, « The History of the Disease Called Lupus », *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Science*, 48 (1993), p. 80–90.

into the first legend explaining the metaphor. The second part will consider the sources in which *lupus* was associated with *morbis regius* and the possible variation in meaning that this entailed. The third will include an excursus on the modes and reasons for the confusion between *lupus* and *lupia*.

Different types of textual sources from the Middle Ages will be considered, in addition to a brief overview of some from the early modern period. The investigation of *lupus* will serve as a significant heuristic example in order to demonstrate the overall complexity of the nosologic lexicon of the past and the consequent difficulty of attributing a clear meaning to each term. Penetrating this complexity goes beyond the study of medical texts and their linguistic analysis: it requires an investigation of different kinds of sources and a comparison between texts of different content apparently unconnected as well.

I. Pars Prima

One of the first sources in which we encounter the term *lupus* as nosographic seems to be a letter from 1170 by Pierre de Blois, in which he tells of the death of Stephan du Perche, chancellor and archbishop of Palermo, in the Holy Land. The death was due to a fatal disease, *herpes esthiomenus*, which, as Pierre de Blois explains, was commonly called *lupus* (« vulgo lupus dicitur ») and had affected the archbishop's femur.¹⁶ The expression *herpes esthiomenus*, frequently used in the Middle Ages, derives from a transliteration from the Greek language,¹⁷ and the first occurrence in an original Latin text – other than a translation and adaptation from a Greek or Arabic source – seems to appear in the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus, in the eleventh century.¹⁸ As pointed out by Stefania Fortuna, *herpes esthiomenus* was

¹⁶ PIERRE DE BLOIS, « Ep. XCIII: Ad M. Willelmum Abbatem (A. D. 1170) », in JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, Paris 1844–1864, [hereinafter PL], vol. CCVII, col. 293: « cum enim herpes esthiomenus, qui vulgo lupus dicitur, femur eius enormiter occupasset, omnia in eo medicorum instrumenta frustrata sunt, tandemque in sancta Dei civitate inter brachia regis [...] spiritum exhalavit ». A brief reference to the letter is included in LUKE DEMAIRE, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe*, Praeger, Santa Barbara 2013, p. 92.

¹⁷ *Herpes esthiomenus* is the Latin transliteration of ἑρπης ἐσθιόμενος. For an analysis of the medical terms, from Greek to Latin, referring to ulcers that 'ate' the body's flesh, see FORTUNA, « Metafore e traduzioni latine ». See also MICHAEL McVAUGH, « Surface Meanings: The Identifications of Apostemes in Medieval Surgery », in WOUTER BRACKE, HERWIG DEUMENS (eds.) *Medical Latin from the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century*, Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België, Bruxelles 2000, p. 13–29.

¹⁸ This is the explanation given by GERRIT BOS, MICHAEL McVAUGH, JOSEPH SHATZMILLER, « Transmitting a Text through Three Languages: The Future History of Galen's *Peri Anomalou Dyskrasias* », *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 104/5 (2014), monographic number, p. 15, fn. 22. In particular in the footnote, it is explained that Eliza Glaze has identified the passage on *herpes esthiomenus* included in the *Passionarius* (quoted from the Lyon edition of 1526, fol. 74vb) also in

also used in translations of Galen's work from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187), in passages in which in the original Greek texts we find the term *φαγέδαινα*, less frequently used in the Middle Ages than *esthiomenus*, and which indicated the deepest ulcers, those that destroyed, literally 'ate', the patient's flesh.¹⁹ As specified by the scholar, it is significant that Stefano da Messina, in the thirteenth century, in his translation of the Galenic work *De Purgantium medicamentorum facultatibus*, chose to render *φαγέδαινα* with a metaphor instead, namely with the formula *dispositiones lupales*. And it was precisely in the thirteenth century that the term *lupus*, often compared to *herpes esthiomenus*, became common in medical and surgical works and in those of an encyclopedic nature.²⁰ Thus we read in Gilbertus Anglicus's treatise: « Lupus alio nomine herpes esthiomenus vocatur, id est se ipsum corrodens »;²¹ or in Teodorico de Borgognoni's work: « Herpes esthiomenus est apostema, et dicitur quasi se ipsum comedens: et alio nomine dicitur lupus ».²²

However, the association between the two terms was not always accepted. For

the anonymous *antiqua* Latin translation of Galen's *Ad Glauconem* transmitted by MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 160, fol. 69v: « herpes esthiomenus id est qui se comederit et in altum et late pascitur ». This would indicate Gariopontus' dependence on this text. However, we would like to point out that the manuscript is roughly contemporary with the *Passionarius*. It should also be noted that the *Alphita*, a Salernitan medical and botanical glossary, which refers to the lexicon of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, contains a definition of *yomenon* (« interpretatur seipsum comedens »). The term is a corruption of *esthiomenon*, and according to Alejandro García González it would refer to the work of Alexander of Tralle; *Alphita*, ed. ALEJANDRO GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2007 (Edizione Nazionale « La scuola medica Salernitana », 2), p. 317; p. 453). Many thanks to Iolanda Ventura who has brought this last source to my attention.

¹⁹ Regarding classical Latin, the term is included in the works of Pliny and Celsus. Pliny reports a cure for various ailments and for « ulceribus quae phagedaenica vocantur » (*Naturalis Historia*, XXIV, V, 9). Celsus on ulcers wrote: « Quae omnia saepe intenduntur fitque ex his ulcus, quod phagedainam Graeci vocant, quia celeriter serpendo penetrandoque usque ossa corpus vorat » (*De medicina*, V, 28, ed. FRIEDRICH MARX, Leipzig – Berlin 1915 [Corpus Medicorum Latinorum, 1], p. 273). As Stefania Fortuna points out (FORTUNA, « Metafore e traduzioni latine »), the Latin term *phagedaina* (or *fagedena*) was used by Burgundio da Pisa and Niccolò da Reggio, who translated Galen's texts directly from the Greek.

²⁰ BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS, *De rerum proprietatibus*, VII, apud Wolfgangum Richter, Frankfurt 1601, p. 346: « Inter ista autem corrosiva apostemata talis est ordo, quia noli me tangere cancrosum est apostema in facie et corrodit paulatim, sed minus aliis. Cancer vero magis, adhuc magis lupus, maxime vero erisipila ». Regarding the term *erysipelas* and its various meanings, see ALESSANDRA FOSCATI, « Un'analisi semantica del termine *erysipelas*. Le *Centuriae* di Amato Lusitano nella tradizione dei testi dall'Antichità al Rinascimento », in MIGUEL Á. GONZÁLEZ MANJARRÉS (ed.), *Praxi theorematum coniungamus. Amato Lusitano y la medicina de su tiempo*, Guillermo Escolar y Mayo Editor, Madrid 2019, p. 125–143.

²¹ GILBERTUS ANGLICUS, *Compendium medicine*, VII, impressum per Jacobum Saccon, Lyon 1510, fol. 332va.

²² TEODERICO DE BORGOGNONI, *Chirurgia*, III, IX, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci* (...), Apud Iuntas, Venezia 1546, fol. 161r.

the physician and surgeon Guy de Chauliac in fact *lupus* corresponded, just like in the aforementioned *Surgery* of Rolando, to cancer in order to distinguish it from *herpes esthiomenus*, of which he gives a fanciful etymology: « [Estiomenus] is in fact the death and destruction of the member – which is why it is called *estiomenus* as the enemy of man – with putrefaction and mollification, unlike *lupus* and cancer, which dissipate the member with corrosion and induration », ²³

This was, indeed, a subtle distinction and Guy emphasizes the metaphorical origin of the term *lupus*, which, he states, had a popular origin: « Many people reduce its harm and lupine rage [...] by applying chicken meat – and therefore people say it is called *lupus*, because it eats a chicken a day and, if it did not have [the chicken], it [the lupus disease] would eat the [sick] person ». ²⁴

For ordinary people, the way to fight the disease, that ‘ate’ the flesh of the sick person like the ferocious beast, was to feed it with chicken meat. Confirmation of the use of such a form of therapy, and to my knowledge the earliest evidence of this, comes from a hagiographic source, namely the account of the healing miracle in which the protagonist is the Bishop of Liège. The miracle is included in the twelfth-thirteenth century Pseudo-Hebernus’ collection of *miracula* attributed to the intercession of St Martin. ²⁵ Specifically, the miracle has the function of justifying the foundation of a confraternity – dedicated to St Martin in the city of Liège – which was founded by Eraclius (†971), although in the manuscripts that transmitted the account the name of the bishop is Ildricus, when it is specified. ²⁶ The collection of *miracula* was also translated into French in the fifteenth century

²³ GUY DE CHAULIAC, *Inventarium sive chirurgia magna*, II, I, 2, ed. MICHAEL McVAUGH, MARGARET S. OGDEN, Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, vol. I, p. 75: « [Estiomenus] Est enim mors et dissipatio membri, et propter hoc dicitur estiomenus quasi hominis hostis cum putrefactione et mollificatione, ad differentiam lupi et cancri que dissipant membrum cum corrosione et induratione ». In the chapter on ulcerated cancer (« De cancro ulcerato »), Guy makes a specific reference to Ruggero’s work, although it is the one by Rolando: « dicitur quod quidam fit in membris simplicibus, ut in carne, venis, nervis, et ossibus; quidam in compositis, ut in facie, qui communiter noli me tangere vocatur; in coxis, lupus; in medio corporis, cingulus, ut dixit Rogerius » (ibid., IV, I, 6, p. 224). See also the commentary by Michael Mc Vaugh in ibid., vol. II, p. 183.

²⁴ GUY DE CHAULIAC, *Inventarium*, IV, I, 6, vol. I, p. 226: « Multi vero mitigant eius fraudulenciam et lupacitatem [...] cum appositione carnum gallinarum – propter quod dicit populus quod ob hoc dicitur lupus, quia in die comedit unam gallinam et si eam non haberet comederet personam ».

²⁵ [BHL 5654]. See JOSEPH VAN DER STRAETEN, « Le recueil de miracles de S. Martin attribué à Heberne », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 95 (1977), p. 91–100; SHARON FARMER, *Communities of Saint Martin. Legend and Rituals in Medieval Tours*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca – London 1991, p. 268–277.

²⁶ The miracle account is transcribed in PL, vol. CXXIX, col. 1035–1036, although a more recent and correct edition can be read in JOSEPH VAN DER STRAETEN, *Les manuscrits Hagiographiques d’Orléans, Tours et Angers, Bruxelles*, Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles 1982 (Subsidia Hagiographica 64), p. 166.

and Ildius is the name given to the bishop.²⁷ The story tells of the bishop of Liège who, having his buttocks severely affected by the disease commonly called *lupus* (« qui lupus vulgo dicitur ») which raged consuming his flesh (*consumere*, *corrodere*, *devorare*, are the three verbs used to express the action of the disease), found no other relief, and no way to delay his death, than to place two plucked and eviscerated chicks on the affected part, twice a day. These were meant to stem the ‘lupine rage’ and thus prevent it from being unleashed on the bishop’s flesh. Incisively, the author of the French translation writes that of the four chicks only the bones were left each time (« Et des quatre ne demouroit que les os »). The bishop went to Tours to visit the remains of St Martin and then obtained the grace to be healed thanks to a vision of the saint, at night, together with St Britius. The morning after the vision, in fact, the two chicks that had been included in the bandage the night before were found to be still intact, while all that remained of the illness was a thin, reddish scar on the bishop’s buttock. The story can be read verbatim, without indication of the source, in the later work of Gilles d’Orval (†1251), the *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*, although the name of the bishop is Heraclius.²⁸ Gilles is very interested in demonstrating the truthfulness of the miracle, since it is the event that led to the foundation, by Heraclius, of the confraternity of thirty canons in his diocese of Liège, and to the construction of a church dedicated to Saint Martin, which, the author explains, would have illustrated the scene of the bishop’s healing on its walls.²⁹ Above all, in confirmation of the truthfulness of the miracle story, Gilles transcribes the content of a letter that would have been written by the same bishop (therefore from the tenth century), who recounts in the first person his disease, recovery and miracle. It is indeed the same account of Pseudo-Hebernus, albeit abbreviated, with the additional details of a time reference related to Heraclius’ life and the tale of a further vision of St Martin and St Britius, who both approved the confraternity.³⁰ It is rather plausible that the letter is an invention of Gilles himself,³¹ in order to confer an aura of sanctity to the confraternity, increased by the account of the second vision. In the past, Johannes Heller, the editor of the *Gesta* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, pointed out about its spurious character

²⁷ *La vie et miracles de monseigneur saint Martin, translatee de latin en francoys*, in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, VELINS-1159, fol. li.

²⁸ [BHL 5655] GILLES D’ORVAL, *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*, II, ed. JOHANNES HELLER, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. XXV, p. 54–55.

²⁹ GILLES D’ORVAL, *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*, p. 55: « in eadem ecclesia apud Leodium istud miraculum in muro depictum ».

³⁰ GILLES D’ORVAL, *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*, p. 55.

³¹ Regarding the way to consider ‘false’ documents of the Middle Ages, see GILES CONSTABLE, « Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages », *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 29 (1983), p. 1–41.

due to an inconsistency of the time reference.³² Regarding the bishop's disease, the description in the letter is more concise and the part referring to the treatment with chicken meat is missing. It should be noted that in the past, Du Cange also considered this letter to be the first occurrence of *lupus* as a nosographic term, thus dating its appearance to the tenth century.³³ Actually, according to today's known sources, the term should be dated no earlier than the end of the twelfth century.

The custom of feeding *lupus* must have persisted over time, spreading to different geographical areas. Not only it is attested, as we have seen, in Chauliac's *Chirurgia* (written in southern France in the second half of the fourteenth century), therefore after Gilles, but there is also a trace of it in the later polemical text, the *Speculum Cerretanorum*, written between 1484 and 1486 by Teseo Pini, episcopal vicar of the Italian city of Urbino. This work is part of a series of accounts widespread in Europe in the early modern period, describing and satirizing categories of false beggars.³⁴ What is important to emphasize here is how the author, within a taxonomy and description of false beggars, also includes the so-called *Acapones*, who simulated a serious leg injury, called *ignis beati Anthonii* (fire of blessed Anthony) or *lupae morbus*, by using herbs with ulcerative properties. Their name (*Acapones*) came from the fact that they asked for a capon to be placed on the injured leg every day so that the disease would not consume the person's body.³⁵ The reference to the fire of Blessed Anthony derives from the fact that the

³² GILLES D'ORVAL, *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*, p. 55, fn. 1. He states that the miracle took place in the second year after the return of Martin's remains to Tours, after they had been transferred to Auxerre. According to Johannes Heller, the remains returned to Tours in 887, several years before the beginning of Heraclius' bishopric.

³³ CHARLES DU CANGE *et al.*, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Favre, Niort 1883–1887, vol. V, col. 155b. It is expressed that the first source quoting *lupus* as a nosographic term is the *Charta foundationis Collegii Canoniorum S. Martini*, written in the year 963 by St Heraclius bishop of Liège and transcribed by Aubert le Mire (1573–1640). See AUBERT LE MIRE, *Opera diplomatica et Historica (editio secunda)*, vol. I, Typis Francisci Foppens, Bruxelles 1723, p. 653. Actually, it is the same text of the letter quoted by Gilles d'Orval. In fact, if Aubert le Mire indicated as his source the *Historia* of the theologian and historian of Liège JEAN CHAPEAUVILLE (1551–1617), *Historia sacra, prophana, nec non politica, tribus tomis comprehensa [...]*, vol. II, Apud Guillelmum Le Sage, Liège 1618, p. 194–195, this last author, in turn, copies openly the account from Gilles d'Orval's *Gesta episcoporum leodiensium*.

³⁴ There is an extensive bibliography on the subject, largely in FOSCATI, *Ignis sacer*, p. 167–174 and in the English translation of the volume: ALESSANDRA FOSCATI, *Saint Anthony's Fire from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2020 (Premodern Health, Disease, and Disability), p. 178–184.

³⁵ TESEO PINI, *Speculum Cerretanorum*, ed. PIERO CAMPORESI, in Id., *Il libro dei vagabondi. Lo « Speculum cerretanorum » di Teseo Pini, « Il vagabondo » di Rafaele Friano e altri testi di « furfanteria »*, Garzanti, Milano 2003, p. 206: « *Acapones*, a caponibus nominati, qui vitibus albis et cantilenis, aut aliis venenosis herbis crura sauciant sua, clamitantque ignem esse Beati Antonii, aut lupae morbum, cui ad resistendum, ne corpus conterat, oportere die qualibet superponere ».

expression *ignis beati (sancti) Anthonii* mostly indicated gangrene, of whatever aetiology.³⁶ In particular, *ignis sancti Anthonii* was synonymous with *herpes esthiomenus* in texts of various origins (not only medical) and therefore with *lupus*.³⁷ It should be noted that in Pini's text the name of the disease takes on the feminine gender, *lupa*, later vulgarised into « male della lupa » by Giacinto de Nobili (who used the pseudonym of Rafaele Frianoro), who translated Pini's *Speculum* into Italian in his work, first published in 1621, entitled *Il vagabondo ovvero sferza de' bianti e vagabondi*.³⁸

The use of the feminine seems to be characteristic of texts written in the Italian peninsula.³⁹ This can be detected, for example, in the *Chirurgia* (c. 1275) by Guglielmo da Saliceto, at least in several versions of the printed edition of this work. In fact, with regard to *herpes esthiomenus* Guglielmo wrote that, because of the kind of corrosion it caused in the patient's limbs and its wandering around, it was commonly called *lupa*: « appellatur a laycis ex modo sue corrosionis et deambulationis lupa sive erisipila ».⁴⁰ Other examples can be found in the accounts of miracles performed by the Franciscan Giovanni da Capistrano and recorded in the fifteenth century by Nicolao de Fara and Cristoforo da Varese. The latter wrote: « A widow, named Elisabeth, struck from the waist down by a certain incurable

³⁶ FOSCATI, *Saint Anthony's Fire*, p. 54–109. The origin of the expression *ignis sancti Anthonii* derives from what was commonly understood to be the thaumaturgical 'specialisation' of St Anthony Abbot, for historical and cult-related reasons impossible to summarise in this context.

³⁷ E.g., LANFRANCO DA MILANO: « Herpes esthiomenus interpretatur seipsum corrodens [...] hanc aegritudinem quidam vocant cancrum, quidam lupum, quidam ut in Francia malum nostrae dominae; quidam vero Lombardorum vocant ignem sancti Antonii » (*Chirurgia magna*, III, II, 2, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci [...]*, apud Iuntas, Venezia 1546, fol. 230r). Regarding the disease's names that referred to the names of saints and were associated with *herpes esthiomenus*, as well as their origins in relation to the cults of saints, I refer to FOSCATI, *Saint Anthony's Fire*, p. 54–123. These names include, in addition to the *ignis sancti Anthonii* and the *malum nostrae dominae* (« the evil of Our Lady ») mentioned above, also the *malum sancti Martialis* and the *malum (or ignis) sancti Laurentii*.

³⁸ RAFAELE FRIANORO, *Il vagabondo ovvero sferza de' bianti e vagabondi*, ed. PIERO CAMPORESI, in ID., *Il libro dei vagabondi*, p. 289–290: « (Degli Accapponi). Questi [...] in modo tale ulcerano le gambe, che apparisce abbiano il male detto fuoco di Sant'Antonio, ovvero male della lupa; il che se fosse vero, come dicono, col sovrapporvi un cappone morto si farebbe non mediocre resistenza al male, acciò non divorasse e consumasse le parti sane ».

³⁹ It is worth noting that at least one exception is found in a passage from the *Memoriale* of Guglielmo Ventura (c. 1250–c. 1320), who, on the death of Pope Clement V, wrote: « Clemens papa in Carpentrasio horribili morbo lupi mortuus est » (*Memoriale Guilelmi Venturae civis astensis de gestis civium Astensium et plurium aliorum*, ed. CELESTINO COMBETTI, in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae, Scriptores*, vol. III, Augustae Taurinorum, Torino 1848, col. 738).

⁴⁰ GUGLIELMO DA SALICETO, *Chirurgia*, I, 58, Iohannes Petrus de Ferratis, Piacenza 1476, pages unnumbered. The following editions were also consulted: Venezia 1490, and Venezia 1546. It is worth noting that the feminine gender is also maintained in the first vernacular printed edition in Venezia 1474, in which the disease is called *lova*. See MARIA L. ALTIERI BIAGI, *Guglielmo volgare. Studio sul lessico della medicina medioevale*, Forni Editore, Bologna 1970, p. 91.

sore, called *lupa*, was all corroded by that same sore and stank so badly that no one could approach her ».⁴¹

Considering the testimony of Nicolao de Fara, we also discover that sometimes the animal of reference, in the construction of the metaphor of the disease, could also be the dog. Thus we read in a passage in which the author lists the type of miracles performed by the saint: « Neque tacebimus filium Nicolai Kadasi de Vuilak, ab aegritudine, quam dicunt lupam, seu canem liberatum », ⁴² More generally, thanks to these miracle accounts we learn that the *lupa* was not always considered as a disease of the legs. In fact, Nicolao mentions the illness of a man having « magnam lupae plagam in ore ».⁴³

II. Pars Secunda

In the thirteenth century, the French theologian Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263) wrote, in his Bible commentary on the book of Isaiah, that the fatal disease that had struck Judah's king Hezekiah corresponded to *morbus regius*, also called *lupus*, since it consumed the flesh of the sick person.⁴⁴ Another reference to the book of Isaiah and the king's illness, by the same theologian, can be read in the commentary on *Liber IV Regum*. In this case, the question arises whether the king's recovery, which occurred after the application of figs to the diseased part of the body, as recommended by Isaiah, was really miraculous or due to the benefits of the therapy. In fact, it is explained, depending on the type of disease the king was suffering from – the diagnosis is therefore not established – figs might or might not be suitable. They were not suitable in the case of *morbus regius* or *lupus*:

Some believe it was an *apostema*, which is called ulcer whose pus is drawn to the surface of the skin by dried figs crushed and placed on top of the ulcer. But Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotius say it was the *morbus regius*, which is called *lupus*, to which all sweet things taken as drink, or food, or applied to the body are contrary.

⁴¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., X, p. 543C: « Mulier quaedam vidua, Elisabeth nomine [...] tacta quadam plaga insanabili, lupa nuncupata, a cingulo infra in parte inferiori, tota erat ab ipsa plaga consumpta, foetebatque nimium, nec aliquis ei appropinquare poterat ».

⁴² *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., X, p. 476D.

⁴³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., X, p. 477B.

⁴⁴ HUGUES DE SAINT-CHER, *Liber Isaiae*, XXXVIII, in *Opus admirabile, omnibus concionatoribus ac Sacrae Theologiae professoribus pernecessarium*, Sumptibus Iohannis Antonii Huguetan, Lyon 1669, vol. IV, fol. 83r: « A ulceribus propter ingratitude percussit eum Dominus usque ad mortem, quia morbo regio laborat, qui dicitur lupus carnes consumens. Unde secundum naturam erat aegritudo lethalis ».

If this was the case, it was a miraculous healing, because health was restored by things that were contrary.⁴⁵

Hugues de Saint-Cher's commentary on the passage from Isaiah has a precedent in that of Jerome, who reports a similar diagnostic and therapeutic doubt:

The Hebrews say that the word SIIN, omitted by the Septuagint, means ulcer and not wound. Indeed Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotius translated it ἔλκος, a word by which they wanted to indicate the *morbus regius* to which any sweet things taken as food, or applied to the body, are believed to be contrary. Consequently, for God's power to show itself, health was restored through harmful and contrary things. Others suppose that SIIN was not an ulcer, but an *apostema* [...] and according to the art of physicians all pus is drawn to the surface by crushed dried figs.⁴⁶

We note, however, that Jerome does not use the term *lupus* to define the king's disease, which according to him referred by the Hebrews as *siin*, would then also be identified as ἔλκος (sore, ulcer), a synonym of *morbus regius*. It is conceivable that Jerome does not associate *morbus regius* with *lupus*, which, as a nosographic term, must not have been in use in his time. Later, Thomas Aquinas, probably following the French theologian, associated the two names in his description of the biblical king's illness in his *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram*.⁴⁷ It is therefore necessary to dwell on the expression *morbus regius* and its polysemy in order to interpret the meaning attributed to *lupus* in the two thirteenth-century commentaries on the Bible.

⁴⁵ HUGUES DE SAINT-CHER, *Liber IV Regum*, XX, *Opus admirabile, omnibus concionatoribus ac Sacrae Theologiae Professoribus pernecessarium*, Sumptibus Iohannis Antonii Huguetae, Lyon 1669, vol. I, fol. 303r: « Quidam putant fuisse apostema, quod dicitur ulcus, cuius sanies in cutis superficiem provocatur siccioribus ficibus contusis et appositis supra ulcus. Sed Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotius dicunt fuisse morbum regium, qui dicitur lupus, cui quaeque dulcia sumpta in potu, vel cibo, vel apposita corpori, contraria sunt. Quod si fuit, miraculosa fuit curatio, quia per contrarias res sanitas restituta est ».

⁴⁶ JEROME, *Commentariorum in Isaiam*, 11, 38,21.22, ed. MARC ADRIAEN, Brepols, Turnhout 1963 (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, 73), p. 450: « Aiunt Hebraei verbum siin, quod praetermisere LXX, ulcus sonare, non vulnus. Nam et Aquila Symmachusque et Theodotius ἔλκος interpretati sunt, per quod morbum regium intellegi volunt, cui contraria putantur, vel sumpta in cibo, vel apposita corpori quaecumque sunt dulcia. Ergo ut Dei potencia monstraretur, per res noxias et adversas sanitas restituta est. Alii siin non ulcus, sed apostema suspicantur [...]. Et iuxta artem medicorum, omnis sanies siccioribus ficis atque contusis, in cutis superficiem provocatur ». Regarding this passage see FRAISSE, « *Morbus regius* », p. 776.

⁴⁷ THOMAS AQUINAS, *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram*, 38, 175–180, in *Opera Omnia, iussu impensaque Leonis XIII. P. M. edita*, vol. XXVIII, Editori di san Tommaso, Rome 1974, p. 165: « dicunt enim quod laborabat morbo regio, qui dicitur lupus, cui nocent ficus et omnia dulcia, ut curatio tota divine potentie attribuetur. Alii dicunt quod erat apostema, quod est ex humoribus intus collectis nondum carne scissa, ad cuius maturationem ficus prosunt ».

Classically, *morbus regius* meant jaundice (*ἰκτερος* in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and in Galen's texts) in the same way as other expressions such as *aurigo* and *morbus arquatus*.⁴⁸ In Celsus we find the explanation of the use of *morbus regius*, for the fact that it is cured by « a specially good bed and room, also dicing, jesting, play-acting and jollification, whereby the mind may be exhilarated ». ⁴⁹ This concept was then transferred to the Middle Ages, thanks also to the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville: « Regium autem morbum inde aestimant dictum, quod vino bono et regalibus cibus facilius curetur ». ⁵⁰ Later, at least from thirteenth century onwards, as we learned from the seminal study by Marc Bloch, in medical texts the expression *morbus regius* began to refer to the disease cured by the French and English kings' touch, the *scrophula*, and one of the first authors to write about it was the physician Gilbertus Anglicus. ⁵¹ An eloquent statement can be found at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the *practica* of the physician Bernard de Gordon: « kings have been accustomed to cure [the *scrophula*] only by touch, and chiefly the King of the French, wherefore it is called *morbus regius* ». ⁵²

There is therefore a semantic change, also testified by sources other than medical ones, ⁵³ although in the early modern period, the correspondence between *morbus regius* and *scrophula* disappeared from the lexic. Evidence of this can be found in the *Lexicon* of Blancardus and, even earlier, in the above-mentioned letter

⁴⁸ For a comprehensive and well-documented summary of this lexical issue, see CONDE PARRADO, PÉREZ IBÁÑEZ, « De Varrón a Quevedo ».

⁴⁹ CELSUS, *De Medicina*, III, 24, ed. FRIEDRICH MARX, Leipzig and Berlin 1915 (*Corpus Medicorum Latinorum* 1), p. 141. English translation by WALTER G. SPENCER; CELSUS, *On medicine*, transl. WALTER G. SPENCER, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1971 (Republication of the 1935 edition), p. 343.

⁵⁰ ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymologiae*, IV, VIII, 13. As pointed out by CONDE PARRADO and PÉREZ IBÁÑEZ (« De Varrón a Quevedo », p. 55–58), the calque *icteros/icterus*, *-i* is not documented before the fourth-fifth century, although later, together with *ictericia*, it became the term most commonly used in the Middle Ages.

⁵¹ GILBERTUS ANGLICUS, *Compendium medicine*, IV, fol. 174va: « et vocantur scrophule [...] et etiam morbus regius quia reges hunc morbum curat ».

⁵² BERNARD DE GORDON, *Opus, Lilium medicinae*, I, II, Guillaume Rouillé, Lyon 1559, p. 84–85: « reges consueverunt curare [scrophulam] solo tactu, potissime serenissimus Rex Francorum, et ideo morbus regius appellatur ».

⁵³ For example, in a passage of the account of one of the miracles that took place thanks to the intercession of Saint Fiacre, in the city of Dijon, and written between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries [BHL 2919], we read: « In parochia beatae Mariae de Divione filia Bartholomaei custurarii habebat in collo scrophulas gravissimas quae infirmitas vocatur malum regis » (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., VI, p. 618D).

of Giovanni Manardo:⁵⁴ *morbus regius* was again used mainly as a synonym for jaundice.⁵⁵

Returning to the Middle Ages, Du Cange's glossary reveals a further meaning of the expression, namely that of a disease similar to leprosy (if not leprosy itself), in relation to brief passages extrapolated from the works of certain late antique and early medieval authors, such as Rufinus and Pope Zacharias. With reference to the latter, for example, Du Cange's glossary mentions a letter he wrote to Bishop Boniface in which he tells of a very serious disease that could affect both horses and people, who were forced to live « *extra civitatem* ». ⁵⁶ Anne Fraisse's recent study has demonstrated that in various of Jerome's letters, *morbus regius* could very probably mean leprosy, given the description of a disease that, like leprosy, led to the corruption, even putrefaction, of the flesh of the entire body of the person affected. ⁵⁷ However, a similar juxtaposition was previously made by Ernest Wickersheimer and Frank Barlow, who referred to other significant sources such as an anathema composed in 988 against those who dared to oppose a donation in favour of the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres, and some passages from the chronicle *De gestis pontificum Anglorum* written in the twelfth century by William of Malmesbury. ⁵⁸ The anathema included a series of misfortunes that would befall the offender, among which damnation in hell with the flesh of the body eternally devoured by worms, and, even earlier in life on earth, blindness and *morbus regius*. ⁵⁹ Given the content of the text, this is certainly a much more serious disorder than jaundice and well known to the entire community, since the purpose of the curse contained in the anathema was to generate fear. ⁶⁰ For his part, William of Malmesbury tells for example about the bishop Hugh of Orival, who, a few years

⁵⁴ GIOVANNI MANARDO, *Epistola secunda*, fol. 22r.

⁵⁵ CONDE PARRADO and PÉREZ IBAÑEZ (« De Varrón a Quevedo », p. 59) have pointed out that in the Renaissance translations of the *Aphorisms* IV, 62 and V, 72 of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, the expression *morbus regius* is more often used by the translators instead of *icterus*.

⁵⁶ See Ep. XIII (*Zachariae papae ad Bonifacium Archiepiscopum*), PL, vol. LXXXIX, col. 951.

⁵⁷ FRAISSE, « *Morbus regius* », p. 772–777.

⁵⁸ ERNEST WICKERSHEIMER, « *Morbus Hispanicus*, un mal prétendu Espagnol au XIIIe siècle », Actas del XV Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Medicina (Madrid – Alcalá, 22–29 Sept. 1956), Instituto Arnaldo de Vilanova de Historia de la Medicina, Madrid 1958, vol. I, p. 374, fn. 16; BARLOW, « The King's Evil », p. 5–7. See also IRVEN M. RESNICK, *Marks of Distinction. Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 2012, p. 96–98.

⁵⁹ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. BENJAMIN GUÉRARD, De l'imprimerie de Crapelet, Paris 1840, vol. I, p. 85: « Si quis vero contra hanc donationis cartulam insurgere aut ei calumniam inferre voluerit, regio morbo percussus, luminum cecitate multatus, et praesentem vitam miserrimo exitu celerrime finiat, et sempiternam dampnationem cum Zabulo subeat, ubi, igneis constrictus catenis, aeternaliter ingemiscat, vermis quoque nunquam moriens ipsius carnes conrodat et ignis qui nescit extingui pabulum et esca perhenniter existat ».

⁶⁰ On the constant use of curses in documents drawn up within monasteries, see LESTER K. LITTLE, *Benedictine Maledictions. Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca – London 1993.

after his episcopal ordination, was struck down by the disease named *regia valetudo* due to which his body was covered by purulent ulcers. Since no valid remedy was found for the illness, the author writes that the bishop lived as a leper (« et nullum invenit remedium, quoad vixit leprosus »).⁶¹

We could bring other examples from various sources:⁶² it is clear, however, that from late antiquity onwards, *morbis regius* assumed a different meaning from *icterus*, namely a much more serious disease manifesting itself with ulcers and pustules. It is the same disease that, according to the commentators of the Bible, had struck King Hezekiah and that in the eyes of Hugues de Saint-Cher also corresponded to *lupus*. Although it has not been possible for me to trace the source that may have inspired Hugues de Saint-Cher, I would like to point out that a similar association was considered, in the same period and in the north of France, in another religious text, the *Liber de miraculis sanctorum Savigniacensium* (mid-thirteenth century), which relates the accounts of post mortem miracles of five monks at the Norman abbey of Savigny (incorporated into the Order of Cîteaux in 1147) who died with a saintly reputation.⁶³ The *Liber* contains two stories of interest. The first one tells of a man who, in the back part of his neck, had nine hideous-looking holes which let the breathed air out.⁶⁴ Visited by several people – in accordance with the fact that, in the Middle Ages, illness was always a collective event and inside the restricted community of the sick person, the individuals felt entitled to pronounce on the diagnosis and, possibly, the treatment⁶⁵ – the man received some opinions on the nature of his illness. For some it was *morbis sancti eligij* or *ignis sancti laurentij*, while for others the disease « erat morbus regius id est lupus ». ⁶⁶ The second account concerns a woman whose foot was so inflamed following a wound that surgeons advised her to have it amputated. Once again,

⁶¹ WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, II, PL, vol. CLXXIX, col. 1516. Another reference to the *morbis regius* in this source is detectable in *ibid*, col. 1675.

⁶² Also on a metaphorical level, the *morbis regius* was similar to leprosy: the one affecting the soul. See HONORIUS D'AUTUN, *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, IV, PL, vol. CLXXII, col. 425: « regius morbus, id est lepra animae ».

⁶³ ALESSANDRA FOSCATI, « Malattia, medicina e tecniche di guarigione: il *Liber de miraculis sanctorum Savigniacensium* », *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 14/2 (2013), p. 59–88.

⁶⁴ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 217, fol. 37: « Guillelmus Mansel [...] habebat enim in collo a posteriori parte morbum aspectu horribilem. Ubi apparebant novem foramina ita quod etiam per ea videbatur hanelitus exire ».

⁶⁵ On the subject regarding the relationships among patients, community and healers in the context of hagiographic texts, see ALESSANDRA FOSCATI, « Il ruolo del guaritore profano nell'identificazione del miracolo. I processi di canonizzazione tra XIII e XVI secolo (Italia e Francia) », in LAURA ANDREANI, AGOSTINO PARAVICINI BAGLIANI (eds.), *Miracolo! Emozione, spettacolo e potere nella storia dei secoli XIII–XVI*, SISMEL–Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2019, p. 207–224.

⁶⁶ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 217, fol. 37.

various names for the disease were suggested such as *morbus hispanicus* and « *lupus id est morbus regius* ». ⁶⁷

Leaving aside the names derived from St. Lawrence and St. Eligius' thaumaturgical 'specialization', and the unusual expression *morbus hispanicus* which, as far as I know, is not mentioned in other documentary sources of the Middle Ages – the term was only reconsidered in the sixteenth century as one of the many names used to define syphilis⁶⁸ – we observe that for the author of the *Liber*, the terms *morbus regius* and *lupus*, as synonyms, always indicated ulcers or gangrene regardless of the part of the body affected.⁶⁹

One last annotation: in the treatise *De aegritudinum curatione*, transcribed by Salvatore de Renzi from the so-called Breslauer Codex (twelfth-thirteenth century), now lost, a recipe is transcribed « *Ad malum mortuum qui lupus vocatur* ». ⁷⁰ According to the opinion of Monica Green, thanks to a paleographical analysis on a few pages that were photographed before the destruction, the manuscript may have been written in the north of France.⁷¹ *Malum mortuum*, a disease constantly described in medical texts, especially in the *practicae* (without being associated with *lupus*), referred to a set of pustules and scabs always originating from melancholia: a disease whose clinical manifestation did not differ too much from that of *morbus regius* as described in the religious sources.

⁶⁷ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 217, fol. 39–40: « *De muliere curata a morbo hispanico. Uxor Guillelmi Tardif [...] casu calcans super quoddam ferramentum acutum vulnerata est graviter in pede sed in brevi prout ei videbatur sanata est. Processu vero temporis pes intumuit, humores ibi accurrerunt, egritudo periculosa insilijt, mulier dolore intolerabili cruciatur. Quidam dicebant quod hic erat morbus qui dicitur vulgo porfil, alij antrax, alij lupus, id est morbus regius. Consuluit cerurgianos qui dixerunt quod oportebat pedem uri et secari vel omnino abscindi* ».

⁶⁸ On these thaumaturgical 'specializations' and on the *morbus hispanicus*, see FOSCATI, « *Malattia, medicina e tecniche di guarigione* », p. 68–81.

⁶⁹ As a matter of interest, the link between *morbus regius* and *lupus* tends to persist over time. In a sermon of the Franciscan preacher Michel Menot (†1518), *lupus* and gout, considered as *morbi regii*, are said to have originated from the consumption of rich food: « *Et propter crapulam multi perierunt [...]. Cibos regios sequuntur morbi regij ut lupus et gutta qui non libenter quiescunt in hominibus parcis et laboriosis* » (*Sermones Quadragesimales reverendi patris F. Michaelis Menoti*, Ex officina Claudii Chevallonii, Paris 1526, fol. 185vb).

⁷⁰ It is the MS Wrocław (Breslau), Stadtbibliothek 1302, whose content is transcribed in SALVATORE DE RENZI, *Collectio Salernitana*, II, Dalla Tipografia del Filiale Sebezio, Napoli 1853, p. 81–385 (p. 369).

⁷¹ MONICA GREEN, « Rethinking the Manuscript Basis on Salvatore de Renzi's *Collectio Salernitana*: The Corpus of Medical Writings in the Long Twelfth Century », in DANIELLE JACQUART, AGOSTINO PARAVICINI BAGLIANI (eds.), *La Collectio Salernitana di Salvatore de Renzi*, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2008 (Edizione Nazionale « La scuola medica Salernitana », 3), p. 32–33.

III. Pars Tertia

In surgical texts, as well as in the *practicae*, the term *lupia* appears frequently and entered the technical language of medicine in the Middle Ages. An early attestation can be found in the glossary *Alphita*, where *lupia* is indicated as the most common expression for *steatema*, a collection of fat: « Stear interpretatur adeps; inde steatema, scilicet apostema multum humorem continens adinstar adipis, vulgari nostro dicitur lupia ». ⁷² Generally, the *lupia* was classified as an *apostema* of the phlegmatic type, to which the *glandula* and *scrophula* also belonged and from which it had to be distinguished. ⁷³

Lupia was also a term known in non-medical contexts, as we can read for example in testimonies collected at the 1318 *inquisitio in partibus*, in Barcelona, transcribed in the dossier of Raimundo de Penyafort's canonisation process. ⁷⁴ Later on, Guy de Chauliac, in order to better describe the *lupia*, referred to the vegetable kingdom through a comparison that seems to be almost his own explanation of the origin of the term itself: « *Lupia*, like *lupulus* plant, soft, round, originates in joints and dry places ». ⁷⁵

Although the terms *lupia* and *lupus* indicated two totally different diseases, it is not difficult to imagine that, given their similarity, they could be confused, especially since, as we have seen, the lemma *lupa* sometimes came into account.

It is in *De universa mulierum medicina*, an early seventeenth-century work by the physician Rodrigo de Castro Lusitano, that we find an example of the association, and perhaps confusion, between *lupus* and *lupia*. In describing the cancer, specifically the one of the uterus, Castro, in accordance with the surgical sources of the Middle Ages and the early modern period, explains the reason why it was also called *lupus*: it was due to the fact that it devoured bird meat when placed on the diseased part (« Quidam scribunt lupum etiam vocari, quia carnes avium si illi apponatur absumit »). Surprisingly, however, he adds immediately afterwards: « I

⁷² *Alphita*, ed. GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ, p. 136. On *steatema*, from Greek *στεάτωμα*, see García González's comment at p. 549. See also VICTORIA RECIO MUÑOZ, « La inflamació », in ANA ISABEL MARTÍN FERREIRA (ed.), *Medicina y filología: estudios de léxico médico en la edad media*, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Porto 2010, p. 215–216.

⁷³ BERNARD DE GORDON, for instance, explains: « Lupiae sunt quaedam quae generantur in palpebris, et in aliis partibus corporis, de materia phlegmatica et differunt a scrophis et glandulis » (*Opus, Lilium medicinae*, I, 20, p. 82).

⁷⁴ *San Raimundo de Peñafort. Diplomatario. Documentos, Vida antigua, Crónicas, Procesos antiguos*, ed. JOSÉ RIUS SERRA, Universidad de Barcelona, Barcelona 1954, p. 256: « Dominicus Arnaldus [...] habuit [...] in manu dextera, in iunctura, quae est inter manum et brachium, quandam lupiam grossitudinis unius grossioris amygdalae ».

⁷⁵ GUY DE CHAULIAC, *Inventarium sive chirurgia magna*, II, 1, 4, vol. I, p. 88: « Lupia sicut lupulus, mollis, rotunda, in iuncturis et locis siccis suam parit nativitatem ».

find that *lupus* and *lupia* are preferably called *scyrri* by the surgeons of Spain, in the vernacular language *lobillos* or *lovanillos* ».⁷⁶

If Castro's description of *lupus* was borrowed practically verbatim from the text of gynecology by the Spaniard Luis Mercado (*De mulierum affectionibus*), one of Castro's main sources, the confusion between *lupus* and *lupia* is entirely original.⁷⁷

The confusion is even more surprising since one of Castro's sources is also the work of the surgeon Jean Tagault. Tagault, indeed, in the chapter on tumours *praeter naturam* of his *De chirurgica institutione*, pointed out that those who believed that *lupia* was the equivalent of the disease called *lupus* by medieval physicians, were seriously mistaken: « Nevertheless, those who consider *lupia* in the same way as the disease that the *recentiores* call *lupus* are gravely mistaken ».⁷⁸

Tagault borrows the definition of *lupia* from Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia*, also taking up the original comparison with the *lupulus* plant: « Lupia (inquit Guido) veluti lupulus, mollis, rotunda, in loci duris et siccis suam sedem praecipue deligit, ut in palpebris et locis nervosis ».⁷⁹ In addition, Tagault specifies that in the French language, *lupia* was commonly called *loupe* (« vulgus gallicum vocat *une loupe* »). *Lupus*, on the other hand, the French surgeon explains, was a malignant ulcer, which affected the lower parts of the body and, like a ravenous wolf, from which

⁷⁶ RODRIGO DE CASTRO LUSITANO, *De universa mulierum medicina*, pars II, liber II, sectio III, cap. 24, Cum Gratia et Privilegio Caesarea Majestatis, Köln 1603, p. 191: « Ego potius lupum ac lupiam apud Chirurgos Hispaniae vocitari comperio scyrrihos vernacula lingua *lobillos*, sive *lovanillos* ». See RECIO MUÑOZ, « La inflamación », p. 216.

⁷⁷ LUIS MERCADO, *De mulierum affectionibus, libri quatuor*, apud thomam Iuntam, Madrid 1594, vol. II, p. 291. Among the gynecological texts which are directly sources of Castro, the term *lupia* seems to be present only in the 1586 Latin translation by Caspar Bauhin of the text, originally written in French in 1581, by François Rousset and referring to the caesarean section on a living woman (CASPAR BAUHIN, *Franc. Rousseti [...] De partu caesareo tractatus*, I, III, in *Gynaeciorum sive De mulierum affectibus commentarii [...]*, II, apud Conradum Vualdkirch, Basel 1586, p. 503). *Lupiae*, together with *scirrhi* and *apostemata*, are considered causes of the uterus narrowing and therefore impediments to the exit of the foetus. The *lupia* in Caspar Bauhin's text translates the word *louppe* from the original French version: FRANÇOIS ROUSSET, *Traitté nouveau de l'hysterotomotokie ou enfantement caesarien*, chez Denys du Val, Paris 1581, p. 10. This subject is explored by ALESSANDRA FOSCATI, « *Ignis sancti Anthonii* e *lupus* come malattie ginecologiche? Uno sguardo sull'originalità del lessico della malattia nel *De universa mulierum medicina* di Rodrigo de Castro Lusitano », in CRISTINA PINHEIRO, GABRIEL F. SILVA, RUI C. FONSECA, BERNARDO MOTA, JOAQUIM PINHEIRO (eds.), *Gynecia: Studies on Gynaecology in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern texts*, Edições Afrontamento, Lisboa (forthcoming).

⁷⁸ JEAN TAGAULT, *De chirurgica institutione libri quinque*, I, XIII, apud Christianum Wechelum, Paris 1543, p. 87: « Verum magno errore tenentur, qui eiusmodi lupiam eandem faciunt cum affectu, quem recentiores lupum appellant ».

⁷⁹ TAGAULT, *De chirurgica institutione libri quinque*, p. 86.

it took its name, quickly devoured the immediately surrounding flesh of the sick person.⁸⁰

The French expression *loupe* seems to have been attested, in the medical field, only in the early modern period.⁸¹ In the Middle Ages, in fact, at least in the French translation of Bernard de Gordon's *Lilium medicine*, *lupia* was rendered by the term *lupin*,⁸² the same used to indicate the *lupinus* plant,⁸³ the latter to be distinguished, however, from the *lupulus* plant.⁸⁴ At the same time, skin formations such as furuncles could also be given the Latin name of *lupinus*, probably due to an association based on the appearance, as attested to in a collection of recipes written in Provençal and Latin in the thirteenth century, in which a remedy is prescribed: « Ad forunculum vel lupinum sanare ».⁸⁵

Therefore, orientation was not an easy task among such similar Latin and vernacular lemmas, etymologically derived from *lupus*. The posthumous French translation of Tagault's work is also partly proof of this, since *lupulus* is translated literally as « petit loup » (« Lupia (dit Guido) est comme ung petit loup et est molle et ronde »)⁸⁶ despite the fact that the adjectives 'soft' and 'round' are ill-suited in describing a 'small wolf' rather than the fruit of the *lupulus* plant.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ TAGAULT, *De chirurgica institutione libri quinque*, p. 87: « crura infestans, celerrime depascens, et quasi lupus (a quo nomen accepisse videtur) famelicus, proximas sibi carnes exedens: quod vitium dubio procul de genere est phagedaenarum ». Incidentally, we note that Tagault, at a time when there was a wide availability of translations of Galenic works directly from Greek, prefers to associate *lupus* with *phagedaena*, a term, as specified, less used in the Middle Ages, instead of *esthiomenus*.

⁸¹ The FEW (*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*) dates it from 1549, appearing in the work of Ambroise Paré. In the same lexicon it is specified that the lemma was previously attested outside the medical area and at least from 1328 to indicate a « pierre précieuse imparfaite dont la transparence n'est pas entire ».

⁸² E.g., *Lys de médecine*, in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1327 (1401–1500), fol. 24v: « Le XIX chapitre est de verrues et des porrez et acrocordibus (sic) et lupins »; *La fleur de chirurgie*, Paris 1504: « Lupins ce sont neux qui viennent es paupieres et es aultres parties du corps de matiere fleumatique » (pages unnumbered).

⁸³ See the term in DMF2020: <<http://zeus.atilf.fr/dmf/>> (Accessed March 2022) and in CHrOMed: <<https://cormedlex.arts.kuleuven.be/lupin>> (Accessed March 2022).

⁸⁴ On the origins of the lemmas identifying these two plants, see the extensive explanatory footnotes by Iolanda Ventura in Ps. BARTHOLOMAEUS MINI DE SENIS, *Tractatus de herbis* (Ms London, British Library, Egerton 747), ed. IOLANDA VENTURA, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2009 (Edizione Nazionale « La scuola medica Salernitana », 5), p. 520–521: p. 536.

⁸⁵ MS Cambridge, Trinity College, R 14. 30 in CLAUDE BRUNEL, « Recettes médicales du XIII^e s. en langue de Provence », *Romania*, 83 (1962), p. 145–182.

⁸⁶ *Les institutions chirurgiques de Jean Tagault [...] Nouvellement traduites de Latin en Francoys par ung scavant Medecin*, chez Guillaume Rouille, Lyon 1549, p. 149.

⁸⁷ As a matter of interest, it is worth noting that Laurent Joubert, who translated Guy de Chauliac's work into French in 1578, used the term *houblon* to translate *lupulus* (LAURENT JOUBERT, *La Grande Chirurgie de M. Guy de Chauliac*, E. Michel Imprimeur, Lyon 1579, p. 131). According to the FEW, this

Going back to Castro's sentence (« Ego potius lupum ac lupiam apud Chirurgos Hispaniae vocitari comperio scyrrhos vernacula lingua *lobillos*, sive *lovanillos* »), we have to clarify that the *schirrus*, transliterated from the Greek, normally indicated an *apostema* of solid consistency,⁸⁸ while with regard to the Spanish terms, the *lobillo*, diminutive of the word wolf, does not seem to be attested in medical sources as a nosographic term, unlike the *lobanillo*, which from the fifteenth century was used to indicate a subcutaneous excrescence, namely the *lupia*.⁸⁹ Paradoxically, the Lusitanian physician, while describing the *lupus* of the medieval sources, including the origin of the name by metaphor, associates it with a series of nosographic terms, in Latin and in the vernacular, which usually indicated other kinds of diseases.⁹⁰

IV. Conclusions

The history of the nosographic term *lupus* is representative of the difficulty for historians to attribute a precise meaning to each disease name of the past. Sources of the Middle Ages – the period of origin of the *lupus* disease – reveal nuances in the meaning of the term which are detectable in non-medical sources. In fact, as we have seen, in both medieval and early modern medical and surgical texts, as well as in the best-known lexica such as that of Blancardus, *lupus* indicated a serious ulcerative lesion, a gangrene, strictly localized in the lower limbs. On the other hand, by reading miracle tales, we learn how *lupus* could indicate a disease also located in other parts of the body. Moreover, its meaning is sometimes complicated by its association with *morbis regius*, a polysemic expression whose wealth of meanings is not detectable in medical treatises, as we have seen. However, all the sources converge in classifying *lupus* as a disease that corroded, more precisely ate inexorably the sick person's flesh. It was properly by this action that its name was derived, due to a metaphor that, although derived from a

lemma would be attested from the middle of the sixteenth century. In an earlier translation of the same text, the one included in the MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 24249 (1401–1500), we read instead: « Lupie est ainsi comme lupulus molle rounde et est engendre le plus des fois es jointures et en lieux sects » (fol. 46rb).

⁸⁸ See RECIO MUÑOZ, « La inflamación » p. 216.

⁸⁹ See *Diccionario Español de Textos Médicos Antiguos* (DETEMA), ed. MARÍA TERESA HERRERA, ARCO LIBROS, Madrid 1996, vol. II, s.vv. *lobanillo*, *lobo* and *lupia*. DETEMA records the term *lobo* as a translation of *lupus* but not the term *lobillo*. On the other hand, the diminutive *lobino* is found, but with the same meaning as *lobanillo*. I would like to thank Victoria Recio Muñoz for providing me with the pages of the DETEMA and for the clarifications on the Spanish language.

⁹⁰ Even DETEMA, s.v. *lupia*, quotes a passage from the vulgarization of Teodorico de Borgognoni's *Chirurgia*, in MS San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Escorial h III, 17 (fifteenth century), in which *lupus* and *lupia* seem to be confused: « de los nudos et lupus que se fazen en la coberturas de los ojos et de los nudos uno nasce en las pestañas de los ojos que se llama en vulgar lupia ».

‘popular’ context, as declared by Guy de Chauliac, was accepted by physicians. By means of the French surgeon himself, but even earlier, by the account of a hagiographic text referable to the end of the twelfth century, and then through literary texts such as that of Teseo Pini, we discover that the meaning commonly attributed to *lupus* went far beyond the metaphor. The disease was actually fed daily with the fresh meat of a chicken, so that it would not turn its ‘hunger’ towards the sick person’s flesh. It is still in a non-medical source that we probably encounter the first attestation of *lupus* assimilated to *herpes esthiomenus*, a term transliterated from the Greek and referring to the act of devouring. The assimilation is considered in most medieval medical treatises, although it was challenged by Guy de Chauliac.

It is those lexical issues, complicated by the process of translation from Latin to the vernacular, that led to the confusion of very different diseases, such as *lupus* and *lupia*. Not only the similarity between the lemmas, but also the aptitude for metaphor and the creation of such similarities between the disease names and those from plant kingdoms, as we have seen, could lead to confusion on the part of the authors of medical texts themselves and, a fortiori, of the scholar who needs to interpret the disease names.

At the end of this analysis, it appears that it is possible to detect the meaning given from time to time to the nosographic term *lupus*, not only through an evaluation of the medical sources by means of a linguistic analysis, but also, and above all, through a comparison of sources of different types. These sources tend to integrate and explain each other, making the history of *lupus* a page of cultural history rather than of medical history.

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FOLLOWING THE STEPS OF THE IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ' IN THE OTTOMAN WORLD. II: 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ AND HIS *TASHJĪR* DIAGRAMS OF SCIENCE*

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Abstract

In various places of his extensive production the fifteenth-century *littérateur* and occultist 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454) presents a classification of the sciences in the form of a tree. In this paper we discuss four variants of this '*tashjīr*' representation from four different works of al-Biṣṭāmī as they have come down to us in manuscripts. We compare these diagrams with one another, discuss their respective textual environments, and bring al-Biṣṭāmī's arboreal representations in line with the classification of the sciences of the Ikhwān al-Şafā', their obvious source. By putting this *tashjīr* representation side by side with other examples of tree-shaped science classifications inside and outside the Islamic world, we seek to better assess al-Biṣṭāmī's original contribution in turning the Ikhwān's system of organizing knowledge into a tree-shaped diagram.

Key Words

Ikhwān al-Şafā'; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī; Ramon Llull; Ottoman world;
tashjīr; diagram of sciences



The significance of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454) in the transmission of science is being recognized today with ever greater unanimity and clarity. Over

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the last quarter of a century, scholarship has seen a remarkable burgeoning of studies highlighting different facets of this prolific littérateur, expert in *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* (the science of letters) and other occult disciplines, who spent most of his life traveling between the great centres of learning of the Mamluk and Ottoman courts and who never seemed to have tired himself of writing books of encyclopaedical nature and proportion.¹

In line with al-Biṣṭāmī's esoteric preoccupations and teaching and learning activities, various scholars have also sought to better understand the role he played as part of a group of intellectuals who used to define themselves as « *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā'* » (The Brethren of Purity and the Friends of Loyalty), in explicit reference to the tenth-century encyclopaedists and philosophers, authors of the famous *Rasā'il* (Epistles).² As these investigators have shown, this extraordinary network, which linked the Mamluk, Timurid and Ottoman courts and included intellectuals such as Sayyid Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī (d. 799/1397), Molla Fenārī (d. 834/1431), Ṣā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (d. 835/1432) or Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858/1454), began to exist from the end of the eighth/fourteenth century and remained active for the greatest part of the ninth/fifteenth century. In a recent study conducted jointly with Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz and dealing with the impact of the 'genuine' *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* on three universal histories of Ottoman times, it is suggested that the Neo-Ikhwān network

¹ See in particular: DENIS GRIL, « Éso­térisme contre hérésie: 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle », in GILLES VEINSTEIN (ed.), *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe-XVIIIe siècles). Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001*, Peeters, Paris 2005, p. 183–195; NOAH GARDINER, « Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī », *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 12 (2012), p. 81–143; JEAN-CHARLES COULON, « Building al-Būnī's Legend: The Figure of al-Būnī through 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī's *Shams al-āfāq* », *Journal of Sufi Studies*, 5/1 (2016), p. 1–26; NOAH GARDINER, « The Occultist Encyclopaedism of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī », *Mamluk Studies Review*, 20 (2017), p. 3–38; ID., « Lettrism and History in 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī's *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk* », in LIANA SAIF, FRANCESCA LEONI, MATTHEW MELVIN-KOUSHKI, FAROUK YAHYA (eds.), *Islamicate Occult Science in Theory and Practice*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2021, p. 230–266.

² On this network, see also: CORNELL H. FLEISCHER, « Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences. Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries », in MASSUMEH FARHAD, SERPIL BAĞCI (eds.), *Falnama, the Book of Omens*, Arthur Sackler Gallery. Smithsonian Institute, Washington 2010, p. 231–243; MATTHEW MELVIN-KOUSHKI, « The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣā'in Al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran », Ph.D. Diss., Yale University 2012, p. 240–247; İLKER EVRİM BINBAŞ, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK 2016, in particular p. 104–113 (« The Ikhvān al-Ṣafā': a Clandestine Network »); MATTHEW MELVIN-KOUSHKI, « The New Brethren of Purity: Ibn Turka and the Renaissance of Neopythagoreanism in the Early Modern Persian Cosmopolis », forthcoming in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 11/2 (2023).

may have extended to the Sufi Fethullah Çelebi (d. 969/1562), that is, to the time of Sultan Süleyman himself.³

The purpose of the present article is to go into more detail, and more systematically, on one aspect of this latter study, namely, the arboreal representations of the classification of knowledge as found in some places of al-Bisṭāmī's enormous production. The issue was also briefly touched upon by Veysel Kaya and Cornell H. Fleischer in recent publications, as will be noted below. In the following pages, I discuss four variants of this '*tashjir*' representation from four different works of al-Bisṭāmī as they have come down to us in manuscripts. I compare these diagrams with one another, discuss their respective textual environments, and bring al-Bisṭāmī's arboreal representations in line with the classification of the sciences of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, their obvious source. By putting this *tashjir* representation side by side with other examples of tree-shaped science classifications inside and outside the Islamic world, I will seek to better assess al-Bisṭāmī's original contribution in turning the Brethren's system of organizing knowledge into a tree-shaped diagram. I shall deal respectively with the *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*, the *Shams al-āfāq fī 'ilm al-ḥurūf*, the *Durrat tāj al-rasā'il wa-ghurraṭ minhāj al-wasā'il*, and the *al-Fawā'id al-miskiyya fī l-fawā'id al-makkiyya*.

I. *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*

The *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk* (The Ordering of Ways for the Conversation of Kings) is a treatise which al-Bisṭāmī completed in 833/1429–1430. This fascinating work purports to provide an eschatological vision of prophetic history extending from the creation of Adam to the author's own epoch. As part of its introductory chapter, the *Naẓm* contains material on the scientific achievements of nine 'peoples' or 'nations' (*umam*) and the related issue of how to organize knowledge.⁴ In the holograph manuscript of this work preserved in Topkapı Library is found a beautiful representation of the disciplines (*al-funūn*) that make up human knowledge, shaped like a tree.⁵

³ FATMA SINEM ERYILMAZ, GODEFROID DE CALLATAÏ, « Following the Steps of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' in the Ottoman World. I: Insights from Three Universal Histories », forthcoming in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 34/3 (2023).

⁴ For an overview of this work, see GARDINER, « Lettrism ».

⁵ AL-BISṬĀMĪ, *Naẓm al-sulūk*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi MS 1597, fol. 53a.



Fig. 1: The *tashjir* in the *Nazm al-sulūk*
 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS 1597, fol. 53a
 (© Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

The trunk is represented by the « philosophical » [disciplines] (*falsafiyya*), which branch out into four main divisions, namely « the mathematical » (*al-riyādiyyāt*), « the physical » (or « the natural », *al-ṭabī'iyyāt*), « the logical » (*al-manṭiqiyyāt*), and « the divine » (*al-ilāhiyyāt*). Each of these branches is in turn made up of individual sciences, respectively 4, 9, 5, and 5, for a sum total of 23 philosophical disciplines. Governance (*siyāsa*), one of the divine sciences, has the unique particularity to be further subdivided into « domestic » (*khāṣṣa*), « public » (*‘amma*), « prophetic » (*nabawiyya*), « angelic » (*mulūkiyya*), and « private » (*dhātiyya*). In addition to the four branches of philosophy, another two groups of sciences emerge from the lower part of the trunk. Since the diagram does not show any soil around the base of the tree, it cannot easily be decided whether these latter groups – the « propaedeutical » (*riyādiyya*) and the « religious » (*shar‘iyya*), consisting of 9 and 7 sciences respectively, and bringing the sum total of sciences in the classification to 39 – should be regarded as two supplementary branches or as the two roots of the tree. What a closer look at the diagram reveals instead is that these two groups should be considered on a par with the group of philosophical sciences as a whole. Indeed, these three groups are all referred to by the mention of their names in the adjectival form (*falsafiyya*, *riyādiyya*, *shar‘iyya*), in contrast to the four parts of philosophy for which the substantival form is used (*riyādiyyāt*, *ṭabī'iyyāt*, *manṭiqiyyāt*, *ilāhiyyāt*). As may be observed, all parts of the tree have been drawn in black ink, except for the word *al-funūn* at the base of the trunk and for the

following four disciplines (or sub-disciplines): arithmetic, mineralogy, rhetoric (here rather curiously spelled out as 'biṭūriqā') and prophetic governance. These few words are highlighted in red ink.

Any reader familiar with medieval Islamic classifications of knowledge will immediately identify Epistle 7 of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* as the source on which al-Biṣṭāmī's tree diagram is based, as was pointed out by Veysel Kaya and Cornell Fleischer in recent contributions.⁶ A glance at the two systems is enough to see that they agree on nearly everything, from the overall structure to the names of ramifications and to the appellations of individual disciplines (see appendix: « the classification of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' »).⁷ Just like in Epistle 7, al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr* classification uses the same word for two distinctive groups of sciences: *riyādiyya* for the propaedeutical disciplines and *riyādiyyāt* for the mathematical ones.⁸ Even the five-fold subdivision of the science of governance is found the same in both, as is also the contrasting use of adjectival and substantival forms that I have just mentioned in line with the hierarchy of disciplines.

In terms of content, the comparison of documents reveals that the only divergences from the Ikhwānian model are: 1) the incorporation of a science of « recitation » (*tartīl*) in the religious group; 2) the addition of three natural sciences – veterinary (*bayṭara*), medicine (*ṭibb*) and falconry (*bazdara*) – and the suppression of « the science of physical principles » in the same group. These are, admittedly, adaptations rather than major changes.

What distinguishes al-Biṣṭāmī's classification from its model and makes it original with respect to it lies in the way this division of knowledge is presented, that is, in the diagrammatic form of a tree. We shall later seek to better situate al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr* in the overall history of arboreal representations of science

⁶ VEYSEL KAYA, « Abdurrahman Bistāmî'nin Bilimler Tasnifi », *Istanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 35 (2016), p. 187–216 and « Abdurrahmān Bistāmī », in HENRIK LAGERLUND (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, 2nd edition, Springer Nature B. V., Dordrecht 2020, p. 1–4; CORNELL H. FLEISCHER, « Learning and Sovereignty in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries », in GÜLRÜ NECİPOĞLU, CEMAL KAFADAR, CORNELL H. FLEISCHER (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge. An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, vol. I: Essays, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2019, p. 155–160.

⁷ For the classification of the Ikhwān see my edition in NADER EL-BIZRI, GODEFROID DE CALLATAÏ, *The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity. On Composition and the Arts. An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistles 6–8*, Oxford University Press in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, Oxford 2018, p. 71–96 of the Arabic edition, and p. 75–91 and 107–120 (introduction and English translation). See also GODEFROID DE CALLATAÏ, *Ikhwan al-Safa'. A Brotherhood of Idealists on the Fringe of Orthodox Islam*, Oneworld, Oxford 2005 (*Makers of the Muslim World*), p. 59–72 (« Encyclopaedism »).

⁸ On this ambiguity in the Ikhwān see CARMELA BAFFIONI, « Oggetti e caratteristiche del curriculum delle scienze nell'Enciclopedia dei Fratelli della Purità », in GIANNI DI STEFANO (ed.), *Studi arabo-islamici in memoria di Umberto Rizzitano*, Istituto di Studi Arabo-Islamici « Michele Amari », Mazara del Vallo 1991, p. 25–31.

classifications. For the moment, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out that this type of figuration is not found in the manuscripts of the *Rasā'il* and that it cannot even be inferred from the text. The paragraph introducing the classification of Epistle 7 refers to the genera of the sciences (*ajnās al-'ulūm*) and to the species of these genera (*anwā' tilka al-ajnās*)⁹ but neither in this paragraph nor in the enumeration of groups and sciences that follow is there any term or concept suggesting a tree-form visual representation.

Let us now turn back to our holograph manuscript of the *Naẓm* and consider the lines that immediately precede al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr*. They deserve to be quoted in full:

you should know that sciences, in spite of having numerous principles and of ramifying in various derivations (*ma'a tukaththiru usūl aṣnāfi-hā wa-tusha'ibu afnān furū'i-hā*), divide (*tanqasimu*) into religious (*shar'iyya*) and rational (*'aqliyya*). Religious sciences divide into practical (*'amaliyya*) and theoretical (*'ilmiyya*), and rational sciences into intuitive (*bad'ihiyya*) and acquired (*kasbiyya*). This said, there are six religious sciences: (1) Arabic (language) (*'ilm al-'arabiyya*), (2) principles of jurisprudence (*'ilm usūl al-fiqh*), (3) theology (*'ilm al-kalām*), (4) jurisprudence (*'ilm al-fiqh*), (5) exegesis (*'ilm al-tafsīr*), and (6) (prophetic) tradition (*'ilm al-ḥadīth*). There are six rational sciences: (1) logic (*'ilm al-mantiq*), (2) physics (*'ilm al-ṭabī'i*), (3) divine (*'ilm al-ilāhī*), (4) mathematics (*'ilm al-riyāḍī*), (5) philosophy (*'ilm al-ḥikma*), and (6) medicine (*'ilm al-ṭibb*). Here is a chart (*jadwal*) to inform you about the different sciences, and this is what it looks like (*ṣūra*).

What is curious about these lines is that they clearly do not tally with the Ikhwān's views. If we had to find a model for this organisation, we could perhaps think of the system devised by the tenth-century Khurasanian Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992), who in his *Kitāb al-i'lām bi-manāfiq al-islām* (Expounding the Merits of Islam) similarly used a philosophical vs religious bi-partition to distribute eight of the above twelve disciplines, but this would leave the incorporation of the other four sciences unexplained anyway.¹⁰ If al-ʿĀmirī's well thought-out construction

⁹ *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Epistle 7, ed. DE CALLATAY, p. 71.

¹⁰ AL-ʿĀMIRI, *l'lām bi-manāfiq al-islām*, ed. GHORAB, Dar al-Kātib al-ʿArabi, Cairo 1967, p. 84–85. AL-ʿĀmirī's distribution consists in placing three philosophical arts (physics, mathematics and metaphysics) and three religious arts (prophetic tradition, jurisprudence and theology) and their respective instruments (logic and language) opposite each other, the pairs between philosophical and religious disciplines being justified by the fact that they call upon either sensual perception, intellectual perception, or the combination of both. On this system, see: HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, « Abū l-ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī und die Wissenschaften », in WOLFGANG VOIGT (ed.), XIX. *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, F. Steiner, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 335–341; WOLFHART HEINRICH, « The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam », in JAN WILLEM DRIJVERS, ALASDAIR A. MACDONALD (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-modern Europe and the Near East*, Brill, Leiden 1995, p. 119–139. Translation of the relevant pages in FRANZ

was really the source followed by al-Biṣṭāmī, one may wonder what, for instance, could have motivated this latter to add a *‘ilm al-ḥikma* (literally, the science of wisdom, but perhaps it just means philosophy here), a discipline that sounds so redundant in this context. In any case, it is obvious that there is a profound gap between the content of the lines quoted above and the chart that they are supposed to introduce. As will be seen, the study of other works by al-Biṣṭāmī in which the *tashjīr* classification also appears will lead us to the same conclusion.

II. Shams al-āfāq fī ‘ilm al-ḥurūf

As its title makes it clear, *Shams al-āfāq fī ‘ilm al-ḥurūf* (The Sun of Horizons in the Science of Letters) is a pure treatise of lettrism, that is, as Noah Gardiner describes it in a recent article chiefly concerned with this work, « a cosmologically-oriented discourse on the powers of the Arabic alphabet and the names of God that, in certain iterations, including al-Biṣṭāmī's, also encompassed occult practices such as divination and the making of talismans ». ¹¹ Composed in 826/1423, this treatise also contains a section of the classification of sciences with the *tashjīr* representation of the Brethren's classification. Yet, in contrast to the harmonious proportions and regularity of the tree in the Topkapı Library copy of the *Naẓm*, the diagram in the BNF Arabe 2689 copy of the *Shams* seems to have been executed in haste and without care (cf. Fig. 2). ¹²

Possibly for lack of space on the page, the tree is shown lying on its side within a rectangular frame, with the trunk horizontal and the branches therefore extending perpendicularly upwards and downwards with respect to the page. This horizontality is interesting to observe, for it reminds us that a *tashjīr* could be something more abstract than the figuration of a tree in nature. There are various elements in this representation that are almost illegible, truncated or simply missing. Some groups of sciences are not placed where they should be. There are even several disciplines that have been interchanged with others, under other headings, and without any coherence. ¹³ As for the text that immediately precedes

ROSENTHAL, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1975, p. 63–70.

¹¹ GARDINER, « The Occultist Encyclopedism », here p. 8.

¹² AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, *Shams al-āfāq*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Arabe 2689, fol. 40v.

¹³ For other examples of distortion in the transmission of al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr* diagrams, see FLEISCHER, « Learning », here p. 159: « From the late sixteenth century, scribes producing copies of the popular *Fawā'id* or *Naẓm*, charged with reproducing, among other things, the Tree of Sciences, show themselves to have been largely flummoxed by the inclusion of Politics as a branch of Metaphysics, presumably because the inclusion made no sense to them. The subcategories of *siyāsa* [...] fade away, *siyāsa* is not even recognized, sometimes rendered as the more metaphysical-sounding *sā'a* (The Hour), and sometimes reduced to unrecognizable scrawl. The later unrecognizability of the world of the fifteenth century is writ large, and tellingly so ».

the *tashjīr*, it is the same as in the *Naẓm* but it is complemented here with two popular sayings on the opposition of science and ignorance. In the first is found the classical definition of science as « being cognizant of the knowable the way it is » (*ma'rifa al-ma'lūm 'alā mā huwa bi-hi*).¹⁴ The second, which al-Biṣṭāmī perhaps found in lettrist circles of his time, is meant to correspond more closely to his own views: « If you say 'what is wisdom?', we will say: 'esoteric knowledge (*bāṭin al-'ilm*) is in that the [genuine] sage (*al-hākim*) sees wideness in narrowness, whereas he whose wisdom is constrained (*al-maḥkūm 'alay-hi bi-l-ḥikma*) sees narrowness in wideness' ».

Interestingly, the page facing the *tashjīr* in the manuscript also includes a rectangular frame, but this time vertical. Within this frame, technically referred to as a synoptic table (*taqwīm*) are listed, in two columns, the sixty sciences that make up the celebrated classification of the Persian scientist and theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) (cf. Fig. 3).

They are taken from his *Ḥadā'iq al-anwār fī ḥaqā'iq al-asrār* (Gardens of Radiances in the Realities of Secrets), as al-Biṣṭāmī this time explicitly acknowledges.¹⁵ Also known as *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* (Compendium of sciences) – or *jāme' al-'olūm*, since this work was written in Persian –, this typical representative of the encyclopaedic genre became immensely popular. It circulated in several versions with various enumerations of the scientific disciplines, but it is the one counting 60 sciences, frequently referred to in later literature as *Kitāb al-sittīn* / *Ketāb-e Settīnī* (Book of sixty), that became the most influential.¹⁶ With only minor discrepancies attributable to the vagaries of the manuscript transmission, we observe that al-Biṣṭāmī faithfully follows the sequence in which the sciences are treated in the

¹⁴ For an extensive list of definitions of knowledge in medieval Islamic literature, see FRANZ ROSENTHAL, *Knowledge Triumphant. The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, with an Introduction by DIMITRI GUTAS, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2007, p. 46–69.

¹⁵ AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, *Shams al-āfāq*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Arabe 2689, fol. 41r (for the table with the sixty sciences) and 41v (for the mention of the source).

¹⁶ On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-sittīn* and its place in Islamic encyclopaedic literature see: HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, « Medieval Arabic Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy », in STEVEN HARVEY (ed.), *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy. Proceedings of the Bar-Ilan University Conference*, Springer, Dordrecht – Boston – London 2000, p. 77–98, here p. 97–98; HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, « Arabisch-islamische Enzyklopädien: Formen und Funktionen », in CHRISTEL MEIER (ed.), *Die Enzyklopädie im Wandel vom Hochmittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit. Akten des Kolloquiums des Projekts D im Sonderforschungsbereich 231* (29. 11.– 1. 12. 1996), Fink, München 2002, p. 43–83, here p. 76–78; ŽIVA VESEL, *Les encyclopédies persanes. Essai de typologie et de classification des sciences*, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris 1986, p. 35–38; EAD., « Les encyclopédies persanes: culture scientifique en langue vernaculaire », in GODEFROID DE CALLATAÿ, BAUDOUIN VAN DEN ABELE (ed.), *Une lumière venue d'ailleurs : Héritages et ouvertures dans les encyclopédies d'Orient et d'Occident au Moyen Age, Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (19–21 mai 2005)*, Brepols, Turnhout 2008 (Réminiscences, 9), p. 49–89, here p. 66–89 (including an appendix [based on the summary of the *jāme' al-'olūm* in the Bombay facsimile edition of M. Tasbiḥī] which details each science and seeks to provide a better understanding of the internal organisation of the work).

original work, a sequence whose internal logic may not be immediately perceptible but which nevertheless clearly separates the religious/traditional sciences (from 1 to 22) and the rational/intellectual sciences (from 23 to 60).¹⁷

In short, we find ourselves again in front of a text in which different systems to organize human knowledge are placed side by side without further explanation. Of the three classifications provided by al-Biṣṭāmī in the *Shams*, only that of al-Rāzī, here put on a tabular form, is duly acknowledged in the text. The fact that the other two are found the same here as in the *Naẓm* suggests that the author, while confronted with the problem of classifying sciences, limits himself to producing one or other of the models that he knows, but the question remains whether the *tashjīr* representation is his invention or if he took it up from somewhere else.

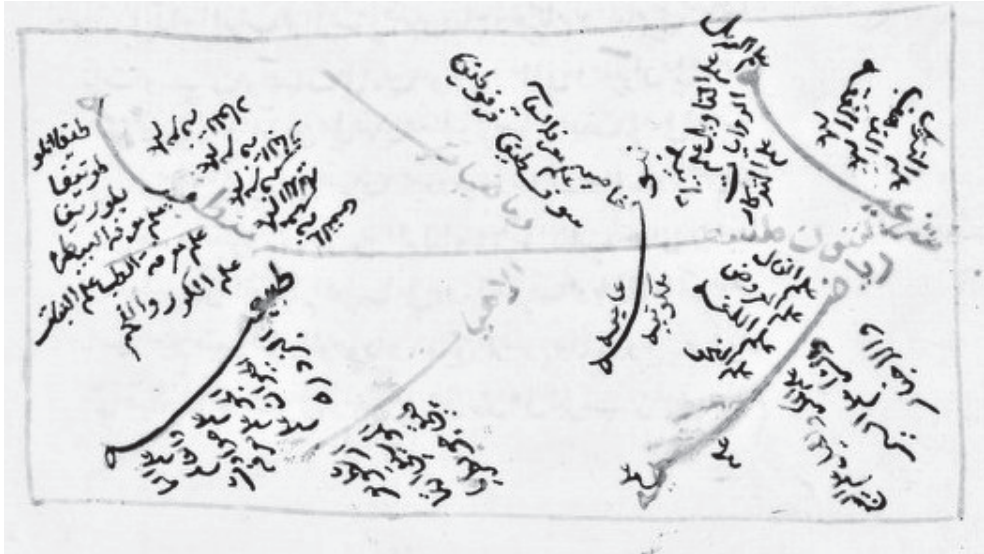


Fig. 2: The *tashjīr* in the *Shams al-āfāq*
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2689, fol. 40v
(© Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

¹⁷ For this list being slightly divergent from that found in the above-mentioned summary of the *jāme' al-'olūm* (which consists of 21 traditional and 39 intellectual disciplines, the last of which being the science of chess), see VESEL, « Les encyclopédies persanes », p. 68, n. 75.

١	علم الكلام	١	علم الاكبر
٢	علم اصول الفقه	٢	علم معرفة الجواهر
٣	علم الجدل	٣	علم الطبسمات
٤	علم الخلافات	٤	علم الافلاح
٥	علم المذهب	٥	علم فقه الاشارة
٦	علم الفرائض	٦	علم البيوت
٧	علم الوصايا	٧	علم الفرائض
٨	علم القسطنطين	٨	علم الهندسة
٩	علم دلائل الانجاء	٩	علم المساحة
١٠	علم عقول القرات	١٠	علم جبر الاقوال
١١	علم الاحاديث	١١	علم الات الحروف
١٢	علم اسما الرجال	١٢	علم حجاب الهدي
١٣	علم التواريخ	١٣	علم حجاب الهوى
١٤	علم المعاني	١٤	علم الجبر والمقابلة
١٥	علم النحو	١٥	علم الارتما ليطي
١٦	علم التصريف	١٦	علم اعداد الوفق
١٧	علم الاشتقاق	١٧	علم المناظر
١٨	علم الامثال	١٨	علم الموسيقى
١٩	علم العروض	١٩	علم الفقه
٢٠	علم القوافي	٢٠	علم الاصول
٢١	علم بديع الشعر	٢١	علم السبل
٢٢	علم المعاني	٢٢	علم العزائم
٢٣	علم المنطق	٢٣	علم الالهيات
٢٤	علم الطبيعيات	٢٤	علم مقالات اهل العالم
٢٥	علم التعبير	٢٥	علم الاخلاق
٢٦	علم الفرائض	٢٦	علم السياسات
٢٧	علم الطب	٢٧	علم تدبير المنزل
٢٨	علم القسطنطين	٢٨	علم الاحكام
٢٩	علم الصيدلة	٢٩	علم الدعوى
٣٠	علم الخواص	٣٠	علم ادب الملوك

Fig. 3: The *taqwīm* in the *Shams al-āfāq*, with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's 60 sciences
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2689, fol. 41r
 (© Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

III. Durrat tāj al-rasā'il wa-ghurrat minhāj al-wasā'il

The *Durrat tāj al-rasā'il wa-ghurrat minhāj al-wasā'il* (The Pearl in the Crown of Epistles and the Finest Modes of Connections) is an auto-biographical and auto-bibliographical treatise which al-Biṣṭāmī composed in 834/1430–1431, one year after the *Naẓm*. This work, whose text is preserved in only one known copy, namely Istanbul, Süleymaniye Nuruosmaniye Library MS 4905, also contains a *tashjir* representation of the Ikhwān's classification.

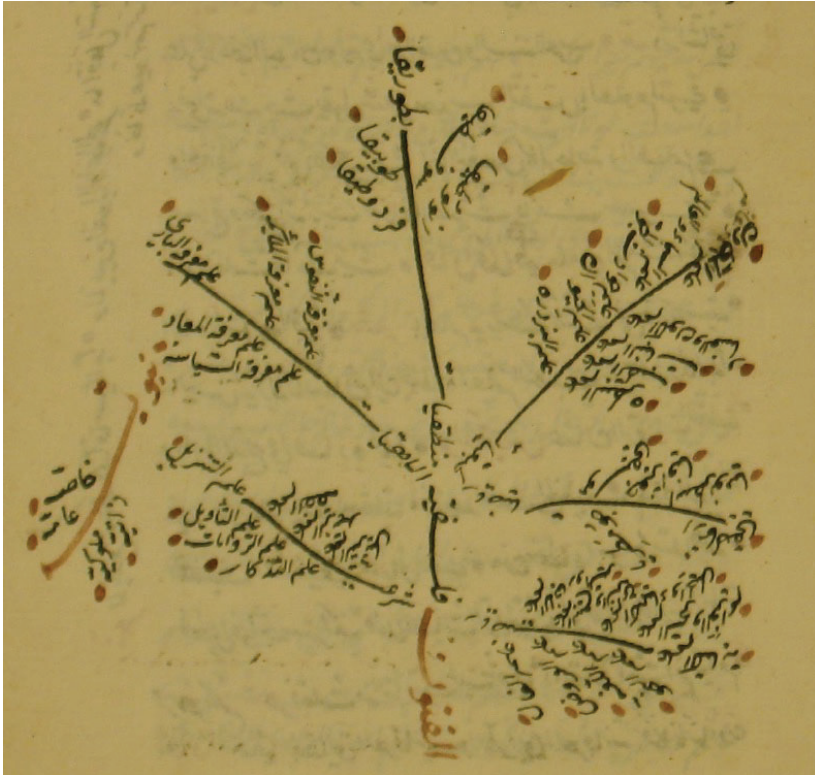


Fig. 4: The *tashjir* in the *Durrat tāj*
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Nuruosmaniye Library, MS 4905, fol. 20r
(© Süleymaniye Nuruosmaniye Library)

This *tashjir* looks very much like that of the *Naẓm*. Like this latter, it features a vertical and elegantly drawn tree, with a similar disposition of the branches. A closer look reveals that it also corresponds to it in almost every detail. The only divergence in the names of sciences is the replacement of geometry (*jumatriyā*) with geography (*jūghrāfiyā*), which is likely to be a confusion from the copyist – a

confusion all the more excusable as there exists an epistle of geography in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. This epistle occupies the fourth position in the corpus, which means that it strikingly cuts off the disciplines of the quadrivium in two groups: on the one hand, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy (in 1 to 3), and on the other hand, music (in 5).

Here again it seems worthwhile quoting the lines that introduce the figure:

As you should know, the nations that took interest in science and inventions (*istinbāt*) were the Indians, the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Jews, the Copts, the Romans, the Greeks, and the Arabs. In the year 568 from the death of Moses – peace be upon him! – appeared the nation of the Greeks. All rational sciences – the logic, the natural, mathematical and the divine – derive from them. They used to call philosophers those learned in these sciences. There were groups (*ṭawā'if*) of Indian, Persian and Greek philosophers. Here is a tree (*shajara*) to inform you about the scientific disciplines (*al-funūn al-'ilmiyya*), and this is what it looks like.¹⁸

The reference to the nations with an interest in science reminds us of the section on *umam* in the *Naẓm*, although the two texts do not set out exactly the same doctrine. In the *Naẓm* we are told of nine nations in all, eight of which corresponding to ethnic or religious groups such as the Greeks, the Jews or the Ṣābi'ans, and the last one identified as the « the nation of the wise men » or « the nation of the philosophers » (*ummat al-ḥukamā'*). This latter group, to which the author devotes all his attention, transcends these divisions: its members « are distinguished by their access to higher realms of knowledge rather than by confession or ethnicity ».¹⁹ In the lines quoted above, there is no question of this special group and the division between the remaining eight nations is purely ethnic. The source followed here by al-Biṣṭāmī is Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), who in the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* (Categories of Nations) discusses the scientific achievements of the same eight nations.²⁰ It is possible that al-Biṣṭāmī had access to Ṣā'id through Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), since this latter closely follows the *Ṭabaqāt* in the *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Compendium of human history) and provides there also the same chronological indication in relation to Moses's death.²¹ Otherwise, what is worth observing in the lines quoted above is that they do not betray, as our previous examples did, a profound hiatus between the text

¹⁸ AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, *Durrat tāj*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Nuruosmaniye Library MS 4905, fol. 20r.

¹⁹ GARDINER, « Lettrism », here p. 245.

²⁰ ṢĀ'ID AL-ANDALUSĪ, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. CHEIKHO, Institut für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main 1999, p. 7: « As to the nations that took interest in science they are eight: the Indians, the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, and the Arabs ».

²¹ See ABŪ L-FIDĀ', *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. MAḤMŪD DAYYŪB, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, Beirut 1997, vol. I, p. 134–135.

and the visual representation (here explicitly referred to as a *tashjīr* diagram) that illustrates it. Banal and conventional as it is, the evocation of the Greeks as masters in the four branches of philosophy fits nicely with what the tree diagram is meant to represent. That the tree is entirely modelled upon the Ikhwān's classification without this being acknowledged suggests that their encyclopaedia never ceased to be an important link in the transmission of Greek philosophy to Islam and that it could still serve as an ideal introduction to each of its parts in al-Biṣṭāmī's time.

IV. al-Fawā'ih al-miskiyya fī l-fawātiḥ al-makkiyya

We will close this review of al-Biṣṭāmī's tree diagrams with the one found in the introduction to his *al-Fawā'ih al-miskiyya fī l-fawātiḥ al-makkiyya* (Musky Scents on the Meccan Revelations), a massive encyclopaedic work our author put an end to in the early 840s/1440s after collecting material for decades (cf. Fig. 5). The presence of a *tashjīr* classification of the sciences in this treatise is nothing to be surprised about since the *Fawā'ih* is probably of all of al-Biṣṭāmī's works the one most concerned with the problem of classifying knowledge. Since the decisive impact of the Ikhwān on this treatise has already been discussed in some detail by Veysel Kaya in the article mentioned above,²² we shall limit ourselves here to examining the *tashjīr* diagram itself, again in relation with the surrounding textual information.

The *tashjīr* as we find in the manuscript of the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hamidiye much resembles those of the *Naẓm* and the *Durrat Tāj* in style, disposition and content, except that half of the disciplines making up the branch of natural sciences have been left aside, apparently by negligence. As in the other two diagrams, some concepts are also written in red but, excepted for *al-fūnūn* and *nabawiyya*, words in red most generally do not coincide in general. This *tashjīr* is preceded by the following lines, which once again take us back to the indebtedness to the Greeks in terms of rational sciences:

They called philosopher whoever is an expert in them. It is said that wisdom [or philosophy] (*ḥikma*) came down from the heavens by means of three organs (*a'ḍā'*) [belonging] to peoples of the earth: the brains of the Greeks (*admiḡhat al-yūnān*), the hands of the Chinese (*aydī ahl al-ṣīn*) and the tongues of the Arabs (*alsinat al-'arab*). May al-Shāfi'ī – May God Most-High be satisfied with him – return to God, he who says: « poetry (*shi'r*): cleanse the soul with sciences (*al-'ulūm*) to make it ascend and to preserve everything, for [this soul] is a house for everything. The soul is like a glass bottle: science is the lamp and the wisdom of God the oil. If it is visible, you are alive. If it is dark, you are dead ». Here is a tree (*shajara*) to inform you of the

²² KAYA, « Abdurrahman Biṣṭāmī'nin Bilimler Tasnifi ».

conventional disciplines (*al-funūn al-rasmiyya*) and the branches of wisdom (*al-shujūn al-ḥikmiyya*). This is what it looks like.²³

That wisdom came down from the heavens through the organs of these three nations of the earth is a traditional Arabic saying, which one comes across in various medieval texts. The same holds true for the glass bottle analogy of the soul, elaborated from the Verse of Light (Q. 24:35). Al-Biṣṭāmī may have derived them from a variety of sources, but the mention of al-Shāfi‘ī makes it a plausible reference to the Shāfi‘ī theologian and jurist Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), who cites both maxims in his *Wafayāt al-a‘yān wa-anbā’ al-zamān* (Deaths of the Eminent Men and History of the Sons of the Epoch).²⁴ As in the *Durrat tāj*, the diagram is specifically defined as a tree (*shajara*).



Fig. 5: The *tashjir* in the *Fawā'ih al-miskiyya*
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hamidiye, MS MS 688, fol. 12b
(© Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hamidiye)

²³ AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, *Fawā'ih*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hamidiye MS 688, fol. 12b.

²⁴ IBN KHALLIKĀN, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān wa-anbā’ al-zamān* (Deaths of the Eminent Men and History of the Sons of the Epoch), translated by BARON DE SLANE as *Ibn Khallikān’s Biographical Dictionary*, 1842–1874, (5/7, 811 and 2/7, 311). For these lines of poetry, attributed to Ibn Sīnā, in line with the concepts of *ḥikma* and ‘ilm, see ROSENTHAL, *Knowledge Triumphant*, p. 40. See also BINYAMIN ABRAHAMOV, « Ibn Sīnā’s Influence on al-Ghazālī’s Non-Philosophical Works », *Abr-Nahrain*, 29 (1991), p. 1–17, here p. 8–12.

V. Diagramming the Brethren's Classification: al-Biṣṭāmī's Invention?

Al-Biṣṭāmī's literary production is immense and has remained, for a good part, uncharted territory.²⁵ The greatest part of this bulky corpus of writings still awaits to be edited. It is eminently possible that in the multitude of extant manuscripts several other variants of the *tashjīr* diagram will come to light, but the four examples we have collected and discussed above are sufficient at least to draw some elementary conclusions. First, the fact that these examples come from four different texts shows how important al-Biṣṭāmī viewed the issue of organizing knowledge and how attached he remained to this topic throughout his life. Secondly, the fact that this diagram is reproduced essentially the same in manuscripts, irrespective of the nature of the works in which they appear, seems to indicate that al-Biṣṭāmī was, as it were, in the habit of spontaneously resorting to it in a wide variety of contexts touching the Greeks and their genius in rational thinking but not necessarily in close relation to the classification of sciences *per se*. Thirdly, that no explicit or implicit reference is made in these places to the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' suggests that their classification had acquired the status of a standard model on the subject, on a par with, or perhaps even more than above, Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-sittīn*. This confirms a point that I have already stressed elsewhere in various places: in addition to being an ideal model of introduction to philosophy and a convenient encyclopaedic work to use and to refer to, the corpus of *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* offered to later authors the great advantage to be anonymous, a circumstance which cannot but have encouraged later scholars to draw on them freely, whether in an acknowledged or unacknowledged manner.²⁶

Recent scholarship on al-Biṣṭāmī's indebtedness to the *Rasā'il* reveals that his works do include some references to their anonymous authors in the form of subtle allusions. Thus, the prologue of the *Naẓm* includes an unmistakable reference to « the Brethren of Purity and the Friends of Loyalty » (*ikhwān al-ṣafā' wa-khullān al-wafā'*), as Gardiner observed,²⁷ and the same kind of shibboleth-like formulations were also detected by Kaya in various other works, including the

²⁵ For the author's assertion that he wrote more than 180 treatises, see AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, *Durrat tāj*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Nuruosmaniye Library MS 4905, fol. 21b–37b.

²⁶ GODEFROID DE CALLATAÏ, « Did the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' inspire Ibn Ṭufayl to his *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqdhān*? », *Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook*, 3 (2012), p. 82–89; ID., « From Ibn Masarra to Ibn 'Arabī: References, Shibboleths and Subtle Allusions to the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in the Literature of al-Andalus », in ANTONELLA STRAFACE, CARLO DE ANGELO, ANDREA MANZO (eds.), *Labor Limae. Studi in onore di Carmela Baffioni*, as *Studi Magrebini*, 12–13 (2014–2015), vol. XII, p. 217–267; ID., « Who Were the Readers of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*? », *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 24 (2016), p. 269–302.

²⁷ GARDINER, « Lettrism and History », p. 234.

Fawā'ih.²⁸ On the other hand, and perhaps because of this roundabout allusion to the Ikhwān in the prologue, we observe that extensive parts of the *Naẓm* are taken up verbatim from the *Rasā'il* without further acknowledgement. Interestingly, this is the case for the geographical section that immediately follows the *tashjir* diagram in our manuscript, and which is for the most part a literal reiteration from Epistle 4 of the Ikhwān.²⁹

With this in mind we are left with one final question: did al-Biṣṭāmī himself conceive the tree diagram or did he find it ready for use in one of his sources? As previously mentioned, we should start by ruling out that al-Biṣṭāmī could have derived the *tashjir* from the Ikhwān's encyclopaedia itself. As opposed to other epistles such as those on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy or geography, which contain visual material in the form of tables, charts and schematic drawings of various types, manuscripts of Epistle 7 do not feature anything of this kind and neither is there to be found in the text any term or concept that can even remotely evoke an arboreal organisation of the classification. On the other hand, using tree diagrams was such a wide-spread technique in the Middle Ages (possibly also in Late Antiquity)³⁰ and the number of works possibly consulted by al-Biṣṭāmī so large³¹ that identifying the source he could have used is like looking for a needle in a haystack. Besides, as was pointed by Michael Evans in a seminal contribution to the field of medieval diagram representations,

such designs (called *figurae* in Latin, *schemata* in Greek) are more widespread in medieval manuscripts than is usually realised, but difficult to locate through

²⁸ KAYA, « Abdurrahman Biṣṭāmī'nin Bilimler Tasnifi », p. 199, n. 28.

²⁹ Compare AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, *Naẓm al-sulūk*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi MS 1597, fol. 53b–54a with Epistle 4 in IGNACIO SÁNCHEZ, JAMES MONTGOMERY, *The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity. On Geography. An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistle 4*, Oxford University Press in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, Oxford 2014, p. 16–23 of the Arabic edition, and p. 55–56 (English translation).

³⁰ For discussions of the origin and development of the *tashjir* and similar techniques, see: JOHN E. MURDOCH, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Scribner's Sons, New York 1984, p. 38–51; EMILIE SAVAGE-SMITH, « Galen's Lost Ophthalmology and the 'Summaria Alexandrinorum' », *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 77 (2002), p. 121–138; PIPPA SALONIUS, ANDREA WORM, « Introduction », in PIPPA SALONIUS, ANDREA WORM (eds.), *The Tree. Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, Brepols, Turnhout 2014 (International Medieval Research 20), p. 1–12; ANNEMIEKE R. VERBOON, « The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: An Organic Structure of Logic », in SALONIUS, WORM (eds.), *The Tree*, p. 95–116; JEREMY KURZYNIEK, « Diagramming the Bedroom Sciences in 'Alī ibn Naṣr al-Kātib's *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha* », in NADIA M. EL CHEIKH, BİLAL ORFALI (eds.), *Approaches to the Study of Pre-Modern Arabic Anthologies*, Brill, Leiden 2021 (Islamic History and Civilization, 180), p. 103–148; AYELET EVEN-EZRA, *Lines of Thought. Branching Diagrams and the Medieval Mind*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London 2021, especially p. 16–25.

³¹ For the list of 238 works (all of which on the occult) that al-Biṣṭāmī claims in the *Shams al-āfāq* to have read, see GARDINER, « Occultist Encyclopedism », p. 30–38.

catalogue entries, since their neglect by art historians is generally matched by that of librarians, who omit them from codicological descriptions.³²

In the context of Arab-Islamic classifications of sciences, the example that immediately comes to mind is that of the mid-fourth/tenth century scholar Ibn Farīghūn, who uses *tashjīr* representations throughout his *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* (Compendium of the sciences) (cf. Fig. 6).³³ In various of his publications, Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt has already commented on this (in his view)

comparatively rare method of visualizing the progressive diaeresis of superordinate concepts (in this case of various scientific domains with their respective sub-disciplines and professional areas, the respective kinds of expertise required for them, etc.) in the form of 'trees' whose 'branches' are marked by lines in black or red ink.³⁴

As was stressed by Biesterfeldt, Ibn Farīghūn's treatise can be considered a worthy representative of the *Fürstenspiegel* tradition in medieval Islam.³⁵ Extensive and systematic as the recourse to *tashjīr* figurations in this work is, tree diagrams are there used to represent different facets of a kaleidoscopic range of disciplines rather than to illustrate the intrinsic coherence of human knowledge as generally assumed by the philosophers. Consequently, even if Ibn Farīghūn's *Compendium* includes in its penultimate section some diagrams in line with philosophical, metaphysical and logic matters, a tree to represent all the sciences at once, such as al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr*, is nowhere to be found in it. Additionally, and more importantly still, it will be remembered with Biesterfeldt that in the history of Islamic classifications the *Jawāmi'* is best defined as a « dead end », with « its scanty manuscript tradition and more importantly [with] the fact that it is not referenced in later works and that the name of its author was completely forgotten ».³⁶ In spite of a close resemblance in the technique – the ramification of key-concepts, written

³² MICHAEL W. EVANS, « The Geometry of the Mind », *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 12 (1980), p. 32–55, here § 3.1 « Figurae ».

³³ For a recent but poorly reliable edition of the treatise, see IBN FARĪ'ŪN (sic), *Kitāb Jawāmi' al-'ulūm*, ed. QAYS KĀZIM AL-JANĀBĪ, Maktabat al-thaqāfat al-dīniyya, Cairo, 1328/2007. For a facsimile edition of one of the few extant manuscripts of the work, see IBN FARĪ'ŪN (sic), *Compendium of the Sciences. Jawāmi' al-'ulūm. Facsimile of ms 2768, Ahmet III Collection, Topkapı Sarayı Library*, ed. F. SEZGIN, Institut für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main 1985. I am grateful to Hinrich Biesterfeldt for sharing with me his copy of this rare facsimile edition.

³⁴ HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, « Ibn Farīghūn », in ULRICH RODOLPH, ROTRAUD HANSBERGER, PETER ADAMSON (ed.), *Philosophy in the Islamic World*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2017, p. 246–249, here p. 247.

³⁵ HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, « Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm*: Between Classification of Sciences and Mirror for Princes », in REGULA FORSTER, NEGUIN YAVARI (ed.), *Global Medieval: Mirrors for Princes Reconsidered* (Ilex Foundation), Harvard University Press, Boston 2015, p. 11–25.

³⁶ BIESTERFELDT, « Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* », here p. 23.

in red or black ink –, it is most unlikely that Ibn Farīghūn could have been a direct source of inspiration to al-Biṣṭāmī.

From a purely conceptual viewpoint, al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr* has more in common with « the Tree of All Sciences » from Ramon Llull's celebrated *Arbor scientiae*, a work written in the years 1295-1296 when its author was in Rome. The *Arbor scientiae*, of which a Catalan version also exists,³⁷ is an encyclopaedical treatise of massive proportions generally acknowledged as the most accomplished and successful effort of medieval times to present human knowledge in the form of trees. The work consists in the textual description of sixteen allegorical trees, each one divided into seven parts (roots, trunk, branches, twigs, leaves, flowers and, fruit) to represent a specific science, such as *Arbor elementalis* (Tree of Elements), *Arbor humanalis* (Tree of Man) or *Arbor maternalis* (Tree of the Virgin Mary). In addition to these sixteen individual trees that make up Llull's « Forest Encyclopaedia » – to take up Frances Yates's formulation in her pioneering study on « the Art of Ramon Llull »³⁸ –, the work also evokes an inclusive tree more in keeping with the title of the work and designed to represent in a synthetic manner « all the sciences that it is possible to deal with through these sixteen trees ».³⁹ It is with the figure of this universal Tree of Knowledge that the treatise opens in the illustrated editions that were being printed from early in the sixteenth century, although there is today a general agreement among scholars that Llull conceived his trees as mental representations and that these were turned to visual objects only at a later stage (cf. Fig. 7).

In the illustrations from the Renaissance editions, the tree appears with eighteen roots, representing nine transcendent principles (such as *virtus* or *gloria*)

³⁷ ALEXANDER FIDORA, « Noch einmal 'Arbor scientiae oder Arbre de sciencia'. Zum Verhältnis von lateinischer und katalanischer Fassung der llullschen Enzyklopädie », *Faventia*, 25/2 (2003), p. 67–73.

³⁸ FRANCES A. YATES, « The Art of Ramon Llull », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17/1–2 (1954), p. 115–173, here p. 151. On the encyclopaedical nature of Llull's treatise, see LOLA BADIA, « The Arbor Scientiae: A 'New' Encyclopedia in the Thirteenth-Century Occitan-Catalan Cultural Context », in FERNANDO DOMÍNGUEZ REBOIRAS (ed.), *Arbor Scientiae: der Baum des Wissens von Ramon Llull. Akten des Internationalen Kongresses aus Anlaß des 40-jährigen Jubiläums des Raimundus-Lullus-Instituts der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau*, Brepols, Turnhout 2002 (*Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia*, 42), p. 1–19.

³⁹ RAMON LLULL, *Arbor scientiae*, ed. VILLALBA I VARNEDA, Brepols, Turnhout 2000 (*Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis* 180A; *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* 24), vol. I, p. 8: « Per has sedecim arbores de omnibus scientiis tractari potest ». On the title of the book and the use of the singular form therein, see ANTHONY BONNER, « The Structure of the *Arbor scientiae* », in DOMÍNGUEZ REBOIRAS (ed.), *Arbor Scientiae*, p. 21–34, here p. 33: « We must take Llull's title literally. He presents us with sixteen trees, but he does not call the work *Arbores scientiae*, and although he shows it is general to all sciences, he does not call it *Arbor scientiarum*, as some Renaissance commentators tried to rename it. It is simply the *Arbor scientiae*, with both nouns in the singular ».

on the left and nine art principles (such as *differentia* or *aequalitas*), and with sixteen branches for each of the individual domains discussed in the rest of the book. The image also features Llull and a monk discussing on either side of the trunk. As Evans notes, the *Arbor Scientiae* « is both the tree under which Llull met the monk who prompted him to compile the new redaction of his work, and the conventional form in which to expound it ».⁴⁰

Placed next to each other, Llull's allegorical tree and al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjīr* have an undeniable air of resemblance. In their endeavour to organise the whole of human knowledge as a tree, the Christian and the Islamic metaphors pursue the same fundamental objective and use the same visual symbol. In the detail, however, they could hardly be more at variance with one another. Not a single arrangement of disciplines is found the same, nor any other peculiarity which could suggest some kind of continuity. Some historians of art hold the view that they belong to two different traditions technically referred to as « tree-diagrams » (as with Llull) and « branch-diagrams » (as with al-Biṣṭāmī) and that the former never transferred to the East,⁴¹ which would suggest therefore invalidating *ab ovo* any possibility that Llull's *Arbor Scientiae*, or one of its numerous followers, could have had on al-Biṣṭāmī. This means that we are faced with another dead end.

Now we may ask ourselves whether we could not as well consider things in the opposite direction, that is, from the Arab-Muslim world to Ramon Llull. The question of the influence of Arab authors on the Catalan mystic and philosopher has never ceased to be hotly debated. As Anna Akasoy and Alexander Fidora point out, « a variety of possible connections have been suggested and discussed, at times quite controversially. These potential Islamic influences range from logic and philosophy over mysticism to literature ».⁴² The problem with many of these presumed connections is that they are based on limited portions of texts and take very little account of the context. Remarkably enough, one of the least attackable hypotheses lead us back to the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. There are indeed between Llull's

⁴⁰ EVANS, « Geometry », here § 3.3 « Arbor scientiae ».

⁴¹ SAVAGE-SMITH, « Galen's lost ophthalmology », p. 122: « Modern scholars have called the Latin branch-diagrams 'dichotomies' to distinguish them from 'arbores' or tree-diagrams in which material was written in small cells arranged within the outline of a large tree having a trunk and root at the bottom. The earliest instance of an *arbor*-diagram occurs in a ninth-century copy of the *Etymologies* written in the seventh century by Isidore of Seville. While it is evident that in the ninth century branch-diagrams were being used in Arabic treatises (possibly continuing a now lost Alexandrian tradition) and tree-diagrams were being used in the Latin West, the two techniques of diagramming are sufficiently different as to suggest independent traditions. The Arabic method transferred to Europe, while the Latin one remained restricted to Western compositions ».

⁴² ANNA AKASOY, ALEXANDER FIDORA, « Ibn Sab'īn and Raimundus Lullus – The Question of the Arabic Sources of Lullus' Logic Revisited », in ANNA AKASOY, WIM RAVEN (ed.), *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages. Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation in Honour of Hans Daiber*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2008, p. 433–458, here p. 433.

Libre de bèsties and the famous animal fable of Epistle 22 certain close parallels that could hardly be explained otherwise than by a common filiation, as was convincingly demonstrated by John Dagenais.⁴³ But suggestive as are these and other parallels between the Brethren and Llull,⁴⁴ they are of limited interest for us here, since they do not concern the tree motif.

Valuable material in that direction also exists, but the least that can be said is that it is not unanimously supported in modern scholarship. Thus, in his « Le symbole de l'arbre chez les auteurs arabes antérieurs à Llull » – in fact, the refutation of an article on the same subject by Miguel Cruz Hernández –, Dominique Urvoy pointed out two main channels of transmission that could have influenced Llull.⁴⁵ On the one hand, he put forward philosophical current that emerged from the fourth/tenth century in al-Andalus with Sa'īd b. Faṭḥūn al-Saraqusṭī, the author of a (now lost) treatise entitled *Shajarat al-ḥikma* (The Tree of Wisdom). On the other hand, he mentioned an eastern and shi'ite current, impersonated by the mystic philosopher Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, a contemporaneous of Llull and the author of an important encyclopaedic work known as *Rasā'il al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya fī 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya* (The Epistles of the Divine Tree on the Sciences of Godly Realities). In between, Urvoy posited the towering figure of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), himself known to have written two works bearing the word *shajara* in the title. Because of its title, and since it indeed qualifies as an encyclopaedia of sciences in its own right, Shahrazūrī's treatise deserves special mention here, especially as its author explicitly refers to the Ikhwān in several places by calling them either « the author(s) of the Epistles of the Brethren of Purity » (*ṣāhib/aṣḥāb rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*), « the author of the Brethren's Epistles » (*ṣāhib al-rasā'il al-ikhwāniyya*), or even « the author of the Brethren of Purity » (*ṣāhib ikhwān al-ṣafā'*).⁴⁶ Unfortunately, those passages in which Shahrazūrī cite the *Rasā'il* do not deal with the classification of knowledge

⁴³ JEAN-GUY DAGENAIS, « New Considerations on the Date and Composition of Llull's *Libre de Bèsties* », in MANUEL DURAN, ALBERT PORQUERAS MAYO, JOSEP Roca-PONS (eds.), *Actes del Segon Colloqui d'Estudis Catalans a Nord-Amèrica, Yale 1979*, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Badalona 1982, p. 131–139.

⁴⁴ For a comparison between the *Rasā'il* and Llull's *Llibre de les meravelles*, see JOSEP PUIG MONTADA, « Ramon Llull and the Islamic Culture of the Mediterranean », in AKASOY, RAVEN (eds.), *Islamic Thought*, p. 503–519.

⁴⁵ DOMINIQUE URVOY, « Le symbole de l'arbre chez les auteurs arabes antérieurs à Llull », in FERNANDO DOMÍNGUEZ REBOIRAS, JAIME DE SALAS (eds.), *Constantes y fragmentos del pensamiento luliano. Actas del simposio sobre Ramon Llull en Trujillo, 17–20 septiembre 1994*, Niemeyer, Tübingen 1996, p. 91–77, here p. 92. See also MIGUEL CRUZ HERNÁNDEZ, « El símbolo del árbol en Ramon Llull e Ibn al-Jatib », *Studia lullistica. Miscellanea in honorem Sebastiani Garcias Palou*, Moll, Palma de Mallorca 1989, p. 19–25, which was itself a refutation of: EMILIO DE SANTIAGO SIMÓN, « Raimundo Lulio e Ibn Al-Jatib. Notas para un curioso paralelismo », *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos*, 29–30 (1980), p. 189–193.

⁴⁶ See for instance SHAHRAZŪRĪ, *Rasā'il al-shajara al-ilāhiyya*, ed. NAJAF GULĪ ḤABĪBĪ, Iranian Institute of Philosophy, Tehran 1383–1385/2004–2006, vol. II, p. 200 and vol. III, p. 314, 326, 522, 559, 564.

and nothing like the classification from Epistle 7 is found in the text. In spite of having enjoyed a great popularity, especially in Ottoman times,⁴⁷ it remains problematic to determine the impact that Shahrāzūrī's *Shajara* had on *tashjir* representations of the division of science.

Our last move will bring us back to the world of those visual representations, but extending the scope to diagrams other than exclusively related to the classification of knowledge. We know that, from the thirteenth century at least, genealogical *tashjir* diagrams began to circulate, first in the Central Asia and then spreading westward to cover most of the Muslim world.⁴⁸ The first work in which these diagrams appear is actually entitled *Shajara-yi ansāb* (Tree of Genealogies). Written by Fakhr-i Mudabbir (d. 633/1236), a Persian author active at the court of the Ghaznavids and the Delhi Sultanate, it includes 139 genealogies to cover the whole history of the world, from Adam's progeny and Muḥammad's descendants to the Ghaznavid and Ghūrid dynasties in his own time.

The schematic figurations of such genealogies in the only extant manuscript of Fakhr-i Muddabir's *Shajara* resemble much al-Biṣṭāmī's *tashjir*, except that the tree is there inverted to allow the root-ancestor of the tree to occupy the top position.⁴⁹ It is interesting to observe with Binbaş that, after this first attempt at visualizing genealogies in the format of a tree, 'the systematic use of genealogical trees began almost a century later in the Mongol period in Iran'.⁵⁰ In the same order of ideas, it is also worthwhile remembering that the Islamic world saw during the same period the unprecedented development of an alternative form of visual representations, namely the *taqwīm* (table-format), convenient not only for historiographic and genealogical purposes but also for a wide variety of sciences, on the model of works such as the medical *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* by Ibn Buṭlān in the fourth/tenth century or the geographical *Taqwīm al-buldān* by Abū l-Fidā' in the early eighth/fourteenth century.⁵¹ It turns out that one category of these *taqwīms*,

⁴⁷ REZA POURJAVADY, SABINE SCHMIDTKE, « Some Notes on a New Edition of a Medieval Philosophical Text in Turkey: Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrāzūrī's *Rasā'il al-shajara al-ilāhiyya* », *Die Welt des Islams*, 46/1 (2006), p. 76–8, here p. 79.

⁴⁸ İLKER EVRİM BINBAŞ, « Structure and Function of the 'Genealogical Tree' in Islamic Historiography (1200–1500) », in İLKER EVRİM BINBAŞ, NURTEN KILIÇ-SCHUBEL (eds.), *Horizons of the World: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan – Hudūdü'l-Âlem: İsenbike Togan'a Armağan*, İthaki Publishing, Istanbul 2011, p. 465–544.

⁴⁹ BINBAŞ, « Structure », p. 508: « Simply put, the most prestigious place in a tree metaphor is its roots, but the most prestigious place on a manuscript page is at the top, where the ancestor, the most prestigious person a genealogical tree, is placed ».

⁵⁰ BINBAŞ, « Structure », p. 522.

⁵¹ DENISE AIGLE, « L'histoire sous forme graphique, en arabe, persan et turc ottoman. Origines et fonctions », *Bulletin d'études orientales*, 58 (2008–2009), p. 11–49, here p. 13 : « Au xiv^e siècle, on trouve non seulement des *taqwīm* historiques, mais aussi d'autres types de textes qui utilisent cette présentation. Je désigne ces textes comme un genre littéraire « para-historique » : ouvrages géographiques, dictionnaires biographiques, manuels de chancellerie. Il se pourrait qu'à cette

namely the astronomical almanacs, experienced a particularly significant boom at the Ottoman court during al-Biṣṭāmī's lifetime, and can only have exerted a strong impact on a mind such as his.⁵² Thus, while evoking al-Biṣṭāmī's project of making the Ottoman imperial power the culmination of a prophetic cycle of sacred history begun with Adam, Fleischer also stresses that

this project would seem to be intimately related to the genesis of the other earliest Ottoman sources we possess: the 'almanacs' (*taqwīm*) that emerge from 1420 onwards, which contains chronologies in reverse – usually from Creation to the present – that tie proximate dynastic history and the present day to a larger cosmic course.⁵³

I have pointed out above some of the problems that medieval diagrams continue to pose for researchers. In her recent and stimulating essay on medieval branching diagrams, Ayelet Even-Ezra also reminds us that « the history of intercultural influence in manuscript culture and in diagramming habits in the Middle Ages – early and late alike – largely remains uncharted territory ».⁵⁴ For whoever assumes that al-Biṣṭāmī simply copied an existing model for his *tashjīr*, it is clear that the present study cannot claim to have identified any smoking gun and that more research should be done to try to find one. This said, I believe that the recourse to diagrams and visual renditions of all sorts, which is well-attested in al-Biṣṭāmī's epoch and amply documented in his own works, rather invites us to contemplate the alternative hypothesis, a hypothesis according to which al-Biṣṭāmī would have himself turned the Ikhwān's science classification into a tree. Similarly, I am of the opinion that al-Biṣṭāmī should be credited with having himself introduced four « new » sciences into the original arrangement: medicine, veterinary, falconry, together with the religious science of recitation.

époque, au cours de laquelle l'historiographie islamique trouve un important développement, on ait éprouvé le besoin de rationaliser les données pour les rendre plus directement accessibles ».

⁵² AHMET TUNÇ ŞEN, « Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550 », Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 2016, in particular Chapter Four (« Chronicling the Past, Mirroring the Present, Divining the Future: *Taqwīms* (Almanac-Prognostications) in the Ottoman context »). See also: AHMET TUNÇ ŞEN, CORNELL H. FLEISCHER, « Books on Astrology, Astronomical Tables, and Almanacs in the Library Inventory of Bayezid II », in Necipoğlu, Kafadar, Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge. An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, vol. I: Essays, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2019, p. 767–821. In this latter contribution, the authors note (p. 771) the presence of « the Epistle of Ikhwan al-Şafa on mathematical sciences including the science of the stars » as part of the inventory and emphasize sultan Bayezid's personal interest in astronomy and astrology.

⁵³ FLEISCHER, « Learning », p. 158.

⁵⁴ EVEN-EZRA, *Lines of Thought*, p. 25.

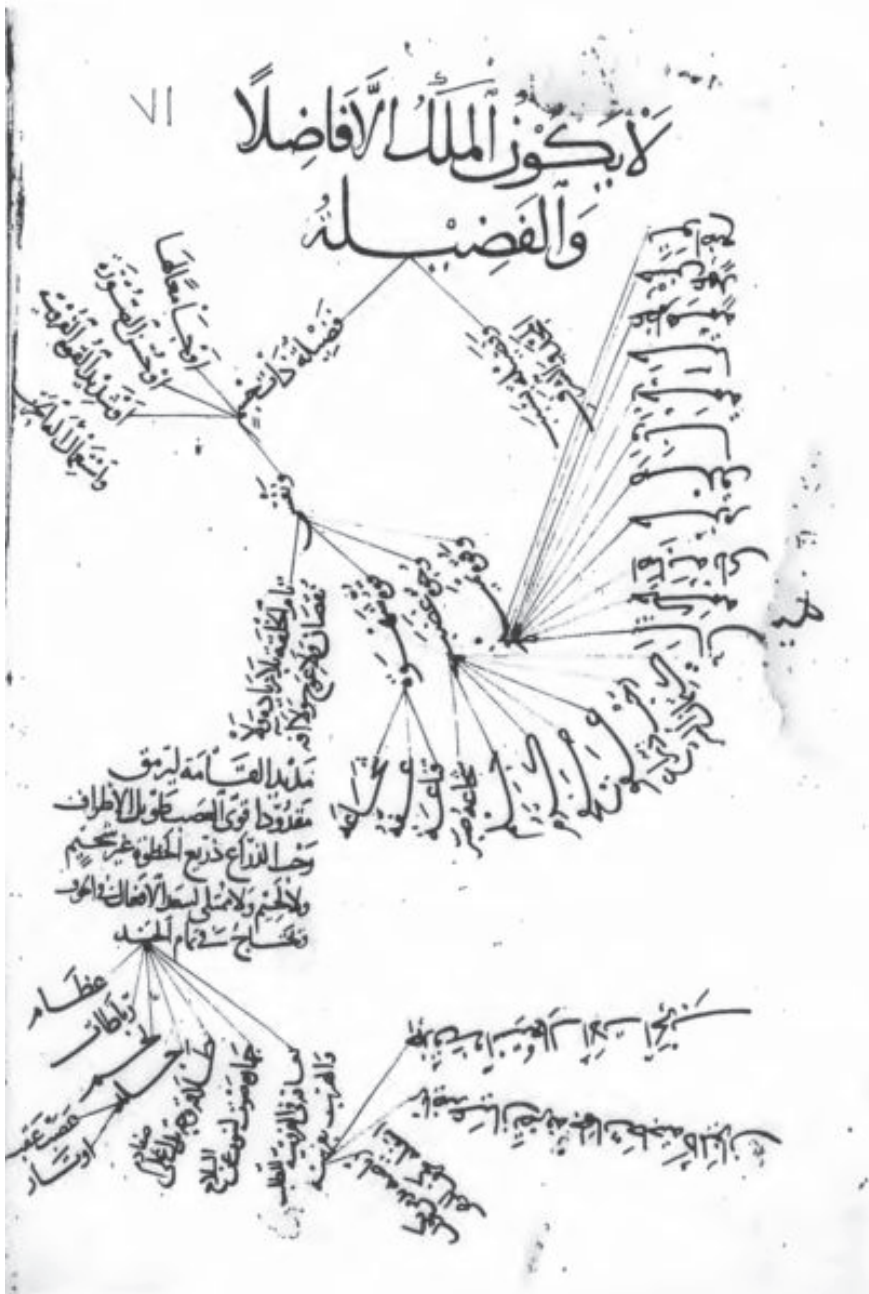


Fig. 6: A *tashjir* from Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm*
 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, MS 2768, Ahmet III Collection
 (© Topkapı Sarayı Library)

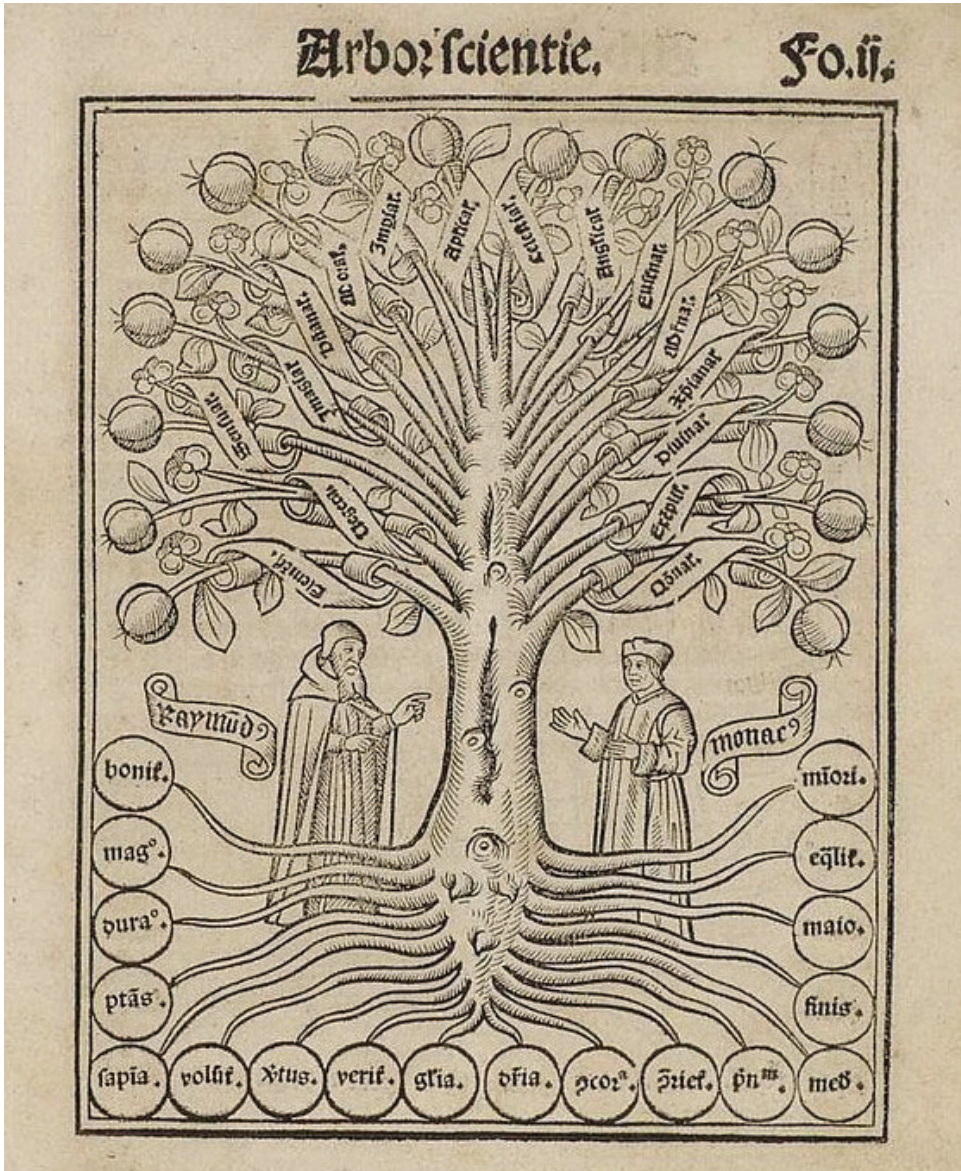


Fig. 7: The *Arbor scientie* of Ramon Llull
(Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Arbor scientie venerabilis et celitus illuminati patris Raymundi Iullii*, 1515; wikicommons)

Appendix

THE CLASSIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE *RASĀ'IL IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ'*
(from Epistle 7, ed. DE CALLATAY, p. 72–95)

You should know, my brother, that there are three kinds of sciences (*ulūm*) which people busy themselves with: the propaedeutical (*al-riyāḍiyya*), the religious conventional (*al-shar'īyya al-waḍ'īyya*), and the genuine philosophical (*al-falsafiyya al-ḥaqīqiyya*).

The propaedeutical, that is, the sciences of education (*'ilm al-ādāb*), are those which have been established, for the most part, for the pursuit of livelihood and the improvement of life in this world. They are of nine kinds (*anwā'*):

- (1) writing and reading (*'ilm al-kitāba wa-l-qirā'a*)
- (2) language and grammar (*'ilm al-lughā wa-l-naḥw*)
- (3) calculation and operations (*'ilm al-ḥisāb wa-l-mu'āmalāt*)
- (4) poetry and prosody (*'ilm al-shi'r wa-l-'arūd*)
- (5) auspices and omens, and the like (*'ilm al-zajr wa-l-fa'l wa-mā shākala-hā*)
- (6) magic, incantations, alchemy, mechanical devices, and the like (*'ilm al-siḥr wa-l-'azā'im wa-l-kīmiyā' wa-l-ḥiyāl wa-mā shākala-hā*)
- (7) professions and crafts (*'ilm al-ḥiraf wa-l-ṣanā'i'*)
- (8) sale and purchase, trades, cultivation, and breeding (*'ilm al-bay' wa-l-shirā' wa-l-tijārāt wa-l-ḥarth wa-l-nasl*)
- (9) biographies and historical reports (*'ilm al-siyar wa-l-akhbār*)

The religious sciences, which were established for the healing of souls and the pursuit of the hereafter, are of six kinds:

- (1) the science of revelation (*'ilm al-tanzīl*)
- (2) the science of interpretation (*'ilm al-ta'wīl*)
- (3) the science of transmissions and reports (*'ilm al-riwāyāt wa-l-akhbār*)
- (4) the science of jurisprudence, norms, and laws (*'ilm al-fiqh wa-l-sunan wa-l-aḥkām*)
- (5) the science relating to remembrance, exhortations, asceticism, and mysticism (*'ilm al-tadhkār wa-l-mawā'iz wa-l-zuhd wa-l-taṣawwuf*)

- (6) the science of the interpretation of dreams (*'ilm ta'wīl al-munāmāt*)

The philosophical sciences are of four kinds: (1) mathematical (*al-riyādiyyāt*); (2) logical (*al-mantiqiyyāt*); (3) natural (*al-ṭabī'iyyāt*); (4) and divine (*al-ilahiyyāt*).

There are four kinds of mathematical sciences:

- (1) arithmetic (*al-arithmāṭiqā*)
- (2) geometry (*al-jumatriyā*)
- (3) astronomy (*al-aṣṭrunūmiyā*)
- (4) music (*al-mūsīqā*)

The logical sciences are of five kinds:

- (1) poetics (*būyuṭīqā*)
- (2) rhetoric (*riṭūrīqā*)
- (3) topics (*ṭubīqā*)
- (4) analytics (*anūlūṭīqā*)
- (5) sophistry (*sūfiṣṭīqā*)

The natural sciences are of seven kinds:

- (1) the science of physical principles (*'ilm al-mabādī' al-jusmāniyya*)
- (2) the science of the heavens and the world (*'ilm al-samā' wa-l-'ālam*)
- (3) the science of generation and corruption (*'ilm al-kawn wa-l-fasād*)
- (4) the science of atmospheric events (*'ilm ḥawādith al-jaww*)
- (5) the science of minerals (*'ilm al-ma'ādin*)
- (6) the science of plants (*'ilm al-nabāt*)
- (7) the science of animals (*'ilm al-ḥayawān*)

The divine sciences are of five kinds:

- (1) the knowledge of the Founder (*ma'rifat al-bārī*)
- (2) the science of spiritual beings (*'ilm al-ruḥāniyyāt*)
- (3) the sciences of psychic beings (*al-'ulūm al-naḥsiyyāt*)
- (4) the science of governance (*'ilm al-siyāsa*), which is of five kinds: prophetic (*nabawiyya*) governance, royal (*al-mulūkiyya*) governance, public

(‘āmmiyya) governance, domestic (*khāṣṣiyya*) governance, and private (*dhātiyya*) governance

(5) the science of the Return (*‘ilm al-ma‘ād*)

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DESDE EL EXILIO MORISCO: LAS GLOSAS DE AL-ḤAĠARĪ BEJARANO AL CÓDICE LEIDENSE DEL *KITĀB AL-MUSTAʿĪNĪ* DE IBN BUKLĀRIŠ

FROM MOORISH EXILE: THE GLOSSES OF AL-ḤAĠARĪ BEJARANO
TO THE LEIDEN CODEX FROM THE *KITĀB AL-MUSTAʿĪNĪ* OF IBN BUKLĀRIŠ

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Resumen

El artículo ofrece la presentación, estudio contextualizado y edición de las anotaciones marginales del manuscrito Cod. Or. 15 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden, que contiene una versión del tratado de medicamentos simples titulado *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* del judío andalusí Ibn Buklārīš. Los nombres de los medicamentos fueron glosados en español (a veces, en otras lenguas, como latín y, de manera ocasional, en francés) por Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī (alias Diego Bejarano). Este conocido morisco restauró y copió parcialmente el manuscrito, a la vez que ilustró la nomenclatura del tratado farmacológico con glosas y comentarios consignados junto a sus nombres árabes, antes de la adquisición del códice en Marruecos (entre 1622 y 1624) por el célebre orientalista holandés Golius.

Parlabras clave

Materia médica árabe; *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*; glosas en español; moriscos; al-Ḥaġarī

Abstract

This article presents a contextualized study and edition of the marginal annotations of the manuscript Cod. Or. 15 of the Leiden University Library, which contains a version of the treatise on simple medicines entitled *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* by the Andalusian Jew Ibn Buklārīš. Drug names were glossed in Spanish (sometimes in other languages, such as Latin, and occasionally in French) by Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī (also known as Diego Bejarano). This well-known Morisco partially restored and copied the manuscript, while illustrating the nomenclature of the pharmacological treatise with glosses and comments recorded along with their Arabic names, before the acquisition of the codex in Morocco (between 1622 and 1624) by the famous Dutch orientalist Golius.

Key Words

Arabic Materia Medica; *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*; glosses in Spanish; Moriscos; al-Ḥaġarī



Hace algunos años, al presentar un corpus nada despreciable de recetarios aljamiados procedentes de los moriscos de Aragón,¹ tuve ocasión de citar de pasada otros textos sobre la práctica médica de esta minoría hispano-islámica. Entre ellos, mencionaba un excepcional documento, más temprano (de época mudéjar), redactado en las primeras décadas del siglo XVI, que contiene las anotaciones y observaciones clínicas y terapéuticas de un médico aragonés; señalaba asimismo la existencia de otros textos específicos sobre la materia médica y su nomenclatura, como algunos repertorios con los nombres árabes de los medicamentos y su equivalente en *ʿağamiyya*, provenientes del área valenciana; y, en el mismo sentido, hacía referencia a los materiales de inequívoca autoría morisca que figuran en el margen de un manuscrito árabe sobre materia médica, de proveniencia marroquí, que permiten extender el campo de estudio al exilio morisco en el Norte de África, prolongando el arco cronológico de nuestras pesquisas que, desde época mudéjar, alcanzan así la tercera década del siglo XVII.²

Me estoy refiriendo, en este último caso, a las más de 700 glosas escritas en caracteres latinos que figuran al margen de un códice singular del tratado de medicamentos simples titulado *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* del judío andalusí Ibn Buklārīš (siglos XI–XII), conservado en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden, del que aquí nos vamos a ocupar.³

¹ JUAN CARLOS VILLAVERDE AMIEVA, « Recetarios médicos aljamiado-moriscos », en FELICE GAMBIN (ed.), *Alle radici dell'Europa. Mori, giudei e zingari nei paesi del Mediterraneo occidentale*, vol. II: *Secoli XVII–XIX. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Verona, 14, 15 e 16 febbraio 2008)*, SEID, Firenze 2010, p. 299–318.

² VILLAVERDE, « Recetarios médicos aljamiado-moriscos », p. 315, notas 27, 28 y 29. Adelanté noticia de tales anotaciones marginales de mano morisca y de los repertorios moriscos valencianos sobre materia médica en el *Proyecto docente para concursar a la plaza ... de Lengua Árabe ... de la Universidad de Oviedo* (Oviedo 1991), p. 427–430. Luego fui dando a conocer todos estos textos sobre terapéutica y materia médica entre la minoría hispano-islámica en comunicaciones (no publicadas) a tres sucesivos congresos de estudios moriscos de la Fundación Temimi, celebrados en Zaghouan (Túnez): « Hacia un estudio de los recetarios y la materia médica entre los moriscos » (IX^o Symposium International d'Études Morisques, 13–16 de mayo de 1999), « Glosas moriscas a un manuscrito andalusí de materia médica » (X^o Symposium International d'Études Morisques, 9–12 de mayo de 2001) y « Sobre un manuscrito inexplorado de medicina morisca (RAH Gayangos T15) » (XI^o Symposium International d'Études Morisques, 8–11 de mayo de 2003); del interés y contenido de este último manuscrito me ocupé también, bajo el título « Un códice morisco inexplorado de medicina (Ms. RAH Gayangos T15) », igualmente inédito, en el encuentro *La identidad islámica de los moriscos. Homenaje a Mikel de Epalza* (Universidad de Alicante, 23–26 de noviembre de 2009).

³ Una aproximación sumaria, con breve muestreo de la *marginalia* morisca de este manuscrito, ofrecí en el estudio citado *infra*, nota 6 (p. 68–70). Más recientemente y por extenso, me ocupé de este asunto y di a conocer un centenar largo de las glosas (las correspondientes a letras *alif*, *kāf*, *nūn* y *šīn*): JUAN CARLOS VILLAVERDE AMIEVA, « Glosas moriscas en Marruecos: las anotaciones de Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥağārī Bejarano a un tratado andalusí de materia médica », en MUSTAPHA

I. De Marraquech a Leiden:
un manuscrito singular del Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī

La farmacopea de Ibn Buklārīš consta de dos partes bien diferenciadas: una introducción, en la que el autor manifiesta su propósito de componer una obra recopilatoria sobre materia médica y su concepción de la terapéutica a partir de los remedios simples, seguida de un extenso diccionario, con más de 700 entradas, dispuesto en formas de tablas en el que, para cada simple (de origen vegetal, animal o mineral), se ofrece: (1) nombre (*al-asmāʾ*), (2) naturaleza y grado (*al-ṭibāʿ wa-l-daraġ*), (3) interpretación o sinónimos en diferentes lenguas (*tafsīru-hā bi-ḥtilāf al-luġāt*), entre ellas la ʿaġamiyyat al-Andalus o romance andalusí, (4) sucedáneos (*al-abdal min-hā*), y (5) utilidades, propiedades y modos de empleo (*manāfiʿu-hā wa-ḥawāṣṣu-hā wa-wuġūd istiʿmālī-hā*).

Del alcance del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, su transmisión en al-Andalus y su prolongada circulación en el Magreb (especialmente en Marruecos) hasta época relativamente reciente, son prueba fehaciente los manuscritos conservados de la obra, a cuya cabeza hay que colocar un tempranísimo códice, terminado de copiar en fecha muy próxima a los días del autor (ṣafar 524 h. / enero 1130 d. C.). Tras la adquisición, en octubre del 2003, de tan valioso manuscrito por la Arcadian Library, organizó esta biblioteca privada en su sede londinense (septiembre del 2005) un encuentro de especialistas en torno al *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* y publicó después un volumen colectivo con diversos estudios sobre la obra.⁴ Al nutrido elenco de manuscritos de la obra –conservados o no– y puestos a contribución con tal motivo por Ricordel⁵ y por mí,⁶ podemos todavía añadir algún otro no tenido en cuenta entonces, como el que posee la Chester Beatty Library de Dublín,⁷ o el ingresado

ADILA (ed.), *Los Moriscos-Andalusíes en Marruecos. Estado de la cuestión*, Publicaciones de la Asociación Marroquí de Estudios Andalusíes, Tetuán 2015, p. 211–246. Retomo aquí este trabajo, que reelaboro, amplío y actualizo, ahora que se me ofrece la ocasión de publicar la totalidad de los materiales con que el morisco al-Ḥaġarī Bejarano ilustró y enriqueció la denominación de los simples sobre el manuscrito leidense.

⁴ CHARLES BURNETT (ed.), *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples. Medical remedies between three faiths in Twelfth-Century Spain*, The Arcadian Library – Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008.

⁵ JÖELLE RICORDEL, « The Manuscript Transmission of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* and the Contributions of the Arcadian Library Manuscript », en BURNETT (ed.), *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples*, p. 27–41.

⁶ JUAN CARLOS VILLAVEDE AMIEVA, « Towards the Study of the Romance Languages in the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* », en BURNETT (ed.), *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples*, p. 43–74, espec. p. 47–52.

⁷ Ar. 4506, véase ARTHUR J. ARBERRY, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. VI, Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd., Dublín 1963, p. 2–3, cuya letra describe como « clear scholar's maghribī » y sobre la fecha indica « undated, 10/16 century ». Menciona de pasada el manuscrito RICORDEL, « The Manuscript Transmission of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* », p. 28 y n. 6.

en los años 70 del pasado siglo en la British Library, copia bastante moderna, al parecer, y también de procedencia marroquí.⁸

De la casi veintena de manuscritos del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, y de los que tenemos constancia, centraremos la atención sobre el ejemplar perteneciente a la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden (Cod. Or. 15), allí integrado junto a dos centenares largos de manuscritos coleccionados por el orientalista Jacobus Golius (1596-1667). El manuscrito había llegado a sus manos durante su misión diplomática en Marruecos entre 1622 y 1624, gracias a la mediación del morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. al-Šayḥ al-Ḥaġarī al-Andalusī, del que hace tiempo sabíamos su apellido español (Bejarano) y cuyo nombre cristiano (Diego) ahora también nos es conocido, como luego veremos. Además, habrá ocasión de considerar el papel destacado de este personaje en la ejecución de tal copia manuscrita (al menos, en parte de la misma) y, lo que es más relevante a nuestro propósito, el hecho de que fue precisamente este morisco el autor de las glosas marginales que enriquecen ese códice de materia médica, custodiado desde 1629 en aquella biblioteca.

II. El morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī Bejarano y el códice Or. 15 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden

Figura conocida y polígrafo excepcional en el panorama de las letras moriscas, al-Ḥaġarī Bejarano fue escritor bilingüe, en árabe y español, de cuyas obras se han conservado y conocemos varios autógrafos –así como de sus cartas y traducciones– en ambas lenguas. Nacido en la localidad extremeña de Hornachos (volveremos sobre ello) en torno a los años 1569–70, no es cuestión ahora de adentrarse en las vicisitudes de su asendereada vida, cuya huella se desvanece en Túnez en torno al año 1641, ni de entrar en consideraciones acerca de su polifacética obra.

Remitimos a la creciente bibliografía sobre el autor, incrementada de manera notoria a lo largo estas últimas décadas, desde el renovador trabajo de Wiegiers⁹ y su puesta al día en el estudio introductorio a la edición del texto árabe y traducción inglesa del *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* (versión extractada de su autobiografía perdida), publicada en 1997 por Van Koningsveld, Samarrai y el mencionado Wiegiers.¹⁰ Igualmente reenviamos a otros títulos posteriores, con interesantes novedades

⁸ Or. 13248, véase « Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books. Select Manuscript Acquisitions January 1970 to June 1973 », *The British Library Journal*, 1–2 (1975), p. 99.

⁹ GERARD WIEGERS, « A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: The Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī al-Andalusī (Born ca. 977/1569–70) », en GEERT JAN VAN GELDER, Ed C. M. DE MOOR (eds.), *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges*, Rodopi, Amsterdam – Atlanta 1992 [= *Orientations*, vol. I], p. 87–115.

¹⁰ AḤMAD B. QĀSIM AL-ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā ʾl-qawm al-kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel*), ed. PIETER SJORD VAN KONINGSVELD, QASIM AL-SAMARRAI, GERARD ALBERT WIEGERS, CSIC – AECI, Madrid 1997 (Fuentes Árabe-Hispanas, 21), p. 11–59 y bibliografía en p. 276–291.

documentales sobre la fecunda peripecia vital e intelectual de este personaje; entre ellos, los de Bernabé Pons,¹¹ García-Arenal *et alii*,¹² Boyano,¹³ Samarraí,¹⁴ así como García-Arenal y Rodríguez Mediano.¹⁵ Trabajos todos ellos que dan cuenta del creciente interés suscitado por la figura de al-Ḥaġarī en estos últimos años, que culminan, por el momento, con la nueva edición del *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* a cargo de los tres citados investigadores.¹⁶ Incluye esta nueva versión un estudio introductorio notablemente ampliado y actualizado, con reedición revisada del texto y de su traducción, una exhaustiva relación bibliográfica, índice (lugares, personas, títulos de obras), así como la reproducción fotográfica del manuscrito –hasta entonces desconocido– de la redacción primitiva de la obra.¹⁷

¹¹ LUIS F. BERNABÉ PONS, « Una nota sobre Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥayārī Bejarano », *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 13 (1996), p. 123–128.

¹² MERCEDES GARCÍA-ARENAL, FERNANDO RODRÍGUEZ MEDIANO, RACCHID EL HOUR, *Cartas marruecas. Documentos de Marruecos en Archivos Españoles (Siglos XVI–XVII)*, CSIC, Madrid 2002, p. 40–42 y docs. 81, 90 y 91.

¹³ ISABEL BOYANO GUERRA, « Al-Ḥayārī y su traducción del Pergamino de la Torre Turpiana », en MANUEL BARRIOS AGUILERA, MERCEDES GARCÍA-ARENAL (eds.), *¿La historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano*, Editorial Universidad de Granada – El legado andalusí, Granada 2008, p. 137–157, trabajo que tiene origen en su memoria (inérita) de DEA: *Diego Vexarano, traductor del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana*, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid 2007, en la que ofrecía también la edición de los trabajos de Bejarano sobre el pergamino. Agradezco a su autora el haberme facilitado un ejemplar de este trabajo.

¹⁴ QASSIM AL-SAMARRAI, « Los cambios textuales en el libro de al-Hayari ‘Nacer eddin’ sobre los infieles », en FATIHA BENLABBAH, ACHOUAK CHALKHA (eds.), *Los moriscos y su legado: desde ésta y otras laderas*, Instituto de Estudios Hispano-Lusos – Facultad de Letras y Ciencias Humanas ben Msik, Rabat – Casablanca 2010, p. 265–270.

¹⁵ MERCEDES GARCÍA-ARENAL, FERNANDO RODRÍGUEZ MEDIANO, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de la Contrarreforma*, Marcial Pons, Madrid 2010, espec. p. 151–160.

¹⁶ AḤMAD B. QĀSIM AL-ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ‘alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. PIETER SJORD VAN KONINGSVELD, QASIM AL-SAMARRAI, GERARD ALBERT WIEGERS, CSIC, Madrid 2015 (Fuentes Árabe-Hispanas, 35), p. 13–21, así como la bibliografía en p. 307–320. Salvo indicación expresa, cito por esta edición, reseñada por TERESA SOTO en *Medieval Encounters*, 23 (2017), p. 561–564.

¹⁷ Esta edición, traducción y estudio actualizados de la obra por Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai y Wiegiers (por la que citamos en lo sucesivo) nos dispensa de recargar innecesariamente estas notas con la referencia de otras ediciones, anteriores y posteriores, algunas piratas derivadas de ella. (Ofrecen una relación CELIA TÉLLEZ, ADIL BARRADA, « Presentación de la traducción del libro *El periplo de Al-Ḥayārī* / *Kitāb nāṣir ad-dīn ‘alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn* (El libro del que apoya la religión contra los infieles) », *Actas de los Simposios de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Árabes*, vol. III, Sociedad Española de Estudios Árabes, Almería 2019, p. 199). No pasaremos por alto, sin embargo, la reciente edición tetuaní: AḤMAD B. QĀSIM AL-ḤAĠARĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ‘alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn*. Taḥqīq wa-taḍmīn ŠURD FĀN KÜNINKZFİLD, QĀSIM AL-SĀMURRĀĪ WA-ḤİRAD FİḤİRZ, Tarġamat Ġa‘far b. al-Ḥāġġ al-Sulamī li-muqaddimat al-muḥaqqiqīn; murāġa‘at Salwā ‘Aziz al-Wazzānī, Manšūrāt ġam‘iyyāt Tiṭṭāwun Ašmīr, Tetuán 2019, que reproduce el prefacio, la introducción general y el texto árabe de la edición madrileña citada en la nota anterior, enriquecida con exhaustivos índices (aleyas, hadices, antroponimia individual y colectiva, lugares, títulos de obras, refranes y versos).

Lo que aquí interesa destacar es que, a través de la mediación de al-Ḥaḡarī, el manuscrito leidense de Ibn Buklārīš fue adquirido por el orientalista holandés Jacob Golius (1596–1667), según puso de manifiesto hace ya algunos años Gerard Wiegers.¹⁸ En efecto, en 1622 Golius se desplazó a Marruecos, como miembro de una misión enviada por los Países Bajos con objeto de tratar acerca de la viabilidad de la construcción de un puerto en aquella costa. Por fuentes diplomáticas conocemos que al-Ḥaḡarī, entonces secretario y traductor del soberano Muḡayyid Zaydān, había entrado en contacto con la delegación europea. A nuestro propósito es muy reveladora una carta suya autógrafa, fechada en Marraquech a 29 de febrero de 1624, que al-Ḥaḡarī remitió a Golius, a la sazón en Safi. Dicha carta, conservada también en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden, había sido dada a conocer ya por Dozy,¹⁹ luego traducida y comentada por Wiegers,²⁰ y más recientemente, bien contextualizada, la editó de nuevo Witkam.²¹ De su lectura se deduce claramente que las relaciones entre la delegación europea y al-Ḥaḡarī no se limitaban a los estrictos asuntos diplomáticos y al mero papel de intérprete de este, a la vez que quedaba de manifiesto el interés de Golius por ciertos manuscritos árabes y, de manera notoria, su intención de adquirir una copia del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, por aquellos días todavía en manos de su propietario (un médico marroquí), cuya rareza y antigüedad no dejaba de encarecerle el morisco.

Ahora bien, el papel de al-Ḥaḡarī no se limitó a la mera intermediación entre el dueño del manuscrito y su ulterior destinatario, el orientalista Golius: el propio códice es el mejor testimonio de ello. Sabíamos que Bejarano había copiado de su propia mano una parte del manuscrito, pero conviene destacar además que también restauró el códice, como recientemente ha analizado con detalle Witkam.²² Por otra parte, este paleógrafo y codicólogo llamó la atención, a partir del testimonio de otra carta autógrafa de al-Ḥaḡarī a Golius (conservada en la John Rylands Library de Manchester y dada a conocer por Schmidt),²³ de fecha 2 de

¹⁸ GERARD ALBERT WIEGERS, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḡmad b. Kāsim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in The Netherland*, Dokumentatiebureau Islam-Christendom. Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden 1988. En la reseña de este opúsculo que hice en *Aljamía*, 2 (1999), p. 62–63, tuve ya ocasión hacerme eco y destacar que la « parte moderna » del manuscrito y las glosas marginales en caracteres latinos eran inequívocamente de la mano de al-Ḥaḡarī (p. 63).

¹⁹ REINHART PIETER ANNE DOZY, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae academiae Lugduno Batavae*, vol. I, Brill, Leiden 1851, p. 161–162.

²⁰ WIEGERS, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius*, p. 65–66.

²¹ JAN JUST WITKAM, « The Leiden Manuscript of the *al-Mustaʿīnī* », en BURNETT (ed.), *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples*, p. 79–82, con reproducción fotográfica de la carta en p. 81.

²² WITKAM, « The Leiden Manuscript of the *al-Mustaʿīnī* », p. 88–90.

²³ JAN SCHMIDT, « An Ostrich Egg for Golius. The Heyman Papers Preserved in the Leiden and Manchester University Libraries and Early-Modern Contacts between the Netherlands and the Middle East », en Id., *The Joys of Philology: Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1500–*

febrero de 1624, algo anterior pues a la otra ya citada, sobre la circunstancia de que el morisco, al preparar la copia para Golius, se sirvió de otros dos manuscritos diferentes (*wa-min-humā saḥaḥnā nuṣṣata-ka*) del tratado de Ibn Buklārīš.²⁴

La presentación cronológica y la filiación de manuscritos del *stemma codicum* del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, elaborado a otro propósito²⁵ y aquí reproducido (lám. I), permite apreciar el lugar que ocupa el manuscrito adquirido por Golius en el conjunto de los testimonios conocidos (algunos no conservados) de la obra de Ibn Buklārīš; aparece ahí el código de Leiden señalado con las siglas *L_a*, en referencia a su parte antigua, y *L_m*, que corresponde a la moderna, ejecutada esta por mano de al-Ḥaḡarī (láminas II, III y IV). Hace ya tiempo que Dozy, pionero en aprovechar el rico venero léxico de la obra de Ibn Buklārīš, estableció la distinción entre ambas partes de este manuscrito²⁶, que el arabista holandés espigó con gran provecho para su célebre *Supplément*.

Además, cabe añadir aún que, en su cometido de copista, al-Ḥaḡarī fue más allá del mero traslado de diversos folios faltantes o deteriorados en la parte antigua del manuscrito. En alguna ocasión, modificó, en esa parte del manuscrito que copiaba de su mano, las voces del antiguo romance de al-Andalus incluidas en la casilla de sinónimos de la obra de Ibn Buklārīš, sustituyéndolas por formas para él conocidas de la lengua española coetánea; tal es el caso de la voz *q^aranazas* (عَرَنْظَش), es decir, forma castellana *granadas*, que escribió Bejarano en lugar de la genuina forma del romance andalusí *marganeṣas* (مرغناطش) que figuraba, sin duda, en el original que copiaba y ratifican (s. v. *rummān*) otros manuscritos de la obra.

Incluso al-Ḥaḡarī fue más lejos, pues encontramos la inopinada intervención de su mano en la parte antigua del manuscrito, rectificando lecturas de voces del romance andalusí por otras más concordes con la forma castellana por él conocida: así se explica la sorprendente lectura هِيَال (*hiel*), con insólita y desconcertante

1923), vol. II: *Orientalists, Travellers and Merchants in the Ottoman Empire, Political Relations between Europe and the Porte*, The Isis Press, Estambul 2022, (Analecta Isisiana, 60), p. 9–74, espec. p. 19–20.

²⁴ WITKAM, « The Leiden Manuscript of the *al-Mustaʿīnī* », p. 76–79.

²⁵ VILLAVERDE, « Towards the Study of the Romance Languages », p. 49–52. Se trataba entonces de establecer relaciones significativas entre los distintos manuscritos para, en última instancia, contextualizar los testimonios lingüísticos (romances) de los mismos con un doble propósito: por una parte, determinar las voces de la *ʿaḡamiyya* de al-Andalus incluidas, en origen, por Ibn Buklārīš en su obra; y por otra, a través de la secuencia temporal de los manuscritos y de la aparición de variantes, modificaciones y añadidos que presentan algunos de ellos, establecer la cronología de los testimonios novedosos, localizar su diversa procedencia geográfica e identificar la variada adscripción lingüística iberorrománica de esas voces advenedizas con que copistas y anotadores no cesaron de enriquecer, a lo largo de casi ocho siglos, la transmisión textual del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* en al-Andalus, en los reinos cristianos de la Península Ibérica y también en el Magreb (ibid., p. 52–74).

²⁶ REINHART PIETER ANNE DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Brill, Leiden 1881, vol. I, p. xxv.

aspiración en una voz del romance andalusí,²⁷ hasta que pudimos reconocer que la letra *hā'* inicial había sido sobreescrita por el propio Bejarano sobre la *fā'* del ductus *فِيَال* (es decir, *fiel*) que figuraba en el texto (s. v. *marārat al-fawāḥit*), variante esta que, a su vez, modificaba ligeramente la original románico-andalusí *fiele* (فِيَالِي) de Ibn Buklārīš, con vocal final mantenida, que aseguran las lecturas de otros manuscritos del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*.²⁸

III. Las anotaciones marginales de al-Ḥaḡarī en el manuscrito de Leiden

Pero la intervención de al-Ḥaḡarī en el manuscrito no quedó reducida a estas faenas de traslado parcial y restauración del texto ni a la ocasional corrección de lectura de algún que otro sinónimo en romance de al-Andalus. En la citada carta a Golius dada a conocer por Witkam, le hace saber que tradujo « la mayoría de los nombres de sus simples en *aljamía* [ár. *al-ʿġamiyya*] para facilitarte su comprensión »²⁹ (testimonio éste que ya había sido destacado por Schmidt)³⁰. Por *aljamía* hay que entender aquí el castellano o *lengua española*, así la denomina en una de las glosas que aquí editamos (según veremos enseguida), lengua que él había aprendido a leer y escribir antes de hacer lo propio con el árabe (como luego habrá también ocasión de analizar). A la lengua española se refiere en otro momento –en la primera de las dos cartas antes mencionadas³¹– como *lisān al-išbāniyūl* (لسان الاشبانيول) y lengua de España (لسان اِشْبَانِيَّة), respectivamente³². A ambas denominaciones podemos añadir la expresión *romance* (exactamente *lengua de romançe*), según manifiesta él mismo, a propósito de una carta que había traducido del árabe e interpretado en *buen español*.³³ Y aun, a beneficio de inventario, podríamos agregar la variante apocopada *romanç*,³⁴ hispanismo

²⁷ Recogida por FRANCISCO JAVIER SIMONET, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet, Madrid 1888, p. 267, en la que MENÉNDEZ PIDAL ya reconoció una indudable forma « especial » castellana, consciente de que los copistas « modernizaban » y « reformaban libremente las voces romances que transcribían » (*Orígenes del español*, 3.ª ed., Espasa-Calpe, Madrid 1950, § 82).

²⁸ Sobre estas intervenciones y sustituciones en el material romance originario por parte al-Ḥaḡarī en el manuscrito, véase VILLVERDE, « Towards the Study of the Romance Languages », p. 64–65.

²⁹ *ترجمت اكثر اسماء مفرداتها بالاعجمية ليسهل عليك فهمها* (apud WITKAM, « The Leiden Manuscript of the *al-Mustaʿīnī* », p. 78).

³⁰ SCHMIDT, « An Ostrich Egg for Golius », p. 19.

³¹ WITKAM, « The Leiden Manuscript of the *al-Mustaʿīnī* », p. 81.

³² ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 226.

³³ GARCÍA-ARENAL, RODRÍGUEZ MEDIANO, EL HOUR, *Cartas marruecas*, p. 374.

³⁴ En efecto, tal es la forma utilizada por al-Ḥaḡarī (رمنص [r-m-nṣ], es decir, ‘romance’) en el colofón de algunos manuscritos, al referir la lengua de origen de su traducción al árabe de la *Risāla al-zakūṭiyya*. Dio cuenta de tal circunstancia, transcribió los colofones y señaló el traductor

adaptado al árabe sin la vocal final, que al-Ḥaġarī utilizó en algunas de sus traducciones a esta lengua.³⁵

Digresiones aparte acerca de la casuística glotonímica utilizada por al-Ḥaġarī,³⁶ lo cierto es que Bejarano tradujo (o, más bien, glosó) en los márgenes del

MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿARABĪ AL-ḤAṬṬĀBĪ, al catalogar los mss. 8184 y 1433 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Rabat (*Fahāris al-ḥizāna al-malakiyya*, vol. III, Rabat, 1403/1982, núms. 344 y 345, p. 284–287). Por su parte, Julio Samsó aclaró que en la traducción árabe realizada por al-Ḥaġarī del *Almanach Perpetuum* de Abraham Zacuto, con el término *rumaṣ* del colofón, incorporaba en parte el explícit de la propia versión castellana original (a su vez, un traslado del latín) en «noestro vulgar romance», y cuya condición de lengua usual de España aclara asimismo el traductor morisco («*lisān r-m-ṣ wa-hiya al-luga al-ʿaġamiyya al-mutaṣarrafa fī bilād Isbāniya*»); sobre la peculiar transmisión del término, otras vicisitudes del ductus *r-m-ṣ* en algunos mss. y su incomprensión por copistas y glosadores de la versión árabe realizada por al-Ḥaġarī, véase JULIO SAMSÓ, «Abraham Zacuto en el Magrib: sobre la presunta cristianización del astrónomo judío y la islamización de su discípulo José Vizinho», *Anuari de Filologia. Estudis Hebreus i Arameus*, 8 (1998–1999), p. 155–165, reelaborado parcialmente en versión inglesa, bajo el título «On the Arabic translation of the colophon of *Almanach Perpetuum*», en su libro *Astronomy and Astrology in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2007 (Variorum Collected Studies Series, 887), cap. xv, p. 1–6; véase también la tesis doctoral de MARÍA JOSÉ PARRA PÉREZ, «Estudio y edición de las traducciones al árabe del *Almanach perpetuum* de Abraham Zacuto», tesis doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona 2013, espec. p. 416, donde publica también el texto de los colofones de los manuscritos aquí concernidos.

³⁵ A la vista del testimonio unánime de la expresión (لسان رمنص) ofrecido por AL-ḤAṬṬĀBĪ, SAMSÓ y PARRA en los trabajos citados en la nota anterior (p. 287, xv–3 y 416, respectivamente), parece cuestionable la lectura *al-lisān al-rumaṣ*, con artículo y *nisba* en el segundo término (sobre la que se podría especular con una eventual variante arabizada **romanṣe*, sin apócope), que VAN KONINGSVELD, AL-SAMARRAI y WIEGERS suponen «in one of the manuscripts of the Arabic version» (*apud* AL-ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 44 y 56, en las respectivas ediciones), a saber, el manuscrito 1433 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Rabat. Habrá que corregir igualmente la signatura 938 que adjudican estos autores a otro manuscrito de la obra de la misma biblioteca (*ibid.*, notas 115 y 144, respectivamente), que debe rectificarse en 8184, el cual corresponde efectivamente al n.º 334 del catálogo de AL-ḤAṬṬĀBĪ. Es de advertir asimismo que, aunque en la bibliografía de la 2.ª ed. (*ibid.*, p. 316), VAN KONINGSVELD, AL-SAMARRAI y WIEGERS recogen los estudios que SAMSÓ dedicó a esta traducción de al-Ḥaġarī, tales trabajos no han sido tenidos en cuenta al tratar del asunto en el estudio introductorio (*ibid.*, p. 56–57), lo cual habría evitado algunas inexactitudes e imprecisiones, como la de la lengua («probably Latin») desde la que al-Ḥaġarī había realizado la traducción de la obra de Zacuto.

³⁶ Que merecería estudio monográfico a partir de los ejemplos aquí señalados y otros interesantes testimonios que suministran sus obras y traducciones, en particular, el *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* y los textos autógrafos incluidos en el manuscrito D 565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia (fol. 116r–200r); precisamente el primero de estos («algunos milagros que hizo el santo profeta», extractos del *Kitāb al-ṣifā* del Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ), lo traduce al-Ḥaġarī consciente de «que los más de los andaluces españoles entienden más bien la lengua de romance que la lengua gramatical árabe» (fol. 116r), a la vez que no oculta su satisfacción por «que reñuan contentamiento de oír en lengua española la grandeza de los milagros...» (fol. 116v). La aberrante lectura «lengua de romanía» (!) que de este pasaje ofrece NEZHA NORRI, *Edición y estudio sociolingüístico del Manuscrito D.565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia*, UCA – UCO Press, Cádiz – Córdoba 2017, p. 213, es una las frecuentes lecturas arbitrarias de esta desafortunada edición.

manuscrito la mayoría de nombres de los medicamentos de la farmacopea de Ibn Buklārīš.

Pues bien, más allá de la finalidad inmediata de facilitar la comprensión de la obra, según le anuncia a Golius por carta, y con el indudable propósito de estimular la adquisición del código por parte de su corresponsal, esas anotaciones al margen del manuscrito muestran una activa curiosidad de al-Ḥaḡarī por el *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, a la vez que nos descubren un aspecto desconocido en la polifacética personalidad del morisco: su interés por la medicina, y en concreto por la materia médica, disciplina en la que acredita, como vamos a ver, unos conocimientos y una familiaridad, al menos con su nomenclatura, nada despreciables y, mucho menos, comunes.

Pasemos pues a examinar dichas glosas.

(a) « En lengua española »

En la mayoría de los casos, las anotaciones consignadas por al-Ḥaḡarī al margen de la casilla de los nombres de los medicamentos se limitan a glosar la denominación árabe con su equivalente romance, como puede verse en la siguiente muestra:³⁷

بَادِنْجَانٌ	berenjenas
بُوشَادٌ	nauos
بَصَلٌ	çeuollas
بَقْلَةٌ حَمَقًا	verdolaga
جَاوَزِسٌ	panizo
جُبْنٌ	queso
رَاجٌ	caparrosa
رَغْرُورٌ	níspolas
رُجَاجٌ	vidrio
حَنَاءٌ	alheña
لَبَنُ الْخَيْلِ	leche de yegua

³⁷ Renunciamos a señalar la localización precisa de las glosas con la cita a cada paso del folio del manuscrito, limitándonos a señalar la denominación en árabe de los medicamentos glosados, tal y como aparece en la columna de los nombres (*al-asmāʾ*), fácilmente localizables en nuestra edición, en la que se indica de manera oportuna la foliación.

لَحْمُ الْأَقَاعِي	carne de búuora
نُحَاسٌ	cobre
عَسَلٌ	miel
عَرَقٌ	sudor
عَنْكَبُوتٌ	araña
سَلَقٌ	açelgas
قَشَرُ الرِّمَانِ	cortezas de granadas
تَرْتَجِييْنٌ	maná,

y, de la misma manera, tantas otras glosas con los equivalentes castellanos de los productos de la materia médica (de origen vegetal, animal y mineral), que se suceden en el margen derecho, junto a casillero de los nombres (*al-asmā*), que introduce el epígrafe de cada simple.

En una ocasión declara al-Ḥaġarī, de manera específica, la adscripción lingüística:

بُرْفُوقٌ en lengua española albaricoques,

en cuya explícita indicación (excepcional entre varios centenares de glosas) parece como si quisiese constatar el abolengo árabe de la voz hispánica y su vinculación etimológica con el término glosado.³⁸

Es, por lo demás, este ejemplo el único caso en que el morisco especifica, entre los diversos registros idiomáticos puestos a contribución en las glosas, a qué lengua pertenece una voz.

(b) Glosas en lengua latina

En muchos otros casos, sin embargo, encontramos que las voces utilizadas para glosar los simples no están en romance, sino en latín; entre ellos:

افحوان	parthenium
دُبُقٌ	visscus

³⁸ Sin descartar que pudiese hacerlo para marcar la diferencia con el árabe marroquí *barqūq*, que hubiese pasado ya en su tiempo a denominar la ciruela, como ocurre en el árabe estándar actual (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. I, p. 75), según me hace observar Joaquín Bustamante.

حَاشَا	thimus
كُنْدَرٌ	thus
لُوبِيَا	faseoli
قِرَّةُ الْعَيْنِ	pupilla oculi
صُنُوبَرٌ	pinus
حُطَّافٌ	hirundo

A mayor abundamiento, hay que destacar los casos en los que se ofrece, de manera simultánea y en indistinto orden, la sinonimia latina y castellana de las voces árabes:

حِمَّصٌ	garuanços çiçer
حُلْبَةُ	alholua foenum grecum
نَخَالَةُ الْحَنْظَلَةِ	furfur saluados de trigo
سَفَرْجَلٌ	çitonium membrillos
سُوسٌ	liquiritia oroçuç
سَلْحُ الْحَنْسِي	spoliun serpentis pellejo de culevra
فُطْرٌ	funji hongos
تَيْنٌ	higos ficus
تُرْمَسٌ	lupina altramuzes
ثَوْمٌ بُسْتَانِي	ajos allium
حَرْدَلٌ	sinapi mostaza
خَسٌ بُسْتَانِي	lactuca lechuga

غَيُّو poleo
pulegium,

ejemplos estos que no agotan los casos de dobles hispano-latinos.

En estos y en otros sinónimos latinos de las glosas encontramos diversas alteraciones y desviaciones gráficas y, sin duda, fónicas, tales como *ç* por *c* (*çiçer*) y ejemplos de *-n* final por *-m*, en los citados *çitoniun* y *spoliun*, a los que podemos añadir algunos más: *laserpitiun* (glosando *anğudān*), *sqvinathun* (s. v. *idḥir*), *scolopendriun* (s. v. *asqūlūfandūriyūn*) o *sisimbriun* (s. v. *nammām*), u otros no menos elocuentes, como un doblemente incorrecto *oliun*, en la expresión *oliun quedi* (s. v. *kāḍi*), en lugar de *oleum*. Son formas todas ellas que nos alertan de una pronunciación españolizante del latín, a la vez que suscitan fundadas reservas sobre nivel de conocimiento de dicha lengua por parte su autor, que quizá no pasase de elemental.³⁹

Ahora bien, con independencia del grado de destreza en latín que tuviese al-Ḥaġarī, las ya citadas y otras formas latinas presentes en las glosas del manuscrito ponen de manifiesto, sin embargo, un conocimiento de la terminología de la medicina académica, que su autor pudo adquirir solo a través del uso y consulta de la literatura médica europea; y, presumiblemente, por medio de obras lexicográficas específicas sobre la materia médica, alguno de cuyos repertorios parece evidente que resultaba familiar a Bejarano.

Esto es manifiesto en glosas como las que siguen:

سراج القطرب lampas alcutrupe
حَبُّ الزَّلَمِ granun azelem,

formas ambas que presentan una semitraduccion de las correspondientes denominaciones árabes de sendos simples (*sirāġ al-quṭrub*, *ḥabb al-zalam*).

³⁹ Ciertamente no debía ser muy profundo, a juzgar por su propio testimonio. Relata al-Ḥaġarī que cierto día se encontraba en Marraquech « sentado traduciendo un tratado en latín » (*ġālis utarġimu risalat^{an} bi-l-laṭīn*) sobre el globo terráqueo y la bóveda celeste; en aquel momento, la tarea que se proponía no debía ir más allá del grado de tentativa, pues tras mencionar algunos detalles de las figuras de ambos globos, refiere que Mawlāy Zaydān le ordenó traducir aquel tratado, a lo que responde: « Está en lengua latina y no la conozco » (*hiya bi-lugati al-laṭīni wa-lā na^crifu-hā*; sobre la construcción del tipo *lugat al-laṭīn*, comp. *infra*, n. 52). Solo debió resultar efectiva la traducción, tras haberle indicado al-Ḥaġarī al sultán la existencia de un monje, cautivo y conocedor del latín, al que le ordenó de inmediato que se sentase a la tarea con el morisco, pues prosigue en su relato: « Estaba traduciendo aquello en el palacio del sultán, mientras el monje estaba conmigo... » (*Wa-kunnā fī dār al-sulṭān nutarġimu ḍālika wa-rāhib ma^cl...*), lo que da a entender que solo con el concurso del monje cautivo fue capaz de traducir aquel texto en latín (ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 281-282 / trad. ingl., p. 261).

Estas dos formas compuestas e híbridas, con un término árabe y otro latino, figuran en los repertorios léxicos conocidos como *synonyma* y en otros diccionarios de terminología médica de arraigada tradición medieval. En efecto, ambas aparecen en la *Clavis sanationis* de Simón de Génova (s. XIII), tomada del pseudo-Serapion⁴⁰, e igualmente en las *Pandectae* del salernitano Mateo Silvático (1285–1342), y remontan, en última instancia, a la traducción del *Canon* de Avicena, realizada en Toledo por Gerardo de Cremona (siglo XII), donde encontramos: « lampas alcutrub ... est planta proxima ysopo » e igualmente la otra: « granum azelem »⁴¹, referida a la ‘juncia avellanada’ (*Cyperus esculentus*) cuyo tubérculo es la bien conocida ‘chufa’. Por otra parte, al igual que tantas otras voces y expresiones originadas en las traducciones del árabe al latín de época medieval, ambas formas están recogidas en los repertorios médico-lexicográficos de época posterior, como el *Dictionarium medicum* de Nebrija (publicado póstumamente en 1545), en los que se fueron acumulando los más abigarrados términos, a veces bajo insólitas y aberrantes grafías, que se transmiten de manera libresca hasta bien entrada la época moderna.⁴²

Todo parece indicar que al-Ḥaḡarī tuvo acceso a alguna obra o repertorio de este tipo, sin cuyo manejo no podría haber conocido y ofrecido los tecnicismos *lampas alcutrupe* y *granun azelem*, a los que recurrió para glosar las correspondientes entradas de la farmacopea de Ibn Buklārīš.

En relación con ese presumible uso de fuentes lexicográficas de especialidad habría que considerar también la aparición de otras glosas, como la que sigue, a propósito del agáloco (Dioscórides, I, 42):

عُودُ palo de la Yndia
 xilo alo⁴³
 lignoaloe,

⁴⁰ Es decir, el *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*, traducción latina que el propio Simón de Génova había realizado, con Avraham de Tortosa, del *Libro de los medicamentos simples* de Ibn Wāfid, identificación que puse de relieve al reseñar la edición de la versión judeo-árabe del texto del médico toledano (IBN WĀFID, *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada*, ed. LUISA FERNANDA AGUIRRE DE CÁRCER, 2 vol., CSIC, Madrid 1995), en *Aljamía*, 9 (1997), p. 111–118.

⁴¹ AVICENNA, *Liber Canonis*, Venecia 1507, fol. 119v, col. a y 557r, col. a, respectivamente.

⁴² Véase JUAN CARLOS VILLAVERDE AMIEVA, « Aspectos de la transmisión de los arabismos en textos médicos (A propósito del *Dictionarium medicum* de Nebrija) », en M. SOFIA CORRADINI, BLANCA PERIÑÁN (eds.), *Giornata di studio di lessicografia romanza. Il linguaggio scientifico e tecnico (medico, botanico, farmaceutico e nautico) fra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Atti del convegno internazionale, Pisa 7–8 novembre 2003*, Edizioni ETS, Firenze 2004, p. 193–212, espec. p. 202–204, donde analizo, entre otros, el segundo de los términos aquí en cuestión, registrado en la obra de Nebrija bajo la forma *grana alzelen*.

⁴³ El ségundo término de la expresión está tachado en el manuscrito.

donde a la glosa inicial, en castellano, que parece traducir el primero de los sinónimos árabes que aparecen en la casilla de los nombres (*yuqāl la-hu ʿūd hindī*), añadió el morisco dos tecnicismos (*xilalo[e]* ~ *lignoaloe*). Estas expresiones –una helenizante y otra latinizada– aparecen bien documentadas en obras médicas y repertorios léxicos en romance para denominar el simple en cuestión, cuya nomenclatura latinizada (con frecuencia procedente del griego y del árabe) está asimismo atestiguada en las obras y tratados de época tardomedieval⁴⁴ y glosarios diversos, por ejemplo la *Sinónima*,⁴⁵ y otros posteriores, como el diccionario de Ruyzes de Fontecha, publicado en 1606.⁴⁶

En vista de las anteriores consideraciones la pregunta no se hace esperar: ¿dónde adquirió al-Ḥaḡarī esos conocimientos o cómo pudo acceder a tales obras? Habrá ocasión luego de volver sobre el asunto: quede de momento planteada la cuestión y prosigamos con la presentación de estos materiales, entre los cuales encontramos glosas no solo en latín y en lengua española.

(c) Una glosa en francés

Aunque ciertamente excepcional, en un caso, al equivalente español del simple se añade otro sinónimo, cuya adscripción a la lengua francesa no ofrece duda:

قَصْدِيْرُ estaño
 eteyn;

con esta grafía *-eyn*, inhabitual para la época, parece que al-Ḥaḡarī representa la cualidad de la vocal tónica (nasal) /ẽ/, percibida por él de manera inéquívoca como /e/, en lugar de la forma con «a», propia de la escritura de la voz en francés medio (*étain*), variante generalizada desde mediados del siglo xvi que, con tal grafía, se mantiene desde entonces.⁴⁷

Encontramos aquí pues un testimonio fehaciente del conocimiento de dicha lengua por parte de Bejarano, que indudablemente adquirió tras su viaje a Francia, en 1611, en misión diplomática. Dos motivos, ambos relacionados con la expulsión de España de sus correligionarios, fueron la causa de tal viaje: por una parte, la recuperación de los bienes robados a algunos moriscos en su traslado (en barcos

⁴⁴ Cfr. *DETEMA: Diccionario español de textos médicos antiguos*, bajo la dirección de M.^a TERESA HERRERA, Arco/Libros, Madrid 1996, s. v. *lináloe* y *xiláloe*.

⁴⁵ GUIDO MENSCHING, *La sinonima delos nonbres delas medeçinas griegos e latinos e arauigos*, Arco/Libros, Madrid 1994, p. 73, 124 y 159 (« xiloales i. lino aloes »). Véase nuestra reseña, con especial énfasis sobre los arabismos, en *Aljamía*, 7 (1995), p. 100–101.

⁴⁶ M.^a PURIFICACIÓN ZABÍA LASALA (ed.), *Diccionario de Juan Alonso y de los Ruyzes de Fontecha*, Arco/Libros, Madrid 1999, p. 126 y 241. Sobre la acumulación de arabismos en estas obras y la problemática de su estudio, véase nuestra reseña de esta edición en *Aljamía*, 12 (2000), p. 231–236.

⁴⁷ WARTBURG, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. XII, p. 226, s. v. *stagnum*.

franceses) desde Sevilla a los puertos del Berbería, y, por otra, las consecuencias de la decisión, –dada a conocer en el último momento– de las autoridades cristianas para impedir que los moriscos, ya embarcados y a punto de partir, se llevasen a tierras del islam a sus niños menores de siete años.⁴⁸ Las dificultades del cometido de dicha misión prolongarían su estancia en tierras francesas por un periodo de dos años.⁴⁹

La aparición de la voz galorrománica en las glosas no deja de ser un testimonio aislado,⁵⁰ aunque revelador de que la lengua francesa no le era ajena,⁵¹ pues le

⁴⁸ Acerca de este dramático episodio, véase *infra*, anexo I.

⁴⁹ Véase la introducción a ḤAĠĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 43–52, y los capítulos IV–X con la detallada relación de su estancia en Francia.

⁵⁰ No parece voz francesa el término *bunba*, referido al artefacto para extraer agua subterránea, aunque el contexto en el que al-Ḥaġārī ofrece la voz pudiera inducir a ello: su amigo, el célebre médico y arabista Étienne Hubert (1567–1614), al que trató con frecuencia en Francia (comp. *infra*, notas 51, 52, 99 y 106), llama su atención sobre cierto pasaje de un libro en el que se describe el aparato en cuestión, del que luego pudo contemplar su uso por parte de unos monjes en cierto monasterio parisino; al-Ḥaġārī indica que es llamado así por ellos: « al-musammā ‘inda-hum bi-bunba^h » (ḤAĠĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár. p. 86), que los traductores suponen « probably ‘pompe’ in French or ‘pompa’ in Spanish » (ibid., trad., p. 135, n. 34). No obstante, la inequívoca vocalización final con -a y la ausencia de *tašdīd* sobre *bā’* para representar la oclusiva sorda (cf., por ejemplo, بِرِيش = París) aconsejan desechar la forma francesa *pompe*, que la situación en la que se presenta la voz pudiera sugerir, en favor del español *bomba*, bien documentada ya desde Nebrija. (Adviértase, por lo demás, el empleo que hace Bejarano de la grafía *nb*, habitual en los textos aljamiado-moriscos, en lugar de la forma usual con *mb*).

⁵¹ Bajo el título « Uso de terminología en francés », dedica NEZHA NORRI (*Edición y estudio del Manuscrito D.565*, p. 66) un epígrafe a la expresión *monsiur*, que al-Ḥaġārī utiliza como forma de tratamiento en uno de sus textos incluidos en manuscrito D 565 de Bolonia (concretamente, en una carta dirigida a sus correligionarios « andaluces » expatriados en Constantinopla); y aunque esta autora la considera forma « incorrecta » (frente a la genuina *monsieur*), el empleo del término francés no dejaría de constituir –según ella– un rasgo estilístico « novedoso y original ». Ahora bien, aunque al-Ḥaġārī utiliza hasta por tres veces en un mismo pasaje (fol. 158r) dicha expresión, al referirse a otros tantos súbditos franceses que le ayudaron en la misión diplomática que lo llevó a Francia –entre ellos el antes citado Hubert–, lejos de ser voz advenediza, el término *monsiur* (~ *monsur*) es galicismo usual, ya arraigado en español y documentado desde mediados del siglo XVI (y aun antes, con otras variantes) y muy frecuente en la centuria siguiente, según queda de manifiesto en el repertorio de ELENA VALERA MERINO, *Los galicismos en el español de los siglos XVI y XVII*, CSIC, Madrid 2009, vol. II, p. 1610–1616. A la copiosa documentación del galicismo ahí recogida, añádase ahora este de la literatura morisca (la carta de marras fue enviada desde en París en mayo de 1612, y su texto es conocido por el traslado que, en torno al año 1635, hizo el propio al-Ḥaġārī en Túnez, sobre el propio original traído de Constantinopla por otro célebre morisco expatriado). Y a propósito de moriscos y galicismos, recuérdese la « Sátira contra los *monsiures* de Francia » (entre ellos, *monsur* Lope, el célebre morisco Alonso López), compuesta a finales del año 1638 y editada por JESÚS ANTONIO CID, donde identifica de manera concluyente al versificador de esta sátira y de otros tres poemas panfletarios contra Richelieu y la corte francesa con el autor de la novela *Estebanillo González*: « ‘Centauro a lo pícaro’ y la voz de su amo: interpretaciones y textos nuevos sobre *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González* I: La *Sátira contra los monsiures de Francia* y otros poemas de 1636–1638 », *Criticón*, 47 (1989), p. 29–76, espec. p. 38 y sigs.

permite añadir la voz *eteyn* (le habría venido a la memoria entonces) al español *estaño*, que había escrito previamente, para aclarar con ambos términos el árabe *qaṣḍīr*.

El propio al-Ḥaḡarī dejó elocuentes testimonios a lo largo de su relato autobiográfico de su acercamiento, conocimiento y comprensión de dicha lengua, casi unánimemente denominada por él *al-faraṅḡ*;⁵² y aun pueden rastrearse noticias sobre la lengua francesa en otros textos suyos.⁵³ Parece, no obstante, que no debía hablarla con fluidez, pues no deja de resultar significativo que reconozca, cuando ya había abandonado el país, que su capacidad de comprenderla era mayor que su competencia en el uso activo de la misma.⁵⁴ En todo caso, no fue óbice para que, al parecer, pudiese acometer la traducción al árabe de cierto compendio de geografía escrito en francés.⁵⁵

⁵² ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 80, 91, 113, 125, 226 y 228; al lado de esta forma, en una ocasión se refiere de forma específica a la misma como *lisān al-faraṅḡ* (p. 143, véase *infra*, nota 55) y, en otra, de manera más genérica, como *kalām al-faraṅḡ* (p. 226, véase *infra*, nota 54). Por contra, en el colofón de una copia de la *Qaṣīdat abniya al-afāl* de Ibn Mālik (BnF, ms. Arabe 4119, fol. 25v), realizada por al-Ḥaḡarī en París en abril de 1612 para Hubert, se refiere a este como médico real y traductor de árabe (لسان العربية) al francés (لغة الافرانسية). La falta de artículo en los primeros términos de estas dos expresiones (*lisān al-ʿarabiyya*, *lisān al-afrānṣiyya*) y, por tanto, la ausencia de concordancia entre ellos, podría interpretarse como un calco sintáctico de construcciones como *lingua de romance*, que usa al-Ḥaḡarī, cuando escribe en español, y refleja asimismo la expresión لسان رمنص, cuando lo hace en árabe, según hemos visto (comp. *supra*, notas 34, 35, 36 y 39).

⁵³ Como los incluidos en el manuscrito D 565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia. En la carta antes citada, enviada desde París a los moriscos de Constantinopla, al-Ḥaḡarī había pasado por alto ciertos asuntos sobre el Gran Turco (« por ser materia de Estado » y porque la misiva iba « por manos de franceses »), a propósito de la doble alianza matrimonial franco-española, que sacará a la luz años más tarde, en Túnez, con el nuevo traslado de dicha carta; recuerda entonces al-Ḥaḡarī que, en aquel año de 1612, con motivo del compromiso matrimonial franco-español entre los herederos de ambas coronas con las respectivas infantas (Luis XIII con Ana de Austria y del futuro Felipe IV con Isabel de Borbón), además de unas « figuras de los dos reyes, cada uno con su novia », circularon en París textos poéticos alusivos al supuesto temor del Gran Turco ante esta alianza matrimonial; lo que ahora nos interesa destacar es que –según señala– se trataba de « unos versos- en francés que los leý » (fol. 162v).

⁵⁴ « Wa-kalām al-faraṅḡ nafhamu-hu wa-lākin mā naʿrif natakallamu bi-hi » (ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 226; trad. ingl. p. 226); figura este testimonio en un pasaje donde al-Ḥaḡarī relata uno de sus encuentros con el príncipe Mauricio de Nassau en La Haya (1613), cuya conversación se desarrolló usando, alternadamente, el francés (Mauricio) y el español (al-Ḥaḡarī), dado que el estatúder de los Países Bajos se encontraba también en la situación de competencia lingüística inversa, es decir, hablaba francés y conocía el español, pero sin poder hablarlo; claro ejemplo pues de lo que hoy llamaríamos intercomprensión recíproca a través de bilingüismo pasivo, como queda manifiesto de manera reiterada en el relato que hace al-Ḥaḡarī del mencionado episodio, por el que sabemos que Bejarano conocía también la lengua portuguesa: *lisān ahl al-Purtuqāl* (así en el texto, con پ = p).

⁵⁵ Efectivamente, Mawlāy Zaydān había ordenado traducir a al-Ḥaḡarī una obra de geografía, muy ponderada por este, de autor francés (*faraṅḡī*) y escrita en dicha lengua (*bi-lisān al-faraṅḡī*). A pesar

(d) Otras aclaraciones y anotaciones al margen:
más allá de la glosa sinonímica

Al lado de los ejemplos vistos, en los que Bejarano se limita a ofrecer un simple sinónimo castellano, latino o francés, encontramos otro tipo de glosas a propósito de ciertas expresiones árabes compuestas de los nombres de los simples, en las que proporciona traducción literal española de los términos aclarando luego su identidad botánica; es el caso de:

لِسَانُ الْعَصَافِيرِ	lengua de páxaros y es simiente de olmo
لِسَانُ الْحَمَلِ	lengua de carnero y es llyantén yerua.

Adviértase, de paso, la peculiar grafía *llyantén* que, en un principio, habíamos considerado flagrante yeísmo, por lectura descuidada del pasaje, que interpretábamos así: «y es el yantén yerua».⁵⁶ No obstante, el carácter aislado de este supuesto caso de *ll- > y-* en las glosas del manuscrito leidense no dejaba de suscitar algunas reservas respecto a la correcta interpretación de este auténtico enigma gráfico. Lo insólito del caso (único en los escritos en castellano conocidos de al-Ḥaḡarī), nos lleva a examinarlo nuevamente y reconsiderar el asunto. Un examen atento del pasaje (véase lámina V) permite cuestionar nuestra interpretación anterior, de manera que, lo que habíamos leído inadvertidamente como artículo («el»), entendemos ahora que pudiera tratarse de la grafía «ll»,

de los datos de autoría (*al-Qabītān*), título de la obra (*Darān*, en referencia al monte más grande del mundo) y otros pormenores que ofrece al-Ḥaḡarī, la obra resulta de problemática identificación (ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 143 / trad. ingl., p. 175, y espec. nota 5); los traductores sugieren identificarla con la exitosa obra de Pierre Davity (1573–1635), *Les estats, empires, et principautez du monde...*, con unas veinte ediciones francesas antes de 1666, a partir de la supuesta princeps (Saint-Omer 1614), algunas con variantes en el título y adiciones desde la de París de 1635 (*Le monde, ou la description générale de ses quatre parties...*). De ser cierta la razonable sugerencia de los traductores, que parecen entrever vinculación entre el nombre del autor (*al-Qabītān*) y la condición de «homme de guerre» de Davity, quedaría por comprobar el pasaje que al-Ḥaḡarī cita (*ibidem*, texto ár., p. 144 / trad. ingl., p. 175–176), que en consulta de urgencia no he alcanzado a localizar en el compendio de Davity; dicha obra totaliza 1467 p. en la ed. de París de 1619 (Chez Olivier de Varennes), cuya extensión parece condecir con la condición de voluminoso, además de extranjero (*kitāb^{an} ʿaḡamiyy^{an} kabīr^{an}*), que también atribuía al-Ḥaḡarī al libro en cuestión (*ibidem*, text. ár., p. 143), matiz este que no recogen los editores en su traducción, que se limitan a trasladar simplemente como «a book» (*ibid.*, tr. ingl., p. 175).

⁵⁶ VILLAVERDE, «Towards the Study of the Romance Languages», p. 70, y «Glosas moriscas en Marruecos», p. 221; tal suposición nos hacía pensar en testimonios de la misma alteración fonética en algún otro manuscrito morisco del exilio norteafricano, concretamente de Túnez, estudiado por GALMÉS DE FUENTES, «Lle-yeísmo y otras cuestiones lingüísticas en un relato morisco del siglo XVII», en *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, t. VII, vol. I, CSIC, Madrid 1957, p. 273–307.

característica y peculiar en la escritura de al-Ḥaġarī, especialmente en posición inicial de palabra, con una ligera curvatura hacia dentro del asta de la primera «l» que le otorga la apariencia de una «E» (mayúscula);⁵⁷ así pues, en lugar de la forma «El», nos inclinamos a pensar que se trata simplemente de «ll». En consecuencia, proponemos ahora la lectura «llyantén» para el pasaje en cuestión, con una heteróclita grafía «lly» (el dígrafo habitual de la palatal lateral se incrementa con una «y» adventicia, para representar la consonante inicial /ʎ/), no menos sorprendente que lo que, en principio, interpretábamos como un caso inequívoco de yeísmo en el autor morisco.⁵⁸

Más circunstanciadas son algunas glosas en las que, además de ofrecer un término español equivalente, se explaya el glosador en explicaciones suplementarias o aclaratorias; así:

إئمد	alcohol con que alcoholan los ojos
جزر بستاني	çanahoria son como los nauos y son amarillos
مَرَارَةُ الْفَوَاحِشِ	hiel de tórtola es paloma que canta mucho;
خصلاف	palmas de que hazen espueñas

De la misma manera, otras veces, tras el sinónimo español o latino, se extiende en especificaciones tales como:

⁵⁷ Sin ir más lejos, los ejemplos de «l» inicial en las glosas de ese mismo folio (véase lámina V), que confirman otros casos de la grafía «ll» inicial en diversas glosas del propio manuscrito leidense y en otros autógrafos de Bejarano, en particular y por extenso, los textos de su mano incluidos en el manuscrito D 565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia (fols. 116r–200r). Adviértase, por otra parte, la alternancia gráfica «ll» ~ «l» en el doblete «llicenciado» / «l^{do}» (con abreviatura), que se documenta en este mismo manuscrito (cfr. *infra*, n. 90).

⁵⁸ No sería de descartar que el fitónimo castellano *llantén* le resultara desconocido o, más bien, no perteneciese al registro usual de Bejarano, a juzgar por la indecisión que sugiere tal acumulación gráfica («lly») para representar un único sonido palatal /ʎ/, con error o descuido explicable a partir de un traslado memorizado del término que está copiando (Adviértase, por lo demás, la repetición hasta por tres veces de la grafía «y» en las escasas cuatro palabras de la glosa). En todo caso, resulta indudable que la especificación botánica que ofrece el morisco tras el nombre de la planta («llyantén yerua») indica que procede (o sea, está copiada) de una fuente lexicográfica. En tal sentido, no podemos menos que pensar en Nebrija, en cuyo *Lexicon* (1492) figura esta expresión («por la llanten ierva») por tres veces para aclarar respectivamente las voces *arnoglossa*, *plantago* y *lingua agni*, y de la misma manera figura como lema («llanten ierua») en el *Vocabulario* (c. 1495); a partir de entonces, se encuentra en las ediciones posteriores de su diccionario y en la lexicografía de él derivada, comenzando por el temprano *Vocabulista* de Pedro de Alcalá (1505), donde a la entrada «llanten yerua» de la parte castellana se contrapone precisamente el romancismo *plantayn* del dialecto árabe granadino.

عَلْيَقُ çarça que haze moras silvestres
اشنة muscus arburis
que se cría en las enzinas y nogales,

que no son otra cosa que un traslado, más o menos literal, de informaciones acerca de los simples que Bejarano toma de la casilla de sinónimos del tratado de Ibn Buklārīš donde este ofrece, con frecuencia, la descripción de los mismos.⁵⁹

En ocasiones, al-Ḥağarī parece no estar seguro de la denominación española de los simples, y la anotación marginal refleja dichas reservas:

بَرْدِي entiendo que se llama enea
جَبْسِيْنُ entiendo que es yeso,

mientras que otras veces, al desconocer, presumiblemente, la expresión romance adecuada, recurre a explicaciones más o menos detalladas que, como acabamos de señalar, suele tomar de las descripciones del propio texto árabe:

جُلُوْدٌ عَتِيْقَةٌ pellejo del borzeguí quando está viejo o
debaxo de la planta⁶⁰
جَفْتُ الْبَلُوْطِ corteza delgada que está entre la cáscara
de la bellota y la médula⁶¹,
كُرْكُمُ rraíces amarillas
y al azafrán le llaman algunos carcamun⁶².

Entre estas tentativas de aclaración de los simples, a partir de las explicaciones del propio texto árabe, encontramos glosas como la que sigue:

مُصْعُ fruta colorada que haze el saúco,

con manifiesta identificación errónea del simple en cuestión. Resulta claro que la anotación marginal sobre el término *muṣaʿ* está motivada en lo que Ibn Buklārīš había escrito al describirlo: « es el fruto del *ʿawsağ*; de color rojo intenso ». Ahora bien, el término *ʿawsağ* se aplica en árabe a arbustos espinosos de diversos géneros; en este caso, y dado el característico color de su fruta (proverbial, según añade el

⁵⁹ Respectivamente, en los dos casos anteriores: *ʿUllayq ... wa-tamarat al-ʿullayq yuʿraf bi-tūt waḥši* (fol. 104v); *Ušna ... wa-hiya llatī yašīr ʿalā šağar al-ballūt wa-l-ğawz* (fol. 21v).

⁶⁰ *Hiya llatī tasquṭ min al-ḥuff ʿindamā yuballā wa-hiya ayḍan asāfil al-aḥfāf wa-naḥw dālīka* (fol. 38v).

⁶¹ *Hiya al-qašr al-raqīqa allatī ʿalā l-ballūt bayna al-qašr wa-l-ṭuʿm* (fol. 35v).

⁶² *Kurkum ... wa-huwa ʿurūq šufr ... wa-yuqāl li-l-zaʿfarān ayḍan kurkum lākinna-hu qalīl mā yatašarraf fī kutub al-ṭibb*.

propio texto tomándolo de al-Zahrāwī: « como dice el refrán, ‘más rojo que *al-muṣaʿ*’ », ⁶³ parece referirse a un variedad del género *Lycium* o cambrón, ⁶⁴ pero, en ningún caso, al saúco, como pretende Bejarano. ⁶⁵

Un ejemplo elocuente de este tipo de glosas encontramos en la descripción que hace Bejarano de la ‘cochinilla de la humedad’, con la característica conglobación de este pequeño crustáceo terrestre:

هَذِيَّةٌ es como escarabajo que tiene muchos pies
se buelue rredonda como una bola en
tocándole algo,

⁶³ ... هو ثمر العوسج وهو احمر ناصع الزهراوي كذلك قيل في المثل اشد من المصعة ... (fol. 87v). Según tuve ocasión de señalar en otro momento, las descripciones y sinónimos de los simples del tratado de Ibn Buklārīš proceden, con frecuencia, de la sección primera (*fī tasmiyat al-ʿaḡāqīr*) de la *maqāla* xxviii del *Kitāb al-Taṣrif* de al-Zahrāwī (VILLAVERDE, « Towards the Study of the Romance Languages », p. 53); tal es el caso del fragmento que acabo de citar (y no solo su segunda mitad, con tal atribución) que reproduce la parte inicial del correspondiente pasaje sobre *muṣaʿ* del tratado del médico cordobés (Rabat, Biblioteca Nacional del Reino de Marruecos, ms. Ġ 21, p. 74), no atribuido por él a autor alguno, pero procedente en última instancia del *Kitāb al-nabāt* de Abū Ḥanifa, a juzgar por el testimonio de Ibn al-Bayṭār, aunque no incluye este lo referido al refrán (cf. *Traité des simples*, trad. de LUCIEN LECLERC, vol. III, p. 325, n.º 2140). Podemos añadir ahora que el pasaje de al-Zahrāwī, más extenso, es coincidente en todo con el epígrafe correspondiente del *Kitāb al-Talḥiṣ* de Ibn Ḡanāh, como queda de manifiesto en MARWĀN IBN JANĀH, *On the Nomenclature of Medicinal Drugs (Kitāb al-Talkhīṣ)*, ed. GERRIT BOS, FABIAN WAFID, MAILYN LÜBKE, GUIDO MENSCHING, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2020, vol. II, p. 741–742 (573^o), donde se llama la atención sobre la vinculación entre los textos y autores citados y se ofrecen otros pormenores de interés sobre el asunto.

⁶⁴ Cf. ABŪ L-ḤAYR AL-IṢBĪLĪ, *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb*, ed. JOAQUÍN BUSTAMANTE, FEDERICO CORRIENTE, MOHAMED TILMATINE, CSIC, Madrid 2007, vol. II, p. 469 (3014^o), y vol. III, t. II, p. 596.

⁶⁵ No deja de resultar sintomático que la entrada del saúco del manuscrito (*ḥamā aḡṭī*, fol. 60v) no haya sido glosada, aunque el texto, en la casilla correspondiente a la nomenclatura, incluye el sinónimo románico-andalusí del simple (*sabūqo*, ms. الشبوقه), que aparece en otro pasaje de la obra (s. v. šall, fol. 134 v), precisamente en una de las partes rehechas y copiadas por al-Ḥaġarī, que este no debió entender, pues ofrece lectura deturpada de la voz romance (البرقة). Por lo demás, *sabūqo* es voz bien documentada y tenazmente transmitida por los tratadistas andalusíes (y magrebíes y aun orientales), desde los más antiguos transmisores (primera mitad del s. x) de la fitonimia autóctona de al-Andalus, inequívocamente romance, bajo la adscripción glotonímica «latina» (*bi-l-laṭīnī*), antes de que se generalizara la denominación ‘*aġamiyyat (al-Andalus)*, desde de principios del siglo xi; sobre esta última cuestión, véase JUAN CARLOS VILLAVERDE AMIEVA, « Andalusí Romance Terms in *Kitāb al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt*, by al-Suwaydī of Damascus (d. 690 H/1291 CE) », in MARIBEL FIERRO, MAYTE PENELAS (eds.), *The Maghrib in the Mashriq Knowledge, Travel and Identity*, De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2021, p. 363, n. 21.

explicación que no es otra cosa que la descripción de este « animalejo »⁶⁶ incluida por el propio Ibn Buklārīš,⁶⁷ tomada a su vez de Dioscórides (II, 35).

Llamativas resultan, por su parte, las reiteradas observaciones sobre el ‘azufaifo loto’ y su abundancia en tierras norteafricanas, donde al-Ḥaḡarī escribía estas anotaciones marginales en el manuscrito, cuando glosa tanto la entrada correspondiente al árbol como a su drupa:

سَدْرُ árbol que haze nabac que es en Beruería

نَبَقُ nabac
fruta que lleua el árbol espinoso que
llaman çeder de que están llenos los
campos de Beruería.

De la ausencia de término específico parece deducirse que no conocía denominación española de esta especie, tan familiar luego para él en territorio norteafricano, de manera que se limitó a constatar que ambos simples se refieren, respectivamente, al árbol y a su fruto (como se señala en el propio texto)⁶⁸, consignando sus denominaciones en árabe, presumiblemente dialectal marroquí (a juzgar por la indicación « que llaman çeder ») y añadiendo por su cuenta el carácter espinoso y lo que para entonces le resultaría bien notorio: la abundancia en aquellas tierras de esta especie silvestre.⁶⁹

Por contra, ninguna dificultad le ofrece identificar la expresión ‘unnāb, término genérico en árabe para denominar los frutos de diversas especies del género *Zizyphus* y, en particular, la variedad cultivada o ‘azufaifo común’:

عُنَّابُ jujube
açofaifas,

⁶⁶ Tal diminutivo utiliza Andrés Laguna al referirse al mismo admirándose, por cierto, de su abundante nomenclatura: « no he visto jamás animal tan pequeño, ser dotado de tantos nombres », entre los que menciona *puerca* y *porqueta* de « nuestro vulgar castellano », en su traducción de DIOSCÓRIDES, *Acerca de la materia medicinal y de los venenos mortíferos*, Mathías Gast, Salamanca, 1566, p. 143.

⁶⁷ [sic] هي دُوَيْبَةُ توجد تحت الجزات والخواني كثيرة الارجل تستدير اذا المست او لامس شيا (fol. 46v).

⁶⁸ Respectivamente: النبق ... هو ثمر السدر (fol. 94v); سَدْرُ ... هو شجر النبق (fol. 99v).

⁶⁹ Puesta de relieve por los estudiosos: « Bien connu dans toute l’Afrique du Nord » (*Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb. Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, ed. HENRI PAUL JOSEPH RENAUD, GEORGES S. COLIN, París 1934, p. 130).

que ya el propio Ibn Buklārīš aclaraba en el apartado de los sinónimos (« es *al-zufayzaf* »)⁷⁰, cuya glosa nos ofrece de nuevo un término latino: *jujube* (es decir, *iuubae*). El testimonio de al-Ḥaḡarī añade un eslabón (tardío) más a larga cadena de la ecuación lexicográfica ár. *‘unnāb* = lat. *iuubae*, que remonta al siglo XII, con la traducción del *Kitāb al-Qānūn* de Avicena por Gerardo de Cremona y, más precisamente, al glosario con que se enriqueció la versión latina.⁷¹ Además, en la glosa, el término latino aparece doblado por el arabismo español *açofaifas*,⁷² testimonio elocuente de la importancia de su cultivo en al-Andalus y su arraigo y pervivencia en la España cristiana. No sería de extrañar que, para al-Ḥaḡarī, el fruto de esta especie arbustiva le resultase familiar desde la infancia en su tierra natal extremeña, donde todavía es bien conocida.⁷³

Pero las indicaciones de al-Ḥaḡarī van, en ocasiones, más allá de lo meramente lingüístico o descriptivo para llamar la atención sobre otros aspectos, como

⁷⁰ هو الزفیف (fol. 103v). La voz *zufayzaf* fue usual en al-Andalus y en árabe andalusí, según ABŪ L-ḤAYR, *‘Umdat al-ṭabīb*, vol. I, p. 418 (3508^a), y corrobora IBN AL-BAYṬĀR, *Traité des simples*, vol. II, p. 213 (1116^a), que se detiene en especificar la vocalización de este término cuadrilítero.

⁷¹ « Auneb .i. iuiube », AVICENNA, *Liber canonis*, Venecia 1507, fol. 555r, col. b; y de la misma manera, en la versión latina del calendario de Córdoba realizada igualmente por el cremonense, *iuuba* traduce por dos veces el término ár. *‘unnāb* (REINHART PIETER ANNE DOZY, *Le calendrier de Cordoue*, nueva ed. CHARLES PELLAT, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1961, p. 131 y 145), mientras que en otra versión del calendario (ms. del Museo Episcopal de Vich) no aparece traducido al latín, limitándose a reproducir el término árabe (*gonnab*) en el primer caso, obviando su mención en el segundo, véase JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, JULIO SAMSÓ, « Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba (siglo XIII) », en JUAN VERNET (ed.), *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII*, CSIC, Barcelona 1981, p. 61 y 65, respectivamente. Desde entonces la dupla es frecuente en la lexicografía bilingüe árabe-latina, así en el *Vocabulista in arabico*, ed. CELESTINO SCHIAPARELLI, Florencia 1871, p. 146 (عُنبَة : Jujuba) y, especialmente, en la literatura de *synonima*, vinculada a las traducciones de obras árabes de materia médica, como el exitoso del *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*, traducido por Abraham de Tortosa y Simón de Génova y pseudoatribuido a Serapion (el Joven) –en realidad el *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* del toledano Ibn Wāfid, como tuve ocasión de aclarar (cf. *supra*, nota 40)–, que traslada el encabezamiento del epígrafe original: عنب هو الزفیف (ed. cit. *supra*, en n. 40: texto ár., p. 146) de la siguiente manera: «Hunen. idest iuiube & sunt zufaifas», con manifiesto error en la forma *haneb* (sin duda, por **huneb*), desde la princeps (Antonio Zaroto, Milán 1473, s. v. *ivivbe*), que transmiten las sucesivas ediciones de la obra, hasta la última (Estrasburgo 1531, p. 78); de la misma manera, encontramos « haneb, ara. Iuiube » en la *Clavis sanationis* de Simón de Génova (s. v.) y asimismo « Haneb vel hanel arabice id est iuiube », en las *Pandectae* de Mateo Silvático (Bonetum Locatellum, Venecia 1498, fol. 102va).

⁷² Esta triple equivalencia del simple (árabe, latina, castellana) la documentamos también en otras fuentes: « Aunab, iuiubas et açofeifas idem sunt », en *La sinonima de los nombres de las medecinas*, ed. GUIDO MENSCHING, Arco/Libros, Madrid 1994, p. 74, n. 386 (ms. de la BNE); y desdoblada en dos entradas (« Haneb açofeifa fruta » y « Iuiuve, açofeifa fruto ») en el *Dictionarium medicum* de Nebrija, ed. AVELINA CARRERA DE LA RED, Universidad Salamanca 2001, p. 74 y 82, respectivamente.

⁷³ Bajo la denominación de *azofaifo*, según me hizo saber hace años el profesor Francisco Buenavista García, actual Alcalde de Hornachos, a quien agradezco esta información.

cuando manifiesta algunas reticencias de tipo religioso; así sucede a propósito del simple ‘suciedad de las estatuas’, que aparece glosado de esta manera:

وسخ التماثيل çuçiedad o moho que se cría sobre las
figuras o ymájinés siendo de cobre,

glosa que reproduce lo indicado por Ibn Buklārīš en la casilla de sinónimos, donde menciona de manera expresa « las estatuas de cobre en las iglesias de los cristianos », ⁷⁴ mientras que, en la casilla de utilidades, propiedades y modos de empleo, añadía al-Ḥağarī, por su cuenta, un comentario del siguiente tenor:

¿Qué virtud pudieran criar las ymájinés pues llevan a quien las haze y a quien las adora al ynfierno? Y si fueran de oro o plata no se pueden seruir dellas, antes deuen echarlas en el fuego (fol. 34r),

con palabras de indisimulada beligerancia polémica anticristiana⁷⁵. Esta observación no pasó inadvertida a Dozy, que, en hoja pegada a la tapa anterior del manuscrito, dejó escrita la siguiente observación:

Celui qui a ajouté⁷⁶ à notre man. les mots esp. modernes était évidemmet un juif, car il dit sous التماثيل : que virtud pueden criar las ymages pues llevan a quien las haze y a quien las adora al ynfierno y si fueren de oro o plata no se pueden servir dellas antes deven echarlas en el fuego.

Ciertamente no estuvo muy atinado el ilustre orientalista al suponer abolengo judío al autor de tan contundente afirmación de aniconismo, a pesar de que había dado a conocer, como más arriba indicamos, la carta que relacionaba a al-Ḥağarī con Golius y a ambos con el manuscrito de Leiden.

⁷⁴ قيل انه يوجد على تماثيل النحاس في [ms. و] كتابيس النصارى (fol. 48v).

⁷⁵ La polémica anticristiana es, ya desde el propio título, tema recurrente en su *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, donde contrapone con frecuencia las imágenes del cristianismo, y especialmente las de sus templos: « no hay iglesia sin uno o muchos ídolos » (وما كنيسة الا لها صنم او اصنام كثيرة) (p. 185, trad. Ingl., p. 201), que describe como llenos de suciedad, tanto en apariencia como en su significado espiritual, frente a « la mezquita pura sin ídolos ni suciedades » (والجامع الطاهر النقي من الاوثان والادان) (p. 100 / trad. ingl., p. 144); véase además, texto ár. p. 100, 129–128, 176–185, trad. ingl., p. 144, 164–170, 196–202, con largas digresiones y argumentación polémica sobre las imágenes y la idolatría, asunto este al que había dedicado un capítulo específico (fī dīkr al-aṣnām wa-ḥikāyāt ‘alay-hā) en su obra perdida *Riḥlat al-šihāb ilā liqā’ al-aḥbāb* (ibidem, texto ár. p. 136 / trad. ingl., p. 169).

⁷⁶ En principio había escrito: *écrit*, luego tachado.

(e) Ausencia de glosa
y transliteraciones del término árabe

Al contrario de lo que venimos analizando, no faltan lemas del manuscrito carentes de glosa, como queda patente en la edición que ofrecemos. De un total de 716 simples, son 61 los casos en los que al-Ḥaḡarī parece desconocer de qué producto se trataba, a juzgar por la ausencia de la correspondiente glosa, y, en consecuencia, parece ignorar su denominación. Aunque no sería de descartar tampoco que le hubiese faltado tiempo para efectuar las indagaciones oportunas sobre tales simples, pues ciertas rectificaciones en las glosas dan a entender que realizó la tarea en distintas fases a lo largo de las cuales fue revisando y completando sus anotaciones,⁷⁷ antes de hacer llegar el manuscrito a Golius.

No obstante, con alguna frecuencia, ofrece Bejarano una transliteración del nombre árabe del simple, lo cual parece indicar que desconocía la equivalencia hispana (o latina) del medicamento; tal ocurre en estos casos:

هَيُوفِثِيدَاسُنْ	hayuphithedaasun ⁷⁸
حَنْدَقُوقَا	handacoca
فُؤْفَالْ	fuuphal
قُلْبُبْ	culbun
مَامِيئْسَا	maamiitsaa
يَنْبُوتْ	yembut,

En estos ejemplos podemos advertir algunas particularidades gráficas (repárese en la grafía hispanizante del fitónimo árabe *yanbūt*, con *m* antes de *b*, en lugar de la *n* que tiene la voz árabe), que, a la vez, nos ponen sobre aviso de un sistema propio para transliterar el árabe, que no parece de origen hispánico. Es de destacar la duplicación de unidades para representar las vocales largas, ejemplificada por partida triple en la forma *maamiitsaa*, que ilustra también del uso de *ts* para ث, a los que se podría añadir la habilitación de diversos grupos de grafemas, como *sch* para ش (*schiihhun*, s. v. *šīḥ*), *gs* para ج (*gsentiana*, s. v. *ġintiyānā*) y otros, como *k* para کَاف, que veremos a continuación (*rraamek*), en cuyos pormenores no vamos a detenernos ahora.

Y a este muestreo de los tipos de glosas y su casuística podemos aún añadir una variante del caso anterior, pues algunas veces al-Ḥaḡarī, además de la

⁷⁷ Comp. *infra*, nota 81, y edición, notas 148, 150, 210.

⁷⁸ Advuértase que, al transliterar el nombre, se explicita el *tanwīn*, ausente en la forma del simple en grafía árabe del manuscrito, que por contra ofrece *sukūn* sobre la letra *sīn* final.

transcripción del lema árabe, sin ofrecer sinónimo alguno,⁷⁹ añade otras aclaraciones sobre el simple:

رَاتِيْنِجْ	rraatiinig ⁸⁰	goma de pino
رامك	rraamek	se compone de agallas y otros lo hazen de cortezas de granadas.

Una vez más se trata de la descripción de los simples que se hace en el propio manuscrito; en el primer caso, parece ignorar, o pasa por alto, el término castellano correspondiente (e. d., *resina*) y la glosa « goma de pino » traduce la

⁷⁹ No es el caso del simple ثُوْتٌ que glosa con la transliteración y además con su equivalente romance: « tut, moras » (fol. 121v).

⁸⁰ Advuértase que la vocalización de la secuencia final de esta forma (con *i* en lugar de *a*) no coincide con la lectura del texto árabe del manuscrito (*rātīnaġ*), discrepancia que se documenta otras veces, como la ya citada *hayuphithedaasun*. Encontramos en esta última transliteración, además, grafías cultizantes, como « ph » y « th », presentes también en otras glosas: así la también mencionada *fuuphal* y alguna más, como *phu* = فُ (fol. 106v) o *phel* = فُل (fol. 107v). Tales dígrafos aparecen de manera sistemática, como era de esperar, en las glosas en lengua latina –por lo general en voces de origen griego–, algunas ya aducidas anteriormente (*parthenium*, *thimus*, *thus*) y tantas otras que pueden verse en la edición (*asphodelum*, *pentaphillum*, *sulphur*...). Resulta llamativo el hecho de que tales grafías aparezcan también en las formas transliteradas del árabe, pues tal recurso gráfico no parece propio de la escritura (en caracteres latinos) de Bejarano. Y esto, unido a las diferencias de vocalización señaladas respecto a las formas del texto y a otros indicios (sistema de transliteración utilizado, hispanización gráfica de términos transliterados), nos hace suponer que tales glosas no transliteran los nombres árabes de los simples tal y como aparecen en el manuscrito, ni tampoco que la autoría de las mismas, en estos casos, sea del propio Bejarano. Parece más bien que el al-Ḥaġarī toma tales transliteraciones de otra fuente (probablemente impresa, como suponemos) y las traslada al manuscrito de Ibn Buklārīš. Un error de copia resulta muy revelador a este respecto. Nos referíamos antes a algunos tipos del peculiar sistema de transliteración utilizado, entre los que citábamos la secuencia de tres letras para representar la consonante correspondiente a la letra ش, según reflejan los casos siguientes: *schiihun* = شِيح (fol. 130v y 133v), *scheka* = شَكَعِي (fol. 130v) y *schel* = شَل (fol. 132v). Estos ejemplos (con la excepción de *seitarach* = شَيْطَرَج [fol. 131v]) indican que dicha grafía «sch» –que parece apuntar al dominio lingüístico germánico– se adoptó para representar el sonido palatal de letra šīn; y de manera análoga tenía haber ocurrido en la glosa *maalch*, que figura al margen nombre del simple مَاشْ ‘soja verde’ (fol. 86v), donde aparece de manera inopinada una «l» que no se justifica en la voz árabe correspondiente. Por lo demás, la forma transliterada, que presenta la habitual a duplicada para indicar la vocal larga de la sílaba inicial, no recoge el *tanwīn* explicitado en el manuscrito. Pues bien, esa «l» adventicia encuentra explicación a partir de la transliteración esperable con la triple grafía «sch» para la consonante final, es decir, *maasch*; y dicha voz, presumiblemente impresa con una «f» alta, como era frecuente en la tipografía europea de la época, ofrecería la lectura «maafsch», en la que Bejarano de manera distraída o inadvertida interpretó y, sin duda, copió como si fuese tal «f» fuese una «l», de resultas de lo cual se originó el error que dio lugar a la insólita glosa *maalch* que ofrece el manuscrito.

aclaración que hace el propio Ibn Buklārīš (*wa-huwa šamg al-šanawbar*),⁸¹ citando a al-Zahrāwī; mientras que, en el segundo caso, según indica el propio Ibn Buklārīš, el producto en cuestión consiste en una confección con ingredientes de muchos tipos de los que especifica los dos que al-Ḥaḡarī trasladó en la glosa.⁸²

Las observaciones realizadas hasta aquí no agotan el estudio de la marginalia con la que el morisco Bejarano enriqueció este valioso manuscrito; al contrario, la presentación de este material y la edición de las glosas, que ahora se ofrecen, habrá de completarse con su estudio lingüístico y, en particular, del léxico, ordenado en un glosario con todos los términos y expresiones, que rebasaría con creces la dimensión y los objetivos de presente trabajo.⁸³

IV. Sobre una fuente de las glosas: al-Ḥaḡarī y la lexicografía de la materia médica

El examen de estas glosas, además de proporcionar información terminológica y lingüística, sugiere también otras cuestiones del mayor interés; entre ellas, aquella que dejábamos en suspenso más arriba, acerca de un tipo específico de fuente utilizada por al-Ḥaḡarī para sus glosas en latín, que merece alguna atención. El recorrido por las anotaciones marginales del manuscrito de Leiden nos ha permitido aproximarnos a una faceta, hasta ahora desconocida, de la labor intelectual de nuestro morisco, que viene a abundar en su condición de autor bilingüe y, de alguna manera, bicultural. Resulta evidente que al-Ḥaḡarī Bejarano se desenvolvía con acreditada solvencia tanto en español como en árabe (sin duda, su lengua materna).⁸⁴ De ambas dominaba tanto el registro oral como el escrito, a

⁸¹ No deja de ser significativo que, en otra ocasión, a propósito del simple *ḥabb al-šanawbar* (fol. 62v), hubiera escrito inicialmente la glosa « grano de pino », traducción de la expresión árabe, y luego, en otro momento, añadió la denominación hispánica específica « piñones ».

⁸² قيل انه يتخذ من ضروب كثيرة فمنه ما يتخذ من العفص ومنه ما يتخذ من قشور الرمان (fol. 116v).

⁸³ Habrá entonces ocasión de profundizar en cuestiones aquí tratadas de manera incidental o simplemente evocadas, como interesantes aspectos terminológicos y lingüísticos de estas glosas, entre otros –por señalar algunos– la varias veces documentada variante *cirgüelas* (s. v. *iğğāš* et passim), con refuerzo de la consonante velar ante el diptongo, la forma *ajonjolín* (s. v. *samsam*), con -n final, o la prótesis de vocal inicial en *açiprés* (s. v. *sarw*), cuyo alcance geolectal será menester precisar en su momento; igualmente ilustrativos resultan algunos dobletes léxicos, como la alternancia del arabismo con la forma de origen latino en la denominación de la especie *Citrus medica*, glosada en principio como *toronjas* (s.v. *utruğğ*) y luego como *çidra*: *granos de çidra* (s. v. *ḥabb al-utruğğ*), *ázedo de çidra* (s. v. *ḥummāḍ al-utruğğ*) y *cortezas de çidra* (*qišr al-utruğğ*), respectivamente; y por la misma vía, tantos otros datos y matices que sugiere el estudio de estos ricos materiales médico-botánicos.

⁸⁴ Cf. estudio introductorio a ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāšir al-dīn*, p. 25, así como el testimonio del propio autor sobre el carácter usual de la lengua árabe en Hornachos (*ibidem*, texto ár., p. 25 / trad. ingl., p. 89); por otra parte, « les témoignages [inquisitoriales] abondent sur l'utilisation courante de

la vez que sabemos –por su propio testimonio– que se había iniciado de niño en el estudio de las dos lenguas, respectivamente, con cinco y diez años.⁸⁵ En consecuencia, esta doble competencia le capacitaba para usar el léxico común de ambas lenguas; pero, además, como acabamos de ver al tratar de diferentes tipos de glosas, era capaz de adentrarse, con conocimiento de causa, por algunos terrenos de especialidad terminológica, como la nomenclatura de los medicamentos simples.

En efecto, hemos visto que, en las glosas, junto a voces comunes hispanorromances, usuales y conocidas en castellano, no escasean los términos técnicos, en algunos casos en latín o latinizados de otras procedencias (griego, árabe). Se trata, en definitiva, de un vocabulario especializado, trufado de tecnicismos, por lo general de transmisión libresca, al alcance solamente de quien estuviese familiarizado con la práctica terapéutica, o bien le resultase accesible cierto tipo de literatura farmacológica y, más en particular, sobre materia médica, como recetarios, tratados de medicamentos simples (o compuestos) y –es de suponer– algún repertorio específico de donde pudo extraer tal terminología.

Pues bien, descartada una presumible formación universitaria de al-Ḥaḡarī y, menos aún, la práctica profesional de la medicina (no parece el caso, pues nada dice a propósito en su obra autobiográfica e irrelevantes parecen observaciones como la que ahí hace acerca de la opinión concordante de Hipócrates, Galeno, Avicena y la totalidad de médicos, respecto a la conveniencia de hacer la cena temprano),⁸⁶ habría que dirigir la atención hacia el ámbito o ambiente intelectual en que al-Ḥaḡarī pudo adquirir ese conocimiento del léxico especializado, propio y usual de la medicina del occidente europeo.

A falta de datos concretos en las fuentes conocidas sobre al-Ḥaḡarī, u otras que eventualmente pudiesen aparecer, queremos llamar la atención sobre un pasaje del *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, analizado por Luis F. Bernabé, a propósito de su instrucción en árabe, donde relata las circunstancias en las que había aprendido a leer y a escribir dicha lengua. Dice así:

Cuando fuimos introducidos a su presencia [*del arzobispo de Granada Pedro de Castro*] ... me dijo que el sacerdote Maldonado le había referido que yo sabía leer bien árabe ... Me dijo: ¿Dónde lo has aprendido? Y dije: Sabed, Señor, que soy de al-Ḥaḡar al-Aḡmar, y en este lugar hablamos en árabe. Después aprendí a leer en aljamía y más tarde fui a Madrid ... donde encontré un médico de Valencia llamado Fulano de Tal, quien me enseñó a leer el árabe, lo que me resultó fácil siendo yo de origen árabe. Me dijo: ¿Y dónde está tu maestro médico? Respondí: Ha muerto, Dios tenga

l'algarabía à Hornachos », según JULIO FERNÁNDEZ NIEVA, « L'Inquisition de Llerena », en LOUIS CARDAILLAC (ed.), *Les morisques et l'Inquisition*, Publisud, París 1990, p. 274.

⁸⁵ Merece este asunto un desarrollo que excedería los límites de una mera nota; véase a propósito el esbozo que se ofrece *infra*, anexo II.

⁸⁶ ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 113–114 / trad. ingl., p. 152–153.

misericordia de él, hace unos años dos o tres años. Y todo lo que le respondí a lo que me preguntaba del médico, y aquello de que era de Valencia, era mentira. Porque para la gente de Valencia era lícito leer el árabe, excepto para cosas islámicas, mientras que estaba prohibido para todos los otros ... Me refugié en la falsedad para escapar del mal que pudiera venirme de ellos.⁸⁷

Con independencia de la nula veracidad de este relato sobre ese supuesto aprendizaje del árabe,⁸⁸ muy característico de la –con frecuencia– elusiva personalidad de Bejarano, lo que a nuestro fin conviene retener es que hace precisamente a un médico (morisco) su mentor. García-Arenal y Rodríguez Mediano han vuelto a referirse a este episodio y se preguntan si el tal médico no habría sido otro que el mismo Alonso del Castillo, con el que habría podido coincidir en Madrid y a quien, sin duda, frecuentó en Granada, donde Diego Bejarano se ocupó, en 1598, de la traducción del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana. Tal suposición no deja de ser « hipótesis muy atractiva », como reconocen los citados investigadores,⁸⁹ conscientes de que, a las dificultades de cohonestar la cronología de ambos personajes, se une el silencio del propio al-Ḥaġarī, que no menciona al célebre morisco granadino entre los traductores que había conocido en Granada.⁹⁰

A nuestro propósito, no obstante, resultan irrelevantes ambas circunstancias, pero no dejaremos de destacar que Alonso del Castillo, como han subrayado García-Arenal y Rodríguez Mediano, además de intérprete, fue notable médico que usaba el título de « licenciado », es decir, acreditaba la preceptiva formación académica (había estudiado medicina en la universidad de Granada) y poseía

⁸⁷ Traducción española de BERNABÉ PONS, « Una nota sobre Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī Bejarano », p. 126; corresponde este pasaje a ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 25-26 / trad. ingl., p. 88-89.

⁸⁸ Comp. por contra *infra*, anexo II.

⁸⁹ GARCÍA-ARENAL, RODRÍGUEZ MEDIANO, *Un Oriente español*, p. 152.

⁹⁰ Por el contrario, Bejarano menciona al médico morisco Muḥammad b. Abī l-ʿĀṣī, nieto del célebre al-Ġabbis o Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz (cfr. introducción a ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 33-35). Coincidió con él en Granada en el entorno de la traducción del pergamino y libros plúmbeos (Ibid., texto ár., p. 23 y 25 / trad. ingl., p. 87 y 88) y refiere su condición de médico (*ḥakīm*); sin duda, era titulado universitario pues, en la célebre carta que al-Ḥaġarī dirige desde París (1612) a los moriscos de Constantinopla, ya citada (comp. *supra*, notas 51 y 53), cuyo traslado autógrafo conocemos y de la que Muḥammad b. Abī l-ʿĀṣī (o Abū l-ʿĀṣ) era uno de sus destinatarios en la capital otomana, figura como « doctor Perez Bolhaç », « lliçençiado Bolhaç » y « l^{do} Muhhemed Bulhaç » (Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia, ms. D 565, fol. 152r, 160v y 162r); años después, en 1637, tendría al-Ḥaġarī ocasión de reencontrarse con él en El Cairo, donde regentaba una tienda u oficina farmacéutica (*dukkān*) en la que estaba empleado el propio Bejarano (Ḥaġarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 264 / trad. ingl., p. 286). Sobre la peripecia vital y escritos del personaje, véase ahora JAIME COULLAUT CORDERO, « Vida y obra de un médico morisco en el exilio: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ (ss. XVI-XVII) », *Al-Qanṭara*, 40 (2019), p. 73-102.

« ciertos conocimientos de griego ... y considerables de latín ».⁹¹ En consecuencia, no sería de descartar que al-Ḥaḡarī hubiese podido acceder a esa literatura médica en el entorno de Alonso del Castillo, donde comenzaría a familiarizarse con un tipo de obras de cuyo conocimiento Bejarano dejaría inequívoco testimonio años después, en Marruecos, sobre los márgenes del manuscrito de Ibn Buklārīš, como hemos visto.

No se nos oculta que el argumento no es concluyente, pero tampoco sería de extrañar que Bejarano hubiese conocido esa literatura médica entre sus correligionarios antes (o incluso después) de su exilio, pues la práctica de la medicina fue actividad frecuente desempeñada por profesionales moriscos, y entre ellos, algunos titulados en las universidades del reino,⁹² junto a otros, formados con médicos cristianos; en todo caso, es indudable que entre los médicos y sanadores moriscos (con o sin formación académica) circularon las obras de terapéutica y materia médica de la Europa cristiana y, entre ellas, el tratado de Dioscórides⁹³. En concomitancia con ello hay que recordar también la dependencia de fuentes hispano-cristianas de los recetarios aljamiados de los moriscos aragoneses, aunque a veces se presenten atribuidos a las más egregias autoridades de la medicina islámica, según tuve ocasión de poner de relieve en su momento.⁹⁴

Por otra parte, en tierras europeas, precisamente en Leiden (en casa de Thomas Erpenius, recién nombrado profesor de Árabe y Lenguas Orientales de su Universidad), sabemos del encuentro de al-Ḥaḡarī con un médico, según refiere él mismo en un pasaje del *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*.⁹⁵ De tal episodio conocemos la versión española del propio morisco, realizada en Túnez, donde evoca aquella universidad (« ay en aquella çiudad academia donde se leen todo jenero de çiençias como Salamanca en España »), a su anfitrión (« un preçetor que se llamava Arpenius ») y al citado médico (« Y estando en su casa vino a verme un médico, ombre capaz y docto en las çiençias de los cristianos »),⁹⁶ en testimonio autógrafo conservado en el manuscrito D 565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia.⁹⁷ Y aunque el contacto de Bejarano con profesionales de la medicina aparece con frecuencia a lo

⁹¹ GARCÍA-ARENAL, RODRÍGUEZ MEDIANO, *Un Oriente español*, p. 112; sobre Alonso del Castillo, véase también LUIS GARCÍA BALLESTER, *Los moriscos y la medicina. Un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginada en la España del siglo XVI*, Labor, Barcelona 1984, p. 30-31.

⁹² En un censo parcial del área extremeña y época aquí concernidas (que no incluye Hornachos, por cierto), se documentan dos licenciados y un doctor en Medicina, véase JULIO FERNÁNDEZ NIEVA, « Un censo de moriscos extremeños de la Inquisición de Llerena (año 594) », *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, 29 (1973), p. 167.

⁹³ Véase GARCÍA BALLESTER, *Los moriscos y la medicina*, espec. p. 81-88.

⁹⁴ VILLAYERDE, « Recetarios médicos aljamiado-moriscos », espec. p. 304-307 y 310-314.

⁹⁵ ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 217 y sigs. / trad. ingl., p. 221 y sigs.

⁹⁶ En el *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* se refiere al mismo como *raḡul ḥakīm mašhūr fī l-ṭibb wa-l-ʿulūm* (texto ár., p. 219), que los traductores proponen identificar con Peter Pauw (1564-1617), a la sazón, reputado botanista y anatomista de la ciudad (*ibidem*, trad. ingl., p. 221-222, n. 22).

⁹⁷ Fol. 146 v y 147 v (también *apud* ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 295 y 296).

largo de su vida, habrá que tomar este encuentro con el citado médico a beneficio de inventario, pues nada nos permite inferir en nuestro propósito por conocer su grado de adiestramiento en la terminología de « las çiençias [terapéuticas] de los cristianos ».

A falta de pruebas concluyentes, y para no excluir ninguna posibilidad, cabe pensar que, tras su huida de España, pudo al-Ḥaġarī frecuentar a profesionales europeos de la medicina, con presencia ininterrumpida en el entorno de los sultanes saʿadíes y, particularmente, en la corte de Marraquech de Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (r. 1578–1603), deseoso de reclutar médicos cristianos « comme gens plus fidèles et plus entendus »;⁹⁸ con frecuencia, alternaban estos la práctica de la medicina con responsabilidades diplomáticas y, en algunos casos, les sirvió para profundizar en sus estudios de la lengua árabe. Tal fue el caso de los franceses Guillaume Bérard, Arnault de Lisle, Pierre Threillant (boticario), así como al ya citado Étienne Hubert,⁹⁹ al que no alcanzó a conocer al-Ḥaġarī en Marraquech, pues debió volver a París poco antes de que el morisco hiciese su entrada en la corte del citado soberano.¹⁰⁰ Sin descartar la presencia en Berbería de otros médicos europeos (tal vez, renegados) y específicamente hispánicos, como el morisco Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Andalusī, natural de Córdoba, que ejerció como médico en la corte de Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1631–1636), cuya formación había adquirido en España, según nos hace saber Wiegers.¹⁰¹ Además del caso del médico cordobés, analiza nuestro colega el protagonismo de otros exiliados moriscos en el

⁹⁸ COMTE HENRY DE CASTRIES, *Agents et voyageurs français au Maroc (1530–1660)*, Ernest Leroux, París 1911, p. XIV.

⁹⁹ Con Bérard (m. 1591) entró en contacto en Constantinopla, en 1574, el que luego sería sultán Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 1576–1578), al que asistió como médico, al igual que a su sucesor Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, en cuya corte ejercieron su profesión los otros tres citados: De Lisle (1556–1614), primer catedrático de lengua árabe en el Collège Royal, permaneció en la corte saʿadí entre 1588 y 1599, aunque volvería otras dos veces a Marruecos (en condición de diplomático); Threillant abandonó Marruecos en 1596, mientras que Hubert (1567–1614) llegó a la corte de Marraquech en 1598 (donde permaneció apenas un año), como sucesor de De Lisle, al que relevaría igualmente en la cátedra de árabe en París. Cumplida noticia sobre todos ellos, así como de las circunstancias de sus estadias marroquíes, ofrece DE CASTRIES, *Agents et voyageurs*, p. VI–IX, XIII–XXI, XXI y XXII–XXVII, respectivamente.

¹⁰⁰ Según hemos visto, al-Ḥaġarī tendría ocasión de conocerlo luego en París, donde lo trató con frecuencia y le ayudó en la misión que lo llevó a Francia, *apud* ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, introducción, p. 44 y 48–49, y texto ár., p., 79–83, 86–92, 122–123 / trad. ingl., p. 130–133, 135–138, 158–159, así como el episodio referido en la *Rihlat al-ṣihāb*, preservado y añadido en el fragmento con los capítulos finales de la versión extractada de la obra en el manuscrito que perteneció a George S. Colin (ms. BNF Arabe 7024, fol. 34v–37r), dado a conocer igualmente por Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai y Wiegers (*ibid.*, texto ár., p. 276–277, n. 115 / trad. ingl., p. 307–309, n. 3).

¹⁰¹ GERARD WIEGERS, « Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe », *Al-Qanṭara*, 31 (2010), p. 587–610, y espec. sobre el médico morisco cordobés, p. 597.

« movement of translation in Arabic » en las cortes saʿadíes,¹⁰² como proceso de transferencia de saberes entre Europa y el Norte de África en el ámbito de diversas disciplinas, como la medicina, y cierra su estudio con la siguiente pregunta:

How does one explain that Moriscos in the Diaspora were involved in the physical sciences, whereas in the Iberia peninsula scientific manuscripts in Arabic circulated predominantly among Jewish minorities and not among Muslims?¹⁰³
el propio autor se apresta a responder:

The answer might be that the interest in medicine, astronomy, geography, biology and natural philosophy, while not absent in the Iberian peninsula, was not reflected in the possession of Arabic and Aljamiado texts. *Such Mudejars and Moriscos probably read and possessed Latin and Spanish texts.* The possession of such texts among moriscos has not yet been studied systematically,

para añadir a continuación:

Needless to say, such a study would not be easy, for the Mudejars and Moriscos in question probably differed very little from the old Christian Spanish population in respect of their literary and scholarly culture,

y concluir:

But they, too, brought their learning with them to the other side of Mediterranean during the expulsions, where it aroused the interest of the Moroccan authorities, especially in court circles.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² En alusión al estudio seminal de MUḤAMMAD AL-MANNŪNĪ, « Zāhirat taʿrībiyya fī l-Magrib al-saʿdiyya », *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 10–11 (1963–1964), p. 329–359, donde se ocupa de al-Šihāb Aḥmad al-Ḥaġarī (p. 335–353).

¹⁰³ Se refiere a las conclusiones de los dos trabajos de PIETER SJOERD VAN KONINGSVELD acerca de circulación de manuscritos árabes en la España cristiana: « Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain: A Comparative Intercultural Approach », *Israel Oriental Studies*, 12 (1992), p. 75–100, y « Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain: Some Supplementary Notes », en *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main – Bern 1991, vol. I, p. 811–823.

¹⁰⁴ WIEGERS, « Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe », p. 610, cursiva nuestra. Ya HARVEY había observado que « once in North Africa, the Moriscos frequently found that the more advanced material culture they had acquired in Spain gave them an advantage over their North African-born fellow Muslims » (« The Morisco Who Was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter », citado *infra*. n. 111, p. 73–74).

Indudablemente, al-Ḥaḡarī fue un conspicuo protagonista de tal proceso,¹⁰⁵ si bien es cierto que la medicina y su práctica no fue para él una actividad profesional.¹⁰⁶ Parece pues razonable entender esta (en apariencia, paradójica) circunstancia como manifestación de su acusado carácter de hombre de letras cultivado. Se hace comprensible entonces la versatilidad del personaje, desde su posición y relevancia social, en particular tras su voluntario exilio, con una decidida curiosidad intelectual, que abrevaba tanto en fuentes islámicas como cristianas. Testimonio muy elocuente del talante de al-Ḥaḡarī lo encontramos en la respuesta que ofrece a los comensales (franceses) asistentes a una velada en París, en casa del juez encargado de los asuntos de los moriscos, que habían motivado su misión diplomática.¹⁰⁷ Con ellos debate sobre asuntos de religión y no ocultan los anfitriones su admiración ante la elocuencia y el conocimiento con que argumenta y responde a sus oponentes el morisco, que, orgulloso, añade:

Deben comprender que soy el intérprete del sultán de Marruecos. El que ocupa tal puesto está obligado a estudiar las ciencias, tanto en los libros de los musulmanes como en los libros de los cristianos a fin de comprender bien lo que está diciendo cuando se traduce en la Corte del sultán.¹⁰⁸

Son palabras que, más allá de su elocución en el marco de una controversia islamo-cristiana y en el transcurso de aquella *soirée* parisina, precisamente el día de la celebración del *mawlid* del año 1021 h. (13 de mayo de 1612), ilustran acerca de los

¹⁰⁵ WIEGERS, «Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe», p. 597.

¹⁰⁶ Nada encontramos a propósito en su obra donde, por contra, refiere encuentros (propiciatorios para haberlo explicitado, si tal hubiera sido el caso) con eminentes médicos en Francia y Holanda, como el (ocasional) antes mencionado en casa de Erpenius en Leiden; o, en el mismo sentido, su relación continuada en París con el médico Étienne Hubert (comp. *supra*, notas 50, 51, 52 y 99) que, a cambio de sus servicios en su misión diplomática, le pide ayuda en la lectura de algunos libros en árabe que el médico francés tenía, para que le aclare algunos extremos de su contenido: tal los *Elementos* de Euclides, obras gramaticales como la *Aḡurrūmiyya* y la *Al-kāfiyya al-ṣaḡfiyya* de Ibn Mālik, otra obra (igualmente en árabe, cuyo título no especifica) de disputas sobre cuestiones religiosas entre un musulmán y un cristiano (que, al parecer, resultó vencedor), y el *Qānūn fi l-ṭibb* de Avicena, que no le sugiere el más mínimo comentario. Todo lo contrario que el enfado que le provocó ver un ejemplar del texto sagrado del islam en manos de un « infiel impuro » (*kāfir naḡis*), cuando Hubert le mostró un Corán que este había traído de Marraquech. Bien significativo resulta, en fin, lo que manifiesta cuando, tras mostrarle aquellos y otros libros, comenzaron a hablar de ciencia (*‘ilm*) y la conversación derivó hacia la discusión entre ellos sobre cuestiones de religión (*al-munāza‘a bayna-nā ‘alā l-adyān*), cf. ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 79–80 / trad. ingl., p. 131. Y este no es sino un episodio más de los muchos que refiere al-Ḥaḡarī en su obra, a lo largo de la cual la polémica religiosa y la superioridad del islam patentizan « la victoria del partidario de la religión contra los infieles », hilo conductor recurrente y tonalidad en la que está compuesta, que el autor deja bien explícito desde su propio título.

¹⁰⁷ ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, introd., p. 33; texto ár. p. 43 / trad. ingl., p. 133.

¹⁰⁸ Traducción española de GARCÍA-ARENAL, RODRÍGUEZ MEDIANO, *Un Oriente español*, p. 155.

afanes bibliográficos y las inquietudes intelectuales del morisco Bejarano, a la vez que evocan el ambiente intelectual de la corte sa'adí.¹⁰⁹

Por otra parte, es de advertir que la curiosidad de al-Ḥaḡarī no solo se limitó a las ciencias religiosas, con marcada orientación hacia la polémica beligerante contra cristianos y judíos, sino que la hizo extensiva también a otras disciplinas, como la astrología, con su versión árabe de la *Risāla al-zakūṭiyya*, a partir de la traducción romance realizada en Marraquech del *Almanach perpetuum* de Abraham Zacuto, antes mencionada; la gramática, con la traducción interlineal española de *al-Muqaddima al-Aḡurrūmiyya*, presumiblemente realizada en Leiden para Erpenius;¹¹⁰ o, ya en Túnez, la traducción (completada en 1638) del *Kitāb al-‘izz wal-manāfi‘*, un tratado de artillería escrito originariamente en español por un morisco de origen granadino, maestro artillero, que en condición de tal había navegado hasta América y recaló en Túnez tras la expulsión.¹¹¹

En aquel ambiente cortesano, y ante esta diversidad de intereses intelectuales, no es de extrañar que al-Ḥaḡarī se interesara por los textos médicos, tras conocer (en manos de un cierto médico marroquí) y mostrar interés por un antiguo ejemplar manuscrito del *Kitāb al-Musta‘inī*, que él mismo restauraría y completaría con primor a partir de otras copias de la obra. Y esa curiosidad atraería su atención entonces en la materia médica y su nomenclatura, cuando se propuso identificar los más de siete centenares de entradas de que consta el tratado de Ibn Buklārīš, con glosas y anotaciones marginales con las que ilustró el antiguo código del judío andalusí, ya restaurado por él, y que poco después haría llegar a manos de Golius.

Y aunque por el momento no podamos precisar a qué fuente concreta europea (cristiana, en definitiva) recurrió para tal menester, resulta incuestionable que al-Ḥaḡarī tuvo presente algún tratado o repertorio que le permitía ilustrar, en ciertos casos y con insólita propiedad, los nombres árabes de los simples del manuscrito con sus denominaciones latinas (y latinizadas) que circulaban entre los tratadistas y figuraban en repertorios europeos de lexicografía médico-botánica.¹¹² De otra

¹⁰⁹ Sobre el ambiente intelectual de la corte, a la llegada de Bejarano a Marraquech, véase MERCEDES GARCÍA-ARENAL, *Ahmad al-Mansur. The Beginnings of Modern Morocco*, Oneworld Academic, Oxford 2009, p. 34 y sigs.

¹¹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Pococke 434, cf. ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, introd., p. 53-54; comp. *infra*, anexo II.

¹¹¹ Véase VAN KONINGSVELD, AL-SAMARRAI, WIEGERS en la introducción a ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 62-64, con referencia a manuscritos de esta obra y bibliografía actualizada, en particular el artículo pionero de LEONARD P. HARVEY, « The Morisco Who Was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter. Ahmad bnu Qasim ibn al-faḡīh Qasim ibn al-shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusi, alias Ehmed ben Caçim Bejarano hijo de Ehmed hijo de alfaquí Caçim hijo del saih el Hhachari Andaluz », *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 8 (1959), p. 67-97, donde edita y traduce el prólogo de *Kitāb al-‘izz wal-manāfi‘*, según el ms. de Viena, y puso a la vez en relación al autor con el manuscrito D 565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia.

¹¹² No sería de descartar que al-Ḥaḡarī hubiese tenido conocimiento y acceso a tal literatura en el transcurso de sus viajes y estancias por diversas ciudades europeas, cuyo ambiente intelectual y

manera, no hubiera podido establecer equivalencias como سراج القطرب = *lampas alcutrupe* y حَبُّ الزَّلْم = *granun azelem*, analizadas anteriormente, que revelan la familiaridad de al-Ḥaḡarī con la literatura de sinónimos derivada de las traducciones árabo-latinas.

La elaboración de un glosario que habrá de completar, en un futuro, esta presentación y edición de las glosas que ahora ofrecemos, con el inventario ordenado y estudio lingüístico de todos los términos, en distintas lenguas y variedades, así como el cotejo, en su caso, de las formas suministradas por al-Ḥaḡarī con la terminología médico-botánica de tradición árabo-latina, acumulada en repertorios de sinónimos tanto en latín como en romance, permitirá afinar sin duda la búsqueda de las fuentes (o fuente) utilizadas por Bejarano, que por el momento solo podemos entrever. Será entonces el momento de aquilatar detalles acerca de la procedencia de una terminología tan adecuada y aprovechada con tanta propiedad, que nos permitirá comprender mejor esta vertiente de la versátil personalidad intelectual y literaria del morisco de Hornachos, que con análoga soltura se desenvuelve tanto en disciplinas islámicas como en los libros de los cristianos.¹¹³

actividad editorial debió impresionarle, a juzgar por lo que escribe a sus correligionarios moriscos de Estambul en la carta que envió, en 1612, desde la capital francesa: « Léese en esta ciudad todo jénero de çiençias y en diuersas lenguas como el latín, hebreo griego y arábigo, y de cada día ymprimen libros en esta çiençia arábiga, ansí en Rroma, Flandes y Alemania y París ynterpretan algunos libros y açiertan en lo más » (Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia, ms. D 565, fol. 159v).

¹¹³ La destreza simultánea en el uso oral y escrito de las lenguas árabe y española no era infrecuente en una destacada élite morisca, cada vez mejor conocida, entre los exiliados en el norte de África; al ejemplo destacado de al-Ḥaḡarī podemos agregar el caso de otro morisco, natural de Hornachos igualmente, entre los trasterrados en 1610. Se llamaba Brahem Tello y fue instructor de lengua árabe de misioneros franciscanos en Marruecos; la crónica de tales misiones lo describe adornado de notables cualidades: « Era hombre de claro ingenio, de bien madura capacidad, muy inteligente en vna, y otra lengua; escribiendolas ambas con buena perfeccion; por cuya causa era para nosotros buen maestro; y para los Moros gran sabio » (FR. FRANCISCO DE SAN JUAN, *Misión historial de Marruecos, en que se trata de los martirios, persecuciones, y trabajos, que han padecido los Missionarios...*, Francisco Garay impresor de libros, Sevilla 1708, p. 489). Este morisco parece ser el contendiente musulmán de una polémica islamo-cristiana con el franciscano fray Pedro de Alcántara (alumno predilecto suyo en aquellas enseñanzas); de esta controversia, que se conserva en dos copias manuscritas, he ofrecido noticia de la misma en otra parte, véase JUAN CARLOS VILLAVERDE AMIEVA, « Un papel de Francisco Antonio González sobre ‘códices escritos en castellano con caracteres árabes’ (Real Academia de la Historia, año 1816) y noticia de las copias modernas de *Leyes de Moros* », en RAQUEL SUÁREZ GARCÍA, IGNACIO CEBALLOS VIRO (eds.), *Aljamías in memoriam Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes y Iacob M. Hassán*, Trea, Gijón 2012, p. 202–203, nota 53.

VI. Al-Ḥaḡarī y Hornachos:
de la « piedra colorada » a la « tierra bermeja »

Para acabar esta presentación de las glosas, volvamos de nuevo al episodio, citado más arriba, en el que al-Ḥaḡarī relataba de manera elusiva su aprendizaje del árabe (supuestamente con un médico de Valencia) y por el que, de manera no menos sesgada, hacía saber su procedencia a su interlocutor en Granada: « soy de al-Ḥaḡar al-Aḥmar ». Con sólidos argumentos, Wiegiers había deducido que debía tratarse de la localidad extremeña de Hornachos;¹¹⁴ pues bien, disponemos ahora de la afortunada confirmación documental (« natural de la villa de Hornachos »; otra vez, « Ornachos »), sacada a la luz por Isabel Boyano¹¹⁵ al exhumar un documento del Archivo de la Chancillería de Granada (su traducción del célebre pergamino de la Torre Turpiana), que desvela igualmente el nombre cristiano del morisco (« Diego Vexarano »), cuyo apellido (con la grafía « Bejarano ») ya era conocido.¹¹⁶ Queda pues de manifiesto que *al-Ḥaḡar al-Aḥmar* se refiere a la localidad extremeña –mencionada por al-Ḥaḡarī tres veces en su obra–,¹¹⁷ entre cuya población (predominantemente morisca) sobrevivió el uso cotidiano de la lengua árabe hasta el momento de su expulsión, según ya hemos visto.

Ahora bien, como es sabido, los moriscos de Hornachos descendían directamente de los antiguos musulmanes de la localidad, convertidos en mudéjares tras la conquista y su entrega inmediata por Fernando III, bajo la forma de Encomienda, a la orden de Santiago, según carta fechada en Toledo en 1235 (« illam Villam quae dicitur Fornachos »);¹¹⁸ sin embargo, el nombre de la localidad no parece estar documentado, de manera fehaciente, en las fuentes árabes. Una supuesta forma فرنجاوش [Furnaḡūs] que reconstruye Abid Mizal, a partir de las deturpadas lecturas de los dos manuscritos utilizados por él en la edición del *Uns al-muhaḡ* de al-Idrīsī¹¹⁹, se nos ofrece muy dudosa: de acuerdo con la prosodia del topónimo (de origen latino-romance), habría que suponer un *ductus* consonántico فرناجاش [Furnaḡuš], mientras que las variantes textuales aludidas invitan, más bien, a reconstruir una forma فرنجاوالش [Furnaḡu^wāluš], o bien sin diptongo, es decir, فرنجاؤلش [Furnaḡūluš], que corresponde a la población cordobesa de Hornachuelos,

¹¹⁴ WIEGERS, « A Life between Europe and the Maghrib », p. 95–97, y también *apud* ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, intr., p. 18–21.

¹¹⁵ BOYANO, « Al-Ḥaḡarī y su traducción del Pergamino de la Torre Turpiana », p. 151–152.

¹¹⁶ Por el manuscrito de la Universidad de Bolonia, cf. HARVEY, « The Morisco Who Was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter », p. 69–70.

¹¹⁷ ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 25, 205 y 240 / trad. ingl., p. 89, 215 y 235.

¹¹⁸ ALBERTO GONZÁLEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Hornachos, enclave morisco. Peculiaridades de una población distinta*, Asamblea de Extremadura – Editora Regional de Extremadura, Mérida 1990, p. 45.

¹¹⁹ AL-IDRĪSĪ, *Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII, según «Uns al-muhaḡ wa-rawḡ al-furaḡ»* (Solaz de corazones y prados de contemplación), ed. ABID MIZAL, CSIC, Madrid 1989, texto ár., p. 55 / trad. esp., p. 86, y espec. 227.

con la que el editor del texto de al-Idrīsī parece confundir la localidad extremeña.¹²⁰

No abundaremos en pormenores filológicos ni menudencias textuales a propósito de la forma árabe del topónimo Hornachos, pero la denominación *al-Ḥaġar al-Aḥmar* (conocida únicamente por el testimonio de al-Ḥaġarī) nos da pie a relacionar tal forma toponímica con algunas voces y expresiones españolas anotadas por el morisco sobre el manuscrito de Ibn Buklārīš.

Muy sugerente se nos ofrecía a este propósito la siguiente glosa:

حَجَرُ الْعَقِيقِ piedra colorada,

que, a juzgar por tan genérica expresión, invita a suponer que el morisco desconocía forma romance alguna equivalente de la expresión árabe *ḥaġar al-ʿaqīq* (o simplemente *al-ʿaqīq*), que denomina la piedra semipreciosa conocida entonces como *cornerina*, voz muy bien documentada en todo tipo de textos coetáneos.¹²¹ En semejante coyuntura, al-Ḥaġarī –ya lo hemos visto en otras ocasiones– deja sin glosar el término árabe,¹²² otras veces ofrece una traducción más o menos literal, o bien recurre con frecuencia a la glosa parafrástica. Tal es el caso de esta expresión *piedra colorada*, con la que se limita a traducir el término genérico *ḥaġar* (‘piedra’) del primer elemento precisándolo con una indicación cromática, que toma de la descripción del simple que aparece en el propio texto.¹²³

La expresión *piedra colorada* escrita por la mano de Bejarano nos hizo pensar, en su momento, en la denominación de su lugar de origen y, sobre todo, en su

¹²⁰ Curiosamente, de semejante confusión participaba DIEGO DE GUADIX cuando, a finales del siglo XVI, escribía: « Hornachos. Es en España un pueblo del obispado de Córdoba », y tras aberrante disquisición etimológica, concluye: « ... por ser dos pueblos, lo dizen en plural y hazen esta corrupción Hornachos » (*Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los árabes pusieron a algunas ciudades y a otras muchas cosas*, ed. ELENA BAJO PÉREZ, FELIPE MAÍLLO SALGADO, Treva, Gijón 2005, p. 714).

¹²¹ No obstante, sobre un eventual conocimiento por parte de al-Ḥaġarī del término *cornerina*, véase *infra*, anexo III,

¹²² Notoriamente en el caso de los simples del lapidario: de la treintena de simples que aparecen en el manuscrito de Ibn Buklārīš bajo la denominación *ḥaġar* + un determinante o especificador: *ḥaġar al-lāzaward*, *ḥaġar al-yahūdī*, *ḥaġar al-misann* ... (fol. 63v–68v), carece de glosa un tercio de los mismos.

¹²³ En la descripción ofrecida por Ibn Buklārīš en su tratado, que reproduce el pasaje correspondiente del *Kitāb al-aḥḡār* del Pseudo-Aristóteles (cf. *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. JULIUS RUSKA, Carl Winter, Heidelberg 1912, p. 103, n. 5), se mencionan muchas variedades de ‘cornalina’ (tal es la variante hodierna del español clásico *cornerina*, antes *cornelina*, forma predominante en época medieval), destacando la de la intensidad de su rojo (*al-ʿaqīq aġnās kaṭīra ... aḥsanu-hu mā štaddat ḥumratu-hu*). Recurre igualmente al-Ḥaġarī a la forma femenina del adjetivo en otras dos ocasiones análogas: « dormideras coloradas » en la glosa a *būḍaranġ* (fol. 29v), que toma de la identificación del simple en el texto (*huwa al-ḥašḥāš al-aḥmar*), y la ya citada « fruta colorada » (fol. 87v) en glosa al término *muṣaʿ*, de la que hemos tratado más arriba (comp. *supra*, notas 63 y 64).

significado (*al-Ḥaġar al-Aḥmar*, e. d., ‘la piedra roja’, ‘las piedras rojas’). Se nos antojaba entonces hacedera la idea de ensayar la identificación del topónimo en el rastreo de posibles enclaves moriscos con denominación del tipo *Peñarrubia*, *Peñarroja*, *Peñarroya*, *Peñabermeja* ... y aun formas compuestas semejantes, como *Sierra Bermeja*, nada infrecuentes, por cierto, en la toponomástica hispánica.¹²⁴ Claro es que dábamos por supuesto que Bejarano, con su declaración en el episodio de marras, pretendería no desvelar su origen ante el Arzobispo de Granada, bajo el subterfugio de declarar una traducción árabe del nombre de su pueblo, sin que, a la vez, dejase de faltar a la verdad. Pero tan alambicada pretensión se ha vuelto ahora completamente ociosa tras el afortunado hallazgo de Isabel Boyano.

En cualquier caso, cabe añadir que la motivación (oronímica) del nombre en árabe de Hornachos¹²⁵ no podía ser más ajustada a la topografía de la localidad extremeña. Sin duda, la mole de cuarcita de Sierra Grande (o sencillamente La Sierra, para los lugareños), en cuya cima sobreviven los restos de una fortaleza de época islámica, es el elemento más destacado y perceptible del emplazamiento de Hornachos, que describía así el historiador franciscano fray Juan Matheo Reyes Ortiz de Thovar (1725–1784), natural de la localidad:

un lugar de Peñas vivas, que llaman guijarros, muy fragosa, y tan sumamente empinada que se divisan sus cumbres desde noventa millas, pocas más o menos.¹²⁶

Y si la fragosidad de La Sierra queda reflejada en el primer elemento del topónimo, la adjetivación cromática del segundo remite al moteado rojizo de la pátina de óxidos de hierro, tan característico de la cuarcita armoricana, que ofrece el peñasco en cuya solanera se asienta Hornachos, en los confines de la Tierra de Barros,¹²⁷ denominación toponomástica que alude, a su vez, a su característica tierra arcillosa y rojiza. Y a esa coloración ocre-rojiza remiten otras

¹²⁴ Así lo hice en mi intervención («Glosas moriscas a un manuscrito andalusí de materia médica») en el X^o Symposium International d'Études Morisques (Zaghuan, Túnez, 9–12 de mayo de 2001), cuando me ocupé por primera vez de estos materiales.

¹²⁵ De todas formas, no deja de resultar algo enigmático que solo conozcamos el topónimo *al-Ḥaġar al-Aḥmar* por el testimonio del propio morisco; a partir de este dato que él nos ha desvelado, podríamos relacionar el primer elemento del topónimo con la *nisba* que indicaría tal procedencia (*al-Ḥaġari*), ¿o la vinculación fue establecida en sentido inverso? Tratándose de Bejarano, con frecuencia, la duda nos llega envuelta en el velo de la evidencia, y viceversa. A mayor abundamiento, recordemos que no hay testimonio de tal denominación árabe del topónimo en los escritos de Bejarano en lengua española, en los que, al contrario, se encuentra la forma esperable «Hornachos» (Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia, ms. D 565, fol. 157r).

¹²⁶ Apud GONZÁLEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Hornachos, enclave morisco*, p. 32.

¹²⁷ Por su parte, ISMAIL EL-OUTMANI, «Tierra de Barros, tierra de Al-Haġari Bejarano», <<https://moriscostunez.blogspot.com/2010/01/tierra-de-barros-tierra-de-al-hayari.html>> (consultado el 6 de agosto de 2021), había propuesto identificar el topónimo *al-Ḥaġar al-Aḥmar* con la comarca de Tierra de Barros.

denominaciones de la toponimia menor de Hornachos, como la finca llamada *La Bermeja*, o la cueva (y actual mirador) de *La Magrera*, de la que el citado historiador Ortiz de Thovar había ofrecido noticia:

En el Peñón que llaman de Almagrera, hay una cueva grandísima, y todo su interior es de Almagre, de que se aprovechan los pastores para señalar los ganados transhumantes,¹²⁸

que nos recuerda el uso pastoril del almagre, conocido también desde antiguo como ‘rúbrica de los carpinteros’, por el empleo que estos hacían del mismo para señalar las marcas de los cortes en la madera. Pues bien, la existencia en Hornachos de yacimientos de tal producto, que aparece entre los simples del tratado de Ibn Buklārīš invita a poner a contribución la glosa que al-Ḥaġarī hizo de este simple (s. v. *ṭīn aḥmar*), que dice así:

طِينٌ أَحْمَرٌ tierra bermeja
y es magra,

forma adjetiva esa (*bermeja*) que no podría resultar más evocadora del paisaje de su tierra en la pluma de un hornachero. En cuanto a la voz *magra*, que aún al-Ḥaġarī añade para mayor precisión, podría interpretarse como una mera transliteración (sin artículo) de la voz árabe *al-magara* (المغرة), con la que Ibn Buklārīš aclara el nombre del simple en la casilla de sinónimos, si no es una variante sin artículo, hasta ahora desconocida, del propio arabismo hispánico en su versión etimológica (*almagra*); o bien, lo que suponemos más probable, parece que se trate (una vez más) de la forma propia del arabismo latino, bien documentada en la literatura de sinónimos hispánica y europea, que remonta a la traducción realizada por Gerardo de Cremona del *Kitāb al-Qānūn* de Ibn Sīnā: « De luto magra », que corresponde al epígrafe طين المغرة del original árabe, y a su aclaración (« magra id est terra sigillata ») en el glosario con el que se enriqueció la traducción de la obra de Avicena,¹²⁹ cuyos ecos resuenan todavía en las décadas iniciales del siglo xvii en el diccionario médico de Ruyzes de Fontecha: « Magra, el almagre, tierra roja ».¹³⁰

VII. A modo de conclusión

La presentación de los materiales que se suceden en los márgenes de una farmacopea andalusí, que editamos a continuación, nos ha permitido acercarnos a una faceta desconocida (una más) de la personalidad, fascinante y poliédrica, de su

¹²⁸ GONZÁLEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Hornachos, enclave morisco*, p. 32.

¹²⁹ AVICENNA, *Liber Canonis*, fol. 127r, col. b y 558r, col. a.

¹³⁰ ZABÍA LASALA (ed.), *Diccionario de Juan Alonso y de los Ruyzes de Fontecha*, p. 133.

autor, al-Ḥaġarī Bejarano. Con el doblete onomástico, tan idóneo como adventicio, utilizado en las páginas que anteceden de manera indistinta o alternativamente, hemos querido subrayar el perfil bifronte de este morisco de Hornachos y poner de relieve el carácter fronterizo de su peripecia vital, a caballo entre dos mundos, enfatizando la doble perspectiva idiomática y cultural de su rica trayectoria intelectual, sin pasar por alto la irrenunciable militancia de su identidad islámica, puesta de manifiesto en sus escritos de polémica religiosa y, particularmente, en el *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, cuyo título no podía resultar más elocuente.

Tras su huida clandestina de España, años antes de la expulsión de los moriscos, la condición bilingüe de Bejarano le permitiría llevar a cabo, junto a los quehaceres propios de su oficio de traductor e intérprete del soberano saʿdí, una destacada actividad diplomática (notoriamente en favor de sus correligionarios expatriados), a la par que, en condición de hombre de letras, nos dejó diversas obras originales y algunas traducciones que contribuyeron al proceso de transferencia de saberes entre la Cristiandad europea y el Islam norteafricano, en el que los moriscos exiliados desempeñaron un papel destacado y, entre ellos, al-Ḥaġarī ocupa un puesto relevante.

En tal sentido, los materiales sobre la terminología de la materia médica que Bejarano fue consignando junto a los nombres árabes de los medicamentos en un singular manuscrito de la farmacopea de Ibn Buklārīš, que ahora publicamos en su contexto y en su totalidad, constituyen una buena muestra del trasiego de conocimientos y saberes entre ambas orillas del Mediterráneo en época moderna. Tan copiosa *marginalia*, aparte de su interés lexicográfico intrínseco y constituir preciosa fuente para el conocimiento de la materia médica entre los moriscos exiliados en Berbería, acrecienta el valor de esta copia del tratado farmacológico del judío andalusí, cuya veintena de testimonios manuscritos ofrecen tantos datos sobre la lengua romance de al-Andalus y otras variedades iberorrománicas.

Pasemos pues a la edición de las glosas con las que al-Ḥaġarī fue aclarando en lengua española (y aun en otras, como el latín o el francés) la nomenclatura árabe de los medicamentos simples del código del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, sobre el que con afán e insospechada erudición trabajaba el morisco de Hornachos, antes de que lo adquiriera Golius, y que, desde hace casi cinco siglos, enriquece la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden.

Anexos a las notas 48, 85 y 121

I

EL EMBARQUE DE LOS MORISCOS DE HORNACHOS EN SEVILLA

Para no ser privados de los niños, los moriscos de Hornachos ya embarcados manifestaron su intención de dirigirse a Francia, pretensión que las autoridades tomaron como mera argucia que ocultaba su verdadero propósito de dirigirse a Berbería, según Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai y Wiegers (*apud* ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, introducción, p. 43). La cuestión resultó controvertida y el Cabildo extraordinario del día 13 de febrero puso toda su atención sobre la « cuestión de los niños » (MANUEL F. FERNÁNDEZ CHAVES, RAFAEL M. PÉREZ GARCÍA, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, Valencia 2009, p. 414); los hornacheros exigieron la devolución de los menores retenidos aceptando encamirarse hacia territorio cristiano (HENRI LAPEYRE, *Geografía de la España morisca*, Diputació Provincial de València, Valencia 1986, p. 185, donde se manifiesta quedar « sorprendido del gran número de flotas hacia países cristianos, especialmente Marsella »).

El propio Bejarano nos dejó testimonio de aquel tremendo episodio, que describe en estos términos:

caso desastrado, cruel e ynnorme que en España se usó en las fonteras de Ceuta y Tanjar, que todas las criaturas las quitaron a sus padres, aunque fuesen de diez años, también en Sevilla quitaron los hijos de jente que estauan en catorze navíos y fueron tan grandes las bozes que dauan las madres que dezían los sevillanos que aquel era el día del juicio. (Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia, ms. D 565, fol. 159v–160r)

Entre esos catorce navíos mencionados por al-Ḥaġarī, sin duda, se encontraban algunos de los que figuran en la «Bisita que a hecho el Sr. don Juan de Velasco ... de los moriscos que an enbarcado al rrío desta ciudad de Sevilla» (BNE, ms. 9577, fol. 22 y sigs.), en comisión ordenada por el Marqués de San Germán, del Consejo de Guerra de S. M. y Capitán General de Artillería, que tenía el encargo de la expulsión de los moriscos de Andalucía, reino de Granada, Murcia y Hornachos. Entre la veintena de embarcaciones visitadas por Velasco, a lo largo de los meses de enero y febrero de aquel año de 1610, cuatro tenían *maestre* francés y una nos interesa especialmente: aquella cuya *visita, cala y cata* de los ya embarcados comienza así:

En San Telmo en diez de febrero de mill y seiscientos y diez años, estando en la nao nombrada El Sol, maestre Jacome, nación francés, el Sr. don Juan de Velasco, ensima de cubierta y sus ministrales hizieron visita de las personas y ropas siguientes,

y sigue la relación detallada de las familias moriscas embarcadas, así como de las escasas pertenencias que llevaban consigo; en la relación figuran algunos, cuya procedencia se indica expresamente, entre ellos: « Fernando Vejarano y su muger, vecino de Hornachos » (fol. 49r), « Fernando Vejarano el Biejo y su muger y un hijo y un nieto » (*ibidem*), y más adelante: « Diego Vejarano y su muger y su suegra y sus hijos » (fol. 51r), tal vez miembros de la familia de al-Ḥaḡarī, según suponen Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai y Wiegers, quienes ya habían mencionado a estos Vejarano entre los embarcados en Sevilla –noticia que ahora ofrecemos más circunstanciada– en la citada fuente documental (*apud* ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, introducción, p. 24).

Podemos aún aportar algunos otros datos. El número de moriscos embarcados en la nao El Sol ascendía a un total 217, según se indica en el estadillo de todas las visitadas por Velasco (fol. 83v); en el documento hay alusión a los niños que se separaron (fol. 78r–79r) y, en fin, en la visita a otro navío, igualmente con maestre francés, se da cuenta de que « algun biejo ynpedido que se queriase quedar » (fol. 78r). Desconocemos el puerto de arribada de la nao francesa El Sol; la propia documentación parece reflejar la negociación de los hornacheros y las autoridades, antes de su partida de Sevilla, pues se indica tanto Marsella (cf. LAPEYRE, *Geografía de la España morisca*, p. 208, para la embarcación al mando del llamado « Xaque Martin » con 400 pasajeros), como Tánger/Ceuta, según MANUEL LOMAS CORTÉS, « La contratación de mercantes extranjeros en la expulsión de los moriscos de Andalucía », *Revista de Historia Moderna*, 29 (2009), p. 201, donde menciona al patrón como « Jacques Martin ».

Tiempo después, el propio al-Ḥaḡarī se referirá a aquellos hechos y a las dramáticas circunstancias de la partida al exilio (*Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 240 / trad. ingl., p. 234–235), evocando a las atribuladas familias moriscas, algunas de las cuales llegaron con sus súplicas hasta Marraquech:

Alguna de esta jente aportó a Marruecos y no pueden las madres sosegarse de ninguna manera, que algunas pierden el juicio (Biblioteca Universitarias de Bolonia, ms. D 565, fol. 160),

razón por la cual –según añade– recibiría igualmente « procuraçión » para su viaje a Francia.

II

SOBRE EL APRENDIZAJE DE LA LECTURA Y ESCRITURA DEL ARABE

El propio al-Ḥaḡarī nos hace saber en qué momento empezó a instruirse en lengua española y cómo tiempo después haría lo propio con la lectura de la lengua árabe, destreza esta adquirida en menos de un día (*fī aqall min yawm wāḥid*) y gracia que

él atribuye al don y éxito concedidos por la divinidad (*hibat^{an} wa-tawfiq^{an} min Allāh*) y a la *baraka* de los andalusíes. Así lo declara en un pasaje fragmentario y con frecuentes lagunas del manuscrito de Dār al-Kutub (El Cairo), a partir del cual Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai y Wieggers prepararon su primera edición de la obra, publicada en 1997 (ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 173 / trad. ingl., p. 228–229); ahora, a la vista de la versión íntegra del texto en el manuscrito de al-Azhar, incluido en la nueva edición de 2015 (ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, texto ár., p. 271–273 / trad. ingl., p. 255–257), podemos apreciar en todo su alcance la importancia del episodio,¹³¹ que merecería un análisis más pormenorizado que este simple excursus.

Relata el morisco cómo cierto día, cuando tenía diez años y llevaba ya cinco de instrucción en lengua española, le pidió a un hombre piadoso (*raḡul ṣāliḥ*), primo de su padre, que le escribiese las letras del alfabeto árabe; así lo hizo aprendiéndolas de prisa (*bi-sur^a*), lo cual no dejaba de ser motivo de preocupación para sus padres, dadas las circunstancias, por las sospechas sobre todo lo que tuviera que ver con libros islámicos en la España de finales del siglo xvi. Cuando volvió de nuevo el primo de su padre a la casa, le indicó que ya conocía y distinguía las letras; le rogó entonces que le enseñase la manera de leerlas, a lo que le respondió que lo haría, cuando pudiese ir a su casa. Llegado tal momento, así describe al-Ḥaġarī el método de aprendizaje:

Me sacó un papel en el que estaban escritas las letras del alfabeto siete u ocho veces; la primera, cada letra con la terminación de acusativo [e. d., con -a]; la segunda, cada letra con la terminación de genitivo [e. d., con -i]; la tercera, con la terminación de nominativo [e. d., con -u]; la cuarta, en acusativo con *tanwīn* [e. d., -an]; la quinta, en genitivo con *tanwīn* [e. d., con -in]; la sexta, en nominativo con *tanwīn* [e. d., con -un]; y la séptima, todas las letras sin vocal. Y dijo: «la primera se lee con terminación de acusativo y se dice: *a, ba, ta*». Y leí aquella y lo comprendí; luego la segunda, con vocal -i, después la tercera y así hasta la última. En el papel estaban escritos los nombres de las frutas además de otros nombres (...) Después de haber leído todos los nombres del papel, había un poema rimado (*qaṣīda manẓūma*) en lenguaje vulgar, que leí igualmente.

El testimonio resulta de enorme interés y debemos ponerlo en relación con uno de los dos documentos árabes encontrados hace unos años en Hornachos que, tras truculentas peripecias que no es el caso relatar, se conservan en la Biblioteca de Extremadura (Badajoz). Han sido dados a conocer en edición facsimilar, acompañados de un pequeño volumen: M.^a ÁNGELES PÉREZ ÁLVAREZ, M.^a JOSÉ REBOLLO ÁVALOS, *Manuscritos árabes de Hornachos. Introducción, estudio y traducción*, Editora

¹³¹ Sobre el que llamó la atención ISMAIL EL-OUTMANI, « Al-Hayari Bejarano niño (Dato autobiográfico inédito », *Especulo. Revista de Estudios Literarios* (<<https://webs.ucm.es/info/especulo/>>), 43 (2009–2010), donde ofrecía la traducción española de todo el pasaje del manuscrito de al-Azhar.

Regional de Extremadura, Mérida 2008, donde se ofrece una descripción no muy afortunada (p. 11-12) del documento que nos interesa; me refiero al cuadernillo de 8 hojas sin numerar que contiene precisamente una secuencia de siete series del alifato (ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز ط ظ ك ل م ن ص ض ع غ ف ق س ش ه و لا ي), precedidas todas ellas de la *basmala*, y provistas, respectivamente y por este orden, de las vocales -a, -i, de su *tanwīn* (e. d., -an, -in), -u, de su *tanwīn* (e. d., -un) y, la séptima, con *sukūn* (e. d., sin vocal). Como es notorio, salvo por el orden en que aparecen algunas de las series del alfabeto, este documento coincide plenamente con el papel descrito por al-Ḥaḡarī, sobre el que el morisquillo Bejarano aprendía en casa de su pariente paterno, mientras este « piadoso anciano, ocupado en tejer lino,¹³² solo interrumpía su tarea para instruirme al preguntarle yo por algo que me detuviese ».

No dejaría de resultar una afortunada casualidad que el papel que describe en su *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, redactado en El Cairo muchos años después del suceso de su infancia, fuera precisamente el documento encontrado en Hornachos. Ciertamente no es el caso; no obstante, el interés del relato y la importancia testimonial del cuadernillo encontrado en Hornachos se acrecientan y avaloran mutuamente. A diferencia del papel descrito por al-Ḥaḡarī, en el que figuraban ciertos nombres, entre ellos, los de las frutas (sin duda, allí leería por primera vez algunas denominaciones árabes de tal campo semántico, que luego glosaría en romance en el manuscrito leidense), así como una composición poética en dialecto, el manuscrito de Hornachos añade, a las siete series de consonantes y su casuística, las tres últimas azoras del Corán (y no solo la 113 y 114, como indican PÉREZ y REBOLLO, *Manuscritos árabes de Hornachos*, p. 12), con lo cual queda de manifiesto el uso de estas azoras breves finales en la fase inicial del aprendizaje de la lengua árabe (coránica) entre la comunidad cripto-islámica de Hornachos, como debía de ser el caso de los moriscos de toda la Península. Entre aquellos avezados instructores en la religión clandestina y la lectura del árabe, conocemos algunas hornacheras, como una tal Isabel Bejarano, presumiblemente emparentada con al-Ḥaḡarī, que compareció en 1610 ante el tribunal inquisitorial (cf. JULIO FERNANDEZ NIEVA, *La Inquisición y los moriscos extremeños*, Universidad de Extremadura, Badajoz 1979, p. 30).

Al-Ḥaḡarī se extiende, a su vez, sobre otras circunstancias y peculiaridades del caso, como la dificultad para utilizar las características tablas (*al-alwāḥ*) de las escuelas coránicas, frente a las contingencias y menor riesgo del uso del papel, y diversas consideraciones (religiosas) sobre la celeridad con que aprendió a leer la lengua sagrada del islam. Y, en fin, aunque era poco –por no decir nada– proclive

¹³² Traducido, de manera inadvertida, en la versión inglesa por «cotton» (apud ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 256), que corresponde a الكتان en el manuscrito (ibidem, fol. 280r) y refleja de manera fiel la edición (ibidem, p. 272).

a simpatizar con manifestación alguna procedente de la sociedad hispano-cristiana, no dejó de reconocer que su adiestramiento en la lectura de la lengua española (*al-ʿaḡamiyya*) le facilitaría mucho tal aprendizaje luego en el caso del árabe. No es momento de extenderse más sobre el asunto, pero el pasaje del *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* (sin duda, más circunstanciado en su obra autobiográfica mayor, la perdida *Riḥlat al-ṣihāb*) arroja luz sobre el documento de Hornachos: una « cartilla » de iniciación al estudio de la lengua, con las azoras coránicas finales como práctica de lectura.

Pues bien, la misma finalidad que la « cartilla » de Hornachos tenían otros documentos de época morisca llegados hasta nosotros, en los que no se ha reparado hasta el momento; así la hoja suelta encontrada en Calanda, en 1989, que presenta la *basmala* con una única serie del alfabeto árabe (coincidente con las del papel de Hornachos) dotada de los tres casos de *tanwīn* además del *sukūn* (reproducida por ROSA M.^a BUESO ZAERA, « Moriscos de Aragón », *Ontejas. Asociación Cultural de Fortanet*, 19 [2007], p. 2); y a estos testimonios de Extremadura y Aragón podemos aún añadir otro de los moriscos de Valencia: me refiero al manuscrito BNE 5056 en cuya hoja de guarda final, por ambas caras (fol. 24r-v), están escritas respectivamente sendas secuencias de las letras del alifato, a las que sigue una raya sobre la que, por encima o por debajo –según el caso–, figuran las tres vocales, el *tanwīn* en los tres casos y el *sukūn*, precedidos de texto de la *fātiḥa* (ésta solo en la primera plana), debidamente vocalizada. Y sin duda a estos tres casos se podrán podrían añadir otros testimonios semejantes de manuscritos árabes y aljamiados que, más allá de su consideración como meros ejercicios de escritura o muestras de *probatio calami*, habrá que relacionar con la iniciación a la lectura de la lengua árabe (coránica), fenómeno que debió ser tan general como clandestino en la España morisca¹³³.

¹³³ No es el caso de otro texto de al-Ḥaḡarī, cuya descripción catalográfica (« ff. 32 r contains abjad letters and sūrah i ») reclamó de manera inmediata nuestra atención. Se trata del manuscrito de la Bodleian Library (Oxford), Pococke 434, que presumiblemente perteneció a Thomas Erpenius (cf. Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, introd. p. 53–54) y contiene una traducción –más bien una versión palabra a palabra– interlineal del prólogo de la célebre *Āḡurrūmiyya*, de la mano de al-Ḥaḡarī. Ahora bien, en contra de lo que suponíamos antes de tener acceso al manuscrito, los textos de la hoja final (fol. 32r) no estaban destinados al aprendizaje de la lectura coránica, pues el alfabeto árabe que ahí figura, ordenado de acuerdo al *abjad* magrebí, tiene por objeto ofrecer el valor numérico de cada letra:

ا (1) ب (2) ج (3) د (4) هـ (5) و (6) ز (7) ح (8) ط (9) ي (10) ك (20) ل (30) م (40) ن (50) ص (60) ع (70) ف (80) ض (90) ق (100) ر (200) س (300) ت (400) ث (500) خ (600) ذ (700) ظ (800) غ (900) ش (1000) sin especificación alguna de las marcas del caso, indeterminación y ausencia de vocal, que ofrecían los documentos moriscos mencionados. Añadamos que el resto del folio, además de una expresión en árabe y su traducción española (en el margen izquierdo), lo ocupa el texto de la azora primera del Corán con la transliteración del texto árabe, término a término, en caracteres latinos: *biḡmi yllehi yrrehmeni yrrehimi...* (advértase la grafía especial –con un trazo que cruza la

III

SOBRE EL ESPAÑOL *CORNERINA* (AR. *AL-ʿAQĪQ*)
Y EL MANEJO DE LA BIBLIA EN ESPAÑOL POR AL-ḤAĠARĪ

El término *cornerina* (*cornelina* en textos medievales, *cornalina* en español contemporáneo) era usual en la época de al-Ḥaġarī y está harto documentado en todo tipo de fuentes del español clásico. Es de advertir no obstante que, aunque no debía resultarle familiar (lo hubiera utilizado en tal caso para glosar la denominación árabe *ḥaġar al-ʿaqīq*¹³⁴), tampoco hay que excluir que la voz *cornerina*, o con más propiedad, la expresión *piedra cornerina*, le hubiese salido alguna vez al paso a nuestro morisco en lecturas posteriores, ciertamente con propósito bien distinto a estos afanes suyos por ilustrar el manuscrito de Ibn Buklārīš.

La expresión figura en una obra muy significativa que al-Ḥaġarī tuvo ocasión de manejar, que leyó con interés y de la que tradujo algunos pasajes utilizados en sus polémicas contra judíos y cristianos. Me refiero a la edición de la Biblia preparada y editada por Cipriano de Valera (Amsterdam 1602), que encontró, al parecer, tardíamente en Túnez, tras su estancia en El Cairo a la vuelta de su peregrinación a La Meca. Es interesante destacar el aprovechamiento que hizo, a posteriori, de esta versión bíblica en la redacción del *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, según refiere al final del mismo:

I also found in Tunis a huge printed book in Spanish translated by Valera from Seville, like the one I found [en el original árabe dice قرأت 'leʿ] in France containing all the books of the Old Testament, the Psalter, and the Gospel. From it, I added the story of Nebukadnezar to my book, together with the interpretation of the prophet Daniel – peace be upon him – and other texts which I added in the tenth chapter.¹³⁵

letra « h »– utilizado aquí por al-Ḥaġarī para la ح a fin de distinguir su pronunciación de la de la letra ه, que aparece también en la aleya), escrito debajo del texto en caracteres árabes (salvo en el caso de esta primera aleya, que figura encima), y la traducción, igualmente palabra a palabra (« en el nombre de dios el piadoso y misericordioso ») encima del texto de la *fātiḥa*. Y, en fin, aunque el señuelo del *abġad* y la *fātiḥa* en la hoja final este manuscrito no nos condujo al objetivo previsto, no desaprovechamos la oportunidad de sacar a la luz nuevas facetas de la rica y polifacética personalidad, una vez más, del morisco Bejarano.

¹³⁴ Término este con continuadores en el latín de las traducciones medievales de algunos libros de medicamentos simples árabes (Ibn al-Ġazzār, al-Ġāfiqī, Ibn Wāfīd-Pseudo-Serapion), que pervive en la lexicografía árabo-latina hasta época moderna (entre otros, «alachic, piedra cornerina» en *Diccionario* de Ruyzes de Fontecha, ed. de ZABÍA LASALA, p. 5), además con formas ocasionales en el *Lapidario* alfonsí (alguna atribuida al griego) y peculiar descendencia en el dominio iberorrománico: recuérdense los famosos *alagueques* que Colón se quita y pone al cuello a Guacanagari, según el testimonio de Las Casas, así como la voz *alagueca*, probablemente puesta en circulación por el portugués García da Orta en sus *Coloquios*. Adentrarse en los pormenores de la progenie del árabe *al-ʿaqīq* en latín medieval y las lenguas iberorrománicas reclama atención por sí mismo, pero toca solo de manera tangencial lo que ahora aquí nos ocupa.

¹³⁵ ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, trad. ingl., p. 275 (text. ár., p. 306).

Pues bien, en la versión de Valera manejada por al-Ḥaḡarī en Túnez, la expresión *piedra cornerina* aparece ya a la vuelta del primer folio en un pasaje (Gn 2:12) que traduce el original אֶבֶן הַשֹּׁהַם (*'eben ha-šoham*), y se encuentra nuevamente en una glosa marginal (*cornerinas*) para aclarar la expresión *piedras onychinas* de otro pasaje (Cron. I, 29:2), donde la versión española sigue a la Vulgata, al igual que en el resto de ocasiones donde aparece el citado término hebreo (extremos todos estos en los que, por lo demás, Valera reproduce fielmente el texto de la famosa *Biblia del Oso* de Casiodoro de Reina (Basilea 1569).

Este presumible conocimiento del término *cornerina* por al-Ḥaḡarī, que condujo nuestra atención a la Biblia de Cipriano de Valera, nos lleva a plantear, a su vez, otra cuestión al margen de esa eventualidad. La identificación de la edición de Amsterdam (1602), señalada por los editores/traductores de la obra de al-Ḥaḡarī a propósito del pasaje antes aducido (*ibidem*, trad. ingl., p. 255, n. 114), es pues inequívoca toda vez que el morisco, además de señalar el nombre y especificar la procedencia del traductor (تَالِرُ الْأَشْبِيلِي), menciona otras características de la edición, como el tamaño y su carácter de libro impreso (*kitāb kabīr maktūb bi-l-qālib*), indicando a la vez que estaba en lengua española (*bi-l-ʿaḡamiyya*), sin dejar de advertir que el volumen incluye la Torá, el Salterio y el Evangelio: es decir, se trata de la biblia cristiana.

Pero esta indudable referencia al infolio amsterdamés, impreso « En Casa de Lorenço Iacobi », no es la única mención que al-Ḥaḡarī hace de la Biblia en lengua española; precisamente en ese mismo pasaje refiere que el libro que encontró en Túnez « era semejante al que había leído en Francia » (*miṭl alladī qara'tu bi-Faraṇṣa*). Conocemos las circunstancias que le habían incitado entonces a la lectura del tal texto bíblico. En el prólogo de su obra da cuenta al-Ḥaḡarī de que las polémicas que mantuvo con algunos sabios judíos de Flandes y Francia le llevaron a interesarse de manera directa por sus propios textos: «Because of them I read the Old Testament [التَّوْرِيَّة] which consists of twenty-four books: the first five concerning the matter of their religion and the rest of the books concerning their historical events»; y a continuación aclara: « I found them translated from Hebrew into Spanish language [العَجَمِي] I know ».¹³⁶

Retoma el asunto en el capítulo x de la obra (cuya redacción –como hemos visto– enriquecería luego en Túnez con las traducciones de diversos pasajes bíblicos traducidos a partir de la versión de Cipriano de Valera), consagrado precisamente a las disputas con los judíos de Francia y de Flandes. Fue en la ciudad de Burdeos, tras el encuentro con algunos rabinos jactanciosos en sus elogios al judaísmo, cuando se convenció de que «it would not suffice to refute them on the basis of our [own], but only quoting their books», tal como –según señala– ya le había ocurrido con los cristianos, para declarar: « I got hold of a copy of the Old

¹³⁶ ḤAĠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, trad. ingl., p. 79–80 (text. ár., p. 14).

Testament in the Andalusī Spanish language [بِاللِّسَانِ الْعَجْمِيِّ الْأَنْدَلُسِيِّ]»; pues bien, tras destacar que encuentra en su texto muchas cuestiones dignas de ser refutadas, añade entonces otras precisiones sobre su contenido:

In the Old Testament are the first five books which are ascribed to our lord Moses – peace be upon him– containing their religious rules. All the books of the Old Testament, including these five books I mentioned, are twenty-four books in all.¹³⁷

Tanto a propósito de este pasaje como del anterior, los editores/traductores suponen (*ibidem*, trad. ingl., p. 80, n. 14, y 190, n. 5) que al-Ḥaḡarī se está refiriendo –al igual que en el caso de libro que encontró en Túnez– a la versión de Cipriano de Valera, pero creo que no es el caso. La indicación de que el libro era semejante (*mitl*) al que leyó en Francia parece apuntar a alguna similitud con el que, años más tarde, llegó a sus manos en la regencia tunecina, más bien que a una coincidencia plena, como si se tratase de ejemplares de la misma edición.

Por otra parte, resulta sintomática la manera diferente en que al-Ḥaḡarī se refiere a ambas obras: mientras al referirse a la Biblia de Valera no especifica título alguno, sino que meramente se refiere al mismo como «un libro grande e impreso», la obra que leyó para rebatir a los judíos de Burdeos es identificada por él como la Torá, que –según indica– comprende la totalidad del Antiguo Testamento y no solo los cinco libros de la ley mosaica o Pentateuco, cuya relevancia para el judaísmo no deja de destacar. Además, la reiterada mención de que el total de libros de la Torá son 24 indica claramente que al-Ḥaḡarī se está refiriendo a la biblia hebrea, que *de facto* contrapone a la que consultó en Túnez, de la que indicaba que, además de los libros de la Torá, contiene los del Salterio y los del Evangelio (*kutub al-Tawrāt wa-l-Zabbūr wa-l-Inḡīl*), es decir, la Biblia de los cristianos.

Y, en fin, no menos significativa resulta la circunstancia de que, mientras que del infolio de Túnez dice que está traducido por el sevillano Valera (en realidad era frexnense), del libro que consultó en Francia señala que era una «Torá en lengua española» (lit. «la lengua no árabe de al-Andalus [= España]»), de la que había dicho que estaba traducida del hebreo, lo cual nos recuerda demasiado a la portada de la «Biblia en lengua Española, traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad Hebrayca...», es decir, la Biblia de Ferrara, publicada en 1553, con destino a las comunidades sefardíes hispano-hablantes y, dicho sea de paso, de esta «vieja translación española» se beneficiaría no poco la versión de Reina-Valera.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ ḤAḠARĪ, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, trad. ingl., p. 190 / text. ár., p. 166–167.

¹³⁸ Añadamos, a beneficio de inventario, que el pasaje que dio pie a estas digresiones (Gen 2:12), que en Reina-Valera se traduce por *pedra cornerina*, en la Biblia de Ferrara se indica simplemente como *pedra de Soham*, mientras que en las otras diez ocurrencias bíblicas del término hebreo שֹהַם

En cualquier caso, merecería la pena examinar la cuestión con más detenimiento del apunte que aquí se ofrece y, en particular, analizar con detalle los pasajes bíblicos traducidos al árabe por al-Ḥaḡarī en el *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, confrontados con sus originales españoles en la versión de Reina-Valera (¿y eventualmente en la Biblia de Ferrara?).

(*šoham*) se traduce con el italianismo *nicolo*, del que igualmente se hacen eco Reina-Valera en glosa marginal a la forma *onyx* (Ex 28:29): « que la Española vieja llama Nicolo ».

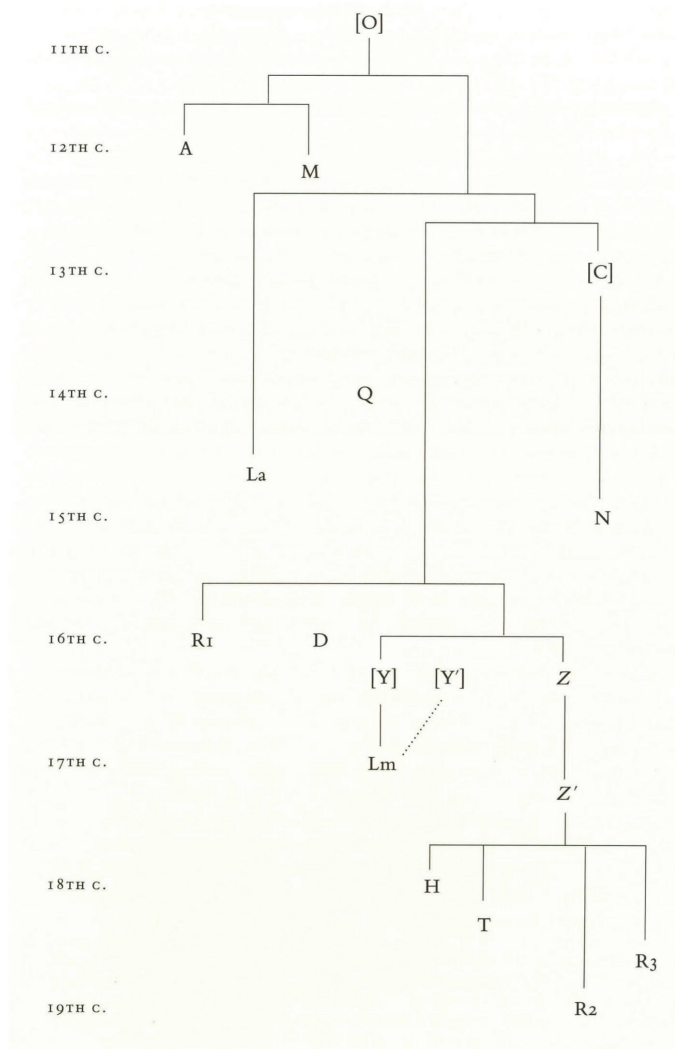


Lámina I: *Stemma codicum* del *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* de Ibn Buklārīš (según VILLAVERDE, « Towards the Study of the Romance Languages in the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* », p. 50), cuyas siglas corresponden a manuscritos de las siguientes bibliotecas: A (Arcadian Library, Londres), M (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid), Q (Biblioteca Qarawiyyīn, Fez), La y Lm (Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden, partes antigua y moderna respectivamente), N (Biblioteca Nacional de Nápoles), R₁₋₄ (Biblioteca General de Rabat, cuatro mss.), D (Chester Beatty Library, Dublín), T (Biblioteca Nacional de Túnez), en tanto que las siglas entre corchetes [C, Y, Y'] representan otros testimonios cuya existencia consta documentalmente, aunque no son conocidos, mientras que Z y Z' representan fases supuestas para la filiación de los códices. No se incluye el mencionado manuscrito de la British Library, ni otras copias fragmentarias de la obra (algunas hebraico-árabes).

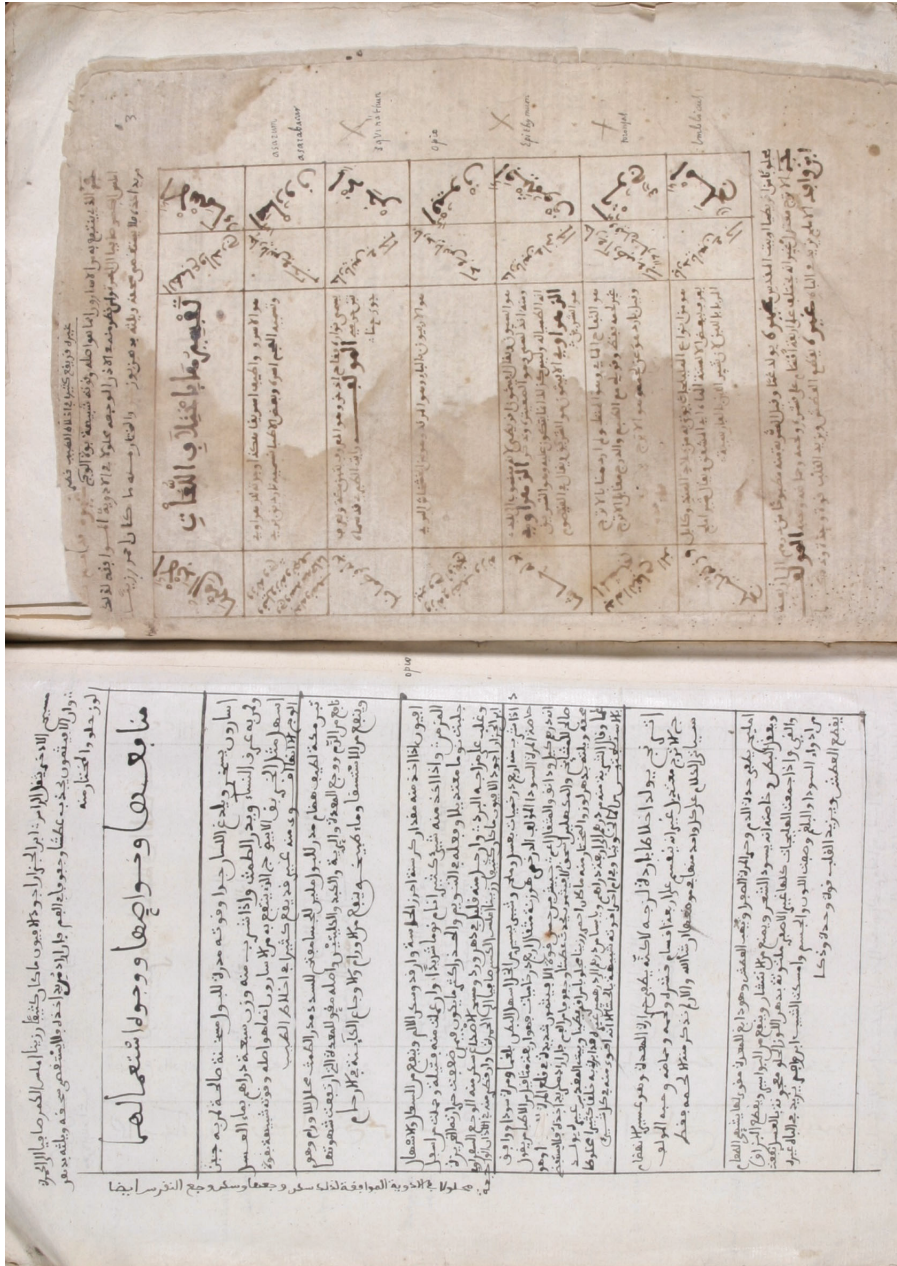


Lámina II: *Kitāb al-Mustafīn* de Ibn Buklārī (Leiden University Libraries, Or. 15, fol. 15v–16r), donde se aprecia la diferencia entre las partes antigua y moderna (de la mano de al-Ḥaġarī) del manuscrito.

ارثها دار يا بصره مني بصره
 اعلم ان جود و جود الفخ مع صوابه في تفسيره جودها من قبل من جودها أرض
 بوجه في الاعراف من صفاتها احدى ما يسمى الذكر والاخر يسمى الانثى واحدهما
 منقبة مع خلاصها والاشياء يشبه بذلك اعجاب البرقان

2

المعنى	تفسير ما باختلاف اللغات	اللفظ
cantueso	معناه موقف الارواح وهو الارض مضميه باربعيه ومو وسريع القبح وقيل هو الاجالين	حار يا بصره
harisco	قيل هو الارض وهو حار المتناون ويقال له بالعجمية هو يمشك ويقال له ايضا الزرع وتسميه العرب الصنم	زلف وسعد
agaro	هو اثاره وهو عقيق خفيف ابيض موقن به من بلاد الروم وقيل له عين شهوة وقيل انه يثبت كفا يثبت العصور	حار يا بصره
lentelas	هو العدم وهو البصير عن الج خفيه وتد حركه لظ الزعرا وبه ومصيح ايضا	حار يا بصره
harisco	قيل هو العيون يغزو يعرف بالعجمية جرو ليش واذافيل اجا صرحت براديه العيون يغزو اليها من الصنم العلق ويعرف باللسا مخلوط	حار يا بصره
harisco	هو الزعور ويقال له كثر شعر الدب ويقال له اكسيس واديت في بعض النسخ سير الدب يقسمه الباذنجان وهو افقضي مكذو جرت به كثير من الكثرة وليس هو عصير الدب واما عصير الدب فهو نائل يبه وساد كره يعرف القاب	حار يا بصره

وعدم العزوجة والدولة اصل الانه مركب من قولين يتضاد بين اخرهما في قد
 فاجبة مقبولة المعادة والمطامعة الاسمال الحريه
 وتفسر اصل هذه الانواع اذا صغبت وتغز غرما تغبت من زعم الهامة والقوز يتي

Lámina III: Kitāb al- Mustaʿīnī de Ibn Buklārīš (Leiden University Libraries, Or. 15, fol. 14v), con glosas de al-Ḥaḡarī sobre la parte antigua del manuscrito.

٤٦

كل النجعة وهي حجارة غريبة وحجارة غريبة تشبهها من العجوة المتولدة من غدة الحيوان الودع هي منه كان الغر
عجوة اليد اسحق اما كسيت هذه الحجارة والحرارة التي فيها من العجوة المتولدة من حرارة

الاسماء	النجعة والدفع	تفسيرها باختلاف اللغات	الاسماء
quajo Poléna	النجعة	الانجعة هو البنف من كل حيوان وهو بالحما غير العجمية ويقال انجعة بخسر المالف وتشديد الحاء وبخسر المالف وتخفيف الحاء	النجعة
coagulum	النجعة	ويقال ايضا منجعة بالمهم وتخفيف الكا عن يعقوب ابن اسحاق الشكيت	النجعة
quajo de la varas	النجعة	والانجعة ايضا بالانجعة فواليه ونفى التي يعرف بها اللبس	النجعة
quajo o de camello	النجعة	والبنف المعروف بالانجعة هو تملق المثر وضع والحمل هو الكيش والضي هو الغزال	النجعة
quajo de camello	النجعة	الانجعة بالبارسية هي الشرف ويقال بالبارسية برشف خشب اي بنف العرس كال خشب عديم العرس تشديد الباء	النجعة
quajo de camello	النجعة	يقال لها بالبارسية برشف وهو معنى انجعة طيب لانه صنف هو الكلب وبرشف لانه نجعة كما ذكرنا فيما قبل	النجعة
quajo de camello	النجعة		النجعة

وحكمها اذا تكل جامدة وتجمد كل ذائب وذكر بعض الاطباء ان النجعة ذلك وبقا
عيانا اذا عذنا بلبس فمحللة مبيسة ونفى ناعمة من جميع ما ذكرنا اظهر ارا وقد
ذكر بعض الاطباء انه سقم من انجعة الارنب مزاجه كل حيوان ومن خاصية انجعة الارنب النفع
من نقشب النعوم والاسفل المز من علما طرنا في الجدول

Lámina IV: *Kitāb al- Mustaʿīn* de Ibn Buklārīš (Leiden University Libraries, Or. 15, fol. 18v), con glosas de al-Ḥaḡarī sobre la parte moderna del manuscrito.

والبحر لا ضياء في الصفة الصفو صفها في جرد اللفظ ومع صفة النبات التي يقال لها العجمية
تسمى باليونانية أن والثانية دار فيكون وإدارة نفسين ومع اللفظ المذكور ما سأل من قبله وورق
شكل من ماء وعليه ثمر لونه على لون الزعفران ويوكل ما سأل من قوس بله وورق كبر

الاسماء	تفسير ما باختلاف اللغات	النباتات
Asum	مورق الجفتض ومودار فيكون ويقال له بالعجمية فلمريلة لأن القصبة التي تخرج من وسطه هي موشاة كأنها جلد الجنين ولها بط كمثل العار ومو العجوس بعض لا ضياء ومو السارة	النباتات
fascoli	مؤذ ذو وك ثمر ويقال له لولا عناية زياد وليس عجمية وقال هو حنيفة عن القراء هو اللوبيا والحدباء والبوربا وقال غيره كلها عجمية	النباتات
lingua de pazaras pas simient a desimo	موجب القرداة ويقال له بالعجمية فواسنبه وقيل هو منجسكواون ومو منجيد وان	النباتات
volubilis	هو بالارسية حليوت وهو راسع ومو صان ليمر صغير والصغير يسمى بالعجمية قزواله أي شوكية ومو هو المتشعب من العبد ولقد مضى الطير حروب الجاه	النباتات
lingua de carneio lyantem yezua	يقال له برد وسلاح ويقال له بالعجمية البفتاش ومو القليلين ومو لعلى ومو حوكوس ومو لسان الضكبة	النباتات
ladanum	هي اللاد نباتا بالانجليزية ومو اللاد يثون ومو اللاد ين وقيل هو اللين ويسمى الليدون	النباتات

في طريقة وأما مختلفة الألوان ومو مثل عصي غلظه وله في حرف السا في شبه لغة قوجيون واما
كل من جرد الصبا على غير بلاد العرب وغير ما من بلاد كذا فاد اعتنا في معرفة الشيء
فيما لا من كل يقع عليها وافق في اللاد كما كان يجب الرابعة وفوقه قوة ليس وحال لسانه وقوته

Lámina V: Kitāb al- Mustafīnī de Ibn Buklārīš (Leiden University Libraries, Or. 15, fol. 81v)

Edición

Se ofrece a continuación la totalidad de las glosas que figuran en el margen del manuscrito, junto a la casilla de *al-asmā'* o nombres de los medicamentos simples, que se editan igualmente. En el caso de que la glosa o anotación de al-Ḥaḡarī aparezca en lugar distinto del indicado, se señala oportunamente en nota.

En la presentación de los materiales editados, habrá de tenerse en cuenta:

- (a) En los nombres árabes de los simples optamos por una edición paleográfica de los mismos, respetando todos los detalles de las formas que aparecen en el manuscrito y relegando a nota algunas peculiaridades. En tal sentido, adviértase que, en la parte antigua del códice, los nombres de los simples están vocalizados y llevan los correspondientes signos auxiliares de escritura, mientras que en la parte moderna, de la mano de al-Ḥaḡarī, figuran por lo general solo con el ductus consonántico.¹³⁹ Por otra parte, se suple el signo de la vocal *kasra*, cuando el *tašdīd* va suscrito.
- (b) En las glosas se respeta la grafía utilizada por el autor¹⁴⁰, aunque se regulariza el uso de mayúsculas y minúsculas así como la acentuación, según los criterios actuales.
- (c) Las escasas abreviaturas se desarrollan en cursiva.
- (d) Se indica entre corchetes la foliación del manuscrito, que se consigna antes de la secuencia de seis simples de cada plana.
- (e) Igualmente se indica entre corchetes las letras del alifato bajo las que se ordenan y suceden los simples en el manuscrito, cuya secuencia es como sigue: ' , b, ġ, d, h, z, ḥ, t, y, k, l, m, n, s, c, f, q, r, š, t, ṭ, ḫ, ḍ, g, š.
- (f) Otras peculiaridades gráficas y circunstancias de interés de los textos que editamos, como tachaduras, repeticiones, descuidos, inadvertencias, etc., se señalan en nota.

¹³⁹ La diferencia entre ambas partes del manuscrito es bien perceptible (comp. láminas III y IV) por esta circunstancia y, en consecuencia, hemos renunciado a constatarlo en cada caso. Ofrecemos, no obstante, la relación de los folios debidos a la mano de al-Ḥaḡarī; son los siguientes: 12v, 16v, 18v, 20v, 21v, 23v, 30v, 44v, 48v, 98v, 101v, 116v, 117v, 126v, 128v, 129v, 130v, 131v, 132v, 133v, y 134v.

¹⁴⁰ No ocultaremos la duda que se nos planteó para diferenciar, en ciertos casos, entre « b » y « v ».

[Letra alif]

[12 v] اميرياريس	berberis
اقاقيا	acacia ¹⁴¹
¹⁴² اقحوان	parthenium
ابهل	grana juniperi ¹⁴³
انجرة	hortiga
انجدان	laserpitium
¹⁴⁴ [14v] اسطوخودوس	cantueso ¹⁴⁵
أَزَازْ	toruisco
أَغَارِيْقُونْ	agárico ¹⁴⁶
أَسَالِيُونْ	lentejas ¹⁴⁷
إِجَاصْ	prunas ¹⁴⁸
	cirgüelas
¹⁴⁹ إِجَاصْ شَتَوِيْ	prunas ¹⁵⁰ ynbernizas

¹⁴¹ Encima tachado: *oxiacantha*.

¹⁴² La *nūn* final no lleva punto; así ocurre por lo general en la parte del manuscrito rehecha y copiada por al-Ḥaḡarī, por lo que renunciamos a señalar esta circunstancia a cada paso.

¹⁴³ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » correspondiente a este simple (fol. 14r) hay una llamada al término *الصَرُؤُ* que figura en el texto, con la siguiente glosa: *صَرُؤُ açiprés* (comp. *infra*, fol. 97v, s. v. *صَرُؤُ*).

¹⁴⁴ El folio 13v está en blanco.

¹⁴⁵ En el margen derecho del fol. 23r, que contiene el texto (cancelado) de « utilidades » de este y los cinco simples siguientes (de mano de al-Ḥaḡarī), glosó igualmente la denominación española de algunos de ellos; en este caso, *cantueso*.

¹⁴⁶ En fol. 23r, igualmente: *agárico*.

¹⁴⁷ En fol. 23r, igualmente: *lentejas*.

¹⁴⁸ Inicialmente al-Ḥaḡarī glosó el nombre árabe con el término *peras*, que tachó después en otro momento, posiblemente tras haber glosado el término *كَمَثَرِي* (fol. 75v), añadiendo las otras dos denominaciones. Adviértase además que, al margen del fol. 23r, el simple fue glosado como *peras*, que no corrigió.

¹⁴⁹ La *wāw*, además de con *kasra*, está vocalizada con *faṭḥa*.

¹⁵⁰ Inicialmente al-Ḥaḡarī había escrito *peras*, que luego tachó sustituyéndolo encima con el nuevo término (comp. *supra*, nota 148); al margen del fol. 23r el simple fue glosado como *peras ynvernizas*, tampoco corregido.

[15v]	أَسْأُون	asarum
		asarabacar
	إِدْخِرْ	sqvinathun
	أَفْيُون	opio ¹⁵¹
	أَفْيَمُون	epithymum
	أَتْرُجْ	toronjas
	أَمْلَجْ	emblicus
[16v]	انزروت	sarcocolla
		trébol
	اسفنج البحر	esponja
	أُسْ	arrayhán
		murta
	افلنجه	
	اسفانخ	espinacas
	اظفار الطيب	uñas vis ¹⁵² aromático
[17v]	أَبْنُوسْ	ébano
	أَشْتَانْ	yerua sosa
	أَزَرْ	arroz
		oriza
	إِشْقِيلْ	çebolla albarrana
	اسْقُولُوقَنْدُورِيُون	scolopendriun
		doradilla
	أَنْدَرَّاسِيُون	

¹⁵¹ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » correspondiente a este simple (fol. 16r) aparece igualmente la glosa *opio* al término *افيون* del texto.

¹⁵² Ms. sic.

انفحة الارنب [18v]	quajo de liebre coagulum
انفحة البقر	quajo de vacas
انفحة الجمال	quajo de camello
انفحة الحمل والظبي	quajo de carnero y de algazela
أنفحة الخيل	quajo de caballos
انفحة الكلب	quajo de perro
أَرْنَبُ [19v]	liebre ¹⁵³ lepus
أَسْرَبُ	plomo ¹⁵⁴
إِسْفِيدَاچُ	albayalde ¹⁵⁵
أَسْرَنْجُ	zarcón ¹⁵⁶
إِثْمِدُ	alcohol con que alcoholan los ojos ¹⁵⁷
أَرَانِيُوسُنْ	
ايرسا [20v]	lirio azul ¹⁵⁸
اورسيا	açuçena blanca ¹⁵⁹
ابرنج	
اسفاقس	salvia

¹⁵³ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 20r) aparecen igualmente glosados otros simples de este folio; en este caso: ارنب *liebre*.

¹⁵⁴ Al margen del fol. 20r aparece la glosa: رصاص *plomo*, así como la abreviatura آر y su aclaración: *Aristoti*, es decir, Aristóteles, cuyo lapidario pseudo-atribuido (*Kitāb al-aḥḡār*) se menciona en el texto.

¹⁵⁵ Al margen del fol. 20r: *albayalde*.

¹⁵⁶ Al margen de fol. 20r: *zarcón*.

¹⁵⁷ Al margen de fol. 20r: *alcohol*.

¹⁵⁸ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 21r) aparecen glosados algunos simples de este folio; en este caso: *lirio*.

¹⁵⁹ Al margen del fol. 21r: *açuçena blanca*.

أُفْسِنْتَيْن axenxos¹⁶⁰

أثل álamo¹⁶¹

أناغاليس [21v] anagallis

أكليل الملك corona de rrey

أشنه muscus arburis
se cría en las enzinas y nogales

أصف alcaparras¹⁶²

أبريسم seda

أنيسون matalahuva, anís
anisum

أراقى [23v]

أعاراطيس

أَوْسَعَاطُوس

أسيون

أبراقيطوس

[Letra *bā'*]

بَسْبَاسَةُ [24v]

بَادَاوَزِد espina alba

بَرْزَقُطُونَا zarcatona

بَقْلَةُ يَهُودِيَّة verdolaga judaica

¹⁶⁰ Al margen del fol. 21r: *axenxos* y *alosna*.

¹⁶¹ Al margen del fol. 21r: *álamo*.

¹⁶² Al-Ḥaḡarī había glosado, también al margen, el simple con la forma árabe الكَبَر .

بَابُونَجْ	camamilla
	mançanilla
بَادْرُجَوْنِيَّة	toronjina
[25v] بَلَادُورْ	anacardus
بَطْرَسَالِيُون	perexil
بُطْمْ	terebinthus
بَادْرُوجْ	oçimun
بَسْبَايَجْ	polipodio
بَقْلَةُ حَمَقَا	verdolaga
[26v] بَقْلَةُ يَمَانِيَّة	olus jemaaniitun
	se llama yarboz ¹⁶³
بَنْتُومَةُ	
بَزُرُ الْكَتَّانِ	simiente de lino
بَادِنْجَانْ	berenjenas
بَبْقَسِجْ	violetas
	viola
¹⁶⁴ بُوَزِيدَانْ	buzaidan
[27v] بَرْعَشْتْ	
بَافِلَا	faua

¹⁶³ Esta aclaración la escribió al-Ḥaḡarī, excepcionalmente, en el interior de la casilla de sinónimos, debajo la expresión هي اليربوز, que ahí se encuentra.

¹⁶⁴ En el ms. la zāy, además de *fatḥa*, lleva también *kasra*.

	haua
¹⁶⁵ بَصْلُ الزَّيْرِ	cuepe ziiz
بَزْدَى وَدَيْسْ	entiendo <i>que</i> se llama enea enea, junçia
بَطِيخْ	melones
بَزْرُ الْأَنْجُرَةِ	simiente de hortigas
[28v] بَهْمَنْ	escorçonela
بَلْ	bellun
بَلْسَانْ	bálsamo
بَسْدْ	coral
بَرْشَاوْشَانْ	culantrillo de pozo
بُلُوطْ	bellotas
[29v] بَرْجَمِشْكَ	
بَهَارْ	behar
بُخُورْ مَرْيَمَ	sahumerios de María
بُوشَاذْ	nauos
بُودَرْجْ	dormideras coloradas
بَصْلْ	çuollas
[30v] بُنْجْ	hiosçiamus

¹⁶⁵ Por otra parte, y también al margen, aunque escrito en otro momento que la glosa en caracteres latinos, dejaría constancia al-Ḥaġarī de una variante de lectura (en otro manuscrito) del segundo término del nombre árabe del simple: *بصل الخنزير* en *في نسخة أخرى*.

beleño

بسر

belliriçi

jénero de mirabolanos

بنك flor de arrayhán

بندق auellanas

بلح dátiles por madurar

[31v] بُرْقُوقٌ en lengua española albaricoques

بُورْقٌ salitre

بَيْضٌ güevos

بَيَاضُ الْبَيْضِ lo blanco de los güevos

بَيْضٌ مَّسْلُوقٌ güevos cozidos y mondados o sin cáscara

بَيْضٌ نِيْمَرَشْتٌ güeuos blandos en su cozimiento

[32v] بَيْضٌ خَفِيفٌ جِدًّا güevos muy blandos

بَغْرُ الضَّأْنِ estiércol o cagada de ovejas

بَغْرُ الْمَاعِزِ estiércol de cabras

بُصَاقٌ escopethina

بَوْلُ الْإِنْسَانِ orina de ombre

بَوْلُ الْأَطْفَالِ orina de muchachos

[33v] ¹⁶⁶ بَوْلُ الْخِزِيرِ orina de puerco

بَوْلُ الْبَقَرِ orina de vacas

بَوْلُ الْجَوَامِيسِ orina de vacas de Egipto

بَوْلُ الْمَاعِزِ orina de cabras

بَوْلُ الْإِيْلِ orina de venado

بَوْلُ الصَّانِ orina de ovejas

[Letra ḡīm]

[34v] جَاوْشِيرْ

جَنْطِيَانَا gsentiana

jenzina

جُنْدَبَادُسْتَرْ castóreo

¹⁶⁷ جَوْرُ الْقَيْيِ nuezes que hazen gómito

جَوَزْ حَنْدَم

جَوَزْ بَوَّا nuez moscada

[35v] ¹⁶⁸ جَعْدَةُ poleo

polium

جَفْتُ الْبُلُوطِ corteza delgada que está entre la cáscara de la bellota y la médula

جِيرِي

جُلْنَازْ balaustrias

¹⁶⁶ Ms. الْجِزِيرِ.

¹⁶⁷ El segundo término está retocado por otra mano.

¹⁶⁸ La *tā' marbūṭa* no lleva puntos en el ms.

جَمَارِ النَّخْلِ	el corazón tierno que está en el centro de la palma contra sus ramas
جَاوَزْسْ	panizo
[36v] جَوْرُ الْأَكْلِ	nuezes de comer
جَوْرُ الرُّقْعِ	
جزر بستاني	çanahoria son como los nauos y son amarillos
جَزْرُ بَرِيٍّ	nuezas montesinas
جَوْرُمَانَا	
جَبْسِيْنْ	entiendo que es yeso
[37v] جَمَّيْرْ	jénero de higos
جُلْبَانْ	altramuzes
جِرْجِرْ	eruca
جَرَعْ	piedra que se trae de la China tiene muchas colores
جِلْدُ الْقُنْفُذِ	pellejo de erizo
جِلْدُ كَبْشٍ وَتَيْسٍ	pellejo de carnero y de cabrón
[38v] ¹⁶⁹ جُلُودُ عَتِيْقَةٍ	pellejo del borzeguí quando está viejo o debaxo de la planta
جُبْنْ	queso
جَمَّرْ	
جَلْبَهْنَاكْ	gselbahnak ¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ La *tā' marbūṭa* no lleva puntos en el ms.

¹⁷⁰ Tachado *gisiet*.

[Letra *dāl*]

دَارُ صِينِي	cinamomo
دَارُ فُلْفُلٍ	pimienta longa
[39v] دَلَّغُ	falança
	sandía
دَوْقُوا	daucus
	semilla de çanahoria montesina
دَوْصُ	agua adonde se mata el hierro
دَاذِي	alquitrán
دَارُ شَيْشَعَانٍ	aspalathus
دَوْشَرُ	auena
[40v] دَلْبُ	fustete
	platanus
دَزْدَارُ	olmo
دَنْدُ	dende
دُبَّاءُ	calavaças
دَهْمَشْت	granos de laurel
دَمُ الْأَخَوَيْنِ	sangre de drago
[41v] دَبْقُ	visscus
دِفْلَى	adelfa
دَرْوَنَج	flor de granadas
¹⁷¹ دِينَسَاقُوس	
دُخَانُ	humo

¹⁷¹ Corregido por el copista del manuscrito debajo de la forma دِينَقُوس, que había escrito inicialmente.

دُرْدِي الْحَمْرِ	heçes de uino
[42v] دُرْدِي الْحَلِّ	heçes de vinagre
دَوْعُ	leche desnatada
دَهْرُوخِسْ	jénero de metal
دَهْنَجْ	piedra verde
دِمَاعُ الْقُنْفُذِ وَالْجَمَلِ	seso de erizo y de camello
دِيَاكْ	gallo
[43v] دَمُ الْإِنْسَانِ	sangre de ombre o umana
دَمُ الدَّبِّ	sangre de oso
دَمُ الْخِرْفَانِ	sangre de cordero
¹⁷² دَمُ الشَّقَانِيْنِ	sangre ... ¹⁷³
دَمُ الْفَوَاحِثِ	
دَمُ التُّيُوسِ	sangre de cabrones
[44v] دَمُ الْجَدَى	sangre de cabrito
دَمُ الْارَنْبِ	sangre de liebre
دَمُ الْكَلْبِ	sangre de perro
دَمُ النَّوْرِ	sangre de buey ¹⁷⁴
دَمُ الضَّفَادِعِ	sangre de rranas
دَمُ الْحَمَامِ	sangre de palomas

[Letra *hā'*]

[45v] هُنْدَبَا cerrajas

¹⁷² Corregido por al-Ḥağarī sobre la forma الشَّقَانِيْقِ originaria del ms.

¹⁷³ Tachado de tórtolas.

¹⁷⁴ Ms. *bey*.

	endiuiia
هَلْيُؤُنْ	espárragos
هَرَزَا حَسَّان	
هَبِيدُ	granos de coloquintidas
هَرْنُوَّةُ	horrenuut
[46v] هَلِيلُجْ كَابُلِي	mirabolanos de Qabul
هَلِيلُجْ اصْفَرُ	mirabolanos amarillos
هَلِيلُجْ اَسْوَدُ	mirabolanos negros
هَذِيَّةُ	es como escarabajo que tiene muchos pies se buelue rredonda como una bola en tocándole algo
هَبُوقَا رِيْقُونُ	hipéricon
هَبُوقْشَطِيْدَا سُنْ	hayuphithedaasun

[Letra wāw]

[47v] وَرْدُ	rrosas ¹⁷⁵
وَرَقُ الْوَرْدِ	hojas de rrosas ¹⁷⁶
وَجُّ	acorus
وَسْمَةٌ	folium
وَدْعُ	ostion
	osciacum
[48v] وَسْخُ كَوَابِرِ النَحْلِ	çuçiedad que las auejas dexan en su entrada
وَرْسُ	veres

¹⁷⁵ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 48r) se repite la glosa: *rrosas*.

¹⁷⁶ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 48r) se repite la glosa: *hojas de rrosas*.

وشق	goma de cañaheja
وسخ الحمام	çuçiedad en las paredes de los baños
وسخ الصَّراعين	sordes
وسخ التماثيل	çuçiedad o mohó que se cría sobre las figuras o ymájinés siendo ¹⁷⁷ de cobre ¹⁷⁸
[49v] وَسَخُ الْأَذَانِ	çera de los oýdos
وَرَقُ الْبَنْفُسِجِ	hojas de violeta
وَرَقُ الرِّثْيُونِ وَرَهْرُهُ وَأَعْصَانُهُ	hojas de oliuo
رَزَاؤُنْدُ طَوِيلٍ	aristolochia larga
رَزَاؤُنْدُ مُدَحِّجٍ	

[Letra zāy]

[50v] رَنْجَبِيلٌ	jenjibre
رُوفَا	ysopus
رُوفَرَا	alheña
رُوفَا رَطْبٌ	xugo de lana por lauar
رُزُنْبَادُ	zerunbadun
¹⁷⁹ زُنْبِقٌ	azogue
[51v] رَاَجٌ	caparrosa
وَرَنْبِجٌ	oropimente
رَبْدُ الْبَخْرِ	xibia

¹⁷⁷ Tachado sobre.

¹⁷⁸ Dentro de la casilla de « utilidades » correspondiente al simple (fol. 49r) añade al-Hağarī: *qué virtud pueden criar las ymájinés pues lleuan a quien las haze y a quien las adora al ynfierno; y si fueren de oro o plata, no se pueden seruir dellas, antes deuen echarlas en el fuego.*

¹⁷⁹ La yā', además de hamza y sukūn, lleva los dos puntos.

	espuma del mar
رُجَاجٌ	vidrio
زَرْنَبٌ	zarnabun
زُنْجَارٌ	cardenillo
[52v] زَعْفَرَانٌ	azafrán
رَفْتُ رَطْبٌ	pez blando
رَفْتُ يَابِسٌ	pez negra
زَيْرَجْدٌ	esmeralda
رَعَزُورٌ	níspolas
زُبْدٌ	la sustancia o blandura de la leche manteca sin sal
[53v] زَهْرُ النُّحَاسِ	escamas de cobre
زَهْرُ الرُّمَانِ	flor de granadas
زَيْتُونُ الْمَاءِ	azeitunas acuáticas
¹⁸⁰ زَيْتُونُ أَسْوَدٌ	azeitunas negras
زَيْتُونُ بَرِّي	azeitunas de azebuche
زَيْتٌ	azeite
[54v] زَيْبٌ	pasas
زُؤَانٌ	zizania
زَهْرُ الْمِلْحِ	flor de la sal
زَيْلُ الْإِنْسَانِ	estiércol humana
زَيْلُ الصَّبِيِّ	estiércol de muchacho
زَيْلُ الْبَقَرِ	estiércol de vacas
[55v] زَيْلُ الْعَصَافِيرِ	estiércol de pájaros

¹⁸⁰ Ms. أَسْوَدٌ.

زَيْلُ الْحَمَامِ	estiércol de palomas
زَيْلُ الدَّجَاجِ	estiércol de gallinas
زَيْلُ الْفَارِ	estiércol de rratón de mur
زَيْلُ الرَّحِمِ	
زَيْلُ الضَّبِّ	lagarto ¹⁸¹
[56v] زَيْلُ الْحَمِيرِ	estiércol de asno
زَيْلُ الْخَيْلِ	estiércol de cauallos
¹⁸² زَيْلُ الْخِنْزِيرِ	estiércol de puerco
زَيْلُ الْفِيلِ	estiércol de elephante
زَيْلُ الْكَلْبِ	estiércol de perro
زَيْلُ الدِّيبِ	estiércol de adiva es animal como zorra

[Letra ḥā']

[57v] حَصَصٌ	liçium
حَنْدُقُوقَا	handacoca
حِنْطَةٌ	trigo
حَنْدُرُوسٌ	centeno
حَمَّصٌ	garuanços çiçer
حَمَّأُصٌ	açetosa

¹⁸¹ Tachado *crocodilus*.

¹⁸² Ms. sic, con *sukūn* y vocal en la última consonante.

[58v]	حَنَاءُ	alheña
	حَسَكُ	abrojos
	حُلْبَةُ	alholua
		foenum grecum
	حَزَارُ الصَّخْرِ	empeine de las piedras o peñas
	حَمَاحَمُ	albahaca
	حَبُّ الْفُلْفُلِ	
[59v]	حَوْرُ رُومِي	eletrum rromano
	حَبُّ الرَّاسِي	
	حَبُّ التَّانِ	nux vómica
	حَمَامَا	amomum
¹⁸³	حَبُّ الْعَزْعَرِ	granos de enebro y dellas se haze el alquitrán
	حَاشَا	thimus
[60v]	حَنْطَلُ	coloquintidas
	حَبُّ النَّيْلِ	
	حَمَاءُ إِقْطِي	
	حَزْمَلُ	harmal
	حَبُّ الزَّلْمِ	granun azalem
	حَيُّ الْعَالَمِ	siemprebiua

¹⁸³ Ms. sic, con *sukūn* y vocal en la última consonante.

[61v]	حُرْفُ	mastuerço nasturtiun
	حَشِيشَةُ الرُّجَاجِ	yerua del uidrio
	حَلْفُوصُ	cobre quemado
	حِلْتِيْتُ	asa goma pudente o hedionda
	حَبَّةُ خَضِرَاءُ	grano verde
	حَبُّ الْأَسِي	grano de arrayhán o de murta
[62v]	حَبُّ الصَّنَوْبَرِ	grano de pino piñones
	حَبْلُ الْمَسَاكِينِ	
	حَبُّ الْقُطْنِ	granos de algodón
	حَبُّ الْبَلْسَامِ	granos de bálsamo
	حَبُّ الْقِرْظِمِ	grano de alazor de que se haze el arrebol
	حَبُّ الْقُقْدِ	
[63v]	حَمَاضُ الْأُتْرُجِ	ázedo de la çidra
	حَبُّ السَّمْنَةِ	
	حُلُومُ	
	حَبُّ الْأُتْرُجِ	granos de çidra
	حَجَرُ اللَّارُورِدِ	piedra azul

حَجَرُ يَهُودِي	piedra de judío
	lapis judaicus
[64v] حَجَرُ الْمِسْنِ	lapis acuens
حَجَرُ الْبَارَهْرِ	piedra bezar
حَجَرُ الْفِرَادِي	
حَجَرُ الْمَغْنِيسِيَا	
حَدِيدُ	hierro
حَجَارَةٌ مَشْوِيَّة	piedra cozida y es la cal
[65v] حَجَرُ الْكَنْمَكْنَا	
حَجَرُ الطَّلَقِ	piedra de talco
حَجَرُ الْمَغْنِيطِسِ	piedra ymán
حَجَرٌ تَحْتَلِسُ الْفِضَّةَ	piedra que atrae la plata
حَجَرُ الشَّاذَنْجِ	
حَجَرُ عَاغَاطِيسِ	
[66v] حَجَرُ قَرْوَعِيُوشِ	
حَجَرُ قَيْشُورَا	
حَجَرُ مَانِيطِيطِسِ	
حَجَرُ الْفَيْرُورُجِ	
حَجَرُ السَّبَجِ	

حَجَرُ الْعَقِيقِ	piedra colorada ¹⁸⁴
[67v] حَجَرُ مَزَارِ الْبَقَرِ	piedra de hiel de vacas
حَجَرُ اللَّؤْلُؤِ	piedra de aljófar
حَجَرُ الْيَاقُوتِ	piedra balays
حَجَرُ النَّوْمِ	piedra de sueño
حَجَرُ الطَّالِقُونِ	piedra talicon y es jénero de cobre
حَجَرُ الْإِنْسَانِ	piedra humana
[68v] حَجَرُ الْإِسْفَنْجِ	piedra esponja
حَجَرٌ يُفْتَتُّ الْحَصَاةَ	piedra que deshaze las arenas
حَجَرٌ حَيَوَانِي	piedra de animal
حَجَرُ السُّنْبَادِجِ	piedra toque
حَجَرُ الْمَاسِ	piedratoque
حَافِرٌ	uña de asno
[69v] حَلَزُونٌ	caracol limaçia
حَشِيشَةُ أُذَانِ الْفَارِ	yerua oreja de rratón

¹⁸⁴ Al margen de esta glosa, aparece otra posterior, de letra moderna: *corniola*, que efectivamente es denominación latina de la cornalina (ár. *‘aqīq*).

[Letra ṭāʾ]

طَبَاشِيرُ spodium

طُحْلُبُ

طَرْفَا thamariscus

[70v] طَالِيَشْفَرِ

طِينُ مَحْنُومُ tierra sajilata

طِينُ اخْمَرُ tierra bermeja
y es magra

طُفْلُ greda

طِينُ ارْمِيَّ tierra de Armenia

طِينُ اخْضَرُ tierra verde
anir

[71v] طَرْخُونُ saturegsia¹⁸⁵

طِحَالُ baço

[Letra yāʾ]

يَنْبُوتُ yembut

يَاسْمِينُ yazmines
sambucus

يَنْرُوحُ mandrágora

[72v] يَنْوَعُ lactaria
erua que uevis

يَنْوَعَاتُ

يَقْطِينُ yedra

¹⁸⁵ Tachado saturejia.

يَرْبَهُ شَلْدِيرَهُ¹⁸⁶

[Letra *kāf*]

كُشُوتُ cuscuta

كُنْدَرُ [73v] thus

كَثِيرَا tragacanthum
alquitira

كَهْرَبَا keberua

كَمَادَزْيُوسْ camedris

كُمُونُ كَرَمَانِي cominos

كَعْكُ شَائِي rrosas de pan

كَرَوِيَا بُسْتَانِي [74v] caravea
caruum

كَرَوِيَا يَرْيِ caruum siluestre

كَفُّ الْجَدْمَا pentaphillum
siete en rrama

كَبَّابَةُ cubeba

كَمَافِيْطُوسْ

كَرْفَسُ بُسْتَانِي apio de jardín

كَمَاءَةٌ [75v] tubera

¹⁸⁶ Borroso en la parte final, al-Ḥaḡarī consignó debajo: يَرْبَهُ شَلْدِيرَهُ .

	turmas de tierra
كُرْمٌ	rraíces amarillas y al azafrán le llaman ¹⁸⁷ algunos carcamun
كُنْدَسٌ	struthium
كُمَّزَى	peras
كَافُورٌ	alcanfor
كَرْمٌ	vides
[76v] كَنْجَرٌ	
كَانْجٌ	vua de yerua mora
كَزْبُرَةٌ	culantro
كُورٌ	
كَتَمٌ	
كَزْكَزٌ	
[77v] كَرْسَنَةٌ	orobus
كَادِي	oliun quedí
كَزْنَبٌ	coles
كَزْنَبٌ شَامِي	coles de Suria
كَاشِمٌ	kaasem
كَزْنَبٌ بَرِّي	coles siluestres
[78v] كَفْرُ الْيَهُودِي	pez

¹⁸⁷ Ms. llama.

كُمُونُ يَرْي	cominos silvestres
كُمُونُ بُسْتَانِي	cominos sembrados
كُمُونُ اسْوَدُ	cominos negros
كُرَاتُ بُسْتَانِي	puerros
كُرَاتُ بُبْطِي	puerros silvestres ¹⁸⁸
[79v] ¹⁸⁹ كَيْدُ الْمَاعِزِ	pulgarejo de cabras de asadura epar
كَيْدُ الْقُنْفُذِ	asadura ¹⁹⁰ de erizo
كَيْدُ الْخِنْزِيرِ	asadura de puerco
كَيْدُ الْحَمَارِ	asadura de asno
كَيْدُ الدُّبِ	asadura de oso
كَيْدُ الْكَلْبِ	asadura de perro
[80v] كَيْدُ السَّقَنْقُورِ	asadura stincus ¹⁹¹
كَيْبْرِيتُ	sulphur alquebrit
¹⁹² كَيْدُ الْجَدْيِ	asadura de cabrito

¹⁸⁸ Ms. *silvestre*; comp. *infra*, n. 205.

¹⁸⁹ El primer término de esta expresión, además de vocal *kasra*, lleva *sukūn* sobre la consonante *bā'*.

¹⁹⁰ Tachado *pulgare*; evidentemente al-Ḥaḡarī se proponía escribir *pulgarejo*, como en la glosa anterior.

¹⁹¹ Tachado *estin*.

¹⁹² El primer término de esta expresión, además de vocal *kasra*, lleva *sukūn* sobre la consonante *bā'*, añadido probablemente por al-Ḥaḡarī.

[Letra *lām*]

لُبَيْيْ styraX

لَبْنُ الْعُشْرِ leche de lactaria
yerua que uevis¹⁹³

[81v] لُوفْ arum

لُوبِيَّا faseoli

لِسَانُ الْعَصَافِيرِ lengua de páxaros
y es simiente de olmo

لِبْلَابْ volubilis

لِسَانُ الْحَمَلِ lengua de carnero
y es llyantén yerua

لَادَنْ ladanum

[82v] ¹⁹⁴ لَبِجْ

لَكْ lacca

لَوَزُ مُرْ almendras amargas

لَوَزُ حُلُوْ almendras dulçes

لِسَانُ الثَّوْرِ lengua de buey

لَبْنُ الْكَلْبَةِ leche de perra

[83v] لَبْنُ الْبَقَرِ leche de uacas

لَبْنُ الضَّانِ leche de ovejas

لَبْنُ الْمَاعِزِ leche de cabras

لَبْنُ النِّسَاءِ leche de mujer

لَبْنُ الْخَيْلِ leche de yegua

¹⁹³ Comp. *supra*, la glosa *lactaria*, *erua quevis* al ár. *yattū'* (fol. 72v).

¹⁹⁴ La *bā'*, además de *kasra*, lleva *sukūn*.

لبن الاتن	leche de asna o burra
[84v] لَحْمُ الْحَرْبَاءِ	carne de chamaleón
لَحْمُ الْأَفَاعِي	carne de búiura
¹⁹⁵ لَحْمُ الْحَمِيرِ	carne de asno ¹⁹⁶
لَحْمُ الْفَارِ	carne de rratón
لَحْمُ الْبَقَرِ	carne de vaca
لَحْمُ الْقُنْفُذِ	carne de erizo

[Letra *mīm*]

[85v] مَامِيرَانْ	mamiiraan
مَسْكَطْرَامَشِيرْ	poleo
	calaminta o mastranço
مُوْ	
مَامِيئَا	maamiitsaa
مَعَاذْ	rraíces de granado montés o siluestre
[86v] مَاشْ	maalch ¹⁹⁷
مَرْزَنْجَوْشْ	majorana
مَارْزِيُونْ	mazerion
مِيعَةُ سَائِلَةٍ	estoraque líquido

¹⁹⁵ El manuscrito presentaba la forma errónea الخنزير tachada y rectificada por al-Ḥaḡarī.

¹⁹⁶ Inicialmente había escrito *puerco*, que glosaba efectivamente la forma árabe errónea originaria del manuscrito (الخنزير), luego rectificada (الحمير) por el propio al-Ḥaḡarī (cf. nota anterior).

¹⁹⁷ Ms. Sic; sobre esta glosa, cfr. *supra*, n. 80.

مِيعَةُ يَابِسَةٍ storax¹⁹⁸

مُؤَمَّ çera
propolis

[87v] مُصَّعُ fruta colorada que haze el saúco

مُخَيِّطًا

مَصْطَكِي almástiga

مُومِيَا momia
carne de persona

مَاهِيْرَهْرَهْ

مُرُّ mirra

[88v] مَحْرُوتُ rraíces de laserpentium
árbol que haze la goma hedionda

مُرِي muria

مِلْح sal

مَاءُ الْبَحْرِ agua del mar

مَوْز morus

مَرْمَاحُور maro montés

[89v] مَرُو maro

مِسْك almiçque

مَحْلَبْ mehhalebun

¹⁹⁸ Tachado estoraque.

مَرْقَشِيَّتَا	marcasita ¹⁹⁹
مَرْدَأْسَنْجُ	almártağa ²⁰⁰
	escoria de plata y de oro
مَرْوِيَّةُ بُتُّوشُهُ	²⁰¹
[90v] مَرْزَةُ الضَّانِ	hiel de ouejas
مَرْزَةُ الْمَاعِزِ	hiel de cabras
مَرْزَةُ النَّوْرِ	hiel de toro
مَرْزَةُ الْخِزِيرِ	hiel de puerco
مَرْزَةُ الدَّبِ	hiel de oso
مَرْزَةُ الدَّجَاجِ	hiel de gallinas
[91v] مَرْزَةُ الدَّيْبِ	hiel de lovo ²⁰²
مَرْزَةُ الْحَجَلِ	hiel de perdizes
مَرْزَةُ السَّمَكِ	hiel de peçes
مَرْزَةُ الضَّبْعِ	hiel de lovo
مَرْزَةُ الْكُرْكِيِّ	hiel de grullas
مَرْزَةُ الْفَوَاحِثِ	hiel de tórtola
	es paloma que canta mucho
[92v] مَرْزَةُ الْعُقَابِ	hiel de águila
مَرْزَةُ عَقْرَابِ الْمَاءِ	hiel de alacrán del agua

¹⁹⁹ Tachado *almártağa*, que corresponde al siguiente simple.

²⁰⁰ Glosado previamente al margen, en árabe: مرتك, de otra mano.

²⁰¹ La wāw del primer término, además de *sukūn*, lleva *fatḥha*.

²⁰² Tachado de león.

مَرَارَةُ السَّلْخَفَةِ الْبَحْرِيَّةِ	hiel de testudo
مَرَارَةُ الظَّبَاءِ	algazelas
مَرَارَةُ الْفِيلِ	hiel de elephante
مُخُّ الْعِظَامِ	tuétano de los güesos
[93v] مَاءٌ	agua
مَا شَتُّ	que tiene algo de agrio ²⁰³

[Letra nūn]

نَارُ مُشْكٍ	árbol de la Yndia
نَيْلُوفَرٌ	nenúphar
نَارِجِيلٍ	nuezes de la India
[94v] نَبَقٌ	nabac
	fruta que lleua el árbol espinoso que llaman çeder de que están llenos los campos de Beruería
نَجْمٌ	grama
	gramen
نَرْسِيَانُ دَارُو	nerseyanderoo
نِسْرِيْنٌ	jazmines
نَمَامٌ	sisimbrium
نَعْنَعٌ	yerua buena
	menta

²⁰³ Con anterioridad, otra mano había escrito en árabe (الرائب) el nombre persa del simple, que aparece en la explicación que ofrece el propio autor en la casilla de sinónimos: الماشت اسم فارسي معناه الرايب.

[95v]	نَشَا	amilun
	نَانُحَاهُ	ammi
	نَرْجِسُ	narçisus
	نَفْطُ	naphtha
		unto de piedra
	نُسَاذِرُ	salararmoniaco
		salammonia
	نُشَارَةُ الْخَشَبِ	serradura de madera
[96v]	نُشَارَةُ النَّبَقِ	serradura de madera de nabac
	نُحَاسُ	cobre
	نَخْلَةٌ	palma
	نَخَالَةُ الْحَنْظَلَةِ	furfur
		saluados de trigo
	نَوَى التَّمْرِ	cuescos de dátiles

[Letra *sīn*]

[97v]	سُورُنْجَان	hermodactylus
	سَمَاق	çumaque
	سَمْسَم	ajonjolín
	سَرُؤُ	açiprés ²⁰⁴
	سُدَابُ	rruda montesina
	سُرْمَقُ	chrysolocaña
[98v]	سُنْبَلُ هِنْدِيٍّ	spica de la Yndia

²⁰⁴ Compárese *supra*, nota 143.

سُنْبُلُ رُومِي	spica rromana
سَكِينَجْ	serapinun
سَلِيحَةُ	cassia
سَقْمُونِيَا	escamonea
سَنْدُرُوسْ	sandaraca
[99v] سُعْدُ	çiperus
سَادَوْرَانُ	
سَادَجْ	foliun
سَلَجَمُ بَرِّي	navos silvestres ²⁰⁵
سَدْرُ	árbol <i>que haze nabac</i> <i>que es en Beruería</i>
سَقَرَجَلُ	çitonium
	membrillos
[100v] سَنَا	sena
سُلْتُ	çenteno
سَمِينُ	gordo
سَلْحُ الْحَنْشِ	spoliun serpentis
	pellejo de culevra
سَسَالِيُوسْ	
سَمَكُ مَالِحْ	peçes salados
[101v] سَرْخَسْ	seseli
سَرَاغُ الْقَطْرِبِ	lampas alcutrupe
سَمْنُ	manteca
	bur

²⁰⁵ Ms. *silvestre* ; comp. *supra* n. 188.

سَلَقُ açelgas

سَكْر açúcar

سَك gallia

[102v] سَطْرَاطِيسُنْ

سُوسُ liquiritia

oroçuç

سَطْرَاطِيقُوسُ

[Letra ʿayn]

عُودُ palo de la Yndia

xilo²⁰⁶

ligno aloe

عَنْبَرُ ámbar

[103v] عِلْكُ الْأَنْبَاطِ gluten

goma de árbol llamado foçta que es su
fruta como castañas

عِنَبُ التَّغَلَبِ uva de zorra

que haze la yerua mora

عُجَابُ jujube

açofaifas

عَاقِرْقَرَحَا pirethrum²⁰⁷

pelitre

عُلَيْقُ çarça que haze moras siluestres

²⁰⁶ A continuación escribió *alo*, luego tachado.

²⁰⁷ Suponemos que, al escribir la *r* sobre una *u* previa, se originó un borrón que hace ilegible la letra sobrescrita.

عُكُوبُ

[104v] عَقْصُ agalla

عَسَلُ miel

عَقْرَبُ scorpión

عَرَقُ sudor

عَنْكَبُوتُ araña

عِظَامٌ مُخْرِقَةٌ güesos quemados

[105v] عِنَبُ uvas

عَجَمُ الزَّبِيبِ güesos de uva pasa
granicos²⁰⁸ de pasa

عَكْرُ الزَّيْتِ solada de azeite
rasuras

[Letra fā']

فَضْفَصَفَةٌ

فُلُقْلُ أَبْيَضُ pimienta blanca

[106v] فُلُقْلُ اسْوَدُّ pimienta negra

فَلْعَمُونَةُ falgoonah
raíces de pimienta

فُوفُلُ fuuphal

²⁰⁹ فَاغِرَةُ flor de alheña

فَرَّاسِيُونُ prasiium

فُو spica montesina

²⁰⁸ Ms. *ganicos*.

²⁰⁹ Escrito encima, de otra mano: فَاغِيَه .

	phu ²¹⁰
[107v] فُلْ	phel
فَأَوِيْنَا	peonía
فُرُوَّة	rruvia
فُسْتَقْ	phisticum
فُجْلْ	rrávanos
فُطْرْ	funji
	hongos
[108v] فَوْدَنْجْ	poleo
فُجْلْ بِرِّي	rráuano silvestre ²¹¹
فَقَّاحُ الْوَرْدِ	simiente de rosas
فِضَّة	plata
فَزِيُونْ	forbion

[Letra qāf]

[109v] قَرَّاسِيَا	guindas
قِنَّة	canaa
قَيْصُومْ	abrótano
قِنَاءُ الْحَمَارِ	cucumer asno
	cohombro de asno
قَنْطُورِيُون صَغِير	centáurea menor
قَنْطُورِيُون كَبِير	centáurea mayor
[110v] قُسْطْ	costus

²¹⁰ Añadido por al-Ḥaḡarī en otro momento.

²¹¹ En la casilla de utilidades (fol. 109r) glosado por al-Ḥaḡarī como *rráuano montesino*.

قَافْلَةٌ	cardamomum
قُؤْلَامٌ	caquila
قَصَبُ الدَّرِيَّةِ	calamus aromático
قَاتِلُ أَبِيهِ	
قَنْبِيلٌ	canbilun
[111v] قُلْبٌ	culbun
قَرْطَمَانٌ	auena
قَصَبُ السَّاجِ	cañaçech
قُلْقَاسٌ	
قَرْنُقَلٌ	clauos de comer
قَرْمَزٌ	grana
[112v] ²¹² قَسْطُورِيُون	
قِرَّةُ الْعَيْنِ	pupilla oculi
قَطِرَانٌ	alquitrán
	miera
قَانِصَةٌ	
قَشْرُ الْجُوزِ	cortezas de nuezes
قُنْبُرَةٌ	canbertun
[113v] قَشْرُ الطَّلَعِ	
قِشْرُ الْبَيْضِ	cáscaras de güevos
قَصَبُ السُّكَّرِ	cañas de açúcar
قَشْرُ الْأَثْرِجِ	cortezas de çidras

²¹² Corregido por el copista del manuscrito sobre la forma قَنْطُورِيُون, escrita en origen y tachada en parte.

قَشْرُ الرَّمَانِ	cortezas de granadas
قَشْرُ اَصْلِ الرَّازِيَانِج	cortezas de rraíces de hinojo
[114v] قَلْبَارِكْ	bermellón
قِتْنَا بُسْتَانِي	cohombros
	cucumeros
قَزْفَةُ	canela
قِرْطَاسُ	carta
قَرْنُ الْاَيْلِ	cuerno de venado
قَصْدِيْرُ	estaño
	eteyn

[Letra rā']

[115v] رَاوَنْد صِيْنِي	rruybarbo de la China
رَاوُنْد شَامِي	rruybarbo de Suria
رَاسِنْ	enula
	jenjibre de Suria
رَاَتِيْنِجْ	rraatiinig
	goma de pino
رَاَزِيَانِجْ	hinojo
[116v] رِيْبَاسْ	rribes
	yerua <i>que</i> tiene mucho ázedo
رَمَّانُ	granadas
رَطْبُ	dátiles
رَامَكْ	rraamek

se compone de agallas y otros lo hazen
de cortezas de granadas

رماد الضفادع ḡeniza de rranas

رماد التين ḡeniza de higuera

[117v] رُبُّ الْأَسِي arrope de arraihán
o de murta

رُبُّ السَّفَرَجَل arrope de membrillo

رُبُّ الْعَنْبِ arrope de uvas

رُبُّ التَّفَاح arrope de mançanas

رُبُّ الْجَوْز arrope de nuezes

رَعَادُ torpedo
animal marino

[118v] رِيَّة pulmón

رأس الصَّيْر وَالْأَزْنَب cabeza de ciuro y liebre
peçes pequeños²¹³

رُبُّ السَّوْس arrope de liqviriti

[Letra ṣād]

صَمْعٌ عَرَبِي goma aráuiga

صَبِيرُ áloe
açíbar

[119v] صُنُوبَر pinus

صَمْعُ الزَّيْتُون goma de olivo

²¹³ Esta expresión « peçes pequeños » es, a su vez, una aclaración al-Ḥaḡarī a la forma *ciuro*, mera transliteración del árabe صير, a la vista de la explicación que de dicho término había ofrecido, en la casilla de sinónimos, el propio Ibn Buklārīš: الصير سميكات صغار مملوحة .

	diquidambar
صَغْتَرُ فَارِسِيّ	orégano persiano
صَغْتَرُ حُوزِيّ	orégano común
صَابُونُ	xabón
صَدَفُ	concha
[120v] صُوفُ	lana
صَنْدَلُ	sándalos
صَمْغُ الْإِجَاصِ	goma de cirgüelos
صَمْغُ الْخَطْمِيّ	goma althea

[Letra tā']

تَرْجَبِيْنُ	maná
[121v] تُرْبِدُ	turbid
تَمْرُ هِنْدِيّ	tamarindos
تَافِسِيَا	tapsia
	goma de rruda montesina
تُوتُ	tut
	moras
تَوْبَالُ النُّحَاسِ	lo que cae del cobre quando se labra
تِنْكَارُ	atincar
[122v] تَفَّاحُ	mançanas ²¹⁴
تُوتِيَا	tutia
تُرْمُسُ	lupina

²¹⁴ Ms. *mancanas*.

altramuzes

تَيْنُ higos

figus

[Letra *tā'*]

ثَوْمٌ بُسْتَانِي ajos

allium

[123v] ثَوْمٌ بَرِّي ajos montesinos

ثَمْرُ الطَّرْفَا fruta o granos de thamariscos

[Letra *hā'*]

خَرْوَعٌ

خَرْدَلٌ sinapi

mostaza

خَصَى الثَّعْلَبِ testiculu vulpis

yerua *que* tiene tres hojas

[124v] حُنْفَى asphodelus

حَظْمِيّ althea

maluabisco

خِيَارُ شَنْبَرٍ cañafístula

حَرْفٌ testa

tiesto

خِلَافٌ álamos

خَرْزُوبٌ algarrouas

siliqua

[125v]	خُوحُ	duraznos
		pérsiga
	خِرْبِقُ اسْوَدُّ	hellavorus negro
	خِرْبِقُ اَبِيضُ	hellauorus blanco
	خِيَارُ	pepinos
	خُبَارَى	malva
		mologia
	خَشْحَاشُ اَبِيضُ	dormideras blancas
[126v]	خَبْثُ الْفِضَّةِ	escoria de plata ²¹⁵
	خَبْثُ الْحَدِيدِ	escoria de hierro
	خَلْ	vinagre
	خَشْحَاشُ اسْوَدُ	dormideras negras
	خَوْلَنْجَانُ	galanga
	خَسُّ بَسْتَانِي	lactuca
		lechuga
[127v]	خَسُّ بَرِّي	[le]chu[ga] silves[tre] ²¹⁶
	خَرْشَفُ	cardos
	²¹⁷ خَمْرُ عَتِيقَةٍ	vino añejo ²¹⁸
	خَرَاطِينُ	lombrizes de la tierra ²¹⁹
	خَمِيرُ	ludia
	خُطَّابُ	hirundo

²¹⁵ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 127r) figura la glosa: وسخ الفضة *escoria de plata*.

²¹⁶ Suplo entre corchetes tanto la parte inicial del texto, oculto por la superposición del papel antiguo a la parte restaurada del folio (donde se encuentra la glosa), como la final, desaparecida por rotura del folio.

²¹⁷ La *tā' marbūṭa* no lleva puntos en el ms.

²¹⁸ Al-Ḥaḡarī había añadido: *o perfecto*, que luego tachó.

²¹⁹ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 128r) figura la glosa: *lombrizes*

[128v] خصلاف palmas de que hazen espuestas

[Letra *dāl*]

ذهب oro

ذرايح cantharis

ذكر التيس vergajo de cavrón

دُباب moscas

[Letra *gayn*]

غافت eupathorium

agrimonia

[129v] غبار الرحا poluos de molino²²⁰

غيرا poleo

pulegium

غرا engrudo

غراب cuervo

[Letra *šīn*]

شهرج palomilla

fumus terra, fumaria

شقائق النعمان hojas de flor de amapola

[130v] شاهشبرم albahaca pequeña

murta rreal

²²⁰ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 130r) figura la glosa: *عبر الرحا poluos del molino*.

شكاعى	espina áraue scheka
شعير	çeuada
شب	alumbre ²²¹
شهدانج	cañamo
شيخ	schiihhun
[131v] شيطرج	seitarach
شجرة مريم	arbor de María ²²²
شَبْتُ	anethum eneldo
شوكة مصرية	espina de Egipto espina de acaçia
شيبيا	xibia ²²³
شحم الحنظل	sevo de coloquintidas ²²⁴
[132v] شاه بلوط	castañas ²²⁵
شقاقل	
شيخ ارميني	schiihhun dizen es abrótano
شجرة الطلق	
شل	schel membrillos de la Yndia

²²¹ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 131r) se repite la glosa: شب *alumbre*.

²²² Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 132r) la glosa aparece en estos términos: شجرة مريم *yerba de Sa[n]ta María*, cuya letra *n* no es visible en la reproducción del ms. que manejamos.

²²³ Al margen de casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 132r): شيبيا *xibi* (sic).

²²⁴ Al margen de casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 132r): شحم الحنظل *coloquintidas*.

²²⁵ Al margen de casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 133r): قشطنانية شاه بلوط *castaña*.

شعر الانسان	cabellos umanos
[133v] شحم الصّان	sevo de obejas
شحم الماعز	sevo de cabras
شحم الايل	seuo de çieruos
شحم الدّب	seuo de osso
شحم الثعلب	seuo de zorra
شحم الحمار	seuo de asno ²²⁶
[134v] شحم البط	seuo de pato ²²⁷
شحم الدّجاج	seuo de gallinas
شحووم مختلفة	seuo de diuersas suertes

²²⁶ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 135r), que repite (fuera de su sitio) de manera parcial el texto correspondiente que aparece íntegro en su lugar (fol. 134r), figura la glosa: شحم الحمار *seuo de asno*.

²²⁷ Al margen de la casilla de « utilidades » (fol. 135r): شحم البط *seuo de pato*.

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THE FORGOTTEN GIFTS OF HERMES: THE LATIN RECEPTION OF PROCLUS' COMMENTARY ON EUCLID'S *ELEMENTS**

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Abstract

The present work offers an account of the Latin reception of Proclus' *Commentary in the first book of Euclid's Elements (In Euclidem)*. The overall goal of this paper is to offer a unified historical and philological map as a ground-tool for understanding the Latin reception of *In Euclidem* from the early 16th century to the 17th century, which includes manuscript sources hitherto overlooked. I will deal with the three known complete translations produced by Bartolomeo Zamberti (1473–1543), Giovanni Battista Gabia (c.1500–1590), and Francesco Barozzi (1537–1604), as well as with five fragmentary translations embedded in the works of Giorgio Valla (1447–1500), Jerónimo Muñoz (1520–1591), Conrad Dasypodius (1532–1600), Federico Borromeo (1564–1631), and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630). Each of these translations and the intentions of their authors are discussed in chronological order. Five of them (following the fragment chosen by Kepler) are partially edited in the Appendix.

Key Words

Proclus; Euclid; Philosophy of mathematics; History of philosophy;
History of science



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Καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς αὕτη τέλος ἂν εἴη
τὸ ἄριστον τῆς περὶ γεωμετρίας
σπουδῆς καὶ ὄντως τῆς Ἑρμαϊκῆς
δόσεως ἔργον, ἀπὸ τινος Καλυψοῦς
ἀναγούσης αὐτὴν εἰς τελειοτέραν καὶ
νοερωτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ ἀπολυούσης
τῶν ἐν φαντασίᾳ μορφωτικῶν
ἐπιβολῶν.

*This achievement would itself be the perfect
culmination of geometrical inquiry, truly a
gift of Hermes, leading geometry out of
Calypso's arms, so to speak, to more perfect
intellectual insight, and emancipating it from
the pictures projected in the imagination.*

PROCLUS, *In Euclidem*, p. 55, l. 18–23.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a comprehensive historical and philological tool for retracing the reception in the Latin West of Proclus' *In Euclidem* and show how this work became part of the general mathematical and philosophical culture, sometimes as a hidden source. Expanding the index of witnesses previously known to us,¹ I will analyse eight cases going from the early 16th century to the 17th century. This index of sources will include complete or partial translations into Latin of Proclus' commentary, some of which have been hitherto overlooked. I will provide information and direct access (when possible) to the digitised manuscripts in the footnotes. The works under consideration will be the complete translations of *In Euclidem* produced by Bartolomeo Zamberti (1473–1543), Giovanni Battista

¹ For previous scholarship dealing with the reception of Proclus' *In Euclidem*, cf. FILIP KARFÍK, PETER ADAMSON, « Proclus' Legacy », in PIETER D'HOINE, MARIJE MARTIJN (eds.), *All From One: A Guide to Proclus*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, p. 290–232, especially section 15.2; GUY CLAESSENS, « Proclus in the Renaissance », in MARCO SGARBI (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, Springer, Cham 2018, online at: <https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-02848-4_412-1>; ID., « Het denken verbeeld. De vroegmoderne receptie (1533–1650) van Proclus' Commentaar op het eerste boek van Euclides' Elementen », Ph.D. Diss. KU Leuven 2011; DAVID RABOUIN, « Le rôle de Proclus dans les débats sur la 'mathématique universelle' à la Renaissance », in ALAIN LERNOULD (ed.), *Etudes sur le Commentaire de Proclus au premier livre des Éléments d'Euclide*, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, Villeneuve D'Ascq 2007, p. 217–235; SHIN HIGASHI, « Giorgio Valla et Alessandro Piccolomini. Quelques aspects de la réception de Proclus à la Renaissance », *Bulletin of Liberal Arts Education Center*, 27 (2007) p. 31–52; MARIO. O. HELBING, « La fortune des commentaires de Proclus sur le premier livre des Éléments d'Euclide à l'époque Galilée », in GERALD BECHTLE, DOMINIC J. O'MEARA (eds.), *La philosophie des mathématiques de l'Antiquité tardive*, Actes du colloque international Fribourg, Suisse 1998, p. 173–193; and LUIGI MAIERU, « La diffusione di Proclo, commentatore di Euclide, nel Cinquecento », in *11° Annuario del Liceo Scientifico 'B.G. Scorza'*, Calabria Letteraria Editrice, Soveria Mannelli 1999, p. 49–68. For some details regarding Proclus' influence in the printed mathematical texts during the Renaissance cf. RICHARD J. OOSTERHOFF, *Making Mathematical Culture: University and Print in the Circle of Lefèvre d'Étaples*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018 (Oxford – Warburg Studies). Two remarkable monographs partially treating the reception of Proclus' commentary are ANNA DE PACE, *Le matematiche e il mondo. Ricerche su un dibattito in Italia nella seconda metà del Cinquecento*, Francoangeli, Milan 1993 (Filosofia e scienza – Studi), and SHIN HIGASHI, *Penser les mathématiques au XVI^e siècle*, Classiques Garnier, Paris 2018 (Histoire et philosophie des sciences, 17).

Gabia (c.1500–1590), and Francesco Barozzi (1537–1604), and five fragmentary translations used both with pedagogical and scientific purposes contained in the works of Giorgio Valla (1447–1500), Jerónimo Muñoz (1520–1591), Conrad Dasypodius (1532–1600), Federico Borromeo (1564–1631), and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630).² I shall also dwell (as far as the scope of this study allows it) on some aspects related to early modern philosophy of mathematics and science, showing how Proclus' doctrines were received and interpreted in each case in topics such as the classification of mathematical sciences, the epistemology of mathematics (mostly as a form of innatism), metaphysics, and theology.

By signaling some significant episodes in the Latin re-discovery and spread of Proclus' commentary, I attempt to provide a general picture which, I hope, may serve as a guide for further research.

I. The First Entry of Proclus' Greek Text in the West

The first obscure hints pointing to the possible recovery of some Greek manuscripts of Proclus' *In Euclidem* appear in the *carteggio* of the Sicilian scholar Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459). According to Paul Lawrence Rose,³ Aurispa can be considered one of the principal restorers of the Greek mathematical tradition in Italy through his acquisition of several codices from Byzantium during the first decades of the 15th century.⁴ Proclus' name is mentioned twice in Aurispa's letters to the Florentine monk Ambrose Traversari (1386–1439). It first appears in a letter dated the 27th of August of 1424, where Aurispa talks about all of Proclus' works in Greek:

[...] quidquid scripsit Plotinus, quidquid Proclus, viri Platonici [...].⁵

² The fragment translated by Kepler and chosen for the collation in the Appendix corresponds to the Greek text from p. 12, l. 2 to p. 18, l. 4 in PROCLUS, *Procli Diadochi in Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, ed. GODFRIED FRIEDLEIN, B. G. Teubneri, Leipzig 1874.

³ Cf. PAUL LAWRENCE ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance of mathematics: studies on humanists and mathematicians from Petrarch to Galileo*, Libraire Droz, Genève 1975, p. 28 (Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance CXLV).

⁴ Between 1418 and 1423, Aurispa was in Constantinople, engaging both in scholarly and diplomatic activities, and acquired a collection of around 238 Greek codices, many of them containing works ignored in the Latin West. Cf. GIOVANNI AURISPA, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, ed. REMIGIO SABBADINI Istituto storico italiano, Roma 1931 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia), Prefazione, p. XVII; CHARLES, L. STINGER, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439 and the Revival of Patristic Theology in the Early Italian Renaissance*, University of New York Press, New York 1977, p. 36–37.

⁵ Cf. AURISPA, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, p. 12.

The second mention of Proclus' name appears in another letter to Traversari dated 1427. Here Aurispa asks Traversari to return certain manuscripts, among which he mentions a work of Proclus on mathematics:

Puto te habere Proclum τὸν Πλατωνικὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖον *Περὶ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν*
et nescio quid aliud in mathematicis.⁶

It is difficult to determine whether Proclus' *In Euclidem* was among the manuscripts Aurispa brought to Italy. Aurispa's indication about 'whatever Proclus wrote' (*quidquid Proclus [scripsit]*) may include his *In Euclidem*. Nevertheless, it is (grammatically) unclear whether the second clause from Aurispa's 1427 letter refers to the mathematical works of Proclus or to works on mathematics in general. The fact that the spurious astronomical work *De sphaera* was at that time attributed to Proclus, and given that a certain mechanical work *Περὶ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν* was falsely attributed to Proclus by Aurispa in the same letter, only add further uncertainties to the matter.

More solid evidence of the diffusion of the Greek text of Proclus' *In Euclidem* in Italy in the second half of the 15th century can be drawn from the recorded presence of manuscripts, many of which are still extant. The Byzantine émigré cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472) owned a 11th-century manuscript of Proclus' *In Euclidem*, now preserved in the Marciana Library, MS Gr. Z. 306.⁷ According to Kibre, a manuscript of *In Euclidem* is also listed as part of the library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494).⁸ The manuscript at Biblioteca Estense of Modena α. T. 9. 11⁹ (fol. 67–241v) was copied, according to Rose,¹⁰ by Giorgio Valla (1447–1500), who also produced a partial translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* (as shown below). The Vatican manuscript Urb. Gr. 71,¹¹ formerly owned by the Urbino cardinal Giulio della Rovere (1533–1578), also preserves some fragments of Proclus' text. From an epistolary exchange between Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) and

⁶ Cf. AURISPA, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, p. 51.

⁷ ELPIDIO MIONI, *Bibliothecae Diui Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti. Volumen II: Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300–625*, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Roma 1985 (Indici e Cataloghi, Nuova Serie VI). A digitised version is accessible at <<http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3A193.206.197.121%3A18%3AVE0049%3ACSTOR.240.9963&mcode=all&teca=marciana>>. This manuscript contains the still unexplored marginal notes by Bessarion to *In Euclidem*.

⁸ PEARL KIBRE, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, Columbia University Press, New York 1936, *Proclus on Euclid*, n. 436.

⁹ VITTORIO PUNTONI, *Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, Tipografia dei fratelli Bencini, Firenze – Roma 1896, p. 413. This manuscript has been wrongly quoted by ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 47, who wrote 46 instead of 76. The MS Est. Gr. 46 now is α. T. 9. 11. Cf. <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/43443/>>.

¹⁰ Cf. ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 47.

¹¹ A digitised version is accessible at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.71>.

the Sicilian mathematician Francesco Maurolico (1494–1575), dated 1536, it is known that the former owned a manuscript of *In Euclidem*,¹² now lost.

In 1533, the German reformer, humanist, and theologian Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541) published one volume in Basel of the first ever edition containing the Greek text of Euclid's *Elementa geometrica* and Proclus' *In Euclidem*.¹³ This is a relevant fact for the diffusion of Proclus' work in the Latin West: every scholar acquiring Euclid's *editio princeps* would *ipso facto* gain access to Proclus' commentary, helping thereby to spread some of Proclus' views as a sort of default philosophy of mathematics (I will propose some examples in the next sections). It is precisely this edition that Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574) offered as a gift to his teacher, Copernicus, in 1539.¹⁴

Grynaeus' edition of Proclus' *In Euclidem* was later ridiculed by the Venetian nobleman Francesco Barozzi as 'more dilacerated than printed' (*dilaniato potius quam impresso*).¹⁵ These deficiencies of the text can be explained by the fact that the edition followed only one manuscript, identified as MS 97 preserved at Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford.¹⁶ As we learn from Grynaeus' preface, he borrowed the manuscript from Corpus Christi with the approval of John Claymond (1468–1537).¹⁷

MS 97 of Proclus' *In Euclidem* was probably produced at Padua during the first years of the 16th century. Grynaeus' edition of Proclus' commentary does not present auxiliary diagrams (unlike his edition of Euclid in the same volume) and is divided into four books, in so far as each of the two prologues was considered an independent book. The margins contain Greek and Latin titles for distinguishing sections in the continuous text as well as Latin notes describing the contents (e.g., the marginal note on fol. 15 reads: *Hactenus obiectio, respondet ex Platone*).

¹² Cf. ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, p. 162.

¹³ The complete title of the 1533 edition was EUCLID, PROCLUS, *Εὐκλείδου Στοιχείων βιβλία 15 ἐκ τοῦ Θέωνος συνουσίων. Εἰς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξηγημάτων Πρόκλου βιβλία 4*, ed. SIMON GRYNAEUS, I. Hervagium, Basel 1533.

¹⁴ Cf. ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, p. 130. Some of the extant copies of Grynaeus' printed edition are located at Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, M. V. 7; Roma, Biblioteca Angelica G. 9. 22; Rome, Biblioteca Barberina, I. V. 74, and XXI. E. 17; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, E. II. 10224; Leiden University Library, Math. 86; London, British Museum Library 716. I; Oxford Bodleian Library Auct. K 3. 8, C. 3. 3, and A A. 70. Art. For more details on the extant copies here presented and other editions cf. BALDASSARRE BONCOMPAGNI, *Intorno al commento di Proclo sul primo libro degli Elementi di Euclide*, Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche, Roma 1784.

¹⁵ FRANCESCO BAROZZI, *Procli Diadochi Lycii philosophi platonici ac mathematici probatissimi in primum Euclidis Elementorum librum commentariorum ad uniuersam mathematicam disciplinam principium eruditionis tradentium libri IV*, Gratiopus Perchacinus, Padova 1560, Praefatio ad lectorem, p. 2.

¹⁶ NIGEL WILSON, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford*, D.S. Brewer, Oxford 2011. Cf. <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/48629/>>.

¹⁷ SIMON GRYNAEUS, *Εὐκλείδου Στοιχείων*, p. 5v: « [...] mihi ipsi Procli commentaria Oxonii Iohann. Claymundus candide suppeditabat [...] ».

Grynaeus, who was a friend of Melanchton (1497–1560), had great interests in the reform of the curriculum and placed great emphasis on mathematical subject.¹⁸ He considered mathematics, and especially geometry, both as propaedeutics for attaining foundational and certain knowledge, and (much like Proclus in the first prologue)¹⁹ as an applied instance of dialectics.²⁰ Regarding the educational role of mathematics, Grynaeus seems to have valued the rational powers bestowed from mathematical training upon the learners in a way which seems to have been inspired by the reading Proclus' *In Euclidem*. He even declares that true philosophy cannot be exercised if either dialectics or mathematics is lacking, and that the absence of either of them would undermine the scholarly and intellectual life.²¹

II. The Latin Translations and Uses of Proclus' *In Euclidem*

II.1. Giorgio Valla

The earliest Latin translation of parts of Proclus' *In Euclidem* known to us are included in the monumental work *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* by Giorgio Valla.²² As mentioned in the previous section, Valla was not only familiar with Proclus' Greek text but also copied by himself the work and translated into Latin the two prologues.

Valla's *De expetendis*, published one year after his death (in 1501), consists of forty-nine books devoted to various topics leading to universal wisdom, including mathematics, astronomy, astrology, metaphysics, logic, medicine, and ethics.

¹⁸ Cf. ECKHARD KESSLER, « Clavius entre Proclus et Descartes », in LUCE GIARD (ed.), *Les jésuites à la Renaissance, Système éducatif et production du savoir*, PUF, Paris 1988 (Bibliothèque d'histoire des sciences), p. 291.

¹⁹ Cf. First prologue, chapter XIV, PROCLUS, GLENN R. MORROW (ed.), *Proclus: A Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1970, p. 35–36.

²⁰ GRYNAEUS, *Εὐκλείδου Στοιχείων*, Praefatio, p. 5v.

²¹ GRYNAEUS, *Εὐκλείδου Στοιχείων*, Praefatio, p. 5r: « Ac si quis me quidem audiat, sic iudico, ad philosophandum vere, cum neutra sufficiat sola [dialectica et mathematica], rite coniunctas omnem protinus difficultatem profligaturas, tum siquidem alterutra carendum sit, aegrius hac nos carituros ».

²² GIORGIO VALLA, *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*, Manutius, Venice 1501. For an account of Valla's activity as a restorer of mathematical and scientific texts cf. AMADEO RASCHIERI, « Giorgio Valla editor and translator of ancient scientific texts », in PAULA OLMOS (ed.), *Greek Science in the Long Run: Essays on the Greek Scientific Tradition (4th c. BCE–16th c. CE)*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge 2012, p. 127–149; cf. also PAUL L. ROSE, « Bartolomeo Zamberti's Funeral Oration for the Humanist Encyclopaedist Giorgio Valla », in CECIL H. CLOUGH (ed.), *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1976, p. 299–310. For Valla's reception of Proclus' *In Euclidem*, cf. HIGASHI, « Giorgio Valla et Alessandro Piccolomini. Quelques aspects de la réception de Proclus à la Renaissance ».

Book I and book X of Valla's *De expetendis* include large sections, in Latin, of Proclus' two prologues to *In Euclidem*. However, Proclus is never mentioned as the author of these fragments. In Valla's book I, a translation of Proclus' first prologue is tacitly inserted between chapter XIV (*De tota mathematica*) and chapter XXIII (*Unde mathematices nomen*). I present in Appendix 1 an index containing, on the one hand, the *incipit* and *explicit* of each chapter from XIV to XXIII in the Greek text of Proclus (in Friedlein's edition) and, on the other hand, Valla's corresponding translation of the same *loci*. From this analysis, we conclude that chapters XIV to XXIII consist of an almost complete translation of Proclus' first prologue.

Some of the chapters present changes. Chapter XIX, for instance, contains three alterations: an omission²³ of Proclus' explanation of the ways towards perfection expounded in Plato's *Phaedrus*; secondly, a mention²⁴ of the Pythagorean Philolaus and the divine mysteries is replaced by the clause *cui trinus et unus influxerit Deus, atque adeo illuxerit*; thirdly, the five pages (in Friedlein's edition)²⁵ of Proclus' enumeration of the benefits and utilities of mathematics if applied to other arts and human affairs are replaced by a succinct summary.²⁶

In some places, Valla's translation adds some Latin phrases for the sake of clarity or as a matter of philological zeal. In other sections, Valla introduces apologetic interjections for the Latin expressions he is forced to use in translating Proclus. Sometimes he either abbreviates sentences by skipping parts and clauses or even omits entire sentences. For example, when reading διάνοια in cap. XIV, l. 10, Valla adds *quam interdum intelligentiam a Cicerone video appellatam*. In chapter XVII, Valla attributes to Cicero Proclus' doctrine on the projection of mathematical contents of the soul onto the imagination (or *phantasia*) and the reflection in the cosmos of the mathematical order: *ut secutus etiam Platonem Cicero de universitate docet*. In the beginning of cap. XVI, Valla preserves the Greek word: *quam vocant graeci criterium*. In cap. XVII, when discussing the origin and the ontological status of mathematics,²⁷ Valla skips Proclus' mention of Plato and the order emanation: [...] ὥς ὁ τε Πλάτων ἀξιοῖ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄλων ἐπιδεικνύει πρόοδος. In the same cap. XVII, Valla omits one of the questions about the possibility of identifying in the sensible world pure geometrical properties, such as actually right angles or totally exact line equality.²⁸ In chapter XVII, we find four tokens of Valla's apologetic remarks concerning the unusual Latin he is adopting, regarding

²³ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 21, l. 4–l. 19.

²⁴ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 22, l. 14–l. 16.

²⁵ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 23, l. 12–28, l. 23.

²⁶ VALLA, *De expetendis*, Liber I, cap. XIX: « Quanta praeterea scientiis, et artibus omnibus mathematica perveniat utilitas mihi pluribus hic disserendum existimarem, nisi suus singularum disciplinarum desideraret, ac patefaceret locus ».

²⁷ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 12, l. 8–9.

²⁸ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 12, l. 23–26

the non-Ciceronian terms *intellectus*, *exemplariter*, *substantiatur*, and *essentiales*.²⁹ Valla also adds four lines of his own at the end of the last chapter (XXIII) of book I as a final exhortation to mathematical studies.³⁰

It is perhaps noteworthy that Valla omitted Proclus' references to the name of Aristotle in the first prologue (in chapter XIX), but not in the second. In chapter XX³¹ Valla also omitted Proclus' words φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, deleting thereby the authoritative source of the quotation from *Eth. Nic.* 1094b, l. 28 or *De Part. An.* 639a, l. 1–5: *nam qui in iis rationibus plane fuerit eruditus, is recti examinis ferre poterit sententiam*. One likely way of explaining this absence might be that Valla, following the humanist anti-Aristotelian trend of finding ancient authorities alien to the university curricula, skipped the reference to Aristotle, rather dwelling on Cicero, Plato, and the Pythagoreans.

The translation of the second prologue of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is inserted and adapted by Valla as the first chapter, entitled *De geometria* (see table 2 in Appendix 1), of book X of his *De expetendis*. After a short introduction, Valla translates, still without mentioning Proclus' name, the entire prologue with the exception of the initial paragraph.³²

A gap of five folia³³ provides the occasion for Valla's own writing. Valla uses the opportunity to insert an excursus of his own on the practical uses of mathematical disciplines and theirgnoseological relations to each other: optics, catoptrics, scenographics, geodesy, and even architecture are discussed. This section introduces authorities foreign to Proclus' text, such as Vitruvius and Damianus of Larissa. It is not rare to see Valla referring to authorities that are absent in the

²⁹ VALLA, *De expetendis*, Liber I, cap. XVII: « [...] intellectus siquidem, sive mentem libet appellare [...]; exempli in modum, seu malis exemplariter dicere [...]; [...] dixerim substantiatur nisi verear mihi acclamitari; [...] ut sic loquar, essentiales [...] ». Cf. Appendix 2, 1 for the entire transcription of the section.

³⁰ VALLA, *De expetendis*, Liber I, cap. XXIII: « Cum igitur etiam agitari humanos animos mathematica cognitio et acui ingenia et celeritate percipiendi inde venire, concedant omnes inde non sine causa summi viri etiam impensam huic scientiae operam dederint, nec magnus olim unquam habitus vir quisquam sine hac sit. Cum, inquam, tot tantisque nos bonis cumularit, quanam causa fuerit cur ipsam toto pectore amplecti non debeamus? ».

³¹ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 32, l. 24.

³² Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 48, l. 9–81, l. 22.

³³ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 70, l. 14–75, l. 6

Greek original;³⁴ moreover, he even introduces the name of Proclus among the authorities.³⁵

To the last sentence of the second prologue, Valla adds a fragment of Proclus' commentary on theorem III, proposition VI.³⁶ Proclus refers there to Porphyry's views on mathematical composition from first principles, resolution through syllogisms, and demonstration *ad impossibile*.³⁷ After this implicit quotation, Valla finishes chapter I of his tenth book with two lines of his own announcing the topic of the next section, namely the definition of a point.

Interestingly, whereas in his classification from the beginning of the prologue Proclus situates geometry just after arithmetic (καὶ ὅτι δευτέραν ἔχει τάξιν μετὰ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν), Valla argues that geometry is also *post musicam*. This is an interesting epistemological shift: instead of considering music as a subalternate science, Valla concedes its priority over geometry, and so ranks it second in simplicity and, thus, primacy, only after arithmetic.

In sum, although Valla did not mention Proclus as the author either of chapters XIV–XXIII of the first book of *De expetendis*, or as the source of most of chapter I of book X, *De expetendis* is a remarkable piece of evidence that the two prologues of *In Euclidem* (containing a powerful anti-abstractionist and innatist philosophy of mathematics) were available in Latin and disseminated in a printed edition at the very beginning of the 16th century. Valla's choice to assimilate them to his own text, without mentioning the name of Proclus, would require a more detailed explanation, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

³⁴ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 69, l. 4. Valla's version reads as follows: « Fuit etiam Conon, cuius Ad Dosifeum de tetragonismo meminit utpote sui amici Archimedes, Apollonius, Heron, Philon, Bizantius, Diocles, Porus, Nicomedes, Menealeus, Theon, qui ante Ptolemaeum ».

³⁵ In the section corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 78, l. 13, and p. 76, l. 4. Valla's text indicates : « [...] tam Speusippeis, quam Menechmatis, Heron et Proclus aestipulantur; [...] Heronis Alexandrini, Anatoli, Proclique ».

³⁶ The addition corresponds to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 255, l. 11–256, l. 8.

³⁷ I shall deal with this topic in a future work. For now, it is worthy to note that Proclus' discussions on demonstration and mathematical analysis as presented in the commentary were read within the context of the northern Italy long-held discussions on *regressus demonstrativus*. Cf. OLIVIER DUBOUCLEZ, *Descartes et la voie de l'analyse*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 2013 (Épiméthé essais philosophique), Ch. IV *passim*; JOHN H. RANDALL, *The School of Padua and the Emergence of the Modern Science*, Editrice Antenore, Padova 1961; JAAKKO HINTIKKA, UNTO REMES, *The Method of Analysis: Its Geometrical Origin and Its General Significance*, Springer, Dordrecht 1974 (Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, 25); cf. also JAAKKO HINTIKKA, « Method of Analysis: A Paradigm of Mathematical Reasoning? », *History and Philosophy of Logic*, 33/1 (2012), p. 49–67.

II.2. Bartolomeo Zamberti

The Venetian Bartolomeo Zamberti, probably inspired by his master Valla in the value he placed on Proclus' *In Euclidem*, accomplished one of the earliest complete Latin translations of the text. Zamberti also edited Euclid's *Elementa* in Latin (1505, Venice), and showed a remarkable philological sensitivity in his approach to the editing of mathematical works. His trade was the restoration of texts (and their contents) from the inaccuracies and gaps of preceding editors and translators to their ancient, original text so that an understandable Latin translation could then be accessible to readers.³⁸

Zamberti's translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is preserved in the manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6, fol. 1r–154v. The *incipit* of the first prologue (named *liber primus*) reads (fol. 1r):

Procli Lycii diadochi Platonici in primum librum *Elementorum* Euclidis Megarensis mathematici praestantissimi, commentariorum liber primus, Bartholameo Zamberto Veneto interprete.

It cannot be determined with precision the date when Zamberti began the translation of Proclus' commentary, but at the end of the preface to his 1505 edition of Euclid's *Elementa*, he made clear his intention of providing a Latin translation of Proclus' text.³⁹ On the other hand, the closing lines after the colophon of book four, which closes his Latin version of *In Euclidem*, state the details of the date of its completion. It reads (fol. 154v):

Procli Lycii diadochi Platonici in primum librum *Elementorum* Euclidis megarensis Platonici et mathematici praestantissimi, commentariorum libri quarti et ultimi finis Bartholameo Zamberto Veneto interprete. Immortali Deo gratias Anno Salutis MDXXXVIII, Mense septimo. Anno interpretis VI et LX absoluto.

Thus, Zamberti had the intention of producing a translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* at least since 1505, and was eventually finished in July of 1539, four years before

³⁸ On Zamberti's contributions to the mathematical culture of the 16th century and his restoration of mathematical texts (mostly regarding Euclid's *Elementa*), see ROBERT GOULDING, *Defending Hypatia: Ramus, Savile, and the Renaissance Rediscovery of Mathematical History*, Springer, Dordrecht 2010 (Archimedes, New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, 25), chap. 5, *passim* and chap. 6, p. 150–154.

³⁹ BARTOLOMEO ZAMBERTI, *Euclidis Megarensis philosophi platonici mathematicarum disciplinarum ianitoris habent in hoc volumine quicumque ad mathematica substantia aspirat Elementorum libros XIII*, Venice, Giovanni Tacuino 1505, p. 6v: « Efficiemus ut nostris laboribus Proclus Platonius ipsius Euclidis interpres et Nicomachus Pythagoreus hucusque Latinis ignoti, Graecia relicta inter Italiae nitescentia vireta resplendeant et scholas Italiae vagari non vereantur ».

his death. This raises the question of the Greek source(s) used by Zamberti for his translation into Latin. If Zamberti initiated his planned translation soon after his edition of the *Elementa*, he would have used Greek manuscripts available at the time in northern Italy.

If Zamberti began the translation after Grynaeus' *editio princeps* of 1533, he might have used this version of the text, but also another source. Indeed, the Zamberti's translation is more complete than the Grynaeus' edition, such as for the case of the famous anecdote of King Ptolemy asking Euclid for a more expedient way of learning geometry, shows an important gap.⁴⁰ In Grynaeus' edition,⁴¹ this line reads as:

[...] ἦρετο ποτὲ αὐτὸν εἰ τίς ἐστι περὶ γεωμετρίαν.

This sentence, as it stands, lacks the main nominative as well as the genitive complements of the noun. Friedlein's restored text reads (p. 68, l. 14–15):

[...] ἦρετό ποτε αὐτόν, εἴ [sic] τίς ἐστὶν περὶ γεωμετρίαν ὁδὸς συντομωτέρα τῆς στοιχειώσεως.

And Zamberti translates this passage as:

[...] numquid ad geometriam capessendam aliquod extaret brevius iter elementari.
(Clm 6, fol. 24, l. 1–3)

Zamberti's Latin text is accompanied by a sequence of numbered titles written on the margins, most likely intended for an *index rerum*. For example, at fol. 4v, l. 4, a marginal note reads: 38 *Genera et formae mathematicae unde essentiam obtineant?*, whereas l. 9 is assigned: 40 *Id propter quod unumquodque tale etiam magis est huiusmodi*. The marginal titles accompany the entire translation, although their placement does not follow any regular pattern. For instance, whereas fol. 5v and 6r do not show any titles, fol. 6r contains eight of them in a few lines (l. 6–34, titles numbered as 43–51).

Some margins show diagrams of geometrical figures drawn freehand. For instance, early in the manuscript, fol. 5r contains three diagrams of the three triangles (isosceles, equilateral, and scalene) mentioned by Proclus in that passage. Later folia contain diagrams illustrating the commented propositions, which are clearly traced by using compass and rule.

⁴⁰ For more details regarding this locus cf. STEPHEN P. RIGAUD, *On the Arenarius of Archimedes*, S. Collingwood, Oxford 1837, p. 28–29.

⁴¹ GRYNAEUS, *Εὐκλείδου Στοιχείων*, p. 20 l. 4–5.

The Latin of the translation, if compared to that of Zamberti's other texts (e.g., the prologue of his 1505 edition of the *Elementa*) does not seem extremely polished. A comparison of Zamberti's *In Euclidem* and Valla's translation of the prologues makes clear that Zamberti did not draw from the latter. Some details on a particular coincidence will be commented upon in subsequent lines.

It seems that Zamberti's manuscript was faulty in some areas. Ex. gr., where Proclus declares that the superior nature of the mathematical reasons embedded in the soul reveals a pathway to being, the Greek text states « [...] εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράδοον [...] », ⁴² and Zamberti translates as « [...] ex se ipsa semita, ut sit gressus » (CIm 6, fol. 6r, l. 10–11).

It seems that Zamberti's source contained two errors in this section: ἰέναι ('to go') was written instead of εἶναι ('to be'); παράδοον instead of παράδοον – both are common errors. It is likely that, trying to make sense of the passage, Zamberti read εἰς as ἐκ, getting thereby 'ἐκ τὸ ἰέναι παράδοον' ('from the pathway to go'), and then rightly took the verb to be a nominal form substantivized by the neuter article (τὸ). ⁴³ Zamberti's Latin translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* was not printed.

Finally, a point of intellectual history is worth noting here. Already in his 1505 prologue to Euclid's *Elementa* Zamberti was familiar with the doctrines of Proclus' prologues (perhaps through Valla's influence) and saw some of their contents as theories of great importance. There he states:

Nam disciplinae mathematicae in anima positae, ut Proclus inquit Diadochus, si intellectu cogitentur, tunc omni prorsus materia carent, at si volumus ipsas sensibus percurrere, materiae subiaceant necesse est. Hoc igitur medio a physicis, hoc est a naturalibus, usque ad metaphysicam, hoc est transnaturalia, penetrare possumus. ⁴⁴

Remarkably, characteristic features of Proclus' *In Euclidem* are presented in these lines. Firstly, we find the doctrine of mathematical innatism, a doctrine which was destined to play such a great role in early modern philosophy from Descartes onwards. Secondly, a version of *medietas mathematicarum*, presenting mathematics as both an epistemological and ontological hinge between physics and metaphysics. This shows that already at the beginning of the 16th century, Proclus' teachings contained in his commentary were already understood as an

⁴² Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 16. l. 7–8.

⁴³ Yet this seems to have been a hard-to-translate locus in Proclus' *In Euclidem*, for both Valla and Gabia also independently misread the line in a similar way. VALLA, *De expetendis*, Liber I, cap. XVII: « [...] ipsaque per sese gignit, ad id ut sint accessus ». Gionavvi Battista Gabia, MS Ambrosiana P.51 sup., fol. 15v, l. 19–20: « [...] ut sint, progressum sortitae fuerint ». Barrozzi and Kepler translation interpreted this reading τὸ εἶναι. Cf. Appendix 2.

⁴⁴ ZAMBERTI, *Euclidis Megarensis*, p. 4r.

exhortation or apology for mathematics in printed mathematical texts and as default philosophy of mathematics. The influence of Proclus' two prologues to *In Euclidem* as introduction to mathematics become common place in the literature and philosophy of mathematics that extended to the editions of Euclid's *Elementa* of Federico Commandino (1509–1575),⁴⁵ Christopher Clavius (1538–1612), and beyond.⁴⁶

II.3. Giovanni Battista Gabia

The second complete Latin translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* to consider is that of Giovanni Battista Gabia, preserved at the Ambrosiana Library, MS P. 51 sup. This translation has been confusingly catalogued under the name of Francesco Barozzi's. Gabia's translation comprises the entire volume, namely from fol. 1r to fol. 343r, and was never printed.

The precise date of Gabia's birth is unknown. In 1553, he gained the chair of Greek at the University of Rome. He died in 1590. Gabia was mostly famous as a humanist devoted to translating literary and theological works from Greek. In 1543 he published a Latin translation of all of Sophocles' tragedies, in 1562–1563 two theological commentaries of Theodoret of Cyrus but also ancient mathematical texts, most notably, Hero's *Pneumatica*⁴⁷ and Proclus' *In Euclidem*.⁴⁸

According to Rose,⁴⁹ it is highly plausible that Gabia was encouraged to translate at least these two former mathematical texts at the suggestion of an acquaintance, the renowned Neapolitan astrologer Luca Guarico (1475–1558). In addition to his own astrological and mathematical works, Guarico was dedicated to a project of translation and editing of mathematical texts in collaboration with

⁴⁵ For an account of the philosophy of mathematics of Commandino (in whose edition of the *Elementa* the influence of Proclus' *In Euclidem* can be found) cf. GUY CLAESSENS, « The Drawing Board of Imagination: Federico Commandino and John Philoponus », *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 76/4 (2015), p. 499–515.

⁴⁶ Cf. SABINE ROMMEVAUX, *Clavius, une clé pour Euclide au XVIème siècle*, Vrin, Paris 2006 (Collection Mathesis); GUY CLAESSENS, « Clavius, Proclus, and the Limits of Interpretation: Snapshot-idealization versus Projectionism », *History of Science*, 47/3 (2009), p. 317–336. VINCENZO DE RISI, *Leibniz on the Parallel Postulate and the Foundations of Geometry, The Unpublished Manuscripts*, Birkhäuser, Berlin 2018 (Sciences Networks Historical Studies 51), ch. 2.1; KESSLER, « Clavius entre Proclus et Descartes »; NICHOLAS JARDINE, « The Forging of Modern Realism: Clavius and Kepler against the Skeptics », *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 10/2 (1979), p. 141–173; LUIGI MAIERÛ, « Metafisica ed enti geometrici: Benito Pereyra, Pedro Fonseca, Francisco Suárez », in *Sciences et religions. De Copernic à Galilée (1540–1610)* Actes du colloque international, Roma 1996 (Publications de l'École française de Rome, 260), p. 47–67.

⁴⁷ Cf. ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 50, cf. MS Vat. Lat. 4575, fol. 1r–19r.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gabia's biography by ELENA DEL GALLO in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 51, 1998 at <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovan-battista-gabia_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

⁴⁹ Cf. ROSE, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 50.

(or in honour of) other scholars. Some of the fruits of Guarico's mathematical publishing activity include fragments of Archimedes' *De quadratura circuli* and *De quadratura parabolae* (1503), the *Perspectiva communis* (1504) of John Pecham, and an edition of the Latin version of the *Almagest* made by Trapezuntius (1528). There is strong evidence that Gabia and Guarico maintained a cordial relationship. The complete works of Guarico⁵⁰ opens with a poem composed by Gabia in his honour.

If Rose's suggestion is right and Gabia translated mathematical works encouraged by Guarico, it is likely that he completed them in his youth. Moreover, Luca Guarico died in 1558, and his interest in ancient mathematical texts was more intense in the early period, between 1503 and 1528. It is likely that Gabia translated Proclus' *In Euclidem* before becoming professor at Rome in 1553. However, as things presently stand, it is hard to tell whether Gabia's translation preceded Zambia's (1539). The collation made by Professor Carlos Steel has revealed that Gabia was using MS Venice, Marciana VI.11 (coll. 1409)⁵¹ copied by the Paduan professor Matteo Macigni (1507–1583) as the base for his translation.⁵²

Gabia's translation from the manuscript Milan, Ambrosiana P. 51 sup., fol. 1r, opens with the following line:

Johanne Baptista Gabio interprete, Procli Diadochi in primum *Elementorum* Euclidis liber primus.

Gabia's translation has titles which divide the text of the two prologues into chapters: *capitulum primum* (on fol. 1r, l. 1), *capitulum secundum* (on fol. 3r, l. 19) etc. The text does not contain diagrams and presents a translation which is interrupted by a line-break whenever a new chapter is introduced.

Gabia's translation seems to have been corrected in many sections by an unknown person. The difference in the ink, the Latin style, and the very understanding of the text makes it very likely that the translation was not modified by Gabia himself but by a second hand. It seems that Gabia firstly translated Proclus' *In Euclidem* by adopting a scholastic (and less elegant) Latin for various concepts; a second hand deleted or modified many of these scholastically flavoured terms and replaced them with those of a more Ciceronian prose. Below some of the passages before and after the correction:

⁵⁰ LUCA GUARICO, *Opera omnia quae quidem extant Lucae Gaurici*, Tomus I, Ex Officina Henricpetrina, Basel 1552, p. 5r.

⁵¹ CIRO GIACOMELLI, « I libri greci di Matteo Macigni. Contributo allo studio di una biblioteca umanistica », *La parola del passato*, 407/2 (2019), p. 361–420. p. 377, 378 (tav. 2), 396, 417. Digitised at <<http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3A193.206.197.121%3A18%3AVE0049%3ACSTOR.241.10806&mode=all&teca=marciana>>.

⁵² I want to thank Professor Carlos Steel for this helpful information.

MS Milan, Ambrosiana P. 51 sup.	Gabia's translation	Altered text
fol. 11r, l. 6–9	Sequitur ut inspiciamus quaenam mathematicarum specierum generumque substantia merito dicatur, et utrum ab sensibilibus [...]	Sequitur ut inspiciamus quaenam mathematicarum formarum generumque natura merito dicatur, et utrum ab iis quae sensu percipiuntur [...]
fol. 13v, l. 9–15;	Atque enim si quis, ut aiunt, demonstraret aequicrurium triangulum habere tres angulos aequales duobus rectis et aequilaterum et scalenum similiter, hic rectum scit [...]	Atque enim si quis, ut aiunt, demonstraret ex duabus aequalibus lineis compositum triangulum, quem aequicrurium vocant, habere tres angulos aequales duobus rectis et triangulum tribus aequalibus lineis contentum, quem aequilaterum appellamus, et similiter tribus inaequalibus, quae dicuntur scalenum, hic rectum scit [...]
fol. 15r, l. 13–17	[...] neque prorsus posteriore loco, id est ex sensibilibus genita, necesse sane est animam, aut ab se, aut ex anima ipsas accipere, aut et a se et ab illa.	[...] neque prorsus posteriore loco, id est, ab iis quae sub sensum cadunt, genita, necesse sane est animam, aut ab se, aut ab mente ipsas accipere, aut et a se et ab illa.

As can be easily seen, this stylistic zeal at times makes the translation somewhat clumsy or confusing. The term *anima* is systematically replaced by the more Ciceronian *animus* or *mens*; *sensibilia* is always transformed into the lengthy clause *ea quae sub sensum cadunt* or *iis quae sensu percipiuntur*; confusingly, *substantia* is made *natura*, which translates both the Greek οὐσία and φύσις. One of the most blatant instances of this stylistic prodigality relates to the names of geometrical figures and specific mathematical terminology. Indeed, certain technicalities are not part of the Ciceronian lexicon, the anonymous hand adopted lengthy, descriptive relative clauses; hence, instead of *aequilaterum*, the anonymous author has *triangulum tribus aequalibus lineis constantem quem aequilaterum appellamus*. Such is the anonymous hand's linguistic care and superficial understanding of the philosophical and mathematical contents that it seems legitimate to argue that

more emphasis was put on the Latin style than the doctrinal accuracy and clarity of the version.

Because of the anonymous author's stylistic predilections, this translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is a case of great interest: it might be the first (and perhaps the only case) of an attempt to render Proclus' highly abstract and philosophically technical language into a Latin which (with great pains and sacrifices of precision!) aspires to that Ciceronian prose that many Renaissance scholars so cherished and effected.

II.4. Francesco Barozzi

Francesco Barozzi's translation is better known to scholars, as it was the first printed complete Latin version of Proclus' *In Euclidem* (in 1560). Its full title reads:

Procli Diadochi Lycii philosophi Platonici ac mathematici probatissimi in primum *Euclidis Elementorum librum commentariorum* ad universam mathematicam disciplinam principium eruditionis tradentium libri IV, a Francisco Barocio patritio Veneto summa opera, cura ac diligentia cunctis mendis expurgati, scholiis et figuris, quae in graeco codice omnes desiderabantur, aucti, primum iam Romanae linguae venustate donati, et nunc recens editi, cum catalogo deorum, et virorum illustrium, atque auctorum, elencho librorum, qui vel ab auctore, vel ab interprete citati sunt, et indice locupleti notabilium omnium in opere contentorum, Patauii, excudebat Gratosus Perchacinus, 1560.

As expressed in the lengthy title, the edition is embellished with diagrams absent in the Greek codices and includes an index of deities referred to, and of books and authors quoted either by Proclus or by Barozzi himself. The title also establishes (wrongly or perhaps with insincerity) that the present edition is the first ever Latin translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem*. I shall elaborate on this point below.

Barozzi's printed edition consists of 312 folia. The first 14 folia, containing a poem, the dedicatory letter to Vitruvius' translator and ardent mathematical student Daniele Barbaro (1514–1570), the preface, and the catalogues announced in the title are not numerated (fol. 1r–16r). This translation was announced by the Accademia Veneziana della Fama (an erudite society at Venice active from 1557 to 1561) in their *Somma delle Opere* (1558), fol. 13v.⁵³

Barozzi was nobleman from Venice educated at Padua with excellent knowledge of Greek (the famous Hellenist Andrea Doni was his teacher) and a scholar with access to many financial and intellectual resources (such as his

⁵³ Cf. VALERIA GUARNA, *L'Accademia veneziana della Fama (1557–1561). Storia, cultura e editoria, Con l'edizione della Summa delle Opere (1558) e altri documenti inediti*, Vecchiarelli, Roma 2018 (Cinquecento, testi e studi letter. Ital).

impressive collection of Greek manuscripts, almost entirely preserved in the Bodleian Library).⁵⁴ He not only accomplished a Latin translation of Proclus' *In Euclidem*, but also reconstructed a more reliable Greek text than the one used as the source of the 1533 *editio princeps* by collating several manuscripts at his disposition to use as the basis for his Latin version. Concerning this restored text and the details of its manuscript sources, Barozzi states the following in his dedicatory letter to Daniele Barbaro:

Verumtamen cum divina providentia, propter communem studiorum omnium utilitatem huic meo flagranti desiderio auxiliari maximo suo amore decrevisset, fecit ut, cum essem in insula Creta tertio abhinc anno, quoddam vetustissimum exemplar eorumdem Procli in Euclidem commentariorum, qui iam impressi fuerant, ad manus meas perveniret, quod fuerat Andreae Doni praeceptoris mei [...], ex quo quidem exemplari impressum illud quoad potui diligenter emendavi. Nam illud etiam antiquum pluribus in locis imperfectum erat. Postea vero cum in Italiam reversus essem [...], primum Bononiam profectus sum, ubi inveni duo exemplaria manuscripta, alterum in bibliotheca S. Salvatoris, ut appellant, quod una cum aliis etiam libellis, ut transcriberem, concessum mihi fuit a reverendis viris Floriano Cedroplano Bononiensi, priori tunc illius coenobii, et Raphaele Campiono procuratore [...]; alterum in bibliotheca excellentissimi viri Fabritii Garzoni medicam facultatem publice in Bononiensi Gymnasio profitentis, qui etiam quae maxima fuit eius liberalitas, voluit illud ipsum suum exemplar mecum afferri. [...]. Deinde cum illhinc discessissem, Patavium me contuli, ubi ex iis omnibus exemplaribus quoad fieri potuit unum integrum feci, quod postremo e Graeca lingua in Latinam converti [...]. Quod dum imprimebatur duo adhuc vidi Graeca exemplaria, unum Venetiis in bibliotheca Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli, alterum Patavii ex bibliotheca Iohannis Vincentii Pinelli Genuensis [...].⁵⁵

Thus, from his own testimony, we learn that Barozzi set himself the goal of improving Grynaeus' 1533 edition, which elsewhere he had deplored.⁵⁶ To this end, he employed an old manuscript he obtained from his own Greek teacher, Andrea Doni, and two other manuscripts from Bologna, at San Salvatore and Padua, respectively. Later, when the text was already given to the typesetters, Barozzi found two more Greek copies of Proclus' *In Euclidem*: one in Venice, in the library of Saints John and Paul, the other in Padua, in the library of the physician,

⁵⁴ Cf. For some notes on Barozzi's life and intellectual profile cf. HIGASHI, *Penser les mathématiques au XVI^e siècle*, p. 277 and forth; DE PACE, *Le matematiche e il mondo. Ricerche su un dibattito in Italia nella seconda metà del Cinquecento*; PAUL L. ROSE, *A Venetian Patron and Mathematician of the Sixteenth Century: Francesco Barozzi: 1537–1604*, Giardini Editori, Pisa 1977.

⁵⁵ BAROZZI, *Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis*, p. 4–5.

⁵⁶ BAROZZI, *Procli Diadochi In primum Euclidis*, p. 3: « [...] quanvis nescius non essem, quod impressi fuerant Basileae quatuor Procli Diadochi libri commentariorum in primum elementorum Euclidis, quod adeo laceros et corruptos inveni, ut nihil boni ex eis elicere potuerim ».

Vincenzo Pinelli. Rose⁵⁷ has identified the following manuscripts mentioned by Barozzi: the one borrowed from Vincenzo Pinelli corresponds to MS Milan, Ambrosiana A. 164 sup.,⁵⁸ and the one he obtained from Floriano Cedroplano and Rafaele Campiono as MS 2293 at the Bolognian Biblioteca Universitaria (fol. 1–149v).⁵⁹ As Rose suggests,⁶⁰ some candidates for Andrea Doni's and Fabrizio Garzoni's copies might be found among the manuscripts of Proclus' *In Euclidem* preserved in Italy, such as MSS Vat. Barb. Gr. 101,⁶¹ Vat., Barb. Gr. 145⁶² or the manuscript copied by Valla preserved in Estense Library MS α T.9.11 (Puntoni 46);⁶³ or, more importantly, the MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 161,⁶⁴ which contains short scholia and corrections in Barozzi's hand. To my knowledge, these scholia have not been edited nor studied. The MS Venice, Marciana VI. 11 (coll. 1409), the one used by Gabia, seems to contain the Greek text that, according to Rose,⁶⁵ was emended by Barozzi himself, although further comparative research should be done to determine the parallels with precision.⁶⁶

Barozzi comments in the preface on the Latin style of his translation, which offers interesting insight in his own project and methodology. There he states:

Primo enim autorem hunc Latinum facere pro virili conatus sum, non ubique Ciceronis dumtaxat verba et formas dicendi sectando, sed Quintiliani etiam et aliorum Latinae auctoritatis virorum, qui de hisce, quae hoc in volumine continentur, scientias pertractarunt. Deinde vocabula scientiarum passim, ut fieri potuit, legitima, synceraque vertere volui. Ambitus praeterea orationis sive circuitus perspicuitatis gratia quandoque immutavi ac ea usus sum figura, quam

⁵⁷ Cf. ROSE, *A Venetian Patron*, p. 127.

⁵⁸ AEMIDIUS MARTINI, DOMENICO BASSI, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, t. I–II, Hildesheim, New York – Milano 1906. <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/42251/>>

⁵⁹ Digitised version at <<https://amshistorica.unibo.it/286>>.

⁶⁰ Cf. ROSE, *A Venetian Patron*, p. 127–128.

⁶¹ VALENTINUS CAPOCCI, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, Codices Barberiniani graeci*, Tomus I. Codices 1–163, Vaticano 1958. Digitised version at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.101>.

⁶² CAPOCCI, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 0799. Digitised at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.145>.

⁶³ PUNTONI, *Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, p. 379–536.

⁶⁴ Digitised version at <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/2c5e0267-3c38-4fbd-8fa6301f79df82ad/surfaces/f8da86c7-25f1-4a1e-adc6-911387d9ffe8/>>.

⁶⁵ Cf. ROSE, *A Venetian Patron*, p. 127.

⁶⁶ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Baluze 281 must also be mentioned. This volume of 329 folia contains an integral hand-written copy of Barozzi's 1560 edition. The quality of the calligraphy reveals that it was most certainly produced by a professional scribe. Marginal numbers indicate to which page of the printed edition corresponds each folium. Further research may reveal more details. From its existence, it can be established that such great value was placed in Proclus' work by someone that (a far more expensive) manuscript copy of the Latin translation was commissioned to a professional, perhaps motivated by a personal distaste for printed editions. Digitised version at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90014927>>.

ὑστερον πρότερον Graeci vocant. Ambiguitates insuper evitavi atque effugi tum geminatione verborum, vel mollioribus loquutionibus, vel participiorum Graecarumque dicendi formularum resolutionibus; tum etiam recte scribendi scientia, ut legenti tibi notum erit. A quibusdam denique dictionibus necessitatis Latinaeque linguae paupertatis causa non abstinui, quae exempli gratia huiuscemodi sunt: identitas, simplicitas, immaterialitas, totalitas, impartibilitas, et alia id genus [...].⁶⁷

Barozzi reveals six relevant points regarding his translation preferences, sources, and style. After claiming that he is the first to translate Proclus' *In Euclidem* into Latin, (1) he declares that he has not only followed the Ciceronian prose, but also Quintilian and other classic authorities. Then, (2) he adds that he has also followed certain unnamed Latin authorities who treated the sciences contained in Proclus' *In Euclidem*. This probably refers to Latin authorities in mathematics. (3) He affirms that Greek scientific terminology has been rendered into Latin as better as possible. (4) Barozzi declares that, for the sake of clarity, changes have been made in the structure of the Greek lengthy sentences, mostly by inverting some of the clauses so that the subject become immediately apparent. As for the terminology, (5) Barozzi points out that he has tried to avoid any reduplication of terms which may cause confusion and has periphrastically rephrased the ubiquitous Greek participles. Finally, (6) he declares in an almost apologetic tone that, given the linguistical poverty of Latin (the infamous Lucretian *locus communis*), it was necessary for him to adopt abstract, scholastic, and artificial terms completely foreign to the golden standard of the Ciceronian Latin, of which he offers a list of examples. This list includes abstract nouns formed with *-itas* (*identitas, simplicitas, immaterialitas*), adverbs ending in *-iter* (*uniformiter, multiformiter, impartibiliter*), scientific terms (*symptoma, quaesitum, praedicatum*), and Latin geometrical terminology (*obtusangulum, acutangulum, quinquangulum*).

Barozzi's translation is arguably the most accomplished Latin version of Proclus' *In Euclidem*. Its merits consist mainly, but not exclusively, in its carefully chosen style, its respect for the integrity of the Greek text, its doctrinal precision, and its expressive clarity. All these merits reflect Barozzi's philological command of Greek, as well as the great work of scholarship presupposed by the reconstruction of a qualitative Greek text, all united with his expertise in mathematical subjects and the fittingness of the thoughtful selection of his Latin terminology.

Nevertheless, Barozzi's translation is doctrinally biased, for the wording of some passages echoes the controversies concerning the philosophy of mathematics in which the Venetian nobleman was involved, namely the 15th- and

⁶⁷ BAROZZI, *Procli in primum Euclidis, Praefatio ad lectorem*, p. 12.

16th-century iteration of the debate known as *quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum*.⁶⁸

This debate was re-ignited across Europe by the Sienese Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1579) with a treatise intitled *De certitudine mathematicarum* (1547). Piccolomini, amongst many other issues which cannot be analysed here, defended the controversial position that the certainty of mathematical proofs and conclusions are grounded in the ontological status of mathematical objects, not in a would-be preeminent epistemological quality of mathematical demonstrations. In other words, Piccolomini contends that mathematical demonstrations are not instances of the so-called *demonstratio potissima*. As noted in the seminal works of Giacobbe and De Pace (and confirmed by further scholarship, see last note),⁶⁹ Piccolomini abundantly invoked the authority of Proclus' *In Euclidem* as one of his

⁶⁸ Regarding the debate on the certainty of mathematics and its historical and logical aspects cf. DMITRI LEVITIN, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015 (Ideas in Context, 113), part 4.5, p. 313–325; JOHN LONGEWAY, « The Place of *Demonstratio Potissima* in some 16th-Century Accounts of Mathematics », in JOËL BIARD (ed.), *Raison et démonstration*, Brepols, Turnhout 2015 (Studia Artistarum, 40), p. 223–251; DANIEL COZZOLI, « Alessandro Piccolomini and the Certitude of Mathematics », *History and Philosophy of Logic*, 28/2 (2007) p. 151–171; DE PACE, *Le matematiche e il mondo*, 1993; TOBIAS SCHÖTTLER, « From Causes to Relations: The Emergence of a Non-aristotelian Concept of Geometrical Proof out of the *Quaestio De Certitudine Mathematicarum* », *Society and Politics*, 6/2 (2012), p. 29–47; PAOLO MANCOSU, *Philosophy of Mathematics and Mathematical Practice in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1999, p. 13–35; GIOVANNI FERRARO, « Dimostrazioni Matematiche e Conoscenza Scientifica in Alessandro Piccolomini », in HOWARD BURNS, FRANCESCO PAOLO DI TEODORO, GIORGIO BACCI (eds.), *Saggi di Letteratura architettonica da Vitruvio a Winckelmann III*, Olschki, Firenze 2010, p. 215–233; HELBERT E. VELILLA-JIMÉNEZ, « El debate sobre la certeza de las matemáticas en la filosofía natural de los siglos XVI y XVII (*De quaestio* [sic] *de certitudine mathematicarum*) », *Estudios de Filosofía*, 3 (2018), p. 59–93; PAOLO PALMIERI, « On scientia and regressus », in HENRIK LEGARLUND, BENJAMIN HILL (eds.), *Routledge Companion to Sixteenth Century Philosophy*, Routledge, Dordrecht 2017 (Routledge Philosophy Companions), p. 319–349; HIGASHI, *Penser les mathématiques au XVI^e siècle*; RABOUIN, « Le rôle de Proclus dans les débats sur la 'mathématique universelle' à la Renaissance »; GIULIO CESARE GIACOBBE, « Il *Commentarium De Certitudine Mathematicarum Disciplinarum* di Alessandro Piccolomini », *Physis*, 14/2 (1972), p. 162–193; ID., « Francesco Barozzi e la *quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum* », *Physis*, 14/4 (1972), p. 162–193; LUÍS M. CAROLINO, « Mathematics and the Late Aristotelian Theory of Science: The *Quaestio de Certitudine Mathematicarum* in Seventeenth-Century Portuguese Universities », in VÍCTOR NAVARRO-BROTOS, WILLIAM EAMON (eds.), *Beyond the Black Legend: Spain and the Scientific Revolution*, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, Valencia 2007, p. 399–412; NICHOLAS JARDINE, « Problems of Knowledge and Action: Epistemology of the Sciences », in CHARLES B. SCHMITT, QUENTIN SKINNER, ECKHARD KESSLER, KRAYE JILL (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988, p. 685–711; PAUL L. ROSE, « Certitudo Mathematicarum from Leonardo to Galileo », in *Leonardo nella scienza e nella tecnica: Atti del Simposio Internazionale di storia della Scienza*, Giunti Barberà, Firenze – Vinci 1969, p. 43–49.

⁶⁹ GIACOBBE, « Il *Commentarium De Certitudine Mathematicarum Disciplinarum* di Alessandro Piccolomini »; ID., « Francesco Barozzi e la *quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum* »; DE PACE, *Le matematiche e il mondo*.

authoritative sources in *De certitudine*. Twelve years after the publication of Piccolomini's text, Barozzi wrote a response, encouraged by his protector Daniele Barbaro, that vindicated both the superior status of mathematical demonstration and its authority over the interpretation of the contents of Proclus' *In Euclidem*. Barozzi's position is published in *Opusculum in quo una oratio et duae quaestiones, altera de certitudine, et altera de medietate mathematicarum, continentur* (Padua, 1560). Piccolomini and Barozzi are the first key-figures of a great controversy in which the right interpretation of some passages of Proclus' *In Euclidem* played a major philosophical, authoritative, and argumentative role. Moreover, Barozzi dealt with this question in a series of lectures held at the university of Padua (1559–1560) while teaching Proclus' commentary as the main text in the course of mathematics, becoming thereby the first person who taught *In Euclidem* in a Western university.⁷⁰ Through the intervention of the Jesuits Clavius and Benito Pereira (1535–1610), the question of mathematical certainty became an internal debate within the Jesuit order and, through the Jesuit intellectual spreading, a controversy all around Europe.⁷¹ This debate would include figures such as (to name only a few) Petrus Ramus (1515–1572),⁷² the Jesuit Giuseppe Biancani (1566–1624), and, as Velilla-Jiménez has recently shown,⁷³ the sceptic Francisco Sánchez (1551–1623). The question would become so diffuse and momentous that, even in 17th-century Cambridge, we found Isaac Barrow (1643–1677), Newton's professor of mathematics and intellectual ally, wrestling both with the question and quoting Proclus' *In Euclidem* in his *Lectiones mathematicae XXIII* (Cambridge, 1664).⁷⁴

⁷⁰ As Rose has confirmed through his discovery of a letter dated the 7th of November of 1559 in the Venetian archives, Barozzi held a course on Proclus' *In Euclidem* as professor of mathematics at the university of Padua that year. Barozzi's lectures are preserved in MS Latin 7218 at the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. These lectures have been transcribed by De Pace as an Appendix to DE PACE, *Le matematiche e il mondo*.

⁷¹ Cf. CAROLINO, « Mathematics and the Late Aristotelian Theory of Science: The *Quaestio de Certitudine Mathematicarum* in Seventeenth-Century Portuguese Universities ».

⁷² Regarding the Reception of Proclus by Ramus and its Role in Early Modern History of Mathematics cf. GOULDING, *Defending Hypatia*, p. 6–8, and 19–25. Cf. also ROBERT GOULDING, « Pythagoras in Paris: Petrus Ramus Imagines the Prehistory of Mathematics », *Configurations*, 17/1 (2009), p. 51–86.

⁷³ VELILLA-JIMÉNEZ, « Francisco Sánchez and the *Quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum*: A Sceptical Approach », *Endeavour*, 46/4 (2022), p. 1–10.

⁷⁴ Cf. DIMITRI LEVITIN, *The Kingdom of Darkness: Bayle, Newton, and the Emancipation of the European Mind from Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2022, p. 60–80; LEVITIN, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science*, part 4.5, p. 313–325; IAN STEWART, « Mathematics as Philosophy: Barrow and Proclus », *Dionysius*, 18 (2000), p. 151–181; MICHAEL S. MAHONEY, « Barrow's Mathematics: between Ancients and Moderns », in MORDECHAI FEINGOLD (ed.), *Before Newton: The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2021 (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology), p. 179–249; NICCOLÒ GUICCIARDINI, *Isaac Newton on Mathematical Certainty and Method*, MIT Press Ltd, Cambridge, MA 2011.

Coming back to the origin of this controversy, I argue that Barozzi's personal views, such as expressed in the debate over the certainty of mathematics, are echoed in his choices of rendering Proclus' text into Latin. Thus, his translation is not neutral, but the Latin text contains some biases related to his part in the controversy. For instance, in one of the key-passages of the prologue, Proclus claims that (1) not every mathematical proof reaches the perfection of the demonstration (ἀποδείξεως τελειότης), (2) that the necessity of mathematics derives from its subject matter (τὴν ὑποκειμένην), and, lastly, (3) that many of the mathematical demonstrations have as middle terms a 'sign' (τεκμήριον) instead of real causes; he then summarily provides theorem I.32 of Euclid as an instance of demonstration through sign.⁷⁵ Piccolomini adopts and elaborates on this section in his *De certitudine* claiming that, according to Proclus, mathematical sciences do not provide any *demonstratio potissima*. Moreover, Piccolomini defended that there is no causation in mathematics at all. By way of consequence, the certainty of mathematics derives not from its demonstrative procedures, but from its subject matter, namely the more epistemically adequate nature of mathematical entities – an opinion that, again, Piccolomini buttresses with the aid of *In Euclidem*.⁷⁶

In his translation of this section, Barozzi's choice for the word τεκμήριον is not *signum* (as in the commonly used Latin syntagm *demonstratio signi*), but rather ἐκ τεκμηρίων is put as *certis notis* and τεκμήριον as *certum signum*. The adjective *certum* appears in both expressions.

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i> , p. 206, l. 12–23	Barozzi, <i>Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis Elementorum</i> , 1560, p. 118
Τὴν δὲ λεγομένην ἀπόδειξιν ὅτε μὲν καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἔχουσιν εὐρήσομεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρισμῶν μέσων τὸ ζητούμενον δεικνύουσιν – αὕτη γὰρ ἀποδείξεως τελειότης – ὅτε δὲ ἐκ τεκμηρίων ἐπιχειροῦσιν. καὶ δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. πανταχοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἔχουσιν οἱ γεωμετρικοὶ λόγοι διὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὕλην, οὐ πανταχοῦ δὲ περαίνονται διὰ τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν μεθόδων. ὅταν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ τριγώνου γωνίαν ἴσην εἶναι δύο ταῖς ἐντὸς καὶ ἀπεναντίας δεικνύται τὸ	Illa autem, quae demonstratio dicitur, quandoque propria demonstrationi habentem inueniemus, ex definitionibus mediis quaesitum ostendentem; haec enim demonstrationis est perfectio, quandoque vero ex certis notis arguentem. Et oportet non latere. Ubique enim geometrici sermones propter subiectam materiam necessarium habent, non ubique tamen demonstrantibus methodis perficiuntur. Quando enim eo quod extrinsecus trianguli angulus duobus intrinsecis et ex opposito existentibus aequalis est, tres intrinsecos duobus rectis

⁷⁵ For an account and history of the demonstration through τεκμήριον cf. DUBOUCLEZ, *Descartes et la voie de l'analyse*, chapitre III.

⁷⁶ Cf. ALESSANDRO PICCOLOMINI, *De certitudine mathematicarum scientiarum*, Antonio Blado, Roma 1547, p. CII–CIXv, where the core of the argumentation is presented.

τρίγωνον ἴσας ἔχον τὰς ἐντὸς τρεῖς γωνίας δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς, πῶς ἀπ' αἰτίας ἢ ἀπόδειξις αὕτη, πῶς δὲ οὐχὶ τεκμήριόν ἐστι τὸ μέσον;	aequales habere triangulus ostenditur, quomodo a causa est demonstratio haec? Quomodo enim medium certum signum non est?

Barozzi, who claimed that mathematical certainty derives both from its demonstrative procedures and its subject matter,⁷⁷ introduces the adjective 'certain' in describing the troublesome demonstrations by sign, suggesting thereby to the reader that Proclus held that certainty is bestowed upon such demonstrations by formal procedures. Barozzi, by deliberately choosing this wording, introduces a doctrinal shift into Proclus' text, a change that may have coloured the entire section, and a reader unaware of the Greek text may be inclined to follow the translator's own views on the philosophy of mathematics.

As a second example, in a section in which Proclus discusses some authoritative opinions on the practice of geometry and whether causal explanation is part of geometry, Barozzi translates:

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i>, p. 202, l. 9–25	Barozzi, <i>Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis Elementorum</i>, 1560, p. 116
Τὴν γε μὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ διὰ τί πολλοῖς μὲν ἔδοξεν ἢ γεωμετρία μὴ θεωρεῖν – ταύτης γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὁ Ἀμφινόμος τῆς δόξης Ἀριστοτέλους κατάρξαντος. [...] ὅταν μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ συλλογισμὸς ἢ δι' ἀδυνατοῦ τοῖς γεωμέτραις, ἀγαπῶσι τὸ σύμπτωμα μόνον εὑρεῖν, ὅταν δὲ διὰ προηγουμένης ἀποδείξεως, τότε πάλιν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ μέρους αἱ ἀποδείξεις γίνοντο, οὕτω δῆλον τὸ αἷτιον, εἰ δὲ καθ' ὅλον καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ διὰ τί γίγνεται καταφανές.	At causam et ipsum [propter quid] geometriam minime contemplari pluribus visum fuit. Huiusce enim sententiae est et Amphinomus Aristotele duce. [...] Quando igitur syllogismus geometris per impossibile fuerit, symptoma tantum invenire cupiunt, quando autem per praecipuam demonstrationem, tunc rursus si quidem in particulari demonstrationes fiant, causa nondum manifesta est. Si vero in universali, in omnibusque similibus, continuo et ipsum [propter quid]⁷⁸ manifestum fit.

⁷⁷ Cf. Barozzi's comment on this section in BAROZZI, *Opusculum in quo una oratio et duae quaestiones, altera de certitudine, et altera de medietate mathematicarum, continentur*, E.G.P., Padua 1560, p. 28v: «Dixit quidem Proclus quod geometrici sermones ubique propter subiectam materiam necessarium habent, non ubique autem demonstrantibus methodis perficiuntur, non dixit autem, quod geometrici sermones necessarium habent propter subiectam materiam tantum, et nullo pacto propter naturam demonstrationum mathematicarum, sicut ait recentior ».

⁷⁸ The brackets appear in Barozzi's printed text.

In this section Proclus mentions that some ancients, including Amphinomus, did not hold that mathematics engages in causal explanation. The Greek expression used by Proclus is τὸ διὰ τί, i.e., ‘the why’. Instead of translating it with *cur* or *per quod*, or just *explanatio*, Barozzi chooses the more unusual syntagm *ipsum propter quid*, interpreting it as though it were the technical Aristotelian logical term διότι. This choice is related again to the *quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum*. As Piccolomini argues, a *demonstratio potissima* would provide both the *quia* (a cause-to-effect, symptomatic account) and the *propter quid* (an effect-to-cause, casual account). Barozzi’s counterargument, according to which causal explanation (sc. *propter quid* demonstration) is possible in mathematics, appears in his Latin translation. For, as the passage proceeds, Barozzi makes Proclus say that causal accounts (*propter quid*) are found in mathematical demonstrations which fulfil two conditions: (1) they are not about particulars but about universals, and (2) they are not proven through *ad impossibile* arguments. This would imply that even the controversial theorem I.32 (which universally demonstrates through signs and is not *ad impossibile* and was a common object of dispute in the controversy) is not, according to Barozzi’s version of Proclus’ text, explanatory (as the original Greek states: τὸ διὰ τί), but it is, nevertheless, causally demonstrative (as the Latin translation suggests: *Si vero in universali, in omnibusque similibus, continuo et ipsum [propter quid] manifestum fit*). In this way Barozzi’s Latin inclines the text toward his own opinions: that there is causality in mathematics.

Finally, it is worth mentioning Barozzi’s relation to the previous Latin translations of Proclus’ *In Euclidem*. Barozzi publishes the text, as indicated above, with a title claiming that it is the first Latin translation of the text. Did Barozzi remain unaware of the existence of other Latin versions of Proclus’ text and of the existence of Valla’s Latin prologues? That would be surprising. Both Valla and Zamberti were, like Barozzi himself, Venetians, and of great influence in the mathematical circles of their time. As previously mentioned, Zamberti announced his translation already in his edition of Euclid’s *Elementa* of 1505, which was the most widely used until the 1572 edition of Commandino. One might assume that Barozzi was so unsatisfied with the quality of either the Greek text and (or) the Latin translations that he decided to do everything from scratch. Or that he aimed to have a more authoritative Greek source with a personal, tailored translation for his polemics with Piccolomini.

II.5. Jerónimo Muñoz

The Spaniard mathematician and philosopher Jerónimo Muñoz is a token of how the contents of Proclus’ commentary influenced 16th-century mathematics and philosophy of mathematics and reached the chairs of mathematics of prestigious universities.

In 1537 Muñoz earned a degree from the Faculty of Arts at the university of Valencia, his hometown, where he acquired expertise in Greek and Hebrew.⁷⁹ Two figures that might have influenced his mathematical education, namely Juan de Celaya (c. 1490–1558), educated amongst the *calculatores parisienses* and the reformer of the curricula at that university, and Miguel Cervés (fl. c. 1520), professor of mathematics and astronomy during the time Muñoz studied at Valencia. Muñoz also received education outside Spain under other mathematicians and technicians of renown: he was instructed by Oronce Finé (1494–1555) at Paris, and by Gemma Frisius (1508–1555) at Leuven. As for his career as a university professor, it is known that Muñoz firstly taught Hebrew at the university of Ancona (although the extant time and length of his teaching is unknown), and then he was granted the chairs of mathematics (from 1563) and Hebrew (from 1565) at the university of Valencia. In 1578, he was appointed by Emperor Philipp II to a professorship of mathematics in Salamanca.

Muñoz published four works during his life: *Institutiones arithmeticae ad percipiendam astrologiam et mathematicas facultates necessariae* (1566), *Libro del nuevo cometa* (1573), *Suma del pronostico del cometa y de la eclipse la Luna* (1577), and *Alphabetum Hebraicum cum ratione legendi cum punctis* (1585).

Some of his mathematical works are still extant in manuscripts.⁸⁰ The presence of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is noticeable in two of these unpublished texts: the *Astrologiarum et geographicarum institutionum libri sex* (MS Vat. Lat. 6998, fol. 3r–116r),⁸¹ written between 1565 and 1578; and *Adnotationes in commentaria Procli super Euclidem* (MS Vat. Lat. 6996, fol. 2r–159r), written after 1578, when he already was teaching at Salamanca. The former is mainly focused on cosmography and spherics, disciplines of great usefulness to 16th-century Spain for navigation and

⁷⁹ For the details on the life, works, and intellectual profile of Jerónimo Muñoz cf. VÍCTOR NAVARRO-BROTONS, *Jerónimo Muñoz: Matemáticas, cosmología y humanismo en la época del Renacimiento*, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, Valencia 2019; ID., *Disciplinas, saberes y prácticas: Filosofía natural, matemáticas y astronomía en la sociedad española de la época moderna*, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, Valencia 2014; VÍCTOR NAVARRO-BROTONS, ENRIQUE RODRÍGUEZ GALDEANO, *Matemáticas, cosmología y humanismo en la España del siglo XVI: Los Comentarios al segundo libro de la Historia natural de Plinio de Jerónimo Muñoz*, Instituto de Estudios Documentales e Históricos sobre la Ciencia, Valencia 1998; and VÍCTOR NAVARRO-BROTONS « The Cultivation of Astronomy in Spanish Universities in the Latter Half of the 16th Century », in MORDECHAI FEINGOLD and VÍCTOR NAVARRO-BROTONS (eds.), *Universities and Science in the Early Modern Period*, Springer, Dordrecht 2006 (Archimedes, New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, 12), p. 83–98.

⁸⁰ *Theonis Alexandrini commentaria in primum librum mathematicae constructionis Ptolomei* (MS Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, VIII, 33, fol. 21r–300r), *In Isagogas principis Abdilasi servi gloriosi dei Alcabiis de astrorum apotelesmatis elucubratio* (MS Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2320 fol. 3v–133v), or *Utrum sint plures orbes necne* (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10674, fol. 337r–340v).

⁸¹ Digitised at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6998>.

cartography purposes. The latter contains Muñoz teachings on the books I–VI of Euclid’s *Elementa*. I will analyse in this paper two passages from *Astrologiarum et geographicarum institutionum libri sex*,⁸² which opens with a discussion on mathematical ontology and the classification of mathematical disciplines. These are not two isolated themes for Muñoz, for he entertains (although this position is not fully explained) that given a determined mathematical ontology, a particular division of the mathematical sciences will follow from it. Therefore, an ill-conceived metaphysics of the mathematical objects would produce a defective classification of the mathematical disciplines.

Before establishing his views on such matters, Muñoz expounds and criticises the Pythagoreans’ and Geminus’ ontologies and classifications of mathematical sciences straightforwardly taken from Proclus’ *In Euclidem*. Regarding the Pythagoreans, Muñoz offers a Latin paraphrase of Proclus’ passage on the topic. Then, he proceeds to criticise what he regards as an unsatisfactory account:

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i> , p. 35, l. 22–36, l. 4	Muñoz, <i>Astrologiarum et geographicarum</i> , MS. Vat. Lat. 6998, fol. 4v, l. 11–29
Τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πυθαγορείοις ἐδόκει τετραχὰ διαιρεῖν τὴν ὅλην μαθηματικὴν ἐπιστήμην, τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς περὶ τὸ ποσόν, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸ πηλίκον ἀφορίζουσι καὶ τούτων ἑκάτερον διττὸν τιθεμένοις. Τό τε γὰρ ποσὸν ἢ καθ’αὐτὸ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν, ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο θεωρεῖσθαι κατὰ σχέσιν, καὶ τὸ πηλίκον ἢ ἐστὼς ἢ κινούμενον εἶναι. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀριθμητικὴν τὸ καθ’αὐτὸ τὸ ποσὸν θεωρεῖν, τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν τὸ πρὸς ἄλλο, γεωμετρίαν δὲ τὸ πηλίκον ἀκίνητον ὑπάρχον καὶ τὴν σφαιρικὴν τὸ καθ’αὐτὸ κινούμενον.	Pythagorei in quatuor partes universam mathematicen diviserunt: partim enim περὶ τὸ ποσόν; partim περὶ τὸ πηλίκον distinguunt, id est partim circa quantum; partim circa magnum, et unumquodque horum in duo secant. Nam ipsum quantum aut per sese consideratur habere subsistentiam, aut ad aliud refertur secundum habitudinem. Similiter, ipsum magnum aut statum aut motum consideratur. Unde quatuor partes mathematices fluunt, arithmetica quidem aiunt considerare ipsum quantum per sese; musica vero ratione alterius; geometriam vero considerare ipsum magnum ut immotum existens; sph<a>ericam vero scientiam magnitudinem considerare per se motam. (Muñoz’s criticism) Ex qua divisione Pythagoricorum solum erunt arithmetica, musica, geometria et sph<a>erica scientia partes mathematices. Quae divisio imperfecta quidem est.

⁸² I shall treat Muñoz’s *Adnotationes* in a forthcoming publication.

	Omittitur enim optica et cat[h]optrica et astronomia et ceterae aliae partes, nisi velis referre opticam ad geometriam et astronomiam ad sph<a>ericam facultatem.

It is to be noted that Muñoz, like Valla, does not mention Proclus' name, and introduces his translation from *In Euclidem* as if it was his own text. Muñoz attempted to preserve the general meaning without producing a *de verbo* translation. For instance, in the first sentence the main Greek verb ἐδόκει is substituted in his translation with the secondary verb διαίρειν/*diviserunt*. Muñoz decided to preserve some Greek phrases from the original and then to translate them into Latin, such as περὶ τὸ ποσόν and περὶ τὸ πηλίκον/*circa quantum, partim circa magnum* (in the passage cited above).

The Pythagorean view of mathematics, as described by Proclus in his *In Euclidem*, establishes a classification of mathematical disciplines pondering whether their objects of study are quantity or magnitude considered for themselves or applied to other entities. Hence, whereas arithmetic is the science of quantity and geometry the science of magnitude considered in themselves, music is a science in so far as the sound is described as quantity, and spherics is a science in so far as magnitude is applied to the shape and movement of the farthest heavenly sphere. Muñoz considers this division incomplete, arguing that it omits several branches of mathematics, such as catoptrics or astronomy.

Geminus' mathematical ontology and disciplinary division are equally presented and then rejected. Muñoz's account fuses two sections of *In Euclidem*, skipping the controversies regarding tactics referred by Proclus and proceeding to some qualifications on the pure geometrical sciences:

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i> , p. 38. l. 4–14 and p. 39, l. 8–9	Muñoz, <i>Astrologiarum et geographicarum</i> , MS. Vat. Lat. 6998, fol. 4v, l. 33–5r, l. 9
[...] Γεμῖνος, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν μὲν περὶ τὰ νοητὰ μόνον, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἐνεργοῦσαν καὶ τούτων ἐφαπτομένην, νοητὰ δῆπου καλοῦντες, ὅσα καθ'ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ θεάματα ἀνακινεῖ, χωρίζουσα τῶν ἐνύλων ἑαυτὴν εἰδῶν. Καὶ τῆς μὲν περὶ τὰ νοητὰ πραγματευομένης δύο τὰ πρόωιστα καὶ κυριώτατα μέρη τίθενται ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχουσας ἔξ: μηχανικὴν, ἀστρολογίαν, ὀπτικήν, γεωδεσίαν,	Geminus dividit mathematicen, unam quae versatur circa [5r] νοητά, id est, res solum mente perceptibiles, cuius duae partes sunt arithmetica et geometria. Rursus, geometriam dividit in ἐπιπεδομετρικὴν et in σ<τ>ερεομετρικὴν, alteram quae versatur circa αἰσθητά, id est, sensibilia, cuius sex sunt partes: logica seu logistica, geodesia, canonica seu musica, et optica, astrologia et mechanica; alii septimum genus addunt, scilicet τακτικόν, id est facultatem qua quis possit

κανονικὴν, λογιστικὴν. Τὸ δ' αὖ τακτικὸν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἔν τι τῶν μερῶν τῆς μαθηματικῆς λέγειν [...]. [Skips p. 38, l. 15–39, l. 7] [...] ἡ μὲν γεωμετρία διαιρεῖται πάλιν εἰς τε τὴν ἐπίπεδον θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν στερεομετρίαν.	invenire quid sit primum, quid secundum ordine, quid tertium et in ordinem h<a>ec redigere.

Muñoz paraphrases Proclus' account about Geminus' division of mathematical sciences according to the ontological status of their object of study: some of them deal with intelligible entities (νοητά/*res solum mente perceptibiles*), others with sensible entities (αἰσθητά/*sensibilia*). Hence, geometry and arithmetic are declared to be mathematical sciences engaging with purely intelligible entities (*cuius duae partes sunt arithmetica et geometria*). Geometry is further divided in plane geometry or epipedometry and solid geometry or stereometry (*in ἐπιπεδομετρικὴν et in στερεομετρικὴν*) – an insertion from the later passage. Six, or according to some (*alii*) seven, mathematical disciplines deal with sensible entities: logic, music, geodesy, optics, astrology, mechanics, and tactics. Muñoz preserves the Greek nouns for the two ontologically diverse objects of study (νοητά/ αἰσθητά) adding afterwards a pleonastic Latin translation. He also adopts the adjectival forms of the nouns given in Proclus' text for epipedometry and stereometry (ἡ μὲν γεωμετρία διαιρεῖται πάλιν εἰς τε τὴν ἐπίπεδον θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν στερεομετρίαν). Lastly, the order of the seven sensible branches of mathematics differs from that of Proclus.

Muñoz equally rejects Geminus' classification on the grounds that it leaves aside judiciary astrology, natural magic (which he seems to consider a mathematical discipline), and spherics: *hactenus ex Geminio excerpsimus, qui imperfectam tradidit astrologiae divisionem, omittens astrologiam iudiciariam et magi[c]am naturalem, et sph<a>erae contemplationem* (fol. 5v, l. 22–25).

Finally, Muñoz presents his own view: his ontology of mathematics is (in tacit) opposition to Proclus, and, thus, anti-Platonic:

Ego vero cum admi<ttere> nequeam mathematicas formas per se subsistere aut media entia esse inter ideas et res sensibiles et ex mente Aristotelis per abstractionem a motu et materia functione intellectus fieri existimem [...]. (MS. Vat. Lat. 6998, fol. 6r).

The beginning is clearly a reference to *In Euclidem*'s opening,⁸³ but then Muñoz argues against Proclus and in favour of mathematical abstractionism, presenting himself as a follower of Aristotle. Muñoz' classification of the mathematical sciences is grounded in the Aristotelian distinction between discrete (διωρισμένον) and continuous (συνεχές) quantity.⁸⁴ The study of discrete quantity pertains to arithmetic, whereas the study of continuous quantity belongs to geometry. Both types of quantity can be applied to sensible entities, which enables a subordination of other sciences and arts to arithmetic and geometry. Through this flexible criterion Muñoz updates the mathematical divisions of the ancients to the more complex 16th-century state of the art. It also has the advantage of leaving room for additions and developments in the subordination of disciplines. However, Muñoz's account remains unclear about two aspects: firstly, how does this division follow from an abstractionist view of mathematics; secondly, why this classification cannot be consistent with the mathematical ontologies (previously) rejected.

Jerónimo Muñoz' text is a witness to two relevant aspects of the broader Western reception of *In Euclidem*: (1) Proclus' view on the ontological status of mathematical objects and the classification of the mathematical sciences were clearly themes of interest for 16th-century erudite community, regardless of their institutions; and (2) Proclus' doctrines were spread through university teaching, even without mentioning his name explicitly.

II.6. Conrad Dasypodius

Conrad Dasypodius introduces Proclus' *In Euclidem* in the curricula of the University of Strasbourg, where he held the chair of mathematics. A Protestant educator, disciple of the British mathematician Christianus Herlinus (1505–1562), and a promoter of the mathematical sciences as a pivotal part of the education of the youth, Dasypodius organised a four-year curriculum of mathematics through his project of a three-volume work intitled *Mathematicum, complectens praecepta mathematica, astronomica, logistica*. The first volume was published in 1567, the second volume in 1570, and the third never reached the typesetters.⁸⁵ The details of this mathematical course can be found in the preface:

⁸³ PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 4, l. 1–4: « Τὴν μαθηματικὴν οὐσίαν οὔτε τῶν πρωτίστων ἐν τοῖς οὗσι γενῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐσχάτων εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν διηρημένων, ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέσσην χώραν [...] ».

⁸⁴ Cf. ARISTOTLE, *Categories*, VI, 4b20–23.

⁸⁵ Concerning Dasypodius scholarly activity and his reception of Proclus' *In Euclidem* and, particularly the notion of *mathesis universalis*, see GIOVANNI CRAPULLI, *Mathesis universalis: Genesi di una idea nel XVI secolo*, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma 1969 (Lessico intellettuale europeo, 3). Parts of

Unus ergo et primus annus primo tribuatur volumini mathematico, quod qui assequi discendo nequit, is ad βανάουσος redeat. Secundus annus huic secundo volumini concedatur, quo temporis spatio, animus prioribus praeceptis imbutus, omnia, aut saltem praeclarae quae in eo continentur, facillime adsequetur. Tertio denique volumini tribuimus biennium.⁸⁶

Dasypodius devotes one year to each of the first and second volumes; two years are assigned to the third. It is in the second volume, lengthy sections of Proclus' *In Euclidem* are used as a general introduction to mathematics alongside other Greek authorities: Ptolemy, Cleomedes, Hipparchus, Achilles Tatius, and Theon of Alexandria. These fragments are given both in Greek and, in a later section of the volume, in a Latin translation produced by Dasypodius himself.

In his work *Protheoria mathematica* (where the authority of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is invoked seven times regarding the notion of a *mathesis universalis*), Dasypodius reveals that he had been revising the 1533 *editio princeps*.⁸⁷ Dasypodius' handwritten corrections are preserved in a volume at Uppsala university.⁸⁸ According to Crapulli's and Friedlein's collatio,⁸⁹ Dasypodius' corrections of Grynaeus' edition are based on MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.

Dasypodius' *Mathematicum* regarding the *mathesis universalis* are presented there in Appendix 2 of Crapulli's work. On Proclus' *In Euclidem* and the Renaissance reception of the *mathesis universalis* (including Dasypodius'); see also DAVID RABOUIN, *Mathesis universalis: L'idée de « mathématique universelle » d'Aristote à Descartes*, Presses Universitaires de France (PUF), Paris 2009 (Épiméthé essais philosophique), ch. IV and « Le rôle de Proclus dans les débats sur la 'mathématique universelle' à la Renaissance ».

⁸⁶ CONRAD DASYPODIUS, *Mathematicum, complectens praecepta mathematica, astronomica, logistica, Volumen II*, J. Rihel, Strasbourg 1570, *Praefatio*, p. aViv–aVIlr.

⁸⁷ DASYPODIUS, *Protheoria Mathematica in qua non solum disciplinae mathematicae omnes, ordine convenienti enumerantur, verum etiam universalis Mathematica praecepta, explicantur*, Iodocus Martinus, Strasbourg 1593, in the number 9 on the index of works Vol. III *Pandectarum mathematicarum*, p. 23, Dasypodius writes: « Procli depravatissima commentaria ex graecis exemplaribus correctae ». Cf. CRAPULLI, *Mathesis universalis*, p. 78.

⁸⁸ Cf. PEHR AURIVILLIUS, *Catalogus librorum impressorum Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Upsaliensis*, Stenhammar et Palmblad, Upsala 1814, p. 721, col. 2, l. 34–37: « In Libr. I. Elementor. Euclidis Comm. Libri IV. Graece. Bas. 1533. (Euclides) F. (Exemplar manu Cnr. Dasypodii egregii emendatum & integris quibusdam foliis suppletum) – Lat. c. schol. p. F. Baroccium. Patavii 1560. F ». A copy of the 1533 printed edition which solely contains Proclus' but catalogued as it were Euclid's *editio princeps*, is preserved in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, A. gr. b. 954, before A. gr. 1060. According to Friedlein (*In primum Euclidis*, p. 1) it belonged to Pietro Vittorio (1499–1595). As reported by Crapulli, Dasypodius' corrections and those present in A. gr. b. 954 by an anonymous hand coincide for the most. Cf. CRAPULLI, *Mathesis universalis*, p. 78. A digitised version is accessible at <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00107029?page=1>>.

⁸⁹ Cf. CRAPULLI, *Mathesis universalis*, p. 78, 158.

Graec. 427 (fol. 1–234v).⁹⁰ This latter 10th-century manuscript of Byzantine origin, is one of the oldest known copies of Proclus' *In Euclidem*.

The reasons for producing a bilingual edition is provided by the Dasypodius as follows:

Sed si quis ex me quaerat cur Graeca Latinis coniunxerim, is sciat hoc a me factum esse propter Graecae linguae imperitiores, ut collatione facta, quid tradatur, facilius intelligant. Deinde quia hae scientiae a Graecis praecipue fuerunt excultae, atque idcirco haec non nisi ex ipsorum monumentis petere dignum erat. Maxime vero ut ad fontes harum scientiarum nostri ducerentur discipuli.⁹¹

The goals of Dasypodius' bilingual text were two. Firstly, to facilitate access to the Greek text for those with an inadequate knowledge of the language. Secondly, to lead the students to the sources of such sciences in their original languages.

The chapters provided by Dasypodius bear titles that reveal his primary interests in the topics under scrutiny. Each of his chapters is a mosaic assembled by Dasypodius: he cut and re-arranged sections, or even single sentences, of Proclus' *In Euclidem* to produce a text that corresponds to the topics that he wanted to emphasise in mathematical studies. In Appendix 1, a table gathers the Greek and Latin titles (and pages) in the edition of Dasypodius' *Mathematicum* and their origins in Friedlein's edition.

From this re-arrangement, it emerges with clarity that Dasypodius was interested in mathematical notions to which Proclus did not necessarily devote specific sections. He gathered in single chapters different fragments from different loci on the same notions in order to produce single chapters. Chapters VI to XI are clear examples of this practice; for example, chapter X treats five notions (λήμμα, πτώσις, πόρισμα, ἔντασις, and ἀπαγωγή) discussed by Proclus in his comments on the axioms and propositions. Dasypodius introduces the first two notions as they appear in the commentary,⁹² then for the third and fourth terms he incorporates sections of the later commentary to provide a more detailed and continuous account of the terms.⁹³ Lastly, Dasypodius returns to Proclus' initial enumeration, and proceeds with the fifth term. Therefore, Dasypodius' composite chapters could be deemed as a collection of dispersed Proclean remarks on a range of technical notions. Other chapters from Dasypodius are simply unmodified sections of Proclus' *In Euclidem*, such as chapters III to V. Chapter II also presents a continuous section of *In Euclidem* with a final addition of six pages (p. 22–28) of *Ex*

⁹⁰ A digitised version is accessible at <<https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0011/bsb00117589/images/>>.

⁹¹ DASYPODIUS, *Mathematicum*, *Praefatio*, p. VIIr–VIIv.

⁹² PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 210, l. 25–212, l. 17.

⁹³ PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 301, l. 21–302, l. 21; p. 303, l. 5–304, l. 3.

Heronis libro qui de nominibus geometricis inscribitur, as Dasypodius names it in his Latin translation.

Some parts of the text were modified by Dasypodius and transformed into paraphrases, sometimes being only collages of Proclus' text. This is especially noticeable in the very first paragraph of chapter I, where the text concerning the nature of mathematical entities is paraphrased⁹⁴ and concludes with a paragraph which is an addition of Dasypodius' own words on universal mathematical sciences (καθόλου ἐπιστήμη μαθηματική).⁹⁵ Then the text leaps four folia⁹⁶ to another section on the principles of the ὅλη μαθηματική, whereupon the *incipit* is again altered. Similar alterations can be noticed in chapter VIII.⁹⁷

The Latin translation of the sections which remained intact allows a comparison with other translations of Proclus' text. Dasypodius' version, much like that of Barozzi, combines the marks of a deep understanding of the philosophical and mathematical doctrines contained in Proclus' *In Euclidem* (enabling him to render the text with great attentiveness to the original meaning) with a humanistic fondness for Latin elegance.⁹⁸

As a conclusion, it might be added that Dasypodius' *Mathematicum* is a witness to the way some sections of Proclus' *In Euclidem* had become incorporated into the curriculum at the university of Strasbourg by 1570, just eleven years after Barozzi's lectures at Padua. Dasypodius' rearrangement and selection of topics from Proclus' *In Euclidem* in the form of an introductory manual to mathematics for his teaching reveals that some contents of Proclus' text became the default philosophy of mathematics in (at least some) educational contexts.

II.7. Federico Borromeo

Cardinal Federico Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, is mostly known as the founder of the Ambrosiana library (1609), the second public library in Europe (after the Bodleian). A champion of the Catholic reformation, he is one of the historical characters portrayed by Alessandro Manzoni in his 1827 novel *I Promessi Sposi*. Borromeo was interested in the Neoplatonic tradition and mathematical sciences,

⁹⁴ It begins with the section corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 1, l. 1–7: (ἡ μαθηματικὴ οὐσία τῶν μέσων χώραν, etc.); then it jumps to the sentence f. 1, l. 14–16, only to break it up in the middle and finish the paragraph with a clause from f. 10, l. 20–21.

⁹⁵ Cf. DASYPODIUS, *Mathematicum*, Praefatio, p. 2, l. 21–3, l. 3, *incipit*: « ἔστι δὲ μία [...] », *explicit*: « [...] ἀναφέρονται ».

⁹⁶ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 5, l. 14–9, l. 25.

⁹⁷ Corresponding to PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 210, l. 5–25.

⁹⁸ Although Crapulli claims that Dasypodius used Barozzi's 1560 edition for his own translation, he does not provide further evidence backing his affirmation. A thorough collation of Barrozi's and Dasypodius' respective Latin translations of the same loci of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is still needed to confirm Crapulli's claim. CRAPULLI, *Mathesis universalis*, p. 78.

publishing a certain number of original works on these subjects. Witnesses of Borromeo's mathematical interests are Francesco Patrizi's (1529–1597) dedication of the *De numerorum mysteriis* (finished in 1594, but unpublished) and Borromeo's 1613 correspondence with Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), in which the cardinal reveals a profound familiarity with mathematical and astronomical topics.⁹⁹

One of Borromeo's mathematical works is *De Pythagoricis numeris libri tres* (published in 1627), which was part of a wider project and was followed by his *De cabbalisticis inventis libri duo* (1627). In short, Borromeo adopted what could be called a rationalistic-naturalistic approach against both recent interpretations of Kabbalah, such as those provided by Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) or Pietro Galatino (1460–1530), and to the numerological speculations supposedly following the wisdom of Pythagoras. On Borromeo's account, the traditions of Kabbalah and the Pythagoreans have been corrupted by the arbitrary analogies of alchemists and charlatans. In his works, he tried to dispel such superstitions and, in the case of mathematics, to purify the discourse of his time of what he reckoned as elements of supercherie. In this respect, Borromeo's interpretation seems – in stark contrast with most of his contemporaries – outstandingly modern, in so far as he argues that the main power of mathematics consists in revealing the structures and powers of the natural world.¹⁰⁰ It might be conjecturally affirmed that, perhaps because of that, Borromeo showed great interest on Proclus' commentary and the sections in which Proclus explore the presence of mathematical structure in the natural world.¹⁰¹

Borromeo's use of *In Euclidem* comes about in the draft of an intended work on mathematics which was never completed. Brief fragments are preserved in MS Ambrosiana R 181 (16) inf. 1 (fol. 1r–2v).¹⁰² As we learn from a note on folio 2v, the title of this intended work was to be *De floribus mathematicis*. His other mathematical work, *De Pythagoricis numeris libri tres*, was published four years before his death; presumably the *De floribus mathematicis* was also a mature work which was never finished. The beginning of the extant section reads as follows:

Divisio mathematicarum ex Proclo *In Euclidis Elementa*

Aliae circa intellegibilia, aliae circa sensibilia versantes. Circa intellegibilia duae sunt: geometria et arithmetica, quae et purae ac praecipuae mathematicae

⁹⁹ Cf. FEDERICO BORROMEO, *De Pythagoricis numeris libri tres*, ed. MANUEL BERTOLINI, Bulzoni, Roma 2017 (Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Fonti e Studi 26), p. XIV–XV; cf. also JEAN-PIERRE BRACH, « Pythagorean Number Mysticism in the Renaissance. An Overview », 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, Boston 2021 (Brill's Companions to Classical Reception, 24), p. 457–488.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. BORROMEO, *De Pythagoricis numeris*, p. XI–XXXIV.

¹⁰¹ Cf. for instance PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 22, l. 17–23, l. 21.

¹⁰² The complete transcription of this text is provided in Appendix 3.

appellantur. Nam prior magnitudines secundum se et partes suasque passiones speculatur, altera numeros pariter secundum se, hoc est, in abstracto, ut aiunt, et species et accidentia considerat.

Circa sensibilia sex: astronomia, quae et astrologia, perspectiva, quae et optica, geodesia, musica, quae et canonica, su<p>putatrix, quae et arit<h>metica practica, et mechanica. (MS Ambrosiana R 181 (16) inf.; 1, fol. 1r).

Borromeo's Latin shows the elegancies and turns of Renaissance prose: two *trocaichi spondei* meters finishing a sentence with the forms *videantur/videatur* can be found in the space of two folia: a recognisable Ciceronian affectation (fol. 1r, l. 29 and fol. 1v, l. 10). Nonetheless, some grammar and declension mistakes suggest that the text was not revised.

Much like Muñoz, Borromeo is interested in Proclus' report of the division of mathematical sciences attributed to Geminus, containing a mathematical ontology and a classification of mathematical disciplines following it. The precise fragment corresponds to Proclus' summary of Geminus' views quoted above, in the chapter on Muñoz (fol. 38, l. 4–14).

Borromeo accepts Geminus' distinction between mathematical sciences whose object of study is intelligible entities (νοητά/*intelligibilia*) and mathematical disciplines studying sensible entities (αἰσθητά/*sensibilia*). However, Borromeo omits Proclus' notes on the psychical activity in the intellectual contemplation of mathematics (νοητὰ δῆπου καλοῦντες, ὅσα καθ'ἑαυτὴν ἢ ψυχὴ θεάματα ἀνακινεῖ, χωρίζουσα τῶν ἐνύλων ἑαυτὴν εἰδῶν) as well as Proclus' axiological notes introduced in respect to some disciplines (τὰ νοητὰ πραγματευομένης δύο τὰ πρῶτιστα καὶ κυριώτατα). The list of mathematical sciences is preserved untouched, but the order of the second group is altered.

Borromeo adds explanative notes in respect to intelligible disciplines, namely that geometry deals with magnitude, its parts, and passions, i.e., accidental features (*magnitudines secundum se et partes suasque passiones*); arithmetic considers numbers, their classes (*species*), and accidents (*numeros pariter secundum se [...] et species et accidentia considerat*). These additions of Borromeo seem to have their origin in Proclus' account of the Pythagoreans who considered that mathematics studies either quantity in itself or quantity in relation to other things.¹⁰³

The rest of the manuscript contains a fragmentary translation and re-arrangement of Proclus' account of the six sensible mathematical disciplines.¹⁰⁴ The order of the disciplines here has been altered: whereas Proclus refers to tactics, geodesy, logistics, optics, music, mechanics and astronomy, Borromeo provides the following list: astronomy (called astrology), optics, geodesy, music, logistic, mechanics, and tactics.

¹⁰³ PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 35, l. 22–36, l. 4.

¹⁰⁴ PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 38, l. 13–42, l. 8.

In his selected sections sometimes Borromeo updates the information given by Proclus to the 16th-century state of the arts and adds authoritative sources which are not present in Proclus' *In Euclidem*. For instance, when treating music, Borromeo invokes the authority of Boethius to introduce the three genera of octaves, to wit harmonic, chromatic, and diatonic (*Huius tria sunt apud Boetium harmonicum, chromaticum, et diatonicum*).

When dwelling on logistics, Borromeo introduces, amongst the vulgar arithmetic or operations to practical ends the more recondite algebra (*Huius duae sunt partes: vulgaris et algebra magis recondita*). From this comment it is clear that, notwithstanding its novelty, Borromeo considered algebra as a purely practical, sensible part of mathematics, i.e., a more abstruse, not so evident type of applied arithmetic.

The lengthiest section translated by Borromeo concerns mechanics. Here he follows Proclus on the types of inventions it deals with, proposing warfare machines (*Alia est instrumentorum ef<f>ectrix [...] quae bello gerendo sunt apta tam ad oppugnationem quam ad defensionem*), but adds architectonic machines (*quodque sunt organa architectonica*), and what he calls thaumaturgic machines (*alia ταυματοποιετική* [sic]¹⁰⁵ *Graecis, id est, mirabilium rerum effectrix*), i.e., machines which operates miraculous things, such as pneumatic, self-moving artifacts. In these passages the name of Vitruvius is added to those of Heron and Ctesibius. Finally, Borromeo offers a rather general definition of mechanical arts: every art that possesses the power for moving matter, can be said to be mechanical (*omnis ars quae materiam movendi vim habet, mechanica dici potest*). From the numerous additions in this passage perhaps some enthusiasm from the part of the Cardinal can be inferred concerning the re-flourishing mechanical arts.

In sum: although in the absence of more fragments of Borromeo's incomplete *De floribus mathematicis* it cannot be deduced to which extent Proclus' *In Euclidem* was destined to be the guiding thread through in the project, the analysis of the former paraphrased and modified sections cast further light (much as those of Muñoz') upon the momentum of Proclus' commentary on the 16th- and 17th century mathematical culture, both regarding the classification of mathematical disciplines and mathematical ontology.

II.8. Johannes Kepler

Johannes Kepler translated parts of Proclus' *Commentary* and integrated them in his work *Harmonices mundi libri V* (*De Harmonice*), published in 1619. The name of

¹⁰⁵ Borromeo himself writes τ instead of θ. He was probably led to error because of his way of pronouncing the same Greek-originated terms in vernacular Italian. This sort of misspelling due to the confusion between Latin and Italian are often found in the manuscript and provide further evidence that it was not revised.

Proclus is explicitly mentioned thirty-six times in the five books of *De harmonice*.¹⁰⁶ By comparison, Plato is mentioned fifteen times, and Plotinus only once.¹⁰⁷ In all likelihood, Kepler became familiar with Proclus' *In Euclidem* by 1599 (the year he began the composition of *De harmonice*) through Grynaeus' 1533 edition.¹⁰⁸ Leaving aside the ubiquitous mentions in *De harmonice* and the later work *Pro suo opere harmonices mundi apologia* (1622), Proclus' commentary is referred four times in Kepler's writings. *In Euclidem* is referred as early as 1599, in a letter to Johann Georg Herwart (1553–1622).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ For an analysis of Kepler astronomical theories and their philosophical aspects cf. RHONDA MARTENS, *Kepler's Philosophy and the New Astronomy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 2000; JUDITH V. FIELD, *Kepler's Geometrical Cosmology*, Athlone, London 1988 (Bloomsbury Academic Collections: Philosophy). For a developmental account of Kepler's epistemology from his early *De quantitibus libelli* (c. 1596–1611) to *Harmonices mundi* cf. JORGE M. ESCOBAR, « Kepler's Theory of the Soul: A Study on Epistemology », *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, 39/1 (2008), p. 15–41. For a biography of Kepler focused on his notion of harmony, cf. WOLFGANG OSTERHAGE, *Johannes Kepler: The Order of Things*, Springer, Dordrecht 2020 (Springer Biographies).

¹⁰⁷ Regarding Kepler's reception of Proclus' theory of imagination and the history of mathematics, cf. GUY CLAESSENS, « Imagination as Self-knowledge: Kepler on Proclus' Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements », *Early Science and Medicine*, 16/3 (2011), p. 179–199 and ID., « Reception and the Textuality of History: Ramus and Kepler on Proclus' History and Philosophy of Geometry », in ANDRÉ LARDINOIS, SOPHIE LEVIE, HANS HOEKEN, CHRISTOPH LÜTHY (eds.), *Texts, Transmissions, Receptions: Modern Approaches to Narratives*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2015 (Radbound Studies in Humanities, 1), p. 281–294.

¹⁰⁸ JOHANNES KEPLER, *De harmonice mundi libri V*, Ioannes Plancus, Linz 1619, I, p.2: « Proclus Diadochus libris quattuor in primum Euclidis editis, philosophum theoricum in mathematico subiecto ex professo egit [...] ».

¹⁰⁹ KEPLER, *Opera omnia*, ed. CHRISTIAN FRISCH, vol. 2, Heyder & Zimmer, Frankfurt and Erlangen 1859, p. 20–21: « Ingrediamur autem rem philosophice. Proclus super Eucl. I. pulcherrimam sententiam ponit, puto ex Platonis philosophia, τὰ μαθηματικά ἀπογεννᾶν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐξαρκούσι τοὺς μέσους διακόσμους τῶν ὄντων καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποικιλίαν. Nam etsi non crescit ex quinquangulo flos, ut ex radice, tamen concurrit id ad causam formalem, quam spectavit creator ». The second mention of Proclus' *In Euclidem* is to be found in Kepler's 1604 work *Astronomiae pars optica*, c. X: KEPLER, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, p. 337: « Equidem sic censeo, nisi alia habuissemus argumenta, quibus huius Copernicanae sententiae probatur antiquitas, vel solum hunc locum sufficere potuisse, ad Copernicum Pythagorae ex solido vindicandum. Primum constat cum per se, tum ex Proclo interprete, totam Euclidis geometriam esse Pythagoricam et directam in quinque schematum regularium, quae mundana dixere, cognitionem: Euclides igitur Pythagoraeus fuit [...] ». The third one is in Kepler's *Dissertatio cum nuncio sidereo*, written as a commentary on the Galilean work in 1610; see KEPLER, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, p. 489: « Itaque meditatus mecum sum, qui possit aliqua fieri accessio ad planetarum numerum salvo meo Mysterio Cosmographico, quod ante annos 13 in lucem dedi, in quo 5 illae Euclidis figurae, quas Proclus ex Pythagora et Platone cosmicas appellat, planetas circa Solem non plures sex admittunt ». The last references to *In Euclidem* is in a lately added footnote to chapter XII of his *Mysterium cosmographicum* in which Kepler refers to book IV of *De harmonice*; see note g, ch. XXII, in Johannes KEPLER, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, p. 184: « Itaque spero te iocum meum lib. IV. (cap. 7.) Harm. de meis imaginibus ex Procli paradigmatis delapsis non iniqua censura flagellaturum ».

Several lines from the first prologue of Proclus' *In Euclidem* are quoted directly in Greek at the beginning of *De harmonice*, book I (*De figurarum regularium, quae proportionibus harmonicis pariunt, ortu, classibus, ordine, et differentiis, causa scientiae et demonstrationis*).¹¹⁰

This invocation of Proclus is highly significant. Kepler takes from Proclus the idea that it is possible to analyse through mathematics the hidden harmony binding both the largest and the smallest parts of the world.¹¹¹ Kepler refers again part of this locus in a Latin translation as the heading quote of book IV. In this occasion, some lines quoted in Greek before are omitted, and new loci from Proclus' *In Euclidem* added. In the following table, I provide in italics the part coincident with the first quotation:

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i> , p. 22, l. 17–23, l. 21 with two omissions: p. 22, l. 26–28 and p. 23, l. 16–19.	Kepler, <i>De harmonice</i> , IV, p. 105.
	Proclus diadochus Liber I commentariorum in I Elementorum Euclidis De mathematices usu in physiologia et politica, qua potissimum partem illius harmonicam de radiationibus concernunt.

¹¹⁰ PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 22, l. 17–26: « Πρὸς δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν τὰ μέγιστα συμβάλλεται, τὴν τε τῶν λόγων εὐταξίαν ἀναφαίνουσα, καθ' ἣν δεδημιούργηται τὸ πᾶν, καὶ ἀναλογίαν τὴν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συνδήσασαν, [...] καὶ τὰ ἀπλὰ καὶ πρωτουργὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ πάντῃ τῇ συμμετρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἰσότητι συνεχόμενα δείξασα, δι' ὧν καὶ ὁ πᾶς οὐρανὸς ἐτελεώθη, σχήματα τὰ προσήκοντα κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ μερίδας ὑποδεξάμενος [...] ». (In my own translation: « [Mathematics] immensely contributes to physical speculation, revealing the order of the reasons according to which the entirety of things (τὸ πᾶν) was constructed, and [reveals] the proportion that holds together everything in the cosmos [...], and shows the simple and first-made elements arranged together in altogether symmetry and equality, through which [symmetry and equality] the entire heaven was perfected and completed (ἐτελεώθη), by assuming the fitting figures to its region [...] »).

¹¹¹ The same fragment equally serves as a token of Alexandre Koyré's thesis regarding the so-called scientific revolution, namely that the origins and philosophical justification of the use of mathematics in doing natural philosophy during the 16th and 17th centuries is to be found in the revival of Platonic sources. Cf. ALEXANDRE KOYRÉ, « Galileo and Plato », *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 5 (1943), p. 400–428; and ID., *Metaphysics and Measurement: Essays in Scientific Revolution*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968. For an analysis of this historiographical controversy and arguments in favour of Koyré's thesis (on the Platonism of Galilei), cf. MARIO DE CARO, « Galileo's Mathematical Platonism », in JOHANNES CZERMAK (ed.), *Philosophy of Mathematics*, Holder – Pichler – Tempsky, Wien 1993, p. 1–9; DE CARO, « Sul platonismo di Galileo », *Rivista di filosofia*, 82 (1996) p. 25–40; ID., « Galileo e il platonismo fisico-matematico », in RICCARDO CHIARADONNA (ed.), *Il platonismo e le scienze*, Carocci, Roma 2012 (Colloquium philosophicum, Nuova serie, 3), p. 119–138.

Πρὸς δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν [ἢ μαθηματικὴ] τὰ μέγιστα συμβάλλεται, τὴν τε τῶν λόγων εὐταξίαν ἀναφαίνουσα, καθ' ἣν δεδημιούργηται τὸ πᾶν, καὶ ἀναλογίαν τὴν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συνδήσασαν, ὥς που φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, καὶ φίλα τὰ μαχόμενα καὶ προσήγορα καὶ συμπαθῆ τὰ διεστῶτα ποιήσασαν [...] δι' ὧν τὰς τε εὐγονίας ἐκάστων καὶ τὰς ἐναντίας φορὰς συλλογίζεσθαι δυνατόν. Ταῦτα γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος ἐνδεικνύμενος πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκφαίνει τὴν περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν ὅλων θεωρίαν καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν στοιχείων ἀριθμοῖς καὶ σχήμασι κατακοσμεῖ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς ποιήσεις εἰς αὐτὰ ἀναφέρει, τῶν τε γωνιῶν τὰς ὀξύτητας καὶ τὰς ἀμβλύτητας καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν τὰς λειότητας ἢ τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις, τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν στοιχείων αἰτιώμενος τῆς παντοίας μεταβολῆς. Πρὸς γε μὴν τὴν πολιτικὴν καλουμένην φιλοσοφίαν πῶς οὐχὶ φήσομεν αὐτὴν πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θαυμαστὰ συντελεῖν, τοὺς τε καιροὺς τῶν πράξεων ἀναμετρούμενην καὶ τὰς ποικίλας περιόδους τοῦ παντός καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀριθμούς [...] τοὺς τε ἐναρμονίου ζωῆς χορηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς τῆς ἀναρμοστίας παρεκτικούς καὶ ὅλως φορᾶς καὶ ἀφορίας οἰστικούς.	Ad contemplationem naturae omnia suppeditat [mathematica], declarans rationum ordinem pulcherrimum, secundum quem fabricatum est hoc universum, proportionumque analogiam, quae omnia mundana inter se connectit, ut loquitur alicubi Timaeus, quaeque amicitiam inter pugnancia, responsum et mutuam affectionem inter longissime dissita conciliat [...]. Inde et angulationes commodas possibile est ratiocinando venari. Rursum, hoc opinor, et Timaeus significare voluit dum passim per voces mathematicas tradit contemplationem de natura totius universi ortumque elementorum numeris et figuris depingit, facultatesque et affectiones illorum etiamque effectus his (<i>figuris</i>) acceptos fert, angulorum acuta vel obtusa, laterumque aspera vel lenia, et cet., causas constituens omnivariarum mutationum. Ad politicam vero dictam doctrinam qui negari possit illam plurima et mirabilia conferre, dum opportunitates rerum gerendarum dimetitur, variosque circuitus totius universi etc., numerosque harmonicos, vitae moderatores, aut incongruentiae authores, et in universum impetus aut remissionis opitulatores etc.

Here it is again asserted that mathematics provides insight on the proportions binding the entire cosmos by adding Proclus' mention of Plato adoption of mathematical means in explaining the cosmic structures in the *Timaeus*. In the second part, Kepler relays Proclus' rationale of the usefulness of mathematics in political affairs, pointing principally towards astrology and its capacity for revealing adventitious or ominous times for political action. Kepler would introduce a discussion on similar topics in a *digressio politica* at the end of book III,

commenting on the opinions of Jean Bodin (1530–1596).¹¹² Kepler would remark that principles of proportionality and harmony can be adopted even in imparting justice and maintaining friendships.

Kepler provides another composed Latin translation from Proclus' *In Euclidem* as the front-door of book III. It reads as follows:

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i> , p. 22, l. 1–16 and p. 24, l. 4–14	Kepler, <i>De harmonice</i> , III, p. 1
	Proclus diadochus Liber I commentariorum in I Elementorum Euclidis Cum philosophia multas sit complexa facultates, multas et mathematica, de una quidem huius parte harmonice dicta, deque numeris, harmoniarum principiis creditis, haec scribit:
[...] [ἡ μαθηματικὴ] καὶ ὅτι θεολογία μὲν προευτρεπίζει τὰς νοερὰς ἐπιβολάς. Ὅσα γὰρ τοῖς ἀτελέσι δυσθήρατα καὶ ἀνάντη φαίνεται τῆς περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀληθείας εἰς διάγνωσιν, ταῦτα οἱ τῆς μαθηματικῆς λόγοι πιστὰ καὶ καταφανῆ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα διὰ τῶν εἰκόνων ἀποφαίνουσι. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπερουσίων ιδιοτήτων ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς τὰς ἐμφάσεις δεικνύουσι, τῶν δὲ νοερῶν σχημάτων ἐν τοῖς διανοητοῖς τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκφαίνουσιν. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ δόγματα περὶ θεῶν διὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν εἰδῶν ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκει καὶ ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορείων φιλοσοφία παραπετάσμασι τούτοις χρωμένη τὴν μυσταγωγίαν κατακρύπτει τῶν θείων δογμάτων. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς σύμπας λόγος καὶ ὁ Φιλόλαος ἐν ταῖς Βάκχαις καὶ ὅλος ὁ τρόπος τῆς Πυθαγόρου περὶ θεῶν ὑφηγήσεως. [...]	Ad theologiam praeeparat [mathematica] mentis conatus. Nam ea quae non initiatis circa veritatem rerum divinarum videntur esse captu difficilia, et sublimiora, illa mathematicis rationibus demonstrantur esse fida, manifesta et sine controversia per quasdam imagines. Nam proprietatum superessentialium evidentiam ostendunt in numeris, et quae sint intellectualium formarum potestates in ratiocinativis clarum efficiunt. Itaque Plato multa mirabilia de natura deorum nos per species rerum mathematicarum edocet, et Pythagorica philosophia ceu velis obnubit institutionem de rebus divinis. Huius enim generis est universus ille sermo sacer, et Philolaus in Bacchis, et tota Pythagorae ratio docendi de Deo. [...]

¹¹² KEPLER, *De harmonice mundi libri V*, p. 86 and forth.

Πρὸς δ' αὖ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἡμᾶς τελειοῖ, τάξιν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον ζωὴν ἐντιθεῖσα τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ σχήματα πρέποντα τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ μέλη καὶ κινήσεις παραδίδωσιν, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος τελειοῦσθαι βούλεται τοὺς τῆς ἠθικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκ νέων μεταληψομένους, τῶν τε ἀρετῶν προτείνει τοὺς λόγους, ἄλλως μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, ἄλλως δὲ ἐν τοῖς σχήμασιν, ἄλλως δὲ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μουσικὴν συμφῶνις καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας παραδείκνυσι, δι' ὧν ἀποτελούμεθα μέτριοι τὸ ἥθος καὶ κεκοσμημένοι.	Rursum ad moralem philosophiam nos perficit, implantans nostris moribus ordinem, decentiam, et conversationem harmonicam; tradit etiam quae figurae, quae cantilena, qui motus virtutem deceant; qua doctrina etiam Athenaeus excoli et perfici vult eos qui virtutibus moralibus ab adolescentia daturi sunt operam. Quin etiam proportionum numerorum, virtutibus familiares, explanat, alias quidem arithmeticas, alias geometricas, alias harmonicas: ostendit et vitiorum excessus defectusque, quibus omnibus dirigimur ad mediocritatem morum et decentiam.

Kepler quotes the sections immediately preceding and following the fragment on the contributions of mathematics to physics, given as the opening of book I. In this case, Kepler selected Proclus' elaborations on the contributions of mathematical sciences both to the study of theology and to ethics. The Latin translation is faithful, although Kepler tries here to conceal some of the notes most imbibed of pagan expression: the fragment referring to « the revelation of the truth of the gods » (φαίνεται τῆς περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀληθείας) is translated as « the truth of divine things » (*circa veritatem rerum divinarum*). The same can be observed below, when Pythagoras' « method of teaching on the gods » is translated as « method of teaching about God » (ὁ τρόπος τῆς Πυθαγόρου περὶ θεῶν / *et tota Pythagorae ratio docendi de Deo*). Nevertheless, Kepler preserves intact the main themes of both sections, namely that mathematics is a pathway to the knowledge of the properties of the supra-essential divine realm (*Nam proprietatum superessentialium evidentiam ostendunt*), and that studying the ordered structure of mathematics improves the character itself and contributes to gain ethical insight (*implantans nostris moribus ordinem, decentiam, et conversationem harmonicam [...]; [...] ostendit et vitiorum excessus defectusque quibus omnibus dirigimur ad mediocritatem morum et decentiam*).

The lengthiest section of *In Euclidem* translated by Kepler corresponds to the fragment of the first prologue where Proclus discusses whether mathematical entities are derived via abstraction from senses (in an Aristotelian manner), from the soul, or from a common participation of intellectual powers.¹¹³ After ruling out the opposing views, Proclus' conclusion is that mathematical entities proceed both from the mind and the soul, through the soul's unfolding of the superior noetic

¹¹³ PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 12, l. 2–18, l. 4. See the transcription in Appendix 2.

forms bestowed upon her.¹¹⁴ Kepler seems to be interested in Proclus' conclusion that mathematics (pure or archetypal harmony, in Kepler's understanding) is not learned through abstraction from sense experience, but it is an innate structure of the human soul.

Kepler's section opens with a short introduction in which he admits following Proclus' teaching that mathematical species (and most emphatically pure harmonical proportions) do not proceed from sensible things:

Huius igitur Procli philosophiam de speciebus rerum mathematicarum, quas ego terminos profiteor proportionis harmonicae purae et secretae a sensilibus, operae pretium est ex eius libro *In Euclidem* huc transcribere de verbo ad verbum.¹¹⁵

Kepler did not use the previous translations, and he even admits choosing to produce a *de verbo* translation of his own. The features of Kepler's Latin translation are made evident when one compares it with the Greek text and with Barozzi's:

Proclus, <i>In primum Euclidis</i> , p. 12, l. 9–19	Barozzi, <i>Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis elementorum</i> , p. 6	Kepler, <i>De harmonice</i> , p. 114
Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὰ μαθηματικὰ εἶδη λέγομεν ὑποστῆναι, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ὕλῃ τριγώνων ἢ κύκλων τὸ εἶδος τὸ κυκλικὸν ἢ τὸ τριγωνικὸν ὕστερογενῶς ἐν ἑαυτῇ μορφούσης, πόθεν ἢ ἀκρίβεια καὶ τὸ ἀνέλεγκτον ὑπάρχει τοῖς λόγοις; ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἢ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀπὸ γε τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀδύνατον, πολλῶ γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ἀκριβείας τούτοις μετῆν. Ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄρα, τοῖς μὲν ἀτελέσι τὸ τέλειον,	Primum itaque si a sensilibus mathematicas formas oriri subsistereque dicimus, anima quidem nostra a triangulis vel circulis in materia insidentibus, circularem vel triangularem formam postremo in se ipsa formante, unde accurata illa vis et certitudo illa, quae coargui convincique minime potest, rationibus inest mathematicis? Haec enim aut a sensilibus aut ab anima eruantur necesse est. Atqui a sensilibus haec educi est impossibile. Multo enim maior	Primum itaque, si affirmamus species mathematicas a sensilibus constitui, dum anima a trigonis aut circulis materialibus speciem circularem aut trigonicam secundaria quadam genitura in se ipsa format, quaero unde veniat rationibus (seu definitionibus) illa tanta certitudo tantaque accuratio? Erit enim aut a sensilibus aut ab ipsa anima. At impossibile a sensilibus, multo namque maior subtilitas et exactio inest in rationibus istis. Ab anima igitur, quae

¹¹⁴ « λέιπέται δὴ οὖν καὶ παρ'αὐτῆς καὶ παρὰ νοῦ ταῦτα παράγειν καὶ εἶναι πλήρωμα τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτὴν [...] », cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 16, 4–6. Friedlein's version has the wrong form αὐτῆς; the spirit should be corrected as αὐτῆς.

¹¹⁵ KEPLER, *De harmonice*, p. 114.

τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἀκριβέσι τὸ ἀκριβὲς προστιθείσης.	certitudo illis concedenda esset. Ab ipsa igitur anima educuntur, quae imperfectis quidem perfectionem, iis autem, quae certa non sunt, quod certum sit, adhibet.	imperfectis perfectionem, minime accuratis subtilitatem illam accuratam conciliet.

Kepler follows Proclus' Greek in a more austere Latin than the stylish version of Barozzi. He preserves some of the original Greek terms (*trigonis, trigonicam*) and, unlike Barozzi, renders some of the Greek participles in indicative verbal forms (*in se ipsa format*). In this particular section, he renders τὰ εἶδη as *species* rather than *formae*. Importantly, the translation of some of the terms seems rather free; for instance, in the passage cited above, Kepler renders τὸ ἀνέλεγκτον as *accuratio*, whereas Barozzi preserves the original sense of “irrefutable” through the lengthy paraphrase *certitudo illa, quae coargui convincique minime potest*. Moreover, Kepler is inconsistent in the translation of the term ἀκρίβεια, rendering it as *certitudo* the first time, and *subtilitas et exactio* the second. Thus, although Kepler's structure of the text is closer to the original than Barozzi's (and other translators, for that matter), his choice of words is not very accurate or consistent. This sheds some light on Kepler's own understanding of Proclus and indicated the theoretical adoption made of him as the philosophical core of *De harmonice*: one may affirm that Kepler's translation is made in such a way that Proclus' words better fit his own theoretical ends (such as distinguishing between two kinds of harmony, namely sensible and archetypical, see below).

Kepler's text also contains additional notes which are either explanatory insertions between brackets or marginal titles and comments.

In his bracketed comments, Kepler adds terms meant to clarify Proclus' text. For instance, when Proclus discusses non-dimensional, one-dimensional, two-dimensional entities and other mathematical properties of natural bodies,¹¹⁶ several bracketed comments provide the geometrical equivalent of the elements discussed; one reads even a self-reference to his own book I (where he provided an axiomatic exposition of the constant proportions of regular solids):

Dic enim, ubi inter sensilia inveniatur natura impartibilis [puncti] et latitudine carens [ut linea], et profunditates [ut superficies], aut ubi aequalitas linearum ex centro, aut ubi proportionales semper constantes laterum [materia mei libri I], aut ubi angulorum rectitudines?

¹¹⁶ Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 12, l. 19–23.

Kepler's comments are not always doctrinally neutral. For instance, when Proclus writes about the κοινὸν λόγον¹¹⁷ and τοῖς λόγοις¹¹⁸ in mathematics, Kepler translates them both as *rationes* and adds the parenthetical secondary meaning of *definitiones*:

Concedendumne sit illa a sensilibus subsistentiam accipere, sive per abstractionem, ut mos est loquendi, sive per collectionem eorum, quae sunt per partes dispersa in unam communem rationem [seu definitionem], an etiam ante haec, ipsis danda subsistentia, ut Plato usurpat, et universitatis rerum progressio demonstrat? [...] quaero unde veniat rationibus [seu definitionibus] illa tanta certitudo tantaque accuratio?

Although in Greek the term λόγος could stand for both 'reason' and 'definition' (among other things), it is nonetheless questionable whether in these particular sections these terms could be used as synonyms.

Some of Kepler's bracketed additions are related to the Christian doctrines of creation and soul. When translating the section where Proclus elaborates on how the mathematical paradigms contained in the soul generate in their unfolding all possible mathematics,¹¹⁹ Kepler inserted the following comments:

Atqui si illa continens in se ut prima exempla seu paradigmata secundum essentiam ipsa subsistere facit, ut ita sint generationes [Christianus subaudit: creatio rerum sensilium] nihil aliud quam propagationes specierum, quae in illa prius inerant [rationes creandorum corporum mathematicas Deo coaeternas fuisse, Deumque animam et mentem esse superexcellenter, animas vero humanas esse Dei creatoris imagines, etiam in essentialibus suo modo, id sciunt Christiani] tunc Platoni consentiemus haec dicentes, et vera essentia mathematicum nobis inventa erit. Sin autem anima, cum non haberet nec prius alicunde accepisset rationes mathematicas [si, cum non fuissent ipsi concreatae], nihilominus admirabilem hunc ornatum immateriatum textit, pulcherrimam hanc speculationem enititur; quomodo ergo discernit sic genita, sintne subsistentia et constantia [μόνιμα, non γόνιμα lego] an in ventos evanida, et spectra potius quam vera?

To the term γεννήσις mentioned by Proclus to refer to the generative projections of the mathematical reasons contained in the soul,¹²⁰ Kepler adds a theological meaning, adding that *Christianus subaudit: creatio rerum sensilium*. In this way, Proclus' doctrine of the generation of mathematics is understood by Kepler not only as an epistemological and metaphysical theory solely concerning

¹¹⁷ Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 12, l. 7.

¹¹⁸ Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 12, l. 14.

¹¹⁹ Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 13, l. 8–18.

¹²⁰ Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 13, l. 10.

mathematical knowledge and objects, but as a replication of the process through which God generated the world.

Then, when translating τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ προὔπαρχόντων εἰδῶν (l. 10–11), Kepler interprets again Proclus' words in a Christian manner and refers to (1) the co-eternal mathematical reasons through which God created bodies (*rationes creandorum corporum mathematicas Deo coaeternas fuisse*); (2) God, the mind, and the soul belonging to a nobler, superior order of things (*Deumque animam et mentem esse superexcellenter*); and (3) the human souls as images of God (*esse Dei creatoris imagines*), reinforcing thereby the claim that human souls contain mathematical reasons which are able to perceive and understand. Later, Kepler reinforces the view that human souls were created containing mathematics within them through an unreal subjunctive (*si cum non fuissent ipsi concreatae*). Lastly, Kepler declares in this section that he translates μόνιμα, non γόνιμα, understanding the term as 'constant' rather than 'fertile'.

In an important fragment, Proclus hypothesises the manner in which mathematical essences come from the soul¹²¹ (ἀνάγκη δὴπου τὴν ψυχὴν [...] / *necesse utique fuerit ut anima [...]*). Kepler claims that Proclus speaks here of the *anima mundi*, which is a created god according to Plato and, according to Christians, the mind which is the creator God himself, of whom every created soul is an image:

Anima hic intellegit mundi praecipue deum creatum Platonis; mentem vero, quam Christiani dicerent ipsum Deum creatorem, cuius imagines sunt omnes animae creatae corporibus vivificandis praefectae.

Kepler comments on the passage where Proclus establishes that the human soul is not a blank slate,¹²² but rather contains innate knowledge. To Proclus' claims he adds a further theological point: that not only are souls the images of the creator (and, thus, contain innate knowledge), but that souls are constantly sustained by the irradiation of the divine countenance:

Christianis et sunt animae exemplaria creatoris et sustentantur etiamnum ab illo per quandam velut irradiationem vultus divini in ipsas.

Finally, when translating the section in which Proclus relates the theory of innate mathematics to the account of the creation of the soul through mathematical and harmonic reasons according to the *Timaeus*,¹²³ Kepler adds:

¹²¹ Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 15, l. 19.

¹²² Cf. PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 16, l. 4.

¹²³ Beginning in PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 16, l. 16.

In Timaeo, qui est citra omnem dubitationis aleam commentarius quidam in primum caput Geneseos seu Libri I Mosis transformans illum in philosophiam Pythagoricam, ut facile patet attente legenti et verba ipsa Mosis identidem conferenti.

Kepler reveals his belief that Plato's *Timaeus* was in fact a Pythagorean commentary on the book of Genesis, and, moreover, that this can be easily attested by comparison of both texts. Kepler finds the Scriptural authority not only in Plato's own writings, but also in Proclus' *In Euclidem*.

Immediately after the translation, Kepler indicates again the main points taken from Proclus:¹²⁴

Quod, cum et Plato intellexisset, anima ex omnibus constituit, divisitque secundum numeros, revinxitque analogiis et rationibus harmonicis, inque ipsa contulit principia prima figurarum effectricia, puta rectum et curvum, movetque circulos qui sunt in ipsa intellectualiter. Omnia ergo mathematica primum sunt in anima [...].¹²⁵

The two crucial ideas argue (1) that the soul is constituted by pre-empirical mathematics, and (2) that harmonical reasons among numbers and geometrical figures (including, importantly for Kepler, the Platonic solids) are contained in this pre-empirical mathematics (*et rationibus harmonicis, inque ipsa contulit principia prima figurarum effectricia*).

Kepler would use these Proclean doctrines for his own distinction between *harmonia sensibilis* (sensible harmony) and *harmonia archetypalis* (archetypical harmony).¹²⁶ Harmony, i.e., numerical proportion, is two-fold: it is to be understood as an archetype in the soul, and as the regular patterns of things in the material world.¹²⁷ In the case of the natural world, harmony is represented by the shapes and patterns of bodies, and their movements. In the case of the soul, it corresponds to the abstract, non-particularised mathematical patterns and proportions which are then recognised in the particulars of the natural world (e.g., when analysing music or the movements in the heavens). Kepler claims that innate mathematical knowledge is prior to any recognition of the regularities and proportions in the created world. He declares that such innate knowledge would

¹²⁴ Kepler's commentary on Proclus' text spans two pages. Cf. KEPLER, *De harmonice*, IV, p. 118–120.

¹²⁵ Cf. KEPLER, *De harmonice*, IV, p. 117. Cf. Proclus, *In primum Euclidis*, p. 16, l. 16–23.

¹²⁶ Cf. KEPLER, *De harmonice*, IV, p. 120.

¹²⁷ KEPLER, *De harmonice*, IV, p. 120: « Commune enim habent harmoniae sensiles cum archetypalibus, quod terminos requirant, eorumque comparisonem, ipsius animae energiam. In hac comparatione utrarumque essentia consistit ».

be a sort of instinct (*instinctus*)¹²⁸ through which the structures of the *harmoniae archetypales* are recognised via comparison of sensible patterns. Moreover, for Kepler mathematical proportions are not parts, among others, of the soul. On the contrary, he states, interpreting Proclus' text, that the soul is the unfolded whole of all archetypal mathematical proportions.¹²⁹ The origin of these innate mathematical (geometrical) is, according to Kepler, the primitive forms of the circle and the arc, from which the rest of geometry is generated.¹³⁰ Kepler's interpretation of Proclus' *In Euclidem* introduce a collection of philosophical topics that will become seminal in early modern philosophy, such as the reflection on the role of mathematics in the science of natural world, but also gnoseological innatism, and mathematical apriorism.¹³¹

III. Concluding remarks

The presence of Proclus' *In Euclidem* can be attested amongst northern Italian scholars at least since 1439, when Bessarion moved in that region and brought his library with him. In 1533 Proclus commentary was added as a sort of 'companion book' to Grynaeus' *editio princeps* of Euclid's *Elementa*, making the work widely accessible. As we saw, several partial or complete Latin translations of the text were produced in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Partial Latin translations, such as those provided by Valla, Dasypodius, or Kepler, reveal that the contents of Proclus' *In Euclidem* were accommodated to different purposes. Whereas Valla tacitly inserted Proclus' two prologues, Dasypodius re-arranged several parts of the commentary to produce a handbook of concepts destined to students. Muñoz and Borromeo considered it a source to be reckoned with in dealing with the classification of mathematical disciplines, whereas Kepler adopted (and transformed) the innatist mathematical epistemology of Proclus to defend the inborn nature of harmony (*harmonia archetypalis*). Interestingly, he also drew theological parallels between the generation of the mathematical entities by the human soul and the divine production of the cosmos.

One has to observe that doctrines of Proclus' *In Euclidem* became part of a widespread mathematical culture in the Latin West, although many of the

¹²⁸ KEPLER, *De harmonice*, IV, p. 129: « Ad hoc respondit supra Proclus, verbis in sua philosophia tritis, nos hodie, ni fallor, vocabulo 'instinctus' rectissime utemur'. And in the margin: 'Anima habet scientiam mathematicam ex instinctu ».

¹²⁹ KEPLER, *De harmonice*, IV, p. 120: « Ita simplex tantum comparatio, quam instituit anima, suarum ipsius veluti partium inter se absolvit archetypicae harmoniae essentiam omnem ».

¹³⁰ Cf. CLAESSENS, « Imagination as Self-knowledge: Kepler on Proclus' Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements ».

¹³¹ I shall treat Kepler's and Proclus' philosophies of mathematics in a forthcoming publication.

contents were not always openly declared to belong to the Diadochus' reflections. Indeed, Proclus' commentary was used as a general introduction to mathematical disciplines and its history, but also as an arsenal of mathematical and logical concepts, or as an authoritative source for a Neoplatonic philosophy of mathematics, as we have seen in Zamberti's prologue to his edition of Euclid's *Elementa*.

Two complete, yet unpublished, translations of Proclus' *In Euclidem* were produced before the better-known version of Barozzi from 1560: one by Zamberti (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS clm 6) and the other by Gabia (MS Milan Ambrosiana MS P. 51 sup). A comparison of the selected passage has concluded that later translations have not been influenced by earlier ones. Zamberti's translation does not show signs of revisions, whereas Gabia's manuscript was emendated by a second, anonymous hand. This corrector attempted to re-phrase many of the technical and scholastic Latin expressions of Gabia into Ciceronian prose.

For his part, Barozzi had access to five Greek manuscripts; hence, he could compare the versions and eventually provide a more accurate Latin translation. Although Barozzi's Latin translation can easily be considered the most accurate and elegant of the three, his choices, as I have shown, are biased by his polemic against Piccolomini on the so-called *quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum*. As pointed regarding this questions, Proclus' commentary was destined to become one of the main authorities in the intellectual debate following Barozzi's answer to Piccolomini, extended to all Europe through the influence of the Jesuit order, and even reaching the Cantabrigian Isaac Barrow.

It should be emphasised that some of the topics preferred by these Latin authors using Proclus' *In Euclidem* had strong echoes in early modern philosophy and the so-called scientific revolution, such as: (1) the legitimacy of mathematical means in obtaining knowledge of the natural world; (2) mathematical innatism or apriorism against empiricism; (3) the intermediary status of mathematical entities between the natural world and the divine; (4) the idea of a *mathesis universalis* or general mathematics; (5) the classification of mathematical disciplines. From these it can be concluded that Proclus' *In Euclidem* played a far greater role than scholars have previously assumed in the formation of early modern philosophical and scientific culture in the Latin West.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasised yet again that the original source was not always acknowledged or clearly stated by those making use of the doctrines contained in Proclus' commentary. Some of them (Valla, Muñoz, or Dasypodius) did not even quote Proclus' name, showing thereby that many of the contents of *In Euclidem* had (by the 16th century) tacitly become a source of insight for the general mathematical and philosophical culture.

Appendix 1

TABLE 1					
Valla's <i>De expetendis</i>	Proclus' <i>In Euclidem</i> (Friedlein ed.)	Proclus' <i>incipit</i>	Valla's <i>incipit</i>	Proclus' <i>explicit</i>	Valla's <i>explicit</i>
<i>De tota mathematica</i> , Liber I, cap. XIV	p. 1, l. 1-7, l. 12	Τὴν μαθηματικὴν οὐσίαν οὔτε τῶν πρωτίστων ἐν τοῖς οὖσι γενῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐσχάτων εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν διηρημένων, ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέσῃν χώραν ἀπειληφέναι τῶν τε ἀμερίστων καὶ ἀπλῶν καὶ ἀσυνθέτων καὶ ἀδιαίρετων ὑποστάσεων καὶ τῶν μεριστῶν καὶ ἐν συνθέσει παντοίαις	Mathematicum genus universum, neque primis eorum quae sint generibus, neque postremis prorsus attribuendum, sed medium quondam locum obtinere necesse est inter ea quae substantiarum indivisibilium simpliciumque sunt, quae nec componuntur nec distribuuntur, et ea quae composita inveniuntur, quae divisibilia, variaeque multiplicique sectioni sunt obnoxia.	[...] λόγους καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰς μορφάς.	[...] rationes, quoad figuras, quoad formas.

		καὶ ποικίλαις διαίρεσε- σιν ἀφωρι- μένων.			
<i>De Mathematicis collectim assumptis cognitionibus</i> , Liber I, cap. XV	p. 7, l. 13–10, l. 14	Ἄλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαὶ καὶ τῶν μαθημά- των αὐτὰι προεστή- κασιν, αἱ καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων [...]	Cum itaque eadem sint mathematica- rum quae rerum omnium principia [...]	[...] πάσαις ταῖς μαθημα- τικαῖς ἐπιστή- μαις χορηγοῦ- σα τὰς ἀρχάς.	[...] cunctis Mathe- maticis scientiis suggeret principia [...].
<i>De vi mathematicas iudicandi</i> , Liber I, cap. XVI	p. 10, l. 16–12, l. 2	Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, τί ποτ’ ἂν εἴη τὸ κριτήριον τῶν μαθημά- των θεωρή- σωμεν [...]	Nunc quae sit mathematicas iudicandi vis, quam vocant graeci criterium, inspiciamus [...]	[...] τὴν διάνοιαν δόξης μὲν ὑπεριδρύ- σασαν ἑαυτήν, τῆς δὲ νοήσεως ἀπολει- πομένην.	[...] quae opinionem quidem superat, ab intellectu autem superatur.
<i>De genere specieque mathematicarum</i> , Liber I, cap. XVII	p. 12, l. 2–18, l. 4 Omissions: p. 12, l. 8–9; p. 18, l. 23–26.	Ἔπε- ται δὲ που κατιδεῖν ἡμᾶς, τίνα τὴν οὐσίαν προσέκει λέγειν τῶν μαθημα- τικῶν [...]	At iam mathematica- rum considerandam referendamque et formarum et generum arbitramur essentiam [...]	Πάντα γὰρ προεῖλη- φεν ἀρχοει- δῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄπειρον ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν προει- λημμέ- νων ἀρχῶν	[...] Cuncta siquidem vi primae speciei suaeque infinita potentia praecupa- vit, ex prae- sumptisque principiis varias, ac multiples atque adeo

				παντοδα- πῶν θεωρη- μάτων ποιεῖται προβο- λάς.	omnifarias sibi propo- nendo coniectat inspectio- nes.
<i>De officio mathema- ticae</i> , Liber I, cap. XVIII	p. 18, l. 5–20, l. 7	Ἀλλὰ δὴ μετὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν μαθημα- τικῶν εἰδῶν [...]	Verum postea quod mathemati- carum essentiam perspeximus [...]	Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω.	Ac de his quidem hactenus.
<i>De pertinen- tibus ad scientiam Mathema- ticam</i> , Liber I, cap. XIX	p. 20, l. 8–32, l. 20 Omissions: p. 21, l. 4– l. 19; p. 22, l. 14–l. 16; p. 23, l. 12– 28, l. 23	Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ταύτης κατίδω- μεν [...]	Hinc quae ad mathematicam pertinent scientiam ordinamur [...]	[...] Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς Πλάτω- νος γνώμης ὑπὲρ τῶν μαθημά- των εἰρήσθω.	[...] Et haec de Platonis sententia satis.
<i>Quae Mathema- ticus exquirat</i> , Liber I, cap. XX	p. 32, l. 21–35, l. 16	Τίνα δ’ ἂν τις ἀπαιτή- σειεν τὸν μαθημα- τικόν [...]	Quae porro mathematicus anquirat [...]	[...] καὶ πρὸς πάντας συναρ- μόζει τοὺς ἐαυτῆς λόγους.	[...] quadrat omnibus atque suis assentit rationibus.
<i>De partibus Mathema- ticae</i> , Liber I, cap. XXI	p. 35, l. 17–42, l. 6	Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἄδην, περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν τῆς [...]	Hinc de mathematicis partibus nobis deinceps disserendum est [...]	[...] ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον κατα- μανθά- νουσα διὰ τῶν	[...] solis et lunae, cetero- rumque astrorum distantias huiusmodi dinoscens instrumen- tis.

				τοιούτων ὀργάνων.	
<i>De arte disserendi in mathema- ticis, Liber I, cap. XXII</i>	p. 42, l. 9–44, l. 23	Ἔϊεν δὴ οὖν. Πάλιν ἐκεῖνα θεωρή- σωμεν, ὅπως [...]	Haec fuere [...]. Reliquum est ut inspiciamus quae [...]	[...] πορείας καὶ τῆς γνωστι- κῆς ἐνεργείας.	[...] finis denique, tam instituendi viae, quam agitandae cognitionis longe optimus.
<i>Unde Mathema- tices nomen, Liber I, cap. XXIII</i>	p. 44, l. 25–47, l. 6	Τὸ δ' αὖ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς μαθημα- τικῆς [...]	Nunc postremo unde mathematica dicta dicendum putamus.	[...] τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ περιάγει πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ζωήν.	[...] ac per purae defoecca- taeque mentis facilem decursum ad beata fruendum vita agit.

TABLE 2					
Valla's <i>De expeten-dis</i>	Proclus' <i>In Euclidem</i> (Friedlein's ed.)	Proclus' <i>incipit</i>	Valla's <i>incipit</i>	Proclus' <i>explicit</i>	Valla's <i>explicit</i>
<i>De geometria,</i> Liber X, cap. I	p. 48, l. 9–81, l. 22 Omissions: p. 48, l. 1–8; fol. 70 l. 14–75, l. 6; p. 81, l. 23–84, l. 23	[...] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ γεωμετρία τῆς ὅλης ἐστὶ μαθημα- τικῆς μέρος καὶ ὅτι δευτέραν ἔχει τάξιν μετὰ τὴν ἀριθμητι- κὴν [...]	[...] Quod autem geome- triam post arithme- ticam musi- camque collocare [...]	[...] ὅλον προβλημά- των ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον θεωρη- μάτων.	[...] ut quintus habet liber haec de theore- mate ac proble- mate satis [...]

TABLE 3		
Dasypodius' chapters in <i>Mathematicum</i> (Greek) (Dasypodius' Greek titles have no accents; the accentuation is mine)	Dasypodius' chapters in <i>Mathematicum</i> (Latin)	Sections from Proclus' <i>In Euclidem</i> composing each chapter (Friedlein's edition)
Τίς ἡ καθ' ὅλον μαθηματικὴ ἐπιστήμη (p. 1–14)	I, Quaenam et qualis sit universalis illa disciplina mathematica (p. 172–176)	p. 1, l. 1–1, l. 7 (altered <i>incipit</i>); p. 1, l. 14–16+p. 10, l. 20–21 (altered passage; conflates two sentences); p. 10, l. 21–11, l. 16; Dasypodius' addition (p. 2, l. 21–p. 3, l. 3); p. 5, l. 14 (altered <i>incipit</i>) 9, l. 25; p. 10, l. 2–10, l. 16; p. 43, l. 9–46, l. 18
Περὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἐπιστημῶν (p. 14–22)	II, De scientiis mathematicis (p. 176–190)	p. 35, l. 17–42, l. 9; + A section of Heron's geometry
Τίς ὁ μαθηματικός (p. 28–32)	III, Quinam et sit et appelletur mathematicus (p. 190–195)	p. 32, l. 21–35, l. 16
Περὶ γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀριθμητικῆς (p. 32–40)	IV, De geometria et arithmetica (p. 195–203)	p. 48, l. 9–65, l. 11
Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τῆς τούτων οἰκονομίας (p. 40–46)	V, De elementis et eorum institutione (p. 203–209)	p. 71, l. 24–75, l. 26
Περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν ἀρχῶν (p. 46–54)	VI, De divisione principiorum (p. 209–217)	p. 75, l. 27–77, l. 6; p. 179, l. 9–182, l. 20; p. 184, l. 11–184, l. 29
Περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς προτάσεων (p. 54–61)	VII, De propositionibus quae principia sequuntur (p. 217–223)	p. 77, l. 6–81, l. 6; p. 200, l. 6–9; p. 81, l. 6–23
Τίνα τὰ ζητήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς μεταπροτάσεων μέρη (p. 61–70)	VIII, Quaenam sint quaestiones et quae sint earum propositionum, quae principia sequuntur, partes vel capita (p. 223–233)	p. 200, l. 22–207, l. 25; p. 210, l. 5–25 (altered)

Τίνες αἱ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς προτάσεων διαφοραί (p. 70–78)	IX, Quae et quales sint differentiae propositionum earum quae principia sequuntur (p. 233–241)	p. 220, l. 7–223, l. 6; p. 243, l. 11–244, l. 2; p. 244, l. 14–246, l. 12; p. 254, l. 23–260, l. 9; p. 394, l. 11–395, l. 2
Περὶ τοῦ λέμματος, πτώσεων, πορίσματος ἐντάσεως καὶ ἀπαγωγῆς (p. 78–84)	X, De lemmate, casu, porismate, instantia, et reductione (p. 241–247)	p. 210, l. 25–212, l. 17; p. 301, l. 21–302, l. 21; p. 303, l. 5–304, l. 3; p. 212, l. 18–213, l. 11
Περὶ ἀντιστροφῆς καὶ ἀπαγωγῆς εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον (p. 84–89)	XI, De conversione et reductione ad impossibile (p. 247–256)	p. 252, l. 5–255, l. 7; p. 255, l. 12–256, l. 10

Appendix 2

LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF PROCLUS' FIRST PROLOGUE
CORRESPONDING TO FRIEDLEIN'S EDITION, FOL. 12, L. 2 TO FOL. 18, L. 4

Conspectus siglorum

< > – addenda censeo
add. – addidit
corr. – correxit / correctio
del. – delevit
exp. – expunxit
illig. – illigibile
in marg. – in margine
iter. – iteravit
lin. – linea
scrip. – scripsit
sup. – supra

1. Giorgio Valla, *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Manutius, 1501, Liber I, Cap. XVII [s.n.]

Cap. XVII. De genere specieque mathematicarum

At iam mathematicarum considerandam referendamque et formarum et generum arbitramur essentiam, et utrum a sensibilibus manere sit admittendum auferendo, ut dici solet, sive per particularia¹³² in communem unam rationem colligendo, an vero ab anima.¹³³

Primum itaque, si a sensibilibus mathematicas species animae insidere dixerimus, ut a triangulis vel circulis in materia insidentibus, triangularis vel circularis species in ipsa demum effigietur, unde pensiculatum illud examen idque quod coargui convincique non potest in rationibus inest mathematicis? Haec enim aut a sensibilibus aut ab anima eruantur necesse est. Atqui a sensibilibus id educi impossibile est: in iis siquidem multo maiore opus est examine. Cum ergo a sensibilibus non possint, ab anima igitur educuntur, quae imperfectis consumationem examine carentibus, examen acre adhibet. Ubi namque in eis, quae sub sensum cadunt, usquam indivisibile vel latitudinis experts aut crassitudinis percipi potuerit? Ubi porro ex circuli centro linearum illa recepta aequalitas? Ubi semper stabiles laterum rationes? Ubi angulorum rectitudines?¹³⁴ Quonam demum pacto obnixissimis rationibus ex mobilibus alio atque alio tempore aliter habentibus stabilem mathematicis tribuimus essentiam? Omne siquidem, quod a mobilibus ortum ducit essentiis, mutabilem habere substantiam convenit. Quonam modo certis et quae minime coargui possint formis ab incertis certitudinem accomodare poterimus? Proinde confessum ac receptum sit formarum atque rationum mathematicarum animam esse genitricem. Quod si qua ad essentiam habet exempla, ea sibi illa substituit, suntque propositae geniturae earum, quae in ipsa praesident, formarum, et perinde Platoni astipulamur, ut haec inveniendi veram mathematicarum asseramus esse essentiam. Quod si minime propositis rationibus tantum subtextit ornamentum materiae experts tantamque gignit inspectionem, quomodo quae genita productaque sunt potest diiudicare sintne a semine orta naturaliaque an secus planeque simulacra pro veris? Quibusnam demum praeceptis insistet ac regulis quo verum suspiciat atque metiatur? Et quo pacto essentiam ipsorum non tenens, tantam rationum producit varietatem, vagam quippe et incertam, ita horum faciemus hypostasim, quam nullo termino concludemus? Quod si anima mathematicas gignit species, neque a sensibilibus rationes admittit, quibus obarmetur, et a formis in anima insidentibus

¹³² particularia] particularium *ed.*

¹³³ Follows an omission in respect to Friedlein's edition p. 12, l. 8–9.

¹³⁴ Follows an omission in respect to Friedlein's edition p. 12, l. 23–26.

ipsa producuntur sensilia ipsius, utique animae partus foetusque elucescent formis permanentibus sempiternis.

Dein, si sensilibus rationes connectimus mathematicas, quonam modo necesse non fuerit praestantiores perhibere demonstrationes quaecumque a sensilibus instituantur, quod quae a magis semper universalibus formisque simplicioribus? Causas siquidem dicimus in demonstrationibus usquequaque esse praecipuas ad id quod in quaestione positum. Quod si particularia et sensilia universalium et sub animi sententiam cadentium causa sunt, cuiusmodi erit substructio demonstrationis terminum ad universalia potius referendo ac non ad particularia, et intellectilium essentiam prae sensilibus demonstrationibus magis affinem ostenderem? Nam neque siquis, ut dicitur, demonstraverit isosceles duobus rectis aequales habere angulos, ita aequilaterum, ita scalenum, is admodum eius habet scientiam. Verum, qui scit omne triangulum habere duobus rectis aequales uniformiterque demonstrans per sese scientiam habet. Et rursus, quod universale est, id particulari ad demonstrationem longe melius est. Item demonstrationes ex universalibus potius constant atque conflantur, atqui ex quibus sunt demonstrationes, ea priora sunt, singularibusque natura ipsa praecellunt, suntque causa eorum, quae demonstrantur. Demonstrativis igitur scientiis postrema et obscuriora sensilia erunt colligenda in unumque connectenda. Contra quae ab animi sententia comprehensa sunt, quippe quae longe perfectiora, non quae in sensu opinationeque demersa sunt, sibi ducunt eruenda ac inspicienda.

Tertio loco, qui haec aiunt animam formis faciunt inferiorem. Nam, si materia essentialia, quaeque magis esse dicuntur manifestioraque a natura sibi vendicat, <et si> anima, vicissim, secundo loco, ab illis et simulacra et imagines posterius eductas in sese recipit (ac diffingit in essentiam minus honorata<m> a materia, auferens quae natura suapte ab ipsa separari non possunt), quonam pacto animam imbecilliolem multoque inferiorem materia non ostendunt?" Nempe ut silvosarum est rationum locus materia, ita formarum anima conceptaculum, sed primarum altera, altera secundarum, et altera eorum quae opinacione gignuntur. Quomodo igitur anima, mentis, intellectilisque essentiae particeps primo, particeps et cognitione referta a sensilibus totius vitae, obtusiores, hebetiores obscurioresque accipit formas, in quibus ultima est eorum quae sunt sedes et, quatenus sunt, omnium imperfectissima? Adversum itaque hanc a plerisque traditam importune dicimus opinionem.

Quodsi non per ablationem materiatorum mathematicae species, neque per collectionem eorum, quae in singulis communia sunt, neque prorsus postremi sunt generis et perinde a sensibilibus, eas certe anima, aut a sese, aut a intellectu seu mente, aut tum a se tum ab intellectu accipiat sibi vendicet, necesse est. Quodsi a se dumtaxat, quonam modo mathematicae intellectilium erunt formarum imagines? Quomodo inter dividuam individuamque naturam fuerint mediae? Consumationem a primis, ut sint nullam sortientes? Quomodo universi exempla in

mente in primis insederunt? Quodsi non ab anima sunt, sed a mente, quopacto id quo sese anima exercet seque movet stare potuerit, si quae in ipsa sunt rationes in altrinsecus motis suam habentes hypostasim aliunde in ipsam influxere? Praeterea, in quonam demum anima ab ipsa differt materia, quae potentia solum est omnia formarumque materiosarum prorsus gignit nihil. Id ergo, cum ita habeat, reliquum est ut tum ab ipsa anima, tum a mente haec scateant, sitque anima formis referta ab intellectilibus exemplis in ipsa insedentibus ipsaque per sese gignit, ad id, ut sint accessus. Proinde esse qui¹³⁵ potest anima tamquam tabula aut liber in quo scriptum sit nihil? Immo equidem est tamquam liber perpetuo scriptus ac suapte natura seseque describens, et ab ipso descriptus intellectu. Intellectus siquidem, sive mentem libet appellare¹³⁶, est etiam anima, quod intellectus prae sese obvolvatur sitque imago et impraessio illius, quae extrorsus facta. Et perinde, si mens cuncta intellectiliter, et anima cuncta animaliter; et si ea in exempli modum, seu malis exemplariter dicere¹³⁷, anima imaginanter; et si intellectus collectim, anima divisim comprehendit.

Id nimirum est, quod Plato animam inspiciens ipsam ex omnibus mathematicis constituit formis, eamque dividit in numeros, et colligit proportionibus harmonicisque rationibus, principiaque figuras primas constituentia in ipsa defigit, rectam et circularem, movetque in ipsa orbes intellectiliter, ut secutus etiam Platonem Cicero de universitate docet¹³⁸. Cuncta igitur mathematica primum in ipsa sunt anima et, ut Platonici aiunt¹³⁹, praecaeteris numeris qui¹⁴⁰ sese movent, et ante apparentes figuras figurae animales, et ante concentus harmonicae rationes, et ante orbes motorum corporum orbes nusquam comparentes creati sunt, rebusque referta est omnibus anima. Et ornamentum aliud ipsum per se perducens suo peractum principio, vita sese perficiens ab universitatis creatore productum omnibus iis refertum, corporis expers sine intervallo, quod ubi suas exerit rationes, tum omnes patefacit scientias atque virtutes. Has itaque formas anima suam induit substantiam, dixerim substantiatur nisi verear mihi acclamitari¹⁴¹. Neque in ipsa anima numerum putes qui unitatum est multitudo, neque distinctionum ideam in corporis modum accipere convenit, at omnia vitali intellectilique vi exempla apparentium numerorum figurarumque et rationum ac motuum putanda sunt, Timaeum sequendo, omnem animae ortum atque creationem ex formis complementem mathematicis omniumque in ipsa causas constituentem. Cunctorum sane numerorum limites septem liniamentorum

¹³⁵ qui] que *ed.*

¹³⁶ sive mentem libet appellare : *Valla's addition*

¹³⁷ seu malis exemplariter dicere : *Valla's addition*

¹³⁸ ut secutus [...] docet : *Valla's addition*

¹³⁹ ut Platonici aiunt : *Valla's addition*

¹⁴⁰ qui] que *ed.*

¹⁴¹ dixerim substantiatur nisi verear mihi acclamitari : *Valla's addition*

principia comprehenderunt, et planorum et solidorum. Rationum autem omnium rationes septem causam in ipsa praestruxerunt. Figurarum porro primordia vim in ipsa creationis erexerunt. Motuum facile princeps caeteros omnes comprehendens et excitans in ipsa constitutus omnium siquidem, quae moventur circulus principium itidem circulus motus. Ergo, ut nunc sic loquar¹⁴², essentielles ac per sese mobiles mathematicarum sunt rationes complentes consumantesque animas, quas inquam animi rationes animi sententia proponens provolvensque, scientiarum mathematicarum omnem constituit varietatem. Nec unquam conquiescit, at gignit illa, ac producit¹⁴³ semper aliquid aliaque scrutatur ex aliis, investigatque ac eruit suas partitionum expertes rationes explicando. Cuncta siquidem vi primae speciei suaeque infinita potentia praeoccupavit, ex praesumptisque principiis varias ac multiplices atque adeo omnifarias sibi proponendo coniectat inspectiones.

¹⁴² ut sic loquar : *Valla's addition*

¹⁴³ producit] procudit *ed.*

2. **Bartolomeo Zamberti transl. Procli *In Euclidem*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6, fol. 4v–6v [= M]***

Incipit /fol. 1r/

Procli lycii diadochi Platonici in primum librum Elementorum Euclidis megarensis mathematici praestantissimi, commentariorum liber primus, Bartolomeo Zamberto veneto interprete

[...]

/fol. 4v/ Consequens¹⁴⁴ autem fuerit ut scrutemur qualem essentiam formarum ac generum mathematicarum rationum dicere congruum sit, et utrum ipsam a sensilibus subsistere admittendum sit vel per ablationem, sicuti dicere consueverunt, vel per particularium collectionem in unam communem rationem, vel iis essentiam haec praecedentem assignare conveniat, sicuti Plato arbitratur universorumque processus ostendit.

Et¹⁴⁵ in primis, si mathematicas formas a sensilibus subsistere dixerimus, omnia in semet ipsa posteriori genitura formanti a materiosis triangulis vel circulis, circulosam vel triangularem formam, unde erit certitudo illa et illud quod in rationibus coargui non potest? Necesse enim est quod aut a sensilibus, aut ab anima. Atqui a sensilibus impossibile est, nam in his longe maiore indagine opus est. Ab anima igitur; nam his quae imperfecta et incerta sunt, perfectionem certitudinemque exhibet. In sensilibus enim ubinam est individuum vel id quod latitudine vel id quod crassitudine caret? Et ubi earum ex centro sunt aequalitas? Et ubi laterum rationes sunt stabiles? Et ubi angulorum rectitudines? Nec video, sicut in alternis omnia divisibilia commisceri, et in his nihil sincerum est, et a contrario expurgatum, sed omnia partitionem, intervallum ac unionem admittunt. Quo igitur pacto his quae immobilibus sunt ex mobilibus et aliquando aliter se habentibus ipsam stabilem essentiam assignabimus? Nam¹⁴⁶ omne quod ex essentiis motis subsistit, essentiam mutabilem etiam ab ipsis obtinet, apud omnes indubitatum est. Et quo pacto illis formis quae certae sunt, et coargui nequeunt, ab his quae incerta sunt certitudinem applicabimus?¹⁴⁷ Nam omne quod est causa eius cognitionis quae semper mobilis est, illud ipsum magis est huiusmodi. Supponendum igitur /fol. 5r/ est animam mathematicarum formarum et rationum genitricem esse. Sed cum siquidem exempla obtineat ipsa secundum substantiam substernit, et generationes sunt integumenta earum formarum quae in ipsa praeexistunt, haec dicentes Platoni astipulabimur, vereque mathematicarum

• For the marginal notes and their corresponding numbers, see above, p. 82.

¹⁴⁴ Consequens] 38 Genera et formae mathematicae unde essentiam obtineant? *add. in marg. M*

¹⁴⁵ Et] 39 Si mathematicae formae a sensilibus subsistunt, quid sequatur? *add. in marg. M*

¹⁴⁶ Nam] 40 Id propter quod unumquodque tale etiam magis est huiusmodi *add. in marg. M*

¹⁴⁷ applicabimus?] Aliter: omne quod causa cognitionis immobilis, id ipsum magis huiusmodi est. *add. in marg. M*

essentiae erimus inventores. Si vero non habet neque rationes prius assumens, tantum materie expertem apparatus sustinet, tantamque contemplationem gignit, quo pacto ea, quae genita sunt, unde quaedam seminaria sint vel vana, et eorum, quae vere sunt simulacra, diiudicare potest? Qualibus vero regulis utens in his veritatem existentem metitur? Quo etiam modo essentiam non habens ipsorum tantam rationum varietatem gignit? Sic enim ipsorum essentiam vagam ad nullumque terminum relatam efficerimus. Igitur si formae mathematicae ab anima ortum habent, nec a sensilibus rationes suscipiuntur,¹⁴⁸ sicut anima substat, et ab illis has erunt ipsius quoque partus, a manifeste sempiternis formis oriuntur.

Praeterea, si inferut et a sensilibus mathematicarum rationes colligamus, quo modo fieri poterit ut non dicamus quod illae demonstrationes, quae ex sensilibus fiunt, potiores sunt, et non illae quae ab universalibus et simplicioribus formis inferuntur? Dicimus¹⁴⁹ enim quod causae ubique demonstrationibus ad quaesiti venationes sunt peculiares. Igitur si particularia universalium, et sensilia intellectilium sunt causae, quis umquam excogitabit quod terminus demonstrationis ab universalibus assumptus magis conferat, quam a particularibus? Quo erit pacto quippiam ostenderit quod intellectilium essentia sit magis affinis demonstrationibus quam essentia sensibilium? Neque enim siquis, inquit, demonstraret quod triangulum equicrurium tres habet angulos duobus rectis aequales, et itidem aequilaterum, et scalenum, is id quoddam noscit. Verum qui scit quod omne triangulum, idque simpliciter demonstrat, is scientiam per se obtinet. Et¹⁵⁰ rursus id quod universale est, quoad demonstrandum, particulari melius est. Et insuper quod ipsorum demonstra/fol. 5v/tiones universales sunt, illa vero sunt priora et natura ita praecedunt quae singularia sunt, et eorum quae demonstrant sunt causae ex quibus demonstrationes fiunt. Igitur scientiae demonstrativae opus habent, ut ea, quae sensilia sunt et posterius genita ac hebetiora, colligantur. Non autem ea, quae, cum a cognitione percipiuntur, his sunt perfectiora, quae sensu et opinione considerantur.

Tertio vero loco, dicimus quod illi, qui haec dicunt, animam formis viliorum effecerint. Nam si materia ea quae substantialia sunt ac magis entia ac integriora a natura suscipit, anima vero ab illis secundum locum obtinet ac sustinet istam, simulacra et imagines posterius genitas effingit ad ignobiliores essentias ac inferiores, quae ex natura a materia inseparabilia sunt, quo pacto animam imbecilliorum materiaeque inferiorem esse non ostendunt? Locus is et silva est et si<->vestrium rationum, et anima formarum, sed alia quidem primarum, alia vero secundarium, et alia eorum quae praecipue entia sunt, alia porro eorum quae inde subsistunt, et alia sunt eorum quae formalem substantiam et alia, demum, eorum

¹⁴⁸ suscipiuntur] subs *add. sed del.* M

¹⁴⁹ dicimus] 41 Causae ad quaesiti indaginem demonstrationibus sunt peculiares *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵⁰ Et] 42 Universale ad demonstrandum particulari efficacius est *add. in marg.* M

quae secundum excogitationem dicunt. Quo igitur pacto illa, quae intellectus et intellectillis essentis primum particeps est, et viose cognitionem implens et totius vitae, hebetiores formas suscipit, quae in his, quae sunt ultima, sedes est et ad essentiam omnibus imperfectior est? Atque huic opinioni, quae multis molestiam exhibuit, occurrere supervacaneum sane fuerit.

Si vero formae mathematicae non sunt per materialium abstractionem, neque per illorum collectionem, quae in singularibus sunt communia, neque posterius et a sensilibus genitae, anima vel ex se ipsa, vel ab intellectu, vel et a se ipsa et ab illo, ipsas assevere necessarium est. Atqui se ex semet ipsa solum, hae quo modo intellectilium formarum imagines sunt? Quo autem pacto inter individuum dividuamque naturam medium sunt, nullum a primis supplementum sortita? Quo modo universorum prima exempla /fol. 6r/ in intellectu prius insederunt? Si vero ab illo solum, ille actus et motus per se, qui in anima est, quo modo permanere potest? Quandoquidem quae in ipsa sunt rationes, per essentiam eorum, quae ab alio moventur, in ipsam aliunde influxerunt, etenim quo differt a materia, quae potentia solum omnia est, materiosam¹⁵¹ autem formam nullam gignit. Relinquitur¹⁵² ergo, quod a se ipsa et ab intellectu haec deducat, et ab ipsa earum formarum sit supplementum, quae ab intellectilium exemplis subsistunt ex se ipsa semita, ut sit gressus. Neque¹⁵³ proinde anima tabula non romibus vacua, sed semper descripta, et semet ipsam describens, et ab intellectu descripta. Intellectus enim est et anima, qui cum semet ipsum vertat, illius imago et forma extrorsum fit. Igitur¹⁵⁴ si ille omnia intellectibiliter, anima quoque cuncta animanter; et si ille exemplariter, anima etiam imaginiter; et si ille collectim, anima divisim.

Quo¹⁵⁵ quidem Plato etiam inspirans, animam ex omnibus formis mathematicis constituit, ipsamque per numeros dividit, proportionibus rationibusque convenientibus colligit, primaque principia figuras constituentia in ipsam constituit, et rectum et circundans, ac in ipsi orbis intellectiliter movet. Igitur¹⁵⁶ omnia mathematica primo in ipsa sunt anima, et¹⁵⁷ ante numeros se ipsos moventes, et ante figuras apparentes figurae animales, et ante ea quae conceptu conveniunt rationes harmonicae, et ante illa corpora quae circulose moventur, orbes non apparentes creantur, et¹⁵⁸ anima omnium est plenitudo. Et ornamentum huiusmodi alius, idem semet ipsis deducens, et a proprio principio deductum se

¹⁵¹ materiosam] 43 Materia solum potentia omnia est *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵² Relinquitur] 44 Anima et a se et ab intellectu formas mathematicas deducit *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵³ Neque] 45 Anima non est tabula vacua, sed semper diseri ipsa *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵⁴ Igitur] 46 Intellectus et anima qualiter mathematicae percepiunt *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵⁵ Quo] 47 Anima ex omnibus formis mathematicis constitui iuxta Platonem *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵⁶ Igitur] 48 Mathematicae primo insunt anima *add. in marg.* M

¹⁵⁷ Et] 49 Harmonica ratio quod sit Nicomachus docet in secundo libro Aristotelicus

¹⁵⁸ et] 50 Anima est plenitudo omnium *add. in marg.* M

ipsum vita perficiens, et ab opifice refertum, corporis expers est, ac intervallo caret, et qui suas suppeditat rationes, tunc scientias ac virtutes omnes patefacit. Anima¹⁵⁹ igitur in huiusmodi formis essentiam summit, neque admittendus quod numerus in anima sit unitatum multitudo, neque etiam percipiendus est, quod idea eorum quae intervallata sunt, /fol. 6v/ in corporis modum intelligantur, sed omnia exempla numerorum apparentium, figurarum, rationum et motuum, in animato intellectiliterque suscipere debemus, Timaeum sequentes, qui ¹⁶⁰ universam ipsius genituram et opificium ex mathematicis formis perficit in ipsaque causas omnium statuit. Omnia enim numerorum septem limites linearum, planorum, ac solidorum principia comprehendunt, septem vero limites omnium rationum, quo ad ipsam causam in ipsa praeexistunt. Principia vero figurarum in ipsa operando straverunt, ex motibus vero ille praecipuus est omnes qui alios comprehendit ac movet, qui cum ipsam simul constat. Omnium namque¹⁶¹ eorum quae moventur, circulus motusque circulosus principium est. Mathematicorum igitur rationes substantiales et ex se mobiles animas perficiunt, quas cogitatio suppeditans ac revolvens universam mathematicarum scientiarum varietatem statuit, et semper gignens, numquam desinit aliaque ex aliis investigans, ipsius impartibiles rationes explicat. Omnia enim a primis formis assumpsit, ex suiue potestate infinita ex principiis primis assumptis variarum inspectionum diverticula efficit.

¹⁵⁹ Anima] 51 Numerus in anima non est unitatum multitudo *add. in marg.* M

¹⁶⁰ qui] 52 Anima ex formis mathematicis *add. in marg.* M

¹⁶¹ namque] 53 Circulus eorum omnium quae moventur principium est *add. in marg.* M

3. Giambattista Gabia transl. *Procli In Euclidem*, MS Ambrosiana P51 sup., fol. 11r-17v [= A]

Johanne Baptista Gabio interprete, Procli Diadochi in primum Elementorum Euclidis liber primus.

/fol. 11r/ Capitulum quintum

Sequitur ut inspiciamus quaenam mathematicarum formarum¹⁶² generumque natura¹⁶³ merito dicatur, et utrum ab iis, quae sensu percipiuntur¹⁶⁴, ipsam profectam consistere¹⁶⁵, concedendum sit sive secundum ablationem¹⁶⁶, ut quidam dicere consueverunt, sive secundum singularium¹⁶⁷ collectionem in unam communem rationem? An etiam ipsi ante haec status sit tribuendus? Quemadmodum et Plato censet, et universalium demonstrat progressus.

Primum igitur¹⁶⁸, si ab iis, quae suspercipimus¹⁶⁹, mathematicas formas dicamus statum habere atque produci /fol. 11v/ cum anima ab iis triangulis aut circulis, qui in materia sunt, formam circularem aut triangularem posteriore loco in seipsa formet, undenam perfectio ut id quod minime convinci possit rationibus inserit? Necesse est enim ut vel a sensibus vel ab anima. Sed a sensibus fieri non potest, quibus potius hanc¹⁷⁰ perfectionem impartiuntur. Ab anima igitur, quae imperfectis perfectum, incertis certum apponit. Ubi enim in iis quae sensu percipiuntur¹⁷¹ reperiemus id nos quod sine parte sit, aut id quod careat latitudine, aut id quod altitudine vacat? Et ubinam linearum, quae sint a centro, aequalitas? Et ubi semper permanentes laterum rationes? Atque ubi angulorum rectitudi/fol. 12r/ni<s> horum¹⁷² rationes? Nam videmus inter omnia sub sensu communia¹⁷³ commista esse nihilque in iis syncerum aut a contrario vacuum, sed omnia¹⁷⁴ dividua, dimensionibus ac motui obnoxia. Qua ratione igitur¹⁷⁵ immobilibus ab iis, quae moventur, et alias aliter se habent, ipsam manentem stabilemque¹⁷⁶ naturam

¹⁶² formarum post corr. ex specierum A

¹⁶³ natura post corr. ex substantia A

¹⁶⁴ [a]b iis que sensu principiuntur post corr. ex sensibilibus A

¹⁶⁵ Pro [...] consistere post corr. ex subsistere A

¹⁶⁶ secundum ablationem post corr. ex per divisionem A

¹⁶⁷ secundum singularium post corr. ex per particularium A

¹⁶⁸ igitur post corr. ex itaque A

¹⁶⁹ ab iis que suspercipimus post corr. ex sensibilibus A

¹⁷⁰ hanc] haec A

¹⁷¹ sensibilibus post corr. ex iis quae quae sensu percipiuntur A

¹⁷² Rectitudini<s> horum post corr. ex rectitudines A

¹⁷³ Omnia sub sensu communia post corr. ex sensibilia A

¹⁷⁴ omnia] add. illig. sed del. A

¹⁷⁵ igitur] igiturum corr. sup. lin ex itaque A

¹⁷⁶ stabilemque] substantiam et add. sed. del. A

tribuimus? Quidquid enim producitur ab iis naturis¹⁷⁷, quae moventur, etiam naturam¹⁷⁸ mutabilem habere omnes fatentur¹⁷⁹. Et quomodo perfectis ac certis, ita ut coargui nequeant, formis ab incertis perfectionem adhibebimus? Quippe cum omnis causa cognitionis illius, quae semper mobilis est, magis ipsa talis existat. Concedendum igitur¹⁸⁰ nobis est animum¹⁸¹ esse /fol. 12v/ qui¹⁸² mathematicas formas et rationes gignat et procreet. Et si exempla habens secundum naturam¹⁸³, ipsas producit generationesque sunt formarum, quae in ipsa prius insunt, progressus, et¹⁸⁴ cum Platone consentimus¹⁸⁵ eadem dicentes, et veram disciplinarum naturam invenerimus. At si haec non habens, cum neque ante rationes acceperit, tantum subtextit ordinem materia vacantem tantamque speculationem gignit¹⁸⁶, quomodo ea, quae genita¹⁸⁷ sunt, diiudicare potest, utrum naturalia sint an vana, et simulachra pro veris? Quibusve regulis utens eam, quae in iis est, veritatem obstruat? Quomodo item non continens¹⁸⁸ ipsorum naturam¹⁸⁹ tantam rationum /fol. 13r/ gignit varietatem? Ita enim temere et per se natam ipsorum naturam¹⁹⁰ faciemus et quoad nullum terminum refixatur. Si igitur¹⁹¹ ab animo¹⁹² sunt mathematicae formae oriundae, non ab iis quae sensu percipiuntur¹⁹³, rationes habent, quas animus¹⁹⁴ producit, et ab illis ipsae progrediuntur, atque ipsius animi¹⁹⁵ partus ac foetus permanentium formarum ut sempiternarum perspicui¹⁹⁶ sunt.

Deinde, igitur,¹⁹⁷ si ab inferioribus, id est, quae sub sensum cadunt¹⁹⁸, disciplinarum rationes colligamus, qui fieri potest quin praestantiores illas

¹⁷⁷ ab iis naturis *post corr. ex substantiis* A

¹⁷⁸ naturam *post corr. ex substantiam* A

¹⁷⁹ omnes fatentur *post corr. ex apud omnes est confessum* A

¹⁸⁰ igitur *post corr. ex itaque* A

¹⁸¹ animum *post corr. ex animam illam* A

¹⁸² qui *post corr. ex quae* A

¹⁸³ naturam] *has add. sed del.* A

¹⁸⁴ et *post corr. ex atque ita* A

¹⁸⁵ con- *add. sup. lin.* A

¹⁸⁶ gignit *post corr. ex generat* A

¹⁸⁷ genita *post corr. ex generata* A

¹⁸⁸ continens *post corr. ex habens* A

¹⁸⁹ naturam *post corr. ex substantiam* A

¹⁹⁰ naturam *post corr. ex substantiam* A

¹⁹¹ Igitur *post corr. ex itaque* A

¹⁹² genita *post corr. ex ex animo* A

¹⁹³ ab iis que sensu percipiuntur *post corr. ex etiam a sensibilibus* A

¹⁹⁴ animus *post corr. ex anima* A

¹⁹⁵ animi *post corr. ex animae* A

¹⁹⁶ perspicui *post corr. ex manifesti* A

¹⁹⁷ igitur *post corr. ex itaque* A

¹⁹⁸ Quae sub sensum cadunt *post corr. ex sensibilibus* A

demonstrationes asseramus, quaecumque ab iis, quae sensu percipimus¹⁹⁹, et non illas quae a magis universalibus semper et simplicioribus formis constituuntur? Causas enim ubique demonstrationibus proprias esse asserimus ad rei quae quaeritur inquisitionem. Si igitur²⁰⁰ particularia /fol. 13v/ universalium, et quae sub sensum cadunt²⁰¹, quae cogitatione percipiuntur, causae sunt, quomodo possumus demonstrationis definitionem ad universalia magis quam ad particularia referre? Et eorum quae cogitatione comprehendimus naturam magis quam eorum quae sensu, demonstrationibus cognatam demonstrare? Neque enim si quis, ut aiunt, demonstraret ex duabus aequalibus lineis constantem²⁰² triangulum quem aequicrurium vocant, habere tres angulos aequales duobus rectis, et triangulum tribus aequalibus lineis contentum, quem aequilaterum appellamus, et similiter tribus inaequalibus, quem dicunt scalenum²⁰³, hic rectum scit. Sed qui de omni triangulo, id et simpliciter demonstravit, hic habet scientiam per se. Rursusque quia praestantius est universale particulari ad demonstrationem, atque item quia /fol. 14r/ demonstrationes ex universalibus magis, ex quibus autem demonstrationes proficiscuntur,²⁰⁴ haec priora et natura praecedunt particularia, et causae sunt eorum quae demonstrantur. Multum igitur abest ut demonstrativa scientia in iis²⁰⁵ vere sciatur, ea quae posteriore loco genita sunt, et iis quae sensu percipiuntur²⁰⁶ hebetioribus²⁰⁷, et non ea speculantur²⁰⁸, quae cogitatione comprehendi possunt, perfectiora sane iis, quae sensui nota sunt et opinioni.

Praeterea tertiam rationem afferimus, quod qui haec asserunt, illi ignobiliorem animum²⁰⁹ formis efficiunt. Nam si materia naturalia, et quae magis sunt atque certiora suscipit a natura, animus²¹⁰ vero posteriora ab illis et /fol. 14v/ simulachra et imagines secundo loco genitas in se ipsa confingit,²¹¹ viliorem naturam²¹² auferens a materia, videlicet²¹³ ea quae secundum naturam ab ipsa separari

¹⁹⁹ [a]b iis quae sensu percipimus ex sensibilibus

²⁰⁰ igitur *post corr. ex itaque* A

²⁰¹ Quae sub sensum cadunt *post corr. ex sensibilia* A

²⁰² ex duabus aequalibus lineis constantem *post corr. ex aequicrurium* A

²⁰³ tribus [...] rectum *post corr. ex aequilaterum et scalenum similiter hic rectum* A

²⁰⁴ proficiscuntur *post corr. ex procedunt* A

²⁰⁵ in iis *post corr. ex circa ea* A

²⁰⁶ iis quae sensu percipiuntur *post corr. ex sensibilia quae sunt* A

²⁰⁷ hebetioribus *post corr. ex hebetiora* A

²⁰⁸ speculantur] *que add. sed del.* A

²⁰⁹ animum *post corr. ex animam* A

²¹⁰ animus *post corr. ex anima* A

²¹¹ confingit propter *add. sed del.* A

²¹² naturam *post corr. ex substantiam* A

²¹³ videlicet *post corr. ex scilicet* A

nequunt²¹⁴, quomodo non animum²¹⁵ imbecillioem materia deterioemque constituunt? Locus enim etiam materia rationum, quae materia carent, et animus²¹⁶ formarum. Sed haec primarum, illa secundarum, et haec quidem eorum quae primo loco insunt, illa rerum quae illinc producuntur, et haec quidem quae sunt secundum naturam, illa eorum quae cogitatione gignuntur. Qua ratione igitur²¹⁷ animus²¹⁸, qui²¹⁹ mentis et intelligentis naturae primus²²⁰ consors est, et cogitationis quae illinc /fol. 15r/ proficiscuntur, totius vitae particeps, incertiorum formarum est receptaculum quae sedem ultimam inter ea quae sunt obtinet, et omnium minime²²¹ imperfectionem perfectam²²², quatenus ad hoc, ut sint, attinet? Sed huic opinioni, quae multis saepe multas arguendo praebuit occasiones, occurrere supervacaneum est.

Quod si neque per ablationem ab iis quae materia vacant sunt mathematicae formae, neque per collectionem eorum, quae in particularibus communia sunt, neque prorsus posteriore loco, id est, ab iis quae sub sensum cadunt²²³, genita, necesse sane est animum²²⁴, aut ab se, aut ab mente²²⁵ ipsas accipere, aut et a se et ab illa. Sed si a se tantum, quomodo hae sunt intelligentium formarum imagines? Et quomodo inter individuum naturam dividuum, quae nullam a primis, in gratia²²⁶ ut sint, perfectio²²⁷ /fol. 15v/nem sortita sunt? Et quomodo prima exempla universalium, quae in mente²²⁸ sunt, ante fuere? Et si ab illo tantum, quomodo id, quod est animi²²⁹ per se operans et per se mobile, permanere potest, siquidem rationes, quae in ipso²³⁰ sunt, secundum eorum naturam²³¹, quae ab aliis moventur, aliunde in ipsam defluxere? Et quid a materia differet, quae potestate tantum est omnia, nullamque gignit ex iis formis, quae materiae sint immunes? Relinquitur igitur, ut et a se, et a mente has producat, ipsa sit formarum perfectio, id est, ipsas

²¹⁴ Ab ipsa separari nequunt *post corr. ex inseparabilia*

²¹⁵ animum *post corr. ex animam A*

²¹⁶ animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²¹⁷ igitur *post corr. ex itaque A*

²¹⁸ animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²¹⁹ qui] quae *scrp. sed del. A*

²²⁰ primus] primae A

²²¹ omnium minime *add. sup. lin.; minime] perfectionis add. sed del. A*

²²² perfectam *post corr. ex omnibus*

²²³ ab iis quae sub sensum cadunt *post corr. ex sensibilibus A*

²²⁴ animum *post corr. ex animam A*

²²⁵ ab mente *post corr. ex intellectu A*

²²⁶ in gratia *post corr. ex ad hoc A*

²²⁷ perfectio *post corr. ex completio A*

²²⁸ mente *post corr. ex intellectu A*

²²⁹ animi *post corr. ex animae A*

²³⁰ ipso *post corr. ex ipsa A*

²³¹ naturam] et substantiam *add. sed del. A*

compleat, quae quidem ab intelligentibus exemplis productae per se²³² ut sint, progressum sortitate fuerint. Et animus²³³ non erit tabula rudis²³⁴ a sermoni/16r/bus vacua²³⁵, sed semper scriptus²³⁶ et se ipsum²³⁷ scribens et a mente²³⁸ scriptus.²³⁹ Etenim animus²⁴⁰ quoque mens est, more illius mentis qui²⁴¹ est ante se, se ipsum volvens, et imago illius, et typus extrinsecus effectus. Si igitur²⁴² ille omnia intelligenter²⁴³, et animus²⁴⁴ omnia animaliter; si ille exemplariter, animus²⁴⁵ repraesentative; et si ille coniunctim, anima divisim.

Quod cum animadverterit et Plato, ex omnibus animum²⁴⁶ producit, et secundum numeros illum²⁴⁷ dividit, colligitque²⁴⁸ analogiis et harmonicis rationibus, et prima figurarum principia in ipso²⁴⁹ construit, rectum scilicet et circumferens, movitque²⁵⁰ circulos qui in ipsa insunt, intelligendo. Omnia itaque mathematica primum in animo²⁵¹ sunt, et ante numeros nu/fol. 16v/meri illi qui per se moventur, ante apparentes figuras animales figurae, et ante ea quae concinnata sunt, rationes harmonicae, et ante corpora quae circulo moventur minime apparentes circuli veluti opificio quodam constructi sunt. Et perfectio omnium animus²⁵² est, et ordo hic alius ipse seipsum producens et a proprio principio productus, vitaeque seipsum complens, et ab opifice completus sine²⁵³ corpore, et sine²⁵⁴ dimensionibus, et cum producerit suas rationes tunc etiam disciplinas²⁵⁵ virtutesque omnes praemonstrat. Naturam igitur²⁵⁶ in his formis

²³² per se] ad hoc *add. sed del. A*

²³³ animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²³⁴ tabula] rudis *add. A*

²³⁵ vacua *post corr. ex vacuus A*

²³⁶ scriptus *post corr. ex scripta A*

²³⁷ ipsum *post corr. ex ipsa A*

²³⁸ a mente *post corr. ex ab intellectu A*

²³⁹ scriptus *post corr. ex scripta A*

²⁴⁰ animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²⁴¹ qui *post corr. ex quae A*

²⁴² igitur *post corr. ex itaque A*

²⁴³ intelligenter *post corr. ex intellectualiter A*

²⁴⁴ animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²⁴⁵ animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²⁴⁶ animum *post corr. ex animam A*

²⁴⁷ illum *post corr. ex illam A*

²⁴⁸ colligi *post corr. ex colligat A*

²⁴⁹ ipso *post corr. ex ipsa A*

²⁵⁰ movitque *post corr. ex movetque A*

²⁵¹ animo *post corr. ex anima A*

²⁵² animus *post corr. ex anima A*

²⁵³ sine *post corr. ex absque A*

²⁵⁴ sine *post corr. ex absque A*

²⁵⁵ disciplinas *post corr. ex scientias A*

²⁵⁶ naturam igitur *post corr. ex substantiam itaque A*

habet animus²⁵⁷ sed neque numerum in ipso²⁵⁸ imitatum multitudinem opinari debemus, neque eorum, quae sub mensuram cadunt²⁵⁹, ideam secundum corpus in/17r/ telligere, sed omnia apparentium numerorum exempla et figurarum et rationum et motuum accipere debemus, Timaeum secuti, qui quidem omnem ipsius animi²⁶⁰ originem, et creationem a mathematicis formis perfecit omniumque causas in ipso²⁶¹ constituit. Siquidem numerorum omnium rationes secundum causam in ipso²⁶² prius constituere, figurarumque item principia quasi per opificium ipso sunt constituta. Et motus qui inter motus caeteros principatum obtinet, quique alios omnes continet, et movet in ipso²⁶³ subsistit. Nam omnium quae moventur principium circulus est, et circularis motus. Naturales²⁶⁴ igitur etiam illae, quae per se moventur mathematicorum rationes animas perficientes, quas /fol. 17v/ cogitatio proferens atque evolvens omnem producit mathematicarum disciplinarum²⁶⁵ varietatem. Neque ullo unquam temporum desistet semper procreans²⁶⁶ aliaque ad alia adinvenire suasque individuas²⁶⁷ rationes explanare. Nam cum omnia in se ipso²⁶⁸ praeceperit secundum principem formam, ob infinitam suam facultatem ex praesumptis principiis cuiuscumque generis theorematata producit.

²⁵⁷ animus *post corr. ex anima* A

²⁵⁸ ipso *post corr. ex ipsa* A

²⁵⁹ eorum quae sub mensuram cadunt *post corr. dimensionum* A

²⁶⁰ animi *post corr. ex animae* A

²⁶¹ ipso *post corr. ex ipsa* A

²⁶² ipso *post corr. ex ipsa* A

²⁶³ ipso *post corr. ex ipsa* A

²⁶⁴ naturales *post corr. ex substantiales* A

²⁶⁵ disciplinarum *post corr. ex scientiarum* A

²⁶⁶ procreans *post corr. ex generans* A

²⁶⁷ individua *post corr. ex indivisibiles* A

²⁶⁸ ipso *post corr. ex ipsa* A

4. Francesco Barozzi transl. *Procli Diadochi Lycii philosophi platonici ac mathematici probatissimi in primum Euclidis Elementorum librum commentariorum ad universam mathematicam disciplinam principium eruditionis tradentium libri IIII*, Patauii, excudebat Gratosus Perchacinus, 1560, Liber primus, Cap. VI, p. 6–10

/fol. 6/ Quae nam sit mathematicorum generum ac formarum essentia et quomodo subsistat, Cap. VI.

Sequitur ²⁶⁹ autem ut consideremus quatenam dicenda sit mathema/fol. 7/ticarum formarum generumque essentia, et²⁷⁰ utrum a sensilibus ipsam manere in rerumque natura subsistere sit admittendum sive per abstractionem, ut dici solet, sive per collectionem particularium in communem unam rationem, an et ante haec ipsam subsistere fatendum, ut asserit Plato omniumque rerum progressus ostendit.

Primum itaque, si a sensilibus mathematicas formas oriri subsistereque dicimus, anima quidem nostra a triangulis vel circulis in materia insidentibus, circularem vel triangularem formam postremo in se ipsa formante, unde accurata illa vis et certitudo illa, quae coargui convincique minime potest, rationibus inest mathematicis? Haec enim aut a sensilibus aut ab anima eruantur necesse est. Atqui a sensilibus haec educi est impossibile; multo ²⁷¹ enim maior certitudo illis concedenda esset. Ab ipsa igitur anima educuntur, quae imperfectis quidem perfectionem, iis autem, quae certa non sunt, quod certum sit adhibet. Ubi namque in eis, quae sub sensum cadunt, impartibile, vel latitudinis experts, aut crassitudinis percipi potuerit? Ubi porro ex circuli centro exeuntium linearum aequalitas? Ubi semper stabiles laterum rationes? Ubi angulorum rectitudines? Non equidem video. Siquidem omnia, quae sub sensum cadunt, invicem commista sunt nullumque in his syncerum reperitur, quod a contrario purum sit, sed cuncta partibilia, et dimensionum plena, et motui obnoxia existunt. Quonam modo igitur immobilibus rationibus ex iis, quae moventur, et alio atque alio tempore aliter se habent ipsam immutabilitatem firmamque attribuemus essentiam? Quidquid enim ab iis, quae moventur, ortum ducit essentiis, mutabilem ex ipsis habere existentiam nemo est qui non fateatur. Quonam demum pacto certis et quae minime coargui possunt formis a non certis certitudinem adiiciemus? Quicquid enim immobilis cognitionis est causa, magis illud tale est. Confessum²⁷² igitur ac

²⁶⁹ Sequitur] Quaestio. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷⁰ et] Prima opinio, quae est Aristotelis. Secunda opinio, quae est Platonis. Primae opiniones confutatio. Argumentum. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷¹ Multo] Certitudo mathematica ab anima ipsa emanat. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷² Confessum] Conclusio argumenti. Alia quaestio. Prima opinio, quae est Platonis. Secunda opinio, quae est Aristotelis, eiusque confutatio. Primum argumentum. *add. in marg. ed.*

receptum sit animam formarum rationumque mathematicarum esse genitricem. Verum siquidem habens exempla secundum essentiam constituit eas, et sunt huiusmodi ortus quaedam earum, quae in ipsa praexistebant, formarum emissiones, et Platoni astipulabimur haec dicentes, et vera nobis mathematicarum disciplinarum essentia erit inventa. Si vero non habens neque cum rationes praeoccuparit, tantum subtextit ornatum materiae expertem tantamque gignit contemplationem, quomodo quae genita sunt diiudicare potest, sintne vitalia aut subuentanea et simulacra pro veris? Quibus autem regulis utens veritatem, quae in his est, metitur? Quo demum pacto essentiam ipsorum non habens tantam rationum pro/fol. 8/ducit varietatem? Vagam quippe et incertam ita horum faciemus substantiam quaeque ad nullum terminum referatur. Si²⁷³ igitur anima mathematicas gignit formas, neque a sensilibus rationes habet, quibus eas constituit, ab illis tamen ipsas producit, ipsius utique animae partus ac foetus permanentes aeternasque patefaciunt formas.

Secundo²⁷⁴, si inferius et a sensilibus mathematicas colligimus rationes, quonam modo necesse non fuerit potiores eas perhibere demonstrationes, quaecunque a sensilibus constituuntur et non eas quae a magis universalibus simplicioribusque formis? Causas enim ubique demonstrationibus esse proprias ad eius, quod quaeritur, venationem dicitur. Si igitur particularia et sensilia universalium et sub cogitationem cadentium causae sunt, quid causae est, quod demonstrationis definitio ad magis universalia vice particularium referatur? Et eorum, quae cogitationi subiciuntur, essentia potius quam sensilium essentia cognatior demonstrationibus magisque affinis ostendatur? Nam neque si quis, ut dici solet, demonstravit aequicrus duobus rectis aequales habere angulos, et aequilaterum, et scalenum, is quodammodo scit. Sed qui omne triangulum et simpliciter demonstravit, per se scientiam habet. Et rursus quod universale est, melius est ad demonstrationem quam particulare, itemque demonstrationes ex magis universalibus constant atque conflantur. Ex quibus autem sunt demonstrationes, ea priora sunt, et singularibus natura praecellunt, suntque causae eorum quae demonstrantur. Multum²⁷⁵ igitur abest ut quae demonstrandi vim habent scientiae posterius genita obscurioraque sensilia respiciant atque scrutentur, non autem ea contemplantur, quae a cogitatione comprehenduntur, quaeque perfectiora sunt iis, quae a sensu opinioneque cognoscuntur.

Tertio²⁷⁶ autem adhuc dicimus, quod animam quoque materia ignobiliorem faciunt, qui haec aiunt. Nam si materia quidem essentialia quaeque magis esse dicuntur manifestioraque a natura accipit, anima vero secundo loco ab illis et simulachra et imagines posterius eductas in sese informat in essentiam minus

²⁷³ Si] Conclusio primi argumenti. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷⁴ Secundo] Secundum argumentum. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷⁵ Multum] Conclusio secundi argumenti. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷⁶ Tertio] Tertium argumentum. *add. in marg. ed.*

honoratam, auferens a materia, quae suapte natura ab ipsa separari non possunt, quomodo animam imbeciliorem inferioremque materia non ostendunt? Tum enim materia rationum materialium, tum anima formarum est locus. Sed primarum altera, altera secundarum, et illa quidem earum, quae praecipue sunt, haec vero earum, quae secundum essentiam, haec vero earum, quae secundum excogitationem factae sunt. Quonam pacto igitur anima, quae mentis intelligentisque essentiae primo est particeps, et hinc co/fol. 9/gnitione, totaque vita repletur, obscuriores recipit formas iis, quae ab ultima eorum, quae sunt, et quoad esse omnium imperfectissima recipiuntur sede? Verum²⁷⁷ enimvero huic quidem occurrere opinioni, quae saepe a plerisque exagitata ac convicta fuit, supervacaneum fuerit.

Quodsi neque per abstractionem materialium mathematicae formae sunt, neque per collectionem eorum, quae in singulis sunt communium, neque prorsus posterius genitae et a sensilibus, necesse²⁷⁸ est utique animam aut a se, aut a mente, aut et a se et a mente ipsas accipere. At siquidem a se dumtaxat, quonam modo hae intellectilium erunt formarum imagines? Quomodo inter impartibilem partibilemque naturam fuerint mediae, nullam a primis quoad esse perfectionem sortitae? Quomodo demum ea, quae in mente sunt, primaria omnium sunt rerum exempla? Si vero ab illa tantum, quo pacto vis illa exercendi sui, ac movendi sui, quae in anima est, permanere poterit? Siquidem quae in ipsa sunt rationes iuxta eorum, quae ab alio moventur substantiam aliunde in ipsam fluxere? Praeterea, in quonam anima ab ipsa differet materia, quae potentia solum est omnia nullamque prorsus formarum materialium gignit? Reliquum est igitur animam a se, et a mente hasce producere, ipsamque formarum plenitudinem esse, quae ab intelligentibus quidem exemplis oriuntur, ex sese autem ad esse transitum sortiuntur. Non²⁷⁹ est igitur tabella rationibusque vacua ipsa anima, immo semper scripta, seseque suapte natura describens, cum a mente quoque describatur. Nam²⁸⁰ anima etiam ipsa mens est, iuxta mentem ipsa priorem seipsam convolvens, imagoque illius et adumbratio extrinsecus facta. Si igitur illa cuncta intelligendo cognoscit, anima quoque cuncta animando; et si illa per exempla, et anima per imagines; et si illa contrahendo, anima distinguendo.

Quod²⁸¹ nimirum Plato quoque sciens, animam ex omnibus mathematicis constituit formis, eamque dividit per numeros, et connectit proportionibus harmonicisque rationibus, et primaria figurarum principia in ipsa defigit, rectum

²⁷⁷ Verum] Conclusio trimembris ex iis quae dicta sunt. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷⁸ necesse] Primum membrum. Secundum. Tertium. Primi membri confutatio. Secundi membri confutatio. Primum argumentum. Secundum. Tertii membri confirmatio. Conclusio. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁷⁹ Non] Digressio contra Aristotelem. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁸⁰ Nam] Cognitio animae differt a cognitione mentis. *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁸¹ Quod] Plato in Timeo animam ex omnibus mathematicis formis constituit. *add. in marg. ed.*

inquam, et circulare, et circulos in ipsa existentes ciet intelligenter. Cunctae igitur res mathematicae primum in ipsa sunt anima, et ante numeros numeri, qui per se moventur, et ante apparentes figuras figurae animales²⁸², et ante ea, quae concinnatae sunt, harmonicae rationes, et ante corpora, quae circulariter moventur, invisibiles circuli producti sunt. Horumque omnium ubertas ipsa est anima, et iste ornatus alius est, qui seipsum producit et a proprio producitur principio, et vita seipsum explet, ab opificeque sine corpore ac sine dimensione expletur. Et quando suas promittit ra/fol. 10/tiones, tunc omnes patefacit scientias atque virtutes. His itaque formis anima suam induit essentiam. Nec est numerus in ipsa unitatum multitudo existimandus, neque eorum, quae cum dimensione sunt ideo corporaliter intelligenda, sed vitaliter et intelligenter omnia apparentium numerorum, et figurarum, et rationum, et motuum exempla supponenda sunt, Timaeum sequendo, qui omnem ipsius ornatum atque creationem ex formis complevit mathematicis, omniumque causas in ipsa collocavit. Nam omnium quidem numerorum linearium, et planorum, et solidorum septem termini principia comprehenderunt, rationum vero omnium septem rationes secundum essentiam²⁸³ in ipsa praeextiterunt, figurarum autem principia secundum opificam vim in ipsa collocata sunt. Motuum denique primus, qui caeteros alios comprehendit et movet, una cum ipsa subsistit. Omnium enim eorum, quae moventur, circulus motusque circularis principium est. Essentiales igitur et per se mobiles mathematicarum rerum sunt rationes, animas complentes, quas utique rationes promovens provolvensque cogitatio omnem mathematicarum scientiarum varietatem constituit. Nec unquam quiescet, gignens quidem semper, aliaque post alia inveniens, suas autem individuas rationes explicans. Cuncta siquidem primarie praeoccupavit, et secundum infinitam sui vim ex praesumptis principiis varia producit proponitque theoremata.

²⁸² animales] vitales *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁸³ essentiam] causam *add. in marg. ed.*

5. Johannes Kepler, *De harmonices Libri V*, excudebat Ioannes Plancus, 1619, p. 114–117

/fol. 114/ Huius ²⁸⁴ igitur Procli philosophiam de speciebus rerum mathematicarum, quas ego terminos profiteor proportionis harmonicae purae et secretae a sensilibus, operae pretium est ex eius libro I in Euclidem hunc transcribere de verbo ad verbum:

Sic ille: Reliquum est ut videamus quatenus subsistentia seu essentia debeat assignari mathematicis generibus et speciebus. Concedendumne sit illa a sensilibus subsistentiam accipere sive per abstractionem, ut mos est loquendi, sive per collectionem eorum quae sunt per partes dispersa in unam communem rationem (seu definitionem), an etiam ante haec ipsis danda subsistentia, ut Plato usurpat, et universitatis rerum progressio ²⁸⁵ demonstrat?

Primum itaque, si affirmamus species mathematicas a sensilibus constitui dum anima a trigonis aut circulis materialibus, speciem circularem aut trigonicam secundaria quadam genitura in se ipsa format, quaero un/fol. 115/de veniat rationibus (seu definitionibus) illa tanta certitudo tantaque accuratio? Erit enim aut a sensilibus aut ab ipsa anima. At impossibile a sensilibus, multo namque maior subtilitas et exactio inest rationibus istis. Ab anima igitur, quae imperfectis perfectionem minime accuratis subtilitatem illam accuratam conciliet. Dic enim ubi inter sensilia inveniatur natura impartibilis (puncti) et latitudine carens (ut linea) et profunditates (ut superficies)? Aut ubi aequalitas linearum ex centro? Aut ubi proportionem semper constantes laterum (materia mei libri I) aut ubi angulorum rectitudines? Non equidem video, ut sunt commixta et confusa inter se omnia partibilia, nihil sincerum, nihil a contrario suo purum, omnia partibilia et quae locis dissita et quae unita. Quomodo igitur immobilibus ipsam durabilem essentiam ex mobilibus aliasque aliter habentes conciliabimus? Quicquid enim subsistentiam suam habet a motis essentiis, habere eam mutabilem concedunt ipsi. Et quomodo accuratis et certis speciebus a non accuratis impetrabimus accuratiam suam? Omne namque quod causa est notionis semper mutabilis, ipsum multo magis talis est. Supponendum ergo erit animam ipsam genitricem esse mathematicarum specierum et rationum. Atqui si illa continens in se ut prima exempla seu paradigmata ²⁸⁶ secundum essentiam ipsa subsistere facit, ut ita sint generationes (Christianus subaudit: creatio rerum sensilium) nihil aliud quam propagationes specierum quae in illa prius inerant (rationes creandorum corporum mathematicas Deo coaeternas fuisse, Deumque animam et mentem esse superexcellenter, animas vero humanas esse Dei creatoris imagines ²⁸⁷, etiam in essentialibus suo modo, id sciunt Christiani) tunc Platoni consentiemus haec dicentes,

²⁸⁴ Huius] Procli philosophia de essentia rerum mathematicarum *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁸⁵ progressio] Species mathematicas continuas non esse singularibus sensilibus quantis *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁸⁶ Paradigmata] Vera mathematicarum rerum essentia in anima *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁸⁷ Imagines] imaniges *ed.*

et vera essentia mathematicum nobis inventa erit. Sin autem anima cum non haberet nec prius alicunde accepisset rationes mathematicas (si, cum non fuissent ipsi concreatae), nihilominus admirabilem hunc ornatum immateriatum texit, pulcherrimam hanc speculationem enititur, quomodo ergo discernet sic genita, sintne subsistentia et constantia (μόνιμα non γόνιμα lego) an in ventos evanida, et spectra potius quam vera? Quibus normis usa veritatem eorum metietur? Immo quomodo, cum essentiam eorum non haberet, gignit tantam varietatem rationum? Nam hoc pacto fortuitam illorum subsistentiam faciemus, neque ad ullum scopum vel terminum tendentem. Sunt ergo animae ipsius soboles species mathematicae, nec habet illa rationes quas constituit a sensilibus, quin potius haec ab illis propagantur, suntque hi enixus ipsius et haec puerperia permanentium et perennium specierum evidentia²⁸⁸.

Secundo, si ab infra et a sensilibus colligimus rationes mathematicum (seu definitiones) quomodo non meliores erunt demonstrationes quas constituunt sensilia demonstrationibus universaliorum et simpliciorum specierum? Dicimus enim ad quaesitae rei investigationem, ubique principia et propositiones esse demonstrationibus seu conclusionibus cognatas. Si igitur singularia universalibus, si sensilia ratiocinativis sunt causae, quomodo fieri potest ut demonstrationis terminus ad magis universalia, non ad partialia referatur, utque²⁸⁹ intellectualium quam sensilium essentiam cognatiorem demonstrationibus probemus? Sic enim loquuntur: non si quis demonstrat aequicrurum habere angu/fol. 116/los duobus rectis aequales, idem aequilaterum, idem scalenum, hoc scire est legitimum. Sed is scientiam proprie dictam habebit qui de omni triangulo simpliciter hoc demonstraverit, item universalia meliora esse ad demonstrationem quam particularia. Amplius, magis universalium esse demonstrationes ex quibus vero constant demonstrationes, illa priora esse et natura praecedere singularia et causas esse eorum quae probantur. Multum igitur absunt scientiae apodicticae ab hoc, ut circa posteriora ortu et obscuriora sensilia propositiones suas mendicato colligant.

Dicam insuper et hoc tertium: illos animam viliores facere ipsis speciebus, qui haec dicunt. Nam si materia suscipit a natura illa quae sunt essentialia et magis entia et evidentiora, anima vero posteriori actu accipit ab illis, exempla et imagines ortu posteriori fingit in se ipsa respiciens ad essentias viliores et abstrahens a materia, quae secundum ipsius naturam sunt inseparabilia, nonne animam ipsa materia obscuriorem indigentiorumque faciunt? Nam et materia locus est materiatus rationibus, sicut anima speciebus (immateriatis). Esset vero illa locus prioribus, ista secundariis, et illa ducatum obtinentibus in essendo, ista subsistentiam habentibus ab illis. Denique, illa factis secundum essentiam, ista nuncupatis secundum intentionem. Quomodo igitur anima, mentis et intellectualis primae essentiae particeps, et quae cognitionem inde consummatam habet, quomodo, inquam, etiam obscurissimarum totius vitae specierum erit receptaculum,

²⁸⁸ evidentia] Mathematicas species non esse collectas in unum a singularibus quantis add. in marg. ed.

²⁸⁹ utque] Allegationes ex Aristotele add. in marg. ed.

infimi scilicet in rebus gradus omniumque imperfectissimi ad essendum? Verum hanc opinionem oppugnare pluribus, quae dudum a multis est flagellata ex merito, supervacaneum existimo.

Quod si non existunt mathematicae species per abstractionem materiatorum neque per collectionem eorum, quae insunt in singularibus communia, neque omnino sunt ortu posteriores aut ex sensilibus, necesse utique fuerit ut anima²⁹⁰ vel a se ipsa, vel a mente transsumat illas, vel denique et a se et a mente simul. Verum si a se sola, quomodo erunt imagines intellectualium specierum, quomodo erunt mediae inter partibilem et impartibilem naturam, cum nullam a primis consummationem ad essendum sortiantur? Quomodo denique prima exempla, paradigmata vel ideae, quae sunt in mente, sunt universorum principes? Sin vero a mente sola transsumuntur in animam, quomodo anima manebit ipsa seipsa operans, seque ipsam movens, si rationes quae sunt in ipsa ad normam subsistentiae illarum rerum, quae ab alio cientur, influxerunt in ipsam aliunde? Et quid differet anima a materia, quae solum potestate est omnia, nihil vero de materiatis speciebus generat? Restat igitur ut anima et a se ipsa, et a mente transsumat ista, et ut ipsa sit absoluta consummatio specierum, quae ab intellectualibus primis exemplis seu paradigmatis a seipsis genitis subsistentiam habent, et accessum ad ipsum ESSE²⁹¹ sortiuntur. Itaque nequaquam est anima tabula rasa ab omnibus rationibus vacua, sed est scripta semper tabula, scribitque et ipsa in seipsam et scripturis impletur a mente. Est enim anima mens seu intellectus quidam, qui seipsum secundum priorem se intellectum revolvit, imago illius et figura seu typus foris factus. Si igitur ille omnia intellectualit/fol. 117/er est, erit et anima omnia animaliter ; et si ille exemplariter²⁹², anima imaginis in modum; et si ille contractim et unitim, anima divisim.

Quod cum et Plato intellexisset²⁹³, animam ex omnibus constituit divisitque secundum numeros, revinxitque analogiis et rationibus harmonicis, inque ipsa contulit principia prima figurarum effectricia, puta rectum, et curvum, movetque circulos, qui sunt in ipsa intellectualiter. Omnia ergo mathematica primum sunt in anima, et ante numeros numeri seipsos moventes, et ante figuras apparentes figuras vitales, et ante concordata vel concinnata ipsae rationes concordantiarum seu harmonicae, et ante corpora, quae moventur in circulum ipsi inconspicui cycli conditi sunt. Estque anima omnium rerum consummatio, et haec est exornatio quaedam alia (praeter sensilem) quae et ipsa seipsam adducit (ad res) et a familiari et cognato principio adducitur, quaeque vita et seipsam implet et a creatore impletur, incorporeo et indistanti modo (Non longa abest ab

²⁹⁰ anima] anima hic intellegit mundo praecipue Deum creatum Platonis, mentem vero quam christiani dicerent ipsum Deum creatorem, cuius imagines sunt omnes animae creatae, corporibus vivificandis praefectae *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁹¹ sic in ed.

²⁹² exemplariter] Christianis et sunt animae exemplaria creatoris et sustentantur etiam num ab illo per quandam velut irradiationem vultus divini ipsas *add. in marg. ed.*

²⁹³ intellexisset] in Timaeo, qui est citra omnem dubitationis aleam commentarius quidam in primum caput Geneseos, seu Libri I Mosis, transformans illum in philosophiam Pythagoricam, ut facile patet attento legenti et verba ipsa Mosis identidem conferenti *add. in marg. ed.*

unoquoque; in ipso vivimus, movemur, sumus). Et cum profert explicatque rationes eius, tunc et scientias detegit omnes, et virtutes. Essentiatur igitur in hisce speciebus anima, nec existimandum numerum, qui in ipsa inest, esse multitudinem unitatum, neque forma et idea eorum, quae locis sunt dislocabilia, subaudienda est corporea, sed omnia vitaliter et intellectualiter supponenda, et prima exempla apparentium numerorum²⁹⁴ et figurarum et rationum et motuum, et sequendus hic Timaeus, qui omnem ipsius ortum et fabricam a generibus mathematicis consummat et perficit, inque ipsa rerum omnium causas reponit. Septem enim illi termini numerorum omnium secundum causam in ipso praeextiterunt, rursum figurarum principia architectonico seu fabrilis modo in ipsa reposita sunt, et motuum omnium primus et principalissimus, qui motus reliquos omnes circumdat incitatque, una cum ipsa extitit. Omnium enim quae moventur principium est circulus et motus circularis. Sunt igitur essentielles et se ipsas moventes mathematicarum rerum rationes quae consummant animas, quas anima proferens et propagans evolvensque omnem varietatem scientiarum mathematicarum facit subsistere. Neque erit unquam ut desinat illa progignere et eruere, semper alia post alia dum rationes suas impartibiles simplicitate exuit. Omnia enim prius accepit, specierum principum et primaevorum in modum, et secundum infinitam suam facultatem, ex principiis anticipatis omnis generis speculationum propagationes architectatur. Hactenus Proclus.

²⁹⁴ numerorum] animam mundi Timaeus intellegit, puto, 1, 2, 4, 8, 3, 9, 27 add. in marg. ed.

Appendix 3

FEDERICO BORROMEO, *DE FLORIBUS MATHEMATICIS*
MS AMBROSIANA R 181 (16) INF.; 1, FOL. 1R–2V

/fol. 1r/ Divisio mathematicarum ex Proclo *In Euclidis Elementa*

Aliae circa intellegibilia, aliae circa sensibilia versantes. Circa intellegibilia duae sunt: geometria et arithmetica, quae et purae ac praecipuae mathematicae appellantur. Nam prior magnitudines, secundum se et partes suasque passiones speculatur, altera numeros pariter secundum se, hoc est, in abstracto, ut aiunt, et species et accidentia considerat.

Circa sensibilia sex: astronomia quae et astrologia, perspectiva quae et optica, geodesia, musica quae et canonica, supputatrix quae et arithmetica, practica et mechanica.

Astrologiae duae sunt partes: speculativa, quae caelos, sydera et syderum motus, magnitudines et alia id genus speculatur, scientia mixta appellata, quoniam illius res subiecta naturalis est, rationes vero mathematicae a geometria desumptae. Altera practica in tres divisa: gnomonicam, meteoroscopicam et dioptricam. Prior rationes umbrarum gnomonum, videlicet solaris horologia docet conficere, pervestigat. Altera considerat elevationes et distantias syderum, signorum ortus et occasus, aliaque docet theoremata ac problemata. Tertia planetarum praecipue apparitiones distantiasque dioptris instrumentis exquirat, rationes reddens ex ipsa geometrica sicut et duae priores. Est et astrologia divinatoria, sed haec est ars coniecturalis, non scientia.

Optica a geometria ortum habet, ut enim geometria utitur lineis intelligibilibus, tamen uti dictum est, sic haec radiis seu lineis visualibus ac in duas distribuitur: in speculariam, causas reddens apparentiarum eorum quae nobis aliter apparere solent ob eorum quae sub visum cadunt alios situs et distantias, uti parallelarum coincidentiae et quadratorum, velut circulorum aspectus, et sciographia, id est umbrarum designatricem, picturae maxime conferrantes, quae ostendit quae ratione fieri possit, ut ea quae in imaginibus apparent, haud inconcinna vel deformia ob designatum rerum distantias altitudinesque videantur.

/fol. 1v/ Geodesia dicitur quae res quantas praesertim terrestres, unde nomen habet, metitur, ut sunt rerum materialium acervi tamquam coni, ut putei tamquam cylindri quod non lineis intellectibilibus, ut geometria, assequitur, sed sensibilibus, aliquando quidem certioribus quodammodo, veluti cum radiis solaribus utitur, interdum vero crassioribus, ut cum spatios adhibet et perpendiculari. Quae quidem non secus ac geometria in duas secatur, hoc est, in eam quae planas figuras, et in eam quae solidas dimetitur.

Musica apparentes sonitus concentus et rationes considerat, seu circa numeros sonoros versatur sensus egens adminiculo, hoc est auditus talisque existit, teste Platone in Timaeo, ut natura menti ipsas aures praeposuisse videatur. Est quae Geminus et preterea qualem musici huius temporis habeant rationum expertes. Huius tria sunt genera apud Boetium harmonicum, chromaticum et diatonicum.

Supputatrix numeros considerat non intellectiles, ut arithmetica, sed sensiles, quales in ipsis rebus sunt. Huius duae sunt partes: vulgaris²⁹⁵ et algebra magis recondita. Vulgaris²⁹⁶ quattuor operationibus, ut aiunt, constat: compositione seu collectione, ductione, subductione, divisione.

Mechanica, quae in rerum sensibilibus cognitione occupatur, rationes eorum quae fiunt exquirens multiplex est. Alia est instrumentorum effectrix a Graecis ὀργάνων ποιητική dicta maxime instrumentorum quae bello gerendo sunt apta tam ad oppugnationem quam ad defensionem, qualia Archimedes Marcello Syracusas obsidente fecit, quibus patriam sui tutatus est, qualia quoque sunt organa architectonica, veluti tractoria quibus onera trahuntur et elevantur, de quibus Vitruvius in architecturae suae libris; alia ταυματοποιετική Graecis, hoc est mirabilium rerum effectrix, et haec multiplex est, sive spiritibus, id est²⁹⁷ aeris impulsibus maximo artificio utens, uti in organis musicis de quibus apud Ctesibium et Heronem, sive ponderibus quorum /fol. 2r/ motus et status ad aequilibrium pertinent, sive nervi aut spartis animatas convolutiones et motus imitata aequilibrantium omnino, et eorum quae centro ponderantia vocantur cognitio.

Alia sphæropoea Graecis, id est sphæram effectrix ad celestium circunvolutionum imitationum, qua usus Archimedes sphæram illam admirandam fabricatus est, atque haec inter mechanica praecipua esse videtur, et ut uno verbo dicamus, omnis ars quae materiam movendi vim habet, mechanica dici potest, de qua plura apud Vitruvium.

Denique et militaris ars, quae circa instruendas et coordinandas acies versatur, castraque metitur, et ipsa mechanica nominatur, Graece τακτική, nam et haec, quemadmodum egena, omnes mechanicas rationes ab ipsa geometria petit.

/fol. 2v/Per il libro *De floribus mathematicis*.

²⁹⁵ vulgaris post corr. ex communis

²⁹⁶ vulgaris post corr. ex communis

²⁹⁷ id est p. corr. ex sive

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HUMANISM, TRANSCULTURALISM AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN JEWS

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Abstract

This article explores the evidence for Transculturalism and Humanism, in the early modern sense of the concepts, amongst Jews of the Ottoman Empire. In the first part of the article, attention is paid to the growing numbers of humanist European travelers to the Ottoman Empire and their relations with Istanbul Jews. The second section of the article is concerned with Ragusa, part of the Ottoman orbit since the fifteenth century. Here, attention is paid to Didacus Pyrrhus, member of an Ottoman Jewish family and the only great Jewish Neo-Latin poet of his age. The third section focuses on Ottoman Cairo and the discoveries and identifications of fragments of works for the theatre in Spanish in Hebrew characters. They attest to an interest in humanist texts. Finally, by way of conclusion, the article examines a specific case of cultural transfer and common ground between Christian humanists and Jewish traders.

Key Words

Cairo Genizah; Didacus Pyrrhus/Isaiah Cohen;
Dernschwam, Humanism and Jews; Sixteenth-century Ottoman Jews



Few, if any, historians of today would endorse the formulations of the polymath Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo – once seen as a leading intellectual figure – who, writing about early modern Spanish Jewish exiles in the Ottoman Empire averred that:

These new exiles [in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland], amongst whom there were those who cultivated artistic poetry could also renew the basis of traditional poetry, importing new ballads or composing them themselves. This [Spanish] influence reached only minimally *the synagogues of Turkey, very remote and isolated, lost amongst the barbarians and consisting at the time of people who were poor,*

uncultured and in decline who were completely different from the opulent and refined Hebrew merchants of Venice and Amsterdam.¹

It would be facile to dismiss his perceptions by reducing them to their date, 1900. And yet, Cecil Roth, half a century later, focusing on Ottoman Jews and judeoconversos returning to their roots in the mid sixteenth century, followed this gesture of comparisons and emphasized differences between Europeans and 'Orientals' in Constantinople where, according to him, there was an almost impenetrable *veil* between the Moslem and the Christian worlds.² Despite the differences in presuppositions, today's studies of early modern Western Sephardim routinely follow this or similar conventional comparisons.³

In the first section of the following lines, an attempt is made to show Ottoman Jewry, not as isolated and distant but, rather on the contrary, as cosmopolitan and transcultural in the sense in which it is understood by scholarship on the (non-Jewish) early modern Ottoman orbit, as e.g., in the works of Rhoads Murphy or Gülru Necipoğlu.⁴ The references to Istanbul Jews – whether Ashkenazi or Sephardi – in the *Diary* of Hans Dernschwam, an agent of the great sixteenth-century commercial enterprise of the Fuggers, exhibit numerous examples of contacts and transmissions rather than remoteness, isolation or distance. A reading of the *Diary* also shows how a sixteenth-century European humanist approached this area in which he acted as a humanist and, in addition, paves the

¹ MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos desde la formación del idioma hasta nuestros días*, Librería de Perlado, Madrid 1900, p. 297.

² CECIL ROTH, *The House of Nasi: The Duke of Naxos*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1948, p. 11; EAD., *Doña Gracia*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1948.

³ Linguistic, musical and literary scholars frequently compared Western and Eastern [i.e., Mediterranean] Sephardi traditions. It is presumably against the vestiges of Roth's vision that Hassan introduced the category of 'castizo'. IACOB M. HASSÁN, « Un género castizo sefardí: Las coplas », in PALOMA DÍAZ-MAS (ed.), *Los sefardíes: Cultura y literatura*, Servicio Editorial, Universidad del País Vasco, Bilbao 1987, p. 103–123. See also MIRIAM BODIAN, « Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: The Ambiguous Boundaries of Self-Definition », *Jewish Social Studies*, 15 (2008), p. 66–80.

⁴ See the references *infra*. I try to avoid anachronistic discussions of later, twentieth-century notions of cosmopolitanism which are irrelevant in a study focused on the sixteenth century. But see ULRIKE FREITAG, « 'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Conviviality'? Some Conceptual Considerations Concerning the Late Ottoman Empire », *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17/4 (2014), p. 375–391 who affirms [but does not accept] – in relation to late Ottoman history, rather than our sixteenth century focus – that « The latter term [i.e., cosmopolitanism], both in its wider usage and in the historiography linked to the Ottoman Empire, has become heavily laden with moral prescripts [...] ». See also MARGARET C. JACOB, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2006. For comparative purposes, it may be helpful to read the investigation of the cosmopolitan community formed by local groups and foreign nations, in Mamluk Alexandria. See GEORG CHRIST, « The Venetian Consul and the Cosmopolitan Mercantile Community of Alexandria at the Beginning of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century », *Al-Masāq*, 26/1 (2014), p. 62–77.

way for thinking about how his views – or those of many others like him – may have left a mark on those he contacted. A second section continues the focus on history of ideas, perceptions and culture and concentrates on Ragusa, a major hub for Ottoman commerce (in which local Jews played an intensive role) given its location in the transport system. It is also defined as a ‘window’ to European culture, arts and literature for the Ottomans. In our reading, we try to show the possibility of the presence of traditional (Hispano-)Jewish motifs in the literary work of a renowned Ragusan neo-Latin, humanist poet who returns openly to his Jewish roots in that republic. The third case, that of Ottoman Cairo, continues in this history of reading and attitudes by treating the original discoveries in the Geniza of printed *aljamiado* transcriptions of Spanish literary works in a humanist mode. The last section, still centered on Ottoman Cairo, refers to a phenomenon which stands at the intersection of the Renaissance interest in the material vestiges of ancient civilizations but also of trade, medicine and law/halakha.

I. Conviviality, Humanism and Istanbul Jewry

The Jews roast the large liver of the fattened goose as follows: They place it on a double sheet of paper, add a little goose fat from the parson’s nose, put it on a grate over a small flame and warm ash, and turn it there once or twice until it is firm. But you couldn’t salt them. Then they put goose fat in a pan as needed, put the liver in it and fried them on both sides so that they didn’t dry. They also added cinnamon bark and cloves to it. When the liver was juicy and it didn’t get too dry it was a good meal.⁵

Hans Dernschwam’s instructions for preparing grilled and fried goose liver are not out of character. The traveler in the Ottoman Empire (ca. 1553–5) conforms in this passage to a number of tendencies in his travel diary, in his culture and, more generally, in that of his age. This is not the only gastronomic item in the *Tagebuch*. His travel diary provides various recipes for ‘czorba’ (soup/stew).⁶ He is

⁵ HANS DERNSCHWAM, *Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im Osmanischen Reich: Bericht von einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553–1555 von Hans Dernschwam; mit einem Epigraphischen Anhang von Patrick Breternitz und Werner Eck*, eds. HANS HATTENHAUER und UWE BAKE, Peter Lang, Bern 2012 [Henceforward: *Tagebuch*], p. 157. See also *Hans Dernschwam’s orientalische Reise, 1553–1555 aus Handschriften im Auszuge mitgeteilt* von HEINRICH KIEPERT, Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, Braunschweig 1887. RALF C. MÜLLER, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396–1611): Berichterstatter aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, ausser burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania*, 10 vols., Eudora-Verlag, Leipzig 2006, vol. II, p. 199–220. Still useful is NATHAN PORGES, « Notizen aus Dernschwams Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel (1553/55) », *Monatsschrift Für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 68/7–9 (1924), p. 241–248.

⁶ On food in the writings of sixteenth century travelers see for example CLAUDIA RÖMER, « Zu Hans Dernschwams Betrachtungen über Gartenbau und Landwirtschaft bei den Osmanen (1553 und

particularly interested in the chicken stalls in the Istanbul market and describes the Jewish chicken section in detail.⁷ He goes as far as to inform the readers about the payment to the slaughterers per individual chicken (3 Mangurn, where 24 equal one asper). He is interested in Jewish *schmalz*.

As a merchant, he is interested in various aspects of food: prices, transport, religion. As this does not seem to be one of the conventional themes of sixteenth-century Ottoman Jewish history studies, it may need some elaboration. That means attending to sixteenth-century perceptions. In broad terms, the interest in food and the decorum or legitimacy of writing about food is part of the period following Bartolomeo Platina, whose *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* [On honest indulgence and good health], was the first cookbook to be printed. *De honesta voluptate* presented itself not only as a work about health but more as a cookbook with – humanist driven – roots in ancient Roman texts (Apicius, Varro, Columela,

1555) », *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 100 (2010), p. 159–176; VIRGÍNIA SOARES PEREIRA, « Plantas de uso terapêutico e alimentar em Amato Lusitano e Diogo Pires », in *Humanismo, diáspora e ciência, séculos XVI e XVII*, Universidade de Aveiro-Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Porto 2013, p. 313–326. Heyd has clearly shown how a Portuguese Jew – Don Manuel Brudo, often called Brudus Lusitanus –, in mid-sixteenth-century Istanbul, writes a work of gerontology with numerous references to food. It is a practical manual for the guidance of aged men, apparently the Sultan himself. Following the advice of Pliny, « the Roman scholar and Greek philosopher », the author gifts his treatise to the Ottoman ruler, but does not mention him by name. He also refers frequently to Galen. Other ancient Greek authorities cited are Plato, Aristotle, Diocles (of Carystos), Dioscorides. In addition, the author also refers to several other writers of antiquity, such as Juvenal and Homer. The latter's book on 'the Trojan war' is quoted to show that, in physical strength, present-day men are much inferior to the ancients. See the illuminating work of URIEL HEYD, « An Unknown Turkish Treatise by a Jewish Physician Under Süleymān The Magnificent », *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, 7 (1964), p. 48–53. Brudo was also the author of a work on food. Conrad Gessner, the Swiss humanist (1516–1565) admired him and tried to edit the work on dietetics of this Istanbul Jew. Johannes Crato von Krafftheim (1519–85), the German humanist and court physician to three Roman Emperors was the recipient of a letter on medicine in the Ottoman Empire in which Brudus Lusitanus of Istanbul is praised. Brudus was still alive in the 1580s. He is said to have been a physician of the Sultan Murad III's mother, and also a merchant and a Rabbi. See, apart from the works of C. Roth and Friedenwald cited by Heyd, ANTÓNIO MANUEL LOPES ANDRADE, « Conrad Gessner Edits Brudus Lusitanus. The Trials and Tribulations of Publishing a Sixteenth Century Treatise on Dietetics », *Portuguese Jews, New Christians, and 'New Jews': A Tribute to Roberto Bachmann*, Brill, Leiden 2018, p. 189–205. Recently, attention has been drawn to food items in a pharmacological work also composed in Constantinople. The author was Jacob Catalano, who belonged to the circles of Moses Almosnino and Šelomó Alhanat. He finished it « in the house of the Prince, the Duke, don Joseph Nassi ». It is entitled *Séfer ha-refuot w-segulot*. It has been shown that this Ottoman work is indebted to the physician of the Habsburg Emperor Charles V, the humanist Andres de Laguna. See ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Acercamiento al círculo de Belvedere: temas para el estudio del Ben Porat Yosef (Constantinopla 1577) », in *Actas del XVIII Congreso de Estudios Sefardíes*, CSIC, Madrid 2017, p. 107–134.

⁷ *Tagebuch*, p. 130.

Pliny).⁸ Such ancient Roman texts would not have been foreign to Dernschwam (who had spent time in Rome) or to other sixteenth-century humanist readers.

No less clear in Hans Dernschwam's age is the expression of attitudes to food in the visual arts. From at least the fifteenth century, European painters turned to fruits, desserts, or wine containers in both religious and secular images. These subjects testify to the artists' and contemporaries' keen observation of color, shape, and texture. They also often carried a symbolic meaning. By the sixteenth century, food paintings come into their own. Their message, like Hans Dernschwam's, is not purely dietary or gastronomic.⁹

Late fourteenth- to sixteenth-century texts were concerned with the connections between cultural/regional identities and food. Similarly, *etopeia*, the construction of characters in literary works, is also related to food.¹⁰ The literary use of food as marker of religion and ethnicity – particularly Jewish religion and ethnicity – has been studied elsewhere.¹¹ Hans Dernschwam's attention to precise Turkish or Jewish alimentation and recipes of ca. 1554 has closer analogues in the writings of those decades. Their links to the humanist concern with the classics, i.e., the Greco-Roman attitudes, has been thoroughly proven and studied.¹²

⁸ ANNALISA CERON, « A Humanist in the kitchen. Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* », *Doctor Virtualis*, 13 (2016), p. 39–61.

⁹ The realism of Jacopo de' Barbari's, (1504) *Still-Life with Partridge and Gauntlets* evinces a focus on – and acute observation of – food. The religious message is evident in Joachim Beuckelaer's (1533–1575), *Kitchen Scene, with Jesus in the House of Martha and Mary in the Background* (1566) or Pieter Aertsen's *A Meat Stall with the Holy Family Giving Alms* (1551). The modest *Peasants Eating a Dish of Beans* (1583–1584) by Annibale Carracci differs from the lavish banquet of the *Wedding at Cana* (1562–1563) by Paolo Veronese; they all attest to the early modern link between food and character, religion or social standing. For other aspects see, for example, JOHN L. VARRIANO, *Tastes and Temptations: Food and Art in Renaissance Italy*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2009.

¹⁰ The impression is that Golden Age Spanish literature stands out in this respect. Lope, Cervantes, Góngora, Tirso, Calderón, Quevedo and others are a small cross-section of examples, by influential literary masters, of the early modern European concern with food as sign of character. MARIO GARCÍA-PAGE SÁNCHEZ & CARMEN ÍMAZ AZCONA, « Contigo, pan y cebolla. Pautas para el estudio del léxico y la fraseología de la comida y la bebida en España », in ANĐELKA PEJOVIĆ, MIRJANA SEKULIĆ, VLADIMIR KARANOVIĆ (eds.), *Comida y bebida en la lengua española, cultura y literaturas hispánicas*, Facultad de Filología y Artes-Universidad de Kragujevac, Kragujevac 2012, p. 133–156.

¹¹ It is particularly clear in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century literary texts referring to Jewish food customs such as the *Epitalamio* by Cota (1470s) and Delicado's *Lozana* (1520s). See ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Inquisition, Theology and the Realism of *La Lozana Andaluza* », in STEPHAN WENDEHORST (ed.), *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Contexts, Sources and Perspectives*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2004, p. 71–106; Id., « On the Background to Cota's 'Epitalamio Burlesco' », *Romanische Forschungen*, 97/1 (1985), p. 1–14.

¹² Dernschwam's positive evaluation of « Jewish food » contrasts with the roughly contemporary, rather negative, evaluation of Turkish food by the traveler Nicolas de Nicolay, Sieur d'Arfeville & de Belair, (1517–1583). It may be said to have a precedent in the medieval positive evaluation by an anonymous Christian author (or translator) of a recipe for *haroset*. On Nicholay's attack and

Antonio de Guevara, bishop of Mondoñedo, writes in one of his letters (number ten) about a religious polemic he claims to have held with Jews in Naples.¹³ The fantasist believes Jews would drink the bishop's Mallorcan wine as he believes the public would accept his 'renderings' of Hebrew and Aramaic in another epistle. The 'anecdote' about the role of food in the religious disputation is incongruous in that specific text, unless Guevara is claiming (by implication) that Jewish arguments are as light as Jewish *pâte feuilletée*, while his own are as strong and noble as Mallorcan wine. Food, then, becomes one more component of the Judeo-Christian polemic. Amatus Lusitanus produces a more sustained reference to Jewish food habits in his cure of Azaria de' Rossi. Here he ascribes Jewish melancholy to gastronomic peculiarities.¹⁴

Hans Dernschwam's humanism expressed itself directly in his antiquarianism, i.e., in numismatic and epigraphic research emulating that of contemporary Italian antiquarians. But his collection of recipes is also recognizably a part of post-Platina culture. His discussion of wines, written in Istanbul – arguably echoing Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Book 14 – reveals an interest which borders on passion. We read not only about the taste, bouquet, texture, color, containers and additives but also about nostalgia for another age and other wines, those of the time of Ladislaus (Ladislaus the Posthumous, King of Hungary) and Ludwig (Ludwig II King of Hungary and Croatia).¹⁵ Dernschwam compares Greek wine merchants in Constantinople who dilute their wine with water to Jewish wine merchants who do not. Religion is not absent from his musings on Turkish customs concerning wine. It could be argued that the relatively lengthy space devoted to a description of the Jews of Constantinople is a concomitant of his writing on wine. The diary's style is associative, almost to the point of reminding the modern reader of the 'stream of consciousness' mode and reveals to the reader his train of thought.¹⁶ It is while discussing wine and wine merchants that he writes about

denigration of Turkish food see ERIC R. DURSTELER, « Bad Bread and the 'Outrageous Drunkenness of the Turks': Food and Identity in the Accounts of Early Modern European Travelers to the Ottoman Empire », *Journal of World History*, 25/2–3 (2014), p. 203–228, who sees a direct link between Nicholay's humanism and his views on food and identity which he traces to ancient Greco-Roman attitudes. For the anonymous medieval text on Jewish food (haroset) see ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « The Judeo-Christian Polemic and the Intelligence of Emotions », *Medieval Encounters*, 22/1–3 (2016), p. 266–286.

¹³ *Epístolas familiares* (Valladolid, 1539) number ten. Its rubric is « Letra para un Judío de Nápoles, sobre una disputa que hubo con el autor ». He asserts that « [...] apostamos entre tí y mi una hojaldre judáica y una pinta de vino de Soma ».

¹⁴ ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Jewish Bodies and Renaissance Melancholy: Culture and the City in Italy and the Ottoman Empire », in GIUSEPPE VELTRI, MARIA DIEMLING (eds.), *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, Brill, Leiden 2009, p. 57–92.

¹⁵ *Tagebuch*, p. 138.

¹⁶ Thus, immediately following the instructions for goose liver, which include a reference to goose fat, he embarks on a description of a fire in Istanbul caused by animal fat.

Jewish wines and commerce and from there he proceeds to write more generally about the Jews of Constantinople, leading to the passages which have become so well known thanks to Marcus' very select sample of translations.¹⁷ His musings on place and wine have a counterpart in his writing on place and Jews.¹⁸

It is clear to his readers, from his style, that as a Christian European in Istanbul, Hans Dernschwam will have perceived the liver recipe as doubly exotic: it was found in Istanbul and it was Jewish. Thanks to recent historical research we are aware now that the search for exotic food in this period was related to the pursuit and assertion of superior social status. It has been concretely evidenced and discussed in the case of noble courts in Renaissance Italy which showed their standing, in part, through exotic foods. The Este rulers of Ferrara were known for banquets in which luxury spices were added to the food and confirmed the family's high status among Italian nobility. As Ghirardo notes: « Water buffaloes and rice both arrived at court via Mediterranean waters in the late fifteenth century, the former as a producer of cheese for the two most famous duchesses, Eleonora d'Aragona and Lucrezia Borgia, while the latter soon lost its status as a rarity unless garnished with rare and expensive spices brought through the port of Venice ».¹⁹

As is obvious to his readers and has been occasionally noted, Hans Dernschwam expresses stereotype and prejudice. Many of his remarks on the Ottoman Jews reveal misunderstandings about Judaism and Islam. My example would be that he writes about the 'Green Hats' of Istanbul and thinks them analogous to Inquisitors and to Cohanim.²⁰ Sometimes his stories are only too recognizable as antagonistic religious polemics or grisly tall tales. Nevertheless, alongside these, there are descriptions and data which are frequently used by modern authors as a matter of course, whatever their accuracy.²¹ Nevertheless, the question of travelers' sources of information is legitimately raised and dealt with by historians analyzing travel accounts of this period, particularly Europeans who travel to the Ottoman Empire

¹⁷ JACOB RADER MARCUS, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book 315-1791*, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati 1938.

¹⁸ On the Salonikan Moses Almosnino's sustained writing in Judeo-Spanish on wines in 1567, see ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « *Acutissima patria*: Locating Texts before and after the Expulsions », *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*, 8 (2011), p. 19-38, p. 36, note 54.

¹⁹ DIANE GHIRARDO, « Mediterranean Pathways: Exotic Flora, Fauna and Food in Renaissance Ferrara », *California Italian Studies*, 1/1 (2010), p. 1-11.

²⁰ *Tagebuch*, p. 104-105.

²¹ See, for example, Roth's *Dona Gracia* and *Duke of Naxos*. Dernschwam is a frequently used source in these classics. YARON BEN-NAEH, GIACOMO SABAN, « Three German Travelers on Istanbul Jews », *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 12/1 (2013), p. 35-51.

or the Mediterranean.²² One of the problems is the travelers' lack of linguistic skills, particularly knowledge of Turkish. While describing a formal visit to the court, Dernschwam mentions that they were accompanied by two dragomans, one of whom was a Pole.²³ Elsewhere he mentions that the Pole converted to Islam and is now called Ibrahim.²⁴ Occasionally the travelers are vindicated:

A content analysis of the Leiden Sketchbook (1577–85) addresses [...] how a stereotype of an Ottoman town was created by sixteenth-century travelers [...]. The comparison of visual sources with travelogues and historiography confirms the historicity and trustworthiness of the drawings. The drawings are revealing when interpreted in the context of the approach of historical anthropology: they illustrate the travelogues and testify to the sensual experience of their author.²⁵

At other times their writings emphasize – for the modern analysts – their limitations. A specific case in point is that of the study of transport. The dearth of references to it in the travel accounts is:

[...] surprising, considering that caravans were a phenomenon easily observable also by European travelers. But most of the latter seem to have taken the existence of caravans for granted and record few details about their functioning. *Moreover, since travelers who did not speak Turkish had to rely upon middlemen to hire their camels for them*, it is perhaps understandable that so few travel accounts contain any information about the costs involved in camel transportation. Concerning the use of wagons, even fewer European travelers have anything to report, with the exception of Hans Dernschwam, the ethnocentric but technically observant former employee of the Fuggers [...]²⁶

The question of sources touches also on his humanist antiquarianism. He sometimes implies that the local population is completely ignorant of these

²² For discussions à la Braudel on Mediterranean unity and difference according to sources of the type discussed here and evidence which is relevant to the subject of Ottoman Jews, see for example ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Tres calas en la literatura de viajes (ss xv–xvi) », in TANIA M. GARCÍA ARÉVALO (ed.), *Viajes a tierra Santa: Navegación y puertos en los relatos de viajes judíos, cristianos y Musulmanes (siglos XII–XVII)*, Universidad, Granada 2015, p. 67–90; ID., « Sephardi Culture of the 'Cairo Genizah People': (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries) », *Michael*, 14 (1997), p. 9–34. NATALIE ROTHMAN, « Dragomans and 'Turkish Literature': The Making of a Field of Inquiry », *Oriente Moderno*, 93/2 (2013), p. 390–421.

²³ *Tagebuch*, p. 40–41.

²⁴ *Tagebuch*, p. 125.

²⁵ LUDÁ KLUSÁKOVÁ, « Between Reality and Stereotype: Town Views of the Balkans », *Urban History*, 28/3, (2001), p. 358–377.

²⁶ SURAIYA FAROQHI, « Camels, Wagons, and the Ottoman State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries », *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 14/4 (1982), p. 523–539.

concerns.²⁷ Fouquet believes that a source of his remarks on, for example, the sources of water in Constantinople was oral information received during the travels. According to Fouquet, the local population served as an important source of information *for everything relating to antiquity*, i.e., for everything relating to humanist antiquarian topics.²⁸ Although Dernschwam's curiosity and focus are his own, following his humanist education and cultural environment, it is clear that he depended on the locals for knowledge of particular humanist concerns such as e.g., the topography of ancient monuments, inscriptions and coins. That is to say that before Hans Dernschwam there were locals who knew about and remembered relevant themes of Renaissance humanism such as the existence of antiquities, inscriptions, coins, monuments and other objects of interest to humanist antiquarians and their location in the places he visited. It has been pointed out that early modern Ottoman Turks were no strangers to such concerns of the humanists as Troy, Homer and Homeric epic.²⁹ This in no way represents an undervaluing of the humanist scholarship needed to identify antiquities, whether erroneously or otherwise, which was Hans Dernschwam's own contribution. When discussing the Jewish beliefs about the river Sambation, he mentions Pliny and Josephus in passing, as if a matter of course.³⁰

At times, Dernschwam insinuates or refers obliquely to his sources. This would be the case with his 'demographic' data:

Countless number of Jews live in Turkey, who differ in nationality and language, but irrespective of their mother tongues, they stick together. And regardless of which country they have been expelled from, they all gather in Turkey, [...]. They almost fill Constantinople; they swarm like ants. *The Jews themselves talk about how many they are [...].* The Jews tease us, because the Turks cannot arrest them or carry them off as slaves and sell them. But they consider it a miracle that after the fall of Buda, the local Jews were moved there by the Turks, and instead of being sold as slaves, they were let go free; all they had to do was to pay taxes. Had they sold the Jews of Buda,

²⁷ JOHANNES FOUQUET, « Der Humanist und Fuggerfaktor Hans Dernschwam auf einer Reise ins innere Kleinasien », in JOHANNES FOUQUET ET AL. (eds.), *Argonautica. Festschrift für Reinhard Stupperich zum 65. Geburtstag*, Scriptorium, Münster 2019, p. 325–336.

²⁸ FOUQUET, « Der Humanist und Fuggerfaktor Hans Dernschwam auf einer Reise ins innere Kleinasien », p. 329.

²⁹ NECİPOĞLU, GÜLRÜ, « Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople », *Muqarnas*, 29 (2012), p. 1–81; GÜNAY USLU, « Homer and Troy in Ottoman Literature: An Overview », in *Homer, Troy and the Turks*, University Press, Amsterdam 2017, p. 137–166.

³⁰ *Tagebuch*, p. 143.

it would have caused the total financial collapse of the Turkish Jews, because they – according to tradition – would have had to ransom their coreligionists.³¹

Here Dernschwam himself tells us about the source of his data on the Jewish population of Constantinople. It was not the product of his own ‘field work’ or ‘keen observation’: « [...] *The Jews themselves talk* about how many they are [...]. The Jews tease us, because the Turks cannot arrest them [...]. But *they consider* it a miracle [...] ». That is to say, the traveler’s knowledge comes probably from conversations (in German or Hungarian?) with Jews in Istanbul. Elsewhere he mentions that he was often visited in Istanbul by a Jew named Samuel from Cracow.³² He talked to physicians and says – without specifying whether they were Ashkenazi or Sephardi or Romaniote – that they only knew Hebrew or Arabic.³³ He implies that he bought wine daily from Jews during the more than a year and a half of his residence in Istanbul. He speaks of a Jew named Joseph who was « *sunst ein gutter frolicher zechbruder* » [a good joyful drinking companion] and who frequently visited him in Constantinople. He knows how the Jews of Constantinople name Doña Gracia ‘Señora’ in Spanish. He writes that he knows about (the Spanish and Portuguese speaker) don Joseph Nassi because he is informed by Jews who are in daily contact with don Joseph.³⁴ Evidently, he had encounters with the Jews of Istanbul. That is to say that local Jews and others communicated with the humanist travelers whose numbers were increasing notably in the sixteenth century. Like the liver recipe, or the passages about Jews and wine or chickens, what we read as authored by Dernschwam is sometimes, in practice, his rendering of sixteenth-century Ottoman Jewish views and voices. We know what Dernschwam asked the Jews, but little attention has been paid to what they may have asked him. That is to say that, as in any encounter or conversation, information or values are transmitted both ways. The evidence found shows the Christian European humanist engaged in encounters, visits, conversations, transactions, conviviality and communications with Constantinople Jews in the mid sixteenth century. Such evidence paves the way for the question whether the numerous humanist travelers had an impact on Ottoman Jewish culture.

³¹ Hungarian Jews settled also in Sofia, Kavala, Vidin, and Thessaloniki. See also MARIANNA D. BIRNBAUM, *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes*, Central European University Press, Budapest – New York 2003, p. 38 for the translation of this passage.

³² *Tagebuch*, p. 149.

³³ *Tagebuch*, p. 152.

³⁴ *Tagebuch*, p. 155.

II. Didacus Pyrrhus:

Jewish textual traditions, Neo-Latin Culture and Images in Ragusa and Beyond

The centrality of Constantinople in Hans Dernschwam's account does not at all imply that his travel was limited to that city.³⁵ Nor (despite appearances) was the history of the Ottoman Empire and its Jews limited to Istanbul. Two additional cases may be examined here: Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik), an Ottoman tributary since 1458, and Cairo, Ottoman since 1517. While no one would argue that Cairo and the Ragusan Republic (or city-state) are identical, both places are in the Ottoman orbit.³⁶ In both we find traces of a cosmopolitan,³⁷ humanist culture. According to Gülru Necipoğlu, who studies the cosmopolitanism of the Ottomans, « the city-state of Ragusa », which began to pay the Ottoman court an annual tribute after 1458, functioned as an « open window to the West », supplying books and objects, including « images », that were ordered on occasion for the sultan and his « intimates ». It is clear to her that Ragusa is relevant to Ottoman history and culture.³⁸ In the case of the Jews, the recent discovery of Rivka Havassy reinforces our perspective and gives us a clearer idea of early modern Ragusan Sephardi culture. This may be inferred from the Ragusa manuscript studied by her. It contains Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish poems but also elements of a Jewish Ottoman character such as a bilingual Hebrew-Turkish piyyut/liturgical poem or the addition of the relevant makam in the rubric to some of the poems.³⁹

The case of Ragusa in the sixteenth century takes us to the personality and ideas of Isaiah Cohen/Diogo Pires/Didacus Pyrrhus. Locale and culture are closely

³⁵ For his extensive travels see e.g., STÉPHANE YERASIMOS, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman, XIVe-XVIe siècles: Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Société turque d'histoire, Ankara 1991, p. 230–233.

³⁶ See RIVKA HAVASSY, « MS JTS from Ragusa (Dubrovnik), 1752: An Unknown Source of Judeo-Spanish Traditional Poetry », in ELENA ROMERO (ed.), *Actas del XVIII Congreso de Estudios Sefardies*, CSIC, Madrid 2017, p. 135–157, at 139–140. BARIŠA KREKIĆ, « Gli ebrei a Ragusa nel Cinquecento », in GAETANO COZZI (ed.), *Gli Ebrei e Venezia: secoli XIV–XVIII*, Edizioni di Comunità, Milano 1987, p. 835–844.

³⁷ For cosmopolitanism in this period see RHOADS MURPHEY, « Bigots or Informed Observers? A Periodization of Pre-Colonial English and European Writing on the Middle East », *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 110/2 (1990), p. 291–303. Id., « Ottoman Medicine and Transculturalism from the Sixteenth through the Eighteenth Century », *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 66/3 (1992), p. 376–403; GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU, « Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople », *Muqarnas*, 29 (2012), p. 1–81.

³⁸ See also BENEDETTO LIGORIO, « Primi studi sull'apporto degli ebrei all'economia della Repubblica di Ragusa », *Atti e Memorie della Società dalmata di Storia patria*, 5 (2016), p. 31–50.

³⁹ See the reference to Havassy above.

associated in his Neo-Latin work.⁴⁰ Tucker has referred to the « espaces de l'identité religieuse juive-chrétienne ».⁴¹ In his anthology, Andre⁴² chooses poems which fully confirm this: he gives « um maior relevo aos poemas que tratam aspectos relacionados com Ragusa » [A greater attention to aspects related to Ragusa]. Description of the port city, praise of illustrious Ragusan families, praise of its peace and laws, felicitations for the publication of a history of the Slavs, compliments to a female poet, Cvjeta Zuzorié (Floria, 'Gallica Sappho'), all subjects of his poetry, fully confirm this link between poetry and location.

Isaiah/Diogo's inspiration in Tibullus when writing about the death of his mother or composing an epitaph for his (by then Ottoman) compatriot, Amatus Lusitanus, is only one of the ways in which his humanism is made visible, as is his composition of an epitaph for his own tomb – compared by Tucker with that of Erasmus. His Jewish identity as Isaiah Cohen during the long and final stay in Ragusa (1558–1599) was expressed in a number of ways: his name, the way he signed his letters, his testament, his burial.

Recent work has discovered a manuscript codex at the Folger Library containing his poems.⁴³ A noteworthy and relevant poem in it is dedicated *Ad Micas fratres*. It is undated, although it is surmised that it belongs to Cohen/Didaco's Italian phase. That is to say, a brief period before the *Micas fratres* became an Ottoman/Istanbul fixture. At the same time, renewed attention to an Ottoman/Istanbul work (*Ben Porat Yosef*) ascribed to one of his nephews, the *Micas fratres*, the Ottoman resident Joao Micas/Joseph Nassi (of Constantinople) brought into relief various aspects of the latter's image.⁴⁴ The genre of the panegyric, to which Isaiah Cohen's newly discovered poem to the Micas brothers belongs, was crucial in the enterprise of understanding the *Ben Porat Yosef* ascribed to Micas of Constantinople. Isaiah Cohen's poem to his nephews, *Ad Micas fratres*, with its assertion of friendship and admiration is also an expression of identity, given the parallel circumstances of both – uncle and nephews – biographies. They were

⁴⁰ DRAŽEN BUDIŠA, « Humanism in Croatia », in ALBERT RABIL (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism*, vol. II, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1988, p. 265–292. ANTONIO MANUEL LOPES ANDRADE, *O 'Cato minor' de Diogo Pires e a poesia didáctica do século XVI*, Universidade de Aveiro, Aveiro 2005.

⁴¹ GEORGE HUGO TUCKER, « De Ferrare à Raguse: chemins et espaces de l'exil, chemins et espaces de l'identité religieuse (juive et chrétienne) », in JEAN BALSAMO, CHIARA LASTRAIOLI (eds.), *Chemins de l'exil, havres de paix. Migrations d'hommes et d'idées au XVI^e siècle*, Publications du Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Paris 2010, p. 305–330.

⁴² CARLOS ASCENSO ANDRÉ, *Um judeu no desterro: Diogo Pires e a memória de Portugal*, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, Coimbra 1992.

⁴³ TOBIAS LEUKER, « Poemas de Diogo Pires in un código de Washington (con una edición comentada de los versos 'Ad Micas fratres') », *Humanistica lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 64 (2015), p. 97–111.

⁴⁴ ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Acercamiento al círculo de Belvedere: Para el estudio del Ben Porat Yosef (Constantinopla 1577) », in ELENA ROMERO (ed.), *Actas del XVIII Congreso de Estudios Sefardíes*, CSIC, Madrid 2017, p. 107–134.

Iberians, born in Portugal, exiles who escaped the Portuguese Inquisition, Louvain students, spent time in Western Europe and Italy and later found themselves in the Ottoman Empire, where Didacus/Isaiah Cohen's Micas nephews returned to Judaism. The *Ben Porat Yosef* (Constantinople 1577) – ascribed to Joao Micas/Yosef Nassi/Duke of Naxos – is presented as the result of his contacts with Italians in Istanbul. It has been recently seen as a work which evinces elements of humanism such as (to adduce only one) the contemporary Christian Hebraists' focus on theurgy – Divine and angelic 'names'. The comparison of the two Micas brothers, Cohen's nephews, to the Dioscurides in the Folger manuscript poem has attracted the attention of Neo-Latin scholarship. It has been announced as « un hapax en la producción de Didacus y en la poesía humanística ».⁴⁵ The hapax is even more remarkable once we realize that most of the sixteenth-century mentions of Joao Micas do not refer to his brother. There are some exceptions. Two are from near the mid-century: 1549 and 1552. A document listed under *Secreta* found by Rose (in the Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Consiglio dei Dieci, Criminali) reveals the intentions of the Council to prosecute Joao and his brother in 1549. Ortensio Lando's *Due Panegirici* published by Gabriel Giolito in Venice bears the date 1552.⁴⁶ Lando, Dernschwam, Isaiah, Yocel and Shmuel exhibit a common sensibility or esthetic rooted in the culture of the return to the ancient Roman sources.

The Folger poem mentions the dangers of the sea: they are termed, by the poet, the threat, the iron, the fire, and the constraints of the Spanish tyrant. In the body of the poem, as explained by Tobias Leuker, Didacus refers to the Jews persecuted by Spain, lamenting the fate of the Sephardim and invoking God and the Micas brothers. The verses are also interesting because of their relative transparency about the crypto-Jewish group's Jewish identities. Pires formulates in poetic (Greco-Roman) classical terms a non-poetic situation. He gives the group a way of thinking about themselves. The concept is both Jewish and humanist. The main image cluster is that of an anthropomorphic ship in a storm searching for a port. Leaving aside the (later?) *fortuna in porto* emblems, we might wish to place this cluster at the intersection of trends and traditions which are humanist, Iberian and Jewish.

⁴⁵ GUTWIRTH, « Acercamiento al círculo de Belvedere: Para el estudio del Ben Porat Yosef (Constantinopla 1577) ».

⁴⁶ CONSTANCE HUBBARD ROSE, *Alonso Núñez de Reinoso: The Lament of a Sixteenth-Century Exile*, Dickinson University Press, Fairleigh, NJ 1971. Another reference occurs in Almosnino's *Treatise on Dreams*: « veía a vuessa merced assentado en una silla muy rica. Y de la otra parte estaba el señor don Xemuél su ermano en otra (silla también muy rica) ». By the 1560s they were no longer 'Micas'. See PILAR ROMEU FERRÉ, « El sueño premonitorio de Moisés Almosnino sobre Yosef Nasí en el Tratado de los sueños (Salónica 1564) », *Sefarad*, 64 (2004), p. 159–193.

To be sure, the formula is not unique to conversos. Canfora⁴⁷ studies the topics of Poggio's *De infelicitate principum* and the humanist's use of sources including the topic of the port. He gives various examples of the image in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist texts and sees Cicero's *De Senectute* – with its notion of human life as a ship reaching port with death – as a prime antecedent.

Molesta el ponto Bóreas con tumultos cerúleos y espumosos [...] is the incipit of a sonnet by Quevedo. Smith's analysis shows in detail the Greco-Roman classical, and also the contemporary, early modern, resonances. The ship in the storm is one of the most frequent of lyric topoi employed by Quevedo and his chronologically closer antecedents.⁴⁸ Smith also points to precedents such as Horace's *Odes*, a political interpretation by Quintilian, and, most remarkably, Lucan. Once the implications of such studies are understood, we can reinterpret and appreciate the full significance of Rose's remarks about the frequency of these images in Alonso Núñez de Reinoso's *Isea* (Venice 1552), believed to be an allegory about Doña Gracia and her entourage. She compares it to their recurrent appearance in Usque's *Consolation to the tribulations of the people of Israel* (Ferrara: Usque, 1553).⁴⁹

While the images appear in a Byzantine novel in Castilian, a pastoral chronicle in Portuguese, and in Neo Latin poetry, i.e., in literary creations by Reinoso, Usque, and Pyrrhus/Isaiah, the full expression of the conceit is visual. It appears in the frontispiece of the Jewish Ferrara Bible – with Haphtarot in some copies – of 1553. It might be pointed out, incidentally, that recent research amongst the Genizah fragments at the John Rylands suggests that the Ferrara Bible was being read by Hispanophone Jews in Ottoman Cairo. The Bible was dedicated to Doña Gracia, by then a resident of Ottoman Constantinople.

The picture in the frontispiece of the Ferrara Bible still needs to be fully described: it consists of a scroll within which there is the shape of a heraldic shield flanked by cornucopias. At the top of the scroll there is a Neptune-like figure. On the sides, two visible asymmetric faces in profile seem to stand for the winds. It may be recalled that the more salient Latinate *cultismos* in the Castilian Spanish of the *Biblia de Ferrara* are the names of the winds. Inside the shield there is a deserted galleon with one broken mast tossed in a stormy sea.⁵⁰ The broken mast evokes the broken staff in representations of *Synagoga* in medieval sculptures, ivories or oil

⁴⁷ DAVIDE CANFORA, « La topica del 'Principe' e l'uso umanistico delle fonti in Poggio Bracciolini », *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 45 (1996) p. 1–92, especially p. 72 and note 229 on 'portus tranquillus'.

⁴⁸ PAUL JULIAN SMITH, *Quevedo on Parnassus*, MHRA, London 1987, p. 125.

⁴⁹ CONSTANCE HUBBARD ROSE, *Alonso Núñez de Reinoso: The Lament of a Sixteenth-Century Exile*, Dickinson University Press, Fairleigh, NJ 1971.

⁵⁰ See *Pharsalia*: « Just as, when the stormy south wind has repulsed from the Libyan Syrtes the boundless ocean, and the broken mass of the sail-bearing mast has sent forth its crash, and the pilot, the ship deserted, leaps into the waves, the seaman, too, and thus, the structure of the vessel not yet torn asunder, each one makes a shipwreck for himself ». *The Pharsalia of Lucan*, ed. by HENRY T. RILEY, George Bell, London 1903, p. 32.

paintings. Two sea creatures are engrossed in observing the scene.⁵¹ Another mast is unbroken and holds, at the top, a sphere which is neither an astrolabe nor a terrestrial globe – as is sometimes imagined – but an armillary sphere. This is the one element which the printer and editor, Abraham Usque, would single out of the whole representation as his own chosen printer's mark in other books printed by him, such as the recently discovered edition of the *Spanish Psalter* by Abraham Usque (Ferrara 1554)⁵² amongst many other Hebrew and Spanish works. It is therefore worth noting as an icon of an early modern Jewish publisher's identity. The anchor constitutes its base (in Abraham Usque's printer's device). The armillary sphere is associated with the royal heraldry of late medieval Portugal, the geographic origin of many or all of the members (such as Didacus/Isaiah) of the converso network surrounding Usque and the House of Nasi on their way to the Ottoman Empire. But as an exclusive explanation according to which Usque, lacking in any ideas of his own, simply imitated the emblem restricted to the royal house of Portugal, it is not fully satisfactory. Roth⁵³ could not have been aware of Roy Strong's and Jean Wilson's work⁵⁴ on the armillary sphere as an attribute of Queen Elizabeth I in her persona of Astrea or Urania. And yet the evidence assembled by art historians on the sixteenth-century ubiquity of the armillary sphere is overwhelming but absent from treatments of the mark/icon of the Usque Press. It is not inconceivable that this icon's text (« I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word *do I hope* » [Ps. 130:5]) is at the root of the centrality of *Esperanza* in the next century's book titles and in the thought of Menasse ben Israel. The hope for a safe port reappears elsewhere. In their dedication (1553) to the Duke of Ferrara, Hércules de Este, the printers of the *Biblia de Ferrara*, Vargas and Pinel, express their confidence that with his support they will be able to *navigate the tempestuous seas* stirred up by their detractors.

While the affinities with humanism have been studied and are perfectly evidenced standing out as they do in Didacus' output in Ragusa and Ferrara, there may be other – perhaps less visible – additional possibilities in the approach to his work. Isaiah Cohen's Jewish identity during his lifetime in Ragusa, as has been seen, is accepted by consensus. His lengthy presence in the Jewish community of Ragusa may lead us to search not only in his itinerary, his 'life' but also in texts.

⁵¹ One wonders whether they are dolphins, well known as rescuers of the shipwrecked as in stories about Arion, Taras or Telemachus or in Alciato's *Emblems*. BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY, « Dolphins and Dolphin-Riders », *Archaeology*, 23/2 (1970), p. 86–95.

⁵² ARON DI LEONE LEONI, « A Hitherto Unknown Edition of the Spanish Psalter by Abraham Usque (Ferrara 1554) », *Sefarad*, 61/1 (2001), p. 127–136.

⁵³ CECIL ROTH, « The Marrano Press at Ferrara, 1552–1555 », *The Modern Language Review*, 38/4 (1943), p. 307–317 discusses the frontispiece at p. 312 and, unlike some later references, correctly identifies the sphere.

⁵⁴ JEAN WILSON, « Queen Elizabeth I as Urania », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 69 (2006), p. 151–173 and the bibliography in the notes.

That is to say, the texts which were part of the Jewish tradition, learning and culture at that time.

One example of such texts is the work of the exegete and philosopher Joseph ben David Ibn Yahya, (1494–1534), who was born in Florence. His Hebrew *Commentary* on Daniel was written in the territories of the D’Estes and published in Bologna in 1538. But his context is not purely Italian. His parents had fled to Italy from Portugal and, in his Prologues, he constructs a genealogical tree of Ibn Yahyas going back for about eleven generations, all of them in the Iberian Peninsula, especially in Portugal. It has been observed that in his *Commentary* on Daniel, Ibn Yahya develops the theme now known as the ‘anxieties of the courtier’, an ancient topos which could be traced back to the Talmud and medieval bible exegesis. It was still current in Moses Arragel’s additions to his translation of the Bible (1422–33). But ibn Yahia adds « that the life of the courtier is as dangerous as the ship in a stormy sea ».⁵⁵ Didacus/Isaiah Cohen employs the same motif in his Folger poem to the Micas brothers of Constantinople. It is also taken up by Reinoso, Samuel Usque and the text of the ‘Dedication’ of the Ferrara Bible and later, arguably, in the Salonikan Almosnino’s *Extremos y grandezas*.

If we take the related motif of exile, we note that scholarship on Diogo⁵⁶ has seen it as a dominant theme in his output. The comparison to the classics (e.g., the *Odyssey*) and to the humanists (e.g., Erasmus) is solidly based on his Neo-Latin poetic formulations and the echoes of classical texts. But, behind or before these, there may have been a *decorum* manifested in his notions of poetic significance, or in his personal selections of poetic themes, genres, motifs. It might be helpful, therefore, to recall that there is a large corpus of writings on travel and exile in the Jewish tradition in general and the Hispano-Jewish one in particular. Discussions on the positive and negative aspects of exile and travel are present in both, Hebrew prose and poetry. Relevant Hispano-Jewish texts have been studied

⁵⁵ ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Daniel 1/4 y las ansiedades del cortesano », in *III Simposio Bíblico Español y Luso-Espanhol*, Fundación Bíblica Española, Valencia – Lisbon 1991, p. 639–648.

⁵⁶ GEORGE HUGO TUCKER, « Joachim Du Bellay’s Precursors and Contemporaries in Italy: Pietro Alcionio, Ortensio Landi, and Diogo Pires », in MARIE-FRANCE GINESTE, WOLFGANG KOFLER, ANNA NOVOKHATKO, GILLES POLIZZI (eds.), *Die neulateinische Dichtung in Frankreich zur Zeit der Pléiade*, Narr Verlag, Tübingen 2015, p. 293–317. GEORGE HUGO TUCKER, *Homo Viator: Itineraries of Exile, Displacement and Writing in Renaissance Europe*, Droz, Geneva 2003; CARLOS ASCENSO ANDRÉ, *Um judeu no desterro: Diogo Pires e a memória de Portugal*, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica-Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra 1992. GEORGE HUGO TUCKER, « Voix d’exil, voies divergentes chez deux Marranes portugais, Diogo Pires (1517–99) et João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (1511–68) », *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 245 (1997), p. 33–49; ID., « To Louvain and Antwerp, and Beyond: The Contrasting Itineraries of Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, 1517–99) and João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (Amatus Lusitanus, 1511–68) », *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Studia*, 19 (1998), p. 83–113.

and show the currency of such meditations in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁷ In Pires' own century we have the case of the *Scepter of Judah-Shevet Yehuda*, printed in Ottoman Adrianopolis/Edirne in the mid-sixteenth century. Various attempts have been made at characterizing it, including its description as the first modern Jewish history book or as a compendium of folklore. More recently, however, another possibility has been raised. Indeed, there is a discrete type of writing which attracts intense attention and is known as 'exile literature'. The centrality of the question of exile in the *Shevet* would support a classification of this Hebrew prose chronicle, a major influence on early modern Jewish culture, in such terms.

The praise/dispraise of cities that we find in Didacus' work is also not absent in late medieval Hispano-Jewish texts. Bonafed's fifteenth-century invective against the community of Saragossa would be one example. The Iberian don Ishaq Abravanel's praise of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Siena and Bologna⁵⁸ would be another. On another plane, we find it in the *Lozana Andaluza*. Recently, attention has been drawn to the category of exile in the works of Amatus Lusitanus. The invective against Queen Isabella in Didacus may also have antecedents in Abravanel and others.⁵⁹

III. Iberian Humanism in Ottoman Cairo

Elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, three discoveries of Spanish dramatic literature in Cairo may lead to a reassessment of Jewish culture there. A Hispano-Jewish presence and community/ies have been studied and found there even before the influx of exiles following the Iberian expulsions of the 1490s.⁶⁰ The three discoveries of fragments are, firstly, a manuscript page in Latin characters with the conventional 'with the help of God' (*be-'ezrat ha-shem*) in the upper right corner in Hebrew characters followed by the title of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Aquilana* (1524) in Latin characters. This seems to be the first page or frontispiece of a Latin character manuscript copy of the work made by a Jew. Secondly, a printed fragment in Hebrew characters identified as part of an aljamiado version/transcription of the *Comedia Aquilana*. And thirdly, printed fragments in Hebrew characters identified as parts of an aljamiado version/transcription of the *Tragedia Josefina* (1535) by Micael de Carvajal. The provenance of the first fragment

⁵⁷ ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Viajes y viajeros hispanojudíos en la Baja Edad Media », in JOSÉ LUIS HERNANDO, PEDRO LUIS HUERTA HUERTA, MIGUEL ÁNGEL GARCÍA GUINEA (eds.), *Viajes y viajeros en la España medieval*, Fundación Santa María la Real – Centro de Estudios del Románico, Aguilar de Campoo 1989, p. 293–308.

⁵⁸ In his *Commentary* on I Sam. 8 (written in the Iberian Peninsula, ca. 1483–1484)

⁵⁹ YOLANDA MORENO KOCH, « Figuras antisemitas según las crónicas hebraico-españolas », *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. IV: *History of the Jews in Europe*, World Union of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 1977, p. 93–100.

⁶⁰ See, amongst others, GUTWIRTH « Sephardi Culture of the 'Cairo Genizah People' ».

is the padding of the binding of a halakhic compendium in manuscript including texts by R. David ibn Zimra, Rabbi of Cairo in the sixteenth century. The provenance of the last two is the repository of the Ben Ezra Synagogue of Cairo known as the Cairo Genizah. Their Jewish provenance is thus impeccable, in addition to the use of Hebrew characters in all three types of fragments.⁶¹ A difference between these last two and the first is that they are printed. This means, of course, that the fragments attest to an original printed book in numerous copies which contained other – i.e., all – parts of the work. This leads us to the further question of the public for such texts.

That Jews in medieval Iberia before 1492 were aware of their neighbors' literature and read their books, is amply evinced by scholarship on history of ideas, on their thought, their literature and their books. That is to say that there is an element of continuity in the – albeit unsuspected – presence of such sixteenth-century works in the midst of the 'post-exilic', Jewish community of Ottoman Cairo. It follows that any realistic analysis of Jewish culture at that time and place must attend to these works. The questions to be asked would be: what did the readers seek or find in these works? what did the publishers assume when investing in the labors and costs of Hebrew character transcriptions and prints of these texts? how were they read in the early modern Jewish community? As in the cases of Dernschwam and Didacus, so here – in the synagogal items – too, we find elements of the Renaissance humanist predilection for Greco-Roman culture.

In the *Comedia Aquilana*,⁶² by Torres Naharro, the hero, Aquilano, is a foreign prince who disguises himself as a gardener for the love of Princess Felicina. This love having been discovered, the king, furious, wants to have the young man executed, and Felicina, desperate for the life of her beloved, retires to a garden where she wants to end her life. Meanwhile, the king, having learned that Aquilano is the son of the king of Hungary, is no longer opposed to the union of the two lovers. Dileta comes to bring the news to her mistress Felicina.

⁶¹ For the discoveries in the Genizah see GUTWIRTH, «Sephardi Culture of the 'Cairo Genizah People'»; Id., «The Hispanicity of Sephardi Jewry: A Genizah Study», *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 145/3–4 (1986), p. 347–357.

⁶² JOSEPH E. GILLET, OTIS H. GREEN, *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, vol. IV: *Torres Naharro and the Drama of the Renaissance*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1961; JOAN OLEZA, «En los orígenes de la práctica escénica cortesana: La Comedia Aquilana de Torres Naharro», in *Théâtre, musique et arts dans les cours européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque*, Université de Varsovie, Warsaw 1997, p. 153–177; JULIO VÉLEZ-SAINZ, «De la noche al lenocinio: Usos amorosos y prostibularios de la noche en la 'Comedia Serafina' y la 'Comedia Aquilana' de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro», *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 22 (2012), p. 375–390; JULIO VÉLEZ-SAINZ, «Hacia una nueva edición crítica de la Comedia Aquilana de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro», *Incipit*, 32 (2019), p. 135–156. JÉSSICA CASTRO RIVAS, «De la comedia a fantasía a la comedia palatina: Aquilana de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro como modelo dramático», *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 94/4 (2017), p. 595–613.

What the Jews were reading in Hebrew characters was the work of an author, Torres Naharro, who admired Virgil and Lucan, quoted Ovid and Persius, imitated Plautus and Terence. The indebtedness of Bartolome de Torres Naharro to classical Roman Comedy is not in doubt.⁶³ He himself asserts in writing that he is familiar with the works of Plautus. Features such as the division into five acts, the use of the *introito* and the *argumento*, as well as the function of the servants, allow us to link Torres Naharro with classical comedy. The preface to his *Propalladia* (1517) asserts that Torres was such an excellent humanist that he could have written the whole work in Latin. Lenz⁶⁴ had pointed out that the scene between the *infanta* Felicina and her *criada* Dileta in the last act of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Aquilana*, is indebted to Plautus' *Asinaria*. Leon Hebreo's notion that the lover turns into the beloved is expressed in the line: « bien sabes que el amante se conuierte [...] en la persona amada ».

Zimic insists on the certainty that Torres Naharro was an Erasmist.⁶⁵ Surtz adds that « many, if not most, of the Spanish erasmistas were also *cristianos nuevos*. The ideas of Erasmus were all the more attractive to that social group that was able to perceive most clearly the gulf between the Christian beliefs and the un-Christian practices of its Old Christian neighbors ». ⁶⁶ Neither has the question of performance been resolved. The Jews of Cairo would hardly have occasion to perform university plays. A chamber play is a possibility and the contemporary references to 'recite' dramatic works would point in this direction. The play ends in a wedding and the whole work is considered to be a wedding play.

Amongst the early theatrical works in Castilian, the *Tragedia Josefina*⁶⁷ inspired by the story of Joseph and Potifar's wife, with some Celestinesque tendencies, was a work which was published more than once between 1535 and 1546. It was prohibited by the Inquisition in 1559 and remembered still forty years after that, when, in 1599, permission was sought for it to be performed. In the *Tragedia Josefina*, the herald defends the author's work and his many efforts to amuse the public. The summary by Florence Whyte is still worth citing:

Carvajal tells the story of Joseph, the beautiful youth sold into captivity in Egypt, where he was tempted by Potiphar's wife and cast into prison; of his clairvoyance, his wisdom, and his magnanimity toward his brethren. The most appealing lines of

⁶³ RAYMOND L. GRISMER, « Another Reminiscence of Plautus in the Comedias of Torres Naharro », *Hispanic Review*, 8/1 (1940), p. 57–58.

⁶⁴ ANITA LENZ, « Torres Naharro et Plaute », *Revue Hispanique*, 57 (1923), p. 99–107.

⁶⁵ STANISLAV ZIMIC, *El pensamiento humanístico y satírico de Torres Naharro*, 2 vol., Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, Santander 1979.

⁶⁶ RONALD E. SURTZ, « Review of: 'El pensamiento humanístico y satírico de Torres Naharro' », *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 32/2 (1980), p. 143–146.

⁶⁷ JOSEPH E. GILLET, *Estudio, edición y notas de Tragedia Josefina de Micael de Carvajal*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1932.

the tragedy are found in Joseph's lamentations at the tomb of Rachel. It would be interesting to know the relation of these verses to Old Spanish *endechas*. Our emotions are stirred by Joseph's misfortunes and by the grief of Jacob, although, as Professor Gillet points out, the transcendent value of the play is due to the creation of Zenobia,⁶⁸ in whom passion speaks with a fullness of power not attained elsewhere.⁶⁹

Carvajal introduces, at the end of every act, choruses of classical inspiration. His understanding of the category 'Tragedia' is not that of the Middle Ages but that of the Renaissance humanists. His division of the work into five acts is that current in the Renaissance. He may have taken it from Torres Naharro, with whom his work is linked in other ways, as pointed out by Juan Carlos Garrot Zambrana.⁷⁰ Its connection to humanist comedy (e.g., *Celestina*) has been shown on the basis of its extension, the personage of Zenobia, wife of Potifar, or the lament of Jacob. The character of Jacob reminds critics of the Senecist theatre. All of this becomes a new, fresh and unexpected phenomenon when read in Ottoman Cairo in a printed text in Hebrew characters.

Given the ample array of different opinions, one may offer an additional perspective on the two plays and their link. They would both appeal to a taste for one of the staples of medieval and Renaissance storytelling: tales of concealed/mistaken identities.⁷¹ The *Aquilana*, as has been seen, depends on this. Aquilano conceals his identity; he wishes to be loved for himself and pretends to be a gardener. The denouement revolves around the revelation of – and return to – his previous identity. He might be called a crypto-prince. In the *Josefina*'s source, the brothers do not recognize Joseph. He conceals his identity: « and Joseph saw his brethren but *made himself strange unto them and spake roughly unto them* » (Gen. 42:6–7). The story is resolved by recognition or revelation: « Then Joseph could not refrain himself [...] Joseph *made himself known* unto his brethren.

⁶⁸ In the late Judeo-Spanish 'Joseph literature', Potiphar's wife is called Segoviana, a fact which puzzled twentieth-century scholars who could find no Jewish antecedents for this. See e.g., ELENA ROMERO, *El teatro de los Sefardies orientales*, CSIC, Madrid 1979, vol. I, p. 558. MOSHE LAZAR, *Joseph and His Brethren: Three Ladino Versions*, Labyrinthos, Culver City, CA 1990, p. 210. If, however, we observe the Geniza fragment, we can realize that the typographical rendering of the *nun* could easily lead to a *gimmel*, thus explaining the conundrum.

⁶⁹ FLORENCE WHYTE, « Review of: 'Joseph E. Gillet, *Estudio, edición y notas de Tragedia Josefina de Micael de Carvajal*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1932' », *Hispania*, 16/1 (1933), p. 114.

⁷⁰ JUAN CARLOS GARROT ZAMBRANA, « A vueltas con la 'Tragedia Josefina' de Micael de Carvajal », in FELIPE B. PEDRAZA JIMÉNEZ, RAFAEL GONZÁLEZ CAÑAL, ELENA E. MARCELLO (eds.), *Drama y teatro en tiempos de Carlos I (1517–1556)*, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca 2018, p. 171–188.

⁷¹ See, for an example among many, CHRISTINA WALD, *The Reformation of Romance: The Eucharist, Disguise, and Foreign Fashion in Early Modern Prose Fiction*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2014. It is present in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night* and may be traced back to Plautus or Menander.

And he wept aloud [...] And Joseph said unto his brethren: I am Joseph, doth my father yet live? » (Gen 45:1 ff).

For Hispanophone Jews in the post-expulsion period both stories could well be understood as stories of exile and concealed identities. Numerous sixteenth-century texts attest to an image of the Ottoman Empire as a haven from persecution, as a space where crypto-Jewish converts could return to Judaism⁷² and where Jews could practice their religion in relative freedom.

IV. (By Way of) Conclusion: Renaissance Mummies

Ottoman-Cairene Jewish culture was not limited to that of merchants, lawyers and mystics. These were by no means exclusive parameters. To conclude, therefore, one might point to a case of cultural exchange or transfer which shows, yet again, the cosmopolitan ties between Christian Europeans and Ottoman Cairene Jews in the age of humanism. There was a commonality of interests and assumptions between Cairene Jews – including Rabbis and merchants – on the one hand and the humanist Christian travelers to the Ottoman Empire on the other.

The above-mentioned David ben Solomon ibn (Abu) Zimra (1479–1573) born in Spain, author of more than 3.000 responsa, was in Cairo as early as 1517.⁷³ Rabbi David ibn Zimra was the recipient of a question about trading in mummy parts and using them for medicinal purposes. (*Responsa*, vol. III, no. 548 or 979)

You asked me to tell you my opinion on what does *everyone* rely when using the flesh of the dead that is called 'mummy' as a remedy, even in a case where there is no danger and it is not ingested. Not only that, they also trade and do business in this, and this is a prohibited profit, as we hold that it is prohibited to benefit from the flesh of the dead, as it is written 'And Miriam died there'.⁷⁴

R. David replies:

You need not have asked about the prohibition on eating, for it is certainly permissible to eat. Its form has been altered and it has returned to mere dust,

⁷² Dernschwam explicitly describes Istanbul as a place where conversos return to Judaism.

⁷³ HIRSCH JAKOB ZIMMELS, *Rabbi David ibn abi Simra*, Druck Th. Schatzki, Breslau 1932; ISRAEL M. GOLDMAN, *The Life and Times of Rabbi David Ibn Abi Zimra: A Social, Economic and Cultural Study of Jewish Life in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries as Reflected in the Responsa of the RDBZ*, JTS, New York 1970), p. 140–147, 229. ELIYAHU STRAUSS-ASHTOR, *History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Rule of the Mamluks*, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1951, p. 458ff.; SAMUEL MORELL, *Studies in the Judicial Methodology of Rabbi David ibn Abi Zimra*, University Press of America, Dallas 2004; DORA ZSOM, « Converts in the responsa of R. David ibn Avi Zimra. An Analysis of the Texts », *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*, 6 (2008), p. 267–292; ZALMAN MENAHEM QOREN, « Qdushat ha-Kotel ha-Ma'aravi bemishnat ha-RDBZ », *Ma'alim be-Qodesh*, 38 (2009), p. 3–9 [Hebrew].

⁷⁴ Numbers 20:1. He seems to be referring tacitly to bAZ 29b where this is a prooftext for the prohibition to derive benefit from a corpse.

certainly by means of fragrant drugs, for the mummy is the embalmed flesh, which is treated with several types of fragrant drugs so that the form and body are preserved, that has become tarlike. It is not forbidden to eat it, as I have written with regard to musk and theriac. However, with regard to the prohibition on deriving benefit, this rationale is clearly insufficient grounds to permit.

R. David ibn Zimra argued that it is permitted to eat parts of a mummy since the flesh has been treated and has changed so much that it is no longer really 'flesh'. He believed that these were the mummies of the dead of ancient, pagan Egypt.

The epistolary exchange involves two sixteenth-century (Egyptian?) individuals. The anonymous questioner is learned, a correspondent of ibn Zimra, and someone who knows his prooftexts. He does not support the use of mummies. Ibn Zimra informed himself and learnt the subject so that somehow, he was perfectly well aware of the composition of the mummy and its ingredients as remedy. He is also aware of its uses and trade in the Jewish community. Who the clients interested in such a commodity were is not the focus of his discussion. Although ibn Zimra's discussion centers on Talmud, Maimonides and Rabbi Nissim, it may be argued that it reflects its own age, that of Renaissance humanism. As Karl H. Dannenfeldt points out in a different context:

The first signs of interest in the ancient land of the Pharaohs and its fabulous monuments were evident in the time of the Renaissance, for the humanistic regard for the material vestiges of the classical civilizations and the literature of Greece and Rome quite naturally led to an interest in the preclassical civilizations of the Near East.⁷⁵

Mummies are mentioned in Pliny. Embalming materials are referred to in Herodotus and Diodorus. By the sixteenth century, Egyptian mummies, usually in broken pieces or powder, could be found in the pharmacies of Europe.⁷⁶ The embalmed bodies of ancient Egyptians, and even the 'mummified' bodies of those more recently dead, became a valued prescription drug. It was also in the sixteenth century that physicians and scholars began to question the value of mummy as a drug and to discuss and criticize its use in medicine.⁷⁷ Before ibn Zimra we do not hear much about mummies in responsa. The exchange of letters in the responsa

⁷⁵ KARL H. DANNENFELDT, « Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance », *Studies in the Renaissance*, 6 (1959), p. 7–27. KARL GIEHLOW, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance: With a Focus on the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian*, trans. by ROBIN RAYBOULD, Brill, Leiden 2015.

⁷⁶ KARL H. DANNENFELDT, « Egyptian Mumia: The Sixteenth Century Experience and Debate », *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16/2 (1985), p. 163–180.

⁷⁷ DANNENFELDT, « Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance », p. 17. WARREN R. DAWSON, « Mummy as a Drug », *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 21 (1927), p. 34–39.

of ibn Zimra, thus, mirrors the Renaissance humanist interest in Egypt in general and the gathering of information about mummies in particular, the disagreements or controversies on the use of mummies, the observation of and focus on the preservation and its methods.

In the sixteenth century, Europeans in increasing numbers began to visit Egypt, the home of mumia. Pierre Belon (1517–1564), one of these humanist travelers, was interested in mummies. He thought that the Arab sources, from whom the Western writers derived their knowledge of mumia, referred to the pissasphalt of Dioscorides, which had been mistranslated. He said that Europeans were importing both, the ‘falsely called’ mumia obtained from the scraping the bodies of cadavers, and ‘artificial mumia’ made by exposing buried dead bodies to the heat of the sun before grinding them up. While he considered the available mumia lacking in value, he noted that King François I always carried with him a mixture of mumia and rhubarb to use as an immediate remedy for any injury. Belon is only one amongst many possible examples of European travelers to Egypt interested in mummies.

In the studies of coeval but different early modern cultures we find that there is a realization that the subject cannot be reduced to the margins of commerce or medicine but that it has an impact on culture at large. Philip Schwyzer⁷⁸ found that in the literature of Renaissance England, mummies were linked with double dealing and dishonesty and associated with Scots, blacks, women. In *Othello*, Desdemona’s handkerchief is said to have elements of mummy. The sisters in *Macbeth* mention mummy. If we look at the French travelers’ stories, we find Jews mentioned in connection with the mummies trade in similar terms. Historians in other fields recognize the importance and ramifications of this subject. Louise Noble argues that

As is the case in today’s medical economy, the fragmented human body was a crucial commodity in the business of health in early modern England. In many ways, the culture is defined by its preoccupation with the ingestible corpse drug mummy, or mumia.⁷⁹

An additional example would be the French Franciscan friar, Andre Thevet (d. 1590), who traveled widely in Egypt. Writing about the pyramids and mummies,

⁷⁸ PHILIP SCHWYZER, « Mummy is Become Merchandise: Literature and the Anglo-Egyptian Mummy Trade in the Seventeenth Century », in GERALD MACLEAN (ed.), *Reorienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2005, p. 66–87: « intimations of crime and deception seem to creep in, almost unbidden, whenever mummy is mentioned » (p. 78). CHRIS ELLIOTT, « Bandages, Bitumen, Bodies and Business – Egyptian mummies as raw materials », *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*, 1 (2017), p. 26–46.

⁷⁹ LOUISE NOBLE, *Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*, Palgrave, New York 2011, p. 1–16.

he mentioned the well-preserved bodies, some of which were 2.000 years old. Genuine mumia was taken from the tombs and brought to Venice for distribution throughout Europe. The bodies of the wealthy ancient Egyptians had been embalmed with myrrh, aloes, saffron, and other spices. Thevet writes that on the advice of a Jewish physician, with whom he was in contact, he took some mumia as medicine, but he experienced pain in the stomach and fetid breath. Louis Giuyon (1625) told of an incident involving Jews and the mummy trade in Alexandria, Rosetta, and other places in Egypt, and Aleppo in Syria.⁸⁰ Despite the dragoman stories and tall tales and the traits of *reisefabulistik*, we observe the underlying undeniable fact of Jewish involvement in the trade of spices and other pharmacological items and their importance as a factor in that particular trade.

The phenomenon of the mummy or mumia thus stands at the intersection of the renewed interest in the material vestiges of ancient civilizations, but also of trade, medicine and halakha. It is an intersection we have seen here in my four examples of the cosmopolitan contacts with humanism and humanists of sixteenth century Ottoman Jews.

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⁸⁰ DANNENFELDT, « Egyptian Mumia: The Sixteenth Century Experience and Debate », p. 168 (on Thevet), and p. 171 (on Giuyon).

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« PAPA EUGENIUS TRANSFERRI FECIT »:
LE *DE FIDE ORTHODOXA* ET SA RECEPTION
ENTRE XII^E ET XIII^E SIÈCLE À TRAVERS LE MANUSCRIT
PISE, BIBLIOTECA CATHARINIANA, 2^{*}

« PAPA EUGENIUS TRANSFERRI FECIT »:
THE *DE FIDE ORTHODOXA* AND ITS RECEPTION BETWEEN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURY,
SEEN THROUGH MS PISA, BIBLIOTECA CATHARINIANA, 2

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Abstract

L'article propose une étude du manuscrit Pisa, Bibliotheca Cathariniana, MS 2, un codex du milieu du XIII^e siècle contenant le *De fide orthodoxa* de Jean Damascène dans la traduction latine de Burgundio de Pise. L'étude analyse les caractéristiques du texte dans ce manuscrit, en notant la présence des traces de la méthode de traduction utilisée par Burgundio au milieu du XII^e siècle. Elle analyse également les gloses dans les marges, qui suggèrent l'utilisation du manuscrit à des fins pédagogiques dans un contexte profondément lié à la réception des influences théologiques parisiennes. Elle montre en particulier la présence de références croisées à des passages des Sentences de Pierre Lombard et à deux questions disputées de Gueric de Saint-Quentin. L'étude vise à présenter ce manuscrit comme un témoin de l'histoire 'plurielle' du discours doctrinal dans l'Europe des XII^e et XIII^e siècles.

Mot-clés

De fide orthodoxa; Jean Damascène; Burgundio de Pise; Gueric de St Quentin;
traductions latines; débats théologiques entre Latins et Grecs

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Abstract

The article offers a study of the manuscript Pisa, Bibliotheca Cathariniana 2, a mid thirteenth-century codex containing John of Damascus's *De fide orthodoxa* in the Latin translation by Burgundio of Pisa. The study analyses the features of the text in this manuscript, noting the presence of the traces of the translation method which Burgundio used in the mid of the twelfth century. It also analyses the glosses in the margins, which suggest the use of the manuscript for teaching purposes within a context deeply linked with the reception of Parisian theological influences. In particular it shows the presence of cross-references to passages from Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and of two disputed questions of Gueric of St. Quentin. The study presents this manuscript as a witness of the plural history of the doctrinal discourse in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe.

Key Words

De fide ortodossa; John of Damascus; Burgundio of Pisa; Gueric of St Quentin;
Latin translation; mediaeval theology



À partir de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, l'accès des théologiens latins au contenu de la réflexion théologique grecque introduit des éléments d'une grande nouveauté dans le débat doctrinal. La traduction latine du *De fide orthodoxa* de Jean Damascène véhicule notamment des contenus et des thèmes qui stimulent un développement significatif de la théologie trinitaire et de la christologie, d'une part, et de la réflexion sur la psychologie de l'acte moral de l'autre. Cette traduction du texte de Damascène en latin, réalisée par Burgundio de Pise entre 1149 et 1153, devient une œuvre cruciale lorsque Pierre Lombard en fait usage non seulement dans ses *Sentences*, mais plus généralement dans sa réflexion théologique et dans ses commentaires scripturaires sur les Psaumes et les Épîtres de Paul¹. Dans les écrits rapportant la théologie de Pierre le Mangeur et de Pierre

¹ Quant à la datation de la traduction latine du *De fide orthodoxa*, il existe certainement un *terminus post quem*, l'année 1149, quand le pape Eugène III mûrit l'idée de donner une réponse systématique au besoin de connaître le monde théologique en langue grecque par les Latins. C'est à ce moment-là que le pape demande à Anselme de Havelberg d'écrire au sujet de son expérience dans les débats théologiques avec les Grecs, et c'est probablement au même moment qu'il commence à impliquer son compatriote Burgundio dans ce projet. Sur la politique religieuse d'Eugène III voir HELMUT GLEBER, *Papst Eugen III., 1145-1153, unter besondere Berücksichtigung seiner politischen Tätigkeit*, Gustav Fischer, Jena 1936; MICHAEL HORN, *Studien zur Geschichte Papst Eugen III. (1145-1153)*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt a. M. – Bern – New York – Paris 1992 (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 3, 508); HARALD ZIMMERMANN, « Eugenio III », in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1993, vol. XLIII, p. 490-496; HARALD ZIMMERMANN, « Eugenio III, beato », in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana,

le Chantre, d'Étienne Langton et de Pierre de Poitiers, d'Alexandre de Hales et de Guillaume d'Auxerre, et plus tard dans la production théologique des premiers maîtres mendiants comme Roland de Cremona, Hugues de Saint Cher ou Jean de La Rochelle, le *De fide orthodoxa* devient l'une des principales *auctoritates* pour le développement du discours théologique.²

Dans les recherches historiques et philosophiques concernant le XII^e siècle et la première moitié du XIII^e siècle, l'intérêt pour le texte de Jean Damascène est lié à l'étude des auteurs les plus importants de cette époque, ainsi qu'à l'approfondissement des questions les plus complexes, au centre des discussions et des disputes théologiques entre 1150 et 1250. Les travaux de Joseph de Ghellinck et d'Odon Lottin des années 1910–1940 offrent une première évaluation, tout à fait remarquable, de la très large circulation du *De fide orthodoxa* dans le milieu théologique latin; de Ghellinck souligne notamment le caractère étroit de la relation doctrinale et littéraire entre le livre du père grec et les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard.³ Pendant les années 1950, René-Antoine Gauthier étudie la nature du contenu du livre de Damascène en attirant l'attention sur l'origine des doctrines devenues accessibles en latin grâce à la traduction de Burgundio, qui remontent à Nemesius d'Émèse et Maxime le Confesseur.⁴

Rome 2000, vol. II, p. 278–284. D'après les informations en notre possession, autour de 1149/50 Burgundio travaille à la traduction des *Homiliae super Matthaeum*, qui est achevé dès 1151, et à la traduction perdue du commentaire de Basile sur Isaïe. La traduction du *De fide orthodoxa* est liée à la même période historique et culturelle de la vie du juge. La date de la traduction de ce dernier ouvrage se situe donc entre le printemps 1149 et la moitié de l'année 1153, les années les plus intenses du pontificat d'Eugène III, pendant lesquelles Burgundio est officiellement rattaché au milieu de la curie papale. À propos de la biographie du juge pisan voir PETER CLASSEN, *Burgundio von Pisa. Richter – Gesandert – Übersetzer*, Carl Winter, Heidelberg 1974 (Stitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie Wissenschaften. Philosophisch- historische Klasse, 1974, 4); FILIPPO LIOTTA, « Burgundione da Pisa », in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1972, vol. XXV, p. 423–428. Voir aussi GIOVANNA MURANO, « Burgundio da Pisa (1110 ca.–1193) », in ID. (ed.), *Autographa*, vol. I.1: *Giuristi, giudici e notai (sec. XII–XVI med.)*, con la collaborazione di G. MORELLI, indici Th. WOELKI, Clueb, Bologna 2012, p. 3–6.

² Pour une évaluation générale des traductions du texte et de leur sort dans le développement historique de la théologie latine voir IRENA BACKUS, « John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*: Translations by Burgundio (1153/54), Grosseteste (1235/40) and Lefèvre d'Étaples (1507) », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), p. 211–217.

³ Voir JOSEPH DE GHELLINCK, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle, sa préparation lointaine avant et autour de Pierre Lombard, ses rapports avec les initiatives des canonistes. Études, recherches et documents*, L'Édition Universelle, Bruxelles 1948 (Museum Lessianum – section historique, 10); ID., « Pierre Lombard », dans *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Letouzey et Ané, Paris 1935, vol. XII, col. 1941–1919; ODON LOTTIN, « La psychologie de l'acte humain chez Saint Jean Damascène et les théologiens du XIII^e siècle occidental », *Revue thomiste*, 36 (1931), p. 631–661, réédité dans ID., *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 6 vol., Abbaye du Mont-César – Duclot, Louvain – Gembloux 1948–1960, vol. I, p. 391–424.

⁴ RENÉ-ANTOINE GAUTHIER, « Saint Maxime le Confesseur et la psychologie de l'acte humain », *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 21 (1954), p. 51–100.

À côté de cette forme d'archéologie conceptuelle du texte, Eligius Buytaert, dans son édition critique du *De fide orthodoxa*, se penche sur la tradition manuscrite de l'œuvre et apporte de nouveaux éléments sur le travail de Burgundio, ainsi que sur la façon dont le texte a circulé.⁵ À travers l'examen d'un nombre considérable de manuscrits latins du livre de Damascène, le savant franciscain est à même de proposer une hypothèse pour dater le travail du juge pisan, de contribuer au débat relatif à l'influence qu'il a pu avoir sur les disputes christologiques des dernières décennies du XII^e siècle et de dresser un portrait de l'histoire littéraire du texte – surtout dans le contexte culturel parisien. Ainsi, Buytaert a identifié l'existence d'une sorte de « nouvelle édition », organisée en quatre livres et mise en place autour des années 1220–1230, contrairement à la division originelle de Jean Damascène, qui était composée de cent chapitres et que Burgundio avait maintenue dans sa traduction. Attribuée à Philippe le Chancelier, cette réorganisation du texte latin de *De fide orthodoxa* tient à la réception de l'œuvre dans le contexte universitaire, où elle connaît une diffusion très large, en arrivant à la théologie de Thomas d'Aquin, comme le montrent les études de Emil Dobler.⁶

D'après cette introduction sur les principales études de la traduction latine du livre de Damascène, il ressort que celles-ci considèrent le *De fide orthodoxa* avant tout comme une source du discours théologique entre les XII^e et XIII^e siècles, mais qu'elles n'épuisent pas la question du rôle joué par cette œuvre dans le milieu culturel de cette même période. Les recherches pionnières de de Ghellinck ont mis en lumière que la circulation du *De fide orthodoxa* s'enchevêtre avec celle des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, si bien que, dans la tradition manuscrite, le texte de Damascène est parfois qualifié par le terme *sententiae*. De plus, la réorganisation du texte en quatre livres – c'est-à-dire sur le modèle de la division des *Sentences*, utilisée par les maîtres en théologie de Paris – confirme le lien avec la circulation de l'œuvre de Pierre Lombard et suggère en même temps un rôle important de la

⁵ IOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, dans ELIGIUS M. BUYTAERT (ed.), *Saint John Damascene's 'De fide orthodoxa'. Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus*, Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure 1955 (Franciscan Institute Publications, Text Series, 8). Voir aussi, ELIGIUS M. BUYTAERT, « St. John Damascene, Peter Lombard and Gerhoh of Reichersberg », *Franciscan Studies*, 10/4 (1950), p. 323–343; Id., « Damascenus Latinus: on item 417 of Stegmuller's *Repertorium Commentariorum* », *Franciscan Studies*, 13/2–3 (1953), p. 37–70.

⁶ EMIL DOBLER, « Nemesius von Emesa und die Psychologie des menschlichen Aktes bei Thomas von Aquin (S. th. IaIIae, qq. 6–17). Eine quellenanalytische Studie », Thèse lettres, Université de Fribourg 1950; Id., *Zwei syrische Quellen der theologischen Summa' des Thomas von Aquin. Nemesius von Emesa und Johannes von Damaskus, ihr Einfluss auf die anthropologischen Grundlagen der Moralthologie (S. Th. 1.–2. Qq. 6–17; 22–48)*, Academic Press, Fribourg 2000 (Dokimion, 25); Id., *Falsche Vaterzitate bei Thomas von Aquin. Gregorius Bischof von Nyssa oder Nemesius, Bischof von Emesa? Untersuchungen über die Authentizität der Zitate Gregors von Nyssa in den gesamten Werken des Thomas von Aquin*, Academic Press, Fribourg 2001 (Dokimion, 27); Id., *Indirekte Nemesiuszitate bei Thomas von Aquin. Johannes von Damaskus als Vermittler von Nemesiustexten*, Academic Press, Fribourg 2002 (Dokimion, 28).

traduction de Burgundio dans les activités scolaires de la faculté de théologie parisienne au début du XIII^e siècle.⁷

Un outil précieux pour réexaminer la question de la réception du *De fide orthodoxa* dans le contexte de l'enseignement et de la production théologiques entre le XII^e et le XIII^e siècle est un manuscrit de la traduction de Burgundio

⁷ Voir surtout de GHELLINCK, *Le mouvement théologique*, p. 335–346, 374–415. Au sujet du travail de traduction de Burgundio et de sa contribution à la construction du lexique philosophique et théologique du Moyen Âge latin voir FERNAND BOSSIER, « L'élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique chez Burgundio de Pise », dans JACQUELINE HAMESSE (ed.), *Aux origines du lexique philosophique européen. L'influence de la « Latinitas »*. Actes du Colloque international organisé à Rome par la F.I.D.E.M., 23–25 mai 1996, F.I.D.E.M., Louvain-la-Neuve 1997 (Textes et études du Moyen Âge, 8), p. 81–116; GUDRUN VUILLEMIN-DIEM, MARWAN RASHED, « Burgundio de Pise et ses manuscrits grecs d'Aristote: Laur. 87.7 et Laur. 81.18 », *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 64 (1997), p. 136–198; FERNAND BOSSIER, « Les ennuis d'un traducteur. Quatre annotations sur la première traduction latine de l'*Éthique à Nicomaque* par Burgundio de Pise », *Bijdragen*, 59 (1998), p. 406–427; RICCARDO SACCENTI, *Un nuovo lessico morale medievale. Il contributo di Burgundio da Pisa*, Aracne, Rome 2016 (Flumen Sapientiae, 1), p. 37–53. L'attention des chercheurs s'est également portée sur la relation entre le texte latin de Burgundio et les originaux grecs utilisés pour les traductions. Cette recherche a permis d'entamer d'importantes études sur les codex grecs directement utilisés par le juge pisan. Voir NIGEL WILSON, « New Light on Burgundio of Pisa », *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 4 (1986), p. 113–118; Id., « Ioannikios and Burgundio: a Survey of the Problem », dans GUGLIELMO CAVALLO, GIUSEPPE DE GREGORIO, MARILENA MANIACI (eds.), *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, 2 vol., C.I.S.A.M., Spoleto 1991 (Biblioteca del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici dell'Università di Perugia, 5), vol. II, p. 447–456; PAOLA DEgni, « I manoscritti dello scriptorium di Gioannicio », *Segno e testo*, 6 (2008), p. 179–248; Id., « Burgundio e i manoscritti di Gioannicio: la questione dei marginalia », *Medicina nei secoli arte e scienza*, 25 (2013), p. 797–814. Wilson, Rashed, Vuillemin-Diem et Degni, dans leurs études, ont identifié les manuscrits aristotéliens utilisés par Burgundio. Dans la liste qui suit, ils sont indiqués avec la mention de leur contenu: 1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 192 (*Isagoge*, fol. 1r–6v; *Categoriae*, fol. 6v–18r; *De interpretatione*, fol. 18r–27v; *Analitica priora*, fol. 27v–73r; *Analitica posteriora*, fol. 73r–92v; *Topica*, fol. 92v–135r; *De locis accidentis in Topicorum libris*, fol. 135r–135v; *Sophistici elenchi*, fol. 135v–146v); 2. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 87.7 (*Physica*, fol. 1r–120r; *De coelo*, fol. 120r–199v; *De generatione et corruptione*, fol. 199v–246r; *Meteorologica*, fol. 246r–302r); 3. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 87.4 (*De generatione animalium*, fol. 1r–70v; *Historia animalium*, fol. 70v–144v; *Problemata*, fol. 145r–190r; *De incessu animalium*, fol. 194r–200v; *De sensu*, fol. 200v–208v; *De motu animalium*, fol. 210r–215r; *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, fol. 215v–217v; *De iuventute*, fol. 217v–219v; *De respiratione*, fol. 219v–226r); 4. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 81.18 (*Ethica Nicomachea*, fol. 1r–84r; *Magna Moralia*, fol. 84r–104r; *De partibus animalium*, fol. 105r–143r); 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 1849 (*Metaphysica*, fol. 1r–8v [livres I–II]); 6. Cité du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 591 (Iohannes Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria*, fol. 1r–16v [fragments]). Sur les traductions des textes de médecine voir NIGEL WILSON, « Aspects of the Transmission of Galen », dans GUGLIELMO CAVALLO (ed.), *Le strade del testo*, Adriatica editrice, Bari 1987 (Studi e Commenti, 5), p. 47–64; STEFANIA FORTUNA, ANNA MARIO URso, PAOLA ANNESE, « Burgundio da Pisa traduttore di Galeno: nuovi contributi e prospettive », dans IVAN GAROFALO, ALESSANDRO LAMI, AMNERIS ROSSELLI (eds.), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci. Atti del II seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano 19–20 settembre 2008*, Fabrizio Serra, Pise–Rome 2009 (Biblioteca di Galenos, 2), p. 139–175.

conservé à la bibliothèque du séminaire archiépiscopal de Pise. Le manuscrit Pisa, Biblioteca Cathariniana, 2, qui date du milieu du XIII^e siècle, contient une « édition » du texte et plusieurs séries d'annotations, à la fois dans les marges et entre les lignes, offrant des éléments utiles pour reconsidérer le travail de traduction de Burgundio, ainsi que sa diffusion, mais également pour comprendre son contenu et son utilisation, en particulier par les théologiens de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle.

Dans les pages suivantes, nous considérons le manuscrit de Pise comme le témoin d'une pluralité de contextes dans l'histoire de la culture philosophique et théologique médiévale: celui de Pise aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles et celui de la formation théologique au sein de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs; celui de l'utilisation des œuvres des grands Pères de l'Église comme base à la fois de l'enseignement et du développement de la pensée théologique; celui d'un réseau intellectuel répandu dans cette Europe latine, polycentrique, qui pouvait relier des villes comme Paris et Pise et arriver même dans des contextes de langue grecque. Cette recherche vise à développer l'examen de ces questions à partir de l'étude historique et critique du manuscrit de Pise, en présentant d'abord sa description codicologique et paléographique, puis en replaçant son contenu au regard des différentes phases historiques de la réception latine de *De fide orthodoxa* – notamment de la traduction de Burgundio et de l'usage de la version latine dans le milieu scolaire et universitaire entre 1150 et 1250. L'analyse des annotations présentes dans le manuscrit permettra de reconsidérer les caractéristiques littéraires, stylistiques et doctrinales de l'œuvre de Burgundio et d'examiner l'évolution de la réception du texte, en particulier chez les premiers théologiens mendiants à Paris et notamment parmi les dominicains. Une annexe présentera une sorte de « cartographie » de la riche série d'annotations marginales qui, dans le manuscrit pisan, sont réparties dans tout le texte du *De fide orthodoxa*.

I. Un modèle ancien et l'« édition » universitaire: les caractéristiques du manuscrit de Pise

Le manuscrit pisan date de la moitié du XIII^e siècle, plus précisément du troisième quart du siècle.⁸ Sa présence est enregistrée dans la bibliothèque du couvent dominicain de Santa Caterina dès le XVII^e siècle: la reliure du manuscrit date de la même époque, ainsi qu'une annotation qui inclut explicitement le manuscrit

⁸ Voir la description très détaillée dans la base de données CODEX: <<http://www.mirabileweb.it/CODEX/pisa-biblioteca-cathariniana-2/213578>> (consulté le 16 mars 2023).

Cette description est reproduite ci-après, avec des informations concernant la composition, le contenu et les annotations du codex.

parmi les possessions des frères prêcheurs à Pise.⁹ Les feuilles de garde sont en papier moderne et sur le folio II^r apparaît le titre: « S. Joannis Damasceni de fide orthodoxa Liber Quem, Eugenii III. Pont. Max. Jussu E Graeco in Latinum vertiti Burgundio Pisanus Civis, et Judex Anno Salutis 1150 ». Dans la marge inférieure du fol. I^r, ainsi que dans la supérieure du fol. II^r, une même main note: « Bibliothecae Sanctae Catherinae Pisanum Ordinis Praedicatorum ».

Reliure: Moderne (XVII^e siècle) en carton, avec les coins et le dos en parchemin. Sur la côte il y a une étiquette en papier comportant la signature « 2 » du manuscrit.

Composition: Le manuscrit est formé par sept cahiers et sa composition est la suivante: 1^s (1–8); 2^s (9–16); 3^s (17–24); 4^s (25–32); 5^s (33–40); 6^s (41–48); 7^e (49–54). À la fin de chaque cahier il y a des références abrégées au livre suivant: fol. 8v: « ut non compositum »; fol. 16v: « uisibilis est »; fol. 24v: « quia plurime ypostases »; fol. 32v: « et dicere uolo mundare »; fol. 40v: « permansit creabile »; fol. 48v: « ad patrem ». Les dimensions du manuscrit sont 384 x 235 mm et le miroir d'écriture, en deux colonnes de 40 lignes, est de 116 x 40/47 mm. La marge extérieure des feuilles 33 et 48 a été supprimée.

Décoration et écriture: Le texte est copié par au moins quatre mains différentes: m1 (fol. 1r–17v); m2 (fol. 17v–36v); m3 (fol. 36v–42v); m4 (fol. 42v–54v) qui renvoient au milieu pisan.¹⁰ Chaque main est également responsable de la rédaction des rubriques qui accompagnaient la partie transcrite du texte. Les initiales de chaque chapitre sont en rouge avec le filigrane bleu. L'initiale du texte, au fol. 1ra, est décorée sur un fond d'or avec une extension zoomorphique dans la marge. Au fol. 38vb les deux dernières lignes de la colonne b sont blanches, probablement à cause d'une erreur dans le calcul des espaces par le copiste.

Rubriques: La main m1 est responsable de la longue rubrique qui ouvre le texte de Damascène au fol. 1ra. La rubrique est écrite à l'encre rouge, en caractères

⁹ Une première étude des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Santa Caterina à Pise est celle de CAMILLO VITELLI, « Index codicum latinorum, qui Pisis in bybliotheceis conventus s. Catherinae et universitatis adservantur », *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 8 (1900), p. 321–427. Voir en outre GINO TAMBURINI, « Pisa, Biblioteca Catheriniana del Seminario », dans GIUSEPPE MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Libreria Editrice Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 1916, vol. XLVI, p. 69–92; FRANZ PELSTER, « Die Bibliothek von Santa Caterina zu Pisa, eine Büchersammlung aus den Zeiten des hl. Thomas von Aquin », *Xenia Thomistica*, 3 (1925), p. 249–280. Pour les manuscrits philosophiques de la bibliothèque pisane voir LORIS STURLESE, MARIA RITA PAGNONI STURLESE, « Pisa. Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile S. Caterina », dans *Catalogo dei manoscritti filosofici nelle biblioteche italiane*, vol. I: *Firenze, Pisa, Poppi, Rimini, Trieste*, ed. TERESA DE ROBERTIS et al., Olschki, Florence 1980, p. 13–69; RICCARDO SACCENTI, « Uno snodo europeo nel XIII secolo: *philosophia* e manoscritti tra Pisa e Parigi », *Codex Studies*, 3 (2019), p. 171–224.

¹⁰ MADDALENA BATTAGLIA, « Per un atlante grafico toscano: il territorio pisano, 1241–1325 », *Codex studies*, 4 (2020), p. 19–155.

capitaux de style épigraphique. Le texte de la rubrique se lit comme suit: « Iohannis presbiteri Damasceni qui mansur liber incipit in quo est traditio certa orthodoxe fidei capitulis diuisa a Burgundione iudice ciue pisanum de greco in latino domino III Eugenio beate memorie proprie translatus. Quoniam incomprehensibilis est deus et Quoniam non oportet querere et circumscrutari ea que non sunt tradita nobis a sanctis prophetis apostolis et euangelistis ». Une deuxième rubrique, plus tardive et qui utilise des majuscules mixtes plus usuelles et régulières, en rouge et avec des touches de filigrane en bleu, à partir du fol. 1ra indique dans la marge supérieure le titre « Liber primus » et continue de manière habituelle: au verso de chaque folio le mot « Liber » et au recto suivant le numéro du livre. La numérotation des chapitres, discontinue, suit dans les rubriques en rouge la partition de l'ouvrage en cent chapitres. Une main ultérieure (m5), qui écrit à sec, marque le début des livres II (fol. 9va), III (fol. 23va) et IV (fol. 40vb) et introduit la numérotation des chapitres selon la division en quatre livres, en ajoutant dans la marge une série d'annotations, qui renvoient au texte de Damascène et à son contenu.¹¹

Contenu et annotations: Les quatre mains des copistes sont à l'origine de plusieurs corrections du texte et des annotations dans l'interligne qui indiquent les doubles leçons et les notes textuelles faisant partie du travail de traduction de Burgundio. Une cinquième main, m5, écrit des notes dans les marges tout au long du texte du *De fide orthodoxa*, portant sur le contenu de la doctrine de Jean Damascène, et transcrit aussi deux brèves questions de Guerric de Saint-Quentin.

II. Le travail de Burgundio le traducteur

Le texte de la traduction latine du *De fide orthodoxa* du manuscrit de Pise s'avère très proche, en ce qui concerne ses caractéristiques philologiques, de celui transmis par les manuscrits du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 310 (D) et 313 (C).¹² Selon Eligius Buytaert, ce dernier manuscrit conserve la version la plus proche du texte de Burgundio de Pise. Les trois manuscrits contiennent le texte du *De fide orthodoxa* avec la division en cent chapitres, qui a ensuite été intégrée par la subdivision en quatre livres. Plus encore, la collation du texte de la dernière section du chapitre 8 et de la section initiale du chapitre 17 montre clairement la proximité entre le manuscrit de Pise et les deux manuscrits du Vatican. Ceux-ci et le manuscrit pisan sont en effet très proches tant du point de

¹¹ Sur l'organisation du texte latin du *De fide orthodoxa* selon la division en cent chapitres ou en quatre livres, voir BUYTAERT, « Damascenus Latinus », p. 70; DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. XVIII–XIX.

¹² Une description des deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vatican se trouve dans DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. XXXIV–XXXVI.

vue des variantes textuelles que par rapport aux annotations interlinéaires. En ce qui concerne les variantes textuelles, quelques exemples peuvent confirmer cette relation. Les variantes ci-dessous se rapportent à l'édition de Buytaert et, entre parenthèses, aux folia et aux lignes du manuscrit de Pise.

p. 45 ³⁰³ : motionem] motum C	le manuscrit de Pise rapporte dans l'interligne la variante (fol. 6vb ⁷).
p. 45 ³⁰⁶ : dicendum] dicamus D	le manuscrit de Pise rapporte la variante « dicendum » dans l'interligne (fol. 6vb ¹¹).
p. 45 ³⁰⁷ : et] ad ea add. D	le manuscrit de Pise suit la leçon de D (fol. 6vb ¹²).
p. 47 ³²⁰ : transcendens] transcindens C ¹ , corr C ² , transiens superscr. C ²	le manuscrit de Pise rapporte « transcendens » et présente la variante « uel transiens » (fol. 6vb ³³).

L'accord du manuscrit de Pise avec les deux manuscrits du Vatican apparaît aussi à dans un autre passage du texte. Au chapitre 58, le manuscrit de Pise (fol. 30vb) présente un ajout de la main du même copiste, placée dans la marge du texte. Dans le manuscrit D ce passage est correctement transcrit comme faisant partie du texte (fol. 12vb), tandis que dans C il est ajouté dans la marge (fol. 97v). Dans ce dernier manuscrit, l'ajout textuel fait référence à un passage ultérieur du *De fide orthodoxa* et est transcrit d'une main différente du copiste, qui de toute évidence révisé et corrige la transcription. Les trois versions de la note sont comparées ci-dessous:

Pisa, Biblioteca Cathariniana, 2	D	C
Vt deus [ms.: omnes] enim dixit et mundatus est leprosus. ut homo fugere uoluit mortem. Ideo dixit. non uolo ego. ut idest caro. sed ut tu. idest. deus. operatur ut deus gradum humido. ut sicco. ex paucis panibus milla saturauit ut homo sitiuit et esuriuit et laborauit.	Vt deus enim dixit et mundatus est leprosus. ut homo effugere uoluit mortem. Ideo dixit non ut uolo ego. idest caro. sed ut tu. idest deus. opertaur ut deus gradum in humido ut in sicco. ex paucis panibus mille saturauit. ut homo sitiuit et ersuriuit et laborauit.	Vt deus enim dixit mundare et mundatus est leprosus. ut homo effugere uoluit mortem. Ideo dixit non ut uolo, idest caro. sed ut tu. idest deus. operatur ut deus. gradum in humido. ut sicco. ex paucis panibus mille saturauit. ut deus. ut homo sitiuit. et esuriuit. et laborauit.

Cette note fait référence à un point du texte de Damascène qui traite du problème de la volonté de Jésus et de ses relations avec la volonté divine. Le texte de la traduction de Burgundio explique:

Ideo utique in Patre quidem et Filio et Sancto Spiritu ex identitate actionis et voluntatis, identitatem naturae cognoscimus. In divina vero dispensatione, ex differentia actionum et voluntatum, et naturarum differentiam cognoscimus, et naturarum differentiam scientes confitemur et voluntatum et actionum differentiam. Quemdammodum enim eiusdem et unius Christi naturarum numerus, pie intellectus et dictus, non dividit unum Christum, sed servatam, et in unitione repraesentat naturarum differentiam, ita et numerus earum quae substantialiter assunt eius naturis voluntatum et actionum; secundum ambas enim naturas voluntativus erat et activus nostrae salutis: non divisionem inducit, absit! sed earundem demonstrat et magis et in unione custodiam et salutem.¹³

Le problème du rapport entre la volonté humaine et la volonté divine dans le Christ est une conséquence de l'affirmation de la doctrine de la présence, en Jésus, des deux natures: il est humain et divin à la fois. Jean Damascène explique comment, par le biais des trois personnes de la Trinité, l'identité de l'action nous permet de connaître l'identité de la nature et donc, sur le plan de l'Incarnation, d'établir une distinction entre les natures en fonction de l'action correspondante: la différence des actions et des volontés permet de saisir la différence de la nature.¹⁴ Ainsi, la connaissance de la différence des natures implique la connaissance de la différence des volontés et des actes. En développant son argumentation, Jean Damascène observe que cette distinction entre les plans, celui de la Trinité et celui de la *dispensatio Christi*, représente la présupposition pour affirmer l'humanité du Christ en ce que les deux natures sont unies. En effet, le nombre de volontés et d'actions indique, certes, la présence de deux natures, mais cela ne distingue pas de deux hypostases. La différence de volonté et d'action est donc un trait caractéristique des réalités naturelles (*naturales*, φυσικὰ) et non hypostatiques (*hypostatica*, ὑποστατικά).

Ce petit commentaire essaie d'expliquer davantage l'argument du père grec en se référant à quelques passages de l'Évangile à travers lesquels il est possible de saisir cette différence, chez le Christ, entre la volonté et les actions humaines, d'une part, et la volonté et les actions divines, de l'autre, ce qui est un indice de la différence entre la nature humaine et la nature divine. Ainsi, la guérison du lépreux (Mt. 8, 1-4) et la multiplication des poissons (Mt. 14, 13-21) sont considérés comme des exemples de la volonté divine du Christ, tandis que la peur de la mort (Mt. 26, 36-46), les sentiments de faim et de soif (Mt. 4, 1-3), et son travail (Mc. 6, 3) seraient autant d'attestations de la sa volonté humaine. De manière significative, cette annotation dans C est ajoutée par une main différente de celle qui copie le texte et les notes interlinéaires rapportant les doubles leçons de la traduction ou les annotations attribuables à Burgundio lui-même. En revanche,

¹³ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 58 (III, 14), p. 214[16]-215[28].

¹⁴ Le texte latin parle de *divina dispensatio* pour traduire le grec θεία οἰκονομία.

dans le manuscrit de Pise, la note provient de la main du même copiste, qui doit avoir eu pour modèle la copie d'un manuscrit dans laquelle elle était déjà présente. Il est donc possible de supposer que cette annotation était présente dans l'apographe dont est issu le codex pisan, qui contenait donc une version du texte latin de Burgundio remontant au troisième quart du XII^e siècle, similaire à celle des deux codex les plus anciens, C et D.

Dans un autre cas, le manuscrit de Pise s'apparente à la leçon des codex DGMNR: à la fin du chapitre 17, il contient une phrase qui devrait plutôt être placée à la fin du chapitre suivant.¹⁵ Le manuscrit corrige l'erreur avec un coup d'encre qui efface la phrase entre les deux folios 10vb et 11ra. En ce qui concerne la série de variantes textuelles, les doubles traductions et les annotations explicatives du texte de Damascène attribuables à Burgundio, le manuscrit de Pise s'apparente au contenu du codex C et reproduit en substance le même système d'annotations.

Le recoupement de ces données, qui s'ajoute à la présence d'un travail de révision et de correction systématique du texte par les copistes, permet d'avancer certaines hypothèses. S'il a été fabriqué à Pise au milieu du XIII^e siècle, le manuscrit a été copié à partir d'un modèle qui reflétait très fidèlement l'ensemble du travail de traduction et d'exégèse textuelle opéré par Burgundio lui-même un siècle plus tôt. Les copistes ont ensuite utilisé un manuscrit qui, sur le plan textuel et philologique, était proche de l'autographe ou de l'antigraphe de Burgundio. Il s'agissait, bien entendu, d'un modèle qui contenait ce système de notes avec lequel Burgundio avait accompagné sa propre traduction et qui subsistait dans le manuscrit C. En même temps, les variations textuelles que le manuscrit partage avec d'autres codex invitent à le situer dans une étape de la transmission textuelle qui précède les codex DGMNR. En réalité, l'erreur de copie dans les fol. 10vb–11ra n'est pas corrigée par le copiste du manuscrit de Pise, mais par une main ultérieure, celle du lecteur m5, qui place ensuite un filigrane à sec dans la marge du même passage, au bon endroit, à la fin du chapitre 18. L'impression est que le lecteur qui correspond à la main m5 a connaissance de la forme correcte du texte ou a pu comparer le codex de Pise avec un autre codex contenant un texte concordant, en l'occurrence, avec C.

¹⁵ La phrase en question est la suivante: « Oportet autem scire quoniam quod est hominibus mors, hoc angelis est casus. Post casum enim non est eis penitentia, quemadmodum neque hominibus post mortem ». Les manuscrits sont indiqués en utilisant les mêmes lettres utilisées dans l'édition Buytaert. Donc D: Cité du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 310; G: Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 98; M: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 728; N: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 755; R: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 893–98. Sur ces manuscrits voir DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. XXI–XXII, XXXIII–XXXV.

III. L'utilisation du manuscrit de Pise

Le manuscrit de Pise contient une remarquable série d'annotations dans ses marges, qui témoignent de l'intérêt pour le *De fide orthodoxa* dans le milieu du *studium* du couvent dominicain de la ville toscane. La présence de ces annotations rapproche le manuscrit de la bibliothèque Cathariniana d'autres témoins importants de l'œuvre de Jean Damascène qui datent également des décennies centrales du XIII^e siècle. L'étude déjà mentionnée de Joseph de Ghellinck avait mis en évidence la présence, dans de nombreux manuscrits liés au milieu universitaire, d'annotations qui témoignent d'une attention particulière et spécifique au contenu du *De fide orthodoxa*. En considérant celles qui se trouvent dans les marges du manuscrit pisan, il convient donc de développer quelques considérations plus générales au sujet de ce genre d'annotations présentes dans d'autres manuscrits.

La plupart des gloses et des notes dans les marges des manuscrits du *De fide orthodoxa* mettent en valeur le contenu du texte, comme par exemple celles qui se trouvent dans les marges du manuscrit D. Ici, la main d'un glossateur indique, par exemple (fol. 8va): « Quid consilium », correspondant aux mots: « Consilium autem est appetitus inquisitivus ».¹⁶ Quelques lignes plus loin, il note: « Quid electio », dans la marge du texte: « Deinde, post dispositionem, fit electio ».¹⁷ Il s'agit d'une série d'indications qui, dans ce cas, marquent l'articulation interne du chapitre 36 – correspondant au chapitre 22 du deuxième livre selon la division en quatre livres – consacré à la description des étages psychologiques de l'action morale. Des gloses similaires accompagnent l'intégralité du texte dans D, tandis que d'autres annotations concernent plus directement la compréhension du texte. Par exemple, au fol. 13rb, à côté d'un passage dans lequel Damascène traite du libre arbitre en relation avec la nature divine du Christ, il est annoté: « argumentum », suivi de l'explication: « Quod in omnibus communiter inspicitur non suscipiens magis et minus est naturale ».¹⁸ Dans un premier temps, le glossateur note comment la portion de texte considérée représente une preuve (*argumentum*). Ensuite, il met en évidence le noyau conceptuel central, c'est-à-dire l'observation selon laquelle tout ce qui est perçu comme commun sans déterminer de différence quantitative est « naturel ».

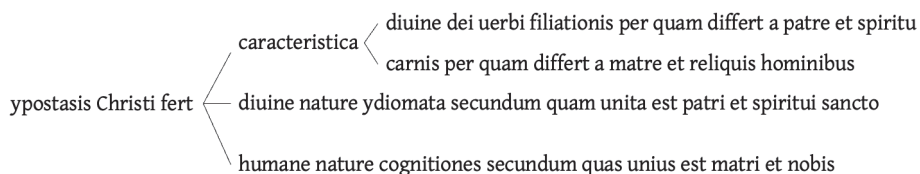
Dans d'autres cas, comme dans la marge supérieure du fol. 11v, il y a un schéma qui, se référant dans ce cas au terme « hypostase », explique son articulation, telle qu'elle est présentée dans le texte de Damascène. Plus dans le détail, en se référant

¹⁶ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 137, 91.

¹⁷ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 137, 97.

¹⁸ Ces notes sont dans la marge du passage suivant du DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 219, 91–94: « Amplius autem, si omnibus hominibus inest velle, et non hiis quidem inest, hiis autem non inest, – quod autem communiter in omnibus inspicitur, naturam caracterizat in hiis quae sub ipso atomis, – ergo natura theliticos (idest voluntativus) homo ».

au passage où il est expliqué que l'hypostase du Fils est composée des deux parfaites natures – humaine et divine – le glossateur résume:¹⁹



Du point de vue de l'histoire de la réception et de l'étude du texte de Damascène, un autre manuscrit pertinent est le Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15724.²⁰ C'est un codex qui contient le *De fide orthodoxa*, ainsi qu'une copie des *Sententiae* de Pierre Lombard, et qui faisait partie du legs testamentaire du maître Gérard d'Abbeville en faveur du Collège de Sorbonne. Les marges du texte de Damascène (fol. 156ra–172vb) sont abondamment annotées par une autre main que celle du copiste, presque certainement celle de Gérard d'Abbeville lui-même. Ces notes témoignent du travail d'étude analytique et de la discussion des contenus qui avait probablement eu lieu dans le cadre des activités d'enseignement du maître. Le texte est marqué, par exemple, par une série progressive de numéros, qui correspondent à un index des sujets traités figurant dans la marge supérieure de chaque recto et de chaque verso des folios. De plus, on trouve souvent des annotations qui incluent un interrogatif et un *responsio*. Dans la marge inférieure du fol. 156rb, on lit par exemple ceci: « Quid de corpore glorificato », qui traite du statut du corps du Christ après la résurrection et de la compatibilité de cette donnée de la foi avec l'incorporelité de Dieu. La *responsio* resumée dans cette note explique la position de Damascène, qui note que le corps glorifié de Jésus est « immatériel » en ce qu'il ne subit pas de souffrance et que pour cette raison il ne peut pas être divisé, comme c'est le cas d'autres corps, y compris les corps célestes.

¹⁹ Le texte du Damascène résumé dans ce schéma est le suivant, DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 192, 19–27: « composita vero ex duabus perfectis naturis, et deitate et humanitate, et ferat ipsa divinae dei Verbi filiationis characteristicum et determinativum idioma, secundum quod divisa sunt a Patre et Spiritu ea quae carnis characteristicum et determinativa idiomata, secundum quae differt a matre et reliquis hominibus; ferat autem et divinae naturae idiomata secundum quae unitus est Patri et Sancto Spiritui, et humanae naturae cognitiones secundum quas unitus est et matri et nobis ».

²⁰ Claire Angotti a rédigé une description très détaillée du manuscrit, accessible en ligne sur le site <<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc963407>> (consulté le 16 mars 2023). Je suis très reconnaissant à Claire Angotti d'avoir partagé avec moi de précieuses images de ce manuscrit.

La nature des annotations du manuscrit pisan ressemble à celle des manuscrits cités ci-dessus à titre d'exemple. En effet, elles sont la trace d'un utilisateur qui a probablement été confronté à l'étude du texte ou qui a utilisé le manuscrit contenant le texte de Jean Damascène lors d'un travail d'enseignement ou d'étude. Cette série d'annotations doit être reliée au travail d'une seule main, m5, qui écrit à sec. Dans certains cas sporadiques, m5 intervient pour corriger ou modifier le texte de la traduction de Burgundio, mais dans la plupart des circonstances, cette main écrit des notes concernant le contenu du texte et son examen. D'une part, il existe une série de références qui rendent explicites des citations scripturaires présentes dans le *De fide orthodoxa*. De l'autre, une analyse de l'articulation thématique du texte est organisée à travers une série de rubriques indiquant le sujet en question dans les différentes parties du texte. Ce sont des annotations qui diffèrent du système de rubrication des chapitres de l'œuvre de Damascène, qui est plutôt de la main des copistes eux-mêmes. À ce type de notes il faut ajouter des références internes au *De fide orthodoxa* lui-même ou à d'autres œuvres, en particulier les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard et le *Décret* de Gratien.²¹ Les annotations sont étudiées ci-dessous en fonction de leur typologie.

III.1. Références internes au 'De fide orthodoxa'

Au fol. 1va, au chapitre 2, c'est-à-dire au livre I chapitre 2 selon la numérotation du texte qui date de 1230 environ, on lit la référence: « ut habetur in libro III c. II d. ». La note se trouve dans la marge du passage du *De fide orthodoxa* où l'on lit ceci:

Et quoniam unigenitus Filius et Verbum Dei et Deus, per viscera misericordiae suae propter nostram salutem, beneplacito Patris et cooperatione Sancti Spiritus sine semine conceptus, incorrupte ex sancta Dei genitrice et semper virgine Maria genitus est per Spiritum Sanctum, et homo perfectus ex ipsa factus est.²²

La note fait référence au chapitre 46, c'est-à-dire au livre III chapitre 2 de l'édition universitaire de la traduction de Burgundio, où se trouve une discussion sur la façon de concevoir le verbe et son incarnation. La référence mentionne en particulier le fait que la conception du verbe chez la Vierge Marie s'est produite sans semence, mais avec l'acquiescence du Père et la coopération du Saint-Esprit. On lit dans le passage du troisième livre du *De fide orthodoxa* mentionné dans la note:

²¹ Sur le rapport entre le *De fide orthodoxa* et les autres grands ouvrages du XII^e siècle, voir DE GHELLINCK, *Le mouvement*, p. 407; DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. XVI–XVIII.

²² DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 2 (I, 2), p. 14, 24–29.

Et confixit sibi ipsi ex castis et purissimis sanguinibus carnem, animatam anima rationali et intellectuali, primitias nostrae massae; non spermaticos (id est seminaliter), sed conditive, per Spiritum Sanctum.²³

La notation dans la marge du fol. 5va fait référence à un passage du chapitre 8 (livre I, chapitre 8) qui concerne la Trinité, et plus notamment la différence entre la nature divine, qui est invisible et incorruptible, et les créatures qui sont susceptibles d'être corrompues en raison de leur nature. Le texte de Damascène, dans la traduction de Burgundio, explique:

Omnis autem creatio manifestum est quod a pluribus horum continetur, et omnis secundum suam naturam corruptioni subiacet.²⁴

Ce passage est mis en relation avec le chapitre 26 (livre II, chapitre 12), qui décrit la nature sans péché de l'homme au moment de sa création par Dieu et qui attribue l'origine du péché au choix fait sur la base du libre arbitre. Le texte de Damascène note ceci:

Fecit autem eum natura impeccabilem et arbitrio liberum. Impeccabile autem iniquio, non ut non suscipientem peccatum, – solus enim Deus peccati est insusceptibilis, – sed non in natura peccare habentem, in electione vero magis; scilicet, potestatem habentem manere et proficere in bono, divinam cooperantem habentem gratiam; similiter et verti ex bono et in malo fieri, Deo permittente, propter liberum arbitrium. Non virtus enim est, quod vi fit.²⁵

La question de la corruption en tant qu'élément distinctif des natures créées vis-à-vis de l'incorruptibilité de la nature divine revient dans une référence placée dans la marge du fol. 17rb en correspondance du chapitre 28 (livre II, chapitre 12). Il s'agit, en effet, d'une référence liée à celle placée dans la marge du fol. 5va. La note dans la marge renvoie au livre I, chapitre 9, mais il s'agit en réalité du chapitre 8, qui concerne la mutabilité de la nature humaine à cause du libre arbitre. Plus exactement, la note porte sur les lignes du chapitre 26 qui concernent le rôle de l'âme en tant que douée de volonté libre.²⁶ La mutabilité de la nature humaine est donc une conséquence de la nature libre de la volonté de l'homme.

²³ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 46 (III, 2), p. 171, 24–28.

²⁴ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 8 (I, 8), p. 38, 190–192.

²⁵ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 26 (II, 12), p. 114 [44]–115 [50].

²⁶ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 36 (II, 12), p. 115, 56–59: « Sicut enim oculus in corpore, ita in anima est intellectus; arbitrio libera est, voluntativa et operativa, vertibilis, id est voluntate vertibilis, quoniam et creabilis. Omnia hec ex eius qui condidit eam gratia suscipiens, ex qua et esse et natura ita esse suscepit ».

À propos du rapport entre la volonté et la raison, et du fait que les êtres irrationnels sont appelés « sans raison », au fol. 20rb on lit la note suivante: « ita de hoc in libro III c. XIII circa medium et XVIII ». La note concerne le passage du chapitre 36 (livre II, chapitre 22) où Jean Damascène distingue l'appétit des êtres irrationnels de celui des êtres rationnels, c'est-à-dire la volonté. On lit dans le *De fide orthodoxa*:

Igitur in irrationabilibus quidem appetitus fit alicuius et confestim impetus ad operationem. Irrationalis enim est appetitus irrationalium, et aguntur a naturali appetitu; ideo neque thelisis (id est voluntas) dicitur irrationalium appetitus, neque bulisis (id est voluntas). Voluntas enim est rationalis et libera arbitrio naturalis appetitus.²⁷

La note dans la marge offre une double référence. Tout d'abord, m5 lie le passage du chapitre 36 au milieu du chapitre 58 (livre III, chapitre 14), qui concerne la nature libre des volontés de Jésus Christ et explique:

Sed naturalem quidem voluntatem dicentes, non coactam hanc dicemus, sed autexusios (id est liberam arbitrio); si enim rationalis, omnino autexusios (id est libera arbitrio). Non solum enim divina et increabilis natura nihil coactum habet, sed neque intellectualis et creabilis; hoc autem manifestum. Natura enim ens bonus Deus, et natura conditor et natura Deus, non necessitate haec est. Quis enim est qui necessitatem inducit?²⁸

Ensuite, la seconde référence renvoie au chapitre 62 (livre III, chapitre 18), où Damascène continue la discussion sur la volonté libre et ses caractéristiques:

Autexusios autem (id est libere) volebat et divina et humana voluntate. Omni enim rationali naturae omnino innata est autexusios (id est libera arbitrio) voluntas. Ad quid enim habebit rationale, non autexusios (id est libere) ratione utens? Nam naturalem quidem concupiscentiam et in irrationabilibus animalibus conditor disseminavit, ad consistentiam propriae naturae coacte ipsa ducentem.²⁹

Au chapitre 37 (livre II, chapitre 23), qui concerne l'acte et ses caractéristiques, le manuscrit de Pise présente une référence au chapitre 57 (livre III, chapitre 13), dans laquelle Damascène développe le discours sur les spécificités de la volonté humaine. Dans le texte du chapitre 37 on lit ceci:

²⁷ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 36 (II, 129), p. 137 [101]–138 [106].

²⁸ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 58 (III, 14), p. 222, 147–153.

²⁹ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 62 (III, 18), p. 254, 69–75.

Operatio enim est naturalis uniuscuiusque substantiae virtus et motus. Et rursus, operatio est naturalis omnis substantiae innatus motus. Unde manifestum quoniam quorum substantiae eadem, horum et operatio eadem; quorum autem naturae differentes, horum et operationes differentes.³⁰

Pour expliquer l'argument de Damascène selon lequel la différence de nature implique une différence d'actes, la note en marge réfère à la distinction entre nature humaine et nature divine en Jésus Christ, qui implique une distinction entre actes humains et actes divins.³¹

La main qui compile cette série de notes semble particulièrement intéressée par la question de la relation entre les deux natures du Christ et au fol. 25ra, au chapitre 47 (livre III, chapitre 3), elle souligne la correspondance entre ces lignes du *De fide orthodoxa* et un passage du chapitre 60 (livre III, chapitre 16) où Damascène conteste la thèse selon laquelle, si l'homme est de deux natures et de deux opérations, il faut parler, au sujet du Christ, de trois natures et d'autant d'opérations. Au chapitre 47 le texte explique ceci:

Impossibile enim unius naturae dicere animam et corpus ad invicem comparata. Sed, quia plurimae hypostases (id est personae) hominum sunt, omnes autem eandem suscipiunt rationem naturae; – omnes enim ex anima sunt compositi et corpore, et omnes naturam animae participant et substantiam corporis possident; – communem speciem plurimarum et diversarum hypostaseon (id est personarum) unam naturam inquit, unaquaque scilicet hypostaseos (id est persona) duas naturas habente et in duabus perfecta naturis, animae dico et corporis.³²

Pour expliquer pourquoi l'homme, qui est formé d'une âme et d'un corps, n'a qu'une seule nature au lieu de deux et, partant, pourquoi le Christ n'est formé que de deux natures (humaine et divine) au lieu de trois, la note dans la marge aborde le passage dans lequel Damascène distingue l'unicité de la nature humaine de la présence de deux natures dans le Christ.³³

³⁰ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 37 (II, 23), p. 142, 4–9.

³¹ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa* c. 57 (III, 13), p. 213, 7–12: « Habere autem eum similiter cum duabus naturis, duplicia ea quae sunt duarum naturarum naturalia: duas voluntates naturales, et divinam et humanam, et operationes duas naturales, divinam et humanam, et autexusia (id est libera arbitrio) duo naturalia, divinum et humanum; et sapientiam et cognitionem, divinam et humanam ».

³² DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 47 (III, 3), p. 176, 52–60.

³³ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 60 (III, 16), ed. Buytaert, p. 245 [32]–246[38]: « Quia igitur omnis homo ex anima est compositus et corpore, secundum hoc una natura hominum dicitur. In hypostasi autem Domini non possumus dicere unam naturam. Etenim naturae servant et post unionem singulae naturalem proprietatem, et speciem christorum non est invenire. Non enim genitus est alius Christus ex deitate et humanitate, Deus et homo idem ».

La construction de ce réseau de correspondances internes dans le texte du *De fide orthodoxa* continue sur le sujet de l'usage de la notion de « nature » dans le discours théologique, notamment par rapport au Christ et à la relation entre la nature humaine et la nature divine chez le Christ. L'attention du lecteur porte sur le chapitre 50 (livre III, chapitre 6), où Damascène discute de l'union hypostatique chez le Christ de la nature divine avec l'ensemble de la nature humaine, et non uniquement avec l'une des deux parties. Au fol. 27rb, on trouve donc le passage suivant: « Unitum igitur est carni per medium intellectum Verbum Dei, mediante Dei puritate et carnis grossitie ». ³⁴ La main m5 introduit la référence au chapitre 18 de ce même troisième livre, c'est-à-dire le chapitre 62 de l'ancienne numérotation en cent chapitres du texte de Damascène. Il s'agit du chapitre qui poursuit la discussion sur la volonté libre et sur le rapport entre la nature et la volonté chez l'être humain et chez le Christ. Le passage qui intéresse particulièrement le lecteur du manuscrit de Pise concerne le rôle de l'intellect et son rapport avec la chair, c'est-à-dire les deux composants de la nature humaine. Ce point de *De fide orthodoxa* explique:

Quod secundum imaginem renovare volens Deum Verbum, factum est homo. Quid autem quod secundum imaginem, nisi intellectus? Quod melius igitur derelinquens, quod deterius assumpsit. Intellectus enim in medio est Dei et carnis: huius quidem ut cohabitator, Dei autem ut imago. Intellectus igitur intellectui miscetur, et mediatur intellectus Dei puritati et carnis grossitudini. Si enim animam amentem Dominus assumpsit, irrationalis animalis animam assumpsit. ³⁵

III.2. Référence à Pierre Lombard

À côté des annotations qui constituent un réseau de références dans le texte de Damascène, d'autres établissent des correspondances avec des passages spécifiques des écrits de Pierre Lombard, en particulier avec les *Sentences*. Comme dans le cas des références internes, ces annotations tendent également à créer des parallèles textuels visant à tracer une grille d'interprétation du contenu du *De fide orthodoxa* et à fournir des outils de discussion supplémentaires pour examiner des noyaux doctrinaux spécifiques. Depuis les premières décennies du XIII^e siècle, les œuvres de Pierre Lombard, et surtout les *Sentences*, deviennent le point de référence pour l'étude et l'enseignement de la théologie et contribuent à délimiter le périmètre épistémologique et méthodologique de la pratique de la théologie en tant que science dans le contexte de l'Europe latine. La perspective intellectuelle qui se développe à Paris en 1220 environ autour de l'œuvre des *Sentences* est la même qui s'était produite par l'édition du *De fide orthodoxa* en quatre livres. En

³⁴ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 50 (III, 6), p. 189, 47–48.

³⁵ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 62 (III, 18), p. 252, 25–32.

effet, le texte du père grec est directement associé à celui de Pierre Lombard, tandis que dans certains manuscrits il est appelé *Sententiae Damasceni*, ou bien il est copié avec les quatre livres du théologien latin.³⁶

À la fin du chapitre 8, qui contient une longue exposition de la Trinité, Jean Damascène mentionne le thème de la procession du Saint-Esprit vis-à-vis des deux autres personnes divines et soutient la position grecque de la procession du Père seul. Au fol. 7ra du manuscrit, il y a le dernier paragraphe du chapitre 8 du traité de Damascène, où il est dit ceci:

Oportet scire quoniam Patrem non dicimus ex aliquo: dicimus autem eum Filii Patrem. Filium autem non dicimus anetium (id est sine causa) esse, neque Patrem: dicimus autem eum et ex Patre, et Filium Patris. Spiritum autem Sanctum et ex Patre dicimus, et Spiritum Patris nominamus. Ex Filio vero Spiritum non dicimus: Spiritum vero Filii nominamus.³⁷

Dans la marge de ce passage, la main m5 place une référence à la distinction 11 du premier livre des *Sentences*, notamment au passage où Lombard souligne la différence entre les Latins et les Grecs au sujet de la procession du Saint-Esprit. Ici le texte des *Sentences* explique:

Sciendum tamen est quod Graeci confitentur Spiritum Sanctum esse Filii sicut Patris, quia et Apostolus dicit 'Spiritus Filii', et Veritas in Evangelio Spiritum veritatis. Sed cum non sit aliud Spiritum Sanctum esse Patris vel Filii, quam esse a Patre et Filio, etiam in hoc in eandem nobiscum fidei sententiam convenire videntur, licet verbis dissentiant.³⁸

La référence à ce passage de Lombard semble être partie d'un examen bien plus complexe qui comprend la longue note marginale présente dans le même folio 7ra.³⁹

Cette utilisation de Pierre Lombard comme ressource pour discuter du contenu doctrinal du *De fide orthodoxa* réapparaît à l'occasion de la discussion de la question du rapport entre la nature divine et la notion physique de lieu. Au chapitre 13 (livre I, chapitre 13) de son œuvre, Damascène explique la relation entre le lieu et le corps, et il note ceci:

³⁶ Voir DE GHELLINCK, *Le mouvement*, p. 407. L'un des cas les plus intéressants est celui du codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15724, mentionné ci-dessus et qui contient les *Sentences* ainsi que le *De fide orthodoxa*.

³⁷ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 8 (I, 8), p. 47, 324–329.

³⁸ PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 11, c. 2, in IGNATIUS BRADY (ed.), *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 2 vol., Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Grottaferrata–Rome 1971–1981 (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 4–5), vol. I, p. 116, 20–24.

³⁹ Voir l'étude de cette note dans la suite de l'article.

Locus est corporalis, finis eius quod continet, scilicet id quod continet quod continetur; ut puta, aer continet, corpus autem continetur. Non universus autem continens aer locus est eius quod continetur corporis, sed finis eius qui continet aeris, tangens id quod continetur corpus. Omnino autem quodcumque est quod continet non est in eo quod continetur.⁴⁰

Le lecteur du manuscrit de Pise lie ces lignes du *De fide orthodoxa* à la distinction 37 du premier livre des *Sentences* (la note en marge mentionne la « distinctio XXXVIII », mais il s'agit évidemment de la distinction 37), dans laquelle le Lombard examine la relation entre la nature divine et la notion de lieu en notant ceci:

Cumque divina natura veraciter et essentialiter sit in omni loco et in omni tempore, non tamen movetur per loca vel per tempora, nec localis est nec temporalis. Localis non est, quia penitus non circumscribitur loco: quia nec ita est in uno loco quod non sit in alio, neque dimensionem habet sicut corpus, cui secundum locum assignatur principium, medium et finis, et ante et retro, dextra et sinistra, sursum et insum, quod sui interpositione facit distantiam circumstantium.⁴¹

Les *Sentences* assument le rôle de clé d'interprétation des doctrines de Damascène, comme dans le cas de la nature de la providence divine et du rapport entre la providence et le salut éternel des hommes. Le chapitre 42 (livre II, chapitre 29) du *De fide orthodoxa* contient ces lignes:

Oportet scire quod Deus antecederet vult omnes salvari et regno eius potiri. Non enim in puniendo plasmavit nos, sed ad participandum bonitatem eius ut bonus. Peccantes autem vult puniri ut iustus.⁴²

La référence dans la marge du fol. 23rb, où se trouve ce passage du texte, concerne la distinction 46 du premier livre des *Sentences*, où Lombard discute les relations entre la prescience divine et le salut des hommes, et plus précisément le fait que la nature humaine est créée en vue de son salut éternel et non de son châtement. La note du manuscrit fait notamment référence à un passage où Lombard cite l'*Enchiridion* d'Augustin et notamment le moment où l'évêque d'Hippone essaie d'examiner le sens du verset paulinien: « il veut que tous les hommes soient sauvés ».⁴³ Ce verset des Écritures est aussi à la base de la discussion de Damascène. Le passage augustinien cité dans les *Sentences* examine comment ce verset est en

⁴⁰ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 13 (I, 13), p. 56, 4–9.

⁴¹ LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 37, c. 5, vol. I, p. 270, 3–10.

⁴² DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 43 (II, 29), p. 160, 74–77.

⁴³ I Tim. 2, 4.

relation avec la prescience divine et le fait que tous les hommes ne sont pas sauvés. On lit ceci:

Queritur ergo quomodo accipiendum sit quod Apostolus de Domino ait: 'Qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri'. Cum enim non omnes salvi fiant, sed plures damnentur, videtur utique non fieri quod Deus vult fieri, humano scilicet voluntate impediante voluntatem Dei. Dominus quoque in Evangelio, impiam civitatem compellens: 'Quoties', inquit, 'volui congregare filios tuos, sicut gallina congregat pullos suos, et noluisti'. Ita haec dicuntur, tamquam Dei voluntas superata sit hominum voluntate, et infirmis nolendo impredientibus, non potuerit facere potentissimus quod volebat. Ubi est ergo illa omnipotentia, qua 'in celo et in terra', secundum Prophetam, 'omnia quaecumque voluit fecit?' et quomodo 'voluntati eius', secundum Apostolum, 'nichil resisit', si colligere filios Ierusalem voluit, et non fecit?⁴⁴

Une dernière correspondance entre le *De fide orthodoxa* et les *Sentences* est annotée par rapport au début du chapitre 50 de l'œuvre de Damascène (livre III, chapitre 6), dont le père grec distingue ce qui est commun et universel de ce qui est particulier afin d'expliquer la différence conceptuelle entre la substance divine et la notion d'hypostase, qui qualifie chacune des personnes de la Trinité. La main m5, à ce moment du texte, au fol. 27ra, place la référence à la distinction 19 du premier livre des *Sentences*, où ce passage du texte de Damascène est largement cité. Cet argument du père grec est utilisé pour expliquer comment les personnes divines doivent être considérées comme des individus qui diffèrent en nombre, mais qui constituent une chose unique par rapport à la substance. Le long passage des *Sentences*, qui comprend la citation des mots de Damascène, affirme ceci:

His autem videntur adversari quae quidam sacrae Scripturae tractatores catholici in suis scriptis tradiderunt, in quibus significare videntur quod essentia divina sit quoddam commune et universale velut species, tres vero personae sint tria particularia, tria individua numero differentia. – Unde Ioannes Damascenus, inter Graecorum doctores magnus, in libro quem de Trinitate scripsit, quem et Papa Eugenius transferri fecit: 'Communia et universalia praedicantur de subiectis sibi ipsis particularibus. Commune igitur substantia est, particulare vero hypostasis, id est persona. Particulare autem dicitur non quoniam patrem naturae habet, sed particulare numero, ut atomum, id est individuum. Numero enim, et non natura, differre dicuntur hypostases'. – Item in eodem: 'Substantia significat communem et circumplectivam speciem homineon, id est similium specie, hypostaseon, id est personarum, ut puta Deus, homo; hypostasis autem individuum demonstrat, scilicet Patrem, Filium, Spiritum Sanctum, Petrum, Paulum' et huiusmodi. – Ecce aperte

⁴⁴ PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 46, c. 1, ed. BRADY, vol. I, p. 312²⁹–313⁴. Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *Enchiridion* c. 97.

dicat substantiam esse universale, hypostasim vero particulare; et quod Deus est species ut homo, et quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sunt individua sicut Petrus, Paulus, et quod numero differunt.⁴⁵

Les références aux *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard concernent le contenu du premier livre de l'œuvre du maître latin et portent plus précisément sur certaines questions relatives à la nature du dieu trinitaire et de la relation entre Dieu et sa puissance d'une part et le salut des hommes de l'autre. Le parallèle entre Lombard et Damascène est souligné en regard de certains sujets spécifiques: la notion de « procession » et celle de « lieu », utilisées pour décrire les relations internes à la Trinité, ou la spécificité de la nature divine, et enfin la notion de prescience divine.

III.3. Références juridiques

La main m5 est responsable d'une dernière annotation qui lie le *De fide orthodoxa* à une source juridique. Il s'agit d'une référence qui concerne un aspect de la foi et de la pratique religieuse, c'est-à-dire l'idée que les prières doivent être récitées dans une direction spécifique: à l'est, vers Jérusalem. Vers la fin du chapitre 89 (livre IV, chapitre 8), qui concerne l'usage des images dans la pratique religieuse, Damascène explique: « Est autem non scripta hec traditio, velut et secundum orientem adorare et crucem adorare, et alia plurima hiis similia ». ⁴⁶ Ici, dans la marge du fol. 46rb, le lecteur indique deux références bibliques et une référence juridique. Les références bibliques renvoient au Livre de la Sagesse: « Afin d'apprendre à tous qu'il faut devancer le soleil pour te rendre grâce, et te prier dès le lever du jour » (Sap. 16, 28), et au livre de Daniel: « Les fenêtres de sa chambre haute étaient orientées vers Jérusalem et trois fois par jour il se mettait à genoux, priant et confessant Dieu » (Dan. 6, 11).

À côté de ces passages bibliques, la note dans la marge fait mention d'un lieu de la *Summa Decretorum* d'Huguccio de Pise, et notamment du commentaire à la distinction 8, où Huguccio cite les mêmes versets bibliques du livre de la Sagesse et du livre de Daniel cités dans les marges du manuscrit pisan. Il s'agit d'un long passage de la *Summa* qui analyse les raisons de la pratique d'orienter la prière vers Jérusalem en donnant une sorte de recueil de versets de l'Ancien Testament qui soulignent la centralité de la ville sainte et surtout du temple pour le peuple d'Israël. Ensuite, Huguccio offre une liste d'autorités du Nouveau Testament et des Pères de l'Église qui montrent la christianisation de cette pratique religieuse, mais aussi le fait qu'être orienté vers Jérusalem n'est pas une condition indispensable

⁴⁵ PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 19, c. 9, ed. BRADY, vol. I, p. 167¹⁷–168¹¹. Cf. IOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 48 (III, 4), ed. BUYTAERT, p. 180⁴⁻⁸; c. 50 (III, 6), ed. BUYTAERT, p. 186⁵⁻¹⁰.

⁴⁶ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 89 (IV, 8), p. 334, 57–59.

et nécessaire de la pratique liturgique chrétienne: elle a certes une valeur symbolique, mais chaque chrétien est libre de prier en tout lieu⁴⁷.

IV. *Le manuscrit de Pise et les débats théologiques universitaires*

Le manuscrit de Pise présente deux longues annotations qui relient l'étude et l'utilisation du texte du père grec au contexte théologique parisien des années 1230 et 1240. En effet, la main m5 transcrit dans les marges deux résumés de l'enseignement de Guerric de Saint-Quentin sur la nature divine et les rapports entre les trois personnes de la Trinité. Ce maître en théologie, originaire de Saint-Quentin en Vermandois, est entré dans le couvent dominicain de Saint-Jacques à Paris, en 1225 environ, pour recevoir une éducation théologique universitaire.⁴⁸ Au moment de son entrée dans l'ordre dominicain, Guerric était déjà maître des arts et en médecine. La biographie de Guerric atteste qu'il était lecteur de théologie à Bologne et qu'il est devenu ensuite titulaire de la deuxième chaire de théologie dominicaine à Paris à partir de 1233.⁴⁹ Après Roland de Cremona, Hugues

⁴⁷ Cf. HUGUCCIO PISANUS, *Summa Decretorum*, t. I, Distinctiones I–XX, ed. OLDRICH PŘEROVSKÝ, BAV, Cité du Vatican 2006, p. 183 [83]–184 [108]: « Nam in libro Sapientie dicitur: 'oportet solem preuenire ad benedictionem et te adorare ad lucis ortum'. Set liber Sapientie inter apocripha computatur, sicut dicit Ieronymus in prologo bibliothecae. Set uidetur quod consuetudo orandi ad orientem habuit principium a ueteri testamento. Legitur enim in Daniel quod cum esset in babilonica captiuitate aperta fenestra sui cenaculi uersus templum orabat. Iudeis quoque preceptum fuit. ut ubicumque essent uersus templum quod erat in Ierusalem orarent. Vnde Daniel: 'exaudi, Domine, uocem deprecationis mee dum oro ad te, dum extollo manus meas ad templum sanctum tuum'. Et hoc factum est causa reuerentie propter sancta sanctorum et ita Iudei quandoque orabant ad orientem, quandoque ad occidentem. Et quia templum est nobis ab oriente, ideo ad orientem oramus; et etiam ideo quia in oriente natus est Saluator et quia inde uenit et ibi habuit initium solus nostra, scilicet euangelica predicatio. Et hinc est quod semper flectimur ad illum locum ubi cantatur euangelium, in quocumque loco contetur. Ecce hic innuitur quod orare debemus uersus orientem. Set Ezechiel uidetur contradicere, qui inter abhominaciones computat ad orientem orare. Set Ieronymus dicit quod contempto Deo solem adorabant, quod erat ydolatria et ideo abhominabile. Item Leo in sermone natalis Domini qui sic incipit: 'Festiuitatis', prohibet Romanis ne in suggestu arce beati Petri, scilicet in gradum summitate uersus orientem orarent. Set propter eandem speciem mali hoc porhibuit quia ab omni specie mala abstinendum est. Set in summa illud est sciendum quod in quamlibet partem licite oramus, sicut potestatis in ecclesiis que habent tresunas et ultaria ab occidente ».

⁴⁸ Voir WILLIAM J. COURTENAY, « The Donation of St. Jacques to the 'Dominicans': Some Observations », *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 83 (2013), p. 107–123.

⁴⁹ Sur Guerric voir GIULIO D'ONOFRIO, *Storia del pensiero medievale*, Città Nuova, Rome 2011, p. 421, EPHREM FILTHAUT, « Guerricus v. St-Quentin », dans *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Herder, Freiburg i. Br. 1960, vol. IV, p. 1264–1265; PALÉMON GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, Vrin, Paris 1933, vol. I, p. 54–57; BERTRAND-GEORGES GUYOT, « Guerric de Saint-Quentin », dans *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Beauchesne, Paris 1967, vol. IV, col. 1121–1122; Id., « Guerric de Saint-Quentin », dans *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Letouzey et

de Saint-Cher et le maître séculier Jean de Saint-Gilles, qui était devenu dominicain en 1230 et qui était ensuite parti à Toulouse, Guerric est le quatrième dominicain titulaire d'une chaire de théologie à Paris et son activité d'enseignement se poursuivra jusqu'en 1242. Les informations concernant l'activité d'enseignement de Guerric ne sont pas très complètes, mais son implication dans les moments importants de l'histoire culturelle et religieuse du milieu universitaire parisien de la quatrième et de la cinquième décennie du XIII^e siècle est certaine.

L'importance de Guerric dans le milieu théologique parisien est démontrée par les nombreux échanges intellectuels qu'il avait avec ses contemporains et qui se dégagent aussi bien des textes de Guerric lui-même que des textes qui témoignent de l'enseignement du maître dominicain. Les recherches de Jacques Quétif et Jacques Échard, de Palémon Glorieux, de Barthélemy Hauréau et de Franz Pelster d'abord et celles de François-Marie Henquinet, de Victorin Doucet et de Bertrand Guyot ensuite ont permis d'éclairer les textes et les écrits de Guerric, qui comprennent une série de questions disputées, de commentaires aux Écritures et de matériaux doctrinaux qui se trouvent mêlés aux écrits d'autres auteurs, notamment dans les gloses du *Commentaire sur les Sentences* du manuscrit du Vatican, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, Vat. lat. 691, liées à Jean de la Rochelle, dans les annotations à côté du *Commentaire sur les Sentences* de Hugue de Saint-Cher dans le manuscrit Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 138 et, enfin, dans les matériaux du manuscrit Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 186, qui sont liées à la rédaction du *Commentaire des Sentences* de Bonaventure.⁵⁰ Les

Ané, Paris 1988, vol. XXII, col. 726; THOMAS KAEPEL, « Guerricus de S. Quintino », dans ID., *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii*, Istituto Storico Domenicano, Rome 1975, vol. II, p. 61–70; FÉLIX LAJARD, « Guerric de Saint-Quentin », dans *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 1847, vol. XXI, p. 363–369; PETER SCHULTHESS, RUEDI IMBACH, *Die Philosophie im lateinischen Mittelalter. Ein Handbuch mit einem bio-bibliographischen Repertorium*, Artemis & Winkler Verlag, Zürich – Düsseldorf 1996, p. 440; ÉDOUARD WEBER, « I primi maestri domenicani e Alberto Magno », in GIULIO D'ONOFRIO (ed.), *Storia della Teologia nel Medioevo*, vol. II: *La grande fioritura*, Piemme, Casale Monferrato 1996, p. 773–775; GUERRIC OF SAINT-QUENTIN, *Quaestiones de quolibet*, ed. by WALTER H. PRINCIPE, JONATHAN BLACK, Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, Toronto 2002 (Studies and Texts, 143), p. I–XXXIV.

⁵⁰ Voir JACQUES QUÉTIF, JACQUES ECHARD, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti*, Paris 1719, vol. I, p. 113–115; BARTHÉLEMY HAURÉAU, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la bibliothèque Nationale*, C. Klincksieck, Paris 1891, t. III, p. 5 ss.; FRANZ PELSTER, « Literargeschichtliches zur Pariser theologischen Schule aus den Jahren 1230 bis 1256 », *Scholastik*, 5 (1930), p. 46–78; FRANÇOIS-MARIE HENQUINET, « Les écrits du Frère Guerric de Saint-Quentin, O.P. », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 6 (1934), p. 184–214, 284–312, 394–410; GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie*, p. 54–58; VICTORIN DOUCET, « La date des condamnations parisiennes dites de 1241. Faut-il corriger le Cartulaire de l'Université ? », dans *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer. Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Monseigneur à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, Éditions de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, Louvain 1947 (Université de

doctrines et les positions de Guerric sont utilisées par ses contemporains: le point de vue sur l'exégèse de l'Écriture du maître dominicain est, par exemple, utilisée et développée par Jean de La Rochelle.

Entre 1232 et 1241, Guerric est donc l'un des principaux protagonistes de la vie intellectuelle à Paris et surtout de l'évolution de la discussion théologique universitaire. Les notes dans la marge du texte du *De fide orthodoxa* dans le manuscrit de Pise se situent dans le contexte historique de l'accueil et de la fortune d'un auteur comme Guerric de Saint-Quentin. Le lecteur du manuscrit qui correspond à la main m5 transcrit le contenu de deux questions disputées par le maître dominicain en donnant aussi sa propre évaluation de l'argument de Guerric. Ces deux transcriptions ne semblent pas la transposition fidèle des questions de Guerric, mais plutôt, en termes de forme et de caractéristiques littéraires, une sorte de *reportatio* rendant compte de l'argumentation du dominicain⁵¹. Il convient de proposer une édition de ces deux notes, en analysant leur structure et leur contenu, afin d'examiner leur importance doctrinale et leur relation avec le reste de la production de Guerric de Saint-Quentin, mais également leur relation avec le reste des annotations de m5 et avec l'étude du texte de Damascène que cette série de notes propose.

IV.1. La procession de l'Esprit-Saint

La première annotation relative à Guerric de Saint-Quentin se trouve au fol. 7ra du manuscrit et concerne les derniers paragraphes du chapitre 8 du *De fide orthodoxa*, qui portent sur la procession du Saint-Esprit. Ici, Damascène clarifie la position grecque quant à la relation entre les trois personnes de la Trinité et explique que, dans le cas du Saint-Esprit, il est dit qu'il procède du Père et qu'il ne procède pas du Fils: les Grecs l'appellent cependant « Esprit du Fils » et c'est par le Fils que cela

Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3, 26), p. 183–193; BERTRAND-GEORGES GUYOT, « Quaestiones Guerrici, Alexandri et aliorum magistrorum parisiensium (Praha, Univ. IV.D.13) », *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 32 (1962), p. 5–125; PALÉMON GLORIEUX, « Les années 1242–1247 à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris », *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 29 (1962), p. 234–249. Sur la production théologique de Guerric voir aussi MASSIMILIANO D'ALESSANDRO, « La *quaestio* 'de vita activa et contemplativa' attribuita a Guerrico di San Quintino (m. 1245) nel manoscritto Praha, Univ. IV.D.13 », *Memorie Domenicane*, 42 (2011), p. 53–79.

⁵¹ Sur le genre de la *reportatio* voir RICCARDO SACCENTI, « Le *reportationes* e la nascita dell'insegnamento teologico (XII–XIII secolo) », dans ALESSANDRO TEDESCO (ed.), *Scrivere veloce. Sistemi tachigrafici dall'antichità a Twitter*, Olschki, Firenze 2016 (Biblioteca di bibliografia. Documents and Studies in Book and Library History, 203), p. 73–93; FRANCESCO SIRI, « *Lectio, disputatio, reportatio*. Note su alcune pratiche didattiche nel XII secolo e sulla loro trasmissione », dans MASSIMILIANO LENZI, CESARE A. MUSATTI, LUISA VALENTE (eds.), *Medioevo e filosofia. Per Alfonso Maierù*, Viella, Roma 2013, p. 109–218; GIOVANNI P. MÜLLER, « La *reportatio* », *Salesianum*, 29 (1959), p. 647–659; LUDGER MEIER, « Über den Zeugniswert der 'Reportatio' in der Scholastik », *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 36 (1954), p. 1–8.

est communiqué aux hommes. Le texte latin de la traduction de Burgundio explique:

Oportet scire quoniam Patrem non dicimus ex aliquo: dicimus autem eum Filii Patrem. Filium autem non dicimus anetium (id est sine causa) esse, neque Patrem: dicimus autem eum et ex Patre, et Filium Patris. Spiritum autem Sanctum et ex Patre dicimus, et Spiritum Patris nominamus. Ex Filio vero Spiritum non dicimus: Spiritum vera Filii nominamus: 'Si quis enim Spiritum Christi non habet', ait divinus Apostolus; et per Filium manifestatum et traditum esse nobis confitemur. 'Insufflavit enim et dixit discipulis suis: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum'. Sicut ex sole quidem et radius et splendor: ipse enim est fons radii et splendoris; per radium vero splendor nobis traditur, et ipse est qui illuminat nos, et participatur a nobis. Filium autem neque Spiritus dicimus, neque utique ex Spiritu⁵².

L'utilisateur anonyme du manuscrit de Pise avait déjà souligné le lien entre ces lignes du texte du père grec et la distinction 11 du premier livre des *Sentences*, dont Pierre Lombard présente et discute la position des Grecs au sujet des relations intra-trinitaires et notamment de la procession du Saint-Esprit. Ensuite, il examine le contenu élaborée par Guerric de Saint-Quentin. La longue note explique ceci:

Nota quod hic uidetur Iohannes consentire grecis dicentibus quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedit a Filio, licet dicatur illum esse Filii. Iuxta illud Galatorum IIII:⁵³ 'misit Deus spiritum Filii sui', et Iohannes xv:⁵⁴ 'mittam uobis Spiritum ueritatis' qui a Patre procedit. Non dicit a Filio.

Item, Augustinus:⁵⁵ 'sicut ex igne splendor et calor, sic ex Patre Filius et Spiritus Sanctus procedit'. Sed constat quod calor solum ab igne et non a splendore procedit, ergo nec Spiritus a Filio.

⁵² DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 8 (I, 8), p. 47 [324]–48 [336].

⁵³ Gal. 4, 6.

⁵⁴ Ioh. 15, 26.

⁵⁵ AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De Trinitate*, VI, 6, 1, ed. WILLIAM J. MOUNTAIN, FRANCISCUS GLORIE, Brepols, Turnhout 1968 (CCSL, 50), p. 228, 11–14: « Ut sit coaeternus patri filius, sicut splendor qui gignitur ab igne atque diffunditur coaeus est illi, et esset coaeternus si ignis esset aeternus ». Cf. DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 8 (I, 8), p. 34, 114–118: « Sicut simul ignis est et simul quod ex eo lumen, et non prius est ignis et postea lumen, sed simul sunt; et sicut lumen ex igne generatum semper in eo est et nequaquam ab eo separatur; ita et Filius ex Patre generatur et nequaquam ab eo separatur, sed semper in eo »; *Id.*, c. 8 (I, 8), p. 47 [332]–48 [336]: « Insufflavit enim et dixit discipulis suis: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Sicut ex sole quidem et radius et splendor: ipse enim est fons radii et splendoris; per radium vero splendor nobis traditur, et ipse est qui illuminat nos, et participatur a nobis. Filium autem neque Spiritus dicimus, neque utique ex Spiritu ».

Item, dicit quidam Gregorius⁵⁶ grecus quod sicut ex uno fonte duo riuuli, ita ex Patre Filius et Spiritus Sanctus procedunt. Et licet unus riuulorum intrat in alterum et exeat ab eo, non tamen dicitur ab eo procedere, sed a fonte.

Contra, dicit beatus Athanasius⁵⁷ quod sicut ex duobus lignis procedit una flamma, ita ex Patre et ex Filio procedit Spiritus Sanctus.⁵⁸ Et sicut etiam dicit in symbolo⁵⁹ « a Patre Filioque procedit ».

Solutio. Dicendum est quod Spiritus Sanctus ab utroque, idest a Patre et Filio, procedit. Non enim esset in Trinitate summa beatitudo et delectatio et iocunditas, nisi a Filio procederet, cum amor debeat reflecti in illos a quibus procedit. Cum igitur amor procedat a Patre et Filio, reflectitur in eos.

Ad obiecta dicendum quod similitudo in exemplis predictis attenditur in modum dantis originem non recipientis, quia sicut fons dat originem⁶⁰ duobus riuus et unus ignis splendori et calori, ita Pater Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Non tamen eodem modo recipiunt, quia licet illi duo exeant a fonte non tamen unus ab alio, sicut Spiritus Sanctus a Filio. Et quod hic dicit Iohannes Damascenus. Dicunt aliqui quod hereticus fuit in hoc, uel melius hec prepositio 'ex' uel 'a' potest notare primam auctoritatem et sic non est ex Filio sed procedit a Filio. Si non primam, sic potest concedi quia quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Filio hoc non habet Filius a se, sed a Patre.

Item, nos dicimus quod idem est Spiritum esse Filii et procedere a Filio.

Item, Filius dicit Spiritum procedere a Patre, non per hoc excludens quod non procedat a Filio. Sed per hoc notat quod quecumque habet a Patre. Sicut enim a Patre habet quod Deus est, ita etiam quod Spiritus procedat ab ipso.

Frater Guericus.

Item, uidetur quod illa solutio non sit bona, scilicet si littera 'a' notet auctoritatem non primam. Quod possit hoc concedi, scilicet Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Filio, quia

⁵⁶ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *Epistola 26, ad Evagrium*, dans *Patrologiae cursus completus...*, ed. JACQUES PAUL MIGNE, *Series Graeca*, vol. XLVI, col. 1106. Sur la métaphore des deux flux voir ANSELMUS CANTUARENSIS, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, c. 9, dans FRANCISCUS SALESIUS SCHMITT (ed.), *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 2 vol., Sansaini, Rome 1940, vol. II, p. 173–219, p. 203–205.

⁵⁷ Athanasius] Atthanasiu[m] ms.

⁵⁸ Cf. ANONYMUS, *De trinitate*, VIII, 1, ed. VINCENTIUS BULHART, dans EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS, FILASTRIUS BRIXIENSIS, HEGEMONIUS (Ps.), ISAAC IUDAEUS, ARCHIDIACONUS ROMANUS, FORTUNATIANUS AQUILEIENSIS, CHROMATIUS AQUILEIENSIS, *Opera quae supersunt...*, Brepols, Turnhout 1957 (CCSL 9), l. 68: « Quomodo autem si duo ligna coniuncta missa in fornacem ignis et de duobus lignis procedat flamma inseparabilis, sic de patris et filii uirtute procedit spiritus sanctus ipsam uirtutem et deitatem habens ». Le texte anonyme été attribué à Athanase d'Alexandrie. Voir à ce propos ELIGIUS DEKKERS, AEMILIUS GAAR, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum qua in Corpus Christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensiones...*, 3^{ème} édition, Brepols, Turnhout 1995 (CCSL), p. 34; HERMANN JOSEF FREDE, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel. Repertorium scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum saeculo nono antiquiorum*, Herder, Freiburg i. Br. 1995 (Vetus Latina, 1/1), p. 791–792.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ps. ATHANASIUS, *Symbolum « Quicumque »*, dans ANDREW EWBANK BURN, *The Athanasian Creed and Its Early Commentaries*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1896 (Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, 4), p. 5: « Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus est sed procedens ».

⁶⁰ originem] origine[m] ms.

ex questione dubia est cum posit notari prima auctoritas, et sic esset falsa quod non debeat dici sicut habemus simile quod dicimus precepit Osee II ⁶¹: « uocabis me uir meus et non baalim », cum idem esset.

Responsio. Propositio que magis exprimit sensum erroneum non debet concedi, sicut illa de Osee et sicut illa « filius est minor patre », licet uerificari possit, idest non habet auctoritatem in Patrem; sicut econtrario Pater est maior Filio, idest habet auctoritatem in Filium. Sed hec: 'Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Filio', licet littere 'a' significat auctoritatem primam et non primam; tamen magis exprimit ueritatem.

La note marginale résume le détail de la transcription d'une *quaestio* attribuée explicitement à un « frère Guerric », qui est certainement le dominicain Guerric de Saint-Quentin. Le texte résume la position du maître en ce qui concerne la divergence entre les Latins et les Grecs sur la procession du Saint-Esprit et il se situe de manière significative par rapport au passage du *De fide orthodoxa* auquel se réfère l'anonyme glossateur. En effet, dans les réponses aux objections de la *quaestio*, on peut lire que « Ce que dit ici Jean Damascène était, selon certains, hérétique », mais le texte ne mentionne pas explicitement une *auctoritas* du père grec dans la série d'arguments en faveur ou contre la thèse de la procession de l'Esprit du Fils. Un signe, placé juste avant le début du texte, relie l'ensemble de la *quaestio* à la déclaration suivante de Damascène: « nous ne disons pas que l'Esprit procède du Fils », et justement les mots d'ouverture du texte de Guerric expliquent comment ce qui suit est une discussion de la position des Grecs avec laquelle Jean Damascène se montre tout à fait d'accord. À l'évidence, la note contient une argumentation issue d'une confrontation directe avec le texte du *De fide orthodoxa*, considéré comme un porte-parole de la position grecque au sujet de la procession du Saint-Esprit. Cela donne lieu à une tentative d'examiner les relations entre les Latins et les Grecs sur ce point et d'évaluer la diversité réelle entre ces positions quant à leur signification théologique.

À cet égard, deux éléments doivent être pris en considération. D'une part, le fait que Guerric utilise l'œuvre de Damascène comme un miroir de la tradition théologique grecque place l'approche du texte du père grec proposée par le maître dominicain dans le sillage d'une tradition qui remonte à Burgundio de Pise et à sa traduction. Les motivations qui sont à l'origine de la demande d'Eugène III au juge pisan de procéder à une transposition latine du *De fide orthodoxa* dépendent, en réalité, de la nécessité d'accéder à un exposé systématique de la théologie grecque. Cette exigence doit être remplacée dans le contexte d'une reprise de contacts entre Latins et Grecs autour de 1140 environ: il s'agissait d'une tentative de rétablir un dialogue théologique et culturel aux côtés du dialogue politique entre le Siège apostolique et la cour impériale des Comnènes. D'autre part, la discussion du sens théologique de la thèse grecque, selon laquelle le Saint-Esprit procède du Père et

⁶¹ Os. 2, 16.

non du Fils, s'inscrit dans un débat très vaste, tant au niveau de sa durée que de l'implication des théologiens. La notion faisant référence à la onzième distinction du premier livre des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, placée juste avant la transcription de la question de Gueric, renvoie à un texte qui fixe, au début de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, les termes d'une évaluation théologique de la question de la procession du Saint-Esprit.

Le passage de Pierre Lombard marque un tournant remarquable dans la manière dont les Latins abordent le débat sur la position doctrinale grecque. D'une part, l'auteur des *Sentences* propose un exposé systématique de la question, dans laquelle il cite d'abord la série de citations du Nouveau Testament sur lesquelles repose l'idée d'une procession de l'Esprit qui émane à la fois du Père et du Fils. De l'autre, il énonce la position grecque et les autorités qui sont utilisées pour soutenir la procession émanant seulement du Père. Après avoir précisé le sens exact selon lequel les Latins utilisent les termes clés de la discussion, Lombard précise que la différence par rapport aux Grecs sur la procession du Saint-Esprit est verbale, mais non substantielle: bien que les deux traditions expriment le *credo* au sujet des relations trinitaires avec des formules différentes, une étude de la signification des mots utilisés révèle une convergence totale quant au contenu. On lit dans les *Sentences*:

Sciendum tamen est quod Graeci confitentur Spiritum Sanctum esse Filii sicut Patris, quia et Apostolus dicit 'Spiritum Filii', et Veritas in Evangelio 'Spiritum veritatis'. Sed cum non sit aliud Spiritum Sanctum esse Patris vel Filii, quam esse a Patre et Filio, etiam in hoc in eandem nobiscum fidei sententiam convenire videntur, licet verbis dissentiant.⁶²

C'est une thèse concordiste que Pierre Lombard a approuvée par le biais d'une série d'*auctoritates* grecques, d'Athanase d'Alexandrie à Didyme, de Cyrille à Jean Chrysostome, qui semblent défendre la procession du Fils. La discussion des *Sentences* représente la base sur laquelle les premières générations de maîtres en théologie de l'université de Paris traitent l'examen de la comparaison entre les thèses latines et les thèses grecques sur la procession du Saint-Esprit.

Certains maîtres résolvent ce contraste en prenant une position claire en faveur de la validité de la thèse latine. C'est le cas de Guillaume d'Auxerre, qui dans la *Summa Aurea* utilise le *De processione Spiritus Sancti* d'Anselme de Canterbury pour s'interroger sur la validité théologique et scripturaire de la position grecque. Il souligne que, à la suite de l'argument d'Anselme, la procession de l'Esprit du Père et du Fils montre moins la distinction entre la première et la seconde personne divine que le fait qu'ils sont un seul Dieu « qui souffle » (*inspirabilis*). Dans la *Summa Aurea*, on lit ceci:

⁶² LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 11, c. 2, vol. I, p. 116, 20-24.

Dicimus cum Anselmo quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedit a Patre et Filio secundum quod divisi sunt sed secundum quod sunt unus Deus inspirabilis, sicut dictum est superius.⁶³

Quant à ce débat, entre la fin de la troisième et le début de la quatrième décennie du XIII^e siècle, se définissent deux axes de discussion, qui soutiennent tous deux une sorte de concordisme gréco-latin basé sur une différence verbale ou de point de vue, mais avec un accord substantiel sur le contenu doctrinal de la foi. Alexandre de Hales, dans sa *Glose sur les Sentences*, rattache la différence de position entre les Latins et les Grecs à une dualité de points de vue en ce qui concerne la question de la compréhension des relations intra-trinitaires.⁶⁴ Les Latins se tournent vers les personnes divines à partir de la perspective augustinienne, qui voit dans l'âme humaine le miroir de la Trinité. Comme il existe une « parole » (*verbum*) créée intérieurement et un « esprit » créé intérieurement, il existe donc un « mot » et un « esprit » incréés, dont les premiers sont l'image. Ainsi, dans les relations entre les différentes facultés des l'âme, le reflet des relations entre les personnes divines est capturé, de sorte que les réalités incréées, la Trinité et la procession de l'Esprit du Père et du Fils sont clarifiées à travers la compréhension de ce qui est présent dans l'âme humaine et de ce qui est créé. La perspective théologique des Grecs suppose un point de vue externe, qui examine la manière dont les personnes divines sont directement perçues dans les relations entre les personnes de la Trinité. Considérée sous cet angle, la procession de l'esprit est « sans médiation » (*immediate*) de l'intellect, c'est-à-dire du Père. En raison de cette perspective, note Alexandre, les Grecs parlent d'« Esprit de la Parole » (*Spiritus Verbi*) et non d'« Esprit qui vient de la Parole » (*Spiritus a Verbo*). Cependant, les deux expressions ne reflètent que l'aboutissement de deux points de vue différents sur la Trinité: l'expression grecque est illustrée par Jean Damascène et celle latine a son propre paradigme chez Augustin. Au niveau du sens théologique qu'ils véhiculent, il y a en fait une pleine coïncidence. Alexandre explique:

Habuerunt autem Latini respectum secundum Augustinum, ut Trinitas vel Spiritus increatus cognoscitur per creatum in anima secundum interiorem comparationem, ut dictum est, quia iste spiritus, id est amor, procedit ex cognitione in anima, quae

⁶³ GUILLERMUS ALTISSIODORENSIS, *Summa Aurea*, I, tr. VIII, c. 7, dans JEAN RIBAILLIER (ed.), *Magistri Guillelmi Altissiodorensis Summa Aurea*, 4 vol., CNRS-Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Paris – Grottaferrata 1981–1985 (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 16–20), vol. I, p. 155 [252]–156 [255]. Cf. ANSELMUS CANTUARIENSIS, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, c. 11, in SCHMITT (ed.), *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, vol. II, p. 208.

⁶⁴ À propos de la *Glose* d'Alexandre de Hales voir HUBERT PHILIPP WEBER, « The Glossa in IV libros Sententiarum by Alexander of Hales », dans PHILIPP W. ROSEMAN (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. II, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2010, p. 79–109.

est per modum prolis. Graeci habuerunt respectum ad exteriorem comparationem secundum Damascenum, ubi immediate spiritus ex intellectu procedit, qui est per modum patris et est spiritus Verbi, non a Verbo.⁶⁵

Environ une décennie après la composition de la *Glose* d'Alexandre, la distinction entre perspective interne et perspective externe pour nuancer les points de vue des Latins et des Grecs et pour soutenir la concordance entre les deux points de vue en ce qui concerne le contenu de la foi est reprise dans les matériaux qui composent les gloses du manuscrit Vat. lat. 691 et qui sont liées au milieu des maîtres franciscains, notamment à des figures comme Alexandre de Hales et Jean de La Rochelle⁶⁶. Dans une question disputée placée en marge de la onzième distinction du premier livre des *Sentences*, dans laquelle on se demande si l'Esprit doit procéder du Fils comme du Père, le texte de la *solutio* rapporte ceci:

Augustinus [*ms.*: Anselmus] enim, ut patet in libro *De Trinitate*, uenit in cognitionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti per hanc trinitatem que est in anima: mens, notitia et amor⁶⁷. Notitia enim est uerbum interius qui spirat affectum, idest amorem siue spiritum interiorem. Et quia ille spiritus interior est a uerbo sine notitia et mente, ideo latini sic uenientes in cognitionem Spiritus sancti per ymaginem predictam et per uerbum interius dicunt Spiritum Sanctum procedere a Patre et Filio. Sed greci uenerunt in cognitionem Filii et Spiritus Sancti per uerbum exterius et per Spiritum exteriorem. De quo uerbo et spiritu loquitur Damascenus, assignans differentiam uerbi exterioris ad uerbum increatum. Verbum enim increatum, ut dicit Damascenus, est uerbum enipostatum, idest subsistens unum, perfectum, non extra eum incedens.⁶⁸

Quant à l'argumentation d'Alexandre de Hales et de Jean de La Rochelle – ou du moins de l'auteur des gloses du manuscrit du Vatican –, le dominicain Hugues

⁶⁵ ALEXANDER DE HALES, *Glossa in IV libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, I, d. 11, PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (eds.), dans *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, 4 vol., Ex Typographia Collegi S. Bonaventurae, Quaracchi 1951–1957 (Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi, 12–15), vol. I, p. 139, 11–18.

⁶⁶ Voir JACQUES GUY BOUGEROL, « La glose sur les *Sentences* du manuscrit Vat.lat. 691 », *Antonianum*, 55 (1980), p. 108–173. Pour une présentation de l'œuvre théologique du maître franciscain voir Id., « Jean de La Rochelle. Les œuvres et les manuscrits », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 87 (1994), p. 205–215. Une présentation de la biographie du théologien se trouve dans IGNATIUS BRADY, « Jean de La Rochelle », dans *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Beauchesne, Paris 1974, vol. VIII, col. 599–602.

⁶⁷ Cf. AUGUSTINUS, *De Trinitate*, IX, 4, 3 et 5, p. 295, 297, 300. Voir aussi LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 3, c. 3, vol. I, p. 75, 21–29.

⁶⁸ IOHANNES DE RUPELLA (?), *Glossa in IV libros Sententiarum*, I, d. 11, MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 691, fol. 15rb. Cf. DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 6 (I, 6), p. 24, 6–10: « Semper enim habet sui ipsius Verbum ex se ipso genitum, non secundum nostrum uerbum anhypostatum (id est non subsistens) et in aërem effusum, sed enhypostatum (id est subsistens), vivum, perfectum; non extra eum excedens, sed in ipso semper ens ».

de Saint-Cher suit de plus près la thèse de Pierre Lombard. En effet, le maître souligne le caractère strictement verbal de la différence d'opinion entre les Latins et les Grecs en ce qui concerne la procession de l'Esprit. Si pour les premiers nous parlons de l'Esprit qui procède « du Fils », pour les seconds nous parlons au lieu de l'Esprit « du Fils », sur la base de la réalité signifiée par les deux expressions. Il y a une convergence complète: du point de vue du sens, les deux expressions sont synonymes, en tout cas telles qu'elles sont comprises par les Latins. En ce sens, note Hugues, pour les Latins, la différence avec les Grecs n'est que verbale et non substantielle. En revanche, les Grecs font une différence dans l'expression du contenu de la foi. Dans son *Commentaire sur les Sentences*, le dominicain explique ceci:⁶⁹

De controuersia inter nos et grecos. Greci dicunt quod Spiritus Sanctus tantum procedit a Patre et firmant hoc auctoritatibus sanctorum et patet in littera. Sed quia nos dicimus Spiritum Sanctum etiam procedere a Filio, ideo dicunt quod nos sumus heretici.

*Sciendum tamen quod greci*⁷⁰. Queritur de controuersia que est inter nos et grecos utrum sit realis uel uocalis tantum. Et uidetur quod realis, quia ipsi dicunt quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedit et nos sic. Sed maior non potest esse controuersia quam que est per oppositum affirmationis. Sed quid sit uocalis tantum uidetur quia ipsi concedunt Spiritum Sanctum esse natum a Filio quod idem est quod procedere a Filio; ergo uocalis est tantum contradictio.

Solutio. Ipsi sibi ipsius sunt contrarii in hoc quod dicunt Spiritum Sanctum procedere a Filio, sed esse a Filio uel Filii et decipiuntur in hoc quod credunt aliud esse procedere a Filio et esse a Filio, cum idem sit in nobis. Vnde non sunt contrarii in re sed tantum in uoce, sed sibi sunt contrarii in re.⁷¹

L'argument de la *quaestio* de Guerric dans la marge du manuscrit de Pise montre une connaissance évidente du débat théologique parisien et des positions d'auteurs tels que Alexandre de Hales ou de Hugues de Saint-Cher, mais aussi de la *Glose sur les Sentences* attribuée à Jean de La Rochelle. La liste des *auctoritates* soutenant la position grecque a un équivalent dans la *quaestio* susmentionnée du commentaire copié dans le manuscrit Vat. Lat. 691, ainsi que dans la *Summa fratris*

⁶⁹ Sur le commentaire des *Sentences* de Hugues de Saint-Cher voir BARBARA FAES DE MOTTONI, « Les manuscrits du commentaire des *Sentences* d'Hugues de St. Cher », dans LOUIS-JACQUES BATAILLON, GILBERT DAHAN, PIERRE-MARIE GY (eds.), *Hugues de Saint-Cher (m. 1263) bibliste et théologien*, Brepols, Turnhout 2004 (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, 1), p. 273-298; MAGDALENA BIENIAK, « The *Sentences* Commentary of Hugh of St. Cher », dans ROSEMAN (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, p. 111-147.

⁷⁰ LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, I, d. 11, c. 2, vol. I, p. 116, 20.

⁷¹ HUGO DE SANCTO CARO, *Commentarium super Sententias*, I, d. 11, MS Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 131, fol. 11rb.

Alexandri, qui contient beaucoup de matériaux remontant à l'engagement intellectuel du maître franciscain.⁷²

Guerric de Saint-Quentin Pisa, Bibliotheca Cath., 2, fol. 7ra	Jean de La Rochelle (?) Vat. lat. 691, fol. 15ra-rb (<i>marg. inf.</i>)	<i>Summa Halensis</i> I ^a pars, ind. II, tr. un., q. 1, tit. 2, c. 4, ed. Quaracchi, vol. I, p. 310-311.
Nota quod hic uidetur Iohannes consentire grecis dicentibus quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedit a Filio, licet dicatur illum esse Filii.	Damascenus: « Spiritum Sanctum dicimus procedere a Patre » et Spiritus Patris dicimus esse, similiter Filium Patris esse et procedere a Patre dicimus Spiritum, scilicet dicimus Spiritum. Filii non tamen dicimus procedere a Filio.	Nam Graeci negant eam esse a Filio et dicunt solum a Patre Spiritum Sanctum procedere ... Item, idem in eodem: « Filium dicimus Patris Filium, et procedere dicimus a Patre Spiritum Sanctum, Filii vero Spiritus dicimus Sanctum, non tamen a Filio procedere dicimus ».
Iuxta illud Galatas iii: « misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui », et Iohannes xv: « mittam uobis Spiritum ueritatis » qui a Patre procedit, non dicit a Filio.	Et hoc dicit iuxta Apostolum, Galatas iii: « misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui », et Romanos viii idem.	
Item, Augustinus: « Sicut ex igne splendor et calor, sic ex Patre Filius et Spiritus Sanctus procedunt »; sed constat quod calor solum ab igne et non a splendore procedit, ergo nec Spiritus a Filio.	Ad idem, Damascenus: « sicut ex sole est radius et splendor, ita sunt Filius et Spiritus Sanctus a Patre »; sed neque splendor est a radio neque radius a splendore, quia similiter non erat alter ab altero.	
	Ad idem Dionysius, <i>De divinis nominibus</i> . « sicut riuuli ab uno fonte, sic et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus a Patre ».	Item, Dionysius ... Volunt ergo dicere quod Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sunt quasi duo riuuli a Patre

⁷² ALEXANDER DE HALES, *Summa theologia*, dans PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (eds.), *Doctoris Irrefragabilis Alexandri de Hales Summa theologia seu sic ab origine dicta 'Summa fratris Alexandri'*, 4 vol., Ex Typographis Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Quaracchi 1924-1948.

Item, dicit quidam Gregorius grecus quod sicut ex uno fonte duo riuuli, ita ex Patre Filius et Spiritus Sanctus procedunt. Et licet unus riuulorum intret in alterum et exeat ab eo, non tamen dicitur ab eo procedere, sed a fonte.	Gregorius: « sicut lumen a sole procedens et ad inuicem non separantur », sic exeunt Filius et Spiritus Sanctus a Patre cum quo radii et quid aliud a quodam fonte duo flumini manant.	procedentes ita quod neuter ab alio. Item, Gregorius theologus in <i>Sermone de Spiritu Sancto</i>: « Sicut radii solaris luminis ab ipso procedentes non separantur nec ab invicem abscinditur et usque ad nos luminis emittunt claritatem, eo modo Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, geminus Patris radius, usque ad nos miserunt lumen claritatis et Patri sunt coniuncti ». Ex quibus auctoritatibus arguunt quod neuter procedit ab alio, sed uterque procedit a Patre.

La *solutio* articulée par Guerric confirme la validité de la thèse latine de la procession de l'Esprit, émanant à la fois du Père et du Fils, en partant de l'idée que Dieu est essentiellement amour. En vertu de la nature divine, la Trinité est le modèle le plus élevée de bonheur, de plaisir et de joie. Cette condition implique également la procession du Fils, car si la Trinité est caractérisée par une relation d'amour entre des personnes divines, cet amour doit se refléter chez ceux qui sont à l'origine de cet amour. L'amour procède du Père et du Fils et se reflète donc en eux. L'Esprit doit donc venir des deux personnes et non du Père seul. La conciliation de la thèse latine et des sources grecques faisant autorité, en premier lieu celle de Damascène en faveur de la procession de l'Esprit uniquement du Père, passe par une distinction de points de vue. Les Grecs, observe Guerric, utilisent les métaphores mentionnées, comme celle de la source d'où jaillissent deux rivières, pour désigner celui qui donne l'origine par opposition à celui qui dérive. Par conséquent, la métaphore de la source explique bien que le Père donne origine à la fois au Fils et à l'Esprit. En revanche, ceux qui ne sont pas à l'origine mais qui dérivent de lui, c'est-à-dire du Fils et de l'Esprit, ils n'apparaissent pas engendrés de la même manière.

Les similitudes utilisées par les Grecs expliquent donc que l'action de la première personne de la Trinité – le fait de donner l'origine, ce qui est le propre du Père – se déroule de la même manière pour le Fils et l'Esprit, dans le respect des deux. Cependant, le Fils et l'Esprit dérivent différemment. La métaphore de la

source explique bien comment le Père engendre, mais n'explique pas comment le Fils et l'Esprit sont engendrés. Guerric explique que parmi les maîtres parisiens, la position de Damascène est considérée par certains comme hérétique. Ces critiques au père grec soulignent que, dans la formule latine « l'Esprit procède du Père et du Fils », la préposition « de » (*ex* et *a*) indique l'autorité première, c'est-à-dire celle qui est le propre du Père.

Il s'agit d'une interprétation qui remonte à Guillaume d'Auxerre, selon lequel l'usage de certaines prépositions en référence à Dieu et aux personnes divines indique certaines relations causales. En discutant le sens du verset paulinien : « C'est de lui, par lui, et pour lui que sont toutes choses » (Rom. 11, 36), l'auteur de la *Summa Aurea* explique que les trois prépositions, « de », « par » et « pour », signifient la causalité que les trois personnes divines exercent à l'égard des réalités créées. La préposition « de » (*ex*) désigne donc l'autorité première, qui réside uniquement dans le Père et qui correspond à la cause efficiente. En revanche, la préposition « par » signifie la sous-autorité qui réside dans le Fils par rapport au Père. Enfin, la préposition « pour » indique la préservation de l'être qui appartient à la bonté de Dieu et qui est propre à l'Esprit Saint.

Par conséquent, Guillaume conclut que « de lui », « par lui » et « pour lui » ne désignent pas la même chose, car chaque expression indique la relation causale entre l'une des personnes divines et les créatures. Toutefois, par rapport au sens propre des prépositions, chaque d'eux indique la causalité que Dieu exerce vis-à-vis des créatures. Le texte de la *Summa* explique ceci :

Quantum autem ad appropriationem, hec prepositio 'ex' preter causalitatem significat auctoritatem primam quae soli Patri inest; similiter hec prepositio 'per' preter causalitatem significat subauctoritatem que inest Filio respectu Patris; et hec prepositio 'in' significat conservationem in esse, que pertinet ad Dei bonitatem, que appropriatur Spiritui Sancto, et ideo hoc quod dico 'in ipso' appropriatur Spiritui Sancto simpliciter. Ergo non est idem ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso, sed quantum ad propriam significationem prepositionum idem est secundum quam per prepositionem non significatur nisi causalitas.⁷³

Sur la base de cet usage des prépositions par rapport aux personnes divines, l'affirmation des Latins selon laquelle l'Esprit procède du Père et du Fils indique deux relations différentes : l'Esprit procède du Père en tant que première autorité, mais il procède du Fils, car le Fils reçoit du Père la procession de l'Esprit. Bien qu'il rapporte ces remarques critiques concernant le Damascène, Guerric semble plus proche de la position de Hugues de Saint-Cher, quand il ajoute que « nous disons qu'ils sont la même chose que l'Esprit est du Fils et que l'Esprit procède du Fils ». De plus, Guerric utilise un argument similaire à celui d'Alexandre de Hales et de

⁷³ GUILLELMUS ALTISSIODORENSIS, *Summa Aurea*, I, tr. VIII, c. 8, q. 2, vol. I, p. 159, 26–34.

Jean de La Rochelle lorsqu'il explique que, dans les relations intra-trinitaires, le Fils a du Père d'être celui qui donne l'origine aux choses, donc aussi au Fils et à l'Esprit. Cela signifie que le Fils, recevant du Père le fait d'être Dieu, reçoit toujours du Père que l'Esprit procède de lui.

L'auteur de l'annotation marginale développe l'argumentation. Il évalue la position de Guillaume d'Auxerre au sujet de la valeur des prépositions utilisées dans la description des relations intra-trinitaires. D'après lui, la préposition « de » (*ex*) indique l'autorité première et, par conséquent, dans l'affirmation « il procède du Père et du Fils », elle n'implique pas une référence au Père, mais seulement à l'autorité supérieure au sujet en question, c'est-à-dire le Saint-Esprit. Il y a donc une ambiguïté dans le langage concernant le Saint-Esprit que l'auteur de la note résout en expliquant que dans la phrase « le Saint-Esprit procède du Fils », la préposition « de » signifie à la fois que le Fils a une autorité supérieure à l'Esprit – l'Esprit n'ayant en fait aucune autorité sur le Fils –, mais aussi que le Fils n'est pas doté d'une autorité supérieure aux autres, puisque l'autorité première au sens strict et absolu n'est que ce qui réside dans le Père.

IV.2. La nature de la grâce

On retrouve le même cadre philologique et historico-doctrinal en analysant la deuxième question disputée par Guerric de Saint-Quentin transcrite dans la marge du manuscrit de Pise. Il s'agit d'une *quaestio* consacrée à la position du père grec, au sujet de la grâce que le glossateur lie aux premières lignes du chapitre 17 du *De fide orthodoxa*. Dans le passage en question du texte de Damascène, on lit ceci:

Angelus igitur est substantia intellectualis, semper mobilis, arbitrio libera, incorporea, Deo ministrans, secundum gratiam, non natura, immortalitatem suscipiens.⁷⁴

Le glossateur présente une note de Guerric de Saint-Quentin concernant l'usage du mot *gratia* dans ces lignes de Damascène. Le texte dit ceci:

Nota quod hic appellat gratiam modum <de>terminate uirtutis, qua angelus et anima fit immortalis. Et ideo dicitur gratia quia excellens est ab aliis. Per naturam enim anima et angelus sunt immortalis, quia, sicut dicit Augustinus⁷⁵, non poterat anima esse ymago immortalis nisi esset naturaliter immortalis. Dedit enim Deus filio

⁷⁴ DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 17 (II, 3), p. 69, 11–13.

⁷⁵ Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De quantitate animae*, c. 2, dans AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *Soliloquiorum libri duo. De immortalitate animae. De quantitate animae*, ed. WOLFGANG HÖRMANN, Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, Vienne 1986 (CSEL 89), p. 130: « Recte diceres, si ad eius imaginem pingeres tabulam, quod in te immortale esse credis: nunc uero in ea exprimis similitudinem corporis, quod profecto mortale est ».

ymagini sue esse consubstantiale et eternum; homini que non est ymago Dei sed ad ymaginem factus dedit esse perpetuum; uestigio uero, idest, aliis creaturis que sunt uestigium Dei dedit nec eternum nec perpetuum. Et sic anima et angelus habent per naturam perpetuitatem, idest immortalitatem.

Frater Guerricus.

Sed postea soluit quod per gratiam et non per naturam.⁷⁶

La note explique que, d'après Guerric, Damascène utilise le terme *gratia* en faisant référence au caractère immortel de l'ange pour indiquer une sorte de vertu spécifique de la nature angélique. C'est en raison de ce caractère que l'ange est « perpétuel » et « immortel », des caractéristiques qui le relient à l'âme humaine. Guerric conçoit une sorte de hiérarchie des différentes natures, au sommet de laquelle se trouve la deuxième personne de la Trinité, le Fils, qui est l'image du Père et, en tant que tel, Dieu lui donne le caractère d'être consubstantiel à lui et d'être éternel. Viennent ensuite les hommes, et plus en général les natures intellectuelles, qui ne sont pas l'image de Dieu, mais qui sont son à l'image de Dieu et ont reçu de lui le caractère de perpétuité. Toutes les autres réalités créées sont des « vestiges » de Dieu et c'est précisément pour cette raison que Dieu ne leur a pas donné le caractère de l'éternité ou celui de la perpétuité. Par conséquent, l'ange et l'âme humaine sont perpétuels et immortels, mais non éternels, puisque l'éternité – que Guerric semble concevoir comme la condition d'être en dehors du temps et de tout processus de génération et de corruption – est propre à Dieu et à celui qui est à son image, c'est-à-dire au Fils. Le glossateur précise ensuite que, face à cette analyse, Guerric semble néanmoins résoudre la question de la perpétuité de l'ange et de son immortalité, non pas à cause d'un trait caractéristique de la nature angélique, mais bien *per gratiam*, c'est-à-dire par l'intervention de la grâce de Dieu, qui soumet l'ange à la fugacité, à la génération, à la corruption et à une existence sans fin.

V. De Pise à Paris et retour: les routes des idées

Les textes de Guerric s'inscrivent dans le cadre de la discussion concernant la procession du Saint-Esprit qui s'est développée à Paris entre 1220 et 1245.⁷⁷ Ce

⁷⁶ MS Pisa, Bibliothèque Cathariniana, 2, fol. 10ra.

⁷⁷ Voir JEAN-PIERRE TORRELL, « Guerric de Saint-Quentin et ses Quodlibets. Introduction historique et théologique », dans GUERRIC OF SAINT-QUENTIN, *Quaestiones de quolibet*, p. 1–177, en particulier, p. 40–53. Les débats sur la théologie trinitaire traversent tout le XIII^e siècle. Voir GILLES EMERY, « La Procession du Saint-Esprit *a Filio* chez saint Thomas d'Aquin », *Revue thomiste*, 96 (1996), p. 531–574; RUSSELL L. FRIEDMAN, « Divergent Traditions in Later-Medieval Trinitarian Theology: Relations, Emanations, and the Use of Philosophical Psychology », *Studia theologica*, 53 (1999), p. 13–25; Id., « Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issue: Trinitarian Texts from the Late

contexte affecte également l'implication de Guerric dans les condamnations de 1241 et de 1244, qui dans les articles deux et trois ont pour objet la doctrine trinitaire et l'influence que les positions issues des sources grecques ont sur sa formulation⁷⁸. Ce débat est alimenté par une étude étroite de la théologie trinitaire de Damascène, dont le manuscrit de Pise est témoin. Le passage du *De fide orthodoxa* dans lequel est proclamée la thèse grecque de la procession du Saint-Esprit et du Père, mais pas du Fils, est explicitement lié au passage des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard qui illustre la position des Grecs, afin de montrer comment le Damascène peut être considéré comme un porte-parole de la théologie grecque. C'est un parallèle textuel que le manuscrit de Pise partage avec la série de notes placée dans la marge du *Commentaire sur les Sentences* de Hugues de Saint-Cher dans le manuscrit Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 131.⁷⁹ Ce manuscrit, qui date de 1240 environ, présente les annotations d'un lecteur qui analyse certaines solutions doctrinales du maître dominicain mais qui rapporte, en plusieurs points, les positions doctrinales d'autres maîtres parisiens de l'époque: de Prévostin de Crémone à Guillaume d'Auxerre et Jean de La Rochelle en passant par Philippe le Chancelier. Guerric de Saint-Quentin est l'un des maîtres les plus cités dans ces annotations, à tel point que François-Marie Henquinet, en analysant le contenu du manuscrit, a souligné combien: « Le glossateur, admirablement informé sur les doctrines de Guerric, semble avoir étudié à leur lumière le *Commentaire* de Hugues de S. Cher ».⁸⁰

Le manuscrit d'Assise, au moment de la brève *quaestio* de Hugues, qui concerne la distinction 11 du premier livre mentionné ci-dessus, présente l'annotation suivante:

Super hoc require Io. Da. libro I. c. XI G.⁸¹

Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries », *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge grec et latin*, 72 (2001), p. 89-168; ID., « Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issue II », *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge grec et latin*, 73 (2002), p. 21-40; SOPHIE DALMAS, *Un franciscain à Paris au milieu du XIII^e siècle. Le maître en théologie Eustache d'Arras*, Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2010, p. 173-186.

⁷⁸ Sur l'implication de Guerric dans les condamnations de 1241/44 voir l'étude classique de BERTRAND-GEORGES GUYOT, HYACINTHE-FRANÇOIS DONDAINE, « Guerric de Saint-Quentin et la condamnation de 1241 », *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 44 (1960), p. 225-242 et plus récemment LUCA BIANCHI, « Gli articoli censurati nel 1241/1244 e la loro influenza da Bonaventura a Gerson », dans FRANCO MORENZONI, JEAN-YVES TILLIETTE (eds.), *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249)*, Brepols, Turnhout 2005, p. 151-177; DEBORAH GRICE, *Church, Society and University. The Paris Condemnation of 1241/4*, Routledge, London – New York 2019, p. 213-215.

⁷⁹ Une description du manuscrit se trouve dans BARBARA FAES DE MOTTONI, « Ugo di S. Cher e i manoscritti 130 e 131 della Biblioteca Comunale di Assisi », dans *Revirescunt chartae codices documenta textus. Miscellanea in honorem Fr. Caesaris Cenci O.F.M.*, 2 vol., Edizioni 'Antonianaum', Rome 2002 (Medioevo, 5), p. 151-169.

⁸⁰ HENQUINET, « Les écrits du Frère Guerric de Saint-Quentin, O.P. », p. 206.

⁸¹ MS Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 131, fol. 11rb marg. dex.

La référence au chapitre 11 du premier livre du *De fide orthodoxa* selon la division en quatre livres est également présente dans le manuscrit de Pise. La note du codex d'Assise indique le même passage qui, dans le manuscrit de Pise, est accompagné à la fois de la *quaestio* de Guerric et de la référence à la distinction 11 du premier livre des *Sentences*. Il existe donc une sorte de renvoi entre les deux codex, qui se trouve également dans le cas de la référence susmentionnée aux *Sentences* présente au fol. 23rb du manuscrit de Pise. L'anonyme glossateur de Pise relie le chapitre 43 du *De fide orthodoxa* – c'est à dire le chapitre 29 du livre II selon l'édition en quatre livres –,⁸² qui porte sur la notion de providence et notamment, dans ses dernières lignes, sur la volonté de Dieu de sauver tous les hommes, à la distinction 46 du premier livre des *Sentences*, où il est question de la volonté de Dieu par rapport au Salut éternel.

Le glossateur d'Assise, au tout début de la distinction 46, explique ceci:

de hoc Io. Da. libro II, c. xxix.⁸³

Cette double correspondance entre les gloses des deux manuscrits et le fait que le glossateur d'Assise explique de manière étendue l'enseignement de Guerric de Saint-Quentin n'autorise pas à émettre une hypothèse d'une origine commune des deux manuscrits, bien qu'ils soient liés au contexte de la culture théologique pisane du XIII^e siècle. Les données chronologiques et paléographiques mentionnées ci-dessus situent le manuscrit de la bibliothèque Cathariniana dans la région de Pise au cours du troisième quart du XIII^e siècle. En revanche, le manuscrit d'Assise, qui est de facture parisienne, est lié à la figure de Federico Visconti, chanoine pisan et archevêque de la ville depuis 1254.⁸⁴ La carrière ecclésiastique de Visconti le conduit deux fois en France. À l'occasion de son deuxième séjour au-delà des Alpes, à partir de 1245, lorsqu'il est aumônier d'Innocent IV et participe aux travaux du Concile de Lyon, Visconti fréquente le milieu universitaire parisien. C'est ici qu'il connaît les œuvres de Hugues de Saint-Cher et de Jean de La Rochelle, qu'il utilisera plus tard dans ses sermons. Les études de Nicole Bériou et de Barbare Faes ont suggéré un lien entre les notes du manuscrit d'Assise, datant de la décennie entre 1240 et 1250, et le futur archevêque de Pise: elles témoigneraient d'une présence assidue du milieu théologique

⁸² Cf. DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, c. 43 (II, 29), p. 155–160.

⁸³ MS Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 131, fol. 38va.

⁸⁴ Voir NICOLE BÉRIOU, « Introduction historique », dans NICOLE BÉRIOU, ISABELLE LE MASNE DE CHERMONT (eds.), *Les sermons et la vie pastorale de Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise (1253–1277)*, avec la collaboration de Pascale Bourgain et Marina Innocenti; avant-propos de André Vauchez et Emilio Cristiani, École Française de Rome, Rome 2001, p. 27–299, en particulier p. 182–185 et 290–293.

parisien qui se reflétait parfaitement dans la série des maîtres dont les opinions sont rapportées dans les gloses marginales.⁸⁵

S'il semble difficile de faire l'hypothèse d'un lien direct entre les deux manuscrits et leurs gloses marginales, on peut toutefois constater à quel point ils sont un exemple non seulement du débat théologique parisien de la période 1230–1250, mais encore plus de l'influence de ce débat en dehors du milieu universitaire. Paris représente la référence pour l'élaboration théologique, mais aussi pour les pratiques et le contenu de l'enseignement: ils sont reflétés dans les gloses du manuscrit d'Assise et sont reproduits dans les annotations du manuscrit de Pise, qui a probablement été utilisé pour des activités d'enseignement théologique dans le contexte de la République maritime italienne. La diffusion de ce type de théologie « parisienne » est véhiculée dans l'Europe de l'époque par des ecclésiastiques comme Visconti, qui, après avoir achevé leurs études à Paris, rapportent les fruits et les outils de cette culture théologique dans leur propre contexte ecclésiastique, politique et culturel.⁸⁶ Néanmoins, c'est aussi le réseau des couvents et des *studia* des ordres mendiants, comme celui dominicain de Santa Caterina à Pise, qui rend très facile et rapide la circulation de nombreux *lectores*, actifs entre le XIII^e et le XIV^e siècle et permet que ceux-ci aient une éducation théologique « parisienne ». Plus précisément, le manuscrit pisan du *De fide orthodoxa* ne faisait pas seulement partie de l'ancienne bibliothèque du couvent dominicain de la ville: il montre également les traces d'un milieu théologique « dominicain » qui peut être associé à celui d'autres manuscrits qui attestent de l'utilisation et de la fréquentation des travaux de Jean Damascène dans le milieu intellectuel de l'ordre des prêcheurs à partir du deuxième quart du XIII^e siècle et jusqu'au début du siècle suivant.⁸⁷

Les gloses du manuscrit du *De fide orthodoxa* montrent un lien avec ce milieu d'histoire de la culture dans l'Europe du XIII^e siècle, dont Pise, avec ses institutions culturelles et scolaires fait partie d'un réseau de relations intellectuelles reflétant la pratique théologique en usage à Paris, ainsi que les idées et les doctrines des principaux maîtres de cette université. Le manuscrit témoigne ainsi de la manière dont le texte du *De fide orthodoxa*, du moins dans les années situées entre le deuxième et le troisième quart du XIII^e siècle, était non seulement une source

⁸⁵ Voir BÉRIOU, « Introduction historique », p. 290–293; Id., « Federico Visconti, archevêque de Pise, disciple de Hugues de Saint-Cher », dans BATAILLON, DAHAN, GY (eds.), *Hugues de Saint-Cher (m. 1263)*, p. 253–269; FAES, « Les manuscrits du commentaire des *Sentences* d'Hugues de St. Cher », p. 273–298, en particulier p. 285–288.

⁸⁶ Voir, FEDERICUS DE VICECOMITIS, *Sermo VII*, in BÉRIOU, LE MASNE DE CHERMONT (eds.), *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti*, p. 384–392. Voir aussi SACCENTI, « Uno snodo europeo nel XIII secolo », p. 199–202.

⁸⁷ C'est le cas du MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17811, qui au fol. 87ra–105rb et 106ra–121ra contient des tables alphabétiques de concordance des sujets du *De fide orthodoxa*. Voir BUYTAERT, « Damascenus Latinus », p. 69; DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. XVIII–XIX.

d'*auctoritates*, mais également un outil largement utilisé dans la réflexion et l'enseignement théologiques. Un maître tel que Guerric, dans son enseignement, sans doute basé sur le texte des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, a utilisé le texte de Damascène au moins lors de l'examen de certaines articulations doctrinales, pour commenter et discuter certains points spécifiques.

Guerric semble donc avoir envisagé le *De fide orthodoxa* non seulement en tant que source de doctrines faisant autorité, mais également en tant que texte faisant partie intégrante de la pratique scolaire universitaire. La fortune du texte de Damascène, parmi les théologiens parisiens du XIII^e siècle, est démontrée par son utilisation répandue dans les écrits qui témoignent de la réflexion théologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre, d'Alexandre de Hales, Philippe le Chancelier, Hugues de Saint-Cher et Guerric de Saint-Quentin.

Les doctrines de Damascène et leur réception sont un sujet de discussion et de querelles théologiques. Le cas de la doctrine de la procession du Saint-Esprit, qui fait également l'objet d'une disposition de censure par l'évêque de Paris, Guillaume d'Auvergne, est significatif. Dans la liste des propositions censurées en 1241 avec l'aide des maîtres de la faculté de théologie de Paris et dont une copie se trouve parmi les gloses du susmentionné manuscrit d'Assise, nous lisons également, comme troisième *propositio*, la thèse suivante: « le Saint-Esprit, en tant qu'amour ou lien, ne procède pas du Fils mais seulement du Père »⁸⁸. C'est une position qui coïncide avec celle qu'énonce Damascène dans le *De fide orthodoxa* et qui a probablement acquis une certaine importance dans le débat théologique parisien, tant pour la valeur attribuée au texte du père grec que pour les nuances interprétatives qui se sont développées entre les théologiens, qui visaient à réduire la différence doctrinale entre les Latins et les Grecs à une question lexicale ou de point de vue afin de préserver une convergence sur les données de la foi.

⁸⁸ MS Assise, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 131, fol. 75rb.

Annexe

Les annotations marginales de m5 sont présentées ci-dessous, indiquant la référence au passage correspondante du Damascène dans l'édition Buytaert.

fol. 1va: Ieremia xxxi⁸⁹. nouum faciet dominus super terram, mulier circumdabit. scilicet perfectum in instanti conceptionis. quod non alie mulieris. immo per intestina ipsum. vt habetur in libro iii° capitulo ii d. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 14, 29].

fol. 1va: quod non debemus dicere uel intelligere de deo ultra quam determinatum sit in diuina scriptura [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 15, 45].

fol. 2rb: quod corpus humanum resoluitur in elementa [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 19, 9].

fol. 2rb: Ieremias xxiii.⁹⁰ [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 19, 14–15].

fol. 2va: quod impossibile est dicere quid sit deus secundum substantiam. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 20, 33].

fol. 2va: scilicet per participationem. non enim ipse per participationem. vnde hic sequitur et tamen alibi scriptum ut deus est omnia quia ut dicitur supra c. pluraliter d. in omnibus concretus est deus ut communes naturam uel quia propter unam ydeam quam omnia representantur. Secundum quod templum dicit Aristoteles quod omnia quodam modo est omnia quoniam ymagines omnium rerum imprimuntur in ea. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 21, 35–36].

fol. 2vb: Iohannes xvii.⁹¹ [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 22, 12–13].

fol. 3ra: eadem questio potest fieri de partibus hominis et coniuncti, quia manicheus dicit anima a bono deo, corpus uero a malo. quis ergo deorum coniunxit ea ? [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 23, 30–32].

fol. 3rb: sed ita in ix G dicit quod ex parte spiritum sanctum dicimus non ex filio. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 20, 22–23].

fol. 3va: contra Iudeos et Gentiles [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 27, 34–36].

fol. 4rb: quid est genere ? [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 31, 57–59].

fol. 5ra: de genita et ingenita [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 35, 143].

fol. 5va: quod omnia creatura secundum naturam suam subiaceat corruptionis. in libro II xii d. uisibilis quam credibilis [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 38, 190–192].

⁸⁹ Cf. Ier. 31, 22.

⁹⁰ Cf. Ier. 23, 24.

⁹¹ Cf. Ioh. 17, 3.

fol. 5vb: Romanos VIII. e. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 39, 202–203].⁹²

fol. 5vb: uel quia est pater. hoc est propter esse patrem filius est et spiritus et propter patrem. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 10, 221–222].⁹³

fol. 6ra: quid quicquid est citra primum compositum est. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 41, 233–234].

fol. 6ra: et imperfectum [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 41, 236].

fol. 7ra: de hoc habetur in libro I sententiarum di. XI. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 47, 325].

fol. 7ra: Nota quod hic uidetur ... [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 47, 328].⁹⁴

fol. 7rb: Deuteronomio IIII.⁹⁵ [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 49, 22].

fol. 7va: quod non uidemus substantia corporis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 51, 14].

fol. 7va: argumentum quod secundum capacitatum naturalium maiora gratuita conferuntur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 51, 17–52, 19].

fol. 7va: quomodo pater et spiritus sanctus communicauerunt in operibus incarnationis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 52, 21–25].

fol. 7va: quod non possumus loquere de dei operationibus nisi ymaginibus et formis et signis qui sunt secundum nos. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 5, 25–7].

fol. 8rb: quod principalius dicitur deus pater noster. quam qui uos generunt. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 55, 13–15].

fol. 8 rb: de hoc in sententiis. scilicet liber I distinctio XXXVIII. et in postillis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 56, 3–5].

fol. 8rb: quod ubi est angelus operatur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 56, 11].

fol. 8rb: quare celum dicitur thronus dei. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 57, 23].

fol. 8va: Baruc III.⁹⁶ [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 57, 26].

fol. 8va: de angelis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 58, 25].

fol. 8va: de animalibus [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 59, 45].

fol. 8va: Responsio de circumscriptione trium personarum. XVII. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 59, 45].

⁹² Voir les variantes dans l'apparat critique de l'édition Buytaert.

⁹³ Cette référence concerne la note dans l'entre-deux-lignes: « uel quia est pater ». Voir l'apparat critique dans l'édition Buytaert.

⁹⁴ Il s'agit d'une question disputée de Guerric de Saint-Quentin. Voir l'édition de ce texte dans la suite de cette recherche.

⁹⁵ Cf. Deut. 4, 24.

⁹⁶ Bar. 3, 38.

- fol. 8vb: quod nullum accidens cadit in deo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 60, 71].
- fol. 8vb: quod in omnibus est deus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 60, 73–74].
- fol. 9ra: quid est Verbum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 62, 107].
- fol. 9rb: quod spiritus dicitur multipliciter. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 63, 117].
- fol. 9va: Secundus Liber. de seculo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 662].
- fol. 9va: multiplex seculum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 66, 6].
- fol. 9vb: aliter enonia. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 68, 37].
- fol. 9vb: quod post Resurrectionem non erint dies uel nox. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 68, 39–40].
- fol. 10ra: contra origenem. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 58, 42–43].
- fol. 10ra: Nota quod hic appellat gratiam ... [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 69, 11–12].⁹⁷
- fol. 10va: quod angelorum aliter maior altero. et quod unus illuminatur ab alio. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 72, 58–61].
- fol. 11ra: quid est malum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 75, 11–12].
- fol. 11rb: Ideo dicit Gregorius non est immundus hominis qui non potest uincere nisi uoluntate. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 77, 34–35].
- fol. 11va: II Cor. XII. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 78, 9–10].
- fol. 11va: cuius naturam sic celum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 79, 16].
- fol. 11va: de situ elementorum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 79, 25–27].
- fol. 11vb: quod uenus. lucifer. et hesperus idem. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 80, 40–41].
- fol. 11vb: quod plancte ab occasu ad orientem. motum habent. <alia manus: Idem in sequenti capitulo>. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 80, 42–44].
- fol. 12rb: quod superiora corpora sunt inanimata. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 83, 91].
- fol. 12va: de die naturali. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 85, 20–21].
- fol. 12va: sicut in passione domini sol contraxit radios suos. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 85, 23–24].
- fol. 12vb: Nota quod ex prima nubecula facta sunt cetera luminaria. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 85, 36–37].

⁹⁷ Il s'agit de la seconde question disputée de Gueric de Saint-Quentin. Pour le texte, voir l'édition dans la suite de cette étude.

fol. 12vb: generaliter firmamentum et planete mouentur <alia manus: idem sunt precedenti capitulo>. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 86, 41–42].

fol. 13ra: de qualitatibus quatuor temporum anni. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 87, 60–63].

fol. 13rb: de duodecim signis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 89, 96].

fol. 13va: uerum est qui non subsunt libero arbitrio. ut ita sequitur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 90, 118–121].

fol. 13va: De Cometa [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 92, 134–136].

fol. 13vb: Nota [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 92, 143].

fol. 13vb: quod sol illuminat Lunam. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 92, 153–154].

fol. 13vb: probatio contra adoratores creaturarum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 93, 161–164].

fol. 14ra: de eclipsi solis et Lune. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 93, 165].

fol. 14ra: de bissexto. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 94, 185].

fol. 14ra: quod renouatio Lune et rememoratio nostre resurrectionis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 95, 191].

fol. 14rb: de motu zodiaci et domibus planetarum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 95, 200].

fol. 14va: Quid est uentus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 98, 25].⁹⁸

fol. 14vb: Quid est abyssum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 98, 7–8].

fol. 14vb: quare aque sunt supra firmamentum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 99, 14].

fol. 15ra: de oceano. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 100, 32].

fol. 15ra: quare aqua maris amara est et pluuiialis dulcis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 100, 35–36].

fol. 15ra: qualiter fontes. et dulcorantur aque marine. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 101, 45–47].

fol. 15va: idest capras. quia de longineo et acutissime uident. vnde et ibices dicuntur. quasi auiceps. quia ad instar aium arduarum excelsa tenent. et in sublimitate habitant. Ita ut de sublimitate uix optutibus poteant. vnde meridiana pars. Ibices. aues uocant qui in nili fluet. f. habitant. de capreis dicitur quia silicet quando ferarum uel aduersitatem persenserit. de altissimis saxorum cacuminibus

⁹⁸ Voir l'apparat critique de l'édition Buytaert. Le manuscrit de Pise, comme les autres manuscrits du *De fide orthodoxa*, place ici le texte, qui dans la version grecque se trouve à la p. 97, 16–17: « uentus est fluxus aeris a locorum permutatione unde fluit denominatione alteram ».

percipitantes. in suis se creationibus illas suscipiunt. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 104, 26].

fol. 15va: quod nullum est animal uel planta sine utilitate. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 104, 32–34].

fol. 15va: quare per serpentem temptatus est homo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 104, 40–41].

fol. 15va: quia ut dicit Beda habebit uultum uergineum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 104, 40–41].

fol. 15va: quod ante peccatum non erat imber neque hyems. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 105, 44].

fol. 15vb: quod post transgressionem germinata est spina de terra. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 105, 52].

fol. 15vb: cuius forme est terra. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 105, 59].

fol. 16ra: quod nullum irrationabilium habitabat in paradiso. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 107, 15–16].

fol. 16rb: Nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 108, 45].

fol. 16va: Nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 109, 58–59].

fol. 17ra: quia maioris perfectionis et dignitatis uidetur quod manibus magistri factum est. quam de manibus aliorum. unde Iob x. manus tue fecerunt me et etiam faber qui uult commendare opus suum. dicit. ego manibus meis feci hoc. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 113, 21].

fol. 17ra: quod corpus et anima ade simul plasmata sunt. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 113, 27–28].

fol. 17ra: quod homo dicitur quasi mundus secundus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 113, 31–32].

fol. 17rb: quod homo ante escam. stare per se poterat. sed non proficere sine gratia. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 114, 47–48].

fol. 17rb: Terminus anime. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 115, 51].

fol. 17rb: supra. libro I. IX c. omnis secundum suam naturam corruptioni subiacet. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 115, 59].

fol. 17rb: qualiter autem anima sit naturaliter immortalis. requirit supra in tractatu de angelis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 115, 59–60].

fol. 17rb: Corpus est quod tripliciter est dimensionum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 116, 67].

fol. 17va: Humoribus.

fol. 17va: quod pietas est ars uirtutum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 117, 96].

fol. 17vb: quod homo est paruus mundus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 117, 96–97].

fol. 17vb: de hiis que propria corporis et propria anime. et de hiis que sunt eis communia. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 117, 98–99].

fol. 17vb: de potentiis anime. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 118, 109].

fol. 18ra: quibus Letitiis possunt uti boni uiri. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 121, 27].

fol. 18vb: quod solus homo et simia non mouent aures. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 126, 19–20].

fol. 18vb: quomodo malus ordo procedit de stomacho. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 126, 27–28].

fol. 19ra: quod in homine sunt due Lingue quamuis unite. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 128, 54].

fol. 19vb: differentia inter pulsum et saltum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 133, 26–27].

fol. 19vb: de potentiis anime nostre. de cognitiuis et zoticis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 134, 36–37].

fol. 20ra: de zoticis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 135, 60].

fol. 20ra: quid est uoluntas. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 136, 66].

fol. 20rb: quare irrationabilia non dicuntur habere uoluntatem. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 138, 103–104].

fol. 20rb: ita de hoc in libro III, c. XIII. circa medium. et XVIII. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 138, 104].

fol. 20va: quod ignorantie est consiliari. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 138, 116].

fol. 20va: quod consilium non est in deo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 139, 118].

fol. 20va: quod Christus non per gratiam habuit omnium cognitionem. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 139, 123].

fol. 20va: quare tres ypostasees non possunt contraria uolere. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 140, 135].

fol. 21ra: quare indiuisa sunt opera trinitatis <alia manus: de hoc librus III. c. XIII>. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 142, 7–9].

fol. 21va: de actu ebriosi. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 146, 29–30].

fol. 21va: quedam media inter uoluntaria et inuoluntaria. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 147, 44–45].

fol. 22rb: quare irrationalia non sunt libera arbirtio. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 153, 19–20].

fol. 22va: idem procuratiua. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 155, 13].⁹⁹

fol. 23ra: quare flagellantur homines a deo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 157, 34–35].

fol. 23rb: quomodo cognoscitur si flagellum illarum homini a deo. sit ad salutem. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 159, 71–73].

fol. 23rb: quomodo uult deus omnes saluos fieri <alia manus: de hoc in setentiis libro distinctio XLVI>. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 160, 74–75].

fol. 23va: finis c. 43 incipit c. 45 absit c. 44.

fol. 23va: hic debet poni capitulo de precognitione et predestinatione quod incipit. oportet. quod est quartum capitulum infra. in tertio libro. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 160, 90].

fol. 23va: Tertius liber. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 166, 1].

fol. 25ra: de hoc in libro eodem. c. XVI. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 176, 61–62].

fol. 25va: hoc capitulo debet poni supra in fine secundi libri. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 161, 1].

fol. 25va: quod nec uelle nec facere bonum sine deo possumus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 161, 12–13].

fol. 25va: quid est malitia. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 161, 16].

fol. 25vb: quod deus tribuit homini gratiam ante casu. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 162, 26].

fol. 25vb: quod adam existens in paradiso ante peccatum. conuersabatur cum angelis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 163, 40–41].

fol. 26ra: quod non erat utile adam existere sine temptatione. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 164, 57–58].

fol. 26ra: Nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 164, 59–61].

fol. 27ra: hec ponitur in libro I. sententiarum distinctio XIX. in capitulo hiis uidetur aduersari. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 186, 6].

fol. 27rb: quomodo sola persona filii dicitur passa. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 187, 19–21].

fol. 27rb: Colossenses II. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 188, 31–32].

fol. 27rb: quomodo solus filius incarnatus est. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 188, 35].

⁹⁹ Voir l'apparat critique dans l'édition Buytaert.

fol. 27rb: quo medio uerbum dei uitium et carnis <alia manus: expressis habetur ita ca. XVIII b.> [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 189, 47–48].

fol. 27va: contra hereticos. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 189, 56–57].

fol. 27vb: quod animam simul et carnem christus de uirgine sumpsit. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 192, 15–16].

fol. 28rb: Nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 194, 64].

fol. 28rb: hec est rubrica. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 195, 2–3].

fol. 28va: qualiter humana christi natura adoratur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 197, 32–33].

fol. 28va: pal ebrum set.¹⁰⁰

fol. 29rb: vnde ornatum himnat: sanctus deus. sanctus fortis. sanctus immortalis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 202, 45–46].

fol. 29vb: quod pater et spiritus sanctus non communicant incarnationi uerbi. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 207, 75–76].

fol. 30rb: quod unus est. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 201, 49–50].

fol. 30va: uel conceptum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 211, 70].

fol. 30va: quod numquam fuit etiam in uentre uirginis corpus christi sine diuinitate. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 212, 82].

fol. 30vb: quod christus omnia habuit quecumque adam excepto peccato. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 213, 5].

fol. 30vb: quare trinitatis actio eadem et substantia <alia manus: de hoc supra libro II. capitulo XXIII. et in sequenti capitulo. b.> [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 214, 11–13].

fol. 30vb: ut omnes enim dixit et mundatus est leprosus. ut homo fugere uoluit mortem. ideo dixit. non uolo ego ut. idest. caro. sed ut tu. idest. deus. operatur ut deus gradum humido ut sicco. ex paucis panibus mille saturauit. ut homo sitiuit et esuriuit. et laborauit. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 215, 25].¹⁰¹

fol. 31ra: gnomis. idest ingeniis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 216, 37].

fol. 31rb: quod liberum arbitrium non est nisi uoluntas. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 218, 76].

fol. 31rb, l. 25: répétition « factum igitur uerbum... » à cause d'un saut du même au même.

fol. 31rb: de hoc supra libro II. capitulo XXII. ultra medium. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 219, 82].

¹⁰⁰ Il s'agit probablement d'une note de lecture.

¹⁰¹ Voir l'apparat critique dans l'édition Buytaert.

fol. 31va: quare si natura theliticos. idest. uolutantiius. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 219, 97–98].

fol. 31va: quomodo aliquando non eadem est uoluntas patris et filii. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 220, 112–113].

fol. 31va: quod una est substantia diuinitatis et humanitatis christi. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 221, 118–119].

fol. 31vb: quod secundum quod deus neque obediens neque inobediens. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 222, 143–144].

fol. 31vb: quod liberum arbitrium equiuoce dicitur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 223, 155–156].

fol. 32rb: quod impossibile est ex duobus uoluntatibus compositum dicere. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 225, 187–188].

fol. 32rb: quare exercitatio corporis ad modicum ualet. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 227, 216–218].

fol. 32va: quid est energia. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 228, 10–11].

fol. 32vb: quod uita actio est. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 228, 22–23].

fol. 32vb: de actione anime et coniuncti. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 230, 37–38].

fol. 33ra: idem in precedenti capitulo. a. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 231, 66].

fol. 33vb: nichil entium in hiis que secundum naturam manens. potest facere contrarium. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 237, 160–161].

fol. 35ra: quare non est accipere in christo omnem speciem. de <hoc> supra libro eodem c. iii. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 246, 35–37].

fol. 35rb: quare purgatio ex aqua et spiritu sancto. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 248, 68–69].

fol. 35va: quare filius dei factus est homo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 250, 7–251, 9].

fol. 35vb: quod mediante intellectu coniungitur diuinitas humana mente. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 252, 28–29].

fol. 35vb: quod anima equiuoce dicitur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 252, 35–36].

fol. 35vb: aliter nomen. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 254, 44].¹⁰²

fol. 36ra: quomodo mortem uolebat et remouebat christus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 253, 46–48].

¹⁰² Voir l'apparat critique de l'édition Buytaert.

fol. 36ra: quod irrationalia ducuntur a naturali concupiscentia. de hoc supra libro II. capitulo XXII. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 254, 74–76].

fol. 36va: de naturalibus et inde tractabilibus passionibus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 257, 24–26].

fol. 36vb: que christus assumpsit. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 259, 5–6].

fol. 36vb: que nobis inflicta sunt propter peccatum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 259, 11–13].

fol. 36vb: quod si non peccasset adam non haberemus angelum ad custodiam qui non indigeremus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 260, 13–14].

fol. 37ra: quomodo nostre passionis secundum naturam et supra naturam fuerunt in christo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 260, 25–30].

fol. 37va: diffinitio naturalis timor. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 265, 5–6].

fol. 37vb: diffinitio timoris non naturalis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 266, 25–26].

fol. 37vb: quare dixit nunc. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 266, 31].

fol. 37vb: nimirum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 266, 32].

fol. 37vb: quod nichil fetum christus fantasticum. sed omnia nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 266, 32–34].

fol. 37vb: de domini oratione. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 267, 2].

fol. 37vb: diffinitio ascensionis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 267, 5].

fol. 38ra: quomodo intelliguntur uerbo que christus dixit in passione. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 269, 31–32].

fol. 38rb: familiare. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 270, 13].

fol. 38rb: quare diuinitas non compassa est corpori. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 271, 9–11].

fol. 38va: quod exemplum non debet esse in omnibus simile. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 271, 21–272, 24].

fol. 38va: quomodo diabolus deceptus est per escam diuinitatis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 273, 12–14].

fol. 38va: uerbi et anime et corporis exstitebat hipostasis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 273, 25].

fol. 39ra: quod infirmus est sub terra. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 276, 4].

fol. 39ra: quomodo sumpsit cibum post resurrectionem christus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 277, 5–8].

fol. 39rb: rubrica. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 279, 2–6].

- fol. 39va: quomodo factus est homo ad ymaginem et similitudinem dei. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 281, 11–13].
- fol. 39vb: quod demones orrent quondam subiectos homines. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 282, 37–38].
- fol. 40ra: quo nichil petit a nobis deus nisi quod saluemur. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 283, 59–60].
- fol. 40rb: nos autem non ita edocti sumus sapere uel dicere. quando enim factum est caro. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 285, 19–20].
- fol. 41va: idest spiritualis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 295, 58].
- fol. 41va: quod est baptismus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 295, 60].
- fol. 41va: nouem sunt baptismi. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 295, 69].
- fol. 41va: sex cause. quare christus fuit baptizatus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 296, 77ss].
- fol. 42va: orando simolum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 302, 64].
- fol. 43rb: de sanctis et de comminatione diuini mysteriis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 307, 25–308, 28].
- fol. 43va: quomodo deus dedit uirtutum uerbis ad conficiendum corpus et in agnitionem christi. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 310, 73].
- fol. 43vb: nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 312, 89].
- fol. 43vb: nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 312, 95–96].
- fol. 44ra: nota. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 313, 119].
- fol. 44va: genealogia domini et omnia dei genitricis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 318, 2–3].
- fol. 45va: reliquiarum eorum honore. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 325, 2].
- fol. 46ra: letantur. hiis autem quos hodie habent deus. et huius ministri. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 329, 64–65].¹⁰³
- fol. 46rb: de sanctis ymaginibus. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 330, 2].
- fol. 46vb: versus quam partem debemus adorare. sapientia xvi. 6. et daniel vi. Et in summa decretorum distinctio xi. et iii. responsio viii. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 334, 58–59].
- fol. 47ra: de ueronica. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 334, 62].
- fol. 47rb: de scriptura. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 336, 30–31].
- fol. 47va: de christo dicentis. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 338, 51].

¹⁰³ Voir l'apparat critique dans l'édition Buytaert.

fol. 47vb: quod secundum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 339, 78].¹⁰⁴

fol. 49vb: quid est malum. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 355, 27–356, 28].

fol. 50ra: et obeditoria. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 356, 35].¹⁰⁵

fol. 52va: idest christo. [DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, p. 372, 18].

¹⁰⁴ Voir l'apparat critique dans l'édition Buytaert.

¹⁰⁵ Voir l'apparat critique dans l'édition Buytaert.

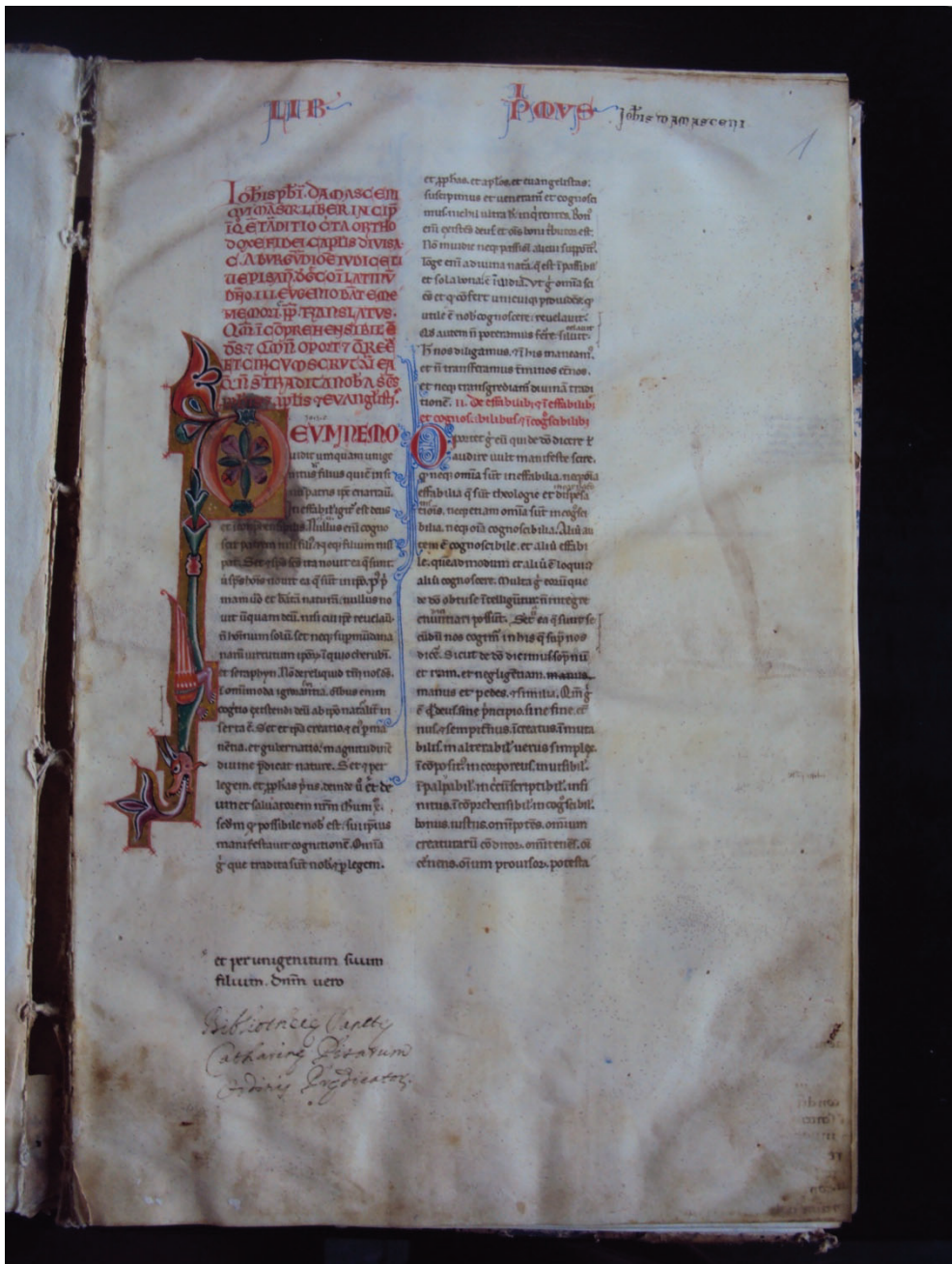


Fig. 1. MS Pise, Bibliotheca Cathariniana, 2, fol. 1r

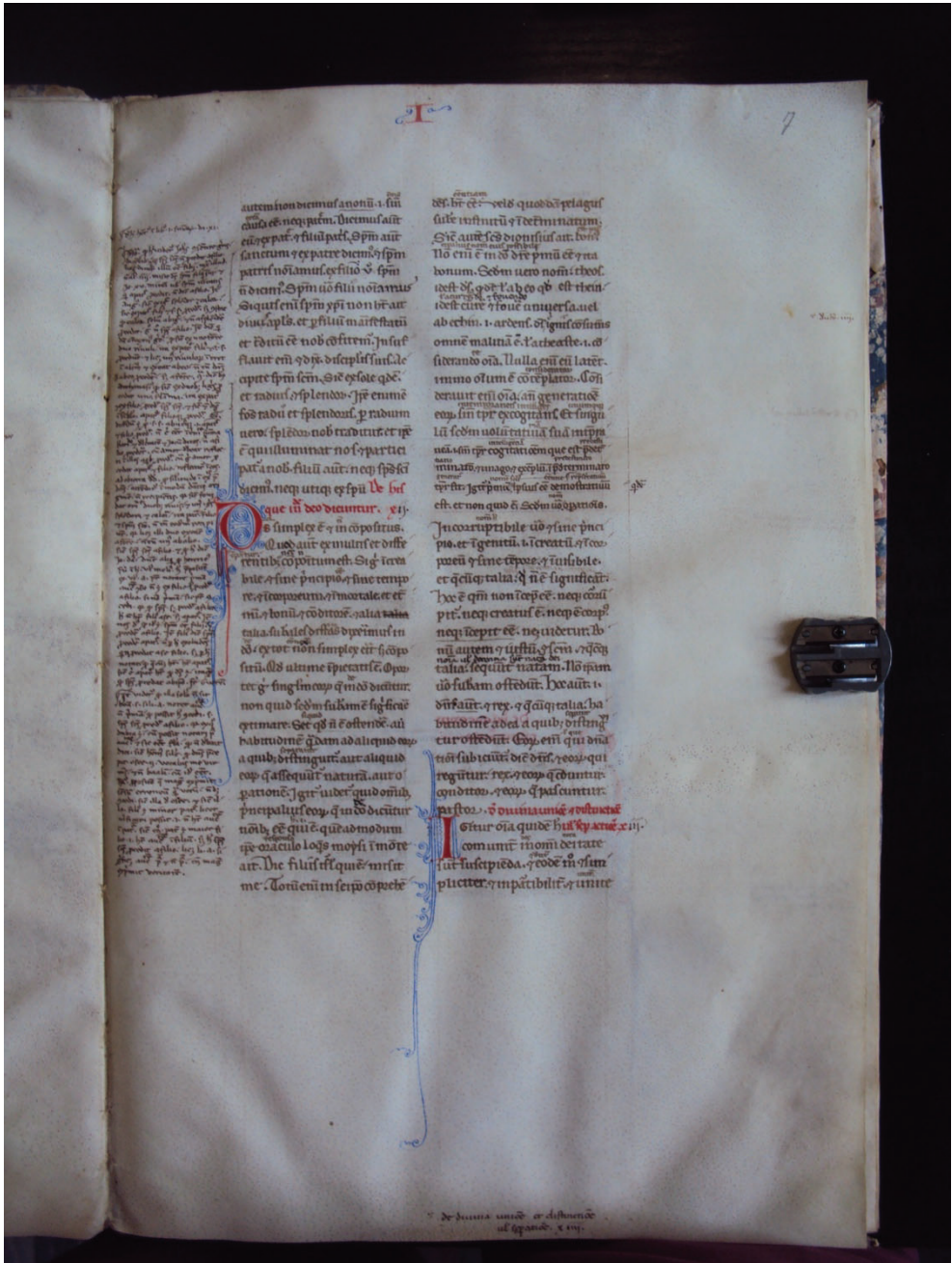


Fig. 2. MS Pise, Bibliotheca Cathariniana, 2, fol. 7r

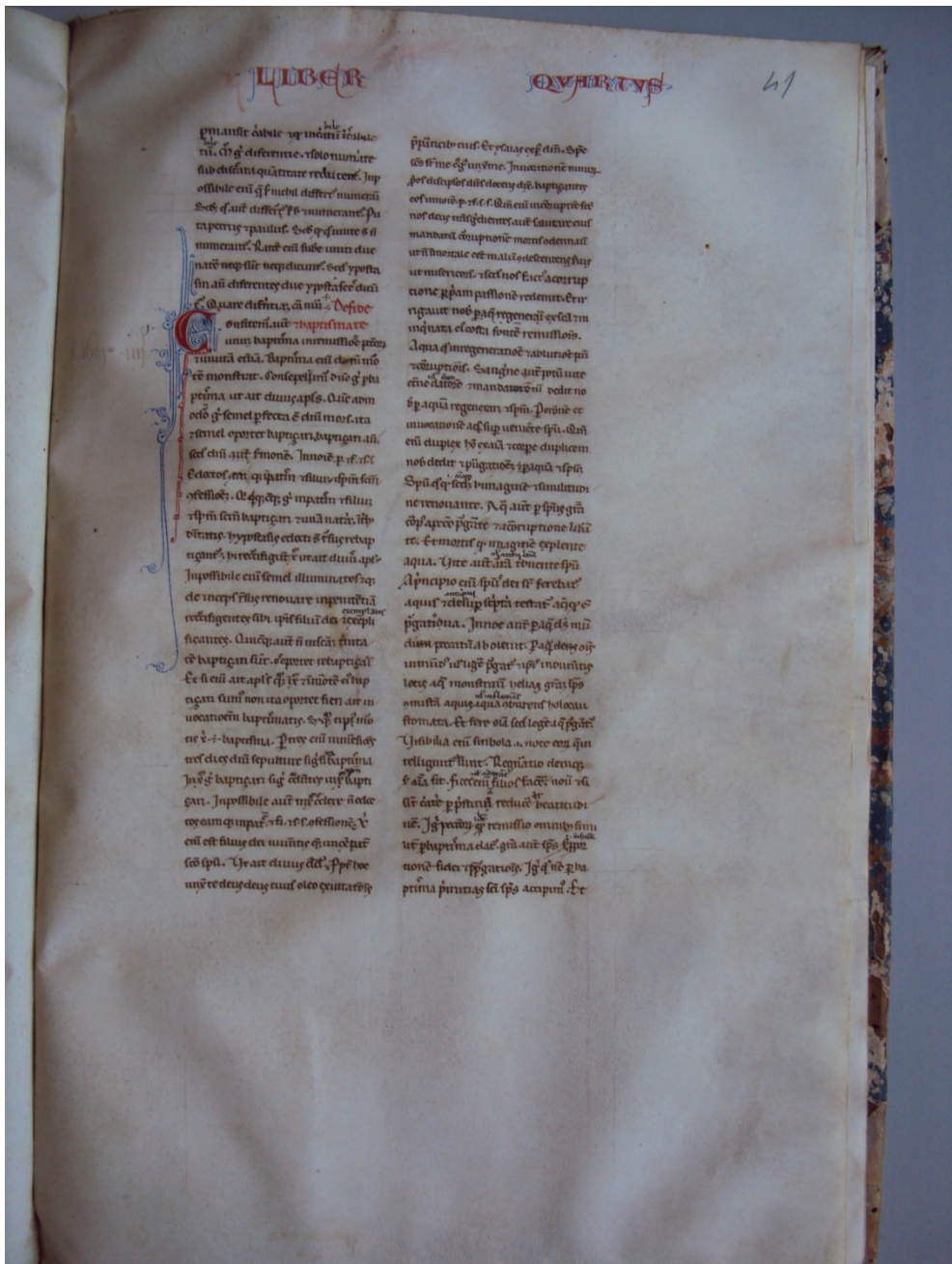


Fig. 3. MS Pise, Bibliotheca Cathariniana, 2, fol. 49r

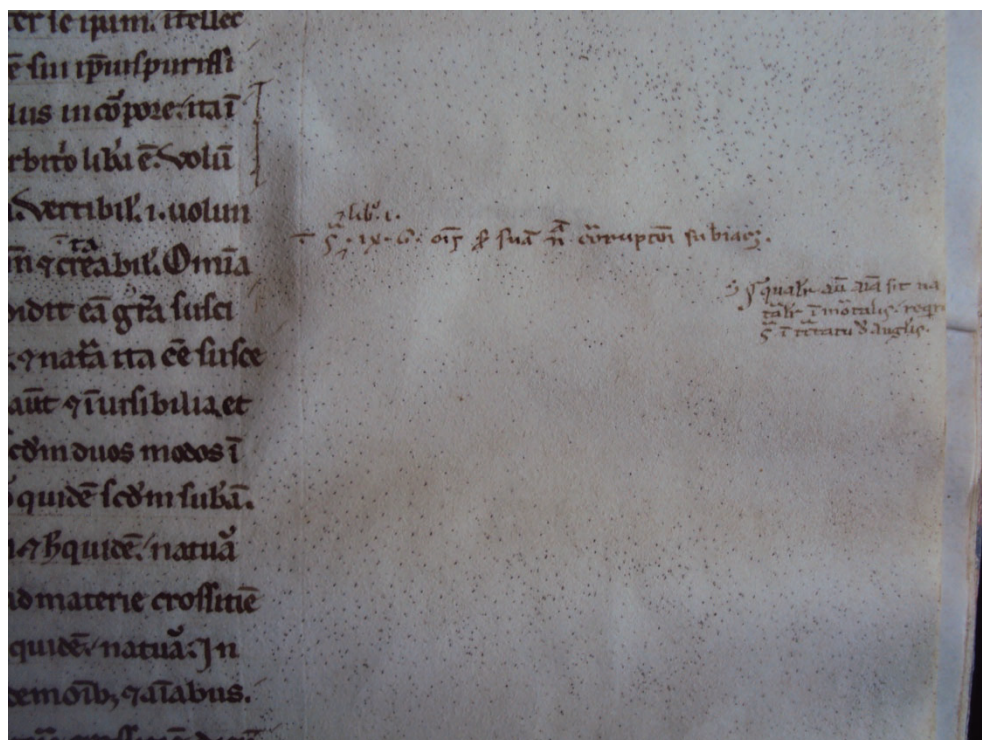


Fig. 4. MS Pise, Bibliotheca Cathariniana, 2, fol. 17r
(detail de la glose dans la marge de la colonne b)

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A THIRD LATIN TRANSLATION OF IBN AL-ŞAFFĀR'S TREATISE ON THE USES OF THE ASTROLABE*

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Abstract

This article addresses the contents of the twelfth-century fascicle contained in MS Lyon, Palais des Arts, 45, which is largely devoted to texts on *computus* and the astrolabe. Included among the latter are 24 anonymous chapters on astrolabe use, which appear to stem from a previously unrecorded translation of Ibn al-Şaffār's *Kitāb fī-l-ʿamal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* (*Book on the Uses of the Astrolabe*). This would make the chapters in the Lyon manuscript the third such translation to come to light after the well-known twelfth-century translations by John of Seville and Plato of Tivoli. The article includes an edition of the text in question as well as two further appendices providing a breakdown of its content as well as a description of the Lyon fascicle.

Key Words

Astrolabe; Arabic-to-Latin translation; Ibn al-Şaffār; John of Seville; Plato of Tivoli



MS Lyon, Palais des Arts, 45 (hereafter abbreviated as *L*) is a mathematical and scientific composite manuscript whose individual fascicles range widely in terms of their period of origin, from the late twelfth to the beginning of the sixteenth century (and including every century in between). The twelfth-century part appears on folios 118r–156v, which is itself a miscellany assembled from numerous different sources, most of them dealing with the astrolabe or with topics belonging to the wider ambit of *computus* (see Appendix A below for a list of contents).¹

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¹ The published descriptions of this manuscript do not give an adequate picture of the content of fol. 118r–156v. See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*:

Among the works that are here reproduced in their entirety are Hermann of Reichenau's *De mensura astrolabii* (fol. 124va–128rb) and the Venerable Bede's *De natura rerum* (fol. 149ra–155ra). The latter receives an extension in the form of several chapters drawn from Helperic of Grandval's *Liber de computo* (fol. 155ra–156vb), which continue until the end of the fascicle. They correspond to chapters 18 to 21 in the eighteenth-century edition by Bernhard Pez² and are followed by another rubricated heading, *Qualiter equinoctia et solsticia oculis deprehendantur* (fol. 156vb), which matches the content of chapter 31.³ No text belonging to this heading appears below it. Instead, it is accompanied by a contemporary note informing us that the remainder of the present book is in the possession of a certain Peter of Chartres and that it contains some disputation or polemic regarding astrology: *Petrus de Carnoto habet residuum istius libri, in quo decertabatur de iudiciis*. The *residuum istius libri* can here hardly refer to Helperic's text, but would rather seem to suggest that *L*'s twelfth-century fascicle was separated early on from a more voluminous codex.

The single largest item in the surviving part of this codex is an anonymous translation of the so-called *Calendar of Córdoba*, which is also known from five other manuscripts.⁴ One of these is MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. qu. 198, fol. 135v–

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² HELPERIC OF GRANDVAL, *Liber de computo*, c. 18–21, in BERNHARD PEZ, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, vol. II, Augsburg: Veith, 1721, pt. 2, col. 200–206; repr. in *Patrologia latina*, vol. CXXXVII, Migne, Paris, 1853, col. 32C–36C.

³ The heading in Pez's edition is *De Aequinoctiis, & Solsticiis, qualiter etiam corporali intuitu deprehendantur, & de ascensu, & descensu Solis*. See HELPERIC OF GRANDVAL, *Liber de computo*, ed. PEZ, pt. 2, col. 212 = *Patrologia latina*, vol. CXXXVII, col. 40.

⁴ MSS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. qu. 198, fol. 135v–143v (c. 1132); Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 6036, fol. 38r–45v (s. XIV); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 596, fol. 36r–45v (s. XII^{1/2}); Vich, Museo Episcopal, 167, fol. 1r–8r (c. 1235); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2462, fol. 27r–72v (s. XII). The copies in Madrid and Vich were used for the edition in JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, JULIO SAMSÓ, « Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba (siglo XIII) », in JUAN VERNET (ed.), *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII*, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 1981, p. 9–78. For discussions of the content and background to the *Calendar of Córdoba*, see JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, « Santoral del calendario del s. XIII contenido en el *Liber Regius* del Museo Episcopal de Vic », *Revista Catalana de Teología*, 6 (1981), p. 161–174; ID., « ¿Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba del 961 en un manuscrito del siglo XIII? », in *Unidad y pluralidad en el mundo antiguo: actas del VI Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Sevilla, 6–11 de abril de 1981)*, vol. II, Editorial Gredos, Madrid, 1983, p. 373–379; ID., « *Dicunt experimentatores / Dicunt qui experimento locuti sunt: l'expérience dans les indications du calendrier de Cordoue (10^e siècle)* », in THOMAS BÉNATOUÏL, ISABELLE DRAELANTS (eds.), *Expertus sum: l'expérience par les sens dans la philosophie naturelle médiévale; actes du colloque international de Pont-à-Mousson (5–7 février 2009)*, SISMEL—Edizioni del Galluzzo, Florence 2011 (Micrologus' Library, 40), p. 239–255; JULIO SAMSÓ, « Sobre los materiales

143v, a codex written in Southern France in c. 1132.⁵ This confirms that the version of the *Calendar* preserved in these manuscripts must be significantly earlier than the translation by Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187), known as *Liber Anoe* (from *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*), seeing as Gerard's activity as a translator of Arabic texts only sets in towards the middle of the century.⁶ Charles Burnett, in an unpublished talk delivered in 2017, has suggested the possibility of a tenth-century Catalanian origin of the anonymous translation, while also noting that the saints recorded in L's recension of the *Calendar* indicate a connection with the diocese of Angers.⁷

astronómicos en el 'Calendario de Córdoba' y en su versión latina del siglo XIII », in JUAN VERNET (ed.), *Nuevos estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo de Alfonso X*, CSIC, Barcelona, 1983, p. 125–138; ID., *On Both Sides of the Strait of Gibraltar: Studies in the History of Medieval Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib*, Brill, Leiden 2020 (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One, 144), p. 51–52, 684–686; JULIO SAMSÓ, JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, « Algunas observaciones al texto del Calendario de Córdoba », *Al-Qanṭara*, 2 (1981), p. 319–344; MERCÈ VILADRICH, « The *Mumtaḥan* Tradition in Al-Andalus: Analysis of Data from the *Calendar of Cordova* Related to the Entrance of the Sun in the Zodiacal Signs », in JOSEP CASULLERAS, JULIO SAMSÓ (eds.), *From Baghdad to Barcelona: Studies in the Islamic Exact Sciences in Honour of Prof. Juan Vernet*, vol. I, Instituto Millás Vallicrosa de Historia de la Ciencia Árabe, Barcelona 1996, p. 253–265; ARNO BORST, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 1998 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Schriften, 46), p. 344–350; STEPHEN C. MCCLUSKEY, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998, p. 166–171; MIQUEL FORCADA, « The *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* of 'Arib b. Saʿīd and the *Calendar of Cordova* », in MENSO FOLKERTS, RICHARD LORCH (eds.), *Sic Itur ad Astra: Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften; Festschrift für den Arabisten Paul Kunitzsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 234–251; ANN CHRISTYS, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–1000)*, Routledge, Abingdon 2002, p. 108–134; JOSÉ MANUEL FRADEJAS RUEDA, « *shadhāniqāt al-balansiyya* or *shadhāniqāt al-bahriyya*: On the Arabic Text and the Latin Translations of the *Calendar of Cordova* », in MICHÈLE GOYENS, PIETER DE LEEMANS, AN SMETS (eds.), *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2008 (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I/Studia, 40), p. 59–72; CHARLES BURNETT, « The Roads of Córdoba and Seville in the Transmission of Arabic Science in Western Europe », in CHARLES BURNETT, PEDRO MANTAS-ESPAÑA (eds.), *Mapping Knowledge: Cross-Pollination in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, CNERU / The Warburg Institute / Oriens Academic, Córdoba 2014 (Arabica Veritas, 1), p. 143–152 (148–150); ID., « Time, the *Liber floridus* and the Science of the Stars in the Twelfth Century », in PATRIZIA CARMASSI (ed.), *Time and Science in the Liber floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, Brepols, Turnhout 2021 (Les Études du RILMA, 13), p. 169–181 (174–175).

⁵ On this copy, see JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, « El texto del Calendario de Córdoba en el manuscrito Berlín lat. qu. 198 », in *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer*, vol. IV, Quaderns Crema, Barcelona 1991, p. 657–668.

⁶ For Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation, the Arabic text, and a modern French translation of the latter, see *Le calendrier de Cordoue*, ed. REINHART DOZY, CHARLES PELLAT, Brill, Leiden 1961 (Medieval Iberian Peninsula: Texts and Studies, 1). On Gerard's life and works, see the contributions in PIERLUIGI PIZZAMIGLIO (ed.), *Gerardo da Cremona*, Libreria del Convegno, Cremona 1992 (Annali della Biblioteca statale e libreria civica di Cremona, 41).

⁷ CHARLES BURNETT, « New Manuscripts and Texts of the *Calendar of Cordoba* », paper read at the conference « Calendars in Antiquity and the Middle Ages », University College London, 5 July 2017. I am very grateful to Charles Burnett for sharing with me a copy of his script. On the

The Berlin copy omits the lengthy prologue that is associated with the calendar in other manuscripts, while *L* separates this prologue (fol. 123ra–124va) from the calendar proper (fol. 130v–142r) by a sequence of unrelated texts that include the aforementioned copy of Hermann of Reichenau's *De mensura astrolabii*. This placement of the prologue also drives a thematic wedge between Hermann's treatise on astrolabe construction and the preceding chapters on astrolabe use, which begin on 118r. Most of these chapters belong to an otherwise unattested text on astrolabe use, which is untitled and anonymous and starts with the words *Si vis scire altitudinem Solis in quacumque hora diei...* (fol. 118ra; see Appendices B and C below for a content-breakdown and edition). A very similar beginning (*Si vis scire altitudinem solis in omni...*) is recorded in the *Catalogue of Incipits* compiled by Thorndike and Kibre, in an entry that lumps the astrolabe section in the Lyon manuscript together with a treatise on the quadrant found in fourteenth-century manuscripts in Cambridge and Munich, which is unrelated.⁸

The chapters on astrolabe use in *L* span five leaves, from fol. 118ra to 122vb. Their sequence is interrupted towards the end by a series of excerpts (fol. 120va–121vb) taken from the earliest known Latin texts on the same subject,⁹ commonly known as the *Sententie astrolabii* (late tenth century)¹⁰ and *De utilitatibus astrolabii*

possibility of a Catalanian origin, see also MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, SAMSÓ, « Una nueva traducción », p. 52 (n. 210), 74 (n. 355); SAMSÓ, MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, « Algunas observaciones », p. 321; MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, « ¿Una nueva traducción? », p. 375; BORST, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, p. 346. This hypothesis is treated sceptically in FRADEJAS RUEDA, « *shadhāniqāt al-balansiyya* », p. 62–63.

⁸ LYNN THORNDIKE, PEARL KIBRE, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, rev. edn, Mediaeval Academy of America, London 1963, col. 1473.

⁹ For an overview of Latin astrolabe literature written before 1100, see PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Glossar der arabischen Fachausdrücke in der mittelalterlichen europäischen Astrolabliteratur », *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1982/11, p. 455–571 (476–483). For studies of this literature, see JOSÉ MARÍA MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, vol. I, Institució Patxot, Barcelona 1931 (Estudis Universitaris Catalans: Sèrie Monogràfica, 1); WERNER BERGMANN, *Innovationen im Quadrivium des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: Studien zur Einführung von Astrolab und Abakus im lateinischen Mittelalter*, Steiner, Stuttgart 1985 (Sudhoffs Archiv: Beihefte, 26); ARNO BORST, *Astrolab und Klosterreform an der Jahrtausendwende*, Winter, Heidelberg 1989 (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Jg. 1989, 1); ARIANNA BORRELLI, *Aspects of the Astrolabe: 'Architectonica ratio' in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Europe*, Steiner, Stuttgart 2008 (Sudhoffs Archiv: Beihefte, 57).

¹⁰ *Sententie astrolabii*, ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA, p. 275–288. For a different version of the text, edited from MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 196, fol. 1r–7r, 8r (s. XI^{1/2}) and accompanied by a German translation, see MARTIN SCHRAMM, CARL-PHILIPP ALBERT SCHÜTZ, MICHAEL SCHÜTZ, MARTIN BRUNOLD, MARTIN GERMANN, « Der Astrolabtext aus der Handschrift Codex 196, Burgerbibliothek Bern—Spuren arabischer Wissenschaft im mittelalterlichen Abendland », *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 17 (2006–2007), p. 199–300 (208–247, 258–259).

(c. 1000).¹¹ While these excerpts are distinguished from each other via rubricated chapter headings, the same is not true of the surrounding text, where the only heading that is marked as such via rubrication and placement in a separate line comes at the very beginning: *Titulus de altitudine Solis capienda* (fol. 118ra). The rest of the text is nevertheless clearly divided by visual markers, which show where a new paragraph or unit begins even in the absence of any line breaks or rubrication. Of the 30 or so sections thus marked, 14 have an opening line that must have originally been a separate heading, each beginning with the word *Titulus*. Such *Tituli* are also found at the head of some of the chapters in the aforementioned *Sententie astrolabii*, where the word presumably translates the Arabic *bāb* ('door', 'entry', 'chapter').¹² Beyond this parallel use of *Titulus* and the shared subject matter, however, the similarities between the two texts are very modest.

Compared to early Latin works such as the *Sententie astrolabii*, the text in *L* is fairly sparing in its use of Arabic loan words. One frequently occurring example is *al-murī*, which refers to a pointer on the rete of the astrolabe for counting degrees on the outer scale. In ch. 6–11 (according to the chapter numbering used in Appendices B and C below), the term is transliterated consistently as *almari*, whereas other Latin texts tend to have either *almeri* or *almuri*.¹³ Ch. 3–5, 7, 10, 13, and 15 make reference to *al-muqaṭṭarāt*, the curves of equal altitude on the horizon plate. While there is nothing unusual about the presence of the word itself, which is part of the standard vocabulary of medieval Latin astrolabe literature,¹⁴ our text differs from most of this literature in transcribing *al-muqaṭṭarāt* as *almacantara* or (rarely) *almucantara* rather than *almucantarāt* or *almucantarath* and declining it as if it were a Latin noun of the first declension.

¹¹ The text was edited in *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae Opera Mathematica (972–1003)*, ed. NICOLAUS BUBNOV, Friedländer & Sohn, Berlin 1899, p. 114–147. For a bibliography and list of manuscripts, see MARIE-HÉLÈNE JULLIEN (ed.), *Clavis des auteurs du Moyen Âge: territoire français 735–987*, vol. III: *Faof – Hilduin*, Brepols, Turnhout 2010, p. 138–142. The attribution of this text to Gerbert of Aurillac, which was upheld in some of the earlier literature, is forcefully rejected by PATRICK GAUTIER DALCHÉ, « Le 'tuyau' de Gerbert, ou la légende savante de l'astronomie: origines, thèmes, échos contemporains (avec un appendice critique) », *Micrologus*, 21 (2013), p. 243–276 (256–275). The previous literature on this question is summarized in MARTA MATERNI, « Attività scientifiche di Gerberto d'Aurillac », *Archivum Bobiense*, 29 (2007), p. 225–317 (274–282).

¹² *Sententie astrolabii*, ed. MILLÀS VALLICROSA, p. 281–283. Parts of this text were translated from an astrolabe treatise by al-Khwārizmī (ninth century). See PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Al-Khwārizmī as a Source for the *Sententie astrolabii* », in DAVID A. KING, GEORGE SALIBA (eds.), *From Deferent to Equant: A Volume of Studies in the History of Science in the Ancient and Medieval Near East in Honor of E.S. Kennedy*, New York Academy of Sciences, New York 1987 (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 500), p. 227–236. Another instance of this use of *titulus* is in Petrus Alfonsi's translation (c. 1116) of al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables. See OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *The Astronomical Tables of Al-Khwārizmī*, Munksgaard, København 1962 (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter, 4.2), p. 219, 221–222, 224.

¹³ Occurrences of the term are documented in KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 538–539.

¹⁴ See KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 535–538.

One other text where the term is handled grammatically in this way is an anonymous description of the parts of the astrolabe beginning *Cum hominum habitaciones equales sibi fore...*, the only known copy of which appears in the famous eleventh-century MS Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 225, fol. 68v–84v.¹⁵ The word is here (at fol. 74r) transcribed as *almocantara*, but misapplied as the name of the east-west line on the backplate of the astrolabe. Another text uniquely preserved in the same manuscript is *De divisione igitur climatum que fit per almucantarath...* (fol. 98r–102v). It uses the term *almucantarath* in the familiar sense, but at one point reprises *almocantara* with the same meaning as in the earlier text.¹⁶ That the two texts are not wholly unrelated is also clear from their mistaken uses of the words *tecuba* and *scat(h)aba*, which are both rare in Latin astrolabe literature. *Tecuba* transcribes the Arabic *tuqba* ('hole'), which normally refers to the openings in the centre of each sighting vane of the alidade, whereas the texts in the Ripoll manuscript apply it to the sighting vanes themselves. Conversely, the word *scatab(h)a*, from the standard Arabic term for the sighting vane, *aš-šaṭba*, is here wrongly applied to the openings.¹⁷

Ch. 1, 5, 16, and 24 of the 'use' text in *L* render *šaṭba* as *sadaba* – or *sabada*, via metathesis, as is the case in ch. 24 –, this time deploying it in the correct sense of 'sighting vane'. This makes this text only the fourth medieval Latin source identified so far to contain this Arabic expression.¹⁸ Besides the two texts in the Ripoll manuscripts, there is also the singular occurrence of *assabata* in a Latin astrolabe treatise by the Jewish astrologer Abraham Ibn Ezra, which dates approximately from the middle of the twelfth century.¹⁹ The presence of *sadaba* in

¹⁵ See the transcriptions in MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Assaig*, p. 312, l. 145, 148; KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 536; GEMMA PUIGVERT I PLANAGUMÀ, *Astronomia i astrologia al monestir de Ripoll: edició i estudi dels manuscrits científics astronómicoastrològics del monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, Barcelona 2000, p. 157. On the date and significance of this manuscript, see also JULIO SAMSÓ, « Cultura científica àrab i cultura científica llatina a la Catalunya altmedieval: el monestir de Ripoll i el naixement de la ciència catalana », in *Symposium Internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII-IX)*, vol. I, Real Academia de Buenas Letras, Barcelona 1991 (Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 23), p. 253–269; BORRELLI, *Aspects*, p. 85–86, 226.

¹⁶ MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Assaig*, p. 321, l. 51; PUIGVERT I PLANAGUMÀ, *Astronomia*, p. 167; KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 536, 553.

¹⁷ As was noted by KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 480, 556, 558. See also the transcriptions of the relevant passages in MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Assaig*, p. 310, 321; PUIGVERT I PLANAGUMÀ, *Astronomia*, p. 154–155, 167.

¹⁸ For the other three occurrences, see KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 556, who additionally records two Castilian texts in the thirteenth-century *Libros del saber de astronomía* compiled for King Alfonso X.

¹⁹ See the edition in JOSÉ MARÍA MILLÁS VALLICROSA, « Un nuevo tratado de astrolabio de R. Abraham Ibn 'Ezra », *Al-Andalus*, 5 (1940), p. 1–29 (9). On this text, see ID., « Sobre un 'Tratado de astrolabio' atribuido a R. Abraham Ibn 'Ezra », *Sefarad*, 4 (1944), p. 31–38; JOSEFINA RODRÍGUEZ ARRIBAS,

L can be taken as indicative of this text's terminological independence from the mainstream of Latin astrolabe literature, which is highlighted further by the way the astrolabe's alidade is referred to throughout as *ezada* in place of the much more familiar *alidada* (from *al-ʿiḏāda*).²⁰ We find the former term in ch. 1–2, 16, 20–24, but apparently nowhere else in the literature. Its origin is unclear.²¹ It may be worth adding, however, that the expressions *sabacdarum* (from *sadaba* via *sabada*) and *ezada* are repeated in *L* on fol. 126v, in notes the main scribe added to Hermann of Reichenau's treatise on astrolabe construction:

Sabacdarum foramina sunt foramina regule tabularum que etiam regula dicitur ezada et alchidada. [...] Sabacdarum. Ezada. Alchidada. Rete. Abancabuz. Volvellum. Walzachora. Almacantharath.

Rather than being plausibly derived from the *Sententie astrolabii* or any other part of the Latin astrolabe literature available before 1100, the text in *L* finds its closest counterpart in the two twelfth-century translations of an Arabic treatise on astrolabe use, the *Kitāb fi-l-ʿamal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* (i.e., *Book on the Uses of the Astrolabe*) by Aḥmad ibn al-Šaffār (d. 1035), who was an Andalusian astronomer and student of the famous Maslama al-Majrīṭī.²² The translations in question were carried out by John of Seville and Plato of Tivoli, who were both active on the Iberian peninsula during the 1130s.²³ Their translations are independent of each other and

« Medieval Jews and Medieval Astrolabes: Where, Why, How, and What For? », in SACHA STERN, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *Time, Astronomy, and Calendars in the Jewish Tradition*, Brill, Leiden 2014 (*Time, Astronomy, and Calendars: Texts and Studies*, 3), p. 221–271 (249–258); SAMSÓ, *On Both Sides*, p. 414–417.

²⁰ For attestations of the standard term, see KUNITZSCH, « Glossar », p. 527–528.

²¹ It cannot be excluded that the form *ezada* was the consequence of particularly severe scribal corruption. The same may apply to the strange expression *circulus quiralis* in ch. 17 for what should normally be *circulus equinoctialis*.

²² On this author, see MÒNICA RIUS, « Ibn al-Šaffār: Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn Abd Allāh ibn Umar al-Ghāfiqī ibn al-Šaffār al-Andalusī », in THOMAS HOCKEY (ed.), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, vol. II, Springer, New York 2007, p. 566–567, and the references in SAMSÓ, *On Both Sides* (see index). The Arabic text of one version of his astrolabe treatise, preserved in MS El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ár. 964, fol. 3v–20v, was published in JOSÉ MARÍA MILLÁS VALLICROSA, « Los primeros tratados de astrolabio en la España árabe », *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 3 (1955), p. 47–76 (Arabic section), and translated into Catalan in ID., *Assaig*, p. 29–48. Other manuscripts and recensions are noted in JULIO SAMSÓ, « Nota acerca de cinco manuscritos sobre astrolabio », *Al-Andalus*, 31 (1966), p. 385–392 (385–387); ID., *On Both Sides*, p. 376–377; FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. VI: *Astronomie, Bis ca. 430 H.*, Brill, Leiden 1978, p. 250.

²³ John of Seville's translation is printed in JOSÉ MARÍA MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, CSIC, Madrid 1942, p. 261–284, on the basis of MS Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10053, fol. 112ra–117vb (s. XIII^{2/2}) and (for c. 1) MS Toledo,

reflect diverging recensions of Ibn al-Šaffār's text. John's version was by far the more widely copied of the two and provided the basis for the most popular of all medieval Latin texts on astrolabe use, which by the end of the thirteenth century circulated with a false ascription to Māshā'allāh.²⁴

A synopsis of the chapters on astrolabe use in *L* and the parallel chapters in Ibn al-Šaffār's *Kitāb fī-l- 'amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* – according to the recension edited by Millás Vallicrosa and the Latin translations by John and Plato – is given in Appendix B below. It shows that our anonymous treatise follows an order of exposition that is on the whole remarkably similar to that in Ibn al-Šaffār's work, although it skips over individual chapters and entire thematic blocks such as the astrological applications of the astrolabe (aside from the ascendant degree, which is covered in ch. 3 and 15). The degree to which the text in *L* mirrors the precise wording and sentence structure in Ibn al-Šaffār's *Kitāb fī-l- 'amal* or its translations varies from one chapter to the next. A case of relatively close convergence is *L*'s ch. 18, on finding geographic latitude, where is here compared with ch. 25 in Plato of Tivoli's translation.

<i>L</i>, fol. 121va–122ra (see ch. 18 in Appendix C):	<i>Liber abualcasin in operibus astrolabii a Platone tyburtino translatus</i> (ch. 25):²⁵
Scias quia hec latitudo civitatum quantum distat plaga celi que est super ipsam civitatem a linea que facit equalem diem et noctem. Hec vero est linea super quam vadunt per quamque horam caput Arietis et caput Libre. Et quantum distat a plaga celi que est super civitatem usque ad	Cuiuslibet regionis latitudinem eiusdem cenit caput ab equidiei circulo, qui est initii arietis et libre circumrotatio, longitudinem fore manifeste cognoscas, a qua poli septentrionalis elevatio super orizontem polique meridionalis depressio sub orizonte nullatenus discordant. Hee

Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 98–27, fol. 48v–49r (s. XV). The number of preserved copies exceeds 25. For a partial list, see FRANCIS J. CARMODY, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1956, p. 142–143; THORNDIKE, KIBRE, *A Catalogue*, col. 1118. Plato of Tivoli's translation is edited critically from MSS Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 309, fol. 136ra–143ra (s. XIII/XIV) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 51, fol. 28rb–35rb (s. XII^{med}) in RICHARD LORCH, GERHARD BREY, STEFAN KIRSCHNER, CHRISTOPH SCHÖNER, « Ibn al-Šaffār's Traktat über das Astrolab in der Übersetzung von Plato von Tivoli », in BERNHARD FRITSCHER, GERHARD BREY (eds.), *Cosmographica et geographica: Festschrift für Heribert M. Nobis zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. I, Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Munich 1994, p. 125–180 (138–174).

²⁴ See PSEUDO-MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, *On the Astrolabe*, ed. and trans. RON B. THOMSON, 2 vol., Volumes Publishing, Waterloo 2022, vol. II. The dependence on John of Seville's translation of Ibn al-Šaffār was demonstrated by PAUL KUNITZSCH, « On the Authenticity of the Treatise on the Composition and Use of the Astrolabe Ascribed to Messahalla », *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 31 (1981), p. 42–62 (48–56).

²⁵ IBN AL-ŠAFFĀR, *Kitāb fī-l- 'amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb*, trans. Plato of Tivoli, ed. LORCH, BREY, KIRSCHNER, SCHÖNER, p. 157–158.

lineam que facit equalem diem et noctem, tantum descendit unus polus et alter ascendit. Et scias quia semper est equa longitudo inter ipsos tres, inter duos polos scilicet et lineam supradictam. Et unusquisque horum trium vocatur 'latitudo' civitatis. Si es in civitate aliqua nec scis latitudinem eius et vis scire, aspice quando Sol fuerit in medio celi in illa die qua facere volueris, hoc est in media die, et nota quanta erit altitudo ipsius stelle Solis. Et si Sol fuerit in illa die in capite Arietis vel in capite Libre, tunc erunt equales dies et nox et tunc minorabis altitudinem solis de XC. Et quantum restabit de numero, tantum erit a plaga celi que est super civitatem usque ad lineam que facit equalem diem et noctem et hoc est latitudo civitatis illius. Et si Sol est in alio gradu quam in capite Arietis vel in capite Libre, aspice tunc quam longe fuerit gradus Solis a linea que facit equalem diem et noctem, sicut supradictum est. Et si erit illa longitudo a parte septemtrionali, tunc minorabis altitudinem Solis in illa die. Et si fuerit longitudo a parte meridiei, tunc augmentabis super altitudinem Solis. Quantum fuerit numerus, vel de minoratione vel augmentatione, tanta erit altitudo linee que facit equalem diem et noctem in illa civitate. Minorabis illum numerum de XC et quantum restabit, tanta erit latitudo civitatis illius.	autem tres longitudes semper erunt equales, quarum unaqueque terre latitudo nuncupatur. Cumque in aliqua regionum cuius latitudinem ignoraveris extiteris et eam scire volueris, solis altitudinem cum in celi medio fuerit observa, tunc enim quam altior esse poterit apparebit. Quod si sol in arietis vel libre principio fuerit, quod bis in anno, scilicet in equinoctiis, cum sol per circulum equinoctialem pertransibit, continget, acceptam altitudinem de LX [!]²⁶ demes, et residuum erit id quod inter solem et cenit capitum apparebit; quod eiusdem regionis latitudinem fore non ambigas. Si autem in alio signo sol extiterit, post eius altitudinem acceptam illius gradus in quo fuerit, declinationem ab equidiei circulo velut supradiximus addiscas. Et si declinatio septentrionalis fuerit, eam ex altitudine sumpta deme; si vero meridionalis extiterit, ei superadde; et quod post augmentum vel diminutionem habueris, erit elevatio circuli equinoctialis, super orizontem in regione illa. Qua de LX [!]²⁷ dempta reliquum erit illius terre latitudo.

²⁶ The error of LX for LXXXX or XC in the edition by LORCH, BREY, KIRSCHNER, SCHÖNER (see n. 25) can be explained by Plato of Tivoli's use of the 'x aspada' or *xl*-ligature in place of XXXX or XL. See the text in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 51, fol. 32r, and CHARLES BURNETT, « Ten or Forty? A Confusing Numerical Symbol in the Middle Ages », in JOSEPH W. DAUBEN, STEFAN KIRSCHNER, ANDREAS KÜHNE, PAUL KUNITZSCH, RICHARD P. LORCH (eds.), *Mathematics Celestial and Terrestrial: Festschrift für Menso Folkerts zum 65. Geburtstag*, Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina, Halle a. d. Saale 2008 (Acta Historica Leopoldina, 54), p. 81–89.

²⁷ See previous footnote.

Et si vis scire nocte, accipere altitudinem aliquarum stellarum que sunt in astrolapsu, quando erit in medio celi, et inspicere qua longe sit a supradicta linea que facit equalem diem et noctem, sicut supradictum est. Et poteris accipere latitudinem civitatis alio modo: aspicias stellam que propinquior est polo septentrionali magis altera quam poteris invenire et nota quot graduum erit altitudo. Et post capies altitudinem eiusdem stelle quam inferiorem poteris. Et videbis quot erunt inter unum numerum et alium et iunge in simul. Deinde partire per medium et quanta erit medietas, tanta erit latitudo civitatis.	At si de nocte latitudinem terre nosse cupis, cuiuslibet stellarum altitudinem, cum in celi medio fuerit, accipe et serva, quia tunc altior quam esse poterit ostendetur. Post hec ipsius ab equidiei circulo declinationem addiscas et quemadmodum in sole diligenter operando [!] ad latitudinis illius regionis cognitionem per stellas, scilicet que iuxta polum septentrionalem sunt que in illa regione numquam occultantur, veraciter pervenies. Earum etenim cuiuslibet altitudinem, cum altior quam esse poterit extiterit et item cum inferior quam esse poterit apparebit, accipiens, eas in unum collige collectique dimidium sume, et quod fuerit erit illius terre latitudo. Scito eam.

The affinity between *L* and Plato of Tivoli's translation is in this particular instance much closer than between *L* and John of Seville, who completely omits the first paragraph in these two versions of the chapter, as does ch. 25 of the recension of the Arabic text edited by Millás Vallicrosa.²⁸ Another instance where the length of *L*'s chapter agrees with Plato against John is ch. 22, which finds its equivalent in ch. 32 in Plato's translation. Both versions of the chapter are reduced to only two sentences on how to convert a known degree of solar longitude into the length of the corresponding noon shadow. By contrast, John's ch. 30 and ch. 32 in the aforementioned Arabic text add an account of how to extrapolate from this the times of the two afternoon prayers observed by Muslims, *dhuhr* and *asr*.

This tendency to abridge or condense the source text can also be observed elsewhere in *L*, especially in ch. 2, 6, 9, 13, 19–21, and 24. Ch. 2, for instance, deals with finding the degree of the Sun from the known date. It is very similar to a chapter near the beginning of Ibn al-Šaffār's treatise (ch. 2 in Millás Vallicrosa and John's translation, ch. 3 in Plato's translation), but omits final sentence describing the reverse operation (i.e., finding the date from the known degree). Ch. 9 resembles the second half of Ibn al-Šaffār's chapter on how to calculate any completed or remaining hours of the day or night as it addresses only night-time operations. Conversely, ch. 13, on computing the meridian altitude of the Sun, ignores the second half of the chapter in Ibn al-Šaffār's treatise, which extends the same technique to the maximum altitude of a star. Ch. 19, on geographic longitude, is a particularly straightforward case of abridgement in that it leaves out Ibn al-

²⁸ IBN AL-ŠAFFĀR, *Kitāb fi-l-ʿamal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb*, ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA, p. 52–53.

Šaffār's added remarks on Ptolemy's *Geography*. Ch. 24 reproduces only the first paragraph of Ibn al-Šaffār's chapter on altimetry, which considers the simple case of measuring height of an accessible object while moving between locations with the alidade set at 45°. The other cases, such as measuring the same height without moving or measuring the height of an inaccessible object, are omitted.

There are also instances where the text in *L* describes operations in more detail than do the two other Latin translations of Ibn al-Šaffār's text. This is true of ch. 15 and 16, which here appear in the same sequence as in John of Seville's translation, whereas Plato of Tivoli and the Arabic text edited by Millás Vallicrosa have these chapters in reverse order. Ch. 16 adds two sentences that are not present in any of these versions. They simply note that stars placed outside of the zodiac circle on the rete have a southern latitude, while those inside have a northern one.

In structural terms, the two most pronounced departures from Ibn al-Šaffār's *Kitāb fi-l-ʿamal* occur early on among the chapters on time-measurement. The text in *L* devotes a separate *Titulus* to the problem of finding the ascendant degree during daytime (ch. 3), placing it ahead of its explanation of how to find the hour of the day (ch. 4). In Ibn al-Šaffār's treatise, the keeping of time during the day and the determination of the ascendant degree are integrated into a single chapter (ch. 5 in John, ch. 6 in Plato). Equally striking is the fact that *L* has two separate chapters on how to calculate the fraction of an hour that has already passed or is remaining, as it distinguishes between day (ch. 8) and night (ch. 11). The chapter on daytime operations has a clear counterpart in Ibn al-Šaffār (ch. 10 in John, ch. 12 in Plato) as far its placement in the overall order of chapters is concerned, whereas the second seems extraneous to this order. It is followed by an explanation of how to use the changing altitude of the Sun to infer one's time with respect to noon (ch. 12), which is likewise not encountered in the known versions of Ibn al-Šaffār's treatise. Instead, a brief chapter on this topic appears in *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, although the wording there is very different.²⁹

Overall, the evidence at hand suggests that most of the material on astrolabe use preserved in *L*, fol. 118r–122v, goes back to a previously unrecorded Latin translation or paraphrase of an Arabic source text, which can be identified with Ibn al-Šaffār's *Kitāb fi-l-ʿamal bi-l-ašturlāb*. The recension used by this translator apparently differed significantly from those underlying the translations by John of Seville and Plato of Tivoli, which had no discernible influence on the present text. Whether this third translation was likewise carried out in the second quarter of the twelfth century, or possibly even earlier, seems difficult to decide. What may be worth noting, however, is that none of the chapters in *L* mention the azimuth curves on the astrolabe's horizon plate, or even the concept of azimuth

²⁹ *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 20, ed. BUBNOV, p. 146–147.

itself, despite the fact that these play a prominent role in several chapters of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's treatise.³⁰ While most of the pertinent chapters are not even present in *L*, the term could have appeared in ch. 16 and 23, which correspond to ch. 18 and 33 in the Arabic text edited by Millás Vallicrosa and ch. 19 / 20 and 31 / 33 in the translations by John and Plato. The second of these chapters gives a rule for finding the altitude and azimuth of the Sun as well as the shadow length from the known degree of solar longitude and the time of day. In ch. 23 of *L*, the steps to compute the length of the shadow with the help of the alidade and shadow square are described in slightly more detail than in the other known versions, but at the same time there is no mention whatsoever of azimuth.

What makes this omission potentially revealing is that an absence of azimuth curves also belongs to the general hallmarks of the Latin astrolabe texts created during the tenth and eleventh centuries, which by and large presuppose the same limited set of design features for the instrument.³¹ A clear visual presentation of this astrolabe design is given in the eleventh-century MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7412, fol. 19r–23v, which depicts the rete, horizon plates without azimuth curves, and back plate of an Andalusian astrolabe made by a certain Khalaf ibn al-Mu'ādh.³² It seems possible that the text *L* was compiled with the same archaic astrolabe type in mind, which would explain why none of the azimuth-related content of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's *Kitāb fī-l-ʿamal* appears in it.

³⁰ IBN AL-ṢAFFĀR, *On the Uses of the Astrolabe*, trans. John of Seville, c. 1, 19, 21, 27, 31–32, ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA, p. 263, 271–272, 276, 279; trans. Plato of Tivoli, c. 1, 20, 23, 29, 33–34, ed. LORCH, BREY, KIRSCHNER, SCHÖNER, p. 140, 153–154, 156, 161, 165.

³¹ On the astrolabe design in early Latin texts and the changes introduced in the twelfth century, see EMMANUEL POULLE, « La fabrication des astrolabes au Moyen Âge », *Techniques et Civilisations*, 4 (1955), p. 117–128; ID., « Les instruments astronomiques de l'Occident latin aux XI^e et XII^e siècles », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 15 (1972), p. 27–40 (27–36); ID., « La littérature astrolabique latine jusqu'au XIII^e siècle », *Physis*, 32 (1995), p. 227–237.

³² See PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Traces of a Tenth-Century Spanish-Arabic Astrolabe », *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 12 (1998), p. 113–120; BORRELLI, *Aspects*, p. 203–210; SAMSÓ, *On Both Sides*, p. 373–375. Another such set of drawings appears in MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 196, fol. 1v–2r, 3r, 7v (s. XI^{1/2}). See the reproductions in SCHRAMM, SCHÜTZ, SCHÜTZ, BRUNOLD, GERMANN, « Der Astrolabtext », p. 207, 284, 286–287, 289, 298.

Appendix A

CONTENTS OF MS LYON, PALAIS DES ARTS, 45 (= L), FOL. 118R–156V

fol. 118ra–rb: *Ovidius de commendacione <astr>onomie* [rubr.]. *Felices quibus hec anime cognoscere primis...* | ... *ponemusque suos ad vaga signa dies* = OVID, *Fasti* 1.297–310

fol. 118ra–120va: *Titulus de altitudine Solis capienda* [rubr.]. *Si vis scire altitudinem Solis in quacumque hora diei...* | ... *Et cognosces omnia opera eius.* = anonymous text on astrolabe use derived from Ibn al-Šaffār, *Kitāb fī-l-‘amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* (see Appendices B and C)

fol. 120va–vb: *Ut scias ad quod clima singule tabule pertinent* [rubr.]. *Si queris scire ipse tabule...* | ... *non nisi in aliqua terra in longioribus diebus.* = *Sententie astrolabii* (ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA, p. 287, l. 364–375)

fol. 120vb–121rb: *Quomodo orbis in VII partitur climata* [rubr.]. *Initium climatis primi est...* | ... *quod cuilibet probandum dimittitur.* = *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 19.1–8 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 142–146)

fol. 121rb: *Ut scias horas in dorso astrolabii* [rubr.]. *Quando vis scire horas in dorso...* | ... *diversa poteris fabricare horologia.* = *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 21 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 147)

fol. 121rb: *De alio orologio* [rubr.]. *Ianus et Apollo dum sibi pariter...* | ... *partes incunctanter assignat.* = *Sententie astrolabii* (ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA, p. 288, l. 383–387)

fol. 121va: *Ad inveniendum climata* [rubr.]. *Per octo repperies latitudines climatum...* | ... *et sic deinceps.* = *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 18.2 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 141, l. 2–8)

fol. 121va–vb: *De climatibus* [rubr.]. *Climatis primi latitudo XVI gradus...* | ... *dies XVI horarum sequitur.* = MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Assaig*, p. 290–292, l. 1–28

fol. 121vb–122vb: *Titulus ad capiendam latitudinem cuiuslibet civitatis...* | ... *tanta erit altitudo altitudinis illius.* = continuation of anonymous text on astrolabe use derived from Ibn al-Šaffār, *Kitāb fī-l-‘amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* (see Appendices B and C)

fol. 122vb–123ra: *Alius de eodem* [rubr.]. *Si vis alicuius arboris vel turris vel columnæ...* | ... *hipotenuse vicem habere dinoscitur.* = *Geometria incerti auctoris* III, 6 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 321–322)

fol. 123ra–124va: *Compiler huius libelli dixit. Codex iste ponitur in memoria horarum...* | ... *Quod non nostro sed Dei confisus auxilio agere aggressi sumus.* = prologue to anonymous translation of the *Calendar of Córdoba* (ed. MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, SAMSÓ, «Una nueva traducción», p. 15–23)

fol. 124va–128rb: *Hermannus Christi pauperum peripsima... | ... in huiusmodi rerum usu exercitati alias notificatur.* = HERMANN OF REICHENAU, *De mensura astrolabii*³³

fol. 128rb–129ra: *De colligendo signo et gradu Solis* (heading). *Si certissime horas naturales sive artificiales... | ... XX die Aprilis Sol est in V gradu Tauri.* = *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 3.1–3 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 124–126)

fol. 129ra: *De aurora* [rubr.]. *Si vis scire quam prope sit aurora... | ... ex parte almagrib ecce aurora.* = *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 14 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 135)

fol. 129ra–b: *Ad horas cum quadro inveniendas* [rubr.]. *Componitur horologium cum astrolabii quarta parte... | ... ipsa hora diei esse dicatur.* = MILLÁS VALLICROSA, Assaig, p. 304, l. 1–305, l. 14

fol. 129rb: *Accipe astrolabii quartam et in sexta hora... | ... usque ad XC computatus habetur.* = MILLÁS VALLICROSA, Assaig, p. 307, l. 64–71

fol. 129rb–vb: *De bissexto* [rubr.]. *Bissextili anno prima hora noctis... | ... et reliqua hoc modo usque ad alium bissextum.*³⁴

fol. 129vb: *Perizodion de signis XII Grece* [rubr.]. *Aries, Taurus... | ... Ermis, Selim.* = a list of the zodiacal signs and planets with their Greek names

fol. 129vb–130ra: *Nomina mensium Hebraice* [rubr.]. *Martius, Aprilis... | ... Adar.* = a list of the Julian months with their Hebrew names (and *Dustrus* in place of *Av*)

fol. 130ra: *Secundum Grecos* [rubr.]. *Martius, Aprilis... | ... Gurpleus, Berricos.* = a list of the Julian months with their Greek (Macedonian) names

fol. 130ra–rb: *Locus postulat ut de stellis horarum dicam quote sint... | ... sunt in astrolapsu quarum signa et gradus et altitudines in ipso reperies.* = modified version of *De utilitatibus astrolabii*, c. 17 (ed. BUBNOV, p. 136–138)

fol. 130rb–va: *Quamvis apud Theodosii Macrobiani auctoritatem universi orbis rationabilis habeatur... | ... tot dicuntur inveniri in totius mundi circuitione.*³⁵

fol. 130v–142r: *Ianuarius cuius regula est unum | ... et alba papavera seminantur.* = anonymous translation of the so-called *Calendar of Córdoba* (ed. MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, SAMSÓ, « Una nueva traducción », p. 24–78)

³³ Edition: JULIUS DRECKER, « Hermannus Contractus: Über das Astrolab », *Isis*, 16 (1931), p. 200–219 (203–212).

³⁴ This text is an abridgment of *De cursu Solis per menses et signa: qualiter bissextilem diem quarto suo compleat anno*, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, pars VI: Opera didascalica*, vol. III, ed. CHARLES W. JONES, Turnhout 1980 (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 123C), p. 649, l. 1–p. 650, l. 14.

³⁵ A slightly different recension of this text is printed as *De magnitudine ambitus universi orbis* in *Patrologia latina*, vol. CXLIII, Migne, Paris, 1853, col. 408A–C.

fol. 142r: *Supputatio heszre sacerdotis de qualitatibus annorum. Si fuerit kal. Ianuarii die dominica...* | ... *Domus peribunt.* = *Revelatio Esdrae*³⁶

fol. 142va–143ra: *Philosophi qui sua sapientia motus siderum...* | ... *si quartariam IIII puncti, si quintanam V.* = *De mensura astrolapsus* (ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA, Assaig, p. 293, l. 1–p. 295, l. 44)

fol. 143ra–va: *Astronomie modus multafarie consistit...* | ... *proprius ad septemtrionem estatem reddit.* = collection of excerpts from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, bk III

fol. 143va–b: compilation of verses on astronomy. *Quinque tenent zone quarum una chorusco ...* | ... *Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper.* = VIRGIL, *Georgicon* 1.233–251; *Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona ...* | ... *Et glacialis hiems canos hirsuta capillos.* = OVID, *Metamorphoses* 2.27–30; *Ad boree partes arcti vertuntur et anquis ...* | ... *Hinc sequitur Pistris simul Heridanique fluenta.* = PSEUDO-PRISCIAN, *Carmen de sideribus*³⁷

fol. 143vb–144ra: *Subsolanus primus cardinalis ...* | ... *quia non discutit nubes, sed stringit.* = excerpts (rearranged) from Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, c. 37

fol. 144ra: *Eurus ad auroram Nabatheaque regna recessit ...* | ... *Nubibus assiduus pluvioque madescit ab austro.* = OVID, *Metamorphoses* 1.61–66

fol. 144ra–rb: *Nomina ventorum. Bis sex septemtrio primi ...* | ... *Argente, Graio vocitant cognomine iusto.* = verses (31 lines) on the names of the winds

fol. 144rb–145rb: *Tempora anni quatuor ex equalitate cursus...* | ... *Asiamque determinans.* = collection of excerpts from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, bk. III, V, XIII, and XIV

fol. 145rb–va: *Duo sunt extremi vertex mundi ...* | ... *quem serpentarius tenet appropinquat.* = *Excerptum de astrologia Arati* (beginning only)³⁸

fol. 145va–vb: *Descriptio XII^{cim} signorum...* | ... *Alexander Macedo composuit diligentissime posterius describemus.* = *Liber Alchandreï*, c. 14–15³⁹

fol. 145vb–146rb: *De supinis. Sciendum est quod omnia gerundiva atque supina secundum Priscianum...* | ... *appellare potes quolibet nomine horum nominum, scilicet gerundivum vel supinum.* = a note on grammar

³⁶ On this text, see LÁSZLÓ SÁNDOR CHARDONNENS, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900–1100: Study and Texts*, Brill, Leiden 2007 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 153), p. 491–500; MARILINA CESARIO, « Weather Prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England », *English Studies*, 93 (2012), p. 391–426.

³⁷ Edition: ALEXANDER RIESE (ed.), *Anthologia Latina sive Poesis Latine supplementum*, vol. I.2: *Carmina in codicibus scripta, Reliquorum librorum carmina*, 2nd ed., Teubner, Leipzig 1906, p. 154–155 (no. 679).

³⁸ Edition: ERNESTUS MAASS (ed.), *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae*, Weidmann, Berlin 1898, p. 309, l. 2–16.

³⁹ Edition: DAVID JUSTE, *Les Alchandreana primitifs: étude sur les plus anciens traités astrologiques latins d'origine arabe (X^e siècle)*, Brill, Leiden, 2007 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 152), p. 433–472 (441–442).

fol. 146rb–148rb: *Liquamen de piris castimoniale sic fiet... | ... ipsa sub divo obruta sabulone texerunt.* = collection of recipes (culinary, medical), mostly excerpted from PALLADIUS, *Opus agriculturae*, bk. I–IV, VII, XI

fol. 148rb–vb: *Servus ait domino: gratis famulabor...* = collection of verses added by later hand, opening with Hildebert of Lavardin, *Carmen* 24⁴⁰

fol. 149ra–155ra: *Incipit liber Bede de natura rerum* [rubr.]. *Naturas rerum varias labentis et evi... | ... atque inde Affrica a meridie versus ad occidentem extenditur.* = BEDE, *De natura rerum*⁴¹

fol. 155ra–156vb = *De saltu lune* [rubr.]. *Hoc loco congruum videtur de saltu lune... | ...quod inter defectam et recentem sit lunam.* = HELPERIC OF GRANDVAL, *Liber de computo*, c. 18–21 (ed. PEZ, pt. 2, col. 200–206; repr. *Patrologia latina*, vol. CXXXVII, col. 32C–36C)

⁴⁰ Edition: HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS, *Carmina minora*, ed. A. BRIAN SCOTT, 2nd ed., Saur, Munich 2001, p. 16, l. 1–6.

⁴¹ Edition: *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, pars I: Opera didascalica*, vol. I, ed. CHARLES W. JONES, Brepols, Turnhout 1975 (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 123A), p. 189–234.

Appendix B

BREAKDOWN OF THE TEXT ON ASTROLABE USE IN *L*, FOL. 118RA–122VB

The following table breaks down the content of the text on astrolabe use in *L*, fol. 118r–120va, 121vb–122vb and compares it with the astrolabe treatise by Ibn al-Šaffār. Its seven columns signify (i) the chapter number according to the edition in Appendix C; (ii) the corresponding folios/columns in *L*; (iii) an indication of whether the manuscript preserves a heading starting *Titulus*; (iv) a brief description of the content; (v)–(vii) the number of the parallel chapters in MV = Ibn al-Šaffār, *Kitāb fī-l-ʿamal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* (ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA) and the Latin translations by JS = John of Seville (ed. MILLÁS VALLICROSA) and PT = Plato of Tivoli (ed. LORCH, BREY, KIRSCHNER, SCHÖNER).

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii
	fol. in <i>L</i>	<i>Titulus</i>	content	MV	JS	PT
1	118ra	y	solar altitude, measured with alidade	4	4	5
2	118ra	y	degree of solar longitude, via calendar scale	2	2	3
3	118ra–rb	y	ascendant degree during daytime, via solar altitude	5	5	6
4	118rb	n	time of day, via solar altitude	5	5	6
5	118rb–va	n	time of night, via stellar altitude	6	6	7
6	118va	n	arc of daylight and night-time	8	8	10
7	118va–vb	n	length of temporal hour of day or night	9	9	11
8	118vb–119ra	n	completed or remaining part of the current diurnal hour	10	10	12
9	119ra	n	completed or remaining equinoctial hours of the night	12	12	14
10	119ra–rb	n	mutual conversion of equinoctial and temporal hours	13	13	15
11	119rb–va	n	completed or remaining part of the current nocturnal hour	--	--	--
12	119va	n	discerning time relative to noon, via solar altitude	--	--	--

13	119va	n	solar meridian altitude, via degree of longitude	14	14	16
14	119va-vb	y	degree of solar longitude and calendar date, via solar altitude	16	16	18
15	119vb-120ra	y	time when a given star or degree is ascending, culminating, or descending	19	18	21
16	120ra-rb	y	identifying an astrolabe star in the sky, via position of a familiar star	18	19	20
17	120rb-va	y	declination of an ecliptic degree or star	24	22	24
18	121va-122ra	y	latitude of a place, via solar or stellar altitude	25	23	25
19	122ra-rb	y	longitude of a place, via eclipse times	28	26	28
20	122rb-va	y	shadow length, via solar altitude	30	28	30
21	122va	y	solar altitude, via shadow length	31	29	31
22	122va	y	noon shadow, via known degree of solar longitude	32	30	32
23	122va-vb	y	shadow length, via known degree of solar longitude and time of day	33	31	33
24	122vb	y	height of an object	35	33	35

Appendix C

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TEXT ON ASTROLABE USE IN *L*, FOL. 118RA–122VB⁴²

[1]

[118ra] **Titulus⁴³ de altitudine Solis capienda**

Si vis scire altitudinem Solis in quacumque hora diei volueris, accipe astralabium et pone anulum in maiori digito dextre manus, ita ut facies eiusdem sit adversus manum. Et post verte te ad Solem et manum cum astralabio et deduc illam *ezadam* in illa quarta astralabii⁴⁴ que est de oriente ad medium celi levando et deponendo quousque Sol intret et exeat per illa duo foramina que sunt in utraque *sadaba*. Quo facto nota gradum quem tetigerit caput illius *ezade* in circulo superiori. Et tunc incipies numerare gradus ab oriente usque ad supra notatum gradum. Et quot fuerint, tot graduum erit altitudo Solis in oriente ante meridiem et in occidente similiter post meridiem.

[2]

Titulus Solis ad cognoscendum in quo gradu signorum fuerit Sol

Si scire volueris in quo signo et in quo gradu eiusdem signi fuerit Sol in unoquoque dierum anni, in primis scias diem mensis et pones illam *ezadam* super eundem diem quem reppereris⁴⁵ in circulo mensium. Et ubi attigerit illa *ezada* in circulo signorum, in eadem gradu eiusdem signi erit Sol in illa die.

[3]

Titulus ad cognoscendum gradum ascendentem in orientem

Si tu [118rb] scire desideras qualis gradus et cuius signi ascendit in orientem in quacumque hora diei, ipsa hora accipies altitudinem Solis sicut iam demonstratum est habebisque cum hoc certitudinem signi et gradus in quo Sol in illa die morabitur. Et tunc versa facie astralabii requires numerum graduum altitudinis

⁴² This transcription of the text on fol. 118ra–120va, 121vb–122vb excludes marginal glosses and additions by later hands. Arabic loan words are highlighted using italics. The apparatus (in the footnotes) documents my conjectural emendations to the text as well as corrections already found in the manuscripts. It uses the following abbreviations: *a.c.* = *ante correctionem* (state of the text before correction); *p.c.* = *post correctionem* (state of the text after correction); *s.l.* = *supra lineam* (text found above the line).

⁴³ titulus] titulus

⁴⁴ astralabii] astralis(?)

⁴⁵ reppereris] reipereris

Solis in *almucantara* orientis, si est ante meridiem, vel in *almacantara*⁴⁶ occidentis,⁴⁷ si est post meridiem. Deinde requires gradum signi in quo Sol tunc fuerit in circulo signorum qui est in illa rete ponesque illum eundem gradum Solis super numerum supradictum altitudinis Solis in *almucantaris* inventum. Quo facto nota qualem gradum et cuius signi inveneris in prima *almacantara* orientis, quia ille erit gradus qui tunc ascendit in orientem.

[4]

Si scire vis que hora diei est, pone gradum signi in quo Sol in illa die fuerit super numerum altitudinis Solis illius hore inventum in *almucantaris*.⁴⁸ Et ubi invenies gradum oppositum gradui Sole in illa die continenti, ibi invenies horam diei quelibet.

[5]

Si vis habere notitiam horarum noctis cuiuslibet, quot videlicet iam transierunt [118va] vel que fuerit illa hora in qua tunc eris, capies altitudinem illarum stellarum que sunt in astrolapsu, illius stelle scilicet quam videre poteris de omnibus, hoc modo ut videas illam stellam per illa duo foramina *sadabarum* supradicte *ezade*. Deinde verso astrolapsu require numerum altitudinis illius stelle in numero *almucantararum*. Et desuper illam *almucantaram* in qua numerus ille fuerit pone illam stellam altitudinis cuius est numerus. Et in illa hora super quam⁴⁹ inveneris gradum signorum in quo Sol fuerit in antecedenti die proxima, ipsa est hora noctis quam queris.

[6]

Si volueris scire arcum diei⁵⁰ et arcum noctis quante sint magnitudinis, scire te oportet in quo signo et in quo gradu eiusdem signi Sol moratur in illa die. Et pones eundem gradum super primum *almacantara* orientis et considerabis quem locum tetigerit *almari* in limbo astralabii. Et ibi pones signum. Et deduces rete donec gradus signi superius notatus veniat super primum *almancatara* occidentis. Et notabis locum quem rursus tetigerit *almari*. Et numerabis quot gradus fuerint ab illo loco quo prius signasti tactum *almari* usque ad illum locum quem postea tetigerit illa *almari*. Et quot gradus ibi inveneris, scias tantum esse arcum diei.

⁴⁶ *almacantara*] p.c. *almucantara*

⁴⁷ occidentis] a.c. occidens

⁴⁸ *almucantaris*] *almucantari*

⁴⁹ quam] quem

⁵⁰ diei] a.c. dt(?)

Item: si vis cognoscere arcum noctis eiusdem diei, numerabis quantum restabit de numero trecentorum sexaginta et quot remanserit, tot graduum erit arcus noctis illius.

[7]

Item: si vis scire horam diei non rectam et horam [118vb] noctis non rectam quam magne sint, debes scire quod unaqueque dies habet XII partes et nox totidem. Illas vero horas⁵¹ vocamus 'non rectas'. Si vis scire de hora diei quanta sit, accipe gradum oppositum gradui in quo Sol in eadem die moratur et pone super primum *almacantara* occidentis. Deinde nota locum quem tetigerit *almari* in limbo astralabii. Quo notato movetur⁵² rete donec veniat oppositus gradus signi ubi Sol fuerit super complementum hore prime rursusque notabis quem gradum tetigerit *almari*. Et tot gradus continebit hora illius diei quot fuerint a primo loco quem tetigerit *almari* usque ad secundum locum tactum ab eodem.

Item: si vis scire quot⁵³ partes habet hora noctis eiusdem diei. Accipe quantum remanet de XXX post completionem hore diei. Et quantum remanserit de illo numero, tot erunt partes hore illius noctis.

Item: si vis scire horam noctis tantummodo, pones gradum signi in quo est Sol super primum *almacantara* occidentis notabisque ubi tangerit *almari*. Deinde moveatur rete donec veniat gradus Solis super ultimum gradum prime hore, qui est proximus secunde. Notabis iterum ubi tetigerit *almari* et quantum fuerit de primo loco ubi prius tetigit usque ad ultimum quem tetigit, tot erunt partes illius noctis. Et numeratis hoc modo partibus hore noctis, quot remanserint de XXX, tot erunt partes hore diei.

[8]

Item: si queris scire quocumque die quot partes transierunt illius hore in qua tu fueris, pone gradum in quo Sol morabitur in illa die cum numero altitudinis Solis illius puncti de quo scire [119ra] cupis et hoc facto considera gradum oppositum gradum Solis et nota horam in qua fuerit. Deinde aspicias ubi tetigerit *almari* deducitoque rete quousque veniat ille gradus oppositus gradui Solis super primum punctum eiusdem hore, si scire volueris quot partes ipsius⁵⁴ eiusdem hore iam transierunt. Et si scire volueris quot partes eiusdem hore restant venture,⁵⁵ adduces illum gradum oppositum gradui Solis super ultimum punctum eiusdem hore. Et tunc videas ubi attigerit illa *almari* notaque illum locum. Et quantum

⁵¹ vero horas] a.c. horas vero

⁵² movetur] p.c. movatur

⁵³ quot] a.c. quidem

⁵⁴ ipsius] a.c. illius

⁵⁵ venture] a.c. vente

habebit de primo loco prius tacto ab *almari* usque ad locum quem⁵⁶ secundo tetigit, tot partes illius hore transierunt, si ad primum punctum posueris oppositum gradum gradui Solis, et tot partes restant venture, si ad ultimum illius hore punctum posueris oppositum gradum gradui Solis.

[9]

Item: si volueris scire quot recte hore noctis transierunt, accipe altitudinem alicuius illarum stellarum quas tu cognoscis in ipso astrolapsu et pones illam stellam super tot *almacantaras* quantus fuerit ille numerus altitudinis et notabis ubi tetigerit *almari*. Deinde capies gradum Solis illius diei et mittes super primum *almacantaram* de occidente. Et notabis ubi tetigerit *almari*. Et illum numerum quem tu invenies a primo usque ad alium *almari* divide per XV. Et quot vicibus invenies XV, tot hore illius noctis transierunt integre. Et quantum restabit ad complendum XV, tantum restabit ad complendam horam.

[10]

Item: si volueris facere de rectis horis non⁵⁷ rectas vel non rectis rectas, sive diei, sive noctis, facies ita. Si de horis diei non rectis facere volueris rectas, accipies op[119rb]positum Solis et pones super primum *almacantara*⁵⁸ occidentis. Et post notabis ubi tetigerit *almari*. Et post movebis oppositum Solis et pones super tot horas quot volueris facere rectas. Et notabis ubi tetigerit *almari*. Et quantum fuerit de primo ad ultimum partire per XV. Et quantum convenerit unicuique pone de illis XV. Tot habentur recte hore in illis non rectis.

Si de horis noctis non rectis facere volueris rectas horas, accipe gradum Solis et pone super primum *almacantara* de occidente. Et notabis ubi primum tetigerit *almari*. Deinde movebis ipsum gradum super complementum tot horarum quod volueris. Et post nota ubi tangit *almari*. Et post scies quot hore recte habentur in illis non rectis unicuique recte hore numerando XV. Et videbis quantus fuerit numerus.

Et movebis *almari* de illo ubi fuerit tot gradibus quotus fuerit ille numerus supradictus. Et videbis ubi tetigerit oppositum Solis in quibus horis vel in quibus partibus horarum. Et quantum semovit oppositum Solis de primo loco usque ad alium locum, tot habentur hore non recte in illis rectis quas tu cupis scire.

Et si vis scire in rectis horis numeratis quot habentur non recte hore noctis, pone gradum Solis supra primum *almacantara* de occidente. Et notabis ubi tetigerit *almari*. Et similiter facies de istis sicut fecisti et sicut scriptum est in superioribus.

⁵⁶ quem] a.c. quod

⁵⁷ non] a.c. de non

⁵⁸ almacantara] a.c. alcacantara

Sed mutabis oppositum Solis et pones in loco illo ipsum gradum in quo Sol est. Et tunc invenies quod queris in nocte.

[11]

Si scire desideras in quacumque nocte quantum transactum est illius hore in qua tu es, tunc capies altitudinem alicuius stellarum illarum quas tu cognoscis in illo astrolapsu. Et post verte faciem astralabii et pone illam stellam super tot *almacantaras* quantus fuerit numerus altitudinis [119va] illis stelle, si fuerit in oriente, in oriente, si in occidente, in occidente. Et videbis ubi tetigerit gradus signi in quo est Sol et ibi est ipsa hora.⁵⁹ Deinde notabis ubi tangit illa *almari*. Et movebis rete et pones super notatum gradum signi in principio illius hore, si tu scire vis quot partes illius hore sunt transacte, vel pones in fine, si vis scire quot partes sunt inde venture. Et tunc videbis ubi tetigerit *almari* et nota locum. Et quantum habebit de primo loco tacto⁶⁰ ab *almari* usque ad alium locum secundo tactum, tantum erit transactum illius hore vel venturum.

[12]

Item: si tu acceperis altitudinem Solis et ignoraveris utrum sit meridies sive ante meridiem vel post, capies altitudinem cuiuslibet signi et alia vice paulo post. Et si videris quod altior sit, scies pro certo quia ante meridiem erat. Et si inveneris inferiorem, scies quia post meridiem est. Ipsum vero medium inter ascensum et descensum meridies est.

[13]

Si vis scire altitudinem Solis in unoquoque die anni in meridie, capies gradum signi in quo Sol fuerit in illa die qua⁶¹ scire volueris et pones illum gradum super illam lineam que⁶² dividit mediam diem. Et numerabis quot *almucantaras*⁶³ ibi invenies. Et quot inveneris, tanta erit altitudo illius diei in meridie.

⁵⁹ hora] s.l.

⁶⁰ tacto] a.c. tacito

⁶¹ qua] a.c. in qua

⁶² que] quam

⁶³ almucantaras] a.c. almicantaras

[14]

Titulus ad cognoscendum gradum signi in quo Sol fuerit et cuius signi et ad cognoscendum certum diem mensis in quo moratur Sol in qualibet die per altitudinem Solis.

[119vb] Si hoc scire volueris, capies altitudinem Solis in media die et post requires in facie astralabii in linea que partitur medium diem tot *almacantaras* quantus fuerit numerus illius altitudinis et notabis eandem *almacantaram* in eadem linea. Deinde deduces rete tantum quousque videbis qualis gradus et cuius signi gradus advenerit super illam *almacantaram* prius designatam. Et non potest falli qui inveniant duo gradus diversorum signorum super illum locum notatum in illa linea qui dividit mediam diem, si non supervenerit primus gradus Cancri vel Capricorni. Et in aliquo illorum duorum graduum qui supervenerit erit Sol in illa die sine dubio. Et sic cognito gradu Solis poteris cognoscere diem mensis.

[15]

Titulus ad cognoscendum de omnibus illis stellis que sunt in astrolapsu vel de omnibus gradibus illorum signorum qualis illarum stellarum vel quis gradus illorum signorum quali hora diei vel noctis ascendit in orientem.

Si tu vis hoc scire, accipe illam stellam de qua cupis scire vel illum gradum de quo similiter cupis scire et pone super primum *almacantara* de oriente. Et scire te oportet ubi tetigerit gradus signi in quo Sol est in illa die. Et si inveneris illum locum ubi tetigerit super terram, aspice oppositum suum. Et in qua hora [120ra] fuerit, in illa hora diei ascendit stella vel gradus de quo queris in orientem. Et si subtus terram inveneris gradum⁶⁴ Solis, in eadem hora in qua inveneris ipsum gradum in eadem hora noctis ascendit illa stella vel illa gradus de quo scire vis in orientem.

Item: si vis scire de eisdem stellis et de eisdem gradibus quando sunt in medium celi vel quando cubant in occidente, accipe gradum signi quem volueris et pone in linea que est ad medium celi, si vis scire quando erit in medium celi, vel pones in extremo *almacantara* occidentis, si vis scire quando cubat in occidente. Et considera ubi sit gradus signi in quo est Sol. Si inveneris super terram, notabis ubi tangit oppositum suum. Et in illa hora qua tanget oppositum⁶⁵ gradum [!] gradui in quo est Sol, in eadem hora diei erit gradus signi vel stella in loco quem scire volueris. Et si inveneris gradum signi in quo est Sol subtus terram, notabis horam quam tetigerit et in eadem hora noctis erit stella vel gradus signi in loco quem scire volueris.

⁶⁴ gradum] a.c. gradus

⁶⁵ oppositum] a.c. opositum suum

[16]

Titulus ad cognoscendum stellas in celo que scripte sunt in astrolapsu quas non cognoveris per aliquam illarum quas tu cognoveris⁶⁶

Si tu hoc scire volueris, capies altitudinem illius stelle quam cognoscis. Deinde versa facie⁶⁷ astralabii pones illam stellam super tot *almacantaras* quantus fuerit numerus altitudinis stelle. Si fuerit in oriente, in oriente, si in occidente, in occidente. Et post queres in rete astralabii stellam quam cognoscere vis et videbis in quali numero *almacantararum* [120rb] tetigerit illa stella. Et super numerum quem inveneris in illis *almacantaris* pones *ezadam* in dorso astralabii et invento illo numero levabis manum cum astralabaio ad illam partem in qua stella fuit, quecumque sit de illis IIII partibus celi, et non movebis illam *ezadam*. Et si feceris ita, sine dubio illa stella quam videris per illa duo foramina *sadabarum*, ipsa est de qua dubitas.

Preter hoc sciendum quod omnes stelle que sunt extra circulum signorum que est in illa rete sunt in partibus meridiei. Cetere vero que intra circulum sunt notate sunt in partibus septemtrionis omnes.

[17]

Titulus ad cognoscendum quantum distat gradus cuiusque signi vel quelibet stella a quiriali⁶⁸ [I] linea que⁶⁹ partitur equaliter dies et noctes

Cum hoc scire vis, pone gradum de quo scire vis super lineam que partitur medium diem et videre super quot *almacantaras* attigerit et ille erit numerus sue altitudinis. Deinde videas numerum quem tetigerit quiriālis circulus in illa linea que dividit medium, qui est altitudinis illius circuli numerus. Et post numerabis quantum distat inter utrumque numerum. Et quantum est, tantum distat ille gradus de quo scire vis ab illo quiriāli circulo qui facit equalitatem diei et noctis.

Ad hoc debes scire quod si gradus fuerint de illis signis que sunt in parte meridiei, semper erit minor numerus numero altitudinis circuli. Et si est gradus illorum signorum que sunt in septemtrione, [120va] semper erit maior numerus illius gradus numero altitudinis circuli. Et scias quod a primo gradu Arietis usque ad primum gradum Libre dicuntur et sunt illa sex signa septemtrionalia. Et a primo gradu Libre usque ad primum gradum Arietis illa VI signa alia⁷⁰ meridianalia, id est de parte meridiei. Et ille gradus signorum septemtrionalium⁷¹ qui remotior est ab

⁶⁶ per ... cognoveris] *in margine*

⁶⁷ facie] *a.c. vice*

⁶⁸ quiriāli] *a.c. quiriā*

⁶⁹ que] *a.c. quem*

⁷⁰ alia] *a.c. vel*

⁷¹ septemtrionalium] *a.c. septemtrionaliorum*

illo circulo quiriali est primus gradus Cancrī, quia longe est ab eo XXIII gradibus. Et de illis gradibus signorum que sunt in meridiana plaga est primus gradus Capricorni, qui est longe XXIII gradibus ab eodem circulo.

Item: si vis scire de qualibet stella itidem quod scivisti de gradu, pone illam stellam supra lineam supradictam de meridie. Et nota qualem numerum inveneris in *almacantaris*. Et quod inveneris, tot erit altitudo eius. Et scias quantum est ab altitudine eiusdem stelle usque ad circulum qui facit equalem diem et noctem. Et sicut fecisti de gradu supradicto, sic facies de stella. Et cognosces omnia opera eius.

[18]

[121vb] **Titulus ad capiendam latitudinem cuiuslibet civitatis in qua fueris**

Scias quia hec latitudo civitatum quantum distat plaga celi que est super ipsam civitatem a linea que facit equalem diem et noctem. Hec vero est linea super quam vadunt per quamque horam caput Arietis et caput Libre. Et quantum distat a plaga celi que est super civitatem usque ad lineam que facit equalem diem et noctem, tantum descendit unus polus et alter ascendit. Et scias quia semper est equa longitudo inter ipsos tres, inter duos polos scilicet et lineam supradictam. Et unusquisque horum trium vocatur 'latitudo'⁷² civitatis.

Si es in civitate aliqua nec scis latitudinem eius et vis scire, aspice quando Sol fuerit in medio celi in illa die qua facere volueris, hoc est in media die, et nota quanta erit altitudo ipsius stelle Solis. Et si Sol fuerit in illa die in capite Arietis vel in capite Libre, tunc erunt equales dies et nox et tunc minorabis⁷³ altitudinem solis de XC. Et quantum restabit de numero, tantum erit a plaga celi que est super civitatem usque ad lineam que facit equalem diem et noctem et hoc est latitudo civitatis illius.

Et si Sol est in alio gradu quam in capite Arietis vel in capite Libre, aspice tunc quam longe fuerit [122ra] gradus Solis a linea que facit equalem diem et noctem, sicut supradictum est. Et si erit illa longitudo a parte septentrionali, tunc minorabis altitudinem Solis in illa die. Et si fuerit longitudo a parte meridiei, tunc augmentabis super altitudinem Solis. Quantum fuerit numerus, vel de minoratione vel augmentatione, tanta erit altitudo linee que facit equalem diem et noctem in illa civitate. Minorabis illum numerum de XC et quantum restabit, tanta erit latitudo⁷⁴ civitatis illius.

Et si vis scire nocte, accipere altitudinem⁷⁵ aliquarum stellarum que sunt in astrolapsu, quando erit in medio celi, et inspicere qua longe sit a supradicta linea que facit equalem diem et noctem, sicut supradictum est. Et poteris accipere

⁷² latitudo] longitudo

⁷³ minorabis] a.c. immorabis

⁷⁴ latitudo] a.c. altitudo

⁷⁵ altitudinem] latitudinem

latitudinem civitatis alio modo: aspicias stellam que propinquior est polo septemtrionali magis altera quam poteris invenire et nota quot graduum erit altitudo. Et post capies altitudinem eiusdem stelle quam inferiorem poteris. Et videbis quot erunt inter unum numerum et alium et iunge in simul. Deinde partire per medium et quanta erit medietas, tanta erit latitudo civitatis.

[19]

Titulus ad capiendam longitudinem⁷⁶ cuiuslibet civitatis in qua fueris

Hec est longitudo quantum habet a medio die illius civitatis in qua fueris ab illa media die alterius civitatis de qua vis scire longitudinem de gradibus circuli qui facit equalem diem et noctem. Et quando volueris scire quantum longitudi|122rb|nis est inter duas civitates, opus erit ut aspicias eclipsim Lune quando inceperit vel finierit post mediam diem utriusque civitatis de quibus scire volueris, et quot hore recte erunt inter principia eclipsis utrarumque civitatum, vel inter fines eclipsis earumdem, et facies de unaquaque hora XV gradus. Et quot erunt gradus, tanta erit longitudo earumdem civitatum.

[20]

Titulus ad sciendum magnitudinem umbre cuiuslibet rei per altitudinem Solis

Quando volueris scire quanti digiti sunt in qualibet umbra, accipe tunc altitudinem Solis. Et si invenies altitudinem in XLV gradus, tunc est umbra iacens XII digitorum. Et umbra stans similiter. Et erit tunc umbra totius rei tanta quanta et ipsa res cuius umbra erit.

Sed si est altitudo Solis altior XLV graduum, tunc iacebit caput *ezade* super umbram iacentem astralabii. Et tunc perspice super quot digitos umbre iacuerit caput *ezade*. Et quot digitos inveneris, tanta erit umbra rei de qua scire volueris.

Et si altitudo Solis erit inferior XLV gradibus, tunc iacebit caput *ezade* super umbram stantem astralabii. Et inspice super quot digitos erit. Et quot inveneris, tot erit umbra de qua scire volueris.

Et quando scies quot digitorum erit umbra iacens et per ipsam volueris scire quot erit umbra stans et econverso, partire CXLIII super digitos umbre de qua scis. Et quot de |122va| illis CLXIII contigerint unicuique digito, tot erit umbra de⁷⁷ qua queris.

⁷⁶ longitudinem] latitudinem

⁷⁷ de] s.l.

[21]

Titulus ad sciendum altitudinem Solis per umbram cuiuslibet rei

Si vis scire altitudinem Solis per umbram iacentem, inspicere quot digitos habuerit umbra iacens. Et si habuerit XII digitos vel minus, pone caput *ezade* super tot digitos quos inveneris in umbra iacente astralabii et vide ubi attigerit aliud caput *ezade*. Et super quot digitos fuerit, tanta erit altitudo Solis. Et si umbra fuerit maior XII digitis, partire super illos digitos CXLIII et quantum contigerit unicuique digito de illis CXLIII scias. Deinde pones caput *ezade* super tot digitos umbre stantis et vide super quot⁷⁸ gradus tetigerit aliud caput *ezade*. Et super quot tetigerit, tanta fuit altitudo Solis. Et si vis scire altitudinem Solis per umbram stantem, vide si habuerit ipsa umbra stans XII digitos vel minus et econverso. Fac sicut de umbra supradicta iacente.

[22]

Titulus ad sciendum magnitudinem umbre cuiuslibet in quolibet tempore in hora⁷⁹ medii diei

Nota in quo gradu signi fuerit Soli in illa die et provide in quot gradibus erit altitudo Solis in medio die et pone caput *ezade* super tot gradus quot erit altitudo Solis in illa media die et vide ubi tangit aliud caput *ezade* in umbra iacente. Et quot digitos tetigerit, tanta erit umbre magnitudo.

[23]

Titulus ad sciendum magnitudinem umbre in qualibet hora in quovis die anni

Primitus scias in quo gradu signi Sol fuerit et tunc verte faciem astralabii et pone oppositum gradum signi in quo fuerit Sol super horam qua volueris scire magnitudinem umbre et nota super quot *almacantara* tetigerit gradus signi in quo erit Sol. Et tunc verte [122vb] iterum dorsum astralabii et mute super tot gradus quot invenisti in *almacantaris* caput *ezade* et vide super quot digitos umbre venerit aliud caput *ezade*. Et super quot venerit, tanta erit magnitudo umbre illius hore. Et si vis scire per hanc umbram magnitudinem alterius⁸⁰ umbre, fac sicut in supradicto titulo didicisti.

⁷⁸ quot] a.c. tot

⁷⁹ hora] a.c. ora

⁸⁰ alterius] a.c. illius

[24]

Titulus ad sciendum altitudinem turris vel cuiuslibet alie rei erecte

Mitte caput *ezade* inter duas umbras astralabii et fac pendere astralabium digito et vade ante et retro, intuens donec videas per ambo foramina *sabadarum* cacumen altitudinis de qua scire vis. Et cum videris cacumen per foramina, pone signum ubi teneris pedes tuos et mensurabis quantum habebit de pedibus tuis usque ad oculos tuos. Et quantum erit iunges signo quo prius tenuisti pedes tuos et pone ibi signum, quia quantum erit ab illo signo usque ad fundamentum altitudinis, tanta erit altitudo altitudinis illius.

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IN MEMORIAM

IN MEMORIAM
SIMO KNUUTTILA
(8.V.1946–17.VI.2022)

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Professor Simo Knuuttila, who was one of the leading scholars in the history of medieval philosophy, died at home suddenly at the age of 76 on 17 June 2022, in Helsinki. His death was a huge loss to the international academic community in his field. Knuuttila studied theology and philosophy at the University of Helsinki in the 1960s and 1970s. After completing his dissertation *Time and Modality in Aristotelian Scholasticism* in 1976, he worked as a research assistant in the department of theoretical philosophy with the late Jaakko Hintikka, and for a brief period he was an Acting Professor of Practical Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Helsinki. Knuuttila was granted the title of docent at the universities of Helsinki and Oulu in 1977. He was appointed Professor of Ethics and Philosophy of Religion in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Helsinki in 1981, a position he held until his death.

The scope of Knuuttila's research was wide, spanning from ancient philosophy to the modern philosophy of religion. Internationally he was largely known for his work on the history of logic and modalities, as well as on the history of mind and emotions. During his early career he was concerned particularly with the history of logic, focusing on the concepts of possibility and necessity, for example. His edited works from this period include *Reforging the Great Chain of Being* (D. Reidel, 1981), *Modern Modalities: Studies of the History of Modal Theories from Medieval Nominalism to Logical Positivism* (D. Reidel, 1988) and *The Logic of Being*, co-authored with Jaakko Hintikka (D. Reidel, 1986). Knuuttila's monograph *Modalities in Medieval*

Philosophy (Routledge, 1993) is a historical-philosophical summary of his research on medieval logic.

Knuuttila's interest in the philosophy of mind was closely connected to his themes of (modal) logic, especially the concept of will and the logical properties of some terms describing emotions. His monograph *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford University Press, 2004) is the first philosophical mapping of the history of emotions. In it, he used the Aristotelian division of emotions into four components, and studied their different manifestations in medieval theories of emotion. He was especially interested in the taxonomy of emotions and their differentiation, descriptions of their physiological aspects and the medical discussions, as well as the impact of Arabic philosophy on theories of emotions. His research on emotions was based on a holistic understanding of philosophical anthropology, giving particular attention to the historical context of the texts. Thus, he came to examine authors who had been almost completely ignored in previous works on emotions such as those of the Church Fathers of late antiquity and mystics of the medieval period.

The *Sourcebook for the History of the Philosophy of Mind: Philosophical Psychology from Plato to Kant* (Springer, 2014), which Knuuttila edited with the late Juha Sihvola, is a collection of translations of texts from the ancient to the early modern period covering themes such as sense perception, imagination and estimation, sleep and dreams, self-consciousness, will and choice, mental disturbances and the psychology of gender. Among Knuuttila's main interests in the 2000s was the moral psychology of Spanish Jesuit Francisco Suárez, exemplified in his article « Suárez's Psychology » in *A Companion to Francisco Suárez* (Brill, 2015).

The vast majority of Knuuttila's works on the modern philosophy of religion are published in Finnish. They cover several different topics, including the relationship between faith and reason, theological realism, relations between theology and the natural sciences, and between biblical and philosophical studies, as well as theories of the origins of religion.

Prestigious manifestations of Knuuttila's internationally high-level research in his field were his appointments as Academy Professor three times during the years 1994–2009, conferred by the Academy of Finland, as well as the two interdisciplinary Centres of Excellence (CoEs) for which he was responsible, *History of Mind* (2002–2007) and *Philosophical Psychology, Morality and Politics* (2008–2013), both financed by the Academy of Finland. His research in the former focused on conceptual developments and philosophical assumptions related to the intellectual history of knowledge, will and emotions from antiquity to the modern period, including medieval Arabic philosophy. In the latter CoE, *Philosophical Psychology, Morality and Politics*, he extended the perspective to morality and politics as the motivational basis of human activity, focusing on texts from the Renaissance to the Reformation and the early modern age in addition to antiquity

and the (Latin and Arabic) Middle Ages. Both centres gathered Finnish and international scholars from theology, philosophy, history and philology from the postgraduate level onwards to work together. This interdisciplinary collaboration across historical periods was characteristic of Knuuttila's research projects. Thus, he had a wide-ranging influence on the study of intellectual history in Finnish academia. He supervised the dissertations of numerous Finnish postgraduate students in philosophy, theology and intellectual history, as well as the work of international postgraduate students. It was largely due to him that the Department of Systematic Theology was known for its high-quality research in medieval philosophy.

Knuuttila was highly active in many academic organizations and networks. In the field of medieval philosophy, he was a member of the bureau of the *Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale* (1987–1997). He was Vice President of the Institut International de Philosophie (2009–2011) and chair of the Department of Philosophy, Theology and Religious studies of Academia Europea (2009–2015). Knuuttila was also a member of the editorial boards of numerous international and domestic journals and publication series.

In addition to being internationally visible, Simo Knuuttila was among the most respected scholars in Finland and other Nordic countries. He was awarded many major and prestigious prizes for his scientific merits, including the Swedish Gad Rausing prize (2008) and the Finnish Science Award (2011). In 2002 he was nominated for the Professor of the Year in 2002. Knuuttila also served as the head of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters (2004–2006) and led the translation committee covering Aristotle's complete works, during which time he translated *Nicomachean Ethics* into Finnish, with a commentary (Gaudeamus, 1989).

Commemorations of distinguished scholars tend to focus solely on reviewing their academic careers and publications. I would like to end by recalling Simo Knuuttila's warm personality. As a teacher and a mentor he was demanding, but humane. His comments on what were often unfinished and desperately written texts were always benevolent and encouraging. As a social individual, Knuuttila was interested in people, their thoughts and lives, and this interest extended to students. He saw the potential in every student and he knew how to encourage them to proceed and to progress. It was perhaps for this reason that he enjoyed special popularity among those who did poorly in their studies. Knuuttila also encouraged women to do research, which was not self-evident in Finnish academia during the 1980s, especially in the Faculty of Theology. His colleagues knew him as a hardworking person with a sense of drama and a special type of humour. He enjoyed telling (often exaggerated) stories and did not hesitate to admit (with self-irony) that he read absolutely everything, including advertisements.

In his several interviews, Knuuttila always remembered to mention the crucial importance of history to modern people, encouraging them also to study the history of philosophy because it goes back to the roots of Western thought and morality. Simo Knuuttila's own career and works promoted and illuminated this in many outstanding ways.

IN MEMORIAM
JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J.
(11.VI.1927–11.IX.2022)

CAMILLA RUSSELL
ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU



The Reverend Professor John O'Malley, S.J., who died 11 September 2022 at the age of 95, was among the leading experts in Renaissance history and early-modern Italy – especially its art, culture, and religion – as well as the history of the Catholic Church between the late-medieval period to the present. Stunningly interdisciplinary in his range of research and publications, John O'Malley's works were simultaneously erudite and accessible. For over five decades his scholarship has stood as a beacon of authority, clarity, and insight, across all of the disciplines in which he wrote: his dozen monographs, eleven edited and co-edited volumes and over one hundred articles consistently are influential, widely-read, and classic points of reference in their respective fields.

Among the many important ways that John O'Malley has shaped the field of history, three come to mind. First, in proposing the term 'Early Modern Catholicism' as a frame for research, he definitively extracted the field from its status as football to be kicked by scholars between the two opposing goalposts of 'Reformation' and 'Counter Reformation', thereby helping it land within its own conceptually neutral territory for exploration by a generation of researchers who wished to be unfettered by confessional bias (*Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, Harvard University Press, 2000).

O'Malley's second main contribution was to bring to the English-reading world an appreciation of Italian history as a meeting point between the ancient classical tradition and the early-modern Christian one. An Erasmus of our times, he travelled, wrote, and talked to students and scholars about how to navigate the cultural and religious terrain of Western Christendom – in O'Malley's case,

through the prism of Italian history, which in turn helped put both Italy and the Greco-Roman/Judeo-Christian traditions firmly on the map of studies in the humanities across international English-reading university curricula (*Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521*, Duke University Press, 1979 and *Four Cultures of the West*, Harvard University Press, 2004).

Third, the Jesuit John O'Malley, more than any other scholar before or since, introduced the contemporary scholarly world to the riches of Jesuit history. Through his classic work, *The First Jesuits* (Harvard University Press, 1993), readers were given a front-row seat at the sixteenth-century founding of one of the most influential operators in the early-modern world, the Society of Jesus. Jesuit history is now interrogated by innumerable scholars in almost all conceivable fields of research – most significantly, perhaps, in global themes, since the Jesuits' own meanderings and recordings from every corner of the world have proven so valuable for thinking through the historical precedents of our own current global reality. O'Malley's publications in Jesuit history provided the historical, conceptual, and methodological tools to make possible the explosion in Jesuit Studies (Kennedy, T. Frank, Steven J. Harris, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, and John W. O'Malley, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, 2 vol., University of Toronto Press, 2000 and 2006).

John O'Malley's working and personal style fostered natural scholarly communities. Scores of scholars across the world considered him an invaluable mentor; many experienced his warm encouragement in their academic labours; hundreds were taught by him in several North American institutions of higher education, including his fellow-Jesuits the world over, who avidly followed his classes. He provided field leadership through governance positions in both the university sector and wider scholarly spheres. His outstanding contribution to historical studies was marked in the form of numerous prizes, medals of recognition, and lifetime achievement awards. At the heart of this academic fame was an immensely likeable person, who was a charismatic leader in the field, with an infectious historical curiosity, informed by a surprisingly pared-down and at the same time extremely effective approach to his craft that might be summarised in the following terms: to find out what happened, what it meant, and why it matters. This historical worldview, which he enthusiastically shared with all around him, was so disarming that he brought many into the study of the worlds that he so masterfully explored with his students, colleagues, and readers of his works.

John O'Malley was born in Ohio in 1927 and entered the Jesuits in 1946 (within the then-Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus). During his formation, his interest in history drew him to consider specialising in German history, especially the Counter Reformation. In 1960, he was based in Austria (at the time with the

idea that he was to have gone on to Bonn to study under Hubert Jedin), when a brief visit to Italy led him to change the course of his studies (and his life). On his return to the United States, he began a doctorate in Renaissance Italian history at Harvard University, supervised by Myron P. Gilmore, who not only converted him to the Italian Renaissance but also to Italian ice cream. On the completion of his doctoral coursework at Harvard, O'Malley, still a doctoral student, went to the American Academy in Rome, where he stayed as Fellow for two years of research and writing that also gave rise to his first book (*Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, Brill, 1968). During his time in Rome, the Catholic Church's most important council of the modern era, Vatican II, was underway: the result was the addition of a further string to his research interests, encompassing the modern history of the Church's ecumenical councils, from Trent onwards.

Italy was important to John O'Malley's scholarship in other ways, too. Yet another research strand emerged from hours spent in art galleries and then in the restoration project of the Sistine Chapel, which generated the first of his many collaborative projects and publications in Art History (*The Sistine Chapel: The Art, the History, and the Restoration*, edited with Carlo Pietrangeli, Andre Chastel, John Shearman, et al. Random House, 1986).

The forging of John O'Malley's early identity as a scholar of the Italian Renaissance was consolidated in 1967–68, when he was appointed Fellow at Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, in the Fiesolan hills just outside Florence. In Italy, Rome continued to be an important setting for O'Malley, both as a Jesuit and as a scholar. As a member of two Jesuit General Congregations (meetings of the Society's worldwide senior members, usually convened to elect a new superior general for a life term, as well as the passing of decrees to aid the Society's operations) – held in Rome in 1974–75 and again in 1983 – he was asked to turn his attention to Jesuit history, the result of which was the *First Jesuits* and his subsequent studies in Jesuit history. In terms of his life as a Jesuit and a priest in the Catholic Church, a further significant trip to Rome took place towards the end of his life, in 2019, this time as a protagonist himself, giving testimony at the historically resonant cause for canonization of the twenty-eighth Jesuit Superior General Pedro Arrupe SJ (1907–1991).

John O'Malley's academic positions, all in the USA, provided the crucial institutional frameworks, collegial environments, pedagogical opportunities, and resources for his impressive scholarly output. These roles were at the University of Detroit (now the University of Detroit-Mercy, 1965–1979); Weston School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts (later the Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 1979–2006), and Georgetown University (2006–2020).

In 2021, important insights into O'Malley's own personal history, his inspirations for becoming a historian, as well as his methods and influences, were shared with his many keen readers in a memoir titled *The Education of a Historian: A*

Strange and Wonderful Story (Saint Joseph's University Press, 2021). Several aspects of his practice stand out in the memoir, such as the importance of empathy towards one's subjects, and at the same time critical distance from them (« tempering suspicion with compassion », p. 50), and the primacy of the sources as guides for historians' questions, through an « ongoing dialogue between us and the text » (p. 175). He had no time for superimposing our own concerns onto past subjects. As he wrote of his discovery of this pitfall during his doctoral research on Giles of Viterbo: « I was trying to make Giles, a sixteenth-century thinker, answer my twentieth-century questions » (p. 73). He also knew that historical knowledge cannot be used to predict the future or enlisted with the aim of imitating (in the present) an imaginary past. Instead, according to O'Malley, studying the past teaches us « how we got to be who we are, what we are, where we are, and thus help us deal with the reality in which we live » (p. 153).

The necessary separation between the past and present was always evident to O'Malley:

Historians have no choice but to begin their research with their own questions, but those questions are simply clumsy tools to get at the questions driving the authors of the texts historians are studying. [...] The discovery of the questions interior to the texts is the indispensable step in arriving at convincing interpretations of the texts in question (p. 77).

This could only be achieved, he argued, through extensive research into their contexts: « Probing the historical assumptions of a text can thus unlock what the text is ultimately saying » (p. 90). Within this frame of cultural history, O'Malley rigorously drew on « multiple methods of wresting from the past its meaning and significance » (p. 3).

O'Malley's memoir also provides some clues to his success: clear and accessible writing. He wrote, rather wryly (and aware that historians are not always known for their succinctness or lucid prose): « Authors must conclude the book by telling readers the significance of what they have read [...] [which means] the historians must have themselves grasped the significance of what they have read » (p. 89).

Above all, O'Malley was a very human scholar, who was unafraid to allow his work to influence and shape his life – without sacrificing his professionalism. Describing his first visit to Italy in 1961 (when he had no knowledge of the Italian language), he wrote of his Italian Jesuit hosts: « I had no idea what they were saying [...] I understood on a level that did not need words. [...] There was more. I felt kinship [...] with Italians [...] as if I had at last found my true roots. This was crazy ». If Italy nourished John O'Malley and helped him acquire an identity in addition to his natal one, it was the study of history that shaped him: « The discipline of history, in which I live and breathe, to a great extent made me who and what I am » (p. 174).

The combination of scholarly inspiration, academic talent, optimistic temperament, and religious vocation made John O'Malley a unique scholar whose personal and scholarly legacy will be with us for many years to come. For those of us now tilling the fields where he worked, we may take inspiration from the simplicity of his approach to life, which probably helps explain his remarkable ability to share so much of his scholarly expertise with fellow-practitioners and students in the field: as he wrote only the year before he died about his move from Georgetown to his Jesuit retirement home in Baltimore – his last place of residence – he mused: « I seem to have been able happily to commit myself to most situations in which I found myself » (p. 173).

IN MEMORIAM
SHLOMO SELA
(9.I.1948–26.VII.2022)

STEVEN HARVEY
BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, RAMAT GAN

NIRAN GARSHTAIN
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM



REMINISCENCES ABOUT A REMARKABLE SCHOLAR

Professor Shlomo Sela passed away near the end of July 2022 after a five-year battle with cancer. He was Professor Emeritus in the Department of Jewish Philosophy at Bar-Ilan University and one of the leading scholars in the world in the history of medieval Jewish science. Over the course of two decades, he single-handedly rescued Abraham Ibn Ezra's vast astrological corpus from oblivion by systematically and methodically preparing critical editions and annotated translations of all the extant Hebrew works in their various versions, as well as of medieval translations of them and of other texts by Ibn Ezra (or ascribed to Ibn Ezra) that are no longer extant in Hebrew. At Bar-Ilan, he introduced a wide variety of courses in medieval Jewish science into the curriculum of the department. Through his many books, numerous studies, and lectures abroad, Sela gained an international reputation as the expert in his field. To his students at Bar-Ilan, he was a caring professor, enthusiastic about the subjects he taught, who opened vistas and made the difficult material accessible and interesting through his dedicated teaching. In what follows we wish to reflect upon his academic life and convey what was so special about this remarkable scholar.

I. From Student to Professor

Shlomo Sela received his doctoral degree from the Department of General History at Tel-Aviv University in 1998 with highest honors with a dissertation, written in Hebrew, entitled « Scientific Data in the Exegetical-Theological Work of Abraham Ibn Ezra: Historical Time and Geographical Space Conception ». His advisor was Professor Ron Barkai, who at the time was completing his own book, *A History of Jewish Gynaecological Texts in the Middle Ages*. Sela's B.A. and M.A. were also from the Department of General History at Tel-Aviv University, with the B.A. being awarded in 1975 and the M.A. in 1992. His M.A. thesis – which also received highest honors – was on the « *Pedarii* [in the Roman Senate] ». It was written under the supervision of Professor Ze'ev Rubin, a specialist on the history of late antiquity, the Sasanian dynasty, and the early Byzantine period. The *pedarii* were presumably those Roman senators who had not been elected as magistrates and were not permitted to speak or were of too low a rank to have an opportunity to speak. There is little scholarly consensus concerning them, and perhaps this is what aroused Sela's curiosity. In any case, the thesis had little to do with medieval Jewish science and thought. In fact, Sela's rather unusual turn from ancient Roman history to medieval Jewish astrology and biblical exegesis, from a budding honors master's student in one subject to a doctoral student in a very different period and in totally different academic disciplines is curious. His Doktorvater, Professor Barkai, has shed light on Sela's thinking at the time.¹

Sela indeed fully intended to specialize in ancient history and accordingly devoted his M.A. studies to it. Yet, at some point during his studies, he began taking advanced courses in applied mathematics and computer sciences. These studies would also prove important for his own research. Around this time, Barkai, in his capacity as Director of the School of Historical Studies at Tel-Aviv University, invited Sela for a personal meeting, as he did with other graduate students in order to discuss any problems or difficulties the students may be having and what could be done to ease them. Sela told him that he was thinking of leaving the field of ancient history and had recalled Barkai's suggestion to him, while an undergraduate student, to specialize in medieval Spanish history. He and Barkai agreed that he would first complete his M.A. degree in ancient history and only then turn to the Middle Ages. Sela did so with renewed energy. His advanced knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin from his classical studies would be crucial for his future research.

In his discussions with Barkai, Sela suggested a specialization in astrology, inspired, in part, by Barkai's own French article on the theoretical and practical

¹ We thank Professor Barkai for sharing his recollections with us.

aspects of medieval Jewish astrology.² Barkai suggested Sela pursue a subject connected to medieval astrology but much broader. Barkai had been attracted at the time to Abraham Ibn Ezra (c. 1089–c. 1161) and, in particular, his view on the relation between religious belief and science and viewed Ibn Ezra as a pioneer insofar as he did not hesitate to interpret Scripture through foreign or secular science. He suggested Sela explore these themes, and Sela enthusiastically agreed. The rest is history. Sela developed these thoughts into an ambitious, thoroughly researched, and most informative dissertation, rooted in biblical exegesis and a masterful understanding of ancient and medieval astrology. From there the Abraham Ibn Ezra project was born.³

After Sela received his M.A. in 1992 and in consideration of his expertise in computer software and his background in computer sciences, he was offered a position at the Computer Center at Bar-Ilan University. This position allowed him to focus his free time on his doctoral research on Ibn Ezra's exegetical and scientific writings, which he did with passion and gusto. Six years later, in 1998, at the age of fifty, Sela received his doctorate with highest distinction. In 1999, he was awarded the annual Amos Funkenstein Prize of the Cohn Institute and the School of History at Tel Aviv University. This award is given for the outstanding dissertation of the year, one that « can be singled out as daring and highly original ». Later that year his first book, *Astrology and Biblical Exegesis in the Thought of Abraham Ibn Ezra*, written in Hebrew, was published by Bar-Ilan University Press. As Sela explained in his foreword to the book, it is based on his thesis but significantly revised and expanded. The new study, he added, « affirmed, for the most part, the conclusions of the dissertation, but, at times, changed them ».⁴ The core focus of both studies remained the same: Ibn Ezra's integration of scientific material into his exegetical-theological work and the contribution of his scientific writings to the history of science and the transmission of Graeco-Arabic science to Western Europe.

In 2003, Sela's first English book, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, was published by Brill. Sela explains that although he treats similar subjects and ideas as in his Hebrew book, the material is presented from a different perspective. As the title makes clear, Sela's emphasis in this book is quite different

² RON BARKAI, « L'astrologie juive médiévale, aspects théoriques et pratiques », *Le Moyen Âge*, 93 (1987), p. 323–348. Cf. RON BARKAI, *Science, Magic and Mythology in the Middle Ages* [Hebrew], The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Jerusalem 1987, p. 9: « Medieval Jewish science acquired a place of honor in modern research, but astrology, despite being an integral part of these Jewish intellectual activities, is virtually absent. [...] My purpose in these words is to fill the gap, if only partially. [...] A thorough inquiry into the art of Jewish astrology is in need of a Researcher ».

³ During his doctoral research, Sela came to realize the striking extent to which the astrological corpus of the otherwise much studied Ibn Ezra had been neglected. Cf. the above footnote.

⁴ SHLOMO SELA, *Astrology and Biblical Exegesis in the Thought of Abraham Ibn Ezra* [Hebrew], Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat – Gan 1999, foreword, p. 9.

from his Hebrew one. While the Hebrew book focused on Ibn Ezra's « biblical commentaries and their interconnections with science », Sela writes that for this book, he « intentionally shifted the center of gravity to science ». Notwithstanding, this volume retains Sela's conviction that would remain with him for the rest of his life that the « only effective manner to grasp the essential features of Ibn Ezra's thinking is to break the formal dichotomy between his scientific and exegetical work and follow his encyclopedic and interdisciplinary approach ».⁵

Sela intentionally directed this book to the English reader, and it justifiably brought him international recognition. Particularly influential was the chapter he devoted to the « creation of a new scientific vocabulary ». The study of science and philosophy in Hebrew begins in earnest in the twelfth century with two Spanish scholars, Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (c. 1065–c. 1136) and Ibn Ezra. Sela calls Bar Ḥiyya, the older of the two by over two decades, the « genuine pioneer in the task of creating a new Hebrew scientific vocabulary », and indeed his technical terms were favored by later Jewish authors over those of Ibn Ezra. Sela compares the approaches – or « terminological strategies », to use Sela's phrase – of both scholars in coining terms to convey the meanings of Arabic scientific terms. Bar Ḥiyya's terms were more intuitive and often cognates or calques of the Arabic, but Sela clearly was fascinated by Ibn Ezra's « idiosyncratic » terms, creatively drawn from the Bible. Sela explains that Ibn Ezra did not think of himself as one who borrows biblical terms and integrates them into a completely new context. Rather, for Ibn Ezra, the biblical words originally expressed scientific meanings, and his task was « to restore an original scientific meaning that had been forgotten ».⁶ Sela gives many examples of such terms, explaining at some length their meanings and biblical sources. This appreciation could already be seen in Sela's account of some of these terms in his Hebrew book and in his 2001 article on Ibn Ezra's Hebrew scientific terminology.⁷ Sela concludes that despite the popularity of Ibn Ezra's writings, « the following generations were quite reluctant to adopt Ibn Ezra's peculiar scientific terminology », including virtually all of the « bizarre words » that Sela had discussed. But while most of these terms were « short-lived and were generally ignored by subsequent Hebrew writers and translators », one cannot

⁵ SHLOMO SELA, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, Brill, Leiden 2003, preface, p. XI.

⁶ SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, p. 106.

⁷ SHLOMO SELA, « Abraham Ibn Ezra's Special Strategy in the Creation of a Hebrew Scientific Terminology », *Micrologus: Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 9 (2001), p. 65–87. Sela's chapter is a much expanded and revised version of this paper with many new terms discussed – including two of his favorites, *meshartim* (planets, p. 129–130) and *toledet* (nature, p. 130–137) – and a very important comparative section on the Hebrew terminologies of Bar Ḥiyya and Ibn Ezra (p. 96–104).

understand Ibn Ezra's writings without understanding them.⁸ Sela knew this better than anyone. Not surprisingly, an important feature of Sela's editions and translations of Ibn Ezra's works is the presence of rather comprehensive, detailed and most helpful glossaries of technical terms with translations.

Sela is also the one who prepared a full bibliography of Ibn Ezra's scientific writings. This required, inter alia, studying and distinguishing among Ibn Ezra's many astrological writings and identifying and examining the cross-references found throughout his corpus. The lengthy first chapter of the *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, « Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scientific Corpus », does precisely this. This chapter, a slightly revised and expanded version of a 2001 *ASAP* article,⁹ makes known the purpose and importance and describes the contents of each book and its various versions, presents a history of the book and its publication, establishes, in some cases, Ibn Ezra's authorship of the particular work, offers the likely order in which the books were written, and explains the connections between them. Three years later, Sela co-authored with Gad Freudenthal an annotated chronological listing of all of Ibn Ezra's treatises and books, including the biblical commentaries and those books related to the Hebrew language, but excluding Ibn Ezra's poetic oeuvre.¹⁰

The third and fourth chapters of Sela's book illustrate his claim that « Ibn Ezra's singular and innovative contribution was not so much related to original astrological or astronomical doctrines or new technical data [although Sela gives some examples of these] as to a singular combination of scientific ideas with religious, philosophical and cultural concepts ».¹¹ To make his case, Sela relies on a detailed study of Ibn Ezra's important introductions to some of his scientific works. He explains: « These introductions, written in brilliant, incisive and extremely concise Hebrew, were not only meant to catch the reader's interest in the book, but also presented his singular and personal view about the astrological subject to be dealt with ».¹² These fascinating chapters are wide ranging in content and deal with a host of issues, including those of great philosophical and theological concern, such as Ibn Ezra's portrayal of the righteous person and the scholar, the connection of each to the wise soul, their differences, and the ways in

⁸ SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, p. 142–143.

⁹ SHLOMO SELA, « Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scientific Corpus: Basic Constituents and General Characterization », *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 10 (2001), p. 91–149.

¹⁰ SHLOMO SELA and GAD FREUDENTHAL, « Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings: A Chronological Listing », *Aleph*, 6 (2006), p. 13–55. A final bibliographical update by Sela was published posthumously: SHLOMO SELA, « Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings: An Update », *Aleph*, 22 (2022), p. 287–300. This article not only updates the 2006 study but also, as Sela notes, « corrects and complements information about works discussed in the 2006 article ».

¹¹ SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, p. 15 and 144. On Ibn Ezra's occasional « creative ideas », see p. 144.

¹² SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, p. 15.

which each can « override the designs of the stars »;¹³ and the role of God's providence and omnipotence in a seemingly astrally determined universe.

The fifth and last chapter of Sela's book deals with Ibn Ezra's attitude to his sources – at times, quite critical – and, in particular, to Ptolemy, « his chief scientific source ».¹⁴ An extra and most important benefit of Sela's book is the collection of numerous texts from Ibn Ezra, cited in the book, in their original Hebrew and with English translation.¹⁵ This book, as a whole, serves as a most fitting and useful, if not requisite introduction to the editions and translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological corpus to which Sela would devote the last two decades of his life.

While Sela's early articles, to some extent those in Spanish but particularly those in English, acquainted readers with his name and his expertise, it was his first English book that at once established his international reputation. Sela now set his mind on his incredibly ambitious – indeed seemingly overly ambitious – plan to prepare critical editions and annotated translations of the full Ibn Ezra corpus of astrological writings.

In 2004, Sela was still working at the Bar-Ilan Computer Center¹⁶ and was teaching courses in Bible – and beginning around then – also in Jewish Philosophy at Bar-Ilan. Somehow all this did not impede his publishing plans, as his articles – written in English, Spanish, and Hebrew – continued to appear in the leading journals in his fields. One particularly important article from this time was a study on the queries on astrology that were sent by a circle of rabbis and scholars from Provence to Maimonides beseeching him to make known his views on astrology.¹⁷ Before the article appeared, scholars and students of Jewish philosophy were well aware of Maimonides' response wherein he distinguished the « exceedingly glorious science » of astronomy from the « stupidity » of judicial astrology, but few were familiar with the queries that resulted in the letter and fewer still studied Maimonides' response in light of these queries. Sela changed this with his 100-page article that included a new critical edition of the Hebrew text and the first translation of it into a European language, accompanied by detailed notes,

¹³ SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, esp. p. 172–191; citation on p. 190.

¹⁴ SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, p. 239. Earlier (p. 91), Sela cited Ibn Ezra's assessment of Ptolemy from the first version of his *Book of Reasons*: « I will now give you a rule: everything that you may find of Ptolemy that deals with the spheres is excellent and nothing is available that surpasses it, but his assertions related to the judgments of astrology do not befit his wisdom ».

¹⁵ SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, Appendix Two, p. 336–386.

¹⁶ Sela would continue to work at the Computer Center for several more years. To this day, he is remembered as a legend, and, from time-to-time, one hears specialists in Computer Help at Bar-Ilan say with a knowing smile that a particularly difficult question that was raised is one that only Shlomo Sela could have answered.

¹⁷ SHLOMO SELA, « Queries on Astrology Sent from Southern France to Maimonides: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, Translation, and Commentary », *Aleph*, 4 (2004), p. 89–190.

explanations, and analysis. In addition, Sela's article contained a most important discovery: the queries sent to Maimonides included verbatim quotations and paraphrases of passages from several of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings, which Sela identified in his study. These queries along with Maimonides' response are invaluable documents for discerning the place of astrology in the Jewish communities of Western Europe (and beyond) before and after Maimonides.

A second important article related to Maimonides' negative views on astrology was published by Sela eight years later. This study concerned the sources of Maimonides' quite different discussions of the outermost and starless ninth orb in the beginning of his *Mishneh Torah* and in the *Guide of the Perplexed*.¹⁸ Most interesting is his discussion in the *Mishneh Torah*, which as Sela points out, is a « schematic and straightforward description of the cosmos », but one in which Maimonides focuses on the ninth orb and gives an elaborate and detailed account of it, presenting some « peculiar features » of it not found in most sources. For example, Sela was interested in Maimonides' statement that the ninth orb is divided into twelve signs named after the names of the twelve zodiacal constellations that lie in the eighth orb, and that the twelve signs and the twelve zodiacal constellations of the eighth orb coincided only at the time of the Flood. Maimonides attributed these features to the « ancient sages », but it was unknown who these scholars were and what was Maimonides' source for these features. Sela identified these features with those in a treatise, commonly known as *De orbe*, attributed to the eighth-century Jewish astrologer Māshā'allāh (d. c. 815), and at the time known only via Latin translation. Sela compared a section of this text in Latin (along with his accompanying English translation of it) with the passage from Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. He showed that the text was Maimonides' source and that the « ancient sages » mentioned there were certain ancient astrologers, whom Sela was able to describe.¹⁹ Sela then turned to the question why Maimonides discussed the ninth orb in such detail in this text and why he adopted

¹⁸ SHLOMO SELA, « Maimonides and Māshā'allāh on the Ninth Orb of the Signs and Astrology », *Aleph*, 12 (2012), p. 101–134.

¹⁹ The Arabic original of *De orbe* was discovered by Taro Mimura while researching Arabic manuscripts at McGill University. Sela was in contact with Mimura, who supplied him with his unpublished transcription of part of the book. Mimura subsequently published an article on the *De orbe* that rejected Māshā'allāh's authorship and suggested that the *De orbe* is actually the *Book on the Configuration of the Orb* by the tenth-century Jewish scholar Dunash ibn Tamim. See TARO MIMURA, « The Arabic Original of (ps.) Māshā'allāh's *Liber de orbe*: its Date and Authorship », *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 48 (2015), p. 321–352. The fourteenth-century Andalusian manuscript of this work, one of two known copies, located at the University of Pennsylvania, MS Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, LJS 439, may be viewed on-line at: <<https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0001/html/ljs439.html>> (Accessed November 2022). Sela was also in contact with Barbara Obrist, who provided him with a transcription of a fragment from the longer version of the Latin *De orbe* that deals with the ninth orb.

the main elements of the *De orbe*. He argued that while Maimonides must have viewed this account of the ninth orb as « original and coherent », he likely perceived that it contained « a serious attempt to defend astrology against one of its basic weaknesses », its « Achilles' heel ». Maimonides followed his account of it by rejecting it. The ninth orb has no division, the fictive twelve signs of the ninth orb that were thought to correspond to the twelve zodiacal constellations of the eighth orb thus have no physical existence, and even if they had, they could almost never overlap the zodiacal constellations of the eighth orb because they rotate in different planes. Sela explained that by repeating the astrologers' claim that the twelve signs and the twelve constellations aligned only at the time of the Flood, Maimonides was « sarcastically highlighting the radical difference between the two systems », and thus exposed the « fatal flaw in Māshā' allāh's model ».²⁰

After the publication of his first English book and his article on the queries on astrology addressed to Maimonides, Sela accepted the Skirball Fellowship for 2004–2005 at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Within the space of two months – from mid-October to mid-December 2004 – Sela gave at least six lectures on a variety of topics at universities and institutes throughout England, including the Warburg Institute and, of course, Oxford. Yet, he still found time to work on his life's project, the editions and translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological corpus. It may be mentioned that not all of Sela's lectures in England focused exclusively on Ibn Ezra, as Bar Ḥiyya also was discussed. In fact, in the 2005 Routledge encyclopedia, *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, Sela had entries on both Ibn Ezra and Bar Ḥiyya, and it is in 2005 that he published his learned, wide-ranging, and informative study on Bar Ḥiyya's astrological work – or rather, as Sela noted, on his writings that contained astrological material; for, unlike Ibn Ezra, we have no extant works by him wholly devoted to astrology.²¹

When Sela returned to Israel in 2005, he focused with full resolve on the Ibn Ezra project. There would inevitably be minor interruptions and diversions but invariably his computer would be open to the edition on which he was working. In 2007, the first volume, on Ibn Ezra's *Book of Reasons*, extant in two versions, appeared. Three years later in 2010, the second volume, on Ibn Ezra's *Book of the World*, also extant in two versions, was published. Sela had carefully planned out the structure for each of the volumes, and volume 2 clearly follows that of volume 1: Introduction, including, inter alia, information on the place and date of composition, information on the Hebrew text and the editorial and translation principles; Part 1 containing the Hebrew text and English translation on facing pages of the first version of the book; Part 2 containing detailed notes to Part 1;

²⁰ SELA, « Maimonides and Māshā' allāh on the Ninth Orb », esp. p. 122–128, citation on p. 128.

²¹ SHLOMO SELA, « Abraham Bar Ḥiyya's Astrological Work and Thought », *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 12 (2005), p. 128–158.

Part 3 containing the Hebrew text and English translation of the second version of the book; Part 4 containing detailed notes to Part 3; and a part containing various relevant appendices, such as references in Ibn Ezra's other writings to the texts edited in the volume, lists of the authorities and sources mentioned in the edited texts, and lists of all extant manuscripts.²² Finally, the volumes conclude with a bibliography, index, and, as mentioned above, glossary of technical terms with translations. For the remaining volumes, the structure is the same, *mutatis mutandis*. Volume 3 contains editions and translations of three books, two of which are extant in three versions (or more accurately for both books: extant in two complete versions and one partial one), and the third in a single version. The remaining volumes all feature more than one book in a single version (with the exception of volume 8), but again the general structure of each volume is basically the same.²³

In his preface to the second volume, Sela pointed out that this volume is volume 2 of the series, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*, as is written on the cover and title page. Due to a technical problem, no mention of this series was made in the first volume. Henceforth, all volumes in the series would be listed as such and numbered. These two most impressive volumes provided, as would the volumes that followed, all the information and more that one could reasonably hope to find in such an edition and translation of these books.

Shortly after the appearance of the second volume, a rare full-time position in Jewish Philosophy opened up at Bar-Ilan University. Two years later in February 2012, Shlomo Sela, the world's leading authority on the science of Abraham Ibn Ezra and an internationally renowned scholar of the history of medieval Jewish science, was appointed Associate Professor with tenure at Bar-Ilan. Less than a year later, after the publication of his fifth book, the third volume of *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings* (which was not published in time to be considered by the evaluators and the promotion committee), Sela was promoted to Full Professor and finally received the recognition he so richly deserved for many years. The most unusual journey from doctoral student to professor was complete. Four years later, he would retire, but he would continue with a resolute passion and at an even greater pace to devote himself till his last days to the remaining volumes of the Ibn Ezra project.

Charles Burnett has reflected upon Sela's wholehearted determination in his last years to publish critical editions of the Latin translations (and the French ones upon which some of them were based) of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings after completing his critical editions of all of them in their original Hebrew versions:

²² In the first volume, this is Part 5; in the second volume, it is Part 6, with the preceding part (Part 5) on « related texts ».

²³ On the order and subject matter of each of these volumes, see below, Appendix, Shlomo Sela's Scholarly Writings: A Bibliography.

Shlomo Sela's research on Abraham Ibn Ezra inevitably led him to explore the melding of Hebrew and Latin astrology in the Middle Ages. The Latin versions of successive versions of his « astrological encyclopedia » came in two forms: Latin translations by well-known scholars (Pietro d'Abano, Henry Bate et al.) usually made a century after the originals, and via the French translations; and anonymous versions that appear to date from Abraham's lifetime, and may have been made by Latin Christian students of his, studying astrology alongside their Jewish counterparts. Sela was as keen to publish these Latin versions as to provide critical editions of the Hebrew, but died before completing the Latin translation project that he had embarked on. It was always a joy for me to puzzle over a Latin word or phrase with Shlomo, usually by email. He was an excellent correspondent and a meticulous scholar.²⁴

Shlomo Sela published his first English book and his entire series, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*, with Brill. Brill, one could say, was his academic home. Like many scholars, Sela also had his favorite journals and was on the editorial board of several of them. He published in many of the leading journals in his field, but in several more than once; for example, eight times in *Sefarad*, twice in *Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, and more recently, twice in *Mediterranea*. But perhaps the journal at which he felt most at home was *Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism*. He published his first journal article in English in the first volume of *Aleph* (2001) and his last two journal articles posthumously in the twenty-second volume of *Aleph* (2022). All in all, he published fifteen articles in *Aleph*, two of which he co-authored. Resianne Fontaine, co-editor of the journal, has known Sela for over two decades and, in particular, over the past ten years through *Aleph*-related matters, as well as through academic conferences. She recalls his subtle humour and was always impressed by the originality of his ideas and depth of his studies. Fontaine gives a glimpse as to what it was like to work with Shlomo from the viewpoint of a journal editor. His many contributions over the years became a prominent fixture in *Aleph* and were always most welcome and appreciated. Speaking for herself and also her co-editor, Reimund Leicht, and managing editor, Esti Micenmacher, she emphasizes that it was a distinct pleasure to work with Sela. He responded quickly to all queries and requests and was very appreciative of the care and attention he received.²⁵

²⁴ From an email letter to Steven Harvey, from January 2023. We thank Professor Burnett for these remarks.

²⁵ We thank Dr. Fontaine for sharing her recollections with us. Fontaine and Leicht have written a brief *In memoriam* for Sela as the « Editors' Foreword », in *Aleph*, 22 (2022), p. 7. It concludes: « His vast erudition will be thoroughly missed. We will remember him as a great scholar and an amiable colleague ».

A complete list of the titles and publication details of the volumes in Professor Sela's series, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*, together with a full bibliography of Sela's publications, follow the personal Reminiscences that we now share with the Reader.

II. Niran Garshtein, *Reminiscences of a Doctoral Student*

In the first section of this *In memoriam*, we have sketched Shlomo Sela's academic biography and pointed to his outstanding contribution to the field of medieval science, and particularly to the study of Abraham Ibn Ezra's astrological work. We would like to complement this picture by presenting a few additional facets of his career. For me, Sela was not only a specialist in his field and a diligent and prolific scholar. He was the one who introduced me to the world of medieval science and largely shaped my academic interests. Professor Shlomo Sela, my M.A. and Ph.D. supervisor, was the first academic figure with whom I could consult and share my thoughts, questions, and insights. Over the past decade, we engaged in numerous and, for me, fruitful discussions on a wide variety of subjects, mostly, but not exclusively, pertaining to medieval science and history. In what follows, I will attempt to sketch the contours of one specific aspect of Sela's academic career: Shlomo Sela the teacher, mentor, and dedicated advisor.

My first interaction with Sela took place in 2012, in his introductory course « Introduction to Jewish Science in the Middle Ages ». In those days, I was a B.A. student whose main academic interest was early modern philosophy, and my knowledge of medieval history was limited. Sela's class was my first real acquaintance with the field of medieval science. It was in his classroom that I was introduced to the history of astronomy, astrology, and mathematics, and it was there that I became infatuated with these fields of study. My sudden fascination with these subjects cannot only be attributed to the intriguing and alluring world of medieval science – it must also be credited, at least to some extent, to Shlomo Sela the professor.

One of Sela's defining features as a teacher, which none of his students could miss, was his passion for the topics he taught and his infectious enthusiasm in discussing them. From the first lesson of his introductory course, it was already clear that he was not only a highly erudite professor, but a scholar who wholeheartedly loved his subject area and lived it in the full sense of the word.²⁶ This powerful impression was not limited to his students. Over the past years, when I spoke about Sela to other scholars who were in direct contact with him, their most common reaction was to note his passion for his research, alongside his diligence and his vast body of scholarship.

²⁶ As noted below, Sela was committed to his research until his very last breath.

Let me now provide a glimpse into Sela's courses and seminars; in doing so, I will attempt to explain why they were so meaningful and attractive to a young student such as myself. I will take Sela's introductory course as a representative example of all of his courses that I participated in, with the exception of his important course « Advanced Computerized Methods ».²⁷ The first few sessions of his introductory course were devoted to the historical and social circumstances that led to what he called « the rise of medieval Hebrew science ». As in his first English book, Sela opened his first class with a quotation from Geoffrey Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, in which Chaucer referred, inter alia, to Jews who had made their scientific contribution in Hebrew. Sela then concisely outlined the long history of the transmission of scientific knowledge from antiquity to the twelfth century. Greek and Hellenistic science, the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Greek-into-Syriac translation activity, the Arabic translation movement, the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates, the Taifas, the Jews of al-Andalus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the rise of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties – all were brought vividly to life in his classroom. Next, Sela delineated what he called « a few rules », which were essentially several of the principles presented in the beginning of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (esp. in Book I, 3–8), alongside a number of fundamental Aristotelian doctrines.

Armed with these basic principles, and rooted in their historical context, his class turned to the core of all of Sela's courses and seminars – the texts. These were mostly from the works of Abraham Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, and Gersonides, the protagonists of his courses. Virtually all of Sela's classes were devoted to the reading of texts, and their format was always the same: Sela brought a text to class and asked one student at a time to read a single sentence, slowly and carefully, and explain its meaning. It must be noted that Sela could not, and probably did not try to, hide his affection for the texts we read in class. When a student read too fast or not loud enough, he would interrupt: « Read it slower, loud and clear. You must give the text the respect it deserves ». In addition to elucidating the scientific content of the specific passages we read, Sela made a great effort to provide his students with methodological tools that would assist them in working with any text. « You must cling to the text like a tick », he used to say every time we, his

²⁷ Sela was an expert on Microsoft Office and other software, and his course on computerized methods provided his students with vital research tools, many of which I still use today. When editing texts, Shlomo used numerous macro functions that he had created on his personal computer. On several occasions, I saw Sela working on his editions of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings; his Microsoft Word file was always colorful, with an elaborate system of highlighting that only he knew how to use. In addition to his introductory course and his class on computerized methods, I participated in the following two of his seminars: « The Scientific and Philosophical Exegesis of Abraham Ibn Ezra and Gersonides » (2013–2014) and « Astrology in Jewish Medieval Philosophy » (2014–2015).

students, tried to clarify the meaning of a sentence using our own prior knowledge. « What should we do when we do not understand the meaning of a term? », « What is the role of this specific sentence in the text we read? », « Why do you think Ibn Ezra decided to use this specific term in this context, but an alternative one in a different context? ». These are only a few of the many questions he would ask the class, waiting attentively for our response. This pedagogical approach, alongside his enthusiasm and the relatively small number of students in each of his classes, led to the active participation of his students and created an exceptionally lively learning experience.²⁸

In 2015, I asked Sela to be my M.A. advisor, and he agreed at once.²⁹ I received an identical response from him a year later, when I asked him to supervise my doctoral dissertation, despite the fact that he had already retired. It must be said that Sela was an outstanding supervisor. On the one hand, while he was always available for questions and requests, he gave me ample freedom to do my own independent work. On the other hand, his standards were meticulously high, and his rigorous critical notes and sharp insights were invaluable to my research and my academic development. This combination was priceless. Sela placed considerable trust in his students, while always pushing them to be better researchers, expecting them to work hard and produce eloquent, lucid studies that would advance the state of research. On a personal level, Sela was a source of inspiration and a role model, and my research benefited from each and every conversation we had.

Sela's commitment to and forthrightness with his students must be emphasized here. After Sela was diagnosed with cancer, he contacted me, candidly sharing the bad news and its implications. At the time, I was in an early stage of my doctoral studies. Sela implied that due to his disease, he might be less available than usual for some period of time; however, he made it clear that this should not prevent me from contacting him with any questions that might arise. He then added that given the circumstances, he wanted me to know that he would understand if I chose to look for a different advisor, although it would be a great pleasure for him to continue supervising my dissertation. After expressing my best wishes for his full recovery, I responded that I would be glad to continue working with him as my doctoral supervisor, but only as long as it was not a burden for him. Indeed, despite

²⁸ Sela's unique sense of humour also played a role in creating this atmosphere. To give only one example, his seminars were usually small in size; when a student arriving late to class left the door open, Sela would stop the lesson and loudly respond: « Close the door before the masses get in ».

²⁹ Sela was a visiting scholar at L'Institut d'études avancées de Paris for most of the time that I worked on my M.A. thesis. Despite the geographical distance between us, he was always responsive to my questions and requests.

his illness, Sela continued to guide me in my work, and I was privileged to have him as my advisor throughout the entirety of my doctoral studies. It was only after Sela passed away that I discovered that he had held more or less the same conversation with another former doctoral student of his, Miriam Eichenbaum. This anecdote illuminates another side of Sela's character, illustrating his integrity, honesty, and openness with his students.

Sela's commitment to his students was not limited to their master's or doctoral theses. Sela never refused to read or comment on drafts of my papers or write me a letter of recommendation; he did so expeditiously and punctiliously, before and even after I completed my doctoral studies. Once, I sent him a draft of a not-so-short article, politely asking whether he would be able to read it. Only a few hours later, I received a detailed response to the article, with learned comments and a few important suggestions. As one might imagine, I learned a great deal from his insightful and accurate remarks, and they always improved my articles considerably.

In mid-July 2022, Sela's upcoming book on Henry Bate's Latin translations of Abraham Ibn Ezra's astrological writings (Volume 8 of his outstanding Brill series, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*) was nearly ready for publication. Unfortunately, despite his best efforts to complete the book, his health condition was deteriorating, and the proofreading stage had yet to be completed. On July 20, Sela called me to ask whether I could meet him and assist with the proofs and indexing of the book. I agreed immediately. Since I was in Munich for research purposes at the time, we decided to meet in his house eleven days later, after my return to Israel. Sadly, this meeting never took place. Shlomo Sela passed away on 26 July 2022, surrounded by his loving and beloved family.³⁰ After he passed away, and with his family's and Brill's permission and support, I reverently revised the proofs and drew up the index. It is my fondest hope that I managed to meet, or at least approach, the same high standards that Sela applied to the other volumes in the series.³¹ In December 2022, Sela's 1285-page book was published in a two-volume set.³²

³⁰ Sela dedicated most of his books to various members of his family, including his wife, children, grandchildren, and the memory of his parents. In his book on Henry Bate, he writes: « To my beloved wife, Leah, without whom I could not have produced this volume ».

³¹ I am grateful to Shlomo Sela's family and to Emma de Looij from Brill for their permission to complete what was necessary for the publication of the book, as well as to Bart Nijsten and his team for providing me with all the information I needed throughout the process and for their meticulous work on the book's manuscript.

³² *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus: Henry Bate's Latin Versions of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings, with English Translation and a Collation with the Hebrew and French Source Texts*, edited, translated, collated, and annotated by SHLOMO SELA, Brill, Leiden 2022 (Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings, 8.1 and 8.2). On this and other volumes in the series, see below, Appendix, Shlomo Sela's Scholarly Writings: A Bibliography.

Shlomo Sela's international reputation and his tremendous contribution to the world of medieval science are widely recognized. His academic publications and discoveries have already been of great use to contemporary historians and will certainly serve scholars for many generations to come. While Sela was surely aware of his significance as a scholar, he always remained humble and approachable.³³ Moreover, as I have tried to show here, Sela's impact goes well beyond his numerous academic achievements. Shlomo Sela was also an admired professor and dedicated advisor who has left an indelible imprint on the hearts and minds of his students.

III. *Carlos Steel, Reminiscences of a Colleague and Collaborator*

I met Shlomo Sela for the first time at a conference on astrology in the Middle Ages that took place at the University of Bari in 2016. He presented a lecture on Ibn Ezra, and I discussed the influence of Henricus Bate's astrological doctrine on Pierre d'Ailly. I told Shlomo how much Bate was influenced by the work of Ibn Ezra that he had come to know, probably during his student time in Paris, between 1265–70. When Bate returned to his native town, Mechelen, he started in 1273 a translation project of the astrological works of Ibn Ezra with the help of a Jewish scholar, Hagin, who lived in the same town. When I started working on the edition of the astrological autobiography of Bate, I invited Shlomo to join this project, as he was the only scholar with expertise to identify the multiple references by Bate to the work of Ibn Ezra. This was the beginning of an intense and fruitful collaboration. After the publication of Bate's *Nativitas* (in 2018),³⁴ we worked together on the edition of a newly discovered translation by Bate of a treatise of Ibn Ezra that so far had remained unknown (published in *Mediterranea* in 2020).³⁵

In 2019, Shlomo and his wife Leah visited me in Leuven and we travelled together to Mechelen to discover the town where Bate and Hagin had lived. At the city archives, we could see new documents attesting to the presence of Hagin in Mechelen. In one document (dated 1288), Hagin was mentioned: « Ysaac dictus Hackinj Iudeus in Befferstrate (Isaac called Hackinj [a] Jew in the Befferstrate). Shlomo was excited about this discovery, for it indicated that Hagin lived in a street very close to Bate's paternal house. The two may even have known one another from their childhood.

³³ Cf. below, footnote 40.

³⁴ CARLOS STEEL, STEVEN VANDEN BROECKE, DAVID JUSTE, SHLOMO SELA (eds.), *The Astrological Autobiography of a Medieval Philosopher: Henry Bate's Nativitas (1280–81)*, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2018 (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, 1).

³⁵ SHLOMO SELA, CARLOS STEEL, C. PHILIPP E. NOTHAFT, DAVID JUSTE, CHARLES BURNETT, « A Newly Discovered Treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra and Two Treatises Attributed to Al-Kindi in a Latin Translation by Henry Bath », *Mediterranea: International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge*, 5 (2020), p. 193–305.

In the last two years of his life, when he had already told me that he was seriously ill, Shlomo started another huge project, an edition of all the Latin translations of Ibn Ezra made by Bate, with a comparison to the Hebrew original text, and an English translation. I could not join him in this project as I was involved in another research project. I warned him, however, that this was a complex difficult project, and that he had to work on medieval manuscripts with Latin text and with translations in old French, fields outside his expertise in Hebrew texts. However, he absolutely wanted to do this work and he even considered it as the culmination of his lifelong research on Ibn Ezra. As he said, he only now realized how important Bate's contribution was for the transmission of Ibn Ezra's work, for the medieval scholar had at his disposal excellent now lost copies of the original Hebrew texts. It took him an enormous effort, with deteriorating health conditions, to have this complex edition finished. We had regular mail correspondence on difficult passages in the manuscripts and I was astonished to see how much progress he had made in reading medieval Latin manuscripts. I knew that he was seriously ill, and he made occasional remarks on it. I am grateful to see that he could finish this edition and that it is published in his Brill series, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*, as the conclusion of his monumental edition of Ibn Ezra. It is, in all respects, his *opus ultimum*.

IV. Steven Harvey, *Reminiscences of a Bar-Ilan Colleague*

I have known Shlomo Sela for over twenty-five years. In early 1996, I was an Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy at Bar-Ilan University. I had just purchased a new generation computer with WORD, and I needed help and advice on how best to use it. I was advised to speak to a certain Shlomo Sela at Bar-Ilan's Computer Center. Sela asked what I wanted the computer for and proceeded to give me the most helpful and personal guidance. It was the first of many visits to his office at the Computer Center, most without any computer questions. You see, I very soon learned that Sela, at the time an advanced doctoral student at Tel-Aviv University, was a colleague in my field, an expert on Abraham Ibn Ezra and medieval Jewish science, who was writing on Ibn Ezra's exegetical and astrological writings. Every time we met, I learned something new, actually many things. It seemed that he always had a new discovery he wished to share.

At the end of the year, I began to organize an international conference that would be held at Bar-Ilan in January 1998 on the medieval Hebrew encyclopedias of science and philosophy. In the following months, I sent out invitations to the leading scholars who had worked on the medieval Hebrew encyclopedias, as well as to scholars who had researched the Arabic and Latin ones. Naturally, I discussed my conference with Shlomo. One day, I asked him if Ibn Ezra's astrological writings could be considered an encyclopedia. He replied with those words I always enjoyed

hearing from him, « Let me tell you something interesting ». He then continued with words similar to the following:

Did you know that Millás Vallicrosa had already spoken of the encyclopedic features of Ibn Ezra's scientific corpus, although he never really explained what he meant? I believe he was correct, and it certainly seems accurate to speak of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings as comprising an encyclopedia of astrology, but it needs to be shown clearly in which ways this is true. On the one hand, this will require explaining something of each of his astrological works and how together they comprise an encyclopedia with the basic features of such a work. On the other hand, it will be useful to say something about his encyclopedic approach, in general, including in his biblical commentaries.

I at once enlisted him to lecture at the conference. In the months that followed, we would discuss questions such as: What constitutes a medieval encyclopedia of philosophy and science? And what are its main features? Although Shlomo had not yet completed his doctorate, I was certain he would give a most interesting, original, and informative lecture, and I was not disappointed. His lecture, « Encyclopedic Aspects of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scientific Corpus », was his first at an academic conference. His chapter with the same title, published in the *Proceedings* of the conference in 2000, would be his first academic publication in English.³⁶ Shlomo would continue to present Ibn Ezra's astrological writings as constituting an encyclopedia of astrology in his first two books and in later publications.³⁷

Around 2003, I was appointed chair of Jewish Philosophy at Bar-Ilan. One of my first tasks was to invite Shlomo to teach a course in our department. This was something I wanted very much to do but I did so apologetically for we both knew that he deserved a full-time position. Regrettably, there were precious few positions in those years. It would not be for another seven years, in my second tenure as chair, that we could put forward Shlomo for a full-time position. At that time, our department desperately needed Shlomo for the courses he could teach as well as for guiding advanced graduate students and evaluating the theses of others. What followed was remarkable and rather unprecedented at Bar-Ilan. We persuaded the Dean to propose Shlomo for the rank of associate professor with tenure. This was remarkable because he had previously not held a full-time position at any rank, and it seemed that sticklers, pedants, and jealous-minded scholars might not approve of skipping the standard processes of academic

³⁶ SHLOMO SELA, « Encyclopedic Aspects of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scientific Corpus », in STEVEN HARVEY (ed.), *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 2000, p. 154–170.

³⁷ See, e.g., SELA, *Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, esp. p. 57–74; and SELA, *Astrology and Biblical Exegesis* (above, footnote 4), p. 21–22 and 370–377.

advancement. But Shlomo was a remarkable scholar and his curriculum vitae, now boasting four books, spoke for itself. The remarkable scholar deserved a remarkable appointment. Although the protocols of the appointment committees at Bar-Ilan, as well as all letters evaluating the candidate, must be kept confidential, I think I can say that the diverse members of the committee were all in favor of Sela's appointment to associate professor and that the preliminary letters of evaluation supported their opinion. There was one difficulty. If I remember correctly, at least two of the letters said explicitly that he really deserved and should be considered for full professor. One even praised Jewish Philosophy at Bar-Ilan for finally rectifying the great embarrassment to Israeli academia for not having previously appointed him to such a position, which should have been done long ago. The problem was that considering Sela for full professor meant sending his portfolio back to the university appointments committee to receive permission to do so. If they agreed – and it was not certain they would – all scholars who evaluated him would have to send in new letters recommending him for full professor, and that too was not certain. In any case, additional evaluations would be needed from leading scholars in Sela's field. If they would be asked to support his appointment for full professor and would not do so unanimously, Sela might be left with no appointment at all. In the end, my recollection is that the committee received permission from the university appointments committee to consider Sela for full professor, and evaluations at this rank were requested. All letters received were very strong in support of Sela and virtually all for the rank of full professor. But in this extraordinary situation, unanimity was needed. The committee made a highly unusual recommendation to the university appointments committee. Sela was recommended for the appointment at the rank of associate professor with tenure but with the recommended added proviso that given the exceptional evaluations received, all by renowned professors in Israel and abroad in Sela's fields of expertise, and given the unanimous opinion of the committee, Sela should be promoted to full professor at once after the acceptance of his next book for publication. On 26 February 2012, Sela received a letter confirming his appointment to associate professor with tenure. Ten months later, on 26 December 2012, shortly before his sixty-fifth birthday, he received another letter confirming his promotion to full professor. The meteoric rise – and these words are chosen carefully – of this remarkable scholar from the doctoral student who changed his field of study after receiving his M.A. with highest honors; to world-renowned scholar; to full professor in less than a year after his first appointment, was complete. Four years afterwards, Sela retired; and another six years later – to the delight and amazement of appreciative scholars and students throughout the world – he

finished the volume on Henry Bate's translations that was so important to him and with it his work on his life's project, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*.³⁸

V. Concluding Remarks

When we reflect on the life and accomplishments of our dear teacher, colleague and friend, Professor Shlomo Sela, we are at once drawn to comparisons between him and the focus of his research, Abraham Ibn Ezra. Both scholars began their « academic careers » late in life at the age of about 50. Ibn Ezra left his native Muslim Spain for Christian Europe at this age, and virtually all of his known writings, including all the extant scientific treatises, date from the Christian period; and Sela received his doctorate when he was 50, and his first book appeared

³⁸ Sela completed the critical editions and translations of all the astrological writings extant in Hebrew in 2017 with the publication of the fifth volume. From 2019 to 2022, he published three volumes (four books) of the *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus*. There were other medieval translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings that Sela likely intended to edit and translate, in particular, the four old French translations by Hagin le Juif and the seven Latin translations by Pietro d'Abano. Regarding the former, Sela was at a very advanced stage in the preparation of the editions of all of them. Jean-Patrice Boudet – who has published on thirteenth-century French astronomical texts and with whom Sela was consulting on his editions of Hagin le Juif's translations – informed us that versions of editions of all four translations were sent by Sela to him for his examination, along with Sela's English translation of one of them (email letter to Nirán Garshtein, from August 2022). We thank Professor Boudet for this communication. On Pietro's translations of Ibn Ezra, see the lengthy comprehensive article, SHLOMO SELA, « Pietro d'Abano, Translator of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings », *Sefarad*, 79 (2019), p. 7–87. In this same study, Sela concluded that « Pietro d'Abano employed all four of the Hebrew to French translations produced by Hagin le Juif in 1273 for his own Latin translations ». Vol. 7 of Sela's *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings* includes, inter alia, a critical edition and English translation of Pietro d'Abano's translation of a work, no longer extant in Hebrew, that Pietro attributed to Ibn Ezra and called *Tractatus particulares*. Sela compared Pietro's translation with that of Arnoul de Quincampoix. He concluded that the original Hebrew text was not by Ibn Ezra. See also, SHLOMO SELA, « What is *Tractatus Particulares*, A Four-Part Work Assigned to Abraham Ibn Ezra? A Study of its Sources and General Features », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 86 (2019), p. 141–195. His interest in the three Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings associated with Peter of Limoges (one of them complete, two only partial) may be gauged from his recent article, « The Abraham Ibn Ezra–Peter of Limoges Astrological-Exegetical Connection », *Aleph*, 19 (2019), p. 9–57. On the three Latin translations attributed to Arnoul de Quincampoix, see, e.g., SELA, « Ibn Ezra–Peter of Limoges », p. 11, n. 5. It seems likely that Sela considered all these translations and a few more anonymous ones as part of his project to edit and translate the translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological treatises and make these texts accessible in critical editions for the modern reader. In fact, the clearest evidence that Sela still intended and hoped to keep working on the Ibn Ezra project is that he applied for his fourth prestigious Israel Science Foundation (ISF) grant in early 2022. A few days after his death, the ISF sent a notification that he had been awarded a three-year grant for his project, « Abraham Ibn Ezra and His Latin Translators », for preparing critical editions and English annotated translations of Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's writings, along with comparisons with the underlying Hebrew texts and French translations.

a year later. Over the next two decades – by the standards of their times or, for that matter, of any times – both men were very prolific before their deaths in their early 70s.³⁹ The discipline at the heart of their scientific production was astrology. Both luminaries made their writings on astrology very interesting and took pains to carefully explain the astral topics they discussed. They were, in a certain sense, kindred souls. But what impressed us most about Shlomo was not his vast learning, nor his truly impressive productivity and grand achievements, but the excitement and enthusiasm with which he shared his many discoveries and conveyed his knowledge. We remember fondly how easily he could capture our interest with words like « Let me tell you something interesting », « I want to tell you a secret », « What you must understand is », and « I just made an exciting discovery ». In short, Professor Shlomo Sela was not simply a most learned scholar, but also a passionate one, who delighted in sharing his research and enthusiasm with others and knew well how to do so. This, we suspect, is the secret to being a remarkable scholar.⁴⁰

³⁹ Scholars can only estimate Ibn Ezra's dates.

⁴⁰ Another important aspect of Sela's persona has been expressed well by Professor Barkai in his correspondence with us: « Shlomo was well aware of the significant academic and intellectual value of his work, but rarely have I met people in the academic world whose humility approached that of Shlomo ».

Appendix

SHLOMO SELA'S SCHOLARLY WRITINGS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Shlomo Sela's Brill Series, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings*

VOLUME 1. *Abraham Ibn Ezra, The Book of Reasons: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, Brill, Leiden 2007 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 35).

The two versions of *Sefer ha-Te'amim* (Book of Reasons) intend to explain the astrological reasons (*te'amim*) behind the concepts employed in both versions of *Reshit Hokhmah* (Beginning of Wisdom). The first version of *Reshit Hokhmah* was published in vol. 5; the second version is lost, but some fragments were discovered and published by Sela (see below, « A Fragment From an Unknown Redaction » (2010).

VOLUME 2. *Abraham Ibn Ezra, The Book of the World: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, Brill, Leiden 2010 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 39).

The two versions of *Sefer ha-'Olam* (Book of the World) address world astrology, i.e., the astrological branch concerned with the reconstruction, interpretation, and prognostication of historical, political, and religious events, and with weather forecasting. A hitherto unknown Latin translation of a lost third version of Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-'Olam* was recently discovered, published and translated into English. See Shlomo Sela et al., « A Newly Discovered Treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra » (2020).

VOLUME 3. *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations, and Medical Astrology: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Book of Elections (3 Versions), the Book of Interrogations (3 Versions), and the Book of the Luminaries*, Brill, Leiden 2011 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 50).

This volume is devoted to Ibn Ezra's works on Elections (*mivharim*), Interrogations (*she'elot*), and medical astrology. Elections is an astrological doctrine that is concerned with finding the best time to begin a particular activity. Interrogations allows the astrologer to reply to any question raised by his client or patron. *Sefer ha-Me'orot* (Book of the Luminaries) expounds

the astrological theory behind the doctrine of critical days and addresses the course of both acute and chronic diseases.

VOLUME 4. *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Book of Nativities and the Book of Revolution*, Brill, Leiden 2014 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 59).

This volume is devoted to Ibn Ezra's works on nativities (*moladot*) and continuous horoscopy in nativities. According to the astrological doctrine of nativities, the destiny of the newborn is determined by the configuration of the celestial bodies at the moment of birth, and it may be learned from the natal horoscopic chart. Continuous horoscopy in nativities posits that a new horoscopic chart should be cast every time the Sun arrives at the same point in the zodiac where it was at the time of the person's birth (or even at the beginning of every month, week, day or hour), and that this new chart should be compared with the natal chart. *Sefer ha-Moladot* (Book of Nativities) addresses the doctrine of nativities and the system of continuous horoscopy in nativities. *Sefer ha-Tequfah* (Book of Revolution) is devoted exclusively to continuous horoscopy in nativities. An anonymous Latin translation of a second lost version of *Sefer ha-Moladot* is published in vol. 6.

VOLUME 5. *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Book of the Beginning of Wisdom and the Book of the Judgments of the Zodiacal Signs*, Brill, Leiden 2017 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 69).

Reshit Hōkhmah (Beginning of Wisdom) and *Sefer Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot* (Book of the Judgments of the Zodiacal Signs) are both introductions to astrology, i.e., the astrological genre that conveys basic elements of the world view that underlies astrology and that explains technical concepts of the various branches of astrology. *Reshit Hōkhmah* was Ibn Ezra's most widely diffused and read astrological work among Jews in the Middle Ages. As mentioned above, a fragment from the second lost version of *Reshit Hōkhmah* was published by Sela in « A Fragment From an Unknown Redaction » (2010).

« *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus* » (vol. 6, 7, 8): With vol. 5, Sela completed his publication of all of Ibn Ezra's extant Hebrew astrological writings. However, Sela's life project, « *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings* », did not end here. The following volumes of the series carry the title « *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus* », which according to Sela, signals « that they look at the same cultural phenomenon: Abraham Ibn Ezra's renaissance in the Latin West ». Sela divided Ibn Ezra's Latin astrological corpus into three categories: (a) Latin translations whose Hebrew source texts are extant; (b) Latin translations that have no surviving Hebrew

counterpart and that are undoubtedly translations of texts by Ibn Ezra; (c) Latin translations that have no extant Hebrew counterpart and whose affiliation with Ibn Ezra is unclear. Volumes 6 and 7 present specimens of the second and third of these categories; vol. 8 falls into the first category.

VOLUME 6. *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Nativities: A Parallel Latin-English Critical Edition of Liber Nativitatum and Liber Abraham Iudei de Nativitatibus*, Brill, Leiden 2019 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 78).

This volume comprises critical editions of two treaties on nativities. The first, *Liber nativitatum*, is an anonymous Latin translation of the second lost Hebrew version of Ibn Ezra's *Book of Nativities*. The second, *Liber Abraham Iudei de nativitatibus*, is a work whose connection with Ibn Ezra is unclear.

VOLUME 7. *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Elections and Interrogations: A Parallel Latin-English Critical Edition of Liber Electionum, Liber Interrogationum, and Tractatus Particulares*, Brill, Leiden 2020 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 83).

This volume comprises editions of three texts: *Liber electionum*, *Liber interrogationum*, and *Tractatus particulares*. The first two works are anonymous Latin translations of the third and almost completely lost Hebrew versions of the *Book of Elections* and the *Book of Interrogations*, respectively. *Tractatus particulares* is a four-part work assigned to Ibn Ezra, which is extant in two Latin translations. In addition to his edition and translation of this work, Sela offers a close study of it, including a list of all the sources on which the author of *Tractatus particulares* drew.

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VOLUME 8/2. *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus: Henry Bate's Latin Versions of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings, With English Translation and a Collation with the Hebrew and French Source Texts*, Brill, Leiden 2022 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 93/2).

This volume is divided into two books. It is devoted to Henry Bate of Mechelen (1246–after 1310), « the first scholar to bring Ibn Ezra's astrological work to the knowledge of Latin readers ». It includes critical editions with English translations of all six of Bate's complete Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

ENDLICH! ZUM ERSCHEINEN DER KRITISCHEN EDITION DER LATEINISCHEN FASSUNG DES *WEGWEISERS FÜR DIE VERIRRTE* VON MAIMONIDES*

FINALLY! ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE CRITICAL EDITION
OF THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF MAIMONIDES' *GUIDE OF THE PERPLEXED*

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Es gibt wenige Werke der philosophischen Tradition, welche die Existenz und die Einheit der Kultur des Mittelmeerraumes eindeutiger belegen als der *Wegweiser für die Verirrten* des jüdischen Philosophen Moses Maimonides. Diese zwischen 1185 und 1190/91 auf Arabisch verfasste Schrift (*Dalālat 'al-ḥā'irīn*), die 1204 von Samuel Ibn Tibbon und zu einem unbekannten Datum von Yehuda al-Ḥarizi auf Hebräisch übersetzt wurde (*Moreh nevukim*), ist im 13. Jahrhundert zweimal ins Lateinische übertragen worden. Die vollständige auf der Grundlage des Textes von al-Ḥarizi angefertigte lateinische Übersetzung¹ mit dem Titel *Dux neutrorum vel dubiorum* ist in 13 Handschriften überliefert und wurde 1520 von Agostino Giustiniani in Paris erstmals gedruckt.² Die kritische Edition des ersten Buches verdient

* MOSES MAIMONIDES, *Dux neutrorum vel dubiorum*, pt. I, ed. DIANA DI SEGNI, Peeters, Leuven 2019 (Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales, Bibliotheca, 17, 1), zitiert als *Dux*.

¹ *Dux*, « Introduction », p. 143*, p. 174*–183*, vgl. das Ergebnis (p. 183*): « In conclusion, textual examples exhibit an ambivalent result, even though they confirm that the main textual source for the Latin translation has been al-Ḥarizi's version ». Allerdings muss bedacht werden, dass es weder für den arabischen noch für den hebräischen Text eine kritische Edition gibt. Vgl. CELIA LÓPEZ ALCALDE, « Maimonides First Reception in Latin Philosophy », *Mediterranea. International journal on the transfer of knowledge*, 4 (2019), p. 35–56.

² Der Herausgeber der *editio princeps* AGOSTINO GIUSTINIANI OP (1470–1536) hat die Ausgabe während seines Paris Aufenthaltes als Professor für hebräische Sprache an der Sorbonne (1518–1522) veröffentlicht (1520). Er ist vor allem berühmt wegen seiner fünfsprachigen Ausgabe des *Psalter*s. Diese Ausgabe des *Dux* wurde 1964 von Minerva (Frankfurt), nachgedruckt (RABI MOSSEI AEGYTIJ *Dux seu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum ... Jodocus Badius Ascensius*, Paris 1520). Zu dieser Ausgabe eine kurze Würdigung p. 100*. Der Artikel zu Giustiniani im *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* von AURELIO CEVOLOTTO (vol. 57, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 2001) liefert die unverzichtbaren Informationen zu diesem wichtigen Gelehrten. Johannes Buxtorf der Jüngere (1599–1664) hat 1629 in Basel eine neue lateinische Übersetzung publiziert. Zur

eine etwas umfassendere Rezension. In einem ersten Teil sollen in gebotener Kürze einige Hinweise zur Edition als solcher vorgelegt werden; in einem zweiten Teil möchte ich der Leserschaft einige Hinweise zur philosophiehistorischen Bedeutung dieser wichtigen Ausgabe, beziehungsweise des darin enthaltenen Textes unterbreiten.³

I.

Von den dreizehn Handschriften, in denen die Übersetzung eines unbekannten Autors erhalten ist, befinden sich drei in Italien, drei in Frankreich und drei in England, was eine europäische Verbreitung der Schrift bestätigt. Die ausführliche Beschreibung der Textzeugen (40*-97*) zeigt, dass der weitaus grösste Teil der Handschriften aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert stammt. Beachtenswert ist, dass die Handschrift Kassel, 2 MSS Theol. 67, mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit für Giovanni Pico della Mirandola verfertigt wurde (96*; auch die Handschrift Vat. Lat. 4274 stammt aus seinem Besitz). Der lateinische Titel der Schrift wird verschieden überliefert. Die Herausgeberin hat sich für *Dux neutrorum et dubiorum* entschieden und verdeutlicht die Bedeutung in folgender Weise:

As explained by the author in the Prologue, the title indicates the aim of the book, namely to solve doubts originating from the literal reading the Bible. The ideal

Übersetzung von Buxtorf, vgl. SAVERIO CAMPANINI, « *Perspicue et fideliter conversus: Johannes Buxtorf the Younger's Translation of the Guide of the Perplexed* », in YOD. *Revue des études hébraïques et juives*, 22 (2019), p. 133–153 (thematische Ausgabe der Zeitschrift: ALESSANDRO GUETTA, DIANA DI SEGNI (eds.), *Medieval an Early Modern Translations of Maimonides 'Guide of the Perplexed'*).

³ Die Übersetzung des Titels auf deutsch ist nicht einheitlich. Adolf Weiss, der den hebräischen Text übersetzt hat, hat den Titel: *Führer der Unschlüssigen* gewählt – seine erstmals 1923 erschienene Übersetzung ist nachgedruckt: MOSE BEN MAIMON, *Führer der Unschlüssigen*. Übersetzt und Kommentar von ADOLF WEISS. Mit einer Einleitung von JOHANN MAIER, Meiner, Hamburg 1995 (Philosophische Bibliothek, 184a). Die neuere Teil-Übersetzung und Edition des arabischen Textes hat den Titel *Wegweiser der Verirrten* gewählt. Diese Ausgabe – MOSES MAIMONIDES, *Wegweiser für die Verirrten*. Eine Textauswahl zur Schöpfungsfrage, Arabisch/Hebräisch. Übersetzt von WOLFGANG VON ABEL, ILYA LEVKOVICH, FREDERIK MUSALL, Eingeleitet von FREDERIK MUSALL und YOSSEF SCHWARTZ, Herder, Freiburg i. Br. – Basel – Wien 2009 – beruht auf der Ausgabe des Urtextes von SALOMON MUNK (revidiert von ISSACHAR JOEL, 3 vol., Y. Yunovits, Jerusalem 1931). Munk (1803–1867) hat den judäo-arabischen Text in hebräischen Schriftzeichen gedruckt, während diese neuere Teilausgabe den arabischen Text in arabischen Schriftzeichen wiedergibt. Die Einleitung dieser Neuausgabe ist interessant, wiewohl zu bedauern ist, dass die lateinische Rezeption des Textes nur wenig Beachtung findet. Allerdings wird das einzigartige rezeptionsgeschichtliche Phänomen des Werkes im Mittelalter betont, handelt es sich doch um ein Werk, das « in drei unterschiedlichen Sprachen und drei unterschiedlichen religiös-kulturellen Kontexten » gelesen und diskutiert wurde (p. 32). Eine anonyme, positive Rezension dieser Ausgabe ist erschienen in *Aleph* [Indiana University Press], 11 (2011), p. 179–181.

reader of his work is a wise man who considers himself perplexed; indeed, he faces two possible solutions: the reader can either follow the literal meaning of the Law rejecting his intellect, or follow his intellect, thinking, however, that he is abandoning the Law (p. 102*).

Die Prüfung der Handschriften ermöglicht es, ein zweigliedriges Stemma zu entwickeln (p. 129*), wobei die Gruppe X neun Handschriften umfasst, die Gruppe X₁ dagegen vier. Der kritische Text wurde auf der Grundlage der Übereinstimmung dreier Handschriften/Gruppen erstellt (p. 133*). Die Fälle, in denen solche Übereinstimmung nicht vorhanden ist, werden im Einzelnen diskutiert (p. 134*–143*).⁴ Die Abweichungen von der Ausgabe Giustiniani's werden im Apparat eigens vermerkt. Wie bereits erwähnt, hat der lateinische Übersetzer die Version von al-Harizi benutzt, aber es scheint unbestreitbar, dass er ebenfalls eine andere Version benutzte und dass er gewisse Kenntnisse des Arabischen besaß (p. 183*–184*). Eine sehr ausführliche Bibliographie (p. 186*–207*) sowie vier Indices (Index of modern names, of ancient and fictional names, of biblical and rabbinical passages, of manuscripts, p. 311–323) ergänzen die Edition des lateinischen Textes (p. 1–293), der nun endlich in einer zuverlässigen Ausgabe verfügbar ist.⁵

II.

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass für einen christlichen Leser des lateinischen Westens höchstwahrscheinlich andere Aspekte des maimonidischen Buches von Bedeutung waren als für die jüdischen Adressaten. Zur Zeit als die Übersetzung des *Dux* in der lateinischen Welt verbreitet wurde, hat die Philosophie aufgrund der Texte, die aus dem arabischen und griechischen übersetzt wurden, in den neu entstehenden Universitäten die Studierenden und Forschenden in eine geistige Unruhe versetzt, die das Vorwort der maimonidischen Schrift gleichsam zu beschreiben scheint:

Intentio etiam huius libri est expergefacere mentem viri iusti, in cuius animam intravit credulitas legis nostre et colligata est in intellectu ipsius et est perfectus in fide sua et in moribus suis et speculatus est in sapientia philosophica et intellexit

⁴ Introduction, p. 133*: « In general, the reading of X, has been preferred when supported by the Hebrew text ». Zu dieser Gruppe gehören die Handschriften von Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'agglomération, MS 608, und Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS II 482 sowie zwei Manuskripte aus der Vatikanbibliothek: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1124 und Vat. lat. 4274.

⁵ Josef Koch und Wolfgang Kluxen hatten in den fünfziger Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts am Thomas-Institut in Köln das Vorhaben vorzubereiten begonnen; vgl. von WOLFGANG KLUXEN, « Literargeschichtliches zum lateinischen Moses Maimonides », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 21 (1954), p. 23–50.

rationes ipsius et traxit eum intellectus humanus, ut faceret ipsum esse in gradu suo [...] Et remansit in magna ambiguitate et corde dubio, et ignorat, utrum sequatur intellectum suum habito post tergum, quod intellexit de nominibus illis, et opinatur tunc, quod destruit fundamentum legis, vel quod remaneat in eo quod intellexit de nominibus illis, et non sequatur intellectum suum, et tunc habebit suspectum intellectum ipsum [...]. Et remanebit in ipsis cogitationibus vanis cum teneritate cordis et anxietate animi et non recedet ab infirmitate animi et cogitationibus vagis (p. 3–4).⁶

Der hier artikuliert Gegensatz und die damit verbundene Verwirrung und Angst war für den christlichen Leser leicht nachvollziehbar, da darin die durch den Gegensatz von philosophischer Einsicht und der von der Religion vorgelegten Wahrheit zum Ausdruck kommt. Als Vorhaben des Buches wird angekündigt, dass es die Not, die Angst und den Zweifel dessen, der unter diesem Gegensatz leidet, lindern will. Die Schrift will « den Geist » des derart Leidenden « aufwecken », wie der Text sagt. Es ist augenfällig, dass Maimonides sich bedachtsam mit der möglichen Leserschaft beschäftigt, seine Adressaten beschreibt, sie auf gewisse Schwächen der Schrift hinweist und betont, dass er nicht alle Probleme lösen kann, obschon er das Buch ‘Führer der Zweifelnden’ genannt hat:

Et non dico, quod liber iste aufert omnem dubietatem de corde intelligentis, sed dico, quod tollit plures et maiores dubitationes (p. 4, 42–43).

Der Autor lädt die Leserschaft dazu ein, die Schwierigkeit der gestellten Aufgabe andauernd zu berücksichtigen und vom Autor nicht mehr zu verlangen, als er anbieten kann:

Et ideo non quaeras a me nisi ‘initia rationum’. Et tamen illa initia non sunt ordinata in isto libro, nec unum post aliud, sed sunt dispersa et immutata modis aliis ab eo, quod est nostre voluntatis exponere, quoniam intentio mea est, ut veritates que ibi sunt, aliquando manifestentur et aliquando occultentur, ut non remaneat aliquid, quod stet contra rationem spirituales, quia nichil potest esse, quod stet contra ipsam (p. 5, 57–63).

Die in dieser Schrift erörterten Forschungsgegenstände können von niemandem im vollen Umfang erfasst werden, sodass die Leseerfahrungen sehr unterschiedlich sein können, manchmal lichtvoll, dann aber wieder dunkel:

⁶ Vgl. ebenfalls p. 11, 180–183: « Sed verba mea in hoc libro sunt sicut illius, qui profundavit in sapientia philosophica, sicut predixi, et scit scientias et credit verba legis et dubitat in suis rationibus, quia fecerunt ipsum errare ambigua nomina et similitudines ».

Nec ascendat in cor tuum, quod illa magna secreta sunt a nobis scita usque ad finem suum. Sed aliquando apparet veritas, donec credimus, quod sit dies, et postea abscondunt ipsam potentie nature, et consuetudines, quo usque revertimur in obscuritatem et tenebram, iuxta quod fuimus in ipsa prius (p. 6, 75–79).

Maimonides, der einen ausführlichen Abschnitt den Widersprüchen, die in einem Buch vorkommen können, widmet (p. 21–24), ermahnt seine Leserschaft und empfiehlt, die Bescheidenheit; seine Absicht ist es, die Zweifelnden zu beruhigen:

Et erit intentio mea, ut evadat ille bonus homo ab eo, in quo dubitat, et docebo illum, ut recedat a sua dubitatione, donec sit perfectus, et inveniat requiem (p. 20, 64–66).

Was den Aufbau des ersten Buches angeht, so ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass Maimonides in 39 lexikographischen Kapiteln darum bemüht ist, die Unklarheiten und Schwierigkeiten biblischer Ausdrücke zu klären (Kapitel 1, 3–26, 18–25, 27–29, 36–44, 64–66, 69). Besonders bedeutsam sind aus philosophiehistorischer Perspektive nach meiner Meinung allerdings die Kapitel, in denen die Probleme, sogar die Unmöglichkeit affirmativer göttlicher Namen diskutiert werden (Kap. 49–59) und wo Maimonides den Vorrang der negativen Theologie zu begründen versucht. Zwar war die lateinische Welt durch die Schriften der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita mit diesem Aspekt theologischer Rede bereits hinlänglich vertraut, aber der Ansatz des jüdischen Denkers setzte andere Akzente, wie die diese Kapitel des ersten Buches auf sehr beeindruckende Weise belegen:

Scias, quod enuntiatio de Creatore per verba negativa est vera, in quam non cadit dubitatio, nec est in ea diminutio in veritate Creatoris ullo modo, sed enuntiatio de ipso per verba affirmativa partim est in equivocatione partim in imperfectione, sicut exposuimus. Et necesse est, ut in primis explane, tibi quomodo negativa ostendant aliquid de Creatore, et qualiter differunt ab attributivis postea vero explanabo tibi, qualiter non habemus viam ad enarrandum ipsum nisi per negativam solummodo (I, 57, p. 168, 2–10).

Der absolute Vorrang der negativen Theologie steht für Maimonides fest, denn « nulla agnominatio attributiva convenit ei aliquo modo » (I, 57, p. 169, 40–41), sodass das Schweigen eine angemessene Verehrung Gottes ist.⁷

⁷ Cf. Dux, I, 58, p. 175, 65–70: « 'Tibi silentium laus', id est: tacere est laus tibi. Istud autem est verbum dulce in ratione ista; quicquid enim laudis vel exaltationis dicimus de eo, invenimus, quod per illum diminuimus id, quod pertinet ad ipsum, et videmus, quod defectus est, et tacere melius est, ut habundent super apprehensionem scientiarum, sicut preceptum est perfectis: 'Dicite in cordibus vestris super cubilibus vestris, et tacete semper' ».

III.

Die Bedeutung der Schrift des Maimonides für das Denken des Mittelalters im Allgemeinen und des Thomas von Aquin im Besonderen ist schon mehrfach sehr ausführlich untersucht worden. Was den ersten Aspekt betrifft, kann auf die wichtige und umfassende Studie von GÖRGE K. HASSELHOFF hingewiesen werden.⁸ Die Literatur zum Verhältnis des Thomas von Aquin zu Maimonides ist sehr ansehnlich. Erwähnenswert sind neben der frühen, grundlegenden Studie von Jakob Guttman⁹ in neuerer Zeit vor allem die Arbeiten von Jacob I. Dienstag,¹⁰ Idit Dobbs-Weinstein,¹¹ Jacob Habermann,¹² GÖRGE K. HASSELHOFF,¹³ Adrian Schenker,¹⁴ C. Vansteenkiste,¹⁵ Avital Wohlman.¹⁶ Zu den gewichtigsten

⁸ GÖRGE K. HASSELHOFF, *Dicit Rabbi Moyses: Studien zum Bild von Moses Maimonides im lateinischen Westen vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 2004. Diese Arbeit gibt einen Überblick auch über die Forschungsgeschichte. Der Autor betont zweifelsohne zu Recht, dass die Rezeption des maimonidischen Denkens nicht auf die Theologie und Philosophie begrenzt werden darf und somit die Medizin und die Naturwissenschaft ebenfalls berücksichtigt werden müssen. Vgl. ebenfalls: GÖRGE K. HASSELHOFF, « 'Rabbi Moyses': zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Moses Maimonides im christlichen Mittelalter », *Judaica: Beiträge zum verstehen des Judentums*, 60 (2004), p. 1–20. Eine sehr kritische Beurteilung der Buchpublikation von Hasselhoff gibt HENRYK ANZULEWICZ, « Das Bild von Moses Maimonides. Kritische Anmerkungen zu einer Studie », *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 54 (2007), p. 579–599.

⁹ JAKOB GUTTMANN, *Das Verhältnis des Thomas von Aquino zum Judentum und zur jüdischen Litteratur*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1891. Guttman (1845–1919) hat ebenfalls eine Publikation zu Avicbron (Id., *Die Philosophie des Ibn Gabirol*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1889) sowie zu Duns Scotus (« Die Beziehung des Johannes Duns Scotus zum Judentum », *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 38, 1889, p. 26–39) verfasst sowie einen Überblick vorgelegt: Id., *Die Scholastik des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und zur jüdischen Literatur*, M. & H. Marcus, Breslau 1902.

¹⁰ JACOB I. DIENSTAG, *Studies in Maimonides and St. Thomas Aquinas*, KTAV Publishing House, New York 1975.

¹¹ IDIT DOBBS-WEINSTEIN, *Maimonides and St. Thomas on the Limits of Reason*, State University of New York Press, Albany 1995.

¹² JACOB HABERMANN, *Maimonides and Aquinas. A Contemporary Appraisal*, with a Foreword by JOSEPH L. BLAU, KTAV Publishing House, New York 1979.

¹³ GÖRGE K. HASSELHOFF, « Anmerkungen zur Rezeption des Maimonides in den Schriften des Thomas von Aquin », in W. KINZIG, C. KÜCK (eds.), *Zwischen Konfrontation und Faszination: Ansätze zu einer neuen Beschreibung jüdisch-christlicher Beziehungen*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 2002, p. 55–73.

¹⁴ ADRIAN SCHENKER, « Die Rolle der Religion bei Maimonides und Thomas von Aquin », in Id., *Recht und Kult im Alten Testament*, Universitätsverlag, Freiburg 2000, p. 178–202.

¹⁵ CLEMENS VANSTEENKISTE, « Autori arabi e giudei nell'opera di san Tommaso », *Angelicum*, 37 (1960), p. 336–401, zu Maimonides, p. 372–393. Die Arbeit von Clemens Vansteenkiste OP (1910–1997) verdient eine besondere Erwähnung: vor der Zeit der elektronischen Datenverarbeitung hat dieser Dominikaner sehr wertvolle Listen der Quellen des Aquinaten – wie der zitierte Artikel – zusammengestellt. Unter dem Titel *Rassegna di letteratura tomistica* hat er von 1969 bis 1996 ein Rezensionsorgan der Literatur zu Thomas von Aquin geleitet und redigiert. Vgl. ABELARDO

philosophischen Lehren, bei deren Ausarbeitung Maimonides Thomas inspiriert hat, gehören, wenn wir das erste Buch, auf dessen Edition wir hier Bezug nehmen, berücksichtigen, namentlich die Stellen, wo der Rabbi die Identität von Sein und Wesen in Gott behandelt (I 56, p. 166). Étienne Gilson hat darauf hingewiesen, dass Thomas für seine grundlegende These der Identität von Sein und Wesen in Gott dem jüdischen Denker viel verdankt.¹⁷

Ein besonders aufschlussreiches Beispiel der thomasischen Rezeption von maimonidischen Ansätzen ist die Rezeption des dreiunddreissigsten Kapitels des ersten Buches (I, 33, p. 91–100). Maimonides erörtert hier, dass es fünf Gründe gibt, die das Erkennen und Verstehen der geistlichen Weisheit verhindern:

Scias, quod quinque sunt cause, que impediunt vel perhibent incipere addiscere sapientiam spiritualement et innuere vel significare, que expedit innui super illa, et detegere, que sunt in ipsa, genti (I, 33, p. 91,2–4).

Thomas übernimmt die fünf Gründe mit explizitem Verweis auf Maimonides in mehreren Texten, wo die Frage aufgeworfen wird, ob der Glaube und die Offenbarung (auch vernünftig erkennbarer Inhalte) für die Menschen notwendig sei (III *Sent.*, d. 24, q.1, art. 3; *De veritate*, q. 14, art. 3; *In Boethium de Trinitate*, q. 3, art. 3).¹⁸ Diese Übernahme maimonidischer Argumente ist von besonderem Interesse für die Analyse der verschiedenen Verwendungsweisen des Textes und der Gedanken des jüdischen Philosophen. Hasselhoff hat treffend zwei Verwendungsweisen maimonidischer Ansätze und Lehren unterschieden, wenn

LOBATO (ed.), 'Littera, sensus, sentantia'. *Studi in onore del Prof. Clemente J. Vansteenkiste OP*, Massimo, Milano 1991 (Bibliographie: p. 19–84).

¹⁶ AVITAL WOHLMAN, *Thomas d'Aquin et Maïmonide: un dialogue exemplaire*, Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1988; ID., *Maïmonide et Thomas d'Aquin: un dialogue impossible*, Universitätsverlag, Fribourg 1995. Ich gestatte mir, zwei ältere Arbeiten von mir zu erwähnen, auf die im Folgenden Bezug genommen wird: RUEDI IMBACH, « Alcune precisazioni sulla presenza di Maimonide in Tommaso d'Aquino », in *Studi* 1995, ed. DIETRICH LORENZ O.P., STEFANO SERAFINI, Pontificia Università S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Rome 1995, p. 48–64; ID., « *Ut ait Rabbi Moyses*. Maimonidische Philosophie bei Thomas von Aquin und Meister Eckhart », *Collectanea Franciscana*, 60 (1990), p. 99–115; abgedruckt in RUEDI IMBACH, *Quodlibeta*, Ausgewählte Artikel / Articles choisis, ed. FRANCIS CHENEVAL, THOMAS RICKLIN, CLAUDE POTTIER, SILVIA MASPOLI, MARIANNE MÖSCH, Universitätsverlag, Freiburg 1996, p. 333–349.

¹⁷ ÉTIENNE GILSON, « Maïmonide et la philosophie de l'Exode », *Mediaeval Studies*, 13 (1951), p. 223–225; vgl. ebenfalls SHLOMO PINÈS, « Dieu et l'être selon Maïmonide », in ALAIN DE LIBERA, EMILIE ZUM BRUNN (eds.), '*Celui qui est*'. *Interprétations juives et chrétiennes d'Exode 3, 14*, Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1986, p. 15–24.

¹⁸ Vgl. dazu den vorzüglichen, wenn auch schon etwas älteren Artikel von PAUL SYNAVE, « La révélation des vérités divines naturelles d'après Thomas d'Aquin », in *Mélanges Mandonnet: études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du Moyen Âge*, t. I, Vrin, Paris 1930, p. 327–370; ebenfalls HASSELHOFF, *Dicit Rabbi Moyses*, p. 184–186.

er von « verdeckter Rezeption » und « expliziter Anführung » spricht.¹⁹ Im hier vorgelegten Fall handelt es sich offensichtlich um eine explizite Nennung, da Rabbi Moyses erwähnt wird, aber es ist wohl angebracht verschiedene Fälle der expliziten Nennung und Zitierung zu unterscheiden. Im vorliegenden Fall übernimmt Thomas ersichtlich die fünf Gründe des Maimonides, aber er will damit etwas ganz anderes aufzeigen als sein Gewährsmann. Während Maimonides die fünf Gründe vorlegt, um seine esoterische Auffassung der Philosophie zu verteidigen, will Thomas damit zeigen, dass Gott zu Recht auch gewisse Wahrheiten geoffenbart hat, die mit Hilfe der natürlichen Vernunft erkannt werden können. Thomas denkt primär an die vielen Menschen, welche die Arkana der Metaphysik nicht erreichen können, dagegen will offensichtlich Maimonides die Metaphysik vor dem Zugriff der Menge schützen. Das Beispiel zeigt in recht einleuchtender Weise, wie Thomas (in diesem präzisen Falle) mit Hilfe des jüdischen Philosophen seine eigenen Thesen entdeckt und entwickelt hat.²⁰

IV.

Was die Erforschung der Präsenz des Maimonides im Schrifttum von Meister Eckhart betrifft, ist zuerst die Pionierarbeit von Joseph Koch zu erwähnen, der bereits 1928 auf die Bedeutung des jüdischen Denkers für den deutschen Meister hingewiesen hat.²¹ In neuerer Zeit sind vornehmlich die Arbeiten von Yossef Schwartz bemerkenswert.²² Besondere Beachtung verdient indes die Arbeit von

¹⁹ HASSELHOFF, « 'Rabbi Moyses' », p. 6.

²⁰ Ich habe in einer früheren Arbeit (IMBACH, « Alcune precisazioni », p. 55–59) versucht, sechs Arten der (expliziten) Bezugnahme des Thomas auf Maimonides zu unterscheiden: (1) das Autoritätsargument; (2) Moyses als Vertreter einer irrtümlichen Meinung; (3) die lehrhafte Diskussion mit ihm; (4) Moyses als Zeuge einer bestimmten Ansicht, also im Sinne einer historiographischen Quelle; (5) Maimonides als narrative Quelle; (6) Übernahme einer Argumentation.

²¹ JOSEPH KOCH, « Meister Eckhart und die jüdische Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters », *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, 101 (1928), p. 134–148, wieder abgedruckt in ID., *Kleine Schriften*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 1973, p. 349–365. Koch (1885–1967) hat das Kölner Thomas-Institut begründet und war an der kritischen Edition der lateinischen Werke Eckharts wesentlich beteiligt. Im Quellenapparat der von ihm besorgten Werke des Dominikaners sind die Verweise auf Maimonides sehr zahlreich. Ernst Reffke, ein Mitarbeiter an der Eckhart-Ausgabe, hat sich ebenfalls zur Thematik geäußert: ERNST REFFKE, « Eckhartiana IV. Studien zum Problem der Entwicklung Meister Eckharts im Opus Tripartitum », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 57 (1938), p. 19–95, insonderheit p. 77–95. Von den frühen Studien zum Thema ist auch zu anzuführen: HANS LIEBESCHÜTZ, « Meister Eckhart und Moses Maimonides », *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 54 (1972), p. 64–96.

²² YOSSEF SCHWARTZ, « 'Ecce est locus apud me': Maimonides und Eckharts Raumvorstellung als Begriff des Göttlichen », in JAN A. AERTSEN, ANDREAS SPEER (eds.), *Raum und Raumvorstellung im Mittelalter*, de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1998, p. 348–364; ID., « Meister Eckharts Schriftauslegung als Maimonidisches Projekt », in GÖRGE HASSELHOFF, OTFRIED FRAISSE (eds.), *Moses*

Diana Di Segni im Sammelband von Loris Sturlese zu den Quellen des deutschen Dominikaners.²³ Von den insgesamt 106 Zitaten beziehen sich 42 auf das erste Buch und 6 auf das Proöm.²⁴ Die Autorin ist der Auffassung. Dass die Präsenz des jüdischen Philosophen in Eckharts Werk im lateinischen Westen einzigartig ist²⁵ und sie fügt hinzu, dass der Dominikaner sich auf Maimonides zu Fragen beziehe, die bei den früheren Autoren noch nicht vorkamen:

Se gli scolastici prima di lui si erano interessati alla *Guida* per i problemi della creazione *ex nihilo*, la provvidenza e la profezia, Eckhart fa spazio a nuovi contenuti, interessandosi alla dottrina degli attributi negativi, dell'unità divina, all'interpretazione della Scrittura, e a questioni etiche e antropologiche.²⁶

Insonderheit was die negative Theologie betrifft beruft sich Eckhart auf Maimonides. Die Geschichte vom Elefanten, die zeigen soll, dass die Menschen mit positiven Gottesnamen, Gott anders vorstellen als er ist, bestätigt die direkte Abhängigkeit vom Text des *Dux*:

‘Cuius rei similitudo est’, ut [Maimonides] ait, ‘quod quidam homo audivit nomen elephantis et scit quod est res vera via et quaerit, ut sciat figuram eius et veritatem et respondet qui facit ipsum errare: scias quod est res habens unum pedem et tres alas et habitat in profundo maris, et corpus eius nitet sicut lux clara et facies eius

Maimonides (1138–1204). *His Religious, Scientific and Philosophical ‘Wirkungsgeschichte’ in Different Cultural Contexts*, Ergon, Würzburg 2004, p. 173–208; Id., « Zwischen Einheitsmetaphysik und Einheitshermeneutik: Eckharts Maimonides-Lektüre und das Deutungsproblem des ‘Opus tripartitum’ », in ANDREAS SPEER, LYDIA WEGENER (eds.), *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2005, p. 259–279; Id., « Meister Eckharts and Moses Maimonides: From Judaeo-Arabism Rationalism to Christian Mysticism », in JEREMIAH M. HACKETT (ed.), *A Companion to Meister Eckhart*, Brill, Leiden 2012, p. 389–414. Auf hebräisch: ‘*To Thee is silence praise: Meister Eckhart’s Reading in Maimonides’ Guide of the Perplexed*, History and Philosophy of Science Institute, Tel Aviv 2002. Beachtenswert ist ebenfalls PETER HEIDRICH, « Maimuni-Zitate bei Meister Eckhart », in HERMANN MICHAEL NIEMANN (ed.), *Im Gespräch mit Meister Eckhart und Maimonides*, LIT, Berlin 2010, (Rostocker theologische Studien, 22), p. 66–192.

²³ DIANA DI SEGNI, « ‘Verba sunt Rabbi Moyses’: Eckhart e Maimonide », in LORIS STURLESE (ed.), *Studi sulle fonti di Meister Eckhart*, vol. II, Academic Press, Fribourg 2012, p. 103–140. Die beiden Bände zu den Quellen Eckharts sind aus methodologischem Gesichtspunkt von besonderem Interesse. Es wird hier versucht die expliziten und identifizierbaren Quellen eines Autors zusammenzustellen und zu kommentieren. Wie Sturlese in seinem Vorwort sagt (vol. I, Academic Press, Fribourg 2008, p. 8), ist dieses Unternehmen von der Überzeugung gelenkt, « che la faticosa micrologia della intertestualità sia un elemento fondamentale per ricostruire la cultura, gli interlocutori, i problemi di un autore ».

²⁴ Vgl. DI SEGNI, « ‘verba sunt Rabbi Moyses’ », p. 119–130.

²⁵ DI SEGNI, « ‘verba sunt Rabbi Moyses’ », p. 114.

²⁶ DI SEGNI, « ‘verba sunt Rabbi Moyses’ », p. 114.

sicut facies hominis, et quandoque volat in aere, quandoque natat in aqua sicut piscis'.²⁷

Eckhart stellt das Programm der negativen Theologie unter die Autorität von Maimonides:

‘Idcirco convenerunt sapientes’, ut ait Rabbi Moyses, ‘quod scientiae non apprehenderunt creatorem et non apprehendit quid est nisi ipse et apprehensio nostra respectu ipisius est defectus appropinquandi apprehensioni ipsius’. Unde et Plato, ut scribit Macrobius, cum de deo ‘loqui esset animatus, dicere quid sit non ausus est, hoc solum de ipso sciens quod sciri qualis sit ab homine non possit’. Et secundum hoc verificatur ‘illud Socraticum: hoc scio quod nescio’, quasi dicat: hoc solum de deo scio quod ipsum nescio.²⁸

V.

Die hier nur beispielhalber unterbreiteten Beispiele der Präsenz des nun in einer kritischen Edition vorliegenden ersten Buches des *Dux neutrorum vel dubiorum* verdeutlichen, dass zwei bedeutende christliche Denker dem jüdischen Philosophen Vieles schulden. Diese Präsenz ist unbestritten vielseitig und impliziert auch die Kritik und die Ablehnung, aber das Entscheidende ist, dass diese Präsenz die intellektuelle Auseinandersetzung im Mittelmeerraum bestätigt: wir können den Einfluss der *lateinischen* Übersetzung eines von einem jüdischen Autor auf *Arabisch* geschriebenen und ins *Hebräische* übersetzten Textes beobachten und feststellen, dass im philosophischen Denken das *Finden des Eigenen* durch die Auseinandersetzung mit dem *Anderen* gefördert und bereichert wird – und dass dieser Prozess der Selbstfindung komplex ist und sein Verständnis und seine Erforschung zwar grosse Genauigkeit und bescheidene Umsicht erfordert, aber für die Interpretation der Geschichte des Denkens unerlässlich ist. Zweifellos sind Arbeiten wie die vorliegende, vorzügliche Edition für ein derartiges Unternehmen unverzichtbar.

²⁷ MEISTER ECKHART, *In Exodum*, n. 173, in HERIBERT FISCHER, JOSEF KOCH, KONRAD WEISS (eds.), *Magistri Eckhardi Expositio Libri Exodi, Sermones et lectiones super Ecclesiastici cap. 24, Expositio libri Sapientiae, Expositio Cantici canticorum cap. 1*, 6, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1992, p. 149[15]–150[2]. Die Vorlage: *Dux*, I, 59, p. 183, 84–89: « Cuius rei similitudo est, quod quidam homo audivit nomen elephantis, et scit, quod est res viva, et querit, ut sciat figuram eius et veritatem, et respondet ei, qui facit ipsum errare: scias, quod est res viva, habens unum pedem et tres alas, et habitat in profundo maris, et corpus eius nitet sicut lux clara, et facies eius lata sicut facies hominis, et quandoque volat in aere, quandoque natat sicut piscis ».

²⁸ ECKHART, *In Exodum*, n. 184, p. 158, 8–134. Vorlage: *Dux*, I, 58, p. 175, 56–58 (wörtlich). Das Macrobius-Zitat stammt aus dem *Somnium Scipionis*, I, c. 2, n. 15 (ed. JAMES A. WILLIS, Teubner, Leipzig 1963, p. 482, 19–22).

« MAHUMETANI SINENSES VELINT
DE LEGE CHRISTIANA ET MAHUMETANA DISSERERE »:
UNA NOTA SOBRE EL
BREVIS APPARATUS ET MODUS AGENDI AC DISPUTANDI
CUM MAHUMETANIS
DE CARLO DE CASTORANO (1673–1755)*

« MAHUMETANI SINENSES VELINT DE LEGE CHRISTIANA ET MAHUMETANA DISSERERE »: A
NOTE ON THE *BREVIS APPARATUS ET MODUS AGENDI AC DISPUTANDI CUM MAHUMETANIS* BY
CARLO OF CASTORANO (1673–1755)

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El libro que presentamos ha tenido un destino y una historia muy particulares. Escrito en circunstancias excepcionales por un misionero franciscano cerca de Pekín durante la segunda década del siglo XVIII, unos años más tarde el manuscrito viajó con su autor, Carlo de Castorano, a Roma, donde ingresó en la biblioteca de la Casa Generalicia Franciscana. Allí permaneció hasta finales del siglo, cuando las tropas napoleónicas sitiaron y, finalmente, saquearon Roma. A partir de entonces, se pierde la pista de nuestro libro hasta que reaparece en la biblioteca del lingüista francés Henri Cordier, muerto en 1925. Por fin, a mitades del siglo XX, los franciscanos del Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum de Roma pudieron adquirir el manuscrito en una subasta en París para incorporarlo de nuevo a su biblioteca.

¿Pero quién fue Carlo de Castorano, y de qué trata este libro que tantas vicisitudes sufrió hasta ser recuperado y ahora editado por José Martínez Gázquez y Nàdia Petrus Pons? Carlo nació en el año 1673 en Castorano, en la provincia italiana de Ascoli Piceno. Con diecisiete años entró en la Orden franciscana en el monasterio de Téramo, y con veinticinco años fue enviado como

* P. CAROLUS HORATHI A CASTORANO O.F.M., *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis et opuscula breviora*, ed. JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, NÀDIA PETRUS PONS, Antonianum, Roma 2021.

misionero a China, donde se estableció en la provincia de Shandong. Al parecer, el joven franciscano rápidamente hizo carrera eclesiástica, llegando a ser el secretario y la mano derecha del obispo de Pekín, Bernardino della Chiesa (1644–1721). Durante los treinta y tres años que Carlo de Castorano residió en China, se convirtió en un gran conocedor de la lengua y cultura del país. Así, escribió una gramática china, un diccionario chino-italiano, un libro de oraciones y un pequeño catecismo en chino, entre muchos documentos más. Desde un punto de vista teológico, se interesaba sobre todo por el debate en torno a la inculturación, es decir, cómo y hasta qué punto debe y puede el misionero adaptar los contenidos de la fe al entorno cultural en el cual actúa. En el caso concreto de China, este debate fue especialmente duro durante el siglo XVIII, enfrentando a franciscanos y jesuitas en la llamada controversia de los ritos sínicos. Mientras que los jesuitas creían compatibles ciertas tradiciones del Confucianismo con el Cristianismo, la Iglesia de Roma, y también Castorano y su obispo, se situaban en oposición a cualquier intento de aculturación del Cristianismo. Cuando la controversia llegó ante el emperador Kangxi, este obligó a todos los misioneros que no suscribían la compatibilidad entre Cristianismo y Confucianismo a abandonar China, entre ellos Castorano, que volvió a Roma en 1733, desde donde siguió pronunciándose con vehemencia contra el rito sínico. Hasta aquí, a breves pinceladas, la bibliografía y el perfil intelectual de Carlo de Castorano, quien ha sido reconocido como una figura destacada en la historia de la misión cristiana en China.¹

Curiosamente, el libro que han editado José Martínez Gázquez y Nàdia Petrus Pons nada tiene que ver con esta importante faceta de Castorano. El tema del libro es, a primera vista, sorprendente: el *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis* no trata de la conversión de los chinos confucianos, budistas o taoístas, sino que es un manual para la misión y controversia con los musulmanes. Como explica Castorano en el prefacio de su obra, los musulmanes chinos eran un grupo de población muy dinámico y en expansión, particularmente en su provincia, es decir, Shandong, donde construían mezquitas y formaban parte de la vida pública:

En la provincia de Shandong hay muchos mahometanos, y se multiplican diariamente en las principales ciudades [...], y en todas partes tienen mezquitas públicas, que llaman *Ly Pai Su*, es decir, Fano o Templo de la Adoración.²

¹ Véase, entre los trabajos más recientes, CLAUDIA VON COLLANI, « Carlo Orazi da Castorano and the Jesuits in the Chinese Rites Controversy », *Antonianum*, 91/2 (2016), p. 479–508.

² P. CAROLUS HORATII A CASTORANO, *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis et opuscula breviora*, p. 37: « In provincia Xan Tung mahumetani plurimi sunt et in civitatibus principalioribus se quotidie multiplicant [...] et ubique publicas habent meschitas, quas vocant *Ly Pai Su*, id est, Adorationis Phanum » (las traducciones aquí y a continuación son mías).

Según el franciscano, había discutido en repetidas ocasiones con los musulmanes chinos de la ciudad de Linqing: « ubi erat mea ordinaria residentia pluries habui colloquium de religione cum mahumetanis », cuando un día el muftí local le hizo saber que quería « disputare de religione » con él. Se emplazaron para una reunión en marzo del año 1724, aunque, llegado el día, el muftí no acudió a la cita. Al mismo tiempo, Castorano se vio forzado a abandonar la provincia de Shandong e instalarse cerca de Pekín, ya que la situación de los misioneros cristianos se iba deteriorando a raíz de la controversia del rito sínico y las restricciones impuestas por Kangxi y su sucesor.

La disputa con el muftí, por lo tanto, no se produjo ni el día acordado ni pudo celebrarse más adelante. Sin embargo, como explica Castorano, el misionero franciscano había preparado una serie de apuntes en vista de este encuentro. Estos apuntes son el punto de partida del *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis*, que, por consiguiente, puede considerarse, al menos en parte, el resultado de la convivencia y confrontación directa con los musulmanes chinos de Shandong. Decimos ‘en parte’, porque el *Brevis apparatus* consiste de dos secciones de tesis muy desigual. La primera de ellas, que reelabora el contenido de las notas tomadas para la disputa con el muftí, se puede interpretar como la *pars construens* de la aproximación de Castorano, presentando varios argumentos que deben convencer a los musulmanes chinos de la verdad del Cristianismo. La segunda parte es mucho más polémica; es, por así decirlo, la *pars destruens* de su aproximación. Como reconstruyen minuciosamente los editores, para esta parte Castorano se inspiró en obras anti-islámicas a las que tuvo acceso en la biblioteca de la sede de la Propaganda Fide cerca de Pekín, donde se estableció, una vez que, frustrada la disputa con el muftí, se vio obligado a abandonar la provincia de Shandong.

El *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis* corresponde, por lo tanto, a dos momentos vitales y dos ambientes intelectuales bien diferentes: en su primera parte, la *pars construens*, el lector se encuentra al Castorano residente de Linqing, que tuvo contacto directo con los musulmanes chinos de la provincia de Shandong; la segunda parte, la *pars destruens*, la redacta en la sede de la Propaganda Fide cerca de Pekín, después de huir de Linqing, al agravarse la situación de los misioneros cristianos. Dicho en otras palabras: la *pars construens* surge de la experiencia, la *pars destruens*, en cambio, es un trabajo de biblioteca, más tradicional que innovador, como muy acertadamente apuntan los editores.³ Ambas partes, por desiguales que sean, o tal vez precisamente por serlo, tienen un interés innegable. En la primera parte encontramos determinadas reflexiones misionológicas que merecen nuestra atención. Así, ya

³ Véase también ARNULF CAMPS, « Castoranos *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahumetanis* (1725) in China », in Id., *Studies in Asian Mission History 1956–1998*, Brill, Leiden 2000, p. 191–197.

en la introducción, Castorano insiste en que, ante todo, cabe pactar las condiciones de una disputa entre cristianos y musulmanes chinos en los siguientes términos:

Sobre todo, será necesario ponerse de acuerdo con ellos, para que no se ofendan y no se enfaden si nosotros llamamos a Mahoma un falso profeta [...]; porque los mahometanos mismos no llaman a Nuestro Señor Jesucristo 'Hijo de Dios', y sin embargo no nos enfadamos; más bien, discutimos con ellos por medio de razones y, por lo tanto, ellos también deben discutir con nosotros por razones, y no enfadarse.⁴

Castorano claramente define aquí las condiciones de la disputa desde los principios de la reciprocidad y racionalidad, que deben regir en todo momento la controversia religiosa. A estos dos principios cabe añadir el respeto, como se desprende de otro pasaje significativo de la introducción:

Cuando los mahometanos chinos entran en nuestras iglesias, aunque generalmente no están dispuestos a inclinar la cabeza hacia el suelo para saludar las imágenes sagradas del Santísimo Salvador, no se les debe permitir que muestren ningún desprecio hacia estas imágenes sagradas.⁵

Este pasaje, que exige respeto para las prácticas religiosas del otro, es sumamente interesante. Por un lado, nos revela que los musulmanes chinos tenían contactos frecuentes con los cristianos y que, incluso, solían entrar en sus iglesias. Por otro lado, Castorano introduce la temática de las imágenes de culto, que identifica aquí, y en otras ocasiones, como un problema mayor del diálogo con los musulmanes, que, como es sabido, mantienen la irrepresentabilidad pictórica de Dios (y de su creación).

Insistiendo en el respeto para el culto del otro, Castorano toca, a continuación, una cuestión que resulta fundamental para el argumento principal de toda la primera parte del *Brevis apparatus*, a saber, la percepción y posición del Cristianismo dentro del Islam:

⁴ P. CAROLUS HORATII A CASTORANO, *Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum mahometanis et opuscula breviora*, p. 39: « Ante omnia autem necesse erit cum illis pacisci ne offendantur nec tumultuent si a nobis vocatur Mahumed falsus Propheta [...]; etenim ipsi mahometani nolunt vocare Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum 'Dei Filium', et tamen nos non tumultamus, sed rationibus agimus cum illis, igitur debent et ipsi rationibus non tumultibus agere nobiscum ».

⁵ Ibid.: « Cum intrant nostras ecclesias mahometani sinenses, licet nolint plerumque ad terram capite demisso sacras Sanctissimi Salvatoris Imagines salutare, tamen non illis est concedendum, ut contemptum aliquod ostendant erga easdem sacras Imagines ».

Mahoma y sus seguidores creyeron que Jesucristo fue un profeta enviado por Dios y un hombre santo; y también creyeron que María fue la madre del santo profeta y que siempre fue virgen. [...] Por lo tanto, los musulmanes también deben apreciar, no despreciar, sus cosas, imágenes, etc.⁶

Estas reflexiones sobre la relación entre Islam y Cristianismo, que ponen de relieve los elementos de continuidad entre ambas religiones, son fundamentales para el desarrollo de toda la primera parte del *Brevis apparatus*. Castorano parte del supuesto de que, también para el Islam, la Biblia transmite la palabra de Dios, aunque de modo deficiente. Por ende, en la primera parte del *Brevis apparatus* se dispone a exponer, de manera constructiva, una serie de textos bíblicos que, a su modo de ver, demuestran los misterios de la fe cristiana. Aunque los diferentes capítulos de la primera parte analicen dichos « testimonios » bíblicos en forma de tratado, encontramos, hacia su final, rasgos de un diálogo, a saber, una « Responsio mahumetanorum ». Este breve capítulo responde a los argumentos escriturísticos de Castorano introduciendo el importante argumento islámico del *tahrif*, es decir, la falsificación del texto original de la Biblia por cristianos (y también judíos). A causa de esta falsificación –objeto del imaginario interlocutor musulmán– las Sagradas Escrituras no resultan una base sólida para la discusión. Castorano responde con un argumento eminentemente filológico, esto es, en términos de la fiabilidad de los autores de las Sagradas Escrituras y de la calidad e independencia de su transmisión en contextos geográficos y lingüísticos muy variados.

Sin embargo, llegado a este punto, Castorano va más allá y esgrime un interesante argumento que no depende ya de la autoridad de las Sagradas Escrituras. Así, en el último capítulo de la primera parte del *Brevis apparatus*, desarrolla una argumentación que recuerda la famosa « apuesta » de Blaise Pascal, cuyo cálculo probabilístico Castorano transpone al terreno de la controversia entre las religiones. Volviendo sobre la idea que Mahoma y el Islam reconocen en la tradición cristiana elementos de verdad que tienen fuerza salvífica, Castorano argumenta con una lógica impecable de la siguiente manera:

Como estas dos partes [es decir, mahometanos y cristianos] afirman colectivamente que la ley cristiana católica es de Dios, es verdadera y es camino de salvación, y solo una parte afirma que la ley mahometana es de Dios, mientras la otra lo niega [...], es obvio que es más seguro seguir la ley cristiana, la cual ambos

⁶ Ibid., p. 40: « Fatetur enim Muhamed [et eius sequaces cum eo] Jesum Christum esse Prophetam a Deo missum et hominem sanctum, item confitentur beatam Mariam esse Matrem Prophetæ Sancti, ac semper fuisse Virginem [...] ergo mahumetani etiam debent illorum res, imagines, et cetera, aestimare, non contemnere ».

testigos afirman; en cambio sería imprudente y peligroso seguir la ley musulmana, la cual solo un testigo afirma, mientras el otro la niega.⁷

Este argumento, de connotaciones modernas, con el cual culmina la primera parte, contrasta con el enfoque de la segunda parte. Como se ha dicho, la segunda parte del *Brevis apparatus* no aporta mayores novedades a la larga historia de controversia cristiana con el Islam. Sin embargo, es un testimonio muy elocuente de la persistencia del discurso e imaginario anti-islámico más tradicional. Castorano se refiere explícitamente a dos obras muy influyentes en su tiempo, el *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613) del carmelita descalzo Tomás de Jesús, y la *Manuductio ad conversionem mahumetanorum* (1680) del jesuita Tirso González de Santalla. Dos autores, dicho sea de paso, que están en el centro de sendas investigaciones doctorales del grupo Islamolatina de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, de Javier de Prado y David Vázquez.⁸ El núcleo de la segunda parte del *Brevis apparatus* consiste en extractos de estas dos obras, sobre todo de la *Manuductio*, que a su vez transmiten ideario anti-islámico de varios siglos, con el fin de desprestigiar a Mahoma como fundador del Islam. Editar un texto de estas características es un gran reto y los editores han hecho un trabajo modélico de identificación de fuentes (incluyendo la identificación de las fuentes de las fuentes...). En general, la aportación de Castorano en esta segunda parte se limita a añadir pasajes bíblicos en apoyo de los textos citados de Tirso González y Tomás de Jesús a un contexto cultural sensiblemente diferente puede sorprender. No olvidemos, pero, que ya en la controversia de los ritos sínicos Castorano se había mostrado esencialista, reacto a adaptaciones culturales o *aggiornamenti*.

Como hemos dicho antes, las dos partes del *Brevis apparatus* corresponden a momentos y contextos diferentes en la vida de Castorano, y tal vez también a intencionalidades diferentes. Es muy probable que, en acabar el *Brevis apparatus* cerca de Pekín, Castorano ya no pensara en un público local, sea el de la disputa frustrada o de compañeros misioneros en China, sino en un público más general. La pragmática del texto ya no era –ya no podía ser!– la misma y, por consecuencia, tampoco lo era su aproximación. Sea como sea, a nuestro modo de ver es precisamente este carácter híbrido de la obra lo que la hace tan interesante y que justifica el esfuerzo de José Martínez Gázquez y Nàdia Petrus Pons por rescatarla del olvido en el que había caído.

⁷ Ibid., p. 68: « Cum vero isti duo [scil. mahumetani et christiani] collective sumpti affirmant Legem Christianam Catholicam esse a Deo, esse veram et esse viam salutis, affirmet autem solus unus de Mahumetana quod sit a Deo, neget autem alter [...], patet securius esse sequi Legem Christianam, de qua ambo testes affirmant, imprudenter autem et periculose sequeretur Lex Mahumetana, de qua solus unus testis affirmat, negat alius ».

⁸ Véase DAVID VÁZQUEZ, « Una aproximación al *Manuductio ad conversionem mahumetanorum* de Tirso González de Santalla », *Myrtia*, 30 (2015), p. 215–227.

Como texto histórico, el *Brevis apparatus* es un testimonio singular de los contactos entre cristianos y musulmanes chinos en época premoderna. Como artefacto literario, es un ejemplo de cómo nuestro pensamiento se va configurando –y reconfigurando– entre experiencias vitales e ideas recibidas, a veces de manera coherente, otras no tanto.

« NOI SIAMO FATTI DELLA STESSA SOSTANZA DEI SOGNI,
E NELLO SPAZIO E NEL TEMPO D'UN SOGNO
È RACCOLTA LA NOSTRA BREVE VITA »:
UNA RIEDIZIONE DEL *SOMNIORUM SYNESIORUM LIBRI IIII* E UNA
NUOVA EDIZIONE DEL *DE VITA PROPRIA* DI GIROLAMO CARDANO^{*}

« WE ARE SUCH STUFF AS DREAMS ARE MADE ON, AND OUR LITTLE LIFE IS ROUNDED
WITH A SLEEP »: A RE-EDITION OF THE *SOMNIORUM SYNESIORUM LIBRI IIII* AND A NEW
EDITION OF GIROLAMO CARDANO'S *DE VITA PROPRIA*

MASSIMO TAMBORINI
MILANO



I.

Così Prospero, il vero Duca di Milano, ne *La Tempesta*, rivolgendosi alla figlia Miranda e al suo futuro sposo Ferdinando. Parimenti la figlia di Icaro e di Policaste, Penelope, parlando al mendicante sotto le cui spoglie si celava Odisseo, dopo aver narrato il sogno delle oche e aver ascoltato le sue argomentazioni, risponde attraverso i versi di Omero:

ξεῖν', ἧ τοι μὲν ὄνειροι ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι
γίγνοντ', οὐδέ τι πάντα τελείεται ἀνθρώποισι.
δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·
αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.
τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,
οἳ ῥ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·
οἱ δὲ διὰ χεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
οἳ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδῃται¹.

^{*} JÉRÔME CARDAN, *Traité des songes / De somniis*, Édition, traduction, introduction et notes par JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2021 (Les Classiques de l'Humanisme), XXXV + 953 pp.; JÉRÔME CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie / De vita propria*, Introduction, édition et traduction par JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2020 (Les Classiques de l'Humanisme), XXVI + 406 pp.

¹ *Odyssea*, XIX, vv. 560–567. Nella traduzione di Vincenzo Di Benedetto e Pierangelo Fabrini: « Ospite, per i sogni siamo senza risorse, il loro linguaggio / è confuso, e non tutto dei sogni si

Con questa sorprendente riflessione di Penelope compare, per la prima volta in forma esplicita e problematica nella cultura greca, il tema della onirocritica e, con esso, l'idea che il sogno possa preannunciare il futuro attraverso immagini simboliche, per la cui comprensione si rende necessaria un'interpretazione e, al contempo, l'esigenza di definirne la natura e l'origine.²

L'impianto odissiaco espresso da Penelope percorrerà molta parte del pensiero greco, che sarà caratterizzato dal bisogno di distinguere e suddividere i sogni in classi, con lo scopo di discernere quelli capaci di esprimere il futuro da quelli privi di questa caratteristica. Lo stesso Ippocrate nel trattato IV, *Περὶ διαίτης, Περὶ ἐνυπνίων*,³ soffermandosi sul tema della sintomatologia del sogno e della sua utilizzazione diagnostica, ammette l'esistenza di sogni di origine trascendente, capaci di indicare i segni del futuro, ma la loro interpretazione – che avviene in forma simbolica – va lasciata a coloro che sono esperti di quest'arte, così come al medico deve essere lasciata la facoltà di esaminare i sogni capaci di rivelare le condizioni di salute del paziente. Sarà dunque il medico ad interpretarne il corretto significato, giacché nel sogno il corpo del paziente resta isolato dal mondo esterno e la psiche recepisce e rielabora gli impulsi e le sensazioni latenti dell'organismo che si sono sedimentati nello stato di veglia, e ne fa emergere in superficie le disfunzioni e le carenze organiche, divenendo l'espressione di una profonda individualità centrata sull'ego. Tema sviluppato e problematizzato anche da Aristotele nei trattati *Περὶ ἐνυπνίων* e *Περὶ τῆς καθ' ὕπνον μαντικῆς*.⁴

Ma è soprattutto con Platone, nel IX libro della *Repubblica*, che l'approccio al problema viene indirizzato verso una prospettiva psicologica dapprima, per approdare poi ad una lettura dell'attività oniropoietica del soggetto in chiave etica. La parte razionale dell'anima durante il sonno non può esercitare il controllo sulla parte irrazionale, come avviene nello stato di veglia. E dunque quest'ultima si abbandona, nel sonno, e viene percorsa da visioni libere e sfrenate, rivelando gli istinti innati in ogni essere, che possono venir governati se solo si tiene desta, anche nel sonno, l'anima razionale – scrive Platone –, educandola e preparandola

compie per gli uomini. / Due sono le porte dei sogni, immagini senza vigore: / una è fatta di corno, l'altra di avorio. / Quelli che vengono attraverso l'avorio intagliato, sono ingannevoli e portano parole ineffettuali; / quelli che vengono attraverso il corno ben levigato, / realizzano il vero, quando qualcuno dei mortali li veda » (OMERO, *Odissea*, ed. VINCENZO DI BENEDETTO, Rizzoli, Milano 2010 [Classici Greci e Latini], p. 1033). Il testo greco sopra riprodotto riprende quello stabilito da PETER VON DER MÜHLL nella sua edizione del 1962.

² Vd. anche *Iliade*, I, 62 sgg. e V, 148 sgg; cf. CARLO BRILLANTE, *Studi sulla rappresentazione del sogno nella Grecia antica*, Sellerio, Palermo 1991, cap. II, p. 29–54.

³ Cf. HIPPOCRATES, *De diaeta*, IV, 640, 2–642, 2, ed. ROBERT JOLY, SIMON BYL, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1984 (Corpus medicorum graecorum, I, 2, 4), p. 218, l. 3–22; HIPPOCRATES, *Libri omnes*, ed. JANUS CORNARIUS [...], Hieronymus Froben et Nicolaus Episcopus, Basel 1538, p. 106–107.

⁴ ARISTOTELES, *De insomniis*, 458b 33–462b 11 e *De divinatione per somnum*, 462b 12–464b 18, in *Parva naturalia*, ed. GUILIELMUS BIEHL, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1898, p. 62–74 e p. 74–80.

con retti ed elevati ragionamenti e con una disciplina alimentare appropriata. In tal modo si possono bandire le fantasie smodate e incontrollate e predisporre alla conoscenza della verità, sia delle cose accadute sia di quelle a venire (IX, 571c–572b).

II.

Da questa impostazione scaturisce, e nel suo solco si radica, la tradizione filosofica dei grandi miti onirici, delle maestose visioni rivelatrici delle verità ultime, che si arricchirà del pensiero cristiano – cui fa riferimento Jean-Yves Boriaud, rinviando a Jacques Le Goff⁵ nella parte introduttiva del suo intervento sul tema cardaniano dell'interpretazione dei sogni al Convegno di Milano del dicembre 1997, dedicato all'opera del medico, matematico e filosofo lombardo⁶ – che, nel *Somnium Scipionis* di Cicerone, ed in specie nel *Commento* di Macrobio,⁷ si tradurrà in modello e paradigma, attingendo allo studio e alla classificazione dei sogni sulla base della loro veridicità e valore simbolico, quali vennero codificati da Artemidoro di Daldi,⁸

⁵ JACQUES LE GOFF, « Les rêves dans la culture et la psychologie collective de l'Occident médiéval », in Id., *Pour un autre Moyen Age*, Gallimard, Paris 1977, p. 299–306. TULLIO GREGORY (ed.), *I sogni nel Medioevo*, Seminario internazionale Roma, 2–4 ottobre 1983, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma 1985, con saggi di IGNAZIO BALDELLI, « Visione, immaginazione e fantasia nella *Vita nuova* », p. 1–10; HERMAN BRAET, « Rêve, réalité, écriture: Du référentiel à la sui-référence », p. 11–24; ALESSANDRO BAUSANI, « I sogni dell'Islam », p. 25–36; GILBERT DRAGON, « Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines », p. 37–55; PETER DINZELBACHER, « Körperliche und seelische Vorbedingungen religiöser Träume und Visionen », p. 57–86; MARTA FATTORI, « Sogni e temperamenti », p. 87–109; TULLIO GREGORY, « I sogni e gli astri », p. 111–148; JACQUES LE GOFF, « Le christianisme et les rêves (II^e–VII^e siècles) », p. 171–218; RAOUL MANSELLI, « Il sogno come premonizione: Consiglio e predizione nella tradizione medioevale », p. 219–244; CHRISTIANE MARCELLO-NIZIA, « La Rhétorique des songes et le songe comme rhétorique dans la littérature française médiévale », p. 245–259; FRANCO MICHELINI TOCCI, « Teoria e interpretazione dei sogni nella cultura ebraica medioevale », p. 261–299; JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT, « Rêver au XII^e siècle », p. 291–316; KLAUS SPECKENBACH, « Form, Funktion und Bedeutung der Träume im Lancelot-Grail-Zyklus », p. 317–366.

⁶ JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, « La place du *Traité des songes* dans la tradition onirocritique. Le problème de l'image onirique: l'«idoulum» et la «uisio» », in MARIALUISA BALDI, GUIDO CANZIANI (eds.), *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita*, Franco Angeli, Milano 1999, p. 215–225, a p. 215–217.

⁷ AMBROSIIUS THEODOSIUS MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. JAMES WILLIS, B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994, p. 1–154; *Somnium Scipionis*, p. 155–163.

⁸ Cf. ARTEMIDORUS DALDIANUS, *Onirocriticon libri V*, ed. RUDOLF HERSCHER, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1864. L'edizione critica a cura di ROGER AMBROSE PACK fu pubblicata, sempre a Lipsia, nel 1963. Cf. ARTEMIDORUS DALDIANUS, *La clef des songes*, ed. ANDRÉ MARIE FESTUGIÈRE, Vrin, Paris 1975; ARTÉMIDORE DE DALDE, *La clef des songes*, ed. JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, Arléa, Paris 1998. Il testo greco era stato pubblicato nel 1518 in ARTEMIDORI *De Somniorum interpretatione libri quinque. De insomnijs, quod Sinesij cuiusdam nomine [...]*, In aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri, Venezia 1518.

da Sinesio di Cirene⁹ nel mondo greco e da Gregorio Magno,¹⁰ Isidoro di Siviglia,¹¹ Alberto Magno¹² nell'Europa cattolica e da Niceforo Gregora¹³ a Bisanzio: autori ai quali Cardano rivolge la propria attenzione. Ed è proprio con questo riferimento al *Somnium Scipionis* che si apre il III capitolo, « Cardan et la Renaissance de l'onirocritique », della « Introduction » alla recente edizione curata da Boriaud (p. XX-XXVI), focalizzato sulla delineazione del contesto teoretico entro il quale si colloca l'opera cardaniana, dopo aver indagato nei capitoli I e II la genesi e la gestazione dell'opera.

Questi aspetti poco frequentati del pensiero e della produzione di Cardano – al quale Boriaud ha dedicato decenni di ricerche e diversi studi¹⁴ (del Milanese ha tradotto in francese e ora propone anche il *De vita propria*,¹⁵ oltre ad una riedizione del testo sui sogni pubblicato una prima volta a Firenze presso Olschki)¹⁶ – erano

⁹ Cf. SYNÉSIO DE CYRÈNE, *Opusculs*, t. IV, ed. JACQUES LAMOUREUX, trad. NOËL AUJOUAT, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2004; *Le Traité sur les Songes*, p. 187–311; SINESIO DI CIRENE, *Opere: Epistole, Operette, Inni*, ed. ANTONIO GARZYA, UTET, Torino 1989 (Classici greci), p. 553–608.

¹⁰ Cf. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Moralia in Iob*, VIII, 24, § 41–43, ed. MARC ADRIAEN, Brepols, Turnhout 1979 (CCSL, 143), p. 411–415.

¹¹ ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Sententiae*, III, cap. VI, « De Tentamentis somniorum », ed. PIERRE CAZIER, Brepols, Turnhout 1998 (CCSL, 111), p. 215–220.

¹² Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De somno et vigilia*, in Id., *Opera omnia*, ed. AUGUST BORGNET, vol. IX, Luis Vivès, Paris 1890, p. 121–122.

¹³ Cf. NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Explicatio in librum Synesii 'De insonniis': scholia cum glossis*, ed. PAOLO PIETROSANTI, Levante, Bari 1999 (Pinakes, 4).

¹⁴ Oltre al citato intervento di Milano, si veda anche lo scritto JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, « Cardan et le songe », in Id. (ed.), *La pensée scientifique de Cardan*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2012, p. 23–44, e Id., « De quelques rêves de Cardan », in PHILIPPE HEUZE, YVES HERSANT, ÉRIC VAN DER SCHUEREN (eds.), *Une Traversée des savoirs. Mélanges offerts à Jackie Pigeaud*, Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec 2008, p. 313–328, dove Boriaud scrive, a sottolineare quanto sopra ricordato circa il legame con la biografia: « La vérité du songe, selon Cardan, est dans sa complexité et sa capacité à développer un langage iconique où les états intérieurs prennent la forme d'objets du monde, colorés des 'affects' dont nous chargeons. Les êtres que nous y voyons, familiers ou inconnus, n'y sont pas eux-mêmes, mais représentent des entités que nous craignons ou désirons, ou qui nous menacent. Et le livre ultime du *Traité des songes*, en son chapitre ultime tout entier consacré aux rêves personnels de Cardan [...], dévoile ainsi tout l'univers onirique de l'auteur, où passent médecins et juges, Grand de Pavie ou de Milan, mère, enfants, épouses, et jusqu'au fils exécuté pour l'assassinat de sa femme, et dont Cardan ne se pardonna jamais de n'avoir su prévoir ni prévenir la mort » (p. 321). Si veda anche JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, « Jung Analiste de Girolamo Cardano », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 16/2 (2020), p. 407–428, e JACOMIEN PRINS, « Carl Gustav Jung's Interpretation of Girolamo Cardano's Dreams », *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 20 (2017), p. 391–413. Di Jacomien Prins si veda inoltre « Heavenly Journeys: Marsilio Ficino and Girolamo Cardano on Scipio's Dream », *AITHER. International Issue*, 7 (2020), p. 40–57.

¹⁵ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*.

¹⁶ GIROLAMO CARDANO, *Somniorum Synesiorum libri quatuor / Les quatre livres des songes de Synesios*, ed. JEAN-YVES BORIAUD, 2 vol., Olschki, Firenze 2008.

stati posti al centro della riflessione critica da Alice Browne¹⁷ nel corso degli anni Settanta del Novecento con due scritti, rispettivamente del 1971 e del 1979,¹⁸ nell'ultimo dei quali analizzava lo studio cardaniano dell'universo onirico, dedicando particolare attenzione al rapporto tra la visione che il Filosofo ha del sogno e il suo approccio teoretico alla problematica dell'interpretazione del loro significato, in stretta relazione con le vicende della sua stessa biografia.¹⁹ Approccio che in una certa qual forma viene ripreso e fatto proprio anche da Boriaud, che alla autobiografia cardaniana ha infatti dedicato molta attenzione e, come ricordato, ne ha curato una recente edizione con testo a fronte.²⁰

Studio, quello della Browne, seguito a pochi anni di distanza da un intervento di Jaques Le Brune al primo convegno cardaniano di Wolfenbüttel dell'ottobre del 1989,²¹ focalizzato sulla necessità di fare maggiore luce intorno al nucleo metodologico che sta alla base dello scritto del pensatore milanese dedicato ai sogni.²²

¹⁷ Prima della Browne aveva scritto della materia MARKUS FIERZ, *Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576): Artz, Naturphilosoph, Mathematiker, Astronom und Traumdeuter*, Birkhäuser, Basel 1977, cap. VI (Una traduzione inglese del testo di Fierz a cura di Helga Niman uscì a Boston presso Birkhäuser nel 1983, p. 125-166).

¹⁸ ALICE BROWNE, « Girolamo Cardano's *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* », *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 41 (1979), p. 123-135. L'interesse di Browne per l'opera cardaniana risale però alla fine degli anni Sessanta e all'inizio degli anni Settanta con lo studio: « Sixteenth-Century Beliefs on Dreams, with Special Reference to Girolamo Cardano's *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* », M.Phil diss., The Warburg Institute – University of London 1971. La Browne si era dedicata, in quegli anni anche alla stesura di una testo dal titolo « Religious Dreams and Their Interpretation in Some Thinkers of Seventeenth Century », Ph.D. Diss., The Warburg Institute – University of London 1975, e allo studio dei sogni di Descartes: ALICE BROWNE, « Descartes Dreams », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes*, 40 (1977), p. 256-273, ed anche « Dreams and Picture-Writing: Some Examples of this Comparison from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes*, 44 (1981), p. 90-100.

¹⁹ Cf. BROWNE, « Girolamo Cardano's *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* », p. 123: « My focus in this paper will be on the theoretical strengths and weaknesses of Cardano's account, and the use it makes of earlier theories of dreams. Because Cardano's life was eventful, and his personality so eccentric, by the standard both of his time and of our own, and because he described them so brilliantly in *De Vita Propria*, it is tempting for anyone who studies him to over-emphasise his biography in trying to make sense of his thought. On the other hand, a refusal to allow any mention of his life and dreams in a discussion of his dream-theory would be perverse, and I hope it will be clear that where I suggest connections between his ideas and his life, this is not meant as a reductionist explanation of how he came to have the ideas ».

²⁰ Cf. CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*.

²¹ JACQUES LE BRUN, « Jérôme Cardan et l'interprétation des songes », in ECKHARD KESSLER (ed.), *Girolamo Cardano. Philosoph, Naturforscher, Artz, Harrassowitz*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 15), p. 185-205.

²² LE BRUN, « Jérôme Cardan », p. 185-186. Si veda anche il volume di NANCY SIRAI, *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1997, che dedica alla materia un lungo capitolo (« The Medicine of Dreams »), p. 174-191. In quegli anni in Italia si occupavano della problematica anche Mauro Mancina e Agnese Grieco con la

III.

È a questa tradizione interpretativa, a questi due autori, e al riferimento a questi studi, cui guarda, che Boriaud, aprendo la sua « Introduction » all'edizione bilingue del *Somniorum Synesiorum*, rinvia in nota, discutendo il tema della gestazione (I. *La gestation du livre*, p. I–XIII) e della genesi del testo (II. *Le songe dans la vie et la genèse de l'Œuvre de Cardan*, p. XIII–XX) – che egli colloca, nella sua fase iniziale, negli anni 1535–1537 –, sinteticamente indagata ed esposta nelle pagine VII–XIII, rimandando – pur senza problematizzare la materia, per ragioni di spazio, riteniamo, ma anche perché l'edizione persegue un'ideale di essenzialità – al nodo storiografico rappresentato dall'*Opus perfectum* (complesso di opere matematiche cronologicamente legate ai libri dedicati ai sogni, e da sogni annunciato),²³ per ricondurre la ricostruzione alla lettura di alcuni passi delle diverse e successive redazioni dei *De libris propriis*, a partire dalla sua apparizione pubblica quale « 26. De somniis libri decem »²⁴ nell'elenco del '38, posposto alla *Practica arithmetice*, edita a Milano l'anno successivo.

Il testo del *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII*²⁵ verrà pubblicato da Cardano nel 1562 a Basilea unitamente al *De libris propriis*, al *De curationibus et praedictionibus admirandis*, al *Neronis encomium*, e agli scritti *Geometriae encomium*, *De uno*, *Actio in*

pubblicazione di due volumi editi da Marsilio: GIROLAMO CARDANO, *Sul sonno e sul sognare*, ed. MAURO MANCIA, AGNESE GRIECO, Marsilio, Venezia 1989, e GIROLAMO CARDANO, *Sogni*, ed. AGNESE GRIECO, MAURO MANCIA, Marsilio, Venezia 1993. Per un panorama dei più recenti studi sul tema si vedano, oltre allo studio di SYLVIANE BOKDAM, *Metamorphoses de Morphée. Théories du rêve et songes poétiques à la Renaissance, en France*, Champion, Paris 2012, p. 420–439, il saggio di CLAIRE GANTET, *Der Traum in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ansätze zu einer kulturellen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2010, p. 358–372 e, più in specifico, di ANNA CORRIAS, « When the Eyes Are Shut: The Strange Case of Girolamo Cardano's *Idolum in Somniorum Synesiorum Libri IIII* (1562) », *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 79 (2018), p. 179–197 e di ALESSANDRO ARCANGELI, « Cardano: sognare gli affetti », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 24/2 (2018), p. 421–437.

²³ Come scrive Cardano nel *Dialogus Hieronymi Cardani et Facii Cardani ipsius patris* (cf. HIERONIMUS CARDANUS, *Opera omnia*, ed. CHARLES SPON, Sumptibus Ioannis Antonii Huguetan, & Marci Antonii Ravaut, Lyon 1663, t. I, p. 637a–640b); cf. CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, cap. XXXVII, p. 194–211 e in GIROLAMO CARDANO, *De libris propriis. The Editions of 1544, 1550, 1557, 1562, with Supplementary Material*, ed. IAN MACLEAN, Franco Angeli, Milano 2004 (d'ora in avanti abbreviato in DLP), p. 64–66; 1544, p. 130–131; 1550, p. 141–142; 1557, p. 185–186; 1562, p. 247–248.

²⁴ HIERONIMUS C. CARDANUS MEDICUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *Practica arithmetice, & Mensurandi singularis...*, Io. Antonins Castellioneus, Impensis Bernardini Calusci, Milano 1539, c. SS iiiir. L'elenco dei testi accluso all'edizione milanese venne redatto il 25 giugno del 1538, come opportunamente riporta in nota Boriaud (p. VII, n. 3), rinviando all'edizione del *De libris propriis* di Ian Maclean.

²⁵ Il *De somniis* di Sinesio era stato tradotto da Ficino. Cf. *Synesium De somniis translatus a Marsilio Ficino Fiorentino ad Petrum Medicem*, in *Sententiae pulcherrime cum multarum rerum definitionibus: ex Marsilij Ficini Florentini, Philosophi Platonici [...] operibus collectae*, Per Adamum Henricum Petri, Basel 1576, p. 1968–1979.

*Thessalicum medicum, De secretis, De gemmis et coloribus, Dialogus de morte, De minimis et propinquis, De summo bono.*²⁶

Cardano ne scrive nel *De libris propriis* del 1562: « Per eadem tempora, quod somniis saepius admonitus essem de impendentibus casibus, scripsi decem libros de illis, quos hoc anno M.D.lxi. reduxi in quatuor, arte mirabili, quorum titulus est: Synesiorum somniorum ».²⁷ È infatti nel corso del 1561 che il libro assumerà la forma definitiva che verrà data al testo quando vedrà la luce.

Nel 1544 Cardano aveva registrato lo scritto nel *De libris propriis*, attribuendogli quella medesima estensione e struttura; la narrazione cardaniana ne conferma la consistenza in dieci libri: «... sub eodem biennio [1535–1537], decem libros de somniis fabricavi ».²⁸

Anni dopo, nel 1550, annoterà:

Nonus Somniorum habet in primo generalem illorum rationem; in secundo de simulachris generalibus; in tertio de partibus hominis et actionibus naturalibus; in quarto de actionibus aliis; in quinto de adherentibus homini; in sexto de quadrupedibus; in septimo de avibus et piscibus; in octavo de plantis et metallicis; in nono de rebus artificialibus; in decimo de somniis compositis et imperfectis et exemplis somniorum.²⁹

Nella registrazione del *De libris propriis* del 1557, Cardano ne confermava la consistenza e l'estensione, riportando, nelle prime righe del testo, le stesse parole che userà nel '62: «Per eadem tempora quod somniis saepius admonitus essem de impendentibus casibus, scripsi decem libros somniorum ».³⁰

Come molto appropriatamente ha posto in evidenza nella « Introduction » Boriaud,³¹ il trattato sui sogni nelle quattro redazioni del *De libris propriis* compare sempre in relazione – e non solo per un caso fortuito, dovuto alla contiguità

²⁶ Colophon: Basileae, Ex Officina Henrici Petri, Anno Salutis M.D.LXII, Mense Septembri.

²⁷ DLP, 1562, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 247.

²⁸ DLP, 1544, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 131: « In quorum primo generalem rationem illorum edocui. In decimo autem quotquot experimenta Graecorum, seu Latinorum historiis mandata sunt, vel mihi evenerunt, ad mille puto in unum connessi: intermedii octo libri, a rerum natura distincti sunt, coelestium, elementorum, herbarum et arborum, animalium, volucrum, piscium ornatus, et humanarum operationum. [...] Magnitudo igitur libri de somniis, Artemidori operi... ».

²⁹ DLP, 1550, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 153.

³⁰ DLP, 1557, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 184: « Primus generalem illorum rationem continet. Secundus agit de generalibus simulachris. Tertius de hominis partibus, naturalibusque actionibus. Quartus de actionibus aliis. Quintus de homini adhaerentibus. Sextus quadrupedibus. Septimus de avibus et piscibus. Octavus de Plantis, et metallicis. Nonus de rebus artificiosis. Decimus de exemplis, estque hic liber aliis iucundior lectu. Initium operis, 'A multis quidem neglecta est somniorum interpretatio': magnitudo foliorum ccclx. Excoluimus hanc artem tametsi de ea Artemidorus, alique ornate scripserint ».

³¹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, « Introduction », p. VIII.

cronologica – con l'*Opus perfectum*,³² di cui il Lombardo scrive nel frontespizio dell'*Artis mgnæ, sive de regvlis algebraicis, liber unus. Qui & totius operis de Arithmetica, quod Opvs Perfectvm inscripsit, est in ordine decimus*, a testimonianza del fatto che la problematica del sogno, della sua analisi ed interpretazione, non solo è strettamente connessa al tema della biografia, ma anche, e forse soprattutto, con lo studio di un tentativo razionale di indagare ed esplicitare la questione della anticipazione degli eventi futuri, che tanto affascina Cardano, e a cui dedica molte energie.

Quando nel '43 il Filosofo scrive: « ut etiam multa per somnium invenerim » – riferendosi alle importanti scoperte matematiche di cui narrerà nel *De libris propriis* in relazione all'*Opus perfectum* –, si pone, come medico e filosofo che investiga con gli strumenti della ragione i fenomeni della natura e della mente, anche l'obiettivo di studiare e perimetrare l'ambito di ciò che le accompagna, le circonfonde, le oltrepassa e le trascende, indagando il sostrato entro il quale hanno avuto la loro gestazione e sono maturate, universo di cui pure si ha una certa qual forma di cognizione e, al contempo, conseguentemente, sottolinea la necessità di una indagine critica del sogno e della biografia, giacché entrambi richiedono di esser visti ed osservati come luoghi particolarmente significativi, nei quali e attraverso i quali si manifesta il fenomeno, e lo si può studiare e comprendere. Come spiegare altrimenti la determinazione cardaniana ad annotare per oltre trent'anni i propri sogni, se non allo scopo di raccogliere dei materiali su cui esercitare una auto-osservazione e una meta-riflessione razionale, capaci di aprire lo sguardo della conoscenza alla loro considerazione metodologicamente ordinata e organica. Questo interesse per la conoscenza delle cose future ha condotto Cardano, pensatore di ingegno proteiforme, a muoversi ed a scandagliare la materia da diverse e molteplici prospettive, apparentemente irrelate tra loro. Indubbiamente il tema della costituzione del futuro, della anticipazione degli eventi viene considerato da Cardano da innumerevoli angolature: quello dell'astrologia innanzitutto,³³ ma anche attraverso lo studio della astronomia, della geomanzia, della chiromanzia, dell'anticipazione matematica di un risultato,

³² DLP, 1544, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 131.

³³ Cf. GERMANA ERNST, « 'Veritas amor dulcissimus'. Aspetti dell'astrologia in Cardano », in KESSLER (ed.), *Girolamo Cardano*, p. 157–184, in merito alle opere astrologiche, p. 161–166. Il testo è stato ripubblicato in lingua inglese in WILLIAM R. NEWMAN, ANTHONY GRAFTON (eds.), *Secret of Nature. Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge 2001, p. 39–68 (segnatamente « Cardano's Astrological Works », p. 43–46); cf. ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Cardano's Cosmos. The World and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1999. Si veda anche ANTHONY GRAFTON, NANCY SIRAISI, « Between the Election and My Hopes: Girolamo Cardano and Medical Astrology », in NEWMAN, GRAFTON (eds.), *Secret of Nature*, p. 69–131; ORNELLA POMPEO FRANCOVI, « Cardano Astrologo », 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. 19–34.

dell'onirocritica.³⁴ E, soprattutto, approfondendo gli strumenti di analisi della conoscenza e studiando nel profondo i meccanismi di funzionamento della psiche e della mente:

Non est esistimandum, quod multi tamen credunt, eam posse tradi de somniis doctrinam, quae velut in geometria aut in medicina vel architectura, hominem ad perfectam, exactam ac propriam cognitionem rei reducere queat; nam neque ratio primum fati admittit. Si enim quae ventura sunt, omnino ventura sunt, et perfecta intelligantur antequam ventura sint, duorum alterum evenire necesse erit; aut ut qua ventura sint, certe non eveniant; aut ut nostra voluntas non libera sit; quorum utrumque perabsurdum est. Nam non futurum esse quod futurum est; et quod liberum est non esse liberum, omnino ut sic fieri non potest. Deinde quod videamus omnes huiusmodi scientias quae futura docent, astrologiam, physiognomiam, metoposcopiam, chiromantiam, non ad ultima pervenire; nec ita definire singula ut naturales solent, aut artifices. Verum omnes hi circa generalia quaedam subsistunt, nec ultra progrediuntur, quoniam progredi nequeunt.³⁵

Esamina in modo approfondito il testo di Artemidoro, la sua raccolta dei sogni e la sua tecnica di analisi degli stessi, ricalcando nel quarto libro del *Somniorum Synesiorum*, l'impronta dell'ultimo libro, il V, dell'opera artemidea, dove il Daldiano raccoglie ed esamina 95 sogni,³⁶ ma lascia indendere di avere una approfondita conoscenza anche della produzione medioevale sul tema, ed in particolare del *Liber thesauri occulti* di Pascalis Romanus, autore di uno dei trattati più rilevanti di oniromanzia del Medioevo latino, ma anche di Alberto.³⁷

³⁴ Cf. CARDANUS, *Opera omnia*, t. V, « quo continentur Astronomica, Astrologica, Onirocritica ».

³⁵ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 510-511: « Il ne faut pas penser, contrairement à ce que croient beaucoup, qu'on puisse dire, à propos de la science des songes, comme pour la géométrie, la médecine ou l'architecture, qu'elle est capable de mener l'homme à la connaissance parfaite, précise et spécifique de son objet. En premier lieu, l'idée même de destin s'y oppose. Si, en effet, ce qui doit advenir le doit absolument, et peut être parfaitement entendu avant d'avenir, de deux choses l'une, nécessairement: ou bien ce qui doit advenir ne la doit pas avec certitude, ou bien notre volonté n'est pas libre, ce qui, d'un côté et de l'autre, est tout à fait absurde. Il ne se peut en aucun cas, en effet, que ce qui doit être ne le doive pas, et que ce qui est libre ne le soit pas. Ensuite parce que nous voyons que toutes les sciences du même ordre, qui enseignent ce qui doit être l'avenir (astrologie, physiognomonie, métoposcopie, chiromancie) ne vont pas jusqu'au bout, et sont incapables de définir les objets dans leur singularité, comme les sciences naturelles ou les arts. Tous ces gens, au contraire, se cantonnent dans des généralités, sans aller plus loin, car ils ne le peuvent pas ».

³⁶ DANIEL E. HARRIS-McCOY (ed.), *Artemiodorus' Oneirocritica: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, p. 372-407; ARTEMIDORO, *Il libro dei sogni*, ed. DARIO DEL CORNO, Adelphi, Milano 1975 (Biblioteca Adelphi, 62), p. 269-296.

³⁷ Cf. SIMONE COLLIN-ROSET, « Le *Liber thesauri occulti* di Pascalis Romanus (Un traité d'interprétation des songes du XIIe siècle) », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 30 (1963), p. 118-198; GREGORY, « I sogni e gli astri », p. 111; cf. MARIA MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources*, Brill, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2002.

Cardano organizza la trattazione della materia in quattro libri, ponendo attenzione nel Libro I – oltre alla riabilitazione della scienza dei sogni e alla ridefinizione delle basi necessarie per la creazione di un'*ars interpretandi* – alla « differentia somniorum per res visas », e prosegue delineando nel cap. X, « De distinctione somniorum generali », due tipologie di sogni, l'*idolum* e la *visio*: « Somnia quidem que abdita nos docent, alia quidem simpliciter ea ostendunt, vocanturque idola; alia autem artificiosa coniectura opus habent, vocanturque insonnia, seu visa ».³⁸ Affronta, nel Libro II, lo studio dei sogni e delle specificità e dei tratti propri che li caratterizzano e li differenziano, approdando, nel III, alla distinzione tra i diversi tipi di sogni, considerati ed analizzati dal punto di vista del sognante, per concludere, nel IV, con una raccolta, « De exemplis », sul modello del quinto libro di Artemidoro.³⁹

Indubbiamente il secondo libro appare come il più rilevante da un punto di vista metodologico, e di particolare interesse per il lettore e lo studioso teso a comprendere le modalità secondo le quali Cardano intende muoversi. E già la lettura del primo capitolo risulta piuttosto significativo in merito:

Non posse hanc scientiam deduci ad exactam perfectionem – scrive Cardano –, nec debere, ob tres causas, Fati repugnantiam. Exemplum aliarum scientiarum quae divinare docent, tum ob id quod est in ipsis de potentia; quia animae essentia immortalis esse non potest, ratione eorum quae sunt in actu; quodque tantum abest maximum, quantum minimum.⁴⁰

Non è difficile cogliere per chi approccia il testo di Cardano, quanto le complesse tematiche discusse in quest'opera dedicata ai sogni percorrano trasversalmente tutta la ricerca, in specie degli anni giovanili, del Filosofo. Il richiamo al perduto *De fato*, innanzitutto, di cui scrive nel *De libris propriis*, riconducibile agli anni di Gallarate⁴¹ è evidente. Ma anche al *De arcanis aeternitatis* della fine degli anni Trenta

Si veda anche *De somno et vigilia* di Alberto Magno, lib. III, tr. I, in *Opera omnia*, ed. BORNET, vol. IX, p. 177–196.

³⁸ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 86–87: « Pour ce qui est des songes qui nous renseignent sur ce qui nous est caché, certains nous le font voir directement, et on les appelle des 'répliques'; d'autres nécessitent une interprétation ingénieuse, et on les appelle songes ou visions ». Cf. « Introduction », p. XXX–XXXII, dove Boriaud delinea una breve storia del termine εἶδωλον, rinviando ad ISIDORO DI SIVIGLIA, *Etymologiae*, VIII, XI, 13, all'accezione che assume nella *Lettera ad Erodoto* di Epicuro e, infine, alla interpretazione cardaniana.

³⁹ HARRIS-McCOY (ed.), *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica*, p. 374–407; ARTEMIDORUS, *Onirocriticon libri V*, ed. HERSCHER, p. 253–273.

⁴⁰ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, lib. II: « De somnis, prout propriis differentiis distinguuntur », cap. I, p. 510–511.

⁴¹ DLP, 1544, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 127; ed. 1550, ivi, p. 141 (« Scripsi ibidem De fato librum »), p. 144, p. 151, p. 157; 1557, p. 174–178 (« ... Gallaratum me contuli. Conscripsi ibi spatio xix. [...] mensium librum de Fato. Foliorum nunc est cxx », p. 174); ed. 1562, ivi, p. 232, 236–239.

e dei primi anni Quaranta,⁴² alle ricerche sull'immortalità dell'anima, condotte nel '43,⁴³ oltre al progetto dell'*Opus Perfectum* e alle investigazioni matematiche, che gli imposero un serrato confronto con Euclide ed Archimede, con i quali avrà, in quegli anni, una approfondita e continuativa consuetudine, solo in apparenza lontane.

Ad Archimede infatti, si richiamerà quale modello, di contro al vano e ingannevole procedere di Cicerone, obiettivo polemico del libro, del quale scrive parole durissime. Lo definirà il principe degli ingannatori, avvezzo a confondere il giudizio dei più con la forza della persuasione, che non era affatto interessato a dimostrare come le cose stessero e fossero nella loro effettiva realtà, ma solo a trascinare gli animi verso la sua opinione, con la forza e l'arroganza dell'eleganza verbale e dell'eloquenza:

Quid tanto dispendio temporis lucratus sum aliud, quam quod antea habueram, ut incertus essem? At belle egimus, laborare ut ignoremus? At non poterat, etiamsi clarus fuisset philosophus, de his recte disserere, quae invicem coniuncta sunt, nisi ut, quemadmodum Archimedes in suo libro *de Sphaera et Cylindro*, rem totam per ἀπόδειξις perpetuas deduxisset, sicut et Aristoteles, et nos a primis principiis, licet paucis eorum ab illo discrepemus.⁴⁴

Dopo essersi richiamato ad Archimede – che propone come il riferimento metodologico principe, cui attingere –, Cardano prosegue, in questo primo capitolo del libro II dell'opera,⁴⁵ nella sua durissima critica nei confronti del

⁴² Cf. DPL, 1538, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 117 (« 4. de misteriis eternitatis »); ed. 1544, ivi, p. 132; ed. 1550, ivi, p. 142 e p. 149 (« In naturalibus deerat hoc quod unde profecti simus: ignoramus quis author tanti opificii, qualis hic mundus, quae series rerum. Hac tractata in libris De aeternitatis archanis, ut illa, cur quaedam fortuna, quaedam necessario venire videantur, in libro De fato. Scripsit Alexander, Cicero, Pomponatius, sed priores rethorice, hic subtiliter, at non tamen copiose, nec ut decebat »); ed. 1557, ivi, p. 187–192; ed. 1562, p. 250–254.

⁴³ DPL, 1550, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 149: « Quam vero necessaria sit haec scientia, ibi declaratum est, cum omnes nostrae actiones ex hoc pendeant. At de animi immortalitate scientia est et necessaria et utilis ad mores instituendos ». Vedi *De immortalitate animorum*, in CARDANUS, *Opera omnia*, t. II, p. 455–536.

⁴⁴ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 518–519: « N'aurait-il pas pu, tout illustre philosophe qu'il fût, discuter correctement de ces deux choses liées l'une à l'autre, ne fût-ce, à l'instar d'Archimède, dans son livre *De la sphère et du cylindre* que pour pousser l'examen du sujet à fond, par des démonstrations durables, à partir des principes premiers, comme aussi Aristote e nous, bien que nous soyons en désaccord avec lui sur quelques-uns d'entre eux? ».

⁴⁵ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 510–511: « LIBER SECUNDUS DE SOMNIIS, PROUT PROPRIIS DIFFERENTIIS DISTINGUNTUR. Non posse hanc scientiam deduci ad exactam perfectionem, nec debere, ob tres causas, Fati repugnantiam. Exemplum aliarum scientiarum quae divinare docent, tum ob id quod est in ipsis de potentia; quia animae essentia immortalis esse non potest, ratione eorum quae sunt in actu; quodque tantum abest maximum, quantum minimum. Responsio ad Ciceronis obiecta. / Cette science ne peut ni ne doit être menée jusqu'à une perfection achevée, pour trois raisons: l'opposition du destin (exemple d'autres sciences qui enseignent à prévoir l'avenir et

pensiero e del metodo di Cicerone, affermando che la causa degli errori e del discredito nella quale è precipitata l'arte della divinazione attraverso i sogni, risiede proprio nella posizione ciceroniana, che asserisce di non poter e di non saper distinguere, all'interno dei diversi generi di sogni, quelli veritieri da quelli che non lo sono:

Verum causa erroris, et falso somniorum divinationem insectandi, fuit omnino, quod ille testatur se nescire distinguere genus totum somniorum ab his speciebus quae verae sunt; quo non facto, et non iam pridem confessi sumus, non posse inveniri causam ullam ac regulam veritatis in illis.⁴⁶

E conclude con l'affermazione che se Cicerone fosse riuscito a scoprire il criterio e il metodo per distinguere i sogni veri da quelli ingannevoli, avrebbe senza dubbio accolto la divinazione attraverso i sogni come degna di considerazione e di fede. Ma, poiché non è stato in grado di fare questo, ha concluso con l'ingiusta condanna dell'intera disciplina, coprendola di discredito.

Si percepisce al disotto delle asserzioni cardaniane, che costituiscono l'impianto argomentativo e narrativo dell'invettiva anti-ciceroniana, il riferimento ad un evidente universo tematico e problematico, riconducibile ad anni chiaramente identificabili nella vita e nella ricerca cardaniana. Sono gli anni del grande rivolgimento metodologico in campo matematico, soprattutto, nel corso dei quali è impegnato negli studi intorno all'aritmetica e alla geometria e all'insorgente pratica algebrica, che lo condurranno ad elaborare una teoria delle equazioni cubiche e biquadratiche capace di comprendere e contemplare la risoluzione del caso irriducibile. Ciò avverrà attraverso un capovolgimento prospettico che gli consentirà di far emergere e portare all'evidenza della rappresentabilità geometrico-sensibile la costruzione delle radici negative, e quindi di concepire un nuovo rapporto ontologico tra la lingua impiegata nella descrizione e la cosa.

A Cardano, profondo studioso delle discipline filosofiche e matematiche, non potevano sfuggire la rilevanza metodologica, filosofica e ontologica che tale procedimento poteva rappresentare, cogliendo inoltre le complesse implicazioni che la riflessione su di esso poteva avere in altri ambiti, tra i quali anche la divinazione attraverso i sogni e la capacità di decrittare, leggere ed interpretare

argument tiré de leurs capacités); parce que l'essence de l'âme ne peut être immortelle en raison de ce qui, en elle, se rapporte à l'action. Et le plus grand est aussi éloigné que le plus petit de l'infini. Réponse aux objections de Cicéron ».

⁴⁶ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 518-519: « Mais la véritable cause de son erreur, et de sa manière erronée d'envisager la divination par les songes, fut bien plutôt, comme il le reconnaît, de ne pas savoir distinguer l'espèce des songes dans son entier, des images vraies; quand on ne fait pas cela (et nous l'avons déjà reconnu), on ne peut trouver dans ce domaine cause ou règle de vérité ».

correttamente i sogni, discernendo tra i veri e gli ingannevoli, penetrando nel profondo della loro costituzione logico-simbolica.

Cardano aveva potuto superare l'ostacolo metodologico e ontologico che impediva la risoluzione del caso irriducibile, mediante un radicale mutamento di prospettiva, attraverso il quale era riuscito a lumeggiare prima e ad impostare poi la risoluzione del problema algebrico-geometrico da una nuova angolatura, approcciandolo e trattandolo con differenti strumenti geometrici, che gli consentivano di oltrepassare la capacità della immaginazione sensibile di rappresentare le grandezze negative, oggetto della disputa col Tartaglia circa il III cartello del Ferrari.⁴⁷

La connessione fra i due ambiti, quello delle ricerche geometrico algebriche e delle investigazioni sui sogni e sul sognare, può non sembrare immediata al lettore di oggi, ma per Cardano la relazione era assolutamente centrale. È necessario soffermarsi – per tale ragione, seppur fugacemente – su questo aspetto della problematica algebrico-geometrica, distante solo in apparenza dal nostro tema, se si vuol comprendere nel profondo il significato delle parole cardaniane di questo primo capitolo del secondo libro del *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* e della grande trasformazione gnoseologica ed epistemologica, oltre a quella psicologica che riverbererà nel *De vita propria*, che avviene nella mente di Cardano nel corso degli anni Quaranta e che caratterizzerà molta parte delle ricerche del Milanese, conducendolo a considerare la sua biografia come parte integrante del percorso e dell'oggetto di studio e di disamina sistematica.

Se omettessimo la tematizzazione di questi passaggi della vita scientifica e psicologica di Cardano, finiremmo con il mancare la comprensione del legame unitario intrinseco, che relaziona nello specifico, le investigazioni matematiche e le ricerche sui sogni con lo studio della sua biografia, sebbene, come suggeriva Browne, quest'ultimo legame vada interpretato con equilibrio critico e misura. Il riferimento alle ricerche contenute nell'*Opus perfectum* è inoltre indispensabile per cogliere il senso della sua rigorosa decostruzione e il durissimo confronto polemico con il pensiero di Cicerone, additato quale simbolo di un inconsistente sapere, che considera fraudolento, fondato sulla retorica e l'eloquenza.

Al fondo della problematica c'è, per Cardano, la comprensione e il confronto di due differenti forme della conoscenza, e dei legami che strutturano le connessioni logiche, sia all'interno del linguaggio naturale, fondato sulle relazioni di soggetto e predicato, sia nella costruzione dei percorsi algebrico-geometrici – che si andavano delineando nella nuova dottrina algebrica da lui elaborata –, edificati sulla teoria aritmetico-geometrica delle proporzioni. Ma anche delle modalità sensibili della loro rappresentazione in campo geometrico. Linguaggio, quello

⁴⁷ MASSIMO TAMBORINI, *'De cubo et rebus aequalibus numero'. La genesi del metodo analitico nella teoria delle equazioni cubiche di Girolamo Cardano*, Franco Angeli, Milano 1999 (Collana di filosofia, 63), p. 152 sgg.

delle proporzioni, di cui i libri V e VI degli *Elementi* euclidei (unitamente al X, che studierà approfonditissimamente) erano un esempio e modello, che Cardano fa emergere con pregnanza, nel suo accordarsi, ma anche nel suo differenziarsi e distinguersi dal sistema delle regole logiche, e rappresentative, che strutturano ed organizzano il linguaggio ordinario, che si esprime nella forma proposizionale, fondata sulle regole relazionali della predicazione, codificate da Aristotele.

Studiando la materia, Cardano coglie la difficile e paradossale situazione dell'osservazione dell'emergenza di nuove forme logiche relazionali, che approdano alla generazione di enti matematici e alla loro rappresentazione geometrica nell'universo sensibile, ma ciò accade all'interno della struttura proposizionale dello stesso linguaggio ordinario, che all'inizio deve scontrarsi con la difficoltà di illustrare e rappresentare le nuove agglomerazioni logico-sintattiche emergenti, mediante le stesse regole dell'argomentazione predicativa. Solo in un secondo tempo si arriverà, infatti, alla elaborazione di un linguaggio simbolico dell'algebra, autonomo dalla lingua predicativa, capace di rappresentare tali entità in forme indipendenti dal linguaggio naturale, pur nascendo – o meglio emergendo all'essere –, in origine, e sviluppandosi al suo interno, emancipandosi e allontanandosi poi, via via sempre più, dalle strutture della predicazione, vivendo di vita propria.

Cardano con le sue ricerche geometrico-algebriche, è uno degli artefici della scoperta e della realizzazione di questa separazione e vive questa esperienza con un profondo e costante senso di eccitazione, ma anche come un particolare stato di grazia, giacché essa rappresenta ai suoi occhi una radicale e profonda rivoluzione concettuale e mentale che trascende l'ambito della matematica entro il quale si è manifestata, assumendo un significato e un senso più ampi. Esperienza rivoluzionaria ed estatica suggeritagli da una particolare condizione dello spirito, di cui scriverà nel *De vita propria*.

L'algebra ai tempi della disputa con Tartaglia si esprimeva ancora in forma retorica e in alcuni, pochi, casi in forma sincopata. E si plasmava, e si fondava, sulla rappresentazione geometrica delle entità con cui operava, modellandosi ed ancorandosi ad una concezione dello spazio geometrico, ma anche immaginativo, quale era delineato dagli *Elementi* euclidei e dall'esperienza sensibile. Per questa ragione, al tempo di Cardano, equazioni che oggi nella forma simbolica scriviamo come $x^3 = nx^2 + q$, e $x^3 + q = nx^2$, ad esempio – e che al suo tempo non venivano espresse in questo linguaggio simbolico (che si svilupperà con Fermat e Descartes), ma erano scritte nella forma predicativa: « De cubo aequali quadratis et numero », e « De cubo ac numero aequalibus quadratis » – venivano geometricamente interpretate e costruite come *un cubo, uguale ad un quadrato moltiplicato per un segmento, sommato ad un numero* (il quale, a sua volta, era interpretato geometricamente come il cubo di un numero, ossia, come se la base fosse l'espressione del lato del solido, che la rappresentava) e nel secondo caso come *un*

cubo, sommato ad un numero (anch'esso interpretabile come un volume), uguale ad una grandezza lineare (o ad un numero) moltiplicato per un quadrato.

Questa modalità di rappresentazione sensibile delle grandezze algebrico-geometriche, che si andavano manifestando, manipolando e componendo, nella nuova ed insorgente algebra, cui Cardano lavorava, entrava in crisi quando si affrontava un caso particolare di queste equazioni, il caso irriducibile.

Studiando la teoria delle equazioni cubiche, Cardano aveva osservato che il caso irriducibile si presentava quando tutte le radici erano reali e l'impossibilità risolutiva non era implicata nella e dalla natura stessa del problema, ma nella modalità propria della scrittura e della rappresentazione del procedimento risolutivo e degli strumenti impiegati.⁴⁸ Ossia, ogni qualvolta si ottenevano i radicali $q < \sqrt[3]{4}x^3$, oppure quando $\sqrt[3]{4}x^3 < px/3$, e dunque $\sqrt[3]{4}q^2 - 1/27 p^3 < 0$.

Cardano illustrerà il suo approccio nel capitolo XII (*De modo demonstrandi geometricae aestimationem cubi et numeri aequalium quadratis*)⁴⁹ del *De regula Aliza*, dove discuterà geometricamente la terza delle equazioni tartaleane, risolvendola grazie all'intersezione di una parabola e di un'iperbole, e dando origine a due radici immaginarie, argomento di cui aveva discusso nel cap. XXXVII (*De regula falsum ponendi*) dell'*Artis magnae*, data alle stampe nel 1545. Il ricorso alle coniche permetteva a Cardano di compiere un capovolgimento della prospettiva immaginativo-rappresentativa e di risolvere positivamente la questione, perché l'impossibilità, o meglio l'assurdità dei risultati, era involta e racchiusa nelle modalità di posizione del problema e nelle forme della sua rappresentazione geometrica. Il radicale cambio del punto di vista gli consentiva di reimpostare e risolvere il difficile caso, aprendo ad un nuovo orizzonte di sviluppo e di ricerca.

Cicerone, nel *Sonniorum Synteriorum libri IIII*, rappresenta dunque ai suoi occhi il campione di un sapere che non si poneva in alcun modo in discussione, la supponenza di una visione dogmatica che non sottoponeva mai all'esame corrosivo del dubbio il suo punto di vista e i suoi strumenti di indagine, mentre il suo umile, infaticabile, travagliato problematizzare e ricercare gli appariva quale un evento di tale rilevanza, da farlo sentire in contatto con forze superiori, che lo inducono a riflettere sulle modalità di questa relazione ed a esperire nuove, insondate vie. E la veemenza dei toni cui ricorre, è sintomatica dell'urgenza e proporzionale all'emergenza. Cardano critica Cicerone, ma la sua invettiva è diretta al suo ambiente e ai suoi contemporanei; a quei settori dell'Accademia che

⁴⁸ PIETRO COSSALI, *Origine, trasporto in Italia, primi progressi in essa dell'algebra. Storia critica di nuove disquisizioni analitiche e metafisiche arricchita [...]*, 2 vol., Dalla Reale Tipografia Parmense, Parma 1797-1799.

⁴⁹ Cf. *De Aliza regula, Libellus*, in CARDANUS, *Opera omnia*, t. IV, p. 389a-390b, L'opera era stata pubblicata nel 1570 (*Opus novum de proportionibus numerorum [...]*, *Praeterea Artis magnae, sive de regulis algebraicis [...]*, ex officina Henricpetrina, Basel 1570, p. 24-27).

fondavano le loro conoscenze e il loro potere su un sapere, ai suoi occhi, inconsistente e fraudolento.

Questa straordinaria avventura intellettuale – che lo proietta ai vertici della matematica del tempo e apre la ricerca algebrica al campo dei numeri immaginari (il nuovo ambito di investigazione sarà codificato con l'opera di Raffaele Bombelli), considerati sino ad allora delle entità matematiche prive di ragionevole senso, come poteva essere insensato chiedere quale fosse la radice cubica di un debito, proprio perché lo spazio geometrico posto in essere per rappresentarle aveva una origine sensibile tridimensionale, fondata nella percezione della vita quotidiana –, questo sublime ed estatico percorso, che lo faceva sentire in stretta connessione con le forze sovrasensibili, era legato all'esperienza di un sogno, o di una serie di sogni.

È lo stesso Cardano a parlarcene nel *De libris propriis*, come molto appropriatamente sottolinea Boriaud – ponendo inizio alla sua introduzione all'opera cardaniana –, che attira l'attenzione su questa intrinseca relazione, che connette il momento della straordinaria fioritura della creatività matematica di Cardano all'universo onirico: « Per idem ferme tempus, – scrive il Milanese – cum nondum quicquid aedidissem, haereremque in compositione librorum, paupertis metu, per somnium ad scribendum adeo sum confirmatus, ut illius imago etiam nunc me torqueat »⁵⁰. E ancora, nel libro IV (*De exemplis*) del *Somniorum Synesiorum*, il Filosofo ritorna – seppure sempre velatamente, lasciando trasparire una problematica e delle posizioni che percorrono parallelamente l'opera al di sotto della superficie tematica, oggetto diretto della disamina – sulla necessità di una discussione metodologica rigorosa.

Nel cap. I del quarto libro, « In quo utilia sint somniorum exempla, et illorum ratione », Cardano riprende infatti la questione metodologica, già affrontata all'inizio del secondo libro, nel quale demolisce l'impianto argomentativo ciceroniano, e precisa che ci sono due generi di sogni: quelli che mostrano direttamente la cosa, e sono chiamati *idola*, nei quali a prevalere è la parola e l'ascolto, mentre la visione è in essi relegata ad elemento di conferma di quanto udito; altri, per contro, « quae ex naturae similitudine, aut fortuita quadam ratione usque humanae coniuncta »⁵¹, offrono una certa verosimiglianza, facendo emergere i criteri posti in essere per la loro interpretazione e le capacità stesse dell'interprete, come fece Artemidoro di Daldi, che nell'ultimo libro della sua opera, il quinto,⁵² riportò 95 esempi di sogni.

⁵⁰ DLP, 1544, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 131.

⁵¹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 724–725.

⁵² HARRIS-MCCOY (ed.), *Artemiodorus' Oneirocritica*, p. 373–407 (sono riportati da Artemidoro 95 esempi).

Autore che, per altro, trattò anche della chiromanzia e degli aruspici, così come degli interpreti dei sogni scrisse Aristotele,⁵³ di cui Cardano riporta un esempio citato dallo Stagirita in Περί τῆς καθ' ὕπνον μαντικῆς⁵⁴ a proposito dei criteri e delle regole per una corretta interpretazione, scrivendo che così come nell'acqua mossa le immagini riflesse sulla sua superficie appaiono imperfette e distorte, e solamente chi sa osservarle con un appropriato metodo e la dovuta attenzione sa riconoscerle, allo stesso modo chi osserva i sogni deve saper leggere e interpretare correttamente quelle immagini distorte per la loro imperfezione.⁵⁵ E subito, aggiunge, che l'esempio dell'acqua fornito da Aristotele non dà ragione del fatto che i sogni significhino una determinata cosa attraverso un'altra. Le visioni oniriche – afferma – vanno correttamente decrittate «... cur somnia unum per aliud significant; quandoquidem non sunt somnia secundi et tertii modi idolorum partes, sed aliud omnino genere»⁵⁶ e, ad esempio, scrive che la neve, nei sogni, significa povertà ed indigenza, perché sotto la neve gli uomini gelano, non cresce nulla e non è possibile alcun raccolto. Ma qual è – si chiede Cardano – il rapporto che lega la neve con la povertà? E pertanto quale metodo e quale criterio adottare per poter dire che esiste un'arte e che è possibile interpretare i sogni, e dunque se sia possibile una tale arte.

Ad una prima considerazione verrebbe da rispondere negativamente, scrive Cardano, perché non a tutti appaiono sogni veri, e non certo per tutto il corso della loro vita, mentre per poter elaborare una tale arte queste due condizioni sono necessarie. Ma se intendiamo proporre uno schema interpretativo che riguarda i sogni più compiuti, il maggior numero dei quali ha poi un determinato effetto, allora sarà possibile parlare di un'arte o di una scienza. Se, per contro, i sogni sono

⁵³ CARDAN *Traité des songes*, p. 725: «...quoniam in exemplis relucet coniectoris seu interpretis praestantia, quam maximis laudibus effert Aristoteles».

⁵⁴ ARISTOTELES, *De divinatione per somnum*, 463b 31 464b 15. « L'interprete di sogni più esperto dell'arte – scrive Aristotele, con il quale Cardano interloquisce in modo serrato – è quello che è in grado di osservare le somiglianze, poiché giudicare i sogni significativi è cosa di tutti. Per somiglianze intendo dire che le immagini sono simili ai riflessi che si formano in acqua, come dicevamo anche prima. In quel caso, però se si produce un gran movimento, la parvenza e i riflessi non sono affatto simili alle cose reali. È abile a giudicare le parvenze chi è in grado di distinguere velocemente con la sensazione e vedere unitariamente le parti spostate e disperse dei riflessi, e di stabilire che si tratta di un uomo o di un cavallo o di qualsiasi altra cosa » (ARISTOTELE, *L'anima e il corpo. Parva Naturalia*, intr., trad. e note di ANDREA L. CARBONE, Bompiani, Milano 2002, p. 207).

⁵⁵ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 725: « Ut enim aqua mota imperfectae imagines rerum apparet, quas qui intente et cum iudicio intuitus fuerit, poterit dignoscere »; *ibid.*, p. 724: « Apparaissent en effet imparfaitement, dans de l'eau agitée, les images des choses: plus le mouvement y sera lent et mieux on pourra les distinguer, si on les regarde attentivement, dans de l'eau agitée, les images des choses: plus le mouvement y sera lent et mieux on pourra les distinguer, si on les regarde attentivement et intelligemment ».

⁵⁶ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 727; *ibid.*, p. 726: « ... pourquoi les songes signifient une chose au moyen d'une autre, puisque les songes de la deuxième et de la troisième sortes ne font pas partie des 'répliques', mais sont quelque chose d'un genre complètement différent ».

fortuiti, ne deriva che non è possibile ipotizzare l'esistenza di una tale disciplina rigorosa. Eppure, osserva Cardano, anche tra la molteplicità delle cose fortuite, osserviamo che alcune sono vere e seguono delle aspettative « velut aleae iactu, et sortibus ».⁵⁷ Ancora una volta si riscontra, leggendo il testo cardaniano, una complessità semantica e una polivalenza di piani di lettura che sono strettamente collegate e corrono parallele a quanto egli va scrivendo circa la pluralità interpretativa del sogno.

Il testo di Cardano va dunque considerato ed interpretato come costruito in filigrana, e centellinato con estrema attenzione, perché lascia trasparire una stratificata serie di piani di lettura. Sono testi paralleli che si sovrappongono, si intrecciano e parlano di più oggetti, connessi da una sottesa discussione metodologica – che coinvolge una pluralità di ambiti correlati – su ciò che può dirsi scienza. Cardano si riferisce qui infatti, attraverso i brevi accenni che affiorano dal testo, ai tentativi di elaborazione di un'altra disciplina matematica relativa all'anticipazione dei risultati, cui ha dedicato lunghi anni di studio e che lo hanno condotto a porre le basi di quello che sarebbe stato il calcolo delle probabilità, di cui scrive nel *De ludo aleae*. Lavorerà infatti a quest'altra disciplina – strettamente correlata alla più ampia ricerca sulla prefigurazione di un contenuto futuro – dedicata all'anticipazione di un risultato atteso, per circa mezzo secolo, e di cui abbiamo traccia nel documento di richiesta della concessione del privilegio imperiale del 25 giugno 1538,⁵⁸ ma al quale Cardano si applica sin dagli anni 1524–1525, come possiamo leggere nelle diverse redazioni del *De libris propriis*.⁵⁹ Così come anticipare delle tempeste fortuite attiene alla predizione incerta, talvolta dipendente dalla sorte, o come altrettanto accade con il lancio degli astragali, dove

⁵⁷ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 729: « Accedit quod maximum est in hac causa, quod si non arte constat, fortuita sunt. Et huius causa, et quod ita docet experimentum, minima pars talium quae non ad naturam referuntur, ut bilis, repletionis, doloris, vera est. At in omnibus fortuitis aliqua vere esse, et iuxta opinionem evenire deprehenduntur, velut aleae iactu, et sortibus »; ibid., p. 728: « À cela s'ajoute – et c'est le plus important dans cette affaire – que si les songes ne supposent pas une technique, ils sont fortuits. Et pour cela, et parce que l'expérience l'enseigne, une infime partie de ces rêves-là, qui ne renvoient pas a une cause naturelle (bile, nourriture, douleur), sont vrais. Mais on se rend compte que parmi tous les songes fortuits certains sont vrais et que leur résultat est conforme à ce que l'on attendait, comme lorsque l'on lance les dés ou que l'on tire au sort ».

⁵⁸ HIERONIMUS C. CARDANUS MEDICUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *Practica arithmetice* [...], Milano 1539, c. SS *iiiiir*, l'elenco è riportato anche da MACLEAN: « *Practica Arithmetice*, Milan, 1539 [...] », in DLP, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 117–119, 117.

⁵⁹ DPL, 1544, ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 126: « Per idem tempus librum de latrunculorum ludo scripsi, quem anno aetatis xxiii absolvi; magnitudo Justini historici liber, materna scriptus lingua. Quod existimarem eos, qui ludis delectantur, minime maiore ex parte esse eruditos: divisi autem illum in quatuor libros. In primo de ludo latrunculorum, in secundo de ludis fritilli, in tertio de ludis, ut dicunt chartarum, in quarto de aleae ludis: ostendi ludos quadraginta, dolosque qui in eis fieri solent, rationes vincendi Arithmeticas, adeo admirabiles, ut multi qui librum legerint, nobis ex hoc in seriis rebus fidem haberent, industriam et miram artem admirantes ».

il risultato della predizione è interamente dipendente dal caso e dalla fortuna. E dunque non è possibile discernere in esse le cose vere da ciò che non lo sono mediante la ragione, sebbene anche in questo ambito della predizione Cardano elaborerà dei modelli razionali esplicativi per l'anticipazione del risultato, aprendo alla costruzione di un metodo di calcolo delle probabilità, distinguendo e differenziando la ricerca del principio esplicativo razionale di questo ambito di eventi dalla Geomanzia, l'Idromanzia e la Piromanzia, delle quali ritiene non si possa dare scienza, in quanto puramente dominate dalla fortuna:

Et rursus, tempestatum fortuitarum nulla est certa praedictio; earum vero quae ad asellorum nebulosum ortum, certa est praedictio; at in puris fortuitis sortibus, talorum iactu, non possumus genus verorum a non veris segregare, neque sunt evidētia alia, alia obscura, perfecta et imperfecta, efficacia et remissa.⁶⁰

Pertanto le cose che si possono prevedere, e che non dipendono dalla nostra volontà, sono ricondotte a due generi diversi, circoscrivibili da un lato agli eventi che discendono dalle cause naturali, e in relazione ad essi la previsione si fa a partire dall'analisi di queste cause, come avviene per la previsione di una eclissi di sole su un campo ricco di messi, dalla qual cosa si dedurrà che il raccolto sarà povero, oppure – come avviene per la Metoscopia o nella Chiromanzia – a partire dall'esame dei segni. E in questo caso si può giungere, scrive Cardano, ad una conoscenza sicura, ma ciò avviene raramente, perché le nostre conoscenze sono imperfette e la nostra arte malferma e incerta, ragione per la quale, spesso, sbagliamo i pronostici;⁶¹ dall'altro sono riconducibili alla sorte. E dunque, conclude Cardano,

Primum in his segregare evidētia, et quae arti subiiciuntur, ab aliis oportet; hoc autem iam docuimus. Deinde quaerere cur quibusdam vera appareant somnia, quibusdam non. Et unde illis veritas, inde etiam, quomodo ad aliud transimus rei genus. Velut cum (ut diximus) ex nive inopiam deprehendimus. Oportet autem ordine doctrinae ut in caeteris omnibus, ex manifestis haec deducere.⁶²

⁶⁰ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 728: « À l'opposé, pour les tempêtes fortuites, il n'est aucune prédiction sûre; mais pour celles qui accompagnent la brumeuse apparition des Anons, la prédiction est sûre. Dans le cas, en revanche des sortes purement fortuits, comme dans le lancer des osselets, nous ne pouvons démêler l'espèce des vrais de celles des non-vrais; il n'en est pas de clairs et d'obscurs, d'achevés et d'inachevés, d'efficaces et d'incertains. Aussi les pratiques de ce genre, comme aussi la Géomancie, l'Hydromancie, la Pyromancie, sont-elles purement hasardeuses, et ne relèvent-elles d'aucune science ni d'aucune technique ».

⁶¹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 728–731.

⁶² CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 730–731: « Il faut d'abord distinguer les rêves évidents et ceux qui relèvent de la technique: cela, nous l'avons déjà expliqué. Ensuite chercher pourquoi apparaissent à certains des songes vrais et à d'autres non. Et d'où vient à ces songes la vérité. Et comment on passe, après, d'un genre de réalités à un autre. Comme lorsqu'à partir de neige (ainsi

Ma perché sia possibile elaborare una tale arte, che renda intelligibili i sogni, è necessario che l'anima sia in quiete («hoc opus est animae quiescentis»), che non sia afflitta da ansia o sensazioni capaci di perturbare il suo stato di quiescenza, e che il corpo non sia sovraccaricato da cibo o vino, che obnubilano l'anima, come la caligine che si alza sulla superficie di uno stagno. In tal modo si potranno cogliere le quasi impercettibili sensazioni che percorrono i nostri sogni, e un sibilo appena avvertibile diviene il suono di flauti, e i responsi che l'orecchio coglie nel sonno sono maggiormente significativi e rilevanti, e dunque più puri, delle stesse visioni, perché l'udito non riceve simulacri di cose materiali: «Liquet autem quod responsa auribus per somnum percepta puriora sunt visis, quod auris non excipiat simulachra rerum materialium».⁶³

I simulacri e le immagini che provengono dai corpi vanno però letti ed interpretati correttamente, ammonisce. È più facile riconoscere da lontano un corpo indistinto – scrive Cardano,⁶⁴ interloquendo con il *De divinatione per somnium* di Aristotele⁶⁵ – piuttosto che un dato animale, e distinguere un animale piuttosto che un uomo e, ancora, individuare un uomo in generale piuttosto che Socrate. L'anima che vede lontano («anima quae procul videt»), vede alcunché di rilevante, e ciò significa oppressione («videt magnum aliquid, et oppressionem»). Queste le condizioni generali, perché se l'anima è agitata e perturbata nel sonno, o se non è perfettamente scevra da ansie, o se è troppo affaticata e i sensi sono ottusi dal peso della stanchezza, essa non può essere nella condizione di avere delle percezioni precise e chiare. Per tale ragione, prosegue Cardano,

cum vero vel somno obturbata, vel curis non libera, vel immobilis et sensus hebetis, non potest percipere, sub magno hominem subiicit casu, montem, aut mare aut flumen; coniectur autem pro his hominem subiicit, atque ita opprimendum a potenti viro significat. Periculum est ergo his ne idolum sit, ut si a mari obrui videatur, ne vel potenti viro opprimatur, vel etiam mari ipso vere submergatur; idque idolum erit.⁶⁶

que nous l'avons dit plus haut), nous comprenons la pauvreté. Il faut, en suivant, là comme ailleurs, l'ordre voulu par notre méthode, déduire cela des phénomènes manifestes ».

⁶³ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 723–733: « Il est également évident que les réponses perçues pendant le sommeil par les oreilles sont plus pures que les visions, parce que, par les oreilles, on ne recueille pas les représentations des choses matérielles ».

⁶⁴ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 730–731: « Porro vero facilius est cognoscere procul corpus quam animal, et animal quam hominem, et hominem quam Socratem, anima quae procul videt, videt magnum aliquid, et oppressionem / Comme il est ensuite plus facile de reconnaître de loin un corps qu'un animal, un animal qu'un homme, et un homme que Socrate, l'âme qui voit de loin voit une chose importante, ainsi qu'une marque ».

⁶⁵ ARISTOTELIS *Parva naturalia*, ed. GUILMUS BIEHL, 458b 1–459a 22.

⁶⁶ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 730–733: « Lorsque troublée par le sommeil, mal dégagée de ses soucis, ou bien insensible et ses facultés émoussées, elle ne peut percevoir, elle suggère un homme sous un grand éboulement, ou bien une montagne, ou une mer, ou un fleuve; quant à l'interprète, il

L'interprete esperto dovrà allora richiamarsi alle leggi generali che governano l'universo dei sogni: così che la caduta di un monte andrà riferita alla grandezza o ad una offesa; e se la sua visione è più chiara, egli vedrà e riconoscerà un uomo nobile, ma non chi egli sia e, se le facoltà dell'anima conoscente è particolarmente intensa e vigorosa, e scevra di ogni elemento perturbante, e se l'influenza del Cielo è molto intensa, allora egli la potrà riconoscere. Perché, come scrive altrove Cardano (Lib. II), è l'opera del Cielo che governa la vita in noi, così come in tutti gli altri esseri viventi, e ciò avviene senza che si comprenda come questo accada. E dunque la conoscenza ci proviene da Dio e gli esseri viventi che la ricevono non comprendono le modalità secondo le quali essi la ricevono.

Ergo vitae quaecunque sunt, opera coeli dirigunt in nos, aliaque viventia cuncta; nec hoc ipsum norunt quomodo dirigant. Horum ergo cognitio a Deo emanat, nec quae recipiunt intellegere possunt, quomodo recipiant. At mens inest illis, ac daemonibus hominibusque inest profecto, sed quae non regit corpora; natura enim corpora regunt, mente intelligunt.⁶⁷

Come noi preordiniamo e offriamo ai cani il cibo, ed essi sono totalmente all'oscuro sul come noi li abbiamo preparati, in egual modo le cose future si manifestano nei sogni all'anima quiescente, ed essa, solo molto raramente, le percepisce, e ciò accade per una pluralità di fattori. Perché perturbata dal cibo e dagli umori, indebolita dagli affanni o, ancora, perché incapace di dipanare il groviglio sregolato del fluire delle cose sensibili. I sogni sono per loro natura e costituzione, innumeri ed infiniti, ma altrettanto lo sarà la trattazione che ad essi è rivolta.

Sicut ergo nos cibos canibus offerimus praeparatos, quomodo praeparentur a nobis illi non norunt; ita quaecunque futura sunt, non aliqua, sed omnia, silenti animae per somnium offeruntur; at illa non solum raro, sed rarissime ea percipit, vel cibis obruta, vel humoribus obfuscata, vel curis impedita, vel sensilium motu immodico vexata. Itaque non solum infinitam esse naturam somniorum necesse est, sed et tractationem ipsam infinitam.⁶⁸

suggère à leur place un homme, et indique que cet homme doit être écrasé par un puissant. Le danger est donc là qu'on soit devant une 'réplique', et que, si on a l'impression d'être englouti par la mer, soit on se fasse écraser par un puissant, soit on se laisse réellement submerger par la mer elle-même; et dans ce dernier cas, c'est une 'replique' ».

⁶⁷ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 514-515: « Donc les 'vies', quelles qu'elles soient, dirigent les oeuvres les oeuvres du ciel sur nous, comme aussi sur tous les autres vivants, mais elles ignorent comment elles le font. Leur savoir découle donc de Dieu, mais ce qu'elles reçoivent, elles ne peuvent comprendre comment elles le reçoivent. Il y a certes un esprit en elles, comme il y en a évidemment chez les démons et les hommes, mais il ne commande pas aux corps: elles commandent les corps naturellement, et comprennent par l'esprit ».

⁶⁸ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 514-515: « De même que nous, nous présentons aux chiens des nourritures toutes prêtes, et qu'ils ne savent pas comment nous les préparons, de même ce qui

È inevitabile, pertanto, che lo studio di questa disciplina e la delineazione di una scienza dei sogni sia materia particolarmente difficile, poiché si deve far entrare l'infinito nel finito, scrive Cardano, e ciò concorre a far sì che tale studio sia cosa complessa e difficilissima. E tale infinità ha da essere imbrigliata e ricondotta ad una serie molto ristretta di principi, e persino ad un'unica scaturigine, così che ciò che è, che fu e sarà, può essere compreso sotto un unico punto d'inizio, cioè la divinità. Ma – avverte –, Dio non può essere assunto come principio unico, perché gli oggetti, nella loro diversità, sono riconducibili a diversi e molteplici d'essi, con le loro infinite potenzialità, come l'uomo per l'uomo e la formica per la formica:

Comprehendi tamen possunt multis infinita, quia paucis et paucis, uno tantum principio, velut et quaecunque sunt, fuerunt, eruntve, uno principio, scilicet Deo. Sed neque Deo solo tanquam unico principio, sed in diversis diversa sunt principia, potestate quidem infinita, velut hominum homo, et formicarum formica.⁶⁹

IV.

Ogni buona trattazione – osserva, ritornando circolarmente alla posizione del problema metodologico, – necessita di porre il suo inizio nella mente, nello spirito (« et a mente proficiscatur »), e per tale ragione, quanto più una disamina è nella potestà di raggiungere e raccogliere, esplicando con principi razionali unitari una materia così vasta, tanto maggiormente questa disciplina risulta difficile. Cardano, come abbiamo già avuto modo di osservare, si sofferma diffusamente su questa difficoltà, e l'insistenza di questi continui richiami non va certo interpretata come mera prolissità, ripetizione ed assenza di rigore. Al contrario, Cardano sta richiamando insistentemente l'attenzione del lettore su un nodo metodologico complesso. Lo stesso che si trova al fondo, come ricordato, dell'*Opus perfectum*, punto focale sul quale l'« Introduction » di Boriaud si sofferma, e che aveva illuminato la mente del Filosofo, ritenendo di esser giunto – in quel torno di anni a cavaliere degli anni Trenta e Quaranta – al fondamento della problematica metodologica, sul quale occorreva concentrare e focalizzare la trattazione. Anche

doit advenir, non en partie mais dans sa totalité, est présenté, en songe, à l'âme au repos, mais celle-ci le perçoit non pas rarement mais très rarement, chargée qu'elle est de nourritures, ou obscurcie par les humeurs, ou gênée par les soucis, ou bien secouée par l'agitation excessive des sensibles. Il est par conséquent inévitable que la nature des songes soit infinie, comme aussi son étude, mais rien de ce qui touche les objets dans leur singularité ne peut être infini: aucune étude des songes ne peut donc être menée jusqu'à une fin quelconque, ni contenue dans des limites, ni avoir de fin ».

⁶⁹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 514-515: « L'infini peut cependant être embrassé par le multiple, car ramené à une série de petits nombres, il peut l'être enfin par un principe unique; ainsi, tout ce qui est, fut, sera, l'est par un principe unique, à savoir Dieu. Mais non Dieu envisagé comme seul principe unique: les objets, dans leur diversité, ont des principes divers, aux potentialités infinies, comme l'homme pour les hommes, et la fourmi pour les fourmis ».

in questa circostanza l'insistenza rivelava la gravità e l'urgenza della questione. Non solo legata al tema della biografia – considerato dal Filosofo come il luogo privilegiato dell'esperienza soggettiva della conoscenza, cui si è accennato – ma anche, e forse soprattutto, all'approdo di una visione che lasciava trasparire un confronto critico con il pensiero degli ultimi settant'anni, interloquendo con Marsilio Ficino, l'Argiropulo, il Poliziano, Landino, Pico, Ermolao e i Valla, Lorenzo, e Giorgio.

Le scoperte logiche e filosofico-epistemologiche dell'*Ars magna*, aprivano il sapere ad un nuovo orizzonte teoretico, chiudendo con la stagione filologica dell'Umanesimo che, come nel caso di Ermolao Barbaro e Giorgio Valla, comprimavano l'ambito delle loro riflessioni filosofiche alla dimensione del pensiero inespresso, che permeava e circonfondeva le loro opere, ma che in ossequio alla grandezza dei classici, cui guardavano e di cui traducevano e traghettavano le opere, ritenevano fossero non degne di essere espresse. Ed è soprattutto a quest'ultima fase del pensiero umanistico, nel corso della quale così approfonditamente si sono studiati i matematici e geometri greci, rendendone disponibili le opere, cui Cardano guarda considerandoli modelli metodologici di riferimento – lo scrive in diversi luoghi nel *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* – e ai quali egli ha volto la sua attenzione e a cui, al di sotto della superficie del testo, faceva riferimento anche nel primo libro del *De consolatione*, quando osservava:

Cum igitur omnis bona tractatio et a mente proficiscatur, et rebus ipsis sit accomodata, mens autem potestate sit infinita, infinitus et numerus rerum necesse est, bonam tractationem in esse ordinatam, ut plures sensus sub eisdem verbis contineas. Omnis autem huiusmodi difficillima est. Quamobrem omnis bona tractatio contemplans, quo melior, necessario eo difficilior. Verum que de rebus ipsis agendis est, et facilis esse potest, et perfecta, quod rerum nostrarum quae actione constant, nulla sit infinita. Sed quoniam non solum rebus ipsis, sed etiam legentibus, et legentibus simul ac scribentibus, in quovis scribendi genere aliquid condonari potest, propterea ex multis constat praeceptis omnis oratio; legentes enim claritatem exposcunt, ornatus autem et ordo tam legenti quam scribenti necessarius est; quod doceant scribentes, delectant legentes; in omni eo quod scribitur quatuor haec desiderabuntur: difficultas ob infinitatem, claritas, ordo, et ornatus. Horum primum solum ad divinitatem pertinet; reliqua adeo non illi congruunt, ut ei etiam repugnent. Ordo quippe apud nos est eorum quae numero constant; nam apud Deum est omnium, et infinitorum, et numerata non possunt esse infinita. Itaque difficile est omnibus satisfacere: nam hanc infinitatem soli philosophi amant, quia soli intellegunt, sed non omnes, verum clariores; at caeteri oderunt, ut contrarium claritati.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 514–517: « Comme toute bonne étude vient donc de l'esprit, qu'elle est proportionnée aux choses elles-mêmes, et que la puissance de l'esprit est infinie, et infini le nombre des objets, il faut nécessairement qu'une bonne étude soit organisée de telle manière

L'ostensione ordinata del discorso espositivo può essere riferita – afferma Cardano, riprendendo il filo del ragionamento intrapreso circa la possibilità di una organizzazione razionale della materia dei sogni – solo ad elementi finiti e determinati, e non può essere in alcun modo rispettata in riferimento alla disamina di elementi di quantità infinita, perché solo l'intelletto divino può governare l'ordine delle cose infinite. La pluralità infinita genera complessità, contrasta e si oppone alla chiarezza del discorso scientifico, osserva. Per tale ragione i veri filosofi rifuggono dalla ricerca dell'ordine della trattazione, mentre questo è ricercato dai retori:

Tractationem autem claram in his, quae ad contemplationem pertinent, ut divinitatis expertem, ut absurdam, ac proprio carentem nervo, philosophi aspernantur, at rhetores magnificiunt quicquid dilucidum est, perspicuum, ornatum, atque ordinatum.⁷¹

A partire da questo punto del testo Cardano riprende l'affondo contro le posizioni di Cicerone – che rappresenta il filo conduttore critico di una parte importante del secondo libro – ma non solo avverso alle sue posizioni teoriche, ma anche avverso a quanto la sua concezione del sapere e del metodo conoscitivo rappresenta. La semplicità del discorso cardaniano, quasi elementare nella sua architettura concettuale, non va sottovalutata. Al di sotto di questa essenziale descrizione di un processo, apparentemente privo di ogni complessità e incidenza, è condensata la rilettura critica di buona parte dell'umanesimo padano e non, atteggiamento e critica che percorrono trasversalmente numerose opere del filosofo lombardo. E di cui dà un sintetico quadro nella lettera indirizzata a Cosimo I, premessa al *Liber*

que l'on embrasse plusieurs sens sous les mêmes mots. Or toute étude de ce genre est très difficile. Aussi toute bonne étude fondée sur l'examen est-elle nécessairement d'autant plus difficile qu'elle est de meilleur qualité. Celle, en revanche, qui touche les actions, peut être facile, et parfait, car des choses qui se ramènent à une action, aucune n'est infinie. Mais comme dans n'importe quel genre littéraire, il faut accorder quelque chose non seulement au sujet lui-même, aussi au lecteur, et, en même temps qu'au lecteur, à l'écrivain, tout discours répond à de multiples règles; le lecteur exige la clarté, la beauté et l'ordre sont nécessaires au lecteur tout autant qu'à l'écrivain, pour l'enseignement qu'apporte l'écrivain et plaisir du lecteur. Dans tout ce qui s'écrit, il y a donc quatre points à envisager: la difficulté liée à l'infinité, la clarté, l'ordre et la beauté. De ces points, seul le premier concerne le devin, les autres n'ont pas de rapport avec lui, et s'opposent même à lui. L'ordre concerne, pour nous, tout ce qui relève du nombre, car, pour Dieu, il concerne le tout, et l'infini, or ce qu'on peut dénombrer ne peut être infini. Aussi est-il difficile de rendre compte de tout; les seuls, en effet, à aimer l'infinité sont les philosophes, car ils sont les seuls à la comprendre, et encore pas tous, mais les plus fameux: tous les autres la haïssent, car nuisible à la clarté ».

⁷¹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 516–517 « Quant à la clarté, dans l'étude de ce qui relève de l'examen, les philosophes la méprisent, comme étrangère au devin, absurde, et sans force propre, alors que les rhéteurs portent aux nues tout ce qui est lumineux, transparent, beau et ordonné ».

secundus dei *Contradicentium Medicorum*,⁷² e con il quale interloquisce nel libro primo del citato *De consolatione*, rinviando allo scritto ciceroniano – che non ci è pervenuto –, composto per la morte della figlia Tullia, ricorrendo al quale, in apparenza elogiandolo ed elevandolo a modello, assente, lascia trasparire palese, attraverso l'espedito retorico, il suo intento polemico. Ed anche rinviando e dialogando, in una fitta ragnatela di rimandi che, attingendo al petrarchesco *De remediis*, utilizzato come un prezioso diamante sfaccettato per filtrare e riflettere la luce, richiama le ciceroniane *Tusculanae disputationes* e rinvia a Seneca, per impostare una sottesa riflessione filosofica sull'ontologia e sull'epistemologia del linguaggio. Oppure, ancora, nel *De consolatione*, accennando ad Asclepiodoro, scrive che gli storici narrano che Asclepiodoro, di cui riferisce Plinio (*Storia naturale*, XXXV, 36, 80, 107), amasse dipingere, e non certo privo di eleganza, senza colori, e afferma recisamente: «...ut olim Asclepiodorus fertur non ineleganter absque coloribus pinxisse, sic nobis continget ut nudam et absque fuco veritatem ostendentibus». ⁷³

I retori esaltano lo splendore della parola, badando allo stile e mirando alla persuasione e alla perspicuità e all'ordine del discorso – scrive il Lombardo –, ma non si curano affatto di quella forza intrinseca dell'argomentazione che i Latini chiamavano *demonstratio* e i Greci ἀπόδειξις, e i filosofi ricercano più di ogni altra cosa. ⁷⁴

Quanto Cicerone ha scritto sull'arte della divinazione non può esser considerato, dunque, degno di fede, perché egli considerava parimenti eguale trattare di una tale difficilissima materia con dottrina, o in modo ornato. Ma va da sé, osserva Cardano, non è affatto la medesima cosa. Si tratta anzi di prospettive contrapposte, poiché ciò che è trattato e discusso a partire da presupposti estrinseci fondati sulla chiarezza – esigita dallo stile ornato del retore – non può contenere in sé né la complessità della cosa trattata, né la sottigliezza, né il rigore necessari. E Cicerone, a giudizio del Milanese, avvezzo alla pratica letteraria

⁷² HIERONYMI CARDANI MEDICI MEDIOLANENSIS *Contradicentium medicorum*, Liber secundus [...], apud Seb. Grypium, Lyon 1548, « Illustrissimo, ac excellentiss. Florentiae Duci, Cosmo Medices [...]. Data x. Calend. Aprilis M.D.XLVII », p. 3–8.

⁷³ GIROLAMO CARDANO, *De consolatione*, ed. MARIALUISA BALDI, Olschki, Firenze 2019, p. 66–67: « Atque ea causa, ut olim Asclepiodorus fertur non ineleganter absque coloribus pinxisse, sic nobis continget ut nudam et absque fuco veritatem ostendentibus quantum quisque erret in vita, in consilio, in existimatione atque in voluntate intelligat agnoscatque quaedam, etiamsi non elaborentur, tam foeliciter a natura ipsa instituta, ut se ipsa probent »; si confronti con ID., *Sulla consolazione*, a cura di MARIALUISA BALDI, Olschki, Firenze 2021, p. 6; cf. MASSIMO TAMBORINI, « Brevi note a margine di alcune recenti edizioni del *De consolatione* di Cardano », *Mediterranea*, 7 (2022), p. 423–447.

⁷⁴ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 516–517: « Sed neque curant eam vim probandi, quam demonstrationem Latini, Graeci ἀπόδειξιν vocant; philosophi autem, ut nil aliud. / Mais ils n'ont cure de cette capacité de prouver que les Latin appellent *demonstratio* et les Grecs ἀπόδειξις, alors que les philosophes l'estiment plus que tout ».

dell'inganno persuasorio, non ebbe mai di mira la vera conoscenza e la dimostrazione dell'intrinseca costituzione della cosa, ma fu motivato solamente a muovere gli animi dei suoi lettori e di coloro che lo ascoltavano, trascinandoli verso la propria opinione. E, interloquendo con quanto scritto nel *De consolatione*, osserva che le parole maggiormente eleganti e forbite – che nei suoi scritti abbondano – sono le peggiori, vanno perciò rifuggite, e assomigliano al veleno mescolato al miele che, somministrato come antidoto, diletta con la sua dolcezza mentre, con l'inganno, ci uccide. Può risultare d'aiuto considerare quanto Cardano scriveva altrove, nel capitolo XVI « De Scientiis », del *De subtilitate*, dove nomina Archimede,⁷⁵ ed enumerando i grandi intelletti che si erano distinti nelle discipline matematiche, pone al vertice di un elenco di dodici uomini di scienza il più volte citato Siracusano:

Obi id qui in ea claruerunt, fuerunt autem admodum pauci, divini merito vocati sunt. Frequentiores licet in disciplinis viros praestantes invenire: e quorum numero duodecim selegi, unicuique iudicium suum reliquens. Archimedes primus sit, non solum ob monumenta illius nunc vulgata, sed ob mechanica, quibus ut Plutarchus author est, vires Romanorum saepius fregit refert mira illius inventa in M. Marcelli vita, et nos alia non minora ex Galeni testimonio.⁷⁶

Aggiungendo quanto massimamente intollerabile, per tale ragione, potesse risultare ciò che aveva scritto Cicerone in chiusura al secondo Libro del *De divinatione*, dove concludeva la sprezzante e veemente invettiva contro la divinazione, anche attraverso il sogno – di cui aveva trattato in LXII, 127–128⁷⁷ –,

⁷⁵ *Les livres de Hierome Cardanus medecin Milanois, intitules De la Subtilité, et subtiles inventions, ensemble les causes occultes, et raisons d'icelles*, traduit de Latin en Francois par RICHARD LE BLANC, Guillaume le Noir, Paris 1556, p. 316r: « Car toute verité est divine, et vient de celui qui est tres bon. On peut trouver plusieurs personnages excellens aus disciplines, du nombre desquels i'en ai elu douze, laissant à chacun son iugement. Qu'Archimedes soit nombré le premier des douze, non seulement pour ses livres divulgüés, ains pour ses inventions mecaniques, par lesquelles il a souvent rompu la force des Romains, comme dit Plutarchus, lequel recite admirables inventions d'icelui en la vie de M. Marcellus: et nous en avons recité autres non moindres, selon le temoignage de Galien ».

⁷⁶ HIERONYMI CARDANI *De subtilitate Libri XXI. Ad illustriss. principem Ferrandum Gonzagam Mediolanensis provinciae praefectum*, Petreius, Nürnberg 1550, p. 313–314.

⁷⁷ Discutendo con il fratello Quinto, Cicerone osservava: « Iam vero quis dicere audeat vera omnia esse somnia? 'aliquot somnia vera' inquit Ennius 'sed omnia non necesse est.' Quae est tandem ista distinctio? Quae vera quae falsa habet? Et si vera a deo mittuntur, falsa unde nascuntur? Nam si ea quoque divina, quid inconstantius deo? Quid inscitius autem est quam mentes mortalium falsis et mendacibus visis concitare? Sin vera visa divina sunt, falsa autem et inania humana, quae est ista designandi licentia, ut hoc deus hoc natura fecerit potius quam aut omnia deus, quod negatis, aut omnia natura; quod quoniam illud negatis, hoc necessario confitendum est », MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, *De divinatione*, II, LXII, 127–128, in Id., *Scripta quae manserunt omnia: De divinatione, De fato, Timaetus*, ed. WILHELM AX [Ottonis Plasberg Schedis usu], B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1938, p. 119b, 17–120b, 1.

affermando di aver discusso di tali argomenti non già perché egli inclinasse verso una particolare opinione, ma per lasciare il giudizio sospeso:

Perfugium videtur omnium laborum et sollicitudinum esse somnus. At ex eo ipso plurimae curae metusque nascuntur; qui quidem ipsi per se minus valerent et magis contemnerentur, nisi somniorum patrocini philosophi suscepissent, nec ii quidem contemptissimi sed primis acuti et consequentia et repugnantia videntes, qui prope iam absoluti et perfecti putantur. Quorum licentiae nisi Carneades restitisset, haud scio an soli iam philosophi iudicarentur. Cum quibus omnis fere nobis disceptatio contentioque est, non quod eos maxime contemnamus, sed quod videntur acutissime sententias suas prudentissimeque defendere. Cum autem proprium sit Academiae iudicium suum nullum interponere, ea probare quae simillima veri videantur, conferre causas et quid in quamque sententiam dici possit expromere, nulla adhibita sua auctoritate iudicium audientum relinquere integrum ac liberum, tenebimus hanc consuetudinem a Socrate traditam eaque inter nos, si tibi Quinte frater placebit, quam saepissime utemur.⁷⁸

Cardano afferma che, così come procedeva Archimede attraverso una catena di dimostrazioni, e come altrettanto Aristotele, egli procederà nella sua trattazione, promettendosi di dar risposta alla riflessione ciceroniana che concludeva di non saper distinguere i sogni veri da quelli che non lo sono. E osserva sarcastico, che se Cicerone fosse riuscito a scoprire come discernere i sogni degni di fede dai sogni falsi, avrebbe anche accettato, immantinente, la divinazione attraverso i sogni:

Si enim ille potuisset inveniri in quo falsa a veris seiungeret, volebat acquiescere eorum divinationi; at cum non posset, damnavit universum genus.⁷⁹

Cicerone nel *De divinatione* affermava che se il futuro è già deciso da un destino che ci sovrasta, a nulla sarebbe servita la divinazione e la predizione dei mali, perché sarebbe risultata essere solo fonte e alimento del nostro sconforto. Per contro, se così non fosse, non potremmo neppure discutere di una scienza della divinazione delle cose future, giacché esse potrebbero anche non accadere.

Cardano rimembra di quando ebbe un sogno che gli annunciò la sua ammissione al Collegio dei medici di Milano. Verso il 1534, egli racconta, cominciò ad anticipare, attraverso la lettura e l'interpretazione dei sogni, quanto gli sarebbe accaduto a breve, e scrive nel *De vita propria* (cap. XXXVIII, « Proprietates quinque, quibus adiutus sum »), che se si trattava di una cosa che sarebbe successa quello stesso giorno, la vedeva chiara in sogno all'alba; mentre se il sogno avveniva dopo

⁷⁸ ID., *De divinatione*, II, LXII, 150, in ID., *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, p. 129b, 5-25.

⁷⁹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 518-519: « Si l'occasion en effet, avait pu se trouver, pour lui, de distinguer les songes faux des vrais, il voulait bien accorder crédit à leur capacité divinatoire, mais comme cela ne fut pas possible, il condamna le genre dans sa totalité ».

il sorgere del sole, non solo la vedeva chiara, ma anche ben articolata nei particolari, come quando gli accadde di essere ammesso al Collegio dei medici:

Post paucos annos scilicet VIII. vel circa, id est M.D.XXXIV. coepi videre per somnia quae futura essent brevi, et si eadem die, videbam ut erant clara, et post ortum solis, et explicata, adeo ut aliquando causam Collegii prorsus iudicatam, pactam et condemnatam viderim, et quod obtenturus essem profitendi munus Bononiae. Cessavit anno priore quam illud aliud, scilicet anno M.D.LXVII. dum Paulus unus e contubernalis, abiret et ita duravit annis circiter XXXIII.⁸⁰

Sogno che Cardano racconta anche nel IV libro, « De exemplis propriis » (cap. IV, 5), dove narra che il 28 febbraio del 1534 quando, non avendo alcuna speranza di essere ammesso al Collegio medico milanese, vide in sogno all'alba Alessandro il Macedone, che, durante una battuta di caccia, decise di uccidere un leone senza usare le armi. Cardano narra che Efestione glielo proibiva, ma infine i due si accordarono: Alessandro avrebbe ucciso il leone mentre Efestione avrebbe tenuto la clava. Sopraggiunse un leone di enormi dimensioni e Alessandro lo afferrò per le fauci, cercando di divaricarlo. Dapprima sembrava avesse successo e il sopravvento sull'animale ma, in un secondo tempo, il leone serrò le mandibole, imprigionando la mano di Alessandro. Efestione, accortosene, colpì il leone, uccidendolo sul colpo, liberando così la mano di Alessandro.

Cardano interpreta il sogno, scrivendo che Alessandro stava a significare la ripresa della causa che giaceva da lungo tempo e sembrava oramai perduta: egli stesso rappresentava l'autorità del principe d'Istonio, o il senatore Francesco Sfondrati, mentre Efestione ritiene potesse essere Luca Della Croce, medico amico di Sfondrati. Ma altri sogni, poi acclusi negli esempi riportati nel libro IV di *Somniorum Synesiorum*, vengono narrati anche nel cap. XXXVII, « Proprietates quadam naturales, mirifica inter quas somnia » del *De vita propria*⁸¹ e nel *De utilitate ex adversis capienda libri IV*,⁸² e di nuovo approda al tema della gratitudine verso Dio per avergli rivelato in sogno ciò che gli ha consentito di trarre in salvo la propria vita, condannando, al contempo, l'ingratitude dimostrata da Cicerone in relazione al sogno di Mario⁸³ quando, dopo aver accettato e seguito ciò che in sogno gli era stato suggerito, tornò dall'esilio e irrisse la provvidenza divina. Per questa

⁸⁰ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, cap. XXXVIII, p. 212–215: « Quelques année plus tard – à peut près huit – c'est-à-dire en 1534, je commençais à voir en songe les événements sur le point d'arriver et, si ce devait être le jour même, je les voyais après l'aube, avec clarté et exactitude, de manière circonscrite, au point qu'une fois, je vis que mon procès avec le Collège était jugé, terminé et perdu, mais que je devais obtenir la chaire d'enseignement à Bologne ».

⁸¹ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, cap. XXXVII, p. 194–211, segnatamente « Somnia », p. 204–211.

⁸² CARDANUS, *De Signis eximia potentia et gloria*, lib. III, cap. XXV, in Id., *Opera omnia*, t. II, p. 220a–222b, p. 221a–221b.

⁸³ CICERO, *De divinatione*, II, LXVII–LXVIII, 136–142 ed. Ax, p. 123b, 22–125b, 4.

ragione avrebbe meritato – scrive Cardano – di non ricevere più ammonimenti in sogno, quand’anche l’avesse voluto. Perché l’Artefice dei sogni fondati sulla verità – prosegue – è solo Dio, in virtù della sua infinita sapienza. Ma se anche supponessimo che tutto potesse accadere secondo i disegni del fato, è sempre la Provvidenza divina a reggere le cose naturali, ed essa è diversa da quella che si occupa delle cose inferiori, e nelle disposizioni del fato rientra – scrive Cardano – la provvidenza dei sogni, sebbene gran parte dei loro frutti vada perduta:

Alia est providentia Dei in immortalibus, alia in his inferioribus. Pulchrum fuit, et forsitan necessarium, cum Fati serie hanc somniorum providentiam conserere, quantacunque pars eius fructus deperiret.⁸⁴

Si sofferma poi sull’esame della trattazione di Sinesio che – osserva – si è rivelato molto laborioso e complesso, e pur tuttavia non così utile se commisurato alla fatica profusa. E dunque dobbiamo compiere uno sforzo ulteriore per pervenire con buon margine di sicurezza a discernere i sogni veri dai sogni che non lo sono. Giunti alla determinazione di un tale criterio, si dovrà prendere in esame il genere al quale il sogno esaminato appartiene, e saper discernere i sogni di genere divino da quelli turbolenti:

Sed de his hactenus. Unum ergo quod ab initio proposueramus, statuendum erit; eam Synesii observationem negociosam fore, et infinitam, nec tamen pro tanto labore utilem. Sed magis tantam operam, ut quemadmodum Gemmarii solent veras ab adulterinis gemmas uno intuitu dignoscere, sic et nos vera somnia a vanis discernere valeamus; quod cum fuerimus adepti, ad genus rei transeundum erit; quod non adeo arduum est invenire, quam scire eligere quae generis sint divini, et quae tumultuosa.⁸⁵

Sono sostanzialmente quattro, scrive Cardano, le cause che si possono individuare alla base dei sogni veri: una solida anima superire, «nitidaque ut speculum»; un moto veemente («motus vehemens»), giacché i sogni veritieri si hanno con maggior frequenza quando ci si trova in condizioni perigliose, o quando intraprendiamo grandi opere, al sorgere di qualche radicale cambiamento nella

⁸⁴ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 524–525: « Autre est la Providence de Die dans les choses immortelles et dans celles d’ici-bas. Il aurait été beau, et peut-être nécessaire, de comparer notre prédiction par les songes avec les arrêts du Destin, pour voir quelle part il s’en perd ».

⁸⁵ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 528–529: « Mais assez à ce sujet. Il nous faut nous arrêter à ce que nous nous sommes fixé dès le début: cette étude de Synésios serait absorbante, et infinie, sans pourtant être utile en proportion du travail fourni. Mais il nous faut plutôt travailler à être capables, comme les joailliers qui savent reconnaître au premier regard les vrais pierres des fausses, de séparer les songes vrais des songes vains; et quand nous y serons arrivés, il nous faudra nous intéresser alors aux genres car il est moins difficile de découvrir des rêves que de savoir déterminer quels rêves sont du genre divin et lesquels sont des rêves confus ».

propria vita; l'astensione dagli studi, e rinvia al *Critone* (II, 43a-b) e al *Fedone* (IV, 60c-61b), narrando che Socrate poté esser vistato da sogni solo quando rimase ozioso in carcere;⁸⁶ la temperanza e continenza «*temperantia praeterea et continentia*».⁸⁷

E sono tre i generi di sogni che sembra siano inviati dalla divinità: i sogni significativi, i sogni di avvertimento e i sogni ingannatori («*Sciendum tamen esset tria genera somniorum quae divinitus immissa videntur, significativum, monitorium, et deceptorium*»). Cardano fornisce, dei due primi generi, numerosi esempi nel quarto libro. Mentre i sogni ingannatori si verificano quando la persona che il sogna vede l'esatto contrario di ciò che realmente accadrà.⁸⁸ Ma ammonisce che, essendo la divinazione attraverso i sogni la più elevata fra le forme di divinazione del futuro, è altamente rischioso e sciocco porla in ridicolo e scherzare con essa. Sicuramente – osserva – è un'arte che presenta numerose incertezze e difficoltà, innanzitutto dovute al fatto che i sogni vengono inviati assai di rado e sono indipendenti dalla nostra volontà. Per questa ragione possiamo attenderci solamente pochi sogni significativi nel corso della nostra vita; se infatti fossero frequenti, perderebbero di valore e verrebbero privati della loro forza e potenza superiore.

V.

Che la biografia e il racconto di sé siano legati ai temi del sogno e dell'eccezionalità dell'interprete⁸⁹ appare evidente a Boriaud, che struttura il secondo paragrafo

⁸⁶ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 531: «*Ita Socrates potuit videre, dum in carceribus otiosus vel invite viveret*»; *ibid.*, p. 530: «*Et Socrates ne put en avoir que lorsq'il vécu dans l'inactivité, fût-ce contre son gré, en prison*».

⁸⁷ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 531.

⁸⁸ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 533: «*Verum deceptorium contingit, (non ut illud Amilcaris, cum somniasset intra Syracusas coenare, coenavit quidem, non victor, ut existimabat, sed captus; unde ambiguum dici potuit, et si prudens fuisset, devitare licuit) cum homo contrarium videt ad unguem eius quod subsequitur, velut in certaturus in Olympia, vidisset se coronari, et inde in certamine ultimus esset; nom nec immerito id contingere potest; admiramur enim victores qui coronantur, et victos qui ultimi omnibus cessere*»; *ibid.*, p. 532: «*Mais il s'en produit de trompeurs (à la différence de celui d'Hamilcar qui, ayant rêvé qu'il dinait à l'intérieur de la ville de Syracuse, y dina effectivement, non en tant que vainqueur, comme il le pensait, mais en tant que prisonnier: on peut parler ici de rêve ambigu, et avec plus prudence, il aurait pu s'en tirer), quand l'homme voit exactement le contraire de ce qui va s'ensuivre, comme si on se voyait couronné, avant de concourir à Olympie, et qu'on se retrouvait dernier de son épreuve; et cela peut se produire à bon escient car nous admirons les vainqueurs que l'on couronne, comme aussi les vaincus, les dernières, qui se sont inclinés devant tous autres*».

⁸⁹ Cf. FRANZISKA MEIER, «*Überlegungen zum Autobiographischen Schreiben in der Renaissance: Benvenuto Cellinis 'Vita' Und Girolamo Cardanos 'De Vita Propria'*», *Romanische Forschungen*, 116 (2004), p. 34-65; *ibid.*, p. 44-45: «*In Cardanos De Vita Propria spielt die augustinisch-hagiographische Tradition gar keine Rolle. Seine Lebensbeschreibung entstand ausschließlich*

della sua « Introduction » dal titolo « Le songe dans la vie et la genèse de l'oeuvre de Cardan », scrivendo, dopo aver riportato stralci dal paragrafo II del *De vita propria*,⁹⁰ che « Cardan conserva le sentiment d'être soumis à un destin particulier dont l'astrologie pouvait sans doute lui dévoiler les arcanes ».⁹¹ Osservava infatti Cardano a proposito dei propri natali che, in quel tempo – aveva visto la luce il 24 settembre 1501 –, Giove era in ascesa e Venere dominava la costellazione:

...non fui oblasus, nisi in genitalibus, ut a XXI anno ad XXXI non potuerim concumbere cum mulieribus, et saepius deflerem sortem meam, cuique alteri propriam invidens. Et cum Venus dominaretur, ut dixi, toti figurae, et Iupiter esset in ascendente, factus sum abiectae sortis, lingua parum blaesus, et addita est propensio (ut Ptolemaeus ait) media inter frigidam et harpocraticam, id est rapacem et inconsultam divinationem, in quo genere (praesensionem honestiore vocabulo dicunt) non obscure aliquando valui, similiter et in aliis divinandi generibus.⁹²

Costituzione « arpocratica », che Cardano conferma nel capitolo XLII (« Praecognoscendi vis in arte et aliis »), del *De vita propria*, nel quale scrive che non sa spiegarsi quale sia stata la ragione per cui si fece una così notevole fama nel presagire, se per divina ispirazione o per sottigliezza di giudizio:

aus der säkularen Sorge um Ruhm und aus wissenschaftlicher Neugier. Daher finden sich darin auch keine christlichen Handlungselemente, selbst jener Glanz – 'splendor' – um seinem Kopf rührt weniger von Gott als von einem Schutzgeist her, der zu den vielfältigen Erscheinungen des Makrokosmos gehört ».

⁹⁰ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, p. 14–17. « À lui même, la vie ne fut pas accordée d'emblée: sa mère avait tout fait pour avorter, et sa naissance, si l'on en croyait les astres, aurait pu être une catastrophe: il eût pu être un monstre, ou sortir en morceaux du sein maternel. [...] Cardan conserva le sentiment d'être soumis à un destin particulier dont l'astrologie pouvait sans doute lui dévoiler les arcanes » (CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. XIII–XIV). Nel cap. II del *De vita propria*, dal titolo « Nativitas nostra », Cardano narra che nel momento della sua nascita le posizioni degli astri erano quelle da lui illustrate nell'ottava Genitura (HIERONYMI CARDANI *Medici et expositoris huius operis, Gnesis octava*) del suo *In Cl. Ptolemaei De astrorum iudicii, aut (ut vulgo appellant) Quadripartitae Constructionis Lib. IIII* [...], ex Officina Henricpetrina, Basel 1578, col. 629–680 (Cf. *Liber duodecim Geniturarum*, in CARDANUS, *Opera omnia*, t. V, p. 503–552: « Genesis VIII. Hieronymi Cardani Medici et expositaris huius operis », a p. 517–541).

⁹¹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. XIV.

⁹² CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, p. 16–17: « ... je ne subis pas de dommages, si ce n'est dans les parties génitales, de sort qu'entre 21 et 31 ans je ne pus coucher avec des femmes et que je pleurai bien des fois sur mon sort, enviant celui de n'importe qui d'autre. Et comme Venus dominait, je l'ai dit, toute la figure, ce que Jupiter était dans l'ascendant, m'échurent une condition médiocre, un léger bégaiement, plus une disposition, comme dit Ptolémée, à mi-chemin entre le froid et l'arpocratique, c'est-à-dire une tendance irrésistible et irréfléchie à la divination, genre (en langage plus châtié on parle de prescience) dans lequel j'ai à l'occasion montré, non sans éclat, ma valeur, comme dans d'autres genres de divination ».

Porro qualiscumque causa fuerit quae plus mihi nominis hac in parte attulerit quam cuperem, seu divinus afflatus, seu Harpocratica constitutio, seu quaedam iudicii et mentis perfectio, non satis dicere possim.⁹³

Ma è evidente che egli considera la sua vita come strettamente legata ad una dimensione che lo pone in relazione con una natura superiore. Nel capitolo XLIII (« Res prorsus supra naturam ») della stessa opera, narra che mentre era impegnato nello studio, a Pavia, gli accadde una mattina, prima ancora di svegliarsi, di udire un gran colpo risuonare sulla parete divisoria della sua camera e quella del locale attiguo vuoto. E a breve distanza un altro colpo, egualmente intenso. Verso sera apprende che il suo carissimo amico Galeazzo Rossi, intimo anche del padre Fazio, era morto a quell'ora. Oppure quando racconta che nel maggio del 1560, distrutto per la morte del figlio, e consumato dall'insonnia,⁹⁴ pregò che gli fosse inviata la morte e andò a letto. Addormentatosi udì delle voci che lo esortavano a non lamentarsi per il dolore causato dalla morte del figlio. La voce gli consigliò di prendere la pietra preziosa che aveva appesa alla collana che portava al collo e di tenerla in bocca. Svegliatosi improvvisamente mise la pietra in bocca e il dolore disparve immediatamente.⁹⁵ E via narrando. Nel capitolo XXXVII, « Proprietas quaedam naturales mirificae, inter quas somnia », racconta che questa sua costituzione e natura particolari cominciarono a manifestarsi molto presto, già dal quarto anno di vita e durarono, in questa prima manifestazione, per tre anni. Ma ancora nella pubertà, dopo che furono cessate delle particolari visioni che lo affliggevano, iniziarono altre manifestazioni, di cui non sa darsi ragione, che non lo abbandonarono mai.⁹⁶ E nel cap. XXXVIII, « Proprietates quinque quibus adiutus sum », scrive dello *splendor* che iniziò a manifestarsi verso il 1529 e lo accompagnò per la vita:

Tertium fuit splendor. Hunc sensim auxi. Originem sumpsit circa annum MDXXIX, auctus fuit, sed nunquam perfici potuit, nisi circa finem LXXIII, inter finem Augusti et initium Septembris anno MDLXXIV, sed proprie hoc anno MDLXXV nunc, ut mihi videtur, habeo perfectum.⁹⁷

⁹³ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, p. 256–257: « Quelle cause m'a valu plus de gloire dans ce domaine que je ne l'aurais souhaité, que ce soit une inspiration divine, ma constitution harpocratique, ou bien une forme d'excellence dans le jugement et l'intelligence, je suis incapable de le dire ».

⁹⁴ Cf. ARMANDO MAGGI, « Il significato del concetto di figlio nel pensiero di Girolamo Cardano », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 15 (2009), p. 81–100.

⁹⁵ Cf. CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, cap. XLIII, « Res prorsus supra naturam », p. 266–267.

⁹⁶ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, p. 194–197.

⁹⁷ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, p. 214–215: « La troisième fut ma splendeur. Je l'ai petit à petit accrue. Son origine date de 1529, elle s'accrut mais ne parvint pas à la perfection avant les dernières mois de ma soixante-treizième année, entre la fin d'août et le début de septembre 1574. Mais c'est maintenant, en 1575, à ce qu'il me semble, que je la possède à la perfection ».

Naturalmente Cardano si sofferma sull'importanza che questa virtù superiore, che lo illumina e lo pervade, e sul ruolo particolarmente rilevante che nella sua vita spirituale e nei suoi studi assume e gioca « et reddit promptum ad omnia, et ad compositionem librorum est praestantissima »⁹⁸, giacché gli conferisce una forza che si estrinseca, nella veglia, in una grande creatività e, nel sogno, attraverso la premonizione. Lo abbiamo rilevato poco sopra, rinviando all'*Opus arthmeticae perfectum*, ma Cardano lo riferisce anche a diverse altre opere. Lo scrive nel cap. C, « Causa scribendi hos libros, et eorum utilitas » del *De rerum varietate*, dove annota nel secondo capoverso che la trattazione esposta, come illustrato nel *De libris propriis*,⁹⁹ gli fu annunciata da un sogno:

Hanc igitur tractationem, ut in libro de Libris propriis exposui, somnio monitus sum, ut in tres libros dividerem, atque ea ratione ut in primo de naturalibus, in secundo fe artificiosis, in tertio de supernaturalibus, aut quae his similia sunt, tractarem. Eo vero ordine, ut similia similibus copularem: sic enim ordo esse debet in tractando¹⁰⁰

mentre nel libro XVIII, *De mirabilibus, et modo repraesentandi res varias praeter fidem* del *De subtilitate*, un sogno gli rivela come deve concepire e dividere l'opera. Così scrive nel capoverso segnato a margine come «Autor ad monitus per somnum, ut libros conscribere»:

Verum his relictis ad veras visiones redeundum. Trium haec sunt generum, quaedam per somnum, quaedam in ectasi, quaedam in pura vigilia videntur. Horum subiiciam exempla. Per somnum non semel admonitus sum, ut hunc librum conscriberem, divisum quidem, ut mihi videbatur in 21. partes: tractationes erant variae, et circa medium paucula geometrica. [...] Extra sensum rapi videbar, et post somnum etiam memoria illius iucunditatis mirum in modum me delectabat.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ CARDAN, *Le livre de ma vie*, p. 214–215: « Elle rend propre à tout et aide tout particulièrement à la création littéraire ».

⁹⁹ DLP, 1544, , ed. IAN MACLEAN, p. 128; ed. 1550, ivi, p. 141 (« Anno xxxiiii in patriam reversus, composui tres libros *De rerum varietate* absolviq, sed dum quaedam in libros *De subtilitate* transfero »), e p. 148; ed. 1557, p. 178; ed. 1562, p. 233.

¹⁰⁰ CARDANUS, *De rerum varietate*, lib. XVII, in ID., *Opera omnia*, t. III, p. 348a.

¹⁰¹ CARDANUS, *De subtilitate*, lib. XVIII, in ID., *Opera omnia*, t. III, p. 650b.

Macrobio nel *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis*¹⁰² aveva posto attenzione a questo aspetto della problematica, e divideva i sogni profetici in classi: *somnium*¹⁰³, *visio*¹⁰⁴, *oraculum*¹⁰⁵, *insomnium*¹⁰⁶, *visum*¹⁰⁷. Alice Browne ricorda nel suo scritto¹⁰⁸ che tale classificazione è però già data anche in Artemidoro¹⁰⁹.

Cardano, che pure si approcciava alla ricerca delle cause del sogno sostanzialmente riprendendo la lettura di Aristotele contenute nel *De divinatione per somnum*, in relazione ai sogni profetici si differenziava dallo Stagirita, seguendo il *De insomniis* di Sinesio,¹¹⁰ ma soprattutto le trattazioni di Ippocrate¹¹¹ e Galeno,¹¹² e ammette l'influenza di cause non riconducibili alla sfera naturale.¹¹³ Per tale ragione la loro comprensione ed esplicazione, scrive Cardano, è complessa. Trattando dei sogni, che egli denomina 'idola', mette in guardia l'interprete dal non cadere nell'ingannevole convinzione che essi siano inviati da Dio o da demoni:

Idola somnia sunt quae rem ut se habet ostendunt. Ea vero solum apud quosdam, et vulgus praecipue, somnia esse existimantur; atque ideo etiam immissa a Diis aut daemonibus, sed res neque ita se habet neque ex ipsa docet. [...]. Tum vero huiusmodi somnia neque a Deo, neque a daemonibus immitti, his argumentis perspicuum est; nam tam visionum quam idolorum illi causae essent; cur ergo opus illis esset ut occultarent quod docere vellent? Praesertim tot ambagibus? An non possunt, cum volunt, huiusmodi, si libet, clare docere? [...] Non negaverim in quibusdam huiusmodi idola a Diis, velut et in defectu artis medicinae sanationes, immitti, quale illud: surge, et tolle puerum, et vade Ægyptum; sunt enim qui animam

¹⁰² MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, I, 3. 1–20, ed. WILLIS, p. 8–12. In corrispondenza di I, 3. 2 si legge: « Omnium quae videre sibi dormientes videntur quinque sunt principales et diversitates et nomina. Aut enim est ὄνειρος secundum Graecos quod Latini somnium vocant, aut est ὄραμα quod visio recte appellatur, aut est χρηματισμός quod oraculum nuncupatur, aut est ἐνύπνιον quod insomnium dicitur, aut est φάντασμα quod Cicero, quotiens opus hoc nomine fuit, visum vocavit ». Cf. PRINS, « Heavenly Journeys ».

¹⁰³ « ὄνειρος », MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. WILLIS, p. 8, 20.

¹⁰⁴ « ὄραμα », MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. WILLIS, p. 8, 21.

¹⁰⁵ « χρηματισμός », MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. WILLIS, p. 8, 22.

¹⁰⁶ « ἐνύπνιον », MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. WILLIS, p. 8, 23.

¹⁰⁷ « φάντασμα », MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. WILLIS, p. 8, 24.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. BROWNE, « Girolamo Cardano's *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* », p. 126, nota 4.

¹⁰⁹ HARRIS-MCCOY (ed.), *Artemiodorus' Oneirocritica*, I, 2.

¹¹⁰ Cf. SYNESIUS OF CYRENE, *De insomniis*, in DONALD ANDREAW RUSSELL, HEINZ-GÜNTHER NESSELRATH (eds.), *On Prophecy, Dreams and Human Imagination: Synesius, 'De insomniis'*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2014 (Sapere, 24).

¹¹¹ HIPPOCRATES, *De dieta* § 86, ed. ROBERT JOLY, SIMON BYL, p. 218–219 (640–642).

¹¹² CLAUDIUS GALENUS, *De dignotione ex insomniis libellus*, in Id., *Opera omnia*, t. VI, ed. KARL GOTTLÖB KÜHN, Libraria Car. Cnoblochi, Leipzig 1823, p. 832–835.

¹¹³ BROWNE, « Girolamo Cardano's *Somniorum Synesiorum libri IIII* », p. 126: « The possible sources are God – osserva Browne –, transmitting his message either directly or through angels, Platonic daemons, ghosts, and devils, who can disguise themselves convincingly as any of the other kinds of supernatural being ».

pueri quaerant. Sed miracula sunt, et extra artis considerationem, sicut et sanationem illae, et reliqua huiusce generis.¹¹⁴

Si richiama continuamente in questo suo argomentare ai classici greci e latini: al sogno di Calpurnia,¹¹⁵ a Plinio il Giovane e Plinio il Vecchio, Agostino, al sogno di Annibale del *De divinatione* di Cicerone (lib. IV, cap. II, n. 5), al sogno di Cicerone (sogno n. 6), al sogno di Eudemo di Cipro (n. 7), di Sofocle (n. 8), di Tiberio Gracco (n. 10), e a numerosi altri, suscitando nel lettore la domanda circa la necessità e le ragioni di una tale approfondita e analitica disamina della casistica nel mondo antico. Infatti, Boriaud si chiede: « Pourquoi le rappel, ici, de ces rêves célèbres, lieux communes de la littérature exemplaire renaissante comme ils l'étaient de son homologue antique? », ¹¹⁶ evidentemente – come molto appropriatamente sottolinea Boriaud – « C'est qu'ils sont des garantes culturels et moraux, qui établissent un lien de continuité entre l'Antiquité et les temps modernes » ¹¹⁷ e, soprattutto, hanno la funzione di preparare il lettore alla comprensione della trasposizione dello studio dall'esperienza narrata dai classici relativa ai sogni di grandi personalità all'analisi e allo studio di quel luogo privilegiato di osservazione dell'universo del sogno, rappresentato dall'esame e dalla scrittura di sé. E la lettura, e molta parte della metodologia sperimentata e applicata per l'interpretazione dei sogni degli antichi, diviene il modello per l'analisi dei sogni dei suoi contemporanei e, soprattutto, di sé stesso, che nel *De vita propria* diventa campo di indagine e di studio.¹¹⁸ A questo genere di sogni,¹¹⁹ modellati sull'impianto della cultura classica propria della sua epoca e del suo ambiente, Cardano affianca i sogni propri e delle persone che costituiscono il suo universo di riferimento, dei quali ha testimonianza certa, al cospetto dei quali il sogno di Luigi Madio,¹²⁰ che non presta ascolto ad un avvertimento celeste, non differisce dalla

¹¹⁴ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 628–633: « Les 'répliques' sont des songes qui montrent la chose telle qu'elle est. Ce n'est qu'auprès de quelques-uns, du vulgaire, surtout, qu'ils passent pour des songes et, qui plus est, des songes envoyés par les dieux ou les démons, mais la chose n'est pas telle qu'elle est et n'enseigne pas par elle-même. [...] Et que pareils songes ne soient envoyés ni par Dieu ni par les démons, voici des preuves qui le montrent: comme ces êtres seraient alors les causes aussi bien des visions que des 'répliques', pourquoi auraient-ils besoin de cacher ce qu'ils veulent expliquer? [...] Je ne nierai pas que, dans quelques circonstances de ce genre, les dieux envoient des 'répliques', comme ils envoient des guérisons en cas de défaillance de l'art médical ».

¹¹⁵ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 736–737.

¹¹⁶ BORIAUD, « De quelques rêves de Cardan », p. 314.

¹¹⁷ BORIAUD, « De quelques rêves de Cardan », p. 314.

¹¹⁸ Cf. MEIER, « Überlegungen zum Autobiographischen Schreiben in der Renaissance », p. 44–45.

¹¹⁹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, lib. IV, cap. II, « De exemplis alienis in promo genere, idolorum scilicet », p. 736 sgg.

¹²⁰ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, p. 744–745: « Ludovico Madio, patricio nostro, miles erat in cubicolo dormiens; is nocte quadam exclamabat in somnis. Dominus rogat quid haberet. Respondit visum sibi vulnus magnum in capite accepisse, ac morti proximum, ob id cum metu experrectum.

considerazione del comportamento di Cesare circa il sogno di Calpurnia che, in sogno, vide il tetto della casa che precipitava e il marito trafitto in grembo a lei: « et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt »¹²¹.

Cardano non solo lavora a rimodellare l'immaginario del suo lettore – come osserva Boriaud¹²² –, sostituendo alle divinità antiche che si rivelavano nel sogno le figure dei santi (« Divi eadem quae dei significant, sed minora, minusque bona, at mala non minora »),¹²³ ma altrettanto a convogliare l'attenzione del lettore verso la necessità di considerare e comprendere correttamente il sogno, e la sfera della biografia individuale, perché è la chiave della comprensione della relazione della dimensione soggettivo-biografica con il tutto, con il quale essa dialoga e interagisce, come può essere colto dalla lettura del quarto libro del *Somniorum Synesiorum*, nel quale Cardano propone gli *Exempla propria*, e del *De vita propria*.

Quanto profondamente e sotteraneamente influì la riflessione cardaniana sulla cultura del tempo¹²⁴ si coglierà una manciata di anni più tardi, leggendo le citate parole di Prospero, quando il vero Duca di Milano, ne *La Tempesta* (Atto IV, scena I), rivolgendosi alla figlia Miranda e a Ferdinando dirà: « We are such stuff as dreams are made of, and our little life is rounded with a sleep ».

VI.

L'edizione proposta attualmente presso l'Editore parigino di boulevard Raspail può essere considerata una seconda edizione del *Somniorum Synesiorum libri quatuor*, in quanto riproduce l'edizione latina e la traduzione francese del testo cardaniano,

Dominus, qui eum diligebat, iubet ne e domo discedat. Socii interim die sequente ad hostes visendos ire destinant; immemor ille somnii, exit cum illis; hostes adsunt; fugiunt socii, ipse discesso capite occiditur ».

¹²¹ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, lib. I, cap. V, p. 56; cap. XXIV, p. 128; lib. IV, cap. II, p. 736–737: « ea vero nocte, cui inluxit dies caedis, et ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Iove dextram iungere; et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt ». Cf. C. SVETONI TRANQUILLI *De vita Caesarum, Divus Julius*, 81, 3, in C. SVETONI TRANQUILLI *Opera*, vol. I, ed. MAXIMILIANUS IHM, Editio minor, B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1993, p. 41, l. 8–13.

¹²² BORIAUD, « De quelques rêves de Cardan », p. 315.

¹²³ CARDAN, *Traité des songes*, cap. XVII, « De divis / Les saints », p. 148–149: « Les saint ont des significations identiques à celles des dieux, mais de moindre importance, et inférieures, quand elles sont bonnes, mais non quand elles sont mauvaises ».

¹²⁴ Il testo cardaniano venne tradotto in tedesco (*Traumbuch Cardani. Warhafftige, gewüsse und unbetrügliche underweisung, Traum, Erscheinungen unnd Nächtliche gesicht [...] natürlich unnd recht erklärt unnd außgelegt werden sollend*) e pubblicato a Basilea nel 1563, « Getruckt zu Basel durch Enrich Petri ». Una successiva edizione del testo cardaniano ebbe luogo nel 1585, a pochi anni dalla morte dello stesso Cardano, ad opera del figlio di Petri, Sebastian (HIERONIMUS CARDANUS, *Somniorum Synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes, libri quatuor*, per Sebastianum Henricpetri, Basel 1585).

apparsi in due volumi presso l'Editore Olschki di Firenze nel 2008, e ne ripropone gli apparati¹²⁵, sebbene con qualche differenza. Innanzitutto nel titolo, che nell'edizione apparsa a Firenze suona: *Girolamo Cardano, Somniorum Synesiorum libri quatuor / Les quatre livres des songes de Synesios*, Édités, traduits et annotés par Jean-Yves Boriaud.¹²⁶

Il testo attualmente presentato presso l'Editore parigino è corredato della medesima « Introduction » anteposta all'edizione fiorentina, suddivisa in cinque paragrafi¹²⁷ e viene pubblicato in un unico volume. Nel volume pubblicato per Les Belles Lettres si osserva un incremento delle note al testo, che aumentano da un numero di 428, dell'edizione fiorentina, a 510 dell'edizione parigina, con l'espunzione in apparato di un « Rerum et Verborum in libris Synesiorum Somniorum », presente alla pagina 698 dell'edizione Olschki. Siamo sicuramente d'accordo con quanto osservava Guido Giglioni, che recensendo più di un decennio fa l'edizione di Boriaud, edita presso Olschki, scriveva:

From this point of view, the 1562 summa on dreams reflects one of the most critical of such moments. As Jean-Yves Boriaud explains in the introduction to his new Latin edition and French translation of *Somniorum Synesiorum libri quatuor*, in the year prior to the composition of this work, Cardano was undergoing intense dream activity as a result of the tragic execution in 1560 of his son Giovanni Battista, who had been charged with poisoning his wife. From that moment on, the death of his son would represent a watershed moment in both his life and literary career. For this reason, too, *Somniorum Synesiorum libri quatuor* deserves to be considered as one of Cardano's most important writings and Boriaud's edition should be saluted as a notable accomplishment.¹²⁸

E va saluto sicuramente con favore il contributo all'interesse e allo studio rivolti al pensiero di Cardano che quest'edizione, unitamente alla pubblicazione del *Le livre de ma vie/ De vita propria*, contribuisce a tenere vivi.

¹²⁵ Il verso del frontespizio recita: « Édition de référence: GIROLAMO CARDANO, *Somniorum Synesiorum Libri Quatuor, Les Quatre Livres des Songes de Synesios*, 2008, Leo S. Olschki ».

¹²⁶ L'opera era stata recensita alla sua apparizione da GUIDO GIGLIONI, « Synesiam Dreams. Girolamo Cardano on Dreams as means of Profetic Communication », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 16/ 2 (2010), p. 575-584.

¹²⁷ I: « La gestation du livre », p. VII-XIII; II: « Le songe dans la vie et la genèse de l'Œuvre de Cardan », p. XIII-XX; III: « Cardan et la Renaissance de l'Onirocritique », p. XX-XXVII; IV: « La démarche de Cardan dans le 'Traité des Songes de Synesios' », p. XXVII-XXXIV; V: « Le texte du traité et la présente édition », p. XXXIX-XXXV.

¹²⁸ GIGLIONI, « Synesiam Dreams », p. 575.

A NEW SEASON FOR THE STUDY OF BYZANTINE THEORIES OF VISION^{*}

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1. Introduction: Byzantine Theories of Vision and ‘Haptic Sight’

The study of Byzantine theories of vision, in contrast to what has happened for their ancient, Islamic, or Latin counterparts (but not, one must admit, for their Jewish ones),¹ is still a largely unexplored field of research, notwithstanding the ample body of texts that, directly or indirectly, discusses the process of vision in the Byzantine world.²

^{*} ROLAND BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, XVI + 404 pp., ISBN: 9781108424745.

¹ Save for some important exceptions, such as RACHEL NEIS, *The Sense of Sight in Rabbinic Culture. Jewish Ways of Seeing in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013 (Greek Culture in the Roman World).

² This situation is, however, slowly starting to change, as some important recent contributions attest. Of particular value is the summary – specifically focused on early fourteenth-century Byzantine theories of vision – provided by Börje Bydén in BÖRJE BYDÉN, *Theodore Metochites’ Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium*, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Goteborg 2003 (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia LXVI), p. 199–210, which deals extensively with the theory of vision of three « early Palaiologan texts » (ibid., p. 203), namely, Nikephoros Blemmydes’s *Epitome Physica*, Nikephoros Choumnos’s *On the Nutritive and Sensitive Souls*, and Nikephoros Gregoras’s *Solutions for Empress Helena Palaiologina* (together, of course, with some remarks on Theodore Metochites’s own position), although Bydén usefully describes some of the most important ancient optical theories influencing those authors, especially Plato’s, Aristotle’s and Galen’s. Another important (and up-to-date) summary on Byzantine theories of vision is KATERINA IERODIAKONOU, *Byzantine Theories of Vision*, in STAVROS LAZARIS (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, Brill, Leiden 2019 (Brill’s Companions to the Byzantine World 6), p. 160–176. Ierodiakonou’s summary, while partly relying on Bydén’s presentation, is much wider in its scope, since it considers, apart from the works also discussed by Bydén, Symeon Seth’s *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, Michael Psellos’s *On Colour*, *On the Five Senses* and *On Sense Perception and its Objects*, and Sophonias’s *Paraphrase of Aristotle’s De anima*, together with some passing remarks on other authors and theories. Interestingly, just like Bydén, Ierodiakonou also starts from a reconsideration of some of the most important ancient theories of vision influencing these Byzantine authors, giving (again) great importance to Plato, Aristotle, and Galen. The strong (and

The most important driver of the study of these theories in recent decades has not come from historians of philosophy, science, or medicine, but rather from art historians, whose interest in the subject is integral to the importance of fully understanding the nuances and implications of the Iconoclastic controversy.³

It should, therefore, come as no surprise that one of the first and most comprehensive book-length studies to date of Byzantine theories of vision, Roland Betancourt's *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*,⁴ was written by an art historian. However, the purpose of the book, the erudition and ability of which to make even the most disparate sources (from liturgical commentaries to medical treatises) interact in a productive way is remarkable, is not (or at least not only) to provide a complete account of Byzantine theories of vision. Rather, Betancourt's aim is to resist a view that the author sees as having become prevalent in the field of studies of Byzantine art in recent years, namely, the idea that Byzantine authors favoured what Betancourt calls a theory of 'haptic sight'.⁵

creative) connection between the classical heritage and Byzantine speculation concerning theories of vision is an aspect which is also shared by Betancourt's volume which this article discusses.

³ The bibliography on this subject is vast, and it would be difficult to summarise it here. To provide a few examples, however, especially relevant to Betancourt's arguments and intellectual milieu, see LIZ JAMES, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966 (Clarendon Studies in the History of Art 15), ROBERT S. NELSON, *To Say and To See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium*, in Id. (ed.), *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000 (Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism), p. 143–168, and, finally, CHARLES BARBER, *Figure and Likeness. On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2002. The root of the interest in the wider context of Byzantine theories of vision in these and similar contributions seems to be an increasing awareness of the need to 'distance' the perception of Byzantine viewers (and, to a lesser extent, artists) when faced with a work of art from modern and contemporary ones. Thus, reconstructing Byzantine theories of vision becomes, in this perspective, part of a wider attempt to recontextualise Byzantine art within its broader cultural context, where, it should also be noted, alongside theories of vision, an important place was occupied by theories and understandings of the performativity associated with vision itself (and with the contemplation of icons more specifically), an aspect to which I shall return in the article.

⁴ Note that a more recent book, which (albeit in a narrower way, and with a greater attention to the performative aspect of vision just mentioned, one which is not dealt with extensively in *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*) tackles Byzantine theories of vision (in strict relation with theories of hearing) has been published by Betancourt: ROLAND BETANCOURT, *Performing the Gospels in Byzantium. Sight, Sound and Space in the Divine Liturgy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021.

⁵ The emergence of this trend among historians of Byzantine art is traced back by Betancourt to an important passage of NELSON, *To Say and to See*, which is also quoted at the outset of the Introduction to Betancourt's book, where Nelson affirms: « This embracing or kissing the image visually, I submit, was meant literally as well as metaphorically. Like all successful religious symbolism, this metaphor was grounded in perception and perceptual theory. Because the optical rays that issue forth from the eyes were thought to touch the object seen, vision was haptic, as well as optic, tactile as well as visual. Vision thus connected one with the object seen,

Betancourt takes theories of haptic sight to be theories according to which sight is reduced to a form of touch, whereby (to use a very general and neutral formulation) sight, or better yet the eyes as its sense organ, are able to physically touch the object seen by reaching it, through rays or other kinds of visual effluences. To use more familiar categories, a theory of 'haptic sight' in this sense should therefore be understood as a 'hardcore' extramissionist theory of vision, according to which the eyes see by sending forth some physical effluences that reach the objects seen, conceived as totally passive and not emitting any sort of effluence.⁶ In line with this understanding of 'haptic sight', the process of vision

and, according to extramission, that action was initiated by the viewer » (NELSON, *To Say and to See*, p. 153). Other similar formulations can be found in more recent contributions by a significant number of Byzantine art historians. See, for instance, RUTH WEBB, *Accomplishing the Picture: Ekphrasis, Mimesis and Martyrdom in Asterios of Amaseia*, in LIZ JAMES (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, p. 13–32, where on p. 22, reflecting on the anecdote, recounted by Philostratos the Elder in his *Imagines* (I.4), of the viewers who, moved by the vividness of a painting representing the dying Menoikeus, tried to collect the blood dripping from the dying figure, comments: « At moments like this there is no separation between viewer and image; the frame dissolves and the viewer is able to interact physically with the figures depicted. This is a response to the figurative arts that we find throughout the tradition of ekphrasis, often expressed in the idea that the figures can be (or can almost be) heard to speak. As Robert Nelson has pointed out, the idea of the haptic gaze, that the eye sends out rays which physically caress the painting as the view contemplates it, provides some 'scientific' backing for this idea of visual contact » (the passage is quoted in BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 232). See also BISSERA V. PENTCHEVA, « The Performative Icon », *The Art Bulletin*, 88/4 (2006), p. 631–655, where on p. 631, talking about relief icons in Byzantium, the author claims: « The relief icon also best responds to the prevailing theory of vision known as *extramission*. According to this model, the eye of the beholder is active, constantly moving and sending light rays that touch the surfaces of objects. The eye seeks the tactility of textures and reliefs. Sight is understood and experienced as touch » (emphasis in the original). Interestingly, Pentcheva does not connect the idea of haptic sight to Nelson's influential piece, or to the contemporary debate on Byzantine art more generally. Rather, she claims: « Sight as touch resonates with Maurice Merleau-Ponty's ideas expressed in 'The Intertwining-the Chiasm', in Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968, p. 130–55 » (*ibid.*, n. 6, p. 652). The idea that the notion of haptic sight in contemporary studies on Byzantine art might have been influenced by twentieth-century phenomenology of perception is an interesting avenue for investigation. Betancourt, unfortunately, does not discuss this aspect.

⁶ In a recent contribution concerning Augustine's theory of vision, Mark Eli Kalderon has distinguished between five successive grades of 'extramissive commitment' (cf. MARK E. KALDERON, *Perception and Extramission in De quantitate animae*, in ROBERT PASNAU (ed.), *Oxford Studies in Medieval Philosophy*, vol. IX, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021, p. 1–39). According to his scale, what I here call 'haptic' theories of vision are the only pure extramissionist theories, since, in all other cases, even though something extends from the eyes to the object seen, perception does not occur where the object is but rather only where the eyes are, since the eyes' effluences are not themselves sensitive. Contrary to Kalderon, I believe that it is possible to identify (according to his own understanding of extramission) a pure extramissionist theory that is not haptic, in the form of what I call a 'prosthetic' theory of vision, a notion which I explore in sections 3 and 4 of this article. In my reconstruction, therefore, the scale proposed by Kalderon should be

becomes unmediated, or, better, one that only allows the kind and degree of mediation allowed by the process of touch.⁷

The notion of ‘haptic sight’ is not, of course, a creation of contemporary historiography. Indeed, there are some (admittedly scattered) passages from ancient sources that, under a certain interpretation, could fall under this definition. The most important one, which is discussed multiple times by Betancourt throughout the book,⁸ is a certain interpretation of the Stoic metaphor, reported by Diogenes Laertius in Book VII of the *Vitae philosophorum*, according to which the optic *pneuma* responsible for vision, once emitted by the eyes, flows into the air in a conic shape up to the object seen, which is then « reported to us as if through a stick (ὥς διὰ βακτηρίας) of air stretching out towards it ».⁹

supplemented with a further grade, to be positioned between his grades 4 and 5. Commitment to this degree is, as I will argue, sufficient to identify a pure extramissionist theory of vision. For another (and more general) analysis of the degrees of extramissionist commitment, see LUKÁŠ LIČKA, « The Visual Process: Immediate or Successive? Approaches to the Extramission Postulate in 13th Century Theories of Vision », in ELENA BĂLTUȚĂ (ed.), *Medieval Perceptual Puzzles. Theories of Sense Perception in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, Brill, Leiden 2020 (Investigating Medieval Philosophy 13), p. 73–110, here p. 74–79.

⁷ One comment concerning terminology is in order here: indeed, while the critical target of Betancourt’s discussion is clearly identifiable, I would like to underline that one might wonder whether, after all, the expression of ‘haptic sight’ is the most appropriate one to uniquely denote the kind of theories of vision Betancourt has in mind. Indeed, the idea of a haptic contact between the organ of sight and the object seen can be equally found (if not with more right) in the atomistic theories of vision developed by Leucippus and Democritus first and, later, by Epicurus. Indeed, such theories, while being intromissionist rather than extramissionist, explicitly posit an unmediated contact between the object seen and the visual organ, whereby the eyes are variously affected by εἶδωλα coming from the objects seen. The reception of atomism in Byzantium is of course much more limited than the reception of extramissionist theories presenting ‘haptic’ features, yet, in principle, I do not see any reason why one variety of theories should count as more ‘haptic’ than the other.

⁸ See especially BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 52–63.

⁹ The full passage concerning the theories of vision presented by Chrysippus and by Apollodorus, reads as follows: ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦ μεταξύ τῆς ὁράσεως καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φωτὸς ἐντεινομένου κωνοειδῶς, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. γίνεσθαι μέντοι τὸ κωνοειδὲς τοῦ ἀέρος πρὸς τῇ ὄψει, τὴν δὲ βάσιν πρὸς τῷ ὁρωμένῳ ὥς διὰ βακτηρίας οὖν τοῦ ταθέντος ἀέρος τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναγγέλλεσθαι (« [They, the Stoics, hold that we] see when the light between the visual organ and the object stretches in the form of a cone: so Chrysippus in the second book of his *Physics* and Apollodorus. The apex of the cone of air is at the eye, the base at the object seen. Thus the thing seen is reported to us as if through a stick of air stretching out towards it », DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Vitae philosophorum*, VII.1.157, ed. and trans. ROBERT D. HICKS, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. II, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1925 (Loeb Classical Library 185), p. 260–261, but translation modified by BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 52–53). Another passage which is equally telling, in this sense, is the passage in which Aetios of Antioch (Pseudo-Plutarch), in the *Placita philosophorum*, refers to Hipparchus’ extramissionist theory of vision in the following terms: ἀκτῖνας ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποτεινομένας τοῖς πέρασιν ἑαυτῶν καθάπερ χειρῶν ἐπαφαῖς καταπτούσας τοῖς ἐκτὸς

Although, therefore, Byzantine authors had at their disposal this and other passages that could have allowed them to build theories of haptic sight, Betancourt is absolutely convincing in showing that they carefully avoided doing so. In the next section I will summarise the contents of the book by outlining the main steps of Betancourt's argument, leaving it to the following sections to underline some problematic aspects that call for further discussion.

II. From Sight to Imagination, and Back

The book is organised into three parts, completed by an extensive introduction and by the conclusions, together with a bibliography of both primary sources and secondary literature and an index of names.

In the Introduction, Betancourt carefully traces the emergence of the notion of 'haptic sight' among historians of Byzantine art in the twentieth century, giving paramount importance to the influence of Robert Nelson. Betancourt also tries to connect the emergence of this notion with that of a parallel trend in studies on the Latin Middle Ages on the tactility of sight, an aspect that he traces back to Margaret Miles's studies of the influence of Augustine's theory of vision in the Medieval Latin world.¹⁰ This is an important 'transdisciplinary' intuition. However,

σώμασι τὴν ἀντίληψιν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατικὸν ἀναδιδόναι (« rays from the eyes stretched out to the ends just as by the touch of the hands themselves, seizing the bodies outside to deliver an apprehension of them to the faculty of sight »; AETIOS OF ANTIOCH, *De placitis reliquiae* (*Theodori et Nemesii excerpta*), IV.13.9, ed. HERMANN DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci*, Reimer, Berlin 1879, p. 404, translation in BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 8). Other passages showing the diffusion, in antiquity, of some elements which could lead to the development of theories of 'haptic sight', especially from the *Placita*, might be quoted as well, such as IV.13.2, where Aetios refers to the theory according to which some Academicians believed that vision occurs through the diffusion of optical rays which, after encountering the resistance of the objects, come back to the eyes (cf. DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 403).

¹⁰ Betancourt refers specifically to MARGARET R. MILES, « Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine's *De trinitate* and *Confessions* », *Journal of Religion*, 63/2 (1983), p. 125–142, and to EAD., *Augustine on the Body*, Scholars Press, Missoula, MT 1979, p. 9–39 (cf. BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 2–3). While Betancourt might be right to claim that Nelson drew inspiration from Miles's studies, attributing to Miles herself a 'haptic' understanding of Augustine's theory of vision (and of his Latin heritage) is probably an overstatement. Indeed, the only passage that Betancourt quotes in this respect is one where Miles claims: « For the classical people [...] sight was an accurate and fruitful metaphor for knowledge because they relied on the physics of vision, subscribed to by Plato and many others, that a ray of light, energized and projected by the mind toward an object, actually touches its object, thereby connecting viewer and object » (MILES, « Vision », p. 127). However, from the context of the passage it is clear that Miles's interpretation is here focusing on the role of the soul, in Augustine's model, in shaping perception, by trying to unite, through the visual rays, with the objects perceived by them, and not, therefore, on the physical process of the rays 'touching' the objects. Cf. a passage which, two paragraphs later than the one quoted by Betancourt, clarifies this aspect: « Second, in the act of vision, viewer and object are momentarily

while Betancourt might be right in claiming that Miles's studies exerted a direct influence on Nelson's work and, through him, on the rise of 'haptic sight' in Byzantine historiography, I believe that one should exercise caution in excessively emphasising this 'Augustinian' trend in the modern historiography of Medieval Latin theories of vision.¹¹ Furthermore, Betancourt provides a useful summary of the ancient theories of vision that held the strongest influence in the Byzantine tradition, and he also looks at the mechanisms of transmission of the ancient corpus of these theories to the Byzantine world, focusing on the paradigmatic case of Michael Psellos in the eleventh century. Before concluding the Introduction with a summary of the structure of the book, Betancourt also presents an interesting defence of the methodology used throughout, which is, I believe, one of the book's strongest points.¹²

The first part of the volume is divided into three chapters and focuses more directly on a systematic exposition of some representative Byzantine theories of vision and of their ancient sources. The first chapter, in particular, examines the central role played by the medium in ancient and Byzantine theories of vision alike. Here Betancourt focuses on Plato's and Aristotle's theories of vision (where Aristotle's theory is usefully introduced by looking at its presentation by Michael Psellos in the eleventh century) and of their 'afterlives', as he calls them, in Late Antiquity and in Byzantium (focusing on the cases of Philo of Alexandria, of the Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies X and XI on the Hexaemeron*, and of Nikephoros Choumnos). While the two theories differ profoundly (Aristotle's theory being an intromissionist one, and Plato's theory being, at least in part, an extramissionist one), both are united by an equal concern with underscoring the mediated nature of the visual process. It is thanks to the importance given to the medium of sight both by Plato and Aristotle, in Betancourt's reconstruction, that Nikephoros

united. 'Three things', viewer, object, and the power that unites them, are barely distinguishable, even 'to the judgment of reason'. In the act of vision itself, 'the will possesses such power in uniting these two [viewer and object] that it attaches the sense to be formed to that thing which is seen' ([*De Trinitate*] 11.2.5). Vision, then, connects or attaches the viewer to the object. Moreover, the soul of the viewer both initially projects the visual ray, and it also 'absorbs into itself' the form or image of the object, which is then permanently retained by the memory » (ibid., p. 127–128).

¹¹ Note, moreover, that Augustine's own adherence to extramission has been challenged in recent scholarship on the subject (cf., for instance, KALDERON, *Perception and Extramission in De quantitate animae*).

¹² Betancourt's methodology of reading the primary sources, it should be remarked, does not limit itself to an interpretation of the primary texts in themselves but also tries to bring into dialogue the existing translations, reflecting on their underlying conceptual assumptions: this constitutes, unfortunately, a practice which is still not so widespread, and its usefulness can clearly be seen by the way in which it enriches the discussion of the book, most notably in the case of the problematisation of Cyril Mango's translation of Photios's *Homily 17*, a text which, as it will be seen below, is at the centre of Betancourt's analysis.

Choumnos can achieve the self-proclaimed synthesis between them in his treatise *On the Nutritive and the Sensitive Souls*.

Betancourt's presentation is convincing, save for one aspect, namely his discussion of Plato's theory of vision in the *Timaeus*, to which I want to dedicate some more attention given its paramount importance for Byzantine theories of vision. Indeed, Plato discusses his theory of vision (and of colours) mainly in two different passages of the *Timaeus*, namely 45b2–d3 and 67c4–68d7.¹³ Now, it is generally acknowledged that while the perspective adopted by Plato in *Timaeus* 45b2–d3 is largely extramissionist, leading him to affirm that vision depends on fiery rays sent out from our eyes and coalescing with sun rays so as to form a homogeneous body suitable for perceiving objects by extending to them, in *Timaeus* 67c4–7, this earlier image is nuanced and qualified by the claim that objects themselves also send out fiery effluences (which are, ontologically, colours) that have particles commensurate with those of the visual body formed by the eyes's rays and daylight, therefore, making visual perception possible by uniting with them. Betancourt seems to take for granted that the two passages form a unitary and internally consistent theory,¹⁴ which he interprets along the lines later set out by Theophrastus in his *De sensibus* as a theory that constitutes an intermediate alternative between extramission and intromission (which might be called an 'interactionist' theory).¹⁵ Nevertheless, it should be noted that in contemporary Platonic scholarship, this is still a matter of debate. True, the interactionist interpretation seems to have prevailed.¹⁶ However, nothing allows

¹³ For discussions of Plato's theory of vision as outlined in the *Timaeus*, see for instance, among recent contributions, LUC BRISSON, « Plato's Theory of Sense Perception in the *Timaeus*: How it Works and What It Means », *Boston Area Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy*, 13 (1999), p. 147–176, GÖSTA GRÖNROOS, « Plato on Perceptual Cognition », PhD Diss., Stockholm University 2001, THOMAS K. JOHANSEN, *Plato's Natural Philosophy: A Study of the Timaeus-Critias*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, KATERINA IERODIAKONOY, « Plato's Theory of Colours in the *Timaeus* », *Rhizai*, 2/2 (2005), p. 219–233, and PAULIINA REMES, *Plato: Interaction between the External Body and the Perceiver in the Timaeus*, in JOSÉ F. SILVA, MIKKO YRJÖNSUURI (eds.), *Active Perception in the History of Philosophy. From Plato to Modern Philosophy*, Springer, Dordrecht 2014 (Studies in the History of Philosophy of Mind 14), p. 9–30.

¹⁴ BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 36.

¹⁵ Cf. THEOPHRASTUS, *De sensibus*, § 5, 86, and 91 (ed. DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 499–527). On Theophrastus's interpretation of Plato's theory of vision in the *De sensibus*, see KATERINA IERODIAKONOY, « Theophrastus on Plato's Theory of Vision », *Rhizomata*, 7/2 (2019), p. 249–268, but see also ANTHONY A. LONG, *Theophrastus' De Sensibus on Plato*, in KEIMPE A. ALGRA, PIETER W. VAN DER HORST, DAVID T. RUNIA (eds.), *Polyhistor. Studies in the History and Historiography of Ancient Philosophy. Presented to Jaap Mansfeld on His Sixtieth Birthday*, Brill, Leiden 1996 (*Philosophia Antiqua*, 72), p. 345–362. Of course, Theophrastus's interpretation allows to preserve an 'Aristotelian' element within Plato's theory of vision, namely, a (limited) agency for the colours coming from the objects perceived.

¹⁶ More correctly, it seems to have been generally accepted that there is both a passive and an active character to Plato's overall theory of vision, understanding the later passage of 67c4–7 as

one to take it for granted and, what is more, even if this interpretation is accepted as correct, a further discussion is needed to understand the relative weight that each of the two components of sight (the extramissionist and the intromissionist) play.¹⁷

The second chapter, then, looks at the way in which, in ancient and Byzantine writings, an explicit 'tactile' language, or even metaphors comparing sight with touch, are used not to reduce sight to a species of touch, but rather to aptly describe the cognitive process associated with visual perception. The chapter, in this way, also usefully complements the previous one by concluding the overview of the ancient theories of vision that exerted a significant influence in Byzantium. The discussion starts with the Stoic theory, insofar as some Late Ancient interpretations of the Stoic metaphor of the walking stick, already discussed above, provide the main textual support for the very notion of a 'haptic' theory of vision.¹⁸ It is understandable, then, that Betancourt devotes a great importance to

correcting the picture provided by 45b2–d3; yet, whether one of the two prevails over the other (and, in the positive case, which one) in making vision ultimately possible, remains a further and separate issue. That is, it is not so uncontroversial to claim, as Betancourt does, that Plato's theory of vision is « midway between extramission and intromission » (BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 37).

¹⁷ Betancourt's position on this issue seems to be that both aspects play an equal role in the process of vision, since he affirms (in presenting Theophrastus's reading, which he then goes on to endorse) that « Plato's model was midway between extramission and intromission » (BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 37). However, Betancourt's reticence to discuss this issue any further is probably motivated by the fact that, in the Byzantine reception of the Theophrastean interpretation of Plato's theory of vision, the possibility to give more importance to the extramissionist or to the intromissionist aspect of it respectively was part of its success. As Betancourt puts it: « This syncretic understanding of Plato's hybrid theory of intromission and extramission may well have accounted for the popularity of his theory of vision above that of others in Byzantium, but it had an amorphous character. Because of Plato's disconnected inclusion of both extramissive and intromissive features, writers could stress one side or another to articulate their own ideas regarding the agency of the object or viewer in the process of sight, or to make a point regarding the operation of the soul and its relationship with material bodies » (ibid.).

¹⁸ In discussing the Stoic theory of vision, where admittedly (even apart from the problematic case of the walking stick metaphor), sight and touch are probably more closely associated than in any other major ancient theory of vision (although, as I have remarked above, an even stronger relation is present in the atomistic theories of vision, an aspect which Betancourt almost ignores), Betancourt inserts the following passing remark, which I think is of great value, both for studies of ancient and Byzantine theories of vision and (probably even more) for Medieval Latin ones, and which I therefore consider appropriate to quote in full: « Such parallelism between sight and other senses, particularly hearing, points to one of the challenges in the study of ancient and medieval visual theories of perception, namely, that sight often has been surveyed and considered on its own, at times without substantial concern for how writers described and characterized the other senses » (BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 54). The insistence on the need to study theories of perception, in the ancient and Medieval world, as a whole, and on the correct way to do that (giving the right weight both to the commonalities and

the criticism of these interpretations provided by Galen, something that brings to a full-fledged discussion of his own theory of vision, which Betancourt takes to be another kind of interactionist theory where the Stoic concept of the optic *pneuma* replaces the Platonic notion of the fiery rays emitted from the eyes. Although this will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this article, I think that Betancourt is mistaken in claiming that Galen's theory can be understood in interactionist terms. Indeed, as it has recently been shown in a convincing way by Katerina Ierodiakonou, Galen developed a fundamentally different theory of vision (which he took to be the correct interpretation of Plato's own theory), one which, mixing a Platonic framework with Stoic and Aristotelian elements, provided an explanation of the process of vision in purely extramissionist terms. In this way, Galen distanced himself from the Theophrastean interactionist interpretation of Plato's theory of vision later adopted by all major Late Ancient Aristotelian commentators, most notably Alexander of Aphrodisias and John Philoponos. After discussing Galen's theory of vision (but also in connection with it), Betancourt moves on to another source of influence for Byzantine theories of vision, one which is clearly visible in Galen's own work, namely, the geometrical tradition founded upon Euclid's and Ptolemy's *Optics*, a tradition whose extramissionist character is hardly debatable. This survey is then complemented by a discussion of the theories of vision expounded in the Byzantine medical tradition, as well as by three self-standing studies on the theories of vision discussed by such different authors as Nemesios of Emesa (in his *De natura hominis*), Symeon Seth and Nikephoros Blemmydes. These first two chapters, each in its own way, contribute to showing how the notion of 'haptic sight' was ultimately absent from all the most important ancient theories of vision that influenced Byzantine authors.

The third chapter, then, attempts to balance this conclusion by looking at the aspects that, in the ancient and Byzantine traditions alike, were brought into play to bridge the gap between sight and touch and, more broadly, between all five senses (and between the different beings endowed with them). Betancourt identifies four of them, namely, the commonality of touch as the only sense that is possessed by all animals, the commonality of touch as a sense that is also possessed by the sense organs of the other senses, the notion of common sensibles (in the traditional Aristotelian list of *De anima* II.6, 418a17–18, motion, rest, number, shape and size) and, finally, the common sense as the faculty that merges the perceptions coming from all the external senses. This last chapter, therefore, contributes nicely to showing how the various senses were conceived of as distinct

the peculiarities of each sense), is probably one of the aspects of the book which makes it most valuable to historians of the ancient and the Medieval world alike, an aspect which retains the same value throughout all the disciplinary domains within these fields of study.

by ancient and Byzantine authors, even when they came to be associated with each other.

The second part of the book¹⁹ is constituted by an extremely close and fine-grained reading of section five of Photios's *Homily 17*, a text of paramount importance for the history of Byzantine theories of vision, where a few years after the end of the Iconoclastic controversy, in 867, celebrating the image of the Theotokos just placed in the apse of Hagia Sophia, the Patriarch of Constantinople delineates a complete theory of vision, from external sensation until the storage of perceptions into memory, affirming the superiority of sight on all the other senses, most notably hearing.²⁰ Betancourt addresses all the stages of Photios's theory of vision in separate chapters. The fourth chapter of the book (the first of the second part) is dedicated to the process of external sensation, the crucial stage in which the eyes, as sense organ of sight, come to perceive the sensible qualities of external objects, most notably colours. Here Betancourt attempts to show that, contrary to what Cyril Mango's influential translation of Photios's *Homily 17* might suggest, the Patriarch is not advocating a thorough extramissionist theory of vision, one which could come dangerously close to a theory of 'haptic sight'. The crucial passage to adjudicate the issue is the one where Photios affirms that:

For surely, having somehow *through the outpouring and effluence of the optical rays* (τῇ προχύσει καὶ ἀπορροῇ τῶν ὀπτικῶν ἀκτίνων) touched and encompassed the object, it too [i.e., sight] sends the essence of the thing seen to the mind, letting it be conveyed from there to the memory for the concentration of unfailing knowledge.²¹

¹⁹ Which is based on ROLAND BETANCOURT, « Why Sight Is Not Touch: Reconsidering the Tactility of Vision in Byzantium », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 70 (2016), p. 1–23.

²⁰ This text has constantly been at the centre of the attention of both art historians and historians of philosophy in recent decades. See, for instance, among art historians, ROBIN CORMACK, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*, George Philip, London 1985, esp. Chapter 4 and NELSON, *To Say and to See*, and, among historians of philosophy, IERODIAKONOU, *Byzantine Theories of Vision*, and CHRISTOPHE ERISMANN, « John the Grammarian and Photios. A Ninth-Century Byzantine Debate on Depiction, Visual Perception and Verbal Description », *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 70 (2020), p. 67–87. Further important discussions of the *Homily* can also be found in KATHY J. O. WETTER, « The Changing Relationship between Archetype and Image throughout the Era of Byzantine Iconoclasm », PhD Diss., University of North Carolina 2001, and in SERGEI MARIEV, « Echi delle teorie ottiche antiche nelle Omelie di Fozio », *Bulgaria Mediaevalis*, 1 (2011), p. 71–80.

²¹ PHOTIOS, *Homily 17*, ed. BASIL LAOURDAS, *ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΙ*, Hetaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, Thessaloniki 1959, p. 170–171 (emphasis mine): Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ γε δὴπου τῇ προχύσει καὶ ἀπορροῇ τῶν ὀπτικῶν ἀκτίνων τὸ ὁρατὸν οἰονεῖ πως ἐπαφωμένη καὶ περιέπουσα τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ὁραθέντος τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ παραπέμπεται, ἐκεῖθεν διαπορθευθῆναι διδοῦσα τῇ μνήμῃ πρὸς ἐπιστήμης ἀπλανεστάτης συνάθροισιν (trans. CYRIL MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1958, p. 294).

The focus of Betancourt's discussion is the notion of the 'outpouring' and that of the 'effluence' of the optical rays. Contrary to almost all available scholarship on this passage,²² Betancourt claims that while *προχύσει* refers to the optical rays being sent forth from the eyes towards the visible objects, *ἀπορροή* is not to be conceived as a mere synonym or as another term referring to the optical rays sent forth from the eyes (as Mango does in his translation), but rather as a term referring to rays emitted from the objects themselves and sent forth towards the eyes through the medium, where they make vision possible by meeting the rays coming from the eyes in a typically interactionist model of vision. To support his claim, Betancourt provides an extensive list of examples from both ancient and Byzantine sources, where the verb *ἀπορρέω* or its corresponding noun and adjective are used to indicate effluences coming from the objects towards the eyes. He notes, in particular, that the verb *ἀπορρέω* is used with this meaning in *Timaeus* 67c, and in the Byzantine period, for instance, the verb is used (almost invariably) with the same meaning in Michael Psellos's summary on vision and in the *De omnifaria doctrina*. The same is also true of ancient atomistic theories of vision, of Theophrastus's *De sensibus*, and also of a significant number of other Late Ancient sources. Betancourt also gives great importance, in his discussion, to a passage from Plotinus's *Enneads* describing the birth of Eros,²³ which he reads in connection with a passage describing the mutual gaze of lovers in Achilles Tatius's *Leukippe and Kleitophon*.²⁴ However, at the same time, as Betancourt himself admits, *ἀπορρέω* is used to denote the rays sent forth from the eyes in texts such as the very popular doxographical work *Placita philosophorum* by the Pseudo-Plutarch (Aetios of Antioch),²⁵ and the verb is used indifferently for both kinds of effluences in Alexander of Aphrodisias's commentary on the *De sensu*.²⁶ Further instances

²² See, among recent contributions, IERODIAKONOU, *Byzantine Theories of Vision*, p. 161: « Interestingly enough, Photius also gives us in a brief summary his theory of vision, which undoubtedly follows ancient extramission theories: visual rays are emitted by our eyes, extend all the way to the visible object and grasp it; the acquired information is then brought to our eyes, from there it is sent to the mind and stored in memory ».

²³ PLOTINUS, *Enneads*, III.5 [50], 3, ed. PAUL HENRY, HANS-RUDOLF SCHWYZER, *Opera*, vol. I, Brill, Leiden 1951.

²⁴ ACHILLES TATIUS, *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, I.9.4–5, ed. EBBE VILBORG, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm 1955 (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 1), p. 11. For a specific interpretation of the theory of vision underpinning this passage, see HELEN MORALES, *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004 (*Cambridge Classical Studies*), p. 130–135.

²⁵ Cf. AETIOS OF ANTIOCH, *Placita Philosophorum*, IV.13, ed. JÜRGEN MAU, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. V.2.1, Teubner, Leipzig 1971 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), p. 123.

²⁶ The verb is used with reference to the effluences coming from the eyes in four instances in the commentary: ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS, *In librum De sensu commentarium*, ed. PAUL WENDLAND, Reimer, Berlin 1901 (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* III.1), 30.22, 31.21, 32.14 and 58.25.

might be easily found.²⁷ Therefore, I believe that Betancourt lacks sufficient textual support for his interpretation of Photios's theory of vision as an interactionist one, especially in light of the fact that, just after the sentence in question, Photios seems to unmistakably claim that the rays sent forth from the eyes reach the object by « touching » and « encompassing » it.²⁸

Nevertheless, even apart from the truth or falsity of his interpretation, I believe that this is probably the only point in the book where Betancourt, in an attempt to dismiss the (important) counterinstances of the use of ἀπορρέω highlighted above, tries to force his own reading upon them. For instance, with reference to Aetios of Antioch's passage, he first affirms, while commenting upon it: « Aetios is not emphasizing the act of the active viewer's sending out of rays, but rather their progression into space » (p. 121). Or, again on the same passage: « Michael Psellos precisely altered – or rather, corrected – the language found in the Aetios text, where Aetios distractingly used ἀπορρέοντι to describe the outpouring from the eyes, rather than the emanation from the object » (p. 126). Finally, talking about Alexander of Aphrodisias's use of the term in the *De sensu* commentary: « In these cases, we witness a desire to stage a certain passivity of the efflux going from the eye into space » (p. 126).

Of course, Betancourt is absolutely right to stress the fact that no 'haptic' process is entailed by Photios's theory of vision; yet such a theory, in the present state of research, still appears to be firmly grounded in the extramissionist camp.

²⁷ Another one is discussed by Betancourt, although in a completely different context, in the third part of the book, concerning a discussion of the Byzantine understanding of the evil eye. There, Betancourt quotes a text from Basil of Caesarea's *Homilia de invidia* (*Homily 11*) (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, ed. JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE, vol. XXXI, Imprimerie Catholique, Paris 1857, col. 372–385, here col. 380) where the verb ἀπορρέω is unmistakably used to denote the malignant (and potentially harmful) effluences being sent forth from the eyes of the envious towards those who are the object of his envy (cf. BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 312–313). Betancourt tries to provide an interpretation of this counterinstance (as of all the others) which makes it consistent with his understanding of the verb; yet it is hard to deny that the referent of Basil's use of ἀπορρέω in this passage are effluences emitted from the eyes, not from visible objects. For a further counterinstance, see below, footnote 48.

²⁸ Betancourt, after revising the meaning of ἀπορρέω and completing his discussion of the first stages of perception according to Photios, at the end of Chapter 5 (the second of the second part) also presents an alternative translation of Photios's relevant passage based on his own reading, where 'touching' is replaced by 'contacting' and 'encompassing' by 'regarding' (cf. BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 140). However, these modifications are not, by themselves, sufficient in order to establish an overall interactionist interpretation of the passage, rather than an extramissionist one. To the contrary, it seems to me that, even in Betancourt's translation (supposedly the closest to his interpretation), taken by themselves, these two verbs unmistakably denote an extramissionist process (not, however, a 'haptic' one, whereas the translation of both verbs chosen by Mango, but especially the use of the verb 'encompassing', might have been slightly misleading in this respect).

The following chapter introduces all the subsequent stages of perception delineated by Photios, usefully comparing them to an ancient model that bears close resemblance to it, namely, Porphyry's theory of perception, as delineated in a famous *excursus* of the *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics*. Here what emerges is the difference between the importance of an initial stage where the sensations, once apprehended, go through a process of belief-making assumptions (δοξαστική υπόληψις), before being passed on to the imagination (φαντασία), in Porphyry, and the lack of a corresponding stage in Photios, who, instead, gives paramount importance to the reception of visual sensations in the imagination.²⁹ Indeed, the two subsequent chapters of the book are dedicated to elucidating the role of imagination in Photios, reading it both against its ancient background and

²⁹ This is a fundamental difference, in terms of its consequences on the overall picture of cognitive psychology. Indeed, the δοξαστική υπόληψις in Porphyry is a faculty which converts the raw data of sensation in propositional terms (or which at the very least names them), before sensations can be passed on to the imagination (cf. PORPHYRY, *Eis τὰ ἁρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου υπόμνημα*, ed. INGEMAR DÜRING, *Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*, Wettergren & Kerber, Göteborg 1932 (Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift XXXVIII 1932/2), p. 13–14); on the role of δοξαστική υπόληψις in Porphyry's theory of knowledge see MICHAEL CHASE, « Porphyry on the Cognitive Process », *Ancient Philosophy*, 30 (2010), p. 383–405, esp. p. 386–391). The (almost complete) absence of a comparable faculty in Photios, therefore, seems to present a picture of cognitive psychology where the imagination is only bounded, in its operation, by the 'immediate' data of sensation. As Betancourt aptly notices: « Photios's omission of this step is noticeable, given that for earlier Christian writers, this stage would seem to allow one to slow down the process of assenting to the cognitive impressions instigated by sensation » (BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 174). Betancourt goes on to notice that the situation might be more nuanced, since part of the role of the δοξαστική υπόληψις is taken up, in Photios's theory, by a stage of πρόληψις. However, the fact remains that the πρόληψις, as described by Photios, is not able to convert the raw data of sensation in propositional terms. One could here try to go one step further than Betancourt. Indeed, as Chase remarks (CHASE, « Porphyry on the Cognitive Process », p. 389–390), Porphyry drew inspiration in describing the role, respectively, of the δοξαστική υπόληψις and of the imagination, among other sources, from Plato's *Philebus*, 39a–b, where Plato describes a two-stage process where first, « on the basis of memory and sensation, a faculty equivalent to a scribe writes something down in our soul, with the end-result being opinion (δόξα) » (ibidem), and «[a]fter this, another faculty, equivalent to a painter, draws images (εἰκόνας) in the soul of what the scribe has written » (ibidem). By assuming, then, that Photios conceived of the respective roles of the δοξαστική υπόληψις and of the imagination (directly or indirectly) along the lines of the Platonic analogies between the δοξαστική υπόληψις and the scribe on the one hand and the imagination and the painter on the other, it becomes easier to understand why the δοξαστική υπόληψις is fundamentally absent from the text of his *Homily*, while the imagination plays such an important role. After all, indeed, the δοξαστική υπόληψις, through its connection with words (albeit written ones), can be easily associated with the sense of hearing, whereas the imagination can (even more easily) be associated with the sense of sight. Therefore, insofar as the overall aim pursued by Photios in section five of his *Homily 17* is that of affirming the superiority of sight over hearing (and all the other senses), it should not come as a surprise that he neglects the role of δοξαστική υπόληψις and extolls the one of imagination in describing the process of perception.

the apparent mistrust with which such a notion was treated by Church Fathers, as a faculty with a potentially deceptive character. Along the way, Betancourt takes great care to underline how the haptic language usually associated by Byzantine art historians with haptic theories of vision is frequently used by ancient and Byzantine authors to denote the grasp of the objects seen by the imagination thanks to its ability to visualise what lies outside of the perceiving subject on the basis of the sensations received from the sense organ.

The second part of Betancourt's book is then closed by a chapter reflecting on the function of judgement, as the cognitive faculty that evaluates the truthful nature of the images produced by the imagination so that once it has assented to them, they can be passed on to higher cognitive faculties in the process of thought and to the memory for storage for future uses. This chapter, again, gives Betancourt the possibility of reflecting more deeply on the criteria used by Photios (and by his ancient and Byzantine interlocutors) to distinguish true and deceptive images produced by the imagination, also comparing the judgement between the images produced from visual and from aural perceptions, insofar as Photios tends to consider this stage of perception absent from visual perception, where the vividness of the sensations and of the images produced from them have the consequence that such images are passed on « effortlessly » (ἀκόπως), as Photios says, to the memory.

The third part of the book,³⁰ which consists of three chapters, returns to the topics discussed in the first part, enriching the discussion with a series of further reflections. Each of the three chapters of this part, therefore, responds specifically to one of the chapters of the first part. The ninth chapter (the first of the third part) connects the discourse on the medium of sight to a wider reflection on the notion of medium in Byzantine theories of representation (particularly those which can be reconstructed from an analysis of Byzantine texts reflecting on art, whose paradigmatic literary genre, or better, whose paradigmatic technique, is the *ekphrasis*) and in modern theorisations about Byzantine art, moving beyond a reductive understanding of the medium of the icon (as the paradigmatic Byzantine artwork) as the mere material support on which the image lies.

The subsequent chapter then returns to the problem of the relation between sight and touch by looking at a 'performative' context in which, indeed, sight and touch came to be closely associated in the Byzantine world, namely, that of the icon's ritual of veneration (but Betancourt also usefully inserts many parallels with sacramental liturgy), where among other steps, the faithful should touch the icon with his eyes, as part of a ritual aimed at receiving the blessing of the icon itself. This process, notably, is used to explain important (and apparently puzzling) texts,

³⁰ Which is based on ROLAND BETANCOURT, « Tempted to Touch: Tactility, Ritual, and Mediation in Byzantine Visuality », *Speculum*, 91 (2016), p. 660–689.

among others, of John of Damascus, who, in the *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, repeatedly encourages the faithful to embrace and kiss the icon with the eyes.³¹

Finally, the last chapter of the third part comes back to the issue of the commonalities and the relations among the senses by reflecting on the uses of a conscious synesthetic language throughout the Byzantine world. Here, great attention is, again, given to the unity of perception in the common sense, where the sensory inputs from all the sense organs come together. This clearly Aristotelian theme is followed through a series of Late Ancient and Byzantine authors as diverse as Plotinos, Michael Psellos, Nikephoros Gregoras, Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos. What this intellectual path suggests is that the use of synesthetic language in Late Ancient and, especially, Byzantine reflections on perception is not aimed at confusing in any way the distinctness and specificity of each sense but rather at identifying the particular states in which sensory inputs are received with a particular vividness. The chapter then purports to show how an analogous use of this synesthetic language can be found not only in ekphrastic texts celebrating works of art but also in a variety of other contexts, for instance, in the Patristic interpretation of the popular theme of the evil eye. The key notion that unites all of these uses of synesthetic language is that of 'vividness' (ἐνάρπγεια), a key concept whose closest relative in the Latin world might, maybe, be identified in that of *claritas*. Interestingly, indeed, the synesthetic language of ἐνάρπγεια in the Byzantine world, as Betancourt shows, also came to be associated with the religious illumination coming from the Scripture. This conclusion further restates one of the most important presuppositions of the whole third part of the book, namely, the importance of a parallel between Byzantine theories of (artistic) representation and Byzantine rhetorical theories.

The Conclusion finally returns to the issue of the emergence of the historiographic trend of haptic sight in studies of Byzantine art, and it (re)asserts, on the basis of the investigation conducted throughout the book, its inability to fully understand the way in which the Byzantines conceived of and experienced the work of art, paradigmatically the icon. Here Betancourt, from the standpoint of comparative cultural anthropology, asks the reader to reflect on his or her own desire to touch the artwork, a desire that is constantly frustrated by the distance established between the viewer and the artwork in the context of fruition of the modern museum, and to project it onto the Byzantine viewer. In Byzantium, however, and especially in the context of the experience of the icon and of the sacred works of art more generally, such a desire was heightened to paroxysm.

³¹ Cf. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, II.10 and III.9, ed. P. BONIFATIUS KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. III, De Gruyter, Berlin 1975 (Patristische Texte und Studien 17). Betancourt's interpretation of these passages, by taking them to refer to the physical ritual of veneration of the icon, effectively pushes back any attempt to use them as implying an adherence to a theory of haptic sight, as suggested in NELSON, *To Say and to See*, p. 153.

Although Byzantines were supposed to touch the icons in the process of veneration, as mentioned above, this did not satisfy them. Quite the contrary: touch, coupled with sight, only contributed to making them painfully aware of the ultimate absence of the figure(s) represented in the icon, therefore reinforcing the desire to reach a further form of communion with the sacred which, however, could only be achieved through spiritual means.

The variety of the subjects discussed in the book and of the texts analysed is, as it should be clear, noteworthy. Throughout this kaleidoscopic investigation, Betancourt succeeds in contrasting the notion of (extramissionist) haptic sight in (ancient and) Byzantine studies, showing the constant awareness, in the main ancient and Byzantine theories of vision, of the ontological and epistemological distinction between sight and touch and their respective processes of perception. Moreover, Betancourt effectively shows that the kind of haptic language which, throughout the ancient and the Byzantine world, came to be associated with visual perception, ultimately referred to the cognitive stages of the process of perception itself, and especially to the workings of the faculty of the imagination (φαντασία), rather than to the initial phase of sensation, where the sense organ first perceives the qualities of the object.

III. Galen's Theory of Vision: Interactionist or Extramissionist? The Role of Medium as a 'Prosthesis' to Sight

It would be beyond the scope of this article to look at the many avenues for further investigation opened up by Betancourt's rich and important contribution. However, I believe that one particular element of the book deserves further discussion. Indeed, as I mentioned above, probably due to his emphasis on rebutting any possible hint to (extramissionist) theories of haptic sight in the sources analysed, Betancourt is sometimes brought to interpret in an interactionist way theories of vision whose exclusive (or prevalent) extramissionist character can hardly be denied. This is the case with Photios, but it is even more so with Galen and the Byzantine tradition directly or indirectly influenced by him, or in any case bearing close resemblances to it. It is exactly on the case of Galen's theory of vision (and on his – direct and indirect – reception in later Byzantine history) that I want to focus in this section of the article and in the next one.

Indeed, one aspect that features prominently in Galen's theory of vision is a conception of the medium of vision as an entity capable of acting as a sort of sensitive *prosthesis* to the eyes, considered the proper organ of sight. This is certainly not a new observation. Indeed, not only, as I will show below, some of the early Byzantine interpreters of Galen's theory of vision, such as Nemesios of Emesa, put in sharp focus this aspect, but even readers of Galen coming from

different cultural contexts underlined it. Just to quote an example, this aspect is mentioned (and criticised) in Averroes's *Epitome on the Parva naturalia*.³² More than this, this same aspect has certainly not passed unnoticed among contemporary scholars discussing Galen's theory of vision.³³ Nevertheless, it is only in very recent years (and after the publication of Betancourt's book), that, thanks to the efforts of Katerina Ierodiakonou, this aspect has been investigated in all its nuances and it has been put at the centre of a careful and, I believe, fully convincing interpretation of Galen's theory of vision.³⁴ According to such a reconstruction, a theory of vision such as Galen's one, while never reducing vision to an unmediated and 'tactile' process, rather retaining the ontological and epistemological distinction between the sense organ and the medium, still considers the medium as an entity that participates in an active way to the process of perception on the side of the perceiving agent (and, therefore, characterises vision in a peculiar extramissionist way, contrary to Betancourt's interpretation). In this conception, while the medium is not the sense organ, once it has started to interact with the sense organ itself, it finds itself ontologically changed so that it becomes, in a specific sense, an 'extension' of it into space.

One might wonder why, after all, I focus on such an interpretation in the context of a review article of Betancourt's book. Indeed, it might be easily objected that, since this interpretation of Galen's theory of vision has been fully articulated after the publication of Betancourt's book, it would be unfair to criticise the author for not having taken it into account. Nevertheless, not only the central aspect of it (i.e., the 'prosthetic' role of the medium) had already been fully acknowledged

³² Cf. AVERROES, *Compendia librorum Aristotelis qui Parva Naturalia vocantur*, ed. EMILY L. SHIELDS, with the help of HARRY BLUMBERG, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, MA 1949 (Corpus commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem: Versionum latinorum, 7), p. 36, l. 35–36: « Galienus autem in tantum applicabatur errori quod existimavit aërem esse sentientem ».

³³ See, for instance, BYDÉN, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium*, p. 201: « The mechanism of sight described by Galen in *Placita Hippocratis et Platonis* 7.4–7 is similar to that in *Timaeus* 45b–46c, although the 'pure fire' which according to Plato is emitted through the eyes is replaced with psychic *pneuma*, and the external fire with air. Through the emission of *pneuma* into illuminated air, the latter is converted into an organ of sight (PHP 7.7.18–19, 472.33–474.7) ». For another similar formulation (albeit one that is less explicit and accompanied by some further qualifications, which it is not possible to discuss here), see for instance HEINRICH VON STADEN, « La théorie de la vision chez Galien: la colonne qui saute et autres énigmes », *Philosophie antique. Problèmes, Renaissances, Usages*, 12 (2012), p. 115–155, p. 135: « [...], ici, il suffit de faire remarquer qu'à son avis [i.e., according to Galen] le *pneuma* sensoriel visuel s'échappant hors de la pupille produit un effet de sensibilisation instantané sur l'air extérieur qu'il rencontre dans sa sortie – effet semblable à celui produit sur l'air par la lumière du soleil [...] ».

³⁴ Cf. IERODIAKONOU, « Theophrastus on Plato's Theory of Vision », p. 257–258, although this same interpretation had already been quite clearly articulated (and critically evaluated) by Ierodiakonou, in its fundamental elements, in EAD., « On Galen's Theory of Vision », *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement*, 114 (2014), p. 235–247.

before, as I have recalled, but, what is more, the main Galenic texts from which this interpretation can be inferred are exactly those on which Betancourt grounds his interactionist reading of Galen's theory of vision. It therefore seems fair to devote some effort, in this article, to showing in some detail, and closely following Ierodiakonou's lead, the way in which these texts go against an interactionist reading of Galen's theory of vision and clearly favour a 'prosthetic' extramissionist one. To this task I now turn.

Galen's theory of vision is found mostly in Book VII, chapters 4–7 of the *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* and in Book 10 of the *De usu partium*.³⁵ Although Galen's discussion in the two works presents some differences,³⁶ for the time being I am going to consider the two accounts largely compatible (although the weight of the geometrical tradition is much greater in the *De usu partium* than in the *De placitis*) and I am going to focus on the presentation of his theory of vision that Galen inserts in Book VII of the *De placitis*, concentrating especially on chapter 7, since this chapter plays a key role in Betancourt's interpretation.

The overall theory of vision that emerges from Book VII of the *De placitis* (following, once again, the reconstruction provided by Ierodiakonou) is a syncretic one, where a largely Platonic framework (indeed, as said, Galen takes his theory of vision to represent the correct interpretation of Plato's one) is integrated with an appeal to Aristotelian elements (especially an understanding of the medium of vision which comes close to Aristotle's transparent) and Stoic ones (especially the role of optic *pneuma*,³⁷ which entirely replaces the Platonic concept of fiery rays emitted from the eyes). In crude summary, it might be claimed that Galen thought that vision occurred through the outpouring of optic *pneuma* from the eyes, which

³⁵ As already mentioned, in what follows I will ground my reading of Galen's texts on IERODIAKONOU, « Theophrastus on Plato's Theory of Vision », p. 257–258, which, in what concerns the interpretation of Galen's theory of vision, further articulates and develops what already presented in EAD., « On Galen's Theory of Vision ». Apart from these contributions, a very detailed (and comprehensive) recent discussion of Galen's theory of vision, giving a great importance to the anatomy, the physiology and the geometry of vision, can be found in VON STADEN, « La théorie de la vision chez Galien: la colonne qui saute et autres énigmes ». The classical account of Galen's theory of vision is to be found in RUDOLPH E. SIEGEL, *Galen on Sense Perception. His Doctrines, Observations and Experiments on Vision, Hearing, Smell, Taste, Touch and Pain, and Their Historical Sources*, Karger, Basel–New York 1970. Older discussions of Galen's theory of vision can also be found, among others, in OWSEI TEMKIN, « On Galen's Pneumatology », *Gesnerus*, 8 (1951), p. 180–189, and in HAROLD CHERNISS, « Galen and Posidonius' Theory of Vision », *American Journal of Philology*, 54/2 (1933), p. 154–161.

³⁶ For a short presentation of these differences, see IERODIAKONOU, *Byzantine Theories of Vision*, p. 166–167.

³⁷ Concerning the role of optic *pneuma* in Galen's theory of vision, see, in addition to the literature already quoted above, VÉRONIQUE BOUDON-MILLOT, *Vision and Vision Disorders. Galen's Physiology of Sight*, in MANFRED HORSTMANSHOFF, HELEN KING, CLAUS ZITTEL (eds.), *Blood, Sweat and Tears. The Changing Concepts of Physiology from Antiquity into Early Modern Europe*, Brill, Leiden 2012 (Intersections 25), p. 549–567.

then joined the surrounding air (appropriately activated by sunlight) so as to form with it a homogeneous body capable of perceiving the colours (which Galen takes to be qualities capable of altering the air immediately surrounding the object to which they belong), size, shape and relative position of the objects with which such a body came into contact.

In this reconstruction, the crucial element to understand Galen's theory of vision is the role of the body formed by the optic *pneuma* and the illuminated air. In connection with this aspect, Betancourt is obviously right when he underlines the importance played in Book VII, chapter 7 of the *De placitis* by Galen's criticism of the Stoic metaphor of the air as a walking stick in visual perception.³⁸ However, what Betancourt does not see (an aspect that has been clearly remarked, among others, by Ierodiakonou)³⁹ is that Galen is not criticising the idea, as I have defined it above, of air acting as an instrument to the sense organ of sight; rather, he is criticising the *kind* of instrument that the Stoics take air to be. Indeed, as Galen notes:

This latter kind of discernment is of resistant bodies, and it is besides more inferential than perceptive, whereas the perception of our eye is not perceptive of a thing as close packed, or of its hardness or softness, but of its color, size, and position, and none of these can be discerned by a walking-stick.⁴⁰

Galen's criticism is founded upon the idea that if the air surrounding us were akin to a walking stick for the eyes, then visual perception would become a mere form of touch, and we would, therefore, only perceive through it the same properties of the objects that we perceive through touch, such as hardness or softness. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Galen, as Betancourt claims,⁴¹ takes air as a mere passive medium where the optic *pneuma* and the effluences coming from the

³⁸ Cf. GALEN, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* VII.7.20, ed. and trans. by PHILLIP DE LACY, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato. Second Part: Books VI–IX*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1980 (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 4, 1, 2), p. 474–475, and above, n. 7.

³⁹ Cf. IERODIAKONOU, « On Galen's Theory of Vision », p. 242–244. On the complex debate surrounding the Stoic theory of vision and its various possible interpretations in contemporary scholarship, a debate which it is unfortunately impossible to discuss here, see at least EAD., « Two Puzzles in Post-Aristotelian Theories of Vision », in BRIAN GLENNEY, JOSÉ F. SILVA (eds.), *The Senses and the History of Philosophy*, Routledge, London 2019 (Rewriting the History of Philosophy), p. 69–80, where also Galen's criticism of the Stoic metaphor of the air as a walking stick in visual perception is discussed.

⁴⁰ GALEN, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, VII.7.20–21, ed. DE LACY, p. 474–475: ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη διάγνωσις ἀντιβαιόντων ἐστὶ σωμάτων, κατὰ συλλογισμόν <δ'> ἔτι μᾶλλον· οὐ πιλητοῦ δ' αἰσθητικῇ ἢ τοῦ ὁμματος αἰσθησις ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οὔτε τῆς σκληρότητος ἢ μαλακότητος, ἀλλὰ χροῶς καὶ μεγέθους καὶ θέσεως, ὧν οὐδὲν ἢ βακτηρία διαγνώσθαι δύναται.

⁴¹ Cf. especially BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 60.

objects (or, as it should be said, the alterations caused in it by the colours of the objects) unite. Indeed, as he affirms just before criticising the walking stick metaphor:

Now it is clear and agreed to by all that we see through air as an intermediate; the problem here is to discover whether something comes to us from the objects of sight through the air as through some intermediate pathway, or *the air is for us the same kind of instrument for discerning visible things as the nerve is for tangible things*. Most people think even with regard to the nerve that the alteration caused by impinging objects is transmitted through it to the governing part of the soul and so leads us to the discernment of the objects; it does not occur to them that the pain would not be felt in the part of the body that is cut or crushed or burned if the power of sensation were not also present in the parts. The truth is the opposite of the opinion that those people hold. *The nerve itself is a part of the brain*, like a branch or offshoot of a tree, and the member to which the part is attached receives the power of the part into the whole of itself and thus becomes capable of discerning the things that touch it. *Something similar happens also in the case of the air that surrounds us*. When it has been illuminated by the sun, it is already an instrument of vision of the same description as the *pneuma* coming to it from the brain; but until it is illuminated it does not turn into a *sympathetic instrument* (*ὁμοιοπαθὲς ὄργανον*) by virtue of the change effected in it by the outflow of the *pneuma*.⁴²

The passage as a whole, the comparison between the air (taken here as a shorthand for the body formed by the coalescence between the optic *pneuma* and illuminated air) and the nerve, and, finally, the very use of the expression of « sympathetic

⁴² GALEN, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, VII.7.16–19, ed. DE LACY, p. 472–475: Τὸ μὲν οὖν διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἀέρος ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς ἐναργὲς ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενον, ἡ ζήτησις δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε γίνεται, πότερον ὡς δι' ὁδοῦ τινος μέσης ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἀφικνεῖται τι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ τοιοῦτον ὄργανον ὁ ἀήρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁρατῶν διάγνωσιν οἷον περ τὸ νεῦρον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀπτῶν. οἴονται μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ διὰ τοῦ νεύρου τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν προσπιπτόντων ἀλλοίωσιν ἀναδιδομένην ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικὸν εἰς διάγνωσιν ἄγειν ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐννοοῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῆς ὀδύνης αἰσθήσεις ἐγίγνετο κατὰ τὸ τεμνόμενον ἢ θλώμενον ἢ καόμενον μόριον εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἡ δύναμις ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἔχει δ' ἐναντίως ἡ[ν] δοξάζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ ἀληθές. αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ νεῦρον ἐγκεφάλου μέρος ἐστὶν οἷον περ ἄκρεμών ἢ βλάστημα δένδρου, τό τε μέρος εἰς ὃ τὸ μέρος ἐμφύεται τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δεχόμενον εἰς ὅλον ἑαυτὸ διαγνωστικὸν γίνεται τῶν ψαυόντων αὐτοῦ. παραπλήσιον οὖν τι κατὰ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἡμᾶς ἀέρος γίνεται· πεφωτισμένος γὰρ ὑφ' ἡλίου τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἤδη [τὸ] τῆς ὀψεως ὄργανον οἷον τὸ παραγιγνόμενον ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου πνεῦμα· πρὶν φωτισθῆναι δέ, κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ <τῆς> τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκβολῆς ἐναποτελουμένην ἀλλοίωσιν ὁμοιοπαθὲς ὄργανον οὐ γίγνεται (emphasis mine).

instrument (of sight) » (ὁμοιοπαθὲς ὄργανον)⁴³ with reference to the body formed by the coalescence between the optic *pneuma* and illuminated air in the process of vision, makes it overwhelmingly clear that, for Galen, vision is nothing like a midway encounter between the optic *pneuma* and the (alterations caused by the) colours of the objects. That is, as soon as the optic *pneuma* coalesces with the air surrounding the eyes (provided that such air is aptly activated by sunlight), it instantaneously perceives everything that (within a suitable distance) is touched by such air, therefore perceiving not only the colours but also the size, shape, and position of all such objects and, thus, overcoming what Galen takes to be the major objection to Aristotle's intromissionist account of vision. From this perspective, it is true that colours alterate the surrounding air, but as soon as they do it, *they have already been perceived*. This does not amount to a claim that vision is a tactile or unmediated process, but that it is a prosthetic (and therefore fundamentally extramissionist) one.

While Betancourt quotes a large part of this text, he downplays its importance by noting that, as Galen recognises in a later passage, the *pneuma* changes its nature when entering the process of vision and becoming united with the surrounding air. Betancourt quotes the following passage, which closes the discussion on sight in chapter 7 of Book VII of the *De placitis*:

But what difficulty is there in supposing that the sunlight is sensitive (αἰσθητικὴν), much as the *pneuma* in the eyes that is brought forth in the brain is clearly seen to be? For it is luminous. And if we must speak of the substance of the soul, we must say one of two things: we must say either that it is this, as it were, bright and ethereal body, a view to which the Stoics and Aristotle are carried in spite of themselves, as the logical consequence (of their teachings), or that it is (itself) an incorporeal substance and this body is its first vehicle, by means of which it establishes partnership with other bodies. We must say, then, that this ([psychic] *pneuma*) itself extends through all the brain, and that by partnership with it the optical *pneuma* becomes luminous.⁴⁴

⁴³ The same adjective had already been used to describe the body formed by the union between the visual stream of fiery rays coming from the eyes and the daylight in Plato's *Timaeus* 45b2–d3, the first passage of the dialogue where Plato introduces his theory of vision, as remarked in IERODIAKONOU, « On Galen's Theory of Vision », p. 236. The use of the same adjective employed by Plato in the *Timaeus* to describe the role of the body formed by the fiery rays emitted from the eyes and illuminated air as an instrument in vision is telling of the importance of Plato's influence on Galen in the development of an extramissionist 'prosthetic' theory of vision.

⁴⁴ GALEN, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, VII.7.24–26, ed. DE LACY, p. 474–475: τί δὲ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ τὴν ἡλιακὴν αὐγὴν αἰσθητικὴν ὑποθέσθαι, οἷον μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πνεῦμα τὸ παραγόμενον ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου προδήλως ὁρᾶται; φωτοειδὲς [καί] γάρ ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς οὐσίας ἀποφύνασθαι χρή, δυοῖν θάτερον ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν· ἢ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ οἷον αὐγοειδὲς τε καὶ αἰθερῶδες σῶμα λεκτέον αὐτήν, εἰς ὃ καὶ μὴ βούλωνται κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἀφικνοῦνται

Here, Galen – after restating in unmistakable terms that illuminated air (and, more directly, sunlight itself), once united with the optic *pneuma*, can become a suitable prosthesis to vision, being « sensitive » (αἰσθητικὴν) – goes on to clarify that the optic *pneuma*, flowing from the eyes and acting onto its surrounding illuminated air to coalesce with it, is not consubstantial with the soul and therefore with the psychic *pneuma*. This is in itself an important claim, one that should make one particularly wary of adopting the idea that the surrounding air becomes the organ of sight itself (this, indeed, would amount to consider Galen’s theory of vision as an unmediated and tactile one). However, nothing in this passage seems to go against the idea that illuminated air is a prosthesis to the organ of sight (if anything, the opening of the passage, calling sunlight – and therefore illuminated air – « sensitive », further supports it), in the same way as the nerve is for touch, and a branch is for a tree. Thus, I do not think that Betancourt can draw any support from this passage, as he does, to claim that:

Thus, sight is possible only through the unification of various properties as one: psychic *pneuma*, optic *pneuma*, air, and light. However, this does not mean that either sunlight or air are sensitive in themselves, but rather that through their union they are able to enable perception via the *pneuma* in the eyes, which is the only proper sensitive entity for sight. Putting this in the context of Galen’s broader argument, as I have laid out here, the optic *pneuma* then does not reach the objects themselves, but rather unites with the surrounding air that has been activated by light in order to receive the visible qualities of the object being sent through that light-air mixture. [...] For this reason, Galen critiques the walking stick metaphor by carefully expounding the relationship between the brain and the *pneuma*, as well as the *pneuma* and the air, making sure not to make it seem as if the *pneuma* is an all-encompassing, all-reaching body that can touch the objects of sight, from a nearby tree to a distant star. The *pneuma* activates only the air immediately next to it – in the same way in which a single beam of sunlight can immediately affect the totality of air. This ensures that the sensitive faculty is embedded in the viewer, not distributed throughout the intervening medium as some extension of the body into space.⁴⁵

Contrary to what Betancourt suggests, Galen, especially with the analogy between the air surrounding us and the branch of the tree and the nerve, wants to claim that the medium can become an extension (what I call a ‘prosthesis’) of the visual

Στωϊκοί τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, ἡ αὐτὴν μὲν ἀσώματον ὑπάρχειν οὐσίαν, ὄχημα δὲ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῆς εἶναι τοῦτὶ τὸ σῶμα δι’ οὗ μέσου τὴν πρὸς τᾶλλα σώματα κοινωνίαν λαμβάνει. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ δι’ ὅλου λεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐκτετάσθαι τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου, τῇ δὲ γε πρὸς αὐτὸ κοινωνία τὸ κατὰ τὰς ὀψεις [αὐτῶν] πνεῦμα φωτοειδὲς γίνεσθαι.

⁴⁵ BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 62.

faculty into the external space, although, of course, the eyes remain the only proper organ of sight. As I have tried to show, therefore, it is true that according to Galen the optic *pneuma* does not directly touch any object, as Betancourt rightly remarks, but still, it does so indirectly through its union with illuminated air.

This might seem a difference of detail, yet I think it is of great importance, not only for a correct understanding of Galen's own theory of vision, but also for the history of its momentous reception in Byzantium, especially during the early and middle Byzantine period. Indeed, the fact that Galen's theory was interpreted as a sort of 'prosthetic' extramissionist one as early as the fourth century can be supported, as I have already mentioned, by looking at how the account of vision in Book VII of the *De placitis* is glossed over by an extremely influential text throughout Byzantine history, namely, Nemesios of Emesa's *De natura hominis*. Indeed, after quoting at length some of the main passages discussed above, together with the analogy between tactile nerves, tree branches and illuminated air, Nemesios remarks:

For air becomes an instrument (ὄργανον) for the eye for the recognition of visible objects such as is the nerve for the brain, so that the eye has the same relation to the air that has been given soul power by the sun's ray as the brain has to the nerve. That air naturally becomes like bodies near to it is clear from the fact that air, when something bright, red or blue or even shining silver travels through it, is altered by that which travels through it.⁴⁶

Nemesios's statement that « air becomes an instrument (ὄργανον) for the eye for the recognition of visible objects as is the nerve for the brain » leaves no doubt as to the fact that he recognised Galen's theory of vision as relying on a 'prosthetic' model, in which illuminated air is sensitive (indeed, Nemesios clarifies that the sensitive character of illuminated air depends upon the fact that air has been

⁴⁶ NEMESIOS OF EMESA, *De natura hominis*, 7, ed. MORENO MORANI, *Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis*, Teubner, Leipzig 1987 (Bibliotheca scriptorium Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. 59.7–13: γίνεται γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ ὄργανον τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁρωμένων διάγνωσιν τοιοῦτον, οἷόνπερ ἐγκεφάλῳ τὸ νεῦρον, ὥστε ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἐγκέφαλος πρὸς τὸ νεῦρον, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα ἐψυχωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς αὐγῆς. ὅτι δὲ πέφυκεν ὁ ἀὴρ τοῖς πλησιάζουσι σώμασι συνεξομοιοῦσθαι, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ πυρροῦ τινος ἢ κυανοῦ ἢ καὶ ἀργύρου λαμπροῦ διαφερομένου, φωτὸς ὄντος, ὑπὸ τοῦ διενεχθέντος ἀλλοιοῦσθαι τὸν ἀέρα; trans. ROBERT W. SHARPLES, PIETER J. VAN DER EIJK (eds.), *Nemesius: On the Nature of Man*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2008 (Translated Texts for Historians 49), p. 105–106, quoted in BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 74–75. Concerning Nemesios's presentation of Galen's theory of vision, see BOLESŁAW DOMAŃSKI, *Die Psychologie des Nemesius*, Aschendorff Verlag, Münster 1900, p. 101–102. For a general presentation of Nemesios's anthropology in the context of his wider philosophical and theological project, see DAVID LLOYD DUSENBURY, *Nemesius of Emesa on Human Nature. A Cosmopolitan Anthropology from Roman Syria*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021 (Oxford Early Christian Studies).

activated by sunlight) and, as a result, it can become part of an extramissionist process of visual perception by uniting with the optic *pneuma*. Betancourt himself recognises that « [i]n this model, as Nemesios clearly recounts, the air operates as a sort of prosthetic organ for the eye (ὁ ἄηρ ὄργανον τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ) by virtue of having ‘ensouled’ the air (ἄερα ἐψυχωμένον) ».⁴⁷ However, he ultimately reiterates his idea that Galen’s theory of vision is interactionist, even in Nemesios’s interpretation, and that none of them recognises air as being ‘sensitive’, something that appears to be clearly contradicted by the text just quoted. The case of Nemesios is even more important considering that, in his doxographic summary, Nemesios clearly qualifies Plato’s theory as interactionist.⁴⁸ That is, even when Plato’s theory of vision was interpreted as interactionist, Galen’s theory remained influential as a distinct model, developing an idiosyncratic understanding of extramission that was to have a posterity in the Byzantine world (especially, but by no means solely, throughout the later Byzantine medical tradition), as Nemesios’s case already shows.

IV. *Understanding the Role of Medium as a ‘Prosthesis’ to Sight in Byzantine Eucharistic Theology: The Case of Nicholas Kabasilas*

Of course, documenting the (direct or indirect) influence of Galen’s ‘prosthetic’ theory of vision in Byzantium would require a burdensome investigation, analysing not only the texts of the medical tradition but also the ‘philosophical’ ones that came into dialogue with it, at least since the eleventh century onwards. Here, I cannot even start to sketch such an investigation.⁴⁹ Still, I believe that the recognition of the existence of a distinctive group of extramissionist ‘prosthetic’ theories of vision in Byzantium (either directly or indirectly influenced by Galen’s own theory, or in any case strongly resembling it), and of its full import, is an aspect that deserves further investigation.

In what follows, I am going to provide an example of how pervasive and ramified the extramissionist ‘prosthetic’ understanding of vision might have been

⁴⁷ BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 77.

⁴⁸ NEMESIOS OF EMESA, *De natura hominis*, 7, ed. MORANI, *Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis*, p. 58.11–14: Πλάτων δὲ κατὰ συναύγειαν τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φωτὸς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀπορρέοντος εἰς τὸν ὁμογενῆ ἄερα, τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἀντιφερομένου, τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν μεταξὺ ἄερα εὐδιάχυτον ὄντα καὶ εὐτρεπτον συνεκτεινομένου τῷ πυροειδεῖ τῆς ὀψεως. Note, incidentally, that the verb ἀπορρέω is used in this context to denote the effluences coming from the eyes, therefore adding another counterinstance to Betancourt’s claims concerning the meaning of this verb in Byzantine theories of vision discussed above.

⁴⁹ An important starting point in such an investigation should certainly be represented by Part 1 of PETROS BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, BARBARA ZIPSER (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Galen*, Brill, Leiden 2019 (*Brill’s Companions to Classical Reception* 17), where the important posterity of Galen’s thought and works in (Late Antiquity and) Byzantium is carefully documented.

in the Byzantine world (and, therefore, of how potentially fruitful a comprehensive investigation of it might prove to be). In particular, what I want to suggest, developing and modifying an important intuition by Betancourt, is that the understanding of the role of the medium of vision as a ‘prosthesis’ to sight in the Byzantine world came to the point of influencing even Byzantine Eucharistic theology. This can be seen quite clearly in a relevant passage, on which I am going to focus in this section, from Nicholas Kabasilas’s *Explicatio divinae liturgiae*, an influential fourteenth-century liturgical commentary.⁵⁰ Since this text is discussed at length in Betancourt’s book, where it is read in an interactionist way, the analysis of it will allow me not only to uncover the extramissionist ‘prosthetic’ theory of vision on which it is grounded, but also, in the process, to challenge Betancourt’s interactionist reading of it, also relying on what has been discussed in the previous section.

The relevant passage occurs in paragraph 44 of the commentary:

And just as light allows sight through itself to see, if [light] fails then seeing fails, thus continual union with Christ is necessary for the soul, if it is to live fully and be at rest. For neither without light is it possible for the eye to see, nor is it possible for the soul to have true life and peace without Christ; for He alone reconciles us to God and is the Author of that peace, without which we would be God’s enemies, without hope of partaking in His good things.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The first major study of Kabasilas’s theology in modern times is WILHELM GASS, *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo*, Koch, Greifswald 1849 (Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte des griechischen Mittelalters 2), which has been followed by MYRRHA LOT-BORODINE, *Nicolas Cabasilas. Un maître de la spiritualité byzantine au XIV^e siècle*, Éditions de l’Orante, Paris 1958, CONSTANTINE N. TSIRPANLIS, *The Liturgical and the Mystical Theology of Nicolas Cabasilas*, Theologia, Athens 1976, and WALTHER VÖLKER, *Die Sakramentsmystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas*, Steiner, Wiesbaden 1977. For some important studies focusing specifically on the details of Kabasilas’s Eucharistic theology, see PAUL C. MANTOVANIS, « The Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas », PhD Diss., University of Oxford 1984, KALLISTOS WARE, ‘Not an Image or a Figure’. *St. Nicholas Cabasilas on the Eucharistic Sacrifice*, in JOB GETCHA, MICHEL STAVROU (eds.), *Le feu sur la terre. Mélanges offerts au Père Boris Bobrinskoy à l’occasion de son 80^e anniversaire*, Presses Saint-Serge, Paris 2005 (Analecta Sergiana 3), p. 143–149, and, more recently, PEKKA J. METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*, Publications of the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu 2010 (Dissertations in Education, Humanities, and Theology 2). For some useful remarks, see also MARIE-HÉLÈNE CONGOURDEAU, *Prier à Byzance au XIV^e siècle d’après la Vie en Christ de Nicolas Cabasilas*, in *La prière au Moyen Âge (littérature et civilisation)*, Presses universitaires de Provence, Aix-en-Provence 1981 (Sénéfiance 10), p. 120–132.

⁵¹ NICHOLAS KABASILAS, *Explicatio divinae liturgiae*, 44, ed. SÉVÉRIEN SALAVILLE, RENÉ BORNERT, JEAN GOUILLARD, PIERRE PÉRICHON, *Explication de la divine liturgie, suivi de Explication des ornements sacrés et Explication des rites de la divine liturgie*, Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1967 (Sources chrétiennes 4 bis), p. 252: Καὶ καθάπερ τὸ φῶς δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὁρᾶν τοῖς ὁρώσι παρέχον, οἷς ἂν ἐπιλείποι, καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν ἐπιλείπει, οὕτω καὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνουσίαν ἀνάγκη διηνεκῇ ταῖς ψυχαῖς εἶναι, εἴγε μέλλοιεν ζῆν ὅλως καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι. Οὔτε γὰρ χωρὶς φωτὸς ὁφθαλμὸς δύναται βλέπειν, οὔτε χωρὶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζῶν ἁληθινὴν καὶ εἰρήνην ἐνεῖναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς δυνατόν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστι ὁ

The analogy Kabasilas presents is striking. In his text, the union of the eyes (more properly, of the eyes's effluences) with light (a shorthand for the medium of sight) in vision becomes analogous to the role exercised by the Christ-Eucharist as Mediator in uniting souls with God.⁵² More precisely, by uniting with the Christ-Eucharist (and His divine life), the soul becomes able to partake in God's life, analogously to the way in which the eyes's effluences, through conjunction with light, come to perceive what light itself, as sensitive, perceives.

Betancourt is absolutely right, therefore, in underlining the centrality of this passage. His analysis, in particular, of the role of Christ as Mediator in comparison to the role of the visual medium is fitting, and it is therefore worth quoting it in full:

Most crucial to understanding Nicholas Kabasilas's theory of vision, however, is how the text speaks of the particular nature of that union

τῷ θεῷ καταλλάττων μόνος, ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην ταύτην ποιῶν ἥς χωρὶς ἐχθροὺς ὄντας τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ μετέχειν ὅπως οὐδὲμία ἐστὶν ἐλπίς (quoted according to the translation in BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 228, which is based on the translation in JOAN M. HUSSEY, P. A. McNULTY, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY 1960, p. 100).

⁵² The analogy is, of course, indebted to Hesycastic theology, and, especially, to the role of the divine light in it. Indeed, in Gregory Palamas's theological reflection, the reference to divine light serves the purpose of identifying the aspect of God which man can come to know 'by acquaintance' through prayer already in this life, namely, God's activity (ἐνέργεια), while His essence remains entirely inaccessible to man in this life. The image used by Palamas to describe this concept is that of the light emanating from Christ during the Transfiguration, which became visible to the Apostles. The classical introductions to this topic in contemporary Western scholarship are VLADIMIR LOSSKY, *The Vision of God*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY 1983, which had been preceded by ID., *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, James Clarke, London 1957, and JEAN MEYENDORFF, *Saint Grégoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris 1959 (Microcosme. Maîtres spirituels 20); for what concerns Palamas's dialogue with the Dionysian tradition in this respect, see ALEXANDER GOLITZIN, « Dionysius the Aeropagite in the Works of Gregory Palamas: On the Question of a 'Christological Corrective' and Related Matters », *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 46/2 (2002), p. 163–190, here p. 165–167; finally, concerning the role of uncreated light in Palamas's Trinitarian and Christological reflection, especially in its role of an enhypostatic entity, see RAFFAELE GUERRA, « Il ruolo dell'ipostasi nella concezione ontologica di Gregorio Palamas », PhD Diss., University of Salerno 2019. It goes without saying that, in this perspective, divine light is much more than a mere medium. Although Kabasilas's independence from Palamas's thought (or at least an explicit attempt to distance himself from it) has been increasingly underlined in recent scholarship (cf. for instance METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*, p. 185, n. 134), on the theme of divine light and the 'deification' associated with it Palamas's influence is clearly discernible in Kabasilas's writings. Nevertheless, it is to be remarked that in the specific passage under discussion, Kabasilas's reference is not to this kind of divine light, but rather to 'physical' sunlight. This is why I think that a discussion of the analogy can be conducted even outside the Hesycastic understanding of divine light, which, nevertheless, remains an important background element to Kabasilas's passage.

between Christ and the souls. Here the inexorability of the mediating interval is reified in the very figure of Christ. Christ has a complex operation here: on the one hand, he is the medium, yet, on the other hand, he also unites the faithful to himself as that medium. Thus, we understand that there is a union that occurs between the mediator and the viewer, an outpouring toward Christ if one were to describe it in visual terms. Hence, we can understand that the union of the faithful comes to that intermediary point manifested by Christ the mediator.⁵³

Nevertheless, Betancourt's insistence, due to his tendency (already noted multiple times) to read ancient and Byzantine theories of vision in interactionist terms, brings him to claim that the medium (in this case, sunlight itself) ultimately remains a mere channel of transmission and of encounter between the effluences coming from the viewer and those coming from the object:

However, this is not the end of this process for it is Christ that 'reconciles us to God' (τῷ Θεῷ καταλλάττων). Thus, God unites with the faithful by virtue of their union with Christ in that intermediary role. Yet the nature of this union is not by virtue of Christ's intercessory actions alone, or rather, this alone is not the reason why God unifies himself with humanity, [...]. Thus, God's effluence of love (specifically, ἀγάπη) for his son leads him then to become united with humanity by virtue of humanity's own union in spirit with Christ. Hence, what we come to observe here is that there are two vectors of union that make humanity's partaking in the benefits of God: one emerging from the righteous toward Christ, and another emerging from God toward Christ in his love for him. Thus, it is in Christ, the mediator, that both these vectors are united so as to enable humanity to partake of God's image. [...] When we consider Nicholas Kabasilas's text diagrammatically, we can quite neatly see at play the theory of Platonic extramission, whereby we can say that God emits the light emanating from the visible objects and the people emit the light issuing from the eyes, which fuse in that intermediary point, here manifested by Christ. This reading is only possible, however, if one is familiar with the language of union and the process of vision being obliquely indexed by the text. Thus, Nicholas Kabasilas's text can attest to the enduring belief in and nuanced understanding of Platonic extramission up through the fourteenth century. The impenetrability and lack of explicit clarification of this process of extramission in his text should not be understood as an underdeveloped theory of vision, but instead a telling shorthand that speaks to the manner in which this particular theory may have been taken for granted by Nicholas.⁵⁴

⁵³ BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 229.

⁵⁴ BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 229–230.

The fact that Betancourt finds the description of the process of extramission by Kabasilas impenetrable, however, simply depends on the fact that he interprets it in a faulty way. The adherence to Platonic extramission, which seems to permeate the text, indeed can only be fully understood according to a 'prosthetic' model of interpretation.

That this is so can be more fully appreciated by looking at Kabasilas's wider Christological doctrine, as it can be found not only in the *Explicatio divinae liturgiae* but also in the *De vita in Christo*, Kabasilas's other fundamental theological (and, specifically, Christological) work.⁵⁵ In both works, the notion of the union of man with Christ features prominently. What is distinctive of Kabasilas's doctrine in this respect is the idea that, through Eucharistic communion, man is, in a sense, « deified »; that is, he comes to form a single 'Body' with Christ, partaking not only in His humanity but also in His divinity.⁵⁶ Insistence on deification, while being

⁵⁵ Note that for my analysis of the Christological doctrine of the *De vita in Christo* I rely on METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*. Thus, I do not claim any originality for it, but merely for the idea of applying such an analysis to the correct understanding of Kabasilas's theory of vision as expressed in the abovementioned passage of the *Explicatio divinae liturgiae*.

⁵⁶ The two concepts that describe the communion of the faithful with Christ-Eucharist in Kabasilas's perspective are those of κοινωνία and ἔνωσις (on these two aspects cf. METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*, especially § 5.3 and 5.4 respectively, on which I base the following presentation of the two concepts). Κοινωνία describes the fact that « one owns the same as the other at the same time » (ἀμφοῖν τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον παρῇ; NICHOLAS KABASILAS, *De vita in Christo* IV.45, ed. MARIE-HÉLÈNE CONGOURDEAU, *La Vie en Christ, tome I. Livres I-IV*, Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2009 (Sources chrétiennes 355)). The term is therefore used by Kabasilas to indicate the fact that the communing faithful and Christ-Eucharist come to form a single entity, endowed with both human and divine nature, in the image of the Incarnate Word. This concept is illustrated with great effectiveness by Kabasilas in another passage of the same work, where he stresses the fact that κοινωνία entails a commingling of mind, will, body and blood between man and Christ (Ὁ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν μυστηρίων! Οἷον γάρ ἐστι τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ νοῦν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ συμμίζειν νοῦ, καὶ θελήσει θέλησιν ἐκείνην καὶ σῶμα σώματι καὶ αἷμα αἵματι κερασθῆναι: οἷος μὲν ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν τοῦ θείου κατακρατήσαντος νοῦ, οἷα δὲ ἡ θέλησις τῆς μακαρίας θελήσεως περιγενομένης, οἷος δὲ ὁ χοῦς τοῦ πυρὸς ὑπερνεκικτότος ἐκείνου!, *ibid.*, IV.9, quoted according to METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*, p. 165, n. 67). The concept of κοινωνία (taken in its wider meaning, and not with exclusive reference to the Eucharistic communion) is also explained by Kabasilas with reference to two allegories, that of a drop of water turning to oil when poured into it (*ibid.*, IV.28) and that of the vessel of alabaster turning into the chrism situated within it (*ibid.*, III.5). The second concept mentioned above, that of ἔνωσις, represents in many ways, in Kabasilas's thought, the true completion of κοινωνία. As Metso puts it: « Cabasilas' understanding of the effects of *henosis* with Christ can be outlined as a development in which man's unification with God is realized as an ever deepening process into the innermost of man » (METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*, p. 171). This process is so intimate that, in a sense, Kabasilas lacks the words to express it (cf. *De vita in Christo* I.8–9, ed. CONGOURDEAU, *La Vie en Christ, tome I*). When he tries to characterise it in positive terms, he stresses the fact that the experience of ἔνωσις

common in Byzantine Hesychastic theology (and in Byzantine theology as a whole),⁵⁷ takes on a particular importance in Kabasilas's interpretation, underlining the decisive role of the Christ-Eucharist in the process.⁵⁸ What must be underlined here, in the perspective of the analogy between the communion of the eyes's effluences with the visual medium and Eucharistic communion, is the fact that, as the Eucharist becomes one with the communing faithful, the medium becomes one with the effluences coming from the sense organ of sight. Only this newly generated, 'homogeneous body' can bring forth participation in God's life and visual perception respectively.

allows man to experience a higher kind of unity than the one associated with his own self-consciousness as a human being (cf. *ibid.*, I.10–11: Καὶ οὕτω λέγω τὸ καινότατον. Τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο συνάπτοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ; Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐνότης τῆς συναφείας ἐκείνης ἔλαττον ἔχει. Τῶν γὰρ πνευμάτων τῶν μακαρίων ἕκαστον, ἔστι μὲν ἐν καὶ ταὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ, συνῆπται δὲ τῷ Σωτῆρι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ, quoted according to METSO, *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*, p. 171, n. 89). It is evident that the two aspects of κοινωνία and ἔνωσις, and especially the latter, extend beyond the mere act of Eucharistic communion, and they are ultimately understood by Kabasilas as aspects which have to invest every moment of the life of the faithful through the practice of constant prayer. It is probably here that Hesychasm exercises the strongest influence on Kabasilas's Christological thought, although Kabasilas makes it abundantly clear that, contrary to traditional Hesychasm, he takes constant prayer to be something which should be practised by all men, regardless of their status (on these aspects, cf. especially CONGOURDEAU, *Prier à Byzance au XIV^e siècle*, and EAD., *Nicolas Cabasilas et le Palamisme*, in ANTONIO RIGO (ed.), *Gregorio palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino*, Olschki, Firenze 2004 (*Orientalia Venetiana* 16), p. 191–210). Another aspect that should be underlined at this point is that, while the process of union with the Christ-Eucharist that Kabasilas describes is ultimately personal, it also has a strong communitarian aspect, on which Paul's language of the Church as the 'mystical Body' of Christ also exercises a strong influence.

⁵⁷ For the origin of the doctrine of deification in the early Byzantine period, see NORMAN RUSSELL, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004. For the understanding of deification in the thought of Gregory Palamas, see ALEXIS TORRANCE, *Human Perfection in Byzantine Theology: Attaining the Fullness of Christ*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020 (*Changing Paradigms in Historical and Systematic Theology*), ch. 5, and GEORGIOS I. MANTZARIDIS, *The Deification of Man: St. Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Tradition*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY 2001. For a comparison between Palamas's doctrine of deification and Aquinas's thought, see ANNA N. WILLIAMS, *The Ground of Union: Deification in Aquinas and Palamas*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1999.

⁵⁸ As Panayiotis Nellas aptly summarises: « The doctrine of Deification subsequently saw a great and distinguished development as a genuine expression of Orthodox Christianity, and St Gregory Palamas upheld it most clearly and developed it admirably in confronting the Arianising heresy that man is united with created grace. Kavasilas was in complete agreement with Palamas, but at the same time he brought the Apostle Paul's terminology back to the forefront of theology and, taking it further, interpreted deification as true and real *Christification*. » (PANAYIOTIS NELLAS, « Redemption or Deification? Nicholas Kavasilas and Anselm's Question 'Why Did God Become Man?' », *Sourozh*, 66 (1996), p. 10–30, here p. 13). On the centrality of Christ in Kabasilas's overall theology, see also SÉVÉRIEN SALAVILLE, « Le christocentrisme de Nicolas Cabasilas », *Échos d'Orient*, 39 (1936), p. 129–167.

This is why one cannot but consider reductive Betancourt's statement according to which:

And while the union with Christ might seem to offer up an unmediated contact with the divine, what is made clear is that Christ is merely that diaphanous interval between seer and object, a mediating middle point where the rays unite. He is the external light that allows the Platonic fire of the eye to fuse with it and extend outward, like onto like, but Christ is not the faculty of sight itself, nor does he represent himself as such to the viewer.⁵⁹

Of course, the Christ-Eucharist does not offer man an unmediated contact with the divine. However, man can only come to access the divine by first uniting with Him and undergoing a full ontological transformation. In a sense, the man who comes in contact with the divine through the Christ-Eucharist is a new being engendered by the communion with Christ, a new body 'homogeneous' with Christ Himself. Only by understanding sight as a 'prosthetic' process, therefore, can Kabasilas's passage become fully understandable.⁶⁰ No other model of vision allows an explanation of the action of the Christ-Eucharist as Mediator between man and God with the same effectiveness: as the union of the eyes's effluences with light as a medium is a necessary precondition of visual perception, so too only the union with the Christ-Eucharist makes it possible for man to be reconciled with God and to partake in His life.

V. Conclusions

I have tried to show that Betancourt's book represents an important contribution to the understanding of Byzantine theories of vision and of their ancient sources. By discussing an impressive (and impressively diverse) body of texts, Betancourt is able to explore the nuances of each theory of vision discussed, as well as their reciprocal interrelations and, sometimes, the unexpected paths of their later influences. In this respect, Betancourt accomplishes much more than what he set

⁵⁹ BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, p. 230–231.

⁶⁰ Of course, an important caveat is in order here: indeed, while in the context of the Eucharistic communion it is Christ, as Mediator, who transforms the faithful who receives Him (after, however, that He has taken upon Himself human nature), in the case of sight it is rather the opposite, insofar as it is the effluence coming from the eyes which transforms the medium to become able to perceive through it. However, the analogy does not concern the relative role of subject and medium in the two processes described by Kabasilas: what truly matters is the end-state of them. Once united, the 'Body' formed by the Christ-Eucharist and the communing faithful operates in a way which is analogous to that of the body formed by the eyes's effluences and sunlight in the process of vision.

out to do. Indeed, not only does he successfully refute the pertinence of the notion of 'haptic sight' for Byzantine theories of vision, highlighting instead the role that imagination (φαντασία) and internal sensory cognition play more in general in them, but he also opens up many new and potentially fruitful avenues for investigation.

All these positive aspects and strengths will certainly make Betancourt's *œuvre* a fundamental reference point for all further investigations on the topic of Byzantine theories of vision – and not only for those. One might find only few minor shortcomings. The most important one, as I have tried to show in the latter part of the article, is the excessive tendency to interpret the majority of ancient and Byzantine theories of vision discussed as instances of an interactionist account, where the effluences coming from the eyes meet at some point in the medium with those coming from visible objects. While this might be a correct reading in many cases, I have suggested that it is fundamentally mistaken in the case of Galen (whose theory of vision, as Katerina Ierodiakonou has effectively shown, is better understood as what I call an extramissionist 'prosthetic' one) and of the tradition directly or indirectly influenced by him, or in any case showing close similarities to it, and that it remains at best dubious in the case of Photios, whose theory of vision, however, plays a central role in the book as a whole. This said, Betancourt's book has the undeniable merit of having opened a new season in the study of Byzantine theories of vision as a field of research in its own right, and it is to be hoped that many other scholars will soon follow in his footsteps.

NOTES

LA GUERRA PRIVADA:
¿ORIGEN Y FIN DEL ESTADO MODERNO?
DE LA ESTATIZACIÓN DE LO BÉLICO
A LA DESPERSONIFICACIÓN DEL *JUS BELLI*

PRIVATE WAR: ORIGIN AND END OF THE MODERN STATE?
FROM THE NATIONALISATION OF VIOLENCE
TO THE DEPERSONIFICATION OF THE *JUS BELLI*

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« La guerra hace al ladrón y la paz lo ahorca »
El arte de la guerra, Maquiavelo

Si de guerra hablamos, no podemos ni debemos ser optimistas; verdad acuciante, si las hay, que nos ha legado la historia. A pesar de los progresos formidables de la humanidad, el futuro no está asegurado. Una mirada al pasado nos muestra que el ideal de la paz, vehiculado por el optimismo de la Ilustración, por su confianza en la razón y en un pacto confederal entre Estados democráticos, no logró, como esperaba, la progresiva eliminación de la guerra. Por el contrario, la guerra es una realidad cotidiana que no ha hecho sino evolucionar de manera proteiforme y más que vertiginosa en las últimas décadas. Pretender ser hoy optimistas equivaldría no sólo a desmentir la historia, sino también a renunciar a la toma de conciencia de los riesgos, desafíos y problemas cada vez más complejos del mundo en que vivimos. Al optimismo no nos queda más que oponerle una actitud crítica destinada a analizar y comprender la naturaleza de la guerra como fenómeno social complejo. No obstante, dada la gran profusión de factores que intervienen en esta comprensión, se vuelve necesaria una delimitación lo más precisa posible de los aspectos que aquí trataremos. Más precisamente, nuestro análisis de la cuestión bélica se centrará en dos cuestiones.

Por un lado, presentaremos la evolución de las ideas filosóficas que dieron lugar al surgimiento de la ‘estatalidad’, bajo la tesis de que las diversas ordenaciones políticas del espacio europeo han respondido a diferentes comprensiones de la relación entre ‘forma’ y ‘cuerpo’ político, cuyos conceptos sustanciales fueron aportados por la filosofía griega. En cuanto a lo específico de la forma estatal, sostendremos la hipótesis de que el Estado soberano moderno representa la realización en lo político de una ‘concepción hilemórfica’, derivada de la proyección de los atributos de la *persona natural* a la *persona estatal*. Esto se tradujo en esencia en una ‘personificación del *jus belli*’, aún hoy vigente en los rasgos fundamentales que los documentos del derecho internacional adscriben a la soberanía. Dicho de otro modo, creemos que el proceso de estatización que se produjo tras la paz de Westfalia (1648) puede ser entendido como un proceso de personificación de lo bélico, que fue exigido por la dispersión de la facultad bélica que por entonces representaba la ‘guerra privada’. Por otro lado, indagaremos el reverso de la tesis en cuestión, a saber, las consecuencias posibles que se seguirían de pronunciarse la tendencia actual a una transferencia de la competencia militar desde lo estatal a lo privado, es decir, de constatare el camino inverso hacia una des-personificación del *jus belli*. En este último caso, sólo dejaremos esbozadas algunas reflexiones más bien provisionarias que definitivas.

I. *Historización del concepto de guerra:
hacia una concepción hilemórfica del Estado*

La guerra como fenómeno humano asociado al control o posesión de recursos, o más específicamente al suelo, al ejercicio del dominio sobre un territorio, es indisoluble del modo en que los seres humanos se han organizado para la vida en común; modos de organización que lógicamente han conocido a lo largo de la historia diversas formas de manifestación: desde las relaciones más elementales bajo la forma de clanes, etnias o tribus hasta la compleja maquinaria del Estado moderno, pasando por formas políticas de alcance municipal, cantonal, imperial. Razón por la cual la comprensión del *concepto moderno de guerra* y su derivación hacia el *concepto contemporáneo de lo bélico* exige presentar, al menos a grandes rasgos, la evolución histórica que sufrieron las formas de organización política hasta desembocar en la ‘estatalidad’ resultante de la Paz de Westfalia (1648). Es evidente que el Estado moderno está lejos de ser una realidad atemporal de alcance universal; por el contrario, es el resultado de un proceso histórico y conceptual que tuvo su centro en Europa. Por tanto, como realidad temporalmente datable y espacialmente localizable, la estatalidad moderna es

una expresión también del proceso ya descrito por Platón,¹ según el cual toda forma política está sujeta a una etapa de génesis, de maduración y de declinación; declinación cuyos signos en lo que respecta a lo estatal son más que sensibles en la actualidad.

Es preciso destacar, no obstante, que la historización que sigue no responde a la de un cronicón de los modos en que los pueblos se han organizado y defendido – o proyectado – sus intereses, sino que jalona su desarrollo histórico a la luz del *spot* hermenéutico de la filosofía. Más precisamente, lo que proponemos aquí es un sumarísimo recorrido de las representaciones de lo político forjadas por la filosofía, esto es, de los conceptos filosóficos que sirvieron para caracterizar a las diversas entidades políticas y a sus relaciones entre sí. La razón de este abordaje radica en que tales conceptos constituyen el fundamento mismo del *jus gentium*, entendido como un derecho que regula las relaciones *inter gentes* y que, como tal, depende de la forma en que se conciba a los pueblos según su modo de organización política, pudiendo tratarse de un derecho inter-imperial, inter-estatal, inter-municipal, entre autoridades religiosas y laicas, entre familias, clanes, tribus, etc. A nuestro entender, este tipo de enfoque es clave para comprender cómo se llega a lo que hemos de llamar la ‘concepción hilemórfica del Estado moderno’, de la que surgen los rasgos esenciales de la soberanía que están hoy en vigor en los principales documentos del derecho internacional.

Como veremos, dicha concepción hilemórfica se forja a partir de diversas teorías que aparecieron fundamentalmente en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII y que suscribieron a ciertas analogías – v.gr. entre la ‘persona natural’ y la ‘persona civil’ – o *background* común. En otras palabras, la vasta teorización filosófica post-westfaliana originaría una nueva representación del ordenamiento político de los pueblos que se conocería bajo el término de *Estado*, la cual naturalmente se trasladó al *jus gentium* que *ipso facto* pasó a identificarse con un derecho entre Estados. Pero ¿cuál es la representación filosófica del Estado que se impuso en los tiempos de su formación? Carl Schmitt ha dado posiblemente una de las respuestas más nodales al hablar de una ‘personificación del Estado soberano moderno’,² la cual reposa a nuestro entender en una analogía que, en un primer momento, podríamos definir así: *el cuerpo es al individuo lo que el territorio al Estado*, así como *el principio rector del cuerpo (alma, forma sustancial) es al primero lo que el principio de auto-determinación al segundo*. La estatalidad se inscribe pues en una larga historia de conceptos filosóficos, cuyo origen es difícil de precisar, pero cuyo conocimiento nos llega principalmente por la filosofía griega. Sin entrar en el trasfondo metafísico, merece la pena recordar que las categorías filosóficas

¹ PLATÓN, *República*, 369b–377b; libros VIII y IX.

² CARL SCHMITT, *El nomos de la tierra: en el derecho de gentes del ‘jus publicum europaeum’*, transl. DORA SCHILLING THOR, Struhart y Cía, Buenos Aires 2005, p. 138–139.

empleadas para pensar el orden natural sirvieron también para pensar lo político y, en muchas ocasiones, se aplicaron sin más a este ámbito, como es el caso de la transposición de los ciclos de la vida natural (generación-acmé-corrupción) a la vida política.

Entre las imágenes más relevantes para representar al Estado soberano moderno destaca, como se sabe, la metáfora del Estado como cuerpo político, de la que Hobbes es sin duda su representante moderno más célebre. Pero lejos de ser privativa de la concepción política moderna, esta imagen ya encontraba su expresión en la filosofía antigua, como es el caso de Platón (428/427-348/347 a. C.). En la *República*, la ciudad es comparada al cuerpo de un individuo: así como cuando alguien se golpea un dedo, sufre el cuerpo entero por la parte afectada, así también cuando un ciudadano padece un mal, toda la *polis* se ve afectada por ello.³ En realidad que esto ocurra o no es para Platón un signo del grado de organización política. Bajo la identificación de ‘lo mío’ a ‘lo común’, la ciudad bien ordenada hace suyos o comunes los placeres y pesares individuales. Y así como todo cuerpo de la naturaleza posee un alma, la representación de la polis como cuerpo político también exige la presencia de un alma o principio que rija su organización. La conocida tripartición de la *polis* sobre el modelo del alma humana⁴ indica la forma de gobierno que aquélla debe adoptar para el griego. Si el gobierno del alma humana corresponde a la parte racional, el de la ciudad no puede menos que recaer en la clase que representa a la razón, esto es, en un reducido número de sabios. La aristocracia se identifica así con la forma más deseable de gobierno, porque el alma como razón debe guiar al alma como valor y como apetito.

Ahora bien, si la relación entre alma y cuerpo – en cuyas dificultades no entraremos aquí – es sustancial al concepto de *polis*, hay algo que sin embargo marca una notable diferencia con la imagen del Estado acuñada por los filósofos modernos. Se trata de lo que, desde el punto de vista de la estatalidad, sería juzgado como una ausencia fundamental: el cuerpo de la *polis* viene dado por la comunidad de ciudadanos, sin que cuente como *propiedad esencial* de dicho cuerpo el suelo sobre el que se agregan en comunidad. En otras palabras, la caracterización platónica de la *polis* no parece exigir un espacio territorial cerrado que forme parte del haber de ‘lo mío’ de cada ciudadano. Confrontado al concepto moderno de integridad territorial, este rasgo se revela a la par como portador de una concepción diferente de la guerra. En las reflexiones platónicas, el enemigo no se identifica al ‘propietario’ del suelo vecino, sino al bárbaro, al extranjero, a lo no-griego. La guerra no se piensa como una relación entre iguales

³ PLATÓN, *Rep.* 462d, 464b.

⁴ PLATÓN, *Rep.* 428b-436b. Platón distinguió en el alma tres partes: sensitiva (sede del apetito), irascible (sede de la valentía) e inteligible (sede de la razón).

donde se reconoce a cada pueblo como asistido por los mismos derechos en cuanto al *jus belli*. Por el contrario, la guerra designa la relación de enemistad entre griegos y aquéllos que por naturaleza están destinados a servirles. De ahí que Platón reservara el término ‘conflicto’ (*stasis*) para la hostilidad entre quienes son ‘amigos por naturaleza’ y el de ‘guerra’ (*polemos*) para la que se da entre los que son ‘enemigos por naturaleza’.⁵ Al margen de las valoraciones morales que en nuestros días no podría dejar de suscitar semejante distinción, lo importante a destacar a nuestros fines es que de ella surge un cierto derecho ‘humanitario’, una suerte de ‘*proto jus in bello*’,⁶ cuya observancia, claro está, sólo compete a pueblos que se reconocen como miembros de una misma comunidad étnica, cultural, lingüística y religiosa. Dicho de otro modo, el ‘conflicto’ es para Platón una guerra limitada, la guerra propiamente dicha, no. En suma, lo que Grecia defendía mediante las armas era fundamentalmente su unidad cultural y étnica, lo que en modo alguno puede ligarse a una concepción amplia de una familia de naciones.⁷

Pese a las diferencias con su maestro en rasgos importantes relativos a la constitución de la *polis*, Aristóteles (384–322 a. C.) comparte en lo esencial el concepto de ‘*jus ad bellum*’ defendido por Platón. Los griegos tienen derecho a someter por las armas a los pueblos que por naturaleza son dignos de ser esclavos,⁸ de los que evidentemente resultan excluidas las comunidades griegas. Desde el punto de vista aristotélico, la diferencia fundamental entre los conflictos inter-helénicos y las guerras de esclavización reside en que el derecho a la defensa asistía a unos pero no a los otros, lo que además se reflejó en un conjunto de regulaciones que protegía a los griegos de esclavizarse entre sí.⁹ El núcleo de la

⁵ PLATÓN, *Rep.* 470b–470d.

⁶ PLATÓN, *Rep.* 469e–471b. Entre las reglas para limitar los conflictos armados entre griegos, Platón menciona la prohibición de rapiñar los cuerpos de los caídos, de tomar sus armas como trofeos, de incendiar las viviendas, de devastar la tierra, así como el respeto a la vida de los inocentes. En los hechos, además, se sabe de la existencia de informes sobre actos de limitación y clemencia en conflictos librados entre griegos. Por otra parte, los elementos religiosos fueron un factor relevante en las relaciones legales entre comunidades griegas, lo que explica por ejemplo la protección de los lugares sagrados en tiempos de guerra – como fue el caso de los tratados anfictiónicos –, el reconocimiento del derecho de asilo para los perseguidos que se refugiaban en los templos, el respeto a la vida de los sacerdotes, la concesión dada a cada bando para que puedan enterrar a sus muertos. ARTHUR NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, The Macmillan Company, New York 1954, p. 7–9.

⁷ NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, p. 9.

⁸ ARISTÓTELES, *Política*, Libro VII, 1333b–1334a.

⁹ ANDRÉS ROSLER «Aristóteles sobre la guerra: un discurso olvidado», *El arco y la lira. Tensiones y debates*, 4 (2016), p. 54. Esto no significa desde luego que en los hechos no se hayan violado tales regulaciones, ni tampoco que los conflictos inter-helénicos hayan sido siempre guerras limitadas. Es célebre el caso de los melios relatado por Tucídides en su *Historia de la guerra del Peloponeso*: al final de la invasión ateniense, fueron asesinados todos los melios en edad de

justificación aristotélica de la guerra – término que *stricto sensu*, al igual que en Platón, no significa otra cosa que guerra contra los bárbaros – radica en el concepto mismo de *polis*, entendida como ‘una comunidad de iguales’ orientada a la felicidad de sus miembros;¹⁰ finalidad que exige, por un lado, la *autarquía* de la ciudad y, por otro, la *libertad* de sus ciudadanos. En el plano de las relaciones *inter gentes*, esto se tradujo en una política agresiva que garantizara la independencia de la *polis* haciendo prevalecer la supremacía helénica.

Aunque Aristóteles no compare la *polis* con el cuerpo de un individuo como lo hace Platón, en la *Política* puede rastrearse cierto hilemorfismo que opera en la constitución de toda comunidad política. Tanto el político como el legislador, nos dice el Estagirita, precisan cierta madera¹¹ (*hylé*) para llevar a cabo su tarea.¹² Esta ‘madera’ o ‘materia prima’ necesaria para la organización política vendría dada por el conjunto de sus asociados y por el suelo, mientras que la forma se identificaría al modo en que los pueblos se organizan según el grado de participación política de sus miembros. Pero lo que *especifica* propiamente a la *polis*, lo que en verdad cuenta como parte suya, es decir, lo que la hace ser tal, son los elementos – correlativos a la distribución de funciones – que permiten que la comunidad de iguales alcance la *eudaimonía* mediante la vida virtuosa. En este sentido, la relación entre la *polis* y el suelo sobre el que se asienta, tal como lo destaca Andrés Rosler, deviene una relación puramente extrínseca, lo que significa que el territorio, aunque valioso en orden a promover la mejor vida en común, no es una ‘parte’ suya.¹³ En otras palabras, las afinidades territoriales, base de la ligazón de los pueblos en los Estados modernos, no cuentan para Aristóteles como requisito de la *philia* o amistad cívica que hace a la esencia de la *polis*. Aún más, con tal de que se cumplan ciertas características generales, cualquier porción de tierra, pero no un territorio en particular, podría constituir

combatir y se esclavizaron a las mujeres y a los niños (TUCÍDIDES, *Historia de la guerra del Peloponeso*, transl. DIEGO GRACIÁN, Orbis, Barcelona 1986, Libro V, Cap. XI, p. 326). Cabe destacar que Tucídides, a diferencia de Platón y Aristóteles, representa una posición realista desde el punto de vista político. No sólo hace gala de buen sofista exponiendo y, sobre todo, volviendo comprensibles las razones del enemigo, sino que también ataca la « concepción tradicional y religiosa » de una pretendida causa justa de la guerra, asistida por el favor de los dioses. Como ningún otro de su tiempo, desnuda la lógica del poder que, a su entender, constituye la clave hermenéutica de la historia misma de la humanidad: los intereses mutuos, antitéticos, no se concilian, se eliminan unos a otros bajo la jurisdicción omnímoda de la ley del más fuerte. El derecho sólo compete a los que se igualan en poder y así la neutralidad de los melios quedaba excluida de raíz. Véase TUCÍDIDES, *Historia de la guerra del Peloponeso*, Libro V, Cap. XI, p. 320–326.

¹⁰ ARISTÓTELES, *Pol.* 1328a.

¹¹ « Madera » en la traducción de Carlos García Gual (Alianza); « materia » en la de Manuela García Valdés (Gredos).

¹² ARISTÓTELES, *Pol.* 1326a.

¹³ ROSLER, « Aristóteles sobre la guerra: un discurso olvidado », p. 47.

la materia de la *polis*.¹⁴ Ergo, si ésta última no está intrínsecamente ligada a un espacio territorial cerrado, no es la violación de su suelo lo que justifica para Aristóteles la respuesta bélica, sino el ataque perpetrado contra la libertad de sus ciudadanos, contra la comunidad de hombres libres. Por ende, cualquier proyección sobre la Grecia clásica del concepto de integridad territorial produciría una imagen distorsionada del modo en que la guerra era justificada. En suma, la guerra justa se identifica en la filosofía griega a la defensa de los valores culturales y religiosos que posibilitaban la unidad del mundo helénico.

La organización del espacio en un imperio compuesto de diversas provincias asimiladas por conquista hizo que se modificara la visión de hostilidad hacia el elemento bárbaro que había predominado entre los griegos. La política expansionista de Roma, que derivó en la coexistencia con diversos pueblos bajo la administración romana, daría lugar a otra clase de relación con lo extranjero. Dicho de otro modo, durante el dominio de Roma, prevaleció cierto « liberalismo romano » hacia la cultura extranjera, basado principalmente en un interés dirigido a la anexión antes que a la supresión de otros pueblos.¹⁵ Esto se tradujo naturalmente en el ámbito del *jus gentium*, cuya complejidad nos obliga a distinguir entre, por un lado, un *jus intra gentes* (dentro de las fronteras del imperio) y, por otro, un *jus inter gentes* (fuera de sus límites), por llamarlos de algún modo. Bajo el primer aspecto, el derecho de gentes designa fundamentalmente la adaptación que se permitía a los magistrados romanos del *jus civile* (*jus proprium civium romanorum*) a las costumbres y procedimientos locales de los pueblos conquistados.¹⁶ En este preciso sentido, el *jus gentium* puede ser visto como un ‘derecho doméstico romano’ coincidiendo virtualmente con el *derecho privado* que regulaba las relaciones entre los individuos dentro del *orbis* romano.¹⁷ Como derecho privado intra-imperial, el *jus gentium* romano, aunque marco de referencia para el moderno derecho de gentes,¹⁸ careció lógicamente

¹⁴ Rosler da un ejemplo sugerente del lábil « nacionalismo » o del « particularismo moderado » que puede atribuirse a Aristóteles. Si el enemigo ocupante de una *polis* le ofreciera a sus ciudadanos otra porción de tierra donde pudieran realizar su ideal de la vida en común, éstos no tendrían por qué rechazar de facto la oferta, al menos, sin evaluar antes las ventajas y desventajas de la misma. Dicho de otro modo, el carácter extrínseco del vínculo entre *polis* y territorio impide interpretar dicha propuesta como una cesión de soberanía. Véase ROSLER, « Aristóteles sobre la guerra: un discurso olvidado », p. 48.

¹⁵ NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, p. 12.

¹⁶ ALEX BELLAMY, *Guerras justas: de Cicerón a Iraq*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires 2006, p. 48. Para la evolución del arcaico derecho civil romano hacia un conjunto de normas « mixtas », provenientes del derecho propio de los extranjeros y del reservado a los romanos, véase NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, p. 13–14.

¹⁷ NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, p. 14.

¹⁸ Nussbaum explica la adaptación que sufriría el derecho romano en los siglos XVI y XVII. Por ser el derecho común del Sacro Imperio romano-germánico, fue natural tomarlo como referencia

del espacio que siglos más tarde se atribuiría a la estatalidad; no fue en modo alguno un *jus inter status*. Por su parte, el derecho de gentes como *jus inter gentes* remite en esencia al *jus belli*, al derecho de guerra con el que se justificaba la política de expansión o de asimilación de nuevas provincias. Es este aspecto del *jus gentium* el que reviste mayor interés aquí, por cuanto deriva de la teoría de la guerra justa, considerada como la contribución romana más importante a la historia del derecho de gentes.

Se deben a Marco Tulio Cicerón (106–43 a. C.) las principales reflexiones sobre el derecho de guerra, cuya ineludible centralidad resultaría evidente por su influencia decisiva, diecisiete siglos más tarde, en la doctrina cristiana del *justum bellum*. Es fundamentalmente en *De officiis*, aunque también en el Libro III de *De re publica* – cuyo estado fragmentario obliga a una reconstrucción por diversas fuentes –, donde Cicerón formula las causas justas de la guerra (*jus ad bellum*) y los lineamientos generales de la conducta en la guerra (*jus in bello*). La justicia de una guerra reside para él, por un lado, en el cumplimiento de un procedimiento formal de declaración de guerra, que en el caso de Roma fue establecido por las *leyes feciales* durante la monarquía,¹⁹ y por otro lado, en la existencia de causas materiales que dan derecho a iniciar una guerra. Entre ellas, cuenta el agravio infligido a Roma por otros pueblos, pero también el dominio y la gloria a la que se creían llamados los romanos.²⁰ Así pues, la guerra justa no sólo implicaba la precedencia de la violación de un derecho, sino también, en tiempos de la expansión romana, la necesidad de ‘pacificar’ otras tierras mediante su incorporación al cuerpo político de la ciudad madre. La justicia de una guerra incluía así sus consecuencias *post bellum*, dado que la pacificación equivalía para los romanos a un deber de ‘protección de las ciudades o pueblos vencidos en una

para pensar las relaciones entre los nacientes Estados soberanos. Buena parte de la terminología del derecho privado romano se trasladó al ámbito del derecho internacional moderno: el término *occupatio* se empleó para designar la apropiación de tierras sin soberano; las reglas de propiedad privada (*dominium*) se aplicaron a la soberanía territorial; las de los contratos entre particulares a los tratados internacionales, las del *mandatum* a las funciones de los diplomáticos; etc. (NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, p. 12–13).

¹⁹ Correspondía a los feciales el hecho de decidir si Roma tenía una causa justa para la guerra (violación de su territorio, del derecho de sus embajadores, de las alianzas o tratados, etc.), es decir, si un pueblo extranjero había violado sus deberes para con Roma. Si tal era el caso, el *legatus* o enviado de los feciales pedía satisfacción al pueblo en cuestión, el cual por su parte podía reclamar cierto tiempo para deliberar. En ese caso, se le otorgaban treinta y tres días. Cumplido el plazo sin el resarcimiento esperado, en tiempos de la república, el *collegium fetialium* certificaba ante el Senado la existencia de una causa justa para la guerra. La decisión última quedaba en manos del Senado y del pueblo. La guerra, una vez declarada, debía ser un *bellum justum et pium*. Véase al respecto NUSSBAUM, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, p. 10–11; PATRICIO M. GOLDSTEIN, *El concepto de guerra en la modernidad temprana*, Tesseo, Buenos Aires 2017, p. 47–48.

²⁰ Véase CICERÓN, *De officiis*, I, 38.

guerra'.²¹ Siguiendo a Cicerón, Roma era a los pueblos conquistados, lo que un padre a sus hijos, lo que el alma al cuerpo, lo que la razón a las pasiones: debía dirigirlos en la medida en que la autoridad, como lo muestra la naturaleza, siempre recae en la mejor parte.²²

Si el fin de la guerra era la cohabitación pacífica dentro del Imperio, la posibilidad misma de la *pax romana* resultaba intrínsecamente ligada a la conducta en la guerra, dado el hecho obvio de que una guerra librada de modo brutal y salvaje alimentaría rencores que aflorarían a la primera ocasión. Por esta razón, Cicerón menciona varias prescripciones que constituyen un embrionario *jus in bello*, tales como evitar la devastación y el saqueo, abstenerse de toda acción desenfrenada o brutal, amparar a los combatientes que se acojan a las garantías del general, castigar sólo a los culpables preservando al resto de la población, respetar lo recto y el sentido del honor en toda situación, etc.²³ Probablemente más por motivaciones de *Realpolitik* que por una 'consciencia humanitaria' – si se nos permite la expresión –, Cicerón recomienda que la conclusión de la guerra sea en la medida de lo posible clemente y que se aplique una punición limitada a los responsables de la misma, sin criminalizar al pueblo vencido, hasta entonces *hostis*,²⁴ por cuanto éste pasaría a integrar el *orbis romano* e *ipso facto* devendría un aliado en cuya defensa también se librarían guerras. La aguda percepción romana sobre los límites del propio poder, expresada claramente por Cicerón,²⁵ debía traducirse pues en un dominio ejercido « a base de atenciones y no de agravios ». ²⁶ Un cuerpo político así constituido, esto es, con Roma como principio

²¹ CICERÓN, *De officiis*, I, 35.

²² A este respecto, en la *Réplica a Juliano* (Libro IV, Cap. XII) de Agustín de Hipona, se recupera uno de los pasajes importantes del libro III de *Sobre la república* de Cicerón: « La autoridad de los reyes, de los generales, de los magistrados, de los senadores, de los pueblos, debe ejercerse sobre sus ciudadanos y aliados como la autoridad del alma se ejerce sobre el cuerpo ». Véanse *Obras completas de San Agustín: escritos antipelagianos*, tomo 35, Biblioteca de autores cristianos, Madrid 1984, p. 715.

²³ CICERÓN, *De officiis*, I, 35, 81–82.

²⁴ Término reservado originalmente al 'extranjero', pero devenido por influencia griega sinónimo de 'enemigo'. Véase lo que dice Cicerón sobre el uso extendido de este vocablo en *De officiis*, I, 37.

²⁵ CICERÓN, *De officiis*, II, 25–26: « Ciertamente, ningún mando por la fuerza es tan grande como para conseguir perpetuarse bajo la presión del miedo ».

²⁶ CICERÓN, *De officiis*, II, 26. Lector de Cicerón, Hobbes destaca este aspecto realista de la política romana hacia los extranjeros. A fin de evitar el agravio de que los pueblos conquistados se sintieran oprimidos por la potencia romana, « los romanos, una vez que sometieron a muchas naciones, y en vistas de que su gobierno fuera aceptado por ellas, trataron de eliminar ese agravio siempre que les pareció necesario, dando a veces a naciones enteras, y otras veces a los hombres principales de cada nación conquistada, no sólo los privilegios, sino también el nombre de los romanos. Y llevaron a muchos de ellos al senado y a otros puestos de responsabilidad, incluso en la misma ciudad de Roma » (THOMAS HOBBS, *Leviatán o la Materia*,

rector de la organización territorial, merecería más el título de « patronazgo del mundo entero » (*patrocinium*) que el de *imperium*.²⁷

Si Hobbes estaba en lo cierto, como nos parece ser el caso, con la cristianización del Imperio y la caída de Roma en el siglo V se producen las condiciones para que el pontificado se asiente sobre las ruinas del fenecido Imperio Romano.²⁸ La vacancia dejada por Roma opuso tempranamente al Imperio Bizantino y al Papado romano. El primero la interpretó como la automática conversión de Constantinopla en la segunda Roma, con su emperador a la cabeza, ejerciendo jurisdicción sobre todos los cristianos, incluido el Papa.²⁹ Poco a poco, sin embargo, los papas del ducado de Roma se fueron independizando del señorío de los griegos de Bizancio hasta que en el siglo VIII ya se hallaba consolidada una *Respublica Romanorum* o *Provincia Italiae*, que tenía como representantes natos a los papas³⁰ y cuya autonomía *de facto* sería resguardada y legitimada por la coronación en Roma de Carlomagno como Emperador (800). Mediante un juramento de mutua fidelidad, quedaban así establecidos los dos vectores principales de poder que definirían la ordenación del espacio en la Edad Media europea.

De este modo, Europa devino un *corpus politicum christianorum* cuyos principios rectores se dividían en un orden supranacional (derecho canónico), otro imperial (derecho del Sacro Imperio) y uno nobiliario de variable alcance territorial (derecho feudal). El *jus gentium* medieval fue así un complejo entramado de reglas, códigos, leyes y cánones, cuya superposición o pretendida jurisdicción sobre un mismo espacio provocaría no sólo inconsistencias jurídicas, sino también fuertes colisiones políticas. Además de los conflictos originados por la injerencia papal en la designación y deposición de reyes y emperadores o en la liberación de las obligaciones de los súbditos hacia sus gobernantes civiles,³¹ la inveterada intromisión de la jurisdicción eclesiástica en la jurisdicción imperial y feudal se reflejó con particular ahínco en el ámbito del *jus belli*, a tal punto que no sería excesivo decir que los mayores aportes del derecho canónico a la esfera secular se dieron en los tópicos relativos al *jus ad bellum* y al *jus in bello*.

Reflejo del solapamiento más o menos conflictivo entre Iglesia, poderes

forma y poder de un Estado eclesiástico y civil, Cap. XIX, trad. CARLOS MELLIZO, Altaya, Barcelona 1997, p. 164).

²⁷ CICERÓN, *De officiis*, II, 27.

²⁸ HOBBS, *Leviatán*, Cap. XLVII, p. 535.

²⁹ FRANCISCO BERTELLONI, « El problema de la doble soberanía: la teoría política medieval, Hobbes, Schmitt », *Avatares filosóficos*, 3 (2016), p. 73.

³⁰ JAKOB MARX, *Compendio de historia de la Iglesia*, trad. RAMÓN RUIZ AMADO, Editorial Librería Religiosa, Barcelona 1935, p. 235.

³¹ Para la genealogía y desarrollo de la teoría de la doble soberanía, véase BERTELLONI, « El problema de la doble soberanía: la teoría política medieval, Hobbes, Schmitt », p. 71-82.

públicos y justicia privada, fueron las *faidas* o ‘guerras privadas’. A decir verdad, esta arraigada práctica nobiliaria con pretensión jurídica fue el gran azote de la Europa medieval. La Iglesia opuso diferentes estrategias en orden a limitar esas *guerras vindicativas* mediante las cuales los nobles cristianos se arrogaban un consuetudinario e ilegítimo *jus ad bellum*. En la práctica, envió prelados para que propagaran la necesidad de su limitación (las así llamadas ‘treguas de Dios’). En el campo doctrinario, fijó a través de sus concilios – especialmente el III Concilio de Letrán (1179) – normas de regulación bélica que se incluyeron al corpus del derecho canónico. El derecho imperial contribuyó, por su parte, estableciendo dentro de su jurisdicción leyes de paz que obligaban a renunciar al uso privado de la violencia (*Landfrieden*), so pena de severas sanciones. El poder real francés también persiguió legalmente las *faidas*, bajo el argumento de una usurpación del *jus belli* por los nobles.³²

A grandes rasgos, el derecho canónico fue el que gozó de mayor poder coercitivo, relegando al derecho imperial a una posición secundaria. Al mismo tiempo, un complejo sistema de jerarquías feudales creció bajo la sombra de emperadores, reyes y papas, regido por un derecho feudal con reglas propias. Esta ordenación feudal del suelo derivaría en multiplicidad de conflictos violentos entre individuos o pequeños cuerpos sociales. Más allá del estrecho alcance de los códigos de honor de la caballería, las limitaciones del *jus in bello* provinieron en gran medida del ámbito eclesiástico, como fue la prohibición del uso de ciertas armas de artillería (II Concilio de Letrán, 1139) o la interdicción de esclavizar a los prisioneros cristianos (III Concilio de Letrán, 1179). Pero, al igual que en el mundo helénico, estas limitaciones tampoco concernían a todos los pueblos, sino sólo a los cristianos. Es esto precisamente lo que llevaría a Schmitt a hablar de una ‘guerra limitada’ dentro del territorio cristiano – a cuya fundamentación se abocarían los teólogos del *justum bellum*³³ –, bien diferenciada de la conquista de territorio enemigo, esto es, de las cruzadas contra el enemigo islámico, cuya causa justa, e incluso sagrada, nadie se hubiera atrevido a poner en duda.³⁴

Ahora bien, esta superposición jurisdiccional entre el Papado de Roma y el Sacro Imperio romano germánico, a la que se añadían los localismos feudales, dio lugar a un cuerpo europeo que, aunque en la forma bicéfalo, se asemejó mucho más a un pluralismo de pseudo-soberanías en relaciones de franca rivalidad, es

³² Para una explicación de la erradicación progresiva de esta costumbre picarda por los Valois, véase LOUIS DE CARBONNIÈRES, « Le pouvoir royal face aux mécanismes de la guerre privée à la fin du Moyen Âge. L'exemple du Parlement de Paris », *Droits*, 46/2 (2007), p. 2–18.

³³ No entraremos aquí en los principales representantes de las teorías de la guerra justa, pues eso implicaría desviarnos de la fundamentación dirigida a mostrar la concepción hilemórfica del Estado moderno.

³⁴ SCHMITT, *El nomos de la tierra*, p. 38.

decir, a una ordenación territorial con multiplicidad de principios activos o formas de administración del poder. A decir verdad, la gran monarquía medieval del Sacro Imperio estuvo lejos de ser un cuerpo confederado. No obstante, un hecho decisivo asestaría su golpe letal a la pretendida unidad religiosa que el Imperio reclamaba para el *orbis* cristiano-romano: la Reforma protestante y su derivación en las salvajes guerras confesionales. La paz de Westfalia, que puso fin a la Guerra de los Treinta Años, no sólo marcó el final de los sueños de reforma y unificación del Imperio, acariciados por los Habsburgo, sino que también impuso una decisiva reestructuración de los poderes en Europa: la balanza se inclinó desde entonces en favor de la Francia borbónica.³⁵ De ahora en más, y como nunca antes, el Imperio devendría un agregado laxo de múltiples Estados, que de hecho habría de sobrevivir (o agonizar) hasta principios del siglo XIX, pero al que Viena ya no aportaba verdadero lazo ni cohesión.

La hegemonía post-westfaliana de Francia haría de ella el vector principal de la realización histórica del nuevo concepto de 'Estado soberano',³⁶ a cuya teorización se habían abocado o se abocaban por entonces importantes filósofos, como Bodin, Hobbes o Leibniz. En el momento en que Luis XIV accedía al trono, Inglaterra a duras penas podía sobreponerse de los males de la guerra civil, confiando en que la reciente restauración monárquica trajera cierta estabilidad institucional. A la cabeza de la rama española de los Habsburgo, se encontraba un rey viejo y de dudosa salud, que gobernaba un país feudal, en guerra con su vecino lusitano, y cuyas finanzas estaban en ruina. Del lado de la rama austríaca, el joven Emperador, obligado desde su elección a hacer importantes concesiones a los Electores, se hallaba en mil modos constreñido por el poder de los príncipes germánicos.³⁷ En este contexto, Luis XIV, beneficiado por cierta *détente*

³⁵ FRANCIS LUDWIG CARSTEN, « The Age of Louis XIV », in FRANCIS LUDWIG CARSTEN (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History: The Ascendancy of France 1648-88*, vol. V, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1961, p. 2-3. Véase particularmente el balance de Luis XIV allí citado, donde, al comienzo de su gobierno personal en 1661, pasa revista a la situación de las principales potencias europeas (Sacro Imperio, España, Suecia, Inglaterra, Holanda).

³⁶ Stephan Skalweit señala que las agitaciones revolucionarias y otros signos de crisis que se dieron a mediados de ese siglo en Europa promovieron un fuerte deseo de paz, que se tradujo en ideas políticas dirigidas a enfatizar la necesidad de una autoridad soberana indiscutida. Los *Mémoires de Louis XIV pour l'instruction du Dauphin* (1665) son a su juicio un fiel espejo de tales ideas en Francia. El énfasis de ese conjunto de manuscritos debe ponerse, entonces, en la identificación total del Estado con el soberano, lo que representa para él una « modernización » de la doctrina absolutista. STEPHAN SKALWEIT, « Political Thought », in FRANCIS LUDWIG CARSTEN (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History: The Ascendancy of France 1648-88*, vol. V, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1961, p. 97-98.

³⁷ Sobre la menguada autoridad de Leopoldo I como resultado de las restricciones impuestas por los príncipes electores, así como sobre el funcionamiento decadente de la Dieta y el conflicto otomano, véase FRANCIS LUDWIG CARSTEN, « The Empire after the Thirty Years War », in Id., (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History: The Ascendancy of France 1648-88*, p. 446-447.

internacional, se convertiría en el foco visible de las ideas políticas que empoderaban a la persona del monarca con una soberanía indiscutible sobre su territorio. En otros términos, si la soberanía se disputa *in extremis* por la violencia, sólo allí donde la centralización del poder y de la fuerza lograra eliminar las demostraciones locales del poder feudal se alcanzaría la ‘soberanía interior’, entendida como la que se ejerce sin fracturas territoriales provenientes de gobiernos o líderes locales. Esta fue la particularidad del Estado francés bajo el reinado de Luis XIV,³⁸ en un momento en que esa misma tentativa de ‘soberanización hacia adentro’, por así llamarla, se veía aún impedida por los resabios de la estructura nobiliario-feudal en los demás Estados europeos.

El descubrimiento de Jean Bodin (1529/30–1596) de un poder unificado e indivisible, independiente de cualquier otro, como definitorio de la *soberanía estatal* fue sin duda la mayor contribución francesa a las ideas políticas que vehicularía el ordenamiento post-westfaliano. En *Les six livres de la République* (1576), Bodin dedica extensos pasajes al esclarecimiento de esta noción central, cuyo significado reposa en dos términos sustanciales: la soberanía es el *poder absoluto y perpetuo* que corresponde a la república, entendida como sinónimo de Estado.³⁹ Como historiador del derecho romano, comprende el carácter *absoluto* del poder soberano como *legibus solutus*, en un sentido que sólo se aplica a las leyes civiles o positivas sin afectar al derecho natural, ante el cual, naturalmente, el soberano permanece siempre obligado.⁴⁰ Aunque limitado por la razón natural, quien sea investido de la soberanía está exento de la jurisdicción de las leyes civiles, algo a lo que Hobbes, por su parte, también suscribiría en su *Leviatán*.⁴¹ Por definición, el soberano no conoce poder civil o legal superior a él. La condición de *perpetuidad* refiere, por su parte, a la permanencia del poder soberano en el Estado. Sin embargo, no parece haber en Bodin un origen claro de la fuente de donde dimana ese poder estatal, pudiendo tratarse de una soberanía que pertenece al pueblo, con derecho a delegarla en diversas formas de gobierno (soberanía popular), o bien de una soberanía que es propiedad del monarca sin remisión explícita a un origen delegatorio procedente de una instancia popular

³⁸ Vincent Cronin relata en detalle la política centralizadora de Luis XIV, cuyo principal objetivo fue evitar las revueltas violentas o ‘frondas’ lideradas por príncipes y nobles. Mediante el traspaso de las armas y piezas de artillería al gobierno central y la sustitución de esos nobles poderosos por gobiernos locales sujetos a la autoridad soberana, Luis XIV se aplicaría al ‘reemplazo de la fuerza armada por la ley’. Véase VINCENT CRONIN, *Luis XIV*, transl. FEDERICO LÓPEZ CRUZ, Ediciones selectas, Buenos Aires 1966, p. 244–246.

³⁹ JEAN BODIN, *Les six livres de la République*, Libro I, Cap. IX, Libraire Jacques du Puys, Paris 1577, p. 125.

⁴⁰ Véase la entrada « Jean Bodin » de la *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, sección 4, consultada el 31 de octubre de 2021.

⁴¹ HOBBS, *Leviatán*, Cap. XXVI, p. 216 y ss.

(soberanía real).⁴² En todo caso, lo que importa para él es el concepto de *soberanía estatal* cuya mejor realización procede de la monarquía absoluta.⁴³

Si bien la teoría bodiniana se propone una des-personificación de la soberanía respecto de la persona física, al postular la identificación de aquélla con la ‘persona del soberano’,⁴⁴ lo hace *ipso facto* – como bien lo señala Schmitt – con los *magni homines*, puesto que la ‘persona soberana’ resulta en los hechos indiscernible de la ‘persona humana’ que ejerce el poder en cuestión. Por otra parte, la definición misma de soberanía como algo absoluto e indivisible implica *stricto sensu* que no es susceptible de participación ni admite grados, sino que corresponde toda ella al soberano, independientemente de cómo se estructure la representación de su poder en la organización interna de un Estado. Así pues, las ideas de Bodin aportarían un fundamento precursor a la nueva ordenación jurídica que permitiría a los reyes liberarse de los vínculos y ataduras medievales. El *jus gentium* pasaría a ser, a partir del siglo XVII, un derecho interestatal, es decir, *inter personas civiles*, lo que significa que todas ellas son igualmente soberanas por el hecho de representar una estructura de poder con territorio cerrado. Como contracara de la soberanía interior, esta nueva construcción filosófico-política se traducirá en ‘soberanía exterior’ mediante el mutuo reconocimiento de la inviolabilidad soberana fronteras adentro, cuyo incumplimiento da lugar consecuentemente al *jus ad bellum*.⁴⁵

Non est potestas super terram quae comperetur ei, es la frase del libro de Job con la que Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) encabeza la portada de la primera edición de su *Leviatán* (1651). El epígrafe, por demás elocuente, ya lo sitúa dentro del campo trazado por Bodin. Al igual que para éste, liberar al soberano de las ataduras del pasado implicó para Hobbes ponerse *ex parte regis* defendiendo la supremacía e indivisibilidad de su poder. La metáfora del Estado como *cuerpo* reaparece

⁴² En este sentido, si se trata de una monarquía hereditaria, el ejercicio de la soberanía durará lo que dure la vida del monarca – aunque éste, claro está, pueda hacer actos delegatorios en diversos representantes suyos – para recaer luego en quien le siga en orden sucesorio. Pero cuando el pueblo es soberano, ocurre lo mismo que con una propiedad en comodato, de modo que si aquél la transfiere a un tercero por tiempo limitado, o incluso vitalicio, la soberanía, una vez cumplido el plazo prefijado, volverá a su propietario.

⁴³ Como afirma Schmitt, aunque en referencia a teorías posteriores sobre la persona estatal, la atribución de la soberanía al Estado, entendido como un «tercero superior», fue una manera de eludir la disyuntiva entre soberanía del monarca y soberanía del pueblo. En este sentido, Bodin – a diferencia de Hobbes que contempla a ambas en el momento del contrato – se situaría como un precursor mayor. Véase CARL SCHMITT, *El concepto de lo político*, transl. RAFAEL AGAPITO, Alianza, Madrid 1991, p. 72.

⁴⁴ BODIN, *Les six livres de la République*, Libro I, Cap. IX, p. 125.

⁴⁵ Schmitt destaca este punto en su teorización del *justus hostis*: el reconocimiento del Estado territorial soberano por el *jus gentium* post-westfaliano ya contiene el reconocimiento del derecho a la guerra. Véase SCHMITT, *El concepto de lo político*, p. 41.

entonces como un arma que se volverá contra las doctrinas oscurantistas que, echando mano de esa misma imagen, oponían a la unidad del poder soberano la tesis de un pluralismo de almas operando en el cuerpo, *ergo* la existencia de más de un soberano.⁴⁶ Las teorías de la doble soberanía no sólo minan para Hobbes la unidad del cuerpo político, sino que además desconocen el carácter absoluto del poder soberano y, por ende, que este mismo no puede compartirse ni jerarquizarse: o el poder temporal se subordina al espiritual o éste último cae bajo la jurisdicción del temporal. Comparable a la epilepsia, un Estado interferido por el poder espiritual verá que sus miembros son movidos de modo diferente a como debería hacerlo el poder civil y caerá así en reiteradas convulsiones.⁴⁷ Por tanto, la persona del Estado o *persona civitatis*,⁴⁸ como la llama Hobbes, está destinada a absorber enteramente al cuerpo político, esto es, a gobernar sin intromisión a los individuos que se agregan sobre su suelo.

Pero no sólo la Iglesia de Roma, sino también las armas en manos de nobles poderosos, de lo que dio acuciante prueba la guerra civil inglesa, amenazan con desgarrar la unidad del Estado. Si 'el mando de la *militia* hace soberano a quien lo posee',⁴⁹ no habrá expresión de fuerza que no recaiga en la persona soberana: ésta la monopoliza y decide cuándo hay que usarla. La pacificación interna a la que se confía la institución del soberano trae como consecuencia una *personificación del derecho de guerra*. Dicho de otra manera, como en la *persona civitatis* se aúna el poder de esta nueva configuración del cuerpo político, concebida como territorialmente cerrada e internamente pacificada, aparecen diferenciaciones claras en el ámbito de lo jurídico y de lo bélico: dentro-fuera, independencia-injerencia, guerra-paz. Son estas mismas distinciones barrocas las que están en la base del alcance global – es decir, ya no de carácter étnico o religioso – de la *limitatio belli* por el *jus gentium*.

Aunque por razones históricas diferentes a las de su par inglés, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) también se ocupó de teorizar cuidadosamente sobre el concepto de soberanía. Si ya nadie podría escapar al influjo de la teoría hobbesiana, ya sea para adherir a ella, ya sea para criticarla, Leibniz devendría uno de sus mayores detractores en lo que concierne a los postulados de la génesis del Estado. En este sentido, reprochó a Hobbes haber institucionalizado en la persona del soberano la violencia que estaba permitida a los hombres en un presunto estado de naturaleza, esto es, haber desconocido el *jus strictum*⁵⁰ en su

⁴⁶ HOBBS, *Leviatán*, Cap. XXIX, p. 262.

⁴⁷ HOBBS, *Leviatán*, Cap. XXIX, p. 263.

⁴⁸ HOBBS, *Leviatán*, Cap. XXVI, p. 215.

⁴⁹ HOBBS, *Leviatán*, Cap. XVIII, p. 151.

⁵⁰ Para Leibniz, el derecho natural se expresa mediante una serie de principios a priori y universales. El primero de ellos es el *derecho estricto* que prescribe 'no dañar a nadie' y está vigente incluso en situaciones donde no hay juez para hacerlo valer, como lo sería el estado

jus in omnia.⁵¹ Pero Leibniz tampoco sería ajeno al proceso de personificación de la soberanía, que en sus escritos recae en la ‘*persona juris gentium*’, es decir, en la persona que retiene en su mano el derecho a las armas y a los tratados de paz,⁵² enfatizando con ello la férrea relación que en su época se produjo entre *jus gentium* y *jus belli*. La soberanía es para él «un poder legítimo de obligar a los súbditos a obedecer, sin poder ser obligado, a no ser por una guerra».⁵³ No obstante, la realidad del Imperio como configuración a múltiples poderes – que Leibniz aún se empeñaba en salvar de la ruina – le impedía ponerse de un modo absoluto *ex parte principis*. Aunque en los hechos se constatará una tendencia progresiva a absolutizar el poder de los príncipes germánicos dentro de sus territorios, acicateada sin duda por el modelo de Luis XIV, Leibniz buscaba aún una fundamentación de la soberanía que la hiciera compatible con la jurisdicción del Imperio. Ante el desgarramiento del ‘*corpus imperii*’⁵⁴ por las intrincadas luchas de poder entre los principados que lo conformaban,⁵⁵ bajo el seudónimo de *Caesarinus Fürstenerius*, atribuyó la soberanía a aquellos estados germánicos que cumplieran con ciertas condiciones administrativas y territoriales, es decir, a los príncipes dotados de un territorio considerable y de derechos reconocibles por el *jus gentium*.⁵⁶ Pero dicha soberanía no implicaba a sus ojos que el príncipe deviniera *majestatus solutus*, que se sustrajese al poder vinculante de la *majestas* imperial. En este sentido, Leibniz habría sido ‘menos moderno’ que Hobbes, pero en algún modo también lo contrario, si contemplamos la evolución que sufriría el *jus gentium* europeo hacia formas confederativas, nacidas de un deseo análogo de pacificación y compatibles en teoría con la preservación de la soberanía interior.

Al anudar explícitamente el concepto de soberanía a los tratados de

natural hobbesiano. Para este aspecto de la crítica leibniziana a Hobbes, véase su « Méditation sur la notion commune de justice » (1703–1704), in GEORG MOLLAT (ed.), *Rechtsphilosophisches aus Leibnizens ungedruckten Schriften*, Robolsky Verlag, Leipzig 1885, p. 59–82. Para un desarrollo del concepto de derecho natural en Leibniz, véase HUBERTUS BUSCHE, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: Frühe Schriften zum Naturrecht*, Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 2003.

⁵¹ LEIBNIZ, « Méditation sur la notion commune de justice », p. 66–68.

⁵² LEIBNIZ, « Praefatio Codicis juris gentium diplomatici », AA IV 5, p. 74.

⁵³ LEIBNIZ, « Entretien de Philarete et d'Eugene » (1682), AA IV 2, p. 308.

⁵⁴ LEIBNIZ, « Securitas publica » (1670), AA IV I, p. 145.

⁵⁵ Para el relato histórico de los desacuerdos, luchas intestinas y falta de unidad en la política exterior de los países germánicos, véase FRANCIS LUDWIG CARSTEN, « The Empire after the Thirty Years War », in Id., (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History: The Ascendancy of France 1648–88*, p. 446–457.

⁵⁶ Esencialmente, como se dijo, el derecho a declarar la guerra y a firmar la paz. Leibniz lo justifica apelando al tratado de Westfalia que deposita en el *jus belli* la marca de soberanía, de modo que los príncipes soberanos no precisan obtener del Emperador su consentimiento para determinarse en la cuestión bélica. LEIBNIZ, « Entretien de Philarete et d'Eugene » (1682), AA IV 2, p. 313.

Westfalia,⁵⁷ Leibniz marca, con extrema lucidez histórica, la aparición de la ‘estatalidad’ en Europa, el punto de partida de un largo proceso histórico que culminaría en un orden global vectorizado por esa reciente magnitud política. Gracias a un denso trabajo de fundamentación filosófica, la segunda mitad del siglo XVII daría acabada forma a la ‘concepción hilemórfica del Estado’, resultante – como se ha visto – de una proyección de los atributos de la *persona natural* a la *persona estatal*.⁵⁸ Así pues, el cuerpo o ‘materia’ de la estatalidad se constituye de los individuos que se agregan en comunidad sobre un suelo cerrado, y la ‘forma’ viene dada por la forma de gobierno adoptada,⁵⁹ diversamente declinable (v.gr. democracia, monarquía, aristocracia, etc.). Lo primero encuentra actualmente su expresión jurídica en el concepto de *integridad territorial*, lo segundo en el concepto de *independencia política* derivada del derecho de autodeterminación. De este hilemorfismo se desprenden, pues, los dos rasgos principales de la soberanía, tal como es definida hoy en día en la Carta de Naciones Unidas (cap. I, art. 2.4), y por tanto el *jus ad bellum* que le está asociado como derecho a la defensa.

Se sigue entonces que aún transitamos una época donde los principales conceptos jurídicos del *jus gentium* fueron formados desde aquella concepción eminentemente barroca de la estatalidad, cuya representación en términos de persona, *persona civilis*, *persona civitatis*, *persona juris gentium* – todas ellas expresiones equivalentes –, ha derivado en una *personificación del derecho de guerra*. El *jus belli* reside únicamente en manos de quien retiene la espada, en el ‘status’ que engendra la unidad del cuerpo político. De ahí que, como bien lo sabía Hobbes, quien dispute al Estado ese monopolio será capaz de conducirlo a la crisis o a la disolución, provenga ello desde adentro o desde afuera. Ante las variopintas formas de *status* gregarios o colectivos, sólo el Estado a secas posee el derecho a determinar lo que Schmitt llama « el caso decisivo », ⁶⁰ es decir, la decisión del acto bélico. Así pues, en la anudación conceptual entre Estado y soberanía reposa el fundamento mismo de la restricción de la guerra, progresivamente codificada por el derecho internacional a lo largo de más de tres siglos. Se supone así que una guerra librada conforme a este derecho por la sola persona facultada contendrá más ‘acto justo’ que una guerra dejada al libre interés de actores sociales que puján por conquistar espacios des-fronterizados de poder. Quien destruya entonces la concepción moderna de guerra interestatal

⁵⁷ Véase *supra* la nota inmediatamente precedente.

⁵⁸ Para la comprensión de los aspectos míticos de esta personificación según Hobbes, véase LEISER MADANES, « La previsión : Prometeo, Hobbes y el origen de la política », *Deus mortalis*, 1 (2002), p. 11–25.

⁵⁹ Basta volver a recordar el título completo del Leviatán de Hobbes: *Leviatán o la Materia, Forma y Poder de un Estado eclesiástico y civil*.

⁶⁰ SCHMITT, *El concepto de lo político*, p. 49.

anulará *ipso facto* las ya clásicas diferenciaciones – aunque no por ello menos históricas – entre persona soberana y persona sujeta a obligación, entre uso legítimo de la fuerza y uso ilícito de la violencia, entre territorio cerrado y espacio abierto, entre guerra convencional y guerra asimétrica; en suma, entre estado de guerra y estado pacífico.

Si el siglo XVIII hizo del despotismo ilustrado la cara visible del Estado absoluto en Europa, extremando en el soberano la alianza entre *jusnaturalismo* de la razón y progreso indefinido, el *juspositivismo* del siglo XIX, al servicio de la reacción liberal al absolutismo, marcaría el advenimiento de un Estado abstencionista que retrocede ante sus facultades originales.⁶¹ El lector versado en estos asuntos no dejará probablemente de advertir que ese proceso es también, en cierto sentido, un reflejo de los polos de lo teológico – omnipotencia e impotencia – entre los cuales se da el devenir mismo de toda realidad. Así pues, a la exaltación barroca del Estado-potencia sucedería su progresiva declinación en favor de una sociedad civil, cada vez menos diferenciada, reclamando para sí mayores poderes y libertades, otrora privilegios del soberano.⁶² El Estado-potencia, confesional e intervencionista, cedería paso paulatinamente al Estado-limitado, laico en lo religioso y abstencionista en lo económico, aunque aún depositario del monopolio de la fuerza mediante el cual debía asegurar la libre circulación de ideas, mercancías y dinero. Es esta misma conservación del monopolio de lo bélico la que ha impedido hasta ahora la culminación de la pendiente negativa, cuyo límite último se identifica con la suma impotencia. Por eso, quienes llevaran a cabo el acto de la desposesión última marcarían la suerte del devenir histórico de la estatalidad: su absoluta negación en la positividad de un Estado-impotente, en cuya *contradictio in terminis* se resuelve el fin de la forma de la unidad estatal. Porque así como un Dios impotente deviene anonadamiento del orden dado, así también un Estado privado de su atribución última se lleva consigo el orden existente.

A lo largo del siglo XX se han asestado severos golpes al monopolio de la fuerza pública mediante diversas expresiones de conducción bélica ‘irregular’, llamada así precisamente por provenir de actores no-estatales, es decir, no representativos de la estatalidad a la que se confiaba el desarrollo de una guerra reglada por el *jus gentium*. Sin embargo, en la mayoría de los casos, los combatientes irregulares que no fueron aplastados por la fuerza represiva del

⁶¹ Al respecto, véase NORBERTO BOBBIO, *Estado, gobierno y sociedad. Por una teoría general de la política*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires 1989, especialmente el cap. V.

⁶² Para un análisis del proceso de secularización que avanza desde la formación del Estado absolutista en el siglo XVII (Hobbes) hacia una cosmo-política de derechos universales limitativa de la esfera civil en favor de formas supranacionales destinadas a preservarlos (Kant), véase FRANCISCO NAISHTAT, « Continuity of Political Philosophy: War and Peace in Secularized Politics », *Diogenes*, 48/4 (2000), p. 76–85.

Estado, es decir, aquéllos que se impusieron desde adentro a la organización estatal vigente, derivaron finalmente en alguna de las formas de lo estatal, e incluso en los casos más emblemáticos en la exaltación del Estado-potencia originario, pre-liberal, mediante la identificación del partido ganador a la estatalidad, como ocurrió con la Rusia soviética, la China comunista o la Cuba castrista. Naturalmente, la revolución sólo fue negación del monopolio estatal de la fuerza en el lapso precedente a la toma del poder, pero una vez instituido el nuevo Estado se produciría la transformación del partisano en burócrata, del revolucionario en conservador, del elemento disruptivo en elemento perennizante. Habría que esperar a finales del siglo XX, más precisamente a la década del 90, para que se manifestaran los primeros signos que darían inicio a un proceso de desestatzización de lo bélico. Retomando la imagen hilemórfica del Estado moderno, ese proceso, tal como lo veremos en el apartado siguiente, implicaría dos cosas: por un lado, *deformación* del rol del Estado como garante de la seguridad y, por otro, la temida consecuencia de una *des-corporización* de la unidad territorial hasta ahora asegurada por el monopolio de lo bélico.

II. La despersonificación del *jus belli*: ¿un retorno a la feudalización de la guerra?

Si el Estado soberano moderno nació en buena medida como reacción a la *guerra privada*, cuya práctica implicó no sólo a los nobles, sino también a contingentes de mercenarios al servicio de las rivalidades confesionales, la reaparición de la privatización de la guerra parecería situarnos o bien en una situación pre-estatal, de nítido corte hobbesiano, o bien en una situación post-estatal, cuyos rasgos de violencia generalizada no serían ni menos hobbesianos, ni menos acuciantes, ni menos aún más prometedores de solución, de darse el fracaso de la ecuación estatal. Dicho de otro modo, si en el origen de la personificación del *jus belli* hubo un poder bélico descentralizado, *ergo* des-localizado, la ecuación inversa no parece mostrarse, en proyección, menos valedera: la *despersonificación del jus belli* sería consecuencia de una situación análoga de progresiva des-centralización de lo bélico. Si ese fuera el caso, la fórmula *protego ergo obligo*, fundada en la unidad del poder militar en la persona del Estado, entraría en un proceso de creciente atomización a partir del cual el poder de protección terminaría por reducirse al que cada *condottiero*, empresario o 'barón de la guerra' fuese capaz de ofrecer en los lindes de su lábil territorialidad.⁶³ Al-Qaeda, Daesh, los talibanes son tan sólo algunos ejemplos del discrecional sistema de clientelismo que subyuga a

⁶³ Siguiendo a Leiser Madanes, no puede dejar de verse aquí una cierta reactualización de la figura mítica de Prometeo, quien con su invención artificial introduce el desasosiego y con éste el germen del cambio político. No sólo el fuego no es el sol, ni Prometeo Zeus, sino que además el fuego muere por la compañía de las cenizas. Véase MADANES, « La previsión : Prometeo, Hobbes y el origen de la política », p. 19-20.

poblaciones enteras allí donde los poderes no-estatales han logrado arraigarse territorialmente.

El fenómeno bélico, cuya evolución proteiforme se ha acelerado pasmosamente en las últimas décadas, constituye quizá el síntoma más alarmante de la esquizofrenia social de nuestra época, caracterizada por exigir, en períodos de crisis, soluciones de una entidad estatal a la que no cesa de imponérsele repliegue o de aplicársele lo que se ha dado en llamar la « técnica del salame ».⁶⁴ Pero, aunque se trate de la sola guerra por derecho, la guerra interestatal no es en los hechos la única guerra ni mucho menos convierte a la otra en no-guerra. A juzgar por la realidad, hay mucha más guerra sin acto jurídico que guerra en el sentido ya clásico del término. El problema mayor de ello no es de orden legal como podría pensarse, sino de una naturaleza más profunda, en cierto sentido existencial, puesto que resultan comprometidas las distinciones cardinales en las que se venía apoyando la conservación de la vida. El vacío legal ante las nuevas formas de guerra es ante todo un reflejo de la crisis de las estructuras, conceptos y diferenciaciones ordenadoras de la existencia durante más de trescientos años. Y como no hay crisis fecunda sin comprensión de lo que está en crisis, de la dirección en la que se opera la transformación, sólo a partir del análisis de sus signos evitaremos que la nave se pierda en la espesura de un mar en cuyo cielo se han apagado las estrellas.

En ausencia del carácter estatal de lo bélico, ya no hay posibilidad de guerra limitada. El terror, la práctica de la muerte indiscriminada es más que la simple violación del principio de discriminación del *jus in bello*: es el desconcierto del jurista del derecho internacional ante la vacuidad de sus definiciones; es la impotencia de un mundo pensado como comunidad de estados con exclusivo derecho para hacerse la guerra; es la imposición del decisionismo de la *condotta* o de la fe para obligar a dar muerte y a sacrificarse en la muerte; es la negación misma de toda demarcación nítida entre guerra y paz. Sería ingenuo, no obstante, pensar que tras la guerra privada sólo hay medialunas y turbantes. La guerra no-estatal es también la contracara neoliberal del Estado-limitado bajo la emergencia de las así llamadas ‘empresas de seguridad’, que en su esencia no son sino la reactualización del fenómeno mercenario que tanto fustigó Maquiavelo en

⁶⁴ La expresión se debe a Didier Tabuteau, quien –como explica Alain Supiot– la aplica a la privatización en finas tajadas de las partes más lucrativas del sistema de seguridad social. Véase ALAIN SUPIOT, « Sólo el choque con la realidad puede despertarnos de un sueño dogmático », transl. CHRISTIAN BIRCH, disponible en: Alain Supiot : ‘Seul le choc avec le réel peut réveiller d’un sommeil dogmatique’ (version espagnole) - News - Nantes Institute for Advanced Study Foundation (iea-nantes.fr). <https://www.iea-nantes.fr/en/news/alain-supiot-seul-le-choc-avec-le-reel-peut-reveiller-d-un-sommeil-dogmatique-version-espagnole_930> Consultado el 18 de noviembre de 2021.

su *Arte de la guerra*.⁶⁵ Aunque con capacidades militares insospechadas para el gran florentino – como el empleo de drones para matar o la venta de servicios para custodia del espacio aéreo –, los nuevos mercenarios son en realidad una vieja forma de hacer la guerra allí donde la fuerza estatal es inexistente o insuficiente, o bien requiere de servicios que no pueden ser legalmente exigidos a sus fuerzas armadas. En otras palabras, la nueva *condotta* indicaría dos cosas. Por un lado, el fenómeno de privatización de la defensa nacional, que va desde la total cesión del *jus belli* a terceras partes en los así llamados ‘*États faillis*’ hasta la privatización por tajadas o la simple adquisición de competencias operacionales por Estados consolidados, como ya es habitual en varios países de la Península Arábiga. Por otro lado, es indicio de un intento de ‘simetrizar’ la guerra allí donde las fuerzas regulares de los Estados se muestran incapaces de combatir a las nuevas formas de insurgencia. Por su carácter altamente móvil, la presencia de un componente religioso que franquea la racionalidad del cálculo y una conducción en constante autonomización por líderes locales, la modalidad actual del terrorismo no-estatal confronta a los Estados con dos realidades. En primer lugar, con su impotencia para negociar y ejercer el derecho a la defensa allí donde no existe un ‘cuerpo político’, territorial o soberanamente definido. En segundo lugar, lo confronta con la consiguiente necesidad de dar con una fórmula aceptable de simetrización de lo bélico. Barones de la guerra, como Tim Spicer (*Aegis Defence Services*) o Erik Prince (*Blackwater USA*), serían pioneros en esta tendencia despersonificadora del derecho a hacer la guerra. Otras potencias copiarían la fórmula, echando mano de empresarios aliados al gobierno como Evgeny Prigogine (*Wagner Group*) o Adnan Tanriverdi (*Sadat International Defense Consultancy*).

Pero si ‘simetrizar’ implica ‘igualar’, ‘horizontalizar’ la diferenciación, se sigue que tal cosa no podría ocurrir sin torcer el brazo vertical representado hasta ahora por la autoridad soberana con su exclusiva competencia para el caso decisivo. Dicho de otro modo, la simetrización no puede tener lugar sin una transferencia de la competencia estatal a manos no-estatales, *ergo* no-soberanas, *ergo* exentas de las limitaciones del derecho internacional. Por tanto, como expresión de la ‘mano izquierda de los poderes públicos’ – si se nos permite esta expresión –, los nuevos *condottieri* devienen la ‘mano invisible’, no-punible, de los gobiernos que delegan la competencia militar en el capital privado, un capital del que se espera además que sirva con fidelidad. Pero en su carácter de vendedores de servicios militares, difícilmente los empresarios de la guerra sabrían responder a leyes diferentes de las que rigen al mercado. Pensarlos según una lógica proteccionista del interés nacional implicaría el grave error de confundir

⁶⁵ Véase GRISELDA GAIADA, « Maquiavelo, tratadista de la guerra. Vida civil y militar », *Boletín del Centro Naval*, 825 (2009), p. 207-216.

sus motivaciones y naturaleza. Reaparece entonces el viejo problema, ya denunciado por Maquiavelo hace 500 años, de la estirpe de los jefes de compañía, de la volatilidad de sus lealtades, de la imposición del provecho económico y de la lógica ilimitada del pillaje, del contrabando y de la muerte.⁶⁶

Retroceso de la estatalidad y ‘feudalización de la guerra’ se revelarían así como dos caras de una misma moneda;⁶⁷ hecho que nos confrontaría con una suerte de *déjà vu* histórico si no acertásemos en comprender que cada época tiene no sólo su verdad, sino también sus razones. El fenómeno de la *nueva condotta* se vuelve inexplicable sin apelar a razones ligadas al desarrollo tecnológico y al factor mimético implicado por la estrategia. Los beligerantes terminan pareciéndose, dice van Creveld, en las armas y métodos utilizados, y finalmente en los demás aspectos.⁶⁸ La igualación en lo tecnológico ha derivado en un *impasse* para las grandes unidades territoriales soberanas. Así como en un laberinto el camino bloqueado obliga a retroceder, así también la dispersión de las armas nucleares bloquea el camino y obliga a los Estados a dar marcha atrás. Pero como el camino bloqueado no ha conducido a la imposibilidad de la guerra anhelada por los pacifistas, dicha contramarcha responderá evidentemente a una lógica de permanencia de lo bélico. Por eso mismo, el retroceso puede significar tanto el restablecimiento de formas convencionales de enfrentamiento interestatal como la consolidación de un proceso de mimesis en los aspectos de despersonificación de la guerra, que es en realidad lo que ha venido sucediendo – incluso la actual guerra en Ucrania, si bien opone a dos Estados, da muestras de un elevado componente de ‘guerra privada’. De continuar y acentuarse este proceso en favor de otro tipo de organización de lo bélico, como parecería ser el caso, se difuminarían gradualmente las diferenciaciones forjadas durante más de tres siglos.

Amplias regiones del mundo, en África, Medio Oriente, Asia Central, ya dan marcados signos de la dirección tomada por el fenómeno bélico. Se observa una tendencia a reemplazar el *bellum inter status* por el *bellum ad hominem*; la lealtad fundada en el lazo territorial por una lealtad basada en el fanatismo; el militar bajo bandera por milicias al servicio del mejor postor; el combate regular por la confrontación irregular; en suma, la sustitución de la guerra limitada por una guerra que tiende a transformarse en experiencia directa para la mayoría de las personas. La desarticulación del ejército regular y la consecuente indiferenciación del enemigo no podría venir sin cambios sustanciales, por el

⁶⁶ NICOLÁS MAQUIAVELO, *El arte de la guerra*, Libertador, Buenos Aires 2009, p. 23–27.

⁶⁷ Sean McFate, por ejemplo, describe la tendencia cada vez más frecuente a servirse de mercenarios en términos de un « neo-medievalismo », tesis que corre riesgo de eclipsar la comprensión de la especificidad del fenómeno actual. véase SEAN MCFATE, *The Modern Mercenary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2017.

⁶⁸ MARTIN VAN CREVELD, *La transformación de la guerra*, Uceda, Buenos Aires 2007, p. 264.

momento *in nuce*, tales como la criminalización de inocentes allí donde hoy rigen convenciones de protección, la intensificación del empleo de armas baratas e ilimitadas allí donde hoy atan diversas proscripciones, la imposición de una lógica partisana allí donde aún hoy es posible aplicar los métodos de la estrategia ‘clásica’.⁶⁹ Pronto se ve que todo esto no representa, en el fondo, más que el colapso de las codificaciones del *jus in bello* ocasionado por una dispersión inusitada del *jus ad bellum*. Por consiguiente, si la despersonificación del *jus belli* siguiera su curso, las fronteras se tornarían inútiles o quedarían confinadas a una cartografía reflejando, por así decirlo, los despojos del ‘cuerpo estatal’. Del mismo modo, los gobiernos que vectorizan la forma estatal se verían disputados por nuevos estamentos que les harían perder su posición de autoridad. Y con ello la concepción hilemórfica del Estado soberano moderno habrá llegado a su fin.

Sólo queda concluir estas breves reflexiones finales destacando que la examinación de este nuevo tipo de guerra, desde luego injustificado por derecho positivo (y en nuestra opinión no menos según principios fundados en razón), se revela como el gran desafío para todos aquéllos comprometidos con la ardua tarea de intentar dar respuesta a una de las cuestiones más radicalmente acuciantes para el ser humano; esencia misma del problema filosófico de la guerra. A saber: ¿quién y por qué estaría justificado a ejercer el derecho a disponer de la vida ajena en ausencia de la unidad estatal?

⁶⁹ Para su definición, caracterización y diversos modelos, véase ANDRÉ BEAUFRÉ, *Introduction à la stratégie*, Cap. I, Librairie Armand Colin, Paris 1963.

ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S TRANSLATION
OF SIMPLICIUS'S COMMENTARY
ON ARISTOTLE'S *DE CAELO*:
TRACKING DOWN A SECOND MANUSCRIPT
AND THE GREEK MODEL

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Reconstructing how Robert Grosseteste translated Aristotle's *De caelo* and the commentary on the same treatise by the late-antique philosopher Simplicius into Latin is comparable to assembling a jigsaw puzzle for which half of the pieces are lost from the box. The work starts from a very sketchy overview, then progresses to some smaller details, and in the end the conclusions about the incomplete overall image remain largely tentative. Just imagine the excitement when a few missing pieces are found hidden under the rug and previously empty areas of the picture can be filled in.

In this article, I intend to present the pieces that were laid out by various scholars over the last century. Not many elements are available: an incomplete manuscript of the Latin translation of Aristotle's *De caelo* divided into lemmata and interspersed with Simplicius's commentary, a manuscript of Aristotle's text alone in a different translation but with variants taken from Grosseteste's version in its margins, and some rare references retrieved from another manuscript and from the Latin commentary tradition.

As my own contribution towards the eventual completion of the puzzle, my metaphorical pieces recovered from under the rug, I will describe new evidence in the form of previously unnoticed leaves from a second Latin manuscript of the commentary. The discovery will make a revision of commonly held opinions about the dissemination and the reception of Grosseteste's translation of Aristotle's *De caelo* and of Simplicius's commentary unavoidable. In addition, I will bring together observations about Grosseteste's Greek model that were published earlier and corroborate a neglected hypothesis with compelling new evidence.

I. Chronicle of the Reconstruction

The first indications that Grosseteste translated Aristotle's *De caelo* were announced by Ezio Franceschini in 1933.¹ Using the information that he received from Georges Lacombe, who at the time was preparing the manuscript catalogues for the Aristoteles Latinus project, Franceschini described the nature and content of the marginal notes in MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2088 (henceforth: *Vt*). It was thought to contain William of Moerbeke's Greek-Latin translation of *De caelo*, usually called the *translatio nova* to distinguish it from the two older Arabic-Latin versions of the same text, one by Gerard of Cremona, the other of Averroes's commentary including Aristotle's text by Michael Scot. Several marginal notes in *Vt* are identified as variant readings originating from a *translatio d(omi)ni lincoln(iensis)*: little imagination was needed to postulate a hypothetical translation by Robert Grosseteste as their source. After the first chapter of the third book, the same hand wrote in the margin of fol. 21r: *huc usque d. R.*, which is the last annotation in the manuscript. Again the conclusion is obvious: *d(ominus) R(obertus)* produced an alternative translation of Aristotle's *De caelo*, which was left unfinished shortly after the beginning of book III (299a12).

The information published by Franceschini helped D. J. Allan to understand the peculiar situation that he found in MS Oxford, Balliol College, 99 (henceforth: *B*). On fol. 189r–319r, *B* contains a Latin text of Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo*.² Since the manuscript ends with a colophon that mentions William of Moerbeke as the translator, there seemed to be no obvious reason to doubt that attribution. Yet, two features of *B* struck Allan as odd. First, it is divided into two separate codicological units, each written by a different scribe. Some leaves are left blank after the end of book I, and a new copyist starts book II on a fresh quire. Secondly, throughout the manuscript there are marked differences in the way in which the lemmata of Aristotle's text are presented: some just give the first and last words of a paragraph separated by *usque illuc*, while in other sections the lemmata quote the relevant Aristotelian passages in full.

On the basis of a comparison between the marginal annotations in *Vt* and the lemmata of book II and of the first chapter of book III in *B*, Allan was able to prove

¹ EZIO FRANCESCHINI, « Roberto Grossatesta, vescovo di Lincoln, e le sue traduzioni latine », *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 93/2 (1933–34), p. 1–138, in particular p. 57–60. The article is reprinted in EZIO FRANCESCHINI, *Scritti di filologia latina medieval*. Antenore, Padova 1976, p. 409–544.

² DONALD JAMES ALLAN, « Medieval Versions of Aristotle, *De Caelo*, and of the Commentary of Simplicius », *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1950), 82–120. Most recent description of the manuscript in RODNEY M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Latin Commentaries on Aristotle in British Libraries*, vol. I: Oxford, Brepols, Turnhout 2011, p. 211.

that they were all translated by Robert Grosseteste. Book I in *B*, which forms a separate codicological unit, is transmitted in the version by William of Moerbeke, as are the remainder of book III and the complete book IV. Allan could thus confirm what Franceschini had already concluded from the study of *Vt*: Robert Grosseteste's translation of *De caelo* did not stretch beyond the first chapter of book III. As far as book I is concerned, *B* gives no conclusive indications whether Grosseteste translated that as well.

Allan also observed that a marginal note in *Vt* gives a clear and obvious reference to Simplicius's commentary in the same version that is preserved in book II and the first chapter of book III of *B*. It makes it likely that Grosseteste is not only the translator of the lemmata, but also of the commentary.

Finally, Allan highlighted two clues in favour of the possibility that Robert translated at least some part of the text or the commentary of book I. First, *Vt* contains on fol. 6r a marginal annotation which its scribe introduces as if it is a variant translation of the Aristotelian text *in translacione d(omi)ni Lincoln*. In reality, it is a quotation from the commentary by Simplicius on the relevant passage in a Latin version that differs from the one by William of Moerbeke. The evident conclusion is that the quote originates from Grosseteste's elusive translation of Simplicius's commentary on book I. Furthermore, a note in MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 155 (Fö) elaborates on a difficulty of Greek terminology by comparing it with an *alia translatio*.

Although the evidence brought together by Allan might be considered circumstantial, it leads to the very likely conclusion that Grosseteste's translation of both the Aristotelian text and of Simplicius's commentary started with book I and went on through the beginning of book III. We can only guess at the reasons why he did not complete the work.

A quarter of a century later, Fernand Bossier was able to confirm Allan's observations on several points in greater detail.³ He determined the exact nature of the different methods of citation in the lemmata of *B*: the shortened ones mirrored what William of Moerbeke had found in his Greek model, while Robert Grosseteste translated Aristotle's text *in extenso*. Other initially shortened lemmata in William's text had been eventually completed in the model of *B* by some unidentified scribe who had a different manuscript of William's translation of Aristotle's *De caelo*. Bossier also furthered Lorenzo Minio-Paluello's discovery by proving that *Vt* preserves traces of Grosseteste's text not only in the marginal annotations, but that the text itself contains a contaminated version of

³ FERNAND BOSSIER, « Filologisch-historische navorsingen over de middeleeuwse en humanistische Latijnse vertalingen van de commentaren van Simplicius », vol. II: « De commentaar *In De caelo* », PhD diss., KU Leuven 1975, p. 22.001–22.048.

Moerbeke's translation mixed with elements from another version.⁴ Since it was possible to compare these elements from book II with the translation of the lemmata in *B*, and since their characteristics turned out to be completely similar in the preceding part of the text, Bossier put it beyond doubt that Grosseteste translated *De caelo* from the start of book I through the first chapter of book III.

II. Reception of Grosseteste's Translation

What can be more naturally expected from a translation that only partially survives in a single manuscript than that its impact on the medieval scholarly community was rather limited? That initial assumption is confirmed by the observation that virtually all relevant evidence has a more or less explicit link with Britain, where Grosseteste's translation was produced. First and foremost, manuscript *B*, the presumed *codex unicus*, was written by two British scribes and donated to Balliol College by Robert Clothale, a student of the more famous philosopher Simon of Faversham. The hand that wrote the annotations taken from Grosseteste's translation in *Vt* is identified as English. Only *Fö*, which contains a few potential references to Grosseteste's version, is thought to be of Parisian origin and was bought by British collectors in modern times.⁵

Since the translation apparently circulated in one preserved and a very limited number of hypothetical and lost copies, it is only normal that few users of Grosseteste's *Simplicius* have so far been identified. Negative results are reported for the philosophical works of Walter Burley and Roger Bacon, who do use the translations of *De caelo* and of *Simplicius*'s commentary, albeit in Moerbeke's Latin. Allan claimed that Grosseteste did not have his own translation at hand but rather the *translatio vetus* by Gerard of Cremona when he cited *De caelo*. Against this view, Cecilia Panti's recently argued that Grosseteste used all Latin versions of *De caelo*, including his own translation of *Simplicius*'s commentary, in some of his philosophical and theological works.⁶

A clear favourite to have known and used Grosseteste's translation must be Simon of Faversham. His student Robert Clothale owned manuscript *B*, the only extant copy of Grosseteste's version. In one of the few commentaries on Aristotle's natural philosophy by Simon of Faversham that has received modern scholarly attention, Michael Stenskjær Christensen found an explicit reference to

⁴ LORENZO MINIO-PALUELLO, « Guglielmo di Moerbeke traduttore della *Poetica* di Aristotele (1278) », *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica*, 39 (1947), p. 1–17, reference on p. 5, n. 1. The article is reprinted in LORENZO MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula. The Latin Aristotle*, Hakkert, Amsterdam 1972, p. 40–56.

⁵ RODNEY M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Latin Commentaries on Aristotle in British Libraries*, vol. II: *Cambridge, Brepols*, Turnhout 2013, p. 36–37.

⁶ CECILIA PANTI, « Il *De caelo* nel medioevo: le citazioni e la *translatio* di Roberto Grossatesta », *Fogli di Filosofia*, 12 (2019), p. 67–107.

book I of Simplicius's commentary. Although Simon's phrasing remains too far from Simplicius's actual terminology to clearly identify its source, Christensen assumes that Simon came to know the commentary during his stay as a professor at the Paris university in the 1270's and 1280's, when William's translation had probably just arrived there. Christensen adds: « Unfortunately we have no texts on *De caelo* ascribed to Simon, but it might be gleaned from his questions to the *Physics* or *Meteorologica* (*sic!*) which translation he used. These texts have yet to be published and analyzed properly. »⁷

For the moment, the only indisputably documented references to Grosseteste's translation of Simplicius's commentary are found in the work of the thirteenth-century Franciscan poet Walter of Wimborne.⁸ Little is known about his biography, but Walter may have lived and worked too early to have had access to William's complete translation, which was finished in 1271.⁹ Still, the fact that this British author knew Grosseteste's rare translation conveniently confirms the logical assumption that it circulated in « an academic circle in which the late Bishop of Lincoln's literary remains, including *disiecta membra*, were readily accessible ».¹⁰

III. *Fragments of a Second Manuscript*

These studies based on the available data led scholars to the *communis opinio* that Grosseteste's translations both of *De caelo* and of the commentary by Simplicius had a very limited circulation. It was thought to have been only known in academic and mainly Franciscan circles in Britain where the intellectual heritage of the renowned philosopher and translator was particularly treasured. My surprise was accordingly great to find the remains of a second manuscript of his translation with a provenance that can be unmistakably traced to a library in continental Europe.

The discovery of the new witness came as the result of my online visit to the virtually reconstructed library of the Clairvaux abbey, which was situated in the French Aube department about 200 kms east of Paris.¹¹ The Cistercian monastery was founded by Bernard of Clairvaux in the 12th century and abolished at the end of the 18th century in the wake of the French revolution. Its properties were then

⁷ MICHAEL S. CHRISTENSEN, « Simon of Faversham *Quaestiones super De motu animalium*. A Partial Edition and Doctrinal Study », *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin*, 84 (2015), p. 93–128, quoted text on p. 95.

⁸ DAVID TOWNSEND, « Robert Grosseteste and Walter of Wimborne », *Medium Ævum*, 55 (1986), p. 113–117.

⁹ ANNA KIRKWOOD, « The *Tractatus moralis super quatuor elementa* of Walter of Wimborne », *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 3 (1993), p. 64–77, see p. 77.

¹⁰ TOWNSEND, « Robert Grosseteste », p. 116.

¹¹ <<https://www.bibliotheque-virtuelle-clairvaux.com>> (Accessed January 2022).

confiscated as « bien national » and the library books were dispersed. Most manuscripts were transferred to the Bibliothèque municipale in Troyes (now called Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac), but the list of partner institutions on the website of the library's virtual reconstruction illustrates the books' subsequent wide dispersal.

The direct incentive to look at a first fragment came from the library's printed catalogue. It records the presence of a vertically inserted leaf at the back of MS Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1869 (henceforth: *T1*). Fol. Brv and a pastedown glued to the inside of the rear cover were taken from a thirteenth-century manuscript. They are described as probably containing a commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* or *De generatione et corruptione*. That tentative identification was suggested by Charles Lohr in a letter from 1985.¹² In addition, the cataloguers dutifully recorded a few lines from the start and the end of the fragment, in which Alexander (of Aphrodisias) is mentioned.

When I entered these lines into the Aristoteles Latinus Database (<http://clt.brepolis.net/ald/>), the result was unexpected: the text on the fragment is identical with a passage from book II (H. 399–402)¹³ of Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo* (Charles Lohr's identification was right in that respect), more precisely in the Latin version of Robert Grosseteste.

Since the manuscript itself, which contains commentaries on the Bible, dates from the 13th century, and a contemporary ex-libris attests its presence in the library of the Clairvaux abbey at that time, it is almost certain that the binding was produced in or for the same monastery. If that hypothesis is correct, it could not be excluded that more waste from the same Simplicius manuscript was recycled to reinforce or protect other bindings from the same origin. As I stated before, any supplementary information on Grosseteste's Simplicius translation must be considered extremely valuable. I therefore decided to search the available images of all manuscripts in the virtual Clairvaux library (1119 items) for further leaves recycled from the same vanished volume.

The result was both disappointing and encouraging. Just one more manuscript produced additional material from the lost Simplicius codex. MS Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 2000 (henceforth: *T2*), another thirteenth-century volume of Bible commentaries, preserves another leaf (fol. 250rv and a pastedown glued to the inside of the rear cover) from the same commentary (H.

¹² ANDRÉ VERNET, JEAN-PAUL BOUHOT, JEAN-FRANÇOIS GENEST, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, t. II, pt. 1: *Les manuscrits conservés. Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques*, CNRS, Paris 1997, p. 436.

¹³ The abbreviation H. followed by page (and line) numbers refers to the Greek edition by IOHANNES LUDOVICUS HEIBERG, *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo commentaria*, Reimer, Berolini 1894 (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 7).

384–388). In this case, the cataloguers merely indicated its nature as « fragmenta », and they failed to signal the connection with *T1*.¹⁴

As far as the method of re-use is concerned, the similar location of the fragments is conspicuous: in the two codices the original pages are cut and tilted vertically to be used as endleaf and as pastedown to protect the back cover. Strikingly, the flyleaves at the beginning of the two codices come from different discarded manuscripts. The cover of *T1* is described as consisting of wooden boards covered with parchment and dating from the 14th century, while *T2* has wooden boards that were covered with white leather in the 13th century.¹⁵ There are traces of clasps visible on the two manuscripts. Although the bindings are not dissimilar, there are some technical reasons to date them to different periods (see the physical descriptions below). It seems therefore likely that the manuscript waste was inserted early in the history of the two codices, but probably not at the moment of binding itself.

It is difficult to adequately reconstruct the original characteristics of the manuscript from which the leaves were taken. The text is written in two columns of a *littera textualis currens*. The exclusive use of the high *s* at the end of words points to a date in the second half of the 13th century. The hand is typified by a great variation in letter forms, particularly visible in the *a*'s and the Tironian note for *et*.¹⁶ The two columns are preserved for the greatest part in *T1*, while in *T2*, which is a considerably smaller codex, the binder cut away the best part of one column (see the physical descriptions below). However, since the latter manuscript also partially preserves a margin (fol. 250r), its layout holds an interesting surprise in the form of a single marginal note that clearly belongs to the original layout of the manuscript (see next paragraphs).

Scribes of commentary volumes followed a standard practice in formatting their pages. The lemmata from the original text were graphically distinguished from the (usually longer) commentary sections by using a slightly more spaced letter type and by separating the different content types by an open line.¹⁷ The

¹⁴ VERNET, BOUHOT, GENEST, *La bibliothèque*, p. 230.

¹⁵ DOMINIQUE GROSIDIER DE MATONS, PHILIPPE HOFFMANN, *Inventaire sommaire des reliures anciennes (manuscripts et incunables) de la bibliothèque municipale de Troyes*, s.l., s.d., p. 54 and 58, date each of the two bindings one century earlier, but that conclusion cannot really be aligned with the palaeographical analysis of the manuscripts.

¹⁶ Information kindly provided by Professor Erik Kwakkel in a private mail (28 January 2022).

¹⁷ The Clairvaux manuscript is not the only Latin Simplicius manuscript to have succumbed to a binder's knife. Over the last years, fragments of two manuscripts containing William of Moerbeke's translation of Simplicius's commentary on the *Categories* came to my attention that are not listed in the edition (ADRIAAN PATTIN, *Simplicius. Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, vol. I, Publications universitaires de Louvain – Béatrice Nauwelaerts, Louvain – Paris 1971; vol. II, Brill, Leiden 1975). Both fragments are still *in situ* in their original bindings. The first is found in MS Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 154 (rot) / 162 (schwarz), a manuscript with a miscellaneous (mainly religious) content from the first half of

previously unique witness for Grosseteste's translation of Simplicius's commentary, manuscript *B*, presents the text in that format. It was precisely the divergent range of the contents of the lemmata in book II compared to those in the other books that led Allan to recognize it as different from Moerbeke's translation. Additionally, in *B* every section of lemma or commentary is indicated by initials alternating in red and blue.

The Clairvaux manuscript was far more discrete in this respect. The lemmata have the same layout as the commentary text, no open lines separate the sections, and only occasionally room is left for initials of two lines high (*T1*, fol. Br; *T2*, fol. 250r), which were not executed. In the second instance, the scribe has indicated the letter to be filled in for the benefit of the rubricator, but the space remained open (in *T1*, only the open space is visible since the margin was trimmed off). In order to visualize where the transitions between text and commentary lie, the scribe turned to an unusual form of signposting. In the margin of fol. 250r in *T2*, the abbreviations *ar(istoteles)* and *simplici(us)* can be seen, which indicate where either a text or a commentary section starts. The letters are drawn with a finer pen than the text itself, the same pen that wrote the letters indicating the planned initials, which clearly shows that the two types of indication were added by the same scribe. In all likelihood, more of those indications were present in the margins, but unfortunately the few other marginal surfaces that are still visible do not provide confirmation for that hypothesis.

The extremely fragmentary preservation of the manuscript from which *T1* and *T2* are the only extant remains obviously encourages to have guesses about its original composition. There is no evidence to conclude whether that manuscript of Grosseteste's version was more complete than *B*. On the basis of the leaves that were preserved, which must have been relatively close to each other in the manuscript and may have come from the same quire, it cannot be

the fifteenth century. The Simplicius fragment is a bifolio that forms the front pastedown and flyleaf. It dates from the second half of the 14th century. Its text coincides with 455.92-458.70 and 422.62-433.57 ed. PATTIN. For a catalogue description and further bibliography, see <<https://manuscripta.at/?ID=36865>> (accessed June 2022). The other fragment was used as binding waste in a printed 1546 Lyons edition of Artemidorus (Cleveland, Case Western Reserve University, Kelvin Smith Library Special Collections, BF 1080.A7; <<https://catalog.case.edu/record=b1339572>>, accessed June 2022). On the basis of photographs of the fragments, I was able to identify the text passages as 152.49-53;154.13-16;156.92-157.98;159.60-64 ed. PATTIN. A preserved lemma of Aristotelian text is differentiated from the commentary by the use of larger characters. The lemma opens with an initial in red and blue. I am grateful to Eric Johnson and William Claspy for reaching out to me about this fragment and for providing the images. From a quantitative perspective, these two fragments significantly change our view on the Latin transmission of Simplicius's commentary on the *Categories*. Pattin cites twelve extant witnesses of the translation. The loss of at least two others sheds a different light on what we know about medieval preservation and – particularly – loss.

decided how the situation in the original manuscript related to the condition of *B*. Its lack of rubrication can point to an unfinished state, but that would hardly have been a sufficient reason to discard the manuscript since many medieval manuscripts survive without finished initials. And if the deficiency of the manuscript offended its owner, why did he even bother to have a copy made of what was visibly an incomplete commentary?

IV. Critical Value of the Text of *T1* and *T2*

If any given text was previously only known from a *codex unicus* and a second witness is identified, however fragmentary it may be, it immediately raises the question which information the new discovery can yield to increase our knowledge of the tradition's hypothetical archetype and ultimately of the translator's own copy.

In the case of Grosseteste's Latin Simplicius, the find not only brings new evidence for the text of the translation, but it also adds uncertainty and confusion regarding the original layout of the commentary. For as long as *B* was the only witness, it seemed perfectly natural to suppose that its arrangement represented how Grosseteste intended to organize his translation, segmented in clearly distinguishable sections of commentary and text. With the more sober and less spacious, and accordingly less expensive layout of the newly identified manuscript, we are faced with the problem to decide which scribe introduced the innovation and changed the layout as he found it in his model. On the basis of the now available evidence, we cannot determine whether Grosseteste prioritized a clear and spacious overview or a less expensive and therefore more cramped execution.

As far as the text is concerned, progress towards a more correct text constitution is likely to be made if we take into consideration what is called « la qualité médiocre du seul témoin », i.e. *B* (see my transcriptions below).¹⁸ The fragments *T1* and *T2* preserve six single words and four longer passages that are missing from *B*. The fragments also have the right readings for numerous small mistakes that are found in *B*, most of which were already corrected by Fernand Bossier in his unpublished transcription (see n. 35). Just once a variant in *T2* is consistent with a different reading in the Greek tradition, but the omission of *igitur* in a combination with *quidem* could easily have occurred independently in the Latin tradition, especially since *T1* and *T2* leave out one or more words in about ten instances where the text of *B* clearly agrees with the Greek original. From these observations we can conclude that the fragments *T1* and *T2* originate

¹⁸ FERNAND BOSSIER, « Traductions latines et influences du commentaire *In De caelo* en occident (XIIIe–XIVe s.) », in ILSETRAUT HADOT (ed.), *Simplicius, sa vie, son œuvre, sa survie*, De Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1987, p. 289–325, quotation on p. 290.

from a manuscript that was rather carelessly copied, just like *B*, and that *B* certainly was not its model.

Whether *B* and the original manuscript from which *T1* and *T2* were removed were copied from a common intermediate model, is difficult to establish. A few errors can easily be explained as reading mistakes based on typically palaeographical features, in particular « dexter autem » (H. 384.34; *dexteram BT2*) and « quem » (H. 400.10; *quoniam BT1*). However, in a few other cases where Bossier made changes to the Latin version based on a comparison with the Greek text, *T1* or *T2* support *B*'s apparent mistakes, especially Bossier's deletion of the apparently superfluous « utique » in an Aristotelian lemma (285b2) and the addition of « quoniam » (H. 400.29) that seems necessary in the sentence on the basis of the Greek text. These small mistakes possibly point to the use of a common intermediate model by both *B* and *T1/T2*. Yet the same evidence could just as well indicate that the errors were already present in the translator's copy. The reduplication of « utique » may have been caused by uncertainty about its correct position, especially if the translator had initially forgotten to translate it and later added it between the lines or in the margin. As for the « quoniam » supplemented by Bossier, the Greek ὅτι apparently warrants that it is needed, but its absence might be due to the inadvertence of the translator or to an accident in the Greek or Latin tradition.

V. Value of *T1* and *T2* for the Reception of Grosseteste's Translation

As a result of their limited extent and their less than exceptional quality, the preserved fragments from the Clairvaux manuscript scarcely increase our knowledge of the text of Grosseteste's Latin translations of *De caelo* and of Simplicius's commentary on the treatise. The fragments' indisputable importance rather lies in the awareness that at least one other manuscript circulated during the thirteenth century and, as a consequence, that the interest in the translation went beyond the British, Franciscan, and academic circle that was previously thought to have held the exclusivity (see n. 10). This new evidence proves that the translation had arrived on the continent only decades after Grosseteste had completed it. Admittedly, as far as we can judge, its spread stopped with this single copy, which was not granted a long life on the shelves, and the leaves were recycled in the centuries after the original manuscript was made.

It is tempting to speculate which course the Latin text followed after leaving the translator's desk and Oxford, and who facilitated its distribution. The Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux in the north-east of France was not very likely considered such a bustling centre of learning that it formed the translation's intended destination. As often happened, a monk may have copied it during his academic studies in Paris and brought it with him to his monastery's library after

his return from the capital. The scribe who wrote the manuscript definitely shows no insular influences in his handwriting.¹⁹ Yet, contact between Britain and Paris was frequent with students and teachers going back and forth. One of those English professors in Paris was mentioned earlier in this article: Simon of Faversham was the teacher of Robert Clothale, the early owner of manuscript *B*. In that capacity, Simon must have known about the existence of Grosseteste's translation. He might have travelled to Paris in the early 1270's with a copy of Grosseteste's Simplicius in his book trunk, which then became the model of our lost Clairvaux manuscript.

This hypothesis is perfectly consistent with the evidence, but at the same time totally unprovable. Moreover, it results in an unhealthy form of circularity, which turns Simon of Faversham into the pivotal figure in the spread of Grosseteste's translation on the mere basis of his professional interest in Aristotelian science and of his presence in Oxford and Paris in about the right timeframe. If the account were correct, Simon would have first brought Grosseteste's Latin version of Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo* to Paris, only to return with Moerbeke's translation of the same text to Oxford, where the latter translation eclipsed book I of the former in the only extant substantial witness *B*. If a story is too good to be true, it usually is not true at all. Ironically, Simon of Faversham is known to have written commentaries on several Aristotelian treatises, but *De caelo* seems not to be among them.

Whatever the background of the lost Clairvaux manuscript was, and however few new readings the preserved fragments *T1* and *T2* yield for the constitution of the translation's text, their discovery is of major importance to correctly understand the reception of Grosseteste's Simplicius translation. The find demonstrates that its influence went further than the limited circle of the Franciscan's closest pupils in Britain and that it is very well possible that additional evidence for its use lies waiting to be found in libraries on the European continent.

VI. Grosseteste's Greek Model

Scholars agree that *B*, which is the only manuscript to transmit the whole of book II of the Aristotelian lemmata and of Simplicius's commentary, is a rather carelessly executed copy. Yet, Grosseteste's Latin is of great importance for the *recensio* of the Greek text since it was based on a lost manuscript (henceforth: Σ), allegedly of a different family from the ones that Heiberg examined for his edition. Moreover, most Greek manuscripts lack several sections of book II, some

¹⁹ Kindly confirmed by Professor Erik Kwakkel in a private mail (28 January 2022).

even more than half of the entire text – all supplementary information on those passages must be considered extremely valuable.

It is therefore all the more surprising that a promising hypothesis regarding Grosseteste's Greek manuscript still remains to be investigated fully. In her 1988 article about the Greek studies of Robert Grosseteste, Carlotta Dionisotti points to the important role played by the scribe John Serbopoulos in the transmission of the Greek commentaries on the Aristotelian *Ethics* that were translated by Grosseteste. The only two surviving Greek manuscripts were both copied by Serbopoulos in the last decade of the 15th century. Dionisotti concludes that if we « chase John Serbopoulos, we may find direct copies of Grosseteste's books even where the originals are lost. »²⁰ Her first suggestion to start the search party is Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo*. Serbopoulos's copy of that text is MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 109 (henceforth as in Heiberg's edition: *e*). Dionisotti could not confirm that the manuscript was copied on the basis of Grosseteste's Greek model Σ , but she states: « a few sample checks that I have made suggest that it at least belongs to the same family. »²¹

However likely the identification clearly is, I have found no suggestion that the issue was further investigated either by Dionisotti or by anyone else. As a result, a conspicuous feature of Grosseteste's Latin Simplicius text in the form in which *B* transmits it remains unexplained. The unique Latin witness omits the first paragraph of book II, an overview of the subject matter treated in book I (the missing part is virtually identical with the text on page 365 of Heiberg's edition). The divergent opening made it necessary for the translator to change a demonstrative pronoun ταῦτα to a generalizing relative pronoun *Que* (*in primo libro ... demonstravit*) since the preceding summary to which it points was missing in Latin.²²

As Allan logically analysed, there are three possible reasons for the omission: (1) the choice of the translator not to translate the section, (2) an incomplete model (missing book I and the beginning of book II) on the desk of a Latin scribe, or (3) an incomplete Greek manuscript in the hands of the translator.²³ If hypothesis (3) is the correct one and Σ is to blame for the missing section at the beginning of book II, we might foster some hope of finding an explanation or a confirmation in *e*.

²⁰ ANNA CARLOTTA DIONISOTTI, « On the Greek Studies of Robert Grosseteste », in ANNA CARLOTTA DIONISOTTI, ANTHONY GRAFTON, JILL KRAYE (eds.), *The Uses of Greek and Latin. Historical Essays*, Warburg Institute, London 1988, p. 19–39, quotation on p. 30.

²¹ DIONISOTTI, « On the Greek Studies », p. 38.

²² ALLAN, « Medieval Versions », p. 108.

²³ ALLAN, « Medieval Versions », p. 109.

According to Allen, « all the surviving Greek manuscripts are defective at the end of Book I ».²⁴ The missing text (H. 361–364) was supplemented by Heiberg from William of Moerbeke's Latin translation. As far as the end of book I is concerned, *e* is no exception to the general rule: it lacks the same section as the other Greek manuscripts. Yet the situation is divergent for book II. Like in *B*, the first page of text is absent (H. 365), but in addition *e* also misses the next page (H. 366): the text of book II starts with the words οὐδὲ ἦν, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν (H. 367.1).²⁵ Although the missing parts at the beginning of book II do not perfectly coincide in *B* and in *e*, it is easy to imagine how events may have occurred. When Grosseteste used Σ in the 13th century as the model for his translation, he skipped the first page because it was corrupted in some way and therefore unreadable. Two and a half centuries later, the initial corruption had become worse and Serbopoulos started the copy of Σ further in book II where he was able to decipher its text. That hypothesis finds a corroboration in Bossier's analysis of the first pages of translated commentary in *B* (through H. 387). He concludes that the clumsy phrasing of the Latin text there probably results from a strictly literal translation or the *ad sensum* conjectural reconstruction of what Grosseteste could discern with difficulty on the heavily damaged pages of Σ .²⁶ The exact nature of what may have caused the damage to the beginning of book II in Σ remains unexplained.

Since all indirect evidence seems to confirm that the Latin translation by Robert Grosseteste and the Greek manuscript *e* were both based on the same lost model Σ , the obvious next step is to compare textual elements in both witnesses in search for significant similarities or differences. For if *e* can be shown to be a copy of Σ , its value for the textual transmission of Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo* would have to be reassessed, since in book II where Grosseteste's Latin is extant it would constitute a supplementary witness for that particular branch of the text tradition, and in the other books of the commentary it would be its only source.

Unfortunately, Heiberg is very reticent on *e*, which he wrongly dates to the 16th century. He claims that it is a descendant of MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, III E 8, with MS Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, III D 10 as a possible intermediary, but the few readings that he reports (from the beginning and the end of the commentary and therefore useless for a comparison with Grosseteste's Latin) do not confirm that claim at all.²⁷

²⁴ ALLAN, « Medieval Versions », p. 109; Allan's emphasis.

²⁵ NIGEL WILSON, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford*, Brewer, Cambridge 2011, p. 22.

²⁶ BOSSIER, *Filologisch-historische navorsingen*, p. 22.036–22.038.

²⁷ HEIBERG, *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo*, p. xv–xvi, and JOHAN LUDVIG HEIBERG, « Handschriftliches zum Commentar des Simplicius zu Aristoteles de caelo », *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1892), p. 59–76, especially p. 62, about *e* « habe

Subsequently, I turned to direct evidence and examined the text of *e* on fol. 156r–157r, which coincides with H. 367.1–370.12.²⁸ Although I collated only this limited section of the manuscript, it provides sufficient evidence to confirm that Dionisotti's suggestion was correct and that *e* was copied from Σ, the lost manuscript that Robert Grosseteste used as the model for his Simplicius translation.

First, several readings in which *e* deviates from the text printed by Heiberg have an equivalent in Grosseteste's Latin. Although the variants are mostly minor, their quantity seems to confirm that there exists a link between the two witnesses. The transpositions at 368.27 and 370.5 carry particular weight, since it is not very likely that a scribe and a translator will decide independently from each other to change the word order in precisely the same passages (even if in the latter instance the Greek singular becomes a Latin plural – the sloppy scribe of *B* might be the one to blame for that mistake).

367.9 οὐ] οὐτε *e* : neque *B*

367.24 καὶ^d] *om. e* : *om. B*

368. 9 οὐρανοῦ] οὐρανίου *e* : celestem *B*

368.10 τὸν] + ἐπ' *e* : quod in *B*

368.27 φησί, πιστὸν] *transp. e* : credibile ait *B*

369.26 οὖν] *om. e* : *om. B*

370.5 ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν] *transp. e* : suspiciones habent *B*

Admittedly, in some significant passages Grosseteste follows the text of Heiberg's edition against the reading of *e*. In those cases, the scribe of *e*, John Serbopoulos, probably made a mistake or he was no longer able to decipher a particular word in Σ that Grosseteste had clearly read two centuries earlier.

367.6 αἰ] ἔτα *e* : semper *B*

368.30 ἀληθές] ἀγαθὸν *e* : verum *B*

369.10 τοῦ κόσμου] τοῦ ὅλου κόσμου *e* : mundo *B*

369.20 οὐκ] οὐδέ *e* : non *B*

The most convincing evidence, though, is provided to a considerable number of blank spaces left by Serbopoulos in his Greek copy. Several of them occur in exactly those passages where Bossier noticed semantic choices in Latin that were

ich wenig Material, Torstrik hielt ihn für eine Copie von 1 < = MS Oxford, New College, 246, PB >; dann müsste er jedenfalls durchcorrigiert sein ».

²⁸ I am grateful to the library staff of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and in particular to Harriet Patrick, for their assistance: they kindly sent me photographs without costs and within a day after receiving my email in which I enquired for information about the manuscript.

difficult to explain. He conjectured that Grosseteste either very literally translated what he thought to read in his Greek model or that he tried to supplement missing or unreadable words according to his understanding of the content. The blanks in *e* confirm the latter hypothesis: Serbopoulos's open spaces and Grosseteste's incomprehensible Latin were two different approaches to deal with the same difficulty, i.e. the presence of unreadable words in Σ .

- 367.18 ἀληθές] *om. in lac. e* : transponens *B*
 367.25 ἀπὸ τοῦ διόπερ, καλῶς] *lac. + αὐτὸ e* : de celo propter bene *B*
 367.26 σώματος, καίτοι κατὰ] *om. in lac. e* : corpore et propter *B*
 367.27 μεταβαίνειν δοκοῦντος] *μετα + lac. e* : transcendere quod omne *B*
 367.28 αἰῶνος, τουτέστι] *om. in lac. e* : seculi *B*
 368.17 μετ' οὐρανοῦ] *με + lac. e* : mensura *B*
 368.20 ὃν ὁ] *om. in lac. e* : quod fecit *B*

In contrast, several gaps in *e* are correctly translated into Latin. It suggests that the corruption in Σ was not so bad at the time when Robert used it, or that the translator in those passages successfully conjectured the content of what was missing.

- 367.13 τὸν κόσμον] *om. in lac. e* : mundum *B*
 367.22 ἐκείνου] *om. in lac. e* : illo *B*
 368.2 ἔχων] *ἐ + lac. e* : habens *B*

This limited survey may have clinched the identification of manuscript Σ that Grosseteste used for his translation of Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo*. More than two centuries after the translation was completed it was still in England, where John Serbopoulos copied it. Its condition probably worsened over time, which explains why Grosseteste was able to translate some words correctly where Serbopoulos left a blank in his copy.

Although we have now tracked down Grosseteste's Simplicius copy, an important issue remains open. While Grosseteste translated the complete text of Aristotle's *De caelo* in the lemmata between the commentary sections, the Aristotelian lemmata in *e* are abbreviated with the usual formula ἕως τοῦ separating the opening words of the section from the final sentence. Leaving aside the very unlikely possibility that Serbopoulos brought the formal aspects of the lemmata in line with other manuscripts of the commentary that he hypothetically saw before coming to England, the shortened Aristotelian text in *e* must mirror the situation found in Σ . Consequently, Grosseteste also had a Greek copy of *De caelo* in front of him. The layout found in *B* (and partially in *T1* and *T2*) in which lemmata of the philosopher's text alternate with commentary sections

was therefore conceived by the translator and not reproduced from an existing Greek manuscript. The conclusion must be that the quest for Grosseteste's model for Aristotle's *De caelo* remains open.

VII. *Conclusions*

The discovery of fragments from an unknown manuscript of Simplicius's commentary on *De caelo* in the Latin translation by Robert Grosseteste changes some previously held opinions about the distribution of the work. It proves that at least one copy of the translation left the British isles and arrived on the continent, possibly after a passage in the academic circles in Paris. It is not unlikely that some indirect testimonies of the translation can still be traced in unpublished commentaries or other scholarly works from the late-thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

A limited probe into a Greek manuscript of Simplicius's commentary produced in England in the late 15th century persuasively confirms the suggestion already published by Carlotta Dionisotti in 1988. The manuscript was copied from the model used by the translator in the 13th century, which was afterwards lost. That conclusion significantly upgrades the value of the manuscript for the transmission of Simplicius's commentary. For the eventual edition of Grosseteste's translation of book II and the first chapter of book III, the comparative apparatus has to rely chiefly on the readings preserved in *e*. As for the edition of the Greek text of all four books, *e* preserves the readings of a lost early manuscript. While Heiberg considered it an apograph of an extant manuscript from the 13th or 14th century and therefore only documented a few unimportant variants, the significance of *e* has to be re-evaluated on the basis of a full collation of the complete commentary.²⁹

Postscript

After the completion of this article, I had the opportunity to discuss its content with Thomas Falmagne (National Library of Luxemburg and Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main), to whom I am very grateful for his help. Dr. Falmagne has

²⁹ I partly collected the information used in this article during a visit at the Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac in Troyes on 21-23 September 2022. I am extremely grateful to Émeline Pipelier, custodian of the patrimonial department, and to the library staff for their hospitality and their helpfulness. The research for this article was carried out as part of my postdoctoral fellowship project *Mind Your Words! The Role of Medieval Translations in the History of Concepts*, funded by the Research Foundation – Flanders (12W5722N).

done extensive research into the history of the Troyes library and its fragments.³⁰ We came to the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that the two bindings appear to be distant in time, but that the incorporation of the fragments must have happened during the binding process, since in the two manuscripts the threads that hold the quires together also pass through the parchment of the fragments. As a result, it remains difficult to pronounce an irrefutable judgement on the exact period when the Simplicius manuscript was discarded and recycled.

³⁰ THOMAS FALMAGNE, « Documenter la philologie romane par des manuscrits: le choix de fragments utiles par le bibliothécaire troyen Auguste Harmand au milieu du XIXe siècle », in MARIE-GENEVIÈVE GROSSEL, JEAN-PIERRE MARTIN, LUDOVIC NYS, MURIEL OTT, FRANÇOIS SUARD (eds.), *Mélanges de langue, d'histoire et de littérature offerts à Jean-Charles Herbin*, t. I, Presses Universitaire de Valenciennes, Valenciennes 2019, p. 253–284.

Appendix

I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HOST VOLUMES AND BINDINGS

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1869³¹

Parchment manuscript from the 13th century, A + 235 + B folios (early-modern numbering), 175 x 124 mm. Binding from the 14th century, wooden boards covered in white leather with an early-modern content label pasted on the spine. The manuscript contains Gregory the Great's *Expositio on the Song of Songs*, lavishly executed with many brightly coloured illuminations, which are protected by variously coloured pieces of cloth sewn onto the parchment.

The front pastedown of the manuscript was taken from a thirteenth-century religious manuscript. On its upper left, a nineteenth-century label is pasted over the text. In the unidentified text of the remaining part, the name of Augustine can be read. There are traces of bookworm and the curling edge reveals part of the verso and of another strip from the same manuscript. The inside of the spine is lined with a strip of parchment from an unidentified manuscript with writing different from the other fragments that were used in the binding.

The back flyleaf (numbered in modern pencil with a Roman numeral « III », but indicated by the letter « B » in the catalogue) and pastedown are produced from a leaf, tilted and trimmed to fit the size of the cover. There are traces of bookworm. One column of text is completely preserved, the other one for the largest part. The last verso is glued to the cover and remains invisible.

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2000³²

Parchment manuscript from the 13th century, A + 250 folios (modern pencil numbering), 138 x 103 mm. Binding from the 13th century, covers in white leather with an early-modern content label pasted on the spine. The gatherings are glued unto the spine, which makes it likely that the binding was produced at an earlier date than the one covering MS 1869. The manuscript contains various biblical study tools and commentaries.

Both the front and the back flyleaves are pages of which one part is glued as pastedown to the inside covers. The front leaf was originally empty. On the recto of the second leaf (fol. Ar) the rhyming prayer « Summe summi tu Patris unice », wrongly attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, is copied in a thirteenth-century hand. The verso (fol. Av) contains five lines of typical school and grammar content: two lines of verbs in the first person singular (« Construo, sacro, cano,

³¹ VERNET, BOUHOT, GENEST, *La bibliothèque*, p. 435–436.

³² VERNET, BOUHOT, GENEST, *La bibliothèque*, p. 228–230.

privo, voco, corrigo, viso, fleubothomus [*sic!*] / condo, meo, capio, do, vendo, laos mo [?] »), then a line taken from Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus*, IX, 46 (« Ille sororius est, cuicunque soror mea nubit »),³³ finally two verse lines of equivocal terminology as in Conrad de Mure's *Novus Grecismus*, II, 598–599 (« Glos, glossis lignum vetus est de nocte serenum / flos est glos glotis – glos gloris femina fratris »).³⁴ Tony Hunt notes that a similar « passage is frequently encountered in works dealing with *equivoca* ». ³⁵ Even if Eberhard or Conrad may not be the direct sources for these *probationes pennae*, it seems likely that the cataloguers' decision to date these very commonly used lines (on the basis of the script?) to the end of the twelfth century is too early. The shelfmark d.36. refers to the 1472 catalogue of the library of the Clairvaux Abbey.

The leaf that consists of fol. 250 (modern pencil numbering horizontally between the two columns) and the pastedown glued to the back cover is tilted and trimmed to fit the size of the cover. As a result, only one of the two columns on each page can still be (vertically) read, the other is very partially preserved. The verso of the second half cannot be inspected.

Hypothetical physical appearance of *T*

The original manuscript from which *T1* and *T2* were recycled was written in two columns with ca. 50 lines of slightly varying width (between 70 and 76 mm) and a height of ca. 260 mm. The columns are separated by margins of 11/13 mm. The outside margins are 20 mm, the top and bottom margins as they are preserved measure 18 and 28 mm respectively. These measurements suggest that the leaves of the original manuscript were ca. 310 mm high and 205 mm wide.

II. TRANSCRIPTIONS

Below follows the transcription of the readable passages of the fragments *T1* and *T2*. They are logically ordered according to Heiberg's Greek edition (abbreviation H. followed by page and line numbers). The Latin text is based on the typescript edition prepared by Fernand Bossier, which is a transcription of *B* with corrections resulting from the comparison with the Greek text of Heiberg's edition.³⁶ When it is impossible to decide between two variants, the reading of *B*

³³ JOHANNES WROBEL, *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*. Corpus grammaticorum medii aevi, vol. I, Koebner, Uratislauiæ 1887, p. 56.

³⁴ ALEXANDRU N. CIZEK, *Konrad von Mure. Novus Grecismus*, Fink, Paderborn 2009, p. 135.

³⁵ TONY HUNT, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge 1991, vol. I, p. 140.

³⁶ FERNAND BOSSIER, *Aristoteles. Over de hemel, de hemellichamen en de aarde. Het tweede boek van "De Caelo" met de commentaren van Simplicius in de latijnse vertaling van R. Grosseteste*, unpublished

and Bossier is retained in the text. Passages in italics indicate that text is missing in *T1* or *T2*: those (partial) words only rely on *B* and Bossier. As far as spelling is concerned, I have opted for the medieval orthography of the manuscripts instead of classicizing adaptations that are customary in the editions of the *Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum*. The autopsy of the fragments made it possible to transcribe several lines of text more than what is visible on the digital images.

Latin manuscripts

B = Oxford, Balliol College, 99

T1 = Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1869

T2 = Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2000

Greek manuscript

F = Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 228 (15th century)

T2 fol. 250va

(H. 384.23) *differentiis*,³⁷ duas solas isti assumebant dextrum et sinistrum, quatuor derelinquentes³⁸ et sursum et deorsum et ante et retro; secundo, quoniam principaliores dereliquerunt et sursum et deorsum; hoc³⁹ autem per plura ostendit conamina: primum quidem, quoniam et in hiis⁴⁰ differentie manifeste sunt non minus quam a dextro ad sinistrum, vel verum quidem et adhuc magis naturalis⁴¹ in hiis quam dextrum et sinistrum, velut dextera manus et sinistra et pedes similiter nichil⁴² ad invicem secundum figuras differentes⁴³ potentia solum⁴⁴ differunt; manus quidem enim dextera sinistra fortior,⁴⁵ pedum autem sinister quidem ad firmari⁴⁶ magis aptus, dexter autem⁴⁷ ad incipere motum, et humerorum⁴⁸ similiter sinister⁴⁹ quidem ad gravia ferre, dexter autem⁵⁰ ad

typoscript, Leuven s.d. Bossier's transcription is accessible in the *Aristoteles Latinus Database*, <www.brepolis.net> (accessed January 2022).

³⁷ *differentias B : corr. Bossier*

³⁸ *relinquentes T2*

³⁹ *hec T2*

⁴⁰ *+ spere T2*

⁴¹ *naturalius T2 : et naturalius susp. Bossier*

⁴² *vel T2*

⁴³ *differentes secundum figuras T2*

⁴⁴ *sola B*

⁴⁵ *fortior sinistra T2*

⁴⁶ *+ quidem T2*

⁴⁷ *dexter autem] dexteram B : corr. Bossier*

⁴⁸ *humorum T2*

⁴⁹ *sinister om. B : add. Bossier*

moveri, quamvis secundum figuram nichil ad invicem differentia; caput autem a pedibus et rami a radicibus et totaliter que sursum ab hiis que deorsum et (H. 385) anteriora a posterioribus non potentia solum, sed et figura distincta sunt. Et hoc⁵¹ igitur incusat Pythagoricis,⁵² quoniam sex principiorum duo sola isti assumpserunt⁵³ magis differentia et principaliora derelinquentes, et secundo, quoniam communiora et universaliora derelinquebant, siquidem sursum quidem et deorsum omnibus animatis insunt similiter et animalibus et plantis, dextrum autem et sinistrum non existit⁵⁴ in plantis; et tertio, quoniam⁵⁵ prima natura derelinquentes posteriora assumebant; prius enim longitudo latitudine, siquidem linea superficie prior natura et (H. 385.9)

T2 Pastedown a

(H. 385.9) principiformior ut et signum linea, et siquidem ad longitudinem augmentatio prior fit⁵⁶ animalibus ea que in latum, et si cointerimit *quidem linea*, non cointerimitur⁵⁷ autem. *Si igitur longitudo latitudine* prior⁵⁸ natura, priorum⁵⁹ autem natura et principia priora, longitudinis ergo principia, hoc est⁶⁰ sursum et deorsum, hiis que latitudinis principiis, dextero⁶¹ et sinistro, priora sunt natura. Multotiens autem priore dicto, vel positione ut in preiacentibus, vel ordine ut prohemia enarrationibus, vel potentia et honore ut princeps hiis qui⁶² sub principatu, vel natura ut cointerimens⁶³ quidem, non cointeremptum⁶⁴ autem, vel tempore et generatione, ut pater filio, sursum, ait, dextero⁶⁵ secundum *generationem utique* erit prius, quia in longitudinem augmentatio, ut dictum est,⁶⁶ prior fit⁶⁷ animalibus ea que in latitudinem. Si igitur prior longitudo fit⁶⁸

⁵⁰ dexter autem Bossier : dexteram BT2

⁵¹ hec T2

⁵² pitagoricis B : pictagoricis T2

⁵³ assupserunt T2

⁵⁴ non existit om. T2

⁵⁵ + in B

⁵⁶ + in T2

⁵⁷ convertuntur B : corr. Bossier

⁵⁸ sic B : prius Bossier, sed prior maluit

⁵⁹ prior T2

⁶⁰ hoc est iter. B

⁶¹ dextro T2

⁶² que T2

⁶³ conterimens T2 : continens T2^{ac}

⁶⁴ conteremptum T2

⁶⁵ + utique T2

⁶⁶ ut dictum est om. T2

⁶⁷ sit T2

⁶⁸ sit T2

latitudine, est autem longitudinis quidem⁶⁹ principium sursum, latitudinis autem dextrum,⁷⁰ et principium prioris prius utique erit secundum generationem. Quarto autem cum hiis, si sursum quidem est unde motus qui secundum augmentationem specificatur,⁷¹ dextrum⁷² autem a quo motus incipit,⁷³ et quod in ante in quod procedit ipse, principalior⁷⁴ autem et substantialior qui secundum augmentationem motus animali eo qui secundum locum, manifestum quoniam et sursum principalio rem potentiam principii utique habeat ad alias differentias; inconvenienter igitur dextrum et sinistrum assumentes, et sursum et deorsum derelinquebant. Sic quidem igitur *preparavit Aristoteles principaliores* (H. 385.30)

T2 fol. 250vb

(H. 385.32) sursum dextero et eo *quod ante ostendere, sed alterum solum; si enim altera proposita, altera et*⁷⁵ *secundum ipsa dicta principia. Tertio autem ipsis*⁷⁶ *accusat vel secundo, si quis ut [cum]*⁷⁷ *unum omnia prima accipiat principaliora derelinqui per ipsa dicens preparari, tertium autem igitur ipsis* (H. 386) *vel secundum inducit, quod communiter in omnibus existere hec principia existimabant illud quod secundum dextrum et sinistrum, quamvis quidem in inanimatis*⁷⁸ *non existentia secundum naturam; etsi enim dicantur et in illis, secundum eam que ad nos relationem dicuntur, ut dictum est prius. In omnibus autem ipsos dextrum et sinistrum dicere, assumpsit ex decem*⁷⁹ *coelementationibus, quas omnia omnium principia dicebant, unum quod secundum dextrum et sinistrum accipere, quia non ut in celo proprie hec speculabantur. Que igitur Pythagoricorum intentio et quo bene illis dicentibus Aristoteles ad apparens contradixit sermone? Pythagorici*⁸⁰ *quidem igitur*⁸¹ *in duas coelementationes omnes contrapositiones reducentes, hanc quidem deteriore, hanc autem meliorem, id est boni et mali, et*⁸² *decadi symbolice ut omni numero complentes utramque, unamquamque contrapositionem decem sic assumebant ut omnes sui ipsius cognatas demonstraverunt. Et localium igitur habitudinum dextrum et sinistrum assumebant, simul quidem quoniam bonum et malum ostensa*

⁶⁹ quidem om. T2

⁷⁰ dextrum T2

⁷¹ specificantur B : corr. Bossier

⁷² dextrum T2

⁷³ incipit motus T2

⁷⁴ principalio B

⁷⁵ et altera B

⁷⁶ ipsius T2

⁷⁷ del. Bossier

⁷⁸ animatis T2

⁷⁹ .x. B

⁸⁰ pitagorici B : piccagorici T2

⁸¹ om. T2 : om. F

⁸² om. T2

sunt hec; dextram igitur naturam dicimus et dextram fortunam bonas ostendentes et sinistras contrarias; simul (H. 386.17)

T2 Pastedown b

(H. 386.20) sursum et ante et bonum vocabant, sinistrum autem et deorsum et retro et⁸³ malum dicebant, ut ipse Aristoteles ystorizavit in Pitagoricorum complacentium congregatione. Tota quidem igitur predictorum intentio dicta est, in hiis autem que secundum partem, cum dicat hiis quidem tales partes, dico autem velut et dextrum et sinistrum, in dictione autem et ante et retro et sursum et deorsum, que ut cognita per ipsa dicta futura pertransivit. Cum autem dicat has autem⁸⁴ distantias rationabile existere corporibus perfectis, non longitudinem dicit et latitudinem et profunditatem; hec enim omni corpori⁸⁵ existunt; sed tres contrapositiones, sursum deorsum, ante retro, dextrum et sinistrum. Perfecta autem corpora dicit, quecumque non solum vitam habent nutritivam et augmentativam, quemadmodum plante, neque sensum cum hiis solum, quemadmodum ζωοφυτα⁸⁶ sed et appetitum et secundum locum transmutationem, ut perfecta animalia; propter quod et induxit est autem sursum quidem longitudinis principium et que deinceps. Instare autem oportet et dictioni dicenti inanimatorum enim in nullo videmus unde principium motus et Alexandri enarrationi dicentis principium autem motus dicat utique potentiam motivam. Habent quidem enim et inanimata principium quoddam motus, siquidem sunt naturalia corpora, sed non movens principium habent neque motivam potentiam habent in se ipsis; extra enim est quod (H. 387.10)

T2 fol. 250ra

(H. 387.13) quidem natura movet celum,⁸⁷ qualiter autem anima, non dicendum, ut Alexander dixit, quoniam idem est illic et anima et natura; qualiter enim utique erit idem, siquidem natura quidem potentia passiva eius quod moveri est in subiecto existens moto, anima autem exterius movens? Non ergo idem dicendum animam et naturam in celo, eundem quidem motum secundum ambo moveri, sed secundum quidem animam ut moventem exterius, secundum autem naturam ut principium eius quod moveri inexistens. Cum autem de inanimatis dicat hec quidem enim totaliter non moventur,⁸⁸ hec autem moventur quidem, sed non undique similiter, non moveri quidem dicit proprium locum assumptum iam, in quo manent⁸⁹ ulterius, non undique

⁸³ add. T2 supra lin.

⁸⁴ + ratio[...] T2

⁸⁵ corpori omni B

⁸⁶ ζωοφυτα Bossier : zorophita B : ztophyca T

⁸⁷ celum om. B

⁸⁸ movetur B : corr. Bossier

⁸⁹ movent T2

autem moveri, hoc est non secundum sex distantias, sed vel sursum solum, ut ignis, vel deorsum, ut terra. Sed ad ea que deinceps eundum.

(285a27–31) *Nobis autem quia determinatum est prius quoniam in habentibus principium motus tales potentie insunt, celum autem animatum et habet motus principium, manifestum quoniam et sursum habet et deorsum et dextrum et sinistrum.*

Causans Pythagoricos ut principaliora principia (H. 387.28) [...]ta non communia [...] communia⁹⁰ (H. 387.29)

T2 fol. 250rb

(H. 388.21) in ipso hoc libro de celestibus sed nos ut de corporibus solis ipsis et monadibus⁹¹ intelligimus ordinem quidem habentibus, inanimatis autem omnino; oportet autem ut participantibus opinari actu⁹² et vita; operari enim⁹³ rationalis anime est et secundum ipsum.

(285a31–b8) Non oportet enim dubitare propter speriformem esse figuram⁹⁴ omnis, qualiter erit ipsius hoc quidem dextrum hoc autem sinistrum, similiter quidem existentibus partibus omnibus et motis⁹⁵ secundum omne tempus, sed intelligere quemadmodum utique si quis utique,⁹⁶ in quibus habet dextrum ad sinistrum differentiam et⁹⁷ figuris,⁹⁸ deinde circumponat speram; habebit quidem enim potentiam differentem, videbitur autem non,⁹⁹ propter similitudinem figure. Secundum eundem utique modum et de¹⁰⁰ principio eius quod moveri; et enim si numquam incepit, tamen habere necessarium principium, unde utique incepit,¹⁰¹ si incepit motum moveri, et si stet, moveatur utique rursus.

Postquam¹⁰² demonstravit oportere et in celo querere talia principia duas latas adversus rationem hanc instantias et ponit et dissolvit hanc quidem communem

⁹⁰ non coram communia B : crucem desperationis add. Bossier

⁹¹ manadibus T2

⁹² astu T2

⁹³ autem T2

⁹⁴ figuram esse T2

⁹⁵ motibus T2

⁹⁶ utique del. Bossier

⁹⁷ ad T2

⁹⁸ figuras T2^{ac}

⁹⁹ vero B

¹⁰⁰ dei T2

¹⁰¹ iterare coepit sententiam sed expunxit T2

¹⁰² + utique T2

ad omnes has contrapositiones hanc a similitudine celi partium. Qualiter enim speriforme existens celum et similiū¹⁰³ partium dextrum habet et sinistrum vel sursum et deorsum¹⁰⁴ vel ante et retro et figuris hiis differre debentibus? Ipse autem dextrum solum et sinistrum *nominavit* ab hiis, existimo, et alia ostendens quia dextrum (H. 389.1)

T1 Pastedown a

(H. 398.14) lativum, unam¹⁰⁵ et absolutam motum motionem; celum autem nunc mundum dicit; et respondet, quoniam necesse¹⁰⁶ manere quid corporis lati circulo quod in medio. Circulo enim principaliter motum et non motum habet aliquid omnino in medio,¹⁰⁷ circa quod manens¹⁰⁸ movebitur; etenim universaliter, si debeat quid moveri secundum locum, necesse manere aliquod corpus, a quo¹⁰⁹ movebitur vel circa quod, ut ostensum est in eo quod De motu animalium. Si enim dicat quis, quoniam circa centrum¹¹⁰ ipsius movebitur, impossibilia videbitur dicere; centrum enim incorporeus¹¹¹ terminus existens non possibile manere motis hiis, quorum terminus est; non enim secundum se ipsum substitit centrum; non manente autem¹¹² centro, neque utique omne in eodem circumferetur. Alexander autem et hanc dicens enarrationem totum corpus celi mundum dici¹¹³ existimantem, prehonorat tamen totum corpus celi circulo lativum audire, quare huius in medio manere quid, circa quod movebitur. Et quidem aliquod *manens* et in aliorum animalium motu ipsius aliqua erit¹¹⁴ moti¹¹⁵ pars, et quidem et ipse Aristoteles nunc dixit, quoniam necesse corporis quid¹¹⁶ lati manere super medium; terra autem mundi pars quedam¹¹⁷ est, non quidem celi. Et huic et ipse instans dixit huius autem nullam possibile manere partem, huius¹¹⁸ dicens circulo lativi, sed non mundi, de quo prima dicta sunt. Et preparat per plura, quoniam *non est celi* pars terra, et quidem moti circulo pars esse vult

¹⁰³ si nullum B : corr. Bossier

¹⁰⁴ vel sursum et deorsum om. T2

¹⁰⁵ unum B : corr. Bossier

¹⁰⁶ + est T1

¹⁰⁷ Circulo – medio om. T1

¹⁰⁸ movens T1

¹⁰⁹ ad quod T1^{ac}

¹¹⁰ susp. Bossier : centra B

¹¹¹ in corpore T1

¹¹² enim B

¹¹³ diei B

¹¹⁴ erit aliqua T1

¹¹⁵ motu T1

¹¹⁶ quidem T1

¹¹⁷ + pars B

¹¹⁸ autem – huius om. T1

hoc quidem in medio. Sed et Nicholaus (H. 399) Peripateticus¹¹⁹ *circumloquens* hic dicta in hiis que De Aristotelis philosophia sic posuit dictionem: propter quid igitur non totus mundus talis? Quoniam necesse manere quid circa medium (H. 399.3)

T1 fol. Bva

(H. 399.4) in medio esse. Sed et ipse Alexander bene Aristoteli consequitur ostendenti manens super medium partem quandam non esse circulo lativi; nichil enim huius manere possibile neque alicubi; omnino enim ipsi motus sempiternus existit; neque adhuc magis in medio. Si enim mansit in medio secundum naturam, et ferebatur utique ad hoc secundum naturam; in quo enim quid manet secundum naturam, et fertur in hoc secundum naturam;¹²⁰ et erat ipsi secundum naturam motus ipse; unus autem¹²¹ qui secundum naturam unicuique simplicium, huic autem circularis motus secundum naturam, siquidem sempiternus; non ergo qui ad medium; neque ergo in medio mansio neque toti neque parti ipsius secundum naturam, sed neque preter naturam.¹²² Hoc quidem enim circulo lativum sempiternum habet motum, quod autem preter naturam non sempiternum; posterius enim est eo quod secundum naturam quod preter naturam, quia extasis est quod preter naturam eius quod secundum naturam in generatione, quod autem extrastans ab aliquo et preterstans posterius¹²³ est eo, a quo extrastat.¹²⁴ Et totaliter, si in¹²⁵ generatione quod preter naturam, ubi¹²⁶ neque quod secundum naturam sempiternum est, qualiter utique erit quod preter naturam sempiternum?¹²⁷ Etsi enim sit semper quod preter naturam in generatione quemadmodum et quod secundum naturam, sed aliud et aliud et non idem semper, quemadmodum celum secundum naturam idem numero semper. Necesse igitur quod in medio nichil ens sempiterni corporis non sempiternum esse, sed corruptibile et grave et mansivum et (H. 399.23)

T1 Pastedown b

(H. 399.24) propter hoc et frigidum et siccum; corruptibilia enim passivis hiis qualitatibus¹²⁸ formificantur;¹²⁹ grave autem et frigidum et siccum est terra. Et

¹¹⁹ Perypateticus T1

¹²⁰ in quo – naturam om. T1

¹²¹ aut T1

¹²² sed – naturam om. B

¹²³ + autem T1

¹²⁴ existit T1^{ac}

¹²⁵ neque T1, add. in T1 supra lin.

¹²⁶ ibi T1^{ac}

¹²⁷ + est T1

¹²⁸ hiis qualitatibus passivis T1

quoniam terra in medio, et iam quidem ostendit eius *quod* grave medium locum ostendens¹³⁰ proprium, terra autem tale, ostendet autem¹³¹ in fine huius libri. Sed si terra est, necesse, *ait*, et ignem esse; contrariorum enim si alterum *natura*, necesse et alterum *esse natura*; contrariorum enim eadem materia ad ambo similiter *apta nata*. Si igitur et secundum operativas contrarias¹³² qualitates formificantur seu¹³³ specificantur ignis et terra, hic quidem secundum caliditatem, *hec* autem secundum frigiditatem, et adhuc magis locales motus, *siquidem* hoc quidem ad quod circulariter, hoc autem ad medium movetur,¹³⁴ naturalibus autem corporibus substantiale¹³⁵ maxime moveri secundum naturam, quorum naturalium corporum motus contrarii, horum¹³⁶ *nature* contrarie; quare, etsi (H. 400) aqua secundum *ambas* qualitates contraponitur *igni*, frigida existens et humida, terra autem secundum frigidum *solum*, nichil admirabile,¹³⁷ si amplius facta est terre ad ignem *contrarietas*; crassius enim terre graviorem ipsam faciens *longius secundum* locum disposuit. Etsi enim siccum utrumque dicatur *et ignis* et terra, alia omnino *utriusque* siccitatis¹³⁸ species; *hec* manens enim levis¹³⁹ et facile mobilis est¹⁴⁰ et subtilis, *hec* autem¹⁴¹ gravis et crassa et mortificata.¹⁴² Ostendens *autem* ex ea que secundum *contrarietatem* contrapositione, quoniam, si est terra, necesse et ignem, idem *ostendit* ex ea que secundum privationem et habitum contrapositione. Si enim est *privatio*, necesse preexistere habitum, quem¹⁴³ ipse secundum naturam vocavit; privationem autem nunc dicit deterius in¹⁴⁴ contrariorum¹⁴⁵ *natura* (H. 400.12)

T1 fol. Bvb

(H. 400.13) Sic autem et quies et grave, quibus terra specificatur, secundum *privationem* dicuntur motus et levitatis, quibus specificatur ignis.¹⁴⁶ Si igitur est

¹²⁹ fornicantur T1

¹³⁰ antecedens T1

¹³¹ + et T1

¹³² om. B

¹³³ sive T1

¹³⁴ movetur ad medium modo T1

¹³⁵ substantie T1

¹³⁶ harum T1

¹³⁷ admirabilem B

¹³⁸ siccitas B

¹³⁹ levius T1

¹⁴⁰ om. T1

¹⁴¹ om. B

¹⁴² mortificativa T1

¹⁴³ scr. Bossier : quoniam BT1

¹⁴⁴ om. B

¹⁴⁵ + ex T1

¹⁴⁶ om. B

terra privatio existens, necesse et ignem esse, *habitus habentem rationem*, et manifestum, quoniam et prius necesse natura esse ignem, siquidem *habitus prior* privatione et affirmatio negatione. Ipse autem manifeste ostendit, *secundum* quandam maxime contrarietatem et privationem terre ad ignem *assumpsit*, quoniam secundum frigidum et grave et¹⁴⁷ quiescere. Ignis enim *semper* movetur; etenim et deorsum existens ad sursum movetur semper et sursum existens divino corpori simul circumfertur. Et totaliter elementorum hec quidem factiva magis speciei habere rationem¹⁴⁸ et habitus *dixit*, hec autem passibilia privationis et materie. Si autem *sunt* extrema terra et ignis, necesse et media esse et aquam et aera, quia utrumque horum¹⁴⁹ secundum ambas¹⁵⁰ sui ipsius qualitates e contrario *habet* ad utrumque illorum; terra quidem enim frigida et sicca existens e contrario *habet* ad aera calidum existentem et humidum, ignis autem calidus et *siccus* existens e contrario *habet* ad aquam frigidam existentem et humidam; contraria autem et motibus sunt hec ad illa; dictum est autem,¹⁵¹ contrariorum, si sit alterum, et alterum, quia eadem contrariorum materia. Potest autem, ait Alexander bene, existimo, dicens, non intermedia *nunc* sola extremis¹⁵² contraria dicere, sed de omnibus dictum esse;¹⁵³ quod *enim* utique accipias, invenies ipsum contrarie habens ad reliqua tria; si autem omnia contrarietatem habent quandam natura ad invicem, *omnia* necesse esse et veritate. Deinde duo ad duo comparavit; non (H. 400.35)

T1 fol. Bra

(H. 401.14) (286a31b9) *sequentibus* manifestius. Nunc autem tantum est¹⁵⁴ manifestum, *propter* quam causam plura circularia sunt corpora, quoniam necesse generationem esse, generationem autem, siquidem et ignis, hic autem et alia, siquidem et terra, hanc autem quoniam necesse manere aliquid semper, siquidem moveri *aliquid* semper.

Ostendens, quoniam necesse quatuor esse corpora contrarietatem habentia ad invicem, manifestum, ait, quoniam necesse¹⁵⁵ hiis existentibus generationem esse et corruptionem. Si enim contraria sunt quatuor ista, contraria autem¹⁵⁶ non sunt sempiterna, quia generantur ex ad invicem et corrumpuntur in ad invicem,¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁷ om. T1

¹⁴⁸ pationem T1

¹⁴⁹ eorum T1

¹⁵⁰ ambro T1

¹⁵¹ + quoniam Bossier

¹⁵² existentis T1

¹⁵³ susp. Bossier : est B

¹⁵⁴ manifestius – est om. B : suppl. Bossier

¹⁵⁵ om. T1

¹⁵⁶ om. T1

¹⁵⁷ et – invicem om. T1

necesse generationem esse et corruptionem. Quoniam¹⁵⁸ autem generabilia et corruptibilia sunt hec, et ex motibus ipsorum ostendit; quorum enim secundum naturam motus non sunt sempiterni, hec neque ipsa utique erunt sempiterna, ut unoquoque naturalium corporum esse in proprio motu habente, propter quod et divini corporis vitam sempiternum¹⁵⁹ motum dixit. Quatuor autem corpora mobilia entia et in recta mota non habent motus sempiternos; ostensum est enim in¹⁶⁰ octavo Physici auditus neque unus motus in recta potens sempiternus esse. Quoniam autem sempiterna vita motus est sempiternus non simpliciter omnium,¹⁶¹ sed corpora habentium et mobilium, ostendit¹⁶² in hiis dicens horum autem est motus; ut siquidem non erant¹⁶³ mobilia, non necessarium erat ipsa corruptibilia omnino esse, etsi (H. 401.31)

T1 fol. Brb

(H. 402.21) similis¹⁶⁴ utique erat eorum que hic semper constitutio; una enim utique erat et simplex semper hiis que hic infecta¹⁶⁵ passio. Ut enim immanifestas celestium in ea que hic derelinquam¹⁶⁶ factiones, solis et lune, sic manifeste vertentes que sub luna, semper utique heedem erant; uno enim existente aplanis motu et sole¹⁶⁷ et luna in aplane fixis et cum illa motis neque hyemis et estatis¹⁶⁸ et¹⁶⁹ intermediarum versionum erat utique differentia neque eius que secundum diem commutationis, eandem viam semper sole cum aplane¹⁷⁰ pertranseunte;¹⁷¹ si enim in Cancro contigit¹⁷² fixus, semper estiva utique erat¹⁷³ constitutio apud nos, si autem in Capricorno, semper hyemalis, et non utique erat¹⁷⁴ generatio et corruptio, sed neque differentes lune illuminationes. Si autem quis solem ipsum secundum se ipsum¹⁷⁵ in hoc per media zodia motum supponat et lunam in

¹⁵⁸ Quia T1^{ac}

¹⁵⁹ sempiternam T1^{ac}

¹⁶⁰ om. B

¹⁶¹ hominum? B

¹⁶² ostendendit B

¹⁶³ erant? T1

¹⁶⁴ simul T1

¹⁶⁵ infecta T1

¹⁶⁶ derelinquam Bossier : derelinquit B : derelinquit T1

¹⁶⁷ sic – sole om. B

¹⁶⁸ etatis T1^{ac}

¹⁶⁹ om. B

¹⁷⁰ aplane T1

¹⁷¹ pertransseunte B : pertranseunt T1

¹⁷² contingit T1

¹⁷³ erit T1

¹⁷⁴ erit B

¹⁷⁵ se ipsum om. B

obliquo ad zodiacum circulum, quia ab Ariete¹⁷⁶ ad Taurum¹⁷⁷ et a Tauro¹⁷⁸ ad Geminos transeuntes¹⁷⁹ apparent, primum quidem pluribus indiguerunt motibus, ut dixit Aristoteles, deinde autem et e converso factis. Sed et de hoc in hiis que deinceps dicere repromittit¹⁸⁰ manifestius; nunc (H. 403) autem tantum est, ait, manifestum, propter quam causam plura circularia corpora¹⁸¹ sunt, quod proposuimus¹⁸² querere; et¹⁸³ concise inferius et a sequentibus ascendens ad priora componit resolutorie demonstrationis assumptiones; plura enim sunt circularia et e converso¹⁸⁴ mota,¹⁸⁵ quia necesse generationem esse; generationem autem, siquidem necesse (H. 403.5)

¹⁷⁶ arete T1

¹⁷⁷ Thaurum B

¹⁷⁸ Thaurum B

¹⁷⁹ transseuntes T1

¹⁸⁰ repromittit T1

¹⁸¹ corpora circularia T1

¹⁸² proposuimus Bossier : propuimus B : preponimus T1

¹⁸³ om. T1

¹⁸⁴ contraverso T1

¹⁸⁵ motu T1

DOMINGO BÁÑEZ (1528–1604)

AND THE NOVUS PHILOSOPHUS: CAJETAN, FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, AND THE (IN)EQUALITY OF HUMAN RATIONAL SOULS*

RUSSELL L. FRIEDMAN
KU LEUVEN



Spanish Dominican Domingo Báñez (1528–1604) is probably best known as one of the most active participants in the late sixteenth-century *De auxiliis* Controversy. After studying philosophy and theology in Salamanca, Báñez was professor of philosophy and theology at various Spanish universities from the early 1550s until occupying the First Chair of Theology in Salamanca (1581–1599). It was from Salamanca that, as part of the *De auxiliis* controversy, he wrote replies to Jesuit theologians Luis de Molina (1535–1600) and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) on a complex of issues including grace, divine foreknowledge, and human free will.¹ In the *De auxiliis* Controversy, then, Báñez was a major player in a high-profile intellectual debate between (among others) Dominicans and Jesuits. In the present article, I will demonstrate that also in his little studied *De generatione et corruptione* commentary, Báñez replied directly, albeit anonymously, to a Jesuit thinker, thus showing again the Dominican's knowledge of thinkers from what was clearly for him a rival religious and intellectual organization. Then I will trace some of the

* Thanks for help to Davide Cellamare, Serena Masolini, Nicola Polloni, Aurélien Robert, Sylvain Roudaut, and an anonymous reviewer for *Mediterranea*. I do not necessarily respect the orthography or punctuation of any Latin edition I use. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. The names I use for late scholastic authors are those I take to be the most common for the relevant figure in English-language secondary literature, whether anglicized (Cajetan), close to the vernacular (Domingo Báñez), in Latin (Franciscus Toletus), or a mix (John Capreolus).

¹ On Báñez's role in the *De auxiliis* controversy, including his exchange with Molina, see most recently ROBERT J. MATAVA, *Divine Causality and Human Free Choice. Domingo Báñez, Physical Premotion, and the Controversy de Auxiliis Revisited*, Brill, Leiden 2016 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 152), esp. p. 37–212, and literature referred to there; for a presentation of the later stages of the controversy, that shows just how significant Báñez was to especially the Dominican side of the Controversy going forward, see MATTHEW T. GAETANO, « The Catholic Reception of Aquinas in the *De auxiliis* Controversy », in MATTHEW LEVERING and MARCUS PLESTED (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception of Aquinas*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021, p. 255–279.

background to one of the issues on which Báñez criticized the anonymous author – the issue of the equality or inequality of human rational souls in terms of their substantial perfection – and show the centrality in that dispute of the Dominican thinker Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1468–1534).

No part of Báñez's extensive written production has been adequately studied, but theological works like his commentary on Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* (1584–1588), pamphlets authored as part of the *De auxiliis* controversy, and ethical, legal, and political works have on the whole been better served in the secondary literature than his *Commentaria et quaestiones in duos Aristotelis Stagyrtae De generatione et corruptione libros* has.² That work, published first in Salamanca in 1585, reprinted twice in Venice in 1587 and 1596, and printed yet again in Cologne in 1616, is a 500-plus page investigation into all aspects of hylomorphism, from prime matter's actuality to plurality of forms, from indeterminate dimensions to the elements. To my knowledge, the ideas found in this work of Báñez's have received a grand total of 7 dedicated pages of study in the secondary literature.³ I leave a more general study of the sources and the thought found in Báñez's *De generatione* commentary for another occasion,⁴ but here I want to focus on an otherwise anonymous *novus philosophus* or *novus author*, who appears at least five times in the commentary, every time as someone advocating a view that Báñez

² Besides the other works referred to in footnotes in the present article, for a biobibliographical study of Báñez, see esp. JOSÉ ÁNGEL GARCÍA CUADRADO, *Domingo Báñez (1528–1604): Introducción a su obra filosófica y teológica*, Servicio de Publicaciones e la Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona 1999 (Cuadernos de Anuario Filosófico, 13). An important study of Báñez's *Summa theologiae* commentary and Thomas Aquinas's place in it is: SERGE-THOMAS BONINO, « Le thomisme 'moderne' de Dominique Bañez », in CRUZ GONZÁLEZ-AYESTA (ed.), *El alma humana: IV centenario de Domingo Báñez (1528–1604)*, Eunsu, Pamplona 2006, p. 15–35; a propos the points made below, Bonino indicates (p. 27) that, in his *Summa* commentary, « la référence par excellence de Bañez est Cajetan ».

³ On the work itself, see GARCÍA CUADRADO, *Domingo Báñez (1528–1604)*, p. 45–47 (and on its publication history, see also CHARLES LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries, II. Renaissance Authors*, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Florence 1988, s.v. « Bañez, Dominicus, OP », p. 32). The dedicated study is found in MARCIAL SOLANA, *Historia de la Filosofía Española. Época del Renacimiento (Siglo XVI)*, tomo tercero, Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, Madrid 1940, on Báñez, p. 173–202, with hylomorphism, esp. the plurality of forms in the *De generatione et corruptione* commentary, on p. 185–190. In addition, BENJAMIN S. LLAMZON, on a number of occasions, appeals to the *De generatione* commentary as corroboration of his readings of Báñez's *Summa theologiae* commentary; see idem, « The Specification of Esse. A Study in Bañez », *The Modern Schoolman*, 41 (1964), p. 123–143, esp. footnotes on p. 135, 138, 142, and « Suppositional and Accidental Esse. A Study in Bañez », *The New Scholasticism*, 39 (1965), p. 170–188, esp. footnotes on p. 171, 181, 187.

⁴ A preliminary study, dealing with Báñez's ideas on indeterminate dimensions, will appear as RUSSELL L. FRIEDMAN, « Late Scholastic Thomism into Pieces: Hylomorphism and Indeterminate Dimensions in Domingo Báñez's Commentary on *De generatione et corruptione* », in NICOLA POLLONI and SYLVAIN ROUDAUT (eds.), *Hylomorphism into Pieces. Elements, Atoms and Corpuscles in Philosophy, Science and Medicine, 1400–1600*, Palgrave, London Forthcoming (Palgrave Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Medicine).

will oppose. Interesting is that, when mentioning this « New Philosopher », Báñez gives specific references to the places in the anonymous author's works where the offending positions are found. Here are the five mentions of Báñez's *novus philosophus*, with the barest amount of context:

Case 1: QUIDAM NOVUS PHILOSOPHUS, qui in III *De anima*, q. 16, ait quod haec sententia [...] non est Divi Thomae sed Caietani, et quod illa est [...] periculosa et nullo modo tenenda

Case 2: QUIDAM NOVUS PHILOSOPHUS qui in commentariis suis super primum librum *De generatione*, q. 6

Case 3: Hanc opinionem sequitur [...] in hoc loco NOVUS ILLE AUTHOR, cuius iam saepe mentionem fecimus [*in hoc loco* = Báñez's *De generatione* commentary, book I]

Case 4: NOVUS ILLE AUTHOR in III *De anima*, q. 18, dicit non esse veram hanc nostram sententiam [...] quamvis contrarium doceat Sanctus Thomas in II *Contra gentiles*, cap. 81

Case 5: Hanc sententiam Scoti sequitur NOVUS ILLE PHILOSOPHUS, quem aliquando citare solemus, in IV *Physicorum*, q. 11, circa finem [...]

What we can learn from just these snippets is that the anonymous *novus philosophus* had commentaries on the *De anima*, the *De generatione*, and the *Physics*, and that Báñez himself was aware that he was repeatedly mentioning this specific author. Moreover, in **Case 1**, Báñez presents the *novus philosophus* as attacking Cajetan for maintaining a dangerous and untenable theory that, in the *novus philosophus*'s view, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) never held. In **Case 4**, Báñez attacks the *novus author* for rejecting Báñez's own preferred theory, which Báñez claims was explicitly taught by Thomas Aquinas. Finally, in **Case 5**, Báñez says the anonymous author followed a view defended by the Franciscan John Duns Scotus (d. 1308). All in all, a lot of information.

Textual comparisons – laid out below – reveal that the anonymous author is none other than Franciscus Toletus, S.J. (Francisco de Toledo, 1532–1596). Franciscus taught philosophy at Salamanca from 1555 until 1559, when, having become a Jesuit in 1558, he was transferred to the Society's Collegio Romano, teaching first philosophy (1559–1562), then theology (1563–1569) there. From 1569 until being elevated to cardinal in 1593, he spent much of his time in Rome, preaching at the papal court, and serving as theologian at the Apostolic Penitentiary (Sacra Penitenzieria), although he was sent on many diplomatic missions for the Church in that period. Franciscus was author of many works, among which here can be highlighted commentaries on Aristotle's *De generatione*

(first published Venice 1573), *Physics* (first published Venice 1573), and *De anima* (first published Venice 1575);⁵ all of these were printed repeatedly in the last 25 years of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century.⁶ In a 1640 letter to Marin Mersenne, René Descartes himself tells us that, as a youth at La Flèche, he read Franciscus.⁷ In his early student notebooks, Galileo Galilei mentions

⁵ I've given date and place of publication of the earliest editions of these works that I am certain about, having seen them (including title pages) in digital reproduction; both the *Physics* and *De anima* editions display on the title page « [...] *commentaria* [...] *nunc primum in lucem edita* », while I can find no earlier printing of the *De generatione* commentary than the Venice 1573. In the secondary literature on Franciscus, dates and places of the *editiones principes* vary. As LOHR (*Latin Aristotle Commentaries, II. Renaissance Authors*, s.v. « Toletus (Toledo), Franciscus, SJ », p. 458–461, p. 460 no. 9) notes, in contrast to the titlepage, the colophon of the Venice 1575 printing of the *De anima* has « 1574 ». For question lists of these three commentaries, see the Appendix below. Franciscus's *Opera omnia philosophica* as printed in two volumes in Cologne in 1615 was reprinted by Georg Olms Verlag (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York) in 1985, vol. I: *Introductio in universam Aristotelis logicam, Commentaria in universam Aristotelis logicam, Commentaria in tres libros de anima*; vol. II: *Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de physica auscultatione, Commentaria in libros Aristotelis de generatione et corruptione*.

⁶ LUKE MURRAY, « Catholic Biblical Studies after Trent: Franciscus Toletus », *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 2 (2015), p. 61–85, at p. 74 fn. 36, claims 15 editions for the *Physics* commentary, 7 for the *De generatione*, and 20 for the *De anima* (Murray appears to take these numbers from ANTONIO PEREZ GOYENA's entry on « Francisco Toledo » in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (online): <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14760a.htm>> (accessed January 5, 2023); cf. the information in LOHR, « Toletus (Toledo), Franciscus, SJ », although there is clearly an issue with Lohr's list for the *Physics* commentary, since he does not list the 1573 Venice edition, while the titlepage of the earliest printing of the *Physics* that Lohr does list, the 1574 Cologne edition, states the work is « *nunc denuo summa cura diligentiaque excusa* »; on p. 68–76, Murray gives a nice introduction to Franciscus's life and works, as well as prominent secondary literature, which I have relied on here in conjunction with the other secondary sources mentioned below. Murray also wrote one of the two most recent works I have been able to find on Franciscus, including an extensive bio-bibliographical introduction: *Jesuit Biblical Studies after Trent: Franciscus Toletus & Cornelius a Lapide*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2019 (Refo500 Academic Studies, 64), focusing on Franciscus as biblical exegete. The other recent work is ANNA TROPPIA, « Francisco de Toledo: Setting a Standard for Jesuit Philosophy », in CRISTIANO CASALINI (ed.), *Jesuit Philosophy on the Eve of Modernity*, Brill, Leiden 2019 (Jesuit Studies, 20), p. 251–269, offering studies of several issues in Toletus's philosophical psychology as well as a discussion of Aristotle's and Thomas Aquinas's authority in Franciscus's philosophy, with Cajetan, who plays an important role in the present article, on p. 258–260.

⁷ See, e.g., ROGER ARIEW, *Descartes among the Scholastics*, Brill, Leiden 2011 (History of Science and Medicine Library, 20; Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions, 1), p. 42–43; Franciscus is frequently mentioned as significant background to some of Descartes's ideas. Descartes's having mentioned Franciscus is given by DENNIS DES CHENE as a reason for focusing on the Jesuit in his *Physiologia. Natural Philosophy in Late Aristotelian and Cartesian Thought*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca – London 1996, esp. p. 10–12 (but see throughout) and *Life's Form. Late Aristotelian Conceptions of the Soul*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca – London 2000, esp. p. 3 (but see throughout). Further, ROBERT PASNAU in his monumental *Metaphysical Themes, 1274–1671*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, mentions Franciscus being among « the most interesting late

Franciscus, and this fact has led to the Jesuit having been put forward as a possible link between the late medieval *Calculatores* tradition and Galileo, via the Dominican Domingo de Soto (d. 1560), one of Franciscus's teachers at Salamanca before his having become a Jesuit.⁸ Let this be enough to indicate that in the late sixteenth century Franciscus Toletus was very well known for his widely distributed philosophical works and ideas. And this is probably enough to explain why Domingo Báñez, in his *De generatione et corruptione* commentary, uses Franciscus, albeit anonymously, as a foil on at least the five occasions mentioned above, under the epithets of *novus philosophus* or *novus author*.

Immediately below I give parallel passages that demonstrate that Báñez's *novus philosophus* is Franciscus Toletus, using bold, italics, and underline to show verbatim or near verbatim overlap between the texts of the two thinkers. As will be clear, there is a great deal of overlap, at times overlap of extensive verbatim passages (**Case 2** and **3**), at times overlap of a few phrases or just some ideas (**Case 1**, **4**, and **5**). Noteworthy is the fact that Báñez's references to precise spots in three different philosophical works by the *novus philosophus* line up exactly with text in the very *quaestiones* referred to in the relevant commentaries by Franciscus.⁹ These parallel passages, I submit, should leave no one in doubt that the *novus philosophus* of Báñez's *De generatione* commentary is Franciscus Toletus. After the parallel texts,

scholastic authors » (p. 436, cf. p. 418) and as one of the late scholastics most often cited by seventeenth-century authors (p. 253).

⁸ WILLIAM A. WALLACE has pursued this goal over many years of publications; see his summing up in « Jesuit Influences on Galileo's Science », in JOHN W. O'MALLEY, GAUVIN ALEXANDER BAILEY, STEVEN J. HARRIS, T. FRANK KENNEDY (eds.), *The Jesuits II. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2006, p. 314–335, with references to Wallace's earlier work on Franciscus found esp. on p. 331 fn. 8. I take the claim that Galileo mentions Franciscus from WALLACE, « The 'Calculatores' in Early Sixteenth-Century Physics », *British Journal for the History of Science*, 4 (1969), p. 221–232, on p. 232. Interestingly, de Soto was not only Franciscus's teacher at Salamanca, but also Báñez's.

⁹ In **Case 1**, both editions of the Báñez text I have seen refer to q. 16 instead of the correct q. 18 in Franciscus's *De anima* commentary. This must be an error, either on Báñez's part or on the part of his printers. This is made clear by the obvious overlap presented in **Case 1** between Báñez and q. 18 in Franciscus's commentary (see the parallel texts I provide). In addition, the closely related **Case 4** refers correctly to q. 18. Finally, in his *Summa theologiae* commentary, part 1, q. 85, art. 7, Salamanca 1588, col. 1057–1058, Báñez brings up this topic and mentions Franciscus by name along with his *De anima* III, q. 18: « Toletus in III *De anima*, q. 18, in hac quaestione dicit duo. Primo [...] Secundo dicit quod sententiam quae asserit unam animam esse perfectiorem altera secundum substantiam et in se ipsa, non est sententia Divi Thomae sed est opinio Caietani, et temeraria et periculosa. Haec tamen censura contra Caietanum indigna est autore Christiano ». Of course, the fact that, in his *Summa* commentary, Báñez, in the same context and with the same phrasing as in **Case 1**, refers explicitly to Franciscus, is proof positive that the *novus philosophus* in the *De generatione* commentary is indeed Franciscus. For context, see the study of **Case 1** below. As far as I can tell using electronic searches, in his *Summa* commentary, Báñez refers to Franciscus by name in just one other place: part 1, q. 78, art. 3, Salamanca 1588, col. 720–722, referring to Franciscus's commentary on III *De anima*, q. 6.

I give philosophical and theological context for **Case 1**. There I explain the issue of the substantial equality or inequality of human souls and show the different attitudes Franciscus and Báñez exhibit towards Thomas Aquinas and his great sixteenth-century Dominican expositor, Cajetan.¹⁰

Case 1

BÁÑEZ, I <i>De Generatione</i>, q. 8 (= <i>Utrum aliqua qualitas possit intendi et remitti, et quae sit ista</i>), p. 54b; p. 102a Nihilominus hisce novissimis diebus surrexit QUIDAM NOVUS PHILOSOPHUS, qui in III <i>De anima</i>, q. 16,¹¹ ait quod haec sententia quae asserit <u>unam animam esse perfectiorem altera secundum substantiam</u> et in seipsa non est Divi Thomae sed <u>Caietani</u>, et quod illa est temeraria et periculosa et nullo modo tenenda.	FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, III <i>De Anima</i>, q. 18 (= cap. 5, Tex 19 = <i>An animae intellectivae sint inter se aequales</i>), Venice 1575, fol. 161vb–162ra, 162vb; vol. I, fol. 158ra–b, 159ra Advertendum opinionem communem esse animas esse aequales in perfectione substantiali, de hac enim est disputatio. <u>Caietanus</u> tamen, I parte, q. 85, art. 7, dissentit ab hoc, putans esse inaequales, ita ut <u>una sit perfectior substantia quam altera</u>. Exemplum esse potest¹² ad huius opinionis intelligentiam. Sit album ut unum sit aliud ut duo, aliud ut tria, et cetera; seu potius illae ipsae albedines gradu perfectiores, sic putat esse animarum rationalium substantias, et putat hoc esse Sancti Thomae. Et alicui¹³ potest forte videri Sanctum Thomam id dicere in illomet articulo, cum tamen non ita sit sed ab aliis Thomistis aliter exponatur Divus Thomas, nempe de sola perfectione quae accidit vel ex prima naturali corporis dispositione vel postea ex aliqua eius accidentali mutatione. Ut tamen quid tenendum sit, statuamus in hac re sit prima conclusio. Animae omnes intellectivae sunt in substantia sua aequalis perfectionis. Haec conclusio est contra <u>Caietanum</u>, cuius

¹⁰ From this point on in the present article, when referencing Báñez's texts, page numbers in roman = Salamanca 1585; page numbers in italics = *Cologne* 1616. When referencing Franciscus's texts, folio numbers in roman = *editio princeps* of the work in question (see n. 5 above); folio numbers in italics = *Cologne* 1615 (rpt. 1985), in 2 volumes. Throughout, then, for both thinkers: earlier edition in roman, later edition in italics.

¹¹ See n. 9 above.

¹² potest] post *ed.* 1615

¹³ alicui] alieni *ed.* 1573

	sententiam puto periculosam et nullo modo tenendam . Probo autem id aliquibus rationibus [....] [....] Est ergo temeraria et periculosa talis assertio animarum rationalium, quod perfectione differant substantialiter et intrinsece animae rationales.

Case 2

BÁÑEZ, I <i>De Generatione</i> , q. 11 (<i>Utrum alteratio sive intensio sit motus continuus</i>), p. 74b–75a; p. 122a–b	FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, I <i>De Generatione</i> , q. 6 (<i>An alteratio sit motus continuus</i>), Venice 1573, fol. 16vb, 17rb; vol. II, fol. 261va, 262ra
In secundo articulo videndum a nobis est: utrum detur minimum in accidentibus quae intenduntur. Et quidem illud certum est in hac quaestione quod qui asserunt alterationem seu intensionem esse motum discretum, necessario concedere tenentur tale minimum, et ita existimat Soncinus, lib. VIII <i>Metaphysicae</i> , q. 23 [....] Ceterum hisce nostris diebus surrexit QUIDAM NOVUS PHILOSOPHUS qui in commentariis suis super primum librum <i>De generatione</i> , q. 6, existimat quidem alterationem esse motum continuum in quo quidem verum asserit, existimat nihilominus quod in alteratione datur primus gradus acquisitus et prima pars secundum subiectum , sicuti, cum ignis accedit ad aquam, datur unus primus gradus caloris in uno instanti introductus, similiter prima et minima pars aquae calefacta [<i>calefactae</i> ed. 1616]. Quod probat primo quantum ad minimum extensionis , quia si non datur prima pars quae sit calefacta, sed semper minor et minor praecessit, sequitur quod nec [<i>non</i> ed. 1616] datur minimum ignis et substantiae , quod quidem falsum est. Probatur sequela, quia calor disponit ad formam ignis, sicut ergo	[...] sit prima conclusio: alteratio quoad utrumque continua est saepe. Dico ‘saepe’, quia aliquando evenit secundum subiecti partes non esse continuum, sed totam simul, ut dicemus postea [....] [...] Secunda conclusio: in alteratione datur primus gradus acquisitus et prima pars secundum subiectum . Explico, cum ignis accedit aquae ¹⁴ datur unus primus gradus caloris in uno instanti introductus, similiter prima et minima pars aquae calefacta . Haec conclusio quantum ad minimum extensionis probatur: quia si non datur prima pars quae sit calefacta, sed semper minor et minor praecessit, sequitur quod nec dabitur minimum ignis et substantiae, quod falsum esse supra ostendimus. Probatur sequela, quia calor disponit ad formam ignis,

¹⁴ aquae] ad aquam ed. 1615

non datur primum in calore nec dabitur ignis minimum, quia demus v.g. minimum ignis, sit A.B., si in medietate[m] potest induci calor, detur quod intendatur ibi usque ad octo, peto an erit ignis vel non. Si est, ergo minor minimo; si non, ergo posita summa dispositione non erit forma. Praeterea, quia summus calor erit cum forma aquae vel erit materia sine forma, necesse est igitur quod si non datur ista divisio in igne, sed est minimum quod etiam sit in accidenti. Praeterea, quia agens et alterans semper est applicatum aequaliter alicui parti passi et sic non in minori et minor prius inducit qualitatem. Idem probat de intensione probatione [probatio ed. 1616] tertia in secundo argumento a nobis posita. Caeterum quae iste auctor hac in parte affert inter se nullo modo cohaerent, quod infra amplius patebit.	sicut ergo non datur primum in calore nec dabitur ignis minimum, quia demus verbi gratia minimum ignis, sit A.B., si in medietate potest induci¹⁵ calor, detur quod intendatur ibi usque ad octo, peto an erit ignis vel non. Si est, ergo minor minimo; si non, ergo posita summa dispositione non erit forma. Praeterea, quia summus calor erit cum forma aquae vel erit materia sine forma, necesse est igitur quod si non datur ista divisio in igne, sed est minimum, quod etiam sit in accidenti. Praeterea, quia agens et alterans semper est applicatum aequaliter alicui parti passi et sic non in minori et minori prius inducit qualitatem.

Case 3

BÁÑEZ, I <i>De Generatione</i>, q. 15, art. 1 (<i>Utrum eadem accidentia quae erant in genito eadem sint in corrupto, idest Utrum in generatione fiat resolutio usque ad materiam primam</i>), p. 120a–b; p. 195b–196a Secunda quaestio est utrum supposito quod fiat resolutio quoad substantiales formas, utrum idem contingat quoad accidentales, idest utrum in re quae generatur maneat aliqua qualitas, dispositio, vel quantitas, vel aliquod aliud accidens quod erat in re corrupta, v.g. cum cadaver generatur ex homine, utrum figura et color, qui apparent in cadavere	FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, I <i>De Generatione</i>, q. 7 (<i>An in corruptione fiat resolutio usque in primam materiam</i>), Venice 1573, fol. 18va–b; vol. II, fol. 263rb–va Superest ut quid mihi <u>probabilius</u> videatur aperiam. Sit igitur prima conclusio. <u>Resolutio fit usque in materiam primam mediate et post multas corruptiones. Explico, cum homo corrumpitur in cadaver</u>, et iterum cadaver in aliud, et hoc iterum: profecto iam post tot mutationes non est ullum accidens, quod erat hominis sed sola materia.

¹⁵ induci] introduci ed. 1615

sint eadem figura et idem color qui erant in homine.

Ad quam quaestionem omnes supradicti auctores, qui asserunt accidentia subiectari in materia prima, etiam consequenter asserunt aliqua accidentia corrupti manere in re genita. Pro quo advertunt **accidentia esse in duplici differentia, quaedam enim sunt communia genito et corrupto, quaedam propria uni. Semper enim genitum et corruptum specie aut genere differunt. Numquam enim unum primo in aliud eiusdem speciei corrumpitur, sed in alterius, ut homo in cadaver, ignis in aerem, aer in aquam, et idem in omnibus.**

Unde accidentia propria speciei (inquiunt isti) corrumpuntur at quae generica sunt et communia aliquo modo nec contrarium habent in genito, nihil vetat eadem manere [...]

Hanc opinionem sequitur, praeter authores supracitados, tamquam probabilior in hoc loco NOVUS ILLE AUTHOR, cuius iam saepe mentionem fecimus. Dicit enim ***aliquando fieri resolutionem usque ad materiam primam, ut quando palea comburitur, aliquando vero non fit haec resolutio, ut quando homo moritur***. Isti tamen authores omnes maxime errant in philosophia sensuum iudicio magis quam rationi innitentes, cum enim vident similia accidentia in corrupto cum his quae erant in genito, existimant esse eadem.

Haec conclusio est certa apud omnes, praeter Averroem, qui quantitatem manere perpetuo cum materia autumat. Sed contra istam sententiam diximus iam lib. I *Physicorum*, de qualitatibus; vero aliisque accidentibus nulli est dubium.

Secunda conclusio. ***Aliquando immediate ex prima mutatione fit talis resolutio usque in materiam primam, ut patet combustionem paleae*** et in mutatione elementi non symboli et aliis huiusmodi. De his duabus conclusionibus non est magna difficultas.

Tertia conclusio. Non semper fit resolutio immediate usque in materiam primam. Haec conclusio mihi videtur multo probabilior quam opposita. Explicatur conclusio. Adverte ergo **accidentia esse in duplici differentia, quaedam enim sunt communia genito et corrupto, quaedam propria uni. Scias enim quod genitum et corruptum semper specie vel genere differunt. Numquam enim primo unum in aliud eiusdem speciei corrumpitur, sed alterius, ut homo in cadaver, ignis in aerem, aer in ignem, et idem in omnibus.**

Unde accidentia propria speciei corrumpuntur, nec manent in genito, at quae generica et communia sunt aliquo modo nec contrarium habent in genito, nihil vetat eadem manere, in mutatione immediata et prima. Istam sententiam mihi persuadeo multis rationibus.

Case 4

BÁÑEZ, I *De Generatione*, q. 20, art. 9 (*Utrum omnis forma in universum individuetur per materiam*), p. 176b; p. 288b–289a

Advertendum secundo quod NOVUS ILLE AUTHOR in III *De anima*, /289a/ q. 18, dicit

FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, III *De anima*, q. 18 (= cap. 5, Tex 19), Venice 1575, fol. 162vb; vol. I, fol. 159ra

non esse veram hanc nostram sententiam quod anima rationalis individuetur per commensurationem ad corpus, quamvis contrarium doceat Sanctus Thomas in II Contra gentiles, cap. 81, quin potius inquit quod animae rationales se ipsis individuantur. Sed iste author iam obducta fronte Divi Thomae doctrinam parvi pendit, quare nullo modo est auscultandus praecipue cum neque aliquam rationem et novam aut alicuius ponderis afferat. In hoc autem loco pluribus eius sententiam impugnare non vacat, satis superque eius falsitas apparet et ex dictis et ex auctoribus citatis et ex ipsomet Divo Thoma in locis allegatis.	Sit secunda conclusio. Animae non differunt numero per diversas commensurationes ad diversa corpora. Haec, quamvis videatur esse dissona sententiae¹⁶ Sancti Thomae, II Contra gentiles, cap. 81, tamen puto veram. Cum Divo autem Thoma multi sentiunt, dicentes quod [...] Sed nos in conclusione asserimus oppositum, talem commensurationem non constituere hanc anima, sed consequi potius animam iam singularem et individuum.

Case 5

BÁÑEZ, I <i>De Generatione</i>, q. 29 (<i>Utrum in rarefactione acquiratur nova quantitas</i>), p. 201a; p. 329b Alii vero dicunt in rarefactione novam acquiri quantitatem, sed tamen sine amissione praecedentis. Scotus in IV, d. 12, q. 3 dicit oportere ab omnibus concedi aliquam quantitatis partem noviter advenire in rarefactione postquam corpus extensius est. Confirmatur quia omnis motus terminatur ad aliquid quod non fuit ante motum, aliter motus esset frustra; ergo. Hanc sententiam Scoti sequitur NOVUS ILLE PHILOSOPHUS, quem aliquando citare solemus, in IV <i>Physicorum</i>, q. 11, circa finem, sed neque iste auctor neque Scotus explicant quomodo nova illa pars quantitatis subiecto adveniat,	FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, IV <i>Physicorum</i>, q. 11 (<i>Quid sit condensatio et rarefactio et ex quibus causis et quomodo fiat ex quo constabit an sine vacuo esse possint</i>), Venice 1573, fol. 132vb–133ra; vol. II, fol. 132vb–133ra Secundum tamen Averroem, qui tenet materiam semper habere coniunctam quantitatem sibi ut numquam de novo acquiratur vel deperdatur, nec tota nec ulla quantitatis pars, dicit quod in condensatione vel rarefactione non deperditur quicquam quantitatis aut acquiritur, sed aliter et aliter se habet. Et probabile hoc est. At nos, qui quantitatem non in sola materia, sed in composito constituimus, ac ipsam deperdi et acquiri diximus, non reputamus inconveniens dicere quod, sicut in remissione caloris et intensione, aliquid caloris deperditur vel recipitur ut probabimus¹⁷ postea, ita in ista

¹⁶ dissona sententiae] disson a sententia ed. 1573

¹⁷ probabimus] probavimus ed. 1573

philosophantur tamen sicut de intensione qualitatum, ut supra expositum est.	rarefactione et condensatione circa quantitatem. Immo cum ex generatione proveniunt, sicut cum ex aqua aer vel econtra fit, probabiliter etiam dicitur quod ¹⁸ tunc tota quantitas mutatur et nova acquiritur sub eadem manente materia. Re enim corrupta, ut probabilis ait opinio, omnia ipsius accidentia corrumpuntur. De hoc tamen alibi latius dicemus.

Background to Case 1: Cajetan and The Substantial Inequality of Human Souls

Human beings differ from one another in lots of different ways, and in many of these ways it seems quite uncontroversial to label some people as being ‘better’ than others; in other words, people are not just different, they’re unequal. For example, some people have 20/20 vision, others need strong glasses in order to see even a short distance; some people have exquisite senses of smell, able to discriminate with precision a huge range of odors, while others can’t smell an overripe Camembert. Or take various forms of mental acuity: some people are good at languages, others at mathematics, others at philosophy, and others still at organization. Most everyone seems to have some strong mental ability or another, but at the end of the day there are some people who we might be willing to say are simply more intelligent in certain areas than (most) others are.

It’s these observable differences and inequalities between human beings on especially the perceptual and the intellectual plane that motivates the later-medieval debate on whether or not human souls are unequal in terms of what I will call below ‘substantial perfection’, and specifically where, metaphysically speaking, we should locate the source of these inequalities. How deep do these differences go? Are they purely bodily phenomena? Or do they reach even to our immortal rational soul? There appears to have been an important and widespread discussion on this psychological issue in late scholasticism, a discussion I can only begin to introduce here as background to Domingo Báñez’s criticism of Franciscus Toletus in **Case 1** (and **Case 4**) above.¹⁹ These two basic positions, (cognitive)

¹⁸ quod *om. ed.* 1573

¹⁹ I hope to return to the issue in a later publication. For an extremely informative look at the issue of the ‘double latitude’ of body and soul differences in both medicine and theology in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, see AURÉLIEN ROBERT, « La latitude de l’humanité dans la médecine et la théologie médiévales (XIII^e–XIV^e siècle) », in *Mesure et histoire médiévale*, XLIII^e Congrès de la SHMESP, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris 2013, p. 41–52, esp. p. 49–52 with references to further literature (thanks to Sylvain Roudaut for having pointed me to this article). I have found no secondary literature dedicated to discussions of the inequality of rational souls in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but for general background on the philosophical

inequalities as purely bodily phenomena or (cognitive) inequalities as intrinsic to the rational soul itself, are those that you find in late medieval scholasticism. On the one hand, some scholastics said that all of these differences in perceptual and intellectual abilities arise from the fact that we all have bodies: it's the fact that my bodily organs, my eyes, are misshapen that renders me in need of glasses, and it's the fact that my sensory apparatus, from the external through the internal senses, are not as good as someone else's that makes it the case that my intelligence in certain departments is not as good as theirs. The *form* of the body, the human soul, on this view is completely untouched by the limitations foisted upon it by a deficient body, and for this reason, all human souls are equal in substantial perfection. Call that the 'equal souls' view: all human souls have the same amount of substantial perfection and all human perceptual and intellectual limitations and inequalities arise due to the soul's connection to something extrinsic, its body. On the other hand, some medieval scholastic authors appear to have taken their starting point in the fact that the rational soul is the substantial form of the human body and that the unity between them, which just is the unity of the individual human being, is the strongest unity around: *per se* unity. So tight is this link between rational soul and body, thought these authors, that any deficiencies in bodily sensory organs that might lead to inequalities in perceptual or intellectual abilities must be reflected in some way in the substantial form that gives that body being, that is to say, reflected in the degree of substantial perfection of the rational soul itself. Call this the 'unequal souls' view. Human rational souls, on that view, are intrinsically unequal, and even separated from their bodies they will maintain their inequality in substantial perfection. Thus, two opposed views on the (in)equality of human rational souls: a view on which in terms of their substantial perfection all human souls are equal and a view on which there is an intrinsic inequality between them. That is the general philosophical and theological point at issue between Domingo Báñez and Franciscus Toletus in **Case 1** above; in their dispute over it the influential Dominican theologian Thomas de Vio Cajetan plays a central role.

There is a good deal of evidence that Cajetan was considered by Franciscus Toletus as one of his main theological and philosophical targets. Indeed, in 1935 Friedrich Stegmüller published a previously unedited text in which are listed 10 issues on which Toletus disagreed with Cajetan, with Toletus (or whoever reported his thoughts) often locating the source of Cajetan's incorrect view in his having

psychology of the sixteenth century, see, e.g., DES CHENE, *Life's Form*; SASCHA SALATOWSKY, *De Anima. Die Rezeption der aristotelischen Psychologie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Grüner, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 2006 (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie, 43); SANDER DE BOER, « The Human Soul », in HENRIK LAGERLUND and BENJAMIN HILL (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy*, Routledge, New York – London 2017, p. 411–435.

misunderstood Thomas Aquinas.²⁰ It can be no real wonder that Cajetan loomed large in Franciscus's view of contemporary (Dominican) Thomism: Master General of the Dominican Order (1508–1518), Cardinal from 1517 until his death in 1534, papal interrogator of Martin Luther in Augsburg in October 1518, and perhaps most importantly author of a widely printed and widely read commentary on Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, which we know had a significant impact in sixteenth-century Salamanca, where Franciscus was educated and, early in his career, taught.²¹ In short: Cajetan was a major voice in late scholastic Thomism, a voice Franciscus knew and considered, in some cases, out of tune with Thomas Aquinas himself or with the truth (or with both). This is the broad context for **Case 1**.

The story in the texts we are examining begins with Aquinas. In the *Summa theologiae*, part 1, q. 85, art. 7, he asks whether one person can understand one and the same thing better than another person can.²² In his response, the « better » (*melius*) of the title quickly becomes a « more » (*magis*), and in answer to the question can one person understand one and the same thing « more » than another, Aquinas says that with respect to the object being understood, there is one and only one way it can be understood, and understanding it differently than that one way – better or worse – would in fact be distorting or misunderstanding the object. But with respect to the persons doing the understanding, Aquinas affirms that, indeed, one person can understand more about one and the same object than another person, and this occurs because the body or the senses of one

²⁰ FRIEDRICH STEGMÜLLER, « Tolet et Cajétan », *Revue Thomiste*, 39 (1935), p. 358–370. In a recent article, CHRISTOPH SANDER discusses briefly Cajetan as a target of an attack by Franciscus: « For Christ's Sake. Pious Notions of the Human & Animal Body in Early Jesuit Philosophy and Theology », in STEFANIE BUCHENAU, ROBERTO LO PRESTI (eds.), *Human and Animal Cognition in Early Modern Philosophy and Medicine*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 2017, p. 55–73, this on p. 66, with Sander noting (p. 63) that Cajetan « surely can be considered one of the most important exponents of early sixteenth-century Thomism, whose influence on the early Jesuits has yet to be explored ». See also the reference in n. 6 above to Anna Tropia's comments on Cajetan, whom she presents as offering to Jesuits like Franciscus or Francisco Suárez a surrogate for Aquinas when disagreeing with Thomistic doctrines.

²¹ A very recent study of Cajetan, with extensive bibliography, is GREGORY HRYNKIW, *Cajetan on Sacred Doctrine*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 2020. On Cajetan's commentary on the *Summa theologiae* (the first ever commentary on the entire work) and its influence in Salamanca, see LIDIA LANZA, MARCO TOSTE, « The Commentary Tradition on the *Summa theologiae* », in LANZA, TOSTE (eds.), *Summistae. The Commentary Tradition on Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae from the 15th to the 17th Centuries*, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2021 (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Series 1, 58), p. 3–93, esp. p. 14–15 with references to further literature, also to other chapters in that same volume.

²² THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae* (hereafter = ST) I, q. 85, art. 7, ed. Leonina 5, Rome 1889, p. 344: « Utrum unam et eandem rem unus alio melius intelligere possit ».

person are better disposed for understanding than the body or senses of the other.²³

When Cajetan came to comment on this text of Aquinas, he laid weight on some particular formulations. Aquinas had written that

the better the body's disposition, the better a soul it takes on. This is clearly apparent in things that differ in species. The reason for it is that actuality and form are received in matter in keeping with the capacity of matter. So since, even among human beings, some have better disposed bodies, they take on a soul that has a greater power for understanding.²⁴

This text from Aquinas suggested to Cajetan that « not all human souls are equal, but better souls have better bodies ».²⁵ Cajetan was aware that this view – that human souls are unequal – was controversial: he mentions that both among those who usually disagree with Aquinas and among those who follow him (i.e., *Thomistae*) there are some who « claim that Saint Thomas never thought that the substances of human souls are unequal ».²⁶ One can see why this view might be

²³ AQUINAS, *ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, ed. Leon. 5, p. 344a–b: « [...] dicendum quod aliquem intelligere unam et eandem rem magis quam alium, potest intelligi dupliciter. Uno modo sic quod ly 'magis' determinet actum intelligendi ex parte rei intellectae. Et sic non potest unus eandem rem magis intelligere quam alius, quia si intelligere eam aliter esse quam sit, vel melius vel peius, falleretur, et non intelligeret [...] Alio modo potest intelligi ut determinet actum intelligendi ex parte intelligentis. Et sic unus alio potest eandem rem melius intelligere, quia est melioris virtutis in intelligendo [...] Hoc autem circa intellectum contingit dupliciter. Uno quidem modo, ex parte ipsius intellectus qui est perfectior. Manifestum est enim quod quanto corpus est melius dispositum, tanto meliorem sortitur animam, quod manifeste apparet in his quae sunt secundum speciem diversa. Cuius ratio est quia actus et forma recipitur in materia secundum materiae capacitatem. Unde cum etiam in hominibus quidam habeant corpus melius dispositum, sortiuntur animam maioris virtutis in intelligendo [...] Alio modo contingit hoc ex parte inferiorum virtutum, quibus intellectus indiget ad sui operationem, illi enim in quibus virtus imaginativa et cogitativa et memorativa est melius disposita, sunt melius dispositi ad intelligendum ». For the italicized passage, see the translation at n. 24 below.

²⁴ This is Robert Pasnau's translation of the italicized text in n. 23 above; see THOMAS AQUINAS, *The Treatise on Human Nature. Summa Theologiae 1a 75–89*, trans. ROBERT PASNAU, Hackett, Indianapolis–Cambridge 2002 (The Hackett Aquinas), p. 176, l. 34–40. In his commentary to this passage, Pasnau (ibid., p. 351–352) suggests that, instead of « the better a soul it takes on (*sortitur*) », a more apt rendering might be « the better a soul it is allotted [by God] », although he ultimately thinks (p. 351) the passage should be interpreted as « souls adapt themselves to the body that they inform ». Cajetan, as we will see below, seems clearly to think that Pasnau's « the better a soul it is allotted [by God] » captures best Aquinas's meaning and the truth of the matter. For more on Aquinas on these issues, see n. 44 below.

²⁵ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, ed. Leonina 5, Rome 1889, p. 344a: « [...] non omnes animae humanae sunt aequales, sed meliorum corporum meliores sunt animae ».

²⁶ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 344b: « Circa [...] inaequalitatem animarum nostrarum, advertendum est quod non solum hi qui a S. Thoma se dissentire fatentur, sed etiam Thomistae

contested: a difference in what you could call ‘specific substantial perfection’, i.e. a difference in ‘substantial perfection’ between different species of substance (that, say, every human being insofar as human being is a more perfect substance than every cow insofar as cow) seems a relatively uncontroversial medieval view, but can one human being qua human being be substantially more perfect than another? Can there be a range or spectrum of individual substantial perfections among individuals of one and the same species? That is what’s at issue and Cajetan answers in the affirmative: not all human souls are substantially equal. Cajetan mentions explicitly as supporters of the opposing ‘equal human souls’ view the theologians Durand of St.-Pourçain (d. 1334),²⁷ Henry of Ghent (d. 1293),²⁸ and Bernard of Auvergne (= Bernardus de Gannaco, d. after 1307),²⁹ authors who Cajetan undoubtedly met while reading the treatment of this issue found in the *Sentences* commentary of the fifteenth-century ‘Princeps Thomistarum’, John Capreolus (= Jean Cabrol, d. 1444).³⁰ In those three authors’ names, Cajetan

aliqui contrariantur, adeo ut dicant non esse mentem S. Thomae animarum humanarum substantias esse inaequales ».

²⁷ DURAND OF ST.-POURÇAIN, II *Sentences* (C), d. 32, q. 3, in *Durandi a Sancto Porciano in Petri Lombardi Sententias theologicas commentariorum libri IIII* (= redactio tertia), Venice 1571 (rpt. Gregg Press, Ridgewood, NJ 1964), fol. 186ra–va: « Utrum omnes animae ab origine sint aequales ». Cf. idem, II *Sentences* (A), d. 32, q. 1, in DURANDI DE SANCTO PORCIANO, *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum, distinctiones 22–38 libri secundi*, ed. FIORELLA RETUCCI, MASSIMO PERONE, Peeters, Leuven 2013 (*Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, Bibliotheca, 10.2.3), p. 198–205.

²⁸ HENRY OF GHENT, Quodl. III, q. 5, in *Quodlibeta Magistri Henrici Goethals a Gandavo Doctoris Solemnis*, 2 vol., Iodocus Badius, Paris 1518 (rpt. Louvain 1961), fol. 53r–v: « Utrum anima Christi, circumscripta omni dispositione corporis et circumscriptis donis gratuitis, scilicet solum ut in puris naturalibus existens, sit nobilior qualibet anima cuiuslibet alterius ». Although focusing on Henry’s Quodl. IV, q. 15 and intension and remission of accidental forms, JEAN-LUC SOLÈRE mentions Henry’s view on the possibility of substantial form admitting of more and less in his « Les degrés de forme selon Henri de Gand (Quodl. IV, q. 15) », in GUY GULDENTOPS, CARLOS STEEL (eds.), *Henry of Ghent and the Transformation of Scholastic Thought*, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2003 (*Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, Series 1, 31), p. 127–155, esp. § III, p. 152–155; as mentioned there (p. 154 with fn. 116), Henry’s view on the matter is related to articles from the Condemnation of 1277 claiming that Christ’s soul being more noble than Judas’s blocks any claim that one intellect cannot be more noble than another.

²⁹ BERNARD OF AUVERGNE, *Reprobationes Henrici de Gandavo*, Quodl. III, q. 5, MS Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio A.943, fol. 14rb–vb. On Bernard and his *Reprobationes*, see, e.g., RUSSELL L. FRIEDMAN, « Dominican Quodlibetal Literature, ca. 1260–1330 », in CHRISTOPHER SCHABEL (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Fourteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden 2007 (*Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition*, 7), p. 401–491, esp. p. 411–418 with references to further literature there.

³⁰ JOHN CAPREOLUS, II *Sentences*, d. 32, q. 1 in *Defensiones Theologiae divi Thomae Aquinatis*, ed. CESLAUS PABAN et THOMAS PÈGUES, vol. IV, Cattier, Tours 1903, p. 359a–366b: « Utrum omnes animae humanae ab origine sint aequales », with reports in Capreolus’s own words of Durand’s, Henry’s, and Bernard’s views (p. 360b–363a) and Capreolus’s responses (p. 363a–366b). Capreolus’s own view (explained on p. 359b–360a) is: « Quod in animabus rationalibus sunt diversi gradus, eiusdem tamen speciei ». I was led to the Capreolus text both by the Leonine edition of Cajetan

formulates a few arguments against his ‘unequal human souls’ view. For one thing, Aristotle’s famous dictum in the *Categories* (Ch. 5, 3b32–33) that « substance does not admit of more or less » seems to argue against ‘substantial inequality’, i.e., some kind of deep form-dependent inequality between primary substances of the same most specific species.³¹ Further, since in any individual the individual’s substantial form is nothing other than the specific form (i.e., the form of the species), it would seem that substantial perfection is exhausted at the level of species with individual variation within the species being impossible.³² Moreover, Cajetan and his ‘unequal souls’ view takes it as given that souls are proportioned to their bodies, such that better disposed bodies have better souls; but since the human soul is not educed from matter but is created and infused directly by God, its bodily dispositions don’t have any influence on (*redundant in*) the human soul.³³ Finally, if human souls were proportioned to the dispositions of their body, then

and by Báñez’s treatment of the issue, as discussed below. For more on Capreolus on this issue, see fn. 45 below. For thoughts on Cajetan’s intellectual debt to Capreolus, including some case studies, see ANDRÉ F. VON GUNTEN, « Cajétan et Capreolus », in GUY BEDOUELLE, ROMANUS CESSARIO, and KEVIN WHITE (eds.), *Jean Capreolus en son temps (1380–1444)*, Cerf, Paris 1997 (Mémoire Dominicaine), p. 213–238.

³¹ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 344b: « Durandus, Henricus, et Bernardus de Gannaco, negando substantialem hanc inaequalitatem, contra ipsam et eius rationem arguunt [...] Primo, quia substantia susciperet magis et minus proprie dicta ». Cajetan (p. 344b–345a) offers what he calls a « sequela » on the basis of a text in *Physics* VII: « Et tenet sequela ex VII *Physicorum*, ubi dicitur quod participatio unius forma secundum speciem secundum diversos gradus, est proprie comparatio secundum magis et minus ». The *Physics* reference seems to me to be obscure, but in JACQUELINE HAMESSE’s *Auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval. Étude historique et édition critique*, Publications Universitaires, Louvain 1974 (Philosophes médiévaux, 17), p. 155 no. 192, an *auctoritas* is listed as « Sola univoca et non aequivoca sunt comparabilia », with reference to *Physics* VII, ch. 4 (248b6–7, 249a4–5), which looks about the best we can do. For a fuller version of the argument Cajetan presents, see, e.g., DURAND OF ST.-POURÇAIN, II *Sentences* (C), d. 32, q. 3, §8 (ed. Venice 1571, fol. 186ra–vb) and Id., II *Sentences* (A), d. 32, q. 1 (ed. RETUCCI, PERONE, p. 203, l. 103–117). As an anonymous reviewer for *Mediterranea* pointed out to me, Cajetan probably found this *Physics* reference in his reading of Capreolus, ed. PABAN, PÈGUES, p. 361a–b: « [...] in quibuscumque formis eiusdem speciei est dare [...] magis et minus proprie dicta. Et hoc apparet ex 7. *Physicorum* (t. c. 29), ubi dicitur quod propria comparatio secundum magis et minus est eorum quae participant unam formam secundum speciem, sed secundum alium gradum ». For a wide and deep exploration of ‘magis et minus’ in later medieval (and later) treatments of the intensification and remission of forms, see JEAN-LUC SOLÈRE, « Plus ou moins: Le vocabulaire de la latitude des formes », in JACQUELINE HAMESSE and CARLOS STEEL (eds.), *L’Élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique au Moyen Âge*, Brepols, Turnhout 2000 (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 8), p. 437–488.

³² CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a: « Secundo, quia forma individualis nullam substantiam includit praeter specificam formam. Ergo non est substantialiter perfectio. Consequentia nota. Et antecedens patet, quia nec formam, nec materiam, nec compositum ».

³³ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a: « Contra fundamentum vero eius, scilicet quia forma proportionatur corpori melius disposito, dupliciter etiam arguitur. Primo, quia dispositiones corporis non redundant in formam non eductam de materia, qualis est anima nostra. Ergo ».

one and the same person's soul would fluctuate in terms of its substance as its body becomes better or worse disposed throughout life; but that's clearly false.³⁴

Cajetan is having none of this. For him, in terms of substantial perfection, there are a range of human souls. He even claims that arguments trying to prove the opposite are easy to deal with as long as one understands correctly the nature of the intellectual soul's relation to the body as well as just what 'admitting more and less' means.³⁵ With respect to the first, Cajetan is clear that the human soul, like any soul, must be commensurate – proportioned or measured – to the body it animates; for human beings, the absolutely crucial bodily characteristic that establishes the commensurateness or 'commensuration' between soul and body is the perfection of our bodies' senses and particularly the sense of touch.³⁶ Cajetan writes:

Because the human soul is not caused by the body, and, with respect to its being brought about, the soul depends on the body not as a cause but as an occasion, the consequent is that the [human] soul, when it is brought about, is assigned (*sortiatur*) a substantial commensuration to a body with just the complexion it had in its beginnings. And the soul necessarily retains that commensuration, because it is an unchanging substance.³⁷

Thus, human bodies have different levels of sensory perfection, and in terms of substantial perfection a human soul is matched to a body of commensurate sensory perfection. This matching takes place already at the infusion of the human soul into the fetus, and that's why the body is merely an occasion for this matching of soul to body perfection; it is not that the inequality between human bodies causes the inequality between human souls, but rather bodily inequality provides the reason for the souls to be created unequal. Although Cajetan does not say as

³⁴ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a: « Secundo, quia si melius dispositi corporis melior est anima, ergo anima unius et eiusdem variabitur substantialiter iuxta variationem dispositionum corporis eiusdem. Hoc est falsum ».

³⁵ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a: « Ad haec argumenta facile satisfit ab advertentibus qualis sit habitudo animae intellectivae ad corpus, et in quo consistat suscipere magis et minus proprie dicta ».

³⁶ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a: « Quemadmodum enim anima in communi est coaptata corpori organico physico etc. et anima humana corpori reducto ad aequalitatem tangibilium, ita oportet hanc animam esse substantialiter coaptatam et commensuratam corpori ad talem gradum aequalitatis reducto. Non enim consistit in indivisibili aequalitas complexionis requisita ad corpus humanum, ut patet ad sensum: alii enim aliis praestant bonitate tactus ».

³⁷ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a: « Et quia anima humana non causatur ex corpore, sed in suo tantum fieri dependet ex corpore non ut causa, sed ut occasione, consequens est quod anima haec, cum fit, sortiatur commensurationem substantialem ad corpus sic complexionatum ut invenitur in illo initio, et eam semper retineat necesse est, quia intransmutabilis substantiae est ».

much, clearly God is doing the creating here and is matching levels of substantial soul perfection with corresponding levels of bodily (sensory) perfection. But because human rational souls are unchanging in terms of their substance, after a soul's level of substantial perfection is set (by God), it remains fixed at that level for good. In short: the substantial inequality between human souls, a result of the inequality between human bodies, remains fixed forevermore.

What about the second of the two issues that Cajetan thought needed explication? What does 'admitting more or less' mean, when taken properly? In order for there to be 'more or less' properly speaking, Cajetan insists that some kind of movement or change must be involved. Something admits of more or less only to the extent that it increases or decreases.³⁸ And this allows him to rebut the argument for the 'equal souls' view that took its point of departure in Aristotle's dictum that « substance does not admit of more or less ». It is absolutely true that no primary substance admits of more or less, because no primary substance can *change* in terms of its individual substantial perfection. In particular, no intellectual soul admits of more or less, and this is because, once it is assigned its own level of substantial perfection, that level is fixed irretrievably (*imperdibiliter*). Thus, individual intellectual souls are unequal when it comes to substantial perfection, but because their inequality is fixed forever, no intellectual soul admits of more or less. Indeed, Cajetan tells us that the level of substantial perfection is in reality (*realiter*) the same as the soul's ingenerable and incorruptible substance.³⁹

For Cajetan, the differences or inequalities in substantial perfection between human souls are « mode[s] of the substance », « an individual difference contracting the soul to this [commensuration with the body] and it is intrinsic to this soul just as the specific difference is intrinsic to the species ». ⁴⁰ Moreover, the body doesn't influence the soul in the way that the arguments in favor of the 'equal souls' view claimed, but rather the body provides an occasion for God to

³⁸ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345a–b: « Suscipere vero magis et minus, motum aut mutationem habet annexum de magis in minus, aut e converso. Alioquin proprie non sumuntur. Quod ex eo patet, quia nihil aliud est suscipere magis et minus quam intendi et remitti; sed haec sine mutatione de minus in magis aut e converso intelligi nequeunt. Ergo ».

³⁹ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345b: « [...] ad primum dicitur quod seclusis modis significandi, quamvis una res sit perfectior altera sive eiusdem sive alterius speciei, nunquam dicitur suscipere magis et minus nisi possit esse motus aut mutatio de magis in minus aut e converso, ut patet ex dictis. Hoc autem non convenit animae intellectivae, quoniam commensurationem illam quam semel accepit, imperdibiliter sortita est, quia est idem realiter quod substantia sua, quae est ingenerabilis et incorruptibilis ». For the italicized passage, see the remarks at fn. 47 below.

⁴⁰ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345b: « Ad secundum vero dicitur quod, proprie loquendo haec forma non addit super formam substantiam, sed modum potius substantiae, qui est secundum rem substantia. Commensuratio enim huius animae ad hoc corpus est individualis differentia contrahens animam ad hanc, et est intrinseca huic animae, sicut differentia specifica est intrinseca speciei ».

differentiate between various souls on the basis of the varied sensory perfection of the bodies into which the souls will be infused.⁴¹ And, of course, as Cajetan has made clear, no bodily changes affect the substantial perfection of the soul, once that substantial perfection is assigned at the soul's creation, because « the soul is essentially the perfection fit exactly (*coaptata*) to what it perfects ».⁴²

Cajetan's treatment raises at least one crucial question: why does he defend the 'unequal souls' view in the first place? He concentrates in his treatment on explaining how the view works and on defending it from criticism, without ever really explaining why he wants to hold it. It may be that Cajetan simply thought that this was Aquinas's view and thus no further philosophical justification for holding the view was required. But that seems unlikely: Cajetan was a philosopher trying to make philosophical sense of Aquinas's views, so if Cajetan thought that Aquinas was right to hold this view, then he thought he was right for a reason. Here is a possible reason. Cajetan's 'unequal souls' view might be considered a necessary ramification of one of Thomas Aquinas's most characteristic metaphysical views: that the rational soul is the one and only substantial *form* of the body.⁴³ It seems to me in no way obvious that Thomas would have agreed with Cajetan's view that individual rational souls are substantially unequal.⁴⁴ But you can consider Cajetan's view as a way of preserving the tight link that Aquinas, following Aristotle, did indeed claim there to be between (rational) soul and body, between the form and the matter it informs. Cajetan seems to be saying: if the rational soul really is the body's form (as commonly maintained), then that

⁴¹ CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345b: « Ad obiecta autem contra fundamentum patet [...] Fatemur enim quod dispositiones corporis redundare in animam per substantiam contingit dupliciter: uno modo causaliter; alio modo occasionaliter. Et primo est impossibile respectu animae nostrae. Secundo vero modo est necessarium, loquendo de dispositionibus ultimis pro anima inducenda ».

⁴² CAJETAN, *In ST I*, q. 85, art. 7, Leon. 5, p. 345b: « Quod autem redundantia haec rationabilis sit, iam patet ex dictis: quia scilicet anima essentialiter est perfectio coaptata suo perfectibili ».

⁴³ On the soul as form of the body, see, e.g., AQUINAS, *Quaestiones disputatae de anima*, q. 1, ed. B. CARLOS BAZAN, Leon. 24,1, Rome 1996, p. 3–12; *ST I*, q. 76, art. 1, ed. Leon. 5, p. 208–210; on the unicity of substantial form, see, e.g., *ST I*, q. 76, art. 3–4, ed. Leon. 5, p. 220–224. In the huge literature on the topic, the still classic study is B. CARLOS BAZÁN, « The Human Soul: Form and Substance? Thomas Aquinas' Critique of Eclectic Aristotelianism », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 64 (1997), p. 95–126.

⁴⁴ In fact, AQUINAS seems to state quite unambiguously that substantial forms are equal to one another; see *ST I–II*, q. 52, art. 1, ed. Leon. 6, Rome 1891, p. 330–332, esp. 331a–b: « Si igitur aliqua forma, vel quaecumque res, secundum seipsam vel secundum aliquid sui, sortiatur rationem speciei, necesse est quod, secundum se considerata, habeat determinatam rationem, quae neque in plus excedere, neque in minus deficere possit. Et huiusmodi sunt calor et albedo [...] et multo magis substantia, quae est per se ens [...] Duobus igitur modis potest contingere quod forma non participatur secundum magis et minus. Uno modo, quia participans habet speciem secundum ipsam, et inde est quod nulla forma substantialis participatur secundum magis et minus ». (I was led to this text by ROBERT, « La latitude de l'humanité », p. 49.)

hylomorphic link – the tightest of links in all of the natural world – ensures that there is some kind of reciprocal influence, with body inequalities providing occasions for soul inequalities. This is just what it means for the soul to be the substantial form of the body; without the reciprocal influence of body and soul, the soul wouldn't be the substantial form we know it to be. Even though Cajetan himself, as far as I can see, never makes this point, nevertheless this Thomistically inspired metaphysical reason for holding the 'unequal souls' view seems to me to be a plausible way to explain why Cajetan thought that Aquinas's words in this passage of the *Summa theologiae* must also support this view.⁴⁵

In any event, this view of Cajetan's is taken as a particular threat by Franciscus Toletus in his *De anima* commentary. In q. 18 of Book Three, Franciscus asks whether intellective souls are equal among themselves. He begins by concisely laying out what is really at issue: are human souls in their own right equal to each other in terms of intrinsic substantial perfection or not.⁴⁶ His treatment is built up around four « conclusions »:

Conclusion 1: In their substance all intellective souls are of equal perfection (*animae omnes intellectivae sunt in substantia sua aequalis perfectionis*; ed. 1575, fol. 162ra)

Conclusion 2: Souls do not differ numerically through diverse commensurations to diverse bodies (*animae non differunt numero per diversas commensurationes ad diversa corpora*; fol. 162vb)

Conclusion 3: Rational souls differ numerically entirely in and of themselves and intrinsically and not through a respect to something else (*animae rationales se ipsis prorsus differunt numero intrinsece, non per respectum ad aliud*; fol. 163ra)

Conclusion 4: Rational souls have unequally perfect operations on account of the diversity of bodily organs, for an organ is the soul's instrument (*animae*

⁴⁵ CAPREOLUS, II *Sentences*, d. 32, q. 1, ed. PABAN, PÈGUES, p. 360a, on the other hand, comes close to formulating this reason explicitly: « Ex quibus potest talis ratio colligi. Formae naturaliter proportionatae suis susceptivis, secundum inaequalitatem susceptivorum habent inaequalitatem inter se. Sed animae humanae sunt huiusmodi formae naturaliter suis susceptivis proportionatae, et recipiuntur in susceptivis inaequalibus et inaequaliter dispositis. Igitur, etc. ». In short: substantial forms work this way; rational souls are substantial forms; rational souls work this way. The closest Cajetan comes to this line of argument is the text in fn. 36 above.

⁴⁶ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, In *De anima*, III, q. 18 (Venice 1575, fol. 161va–163va; vol. I, fol. 157vb–159vb = *An animae intellectivae sint inter se aequales*). Venice 1575, fol. 161va–b: « Non hic de aequalitate in quantitate sermo est [...] Sed de aequalitate in perfectione, an una sit ita perfecta sicut altera. Est autem perfectio duplex. Una accidentalis [...] Altera est perfectio substantialis et intrinseca, secundum quam una substantia vel unum ens altero perfectius est secundum se ipsum. Et de hac est quaestio: an una anima sit secundum se altera perfectior ».

rationales non habent operationes aequaliter perfectas propter diversitatem corporis organorum, est enim organum animae ipsius instrumentum; fol. 163rb)

Just from these conclusions, it is clear that Franciscus's treatment includes in Conclusion 1 a rejection of what we have seen to be Cajetan's 'unequal souls' view. The *quaestio* also contains a pointed denial that the body or matter plays any role at all in the individuation of rational souls. As Franciscus tells us in Conclusion 3: rational souls differ from one another *se ipsis* or « in and of themselves » and not through a relation to anything else, particularly, as he shows in Conclusion 2, not to the human body. Finally, in Conclusion 4 he tells us that any differences between how well human souls operate – how well they digest, move around, sense the world, think – is exclusively on account of the organs through which those operations are, to one extent or another, carried out; these differences have to do with the body alone, not with the soul.

Conclusion 2 is in fact of special significance in the context of the present article for at least four reasons. First, it is the place in Franciscus's work that Báñez criticizes in **Case 4**, above. Second, in rejecting that a soul's individuation has anything at all to do with its commensuration to its body, Franciscus says explicitly that he is going against the apparent view of Thomas Aquinas as found in the *Summa contra Gentiles* II, q. 81 (see the text in **Case 4**). Third, in elaborating his Conclusion 2, Franciscus makes a tacit but clear reference to Cajetan's theory that souls are unequal on account of their commensuration to bodies, Franciscus writing: « the commensuration is the same as the soul's substance, indeed it is this soul's substance, as they write ». We saw above that Cajetan held the commensuration to be intrinsic to the soul like an individual difference and to be in fact the very same as the ingenerable and incorruptible soul.⁴⁷ So, without mentioning Cajetan explicitly, Franciscus nonetheless lets his readers know that, in rejecting that souls differ numerically due to their diverse commensurations to diverse bodies, he was rejecting Cajetan in particular. The combined effect of rejecting Aquinas explicitly and Cajetan tacitly undoubtedly persuaded Báñez that this spot in Franciscus's *De anima* commentary deserved dedicated response, if the opportunity arose, and hence we have **Case 4**. Fourth and last, in Conclusion 2, after offering four of his own arguments as to why commensuration cannot be the principle of individuation of rational souls, Franciscus refers the reader to John Duns Scotus for further arguments,⁴⁸ thereby at least suggesting sympathy with the Franciscan's outlook.

⁴⁷ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 163ra: « Illa commensuratio est idem cum animae substantia, immo est huius animae substantia, ut ipsi dicunt ». Compare this esp. to the italicized text from Cajetan in fn. 39 above, as well as the text in fn. 40 and 42.

⁴⁸ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 163ra: « Haec argumenta sufficiant ad huius conclusionis probationem. Scotus enim aliis utitur argumentis non spernendis, quae

Human souls for Franciscus, then, are of equal substantial perfection, with all operational differences between them arising from the bodies that channel their life activities. And human souls are distinct in and of themselves, not through any connection or commensuration to the body. And both Conclusions 1 and 2 are singled out by Domingo Báñez in his *De generatione* commentary as worthy of mention and rejection, in **Case 1** and **4**, respectively. Here I focus on Franciscus's Conclusion 1 and Báñez's response (= **Case 1**).

Franciscus's claim in Conclusion 1 is that substantially speaking, all rational souls are of equal perfection. As the text at the parallel columns in **Case 1** shows, Franciscus does not hide his disdain for anyone who might hold the opposite view and he is not shy about pinpointing the problem child in the Thomistic tradition: Cajetan. Franciscus says:

Be aware that it is the common opinion that souls are equal in substantial perfection, for there is a dispute about this. And Cajetan in Part 1, q. 85, art. 7, dissents from [the common opinion], thinking souls to be unequal, such that one is more perfect than another [...]. And Cajetan thinks this to be St. Thomas's view. Now, to some, St. Thomas in this article [of the *Summa*] could perhaps seem to hold that, but that is not the case, and St. Thomas is explained differently by other Thomists, certainly when it comes to perfections that accrue as accidents to (*accidit*) [the soul], whether from the body's first natural disposition or later from some accidental changes to the body [...]. Thus, in order that we lay down what is to be maintained on this issue, here is a first conclusion: in their substance all intellective souls are of equal perfection. This conclusion is against Cajetan, whose view I consider dangerous and in no way to be maintained.

The view Franciscus introduces here as erroneous is, in extremely basic form, the view we saw Cajetan defend above: individual human souls are created unequal on the basis of the unequal perfections of the bodies they are to be infused into. Remarkable is that Franciscus goes out of his way to make this *Cajetan's* error: it was Cajetan who broke with the common opinion, mistakenly attributing to Aquinas a view that other Thomists could see the Angelic Doctor did not hold. After claiming that Cajetan's view is dangerous and untenable, Franciscus goes on to say that it is rash (*temeraria*) and that some of its implications are « completely stupid » (*stultissimus*), « ridiculous », « impious », and « absurd ». Franciscus left to

praetermitto ». Franciscus may be thinking of Scotus's rejection of quantity or matter being a principle of individuation, in *Ordinatio* II, d. 3, pars 1, qq. 4–5, Vatican 1973 (*Opera Omnia* 7), p. 421–474, 490–494. Scotus did play an important role in Jesuit scholasticism. For some general views on that role, see, e.g., JACOB SCHMUTZ, « L'héritage des Subtils. Cartographie du scotisme de l'âge classique », *Études philosophiques*, 1 (2002), p. 51–81, esp. p. 69–73, with references to further literature; more specifically on Franciscus, see TROPJA, « Francisco de Toledo », e.g. p. 258.

no one's imagination that he thought Cajetan's 'unequal souls' view was as wrong as could be.

Franciscus presents some nine arguments against the 'unequal souls' view. Thus, according to Franciscus, if the perfection of the body was a contributing factor to the perfection of the soul, then we would expect souls to vary in their substantial perfection throughout their life, more perfect when the body is at its prime, less so earlier and later in life.⁴⁹ Clearly, Franciscus did not think much of Cajetan's claim that once a soul's perfection is fixed upon creation, it stayed fixed, not admitting of more or less.⁵⁰ Indeed, Franciscus's question rather seems to be for Cajetan: the perfection of the soul is fixed to the dispositions of *which* body? The infant body, or the geriatric body, or the body at its height?⁵¹ Further, Franciscus argues, there are stupid and foolish people; are those people really as substantially imperfect in their soul as they appear to be in their embodied state? Are their souls genuinely not as able to exercise rationality or will as other souls are?⁵² That would seem to be an implication of Cajetan's view (Franciscus, recall, thinks that the inequality in the way people can exercise essential operations like sensing and thinking arises on account of the bodily organs, *not* on account of substantial differences between their rational souls, differences themselves occasioned by unequal bodily sensory dispositions, as Cajetan would claim). Moreover, Franciscus argues further, if it were the case that human souls are

⁴⁹ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 162ra–b: « Tertia ratio est: si anima esset perfectior pro corporis perfectione, sequeretur quod eadem anima mutatur et modo minus, postea magis esset perfecta essentialiter et substantialiter, quod est impossibile. Sed probo sequelam, quia corporis perfectio mutatur, est enim imperfectissimum cum anima inducitur, postea magis et magis perficitur, acciditque mutari complexiones et dispositiones, oportebat ergo animam etiam mutari, quae iuxta corpus perficitur ». See also *ibid.*, fol. 162va–b, where Franciscus, noting how our mental acuity changes on a near daily basis, writes: « Quare manifeste colligitur ex diversa hac dispositione corporis et organorum provenire, nisi velles stultissime dicere, etiam in eodemmet mutari animae substantialem perfectionem, quod est impossibile, aut quotidie pro dispositione corporis infundi meliores vel peiores animas in eodem homine, quod est plusquam ridiculum et error stultissimus ».

⁵⁰ See at and around fn. 39 above.

⁵¹ These sorts of issues are well known also from treatments of the Resurrection, when all humans will get back numerically the same body they had during their Earthly lives, and the question becomes: which version of that body do they get back? The body at which stage of life?

⁵² FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 162va: « Praeterea septimo, quia si ex dispositione corporis licet colligere maiorem vel minorem perfectionem substantialem individuorum animae, et ideo aliquid habeat animam ingeniosiore et melioris intellectus altero, sequitur quod cum aliqui a natura nascantur stulti et fatui, illi habeant animam stultam et fatuam. Immo, cum numquam per totam vitam utuntur nec uti possent ratione, sequitur quod habeant animam impotentem ratione uti et plane irrationalem, quod est error. Et praeterea, cum numquam utuntur ratione, ita etiam nec libertate, quae ex electione et deliberatione rationis pendet. Unde sequeretur animam etiam illam carere libero arbitrio et voluntate, quod asserere est etiam impium et error ».

unequal in terms of substantial perfection, then that must also be the case with all other substantial forms, such that one substantial form of fire would be more perfect substantially than another on the basis of the dispositions of the matter from which it was educed. This might even hold for items from other categories, such that one of two equally intense whitenesses would be essentially more perfect than the other. Franciscus considers other substantial forms or equally intense qualities being unequal in substantial or qualitative perfection to be absurd, and hence rational souls being unequal is also absurd.⁵³

We can even see how Franciscus engages with some of the details that Cajetan put in place to explain his ‘unequal souls’ view. Thus, Franciscus argues that, were the soul’s substantial perfection to be linked to the perfection of the body, then the body would give being to the soul (*daret esse animae*), for otherwise the body could not *cause* a more perfect soul. But, it is God who causes the soul, by directly creating it, and hence the soul cannot receive substantial perfection from the body.⁵⁴ In answer to an argument like this one from Franciscus, Cajetan had drawn a distinction, i.e. his claim that the body did not *cause* differences in the soul’s perfection, but rather the body offered (God) an *occasion* to create souls that differ in perfection.⁵⁵ To a claim just like that one, Franciscus offers a dilemma: « either God creates a more perfect soul on account of a more perfect body, or he makes a more perfect body on account of a more perfect soul. » The first horn of the dilemma is simply not seemly (*non decet*), according to Franciscus, since God would then be adjusting the cause to the instrument (*esset ordinare iam causam ad instrumentum*). Just as « the scribe does not exist on account of the pen, but the pen on account of the scribe », so the soul is not on account of the body, and God’s adjusting the cause to fit the effect would be to get the order between them precisely wrong. For Franciscus, the body is like an instrument of the soul, and

⁵³ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 162rb–va: « Praeterea sexto: si hoc in animabus hominum concederet substantiali differre perfectione, idem deberet concedere in omnibus formis omnium specierum, cum eadem sit ratio. Unde fieret ut una forma ignis esset substantialiter perfectior altera, quod dispositione materiae, et aquae et aeris etc. Et ita etiam in omnibus aliis mixtis animatis et inanimatis. Immo etiam in accidentibus numero sub eadem specie differentibus, sequeretur esse substantialiter seu essentialiter et intrinsece perfectiora, ut una albedo aequae etiam intensa cum altera [...] Aut, si hic non, cum sit absurdum, ergo nec in specie animarum rationalium ». Franciscus deals briefly with the general question of substances admitting more or less in his *De generatione* I, q. 4: *An substantia suscipiat magis et minus* (see the question list in the Appendix below).

⁵⁴ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 162rb: « Quarta ratio est si iuxta corpus magis perfectum anima est perfectior, sequeretur quod corpus daret esse animae, et ex ipsius potentia educeretur. Non enim aliter posset animam perfectiorem causare. Sed hoc falsum est, immo anima in se prius natura habet esse per creationem quam sit in corpore. Aut etiam, si simul natura infunderetur, tamen a solo Deo efficienter producitur. Non ergo sumit substantialem perfectionem a corpore ».

⁵⁵ See at and around fn. 37 and 41 above.

hence the soul is like a cause in relation to the body. The second horn of the dilemma is just as hopeless according to Franciscus: God brings about bodies through the activity of necessary secondary causes, with which God concurs, while He freely and directly creates souls; hence if He made a more perfect body on account of a more perfect soul, He would be restricting his own freedom by bending to the necessity of those necessary secondary causes.⁵⁶

Franciscus, then, finds Cajetan's 'unequal souls' view to be philosophically and theologically bankrupt. Hence, for Franciscus rational souls are created by God as equal to one another in substantial perfection; the differences that we observe in human beings around us in terms of various life activities, including intelligence, arise on account of the varied quality of the bodies and the organs that we have, but those differences are, so to speak, only skin deep. The souls themselves are equal in perfection. This leads Franciscus to suggest that the body is a type of instrument in relation to the cause that is the rational soul, a rather more Platonic sounding view of the soul-body relation than it is likely Cajetan (or Aquinas) would accept.

For Domingo Báñez, in his *De generatione* commentary, the really central element in Franciscus's treatment of this issue is the attack on Cajetan. Báñez deals with the issue in book I, q. 8, of his commentary, where he tackles the problem of whether, and which, qualities can undergo intensification and remission. Báñez comes to talk about rational souls and their substantial (in)equality by way of an initial argument against qualities being able to be intensified or remitted, an initial argument concerning separated souls. Now, Franciscus, in his *De anima* III, q. 18, had also brought up separated souls in an initial argument in favor of the 'unequal souls' view that Franciscus associated with Cajetan and would himself reject. Briefly: if individual human souls were not substantially unequal, then, when separated from their bodies, they would lose all distinguishing marks and, as a consequence, their individuation.⁵⁷ Thus, according to this argument, the degrees of individual substantial perfection postulated by the 'unequal souls' view work as a principle of individuation even for the separated soul. Franciscus rejects this

⁵⁶ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 162rb: « Respondebunt quod ita est, tamen Deus est qui pro corpore perfectior animam creat perfectiorem. Sed contra hoc est manifesta ratio, nam, vel Deus creat animam perfectiorem propter corpus perfectius, vel facit corpus perfectius propter animam perfectiorem. Non primum, quia illud esset ordinare iam causam ad instrumentum, et perfectius ad imperfectius, quod non decet. Non enim scriba propter calamum, sed calamus propter scribam est. Nec est illud secundum, quia corpus praeparat per causas secundas necessarias concurratque cum ipsis ad modum ipsarum, at animas libere et immediate creat; non ergo ordinat quod necessarium est in id quod liberum est, esset enim liberum restringere, si vellet ».

⁵⁷ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 161vb: « Tertio: si omnes animae sunt aequales in sua substantia, sequeretur quod separatae a corpore non possent distingui inter se, quia non habent per quid distinguantur, cum per omnia sint aequales ».

argument by affirming that (as we saw above) human souls are distinct from one another in and of themselves.⁵⁸ So, before Báñez, separated souls were already a part of the discussion about the (in)equality of human souls' substantial perfection. Báñez, in his initial argument, claims that if a quality could undergo intension and remission, i.e. increase or decrease in perfection, then *any* form, even a substantial form like the human soul, when it goes from being more to less perfect, would increase and decrease, and hence « admit of more or less », against the famous Aristotelian dictum; but the human soul is less perfect when it is separated from its body than when conjoined, so it goes from more to less perfect and, on the logic of the argument, would admit of more and less; therefore, to avoid challenging the Aristotelian dictum, *no* form can undergo intension or remission, increase or decrease.⁵⁹ In his reply, Báñez claims that the perfection involved in the separated soul's being less perfect than the conjoined has to do with its various « states » (*status*) and this is a merely accidental perfection, a change akin to the change that takes place when a child becomes an adult, the accidents change but the essence remains the same; but the kind of perfection that would need to be involved in the rational soul admitting more or less would involve a change in essential perfection, and as long as the essence remains unchanged, as here, there is no more or less. In this reply, moreover, Báñez echoes one of the distinctions we have seen Cajetan advanced: admitting more or less is only at issue when there is some movement or change, an increase or a decrease, but essentially speaking when the human soul goes from conjoined to separated, no such movement or change occurs.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, *In De anima*, III, q. 18, Venice 1575, fol. 163rb: « Ad tertium diximus animas se ipsis differre, et quamvis non se ipsis differrent, nihil argumentum concluderet, quia possent differre penes diversa corpora, in quibus sunt vel fuerunt. Sed melior est prior solutio ».

⁵⁹ DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *In De generatione et corruptione* I, q. 8, Salamanca 1585, p. 54b: « Arguitur quarto. Admisso quod maneat eadem forma, adhuc tamen videtur quod nulla qualitas intendatur. Nam maxime hoc esset, quia eadem numero forma modo magis, modo minus perficitur. Sed hoc non sufficit, alias substantia susciperet magis et minus. Nam anima rationalis non habet tantam perfectionem quando est separata atque quando est coniuncta, ut expresse asserit Sanctus Thomas in infinitis pene locis suae doctrinae [...] Et confirmatur, nam ex eo quod una anima sit perfectior alia, non dicitur quod substantia suscipit magis et minus, neque quod intenditur, ergo neque una qualitas dicitur intendi aut remitti, aut suscipere magis aut minus ex hoc quod una est perfectior alia ».

⁶⁰ DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *In De generatione et corruptione* I, q. 8, Salamanca 1585, p. 61b: « Ad quartum respondetur negando minorem, et ad probationem quod illa minor perfectio quam habet anima separata est imperfectio status, non essentiae. Ad hoc vero ut suscipiat magis et minus, oporteret ut essentia perficeretur. Hanc vero habet consistentem in indivisibili, licet ex diverso statu separationis vel coniunctionis competat ei diversa perfectio accidentalis, qualis etiam competit homini puero vel viro, et tamen non dicitur suscipere magis vel minus propter talem variationem, quia essentia manet immota. Ad confirmationem respondetur quod ut aliquid suscipiat magis et minus, non sufficit quod sit alio perfectius, sed quod habeat vel habere possit

And this gives Báñez an opening to mention the topic of the (in)equality of rational souls. He will not deal with it in detail, he tells us, because this isn't the right place and he will explain the issue fully in the commentary on the *De anima* that he is currently working on and will soon release.⁶¹ But he tells us that there are two views on the issue. Some thinkers – like Henry of Ghent and Durand of St.-Pourçain and even members of the late scholastic Dominican Thomistic school like Paul Soncinas (d. 1494) and Domingo de Soto – maintained the 'equal souls' view that no human soul is intrinsically more perfect than another, but differences in how well human beings function arise from extrinsic sources like the dispositions of their body's organs.⁶² There's another view, however – held by the greatest number of Thomists, including Cajetan, Capreolus, Francis Silvester de Ferrara (d. 1528),⁶³ and indeed as it seems to Báñez by Thomas Aquinas himself, as well as by figures outside the Dominican Thomist tradition like Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Bonaventure (d. 1274), Richard of Mediavilla (d. c. 1308), and Giles of Rome (d. 1316) – that « one soul is more perfect than another not only extrinsically but also intrinsically, by an individual substantial perfection ».⁶⁴

Recall that Franciscus had presented Cajetan, in holding the view that human souls could be unequal, as going against the common opinion. Franciscus went out of his way to associate what he considered a dangerous, rash, and untenable view

perfectius esse quam antea habebat ». For Cajetan on 'admitting more and less', see above at and around fn. 38.

⁶¹ DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *In De generatione et corruptione* I, q. 8, Salamanca 1585, p. 61b: « Utrum vero anima separata sit perfectior coniuncta et utrum una anima sit perfectior alia, non est huius loci disputare, habent enim propriam sedem in libris *De anima*, ubi nos illas explicabimus. Habemus enim prae manibus iam commentarios elaboratos in illos quos prope diem, Deo dante, in lucem edemus ». The *De anima* commentary that Báñez refers to here is, as far as we know, lost: see SOLANA, *Historia de la Filosofía Española*, tomo tercero, p. 191 and fn. 30; GARCÍA CUADRADO, *Domingo Báñez (1528–1604)*, p. 47.

⁶² DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *In De generatione et corruptione* I, q. 8, Salamanca 1585, p. 61b–62a: « Breviter tamen pro nunc adverte quod in hac quaestione ultima sunt duae opiniones. Altera asserentium quod una anima non sit perfectior alia in se et intrinsece, bene tamen extrinsece propter diversam corporis dispositionem et meliores vires sensitivas et alias qualitates extrinsecas. Hanc opinionem sequitur Henricus [...] Durandus [...] et inter discipulos D. Thomae eam tenent Soncinas [...] et Magister Soto [...] » For SONCINAS, see *Quaestiones metaphysicales acutissimae* VIII, q. 26, Lyon 1579, p. 198b–199b; for DE SOTO, see *In categorias*, Cap. 5 (*De substantia*), q. 2, ad 5, Venice 1574, p. 376–377. They do indeed both reject that souls can be unequal in substantial perfection.

⁶³ On Capreolus's view, see above fn. 30 and 45. For FRANCIS SILVESTER DE FERRARA, author of the first commentary on the entire *Summa contra Gentiles*, see that commentary, I, cap. 3, ed. Leon. 13, Rome 1918, p. 10a.

⁶⁴ DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *In De generatione et corruptione* I, q. 8, Salamanca 1585, p. 62a: « Altera sententia est multorum discipulorum Divi Thomae, qui existimant quod una anima est perfectior altera, non solum extrinsece sed etiam intrinsece, perfectione substantiali individuali tamen. Hanc sequuntur Caietanus [...] Capreolus [...] Ferrarensis [...] et eam videtur tenere expresse Divus Thomas [...] Hanc sententiam etiam multi sequuntur qui non sunt ex schola Divi Thomae, imprimis Magister *Sententiarum* [...] et Divus Bonaventura [...] Richardus [...] Aegidius [...] »

with Cajetan and with Cajetan in particular. What Báñez is clearly doing in his text is trying to counteract Franciscus's strategy. Cajetan is presented by Báñez as part of a viable and vibrant tradition that held the 'unequal souls' view, a tradition that included not just Dominican luminaries like Capreolus and Francis Silvester but also important theologians outside the order, not to mention, in Báñez's rather cautious claim, probably Thomas Aquinas himself. That Báñez is reacting specifically to Franciscus's attack on Cajetan is clear, because immediately after presenting the two different views on the issue of the (in)equality of human souls, Báñez brings up the *novus philosophus* and his recent claim that the 'unequal souls' view was held by Cajetan and not by Thomas Aquinas at all (see the parallel texts in **Case 1** above). Báñez then makes clear where and how far Franciscus went wrong:

This censure of Cajetan is not worthy of a Christian author, since it labels as rash and dangerous a view that a lot of extremely consequential authors think true and at least plausible; but you can't do this without inflicting grave injury. Thus, briefly, for the time being, I say that neither of these views involve anything rash or dangerous, indeed both views are plausible, and to assert the contrary (no matter who asserts it) is to do injury to men of consequence. But which of the views is more true and agrees better with St. Thomas's teaching we will explain in the [*De anima* commentary] mentioned above.⁶⁵

Franciscus's attack on Cajetan was, in a word, underhanded. That is the point that Báñez wants to make. That Franciscus chose to reject the view that Báñez clearly prefers, must be for Báñez a minor point, since he claims here explicitly that both views – the 'equal souls' and the 'unequal souls' – are tenable. This is a topic on which there is no decisively incorrect answer, according to Báñez. So, the real problem with Franciscus lies rather with his unequivocal rejection of the 'unequal souls' view. To claim that either of these views was rash and dangerous was simply going too far, and for Báñez this was made clear by the fact that there was no consensus on the correct response to this issue, with some major late scholastic figures opting for the 'equal souls', and some opting for the 'unequal souls' view. By attacking the 'unequal souls' view in such an uncompromising way, Báñez considered Franciscus to be soiling the name of all those thinkers, inside and

⁶⁵ DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *In De generatione et corruptione* I, q. 8, Salamanca 1585, p. 62a: « Haec censura contra Caietanum indigna est autore Christiano, quoniam notat temeritatis et periculi sententiam quam tot et tam graves auctores reputant veram aut saltem probabilem; hoc autem sine gravi iniuria fieri non potest. Quare breviter pro nunc dico quod neutra istarum opinionum habet aliquid temeritatis vel periculi, sed ambae opiniones sunt probabiles et contrarium asserere (quicumque illud asserat) est inferre iniuriam gravissimis viris. Quae autem sit verior et conformior doctrinae Divi Thomae in loco citato exponemus ». On the « loco citato », i.e. the *De anima* commentary, Báñez mentions here, see fn. 61 above.

outside of the Thomistic tradition as Báñez understood it, who had supported that view in good faith and for respectable philosophical reasons. And that in turn, finally, leads us to the place of Cajetan: Franciscus had covered up the fact that Cajetan was in august company, joined in his view by many other figures. Not only was Cajetan's view not rash or dangerous, it was not even exclusively Cajetan's view, although you would certainly get the opposite impression from reading Franciscus. For Báñez, this was simply an inappropriate *ad hominem* attack, not worthy of a Christian author. It is, then, perhaps no surprise that in his *Summa theologiae* commentary, published in 1588, and in which Báñez, while describing this very issue in much the same way as in his *De generatione* commentary, actually mentions Franciscus by name, the Dominican writes:

This censure of Cajetan is not worthy of a Christian author. And that is why I do not believe that it comes from that otherwise learned and pious man [Franciscus Toletus], but I think that it was inserted into his writings by some ignorant and audacious person.⁶⁶

From his perch in Salamanca, Báñez was in this passage quite heavily criticizing by name a former Salamanca colleague, now active in Rome, close to the papacy and the heart of the Jesuit order. Without the plausible deniability of anonymity provided by the *De generatione*'s *novus philosophus* epithet, here Báñez chose to open up the possibility that someone snuck into Franciscus's work the unbecoming attack on Cajetan and others for holding the perfectly acceptable view that human rational souls are intrinsically unequal to each other.

Conclusion

What can this limited examination of Báñez's *novus philosophus* as well as Cajetan's, Franciscus Toletus's, and Báñez's one-way discussion on the (in)equality of human souls allow us to say about Dominican-Jesuit relations and about the discussion of the rational soul? Most obviously, we now have more evidence on the interaction between Jesuits and Dominicans in the late sixteenth century in the form of the anonymous criticism of Franciscus by Báñez in his *De generatione* commentary. Báñez, probably the premier Dominican thinker of his day, was reading and responding to the work of Jesuit contemporaries even outside the confines of the *De auxiliis* controversy. In the study here of Báñez's critique of Franciscus as found in **Case 1**, we see a psychological discussion about just what it means for the

⁶⁶ DOMINGO BAÑEZ, *Super Summam theologiae*, I, q. 85, art. 7, ed. Salamanca 1588, col. 1057: « Haec tamen censura contra Caietanum indigna est autore Christiano. Quapropter non credam illam esse huius viri alias docti et pii, sed existimo insertam esse eius scriptis ab aliquo imperito et audaci ». For more on Báñez's *Summa* commentary treatment, see fn. 9 above.

rational soul to be the substantial form of the human body and just how deep any human cognitive deficiencies go, staying at the level of the body or going all the way down to the rational soul itself. As much as the dispute as traced here was about philosophical arguments concerning hylomorphism and the human soul, it was also very much about the different intellectual traditions among the Dominicans and the Jesuits, perhaps especially different views of authority. It is widely recognized now that while Thomas Aquinas was a figure of enormous intellectual authority to the Jesuits, he was not a figure of *overwhelming* intellectual authority.⁶⁷ We see that reflected in Franciscus Toletus, who in **Case 4** is willing to disagree outright with Thomas, and who in his III *De anima*, q. 18, conclusion 2, appeals to Scotus for arguments (and Scotus appears as a source for Franciscus also in **Case 5**). The Dominicans examined in the present study were clearly not interested in expressing explicit differences with Aquinas, and this may mark a significant divergence from the Jesuit attitude. On the other hand, it was perfectly permissible for Dominicans to *interpret* Aquinas, and there was a good deal of room for disagreement about those interpretations, witness the fact that Báñez had no misgivings about Dominican Thomists Paul Soncinas and Domingo de Soto holding the ‘equal souls’ view in contradistinction to Capreolus, Cajetan, and other Dominicans, including Báñez himself. For Báñez there was room enough for Dominicans to disagree widely on issues of interpretation such as the soul’s inequality. In fact, this is the point that Báñez was taking pains to make in his attack on the *novus philosophus*: Franciscus Toletus could hold what he wanted concerning the (in)equality of rational souls, but he couldn’t claim that the position he opposed was prohibited. The Dominican Báñez accused the Jesuit Franciscus of being too doctrinaire, too closed-minded. And in the center of this dispute was Cajetan, with Franciscus going out of his way to paint Cajetan’s rash and dangerous ‘unequal souls’ view as the source of all problems on this issue, and Báñez showing that, even if you disagree with Cajetan, there was nothing remotely heretical or even particularly unusual about his view. The centrality of Cajetan is perhaps the most prominent aspect of the part of the Dominican-Jesuit altercation over the (in)equality of the human soul investigated here.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., MARCUS HELLYER, *Catholic Physics. Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Ind. 2005, esp. p. 77–100 passim; CRISTIANO CASALINI, « The Jesuits », in LAGERLUND and HILL (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy*, p. 159–188, esp. p. 167–169. For translations into French of some of the important contemporary documents along with commentary, see JACOB SCHMUTZ, « Les normes théologiques de l’enseignement philosophique dans le catholicisme romain moderne (1500–1650) », in JEAN-CHRISTOPHE BARDOUT (ed.), *Philosophie et théologie à l’époque moderne, Anthologie – tome III*, Cerf, Paris 2010, p. 129–150, esp. p. 138–139 (Dominicans), p. 142–146 (Jesuits).

Postscript

I only discovered after the present note was already in proofs that William A. Wallace, when discussing the text that I call **Case 2** here, had suggested that Báñez's *novus philosophus* « is undoubtedly Toletus »; see Wallace's *Prelude to Galileo. Essays on Medieval and Sixteenth-Century Sources of Galileo's Thought*, D. Reidel, Dordrecht – Boston 1981, p. 190 fn. 47 (and see the index there for several other mentions of Báñez's *De generatione et corruptione* commentary).

Appendix

I find that lists of the questions contained in scholastic philosophical or theological works are both interesting and useful, even when the works in question are available in early modern printings (and even in our age of widely available digital reproductions). Below I give question lists for Franciscus Toletus's works of Aristotelian natural philosophy dealt with in this article, his *Physics*, *De generatione*, and *De anima* commentaries. With the exception of the *De generatione* question list, exclusively the question titles are provided, with no indication of Franciscus's long, intricate, and often fascinating literal commentaries on Aristotle's text (this is the reason for gaps in the foliation between *quaestiones*). In the question list for the *De generatione* commentary – the smallest of the three – I have also noted Franciscus's commentaries on the text and not just the questions, simply to give the reader an idea as to how one of Franciscus's works of philosophical commentary looks as a whole. I have noted the questions that were the object of Báñez's criticisms in **Cases 1–5** above.

I have used what I believe to be the *editio princeps* of the relevant work: Venice 1573 for the *Physics* and *De generatione*, Venice 1575 for the *De anima*, all published by the famous Iunta family of printers. I have also noted in italics the folios on which each question is found in the Cologne 1615 edition (reprinted 1985).⁶⁸ I have been able to correct some errors in both editions (whether the main text or in *tabula quaestionum*), but I have in general done so silently; I have not recorded foliation errors in the editions. Just from the question lists below, one can see notable features of the works. For example, the largest question in the *De generatione* commentary is book I, q. 15, dealing with 'reaction', the much discussed physical phenomenon of, e.g., a heat source itself being cooled through its heating something cold.⁶⁹ Moreover, the largest questions in the *Physics* and *De anima* commentary are devoted to such standard medieval scholastic issues as the eternity of the world (*Physics* VIII, q. 1, q. 2), the Averroistic question of the unicity of the intellect (*De anima* II, q. 2; cf. III, q. 10), and whether it can be proved that the rational soul is immortal (*De anima* III, q. 16).

⁶⁸ See fn. 5–6 as well as 10 above for information on the printings of these works.

⁶⁹ For some literature on the issue, see JOHN L. RUSSELL, « Action and Reaction before Newton », *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 9 (1976), p. 25–38; work by Stefano Caroti and Johannes M.M.H. Thijssen cited in THIJSSSEN, « Late-Medieval Natural Philosophy: Some Recent Trends in Scholarship », *Recherches de la théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 67 (2000), p. 158–190, esp. p. 175, 181, 182, 184.

Franciscus Toletus, *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in octo libros de Physica auscultatione*

Liber I (1r–43r; 1r–43r)

- 1) An rerum naturalium sit scientia (4rb–va; 4rb–va)
- 2) De subiecto philosophiae naturalis (4va–6ra; 4va–6ra)
- 3) An quilibet artifex demonstret per quodlibet genus causae (8rb–9rb; 8rb–9rb)
- 4) An ad rei perfectam cognitionem opus sit omnes eius causas cognoscere (9rb–10ra; 9rb–10ra)
- 5) An universalia sint nobis notiora singularibus (10vb–13va; 10vb–13va)
- 6) An eadem sint nota nobis et natura (13vb–14va; 13va–14rb)
- 7) An substantia secundum se sit divisibilis (18rb–19ra; 18ra–19ra)
- 8) An totum distinguatur realiter a partibus (19va–21ra; 19rb–20vb)
- 9) An res naturales habeant certos limites quantitatis (24vb–26ra; 24va–25vb)
- 10) An terminus quantitatis rerum naturalium sit semper intrinsecus (26ra–27ra; 25vb–26vb)
- 11) An principia sint contraria (28vb–29rb; 28va–29ra)
- 12) Utrum materia sit (32vb–33va; 32va–33ra)
- 13) An materia sit substantia (33va–35rb; 33rb–35ra)
- 14) An potentia sit de essentia materiae (35rb–36ra; 35ra–vb)
- 15) An aliquid sit in materia manens in mutatione (36rb–37rb; 35vb–37ra)
- 16) An materia sit ingenerabilis et incorruptibilis (37rb–38ra; 37ra–vb)
- 17) An materia appetat formam (38ra–b; 37vb–38ra)
- 18) Quae sint nomina materiae (38rb–vb; 38rb–va)
- 19) An aliquid formae praefuerit in materia (40vb–42rb; 40va–42ra)
- 20) An materia sit causa corruptionis an forma (42rb–va; 42ra–b)
- 21) An privatio sit principium naturale (42va–43rb; 42rb–vb)

Liber II (43v–77v; 43r–77r)

- 1) An definitio naturae sit bona (46ra–47rb; 45vb–46vb)
- 2) An omnia entia naturalia dicantur naturalia a principio intrinseco activo motus (47va–49rb; 47ra–48vb)
- 3) An motus coeli sit naturalis (49rb–50rb; 48vb–49vb)
- 4) An physica a mathematicis distinguantur (52va–54ra; 52ra–53vb)
- 5) An physicus consideret materiam primam (54rb–va; 53vb–54rb)
- 6) An ars imitetur naturam (54va–55va; 54rb–55ra)
- 7) An tantum sint quatuor genera causarum (58ra–60vb; 58ra–60rb)
- 8) An causae particulares aliquid efficiant (60vb–62vb; 60rb–62rb)
- 9) An sint fortuna et casus (66va–68va; 66ra–68ra)
- 10) An quae nec semper nec frequenter sunt, sint a casu (68va–69vb; 68ra–69rb)

- 11) An sit fatum (69vb–70va; 69rb–70ra)
- 12) An natura agat propter finem (74va–75vb; 73vb–75rb)
- 13) An monstra sint in natura (76ra–77ra; 75rb–76va)
- 14) An finis sit causa et principium (77rb–vb; 76va–77rb)

Liber III (78r–103v; 78r–103r)

- 1) An motus sit per se in aliquo praedicamento et in quo praedicamento. An videlicet sit qualitas fluens vel fluxus ipse qualitatis et via, an sit actio vel passio, vel quid aliud (83ra–86ra; 82va–85va)
- 2) An actio sit in agente et quae ipsa res sit actio (86rb–87rb; 85vb–86vb)
- 3) An motus distinguatur a suo termino (87rb–88ra; 86vb–87va)
- 4) An physici sit de infinito tractare et de quibusdam aliis dubiis de infinito circa textum Aristotelis (90rb–91vb; 89vb–91rb)
- 5) An unum sit indivisibile. An vero in infinitum etiam possit dividi (100ra–101ra; 99rb–100rb)
- 6) An numeri multiplicatio procedat in infinitum (101ra–103ra; 100rb–102rb)
- 7) Utrum sit corpus actu infinitum (103ra–vb; 102ra–103rb)

Liber IV (104r–150v; 103r–149v)

- 1) Circa aliqua dubia quae in textibus praecedentibus occurrunt (108ra–109rb; 107ra–108rb)
- 2) An locus sit aequalis locato (112rb–113ra; 110vb–111va)
- 3) An locus sit superficies continentis (116va–119ra; 115ra–117vb)
- 4) An locus formaliter sit superficies (119ra–120rb; 117vb–119ra)
- 5) An locus sit immobilis (120rb–121ra; 119ra–vb)
- 6) An res incorporeae sint in loco (121ra–va; 119vb–120rb)
- 7) An ultima sphaera sit in loco (121va–122va; 120rb–121vb)
- 8) De concordia quadam scitu digna omnium opinionum de loco (122vb–124vb; 121vb–123va)
- 9) An si esset vacuum, motus esset in non tempore (129rb–130ra; 128rb–129ra)
- 10) An sit vacuum (130vb–131va; 129vb–130va)
- 11) Quid sit condensatio et rarefactio, et ex quibus causis et quomodo fiat, ex quo constabit an sine vacuo esse possint (133rb–134ra; 132rb–133ra) [= **Case 5**]
- 12) An formae intenduntur additione partium gradualium (134rb–136vb; 133ra–135vb)
- 13)⁷⁰ An tempus sit numerus motus secundum prius et posterius (141va–143va; 140va–142va)

⁷⁰ Labelled q. 12 in both editions.

14)⁷¹ An sit unicum nunc in toto tempore (143vb–144rb; 142va–143ra)

15)⁷² An omnia entia sint in tempore (147ra–vb; 145vb–146va)

16)⁷³ An tempus sit ens rationis vel reale (148ra–149ra; 146vb–147vb)

17)⁷⁴ An tempus sit unum numero (149rb–150rb; 148ra–149ra)

Liber V (151r–166r; 149v–165r)

1) An generatio sit motus (152vb–153va; 151va–152rb)

2) An unitas specifica motus sit tantum a termino ad quem (158vb–160rb; 157va–159ra)

3) An unitas numeralis motus sumatur ex tribus, videlicet ex unitate numerica termini, mobilis, et temporis (160rb–161vb; 159ra–160vb)

Liber VI (166v–192r; 165r–191r)

1) An continuum ex indivisibilibus partibus componatur (169vb–171va; 168va–170rb) [...] Dubia quaedam, praecipua an ex indivisibilis continuum componatur (171va–178va; 168va–175rb)

2) De dubiis quibusdam circa textum Aristotelis: utrum omne quod movetur, tardius et velocius moveri possit, etc. (178va–179vb; 175va–176va)

3) Circa intelligentiam textus 32 Aristotelis: an omne mutabile sit divisibile, et an mutatio esse possit in non tempore (181rb–182va; 178ra–179rb)

4) An detur primum et ultimum in motu (188rb–190rb; 185ra–187ra)

Liber VII (192v–208v; 191r–205v)

1) An utraque ratio Aristotelis necessario concludat qua probatur omne quod movetur ab alio moveri (196ra–197ra; 192vb–194ra)

2) An movens et motum simul sint (198rb–199va; 195ra–196va)

3) An ad qualitates tantum tertiae speciei sit alteratio (201ra–200va; 197vb–199rb)

4) An comparatio tantum sit in specie ultima (205ra–206va; 202ra–203rb)

5) An regulae hae universaliter habeant verum (207vb–208vb; 204va–205vb)

Liber VIII (213r–249v; 205v–245v)

1) An mundus cum motu et tempore habuerit initium (212vb–217rb; 209rb–213vb)

2) An potuerit mundus esse ab aeterno (217rb–221vb; 213vb–218va)

3) An Deus sit causa libera, an vero agat ex necessitate naturae (221vb–224rb; 218va–221ra)

⁷¹ Labelled q. 13 in both editions.

⁷² Labelled q. 14 in both editions.

⁷³ Labelled q. 15 in both editions.

⁷⁴ Labelled q. 16 in both editions.

- 4) Utrum animal a se ipso moveatur (227va–228va; 224ra–225ra)
- 5) An sit unum primum movens immobile (235ra–236rb; 231ra–232rb)
- 6) An Deus sit causa efficiens mundi, etiam per Aristotelem (236rb–237ra; 232rb–233rb)
- 7) Utrum Deus sit ubique secundum Aristotelem (244va–245va; 240rb–241va)
- 8) An Deus sit virtutis infinitae (246ra–249vb; 242ra–245vb)

Franciscus Toletus, *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in libros de Generatione et corruptione Aristotelis*

Prologomena horum librorum (1ra–4ra; 246ra–vb)
Cap 1, commentaria (2ra–4ra; 247ra–248vb)

Liber I (1r–61v; 246r–306v)

- 1) An si generatio non esset possibilis, alteratio posset esse, et de aliis circa textum difficultatibus (4ra–5ra; 248vb–250rb)
Cap. 2, commentaria (5ra–8va; 250rb–253rb)
Cap. 3, commentaria (8va–b; 253rb–va)
- 2) An quod simpliciter generatur, ex non-ente generetur (8vb–10rb; 253va–255ra)
Cap. 3, commentaria (10rb–vb; 255ra–vb)
- 3) An generatio unius sit corruptio alterius (10vb–12rb; 255vb–257ra)
Cap. 3, commentaria (12rb–13va; 257ra–258va)
- 4) An substantia suscipiat magis et minus (13va–14vb; 258va–259vb)
Cap. 4, commentaria (15ra–va; 259vb–260rb)
- 5) An generatio ab alteratione distinguatur (15va–16rb; 260rb–261ra)
- 6) An alteratio sit motus continuus (16rb–17va; 261ra–262va) [= **Case 2**]
- 7) An in corruptione fiat resolutio usque in primam materiam (17vb–19vb; 262va–264va) [= **Case 3**]

Tractatus de augmentatione (19vb–53ra; 264va–297va)
Cap. 5, commentaria (19vb–24rb; 264va–269ra)

- 8) An augmentatio sit generatio (24rb–25va; 269ra–270ra)
- 9) An in augmentatione eadem viventis forma numero maneat (25va–27va; 270rb–272rb)
- 10) An quod augeatur, eius quaelibet pars augeatur (27va–28vb; 272rb–273va)
- 11) An augmentatio sit motus continuus (28vb–30ra; 273va–274vb)
- 12) An nutrimentum sit simile nutrito (30ra–31va; 274vb–276rb)
Cap. 6, commentaria (31va–33ra; 276rb–277vb)
Cap. 7, commentaria (33rb–34va; 277vb–279rb)
- 13) An simile agat in simile (34va–37vb; 279rb–282rb)

- 14) An idem agat in seipsum (37vb–40rb; 282rb–285ra)
- 15) An omne agens dum agit, repatiatur (40rb–46ra; 285ra–290va)
Cap. 8, commentaria (46rb–49vb; 290vb–294rb)
Cap. 9, commentaria (49vb–50va; 294rb–295ra)
- 16) An indivisibile possit alterari (50vb–53ra; 295ra–297va)
Tractatus de mixtione (53rb–61vb; 297va–306rb)
Cap. 10, commentaria (53rb–55rb; 297va–299va)
- 17) An elementa maneant formaliter in mixto (55rb–59rb; 299va–303va)
- 18) An elementa maneant in mixto secundum suas qualitates (59rb–60va; 303va–304vb)
- 19) An mixtio sit possibilis (60va–61vb; 304vb–306rb)

Liber II (62r–94v; 306v–339v)

- Cap. 1, commentaria (62ra–63rb; 306va–307va)
- Cap. 2, commentaria (63rb–64va; 307va–309rb)
- 1) An quatuor qualitates sint elementorum formae substantiales (64va–65va; 309rb–310ra)
- 2) An sint tantum quatuor primae qualitates (65va–66vb; 310ra–311va)
- 3) An inter has qualitates duae sint activae, duae passivae (66vb–67va; 311va–312ra)
Cap. 3, commentaria (67va–68rb; 312rb–313ra)
- 4) An tantum quatuor sint elementa (68rb–70rb; 313ra–315ra)
- 5) An terra sit maxime sicca, aqua maxime frigida, aer maxime humidus, etc. (70rb–72va; 315ra–317ra)
- 6) An elementa habeant utramque qualitatem in summo (72va–74ra; 317ra–318vb)
- 7) An qualitates elementorum symbolae sint eiusdem speciei (74ra–75rb; 318vb–320ra)
Cap. 4, commentaria (75rb–76ra; 320ra–vb)
- 8) An quodlibet elementum ex quolibet immediate generari possit (76ra–78ra; 320vb–322vb)
- 9) An symbola facilius mutantur (78ra–vb; 322vb–323vb)
- 10) An ex duobus elementis fiat tertium (78vb–79va; 323vb–324va)
Cap. 5, commentaria (79va–81vb; 324va–326vb)
Cap. 6, commentaria (81vb–83rb; 326vb–328va)
Cap. 7, commentaria (83rb–84rb; 328va–329ra)
Cap. 8, commentaria (84rb–va; 329ra–va)
- 11) An detur mixtum ad pondus aequale (84va–87vb; 329va–332vb)
Cap. 9, commentaria (87vb–89ra; 333ra–vb)
Cap. 10, commentaria (89ra–90rb; 334ra–335rb)
- 12) An motus solis sit inferiorum mutationum causa (90rb–92rb; 335rb–337rb)
Cap. 11, commentaria (92rb–93vb; 337rb–338va)

- 13) An corruptum naturaliter idem numero reparari possit (93vb–94vb; 338vb–339vb)

Franciscus Toletus, *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in tres libros Aristotelis de Anima*

Quaestiones prooemiales (1r–8r; 1r–8r)

- 1) An de anima possit esse scientia (1rb–2vb; 1ra–2va)
- 2) An physici sit tractare de anima (2vb–5ra; 2va–4vb)
- 3) An liber de anima antecedit librum de animalibus (5ra–6ra; 5ra–6r)
- 4) An anima sit subiectum huius libri (6ra–vb; 6ra–vb)

Liber I (8r–37r; 8r–35v)

- 5) An scientia animae alias vincat nobilitate et certitudine (8va–9vb; 8va–9vb)
- 6) An accidentia faciant ad cognitionem substantiae (13ra–15rb; 13ra–15ra)
- 7) An dialecticus definiat per formam (18rb–19vb; 18ra–19va)
- 8) An physicus definiat per materiam (19vb–20rb; 19va–20ra)
- 9) An anima rationalis per se moveri possit (28vb–30va; 27vb–29vb)

Liber II (37r–115r; 36r–112v)

- 1) An anima sit substantia (40va–42rb; 39rb–40vb)
- 2) An definitio animae sit univoca, sive (quod in idem recidit) an sit anima assistens et una in omnibus hominibus, an sit informans et in singulis diversa (42rb–50rb; 40vb–48vb)
- 3) An demonstratio definitionis animae sit a priori (52vb–54ra; 51rb–52va)
- 4) An anima sit in toto corpore, an vero in aliqua tantum eius parte (54ra–55vb; 52va–54rb)
- 5) An omnis anima sit indivisibilis (55vb–58vb; 54rb–57ra)
- 6) An sint tantum tria animarum genera (60va–62va; 58va–60vb)
- 7) An in uno viventi sint plures animae (62va–65va; 60vb–63vb)
- 8) An potentia et actus per objecta distinguantur et definiantur (68va–70va; 66va–68va)
- 9) An potentiae animae realiter inter se et ab anima distinguantur (70va–73rb; 68va–71rb)
- 10) An potentiae vegetativae inter se realiter distinguantur (73rb–74rb; 71rb–72rb)
- 11) An generare simile sibi sit naturalius et perfectius opus viventis inter omnia opera vegetativae (74rb–75va; 72rb–73vb)
- 12) An sensus sit potentia passiva (77va–79vb; 75va–77vb)
- 13) An sensus erret circa sensibile proprium (80rb–81rb; 78rb–79rb)

- 14) An sensibile commune propriam sensui imprimat speciem (81rb–82va; 79rb–80rb)
- 15) An sensibilia communia sensu exteriori percipiantur (82va–83rb; 80va–81rb)
- 16) An oculus sit sensorium visus (85va–87ra; 83va–85ra)
- 17) An color sit motivus perspicui in actu, ubi de natura coloris, quid sit, etc. (87rb–88vb; 85ra–86va)
- 18) An lumen sit corpus (88vb–91va; 86va–89va)
- 19) An sonus sit qualitas praeter motum (94rb–95ra; 92ra–vb)
- 20) An sonus sit in corpore sonante, an in corpore intercepto, scilicet in aere vel aqua (95ra–va; 92vb–93rb)
- 21) An sonus sit realiter in medio usque ad auditum (95va–96vb; 93rb–95va)
- 22) An echo sit idem numero cum sono priori (96vb–97rb; 94va–95ra)
- 23) De vocis natura et causis, ac significatione (97rb–va; 95ra–b)
- 24) An homo tactu vincat animalia omnia, non tamen olfactu (98vb–100ra; 96va–97va)
- 25) An odorum scientia bene per sapes tradatur. Ubi et de natura odorum (100ra–va; 97va–98rb)
- 26) An sensorium olfactus sit processus mamillaris (100vb–101ra; 98rb–va)
- 27) An odor sit realiter in medio (101ra–102rb; 98va–99vb)
- 28) An gustus differat a tactu (103rb–104ra; 109vb–110va)
- 29) An dulce et amarum sint extremi sapes. Ubi de natura saporis ac de eius speciebus agitur (104ra–vb; 101va–102rb)
- 30) An caro sit tactus sensorium (106va–108ra; 104ra–105rb)
- 31) An in tactu sit medium externum necessarium (108ra–109va; 105rb–106vb)
- 31) An tactus sint plures (109va–110vb; 106vb–108ra)
- 32) An sint species sensibiles (111vb–112vb; 109ra–110ra)
- 32) An species sint divisibiles. Ubi de earum tota natura agitur (112vb–115rb; 110ra–112rb)

Liber III (115v–183v; 113r–179r)

- 1) An tantum sint quinque sensus exteriores (117vb–119ra; 114va–116ra)
- 2) An sensus exteriores indigeant medio (119ra–vb; 116ra–vb)
- 3) An sensus exterior percipiat suam sensationem (122va–123va; 119ra–120rb)
- 4) An vehemens sensibile destruat sensum (123va–124ra; 120rb–vb)
- 5) An sensus communis sit in corde (124rb–126rb; 120vb–122vb)
- 6) An phantasia seu imaginatio distinguatur a sensu communi, ubi et de numero sensuum interiorum, ipsorum organorum et operationibus (128vb–130rb; 125rb–127ra)
- 7) An in parte sensitiva sit aliquid rationis (130va–131vb; 127ra–128rb)
- 8) An formicae et apes habeant imaginationem, ubi et de imaginationis gradibus et perfectionibus (131vb–132va; 128rb–129ra)

- 9) An intellectus secundum se sit pura potentia (134va–136va; 131ra–133ra)
- 10) An intellectus possibilis sit potentia animae vel (quod in idem recidit) an intellectus possibilis sit informans an substantia separata (136va–138rb; 133ra–135vb)
- 11) An intellectus se ipsum intelligat (138rb–140vb; 135vb–137ra)
- 12) An singulare sensibile intellectu percipi possit (142rb–143va; 138va–140ra)
- 13) An sit intellectus agens (144va–147ra; 140vb–143rb)
- 14) An intellectus agens sit substantia separata (147ra–148rb; 143rb–144va)
- 15) An rationalis anima sit immortalis secundum Aristotelem (148va–152ra; 144vb–148rb)
- 16) An secundum philosophiam anima rationalis sit immortalis (152rb–159vb; 148vb–156ra)
- 17) An anima rationalis producat a virtute seminali seu (quod in idem recidit) an educatur de potentia materiae (160ra–161va; 156rb–157vb)
- 18) An animae intellectivae sint inter se aequales (161va–163va; 157vb–159vb)
[=Case 1, 4]
- 19) An compositio intellectus sit unicus ipsius actus (164vb–165vb; 161ra–vb)
- 20) An ‘quid est’ sit obiectum primum intellectus (165vb–167ra; 161vb–163ra)
- 21) An sint species intelligibiles necessariae (168va–170ra; 164va–166ra)
- 22) An intelligere sit pati formaliter (170ra–171ra; 166ra–167ra)
- 23) An intellectus in corpore distincte percipiat intelligentias (171ra–172va; 167ra–168vb)
- 24) An sit bona divisio potentiarum in rationalem et irrationalem (174vb–175vb; 170va–171vb)
- 25) Quod sit instrumentum motus animalium. Ubi etiam tria alia dubia de potentiis motivis tractantur (177rb–178va; 173ra–174rb)
- 26) An appetitus sit potentia animae. Ubi quid et quotuplex appetitus, ac de eius passionibus (179rb–180rb; 175ra–176ra)
- 27) An sit alius appetitus praeter naturalem et sensitivum (180rb–181va; 176ra–177rb)

REVIEWS

GEORGE AMIROUTZES, *THE PHILOSOPHER, OR ON FAITH*, EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY JOHN MONFASANI, HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, MA 2021 (GRAPHAI, 1), 256 PP., ISBN: 9780884024859.

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A FIFTEENTH CENTURY BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHER ON HIS CHRISTIAN FAITH:
GEORGE AMIROUTZES' DIALOGUE *THE PHILOSOPHER, OR ON FAITH*.

NOTES ON A NEW EDITION

John Monfasani gives us in this beautifully produced book¹ the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of a dialogue on matters of Christian faith purportedly held between the author, George Amiroutzes (the 'philosopher') and Mehmet II ('the Conqueror'), written when Amiroutzes had become a member of Mehmet's court. Amiroutzes (henceforth: 'A') had enjoyed a high reputation as a leading Byzantine intellectual: he was part of the Byzantine delegation (with Pletho and Scholarius) which went to attend the Council of Ferrara and Florence in 1437. He was highly regarded by Italian humanists and became a leading dignitary of the Byzantine enclave of Trebizond before it fell in Turkish hands in 1461. A. tells the terrible story of this fall in a letter of supplication addressed in 1461 to Cardinal Bessarion, with whom A. had close ties (the letter is reproduced in part by Monfasani as Appendix I).² After a period of captivity and misery, A.'s intellectual qualities were recognized by Mehmet II, who made him part of his court, a time reflected in A.'s dialogue *The Philosopher, or On faith*.

Monfasani describes in his Introduction how he discovered the sole manuscript which preserves the original Greek text of this work (Toledo Biblioteca Capitolar Cod. 96-37), of which only a Latin translation had hitherto been available. Thanks to the present publication, together with some other much shorter philosophical

¹ GEORGE AMIROUTZES, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, edited and translated by JOHN MONFASANI, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 2021 (Graphai, 1) [henceforth, MONFASANI]. I am grateful for helpful comments and information received in Leuven and from John Demetracopoulos.

² A. describes there how the Turks swept up the Comneni in Trebizond as if with a dragnet (σαγήνη), recalling what the Persians had done to the Eretrians in 490 B.C. (PLATO, *Laws* 498d).

texts already published by Monfasani from the same manuscript,³ we now can read a considerable body of A.'s philosophical work. In the following I would like to comment briefly on matters concerning the edition and translation of the Greek text, the content and purpose of A.'s dialogue, concentrating my remarks on the methodological and epistemological issues raised in the dialogue, as well as on questions involving A.'s sources of inspiration.

Monfasani distinguishes between two hands in the Greek manuscript, the copyist (T) and a corrector (T¹), both hands of the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century. Since this is a *codex unicus*, Monfasani quite rightly provides a very full report in the apparatus of all details concerning the text as given and as corrected by the two hands, including matters of accentuation, from which emerges some information about T¹, who accuses A., for example, of having converted to Islam, an accusation which, as Monfasani convincingly argues (p. 4–5), is unlikely to be justified. The Greek text given by the manuscript seems to be in good order, and Monfasani, also using T¹, prints a very clean and well-articulated edition. I have only a few small textual improvements to suggest:

- p. 36, 5: typographical error (correct to ἀνότητος);
- p. 62, 18: στιγμήν] I would correct this to στιγμή (see below);
- p. 62, 27: τοῖς ἄλλοις] read ταῖς ἄλλαις (as in the translation);
- p. 120, 22: εὐθάνομεν] this word is not found in TLG, as Monfasani notes; I would correct it to εὐθύνομεν;
- p. 146, 4: τοῦ τε] I think the correction by T¹ (τό δε) is preferable;
- p. 172, 15: ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀληθές] Monfasani marks these words as corrupt, but I think they are correct. Both 'truth' and 'the true' are predicated of God in this way at p. 172, 1; p. 176, 11; p. 180, 1.

In a number of places some changes in punctuation would be desirable; I give some examples:

- p. 40, 5–6: move the comma in 5 to follow ἐπαγόμενα and remove the comma in 6;
- p. 50, 7: replace interrogative semi-colon with a full stop (also in p. 64,10);
- p. 76, 9: transfer interrogative semi-colon to 8 as following πεπλασμένη;
- p. 134, 17: this line continues the sentence on the previous line.

The English translation which faces the Greek text is on the whole clear and very readable. Of course, no translator's work is ever finished and so, in the present

³ JOHN MONFASANI, *George Amiroutzes. The Philosopher and His Tractates* [henceforth, *Tractates*], Peeters, Leuven 2011.

case, I would propose changes to the translation in various places. However, it would be fastidious to do this here and I will limit myself to making some modifications in translations of passages which I quote below.

Taking up then a tradition of dialogues between philosophers and rulers beginning with Solon and Croesus (Herodotus I, 30–33), A. presents us with a dialogue between himself and Mehmet II on matters of Christian faith. How plausible is it that such dialogue really took place? Monfasani attributes some verisimilitude to the dialogue (p. 24), but sometimes Mehmet speaks very much like a Greek (see for example p. 170, 12–14). It seems that some such discussions did take place, A. then giving Mehmed's interventions a strong Greek expression when composing the written text. But why write such a text? A. refers (p. 36) to the apparent vanity of such an enterprise, given the present desperate condition of the Greeks conquered by the Turks which allows for no such literary luxury. He contrasts the situation with the conquest of the Greeks by the Macedonians and the Romans, claiming that Greek culture reached a high point under Roman rule. (If, however, the Romans became Hellenized, one should add, it was when their religion was still polytheistic and assimilable to that of the Greeks). What is different today, A. indicates, is that the Turks are warlike and of a different religion and reduce the Greeks to slavery. But why then this book and for whom is it written? A. indicates that Mehmet II enjoyed discussing philosophy with him, as well as his Christian faith (p. 40, 1), which certainly gave an impulse to the work. But A. is writing for Greeks, providing them with ways to answer objections to their faith such as those made by Mehmet (p. 40, 8–9). The work is thus on the defensive (as were the Greeks), repelling Muslim criticisms of Christian faith, rather than offensive, attacking Islam. Monfasani describes A.'s book as an *Apologia pro fide sua* (p. 25).

The objections made by Mehmet to Christian faith in the dialogue concern principally the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation, the Trinity and the resurrection of the body, as well as Christian use of the Hebrew prophets and further matters (Monfasani provides an overview of the contents on p. 15–21). But on what grounds are these objections made and according to what principles can the Philosopher answer them, as a philosopher? What methodology does A. follow? The principles (or articles) of faith (both Muslim and Christian) are taken as given and not subject to challenge. A. presents Mehmet's objections as consequences (ἐπαγόμενα) supposedly derived from the principles of Christian faith, consequences taken to be absurd, contradictory or impossible. Thus, for example, the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation would entail that divine nature is changed, which is impossible (p. 44, 11). What A. seeks to show, then, is that no such consequences arise from Christian principles, thus defending these

principles.⁴ So the doctrine of Incarnation does not entail that divine nature be changed. On the subject of the doctrine of the resurrection of bodies, A. says:

This is what we have to teach concerning the resurrection. We have not come to it from philosophy. For it is the teaching of my first Lord, Jesus [...] We demonstrate its consequences, though, from philosophy, and we would accept nothing with which she does not agree on the basis of our principles. For those who disagree with this philosophy and our premises do not hold anything sound. We ought to be consistent with our premises and not « say things which contradict them and good reasoning, as in the case in Simonides' 'long story' » [Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1091a7–9]. For the sign that principles are true is that nothing of what comes from them is found to be irrational, which is the opposite of falsity (p. 198, 11–19).

The philosopher will then show that no absurd, contradictory or impossible consequences derive from his principles of faith, and thereby not only defend his faith, but support its truth.

But in relation to what criteria can consequences be shown to irrational, impossible, contradictory, or the reverse? A. frequently refers to 'common notions' in this regard.⁵ A consequence derived from an article of faith which conflicts with a common notion can be judged to be false. It seems to me that in A.'s arguments common notions can be of various types: certain positions are shared in common by A. and Mehmet (p. 108, 5–6; p. 138, 16), for example the Avicennian idea of God as necessary being (p. 42, 10–15);⁶ other common notions seem to have a much wider extension, recalling the original Stoic common notions which were thought to be common to humanity in general (p. 58; 2–3; p. 60, 11). A. mentions furthermore common principles accepted in physics (p. 66, 5; p. 154, 18) and common arguments (p. 44, 6). By using such common notions as a touchstone, A. can show that consequences which derive from the articles of Christian faith are not irrational, absurd, impossible, thereby defending these articles against criticism.

A further issue, underlying this methodology, is the question of A.'s epistemological stance: what is good reasoning, what is the basis of common notions (in their various types) and whence do they derive their truth, if we except divine revelation? A. seems to take in general an Aristotelian stance. Indeed

⁴ The practice of measuring premises by their consequences (are these absurd or contradictory?) goes back of course to Plato's Socrates. The idea that revelation provides unquestionable premises (articles of faith) from which consequences can be logically demonstrated underpins Thomas Aquinas' concept of theology.

⁵ On these see MONFASANI, p. 27 and p. 41, footnote 7.

⁶ Avicenna is the only Islamic philosopher mentioned by name ('Apoales') in the text; see MONFASANI's note 36, p. 71, who thinks that Thomas Aquinas must have been A.'s source of information. On A. and Thomas Aquinas see MONFASANI, *Tractates*, p. 30–38.

Aristotle is the only philosopher actually quoted by A., and quoted extensively. Sometimes his Aristotle seems to be quite narrow. Thus A. recognizes only one type of priority, priority in time, in his argument that what is created can only be temporal (p. 140, 17–18), even if Aristotle himself allows (*Metaphysics* IV, 11) for other types of priority, including priority in substance (οὐσία).⁷ A. distinguishes, following Aristotle, between different levels of proof: geometric proofs have a necessary and universal force not possible in relation to contingent particulars, so that it is not appropriate to demand a demonstration in physics, such as can be made in geometry, for things which are contingent particulars (p. 64, 18–66; p. 106, 20–22). Mehmed accuses A. of not basing his argument on sense-perception, and thus on the understanding on which physics depends and from which it develops its demonstrations (p. 68, 7–18). But A. does not reject physics and its basis in sense-perception (see p. 192, 16–20), just as he seeks to adhere to the rigour of Aristotelian syllogisms in his arguments. The problem arises because A. argues for matters which cannot be demonstrated on the basis of the principles of physics and logical argument (p. 66, 5–6; p. 156, 3–4). These matters include the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity, subjects which transcend nature and what we know from nature (p. 52, 11–19). God is not part of the order of nature: we know only that God exists, not how (p. 54, 10–12). Indeed in this regard, A. argues, Aristotle practices a sort of negative theology (note p. 156, 2: ἀφαίρεσις; on this term see also p. 54, 13)⁸ in saying that God is un-moved, un-divided, with no magnitude (p. 54, 13–16). Mehmed agrees and, speaking the language of Late Antique Platonists and Platonizing Church Fathers, says that God is ineffable, inconceivable, unnamable, spoken only in terms of his activities (ἐνεργεῖαι), which, however, say nothing about God's substance (p. 170, 12–27). How then can A. be so dogmatic in saying, with Aristotle, that God is mind, the best mind, thinking itself, which, for A., also means thinking all things as the creator of them, and furthermore a Trinity?

In answer, A. accepts that God's substance is ineffable, inconceivable and ungraspable (p. 176, 6–7). God is absolutely simple (non-composite), and one itself (p. 176, 10–11).

Again one should not be ignorant of the fact and deny that He is properly speaking (κυρίως) the good and being and the true and life, and, even more so, goodness and

⁷ See p. 156, 19–158, 2 (Platonists; see ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* IV, 11, 1019a3–4 and Porphyry as quoted by MONFASANI, p. 159 footnote 109). But A. does concede (p. 142, 11) a priority in respect to the final end (τέλος) and elsewhere himself uses priority according to substance in his argument (p. 158, 9–13).

⁸ I do not think that the term should be translated as meaning to 'eliminate'; to 'abstract' would be better.

substance and truth and life itself, but the other [predicates] not in a proper sense, but by participation or in an analogous way (p. 176, 11–14).

In answer to Mehmed's charge that A. attributes an excessive number of predicates to God, A. responds by distinguishing between two kind of predications: that which is properly said of God (and by implication derivatively of others); and predication operating by participation and analogy.⁹ This distinction recalls one made by Thomas Aquinas between what is said *proprie* of God and what is said by analogy.¹⁰ The point of reserving a special (proper) predication for God is obviously to privilege certain statements in Christian revelation. This will allow A. to make positive claims about God. And both types of predication are to be retained (p. 176, 16–21).

A little later A. speaks in more detail of the second type of predication, predication by participation and analogy. Since all perfections in created beings come from God, these perfections are in the First Cause as causes or paradigmatically (ἀρχικῶς ἢ παραδειγματικῶς) and analogously and in an inferior way (ἀναλογικῶς καὶ ὑφειμένως) in the created (p. 178, 11–12). « For what in the caused (αἰτιατοῖς) comes from the cause must necessarily exist first in the cause » (p. 178, 10). This language and the ideas recall the *Elements of Theology* of Proclus (himself, like A., an aficionado of syllogistery).¹¹ A few lines later A. says similar things which again recall Proclus: « In beings, images and likenesses are found. In the caused things they exist in a divided way (διηρημένως), but in the first cause in a unitary way (ἐνιαιῶς) » (p. 178, 15–16).¹² Further investigation might reveal if A. read Proclus directly, or found Proclean ideas in an intermediate source.

Regarding Platonists A. shows little sympathy.¹³ However, Proclus' Aristotelizing Neoplatonism might have been more acceptable to him in certain respects. And thanks to Monfasani, we know that A. read at least some texts of Plotinus.¹⁴ But perhaps he read more. In discussing the Incarnation Mehmed asks

⁹ The distinction is somewhat obscured in Monfasani's translation.

¹⁰ ST I, q. 13, a. 3 and a. 5–6. In Cydones' Greek translation, Aquinas' *proprie* is translated as ἰδίως; see the passages published by JOHN DEMETRACOPOULOS, « Palamas Transformed. Palamite Interpretations of the Distinction between God's 'Essence' and 'Energies' in late Byzantium », in MARTIN HINTERBERGER, CHRIS SCHABEL (eds.), *Greek, Latins and Intellectual History 1204–1500*, Peeters, Leuven 2011, p. 298.

¹¹ See, for example, PROCLUS, *Elements of Theology*, edited by ERIC R. DODDS, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1992, Prop. 28, p. 32, 21.

¹² See PROCLUS, *Elements of Theology*, Prop. 118, p. 104, 5–15. But see also THOMAS AQUINAS, ST I, q. 13, a. 4 resp. (Cydones' Greek version can be found in DEMETRACOPOULOS, « Palamas Transformed », p. 303).

¹³ On A.'s anti-Platonism see MONFASANI, *Tractates*, p. 24.

¹⁴ *Enneads* V, 1, 3, 6–10 and 4, 20–22, excerpts published by MONFASANI, *Tractates*, p. 106; and see p. 132 for A.'s polemic with Plotinus on Plotinus' theory of time in *Ennead* III, 7.

if the incarnate god was wholly in Mary's womb or only in part, in which case God would be divided, although being indivisible (p. 56, 16–58, 2). However, A. argues that God is present as a whole everywhere:

Necessarily, therefore, God would be present as a whole¹⁵ in a particular place and also everywhere, by virtue of his substance and power. That accords with common conceptions and the words of the prophets (p. 60, 10–11).

The problem of God's integral omnipresence, of how God can be present as a whole everywhere, and not divided (as if a quantity) into parts present in different places, was discussed by Plotinus in *Enneads* VI, 4–5.¹⁶ Thus we read at the beginning of VI, 5:

That the one and the same in number [i.e. God] is present everywhere simultaneously as a whole is what is said by a common conception (1, 1–2).

Plotinus argues – to say things *in nuce* – that God has no magnitude and no quantitatively divisible parts. God is *wholly* present everywhere, in each part of material reality, in the sense that everything is held¹⁷ in God's power. It is not that God is in things, but things are in God as depending on God's power. A. proposes the same solution to the problem of integral omnipresence:

What is left? That God holds (συνέχων) them, or that they will be in something. If they are not in their principle (if they have been deprived of it), they will not be able to exist in any way whatsoever (p. 58, 12–14).¹⁸

A little later (p. 62, 17–18), A. affirms that:

God is everywhere as he is. For he is not extended by distances (συνεκτείνεται τοῖς διαστήμασι), but encompasses the universe like a point (στιγμή).

A.'s language here is close to that of Plotinus (VI, 4, 1, 14: συνεκτείνεσθαι; VI, 5, 4, 22–23: διαστήμασι). I take it that in this passage God (and not the universe) is being compared to a (geometrical) point and I therefore read *στιγμή*, whereas Monfasani prints *στιγμήν* and thus translates the passages as if it is the universe

¹⁵ Monfasani translates ὅλον as 'a concrete whole', here and in the following pages, which I think is mistaken; he is misled by a passage in Aristotle's *Physics* (p. 59, n. 28).

¹⁶ On this I may be permitted to refer to an old paper of mine: DOMINIC O'MEARA, « The Problem of Omnipresence in Plotinus *Ennead* VI, 4–5: A Reply », *Dionysius*, 4 (1980), p. 61–74.

¹⁷ Among other verbs Plotinus use the word συνέχειν (VI, 4, 2, 11)

¹⁸ Compare also PLOTINUS, *Ennead* VI, 4, 2, 4–5 : « But that which comes after it [i.e. true intelligible being] must necessarily exist in total Being, if it is to be at all ».

which is being compared to a point (a « dot » in Monfasani's translation). However, in Neoplatonic authors the geometrical point was often taken to contain within itself all the geometrical forms which would flow out from it. And so God can encompass everything, as if a geometrical point, in being the source of everything. The geometrical image is indeed used by Plotinus, both in VI, 5, 5 and in a Plotinian treatise certainly read by A., III, 7, 3, 19–23.¹⁹ Further work might show if A. came across these ideas in an intermediate source,²⁰ or if he remembered them from his reading of Plotinus.

Finally, towards the end of the dialogue, on the question of the resurrection of the body, A. introduces the notion of a « vehicle » (ὄχημα) of the soul (p. 194, 10), for which Monfasani refers us (p. 195, n. 134) to the Neoplatonic conception of the vehicle of the soul. However, the colourful series of vehicles which accrue to soul in its adventurous descent to the body in Late Antique Neoplatonism survives in A. as a body no longer having its natural functions and whose single purpose (albeit its being glorified) is to carry soul.

Monfasani is to be congratulated on his discovery of the Greek text of A.'s dialogue and for his work in giving us a very good edition of the Greek and a translation which makes the text easily accessible. He has provided a solid foundation for future work on an impressive and moving episode in the transition of the late Byzantine intellectual tradition to the Italian Renaissance and to some sort of survival in the Ottoman empire.

¹⁹ See also, for example, PROCLUS, *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, edited by GOTTFRIED FRIEDLEIN, Teubner, Leipzig 1873, p. 88, 2–17, and above footnote 14. Plotinus uses the terms κέντρον and σημείον, whereas A. writes στιγμή: is he here covering his tracks?

²⁰ See for example THOMAS AQUINAS, *ST I*, q. 8.

JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT, *LE CLOÎTRE DES OMBRES*, SUIVI DE LA TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE DU *LIVRE DES RÉVÉLATIONS* DE RICHALM DE SCHÖNTAL AVEC LA COLLABORATION DE GISEÈ BESSON, ÉDITIONS GALLIMARD, PARIS 2021 (BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES HISTOIRES), 469 PP., ISBN: 9782072931468.

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Il *Liber revelationum* del monaco cistercense Ricalmo di Schöntal conosce da qualche anno una fortuna che lo ripaga ampiamente del pressoché totale silenzio con cui ha attraversato i secoli successivi alla sua composizione che risale al 1219 circa. Nel 2009 esce l'edizione critica dell'opera a cura del filologo e latinista tedesco Paul Gerhard Schmidt che fa giustizia dell'unica, e poco affidabile, edizione presente in una raccolta settecentesca di testi, il *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* dell'erudito benedettino Bernhard Pez.¹ Grazie al lavoro di Schmidt, il *Liber revelationum* si è finalmente mostrato, anzi, si potrebbe dire con un facile gioco di parole, 'si è rivelato' agli occhi di Jean-Claude Schmitt una fonte « tellement riche et exceptionnelle » da indurlo a dedicargli un intero volume della prestigiosa 'Bibliothèque des Histoires' di Gallimard in cui all'analisi del testo, del suo contesto, delle questioni che pone e delle riflessioni che suscita segue la traduzione integrale in francese del testo latino a cura dello stesso Schmitt e di Gisèle Besson. Il fascino che il *Liber* ha esercitato sullo storico francese percorre tutte le pagine del volume affidato a una scrittura chiara e argomentata ma anche particolarmente felice e ispirata che lascia trasparire una continua meraviglia per la bellezza e la ricchezza di un testo cui, non a caso, Schmitt cede spesso la parola citandone o parafrasandone brani particolarmente significativi attorno ai quali dispiega la sua analisi.

Per capire cosa ha trovato Schmitt di così appassionante in questo testo vale la pena di presentare rapidamente il *Liber revelationum* tenendo conto che, per quanto l'opera sia attribuita nella tradizione, come anche nella recente edizione critica, a Ricalmo, l'abate di Schöntal non ne è l'autore nel senso moderno del termine, ma

¹ Viz. RICHALM VON SCHÖNTAL, *Liber revelationum*, ed. PAUL GERHARD SCHMIDT, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2009 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Gesteisgeschichte des Mittelalters, 24). In precedenza: BEATI RICHALMI *Liber revelationum de insidiis et versutiis demonum adversus homines*, in BERNHARD PEZ (ed.), *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus seu Veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum...*, t. I, pt. II, sumptibus Philippi, Martini, & Joannis Veith fratrum, Augsburg – Graz 1721, p. 373–472.

colui che l'ha ispirata, affidando alla penna di un confratello, che si nasconde nell'anonimato dell'iniziale puntata N., il racconto delle sue visioni. I primi 83 capitoli consistono dunque in un dialogo tra i due, frutto di ciò che Ricalmo racconta e che N. trascrive e che poi Ricalmo rivede, corregge ed eventualmente integra. La morte dell'abate interrompe questo andare e venire di parole dette e scritte tra i due per lasciare il posto a quasi altrettanti capitoli, 75 per la precisione, in cui N. riferisce, per lo più al passato e in terza persona, ciò che ha ascoltato da Ricalmo. Questa prima parte dell'opera, la più lunga e corposa (158 capitoli su un totale di 174), contiene il racconto delle numerose e continue visioni che Ricalmo ha avuto durante la sua vita di monaco. Un racconto che non ha un ordine né temporale né tematico, ma che colpisce per la varietà dei modi e degli oggetti dell'attività visionaria dell'abate. Ricalmo vede, intende e incontra, con i sensi esterni e interni, durante il sonno ma più spesso da sveglia, cose e persone che non appartengono alla realtà o, meglio, che si aggiungono alla realtà e la moltiplicano: fiori e piante, suoni e odori, che rimandano o rivelano entità spirituali, e persone, tante persone diverse: la Vergine Maria, il Cristo nelle vesti del Crocefisso o del Bambino Gesù, i santi della tradizione monastica (Paolino di Nola, Benedetto, Gregorio Magno), molti morti, per lo più i monaci di Schöntal che in buon numero ritornano a far parte della comunità monastica in cui erano presenti da vivi. Non basta, Ricalmo rivela di vedere, sentire e interloquire con gli altri abituali abitanti del suo monastero e cioè i numerosi spiriti benigni, gli angeli, che assistono e proteggono i monaci dagli ancora più numerosi e ben più attivi e intraprendenti spiriti maligni, i demoni, che cercano in tutti i modi di impedire ai monaci di raggiungere la perfezione spirituale cui si sono votati.

A questa prima parte del *Liber revelationum*, tutta dedicata alle visioni di Ricalmo, che costituisce la parte più consistente dell'opera, ne segue una seconda più breve, nella quale si fa evidente l'intenzione di N. di celebrare la memoria del suo abate nel tentativo forse di promuoverne la canonizzazione. All'abbozzo di una *Vita* di Ricalmo, limitata ai suoi primi anni, presente nei capitoli precedenti, N. ora aggiunge due poemi, uno breve attribuito allo stesso Ricalmo, l'altro più lungo composto da N. in onore dell'abate e della sua opera. Tra i due poemi è inserita un'*exhortatio et correctio contra falsarios visionum Richalmi abbatis*, che occupa una ventina di capitoli, in cui N. si premura di correggere parola per parola una versione manoscritta imprecisa ed inesatta del suo dialogo con Ricalmo, che nella misura in cui non rispetta alla lettera le parole dell'abate ne tradisce e ne falsifica il pensiero ingannando così i possibili lettori. Un « caso unico nella letteratura medievale », sottolinea con forza Schmitt, in cui la denuncia del falso e del falsario, in questo caso un copista poco attento e soprattutto, agli occhi di N., irrispettoso e malevolo, si accompagna a un confronto puntuale tra la buona e la cattiva versione e alla correzione altrettanto puntuale di ciò che è falso con ciò che N. considera vero.

Se questo è, *grosso modo*, il *Liber revelationum*, si comprende bene la meraviglia e l'entusiasmo con cui lo storico Schmitt ha letto l'edizione del testo che il suo quasi omonimo, il filologo Schmidt, gli donò personalmente nel 2010, pochi mesi prima della sua scomparsa. Come racconta lo stesso Schmitt nell'Introduzione, quel libro gli apparve subito una specie di « microcosmo » in cui si condensavano quasi tutti i temi di ricerca che hanno segnato negli anni la sua attività di ricerca.

A cominciare dai *revenants*, i morti che tornano tra i vivi, per Ricalmo protagonisti di molte sue visioni e per Schmitt oggetto di studio attorno al quale si sono dispiegati molti dei temi della sua attività di ricerca tra gli anni 70 e 80 del secolo scorso: la morte, l'aldilà, la credenza, i rapporti tra cultura dotta e popolare. Ma i *revenants* di Ricalmo richiamano anche altri e più recenti studi di Schmitt, quelli sulla concezione medievale dell'individuo, confluiti negli studi sull'autobiografia e sul ritratto. Nei monaci morti che appaiono a Ricalmo Schmitt trova una straordinaria testimonianza dei processi di distruzione e ricostruzione dell'individualità: se in vita i monaci di Schöntal sono per lo più senza nome, a volte nascosti nell'anonimato di un'iniziale puntata, come il monaco N., a significare che la rinuncia al mondo è anche rinuncia a quel nome proprio che nel mondo li distingueva come individui, con la morte, quegli stessi monaci di fronte al giudizio di Dio riconquistano la loro individualità e con essa anche il loro nome; ed ecco allora che a rivelare a Ricalmo le sofferenze che comporta la loro condizione di defunti e come questa condizione possa migliorare grazie alle buone opere compiute in vita e al ricordo dei vivi, sono monaci e monache ben individuati dal loro nome: Guglielmo, Alberto, Bertrada (una monaca di cui probabilmente Ricalmo era il direttore spirituale), Federico, Alberone, Adelardo e altri ancora.

Ci sono poi altri temi, che emergono con prepotenza dalla lettura del *Liber*, il corpo, i gesti, i sensi, l'immagine e le forme della visione, il tempo e i suoi ritmi, ai quali Schmitt ha dedicato in questi ultimi decenni appassionanti ricerche e importanti libri. Si tratta di temi che, legati come sono alla vita disciplinata dei monaci, ricorrono in tutti i racconti dell'abate Ricalmo ma che si impongono con particolare evidenza in quei racconti che costituiscono il contributo più ricco, originale e sorprendente del *Liber* alla letteratura delle visioni e più generale a tutta la letteratura monastica, e cioè i racconti dedicati alle visioni di quegli spiriti, angeli e demoni, che popolano numerosissimi l'abbazia di Schöntal e che Ricalmo vede e sente continuamente. In quei racconti, gli spazi e i tempi della vita monastica e gli stessi corpi dei monaci diventano veri e propri campi di battaglia in cui angeli e demoni combattono per la conquista delle anime che in quegli spazi, in quei tempi e in quei corpi abitano.

La lettura del *Liber* di Ricalmo è stata dunque per Schmitt l'occasione per ripercorrere una lunga e ricca attività di ricerca, alla quale quel testo porta non solo conferme e nuove testimonianze ma anche unità e coerenza: unità tematica, nella misura in cui quei temi affrontati in tempi diversi si intrecciano ora uno con

l'altro in un unico testo, e coerenza metodologica perché il punto di vista e gli strumenti concettuali con cui Schmitt legge il *Liber* sono gli stessi da lui usati e affinati nel corso degli anni, e cioè quelli dell'antropologia storica promossa da Jacques Le Goff e dallo stesso Schmitt che di Le Goff è stato allievo e principale collaboratore. Il che ha significato in questo caso usare gli strumenti della critica storica per collocare quella fonte nel suo specifico contesto sociale e culturale e nello stesso tempo assumere, antropologicamente, l'alterità rispetto a noi della società e della cultura che l'ha prodotta e comprendere così la concezione del mondo che esprime.

Il risultato è un libro che ha per oggetto un unico testo attraverso il quale lo sguardo si allarga progressivamente: dall'abbazia di Schöntal alla cultura monastica e da questa la concezione della realtà che pervade la cultura medievale all'epoca di Ricalmo. Operazione resa possibile certo grazie alla 'eccezionalità' del *Liber* di Ricalmo, sottolineata a più riprese, ma anche dalla lettura di Schmitt capace di mostrare come una « *microsociété monastique et démoniaque* » possa essere « *largement représentative de la société et de la culture du temps* » (p. 13).

Il percorso che il libro propone è dunque un percorso in più tappe, otto capitoli divisi in due parti, che va dal particolare (un testo, un monastero) al generale (riflessione sui caratteri della cultura monastica e, ancora più in generale, della civiltà medievale). La prima parte è dedicata allo scenario storico, istituzionale ed umano, in cui il testo prende forma; ad essere sotto i riflettori sono qui l'abbazia di Schöntal e i suoi monaci, per lo più attraverso le testimonianze del *Liber Ricalmi*, ma il discorso si allarga continuamente a una più generale analisi delle forme di vita imposte dalla scelta monastica.

Se il primo capitolo affronta la duplice questione dell'autore, o meglio degli autori del testo, e dell'altra versione del testo, quella giudicata falsa e quindi corretta, con il secondo si entra nel monastero dove il testo è stato composto, ricopiato e letto e dove hanno vissuto i monaci di cui si parla; di quel monastero si ricostruisce l'architettura, la tipologia e la scansione temporale delle attività che vi si svolgono. Nel capitolo successivo si guarda più da vicino alla vita dei monaci, al loro modo di pregare e di lavorare, al rapporto che intrattengono con i loro morti, alle tensioni che attraversano la loro comunità di reclusi; un capitolo specifico, il quarto, è dedicato alla « disciplina del corpo », momento fondamentale, a Schöntal come nelle altre comunità monastiche, nel cammino verso la perfezione. La seconda parte è tutta dedicata alle « ombre » che convivono con i monaci, e cioè a quegli esseri spirituali, le persone divine e i santi, le anime dei morti, gli spiriti buoni e quelli malvagi che i monaci, e Ricalmo più di tutti gli altri, vedono, ascoltano, con cui parlano e insieme ai quali pregano, lavorano, mangiano, dormono. Dapprima, e siamo al capitolo sesto, l'analisi è riservata alle « visioni celesti » (i santi, la Vergine, il Cristo) e, con loro, al ruolo che i racconti agiografici e le immagini hanno nelle visioni; nel capitolo successivo l'attenzione

si rivolge agli angeli e ai demoni, questi ultimi, come abbiamo già messo in rilievo, di gran lunga non solo più numerosi ma anche più attivi e intraprendenti. Costituiti in una specie di contro società che ricalca quella gerarchica della comunità monastica in cui vivono, dotati persino di una specie di scuola quadri in cui imparano il latino e si familiarizzano con i testi della cultura monastica, i demoni non cessano di intervenire nella vita nei monaci in tutti i modi: parlano continuamente e fanno parlare troppo e malamente i monaci (la rottura del silenzio monastico è uno dei loro principali obiettivi), a volte assumono la forma di uomo, animale, pianta o fiore, odore o suono aderendo per esempio come vento o come polvere al corpo dei monaci; qualche volta, in un processo di incorporazione, vi si inseriscono o vi si sovrappongono guidando le azioni e le parole delle loro vittime; in tutti questi modi causano malattie varie, inducono noia e stanchezza, provocano improvvise risate e gesti scomposti in monaci che incrociano i piedi e cominciano a zoppicare, mettono la mano dentro la cintura (segno di pigrizia!) o sotto la mascella favorendo così il sonno quando invece dovrebbero dedicarsi alla lettura o al lavoro. Alla lunga lista (qui appena accennata!) degli inganni, delle malizie e delle metamorfosi dei demoni si oppongono i pochi ma efficaci interventi angelici che consistono per lo più in vari scampanii e in sempre utili segni della croce.

In questa guerra quotidiana che si svolge all'interno delle mura monastiche, i monaci non solo sembrano aver perso ogni traccia di libero arbitrio, soggetti come sono, nel bene o nel male, al potere degli angeli e dei demoni, ma si ritrovano a vivere in quella che Schmitt ha felicemente chiamato una « realtà aumentata » della quale fanno parte due diversi tipi di esseri viventi, loro stessi, uomini in carne ed ossa, e tutte le entità spirituali che in varie forme e con opposte finalità vivono con loro partecipando alla loro vita e svolgendo insieme a loro le attività previste dalla vita monastica. Schmitt sottolinea come nel racconto di Ricalmo questi diversi e distinti abitanti del monastero siano considerati presenze reali e quotidiane da cui l'abate, più di altri, è come assediato ma della cui presenza tutti nel monastero sembrano essere consapevoli. Schmitt non rifiuta una spiegazione di ordine psichiatrico e psicoanalitico che vede nella troppo vivace immaginazione di Ricalmo, se non addirittura in un disturbo della personalità, il motivo di questa moltiplicazione della realtà, ma ritiene che quest'interpretazione possa se mai essere chiamata in causa solo in seconda battuta dopo che la storia e l'antropologia hanno offerto le loro interpretazioni: la storia, ricostruendo lo specifico contesto storico e culturale cui appartengono le visioni dell'abate di Schöntal; l'antropologia, segnando la distanza di quel contesto dalla nostra cultura. Lo storico francese rivendica qui il metodo seguito nella sua analisi del testo, metodo che nei capitoli precedenti ha già offerto chiavi interpretative illuminanti su una serie di punti specifici, come per esempio il tema della morte, dell'individualità, della disciplina del corpo, ma che negli ultimi due capitoli, quelli più

esplicitamente interpretativi, arriva a una lettura complessiva che dà conto della fonte presa in esame ma anche della cultura monastica e più in generale medievale cui appartiene.

Nel primo, a partire da quanto lo stesso Ricalmo ribadisce più volte, e cioè che la sua conoscenza degli spiriti passa attraverso l'esperienza sensibile dei cinque sensi del corpo, Schmitt mostra che nel *Liber*, come del resto in larga parte nella concezione cristiana, e qui il riferimento è da un lato ad Agostino e dall'altro ad esponenti della cultura monastica in particolare cistercense, i sensi del corpo non si limitano alla percezione degli oggetti fisici ma sono in grado, attraverso quelle percezioni, di andare oltre e raggiungere ciò che è al di là di quegli oggetti, e cioè la realtà spirituale da cui derivano e che in parte sono in grado di manifestare. Una duplice esperienza sensoriale dunque, esteriore e interiore, corporea e spirituale, capace di cogliere la realtà a sua volta duplice, vissuta e pensata, esperita e immaginata, e tuttavia unitaria, gerarchicamente strutturata com'è in due livelli, visibile e invisibile, materia e spirito, anima e corpo, uniti tra loro da rapporti di partecipazione e analogia che li mettono in relazione e che consentono di passare da uno all'altro.

L'interpretazione che Schmitt, a questo punto della sua analisi, propone delle visioni di Ricalmo, e più in generale della cultura monastica medievale, rinvia a una concezione della realtà molto diversa dalla nostra nella quale « le savoir ne consiste pas comme pour nous à objectiver et circonscrire le réel, mais à chercher des correspondances entre la face visible et sensible de la Création et sa face invisible et infinie » (p. 247). Una concezione che Schmitt definisce, sulla scorta dell'antropologo Philippe Descola, « analogismo », intendendo con questo termine una ontologia in cui gli esseri umani sono diversi dai non umani sia sul piano della fisicità (corpo, materia) sia su quello dell'interiorità (anima, spirito, pensiero), e in quanto tale ben distinta da quella del « naturalismo » in cui gli umani sono simili ai non umani sul piano della fisicità ma diversi su quello dell'interiorità. Quest'ultimo tipo di ontologia, che caratterizza la civiltà occidentale dal XVII secolo in avanti, oggettiva il non umano come natura e lo analizza con le categorie del sapere scientifico, là dove l'analogismo riconosce nella totale diversità tra l'umano e il non umano una rete di analogie garantita, nel caso del cristianesimo, dalla comune origine creaturale e anche, come Schmitt non manca di notare, da una tradizione filosofica di matrice neoplatonica che ha permeato il pensiero cristiano patristico e monastico.

In questa lettura analogica, che Schmitt applica al testo di Ricalmo, gli spiriti svolgono la funzione di mettere in relazione le due realtà separate ma analoghe: da esseri invisibili essi si mostrano infatti comunque capaci di assumere le molte forme del visibile e agire tra gli umani proprio come fanno nel loro variegato polimorfismo i demoni di Ricalmo. A conferma della centralità del corpo nella cultura cristiana, il campo d'azione privilegiato di queste entità spirituali che

prendono corpo diventa poi soprattutto quel corpo umano al quale aderiscono e in cui spesso si insinuano e si incarnano e che cercano in vario modo di rendere ancora più fragile di quello che è e sempre più insofferente più di quanto già non sia alla disciplina della Regola per allontanare sempre di più i monaci da quell'oblio del corpo che consentirebbe loro di raggiungere in terra la condizione angelica.

L'analisi storica e quella antropologica convergono così una con l'altra confermandosi a vicenda nell'offrire una lettura che fa risalire alla specifica, e altra rispetto alla nostra, concezione della realtà la spiegazione dell'attività visionaria di Ricalmo così come viene esposta nel *Liber*. Non solo. Come si era proposto nell'« Introduzione », a partire dall'analisi e dall'interpretazione di quella fonte e della cultura monastica cui appartiene, Schmitt propone anche una lettura complessiva della cultura medievale nei suoi fondamenti e nelle sue diverse componenti e manifestazioni, il che fa di questo libro, anche per un lettore non medievista di professione, una specie di finestra privilegiata da cui osservare i « modi di vivere e di pensare » degli uomini del medioevo rispetto al lavoro, alla morte, al tempo, ai rapporti sociali e così via.

Operazione resa possibile dalla centralità e dall'esemplarità che la cultura monastica ha avuto, e ha ancora al tempo di Ricalmo, nella società e nella cultura medievale. E che continua ad avere in parte anche dopo, per esempio quando la predicazione mendicante dei secoli tardomedievali riproporrà a uomini e donne che vivono nel mondo valori, modelli e schemi morali pensati da e per uomini e donne che si separano dal mondo anticipando nello spazio-tempo artificiale e chiuso del monastero una perfezione che non è di questo mondo. Schmitt è troppo attento, tuttavia, per non mettere in guardia il suo lettore sulla prossima perdita di centralità della cultura monastica e con essa dell'« analogismo » che la caratterizza. Lo storico francese è il primo a riconoscere che tratti di modernità e di « naturalismo » sono presenti nella cultura medievale in anni vicini e anche precedenti a quelli della composizione del *Liber Ricalmi* come quando sottolinea la distanza di quest'ultimo dalle riflessioni emergenti nelle scuole urbane e poi nelle università su temi come il libero arbitrio o la natura angelica; o quando ricorda la nuova idea di natura che l'ingresso in forza dell'aristotelismo comporta in ambito filosofico e scientifico; o, ancora, quando richiama la nuova scienza dei demoni elaborata da teologi e inquisitori tra XIV e XV secolo ben lontana da quella cui Ricalmo si ispira. L'indagine si sposta allora nel determinare di volta in volta le forme di coabitazione e di contaminazione di culture diverse, i diversi livelli di cultura che questa coabitazione può implicare, la forza di irraggiamento che una cultura può avere al di là dell'élites che l'hanno elaborata; è sempre lo stesso Schmitt a fare riferimento, a questo proposito, all'influenza che il « naturalismo » praticato a livello della cultura dotta ha avuto, a partire dal XIII secolo, in ambito artistico, favorendo la tendenza a oggettivare l'ambiente naturale e a guardare alla realtà in se stessa senza implicazioni analogiche. Avvertimenti necessari, che si

traducono tutti in suggestioni di ricerca, e che sottolineano ancora una volta l'eccezionalità, la ricchezza e la bellezza di un testo, che grazie al suo autore e al suo interprete, si rivela capace di rappresentare per i lettori contemporanei un intero mondo, uno stile di vita, un modo di pensare e di vivere ormai lontano nel tempo.

KARLA MALLETTE, *LIVES OF THE GREAT LANGUAGES: ARABIC AND LATIN IN THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN*, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO – LONDON 2021, 264 PP., ISBN: 9780226795904

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This is an unusual book. It reads more like an extended essay rather than an academic monograph. Appropriately to the aim of the book, the author delights in language, and laces her exposition with references to popular culture ('Death Cab for Cutie', 'Hepburn-Tracy movie'), poetic expression ('Like words traced in the sand whilst the tide is out'), and even neologisms ('cathect' and 'gramatica') composed especially for concepts that are too subtle for ordinary language. Among her inventions appears to be description of the languages concerned (Arabic and Latin) as 'Alexandrian' – a term she finds more appropriate than 'cosmopolitan' (a term used generally as a *faute de mieux*) or 'great' (as in the title).

Altogether the book is very positive and upbeat. It is an evaluation of the shared virtues of Arabic and Latin: they are both learned languages; they both form entrées into the world beyond national boundaries; they both elevate the mind to a higher level of thought; they make their speakers or readers citizens of a global community. They differ in that the trajectory of Latin is from a language of empire which reached a second peak in the Renaissance and then slowly declined as the vernaculars gained in literary importance; whilst Arabic (as the pure and noble *fuṣḥā* language) entered the world all at once with the revelation of the Qur'ān and never lost its exalted position in the Muslim world. But there is a sufficient groundswell of likeness for them to be compared, and the book takes the form of a series of anecdotes, usually pairing Arabic with Latin. The self-consciousness of Arabic, by which the unity of the 'Abbasid empire was forged; the love of Latin (in the person of Petrarch) which helped shape the culture of the European Renaissance. The crossing of boundaries – the *limes* (originally, ridge/bank between two fields) in Latin; the *thaghr* (originally the front teeth, which separated the inside of man from the outside world) in Arabic – by merchants and scholars. For the exiled Dante, Latin was the language of the world, which had become his home. For Sibawayhi, an 'a'jam' (meaning a barbarian, and more specifically a Persian), pinning Arabic down in a grammar was a way to capture the scattered words and phrases he had gleaned from the nomadic Arabs, and form them into a

stable structure. Latin and Arabic were both languages of travellers, akin, as Mallette puts it, to a tribal rug (p. 81), beautiful and intricate, which made a home of whichever place it was laid out on. Latin and Arabic both became languages of religions, so unifying the whole people of a religion. But language also entailed narrative, and the spread of stories, especially the ‘fantastic tale’, is another theme of this book: ‘fabula’ in Latin translates *khurāfa* in Arabic, which in turn is the legendary figure who was carried off by the jinn and returned to earth with otherworldly tales. The last incident is described in the great unfinished Arabic-English lexicon compiled by the Victorian gentleman, Edward William Lane (1801-1876), whom Mallette calls « the spy in the house of language », because he spent years immersing himself in Arabic culture and delving into Arabic dictionaries in order to display the richness and variety of the Arabic language (which he often illustrated by parallels in Latin). A later chapter, provocatively called *Silence*, documents the progressive silencing of Latin (unevenly in different contexts) but at the same time explores the creativity of silence. In the view of Philip of Harveng, who wrote a treatise *De silentio clericorum*, silence was preferable to using the unruly vernacular languages. There are dangers as well as benefits in extending knowledge to those who are outside the élite speakers of Latin and the *fushā*, such as women and the riff-raff. The global reach of the Alexandrian languages also entails an elitism, which separates the *litterati* from the uneducated, the ‘good’ from the ‘bad’ (Arabic was pure, morally good and beautiful in respect to incorrect speech). The social and ethical effects of the rise of the vernaculars and the advent of the printing press occupy the last pages of the book, which finishes with instances of contemporary authors’ choices of language, and ends with the example of how the varieties of a modern global language – English – can be used to imitate the kaleidoscope of al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* in Michael Cooperson’s inventive translation, published in 2020 by New York University Press.

The range of this book is impressive. Perhaps more could have been said about the interaction of Arabic and Latin (in addition to the comparison between them), but this subject has already been introduced in a recent book edited by Daniel König: *Latin and Arabic: Entangled Histories* (Heidelberg, 2019). What Karla Mallette has done is to provide a paeon to Arabic and Latin (or, as she puts it in respect to Latin (p. 177) « a ballad for a language that is dead »). The theme keeps recurring, like a rondeau, and Mallette, being herself sensitive to the music of language, carries the reader with her from the opening phrases to the last chord.

DARIO GURASHI, *IN DEIFICO SPECULO. AGRIPPA'S HUMANISM*, TRANSLATED FROM ITALIAN BY BRIAN McNEIL, BRILL – WILHELM FINK, PADERBORN 2021 (HUMANISTISCHE BIBLIOTHEK, I; ABHANDLUNGEN, 67), 218 PP., ISBN: 9783770566518.

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This book by Dario Gurashi takes the intriguing figure of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim – better known as Cornelius Agrippa – and his work *Dialogus de homine* (1515–16) as a case study carefully analyzed throughout almost 200 pages that embrace an introduction and six chapters. The origin of the book traces back to Gurashi's doctoral thesis, submitted in 2018, and develops a detailed analysis of the *Dialogus de homine*, a youthful work in which Cornelius Agrippa unfolds a reflection on the human condition deeply influenced by Renaissance Neo-Platonism, Hermetics and Kabbalistic theories. Gurashi investigates the genesis, structure, content and interpretation of the *Dialogue*, contextualizing the text as a coherent piece in the intellectual progression of the author as well as within a more expanded field that includes Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* (1510, published in 1533) and also *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* (1526–30). Ultimately, Dario Gurashi offers a critical reconstruction and philological transcription of the original Latin text of the *Dialogue*. That said, the main objective of the present book is to explore the theoretical foundations of Agrippa's humanism, examining the historical-philosophical sources that nourish the *Dialogus de homine* and help articulate Agrippa's intellectual project entailing the renewal of humankind and knowledge by means of the spiritual restoration of magic.

I. Agrippa's Dispersa Intentio

Born in Cologne in 1486, Cornelius Agrippa's life was marked by numerous trips and exiles, demonstrating an intense mobility in both geographical and intellectual terms. Gurashi explains that the education of Agrippa as a humanist was enriched by his travels through Europe, which were made possible through his diplomatic and military work for Maximilian I of Habsburg. Agrippa also served as an ambassador, legal counselor, physician to the court of Louise of Savoy, and archivist and imperial counselor to Margaret of Austria. From 1511 to 1518, he was stationed in Italy for official duties, during which time he pursued further

research and reading. His main interests at that time were Plotinus, Ficino, the *Corpus Hermeticum*, Ramon Llull, and prominent German authors such as Trithemius and Reuchlin. Not in vain, when Agrippa was only 23, he presented his *De Occulta Philosophia* manuscript to the great occultist Abbot Johannes Trithemius, who encouraged him to continue his intellectual pursuits.

However, in *De Incertitudine* – as Gurashi remarks – Agrippa appears to renounce and openly condemn magical, astrological, and alchemical disciplines, which he had previously addressed in *De Occulta Philosophia*: « [...] in other words, he would seem to be aiming to deny what he simultaneously admits to profess » (p. XLI). This apparent conflict between skeptical reason, faith, and magic began to arise in Agrippa's mind. Gurashi emphasizes the inherent ambiguity in both Agrippa's thinking and written work, which frequently remains elusive and hinders exegetical understanding. Nevertheless, this sort of incoherence does not necessarily mean a contradiction within Agrippa's intellectual project. As Gurashi suggests, the *vindicatio magiae* is always at the basis of Agrippa's conceptual proposal and theoretical framework. « Once again, it seems too difficult to identify the philosopher's *dispersa intentio* » (p. XLI). In other words, Agrippa's fundamental idea consists of introducing magic as the necessary link between faith and reason because he believed that reason alone is insufficient to reach true knowledge, as it also requires enlightenment and revelation. In such a situation:

Agrippa seems to be a classic case of the divided consciousness. On the one hand he believed in the power of the occult to gain control over the universe, on the other he was skeptical of knowing anything at all. How do we reconcile – or do we – these two sides of his personality?»¹

According to Dario Gurashi, this dilemma is not truly problematic given that it exists solely within a rigid classification and interpretation of the philosopher's texts. Critics and contemporary readers of Agrippa have usually distinguished two separated periods: the first one related to *De incertitudine*, considered a profession of skepticism (Cassirer) and the second, linked to *De occulta philosophia*, which is seen from an anti-rationalist orientation and as an example of Renaissance occultism (Hayden). In this scenario, what is interesting about Gurashi's contribution is that he states the unnecessary contradiction of both periods. Despite being apparently irreconcilable, they are actually consequent and consistent, so critical readings of Agrippa do not have to choose one period instead of the other as if it were the philosopher's true thinking. This is particularly applicable to the *Dialogus de homine*. In this respect, authors in line with Gurashi

¹ HENRICUS CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*, ed. ALBERT RABIL JR., University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1996, p. 10.

are R. H. Popkin and especially F. A. Yates, who supports the continuity of Agrippa's magical interests.

It is of no surprise that Agrippa dove into such issues, in view of his growing pessimism and deep mistrust in the power of reason, so finally his skepticism led him to a conceptual approach to magic. This state of affairs lets Gurashi develop a theoretical positioning notable for its transversality and holistic approach. This phenomenon results in a contemporary re-reading of the dichotomy skepticism-occultism in Cornelius Agrippa's work « in the light of a zigzag » (p. XLVIII), which constitutes one of the most significant novelties of this book.

II. Agrippa's Reform of Knowledge: Between Faith and Magic

Keeping the above in mind, Gurashi expands Agrippa's procedure. Particularly his aim to develop the encounter between *docta religio* and *pia philosophia*, through which the German thinker synthesizes relevant figures coming from anti-scholastic spiritualism, such as Moses, Hermes Trismegistus and Plato, and locates them in the context of a reform of knowledge and culture. Specifically, Cornelius Agrippa's humanistic program pursued an ambitious mission which consisted in helping others to achieve true knowledge, that is, the contemplation of the essence of the most secret things including the inner order of nature. Since Agrippa embraced this « sacred philosophy », he took that mission as his most precious duty. He certainly did not propose an ascetical path reserved for just a few chosen ones. The « true wise man » makes use of his knowledge in order to help the world, in this sense he is a « collaborator of God ». He combines faith and philosophy and articulates them into works. In this way, he claims to be the *medietas* between heaven and earth. Gurashi says that this is the « modal point of Agrippa's reflection » (p. 13). As a consequence, the German philosopher saw himself as a *magus* playing the part of a priest, a Hermetic-Christian magician in the role of a prophet. « To dedicate oneself to the knowledge of magic thus signified cultivating religion with the aim of preserving for the community a relationship of devotion to God » (p. 21). Interestingly, Gurashi notes that Agrippa differs from Marsilio Ficino's notion of philosopher-priest, which was theorized from the perspective of « *terram caelo maritat* » in a medical-astrological level. However, in line with his friend Trithemius and the German context of the time, Agrippa reformulated the idea of the magician which is not solely a mediator, a minister of God that regulates his holy will in the world, but a man that assimilates and embodies the nature of Christ (*assimilatio ad Deum*).

Within the framework of this divinization process that Cornelius Agrippa wanted to extend to every single human being, magic becomes a key part that brings together an ensemble of knowledge according to the revelation of God. Hence, magic constitutes a sort of « *totius nobilissimae philosophiae absoluta*

consummatio » (p. 18). In Agrippa's view, magical knowledge reunites all the disciplines and matters, and teaches how to love God and how to contemplate him, so the human being could finally be regenerated by wisdom and saved by faith. Such process of salvation entails the procedure through which humans ascend to the Mind of God. This procedure clearly distinguishes between *Mens* and *Ratio*. Bypassing the level of the second, which represents reason, the mind reaches the first, which means the mind that contemplates the true wisdom through faith. Gurashi insists on this point: « Magic combines in itself the highest contribution of the human faculties and the comprehension of the religious mysteries that belongs to the *mens* » (p. 17). So this is perhaps the most characteristic feature that can be found in Agrippa's work: magic is the holistic wisdom that helps reason and faith. In fact, only faith, the sovereign of mediation between the divine entities and the earthly world, elevates the soul to real wisdom. « It is faith that allows the reason to reach the purity of the *mens* » (p. 57). Through faith, the reason dissipates misgivings and dedicates itself wholly to the union with God in such a way that empowers human beings. « The soul that is regenerated by faith makes itself worthy of God's aid, and thus delights in his wisdom and shares in his power » (p. 57). Thus the level of faith coincides with the intellect, being therefore the most elevated level of consciousness that wise men get. And ultimately, it is all thanks to magic: « For Agrippa, in reality, it will be possible to realize a cultural and religious reform only by means of a *vindicatio magiae* » (p. 20).

III. Agrippa's Humanism

Consequently, Dario Gurashi suggests that the humanist project by Agrippa combines theological *dignificatio* and hermetic deification so as to proclaim the excellencies of man. In his book *Dialogus de homine*, Agrippa looks into the relation between the human being and God and defines human beings as *imagines Dei*: « The condition of *imago Dei* describes human nature in terms of a mirror character vis-à-vis God that the human being contains within himself as a divine possession » (p. 46). According to this, God and the individual who bears inside the imprint of God are alike. Here, surely, lies one of the most significant contributions of Cornelius Agrippa and the key point that helps him validate the dignity of human beings. Thus, it is because of the cultivation of virtues through magic, and due to the specificity of reason and faith, that humans deserve recognition. So it has been proved that human's nature is divine, equal to God's. « Agrippa's magic, its roots and its purpose, incessantly reveal one and the same theoretical concern, namely, the problem of human dignity (*dignitas hominis*) » (p. LIV). In this sense, Gurashi says that Agrippa took over from Pico della Mirandola the idea that human beings have a chameleon-like and proteiform nature with the ability to transform them into gods. It is no coincidence that the influence of Pico on Agrippa's oeuvre is

considerable in order to explain human dignity. This addresses the order of cosmos into three levels: (1) *mundus intellectualis*, also defined as *angelicus*, (2) *mundus lucis et igneus*, or *mundus coelestis*, which is the mediator with (3) the sublunary world where bodies and composed matter are. Human nature contains the three worlds and thus constitutes a sort of divine microcosm. The soul is created by God, then descends the three levels and finally reaches the human body, infiltrating all its members.

In this point, Gurashi specifies that Agrippa's conception of human dignity is not simply an experience of dematerialization, condemnation or separation from the body. Quite the contrary, the author explains that Agrippa closely followed kabbalistic ideas about the hermetic body that weaves the meditation on the members and the kabbalistic letters, as if bodily members were sephirotic emanations. In this line, all human limbs are invested with a sacred function. This entails a magico-anatomical description of the human body and introduces the interesting notion of the « bodylines of God ». Agrippa's original intention was then to recognize, alongside the dignity of the soul, the dignity and divine condition of the body. In sum, human dignity becomes the cognitive path that leads from the senses to the *mens*. That said, Agrippa warns, though, against any possible misinterpretation. As Gurashi remarks: «The detachment from the body and the consolidation of devotion in God are necessary ingredients for the soul, if it is to enter into communion with God and share in his power of working miracles » (p. 146). So the holiness of human body contemplates true wisdom only provided that it is free from the sins of the flesh. Agrippa thus distinguishes the « wedding of the flesh » (*nuptiae carnis*), referring to the carnal union between man and woman directed to procreation, which is displeasing to God, and the « wedding of virginity » (*nuptiae virginitatis*), which gives birth to spiritual generation in the spirit of God. It is noteworthy that Dario Gurashi does not mention a necessary comparison with Marsilio Ficino's commentary on *Symposium* and the myth of Aphrodite Pandemos and Aphrodite Urania. Agrippa also revisits Ficino when arguing the superiority of human beings over the angels, because human dignity was revealed in Christ's incarnation. Therefore, the dignity of human beings is based on such « hermetic sacrament of regeneration », a phenomenon of rebirth through a path of interiorization that implies becoming detached from the body, that is, from the passions (not the *furores*), while empowering the mind at the same time. « When God takes on human nature, he portrays and prescribes for human beings a journey that goes in exactly the opposite direction – namely, the capacity of the human being to take on the nature of God » (p. 103). This is the divine nature that makes the human being similar to God. This is, in brief, the sacred destination that the human being must fulfill. Agrippa's humanism is committed with the need for helping others to do that. Gurashi explains it as follows:

The spiritual generation is consecrated in their self-awareness, and when this is empowered, they come to know themselves as sons of God, completely assimilated to God, and absorbed into the Mens. This self-awareness transmutes a mental experience of concentration on oneself and of alienation from bodylines into a loftily sapiential process in which the procreator and the procreated embrace each other, and the mind of the human being is joined mystically to the Mind of God. (p. 166)

It would have been interesting that the book would have considered as well this spiritual and mental self-awareness in the case of women. This is particularly pertinent regarding Cornelius Agrippa, inasmuch as his vision of humanism cannot be understood without the vindication of women. Although there were many humanists who wrote against women, he did just the opposite. The result was *De nobilitate et praecellentia faemini sexus*, a declamation in favour of women written in 1509 and published in 1529. As can be seen, this work coincides in time with those books by Agrippa previously mentioned: it is contemporary with Agrippa's *magnum opus*, *De occulta philosophia*, and precedes the *Dialogus de homine*. So it could be said that Agrippa took seriously the reflection about the dignity of women in the time he was developing his humanist project. From this perspective, the dignity pursued through his regeneration program was not only aimed at men, especially because Agrippa located the origin of the sacred incarnation that dignifies humans in women: Christ took a male form because it was men who need redeeming inasmuch as the original sin really came into the world through Adam. Christ also chose to be born of a woman without a man, and he appeared first to women after his resurrection.

Under such circumstances, in a book whose methodological nucleus is the identifying of the crucial value of humanism in Agrippa's thinking, a valorization of the dignity of women would have been a necessary aspect. It would then be possible to develop a new facet of Cornelius Agrippa's humanism not sufficiently explored in Dario Gurashi's analysis. The denunciation that Agrippa made to report the cultural abuse and mistreats suffered by women plays a crucial part in his idea of humanism and its urgent restoration. What is more, Agrippa himself had serious confrontations with the Inquisition, one of these when he defended a woman accused of witchcraft. Agrippa managed to save her from the bonfire, but he had to go into exile with his family. When the Inquisitor cited the *Malleus Maleficarum* for his accusations, Agrippa accused him in turn. He wrote that women were created in Paradise (rather than outside as Adam was) from a superior material (part of Adam rather than dirt), also claimed for the positive qualities of female sexuality, pregnancy and menstruation, and highlighted women's remarkable superior eloquence in as far as they invented all the liberal arts. Due to these ideas, Agrippa had considerable influence in the *querelle des femmes*. This

aspect would have enriched the transversal analysis of the *Dialogus de homine* and helped expand the contemporary reception of Cornelius Agrippa's humanism, which is undoubtedly one of the most relevant goals of the book by Dario Gurashi.

JOHN JEFFRIES MARTIN, *A BEAUTIFUL ENDING. THE APOCALYPTIC IMAGINATION AND THE MAKING OF MODERNITY*, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW HAVEN – LONDON 2022, VIII + 324 PP., ISBN: 9780300247329.

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THE APOCALYPSE AND THE SEEDS OF MODERNITY:
A BRIEF NOTE ON JOHN JEFFRIES MARTIN'S *A BEAUTIFUL ENDING*

When we think of the figure of the German printer Johann Gensfleisch, better known as Johann Gutenberg, and of his revolutionary work concerning the printing press, we usually relate his name the printing of the Bible in 1453–1454, which is considered to be the first book ever printed in Europe. Thanks to an incident of pure chance, however, occurred in Mainz in the late nineteenth century and accurately described by John Jeffries Martin in his latest work here at hand, we are bound to rethink our understanding of Gutenberg's process in the development of the printing machine. By virtue of the diligent work of an archivist at the University Archives of Mainz who identified an intriguing fragment written in Gothic letters and to its subsequent analysis and study by several scholars, we are now aware that Johann Gensfleisch had already achieved significant results prior to his work on the Bible. The study of this surviving document in Mainz revealed that Gutenberg's first successful printing endeavour had already taken place a few years earlier and concerned the printing of an apocalyptic poem, namely the fourteenth-century *The Book of Sibyls*.¹ In the narrative constructed by Martin, as it will clearly appear, the importance of Gutenberg's work lies in conveying the emotions of an age that was day by day more convinced that the End of history was imminent. This attitude, which was shared by the three monotheistic faiths, formed what Martin calls an « apocalyptic braid » constituted of hopes and fears. As Martin clearly describes in the opening chapter of the book, hope in a renewal of the world was a common phenomenon in the sixteenth century.

¹ Cf. JOHN JEFFRIES MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending. The Apocalyptic Imagination and the Making of Modernity*, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 2022, p. 35–55.

In light of the argument that John Martin intends to develop in his work, the printing activity of Gutenberg, referred to as « purveyor of prophecies », ² represents the vehicle whereby it became possible to convey the emotionality of an age in which hopes and fears for End of Times played a significant role, a moment in which Martin affirms that « the printing press and the prophetic would forevermore be joined ». ³ The intensification that this union had on the reception and the spread of the apocalyptic ideas is also testified by the large number of printings and images circulating in the second half of the fifteenth century which embellish the reading of the text and reverberate considerably the intellectual path designed by Martin. Among these, the *Book of Revelation* and *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* by Albert Dürer assume particular relevance as they fed men and women of the fifteenth century with a cultural luggage that convinced them of the certain coming End of History. To further enlighten the impact that these works and many others had in the period in exam, John Martin rigorously depicts a landscape wherein intellectual threads, historical events, natural occurrences, and political developments are interpreted across different cultural, intellectual, and religious milieus under a predominant lens, that is, the announcement of « A Beautiful Ending ».

In order to better understand, however, the nature and the goals of Martin's work, a question needs to be answered first: why did Gutenberg focus his endeavours on an apocalyptic work in his first attempt to build the printing press? The nature of this question represents exactly what John Jeffries Martin attempts to unveil with his latest work, *A Beautiful Ending. The Apocalyptic Imagination and the Making of Modernity*, published by Yale University Press. As in fact he does with the case of Gutenberg's work, thus shifting our approach to this foundational moment in the making of the modern world, in this volume Martin aims to reconstruct a different path through which it would be possible to counterbalance the widespread interpretation of the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern world predominantly in a secular perspective. The intents driving Martin are clearly exposed by the author in the introduction to the work and find their personification in the intellectual work of Francis Bacon, *alpha* and *omega* of the book. ⁴

The centrality of Bacon in the development of the volume appears quite clearly from the very first line that opens the book. From there, the author paints an elegant metaphor in explaining what the purposes of his work are and the role played by Bacon in them. As we have mentioned, the goal that Martin attempts to

² MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 37.

³ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 37.

⁴ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 2. For Bacon, crossing the pillars offered the promise of new and expanding knowledge of the world and of nature. Bacon, that is, signalled a shift to modernity itself.

achieve consists of delivering an account of the foundations of modernity which can free itself from the popular interpretation of the transition from the Middle Ages to Modernity in a secular sense by shedding considerable light on the role that the apocalyptic imagination played in founding the modern world. Although there is no explicit reference, one cannot help but notice in Martin's remarks an allusion to the so-called 'Cambridge School' interpretation of early modern politics whose representatives have given great contributions to a better understanding of the political forces at play at the handover between the medieval and early modern period.⁵ It is not clear, however, to what extent, if any, Martin intends to engage with this tradition of thought since there is no mention at all throughout the whole volume. The only two references to this tradition of thought that can be found in the volume are represented by footnote seventeenth in the fourth chapter, « Conquest and Utopia », concerning Quentin Skinner's research on More and on the political developments of the utopian ideas in early modern Europe, and by footnote forty-fifth in the sixth chapter, « Antichrist and Reformation », concerning Skinner's analysis of Lutheran political principles. Despite not saying anything specific in regards to the main school of thought which has solidified the legal and political perspective of the transition to modernity, in describing the intellectual path designed Martin brings into play several scholars – Jacob Burckhardt, Karl Marx, Max Weber – who, according to him, have interpreted the making of the modern world mainly through the loss of faith as one of its cardinal elements. To this end, Martin builds an intellectual structure whereby it would be possible to showcase that God never really stepped out of the intellectual landscape in the early modern period, but that rather adopted a different configuration which fuelled with his presence the hopes and fears for a new world setting in which the « apocalyptic imagination was especially decisive ».⁶

Besides being the place where Francis Bacon brought Martin – a key element that we learn in the introduction –, the Pillars of Hercules represent a further interesting foundation to the work here at hand. As it is well-known, the Pillars, or the Strait of Gibraltar, had symbolised a boundary beyond which a dangerous world was hidden, a view that witnessed a radical adjustment in the European mindset during the age of explorations which saw the vision of the Pillars become more of a portal rather than a barrier. The cultural interpretation of the Pillars would bear an additional transformation with Bacon's work which would implement a subtle yet significant change in the frontispiece to his *Instauratio Magna*, published in 1620. Notwithstanding the powerful image of the ship crossing the Pillars of Hercules and its intellectual and cultural implications, Martin focuses

⁵ Among many works, see QUENTIN SKINNER, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. II, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1978; JOHN G. A. POCKOCK, *Political Thought and History. Essays on Theory and Method*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2008.

⁶ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 9.

the attention on the epigram accompanying the frontispiece, « Multi transibunt et augebitur scientia », ⁷ which is an extract from the *Book of Daniel*. In contrast to what Martin sees as the current interpretation of Bacon's extract, in which the increase of knowledge and of commerce are viewed from a secular and modern point of view, we are now presented with a different understanding of the frontispiece and of the passage underneath it. According to Martin, the epigram does not refer as much to the commercial benefits that the crossing of the Pillars would provide, but rather to a providential mindset which envisages the growth of commerce and of knowledge provided by the opening of the Pillars as one of the signs of the imminent End of History according to the words of the Archangel Michael in the *Book of Daniel*. The role of Bacon and of his apocalyptic thinking, therefore, represent the foundation upon which Martin builds his arguments. In this regard, along with the importance dedicated to Bacon in the introduction, Martin also focuses on Bacon in the closing chapter of the volume, « Crossing the Pillars of Hercules », thus elegantly completing the puzzle that he had developed throughout the book. This becomes particularly clear in the connection that the author operates between Bacon's apocalyptic thinking and his work on natural philosophy which together cross the Pillars, that is, open a new possible road for knowledge that would free itself from the shadow of the ancient authors. The latter, in fact, cannot be trusted, because the world is now different from the one the ancients had lived in. Therefore, men and women do not need to stand on the shoulders of giants anymore, as Bernardo of Chartres would have said, but can themselves be giants in a new configuration of the world.⁸

Having come to this point, it is necessary now to delve a bit more into the meaning that Martin gives to the term 'modernity'. Since the work we have at hand intends to open a different and unexplored path to the roots of modernity, the question of the interpretation of 'modern' is at the core of the work and is in fact handled in the first pages of the book. More specifically, on p. 8 Martin writes that « to be sure, what we mean by 'the modern world' depends very much on who and where we are ». ⁹ Moreover, towards the end of the introduction we find a more detailed explanation of the sense of modernity that Martin intends to convey in the book, namely a 'providential' modernity which proved to be a significant agent for change across Jew, Christian, and Muslim men and women in the early modern period.¹⁰ Even more so, in light of the events of which we are all witnesses these days and thanks to Martin's masterful ability in putting in dialogue different sources with different traditions of thought, *A Beautiful Ending* has the impactful effect of making us reconsider the origins of the modern world and how, then and

⁷ Daniel 12:2-3.

⁸ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 225-241.

⁹ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 8.

¹⁰ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 9.

today, ideas intertwine among them regardless of cultural and religious boundaries.

Among the many examples brought forward in the volume, the interpretation of 'modern' according to 'who and where we are' stands its ground especially in the third and fourth chapters dedicated to Christopher Columbus, his approach to the encounter with the native populations of the Americas, and its subsequent effect on the European mindset. In referring in fact to this event, which is generally assumed as one of the events that drew the line between the Middle Ages and the modern world, Martin employs the word 'discovery', a term which can have a few controversial implications in the current political and intellectual landscape. Martin's use of the term, however, is quite well-handled and properly conveys its contextualised meaning, namely the historical effect that the Atlantic encounter had on Europe as the latter was slowly exploring a continent and its populations of which had never heard before.

In the intellectual path that Martin builds in the volume, the concept of history itself represents one of the constitutive elements of the overall argument in light of the several developments throughout the centuries according to the different circumstances that were befalling upon Europe, considerations that had already begun a few centuries before with the work of Joachim of Fiore and which would have been widely present among the Franciscan missionaries who travelled to the Americas to preach and convert the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas to the Christian faith.¹¹ Even though the Franciscan millenarian project is well-investigated in the volume, the spiritual activities pursued by key figures such as Jerónimo de Mendieta concerning the implementation of the *historia salutis* find little to no space in Martin's account, an absence which appears to be odd since their understanding of the unannounced appearance of the American continent clearly prompted the Franciscan friars and theologians to come up with solutions that would enable the implementation of history as a sacred force in Mexico. The Franciscan missionaries who were sent to Mexico City in the early sixteenth century, in fact, were faced with a difficult and unprecedented task in their encounter with the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas: confront a history of which they knew nothing, identify the populations encountered and, more importantly, incorporate them into the universal history of Christianity. In addition to these tasks, the locals also needed to be extirpated of their historical identity so that a new one could be given to them, a historical understanding of themselves that would enable them to comprehend their 'true' identity and the role they played in the economy of the *historia salutis*.

¹¹ See JOHN PHELAN, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World. A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta, 1525–1604*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1970.

In order to achieve this goal, the Franciscans resorted to the work of Joachim of Fiore which allowed them to keep together both missionary and eschatological ambitions, all within the spectrum of the *historia salutis*. Prompted by this intellectual and theological background, the only means to come to a full understanding and to a full recognition of the populations encountered across the Atlantic consisted of finding references of their appearance in the Scriptures and in the framework established by Joachim. More specifically, the Franciscan historiographical methodology implemented in Mexico City provided the necessary intellectual tools to create a renovated American society ready for the End of History. This eschatological concept of history was present since the first official Franciscan mission to the Americas of 1524, the one of the twelve Apostles led by Martín de Valencia. The name itself chosen for the mission is clearly self-explanatory in its attempt to create a significant parallelism, both on a historical and on a biblical level, between the first twelve Apostles of Christ and the mission of the new twelve Apostles who were set to convert the new pagans encountered just as the first twelve Apostles had done with the rest of the world: upon their arrival in Mexico, the Franciscans missionaries already had a well-defined idea of history in mind.

The Franciscans started this process by dividing the period before and after their arrival. According to them, the history of the Americas started in 1524. When they arrived in the Americas, they have already developed the idea that they are part of a pre-announced history in which everyone has a precise role and duty to fulfil, even those who are not fully aware yet of their 'true' historical identity. In order to make this happen, the local history antecedent to the missionaries' arrival in Mexico City had to be purified and set in accordance with the one and only version of history that is acceptable, the biblical one. This element is rather evident, for instance, if we take a look at the work of Jerónimo de Mendieta, who, in his *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* written in Mexico City in the second half of the sixteenth century, envisages the creation of a new Church in the new conquered land and develops a theology of history filled with historical events that are revealed as an expression of divine will. The narration of history is based upon the rhythm of the history of the Church, which comes to be one with the historical identity of the Mexican population. In describing the activities and the role played by the Spaniards and by the Franciscans in Mexico, Mendieta draws several analogies between events narrated in the Scriptures and events that occur in the Americas. More specifically, Mendieta identifies the American populations and their conversion to Christianity with the liberation of the Jewish people from slavery in Egypt.¹² By adopting this theological interpretation of history, clearly

¹² JERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, ed. JOAQUÍN GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA, Mexico 1870, p. 173: « De cómo en la conquista que D. Fernando Cortés hizo de la Nueva España, parece fué enviado de Dios como otro Moises para librar los naturales de ella de la servidumbre de Egipto ».

inherited from Joachim, the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico become the new elected people who will guide mankind towards salvation. This was their one and real identity. This was the role that they were set to play in the universal Christian history of salvation.

In this process, Hernan Cortés played a significant part. In his use of the analogy between biblical passages and historical events, Mendieta proceeded in assigning to the conquistador Cortés the role of the Second Moses who would guide the elected people towards salvation and prepare them for the imminent End of History, thus testifying to the juxtaposition of the Christian biblical history upon the local one.¹³ According to Mendieta, God himself chose Cortés to go to the New World, conquer the populations inhabiting the continent, and bring them within Christendom so that the path towards salvation can be initiated. By adopting this methodology of interpreting history through theological lenses, Mendieta was able to identify the newly encountered populations with their 'true' identity. In this regard, Martin does not engage with the line of research developed by Serge Gruzinski who has recently outlined the existing relationship between the development of the Christian biblical history of salvation in relation to the multiple encounters with an Other previously unknown.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, Martin's and Gruzinski's work pursue different lines of research, but, nonetheless, a more in-depth investigation on the role that the *historia salutis* had on the development of the apocalyptic ideas and in relation to the Atlantic encounter could have given a more insightful perspective on the intellectual and cultural implications of Europe's encounter with an Other of which had never heard before. The European reaction to the encounter is fairly investigated in chapter nine and ten, « The Spiritual Globe » and « Cannibals », in which Montaigne assumes the role of spokesman of Europe's reaction to the astonishing encounter with the American populations. This is still indebted, however, to a Eurocentric point of view whereby the Other is perceived as non-European, hence as an incomplete construction of a European model. In this regard, therefore, the feeling is that of a missed opportunity to conduct a more in depth investigation on the effects that the increasing knowledge of the Other had on the development of the European consciousness. This transpires quite vividly when we think of the great encounter that Europe had in the thirteenth century with the Mongol Tartars, an encounter which fuelled the first strong spread of the apocalyptic imagination as the

¹³ JERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, p. 157: « Mirad si el clamor de tantas almas y sangre humana derramada en injuria de su Criador seria bastante para que Dios dijese: Vi la afliccion de este miserable pueblo; y tambien para enviar en su nombre quien tanto mal remediase, como á otro Moisen á Egipto ».

¹⁴ SERGE GRUZINSKI, *La machine à remonter le temps. Quand l'Europe s'est mise à écrire l'histoire du monde*, Fayard, Paris 2015.

research of Davide Bigalli has shown.¹⁵ One cannot help but think, then, that there is a strong link between the encounter with an Other and its interpretation as one of the signs that pre-announce the End of Time, a link that perhaps should be more pursued in the current literature so as to shed more light on the role that different perceptions of the Other and their respective implications had in building a European historical identity.

The author's merits, however, far exceed the few critical points. In regards, for instance, to the issue of history as a sacred forced in which there are certain roles to be played by certain actors, Martin fully demonstrates his abilities both as an historian and as a writer. More specifically, Martin's merits can be appreciated in the depiction of this widespread idea of history among Islam and Jewish authors as well as among Christians, an element that attests once more to the author's knowledge and skills in holding together primary sources and literature so as to convey a more comprehensive picture of different intellectual milieus in the early modern period. The Franciscan endeavours in the Americas and their apocalyptic inheritance, in fact, have been usually isolated and not put in dialogue with their contemporary intellectual milieus, a lack in the literature that Martin intends to fill with his work. This aspiration is also successfully achieved thanks to a conceptualised structure of twelve chapters which draws the reader first into the historical context and, from there, in the 'bottega of the ideas', a structure then that fully enables the reader to immerse himself in the intellectual arena of the time. This structure acquires considerable strength in the fifth chapter of the book focused on the political developments of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, a chapter which represents a key point in the volume as it constitutes the watershed between the first part of the book and the subsequent two. In the first part of the book, which encompasses the first four chapters, the author describes the development of the apocalyptic imagination and how hopes and fears for a beautiful ending across different threads of thought influenced Christian, Muslim, and Jewish thinkers. In this regard, Martin resorts to a large number of primary sources which enriches considerably the argument. In the second part, on the other hand, which includes the subsequent four chapters, from five to eight, Martin focuses on the political and social effects that the circulations of books, images, and printings had at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on historical events such as the Reformation, the Atlantic Encounter, and the French wars of religions. In the last part, from chapter nine to twelve, then Martin successfully composes the puzzle by bringing together the results of his

¹⁵ DAVIDE BIGALLI, *I Tartari e l'Apocalisse. Ricerche sull'escatologia in Adamo Marsh e Ruggero Bacone*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1971. The work of James Muldoon has shed significant light on the relationship between Europe and the non-Christian Other, especially on a political and ecclesiological level. More specifically, see JAMES MULDOON, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1979.

investigations and depicts the impact that the spread of the apocalyptic imagination had in building the foundations for a global reconfiguration of the world in the aftermath of the events of the sixteenth century.

Having built, therefore, in the first four chapters the infrastructure whereby hopes and fears for an imminent End of History constituted a moving force and were very much protagonists across early modern Europe, Martin brings into play the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires and their development according to their respective political theology. To this end, the author refers to different sources which attest to the reading of history through signs that would reveal the imminent coming of a beautiful ending with one last Emperor reigning in the new established order. The author's writing abilities stand out by being able to distinctly portray the two empires as a mirror of the other in their attempt to establish the ultimate ruler of the world. In this regard, the accurate description of the intellectual work of the fourteenth-century writer Ibn Khaldūn – whose writings and concept of history would exercise considerable influence in the courts of the Ottoman sultan in the sixteenth century – represents a key point in the book as it brings together what the author had described in the previous chapters. In the prior pages, in fact, the author had delved into the importance that astrology had in developing apocalyptic imagination and millenarian ideas in the early modern period. To this end, Martin draws the reader's attention on how the practice and science of reading the stars as means to predict the future was a phenomenon that overcome cultural and religious boundaries. If in fact we are mostly brought to the astrological work of the French theologian Pierre d'Ailly and to the well-known influence that his *Imago Mundi* exercised in shaping Christopher Columbus' mindset in a providential sense, not only does Martin remember us that Columbus was also deeply impacted by d'Ailly in his Renaissance quest to understand his own role in the world, but, most importantly, he paves a similar path through which he enlightens a parallel tradition in the making of modernity.¹⁶

In the same years in fact in which Pierre d'Ailly was developing his work, the Ottoman scholar whom we have already mentioned above, Ibn Khaldūn, was elaborating his own intellectual endeavours and his own approach to interpret the signs of his time. In the attempt of unveiling the reasons behind the events occurring across the Mediterranean in the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldūn offered an analysis of the concept of history different to the one developed by the Christian and Jewish traditions. If the latter two in fact view history in a teleological sense, the Ottoman scholar conceptualises history as a cycle through which the world would witness a succession of Bedouin tribes which would piously rule the world, an idea that would have enjoyed rather fortune at the court of the

¹⁶ Cf. MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 92–111.

sultan in the sixteenth century. Just as in fact Christians were waiting for the second coming of Christ and Jews were waiting for the Messiah, Muslims – Martin’s account concerns particularly the Ottoman rulers – were also living in the expectation that the End of History was imminent. In this regard, Ibn Khaldūn’s writings with their astrological elements, as Martin eloquently conveys, gained particular momentum in the sixteenth century in the attempt to solidify the role of the sultan in the sacred drama of history. To this end, the conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter had significant importance in their foundation of the title of the sultan as *ṣāhib-qirān*, that is, « Master of the Auspicious Conjunction ». Ibn Khaldūn had not developed this idea, however, in reference to an Ottoman ruler, but rather to a Mongul leader, Timur. In light of the latter’s great achievements and based on astrological calculations, Ibn Khaldūn had come to the conclusion that Timur was in fact the « Master of the Auspicious Conjunction », a title that enjoyed a considerable fortune in the Muslim world as means to further solidify the ruling of the sovereign. Martin’s excellent abilities both as a historian and as a narrator gently bring the reader to comprehend the inheritance process that this concept endured, its utilise at the court of Bayezid II almost two centuries later, and its role in envisioning the sultan as the Last Emperor who would prepare the world for the End of Times. In the description of the process, Martin gives an impressive account of his knowledge of the primary sources which inherited and adapted the title *ṣāhib-qirān*, such as the *qadi* Mevlānā ‘Isa and the courtly man Haydar-ī Remmal.

In describing the considerable impact that apocalyptic and millenarian considerations had on Christian and Muslim traditions, Martin does not leave behind the Jewish tradition. With a great demonstration of narrative skills, in fact, the author manages to develop a history that advances flawless and without bumps along the way regardless of the large number of primary and secondary sources at play. In this regard, Martin’s exposition clearly conveys how ideas circulated in early modern period and how the investigation of these ideas cannot be limited and investigated through boundaries, labels, or walls, an attitude that at times fails historians and to which Martin has dedicated a good amount of his scholarship.¹⁷ Proof of this, among others, is represented by the influence that the battle between Christian and Ottoman empires exercised on Jewish messianism, as testified by the work of David Ha-Reuveni who envisioned that the victory of the Christian forces led by Charles V over the Ottomans would prepare the terrain for the coming of the Messiah. The main chapter wherein Martin develops his argument on the Jewish tradition in regards to the messianic imagination as one of the threads of thought and forces that worked together in the making of

¹⁷ Among other works, see JOHN JEFFRIES MARTIN, « Crossing Religious Boundaries in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean », in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 41 (2011), p. 459–462. The third issue of the *Journal* is devoted to « Identity and Religion in the Early Modern Mediterranean », and edited by Martin himself.

modernity is the eleventh one, « The Restitution of All Things ».¹⁸ To this end, Martin sets the reader's attention on the Kabbalah, on the various transformations it underwent through the centuries, and its role in interpreting the signs announcing the End of History. More specifically, Martin's exposition manages to enlighten quite clearly the transformation that the reading of the Kabbalah underwent from Maimonides, who approached the text through an overly rationalistic reading, to Isaac Luria and Moses Cordovero, who attempted to restore the symbolic reading of the text.

The specific attention accorded to these two chapters is due to the fact that they both function within the volume as junctures between different traditions, which also exemplify accurately, as we have mentioned many times, Martin's ability in holding together different threads of scholarship and in delivering a rich and comprehensive picture of the forces at work in the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern world, thus overcoming walls and boundaries that more than often are artificial and hinder a comprehensive understanding of the forces at play. *A Beautiful Ending* achieves its goal in depicting an intellectual and cultural landscape in which ideas, images, and emotions travel and are connected across different contexts and different settings.

Martin opens his work by affirming that Francis Bacon brought him to the Pillars of Hercules. Having come to the end of the volume, we are now the ones who are brought to the Pillars by John Jeffries Martin, who invites us to go beyond them and to reconsider what we believe are the foundations of the modern world. By accompanying us through an uncommon and unexplored path, it is safe to say that Martin has achieved his goal of painting the early modern world in a more nuanced way whereby political and secular forces are co-protagonists in an intellectual and cultural panorama profoundly affected by the apocalyptic imagination and the widespread expectation for the impending End of History.

As in every chapter, at the beginning of chapter ten, « Cannibals », Martin sets an epigraph with a quote from Montaigne which reads: « Our very image of the world glides away whilst we live upon it ».¹⁹ In an age when we can actually sense the world slipping away, works like the one pursued by John Martin in his *A Beautiful Ending* force us to come to grips with what we mean by the term 'modernity' and to investigate its origins, a necessity that could not have come at a better time.

¹⁸ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 206–224.

¹⁹ MARTIN, *A Beautiful Ending*, p. 187.

STEVEN E. JONES, ROBERTO BUSA, S. J., AND THE EMERGENCE OF HUMANITIES COMPUTING: THE PRIEST AND THE PUNCHED CARDS, ROUTLEDGE, LONDON – NEW YORK 2016, 196 PP., ISBN: 9781315643618.

MARGHERITA FANTOLI
KU LEUVEN



The book entitled *Roberto Busa, S.J., and the Emergence of Humanities Computing: The Priest and the Punched Cards* was first conceptualized during a conference on Digital Humanities (DH), more precisely in the drinks line (p. 23). The work of Jesuit priest Father Roberto Busa (1913–2011) is in fact considered a seminal moment in the history of the field that is now known as DH. Busa was the driving force behind the creation and publication of the 56-volume *Index Thomisticus*,¹ which was accomplished using IBM punched card technology and, later on, electronic digital equipment. As a result, Busa is considered a pioneer in the field of Humanities Computing, which is, in turn, considered a precursor to DH. However, the book challenges the notion of linear progress between the two fields and communities. The author, who is well-versed in alternative beginnings of the field,² brings a unique perspective to the legacy of Busa, and the thorough historical reconstruction based on archival material makes the book highly engaging for those currently involved in the DH field.

The book comprises five chapters, each taking as a starting point a historical event. An extensive introduction provides the readers with an overview of the book's scope, the materials used, and the author's methodological choices. The monograph's scope is clearly defined as an analysis of the first decade of Busa's project, specifically, the historical context in which the project was shaped. With the foundational value of Busa's work in mind, the book aims to « complicate the myth with history » (p. 3). The chronological boundaries of the work are defined by the year 1949, when Busa first met with IBM CEO Thomas J. Watson Sr., and the end of the 1950s, when the *Index Thomisticus* was well underway and the CAAL

¹ ROBERTO BUSA, « The Annals of Humanities Computing: The Index Thomisticus », *Computers and the Humanities*, 14/2 (1980), p. 83–90. The project is available here <<https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/it/index.age?jsessionid=948AD0B0FAC46BEF8A6F87E3E08BEF5D>> (Accessed January 2023).

² STEVEN E. JONES, *The Emergence of the Digital Humanities*, Routledge, New York 2013, <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203093085>> (Accessed in January 2023).

(Centro per L'Automazione dell'Analisi Letteraria) engaged with the Dead Sea Scrolls project.

Most of the material used by Jones was sourced from the Busa Archive at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, accessed with the support of Marco Passarotti, director of the CIRCSE, the Centro Interdisciplinare di Ricerche per la Computerizzazione dei Segni dell'Espressione.³ Jones also received materials from the IBM Corporation Archives, Fordham University, and Columbia University. Jones acknowledges that these materials come from self-curated or corporate collections, providing only a partial aspect of reality (p. 7).

From a methodological standpoint, the author incorporates the perspective of media archaeology (referring specifically to Zielinski and Emerson),⁴ which examines the historical phenomena that facilitate the emergence of specific technologies, and platform studies, which focus on the interactions between different components of a technology, including hardware and human agents. In this way, the technical aspects of Busa's work, specifically the punched card workflow, are placed within a broader historical framework.

The first Chapter of the book (« Priest walks into the CEO's office The Meeting between Father Roberto Busa, S.J. and Thomas J. Watson, Sr. of IBM, November 1949 ») takes the reader back to the years following World War II. The Jesuit priest, Busa, traveled to North America with funding provided by a wealthy Italian family, under the condition that he would chaperon their 15-year-old son on his first overseas trip. This travel marks the starting point of the *Index Thomisticus* project. Busa set out with the intention of finding the appropriate machinery to help him create a lemmatized concordance of the works of Thomas Aquinas, but he also actively networked within the scholarly community of Thomists and classical philologists in North America. After being directed from the Library of Congress to MIT and finally to IBM (p. 28), in November 1949, Busa « walked into the CEO's office », where the CEO was Thomas J. Watson. In Busa's account of the meeting,⁵ he showed Watson the IBM slogan (« The difficult we do right away; the impossible takes a little longer ») to convince him to give the project a chance. Without underestimating Busa's evident ability to convince people and institutions (cf. Chapter 4), Jones examines the unique political, technological, and historical context that likely influenced Watson Sr.'s decision, particularly IBM's efforts to

³ Readers interested in Father Busa's texts can find part of the material edited and translated in JULIANNE NYHAN, MARCO PASSAROTTI (eds.), *One Origin of Digital Humanities: Fr Roberto Busa in His Own Words*, Springer International Publishing, Cham 2019, <<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18313-4>> (Accessed in January 2023).

⁴ Referring specifically to Zielinski and Emerson, cf. SIEGFRIED ZIELINSKI, *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA 2008 (Electronic Culture: History, Theory, and Practice), and LORI EMERSON, *Reading Writing Interfaces: From the Digital to the Bookbound*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2014 (Electronic Mediations).

⁵ BUSA, « The Annals of Humanities Computing: The Index Thomisticus », p. 84.

rebuild its network of relations with Italy. Busa was subsequently directed towards the newly-founded IBM World Trade Corporation, under the direction of Watson's second son, Arthur K. ('Dick') Watson. There, Busa's primary point of contact became Paul Tasman, with whom he collaborated for nearly 30 years. Jones introduces in this chapter the concept of the « adjacent possible » (p. 38).⁶ The idea is that Tasman's and Busa's approach was guided by the selection of what was easily available in terms of IBM resources and technologies. However, in assessing these 'adjacent possibilities', Busa's vision for the ultimate shape and goal of the project emerges. Jones provides an example by discussing the decision to discard the Microfilm Rapid Selector, which Busa saw at the Washington Department of Agriculture and was inspired by Vannevar Bush's memex (p. 39-41). Busa preferred the punched card technology because it made printing the results more accessible. However, the two technologies ultimately achieved different processing of the text. The Rapid Selector applied, as Jones puts it, « a kind of 'standoff' metadata layer to whole documents », whereas the punched-card system « atomized » the Latin text of St. Thomas (p. 42).⁷ This atomization of text later stimulated Busa's reflection on the methodological possibilities disclosed by automation (Chapter 5).

In Chapter two (« Oracle on 57th street The IBM SSEC Large-scale Calculator, Representations of Computing, and the Role of the Adjacent Possible, 1948-1952 »), the author shifts the focus from the CEO's office to the ground-floor of the IBM headquarters, where the IBM SSEC (Selective Sequence Electronic Calculator) was publicly displayed between 1948 and 1952. The SSEC, which was designed for processing numerical data, was not utilized by Tasman and Busa in their work. However, the proximity of this powerful technology to their own work allows the author to reflect on the relationship between IBM's corporate interests and priorities and the field of Humanities Computing, as well as the social implications of the technologies developed. The choice to publicly display the SSEC was a clear marketing strategy, which also served to highlight the 'human' element of even the most complex machinery. Additionally, IBM had a history of carrying out projects with social utility, even when they were not economically lucrative. Furthermore, Tasman's descriptions of Busa's experiments seem to anticipate the later developments in the fields of Information Retrieval and Natural Language Processing (NLP) (p. 61). IBM had thus a clear interest in the partnership with Busa, both for marketing purposes and for the potential to open new markets. While the collaboration demonstrates that the interests of humanists, institutions, and companies can align, the chapter effectively illustrates the complexity of this

⁶ The concept is borrowed from STEVEN JOHNSON, *How We Got To Now: Six Innovations That Made the Modern World*, Riverhead Books, New York 2014.

⁷ Here, Jones refers to the words of STEPHEN RAMSAY, *Reading Machines: Toward an Algorithmic Criticism*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana 2011 (Topics in the Digital Humanities).

relationship. The author primarily presents the projects, declarations, and slogans used by IBM to link the machines and the manifestations of human society and intellect. To provide an example, the distance between the priorities of 'humanity scholars' and IBMers is evident in a sentence found on the IBM website, quoted by Jones (p. 75), which states,

IBMers have been using cultural projects to stretch the boundaries of technologies for generations. In the process, they have made it possible for scholars, museums, libraries, and governments to make their work accessible and newly understandable to people all over the world.⁸

Humanities Computing is presented here as a side effect of IBM's pursuit of technological progress. The final part of the chapter recounts the public dedication of the SSEC in 1948, and through an examination of the speeches given at the event, highlights once again how IBM representatives emphasized the role of humans in the creation and use of the SSEC.

In chapter three (« The Mother of all humanities computing demos The First Public Demo of Busa's and Tasman's Punched-Card Method of 'Literary Data Processing', June 27, 1952 »), the narrative progresses three years forward to 1952, where Busa conducts a public demonstration of the punched-card process for constructing the *Index Thomisticus* at the IBM headquarters. Jones examines how the project developed between 1949 and 1952. While Chapter two centres around technology and its relationship with human society, Chapter three highlights the importance of the human network established by Busa to secure IBM's long-term support. Busa utilized his connections within the Jesuit order, such as Cardinal Francis Spellman, and in the Canadian and North American academic world to send recommendation letters to IBM. The cautious endorsement of the project by scholars like Werner Jaeger (Harvard), who declared their lack of understanding of the technical aspects of the work (p. 87), immediately resonates with the practitioners of DH, used to the difficult task of mediating within different communities. Busa announced the project and described the methodology in two publications, a short announcement in *Speculum* (1950)⁹ and the *Varia Specimina Concordantiarum* (1951),¹⁰ which is a 180-page publication that details the methodology and provides sample data. The demonstration brought together a

⁸ <<https://www.ibm.com/ibm/history/ibm100/us/en/icons/preservation/>> (Accessed in January 2023).

⁹ ROBERTO BUSA, « Announcements: Complete Index Verborum of Works of St. Thomas », *Speculum*, 25/3 (1950), p. 424-426.

¹⁰ ROBERTO BUSA, *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Hymnorum Ritualium Varia Specimina Concordantiarum. A First Example of Word Index Automatically Compiled and Printed by IBM Punched Card Machines*, Fratelli Bocca, Milano 1951 (Archivum Philosophicum Aloisianum. A cura della Facoltà di Filosofia dell'Istituto Aloisianum S.J. Serie II, n. 7).

diverse group of people including IBMers, representatives of the Catholic Church, academics, and representatives of scholarly organizations. The demonstration itself concretely showed the workflow leading to the creation of the *Index*. Jones also discusses how Busa always kept an eye on the « adjacent possible » by networking with scholars engaged in similar projects but using different technologies. For example, he maintained an active correspondence with Reverend John W. Ellison, who used the UNIVAC (Universal Automatic Computer) produced by Remington Rand and based on magnetic tapes, to build a concordance of the Revised version of the Bible. The Chapter illustrates the frenetic activity and foresight with which Busa established an infrastructure that brought together diverse profiles in order to provide stability and a long-term perspective to his vision. This effort was crucial for the emergence of humanities computing.

In Chapter four (« Centers of activity The Founding of CAAL, the First Literary Data Processing Center in Gallarate, Italy, 1954–1956 »), the author presents the story of the foundation of the CAAL (Centro per L'Automazione dell'Analisi Letteraria, or Linguistica) in 1956, which was a Humanities Computing center directed by Busa in Gallarate, Italy. The Chapter specifically deals with the establishment of an institutional infrastructure to efficiently carry out humanities computing work. The setting is now firmly in Italy and the focus shifts from the well-established IBM Corporation to the bustling reality of Northern Italian industrialization, where Busa quickly becomes a key connector. The goal of the CAAL was to continue the work of the *Index Thomisticus*, while also training selected and hard-working keypunch operators (p. 119). The activity of the CAAL was closely linked to the Jesuit Aloisianum College, to which Busa was affiliated, the local textile industry, which provided funding and space for the CAAL, and the nearby Euratom (European Atomic Energy Community) in Ispra, with which Busa established a productive exchange of data, expertise and financial support. The author, in particular, describes the process by which Busa connected the automatic-translation project of Georgetown University to the Euratom, while providing the atomic centre with machine-readable Russian texts that dealt with Cold War-related topics (p. 110–112): scholars interested in the complex relationships between academia, governments, and private corporations will read these pages with great interest. Internally, in 1961, the CAAL was divided into two sections: one for scholars and researchers, whose members played a key role in promoting the study of computational linguistics in Italy, and one for technical operators. The interaction between these two groups remains a characteristic of today's DH centres, despite the continuous efforts to create bridging profiles. The chapter finally examines the use of the terms 'Literary' and 'Linguistic' to describe the work carried out at the CAAL and in the joint projects between IBM and Busa. According to Jones, IBM's insistence on the term 'Literary' fit their purpose of 'humanizing' the computing machine, but in reality, Busa mainly targeted

linguistic phenomena « usually at a level well below the semantic » (p. 127). IBM's 'humanizing' ambitions are also evident in the fact that Busa's project was presented at the IBM Pavilion at the Expo 58 (the 1958 Brussels World's Fair at the Atomium in Brussels) in order to reinforce the main narrative of the Expo, which showcased how technology could support a peaceful and human-centred society.

In the final chapter (« Computing philology The Dead Sea Scrolls Project, 'A Quality Leap and New Dimensions', 1957–1959 »), the author examines the Dead Sea Scrolls project. Following the discovery of a large number of scrolls by a shepherd in 1947, the story of their controversial publication began. In 1957, the Vatican Library announced its intention to apply the method developed by Busa to create a concordance of the published volumes (p. 142). The work was carried out between 1957 and 1960, but ultimately did not result in any publications, and may have contributed to a nervous breakdown of Busa (p. 164). Through the examination of the Dead Sea Scrolls project, the author investigates Busa's vision of what he referred to as the 'new philology'. Through this chapter, the reader can appreciate how the ten-year collaboration with IBM increased Busa's interest in perspectives opened for the human mind via the use of machinery: discovering new patterns in language and accessing the roots of authors' thoughts and expressions.¹¹ Even though the concordance was not ultimately published, the chapter highlights the challenges and lessons still relevant for contemporary DH: the amount of work required and the difficulty of recruiting human lemmatizers with the necessary expertise (such as the ability to work with Hebrew) led to the discontinuation of the project (p. 162).

Throughout the five chapters, Jones, consistently examines the role of women during the decade under examination, from the feminine symbolism assigned to IBM machinery in media representations to the figure of the keypunching supervisor in Gallarate, Livia Canestraro (p. 124). In this regard, the author partially draws on the work of Julianne Nyhan and Melissa Terras¹² to present a picture of a biased reality, where women, despite being essential elements of the technical workflow, were not given proper recognition or were hardly ever assigned supervisory roles, generally reserved exclusively for men.

As the readers progress through the book, they are taken on a journey through a diverse array of images, texts, voices, and places. Additional images can also be

¹¹ ROBERTO BUSA, « L'analisi linguistica nell'evoluzione mondiale dei mezzi d'informazione », in SERGIO MORANDO (ed.), *Almanacco Letterario Bompiani*, Bompiani, Milano 1962, p. 103–107. The translation by Philip Barras is available in NYHAN, PASSAROTTI (eds.), *One Origin of Digital Humanities*, p. 75–86.

¹² See MELISSA TERRAS, JULIANNE NYHAN, « Chapter 6. Father Busa's Female Punch Card Operatives », in MATTHEW K. GOLD, LAUREN F. KLEIN (eds.), *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis – London 2016, p. 60–65.

found online.¹³ Each idea presented is grounded in a documented piece of information or in the analysis of a specific event. The author effectively debunks the myth surrounding Busa and presents a dynamic image of him as an integral part of an evolving and expanding international network. Anyone familiar with the challenges of DH will be struck by the contemporary relevance of Busa's reflections and strategic decisions: he was able to secure funding, balance academic, societal, and private interests, take advantage of evolving technology, establish an efficient network of support, and ultimately adapt the scholarly methodology to the possibilities opened up by the technical implementation of the workflow. Beyond the striking modernity of Busa's approach, the points of attention raised by the author resonate with readers who are witnessing the evolution of the DH community in the last few years. The tension that partially arises between the legacy of Computational Humanities and the Digital Humanities community, as well as the challenging effort to bridge NLP with literary and content analysis of texts, are noteworthy aspects to consider.

As to the first aspect, in July 2019 Folgert Karsdorp, a researcher at the Meertens Institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (Amsterdam, the Netherlands), tweeted «I'm thinking about developing a workshop/event/journal/community for computational research in the humanities that doesn't exclude people with profound computational skills and knowledge. Who's in?». Given the number of positive responses, the community was started, in the form of an online forum¹⁴ and an annual conference (Computational Humanities Research) now in its third edition.¹⁵ An interesting post (2019) by Leah Henrickson,¹⁶ Lecturer in Digital Media at the University of Leeds, explores the reasons behind Karsdorp's initiative and highlights the need for a space where the relationship between computer science and 'humanities mining' can be further developed. Discussions about the transition from Humanities Computing to DH have been extensive, not to mention the difficulties in defining the field of DH itself. Leah Henrickson argues that the emergence of the Computational Humanities community is not simply a terminological problem, but rather a return to the original spirit of the Humanities Computing community: the multiple souls (and origins) of the DH domain have as a consequence the need for carving out a dedicated space for the interested scholars.¹⁷ Jones' book is

¹³ <<https://priestandpunchedcards.tumblr.com/>> (Accessed in January 2023).

¹⁴ <<https://discourse.computational-humanities-research.org/>> (Accessed in January 2023).

¹⁵ <<https://2022.computational-humanities-research.org/>> (Accessed in January 2023).

¹⁶ <<https://www.3ammagazine.com/3am/humanities-computing-digital-humanities-and-computational-humanities-whats-in-a-name/>> (Accessed in January 2023).

¹⁷ See also Frederik Elwert's blogpost: <<https://belter.hypotheses.org/64>>, who retraces the dynamics behind the 'sudden' emergence of Computational Humanities (Accessed in January 2023).

certainly a celebration of this hands-on, data-processing-oriented spirit. Jones also notes Busa's interest in the « sheer materiality » (p. 93) of the activity of the scholar who is constantly working with the machinery and physically moving packages of punched cards. This can be seen as a parallel to contemporary Computational Humanities scholars who are constantly experimenting with new ways to create, manage and analyze humanities-related data. Even the networking aspect of Busa's enterprise is mirrored in the relevant efforts by the Computational Humanities scholars to create an engaging community, both online and offline. Jones appears thus to anticipate the need for some members of the DH community to bring the idea of 'computing' back to the centre of the research agenda. However, it is important to note that while Humanities Computing was heavily textual-based, mostly for technical reasons, the field of Computational Humanities now encompasses a broad range of disciplines, as it is visible in the programs of the conferences.

As per the second aspect, throughout the book, Jones delves into the nuanced relationship between the literary and linguistic aspects of Busa's work. The primary focus of the joint venture between IBM and Busa was the processing of linguistic data, but there is a persistent literary aspect that can be seen, for instance, in the early expansion of the CAAL and in Busa's desire to use the concordance to gain a deeper understanding of Thomas' language and philosophy. It is clear that Busa's primary interest was not solely in studying linguistic properties, but rather in utilizing linguistic data to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the text and the author's intentions. However, the process of creating a computing process and then completing the index acquired a central importance in Busa's trajectory. The tension between the effort required for linguistic processing, on the one hand, and the exploitation of data for interpretive work, on the other hand, as described in Jones' book, is similar to the ongoing relationship between NLP, Computational Linguistics and DH. Scholars such as Nan Z. Da ¹⁸ have argued that Computational Literary Studies have significant methodological flaws (due to the data and the statistical tools used) which can lead to uninteresting or incorrect results. The claim has sparked significant debate within the field.¹⁹ When it comes to NLP, Barbara McGillivray, Thierry Poibeau and Pablo Ruiz Fabo ²⁰ state that both the NLP and DH community place a central emphasis on texts, but their differing priorities – NLP focusing on advancing

¹⁸ NAN Z. DA, « The Computational Case against Computational Literary Studies », *Critical Inquiry*, 45/3 (2019), p. 601–639.

¹⁹ Some of them are listed here: <https://demo.hedgedoc.org/s/rJ_YoK_cH> (Accessed in January 2023).

²⁰ BARBARA MCGILLIVRAY, THIERRY POIBEAU, PABLO RUIZ FABO, « Digital Humanities and Natural Language Processing: Je t'aime... Moi Non Plus », *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 14/2 (2020), <<http://www.digitallhumanities.org/dhq/vol/14/2/000454/000454.html>> (Accessed in January 2023).

techniques, DH on investigating humanities phenomena – often result in a lack of communication and missed opportunities for mutual enrichment. However, the authors highlight the potential benefits that can come from better interaction between the two communities, with NLP techniques having the potential to greatly impact DH studies, and DH corpora and questions providing challenging opportunities for the NLP community. Simon Hengchen, Nina Tahmasebi, Dominik Schlechtweg, and Haim Dubossarsky also note similar difficulties in the specific area of semantic change.²¹ Furthermore, the current explosion of public interest in language models and their applications, such as ChatGPT,²² raises the question of the transferability of these techniques to literary studies.²³ Jones' book illustrates that the connection between technical data processing and text interpretation was, even at the beginning of humanities computing, a critical issue. Overall, the book serves as a reminder of the importance of considering both technical and interpretive aspects when engaging with DH studies.

In conclusion, the book, despite focusing on events from 75 years ago, provides a refreshing and highly relevant read: I warmly recommend it to scholars within the DH constellation and to those wishing to better seize the historical roots of the current debates.

²¹ SIMON HENGCHEN, NINA TAHMASEBI, DOMINIK SCHLECHTWEG, HAIM DUBOSSARSKY. « Challenges for Computational Lexical Semantic Change », in NINA TAHMASEBI, LARS BORIN, ADAM JATOWT, YANG XU, SIMON HENGCHEN (eds.), *Computational Approaches to Semantic Change*, Language Science Press, Berlin 2021 (Language Variation 6), p. 341–372.

²² It is worth mentioning, given the topic of this review, that GPT was used by the author to improve the academic English of the text.

²³ See Ted's Underwood discussion <<https://tedunderwood.com/2019/07/15/do-humanists-need-bert/>> (Accessed in January 2023).

MANUEL II PALAELOGUS IMPERATOR, *OPERA THEOLOGICA. APOLOGIA DE PROCESSIONE SPIRITUS SANCTI. TRACTATUS DE ORDINE TRINITATE. EPISTULA AD DOMINUM ALEXIUM IAGOUPEM*, ED. CHARALAMBOS DENDRINOS, BREPOLs, TURHOUT 2022 (CORPUS CHRISTIANORUM. SERIES GRAECA, 71), CLII + 433 PP., ISBN: 9782503528076.

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The study of the figure of Manuel II Palaeologus (b. 1350, emperor 1391–1425) is conditioned by his status as a tragic figure. Any approach to his intellectual or governmental work is influenced by the imminent end of the Eastern Roman Empire, now perhaps ‘Byzantine’ as it has been reduced to Constantinople and its *hinterland* – apart from a few enclaves in the Peloponnese. This view has made us lose sight of the central importance of this emperor for the development of what in Western Europe has been called Humanism and the Renaissance. He was, in part, responsible for the recovery of classical texts and their *translatio* to the West. The intellectuals who frequented the court at the beginning of the fifteenth century were key to this rediscovery.

But Manuel Palaeologus was not limited to his role as a patron of the arts; he also applied himself to creation. In the work that has come down to us, there is in him an intellectual will that links him to the « wise kings », perhaps because, by birth, he was not destined to exercise power and only the events of the civil wars at the end of the fourteenth century conferred on him the imperial dignity. The *Letters* he exchanged with various intellectual personalities of his time, edited and translated by George T. Dennis (Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington 1977), show his intellectual concerns, the state of culture in an Empire that was not at its best politically or economically, pending the Ottoman threat. But it is in the seven dialogues with the Persian *mudarris* (viz., *Dialog emit einer ‘Perser’*, ed. Erich Trapp, In Kommission bei G. Böhlau, Vienna 1966) that he presents himself as a theologian who is engaged in refuting the tenets of Islam.

The edition that is the subject of this review is linked to these theological works, affirming Greek Orthodox Christianity against those who question it, both from a religious and a political point of view. And in this respect, the Ottomans were as dangerous as the ‘Latins’ and their policy of uniting the Churches as a *conditio sine qua non* for providing military aid. It is in response to the latter’s

positions that Manuel Paleologus wrote the works rescued by Charalambos Dendrinios, professor at Royal Holloway, University of London. This volume also ties in with the work of ‘recovery’ of some unknown writings of the emperor carried out by this scholar, such as the ‘rescue’ of the letter addressed to David and Damianos, his spiritual fathers.¹

As a historian specializing in Byzantium, I will not go into the editing of the text by Dendrinios, but the importance of making it available to specialists in the Palaeologian period and especially in the reign of Manuel II. In this sense, the Introduction of more than one hundred and fifty pages is fundamental to know the internal history of the text through the different manuscripts in which the text is preserved. I think it is essential to highlight the fact that most of the treatise on the Holy Spirit was written during his stay in Paris. This is because it shows that old controversies, such as the *filioque*, were still raging, and that they clouded relations between the two halves of late medieval Christianity. It also allows us to infer that the emperor’s stay in the French capital was not as peaceful as it should have been; that it was not free of tensions arising from the ‘religious question’.

The three codices in which the three works have been preserved: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. graec. 1107; Vat. Barb. graec. 219 (containing the treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* and the short discourse *On the Order in the Trinity*) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. graec. 3041 (in which we can read the *Letter to Alexios Iagoupes*), allow us to establish the route in time and space of this part of the theological work of Emmanuel Palaeologus. For if these are the basic codices, Dendrinios reports that they are not the only ones. What unites them is their early character, around the first half of the fifteenth century, indicating the immediate circulation of the texts. The interest in what the emperor might have written on matters of importance is more than evident from their rapid dissemination.

No less important is the difficulty of the language used in their composition, which must have caused quite a few problems for the copyists and readers of these works. A comparison of the manuscripts reveals the corrections and additions that were made to the original text; paleographic analysis reveals the existence of several hands working on the codices. The marginal glosses, written in red ink or in the same ink used in the rest of the manuscript, as seen in the Ms. Vat. Barb. graec. 219, are also interesting because they allow us to trace the way in which these texts were read, through which hands they passed and what the interests of these people were. In short, the *marginalia* contribute to the (re)construction of the internal history of the document, offering a paratext to be read in parallel to

¹ Cf. CHARALAMBOS DENDRINIOS, « Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus’ Unpublished Letter to his Spirituals Fathers David and Damianos », in CHARALAMBOS DENDRINIOS, ILIAS GIARENIS (eds.), *Bibliophilos: Books and Learning in the Byzantine World: Festschrift in Honour of Costas N. Constantinides*, de Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2021 (Byzantinisches Archiv, 39), p. 131–189.

the text. In this particular case, what they show us is the evolution of the Greek language, its adaptation to the passage of time with the intention of making some of the words used by Manuel Palaeologus more intelligible. Dendrinos is right to include these annotations in the margins within the critical apparatus of the edition, making possible that 'parallel reading' to which I referred.

It is in this critical apparatus that the editor's work can be appreciated most clearly, since it is not just a matter of offering a transcription of the text by cross-referencing the readings of the basic manuscripts. The real usefulness of the edition lies in the different levels of cross-checking that are offered. Firstly, Dendrinos points out those other works of Manuel II in which a certain expression is used, which denotes a profound knowledge of the Manueline corpus. Secondly, he traces the sources the emperor used for the composition of the passage, which implies a knowledge of theological literature. And finally, on a third level, he offers alternative readings for some words that are not entirely clear, and it is here that he includes the references to the *marginalia*.

The indexes that close the volume act as an ordered compendium of what is cited in the critical apparatus, greatly facilitating the work of specialists in this period of the History of Byzantium. I find particularly useful the « Index Verborum et Notionum Notabilium » which allows us to locate in the text the key terms in Greek, which constitutes a precise map to navigate through a complex and dense work both for the subject matter and for the language in which it is written. This « Index Verborum » is an essential tool to serve as a guide for a part of a future history of the Greek language.

With each new contribution of this kind, we advance and deepen our knowledge of late medieval Roman thought. With this type of work, it becomes clear that the Eastern Empire was not a catatonic or sclerotic state, but was capable of articulating a discourse of self-defense. Works such as those rescued here bound by Dendrinos show the intellectual vitality of an emperor who is no more than a reflection of the milieu in which they were conceived and created, but also of the Europe that welcomed them, fascinated by the culture that gave birth to them.

ANTONELLA SANNINO, *READING WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE*, SISMEL-EDIZIONI DEL GALLUZZO, FIRENZE 2022 (MICROLOGUS LIBRARY, 113), VI + 193 PP., ISBN: 9788892901667.

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Antonella Sannino, profesora de Historia de la Filosofía Medieval en la Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale', cuya investigación está consagrada a la influencia del hermetismo y el neoplatonismo en el Medioevo y la Modernidad Temprana, a mediados de 2022 ha publicado su más reciente trabajo en la colección *Micrologus Library*, dedicada principal, aunque no exclusivamente, a la historia de la ciencia y filosofía natural de la Edad Media. En esta oportunidad, Sannino se centra en los principales ejes del pensamiento de Guillermo de Auvergne ('Auvernia' en su versión castellanizada), y lo hace mediante un esquema que a muy grandes rasgos es digno de la tradición neoplatónica. En efecto, según se avanza en la obra, se puede observar una especie de 'descenso ontológico' dado que comienza por Dios, continúa con su causalidad y relación con el mundo natural –al que pertenecen tanto las estrellas como los demonios–, y finaliza con el ser humano, creatura en la que radica la clave de lo que sería el ascenso (la *epistrophé*), pues es la única capaz de captar por medio de su alma la armonía del universo y, a través de ella, la de su Creador. Ahora bien, antes de revisar cada capítulo con un poco más de detalle, conviene detenerse en la Introducción.

Bajo la convicción, ya anticipada en el primer párrafo del Prefacio, de que buena parte de la obra de Guillermo (en especial de su magistral *Magisterium divinale et sapientiale*) fue ignorada, o bien estudiada pero tan solo de manera superficial o incluso desde perspectivas no del todo convincentes (p. 13), Sannino decide acertadamente comenzar haciendo un recorrido por los trabajos críticos más importantes dedicados quien fuera obispo de París entre 1228 y 1249. Toma como punto de partida los aportes de Noël Valois y Amato Masnovo, que son más bien de índole biográfica y general, muestra luego la progresión en las investigaciones sobre Guillermo a través de los diferentes temas sobre los que versaron las obras de Ernst Moody, Josep Kramp y Guglielmo Corti, y retoma asimismo los aportes más recientes de Spencer. E. Young, Corey Barnes y Roland Teske, entre otros. El estado de la cuestión llega a la obra miscelánea editada por Franco Morenzoni y Jean-Yves Tilliette, *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne* (Brepols, 2005), que le sirve a Sannino de base para confrontar las principales tesis de los estudios que la

componen con otros trabajos contemporáneos como los de Isabel Draelants, Thomas de Mayo o Robert Goulding.

Esta minuciosa recapitulación confirmaría su (quizá un tanto general) hipótesis, que es al mismo tiempo la justificación del libro: la crítica no se ha tomado el trabajo de estudiar la filosofía de Guillermo en su contexto, de modo tal que se vea mejor en qué medida hay una recurrencia a la autoridad y en qué medida el autor propone conceptos innovadores. Hay, insiste Sannino, opiniones de los especialistas manifiestamente contradictorias esparcidas por doquier que reclaman con urgencia reordenamiento y síntesis. Esa será, pues, su tarea a lo largo de los tres capítulos siguientes. De todas formas, consciente de la envergadura de la empresa, aclara que se limitará tan solo a algunos tópicos, aquellos que, según considera, jugaron un papel central en el pensamiento de Guillermo (p. 29). En cuanto al aspecto metodológico, el objetivo de puntualizar las conclusiones a las que fue llegando el autor permite o incluso, en cierto modo, obliga a que no se examinen los pormenores de la argumentación, sino que tales conclusiones sencillamente se vayan presentando de manera progresiva ya que, desde luego, se encuentran encadenadas unas con otras. Ello no obsta que se hayan consignado los pasajes de la fuente en nota a pie, de modo que los lectores puedan reconstruir por sí solos los pasos omitidos o simplificados. Después de todo, se trata de una lectura posible, esto es, de un *reading*.

El primer capítulo, entonces, titulado « The Providence of God and Free Will », tiene por objeto estudiar la tensión entre la providencia divina y el libre albedrío, una problemática que, si bien hunde sus raíces en la Antigüedad clásica y recorre toda la Edad Media, encuentra un renovado énfasis precisamente a comienzos del siglo XIII. Para ello, Sannino se vale del tratado *De universo creaturarum* (o sea, el segundo de los siete que componen el *Magisterium*), donde el autor establece una doctrina de la causalidad divina que, aún si tiene un costado trinitario, es deudora en primer lugar de las enseñanzas de Avicena y Avicbron. Pasando por la distinción de Guillermo entre *providere* y *praevidere*, que le permite salvaguardar a Dios del error y al ser humano su libertad, Sannino entra inevitablemente en el problema de los futuros contingentes y los analiza en relación con el destino, la necesidad y, por su puesto, el ser humano. Como señala la autora, el tratado sobre el destino que aparece en *De universo* conlleva dos grandes problemas: por una parte, la relación entre providencia y presciencia de Dios y, por otra, el determinismo astrológico y la conexión causal de todo lo creado (p. 48). La solución de Guillermo dependerá en gran medida de determinar cuál de entre todas las acepciones de *fatum* que se han dado es la correcta. A sus ojos, será aquella que los griegos entendían por *eimarmene*. La sección siguiente pasa a hablar de la causalidad astral y sus alcances, y sobre la severidad con la que Guillermo arremete contra quienes creen que las estrellas y los talismanes constriñen la voluntad

humana o, peor aún, la divina. La distinción entre *scientia Dei* y *scientia naturalis* cierra el capítulo y da paso al siguiente: « Natural causality and image magic ».

Como hemos anticipado, el núcleo temático de este segundo capítulo –que amplía las fuentes consideradas al *De universo spiritualium*, el *De virtutibus et vitiis* y al *De legibus*– serán las creaturas y las causas segundas, es decir, la naturaleza. Sannino presenta los aspectos más sobresalientes de la filosofía natural de Guillermo, en la cual dos conceptos serán de especial importancia: el de *mirificum* y el de *virtutes naturales*. Con ellos en mira, la autora revisa la distinción entre milagros y maravillas (que implica, a su vez, sutiles distinciones entre *supra*, *contra* y *praeter naturam*), y pasa luego a establecer cuáles fueron para Guillermo los límites de la nascente disciplina (*ars*) de la magia natural, la « práctica humana capaz de reproducir eventos cuyas causas ocultas están más allá del conocimiento humano »; límites que serán de suma importancia en tanto la distinguen de la también nascente *scientia magica* que implica, entre otras cosas, la invocación a los demonios (p. 78). Antes de pasar a la condena de Guillermo a la idolatría por medio de imágenes y talismanes con la que cierra el capítulo, se encuentra el subapartado más largo de todo el libro, dedicado a las nuevas fuentes de ‘ciencias experimentales’ que comenzaban a circular en el occidente latino y de las cuales se hizo eco Guillermo.

El tercer y último capítulo, « The Soul on the Boundary of Two Worlds », se concentra en una creatura particular, el alma humana. Sus primeros tres párrafos, esto es, los que tratan sobre la naturaleza del alma, su tensión con el cuerpo y la constitución del ser humano, son una versión del texto ya publicado « *Quod anima sit in horizonte duorum mundorum*. Psicología ed antropologia in Guglielmo d’Alverania », en ALESSANDRA BECCARISI, ALESSANDRO PALAZZO, *Per studium et doctrinam. Fonti e testi di filosofia medievale dal XII al XIV secolo. Studi in onore di Loris Sturlese*, Aracne, Roma 2018 (*Flumen Sapientiae*, 6). Sannino muestra en ellos cómo la antropología y psicología de Guillermo se construyen en confluencia y tensión entre el neoplatonismo propio del *Liber de causis*, el hermetismo y el neoplatonismo hebreo, que no eran sino algunas de las tradiciones textuales que circulaban en el ambiente cultural parisino de las primeras décadas del siglo XIII. Tras sumariar la concepción de alma de Guillermo como « una forma que se asemeja a Dios, y es una inteligencia llena de formas intelectuales » (p. 117), la autora pasa a considerar la relación del alma con la música primero y con la medicina después. Concebida a la manera neopitagórica –gracias al *Timeo* y al legado boeciano–, la música para Guillermo es armonía o, mejor aún, una *virtus harmoniarum* que, al igual que el alma, se encuentra en la frontera entre dos mundos, el humano y el divino. De allí su mutua afinidad y de allí también el rol ético y social de la música, en el que se detendrá Sannino. En su evaluación diacrónica en torno a la noción de *pulchritudo*, la autora pone de manifiesto la reciprocidad de los trascendentales de belleza y bien que a los ojos de Guillermo permite al alma humana que se vea ella misma

como una imagen de Dios, volviendo así a su Creador, presente de este modo en sus creaturas.

Para concluir, la autora evita la obvia recapitulación de lo dicho y hace explícita su intención de dar cuenta de la popularidad de Guillermo en los siglos posteriores. Así pues, las conclusiones, que bien pueden leerse como un epílogo debido a su carácter prospectivo, se dividen en tres ejes. El primero consiste en observaciones sobre los testimonios manuscritos y ediciones tempranas de los tratados *De fide et legibus* y *De universo*, que complementará con dos apéndices: la reproducción en color de los fol. 1r y 149v (*incipit* y *explicit* del *De legibus*) del MS Cracovia, BJ R kp. 410 III, y el fol. 1r de un MS no catalogado de la Universidad de Rochester, que contiene el *incipit* del *De universo* con una delicada iluminación que amplía en la página siguiente (p. 152–155); y con un valiosísimo anexo en el que suma nuevos códices a los ya listados por J. Ottomann, R. Saccenti y el archivo digital de Mirabile (p. 157–162). El segundo eje de las conclusiones muestra la popularidad de las doctrinas de Guillermo relacionadas con la adivinación y la magia natural, para lo cual Sannino toma como ejemplo su aparición en el *Tractatus superstitionibus quibusdam casibus* de Heinrich de Gokum, escrito en 1425. El tercer y último eje es quizá el que se relaciona más directamente con la intención del libro, pues explica que es a Guillermo a quien se debe la institución de la noción de *sensus naturae* (que también se expresó en términos de *spiritus* o *virtus occulta*) utilizada por autores tan representativos de la filosofía natural del Renacimiento, como Cornelius Agrippa o Tommaso Campanella.

En suma, con *Reading William of Auvergne* estamos ante un bien articulado resumen de las principales temáticas que atraviesan la vasta obra de Guillermo de Auvernia. Tiene la virtud de servir de material de consulta a especialistas a la vez que –precisamente en su condición de *reading*– puede ser leído como una introducción para quienes decidan emprender una investigación ya sea sobre el autor, ya sea sobre alguno de los diversos temas que ha tratado, pues, como ha mostrado Sannino, no son pocas las nociones y discusiones que encuentran su origen en el pensamiento de este filósofo, teólogo y matemático del siglo XIII.