

***Mediterranea***  
*International journal on the transfer of knowledge*

Vol. 2 — 2017



*Mediterranea*  
*International journal on the transfer of knowledge*

<http://www.uco.es/ucopress/ojs/index.php/mediterranea/index>

Vol. 2 — 2017

EDITORS

Charles Burnett (The Warburg Institute, London)  
Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala (University of Córdoba)  
Andrea Aldo Robiglio (University of Leuven)

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Marina Detoraki (University of Crete, Greece)  
John Monfasani (University of New York, Albany)  
Sabine Schmidtke (Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton University)  
Sarah Stroumsa (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)  
Sofia Torallas Tovar (Classics and Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations,  
University of Chicago)

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Pedro Mantas-España (University of Córdoba)

ADVISORY BOARD

Camilla Adang (Tel Aviv University) – Jean Balsamo (University of Reims)  
– Joël Biard (University of Tours) – Thomas Burman  
(University of Notre Dame) – Brian A. Catlos (University of Colorado  
at Boulder) – Alexander Fidora (ICREA – Autonomous University of  
Barcelona) – Mercedes García-Arenal (CSIC – Madrid) – Dag Nikolaus  
Hasse (University of Würzburg) – Christian Høgel (University of  
Southern Denmark) – Sharon Kinoshita (University of California –  
Santa Cruz) – Mathijs Lamberigts (University of Leuven) – Cecilia  
Martini (University of Padova) – José Meirinhos (University of Porto)  
– Meira Polliack (Tel Aviv University) – Gerd Van Riel (University  
of Leuven) – Denis Robichaud (University of Notre Dame) – Richard  
C. Taylor (Marquette University) – Samuel Rubenson (University of Lund) –  
Herman Teule (University of Leuven – University of Nijmegen)

DOCUMENTATION

Manuel Marcos Aldón (University of Córdoba)  
Fuensanta M. Guerrero Carmona (University of Córdoba)



# Contents

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Gandolfo CASCIO<br>Constantijn Huygens' <i>Pathodia Sacra et Profana</i> . A Sentimental Journey.....  | 1-15    |
| Jean-Paul DE LUCCA<br>'Un fiume piccolissimo di quel mare immenso'. Universalism, Navigation and the Rethinking of the Mediterranean in Campanella...  | 17-33   |
| Gertrud DIETZE-MAGER<br>Die <i>Politeiai</i> des Aristoteles und ihre Beziehung zu den <i>Nomima Barbarika</i> .....   | 35-72   |
| Sara GALLETTI<br>Stereotomy and the Mediterranean: Notes Toward an Architectural History.....  | 73-120  |
| Thomas LEINKAUF<br><i>Prisca scientia</i> versus <i>prisca sapientia</i> . Zwei Modelle des Umgangs mit der Tradition am Beispiel des Rückgriffs auf die Vorsokratik im Kontext der frühneuzeitlichen Debatte und der Ausbildung des Kontinuitätsmodell der <i>prisca sapientia</i> bzw. <i>philosophia perennis</i> ..... | 121-143 |
| Anthony MINNEMA<br>A Hadith Condemned at Paris. Reactions to the Power of Impression in the Latin Translation of al-Ghazāl'īs <i>Maqāṣid al-falāsifa</i> .....   | 145-162 |
| Shlomo SELA<br>The Ibn Ezra–Henry Bate Astrological Connection and the Three Abrahams.....   | 163-186 |
| Mauro ZONTA<br>Elementi della terminologia aristotelico-scotistica in ebraico: le glosse filosofiche in 'Eli Habillo.....  | 187-196 |
| Notes  |         |
| Lisa DEVRIESE<br>Siger of Brabant, author of the anonymous <i>Questio de creatione ex nihilo</i> .....   | 197-206 |
| John MONFASANI<br>Two Laudationes. The Literary Scholar as Intellectual Historian: Michael J. B. Allen and Western Thought. Brian Copenhaver: Or Academic Administrator as Shape-Shifter.....  | 207-222 |

## Reviews

Lourdes BONHOME PULIDO

Martínez Gázquez, José, *The Attitude of the Medieval Latin Translators Towards the Arabic Sciences*, (Micrologus' Library, 75), Firenze: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016, IX+216 pp., ISBN 978-88-8450-694-8.. 223-225

Lourdes BONHOME PULIDO

Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro, *Apocalipsis del Pseudo Atanasio [ApPsAr(ar) II]*, edición, traducción anotada y estudio, (Barcino Monographica Orientalia, 4), Barcelona: Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic (IPOA) – Universitat de Barcelona, 2016, 221 pp., ISBN 978-84-475-3967-3... 227-228

María Dolores CERZO BARRAGÁN

Wallis, Peter (ed.), *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist by Louise Cochrane with Additional Material by Charles Burnett*, Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, 2013, 171 pp., ISBN 978-0-9544941-3-1... 229-233

Hedwig MARZOLF

Jack P. Cunningham and Mark Hocknull (eds.), *Robert Grosseteste and the Pursuit of Religious and Scientific Learning in the Middle Ages*, (Studies in the History of Philosophy of Mind, 18), Switzerland: Springer, 2016, 401 pp., ISBN 978-3-31933468-0, 978-3-319-33466-4..... 235-238

Lucas ORO HERSHTEIN

Andrea Falcon (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Aristotle in Antiquity*, Brill: Leiden – Boston 2016. XV + 512 pp. ISBN 9789004266476 (hbk) ISBN 9789004315402 (E-Book)..... 239-249

Patricia TÉLLEZ FRANCISCO

Soto Chica, José, *Bizancio y la Persia Sasánida: dos imperios frente a frente. Una comparación militar y económica*. 565-642, Granada: Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas, 2015, pp.322, ISBN: 978-84-95905-61-1..... 251-253

Myriam WISSA

Sergius of Reshaina, *Introduction to Aristotle and his Categories, Addressed to Philotheos, Syriac Text, Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Sami Aydin*, (Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus, 24), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016, XI + 328 pp., 978900432 4954 (hbk), 9789004325142 (e-book)..... 255-256

# CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS' *PATHODIA SACRA ET PROFANA*. A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

GANDOLFO CASCIO  
UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

## *Abstract*

Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) in 1620 traveled to Venice as a secretary of ambassador Van Aerssen: he was the only member of the legation who knew Italian. This visit to the Most Serene Republic has been extremely important to him, since he could experience the many natural and artistic wonders he had a mere abstract knowledge of. However, in his life the Dutch poet made a more interesting journey: an intellectual and sentimental one, writing his *Pathodia sacra et profana*. In this collection we have compositions written in Italian in the very fashionable style of Petrarch. In my essay, I will try to make an historic-philological analysis of this *opus* in order to establish how the original paradigm has been respected or violated, both in style as well as content.

## *Key Words*

Constantijn Huygens, Reception theory, stylistics, Petrarchism, Baroque.



*to flee time you need to seek refuge before time,  
solely in its length.*  
Carlo Levi<sup>1</sup>

In 1891, more or less *midway upon the journey of his life*, Paul Gauguin left his country and set sail on a ship that anchored in the port of Papeete. A couple of years later, Amedeo Modigliani used to portray his friends *à la* Giorgione. These

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Per fuggire il tempo bisogna rifugiarsi prima del tempo, nella pura durata': Carlo Levi, comment on Sterne's *Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768), in Carlo Levi, *Prima e dopo le parole. Scritti e discorsi sulla letteratura*, Rome: Donzelli, 2001, p. 154.

choices prove a shared existential discomfort that caused a radical rejection of their spatiotemporal coordinates. Thus, the two *bohémien*nes in order to survive a *Zeitgeist* impregnated with an unbearable Baudelairian *Spleen*, fled somewhere else. One settled in an exotic physical space; the other, more sophisticatedly, renounced an ordinary life and took shelter in the magnificent legacy of his homeland.

What has this preamble to do with Constantijn Huygens? A lot, since it functions as a counter-figural interpretation that resembles the experience of the baroque poet. The implicit idea that supports this comparison, is that even a *literary* journey can be considered in the same way as a *literal* escape.

To demonstrate this thesis, my essay focuses on textual evidence; however, such proof will be linked to some contextual data (historical and biographical) as well.

The Dutch poet Constantijn Huygens wished to leave behind his life in the Republic and try to find a different *hortus* that would be consistent with his *Weltanschauung*. Let's not forget that his fellow countrymen were engaged and employed in an exhausting conflict: the *Eighty Years' War*, in other words the Dutch revolt to obtain independence from the Spanish crown (1568–1648); on top of this crisis, the country was offended by the quarrels between religious sects.<sup>2</sup> Also Huygens' friend Barlaeus was involved in the religious-political row, since he was seen as an extremist, and was purged by the ruling power, embodied by the Stadtholder Maurits, a system based on conflicts of interests.

Constantijn Huygens was a well-established man of letters,<sup>3</sup> connected with the fabric of the *élite*. With his father's recommendation, who was secretary of the Council of State, and by virtue of his language skills, he joined the diplomatic legation as a secretary of the ambassador of the Seven United Provinces, François van Aerssen. Scope of the mission was to seek support by the all-powerful Lagoon city and ratify a treaty of alliance against the Spaniards.

They reached the Serenissima in June 1620, almost at the end of the so called *Twelve Years' Truce*, following the German-Swiss route: Cologne, Heidelberg and Tübingen, paying visit to some protestant leaders. In the northern part of the Peninsula, he admired the lakes, Verona and Vicenza, where he was amazed at the natural display of grandeur of the Alps and dismayed by the man-crafted Palladian sites.

He staid three weeks and, besides complying with his official duties, he enjoyed the sophisticated cultural activities. We know for a fact that he took the

---

<sup>2</sup> Remonstrants vs. Gomarists, also called Counter-Remonstrants.

<sup>3</sup> His works have been collected in this edition which also serves als my reference point: *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens publiées par la Société Hollandaise des Sciences*, 22 vols, La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888-1950.

chance to visit the Sansovinian library, and attended one of Claudio Monteverdi's *mise-en-scène*. Especially this musical encounter will be of pivotal importance.<sup>4</sup> However, in spite of these appearances, we cannot categorize Huygens' visit to Italy as a Grand Tour, because it does not fulfil two important criteria: 1. he did not go to Italy to refine his education; 2. his stay was too short.

He reported the details of his journey in a diary written in French. The manuscript circulated among friends and *connoisseurs*. These notes, which only recently have been published, inform us about something rather useful for my quest. I refer to one of the official meetings when Antonio Priuli<sup>5</sup> complimented the Dutch clerk on his knowledge of Italian.<sup>6</sup>

Now, what interests me, is to verify that the reported doge's comment was not just an act of institutional courtesy, or a dear memory blown out of proportion by Huygens' unrestrained self-esteem. Verily, his knowledge is confirmed by external sources which inform us that he had reached such a level that he 'loves to take an amusing remark or a pithy saying and reformulate it in verse in three or four different languages with up to six different versions'.<sup>7</sup>

What about his enterprise to acquire Italian? What we do know is that he started to learn it sometime before his journey to Venice. Most probably he took lessons before February 1615. We are certain of this, thanks to his diary, where he noted down:

'In Italiacae ling. Rudimentis cum BIONDI, et LIERE DEPUIS. Diu intellexeram linguam'.<sup>8</sup>

Further, it is recorded that the exclamation '*Basta, Basta*' ('Enough, enough!') have been his first Italian written words<sup>9</sup>, and that he used them in relation to his friend Contarini, with whom he remained engaged in an exchange of letters. Choosing to apply himself in practising yet another language, Huygens did not allow himself a luxury, neither we must consider it as an extravagant affectation.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Rudolf, Rasch "Italia decolour"? Constantijn Huygens and Italian Music', in Dinko Fabris, Margaret Murata (eds.), *Passaggio in Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, pp. 85-108.

<sup>5</sup> Doge of the Serenissima between 17 May 1618 and 12 August 1623.

<sup>6</sup> See Constantijn Huygens, *Journal van de reis naar Venetië*, red. F.R.E. Blom, Amsterdam: Prometheus - Bert Bakker, 2003, pp. 103-105.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard Forster, *The Poets Tongues. Multilingualism in Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Huygens 1884/5: 9, quoted in Christopher Joby, *The multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*, Amsterdam University Press, 2014, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Italian was spoken by the community of intellectuals, by the travelling merchants and the diplomats. The publication of books in the original versions was large and, since 2 March 1668, the printing and circulation of a periodical, the *Gazzetta di Amsterdam*, was a fact.<sup>10</sup>

Well educated people read Italian literature, and I do not mean exclusively the classics, with Petrarch on the top-list, but some more recent best sellers as well, such as Castiglione's, Machiavelli's; or even contemporary writers like Giambattista Marino and some more extravagant ones too.

To strengthen my statement, I report a quote from Huygens' autobiography,<sup>11</sup> published in 1677 when the writer was still alive, and in here he mentions Traiano Boccalini's work defining it as 'a modern author with an extremely careful and pure style'.<sup>12</sup> This entry is evidently more than a document of his literary up-to-dateness, it provides us a concrete information about his knowledge, because Huygens' appreciation, as we read the whole comment, seems based not on a perception, or an opinion pulled together by hearsay evidence: no, it is a clear and well supported stylistic judgment. This is important to me to establish with certainty Huygens' competence of the foreign language even dealing with the tricky business of humour and humourism. Having said all this on the historical context and the personal circumstances, I wish now to define more accurately the text itself.

In the course of his long life (Huygens was born in The Hague in 1596 where he also died in 1687) he wrote poems in Latin, French and Italian as well. In the latter he probably wrote one poem few years before he began to attend to the *Pathodia*. He must have done this as apprenticeship in writing a lyrical matter in the newly learned language.

In total 'We have 219 lines of verse that Huygens wrote in Italian. Whilst a small number of these appear in multilingual poems, most of them are in poems written entirely in Italian';<sup>13</sup> but let us proceed in an orderly manner in the description of such development.

In 1640 he sent a French and an Italian text to his friend Gaspar Duarte; post 1642 he wrote the poem *Già ti chiesi un sospir*; and then we are informed about a composition entitled *Giunse fiamma sottil* (So arrived a thin flame) which, how ironic this title can now be considered (!), got destroyed during a fire in the Amsterdam New Church on 11 January 1645. It is Huygens himself who recorded the accident: 'In incendium Templi Novi Amstelod. ex Italico meo, cujus est

---

<sup>10</sup> See Vincenzo Lo Cascio, *L'italiano nel secolo d'oro olandese*, in Harro Stammerjohann (ed.), *Italiano: lingua di cultura europea*, Atti del simposio internazionale in memoria di Gianfranco Folena, Weimar, 11-13 aprile 1996, Tübingen: Narr, 1997, p. 248.

<sup>11</sup> *De vita propria sermonum, inter liberos libri II*, 1677.

<sup>12</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, ed. C.L. Heesakkers, Hilversum: Griffioen, 1987, p. 87.

<sup>13</sup> Christopher Joby, *The multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*, op. cit., p. 94.

initium, *Giunse fiamma sottit'*.<sup>14</sup> After this very first exercise, he wrote the *Pathodia sacra et profana*. The book is apparently anonymous, since the poet uses the pseudonym of *Occupati*. I shall return to this term later.

It contains 39 texts divided in two parts: the sacred one, contains 20 pieces which are quotations from the *Psalms* in Latin; the secular part is composed of a first session of 12 Italian madrigals and then a second of 7 French *airs de cour*. Two of the Italian texts, # 22 and 28, will afterwards be translated by Huygens in French; while, in 1639, # 24, *Quel neo quel vago neo*, will be imitated by Huygens himself and become his famous poem *Die mael die soete mael*. I do care to specify that of the Italian poems, more than half are taken by Giambattista Marino's *Rime* and have been adapted – this is evident in the title – probably for singing and prosody reasons. For example, *Se la doglia e 'l martire* becomes in the *Pathodia* *Morte dolce* etc.

This is the account of the source and the target texts:

|    | <i>Pathodia sacra</i>        | <i>Psalms</i>        |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1  | Multi dicunt animae meae     | 3, 3-4               |
| 2  | Domine ne in furore tuo      | 6, 2-4               |
| 3  | Usquequo Domine              | 12/13, 1-4           |
| 4  | Domine Deus meus             | 29/30, 3-5           |
| 5  | Avertisi faciem              | 29/30, 8-10          |
| 6  | Dilataverunt super me        | 34-35, 21-22         |
| 7  | Ab omnibus iniquitatibus     | 38-39, 9-11          |
| 8  | Sitivit anima mea            | 41-42, 3             |
| 9  | Quare tristis es             | 41-42, 6-7           |
| 10 | Iniquitatem meam ego cognovi | 50-51, 5-6           |
| 11 | Domine spes mea              | 70-71, 5, 9, 22      |
| 12 | In quo corriget              | 118-119, 9-10        |
| 13 | Cognovi Domine               | 118-119, 25-26       |
| 14 | Quomodo dilexi               | 118-119, 97, 102-103 |

<sup>14</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Gedichten. Deel 4: 1644-1652*, ed. J.A. Worp, Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1894, p. 24.

|    |                             |                 |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 15 | Erravi                      | 118-119, 176    |
| 16 | Laetatus sum                | 121-122, 1-3    |
| 17 | De profundis clamavi        | 129-130, 1-3, 5 |
| 18 | Confitebor tibi Domine      | 137-138, 1-2    |
| 19 | Proba me Deus               | 138-139, 23-24  |
| 20 | Memor fui dierum antiquorum | 142-143, 5-7    |

|    | <i>Pathodia profana A (Italian)</i> | <i>Author</i>    | <i>Original title</i>   |
|----|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 21 | Se la doglia e'l martire            | Marino           | Morte dolce             |
| 22 | Sospir che del bel petto            | Marino           | Sospiro della sua Donna |
| 23 | Temer Donna non dei                 | Marino           | Amor secreto            |
| 24 | Quel neo quel vago neo              | Marino           | Neo di bel volto        |
| 25 | O chiome erranti                    | Marino           | Errori di bella chioma  |
| 26 | Orsa bella e crudele                | Marino           | Caccia amorosa          |
| 27 | Con la candida man                  | Huygens          |                         |
| 28 | Già ti chiesi un sospir             | Huygens          |                         |
| 29 | A dispetto de' venti                | Huygens          |                         |
| 30 | Che rumore sento fuore              | Huygens          | Riposta dalla finestra  |
| 31 | Deh, s'a tanto beltà                | Marino & Huygens |                         |
| 32 | Va donna ingrata                    | Huygens          |                         |
|    | <i>Pathodia profana B (French)</i>  |                  |                         |
| 33 | Que ferons-nous                     |                  |                         |
| 34 | Graves tesmoins de mes délices      |                  |                         |

|    |                                     |
|----|-------------------------------------|
| 35 | Vous me l'aviez bien dit            |
| 36 | Quoy Clorinde tu pars               |
| 37 | Tu te trompes Philis                |
| 38 | Aubade: J'ai veu le point du jour   |
| 39 | Sérénade: Ne crains point le serein |

The songs can be placed in Monteverdi's and Caccini's tradition of the *Seconda pratica* which promoted more freedom from the rigorous style of, for instance, Palestrina's *Prima pratica*. It is, as Vincent Duckles describes it, 'one of the most interesting collections of continuo song published north of the Alps during the 17<sup>th</sup> century'.<sup>15</sup> The adopted linguistic strategy, unusual but not infrequent, can be seen as part of heteroglossy, to use a terminology that I gladly borrow from the well-known study of Gianfranco Folena.<sup>16</sup> All of them were supposed to be performed vocally and with theorbo and basso continuo accompaniment (though the original project intended to use the lute which, in the meantime got out of fashion); the ones in Italian and French are, as I already mentioned, arias.

The title represents a pure example of ingenuity, since this is a neologism that combines the words *pathos* and *odè*. This is not a unique episode. We know from Huygens' correspondence that he 'invented a number of Greek words'.<sup>17</sup>

On the frontispiece the author is missing. His name is replaced by the *alias Occupati* (The busy man) as we can see in the *editio princeps*. This choice is peculiar, to say the least because it is in contrast to the content and themes of the book, since both genres in the *Pathodia* – religious psalms and amorous songs – would recommend a disposition towards the *otium*, while here the authors *negotium* is stressed.

This could be explained as an act of self-fashioning where Huygens is giving to his readers a portrait of a man whose longing to such a state was in contrast to his daily hectic life. It is a defensible hypothesis when we think that in 1625 he had published a collection of poems called *Ledige Uren*, and that is *Otia*.

<sup>15</sup> Duckles Vincent, 'Review to Frits Noske, *Pathodia sacra et profana* by Constantijn Huygens', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14:1 (Spring 1961), p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> Gianfranco Folena, *L'italiano in Europa. Esperienze linguistiche del Settecento*, Turin: Einaudi, 1983.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Joby, 'The Use of Greek in the Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 61 (2012), p. 345.

I'd also like to point out that such a representation can also be considered from a socioreligious perspective, when we are reminded of the different views within Western Christians with regard to the doctrine of the Justification: in short the irresolute cultural conflict between the industrious Catholics (who rely on free will and let cooperate faith and action) and the contemplative Protestants (whose salvation depends solely in God's will).

Anyhow, a busy man Huygens most certainly was, and so – amongst lots of paperwork and with a close eye to the globe – he was portrayed by Thomas de Keyser (fig. 1). To improve the circulation of the *Pathodia*, for instance, he engaged himself in an advertising campaign, sending some of the poems to his friends Mersenne and Gobert, influential members of the cultural circles. The latter seems impressed and demonstrates his appreciation.<sup>18</sup>

It is dedicated to Utricia Ogle, whom is called, as muse to the poet, *nostra Siren*; she is a niece of an English diplomat with whom Huygens had an intellectual relation. We have a charming picture of her by the hand of Jan de Bisschop, courteously named *Lady Swann*.

The *princeps* was eventually published in Paris by Pierre Ballard in December 1647: apparently 'the Seven Provinces, so very famous for their publishing houses, did not have the chance to print it'.<sup>19</sup>

After the *Psalms*, Huygens put a long dedication, where he, using the rhetoric of a *captatio benevolentiae*, he excuses himself and presents a whole repertoire of classical writers. This choice is of course more than name-dropping. It could be interpreted as an attempt to demonstrate that 'the author does not want to be seen as an "ordinary" composer. He is a literate and takes every chance to show it'.<sup>20</sup>

After concluding his task, he must have felt rather pleased with the results of his effort, so much that he was quite confident since he wished to send his libretto to the marquise Cimenes, to whom he wrote on 21 October 1647, apologising for the late sending:

'As a consequence of my Parisian printer's tardiness, I am not yet able to answer your lordship by sending my *Pathodia*, but I hope to be able to do so within a few days'.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> See Constantijn Huygens, Letter # 4547, in Constantijn Huygens, *Briefwisseling. Deel 4: 1644-1649*, ed. J. A. Worp, La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915, p. 390.

<sup>19</sup> Jacop A. Worp, *ivi*, p. XIV.

<sup>20</sup> Astrid De Jager, 'Constantijn Huygens' Passion: Some Thoughts About the *Pathodia Sacra Et Profana*', *Tijdschrift Van De Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 57:1 (2007), p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Letter # 4692, in Constantijn Huygens, *Briefwisseling. Deel 4: 1644-1649*, op. cit., p. 434.

This is, more or less, the biography of the text. Now, I will deal with the main questions inherent to my essay: why did Huygens write these songs in Italian? The reason, in my opinion, is mainly stylistic, or better said, it is a stylistic norm that he cared to comply with. In order to make my point clear, I need to take a step backwards. In classical and late medieval rhetoric precepts – more specifically I refer to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as well as *Poetics*; Cassiodorus in the proem of his *Variae epistolae*; Horace's *Epistula ad Pisones* (commonly known as *Ars Poetica*); Quintilian in the *Institutio oratoria*; and, in the early modern age, Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* – the subject of the poem defines, regulates and standardizes the register that must be used amongst the three available varieties: *humilis*, *mediocris* or *sublimis*.

In Italy and also outside, these norms, established in the treatises, were very much still in use in the XVII century, or, I'd better say, they were brought back to life and in a vigorous manner too, since also Aristotelianism itself got back being the mainstream philosophy. To this theoretical phenomenon, which is, of course, more than an intellectual *repechage*, an addition was made, a corollary to the theorem, if you wish, which is not of no importance: the choice of the language would be subordinated to the theme of the poem. Practically this means that, when speaking of love it is this very topic that requires to be said in Italian. The reason is intrinsic to the subject and has to do with aesthetics as well as with literary prestige. It seems then that the amorous matters would bear no other tongue but solely Italian: 'Questa è la lingua di cui si vanta amore' [*This is the tongue of which Love is most proud*], just to use Milton's verse, who is not just Huygens' contemporary, but one who shared the experience to write poetry in Italian.<sup>22</sup> In his case 5 sonnets. Now, because I am involving the English poet, surely it will be useful to state precisely that:

'For Milton, as for Huygens, and the men of their time, there is no mystique about languages; they are simply different media in which a poet can work – and can be expected to work'.<sup>23</sup>

This practice of writing about love – of course, in a sublime style<sup>24</sup> and according to the Petrarchesche manner – was initiated in the Renaissance, when it even became a custom, and persisted very well in the Baroque period.

---

<sup>22</sup> Quoted and illustrated in Gordon Teskey, *The Poetry of John Milton*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015, p. 30. Very interesting on this subject is also Furio Brugnolo, *La lingua di cui si vanta Amore. Scrittori stranieri in lingua italiana dal Medioevo al Novecento*, Rome: Carocci, 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Leonard Forster, *The Poets Tongues. Multilingualism in Literature*, op. cit. p. 47.

Another proof to this statement is given, *a contrario*, by the simple fact that the *Psalms* had not been translated in neither of the two Romance languages used for the other compositions. More of a contextual evidence can be produced by another protagonist of the Dutch Baroque culture, namely the painter Frans Hals. If we look at one of his masterpieces, *Marriage Portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen* (fig. 2), we can see the man, a grain trader and diplomat during the envoy to Moscow (a similitude to Huygens' biography) who firmly keeps the right hand on his heart; his young spouse has rosy cheeks. There are signs of their mutual love. Moreover, the couple is at ease, and is casually placed in front of a *Giardino all'italiana* where stylistically symmetry and human order are the *décor* of an exquisite example of the Garden of love. The atmosphere, including the elegantly walking couple and the classical statues, resembles Italy and the Italian courtly love: an artifice as effective as illusive, I must say.

As a contrast, let us look at another family portrait of Hals, one in a further stadium of life, where, apparently love has been substituted by children who cannot stand still, a desolate polder landscape, and no eye-contact between husband and wife (fig. 3).

Just as in the first of Hal's pieces, also Huygens madrigals attempt to recreate the same charming and exotic setting: the only difference is in the tools: where images are replaced by language. The strength of such a connection is based upon the authority of the Horatian maxim 'Ut pictura poësis'<sup>25</sup> [*As is painting so is poetry*]. From this sentence, I deduce that, if, for the spectator, the results of the Sister Arts are equal, so it must be for the means and tools used by the two creators.

Even though the *Pathodia* is a great homage to Marino,<sup>26</sup> especially in the pathetic pose, as the title suggests, Petrarch is really the main source and Huygens work can easily be seen as part of the very common and Paneuropean practice of Petrarchism.<sup>27</sup>

Huygens' Italy was primarily – it couldn't possibly be otherwise – Petrarch's Italy,<sup>28</sup> to such an extent that Pieters, most justly defines it, an 'enchantment'.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> When I use the adjective 'sublime', I am referring to the classical the distinction of the *genera dicendi*; see Giuseppe Panella, *Storia del Sublime. Dallo Pseudo Longino alle poetiche della Modernità*, Florence: Clinamen, 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 361-362.

<sup>26</sup> See Pieter E.L. Verkuyl, 'Is Huygens een marinist?', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 56 (1963), pp. 129-140, 193-205.

<sup>27</sup> On the European Petrarchism, see Gian Mario Anselmi, Keir Elam, Giorgio Forni, Davide Monda (eds.), *Lirici europei del Cinquecento. Ripensando la poesia del Petrarca*, Milan: BUR, 2004.

<sup>28</sup> On Huygens's indebtedness to Petrarchist conventions, see Ton van Strien in *Constantijn Huygens, Korenbloemen*, ed. T. van Strien, Amsterdam: Querido, 1996, p. 77.

As a matter of fact, his attempt to look like the Aretine went further than imitating him. As Ypes informs us, he quoted his work a lot in his own poems and letters and he 'could understand the crucial aspects of the *Canzoniere* and those of the poet even better than Hooft'.<sup>30</sup>

To further understand the role of Petrarca, I'll give one more example. This is Huygens's *Con la candida man ardit*a (# 27):

'Con la candida man ardit  
Ch'Amor soverchio spinse  
Filli nel suo bel sen ferimmi e strinse.  
Io ch'al dolce doler della ferita  
Mi senti l'anima dal cor rapita  
Con un finto, che fai?  
Filli, che fai?  
Baciai la sferza e'l castigo adorai'.

After reading this passage, we experience how the Dutch writer's idea of love exploits the amorous norms borrowed by the dominant literary *vogue* of his age. To be more precise: 1. the *fabula* and the lexicon are Petrarchan: 'ferir me de saetta in quello stato, a voi armata non mostrar pur l'arco (*RVF* III 13-14); 2. the linguistic register is high; 3. there is an accommodating use of *voluptas dolendi* ('*dolce doler della ferita*', '*castigo adorai*'); 4. Neoplatonism holds up the argumentation of the poem ('*Mi senti l'anima dal cor rapita*'). This intertextual evidence shows that Huygens' succeeded to master Petrarca's lyrical precepts. However, this is not a mere example of *μίμησις* but, I venture to suggest that it is a case of literary cannibalism: an experience, somehow, shared with Francesca Da Rimini, Don Quijote and Emma Bovary.<sup>31</sup> I mean to say that Huygens did not just intend to 'copy' or emulate his model, but he attempted to materialize his baroque dream: to be the living word on the *the great theatre of the world*.<sup>32</sup>

To conclude: in this assignment, I have addressed some significant issues which show how Huygens' *Pathodia* can be assimilated to the theoretical concept of a journey. The evidence presented has shown that to reach his

---

<sup>29</sup> See Jürgen Pieters, *Op zoek naar Huygens. Italiaanse leesnotities*, Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, Poëziecentrum, 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Catharina Ypes, *Petrarca in de Nederlandse letterkunde*, Amsterdam: De Spieghel, 1934, p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> For further investigations on literary cannibalism, I refer the reader to my chapter entitled "'Non è Francesca": la letteratura come imitazione' in Gandolfo Cascio, *Un'idea di letteratura nella 'Commedia'*, Rome: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri, 2015, pp. 49-66, particularly p. 64-65.

<sup>32</sup> I refer to Pedro Calderón de La Barca's *El gran teatro del mundo* (1633-1636).

utopia<sup>33</sup> he had not to pack, sail or ride through continental Europe and cross the Alps; for him sufficed to explore a literary and linguistic place. He only had to pick his copy of the *Canzoniere* from a shelf.

In this act Huygens confirms his modernity, and the passage to a new era, made more of books and phantasies than reality and experiences, because, as Walter Benjamin suggests ‘the Renaissance explores the universe; the Baroque explores libraries’.<sup>34</sup>

### *Illustrations*



Fig. 1: Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens and his Clerk (?)*, 1627, London, National Gallery

---

<sup>33</sup> For the philosophical meaning of Utopia, see Ernst Bloch, *Geist der Utopie*, München, 1918; I consulted the Italian translation: *Lo spirito dell'utopia* (ed. F. Coppelotti), Milan: BUR, 2009; while for the different etymologies, I suggest Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (1922), Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2003.

<sup>34</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (1963), London – New York: Verso, 1998, p. 140.



Fig. 2: Frans Hals, *Marriage Portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*, 1622, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 3: Frans Hals, *A Family Group in a Landscape*, 1645-'47, London, National Gallery.

*Bibliography*

Anselmi, Gian Mario, Elam, K., Forni, G., Monda, D. (eds.), *Lirici europei del Cinquecento. Ripensando la poesia del Petrarca*, Milan: BUR, 2004.

Benjamin, Walter, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama (1963)*, London – New York: Verso, 1998.

Brugnolo, Furio, *La lingua Di cui si vanta Amore. Scrittori stranieri in lingua italiana dal Medioevo al Novecento*, Rome: Carocci, 2009.

Christopher, Joby, 'The Use of Greek in the Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 61 (2012), pp. 333-353.

Christiaan Huygens, *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens publiées par la Société Hollandaise des Sciences*, 22 vols, La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888-1950.

Constantijn Huygens, *Gedichten. Deel 4: 1644-1652*, ed. J.A. Worp, Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1894.

Constantijn Huygens, *Journal van de reis naar Venetië*, red. F.R.E. Blom, Amsterdam: Prometheus – Bert Bakker, 2003.

Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, ed. C.L. Heesakkers, Hilversum: Griffioen, 1987.

De Jager, Astrid, 'Constantijn Huygens' Passion: Some Thoughts About the «Pathodia SacraEt Profana»', *Tijdschrift Van De Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 57:1 (2007).

Folena, Gianfranco, *L'italiano in Europa. Esperienze linguistiche del Settecento*, Turin: Einaudi, 1983.

Forster, Leonard, *The Poets Tongues. Multilingualism in Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Horace, *Ars Poetica*, in Id., *Opere*, Turin: UTET, 2008.

Joby, Christopher, *The multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*, Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Levi, Carlo, *Prima e dopo le parole. Scritti e discorsi sulla letteratura*, Rome: Donzelli, 2001.

Rasch, Rudolf, "'Italia decolor'?" Constantijn Huygens and Italian Music', in Dinko Fabris, Margaret Murata (eds.), *'Passaggio in Italia': Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

Lo Cascio, Vincenzo, 'L'italiano nel secolo d'oro olandese', in Harro Stammerjohann (ed.), *Italiano: lingua di cultura europea, Atti del simposio internazionale in memoria di Gianfranco Folena*, Weimar, 11-13 aprile 1996, Tübingen: Narr, 1997.

Pieters, Jürgen, *Op zoek naar Huygens. Italiaanse leesnotities*, Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, Poëziecentrum, 2014.

Teskey, Gordon, *The Poetry of John Milton*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Verkuyl, Pieter E.L., 'Is Huygens een marinist?', *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 56 (1963), pp. 129-140, pp. 193-205.

Vincent, Teskey, 'Review to Frits Noske, *Pathodia sacra et profana* by Constantijn Huygens', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14:1 (Spring 1961), pp. 82-83.

Ypes, Catharina, *Petrarca in de Nederlandse letterkunde*, Amsterdam: De Spieghel, 1934.



# ‘UN FIUME PICCOLISSIMO DI QUEL MARE IMMENSO’ UNIVERSALISM, NAVIGATION AND THE RETHINKING OF THE MEDITERRANEAN IN CAMPANELLA

JEAN-PAUL DE LUCCA  
UNIVERSITY OF MALTA

## *Abstract*

This contribution offers an intertextual reading of Tommaso Campanella’s early political writings and his utopia, *The City of the Sun*, with a view of bringing to the fore his stance on the radical shift in early modern maritime geopolitics. Campanella’s proposals for the establishment of world governance were informed by his enthusiasm for inventions such as the navigational compass, and by his emphasis on maritime prowess as a necessary condition for creating a universal monarchy. The dialogical and poetic character of *The City of the Sun*, and the choice of its imaginary interlocutors, may suggest an interpretation of Campanella’s utopia as a distinctively Mediterranean encounter between the ‘Old World’ and the ‘New World’. The transfer of knowledge and communication thus emerge as crucial lynchpins in Campanella’s project for universal reform and unity.

## *Key Words*

Mediterranean, navigation, *The City of the Sun*, Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639).



## *Navigating the Mediterranean and Beyond*

The town of Stilo in Calabria, where Tommaso Campanella was born on 5 September 1568,<sup>1</sup> sits at the feet of the Monte Consolino, facing the river Stilaro that leads to the Ionian Sea. In one of his early poems, written around the time of

---

<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to Campanella’s life, thought and works, see Germana Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella. The Book and the Body of Nature*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.

the failed rebellion of 1599 which would cost him almost thirty years of imprisonment, the philosopher attributed the foundation of his hometown to the fact that the original inhabitants had sought a strategic refuge from Hannibal's invasion:

Monte di Magna Grecia, ch'al gran seme  
non misto a gente unqua a virtù rubella,  
in Stilo, patria mia, nel tempo ch'ella  
siede nel lido ove l'Ionio freme,

doni albergo secur, sì che non teme  
d'Annibale la gente cruda e fella,  
che per tutto scorrea dalle castella,  
predando i mari e le campagne insieme [...]<sup>2</sup>

Back then, the Ionian coast of Calabria, like many other parts of the Mediterranean, was a frequent target of pirates and Ottoman incursions. As a child, Giovan Domenico Campanella (who took the name Tommaso upon joining the Dominican Order) would have heard many stories of ships sailing menacingly close to the shores and settlements ravaged by pirates. The Calabrian perspective of the Mediterranean Sea is well documented in the literature of the years preceding and following the battle of Lepanto. Like many of his compatriots, the young Campanella was particularly sensitive to the constant threat of maritime assault. However, the Mediterranean Sea represents an ostensibly minor concern in the vision of universal reform and world governance that underpins his political works. As Fournel puts it, the Mediterranean perspective is too narrow for his universalistic intentions.<sup>3</sup> Campanella's political thought follows the method of his epistemology: it begins with the observation of particular phenomena, which then transcends into theoretical abstraction, universalisation or speculation that includes also the realm of possibility (or utopianism). His view of the Mediterranean extends into a broader concern with navigation and maritime politics, and, especially, its reconfiguration in light of the discoveries of the oceans to its west and east. In this context, Campanella may be considered to be one of the first to articulate the radical shift in maritime relations that was unfolding as a result of contact with the 'new world'.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Tommaso Campanella, 'Sovra il Monte di Stilo', in *Poesie*, edited by F. Giancotti, Milano: Bompiani, 2013, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Louis Fournel, *La cité du soleil et les territoires des hommes. Le savoir du monde chez Campanella*, Paris: Albin Michel, 2012, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> On Campanella and the new world, see Jean-Louis Fournel, 'Nuovo Mondo', in Eugenio Canone and Germana Ernst (eds.), *Enciclopedia Bruniana & Campanelliana*, vol. 1, Pisa-Roma: Serra, 2006, pp. 291-303; and 'Mare', in vol. 2 (2010), pp. 256-270.

Campanella's outlook was informed by both the popular imaginary of the perils of the sea and the widely held view of the sea having been created by God to separate and divide lands and people. In his overarching vision of unity and universality, however, the sea becomes a space of communication and a means for establishing the universal monarchy. In ancient times, navigation had facilitated the cultural connection between his native land – then part of Magna Graecia – and the hub of classical civilization on the other side of the Ionian Sea. Campanella's Calabrian pride is evident in the preface to his first published work, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1591), a treatise defending Bernardino Telesio against his Aristotelian critics, where he argues passionately that far from being home to uncouth brutes (as Telesio's adversary Giacomo Antonio Marta had implied), Calabria counted many philosophers and inventors among its inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> He also recalls the ancient legend according to which Noah's descendant Ashkenaz settled in the fertile area of Reggio Calabria after the biblical flood.<sup>6</sup> The Mediterranean Sea, he writes elsewhere, owes its origin to the water entering through the strait of Gibraltar after the flood, which then moved eastwards until it reached Cyprus and Tyre.<sup>7</sup> In his works on natural philosophy, then, he also explains why great rivers such as the Ganges and the Nile, though similar in depth to the Mediterranean, are not saltwater.<sup>8</sup>

The Mediterranean Sea and its surrounding regions remained a geopolitical space of contention among the major powers in early modernity. The Italian peninsula, in particular, was a strategic theatre of influence and alliances. Campanella was not indifferent to the hardships caused by the iron-handedness of the Spanish rule over the kingdom of Naples, yet his early political works were

---

<sup>5</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, Neapoli: apud Horatium Salvianum, 1591, pp. 12-13: 'Omnis quoque disciplina apud Calabros, et tota scientia hominum et quae nunc versatur in scholis inde originem sumpsit. [...] Haec enim dicta sunt, ut sciat Sciolus et latrantes, nostros non fuisse brutos, sicut ipse est, et taceo ne alios offendam propter ipsum'. Campanella is addressing the Neapolitan jurist Giacomo Antonio Marta, author of *Pugnaculum Aristotelis adversus principia Bernardini Telesii*.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 12: 'sciat quod omnium fere Regionum optima et antiquissima est Calabria, quae post diluvium incoepit habitari obi loci fertilitatem ab Aschenam nepote Noè apud Reghium'.

<sup>7</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Epilogo magno (Fisiologia italiana)*, edited by Carmelo Ottaviano, Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1939, p. 253: 'et l'Europa dall'occidente verso Borea, divisa dall'Affrica per il Mar Mediterraneo, il qual entrò a tempo di gran diluvio per lo stretto di Gibilterra, et scorse verso levante sino al Tirio et Ciprio Mare, che fa col Mar Rosso l'Affrica penisola, et indi verso il settentrione sino alla foce del Tanà [...]'.  
<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 257: 'I grandissimi fiumi, come l'Indo e 'l Gange, il Tigre, il Nilo, il Po et Dannubio, l'Oregliana, il Maragnone, la Platta et altri assai, che arrivano a sessanta leghe [di larghezza] et a profondità quasi simili al Mare Mediterraneo, bisogna dire che nascano anch'essi di terra conversa in vapore et ispessata, o di terra liquida ma non bruciata, perché non sono salse né grosse né amare come il mare'. The origins of the sea and its salinity are discussed at length, in polemic with Aristotle, in Tommaso Campanella, *Quaestiones physiologiae*, in *Philosophia realis*, Parisiis: ex typographia D. Houssaye, 1637, pp. 179-211.

distinctly philo-hispanic and accentuated the southern Italian diffidence towards France in light of the Franco-Turkish alliance between Francis I and Suleiman. He would later disavow Spain and turn towards Louis XIII and Richelieu with renewed hope in the establishment of a universal monarchy,<sup>9</sup> but in the 1590s he was still concerned with the ‘dubious danger’ posed by the fact that some Italian princes preferred an alliance with the Habsburgs while others were inclined to forge political bonds with France. In his *Discorsi ai principi d’Italia*, written between 1594 and 1595,<sup>10</sup> Campanella makes it clear that it was only the Habsburgs (‘Casa d’Austria’) and the Ottomans (‘Casa Ottomana’) who could realistically aspire to achieve a universal monarchy. The text presents a series of arguments aimed at convincing Italian princes to put aside their differences and to unite under the Spanish empire and the spiritual leadership of the papacy, for no other power could better guarantee their safety and prosperity. The divisions among Christian princes, Campanella writes, only serve to expose them ‘to the mouth of the great Turkish dragon’.<sup>11</sup> In his view, the Turkish Empire, or ‘the Grand Turk’, represents a tyrannical form of government founded on fear and whose actions prove harmful to Christians and Muslims alike.<sup>12</sup> In his assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the two competing European great powers,<sup>13</sup> the crucial role of the mastery of navigation and maritime politics in building and maintaining empires emerges as one of the key elements that could tilt the balance in favour of Spain. Without explicating the popular parallel between Alexander the Great and the Turkish Empire, Campanella instead draws a comparison between Alexander and Spain, noting that the latter held under its

---

<sup>9</sup> In October 1634 Campanella fled from Rome to Paris, where he died on 21 May 1639.

<sup>10</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Discorsi ai principi d’Italia*, edited by Luigi Firpo, Torino: Chiantore, 1945. This edition is based on the only extant manuscript, which is a reworked version completed in 1607; see also Luigi Firpo, *Bibliografia degli scritti di Tommaso Campanella*, Torino: Bona, 1940, pp. 130-131.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109: ‘e questo andar noi debilitando le forze di Cristiani è un manifesto esponersi alla bocca del gran drago turco’.

<sup>12</sup> One of the ambiguities in Campanella’s thought concerns the link between the Ottoman Empire and Islam. In many cases he is careful to distinguish the empire as a political entity from the religious dimension, arguing that the tyrannical monarch ought to be defeated by military force, while religious differences ought to be settled through theological debate and preaching. In other instances, he combines his criticism of Islam and its founder with attacks directed at the Turkish Empire. And while in *The City of the Sun* Muhammad is placed alongside other great religious founders, elsewhere Campanella includes him among false prophets and religious tyrants.

<sup>13</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Discorsi ai principi d’Italia*, p. 99: ‘In Europa Casa d’Austria e Casa Ottomana aspirano alla somma delle cose umane e stan quasi in bilancia’.

dominion almost the entire ocean, ‘while the ancients had conquered only the whole Mediterranean, which is like a tiny river of that immense sea which wraps together the entire world and is so vast and deep’.<sup>14</sup>

This consideration constitutes Campanella’s most explicit early statement of the radical shift in maritime politics by the end of the sixteenth century. The oceans were now no longer a mysterious unknown space, but an opening towards faraway lands and peoples which anyone who aspired to establish a universal monarchy had to navigate and dominate. While the Turkish Empire was militarily stronger than the House of Austria, the latter’s undisputed superiority in the vast seas on either side of the Mediterranean was the real game changer in the radically reconfigured geopolitics. The Spanish control over the Mediterranean region remained important insofar as it was necessary for securing and guaranteeing European unity as a precondition for the establishment of a universal monarchy, which is precisely why the Italian princes are exhorted to join the Habsburg Empire in the *Discorsi ai Principi d’Italia*. As shown in many of his other works, however, Campanella already perceived an even greater threat to unity in the ‘old world’ resulting from the politico-religious divide that emerged with the rise of Lutheranism and the Protestant Reformation. His universalistic aspirations are carefully and complexly articulated along three different fronts: pacification and reconciliation in northern Europe, resistance to the Ottoman advance through the Mediterranean and the Balkans, and the dominion of the oceans (‘la signoria del mare’) as a means of including the ‘new world’ in the project of universal governance. As far as the Mediterranean Sea was concerned, it remained the space in which the Ottoman advance into Europe had to be stalled and possibly backtracked, but it was certainly no longer the main theatre of world politics.

These ideas, and especially the importance of navigation, are further expressed in *Monarchia di Spagna*. Although, as has been noted above, Campanella had departed completely from his philo-hispanic stance by the 1630s, this early work is ostensibly the one that enjoyed the widest circulation thanks to a German translation published in the 1620s and several posthumous Latin editions printed from 1640 onwards under the title *De monarchia hispanica*. It was only in recent decades that Germana Ernst published the original text, purged of many unidentified interpolations taken from Giovanni Botero which had made their

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 118: ‘Aggiungi poscia il dominio di quasi tutto l’oceano, che è inestimabile, poiché gli antichi appena tutto il Mediterraneo ottennero, il quale è come un fiume piccolissimo di quel mare immenso, che cinge tutto il mondo ed è tanto spazioso e profondo’.

way into all the older editions.<sup>15</sup> Campanella completed this work in the months immediately after his condemnation to life imprisonment, more or less at the same time as he was writing *The City of the Sun*, although Ernst has convincingly argued that the original redaction of the text dates back to 1595,<sup>16</sup> thus making it contemporaneous with the *Discorsi ai Principi d'Italia*. A chapter that shows evidence of reworking is Chapter 15, on the military.<sup>17</sup> The later version ends with the crucial statement that 'he who was lord of the sea, was also lord of the land'.<sup>18</sup>

*The Dominion of the Sea, Magnets and Wooden Floating Cities*

In Campanella's assessment, the dominion over the seas functions as a necessary requirement for dominating over lands and peoples.<sup>19</sup> His idea of dominion (*dominium*) is to be understood in the context of his metaphysics of the three primalities of being, namely power, wisdom and love or charity (the opposites of which are tyranny, sophistry and hypocrisy).<sup>20</sup> In the second chapter of his treatise on politics, he defines dominion as an extension of power, which may be exercised either according to, or against, right (*sive iure sive iniuria*).<sup>21</sup> Kingdoms and empires, then, combine right and dominion: without power (dominion) they are a mere philosophical precept, without right they constitute a tyrannical power, and without charity they are nothing but frivolous.<sup>22</sup> In the application of his principles of natural philosophy to the political sphere, Campanella identifies the reason and purpose of government and law with the return to the original unity of all things. His universalism, as manifested in his projects for a universal

---

<sup>15</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Monarchia di Spagna*, in *Monarchie d'Espagne et Monarchie de France*, edited by Germana Ernst, with a French translation by Nathalie Fabry and Serge Waldbaum, Paris: PUF, 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *La Monarchia di Spagna (redazione giovanile)*, edited by Germana Ernst, Napoli: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1989.

<sup>17</sup> 'Il modello della vera milizia' in Tommaso Campanella, *Monarchia di Spagna*; 'Della milizia' in Tommaso Campanella, *La Monarchia di Spagna (redazione giovanile)*.

<sup>18</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Monarchia di Spagna*, p. 150: 'La milizia del mare, a cui son buoni i Genovesi e Portoghesi e Olandesi, è la più necessaria, perché chi fu <buon guerriero del mare, fu anco della terra preditore, e chi è> signore del mare, fu anche della terra'.

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to read Campanella's views alongside Carl Schmitt's idea of world history as the history of wars waged between maritime and land powers; see Carl Schmitt, *Land and Sea: A World-Historical Meditation*. Translated by Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, edited and with Introductions by Russell A. Berman and Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, Candor, NY: Telos Press Publishing, 2015.

<sup>20</sup> For an overview see Germana Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella. The Book and the Body of Nature*, pp. 205-207.

<sup>21</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *De politica*, edited with an Italian translation by Antimo Cesaro, Napoli: Alfredo Guida Editore, 2001, p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57: 'Regnum enim est participium iuris et dominii [...] Absque dominatu enim est philosophicum preceptum, absque iure tyrannica potestas, absque charitate, insulsa facultas'.

monarchy (as opposed to tyranny), must be understood in this context. Moreover, his political philosophy is explicitly formulated to counter Machiavelli’s theory of the *ragion di stato* which, in Campanella’s view, promotes the exact opposite end of ruling through division and fear. The ‘real’ *ragion di stato*, for him, has unity and peace as its ultimate end.<sup>23</sup>

Campanella, whose universalism was deeply influenced by his familiarity with prophecy and astrology, saw in the discovery of the New World the opening of the possibility to move closer to the ideal of unity. In the *Discorsi ai Principi d’Italia*, he suggests that Providence had provided the Habsburgs with ‘two marvellous instruments’ that would allow them to keep the barbarians at bay and to navigate through winds and waves without the guidance of the stars, two things that had seemed impossible before. These two inventions were ‘the magnetic compass [*calamita*] which God inspired Flavio, an Italian from Amalfi, to invent; and the harquebas against the barbarians’.<sup>24</sup> The name and very existence of Flavio Gioia was already disputed in Campanella’s time: in *De magnete* (1600), for instance, William Gilbert recalls that the humanist historian Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) had reported that the people of Amalfi boasted that they were taught how to build the compass by their ‘fellow citizen Giovanni [sic] Goia’ around the year 1300.<sup>25</sup> Gilbert acknowledges that ancient sources and various other arguments suggest that the compass was invented by the Chinese and brought to Europe by Marco Polo around the year 1260. Yet, he states that he did not wish to deprive the Amalfitans of the honour of having invented ‘the most beneficial instrument for the human race’, given that anyway it was thanks to them that the compass was ‘produced and distributed in the Mediterranean’.<sup>26</sup> In his commentaries of

---

<sup>23</sup> For a succinct exposition of this concept, which is not free from ambiguity, see Germana Ernst, ‘*ragion di stato*’, in *Enciclopedia Bruniana & Campanelliana*, vol. 1, pp. 317-329.

<sup>24</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Discorsi ai principi d’Italia*, p. 123: ‘E perché era impossibile penetrar con sí poca gente, come è la Spagnuola, fra tanti barbari innumerabili e di poter navigar l’oceano immenso senza stelle e senza settentrione fra venti ignoti, Dio trovò due instrumenti maravigliosi: la calamita per il mare ispirata a Flavio, italiano di Amalfi, e li archibugi contra i barbari, ispirati ad un tedesco’.

<sup>25</sup> William Gilbert, *De magnete, magneticisque corporibus, et de magno magnete tellure*, Londini: ex Petrus Short, 1600, p. 4: ‘Flavius Blondus Melphitanos haud perperam gloriari prodit, edocti a cive quodam Iohanne Goia, anno post natum Christum Millesimo trecentesimo’. Gilbert confuses Amalfi with Melfi when he writes: ‘Oppidum illud in regno Neapolitano, non procul a Salerno, iuxta promontorium Minervae situm, cuius principatu Carolus quintus Andream Doream, magnum illum Classicum ducem, propter egregiam navatam operam donavit’. While Amalfi is indeed close to Salerno, Charles V made Doria feudatory lord of Melfi (not Amalfi) in 1531. Had there been such an association between Amalfi and Doria, a key figure in securing Spain’s predominance in the Mediterranean and one of his heroes, Campanella would have surely highlighted it.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*: ‘Atque illa quidem pyxide, nihil unquam umanis excogitatum artibus, humano generi profuisse magis, constat: inventam tamen ante ab aliis, et in marinis artibus admissam, ex veteribus scriptis, et quibusdam argumetis et coniecturis existimant nonnulli. Scientia Nauticae

Lucretius' works (1511), the Bolognese scholar Giambattista Pio had repeated Flavio Biondo's account in such a way that readers could have inferred that the magnetic compass was invented in Amalfi by Flavio, rather than that by Flavio's account the magnetic compass was invented in Amalfi.<sup>27</sup> It is very likely that Campanella, who was very familiar with Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, relied on Pio as his source. While there is no way of knowing whether he was aware of the doubts surrounding the figure of Flavio, it is clear that the attribution of such an important invention to 'an Italian from Amalfi' fit perfectly the point he wanted to make in his *Discorsi ai Principi d'Italia*, as it was a notable example of the ability of the Italians to serve the Spanish cause. Moreover, as Gilbert would do a few years later, Campanella stresses the importance of the invention of the magnetic compass in light of Spanish maritime expansion: 'the Mediterranean could have been navigated without the magnet, but not so their ocean'.<sup>28</sup> The *calamita* was, as it were, a further confirmation that the world had outgrown its Mediterranean confines, as did the Calabrian philosopher's worldview.

Much of what has been said so far features in a suggestive passage in Campanella's *The City of the Sun*, the imaginary dialogue between a Knight Hospitaller and his guest, a Genoese captain of Columbus' ship. After listening carefully to the captain's account of the beliefs and customs of the city's inhabitants, the Hospitaller expresses the view (held by Campanella himself) that:

[Hosp.:] 'If these people who follow only the law of nature are so near to Christianity, which adds nothing but the sacraments to the law of nature, I conclude from your report that Christianity is the true law and that, once its abuses have been corrected, it will become mistress of the world'.<sup>29</sup>

The above English translation, based on the 1602 Italian manuscript, does not capture fully the allusion to *signoria* and *dominium* when it renders '*signora del mondo*' as 'mistress of the world'.<sup>30</sup> In Campanella's fundamental vision of the

---

pyxidulae traducta videtur in Italiam, per Paulum Venetum [i.e. Marco Polo], qui circa annum MCCLX apud Chinas artem pyxididis didicit. Nolim tamen Melphitanos tanto honore privare, quod ab iis in mari mediterraneo primum vulgariter fabricata fuerit'.

<sup>27</sup> See Chiara Frugoni, *Medioevo sul naso: occhiali, bottoni e altre invenzioni medievali*, Bari: Laterza, 2004, p. 142.

<sup>28</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Discorsi ai principi d'Italia*, p. 123: 'il Mediterraneo senza calamita si navigava, ma il loro oceano non così'.

<sup>29</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico / The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*. Translated into English by Daniel J. Donno, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981, p. 121.

<sup>30</sup> Both Latin editions, published during Campanella's lifetime and under his supervision, read '*Domina ... in toto Terrarum orbe*'; see Tommaso Campanella, *Civitas Solis*, in *Philosophia realis*, Francofurti: impensis G. Tampachii, 1623, p. 460; and Parisiis: ex typographia D. Houssaye, 1637,

return of everything to its original nature, natural law and natural religion converge in a reformed Christianity and serve as the basis for political life in a universal monarchy founded on right and dominion, i.e. on the wise and just exercise of power directed towards establishing and maintaining peace and unity. To stress this point, the Hospitaller makes a second observation:

‘I also conclude that for this reason the Spaniards discovered the rest of the world so as to unite it all under one law, even though Columbus, your fellow Genoese, was its first discoverer. [...] I see, moreover, that we know not what we do but are instruments of God. Thanks to their hunger for gold, the Spaniards go about discovering new countries, but God has a higher end in mind’.<sup>31</sup>

As he does in the *Discorsi ai Principi d’Italia*, and, though less explicitly, in *Monarchia di Spagna*, Campanella acknowledges that although the Spaniards’ real intentions might not have been pious and their actions not always correct, their empire served as the physical means through which to achieve a higher goal, which the papacy (according to his vision of a renewed and truly *catholic* Church) would lead morally and spiritually. The Genoese captain’s response to the Hospitaller’s remark completes Campanella’s own vision and aspirations for the century that was unfolding, as well as his enthusiasm for the spread of knowledge and new inventions:

[Gen.:] ‘Oh, if you only knew what they deduce from astrology and from the prophets – our own as well as the Hebrews’ and those of other people – about our present century, which has produced more history in a hundred years than the whole world did in the preceding four thousand! More books have been written in the last century than in the previous five thousand years. And what they say about our stupendous inventions – the compass, the printing press, the harquebus – mighty signs of the imminent union of the world ...’<sup>32</sup>

Earlier in the dialogue, the Genoese captain reports that the Solarians use the art of navigation, which is held in high esteem among them (‘dignificatur valde apud eos’), as a means of establishing communication with other people and learning from them:

[Gen.:] ‘Navigation is also highly regarded, and they have vessels that move without wind r oar, while others are propelled by both wind and oar. They understand the stars, the ebb and the flow of tides, and they travel to learn about

---

p. 166. Moreover, in both editions, the sentence ends with the added phrase: ‘ut praeclariores Theologi docent et spirant’ (‘as the most renowned theologians teach and hope’).

<sup>31</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 121.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

other countries and people. To no one do they bring harm. Without provocation they will not fight. They are convinced that the whole world will eventually bring itself to live as they do. Yet they are forever exploring to learn if others live better than they do'.<sup>33</sup>

These words were written in 1602, while Campanella was also developing the idea that 'he who was lord of the sea, was also lord of the land'.<sup>34</sup> If dominion is understood as the exercise of power in conjunction with right, then such dominion over the sea denotes the aim of bringing improvement and unity through communication and learning. It is significant that at this point in his utopia – which is but a 'poetic' synthesis of his thought – Campanella highlights the pacific nature of the Solarians by introducing two important qualifications: their navigation brings no harm, and they will only fight if they are provoked. The *signoria del mare*, or dominion over the sea, then, is subject to a fundamental restriction that evokes the principle that war may only be waged legitimately if the *casus belli*, or provocation, is proven. Moreover, in the context of the practices employed by the Spanish colonizers of the Americas – a major theme in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century legal and political thought, which Campanella followed and commented upon<sup>35</sup> –, it is especially poignant that he should specify that navigation, which he saw as a means for establishing dominion, ought not to inflict harm and injury. It is in such contexts that Campanella's utopian work cannot be properly understood without referencing his other writings, be they more theoretical or more practical, and vice-versa.

Navigation features prominently as the title and subject matter of the concluding chapter of *Monarchia di Spagna*.<sup>36</sup> These pages, like the rest of the book, are a mix of insightful analyses, moral indications, and original proposals, coupled with a few odd overenthusiastic pronouncements and an accentuated realism of an ostensibly Machiavellian kind. Campanella suggests that the King of Spain requires 'a thousand ships, and wise and courageous men, to achieve dominion over the New World, Africa, the islands, the coasts of Asia, Calicut, China and Japan'. The King should value people more highly than he values metals such as gold and silver, for his earlier experience with England, France

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 87. The term translated here as 'navigation' is 'marinaria' in the Italian manuscript and 'ars nautica' in both Latin editions. A parallel may be drawn between the last sentence and the verse from the Book of Daniel (12:4) which Francis Bacon, author of *New Atlantis*, would place on the frontispiece of his *Novum Organum Scientiarum* (1620): 'multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia'.

<sup>34</sup> See note 18 above.

<sup>35</sup> Much of the debate revolved around the concept of *ius gentium*, see Jean-Paul De Lucca, 'Ius gentium', in *Enciclopedia Bruniana & Campanelliana*, vol. 2, pp. 243-256.

<sup>36</sup> Chapter 32 ('Della navigazione') is common to both the early redaction and the final version, with very minor variations between the two.

and the Low Countries showed that it is useless for Spain to have ‘more and better metals but less and worse men’.<sup>37</sup> Campanella suggests that the King of Spain should also give greater consideration to men than to money when looting places, for the former are a safer and nobler treasure than the latter. Moreover, the King of Spain should enter into agreements with other maritime forces such as Portugal and Genoa: he should allow them to carry on their conquests and retain the loot as long as Spain would be granted right over the land and children under the age of seven, so that they may be sent to nautical schools set up by the king.<sup>38</sup> He further suggests that the Genoese should be rewarded handsomely, lest they shift their allegiance to the Turkish Empire and acquire lands for themselves rather than for Spain. Securing loyalty through friendship, rather than by armed force, is a more effective way of dealing with the Genoese and ‘hispanicising the world’.<sup>39</sup> Those who acquire lands on behalf of Spain should be afforded not only monetary rewards but also honour and fame: they should be allowed to enter the city triumphantly in Roman style, have statues erected in their honour and have the cities they conquered painted on triumphal arches. Likewise, the rulers of the lands they would have conquered should be honoured and co-opted into the empire. The King should know, Campanella says, that he needs nothing more than loyal subjects, as well as a wise legislator like Lycurgus or Solon: ‘there are more [wise legislators] today than there were in their days, but they are envied more and known less, since the ability to understand things has been restricted to a set of vile rules’.<sup>40</sup> Besides territorial expansion through maritime dominion, the establishment of a universal monarchy under Spanish control depended heavily on the acquisition and advancement of knowledge. The King of Spain was to send competent Flemish and German mathematicians all over the world to measure the ebb and flow of stars, the depths of the seas, and tidal movements, because ‘this knowledge will make you master [‘padrone’] of the sea and the land and men, and will magnify your empire more than anything else you could imagine’.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Monarchia di Spagna*, p. 356.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 77: ‘The conquered cities [...] receive Solarian officials and a garrison from the City of the Sun and proceed to model their institutions after those of that city which is henceforth their guide. They also send their children to study in the City of the Sun and pay nothing for their maintenance’.

<sup>39</sup> *Monarchia*, p. 358: ‘e così si spagnolerebbe il mondo’. See also p. 234: ‘[The King of Spain should use the Genoese] for navigation’.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*: ‘ha bisogno d’un gran savio come Licurgo e Solone, delli quali più ne sono oggi che a loro tempo, ma più invidiati e meno conosciuti, per essersi ristretto l’intendimento delle cose sotto a certe regole vili ecc’.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*: ‘questo sapere ti farà padrone del mare e della terra e degli uomini e illustrerà l’imperio più che ogni cosa che si possa imaginare di far grande il Re’.

Campanella further proposes that the King should build ports, arsenals, ships and galleys wherever he conquered, and make use of sailors he would have trained at his own expense. To this end, the young philosopher's strongest proposal was that the King should establish navigational schools in which youngsters would be taught how to build ships and galleys, read navigational charts and observe the stars. He suggests that it would be especially useful to set up such 'seminaries' on the Mediterranean islands of Sicily and Sardegna, as well as on the Canary Islands and in the Philippines. More drastically, the children of heretics, Turks and occupiers of the Flanders and Africa should be snatched away and trained in such seminaries for sailors, or in similar ones for soldiers and farmers (though not as slaves).

The idea of establishing nautical schools was first mentioned in a work known as the *Discorsi universali sul governo ecclesiastico* (c. 1593), written originally a year or two prior to the *Discorsi ai Principi d'Italia* and the first redaction of the *Monarchia di Spagna*. Here Campanella suggests that 'in the activities against the infidels, it would suffice for the Pope to establish [...] seminaries of religious soldiers that benefit us and terrify the enemy, in order to achieve continuous victories, as the Maltese do'.<sup>42</sup> In the *Monarchia di Spagna*, then, he proposes the setting of two orders of 'knights of the sea, like those of Malta, and establish their captains in two distinct colleges in Spain, one for the East and the other for the West'.<sup>43</sup> Such knights were to learn the art of navigation, spend a probationary period as novices and then vow to sail the seas for the greatest good of Spain; they would be noblemen and made captains of the sea. These schools and colleges would create a strong and well-trained navy ('armata in mare'), which neither the Turk, nor the Persian nor anyone else could ever hope to match.<sup>44</sup>

Campanella's suggestions are formulated with the specific intention of establishing and consolidating constant contact between the two hemispheres, as a way of achieving the goal of uniting the Spanish Empire. The ocean was no longer an unknown and mysterious space, and ships would serve as 'many wooden cities floating in the sea, toing and froing between them and us, carrying merchandise and goods from one part to the other, always going around the world'.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Discorsi universali del governo ecclesiastico per far una gregge e un pastore*, in *Opere di Giordano Bruno e Tommaso Campanella*, edited by Augusto Guzzo and Romano Amerio, Milano: Ricciardi, 1956, pp. 1148-1149.

<sup>43</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Monarchia di Spagna*, p. 360.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358: 'Ma sopra tutto per mantener[e il Nuovo Mondo] con noi unito, è necessario far tante cittadi in mare di legname, che sempre vadano e vengano da loro a noi, con portar mercanzie e traffichi dall'una all'altra parte, e girar sempre il mondo'.

The references to islands, to cities as *topoi* of transfer and communication, to the Hospitaller Knights of Malta, and to the Genoese in this concluding chapter of the *Monarchia di Spagna* make for highly significant intertextual links with *The City of the Sun*.

*Poetic Dialogue Between Old and New*

Campanella began writing *The City of the Sun* shortly after being handed a life sentence for heresy and high treason on account of his alleged role in the attempted uprising of Stilo against the Spanish authorities. It circulated in manuscript until its first publication in Frankfurt, in 1623, as an appendix to his treatise on politics in the quadripartite *Philosophia realis*. It was later republished in Paris (1637), with some minor variations. The fact that the Italian manuscript and the final Latin edition present no substantial differences, bar a few significant additions concerning astrology, shows that the shift in the author's own allegiance had not changed the essence of his ideal of reform and unity. This ideal, as enunciated in *The City of the Sun*, both complements and contrasts with the pragmatic means to achieve it, which are put forward in the manner of counsel in the explicitly political works mentioned above.

As its subtitles indicate, *The City of the Sun* is at once an ‘idea of a philosophical republic’ and ‘a poetical dialogue’.<sup>46</sup> It is a philosophical ‘idea’ or ‘form’ because it lays down the rational principles required for the construction of the *civitas*, not only as a physical location (with a carefully planned infrastructure and with buildings and walls that reflect the structure of the cosmos) but also as the manifestation of rational legislation and government aimed at establishing and maintaining the good life. Laws create the city in both its physical form and its moral character, as well as a space for the acquisition and transfer of knowledge.<sup>47</sup> Understood in this sense, the ‘wooden cities’ floating on water may be seen as extensions of the *civitas*.

*The City of the Sun* is ‘poetic’ insofar as such an ideal form of legislation and organization cannot rely on existing examples. Its character is essentially pedagogic and exemplary, as Campanella explains in his treatise on poetics:

---

<sup>46</sup> ‘Idea reipublicae philosophicae’ and ‘Dialogo poetico’/‘Dialogus poeticus’.

<sup>47</sup> The appeal for wise legislators and rulers, such as Lycurgus and Solon, is a common theme in Renaissance and early modern utopias inspired above all by Plutarch's *Lives*. Cf. Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, p. 117: ‘The admit that there is great corruption in the world and that men govern themselves foolishly, not according to reason. They say that the good suffer while the wicked rule, though such rulers are not really happy because there is self-annihilation in pretending to be what you are not – that is, in pretending to be a king, a good and wise man, when you are not so in fact’.

'Fiction and imagination are not ends in themselves, but by accident, when real examples are lacking. Their use is legitimate even when one wants to explain philosophical concepts. The poet's art and purpose lies not in imitating and pretending, but rather in imitating in order to represent, in representing in order to appeal and teach, in teaching and appealing in order to promote law, virtues and the good life'.<sup>48</sup>

The *imago poetica* captures the very spirit of *poiesis* as an act of creation and transformation in the realm of possibility. Both the city (*civitas*) and the cities in the sea (*cittadi in mare*) are, therefore, *topoi* of ideal transformations sustained by the movement of people and goods, the exploration of the good life and the communication and transfer of knowledge. For Campanella, changing geopolitical realities pave the way for what Fournel, borrowing and adapting J.K. Wright's term, has rightly identified as geosophy: 'a reading of the world and its history as a narration, simultaneously, of its past, present and future, with each temporality weighing on the other', in a continuous interplay between territory and knowledge.<sup>49</sup>

Campanella's use of the dialogical form goes beyond being an overtly Socratic exercise written in Plato's fashion. The careful choice of the two interlocutors and the context in which the fictitious dialogue takes place offer significant interpretive possibilities in light of what has been said earlier about Campanella's views on navigation, the discovery of the New World, and his universalist outlook on world governance. More specifically, the interpretation being suggested here sheds light on how the Calabrian philosopher might have thought of the Mediterranean beyond its geographical reconfiguration as 'a tiny river in that immense sea', set against the broader background that has been traced above, a synthesis of which appears in *The City of the Sun*.

In the Latin editions of *Civitas Solis*, the interlocutors are introduced as 'Hospitalarius Magnus et Nautarum gubernator Genuensis Hospes'. This slight variation from the Italian version's 'Ospitalario e Genovese nochiero del Colombo' places a clearer focus on hospitality and the host-guest relationship (*hospes* means both 'guest' and 'host' in Latin) that underpins the dialogue, which is, in turn, the manner in which knowledge is shared and acquired. On account of their different roles as *hospites*, the two interlocutors share the ethical foundation

---

<sup>48</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Poetica*, in *Philosophia rationalis*, Parisiis: apud Ioannem Du Bray, 1638, p. 117: 'Itaque palam est, non per se requiri imitationem et fabulam in poemate, sed per accidens, ubi desunt exempla vera; quod etiam Philosophicas res declarando fieri licet. Poetae igitur finis et ars non est imitari et fingere, sed imitatur ut representet, repraesentat ut afficiat et doceat; docet et afficit ut suadeat, legem, virtutes et beatam vitam'.

<sup>49</sup> Jean-Louis Fournel, *La cité du soleil et les territoires des hommes. Le savoir du monde chez Campanella*, pp. 30-31.

of friendship as a precondition for a meaningful dialogue to take place.<sup>50</sup> This reaffirms Campanella’s strongly held view that unity and peace could only be achieved when rational dialogue replaces the use of force and the sophistry of the grammarians.<sup>51</sup>

The dialogue is an encounter between two figures who, as has been shown above, represent two important Mediterranean maritime powers which, in Campanella’s eyes, represented important features of the efforts towards world unity. The Hospitaller was a ‘knight of the sea’ belonging to a religious order under papal jurisdiction, whose members belonged to noble families from all over Europe. The Grand Master of the Order was at once the sovereign prince of an island located at the centre of the Mediterranean and a religious figure equivalent in rank to a cardinal.<sup>52</sup> The Genoese captain had navigated the oceans and visited the City of the Sun located on Taprobana, the classical name of the island of Sri Lanka. The dialogue between the two, presumably in Malta or in some other Mediterranean location, takes place upon the captain’s return from sailing around the world and describes the life of the Solarians as a *return* to the natural origins of life and society. The clear distinction between the roles of the inquisitive host and the narrating guest gives the dialogue a clear structure of an encounter between imaginary representatives of the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ worlds, which is accentuated by a few but significant comparisons between the Solarians’ practices and how things are done ‘among us’.<sup>53</sup>

The Hospitaller embodies the curiosity in the ‘old continent’ about the New World separated by the oceans, while the Genoese satisfies (at least partially) his curiosity by describing in detail what he had witnessed and learnt during his navigation. The Mediterranean, though certainly reconfigured, thus became a contact point for dialogue and transfer of knowledge which could open up possibilities not only for further contact but, perhaps even more importantly, for inspiring what Campanella considered to be much needed reforms in Europe. For although his political thought has sometimes been labelled as ‘Eurocentric’ – and it is indeed difficult to imagine it being otherwise –, his approach is clearly that of extending philosophical reflection in parallel with the eastward and westward

---

<sup>50</sup> The ancient Greek concept of hospitality, *xenia* (ξενία), is a key theme in Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Also, the early institutions set up by the Knights Hospitallers were known as *xenodochia*.

<sup>51</sup> For example, this is made explicit in his so-called missiological treatise known by the title *Reminiscent et convertuntur ad Dominum universi fines terrae*, which includes a series of legations to the rulers and religious leaders of the world and the proposal of a general council of religions.

<sup>52</sup> See Jean-Paul De Lucca, ‘Prophetic Representation and Political Allegorisation: The Hospitaller in Campanella’s *The City of the Sun*’, in *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 15:2 (2009), pp. 387-405. The City of the Sun’s chief official, the Metaphysician, or Hoh, was the supreme religious and civic leader.

<sup>53</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun*, pp. 35, 41, 47 and *passim*.

extension of the knowledge of the world (geosophy). His early appeals for cooperation and unity in the Mediterranean and in Europe thus appear as the first but crucial step in a far-ranging universal project. Campanella's worldview moves outwards from the Mediterranean – the epicentre of the classical world – to the oceans and faraway lands not only, and perhaps not so much, in political terms as *dominio* and *signoria*, but especially and more significantly as a *dialogo poetico*: the opening of possibilities for the creation of unity through the acquisition of knowledge and communication, paving the way for what he called the *renovazion del secolo*, or the renewal and transformation of the world.

### Bibliography

Canone, Eugenio, and Ernst, Germana (eds.), *Enciclopedia Bruniana e Campanelliana*, Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, vol. 1: 2006; vol. 2: 2010.

De Lucca, Jean-Paul, 'Prophetic Representation and Political Allegorisation: The Hospitaller in Campanella's *The City of the Sun*', in *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 15:2 (2009), pp. 387-405.

Ernst, Germana, *Tommaso Campanella. The Book and the Body of Nature*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.

Firpo, Luigi, *Bibliografia degli scritti di Tommaso Campanella*, Torino: Bona, 1940.

Fournel, Jean-Louis, *La cité du soleil et les territoires des hommes. Le savoir du monde chez Campanella*, Paris: Albin Michel, 2012.

Frugoni, Chiara, *Medioevo sul naso: occhiali, bottoni e altre invenzioni medievali*, Bari: Laterza, 2004.

Gilbert, William, *De magnete, magneticisque corporibus, et de magno magnete tellure*, Londini: excudebat Petrus Short, 1600.

Schmitt, Carl, *Land and Sea: A World-Historical Meditation*, translated by Samuel G. Zeitlin, edited and with Introductions by Russell A. Berman and Samuel G. Zeitlin, Candor, NY: Telos Press Publishing, 2015.

Tommaso Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, Neapoli: apud Horatium Salvianum, 1591.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Philosophia realis*, Francofurti: impensis G. Tampachii, 1623; Parisiis: ex typographia D. Houssaye, 1637.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Philosophia rationalis*, Parisiis: apud Ioannem Du Bray, 1638.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Discorsi ai principi d'Italia*, edited by Luigi Firpo, Torino: Chiantore: 1945.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Discorsi universali del governo ecclesiastico per far una gregge e un pastore*, in *Opere di Giordano Bruno e Tommaso Campanella*, edited by Augusto Guzzo and Romano Amerio, Milano: Ricciardi, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico / The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*. Translated by Daniel J. Donno, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_, *La Monarchia di Spagna (redazione giovanile)*, edited by Germana Ernst, Napoli: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Monarchie d'Espagne et Monarchie de France*, edited by Germana Ernst, with a French translation by Nathalie Fabry and Serge Waldbaum, Paris: PUF, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_, *De politica*. Italian Translation by Antimo Cesaro, Napoli: Alfredo Guida Editore, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Poesie*, edited by Francesco Giancotti, Milano: Bompiani, 2013.



# DIE *POLITEIAI* DES ARISTOTELES UND IHRE BEZIEHUNG ZU DEN *NOMIMA BARBARIKA*\*

## ARISTOTLE'S *POLITEIAI* AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE *NOMIMA BARBARIKA*

GERTRUD DIETZE-MAGER  
KU LEUVEN

### *Abstract*

Die *Politeiai* und die *Nomima barbarika* sind beides fragmentarische Werke des Aristoteles mit historischem Inhalt (die *Dikaiomata*, denen ein eigener Aufsatz gewidmet ist, sind ein drittes fragmentarisches Werk dieser Art). Es handelt sich um eine Sammlung von Verfassungen im Wesentlichen hellenischer *Poleis* und -bemerkenswerterweise- auch hellenischer *ethne* auf der einen, und eine Sammlung der Sitten barbarischer Völker auf der anderen Seite. Während aus den *Politeiai* in den Werken späterer Autoren hunderte von Fragmenten überliefert sind, besitzen wir nur eine Handvoll von Fragmenten aus den *Nomima barbarika*. Die Nachrichten über die Gesamtzahl der *Politeiai* liegen je nach Quelle weit auseinander und reichen von 158 bis 255. Der Aufsatz versucht eine Erklärung für diese bisher nicht untersuchte Tatsache anzubieten: es gibt Hinweise dahingehend, daß zu einem Zeitpunkt relativ bald nach dem Tod des Aristoteles eine gemeinsame Ausgabe der *Politeiai* und der *Nomima barbarika* in Umlauf war, während beide Sammlungen gleichzeitig auch getrennt zirkulierten. So wurden die *Politeiai* manchmal zusammengezählt mit den *Nomima*, was zu einer höheren Gesamtzahl, und im Laufe der Zeit zu einer Verwirrung hinsichtlich der beiden Sammlungen führte. Der Aufsatz beleuchtet auch die Frage nach Struktur und Inhalt der einzelnen *Politeiai* im Vergleich zu den *Nomima barbarika*.

### *Schlüsselwörter*

*Politeiai, Nomima barbarika, poleis, ethne, Fragmente, Herakleides Lembos.*

---

\* Prof. Dr. STEFAN SCHORN, KU Leuven, dem Leiter von FG rHist (Continued IV), in dessen Rahmen der vorliegende Artikel verankert ist, bin ich außerordentlich erkenntlich für seine bereitwillige Hilfe, seine sachkundige Beratung sowie seine zahlreichen Literaturhinweise und die mehrfache Durchsicht des Textes. Dr. H. Verreth, KU Leuven danke ich ebenfalls herzlich für die Lektüre des Textes und seine Vorschläge.

*Abstract*

The *Politeiai* and the *Nomima barbarika* are both fragmentary works by Aristotle (the *Dikaiomata* - for which a separate article is being prepared - being a third fragmentary work). They are collections of constitutions of mainly Hellenic *poleis* - and interestingly of Hellenic *ethne* - on the one hand, and of barbaric customs on the other. While from the *Politeiai* hundreds of fragments have come to us via the works of later authors, we only have a handful of fragments from the *Nomima barbarika*. The information about the total number of *Politeiai* in the collection varies greatly from source to source, going from 158 to 250. This has not been explained yet. The reason might be that at some stage the *Politeiai* and the *Nomima barbarika* were mixed up. There are indications that at one point in time and fairly soon after Aristotle's death a joint list of *Politeiai* and *Nomima barbarika* circulated, while at the same time both also existed as separate collections. This leads to the *Politeiai* being sometimes counted together with the *Nomima barbarika* which resulted in a higher number. The article reflects on the possible structure of the respective *Politeiai* and on their content as compared to the *Nomima barbarika*.

*Key Words*

*Politeiai, Nomima barbarika, poleis, ethne, fragments, Herakleides Lembos.*



*Einleitung*

Die Aristoteles-Forschung hat ihr Hauptaugenmerk naturgemäß auf die philosophischen Schriften und deren Exegese gerichtet, *Logik* (Organon), *Physik*, *Biologie* und *Zoologie*, *Metaphysik* und *Ethik*.<sup>1</sup> Der *Politik* mit ihren acht Büchern wurde eine ähnliche Aufmerksamkeit zuteil, weil sie als Verlängerung der *Nikomachischen Ethik* dem Hauptwerk hinzugerechnet wird. In dieser Schrift erörtert Aristoteles die Frage nach der idealen Verfassung (*politeia*). Das Werk enthält allerdings weniger den Entwurf eines Idealmodells als eine scharfsinnige Analyse des politischen Kräftespiels in einer Polis bzw. einem nicht-griechischen Gemeinwesen, die an Aktualität nichts verloren hat.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dictionnaire des philosophies antiques*, I, Paris : CNRS Editions, 1994, S. 415-443.

Aristoteles' politisches Interesse, ja sogar Engagement ging jedoch über eine rein theoretische Betrachtung weit hinaus. Ein Blick auf seinen Lebenslauf zeigt,<sup>2</sup> daß die Beschäftigung bzw. Berührung mit Politik sein Leben und sogar die Überlieferung seiner Lehre und seiner Werke entscheidend geprägt haben.<sup>3</sup> Mehrere, wenn auch nur fragmentarisch überlieferte Schriften des Aristoteles sind ebenfalls Ausdruck seines Interesses an praktisch-politischen Verhältnissen. Dies sind einerseits die *Politeiai*, eine umfangreiche Sammlung von zumeist Polis-Verfassungen,<sup>4</sup> aus der einige hundert Fragmente erhalten sind, allerdings, mit

---

<sup>2</sup> Aristoteles-Vitae s. Diogenes Laertios in Buch V, 1-35; *Vita Hesychii = Vita Menagiana; Vita Marciana; Vita Vulgata; Vita Latina* sowie die in arabischen Quellen überlieferten Viten; Literatur dazu: Paul Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, Löwen: Publications universitaires, 1951 = Paul Moraux, *Listes*; Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia)*, Göteborg: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1957 = Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*; Olof Gigon (Hrsg.), *Vita Aristotelis Marciana*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962 = Olof Gigon, *Vita Aristotelis*; Anton-Herman Chroust, *Aristotle. New Light on His Life and on Some of His Lost Works*. Bd. I. *Some Novel Interpretations of the Man and His Life*, London: Routledge and Keagan, 1973 = Chroust I; Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaeo Pinacographo', in *Eos* 63 (1975), S. 37-42 = Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaeo'; Marian Plezia, *De Ptolemaei vita Aristotelis*, in Jürgen Wiesner (Hrsg.), *Aristoteles. Werk und Wirkung*, I. *Aristoteles und seine Schule*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985, S. 1-11 = Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaei vita Aristotelis'; Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung der Philosophie: Von der spätantiken Einleitungsliteratur zur arabischen Enzyklopädie* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 20, Philosophie, 177), Frankfurt: Lang, 1985 = Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung*; Dimitri Gutas, 'The Spurious and the Authentic in the Arabic Lives of Aristotle', in Jill Kraye et al. (Hrsg.), *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages. The Theology and Other Texts*, London: University of London, Warburg Institute, 1986, S. 15-36; Michael G. Sollenberger, 'The Lives of the Peripatetics: An Analysis of the Contents and Structure of Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae philosophorum* Book 5', in ANRW II, 36.6 (1992), S. 3793-3879; Gertrud Dietze, 'Die *Pinakes* des Andronikos im Licht der Vorrede in der Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios', in *Aevum* 89,1 (2015), S. 94-123 = Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes'.

<sup>3</sup> Zur Beziehung zwischen Realpolitik und politischem Denken bei Aristoteles s. Heinrich Nissen, 'Die Staatsschriften des Aristoteles', in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 47 (1892), S. 161-206 = Heinrich Nissen, 'Staatsschriften'; Anton-Herman Chroust, *Aristotle. New Light on His Life and on Some of His Lost Works*. Bd. II. *Observations on Some of Aristotle's Lost Works*, London: Routledge and Keagan, 1973, S. 219-223 = Chroust II sowie Chroust I, S. 155-176; Peter Scholz, *Der Philosoph und die Politik. Die Ausbildung der philosophischen Lebensform und die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Philosophie und Politik im 4. und 3. Jh. v.Chr.* (Frankfurter Althistorische Beiträge 2), Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998 = Peter Scholz, *Philosoph und Politik*, S. 128-131, 137-139, 146-165.

<sup>4</sup> Fragmente s. Valentin Rose, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1886 = Rose<sup>3</sup>; Mervin R. Dilts, 'The Manuscript Traditions of Aelian's *Varia Historia* and Heraclides' *Politeiai*, in *Trans.Amer.Philol.Ass.* 96 (1965), S. 57-72 = Mervin R. Dilts, 'Manuscript Traditions'; Olof Gigon (Hrsg.), *Aristoteles. Opera. Volumen tertium. Librorum deperditorum fragmenta*, Berlin, Bern: de Gruyter, 1987 = Olof Gigon; Marina Polito, *Dagli scritti di Eraclide sulle costituzioni. Un commento storico* (Università degli studi di Salerno. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antiquità 26), Neapel: Arte tipografica, 2001 = Marina Polito, *Eraclide*; deutsche Übersetzung Martin Hose, *Aristoteles. Die historischen Fragmente* (Aristoteles Werke in deutscher Übersetzung. 20,3), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002 = Martin Hose, *Fragmente*; cf. Gertrud Dietze, *Poleis und Ethne in den Politeiai*, in Vorbereitung. Zur Manuskripttradition der *Politeiai* s. Mervin R. Dilts,

einer bemerkenswerten Ausnahme - der *Politeia* der Athener - fast sämtlich aus dem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang herausgerissen. Aus einer zweiten Sammlung, den *Nomima barbarika*, in der er Sitten und Gebräuche von *ethne* zusammentrug, ist ebenfalls eine Handvoll von Fragmenten überliefert.<sup>5</sup> Schließlich sind in der Reihe der historisch-politischen Schriften die *Dikaiomata* zu nennen, denen ein eigener Aufsatz gewidmet ist, und die im Folgenden daher nicht behandelt werden.<sup>6</sup>

Man darf annehmen, daß Aristoteles in seiner Zeit am makedonischen Hof (zwischen 343 und 335 v.Chr., vermutlich zusammen mit seinem Schüler und

---

'Manuscript Traditions', S. 57-72. Zum Zeitpunkt und den Umständen des Entstehens des Begriffs *politeia* s. Jacqueline Bordes, *Politeia dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à Aristote*, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1982 = Jacqueline Bordes, *Politeia*, S. 18-33; bes. Edmond Lévy, 'Politeia et Politeuma chez Aristote', in Marcel Piérart, *Aristote et Athènes* (Etudes rassemblées, Fribourg/Suisse, 1991), Fribourg: Université de Fribourg, 1993, S. 66 = Edmond Lévy, 'Politeia': der Begriff tauche in den 30er Jahren des 5. Jh. auf (Herodot, 9,34; Xenophon, *Athenaion Politeia*, 1,1, 3,1, 3,9; Aristophanes, *Equites*, 219) sowie S. 75-90; Jan Bollansée, 'The Aristotelian Constitutions in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*', in Dominique Lenfant (Hrsg.), *Athénée et les fragments d'historiens* (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 2005), Paris: de Boccard, 2007, S. 176-178. Literatur zu den *Politeiai* u.a. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Zu den historischen Arbeiten der ältesten Peripatetiker', in *Philologus* N.F. 42 (1887), S. 179-197 = Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker'; Karl Giessen, 'Plutarchs *Quaestiones Graecae* und Aristoteles' Politien', in *Philologus* 60 N.F. 14 1901, S. 444-471; Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus' *Nomoi* and Aristotle', in *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson* (Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil., Suppl. 1), London: Arno Press, 1940 = Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus', S. 355-376; Herbert Bloch, 'Herakleides Lembos and his Epitome of Aristotle's *Politeiai*' in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association TPAPhA* 71 (1940) = Herbert Bloch, 'Herakleides Lembos', S. 27-39; John J. Keaney, *The Composition of Aristotle's Athenaion Politeia: Observation and Explanation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992 = John J. Keaney, *Athenaion Politeia*, S. 213-218; Marcel Piérart, *Aristote et Athènes* (Etudes rassemblées, Fribourg/Suisse, 1991), Fribourg: Université de Fribourg, 1993; Maria Teresa Schettino, 'Le *politeiai* aristoteliche nel corpus plutarcho', in Aurelia Pérez Jiménez et al. (Hrsg.), *Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles*. Actes del V congreso internacional de la International Plutarch Society (Madrid-Cuenca, 1999), Madrid: Ed. clásicas, 1999, S. 643-656 = Maria Teresa Schettino, 'Politeiai'; David L. Toye, 'Aristotle's Other *Politeiai*: Was the *Athenaion Politeia* Atypical?', in *CJ* 94/3 (1999), S. 235-253 = David L. Toye, 'Athenaion Politeia'; Polito, *Eraclide*; Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka. Testimonianze e frammenti* (I Frammenti degli Storici Greci 1), Rom: Tored, 2002 = Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 67-80; Guido Schepens, Jan Bollansée, 'Frammenti di *politeiai, nomoi* e *nomima*. Prolegomeni ad una nuova edizione', in Silvio Cataldi (Hrsg.), *Poleis e politeiai* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Storia Greca, Torino, 2002), Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004, S. 259-286 = Guido Schepens, Jan Bollansée, 'Frammenti'. Zu den antiken Bedeutungen des Begriffs *politeia* s. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 179; Fanoula Papazoglou, 'Une signification tardive du mot ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ', in *REG* 72 (1959), S. 100-105; Guido Schepens, Jan Bollansée, 'Frammenti', S. 265-277; cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 826,2 C-F.

<sup>5</sup> Die Fragmente der *Nomima barbarika* s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 604-610~Gigon 751-753; Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 250-258.

<sup>6</sup> Die Fragmente der *Dikaiomata* s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 386-387~Gigon, 541-543; Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 262-265; Dietze, *Dikaiomata*, in Vorbereitung.

Mitarbeiter Theophrast)<sup>7</sup> und vielleicht sogar im Auftrag König Philipps II. Informationen über die mythische Vergangenheit, die Gründungslegenden, Rechtssysteme und Gesetze griechischer Poleis - für seine *Dikaionomata* - zu sammeln begann.<sup>8</sup> Weiterhin steht fest, daß er spätestens während seines zweiten Aufenthalts in Athen (335-323 v.Chr.) eine Sammlung von *Politeiai* anfertigte bzw. durch seine Schüler anfertigen ließ. Seine *Politeia* der Athener muß, wie die Erwähnung datierbarer konstitutioneller Details erkennen läßt, in den letzten Jahren seines Aufenthalts in Athen, nicht lange vor seinem Tod (322/1 v.Chr.) abgeschlossen worden sein,<sup>9</sup> während andere Politien früher geschrieben sein mögen. Der empirische Charakter der Sammlung legt nahe, daß sie im Verlauf eines kontinuierlichen Prozesses entstand, und sich die Arbeit daran über einen längeren Zeitraum erstreckte.<sup>10</sup> Möglicherweise entsandte

---

<sup>7</sup> Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Aristoteles und Theophrast an den *Politeiai* ist bei Polybios (12,11,5 und 12, 23,8) belegt, s. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 179-195; Heinrich Nissen, 'Staatsschriften', S. 186; cf. William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus of Eresus. Commentary Volume 9.2. Sources on Discoveries and Beginnings, Proverbs et al. (Texts 727-741) (Philosophia Antiqua. A Series of Studies on Ancient Philosophy 136)*, Leiden: Brill, 2014 = William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 89-93; s. auch Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus', S. 357-376; vorsichtiger Anthony J. Podlecki, 'Theophrastus on History and Politic's, in William W. Fortenbaugh, *Theophrastus of Eresus: On his Life and Work*, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1985, S. 235. Die These, daß gemischte Listen mit den Werken beider Autoren zirkulierten, da nach dem Wiederauftauchen der Bibliothek des Aristoteles und des Theophrast eine eindeutige Zuordnung schwierig bzw. unmöglich war, vertrat Carmela Baffioni, 'Antiche liste arabe delle opere di Aristotele', in *Rassegna di Scienze Filosofiche*, 29 (1976), S. 83-114; cf. Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes', S. 102; ein Beispiel sind die Hypomnemata, die in Theophrasts Schriftenkatalog bei Diogenes Laertios unter Nr. 169 (V 48) stehen mit dem Titel Ὑπομνημάτων Ἀριστοτελικῶν ἢ Θεοφραστείων, 6 Bücher, s. William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 86- 88, Nr. 6. Auch Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 111 (23) hielt es für möglich, daß Aristoteles und Theophrast während ihrer Jahre in Makedonien gemeinsam die Sammlungen von Rechtsvorschriften, Gesetzen und auch Verfassungen anzulegen begannen, möglicherweise auf Initiative Philipps oder Alexanders.

<sup>8</sup> Zum Zeitpunkt der Entstehung der aristotelischen Sammlungen s. Chroust I, S. 84-85, 332, Anm. 20 (cf. delphische Ehreninschrift für Aristoteles und Callisthenes als Dank für die Aufstellung der Siegerliste der Pythischen Spiele, *Syll. Inscript. Graec.* 1, 275 aus 334/332 v.Chr.); cf. Peter Scholz, *Philosoph und Politik*, S. 148 (Zeit bei Hermias von Atarneos).

<sup>9</sup> Zur *Athenaion Politeia* s. u.a. Carl von Holzinger, 'Aristoteles' athenische Politie und die Heraklidischen Fragmente', in *Philologus* 50 (1891), S. 436-446 = Carl von Holzinger, 'Athenische Politie'; Heinrich Nissen, 'Staatsschriften', S. 205; Peter John Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford: Clarendon, 2006 = 1992 = Rhodes, *Commentary*, Datierung S. 51-58, bes. S. 51-52: 322-321 v.Chr.; Mortimer Chambers, *Aristoteles. Staat der Athener* (Aristoteles. Werke in deutscher Übersetzung 10,1), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990 = Chambers, *Staat der Athener*, S. 82-83: zwischen 328 und 325 v.Chr.; *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques. Supplément*, Paris: Belles Lettres, 2003, S. 206.

<sup>10</sup> Daß das Sammeln von Informationen und das Anlegen einer *Politeiai*-Datei über einen längeren Zeitraum lief, widerspricht nicht der Ansicht von Paul Moraux, *Listes*, S. 133, die *Politeiai* seien

Aristoteles Schüler und Mitarbeiter in weniger bekannte Poleis, um an Ort und Stelle Informationen zu sammeln (s.u.). Wann und wie die Sammlung der *Nomima barbarika* entstand, ist nicht nachzuvollziehen.

Der vorliegende Aufsatz geht nach einer Erörterung des praktisch-politischen Interesses des Aristoteles in seinen philosophischen Schriften und einer kurzen Darstellung der Überlieferung der *Politeiai* und der *Nomima barbarika* verschiedenen bisher wenig beachteten Fragen nach. Zunächst stellen wir fest, daß die *Politeiai*, allgemein als eine Sammlung von Städteverfassungen bezeichnet, mitnichten ausschließlich Poleis betrafen, sondern daß Aristoteles auch bestimmte *ethne* in die Sammlung aufgenommen hat. Welche Kriterien legte er bei der Zuordnung der *ethne* zu den *Politeiai* einerseits und zu den *Nomima barbarika* andererseits zugrunde? Wie steht es mit der Abgrenzung zwischen den beiden Sammlungen? Rückte Aristoteles die von ihm in den *Politeiai* berücksichtigten *ethne* in die Nähe der Poleis, und wenn ja, mit welcher Begründung? Steht die Tatsache, daß die Angaben über die Gesamtanzahl der *Politeiai* in den antiken Quellen so außerordentlich weit auseinanderlaufen, etwa im Zusammenhang mit der Beziehung und der Abgrenzung zwischen den *Politeiai*, die *poleis* und *ethne*, und den *Nomima barbarika*, die allein *ethne* betrafen? Wie viele Einzel-*Politeiai* kann die *Politeiai*-Sammlung, und wie viele Kapitel bzw. Bücher kann die *Nomima barbarika*-Sammlung möglicherweise enthalten haben? War vielleicht zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt eine gemeinsame Ausgabe der *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* in Umlauf? In einem abschließenden Kapitel wird die Frage nach einem einheitlichen Konzept für Inhalt und Aufbau der einzelnen *Politeiai* beleuchtet. Wir kommen zu dem Schluß, daß die Grundstruktur in den einzelnen Politien starke Ähnlichkeit aufweist. Auch wird an Hand von konkreten Beispielen belegt, daß Aristoteles für ihren Inhalt auf jeweilige Lokalgeschichten als Quelle zurückgriff.

#### *Aristoteles' Interesse an praktischer Politik*

In diesem Abschnitt soll erörtert werden, welche Beachtung Aristoteles Fragen der praktischen Politik schenkte, und wie er diese in seinem theoretischen Denken verankerte. Sein Interesse an politischen Zusammenhängen allgemein und an Verfassungsfragen insbesondere brachte Aristoteles in verschiedenen seiner philosophischen Werke deutlich zum Ausdruck. So kündigte er am Schluß der *Nikomachischen Ethik* an: um sein Studium der menschlichen Angelegenheiten (*E.N.* 10, 9, 1181b, 15: *peri ta anthropina*) abzuschließen, werde er sich der Gesetzgebung (*nomothesia*) und sodann dem Thema der Staatsverfassung (*politeia*)

---

insgesamt ungefähr kurz vor dem Lebensende des Aristoteles bzw. kurz nach seinem Tod (durch seine Mitarbeiter) niedergeschrieben worden.

zuwenden.<sup>11</sup> Die richtige Gesetzgebung sei nämlich eine Frage, die von den (allein die Rhetorik betreibenden) Sophisten nicht beantwortet werden könne, sondern wissenschaftlich erforscht werden müsse (E.N. 10, 9, 1181a, 1-20). Da dies bisher noch nicht geleistet sei, werde er sich dieser Aufgabe selbst widmen und dabei alles zusammentragen, was dazu von Vorgängern gesagt worden sei, sich dabei aber auch auf seine eigene Sammlung von *Politeiai* (ἐκ τῶν συνηγμένων πολιτειῶν: ‚aus den gesammelten *Politeiai*‘) stützen (E.N. 10, 9, 1181b, 18-21<sup>12</sup>).<sup>13</sup> In Buch I der *Rhetorik* (nach 339/338 v.Chr., wahrscheinlich zwischen 329 und 323 v.Chr. entstanden<sup>14</sup>) grenzt Aristoteles sein Thema ab: „Im Hinblick auf die Sicherheit müssen all diese (vorhergehenden) Punkte bedacht werden, jedoch muß die Frage der Gesetzgebung nicht minder Beachtung finden. Denn in den Gesetzen (*nomoi*) beruht das Heil der Polis (σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως). Deshalb ist es unerläßlich zu wissen, wie viele Formen von *politeiai* es gibt, und welche Bedingungen für jede von Belang sind ... . Für die Gesetzgebung ist es nicht nur nützlich zu prüfen, welche *politeia* in der Vergangenheit nützlich war, sondern auch, welche *politeiai* bei den anderen existieren und welche zu wem passen .... . Deshalb ist es offensichtlich, daß die Bereisungen der Erde (αἱ τῆς γῆς περίοδοι) für die Gesetzgebung nützlich sind, weil sie es möglich machen, die Gesetze der Völker (τῶν ἔθνων νόμους) kennenzulernen“. Im Hinblick auf die politische Argumentation (πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς συμβουλάς) hingegen seien historische Schriften von Nutzen (αἱ περὶ τὰς πράξεις γραφόντων ἱστορίαι). Kenntnisse

---

<sup>11</sup> Zu werkinternen Verweisen (Selbstziten) in den aristotelischen Schriften s. Paul Thielscher, 'Die relative Chronologie der erhaltenen Schriften des Aristoteles nach den bestimmten Selbstziten', in *Philologus* 97 (1948), S. 229-265; cf. Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes', S. 110-112.

<sup>12</sup> Diese Passage gehört zu jenen, die in den aristotelischen Schriften den Übergang von einem Werk zum anderen bilden und später eingefügt wurden, speziell zu EN 10, 9, 1181b, 19-21 s. John Alexander Stewart, *Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, Bd. I + II (Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle), New York: Arno Press, 1973S. 471-472: "These sections evidently added to connect the *Ethics* with the *Politics*, fall under the *prima facie* suspicion which attaches to all such connecting-passages in the Aristotelian writings"; cf. Georges Rodier, *Etudes de philosophie grecque. Socrate, Antisthène, Platon, Aristote, Les Stoiciens, Plotin* (Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie), Paris: Vrin, 1969, S. 179-180; Aristote. *L' éthique à Nicomaque*. I, 1. Introduction. (Aristote. Traductions et études), Übers. und Komment. René Antoine Gauthier, Jean Yves Jolif, Löwen, Paris: Publications universitaires, 1970, S. 70-89; Carlo Natali, 'Aristote de Stagire. Les éthiques. Tradition grecque', in Robert Goulet (Hrsg.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. Supplément, Paris: CNRS Editions, 2003, S. 174-184. Ein solcher editorischer Eingriff ändert jedoch inhaltlich nichts an der vorliegenden Argumentation.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. George Huxley, 'On Aristotle's Historical Methods', in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972), S. 163. Die *Nomoi*-Sammlung wurde allerdings von Theophrast angelegt. Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus', S. 360-361 kam zu dem Schluß, daß Aristoteles auch auf von Theophrast gesammeltes Material zurückgriff.

<sup>14</sup> Aristote, *Rhétorique*, Übers. und Hrsg. Médéric Dufour, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1960, S. 14-16, v.a. 16.

dieser Art seien jedoch Thema der *Politik*, nicht der *Rhetorik* (ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα πολιτικῆς ἀλλ’ οὐ ῥητορικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν, *Rhet.* 1, 5, 1360a, 18-37).<sup>15</sup>

In der Praxis war es Theophrast, der seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die eine Polis kennzeichnenden (durch die Bürger verabschiedeten) *nomoi* lenkte, während Aristoteles einerseits das Thema der *politeiai* und andererseits jenes der *nomima*, d.h. der prinzipiell barbarische Völker kennzeichnenden (ungeschriebenen) Sitten und Gebräuche, beschäftigte.<sup>16</sup> *Nomima* scheinen für Aristoteles eine im Allgemeinen frühe und rückständige Stufe der *nomoi* darzustellen, die in den barbarischen *ethne* - im Unterschied zu den *Poleis* - galten. Allerdings handhabt Aristoteles die diesbezügliche Terminologie nicht stringent. So verwendet er an einer Stelle der *Politik* für Sitten - im Unterschied zu Gesetzen - den Terminus *ethos*.<sup>17</sup> An anderer Stelle benutzt er den Terminus *nomos* als Synonym für *nomimon*: die alten *nomoi* seien zu einfach und barbarisch gewesen (*Pol.* 2, 5, 1268b, 40). Gleich anschließend steht der Begriff *nomima* für alte Bräuche der Hellenen, im nächsten Satz hingegen der Begriff *nomos* für eine altertümliche Rechtsregel der *Kymaer* (*Pol.* 2, 5, 1269a, 1-2).<sup>18</sup>

Die oben angeführten Textstellen aus der *Nikomachischen Ethik* und der *Rhetorik* belegen, wie eng für Aristoteles die Antwort auf die Frage nach der optimalen Verfaßtheit mit einer umfassenden Kenntnis der verschiedensten - griechischen und nicht-griechischen - Formen von Staatsorganisation zusammenhing. Damit ist die Erörterung der praktisch-politischen Verhältnisse als Voraussetzung für ein gutes Rechtssystem und eine gute Staatsorganisation in einen theoretisch-philosophischen Diskurs eingeordnet. Es wird der Eindruck vermittelt, die Sammlungen seien von Anfang an und prinzipiell als Material für die wissenschaftliche Erörterung gedacht gewesen. Eine genauere Betrachtung läßt jedoch Zweifel aufkommen an einer solch einseitigen Interpretation. So hat Philodemos in seiner *Rhetorik* Aristoteles scharf verurteilt, weil er sich gerade nicht dem philosophischen Betrieb gewidmet, sondern stattdessen Sammlungen

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Paul Moraux, *Listes*, S. 132.

<sup>16</sup> Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 191: „Νόμιμα ist für Aristoteles gleichbedeutend mit Gewohnheitsrecht, νόμος ἄγραφος und ἔθος überhaupt“. Zur Abgrenzung bzw. Beziehung zwischen *politeia* und *nomos* s. Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus', S. 355-375; Jacqueline Bordes, *Politeia*, S. 365-369; John J. Keaney, 'Theophrastus on Ostracism and the Character of his *NOMOI*', in Marcel Piérart (Hrsg.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Etudes rassemblées, Fribourg/Suisse, 1991), Fribourg: Université de Fribourg, 1993, S. 264-266; 269-274; Edmond Lévy, 'Politeia', S. 82-85; Maria Teresa Schettino, 'Politeiai', S. 644.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 189-195, v.a. 191-192: *Pol.* 4,2,1324b: τὰ μὲν ἐν νόμοις περιελημμένα τὰ δὲ ἐν ἔθειν; cf. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 192.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 191.

von Gesetzen und Verfassungen und dergleichen angelegt habe.<sup>19</sup> Damit wirft er Aristoteles vor, ein (der praktischen Politik zugewandter) Rhetor zu sein, und die (theoretische) Philosophie verraten zu haben. Laut Philodemus war die Zielsetzung der aristotelischen Sammlungen mitnichten eine philosophische, sondern waren diese praxis-orientiert.

### Die Überlieferung von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika*

In diesem Absatz werden die Fragmente aus den beiden Sammlungen und ihre Überlieferung in späteren Quellen dargestellt. Letztere legt, wie wir sehen werden, die Frage nach der Abgrenzung zwischen *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* nahe. Während aus den *Nomima barbarika* nur eine Handvoll von Fragmenten überliefert ist, sind aus den *Politeiai* (ohne Athen) fast 150 Fragmente bewahrt, obwohl nur eine einzige *Politeia*, jene der Athener (fast vollständig, auf Papyrus) überliefert ist,<sup>20</sup> und die übrigen entweder integral verloren oder lediglich durch relativ kurze, meist zusammenhanglose Zitate bzw. allein durch den Titel bekannt sind. Die *Politeiai* dürften in der Antike als ein wichtiges Werk des Aristoteles gegolten haben, finden wir den Titel doch in allen drei uns überlieferten antiken Schriftenkatalogen mit den Werken des Aristoteles.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Philodemus, *Rhet.*, ed. Sudhaus, Sp. LIII, Z. 7-30 = T 31 f, bei Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 300-301: Πῶς [δ'] οὐχὶ θαυμ[ασ]μ[ὸν] ἐνέφ[υσ]ε μέγαν τῆς δ[υ]νάμεως, [ἐ]ξ [οὐ] τε ἀ[πεπ]ήδ[α] τῆς οἰκειίας πραγματείας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐφωρᾶτο τοὺς τε νόμου[ς] συνάγων ἅμα τῷ μαθητῇ καὶ τὰς τοσαύτας πολιτείας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν [τό]πων [δι]καιώματα [κ]αὶ τὰ πρ[ὸ]ς τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ πᾶν, ὅσον τῆς τοιαύτ[ης] ἐστι] <πραγματείας>. Übersetzung bei Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 300-301: 'And surely he implanted in his pupils great admiration of his genius, from the moment he abandoned his proper subject, and for the reasons given was found collecting along with his disciple [Theophrastus] the laws, the pleas of the cities concerning their territory, the many polities, and the laws enacted at critical times, and everything that belongs to such a subject' (der Übersetzung bei Harry Mortimer Hubbel, 'The *Rhetorica* of Philodemus', in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 23 [1929], S. 331 vorzuziehen, da wörtlicher). Zu Philodemus s. William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 8-11.

<sup>20</sup> Aus der *Politeia* der Athener sind die meisten Fragmente überliefert (bei Rose<sup>3</sup> 91). Sie war offensichtlich am weitesten verbreitet, s. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 131; hinzu kommt die in Ägypten gefundene fast vollständige Fassung auf Papyrus, die 1890 veröffentlicht wurde (P.Lond. 131). Durch einen weiteren fragmentarischen Papyrus ist die Existenz eines zweiten Exemplars der athenischen *Politeia* in Ägypten belegt (P.Berol. 5009), s. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 131. Zu der Urheberschaft des Aristoteles s. z.B. Peter John Rhodes, *Commentary*, S. 58-63 (skeptisch); Mortimer Chambers, *Staat der Athener*, S. 75-82 und John J. Keaney, *Athenaion Politeia*, S. 3-19, v.a. 12-14 (positiv); weitere Literatur bei Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 67.

<sup>21</sup> Zu den antiken Schriftenkatalogen s. Paul Moraux, *Listes*; Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*; Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung*; Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Viten und -Schriftenkataloge. Die Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios im Licht der Überlieferung, in *SCO* 61 (2015), S. 99-166 = Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios'.

Die *Politeia*-Fragmente wurden zuerst von Valentin Rose, sodann von Olof Gigon gesammelt und zuletzt von Martin Hose ins Deutsche übersetzt. Die überwiegende Mehrheit stammt aus Lexika, etymologischen<sup>22</sup> und anderen Wörterbüchern sowie aus Sprichwörtersammlungen,<sup>23</sup> Quellen, die von der frühen römischen bis in die byzantinische Zeit reichen. Sie finden sich u.a. in dem zehnbändigen, nach Sachgebieten geordneten Onomastikon des Pollux von Naukratis (ca. 178 n.Chr.),<sup>24</sup> bei Zenobios (2. Jh. n.Chr.), der einen Auszug aus der Sprichwörtersammlung des Grammatikers Didymos (1. Jh. v.Chr.) anfertigte,<sup>25</sup> im Lexikon des Harpokration (2. Hälfte 2. Jh. n.Chr.),<sup>26</sup> bei dem Grammatiker Stephanos von Byzantion (6. Jh. n.Chr.), bei dem Lexikographen Hesychios von Alexandria (5./6. Jh. n.Chr.),<sup>27</sup> im Lexikon des Photios, des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel (820-891 n.Chr.)<sup>28</sup> sowie bei dem Grammatiker und Schriftsteller Johannes Tzetzes (12. Jh. n.Chr.), um die häufigsten Quellen zu nennen. Auch in den schwer datierbaren, zumindest teilweise jedoch sehr frühen Scholien<sup>29</sup> zu den Werken klassischer Autoren sind Fragmente aus den *Politeiai* bewahrt.<sup>30</sup> Diese dienten zur Erläuterung von Texten, die im Laufe der Zeit schwer verständlich geworden waren. So finden sich *Politeiai*-Fragmente in den auf hellenistische Quellen zurückgehenden *Scholia in Aristophanem* der alexandrinischen Schule,<sup>31</sup> den ebenfalls wahrscheinlich hellenistischen *Scholia in Euripidem* (2. Jh. v.Chr.),<sup>32</sup> den Scholien des alexandrinischen Philosophen und Grammatikers Dionysios

<sup>22</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (American Philological Association Classical Resources Series), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 = Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 91-92.

<sup>23</sup> Zur Verwendung von Sprichwörtern in den *Politeiai* s. George Huxley, 'On Aristotle's Historical Methods', in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972), S. 164, 168.

<sup>24</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 96.

<sup>25</sup> Zur Epitome des Zenobios aus dem Werk des Didymos s. Ernst Ludwig von Leutsch, Friedrich Wilhelm Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*. B. I, Hildesheim: Olms, 1965, S. 1-176; Zenobios; Emanuele Lelli, *I proverbi greci. Le raccolte di Zenobio e Diogeniano* (Altri Classici), Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2006, S. 26-29; zur Sprichwörtersammlung des Didymos s. RE V,1, Stichwort Didymos, Sohn des Didymos (8), Sp. 445-472, bes. 467-469.

<sup>26</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 94.

<sup>27</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 88-90.

<sup>28</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 101-102.

<sup>29</sup> Zu den Scholia und Lexika s. Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, 2007.

<sup>30</sup> Der Schluß liegt nahe, daß Aristoteles die Werke antiker Dichter als Informationsquelle u.a. für seine *Politeiai* benutzte. In der *Politik* zitiert er zumindest Euripides und Hesiod (1352b 8, 12).

<sup>31</sup> Fausto Montana, *L'Athenaion Politeia di Aristotele negli Scholia vetera ad Aristofane* (Biblioteca di studi antichi 80), Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1996, S. 11-24; Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 28-31.

<sup>32</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 31-34; William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 59.

Thrax (2. Jh. v.Chr.),<sup>33</sup> den *Scholia in Iliadem* (1. Jh. v.Chr.),<sup>34</sup> den *Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi opera* (100 n.Chr.?)<sup>35</sup> sowie den *Scholia Vetera in Pindarum* (5. Jh. n.Chr.).<sup>36</sup>

Sowohl die in den Scholien wie in den Lemmata der Wörterbücher und Lexika enthaltenen Fragmente aus den *Politeiai* sollten vergessene Wortbedeutungen erläutern, vergangenes Wissen bewahren und Textparallelen bieten.<sup>37</sup> Dies bedeutet, daß etwaige historisch-philosophische Informationen der lexikographischen, erklärenden Funktion untergeordnet waren. So vermitteln die Fragmente - ganz im Gegenteil zu dem auf Papyrus überlieferten Text der athenischen *Politeia* - relativ wenig politisch-historischen Inhalt. Nur vereinzelt finden wir bei Harpokration,<sup>38</sup> Photios<sup>39</sup> oder Stephanos von Byzantion<sup>40</sup> historisch-politische Angaben, die jedoch auch hier der etymologischen und lexikographischen Erklärung dienen.<sup>41</sup>

Allerdings griffen auch Historiographen und Dichter-Gelehrte als Quelle auf die *Politeiai* zurück, so der früh-hellenistische Gelehrte Apollonios von Rhodos für sein Argonauten-Epos,<sup>42</sup> Polybios (2. Jh. v. Chr.) für seine Universalgeschichte (12,11,5: Aristoteles und Theophrast hätten in ihrer Verfassung der Lokrer deren Ansiedlung wahrheitsgemäßer dargestellt als Timaios<sup>43</sup>) und Strabon (1. Jh.

---

<sup>33</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 77-80.

<sup>34</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 20-21.

<sup>35</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 40-42.

<sup>36</sup> Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*, S. 38-40; William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 53-58.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus', S. 367.

<sup>38</sup> Verfassung der Arkader, s.v. *μύριοι ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει*, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 483-Gigon 487, 1+2, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 19; zu Harpokration s. William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 20-21.

<sup>39</sup> Verfassung der Arkader, s.v. *μυρίων*, Rose<sup>3</sup> 483-Gigon 487,1+2, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Verfassung der Ambrakioten, s.v. *Ἀντανδρος*, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 477-Gigon 483,1, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 17.

<sup>41</sup> Zur Verkürzung von historiographischen Texten s. Peter Astbury Brunt, 'On Historical Fragments and Epitomes', in *Classical Quarterly* 30.2 (1980), S. 477-494; Dominique Lenfant, 'Peut-on se fier aux "fragments" d'historiens? L'exemple des citations d'Herodote', in *Ktema* 24 (1999), S. 103-121; Jan Bollansée, 'The Aristotelian Constitutions in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*', in Dominique Lenfant (Hrsg.), *Athénée et les fragments d'historiens* (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 2005), Paris: de Boccard, 2007, S. 175-189, v.a. 188-189; Dominique Lenfant, 'Les "fragments" d'Herodote dans les *Deipnosophistes*', in Dominique Lenfant (Hrsg.), *Athénée et les fragments d'historiens* (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 2005), Paris: de Boccard, 2007, S. 43-72 = Dominique Lenfant, *Fragments*, S. 46-48, 53-63, 68-70; Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen in und von Historiographie in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit', in Marietta Horster, Christiane Reitz (Hrsg.), *Condensing Texts - Condensed Texts (Palingenesia 98)*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010, S. 395-434 = Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen', bes. 401-405.

<sup>42</sup> Verfassung der Tegeaten, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 591-Gigon 608, , cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 80; Christian Pietsch, *Die Argonautika des Apollonios von Rhodos. Untersuchungen zum Problem der einheitlichen Konzeption des Inhalts* (Hermes Einzelschriften 80), Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Rose<sup>3</sup> 547-Gigon 554,2, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 52-54.

v.Chr.), der sie vor allem für geographische Angaben auswertete.<sup>44</sup> Auch Plinius d.Äl. (1. Jh. n.Chr.) zitiert in seiner *Naturalis Historia* aus den *Politeiai* der Delier<sup>45</sup> und der Samier.<sup>46</sup> Claudius Aelianus (175–235 n.Chr.) benutzte die Verfassung der Samier für seine *Historia Animalium*.<sup>47</sup> Am intensivsten hat sich Plutarch (46 - 120 n.Chr.) mit den *Politeiai* auseinandergesetzt: sie waren eine der Hauptquellen für seine *Quaestiones Graecae* (s.u.).<sup>48</sup> Auch bei dem Kompilator Athenaios (ca. 200 n.Chr.) sind Fragmente aus den *Politeiai* überliefert.<sup>49</sup>

Eine wichtige, da frühe Überlieferung bietet die *Politeiai*-Epitome des Herakleides Lembos aus Naukratis (2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v.Chr.).<sup>50</sup> Sie enthält 44 Fragmente mit Informationen vorwiegend aus der Frühgeschichte, Erläuterungen von Sprichwörtern oder Erklärungen von Münzeinheiten. Die Fragmente - teilweise mit Überschrift (Δελφῶν, Σαμίῳν), teilweise ging diese verloren - betreffen allerdings nicht nur hellenische Verhältnisse, sondern auch vier barbarische

<sup>44</sup> Strabon 7,7,2: die *Politeia* der Aitolier, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 476~Gigon 476, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 15-16; der Akarnanen, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 474~Gigon 477; der Epidaurier, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 491~Gigon 498,1, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 25; der Opuntier, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 560~Gigon 568, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 61; der Megarer, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 550~Gigon 561, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 55-56. Es geht um Angaben über Siedlungsgebiete.

<sup>45</sup> Rose<sup>3</sup> 488~Gigon 495,1, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 232-24.

<sup>46</sup> Rose<sup>3</sup> 570~Gigon 588,1, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 69-70; William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 11-17.

<sup>47</sup> Rose<sup>3</sup> 572~Gigon 590, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 71.

<sup>48</sup> Verfassung der Bottiaier: Rose<sup>3</sup> 485~Gigon 490,1+2, cf. Hose (2002), 21; Verfassung der Lakedaimonier: Rose<sup>3</sup> 533, 536, 537, 538, 539, 542~Gigon 541, 542,1, 543, 544, 545,1+2, cf. Hose (2002), 44-51; Verfassung der Orchomenier: Rose<sup>3</sup> 565, 566~Gigon 578-582, cf. Hose (2002), 63-64: (weder Aristoteles noch der Titel des ausgewerteten Werks werden genannt, die Quelle ergibt sich aber aus parallelen Fragmenten). Zu Plutarchs *Quaestiones Graecae* s. William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 17-20.

<sup>49</sup> So die Verfassung der Aigineten, Athenaios 6,272d, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 472~Gigon 475,1+2, cf. Hose (2002), 15; s.a. Fortenbaugh (2014), 25-28.

<sup>50</sup> Fragmente s. Mervin R. Dilts, *Excerpta politiarum* (Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs 5), Durham: Duke University, 1971 = Mervin R. Dilts, *Herakleides Lembos* und *Polito*, *Eraclide*. Zur Identität des Autors s. Carl von Holzinger, 'Aristoteles' athenische Politie und die Heraklidischen Fragmente', in *Philologus* 50 (1891), S. 436-446 = Carl von Holzinger, 'Athenische Politie'; Herbert Bloch, 'Herakleides Lembos', S. 27-39; Maria Teresa Schettino, 'Politeiai', S. 70-73; Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen', S. 418-428. Herakleides verfaßte u.a. auch Epitome der Hermippos' Schrift *Περὶ νομοθετῶν* (cf. P.Oxy. 11,1367, s. Alfred Körte, 'Referate: Literarische Texte', in *APF* 7 [1924], S. 231-232; Italo Gallo, 'Eraclide Lembo. Epitome sul trattato 'Sui Legislatori' di Ermippo (P.Oxy 1367) ', in Italo Gallo, *Frammenti biografici da papiri I. La biografia politica*, Rom: Ateneo, 197, S. 13-55 [mit Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar]), der Philosophenschrift des Sotion und der *Vita* des Satyros; s. Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen', S. 421-428. Zu den *Politeiai* des Aristoteles als Quelle für ein weiteres Werk des Herakleides Lembos, die *Historiai*, s. Herbert Bloch, 'Herakleides Lembos', S. 33, 37; Guido Schepens, Jan Bollansée, 'Frammenti', S. 279-281; Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen', S. 419.

*ethne*, so die Thraker (Dilts § 58), die italischen Tyrrhenier, d.h. Etrusker (Dilts § 44) und Leukaner (Dilts § 48), und die kleinasiatischen Lykier (Dilts § 43).<sup>51</sup> Bemerkenswert ist, daß die letztgenannten Fragmente ausschließlich ethnographische Informationen enthalten<sup>52</sup>, und nur bei Herakleides Lembos vorkommen. Dessen Epitome mischt also Informationen aus den *Politeiai* und solche, die auf keinen Fall aus den *Politeiai* stammen, sondern mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus der aristotelischen Sammlung entnommen sind, die den *nomima* barbarischer *ethne* vorbehalten war.

Aus dieser Sammlung sind - zusätzlich zu den vier Abschnitten in der *Politeiai*-Epitome des Herakleides Lembos - nur spärliche Fragmente erhalten,<sup>53</sup> vornehmlich bei Varro (*De Lingua Latina*), Plinius (*Naturalis Historia*), Athenaios, Plutarch (*De Cohibenda Ira*), Dionysios von Halikarnasos (*Antiquitates Romanae*), Festus und Pollux. Sie betreffen die kleinasiatischen Karer, die libyschen Machlyer sowie die italischen Thyrrhenier (Etrusker) und Römer.<sup>54</sup> Sie berichten ausschließlich über Sitten und Gebräuche sowie über Früh- und Siedlungsgeschichte. Anders als in den *Politeiai* fehlen historisch-institutionelle Inhalte vollständig. Was den Aufbau angeht, so waren die *Nomima barbarika* wahrscheinlich - ähnlich wie die *Politeiai* - in einzelne Bücher eingeteilt, in denen unter der passenden Überschrift die in dem jeweiligen *ethnos* herrschenden Verhältnisse behandelt waren. So hat Athenaios ein Fragment aus den *Tyrrenon nomima* (R<sup>3</sup> 607~Gigon 472, 704) gegriffen. Anscheinend existierte auch ein Buch ‚Sitten der Römer‘, wie der Eintrag in der Appendix des Schriftenkatalogs in der *Vita Menagiana* vermuten läßt (Nr. 186: Νόμιμα Ῥωμαίων).<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 70: „quaranta estratti delle Πολιτεῖαι e quattro estratti dei Νόμιμα Βαρβαρικά“. Ähnlich Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera. Volumen tertium. Librorum deperditorum fragmenta*, Berlin, Bern: de Gruyter, 1987 = Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 561: „teilweise oder ganz nicht-griechische Völker“. Marina Polito, *Eraclide*, S. 252 bezeichnet nicht nur die Lykier, Lukaner, Tyrrhenier und Thraker als barbarisch, sondern auch die Atamanen und Molosser. Letztere sind aber nicht barbarische, sondern hellenische *ethne*, s. Dietze, *Poleis* und *Ethne* in den *Politeiai*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Marina Polito, *Eraclide*, S. 253.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 86-88.

<sup>54</sup> Karer: Rose<sup>3</sup> 604~Gigon 469, 470, 696, 697 sowie Rose<sup>3</sup> 605~Gigon 698,1, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 86; Machlyer: Rose<sup>3</sup> 606~Gigon 699, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 86-87; Tyrrhenier: Rose<sup>3</sup> 607~Gigon 472~Gigon 704, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 87 sowie Rose<sup>3</sup> 608, 468,1~Gigon 705,1+2, 706, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 87 (plus HL Dilts § 44); Römer: Rose<sup>3</sup> 609~Gigon 700, 701, 702,1, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 87-88; Rose<sup>3</sup> 610~Gigon 703, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 89 sowie Rose<sup>3</sup> 600~Gigon 648,1+2, Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 89; cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 86-89. Hinzu kommen die bei Herakleides Lembos (s.o.) nachgewiesenen Thraker (58), Lykier (43), Tyrrhenier (Etrusker) und Leukaner (48).

<sup>55</sup> Text des Schriftenkatalogs bei Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 83-89; Text der *Vita* bei Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 82 = *Parisianus* suppl. gr.557 S. XVI = *Vita Menagiana* = Suda, s.v. Ἀριστοτέλης

Außer den Autoren, die uns explizit Fragmente aus den aristotelischen *Nomima barbarika* überliefert haben, hat auch Nikolaos von Damaskus (40 v.Chr. - 30 n.Chr.) mit Sicherheit die *Nomima barbarika* als Quelle für seine *Ethnon synagoge*<sup>56</sup> ausgewertet. In dieser hat er insgesamt 39 barbarische *ethne* behandelt und eine kleine Zahl von hellenischen Gemeinwesen, so die Lakedaimonier und Kreter (für die er die *Politeiai* herangezogen hat). Wenn Nikolaos seine Quelle Aristoteles auch nicht beim Namen nennt, wird sein Rückgriff auf ihn erkennbar an Hand gleichlautender Informationen. So finden wir sowohl bei Nikolaos (F 103 q) als auch in einem Fragment aus den *Nomima barbarika* (Rose<sup>3</sup> 606~Gigon 699) eine Nachricht über die libyischen Machlyer.<sup>57</sup> Die die Lakedämonier betreffende Information lautet ebenfalls bei beiden Autoren ähnlich (es sei diesen nicht erlaubt, im Ausland zu leben, Rose<sup>3</sup> 543~Gigon 549,1+2, cf. cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 50 bzw. Nikolaos in F 25, 5<sup>58</sup>). Bei den Kretern stimmen die Angaben in der aristotelischen *Politeia* fast wörtlich mit Nikolaos (F 26, 1-4)<sup>59</sup> überein.

### *Ethne in den Politeiai und den Nomima barbarika*

Im vorliegenden Abschnitt wird die Frage der Abgrenzung zwischen *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* diskutiert. Die *Politeiai* werden allgemein als eine Sammlung von Städteverfassungen bezeichnet. Bei näherem Hinsehen stellen wir jedoch fest, daß zwar die Mehrheit der bekannten *Politeiai*-Fragmente Poleis betrifft, Aristoteles jedoch auch eine Reihe von *ethne* in die Sammlung aufgenommen und deren Institutionen als *politeia* vorgestellt hat. So sind Fragmente aus der *politeia* der Malier, der Thessaler, der Arkader, der Athamanen, der Chalkidiker, der Molosser, der Epeiroten, der Akarnanen bewahrt, allesamt Völkerschaften, deren Organisationsform unter keinen Umständen als Polis betrachtet werden kann.

(3929); neue Edition s. Tiziano Dorandi, 'La Vita Hesychii d'Aristote', in *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 52 (2006), S. 87-106; cf. Dietze (2015a), 110-115, 124-125.

<sup>56</sup> Überliefert in der Anthologie des Stobbaeos, z.B. 4,2 [Περὶ νόμων καὶ ἔθῶν], 25: Ἐκ τῶν Νικολάου Περὶ ἔθῶν, s. Edith Parmentier, Francesca Prometea Barone, *Nicolas de Damas. Histoires, Recueil de coutumes, Vie d'Auguste, Autobiographie*. (Collection Fragments), Paris: Belles Lettres, 2011 = Edith Parmentier, Francesca Prometea Barone, *Nicolas de Damas*, S. 183 sowie bei Aelianus, z.B. 6,1, s. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 192, 194; cf. Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 561, 571-578.

<sup>57</sup> F 103-124; cf. Edith Parmentier, Francesca Prometea Barone, *Nicolas de Damas*, S. F 1-47. Nikolaos berichtet von deren Brauch, derjenige, der eine Frau zum Lachen bringe, gewinne deren Gunst, Aristoteles, die Machlyer seien androgyne Menschen beiderlei Geschlechts. Schon Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 192-195 versuchte den Nachweis dieses Zusammenhangs; ebenso Herbert Bloch, 'Herakleides Lembos', S. 38-39; Nikolaos von Damaskus bezeichne sich in seiner Autobiographie als überzeugten Anhänger des Aristoteles (s. F 132,3); auch Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 573 geht davon aus, daß Nikolaos Aristoteles als Quelle benutzt hat.

<sup>58</sup> Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 576.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker', S. 194; Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 576.

Die Antwort auf die Frage, warum er diese Nicht-Polis-Verbände in den *Politeiai* und nicht in den *Nomima* behandelte, können wir einer Passage aus der *Politik* (*Pol.* 7, 5, 1327b, 18-36) entnehmen: Aristoteles unterscheidet hier ausdrücklich zwischen *ethne*, die dem griechischen *genos* angehörten und daher - wenn auch in minderm Maße als die Bürger der *Poleis* - die typisch hellenischen Tugenden Einsicht und Mut aufwiesen, und barbarischen *ethne*, denen diese Eigenschaften, Vorbedingung für eine hellenische *politeia*, fehlten. Hellenische *ethne* gehörten für Aristoteles in die *Politeiai*, die Sitten und Gebräuche der barbarischen *ethne* in die *Nomima barbarika*.<sup>60</sup> Solche hellenischen *ethne* waren, wie die Fragmente aus den *Politeiai* zeigen, im Wesentlichen in West- und Nordgriechenland siedelnde Verbände.

Ein illustratives Beispiel für ein griechisches *ethnos* sind die Molosser. Dieser in verschiedenen Quellen als barbarisch vorgestellte Stamm hatte sein Gebiet durch Eroberungszüge erweitert und im Epeiros ein einflußreiches Königreich gegründet (*Pol.* 5, 10, 1310b, 40). Durch Heirat waren die Königshäuser der Molosser und der Makedonen eng verbunden (Olympias, die Ehefrau Philipps II., war eine Schwester des Molosserkönigs Alexander; Kleopatra, die Ehefrau Alexanders, eine Tochter Philipps II.). Durch enge Kontakte mit Griechen hatten sich die Molosser hellenisiert, eine Entwicklung, die in der Verwendung der griechischen Sprache in den Inschriften und in der institutionellen Einschränkung der königlichen Macht durch einen Amtsträger (*προστάτας*, s. Thukydides 2,80) zum Ausdruck kommt.<sup>61</sup> Der König der Molosser war zudem Mitglied im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund.<sup>62</sup> Die Molosser hatten sich darüber hinaus mit anderen epeirotischen *ethne* zu einem gebietsübergreifenden *koinon* zusammengeschlossen (SGDI 2,1334, Z. 10: *Μολοσσῶν τὸ κοινόν*).<sup>63</sup> Außer der *Politeia* der Molosser bei Herakleides Lembos (Dilts 45) ist auch eine *Politeia* dieses *koinon* belegt (*Politeia* der Epeiroten, 494 R<sup>3</sup>~Gigon 501, cf. Hose [2002], 26).

Wie wir sehen, engte Aristoteles den Begriff *politeia* nicht strikt auf *Poleis* ein, sondern verwandte ihn auch für bestimmte *ethne*, die als hellenisch galten. Sie hatten eine politische Struktur entwickelt, die es ihnen erlaubte, mit griechischen *Poleis* Bündnisse zu schließen. Sie waren zwar keine *Poleis* im eigentlichen Wortsinn, besaßen aber einen vergleichbaren Status.<sup>64</sup> Barbarischen

---

<sup>60</sup> S. Gertrud Dietze, *Poleis und Ethne in den Politeiai*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>61</sup> Karl Regling, Stichwort *Molossi*, in RE 16,1 (1933), Sp. 15-25.

<sup>62</sup> IG<sup>2</sup> 43 = SIC<sup>2</sup> 147 = Peter John Rhodes, Robin Osborne (Hrsg.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC*, Oxford: University Press, 2003, Nr. 22; cf. Cargill (1981), 14.

<sup>63</sup> S. Gertrud Dietze, *Poleis und Ethne in den Politeiai*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>64</sup> Jacqueline Bordes, *Politeia*, S. 440 verwies auf die Tatsache, daß Aristoteles in der Diskussion über die optimale *Politeia* oft auf Beispiele zurückgreift, die den Polis-Rahmen überschreiten (« Aristote va plus loin qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs dans l'affirmation répétée des limites de la polis et dans l'acceptation d'exemples nombreux qui transgressent ses propres définitions »).

*ethne* hingegen gestand Aristoteles keine *politeia* zu. Ihr politisches System, so jenes der Karthager, bezeichnet er als τάρξις (Pol. 2, 11, 1273a, 21-22).<sup>65</sup>

### Die Gesamtanzahl der *Politeiai*

In den folgenden Abschnitten wird auf die Hintergründe der ausgesprochen unterschiedlichen Angaben über die Gesamtzahl der *Politeiai* eingegangen und die Frage nach einer möglichen Gesamtzahl der *Politeiai* einerseits und der *Nomima barbarika* andererseits untersucht. Wir werden feststellen, daß diese Problematik für die Beziehung zwischen den *Politeiai* und den *Nomima barbarika* von Bedeutung ist.

Angaben zu den *Politeiai* und zu deren Gesamtzahl finden wir zunächst in den drei antiken Schriftenkatalogen mit den Titeln der aristotelischen Werke, sodann in den neuplatonischen Kommentaren der alexandrinischen Schule (Ammonios, Simplicios, Elias/David),<sup>66</sup> und in drei (parallelen) neuplatonischen Aristoteles-Viten<sup>67</sup> sowie einigen arabischen Aristoteles-Viten.<sup>68</sup> Die Gesamtzahl der *Politeiai* liegt in diesen Quellen weit auseinander:<sup>69</sup> Sie reicht von 158 bis 255.

---

Edmond Lévy, 'Politeia', S. 81-82 läßt die Frage anklingen, inwieweit das Polis-Statut eine notwendige Voraussetzung für eine *politeia* war, oder ob auch für die institutionelle Struktur eines *ethnos* der Terminus *politeia* als zulässig galt; cf. Jacqueline de Romilly, 'Le classement des constitutions d'Hérodote à Aristote', in *REG* 72 (1959), S. 95. Murrays ansonsten ausgezeichnete Analyse der Begriffe *polis* und *politeia* in den Schriften des Aristoteles schränkt die Diskussion strikt auf die griechische Polis ein und beachtet dabei nicht, daß Aristoteles' Verwendung dieser Termini sowohl in den *Politeiai* als auch in der philosophischen Auseinandersetzung der Politik den Rahmen der griechischen Polis weit überschreitet, s. Oswyn Murray, 'Polis and Politeia in Aristotle', in Mogens Herman Hansen (Hrsg.), *The Ancient Greek City State*, Kopenhagen: Det kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab, 1993, S. 197-210; cf. Gertrud Dietze, *Poleis und Ethne* in den *Politeiai*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>65</sup> S. Gertrud Dietze, *Poleis und Ethne*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>66</sup> S. Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, Nr. 143,5-143,11.

<sup>67</sup> *Vita Marciana, Vita Vulgata, Vita Latina*, cf. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*; David L. Toye, 'The Alleged Alphabetization of Aristotle's *Politeiai*', in *Classical Philology* 64,4 (1969), S. 213-218.

<sup>68</sup> Aristoteles-Vita des Ibn al-Qiftī, s. Anton Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1900 (= Aalen 1975), Nr. 78; Übersetzung s. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 229; Vita des Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a (Baumstark, Nr. 91), s. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 213-246, 213 (englische Übersetzung S. 221-231, Kommentar S. 241-246), Buchstabe B: "Life of Aristotle according to Ptolemy"; cf. Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera: Vita cum librorum indice ab Ibn Abi Usaibia arabice conscripta*, S. 44, Nr. 93. Zuletzt Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Viten und -Schriftenkataloge. Die Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios im Licht der Überlieferung', in *SCO* 61 (2015), S. 99-166 = Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios'. Vita des Al-Mubaššir b. Fatik, s. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 197-207; cf. S. 190, 469.

<sup>69</sup> S. dazu Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 561-563.

Diogenes Laertios führt in seinem Verzeichnis der Schriften des Aristoteles in Buch V, 27 die *Politeiai* (Nr. 143<sup>70</sup>) mit dem Titel „158 (δυσὸν δέουσαι ρξ΄) Verfassungen von Städten, eingeteilt (κατ' ἰδίαν<sup>71</sup>) nach demokratisch, oligarchisch, tyrannisch und aristokratisch“ auf.<sup>72</sup> Diese Formulierung legt nahe, daß die Sammlung 158 *Politeiai* griechischer Poleis enthielt, deren Verfassungen die unterschiedlichen Varianten aufwiesen, die Aristoteles in seiner *Politik* analytisch dargestellt hatte. Dieselbe Zahl und denselben Titel finden wir auch im Schriftenkatalog der *Vita Menagiana* (Nr. 135).

In welchem Verhältnis steht die Zahl 158 zu der Anzahl von *Politeiai*, die sich aus den Fragmenten ermitteln läßt? Diese belegen außer Athen weitere 47 Verfassungen. Insgesamt sind somit 48 *Politeiai* sicher nachgewiesen.<sup>73</sup> Die *Politeiai*-Epitome des Herakleides Lembos mit 44 Fragmenten,<sup>74</sup> die sich teilweise mit jenen aus anderen Quellen überschneiden, weist 17 zusätzliche Politien nach, was die Gesamtzahl auf 65 anhebt. Fügt man jene Fragmente hinzu, in denen Aristoteles mit Informationen über eine Polis, jedoch ohne Angabe des Werks zitiert wird, so sind 10 weitere Politien bezeugt, wodurch man insgesamt auf 75 *Politeiai* kommt.<sup>75</sup> Geht man mit Olof Gigon davon aus, daß Aristoteles die *Politeiai* als Quelle für seine *Politik* benutzte und setzt voraus, daß er für alle in der *Politik* genannten Poleis auch eine *Politeia* geschrieben hat - wobei entsprechend der Titelformulierung in den beiden Schriftenkatalogen bei Diogenes Laertios und in der *Vita Menagiana*, jedoch im Unterschied zu Gigons Berechnungen,<sup>76</sup> barbarische Völker ausgeschlossen werden müssen, da sie nicht Gegenstand der *Politeiai*, sondern der *Nomima barbarika* waren, so kommen ca. 40 *Politeiai* hinzu, und erhöht sich die Zahl auf über 110 Verfassungen. Folgt man Gigons Hypothese, daß für jene in anderen Pragmatien genannten 20 griechischen Poleis ebenfalls eine *Politeia* existierte, so kommt man auf ca. 130 *Politeiai*. Diese Zahl ist nicht allzu weit entfernt von den 158 bei Diogenes Laertios und in der *Vita Menagiana* und erscheint durchaus glaubhaft.

---

<sup>70</sup> In allen drei Schriftenkatalogen stehen die *Politeiai* am Ende vor den Briefen, cf. Paul Moraux, *Listes*, S. 164.

<sup>71</sup> Entgegen der früheren Lesung und Ergänzung (Bernays, Rose) κοινὰ καὶ ἴδια, s. Aristote. *Politique*, Übers. und Komment. Jean Aubonnet, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1968, LXXXIII, Anm. 3 („communes et particulières“).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera.*, S. 24, Nr. 144; Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 130.

<sup>73</sup> Bei Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 48 außer Athen, wobei er die Achaier hinzurechnet, für die jedoch keine *Politeia* belegt ist; cf. Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 563.

<sup>74</sup> Zwischen den insgesamt 44 in der Epitome überlieferten Fragmenten und Fragmenten, die in anderen Quellen enthalten sind, lassen sich für 20 Verfassungen Übereinstimmungen bzw. gegenseitige Ergänzungen finden.

<sup>75</sup> Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 132.

<sup>76</sup> Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 571-572.

*Eine gemeinsame Sammlung von Politeiai und Nomima barbarika?*

Der dritte uns überlieferte aristotelische Schriftenkatalog, der in der Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios (vermutlich 1.-2. Jh. n.Chr.<sup>77</sup>) enthalten ist (das griechische Original ist verloren, die Schrift ist aber in verschiedenen arabischen Quellen überliefert<sup>78</sup>), nennt eine wesentlich höhere Zahl von *Politeiai*, nämlich 171.<sup>79</sup> Jedoch nicht nur die Zahl, sondern auch die Titelformulierung lautet anders als bei Diogenes Laertios und im Schriftenkatalog der *Vita Menagiana*: „Sein Buch, das er überschrieb ‚Regierung der Städte‘ - Heißt πολιτεῖα[1].- Das ist ein Buch, in dem er die Regierungen und die Beziehungen vieler Völker und Städte, griechischer und anderer erwähnt, und die Zahl der Städte und Völker, die er erwähnt, ist 171“. Während der Schriftenkatalog bei Diogenes Laertios sich ausdrücklich auf griechische Verhältnisse bezog, schließt die Formulierung bei Ptolemaios ebenso ausdrücklich barbarische *ethne* ein. Damit ist eine Erklärung für die höhere Gesamtzahl der *Politeiai* gegeben. Für seine inhaltliche und quantitative Angabe muß Ptolemaios auf eine Quelle zurückgegriffen haben, die sowohl die *Politeiai* wie die *Nomina barbarika* enthielt.<sup>80</sup> Demnach muß zu seiner Zeit eine gemeinsame Sammlung von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* existiert haben.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Zu Ptolemaios s. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle* und Ingmar Düring, 'Ptolemy's *Vita Aristotelis* Rediscovered', in Robert B. Palmer, Robert Hamerton-Kelly (Hrsg.), *Philomathes. Studies and Essays in Memory of Philip Merlan*, Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1971, S. 264-269; Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaeo' und Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaei vita Aristotelis'; Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung*; zuletzt Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios'.

<sup>78</sup> Bei den arabischen Kompilatoren Ibn al-Qiftī und Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a (13. Jh.), Paul Moraux, *Listes*, S. 289-290; Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 208-212 und in der Sammelhandschrift Ayasofya 4388, zuletzt Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes', S. 95-96.

<sup>79</sup> Aristoteles-Vita des Ibn al-Qiftī, s. Baumstark (1900 = 1975), Nr. 78; Vita des Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a (Baumstark, Nr. 91); 170 in der Vita des Al-Mubaššir b. Fatik, s. Düring (1957), 197-207.

<sup>80</sup> Im Zusammenhang mit dem Schriftenkatalog des Ptolemaios sei auf das Werk des Andronikos von Rhodos (1. Jh. v.Chr.) hingewiesen, von dem es heißt, er habe nach dem Wiederauftauchen der Bibliothek des Aristoteles und Theophrasts deren Schriften der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht (Plutarch, Sulla, 26; cf. Myrto Hatzimichali, 'The Texts of Plato and Aristotle in the First Century BC,' in Malcom Schofield (Hrsg.), *Aristotle, Plato and Pythagoreanism in the First Century BC. New Directions for Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 = Myrto Hatzimichali, 'Plato and Aristotle', S. 16-18) und habe verwandte Stoffe zusammengetragen (Porphyrios, *Vita Plot.* 14,7; cf. Myrto Hatzimichali, 'Plato and Aristotle', S. 20). Obwohl ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen Ptolemaios und Andronikos nicht besteht, d.h. von Ptolemaios nicht auf Andronikos geschlossen werden darf, ist andererseits eindeutig, daß Ptolemaios das Werk des Andronikos genau kannte (s. Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios', S. 145-157; Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes', S. 114-116). So ist es durchaus möglich, daß schon Andronikos zumindest in seinem Schriftenkatalog (die Möglichkeit einer echten andronikischen Edition sämtlicher aristotelischer Schriften ist eine noch nicht ausdiskutierte Frage, s. u.a. Jonathan Barnes, *Roman Aristotle. Philosophia togata*, Bd. II: *Plato and Aristotle at Rome*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997 = Jonathan Barnes, *Roman Aristotle*, S. 28; Myrto

Es gibt Hinweise, die eine solche gemeinsame Sammlung wahrscheinlich machen. So erstaunt, daß der Titel *Nomima barbarika*, obwohl die Existenz dieses Werks durch eine ganze Reihe von Fragmenten erwiesen ist, genau genommen weder im Schriftenkatalog des Diogenes Laertios noch in jenem der *Vita Menagiana* noch in jenem des Ptolemaios aufgeführt ist. Er taucht lediglich in der sog. Appendix zu der Werkliste der *Vita Menagiana* (s.o.) auf (Nr. 187: Νομίμων βαρβαρικῶν συνταγήν), und zwar in letzter Position vor den *Pseudepigrapha* und nach dem Eintrag Νόμιμα Ῥωμαίων (Nr. 186). Während der eigentliche Schriftenkatalog der *Vita Menagiana* große Ähnlichkeit mit jenem bei Diogenes Laertios aufweist, und beide auf derselben Quelle fußen müssen, war die Appendix offenbar eine später hinzugefügte Ergänzung, die (mit Hilfe von Angaben aus anderen damals existierenden Schriftenkatalogen) Fehler in der ursprünglichen Liste korrigieren bzw. fehlende Titel ergänzen sollte.<sup>82</sup>

Aber nicht nur in den Schriftenkatalogen suchen wir die *Nomima barbarika* vergeblich, auch die neuplatonischen Viten kennen sie nicht. Vermutlich waren sie in der Antike kein weit verbreitetes oder viel gelesenes Werk. Wurden sie zur Kenntnis genommen, so subsumierte man sie unter den *Politeiai*, wie die Titelformulierung bei Ptolemaios nahelegt, dem offensichtlich eine gemeinsame Sammlung bekannt war. Auch eine Textstelle in Ciceros Schrift *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (5.4) läßt eine solche vermuten: *Omnium fere civitatum non Graeciae solum, sed etiam barbariae ab Aristotele mores, instituta, disciplinas, a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovimus* („Aristoteles unterrichtet uns über die Gebräuche, Institutionen und Systeme nicht nur fast aller griechischen, sondern auch barbarischen *civitates*, von Theophrast kennen wir auch die Gesetze“).<sup>83</sup> Cicero faßt hier griechische *poleis* und nicht-griechische Gemeinwesen unter dem römischen Rechtsbegriff *civitates* zusammen, der unabhängige, nach einheimischem Recht regierte Gemeinwesen bezeichnete. Ciceros Aufzählung *mores, instituta, disciplinae*

---

Hatzimichali, 'Plato and Aristotle', S. 18) nur einen Titel erwähnte, nämlich die *Politeiai*, und unter diesen die *Nomima barbarika* subsumierte.

<sup>81</sup> Zu beachten ist auch, daß der Schriftenkatalog des Ptolemaios (in seinen drei überlieferten Fassungen) auf eine Quelle zurückgehen muß, die älter ist als die Quelle, die dem Schriftenkatalog bei Diogenes Laertios bzw. jenem in der *Vita Menagiana* zugrunde lag; s. Oliver Primavesi, 'Ein Blick in den Stollen von Skepsis: Vier Kapitel zur frühen Überlieferung des *Corpus Aristotelicum*', in *Philologus* 151 (2007), S. 51-77, S. 63-70; William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*, S. 29-32; zuletzt s. Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios', S. 111-115. Dies könnte bedeuten, daß kurz nach dem Tod des Aristoteles eine Schrift vorlag, die die *Politeiai* sowie die *Nomima barbarika* enthielt.

<sup>82</sup> Die in der Appendix hinzugefügten Titel scheinen nach unterschiedlichen Gesichtspunkten geordnet zu sein und mögen verschiedenen Bibliothekskatalogen entstammen. Eine Vereinheitlichung bzw. Vermeidung von Doubletten fehlt, cf. Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios', S. 124-125.

<sup>83</sup> Cicero hatte übrigens zumindest die *Politeiai* von Korinth und Athen zu seiner Verfügung (*Epistulae ad Atticum* 2,2,2; s. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 131).

betrifft *nomima* und *politeiai*, *poieis* und barbarische *ethne* und scheint sich auf eine Schrift zu beziehen, die beide Themenkreise enthielt.<sup>84</sup> Die Formulierung Ciceros entspricht dem Titel im Schriftenkatalog des Ptolemaios.

Die *Politeiai*-Epitome des Herakleides Lembos bestärkt uns in unserer Annahme, daß eine gemeinsame Edition von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* existiert hat. In ihr fanden wir neben Fragmenten aus den *Politeiai* vier Einträge für barbarische *ethne* (Thraker,<sup>85</sup> Lykier, Leukaner<sup>86</sup> und Tyrrhener, d.h. Etrusker, s.o.). Diese Mischung deutet darauf hin, daß auch Herakleides Lembos eine Quelle auswertete, in der *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* zusammengefaßt waren.<sup>87</sup>

Ähnliches gilt für die *Ethnon synagoge* des Nikolaos von Damaskus, die, wie wir oben sahen, hauptsächlich barbarische Völker betrifft. Gignons Annahme, Nikolaos habe für sein Werk „mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit“ nur eine einzige Quelle benutzt, ist zuzustimmen, wobei es sich allerdings nicht um die *Politeiai* des Aristoteles, wie Gigon voraussetzt, gehandelt haben kann, sondern um eine Schrift, die außer den *Politeiai* auch die *Nomima barbarika* enthielt.<sup>88</sup>

Dennoch scheinen die *Nomima barbarika* auch als selbständige Schrift zirkuliert zu haben. So sagt Athenaios, seine Informationen über die Tyrrhener/Etrusker (Rose<sup>3</sup> 607~Gigon 704, cf. Hose [2002], 87, aus *Epit.* 1,23) stammten aus einer Schrift ‚Sitten (*nomima*) der Tyrrhener‘ - was eine von den *Politeiai* getrennte Sammlung nahelegt. Die Tatsache, daß *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* einerseits als getrennte Werke in Umlauf waren, andererseits aber auch in einer gemeinsamen Sammlung vorlagen, muß Verwirrung gestiftet haben, vor allem, was die Gesamtanzahl der *Politeiai* angeht. Dies würde zumindest eine Erklärung für die auseinanderlaufenden Zahlenangaben bieten: diese sind unterschiedlich hoch, je nachdem ob die hellenischen *Politeiai* getrennt oder mit den *Nomima barbarika* zusammen gezählt werden.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Zu Cicero und Andronikos s. Jonathan Barnes, *Roman Aristotle*, S. 44-50, 51-54, 55-57, 58-59.

<sup>85</sup> Sie werden in der Politik übrigens zusammen mit Skythen, Persern und Kelten genannt (1324b 11).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Strabon 6,1,1-2, der sie ausdrücklich als Barbaren bezeichnet.

<sup>87</sup> Mervin R. Dilts, *Herakleides Lembos*, S. 7: die Epitome des Heracleides Lembos „consists of excerpts from forty of Aristotle's Πολιτεῖαι, as well as four excerpts from Aristotle's Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά“; Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 561; Marina Polito, *Eraclide*, S. 252 stellt die Frage, ob die *Politeiai*-Sammlung „comprendeva solo città Greche oppure comprendeva tanto città greche quanto città barbare“, ohne die Möglichkeit einer gemeinsamen Sammlung von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* zu erwägen; Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 260 konstatiert lediglich: „Die Abschnitte über die Thraker, die Lukaner, die Lykier und die Thyrrener stammen wahrscheinlich aus den *Nomima*“; Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 70.

<sup>88</sup> Diese Problematik findet bei Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera* keine Beachtung.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 67-68: „E tuttavia probabile che le cifre più elevate siano da intendersi come il risultato della mancata distinzione tra le Πολιτεῖαι e i Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά“, geht aber nicht auf die Frage ein, ob dies eine Folgeerscheinung einer gemeinsamen Edition sein könnte.

Die Gesamtzahl von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika*

Nehmen wir eine gemeinsame Sammlung von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* an, so muß die Gesamtzahl der behandelten Poleis und *ethne* höher liegen als für die *Politeiai* allein. Ptolemaios, dessen Titelformulierung zufolge die *Politeiai* sowohl griechische wie barbarische Gemeinwesen behandelten, beziffert sie mit 171. Andere Quellen nennen noch höhere Zahlen, so die neuplatonischen Aristoteles-Viten (vermutlich 5. Jh. n.Chr.; sie gehen im Wesentlichen auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurück<sup>90</sup>). In § 23 der *Vita Latina* heißt es, Aristoteles habe die Geschichte (ἱστορίαν) der *Politeiai* zusammengetragen (συνέλεξε), und ihre Anzahl sei 250 (σν') gewesen.<sup>91</sup> Dieselbe Zahl nennt auch Ammonius (6. Jh.) in seinem Kategorienkommentar (*In cat.*, Busse p. 3,20-4,4<sup>92</sup>). Im Kategorienkommentar des Elias (David) erscheint einmal die Zahl 250,<sup>93</sup> an anderer Stelle 200.<sup>94</sup> In der *Vita Vulgata* ist von 255 *Politeiai* die Rede.<sup>95</sup> In einer arabischen Quelle wird die Gesamtzahl mit 191 angegeben.<sup>96</sup> Dabei ist allerdings zu vermuten, daß weder die

---

<sup>90</sup> Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 94-106, 469; Olof Gigon, *Vita Aristotelis*.

<sup>91</sup> Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 142-163, 469: „...Alexandro .... militante contra Persas, eundo cum eo ... Damals habe er die Geschichte (*historiam*) der 250 *politiae* (*ducentarum et quinquaginta politiarum*) geschrieben. Ähnlich § 23 der *Vita Marciana*, in der allerdings die Zahl fehlt; Düring ergänzte sie aus der *Vita Latina*. Als Quelle für ihre Informationen zu den Schriften des Aristoteles nennt die *Vita Marciana* (§ 43) den Andronikos von Rhodos (von dem wir wissen, daß er im 1. Jh. v.Chr. Schriftenkataloge mit den Titeln der Werke des Aristoteles und Theophrasts aufgestellt hat) sowie einen bisher noch nicht eindeutig identifizierten Ptolemaios: Andronikos und Ptolemaios hätten das Testament (διαθήκην) und den Schriftenkatalog des Aristoteles (μετὰ τῶν πινάκων τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων) aufgeführt.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 578, Nr. 143,5.

<sup>93</sup> Elias, *Proleg. philos. et in Porph. Isag.* (ed. Busse), 33,7-10, Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 579, Nr. 143,7. Dieser Kommentar wird in den Handschriften unter dem Namen Davids von Armenien (6. Jh.) geführt, der, wie Elias, ein in Alexandrien tätiger neuplatonischer Philosoph und Schüler des Olympiodoros war. Seine Schriften wurden ins Armenische, die Sprache seines Heimatlandes übersetzt. Der Herausgeber Adolf Busse, Berlin: Reimer, 1900 hatte den Text aus textanalytischen Gründen dem Elias zugewiesen, eine Zuweisung, die nicht mehr allgemein anerkannt wird; der Kommentar gilt auf Grund der historischen Überlieferung und der armenischen Übersetzung bei manchen Forschern als eine Schrift Davids. Literatur dazu s. Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes', S. 103.

<sup>94</sup> *Comm. in Cat.* (ed. Adolf Busse, Berlin: Reimer, 1888), CIAG XVIII S. 113,29-34: 250; S. 33,8: 200; s. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 101, Anmerkung zu Paragraph 23.

<sup>95</sup> Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 120-130, 469, der dieselbe Quelle vorlag wie den beiden anderen Varianten, s. Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*, S. 137-138, 469. Zu den *Politeiai* heißt es in Paragraph 23, Aristoteles sei Alexander bis in das Land der Brahmanen gefolgt und damals habe er die 255 *politeiai* erforscht (ἐνθ' ἱστόρησε τὰς σνε πολιτείας).

<sup>96</sup> In seiner „Bibliothèque orientale, ou Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient“ (Maastricht chez J. E. Dufour & Ph. Roux, 1776-1780) nennt Barthélemy d'Herbelot de Molainville eine arabische Quelle, die die Anzahl der *Politeiai* mit 191 angibt: „Ketab Stassat Almoden, titre du livre des républiques d'Aristote traduit en arabe, dans lequel suivant Hagi-Khalfah, il fait mention de cent quatre-vingt onze

Kommentatoren des 6. Jh. noch die arabischen Kompilatoren eine Ausgabe der *Politeiai* bzw. der *Nomima barbarika* vorliegen hatten, sondern auf Informationen aus älteren Quellen zurückgriffen. Auszuschließen ist auch nicht, daß es sich bei einigen Angaben um Verschreibungen handelt.

Wie viele *Nomima barbarika* kämen in einer gemeinsamen Sammlung zu den oben errechneten 130 *Politeiai* griechischer Poleis und *ethne* hinzu? Gehen wir auf die gleiche Art und Weise vor wie zuvor und nehmen an, daß Aristoteles alle barbarischen *ethne*, die in der *Politik* genannt sind, in die *Nomima barbarika* aufnahm, und daß ebenso alle barbarischen *ethne* in der *Ethnon synagoge* des Nikolaos - für die er Aristoteles als (einzige) Quelle benutzt hat (s.o.) - in den *Nomima barbarika* vertreten waren, so kommen wir auf fast 60 Einzelbücher. Eine Gesamtzahl von ungefähr 200 für die *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* erscheint somit keineswegs übertrieben.<sup>97</sup>

#### *Inhalt und Aufbau der Politeiai und ihre Beziehung zur Lokalgeschichtsschreibung*

Während die wenigen und aus dem Zusammenhang losgelösten Fragmente aus den *Nomima barbarika* kaum einen Schluß auf den Aufbau der einzelnen Bücher zulassen, bietet die fast vollständig erhaltene *Athenaion Politeia* einen Anhaltspunkt für die Anlage der einzelnen *Politeiai*. Diese weist eine klare Struktur auf, in der die detaillierte Beschreibung der zeitgenössischen Verfassung auf einen ersten historischen Teil folgt. Im folgenden Abschnitt stellen wir die bedeutsame Frage, ob und in wie weit wir von dem inhaltlichen Aufbau der athenischen Politie auf jenen der anderen *Politeiai* schließen dürfen.

Es ist nicht zu bestreiten, daß Aristoteles über die historische Entwicklung sowie die aktuell herrschenden politischen Verhältnisse in Athen, wo ihm eine Vielzahl von literarischen und dokumentarischen Quellen zur Verfügung stand, besonders gut unterrichtet war. Es war jedoch sein erklärtes Ziel, Kenntnisse über alle real existierenden politischen Systeme zusammenzutragen, was jeweils die historische Entwicklung und die in seiner Zeit herrschende Situation einschloß. Daher liegt die Annahme nahe, daß ihm für alle *Politeiai* eine ähnliche Grundstruktur, d.h. kein unbedingt einheitliches, aber doch ein vergleichbares

---

viles différentes et de leur état démocratique“, s. Carl Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* II, Paris: Didot, 1848, S. 102.

<sup>97</sup> Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 561 kommt für Poleis und barbarische *ethne* zusammen auf 158. Da seine Listen sich überschneiden (*Politeiai*, die in HL und gleichzeitig in anderen Fragmenten nachgewiesen sind, müssen z.B. herausgefiltert werden, *idem* Überschneidungen zwischen in der *Politik* genannten und durch *Politeiai*-Fragmenten belegte Poleis sowie in der *Politik* und gleichzeitig bei Nikolaos genannte barbarische *ethne*), ist schwer nachzuvollziehen, woraus diese Zahl resultiert. Nach unseren Berechnungen ist sie viel zu niedrig.

Format vorschwebte,<sup>98</sup> wobei das ihm zur Verfügung stehende Quellenmaterial, was Umfang und Qualität der Informationen betrifft, allerdings von Fall zu Fall unterschiedlich gewesen sein mag.

Was die Frage nach einem einheitlichen Konzept für Inhalt und Aufbau der einzelnen *Politeiai* angeht, ist noch stets David L. Toyes 1999 erschienener Aufsatz relevant. Toye vertritt die Auffassung, die *Athenaion Politeia* mit ihrer Fülle von Informationen bilde eine Ausnahme, und es sei daher nicht erlaubt, von ihr auf den Inhalt anderer *Politeiai* zu schließen. Für letztere habe Aristoteles im Wesentlichen auf literarische Quellen zurückgegriffen, die hauptsächlich Material zu Athen und anderen bedeutenden Poleis enthalten hätten.<sup>99</sup> Für kleinere Poleis hätten ihm weit weniger konkrete historisch-politische Informationen zur Verfügung gestanden. Darum beträfen die für sie überlieferten Fragmente auch weitgehend die mythische Vergangenheit. Die Vielfalt von Nachrichten aus der heroischen Zeit - an sich durchaus auch eine „genuine historical tradition“ - sei nicht etwa auf eine willkürliche Auswahl durch die Überlieferung bzw. ein besonderes Interesse an Paradoxem, Mythos und Legende bei den späteren Auswertern der *Politeiai* zurückzuführen, sondern sei eine natürliche Folge der Tatsache, daß Aristoteles für viele der ‚anderen‘ *Politeiai* nur Quellen mit derlei Nachrichten zur Verfügung gestanden, während historisch-politische Informationen über die weniger ferne Vergangenheit und die Gegenwart gefehlt hätten.<sup>100</sup> Auf Lokalgeschichtsschreibung habe Aristoteles nämlich kaum zurückgreifen können, da das Interesse an nicht auf die heroische Vergangenheit bzw. auf Athen beschränkter Lokalgeschichtsschreibung erst in der hellenistischen Zeit nach 330 v.Chr. aufgeblüht sei.<sup>101</sup>

Daß Aristoteles vor allem für Athen eine weitaus größere Fülle von Material als für jedwede andere Polis zur Verfügung stand, soll nicht in Abrede gestellt werden. Auch daß seine vor allem literarischen Quellen mehr Informationen für bedeutendere Poleis wie Sparta, Korinth, Syrakus boten, läßt sich kaum leugnen. Es ist daher durchaus möglich, daß sich die einzelnen *Politeiai* trotz einer beabsichtigten einheitlichen Grundstruktur in Umfang und Inhalt voneinander unterschieden. Jedoch gibt es Hinweise, daß Lokalgeschichten bereits lange vor 330 v.Chr. geschrieben wurden. Hier sei eine Inschrift aus Samos erwähnt, die von einem Gebietsstreit zwischen diesem Stadtstaat und der Polis Priene auf dem

---

<sup>98</sup> Auf die Ähnlichkeit des Aufbaus in der athenischen, lakedämonischen und kretischen Politie wies schon Carl von Holzinger, ‚Aristoteles‘ und Heraklides‘ lakonische und kretische Politien‘, in *Philologus* 52 (1894) = Carl von Holzinger, ‚Aristoteles und Herakleides‘, S. 95 hin; s.a. Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 69. Von einer beabsichtigten einheitlichen Grundstruktur, die in der „reconstruction of the political history of the divers poleis“ bestanden habe, geht selbst Toye, ‚*Athenaion Politeia*‘, S. 249 aus.

<sup>99</sup> David L. Toye, ‚*Athenaion Politeia*‘, S. 238-247.

<sup>100</sup> David L. Toye, ‚*Athenaion Politeia*‘, S. 236-237, 240, 245-246.

<sup>101</sup> David L. Toye, ‚*Athenaion Politeia*‘, S. 247-248.

gegenüberliegenden Festland handelt. Die Inschrift enthält einen Schiedsspruch des in der Sache angerufenen Lysimachos, des Diadochen und Herrschers über Kleinasien (I. Priene<sup>2</sup> T2, aus 293/292 v.Chr.). Wir erfahren, daß der Streit um das fragliche Gebiet bereits im 7 Jh. v.Chr. entstanden und seitdem mit wechselndem Glück ausgefochten worden ist.<sup>102</sup> Eine Passage in der Inschrift berichtet nun, daß die beiden Streitparteien unter den zur Unterstützung ihrer Argumentation angeführten *dikaïomata* auch Lokalgeschichten vorlegten (Z. 12-13: ἐκ τε τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρίων καὶ δικαιωμάτων μ[ε]τὰ τῶν ἔξετῶν σ[πον]δῶ[v]). Um welche Lokalgeschichtsschreiber es geht, erhellt aus einer weiteren Inschrift in derselben Sache, die in Priene gefunden wurde (I. Priene<sup>2</sup> 132 aus 196-191 v.Chr., Z. 69-72): es sind Mäandros von Milet, Kreophylos und Eualkes von Ephesos, Uliades, Olympichos, Euagon und Duris von Samos sowie Theopomp von Chios, die meisten heute unbekannt. Ihre Werke wurden herangezogen, um die in der Inschrift in chronologischer Reihenfolge aufgeführten Ereignisse zu belegen. Selbst wenn die genannten Autoren alle in der Zeit um 330 v.Chr. geschrieben haben sollten (wie Duris von Samos und Theopomp von Chios), so hatten sie doch auf frühere Quellen zurückgreifen können, um die Geschichte des umstrittenen Gebietes bis in das 7. Jh. v. Chr. zurück zu verfolgen.<sup>103</sup> Demnach müssen Lokalgeschichten von Samos und Priene bereits längst vor dem von Toye angenommenen Zeitpunkt vorgelegen haben. Solche Lokalgeschichten haben nicht nur die in der Inschrift genannten Autoren herangezogen, sondern hat auch Aristoteles als Quelle für seine *Politeiai* verwandt. Dies läßt sich für Samos eindeutig nachweisen: ein Fragment aus der *Politeia* von Samos (576 Rose<sup>3</sup>~592 Gigon) stimmt fast wörtlich überein mit der dieselben Fakten betreffenden Passage in der Inschrift aus Priene (I. Priene<sup>2</sup> 132, Z. 139-141). Aristoteles hat demnach aus derselben Quelle geschöpft wie die in der Inschrift angeführten Lokalhistoriographen.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> S. Gertrud Dietze, *Dikaïomata*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>103</sup> Dies widerlegt die Behauptung David L. Toye, *'Athenaion Politeia'*, S. 239: „One could assert that Aristotle could consult the works of local historians .... Yet there is little evidence to indicate that there were many local histories concerning *poleis* in circulation other than those of Athens“. Seiner Schlußfolgerung (S. 248) “these figures strongly suggest that interest in post-heroic local history did not decline after the Classical period” ist allerdings zuzustimmen: die erwähnten Lokalgeschichten spielten in hellenistischer Zeit eine wichtige Rolle für die (territorialen) Interessen und Ansprüche der Städte. Toye widersprach damit der These Felix Jacobys (*Atthis. The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1949, S. 79), die Lokalgeschichtsschreibung habe mit dem Verlust der politischen Souveränität (in hellenistischer Zeit) aufgehört.

<sup>104</sup> Für das frühe Entstehen von Lokalgeschichtsschreibung sprechen folgende Fragmente: FGrHist 534 (Semonides von Amorgos, 8./7. Jh. v.Chr., *Archaeologia ton Samion*), FGrHist 450 = 1761 (Xenophanes von Kolophon, ca. 545-475 v.Chr. *Italias Oikismos*), FGrHist 262 = 1762 (Charon von Lampsakos, 5 Jh. v.Chr., Städtegründungen), FGrHist 4 (Hellanikos, 490/80 - 400 v.Chr., u.a. *Peri ethnon, Ktiseis, Barbarika nomima*), FGrHist 554 = 1763 (Hippias von Rhegion, 5. Jh. v.Chr., *Ktisis*

Darüber hinaus hatte Aristoteles für die Mehrzahl seiner *Politeiai* Zugang zu dokumentarischen Quellen, so Ehreninschriften, bilaterale und Bündnis-Verträge, Tributlisten des Seebundes, Siegerlisten verschiedener Spiele, waren doch fast alle Poleis, für die eine *Politeia* nachgewiesen ist, abgesehen von den italischen und sizilischen Gründungen - Mitglied eines der großen hellenischen Bündnisse, des Hellenischen Bundes gegen die Perser, des Delisch-Attischen Seebundes und des Zweiten Attischen Seebundes, oder hatten bilaterale Verträge mit Athen abgeschlossen, waren Mitglieder der Delphischen Amphiktyonie oder Teilnehmer an den Olympischen Spielen. Dies gilt auch für eine Reihe der in die *Politeiai* aufgenommenen *ethne*.<sup>105</sup>

Antiken Quellen zufolge konnte Aristoteles für seine Forschungen auch auf die Hilfe eines umfangreichen Mitarbeiterstabs rechnen. So sagt Aelianus (170-235 n.Chr.), Philipp II. habe Aristoteles für sein zoologisches Werk in großzügigster Weise finanziell unterstützt (*Varia Historia*, 4,19). Eine vergleichbare Nachricht finden wir bei Athenaios (2./3. Jh. n.Chr.): Alexander der Große habe dem Philosophen für seine zoologischen Studien 800 Talente zur Verfügung gestellt (9, 398 E). Bei Plinius (*H.N.* 8, 44) lesen wir, Alexander habe in ganz Griechenland und Asien tausende Jäger, Fischer, Hirten etc. damit beauftragt, Aristoteles alle nur möglichen Informationen über Tiere zukommen zu lassen. Diesen Berichten zufolge haben sowohl Philipp wie auch Alexander Aristoteles mit finanziellen Mitteln und menschlichen Ressourcen bei seinen verschiedenen Forschungen unter die Arme gegriffen. Ohne an dieser Stelle auf die historische Zuverlässigkeit dieser Quellen einzugehen, erscheint mir prinzipiell die Information als durchaus bemerkenswert, daß Aristoteles bei seinen Arbeiten, wie auch immer, vom makedonischen Herrscherhaus unterstützt wurde. Es ist möglich, daß Aristoteles nicht nur für die Zoologie Subventionen erhielt, sondern daß zumindest Philipp, von dem es heißt, daß er die *Dikaiomata*-Sammlung des Aristoteles in Auftrag gegeben habe (*Vita Marciana*),<sup>106</sup> ihm auch für andere Arbeiten Mittel zur Verfügung stellte.<sup>107</sup> So mochte er in der Lage gewesen sein, seine Schüler und

---

*Italias*), FGrHist 392 = 1764 (Ion von Chios, 490-423/421 v.Chr., *Chiou ktisis*), FGrHist 440 (Panyassis von Halikarnassos, 505/0-455/0, *Ioniaka*), FGrHist 2028 (Memekrates von Elea, Ende 4. Jh. v.Chr., Städtegründungen). Felix Jacoby, 'Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie', in *Klio* 9 (1909), S. 109-119, v.a. 111 datiert die Existenz des Genres nach 440 v.Chr.

<sup>105</sup> Gertrud Dietze, *Poleis und Ethne in den Politeiai*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>106</sup> *Vita Marciana* § 4; cf. Gertrud Dietze, *Dikaiomata*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>107</sup> Friedrich Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar mit einer Übersicht über die Geschichte der griechischen Volkskunde* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 227,2), Wien: Rohrer, 1951 = Friedrich Pfister, *Reisebilder des Herakleides*, S. 59, 62-63. Daß Aristoteles' philosophische Tätigkeit von seinen engen Beziehungen zu Herrschern profitierte, gilt schon für seine Zeit bei Hermias von Atarneos, s. Peter Scholz, *Philosoph und Politik*, S. 148: „Daß von der Gunst dieser Bedingungen (in Assos) vor allem die zoologischen, biologischen und botanischen Forschungen

Mitarbeiter im Laufe der Zeit in die Gebiete der *ethne* im Nordwesten Griechenlands und in entlegene Poleis in Ost und West zu entsenden, um an Ort und Stelle zweckdienliche Informationen einzuholen.

Daß Aristoteles für viele weniger bekannte Poleis nämlich sehr wohl über historisch-politische Informationen verfügte, zeigt die Lektüre der *Politik*. Vor allem in Buch V, das von *stasis* und Verfassungsänderung handelt, häufen sich die Beispiele. Er hatte Kenntnis von Ereignissen aus einer Jahrhunderte zurückliegenden Zeit, so z.B. in Argos (*Pol.* 5, 2, 1303a, 6, 494 v.Chr.<sup>108</sup>), Ambrakia (*Pol.* 5, 2, 1303a, 20-25, wahrscheinlich 580/570 v.Chr.<sup>109</sup>), Taras (*Pol.* 5, 2, 1303a, 3-4, Zeit der Perserkriege<sup>110</sup>), Kolophon (*Pol.* 5, 2, 1303b, 10, um 430 v.Chr.<sup>111</sup>), Chalkis (*Pol.* 5, 3, 1304a, 29, um 600 v.Chr.<sup>112</sup>), Milet (*Pol.* 5, 4, 1305a, 17, um 600 v.Chr.<sup>113</sup>), Naxos (*Pol.* 5, 4, 1305a, 41, um 540 v.Chr.<sup>114</sup>), Elis (*Pol.* 5, 5, 1306a, 15, spätestens Ende 6. Jh. v.Chr.<sup>115</sup>), Eretria (*Pol.* 5, 5, 1306a, 35, 545-510 v.Chr.<sup>116</sup>), Chios (*Pol.* 5, 6, 1306b, 5, archaische Zeit<sup>117</sup>), Sikyon (*Pol.* 5, 9, 1315b, 12, 648-510 v.Chr.<sup>118</sup>), Rhegion (*Pol.* 5, 9, 1316a, 38, spätestens 494 v.Chr.<sup>119</sup>) oder Kyrene (*Pol.* 6, 2, 1319b, 17, Mitte 6. Jh.<sup>120</sup>) sowie solchen, die bis in seine eigene Lebenszeit hineinreichten, so in Klazomenai (*Pol.* 5, 2, 1303b, 9, 387 v.Chr.<sup>121</sup>), Phokis (*Pol.* 5, 3, 1304a, 10, um 357 v.Chr.<sup>122</sup>), Massalia (*Pol.* 5, 5, 1305b, 4, *Pol.* 6, 4, 1321a, 30, zeitgenössische Ereignisse<sup>123</sup>), Aigina (*Pol.* 5, 5, 1306a, 4, um 360 v.Chr.<sup>124</sup>) und Theben (*Pol.* 5, 5, 1306a, 38, 382 v.Chr.<sup>125</sup>). Auch die unbedeutende chalkidische Polis Aphytis - aus deren *Politeia* ein Fragment bei Herakleides erhalten ist (Dilts § 72) ist - fand in

---

profitierten, zeigt der Umstand, daß sich der Großteil der in den naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften des Aristoteles und seines Schülers Theophrast genannten Beispiele, Phänomene und Loklitäten auf das nordwestliche Kleinasien beziehen“.

<sup>108</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 451.

<sup>109</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 455.

<sup>110</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 450.

<sup>111</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 464.

<sup>112</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 474.

<sup>113</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 483.

<sup>114</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 490.

<sup>115</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 501.

<sup>116</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 503.

<sup>117</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 505.

<sup>118</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 600-601.

<sup>119</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 609.

<sup>120</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 638.

<sup>121</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 463.

<sup>122</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 469.

<sup>123</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 492.

<sup>124</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 500.

<sup>125</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 504.

der *Politik* Erwähnung, wobei sich das zitierte ‚aphytische‘ Gesetz nicht datieren läßt.<sup>126</sup>

Bei näherem Hinsehen kommt man zu dem Schluß, daß der Aufbau der einzelnen *Politeiai* einer Grundstruktur folgte, wobei Nachrichten über die heroische Vergangenheit und Siedlungsgeschichte stets den Anfang einer *Politeia* bildeten, wie schon Plutarchs in der Überlieferung einmalige Titelformulierung *Κτίσεις καὶ Πολιτεῖαι* (‚Städtegründungen und Staatsverfassungen‘) erkennen läßt.<sup>127</sup>

Die *Politeiai* gingen also soweit wie nur möglich in die Anfänge des jeweiligen Gemeinwesens zurück. Dies gilt auch für die *Athenaion Politeia* (Herakleidos Lembos, Dilts § 1<sup>28</sup>). Die legendarische Vergangenheit und Siedlungsgeschichte halfen die Gegenwart zu erklären, wie an Hand des süditalischen Taras anschaulich gemacht werden kann. Dort symbolisieren die spartanischen *Partheniai* in dem Taras betreffenden Fragment in der Epitome des Herakleides (Dilts § 57, cf. Strabon 6,3,2-3), die bei der Gründung der Kolonie Taras eine Rolle gespielt hätten, deren dorische Abstammung.<sup>129</sup> Die Abbildung des Taras, Sohn

---

<sup>126</sup> Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*, S. 635.

<sup>127</sup> Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, 1086 C-1107 B, hier 1093 C, s. Ferdinand Dümmler, ‚Peripatetiker‘, S. 182; Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*, S. 143,12; Maria Teresa Schettino, ‚*Politeiai*‘, S. 644; Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 74-75; Donatella Erdas, ‚Tra ktisis e politeia. Il caso della fondazione di Siris nelle *Politeiai* attribuite ad Aristotele‘, in Eugenio Lanzilotta, Virgilio Costa, Gabriella Ottone, *Tradizione e trasmissione degli storici greci frammentari in ricordo di Silvio Accame*, Tivoli: Tored, 2009, S. 579-588.

<sup>128</sup> Daß Herakleides Lembos in seinen Kurzfassungen die ursprüngliche Struktur beibehielt, was einen Rückschluß von Epitome auf Original erlaubt, haben Schepens und Schorn (2010), 421-422 zumindest für dessen biographische Epitome, so die Hermippos-Epitome nachgewiesen; andererseits machen sie darauf aufmerksam, daß die Informationen bei Herakleides dekontextualisiert sind, was „eine historische Einordnung ohne zusätzliche Kenntnis der Zusammenhänge“ erschwert (S. 422). Die von Herakleides getroffene stoffliche Auswahl hatte natürlich Folgen für die Überlieferung der epitomierten Werke, s. Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, ‚Verkürzungen‘, S. 426-427.

<sup>129</sup> Strabon berichtet im Zusammenhang mit der Gründung von Taras, die *Partheniae* seien uneheliche Kinder spartanischer Frauen gewesen, die geboren worden waren, während ihre Männer im messenischen Krieg kämpften. Strabon zitiert hier Antiochus von Syrakus (ca. 430-410 v.Chr., s. FrGrHist 555, 13, wahrscheinlich auch die Quelle des Aristoteles für seine *Politeia* von Taras). Die *Partheniai* seien mit Heloten gezeugte Söhne, die nach der Rückkehr der Spartaner aus dem Krieg die Stadt verlassen mußten und unter Leitung ihres Anführers Phalanthos die Kolonie Taras gründeten. Ephoros hingegen berichte, die *Partheniai* seien uneheliche Kinder spartanischer Frauen mit jungen Spartanern gewesen, die auf Grund ihres jugendlichen Alters noch nicht am Kriegszug gegen Messene teilgenommen hätten. Da sie unehelich waren, seien ihnen nach der Rückkehr der Spartaner aus dem Krieg die Bürgerrechte verweigert worden. Darum hätten sie sich mit den Heloten zu einem Aufstand zusammengetan. Dieser sei vereitelt worden, und die *Partheniai* und Heloten seien gezwungen worden, Sparta zu verlassen, und hätten in Italien eine Kolonie gegründet. Zu den antiken Quellen für die Gründungslegenden von Taras s. Wolfgang Leschhorn, „Gründer der Stadt“. *Studien zu einem*

des Poseidon, einen Delphin reitend, auf dem *Nummos*, der Währungseinheit der Tarantiner (Rose<sup>3</sup> 590~Gigon 607. Cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, 79: Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ταραντίνων πολιτείᾳ) hingegen symbolisiert die mythische Abstammung der Kolonie.<sup>130</sup>

Vom Inhalt her lassen sich die Informationen in den *Politeiai*-Fragmenten (ohne Athen) drei Gruppen zuordnen. Die Nachrichten über Früh- und Siedlungsgeschichte einer Polis sind dabei am häufigsten - was schon Toye beobachtete (s.o.).<sup>131</sup> Die zweite - quantitativ schwächere - Gruppe berichtet über Sitten, Gebräuche, bemerkenswerte Umstände und Anekdoten.<sup>132</sup> Die dritte - zahlenmäßig schwächste - Gruppe enthält Angaben über Zeit- und Verfassungsgeschichte, militärische Struktur, Währungswesen und Gesetze.<sup>133</sup> Diese Gruppen stellen zwar keine proportionale Widerspiegelung des ursprünglichen Inhalts der *Politeiai* dar, illustrieren sie doch, wie oben ausgeführt, an erster Stelle, welche Inhalte die Autoren, die die *Politeiai* als Quelle auswerten, als der Überlieferung für würdig erachteten.<sup>134</sup> Daß für die Autoren der hellenistischen, römischen und byzantinischen Zeit, die sich der *Politeiai* als Quelle bedienten, Informationen über historisch-politische Verhältnisse hinter Legende, Mythos und Sprichwort zurückstanden und nur dann Verwendung fanden, wenn sie dem Zweck der antiquarischen Erläuterung dienten, erklärt sich u.a. aus der veränderten Interessenlage in einer Zeit, in der die genaue Kenntnis der Geschichte und der institutionellen Strukturen in den einzelnen Poleis nicht mehr den gleichen Stellenwert hatte wie zur Zeit des Aristoteles, als diese noch nicht zu einer übergeordneten Reichseinheit gehörten, und für die mit Hilfe von

---

*politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte (Palingenesia 20)*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984, S. 31-41..

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Antiochos von Syrakus: die Stadt Taras sei nach einem Heros benannt worden (Strabon 6,3,2). Zur Identität des Delphinreiters auf den tarentinischen Münzen s. Wolfgang Leschhorn, "Gründer der Stadt". *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte (Palingenesia 20)*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984, S. 35-41.

<sup>131</sup> S. z.B. Fragment aus der *Politeia* der Troizener, Rose<sup>3</sup> 598~Gigon 615, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 83-84, aus Plutarch, Thes. 3,1-4 über die Gründung der Stadt. Plutarch nennt hier sogar seine Quelle; cf. Maria Teresa Schettino, 'Politeia', S. 652, 653.

<sup>132</sup> S. z.B. Fragment aus der *Politeia* der Troizener, Rose<sup>3</sup> 597~Gigon 614, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 83 aus Plutarch, *Quaest. graec.* 19, in dem die Entstehung eines Sprichworts geschildert wird.

<sup>133</sup> S. z.B. Fragment aus der *Politeia* der Tarantiner, s. Rose<sup>3</sup> 590~Gigon 607, cf. Martin Hose, *Fragmente*, S. 79, aus Pollux 9,80 (Poseidon-Sohn Taras auf dem tarantinischen *Nummos*, s.o.). Zu der Art der Informationen in den *Politeiai*-Fragmenten s.a. Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 77-79.

<sup>134</sup> David L. Toye, 'Athenaion Politeia', S. 237, der die Vielzahl von mythischen und vorgeschichtlichen Nachrichten nicht auf die durch die veränderte Interessenlage bestimmte Auswahl der Überlieferung zurückführen möchte (s.o.). Diese Überlegung sei zwar plausibel, jedoch „flawed, as it assumes the existence of detailed historical treatments in all the *Politeiai* for which there is little evidence in the fragments“.

Auszügen aus den *Politeiai* erklärten Texte auch gar nicht erforderlich war.<sup>135</sup> Die Existenz der Gruppen läßt aber zumindest erkennen, daß Aristoteles die kontinuierliche Dokumentation einer Polis von der Gründung bis hin zur Darstellung der zeitgenössischen Verhältnisse anstrebte und als ein zentrales Anliegen seiner Sammlung betrachtete. Für diese Rekonstruktion wurden Sprichwörter, Mythen, Legenden oder Anekdoten, die in den jeweiligen Lokalgeschichten zu finden waren, als Quellen herangezogen.<sup>136</sup>

Von dieser Warte aus betrachtet erscheint die Auswahl der in der Epitome des Herakleides Lembos bewahrten Textstellen weniger willkürlich als auf den ersten Blick: die überwiegende Mehrheit gehört zu den beiden ersten Gruppen (Früh- und Gründungsgeschichte sowie Anekdoten über Sitten, Gebräuche und außergewöhnliche Begebenheiten) und entspricht dem besonderen Interesse des Epitomators, für den die *Politeiai* eine wahre Fundgrube gewesen sein müssen.<sup>137</sup>

Wir kommen zu dem Schluß, daß einerseits die *Athenaion Politeia* sicherlich die am besten dokumentierte Verfassung in der Sammlung ist, daß Aristoteles für die Politien anderer bedeutender Poleis ebenfalls ein relativ reiches Informationsmaterial zur Verfügung stand, daß er aber auch für weniger bedeutende *Politeiai* durchaus über Informationen verfügte und auf literarische und dokumentarische Quellen, so Lokalgeschichten, Inschriftenmaterial und Augenzeugenberichte, zurückgreifen konnte. Wir nehmen daher an, daß prinzipiell für alle *Politeiai* ein einheitlicher Aufbau beabsichtigt war, der je nach Sachlage in mehr oder weniger hohem Maß mit konkreten Informationen ausgestattet werden konnte.

---

<sup>135</sup> Zur Veränderung der Interessenlage und damit der Funktion und des Publikums einer Epitome s. Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen', S. 402; zur Methodik von Verkürzungen in der antiken Literatur 424-428.

<sup>136</sup> Carl von Holzinger, 'Aristoteles und Herakleides', S. 116-117 erkannte die „Rücksicht“ des Aristoteles „auf das Element der Sagen und Anekdoten“ und führte diese im Wesentlichen auf dessen „Lust am Fabulieren“ zurück; „die Absicht, die er bei der Sammlung seines historisch-politischen Materials verfolgte“, erschien ihm als eine bloß litterarische und gelehrte, „befördert freilich durch das lebhaftere Interesse, das der antike Mensch am Staate nahm“. Anders David L. Toye, 'Athenaion Politeia', S. 249: "Aristotle assumed that the heroic myths transmitted by these authorities contained authentic information concerning early Hellenic history"; ähnlich George Huxley, 'On Aristotle's Historical Methods', in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972), S. 168; Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*, S. 76-77; s.a. Dietze, *Dikaiomata*, in Vorbereitung. Zur Verwendung der Atthis als Quelle für die *Athenaion Politeia* s. Philip Harding, 'Atthis and Politeia', in *Historia* 26,2 (1977), S. 146-160.

<sup>137</sup> Zur Vorliebe des Herakleides Lembos für Außergewöhnliches, Anekdoten und Paradoxes v.a. in der Hermippos-Epitome, Informationen, die zu einem verzerrten Bild des Werkes führen mußten s. Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen', S. 422-425.

### Schlußbetrachtungen

Die *Politeiai* werden in allen drei überlieferten antiken Schriftenkatalogen und in den neuplatonischen Aristoteles-Viten aufgeführt. Sie galten offenbar als eine wichtige Schrift des Aristoteles und müssen weithin bekannt gewesen sein. Dem entspricht auch die große Anzahl der überlieferten Fragmente in den antiken Quellen sowie in der Epitome des Herakleides Lembos. Die *Nomima barbarika* finden wir lediglich in der Appendix zum Schriftenkatalog in der *Vita Menagiana*, einem späteren Zusatz, in dem offensichtlich Lücken in der ursprünglichen Liste ergänzt bzw. Fehler berichtigt werden sollen. Auch ist aus dieser Sammlung nur eine begrenzte Anzahl von Fragmenten erhalten.

In den *Politeiai* waren, wie die Fragmente ausweisen, nicht nur griechische Poleis, sondern auch *ethne* erfaßt. Diese sind im Wesentlichen die in Mittel- und Nordgriechenland siedelnden *ethne*, die überregionale Institutionen entwickelt hatten. Sie galten – wenn auch qualitativ unter den Poleis stehend – als hellenisch. Die Sitten und Gebräuche der barbarischen *ethne* sammelte Aristoteles in seinen *Nomima barbarika*.

Wir fanden verschiedene Hinweise, daß zumindest zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt eine Schrift im Umlauf war, die sowohl die *Politeiai* wie die *Nomima barbarika* enthielt. Der Titel für die *Politeiai* im Schriftenkatalog des Ptolemaios deutet z.B. in diese Richtung; während der Schriftenkatalog bei Diogenes Laertios von 158 *Politeiai* spricht, die nach demokratisch, oligarchisch, tyrannisch und aristokratisch geordnet seien, nennt Ptolemaios 171 *Politeiai*, die Städte und Völker, griechische und nicht-griechische betreffen. Nikolaos von Damaskus dürfte für seine *Ethnon synagoge* auf eine gemeinsame Edition von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* zurückgegriffen haben. Die Mischung von *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* muß zu Verwirrung geführt haben, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Angaben zu der Gesamtanzahl der *Politeiai* bzw. *Politeiai/Nomima barbarika*, die in der Überlieferung weit auseinander laufen. Unsere Berechnung, die die erhaltenen Fragmente, die Nennungen in der *Politik* und in den anderen Pragmatien berücksichtigt, ergibt ca. 130 *Politeiai*. Eine ähnliche Berechnung aus Fragmenten, Nennungen in der *Politik*, in anderen Pragmatien sowie in der *Ethnon synagoge* des Nikolaos von Damaskus ergibt ca. 60 *Nomima barbarika*, für *Politeiai* und *Nomima barbarika* zusammen also ca. 190 (die Zahl 191 wird in einer arabischen Quelle genannt).

Was den Aufbau und den Inhalt der *Politeiai* angeht, so dürfen wir davon ausgehen, daß Aristoteles prinzipiell ein einheitliches Konzept vorschwebte. Zwar steht außer Zweifel, daß ihm vor allem für Athen ein besonders umfangreiches Quellenmaterial zur Verfügung stand, und daß andere bekanntere Poleis wie Sparta, Korinth, Theben oder Syrakus ebenfalls gut dokumentiert waren. Inschriften aus Samos und Priene zeigen, daß er auch über auch für die

Poleis dieser Region über Lokalgeschichten verfügte. Weiterhin belegen die Informationen zu den unterschiedlichsten Poleis in der *Politik*, daß er über ihre Geschichte und politische Struktur unterrichtet war, selbst wenn der Umfang an Quellenmaterial hinter dem zurückgestanden haben mag, über das er vor allem für Athen verfügte.

In der *Nikomachischen Ethik* und in der *Rhetorik* wird zwar angekündigt, daß die *Politeiai*-Sammlung für die theoretisch-philosophische Auseinandersetzung in der *Politik* herangezogen werden soll. Diese Aussage bedeutet jedoch nicht, daß die ursprüngliche und ausschließliche Zweckbestimmung der *Politeiai* sich darin erschöpfte, als Datei für eine beabsichtigte philosophische Schrift zu dienen. Die umfangreichen Sammlungen von Verfassungen und von barbarischen Sitten verfolgten eine eigene Zielsetzung, die sich aus Aristoteles' Interesse an historischer Entwicklung und praktisch-politischen Verhältnissen einerseits und an erschöpfendem Erfassen der Realität andererseits erklärt.

#### Bibliographie

Aristote, *L' éthique à Nicomaque*. I, 1. Introduction, (Aristote. Traductions et études), Übers. und Komment. René Antoine Gauthier, Jean Yves Jolif, Löwen, Paris: Publications universitaires, 1970.

Aristote, *Politique*, Livres I et II, Übers. und Komment. Jean Aubonnet, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1968.

Aristoteles, *Politik*, Übers. und Komment. Eckart Schütrumpf, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996 = Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*.

Aristote, *Rhétorique*, Übers. und Hrsg. Médéric Dufour, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1960.

Baffioni, Carmela, 'Antiche liste arabe delle opere di Aristotele', *Rassegna di Scienze Filosofiche*, 29 (1976), S. 83-114.

Barnes, Jonathan, *Roman Aristotle. Philosophia togata*, Bd. II: *Plato and Aristotle at Rome*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997 = Jonathan Barnes, *Roman Aristotle*.

Baumstark, Anton, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1900 (= Aalen 1975).

Bloch, Herbert, 'Herakleides Lembos and his Epitome of Aristotle's *Politeiai*', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association TPAPhA* 71 (1940), S. 27-39 = Herbert Bloch, 'Herakleides Lembos'.

Bloch, Herbert, 'Theophrastus' *Nomoi* and Aristotle', *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson*, (Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil., Suppl. 1), London: Arno Press, 1940, S. 355-376 = Herbert Bloch, 'Theophrastus'.

Bollansée, Jan, 'The Aristotelian Constitutions in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*', in Dominique Lenfant (Hrsg.), *Athénée et les fragments d'historiens* (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 2005), Paris: de Boccard, 2007, S. 175-189.

Bordes, Jacqueline, *Politeia dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à Aristote*, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1982 = Jacqueline Bordes, *Politeia*.

Brunt, Peter Astbury, 'On Historical Fragments and Epitomes', in *Classical Quarterly* 30.2 (1980), S. 477-494.

Chambers, Mortimer (Übers. und Komment.), *Aristoteles. Staat der Athener* (Aristoteles. Werke in deutscher Übersetzung 10,1), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990 = Mortimer Chambers, *Staat der Athener*.

Chandler, Clive, *Philodemos. On Rhetoric*. Books 1 and 2, London: Routledge, 2006.

Chroust, Anton-Herman, *Aristotle. New Light on His Life and on Some of His Lost Works*. Bd. I. *Some Novel Interpretations of the Man and His Life*, London: Routledge and Keagan, 1973 = Chroust I.

Chroust, Anton-Herman, *Aristotle. New Light on His Life and on Some of His Lost Works*. Bd. II. *Observations on Some of Aristotle's Lost Works*, London: Routledge and Keagan, 1973 = Chroust II.

De Romilly, Jacqueline, 'Le classement des constitutions d'Hérodote à Aristote', in *REG* 72 (1959), S. 81-89.

Dickey, Eleanor, *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, (American Philological Association Classical Resources Series), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 = Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Scholarship*.

Dietze, Gertrud, 'Aristoteles-Viten und -Schriftenkataloge. Die Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios im Licht der Überlieferung', *SCO* 61 (2015), S. 99-166 = Gertrud Dietze, 'Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios'.

Dietze, Gertrud, 'Die *Pinakes* des Andronikos im Licht der Vorrede in der Aristoteles-Schrift des Ptolemaios', *Aevum* 89,1 (2015), S. 94-123 = Gertrud Dietze, 'Pinakes'.

Dietze, Gertrud, '*Dikaiomata*', in Vorbereitung.

Dietze, Gertrud, '*Poleis* und *Ethne* in den *Politeiai*', in Vorbereitung.

Dilts, Mervin R., 'The Manuscript Traditions of Aelian's *Varia Historia* and Heraclides' *Politeiai*', in *Trans.Amer. Philol. Ass.* 96 (1965), S. 57-72 = Mervin R. Dilts, 'Manuscript Traditions'.

Dilts, Mervin R., *Excerpta politiarum*, (Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs 5), Durham: Duke University, 1971 = Mervin R. Dilts, *Herakleides Lembos*.

Dorandi, Tiziano, '*La Vita Hesychii d'Aristote*', in *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 52 (2006), S. 87-106.

Dümmler, Ferdinand, 'Zu den historischen Arbeiten der ältesten Peripatetiker', *Philologus* N.F. 42 (1887), S. 179-197 = Ferdinand Dümmler, 'Peripatetiker'.

Düring, Ingmar, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia), Göteborg: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1957 = Ingmar Düring, *Aristotle*.

Düring, Ingmar, 'Ptolemy's *Vita Aristotelis* Rediscovered', in Robert B. Palmer, Robert Hamerton-Kelly (Hrsg.), *Philomathes. Studies and Essays in Memory of Philip Merlan*, Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1971, S. 264-269.

Erdas, Donatella, '*Tra ktisis e politeia. Il caso della fondazione di Siris nelle Politeiai attribuite ad Aristotele*', in Eugenio Lanzilotta, Virgilio Costa, Gabriella Ottone (Hrsg.), *Tradizione e trasmissione degli storici greci frammentari in ricordo di Silvio Accame*, Tivoli: Tored, 2009, S. 577-603.

Fortenbaugh, William W., Gutas, Dimitri, *Theophrastus of Eresus. Commentary Volume 9.2. Sources on Discoveries and Beginnings, Proverbs et al.* (Texts 727-741) (*Philosophia Antiqua. A Series of Studies on Ancient Philosophy*, 136), Leiden: Brill, 2014 = William W. Fortenbaugh, Dimitri Gutas, *Theophrastus*.

Gallo, Italo, 'Eraclide Lembo. Epitome sul trattato 'Sui Legislatori' di Ermippo (P. Oxy 1367)', in Italo Gallo, *Frammenti biografici da papiri I. La biografia politica*, Roma: Ateneo, 1975, S. 13-55.

Giessen, Karl, 'Plutarchs *Quaestiiones Graecae* und Aristoteles' Politien', *Philologus* 60 N.F. 14 (1901), S. 444-471.

Gigon, Olof (Hrsg.), *Vita Aristotelis Marciana*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962 = Olof Gigon, *Vita Aristotelis*.

Gigon, Olof (Hrsg.), *Aristoteles. Opera. Volumen tertium. Librorum deperditorum fragmenta*, Berlin, Bern: de Gruyter, 1987 = Olof Gigon, *Aristoteles. Opera*.

Gutas, Dimitri, 'The Spurious and the Authentic in the Arabic Lives of Aristotle', in Jill Kraye *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages. The Theology and Other Texts*, London: University of London, Warburg Institute, 1986, S. 15-36.

Harding, Philip, 'Atthis and Politeia', in *Historia* 26:2 (1977), S. 146-160.

Hatzimichali, Myrto, 'The Texts of Plato and Aristotle in the First Century BC,' in Malcom Schofield (Hrsg.), *Aristotle, Plato and Pythagoreanism in the First Century BC. New Directions for Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, S. 1-27 = Myrto Hatzimichali, 'Plato and Aristotle'.

Hein, Christel, *Definition und Einteilung der Philosophie: Von der spätantiken Einleitungsliteratur zur arabischen Enzyklopädie* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 20, Philosophie, 177), Frankfurt: Lang, 1985 = Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung*.

Hose, Martin, *Aristoteles. Die historischen Fragmente*, (Aristoteles Werke in deutscher Übersetzung. 20,3), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002 = Martin Hose, *Fragmente*.

Hubbell, Harry Mortimer (Übers. und Hrsg.), 'The *Rhetorica* of Philodemus', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 23 (1929), S. 243-382.

Huxley, George, 'On Aristotle's Historical Methods', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972), S. 157-170.

Jacoby, Felix, 'Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie', in *Klio* 9 (1909), S. 80-123.

Jacoby, Felix, *Atthis. The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1949.

Keaney, John J., *The Composition of Aristotle's Athenaion Politeia: Observation and Explanation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992 = John J. Keaney, *Athenaion Politeia*.

Keaney, John J., 'Theophrastus on Ostracism and the Character of his *NOMOI*', in Marcel Piérart (Hrsg.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Etudes rassemblées, Fribourg/Suisse, 1991), Fribourg: Université de Fribourg, 1993, S. 261-278.

Körte, Alfred, 'Referate: Literarische Texte', in *APF* 7 (1924), S. 231-232.

Lelli, Emanuele (Hrsg.), *I proverbi greci. Le raccolte di Zenobio e Diogeniano* (Altri Classici), Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2006.

Lenfant, Dominique, 'Peut-on se fier aux "fragments" d'historiens? L'exemple des citations d'Herodote', in *Ktema* 24 (1999), S. 103-121.

Lenfant, Dominique, 'Les "fragments" d'Herodote dans les *Deipnosophistes*', in Dominique Lenfant (Hrsg.), *Athénée et les fragments d'historiens* (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 2005), Paris: de Boccard, 2007, S. 43-72 = Dominique Lenfant, *Fragments*.

Leschhorn, Wolfgang, *"Gründer der Stadt". Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (*Palingenesia* 20), Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984.

Lévy, Edmond, 'Politeia et Politeuma chez Aristote', in Marcel Piérart, *Aristote et Athènes* (Etudes rassemblées, Fribourg/Suisse, 1991), Fribourg: Université de Fribourg, 1993, S. 65-90 = Edmond Lévy, 'Politeia'.

Montana, Fausto, *L'Athenaion Politeia di Aristotele negli Scholia vetera ad Aristofane* (Biblioteca di studi antichi 80), Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1996.

Morax, Paul, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, Löwen: Publications universitaires, 1951 = Paul Morax, *Listes*.

Müller, Carl, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* II, Paris: Didot, 1848.

Murray, Oswyn, 'Polis and Politeia in Aristotle', in Mogens Herman Hansen (Hrsg.), *The Ancient Greek City State*, Kopenhagen: Det kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab, 1993, S. 197-210.

Natali, Carlo, 'Aristote de Stagire. Les éthiques. Tradition grecque', in Robert Goulet (Hrsg.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques. Supplément*, Paris: CNRS Editions, 2003, S. 174-190.

Nissen, Heinrich, 'Die Staatsschriften des Aristoteles', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 47 (1892), S. 161-206 = Heinrich Nissen, 'Staatsschriften'.

Ottone, Gabriella (Hrsg.), *Libyka. Testimonianze e frammenti* (I Frammenti degli Storici Greci 1), Rom: Tored, 2002 = Gabriella Ottone, *Libyka*.

Papazoglou, Fanoula, 'Une signification tardive du mot ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ', *REG* 72 (1959), S. 100-105.

Parmentier, Edith, Barone, Francesca Prometea (Übers. und Komment.), *Nicolas de Damas. Histoires, Recueil de coutumes, Vie d'Auguste, Autobiographie*, (Collection Fragments), Paris: Belles Lettres, 2011 = Edith Parmentier, Francesca Prometea Barone, *Nicolas de Damas*.

Pfister, Friedrich, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar mit einer Übersicht über die Geschichte der griechischen Volkskunde* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 227,2), Wien: Rohrer, 1951 = Friedrich Pfister, *Reisebilder des Herakleides*.

Piéart, Marcel, *Aristote et Athènes*, (Etudes rassemblées, Fribourg/Suisse, 1991), Fribourg: Université de Fribourg, 1993.

Pietsch, Christian, *Die Argonautika des Apollonios von Rhodos. Untersuchungen zum Problem der einheitlichen Konzeption des Inhalts*, (Hermes Einzelschriften 80), Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999.

Plezia, Marian, 'De Ptolemaeo Pinacographo', *Eos* 63 (1975), S. 37-42 = Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaeo'.

Plezia, Marian, *De Ptolemaei vita Aristotelis*, in Jürgen Wiesner (Hrsg.), *Aristoteles. Werk und Wirkung*, I. *Aristoteles und seine Schule*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985, S. 1-11 = Marian Plezia, 'De Ptolemaei vita Aristotelis'.

Podlecki, Anthony J., 'Theophrastus on History and Politic's, in William W. Fortenbaugh, *Theophrastus of Eresus: On his Life and Work*, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1985, S. 231-249.

Polito, Marina (Hrsg.), *Dagli scritti di Eraclide sulle costituzioni. Un commento storico* (Università degli studi di Salerno. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antiquità 26), Neapel: Arte tipografica, 2001 = Marina Polito, *Eraclide*.

Primavesi, Oliver, 'Ein Blick in den Stollen von Skepsis: Vier Kapitel zur frühen Überlieferung des *Corpus Aristotelicum*', *Philologus* 151 (2007), S. 51-77.

Rhodes, Peter John, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford: Clarendon, 2006 = 1992 = Peter John Rhodes, *Commentary*.

Rhodes, Peter John, Osborne, Robin (Hrsg.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC*, Oxford: University Press, 2003.

Rodier, Georges, *Etudes de philosophie grecque. Socrate, Antisthène, Platon, Aristote, Les Stoïciens, Plotin*, (Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie), Paris: Vrin, 1969.

Rose, Valentin, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1886 = Rose<sup>3</sup>.

Schepens, Guido, Bollansée, Jan, 'Frammenti di *politeiai*, *nomoi* e *nomima*. Prolegomeni ad una nuova edizione', in Silvio Cataldi (Hrsg.), *Poleis e politeiai*, (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Storia Greca, Torino, 2002), Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004, S. 259-286 = Guido Schepens, Jan Bollansée, 'Frammenti'.

Schepens, Guido, Schorn, Stefan, 'Verkürzungen in und von Historiographie in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit', in Marietta Horster, Christiane Reitz (Hrsg.), *Condensing Texts - Condensed Texts (Palingenesia 98)*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010, S. 395-433 = Guido Schepens, Stefan Schorn, 'Verkürzungen'.

Schettino, Maria Teresa, 'Le *politeiai* aristoteliche nel corpus plutarcho', in Aurelia Pérez Jiménez et al. (Hrsg.), *Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles. Actas del V congreso internacional de la International Plutarch Society*, (Madrid-Cuenca, 1999), Madrid: Ed. clásicas, 1999, S. 643-656 = Maria Teresa Schettino, 'Politeiai'.

Scholz, Peter, *Der Philosoph und die Politik. Die Ausbildung der philosophischen Lebensform und die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Philosophie und Politik im 4. und 3. Jh. v.Chr.*, (Frankfurter Althistorische Beiträge, 2), Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998 = Peter Scholz, *Philosoph und Politik*.

Schütrumpf, Eckart (Übers. und Komment.), *Aristoteles. Politik* (Aristoteles. Werke in deutscher Übersetzung, 9,3), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996 = Eckart Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles*.

Sollenberger, Michael G., 'The Lives of the Peripatetics: An Analysis of the Contents and Structure of Diogenes Laertius', *Vitae philosophorum* Book 5, ANRW II, 36.6 (1992), S. 3793-3879.

Stewart, John Alexander, *Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, Bd. I-II (Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle), New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Thielscher, Paul, 'Die relative Chronologie der erhaltenen Schriften des Aristoteles nach den bestimmten Selbstzitatzen', *Philologus* 97 (1948), S. 229-265.

Toye, David L., 'The Alleged Alphabetization of Aristotle's *Politeiai*', *Classical Philology* 64:4 (1969), S. 213-218.

Toye, David L., 'Aristotle's Other *Politeiai*: Was the *Athenaion Politeia* Atypical? ', *CJ* 94:3 (1999), S. 235-253 = David L. Toye, 'Athenaion *Politeia*'.

Von Holzinger, Carl, 'Aristoteles' athenische Politie und die Heraklidischen Fragmente', *Philologus* 50 (1891), S. 436-446 = Carl von Holzinger, 'Athenische Politie'.

Von Holzinger, Carl, 'Aristoteles' und Heraklides' lakonische und kretische Politien', *Philologus* 52 (1894), S. 58-117 = Carl von Holzinger, 'Aristoteles und Herakleides'.

Von Leutsch, Ernst Ludwig, Schneidewin, Friedrich Wilhelm (Hrsg.), *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, B. I, Hildesheim: Olms, 1965.

# STEREOTOMY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN: NOTES TOWARD AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY\*

SARA GALLETTI  
DUKE UNIVERSITY

## *Abstract*

Stereotomy, the art of cutting stones into particular shapes for the construction of vaulted structures, is an ancient art that has been practiced over a wide chronological and geographical span, from Hellenistic Greece to contemporary Apulia and across the Mediterranean Basin. Yet the history of ancient and medieval stereotomy is little understood, and nineteenth-century theories about the art's Syrian origins, its introduction into Europe via France and the crusaders, and the intrinsic Frenchness of medieval stereotomy are still largely accepted. In this essay, I question these theories with the help of a work-in-progress database and database-driven maps that consolidate evidence of stereotomic practice from the third century BCE through the eleventh century CE and across the Mediterranean region. I argue that the history of stereotomy is far more complex than what historians have assumed so far and that, for the most part, it has yet to be written.

## *Key Words*

Stereotomy, stone vaulting, applied geometry, history of construction techniques.



---

\* I am very grateful to John Jeffries Martin and Jörn Karhausen for reading drafts of this essay and providing important suggestions. I am also indebted to the faculty and students of the Centre Chastel (INHA, Paris), where I presented an early version of this essay in April 2016, for helping me clarify aspects of my research. Philippe Cabrit, a *maître tailleur* of the Compagnons du devoir de France, helped me immensely by generously sharing his knowledge of the practice of stereotomy. This essay is dedicated to Maître Cabrit as a token of my gratitude.

Stereotomy is the art of cutting stones into particular shapes for the construction of vaulted structures. Stereotomic vaults are distinguished from the broader family of stone vaults by the size, shape, and assembling technique of their components (voussoirs). An example of a stereotomic vault covers the lower portico in the courtyard of the Palace of Charles V in Granada (Fig. 1), while examples of the broader category of stone vaults cover the nave of the Church of Saint Séverin in Paris (Fig. 2). In Granada, the large (compared to the overall dimensions of the vault) voussoirs were individually cut to fit each other precisely and then dry-assembled like the pieces of a three-dimensional puzzle. In Saint Séverin, instead, the vaults' severies (the compartments formed between the ribs) were built using smaller stones of standard shape and size, and, like bricks, they are held together by mortar that fills the joints. While the curvature of the Granada vault results from the accurate shaping of its voussoirs, the curvature of the Saint Séverin vaults results from the shaping of its mortar fillings.

Stereotomy is best known for a variety of acrobatic masterpieces produced in early modern France and Spain, such as the composite vault in the Town Hall of Arles or the floating staircase in the Lonja de Mar of Barcelona (Fig. 3). It is also known through a substantial body of theory that started with the treatises of architects such as Philibert de L'Orme (1514–70) and Alonso de Vandelvira (1544–1625), and, via two centuries of elaborations, gave birth to descriptive geometry, the branch of mathematics concerned with the two-dimensional representation of three-dimensional objects.<sup>1</sup> However, the art is neither early modern nor European; it has been practiced over a wide chronological span, from Hellenistic Greece to contemporary Apulia, and across a broad geographical range, centered

---

<sup>1</sup> Philibert de L'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, Paris: Morel, 1567 and Alonso de Vandelvira and Geneviève Barbé-Coquelin de Lisle (ed.), *El tratado de arquitectura de Alonso de Vandelvira [Libro de trazas de cortes de piedras, ca. 1585]*, Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, 1977. Fundamental early modern theories of stereotomy include: Ginés Martínez de Aranda and Antonio Bonet Correa (ed.), *Cerramientos y trazas de montea* [ca. 1600], Madrid: Servicio Histórico Militar, Comisión de Estudios Históricos de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo, 1986; Gérard Desargues, *Brouillon projet d'exemple d'une manière universelle du S.G.D.L. touchant la pratique du trait à preuve pour la coupe des pierres en l'architecture*, Paris, 1640; Mathurin Jousse, *Le secret d'architecture découvrant fidèlement les traits géométriques, coupes, et derobemens nécessaires dans les bastiments enrichi d'un grand nombre de figures, adiustées sur chaque discours pour l'explication d'iceux*, La Flèche: George Griveau, 1642; Amédée-François Frézier, *La théorie et la pratique de la coupe des pierres et des bois, ou traité de stéréotomie à l'usage de l'architecture*, Strasbourg: Dousseker, 1737–39; and Benito Bails, *Elementos de matemática*, Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1779–90. The theory of descriptive geometry was formulated in Gaspard Monge, *Géométrie descriptive: leçons données aux Écoles normales l'an 3 de la République*, Paris: Gabay, 1798. On the origins of descriptive geometry and its relation to stereotomy, see Joël Sakarovitch, *Épures d'architecture: de la coupe des pierres à la géométrie descriptive, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998.

on the Mediterranean Basin but reaching far beyond—from Cairo to Gloucester, from Yerevan to Braga. Stereotomy's wide dissemination is not matched in its frequency; the art has remained marginal in all the cultures in which it has been practiced across time and space. Extant examples are a very small percentage of extant stone vaults, no matter what chronological or geographical context is being observed, and there is no reason to believe that stereotomic vaults were destroyed at a higher rate than other stonemasonries. Their infrequency is unsurprising, for stereotomy not only requires a sophisticated understanding of curved solids and a perfect mastery of stonecutting techniques, requirements that make a stereotomic vault difficult to conceive and to produce, but it also defies one of construction's fundamental tenets: to provide effective solutions to structural problems. Inefficient for all involved in its making—the designers, the stonecutters, and oftentimes the stones themselves—the art of stereotomy is superfluous from the standpoint of structure: no stereotomic vault is *per se* necessary, and all pre-modern and early modern stereotomic vaults could have been built using different techniques or materials—and, without exception, doing so would have been in the interest of labor, time, and money.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, stereotomy is best described as a virtuoso art. It is the construction equivalent of scientists' legendary bumblebee, 'which cannot possibly fly' but does.<sup>3</sup> Stereotomy testifies to human playfulness and to the pleasures associated with intellectual puzzles and wondrous objects, as well as to the values attributed to high-skilled workmanship, quality of construction, and the aesthetic significance of the seemingly least ornamental aspects of architecture.

Stereotomy has attracted the attention of architectural historians, especially after the groundbreaking work of Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, whose *L'architecture à la française* (1982) focuses on France but has inspired the study of stereotomy in other countries, Spain and Italy in particular.<sup>4</sup> This growing body

---

<sup>2</sup> 3D-modeling software and computer-aided cutting machines have made contemporary stereotomy a far more efficient practice and one with a high structural, spatial, and aesthetic potential in contemporary architecture, as shown by the research conducted by Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri, Francesco Defilippis, and Giuseppe Fallacara at the School of Architecture and Civil Engineering of the Polytechnic of Bari, Italy. See in particular Richard Etlin, Giuseppe Fallacara, and Luc Tamborero (eds.), *Plaited Stereotomy: Stone Vaults for the Modern World*, Rome: Aracne, 2008; Giuseppe Fallacara *et al.* (eds.), *Stereotomy: Stone Architecture and New Research*, Paris: Presses des Ponts, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> On the legend of the bumblebee that cannot fly and its debunking, see Douglas L. Altshuler *et al.*, 'Short-amplitude high-frequency wing strokes determine the aerodynamics of honeybee flight', *PNAS* 102, 50 (2005), pp. 18213–18218. The quote is from Antoine Magnan, *Le vol des insectes*, Paris: Hermann, 1934, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *L'architecture à la française: du milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Picard, 1982. On Spain, see in particular José Carlos Palacios, *Trazas y cortes de cantería en el Renacimiento español*, Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 1990; José Calvo López, *Cerramientos y trazas de montea de Ginés Martínez de Aranda*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad Politécnica de

of literature focuses almost exclusively on early modern Europe, however, and theories about the art's origins and its modes of dissemination across the ancient and medieval Mediterranean have gone largely unquestioned. In particular, the notion that stereotomy was imported into Western Europe from Syria by the crusaders—a theory first advanced by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in the nineteenth century—is still largely accepted, despite Fernand Braudel's work on the Mediterranean and post-Braudelian studies on the sea and its networks.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Viollet-le-Duc's assumption that, once imported into France, stereotomy developed along an uninterrupted line of progress through the Middle Ages has never been put to the test; also untested is his construal of stereotomy as a quintessentially French art, and, indeed, both notions inform the work of Pérouse de Montclos and his followers.<sup>6</sup> Last but not least, uses of the term stereotomy and definitions of what constitutes a stereotomic work vary

---

Cartagena, 1999; Arturo Zaragoza Catalán, *El arte de corte de piedras en la arquitectura valenciana del cuatrocientos: un estado de la cuestión*, Valencia: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos de Valencia, 2008; and Juan Carlos Navarro Fajardo (ed.), *Bóvedas valencianas: arquitecturas ideales, reales y virtuales en época medieval y moderna*, Valencia: Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València, 2014. On Italy, see especially Marco Rosario Nobile (ed.), *Matteo Carnilivari, Pere Compte: 1506-2006: due maestri del gotico nel Mediterraneo*, Palermo: Caracol, 2006; Maria Mercedes Bares, *Il Castello Maniace di Siracusa: stereotomia e tecniche costruttive nell'architettura del Mediterraneo*, Siracusa: Emanuele Romeo, 2011; Giuseppe Antista and Maria Mercedes Bares, *Le scale in pietra a vista nel Mediterraneo*, Palermo: Caracol, 2013; Marco Rosario Nobile (ed.), *La stereotomia in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo: guida al Museo di Palazzo La Rocca a Ragusa Ibla*, Palermo: Caracol, 2013; and *Id.*, 'Rinascimento alla francese: Gabriele Licciardo, architettura e costruzione nel Salento della metà del Cinquecento', *Artigrama* 30 (2015), pp. 193–219.

<sup>5</sup> Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: B. Bance, 1854–68, vol. 9, pp. 197–198. While stimulating essays can be found in Jaynie Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2009 and Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker (eds.), *Mechanisms of exchange: transmission in medieval art and architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000-1500*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, there is no art historical equivalent to seminal studies of the Mediterranean like Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris: Colin, 1949; Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000; and David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> The 2013 revised edition of Pérouse de Montclos's *Architecture à la française* (first published in 1982), integrates none of the literature published in the past three decades on medieval and early modern stereotomy outside of France, including in Armenia, Egypt, Italy, and Spain. The book therefore largely overstates the dominance of French practice in the field of stereotomy. Similarly, Philippe Potié's analyses of early modern stereotomy rely on the misleading notion that French medieval practitioners had developed a full mastery of the art: Philippe Potié, *Philibert de l'Orme, figures de la pensée constructive*, Marseille: Parenthèses, 1996 and *Id.*, 'Le tracé d'épure, des carnet médiévaux aux traités de stéréotomie', in Jean-Philippe Garric, Valérie Nègre, and Alice Thomine-Berrada (eds.), *La construction savante: les avatars de la littérature technique*, Paris: Picard, 2008, pp. 149–160.

significantly across the literature, which has the effect of destabilizing the boundaries of stereotomy as a discipline, thus contributing to the blurring of its history.

In this essay, I first propose an operative definition of stereotomy, and then I question the received historiography and suggest a revision of the current theory on the art's origins. Finally, I point to new, potentially more productive ways of approaching its ancient and medieval history. On the basis of preliminary but substantial data on stereotomic practice in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean, I argue that the history of stereotomy is far more complex than what historians have assumed so far and that, for the most part, it has yet to be written.

The term stereotomy derives from two ancient Greek words—στερεός (solid) and τομή (cut)—but its first known use dates only to 1644, when architect Jacques Curabelle defined it as the ‘section of solids applied to stonecutting’.<sup>7</sup> Before Curabelle, French theoreticians used *art du trait* (art of drawing, from the Latin *tractus*, drawing), *pratique du trait* (practice of drawing), and *trait de maçonnerie* (masonry drawing) to identify the series of geometric constructions necessary to produce a stereotomic work.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, in Spain, the expressions in use included *arte de la traza* (art of drawing) and *arte de cantería* (art of stonecutting).<sup>9</sup>

While the term stereotomy has been used since the seventeenth century to cover both the speculative (planning and drawing) and the practical (tracing and cutting) components of the art, today members of the Compagnonnage—a French professional association of workers in the building industry—often prefer to speak, instead, of *taille/coupe de pierre* (stonecutting), which they see as emphasizing the practical aspects of the centuries-long art they proudly continue.<sup>10</sup> Their rationale is that, while stereotomy can be construed as a purely abstract discipline within the subfield of solid geometry (as in Desargues, *Brouillon projet*, 1640), the expression *taille/coupe de pierre* implies the execution in stone of the complex-shape voussoirs defined in the preparatory drawings for a vault's construction. For the same reason, academic studies often favor the terms

---

<sup>7</sup> Jacques Curabelle, *Examen des œuvres du Sr. Desargues*, Paris: Henault, 1644, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> See, among others, L'Orme, *Premier tome*; Jean Chéreau, *Traité d'architecture* [1567–74], Biblioteka Publiczna, Gdansk, ms. 2280; Jacques Gentillâtre, *Livre d'architecture* [ca. 1615–25], Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fond français 14727; and Jousse, *Le secret d'architecture*.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Vandelvira, *El tratado de arquitectura*.

<sup>10</sup> The publication that deals with stereotomy in the *Encyclopédie des métiers* edited by the Association ouvrière des Compagnons du devoir de France, is titled *La maçonnerie et la taille de pierre*, Paris: Librairie du compagnonnage, 1991–2007. The same terminology is employed in other modern professional manuals, such as Guy Jouberton, *Tracés et coupes des pierres*, Dourdan: Vial, 2007.

stonecutting, *taille/coupe de pierre*, and *cantería* over stereotomy.<sup>11</sup> However, outside of the professional ranks, whose codified and contextual uses provide specific meaning, neither ‘stonecutting’ nor its French and Spanish equivalents point specifically to vault construction, let alone the type of vault construction that de L’Orme, Vandelvira, and Curabelle wrote about. In fact, the frequent use of stereotomy and stonecutting as interchangeable terms in modern literature has introduced a slippage in meaning such that ‘stereotomy’ is often extended to structures whose execution requires no stereotomic knowledge—rib vaults, for instance, as well as barrel vaults and flat vaults.<sup>12</sup> Beyond the confines of historical studies, the term has been so broadly applied that it may point to any form of ashlar masonry, including of the simplest kind (e.g. the flat, rectangular faces of the blocks that compose a straight wall), or even refer to solid, heavy, and continuous structural systems that rely on compressive strength in opposition to lightweight and/or skeletal systems.<sup>13</sup>

Recently, Claudio D’Amato, Giuseppe Fallacara, and Francesco Defilippis have proposed definitions of stereotomy based on ‘invariant parameters’ (prefigurative, technical-geometric, and static) and on execution criteria (the precision of cutting, the dry assembling, and the bareness of the intrados) that have helped frame the subject at hand.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, all stereotomic vaults respond to these criteria: their creators subdivide the vaults’ continuums into their components, the *voussoirs* (prefigurative invariant); they define the geometry of each *voussoir* (technical-geometric invariant) in order to accurately shape them

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Sakarovitch, *Épure d’architecture*; Guillermo Herráez Cubino, *El léxico de los tratados de cortes de cantería españoles del siglo XVI*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Salamanca, 2007; and Juan Roldán Martín (ed.), *El arte de la piedra: teoría y práctica de la cantería*, Madrid: CEU Ediciones, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> See, among others, Pérouse de Montclos, *L’architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 139-142 and 161-166 and Sergio Luis Sanabria, ‘From Gothic to Renaissance Stereotomy: The Design Methods of Philibert de l’Orme and Alonso de Vandelvira’, *Technology and Culture* 30, 2 (1989), pp. 266-299, both of which cover rib vaults, flat vaults, and barrel vaults in discussions of stereotomy.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Andrea Deplazes and Christoph Wieser, ‘Solid and Filigree Construction’, in Andrea Deplazes (ed.), *Constructing Architecture: Materials, Processes, Structures*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2005, p. 13, where stereotomy is used to mean ‘solid construction’ as opposed to ‘filigree construction’. More examples are found in Francesco Bergamo and Gabriella Liva, *Stereotomia: dalla pietra al digitale*, Venice: Cafoscarini, 2010, pp. 43-45. These broad uses of the term stereotomy find their origin in the writings of Gottfried Semper, for instance in Gottfried Semper and Harry Francis Mallgrave (ed.), *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004, p. 725.

<sup>14</sup> Claudio D’Amato and Giuseppe Fallacara, ‘Tradizione e innovazione nella progettazione/costruzione dell’architettura: ruolo del ‘modello’ e attualità della stereotomia’, in Id. (eds.), *L’art de la stéréotomie/L’arte della stereotomia: Les compagnons du devoir et les merveilles de la construction en pierre/I compagni del dovere e le meraviglie della costruzione in pietra*, Paris: Librairie du compagnonnage, 2005, p. 54; Francesco Defilippis, *Architettura e stereotomia: caratteri dell’architettura in pietra da taglio in area mediterranea*, Bari: Poliba, 2010, pp. 45-48.

before mounting (precision of cutting); they ensure the vaults' mechanical equilibrium (static invariant) in the absence of mortar (dry assembling); and they avoid plastering or painting the vaults' surfaces, so that viewers can appreciate the precision of execution of their joint lines as well as the patterns they form (bareness of the intrados). Yet none of these criteria address the geometric complexity that is at the core of the art's virtuosity, as they do not filter out the simple geometries that are of no concern to a stereotomist. After all, geometric complexity is central not only in distinguishing stereotomic vaults, but in defining them. Stereotomy's foundational theoretical texts focus on vaults of complex geometry (e.g. vaults featuring double curvatures and conics, such as domes and trumpet vaults, Fig. 4). Furthermore, the art has been consistently associated with geometric ingenuity and prowess. In de L'Orme's words: 'With the help of geometry, practitioners will learn how to cut the spherical and pyramidal solids in a variety of *unusual* manners and, thanks to the same skills and *inventions*, they will find ways to cut all sorts of stones in order to produce *all sorts of vaults*'.<sup>15</sup>

In order to redefine stereotomy both as a technical term and as a field of investigation, it is helpful to revisit the concerns of its early modern theoreticians. It was not stone vaulting in general that intrigued de L'Orme, Vandelvira, and their peers, but the type of stone vaulting that could not be executed solely on the basis of plans and elevations or sections—the traditional instruments of architectural representation. In other words, they were interested in vaults featuring joint lines that lie neither on the vertical or horizontal plane and whose plans, elevation, and sections, therefore, provide only shortened, skewed, or incomplete views of their voussoirs' sides. Examples would include the above-mentioned domes and trumpet vaults, as well as groin vaults, annular and helical vaults, skew arches, *arrière voussures*, and a variety of composite-geometry vaults (e.g. those that often support floating staircases). For instance, the joint lines of a trumpet vault lie on an inclined conic surface, so their lengths are shortened in both the plan and section of the vault (Fig. 5). A stonemason, though, needs the true lengths of each of the joint lines in order to proceed with the shaping of the vault's voussoirs. To solve this problem, stereotomists use a field-specific type of drawing—de L'Orme's *traits* and Vandelvira's *trazas*—that materialize, on paper or stone, the geometric constructions that allow the developing (flattening) of the vault's conic surface, thus revealing the true lengths of its joint lines (Fig. 6). Most stonemasonries, including a number of vaults, fall out of the category here described and out of the concerns of stereotomists. The plan and elevation of a straight ashlar wall, for instance, contain all the information necessary to shape the stone blocks that compose it,

---

<sup>15</sup> L'Orme, *Premier tome*, f. 128<sup>r</sup>, my emphasis.

with no need for further geometric constructions. The true dimensions and true shapes of the voussoirs that compose an arch, too, are provided by its plan and elevation, and the same is true of the ribs of a rib vault, which can be considered separately as single arches. Similarly, the plans and elevations of barrel vaults and flat vaults, which, from the point of view of geometry, are horizontal extrusions of arches and straight arches, provide all the information necessary to shape their voussoirs. None of these stonemasonries require the use of *traits/trazas*, and for precisely this reason none of them received much (if any) attention from de L'Orme, Vandelvira, and their followers. Including them in discussions of stereotomy hinders rather than it helps define the contours of the discipline. In order to reflect its practitioners' and theoreticians' concerns, therefore, I propose to define stereotomy as a practice and field of study that deals with vaulted structures that fit the above-mentioned criteria identified by D'Amato, Fallacara, and Defilippis, and whose geometries are complex enough that plans, elevations, and sections are not sufficient to provide all the information necessary to proceed with the cutting of their voussoirs.

The commonly accepted theory about the origins of stereotomy—first advanced by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc—is that the art was born in ancient Greece and that, like other ancient construction techniques, it disappeared from the toolkit of Western craftsmen and was unknown in medieval Europe until the twelfth century, when the first crusaders imported it from Syria into France.<sup>16</sup> According to Viollet-le-Duc, in Syria the crusaders found 'schools [of stereotomy]'—an expression that most likely refers to extant buildings featuring stereotomic vaults, such as the Roman Theatre in Shahba, the Audience Hall of al-Mundhir in Resafa, and the early Christian churches of Qalb Lozeh and of Saint Simeon Stylites (Fig. 7)—where they learned skills that they 'put to good use' once back home.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, they would seem to have done so immediately, for the same author identifies the earliest example of medieval European stereotomy in the nave and narthex of the Abbey Church at Vézelay (ca. 1120–40, Fig. 8).

Viollet-le-Duc's theory—which identifies France as the cradle of medieval stereotomy—has thus far been challenged only by Sergio Sanabria and Pérouse de Montclos. Sanabria believes that stereotomy conquered Western Europe via Islam and Spain, not via the crusaders and France. For proof he cites the tenth-century rib domes in the *maqsurah* of Córdoba's Cathedral (Fig. 9a).<sup>18</sup> Pérouse de Montclos

<sup>16</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, vol. 9, pp. 197–198.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>18</sup> Sanabria, 'From Gothic to Renaissance Stereotomy', p. 267. Without offering an explanation, Sanabria discusses the ribs of the tenth-century domes of the *maqsurah*, which are covered in plaster and paint, as if the stonework was bare, as is the case for the thirteenth-century dome of the Villaviciosa Chapel (fig. 9b).

believes that ancient and early Christian models from the eastern fringes of the Roman and Byzantine empires were too scarce and isolated to be significant for the development of medieval European stereotomy. He attributes its emergence in twelfth-century France to the presence of relevant Gallo-Roman models in the regions of Languedoc-Roussillon and Bouches-du-Rhône, in particular the Amphitheater and the Temple of Diana in Nîmes, the Arles Amphitheater, and the Pont du Gard.<sup>19</sup> He proceeds to trace a history of stereotomy as a distinctively French specialty—from Gallo-Roman times through the Middle Ages and to the early modern masterworks, in practice and theory, by de L’Orme, François and Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Robert de Cotte, and Frézier, among others. According to Pérouse de Montclos, all western stereotomy derives, directly or indirectly, from the same Languedoc region that produced the afore-mentioned Gallo-Roman monuments and what he calls the Romanesque ‘archetypes’ of later vaults, such as the annular vault of the Montmajour Abbey, the trumpet vault of the Church of Saint-Pierre in Nant, and the Vis Saint Gilles, the helical barrel vault covering the spiral staircase of the homonymous Abbey (Fig. 10).<sup>20</sup>

The competing theories of Viollet-le-Duc, Sanabria, and Pérouse de Montclos all invite a number of objections. For example, we might question the idea that stereotomy was imported into Western Europe in a linear fashion from a single point of origin by means of specific events, like the travels of the crusaders, or specific buildings, like the Córdoba Cathedral. It is not that such events and buildings lacked the potential to be agents of cultural transfer, but rather that such a theory disregards the presence of stereotomic works in places other than Syria and the abundance of types of exchange—materialized in the mobility of artists, objects, and knowledge—across the broader geography of the ancient and medieval Mediterranean. We might also question the hypothesis that the practice of stereotomy developed in Western Europe in a continuum from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; the number of known stereotomic vaults dating from the mid-thirteenth century through the mid-fifteenth century is simply too small to support it. Finally, it seems reasonable to question assumptions about the Frenchness of medieval and early modern stereotomy proffered by Viollet-le-Duc and Pérouse de Montclos since they are contradicted by the frequency and variety of stereotomic vaults built outside of France during the same time period.

The arguments I present in this essay are grounded in a work-in-progress database and database-driven maps of stereotomic vaults built in the

---

<sup>19</sup> Pérouse de Montclos, *L’architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 181–182.

<sup>20</sup> The traditional thirteenth-century date for the Vis Saint Gilles is uncertain, and the chronology of the building suggests that the staircase may have been executed at a later date, perhaps in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, see Pérouse de Montclos, *L’architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 143–144.

Mediterranean region from antiquity through the fifteenth century (follow links to online [Maps 1](#) and [2](#)).<sup>21</sup> This database consolidates information from a variety of printed and online sources, and it includes vaulted structures that fit the invariant parameters, execution criteria, and complex-geometry requirements described above.<sup>22</sup> Excluded, therefore, are rib vaults, flat vaults, straight barrel vaults, cloister vaults, polygonal domes, and all other vault types whose voussoirs shapes are provided by plans and elevations or sections.<sup>23</sup> The Google maps available to the reader here belong to the current beta-version of the database; once the database design is finalized, these maps will be replaced by ArcGIS maps that will provide readers with full navigation and data-retrieval control, including customization based on searches for vault types, locations, dates, and authors.

This collection is by no means an attempt to establish a comprehensive list of stereotomic vaults; it is an attempt, rather, to show that stereotomy has been practiced across a much wider chronological and geographical span than has thus far been recognized. Also, because stereotomy has been little studied outside of France and Spain, the data is inevitably biased, albeit unintentionally so. It should therefore be interpreted carefully and, in most cases, conservatively. For

<sup>21</sup> The database and maps are part of the *Mapping Stereotomy* project directed by Sara Galletti and Kristin Huffman Lanzoni at Duke University's Wired Lab, <http://www.dukewired.org/projects/mapping-stereotomy/>.

<sup>22</sup> Sources include, but are not limited to: Christel Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1976; Palacios, *Trazas y cortes de cantería*; Calvo López, *Cerramientos y trazas de montea*; Patrick Donabédian, *L'âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne: VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Marseille: Parenthèses, 2008; Zaragoza Catalán, *El arte de corte de piedras*; Fallacara et al., *Stereotomy*; Antista and Bares, *Le scale in pietra a vista nel Mediterraneo*; Pérouse de Montclos, *L'architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Nobile, *La stereotomia in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo*; Navarro Fajardo, *Bóvedas valencianas*; California State University, Fresno, Index of Armenian Architecture, <http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/indexarmenianarchitecture.html>; Fundación Santa María La Real, Rómanico digital, <http://www.romaniconodigital.com>; Institut du monde arabe, Qantara: Mediterranean Heritage, <http://www.qantara-med.org>; Nicolas Janberg, *Structurae: International Database for Civil and Structural Engineering*, <https://structurae.net>; Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Aga Khan Trust for Culture, ArchNet, <http://archnet.org>; Princeton University, Index of Christian Art: Romanesque Database, <https://ica.princeton.edu/romanesque/main.php>; and Università degli Studi di Palermo, Cosmed: dalla stereotomia ai criteri antisismici: crocevia di sperimentazioni progettuali. Sicilia e Mediterraneo (XII–XVIII secolo), <http://www.cosmedweb.org/immagini.php>.

<sup>23</sup> Unlike groin vaults, cloister vaults were usually built with no *enchevêtrement* of the voussoirs that belong to adjoining vault-panels (such *enchevêtrement* is essential for the stability of groin vaults, but superfluous for that of cloister vaults) in antiquity and through the Middle Ages. The voussoirs that compose cloister vaults with no *enchevêtrement* can be obtained directly from the plan and section of the vault. The same applies to polygonal domes, which are also excluded from the data here. Among floating staircases, only those that are supported by complex-geometry vaults or composite vaults are included in the database.

instance, because the only currently available catalogue of stereotomic vaults is Pérouse de Montclos's and deals exclusively with post-1450 France, we have fully relevant positive data (i.e. the occurrence and frequency of vaults) and negative data (i.e. the absence or rarity of vaults) only for French vaults dating from 1450 to 1500.<sup>24</sup> For other areas and time periods, we must keep in mind that negative data may result from a lack of literature rather than a lack of vaults.

For the sake of clarity, I have used modern maps and modern names for sites, regions, and states. Each marker on the maps corresponds to a single building, no matter how many vaults or how many types of vaults it contains. The marker's color indicates the number of vault types (not number of vaults): yellow indicates one vault type; orange, two types; and red, three or more types. I highlight the number of vault types rather than the overall number of vaults featured in each building because the former is a better indicator of the stereotomic abilities of the designers and builders; it is more challenging to realize  $n$  stereotomic vaults of different types than to produce  $n$  iterations of the same type. The markers' shape indicates the availability of visual documentation: a diamond-shaped marker indicates that photographs (or sometimes drawings) of the vaults are available; a round marker indicates that, for the time being, they are not.<sup>25</sup> An asterisk indicates that the vault(s) or the building they belonged to have been substantially damaged or destroyed. The century indicated in each marker refers to the specific vault(s) listed underneath, not to the buildings they belong to.

Viollet-le-Duc's and Sanabria's theories about the Syrian origins of stereotomy and its development in medieval Europe rest on two assumptions: first, that Syria was the epicenter of stereotomy in the Eastern Mediterranean and, second, that stereotomy was not present in the Latin West before the Córdoba Caliphate and the crusades. Built evidence disproves both.

Paleochristian Syria was certainly fertile ground for stereotomy, as testified by a number of second- to sixth-century vaults documented in the region (Fig. 11 and link to online [Map 1](#)). Yet stereotomic vaults have been identified as far back as the third and second century BCE in Delphi and Pergamon, and between the first and the eleventh century CE, in modern Libya, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Armenia, Israel, Azerbaijan, and Egypt (Fig. 12 and link to online [Map 1](#)). Over the same period of time, these regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East were connected by powerful networks of cultural and material exchange, fostered, at the large scale, by the power and economic structures of

---

<sup>24</sup> Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, 'Voûtes construites en France entre le milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup>', in *Id.*, *L'architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 284–316.

<sup>25</sup> The photographs linked to the maps are all licensed for non-commercial use under Creative Commons. Credits to their authors are listed separately at the end of the photo credits section of this essay.

successive empires, and at the medium and small scale, by local linguistic, commercial, and migratory patterns. These networks make it impossible to establish with any degree of certainty, today, the single point from which stereotomy might have travelled to the West. Furthermore, they undermine the very idea that European stereotomy was imported from a single point of origin through a single point of entry. Quite to the contrary, the data suggests that stereotomy was a diffused, albeit uncommon, practice in the ancient and medieval East and that Western encounters with it were likely multiple, in time and space.

The evidence of these Mediterranean networks and of stereotomy's presence across a broad chronological and geographical spectrum cast doubts, too, on the timing that Viollet-le-Duc and Sanabria propose for stereotomy's conquest of Europe. There is no reason to believe that the art's development hinged on the Córdoba caliphs or the crusaders. In fact, the data collected here shows that it did not. By the end of the eleventh century, stereotomic vaults had been employed in at least thirty buildings across continental Europe and the Maghreb, including in modern France, Italy, Spain, Croatia, and Tunisia (Fig. 13 and link to online [Map 1](#)). These buildings make up more than a fourth of those dating from antiquity through the eleventh century accounted for here (113 in total); they also showcase a variety of complex vault-types, including groin vaults, arches opened in curved walls, skew arches, domes and semi-domes, annular vaults, lunettes opening in barrel vaults, and trumpet vaults. All of these vaults not only predate the crusaders' expeditions, but a majority of them also anticipate by several centuries Al-Hakam II's interventions in Córdoba Cathedral (961–76). Examples include the groin vaults in the Mérida Roman theatre and in the Mausoleum of Theodoric in Ravenna, the dome in the Tomb of Ummidia Quadratilla in Cassino, the semi-dome in the Church of Santa María de Melque in San Martín de Montalbán, the annular vault of the Saint Lubin crypt in Chartres Cathedral, and the dome on trumpet vaults in the Great Mosque of Sousse (Fig. 14).

These ancient and early medieval vaults were neither too far nor too few to be known by later European practitioners. Most of them were still standing and unencumbered. Furthermore, they appear to have been studied, reproduced, and circulated on paper, as evidenced by a number of sixteenth-century drawings, including Baldassare Peruzzi's and Giovannantonio Dosio's drawings of the skew arch of the Arco dei Pantani, in the Forum Augustum, Maarten van Heemskerck's detailed sketch of the Colosseum's conical arches inserted in curved walls, and

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's study of the funerary monument of Ummidia Quadratilla, in Cassino, which is accompanied by text stating that the building is 'made of stone, inside and out' (Fig. 15).<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, the above-mentioned vaults were substantially more complex in their geometries than those cited by Viollet-le-Duc, Sanabria, and Pérouse de Montclos as proof of the European discovery of stereotomy. The arches and ribs at Vézelay, cited by Viollet-le-Duc, are single-plane, linear structures; the stonecutting for these would have presented no stereotomic challenge at all, and the same is true of the crisscrossing rib domes of Córdoba's Cathedral mentioned by Sanabria, which, taken separately, are single-plane arches whose voussoirs' shapes are provided by the plans and sections of the vaults (Fig. 8 and 9). The only relatively complex pieces in the Córdoba vaults are the voussoirs located at the ribs' crossings, but their geometries are easily reduced to intersections of plane surfaces. Similarly, the ancient Roman barrel vaults of the Nîmes and Arles region mentioned by Pérouse de Montclos pose no more difficulty in execution than the single simple arches that compose them (Fig. 16). With the exception of the arches opened in the round walls of the amphitheaters of Arles and Nîmes (which were also featured in other ancient Roman amphitheaters, such as Pula, Verona, Salona, El Jem, and, of course, the Colosseum), none of these examples is, actually, of any particular relevance in the history of geometrically complex vaulted structures.

Stereotomy may have been widespread across the ancient and medieval Mediterranean well beyond what today's limited knowledge may suggest. What we know for certain is that it flourished in twelfth-century Europe: the data collected here shows at least 105 buildings featuring newly erected stereotomic vaults, for a total of 249 vaults (Fig. 17 and link to online [Map 2](#)). This proliferation of vaults is likely one of the factors that persuaded historians to associate stereotomy with the travels of the crusaders. What I would suggest, however, is that stereotomy was not imported by the crusaders but benefited, rather, from their expeditions in the same way that architectural practice in general did. All of Europe at the time of the Crusades was characterized by unprecedented growth in building activity, due to renewed religious fervor and the foundation of the mendicant orders, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to the increased dangers associated with travels to the Holy Land, which prompted the establishment of alternative pilgrimage destinations on European soil. That is to say, the abundance of twelfth-century stereotomic vaults was

---

<sup>26</sup> '...una antichaglia ouero sepoltura di pietra tutto dentro e fora', Uffizi, Florence, GDSU 1171 A v. The drawings cited here, as well as other examples, are available in the online database of the Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance, <http://www.census.de>.

likely due not to the purported novelty of the technique, but to the abundance of newly erected, enlarged, and refurbished religious buildings in that century overall.

Stylistic and structural choices also contributed to the diffusion of stereotomy at this time: Romanesque architecture, which dominated Western Europe from the mid-eleventh century through most of the twelfth, is often characterized by thick-walled, vaulted, bare stonemasonry masses employed to define spaces whose design relies on fundamental geometries such as that of the square, the circle, and the sphere. Because of these distinctive features, Romanesque architecture was an ideal environment for the growth of stereotomic practice. The same is not true of Gothic architecture, which relies on skeletal systems that are typically non-stereotomic, even though they are built in stone. As I touched on earlier in this essay, the only custom-cut elements of a typical Gothic rib vault are the voussoirs that compose the ribs, and since these ribs are linear elements lying on vertical planes, the plan and section of the vault provide the shapes of their voussoirs.

It is no surprise, then, that production of stereotomic vaults diminished significantly during the thirteenth century, when Gothic architecture proliferated across the European continent, and it remained negligible through the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth century, as long as the Gothic style led the way in new construction. Even the most complex of Gothic and Flamboyant multi-rib vaults—for example, the tierceron vaults of St. Riquier, the segmental-rib vaults in the vestibule of the Château de Chenonceau, and vaults featuring skew ribs, as in the Chapelle de la Vierge in the Parisian Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois (Fig. 18)—were produced with non-stereotomic techniques, on the basis of plans and sections alone. While it is true that the geometries of these vault types are complex because they involve three-dimensional reticulations and spatial curves (i.e. curves that do not lie on a single plane), scholars have shown that medieval practitioners solved them with two-dimensional rather than three-dimensional geometry. That is, instead of construing tiercerons and skew ribs as parts of three-dimensional surfaces that need developing, as a stereotomist would, they construed them as linear objects connecting points in space along predetermined curvatures according to the *prinzipalbogen* (principal arch) method.<sup>27</sup> We see this illustrated in the *Codex Miniatus 3* (also known as the *Dresden Sketchbook of Vault Projection*, ca. 1544–67), where the plan of the vault and

---

<sup>27</sup> On the *prinzipalbogen* method, see especially François Bucher, 'The Dresden Sketchbook of Vault Projection', in György Rózsa (ed.), *Évolution générale et développements régionaux en histoire de l'art: actes du 22<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'histoire de l'art, Budapest 1969*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 527–537 and vol. 3, pp. 163–172 and Norbert Nussbaum and Sabine Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe: eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion*, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1999, pp. 175–182.

the curvature of the chosen principal arch (which is a virtual arch, not a built feature of the vault itself) are the only elements necessary to determine the shape of the ribs and of the voussoirs that compose them (Fig. 19). The *prinzipalbogen* method was employed not only in the German-speaking areas of central Europe, where it was likely developed in the fifteenth century, but in Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, and as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> By providing two-dimensional, plan-and-section solutions to three-dimensional problems, the *prinzipalbogen* method points to the ingenuity of late-medieval stonemasons; it is not proof, however, that these same practitioners mastered the three-dimensional geometry skills required by stereotomy.

The resurgence of stereotomic practice and theory in early modern Europe after the long Gothic hiatus, and the fascination the art continued to exercise over generations of patrons, architects, and mathematicians are complex and little-understood phenomena that deserve to be treated further as well as separately. It seems reasonable to suggest, however, that just as European stereotomy did not develop along an uninterrupted line of progress from the twelfth-century onward, as postulated by traditional historiography, its flourishing in the sixteenth century can be described as its own kind of renaissance.

Looking again at the geographical data, we find no support for the claim advanced by Viollet-le-Duc and Pérouse de Montclos that medieval stereotomy is a quintessentially French art—‘the touchstone of the French *manière*’, according to Pérouse de Montclos.<sup>29</sup> France was not alone in boasting a twelfth-century proliferation of stereotomy; indeed, stereotomic vaults were not numerically more significant in France than in many of the places where they can be traced in Europe, including the Italian and Iberian peninsulas and the Western Mediterranean islands (Fig. 17 and link to online [Map 2](#)). Similarly, the geographical distribution of vault types does not identify France as a more productive incubator of forms than its neighbors: we find that 57% of the 249 twelfth-century European vaults mapped here are domes and semi-domes, and they are evenly distributed between France, Italy, and Spain, and present also in Portugal and Germany. The same is true of the other complex-shape types that appear in relevant quantities, such as trumpet vaults (17% of the total count), which were as popular in twelfth-century Spain as they were in France, and groin vaults (13% of the total count), the majority of which are found in Sardinia and Sicily.

---

<sup>28</sup> Illustrations of the same method are also found in the Sketchbook of Master WG (1560–72, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, ms. 8-494), as well as in the sixteenth-century treatises by de L’Orme (*Premier tome*, ff. 107<sup>r</sup>–109<sup>v</sup>) and Vandelvira (*El tratado de arquitectura*, vol. 2, f. 96<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>29</sup> Pérouse de Montclos, *L’architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 79.

With the phasing out of Romanesque massive masonries, the number of newly-built stereotomic vaults dramatically decreased in France as it did elsewhere and continued to decrease for the next two centuries. While Philippe Potié posits (with no further discussion or data in support of his argument) that late medieval French stereotomy was a firmly established toolkit of vault types and techniques—‘the art of stonemasonry is almost definitively fixed by the end of the fourteenth century: trumpet vaults, domes, and *arrière-voussures* only go through secondary, formal developments after this date’—the data gathered by Pérouse de Montclos himself shows, to the contrary, that if stereotomic knowledge had ever taken such a fixed form amongst French practitioners, it also had been drastically jeopardized by the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup> According to Pérouse de Montclos’s survey, only six new vaults of complex geometry were built on French soil during the second half of the fifteenth century: four trumpet vaults, all of the same type (at the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris, at the Ancienne Université in Poitiers, and at the Château d’Armentières); one helical barrel vault of the Vis Saint Gilles type in Sens Cathedral; and one dome, no longer extant, recorded at the chapel of the Château des Ducs de Bourbon in Moulins, for which we lack documentation showing whether it was, in fact, stereotomic or not.<sup>31</sup> *Arrière-voussures* and skew arches may have escaped Pérouse de Montclos’s survey—because they rarely take monumental forms and are mostly used for doors and windows, which exposes them to a higher chance of modification over time than monumental vaults or staircases—but nonetheless it is evident that late fifteenth-century France was not exactly a hotbed of complex-geometry stereotomic vaults: no stereotomic domes, semi-domes, lunettes, groin vaults, cloister vaults à *enchevêtrements* (the only type of cloister vault that poses a stereotomic challenge), or annular vaults are documented for this period. In fact, of the many vaults and vault types illustrated by de L’Orme in the *Premier Tome*, only a handful of them seems to have been available, less than a century earlier, to French practitioners and patrons.

It was outside of France that the art of stereotomy flourished in the late Middle Ages, in particular in the region of Valencia, where we find the highest concentration of stereotomic vaults known to date for fifteenth-century Europe,

<sup>30</sup> Potié, ‘Le tracé d’épure’, p. 149.

<sup>31</sup> Pérouse de Montclos, *L’architecture à la française*, rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 284–316. On the doubts about the stereotomic nature of the dome in Moulins, see *Ibid.*, p. 148. Pérouse de Montclos does not pretend to have established a comprehensive list of stereotomic vaults, and it is of course likely that more than five stereotomic vaults were built in French territory during the second half of the fifteenth century. Yet since the sources and methods he employs to collect data on fifteenth-century France are the same that he employs for the rest of his survey, it is reasonable to expect errors and missing data (including non-extant vaults) to be distributed across the chronological spectrum covered by his study, and, therefore, for their relative significance to be acceptably limited.

and in Cairo, where the numerous extant Mamluk domes testify to an advanced mastery of complex-geometry vaulting (Fig. 20 and link to online [Map 2](#)).<sup>32</sup> In Valencia in this period, stereotomic vaults were produced in the circles of architects such as Francesc Baldomar and Pere Compte for buildings such as the Convent of Santo Domingo, the Cathedral, the Lonja de la Seda, and the Real Monasterio de Santa Maria. They encompassed a variety of types, including skew and corner arches, inclined barrel vaults, trumpet vaults, groin vaults, domes and pendentives, and floating staircases supported by composite vaults.<sup>33</sup> It would seem that fifteenth-century Valencian practitioners mastered the entire spectrum of vault types later illustrated by de L'Orme in his *Premier Tome*, with the sole exception of helical barrel vaults of the Vis Saint Gilles type—and in the fifteenth century we find these only in Barcelona (cathedral, 1410), Noto (castle, ca. 1430), Naples (Castel Nuovo, ca. 1450–54), and Sens (after 1492).<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the Cairo domes, which combine flawless voussoirs and joints with complex sculpted patterns (which some scholars believe were carved ahead of mounting, adding complexity, of course, to the geometric operations necessary to cut the voussoirs) provide numerous precedents for a technique that would not appear in France until more than a century later, in the dome of the chapel of the Château d'Anet (1549–52, Fig. 4).<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> According to Bernard O'Kane, more than sixty pre-modern masonry domes have survived in Cairo (Bernard O'Kane, 'The Carved Stone Domes of Cairo' [paper presented at the conference 'Masons at Work', University of Pennsylvania, 30 March–1 April 2012, <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/ancient/publications.html>], p. 1). For an overview, see Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo*.

<sup>33</sup> On the practice of stereotomy in Valencia during the second half of the fifteenth century, see Arturo Zaragoza Catalán and Mercedes Gómez Ferrer, 'Costruyendo en la Valencia cuatrocentista: la fundación del gremio de canteros', in Id. (eds.), *Pere Compte Arquitecto*, Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2007, pp. 213–237; Zaragoza Catalán, *El arte de corte de piedras*; and Navarro Fajardo, *Bóvedas valencianas*.

<sup>34</sup> On the Vis Saint Gilles in Barcelona, see Miguel Sobrino González, 'Barcelona: las razones de una catedral singular', *Goya* 307-308 (2005), p. 202. For the information about the Vis Saint Gilles in Noto and Naples, I am indebted to Marco Rosario Nobile. It is worth noting that the Valencian vaults cited here were executed decades in advance of the arrival, in Spain, of the sixteenth-century French masters which are often attributed with the importation of stereotomic knowledge in the Iberian peninsula, such as Étienne Jamet, Sébastien Bougureau, and Benoît Augier. See Arturo Zaragoza Catalán, José Calvo López, and Pau Natividad Vivó, 'Stereotomic Exchanges between Iberia and France in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century: Benoît Augier, Valencian Stairways and the Escalier de Toulouse', in Robert Carvais et al. (eds.), *Nuts & Bolts of Construction History: Culture, Technology and Society: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Construction History, Paris, 3-7 July 2012*, Paris: Picard, 2012, vol. 1, pp. 385–392.

<sup>35</sup> On the issue of whether the sculpted patterns of Mamluk stereotomic domes were executed before or after mounting, see especially Barbara Cipriani, *Development of Construction Techniques in the Mamluk Domes of Cairo*, Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005; Barbara Cipriani and Wanda W. Lau, 'Construction Techniques in Medieval Cairo: The Domes of Mamluk Mausolea (1250 A.D.–1517 A.D.)', in Malcolm Dunkeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second*

Traditional theories about the origins of stereotomy and its developments in medieval Europe contribute to a well-established historiographical tradition, which for now more than a century has centered on whether early medieval European architecture was the product of a continuous western tradition rooted in Roman antiquity or whether it was produced by a disruption of that tradition, the encounter with external, Eastern practices and forms that reached Europe via northern, Christian routes through the Balkans or via southern, Islamic routes through Northern Africa.<sup>36</sup> Although this debate has been productive in a number of ways—showing, for instance, that practices and practitioners could travel far and long across the Mediterranean Sea, and that abandoned forms and long-forgotten techniques could be revived if interest was renewed among local practitioners in the absence of external stimuli—its theoretical framework is unfit for a modern history of stereotomy. Part of the problem is that the debate originated around issues of transfer of formal architectural features (i.e. vault shapes rather than construction materials and practices) which do not always, or easily, apply to the world of techniques. Another issue is that stereotomy, as a marginal art, calls for caution when attempting to outline precise narratives of origin or transfer: no matter what geographic area or historical period is being considered, stereotomic vaults tend to be such a small portion of the built environment that the destruction of a handful of vaults can swipe away any trace of stereotomic practice in a given region, culture, or time period, thus significantly skewing the historian's data. Perhaps the biggest issue is that the kind of pre-Braudelian narratives of the Mediterranean that have informed this historiographical tradition—narratives that focus on punctual, large-scale events, and linear transfers—prove inadequate to capture the complex networks of

---

*International Congress on Construction History, Queen's College, Cambridge University 29 March–2 April 2006*, Cambridge: Construction History Society, 2006, pp. 695–716; Christophe Bouleau, 'Bâtir une coupole en pierre de taille', *Annales Islamologiques* 41 (2007), pp. 209–228; O'Kane, 'The Carved Stone Domes of Cairo'; and Ahmed Wahby and Dina Montasser, 'The Ornamented Domes of Cairo: The Mamluk Mason's Challenge', paper presented at the conference 'Masons at Work', University of Pennsylvania, 30 March–1 April 2012, <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/ancient/publications.html>.

<sup>36</sup> Among the fundamental texts on either side of this debate: Auguste Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899, vol. 2, pp. 80–88; Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901 as well as the excellent historiographical analysis by Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation*, Leuven: Peeters, 2001; Gustavo Giovannoni, 'L'organismo a volta dall'architettura romana alla bizantina', *Felix Ravenna* 27, 1 (1939), pp. 5–30; Id., 'Volte romane e volte bizantine', in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini: Roma 20–26 settembre 1936*, Rome: Tipografie del Senato, 1940, vol. 2, pp. 133–138; Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat, 'Le Origini romane della cupola bizantina', *Rivista Romana* 14 (1936), pp. 3–12; and Id., *Romanità delle cupole paleocristiane*, Rome: Reale Istituto di Studi Romani, 1946.

relations and the intricate and sometimes fortuitous routes through which knowledge and other goods moved across physical, cultural, and temporal borders in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean. If we look for an alternative to the national narratives of linear movements and progressive developments imagined so far by scholars, then what we know about ancient and medieval stereotomy points to a complex map of regional, small-scale events and objects distributed in an often-counterintuitive fashion across a wide chronological and geographical span. Dispersed phenomena like these are perhaps best understood within a framework of Mediterranean connectivity, the dense and far-reaching network of relationships that connected the people and civilizations who thrived and fell along the sea's shores across time and space. The yet-to-be-written history of ancient and medieval stereotomy will necessarily develop as a transnational history encompassing networks of exchanges and contacts, small-scale communities and phenomena, as well as gaps, interrupted developments, independent discoveries, and re-discoveries in the many places and moments, across the connected Mediterranean, where vaulting was a practice and stone a commodity.

*Illustrations*



Fig. 1. Pedro and Luis Machuca, annular stereotomic vault, 1562–69, courtyard, Palace of Charles V, Granada.



Fig. 2. Non-stereotomic rib vaults, Church of Saint Séverin, Paris, second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent.



Fig. 3. Jules Hardouin-Mansart, composite vault, 1673–76, City Hall, Arles.

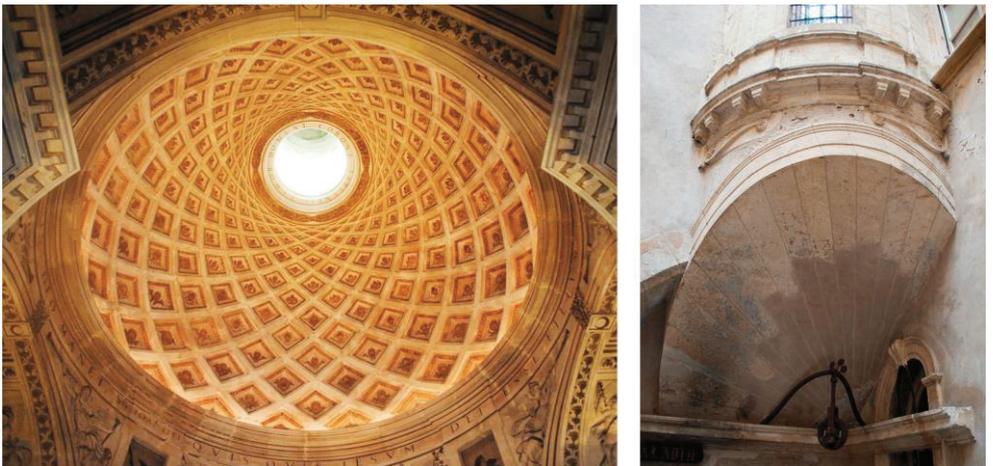


Fig. 4. Left: Philibert de L'Orme, dome, 1549–52, chapel, Château d'Anet. Right: Philibert de L'Orme, trumpet vault, 1536, Hôtel Bullioud, Lyon.





Fig. 7. Basilica of Qalb Lozeh (Idlib), 5<sup>th</sup> cent. CE.

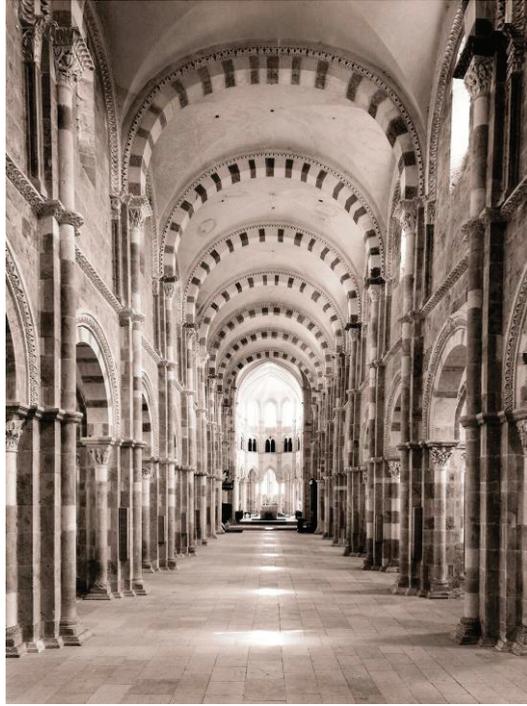


Fig. 8. Nave of the Basilica of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, Vézelay, 12<sup>th</sup> cent.



Fig. 9. Mosque-Cathedral of Cordoba. Left (a): Dome of the *maqsura*, 961–76. Right (b): Dome of the Villaviciosa Chapel, 1257–74.



Fig. 10. Left: Plan and section of a helical barrel vault of the Vis Saint Gilles type (Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, vol. 5, p. 295). Right: Vis Saint Gilles, Abbey of Saint Gilles, 12<sup>th</sup> cent.?

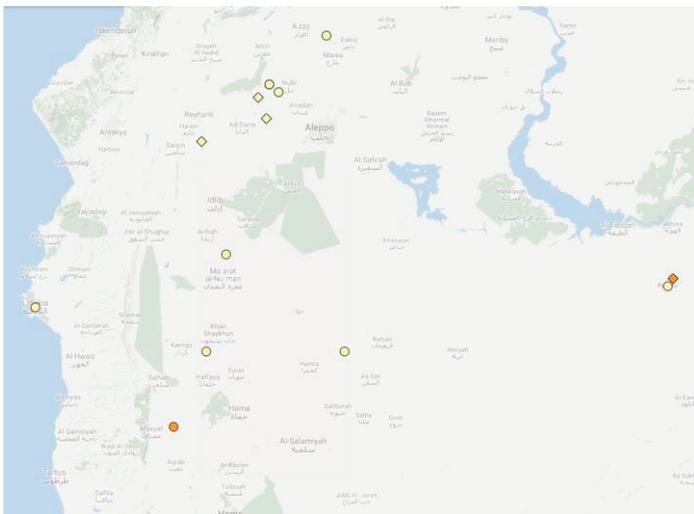


Fig. 11. Map 1 (Stereotomic vaults, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BCE–11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE, <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1a6fanW31YKaAbK8o6Dij7YzA8Bo&usp=sharing>), detail, Syria, 2<sup>nd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> cent. CE (captured on 14 October 2016).

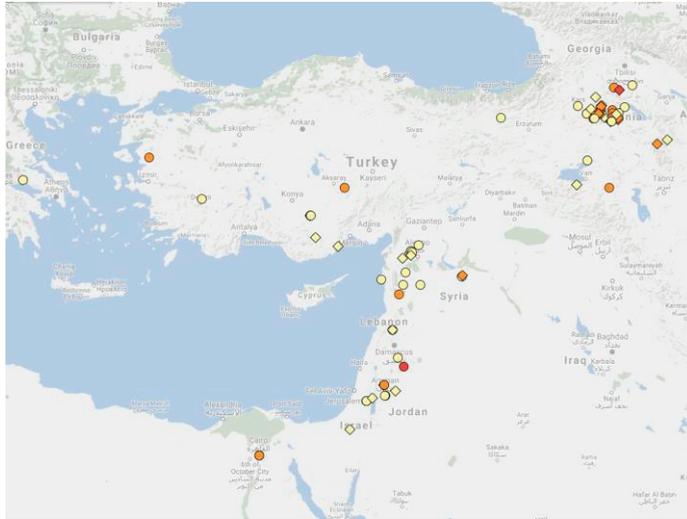


Fig. 12. Map 1 (Stereotomic vaults, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BCE–11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE, <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1a6fanW31YKaAbK8o6Dij7YzA8Bo&usp=sharing>), detail, Eastern Mediterranean region, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BCE–11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE (captured on 14 October 2016).



Fig. 13. Map 1 (Stereotomic vaults, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BCE–11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE, <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1a6fanW31YKaAbK8o6Dij7YzA8Bo&usp=sharing>), detail, Western Mediterranean region, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BCE–11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE (captured on 14 October 2016).

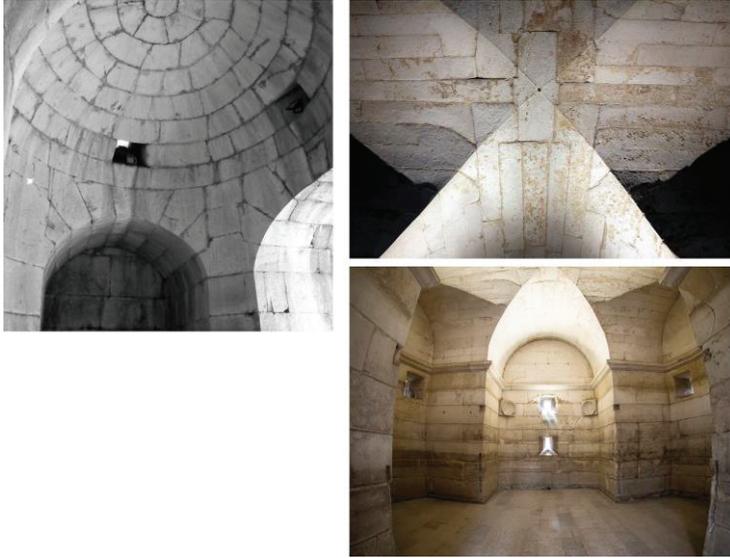


Fig. 14. Left: Dome, Tomb of Ummidia Quadratilla, Cassino, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. CE. Right: Groin vault, lower chamber, Mausoleum of Theodoric, Ravenna, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. CE.

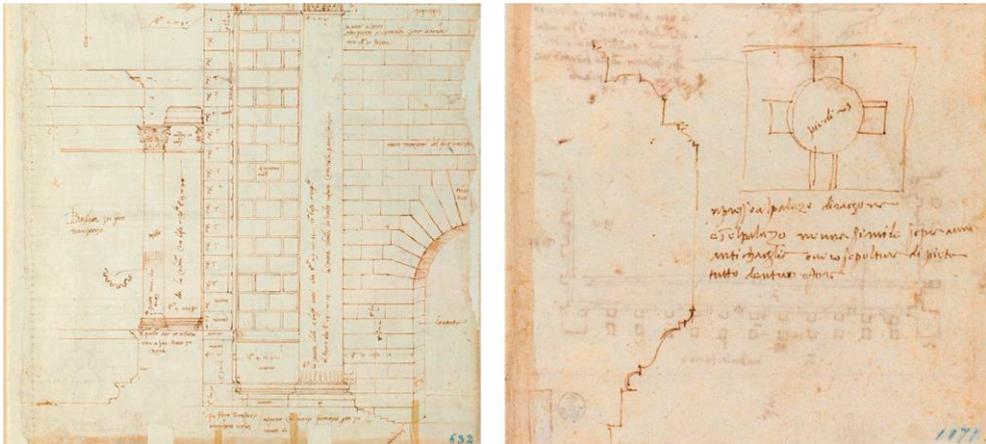


Fig. 15. Left: Baldassare Peruzzi, Arco dei Pantani, 1525–32. Uffizi, Florence, GDSU 632 A v, detail. Right: Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Tomb of Ummidia Quadratilla, 1510–46. Uffizi, Florence, GDSU 1171 A v, detail.



Fig. 16. Temple of Diana, Nîmes, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. CE.



Fig. 17. Map 2 (Stereotomic vaults, 12<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cent. CE, [https://drive.google.com/open?id=1G7c2F3FvHjix06YJ\\_ZrIX0ncv2c](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1G7c2F3FvHjix06YJ_ZrIX0ncv2c)) detail, Europe, 12<sup>th</sup> cent. CE (captured on 14 October 2016).



Fig. 18. Left: Segmental-rib vaults, Lady Chapel, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Abbey Church of St. Riquier. Right: Segmental-rib vaults, entrance hall, Château de Chenonceau, 1515–21.

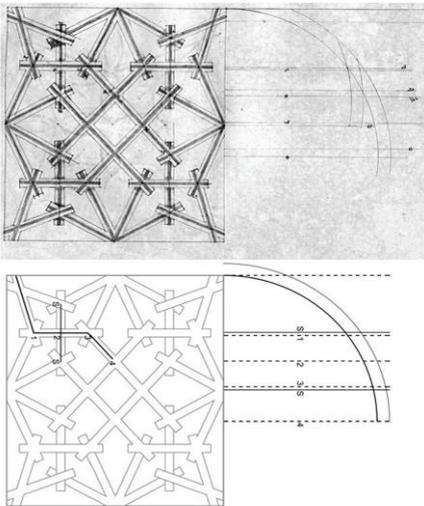


Fig. 3: Codex Miniatus 3, fol.2. *Prinzipalbogen* definition.

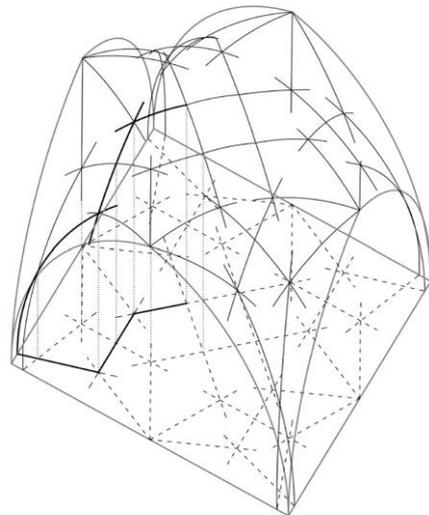


Fig. 4: Construction of the form of the previous vault.

Fig. 19. Illustration of the *prinzipalbogen* method (Rafael Martín Talaverano, Carmen Pérez de los Ríos, and Rosa Senent Domínguez, 'Late Gothic German Vault Design Methods and its Relationship with Spanish Ribbed Vaults', p. 86).

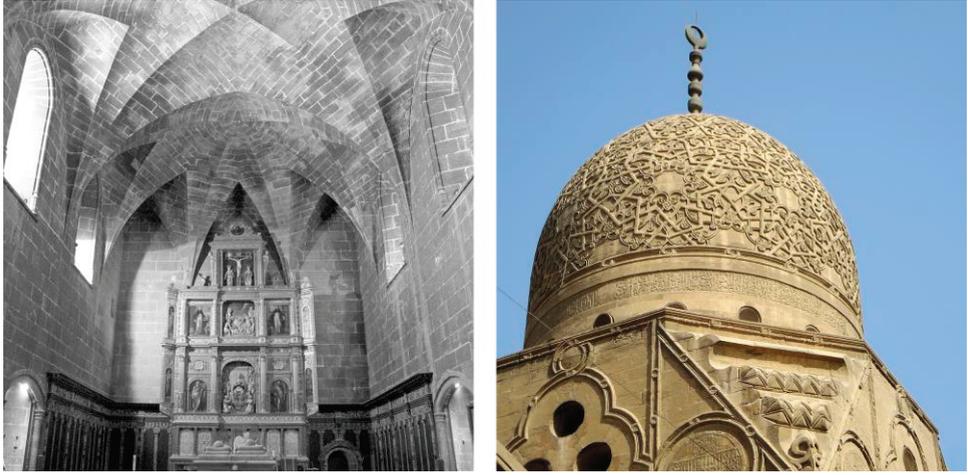


Fig. 20. Left: Francesc Baldomar and Pere Compte, star-shaped vault, Capilla de Los Reyes, 1437–57, Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia. Right: Dome, funerary complex of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay, Cairo, 1472–74.

### *Bibliography*

Abulafia, David, *The Great Sea: a Human History of the Mediterranean*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Altshuler, Douglas L., William B. Dickson, Jason T. Vance, Stephen P. Roberts, and Michael H. Dickinson, 'Short-amplitude high-frequency wing strokes determine the aerodynamics of honeybee flight', *PNAS* 102, 50 (2005), pp. 18213–18218.

Anderson, Jaynie (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2009.

Antista, Giuseppe and Maria Mercedes Bares, *Le scale in pietra a vista nel Mediterraneo*, Palermo: Caracol, 2013.

Bails, Benito, *Elementos de matemática*, Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, pp. 1779–1790.

Bares, Maria Mercedes, *Il Castello Maniace di Siracusa: stereotomia e tecniche costruttive nell'architettura del Mediterraneo*, Siracusa: Emanuele Romeo, 2011.

Bergamo, Francesco and Gabriella Liva, *Stereotomia: dalla pietra al digitale*, Venice: Cafoscarini, 2010.

Bouleau, Christophe, 'Bâtir une coupole en pierre de taille', *Annales Islamologiques* 41 (2007), pp. 209–228.

Braudel, Fernand, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris: Colin, 1949.

Bucher, François. 'The Dresden sketchbook of vault projection', in György Rózsa (ed.), *Évolution générale et développements régionaux en histoire de l'art: actes du 22<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'histoire de l'art, Budapest 1969*, 3 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 527–537; vol. 3, pp. 163–172.

California State University, Fresno, Index of Armenian Architecture, <http://www.fresnostate.edu/artshum/armenianstudies/resources/indexarmenianarchitecture.html>.

Calvo López, José, *Cerramientos y trazas de montea de Ginés Martínez de Aranda*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad Politécnica de Cartagena, 1999.

Chéreau, Jean, *Traité d'architecture* [1567–74], Biblioteka Publiczna, Gdansk, ms. 2280.

Choisy, Auguste, *Histoire de l'architecture*, 2 vols, Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899.

Cipriani, Barbara, *Development of Construction Techniques in the Mamluk Domes of Cairo*, Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005.

Cipriani, Barbara and Wanda W. Lau, 'Construction Techniques in Medieval Cairo: the Domes of Mamluk Mausolea (1250 A.D.–1517 A.D.)', in Malcolm Dunkeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History, Queen's College, Cambridge University 29 March–2 April 2006*, Cambridge: Construction History Society, 2006, pp. 695–716.

Curabelle, Jacques, *Examen des œuvres du Sr. Desargues*, Paris: Henault, 1644.

D'Amato, Claudio and Giuseppe Fallacara, 'Tradizione e innovazione nella progettazione/costruzione dell'architettura: ruolo del 'modello' e attualità della stereotomia', in Id. (eds.), *L'art de la stéréotomie/L'arte della stereotomia: Les compagnons du devoir et les merveilles de la construction en pierre/I compagni del dovere e le meraviglie della costruzione in pietra*, Paris: Librairie du compagnonnage, 2005, pp. 52–89.

De Angelis d'Ossat, Guglielmo, 'Le Origini romane della cupola bizantina', *Rivista Romana* 14 (1936), pp. 3–12.

De Angelis d'Ossat, Guglielmo, *Romanità delle cupole paleocristiane*, Rome: Reale Istituto di Studi Romani, 1946.

Defilippis, Francesco, *Architettura e stereotomia: caratteri dell'architettura in pietra da taglio in area mediterranea*, Bari: Poliba, 2010.

Deplazes, Andrea and Christoph Wieser, 'Solid and filigree construction', in Andrea Deplazes (ed.), *Constructing Architecture: Materials, Processes, Structures*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2005, pp. 13–15.

Desargues, Gérard, *Brouillon projet d'exemple d'une manière universelle du S.G.D.L. touchant la pratique du trait à preuve pour la coupe des pierres en l'architecture*, Paris, 1640.

Donabédian, Patrick, *L'âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne: VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Marseille: Parenthèses, 2008.

Etlin, Richard A., Giuseppe Fallacara, and Luc Tamborero (eds.), *Plaited Stereotomy: Stone Vaults for the Modern World*, Rome: Aracne, 2008.

Fallacara, Giuseppe, Claudio D'Amato, Marco Stigliano and Richard A. Etlin (eds.), *Stereotomy: Stone Architecture and New Research*, Paris: Presses des Ponts, 2012.

Frézier, Amédée-François, *La théorie et la pratique de la coupe des pierres et des bois, ou traité de stéréotomie à l'usage de l'architecture*, 3. vols., Strasbourg: Dousseker, 1737–39.

Fundación Santa María La Real, Rómanico digital, <http://www.romanicodigital.com>.

Gentillâtre, Jacques, *Livre d'architecture* [ca. 1615–25], Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fond français 14727.

Giovannoni, Gustavo, 'L'organismo a volta dall'architettura romana alla bizantina,' *Felix Ravenna* 27, 1 (1939), pp. 5–30.

Giovannoni, Gustavo, 'Volte romane e volte bizantine', in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini: Roma 20–26 settembre 1936*, 2 vols., Rome: Tipografie del Senato, 1940, vol. 2, pp. 133–138.

Grossman, Heather E. and Alicia Walker (eds.), *Mechanisms of exchange: transmission in medieval art and architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000–1500*, Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Herráez Cubino, Guillermo, *El léxico de los tratados de cortes de cantería españoles del siglo XVI*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Salamanca, 2007.

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance, <http://www.census.de>.

Institut du monde arabe, Qantara: Mediterranean Heritage, <http://www.qantara-med.org>.

Janberg, Nicolas, *Structurae: International Database for Civil and Structural Engineering*, <https://structurae.net>.

Jouberton, Guy, *Tracés et coupes des pierres*, Dourdan: Vial, 2007.

Jousse, Mathurin, *Le secret d'architecture découvrant fidèlement les traits géométriques, coupes, et derobemens nécessaires dans les bastiments enrichi d'un grand nombre de figures, adioustées sur chèque discours pour l'explication d'iceux*, La Flèche: George Griveau, 1642.

Kessler, Christel, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1976.

*La maçonnerie et la taille de pierre*, edited by Association ouvrière des Compagnons du devoir de France, Paris: Librairie du compagnonnage, 1991–2007.

L'Orme, Philibert de, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, Paris: Morel, 1567.

Magnan, Antoine, *Le vol des insects*, Paris: Hermann, 1934.

Maranci, Christina, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation*, Leuven: Peeters, 2001.

Martínez de Aranda, Ginés and Antonio Bonet Correa (ed.), *Cerramientos y trazas de montea* [ca. 1600], Madrid: Servicio Histórico Militar, Comisión de Estudios Históricos de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo, 1986.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Aga Khan Trust for Culture, ArchNet, <http://archnet.org>.

Monge, Gaspard, *Géométrie descriptive: leçons données aux Écoles normales l'an 3 de la République*, Paris: Gabay, 1798.

Navarro Fajardo, Juan Carlos (ed.), *Bóvedas valencianas: arquitecturas ideales, reales y virtuales en época medieval y moderna*, Valencia: Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València, 2014.

Nobile, Marco Rosario (ed.), *Matteo Carnilivari, Pere Compte: 1506–2006: due maestri del gotico nel Mediterraneo*, Palermo: Caracol, 2006. Exhibition catalog.

Nobile, Marco Rosario (ed.), *La stereotomia in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo: guida al Museo di Palazzo La Rocca a Ragusa Ibla*, Palermo: Caracol, 2013.

Nobile, Marco Rosario, 'Rinascimento alla francese: Gabriele Licciardo, architettura e costruzione nel Salento della metà del Cinquecento', *Artigrama* 30 (2015), pp. 193–219.

Nussbaum, Norbert and Sabine Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe: eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion*, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1999.

O’Kane, Bernard, ‘The Carved Stone Domes of Cairo’, Paper presented at the conference ‘Masons at Work’, University of Pennsylvania, 30 March–1 April 2012, <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/ancient/publications.html>.

Palacios, José Carlos, *Trazas y cortes de cantería en el Renacimiento español*, Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 1990.

Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie, *L’architecture à la française: du milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Picard, 1982. Revised 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Paris: Picard, 2013.

Potié, Philippe, *Philibert de l’Orme, figures de la pensée constructive*, Marseille: Parenthèses, 1996.

Potié, Philippe, ‘Le tracé d’épure, des carnet médiévaux aux traités de stéréotomie,’ in Jean-Philippe Garric, Valérie Nègre, and Alice Thomine-Berrada (eds.), *La construction savante: les avatars de la littérature technique*, Paris: Picard, 2008, pp. 149–160.

Princeton University, Index of Christian Art: Romanesque Database, <https://ica.princeton.edu/romanesque/main.php>.

Roldán Martín, Juan (ed.), *El arte de la piedra: teoría y práctica de la cantería*, Madrid: CEU Ediciones, 2009.

Sakarovitch, Joël, *Épures d’architecture: de la coupe des pierres à la géométrie descriptive, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998.

Sanabria, Sergio Luis, ‘From Gothic to Renaissance Stereotomy: the Design Methods of Philibert de l’Orme and Alonso de Vandelvira’, *Technology and Culture* 30, 2 (1989), pp. 266–299

Semper, Gottfried and Harry Francis Mallgrave (ed.), *Style in the technical and tectonic arts, or, Practical aesthetics*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004.

Sobrino González, Miguel, ‘Barcelona: las razones de una catedral singular’, *Goya* 307/308 (2005), pp. 197–214.

Strzygowski, Josef, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1901.

Talaverano, Rafael Martín, Carmen Pérez de los Ríos, and Rosa Senent Domínguez, ‘Late Gothic German Vault Design Methods and its Relationship with Spanish Ribbed Vaults’, in Robert Carvais, André Guillerme, Valérie Nègre, and Joël Sakarovitch (eds.), *Nuts & Bolts of Construction History: Culture, Technology and*

*Society: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Construction History, Paris, 3-7 July 2012*, Picard: Paris, 2012, pp. 83-90.

Università degli Studi di Palermo, Cosmed: dalla stereotomia ai criteri antisismici: crocevia di sperimentazioni progettuali. Sicilia e Mediterraneo (XII-XVIII secolo). <http://www.cosmedweb.org/immagini.php>.

Vandelvira, Alonso de and Geneviève Barbé-Coquelin de Lisle (ed.), *El tratado de arquitectura de Alonso de Vandelvira [Libro de trazas de cortes de piedras, ca. 1585]*, 2 vols., Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, 1977.

Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 10 vols., Paris: B. Bance, 1854-1868.

Wahby, Ahmed and Dina Montasser, 'The Ornamented Domes of Cairo: The Mamluk Mason's Challenge', Paper presented at the conference Masons at Work, University of Pennsylvania, 30 March-1 April 2012, <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/ancient/publications.html>.

Zaragozá Catalán, Arturo, *El arte de corte de piedras en la arquitectura valenciana del cuatrocientos: un estado de la cuestión*, Valencia: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos de Valencia, 2008.

Zaragozá Catalán, Arturo, José Calvo López, and Pau Natividad Vivó (eds.), 'Stereotomic Exchanges between Iberia and France in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: Benoît Augier, Valencian Stairways and the Escalier de Toulouse', in Robert Carvais, André Guillerme, Valérie Nègre, and Joël Sakarovitch (eds.), *Nuts & Bolts of Construction History: Culture, Technology and Society: proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Construction History, Paris, 3-7 July 2012*, 3 vols., Paris: Picard, 2012, vol. 1, pp. 385-392.

Zaragozá Catalán, Arturo and Mercedes Gómez Ferrer, 'Costruyendo en la Valencia cuatrocentista: la fundación del gremio de canteros', in Id. (eds.), *Pere Compte Arquitecto*, Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2007, pp. 213-237.

#### Photo Credits

Fig. 1. Photo © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 2. Photo © Romanceor (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 3. Photo © Mbzt (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 4. Photos © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 6. Drawing © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 7. Photo © Simone Moni / GAR [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 8. Photo © François Walch, licensed by Francis Vérillon [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)] via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 9. Left: Photo © Manuel de Corselas (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons. Right: Photo © Daniel VILLAFRUELA [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 10. Right: Photo © Hawobo [CC BY-SA 2.0 de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 11. © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 12. © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 13. © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 14. Left: Photo © Associazione Culturale Cuore Sannita (<http://www.cuoresannita.it>). Right: Photos © (above) Sailko (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], (below) Username.Ruge (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 15. Photos © Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance (<http://www.census.de>).

Fig. 16. Photo © Ji-Elle (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 17. © Sara Galletti.

Fig. 18. Left: Photo © Mattis (Own work) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons. Right: Photo © Chatsam (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 20. Left: Photo © Felivet (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons. Right: Photo © Casual Builder (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

### *Google Maps Photo Credits*

A Merca, Church of St Pedro da Mezquita, © José Antonio Gil Martínez from Vigo, Spain (Iglesia de San Pedro da Mezquita Uploaded by tm) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Afrin, Church of St. Simeon Stylite, 1 © Bernard Gagnon (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Mappo (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 4.0-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 3 © Graham van der Wielen ([https://www.flickr.com/photos/gray\\_um/2789891812/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/gray_um/2789891812/)) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Aiguilhe, Chapel of St Claire, © Torsade de Pointes (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Akdamar Island, Church of the Holy Cross, © داود مہجہدی (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Aleppo, Al-Firdaws Madrasa, © MIT OpenCourseWare [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Flickr.

Aleppo, Bimaristan al-Arghuni, 1 © Bernard Gagnon (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Almazán, Church of San Miguel, © Zarateman (Own work) [CC0], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ani (Ocakli), Cathedral, © Citrat from tr [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>), or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], from Wikimedia Commons.

Anipemza, Yereruyk Basilica, © 23artashes (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Apt, Cathedral, © Véronique PAGNIER (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Arles, Roman amphitheater, © Carole Raddato from FRANKFURT, Germany (The Arles Amphitheatre, built in 90 AD, Arelate) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Artik, Lmbat Monastery, Church of St Stephen (Lmbatavank), 1, 2, and 3 © Arman musikyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Aruch (Talich), Cathedral (Aruchavank), © nina stoessinger (originally posted to Flickr as Empty) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ashtarak, Karmavor Church, © Bertramz (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ashtarak, Tsiranavor Church, © Liveon001 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>) or GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Avan (Yerevan), Katoghike Tsiranavor Church, © Liveon001 ©Travis Witt (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>) or GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Avignon, Pont Saint Bénédet, Chapel of St Nicolas, © François de Dijon (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Baalbek, Temple of Venus © Varun Shiv Kapur [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Flickr.

Boada de Villadiego, Church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, © MottaW (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cabria, Church of St Andrés, © Valdavia (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cairo, Al Zahir Baybars Mosque, © Martyn Smith [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cairo, Complex of Sultan Qā'it Bay, © Casual Builder (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cairo, Mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id, © Tekisch (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cairo, Mosque of Sultan al-Muayyad, 1 © Francisco Anzola (Al-Mu'ayyad) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2

© Francesco Gasparetti from Senigallia, Italy (Cairo: moschea di el-Muhayyad) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Caserta Vecchia, Church of San Michele Arcangelo (Duomo), © Velvet (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Castañeda, Colegiata de Santa Cruz, © GFreihalter (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Castillana del Mar, Collegiate Church of St Juliana, © José Luis Filpo Cabana (Own work) [CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Chartres, Cathedral, Crypt of St Lubin, © Harmonia Amanda (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cherval, Church of St Martin, © Jack ma (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cillamayor, Church of St María la Real, © GFreihalter (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cruas, Church of Sainte Marie, © Rémi Mathis (Travail personnel) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) ou CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Cunault, Church of Notre Dame, © Jochen Jahnke at the German language Wikipedia [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Divriği, Ulu Mosque and Hospital, © Bertramz (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Dolianova, Cathedral, © Ettore (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

El Djem, Roman amphitheatre, © Vajta (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ferentino, Church of St Valentino, © A...periodico (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fontdouce, Abbey, © Jochen Jahnke at the German language Wikipedia [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Fontevraud, Abbaye, 1 © Nono vlf (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © MOSSOT (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Foz, Basilica of St Martin de Mondoñedo, © Marc [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Flickr

Friestas, Church of São Fins, © José Antonio Gil Martínez from Vigo, Spain (Iglesia de Sanfins de Friestas Uploaded by tm) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Frómista, Church of St Martín de Tours, © José Luis Filpo Cabana (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Gensac-la-Pallue, Church of St Martin, © Jack ma (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Gloucester, Cathedral, © Chris Gunns [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Irind, Church, © Bertramz (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ispagnac, Church of St Pierre and St Paul, © BUFO8 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Jerash, Roman nymphaeum, © Dennis Jarvis (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/archer10/2217593710/>) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Jerusalem, Chapel of the Ascension, © Mattes (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Jerusalem, Church of St Anne, © Berthold Werner (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Kanlidivane, Basilica, © Ana al'ain (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Khirbat al-Mafjar, Hisham's Palace, © Deror\_avi (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Kotyak, Geghard Monastery, © Shaun Dunphy (originally posted to Flickr as Geghard Monastery) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

La Garde-Adhémar, Church of St Michel, © Remi Mathis (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

La Sauve, Sauve-Majeure Abbey, © Pinpin (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

La Seu d'Urgell, Cathedral, © PMRMaeyaert (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Leptis Magna, market, © Franzfoto (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Les Masies de Roda, Monastery of Sant Pere de Casserres, © PMRMaeyaert (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 es (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/es/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Lucca, Basilica of St Frediano, © Joanbanjo (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Madenşehir (Binbirkilise), Church no. 1, © Jordan Pickett [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Flickr

Mainz, Cathedral, © Sabinolembo (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Marmashen, Monastery, 1 © Arman musikyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Marcin Konsek / Wikimedia Commons., via Wikimedia Commons.

Mastara, Church of St John, 1 © Armen Manukov (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons. 2 © Lilitik22 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Mélas, Church of St Étienne, © MOSSOT (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Moirax, Church of Notre Dame, © Delatude (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Monsempron-Libos, Church of St Géraud, © MOSSOT (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Montmajour, Abbey of St. Peter, 1 © SiefkinDR (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Finoskov (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Mushabbak, Basilica, © Varun Shiv Kapur (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/varunshiv/5348855591/>) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Mut, Alahan Monastery, East Church, © Nedim Ardoğa (My work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>) or GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Nant, Church of Saint Pierre, © Jacques MOSSOT (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Nasbinals, Church of St Marie, © BUFO88 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Nîmes, Roman amphitheater, © Inkey (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Odzun, Church, © Arman musikyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ottana, Church of St Nicola, © Gianni Careddu (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Oxford, Divinity School Library, © Diliff (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>) or GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Palencia, Cathedral, © Rowanwindwhistler (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Palermo, Church of St Cataldo, © Jean-Pierre Dalbéra [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Paris, Hôtel de Cluny, © Traumrune / Wikimedia Commons., via Wikimedia Commons.

Pemzashen, Church, 1 © Soghomon Matevosyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Vahag851 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ptghni, Church (Ptghnavank), © Vahagn Grigoryan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Pula, Roman amphitheater, © Carole Raddato from FRANKFURT, Germany [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Qalb Lozeh, Basilica, © Simone Moni / GAR [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Qasr al-Hallabat, Hammam As-Sarah, 1, 3 © Eric's (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © TheLastShot (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Rabós, Monastery of St Quirze de Colera, © EnfoEnfo (Own workOwn work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric, © Sailko (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Resafa (Sergiopolis), Tetraconch, © Marina Milella / DecArch [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Rome, Arch of Dolabella, © LPLT (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>) or GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Rome, Arco dei Pantani. Public domain (<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=965216>)

Rome, Colosseum, © Diana Ringo (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Sacramenia, Church of St Miguel, © Rowanwindwhistler (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Safita, Chastel Blanc, Church of St Michael, © Yuber [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Saint-Amand-de-Coly, Abbey church, © Jochen Jahnke at the German language Wikipedia [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Abbey of St Gilles, 1 © Morburre (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Hawobo at German Wikipedia [CC BY-SA 2.0 de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/de/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

[Commons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/de/deed.en](https://commons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/de/deed.en)], via Wikimedia Commons; 3 © rabbitslim (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Saint-Thierry, Church of St Hilaire, © Peter Potrowl (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Saint-Trinit, Church of St Trinité, © Véronique PAGNIER (Own work) [CC0], via Wikimedia Commons.

Salamanca, Church of St Marcos, © Diocese of Westminster (Flickr: DSC\_0878) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Salona, Roman Amphitheatre, © Carole Raddato from FRANKFURT, Germany (Amphitheatre, Salona, Dalamatia) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

San Donato in Poggio, Church of St Donato, © Vignaccia76 (Own work) [CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

San Leo (Rimini), Pieve di Santa Maria Assunta, © Il Faentino (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

San Martín de Montalbán, Church of Santa María de Melque, © José Luis Filpo Cabana (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Sant Martí Sarroca, Church of St Maria, © Angela Llop from Spain (Santa Maria de Sant Martí Sarroca.) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Sant'Antioco di Bisarcio, Cathedral, 1 © Gianni Careddu (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Sailko (Own work) [CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Santa María de Mave, Monastery of St María la Real, © Valdavia (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 4.0-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Segovia, Church of St Millán, © Juan Carlos Castle (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 es (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/es/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Shivta, Church, © Ester Inbar, available from <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:ST>. [Attribution], via Wikimedia Commons.

Siracusa, Castello Maniace, © I, Sailko [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>), CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>) or CC BY 2.5 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Sisian, Church of St John, © Soghomon Matevosyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Soria, Church of St Juan de Rabanera, © José Luis Filpo Cabana (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Soria, Monastery of St Juan de Duero, © Miguel Ángel García. from Ólvega., España (Iglesia de San Juan de Duero.Soria.) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Sousse, Great Mosque, Public domain, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Great\\_Mosque\\_of\\_Sousse,\\_Tunisia.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Great_Mosque_of_Sousse,_Tunisia.jpg).

Sultanhanı, Sultan Han Caravanserai, © Claude Valette (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)].

Talin, Cathedral, © Arman musikyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Talin, Church of St Astvatsatsin, © nina stoessinger (originally posted to Flickr as weathered) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Tartus, Cathedral, © Library of Congress (Library of Congress) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Tripoli, Taynal mosque, © Wilmerdon (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Tsitsernavank, Monastery church, 1 © lori-m.Lori-m at ru.wikipedia [Public domain], from Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Soghomon Matevosyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Uta, Church of St Maria, © Giova81 (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Vagharshapat, Church of St Hripsime, © Arman musikyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Cathedral, 1 © Joanbanjo (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Miguel Hermoso Cuesta (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Church of St Nicolás de Bari and St Pedro Mártir, © Joanbanjo (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Convent of St Domingo, © Felivet (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Palacio de la Generalitat, © Joanbanjo (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Palacio de Mercaders, © Joanbanjo (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Real Monasterio de la Trinidad, © Joanbanjo (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Valencia, Torres de Quart, © Jaume Meneses (Flickr: País Valencià'2011) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Verona, Roman Amphitheatre, © Lo Scaligero (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Veyrines, Church of Notre Dame, © François Bassaget (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Vilanova de Dozón, Church of St Pedro, © P.Lameiro (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Worms, Cathedral, © HOWI - Horsch, Willy (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Zamora, Church of St María Magdalena, © Jose Luis Filpo Cabana (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Zamora, Church of St Pedro y Ildefonso, © Jose Luis Filpo Cabana (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Zoravan, Zoravor Church (Gharghavank), 1 © Armen Manukov (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons; 2 © Liveon001 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>) or GFDL (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Zorita del Páramo, Church of St Lorenzo, © Gesu (Own work by Gesu) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Zovuni, St. Peter and Paul, © Zgalstyan (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

*PRISCA SCIENTIA VS. PRISCA SAPIENTIA*  
ZWEI MODELLE DES UMGANGS MIT DER TRADITION AM BEISPIEL  
DES RÜCKGRIFFS AUF DIE VORSOKRATIK IM KONTEXT  
DER FRÜHNEUZEITLICHEN DEBATTE  
UND DER AUSBILDUNG DES KONTINUITÄTSMODELL  
DER *PRISCA SAPIENTIA* BZW. *PHILOSOPHIA PERENNIS*\*

NEGOTIATING WITH THE ANCIENTS IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE  
AND ITS HERMENEUTICAL MODELS  
'PRISCA SCIENTIA' VS 'PRISCA SAPIENTIA'

THOMAS LEINKAUF  
WESTFÄLISCHE WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNSTER

*Abstract*

Die Rückkehr zu den alten Denkern, nämlich zu den sogenannten prä-sokratischen Philosophen, ist schon fast ein *topos* in der Geschichte der frühen modernen Philosophie. Eine solche Rückkehr könnte jedoch ein eindeutiges Verständnis erschweren und alternative historiographische Paradigmennach sich ziehen. Um solche internen Spannungen offen zu legen, muss sich die Forschung nicht nur auf Tatsachen konzentrieren, nämlich auf das, was ist, sondern auch auf die Begründungen für eben diese Tatsachen. Sie muß analysieren, weshalb es so und nicht anders sein könnte. Der vorliegende Aufsatz erforscht die Frage nach der Rückkehr zur „alten Weisheit“ und identifiziert zwei alternative hermeneutische Muster - der Autor beschreibt sie als zwei entgegengesetzte ‚Syndrome‘. Diese sind einerseits das Modell der *prisca scientia* und andererseits das Modell der *prisca sapientia*. Nach dem ersten Paradigma stellen die frühen Denker ein Reservoir von verstreuten Lehren und Sätzen dar, die für die Wiederverwendung in neuen philosophischen Projekten zur Verfügung stehen (ohne Anspruch auf eine Kontinuität der Tradition). Nach dem zweiten Modell ist es den Alten jedoch gelungen, eine „ursprüngliche“

---

\* Der folgende Text wurde auf der von Gregor Vogt-Spira veranstalteten Tagung: Modellbildungen (Archaisch-Spät), Villa Vigoni, November 2007 vorgetragen und erscheint hier in leicht modifizierter Form.

Lehre vorzustellen, die als eine Art das Leben als Ganzes umgebende „rettende Erkenntnis“, bezeichnet werden kann. Die beiden Syndrome schließen sich gegenseitig aus, da die *prisca sapientia* keine *prisca scientia* beinhaltet. Es scheint, daß im 18. Jahrhunderts das *prisca sapientia*-Modell seinen Reiz verlor und marginalisiert wurde.

*Schlüsselwörter*

*Prisca scientia, prisca sapientia*, alten Weisheit, Tradition, Geschichte der Philosophie, Enzyklopädie.

*Abstract*

The return to the Ancients, namely to the so-called Pre-Socratic thinkers, is almost a common place in the history of Early Modern philosophy. However, such a return back to the early thinkers could imply distinct understandings and alternative historiographical paradigms. In order to disclose such internal tensions the research must focus not only on matters of fact, viz., on ‘what’ it is, but also analyze the justifications provided for the very same facts, viz., ‘why’ it should be so. This essay explores the question of the return to ‘the ancient wisdom’ and identifies two alternative sets of concurrent elements that had been forming distinct identifiable patterns – the authors describe them as two opposite ‘syndromes’. They are the model of ‘*prisca scientia*’, on the one hand, and the model of ‘*prisca sapientia*’, on the other hand. According to the first paradigm, the early thinkers constitute a reservoir of scattered teachings and sentences available to re-use philosophical projects; moreover, there is no strong claim for a continuity of a tradition. According to the latter model, however, the Ancients were able to provide an ‘original’ teaching which represents the norm of a sort of ‘saving knowledge’ embracing life as a whole. These two ‘syndromes’ are mutually exclusive, since the *prisca sapientia* would not entail any *prisca scientia*. During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, as it seems, the *prisca sapientia*-model loses its appeal and gets marginalized.

*Key Words*

*Prisca scientia, prisca sapientia*, Ancient Wisdom, Tradition, History of philosophy, Encyclopedia.



I

Die philosophischen Texte der Frühen Neuzeit sind, wie die Texte jeder Epoche der Bildungsgeschichte, voll mit Bezugnahmen auf die ältere Tradition. Hinter diesem Gemeinsamen, dem *Daß* (quia, ὅτι), das zumindest wohl die Reflektiertheit des Denkens im Umgang mit seinen Problemen und ein (vielleicht nicht immer sich selbst ganz deutliches) Bewußtsein von der Bedeutung von ‚Tradition‘ dokumentiert, steckt jedoch eine sehr große Verschiedenheit der Begründung, des *Warum* (propter quid, τὸ διότι).<sup>1</sup> Durchgehend nämlich stecken tradierte *wertende* Kriterien hinter der Art und Weise, wie die ältere Tradition präsentiert wird und wie die Autoren *sich selbst* noch einmal zu dieser Präsentation, affirmierend, negierend oder indifferent konstatierend, verhalten. Wenn Giordano Bruno etwa Platon zur „sapientissima antiquitas“ zählt,<sup>2</sup> dann ist das nicht nur Ausdruck seiner durch intensive Lektüre des Marsilio Ficino und anderer Platonici der Renaissance genährten Achtung gegenüber dem Autor selbst, sondern reiht sich ebenso ein in vergleichbare positiv konnotierte Bezugnahmen auf andere Autoren der klassischen Antike und vor allem auch des vorsokratischen Denkens. Es bedeutet aber eben *nicht*, daß er sich als Platoniker verstand oder umstandslos von seinen Interpreten als ein solcher bezeichnet werden dürfte. Das Sich-Herausbilden eines wertend unterscheidenden Zuweisens von Kriterien wie ‚archaisch-modern/spät‘ oder ‚antik-modern‘ oder ‚alt-neu‘ ist die eine Sache und wir können sie vor allem in der humanistischen und poetologischen Debatte des 15. vor allem aber des 16. Jahrhunderts gut beobachten. Zum Beispiel dann wenn Pietro Bembo's Prose della volgar lingua im 16. Jahrhundert bei der Edition von Ariost's Orlando furioso als ‚archaisierende‘ Norm fungieren, die das ‚Moderne‘ oder ‚Späte‘ der erweiterten sprachlichen Ausdrucksweise Ariost's zurückdrängen gegenüber dem ‚Alten‘ und ‚Archaischen‘ der Vorgaben Bembo's<sup>3</sup> oder in der Debatte um Petrarchismo-Antipetrarchismo oder um die Pléiade. Die Strategie der Besetzung der genannten Kriterien hingegen ändert sich jeweils im Rahmen übergreifender Interessen philosophischer, theologischer, poetologischer Provenienz: der Rückgriff des Renaissance-Humanismus auf die Antike ist durchweg positiv besetzt, sofern

---

\* Der folgende Text wurde auf der von Gregor Vogt-Spira veranstalteten Tagung: Modellbildungen (Archaisch-Spät), Villa Vigoni, November 2007 vorgetragen und erscheint hier in leicht modifizierter Form.

<sup>1</sup> Diese aristotelische Grundunterscheidung (vgl. *Analytica posteriora* A 2, 90 a 9 sq.) war dieser Zeit sehr gut bekannt.

<sup>2</sup> Giordano Bruno, *OL* I/1, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Wyatt, ‚Bruno and the ‚Eroico e generoso animo‘ Philip Sidney‘, in *The Alchemy of Extremes. The laboratory of the Eroici furori of Giordano Bruno*, ed. Eugenio Canone and Ingrid D. Rowland, (Brunian & Campanellian, Supplementi XVI, studi 8), Pisa-Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2007, pp. 162-163.

Antike hier als archaischer, d. h. ursprünglicher, reiner, lichterhafter *Ausgangspunkt* eines Denkens, einer religiösen Haltung oder einer sprachlichen Kunst gesehen wird, an die man, sich von der eigenen unmittelbaren Vergangenheit abstoßend, *selbst* unmittelbar anschließen will: gegen die „Dunkelheit“ (*tenebrae*) des Mittelalters und die „Spitzfindigkeiten“ (*subtilitates*) der Schulphilosophie wird ein „Neues“ gestellt, das als Repristinierung eines an sich nicht vergangenen (sondern nur verschütteten, aus dem Blick gekommenen) „Alten“ gilt. Daß diese Antike jedoch eine ganz bestimmte Antike ist, nämlich fast durchgehend die hellenistische oder spätere Antike,<sup>4</sup> spielt im Selbstbewußtsein der Autoren genau so wenig eine Rolle, wie die Tatsache, daß das ‚dunkle‘ Zeitalter, also das, was wir noch heute Mittelalter nennen, ein ganz eigenes Licht hatte und herausragende Errungenschaften aufwies. Sofern das ‚Alte‘ oder ‚Archaische‘ jedoch, wie in der poetologischen, dichtungstheoretischen Debatte, als direkte *eigene* Vergangenheit begriffen wird, also etwa als diejenige der Dominanz der durch Petrarca kodifizierten Lyrik, und man sich selbst als eine Weiterentwicklung oder als ein Gegenmodell begreift, also als Antipetrarchist etc., insofern kann gerade ‚alt‘ oder ‚archaisch‘ durchweg negativ besetzt sein, obgleich der sich als fortschrittlich begreifende Philip Sidney ausgerechnet Sprache und Struktur des aristotelischen Denkens benützt, um seine ‚Modernität‘ gegen die ‚Archaik‘ Petrarca zu erweisen.<sup>5</sup>

Die über zeitliche Folge differenzierenden Wertungen, die also entweder das chronologische Posterior als notwendige und daher positive Folge seines Prior beurteilen oder das Prior als durch das Posterior ‚Überwundene‘ negativ einschätzen oder das Posterior als Verfallsprodukt des Prior, et vice versa, verstehen oder die die Jetztzeit einfach als „nicht untergeordnet“ gegenüber der

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. hierzu Thomas Leinkauf, ‘Die Frühe Neuzeit und die antike Philosophie’, in Ulrich Heinen (Hg.), *Welche Antike? Konkurrierende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock* (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 47), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011, vol. 1, pp. 29-78. Vgl. auch Enea Silvio Piccolomini, ‘Brief an Herzog Sigmund von Österreich (5. Dezember 1443)’, in Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Briefe. Dichtungen*, ed. Gerhart Bürck, München: Winkler, 1966, pp. 85-104, 85 sq.: durch die Leistungen des Petrarca und des Chrysoloras habe die Sprache die “wahre und schöne Ausdrucksweise” der Alten wieder zurückgewonnen, so daß die “Kunst der heutigen Italiener wohl der in der Zeit des Octavian an die Seite gestellt werden kann”. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura ed architettura*, Milano, 1585, Romae: Gismoni, 1844, Vol. I, Lib. I, c. 31, p. 162: “ritrovano (!) i greci ad imitazione dei più antichi la vera proporzione venerabile”; für Lomazzo gilt durchgehend der Primat des ‘Alten’, vgl. auch lib. II, c. 1, p. 174: “quelli veramente savj antichi”, wobei das ‘Alte’ im Sinne der klassischen Antike noch einmal positiv in der Dignität übertroffen wird durch das ‘ältere’ oder ‘älteste Alte’.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie*, London: Ponsonby, 1595. Vgl. die Ausgaben mit Einführung und Kommentar: Sir Philip Sidney, *Elogio della Poesia*, ed. Marco Pustianaz, Genova: Il Melangolo, 1989; Sir Philip Sidney, *Éloge de la poésie*, trad. Patrick Hersant, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994.

Vergangenheit als eine Sache eigenen Rechtes behaupten,<sup>6</sup> setzen immer Kriterien voraus, die eine solche Wertung nicht nur legitimieren, sondern für die häufig diese Wertungen selbst kalkulierter polemischer Ausdruck ihrer Selbstpositionierung sind. Hier kann also ex post nur eine Differentialdiagnose durch Kenntnisnahme der jeweiligen Kontexte zum genaueren Verstehen führen. Ich möchte, was diesen Zusammenhang – noch nicht wohlgeklärt, was das Kontinuitätsmodell – betrifft, hier nur ein Beispiel aus der philosophischen Debatte vorstellen, das leider noch nicht hinlänglich durch die neuere Forschung untersucht worden ist, die bei der Heraushebung von Einzelbeispielen stehen geblieben ist, während die ältere *historia literaria* in ihren Kompendien hierfür durchaus Sensibilität entwickelt hatte:<sup>7</sup> es handelt sich um die Beobachtung, daß einige Texte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts einen durchgehend affirmativen Rekurs auf das *vorsokratische* Denken aufweisen, vor allem auf Parmenides, Heraklit, Demokrit, Anaxagoras und Pythagoras bzw. die Pythagoräer.<sup>8</sup> Es ist

---

<sup>6</sup> So Antonio Persio, *Trattato dell'ingegno dell'huomo*, Venezia, 1576, ed. Luciano Artese, (Bruniana & Campanelliana, Supplementi/Testi Vol. 2), Pisa-Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1999, pp. 25-26: "Et se non vorrò fermarmi ne' ritrovamenti de gli antichi, discendendo a' moderni, io non gli proverò di niente inferiori a quegli, anzi in molte cose dirò stargli da sopra (...)", der dieser Feststellung eine Aufzählung der Errungenschaften der 'Moderne' folgen läßt: Navigation, Geographie, Astronomie (Astrolaben), Druckkunst, Schießpulver etc. Im Hintergrund steht der Humanismus des Quattrocento, vor allem Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia Platonica* XIII, c. 3 (t. II, pp. 223-226 Marcel) und Giannozzo Manetti, *De dignitate & excellentia hominis* (1452), Hg. August Buck, Hamburg: Meiner, 1990, Buch II, pp. 58-64.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. etwa Jacob Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae, a tempore resuscitarum in occidente litterarum liberarum ad nostra tempora*, Lipsiae, 1742-1744, Tomus IV/1, p. 448 ff: 'De restauratione philosophiae Parmenideae.' Hierzu vgl. die Arbeiten von Luciano Artese, 'Il rapporto Parmenide-Telesio, dal Persio al Maranta', in *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 70 (1991), pp. 15-34; Michel-Pierre Lerner, 'Le parménidisme de Telesio: origine et limites d' un hypothèse', in *Bernardino Telesio e la cultura napoletana*, ed. R. Sirri e M. Torrini, Napoli 1992, pp. 79-106; Martin Mulsow, *Frühneuzeitliche Selbsterhaltung. Telesio und die Naturphilosophie der Renaissance*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998, p. 312-327, at p. 312 ff. Naturgemäß ist die Sensibilität für den Rückgriff auf Demokrit-Epikur bei den Forschungen zum frühneuzeitlichen Atomismus stärker entwickelt, vgl. Wolfgang Detel, *Scientia rerum natura occultarum. Methodologische Studien zur Physik Pierre Gassendis*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978. Vergleichbare differenzierende Beobachtungen fehlen m. E. bezüglich erstens dem Faktum der Anaxagoras-Rezeption und zweitens der generellen Frage nach dem 'Warum' dieses Rückgriffes.

<sup>8</sup> Antonio Persio, *De natura ignis*, *Biblioteca Corsianiana*, Rom, Ms Linceo VI, fol. 56: "(...) Ocellus Lucanus conterraneus noster ipsius Pythagorae auditor [!], ut eius scripta quae in hominum eruditorum manus ostendunt, primus fuisse mihi videri potest qui de elementis quatuor scripserit, atque ad posterum transmiserit, hoc est naturam praesertim qualitates ac mixtiones eorum excogitaverit, tales quales apud ipsum quisque legere et animadvertere poterit"; hierzu Mulsow 2002 (siehe Anm. 39), p. 256 sq. Okellos war zugänglich in einer durch Lodovico Nogarola besorgten Ausgabe *Ocelli Lucani De universi natura libellus Ludovico Nogarola (...) interprete*, Venetiis 1559. Man konstruierte, wie Mulsow überzeugend zeigen kann, gegen alle sich später herausstellende tatsächliche Chronologie, Ocellus über die Vermittlung von Achytas als Vorläufer Platons. Ebenso deutlich wird, wie Persio eine reduzierte prisca sapientia-

hierbei klar zu unterscheiden zwischen einer Bezugnahme auf vorsokratische Texte im Stil der philosophisch-theologischen Literatur der Scholastik und derjenigen Bezugnahme, die sich mit dem Aufkommen eines neuen Bewußtseins von Geschichtlichkeit, Temporalität und Tradition entwickelte. In ersterer werden natürlich auch schon Texte des Anaxagoras, Heraklit oder Parmenides in eine Reihe mit anderen Texten gestellt, die hinsichtlich eines Problems, z. B. der Entstehung von Formen (Ideen) oder dem Hervorgang von Formen (Ideen), d. h. der „inchoatio formarum, alternative Lösungen präsentieren.<sup>9</sup> Diese Anordnung ist allerdings in aller Regel parataktisch-dispositionell und nicht sequentiell-historisch, man kann sie oft bei Autoren wie Albertus Magnus, Thomas von Aquin, Duns Scotus u. a. finden. Es geht hier um Wissensalternativen und Adäquatheit von Argumenten, nicht um den Anspruch eines Primats und einer Lösung, die – auch zeitlich – vor gegensätzlichen, unvermittelbaren Positionen liegt. Ebenso wird in dieser Tradition seit der Spätantike darauf hingewiesen und darauf abgehoben, daß für die Vervollkommnung (*perfectio*) unseres Wissens (sozusagen *quoad nos*) ein „langer Zeitraum“ nötig ist, eine Form von Akkumulationprozeß.<sup>10</sup> Dies geschieht aber nicht mit der Vorstellung, daß (i) das Alter des Wissens und seine Dignität in direkter Relation stehen (sondern daß aus der Menge der oppositen Positionen die Wahrheit umso deutlicher aufscheine) und (ii) die Weitergabe (*traditio*) dieses Wissens – wie wir sie im zweiten Teil diskutieren werden – ein Reflexionsgegenstand *sui generis* ist. Neben der Tatsache also, daß ein Denken, das sich vor allem im naturtheoretischen Bereich als ein „neues“ Denken (*nova philosophia*) einführen will, wie dasjenige vieler Autoren der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts,<sup>11</sup> mit guten Gründen auf

---

Kontinuität als „*philosophia italica*“ etablieren will – für die aber dieselben von mir hier in Anschlag gebrachten Kriterien der Tradierung gelten: Zenon, Parmenides, Empedokles, Philolaos, Okellos, Timaios. Noch Giambattista Vico wird sich hierauf als auf die „*antiquissima italorum sapientia*“ beziehen, so der Titel einer seiner Schriften, erschienen Neapel 1710. Zur Sache auch Paolo Casini, *L'antica sapienza italica. Cronistoria di un mito*, Bologna: il Mulino, 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Man vergleiche etwa die Diskussion der *inchoatio formarum* bei Albertus Magnus, *Metaphysica* XI, tr. 1, c. 8, 468b-471b, wo neben Platon, Aristoteles, Avicenna und Averroes eben auch Anaxagoras angeführt wird, nach welchem alle Formen schon in der Materie, also in dem „*omnia in omnibus*“, actu vorlägen. So auch *Liber de natura et origine animae* I, tr. 2, *Opera omnia* XII, Münster 1955, p. 5. Siehe auch etwa Nicoletto Vernia, *Contra perversam Averrois opinionem de unitate intellectus* (1492), Venetiis 1505, fol. 3-4, der vorsokratische Autoren aus Zwecken der Dokumentation einer antiken, nicht-christlichen Position hinsichtlich des Wesens der *anima intellectiva* anführt (im Rückgriff auf Albertus Magnus).

<sup>10</sup> So etwa bei Agostino Nifo, *Destructiones Destructionum Averrois (...) expositio*, Venetiis 1497, VIII, dub. 1, fol. 92va; XIII, dub. 4, fol. 116va auf der Basis von Averroes, *De coelo* I, comm. 101, fol. 69rb.

<sup>11</sup> So auch die Beobachtung Tommaso Campanellas, der in seinen *Realis philosophiae epilogisticae libri quatuor, hoc sit de rerum natura, hominum moribus, politica (...), & oeconomica*, Francofurti: Tampachius, 1623, *Disputatio in prologum*, p. b ii r auf die Entwicklung des 16. Jahrhunderts rückblickend festhält: „Ergo etiam physiologiam oportet novam facere de necessitate, sicut

paradigmatische Grundsätze der alten Physiologi zurückgreifen konnte, möchte ich als andere, ergänzende Erklärungshypothese auf eine überraschend ähnliche Konstellation hinweise, die man im theologischen, durch die Konfessionalisierung zersplitteten Diskurs beobachten kann: wie dort sich bei vielen Autoren unangesehen ihrer konfessionellen Zugehörigkeit ein gemeinsamer Rückgriff auf die ‚Väter‘, d. h. auf die *kanonischen* Autoren der christlichen Patristik, beobachten läßt, gleichsam um auf eine vor-konfessionelle, durch ihre Ursprungsnähe Dignität und Autorität ausstrahlende Plattform zurückgreifen zu können, von der aus man noch jenseits des Schismas übergreifende Themen diskutieren kann,<sup>12</sup> so ließe sich auch der Rückgriff der Philosophen auf die Vorsokratik als eine Wendung zu einer *gemeinsamen, unverdächtigen Ausgangsbasis des Denkens* verstehen, die vor dem ideologisch besetzten, ex post konstruierten Gegensatz Platon–Aristoteles (in der Folge: Realismus–Nominalismus oder, dann, Averroismus–Alexandrinismus) liegt. So ist es sicherlich für eine produktive Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem kritischen Aristoteliker Bernardino Telesio und dem Platoniker Patrizi von großer Bedeutung gewesen, daß beide eine positive Bewertung vorsokratischer Autoren vorgenommen haben. So ist es für einen Autor wie Francis Bacon geradezu geboten, um sein Programm einer tiefgreifenden Reform der Naturphilosophie irgendwie an die Tradition anschließen zu können, sich von Aristoteles im Namen der vorsokratischen Philosophie zu lösen, von deren Denkansätzen gelte, daß sie „aliquid ex Philosopho naturali“ hätten „& rerum naturam, & experientiam, & corpora sapiunt“.<sup>13</sup> Ein weiteres Moment dieses positiven

---

Picus, & Telesius, Valerius, Paracelsus coeperunt (...) indicant tamen, quod tota Philosophia debet renovari“. Die tatsächlichen Differenzen zwischen sogenannter ‘alter’ und ‘neuer’ Naturtheorie zeigt am Beispiel der aristotelischen Schulphilosophie der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts und den naturtheoretischen Thesen des Descartes auf Dennis Des Chene in seinem Buch *Physiologia. Natural Philosophy in Late Aristotelian and Cartesian Thought*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996, vgl. etwa pp. 151–157 am Beispiel der Reduktion von “Kräften” und “Formen” im aristotelischen Sinne auf “Dispositionen” im Sinne des Descartes: “actions ascribed to powers could all be explained by appealing to dispositiones alone” (p. 157).

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, ‘Beobachtungen zur Rezeption patristischer Autoren in der Frühen Neuzeit’, in *Die Patristik in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. Günter Frank, Thomas Leinkauf und Markus Wriedt, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2006, pp. 191–207, bes. p. 192 sq.

<sup>13</sup> Francis Bacon, *Novum organum*, Aphorismus LXIII, in *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, Vol. XI: *The Instauratio magna Part II: Novum organum*, ed. Graham Rees, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004, p. 98: “Primi generis (sc. philosophiae Sophisticae) exemplum in Aristotele maximè conspicuum est, qui Philosophiam Naturalem Dialecticâ suâ corrumpit; quùm Mundum ex Categorijs effecerit (...) magis ubique sollicitus quomodo quis respondendo se explicet, & aliquid reddatur in verbis positivum, quàm de internâ rerum veritate; quod etiam optimè se ostendit in comparatione Philosophiae eius, ad alias philosophias, quae apud Graecos celebrabantur. Habent enim Homoiomeria Anaxagorae, Atomi Leucippi & Democriti, Coelum & Terram Parmenidis, Lis & Amicitia Empedoclis, Resolutio corporum in adiaphoram naturam Ignis, & Replicatio eorundem ad densum, Heracliti, aliquid ex Philosopho naturali, & rerum naturam, & experientiam, &

Bezugssyndroms ist *sachlicher* Art und geht direkt von bestimmten grundlegenden Aussagen der vorsokratischen Autoren aus, die ja auch dazu geführt haben, daß schon die Antike selbst durchgehend – von Platon und Aristoteles über den Hellenismus in die Spätantike hinein – sich mit zentralen Aussagen der Vorsokratiker auseinandergesetzt hatte.<sup>14</sup> Wenn wir die Autoren der Frühen Neuzeit dasselbe tun sehen, dann haben wir sozusagen eine Wiederholung unter anderen Bedingungen vor uns.<sup>15</sup> Ich möchte zwei Beispiele herausgreifen:

1) das Diktum des Anaxagoras, daß „alle Dinge (im Ursprung) zusammen waren“, ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, ἄπειρα καὶ πλήθος καὶ μικρότατα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μικρὸν ἄπειρον ἦν (B 1, DK II, S. 32). Dieses Diktum wird, zusammen mit der Wendung „omnia in omnibus“ (mit häufig bewußter, direkter Konnotation auf Paulus 1 Kor

---

corpora sapiunt“. Für Bacon ist zusätzlich an den ‘Alten’ attraktiv, daß sie eher in einzelnen Sentenzen und Aphorismen sich geäußert hätten, als in großen, kategorial entwickelten Systemen, vgl. Aphorismus LXXXVI, *ibid.*, p. 138: “at primi & Antquissimi veritatis Inquisitores, meliore fide & fato, cognitionem illam, quam ex rerum contemplatione decerpere, & in usum recondere statuebant, in Aphorismos, sive breves, easdemque sparsas, nec Methodo revictas sententias, conijcere solebant; neque se Artem universam complecti simulabant, aut profitebantur“. Aber: der Bezug zu den ‘Alten’ und zur Antike darf eben nicht dazu dienen, so daß (Aphorismus CXXII, *ibid.* p. 182): “more novorum hominum, qui nobilitatem sibi ex antiquâ aliquâ prosapiâ, per genealogiarum fautores, astruunt & affingunt”.

<sup>14</sup> Beliebig herausgegriffene Beispiele: zu Anaxagoras vgl. Galen, *De naturalibus facultatibus* I 2, ed. C.G. Kühn, Lipsiae: Teubner, 1893, vol. II, pp. 4-5 ablehnend zur Einteilung (Diakrisis, Synkrisis) der “ewigen” unveränderlichen Qualitäten durch den Nus zu je bestimmtem, sich veränderndem Seienden; Proklos, *In Parm.* 1214,9-11 Cousin positiv zur nicht-materialistischen Bestimmung des ersten Prinzips als “unkörperliche Seele”; Simplicios, *In Phys.* 6,31-7,6; 21,15-26,3 Diels u.ö. Ein Forschungsdefizit zur Rezeption und Würdigung der Vorsokratiker, wie ich es hier herausstellen will, konstatiert mit Bezug auf die Spätantike, insbesondere den Neuplatonismus, auch ganz analog Gyburg Radke, *Das Lächeln des Parmenides. Proklos’ Interpretationen zur Platonischen Dialogform*, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2006, p. 372. Wenn man die spätantike Rezeption zur Kenntnis nimmt und dann die Rezeption der Spätantike insbesondere durch das Denken des 16. Jahrhunderts, dann darf vermutet werden, daß die Präsenz vorsokratischen Denkens in den Autoren dieser Zeit wohl auch zum großen Teil durch die Lektüre spätantiker Texte (Aristoteles-Kommentare, Neuplatonismus) vermittelt ist.

<sup>15</sup> In einem anderen Beitrag habe ich dieses Phänomen generell als sekundäre Transformation des antiken Denkens bezeichnet, die die hellenistisch-spätantike Transformation des klassischen Ansatzes aufgreift und unter anderen Bedingungen nochmals transformiert, vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, ‘Überlegungen zur Transformation des antik-scholastischen Methoden- und Wissensbegriffs in der Frühen Neuzeit: Autopsie, Experiment, Induktion’, in Georg Toepfer, Hartmut Boehme (Hg.), *Transformationen antiker Wissenschaften*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010, pp. 215-241. Es ist auch darauf hinzuweisen, daß diese Opposition Anaxagoras-Parmenides hier aus dem Befund der Lektüre vieler verschiedener Texte resultiert, während sie schon in der späteren Antike ein Topos in der Auslegung der Philosophie Platons gewesen ist, in der die Naturphilosophie (Anaxagoras) der Philosophie des Einen (Parmenides) aus systematischen Gründen – unter Berufung auf Platon – entgegengesetzt worden ist.

15,28, für Anaxagoras durch Simplikios gesichert, vgl. in Phys. 164,22 f ), immer dann ins Feld geführt, wenn ein absoluter Ursprung angesetzt werden soll, der als ein produktives Chaos, als ein noch ununterschiedenes und ungeschiedenes Sein von allem – insbesondere von allen Formen – in einem einheitlichen, überall seienden Grund gedacht werden soll.<sup>16</sup> Der Bezug auf Anaxagoras ist fast nie frei von materialistischen Implikationen, so daß dies „Alles Zugleich“ als Bestimmung einer noch ungeformten, höchst subtilen Materie im Sinne eines universalen Substrates verstanden wurde oder, wie in der Schilderung Aristoteles, Physica A 4, 187 a 20 ff (A 52, DK II, S. 20), wo es auch um die Mischung der Gegensätze und das Entstehen aus komplexen Mischungs- oder Kompositzustände geht, eben als ein zu „Alles in Allem“ erweitertes „Alles zugleich“, wobei die Unterschiede der Dinge als durch die Prädominanz einzelner Faktoren bedingt zu denken sind.<sup>17</sup> Neben dieses Theorem des „Alles in Allem“ tritt – seit Platon (und trotz dessen Kritik) – der Geistbegriff, der den „Geist“ (νοῦς), im Gegensatz zur Totaldurchdringung und Konfusion, als in sich rein, ungemischt (A 56, DK II, S. 20 aus Aristoteles, Physica  $\Theta$  5, 256b 24 f), alles beherrschend und unendlich denkt (B 11-12, DK II, S. 37-39, aus Simplikios' Physik-Kommentar). Mit diesem Geistbegriff konnte man vor Aristoteles, Metaphysica XII zurückgreifen und einen von hoher Dignität, weil Alter, zeugenden und theologische Konnotationen nicht abweisenden Begriff eines höchsten geistigen Wesens vertreten, selbst Plotins

<sup>16</sup> Stellen wie die folgende aus einem Text Marcus Marcis, der als Autor der Mitte und zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts natürlich unter anderen Voraussetzungen – cartesianischen und atomistischen auf der einen, paracelsistisch-panpsychistischen auf der anderen Seite – seine interessanten Thesen vertreten mußte, lassen sich meines Erachtens durchaus auf Anaxagoras zurückführen, vgl. *Pān ἐν πάντων seu Philosophia vetus restituta*, Pragae 1662, p. 244: “si (...) deficient reliqua, erunt formae omnes simul in eodem UBI in quo materia illa individua, atque tum chaos universi (...) quale forte ab Ovidio descriptum: in quo frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis. Quod si enim formae omnes idem UBI habent cum materia hac individua,, neque per quantitatem supervenientem a se divelli posse videntur: atque ita omnes actu & formaliter in omnibus simul erunt, quod metas egreditur rationis. Verius ergo non nisi unam entitatem simplicem materiae coevam esse, in qua duntaxat virtualitis illarum multitudo continetur”. In diesem Kontext ist darauf zu achten, daß im späten 16. Jahrhundert und dann im 17. Jahrhundert die aristotelische Verbindung des Panspermie-Gedankens mit Anaxagoras vermittelt durch Augustins Reflexionen hierzu (*De genesi ad litteram* III 3, 4) eine Rolle in alchemisch-magischen naturtheoretischen Debatten spielt, einige Hinweise habe ich gegeben in Thomas Leinkauf, *Mundus combinatus. Studien zur Struktur der barocken Universalwissenschaft am Beispiel Athanasius Kirchers*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993, 2. Aufl. 2009, p. 97 sq. (Libavius, Alsted, Crollius).

<sup>17</sup> Aristoteles, Physica A 4, 187 a 26 sq.; b 1-4: διό φασι πᾶν ἐν παντὶ μεμῖχθαι, διότι πᾶν ἐκ παντὸς ἑώρων γιγνόμενον· φαίνεσθαι δὲ διαφέροντα καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι ἕτερα ἀλλήλων ἐκ τοῦ μάλισθ' ὑπερέχοντος διὰ πλήθος ἐν τῇ μίξει τῶν ἀπειρῶν. Hier liegt meines Erachtens der sachliche Ursprung der späteren Kombinatorik, die diesen Grundgedanken letztlich nur formalisiert und in seinen Implikationen ausdifferenziert. Vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, *Mundus combinatus* (Anm. 16), p. 364 sq.

kritische Umdeutung, die den materialistischen Aspekt des „alles zugleich“ mit dem strengen Einheitsbegriff des Parmenides synthetisiert, hat doch dem Anaxagoras und seinem ὁμοῦ πάντα die Ehre eines zentralen Referenzautors gegeben.<sup>18</sup>

Dokumentation: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones paradoxae secundum propriam intentionem*, n. 22, *Opera omnia*, ed. Gianfrancesco Pico, Basileae 1557, Tomus I, S. 90: „non miretur, quod Anaxagoras intellectum appellaverit immixtum, cum sit maxime mixtus, quia maxima mixtio coincidit cum maxima simplicitate in natura intellectuali“; Heptaplus, ed. Garin, Firenze 1942, S. 184-190. Agostino Nifo, *In quatuor libros de caelo et de mundo et Aristotelis et Averrois expositio*, Neapolis 1517, lib. I, fol. 84v mit Bezug auch auf Picos Heptaplus; Cornelius Gemma, *De arte cyclognomica tomi III*, Antverpiae (Plantini) 1569, I, praefatio, S. 1, 6; c. 5, S. 54. wo das „omnia in omnibus esse“, gebrochen durch Platon (Timaios) und Hippokrates, dennoch letztlich auf Anaxagoras zurückgeht. Girolamo Cardano, *De subtilitate*, *Opera omnia* (Lugduni) 1663, Tom. III, lib. V, S. 435 B: führt hinsichtlich der subterraneischen Erdstruktur das Anaxagoras-Diktum „quasi in omnibus esse omnia“ an. Francesco Patrizi, *Discussiones peripateticae*, Basileae (Perna) 1581, Tomus III, lib. 2, S. 303-305; *Nova de universis philosophia*, Ferrariae (Mamarellus) 1591, Panarchia, lib. I, S. 1ra: „Anaxagoras sane, dormientibus reliquis de Ionia philosophia, & materias tantum volutantibus, primus omnium, mentem quandam primam vidit, materiis cunctis praesidentem“. Anaxagoras habe es jedoch nicht geleistet, das Verhältnis des Geistes, vor allem sein Wirken in den anderen Dingen (materia) zu bestimmen, und sei sozusagen zurückgefallen in einen materialistischen Ansatz, den erst Platon überwunden habe: „Plato supra mentem hanc sese extulit, & in quoddam unum, quod & bonum appellat, rerum omnium originem, & conservationem, & reditum contulit“. Anaxagoras ist dennoch der Erste, der in der Prinzipienabhandlung des Patrizi überhaupt namentlich erwähnt wird: er steht am Anfang der ernsthaften Prinzipienreflexion. Giordano Bruno, *Lampas triginta statuarum*, OL III, S. 42: „dicitur omnia in omnibus, ex qua ratione, quia ipse est totus ubique praesens, dixit Anaxagora: ‚omnia in omnibus‘, quia qui est omnia, est in omnibus“; *De la Causa*, dialogo 2, Bruno Werke hg. von Thomas Leinkauf, Bd. III, Hamburg (Meiner) 2007, S. 122 (che chiama le forme particolari di natura ‚latitanti‘), vgl. meinen Kommentar S. 375 f.<sup>19</sup> Sebastiano Basso, *Philosophiae naturalis adversus Aristotelem libri XII. In quibus abstrusa veterum physiologia restauratur, & Aristotelis errores solidis rationibus refelluntur* (1621),

<sup>18</sup> Plotin III 7, 3, 37; IV 3, 8, 20 sq; V 9, 6, 3 u. ö., vgl. Wener Beierwaltes, *Denken des Einen. Studien zur neuplatonischen Philosophie und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte*, Frankfurt a. M: Klostermann, 1985, p. 81, Anm. 19.

<sup>19</sup> Giordano Bruno, *De gl'eroici furori*, Epistola proemiale, *Oeuvres complètes* Vol, VII, pp. 15-17: „e far così tutto di tutto, come tutto essere in tutto disse il profondo Anaxagora“.

Amsterodami (Elzevir) 1649, S. 31. Jean Bitaud, Antoine Villon, Étienne de Clave, verfaßten kritische, gegen Aristoteles, Paracelsus und die Kabalisten gewendete Thesen, die 1624 öffentlich in Paris zur Diskussion gestellt wurden (und hierzu auch öffentlich an die Hauswände angeschlagen wurden) – die Disputation kam, wie diejenige Giovanni Picos 150 Jahre zuvor, aufgrund der Intervention des Parlamentspräsidenten, nicht zustande<sup>20</sup> –, insbesondere in der These XIV heißt es: „From all these things (sc. von den Ausführungen zu natürlichen Elementen und ihren Mischungen), it is obvious that everything is in everything, and that everything is composed of atoms or indivisibles, two statements of the Ancients that were mocked and insulted by Aristotles, either ignorantly or, rather, maliciously. Since they are in conformity with reason, the true philosophy, and the anatomy of bodies, we defend both tenaciously and sustain them intrepidly“, zugänglich in: Daniel Garber, *Defending Aristotle/Defending Society in 17th Century Paris*, Appendix 1, in: Wolfgang Detel, Claus Zittel (Hg), *Wissensideale und Wissenskulturen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin (Akademie Verlag) 2002, S. 151-155, hier S. 152 oder Didier Kahn, *Entre atomisme, alchimie et théologie: La réception des thèses d'Antoine de Villon et Étienne de Clave contre Aristote, Paracelsus et les ‚cabalistes‘*, in: *Annals of Science* 58 (2001), S. 241-286.

2) das Diktum des Parmenides, daß es nur Sein und kein Nicht-Sein gebe (ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι, μηδὲν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν B 6, DK I, S. 232), wird, zusammen mit demjenigen, daß dieses Sein, das alleine „ist“, ein absolut Eines und einer wohlgerundeten Kugel gleich sei (B 8; DK I, S. 238), immer dann beigezogen, wenn Autoren vornehmlich des 16. Jahrhunderts eine monistische Position vertreten, die entweder Affinitäten zur Theologie oder zum Materialismus aufweist. Die ‚theologische‘ Lesart des Parmenides geht davon aus, daß das Eine des Parmenides, häufig zusammen gesehen mit dem, was Platon in seinem Dialog Parmenides als „theologia platonica“ dialektisch entwickelt hatte, ein transzendentes, der Welt oder dem Sein als Prinzip gegenüberstehendes Wesen sei (hier wirkt sich vor allem auch die neuplatonische Deutung des Parmenides, der Nicolaus Cuanus in mehreren seiner Texte und der Marsilio Ficino in seinem Parmenides-Kommentar und in seinen Hauptschriften folgte,<sup>21</sup> wirkungsgeschichtlich aus) – Exponent dieser Deutung ist Francesco Patrizi. Hier kann das Eine oder das eine

---

<sup>20</sup> Diesem folgte eine harsche Anathematisierung durch die theologische Fakultät der Universität von Paris (Sorbonne), sowie eine Exilierung der drei jungen Wissenschaftler aus der Universität und aus der Stadt Paris. Zu den sozialen und religionspolitischen Hintergründen vgl. den oben erwähnten Aufsatz von Garber.

<sup>21</sup> Hierzu Werner Beierwaltes, ‚Marsilio Ficanos Deutung des Platonischen Parmenides‘, in *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, NF 26 (2002), pp. 201-219, bes. p. 209 sq.; allgemein zu Ficanos Kommentar vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, ‚Marsilio Ficanos Platon-Kommentar‘, in Ralph Häfner, Markus Völkel (Hg.), *Der Kommentar in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen: Niemeyer 2006, pp. 79-114.

Sein keine Struktur haben, die Entwicklung, Veränderung etc. zuließe.<sup>22</sup> Die ‚materialistische‘ Interpretation hingegen sieht das Eine als immanente Einheit, die alles durchdringt oder alles als ihren permanent sich ändernden Selbstaussdruck in sich aufhebt, dabei stellt sie häufig das anaxagoereische Diktum des „alles in allem“-Seins (siehe oben unseren Punkt 1) als Interpretament diesem Einheitsbegriff zur Seite – Exponent dieser Position ist sicherlich Giordano Bruno. Allgemein weist die monistische Position, die im Namen des Patrizi vertreten wird, ontologische Radikalität auf, vor allem die harte These, daß „alles außer Gott nicht(s) ist“, kein eigenes, suisuffizientes Sein haben kann.<sup>23</sup>

Dokumentation: Nicolaus Cusanus, *De coniecturis* I, c. 5, n. 17; h III, S. 21-22; *De beryllo* n. 13; h XI, S. 16; *De visione Dei* c. 10, n. 38; h VI, S. 35; *De principio* n. 25; h X, S. 36; Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De ente et uno* (1491), c. 3, in: *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus etc.*, cura di Eugenio Garin, Firenze (Olschki) 1942, S. 396 : „Parmenides enim pithagoreus cum dixit unum esse id quod est, Deum intellexit, si Simplicio credimus aliisque permultis qui tueri Parmenidem volunt adversus eos qui illum calumniantur, quasi omnia dixerit esse unum“. Johannes Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica libri tres, Haganovae* (Secerius) 1530, lib. II, S. XXXI: „Quod Pythagoras noster ὄν appellavit, et Parmenides Pythagoricus ἓν, uterque haud absimili ratione ὄτι ὑπερούσιον ἓν καὶ τὸ ὄν ἓν. Girolamo Cardano, *Hyperchen*, Opera, Basileae (Henricpetri) 1566, Vol. II S. 1096: „non esse non est, sed solum id imaginatur mens: est enim esse ubique: & omnia iam sunt“; ib., S.1103-4: „ille (sc Parmenides) dicebat univerum hoc unum atque infinitum esse, & ob id immutabile totum atque immobile“; Proxeneta seu de prudentia civili liber, c. 1, Opera omnia, Lugduni 1663, Vol. I, S. 356 A: „omnis scientia ad duo capita

<sup>22</sup> Francesco Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia*, Ferrariae 1591, Panarchia I, fol. 2ra zum Begriff eines radikalen „unum tantum“, das sogar noch „vor“ der Einheit zu stehen kommt: „anterius etiam est unitate“: „Igitur ante omnia, quae diximus, & supraomnia, hoc tale unum est, quod tantum unum est, & non aliud quam, unum“ (vielleicht spiegelt sich in dem „non aliud“ auch die Gottesdefinition des Nicolaus Cusanus: „non aliud est non aliud quam non aliud“, aus der Schrift *De li non aliud*); vgl. auch *ibid.*, fol. 2vb; IV, fol. 8ra; V, fol. 9ra: „unum id esse, quod non aliud sit quam unum“; u.ö. Es ist signifikant, daß bei den Diskussionen um den Begriff der Materie immer wieder auch – als Gegenbeispiel – der Einheitsbegriff des Parmenides beigezogen wird, vgl. Johannes Marcus Marci, *Πᾶν ἐν πάντων seu Philosophia vetus restituta*, Pragae 1662, p. 5 sq. (zur ‚materia prima‘), p. 6: Parmenides und Melissos können keine Materie annehmen, da es, auf Basis der Zentralthese „omnia esse unum“, keinen Begriff des Werdens, Entstehens oder der Veränderung geben könne.

<sup>23</sup> So etwa Girolamo Cardano, *Hyperchen*, in *Opera omnia*, Lugduni 1663, Vol. I, p. 285 B: „et omnia praeter Deum aliquo destituuntur, & non sunt“, gleichwohl ist dieses Nichtsein kein absolutes, sondern, wie man vielleicht sagen könnte, ein relatives auf das Sein oder, anders herum, ein schwaches Sein. Cardano fährt nämlich fort: „sed neque quod non sunt esse possunt, habent enim esse quod habere possunt nec non esse dicuntur“. Giordano Bruno, *De la causa*, dialogo 5, Werke, hg. Thomas Leinkauf, Bd. III, Hamburg: Meiner, 2007, p. 236: „anzi è nulla tutto lo che è fuor di questo uno“, mit Kommentar p. 487.

reducitur: EST, NON EST“; De subtilitate I, ib., Vol.III, S. 357 A -358 A. Francesco Patrizi, *Disputationes peripateticae*, Basileae (Perna) 1581, Tomus III, lib. 1, S. 298-300: Parmenidis Melissique defensio, Patrizi vertritt hier die Position, daß beide Autoren, vor allem jedoch Parmenides, „nicht über natürliche Elemente sprechen, sondern über dasjenige, was wahrhaft ist“ (de illo quod vere est) und d. h., gesehen aus der für ihn einschlägigen neuplatonischen Sicht (Philoponos, Simplicios), über Gott (de Deo).<sup>24</sup> Giordano Bruno, *De la causa, dialogo* 4, S. 180; 5, S. 238: „non essere inconvenientemente detto da Parmenide (che l’universo sia) uno, infinito, immobile“, vgl. Aristoteles, *Physica* I 3 185 b 17 f; III 6, 207 a 15 f [vermutlich aber die Position des Melissos]; *Libri physicorum*, OL III, S. 308 f, vgl. Kommentar zu *Causa*, S. 487; zur Einheit vgl. *Acrotismus Camoeracensis*, OL I/1, S. 99: „unum igitur infinitum ens dicimus, ex quo quidem nihil effluat, et in quod nihil influat peregrinum“. Francesco Muti, *Commento sopra la teologia di Parmenide consentanea alla christiana pietà*, vielleicht 1580-85 (dieser Text ist vermutlich verloren, würde aber, wie Mulsow richtig vermutet, noch einmal verdeutlichen, daß „das Argument vom ‚theologischen‘ Parmenides neuplatonischer Herkunft“ gewesen ist, das von Simplicios über Bessarion und Ficino bis hin zu Patrizi und seiner Schule Wirkung gezeigt hat.<sup>25</sup> Auf Parmenides führt z. B. auch Tommaso Campanella die von ihm favorisierte Naturphilosophie des Telesio – gegen dessen eigene Intentionen – zurück, vgl. *Prodromus philosophiae instaurandae, id est, dissertationis De natura rerum compendium secundum vera principia*, Francofurti (Tampach) 1617, fol. B 1v, wobei er einer schon vor ihm, vor allem durch Francesco Patrizi entwickelten (sachlich falschen) Hypothese folgt, nach der Telesio seinen Prinzipien-Gegensatz ‚warm-

<sup>24</sup> Für Patrizi sind Parmenides, Xenophanes, Zenon, Melissos als ‘Theologen’ zu interpretieren, mit denen Aristoteles in Widerstreit (discordia) lag, ja von deren sapientialer, ‘alten’ Wissensform der Stagirite destruktiv abgelenkt hat, vgl. *Discussiones peripateticae*, Basileae: Perna, 1581, Tomus III, lib. 1, p. 291. Er weist in seiner Verteidigung von Parmenides und Melissos darauf hin, daß man sowohl zwischen “Seiendem” (ens) und “Prinzip” (principium) als auch zwischen Naturbetrachtung und Theologie unterscheiden müsse. Für die aus Aristoteles’ Physik-Stelle gezogene Opposition Wärme-Kälte (Licht-Nacht) dürfe man daher keinen ontologischen Gegensatz einsetzen. Vielmehr sei das Sein ein Eines, die in ihm wirkenden Prinzipien Zwei: “Aliud ens est, aliud, (ni fallor) principium est. Atque ita bis de genere in genus transilit (sc. Aristoteles), de genere Theologico, ad genus physicum: de entis genere, ad genus principii. Parmenides sane, unum ens esse dicebat, at non itidem dicebat unum esse principium. Sed principia duo”. Patrizi weist auch darauf hin, daß es nicht der Gegensatz Wärme-Kälte sei, den Aristoteles, *Physica* A 5 referiere, sondern, wie “suis carminibus, quibusdam, quae superfuerunt, clarè proditur” (p. 299 finis): Flamme und Nacht, Licht und Dunkelheit. Entscheidend ist, daß Parmenides primär als Theologe und sekundär als Physiologos betrachtet wird, daß also der Monismus – das Eine Sein – nicht als triviale Aussage über empirisch-natürliches Seiendes zu verstehen sei (von dem es ja doch auch in den Fragementen ‘Vieles’ gebe), sondern als Aussage über das eine göttliche Prinzip (man sieht hier deutlich den neuplatonischen Index unter den Parmenides hier gestellt wird).

<sup>25</sup> Mulsow, *Frühneuzeitliche Selbsterhaltung* (Anm. 7), pp. 321-322.

kalt', dem aristotelischen Diktum aus *Physica* A 5 folgend, aus Parmenides gezogen hätte.<sup>26</sup> Campanella hat jedoch schon in seiner Schrift *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* von 1591 eine an Patrizi anschließende ‚theologische‘ Parmenides-Deutung vertreten, mit der er wiederum seine an Telesio angelehnte, auf das Erkenntnismedium der Sinnlichkeit gestützte Naturtheorie schöpfungstheologisch-metaphysisch absichern konnte.<sup>27</sup>

Beide affirmativen Bezugnahmen auf vorsokratisches Denken, denen auch noch andere, etwa auf den Atomismus (Demokrit, Epikur, Lukrez), hinzugefügt werden könnten, dokumentieren ein bewußtes Zurückgreifen auf einen radikalen, anfänglichen, ‚archaischen‘ Denkansatz, der den eigenen ebenso radikalen Intentionen entgegenkam, zu denen insbesondere die folgenden zu rechnen sind: 1) Reduktion von Komplexität auf Einfachheit, z. B. der Vielzahl von physikalisch-ontischen Prinzipien auf nur zwei (Telesio: calor-frigus), aus denen alles sich ableiten läßt (Gegensatz-Ontologie);<sup>28</sup> 2) Fundierung jeder Vielheit in einer vorgreifenden Einheit, die alle Gegensätze (als Möglichkeit) in sich trägt und die alles das ist, was ‚wirklich‘ ist; 3) Quantifizierung aller naturimmanenten

---

<sup>26</sup> Francesco Patrizi, *Obiectiones* (Einwände gegen Telesio, 1572), in Bernardino Telesio, *Varii de naturalibus rebus libelli* (Venetiis 1590), ed. L. de Franco, Firenze 1981, p. 463: "Ignem et terram, seu calidum et frigidum mundi esse rerumque principia, Parmenides inventum fuisse Aristoteles primo physicorum capite 5 multique alii testantur. Quod eius quibusdam etiam carminum reliquiis apparet". Mulsow, *Frühneuzeitliche Selbsterhaltung* (Anm. 7) p. 314 hat nachgewiesen, daß sich sowohl Telesio als dessen Schüler Antonio Persio gegen diese Zuordnung gewehrt haben: sie bestreiten nicht die Tatsache, daß Parmenides zwei Prinzipien angesetzt hätte, sondern sie weisen auf ihren hiervon abweichenden Ansatz hin, in dem es um zwei aktive Prinzipien gehe – die Kälte, Dunkelheit, Materie eben auch als "alterum rerum agens" zu denken sei – und in dem es vor allem um eine sinnlichkeitsgestützten Theorieansatz gehe. Siehe auch Martin Mulsow, 'Philosophia italica als reduzierte prisca-sapientia-Ideologie. Antonio Persios und Francesco Patrizis Rekonstruktionen der Elementenlehre', in Mulsow 2002 (Anm. 39), pp. 253-280, insbesondere p. 255 sq.

<sup>27</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, Neapolis 1591, p. 16: "Unde et nos semper cum Parmenide fuimus ponentes Deum per se principium activum, quod creaverit duo principia contraria, quibus esse et operari participatum communicaverit, calidum videlicet et frigidum, quae nimirum tertium principium passivum ab ipsis informatum semper in se vertant". Die Voraussetzungen dieser Parmenides-Deutung hat Martin Mulsow, *Frühneuzeitliche Selbsterhaltung* (Anm. 7), pp. 315-321 minutiöse rekonstruiert. Hinzuweisen wäre noch darauf, daß Tobias Adam, Freund Campanellas und Herausgeber einiger seiner Werke, die Entwicklung der naturtheoretischen Diskussion, die für ihn auf das 'Ziel' Campanella hinausläuft, exakt nach dem Muster des telesianischen Parmenideismus konstruiert, vgl. *Praefatio* zu: Tommaso Campanella, *Prodromus philosophiae instaurandae, id est, dissertationes de natura rerum* [der Titel von Telesios Hauptwerk!] *compendium secundum vera principia* (...), Francofurti: Tampachius, 1617, p. B 2v-3r.

<sup>28</sup> Hierzu vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, 'Absolute Einheit und unendliche Vermittlung im Denken Bodins', in Ralph Häfner (Hg.), *Bodinus Polymeres. Neue Studien zu Jean Bodins Spätwerk*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999, pp. 22-55.

Prozesse, so daß, wie etwa in der Prädominanz-These des anaxagoreischen Ansatzes, jede individuelle Ausprägung ihr ‚qualitatives‘ So-und-nicht-anders-Sein aus dem quantitativen Überwiegen eines Faktors ableitet. Indem ich mich gegen das ‚Alte‘ wende, das mir unmittelbar vorausgeht – etwa die im Kern immer noch aristotelische Naturtheorie der Schule von Padua, affirmiere ich ein noch weiter herausgerücktes ‚Altes‘ (oder eben: Älteres), sei dies der Ansatz des Anaxagoras, des Parmenides, des Demokrit (die Aristoteles selbst natürlich schon einmal kritisiert und zurückgewiesen hatte), um den Gegensatz der ersten Stufe aufzulösen in eine zum Unterschied ‚Alt-Neu‘, ‚Früh-Spät‘ etc. querstehende Identifikation oder Affirmation. Hierdurch wird jedoch, soweit ich sehe, keine durchgängige Kontinuität einer Tradition behauptet, sondern eher, wie ja die Beispiele zeigen sollten, aus einem Vorrat an grundsätzlich unterschiedlichen (oder zumindest: in wesentlichen Punkte differierenden) Denkansätzen ein einzelner, für den *eigenen* Denkansatz zentraler Gedanke herausgehoben. *Wir haben es hier eigentlich mit etwas zu tun, was ich als ‚prisca scientia‘-Syndrom bezeichnen möchte: einzelne Grundsätze oder Axiomata bilden den Zielpunkt des Rückbezugs, nicht eine Lehre oder gar eine hyperkomplexe Geheimlehre, wie es (wie wir gleich sehen werden) im Ansatz der ‚prisca sapientia‘ der Fall gewesen ist.* Der Rückgriff auf einzelne markante Positionen der Vorsokratiker führt nicht dazu, daß diese oder wenigstens einer von ihnen – Ausnahme ist natürlich seit der Antike schon immer Pythagoras – zum normativen Ursprung einer das ganze Leben umfassenden Wissens- und Glaubenshaltung gemacht werden würde. Es geht im Kern auch um offene Propositionalität, die der Wissensrationalität zugehört, selbst wenn, wie in unseren beiden Beispielen, das durch die Grundsätze oder Grundannahmen Angezeigte die Semantik einliniger Satzaussagen übersteigen sollte.

## II

Ich komme nun zu meinem nächsten Punkt, der spezifischen Differenz, die das Kontinuitätsmodell der „prisca sapientia“ (oder auch: prisca theologia), wie es seit Marsilio Ficino im Denken der Renaissance und der frühen Neuzeit ausgeprägt worden ist,<sup>29</sup> zu dem Denken und Argumentieren im Rahmen der

---

<sup>29</sup> Hierzu vgl. Daniel S. Walker, ‚Prisca theologia in France‘, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XVII (1954), pp. 204-251 (vor allem zur Wirkung von Ficanos Projekt in Frankreich und der hiermit verbundenen Transformation des Prisca theologia-Konzeptes; Charles B. Schmitt, ‚Perennial philosophy: from Agistino Steuco to Leibniz‘, in *Journal of the History of Ideas* XXVII (1966), pp. 505-532; id., ‚Prisca theologia‘, in *Il pensiero italiano del Rinascimento*, Firenze: Olschki, 1970, pp. 211-236; Thomas Leinkauf, *Mundus combinatus* (Anm. 16), pp. 246-258; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis. Historische Umriss abendländischer Spiritualität in Antike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1998, pp. 49-94, vor allem aber die Ausführungen von Cesare Vasoli in seinem Beitrag ‚Der Mythos der “Prisci Theologie”‘, in *Das*

genannten Oppositionen ‚Archaisch-Spät‘, ‚Alt-Neu‘, ‚Antike-Moderne‘ und zum Syndrom einer ‚prisca scientia‘ aufweist. Der Gedanke der prisca sapientia beinhaltet nicht nur den – einem Vorurteil oft nicht unähnlichen – Gedanken von der apriorischen, unabweisbaren, an Offenbarung oder intuitive Evidenz geknüpften *Dignität* des alten, ja ältesten Denkens gegenüber jeglichem sich nicht aus diesem selbst herleitenden späteren, bis hin zur Zeitgenossenschaft gehenden Denkens, sondern er ist unauflöslich verbunden mit dem zweiten Gedanken, daß die prisca sapientia nicht schlechthin vergangen und dadurch auch ebenso unausweichlich nur ex post und anachronistisch für jeden Späteren zugänglich sei, sondern daß sie, umgekehrt, kraft ihrer Dignität und Autorität, sich durch einen kontinuierlichen Überlieferungsstrom *gegenwärtig* gehalten habe. Dadurch könne ihr spezifischer Gehalt – etwa ein Synkretismus aus Platonischem, Jüdischem, Gnostischem und Christlichem, der insgesamt unter den Index christlicher Platonismus gestellt werden kann – sozusagen direkt funktionalisiert werden für Bedürfnisse der eigenen Gegenwart: *die prisca sapientia ist zugleich auch der Gehalt dessen, was eine sapientia renovata oder restituta als Antidot gegen nicht gewollte Usurpationen des religiösen Bewußtseins der eigenen Zeit fungibel macht.* Das Kontinuitätsmodell entschärft sozusagen die negativen Implikationen eines Konfrontationsmodells des im ersten Absatz geschilderten Typs

In positiven oder negativen Bezugnahmen auf ‚Altes‘ ist ja zunächst nur eine Adhärenz oder Repugnanz zu konstatieren, die, sit venia verbo, gleichsam punktuell ist: x hat dies, nämlich a, gesagt, ich, y, stimme dem aus späterer Perspektive zu, aber deswegen behaupte ich nicht unbedingt a – oder, im negativen Falle, nicht-a, sondern ich kann mich legitim in einem durchaus anderen, aus sich sich entwickelt habenden Standpunkt des Wissens befinden. In diesem Sinne ist sowohl die Zustimmung als auch die Ablehnung eine Relation, die nur das Relat zu bestimmen braucht, worauf sie sich zustimmend oder ablehnend bezieht, den Horizont ihrer *eigenen* Position aber durchaus offen lassen kann. Aus der Annahme von a folgt nicht notwendig das, was y später selbst als Wissen behauptet, es kann aber, wie in den oben angesprochenen

---

*Ende des Hermetismus* (Anm. 39) passim, siehe insbes. p. 35: schon in Gemistos Plethons Grundsteinlegung des prisca sapientia-Syndroms gilt das Prinzip, daß diese Lehre “auf einigen wenigen grundlegenden Prinzipien (basiere)”, auf die Plethon in den überkommenen Fragmenten immer wieder gestoßen sei und die er am Ende seiner Abhandlung in einem ‘epinomis’ zusammengefaßt habe. Vgl. Plethon, *Traité des Lois*, ed. C. Alexandre, Paris 1858 (ND Amsterdam 1966), pp. 240-261. Vasoli spricht auch von einer “Ewigkeitslehre”, die in den Augen Plethons “heiligen” Charakter trage, so p. 38 zu *Traité des Lois* pp. 256-258; zu Ficino *ibid.* pp. 46-60. Zur Sache und auch vor allem zur Position Vasolis, der insbesondere das religionspolitische Interesse, das Ficino mit dem von ihm intensiv promulgierten Konzept der ‘prisca sapientia’ verbunden hat, immer wieder herausgestellt hat, liegt jetzt vor Sebastiano Gentile, ‘Vasoli, Ficino e il mito dei prisci theologi’, in *Rinascimento*, Seconda Serie 54 (2014), pp. 69-83.

Beispielen eines positiven Rückbezuges auf die Vorsokratiker, durchaus in der zweiten Instanz, also in der des sich Rückbeziehenden – z. B. Giordano Brunos – das bei Parmenides Gedachte a zu einem affinen durch Bruno Gedachten a' werden, d. h. zu einer Theorieform, deren komplexe, teils materialistische, teils psychologisch-animistische, teils mystisch-ekstatische Seite vollständig von einer starken Theorie des Einen durchdrungen ist.<sup>30</sup> Ebenso ist in diesem anknüpfenden oder sich distanzierenden Verfahren nicht notwendigerweise das Ältere auch zugleich das Bessere, Würdigere, von höherer Dignität Seiende, denn es kann hier eben ‚Fortschritt‘ oder ‚Verfall‘ geben: (i) ich kann so Glied einer Fortschrittsskette sein, dann aber ist notwendig ‚mein‘ Standpunkt eben weiter, als es der meiner Vorläufer gewesen ist, wie im Falle von Bacon oder von Leibniz; (ii) ich kann mich aber auch als Moment einer Verfallsgeschichte erfahren und, um die notwendige Inferiorität meines Standpunktes zu vermeiden, eine Umkehr, eine „renovatio“, „restitutio“ oder „restauratio“ des älteren Denkens anstreben, wie im Falle der frühen Renaissance-Autoren – vor allem bei Ficino kann man auf Basis der Annahme gültiger Normativität der Gehalte (siehe nächsten Abschnitt) eine enge, substantielle Verknüpfung des prisca sapientia-Gedankens mit einer ‚renovatio‘ des Christentums beobachten, einer Erneuerung, die dieses in einen christlichen Platonismus (vor allem nach den Vorgaben Gemistios Plethons) transformieren sollte;<sup>31</sup> (iii) ich kann aber auch den Jetzt-Standpunkt, den „Ich“ vertrete, den aber auch andere vertreten könnten, als neuen Anfang setzen, zu dem es keine passende Vergangenheit, wegen des

---

<sup>30</sup> Bei dieser knappen Darstellung, der es nur um Grundsätzliches gehen kann, kann es eben deswegen nicht darum gehen, das Verhältnis zwischen a und a' noch einmal zu diskutieren, ob also, um im Beispiel zu bleiben, der Begriff von „Einheit“ oder von „Homogenität“, den Parmenides in seinem Lehrgedicht präsentiert, von Giordano Bruno oder anderen frühneuzeitlichen Autoren in einer tatsächlich affinen Form später aufgegriffen worden ist. Ebenso kann hier nicht untersucht werden, sollte aber dringend geschehen, wie sich die Vorsokratik-Rezeption schon in der Antike selbst darstellt, wie also etwa bei Plotin oder bei Simplicios auf das Eine des Parmenides rekurriert wird. Es steht zu vermuten, daß die Deformation in a' mit Zunahme des zeitlichen Abstandes und vor allem mit Hinzutreten anderer epistemischer Paradigmen zunimmt. Um dies präziser bestimmen zu können, müßte man zusätzlich nicht nur an der Zeitachse, sondern auch an den Denkachsen orientierte Vergleiche vornehmen, etwa folgender Art: wie rekurriert ein Atomist der späteren Antike (Lukrez) auf Demokrit oder auch Epikur und wie rekurriert ein frühneuzeitlicher Atomist, etwa Pierre Gassendi, auf dieselben Autoren. Hier wäre das jeweilige a' zu vergleichen.

<sup>31</sup> Hierzu siehe Cesare Vasoli, *Filosofia e religione nella cultura del Rinascimento*, Napoli: Guida, 1988; Id., *Quasi sit deus. Studi su Marsilio Ficino*, Lecce: Conte, 1999, pp. 11-50; Id., *Ficino, Savonarola e Machiavelli. Studi di storia della cultura*, Torino: Aragno, 2006, pp. 3-29, zur Rolle von Ficanos Dionysius-Übersetzung und Kommentar in diesem Kontext demnächst: Thomas Leinkauf, 'Ratio translationis. Good reasons to translate and comment on the corpus dionysiacum. Ficino's interpretation of Dionysios the Areopagite', in Angela Dreßen and Klaus Pietschmann (eds.), *The Badia Fiesolana*, Frankfurt/Main: LIT, 2016, pp. 195-213.

Neuheitsanspruchs, geben kann und nur eine möglichst optimale Zukunft geben soll (wie im Falle des Descartes).<sup>32</sup>

Im Rahmen des „prisca sapientia“-Modelles, das ich deswegen als Kontinuitätsmodell bezeichnen will, wird umgekehrt die gültige *Normativität* ältesten Wissens oder ältester Weisheit behauptet. Diese verpflichtende Gültigkeit drückt sich quoad nos in einer Kette ungebrochener Überlieferung aus und, vor allem, auch in der aus dieser Tradition auf deren Leser zukommenden Forderung, die Grundposition ihrer ersten Quelle auch selbst zu vertreten und sich damit selbst zu einem Moment dieses Traditionsgefüges zu machen: ‚x hat a gedacht, also haben andere y, z und so weiter, ebenfalls a gedacht und ich selbst denke und vertrete a‘. Dies ist natürlich idealtypisch und formal-abstrakt ausgedrückt, es trifft m. E. jedoch den Kern eines solchen, spezifisch frühneuzeitlichen Selbstverständnismodelles, das sich spätestens im 18. Jahrhundert aufgelöst haben wird (ähnlich wie, in Parenthese gesagt, der Gedanke eines universalen Wissens als der Möglichkeit des Entfaltens der Totalität alles Wißbaren im 18. Jahrhundert aus seiner enzyklopädischen Grundform, dem Kreis, sich transformierte in die offene, lemmatisch anreichernd prozedierende, einer Geraden gleichenden Encyclopédie). Diese Auflösung geschieht natürlich nicht plötzlich, sondern sie bereitet sich vor durch das schrittweise sich zeigende Auseinanderfallen des Aufrechterhaltens des prisca sapientia-Gedankens und des Denkens, das sich in diesem Rahmen bewegt. Das prisca sapientia-Modell und der mit ihm verbundene renovatio-Gedanke muß, damit keine Mißverständnisse aufkommen, strikt getrennt gedacht werden von jeglicher klassischer Schulbildung, in der man sich ja auch gegenüber einem Schulgründer oder Schulhaupt als späterer Exeget verpflichtet weiß! Das beste,

<sup>32</sup> Zur Einschätzung der Antike aus dem Fortschrittsmodell heraus vgl. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Aphorismus LXXXIV, in: *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, Vol. XI: *The Instauration magna Part II: Novum organum*, ed. Graham Rees, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004, p. 132: “De Antiquitate autem, opinio quam homines de ipsâ fovent, negligens omnino est, & vix verbo ipsi congrua. Mundi enim senium & grandaevitas pro Antiquitate verè habenda sunt; quae temporibus nostris tribui debent, non iuniori aetati Mundi, qualis apud Antiquos fuit. Illa enim aetas respectu nosri, antiqua & maior; respectu mundi ipsius, nova & minor fuit. Atque reverà quemadmodum maiorem rerum humanarum notitiam, & maturius iudicium, ab homine sene expectamus, quam a iuvene, propter Experientiam, & rerum quas vidit, & audivit, & cogitavit, varietatem & copiam; eodem modo & à nostrâ aetate (si vires suas nosset, & experiri, & intendere vellet) maiora multo quam à priscis temporibus expectari par est; utpote aetate Mundi grandiore, & infinitis experimentis & observationibus aucta & cumulata”. Ein Beispiel für ein –allerdings partielles – ‘Verfallsmodell’ (Deklinationsgeschichte) gibt Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée) durch die historische Situierung seiner ‘Dialektik’: die Dialektik sei durch Platon vollendet worden und mit dem Auftauchen des Aristoteles sei eine bis in seine Zeit anhaltende Auflösung oder ein Verfall des ursprünglichen Dialektik-Konzepts zu konstatieren, vgl. *Aristotelicae animadversiones*, Parisii: Bogardus, 1543, ND W. Risse, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1964, col 3r-v; vgl. zur Sache Cesare Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’umanesimo. ‘Invenzione’ e ‘metodo’ nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo*, Napoli: Edizioni La Città del sole, 2007, pp. 500-510.

weil auch gut dokumentierte Beispiel hierfür in der Antike ist vielleicht der Peripatos mit seiner reich entwickelten Kommentartradition, im Mittelalter stehen dann die großen Ordensschulen für vergleichbare Kontinuitätsformen ein. Ebenso ist es klar, daß dieses Modell jeden Eklektizismus wie der Teufel das Weihwasser scheuen muß, denn das ‚nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri‘ ist zunächst nichts als die Freikarte des Selbstdenkens oder der skeptischen Distanzierung von Schulbildung und (unhinterfragter) Autorität.<sup>33</sup>

Der Unterschied des prisca sapientia-Modelles zu allen anderen Schul- und Tradierungsmodellen liegt in seiner Bestimmung des Anfangs, also dessen, was als das Älteste, Würdigste, Verpflichtendste zu gelten habe.<sup>34</sup> Kriterien dieses Anfangs sind: 1) ein chronologischer Primat und 2) ein epistemischer Primat, beide sind wiederum 3) verbunden in einem metaphysischen, theologischen Ursprung. Mit dem ersten Kriterium, dem chronologischen, ist nicht so sehr ein Anfang in der Zeitreihe verbunden, sondern ein *absolutes* Anfangen, das quer zu dieser linearen Reihe steht, man könnte sagen: vertikal zu ihr. Dieses Anfangen ist nichts anderes als das Sich-Offenbaren oder Sich-Mitteilen Gottes.<sup>35</sup> Mit dem zweiten, dem epistemischen Kriterium ist ebenfalls kein Wissen im trivialen Sinne gemeint, also die Möglichkeit, das Wesen einer Sache propositional, auf der Basis von Urteilsakten und entsprechender Begrifflichkeit anzugeben, sondern ein Wissen das, einmal durch eine absolute Mitteilung vermittelt (Ficino: *divino*

---

<sup>33</sup> Horaz, *Epist.* I, 1, 14; vgl. die materialreiche und aufschlußreiche Arbeit von Michael Albrecht, *Eklektik. Eine Begriffsgeschichte mit Hinweisen auf die Philosophie- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1993 (Queastiones 5), zu Horaz p. 46 sq. Die Nähe dieses Diktums zu Cicero, *Tusculanes* IV 7: „nullis unius disciplinae (d. h. den Philosophenschulen) legibus adstricti“, wurde durchaus in der Frühen Neuzeit registriert, so daß gerade die reichhaltige Cicero-Renaissance des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts immer wieder Beispiele einer Kontextualisierung aufweist, vgl. etwa Filippo Beroaldo, *Ciceronis Tusculanarum quaestionum lib. V commentaria*, Parisiis 1562, p. 169v. Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi, Edizione nazionale delle Opere, Vol. 1, Firenze 1933, p. 194.

<sup>34</sup> Eben deswegen sind die schon in der patristischen Tradition vorgenommenen ‚Rettungsaktionen‘ gegenüber den großen, für den christlichen Diskurs unabdingbar notwendigen Autoren – der Art, daß man sagte: Platon hat schon das gedacht, was wir denken (allein diese Richtungsumkehrung schließt das von mir vorgestellte Kontinuitätsmodell aus), und er konnte dies tun, weil das vor der Offenbarung liegende „natürliche Licht“ (*lumen naturale*) ihn, wenn auch noch nicht völlig adäquat für die göttlichen, so doch ziemlich adäquat betreffs der natürlich-weltlichen Dingerkenntnis ‚erleuchtet‘ hatte (beispielhaft: Augustinus) – nicht als prisca sapientia-Modell zu beschreiben.

<sup>35</sup> Daß natürlich schon in der Antike – vor allem aber in der späteren Antike – selbst schon das ‚Alte‘ oder ‚Älteste‘ einen Dignitätsanspruch aufwies, in dem Theologie und Philosophie einen Konvergenzpunkt darstellten, ja die Theologie, wie hier bei Plutarch einen Primat besitzt, darf nicht übersehen werden, vgl. Plutarch, *De animae procreatione* 33 (1030 AB): οἱ τε παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι, πρεσβύτατοι φιλοσόφων ὄντες. Neu ist es, an den Anfang, diesen dadurch absolut heraussetzend, einen oder ‚den einen‘ Inspirierten zu stellen.

numine revelata),<sup>36</sup> in dem, dem es mitgeteilt worden ist, als jedes einzelne Wissen übertreffendes *absolutes* Wissen gesetzt ist. Dies absolute Wissen ist der inhaltliche, sachliche Aspekt des absoluten Anfangs, beide sind Ausdruck von unverfügbaren Offenbarungsakten oder ebenso unverfügbaren (weil nur präparierbaren aber nicht willentlich herstellbaren) inneren Einsichtsakten. Dieses Wissen, dem auch eine eigene Hermeneutik zugewiesen werden kann,<sup>37</sup> ist daher terminologisch meist als „Weisheit“ (*sapientia*) vom Wissen als individuell oder Disziplinen-spezifisch erworbenen Wissen (*scientia*) unterschieden worden. Die „*prisca sapientia*“ tradiert eben keine „*prisca scientia*“! Das *prisca sapientia*-Wissen ist auch durchgehend als ein religiöses Wissen verstanden worden, d. h. als ein Wissen, dem es um die unvorgreifliche Verbundenheit des Menschen mit Gott geht und das deswegen, mit Ficino, auch als eine „*pia philosophia*“ bezeichnet werden muß.<sup>38</sup> Das Herausstellen eines so starken, durch nichts zu überbietenden Anfangs, eines Anfangs, der durch eine extrinsische, außerweltliche Handlung, durch Offenbarung, gesetzt worden ist, hat natürlich Konsequenzen für das Selbstverständnis eines solchen Kontinuitätsmodelles: 1) es muß gesichert werden, daß es sich tatsächlich um einen absoluten Anfang handelt, dazu gehört der Anschluß an einen durch Autorität, id est Anciennität, anerkannten Text (die Logia des Zoroaster, der Oracula chaldaica, der Genesis-Text des Mose, etc.); 2) es muß irgendwie gesichert werden, daß der Akt der „*traditio*“ das älteste Wissen nicht deformiert oder gar verliert, dazu gehören Strategien der Lektüre, Exegese und Verstetigung (einer Art – wegen Punkt 3) – calndestinen Schulbildung); 3) es muß gesichert werden, daß die theologisch-religiöse Dimension gegenüber jeder Profanierung bewahrt bleibt, dazu gehören Strategien der Ausgrenzung und Selektion.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Ficino, *Argumentum in librum Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander, Opera omnia*, Basileae: Henricpetri, 1576, Tomus II, p. 1836,50.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Leinkauf, 'Spätantike Hermeneutik und ihre Bedeutung für die Frühe Neuzeit', in *kunsttexte.de* 1, 2012.

<sup>38</sup> Zum Zusammenhang von Philosophie und Religion bei Marsilio Ficino vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, 'Philosophie und Religion bei Marsilio Ficino, in: *Academia. Revue de la Société Marsile Ficin* IV (2002) pp. 29-57. Ficino charakterisiert das Denken der 'Alten' durchweg als eine "docta religio", vgl. *Opera omnia*, Basileae: Henricpetri, 1576, Tomus I, pp. 853-854.

<sup>39</sup> Lektüre- und Verbreitungsstrategien dieser Art finden sich interessanterweise auch in der neuplatonischen Tradition, vgl. etwa Proklos, *In Parm.* 718,5-26 Cousin, der die "wahrhaft wissenschaftlichen und tiefen Einsichten" vor dem Zugriff der ungebildeten Masse ebenso schützen will, wie grundsätzlich – mit Blick auf Platons Schriftkritik – eine unangemessene Verschriftlichung und spätere Exegese des lebendig Gedachten zu vermeiden (2) und das kompetent (etwa durch Platon) Verschriftlichte nur einem ausgewählten Kreis von 'Würdigen' zugänglich zu machen sei (3). Diskussion der Proklos-Stelle bei Radke, *Das Lächeln des Parmenides* (vgl. Anm. 11), p. 134 sq. Für Plotin vgl. V 1, 8, 9-14. Zu Proklos' Verhältnis zu der Tradition von Platons Denken als des eigentlichen Bezugspunktes seines eigenen Denkens, vgl. Werner Beierwaltes, 'Proklos' Begriff des Guten aus der Perspektive seiner Platon-Deutung', in *Procliana. Spätantikes Denken und seine Spuren*, Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 2007, pp. 85-89.

Die Autoren der Renaissance, insbesondere Ficino, der sich selbst als „sectator antiquitatis“ bezeichnet,<sup>40</sup> aber auch später Symphorien Champier, Agostino Steuco oder Francesco Patrizi, holten sich hierfür Auskunft bei den Neuplatonikern oder späteren Platonici, die ihr Verhältnis zu Platon reflektiert als ein Verhältnis der Interpretation eines Basistextes deuteten, dessen Gehalt vom Autor selbst – durch seine sprachliche Kunst – vor direktem, profanem Zugriff geschützt worden war. Sie erweiterten eben jedoch nach dem Muster des Ficino die Traditionskette, wenn man so sagen darf, in die zeitlich-historische Richtung vor Platon hin, so daß auch Platon noch ein anderer, ihm vorausliegender Anfang zugewiesen wurde, der sich schließlich als eine ganze Traditionskette darstellte.<sup>41</sup> Gegenüber der bei Ficino zu konstatierenden Gleichsetzungstendenz von Philosophie und Religion (*pia philosophia*) und gegenüber den vor-christlichen Genealogien, werden dann spätere Autoren, um die aus jüdischer oder christlicher Sicht primäre, eigentliche Offenbarung nicht gegen die natürliche Theologie ausspielen zu müssen (in diesem Falle würde die ideale, vektorielle Linie des Traditionszusammenhanges durch einen unheilbaren Riß gespalten), Moses an die Spitze des Traditionszusammenhanges setzen, so daß, wie es auch schon an manchen Stellen bei Ficino anklingt, Moses vor Mercurius Trismegistus oder Zoroaster zu stehen kommt, vor allem aber eine mit dem Judentum bzw. Christentum völlig kompatible Anfangs-offenbarung durch den selben Gott (und durch das Alte Testament gerechtfertigt) den schlechthinnigen Anfang bildet.<sup>42</sup> Gegenüber dieser ἀρχή kann es nichts

<sup>40</sup> Marsilio Ficino, *Epistolarum liber VII, Opera omnia*, Basileae: Henricpetri, 1576, p. 854.

<sup>41</sup> Marsilio Ficino, *Epistolarum liber VII, Opera omnia*, Basileae: Henricpetri, 1576, p. 854: “Plato divinis Mercurii Trismegisti mysteriis imbutus (...)”; *Theologia Platonica* XVII, c. 1 (t. III, p. 148 Marcel): “in rebus his quae ad theologiam pertinent, sex olim summi theologi consenserunt, quorum primus fuisse traditur Zoroaster, Magorum caput, secundus Mercurius Trismegistus, princeps sacerdotum Aegyptiorum. Mercurio successit Orpheus. Orphei sacris initiatus fuit Aglaophemus. Aglaophemo successit in theologia Pythagoras, Pythagorae Plato, qui universam eorum sapientiam suis litteris comprehendit, auxit, illustravit”. Zum Anstoß, den Cusanus, Ficino, Pico und andere hierbei durch Georgios Gemistos Plethon erhielten vgl. Cesare Vasoli, ‘Der Mythos von den ‚prisci theologi‘ als ‘Ideologie‘ der ‘Renovatio‘’, in Martin Mulsow (Hg), *Das Ende des Hermetismus. Historische Kritik und neue Naturphilosophie in der Spätrenaissance*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002, pp. 17-60 und die Einleitung zu Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Über das Seiende und das Eine (De ente et uno)*, hg. Paul Richard Blum, Gregor Damschen, Dominic Kaegi, Martin Mulsow, Enno Rudolph, Alejandro G. Vigo, Hamburg: Meiner, 2006, pp. XXIX-XLVII, bes. p. XXXVII sq.

<sup>42</sup> Hierher gehört schon Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, vgl. *De dignitate hominis*, ed. Eugenio Garin, Firenze: Vallecchi, 1942, pp. 154-158; *Heptaplus. De septiformi sex dierum Geneseos enarratione*, ed. Garin, Firenze: Vallecchi, 1942, p. 170 sq., Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, aber dann auch Athanasius Kircher, *Magnes sive de arte magnetica* (1641), Romae, 3. Aufl. 1654, pp. 19-22, weitere Hinweise bei Leinkauf, *Mundus combinatus* (Anm. 16), pp. 249-251, Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis* (Anm. 29), p. 58 sq., der zurecht auf die patristischen Vorgänger, z. B.

‚Archaischeres‘ im positiven Sinne geben, sondern nur noch, wenn man so will, im negativen Sinne: insofern nämlich jeder Anfang, als ein anfänglicher, unentwickelter Zustand, durch das, was auf ihn folgt, positiv ersetzt und abgelöst wird, muß a fortiori gerade dieser ‚Anfang‘ abgewiesen werden, weil er, dieser Fortschrittslogik folgend, am unvollkommensten sein muß. Es ist klar, daß das *prisca sapientia*-Modell in dem Moment an Überzeugungskraft verlieren mußte, als ihm auf breiter Front und in reflektierter intellektueller Form (vor allem in Leibniz) ein Perfektions- und Fortschrittsmodell immer entschiedener entgegenzutreten begann, das einer vorgreifenden, am Anfang zu stehenden kommenden *perfectio* (gegenüber welcher alles Folgende nur noch einer Art Ausfaltung, Entwicklung oder Repetition wäre) keinen Kredit mehr geben konnte oder wollte.

Dokumentation: Marsilio Ficino, *Pimander, Opera omnia*, Basileae (Henricpetri) 1576, Tomus II, S. 1836,17-22: Hic (sc. Hermes Trismegistus) inter philosophos primus, à physicis, ac mathematicis ad divinorum contemplationem se contulit: primus de maiestate Dei, daemonum ordine, animarum mutationibus sapientissime disputavit. Primus igitur theologiae appellatus est auctor: cum secutus Orpheus, secundus antiquae theologiae partes obtinuit. Orphei sacris initiatus est Aglaophemo, successit in theologia Pythagoras, quem Philolaos secutus est, divi Platonis nostri praeceptor. Itaque unà priscae theologiae undique consona secta, ex theologis sex miro quodam ordine conflata est, exordia sumens à Mercurio, à divo Platone penitus absoluta“; *Theologia Platonica* II, c. 13 (1, S. 125 f Marcel) zu Mercurius, Orpheus; VI, c. 1 (1, 224): “prisci theologi: Zoroaster, Mercurius, Orpheus, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, Plato“; XVII, c. 1 (3, S. 148), u.ö.<sup>43</sup> Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, Lugduni (Tornaesius) 1552, Lib.

---

Eusebios (vgl. *Praeparatio evangelica* III) und Klemens Alexandrinus (*Stromateis libri VI*, ed. O. Stählin, L. Trichelt, U. Treu, Berlin 1985, Lib. I, 22) verweist.

<sup>43</sup> Zum Zusammenhang des ‚*prisca sapientia/theologia*‘-Gedankens mit dem ‚Hermetismus‘ Ficanos vgl. Thomas Leinkauf, ‚Rationale Strukturen im Hermetismus der Frühen Neuzeit‘, in *Antike Weisheit und kulturelle Praxis. Hermetismus in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. Anne-Charlott Trepp und Harmut Lehmann, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2001, pp. 41-61, bes. p. 51 sq. Dort heißt es p.52 Anm. 31: “Sofern Ficino die christliche Religion als die Wahrheit der prophetischen Leistung des Hermes Trismegistos denkt, insofern kann man sich fragen, in welchem Verhältnis die Wahrheit dessen, was Hermes überliefert, zu dieser folgenden Wahrheit steht. Die ganze Konstruktion der ‚*prisca theologia*‘ basiert ja auf der Einsicht, daß das Überlieferungsgeschehen, das in seinem sich entwickelnden Kern von Hermes bis Plato, und durch die pädagogische Kraft Platons (praeceptor) über den ganzen späteren Platonismus bis zur Aktualisierung desselben durch Ficino reicht, die Identität, Selbigkeit und Konstanz eines geoffenbarten Wissens, das vor der christlichen Offenbarung anzusetzen ist, nicht modifizieren könne“. Meine Antwort kann ich hier ebenfalls nur noch einmal wiederholen: “Man kann die Konstruktion Ficanos durchaus so verstehen, daß für ihn eben nicht das Christliche die Wahrheit des vor-christlichen religiösen Verhaltens ist, sondern daß die Wahrheit der Religion überhaupt in der von Gott (als dem höchsten Prinzip) geoffenbarten philosophischen Einsicht

II, S. 123 f schreibt den „prisci theologi“, also (in der Tradition Ficinos) Zoroaster, Hermes etc., da ihre Aussagen sie dem Ursprung der Offenbarung „näher“ (propinquiora) und „verwandter“ (cognatiora) seien, den Status von Sachwaltern und Übermittlern mystischen Wissens zu. Jaques Lefèvre d’Etaples (Faber Stapulensis), *In sex primos Metaphysicorum libros introductio* (1490), ed. H. Estienne, Parisiis 1510, *Dedicatio: Platon bzw. Platonismus und Aristoteles bzw. Aristotelismus* haben eine enge (positive) Beziehung und gehen beide auf die ältesten Weisheiten der Chaldäer und Ägypter zurück. Agostino Steuco, *De perenni philosophia* (Lugduni 1540), Parisiis 1578, c. 10, S.9 f; Francesco Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia*, Ferrariae (Mamarellus) 1591, *Panarchia IX*, 19v. Johannes Fernelius, *De abditis rerum causis libri duo*, Francofurti (Wechel) 1581, lib. I, c. 9, S. 107 f gibt die klassische Weisheitslinie: Aegyptii, Hebraei, Solon, Pythagoras, Platon, Platonici, die dann auf die Christen zulief, um zu ihrer Vollendung zu gelangen. Johannes Heinrich Alsted, *Praecognia philosophica*, Herbornar 1612, Lib. I, S. 93: „neque enim putandum est, aliam fuisse veritatem apud orientales priscos, quam hodie est. Nam verum cum vero consonat, ut habet dictum primi philosophi“.

---

in einen prinzipientheoretischen Zusammenhang besteht. Die christliche Religion wäre somit nur die optimale Form der theologisch-religiösen Erscheinung dieser Wahrheit“.



# A HADITH CONDEMNED AT PARIS

## REACTIONS TO THE POWER OF IMPRESSION IN THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF AL-GHAZALI'S *MAQĀSĪD AL-FALĀSIFA*

ANTHONY MINNEMA  
SAMFORD UNIVERSITY

### *Abstract*

Of the more than two-hundred articles of the Parisian Condemnation of 1277, one contains an arresting reference to a camel that is killed by a magician by means of sight alone through the power of the Evil Eye. While it is difficult to identify the sources of many doctrines in the edict with certainty, this article can be matched positively to a discussion of the soul's power of impression in the Latin translation of al-Ghazali's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*. The concept of impression was condemned on account of its association with the Agent Intellect and the theory of emanation, but many philosophers preserved the illustrative example of the camel even when refuting the attendant argument. Unbeknownst to the Latin world, however, this statement about a camel does not originate with al-Ghazali, but with the Prophet Muhammad. This study traces the origin of the article in the Condemnation of 1277 back through Arabic and Persian worlds and examines its reception in the Latin intellectual tradition from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. It also demonstrates that, despite condemnation's influence and notoriety, its interpretation of this passage in al-Ghazali was not the dominant one in the Latin intellectual tradition. The majority of scholars instead interpreted this passage as al-Ghazali originally intended as an expression of speculative metaphysics, not magic.

### *Key Words*

Al-Ghazali, Arabic-to-Latin translation, hadith, condemnation, emanation, magic.



The Parisian Condemnation of 1277 is infamous in the history of medieval philosophy because it forbids the teaching of 219 doctrines at the University of Paris, though it neglects to mention the teachers, authors, or books that espouse these errors.<sup>1</sup> This ambiguity has led to much speculation about the origins of these doctrines.<sup>2</sup> As scholars since Roland Hissette's landmark study have shown, the majority of the condemned errors do not represent the opinions of scholars at Paris, but originate instead in arguments from Arabic-to-Latin translations of Aristotle and Arabic philosophers, which Latin philosophers raised for the sake of debate rather than as challenges to Christian dogma.<sup>3</sup> While scholars have been able to connect only two-thirds of the doctrines to contemporary works with varying degrees of certainty, idiosyncratic phrases or words occasionally appear that provide a clear match. One arresting doctrine mentions the ability of impression given to souls by the Agent Intellect to kill a camel using the power of sight alone. Several aspects of the doctrine are potentially objectionable to a Christian audience which warrant its inclusion in the condemnation, yet the reference to a camel and killing it in such an unusual way makes this article unique and thus it can be traced to the Latin translation of al-Ghazali's *Maqāsid al-falāsifa*. However, the condemnation's authors could not have known that al-Ghazali agreed with them and that they were condemning a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad.

This study tracks al-Ghazali's camel and his discussion of impression in Latin, Arabic, and Persian worlds to find the source of this striking passage and to describe its reception in Latin Christendom. At a glance, it demonstrates the movement of a descriptive example about the effect of impression from one intellectual tradition to another, but the reality of this transfer is more complicated. Although al-Ghazali is the author of the *Maqāsid al-falāsifa*, he

---

<sup>1</sup> This study was conducted with the support of many individuals and institutions. I would like to thank Thomas Burman and Charles Burnett, who read and offered comments at various stages of the project. I conducted research on the project with support from the University of Tennessee Humanities Center and the Warburg Institute at the University of London. I would like to thank Amos Bertolacci for his invitation to the Scuola Normale Superiore to speak on this project and the Latin readership of the *Maqāsid al-falāsifa* in general. Of course, any errors are my own.

<sup>2</sup> For a survey of the debate, see Kent Emery and Andreas Speer, 'After the Condemnation of 1277: New Evidence, New Perspectives, and Grounds for New Interpretations,' in Jan A. Aertsen, Kent Emery and Andreas Speer (eds.), *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277. Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität von Paris im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts*, (Miscelanea Mdiaevalia, 28), Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001, pp. 1-19.

<sup>3</sup> Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277*, Louvain: Peeters, 1977; Luca Bianchi, *Il vescovo e i filosofi: La condanna parigina del 1277 e l'evoluzione dell'aristotelismo scolastico*, Bergamo: Lubrina, 1990; Alain de Libera, *Penser au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Seuil, 1991. David Piché, *La condamnation parisienne de 1277: nouvelle édition du texte latin, traduction, introduction, et commentaire*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1999.

derived much of its content from a Persian work by Avicenna and added examples, proofs, and explanations of his own. Some additions clarified Avicenna's argumentation, but this one was less successful because al-Ghazali's description of impression, particularly his choice of example, depicted the doctrine in a negative light that is absent in Avicenna's work, which had consequences for the Latin translation and its subsequent readers. Most medieval Latin readers objected to this passage, especially in later centuries, though for different reasons. Philosophers familiar with the Aristotelian context of impression understood that al-Ghazali was describing an intellective power of the soul and rejected it because of the espousal of celestial intelligences and the theory of emanation, which preserved the transcendent nature of a divine creator at the expense of his activity in creation. More superficial treatments of this passage, such as that of the Condemnation of 1277, inferred a supernatural quality to al-Ghazali's discussion of impression and condemned it instead as an expression of natural magic, though this interpretation was less popular. However they chose to refute the doctrine of impression, scholars often cited the example of the camel in the Latin *Maqāsid*, and the doctrine and its evocative illustration became one of al-Ghazali's more infamous contributions to the Latin tradition of Aristotelian philosophy. Indeed, the reference to the camel may have been commonplace given the frequency of its appearance in works of varying academic genres.

*From Stephen Tempier to Muhammad*

Like most of the entries in the Condemnation of 1277, this article is no more than a sentence long and contains no bibliographical information to hint at its source:

‘That superior intelligences impress (*imprimunt*) on inferior ones, just as one intellective soul impresses on another and also on a sense-perceiving soul, and through so great an impression a magician (*incantator*) casts a camel into a pit by sight alone.’<sup>4</sup>

Despite the statement's brevity, there are clues that it is not of Latin origin. The first and most obvious is the mention of a camel, which is not native to Europe and therefore an odd choice as an example of a magician's power. The second is

---

<sup>4</sup> ‘Quod intelligentiae superiores imprimunt in inferiores, sicut anima una imprimunt in aliam, et etiam in animam sensitivam; et per talem impressionem incantator aliquis proicit camelum in foveam solo visu.’ See ‘Articuli condempnati a Stephano episcopo parisiensi anno 1277’, edited and translated by David Piché, in D. Piché, *La condamnation parisienne de 1277*, p. 112. In his facing French translation, Piché renders ‘incantator’ as ‘magicien’, *ibid*, p. 113. I followed this convention throughout rather than render ‘incantator’ literally as ‘enchanter’ in order to avoid confusion with the translation of ‘fascinatio’ as ‘enchantment.’

the incompatible language that seems to hint at translation, namely the verb *imprimere*, which points to a mental process (i.e. one soul affecting another) that does not correlate with the physical action of the magician, who moves an object through the power of sight. This brief article begs for more information as to its meaning and context—not only because of its sheer otherworldliness, but also because its offense is unclear. Is the condemnation objecting to this statement on philosophical grounds, as is the case with the majority of the articles in the edict, or because the doctrine invokes a natural magic at work in the world?

The source of this condemned article can be found in the last treatise of the Latin translation of the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* in which al-Ghazali discusses the intellective powers that emanate into a strong soul that is well-attuned to the Agent or Active Intellect.<sup>5</sup> This intellect is a feature of a Pseudo-Aristotelian doctrine that passed through several translations and intellectual cultures before it arrived in Latin Christendom. The doctrine of emanation was adapted by Arabic scholars from the work of Greek Neoplatonists as a philosophical concept that is sympathetic to monotheism, which subsequently immigrated to Latin Christendom through the translation movements of Aristotelian texts in the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> Emanation attempts to preserve the transcendent unity of the First Principle or God by removing it as the efficient cause in the process of creation. Instead, the First Principle emanates a sequence of increasingly inferior intelligences that possess more and more diversity and multiplicity, which in turn are responsible for the creation and maintenance of nine concentric celestial spheres, which gives the theory a deceptively astronomical quality. The last intelligence, the Agent Intellect, governs the sublunary world and emanates abilities to souls. A soul that is well-attuned to the Agent Intellect can possess the power to perform miracles, see visions, prophesy, and, in this case, impress its will upon other souls. Al-Ghazali describes this power in the following way:

‘The passion of desire toward a body causes [the soul] to impress upon it. Sometimes the impression of a soul extends to a body so that it destroys a spirit and afflicts a man by means of the imagination, and this is called enchantment. There is a proverb regarding this—that the eye casts a man into a pit and a camel into a cauldron—and it is said ‘it is true that men are enchanted [by the eye].’ Yet the sense of the matter is that because a camel is pleasing to a man and he admires it, his soul is spiteful and jealous. He imagines the death of the camel and the camel’s body is afflicted by his imagination and dies immediately. Since this is

---

<sup>5</sup> Al-Ghazali, *Algazel’s Metaphysics: A Mediaeval Translation*, ed. J. T. Muckle, Toronto, 1933, pp. 183-197.

<sup>6</sup> See Peter Adamson, *The Arabic Plotinus: A Philosophical Study of the ‘Theology of Aristotle’*, London: Duckworth, 2002, pp. 21-26, 137-55; Cristina D’Ancona, ‘La doctrine de la création ‘mediante intelligentia’ dans le *Liber de Causis* et dans ses sources’, *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 76 (1992), pp. 209-33.

possible, then it is not long before one soul [becomes] much more powerful than another. Sometimes it impresses on the body of the world, causing heat, cold, and motion, and from these three things all the prosperity of the world is derived.<sup>7</sup>

The reference to the camel and its death at the hands of a superior soul reveals that al-Ghazali is the author of the article that appears in the Condemnation of 1277, but the power of impression is different from what appears in the edict. The condemnation describes impression as a supernatural power that allows a magician to move an object by sight. Al-Ghazali, however, connects the phenomenon of impression to the notion of the Evil Eye, but he presents it as a proverb, not as a proof, and he explains its application so as not to imply that impression is supernatural. While al-Ghazali likens this power to a form of enchantment, he nuances this comparison by restating how impression is the natural faculty of one soul to affect another and even the world around it through the Agent Intellect. The condemnation misunderstands the passage because it sees telekinesis where al-Ghazali describes a metaphysical sort of mind-control. There is no magician in this passage from the Latin *Maqāṣid*, yet impression remains an insidious power whereby a strong soul can kill camels and weaker-souled men by means of the imagination alone. Along with the theory of emanation, impression deserved to be condemned within the bounds of Christian doctrine, but not for the reason implied in the condemnation.

The proverb al-Ghazali mentions was instantly recognizable to his original audience, but less so for the condemnation's authors who failed to distinguish aphorism from argument. In fact, the appearance of this proverb and other examples like it in the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* is important for our understanding of the work's development and context. Al-Ghazali looms large in the Islamic tradition as a virtuoso scholar who, as one of his projects, strove to domesticate elements of Aristotelian philosophy for the use of his fellow jurists. *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* forms a part of this project in that it serves as an introductory primer for Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>8</sup> It provides an overview of the doctrines of logic,

---

<sup>7</sup> 'His autem affectus dilectionis erga corpus suum facit eam imprimere in illud. Aliquando autem impressio alicuius anime pertransit ad aliud corpus, sic ut destruat spiritum estimacione, et inficiat hominem estimacione, et hoc dicitur fascinacio. Et propter hoc est illud proverbium, quod oculus mittit hominem in fossam, et camelum in caldarium, et dicitur quod homines fascinari verum est; huius autem rei sensus hic est, quod quia multum placet ei camelus, et miratur de eo, et eius anima est maligna, et invidiosa, estimat casum cameli, et inficitur corpus cameli ab eius estimacione, et statim cadit; postquam autem hoc possibile est, tunc non est longe quin aliqua anima multo forcior quam ista, aliquando imprimat in hile mundi, faciens calorem, frigiditatem, and motum ex quibus tribus, scilicet calore, frigiditate, et motu derivatur omnis prosperitas huius mundi.' Al-Ghazali, *Algazel's Metaphysics*, 194.

<sup>8</sup> There has been considerable debate regarding al-Ghazali's intention for the *Maqāṣid* and its place within his corpus. For a concise survey of this debate and a new interpretation, see Ayman Shihadeh, 'New Light on the Reception of al-Ghazali's *Doctrines of the Philosophers*

metaphysics, and physics, but unlike al-Ghazali's other works, he does not attempt to point out their philosophical or theological inconsistencies, as in the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*. Al-Ghazali admits as much in the work's prologue.<sup>9</sup> Yet al-Ghazali fails to mention that the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* is actually a loose translation of a Persian work by Avicenna, *Dānesh-Nāmeḥ* 'Ala'ī.<sup>10</sup> Rather than write an original work on the same subject, al-Ghazali took an existing text in a less-accessible language and made a more-or-less faithful translation with some amendments to clarify Avicenna's dense argumentation.<sup>11</sup> One alteration was the inclusion of the proverb about the camel and Evil Eye. Although Avicenna mentions the Evil Eye in the corresponding passage in the *Dānesh-Nāmeḥ*, he does so only in passing.

'It happens that some souls act by the power of imagination and the Evil Eye on the body of another person, or, that said, it is not forbidden by reason to believe that some men are endowed with a powerful soul that can exert considerable influence on a body of this world by their imagination and will, so that, under the force of this cause, a body of this world undergoes profound change, particularly on their warmth, cold and motion. From this proceed all miracles'.<sup>12</sup>

---

(*Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*), *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the Sixth/Twelfth Century*, ed. Peter Adamson, London: Warburg Institute, 2011, pp. 77-92.

<sup>9</sup> 'I thought that I should preface an exposition of how they are incoherent with a concise discourse containing a reproduction of their intentions regarding the logical, physical, and theological sciences that they cultivate without distinguishing between the sound and the false in them. Thus, I intend only to make intelligible the ultimate ends of their doctrine without anything like expansion or addition going beyond what they intend. I will explain by way of accurate relation of facts and reproduction together with what they hold to be proofs. The book's object is the reproduction of the doctrines of the philosophers and that is its title.' al-Ghazali, *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa: Manṭiq wa-'l-ilahyāt wa-ṭabī'ya*, ed. Suleyman Dunyā, Cairo: 1961, pp. 31-32.

<sup>10</sup> Jules Janssens, 'La *Dānesh-Nāmeḥ* d'Ibn Sina: Un text à revoir?' *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 28 (1986), pp. 163-177, particularly pp. 163-164.

<sup>11</sup> Jules Janssens, 'Al-Ghazzali and His Use of Avicennian Texts,' in *Problems in Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Miklós Maróth, Piliscsaba (Hungary): Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2003, pp. 37-49; Idem, 'Éléments avicenniens dans le livre *al-Maqṣad* d'al-Ghazālī,' *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* 30 (2014), pp. 91-103.

<sup>12</sup> 'Il arrive que certains âmes agissent par [la puissance de] l'imagination et du mauvais oeil sur le corps d'une autre personne, or, cela dit, il n'est pas interdit à la raison [de croire] que certains hommes soient doués d'une âme puissante qui puisse exercer une action considérable sur les corps de ce bas-monde --par leur imagination et leur volonté, de sorte que, sous l'effort de cette cause, les corps de ce monde subissent un changement profond, portant particulièrement sur leur chaleur, leur froid et leur mouvement. De là procèdent tous les miracles.' Avicenna, *Le livre de science*, 2 vols., ed. Mohammad Achena and Henri Massé, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1958, vol. 2, p. 87.



popular in the Arabic world as the more argumentative *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*.<sup>18</sup> Yet an introductory survey of Aristotelian philosophy was just what Latin scholars needed as they began to use works from that tradition.<sup>19</sup> The *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* was translated at Toledo in the middle of the twelfth century by the circle of Dominicus Gundissalinus.<sup>20</sup> The speed with which it travelled north to scholars at European universities, who began to cite this passage in the early thirteenth century, is a testament to its utility. However, al-Ghazali's project to domesticate elements of philosophy for theological use was lost on Latins, who possessed only this work from his massive corpus for more than four centuries.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, almost all copies of the translation lacked the prologue in which al-Ghazali explained the nature and purpose of the work.<sup>22</sup> Latin scholars quite reasonably assumed that al-Ghazali approved of the theologically-dubious arguments in the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*, such as the eternity of the world, an afterlife without physical reward or torment, and the existence of an Agent Intellect that gave souls the ability to kill men and camels.

The appearance of quotations from theological sources was common enough in Arabic philosophical texts, yet al-Ghazali's decision to do so here demonstrates his wider agenda and one of his less successful amendments to Avicenna's text. He interjects a quotation from Muhammad not so much to reassure fellow jurists of his orthodoxy as for the sake of clarity regarding a heady discussion on the intellectual powers of the soul. Unfortunately, this addition makes the power of impression seem malevolent, which appears to have affected Latin scholars, particularly the authors of the Condemnation of 1277 who imagined a magical power to be behind the power of impression. Though Latin scholars translated

<sup>18</sup> Shihadeh, 'New Light', pp. 89-90.

<sup>19</sup> Dominicus Gundissalinus primarily translated the works of Arabic philosophers in order to gain access to a living tradition of Aristotelian thought. See Charles Burnett, 'Arabic into Latin: the Reception of Arabic Philosophy into Western Europe', in Peter Adamson and Richard Taylor (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 370-404 at pp. 373-375.

<sup>20</sup> Anthony Minnema, 'Algazel Latinus: The Audience of the *Summa theoricarum philosophiarum*, 1150-1600,' *Traditio* 69 (2014), p. 153-215; Charles Lohr, 'Logica Algazelis: Introduction and Critical Text,' *Traditio* 21 (1965), pp. 223-290 at pp. 228-29.

<sup>21</sup> While Averroes' *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* was translated into Latin in the fourteenth century, it did not see widespread distribution until the late fifteenth century when Agostino Nifo published it with his commentary in 1497. However, the assumption that al-Ghazali was a disciple of Avicenna and Aristotle persisted into the sixteenth century. A revised edition of Nifo's work was republished with the title *Destructio destructionum philosophiarum Algazelis*, which began to illuminate scholars to the differences between al-Ghazali and other Arab philosophers. Beatrice Zedler, *Averroes' 'Destructio Destructionum Philosophiarum Algazelis' in the Latin Version of Calo Calonymos*, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1961, pp. 18-31.

<sup>22</sup> The one copy of the prologue exists in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 16096 and was edited and published by Dominique Salman in 'Algazel et les Latins,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 10 (1935-36), p. 103-27 at pp. 26-27.

much of Avicenna's *al-Shifa*, they did not have access to the *Dānesh-Nāmeḥ*. It is telling that the authors of the condemnation chose to condemn this passage from al-Ghazali rather than similar discussions of impression in the translation of Avicenna's *De anima*.<sup>23</sup> Al-Ghazali's arresting description of impression thus attracted the attention of Latin scholars, but it also opened up the possibility for confusion where Avicenna's treatment did not. The Latin translation of this passage further obscures its meaning by rendering the proverb anonymous. However, the omission of Muhammad from this statement appears well-intentioned rather than evasive since a reference to the Prophet here would be unnecessarily distracting and adds nothing to a Latin reader's comprehension.

*The Latin Reception of al-Ghazali's Discussion of Impression*

The camel that appears in the article on impression in the Condemnation of 1277 can be traced back to the Latin translation of al-Ghazali's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* and then from the Arabic original to the Prophet Muhammad. The discussion of impression in *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* originates in Avicenna's treatment of the same subject in the *Dānesh-Nāmeḥ*, though his amendment to the passage portrays the power of impression in a dark light. The Latin reception of al-Ghazali's discussion of impression proves easy to track in many instances on account of the unique reference to the camel that often accompanies it. The anonymous inclusion of this doctrine in the Condemnation of 1277 makes it difficult to assess the work's effect on the reading of the Latin *Maqāṣid*. However, another thirteenth-century condemnation attributed to Giles of Rome, *De erroribus philosophorum*, listed sixteen errors in the Latin translation of al-Ghazali's work, the last of which was the power of impression.<sup>24</sup>

'Again [al-Ghazali] erred in regard to the activity of our soul, holding that the soul operates in other bodies through the imagination, and that 'the impression of the soul extends to other bodies in such a way that it destroys a spirit and kills a man by its judgment, and this is said to be enchantment.' On this account, according to him, this is a true 'proverb, that the eye casts a man into a pit and casts a camel into a cauldron.' All these things are clear from what he says in the fifth treatise of his *Physics*.'<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Avicenna offers a lengthy treatment of impression as a faculty of the intellective soul in his *De anima*. While he discusses an 'enchanted eye' ('opus oculi fascinantis et aestimationis operantis'), he does not describe it in as lurid terms as al-Ghazali, thus keeping the discussion firmly on a philosophical plane. Avicenna, *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus* ed. Simone van Riet, 2 vols., Louvain-Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968-1972, vol. 1, pp. 64-66. See also n. 43-44.

<sup>24</sup> Giles of Rome, *De erroribus philosophorum*, edition and translation by Josef Koch and John Riedl, *Errores Philosophorum: Critical Text with Notes and Introduction*, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1944, pp. 38-46.

<sup>25</sup> 'Ulterius erravit circa actionem animae nostrae ponens animam per imaginationem operari in corpore alieno, et quod 'impressio animae transeat ad aliud corpus, sic ut destruat spiritum per

The author of this work copies the passage on impression almost verbatim and preserves the definition and the illustrative example of the Evil Eye. Conversely, the Condemnation of 1277 paraphrases the passage and makes some additions that confuse the doctrine's meaning. Though *De erroribus philosophorum* carried less authority and enjoyed less circulation than the Condemnation of 1277, the bibliographical information it provides makes it more useful since it also provides the error's author and identifies where the error occurs in the author's work. More importantly, this work makes no mention of a magician that appears in the Condemnation of 1277, but merely an act of the imagination, which keeps the discussion within the philosophical realm rather than the supernatural.

The majority of scholars follow the interpretation of *De erroribus philosophorum* and see the proverb as al-Ghazali intended—as a way to explain a power of the intellectual soul.<sup>26</sup> This is the case especially among al-Ghazali's readers from the first half of the thirteenth century, though they often cite him anonymously. For example, William of Auvergne says 'when we wish to understand this concept [of impression], consider the strength of the imaginative faculty, from whose operation follows external operation by necessity, just as a philosopher said concerning the same matter that 'a certain philosopher said about a certain person who imagined the death of a camel and the camel fell immediately.'<sup>27</sup> William omits al-Ghazali's name and does not mention a proverb, though he connects the concept to the imagination. Peter of Spain gives a more fulsome account of al-Ghazali's notion of impression, though again anonymously.

'Therefore, it seems that this action [of impression] is practiced by administering things, but forms are drawn from a bulk of matter. For not only is a soul believed to induce impression on its own body, but also on another's, whence the command of enchantment of a malign soul dissolves a body, impressing corruption, for as it

---

aestimationem suam et interficiat hominem, et hoc dicitur esse fascinatio.' Propter quod secundum ipsum verum est hoc 'proverbium, quod oculus mittit hominem in fossam et camelum in caldarium.' Haec autem omnia patent ex his quae dicit in tractatu v<sup>o</sup> Scientiae suae Naturalis.' Giles of Rome, *De erroribus philosophorum*, p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> This interpretation was helped by the fact that Avicenna offers a similar discussion of impression in book four of *De anima*, also translated by the scholars who translated the *Maqāsid*. Indeed, Latin scholars recognized so much overlap between the arguments of these scholars that they referred to al-Ghazali as the summarizer and follower of Avicenna. However, Avicenna does not mention a camel and thus al-Ghazali retained some utility in the minds of scholars despite the similarities between the authors' discussions. Minnema, 'Algazel Latinus,' pp. 180-181.

<sup>27</sup> 'Cum autem volueris ad lucidum hoc intelligere, cogita fortitudinem imaginativae virtutis, ex cuius operatione sequitur ex necessitate forinseca operatio, quemadmodum dixit quidam philosophus de quodam qui imaginabatur casum cameli et statim cecidit camelus.' William of Auvergne, *De universo creaturum*, in *Guilielmi Alverni opera omnia*, ed. Blaise Le Feron, Paris, 1674, f. 615c.

is said commonly [*vulgo*] that ‘the Evil Eye delivers a man to a pit and a camel into a cauldron.’ But this seems discordant with truth’.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike William, Peter emphasizes the malicious nature of this power of the soul implied by al-Ghazali’s choice of example and thus the authors of the Condemnation of 1277 were not alone in their negative reading of this passage. Peter acknowledges the similarity between impression and enchantment that appears in the Latin *Maqāṣid* and *De erroribus philosophorum*, but his focus on the powers of the mind indicates that he places the power within the realm of philosophy or psychology rather than magic. Peter’s choice of the word ‘*vulgo*’ is significant in that he suggests that this saying about impression was well-known which finds support in comments by later scholars. However, the connections between impression, this saying, and al-Ghazali was not widely recognized until the second half of the thirteenth century.

A single early exception where al-Ghazali is quoted by name is in Robert Grosseteste’s commentary on Galatians 3:1, in which he compares the variety of enchantments that Paul might have meant when he asked ‘Who has enchanted you that you do not obey truth?’<sup>29</sup> Grosseteste is surprisingly nuanced in his treatment of this concept, prefacing the discussion by saying that ‘it is not easy to say whether enchantment, as the common people understand it, exists or not’.<sup>30</sup> He provides several instances ranging from the classical example of the basilisk to Aristotle’s examples of women breaking mirrors with a look, as well as other philosophical discussions of impression in the works of Avicenna and al-Ghazali. Though Grosseteste copies out the passage from al-Ghazali in full, he argues that Paul uses the ‘vulgar’ meaning of enchantment and does so metaphorically rather than specifically referring to the power of impression described by the Arabic authors.<sup>31</sup> Thus, he implies a distinction between impression and enchantment, with the latter understood to be more supernatural and associated with the interpretation of the common people. This

---

<sup>28</sup> ‘[V]idetur igitur hec actio eis procurantibus exerceri, figure vero ex magnitudine materie educuntur, non solum vero censetur anima in corpore proprio impressiones inducere, set etiam in extraneo, unde anime maligne ductus fascinationis corpus dissipat et corruptionem inprimendo, vulgo enim dicitur oculus malum hominem fosse mandare et camelum caldario. Set videtur hoc dissonum veritati.’ Peter of Spain, *Scientia libri de anima*, ed. Manuel Alonso Alonso, Madrid: CSIC, 1941, p. 476.

<sup>29</sup> ‘O insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinavit non obedire veritati,’ in Robert Grosseteste, *Expositio in epistolam sancti Pauli ad Galatas*, ed. Richard Dales, CCCM 130, Turnhout: Brepols, 1995, pp. 71-74 at p. 71.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Sed an fascinatio, sicut illam intelligit uulgi, sit aliquid uel non sit, non facile dixerim.’ Robert Grosseteste, *Expositio ad Galatas*, p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Sed quomodocumque se habeat circa hoc veritas, Apostulus non intendit aliud nisi assumere hoc nomen ab usu uulgi et uti eo metaphoricè in designationem corporis infecti ex invidia tabescente.’ Robert Grosseteste, *Expositio ad Galatas*, p. 74.

recognition of distinctions between different types of enchantment and between enchantment and impression makes Grosseteste unique among the Latin readers of al-Ghazali, since most scholars do not interject as many gradations between these phenomena and view them as either philosophical or magical in nature.

Even before the condemnations and systematic refutations of Aristotelian thought began to appear with greater frequency in the later thirteenth century, scholars reacted differently to al-Ghazali's discussion of impression and the accompanying proverb of the Evil Eye. William of Auvergne recognizes that al-Ghazali was discussing an intellectual phenomenon and was untroubled by the theological implications. Grosseteste is neutral on the subject, admitting that it is difficult to argue for or against its existence, and acknowledges a distinction between the type of power described in al-Ghazali's work and other forms of enchantment. On the other hand, Peter of Spain stresses the use of impression by a wicked soul for evil purposes. Despite this variety of reception, however, none of these authors associate the power of impression with a magician or the supernatural realm as described in the *Condemnation of 1277*.

Scholars began to connect al-Ghazali by name to the concept with more consistency in the latter half of the thirteenth century, often preserving the reference to the death of the camel in their quotations. Important examples of this treatment appear in the works of two Franciscan masters at Paris who cited al-Ghazali and his camel in their responses to quodlibetal questions on the powers of the soul. When John Pecham addresses the question of whether the intellect can be transferred by affect or the human will, he references Avicenna and al-Ghazali's discussions of impression and cites the latter's example of the soul's ability to kill a man or a camel, though he says that the philosophers' positions are erroneous.<sup>32</sup> He makes no mention of the comparison of the concept to enchantment. Richard of Middleton likewise mentions al-Ghazali with Avicenna while discussing the question of impression and quotes the passage from the Latin *Maqāsid* in full.<sup>33</sup> He comes to the similar conclusion that both are in error, but he argues that impression is an offense to the truth of the faith rather than philosophical truth. In treating al-Ghazali's concept of impression as

---

<sup>32</sup> 'Item, Algazel: "Aliquando impressio alicuius animae pertransit ad aliud corpus, cum scilicet aestimat et inficit hominem;" et consequenter dicit quod sola cogitatione maligna facit cadere camelum ... Ad verba Avicennae et Algazelis et libri *De causis* dico omnia sunt erronea et falsa, ut declaratum est.' John Pecham, *Quodlibet Romanum*, ed. Ferdinand Delorme, Rome, 1938, Q. IV, q. XXX, pp. 243-244.

<sup>33</sup> 'Huius etiam erroris fuit Algazel: sicut patet suo libro physicorum libro quinto capitulo. 9. Ubi dicit sic quod 'aliquando impressio alicuius anime transit ad aliquod corpus ... Et eius anima est maligna et invidiosa estimat casum cameli ab eius estimatione et statim cadit.' Sed Avicenna et Algazel in illis opinionibus valde turpiter erraverunt. Plura enim in illis opinionibus sunt contra fidei veritatem.' Richard of Middleton, *Authorati theologi Ricardi de media villa: Quodlibeta*, Venice, 1509, Quodlibet III, q. 12, fol. 35.

an error, these scholars represent a uniform shift in opinion that became widespread from the late thirteenth century onwards. It is also important to emphasize that John Pecham and Richard of Middleton are referring to al-Ghazali's discussion of impression and his example of the camel in a public debate where the academic audience is expected to have a general knowledge of a question's arguments and their sources. In this way, these two Franciscans echo Peter of Spain's suggestion that this proverb was well-known among scholars, though unlike Peter, they do not mention the proverb anonymously.

References to al-Ghazali and his discussion of the power of impression persist into the fourteenth century and in increasingly unlikely places. Peter of Abano mentions this passage in his *Conciliator* as he describes the differing opinions of philosophers and doctors regarding how sperm impregnates a woman. He invokes al-Ghazali with regards to the power of the intellect in impregnation.

'Why is the likeness of the begotten to the father less in some men than others? Since a man engages his soul in intercourse in many ways, for after a father and mother have engaged in intercourse, they then influence the begotten. [Philosophers] have said many things concerning the vigor of the imagination, Avicenna extensively in the fourth chapter of *De anima* and al-Ghazali, his colleague, such as a man is thrown down into a well and a camel into a cauldron, so that [the imagination] acts not only upon its own body, but also in another's. Therefore, it is not a wonder if it, as sperm and menses, is able to transform passible matter to the same degree'.<sup>34</sup>

Peter's usage here is striking for several reasons. Unlike his contemporaries in the fourteenth century, he does not immediately reject the concept of impression as part of the doctrine of emanation. Yet he also takes the concept out of its metaphysical context in order to propose a rather ingenious solution for the question of physical similarities between generations. In an age before genetics, he intuits that there must be some power that men and women possess that allows them shape the appearance of their offspring and, comparing the positions of philosophers and medical scholars, he suggests that this occurs by means of intellectual force. This repurposing of impression is unique to Peter of Abano and does not find an echo in other sources, but it demonstrates that al-

---

<sup>34</sup> 'Cur in hominibus minor sit assimilatio geniti ad generans, quam in caeteris animi alium? Quoniam homo multifariam suam animam disponitur in coitu, postquam enim quod pater et mater in coitu fuerint dispositi, ita afficiuntur genita. De vigore quoque imaginationis quam plurima locuti sunt, Avicenna maxime de anima 4 et Algazel ipsius collega volentes, ut ui imaginationes intensae deiiciatur homo in puteum, et camelus in caldarium ita, ut operetur non solum in corpore proprio, verum et in alieno. Et ideo non est mirum si materiam passibilem adeo, ut sperma et menstruum valeat immutare.' Peter of Abano, *Conciliator differentiarum quae inter philosophos et medicos versantur*, Venice, 1565; reprinted Padua: Antenore, 1985, *Differentia* 37, f. 56v.

Ghazali's descriptions of a complicated philosophical concept could break outside of its immediate context and was applied by scholars in novel ways.

Given these references and their variety of application, it is possible that al-Ghazali's camel may have been a commonplace reference among university-trained scholars, even if they considered the idea of impression to be an error. However, the assertion of the popularity and comprehension of al-Ghazali's camel is not without difficulty. Nicolas Oresme exchanged the camel for a mule and attributed this example to Avicenna in *De causis mirabilium*.<sup>35</sup> This confusion was furthered by a later commentator of Oresme's works, Claude Rapine, who replaced 'mulum' with 'nudum' when discussing this passage.<sup>36</sup> However, this same commentator realized his mistake when he translated Oresme's work into French and subsequently returned the camel.<sup>37</sup> There are also instances where scholars discussed al-Ghazali's concept of impression without referring to his example of the Evil Eye. The most prominent among these are Albertus Magnus and Peter John Olivi, who refer to al-Ghazali while discussing on the powers of the soul and make no mention of a camel.<sup>38</sup> These philosophers demonstrate an understanding of impression as it appears in al-Ghazali as a part of the theory of emanation, and both of them reject the concept.<sup>39</sup>

In each of these cases, scholars understood al-Ghazali's discussion of impression in the context of speculative metaphysics. They commonly referred

<sup>35</sup> 'Quid autem scivit Avicenna utrum illud quod ibi ponit sit verum, scilicet quod ymaginatio fecit cadere mulum et cetera? Unde fuerunt alii quam Avicenna et Agazel et quidam alii qui posuerunt quod materia obedit intellectui non solum in eodem subiecto set et in diversis. Sed quia michi videtur esse pure contra philosophum, ideo non plus et cetera.' Nicole Oresme, *De causis mirabilium*, in *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature*, ed. Bert Hansens, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985, p. 314.

<sup>36</sup> 'Non tamen praesumo cum Avicenna asserere species huiusmodi etiam localiter corpus posse movere, sicut de quo allegat, qui per imaginationem nudum in foveam praecipitavit.' Claude Rapine, *De his quae mundo mirabiliter eveniunt*, Paris, 1542, 19v-20r.

<sup>37</sup> Claude Rapine, *Des choses merveilleuses en nature*, Lyon, 1557, 112.

<sup>38</sup> 'Sed hoc attendendum esse videtur, quod secundum Avicenna et Algazelem, non tantum a caelestibus fiunt huiusmodi motus, sed etiam ab animalibus: quia illi dicunt animam unius imprimere per modum fascinationis in animas multorum aliorum, sed hoc per philosophiam probari vix posset.' Albertus Magnus, *De somno et vigilia*, in *Beati Alberti Magni opera omnia*, ed. A. Borgnet, vol. 9, Paris, 1890, p. 133. 'Quod igitur Algazel et Avicenna et consimiles in hac parte finxerunt quam sit frivolum patet, et maxime quia, ex quo iustitia et vitium, gloria et confusio proprie in nobis esse non possunt, quare de praedictis curabimus, et non potius omnibus sit pro lege voluntas? Ad vicesimum tertium dicendum quod falsissimum est superiores potentias mentis nostrae sic sequi variationes corporis et impressiones corporum caelestium et elementarium aut ab eis diversimode immutari sicut inferiores potentiae immutantur.' Peter John Olivi, *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, ed. B. Jansen, vol. 2, Rome, 1924, q. 57, p. 369.

<sup>39</sup> See Dag Hasse, *Avicenna in the Latin West*, London: Warburg Institute, 2000, pp. 165-174, particularly pp. 168-172 regarding the wider treatment of 'impressio' and 'fascinatio.'

to the concept as *impressio* and, while some likened it to enchantment or *fascinatio*, most clarified how this phenomenon was a faculty of the intellect or at least did not give an indication that it was to be understood as magic. The only reading that approaches that of the Condemnation of 1277 is in the fifteenth-century inquisitors' manual by Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, which calls attention to topics of the Evil Eye and enchantment in the works of Avicenna and al-Ghazali.

'With regards to other arguments where it is proven that sorcerous effects can be caused by old women without the work of demons, it ought to be said that it is discordant to reason to draw conclusions from a particular example. Since in all of the Holy Scriptures, it seems, no such thing is found except where it concerns the enchantment or evil facial expressions of old women, it is not valid to conclude therefore that it always has to happen in such a way...The third way is that a change for the worse occurs as a result of such hatred in the body of someone through the eyes of someone else looking at him. The doctors commonly make statements in this way about enchantment, following in the same way that Avicenna and al-Ghazali said, as it is deduced in the arguments'.<sup>40</sup>

This reference to al-Ghazali's concept of impression has similarities to Grosseteste's treatment of enchantment since the authors list the various interpretations of *fascinatio*. Yet the term *impressio* is not mentioned, nor do the authors qualify al-Ghazali's understanding of enchantment, leaving open the interpretation of the phenomenon as sorcery. Shortly after this passage, the authors quote from the Condemnation of 1277 to emphasize that the doctrine has already been rejected in centers of learning.

'Additionally, an article has been condemned in many universities, especially that of Paris, that a certain magician casts a camel into a pit by sight alone, because, just as superior intelligences impress upon inferior ones, so too does the intellectual soul impress on another and also on a sense-perceiving soul'.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> 'Ad alia vero argumenta in quibus probatur maleficiales effectus posse absque opere demonum a vetulis procurari, dicendum quod ex vno particulari concludere varie est dissonum rationi. Et cum in tota, vt videtur, scriptura sacra non inuenitur tale nisi hic vbi agitur de fascinatione seu inuultuatione vetularum, ideo non valet per hoc concludere quod semper habeat ita euenire...tercio, quod ex tali odio fiat immutatio ad malum in corpore alicuius per oculos alterius aspicientis in eum, de fascinatione hoc modo dicta communiter loquuntur doctores, secundum quem modum etiam Avicenna et Algazel, ut in argumentis deducitur, locuti sunt.' Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, 2 vols., ed. Christopher MacKay, Cambridge, 2006, vol. 1, 17B-17C, pp. 235-236.

<sup>41</sup> 'Preterea, est articulus condemnatus in plerisque vniversitatibus, precipue tamen Parisiensi, quod incantator aliquis proicit camelum in foueam solo visu, eo quod, sicut intelligentie superiores imprimunt in inferiores, sic anima intellectiua imprimit in aliam et etiam in animam sensitiuam.' Institoris and Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 1, 17D, p. 237.

While the quotation of the condemnation indicates that intelligences play a role in enchantment, it also suggests that the authors believe that it is a form of witchcraft rather than an expression of speculative metaphysics. Indeed, they rearrange the article as it appears in the condemnation so that the example is now the major premise. The action of the magician is not used as something to explain enchantment; it is enchantment. The subsequent mention of intelligences thus reads as the metaphysical underpinning for the magician's sorcery and not as the primary error of the article. The rearrangement of the article and the connection drawn between enchantment and al-Ghazali imply that Kramer and Sprenger considered impression to be sorcery.

However, the authors of the *Malleus* mention that they discussed al-Ghazali in arguments concerning this subject earlier in the text, whose contents reveal that they see enchantment differently from what the above passages suggest. These arguments pertain to the question of whether witches perform sorcery on their own or always require diabolic assistance.<sup>42</sup> Al-Ghazali's appearance in this discussion is not as fulsome as above and he is named merely as one of the authorities who agrees with Avicenna on the matter of the Evil Eye.<sup>43</sup> Yet the authors relate that Avicenna believes the imagination can change or seem to change extraneous objects, such as when one's sense of balance is affected by heights or when one feels fear at seeing a dead body.<sup>44</sup> After the presentation of these arguments, the authors conclude that the phenomena that philosophers describe are not magical nor do they require the devil.

---

<sup>42</sup> 'An catholicum sit asserere quod ad effectum maleficalem semper habeat demon cum malefico concurrere vel quod vnus sine altero, vt demon sine malefico vel e converso, talem effectum possit producere.' Institoris and Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 1, 13D, p. 229.

<sup>43</sup> 'Est ad hoc etiam Avicennae *Sexto Naturalium* li iii. c. vltimo ita dicens, 'Multotiens autem anima operatur in corpore alieno, sicut in proprio, quemadmodum est opus oculi fascinantis et aestimationis operantis. Et eandem sententiam etiam ponit Algazel li. v suo *Phisicorum*, c. ix.' Institoris and Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 1, 14C, p. 231.

<sup>44</sup> 'Putat etiam Avicenna, licet non teneatur in illo, quod virtus ymaginativa etiam absque visu possit extranea corpora immutare, vbi nimis extendit virtutem ymaginativam, et capimus hic virtutem ymaginativam non in quantum distinguitur contra alias virtutes sensitivas interiores, vt est sensus communis et fantasia et estimatio, sed in quantum includit omnes illas virtutes interiores. Sed bene verum quod talis virtus ymaginativa potest transmutare corpus coniunctum, scilicet illud in quo est, sicut homo potest ambulare supra trabem que est in medio vie, si vero posita fuerit super aquam profundam, non audebit ambulare super eam, eo quod ymaginabitur in eius anima forma cadendi vehementer impressa, cui obedit material eius et virtus membrorum eius et non obediunt eius contrario, scilicet ad directe ambulandum. In hoc ergo convenit hec immutatio cum oculo fascinantis in quantum immutatur corpus proprium primo, sed non corpus alienum, de qua immutatione iam loquimur...Item homo viuens et prope cadauer hominis occisi transiens etiam non sentiendo illud adhuc terrore concutitur.' Institoris and Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 1, 14C-14D, p. 231.

‘There are some things in nature that have certain hidden powers, whose reasoning man does not know, such as when iron attracts steel and many other things that Augustine mentions in the twentieth book of the *City of God*. In the same way women sometimes can make use of certain things in order to bring about changes in the bodies of others without the aid of devils, which exceed our reasoning. And because these exceed [our reasoning] we must not ascribe them therefore to devils as if they were associating with witches at the same time.’<sup>45</sup>

This warning to readers that not all unexplained events are witchcraft signify that the authors ultimately do not believe that the powers described by Avicenna and al-Ghazali ought to be interpreted as supernatural, despite the implications of the previous passages and the reworking of the article from the condemnation. This leaves the Parisian edict as perhaps the sole medieval source that strongly implied the interpretation of al-Ghazali’s impression as a form of magic. Moreover, the appearance of the article in the *Malleus* provides an example of how the ambiguous treatment of the doctrine in the Condemnation of 1277 could generate confusion in later works.

Al-Ghazali’s discussion of impression continued to be a point of reference after the condemnations of the thirteenth century at Paris and Oxford. On the whole, scholars became less generous to al-Ghazali, unlike early readers such as William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste, and the majority refuted the argument as a part of the wider rejection of emanation. In most instances, scholars treated al-Ghazali’s doctrine of impression as a legitimate, if flawed philosophical discussion and did not connect it to magic. It is only with the Condemnation of 1277 that authors made explicit the connection between impression and a supernatural act performed by a magician. One exception arises in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, but this does not appear to have been the authors’ intention. In citing the condemnation on this matter, the *Malleus Maleficarum* offers a confusing interpretation of enchantment in one passage, but elsewhere indicates that the intellectual powers of the imagination need not be understood as sorcery. Thus, the Condemnation of 1277 stands outside the mainstream of philosophical thought on this matter, despite the influence that it possessed.

We have traced al-Ghazali’s discussion of impression, along with the proverb of the camel, across Latin Christendom as well as the Arabic and Persian Near East. The durability of the discussion of the doctrine of al-Ghazali within the Latin

---

<sup>45</sup> ‘Praeterea, sicut res naturales habent quasdam virtutes occultas quarum ratio ab homine assignari non potest, sic ut quod adamas trahit ferrum et multa que Augustinus enumerat xxi *De Civitate Dei*, ita mulieres ad immutationes faciendas in corporibus alienis certis rebus vti possunt absque auxilio demonum. Que etiam nostram rationem excedunt, et quia excedunt non debemus propterea demonibus quasi ex maleficis insimul conuersantes ascribere.’ Institoris and Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 1, 14D-15A, pp. 231-232.

intellectual tradition can be attributed in no small way to al-Ghazali's decision to add this evocative proverb to his Arabic translation of Avicenna's Persian text. Al-Ghazali intended for the proverb to clarify an opaque facet in the theory of emanation, not to grab scholars' attention. Yet in emphasizing impression's similarity to the Evil Eye, he opened up the possibility to interpret it as a malevolent, supernatural power. That he was quoting the words of Muhammad mitigated this possibility with his intended Arabic audience. The Latin translation of the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* exacerbated the potential to misinterpret al-Ghazali's intended meaning for impression. This became a reality in the Condemnation of 1277, which stressed the supernatural nature of impression by inserting a magician that does not appear in al-Ghazali's text. The condemnation's rendering of this passage threatened to alter the Latin reading of al-Ghazali in this regard, as can be seen in the quotation of the edict in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which infelicitously exchanges the Evil Eye for the faculty of impression as the major error in the doctrine. However, the condemnation's reading of al-Ghazali was not dominant within the Latin tradition. Most scholars raised the discussion of impression in al-Ghazali only to refute it on philosophical and theological grounds, and few of them cited the condemnation. The condemnation's lack of influence in this regard can be attributed to the fact that al-Ghazali is not named in the article, though this is perhaps too charitable to the edict at the expense of scholars' abilities. Indeed, the scholars who treated this matter read al-Ghazali closely as the wording of proverb deviated only slightly in Latin scholarship over the centuries.<sup>46</sup> This close reading indicates that the proverb was not an impediment to the Latin understanding of al-Ghazali, but instead was recognized as an important facet of addressing impression and emanation in general. The presence of this proverb in the Latin intellectual tradition stands as an eccentric testament to the project to understand the Arab Aristotelian tradition on its own terms and with its own idioms.

---

<sup>46</sup> The scholars who treated impression as a philosophical concept appear to possess the Latin *Maqāṣid* since the wording of the quotation matches closely what appears in al-Ghazali's text. Scholars whose wording of the proverb differed from what appears in the Latin *Maqāṣid* were also those who implied that the concept of impression was magical. For example, the Condemnation of 1277 and the *Malleus Maleficarum* indicate that the camel is thrown into a 'foveam' rather than the 'caldarium' that appears in the Latin *Maqāṣid*. This suggests that the authors of the condemnation and the *Malleus* may not have possessed the work and relied on other sources for their understanding of al-Ghazali.

# THE IBN EZRA–HENRY BATE ASTROLOGICAL CONNECTION AND THE THREE ABRAHAMS

SHLOMO SELA  
BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY

## *Abstract*

This paper studies the astrological connection between Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–ca. 1161), who created the first comprehensive corpus of Hebrew astrological textbooks that address the main systems of Arabic astrology, and Henry Bate (1246–1310), who first translated into Latin a collection of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings and brought Ibn Ezra to the knowledge of the Latin West. The first part of this paper offers a brief chronological survey of how Henry Bate became acquainted with Ibn Ezra's astrological treatises. The second part focuses on a surprising element: when Bate refers to astrological treatises that we now know were written by Ibn Ezra, he assigns them to one of three different authors. All three are 'Abraham', but they have distinguishing cognomens. Here we determine which astrological treatises Bate assigned to each of the three Abrahams, try to identify the historical figure behind each of them, and explain Bate's reason for trisecting Abraham Ibn Ezra.

## *Key Words*

Hebrew astrology, Latin astrology, Latin translations, Old French translations.



The bulk of the literary career of Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–ca. 1161) played out in the Latin West. Born in Muslim Spain, he left his homeland at the age of 50 and began a nomadic itinerant life through Italy, France, and England, during which he wrote prolifically on a wide variety of subjects. His reputation rests on his outstanding biblical commentaries, but his intellectual interests extended to the

sciences,<sup>1</sup> especially astrology. Ibn Ezra's most significant contribution in this field is the creation of the first comprehensive corpus of Hebrew astrological textbooks that address the main systems of Arabic astrology. Today we know of nineteen treatises by him.<sup>2</sup> This relatively large number reflects the multiple versions or recensions of each individual work that he produced. This phenomenon is typical of his literary career: he would set down a new version of an old work for a new patron when he arrived in a new town, thereby continuing to stimulate the attention and curiosity of readers all along his itinerary through Latin Europe.

There are strong indications that Ibn Ezra had direct relations with Christian scholars during his peregrinations through Latin Europe, and that some of his works became known to Christian scholars shortly after his death and were then translated or elaborated for Latin readers. This is supported by codicological evidence: most of the Latin works ascribed to Ibn Ezra, supposed to have been written with his participation, or based on material derived from his work survive in manuscripts from the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> It seems, though, that Ibn Ezra never went beyond sporadic contacts with Christian scholars. In contrast to the quick diffusion of his Hebrew astrological work among Jews,<sup>4</sup> and the transmission of Arabic astrological literature to Christian readers via Latin translations,<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ezra's astrological writings remained outside the mainstream of

<sup>1</sup> For a chronological listing of Ibn Ezra's scholarly writings and the stations along his wanderings, bibliographical references to Ibn Ezra's oeuvre, and secondary literature on his work, see Shlomo Sela and Gad Freudenthal, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings: A Chronological Listing', *Aleph* 6 (2006), pp. 13–55.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of these astrological treatises, sorted according to the main genres of Greek and Arabic astrological literature to which they belong, and accompanied by references to editions in which these treatises are available today, see *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*, Edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp. 2–5.

<sup>3</sup> Tony Lévy and Charles Burnett, 'Sefer ha-Middot: A Mid-Twelfth-Century Text on Arithmetic and Geometry Attributed to Abraham ibn Ezra', *Aleph* 6 (2006), pp. 57–238; Renate Smithuis, 'Science in Normandy and England under the Angevins. The Creation of Avraham Ibn Ezra's Latin Works of Astronomy and Astrology', in G. Busi, ed., *Hebrew to Latin—Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism*, Turin: Aragno, 2006, pp. 26–61; José M. Millás Vallicrosa, ed., *El Libro de los Fundamentos de las Tablas Astronómicas de R. Abraham Ibn Ezra*, Madrid-Barcelona: CSIC, 1947; José M. Millás Vallicrosa, 'Un nuevo tratado de astrolabio de R. Abraham ibn Ezra', *Al-Andalus*, 5 (1940), pp. 9–29. See also Charles Burnett, 'Béziers as an Astronomical Centre for Jews and Christians in the Mid-Twelfth Century', *Aleph*, forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> Shlomo Sela, 'Astrology in Medieval Jewish Thought', in G. Freudenthal, (ed.) *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 296–299; idem, 'The Astrological-Astronomical Encyclopedia in MS Paris 1058', *Aleph* 14.1 (2014), pp. 189–241.

<sup>5</sup> David Juste, 'The Impact of Arabic Sources on European Astrology: Some Facts and Numbers', *Micrologus* XXIV (2016), pp. 173–194; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie*,

Latin astrological literature until the last decades of the thirteenth century. This emerges from the fact that neither Ibn Ezra's name nor references to any of his works are found in the exhaustive catalogue of astrological writings in the *Speculum astronomiae* (Mirror of astronomy), possibly composed sometime after 1260 by Albertus Magnus,<sup>6</sup> and so too in the *Liber astronomicus*, the most important astrological work of the thirteenth century, composed by Guido Bonatti around 1270.<sup>7</sup> But then, Ibn Ezra was 'reborn' in the Latin West thanks to two almost simultaneous translation projects carried out in the last decades of the thirteenth century.

Why did the Latin West wait more than a century after Ibn Ezra's death to discover his astrological enterprise? In the wake of the translation of Arabic astrological texts into Latin and the introduction of Aristotelian texts on natural philosophy during the twelfth and particularly the thirteenth centuries, the consequent integration of astrology in medical treatment, the employment of astrologers to advise the European nobility, and the huge increase in the number of university graduates in medieval Europe, astrology emerged as a fascinating topic of study and a unifying theory of knowledge, on the one hand, and as a more visible target for those who viewed it with suspicion, on the other. The conflict broke out in Paris with the condemnations of 1270 and 1277, on the eve of the translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings.<sup>8</sup> It was in Paris, in the last decades the thirteenth century, that Henry Bate and Peter d'Abano, the two translators who brought Ibn Ezra to the knowledge of the Latin West, pursued their academic careers, one as a student in theology and the arts, the other as a professor of medicine.

---

*divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIIe -XVe siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006, pp. 35–82; see below, notes 6 and 7.

<sup>6</sup> Paola Zambelli, *The Speculum Astronomiae and Its Enigma*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992, pp. 208–273.

<sup>7</sup> Guidonis Bonati Forolviensis *Mathematici de Astronomia Tractatus X*, Basileae, 1550; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–1958, vol. II, ch. 67, pp. 825–835, esp. pp. 826–827.

<sup>8</sup> See Zambelli, *The Speculum Astronomiae and Its Enigma*, pp. 3–23, 45–125; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Le 'Speculum Astronomiae', une énigme? Enquête sur les manuscrits*, Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001; Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, pp. 251–258; Scott Hendrix, *How Albert the Great's Speculum Astronomiae Was interpreted and Used by Four Centuries of Readers: A Study in Late Medieval Medicine, Astronomy and Astrology*, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010, pp. 33–51; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990, pp. 67–68; Edward Grant, *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 37–38.

## Part One

*Henry Bate's Acquaintance with Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Corpus*

Here I am concerned with Henry Bate, whose translation endeavors slightly preceded those of Peter d'Abano. The next-to-last child of a large family, Henry Bate was born on March 24, 1246, in Malines (Mechelen). He studied in Paris, probably under Albertus Magnus, and became proficient in astronomy, astrology and philosophy, and earned recognition as a master of arts before 1274. The most important of Bate's works is the *Speculum divinorum et quorundam naturalium* (Mirror of the divine substances and some natural things), a philosophic and scientific encyclopedia composed between 1301 and 1305 and dedicated to Guy de Hainaut, Henry Bate's patron. He died sometime after January 1310.<sup>9</sup>

Four main stages may be discerned in the development of the Henry Bate–Abraham Ibn Ezra connection, as follows. In 1273, when Henry Bate was a student at the University of Paris and well before the composition of his first known book,<sup>10</sup> he commissioned a Jewish scholar named Hagin le Juif to translate a collection of Ibn Ezra's astrological works from Hebrew into Old French. Preserved in two manuscripts, this collection includes the following four items: (1) *Li livres du commencement de sapience*, (2) *Livre des jugemens des nativités*, (3) *Le livre des elections Abraham*, and (4) *Le livre des interrogations*.<sup>11</sup> These are Old French translations of respectively (1) *Reshit Hokhmah* (Beginning of wisdom), an introduction to astrology that is considered to be the zenith of Ibn Ezra's astrological work;<sup>12</sup> (2) *Sefer ha-Moladot* (Book of nativities; henceforth *Moladot*), Ibn Ezra's only extant complete text in Hebrew on the astrological doctrine of nativities;<sup>13</sup> (3) the second version of *Sefer ha-Mivharim* (Book of elections;

<sup>9</sup> Aleksander Birkenmajer, 'Henri Bate de Malines, astronome et philosophe du XIIIe siècle' (1923), reprinted in Idem, *Etudes d'histoire des sciences et de la philosophie du Moyen Age*, Krakow: Ossolineum, 1970, pp. 105–115; Gaston Wallerand, *Henri Bate de Malines, Speculum Divinorum et Quorundam Naturalium*, Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1931, pp. 7–23; Emmanuel Poulle, 'Henry Bate of Malines' in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. VI, New York, 1972, pp. 272–275.

<sup>10</sup> Gaston Wallerand, *Henri Bate de Malines*, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 24276, fols. 1a–66a, and Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 1351, fols. 1a–66a.

<sup>12</sup> This introduction to astrology is divided into 10 chapters and extant in no fewer than 70 manuscript copies. References to this work are in the format: *Reshit Hokhmah*, ed. Sela, §2.2:1, pp. 64–65 = *Reshit Hokhmah*, chapter 2, section 2, passage 1 in *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, ed. Sela, on pp. 64–65.

<sup>13</sup> References to *Moladot*, which is extant in at least 53 manuscript copies, are in the format: *Moladot*, ed. Sela, III vi 8, 4, pp. 152–153 = *Moladot*, part III ('The Twelve horoscopic Places',) chapter 6 (addressing the sixth horoscopic place), section 8, sentence 4, in *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy, A Parallel Hebrew English Critical Edition of the Book of Nativities and the Book of Revolution*, Edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 152–153.

henceforth *Mivḥarim* II), on choosing the most auspicious moment for performing specific actions;<sup>14</sup> and (4) the second version of *Sefer ha-She'elot* (Book of interrogations; henceforth *She'elot* II), on replying to questions addressed to the astrologer.<sup>15</sup> We have substantial bibliographical information only on the first item, from whose colophon we learn that the Hebrew original of *Li livres du commencement de sapience* was composed by Abraham Ibn Ezra, translated by Hagin le Juif from Hebrew into Old French, and written down in Old French by a certain Obers de Mondidier in Henry Bate's house in Malines at the end of 1273.<sup>16</sup>

In 1280, Henry Bate composed an astrological autobiography, entitled *Liber Servi Dei de Mechlinia de Ducatu Brabantie super inquisitione et verificatione nativitatis incerte ex iudiciis ac subsequentibus nato post nativitatem* (Book by a servant of God from Malines in the Duchy of Brabant, on the determination and verification of an uncertain nativity on the basis of judgments and subsequent <events occurring to> the native after <his> birth; henceforth *Nativitas*).<sup>17</sup> To anchor the astrological interpretation of his own life, Bate incorporated many astrological texts, including at least 140 paraphrases, translations, and quotations from twelve astrological treatises written by or attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. These references (whose correspondences with Ibn Ezra's astrological corpus will be studied below) are the first known in the Latin West. That seven years elapsed between 1273 and the composition of *Nativitas* shows that Henry Bate commissioned Hagin le Juif so that Bate could have an initial look at Ibn Ezra's astrological work rather than to translate it into Latin.

Bate's first translation of Ibn Ezra was *De mundo vel seculo*, a Latin rendering of the first version of *Sefer ha-'Olam* (Book of the World, henceforth *'Olam* I), on historical and meteorological astrology.<sup>18</sup> This translation, equipped with a

---

<sup>14</sup> References to *Mivḥarim* II, which is extant in 28 manuscript copies, are in the format: *Mivḥarim* II, §7.1:6, pp. 164–165 = second version of *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim*, chapter 7, section 1, sentence 6, in *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations and Medical Astrology*, ed. Sela, pp. 164–165.

<sup>15</sup> References to *She'elot* II, which is extant in 35 manuscript copies, are in the format: *She'elot* II, §7.1:2, pp. 368–369 = second version of *Sefer ha-She'elot*, chapter 7, section 1, sentence 2, in *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*, Edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 368–369.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 24276, fol. 66b: 'Ci define li livres de Commencement de Sapience que fist Abraham Even Aze ou Aezero qui est interpretes maistre de aide que translata Hagins li Juis de ebrieu en romans et Obers de Mondidier escriboit le romans et du fait a Malines en la meson sire Henri Bate et fu fines l'en de grace 1273'.

<sup>17</sup> References to this work are in the format: *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 572–573 = *A Medieval Autobiographical Horoscope: Henry Bate's Nativitas (1280)*, edited by Carlos Steel, annotated and introduced by Steven Vandembroecke, with the collaboration of David Juste and Shlomo Sela, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017, lines 572–573.

<sup>18</sup> References to *'Olam* I, which is extant in 26 manuscript copies, are in the format: *'Olam* I, ed. Sela, §45:1, pp. 82–83 = first version of *Sefer ha-'Olam*, section 45, sentence 1, in *The Book of the*

prologue by Henry Bate himself, had a wide diffusion: it survives in at least 19 manuscripts<sup>19</sup> and a print edition.<sup>20</sup> From the colophon of the earliest extant manuscript and the print edition we learn that this translation, was begun in Liege and completed in Malines in 1281.<sup>21</sup>

In 1292, eleven years after the first translation and nineteen years after Hagin le Juif's Old French translations, Bate produced five more Latin translations of astrological treatises by Ibn Ezra in Orvieto, during his stay there with his patron, Guy de Hainaut, as follows: (1) *Introductorius ad astronomiam*, a translation of *Reshit Hokhmah*, was completed on August 22, 1292, and is extant in four manuscripts.<sup>22</sup> This is the only one of Bate's six Latin translations of Ibn Ezra astrological treatises that corresponds to one of Hagin's four Old French translations. (2) *De luminaribus seu de diebus creticis* is a translation of *Sefer ha-Me'orot* (Book of the luminaries; henceforth *Me'orot*), which deals with the critical days when there are marked changes in the symptoms of a disease.<sup>23</sup> This translation, dedicated to the bishop of Aversa, is extant in three manuscripts and a print edition as well.<sup>24</sup> (3) *Liber introductionis ad iudicia astrologie* is *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot* (Judgments of the zodiacal signs), Ibn Ezra's second introduction to astrology.<sup>25</sup> This translation is

---

*World, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, Edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden-Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010, pp. 82–83.

<sup>19</sup> For a list of the manuscripts, see Gaston Wallerand, *Henri Bate de Malines, Speculum Divinorum et Quorundam Naturalium*, Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1931, pp. 15–16.

<sup>20</sup> *Abrahe Avenaris Iudei Astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera*, Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1507, sig. LXXVIIv2–LXXXVr1. For the prologue written by Henry Bate himself, see sig. LXXVIr1–LXXVIIv2.

<sup>21</sup> Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 212, fol. 52v2: 'Explicit liber de Mundo vel seculo completus die lune post festum beati Luce hora diei quarta et anno domini 1281 inceptus de Leodio perfectus in Machlinia translatus a magistro Henrico Bate de hebreo in latinum'; cf. *Abrahe Avenaris Iudei Astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera*, Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1507, sig. LXXXV.

<sup>22</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 2r–23v; Berlin 963, fols. 152–163r; Wolfenbütel, 2816, fols. 84–111; Vatican, Palat. lat. 1377, fols. 21r–37v; cf. Wallerand, *Henri Bate*, 17; Lynn Thorndike, 'The Latin translations of the astrological tracts of Abraham Avenezra', *Isis* 35 (1944), pp. 293–302, esp. p. 296 (a).

<sup>23</sup> References to *Me'orot*, which is extant in 35 manuscript copies, are in the format: *Me'orot*, ed. Sela, §25:4, pp. 472–473 = *Sefer ha-Me'orot*, section 25, passage 4 in *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations and Medical Astrology*, ed. Sela, pp. 472–473.

<sup>24</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 30v–34r; MS Limoges 9(28), fols. 66–71v; MS Prague 433 (IILC.2), fol. 118v2–125r2; Abraham Ibn Ezra: *De luminaribus et diebus criticis*, Padua: Matthaeus Cerdonis, 7 Feb. 1482/83; cf. Wallerand, *Henri Bate*, 17; Thorndike, 'The Latin Translations', 300 (a).

<sup>25</sup> This introduction to astrology, which is extant in at least 25 manuscript copies, is quite different in its size and organization from *Reshit Hokhmah*, and. References to *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, which is extant in 35 manuscript copies, are in the format: *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, ed. Sela, §29:1, pp. 512–513 = *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, section 29, passage 1 in: *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, ed. Sela, pp. 512–513. For a critical edition of *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, ed. Sela, pp. 488–555.

extant in two manuscripts. According to the colophon of one of them, it was translated by Henry Bate at Orvieto and completed on October 28, 1292.<sup>26</sup> (4) *Liber causarum seu rationum super hiis que dicuntur in Introductorio Abrahe qui incipit Sapiencie timor domini* (Book of causes or reasons on what has been said in the Introduction by Abraham, which begins ‘the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord’) is the Latin of the first version of *Sefer ha-Ṭe’amim* (Book of reasons; henceforth *Ṭe’amim* I), Ibn Ezra’s close commentary on *Reshit Ḥokhmah*.<sup>27</sup> This translation, extant in two manuscripts,<sup>28</sup> was carried out at Orvieto in 1292.<sup>29</sup> It begins with a translation of the initial canticle (a customary feature of Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological treatises)<sup>30</sup> and concludes with an epilogue by the translator.<sup>31</sup> (5) *Liber causarum seu rationum* (Book of causes or reasons), the Latin translation of the second version of *Sefer ha-Ṭe’amim* (Book of reasons; henceforth *Ṭe’amim* II), which is a commentary on the second version of *Reshit Ḥokhmah*.<sup>32</sup> This Latin translation, too, extant in two manuscripts,<sup>33</sup> was executed at Orvieto in 1292.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, at an unspecified date and place, Henry Bate composed a work of his own writing entitled *De diebus creticis*, which is not the same as his Latin translation of Ibn Ezra’s *Me’orot*, also exclusively concerned with the critical days. In this work Henry Bate made reference to Ibn Ezra and a number of his astrological works, including *Me’orot*.<sup>35</sup>

Note that there is a wide mismatch between the Ibn Ezra works translated by Hagin le Juif and those translated or used by Henry Bate. First, only one (*Reshit*

<sup>26</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 37r–49v; cf. Wallerand, *Henri Bate*, 17; Thorndike, ‘The Latin translations’, 296 (a & b). The colophon is in Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 49v1.

<sup>27</sup> References to *Ṭe’amim* I, which is extant in at least 32 manuscript copies, are in the format: *Ṭe’amim* I, ed. Sela, §3.2:1, pp. 70–71 = first version of *Sefer ha-Ṭe’amim*, chapter 3, section 2, passage 1, in *The Book of Reasons, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, Edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 70–71.

<sup>28</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 60v2–73v1; MS Limoges 9(28), fols. 1–44.

<sup>29</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 73v1; cf. Wallerand, *Henri Bate*, 17; Thorndike, ‘The Latin Translations’, p. 297.

<sup>30</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 60v2: ‘Excelsus dominus et metuendus adaperiat et illuminet oculos nostros in libro rationum et dirigat gressus nostros in via veritatis’ = ‘May the exalted and feared Lord, open and enlighten our eyes in the Book of reasons, and lead our steps in the way of truth’.

<sup>31</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 73v1 4–23.

<sup>32</sup> References to *Ṭe’amim* II, which is extant in at least 25 manuscript copies, are in the format: *Ṭe’amim* II, ed. Sela, §3.2:1, pp. 223–24 = second version of *Sefer ha-Ṭe’amim*, ed. Sela, chapter 3, section 2, passage 1, in *The Book of Reasons*, ed. Sela, pp. 223–24.

<sup>33</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 49v2–60v2; MS Limoges 9(28), fols. 1–44.

<sup>34</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 60v2; cf. Thorndike, ‘The Latin Translations’, p. 297.

<sup>35</sup> See Giuseppe Dell’Anna, *Dies critici: La teoria della ciclicità delle patologie nel XIV secolo*, Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 97–127.

*Hokhmah*) of the six treatises translated by Henry Bate in 1281 and 1293 has a counterpart among the four translated by Hagin le Juif, which means that five of Bate's Latin translations (*'Olam I*, *Ṭe 'amim I*, *Ṭe 'amim II*, *Me 'orot*, and *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*) do not seem to have been based on Hagin's Old French. Second, eight of the twelve works by Ibn Ezra from which Henry Bate paraphrased and translated short passages and embedded them in *Nativitas* are not among those translated by Hagin le Juif, which means that Bate had another source for them.

Hagin le Juif's Old French translations are not a *terra ignota*. They have been studied; one has even been published in a critical edition by Raphael Levy.<sup>36</sup> Hence it is highly improbable (although not impossible) that additional Old French translations by him remain to be discovered. As for the Ibn Ezra treatises used by Henry Bate that do not correspond to Hagin's Old French translations, it cannot be ruled out that Henry Bate read them by means of translations *à quatre mains*, and no Old French translation was written down. Such a scenario is more plausible for Bate's translations of entire treatises than for the many short passages he embedded in *Nativitas*. Be that as it may, Henry Bate never acknowledges that he relied on Old French translations for his Latin versions, unlike Peter d'Abano, who openly admits following that method.<sup>37</sup>

By contrast, it is noteworthy that according to the colophon of *De mundo vel seculo*, Henry Bate's translation of *'Olam I*, the translation was made *de hebreo in latinum*.<sup>38</sup> Also indicative of Henry Bate's *modus operandi* as a translator is that his translation of al-Kindi's *Liber de iudiciis reuolutionum annorum mundi*, made in Malines in 1278, according to the colophon, was carried out *ex Habrayco in latinum*.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, in a gloss added by the translator himself to *De mundo vel*

<sup>36</sup> *The Beginning of Wisdom, An Astrological Treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. Raphael Levy and Francisco Cantera, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939, pp. 31–125.

<sup>37</sup> *Abrahe Avenaris Iudei Astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera*, Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1507, sig. XXXIV. Henry Bate's and Peter d'Abano's Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological treatises are virtually the same (except for d'Abano's translation of *Moladot*), and they were carried out almost simultaneously. This attests to the great popularity that Ibn Ezra's astrological treatises achieved in the last decade of the thirteenth century, but also indicates that Henry Bate's and Peter d'Abano's translation projects were fairly disconnected one from the other.

<sup>38</sup> Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 212, fol. 52v2; cf. *Abrahe Avenaris Iudei Astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera* (Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1507), sig. LXXXV, both according to the printed editions and the manuscript copies.

<sup>39</sup> MS Vatican, Palat. lat. 1377, fols. 55r–62r, esp. fol. 62r: 'Explicit liber de iudiciis reuolutionum annorum mundi quem compilauit iacob filius Ysaac Alkindi. Expletus est libelus iste ascendente Cancro in quo luna coniuncta iam die tertia setembris anno domini 1278° in Mechlinia. translatus ex Hebrayco in latinum per Henricum Bate'. I am grateful to David Juste for this datum. The Hebrew translation of this work is by now lost. Ibn Ezra mentions this work and quotes a fragment of it in *'Olam I* but never acknowledges that he had translated it into Hebrew. See *'Olam I*, ed. Sela, §44:1–6, pp. 82–83.

*seculo*, Henry Bate not only states explicitly that he had a Hebrew manuscript of ‘*Olam I* in front of him, but also that the Hebrew script of part of it was illegible or its meaning unclear.<sup>40</sup> Supporting evidence for the notion that Henry Bate could understand a Hebrew source text at least in part comes from the basic knowledge of Hebrew reflected in his work, particularly of astronomical terms related to the names of planets.<sup>41</sup>

*Part Two*  
*The Triple Abraham*

The most intriguing and perplexing feature of the Henry Bate–Ibn Ezra astrological connection is that the former attributes the treatises that modern scholarship assigns to the latter to three different authors. All three are ‘Abraham’, but they are distinguished by their cognomens. One is *Abraham Avenezra*, the latinized form of Abraham Ibn Ezra; the second is *Abraham Princeps*, the Latin translation of the Hebrew name by which Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (ca. 1065–ca. 1136) was known within Jewish society: *Abraham ha-Naši*, i.e., Abraham the Prince; the third is *Abraham Compilator*, an otherwise unknown Latin name.

That Henry Bate thought he was dealing with three different Abrahams is corroborated by the following.

First, Henry Bate, in his Latin translations but particularly in his *Nativitas*, introduces them in the same passage. Sometimes he refers to all three in the same breath: ‘uterque Abraham cum tertio vocato compilatore’, that is, ‘the two

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ezra opens ‘*Olam I* with a lengthy, detailed and original mathematical explanation of the 120 planetary conjunctions, a numerical-cosmological pattern borrowed from pseudo-Ptolemy’s *Centiloquium*. Henry Bate appears to have run into difficulty in the understanding of this section, for at the end of his translation of this section he added the following gloss: ‘Inquit translator: hic est itaque sermo Auenesre secundum quod iacet in Ebraico, sed visum est nobis aut truncatam fuisse litteram in exemplari aut salvis bene dictis eius doctrinam nimis confusam tradidisse et minus artificiosam’ = ‘The translator said: so, this is Ibn Ezra’s account according to what lies open in the Hebrew <text>, but it seems to me that either the written characters are truncated in the <manuscript> copy or, while the words are sound and well, its message has been transmitted in an exceedingly confused manner and with little skill’. See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 25b1, lines 17–22.

<sup>41</sup> In *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 614–615, Henry Bate states that ‘ab Hebreis vocatus est Mercurius stella solis’, that is, ‘Mercury is called by the Hebrews the star of the Sun’, a statement attested to by the fact that Mercury is called in Hebrew כוכב הַמָּה, lit. the star of the Sun. Another example is in *Liber Introductionis ad Iudicia Astrologie*, Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 43b2, lines 3–8), Henry Bate’s translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*: ‘Clavis autem et sententia est quod est planeta veritatis et ideo vocatur est in hebrayco cedek idest iustus etiam et Saturnus eadem in hebrayco vocatus est Sabtay idest quiescens eo quod servit die sabati’. = ‘As a rule, it is a planet of truth, therefore it was named Jupiter, in Hebrew *ṣedek*, meaning just, and Saturn is called so, in Hebrew *shabbetai*, meaning being at rest, because it is in charge of the Sabbath’.

Abrahams together with a third one, called the Compiler’;<sup>42</sup> ‘Abraham Princeps et quidam Iudeus Abraham, non Auenezre, sed alter Compiler quidam’, that is, ‘Abraham the Prince, and a certain Jew <called> Abraham, <who is> not <Abraham> Ibn Ezra, but another <Abraham>, the Compiler’.<sup>43</sup> In other cases, we find various combinations of two Abrahams, as in references to Abraham Avenezre and Abraham Compiler,<sup>44</sup> Abraham Avenezre and Abraham Princeps,<sup>45</sup> or a vague reference to two Abrahams indicated by the expression ‘uterque Abraham’, ‘both Abrahams’.<sup>46</sup>

Second, when Henry Bate mentions any of the three Abrahams on his own, the name Abraham is usually accompanied by the name of an astrological treatise of which the relevant Abraham is taken to be the author.<sup>47</sup> In many cases, these references are accompanied by passages that turn out to be translations, quotations, or paraphrases of excerpts from astrological treatises by Ibn Ezra. This allows us to establish which part of Ibn Ezra’s corpus was associated with each Abraham. All in all, *Nativitas* incorporates at least 140 separate passages from twelve treatises by Abraham Ibn Ezra or attributed to him. There are also several references to ‘Abraham Avenezre’ and ‘Abraham Princeps’ in Henry Bate’s complete Latin translations of Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings. We now examine the references to each of the Abrahams separately.

### *Abraham Avenezra*

Abraham Avenezra, the latinized form of Abraham Ibn Ezra, accounts for 84 of the 140 separate references in *Nativitas*, and for several references in Henry Bate’s complete Latin translations of Ibn Ezra’s astrological treatises; this makes him the most important of the three Abrahams as well as the name Henry Bate applied to the historical Abraham Ibn Ezra. A look at these references, the names of the treatises associated with ‘Abraham Avenezra’, and particularly the identification of the astrological treatise behind the passages associated with these references proves that Henry Bate excerpted these passages from eight of Ibn Ezra’s astrological treatises. By contrast, he assigned only three works to ‘Abraham Princeps’ and one to ‘Abraham Compiler’. With regard to the first group, the list below presents Bate’s name for the treatise, the abbreviated

<sup>42</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, line 659.

<sup>43</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 673–674, for other examples, see *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 185–186, 812–817, 1682–1684.

<sup>44</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 329–333.

<sup>45</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 602–605. Latin translation of ‘*Olam I*, Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r1, lines 13–17; fol. 24v1, lines 44–45; fol. 24v2, lines 1–5; quoted below in p. 8. Latin translation of *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*, Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 48r2, line 21; fol. 48v2, lines 5–6.

<sup>46</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 185, 817, 1140.

<sup>47</sup> For examples, see next sections.

Hebrew name of the treatise in Ibn Ezra’s astrological corpus, and the number of references to this treatise in Henry Bate’s *Nativitas* or Latin translations:

(1) *Liber nativitatum* = *Moladot*, with 54 references in Henry Bate’s *Nativitas*.<sup>48</sup> There are also references to this treatise by Abraham Avenezra in Henry Bate’s prologue to his translations of ‘*Olam* I and in his *De diebus creticis*.<sup>49</sup>

(2–3) *Liber rationum* = *Ṭe ‘amim* I and *Ṭe ‘amim* II, with 24 references in the *Nativitas*, 10 to *Ṭe ‘amim* I<sup>50</sup> and 14 to *Ṭe ‘amim* II.<sup>51</sup> In the prologue to Bate’s complete translation of ‘*Olam* I, Avenezra is referred to as the author of *Ṭe ‘amim* I.<sup>52</sup> Although sometimes references to *Ṭe ‘amim* I can be distinguished from those to *Ṭe ‘amim* II only by matching the associated passage against the Hebrew texts of these two works,<sup>53</sup> on several occasions *Ṭe ‘amim* I is denominated *Liber Rationum, prima parte* or *particula*,<sup>54</sup> that is, the first version of the Book of Reasons, while *Ṭe ‘amim* II is denominated *Liber Rationum, secunda parte* or *particula*.<sup>55</sup> The same method of reference to *Ṭe ‘amim* I and *Ṭe ‘amim* II as *Liber Rationum prima parte* and *secunda parte*, occurs twice in Henry Bate’s *De diebus creticis*.<sup>56</sup>

(4) *Liber initium sapientiae* = *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, with 14 references in Henry Bate’s *Nativitas*.<sup>57</sup> Abraham Avenezra is made the author of *Initium sapientiae* not only in

---

<sup>48</sup> For an example, see *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 574–577: ‘Dicit enim Avenezre ... in Libro Nativitatum: scito quod aspectus solis ad lunam siue sextilis siue trinus aut quartus melior est quam aspectus Iouis et Veneris. Quamuis enim ambe infortune coniuncte essent lune, fortitudo aspectus solis impedimenta repelleret ambarum’; cf. *Moladot*, ed. Sela, III vi 11, 4, pp. 154–155. For other examples, see *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 88–91, 91–94, 103–104, 258–260, 328–331, 546–549, 564–567, 602–603, 651–655, 681–684, 742–745, 775–778 et passim.

<sup>49</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r2, lines 15–18, cf. *Moladot*, ed. Sela, III v 4, 3, pp. 144–145; *De diebus creticis*, ed. Dell’Anna, p. 113, line 4, cf. *Moladot*, ed. Sela, III iv 11, 4, pp. 154–155.

<sup>50</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 621–624; 768–769, 944–946, 1112–1116, 1637–1640, 1722–1723, 2160–2162, 2329–2333, 2385–2387, 84–85 (versio altera).

<sup>51</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 159–165, 593–595, 704–706, 853–854, 966, 1084–1087, 1089–1091, 1109–1110, 1280–1283, 1683–1686, 1961–1963, 2285–2286, 2380–2387, 2407–2409.

<sup>52</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r2, lines 9–10.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 704–706; cf. *Ṭe ‘amim* II, ed. Sela, §8.7:4, pp. 254–255; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 853–854; cf. *Ṭe ‘amim* II, ed. Sela, §5.4:10, pp. 228–229.

<sup>54</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 620–624; cf. *Ṭe ‘amim* I, ed. Sela, §6.2:4, pp. 86–87; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 767–769; cf. *Ṭe ‘amim* I, ed. Sela, §9.1:6, pp. 92–93; Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r2, lines 9–14, cf. *Ṭe ‘amim* I, ed. Sela, §1.4:5, pp. 34–35; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 1112–1117; cf. *Ṭe ‘amim* I, ed. Sela, §4.5:4–5, pp. 76–77.

<sup>55</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 159–160, 593.

<sup>56</sup> See *De diebus creticis*, ed. Dell’Anna, p. 102, lines 20–21 and p. 125, line 9.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 615–619, cf. *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, ed. Sela, §7.4:8–9, pp. 198–201. See also *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 249–250, 699–701, 707–710, 821–825, 825–827, 827–829, 829–831, 869–876, 984–987, 1023–1026, 1349–1351, 2188–2190, 3001–3111.

the colophon but also in the body text of Bate's complete Latin translation of *Reshit Hokhmah*.<sup>58</sup>

(5) *Liber luminarium* = *Me'orot*, with five references in the *Nativitas*<sup>59</sup> and one reference in Henry Bate's *De diebus creticis*.<sup>60</sup> Abraham Ibn Ezra is mentioned as the author in the incipit of the manuscript copies as well as in the incipit and colophon of the printed edition of Henry Bate's Latin translation of this work.<sup>61</sup>

(6) *Liber revolutionum annorum mundi* or *Liber coniunctionum* or *Tractatus Avenesre de planetarum Coniunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus mundanorum* = 'Olam I, with three references in the *Nativitas*.<sup>62</sup> There are no fewer than 16 references to Abraham Avenezra as the author of the book in the prologue to Bate's Latin translation of 'Olam I.<sup>63</sup>

(7) *Liber interrogationum* = *She'elot* II, with four references in the *Nativitas*.<sup>64</sup> In one instance, Henry Bate mentions *Avenezra in suo Libro interrogationum*, i.e., Ibn Ezra in his *Book of Interrogations*.<sup>65</sup> Henry Bate does so because he also assigns a *Liber interrogationum* to Abraham Princeps, as we shall see, and he wishes to draw a distinction between the two Abrahams.

(8) *Liber electionum* = *Mivharim* II, with two references in the *Nativitas*<sup>66</sup> and one reference in Henry Bate's *De diebus creticis*.<sup>67</sup> In one instance, Bate mentions *Avenezra in suo Libro electionum*, i.e., Ibn Ezra in his *Book of Elections*.<sup>68</sup> As with the *Liber interrogationum*, this is because Bate also attributes a *Liber electionum* to Abraham Princeps.

<sup>58</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 2r1, lines 1–2; fol. 17r1, line 6.

<sup>59</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2987–2981, 3019–3022, 3119–3121, 3131–3132, 3137–3140.

<sup>60</sup> See *De diebus creticis*, ed. Dell'Anna, p. 106, lines 15–17; cf. *Me'orot*, ed. Sela, §4:2-3, pp. 456–457.

<sup>61</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 30v1, line 28; Abraham ibn Ezra: *De luminaribus et diebus creticis* (Padua: Matthaeus Cerdonis, 7 Feb. 1482/83), first and last pages.

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2049–2051; cf. 'Olam I, ed. Sela, §22:1, pp. 66–67. See also *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 233–235, 380–382.

<sup>63</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r1, lines 1–3.

<sup>64</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 604–605, 903–905, 1104–1107, 1910–1914.

<sup>65</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 904–905; cf. *She'elot* II, ed. Sela, §7.1:4, pp. 368–369.

<sup>66</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 562–563, 605–607.

<sup>67</sup> See *De diebus creticis*, ed. Dell'Anna, p. 113, line 3; cf. *Mivharim* II, ed. Sela, §1.5:3, pp. 152–153.

<sup>68</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, line 562; cf. *Mivharim* II, ed. Sela, §1.5:3, pp. 152–153.

*Abraham Princeps*

Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (ca. 1065–ca. 1136), who vanished from the scene just before Abraham Ibn Ezra began his literary career, was known to medieval Jewish society as *Abraham ha-Naśi'*, Abraham the Prince. In his Hebrew oeuvre, Ibn Ezra mentions Abraham Bar Ḥiyya a number of times, sometimes scornfully, but always adding the appellative *ha-Naśi'* to his name.<sup>69</sup> It is therefore understandable that Henry Bate might have thought that Abraham Princeps was the historical figure known to us as Abraham Bar Ḥiyya. It is quite surprising, though, that Bate believed that Abraham Princeps was Abraham Ibn Ezra's master and that Ibn Ezra himself admitted as much. This emerges from the following statement by Henry Bate in the prologue to his Latin translation of *'Olam I*:

'Insuper et Abraham princeps quem Avenesre magistrum suum profitetur in 5° Redemptionis Israel loquens de mutatione regnorum, de preliis, de fame et siccitate, leuitate et gravitate bladi sic ait: et hoc totum sciemus per revolutionem coniunctionis Saturni et Iovis idest sole intrante in Arietem, et caetera.'<sup>70</sup>

Bar Ḥiyya, like Ibn Ezra, followed the Greco-Arabic scientific tradition and wrote on astronomy and astrology in Hebrew. He composed the first-ever Hebrew astronomical tables, known as *Luḥot ha-naśi'* (The Tables of the Prince),<sup>71</sup> and *Ḥešbon mahalakhot ha-kokhavim* (Calculation of the stellar motions), which are the canons of the Tables).<sup>72</sup> The last three chapters of *Ḥešbon mahalakhot ha-kokhavim* are devoted to mathematical astrology;<sup>73</sup> a monograph on anniversary horoscopy, probably composed by Bar Ḥiyya himself, is embedded in the Tables of the

---

<sup>69</sup> See *Sefer Ha'ibbur, A Treatise on the Calendar by Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra*, trans. and annot. Mordechai S. Goodman, Jerusalem: Ktav, 2011, Hebrew part, p. 36, English part, pp. 66–67; long commentary on Daniel 11:31; *Ṭe'amim I*, ed. Sela, 10.3:6, pp. 98–99, 10.4:3, pp. 98–99.

<sup>70</sup> 'In addition, Abraham Princeps, who Ibn Ezra admits is his master, in the fifth chapter <of the book> on the Redemption of Israel, speaks about the changing of the kingdoms, wars, famine, drought, low and high prices of the grain, and he says: all this we know by the revolution of the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, that is, when the Sun enters in Aries, etc'. See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 24v1:44–45, 24v2:1–5. For an additional similar statement, see Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r1:13–17. That according to Henry Bate, Ibn Ezra considered Bar Ḥiyya to be his teacher, was already noticed, on the basis of Henry Bate's prologue to *'Olam I*, by M. Steinschneider, 'Abraham Judaeus - Savasorda und Ibn Esra' in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1925, p. 334, n. 6.

<sup>71</sup> See, for example, Berlin OR. QU. 649, fols. 1r–79r.

<sup>72</sup> José Maria Millás Vallicrosa, ed. and trans., *La obra Séfer hesbón mahleket ha-kokavim* (Libro del cálculo de los movimientos de los astros) de R. Abraham bar Ḥiyya ha-Bargeloní, Madrid: CSIC, 1959.

<sup>73</sup> *La obra Séfer hesbón*, ed. Millás Vallicrosa, Heb. sec., pp. 103–117.

Prince.<sup>74</sup> Bar Ḥiyya wrote an epistle justifying the study and use of astrology;<sup>75</sup> we also know that he planned to write a technical handbook on astrology.<sup>76</sup> Bar Ḥiyya's most important astrological work is the fifth chapter of *Megillat ha-megalleh* (Scroll of the revealer), which incorporates a Jewish and universal astrological history and an astrological prognostication of the coming of the Messiah, based on the interpretation of horoscopes cast at the vernal equinox of years in which conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter took place.<sup>77</sup> The Latin translation of the latter work, entitled *Liber Abrahe Principis de Redemptione Israel*,<sup>78</sup> is the work by Abraham Princeps that Henry Bate mentions in the passage just quoted.<sup>79</sup>

Abraham Ibn Ezra uses the cognomen *ha-Naši'*, the Prince, in his two references to Abraham Bar Ḥiyya in *Ṭe'amim* I. Given that Henry Bate translated *Ṭe'amim* I into Latin, his renderings of these loci are germane for determining how the Abraham Princeps–Abraham Avenezre connection was shaped in Henry Bate's mind. In one reference, Henry Bate translates 'the aforementioned Prince', used by Ibn Ezra to refer to Abraham Bar Ḥiyya, as 'Princeps predictus'.<sup>80</sup> In the other place, Ibn Ezra writes that there is no need to expand on the astrological procedure of directions, 'because R. Abraham the Prince has mentioned them in his book'. In all the Hebrew manuscripts I examined, the name 'Abraham the

<sup>74</sup> Shlomo Sela, 'A Newly Identified Essay on Anniversary Horoscopy Embedded in Abraham Bar Ḥiyya's Astronomical Tables: Hebrew Edition, Translation and Commentary', *Aleph* 13.1 (2013), pp. 27–76.

<sup>75</sup> Zechariah Schwarz, ed., 'Abraham bar Ḥiyya, ' Iggeret R. Abraham b. Ḥiyya *ha-Naši'* še-katav le-R. Yehudah b. R. Barzillai', in S. Kraus, ed., *Festschrift Adolf Schwarz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin – Vienna: R. R. Löwit, 1917, Heb. section, pp. 33–36.

<sup>76</sup> In the introduction to Bar Ḥiyya's *Ṣurat ha-'areš* (Form of the Earth) we read that this astrological textbook was intended to be the last part of a trilogy dealing with astronomy and astrology, although there is no evidence that Bar Ḥiyya ever wrote it. See Abraham Bar Ḥiyya, *Tzurat Haaretz*, ed. Raphael Lasri, Jerusalem: Hamachon Letchuna Vekidush Hachodesh, 2009, p. 39.

<sup>77</sup> Adolf Poznanski and J. Guttmann, *Abraham Bar Ḥiyya, Sefer Megillat ha-megalleh*, Jerusalem: [s.n.], 1968, pp. 111–155.

<sup>78</sup> See Wolfenbüttel, lat. 479, fol. 177. From the colophon (Wolfenbüttel, lat. 479, fol. 183; Leipzig Univ. 1467, fol. 227r1) we learn that this translation was carried out by the Dominican Theodericus de Northem, a baccalarius theologiae, from a previous Hebrew to Old French translation. See Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Wolfenbüttel, 1884, vol. I, p. 384, item 31. This Old French translation, too, was somewhat associated with Hagin le Juif. See Graziella Federici Vescovini, 'Una versione latina medievale dell'opera escatologica di Abramo bar Hijja (Savasarda) "Megillat ha-Megalleh": il "Liber de redemptione Israel"', in E. Garin, ed., *Filosofia e cultura*, Rome: Editori e Riuniti, 1991, pp. 5–37, esp. p. 6–7.

<sup>79</sup> For the Hebrew text behind this quote, see *Megillat ha-megalleh*, ed. Adolf Poznanski and J. Guttmann, p. 116, lines 1–9.

<sup>80</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 72r1, lines 19–20; cf. *Ṭe'amim* I, §10.4:3, pp. 98–99.

Prince' is preceded by the abbreviation 'ר, which stands for 'Rabbi'. In this context, the honorific means 'teacher', and not necessarily Jewish religious leader, which Ibn Ezra was not. Henry Bate, in turn, correctly translated this passage as 'Magister Abraham, vocatur Princeps, in libro suo'; i.e., 'Master Abraham, called the Prince, in his book'.<sup>81</sup> But why did Henry Bate, in the prologue to his Latin translation of 'Olam I (twice)<sup>82</sup> and in his *Nativitas* (also twice),<sup>83</sup> jump to the conclusion that Abraham Ibn Ezra himself admitted that Abraham the Prince was his master?

The answer is Henry Bate's peculiar reading of passages in *Te'amim* I where Ibn Ezra refers to himself. Ibn Ezra had the immodest habit, particularly in his astrological treatises, of inserting his name, Abraham, to indicate that he was the originator of some idea. As a rule, he used the expression 'I Abraham', in the first person. However (probably due to posthumous interpolations by scribes and disciples) from time to time the name Abraham, as the originator of some idea, also occurs in the third person. Moreover, a number of Hebrew manuscripts offer the reading רבינו אברהם אמר, that is, 'Our Master Abraham, said. ...' Four of these instances occur in *Te'amim* I. Henry Bate, in his Latin translation of *Te'amim* I, took them at face value and read them as Ibn Ezra's references to his master, Abraham the Prince. In the first of them, he translated 'dicit magister noster Abraham, vocatus Princeps ...'—'Our Master Abraham, called the Prince, said. ...'<sup>84</sup> In the other three passages he wrote 'dicit/ait/inquit magister noster Abraham'—'Our Master Abraham, said. ...'<sup>85</sup>

Henry Bate assigns four treatises to Abraham Princeps. One is the aforementioned *Liber redemptionis Israel*, which, of all the treatises he assigned to one of the three Abrahams, is the only one not composed by Ibn Ezra. *Liber redemptionis Israel* is assigned to Abraham Princeps twice in the prologue to the Latin translation of 'Olam I; in both instances the reference is accompanied by a

<sup>81</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 72r1, lines 11–14; cf. *Te'amim* I, §10.3:6, pp. 98–99: ר' אברהם הנשיא ר' בספרו. Here 'his book' is a reference to chapter 20 of the aforementioned *Hešbon mahalakhot ha-kokhavim*, where Bar Ḥiyya deals with the directions. See *La obra Séfer hesbón*, ed. Millás Vallicrosa, Hebrew part, pp. 112–117.

<sup>82</sup> See above.

<sup>83</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 119, 1683–1684.

<sup>84</sup> See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. Qu. 160, fol. 74b, line 17; cf. Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 66r1, line 38; *Te'amim* I, §3.4:8, pp. 62–63.

<sup>85</sup> See (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. Qu. 160, fol. 75b, line 1; cf. Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 66b1, line 8; *Te'amim* I, §3.6:1, pp. 66–67. (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. Qu. 160, fol. 76b, lines 7–8; cf. Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 67a1, line 24; *Te'amim* I, §4.1:1, pp. 68–69. (3) See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. Qu. 160, fol. 83b, line 26; cf. Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 71b1, line 37; *Te'amim* I, §10.1:1, pp. 94–95.

quotation, whose counterpart may be found in Bar Ḥiyya's *Megillat ha-megalleh*.<sup>86</sup> The same treatise is assigned again to Abraham Princeps in the *Nativitas*, where Bar Ḥiyya's work is called *Tractatus coniunctionum*, the Book of the Conjunctions,<sup>87</sup> a name that reflects the historical analysis in this work based on examination of the Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions. That this is indeed a reference to the fifth chapter of *Megillat ha-megalleh* is supported by the fact that the quotations accompanying the reference in Henry Bate's *Nativitas* and in one of the passages of the prologue to Henry Bate's Latin translation of 'Olam I are virtually the same.<sup>88</sup>

Abraham Ibn Ezra is the author of the other three treatises Bate attributed to Abraham Princeps. One is *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*, translated into Latin by Henry Bate in 1292.<sup>89</sup> In a title at the beginning of the translation we read: 'Ysagoge magistri Abrahe Ducis seu Principis notati hebrayce Nati Hezkiā'<sup>90</sup> = 'Introduction by Master Abraham, the Commander or the Prince, known in Hebrew as Bar Ḥiyya'. This is the only instance in Henry Bate's entire work where Abraham Bar Ḥiyya appears as the author of one of the astrological treatises Bate translated or referred to. The synonymous names Abraham Dux and Abraham Princeps occur several times in glosses and in an epilogue added by Henry Bate to his translation of *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*, ostensibly as references to the name of the author of the translated work.<sup>91</sup> In addition, in an epilogue Bate added to his Latin translation of *Te'amim* I, we find a reference to 'Introductorius Abrahe Ducis capitulo de aspectibus',<sup>92</sup> i.e., 'the chapter on the aspects in the introduction by Abraham Dux'. This is a cross-reference that Bate inserted to his translation of the section on the aspects at the end of *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*.<sup>93</sup> There is also one reference to a passage of *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot* in the *Nativitas*.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>86</sup> For the first reference and quotation, see Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r1, lines 13–17, cf. *Megillat ha-megalleh*, ed. Adolf Poznanski and J. Guttmann, p. 117, lines 16–19. For the second reference and quotation, see Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24v1, lines 44–45; fol. 24v2, lines 1–5; cf. *Megillat ha-megalleh*, ed. Adolf Poznanski and J. Guttmann, p. 116, lines 1–9.

<sup>87</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2354–2356. Note that in an additional copy of the fifth chapter of the Latin translation of Bar Ḥiyya's *Megillat ha-megalleh*, the latter work is entitled *Abraham de coniunctionibus magnis*. See Leipzig Univ. 1467, fol. 214r1.

<sup>88</sup> Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 24r1, lines 10–14: 'secundum motus medios ... prout apparet ex uerbis Abrahe principis in 5. particula Libri Redemptionis Israel'. cf. *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2354–2358: 'Iupiter et Saturnus in eodem gradu coniunctionis sunt secundum medios motus ipsorum prout testatur Hispanus Abraham cognomine Princeps in suo tractatu Coniunctionum'.

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 4.

<sup>90</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 27r2, lines 1–2.

<sup>91</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 48v2, lines 5–6; fol. 48v2, line 30; fol. 49r1, line 13; fol. 49r2, line 45; fol. 49v1, line 5.

<sup>92</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fol. 73v1, lines 17–18.

<sup>93</sup> See Leipzig Univ. 1466, fols. 47r2, line 12 through 48r1, line 18; cf. *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*, ed. Sela, §71:1–7 through §75:1–7, pp. 550–555.

The other two treatises by Ibn Ezra that Bate assigned to Abraham Princeps are works whose Hebrew original is lost but that are extant in Latin translations. Henry Bate refers to them only in his *Nativitas*; it is noteworthy that the references are accompanied by translations or paraphrases that are not the same as the corresponding passages in the available Latin translations.<sup>95</sup> The logical conclusion is that Henry Bate translated or paraphrased these passages directly from the lost Hebrew text or from an Old French translation.

(1) There are 21 references to *Liber nativitatum* (Book of the nativities), one of the treatises Bate assigned to Abraham Princeps, in the *Nativitas*.<sup>96</sup> A scrutiny of the translations or paraphrases accompanying these references demonstrates that this *Nativitatum* is identical with Ibn Ezra's second version of *Sefer ha-Moladot* (henceforth *Moladot* II).<sup>97</sup> Henry Bate appears to be familiar with this work, because, besides the frequent references to it, he mentions 'its beginning', 'the chapter of the testimonies', and 'the chapter on the seventh horoscopical place'.<sup>98</sup>

(2) Bate's *Nativitas* also assigns (twice) a work on the doctrine of elections to Abraham Princeps, under two slightly different names. One is *Tractatus de electionibus*, with a passage on the *trutina Hermetis* or 'balance of Hermes', a procedure used in the doctrine of nativities to determine the ascendant of the natal horoscope when the time of birth is not known (the usual situation). The *trutina Hermetis* is referred to in Ibn Ezra's works on nativities as well as in his introductions to astrology.<sup>99</sup> The only exception is the third version of Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim* (Book of Elections; henceforth *Mivḥarim* III),<sup>100</sup> which includes a

---

<sup>94</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 694–697; cf. *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, ed. Sela, §29:1, pp. 512–513.

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, note 97.

<sup>96</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 602–603, 655–676, 682–684, 735–736, 812–814, 1054–1057, 1196–1200, 1584–1586, 1595–1596, 1684–1686, 1737–1740, 1759–1760, 1774–1776, 1787–1788, 2249–2251, 2236–2237, 2237–2239, 2650–2652, 2662–2664, 2765–2767.

<sup>97</sup> The Hebrew original of *Moladot* II is lost but survives today in a Latin translation, available in two manuscript copies and entitled *Liber nativitatum*. See Erfurt, Amplon, MS O.89, fols. 53a–68b; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 5442, fols. 203b–217b. See, for example, *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2648–2652: '... secundum testimonium Abrahe Principis. Item dicit idem Princeps quod cum dominus octave domus fuerit in opposito ascendentis aut domini ejus secundum quod hic se habent luna et sol significant hec quod natus cadet ab alto et morietur'; cf. *Liber nativitatum*, Erfurt, Amplon, O.89, fol. 66a lines 21–23: 'Et si fuerit dominus octave in opposito domus prime aut in opposito grado domini ascendente aut in opposito loci potentis, cadet natus ex loco alto et morietur'.

<sup>98</sup> See, respectively, *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 681–682, 735–736, 1787–1788.

<sup>99</sup> See Shlomo Sela, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Role in the Creation and Diffusion of the *Trutina Hermetis*', in C. Dopfel and A. Focati (eds.) *Pregnancy and Childbirth from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Brepols, forthcoming.

<sup>100</sup> A fragment of *Mivḥarim* III survives in a parchment bifolium in the Archivio di Stato, Modena, but its complete Latin translation, entitled *Liber Eleccionum*, is extant in two manuscript copies:

detailed discussion of the *trutina Hermetis*, from which Bate excerpted the passage found in the *Nativitas*.<sup>101</sup> In another passage, *Nativitas* refers jointly to Ibn Ezra and his master, Abraham Princeps, with regard to the *trutina Hermetis*. This is an implicit reference to Ibn Ezra's *Moladot*, which includes a detailed account of the *trutina Hermetis*, and to the aforementioned *Tractatus de electionibus* by Abraham Princeps.<sup>102</sup> The second mention in the *Nativitas* of Abraham Princeps as the author of a work on the doctrine of elections is a reference to the chapter on the seventh horoscopic place in *Liber electionum*, whose counterpart may be found in *Mivḥarim III*.<sup>103</sup> Bate's *Nativitas* also includes a third implicit reference to *Mivḥarim III*.<sup>104</sup>

### *Abraham Compiler*

The most intriguing of the three Abrahams is Abraham Compiler, mentioned sixteen times in the *Nativitas*.<sup>105</sup> In one of these Abraham Compiler is referred to as 'Iudeus', a Jew;<sup>106</sup> and in two other loci the name 'Abraham Iudeus' appears alone.<sup>107</sup> The latter designation is also found once in Bate's philosophical encyclopedia, *Speculum divinatorum et quorundam naturalium*.<sup>108</sup> A close look at this passage that the *Speculum divinatorum* assigns to Abraham Iudeus reveals that it is a verbatim quotation from a Latin astronomical work known today as *Liber de rationibus tabularum* (Book of the reasons of astronomical tables), which Henry Bate calls *Liber de opere tabularum* (Book on the use of <astronomical> tables). This work, which is extant in six manuscript, two of them from the end of the twelfth

---

MS Erfurt, Amplon, MS O.89, fols. 39b–46b; MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 5442, fols. 192b–198b. References to *Mivḥarim III* are in the format: *Liber Eleccionum*, MS Erfurt, fol. 42a, lines 6–14.

<sup>101</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 106–117; cf. *Liber Eleccionum*, Erfurt, fol. 42a, lines 6–14. This passage is analyzed in Sela, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Role in the Creation and Diffusion of the Trutina Hermetis', forthcoming.

<sup>102</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 118–119: 'Hee sunt equationes animodar Hermetis quas ponunt Auenezre et magister suus Princeps Abraham'. For the account of the *trutina Hermetis* in *Sefer ha-Moladot*, see *Moladot*, ed. Sela, II 5, 1–10, II 6, 1–6, pp. 92–95.

<sup>103</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 603–604; cf. *Liber Eleccionum*, Erfurt O.89, fol. 45a, lines 9–13.

<sup>104</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 1919–1920; cf. *Liber Eleccionum*, Erfurt O.89, fols. 44b, line 31–45a, line 1.

<sup>105</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 332, 659, 674, 713, 1146, 1273, 1533, 1543, 1682, 2175, 2287, 2449, 2494, 2645, 2688, 3340.

<sup>106</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 712–713: 'dicit Iudeus ille Abraham Compiler'.

<sup>107</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 178; 712–713.

<sup>108</sup> *Henricus Bate, Speculum Divinatorum et Quorundam Naturalium*, Parts XX–XXIII: ed. Carlos Steel and Guy Guldentops, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996, p. 337.

century, is a Latin version of the canons of Ibn Ezra’s astronomical tables, whose Hebrew original is now lost.<sup>109</sup>

That Bate held Abraham Compiler and Abraham Iudeus to be the same person is proven by the fact that he assigns one work, *Liber nativitatum* (Book of Nativities), to both of them.<sup>110</sup> All the 18 passages from *Liber Nativitatum* that Henry Bate’s *Nativitas* assigns to Abraham Compiler or Abraham Iudeus<sup>111</sup> were excerpted from *Liber Abraham Iudei de nativitatibus* (henceforth *De nativitatibus*), a Latin astrological treatise on nativities traditionally assigned to Ibn Ezra.<sup>112</sup> Here it is noteworthy that 10 of these 18 passages are verbatim quotations from *De nativitatibus*,<sup>113</sup> which proves that Henry Bate had a copy of *De nativitatibus* in his library. As noted above, Henry Bate incorporated astrological material he culled from 12 astrological treatises written by or attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra into his *Nativitas*. *De nativitatibus* is the only one from which Henry Bate excerpted verbatim quotations corresponding to the extant text of this Latin treatise in manuscripts or print editions. These ten verbatim quotations are the earliest evidence of the existence of *De nativitatibus*. Whereas all the incipits and explicits of the manuscript and print editions of *De nativitatibus* make Abraham Iudeus its

---

<sup>109</sup> See Millás Vallicrosa, *El Libro de los Fundamentos*, esp. pp. 11–70; Shlomo Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003, pp. 22–27.

<sup>110</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 332–333, 177–178, et passim.

<sup>111</sup> See *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 177–178, 332–333, 578–80, 655–659, 674–677, 712–715, 1146–1148, 1270–1273, 1538–1540, 1542–1545, 1681–1683, 2174–2175, 2287, 2439–2441, 2491–2494, 2645–2649, 2688–2691, 3340–342.

<sup>112</sup> *Abraham Iudei de nativitatibus*, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1485, sig. a2r–crv. This text bears striking resemblances to the two versions of *Moladot* and to other parts of Ibn Ezra’s oeuvre, but the nature of its affiliation with Ibn Ezra is unclear: is *De nativitatibus* the translation of a lost Hebrew text by Ibn Ezra, a later elaboration based on Latin translations of carefully selected fragments from Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological treatises, or a Latin treatise of nativities composed with Ibn Ezra’s active participation? I hope to address this question in a separate study in the near future, and to publish a critical edition and a study of this text. For previous references to the connection between *De nativitatibus* and Ibn Ezra, see Moritz Steinschneider, ‘Abraham Ibn Ezra (Abraham Judaeus, Avenare)’, *Supplement zur Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, 25 (1880): 59–128 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, [Berlin 1925], 407–498), p. 497; Thorndike, ‘The Latin Translations’, pp. 297–298; Millás Vallicrosa, *El Libro de los Fundamentos*, pp. 16, 20; Renate Smithuis, *Abraham ibn Ezra the Astrologer and the Transmission of Arabic Science to the Christian West*, doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester, 2004, chapter 4.

<sup>113</sup> *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 178–183; cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. a2v:21–25; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 578–580, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. a7v:14–15; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 1146–1148, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. a6r:8–11; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 712–715, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. a8r:12–14; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 1542–1545, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. b4r: 17–20; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 1538–1540, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. b6v: 33–35; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 1681–1683, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. b2v: 13–14; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2174–2175, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. c1v:22; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2439–2441, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. c3r: 6–8; *Nativitas*, ed. Steel, lines 2688–2691, cf. *De nativitatibus*, ed. Ratdolt, sig. b8v:14–17.

author, at least one manuscript gives the author as both Abraham Iudeus and Abraham Compiler.<sup>114</sup> This explains why Henry Bate called the third Abraham both Abraham Iudeus and Abraham Compiler and why he assigned *De nativitatibus* to both.

### Conclusion

Finally, let us ask: Why did Henry Bate split Abraham Ibn Ezra into three Abrahams and divide Ibn Ezra's astrological oeuvre among them? I would suggest that Bate 'invented' the three Abrahams principally to accommodate the fact that in his *Nativitas* he was working with three different treatises called *Liber nativitatum*, each written by a Jew whose name was Abraham. Henry Bate did not know that a main feature of Ibn Ezra's *modus operandi* was the production of two or more versions or recensions of each treatise. Because Henry Bate was drawing on three Hebrew treatises in the same branch of astrological literature, nativities, and because he found it odd that they were all written by the same person, the best solution he could find was to attribute each of the three to a different Abraham.<sup>115</sup>

One of them is the *Liber nativitatum* that Henry Bate certainly knew was written by Abraham Avenezra, because he became acquainted with it in 1273, via the Old French translation by Hagin le Juif. He assigned seven other astrological treatises to the same Abraham Avenezra, knowing for certain that he was the author, probably because he found them all in the same manuscript or because he became familiar with them through the same informant, Hagin le Juif.

It seems likely that Henry Bate assigned the second *Liber nativitatum* to Abraham Princeps because he discovered it not through Hagin le Juif's translations but from another Hebrew manuscript source or another informant. It was thanks to the same alternative Hebrew manuscript or informant that Bate encountered Ibn Ezra's *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot* and the third version of *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim*. Since he knew that these works were close in style and essence to those

<sup>114</sup> See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 472, fol. 144r: 'Abraham Iudeus de nativitatibus, qui Compiler dicitur'.

<sup>115</sup> Note that from among a total of 140 references to the three Abrahams, 54 references are to *Liber Nativitatum* by Abraham Avenezra, 21 references are to *Liber Nativitatum* by Abraham Princeps, and 18 references are to *Liber Nativitatum* by Abraham Compiler. Another relevant case relates to *Initium Sapientiae*, the Latin translation of Ibn Ezra's *Reshit Hokhmah*, assigned by Henry Bate to Abraham Avenezra, on the one hand, and to *Introductorius ad Iudicia Astrologiae*, assigned by Henry Bate to Abraham Princeps, on the other. Both are introductions to astrology. The Latin Translations of *Ṭe'anim I* and *Ṭe'anim II* are not a relevant case because Henry Bate considered them to be two parts of the same treatise: as seen above Henry Bate calls both with the same name and distinguishes between them by calling *Ṭe'anim I Liber Rationum, prima parte* and *Ṭe'anim II Liber Rationum, secunda parte*. See above, p. 7.

by Abraham Avenezra, he assigned them to Abraham Princeps, whom he mistakenly took to be Abraham Avenezra's master, Abraham Bar Ḥiyya.

The third *Liber nativitatum* is identical with *De nativitatibus*, a Latin astrological treatise which bears striking resemblances to the two versions of *Moladot* and to other parts of Ibn Ezra's oeuvre, but is markedly different from any of them, its affiliation with Ibn Ezra remains unclear, and is extant in at least 15 manuscripts.<sup>116</sup> As said above, the incipit of one of the manuscripts gives the author as both Abraham Iudeus and Abraham Compiler, which explains why Henry Bate called the third Abraham both Abraham Iudeus and Abraham Compiler and why he assigned *De nativitatibus* to both.<sup>117</sup> The verbatim quotations from *De nativitatibus* in Henry Bate's *Nativitas* are the earliest evidence of the existence of *De nativitatibus*. An examination of the possibility that Henry Bate played some role in giving the final shape to *De nativitatibus* is left for a separate study.

### Bibliography

#### Manuscripts

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS 963, fols. 152–163r.

Leipzig University, MS 1466, fols. 2r–23v, 30v–34r, 37r–49v, 49v2–60v2, 60v2–73v1.

Limoges, MS 9(28), fols. 66–71v.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 472, fol. 144r1–155v2.

Oxford, Bodleian, MS Digby 212, fols. 48v1–52v2.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, MS 24276, fols. 1a–66a.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, MS 1351, fols. 1a–66a.

Prague, MS 433 (III.C.2), fol. 118v2–125r2.

Vatican, Palat. lat. 1377, fols. 21r–37v.

Wolfenbütel, MS 2816, fols. 84–111.

---

<sup>116</sup> For a partial list of manuscripts, see Thorndike, 'The Latin Translations', pp. 297–298, 302. See above, note 112.

<sup>117</sup> See above, note 114.

Sources

*A Medieval Autobiographical Horoscope: Henry Bate's Nativitas (1280)*, edited by Carlos Steel, annotated and introduced by Steven Vandembroecke, with the collaboration of David Juste and Shlomo Sela, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017.

Abraham Bar Ḥiyya, *Tzurat Haaretz*, ed. Raphael Lasri, Jerusalem: Hamachon Letchuna Vekidush Hachodesh, 2009.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *De luminaribus et diebus criticis*, Padua: Matthaeus Cerdonis, 7 Feb. 1482/83).

*Abraham Iudei de nativitatibus*, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1485.

*Abrahe Avenaris Iudei Astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera*, Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1507.

Dell'Anna, Giuseppe, *Dies critici: La teoria della ciclicità delle patologie nel XIV secolo*, Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 1999.

*Guidonis Bonati Forolviensis Mathematici de Astronomia Tractatus X*, Basileae, 1550.

Lévy, Tony and Burnett, Charles, 'Sefer ha-Middot: A Mid-Twelfth-Century Text on Arithmetic and Geometry Attributed to Abraham ibn Ezra', *Aleph* 6 (2006): pp. 57–238.

Millás Vallicrosa, Jose M<sup>a</sup> (ed.), *El Libro de los Fundamentos de las Tablas Astronómicas de R. Abraham Ibn Ezra*, Madrid – Barcelona: CSIC, 1947.

Millás Vallicrosa, Jose M<sup>a</sup> , 'Un nuevo tratado de astrolabio de R. Abraham ibn Ezra', *Al-Andalus*, 5 (1940), pp. 9–29.

Millás Vallicrosa, Jose M<sup>a</sup> , ed. and trans., *La obra Séfer hesbón mahlekot ha-kokabim (Libro del cálculo de los movimientos de los astros) de R. Abraham bar Ḥiyya ha-Bargeloni*, Madrid: CSIC, 1959.

Poznanski, Adolf, and J. Guttmann, *Abraham Bar Ḥiyya, Sefer Megillat ha-megalleh*, Jerusalem: [s.n.], 1968.

Schwarz, Zechariah (ed.), 'Abraham bar Ḥiyya, 'Iggeret R. Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Naši' še-katav le-R. Yehudah b. R. Barzillai,' in S. Kraus (ed.), *Festschrift Adolf Schwarz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin and Vienna: R. R. Löwit, 1917, Heb. section, pp. 33–36.

*Sefer Ha'ibbur, A Treatise on the Calendar by Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra*, trans. and annot. by Mordechai S. Goodman, Jerusalem: Ktav, 2011.

Sela, Shlomo, *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*, edited, translated and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Sela, Shlomo, *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*, ed., trans., and annot. by Shlomo Sela, Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Sela, Shlomo, *The Book of Reasons, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden-Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007.

Sela, Shlomo, *The Book of the World, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela, Leiden-Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010.

*The Beginning of Wisdom, An Astrological Treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. Raphael Levy and Francisco Cantera, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939.

Zambelli, Paola, *The Speculum Astronomiae and Its Enigma*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992.

## Secondary Literature

Boudet, Jean-Patrice, *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe -XVe siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006.

Burnett, Charles, 'Béziers as an Astronomical Centre for Jews and Christians in the Mid-Twelfth Century,' *Aleph*, forthcoming.

Federici Vescovini, Graziella, 'Una versione latina medievale dell'opera escatologica di Abramo bar Hijja (Savasarda) *Megillat ha-Megalleh: il Liber de redemptione Israhel*', in E. Garin (ed.), *Filosofia e cultura*, Rome: Editori e Riuniti, 1991, pp. 5–37.

Grant, Edward, *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Hendrix, Scott, *How Albert the Great's Speculum Astronomiae Was interpreted and Used by Four Centuries of Readers: A Study in Late Medieval Medicine, Astronomy and Astrology*, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010.

Juste, David, 'The Impact of Arabic Sources on European Astrology: Some Facts and Numbers', *Micrologus* XXIV (2016), pp. 173–194.

Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, *Le 'Speculum Astronomiae,' une énigme? Enquête sur les manuscrits*, Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001.

Poullé, Emmanuelle, 'Henry Bate of Malines' in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. VI, New York, 1972, pp. 272–275.

Sela, Shlomo and Freudenthal, Gad, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings: A Chronological Listing', *Aleph* 6 (2006), pp. 13–55.

Sela, Shlomo, 'A Newly Identified Essay on Anniversary Horoscopy Embedded in Abraham Bar Ḥiyya's Astronomical Tables: Hebrew Edition, Translation and Commentary', *Aleph* 13.1 (2013), pp. 27–76.

Sela, Shlomo, 'Astrology in Medieval Jewish Thought' in G. Freudenthal (ed.), *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 296–299.

Sela, Shlomo, 'The Astrological-Astronomical Encyclopedia in MS Paris 1058', *Aleph* 14.1 (2014), pp. 189–241.

Sela, Shlomo, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.

Siraisi, Nancy G., *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Smithuis, Renate, 'Science in Normandy and England under the Angevins. The Creation of Avraham Ibn Ezra's Latin Works of Astronomy and Astrology', in G. Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin – Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism*, Berlin and Turin, 2006, pp. 26–61.

Smithuis, Renate, *Abraham ibn Ezra the Astrologer and the Transmission of Arabic Science to the Christian West*, doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester, 2004.

Steinschneider, Moritz, 'Abraham Judaeus Savasorda und Ibn Esra', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1925, pp. 327–387.

Thorndike, Lynn, 'The Latin translations of the astrological tracts of Abraham Avenezra', *Isis* 35 (1944), pp. 293–302.

Thorndike, Lynn, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–1958.

Wallerand, Gaston, *Henri Bate de Malines, Speculum Divinorum et Quorundam Naturalium*, Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1931.

ELEMENTI DELLA TERMINOLOGIA  
ARISTOTELICO-SCOTISTICA IN EBRAICO  
LE GLOSSE FILOSOFICHE IN ‘ELI HABILLO

ELEMENTS OF ARISTOTELIAN-SCOTIST HEBRAIC TERMYNOLOGY  
THE PHILOSOPHICAL GLOSSES IN ‘ELI HABILLO

MAURO ZONTA  
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA ‘LA SAPIENZA’

*Abstract*

Questo articolo esamina l’uso della terminologia scotista nella tradizione filosofica ebraica, in particolare da parte di ‘Eli Habillo di Monzon (XV secolo). Traduttore di testi filosofici dal latino alla lingua ebraica, e filosofo originale, Habillo mostra un uso peculiare di molti termini tecnici della tradizione scotista latina, traducendoli in ebraico. L’articolo esamina alcuni casi esemplari dell’approccio di Habillo e della resa ebraica dei termini, evidenziando le peculiarità della sua attitudine.

*Parole chiave*

Traduzioni dal latino all’ebraico, ‘Eli Habillo, Aristotelismo ebraico, Scotismo ebraico.

*Abstract*

This article analyses the use of Scotist terminology within the Jewish philosophical tradition, in particular by ‘Eli Habillo of Monzon (15<sup>th</sup> century). Translator from Latin into Hebrew of philosophical texts and original philosopher, Habillo displays a peculiar use of many technical terms of the Latin Scotist tradition translating them into Hebrew. The article examines some exemplar cases of Habillo’s approach and Hebrew rendering of the terms, pointing out the peculiarities of his attitude.

*Key Words*

Latin-into-Hebrew Translations, ‘Eli Habillo, Jewish Aristotelianism, Jewish Scotism.



Nel quadro della prospettiva offerta dalla considerazione del ruolo di Aristotele nel mondo ebraico medievale, è necessario riconsiderare un aspetto che ho già avuto modo di esaminare, ma in modo sommario, in passato, relativamente a quello che ho tentato di chiamare “scotismo ebraico”, e che ora vorrei meglio puntualizzare e chiarire con alcuni esempi, ossia in “glosse” linguistico-terminologiche e in un caso almeno di come un passo latino tardomedievale di un testo aristotelico-scotista è stato reso, con un certo grado di fedeltà (e vedremo quale), in ebraico medievale. Ancora più curiosamente, il testo originale o almeno archetipo, inizialmente redatto in Aragona, è conservato, sia pure in un manoscritto gravemente danneggiato, in Italia, come lo è la sua unica e superstite diretta copia manoscritta.

Alla base di un “aristotelismo scotista”, contrapposto al ben più noto e diffuso aristotelismo tomista, nell’ambito di una lettura filosofica della *Metafisica* aristotelica al principio del Trecento, sulla quale si basa appunto la fonte in questione, stanno due importanti articoli pubblicati nel 1995 da Giorgio Pini, ex-allievo della Normale di Pisa e ora Associate Professor alla Fordham University a New York.<sup>1</sup> Come ha scritto Pini all’inizio del primo articolo:

Scritto in una data compresa tra il 1316 e il 1333 [ma forse prima, entro il 1320 circa, data oggi ritenuta approssimativa della morte dell’autore], le *Quaestiones super Metaphysicam* di Antonio Andrea non si segnalerebbe tra le numerose opere contemporanee dello stesso genere se non avessero conosciuto una diffusione davvero sorprendente. La loro fortuna, testimoniata dall’alto numero di manoscritti conservati [quasi cinquanta!], dovette essere particolarmente estesa nel XV secolo, alla fine del quale furono più volte stampate.

Oltretutto, come Pini ha dimostrato, l’opera è stata di fatto una rielaborazione di uno scritto molto prossimo, nel tempo e nello spazio, ad esso: le *Quaestiones* analoghe di Duns Scoto. Quindi, è grazie all’opera di Antonio Andrea, in realtà Antoni Andreu, un filosofo catalano vissuto nei primi due decenni del secolo XIV, che lo scotismo si è diffuso proprio nell’area geografica nel quale, proprio nella seconda metà del Quattrocento, lavorava uno dei più caratteristici rappresentanti della “Scolastica ebraica” spagnola, che Giuseppe Sermoneta aveva chiamato “il Giuda Romano spagnolo”: ‘Eli Habbillo di Monzon, attivo tra il 1470 e il 1480 circa.

Su ‘Eli Habbillo, anch’esso filosofo catalano come Andrea, ma ebreo (seppure ottimo conoscitore del latino e della letteratura scolastica latina, da lui spesso

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Giorgio Pini, “Sulla fortuna delle *Quaestiones super Metaphysicam* di Duns Scoto: le *Quaestiones super Metaphysicam* di Antonio Andrea”, *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 6 (1995), pp. 281-361; Id., “Scotistic Aristotelianism: Antonius Andreas’s *Expositio* and *Quaestiones on the Metaphysics*”, in L. Sileo (ed.), *Via Scoti. Methodologica ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti*, vol. I, Roma: Edizioni Antonianum, 1995, pp. 375-390.

tradotta in ebraico), ho già avuto mod di soffermarmi.<sup>2</sup> In realtà, come si è avuto modo di notare in altre occasioni,<sup>3</sup> è evidente che 'Eli Habillo, un pensatore eclettico e sempre molto attirato dalla filosofia scolastica latina in tutti i suoi diversi aspetti (tomismo, ma anche scotismo e nominalismo), era soprattutto un traduttore di testi filosofici latini, più e prima ancora che un filosofo; e la terminologia latino-ebraica può avere lasciato delle tracce originali al riguardo proprio relativamente ad un ambito come, appunto, quello della terminologia scolastica aristotelico-scotista (per riprendere il termine di Pini) – ossia, nei casi nei quali Habillo ha tentato di rendere in ebraico medievale, in forme talora diverse, concetti o termini filosofici propri dello scotismo latino.

I punti di riferimento dai quali cercherò di trarre una serie di dati al riguardo, e un primo tentativo di conclusione, sono: da parte latina, innanzitutto, il *Promptuarium Scoticum* di Carlo Francesco De Varesio [PS], in due volumi, risalente al 1690, un indice accurato delle materie trattate nei diversi punti dell'opera scotista allora note (ristampato nel 2005), e più recentemente il *Lexicon Scholasticum Philosophico-Theologicum... a Beato Ioanne Duns Scoto Doctore Subtili...* [LS], un dizionario filosofico della terminologia di Duns Scoto, curato dal frate minore Mariano Fernandez Garcia nell'ultima edizione corretta dall'autore, pubblicata a Quaracchi presso Firenze nel 1910 (l'opera, benché naturalmente datata, è ancora utile su alcuni punti); da parte ebraica, le glosse marginali del testo delle *Quaestiones super metaphysicam* di Andrea, tradotto dal latino all'ebraico da Habillo intorno al 1470-5, che ho pubblicato – sia pure in modo sintetico, parziale, e senza commenti.<sup>4</sup> Per le fonti, del tutto inedite, mi sono servito di due manoscritti ebraici: il testo archetipo di Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, A. VI. 25, di mano spagnola e risalente forse al 1475 ma purtroppo semidistrutto, e la copia diretta di Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, parmense 2261, risalente a tre quarti di secolo dopo (1550?) e di mano italiana, ma perfettamente conservata. In effetti, dai dati che risultano in quelle pagine, mi sono limitato a riportare il testo latino (da me traslitterato in caratteri latini), confrontato nei caratteri ebraici con i quali lo riproduce Habillo e con i corrispondenti termini ebraici (in lingua ebraica) con i quali tenta di tradurlo l'autore ebreo.

Nello specifico, la seguente tabella presenta, in ordine alfabetico latino, una quindicina di termini più o meno caratteristici del lessico filosofico-teologico

---

<sup>2</sup> Mauro Zonta, *Hebrew Scholasticism in the Fifteenth Century*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2006, pp. 165-208; Id., “Elementi di una storia dello ‘Scotismo ebraico’”, *Quaestio* 8 (2008), pp. 201-218; Id., “The Aragonese Circle of ‘Jewish Scholastics’ and Its Possible Relationship to Local Christian Scholarship: An Overview of Historical Data and Some General Questions”, in R. Fontaine and G. Freudenthal (eds.), *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies. Volume One: Studies*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 295-308.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. ad esempio Mauro Zonta, *Glosses in Medieval Hebrew Philosophical Texts*, in G. Khan et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics. Volume 2 G-O*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 61-62.

<sup>4</sup> Mauro Zonta, *Hebrew Scholasticism in the Fifteenth Century*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2006, pp. 25-33.

scotista, mostrando come Habillo abbia tentato di renderli – forse per la prima volta, più di un secolo e mezzo dopo – in ebraico, talora con una serie di differenti proposte che egli stesso avanza caso per caso. Si noti peraltro come l’interesse non solo per Andrea e quindi, indirettamente, per la sua fonte, Duns Scoto, ma anche, sempre indirettamente, con i contenuti della *Metafisica* nella filosofia ebraica spagnola degli ultimi decenni del Medioevo è dimostrato dalla traduzione latino-ebraica del commento alla *Metafisica* di Tommaso d’Aquino, realizzata a Ocana presso Toledo nel 1490.

*Tavola: esempi di resa terminologica scotista in ebraico presso ‘Eli Habillo (1470-1480)*

| Termini scotisti          | Latino  | Traduzioni ebraiche  |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| Actus elicitus voluntatis | PS I, 27b, riferito all’“actus practicus” (“actus voluntatis elicitus est verissima praxis”) e 30b, 35b (non è “naturalis”); per “actus elicitus” cfr. LS 240°  | *27: <i>po’al na’aseh me-ha-ratson</i> “azione/atto fatto dalla volontà” |
| Actus entitativus         | PS I, 31ab (“actus circa ens”); “nel linguaggio filosofico, che concerne l’esistenza materiale o reale di qualcosa, usato quasi esclusivam. nell’espressione <i>atto entitativo</i> (lat. <i>actus entitativus</i> ), con cui i seguaci di Duns Scoto indicavano la «materia» di una cosa realmente esistente e non puramente potenziale, in contrapposizione all’ <i>atto formale</i> , che invece denota il possesso, nella cosa, della «forma», che dà l’esistenza specifica” (www.treccani.it). | *31: <i>po’al yeshutiyyi</i> , “atto/azione essenziativa”                |

|                  |  |  |
|------------------|--|--|
| Actus reflexivus | Rarissimo, dal 1300 in poi:<br>“atto riflesso”   | *31: <i>po'al mehuppak asher yithappek 'alaw ha-sekel</i> , “atto/azione inversa/mutata, a proposito della quale l'intelligenza stessa è mutata”   |
| Conceptibilitas  | Da <i>conceptus</i> , oggetto frequente della lessicografia scotista (cfr. LS 162a-164a)   | *29: <i>efsharut ha-hassagah</i> “possibilità della concezione”  |
| Esse extrinsece  | Cfr. <i>esse per se vs. esse in alio</i> PS I, 400b-401a, LS255b   | *27: <i>mi-tsad mah she-hem 'omedim bi-mtsi'ut huts la-nefesh we-yesh lahem metsi'ut ha-'amidah</i> “in quanto che essi spiccano nell'esistenza al di fuori dell'anima, e hanno l'esistenza della posizione” |
| Formaliter       | LS 290b-291a “formaliter ... non est in eo potentialiter ... nec virtualiter ... nec ... confusa ... sed dico esse formaliter in aliquo in quo manet secundum suam rationem formalem et quidditativam” | *26, *28, *30: <i>'al derek ha-tsurah</i> , “nel modo della forma”   |
| Haecceitas       | Neologismo scotista: “Nella filosofia degli scotisti, ciò che determina l'ente e fa sì che sia «questa cosa» e non altra” ( <a href="http://www.treccani.it">www.treccani.it</a> ).                    | *27: <i>ha-helqiyyut ha-hu' asher efshar she-yiqqare' ze'ut nigzar min zeh</i> “quella cosa particolare che può essere chiamata 'quest-ità, ecceità', (e) che è determinata da questa”                       |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Identitas realis / distinctio realis<br/>[<i>corr. formalis</i>,<br/>cfr. testo ebraico]</p> | <p>PS I, 580b/356a, LS 328a/231b per i due termini qui esaminati; cfr. LS 226a, dove è evidente come, nella scolastica scotista, si ha <i>identitas realis vs. distinctio formalis</i></p>              | <p>*29: <i>hilluf be-davar huts la-nefesh / ha-ehadut bi-mtsi'ut</i> “scambio/differenza in una cosa al di fuori dell'anima / unità nell'esistenza” (scambio dei due termini latini)</p> |
| <p>Inhaerentia</p>  | <p>PS I, 613a-b, LS 348a (secondo il quale è duplice: <i>unio actualis accidentis existentis cum subiecto existente, e essentialis ordo accidentis secundum quidditatem suam ad substantiam...</i>)</p> | <p>*31: <i>heyot nimtsa' le-davar aher</i> “essenza che si trova/esiste in un'altra cosa”</p>  |
| <p>Perseitas</p>  | <p>Cfr. LS 485b-487a: <i>per se esse</i> si dice in due modi, o <i>esse incommunicabilis</i>, o <i>esse substantiae</i> (e in questo secondo modo è <i>per se subsistere</i>)</p>                       | <p>*28: <i>'atsmiyyut</i> “sostanzialità/(in) sé-ità”</p>  |
| <p>Ratio obiectalis in re apprehensa</p>  | <p>Cfr. PS II, 356a-359a, LS 583b-584a: varie interpretazioni della <i>ratio</i></p>  | <p>*29: <i>'inyan munnahi mussag be-davar</i> “soggetto terminologico percepito in una cosa”</p>   |

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p>Transcendentia,<br/>transcendens</p> | <p>PS II, 515a, LS 686b:<br/><i>transcendens quodcumque<br/>nullum habet genus sub quo<br/>contineatur; sed quod ipsum sit<br/>commune ad multa inferiora,<br/>hoc accidit</i></p> | <p>*25-26, *28, *31 (diverse<br/>rese del termine): <i>ha-<br/>devarim ha-kolelim asher hem<br/>huts la-nefesh, yedi'ah 'overet<br/>kol gevul, meshuttaf ha-kolel<br/>me'od we-'over kol gevul,<br/>davar mah yotse' le-sug (asher<br/>eyno be-sug kelal), ha-devarim<br/>ha-'overim kol gevul we-<br/>eynam niknasim be-sug mah<br/>meyuhad</i> “le cose universali<br/>al di fuori dell'anima;<br/>conoscenza che passa ogni<br/>limite; l'universale molto<br/>comune, che passa ogni<br/>limite; qualcosa che esce<br/>nel [dal?] genere, che non è<br/>in alcun genere; le cose che<br/>passano ogni limite e che<br/>non entrano in qualche<br/>genere unico”</p> |
| <p>Volitio</p>                          | <p>Diversa da “voluntas”: PS II,<br/>565b e ssg. (<i>volitio, hoc est<br/>actus volendi, accipitur ab<br/>Augustino</i>), LS 729b-730a</p>   | <p>*27: <i>po'al na'aseh me-ha-<br/>ratson asher hu' ratsuy</i><br/>“atto/azione fatta dalla<br/>volontà, che è desiderato<br/>(lett. “voluto”)”</p>  |

Infine, faccio rilevare come Habillo ha tradotto (non sempre alla lettera) dal latino all'ebraico un passo delle *Quaestiones super metaphysicam* di Andrea, laddove possono sottolinearsi consonanze ed eventuali differenze.

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Altissimi doctoris<br/>Antonii Andreae<br/>seraphici Ordinis<br/>Minorum<br/>quaestiones<br/>subtilissimae</p> | <p>Parole del sapiente Antonio<br/>Andrea, frate dell'ordine dei Frati<br/>Minori</p> | <p><i>Divrey ha-hakam<br/>Antoni Andrev komer<br/>mi-kat ha-komerim ha-<br/>qetannim</i></p> |
|---|---|--|

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <p>super duodecim libros<br/>Metaphysicae<br/>Aristotelis,<br/>feliciter incipiunt.</p> <p>[Prooemium]</p> <p><i>Gyrum caeli circui soli,</i></p> <p>Ecclesiastici, 24.</p> <p>Secundum doctrinam<br/>Aristotelis et eum<br/>communiter sequentium,</p> <p>scientia<br/>Metaphysicae,</p> <p>quae<br/>Theologia/[Theorica]<br/>Philosophorum<br/>et sapientia</p> <p>nominatur,</p> <p>versatur circa totum ens, et signanter</p> <p>circa substantias separatas, ut circa nobiliores</p> <p>partes sui primi subiecti;</p> | <p>nella premessa di questo libro:</p> <p>“Ho proceduto intorno alla sfera dei cieli”,</p> <p>nel capitolo 24 del Libro “Ecclesiastico”</p> <p>Ecco, secondo l’insegnamento di Aristotele e coloro che lo seguono,</p> <p>in generale la conoscenza della metafisica</p> <p>che viene chiamata con il nome</p> <p>di “teologia dei filosofi” e sapienza,</p> <p>è studiata in tutto ciò che esiste, e in particolare</p> <p>nelle sostanze separate, a proposito della parte</p> <p>più alta del suo primo soggetto,</p> | <p><i>be-haqdamat ha-sefer ha-zeh:</i></p> <p><i>‘Agol ha-shamayim sevavti levadi.</i></p> <p><i>Be-pereq ha-b”d mi-Sefer ‘Eglega’stiqat.</i></p> <p><i>Hinneh kefi limud ‘Aristo we-ha-nimshekim ‘elayw</i></p> <p><i>‘al ha-kelalut yedi‘at Mah she-‘ahar ha-teva‘</i></p> <p><i>‘asher tiqra’ be-shem bo’</i></p> <p><i>‘elohut ha-pilosofim we-hokmah</i></p> <p><i>hi’ me‘ayenet be-kol ha-nimtsa’ u-ve-yihud</i></p> <p><i>ba-‘atmim ha-nifradim bi-medragat ha-heleq</i></p> <p><i>ha-yoter me‘ulah minose’ ah ha-ri’shon</i></p> |
|---|--|--|

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| et ideo, quia circa nobilissima entia est (-) nobilissima scientia est, | e per questo questa conoscenza è assolutamente superiore     | <i>we-la-zeh hayetah ha-yedi'ah ha-zo't me'ulit be-taklit</i> |
| inter omnes [alias] scientias naturaliter adinventas.                   | rispetto a tutte le altre conoscenze che esistono in natura, | <i>mi-beyn se'ar ha-yedi'ot ha-nimtsa'ot be-teva'</i>         |
| Nobilitates enim scientiarum  | giacché è studiata   | <i>le-hayotah me'ayyenet</i>                                  |
| ex nobilitate oritur subiectorum...                                     | negli esistenti assolutamente superiori.                     | <i>ba-nimtsa'im ha-me'ulim be-taklit.</i>                     |

Antonius Andreas, *Quaestiones super duodecim libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis*; Antonius de Strata, Venezia 1481, f. 1ra, ll. 1-20; da confrontarsi con la *Expositio* dello stesso Andreas, attribuita a Duns Scoto, in *Joannis Duns Scoti... opera omnia*, vol. V, Parigi, Vivès 1891, p. 440, ll. 1-10, tra parentesi quadre nelle differenze e nei termini omissi nelle *Quaestiones*.

In questa sede non si farà un'analisi dettagliata del testo e della tavola in questione. Tuttavia va notato che le questioni sul libro XII (Lambda) sono parzialmente differenti nel testo latino a stampa e nella traduzione ebraica, conservata ora, circa quel punto, dal solo MS di Parma. Varrebbe davvero la pena verificare fino a che punto 'Eli Habbilo potrebbe (e in qualche caso può concretamente) “adattare” il testo scotista di Antonio Andrea per renderlo appetibile al lettore filosofo ebreo di quell'epoca, così come sembra aver agito egli stesso nei confronti di un altro testo, che ho già avuto modo di pubblicare e studiare nei dettagli: la *Quaestio de unitate universalis* di Vincenzo Ferrer.<sup>5</sup>

Recentemente ho tentato di tracciare gli sviluppi di una storia della terminologia filosofica ebraica, così come è apparsa in dizionari e glossari filosofici del secolo XIII, e si è anche accennato al lavoro di Habbilo. Certo, risulta evidente come ogni traduttore di testi filosofici arabi o latini in ebraico sia stato libero nelle scelte lessicali, spesso senza seguire delle vere e proprie “scuole” di traduttori (come invece erano nel mondo arabo e latino medievali) e talora in modo

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Fidora – Mauro Zonta (eds.), Vicent Ferrer, *Quaestio de unitate universalis (Ma 'amar mikbad ba-kolel)*, Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edendum, 2010.

apparentemente “inconsistente”. Una tendenza del genere, che è ancora da portare avanti nella ricerca futura, mi sembra iniziare ad emergere anche dalle traduzioni della terminologia scotista, come appare da queste glosse.

### Bibliografia

Fidora, Alexander – Zonta, Mauro (eds.), Vicent Ferrer, *Quaestio de unitate universalis (Ma 'amar mikbad ba-kolel)*, Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edendum, 2010.

Pini, Giorgio, “Scotistic Aristotelianism: Antonius Andreas’s Expositio and Quaestiones on the Metaphysics”, in L. Sileo (ed.), *Via Scoti. Methodologica ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti*, vol. I, Roma: Edizioni Antonianum, 1995, pp. 375-390.

Pini, Giorgio, “Sulla fortuna delle Quaestiones super Metaphysicam di Duns Scoto: le Quaestiones super Metaphysicam di Antonio Andrea”, *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 6 (1995), pp. 281-361.

Zonta, Mauro, “The Aragonese Circle of ‘Jewish Scholastics’ and Its Possible Relationship to Local Christian Scholarship: An Overview of Historical Data and Some General Questions”, in R. Fontaine and G. Freudenthal (eds.), *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies. Volume One: Studies*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 295-308.

Zonta, Mauro, *Glosses in Medieval Hebrew Philosophical Texts*, in G. Khan et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics. Volume 2 G-O*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 61-62.

Zonta, Mauro, “Elementi di una storia dello ‘Scotismo ebraico’”, *Quaestio* 8 (2008), pp. 201-218.

Zonta, Mauro, *Hebrew Scholasticism in the Fifteenth Century*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2006. de Philosophie de l’Université, 1931.

# Notes



# SIGER OF BRABANT, AUTHOR OF THE ANONYMOUS *QUESTIO DE CREATIONE EX NIHILO*

LISA DEVRIESE\*  
KU LEUVEN



## *Introduction*

Siger of Brabant, the thirteenth century philosopher born in the Low Countries, is credited with a number of works, such as treatises on the soul, on the world, and logical and natural questions. Since recently, we can add to this list another work, i.e. the *Questio de creatione ex nihilo*.<sup>1</sup> This anonymous work was attributed to Siger of Brabant by some scholars in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but Andrea Aiello is the first one to edit this QDC in its entirety and give decisive arguments for this authorship. It is precisely at this edition we will take a closer look in this review.<sup>2</sup> This new book fits perfectly within the field of study of the editor. The QDC can be found in only one manuscript, bound together with other texts of Parisian masters of the faculty of Arts. It is precisely on this manuscript that the editor has published several books and articles.<sup>3</sup> In that way, the content of this interesting manuscript, which can be attributed to Godfrey of Fontaines, is gradually disclosed.

---

\* Ph. D. fellowship of the Research Foundation - Flanders (FWO) at KU Leuven.

<sup>1</sup> Following the editor's practice, *Questio de creatione ex nihilo* will be abbreviated as QDC.

<sup>2</sup> Andrea Aiello (ed.), *Sigeri di Brabante. Questio de creatione ex nihilo, ms. Paris BnF lat. 16297, f. 116rb-vb*; Edizione, paternità e cronologia, (Millennio Medievale 106 – Testi 25), Firenze: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Andrea Aiello, 'Notule de scientia theologie' (mss. Paris, Nat. lat. 15355, f. 40r mg. inf. – Paris, Nat. lat. 16297, ff. 231v-232v): Edizione critica, cronologia, paternità, Roma: Pontificia Università della Santa Croce, 2003. Robert Wielockx - Andrea Aiello, *Goffredo di Fontaines aspirante baccelliere sentenziario: le autografe 'Notule de scientia theologie' e la cronologia del ms. Paris BnF lat. 16297*, (Corpus Christianorum. Autographa Medii Aevi, 6), Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. Robert Wielockx - Andrea Aiello, 'La versione del Quodlibet IV (qq. 7-8) di Enrico di Gand nel ms. Paris BnF lat. 16297', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 19 (2008), pp. 371-499.

The study on the QDC is composed of two main parts, a division which we will adopt in this paper. The first part of the book consists of the first edition of the QDC, which has as main question '*Utrum aliquid possit esse genitum sive factum ex nihilo seu non ex aliquo*'. The second part of the book is a thorough study in order to attribute this text, which has no attribution in the preserved manuscript, to Siger of Brabant. The editor will explore the authorship in different ways: by means of external critique (i.e. the chronology of the text and codicological aspects of the manuscript), elimination of possible authors based on doctrinal content, comparing the body of ideas of the QDC with works of Siger of Brabant, examining sources and, finally, the style of the work. With abundant arguments, the editor will be able to attribute this work with certainty to the philosopher Siger of Brabant.

The purpose of this paper is to critically review this recently published book, more precisely to accentuate the good aspects and indicate what is missing or not clear. We will particularly concentrate on the edition and the arguments of chronology and not so much on the content of the QDC itself.

However, for a correct understanding of the text, I will briefly recapitulate the main thesis of the question.<sup>4</sup> The question deals with the *creatio ex nihilo*, which Siger will deny. He makes a distinction in terminology between the sentences 'not made from something' (*non esse factum ex aliquo*) and 'made from nothing' (*factum ex nihilo*). The first one denies that something has the nature of a material cause for the heavens, the second affirms that nothing or non-being has order and causality. This second possibility, the *ex nihilo*, is false. Siger claims that heavens, as well as the production of the whole being, are not made from something and this is not through change (since change requires a substrate to produce out).

At the end of the question, he makes more explicit what the word '(non-) being' is understood to mean. What of its own nature is impossible to be, and has no potency for being, can receive from nothing its being and is therefore pure non-being (*purum non esse*) and absolute non-being (*non ens simpliciter*). This is contrasted with the example of Socrates, who is a being in potency of non-being at some time, which is different. He is therefore not absolute being and he will be only for a certain amount of time. According to some philosophers, Siger claims, non-being receives being by an emanating agent. But this is not possible: pure non-being cannot change into being, not by itself, not by the potency of an agent (an agent can only make when something has the possibility for being). This nature of non-being or nothing leads him to the conclusion that there is no such thing as a *creatio ex nihilo*, because nothing can never receive being.

---

<sup>4</sup> However, the order of the arguments in the text is not followed. The text presents itself in the typical *quaestio*-structure, i.e. arguments *pro*, arguments *contra*, followed by the solution of the philosopher himself.

*Edition of the 'Questio de creatione ex nihilo'*

Edition of the Latin text

The QDC is preserved in only one manuscript, ms. Paris BnF lat. 16297, f. 116rv.<sup>5</sup> It is quite unfortunate that there are no other manuscripts extant, since this specific manuscript belonged to Godfrey of Fontaines. Throughout the book it is revealed that this scholar had the tendency to shorten texts and give abbreviated versions of the original. One could therefore ask the question to what extent the *questio* in this manuscript is similar to the original. It is unfortunate that the editor does not indicate if he went in search for other manuscripts which contain this treatise. It is not impossible that other manuscripts will come to the surface, now that there are many projects of disclosing and digitalizing manuscripts. The text can be hidden under another title as well. In this specific manuscript, it was not indicated separately in the index at the beginning that there was a question on creation.

Because of the fact that there is only one manuscript to base his edition on, the editor did not deem it fit to elaborate on editorial principles. What concerns the orthography, he probably followed the spelling of the manuscript. He does intervene in the text what concerns punctuation and what concerns the structure of the argumentation, by adding '*solutio*' or by numbering the different arguments *pro* and *contra*. Both interventions make the treatise more readable and understandable for modern readers. The edition is accompanied by an Italian translation, which is useful for an audience not familiar with medieval Latin.

Critical apparatus

The critical apparatus at the bottom of each page of the edition is limited since we only possess one version of the text. In the apparatus, the editor mentions the words and passages which are written in the margin, are erased, etc., accompanied by the letter 'G', referring to Godfrey of Fontaines, who wrote down the text. This can give the – incorrect – impression that these marginal notes are added by a second hand (G) at a later stage, since this was not explained earlier. However, everything is written in one single hand. The reason for this addition could be found in the fact that the entire manuscript of Paris is written in different hands<sup>6</sup> and in this way, this edition must be seen in the larger tradition of editing this manuscript.

---

<sup>5</sup> This manuscript can be consulted online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90666175/f117.item>. A colour reproduction of the folia concerned is added in the book.

<sup>6</sup> Wielockx - Aiello, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, pp. 63-85.

## Source apparatus

Beside the critical apparatus, there is a second, much larger, apparatus for the sources. In this apparatus, the editor firstly wants to localize the explicit references made in the text (e.g. when referred to the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle), and secondly – and this is a harder task – he tries to figure out to which philosophers or works the author of the QDC implicitly refers to or gives comments on. Therefore, this apparatus is vitally important to examine the dialogue between several philosophers. However, it is unfortunate that the editor did not write anything on his investigation of the sources, how he dealt with it and what were his objectives. Are the sources mentioned really sources on which Siger drew, or only passages where similar thoughts can be found?

### *Chronology and authorship of the *Questio**

Since there is no explicit attribution in the manuscript to any author, the editor tries to come to decisive arguments if it could be Siger, as previously proposed by other scholars. It is not the purpose of this article to repeat these arguments, we will only single out some passages.

### First problem with dating

In determining the *terminus a quo*, Aiello mentions that the author of the QDC refers to the *De causa motus animalium* and therefore attests the existence of Moerbeke's translation of this Aristotelian treatise. However, there is a second, anonymous Latin translation of this work, of which no copies are extant, but we only know this indirectly through Albert Magnus' *De principiis motus processivi*. A hypothetical reconstruction of this translation exists.<sup>7</sup> This translation is now lost since there are no manuscripts containing the text, but to what extent Siger could have known this text, is impossible to determine. Aiello mentions this anonymous translation in a footnote but dismisses the idea that Siger could have

---

<sup>7</sup> Pieter De Leemans (ed.), *De motu animalium. Fragmenta translationis anonymae* (Aristoteles Latinus, XVII 1.III), Turnhout: Brepols 2011. Albertus Magnus mentions in his work that he found a manuscript of this translation during his trip in Italy (Campania), which can be situated in 1256-7. Therefore, it is older than the translation of Moerbeke, but when exactly, cannot be determined, see De Leemans, *De motu animalium*, p. xviii. The passage in which he mentions this translation: 'De modo ergo huius motus, licet iam in libro De motibus animalium hoc quod nos sensimus, tradiderimus, tamen quia postea in Campania iuxta Greciam nobis agentibus pervenit ad manus nostras libellus Aristotelis De motibus animalium, etiam hic ea que tradidit, interponere curavimus ut sciatur si in aliquo ea que ex ingenio proprio diximus, deviant a Perypatheticorum principis subtilitate', see De Leemans, *De motu animalium*, p. x.

used it, since it seems that it was not used by other authors.<sup>8</sup> The translation of Moerbeke (situated around 1260) was a first *terminus a quo* for the QDC, but this does not seem to be a firm argument. It is indeed possible, but it cannot be determined with certainty that the author of the QDC used Moerbeke's translation, all the more because he does barely quote explicitly. Of all the works of Aristotle mentioned in the source apparatus, there was always more than one translation circulating. More precisely, of the *Metaphysica*, *Physica*, *De sensu* and *De caelo*, there was always a translation of Moerbeke and one (or more) anonymous translation(s). Since Moerbeke used and revised these older translations, both versions are highly similar (at least in the passages quoted in the QDC) and therefore it is impossible to determine which version Siger used. That is the reason why the editor mentions the different version (as far as they have been edited) in his source apparatus. However, since no decisive argument can be given that the author of the QDC used Moerbeke, this translation cannot be used as an argument for the chronology of the text.

### Second problem with dating

In trying to determine a time period in which the text was composed, the editor uses the source material of the QDC as mentioned in the source apparatus. The date of these works will be a *terminus ad quem* and a *quo* for the QDC.<sup>9</sup> However, again, the editor does not explain his principles and therefore does not mention why exactly he singles out five works for his study and leaves the others aside. As can be seen in the source apparatus, there are more sources than the selected ones. The editor focuses on works of Thomas Aquinas, who, though not explicitly mentioned, is omnipresent in the QDC.

In his argumentation for the dating on the basis of source material, he fixes a date on each work in order to narrow down the possible time period. However, the question presents itself how dating a work of centuries ago can be an exact science and to what extent we can rely on this kind of information. Of the works of Thomas Aquinas, Aiello mentions three of them: the *Summa Theologiae* (*Prima Pars*), which moves the *terminus a quo* to 1268/1269; the *Sentencia libri De sensu et sensato* (*terminus a quo* to 1269) and the *Sup. VIII Phys.* (*terminus a quo* to 1269/1270).<sup>10</sup> However, if one consults different secondary literature on the

---

<sup>8</sup> Aiello, *Sigeri di Brabante*, p. 27, n. 17.

<sup>9</sup> A small typographic error has crept in. In Aiello's study, (e) is missing, and the list goes from (d) immediately to (f), see p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> For each of the quoted works, the editor shows similarities in content, in order to convince that this work was used by the QDC. However, the arguments for this specific work are not very convincing, especially where he sees a similarity in terminology and phrasing between both works (see p. 37). The quoted passages seem to offer just standard terminology, given the fact

dating of these treatises, once can see that it is difficult to produce conclusive evidence and to agree on the date of production. E.g. for the *Sup. VIII Phys.*, Torrell – who wrote a work on the dating of Thomas Aquinas’ works – presumes that it was written in 1268/1269 instead of 1269/1270.<sup>11</sup>

Since Aiello did not specify why he only studied the dating of five works, we will take a closer look at the other works which are mentioned in the source apparatus (assuming that these are indeed sources and not treatises with only similar or contrasting ideas) to evaluate if these give us another perspective. For the references to Aristotle, it is not clear which translation the author of the QDC used, the one of Moerbeke or the older one (cf. *supra*), but anyhow, Moerbeke’s translations are to be situated around 1260.

The dating of the other works of Thomas Aquinas (relying on Torrell) are:<sup>12</sup> *Super sententiis* (1252/1257), *Sup. Metaph.* (dating this work is problematic, but it certainly is before 1272/3), *De potentia* (1265/1266), *De eternitate mundi* (problematic as well, ranging from 1255 till 1271), *De substantiis separatis* (later than the first half of 1271), *Summa contra gentiles* (1259/1265). Since Aiello dated the QDC in the time period of 1268/1269 at the earliest and 1277/1278 at the latest, and probably between 1270/1271 and March 7, 1277, the only work which can slightly change this date is the *De substantiis separatis*. However, the references to this work are anything but literal and the same content appears in other treatises as well. Therefore, it is absolutely uncertain that this work was indeed a direct source for the author of the QDC. The given data may not be absolute, it is just an indication that dating works is not an exact science and cannot be used as conclusive evidence, especially not when the dates are following each other closely.

Besides these treatises, Avicenna and Averroes are referred to as well, but these works were already known in the Latin West by the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> In the source apparatus, Albert the Great’s *De causis et processu*

---

that both works are dealing with the creation of the world. The words – which the editor marks as significant – are not even in the same order or in the same connection with other words. E.g. in the *Sup. VIII Phys.* ‘*quamvis Platonici dicant Platonem sic dixisse caelum esse factum, in quantum habet principium activum sui esse, non autem ita quod habeat durationis principium*’ (italics are taken over as in the book) and in the QDC ‘*constat quod celum factum est etiam secundum opinionem omnium philosophorum cum causam sui esse habeat*’. Indicating ‘*celum factum est*’, which is a quite standard expression, in a work which deals with the creation of the world does not seem convincing and can be referring to any work. However, the other arguments given, i.e. quoting the same sources and the theory on emanation, are on the other hand convincing.

<sup>11</sup> Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Initiation à saint Thomas d’Aquin: sa personne et son œuvre*, (Vestigia – Pensée antique et médiévale), Fribourg: Editions Universitaires de Fribourg, 1993, p. 499.

<sup>12</sup> In order of appearance in the source apparatus.

<sup>13</sup> Dag Nikolaus Hasse, *Latin Averroes Translations of the First Half of the Thirteenth Century*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Olms, 2010.

*universitatis* is mentioned as well, which has a conjectured date between 1265 and 1272.<sup>14</sup> Again, the source apparatus mentions another work as well for the very same sentence.

Finally we have the works of Boethius of Dacia, but his works are not yet studied as extensively as the works of Thomas Aquinas with regard to dating; therefore, these are more uncertain. Except the work Aiello discusses, two other of his treatises are mentioned in the apparatus, i.e. *De eternitate mundi* (which is estimated around 1270<sup>15</sup>) and *Sup. Lib. Phys.* (no exact date available).

All in all, we can say that the quoted treatises in determining the exact date of the QDC are randomly chosen. They assert the hypothesis of the editor, but he does not give any indication what the dating of the other works are, or why he selected only these five. Are these more important sources? Are these the only certain direct sources? It must be admitted that this method is interesting to fix a date to the treatise and it has certainly value, but at times it seems that the editor walks on thin ice.

However, the overall chronology is not liable to be pushed aside by these adjustments. The time frame is still consistent with the time period Siger was teaching in Paris.

#### Problems with external evidences

After giving evidence for the chronology of the text, the editor gives two other small arguments in favour of the authorship of Siger of Brabant, before turning to the second part of his argumentation, i.e. the elimination of other possible authors. Of these two smaller arguments, he himself states that ‘questi dati non sono sufficienti a provare la paternità sigeriana della QDC’,<sup>16</sup> but that they do have argumentative value. However, it seems that these two arguments are problematic and simply cannot be seen as arguments.

The first is the fact that Godfrey of Fontaines devoted a lot of attention in his first manuscripts (i.e. mss. Paris BnF lat. 15819, 16297 and 16096) to scholars of the Faculty of Arts of Paris; especially Siger of Brabant and Boethius of Dacia occupy an important place. In ms. 16297 (the manuscript with the QDC), and more specifically in this specific part of the manuscript, there is the highest concentration of works of Siger of Brabant, which is, according to Aiello, an argument in favour of the hypothesis that Siger is the author of the QDC.

---

<sup>14</sup> Vincent Guagliardo et al. (eds.), *St. Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on the Book of causes, Super librum de causis exposition*, Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996, p. xi.

<sup>15</sup> Niels Jørgen Green-Pedersen (ed.), *Boethii Daci Opera. Topica - Opuscula. De aeternitate mundi. De summon bono. De somniis* (Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi, VI, 2), Copenhagen: Gad, 1976, p. xxii.

<sup>16</sup> Aiello, *Sigeri di Brabante*, p. 45, 47.

However, if some works in this manuscript are of Siger, it does not follow automatically that the anonymous question is his as well, not even as an argument supporting the hypothesis. In a concrete manner, there are eight works of at least sixteen works in this manuscript, attributed to Siger of Brabant, which is only half.

The second argument is when the editor sees codicological similarities between the QDC and the *Sup. Metaph.* (a work of Siger in the same manuscript). There were already similarities between the two treatises on the basis of content, and both are to be found in the same part of the manuscript (the manuscript is divided in seven distinct parts), and now there is a codicological relationship as well. In the margin of both texts the notation ‘a.’ and ‘b.’ can be found, as an indication that the order of the text should be corrected and that the arguments in the text must change places. Apparently, in both texts there was the need to intervene since the model Godfrey of Fontaines used, lacked order. Again, he repeats that this alone is not enough to prove that Siger is the author, but according to me, this can never be used as an argument. Firstly, the fact that there is the same marginal notation, is caused by the copyist, since it is his custom to indicate a change like this (and both texts are written by the same hand, i.e. that of Godfrey).<sup>17</sup> This happens independently from the content or the author of the original treatise, since it is the copyist’s habit, how he corrects errors. Secondly, if it does say something about the model – it could be a mistake on the part of the copyist as well – it does not assert something on the authorship. Unless the editor silently presumes that this model only contained works of Siger, but there are no arguments of this. Besides, both texts having a disordered model does not mean that both texts have the same disordered model. Therefore, this seems an argument where he starts with what he wishes to conclude, i.e. that both texts are from Siger, and from this point on, he tries to find similarities between both texts.

### Problem with elimination

Although the arguments of the elimination are very convincing, the same problem reappears – as was the case for the source apparatus –, namely, that the editor does not explain his principles. He eliminates six medieval scholars (of which two anonymous ones) on the basis of doctrinal differences, but does not explain why precisely those six and not more or less. Are these the only ones of this time period that had similar views on the creation of the world? Are these the only ones that geographically can be related to this text? It is difficult to

---

<sup>17</sup> Aiello, *Sigeri di Brabante*, p. 44.

encourage further research, if one does not know what were the criteria for selection or what has been examined already and did not produce any results.

Besides these questions that can be raised with this chapter, it is worth mentioning that the doctrinal elimination in itself is cogent. It is demonstrated elaborately that these six scholars had contrasting views. Based on what they wrote on, for example, the heavens, the production of the whole being, the precise meaning of the preposition 'ex' and the nature of a non-being, it is clear that these scholars cannot be the author of this question.

Together with the elimination of possible authors based on the doctrinal content, the subsequent chapter, concentrating on other treatises of Siger, give the most convincing proof. In this chapter, the editor examines whether the body of thoughts of the QDC is compatible with the ideas expressed in Siger's other works. What can be deduced from the enumeration of the analogies, is the fact that almost every doctrinal aspect of the QDC recurs in one or another treatise of Siger, e.g. the topics of transmutation, the heavens, the pure non-being, the nature of the human being, the fact that we cannot speak of a *creatio ex nihilo* and that the preposition 'ex' has a very distinct meaning, etc. Some parallels are even literal. At the end of the study, several lists are given with parallels between the QDC and other works, to support the conclusion even more.

#### Possible lines of thinking

Although the book gives extensive evidence for the authorship of Siger of Brabant by studying the question in detail, the history of the text itself is left aside. Therefore, possible questions to be raised are how this treatise was received in later times. Are there any authors who refer to this text, and which name or title did they use, or did really no one use this treatise? If so, was the condemnation of 1277 the only reason for this disappearance? And if not used directly, are there no secondary sources which mention this text, such as repertories of medieval libraries? These questions were of course not within the scope of the published book, but could nevertheless give additional information and could be interesting for later research.

#### Conclusion

The elements touched upon in this paper only nuanced certain arguments or showed where the editor should have been more elaborate in his explanation, but we must not forget that the overall line of arguments is impressive and that the editor certainly succeeded in his primary goal. It must be stressed that the conclusion that Siger of Brabant is the author of the *Questio de creatione ex nihilo* is very convincing. The editor came to this conclusion by means of chronology,

elimination, comparing ideas of the QDC with ideas of Siger, and studying the style. This broad and thorough approach makes this work very interesting and it is certainly an important contribution to scholarship.

# TWO LAUDATIONES

*THE LITERARY SCHOLAR AS INTELLECTUAL HISTORIAN:*

*MICHAEL J. B. ALLEN AND WESTERN THOUGHT*

&

*BRIAN COPENHAVER: OR ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATOR AS SHAPE-SHIFTER*

JOHN MONFASANI

UNIVERSITY AT ALBANY – SUNY



Ephemera are meant for particular moments. But some moments are worth preserving in special ways, and in the case of Professors Allen and Copenhaver, a moment that allows a retrospective look at their impactful scholarly careers not only pays tribute to them, but also gives us particular insight into the course of Renaissance scholarship for much of the last half century.<sup>1</sup> The talks deliberately contain a good deal of whimsy,<sup>2</sup> but also, I hope, indications of the achievements of these two great scholars.

---

<sup>1</sup> The first of these talks was delivered on 16 November 2012 at the University of California, Los Angeles, at the symposium ‘The Poetic Theology of Michael J. B. Allen’, organized to honor upon his retirement the greatest living student of the Renaissance philosopher Marsilio Ficino. The second talk was also delivered at UCLA, this time on 24 January 2015, as one of several appreciations by various scholars that constituted the ‘Brian Fest’ organized to honor upon his retirement one of the most distinguished scholars today of Renaissance philosophy, intellectual history, magic, and occultism. Since then Professors Allen and Copenhaver have continued to publish at an enviable rate and have in the press or in the process of completion still more works of scholarship. But to attempt to update the talks would be Sisyphean, given the continued productivity of Professors Allen and Copenhaver, and would in the end also distort the talks as they were given at the time. So the texts are reproduced here as they were delivered.

<sup>2</sup> Two references in the talk on Michael Allen might need elucidation for anyone not familiar with American sports. The first is to the NCAA’s Final Four in college

I

*The Literary Scholar as Intellectual Historian: Michael J. B. Allen and Western Thought*

Michael J. B. Allen is a man of many parts. *Inter alia*, he has a way with titles, from strangled chickens and nuptial numbers to Plato's third eye and the six academies of the moon. But what I would like to focus here on is something that never appears in his titles, namely, the way he has conducted a conversation with certain intellectuals. Obviously, both in the titles of his works on Marsilio Ficino and in their substance Michael has carried on a conversation with the ancients. Plato, Plotinus, Proclus, Syrianus, Hermias, Plutarch, Dionysius the Areopagite, Apuleius, Boethius, and many other classical worthies appear in his pages. But what interests me in this paper is the conversation he has carried on with the moderns, and more specifically, with three moderns: Paul Oskar Kristeller, Edgar Wind, and D. P. Walker. Let me start with Kristeller.

Like Michael, Kristeller was a learned immigrant to our shores from across the Atlantic who trained in classics. But after that the similarities begin to break down. For one thing, as he aged, Kristeller listed severely to port as he walked and had this terrible habit of stopping in the middle of heavy traffic while crossing Amsterdam Avenue next to Columbia to expound upon an arcane point to his helpless and utterly terrified companion. Thus far, Michael hasn't shown any sign of these tendencies, even if he sometimes seems to lack situational awareness, such as at the time when the Renaissance Society of America was holding its annual meeting at Duke University and Duke was in the NCAA's Final Four, a student passed by saying he was hurrying to see the game and Michael asked, 'What game?'

Michael has always been deeply conscious of the great debt he and all other Ficinian scholars owe Kristeller. With his very first words in his very first book on Ficino, *Marsilio Ficino: The Philebus Commentary* in 1975, Michael began: 'Pre-eminently it is a joy to thank Professor Paul O. Kristeller who sat down out of the goodness of his heart two years ago and read through my typescript, correcting errors, providing me with invaluable suggestions and directing my attention to the Pesaro fragments. He is legendary for his kindness, but such spontaneous generosity of time and great learning is surely of the golden age'.<sup>3</sup> One can find similar sentiments in Michael's books and articles since 1975. I wish to record

---

basketball, which mesmerizes the American sport scene for a weekend the way the World Cup in soccer does the rest of the world. The second is to the baseball player Lawrence 'Yogi' Berra (1925–2015), one of the most beloved figures in American sports history, famous for the many (very often apocryphal) sayings, characterized by amusing malapropisms, attributed to him.

<sup>3</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, *Marsilio Ficino: The Philebus Commentary*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975, p. 5.

here, however, an oral testimony. Some years ago at a conference, after a younger scholar had magisterially declared that Kristeller's monograph on the philosophy of Marsilio Ficino has now been superseded, I witnessed Michael rising up from the audience to give a spirited and lengthy defense of Kristeller's seminal book as still centrally important for our understanding of Ficino. But to paraphrase Aristotle, Michael was Kristeller's friend, but truth's first.

So the *discipulus* did not draw back from correcting the *magister*. One of Michael's most important articles is 'Ficino's theory of the five substances and the Neoplatonists' *Parmenides*', which first appeared in *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* in 1982.<sup>4</sup> Here Michael challenged one of the fundamental arguments of Kristeller's *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, namely, Ficino's originality in positing a hierarchy of five substances (God, Angel, Soul, Quality, and Matter) instead of the Plotinian six (the One, Mind, Soul, Sense, Nature, and Body). Michael's article itself has a prehistory. In a no less innovative article, corrective of Kristeller, Michael two years earlier had published in the *Journal of the History of Ideas* the article 'The absent angel in Ficino's philosophy'.<sup>5</sup> In this earlier article, Michael argued that despite its second place in Ficino's hierarchy, the angel had lost its ontological function for Ficino. Michael's concluding paragraph is worth quoting in full not just because it summarizes his view, but also because it captures Michael's extraordinary ability to combine philosophical analysis, literary allusion, religious consciousness, and poetic imagination, so characteristic of Ficino, but absent from almost all his commentators save Michael:

'The overall conclusion seems inescapable. Despite the vestigial presence of the Dionysian angel and the scholastic elaboration of various arguments affecting it and involving it, and despite Ficino's own incidental employment of these arguments in his theological proofs, the concept of the angel is diminishing in significance on every important philosophical level. On the crucial ontological level it is being undermined by his dynamic theory of the soul as an entity that has ceased to be a fixed member of the universal hierarchy and has acquired copulative and also transcendent powers beyond those of the angel. On the epistemological, and so on the related ethical levels also, the angel has had its powers either abrogated or preempted by the soul. From Ficino's imaginative, mystagogical, and religious points of view, of course, the angel is still ubiquitously vital. The six-winged holy ones, crying the one to the other, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord

---

<sup>4</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, 'Ficino's theory of the five substances and the Neoplatonists' *Parmenides*', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 12 (1982), pp. 19-44; reprinted as 'Essay VIII' in Michael J. B. Allen, *Plato's Third Eye: Studies in Marsilio Ficino's Metaphysics and its Source*, Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, 'The absent angel in Ficino's philosophy', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36:2 (1975), pp. 219-240; reprinted as Essay I in Allen, *Plato's Third Eye*.

God of Hosts', in the year that King Uzziah died, are both the mightiest ornaments of the cosmos and the awful presences to be felt and prayed to: Ficino must have celebrated them at the sound of every sanctus bell. Nevertheless, from Ficino's strictly philosophical viewpoint the angel has lost its necessary functions and powers. It is a fossil bearing the imprint of traditional theological and quasi-philosophical ascriptions; it is no longer the instrument for truly profound or creative thinking'.<sup>6</sup>

Having thus demolished the Ficinian angel as an empty category, Michael proceeded in his article two years later to show that Neoplatonists after Plotinus, specifically Proclus, Plutarch, and the mysterious 'philosopher of Rhodes' had developed a hierarchy of five substances and that Ficino had read all of this in Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* in the context of the three Plotinian hypostases and the nine hypotheses identified by the Neoplatonists in the *Parmenides*. What is striking and, indeed, characteristic of Michael's discussion in this article is how much of his analysis revolved about Ficino's commentary on a Platonic dialogue and on a Neoplatonic commentary on a Platonic dialogue. Kristeller especially focused on Ficino's *Platonic Theology*, implicitly and explicitly playing it off of Plotinus' *Enneads*, which Kristeller knew so well from his doctoral dissertation. It certainly would be patently false to say that Michael and Kristeller were looking at two different Ficinios, least of all when Michael has translated all of Ficino's *Platonic Theology* into English. Nonetheless, the fact remains that Michael has very much made his career by attending to Ficino's commentaries and introductions to Platonic dialogues, starting with the *Philebus*, and continuing on to the *Phaedrus*, the *Sophist*, the *Republic*, the *Timaeus*, the *Laws*, and, of course, the *Parmenides*. Nor has Michael ignored Neoplatonist commentaries, as these two articles on the *Phaedrus* commentaries of the minor Neoplatonist Hermias attest. In any case, it is worth quoting Michael's conclusion in his 1982 article 'Ficino's Theory of the Five Substances and the Neoplatonists' *Parmenides*':

'It was only logical and perhaps inevitable, once Ficino had become acquainted with the orthodox Neoplatonic interpretation of the *Parmenides*, and particularly, with the history of the breakthroughs leading to its establishment, that he should then accept it himself, at least in its broad outlines. While Kristeller is right, therefore, to underscore the significance of the theory of the five hypostases for Ficino and to argue that it focuses our attention on the cardinal position of Soul [*upper case*] and of the soul [*lower case*], he is wrong to suppose that the theory was the outcome of an individual and original attempt to modify the Plotinian schemes. For only one basic ontological scheme existed for the Neoplatonists, the pentadic scheme found in the *Parmenides*'.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Allen, 'Ficino's Theory of the five substances', pp. 42-43.

The Allen-Kristeller debate has an epilogue. In 1987 Kristeller published the last fresh statement of his views on Ficino, namely, *Marsilio Ficino and His Work after Five Hundred Years*. In a footnote (where else would one expect to find it?), he chided Michael:

‘Allen is right in asserting that the central position of the soul in the hierarchy is asserted by Proclus (and even by Plotinus). Yet the place assigned in the hierarchy to Quality is an innovation of Ficino and has no precedents in Proclus or other Neoplatonists (as I was reassured by Werner Beierwaltes), and it is this innovation which made Ficino’s scheme more symmetrical than that of his predecessors. The role of Quality was repeated after Ficino by Francesco Patrizi’.<sup>8</sup>

Hence, while acknowledging Michael’s *scoperta*, Kristeller reasserted his basic contention on the originality of Ficino’s scheme of five natures. But all’s well that ends well. The next year, 1988, saw a reissue of Kristeller’s 1952 *Il pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino*, with only one substantive change, namely, an updated bibliography. I am happy to report that the 1988 bibliography contains not only every work Michael had published on Ficino to date, but also one book of Michael’s that had not yet even come out.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, except for Kristeller himself and Eugenio Garin, Michael is the most cited author by far in the 1988 bibliography. Kristeller remained to the end solicitous of his most illustrious successor in Ficinian studies.

Michael’s conversations with Edgar Wind and D. P. Walker are of a different order than that with Kristeller. Neither stood as the fountainhead of modern Ficinian studies, but both were and remain inescapable to anyone committed to these studies. In his writings, Michael has frequently and consistently expressed his debt to both. Yet neither has escaped Michael’s critical eye. As regards D. P. Walker, the work to consult is Michael’s *Synoptic Art: Marsilio Ficino on the History of Platonic Interpretation* of 1998,<sup>10</sup> a work whose greatness has not been adequately appreciated, perhaps because, despite adequate circulation,<sup>11</sup> it lacks indices to open up its amazing richness of sources and citations. If one work is needed to prove what a brilliant intellectual historian Michael is, *Synoptic Art* would easily

---

<sup>8</sup> Paul O. Kristeller, *Marsilio Ficino and His Work after Five Hundred Years*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987, p. 13 n. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Paul O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino. Edizione riveduta con bibliografia aggiornata*, Firenze: Casa Editrice le Lettere, 1988, p. 442: ‘M. J. B. Allen, *Icastes: Marsilio Ficino’s Interpretation of Plato’s Sophist*, in corso di stampa’. *Icastes* was published in 1989, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

<sup>10</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, *Synoptic Art: Marsilio Ficino on the History of Platonic Interpretation*, (Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e Testi, 40), Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1998.

<sup>11</sup> The database *WorldCat* reports 210 libraries with copies.

fit the bill. Perhaps one concrete result of this symposium could be to provide the impetus for creating online indices to this work. In any case, in *Synoptic Art*, Michael refutes one of the fundamental aspects of D. P. Walker's celebrated study of the *prisca theologia*, namely, on the position of Egypt as the birthplace of the ancient theology; Michael corrects Walker on the source for Ficino's interpretation of a prophecy of Plato,<sup>12</sup> and he explains what Walker failed to explain, namely, the absence of Socrates in the sequence of the *prisca theologi*.<sup>13</sup> In his 1984 book, *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino: A Study of His Phaedrus Commentary, Its Sources and Genesis*, Michael rejects Walker's theory of a Ficinian hierarchy of demons and insists at several points that we still do not have an adequate knowledge of the sources of Ficino's demonology because of an absence of an adequate investigation of the Byzantine texts on the topic, especially the writings of Psellus.<sup>14</sup> Finally, in his 1989 book, *Icastes: Marsilio Ficino's Interpretation of Plato's Sophist*,<sup>15</sup> Michael seems to have endorsed in language ever so careful Ioan Petru Culianu's denial of Walker's distinction between a spiritual and a demonic magic in Ficino.<sup>16</sup> I have ascertained that Michael has a reader's card to the Warburg Institute in London, but whether he ever appears there without a disguise I am not so sure.<sup>17</sup>

Interestingly enough, in the first of these corrections of Walker, that on the place of Egypt in Ficino's *prisca theologia*, Michael explicitly sides with Edgar Wind against Walker. This is not surprising to anyone who attends to the text and especially to the footnotes of Michael's articles. For, as I read Michael, Edgar Wind was not merely a source for Michael; he was at times an inspiration for themes and ideas. Again, this should not be surprising. Of all of Michael's great

---

<sup>12</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, *Synoptic Art*, p. 71, n. 55.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino: A Study of His Phaedrus Commentary, Its Sources and Genesis*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984, p. 9, n. 19-20 and p. 136.

<sup>15</sup> University of California Press: Berkeley.

<sup>16</sup> Michael J. B. Allen, *Icastes: Marsilio Ficino's Interpretation of Plato's Sophist*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989, p. 184, n. 15.

<sup>17</sup> At the risk of making Michael into an academic 'hit man', I note that he criticized not only Walker yet another time in *Nuptial Arithmetic: Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on the Fatal Number in Book VIII of Plato's Republic*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994, p. 107, n. 2 (on Walker's fallacious argument for an anti-astrological phase late in Ficino's career), but also Mariam Bullard in the same note (on her contention that Ficino only gradually internalized astrology) and perhaps most shockingly of all Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, and Raymond Klibansky for 'overstating the case for Ficino's melancholy by ignoring his wit, his playfulness, and the fundamental optimism of his philosophical premises' in their classic 1964 work, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of of Natural Philosophy (Nuptial Arithmetic, p. 84; see also p. 133).*

Ficinian forebears, Wind is the one most like him. At home with the myths, the practices, and language of antique religion and philosophy, deeply versed in classical philosophy and even patristic theology, and exquisitely capable of capturing in his prose the tone and mood of his subjects, Wind showed Michael, as he has showed all of us, the kind of magic great scholarship and literary skill can achieve. I am not privy to any insider information on Michael's contacts with Edgar Wind. I shall just point out, however, that in the years Michael studied at Oxford, 1963 to 1966, Edgar Wind, based in Trinity College, taught art history there to general acclaim. Wind was a Berliner like Kristeller and a refugee from Nazi Germany, but after two stints teaching at various places in the United States, he eventually settled in England in 1955, shortly before the time that a young kindred spirit was about to embark on his own life of scholarship at Oxford.

Nevertheless, not even Edgar Wind escaped Michael's critical gaze. In his 1984 article, 'Marsilio Ficino on Plato, the Neoplatonists and the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity', which first appeared in *Renaissance Quarterly* and then was reprinted in Michael's 1995 Variorum volume, *Plato's Third Eye*,<sup>18</sup> Michael launched a frontal assault on one of the most stimulating and learned appendices of Wind's *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, namely, Appendix 2, which has the title 'Pagan Vestiges of the Trinity'. Michael argued that Wind was fundamentally wrong in asserting that because of his Neoplatonism and his desire to harmonize Platonism and Christianity Ficino had bought into and had internalized an Arian, subordinationist conception of the Trinity as a dogma born out of the three Plotinian hypostases of the One, Mind, and Soul. Citing and connecting texts that Wind had ignored, including Ficino's treatment of the pseudonymous Second Letter of Plato, Michael proved three things: first, that Ficino was very sensitive to the difference between the Orthodox and Arian views of the Trinity and consistently affirmed the former; second, Ficino, with great finesse, was able to distinguish the views of Plato from those of the Neoplatonists who were the source of the Arianizing interpretation of the Trinity; and, third, that Ficino's understanding of the Platonic trinity was a long, slow process culminating in his last work, the commentary on Paul's epistles, which Wind knew, but misread, for Ficino had finally understood in his old age that he had been dealing with:

'a triad within a triad, a mystery within a mystery. But Ficino had only managed to arrive at this insight himself after a series of attempts to unravel the mysteries of the *Second Letter [of Plato]* In this regard we can see once again that it often took a

---

<sup>18</sup> Michael J. B. Allen (ed.), *Plato's Third Eye: studies in Marsilio Ficino's Metaphysics and its sources*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.

long time, sometimes as here or in the case of the *Phaedrus*' Charioteer myth a lifetime almost, for Ficino to perfect his understanding of Plato, to initiate himself fully into the master's occulted wisdom'.<sup>19</sup>

I quoted Michael at length here because if you substitute the name Allen for Ficino and Ficino for Plato, Michael in effect has given us a description of his own career-long quest to understand Ficino, even if this meant demonstrating Ficino's basic orthodoxy on an important point against great authority and against the current fashion to find scandalous heterodoxy under every rock or text. Michael, of course, recognized – and explicitly asserted<sup>20</sup> – that a century later Giordano Bruno would be burned at the stake for ideas not dissimilar to some of those of Ficino's. In this regard, we should also take note that in his article 'Marsilio Ficino's interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and its myth of the Demiurge', which was Michael's contribution to the 1987 Kristeller *Festschrift*, Michael took to task the distinguished scholar E. N. Tigerstedt for attributing to Ficino a heterodox interpretation of Plato when in fact Ficino had been carefully orthodox.<sup>21</sup> For Michael the point has never been to enlist Ficino in one camp or another, but to comprehend accurately the subtleties and developments of Ficino's thought.

This scholarly quest has its missionary side. Some years ago, Michael came to that dynamo of American culture, Albany, NY, to spread enlightenment about Marsilio Ficino. Ever attuned to the language of American popular culture, Michael explained to the students that they should understand Ficino's Indian gymnosophists to be yogis. Consequently, in closing, I think it would be just to quote here America's greatest living yogi: Yogi Berra, whom, I am sure, Michael greatly admires. Indeed, I for one have detected a certain resemblance between the two men, though I am well aware that Berra's friend Phil Rizzuto used to say that Berra's two sons were the luckiest boys in the world: they look like their mother. In any event, two Yogi-isms, or in Michael's terminology, two Neo-Chaldaic oracles, are appropriate here. The first is: when you come to a fork in the road, take it. The second is: it ain't over until it's over.

One of the extraordinary qualities of Michael's Ficinian scholarship is that when he started his career, he did come to a fork in the road. He could have followed after Kristeller in the tradition of grand scholarship that explained in

---

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 580.

<sup>20</sup> In his article 'At Variance: Marsilio Ficino, Platonism and Heresy' in D. Hedley and S. Hutton, eds., *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies on Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2008, pp. 31-44, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> 'Marsilio Ficino's Interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and its Myth of the Demiurge', in J. Hankins, J. Monfasani, and F. Purnell, Jr., eds., *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987, pp. 418-421, 429-33, 336.

detail the contours of the underlining principles of Ficino's metaphysics and mapped out the intricate relationships between Ficino's writings produced over the course of his more than forty years as a Renaissance philosopher. Alternatively, Michael could have followed the exciting new path pioneered by D. P. Walker, Egdar Wind, and others who introduced us to the unconventional Ficino dabbling in magic, demonology, theurgy and astrology. In perfect accord with the first Yogi-ism, Michael spontaneously embarked on both paths, and the world of scholarship, forty years later, has been much the better for it. In Kristellerian tradition, Michael has produced editions of Ficino's commentaries on *Philebus*, the *Sophist*, the *Phaedrus*, and part of the *Republic*. On the other hand, astrology was central in Michael's 1992 article 'Homo ad zodiacum: Marsilio Ficino and the Boethian Hercules';<sup>22</sup> as was magic in his 2009 article 'To Gaze Upon the Face of God Again: Philosophic Statuary, Pygmalion and Marsilio Ficino',<sup>23</sup> just as was demonology in two of his articles: first, in his 1994 article 'Marsilio Ficino, Socrates and the Daimonic Voice of Conscience',<sup>24</sup> which was chapter 4 of his *Synoptic Art: Marsilio Ficino on the History of Platonic Interpretation*;<sup>25</sup> and again in his 2006 article 'At Variance: Marsilio Ficino, Platonism and Heresy'.<sup>26</sup> One can fairly argue that in taking both paths at the fork in the road, Michael has explored Ficino more in the round than have all other scholars who have taken one or the other of the paths at the fork in the road. Perhaps the vintage example of Michael's ability to take both forks in the road is his 1994 book, *Nuptial Arithmetic: Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on the Fatal Number in Book VIII of Plato's Republic*, where in a dazzling dissection of Ficino's interpretation of Plato's famously cryptic fatal number, Michael not only produced a critical edition and translation of Ficino's *De Numero Fatali*, but also explained Ficino's 'mathematical magic' and exposed the therapeutic potential of Ficino's 'geometer-magus'.<sup>27</sup>

As for the Yogi-ism that it's not over until it's over, I would like to call attention to three extraordinary recent articles. In his article 'Marsilio Ficino,

<sup>22</sup> Published in *Forma e parola: studi i memoria di Fredi Chiappelli*, ed. D. J. Dutschke, et al., Rome: Bulzoni, 1992, pp. 205-221, and reprinted as Essay XIII in Allen's *Plato's Third Eye*.

<sup>23</sup> In *Rinascimento*, ser. 2:48 (2008), pp. 123-136.

<sup>24</sup> In G. Aranci, P. De Marco, and T. Verdon, eds., *Teologie a Firenze nell'età di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: V Centenario della morte di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Firenze 1494-1994)*, Bologna: Edizione Dehoniane, 1994, pp. 301-324.

<sup>25</sup> *Synoptic Art*, pp. 125-147.

<sup>26</sup> See n. 20 above.

<sup>27</sup> *Nuptial Arithmetic*, pp. 96-100. See pp. 140-142, for the suggestion that in Ficino's mind that Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation, had taken on 'some of the attributes of a Platonic geometer-magus.'

Levitation, and the ascent to Capricorn' of 2006,<sup>28</sup> Michael makes a connection that not even the most daring of previous scholars ever made, namely, between Ficino's understanding of astrology and Platonic death on the one hand and Christ's Transfiguration on the other, with the conclusion that 'the very centre of Ficino's mystical Christianized Neoplatonism' was not the Nativity in Bethlehem or the Crucifixion on Golgotha, but the Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor.<sup>29</sup> In other words, light metaphysics has given way to light mysticism. I know for a fact that Michael is now investigating possible links between Ficino and late Byzantine hesychasm, a theology and a set of religious practices which revolved about the uncreated light of Christ on Mt. Tabor. In this connection, one will note that in his article 'At Variance: Marsilio Ficino, Platonism and Heresy', Michael points out that 'Ficino actually calls light 'visible soul' and soul 'invisible light''.<sup>30</sup> Michael then proceeded to discuss Zoroastrian and Hermetic light worship, at which point he, called attention to 'the haunting significances too ['haunting', I interject here, as anyone who has read much Michael Allen can tell you, is one of Michael's most favorite adjectival participles, matched only by his preference for the adjectival participle 'arresting'] of the reference to God in St. James' Epistle 1:17 as 'the father of lights' and of the noonday setting with the stridulating cicadas of Plato's *Phaedrus*. These harmonising insects Ficino identified with demons in the particular sense now of men who had entered, after philosophising for the requisite three millennia, a quasi-immaterial, light-filled demonic condition'.<sup>31</sup> This conclusion leads in turn to another, namely, that 'the demons and, by implications, our own ascending philosophical, Apollonian selves, [are] beings who can pass like Alice through the terpsichorean illusions of the mirror plane into the world of intellectual, of uranian light'.<sup>32</sup> This is why, Michael explains, '[f]or Ficino, predictably, one of its most important consequences [i. e., the consequence of 'the ascent into the mystical 'glory' of light'] was to draw our attention to Christ's Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor as recounted by Matthew 17.1-9 and Mark 9.2-9, as the supreme Platonic moment in the New Testament'.<sup>33</sup> In other words, in his latter years Ficino was working towards a light mysticism that combined demonology, Christianity, Platonism, and an experience similar to that of the Byzantine hesychasts' contemplating the light of Mt. Tabor.

---

<sup>28</sup> In B. Pinchard and P. Servet, eds., *Éducation, transmission, rénovation à la Renaissance*, Geneva: Droz, 2006, pp. 223-240.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>30</sup> 'At Variance', p. 41.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

The third recent article I wish to call attention to is the previously mentioned 'To Gaze upon the Face of God: Philosophic Statuary, Pygmalion and Marsilio Ficino', which treats Ficino's engagement with statuary magic and where Michael concludes that 'the permutations on the Pygmalion theme suggest a number of intricate and arresting [that word again] possibilities'<sup>34</sup> and that '[t]he statue for Ficino, at least in certain mystical or poetic contexts, is therefore the symbolic nexus between man and God, ironically so given its traditional associations with idolatry'.<sup>35</sup> Michael then concludes by tying Ficinian statuary magic in a totally unexpected way with the conventional precepts of Ficinian Platonic love, to wit:

'The religious injunction that we must be born again means in effect that we must first fabricate, and then animate, the statue not only of ourselves ... but also of what we must successively pursue as the supreme object of our desire: first a beautiful beloved, then Beauty as an Idea, and at last the one God of our idolatry and of our image-making and our image-breaking powers alike'.<sup>36</sup>

Where these new investigations will go, I have no idea. But they do suggest that retirement for Michael will lead to new forks in the road at which points he will gaily proceed down all the new paths. I myself can easily foresee another *Variorum* volume some years hence on Ficino, the Transfiguration, and Pygmalion. I am sure that when Michael puts that volume together it will have an all together much more arresting title than I could ever have conjured up that will haunt our collective scholarly memory. But more importantly this purported volume and the other work he will produce will continue Michael's career as an historian of philosophy, of religion, of the occult, and of magic. In short, Michael will continue to be an extraordinary example of the literary scholar as intellectual historian.

## II

### *Brian Copenhaver: Or Academic Administrator as Shape-Shifter*

Brian has spent most of his long academic career as an administrator in one guise or another. This prompts the happy thought that we are all gather here to bury Caesar. Brian will remain a scholar to his last dying breath, but his days as an autocrat are now over. Not that he didn't excel within the jungles of academic administration; but we are here to speak of the *good* Brian, not administrator Brian. Indeed, what is perhaps the most extraordinary aspect of Brian's career is how he proved to be an amazingly productive scholar not before he became an

---

<sup>34</sup> 'At Variance', p. 135.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

administrator, but during all the time that he was an administrator. In academia, he exemplified what it means to lead from the front. Hence, the title of my talk. An administrator is not supposed to be so productive. He would almost have to be a different person: in one form a paper-pushing official fighting bureaucratic battles and contending with budget crises, and in another a totally different animal, a creative researcher discovering, recovering, and explaining facts and ideas of epochs long past. Brian has had to remake himself almost on a daily basis to maintain the dual tracks of his career. And what is even more wondrous, as a publishing scholar Brian has almost constantly reappeared in a new shape, starting as a student of Renaissance occultism and magic and now, more lately, as an expert in medieval and Renaissance logic and modern Italian philosophy, with stops along the way to explore the Cabala, Renaissance humanism, and the history of science.

Brian's first major publication was *Symphorien Champier and the Reception of the Occultist Tradition* in 1978,<sup>37</sup> which has remained to this day the unquestioned standard work on this sixteenth-century doctor, humanist, and combative intellectual. Champier was an outspoken opponent of occultism, of demonic magic, and of most of astrology. Given Brian's brilliant success as a dean and provost, one might not unreasonably suspect that at the very start of his career Brian learned much more about the dark arts that Champier opposed than Champier ever intended to teach. But as I have said, I only want to speak here of the good Brian and not delve into the ways and means of an academic administrator.

The book on Champier demanded an exceptional command of Latin in addition to the forbidding arcana of the occult tradition, medieval medicine, and the intricacies of premodern astronomy and astrology. The acquisition of this rare erudition would suffice as the basis of any ordinary scholarly career. But Brian's has not been an ordinary scholarly career. Yes, early on he did cooperate in the editing of William Mewe's Neolatin drama *Pseudomagia*, which fits very nicely with his study of Champier's anti-magical campaign.<sup>38</sup> And yes, very recently he has published a 700 page volume consisting of an edition, translation, and dense commentary on Polydore Vergil's *De Inventoribus Rerum*, a major

---

<sup>37</sup> Brian Copenhaver, *Symphorien Champier and the Reception of the Occultist Tradition*, The Hague: Mouton, 1978.

<sup>38</sup> Brian actually cooperated with John Coldewey on three editions: (1) William Mewe, *Pseudomagia: A Neo-Latin Drama*, Neuwkoop: De Graff, 1979; (2) Thomas Watson, *Antigone*. William Alabaster, *Roxana*. Peter Mease, *Adrastus Parentans sive Vindicta*, Hildesheim: Olms, 1987; and (3) William Mewe, *Pseudomagia*. Aquila Cruso, *Euribates Pseudomagus*. John Chappell, *Susenbrotus or Fortunia, Zelotypus*, Hildesheim, 1991.

contribution to Neolatin studies of which any scholar would be proud.<sup>39</sup> But Brian's next book after that on Champier revealed a very different kind of scholar. In 1991 he published *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in English Translation, with Notes and Introduction*.<sup>40</sup> In this new epiphany Brian manifested quite a different set of expertise knowledge. He had now become a classical scholar, a Hellenist to be precise, translating a large corpus of Greek texts and expounding late antique religion and theosophy. Brian had produced the first translation into English based on a reliable text of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Again, his work has no rival. It remains the standard text in English and a worthy companion on the shelf next to the great scholarly volumes of Fowden, Festugière, Mahé, and Nock.

But already within a year of *Corpus Hermeticum* Brian had already completely changed his scholarly profile. In 1992 appeared his *Renaissance Philosophy*, as volume 3 of the Oxford University series, *A History of Western Philosophy*.<sup>41</sup> He had now become an historian of philosophy. He, of course, would eventually migrate from the History Department to the Philosophy Department. Far be it for those of us who have remained in History to suggest treasonous activity on the part of one of our own, least of all for anyone who is an admirer of Paul Oskar Kristeller, a hero to Brian as to most students of the Renaissance. But it worth pausing for a moment to consider Brian in relation to Kristeller. As Kristeller migrated to history, with most of his doctoral students being in the History Department in his later years, Brian has migrated to Philosophy. But in larger sense, neither migrated at all. From the start Kristeller had a profound historical orientation and Brian's philosophical interests are apparent from his earliest writings. All the humanistic disciplines have an historical base ('Geschichte über alles', as surely some nineteenth-century German said), and more often than not the vicissitudes of fortune and institutional structures determine in what compartment of human history one begins. So what is done in a history department can be done just as legitimately in a philosophy department or vice-versa. Why even an English professor can do Renaissance philosophy since as Aristotle teaches, though nature does nothing in vain, it does allow for the occasional monstrous aberration. So it was only just that Brian dedicated his history of Renaissance philosophy to Kristeller.

---

<sup>39</sup> Polydore Vergil, *On Discovery*, ed. and trans. Brian P. Copenhaver, (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 6), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

<sup>40</sup> Brian Copenhaver (ed.), *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in English Translation, with Notes and Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

<sup>41</sup> Brian Copenhaver, *Renaissance Philosophy, A History of Western Philosophy* vol. 3, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

This history also reveals another quality of Brian's: his sense of honor. A great scholar, Charles B. Schmitt, initially committed to writing the book, but he died very unexpectedly before he had begun in earnest. The task was turned over to Brian, and though Brian is in fact responsible for 99% of what one reads in the volume, he kept Charles B. Schmitt's name on the titlepage as co-author. Oddly enough, the Oxford volume is a competitor of a book Schmitt edited not long before, the *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Perhaps because Schmitt realized the difficulties of the Cambridge volume, he agreed to write the Oxford *History*. In any case, Brian's Oxford *History* remains the best overall history we have in any language of Renaissance philosophy, ending with a chapter on 'Renaissance Philosophy and Modern Memory' that is memorable as much for its eloquence as for its erudition.

Amid all this book writing, Brian was also hard at work, producing articles on various topics. Some of these articles one could almost predict, as he wrote on Renaissance Hermeticism and magic, proving for instance that Francis Yates was quite wrong in believing that Ficino's magical teaching came out of the *Corpus Hermeticum* since in fact the Hermetic do not contain the gobs of magical lore she assumed.<sup>42</sup> But the articles he began producing also revealed still yet another Brian, one that could not have been predicted from his first publications: Brian the Hebrew scholar and student of Renaissance Cabala. The first indication of this new field of interest was his 1980 article 'Jewish Theologies of Space in the Scientific Revolution: Henry More, Joseph Raphson, Isaac Newton and their Predecessors' in the *Annals of Science*.<sup>43</sup> The work of Brian the Hebraist has blossomed into ground-breaking scholarship on Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. What Brian has shown is that the conventional interpretation of Pico's famous Oration, to which later editors added the description 'on the Dignity of Man', is a modern fabrication created whole cloth out of a Kantian reading of Pico as a Kantian *ante litteram* primarily concerned with preserving human dignity through the freedom of moral choice. Rather, Pico was in fact a Cabalist and the key to understanding the oration was his proposal to bring about the elevation of man to the angelic level of the Cherubim through a Cabalistic scheme of theosophy and Neoplatonic mysticism.<sup>44</sup> By absorbing the interpretation of the

---

<sup>42</sup> See his 'Hermes Trismegistus, Proclus and the Question of a Philosophy of Magic in the Renaissance', in I. Merkel and A. Debus (eds.), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, Washington, D.C.: Folger Books, 1988, pp. 79-111.

<sup>43</sup> Vol. 37, pp. 489-548.

<sup>44</sup> See his 'The Secret of Pico's Oration: Cabala and Renaissance Philosophy', *Midwest Studies in Philosophy*, 26 (2002), pp. 56-81; and 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola' in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pico-della-mirandola>.

Cabalist Abraham Abulafia of Maimonides' teaching concerning esoteric doctrine, Pico even discovered a secret Aristotle, as Brian instructs us in one of his articles, not known in the Middle Ages, but intuited by a later reader of Pico, the German Cabalist Johann Reuchlin.

More recently, Brian has expanded his Hebrew scholarship to take into account the other great Italian Hebraist and Cabalist of the age, Giles of Viterbo. I am here to tell you that the article he recently published with Daniel Stein Kokin, 'Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome*',<sup>45</sup> is not exactly the paper he delivered in Rome in the Biblioteca Angelica last year. In that elegant setting, Brian exposed yet another side of himself, namely, Brian the pornographer. He not only promised pornography in the title of his talk in the Biblioteca Angelica, but he delivered on his promise with score upon score of illustrations, some in vivid color. Fortunately for him and all the clerics in the audience – and, I confess, to the disappointment of the rest of us there – nothing can cure you more quickly of a taste for pornography than illustrations of Cabalistic sexual symbolism. No wonder the Cabalists wished to leave the body behind in their ascent to the divine. Repenting of his momentary impetuosity (as the saying goes, 'what happens in Rome, stays in Rome'), Brian cleaned up his act when he published the paper in *Renaissance Quarterly*.

Ever the Protean shape-shifter, Brian has continued to remake himself even as his formal position as a UCLA professor winds down. For one thing, he has now become an expert on the history of logic. This new expertise is clearly on display in his translation, in cooperation with Lodi Nauta, of the *Dialectical Disputations* of the brilliant Renaissance humanist Lorenzo Valla.<sup>46</sup> The edition is notable not only for making Valla's work available in English for the first time, but also for its substantial introduction, which is in itself a mini-history of medieval and Renaissance logic. And now, in cooperation with Calvin Normore and Terry Parsons, he has just come out with a translation of and commentary on the prime medieval textbook of logic, Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicae*.<sup>47</sup>

But wait! There's more! In his latest incarnation, Brian has now also established himself as an expert on modern Italian philosophy. His massive 2012 book, *From Kant to Croce: Modern Philosophy in Italy, 1800-1950*, written with daughter Rebecca, promises to be not the culmination, but rather the dramatic kick-off of

---

<sup>45</sup> Brian Copenhaver and Daniel Stein Kokin, 'Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 67 (2014), pp. 1-42.

<sup>46</sup> As vols. 49-50 in 'The I Tatti Renaissance Library', Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012.

<sup>47</sup> Brian Copenhaver, Calvin G. Normore & Terence Parsons (eds.), *Peter of Spain: Summaries of Logic: Text, Translation, Introduction, and Notes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

yet another Copenhaverian line of research.<sup>48</sup> Already he's published an article with daughter Rebecca on the most famous modern Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce,<sup>49</sup> and has written, again with daughter Rebecca again, an article on the impact in Italy of the Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid.<sup>50</sup> Far be it for me to suggest that all this is a clever ploy by Brian to continue to get invitations to opulent Italian conferences, but covering the Italian philosophical waterfront from Pico to Gramsci surely makes Brian one of the leading North American experts in the field, just as he is in multiple other fields.<sup>51</sup>

Since Brian has on tap forthcoming editions and translations of Pico and various Cabala texts, as well as books on magic, philosophy, and intellectual history, not only will he further solidify his preeminent position in his chosen specialities, but we ourselves are far from seeing his last transformation as a scholar. I would not be surprised if a decade or two from now, those of us who are left gather to hold a deeply serious conference on the early, middle, and late Copenhaver only to discover shortly after that with his latest publication once again a new Copenhaver has emerged. But until then I am grateful to have had the opportunity here to pay tribute to one of the great American scholars of our time.

---

<sup>48</sup> Brian Copanhaver and Rebecca Copenhaver, *From Kant to Croce: Modern Philosophy in Italy, 1800-1950*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012.

<sup>49</sup> Brian Copanhaver, 'How Croce Became a Philosopher,' *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, 25 (2008), pp. 75-94.

<sup>50</sup> Brian Copanhaver, 'The Strange Italian Voyage of Thomas Reid', *British Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 14 (2006), pp. 601-626.

<sup>51</sup> For Gramsci, see B. Copenhaver and R. Copenhaver, *From Kant to Croce*, pp. 147-152, 159-162, 717-752, 762-778, and *ad indicem*.

# Reviews



MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, JOSÉ, *THE ATTITUDE OF THE MEDIEVAL LATIN TRANSLATORS TOWARDS THE ARABIC SCIENCES*, (MICROLOGUS' LIBRARY, 75), FIRENZE: SISMEL – EDIZIONI DEL GALLUZZO, 2016, IX + 216 PP., ISBN 978-88-8450-694-8 (PBK)

LOURDES BONHOME PULIDO  
UNIVERSITY OF CÓRDOBA



The volume presented by José Martínez Gázquez represents a compendium of the most relevant authors and their works from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> CE, a period where the transmission of ideas was influenced by the relationship between East and West. The author also pays attention to the importance of several cities which throughout these centuries were the focus of culture and knowledge transfer. The work analyzes the relevance of the translation of works from Arabic and Greek into the Latin language, but also shows how the scientific and cultural exchange was determined by the development of the political and historical issues but also were influenced by the original language in which these ideas were written and therefore by the language of reception, in this case, the Latin language.

The book displays an interesting structure, composed of seven principal chapters. The first one is a brief but concise introduction (pp. 5-7) where the author allows the reader to develop an idea of the work presented in this volume.

The second chapter 'The translations from Arabic to Latin' (pp. 9-134) collects the most relevant authors and their works during the period of 9<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> CE. The beginning of this chapter (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> CE) reviews the works of two important authors: Alvarus Paulus Cordubensis († ca. 860) and Gerbert of Aurillac-Sylvester II (945-1003). This part is preceded by an introduction of the state of knowledge transfer before this period. The 9<sup>th</sup> CE was a period of changes (political, social and cultural) and the Arabic works about science, philosophy and others subjects started being translated into Latin, the official in most of the kingdoms established in the West. On the second part of this chapter, the authors studied are more numerous. The period between the 11<sup>th</sup> CE and the 14<sup>th</sup> CE was a great period for translations in the Latin world therefore the increase of relevant authors. Another important element of this period is that translators began giving information about their names and dates. This information allowed the researchers to understand the environment in which the work was being translated and therefore comprehend the possible changes or adaptations in the

text made by the translator. Authors of this period were Constantine the African (1015-1087), John of Seville (fl. 1118-1142), Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187), among others.

The third chapter of this volume 'Importance of Spain' (pp. 135-138), collects the relevant role of Spain on this subject. The Iberian Peninsula was under Muslim authority and Arabic was the language of the Empire. These political and religious changes affected the society of the Peninsula in general but especially the society's ideas. During the Muslim period, the Peninsula was the cradle of the knowledge, primarily on astronomy and astrology, but there was also other significant works. During this period, some influential people paid attention to the need to translate these works that were mainly written in Arabic. The translation of these works, into Latin, allowed their understanding and the acquisition of this new knowledge. This was an undertaking started by other authors as Mark of Toledo, Ramon Llull or Arnald of Vilanova –presented by Martínez Gázquez at the previous chapter- who translated and transmitted many of these ideas. Their objective was to understand this 'new' knowledge and therefore incorporate it into their own thought.

In 'Criticism of the translation process' (pp. 139-152) Martínez Gázquez begins by explaining the importance of the translators' work on the transfer of ideas. He discusses the creation of new ideas that originate when the translator, in addition to translating, contributes to the creation of new ideas by inserting his own thoughts and opinions in his translation work. Furthermore he discusses the lost of knowledge missed by the translator's work. Martínez Gázquez describe this process of transmission using the chronicles written by Muslim authors and the works of Roger Bacon (1214-1292) and Simon of Genoa (fl. 1296). In a second part of this chapter, we can find some works where both religions, Islam and Christianity, were in contact, leading to the occasional understanding between them. The chapter ends with a review of James II of Aragon's role and the importance of his work.

The fifth chapter 'Toledo, the Medieval city of knowledge' (pp. 153-172) covers the history of Toledo during the Middle Ages and its role in creating the most important school of translators. In this chapter we can find the biography and works of authors from different religions, cultures and historical periods, such as Raymond of Marseilles (fl. ca. 1140), Al-Idrisi (1099-1167?), Azarchel (1029-1087) or Dalmau ses Planes (1360-1366), among others.

'Castilian Texts' (pp. 173-182), as its title implies, focuses on texts written during the early Christian rule in Spain, represented by Castile. From this period, Martínez Gázquez has highlighted the work of the well-known Alfonso X the Wise, John of Capua, Cardinal Cisneros or Miguel de Cervantes, the last one surprising the inexperienced reader. The volume ends with some concluding remarks (pp. 183-184), a bibliographical (pp. 185-206) and index sections.

Both in Martínez Gázquez's work, structure and exposition, stand clear. The author manages with several centuries of translation's history, some of the most relevant intellectuals of the period and their works. He did not miss any important information and allows the reader to understand the value and needs involved in the translation process that set into Latin very important works from different religious and cultural contexts. The author also shows briefly but properly how the transmission of knowledge was influenced by the information achieved from the content transmitted by these works.



MONFERRER-SALA, JUAN PEDRO, *APOCALIPSIS DEL PSEUDO ATANASIO* [ApPsAt(AR) II], EDICIÓN, TRADUCCIÓN ANOTADA Y ESTUDIO, (BARCINO MONOGRAPHICA ORIENTALIA, 4), BARCELONA: INSTITUT DEL PRÒXIM ORIENT ANTIC (IPOA) – UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA EDICIONS, 2016, 221 PP., ISBN 978-84-475-3967-3 (PBK)

LOURDES BONHOME PULIDO  
UNIVERSITY OF CÓRDOBA



The relevance of the literature which has been created from biblical texts is gradually raising, even more if we are referring to Arabic versions. In the current volume Monferrer-Sala, who has been working for a long time with this kind of texts, presents a new study, edition and translation of the Apocalypses of Pseudo-Athanasius – a very special text because it has been preserved and written in Arabic but from a Coptic original. The Apocalypses of Pseudo-Athanasius was made from two different manuscripts: the Codex Vaticano arabo 158 and the Paris Arabic 153, this one used by Monferrer-Sala for the editing and which is known as Family Pseudo-Athanasius II.

The author skillfully introduces this volume in the ‘Prólogo’ (pp. 9-11) section, where Monferrer-Sala explains the importance and need for future works similar to this one to preserve the textual production and, indeed, the knowledge that the Oriental Christianity provides us.

In the ‘Introducción’ (pp. 13-38) the author presents a really well done summary of the kind of literature he is going to explain, not only describing the peculiarities of the one known as Pseudo-Athanasius, but other similar works that have been preserved in the Coptic, Arabic and Syriac languages as well. Monferrer-Sala provides the reader the most relevant and up to date information about Arabic Christian Apocalypses literature. In the case of the ApPsAt(ar), it was written specially to refuse the Islamic invasion of the Middle East. Furthermore Monferrer-Sala focuses in the framework in which the ApPsAt(ar) has been written including both the Jewish context as well as the Islamic milieu. This framework will influence the structure and composition of this Apocalypse text in which there are numerous elements clearly related with this framework. Therefore, the ApPsAt(ar)II has a double nature: one related to the kind of text, the Apocalypse literature; and the second one, relate to its framework, the Coptic Egypt invaded by Muslims. The editing of this manuscript version and its translation, ‘Edición y traducción de ApPsAt(ar)’ (pp. 39-126), is introduced

following an unusual but really efficient system of notation in which the author carries out an study of the text. In the editing of the manuscript, Monferrer-Sala compares the manuscript Vat. Ar. 158, which has been taken as the principal text, with the manuscript Par. Ar. 153. The differences between both manuscripts show that the author of Vat. Ar. 158 had modified some narrative passages due to adapt the story to his audience. The Spanish translation of this manuscript had been made by Monferrer-Sala with a clear and precise technique in which the author has been really respectful with the original text achieving hold the use of the language in Spanish. This is a great difficult regarding the nature of the ApPsAt(ar)II and its characteristics, as well as the difficult related with the translation from Arabic into Spanish. The author carries out a study of the text regarding the graphological, linguistic and written peculiarities of this manuscript. For this study, Monferrer-Sala uses other Semitic languages, mainly the Coptic language in which the original text was written, but also Syriac and Greek or Hebrew with the aim to drawn the possible Vorlage of this text.

In addition, Monferrer-Sala uses in the footnotes a great bibliographical variety that allows him to explain and to make up the context and the reality of this manuscript. Some of this elements analysed by Monferrer-Sala are, among others, related with religious concepts as *kanisah* (in p. 76 note 43) a word took from Syriac which is a loanword from Aramaic *kēnisha'* / *kēnīsha'* / *kēnīshṭa'* used with the significante of 'sinagoge, assamble or school' - explains Monferrer-Sala- or the concept *nāmūs* (p. 77 note 45) very well analysed by the author who refers us to the Greek origin of this word which have been taken by the copyist of the ApPsAt(ar) through the Syriac language. Other concepts are toponyms (as Al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah or Urūšalīm), specific terms of this kind of literature (as the reference to *buhtanaṣar* or *ḡabābiraha*), proper names (Dāwūd, Ḡabra'īl, etc) as well as expresions used by the copyist with a singular intention related to his audience and the framework in which he working (see *akālīl al-i'tirāf* on note 94 or *al-amānah al-mustaqīmah* on note 25 for samples). Monferrer-Sala also explains historical facts referred in this text and introduces a brief biography of the relevant historical characters that appear in the ApPsAt(ar).

The study of the text content as well as its linguistic peculiarities has been done by Monferrer-Sala impeccably. The almost forty pages of bibliography 'Bibliografía' (pp. 127-182) corroborate the previous documentation process done by Monferrer-Sala as well as his extensive training in this field. The volume ends with the index 'Índices' (pp.183- 221) which complements this work.

We should congratulate Monferrer-Sala for this volume because, in addition to its relevance and despite its amount and complexity, the information it provides has been collected following a designed structure that makes the information clear and very useful for the reader.

WALLIS, PETER (ED.), *ADELARD OF BATH: THE FIRST ENGLISH SCIENTIST BY LOUISE COCHRANE WITH ADDITIONAL MATERIAL BY CHARLES BURNETT*, BATH ROYAL LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION, 2013, 171 PP., ISBN 978-0-9544941-3-1 (PBK)

MARÍA DOLORES CEREZO BARRAGÁN  
UNIVERSITY OF CORDOBA



The volume edited by Peter Wallis not only republishes a facsimile of Louise Cochrane's original (first published in 1994 and out of print for years),<sup>1</sup> it also represents a very successful attempt to include new material providing the reader with a broader historical context of Adelard of Bath and his times. As Wallis notes in the preface: 'additional new material brings the story of Adelard scholarship up to date with an account of achievements since Cochrane's book was written' (p. xi).

The book starts with a foreword by Prof. Jim Al-Khalili's, which is followed by an acknowledgements section and a chapter devoted to picture credits. Bracketed by Peter Wallis's preface, the opening pages consist of a general introduction by Peter and Edith Wallis and a prologue to Cochrane's volume, 'Louise Cochrane and her Book on Adelard', by Prof. Charles Burnett. Julian Vicent's map, which shows most of the places mentioned in Louise Cochrane's book, is followed by Cochrane's facsimile *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist*. In 'Epilogue to Adelard of Bath' introduced below, Charles Burnett offers insight into the new editions of several Adelard's Latin works released after the publication of Louise Cochrane's book in 1994. The edition is supplemented by two appendices: 'Adelard Time Line' by Michael Davis and Cochrane family's 'Louise Cochrane Biography'.

In the original preface (pp. 21-22), Cochrane explained her interest in Adelard of Bath, stressing his fundamental influence on the development of scientific thought: 'Adelard's work influenced the development of architecture and even made a contribution to the processes of simple arithmetic' (p. 21). Evoking her first visit to Bath City Reference Library, Cochrane underlined that in those days

---

<sup>1</sup> Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist*, London: British Museum, 1994.

‘only one book devoted to Adelard’s life was available, in German, published in 1935’ (p. 21) – not without mentioning the seminal volume edited by Charles Burnett’s (1987).<sup>2</sup>

Casting light on the transmission of scientific knowledge in Adelard’s times, Prof. Jim Al-Khalili’s foreword gives a short description of the Golden Age of Arabic Science. Al-Khalili refers to the translation into Arabic of the great texts of the Ancient Greeks, emphasizing the original works that ‘was added to humankind’s body of science by Arab and Persian giants like Avicenna, Alhazen, al-Khwārizmī and Bīrūnī, to name but a few’ (p. vii). Focusing on Adelard of Bath’s achievements, Al-Khalili concludes that he was one of the most influential scholars of medieval Europe, highlighting his translations of some of the most important Greek and Arabic texts into Latin as well as his works on meteorology, astronomy, botany and zoology.

The volume continues with an introductory section, ‘Adelard, his World and his Legacy’ (pp. 1-10), in which Peter and Edith Wallis introduces the reader to late eleventh and early twelfth century historical and city planning of Bath. The chapter represents a detailed summary of the educational and learning context in late eleventh century England, underling that French cathedral schools were setting for intellectual exchanges: ‘we know of several tenth century Englishmen who, like Adelard a century later, completed their education in France’ (p. 6). This ‘General Introduction’ ends with a broad overview of Adelard’s legacy, stressing Adelard’s significant collection of scholarly works – original contributions and translation from the Arabic. It focusing on Adelard’s translation of Euclid’s *Elements*, by specifying that it ‘brought to Western scholarship for the first time the use of theorems and proof to develop mathematical arguments’ (p. 7). It is worth bearing in mind that in this section, the authors not only refer to Cochrane’s 1994 biography, but also use different essays published after Cochrane’s original, ‘providing ample further reading on the subjects considered’ (p. 1).

The opening pages continue with an introduction to Cochrane’s volume ‘Louise Cochrane and her Book on Adelard’ (pp. 2-14), in which Charles Burnett takes us into a different setting, as he deeply looks into the structure of Cochrane’s volume. With the aim of providing the reader a full picture of Cochrane’s interest in Adelard of Bath, Burnett explains how ‘*Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* marks the culmination of the interests of Louise Cochrane in mathematics, local history, the Middle Ages and (more generally) in communication’ (p. II). He also notes that Cochrane ‘started collecting copies on manuscripts and printed works on Adelard’ (p. II), clarifying that she became

---

<sup>2</sup> Charles Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath : an English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, London: Warburg Institute, 1987.

involved in Adelard after his Conference on Adelard of Bath – in fact, Cochrane’s article on *Mappae clavicula* was published on the basis on her contribution to the Conference. Thorough an overall perspective on the republished volume Burnett places a particular emphasis on the structure of Cochrane’s work.

Cochrane’s facsimile, ‘*Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist*’ (pp. 17-158), begins with the ‘Preface’ (pp. 21-22), and continues with the sections devoted to ‘Abbreviations’ (p. 23) and ‘List of Illustrations’ (p. 24), which are bracketed by the ten chapters that comprise the book. The first chapter of Cochrane’s volume, ‘Early Background’ (pp. 25-34), emphasizes that in the twelfth century, Adelard’s works marked a decisive stage in the history of ideas. Both Adelard’s translations and original works are detailed below, stressing his translation of Euclid’s *Elements* and al-Khwārizmī’s *Zij*, as well as Adelard’s reintroduction to Europe ‘the full corpus of Euclid’s geometry as a logical deductive method’ (p. 25). ‘Concerning the Same and the Different’ (pp. 35-45) is the second chapter of Cochrane’s volume in which a thorough description of Adelard’s *De eodem et diverso* is provided to the reader. ‘Tutor al Laon’ (pp. 46-55) delves into Adelard’s career in which he accompanied his nephew and other pupils to Laon. Cochrane explains that in this period of time ‘universities were not formally established in Europe, but popular masters would draw students from many places and cathedral schools developed reputations based on the work of particular men’ (p. 46). The next chapter of Cochrane’s volume, ‘Journey to Syria’ (pp. 56-64), attempts to explain Adelard’s way to Syria after leaving Laon, stating how it is likely that he traveled via southern Italy, Sicily and Greece. In the fifth chapter, ‘Return to England-*Quaestiones naturales*’ (pp. 65-76), Cochrane focuses on Adelard’s thinking by referring that this text ‘marks a transition in Adelard’s thinking with its emphasis on generalisations to his increased interest in natural philosophy and the application of ‘reason’ to scientific method in arriving at his conclusions’ (p. 66).

‘Falconry’ (pp. 77-93) highlights insights into Adelard’s treatise *De cura accipitrum* (‘On the Care of Falcons’), describing it as the earliest western European treatise on falconry, explaining that ‘the format is again dialogue between Adelard and his nephew. The following chapter, ‘Adelard’s translation of Euclid’s *Elements*’ (pp. 94-104), focuses on the three versions of Euclid’s *Elements* attributed to Adelard from the Arabic differentiated by Marshall Clagett. In ‘Adelard and al-Hhwārizmī’s *Zij*’ (pp. 105-116), Cochrane starts describing the importance of Adelard’s translation of al-Hhwārizmī’s *Zij*, by recognizing that ‘there are those who consider it to have been the more contribution to Western scientific thought’ (p. 105). ‘Adelard and Astrology’ (pp. 117-128), offers insights into the growing interest in astrology in the twelfth century as a result of the translations from the Arabic originated in Spain. In ‘The Astrolabe Treatise’ (pp. 129-138), Cochrane goes into *De opera astrolapsus*: ‘like his *Regule abaci*, this work is

intended to instruct on the method of using a particular piece of apparatus, and it is assumed that an astrolabe is at hand' (p. 129). Cochrane devotes the section 'Conclusion' (pp. 139-140) to make a general reflection of Adelard's intellectual development which 'reflects trends now we established as representative of the history of ideas in the twelfth century (p. 139).

Focusing on the additional material by Charles Burnett we find an 'Epilogue to Adelard of Bath. Recent Adelard Scholarship' (pp. 159-166) with a detailed introduction to the new editions of several Adelard's Latin works released after the publication of Louise Cochrane's book in 1994. For the purpose of gathering the recent Adelard scholarship, Professor Burnett begins by discussing new publications associated with Adelard's natural science works, mathematics and astrology, keeping up with an overview on his contemporary influence; these sections are followed by a chapter in which the studies on Adelard's doctrine and philosophy are explained.

Burnett's 'Natural Science Works' (p. 159) starts with a reference to Peter Dronke's editing work, and explains that he commissioned the edition and translation of some of Adelard's original Latin texts in the *Cambridge Medieval Classics* series, which resulted in the highly regarded Burnett's volume *Adelard of Bath, Conversation with his Nephew*. A book consisted of the edition and translation of Adelard's *De eodem el diverso, Quaestiones naturales* and *De cura accipitrum* – the volume includes a preliminary study on Adelard's life and works.<sup>3</sup>

Burnett's chapter 'Mathematical Works' (pp. 160-161) not only provides deep insights into the editing work related to Adelard's texts in the field of geometry and arithmetic, but also revises some conclusions raised in Cochrane's facsimile. Burnett deepens into Busard's edition of the three versions of Euclid's *Elements* attributed to Adelard as discussed in the Cochrane facsimile (p. 62).<sup>4</sup> Contrasting Busard's edition with Burnett's study, we note that when Busard's preface to *Adelard II* assumes that Robert of Chester may have been its author 'because we know that he revised another translation of Adelard (the Zij of al-Khwārizmī), and that he had stated that he had worked on the Elements' (p. 160), Burnett suggests that the authorship corresponds to Adelard according to the high number of manuscripts 'that preserve the work and argues that, while Adelard I is a literal translation of an Arabic text whose emphasis is on 'demonstration', Adelard II is a Latin redaction for students' (p. 160).

---

<sup>3</sup> Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and On birds*, ed. Charles Burnett et al., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

<sup>4</sup> There are three versions known as Adelard I, Adelard II, Adelard III, see H.L.L. Busard (ed.), *The first Latin translation of Euclid's Elements commonly ascribed to Adelard of Bath*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983; H. L. L. Busard and M. Folkerts (eds.), *Robert 's (?) Redaction of Euclid's Elements, the so-called Adelard II Version*, 2 vols, Basel – Boston – Berlin: Birkhäuser, 1992; H.L.L. Busard (ed.), *Johannes de Tinemues's Redaction of Euclid's Elements, the So-Called Adelard III Versions*, 2 vols., Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2001.

In 'Adelard's Astrology and Magic' (p. 162), Charles Burnett focuses on editions and versions of Adelard's translations of the *Centiloquium* attributed to Ptolemy, and of Thabit ibn Qurra's *Liber prestigiorum*; comparing Adelard's translation of Thabit ibn Qurra's work on making talismans and the later translation by John of Seville, Burnett elucidates that prayers to planetary spirits and other magical ceremonies are included in Adelard's translation of Thabit ibn Qurra's work, yet they are absented from John's version.

As a way of clarifying Adelard's contemporary influence, Burnett's analysis attempts to explain how his leverage was beyond Bath, which had been considered as the main centre for his activities. The author points out that Prince Henry, (later King Henry II), was probably tutored by Adelard. Burnett also notes how 'it is very likely that he was tutoring the sons of Geoffrey Plantagenet, the Duke of Normandy, on the other side of the English Channel in the late 1140s at the same time as the French humanist scholar William of Conches' (p. 162). Throughout his 'Studies of Adelard's Doctrine and Philosophy' (pp. 162-164), Burnett delves into the study of the aspects belonging to Adelard's thought, placing major emphasis on modern scholarship. In his insightful analysis, Adelard's doctrine on universals is considered as the 'first aspect of Adelard's thought to attract the attention of modern scholarship' (p. 162). And after explaining that Adelard's doctrine on universals forms the major part of his *De eodem et diverso*, Burnett clarifies that it 'is also the only text by Adelard to include poetry, which is used to characterize the two protagonist in the work – Philocosmia, the lover of secular world, and Philosophia, the lover of wisdom' (p. 162). Burnett's study provides the reader with a detailed comparative analysis that brings to light some differences in interpretation between his interpretation and those held by Cochrane and Jean Jolivet. It also highlights how Adelard followed Boethius in regard to perception: while Boethius uses the three levels of perception to point out the difference between the Divine mind and the human mind, the argument is understood by Adelard 'as being capabilities of the human mind' (p. 164). Finally, in his 'Adelard's Personal Comments' (pp. 164-165), Burnett focuses on commentaries or glosses in which Adelard expressed his own views on different subjects; commentaries that come along with his translations of works on astronomy, astrology and magic: 'it is only in respect to the abacus, geometry, and the astrolabe that we have this original comments' (p. 164).

The volume is a highly recommend work that not only republishes in facsimile Louise Cochrane's book but indeed represents a very successful approach; it invites the reader to delve into new material that provides a broader historical context and reflection on Adelard of Bath's great intellectual achievements.



JACK P. CUNNINGHAM AND MARK HOCKNULL (EDS.) *ROBERT GROSSETESTE AND THE PURSUIT OF RELIGIOUS AND SCIENTIFIC LEARNING IN THE MIDDLE AGES*, (STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY OF MIND, 18), SWITZERLAND: SPRINGER, 2016, 401 PP., ISBN 978-3-319-33468-0 (HBK), 978-3-319-33466-4 (E-BOOK)

HEDWIG MARZOLF  
UNIVERSITY OF CÓRDOBA



Avec le “retour du religieux” qui caractérise notre siècle, secoué par une série de crises économique, politique et surtout écologique, d’une nature et d’une ampleur inédites, on voit se rouvrir le débat entre science et religion au sujet de la détention de la vérité. Témoin des errements auxquels la science a conduit l’humanité au XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, la religion ne contente pas toujours de se présenter comme un supplément de sagesse pour celle-là, mais elle peut aller jusqu’à réclamer pour elle seule le statut de la science, comme l’illustre aux Etats-Unis l’expansion de l’enseignement de la théorie créationniste au détriment de la théorie de l’évolution. Notre siècle serait-il alors « un nouveau Moyen Âge » ? C’est le mérite paradoxal de cet ouvrage, rassemblant des conférences prononcées en 2014 à l’occasion du 3<sup>ème</sup> colloque international sur Robert Grosseteste de la Bishop Grosseteste University à Lincoln, que de nous refuser cette comparaison, en nous privant de nos idées préconçues sur l’obscurantisme du Moyen Âge. Tout au contraire, s’il fallait ne dégager de ces textes qu’une seule conviction, c’est celle que le 13<sup>ème</sup> siècle, dans lequel vécut Robert Grosseteste, évêque de Lincoln de 1235 à 1253, « intellectuel érudit, théologien et scientifique » comme le présente Angelo Silvestri (p.245), sut faire preuve, pour régler les rapports entre science et religion, d’une inventivité et d’une réflexivité dont notre siècle semble pour l’instant dépourvu et dont il aurait tout intérêt à s’inspirer.

C’est en même temps notre histoire de la science moderne que ces textes questionnent en examinant la possibilité de faire remonter la naissance de cette dernière au-delà de Roger Bacon, à Robert Grosseteste lui-même. Les textes réunis dans la première partie « Rainbows, Light and Optics » se penchent dans cette perspective sur ses écrits scientifiques. Dans « Unity and Symmetry in the *De Luce* of Robert Grosseteste », les différents auteurs s’attachent, par une étude du célèbre traité sur la lumière, qui est aussi « le seul traité de cosmogonie depuis

le *Timée* et jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine »<sup>1</sup>, à souligner la modernité du principe d'unité adopté par Grosseteste dans son explication du monde. Grosseteste rompt ce faisant avec la distinction aristotélicienne entre monde sublunaire et monde supralunaire et avec la vision platonicienne de notre monde comme celle d'un monde imparfait. Mais c'est aussi en défendant la symétrie du monde, organisé en 13 sphères, reprise ici d'Aristote, et exposée dans la seconde partie du traité que Grosseteste fait preuve de modernité : sa tentative de numérotation musicale, loin d'être une aberration sur le plan scientifique, a des « analogues modernes ». (p.17). Dans un même esprit, le chapitre 4 « All the Colours of the Rainbow: Robert Grosseteste's Three-Dimensional Colour Space », rédigé par Hannah E. Smithson, cherche à propos des traités *De colore* (De la couleur) et *De iride* (De l'arc-en-ciel) à « jeter des ponts » (p.77) entre le 13<sup>ème</sup> siècle et le 21<sup>ème</sup> siècle en faisant apparaître la modernité de leurs analyses scientifiques. Mais c'est Jack P. Cunningham, auteur du chapitre 3 « Robert Grosseteste and the Pursuit of Learning in the Thirteenth Century », qui donne toute son épaisseur et sa complexité historique à cette modernité de Grosseteste en prenant pour fil directeur de son analyse l'hostilité de l'Eglise à l'égard du panthéisme. Car c'est bien sur une conclusion panthéiste que débouche le *De luce* en faisant de la lumière l'analogie du Logos dans la création du monde et en la définissant comme corporéité. Comment interpréter le fait que dans ses œuvres tardives (le *Hexameron* en particulier), alors qu'il est devenu un homme d'Eglise renommé, Grosseteste rejette cette conclusion et développe une approche théocentrique du monde en parfait accord avec l'Écriture Sainte et la Patristique ? On aurait tort de conclure à un geste réactionnaire, car il fallait reconnaître l'infériorité de la science et de la philosophie par rapport à la théologie pour que l'Eglise ne les craigne plus et accepte leur utilisation. Si les sens restent inférieurs à la Connaissance divine, ils peuvent toutefois aider à « secouer l'esprit de son sommeil ». En 1231, grâce sans doute à Grosseteste, le Pape Grégoire IX émet la bulle *Parens scientiarum* dans laquelle il accepte (certes sous condition de les expurger de l'hérésie) l'étude des *libri naturales* d'Aristote jusqu'à maintenant condamnés.

La deuxième partie « Purity : Physical and Spiritual » aborde la relation entre la science sous la forme de la médecine et la théologie. Christopher Bonfield, dans « Medicine for the Body and Soul: Healthy Living in the Age of Bishop Grosseteste c.1100-1400 », se propose d'explorer la manière dont « les hommes et les femmes à l'époque de l'Évêque Grosseteste auraient expliqué la santé et la maladie » (p.88). Sean Murhy, dans « The Corruption of the Elements: The Science of Ritual Impurity in the Early Thirteenth Century » nous fait découvrir les écrits

<sup>1</sup> Gérard Jorland, « Le De Luce de Robert Grosseteste : présentation et traduction », *Revue de Métaphysique et Morale*, 89/1 (2016), p.119.

de William d'Auvergne sur l'impureté rituelle. Il s'agit chez tous les deux de complexifier l'idée d'une stricte séparation entre une médecine du corps, ou une approche de l'impureté, qui serait purement scientifique, matérielle, et une médecine de l'âme, ou une approche de la lèpre, qui serait purement religieuse, spirituelle. Christopher Bonfield attire au contraire notre attention sur le « degré de sophistication de la compréhension médicale, religieuse et scientifique, si jamais ces trois termes peuvent être distingués de cette façon anachronique » (p.99), tandis que Sean Murhy évoque une « analyse combinée du matériel et du spirituel, du temporel et de l'éternel – en bref, du “scientifique” et du “théologique” » (p.104).

La troisième partie aborde la relation entre Grosseteste et Bacon. Dans sa longue étude intitulée « *From Sapientes antiqui at Lincoln to the New Sapientes moderni at Paris c.1260-1280 : Roger Bacon's Two Circles of Scholars* », Jeremiah Hackett nous livre des éléments biographiques sur Bacon afin de le resituer dans l'histoire mouvementée de son siècle (marqué, soulignons-le, par la peur de l'expansion de l'islam) et de préciser l'influence de Grosseteste (avec lequel l'auteur « croit » (p.125) que Bacon est entré physiquement en contact) sur son parcours complexe. L'étude de Cecilia Panti s'applique à déchiffrer cette influence à propos de l'étude de l'arc-en-ciel. Si Bacon et Grosseteste s'accordent à considérer la théologie comme l'étude de la Bible, ils diffèrent, affirme-t-elle, dans leur manière d'appliquer les mathématiques et la philosophie naturelle à la science divine : « For the former, the sciences and above all the study of light offered the possibility to develop images, examples, allegories useful in enlightening the most complex tenets of the Christian faith. For Bacon sciences have much more space within the theological discourse than for Grosseteste. Mathematics, experimental science and all other sciences are the intellectual instruments that allow human beings to verify the profound correspondence between the laws governing the natural world and the divine project of creation as revealed in the Scriptures » (p.161). C'est un argument opposé que défend Yael Kedar dans « *Laying the Foundation for the Nomological Image of Nature: From Corporeity in Robert Grosseteste to Species in Roger Bacon* ». Selon lui, Grosseteste développe, comme Bacon le fera, une approche “nomologique” de la nature, c'est-à-dire une vision de la nature comme un système unifié par des lois universelles, qui rompt avec la vision platonicienne et aristotélicienne (en utilisant les mathématiques platoniciennes pour expliquer le changement et en renonçant à l'idée aristotélicienne d'une science des individus). Bacon ne ferait à cet égard que remplacer la notion de « forme corporelle » par celle des « espèces » (p.182).

La quatrième partie « *Infinities and Transcendentals* » traite des questions de métaphysique et de théologie. Dans « *Robert Grosseteste on Transcendentals* », Gioacchino Curiello se demande si on peut trouver chez celui-là une doctrine des

transcendants, en remplaçant cette interrogation dans le contexte historique de la réception des œuvres d'Aristote et de leurs commentaires arabes. C'est un Robert Grosseteste précurseur de Duns Scot que nous fait découvrir ensuite Victor Salas en montrant qu'il fut le premier à concevoir, avec son traité sur la lumière, l'idée d'une infinitude positive de la création à partir de laquelle conclure à l'infinitude de Dieu. Enfin, Giles E.M. Gasper nous offre un parcours dans l'*Hexaameron* qui « occupe une place centrale dans la formation comme dans le développement de la vision théologique de Grosseteste » (p.223).

La cinquième et dernière partie « Science and Faith: Some Lessons from the Thirteenth Century ? » est explicitement réflexive. Dans « *Intelligo ut credam, credo ut intelligam: Robert Grosseteste Between Faith and Reason* », Angelo Silvestri se propose de résoudre l'interrogation suivante: « was he a philosopher whose great knowledge (*intelligo*) allowed him to understand the secrets behind faith and the mysteries of God (*ut credam*); or was he rather a strong believer (*credo*), probably a saint as many claimed, who simply needed faith to enhance his knowledge (*ut intelligam*) and to make progress on 'scientific understanding'? », et conclue au non-sens de cette interrogation, puisque « Grosseteste was both a scientist who needed to understand in order to believe (*Intelligo ut credam*) and a religious man who needed to believe in order to understand (*Credo ut intelligam*) », (p.258). Enfin, comme le soulignent les éditeurs dans leur Préface (p. vii), ce sont deux points de vue opposés sur la relation entre science et religion que nous proposent les deux derniers articles de cette partie comme du livre. Selon Dónall McGinley, si on peut parler au 13<sup>ème</sup> siècle d'une harmonie au sens d'une non-contradiction entre science et religion, elle est due au fait qu'elles occupent chacun un « royaume différent de la réalité » (p.277). Dans cette perspective, l'auteur rappelle l'importance, pour les penseurs médiévaux (à l'instar de Francisco Suárez), de la métaphysique, soit de la philosophie, pour le dialogue entre la science et les religions – importance qui semble oubliée des théologiens aujourd'hui. Tom McLeish nous enjoint pour sa part à sortir du débat « science versus théologie » car la question, explique-t-il, n'est pas de savoir comment réconcilier des épistémologies, mais de trouver une sagesse qui puisse éclairer l'usage technique qui est fait de la science et construire un autre rapport à la nature que celui de son instrumentalisation. A cette fin, l'auteur propose une « cultural narrative generated from a 'Theology of Science' » qui s'explique en « seven foundational principles » (p. 296).

C'est donc une matière riche et variée, sur un plan historique, sociologique, culturel, philologique, scientifique, philosophique et enfin théologique, que cet ouvrage nous offre pour repenser, à travers la figure de Robert Grosseteste, notre approche de la science ainsi que ses rapports avec la religion.

ANDREA FALCON (ED.), *BRILL'S COMPANION TO THE RECEPTION OF ARISTOTLE IN ANTIQUITY*, BRILL: LEIDEN – BOSTON 2016. XV + 512 PP. ISBN 9789004266476 (HBK) ISBN 9789004315402 (E-BOOK)

LUCAS ORO HERSHTEIN  
UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES – CONICET



In what I have always considered one of the most beautiful descriptions of the philosophical path, a renowned medieval thinker once said, through the words of a teacher talking to his pupil: 'stude ergo in hoc et ama, quia haec est intentio propter quam est humana anima, et ibi est delectatio magna et felicitas maxima'.<sup>1</sup> If ancient philosophy is –as it was said by Pierre Hadot– 'an invitation to each human being to transform himself', an honest intellectual approach should reflect this intimate, inner dimension of it. A book on ancient philosophy needs to be, therefore, a 'spiritual exercise'.<sup>2</sup> This can be done in many ways and here, is done by finding a way to write a 'story' –or many of them– about the 'history' that is going to be told. Ancient philosophy was not only about 'studying' but also about 'loving', and since knowledge was understood not just as an intellectual matter but also as an existential one, a comprehensive reading of it needs to unveil, as much as possible, all the non-discursive meanings that surrounded that world. This is precisely what the reader feels when going through this book: moving from one page to another, as if they were the successive doors of a palace, it is possible to 'see' the philosophers gathering together arguing on the most important issues, to 'listen' to them whispering the secrets of life and death. More than into a mere book on the history of philosophy, opening the curtains of this work the readers get ready to enter, accommodated on their theatre seats, into one chapter of the history of the unfolding of human thought.

After the 'Acknowledgements' (p. IX) and 'Notes on Contributors' (pp. X-XV), an 'Introduction' (pp. 1-9) written by Andrea Falcon opens the book, the seventh volume of Brill's Companions to Classical Reception whose Series Editor is Kyriakos N. Demetriou. The book has three big sections itself: 'The Hellenistic Reception of Aristotle', made up of three chapters; 'The Post-Hellenistic

---

<sup>1</sup> Avencebrolis (Ibn Gabirol), *Fons Vitae ex arabico in latinum translatum ab Iohanne Hispano et Dominico Gundissalino; ex codicis Parisinis, Amploniano, Columbino, primud edidit Clemens Baeumker*, Aschendorff: Münster 1895, III: 57, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, Blackwell Publishing: Malden-Oxford 1995.

Engagement with Aristotle’, divided into two sub-sections: ‘The Peripatetic Tradition’, of five chapters, and ‘Beyond the Peripatetic Tradition’, of other seven chapters; and ‘Aristotle in Late Antiquity’, of eight chapters. After these sections, the book ends with an ‘Index of Ancient Names’ (pp. 481-483) and an ‘Index of Passages’ (pp. 484-512).

The above-mentioned ‘Introduction’ welcomes the reader to the history of the reception of Aristotle’s works and ideas in Antiquity through three sections. In the first, ‘Problems of Periodization’, the author summarises the reasons for dividing this history into three periods –the Hellenistic; the Post-Hellenistic, marked by the ‘return’ to Aristotle’s writings in the form of direct references, and including itself two different moments divided by the rise after about 250 CE of exegetical works on the Aristotelian corpus by authors whose reading aimed to integrate it into a Platonic philosophical framework; and the Late Antique. In the second section, ‘A Selective Engagement with Aristotle’, A. Falcon highlights the existence of two kinds of Aristotelian works (the school treatises and the more popular works) each of them enjoying a different level of success through history. In the last one, ‘Ancient Reactions to Aristotle’, the author points out, closing this introductory section, that resistance to Aristotle was a minority position in Antiquity and that the post-Hellenistic selective acceptance of his philosophy culminated, in Late Antiquity, with the attempt to integrate both Aristotle and Plato into a single philosophical position.

Part 1 –‘The Hellenistic Reception of Aristotle’– is opened by ‘Aristotle and the Hellenistic Peripatos: From Theophrastus to Critolaus’ (pp. 13-34) by David Lefebvre. Defining Aristotle’s philosophy as ‘a universal project, organized and hierarchical yet open-ended and uncertain even about central issues; unsystematic, unlike the two great Hellenistic philosophical systems (Stoicism and Epicureanism); more inclined to research and new hypotheses than to canonical doctrine; and transmitted through a complex corpus split into two parts, exoteric works and school treatises’, the author discusses the idea that Peripatetic philosophy appeared in the Hellenistic period in the context of a ‘decline’ of the school. Through a careful study of Aristotle’s successors, the author argues with this concept of ‘decline’, pointing out that the history of the Hellenistic Peripatos is much more accurately understood as an incubation period, as the aftermath of the earliest reception of Aristotle in the Peripatos itself by Theophrastus’ contemporaries –a period that, with the slow discovery of the Aristotelian school treatises, started to mutate into a new form in the first century CE.

In Aristotle and the Garden’ (pp. 35-55), Francesco Verde focuses on the presence of Aristotle in the writings of Epicurus and some Epicureans. His analysis points out that the relationship between Aristotle and Epicurus, the Peripatetics and the Epicureans, should be defined as ‘dialectical’ rather than as

'polemical'. The author divides its study, considering firstly the very limited direct, explicit references to Aristotle in Epicurus and the Garden. Secondly, F. Verde directs his attention onto the indirect, tacit 'traces' along the three parts of Epicurus' philosophical system –canonics, physics and ethics– and the Garden, showing that several Epicurean doctrines are better explained in the light of Aristotle. The study shows that between the two philosophical 'galaxies' – Peripatetics and Epicureans– a fruitful dialogue on several doctrinal issues was developed, and that Hellenism marked no real break in the philosophical debate. In this sense, the importance of Epicurean sources for a deeper understanding of ancient Aristotelianism is highlighted, as well as the necessity of considering the relationship with Aristotle and the Peripatetics to fully comprehend Epicureanism.

The third and last chapter of this Part I, written by Thomas Bénatouïl, is 'Aristotle and the Stoa' (pp. 56-75). Departing from the same methodological division stated in the last chapter, on the one hand, the direct, explicit presence of Aristotle in the early Stoic movement is defined as very poor (comparing it, for example, with the many references by early Stoics to past philosophers like Heraclitus, Antisthenes, Democritus, Plato and Stilpon), being found only in a few fragments of Zeno and Chrysippus. On the other hand, only some Stoic doctrines 'securely' depend on Aristotle's thought. In his work, the author focuses on the early Stoics' references to Aristotle, adopting a topical approach to extant evidence, by dealing with each of the three parts of Stoic philosophy, from Physics –where the strongest Aristotelian influence has been hypothesised but, paradoxically, the thinnest explicit evidence has been found– to Logic –a research field in which there have been many discussions on the topic of the influence of Aristotelian thought on it– to Ethics –where there is the most evidence about interactions between Stoicism and Aristotle.

The first section –'The Peripatetic Tradition'– of Part II –entitled 'The Post-Hellenistic Engagement with Aristotle' as a whole– is opened by Myrto Hatzimichali, who starts his chapter, 'Andronicus of Rhodes and the Construction of the Aristotelian Corpus' (pp. 81-100), devoted to studying some key steps in the history of the Aristotelian corpus, with special emphasis on the role of Andronicus of Rhodes, remembering the many times forgotten beginning of the story being covered in this book: the fact that the Aristotelian texts that we nowadays have are not the works he himself published but his lectures notes, or at least highly technical treatises made to be read by the more exclusive pupils of his school. As the author says, the main value of Andronicus' contribution was to present a holistic picture of the Aristotelian corpus that highlighted his credentials as a systematic philosopher in the face of the Stoic system, not providing an authoritative text –by writing out a fresh copy of the entire corpus or by entering corrections on existing copies– but adopting the format he

understood as being the closest to Aristotle's intention. As a matter of fact, his work had a huge impact on the transformation the Aristotelian corpus suffered from the first century BCE and that slowly led to what is nowadays known.

In the following chapter, 'Aristotelianism in the First Century BC' (pp. 101-119), Andrea Falcon shows that 'Aristotle' is said in many ways. The author's survey into the Peripatetic tradition of the first century BCE looks on how Peripatetics contributed to the debate on the parts of 'philosophy' –in the Stoic division, logic, physics and ethics– and on which is its starting point. Through this chapter, it is shown that Peripatetic philosophers were engaged in a dialectical conversation with Stoicism that influenced the way they read Aristotle and that their approach to the Aristotelian texts was not merely explanatory or philological but inspired by several philosophical 'agendas' –that, in the end, were the basis for the development of different and competitive interpretations of Aristotle. Therefore, in the first century BCE there was not one prevalent interpretation of Aristotle but several different ones, of the different areas of Aristotelian philosophy.

The next chapter is 'Peripatetic Ethics in the First Century BC: The Summary of Didymus' (pp. 120-137), written by Georgia Tsouni. In her paper, the author focuses on the figure of Didymus, an ancient philosopher whose real identity is still being discussed. Two titles are attributed to Didymus in Ioannes Stobaeus' anthology of ancient wisdom written in the fifth century CE: a *Summary* or *Epitome* and a work *On Philosophical Sects*. Both probably refer to a single work, a doxographical summary that contained an epitomised version of the doctrines of the main philosophical schools on the major areas of philosophy. The doxographical piece, entitled *Of Aristotle and the Rest of the Peripatetics on Ethics*, may have been a section of this doxography, devoted to the main points of Peripatetic ethics. Both the structure and content of the doxography and also the topic problem of its hypothetical sources are given an overview through this article, which afterwards makes a comparison between it and the Antiochean account in Cicero's *On Goals* 5, to conclude that, although there are similarities in the way Didymus and Antiochus reconstructed the Peripatetic position, they represented different positions in their approach to Aristotelian teachings.

In 'Aristotelianism in the Second Century AD: Before Alexander of Aphrodisias' (pp. 138-159), Inna Kupreeva states that although the second century CE sees a revival of Aristotelianism –whose culmination is the activity of Alexander of Aphrodisias– it is not easy to trace the history of the Peripatetic school during this period. The author firstly focuses on what is known –mainly based on later commentary traditions– of the Peripatetic philosophers and their work of this time, showing the broad range of subjects discussed in their schools in the second century CE. Afterwards, through a survey of their teachings on logic and ontology, the cosmos, the intellect and ethical topics, she argues that

much of the Peripatetic discussion of this period shows a continued engagement with the philosophical agenda set by Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic schools, motivated by the search of doctrinal consistency between different works of Aristotle and the introduction of new ideas into the Peripatetic curriculum, on the basis of the detailed knowledge that these Peripatetic philosophers had of the Aristotelian corpus.

The section is closed by Cristina Cerami, whose chapter, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias' (pp. 160-182), approaches this author both as essentially linked to the intellectual context that preceded him and as a turning point with respect to the preceding Peripatetic tradition, up to the point that his philosophical project, usually included under the heading of 'Aristotelianism' or 'Peripatetic tradition' in the historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is labelled by the author –making an analogy with the more extended historiographical category of 'Neo-Platonism'– as 'Neo-Aristotelianism'. With this expression, C. Cerami looks to emphasise the discontinuity between Alexander and the preceding Peripatetic tradition. Although it is with him that the Aristotelian tradition begins to approach Aristotle's writings as a canonical corpus from a textual and a doctrinal point of view, the main novelty of his reading is his aim to establish an all-embracing philosophical system, capable of responding to the philosophical issues argued during his lifetime. This 'new Aristotelianism' is read by the author in the light of its implementation in logic, ontology and natural philosophy.

The next section –'Beyond the Peripatetic tradition'– is opened by John Dillon, who, in his 'The Reception of Aristotle in Antiochus and Cicero' (pp. 183-201), looks to understand what 'Aristotle' Antiochus and Cicero had access to. As stated in this chapter, although Cicero had a great respect for Aristotle, it seems that he lacked a specific, detailed knowledge of his philosophy. Even if –as evidence suggests– the so-called 'esoteric' Aristotelian works were being restored to public, or at least scholarly, attention in Cicero's lifetime, it seems that although he knew some of them, it is not easy to be sure how carefully he read them. Moreover, Antiochus –who was dead before these developments happened– was apparently not known by Cicero. The author looks to a few examples of particular philosophical doctrines –within the domains of physics, logic, rhetoric, and ethics– to see how Cicero's and Antiochus' acquaintances with the treatises and doctrines of Aristotle that they apparently knew influenced their own philosophical work. As the author says, Cicero 'seems to be stuck just before the dawn of the new era' on the history of the reception of the Aristotelian texts and ideas.

Angela Ulacco, in 'The Appropriation of Aristotle in the Ps-Pythagorean Treatises' (pp. 202-217), focuses on the importance of the Ps-Pythagorean treatises in the reception of Aristotle in Antiquity. Within a body of letters,

collections of precepts, poems and doxographical accounts, there is a group of philosophical treatises composed in an artificial Doric Greek employed with the intention of imitating the ancient dialect used at the time of the ancient Pythagoreans. They were written between the first century BCE and the first century CE; it is unknown if it was by a philosophical circle or personality or by different authors promoting ideas of Pythagorean philosophy. The corpus's creation aimed to demonstrate that these same works were a model, not only for Plato but also for Aristotle, looking to present the sources of Plato and Aristotle as a systematic body of knowledge that included what it is nowadays regarded as Aristotle's most significant insights in logic, metaphysics, epistemology and ethics. The Ps-Pythagorean texts are not a direct interpretation or an imitation of Platonic or Aristotelian works but reveal a critical attitude toward Aristotle's work and a selective engagement with the Aristotelian corpus.

The following chapter is 'The Reception of Aristotle in Middle Platonism: From Eudorus of Alexandria to Ammonius Saccas' (pp. 218-237), where Alexandra Michalewski focuses on the different ways in which 'Middle Platonism' was influenced by different versions of Aristotelianism. Among the many intellectual currents within Middle Platonism –a period that begins in the middle of the first century BCE with Eudorus of Alexandria and concludes with Ammonius Saccas– there are some key features in which the presence of Aristotelian elements in Middle Platonic texts is evident; for example, the borrowing of some technical terms or the theory of causes. Nevertheless, the reception of Aristotle among Middle Platonists evolved considerably, from the first century BCE –when there was no rigid opposition between the approaches of Platonists and Peripatetics– to the second century CE –when the issue of the difference between the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle arose– and finally, to the third century CE – when the point was not longer to integrate some Aristotelian elements into Platonism but to show that, on the most important points of both philosophical trends, Plato and Aristotle agree.

In 'Galen's Reception of Aristotle' (pp. 238-257), R. J. Hankinson focuses on Aristotle's influence on Galen among logic and demonstration, physics and metaphysics, physiology and embryology, and psychology. This influence should be seen, firstly, in the context of a general attitude Galen had towards the past, which he compared to what he saw as a decadent present. In that comparison, he used to invoke the great names of that glorious epoch –and Aristotle was among them. Secondly, his reception of Aristotle's thought was determined by his own interests: although he thought of himself as a philosopher and a logician, he did so because he felt these pursuits were essential to his main authentic interest: a genuinely scientific medicine. And even though Galen admired Aristotle's work in logic and demonstrative theory and his physics were also Aristotelian in general form, it was in his commitment to the necessity of empirical

investigation and confirmation where he had his stronger methodological connection with Aristotle. Nevertheless, his understanding of Aristotle was not acritical: he was, for him, an ambivalent figure and his attitude to him reflected this ambivalence.

The following chapter is 'Plotinus' Reception of Aristotle' (pp. 258-276), where Sara Magrin summarises the development of the discussions on the history of this reception, mostly defined by two problems. From the first century BCE until the late second and early third century CE, the interpretations of Aristotelian doctrines varied significantly among Peripatetic commentators. Since Plotinus used several commentaries to interpret Aristotle's work, the first problem deals with which Aristotle he was reading. Moreover, the second issue is what should be understood from Porphyry's references –in his *Life of Plotinus*– to the way in which Plotinus read Peripatetic doctrines, that is, if they were appropriated by him, fitted into his Platonic framework or if, on the contrary, they were simply mentioned, maybe even to refute them, without explicitly reporting his source. In light of these discussions, the author argues that the main issue that should be considered to understand the differences between Plotinus', and his Platonist predecessor's, readings of Aristoteles is not how much of the Aristotelian corpus each of them knew but Plotinus' method of philosophical inquiry. It is because of this method that Plotinus read Aristotle's works extensively and as being in a constant dialogue with him.

Tiziano Dorandi starts his chapter –entitled 'The Ancient Biographical Tradition on Aristotle' (pp. 277-298)– by planting two questions that he develops through his work: 'who was Aristotle?' and 'what should we take the ancient biographical tradition on Aristotle to be?'. As the author states, over the course of decades, lacunas in Aristotle's life were filled with conjectures and suppositions, creating a biographical legend based on his presumed political ideas and his relationships with teachers, colleagues, disciples and rulers. As time went on, this biographical tradition was expressed in biographies or 'lives', providing a picture not only of Aristotle as a historical figure but also of the vicissitudes of his library and his literary production. This tradition unfolded into two broad currents (beyond an Arabic tradition, parts of which are drawn from today lost Greek sources) the first going back to Hermippus of Smyrna (third century BCE) and the second to Neoplatonic thinkers (starting in the fourth century CE). These biographies contain traces of Aristotle's doctrines and of doxographical texts which combined readings of Aristotelianism from several centuries, filtered through Hellenistic and Neoplatonic philosophy.

Closing this section of the book, in 'Aristotle in the Aëtian *Placita*' (pp. 299-318), Jaap Mansfeld focuses on the Aëtian *Placita*, the foundational doxographical treatise that deals with physical philosophy. Although the *Placita* is of little value for our information on Aristotle because we still have the school treatises, it is of

great interest to understand the reception of his philosophy in antiquity. In the *Placita*, there are some chapters in which the impact of Aristotle's methodology and inquiries is not very strong or not even found at all. In these, it is possible to find the influence of some Hellenistic philosophers who were researching on issues not found in Aristotle. In the case of Aristotle, his presence makes itself felt in three ways: the *lemmata* that contain his name-label, distributed over the whole treatise; the *lemmata* that are abstracts from the school treatises dealing with the *doxai* of others; and the way in which Aristotelian methodology is chosen on the treatise. As stated by the author, the *Placita* belongs with the kind of literature that serves a practical purpose, and during its career both loses and acquires material, until it starts to freeze up.

Part III –‘Aristotle in Late Antiquity’– of the book is opened by Riccardo Chiaradonna with his chapter ‘Porphyry and the Aristotelian Tradition’ (pp. 321-340). The chapter, after a brief contextualisation of the influence of Aristotle in the Platonists who came before him –both taking into consideration the school treatises and the exoteric works– is organised through two questions: ‘What is Porphyry’s contribution to the reception of Aristotle in Antiquity’ and ‘How does Porphyry’s engagement with Aristotle fit into his overall work?’. To answer the first issue, the author focuses on Porphyry’s exegetical work on the *Categories*, a work through which he shows a new, different approach to Aristotle, arguing that Porphyry’s specific contribution is to have brought into the philosophical background of Platonism an in-depth exegesis of Aristotle’s treatises as well as an extensive knowledge of both Aristotle and the Aristotelian commentary tradition. The second topic is answered by arguing that Porphyry’s exegetical work on Aristotle is part of his harmonising reading of the pagan philosophical tradition –even as part of Porphyry’s anti-Christian programme– and as a response –a tacit critical engagement– to Plotinus.

The following chapter is ‘An Intellective Perspective on Aristotle: Iamblichus the Divine’ (pp. 341-350), where Jan Opsomer makes a comparison between Porphyry’s and Iamblichus’ receptions of Aristotle. Although Iamblichus’ style of commenting became the dominant one in the Athenian, and partly in the Alexandrian schools, it was Porphyry who inaugurated a new era of Platonic commentators on Aristotle. Their readings of Aristotle were certainly different, not because their perspective on these texts were held to be worthy of study but because of the role and status attributed to them within the Platonic philosophical system. Since he understood both Aristotle and the Peripatetic tradition to be heirs of Pythagoras, he considered it possible to incorporate the philosophical truths contained in Aristotle’s thought into his own. In contrast to Porphyry, Iamblichus did not confine himself to an elucidation of Aristotle’s text within the framework of the Aristotelian ontology but, on the contrary, he argued that Platonic ontology was ‘contained’ in Aristotelian logics. As can be

seen in his accounts of place, time, motion and substance, his exegetical work with Aristotle's texts refined his own Platonist metaphysical system.

In 'Themistius' (pp. 358-373), Arnaud Zucker starts his chapter focusing on the standing difficulties regarding the comprehension of this famous interpreter of Aristotle: his social identity, since the core of a commitment to philosophy was in his perspective engagement in political life; and the opposing evaluations of his philosophical orientation, due to his dual interest in Plato –who played a significant role in his orations– and Aristotle –to whom his exegetical work is devoted. Because of this dual interest, he tried to harmonise both philosophers, as was the rule among late commentators, as far as possible. Although Themistius was not the first to write paraphrases of philosophical texts, those he made of Aristotelian texts contributed to redefining this exegetical method and granted him a place in the history of the reception of Aristotle. Defined by himself as 'changing the wording while keeping the idea', he conceived a paraphrase as a sort of handbook for students of the Aristotelian texts and even though he did not intend for them to provide more than a simplified version of Aristotle's school treatises, they became an essential component of the Aristotelian tradition.

The next chapter is 'Syrianus and Proclus on Aristotle' by Pieter d'Hoine (pp. 374-393). Although it was Syrianus who introduced the more critical attitude to Aristotle, which was then to be adopted by Proclus, to the Athenian school of Plutarch, both thinkers are studied altogether since the extant sources do not allow the researcher to make any sharp contrast between their approaches. They both represent a very distinct approach from other authors, such as Ammonius and Simplicius, because they –Syrianus and Proclus– did not try to dissolve the apparent contradictions between Plato and Aristotle or to argue that Aristotle's assumptions show that he had accepted the Platonic position 'by implication'. On the contrary, although Aristotle was not read by them for its intrinsic philosophical value but as a preparation for Plato, it was a 'necessary' initiation, and even when they disagree with Aristotle they found his texts worthy of a detailed refutation. P. d'Hoine, after providing a brief survey of the works in which they dealt with Aristotle, takes the reader through some of the most remarkable aspects of the reception of Aristotle in the domains of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics.

In 'Ammonius and the Alexandrian School' (pp. 394-418), Michael Griffin gives a brief account of the intellectual and social context for the analysis of the Alexandrian school in the fifth and sixth century CE. After the murder of Hypatia (415 CE), in an atmosphere hostile to Paganism, the best philosophy students left Alexandria for Athens. When later in the century they returned, Alexandria appointed one of Syrianus' most talented pupils, Hermeias, to a publicly funded chair in philosophy that was going to be inherited by his second son Ammonius.

Olympiodorus, his successor, was the last Alexandrian teacher to practise philosophy without a commitment –at least a formal one– to Christianity. This paper studies the curriculum of the Alexandrian school, which remained pagan but in the context of friendly disagreements with Christians. This curriculum included teaching philosophical arguments explicitly contrary to contemporary Christian orthodoxy, focusing firstly on studying Aristotle within a Platonist framework and then going directly into Plato's thought. The thoughts of the main authors –Hermeias, Ammonius, Olympiodorus, Elias, David and Stephanus– are considered in this work, through which a remarkable chapter in the history of the Neoplatonic interpretation of Aristotle is covered.

In 'Simplicius and Philoponus on the Authority of Aristotle' (pp. 419-438), Pantelis Golitsis states that although these authors –who were contemporaries and attended the seminars of Ammonius, son of Hermias, in Alexandria– differed in their interpretation of Aristotle, they were both serving a religious purpose by using a philosophical method. On the one hand, Simplicius' aim was to demolish Hellenic authorities and to establish the truth of Christianity, mainly its doctrine of creationism. In his commentaries on the *Categories*, *Physics* and *On the Heavens*, he read Aristotle –who was seen by him as the most authentic of Plato's disciples– as fully sharing with Plato the truth about the first realities of cosmos –the Soul, the Intelligence and the One. On the other hand, Philoponus' goal was to defend Hellenism as a unitary and perennial system of thought. Through his commentaries (which need to be divided between those that are his own, and those others that are transcriptions of Ammonius' lectures, enriched with some critical observations of his own) he rejected Aristotle as an authority, countering many of his arguments in his commentaries and sometimes even openly opposing him.

Christophe Erismann, in 'Aristoteles Latinus: The Reception of Aristotle in the Latin World' (pp. 439-459), argues that the history of this reception can be divided into three main phases: Roman Logic in North Africa (during the fourth century BCE); the Graeco-Latin Logic of Boethius (late fifth and early sixth century CE); and the Scholarly Logic of the Encyclopaedists (during the sixth century CE). From the point of view of the author, there are five distinctive traits of this reception: the reduction of Aristotle's philosophy to logic, a focus which determined the nature of Latin philosophical thought until the twelfth century; a lack of explicit attacks on Aristotelian positions, showing the influence of Porphyry's perspective on the harmony between Plato's and Aristotle's philosophies; the literary genre of the texts written in Latin, most of which were for the sake of teaching Aristotle, short and scholarly in nature; the Christian faith of their authors, although it did not appear in the works of most translators or commentators; and, last but not least, the fact that they were done in Latin,

thus making it necessary to firstly create and then codify a lexicon in this language in order to express Greek philosophical concepts.

The last chapter is 'Early Christian Philosophers on Aristotle' (pp. 460-479), in which George Karamanolis focuses on the critical or even hostile approach to Aristotle held by early Christian thinkers (second to fourth century), in the context of the critical attitude these thinkers had towards pagan philosophy as a whole, although they actually set themselves in dialogue with pagan philosophical doctrines they deemed fit for their Christian frame of thought. Unlike Plato, who is often praised and quoted by early Christians, Aristotle, whose philosophy is considered a source of heresy, is rarely mentioned or cited. The author considers some key cases of this early Christian reception, considering the reasons they had for their use of Aristotle. G. Karamanolis distinguishes –proceeding chronologically– different kinds of receptions within the generally critical attitude, highlighting that this attitude changed over time, and points out Clement, who uses Aristotle's doctrines in support of his apologetic arguments, as the first landmark in this development.

The richness of this book is shown not only by the incredible value of each of its chapters –all of them in line with the most updated research, amazingly interesting both for the neophyte and for the researcher– but also for the many methodological insights on the history of the transmission of texts and ideas that it provides. It is not only the result of a wonderful intellectual work but also a roadmap that shows how the research on the history of the reception of Aristotle has proceeded –and, even more importantly, points out countless new paths through which it is possible to continue this research.



SOTO CHICA, JOSÉ, *BIZANCIO Y LA PERSIA SASÁNIDA: DOS IMPERIOS FRENTE A FRENTE. UNA COMPARACIÓN MILITAR Y ECONÓMICA. 565-642*, GRANADA: CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS BIZANTINOS, NEOGRIEGOS Y CHIPRIOTAS, 2015, PP. 322, ISBN: 978-84-95905-61-1 (HBK)

PATRICIA TÉLLEZ FRANCISCO  
UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA



The volume delivers a fascinating study about both the military and economic aspects of the Byzantine and the Sasanian-Persian Empires that clashed between 564 CE and 642 CE. The book is structured in three different parts and aims to find out the impact of Justinian's *recuperatio* over the Byzantine economy and armed forces as well as a mirrored analysis of its Persian counterpart. In the first section ('La «*recuperatio*» y la Romania hacia 565. Un balance general', pp. 17-106), José Soto Chica begins his account from 565 CE, when both empires had completed their military expansion after the apparently endless wars against the Germanic peoples and the Hephthalites Huns. Subsequently, he proceeds with the description of how both empires were able to establish a solid authority that provided economic stimuli and a military strengthening, causing not only their renewal of political, legislative, and administrative structures, but also the quasi-simultaneous occupation of vast territories that sealed their power over their respective regions.

The author then draws a parallel between the *renovatio* and the *recuperatio* policies that both Justinian the Great and Khosrow I implemented, resulting in a clash over the Armenian, Mesopotamian, Lazic, Iberian, and Syriac territories; as can be seen on the second part, 'El gran rival: La Persia Sasánida' (pp. 183-243). The earlier conflict came to an end in 561 CE, when the Peace Treaty was signed, establishing the Roman-Persian boundaries. Soon after the peace, both empires experienced an economic and demographic boom that was followed by the necessary expansion of their influence over the bordering lands. There were two main consequences: on the one hand, Byzantium took over the Danube region, launching an offensive against the Maori tribe and some other areas near Persia; on the other, there was the military campaign led by Khosrow I that headed towards the Northwest lands of Yemen, some Turkish areas, and to some other regions that were of strategic importance around the Indian Ocean. These were the two main empires that were, in words of the author, the two eyes of the Ancient world.

Regarding the third and last part of his work ('Dos imperios frente a frente. Una comparación de los recursos militares, humanos y económicos de la Persia Sasánida con los de la Romania', pp.255-259), José Soto Chica remarks the unquestionable role that the economic and demographic analysis plays in order to make the one-to-one comparison comprehensible. Both aspects have been essential to enable us to study their power at the end of the sixth and the first half of the seventh-century, especially through 572-591 CE and 603-628 CE. Thus the research has shed some light over the decline coinciding with the Arabs' prompt triumph over both of them. Furthermore, the author provides key figures from both empire's military forces after the Justinian period in Byzantium and during the years 558-573 CE in Khosrow's I reign. According to the testimonies we possess from recruits and from the financial data of the time, we are able to observe the scale of the development that both sides achieved. Although at first sight Byzantium seemed to have the more powerful armed forces, the author points out its scanty operative and combative capacity compared to the Persian army. This was better trained, even though the latter had a lower number of contingents.

As Soto Chica defends, understanding both empires' economic governance is absolutely essential in order to understand the last period of the Byzantium and Sasanian-Persian conflict. While Byzantium fought several wars across the Mediterranean, Persia did not have the same number of military exploits. As a result, the second were able to reinforce the Western boundaries and increase its political authority all over their Empire. These military triumphs were followed by territory expansion, changing their economic management. Byzantium, overwhelmed by the economic war effort, pursued a massive tax rise. On the contrary, the Sasanian Empire maintained a more conservative tax policy, because of its social structure. The Sasanian court and religious buildings were essential for the control of their own peoples. This was useful and helpful for the Imperial propaganda.

However, this apparently one sided situation ended around the first decades of seventh- century with the Great Roman-Persian War (603-628 CE) that drained all their resources. The Sasanians depleted half of their strength to pay off the cost of the war, causing them to use up the rest of the military and economic reserves. This war effort explained both the weak Byzantine defence at the battles of Ajnadayn, Yarmouk and Babylon; and the drastic end of the Sasanian Empire that began right after the military campaign of Heraclius. Subsequent social unrest and several civil wars from 628 to 638 CE ended up ruining the ambitious Persian project. Reaching to some concluding remarks, José Soto Chica places the fast Arab expansion as one of the causes of the Roman-Persian wars. Their ambition was their final downfall. The work ends with a summary table in which some data is discussed.

The outstanding contribution of the volume combines a detailed data analysis together with an intuitive narrative structure. The first and second parts cover the Byzantine and Persian military analysis, where José Soto Chica describes aspects like the organization of the troops, the strategy, the armament, the discipline, and the resources determined by both their geographic and economic context. In addition, the author includes a vast array of bibliographic resources, studies, and a table of contents – allowing the reader to grasp a more clear picture of the conflict. Above all, José Soto Chica not only sheds light on the general characteristics of both Empires and their mutual wars, but also on how two of the vastest forces of Antiquity contributed to the transition from the Ancient times to the Middle Ages.



SERGIUS OF RESHAINA, *INTRODUCTION TO ARISTOTLE AND HIS CATEGORIES*, ADDRESSED TO PHILOTHEOS, SYRIAC TEXT, INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY BY SAMI AYDIN, (ARISTOTELES SEMITICO–LATINUS, 24), LEIDEN –BOSTON: BRILL, 2016, XI + 328 PP., 9789004324954 (HBK), 9789004325142 (E-BOOK)

MYRIAM WISSA  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



In this engaging volume, Sami Aydin has provided carefully edited documents detailing the life and works of the famous *Sergius of Reshaina* (d. 536). Two related texts *Categories* and *Physics* extant in Syriac were written by this physician and commentator about the philosophy of Aristotle. Aydin revisits the previous translation of Sergius' shorter treatise preserved in Berlin- Manuscript Petermann I 9 (Sachau no 88) published by Robert R. Phenix and Cornelia B. Horn in Geoffrey Greatrex (ed.), 2011 and provides a thorough commentary. The publication of this text and the revised English translation, renamed *Introduction to Aristotle and his Categories*, is much to be welcomed. The contents of the volume are a window into Aristotelian philosophy in Syriac. They highlight the traditions and concepts taught at the Neoplatonist school of Ammonius Hermeiou (d. 517-526) in Alexandria. Sami Aydin has divided his treatment of the treatise into four sections: (i) an introduction; (ii) four chapters on Sergius writing, background, comments of Aristotle, linguistic observations on Aristotle's *Categories*; (iii) the text of the Syriac original with an English translation of each version immediately following on the same page; and (iv) a commentary. While section two with its four chapters does not harmoniously fit the breakdown structure of the contents, the overall presentation has the benefit of encouraging the readers to adopt a comparative approach and to better understanding fundamental similarities and differences.

Within a relatively brief introduction (pp. 1-9), Aydin sets the stage by providing readers with a comprehensive review of the genesis, contents, and reception of the text. He contextualizes Sergius' life and works from a multiplicity of perspectives and illustrates how Sergius' philosophical and medical education in Alexandria was decisive in his translation. This historical overview provides a good insight into philosophy and education in Late Antique Alexandria. In the second lengthy section of the book (pp. 10-88), which consists of four chapters, Aydin turns to discuss the original works of *Sergius of Reshaina*.

Subsequently, he situates Sergius' Alexandrian curricula, his sources, his school, and how he viewed and read *Aristotle's Categories* in relatively abundant detail and an attempt is made to identify the original settings of Sergius' two texts. There follows an equally scrupulous review of some linguistic features, and in particular the particles. The third section of the book consists of a critical edition of the Syriac text and English translation. Aydin places the edited text in easy-to-read column. Together with the accompanying translation and textual notes (pp. 94 - 175), the text is accessible to both general reading public and scholars. When necessary, Aydin makes emendations, changes and additions to his reading of the Berlin manuscript from the literal corresponding passages of Sergius' longer commentary available in British Library Additional 14658 (L=London) and Bibliothèque Nationale de France Syr. 354 (P =Paris). This appears in the critical apparatus. The commentary (pp. 176- 260) deploys range of literary evidence in order to illustrate the form and content of this important document and displays Syriac/ Greek/ English *lemmata*. This makes the book a highly attractive choice for any course dedicated to theology, Alexandrian philosophy and medical treatise alongside Syriac studies.

There follows a Syriac-Greek Glossary, a Greek- Syriac Glossary and Greek names in Sergius' introduction listing differences in reading. Both glossaries will prove useful to anyone doing comparative studies. The book concludes with indices that readers will find particularly reliable and useful.

The volume is easy to read and easy to follow. Scholars will find it a great resource for doing comparative studies on Aristotelian Philosophy. Students too, will derive benefit from consultation of this work.

It is evident that, for both author and translator, this project represented a labour of love, and that is a thing that *Sergius of Reshaina* himself would have had certainly recognised and doubtless approved!

