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PSEUDO-JOHANNES SCOTTUS, ADALBOLD OF UTRECHT, AND THE EARLY COMMENTARIES ON BOETHIUS[1]

THE publication of M. Pierre Courcelle's *Etude critique sur les Commentaires de la Consolation de Boèce (IXe-XVe siècles)* gave students of the Boethius tradition for the first time an opportunity of considering as a whole the vast and still largely unpublished mass of mediaeval commentaries on Boethius.[2] Since the time of Peiper and Schepss, there

[1]) The last critical edition of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* is that of Wilhelm Weinberger, CSEL LXVII (Vienna, 1934); the standard account of Boethius: Max Manitius, *Geschichte* I, 22-36; the most recent comprehensive account of Boethius: Dom Maieul Cappuyns in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.* IX (1937), 348-80 (with full bibliography). Since 1937 have appeared William Bark, "Boethius' Fourth Tractate", *Harv. Theol. Review* XXXIX (1946), 55-69; William Bark, "The legend of Boethius' Martyrdom", *Speculum* XXI (1946), 312-17. Boethius' Greek learning is discussed by Pierre Courcelle in *Les Lettres grecques en Occident* (1948), pp. 257-312. Cf. also P. Courcelle, "Boèce et l'école d'Alexandrie", *Mélange d'archéol. et d'hist.* LII (1935), 185-223; E. T. Silk, "Boethius' Cons. Philos. as a Sequel to Augustine's Dialogues", *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXXII (1939), 19-39. The only comprehensive account of the commentaries on Boethius is Pierre Courcelle's "Etude critique sur les commentaires de la Cons. de Boèce", *Archives d'hist. doctrinale et litt. du Moyen Age* XIV (1939), 5-140. On Johannes Scottus, Manitius I, 323-39; Dom Maieul Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène* (1933); Henry Bett, *Johannes Scotus Erigena* (1925) On Adalbold of Utrecht see Manitius, II, 743-48.

[2]) Apart from the 15th-century editions of the Pseudo-Aquinas (Courcelle, *Etude*, p. 135 ff.), Murmelius and Agricola (Migne, PL 63, col. 885 ff.), and my edition of the supposed Johannes Scottus (*Saec. Noni Auct. in Boetii Cons. Philos. Commentarius*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome IX, 1935), no complete commentary on the *Consolatio* has ever been published. Selections are given in the prolegomena to Peiper's edition (1871); samples of early scholia in G. Schepss' *Handschriftliche Stud. z. Boeth. de Cons.* (Würzb. Programm: 1881). H. F. Stewart published selections from Remigius in *J. Theol. Studies* XVII (1916), 22-42; further selections are given in *Saec. Noni Auct.* (referred to hereafter as Ps.-J.) pp. 305-43. Selections from Guillaume de Conches and Nicolas Trevet on the *Cons.* were published by Ch. Jourdain, "Des comm. inédits de Guill. de Conches et Nic. Triveth", *Notices et Extr. des MSS.* XX (1862), ii, 40-82; further selections from G. de C. in J. M. Parent, "La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres", Public. de l'Institut d'études médiév. d'Ottawa (1938), p. 124 ff. An edition of the complete text of Nicolas Trevet has been prepared by the present writer and should be published in the near future. An edition of the commentary on the *Consolatio* by Guillaume de Conches has been undertaken by Miss Haviland Nelson of Bryn Mawr College.

has been progress in the study of the commentaries, but the progress has been slow. It is to be hoped that M. Courcelle's critical and historical survey may call forth editions of some important treatises heretofore little known. His stimulating discussion of the relation of the commentaries to each other is sure to provoke fresh study of many difficult problems. I propose to reopen one of the vexed questions in the present paper. It concerns the date and literary relationships of the anonymous commentary published by the present writer fifteen years ago as a ninth-century work and probably from the pen of Johannes Scottus.[1] The attribution to Johannes Scottus has never been widely accepted. I am now prepared to abandon it, for stylistic considerations make it unlikely that this exposition of Boethius was actually written down by Johannes himself.[2] M. Courcelle sees in the Pseudo-Johannes not a ninth-century work at all but a mere twelfth-century compilation of material drawn chiefly from Adalbold of Utrecht (on Boethius III m. 9) and the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre.[3] Contrary to the opinion of M. Courcelle, I think that Pseudo-Johannes Scottus on Boethius should still be regarded as an early work, for I hope to be able to show that certain stylistic peculiarities of Adalbold's tract convict him of plagiarism and point to the work of Pseudo-Johannes as his source. The relation of the Pseudo-Johannes to Remigius probably cannot be settled definitely in the present state of our knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the commentary of Remigius.

Before attacking the problem which is the subject of this paper, it will be convenient to have clearly in mind the chronology of the early Boethius commentaries, as it has been sketched by M. Courcelle. Making use of the stemma that he gives for the Anonymous of St. Gall, Asser, King Alfred, and Remigius,[4] I have attempted to reduce to diagrammatic form his conclusions regarding the date and relationships of all the Boethius

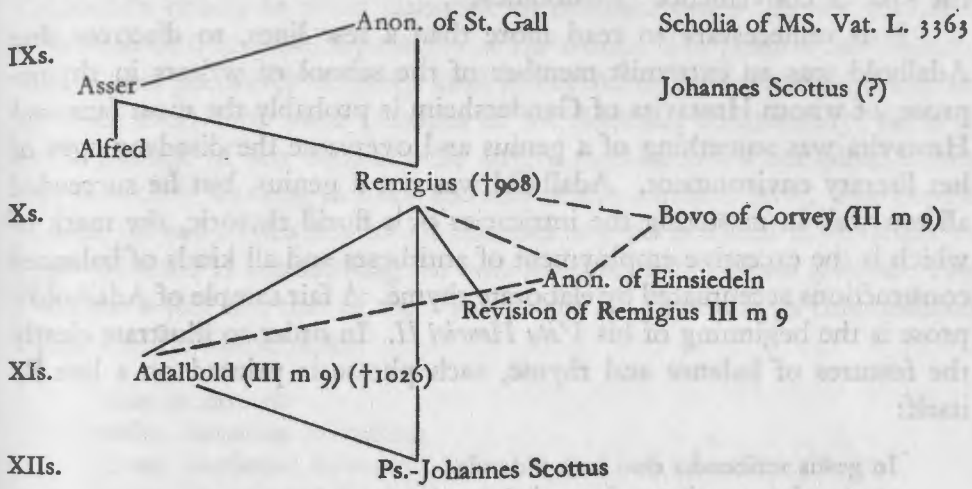
[1]) *v. supra*, n. 2. The present article had already gone to press before the announcement by M. H. Silvestre of his discovery of Johannes Scottus' commentary on Boethius III metre 9. It is my intention to return to the complex question of the commentaries on III metre 9 in a later article and to discuss there the arguments set forth by M. Silvestre ("Le commentaire inédit de Jean Scot Erigène au mètre IX du livre III du 'De Consolatione Philosophiae' de Boèce," *Revue d'hist. ecclés.* XLVII, 44-122).

[2]) Cf. E. K. Rand, "The Annotationes in Martianum", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, LXXI (1940), 504 ff.

[3]) *Etude*, pp. 24-25. See below, Appendix II, p. 32 ff.

[4]) *Etude*, p. 45.

commentaries down to the twelfth century. Such a device must necessarily do violence to finer points in M. Courcelle's discussion, but it will be sufficiently accurate for the purpose of the present study. Solid lines indicate that one commentary is regarded as having had a direct relation to another (either as source or derivative). Broken lines indicate a more tenuous relationship: one work may have provoked a partial refutation in another; one work may contain a few glosses apparently derived from another or contain other indications that its compiler may have had some slight acquaintance with the earlier work.



M. Courcelle's chief reasons for condemning Ps.-J. as a twelfth-century compilation of Remigius and Adalbold may be stated as follows: since Ps.-J. contains no precise internal evidence of early date and since the manuscripts cannot be dated earlier than the twelfth century, the passages in which Ps.-J. agrees with Remigius and, particularly, the great number of passages in which Ps.-J. corresponds verbatim to the text of Adalbold must be regarded as evidence that Ps.-J. plagiarized the earlier works. To M. Courcelle, the most convincing proof of Ps.-J.'s dependence on Adalbold is the fact that Ps.-J.'s diagram of the *syzygiae elementorum* corresponds to that of Adalbold precisely.[1]

The clue to the problem of Ps.-J. and Adalbold is to be found, I

[1]) Cf. *Etude*, p. 25.

think, in the peculiar stylistic character of Adalbold's commentary. I do not refer to the artificiality of the language in a great part of the commentary, but to an extraordinary alternation between Adalbold's highly artificial rhymed prose and a much plainer style of writing. Just how peculiar this stylistic inequality of the commentary is, can hardly be appreciated unless one has been recently immersed in Adalbold's other works. Since it is unlikely that many students of the Boethius tradition will have had this special preparation, it seems necessary to make a brief digression and point out the chief characteristics of what I shall call for the sake of convenience "Adalboldese".

It is unnecessary to read more than a few lines, to discover that Adalbold was an extremist member of the school of writers in rhyme-prose, of whom Hrotsvita of Gandersheim is probably the most famous.[1] Hrotsvita was something of a genius and overcame the disadvantages of her literary environment. Adalbold was not a genius, but he succeeded all too well in mastering the intricacies of a florid rhetoric, the mark of which is the excessive employment of antitheses and all kinds of balanced constructions accentuated by elaborate rhyme. A fair sample of Adalbold's prose is the beginning of his *Vita Henrici II*. In order to illustrate clearly the features of balance and rhyme, each phrase is printed on a line by itself:

In gestis scribendis duo sunt videnda:
ut et scriptor veritatem in prolatione teneat,
et lector fructum in lectione capiat.
Sed scriptor veritatem tenere nequit,
nisi haec quatuor aut potenter devitaverit
aut aliquatenus a mente deposuerit:
odium et carnalem dilectionem,
invidiam et infernalem adulationem.
Odium enim et invidia
bene gesta aut omnino tacent
aut dicendo transcurrunt
aut calumniose transmutant,
e contra male gesta dicunt, dilatant et amplificant.
Carnalis autem dilectio

[1]) Cf. K. Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (1925), pp. 1 ff.; 406; 408; Manitius, *Geschichte* II, 743-48.

et infernalis adulatio
quae male gesta sunt scientes ignorant,
et ignorantiam simulantes, veritatem occultant,
bene gesta autem, placere quaerentes, spatiose dicunt
et plus iusto magnificant.
Sic per haec quatuor
aut in bene gestis
aut in male gestis
veritas evanescit,
falsitas superducto colore nitescit . . .[1]

Adalbold's efforts to write elaborate ornamental prose are not confined to *proemia* or other choice passages of his works. His passion for balance, rhyme, and preciosity of every kind is unremitting. It would be safe to say that, except for some passages in the Boethius commentary, there is not a passage of any considerable length in Adalbold's complete works that is entirely wanting in some features of this tortured style. The closest parallel (in subject-matter) to his commentary on Boethius is his letter to Pope Sylvester II expounding the *ratio inveniendi crassitudinem sphaerae*. The *proemium* is just like that of the *Vita Henrici II*. Following a ceremonious salutation, Adalbold says:

Valde peccare est
publicis intentum utilitatibus
privatis inquietare conventionibus.
Sed hoc ingenio vestro confido,
ut simul et reipublicae possit sufficere,
et mihi, ex hoc quod quaero, satisfacere.
Et tamen temere ago,
et non ignoranter pecco,
quod tantum virum quasi conscholasticum iuvenis convenio.[2]

After twenty lines of "infernalis adulatio", Adalbold is still expressing misgivings:

Si autem non offendero,
sed id quaesiero,
quod cum benevolentia vestra adeptus fuero,

[1]) *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores* IV, 683.
[2]) Migne, PL 140, col. 1103.

utpote quia in adeptione mea et mihi et multis prodesse gaudebo,
quaestiones, quas iam auctoritati vestrae transmisi,
quia non resolvuntur,
me in eis aut vos offendisse timeo,
aut pro dilatione solutionis aliquid grande futurum spero.
Sed non aliud quoddam proponam,
ut aut ex hoc, quod timeo, magis doleam,
et doloris magnitudo vos flectat ad veniam:
aut ex hoc, quod spero, magis gaudeam,
et gaudii mei plenitudo remunerationem vobis imploret futuram . . .[1]

Adalbold, recovering eventually from his rhetorical hesitation, plunges into mathematical discussion. In spite of the technical nature of his matter, he makes a brave effort to maintain his usual style:

Ut lucidius fiat quod dicimus,
certis numeris crassitudines duas assignabimus,
ut assignatas invicem comparare possimus:
non ut haec aut veriora sint, aut vos ignorare credamus,
sed ut, viis nostris vestrae diligentiae monstratis, a vobis deinceps
ducti errare nesciamus . . .[2]

Adalbold has succeeded in arranging even passages containing many numerals to produce the same effect:

. . . Et 14, qui est diameter et circulus maioris,
et quater 38 et S, quod est area minoris,
fiunt 154, quod est area maioris,
et octies 189 et SS, quod est soliditas minoris,
reddunt 1347 et SS, quod est soliditas maioris . . .[3]

These few passages are quite sufficient to illustrate Adalbold's style in general. To secure the desired symmetrical arrangement, clauses and phrases are made to correspond to each other as closely as possible. Balance is attained not only by the pairing of clauses and phrases of approximately the same length and by matching them in single or polysyllabic rhymes, but also by placing words of approximately (and often precisely) the same length and same grammatical form in corresponding

[1]) *Ibid.*
[2]) *Op. cit.*, 1105.
[3]) *Op. cit.*, 1108.

positions in successive phrases. Clauses and phrases in pairs seem to please Adalbold most, but he essays triplets and even more elaborate arrangements. In addition to symmetry in the structure of his periods, Adalbold affects all the other familiar devices of late Latin rhetoric.

The commentary on *Consolatio* III m 9 begins in familiar 'Adalboldese', which I shall print as before, in order to bring out the sentence-pattern:

Deum sine nomine invocans,
loco nominis
nec diffinitionibus
nec descriptionibus
uti potest.
Cum enim diffinitio a maioribus per maiora usque ad aequalitatem deduci,
et descriptio ab aequalibus per aequalia ad conversionem debeat fieri,
neutra huic rei aptari potest,
quae et maioribus caret
et aequalia non habet.
Unde hunc,
quem nec ex aequalibus
nec ex maioribus
demonstrare praevalet,
non tantum ex minoribus quasi maiorem,
sed ex creaturis quasi creatorem,
aperire laborat,
et sciens quia haec ex minoribus demonstratio perfecta esse non possit,
quia defecit in comprehensione perfectionis,
in initio sui sermonis
per vocem supersilit admirationis,
ut quod attingere humana non valet cogitatio,
ad hoc venerando trepida supersiliat admiratio.
Huius namque lectionis paleas Hermes et Plato caecus uterque discussit,
sed interiora neuter eorum penetrare potuit,
quia ad opus ferventis fidei molas non habuit.
Uterque eorum caecus sub tenebris palpavit
quod Boetius exorto veritatis lumine vidit;
vidit, inquam,
non oculis corporis
sed oculis cordis.[1]

[1]) The text of Adalbold's commentary on Boethius III m 9 was originally published by Moll in *Kerkhistorisch Archief* III (1862), 198 ff. The text given here and the complete text in Appendix I is based

With the beginning of the next sentence (*Mundum vidit perpetua ratione . . .*), Adalbold departs suddenly from his customary style and does not resume it for the next two hundred words. The passage may be read in its entirety in the complete text of Adalbold's commentary, which will be found in the first appendix to this article. The reader will not need to make a detailed analysis to discover the change that has come over Adalbold. The style is more free and the rhythm quite different from the sometimes ponderous and commonly jerky movement of usual 'Adalboldese'. There are fewer antitheses and fewer chiastic arrangements of words. The precise matching of clause to clause, phrase to phrase, grammatical form against grammatical form has disappeared. Above all, the incessant and intolerable rhyme is gone. This is not to say that the passage is unrhetorical. It is still "Kunstprosa" but of a type different from rhyme-prose. Less attention seems to have been given to the individual period and more to the paragraph as a whole. Instead of balance and rhyme, the outstanding device seems to be anaphora. Something like single rhyme does occur, but this is due chiefly to the coincidence of verbal endings. A much more liberal use of connectives serves to give a flexibility to the passage that is not usual with Adalbold.

Following the words *apud Platonem quippe tempus aevi simulachrum nuncupatur*, there is an abrupt return to 'Adalboldese':

> et sicut temporis rotatio non potest sine aevo id est sine aeternitate fieri,
> sic nec aevum a nobis sine tempore potest intelligi,
> quia nec circulus sine centro fieri,
> nec centrum sine circulo potest intelligi.[1]

If one reads the whole text of Adalbold on III m 9, one discovers that there is a strange and erratic alternation of prose styles throughout. To make this clear in our text, the passages in which Adalbold lapses from his usual style have been printed in italics.[2] Some of these passages contain

upon a fresh collation of the Paris manuscripts.

[1]) App. I, p. 15, l. 2 ff.

[2]) The passages in which Adalbold drops his regular style are numbered (for convenience of reference) in Roman numerals. A complete list of these passages is given at the beginning of the Appendix, p. 13.

only a few words and are like tiny islands in a sea of rhyme-prose; the longest contain hundreds of words.

What is the meaning of this peculiar stylistic situation? One might guess that Adalbold himself wearies occasionally of maintaining the artificial manner. He shows no sign of this, however, in his other works. Another explanation would be that the subject-matter of the sections in which he 'lapses' is of a nature unsuited to treatment in rhyme-prose. This might well be true of the long arithmetical sections on the *syzygiae elementorum*, which follow parallels VI and VII. There are only a few Adalboldian phrases in these sections. On the other hand, the long discussion of *forma* between parallels IV and V, with all the schoolroom syllogisms, is cast pretty much in the regular Adalbold pattern. Furthermore, it has already been pointed out that difficulty of subject (even the technicalities of mathematical discussion) did not usually present an obstacle to the bishop of Utrecht. But, be that as it may, eleven of the passages that we have been considering contain no technical difficulty whatever. They could be rewritten in rhyme-prose with the greatest of ease. The most reasonable explanation for the curious alternation of styles in the commentary seems to me to be this: Adalbold's 'lapses' must be passages that he has taken bodily from somebody else and has, for the most part, failed to 'do over' in his own way. If this is true, what was Adalbold's source?

An obvious possibility is not far to seek. If one compares the now familiar 'lapses' of Adalbold with the passages of the Ps.-J. that are marked with corresponding Roman numerals in Appendix, I, 2, one finds that all Adalbold's lapses (excluding the sections already mentioned which do not appear in Ps.-J.) correspond (except for a very few minor differences) verbatim to the text of Ps.-J. Upon this discovery one feels justified in reversing M. Courcelle's verdict and convicting Adalbold of having taken (and having failed to digest) large portions of Ps.-J.'s material—including the impressive diagram of the *syzygiae elementorum* (VII)! To hold with M. Courcelle that Ps.-J. was the plagiarist, one must find satisfactory answers to some serious questions. In the first place, has it been observed that the passages of Ps.-J. that correspond to Adalbold are integral parts of Ps.-J.'s commentary and not stylistically foreign bodies as they are in Adalbold? Can one explain why Ps.-J. should have selected from Adal-

bold only such passages as were *not* in Adalbold's characteristic style but written in a much less florid Latin *just like his own*?[1] If all this concerned cheating in examinations, I do not think an academic jury would take long to judge Adalbold the guilty one. At all events, it is hard to believe that Ps.-J. borrowed from him.

It is possible, of course, that Ps.-J. and Adalbold took the material that is common to them from some earlier commentary on Boethius. If this common source was any one of the works discussed by M. Courcelle, it should not be difficult to identify it. Most of his early commentaries, however, can be eliminated at once for the simple reason that they do not contain the passages in which Ps.-J. and Adalbold correspond to each other. A brief glance at M. Courcelle's text of the Anonymous of Einsiedeln will suffice to exclude that work from consideration.[2] The parallel passages are not in Bovo of Corvey.[3] The scholia of MS. Vat. Lat. 3363 can almost certainly be eliminated also.[4] There is nothing comparable to our passages in the pedestrian *glossa* of the Anonymous of St. Gall.[5] Remigius alone is left.[6] Strangely enough, this portentous possibility can be eliminated with equal despatch. The commentary that bears his name, like the rest of the texts that have been rejected, fails to show a trace of the material that is common to Ps.-J. and Adalbold. It is conceivable that our passages were part of a longer version of Remigius, of which the extant text is only an abridgment. This is unlikely. The hypothetical longer version must have differed from the extant version not only in length but in substance, interpretation and wording. As for the 'réviseur de Remi' listed by M. Courcelle, that too, I should say, can be dropped from further consideration.[7] I have only part of M. Courcelle's apparatus for this text (namely photographs of Paris MS. lat. 16093), but I cannot find in this manuscript any evidence that the 'réviseur de Remi' prepared a text that contained the material with which we have been concerned.

[1]) See below, Appendix III, p. 37 ff.
[2]) *Etude*, pp. 71, 124-6.
[3]) A. Mai, *Classici Auct.* III, pp. 332-45; Migne, PL 64, col. 1239-46. Cf. Courcelle, *Etude*, pp. 123-4.
[4]) Cf. Courcelle, *Etude*, p. 121. See Appendix IV, p. 40.
[5]) Courcelle, *Etude*, pp. 119-20.
[6]) *Op. cit.*, 121-3. Text of Remigius on III m 9 in *Sacc. Non. Auct.*, pp. 305-43.
[7]) Courcelle, *Etude*, p. 123.

Until a common source is brought to light, Ps.-J. deserves to be considered, it seems to me, the text from which Adalbold borrowed long sections of his commentary on Boethius III m 9. To have been the source of Adalbold, the commentary of Ps.-J. would have to have been written some time, at least, before the death of Adalbold in 1026. In that case the further investigation of Ps.-J. becomes a Carolingian matter and one turns inevitably to the question of Ps.-J. and Remigius of Auxerre.

There is a close relationship of some sort between the text of Remigius and Ps.-J., for, although the two commentaries differ from each other substantially, there are a great many instances in which a passage of Ps.-J. corresponds almost verbatim to a passage of Remigius. If this is another case of learned cheating, a practice so widespread and well regarded in the Middle Ages, it cannot be adjudicated in the same way, for neither commentator possesses striking stylistic peculiarities. In my edition of the Pseudo-Johannes Scottus, I attempted to prove that Ps.-J. wrote before Remigius.[1] The argument rested on the fact that, in a few of the verbatim correspondences between the two commentaries, the text of Remigius (in all the manuscripts that I could muster) contained obvious errors or other textual peculiarities to be found in only one of the two extant manuscripts of Ps.-J. Had Ps.-J. plagiarized Remigius, so it seemed to me, Remigius' errors should have left *some* mark on the whole Ps.-J. tradition. Ergo Remigius must have copied from Ps.-J.—that is, from some erring ancestor of the extant faulty manuscript of Ps.-J. If this conclusion were supported by more evidence, the pursuit of Ps.-J. would be nearly over. At present the problem remains a tantalizing one, but it can hardly be settled until a more thorough study has been made of the manuscript tradition of Remigius. Until that time it will be unprofitable to speculate further about the identity of Ps.-J. At all events, further investigation should centre in the school of Auxerre, to which exegetical beehive Ps.-J. like Remigius undoubtedly belonged.

[1]) *Sacc. Non. Auct.*, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

APPENDIX

I

Adalbold's commentary on Boethius III m 9 and the pertinent sections of Pseudo-Johannes Scottus on the same metre are given here to permit the reader to examine for himself in their context the parallels that have been noted in the preceding pages between Adalbold and Ps.-J.

Ps.-J. has been reprinted from my edition in *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. IX (1935), pp. 160-190. Since Moll's edition of Adalbold (*Kerkhistorisch Archief*, 1862), besides being inaccurate, is now very rare, a new edition is offered here based upon my own collations of the Paris MSS. 7361 (M. Courcelle's *A*) and 6770 (*B*).[1] Paris MS. 15104 (M. Courcelle's *C*) should not be listed as a manuscript of Adalbold; this is the manuscript that contains a portion of Ps.-J. on III m 9. Through some oversight it is listed by M. Courcelle as containing on the same pages both Ps.-J. and Adalbold. As M. Courcelle points out, *A* alone contains Adalbold's name (*Incipit opusculum Adalbaldi (sic) episcopi traiectensis super istud Boeti "O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas," quod nec Hermes nec Plato dissolvere quiuit, qui nimium philosophi erant*). A few details may be added to M. Courcelle's description of the manuscripts. *A* (XIs.) has a few corrections made by a different hand of approximately the same date (A^2). This hand also writes out in full above the line the lemmata from Boethius, which the original hand gives regularly by initial letters only. *B* has occasional words or whole phrases not found in *A*; many of these would seem to have originated as glosses on the text of Adalbold. Adalbold's diagram is taken from *A*. The diagram of Ps.-J. is taken from Paris MS. 15104.

The following is a complete list of the verbal parallels between Adalbold and Ps.-J.:

[1]) Unless otherwise indicated, the text of Adalbold in the following pages represents a consensus of *A* and *B*. Spelling has been normalized in the text and orthographical minutiae have in general been disregarded in the apparatus, which otherwise gives a full report of the readings of both manuscripts. Although the text of Adalbold and that of the Pseudo-Johannes on Boethius III m 9 could be emended (each with the help of the other), for the most part this has not been done on account of the special nature of the present study.

ADALBOLD	PSEUDO-JOHANNES
I p. 14, line 15 *Mundum vidit perpetua ratione regi* . . . p. 15, line 1 *exinde fit hesternum*	p. 26, line 1, line 15 (p. 175, 4-176, 4)*
II p. 15, line 4 *Igitur sic intellegas deduci tempus ab aevo ut circulum a centro et sic reduci tempus ad aevum ut circulum ad centrum.*	p. 26, line 15 (p. 176, 4-6)
III p. 15, line 16 *Totus ubique est: totus in maximis, totus in minimis.*	p. 26, line 23 (p. 178, 17-18)
IV p. 15, line 23 *Nihil est ei* . . . p. 15, line 25 *applicat*	p. 26, line 24, line 27 (p. 176, 19-23)
V p. 17, line 16 *Igitur a superno* . . . p. 18, line 6 *ratione numerorum*	p. 27, line 5 line, 22 (p. 177, 28-179, 3)
VI p. 18, line 8 *omnia quippe in numero et mensura* . . . line 9 *non possunt.*	p. 24, line 1 (p. 160, 2-4)
VII Diagram p. 19.	p. 25 (p. 169)
VIII p. 20, line 6 *Qualitates ignis* . . . line 8 *ille possit evolare.*	p. 27, line 29, line 31 (p. 179, 15-18)
IX p. 20, line 20 *Motus species tres* . . . line 33 *animae sunt consona.*	p. 29, line 20, line 28; line 32-37 (p. 184, 7-19; p. 184, 25-185, 9)
X p. 22, line 30 *Harum animarum* . . . p. 24, line 6 *maiestas patris intellegitur.*	p. 30, line 32, line 40; line 41-p. 31, line 31-36 (p. 187, 14-188, 3; p. 188, 6-190, 12)
XI p. 24, line 10 *In serenitate iocunditas* . . . *carnis examinationem.*	p. 31, line 31 (p. 190, 12-21)

In the following texts these parallel passages are printed in italics, and the Roman numerals given in the foregoing table are inserted in square brackets at the beginning of each.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to page and line of the complete text of Ps.-J. in *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, IX (1935).

1

ADALBOLD ON BOETHIUS DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE III m 9

O QUI PERPETUA MUNDUM RATIONE GUBERNAS. Deum sine nomine invocans, loco nominis [1]nec diffinitionibus nec descriptionibus uti potest.[1] Cum enim diffinitio a maioribus per maiora usque ad aequalitatem deduci, et descriptio ab aequalibus per aequalia ad conversionem debeat fieri, neutra huic rei aptari potest, quae et maioribus caret et aequalia non habet. Unde hunc, quem nec ex aequalibus nec ex maioribus demonstrare praevalet, non tantum ex minoribus quasi maiorem, sed ex creaturis quasi creatorem aperire laborat, et sciens quia haec ex minoribus demonstratio perfecta esse non possit, quia defecit in comprehensione perfectionis, in initio sui sermonis per vocem supersilit admirationis, ut quod attingere [2]humana non valet[2] cogitatio, ad hoc venerando trepida supersiliat admiratio. Huius namque lectionis paleas[3] Hermes et Plato caecus uterque[4] discussit, sed interiora neuter eorum penetrare potuit, quia ad opus ferventis[5] fidei molas non habuit. Uterque eorum caecus sub tenebris palpavit, quod Boetius exorto veritatis lumine vidit; vidit, inquam, non oculis corporis sed oculis cordis. [I] [6]*Mundum vidit*[6] *perpetua ratione regi, qui*[7] *intellexit illum per sapientiam Dei, id est per Filium Dei, non tantum*[8] *factum esse sed etiam*[9] *gubernari. Haec est ratio, quae apud Platonem benivolentia, apud Hermetem bona voluntas, apud Psalmistam* [10]*benignitas vocatur.*[10] *Haec est ratio, per quam arida apparuit, per quam facta est caeli machina, per quam deducta sunt ab aevo tempora.*

TERRARUM CAELIQUE SATOR, QUI TEMPUS AB AEVO IRE IUBES. *Nam ut a centro circulus, sic ab aevo deducitur tempus, et idem est*[11] *in tempore aevum quod est in circulo centrum, centrum quippe et aevum utrumque indivisibile, utrumque inmetibile,*[12] *utrumque immobile. En, per centrum rotae lignum terrae si infigas rotamque per girum ut volueris volvas, nonne*[13] *circulus* [14]*ducitur rotae*[14] *et locus centri fixus habetur? Nunc sinistra pars circuli dextra, nunc dextra*[15] *citissime fit sinistra, nunc anterior* [16]*fit posterior,*[16] *nunc posterior fit anterior. Centrum tamen in immobilitate manet, sed vim motus et ordinem circulo exhibet. Hoc modo intellegas ab aevo deduci tempora. Nihil enim* [17]*est aliud*[17] *aevum quam contractio totius temporis* [18]*praesentialiter habita*[18] *in conspectu omnia videntis. Nam omne tempus et ab aevo ducitur*[19] *et in illud contrahitur, et aevo praesentialiter manente*[20] *in conspectu divinae maiestatis*[21] *dum tempus rotatur, quod nunc est crastinum, primum*

[1]) nec diffinicionibus potest uti nec descriptionibus *B* [2]) non valet humana *B* [3]) paleas *om. A* [4]) uterque eorum *B* [5]) sequentes *B* [6]) vidit mundum *B* [7]) quia *B* [8]) etiam *A* solum A^2 [9]) omnimodatim *A* etiam A^2 [10]) vocatur benignitas *B* [11]) est *om. A* [12]) est immetibile *B* [13]) numne *B* [14]) rotae ducitur *B* [15]) *om. A* [16]) *om. A* [17]) aliud est *B* [18]) habita praesentialiter *B* [19]) deducitur *B* [20]) *om. B* [21]) maiestatis manente *B*

hodiernum, exinde fit hesternum. Apud Platonem quippe tempus aevi simulachrum nuncupatur; et sicut temporis rotatio non potest sine aevo id est sine aeternitate fieri, sic nec aevum a nobis sine tempore potest intelligi, quia nec circulus sine centro fieri nec centrum sine circulo potest intelligi. [II] *Igitur sic intellegas deduci tempus ab aevo ut circulum a centro, et sic reduci tempus ad aevum, ut circulum ad centrum.*

STABILISQUE MANENS DAS CUNCTA MOVERI. Qui omnia complet et omnia complectitur, quo movebitur? Nusquam deest, ideo nusquam moveri potest; loca omnia occupat, ideo nullus est vacuus, qui noviter eum recipere valeat. Sed est qui mihi obiciat, rotam in eodem loco, quem occupat, posse moveri, [1]et tamen ad motum faciendum non sit necesse de loco in locum illam transferri.[1] De rota aliquatenus consentio, de Deo penitus contradico. Rota enim locum, quem occupat, per partes suas occupat, et ideo dum in loco suo rota movetur, pars partem sequitur. Per partes igitur locum occupat et per partium transmutationem in loco suo movetur. Numquid et Deus diversa mundi loca per partes occupat? Absit! [III] *Totus ubique*[2] *est: totus in maximis, totus in minimis.*[3] Quapropter qui per[4] partes nescit dividi, per partium transmutationem non potest moveri. Igitur stabilis est et dat cuncta moveri, quia nihil movetur[5] quod non sit et nihil est quod ab eo esse non acceperit. Creator est enim omnium rerum, quae sunt, et quibus dedit esse, dedit et moveri, [6]aut per immutationem, aut per commutationem, aut per transmutationem.[6]

QUEM NON EXTERNAE PEPULERUNT FINGERE CAUSAE MATERIAE FLUITANTIS OPUS. [IV] *Nihil est*[7] *ei externum qui cuncta continet. Quaecumque creat, ex fonte propriae benignitatis educit. Nos ad*[8] *aliquid agendum aut maiorum timor compellit, aut amicorum amor inducit, aut carnis voluptas invitat, aut quaestus utilitas applicat.* Quid horum ipsum compulerit[9] nescio, quem ante haec omnia fuisse scio. Ipse causa, ipse fons et origo, ipse dedit cuncta moveri, ac per hoc dedit et cuncta fluitari.

VERUM INSITA SUMMI FORMA BONI LIVORE CARENS. Quaestio hic oritur et animus involvitur. Omnis[10] forma formati forma est. Omne[11] autem formatum creatura est. Omnis[12] igitur forma creaturae forma est. Omnis[13] creatura minor est eo a quo creatur; sed[14] omne quod minus est, summum ad omnia esse non potest. Nullum[15] igitur creatum summum ad omnia esse poterit. Ecce formam summi boni proponit. Si[16] summum est, formatum non est; omne enim formatum

[1]) et tamen . . . transferri *om. A* [2]) ubi *A corr.* A^2 [3]) minimis movetur *A* [4]) *om. B* [5]) movetur *B*: *om. A* est *supra suppl.* A^2 [6]) aut . . . transmutationem *A*: aut per immutationem ex esse in non esse aut ex non esse in esse aut per commutationem ex esse in esse aut per transmutationem de loco in locum *B* (*v. infra, p.* 20 *et* 29) [7]) *om. B* [8]) *om. A* [9]) compelleret *A* [10]) tripartitus sillogismus propositione assumptione conclusione compositus propositione *ante* omnis *add. B* [11]) assumptione *ante* omne *add. B* [12]) conclusio *ante* omnis *add. B* [13]) alia propositio *ante* omnis *add. B* [14]) assumptio *ante* sed *add. B* [15]) conclusio *ante* nullum *add. B* [16]) propositio *ante* si *add. B*

minus est formatore,[1] et quod minus est aliquo, ad omnia summum esse non potest. Sed[2] summum bonum esse, non est qui dubitet. Cum enim bona sint multa, fons et origo eis deesse non potest. Quod est summum bonum, formatum igitur non est. Si[4] formatum non est, forma caret. Omnis enim forma formati forma est. Sed[5] formatum non est; igitur[6] forma caret. Quid ad haec? Sicne verbis Philosophiae repugnabimus? Illa hic[8] introducitur ad loquendum, quae cum creatore aderat, quando formata sunt omnia. Si huic [9]repugnare nitimur,[9] pro certo deficientes expugnabimur. Melius est ut[10] non repugnantes vincamur et potentiori ultro subiciamur. Fortassis sic victis monstrabit quod [11]non cedentibus[11] aperire noluit. Eia! manus reddidimus, [12]victi ducamur;[12] ducat ipsa quo velit; sed viam praemonstret.[13] Ecce, inquit, formam summi boni dixi; ne mireris. Multae enim res id esse dicuntur, quod non sunt, ut tabula. Tabula esse dicitur, sed lignum est. Figulus quoque figulus esse dicitur, sed homo est. Ex materiali enim esse non[14] nominatur, sed ex supervenienti aut forma aut arte nuncupatur. In vero esse suo figulus non dicitur, sed quia fictilia facit, figulus vocatur. Antea figulus est quam fictile, et tamen a fictili nomen[15] accipit ut figulus esse dicatur. Sic et summum bonum, dum cuncta bona[16] formantur ab eo, formam habere dicitur, non ut[17] formetur, sed quia summum bonum[18] non appareret nisi illa crearet, a quibus intellegi aliquatenus[19] posset. Erat substantialiter bonum, erat plenum, erat illud quod nec minui nec augeri poterat, erat illud de quo legitur: "in principio erat Verbum." Haec omnia in principio erant,[20] sed cui summum apparebat? Igitur bona creaverat, in quibus vel a quibus, etsi non penitus, aliquatenus intellegi posset. Bonorum ergo operatio summi boni est apparitio. Itaque forma summi boni dicitur, non quia sit formatum, sed quia formando cetera formam apparitionis suscepit. Est qui dicat mihi,[21] Deum [22]nichil umquam[22] ad divinitatem suscepisse. Assentio! Nichil enim in eo, quod summum bonum est, ut plenius esset, suscepit, nec ipsam apparitionis formam suscipere potuit, quam semper et ante omnia saecula per potentiam habuit. Suscepit et non suscepit. Per operis exhibitionem suscepit, quod per potentiae maiestatem habendo non[23] suscepit. Igitur forma summi boni forma dicitur, non ut formetur in suo esse, sed quia cetera formando [24]in formatorum cogitatione formatur,[24] ut figulus [25]non ideo dicitur figulus esse,[25] ut aliquid fingat in suo esse, sed quia fingendo fictilia figmenta demonstrat quae

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[1]) a formatore *A* [2]) assumptio *ante* sed *add. B* [3]) conclusio *ante* formatum *add. B* [4]) propositio *ante* si *add. B* [5]) assumptio *ante* sed *add. B* [6]) conclusio igitur *B* [7]) sic *B* [8]) *Post* hic *fere tres litt. ut vid. eras. A* [9]) repugnare nitimur *B* repugnabimus *A* [10]) et *A corr. A*[2] [11]) non cedentibus *B* contendentibus *A* [12]) victi ducamur ducti *A* [13]) praemonstraret *A* [14]) non non *A om. B* [15]) *om. A* [16]) *om. in mg. suppl. B* [17]) quia *B* [18]) *om. A* [19]) *Post* aliquatenus *spatium novem litt. vac. A* [20]) erat *B* [21]) mihi *B om. A* [22]) nichil umquam *A* numquam *B* [23]) non *supra scr. A*[2] [24]) formatur in formatorum cogitatione *B* [25]) non ideo figulus non ideo figulus dicitur esse *B*

mente tenebat. Iure ergo forma summi boni, cum sit rerum omnium forma, forma dicitur esse, quia formando cetera in formatorum formatum[1] [2]esse dicitur[2] intelligentia. Haec forma summi boni insita Deo, id est innata, non ex tempore sed ante tempora, Deum mundum creare pepulit, non ad compellendam[3] vim, sed bonitatem[4] exercens. Habet enim benivolentia quosdam compellendi stimulos, qui saepe unumquemque ad aliquid agendum reddunt agiliorem, quam vel vis vel necessitas ingerit.

LIVORE CARENS. Si[5] summum bonum est, livore caret. Sed[6] [7]summum est; igitur livore caret, uti albedo,[7] si[8] summa est, nihil nigredinis habet. TU CUNCTA SUPERNO DUCIS AB [9]EXEMPLO. Sicut Pater voluit, sic verbum complevit.[9] Supernum exemplum tantum est velle, quia non est ibi labor in conceptione imaginationis et interpolatio temporis ad exhibitionem operationis, et exemplificatio [10]ab imaginatione[10] ad operationem nullius est diuturnitatis, sed velle, exemplificare, facere, quae apud hominem diversa facultate et diversis temporibus aguntur, apud Deum in ictu oculi aequa facultate perpetrantur.

[V] *Igitur a superno cuncta duxit exemplo,*[11] *id est a proprio velle.* PULCHRUM PULCHERRIMUS IPSE MUNDUM MENTE GERENS. *Et quid est mens Dei nisi Filius Dei, per quem et a quo facta sunt omnia, et in quo* [12]*omnia, quae facta sunt, sunt et vivunt,*[12] *sicut scriptum est, "Quod factum est in ipso vita erat?" Nam omne quod factum est, in ipso geritur, in quo est et vivit.*

SIMILIQUE IMAGINE FORMANS[13] *Sed imago est*[14] *rei*[15] *alicuius vere existentis forma*[16] *per aequivocationem, non in eadem existentia alteri rei impressa ut* [17]*veri hominis aere fusilis.*[17] *Ille namque homo est materia, forma, re et nomine. Iste homo est forma, non materia; nomine, non re. Per materiam existentia mutatur, per formam nomen manet. Secundum hanc sententiam mundus iste, qui volvitur,*[18] *in imagine formatur: formam mundi tantum et nomen habet et verus*[19] *non est. Si enim in imagine formatur, necesse est* [20]*verum aliquem*[20] *esse, a quo imaginis*[21] *similitudo deducatur. Hunc si quaeris, is est qui mente Dei geritur, cuius existentia non fluitatur,* cuius amoenitate nullus abutitur. *Huius forma materiae fluitanti imprimitur et nomine manente is, quem nunc videmus, exprimitur. Existentia tamen mutatur,*[22] *quia quae in hoc per defectionem moriuntur, in illo per potentiam gerentis*[23] *vivificantur.* Existentia istius in se mortificat, existentia

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[1]) formando *A* -tum *A*[2] [2]) esse dicitur *B om. A* [3]) complendum *B* [4]) bonitatem *B* benivolentiam *A* aliter benivolentiam *in mg. B*[2] [5]) propositio si *B* [6]) assumptio sed *B* [7]) summum est uti albedo conclusio igitur livore caret *B* [8]) propositio si *B* [9]) exemplo pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse [*litt. post* ipse *eras.*] mundum mente gerens simili quoque (*sic*) imagine formans perfectasque iubes perfectum absolvere partes. Sicut pater voluit sic verbum cuncta complevit *B* [10]) ad imaginationem *A* [11]) ab exemplo *A* [12]) omnia facta sunt vivunt *B* [13]) formans *om. AB suppl. A*[2] [14]) est *om. B* [15]) regis *B* [16]) est forma *B* [17]) veri hominis et (aere *coni. Labowsky*) fusilis *A* vero homini homo fusilis *B* [18]) videtur volvi *B* [19]) verus mundus *B* [20]) aliquem verum *B* [21]) imaginationis *A* [22]) non mutatur *A* [23]) gerentes *B*

illius in gerente vivificat. *Grana enim, quae in isto per defectionem sui mortificantur, in illo, qui in*[1] *mente Dei geritur, per potentiam gerentis vivificantur.*

PERFECTASQUE IUBENS[2] *PERFECTUM ABSOLVERE PARTES. Perfectum mundum perfectas tunc iussit absolvere partes, quando maria* [3]*separavit ab arida*[3] *et aeris puritatem caelestis sphaerae convexitati substrinxit.*[4]

TU NUMERIS ELEMENTA LIGAS non adiutorio, sed ratione numerorum, quia elementorum[5] ligator[6] numerorum[7] est etiam[8] auctor, quorum exemplo et elementa ligantur et cuncta creantur. [VI] *Omnia quippe in numero et mensura et pondere disposita sunt, et mensura et pondus sine numero esse non possunt.* Qui tamen sint numeri, quorum exemplo elementa ligentur, non sit fastidium scientibus, si dicitur inscientibus. Hi namque sunt: II, III, VIII, XII, XVIII, XXVII; duo quippe ex his cubi, duo sunt longilateri. Octonarius et XXVII^{rius} cubi sunt, unus ex binario, alter ex ternario surgens. Nam bis bini bis VIII, et ter tres ter XXVII faciunt. Cubus[9] igitur uterque est [10]undique solidus.[10] XII autem et XVIII longilateri sunt, in soliditate tamen manentes.[11] Nam bis bini ter XII, et bis [12]tres ter[12] XVIII faciunt. Octonarius et XXVII^{rius} laterum proprias compositiones habent; duodenarius autem et XVIII^{rius} non proprias, sed a superioribus mutuatas. Octonarius in longitudine et latitudine ac altitudine per binarium metitur; [13]viginti XXVII^{rius} per ternarium.[13] Duodenarius autem in longitudine et latitudine per binarium, in altitudine vero per ternarium,[14] et XVIII^{rius} in longitudine per binarium, in latitudine [15]autem et altitudine per ternarium.[15] Duo[16] extremi, id est octonarius et XXVII^{rius}, laterum [17]dimensiones diversas[17] habent, ac ideo ipsi diversi sunt. Unum enim par primus, alterum primus inpar metitur. Hos igitur diversos duo medii, id est duodenarius et XVIII, per laterum suorum dimensiones, ab altrinsecus positis mutuatas,[18] coniungunt. Nam duodenarius longitudinem et latitudinem[19] ab octonario sibi proximo accipit,[20] altitudinem vero a[21] XXVII^{rio} altrinsecus posito. XVIII autem latitudinem et altitudinem a XXVII sibi proximo suscipit, longitudinem[22] vero ab octonario altrinsecus posito.[23] Ecce quomodo duo in longitudine, in latitudine diversi, iunguntur per duos medios, longitudinem suam et latitudinem ac altitudinem ab ipsis diversis mutuantes. Insuper octonarius et XXVII nulla simplici proportione iunguntur

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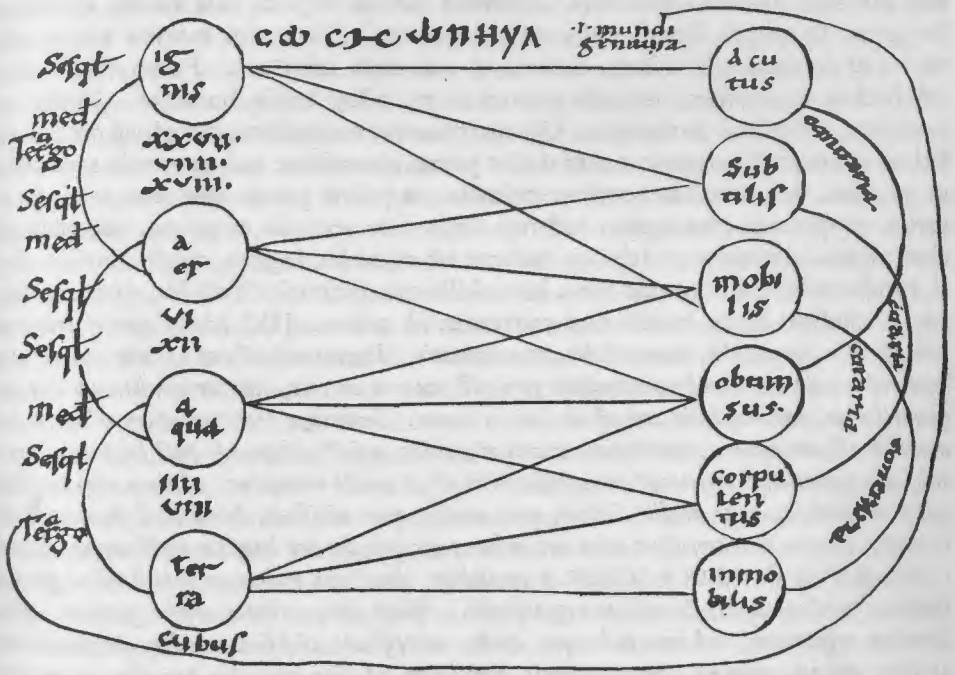
[1]) in *om. B* [2]) iubes *B* [3]) ab arida separavit *B* [4]) substrixit *B* [5]) electorum *A* [6]) ligatorum *B* [7]) est *ante* numerorum *add. A* [8]) *om. B* [9]) cubos *B* [10]) undique solidus *om. A* [11]) *om. A* [12]) ter tres *A* [13]) ita bis bini fiunt iiii ille quaternarius per binarium multiplicatus octonarium facit xxvii. per ternarium ita ter terni novem fiunt ille novenarius per ternarium multiplicatus xxvii efficit *B* [14]) bis bini fiunt iiii ille quaternarius per ternarium multiplicatus duodenarium complet *post* ternarium *add. B* [15]) vero per ternarium et xviii^{rius} in longitudine per binarium in latitudine autem et altitudine per ternarium *A* [16]) bis tres efficiunt senarium ille senarius per ternarium multiplicatus xviii facit *ante* duo *add. B* [17]) diversas dimensiones *B* [18]) emutuatas *B* [19]) altitudinem *A* [20]) suscipit *B* [21]) al. *B* [22]) latitudinem *B* [23]) posito suscipit *B*

sed duobus mediis interpositis ubique sesqualtera proportione[1] intercurrente.[2] Nam et VIII ad XII, et XII ad XVIII, et XVIII ad XXVII sesqualtera proportione iunguntur. Differentiae etiam eorum, quae sunt IIII, VI, VIIII, his proportionibus iunguntur, quae ex primo pari et primo impari noscuntur, id est sesqualtera et sesquitertia. Prima enim sesqualtera et prima sesquitertia a binario et ternario dicuntur, qui superiorum latera[3] aut aequalitate aut inaequalitate efficiunt. Subscribatur figura, ut quibus ad intellectum nostra non sufficit lingua, his ad videndum satisfaciat pictura.

[VII]



Ecce eadem ratione, qua ligantur octonarius et XXVII^{rius} per duos medios,[4] id est XII et XVIII, eadem ignis et terra per duo media, id est aerem et aquam, ligantur. Sicut enim diversa sunt latera XXVII^{narii}[5] lateribus octonarii per paritatis imparitatisque distantiam,[6] sic et qualitates terrae qualitatibus ignis oppositae sunt per contrarietatis repugnantiam; et sicut duodenarius a proximo octonario duas laterum dimensiones ac unam ab altrinsecus posito[7] XXVII^{nario}, et XVIII^{rius}[8] duas a proximo XXVII^{rio}[9] et unam ab altrinsecus posito octonario

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[1]) proportione *om. A* [2]) intercurrit *A* [3]) latera *om. B* [4]) *Post* duos medios *fere* 12 *litt. eras. A* [5]) xxviii *B* [6]) substantiam *A* [7]) octonario sumit *post* posito *del. B* [8]) XXVII^{rius} *A* [9]) XVIII^{rio} *A*

sumit, sic aer duas[1] qualitates a proximo igne et unam ab altrinsecus posita terra, et aqua duas a proxima terra ac unam ab altrinsecus posito[2] igne suscipit.

UT FRIGORA FLAMMIS, ARIDA CONVENIANT LIQUIDIS, NE PURIOR IGNIS EVOLET, AUT MERSAS DEDUCANT PONDERA TERRAS. Frigora flammis per aeris zynzugiam,[3] arida liquidis per aquarum copulationem conveniunt: liquida enim est aqua, sed liquidior est aer. [VIII] *Qualitates ignis evolationem, qualitates terrae quaerunt demersionem; sed sic duobus mediis ad invicem ligantur, ut nec ista demergi nec ille possit evolare.*

TU TRIPLICIS MEDIAM NATURAE CUNCTA MOVENTEM CONNECTENS ANIMAM PER CONSONA MEMBRA RESOLVIS. Animam naturae triplicis esse sciunt, qui super Isagogas Porphyrii Boetii commenta legerunt. Alia enim tantum vitam, alia vitam et sensum, alia vitam, sensum et rationem ministrat. Prima vivificantur et[4] herbae et arbores, secunda pecora et pecudes, tertia homines. Tertia est excelsior, sed prima communior. Quanto quaeque contractior, tanto[5] est pretiosior. Prima et secunda sequuntur tertiam, et prima secundam; sed nec tertia secundam et primam, nec secunda sequitur primam, et prima potest esse sine secunda et tertia, et secunda sine tertia; sed nec tertia sine secunda et prima, nec secunda sine prima. Anima ergo triplicis naturae est et, ut hic legitur, cuncta movet. Sed si cuncta movet, quo modo terra immobilis esse dicitur? Si ab his, quae moventur, excluditur terra, cuncta non moventur ab anima. [IX] *Motus species tres sunt principales: immutatio, commutatio, transmutatio. Immutatio est aut ex non esse in esse,* [6]*aut ex esse in non esse,*[6] *commutatio vero est*[7] *ex esse in esse, aut per qualitatem aut per quantitatem, transmutatio autem*[8] *de loco in locum. Secundum transmutationem* [9]*terra immobilis*[9] *est, secundum commutationem autem mobilis, quia*[10] *est quando post frigoris rigorem calefacta germinat.*[11] *Igitur et terra immobilis est et cuncta moventur. Anima ergo triplicis naturae cuncta movens media dicitur, quia cuncta, quae vivificat, intra caeli firmamentum vegetat. Extra firmamentum enim nec arbores nec pecudes nec homines vivificantur.* Haec connexa PER CONSONA MEMBRA *resolvitur, dum una eademque similitudine propagationis perdiversa fit diversitate vegetationis. Aliter enim arbores, aliter pecudes, aliter homines vegetantur, sed uno eodemque modo, mortificato videlicet semine, propagantur; et ideo animae connexio, propagationis similitudo, et eius resolutio per diversa corpora diversa est vegetatio. Quae corpora quamvis ad invicem sint diversa, ipsi tamen animae sunt consona.*[12]

QUAE CUM SECTA DUOS MOTUM GLOMERAVIT IN ORBES, IN SEMET REDITURA MEAT. Mundum animam habere physici dixerunt, ipsi, non creatori, vim vivificationis omnium animantium immutantes, et cuncta ab eo animari[13] credentes,

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[1]) duos *B* [2]) terra et aqua duas a proxima terra ac unam ab altrinsecus posito *post* posito *add. A* [3]) zynzugiam *B* zinzugiam *A* id est copulationem aera liquidis arida liquidis *post* zynzugiam *add. B* [4]) et *om. B* [5]) tanta *A corr. A*[2] [6]) *om. A* [7]) *om. B* [8]) *om. B* [9]) autem mobilis *B* [10]) quid *B* [11]) germinet *A* [12]) consonae *A* [13]) amari *A corr. A*[2]

ipsum pro Deo coluerunt, ac ideo non veritatem, sed aliquibus veri similia tenentes, [1]ipsi sub suis[1] figmentis perierunt. In hoc enim, quod ei vim vivificationis imputabant, non veritatem, sed veri similia tenebant; minister est quippe vivificationis, non magister. Quod exhibet per obedientiam, non imputandum est ei ad potentiam. Per ipsum animantur corpora, non ex ipso. Quapropter in eo, quod ad vivificandum aliquid cuncta ministrat, sine quibus vivificatio esse non possit, dici potest habere vitam. In eo enim quod caelum rotat, cursum solis temperat, imbres et serenitatem alternat, vitam viventibus ministrat. Haec igitur anima mundi SECTA DUOS MOTUM glomerat in orbes, dum sphaeram applanetis ab oriente in occidentem, planetarum autem orbes[2] ab occidente convertit in orientem. Applanetis enim festinationem[3] sic obrotatio[4] planetarum retardando temperat, ut nec ipse applanes pro nimio impetu suo corruat, nec ipsa planetarum obrotatio[5] ad distinguenda tempora iniunctam sibi retardandi mediocritatem excedat. Applanes quanto maior est, tanto[6] maiorem motus impetum concitat. Planetae vero quanto minores, tanto minorem. Sed illius magnitudinem sic harum temperat pluralitas, ut et illius magnitudo harum pluralitatem ab oriente in occidentem convertat, et harum pluralitas illius magnitudinem temperet, ne corruat. Ex hac applanetis rotatione et planetarum obrotatione duo quidem[7] procedunt, ex quibus omnia, quae vivunt, [8]aut vivificantur aut vivificata vegetantur,[8] pluvia scilicet et serenitas. Horum duorum si alterum sine altero semper maneret, nihil aut vivificaretur aut vivificatum subsisteret. Quomodo autem pluvia et serenitas ab eiusmodi rotatione et obrotatione procedant, [9]hi non nesciunt[9] qui ex obliquitate zodiaci, per quem cursus solis habetur, aliquando vaporem aquarum pro longinquitate solis exuberare, [10]aliquando vicinitate solis aquarum vaporem evolare[10a] intellegunt.[11] Est qui dicat nihil in Aegypto his alternationibus aut vivificari aut vivificatum vegetari. Huic respondemus:[12] exundationem ab [13]initio Nili hiemis[13] tempore, quia utilius, ideo fieri puto crebrius.[14] Huiusmodi applanetis rotatio[15] et planetarum obrotatio[16] IN SEMET REDITURA MEAT,[17] quia non per diversa rapitur, sed in gyrum consuetum semper reflectitur.

MENTEMQUE PROFUNDAM CIRCUIT ET SIMILI CONVERTIT IMAGINE CAELUM. Quam mentem, nisi in qua geritur et ex qua regitur? Haec est mens, in qua esse suum, et ex qua posse suum habet. Hanc circuit, dum secundum voluntatem[18] eius[19] circuitum suum disponit et simili imagine caelum convertit, dum per exhibitionem operis voluntatem iubentis exprimit. Sicut enim superius dictum est, in imagine caelum nobis monstratur, et in imagine rotatur, quia vera eius essentia[20] et vera rotationis facultas in ipso tenetur, qui a nemine uti est videtur.

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[1]) ipsis suis *B* [2]) orbem *B* [3]) festinatione *B* [4]) obrutatio *B* [5]) obrutio *B* [6]) tantam *B* [7]) quaedam *A* [8]) aut vivificata vegetantur aut vivificantur *A* [9]) hic non nescit *B* [10]) *om. A* [10a]) evolare *coni.* exuberare *B om. A* [11]) intelligit *B* [12]) respondemus *om. AB suppl. A*[2] [13]) initio nili qua hiemis *A* initio hiemis *B* [14]) quanto crebrius *B* [15]) *om. B* [16]) abrotatio *B* [17]) metat *B* [18]) voluntates *B* [19]) *om. B* [20]) sessentia *B*

TU CAUSIS ANIMAS PARIBUS VITASQUE MINORES PROVEHIS mutorum[1] animalium, herbarum et arborum, quae paribus causis provehuntur, dum eisdem elementis nutriuntur. Eisdem enim elementis, quibus provehitur ad subsistendum cicuta, quibus etiam lacerta, provehitur et homo. Eadem namque terra, eadem aqua, eodem sole,[2] quo ad subsistentiam suae vivificationis tuendam utitur homo, utitur et culex, utitur et pulex; sed fortassis homo abutitur, pulex utitur. Igitur paribus causis provehuntur, quia eisdem elementis nutriuntur, et recte hic causae esse elementa dicuntur, quia animantia nec vivificarentur, nec vivificata subsisterent, nisi eis elementa, quae sua sunt, per obedientiam subministrarent.

ET LEVIBUS SUBLIMES CURRIBUS APTANS IN CAELUM TERRAMQUE SERIS. Hic versiculus diverse a diversis intelligitur. Aliqui[3] enim has animas,[4] quas hic sublimes Boetius vocat, angelorum et hominum esse dicunt, per hoc quod subinfert: in caelum terramque seris, quasi quae in caelum serantur angelorum sint, quae vero in terram hominum. Sed hoc quod sequitur: QUAS LEGE BENIGNA AD TE CONVERSAS REDUCI FACIS IGNE REVERTI, quosdam ab eiusmodi sententia reducit. Hoc autem[5] de angelis intelligi non potest, qui nunquam aversi recesserunt, ac ideo nunquam [6]conversi reversi[6] sunt. Nam nullo modo in illis[7] intelligi potest conversio, in quibus a dignitate concessa nulla audita est mutatio. Insuper has animas sic in caelum terramque seri dicunt, quasi ante creatas et postmodum satas, per hoc quod praeposuit: et levibus sublimes curribus aptans. Asserunt enim non posse eas levibus curribus[8] aptari, nisi creatas, sicque quaestionem de anima, apud Hieronimum et Augustinum insolutam, per haec verba Boetii solvere contendunt. Hi de creatione animae quibuscunque verbis velint sibi satisfaciant! Ego cum Hieronimo et Augustino malo inscius haberi, quam erroris filius scius videri. Eas Deum creare fateor et scio; qualiter autem creet, quia consiliarius eius non sum, penitus ignoro. Sed qualiter eas levibus curribus aptari et in caelum terramque seri intelligam, non ad offensionem aliter intelligentium, sed ad ostensionem meae sive scientiae sive inscientiae dicam. Has animas, quas hic Boetius sublimes vocat, hominum tantum esse intelligo, non angelorum. [X] *Harum animarum currus*[9] *sunt ratio et intelligentia. Nam his curribus aptantur, his*[10] *vehuntur, et his, proprii arbitrii libertate sibi concessa, in caelum terramque seruntur, dum modo caelestia, modo cogitant terrestria. Serit quidem eas Dominus per usum rationis et intelligentiae in caelum volando; in terram vero*[11] *serit,*[12] *quia dedit eis libertatem, per quam non tantum caelestia, sed et terrestria possunt appetere. Data est eis libertas propriae voluntatis; datae sunt illis*[13] *ratio et intelligentia, alae videlicet libertatis. Per has enim alas quo vult ducitur*[14] *libertas. Data sunt*[15] *eis ad gloriam, quibus multae non ad gloriam utuntur, sed ad ignominiam.*

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1) multorum *A* 2) solo *A* 3) aliquis *B* 4) *om. B* 5) enim *B* 6) reversi conversi *B* 7) nullis *B* 8) ap ribus *B* 9) cursus *B* 10) his curribus *B* 11) vero *om. AB suppl. A*[2] 12) serere *AB* serit *A*[2] 13) eis *B* 14) utitur *B* 15) est haec *A*

QUAS tamen[1] *saepe Dominus* LEGE BENIGNA *AD SE CONVERSAS* REDUCI FACIS[2] IGNE REVERTI, *dum eas per Evangelii gratiam,*[3] *quae non lex aspera, sed lex benigna vocatur, igne sancti spiritus reduci accensas,*[4] *ad caelestia revocando*[5] *suscipit. Igitur* LEVIBUS CURRIBUS *aptatae in caelum terramque seruntur, quia, quamvis corporibus modicis claudantur, mundum tamen totum per currus*[6] *suos, id est rationem et intelligentiam, pervolant ac caelum terramque perlustrant.*

DA, PATER, *ANGUSTAM MENTI CONSCENDERE SEDEM. Qui quaerit sedem, desiderat requiem; qui requiem desiderat, angustiam devitat.* Et quo modo hic[7] angustam sedem exoptat, qui requiem desiderat? *Mens et corpus diversae* [8]*naturae sunt,*[8] *ac ideo diversae voluntatis. Unde illa angustiatur, istud dilatatur;* [9]*unde illa dilatatur, istud angustiatur.*[9] *Angusta sede corpus gravatur, mens autem*[10] *reficitur. Ampla autem corpus gloriatur, mens confunditur, quae quanto per plura dividitur, tanto magis in sui ipsius vigore minuitur. Angustam sedem mens appetit, quando a multis, in quibus per suggestionem carnis morabatur, se in semetipsam recolligit. Et haec mentis recollectio sive conscensio*[11] *sine Dei dono* [12]*non potest fieri,*[12] *quia inaniter nauta navigando laborat, nisi gubernator navim in debitum cursum dirigat.*

DA FONTEM LUSTRARE BONI, *DA* LUCE REPERTA IN TE CONSPICUOS ANIMI DEFIGERE VISUS. *Ordinem vide, intelligentiam adhibe, consequentiam intellige! Primum optatur mentis conscensio, exinde summi boni lustratio, tunc*[13] *lucis repertio,* ad ultimum animi visus,[14] in[15] ipsum Deum defixio. *Gradus,*[16] *qui ducunt ad vitam, optandi sunt, quia nulli*[17] *sine his patet accessus*[18] *ad gloriam. Mens omnis, postquam ab infimis se recolligit, in semetipsam conscendit. In semetipsa sedens, semetipsam cognoscere quaerit. Semetipsam cognoscere laborans, quidquid boni habet, se non habere ex semetipsa intelligit, quia se habere non ex semetipsa percipit. Ex quo habeat quaerere incipit, ut bonorum suorum fontem et originem repperire valeat.*[19] *Dum fontem boni sitiens perlustrat, invenit lucem, quae omnem hominem* [20]*venientem in hunc mundum*[20] *illuminat. Huic luci visum defigere, videre est et vivere. Ab hac visum declinare,*[21] *excaecari est et emori. Igitur in semetipsa* ⟨*m*⟩ *conscendens, quia se vitiari posse percipit, se summum bonum non esse cognoscit;*[22] [23]*necesse esse tamen summum bonum,*[23] *ex quo ipsa sit bono, intelligit. Hoc summum bonum perlustrare, quamdiu tenebris*[24] *mundanae sollicitudinis involvitur,* [25]*non potest.*[25] *His tenebris expedita et* [26]*bona sua*[26] *videns, per eorum cognitionem ad fontem desideratum sitiens*[27] *venit, non tamen sine illuminatione, quae ducit ad lucem.* Nam ut sitientem rivulus ad fontem et videntem radius ad solem, sic intente quaerentem bonorum cognitio ad summum bonum, et illuminatio [28]ducit ad lucem.[28]

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1) *om. A* 2) facit *A* 3) gloriam *B* 4) accensa *B* 5) vocando *A corr. A*[2] 6) currus *A* cursus *A*[2] 7) hic *A* hanc *A*[2] 8) sunt nature *B* 9) *om. A* 10) autem *om. B* 11) consessio *A* 12) fieri non potest *B* 13) tunc *in ras. A* 14) vissum *B* 15) inter *A* 16) gradus sunt *B* 17) nullus *B* 18) ascensus *B* 19) valet *A corr. A*[2] 20) in hunc mundum venientem *A* 21) declinari *A* 22) cognoscit *ex* cognoscet *A* percipit vel cognoscit *B* 23) de esse tantum summum bonum *B* 24) tenebris perlustrare *A* 25) dum potest *A corr. A*[2] 26) sua bona *B* 27) sitiens *coni.* citius *AB* 28) ducit ad lucem *B* ad lucem (ducit *suppl. A*[2]) *A*

DISSICE TERRENAE NEBULAS ET PONDERA MOLIS, ATQUE TUO SPLENDORE MICA. Nam ad[1] *inquisitionem summi boni pondera molis*[2] *et ad repertionem lucis nebulae obsunt. Quapropter qui lucem quaerit, nebulas fugiat;*[4] *qui summum bonum appetit, pondera terrenae molis abiciat.*[5] *Sic Deum suo splendore micantem videbit,* [6]*id est*[6] *Patrem per Filii opera clarificatum cognoscet. Nam sicut*[7] *per splendorem vigor solis aperitur, sic per Filium maiestas Patris intelligitur.*

TU NAMQUE SERENUM, TU REQUIES TRANQUILLA PIIS, TE CERNERE FINIS. Serenum pro serenitate posuit. Est autem[8] usus scripturae, ut mobile sine fixo neutraliter positum non in[9] locum denominationis sed intelligentiam ipsius rei principalis recipit. [XI] *In serenitate iocunditas, in requie*[10] *tranquillitas vel suavitas,*[10] *in fine sufficientia intelligitur.* Quae vita sine his? Nonne[11] mors potius [12]dicitur quam vita?[12] *In Deo haec habes. A Deo si recedis, in horum contraria cadis, id est in perturbationem, in inquietudinem, in appetitum insatiabilem.*

PRINCIPIUM, VECTOR, DUX, SEMITA, TERMINUS IDEM. *Principium humanitatis per creationem, semita per legem, dux per prophetias, vector per Evangelii gratiam terminus*[13] *sive per redemptionem sive per universae carnis examinationem.*[14]

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EXTRACTS FROM THE COMMENTARY OF PS.-JOHANNES SCOTUS ON BOETHIUS DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE III m 9

. . . [VI] *Et quoniam omnia in numero et mensura et pondere disposita sunt et mensura et pondus sine numero esse non possunt,* fecit Deus primum haec duo solida corpora terram scilicet et ignem, ad similitudinem duorum cubicorum, id est solidorum numerorum. Cubus enim dicitur quasi solidus. Sed prius quam dicamus quo modo ad similitudinem numerorum illa facta sint, pauca de numeris sunt praemittenda. Dicamus ergo: numerus alius planus alius solidus. Et item omnis numerus . . .

. . . Vocantur autem alii numeri, qui non sunt cubi, alii asseres, alii laterculi et aliis modis. Sunt quoque contrariae qualitates acutum et obtunsum, subtile et corpulentum, mobile et immobile. Quod ut facilius et alia omnia innotescant

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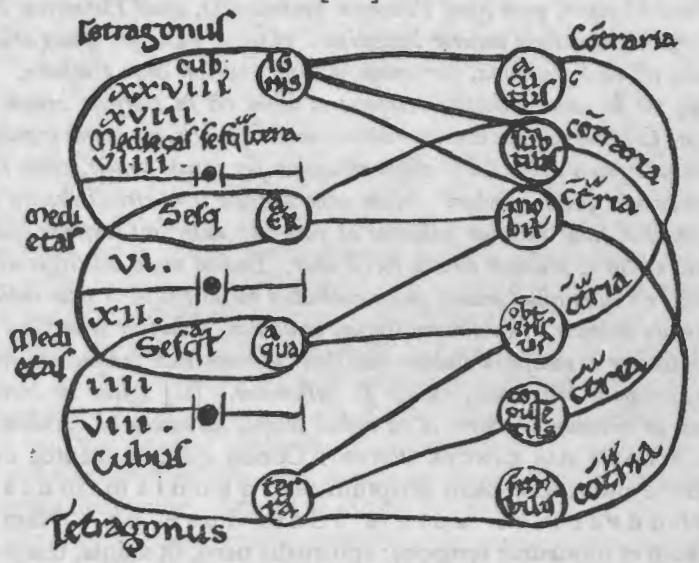
[1]) et ad *B* [2]) mali *B* [3]) redemptionem *A* [4]) fugit *B* [5]) obicit *B* [6]) *in ras. A* [7]) ut *B om. A* sicut *supra scr. A*[2] [8]) enim *B* [9]) *om. B* [10]) suavitas *B* [11]) non *B* [12]) quam vita dicitur *B* [13]) terminus est *A* [14]) explicit in domino *post* examinationem *A*

quaecumque supra dicta sunt, in subiecta descriptione monstrabitur.

[VII]



. . . Expositis itaque coniunctionibus elementorum et ostenso quo modo ad similitudinem solidorum cubicorum numerorum et planorum copulentur, nunc ad litteram exponendam ueniamus, quae est talis O QVI PERPETVA, etc. Dicitur Deus mundum regere, id est res mundanas ordinare RATIONE PERPETVA. Id est, sicut mundus est perpetuus, quia habuit initium et non finem habebit, ita ratio de ipso mundo habita, licet habuisset initium tamen non habebit finem; et ideo perpetua dicitur. Vel, secundum aliam lectionem, si accipiatur perpetua pro aeterna, possumus dicere perpetuam rationem esse sapientiam Dei, Filium Dei per quem omnia creata sunt et gubernantur. Dicitur autem Deus Pater esse SATOR, id est seminator terrarum et caeli, id est ignis. Et bene dico seminator, quia, sicut qui seminat ad hoc iacit semen ut multiplicetur et aliud plus surgat quam seminatur, sicut ex uno grano multa nascuntur, ita et Deus iecit haec quasi semina, scilicet terram et ignem, ut et alia elementa et cetera quae in mundo sunt ex ipsis surgerent et procrearentur. Ideo posuit pluralem et non singularem, scilicet TERRARVM et non terrae, ut per terrarum innuat nobis plures partes terrae, scilicet orientem occidentem septentrionem meridiem, uel Asiam Libyam, scilicet Africam, et Europam; uel aliter, ut per terram intelligamus homines, per caelum angelos. Progredere: Iubet Deus IRE, id est uniformiter currere, TEMPVS AB AEVO. Aeuum idem est quod aeternum quasi aeuiternum. Id est haec temporalia duxit ab aeternitate, quia fecit ea ad similitudinem aeternitatis, id est archetypi mundi, quia, sicut quae ibi sunt manent, ita et haec temporalia. Et in hoc sunt similia aeternis temporalia, dissimilia uero quia aeterna manent stando, temporalia

uero manent fluendo. Dicit [I] *Boetius mundum* PERPETVA RATIONE *regi, quia intellexit illum per sapientiam Dei, id est per Filium Dei, non tantum factum esse sed etiam gubernari. Haec est ratio, quae apud Platonem beniuolentia, apud Hermetem bona uolentia uel uoluntas, apud Psalmistam uocatur benignitas. Haec est ratio per quam arida apparuit, per quam facta est caeli machina, per quam deducta sunt ab aeuo tempora. Nam, ut a centro circulus, sic ab aeuo deduciter tempus; et idem est in tempore aeuum quod est in circulo centrum. Centrum quippe et aeuum utrumque indiuisibile, utrumque inmobile est. Ecce per centrum rotae lignum terrae ⟨si⟩ infigas rotamque per gyrum uoluas, nonne circulus rotae ducitur et locus centri fixus habetur? Nam nunc sinistra pars circuli dextra nunc dextra citissime fit sinistra, nunc anterior posterior et posterior anterior; centrum tamen inmobile manet, sed uim motus et ordinem circulo ex⟨h⟩ibet. Eodem modo intelligas ab aeuo deduci tempora. Nihil est enim aliud aeuum quam contractio totius temporis praesentialiter habita in conspectu omnia uidentis. Nam omne tempus et ab aeuo deducitur et in illud contrahitur et aeuo praesentialiter in conspectu diuinae maiestatis manente dum tempus rotatur, quod nunc est crastinum, primum hodiernum, exinde fit hesternum.* [II] *Igitur sic intelligas deduci tempus ab aeuo ut circulum a centro, et sic reduci tempus ad aeuum ut circulum ad centrum.* STABILISQVE MANENS DAS CVNCTA MOVERI: Cuncta quae mouentur et transeunt sua dispositione mouentur, sicut scriptum est: q u o n i a m m u t a b i t e o s e t m u t a b u n t u r : t u a u t e m i d e m i p s e e s . Nam corporalia omnia loco sunt et mouentur tempore; spiritualia uero, ut anima, tempore tantum non loco. Deus uero nec loco nec tempore mouetur, sed omnem locum maiestate sua complet et omnia in eo sunt tempora. Loca omnia complet et occupat; ideo nullus est uacuus qui eum nouiter recipere ualeat. [III] *Et totus ubique est Deus: totus in maximis, totus in minimis.* QVEM NON EXTERNAE etc. [IV] *Nihil est ei externum qui cuncta continet, qui cuncta creat ex fonte propriae benignitatis. Nos ad aliquid agendum aut maiorum timor compellit aut amicorum amor inducit aut carnis uoluptas inuitat aut quaestus utilitas applicat;* sed Creatorem non coegerunt causae extrinsecus accidentes sibi, ut mundum faceret, sed ipsa sua bonitas naturaliter sibi INSITA, id est sua uoluntas, non inuidens creaturae suae eam ad imaginem et similitudinem suam formare in quantum ipsa materies potuit pati, quia forsitan ineffabilis auctor multa fecisset quae tamen materiei fragilitas recusauit. Ipse igitur dedit CVNCTA MOVERI et per hoc dedit cuncta fluitari. FLVITANTEM MATERIAM uocat illam informem materiam quae in mente Dei in primordio fuit, antequam mundus fieret, quando fluitabant; neque enim facies terrae adhuc uel aeris apparebat. Terra namque operta erat ueluti tenui nebula; aeris quoque claritas non apparebat quia non erat in eo lux qua illustraretur. Vel FLVITANTEM MATERIAM huius mundi uocat creationem, quae semper fluit et labitur. TV CVNCTA SVPERNO, etc. A superno exemplo dicitur cuncta duxisse, quia omnia ista mundana ad similitudinem et ad exemplum archetypi mundi, qui erat in conceptione mentis diuinae maiestatis, fecit. Ipse ibi statim subdit GERENS MVNDVM hunc sensilem in MENTE, quia prius concepit eum in mente sua quam operis effectum monstraret, et FORMANS hunc mundum IMAGINE, id est forma simili illi imagini et formae quae

erat in mente diuina, postquam illum concepit. Vel aliter A SVPERNO EXEMPLO, id est a Filio et sapientia sua per quam omnia fecit. Et item FORMANS: non tantum faciens sed etiam formans SIMILI IMAGINE, id est per Filium qui est forma et similitudo Patris. Vel supernum exemplum est tantum uelle Dei, quia non est ibi labor in conceptione imaginis. [V] *Igitur a superno cuncta duxit exemplo a proprio uelle* PVLCRVM PVLCERRIMVS IPSE MVNDVM MENTE GERENS. *Et quid est mens Dei nisi Filius Dei per quem et a quo omnia facta sunt et in quo sunt omnia quae facta sunt et uiuunt, sicut scriptum est:* Q u o d f a c t u m e s t i n i p s o u i t a e r a t ? SIMILIQVE IMAGINE FORMANS: *Imago est rei alicuius uere existentis forma per aequiuocationem non in eadem essentia alteri rei impressa ut aere homo fusilis. Ille namque homo est forma, materia, re et [in] nomine. Iste homo est forma, non materia; nomine, non re. Per materiam existentia mutatur. Per formam nomen manet. Secundum hanc sententiam mundus iste uocatur forma mundi qui uidetur et tantum nomen habet et uerus mundus non est. Si enim in imagine formatur, necesse est uerum aliquem esse a quo imaginis similitudo deducatur. Hunc si quaeris, is est in mente diuina, cuius existentia non fluitatur. Huius forma materiae fluitanti inprimitur et nomine manente is quem nunc uidemus exprimitur. Existentia tamen mutatur, quia quae in hoc per defectionem moriuntur, in illo per potentiam gerentis uiuificantur.* PERFECTASQVE IVBENS PERFECTVM ABSOLVERE PARTES: *Tunc iussit mundum perfectas absoluere partes quando maria separauit ab arida et aeris puritatem caelestis sp⟨h⟩aerae conuexitati substrinxit* neque cuiquam elemento quicquam ad perfectionem defuit. TV NVMERIS ELEMENTA LIGAS *non adiutorio sed ratione numerorum,* quia ad similitudinem solidorum numerorum et planorum, sicut supra dictum est, coniugauit elementa ita, scilicet VT FRIGORA, id est terra et aqua, CONVENIANT FLAMMIS, id est aeri et igni (terra scilicet aeri, aqua igni), et ARIDA, id est ignis et terra, CONVENIANT LIQVIDIS, scilicet aeri et aquae, scilicet ut ignis aquae, terra aeri, uel ignis aeri et terra aquae, uel terra aquae et aeri et ignis aquae et aeri, ut superius ostensum est. VEL FRIGORA FLAMMIS, id est aqua igni per aeris coniunctionem, ARIDA LIQVIDIS, id est terra aeri per aquarum coniunctionem conueniunt. Liquida enim est aqua, sed aer est liquidior. [VIII] *Qualitates ignis euolationem quaerunt; qualitates terrae quaerunt dimersionem. Sed sic duobus mediis ad inuicem ligantur, ut nec ista dimergi nec ille possit euolare.* Ignis enim duobus crassioribus elementis tenetur, aqua scilicet et aere, ne ad suam sedem euolet et terra ex eisdem hinc et inde, id est ex utraque parte. TV TRIPLICIS MEDIAM, etc. Anima triplicis naturae esse dicitur, sicut in commento super Isagoga Porphyrii inuenitur, quia alia est uegetabilis, alia sensibilis, alia rationalis: uegetabilis sicut in arboribus et herbis, sensibilis sicut in irrationabilibus animalibus, rationalis sicut in hominibus et angelis. Item aliter est triplex, quia alia est irascibilis, concupiscibilis, rationalis: irascibilis ut uitiis irascatur et corporis uoluptatibus, concupiscibilis ut Deum et proximum diligat et uirtutes appetat; rationabilis est, ut inter Creatorem et creaturam, inter bonum et malum, inter uerum et falsum discernere possit. His tribus addita sunt uirtus et doctrina: doctrina ideo ut quae anima amiserat corporis contagione, per doctrinam recuperet. Anima enim bona et sapiens a suo

Conditore creata fuit, sed corporis mole grauata fit obliuiosa; ideoque adhibenda est rationi doctrina, ut, quae obliuio sibi rapuit, per scientiam reducantur, scilicet ut legendo addiscat discernere creaturam a Creatore, bonum a malo, id est ut sciat repellere uitia et admittere uirtutes. Item, postquam sciet bene discernere, necessaria est uirtus, ut possit repellere et irasci uitiis et concupiscere uirtutes, quod sine uirtute fieri nequit. Quae tria, si rationabiliter fuerint custodita, coniungunt Creatori creaturam. Si uero fuerint permutata, mentem debilem reddunt. Si illa pars fuerit corrupta quae irascibilis dicitur, fit tristis homo felle amaritudinis plenus. Si autem illa pars quae est concupiscibilis uitiatur, fit uinosus, ebriosus et uoluptatum seruus. Si uero illa pars animae quae uocatur rationalis corrumpatur, fit homo superbus et omnibus uitiis subiectus. Item anima tribus modis dicitur, quia est tagaton, id est Deus Pater, et noys, id est mens et Filius Dei, quem ex se Deus Pater genuit, et postea anima mundi quam noys creauit. Rursus anima constat ex eadem essentia et ex diuersa et ex utraque confecta. Eadem essentia dicitur quae intellectu solo percipitur, sicut diuina. Diuersa essentia est quae sensu tantum dinoscitur, uel uisu uel auditu, gustu, tactu et odoratu, sicut indiuidua. Essentia confecta ex utraque dicitur uniuersalis essentia, generalis uel spiritualis, quae ratione tantum dinoscitur. Vniuersalia enim, scilicet genera et species, dicuntur media essentia et confecta ex eadem essentia et diuersa, quia, cum deprehendantur per sensibilia, neque penitus descendunt ad ipsa sensibilia nec ad illa intelligibilia ascendunt et sic stant in medio; ideoque dicuntur media essentia quae ratione tantum dinoscuntur. Sic quoque in anima tria notabis: quae intellectu solo percipit sicut diuina, ratione uero sicut media, sensu quoque sicut ea quae humanis sensibus subiacent. Item sicut philosophi dicunt, postquam Deus ita diuisit animam mundi in tres partes, id est in eandem essentiam et diuersam et mediam, miscuit totum, quasi in uno cratere posuisset. Inde sumpta est pars una; et illa uocata est unitas, quam quasi in summo posuit. Item posuit duas alias partes descendentes ab ipsa unitate, scilicet duos numeros, unum parem, alium inparem, unum in uno ordine, alium in alio ordine. Vnus surgit a pari numero, alius ab inpari. In illo qui a pari numero surgit primum ponitur post unitatem binarius numerus, qui est duplus ad unitatem, deinde quaternarius, qui est duplus ad binarium, quadruplus ad unitatem, postea octonarius, qui est duplus ad quaternarium, quadruplus ad binarium, octuplus ad unitatem. In alio ordine uero primum posuit ternarium post unitatem, qui est triplus ad unitatem, deinde nouenarium, qui est triplus ad ternarium, nonuplus ad unitatem, postea XX et VII, qui est triplus ad nouem (*sic*) nouies, triplus ad ternarium, uicies septuplus ad unitatem. Quorum numerorum unus masculus est, alter uero femina. Femina dicitur numerus qui surgit a binario; qui idem dicitur femina numerus, quia binarius, a quo surgit, primus omnium numerorum discedit ab unitate. Per unitatem uero quae non crescit, uelut si dicamus unum semel unus idem semper est, notamus diuinam essentiam quae eadem dicitur quae nec minui nec crescere potest. Per binarium uero numerum habemus

diuersam essentiam, quia, sicut binarius primus discedit ab unitate, ita diuersa essentia primum et ualde distat ab eadem essentia. Rursus in alio ordine, numerus qui incipit ab inpari, scilicet a ternario, dicitur masculus, ideo scilicet quia habet semper mediam unitatem cum qua iungit utrasque partes. Sicut in ternario uides quod unitas media est cum qua iunguntur duae aliae unitates, sic et in quinario est unitas quae iungit duos binarios. Et comparatur iste numerus qui ab inpari surgit mediae essentiae, quia, sicut ibi semper est unitas cum qua possunt iungi duo extrema, ita quadam proprietate media essentia attingit eandem essentiam et diuersam; id est, sicut ternarius informatur ab unitate et binario, sic et media essentia informatur ab eadem essentia et diuersa, quia etiam deprehenditur a sensibilibus nec penitus ad ipsa sensibilia descendit. Sic et eadem essentia. Itaque, sicut quicquid ex mare et femina creatur perfectum est, ita anima mundi ex his duobus numeris scilicet mare et femina generatur, quia constat ex eadem essentia et diuersa et confecta ex utraque. Rursus summus Opifex, postquam diuisit, ut supra dictum est, in duos numeros et unitatem animam, coniunxit illos duos numerorum ordines ducens in longum, ut ostenderet esse diuersos ab unitate, et ut ad eandem similitudinem monstraret mediam essentiam et diuersam multum esse diuersam ab eadem essentia. Item diuisit, ut ostenderet animam in duobus esse diuersam: in rationabili et irrationabili motu. Sed cum dicat animam mundi CVNCTA MOVENTEM, uidendum est quot sunt species motus. [IXa] *Tres igitur sunt motus principales species: inmutatio, commutatio, transmutatio. Inmutatio est aut ex non esse in esse, aut ex esse in non esse, commutatio uero ex esse in esse, aut per qualitatem aut per quantitatem, transmutatio de loco in locum. Secundum transmutationem terra inmobilis est, secundum commutationem mobilis est, quia, quando post frigoris rigorem calefacta est, germinat; igitur terra inmobilis et mobilis et cuncta mouentur. Anima ergo triplicis naturae est cuncta mouens. Media dicitur, quia cuncta quae uiuificantur, intra caeli firmamentum uegetat. Extra firmamentum enim nec arbores nec pecudes nec homines uiuificantur.* PER CONSONA MEMBRA dicit, scilicet per solem et lunam et alias stellas quae sibi consimilia sunt in eo, quod circuli ritu mouentur sicut et ipsa, vel rotunda corpora, id est perfecta; possumus hic hominem comprehendere quantum ad caput quod rotundum est, in quo continetur sapientia et tota uis animae, scilicet in cerebro. [IXb] *Vel aliter* PER *CONSONA MEMBRA resoluitur, dum una eademque propaginis similitudine per diuersitatem uegetationis fit perdiuersa; aliter enim arbores, aliter pecudes, aliter homines uegetantur, sed uno eodemque modo mortificato scilicet semine propagantur. Et ideo animae conexio, scilicet propagationis similitudo. Et eius resolutio per diuersa corpora diuersa est uegetatio. Quae corpora, quamuis ad inuicem diuersa sint, ipsi tamen animae sunt consona.* QVAE CVM SECTA etc. DVOS ORBES uocat rationabilem et irrationabilem motum. Rationabilis dicitur motus qui fit ab oriente per occidentem et iterum in orientem. Irrationabilis uero motus est qui nititur contra firmamentum sicut motus planetarum, qui fit ab occidente per orientem iterum in occidentem. GLOMERAVIT quasi coadunauit ortum suum in diuersos orbes, ipsa, dico, REDITVRA IN SEMET. Tunc redit anima in semet quando

ibi ponit finem unde sumpsit principium, et recedens ab his deuiis mundi con-
trahitur in semetipsam reminiscens cuius naturae sit uel unde habuisset initium
inde sit acceptura finem, sicut superius dixit STABILEMQVE SVI FECERIT ORBEM
ET CIRCVIT PROFVNDAM MENTEM, id est interiorem uim sui, quando recognosc
creatorem suum. Vel mentem diuinam circuit quando est in contemplation
diuinae mentis. ET SIMILI CONVERTIT IMAGINE CAELVM, quia caelum ration
abiliter mouet et irrationabiliter. Vel aliter PROFVNDAM MENTEM CIRCVIT, id est
mundum qui erat in mente antequam crearetur, ET SIMILI IMAGINE CONVERTIT
CAELVM, id est simili cursu qualis fuit primo anno creationis suae. Sed meliu
est ut in hoc loco animam humanam intelligamus, ut praedictum est, sicque
dicitur glomerare suum motum in duos orbes et reuertitur in semet ipsam
Dicunt doctores quia per intuitum oculorum uis animae egreditur ad co
spicienda exteriora, ita tamen ut statim reuertatur. Per profundam meditationem
in se reuoluens agensque simili imagine quae foris uidit per oculos, in se redien
colligit in mente, et, sicut foris caeli et terrae uel maris uel cuiusque rei specie
uel motum per oculos uiderit, ita simili imagine intus reuoluens ea quae uidera
conspicit. Caelum autem in hoc loco pro omnibus creaturis corporalibus accipitu
: per id quod continet id quod continetur. TV CAVSIS ANIMAS PARIBVS. Sensu
est: Animas prouehis paribus, id est eisdem uel similibus causis quibus animar
mundi fecisti, facis animas. Et determinat QVAS, scilicet has MINORES VITAS, id
est animas humanas, et unde fecisset eas, scilicet ex eadem essentia et diuersa, et
ex eadem dicit per id quod subdit PARIBVS CAVSIS. Idem uocatur anima et spiritu
sed anima in quantum animat corpus, spiritus uero quando non animat. MINORE
VITAS uocat eas respectu mundi animae. Vel per animas accipe spiritus angelorum
per minores uitas animas hominum. Prosequere: Et APTANS eas LEVIBVS CVR-
RIBVS, scilicet humanas animas, postquam eas creauit, posuit in comparibus stelli
ut in eis discerent ordinem bene uiuendi. Vnde dicit IN CAELVM SERIS primum
deinde in terram, quasi diceret: primum posuit eas in comparibus stellis; deind
descenderunt primum per Cancrum in Saturnum, a Saturno in Iouem et sic pe
ceteros planetas aliquid inperfectionis in unoquoque semper accipiendo, done
ueniant in terram et sic incorporentur. Vel aliter has animas quas Boetius uoca
SVBLIMES hominum tantum esse intelligo non angelorum. [Xa] *Harum animaru
cvrrus sunt ratio et intelligentia. Nam his curribus aptantur, his uehuntur; his et proprii
arbitrii ⟨libertate⟩ sibi concessa in caelum terramque seruntur, dum modo caelestia, mod
cogitant terrestria. Serit eas quidem Dominus per usum rationis et intelligentiae in caelu
uolando; in terram serit, quia dedit eis libertatem, qua non tantum caelestia sed etiam ter-
restria possunt appetere. Data est libertas eis propriae uoluntatis, datae sunt eis ratio et intel-
ligentia, ⟨alae⟩ uidelicet propriae libertatis. Per has enim alas quo uult ducitur libertas. Dat
sunt haec eis ad gloriam, quibus multae non ad gloriam utuntur, sed ad ignominiam; OVAS
TAMEN SAEPE DOMINUS LEGE BENIGNA AD SE CONVERSAS REDVCI IGNE*
id est ⟨ad⟩ sese uitali spiritu uel per sidera per quae descenderunt facit reuerti. [Xb]
Vel sic: *Dum eas per Euangelii gratiam, quae non lex aspera, sed benigna uocatur, ign*

Sancti Spiritus reduci accensas, ad caelestia reuocando suscipit. Igitur LEVIBVS CVRRIBVS *aptatae in caelum terramque seruntur, quia, quamuis corporibus modicis claudantur, mundum tamen totum per currus suos, id est rationem et intelligentiam, peruolant ac caelum terramque perlustrant.* DA PATER AVGVSTAM id est regalem, SEDEM, uel ANGUSTAM *sic: Qui quaerit sedem, desiderat requiem; qui requiem desiderat, angustiam uitat. Mens etenim et corpus diuersae sunt naturae, et ideo diuersae uoluntatis. Vnde illa angustiatur illud dilatatur, et unde illa dilatatur illud angustiatur. Angusta sede corpus grauatur, mens reficitur; ampla uero corpus gloriatur, mens confunditur, quae quanto per plura diuiditur tanto magis sui ipsius uigore minuitur. Angustam sedem mens appetit, quando a multis, in quibus per sug⟨g⟩estionem carnis morabatur, se in semetipsam recolligit. Et haec mentis recollectio uel conscensio sine Dei dono fieri non potest, quia inaniter nauta nauigando laborat, nisi gubernator nauim in debitum cursum dirigat.* DA FONTEM LVSTRARE: *Ordinem uide, intelligentiam adhibe, consequentiam intellige. Primum optatur mentis conscensio, exinde summi boni lustratio, tunc lucis repertio. Optandi sunt gradus qui ducunt ad uitam, quia nulli sine his patet ascensus ad gloriam. Mens omnis, postquam ab infimis se recolligit, in semetipsam conscendit; in semetipsa sedens semetipsam cognoscere quaerit; semetipsam cognoscere laborans, quicquid boni habet, se non habere ex semetipsa intelligit, quia se habere non semetipsa percipit. Ex quo habeat quaerere incipit, ut bonorum suorum fontem et originem reperire ualeat. Dum fontem boni sitiens perlustrat, inuenit lucem quae omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum illuminat. Huic luci uisum configere est et uidere et uiuere; ab hac uisum declinare excaecari et emori est. Igitur in semetipsam conscendens, quia se uitiari posse percipit, se summum bonum non esse cognoscit; necesse esse tamen summum bonum, ex quo ipsa sit bona, intelligit. Hoc summum bonum perlustrare, quamdiu tenebris mundanae sollicitudinis inuoluitur, non potest. His tenebris expedita et bona sua uidens, per eorum cognitionem ad fontem desideratum sitiens uenit, non tamen sine illuminatione, quae ducit ad lucem.* DISSICE, id est dissipa, TERRENAE NEBVLAS. *Nam ad inquisitionem summi boni pondera mali et ad repertionem lucis nebulae obsunt. Ergo qui lucem quaerit, nebulas fugiat; qui summum appetit bonum,* PONDERA TERRENAE MOLIS *abiciat. Sic Deum splendore suo micantem uidebit, id est Patrem per Filii operationem clarificatum cognoscet. Nam ut per splendorem uigor solis aperitur, sic per Filium maiestas Patris intelligitur.* TV NAMQVE SERENVM: [XI] *In serenitate iocunditas; in* REQVIE *suauitas; in* FINE *sufficientia intelligitur. In Deo haec habes. Sed si a Deo recedis, in horum contraria cadis, id est in perturbationem, in inquietudinem, et in appetitum insatiabilem.* PRINCIPIVM, VECTOR, DVX, SEMITA, TERMINVS IDEM: *Principium humanitatis per creationem, semita per legem, dux per prophetias, uector per Euangelii gratiam, terminus uel per redemptionem, uel per uniuersae carnis examinationem.*

APPENDIX

II

M. Courcelle's review of Pseudo-Johannes Scottus was published in *Moyen Age* vol. 46 (1937), pp. 74-5. I shall not attempt to discuss here all the points raised in the review, but a few of them must be answered. To begin with, M. Courcelle taxed me with having neglected certain manuscripts of the Ps.-J. commentary. One of these, Heiligenkreuz MS. 130 (XIIs.), I have not been able to examine. Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 16093, fol. 69r, said by M. Courcelle to contain a fragment of Ps.-J., is a blank page except for a few lines of material that is in no way connected with the commentary of Ps.-J. The verso page of the last leaf of this manuscript has some notes on the *Consolatio*, but they are not derived from Ps.-J. I have been unable to find any trace of Ps.-J. in MS. 16093. As for Vatican MS. Ottob. 899 (the reference should have been 889), it is true that this manuscript contains a long commentary (or possibly two, for the commentary is written in the margins of the Boethius text by, at least, two different hands), which has a long passage on III m 9 that corresponds verbatim to Ps.-J. There are innumerable other shorter parallels to parts of the Ps.-J. text. When commencing work on my edition in 1930, I made use of the readings of Ottob. 889 on Boethius III m 9. When further study, however, convinced me that the marginal commentary in Ottob. 889 was a conflation of Ps.-J. and some other commentary, I discarded this material. The last manuscript said by M. Courcelle to have been neglected by me is a manuscript of the Stadtbibliothek, Erfurt, MS. Amplon. Q.5., fol. 1v-82v (*v.* Courcelle, *Etude*, pp. 80 ff., 132). This is a thirteenth century manuscript of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, with a commentary sometimes in the form of marginal scholia and sometimes written straight across the page in large spaces obviously intended for this purpose. It is difficult to understand why M. Courcelle should have considered this to be a manuscript of Ps.-J. and why he should have decided to call the Ps.-J. "Commentaire anonyme du manuscrit d'Erfurt", because the most cursory examination of the Erfurt manuscript would be sufficient to demonstrate that, whatever its commentary may be, it is not a text of Ps.-J.

The few lines of the *vita Boethii* quoted by M. Courcelle from the beginning of the Erfurt manuscript were really sufficient to show that the Anonymus Erfurtensis and Ps.-J. are quite unlike as they begin. A few more lines will complete the demonstration:

ANON. ERFURT.

Incipit commentum in librum philosophice consolationis Boetii. Tempore quo Gothorum rex Theodoricus Romanam rem publicam armis invasit, Boetius Rome multum claruit eique plus omnibus resistit. Cumque rex ille nefarius rempublicam vi opprimeret atque inmanem intolerandamque tyrannidem in ea exerceret, doluit valde Boetius multumque fuit sollicitus qualiter Senatum ipsamque rempublicam ab eius eriperet manibus . . .

PSEUDO-JOHANNES

Tempore Theodorici regis insignis auctor Boetius claruit, qui uirtute sua consul in urbe fuit. Cum uero Theodoricus rex uoluit tyrannidem exercere in urbe ac bonos quosque ex Senatu neci dare, Boetius eius dolos effugere gestiens, quippe qui bonis omnibus necem parabat, uidelicet clam litteris ad Graecos missis . . .

It may justly be objected that a comparison of two commentaries in their opening paragraphs is of little value, since the opening paragraph (the *accessus ad auctorem*) is a notoriously detachable part of a commentary and often has an independent manuscript tradition, so that one cannot be positive that the *vita Boethii* of either Anon. Erfurtensis or Ps.-J. is original. But, if two works are to be regarded as identical, surely they should *say the same thing* and, after all allowances have been made for variant readings, *say the same thing in the same words*, if not in the *accessus*, certainly in the body of the commentary. It is precisely this essential literal agreement that is wanting between the Anonymus of Erfurt and Ps.-J. I quote the beginning of both commentaries on *Consolatio* III m 9:

ANON. ERFURT.

O QUI PERPETUA MUNDUM RATIONE GUBERNAS. Sciendum quod quicumque de constitutione mundi digne tractant tam katholici quam ethnici duos mundos esse asserant: unum archetypum, alterum sensibilem vel imaginarium. Archetypum vero mundum vocant principalem mundum, scilicet concepcionem mundi huius visibilis eternaliter existentem in mente divina. Imaginarium autem dicunt hunc mundum sensibus subiacentem, qui videri scilicet et aliis sensibus percipi potest, ad illius eterni imaginem temporalem constitutionem habentem. Et huius temporalis dicunt Deum fecisse duo principalia, terram scilicet et ignem, quibus ad exemplar duorum primorum cubicorum numerorum solidorum

PSEUDO-JOHANNES

O QUI PERPETUA MUNDUM RATIONE GUBERNAS. Priusquam hanc litteram exponamus, pauca praemittenda sunt, ut quae sequentur citius innotescant. Quicumque de mundi constitutione dixerunt, sive Catholici vel ethnici, id est gentiles, fuerunt, duos mundos esse asseruerunt: unum quidem dictum archetypum, alium vocatum sensilem, id est exemplarem mundum. Archetypum vero mundum vocaverunt conceptionem et imaginationem huius sensilis mundi, quae fuit in mente divina antequam iste sensilis mundus fieret. Priusquam enim Deus hunc mundum sensilem corporaliter crearet, ita eum quasi iam praesentialiter videbat, quem mente concipiebat. Et quaecumque fiunt vel

dedit compositionem. Quod sic considerandum est: Duo primi cubici numeri sunt qui a duobus primis numeris, quorum alter est par, alter impar, scilicet a binario et ternario surgunt. Hoc modo arithmetici dicunt, quod omnis numerus adverbialiter per se prolatus longitudinem significat, semel ductus in se latitudinem, secundo ductus altitudinem. Ergo si dixerimus adverbialiter bis, lineam significat, id est duo puncta. Est interposita altitudine, si semel reducamus (*sic*) in se, ut dicamus bis bini, quatuor puncta significat. Est interposita latitudine, si item dicamus bis bini bis, addimus altitudinem, scilicet aliam partem latitudini priori in altum superpositam. Et hae tres dimensiones vocantur unus solidus numerus vel mathematicum id est doctrinale corpus, quia ad similitudinem numeri mathematici et solidi corporis quantitativi tribus dimensionibus constituitur. Dicitur etiam cubus, quia de equali longitudine per aequalem latitudinem ad aequalem surgunt altitudinem. Et hic est primus cubicus numerus. Secundus, qui est a secundo numero, similiter constituitur, ut dicamus ter terni ter . . .

adhuc futura sunt usque in finem saeculi, omnia ante mundi huius constitutionem ita praesentia quasi iam facta cernebat. Et totius huius mundi imago in mente Dei erat, ad cuius imaginis exemplum mundus iste sensilis factus est. Sicut enim artifex arcam facturus vel domum, prius figuram illius in mente praevidet, ad cuius figurae similitudinem postea opus facit (vel arcam vel domum), ita Deus formam mundi huius in ratione sua habuit, antequam hunc sensilem mundum ad eandem similitudinem faceret. Hanc imaginem, quae sic fuit in mente divina, Plato vocat ideam, id est formam vel imaginem vel figuram. Beatus Ioannes evangelista ipsam appellat vitam dicens: quod factum est in ipso, vita erat. Boetius quoque vocat eandem providentiam Dei in sequentibus. Haec itaque mentis divinae conceptio et imago, ad cuius exemplum hic mundus sensilis factus est, archetypus appellatur. Sensilis mundus vero dicitur et exemplaris . . .

It seems scarcely necessary to discuss the question: are Ps.-J. and Anon. Erfurt. the same work? Any major verbal agreement between the two is difficult to find: a phrase or two or an occasional word at the beginning of III m 9; after that nothing. Ps.-J., of course, eventually discusses the *syzygiae elementorum* and their arithmetical analogies, but his discussion is both longer than that of Anon. Erfurt. and presented in quite different language.

The comparison of Ps.-J. and the Anonymous of Erfurt could just as well be dropped at this point, for, I think, it is abundantly clear that, whatever else the Anonymous of Erfurt is, it is not a neglected copy of the work of Ps.-J. This is not the place in which to begin an investigation of the Anonymous of Erfurt itself, but it may be worth while to record the speculation that the Erfurt commentary is a late work based on Remigius of Auxerre and possibly, to some extent, on the Ps.-J. as well. The following excerpts from Anon. Erfurt., Remigius, and Ps.-J. on III m 9, 15 ff. show a definite debt of Anon. Erfurtensis to Remigius, and the independence of Ps.-J. with regard to both Anon. Erfurt.

and Remigius in the passage in which those two agree. The passage in italics is found in all three commentaries, but it will be noted that Remigius and the Anon. Erfurt. use these words in interpreting III m 9, line 15, whereas Ps.-J. uses them in his comment on line 17. If my contention is correct, as set forth in earlier pages of this study, that Ps.-J. was a primary source of Remigius, it seems likely that the Anon. Erfurt. owes most of its Ps.-J.-matter to Remigius, but it may have a direct debt to Ps.-J. as well. These questions, however, like that of the commentary in Ottob. 889, must be postponed for future study.

ANON. ERFURTENSIS

QUAE CUM SECTA. Non est anima in sui natura diversa, sed actus ipsius in duos extenditur oculos ad aliquid contemplandum, sicque dicitur glomerare motum suum in duos orbes, et revertitur in semet ipsam. *Dicunt doctores, quod per intuitum oculorum vis anime egreditur ad conspicienda exteriora. Ita tamen se extendit ut statim revertatur per profundam meditacionem in se revolvens agensque imagine que foris vidit* sicut videt exterius volvi. Ita est de aliis rebus intelligendum, que prius videt ac deinde meditatur. Nam cum unus sit sol, radios diversam in partem videtur diffundere, cum per rimulas et fenestras ingreditur, id est in ortum et occasum. Unde Salomon dicit: oritur sol et occidit et revertitur ad ortum suum; girat per meridiem, flectitur ad Aquilonem. (16) IN SEMET REDITURA MEAT . . .

REMIGIUS

QUAE CUM SECTA DUOS MOTUM GLOMERAVIT IN ORBES. Non est anima in sua natura divisa, sed actus ipsius in duos extenditur oculos ad aliquid contemplandum sicque dicitur glomerare suum motum in duos orbes et revertitur in semet ipsam. *Dicunt enim doctores quod per intuitum oculorum vis animae egreditur ad conspicienda exteriora. Ita tamen extendit se ut statim revertatur per profundam meditationem in se revolvens agensque in simili imagine quae foris videt* sicut videt exterius volvi. Ita est de aliis rebus intelligendum quae prius videt ac deinde meditatur. Nam cum unus sit sol, radios in diversam partem videtur dividere, cum per rimulas et fenestras ingreditur, id est in ortum et occasum. Unde Salomon dicit: oritur sol et occidit et revertitur ad ortum suum: gyrat per meridiem et flectitur ad Aquilonem. (16) IN SEMET REDITURA MEAT . . . (*Silk*, p. 337 ff.)

PS.-JOHANNES

QUAE CUM SECTA etc. Duos orbes vocat rationabilem et irrationabilem motum. Rationabilis dicitur motus qui fit ab oriente per occidentem et iterum in orientem. Irrationabilis vero motus est qui nititur contra firmamentum sicut motus planetarum, qui fit ab occidente per orientem iterum in occidentem. GLOMERAVIT quasi coadunavit ortum suum in diversos orbes, ipsa, dico (16) REDITURA IN SEMET. Tunc redit anima in semet quando ibi ponit finem unde sumpsit principium, et recedens ab his deviis mundi contrahitur in semet ipsam, reminiscens cuius naturae sit vel unde habuisset initium inde sit acceptura finem, sicut superius dixit STABILEMQUE SUI FECERIT ORBEM. ET CIRCUIT PROFUNDAM MENTEM, id est interiorem vim sui, quando recognoscit creatorem suum. Vel mentem divinam circuit quando est in contemplatione divinae mentis. ET SIMILI CONVERTIT IMA-

GINE CAELUM, quia caelum rationabiliter movet et irrationabiliter. Vel aliter PROFUNDAM MENTEM CIRCUIT, id est mundum qui erat in mente, antequam crearetur ET SIMILI IMAGINE CONVERTIT CAELUM id est simili cursu qualis fuit primo anno creationis suae. Sed melius est, ut in hoc loco animam humanam intelligamus, ut praedictum est, sicque dicitur glomerem suum motum in duos orbes et revertitur in semet ipsam. *Dicunt doctores quia per intuitum oculorum vis animae egreditur ad conspicienda exteriora, ita tamen ut statim revertatur. Per profundam meditationem in se revolvens agensque simili imagine quae foris vidit* per oculos, in se rediens colligit in mente, et, sicut foris caeli et terrae vel maris vel cuiusque rei speciem vel motum per oculos viderit, ita simili imagine intus revolvens ea quae viderat conspicit . . .

It is impossible to review here M. Courcelle's *Etude* as a whole, but one or two further matters discussed by M. Courcelle require brief comment. The statement (*Etude* p. 9) regarding the difficulty of editing commentaries and the uncertainty of the text when edited, is misleading. Granted that the textual criticism of commentaries is more difficult in general than that of many of the *auctores*, because the circumstances of transmission were more complicated, an editor of a mediaeval commentary is rarely justified in concluding that a given text was ever in a fluid state. Once a well-known teacher's recension of the traditional Boethius lore had been published, it was transmitted with varying degrees of mechanical accuracy until replaced by a new recension (expansion or abridgment). Each recension will have had sufficient individuality (if only in the minutiae of vocabulary and style) to make possible its reconstruction by painstaking editors. If this were not so, a work like M. Courcelle's own *Etude* would have been impossible.

The statement (*Etude* p. 120) that the Old High German glosses of Paris MS. lat. 13953 are not in "cryptographie" is incorrect. There are quantities of cipher glosses in this manuscript and a number on the first page of the Boethius commentary.

It was inevitable that M. Courcelle should fail to mention some of the later Boethius commentaries, for their number is very great, but one misses particularly any reference to the work of William Whetley. His extensive commentary is found in several English manuscripts, e.g. New Coll. Oxford 264, which is inscribed with his name.

APPENDIX

III

It is inconceivable that Ps.-J., had he been the plagiarist, should have ferreted out and taken from Adalbold only such passages as were free from the rhyme-prose blight. This point can be carried a little further. Reference has been made to a "very few minor differences" between Ps.-J. and Adalbold in the parallel passages. These are instances in which Adalbold has given his text just a touch of the familiar rhyme-prose style, whereas the text of Ps.-J. remains as usual unembellished. Is it conceivable that Ps.-J., had he been the plagiarist, could have been stylistically so squeamish that he purged his stolen passages of every last trace of rhyme-prose before incorporating them in his own text? The meaning of the few scraps of rhyme-prose in Adalbold's text of the parallels, in my opinion, is this: the inveterate rhyme-prose writer, while leaving unretouched nearly all the matter that he took from Ps.-J., in these few instances did retouch, to the extent of altering the word order slightly or adding a phrase so as to produce a rhyme-prose effect. These 'retouched' passages, with the parallel text of Ps.-J., are given below. Italics indicate Adalbold's 'alterations' or 'additions'.

ADALBOLD	PSEUDO-JOHANNES
V	V
Secundum hanc sententiam mundus iste *qui volvitur, in imagine formatur* . . . (*Supra* p. 17, l. 25 ff.)	Secundum hanc sententiam mundus iste vocatur forma mundi, qui videtur . . . (*Supra* p. 27, 12 ff.)
Si enim in imagine formatur, necesse est verum aliquem esse, a quo imaginis simili-	Si enim in imagine formatur, necesse est verum aliquem esse, a quo imaginis simili-

GINE CAELUM, quia caelum rationabiliter movet et irrationabiliter. Vel aliter PROFUNDAM MENTEM CIRCUIT, id est mundum qui erat in mente, antequam crearetur ET SIMILI IMAGINE CONVERTIT CAELUM id est simili cursu qualis fuit primo anno creationis suae. Sed melius est, ut in hoc loco animam humanam intelligamus, ut praedictum est, sicque dicitur glomerare suum motum in duos orbes et revertitur in semet ipsam. *Dicunt doctores quia per intuitum oculorum vis animae egreditur ad conspicienda exteriora, ita tamen ut statim revertatur. Per profundam meditationem in se revolvens agensque simili imagine quae foris vidit* per oculos, in se rediens colligit in mente, et, sicut foris caeli et terrae vel maris vel cuiusque rei speciem vel motum per oculos viderit, ita simili imagine intus revolvens ea quae viderat conspicit . . .

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tudo deducatur. Hunc si quaeris, is est *qui mente Dei geritur*, cuius existentia non fluitatur, *cuius amoenitate nullus abutitur*. Huius forma materiae fluitanti imprimitur et nomine manente is, quem nunc videmus, exprimitur. Existentia tamen mutatur, quia quae in hoc per defectionem moriuntur, in illo per potentiam gerentis vivificantur. *Existentia istius in se mortificat, existentia illius in gerente vivificat. Grana enim quae in isto per defectionem sui mortificantur, in illo, qui in mente Dei geritur, per potentiam gerentis vivificantur.*
(p. 17, 26 ff.)

tudo deducatur. Hunc si quaeris, is est in mente divina, cuius existentia non fluitatur. Huius forma materiae fluitanti imprimitur et nomine manente is quem nunc videmus exprimitur. Existentia tamen mutatur, quia quae in hoc per defectionem moriuntur, in illo per potentiam gerentis vivificantur.
(p. 27, 14 ff.)

VIII

Qualitates ignis evolationem, qualitates terrae quaerunt demersionem.
(p. 20, 6 ff.)

VIII

Qualitates ignis evolationem quaerunt; qualitates terrae quaerunt demersionem.
(p. 27, 24 ff.)

IX

Motus species tres sunt principales.
(p. 20, 20)

IX

Tres igitur sunt motus principales species.
(p. 29, 20 ff.)

Anima ergo triplicis naturae cuncta movens media dicitur, quia cuncta, quae vivific*at*, intra caeli firmamentum vege*tat*.
(p. 20, 25 ff.)

Anima ergo triplicis naturae est cuncta movens. Media dicitur, quia cuncta quae vivificantur intra caeli firmamentum vegetat.
(p. 29, 25 ff.)

per CONSONA MEMBRA resolvitur, dum una eademque *similitudine propagationis perdiversa fit diversitate vegetationis.*
(p. 20, 29 ff.)

per CONSONA MEMBRA resolvitur, dum una eademque propaginis similitudine per diversitatem vegetationis fit per diversa.
(p. 29, 32 ff.)

X

Qui quaerit sedem desiderat requiem; qui requiem desiderat, angustiam *de*vitat. *Et quomodo hic angustam sedem exoptat, qui requiem desiderat?* Mens et corpus diversae naturae sunt, ac ideo diversae voluntatis.
(p. 23, 7 ff.)

X

Qui quaerit sedem desiderat requiem; qui requiem desiderat angustiam vitat. Mens etenim et corpus diversae sunt naturae et ideo diversae voluntatis.
(p. 31, 5 ff.)

Huic luci visum defigere, videre est et vivere; ab hac visum declinare, excaecari est et emori.
(p. 23, 26 ff.)

Huic luci visum configere est et videre et vivere; ab hac visum declinare excaecari et emori est.
(p. 31, 20 ff.)

Although the presence or absence of rhyme-prose elements has in this paper been taken as the criterion of genuine 'Adalboldese' as opposed to material borrowed by Adalbold from some other source, it might also be possible to demonstrate the stylistic inequality of Adalbold's commentary by presenting data relating to his use of conjunctions and grammatical particles, or rhetorical devices. For example, in the 'parallels', I have noted no instance of interjections such as "Eia!", "Ecce!", "absit!" that crop up in passages of genuine 'Adalboldese'. Likewise Adalbold occasionally injects a terse rhetorical question; I have noted none in the parallels. The formulas "est qui dicat", "Sed est qui mihi obiciat" are peculiar to Adalbold and are not in the parallels. The repetition of introductory words as many as four times (in successive clauses) occurs about twice as often in the parallels as in the other passages. Anaphora involving three successive members of the sentence seems to be characteristic of the parallels. The parallels not surprisingly differ from the rest of Adalbold in correlative words. Adalbold shows a much greater variety of correlatives in passages that do not correspond to Ps.-J. The parallels have no example of the word *insuper* 'besides', which Adalbold uses twice at the beginning of a sentence.

A statistical analysis of styles in Adalbold's commentary, however, could hardly produce significant results, since the longest parallel does not extend beyond 600 words and the longest passage in which Adalbold has no verbal parallels to Ps.-J. contains less than 900.

APPENDIX

IV

MS. Vat. lat. 3363 (Weinberger's *V*), written (presumably in northern France) in a Caroline hand of the first part of the ninth century, contains the *Consolatio* of Boethius with innumerable marginal and interlinear annotations in several hands of the same date and later. The most interesting annotations, as M. Courcelle has noted, are in an insular hand (not later than the tenth century). These marginalia have been badly rubbed and, as M. Courcelle states, are practically impossible to read with the naked eye. Nearly all, however, can be read in a good photograph; the remaining few illegible words could be brought out by various photographic devices. Enough of the marginal comment on III m 9 can be made out to permit a comparison with Adalbold's and Ps.-J.'s commentaries on this passage of Boethius. The excerpt from the marginalia given here will be sufficient to show that the original commentary from which the Vatican scholiast drew cannot have contained anything that resembled at all

closely the commentaries of either Adalbold or Ps.-J. on III m 9. In this transcrip dots stand for letters that are illegible in my photograph.

(20) IN CAELUM TERRAMQUE SERIS] Existimabant emim (*sic*) se habere a sole spiritum a luna corpus, a Marte fervorem, a Mercurio sapientiam et verbum, a Iove temperantiam a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem . . . sol in medio planetarum positus totum mundum spiritus . . . . . et quasi vivificare videtur. Ecclesiast testante qui de ipso loquens ait: girans girando vadit spiritus et in circulos suos revertitur. Luna per humoris . . . . . incrementum corporibus suggerit. Marti stella utpote soli . . . proxima colore simul et natura est . . . Mercurius perpetuo circ solem discurrendo quam si inex . . . sapientiae luce radiari putatur Iuppiter, frigor Saturnus et ardore Martis, hinc inde Venus luminis venustate, quam ex solis vicinitat percipit, suo cernentes allicit aspectu. Saturnus eo tardior ceteris planetus (*sic*) que et . . .

There is nothing whatever in Vat. lat. 3363 that has any resemblance to any of the verbatim parallels between Adalbold and Ps.-J. By way of a footnote it may be remarked that the Vatican scholia cannot have been the source of Bovo (cf. Courcelle, *Etude*, p. 124; Mai, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-342), but Bovo may have used the treatise from which the Vatican scholiast derived his material.

In conclusion I wish to thank the authorities of the Stadtbibliothek of Erfurt for having made it possible for me to study a photographic copy of MS Amplon. Q.5, and the Bibliothèque Nationale for permission to publish facsimile of diagrams from MSS. lat. 7361 and 15104. For helpful criticism and mos generous assistance I am particularly indebted to Mlle M.-T. d'Alverny of the Bibliothèque Nationale, to Dr. Lotte Labowsky, Lady Carlisle Research Fello of Somerville College, Oxford, and to Dr. H. Boese of Berlin.

Yale University. EDMUND T. SILK.

AN EARLY MEDIAEVAL "BOOK OF FATE": THE SORTES XII PATRIARCHARUM

With a note on "Books of Fate" in general

I. THE MANUSCRIPTS

THREE twelfth-century *florilegia* in the British Museum have in recent years been subjected to exhaustive analysis—Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XII and Additional MS. 24199 by A. Boutemy in *Latomus*, I [1937], pp. 278-313, and Cotton MS. Titus D. XXIV by J. H. Mozley in *Medium Aevum*, 11 [1942], pp. 1-45, supplemented by R. W. Hunt, *ibid.*, 16 [1947], pp. 6-8. All three manuscripts contain a certain set of fortune-telling verses which the respective editors have not fully elucidated, and of which a brief explanation may be of interest.

The following is a list of manuscripts containing the verses in question, but it must be made clear that it makes no claim to be exhaustive:

A. Rouen MS. O. 18, fol. 1v (H. Omont, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France—Départements*—Tome I, Rouen, Paris, 1886, p. 260, no. 1040) (12th cent.).

B. British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XII, fol. 124v-125v (late 12th cent.).

C. British Museum, Additional MS. 24199, fol. 73-74 (second half of the 12th cent.).

D. British Museum, Cotton MS. Titus D. XXIV, fol. 16-19b (*ca.* 1200).

E. Bodleian MS. e Mus. 222 (S.C. 3592), fol. 151-151b (first half of 13th cent.).[1]

[1]) I owe the knowledge of this MS. to Dr. R. W. Hunt, to whom I am also indebted for much valuable assistance.

F. Bodleian Ashmole MS. 304 (S.C. 25168), fol. 52v-55v (mid 13th cent.).

G. Bodleian Digby MS. 46 (S.C. 1647), fol. 62v-65v (mid 14th cent.).

H. British Museum Sloane MS. 3857, fol. 218v-221v (*ca.* 1600).

Of the above manuscripts *G* and *H* appear to have been transcribed direct from *F* and are thus of little independent value. They are not, however, entirely negligible, since *G* has preserved to us copies, crude and tasteless, it is true, of some of the superb miniatures now missing from *F*, which in a recent study has been connected with the school of Matthew Paris (F. Wormald, *More Matthew Paris Drawings*, in the 31st volume of the *Walpole Society* [published 1946], pp. 109-112 and Plates xxvii-xxix); while *H*, though it makes no attempt to reproduce the miniatures of *F*, contains (on fol. 208) a circular diagram divided into twelve numbered sectors and headed *Pythagorae effigies* at the very position where W. H. Black in the quarto catalogue of the Ashmole manuscripts had postulated the loss of a similar diagram from *F*.

2. THE TEXT

The full text of these verses as found in MSS. *B* and *C* is printed in *Latomus* I [1937], 299-303 (Items V-VI), and need not be reproduced here. It may however be convenient to print the introductory verses (Boutemy Item V), which prescribe the ritual to be followed by the inquirer and list the twelve questions (numbered for convenient reference) from which he can make his selection:

Si vis prodesse sortes anathema nec esse,
Cura prescire quod sit tibi scire necesse.
Id quoque sic facies, et certus ad omnia fies.
Cum fuerit cura prenoscere sorte futura,

1 nec esse *D* necesse *BCE*, *Boutemy* 2 precire *D* 4 sorte *BDE* forte *C*, *Boutemy*

Orans ieiuna biduo, vigilabis et una
Nocte prius supplex, sit cereus et tibi duplex.
Post, missa dicta, conspersus aqua benedicta,
Non pretermittas 'Pater' et 'Credo', nec omittas
Ipsum signare qui proximus est locus are.
Post venias cape tres, et ibi geminas iace sortes,
Dumque fit hoc seni bene bis pascantur egeni.
Quicquid scire velis dat sors ita iacta fidelis,
Sortibus his queres, nec eas te fallere speres.
Utrum frustreris, vel non; si quid mediteris, (1)
Quo dimittendum, quo tempore sit quid agendum; (2)
Utrum securum, vel utrum sit iter tibi durum; (3)
Utrum victurus sit debilis, an moriturus; (4)
Utrum succedat pax an sine fine recedat; (5)
Absens an sospes, an sit reditus in eo spes; (6)
Utrum fallatur si quid fortasse petatur; (7)
Si sociare velis aliquem tibi, sitne fidelis; (8)
Si proponatur quid, utrum bene perficiatur; (9)
An superaturus bello sis an moriturus; (10)
An dilatetur, an copia victa fugetur; (11)
Utrum fortuna sit in omnibus omnis an una. (12)

6 fit *D* 7 Post. missa *BC* Post missa *D* Postmissa *E* Praemissa *Boutemy* 10 et duas ibidem iace sortes *E* 11 bene bis seni *E* 15 Quod *D* quid sit *E* 17 sis *D* 21 vel *C*

3. THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE SYSTEM

The prologue is succeeded by a list of the 144 answers (12 to each question), arranged in 12 dodecads or groups of 12, and the order in which they are arranged deserves a brief explanation, as it provides the key to the whole system. The most practical way of explaining the system is to follow, step by step, the procedure which the author himself may be presumed to have followed when compiling the work. For this purpose the twelve questions may be designated by the letters A to L, and the respective answers as A^1, A^2, A^3, A^4 . . . A^{12}; B^1, B^2, B^3, B^4 . . . B^{12}; C^1, C^2, C^3, C^4 . . . C^{12}, etc. The answers are then tabulated in the following diagrammatic form:

A^1	B^1	C^1	D^1	E^1	F^1	G^1	H^1	I^1	J^1	K^1	L^1
A^2	B^2	C^2	D^2	E^2	F^2	G^2	H^2	I^2	J^2	K^2	L^2
A^3	B^3	C^3	D^3	E^3	F^3	G^3	H^3	I^3	J^3	K^3	L^3
A^4	B^4	C^4	D^4	E^4	F^4	G^4	H^4	I^4	J^4	K^4	L^4
A^5	B^5	C^5	D^5	E^5	F^5	G^5	H^5	I^5	J^5	K^5	L^5
A^6	B^6	C^6	D^6	E^6	F^6	G^6	H^6	I^6	J^6	K^6	L^6
A^7	B^7	C^7	D^7	E^7	F^7	G^7	H^7	I^7	J^7	K^7	L^7
A^8	B^8	C^8	D^8	E^8	F^8	G^8	H^8	I^8	J^8	K^8	L^8
A^9	B^9	C^9	D^9	E^9	F^9	G^9	H^9	I^9	J^9	K^9	L^9
A^{10}	B^{10}	C^{10}	D^{10}	E^{10}	F^{10}	G^{10}	H^{10}	I^{10}	J^{10}	K^{10}	L^{10}
A^{11}	B^{11}	C^{11}	D^{11}	E^{11}	F^{11}	G^{11}	H^{11}	I^{11}	J^{11}	K^{11}	L^{11}
A^{12}	B^{12}	C^{12}	D^{12}	E^{12}	F^{12}	G^{12}	H^{12}	I^{12}	J^{12}	K^{12}	L^{12}

DIAGRAM 1

The next step is to 'stagger' the answers. Starting from the top, each horizontal row is shifted bodily one square further to the right than its predecessor, i.e., the second row is shifted *one* square to the right, the third row *two* squares to the right, and so on. At the conclusion of the process the diagram has assumed the following form:

A^1	B^1	C^1	D^1	E^1	F^1	G^1	H^1	I^1	J^1	K^1	L^1
L^2	A^2	B^2	C^2	D^2	E^2	F^2	G^2	H^2	I^2	J^2	K^2
K^3	L^3	A^3	B^3	C^3	D^3	E^3	F^3	G^3	H^3	I^3	J^3
J^4	K^4	L^4	A^4	B^4	C^4	D^4	E^4	F^4	G^4	H^4	I^4
I^5	J^5	K^5	L^5	A^5	B^5	C^5	D^5	E^5	F^5	G^5	H^5
H^6	I^6	J^6	K^6	L^6	A^6	B^6	C^6	D^6	E^6	F^6	G^6
G^7	H^7	I^7	J^7	K^7	L^7	A^7	B^7	C^7	D^7	E^7	F^7
F^8	G^8	H^8	I^8	J^8	K^8	L^8	A^8	B^8	C^8	D^8	E^8
E^9	F^9	G^9	H^9	I^9	J^9	K^9	L^9	A^9	B^9	C^9	D^9
D^{10}	E^{10}	F^{10}	G^{10}	H^{10}	I^{10}	J^{10}	K^{10}	L^{10}	A^{10}	B^{10}	C^{10}
C^{11}	D^{11}	E^{11}	F^{11}	G^{11}	H^{11}	I^{11}	J^{11}	K^{11}	L^{11}	A^{11}	B^{11}
B^{12}	C^{12}	D^{12}	E^{12}	F^{12}	G^{12}	H^{12}	I^{12}	J^{12}	K^{12}	L^{12}	A^{12}

DIAGRAM 2

It will be observed that those answers which by the process of staggering are shifted beyond the right-hand edge of the diagram are brought round to fill the vacant spaces on the left-hand side, exactly as if the diagram had been wrapped round a cylinder (the simile is that of Rendel Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, p. 52).

The *vertical* columns in Diagram 2 constitute the 12 dodecads of the finished system. Thus, the first dodecad contains the answers A^1, L^2, K^3, J^4, I^5, H^6, G^7, F^8, E^9, D^{10}, C^{11}, B^{12}.

The mode of consulting the oracle must be described in some detail, since the reader who expects to find any intelligible directions in the actual manuscripts is likely to be disappointed. The inquirer first decides on the question he wishes to ask—say the fifth question (E in the above diagram) which runs (l. 14):

Utrum succedat pax an sine fine recedat?

He then throws two dice—say the total thrown is 8. Bearing this figure in mind, he turns to Dodecad 5 (since he has chosen to ask the fifth question) and counts forward 8 dodecads (inclusive of the 5th), thus arriving at Dodecad 12. He now counts downwards eight verses, finally reaching the response E^8:

Pax sine pace datur quia lis illam comitatur.

As a second example, let us suppose that, with the same question 5 in mind, the inquirer had thrown a total of ten. He must now count forward 10 Dodecads from his starting-point at Dodecad 5. This would bring him beyond the 12th and final Dodecad, so on reaching that point he goes back to Dodecad 1, thus finishing the count at Dodecad 2. He then counts downward to the tenth answer in Dodecad 2, viz.:

Fervet amor multus, sedatur ubique tumultus.

It does not take great mathematical ability to see why this process must always lead the inquirer to an answer appropriate to the question asked. But without the aid of the above diagrams it is by no means so obvious, and in fact there can be no doubt that the whole procedure presented, to the average client, an impressive effect of mystification.

4. THE ANSWERS DENOUNCING THE SORTES

The answers in general, as they can be read in *Latomus*, do not appear at first sight to offer any features of special interest, and it is not until they are examined in detail that a surprising phenomenon claims our attention.

From Diagram 2 one would infer that the opening lines of the twelve dodecads contained the first answers to each of the twelve questions in turn—in other terms, the answers A^1, B^1, C^1, D^1 . . . L^1. But on turning to these supposed 'answers' we find that they are in fact no answers at all, but virulent denunciations of fortune-telling! The first three may be quoted as specimens:

Velle Dei nosse Casu non est tibi posse.
Cui Casus Dux est, sibi nunquam previa lux est.
Vergit ad occasum qui ponit spem sibi Casum.

To which I cannot refrain from adding the sixth example:

Si sequeris Casum, Casus frangit tibi nasum.

The guess might be hazarded that these verses are intended as a species of insurance against possible ecclesiastical censure, and it is certainly true that fortune-telling of this kind was officially frowned upon by the Church. But though this may be part of the explanation, there is another and more immediate reason. If two dice are thrown simultaneously, the range of possible numbers which can be thrown is from 2 to 12, not 1 to 12, since the lowest throw is two single pips. It follows that the first answer in each dodecad will never be reached by the inquirer, and the wording of these answers is therefore immaterial: they are in fact dummies, retained for the sake of symmetry.

It is nevertheless significant that the author, being left with a completely free pen to fill in these 'answers', should have exploited the opportunity to denounce fortune-telling in round terms. In Renaissance and later Books of Fate it is a commonplace to represent the whole procedure as a mere diversion or innocent amusement, but the present work seems to be by far the earliest to sound such a note of scepticism.

5. RECENSIONS

While I have used "Sortes XII Patriarcharum" as a convenient title for the work under discussion, it appears probable that both this title and

the association of the individual patriarchs with the 12 questions and 12 dodecads is a later development. It is true that, according to Omont's catalogue, MS. *A* bears the title "Sortes XII Tribuum", but *C*, which can be little if at all later in date, is devoid of any title or indeed any reference to the Patriarchs, whose names first appear attached to the dodecads in MSS. *B* and *D*.

If we are correct in deducing that in the original version neither the questions nor the dodecads bore any distinguishing names or titles, it is interesting to note that in this respect the 'Sortes XII Patriarcharum' resembles the Books of Fate which have come down to us from the ancient world (see p. 52 below), viz. the Greek work of Astrampsychus and the fourth-century Latin *Sortes Sangallenses*. The resemblance to the *Sortes Sangallenses* is especially close, for although that system was much more extensive, the number of questions being not less than 126, each question had twelve alternative answers, and the answers were arranged in dodecads and were 'staggered' in exactly the same way as in the 'Sortes XII Patriarcharum'. By contrast, in most mediaeval Books of Fate the groups of answers are regularly distinguished by the names of various so-called "Judges", Kings, Planets, Constellations, Birds, and so on.

At first the intrusion of the Twelve Patriarchs seems to have involved no more than the writing of their names in the margin of the MS. against the twelve dodecads (as in MSS. *B*, *D* and *E*). Later, the questions were broken up by cross-headings, giving the subject of the question, e.g. 'De cogitatione', 'De tempore', etc., and the name of the individual patriarch (as in *D*). The final stage of development is found in *F* and its derivatives where the Prologue is entirely omitted, and for it is substituted a table (reproduced by F. Wormald in the *Walpole Society*, vol. xxxi, Plate xxviii b) containing a list of subject-titles of the questions, followed in each case by the direction: "Responde. Quere in libro prophetie Iude (Ruben, Gaad, etc.)".

6. MEDIAEVAL DIRECTIONS FOR CONSULTING THE SORTES

The names of the Patriarchs may have been introduced partly to invest the work with an air of Scriptural authority, partly as a more

picturesque alternative to numbering the questions and dodecads[1] from one to twelve. Indeed in the above-mentioned table in MS. *F* the questions are numbered in addition to being associated with the Patriarchs. But if the table was intended to facilitate consultation of the oracle, it can hardly be said to have achieved its purpose. On the contrary, the modern reader finds it merely an additional source of confusion; for if, on asking the question 'De tempore si utile' he receives the direction 'Quere in libro prophetie Ruben', he will not unnaturally jump to the conclusion that the dodecad designated 'Ruben' contains *all* the possible answers to his question, whereas, as we have seen, it actually contains only one of them, and the reference to the dodecad is merely an indication of the place at which he should start counting. The inadequacy of the Table in *F* was clearly felt by an English reader of the fifteenth century, who added at the foot of the page the following directions:

> In this warke reken downewards til ye come to ye end of your number and there procede. *Responde. Quere in libro prophetie*, and there tell so many verses as your nomber is, *et ipse ostendet solucionem*. The sercle of 12 nombres servith for this boke also.

The reference to the "sercle of 12 nombres" indicates that an alternative to the casting of dice as prescribed in the prologue had come into common use. We have already noticed that MS. *H* preserves a copy of a 'circle' of this kind which is now missing from *F*, though we cannot determine from the copy whether the original was a fixed diagram, or a revolving disc (volvelle) such as is found sunk into the inside front cover of *G*.

It is curious to note that whereas with two dice the range of obtainable numbers is from 2 to 12, with the 'circle' it is from 1 to 12. The first answers of the dodecads were therefore no longer unattainable, and logically they should have been re-written as genuine answers. It is typical of the intense conservatism which characterizes this literary *genre* that this

[1]) In MS. *D* the individual answers within each dodecad are *lettered* from *a* to *m*, probably a mere scribal check, if we may judge from a more elaborate system of checking found in another Book of Fate in Ashmole MS. 304 (cf. L. Brandin, *Miscellany of Studies in Romance Languages and Literature presented to Leon E. Kastner*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 57).

obvious step was never taken, and the original "dummy" answers continued to be religiously copied.[1]

7. ORIGIN AND DATE OF THE WORK

The dependence of most mediaeval Books of Fate on Arabic models is too obvious to need demonstration. The Arabic names of the "Judges", Birds, etc., who preside over the answer-groups speak for themselves, while one of the best-known works, the *Liber Experimentarius* of Bernardus Sylvestris, frankly announces itself as a translation from the Arabic. The 'Sortes XII Patriarcharum' is therefore especially interesting because of the complete absence of any sign of Arabic influence; and the question arises whether, if it is not of Arabic origin, it may not be a direct descendant of some Book of Fate of the Graeco-Roman world—for instance, from some shortened version of the *Sortes Sangallenses*. It is true that the distance in time separating these two works is considerable, as the unique MS. of the *Sortes Sangallenses* dates from the seventh century, whereas the earliest complete MS. of the *Sortes XII Patriarcharum* dates from the second half of the twelfth century (excluding MS. *A*, which Omont merely dates '12th century'). This interval can however be slightly reduced by some new evidence. I have recently had the opportunity of examining Phillipps MS. 12145, a collection of scientific works, written in England about the year 1100, and have noticed on fol. 2 some notes in a contemporary hand concluding with six of the answers, taken at random, from the *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*.[2] The *terminus ante quem* of the date of original composition must therefore be pushed back into the eleventh century, though the form of the two-syllabled leonine hexameters makes it impossible for the verses to have been written earlier than the second half of that century. At this

[1]) As an even more extreme example of this conservatism one might quote many of the questions and answers in Astrampsychus: for instance, Question 95, εἰ γενήσομαι δεκάπρωτος, was still being solemnly transcribed in the 15th century though the office in question had ceased to exist a thousand years earlier.

[2]) Prosperat in primis hec hora, dat aspera finis. Quod cupis ad votum veniet tibi nec mora totum. Sors hec est dextra tibi parens intus et extra. Casu leva cadunt. lugubriter omnia vadunt. Omnia sunt mixta. dextra mala leta sinistra. Sorte cadunt leva. lugubriter omnia seva.

period Arabic inspiration is improbable, and there is a corresponding increase in the likelihood that the *Sortes XII Patriarcharum* is a link in the chain of popular tradition which, though many intermediate stages are now hidden from us, connects a scrap of a Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (see p. 52) with the St. Albans of Matthew Paris.

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON "BOOKS OF FATE" IN GENERAL

As the literature devoted to the subject of "Books of Fate" is scattered and often inaccessible, it may be useful, without attempting anything in the nature of a bibliography, to notice some of the more important works.

The fundamental study is that of Johannes Bolte, "Zur Geschichte der Losbücher", which forms an Appendix (pp. 276-348) to the fourth volume of *Georg Wickrams Werke, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Nr. 230, 1903. Some *addenda* to this dissertation are to be found *ibid.* Nr. 241, 1906, pp. 349-350.

An indispensable supplement to the foregoing is an article by Bolte, *Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher*, in W. Fraenger's *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde*, I [1925], pp. 184-214, which aims at extending the field of investigation and noticing relevant publications which had appeared since 1906. Fraenger's *Jahrbuch* is not in the British Museum Library, and I have used a photostat copy of the article kindly supplied by the Cambridge University Library.

F. Boehm's article *Losbücher* in Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Bd. V, Berlin, 1932-3, col. 1386-1401, is an excellent summary, based almost entirely on the work of Bolte.

Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, New York, 1923, pp. 110-123, discusses the *Liber Experimentarius* of Bernardus Sylvestris and other thirteenth-century Books of Fate. There is a useful list of MSS. In Vol. VI, pp. 469-472, of the same work, may be found an account of an exceptionally elaborate Italian production, the *Triompho di Fortuna* of Sigismondo Fanti of Ferrara (Venice, 1527).

The earliest surviving Book of Fate remains the Greek treatise Περὶ προρρήσεως διαφόρων ζητημάτων of Astrampsychus. The only edition is by Rudolf Hercher, *Astrampsychi Oraculorum Decades CIII*, in the *Jahresbericht über das Königliche Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium*, Berlin, 1863. Since Hercher's day more and earlier MSS. have been brought to light by the publication of the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologicorum Graecorum*, and a new edition is much to be desired, the more so since the original publication is exceedingly scarce. (There is no copy in the British Museum, and in this case also I have employed a photostat made by the Cambridge University Library.) The entire list of questions and answers (but not, unfortunately, the Prologue) is conveniently reproduced in J. Rendel Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, Cambridge, 1901, Appendix C, pp. 128-160.

A papyrus fragment containing a list of questions numbered from 71 to 92, written about the time of Diocletian, was published in 1916 by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt as Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 1477 (now Papyrus 2461 in the British Museum), but it was not until 1939 that it was identified by Dr. Gudmund Björck, of Uppsala, as part of the work of Astrampsychus, in a paper entitled *Heidnische und Christliche Orakel mit fertigen Antworten*, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIX, pp. 86-98, a most valuable discussion of this method of divination in the ancient world.

The *Sortes Sangallenses* were published under that title by H. Winnefeld at Bonn in 1887, from the unique manuscript, a palimpsest (MS. 908) at St. Gall, which he assigned to the sixth century. The entire text is reprinted by Rendel Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, Appendix D, pp. 161-184, where the dependence of the *Sortes* on the system of Astrampsychus is convincingly demonstrated. There is a good facsimile of a page of the MS. in Plate XXXI of E. Chatelain's *Uncialis Scriptura Codicum Latinorum*, Paris, 1901, where the MS. is much more plausibly assigned to the seventh century.

A new edition by P. Alban Dold has recently appeared in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, *Phil. Hist. Klasse* 225, Abt. 4 [1948]. P. Dold has re-examined the manuscript, and with the aid of his special photographic technique has been able to offer many new readings. He suggests that the work was compiled in Southern Gaul in the later fourth century A.D. (pp. 14-16). A commentary by R. Meister is promised for the same series.

The only other writer who, so far as I know, has taken an active part

in the publication of mediaeval books of fate, is the late Professor Louis Brandin. His interests, however, lay primarily in the field of philology, and the only one of his contributions which treats the subject on broader lines is the first: *Le Livre de Preuve*, *Romania*, 42 [1913], pp. 204-254. His publications of individual books of fate are as follows:

Un Livre de Bonne Aventure Anglo-Français, in *Mélanges de philologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas*, Paris, 1927, pp. 51-60 [this consists of the bare text only; a commentary was promised, to be published in *Romania*, but I cannot find that it ever appeared].

Un Livre de Bonne Aventure Anglo-Français en Vers, in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. A. Jeanroy*, Paris, 1928, pp. 639-655.

Les Prognostica du MS. Ashmole 304 de la Bodléienne, *Miscellany of Studies presented to Leon E. Kastner*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 57-67.

The output of *printed* Books of Fate, which has continued right down to the present day, is enormous, and Bolte has only scratched the surface. I have not been able to find any bibliographical discussion of what has been far and away the most popular British production since the early years of the last century, viz., "Napoleon's Book of Fate"; indeed the only reference I have found to it in print[1] is a brief note in an article by W. E. Axon, *Divination by Books*, *The Manchester Quarterly*, 26 [1907], pp. 26-35. Curiously enough this production, despite its title, seems to be almost confined to these Islands: at all events no copy is recorded in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the nearest French equivalent seems to be the "Oracle des Dames" described in Ch. Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1864, Vol. I, pp. 188-196.

A note on the term 'Book of Fate' may fittingly bring this article to a close. There is at present no firmly-established designation in English for this literary *genre*, and I would suggest 'Book of Fate' as the most suitable appellation, since (a) it is already widely familiar through the dis-

[1]) It has, however, achieved the distinction of mention in George Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*, Part III: ". . . Conrad Barnabas's book. Your wife told me that it was more wonderful than Napoleon's *Book of Fate* and *Old Moore's Almanack*, which cook and I used to read." I have before me as I write the current edition of Napoleon's *Book of Fate*, published by Messrs. W. Foulsham & Co., proprietors of *Old Moore's Almanack*. This edition contains the *Book of Fate* in an expanded version of 32 questions, followed by the original 16-question version; the latter agrees word for word with those published as chapbooks a century and more ago.

semination of "Napoleon's Book of Fate", and (b) it conforms to the nomenclature of other languages, e.g. the French *Livre d'aventure*, or *Livre de bonne chance*, the Italian *Libro di Ventura*, and the German *Losbuch*. I would also suggest that the term be strictly reserved for systems comprising a fixed table of specific questions with a fixed number of alternative answers to each question. Systems like the well-known *Sortes Sanctorum* which, instead of answering a specific question, forecast the inquirer's "fortune" in general terms are not, in my opinion, to be classed as "Books of Fate", the hall-mark of which is the (apparently) miraculous manner in which the inquirer, pursuing his way through a labyrinth of jumbled answers, finally arrives at one appropriate to the question asked.

Finally, I would mention one copious source of confusion, especially evident in Bolte's 1925 article, viz., the belief that Books of Fate can be classified according to the method by which the inquirer selects the all-important 'number' which determines the answer he is to receive. It is essential to realize that the structure of a Book of Fate remains unaltered whether the inquirer uses dice, a volvelle, geomancy, or other method for this purpose, and groupings such as "Würfelorakel", "Stechorakel" and the like are not only useless but positively misleading, since they are apt to bring together under one head works essentially disparate in character.

British Museum, London. T. C. SKEAT

GILBERT CRISPIN, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER: DISPUTE OF A CHRISTIAN WITH A HEATHEN TOUCHING THE FAITH OF CHRIST

I. INTRODUCTION

THE only known text of this treatise is contained in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 8166, fol. 29-36. The manuscript is described in the *Catalogue of Romances*, ii, p. 352 as a tall quarto vellum, of the twelfth century, which "seems to have been intended to form a collection of the works of Gilbert Crispin". The text in the manuscript breaks off incomplete. There follows immediately an explanation of the word 'septuagesima' in the ecclesiastical calendar, which was printed by Armitage Robinson.[1]

Gislebert or Gilbert Crispin was the fourth Abbot of Edward the Confessor's monastery at Westminster, which he ruled from 1085 to 1117, and where his effigy may still be seen in the south cloister. It was in his time that the Confessor's tomb was first opened, in 1102, and the saint's body found uncorrupted. To this early predecessor the late Dean Armitage Robinson, who, eight hundred years after, was chief minister of the same great church, devoted an admirable monograph, wherein will be found collected all that is known of him and his writings.

He was the scion of a noble and wealthy Norman family, deriving their surname from the stiff, bristly hair for which the abbot's grandfather, whose Christian name he bore, was remarkable, and which is said to have been inherited by his descendants. The father of our Gilbert, William Crispin, and his mother, Eva de Montfort, were devoted admirers of Herluin, the founder and first abbot of Bec, the Norman monastery which supplied the See of Canterbury with three of its archbishops, two of whom were among the most eminent of their number, Lanfranc, Anselm and

[1]) *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 75.

Theobald. In this monastery, to which both William Crispin and his wife were benefactors, and in which both ended their days, they dedicated their son Gilbert to the service of God as a monk under their friend. He was a boy of about fifteen when Anselm, who was some twelve years his senior, joined the community; his name is the fifty-ninth on the roll of its professed monks, Anselm's being the sixty-eighth.[1] Anselm and Gilbert became intimate friends, and the influence of the elder man's thought is evident in the writings of the younger.[2] Gilbert's mother, we are told, was wont to call Anselm her son, and her children to regard him as their elder brother. When Lanfranc, who from being Prior of Bec had, by the choice of William the Conqueror, been raised to the See of Canterbury, sent for Gilbert to attend him in England, Anselm in a letter still extant deplores his separation from his friend; and in another, five years later, congratulates him warmly on his elevation to the dignity of abbot of Westminster, where he subsequently visited him as his guest. In 1093 Anselm himself was called while in England to succeed Lanfranc as archbishop; but of the sixteen years during which he held that office, six were spent in exile; during the remaining ten, however, he was domiciled in the same country as his beloved Gilbert.

Of Gilbert's writings Armitage Robinson's monograph contains the full text of two, a Life of Herluin, and a treatise *de Simoniacis*, besides extracts from a work *de Spiritu Sancto* and from some minor theological tracts, as well as a set of verses addressed to Anselm abroad. It also gives an account of his *Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano*. This dialogue, based, as it would seem, on actual discussions between the author and a learned Jew, educated at Mainz, his acquaintance with whom had first arisen from business relations, but who became a frequent visitor to the abbot, was during the Middle Ages the most popular of Gilbert's works. It is printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, t. clix. The parallel Dialogue between a Christian and a heathen is now for the first time printed in full. Some description of it is to be found in Armitage Robinson's *Gilbert Crispin*;[3]

[1]) The list, printed from a MS. in the Vatican, is in M. Rule, *Life and times of St. Anselm*, London 1883, i 394.

[2]) See the parallels given in the apparatus of the text.

[3]) Pp. 73 ff.

and in my *Studies in the History of Natural Theology*[1] I have myself given an account of its contents at somewhat greater length. It purports to have originated in a debate held at a philosophical club which met in a house, presumably in London, to which Gilbert was taken through a baffling maze of streets. To quote what I have already written in the passage to which I have just referred, "It is plain that it is of considerable interest as showing us a disciple of Anselm in an atmosphere of free discussion, different from any in which Anselm is likely to have found himself. For I think it quite possible, especially in view of the well-known reputation of the reigning sovereign, William Rufus, as a freethinker both in religion and ethics, that Gilbert Crispin may be believed when he tells us of such a philosophical society as existing in the London of his day." Even when I wrote these words, I felt, I admit, more surprise than they indicate at the details of the picture which I nevertheless at the time accepted as being generally true to fact. But the following essay on St. Anselm and Gilbert Crispin by Mr. R. W. Southern of Balliol College, Oxford, has convinced me that the obstacles to such an acceptance are greater than I then supposed and that his suggestion that the whole account of the dispute at the inn is to be interpreted allegorically is probably correct. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the many valuable additional notes with which the same scholar has enriched the text hereafter offered to the reader, increasing thereby the usefulness of this first edition of the whole *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili*.

A remarkable testimony to the fame of Gilbert Crispin as a theologian some thirty years after his death may be found in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*.[2] During the session of the Council of Rheims in 1148, St. Bernard in a private conference at his own lodging sought to obtain the consent of a number of influential persons to certain dogmatic statements which he held Gilbert de la Porrée, Bishop of Poitiers, to have contravened and to deserve on that account condemnation by the Council. Three such had been accepted by those present and their assent recorded. John then proceeds as follows:

[1]) Oxford, 1915, pp. 94 ff.

[2]) Ed. Poole, pp. 19-20.

Quarto loco subintulit quod *quoniam Deus simplex est, et quicquid in Deo est, Deus est, proprietates personarum sunt ipse persone*, et quod *Pater est paternitas, Filius filiatio, Spiritus est processio, et e converso*. Que cum similiter prioribus excepta essent et interrogata, surgens archidiaconus quidam Catalaunensis, scilicet magister Robertus de Bosco, et tam uoce quam manu silentium impetrans, petiit huius responsionis dilationem. Audierat enim, ut dicebat, in scolis clarissimorum doctorum Anselmi et Radulfi Laudunensium hoc fuisse quesitum, sed ab eis minime receptum est, quia uerebantur transgredi terminos quos posuerant patres. Sed nec Gilbertus Universalis qui post fuit episcopus Lundonensis nec Alberic Remensis qui post in archiepiscopatum Biturie sublimatus est, hoc ob eandem causam admittere uoluit. Nam et istos audierat et super hoc interrogaverat. Item, ut aiebat, omnibus hiis litteratior uisus est Gillebertus abbas Westmonasterii prope Lundoniam, qui hoc nunquam concedere adquieuit. Consuluit ergo ut in re tanta non precipitarent sententiam, presertim cum ab hac diffinitione tanti uiri abstinuerint interrogati, et dominus papa presens esset et ecclesia Romana; et ad illam conuenerant qui prestantiores esse uidebantur in orbe Latino. Paritum est consilio eius, conuentu sic soluto.

The eminence of the teachers to whom our Gilbert is here preferred shows that he must at the time have enjoyed a reputation and authority as a learned divine far beyond that which has since attached to his name.

II. TEXT

Disputatio Christiani cum gentili de fide Christi edita a Gilleberto abbate Westmonasterii.

A duobus philosophis sumpta erat disputatio de unius Dei cultu et uere fidei unitate. Noueram locum, sed non presumebam ire, quia multus erat et uarius exitus uie. Summonuit me quidam illuc ire et uere fidei assertiones audire. Obtendi meam debilitatem, totque uiarum dubiam michi uarietatem. Promisit ducatum, porrexit manum et amica me violentia cepit tradere post se. Tandem uenimus ad diuersorium quod uidebamus. Intrauit ille domum, quia erat de intraneis: extra remansi, quia eram de extraneis. Circa hostium consedi, quia eram notus de hostiariis uni. Considebant ibi plures litterati homines et, ut michi uidebatur, logice discipline studentes. Nam questio ista inter eos tunc erat quo modo sit accipiendum quod Aristotiles ait: *Non existentibus primis substantiis impossibile est aliquid aliorum esse*. Porphirius enim et alii astruunt philosophi quod ea que sunt indiuidua non tollunt secum species et genera, species uero ac genera tollunt secum indiuidua. Indiuidua dicit Aristotiles esse primas substantias, et secundas substantias dicit esse species et genera. Altera inter duos alios iuxta me habebatur questio, uidelicet utrum grammatica sit logica. Nam si grammatica non sit logica, non erunt tres logice artis species, nec septem liberales artes. Sed constitutiue partes cuiusque generis sunt constitutiue partes speciei eiusdem generis. Inuentio et iudicium sunt constitutiue partes logice; erunt igitur grammatice, aut grammatica non erit species logice. At de inuentione et iudicio in disciplinis grammatice nusquam fit sermo. Grammatica itaque non uidetur ars esse naturalis, nec logica, nec ars liberalis. Harum questionum expectabam solutionem, sed mox melioris cause suscepimus actionem. Ecce ab eis qui erant intus uenit ad nos qui eramus foris persona digna speciei. Paucis et grauibus uerbis silentium iussit fieri et ut intenti ac debita reuerentia que intus dicebantur audierimus imperauit. Propius accessi, intro aspexi, et introii. Sermo erat inter duos magne fame sed diuerse secte philosophos. Unus erat Gentilis et Christiane fidei sub rationis executione callidus impugnator; alter erat e contra ueris assertionibus eiusdem fidei expugnator. Sic itaque GENTILIS ille intulit:

Vos Christiani appellatis nos irrationales, sed non sumus, sicut dicitis, omnino rationis expertes. Poete nostri, ut scientia elocutionis ⟨se⟩ exercerent, fabulose multa dixerunt, que ita esse non crediderunt, immo aliter esse docuerunt; non quidem apud uulgus, quod pecudum more nil preter sensibilia nouit, sed apud eos qui rationi uacant et inquirende ueritati, qui sensum ab imaginatione et imaginationem a ratione discernunt, et super hec omnia Dei Creatoris intelligentiam esse credunt, que falli non potest ulla consideratione, nec immutari ulla communicatione. Ista considerare debet ac potest homo, quia uti ratione potest ac debet homo. Ratio est ea uis animi que iustum ab iniusto discernit. Iustitia est dare ac ser⟨vare⟩ cuique quod suum est. Ad eum igitur a quo est homo exigit ratio ut homo referat hoc ipsum, quia est homo. Querat itaque hoc, qua de causa sit factus, et uidebit quo Factor sit amore dignus. Nam si homini aliquando et alicubi aliud esse non reseruatur, omnino miserabile esse homini conseruatur. Brevi uiuit tempore, repletur multis miseriis; quibuslibet divitiis abundat, tandem desinit esse.

1 cum: cō *cod.* 11 studentes: studens *cod.*

12-59,1 *Cat.* 2b5.

11 esse: est *cod.* 11 longica *cod.* 14 intendi *cod.* 20 exercerunt *cod.*

5-11 cf. H. DE S. VICTORE, *Didasc.* II 30, p. 46 seq. Buttimer; J. SARISBERIENSIS, *Metal.* II 1, p. 60. 15 Webb. 12-3 cf. RODULFUS, *Libellus primus de nesciente et sciente* (cod. Laud misc. 363, fol. 78, de quo vide M.A.R.S. I 14-17): "Sunt autem multi homines etiam Christiani moribus et uita fere similes bestiis qui etiam hoc ipsum utrum deus sit dubitant, nec aliud quam que oculis uidentur esse existimant", et GILBERTUS, *Disputatio de anima*, cit. M.A.R.S. I 15, n. 2. 27 Ratio: cf. ISID., *Etym.* XI 1, 13. Iustitia: vid. F. SENN, *De la justice et du droit*, Paris, 1927, pp. 3, 48-54.

CHRISTIANUS. Ea que dicis, ut homo se totum ad Deum referat qui fecit eum, Scriptura nobis a Deo data dicit: *Deum*, inquit, *time et mandata eius obserua: hoc est omnis homo.* Ad hoc enim factus est homo, ut se ad Deum referat, eum diligat et timeat, eiusque obseruet mandata. Ista dum facit homo, ratione utitur et conditionis eius causas exequitur.

GENTILIS. Semel accipe dictum: Leges ac litteras uestras non recipio, nec sumptas ab eis auctoritates accipio. Nec tu quidem meas recipis, nec ullam auctoritatem sumo ab eis. Legis enim Moysi et euangelii Iesu Christi unus et idem auctor existit, sicut uos Christiani asseritis. Quia ergo uestre et illorum littere ab uno auctore sunt date, pari assensu et uos illorum legi parere et illi uestre legi deberent oboedire. At Iudei legem Christianorum non seruant, sed oppugnant; nec Christiani legem Iudeorum obseruant, sed iam superuacue eam obseruari contendunt et disputant. Propterea quisque uestrum legis sue sibi tollit aput nos testimonium. Itaque, omissa Scripturarum uestrarum auctoritate, ex equo disputemus pari oratione.

CHRISTIANUS. Omittamus igitur Scripturarum nostrarum auctoritatem, donec congruam det nobis Deus inde agendi facultatem. Iudicem sequamur rationem et ad nostrum redeamus primum sermonem. Sectantes rationem corde credimus et ore confitemur unum Deum esse et non plures Deos esse. Si enim concedimus Deitati posse attribui pluralitatem, concedi oportet infinitam posse attribui numerositatem. Quod esse non potest. Nam Deus est quo nichil maius ac melius sit, et quod super omnia est. Plura uero esse non possunt quorum unumquodque sit quo nichil maius ac melius sit, et quod super omnia sit. Itaque unus Deus est, ad quem solum cogit ratio ut te totum referas, animi tui totis uiribus eum ames et timeas. Non et poete uestri scripserunt Deum a timore appellari? Si ergo Dei timor te optinuerit et eius amor te possederit, uoluntati eius uoluntas tua tota suberit, et mandata eius seruabis. Si obseruas, quia iuste facis, dictante iustitia premium habebis. Si seruare nolueris, quia iniuste facis, iuste punieris. Sic enim iustum est ut det Deus unicuique quod suum est et quisque Deo det quod suum est.

GENTILIS. Multa michi occurrunt aduersus ista. Inquis: Deus est unus, Creator uniuersitatis est unus, sectande moralitatis institutor est unus; sic et eius sanctio semper eadem esse debet et incommunicabilis. At circa eum sepe fit rerum transmutatio et *uicissitudinis obumbratio* et uaria mandatorum sanctio, si uera sint que leguntur in Veteri quod dicitis Testamento. Nam litterae uestre sunt apud nos, sicut et nostre sunt aput nos. Ea auctoritate qua uos legitis nostras, ea

11 non seruant: non seruat *cod.* 15 disputamus *cod.* 20 infinita *cod.* 25 attimore *cod.* 31 sectante *cod.*

2-3 Eccl. XII 13. 9 illorum *sc.* Iudaeorum. 18-23 cf. ANSELMUS, *De incarn. verbi*, c. 4, PL 158 col. 274. 21 quo nichil maius et melius sit: cf. p. 61, 26. 25 Deum a timore appellari: *quasi Deus a* δέος; cf. ISIDORUS, Etymol. vii 1,5. 32-16, 15 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano*, PL 159 col. 1010-12. 33 Jac. I 17.

et nos auctoritate legimus uestras. Veritas enim et ratio a nullo refutanda est. Redeamus ad incepta. In libro *Psalmorum* uestrorum ita scriptum habetis: *Hec est mutatio dextere Excelsi:* et in gestis que leguntur aput uos id uerum esse probatis. Ad hoc. Sicut dicitis, Deus dedit legem Moysi, et eam legem per omnia seruari constituit; et post multa tempora, sicut dicitis, Deus ipse homo factus legem suscepit ipsam, per omnia seruavit, per omnia seruandam esse commendauit. Euangeliorum libros sepe audiuimus. In Euangeliis illis est scriptum quod Christus dixit: *Non ueni legem soluere, sed adimplere. Amen dico uobis, iota unum aut unus apex non preteribit a lege, donec omnia fiant.* Nulla non fieri promisit, sed omnia fieri instituit. Vos uero Christiani, Christi discipuli, legem quam Christus seruauit non seruatis, immo seruandam non esse disputatis, quamuis legem uos per omnia seruare omni animositate contenditis. Sed nil ad nos hec altercatio et dissensio, nisi quod et circa istas immutationes multa est *immutatio dextere Excelsi*, quod omnino alienum est ab excellentia Dei, cum sit Deus semper idem et omnino immutabilis. Gentiles quidem sumus et pagani et, ut dicitis, a Deo alieni; sed ista que dixi et multa alia huiusmodi remouent nos a fide uestra et a cultu Dei uestri.

CHRISTIANUS. Quia Deus est unus, noster ac uester Deus non sunt duo Dii sed unus Deus. Unum Deum esse credimus, confitemur, et omni ueritatis assertione astruimus; uos etiam idem nobiscum sapitis, quia nobis ratio ipsa monstrat plures Deos esse non posse. Patere, rogo, ingenii mei tarditatem ut tuam exequatur uoluntatem. Cede paulisper fidei, nam cedendo fidei, uenies ad cognitionem tante rei. In studiis quoque artium liberalium cedunt auctoritati qui ad studium accedunt nec permittitur eis ut statim contendant, opponant et obtendant, donec circa rerum ipsarum notitiam aliquantisper affecti querere ac respondere melius sciant et possint. Deus, inquam, est quo nichil melius est. Hoc et tu ipse contestaris. Necesse ergo est ut quod Deus facit tale sit ut in genere suo melius esse non possit. Fecit ergo hominem qui peccare et non peccare posset. Maioris enim prestantie est posse peccare et non peccare et liberum habendo arbitrium se ad utrumlibet habere quam solummodo alterum posse. Denique prestantioris essentie est posse uti et non uti ratione. Alterum habet se ad utrumque, alterum se habet solummodo ad alterum. Quia uti uero ratione melius est quam non uti ratione, et homo qui poterat uti et non uti ratione, quod peius esse sciebat facit, quod melius esse sciebat non fecit, iuste a Deo poenam meruit. Quod enim dixisti, miserandam esse conditionem hominis, qui non peccare non potuit, non ideo est miseranda, quia non peccare potuit et peccare uoluit atque uoluntario rationis abusu peccauit. Deus autem, quo nichil melius est, si peccatum punire nollet aut

1 annullo *cod.* 6 seruanda *cod.* 12 conditis *cod.* 20 sapientis *cod.* 27 Neccesse *cod.* 37 nolet *cod.*

2 Ps. LXXVI 11. 8-9 Matt. V 17, 18.

non posset, ⟨non⟩ melior eo esset qui peccatum punire uellet et posset. Iustum enim est ut debita ultione puniatur quod iniustum est. Audi de miseranda conditione hominis, sicut dicis, ut omnino remoueatur a culpa bonus Creator hominis. Creauit hominem qualem bonus Creator hominis. Creauit hominem qualem bonus Creator debuit creare hominem, potentem uti ratione, liberum ab omni prorsus infestatione. Non moreretur nisi mori uoluntate sua promereretur. Mori posset si peccaret: sed non moreretur si non peccaret: nec peccaret, si peccare non uellet. Nichil illi non subiectum erat in mundo, nichil ullo modo illi repugnans erat in corpore suo. Hec non erat miseranda sed beata hominis conditio. Istam sibi seruare noluit. Creatori suo subditus esse noluit, non quia non potuit, sed quia non uoluit. Nichil aliud est quod pretendere possit, quia non ceca persuasio nec ulla uis illum impulit, sed se ipsum ipse uolens depulit. Que bona sibi erant seruare noluit, que noxia sibi futura esse sciebat habere uoluit et habuit. *Iustus* igitur circa hominem fuit Deus *in omnibus uiis suis*. Que uero non peccauerunt qui iustum ab iniusto discernere ⟨non⟩ potuerunt, iuste Deus perdidit propter peccatum hominis, ne eis abuteretur homo ad iniuriam Conditoris, quia Deus ea condiderat ut eis homo uteretur ad conditionis sue subsidium et Conditoris obsequium. Quod scriptum est in Psalmo: *Hec est mutatio dextere Excelsi*, non est mirum si absurdum uideretur tibi de Deo esse dictum, ut sanctionis sue mutet consilium cum sit Dei immutabile consilium. Sed non eo modo fit *mutatio dextere Excelsi*, ut aliqua mutatio uel alteratio sit circa ipsam dexteram Excelsi, sed circa aliud uidetur esse mutatio ipsa dextere Excelsi. Sumamus exemplum. Vide inde medicum, inde quem curat egrotum. Sepe iudicatur medicus aput egrotum. Lenis habetur dum palpat, lenit, unguenta ponit, crudelis appellatur dum ligat egrotum, secat et urit; et tamen eadem tranquillitate animi qua lenit, palpat et unguit, ligat, secat, et urit. Sic Deus ipse aput nos iratus esse uidetur dum peccata nostra punit et ulciscitur, pacatus esse uidetur dum parcit et miseretur aput se idem omnino existens et incommutabilis. Hanc scripturam que aput Latinos Latine ita interpretatur: *Hec est imbecillitas mea*, imbecillitatem suam dicens esse causam immutationis penes se dextere Excelsi.

Gentilis. Que hactenus dixisti concedimus esse omnino assentientia ueritati. Nam unum Deum esse et nos credimus quia plures Deos non esse nec posse esse indubitanter scimus. Ipse est Conditor uniuerse conditionis. Ipse est a quo leges atque iura et universa que seruari debent instituta. Iustus et misericors est: quia iustus est, punit quod puniendum est: quia misericors est, miseretur eius cui miserendum. Quod autem aput nos Deus quasi iniuste agens diiudicatur, ditans

3 bonis *cod.* 9 Ista *cod.* 15 poteerant *cod.* 24, 26 ligat: legat *cod.* 25 anni *cod.* 27 nostra: vestra *cod.* pacatus: peccatus *cod.* 30 dextetere *cod.* 31 actenus *cod.* assentens uitati *cod.*

13-14 Ps. XLIV 17. 18 Ps. LXXVI 10.

eum quem iudicamus iniustum, puniens eum quem iudicamus iustum, quid mirum si non uidet homo quare ita Deus facit, cuius super omnia eminens intellectus existit, ubique uerum intuens et a uero nunquam se auertens, cum etiam in iudicio sensuali et quodammodo bestiali homo sepe fallitur et aliter iudicat quam se ⟨habet⟩ rei ueritas. Sepe quod est non esse et quod non est esse contendit. Nos fallimur, ipse in nullo fallitur et, quia in nullo fallitur, peccauimus in eum dum dicimus quia fallitur. Nec illud nec multum mouet quod scriptum est: *Hec est mutatio dextere Excelsi*. Nam sicut dicis, et enucleatius dicere non est opus, non fit eo modo *mutatio dextere Excelsi* ut aliqua ullo modo fiat alteratio circa ipsam dexteram Excelsi, sed circa eos ad quos dexteram illam Deus extendere uidetur hec fit immutatio dextere Exeelsi. Mansueta atque lenis estimatur manus medici dum egrotum palpat et unguit; eadem tamen manus medici qui palpat et unguit, non mutata ad iram, secat et urit. Ita circa nos et circa Deum esse credimus, et hoc modo iudicamus fieri mutationem dextere eius. Hec, inquam, sano intellectu accipere possumus, uel ita uel alio modo quam diximus, eo tamen ut nec rationi contrarium nec diuine eminentie fiat indignum. Sed illud omnino sensui nostrorum ⟨et⟩ rationi absurdum esse uidetur, quod Deus qui dedit et confirmauit legem Moysi dedit et confirmauit euangelium Christi. Nam illa que in lege Moysi seruari mandauit sine ullo de termino temporis seruari mandauit. Sicut dixi superius, nos Gentiles litteras et leges uestras habemus, legimus et audimus. Ipse Christus uester obseruationes illas seruauit et per omnia seruari instituit. Circumcisus fuit, sabbatizauit, porcina non manducauit, pascha celebrauit. Vos uero Christiani hec iam ⟨non⟩ seruanda esse contenditis. Quando Iudei legem suam Dei auctoritate defendunt, qui ea seruari et per omnia seruari mandauit, nec ad tempus sed sine ullo de termino temporis, respondetis quia legem per omnia seruatis, sed partem ad litteram, partem ad figuram seruatis, et ipsum Christum huius immutate obseruationis mandatorum Dei auctorem esse predicatis. Quod nemo sane mentis audet credere, quia ipse Christus dixit, sicut in euangelio uestro legitis: *Non ueni legem soluere, sed adimplere*. Quis enim demens, que ratio esse concedendum hoc sineret, quod Christus ea que seruavit et sub quodam locutionis sue sacramento seruanda esse iurauit, uobis postea preciperet ut minime seruaretis, immo seruari omnino perniciosum esse predicaretis? Postquam dixit: *Nam ueni legem soluere sed adimplere*, addidit: *Amen dico uobis, iota unum aut unus apex non preteribit a lege donec omnia fiant*. Denique in ipso uestrarum litterarum canone multo de Deo absurde dicta recitatis et indigna eminentie Dei, uidelicet quod ipse Deus homo sit factus et omnes iniurias conditionis humane sit passus. Etiam de ipsa eterna Dei unitate plura non credenda predicatis, que in illa ueteri et a Deo data lege Moysi et aliis prophetis uestris nunquam ita esse scripta inuenitis. De

19 temporis de termino *cod.* 24 deo *cod.* 26 seruatis: suauitas *cod.* 28 uestre *cod.*

29 Matt. V 17. 31 sc. *Amen dico uobis:* v. infra 33-4 Matt. V 18.

ipsa simplici et ineffabili unitate Dei trinam diuersitatem predicatis, nescio quem Deum Patrem et genitum ab eo eiusdem substantie Filium et tertium nescio quem ab ipso Patre et Filio procedentem Spiritum, quem item dicitis Deum et Deo Patri ⟨ac⟩ Deo Filio coeternum et consubstantialem Deum: et quia tres Deos dicere nefarium esse scitis, quando dicitis de illa trinitate: *Deus est Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus*, quasi corrigendo errorem subditis: *Et tamen non tres Dii sunt, sed unus est Deus*. Que, inquam, necessitas est ad salutem anime has disputationum cauillationes inferre et simplicis ingenii homines hac occasione in errorem impellere? Nam sicut dicitis: *Qui ista non crediderit, saluus esse non poterit*: cum in lege scriptum est: *Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est*. Rogo, ad ista responde, ut ad cetera fidei uestre sacramenta expeditius possim accedere. Nam ista multum impediunt me.

CHRISTIANUS. Quod queris a me, nos ipsi sepenumero querimus aput nos. Nec paucis potest ista disceptatio uerbis fieri. Respondebimus tamen duce ratione quod satis tibi erit, prout Deus nobis dederit. Verum est quod Deus dedit legem Moysi ut Moyses eam daret populo Dei. Omnis quidem populus populus Dei est, quia omnis populus a Deo est: nam omne quod est a Deo est; sed propterea populus ille populus Dei appellatur, quia Deum colebat, Deo seruiebat, quod alii per mundum non faciebant. Quare uero illum populum sibi Deus assumpsit, illum uel illum alterum sibi non assumpsit? Extrema huius questionis solutio est ista. De massa luti facit figulus hoc uel illud uas quale uult, hoc ad gloriam, aliud ad contumeliam. De massa perditionis cui uult Deus miseretur, qui nulli, si uellet, misereretur. Cui non uult parcere non parcit, sed dampnat qui omnes, si uellet, iustitia dictante dampnaret. Tamen cui miseretur, iuste miseretur, et cui non miseretur iuste non miseretur, sed occulta nobis existunt iudicia Dei. Rationalem, inquam, creauit Deus hominem, sed quia homo ratione abutebatur, dedit Deus legem et scripsit, et per manum Moysi dedit eam populo suo, quem dixit, ut positus homo sub iugo legis faceret uel coactus terrore supplicii quod facere debuerat libera uoluntate boni animi. Vos ipsi ciuiles habetis institutiones et scriptos de conseruanda republica libros, in quibus bonis premia, prauis cruces et alia sunt constituta supplicia, ut qui bonus ciuis esse nollet, prauus ciuis esse timeret. In illa lege Dei, quia a Deo data fuit, quandam dilectionem Dei et fidei ueritatem aperte commendant et instruunt, quedam iura et, ut ita dicam, ciuilia insinuant et seruanda esse commendant. Quedam aperte dicta, quedam quodam et grandi uelamine sunt operta, ne gens contumax ea seruare contemneret que misteriorum adumbratione constituenda erant, sed diligentius quare hoc ita precipiebatur quereret et studiosius obseruaret. Que enim leui locutionis modo precipiuntur pro paruo estimanda esse uidentur; que uero graui austeritate im-

9 implere *cod.* 19 mundo *cod.* 19 fiebant *cod.* 21 masasa *cod.* 23 non miseretur *cod.*

5-7, 9 Symbol. Athanasianum. 10 Deut. VI 4. 21 cf. Rom. IX 21.

ponuntur maiori metu et cura seruantur, nec tam cito obliuioni et incurie traduntur. *Populus ille dure cervicis* et praui cordis fuit, et ideo graue iugum legis imponere eis necesse fuit. *Non fuit creditus cum Deo spiritus eius*, et irritatus ab eis Deus sepe omnino auersus est ab eis. Nec illa lex fuit data uniuersis per mundum populis, sed uni tantum genti que erat semen Abrahe quia fuit ⟨de⟩ semine Abrahe. Omnia ergo que in lege illa seruabantur et nunc seruantur atque ⟨in⟩ perpetuum digne seruabuntur; que aperte dicta erant, aperte et sine ullo figure tegmine manent obseruanda: que occultis tegminibus erant operte, sublatis uelaminibus remanent manifesta et tunc et nunc plenissime obseruantur, sed tunc in enigmate, nunc in specie. Nam ubi rerum sub enigmate existentium ueritas uenit, superuacue iam seruaretur figura uenture ueritatis prenuntia. Sub talibus rerum figuris tunc denuntianda atque obseruanda erant, ne gens lapidei cordis et incredula uilia estimaret tanta salutis humane misteria. Unum de pluribus uideamus exemplum. Quando eis loquebatur Moyses, ponebat uelamen ante faciem suam, ne populus uideret faciem Moysi, et populo uidebatur quia cornuta erat facies Moysi. Velamen ponebat quia non intelligebat populus quod dicebatur. Cornuta eis videbatur facies Moysi quia terribilia erant mandata Moysi. Nunc uero, quando legitur Moyses aput nos, uelamen nullum ponitur, quia aperte intelligimus que dicuntur. In lege illa precepit que dicuntur. In lege illa precepit Deus populo illi ne manducaret porcina. Porcus est animal non minus salubre ad uescendum quam hyrcus, aries uel taurus, sed, quia significat peccatum quod pre omnibus peccatis perniciosum est, prohibetur in lege ne aliquis eorum comedat pecus illud per quod significatur omnino uitandum peccatum istud. Peccare enim non est aliud quam Dei mandatum transgredi et contemnere. Qui peccat, uerum ad memoriam mandata Dei reducit, quod est quodammodo ruminare, et ad Deum per penitentiam redit, promeretur misericordiam Dei. Sed qui peccat et hoc ipsum quia peccat contemnit, oblitus omnino mandatorum Dei, et in uolutabro peccati amat se uolutari, ad mortem peccat, quia in peccato manere mors est anime. Hoc peccatum significatur per porcum qui non ruminat, quia luteas sordes amat et in sordibus tanquam in balneis suis se uolutat. Audi adhuc. Tu ipse fecisti mentionem pasche. Agnum ergo illum paschalem qui comedebant, non mane, non per diem, sed quarta decima luna primi mensis ad uesperum comedebant, nec sedentes sed stantes comedebant et qui aliquem repercussuri baculos in manibus tenebant et tanquam mox perituri festinantes comedebant. Qui ita non comedebant, de

2 duri *cod.* 10 in: et *cod.* 22 comedat: commendat. *cod.* 32 commedebant *cod.* 34 comedebat *cod.*

2 Deut. IX 13. 3 Ps. LXXVII 8. 9 cf. I Cor. XIII 8. 12 cf. Ezech. XI 19. 14-16 cf. Exod. XXXIV 29 seqq. 16 cf. II Cor. III 13 seqq. 19 cf. Lev. XI 7: II Macc. VII 18 19-23 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano*, PL 159 col. 1012-3. 31 cf. Exod. XII 6, 11. 34 cf. Exod. XII 15, 19.

populo suo periturus erat. Quis alicuius mentis ista contemnere presumeret? Quis alicuius intelligentie de talibus non miratur et non inuestigat quare agnus ille hoc modo manducatur et qui ita non manducat quare dampnatur? Ita de pluribus aliis intelligitur hoc ipsum, quia legis et prophetarum enigmata spiritu-
5 aliter implerentur, quia cessaret umbra, ubi plenitudine temporis a Deo preordinata ueniente ueritatis adesset presentia. In lege et in prophetis habemus denuntiatum in pluribus locis. Audi super hoc Scripturarum testimonia, non quidem ut adquiescas, donec Dei te subigat uoluntas, sed ut audias, sicut dicimus in lege et prophetis testimonia ista esse scripta. Quadringentis annis antequam
10 ipsa lex Moysi data est credidit Abraham Deo et in Deum, et reputatum est ei ad iustitiam, hoc est, fide iustificatus est. Ut enim breuiter dicam, homo non iustificatur ex lege, sed ex fide, sicut Abraham iste et multi alii ante eum iustificati sunt ex fide. Ad duritiam enim cordis eorum comprimendam datus est eis magna austeritatis pedagogus lex illa Moysi de qua loquimur. Redeamus ad incepta. Ad
15 hunc itaque Abraham dixit Deus, loquens de circumcisione, que in lege prima et maxima erat observatio: *Hoc est pactum quod obseruabis inter me et te et semen tuum post te. Circumcidetur ex nobis omne masculum.* Soli illi genti hoc precipiebatur, que pars millesima populorum uix habebatur. Ipsa quoque erat euacuanda. Unde post Abraham Iacob patriarcha ait: *Non deficiet princeps et dux de Iuda donec ueniat*
20 *qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.* Denuntiat esse mittendum in cuius aduentu cessaret regnum illud et sacerdotium. Expectature eum erant gentes quia in ipso, sicut ⟨ad⟩ Abraham ipse noster predixerat, benedicende erant et benedicte sunt omnes gentes. Inde Dauid, magnus quidam uir et propheta, sic prophetauit: *Reminiscentur et conuertentur ad Dominum uniuersi fines terre.* Non
25 exclusit semen Abrahe ubi addidit: *omnes fines terre:* quod clarius exposuit subdendo: *Adorabunt eum uniuerse familie gentium.* Nam ex ipsis Iudeis reliquie salue fient.

GENTILIS. Rogo ne ultra procedas, donec ad quesita respondeas. Quod quero si enodaueris, facile ultra ire poteris. In Veteri quod dicitis Testamento nulla
30 est dissonantia Scripturarum, sed ubique idem sonant lex et prophete. Sic⟨ut⟩ dixi superius, habemus litteras uestras et eas sepe legimus. Nouum quod appellatis Testamentum (quia ut dicitis, *uetera transierunt, ecce facta sunt omnia noua*) et ab illo ueteri sacro et diuino testamento multum discordat, et ab inuicem discordant libri uestri et librorum expositores et magistri uestri in multis locis, tam in
35 hystoriis quam in tractatibus uestre fidei, et maxime de simplici et eterna unitate Dei. Aliquando unum, aliquando trinum esse predicatis, quia tres Deos esse ali-

6 improphetis *cod.* 7 impluribus *cod.* 23 prophetas *cod.* 25 addedit *cod.* 29 quod dicitis vetus testamentum *cod.*

9 cf. Rom. IV; Gal. III 17. 13 cf. Matt. XIX 8. 13 Gal. III 17. 16-17 Gen. XVII 10. 19-20 Gen. XLIX 10. 22 Gen. XII 3; cf. XXII 18. 24 Ps. XXI 18. 32 II Cor. V 17.

quando dicitis, quamuis plures Deos esse nullo modo conceditis. Sed hac interim omissa questione de uestra fide et de confusa librorum uestrorum uarietate, legis sacre mandata que scripta sunt quare non seruatis ad litteram? Quis Deus ea prohibuit seruare ad litteram? Christus uester, quem Deum uestrum dicitis, ea seruauit ad litteram, nec usquam ab eius obseruatione exclusit litteram. Nullus
5 uestrum audet dedicere: 'Hoc in loco uel illo iussit Deus ut litteram legis non seruaretis'; quia nusquam inuenietis. Seruate ergo mandatum Dei uestri ad litteram; seruate et ad spiritualem intelligentiam. Neutrum enim impediuit alterum. Numquid uos ampliorem quam Christus circa illa mandata latentium mysteriorum habetis intelligentiam? Eam seruauit ad litteram. Quia ergo *non est seruus maior*
10 *domino suo*, ad iniuriam Dei uestri hanc presumitis dogmatizare ⟨in⟩ obseruantiam. Ista quidem legis et litterarum uestrarum altercans confusio plus pertinet ad uos, qui utrumque Dei uestri recipitis testamentum, quam ad nos, qui nec istud nec illud recipimus testamentum. Hoc unum indubitanter scio, quia, si qua est apud nos Dei nostri sanctio, ad libitum meum eam interpretari nefas esse non nescio. Si
15 ergo Christianus fierem, numquid sanctiones Christi ad libitum meum fas michi esset interpretari? Nec uos istud michi concedis nec ego alii. Magna in Deum iniuria prout uolumus interpretari et seruare eius mandata, cum manifeste littera monstrat que sit iussionis eius euidentia. Nec mirum si hanc in Deum irrogatis iniuriam qui eum predicatis, carnem factum, humanas subisse omnes contumelias.
20 De ciuitate in ciuitatem ⟨eum⟩ dicitis fugisse, famem et sitim pertulisse, pretio uili uenditum a suis et captum a Iudeis fuisse, uerberatum, spinis coronatum, cum latronibus in cruce suspensum, clauis affixum, a deridentibus modis multis derisum, tandem sic occisum. Non dico Dei, sed que hominis hec potentia? Quem dicitis omnipotentem, ostenditis omnino impotentem. Tacenda potius
25 esset hec passionis hystoria quam alicui sane mentis homini insinuanda, nedum per orbem uniuersum predicanda. De eo hec insinuare et predicare potius est famam eius derogare quam gloriam nominis eius dilatare.

CHRISTIANUS. Multa uoluntas mea erat inde loqui, etiam si patientia tua sustinuisset me inde non loqui. Respondebo, sed ordinem non seruabo, quia de
30 simplici et eterna unitate Dei tutius loqui solemus inter domesticos fidei. Fies

9 mysterium *cod.* 31 fides *cod.*

10-11 Joh. XIII 16. 19-24 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano* (PL 159 col. 1018): Ad haec si Deus est quo nihil maius sive sufficientius cogitari potest, qua necessitate coactus humanae calamitatis particeps et tantorum factus est consors et patiens malorum?; ANSELM. *Cur Deus homo* I 3 (PL 158 col. 364): Obiciunt nobis deridentes simplicitatem nostram infideles, quia Deo facimus iniuriam et contumeliam, cum eum asserimus in uterum mulieris descendisse, natum esse de femina, lacte et alimentis humanis nutritum crevisse, et, ut multa alia taceam, quae Deo non videntur convenire, lassitudinem, famem, sitim, verbera et inter latrones crucem mortemque sustinuisse. 31 cf. *Disp. Iudaei um Christiano* (PL 159 col. 1026): Sed quoniam inter fideles solos de unitate Deitatis ac personarum trinitatis in Deitatis unitate sermo habendus est . . . procedamus ad reliqua de Christo scripturarum testimonia.

aliquando et tu ipse de domo fidei et familiarius intrabis in secretiora domus Dei. Nouum, inquam, Testamentum a Veteri non discordat, quia hoc nunquam iubet fieri quod illud iubet non fieri. Aliud enim de una et eadem re loqui diuersa consideratione et aliud est de eadem re eadem consideratione contraria sentire. Unum enim horum fieri potest, alterum non potest. Hoc in multis sacre illius legis sanctionibus necessario sepe fit quod de eadem re agitur diuersis consideratio nibus. Dicit Moyses in Genesi (liber est quem ipse Moyses appellat Genesim): *Vidit Deus*, inquit, *cuncta que fecerat, et erant ualde bona* et humanis usibus a Deo attributa. Manducauit ergo Abraham, de quo superius locuti sumus, quia credidit Deo et reputatum est ei ad iustitiam, quod ei bonum est ad uescendum manducauerunt et alii iusti uiri qui fuerunt ante eum que eis bona erant ad uescendum. Ratio eis erat lex et institutio uite. Circumcisi non erant; que eis bona erant ad uescendum, auctore Deo creatore, comedebant: sabbatum non seruabant, pascha non faciebant, et tamen fide iusti erant credendo in Deum et spirituali obseruatione obseruando quod significatur per exteriorem carnis circumcisionem et per legalem sabbati obseruationem et per pasche figuratam comestionem. Post quadringentos uero annos ab ipso Abraham, quia gens ipsa semen Abraham et omnes gentes ad malum declinauerant et ipsa hominis ratione abusi iumentis insipientibus similes facti erant, ut aliquo metu coercerentur a malo legem dedit Deus populo illi et populum suum populum illum appellauit. Quedam aperte commendauit, quedam magnis quibusdam uelaminibus operuit, ne patefacta ueritas illis in contemptu esset, et ad declinandum pronior illa inde fieret, donec a Deo preordinata plenitudo temporis ueniret et non solum gens illa sed omnes populi ad Creatorem suum redirent, in eum crederent, sublatis uelaminibus legis et prophetarum fidei ueritatem susciperent, quia non ex lege sed ex fide salus est gentibus. Pedagogus erat lex illa horrendam exercens uindictam nullam ulli impedens misericordiam. Tandem uenit tempus misericordie; uenit, sicut audisti superius, expectatio gentium, in cuius aduentu cessauit regnum illud et sacerdotium. Venit ille propheta de quo in lege Moyses sic predixerat: *Prophetam uobis suscitabit Dominus de fratribus uestris tanquam me; ipsum audite.* Quia est homo, suscipe tanquam me; quia est ⟨Deus⟩, plus quam ⟨me⟩ ipsum audite. Venit semen illud Abrahe, de quo dixerat Dominus ⟨ad⟩ Abraham: In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes terre. Semen illud Christus est quem, sicut dicitis, Deum nostrum esse dicimus, et Dominum nostrum esse credimus, et Deum uniuerse rerum conditionis esse predicamus. Ad eum conuertuntur uniuersi fines terre, adorabunt eum uniuerse familie gentium, quia neque circumcisio neque preputium, sed fides que per dilectionem operatur, iustificat hominem. Fide

1 fidei: dei *cod.* 8 inquid *cod.* 14 faciabant *cod.* 26 orrendam *cod.*

8 Gen. I 31. 10 cf. Gal. VI 10. 10 cf. Gen. III 6. 19 Ps. XLVIII 21.
23 cf. Gal. IV 4. 30-1 Deut. XVIII 15; Act. App. III 22. 36-7 cf. Gal. V 6.

iustificati sunt qui ante legem fuerunt, fide iustificati sunt qui sub lege fuerunt, fide iustificantur qui post legem iustificantur; quia non ex operibus sed ex fide iusti omnes iustificantur. Et quia *nil ad perfectum adduxit lex*, sed propter duritiam cordis eorum impositum est legis graue et importabile iugum, ubi subintrauit ad fidem Dei plenitudo gentium, ne scandalum et dissensio fieret inter Gentilem et Iudeum de obseruatione ceremoniarum, maxime quia potior pars fidelium erat ex gentibus, cessauit legis obseruatio ad litteram, quia uenerat et impleta erat spiritualis cerimoniarum intelligentia, que diu demonstrata erat per littere allegoriam. Hoc modo legis sanctio plenissime a Christianis obseruatur omni modo. Nouum Testamentum a Veteri non discordat, sed ubique si competenter intelligentur, concordat, nec in Nouo Testamento ulla sibi contrarietas occurrit, nec ipsi expositores nostri in his que ad fidei pertinent ueritatem dissentiunt a se ipsis, sicut patebit si cum pace audire uolueris. A⟨d⟩ hec. Mul⟨tis⟩ exigentibus causis et rationibus lex ad litteram seruanda non erat. Si enim ex necessitate unum ueteris legis mandatum imponeretur, euacuaretur fides, que ad salutem omnino necessaria est, quia sine fide nulli homini salus est. Denique per totum orbem terrarum inter fideles dissensio et scandalum gigneretur, pax et unitas tolleretur, et quod nullo modo adimpleri posset omni modo ad perniciem animarum inchoaretur. Itaque sicut unus est Deus et una fides, ita ab uniuersis unum seruatur fidei sacramentum, scilicet baptisma, per quod abluitur originale peccatum. Sicut eni⟨m⟩ caro exterius abluitur, ita interius anima in Deum credendo mundatur, quod in lege per circumcisionem significabatur. Hanc humani generis salutem procurauit aduentus Christi, ab exordio mundi prenuntiatus, per tot tempora expectatus, tandem in fine temporum consummatus. Hoc sacramentum significabat ille paschalis agnus qui ad uesperum immolabatur.

GENTILIS. Satis sufficienter michi ad multa respondisti. Nouum et Vetus Testamentum a se non dissentire sed per omnia unum sentire elaborate satis et aperte ostendisti. Extremus labor restat, ut pro Deo respondeas. Vel tu contumeliosus in Deum existis qui Deum hominem factum esse dicis et humane conditionis calamitates uniuersas eum pertulisse fateris et predicas, uel ipse Deus, sicut dicis, secum dissidens iniuriosus sibi omnino fit, qui, cum sit Deus, miser et miserabilis homo fieri uoluit, nec ullas indignitates pati renuit. Istud qui concesserit, omnia que dicuntur de eminentia Dei prorsus evacuabit. Eternus non est qui sub tempore factus est; immortalis non est qui tante impotentie obnoxius est. Deridetis poetam qui, capto et succenso Ilio, scribit Eneam tulisse sacros Penates ab incendio qui postea regnauerunt et imperialem urbem Romam postea condiderunt.

CHRISTIANUS. Audi, rogo, et salutis tue causa audi me toleranti animo.

10 ubi *cod.* 12 uarietatem *cod.*

3 Heb. VII 19. 5 Rom. XI 25. 35 poetam, *sc.* Vergilium.

Dicimus Deum hominem esse factum, non quia desiit esse quod erat, conuersus in id quod non erat, desinens uidelicet esse Deus homo factus, sicut albus desinit esse albus niger factus; sed eo modo homo factus quo dicimus quod homo non habens arma sumendo arma fit armatus, quamuis non sumit arma in unitatem persone sed omnino aliena a communione sue substantie et persone. At Deus hominem sumpsit in unitatem persone, salua incommutabiliter proprietate utriusque nature. Multis enim modis rerum alterationes sepe fiunt et in subiecto et circa subiectum. In subiecto corpore erat albedo dum corpus erat album; pereunte albedine in eodem subiecto corpore accidens nigredo facit corpus nigrum quod fuerat album. Anima est leta dum animo inest letitia, fit tristis pereunte letitia dum eidem animo superueniendo inest tristitia. Circa sedentem fit dexter qui ad dexteram eius sedet et huic ille sinister; surgente eo et ad sinistram illius residente fit ille sinister sedenti, sedens illi dexter; circa sedentem uero nulla rei accidentis superuenit alteratio. Nudus quando fit indutus nulla in subiecto fit accidentis alicuius alteratio, sed circa subiectum fit alterationis huius considerati. Deus ergo factus est homo in unitatem persone assumendo humanitatem, nullam omnino deitati inferens substantie sue alterationem, quamuis assumpte humanitati propter unitatem persone diuinam omnino intulerit magnitudinem. Hominem illum Deum, inquam, hoc modo hominem factum dicimus esse Christum, mortalem quia homo est, immortalem quia Deus est. *Habitauit in nobis*, quia secundum assumptum humanitatis tegumentum potuit habitare in nobis. Hoc assumpsit pro nobis magna necessitate, non sua sed nostra, magna bonitate sua, non nostra. Perierat homo et iure perierat quia perire omni modo meruerat. Nulli enim nec amenti credendum esse uidetur quod Deus hominem fecerit talem qualem suo delicto seipsum fecit homo. Posuit enim Deus homini debitum conditionis ordinem ut homo esset sub Deo, quia erat conditus a Deo, Deus imperaret, homo pareret. Noluit homo ordinem istum seruare, quia quod ⟨Deus⟩ imperauit noluit obseruare. Noluit sub Deo esse, quia similis Deo uoluit esse; et, quoniam ordinem quem appetebat optinere non potuit, quem habebat seruare non uoluit; ad inferiorem iure detrusus fuit, comparatus iumentis insipientibus et similis factus illis, quia, cum in honore esset, non intellexit. Ab hoc infortunio et inextricabili malo, liberauit nos humanitas Christi, quia Christus in ea humanitate, quam

20 Habitauit: Habuit *cod.* 21 Hoc: Hec *cod.*

1-22 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano* (PL 159 col. 1020-1): Homo igitur factus est, non id desinens esse quod erat, sed id assumens quod non erat . . . Neque enim omnia quae aliquo modo fiunt aliud quam erant, desinunt esse id quod erant. In accidentium enim quorundam alteratione, ut cum homo niger fit albus, seu albus niger, superveniente altero, perit omnino alterum. Et cum homo fit armatus, sive exarmatus, vel ex nudo indutus, seu ex induto nudus, nihil prorsus in se sic alteratus homo vel accipit, vel amittit. Suscepit ergo Deus hominem in unitatem personae, ingenita bonitate sua, non nostra, et multa necessitate, non sua, sed nostra, et ratione magna tibique approbanda. 20-1 Joh. I 14. 27-31 cf. *Sermo in Ramis Palmarum*, infra, p. 113, ll. 21-6, 37. 30 Ps. XLVIII 13.

suscepit pro nobis, mortem sustinuit pro nobis ut per assumpte mortalitatis nostre passionem expiaret originalem noxe conditionem. Expiari oportebat peccatum per quod merueramus mortis dispendium. Sed quis de massa corrupte conditionis hoc peccatum expiaret, cum de eadem massa nec infans unius diei a peccato illo immunis est? De eadem igitur massa sine peccato corruptela oportuit nasci qui expiaret noxam illius peccati. Natus ergo est Christus de virgine, sumens unitatem substantie nostre sine fermento originalis culpe nostre in unitatem persone, humanitatem nostram uniens diuinitati sue. Peccauit itaque homo et expiauit homo. Homo in Adam peccauit, homo in Christo peccatum illud expiauit, Deus creauit hominem, Deus in Christo et per Christum recreauit hominem. Totus ergo soli Deo est obnoxius homo, ut eum timeat, diligat, et in omnibus ei obtemperet, quia et creatus atque recreatus ab eo solo est.

GENTILIS. Facere sic potuit Deus, si facere sic uoluit. Sed cum uoluntas Dei totius existentie mundi sit primordialis causa, quia *omnia quecunque uoluit fecit*, et ut uoluit fecit, quo sapientie sue consilio, cuius *sapientie non est numerus*, tam ignominiosam restitutionis humane uoluit assumere formam? Satis miseranda extitit et inconsiderate acta hominis conditio; omnino extitit dolenda eius restitutio. Argumentari soletis quod humano generi profuit et gloria fuit ignominia Dei. Numquid sapientia Dei facere non potuit aut non uoluit ut homo gloriam adipisceret et Deus ignominiam non pateretur? Unum horum fuit, et quidlibet horum Deo imposueris, ⟨ini⟩uriosus in Deum et contumeliosus eris. Ad hec. Numquid sapientia Dei facere non potuit aut non uoluit ut homo non faceret quod Deus tam miserabiliter postea ipse expiaret? Nam si expiauit homo, expiauit Deus homo, sicut uos dicitis, in unitatem persone a Deo assumptus homo. Si noluit Deus ut peccaret homo, quare non uoluit ut non peccaret homo? *Uoluntati eius quis resistit?* Nullum enim consilium, nulla fortitudo contra Deum. Fortassis uoluit Deus ut homo fieret reus, quatinus propter humane uite tot infortunia Deus homo fieret, sicut dicitis, et homo Deus. Sed uos et nos reprehendimus eos qui dicunt: Faciamus mala ut ueniant bona; quamuis de duobus malis si utrumque uel alium uitari non potest, consulimus fieri malum quod leuius est. Sed quid ad nos de gloria uel ignominia Dei in quem creditis? Vos Christiani qui in eum et in Christum creditis de gloria uel ignominia Dei et Christi inter uos agere debetis. Hoc certissime scio, quia si rei uerita⟨s⟩ sic se habet sicut dicitis, omnino ineffabilis, quia omnino inestimabilis, est circa hominem gratia Creatoris. Que, inquam, gratia ut Creator creatura fieret, Deus hominem assumeret, quatinus in assumpto homine pateretur mortem pro redimendo homine? Denique si rei

28 in fortuna *cod.*

3-12 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano*, PL 159 col. 1022-3 and *Sermo in Ramis Palmarum*, infra, pp. 114-5, ll. 65-88. 13-21 cf. *ante*, p. 67, ll. 19-24 and note. 14 Ps. CXXXV 6. 15 Ps. CXLVI 5. 26 Rom. IX 19. 29 Rom. III 8.

ueritas ita se habet, debet homo Deum diligere et toto corde, tota uirtute, et ad Deum se totum referre, quia nec etiam isto modo digne potest aliquid Deo retribuere. Si uermiculi paruitatem ad Olimpi montis quantitatem conferres, grande ridiculum universis te faceres. Que uero magnitudinis Dei ad hominis collatio? Immensa ergo circa hominem est Dei gratia. Si hominis restitutio taliter facta est a Deo, quicquid exhibere potest homo debet exhibere, et ultra quam potest exhibere, debet sine estimatione optare uelle et posse exhibere. Reuera si id facere sic Deus uoluit, credo indubitanter quia potuit nec minus indubitanter credo quia, si uoluit, iustum et rationabile fuit. Nec mirum de tanto negotio si sensus meus altitudinem consilii Deo capere non possit, cum et de minimis causis consilium hominis ad eius altitudinem consilii assurgere non possit. Si ergo a morte redeundi ad uitam nulla uia est homini alia quam ista, nil medium uideo; aut in eternum homo peribit, aut ista uia ad uitam redibit. De Deo igitur siue dicam tuo, siue dicamus ego et tu de nostro, quia unus Deus est et aput nos et aput uos, hoc michi certissimum existit, quia unus est et a nullo alio est quam a se ipso, nec cepit esse aliquando. Potest omnia que uult, et iustus est in omnibus que uult. Qua uero ratione in regno iustitie et omnipotentie illius a nobis mala peraguntur, eo permittente, mirum et mirabile uidetur. Si enim Deus mala uult, que eius iustitia? Si non uult, que eius omnipotentia? At quoquo modo disputet homo de Deo, facit Deus omnia que uult, quia non est fortitudo neque consilium contra Deum. De illa questione quam proposui de trinitate in deitatis unitate mecum, ut credo, minime uis disputare, quia nec ratione aliqua michi posse ostendere nec assensum aliqua disputationis arte ualeres extorquere.

Tunc assurexit et nescio quo abiturus animo summisso et uultu discessit. Ad hec fere tota circumstantium contio dixit necessarium esse ut uir ille catholicus magister de questione que erat proposita demonstraret quid catholice inde dicendum esset, ne Gentilis fatuitas insultando diceret quia simplicitas Christiana de fide que in Dominum est rationem reddere omnino ignoraret. Benigno ille animo respondit: Precepit Dominus ne daremus sanctum canibus et, quando de talibus fidei nostre sacramentis loquamur coram infidelibus, debemus cauere ne causa querende ueritatis non credentes mittamus in laqueos falsitatis. Si quis tamen nostrum sibi assumit personam animo mansueto interrogantis, non altercanti animo questionantis, respondebo inde quod fides credit et ratio salua fide inspicit.

2 nec nec *cod.* 13 *Post* redibit *habet* CHRISTIANUS *cod.* 18 permittente: mittuntur *cod.*
25 circumsistentium *cod.*

3-4 cf. ANSELMUS, *De Incarn. Verbi* c. 1 (PL 158 col. 262): Si enim me viderent homines alii onustum parillis et funibus et aliis rebus quibus nutantia ligari et stabiliri solent, elaborare circa montem Olympum ad confirmandum eum . . . mirum si se a risu et derisu contineant. 20-1 cf. Prov. XXI 30.
29 Matt. VII 6

Mox nescio quis sedens circa illum intulit: Assumo personam discere uolentis discipuli et tu personam sume docentis magistri nec inuidentis.

DISCIPULUS. Quero utrum ad salutem anime sit omnino necessarium credere in deitatis unitate personarum trinitatem. Neque enim omnes qui salui fiunt hoc uerbum capiunt, nec etiam quid sit in Deum credere sciunt, et tamen salui fiunt. In lege ubi scriptum est quia per Moysen dixit Deus: *Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est*, non est appositum 'trinus et unus': et ideo quia ut adderetur non fuit necessarium. Item: Ubi Scriptura refert quia *credidit Abraham Deo et reputatum est ad iustitiam*, minime subintulit 'uni et trino', ac proinde querimus qua consideratione subintelligere debemus. In principio libri Geneseos ita legitur: *Creauit Deus celum et terram*. Nulla ibi fit de trinitate mentio. Quando autem creauit Deus hominem, illud quod plurali numero dixit: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, propter trinitatis considerationem credimus esse dictum: sed hoc exemplo ad credendum trinitatem nec Iudeus nec Gentilis credendum cogi potest ullo argumentationis modo. Si enim uerbum hoc *Faciamus* et pronomen istud *nostrum* minime diceretur nisi tantum de tribus, cogi possemus hoc exemplo quia propter aliquam trinitatem dictum esset *Faciamus*. Nulla ergo ratione magis queri potest propter cuius trinitatis quam propter cuius dualitatis uel alterius alicuius maioris numeri considerationem Deus dixit *Faciamus*. Certe nec alio isto exemplo: *Benedicat nos Deus Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus*, cogi potest Gentilis ⟨uel⟩ Iudeus. Nam, sicut in pluribus Psalmorum uersiculis Deus bis appellatur, ut in illo Psalmo: *Deus, Deus meus, ad te lucem uigilo*, ita et in isto uersu Deus bis inuocatur. Quod uero additit: *Benedicat nos Deus*, orationem iterauit. Itaque in Veteri Testamento nunquam habemus exemplum quo ad credendum trinitatem cogere possimus Gentilem uel Iudeum. Nam nec illud cogit nos quod habetur in Ysaia: *Et clamabant seraphin, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Deus Dominus Sabaoth*. Ternario quippe numero etiam poete usi sunt aliquando, ut Virgilius: *Terque hec altaria circum Effigiem duco; numero Deus impare gaudet*.

CHRISTIANUS. Beatus Paulus apostolus de incomprehensibili excellentia Dei loquens ait: *In quem desiderant angeli semper prospicere*. Dicendo quia desiderant in Deum angeli semper prospicere, patenter ostendit quia diuinam eminentiam nequeunt omnino comprehendere. Quid ergo dicendum ⟨est⟩ de humani sensu⟨s⟩ conamine? *Accedet homo ad cor altum et exaltabitur Dominus*. Et quanto accedit,

3 DISCIPULUS: GENTILIS *cod.* 9 qua: quia *cod.* 21 impluribus *cod.* 22 ita: ista *cod.*
24 quo: quod *cod.* 27 Saboht *cod.* 28 cicum *cod.*

6-8 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano* (PL 159 col. 1011): Judaeus: . . . In Christum neque credo neque credam, quia non credo nisi in Deum et in unum. 'Audi', inquit, 'Israel, Deus tuus, Deus unus est' — unus, non triplex, sicut vos Christiani negando dicitis et dicendo negatis. 8-9 Gen. XV 6.
11 Gen. I 1. 12-13 Gen. I 26. 20 Ps. LXVI 8. 22 Ps. LXII 2. 26-7 Is. VI 3.
28 Ecl. VIII 74-75. 30 I Petr. I 12. 33 Ps. LXIII 7, 8.

tanto altius eum esse conspicit. Redeamus tandem ad id quod ceperamus. Quaeris utrum ad salutem anime sit omnino necessarium nosse mysterium trinitatis. Credo quia potest homo saluus fieri sine agnitione huius mysterii; tamen credo quia omnino necessarium est ad fidei ueritatem nosse deitatis unitatem et personarum trinitatem. Ipsa Dei Sapientia que hominem assumpsit loquens ad discipulos suos, ait: *Multa habeo uobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo.* Quia non poterant tunc portare, ideo noluit ea tunc eis imponere. In alio loco legimus in Euangelio quod uerbum Dominus ad eos habuerat, subditque Euangelista: *Et erat uerbum istud absconditum ab eis.* Ab eis, inquit, absconditum uerbum hoc erat, quibus alibi dicit: *Omnia que audiui a Patre meo nota feci nobis.* Non ergo mirum si in exordio mundi, quia homo recenter animalis factus percipere non poterat que sunt Dei, miseratione sua Deus ea dicere tunc noluit que homo tunc portare non potuit, donec ad imaginem Dei renouatus spiritu mentis sue spiritualis fieret et que spiritualia sunt capere ualeret; quamuis qui recte in Deum credit quicquid de Deo credi debet credit, etsi non intelligit. Sciunt omnes Adam factum esse ad imaginem Dei, et que sit potior distantia inter pecus et hominem. In exordio itaque mundi, in infantia, ut ita dicam, nostre fidei noluit Deus ea hominibus imponere que non poterant tunc portare. Lac dedit potum, non escam, reseruans cibum solidiorem donec ipsa fides ad prouectum uenire fortiorem. Per succedentia uero temporis incrementa data est hominibus amplius mandatorum Dei scientia, sicut Dauid dicit: *Super omnes docentes me intellexi.* Apostolos uero ipsa Dei sapientia que hominem assumpsit, plenius ad fidem instruxit, sicut eis dixit: *Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei.* Post passionem suam aperuit illis sensum ut intelligerent Scripturas. Post ascensionem suam misit eis Spiritum Sanctum, sicut promiserat. *Ille*, inquit, *docebit uos omnem ueritatem.* Inducendi erant in ueritatem quia ex his que audierant, induci poterat in errorem aliquis non bene intelligens. Dixerat ipse Dominus: *Pater maior me est.* Dixerat idem ipse et non alius: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*; non enim potest eis unum et eodem respectu maiorem et minorem esse. Multa quoque huiusmodi in Euangeliis sunt dicta. Accepto itaque post passionem Domini Spiritu Sancto, predicauerunt Apostoli uerbum Dei per orbem uniuersum. Predicauerunt deitatis unitatem et personarum trinitatem atque ueram Verbi Dei incarnationem. Uerum, sicut dixit Apostolus, predicationis sermo factus est aliis ad mortem aliis ad uitam: *Iudeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitia.* Quidam etenim que non intellexerunt, credere noluerunt, sed ingenii sui conatu altissima mysteriorum Dei

12 que: non *cod.* 13 mentis: ad mentis *cod.* 16 esse: est *cod.* 17 nuluit *cod.*
21 docenentes *cod.* 25 inquid *cod.* 34 stultitiam *cod.* 35 altissimos *cod.*

6 Joh. XVI 12. 9 Luc. XVIII 34. 10 Joh. XV 15. 13 cf. Eph. IV 23.
19-20 cf. I Cor. III 2. 21 Ps. CXVIII 99. 23 Marc. IV 11. 27 Joh. XIV 28.
28 Joh. X 30. 34 I Cor. I 23.

applicare sibi et submittere suo sensui moliti sunt; sed in suo molimine omnino deficientes per fantasias atque nebulas erroris abierunt et libros erroris atque perfidie contra fidem catholicam dediderunt. Necesse ergo fuit ut rectores atque duces fidei catholice aduersus eos ex acie catholica procederent, ueris assertionibus aduersus eos decertarent, retiacula erroris eorum diriperent et fundatas super inania earum machinationes obruerent, ad nichilum redigerent, et supra firmam catholice fidei petram sane doctrine edificarent stabilem domum quam Deo per eos edificante ad celi eduxerunt fastigium. *Venerunt flumina, flauerunt uenti* et impegerunt horrendis machinationibus edificium illud et non cecidit, quia solidum et omnino firmum fundamentum, id est Christum, habuit. Habet et usque in finem habebit. Libros sane doctrine tunc scripserunt, usquequaque miserunt; ad nos etiam peruenerunt. Hic itaque responsionis nostre finis habeatur. Ad salutem anime dicimus esse omnino necessarium credere deitatis unitatem, personarum trinitatem, et ueram Verbi Dei incarnationem; et de illis in trinitate personis non personam Patris, non personam Spiritus Sancti, sed solam ⟨personam Filii⟩ nostram sibi accepisse in unitatem persone naturam. Qui enim dicit in Christo duas esse uel posse esse personas sicut duas naturas, intelligat quia, si homo quem Deus assumpsit sine assumente Deo antequam assumeretur fuisset, per se persona esse potuisset. Sed, quia homo ille tunc homo factus est quando *Verbum caro factum est*, in unitate persone Deus et homo est Christus, nec sine homine Deus, nec homo sine Deo, sed homo et Deus est Christus. Nec oppugnat fidei ueritatem quod dixi, nec personam Patris nec personam Spiritus Sancti sed solam personam Filii nostram sibi ⟨in⟩ unitatem persone naturam accepisse. Cum enim tres sint persone, nec aliqua earum est que altera, quia sunt relationes, nec circum idem eedem possunt esse relationes; neque enim qui pater est filius esse potest cuius pater est, nec filius potest esse pater cuius filius est; cum itaque non substantialiter sed relatiue dicuntur persone, quod dicitur de una earum non fit consequenter ut dicatur de altera, quia de diuersis dicuntur diuersa. Relationes quippe ad se inuicem sunt diuerse. Si ergo persona Filii in unitatem persone hominem sibi assumpsit, inferri propterea non potest quod persona Patris uel Spiritus Sancti hominem sibi in unitatem persone assumpserit. Quod enim dicitur: *Inseparabilia*

9 orrendis *cod.* 11 ahbebit *cod.* 15 solam *cod.* 24 raelationes 24-5 idem eedem: est eodem *cod.*

8 Matt. VII 27. 16-21 cf. Anselmus, *De Incarn. Verbi*, c. 46 (PL 158 col. 278): Quare (dicunt quidam) alia est persona Dei, quae fuit ante incarnationem, alia hominis assumpti; sicut igitur Christus est Deus et Homo, ita duae in illo videntur esse personae. Quae ratiocinatio per hoc videtur probare duas esse personas in Christo, quia et Deus est persona, et homo assumptus est persona. Sed non ita est.
19 Joh. I 14. 29-76, 2 cf. Anselmus, *De Incarn. Verbi*, c. 4 (PL 158 col. 275): . . . quicumque existimat hanc incarnationem sic esse secundum naturae unitatem, ut Filius non possit sine Patre; nec intelligit eam sic secundum unitatem esse personae, ut Pater non possit incarnari cum Filio. 31-76, 1 Aug. *In Joh. Ev. Tract.*, XCV 1.

sunt opera trinitatis, non dicitur secundum personarum in Deo trinam relationem sed secundum substantie essentialis unitatem. Nam cum dicimus de Patre 'Pater est *quod* Filius', non '*qui* Filius', similiterque de Filio et Spiritu Sancto, alterum dicimus secundum substantiam essentialem, alterum dicimus secundum personarum relatiuam diuersitatem. Cum uero persona Filii hominem assumpsit, non persona Patris nec persona Spiritus Sancti, ut maiora que nos latent minoribus committamus, conueniens esse non uidetur ut Pater, a quo sunt omnia et ipse Deus Dei Filius ab eo genitus et ipse Deus ab eo procedens Spiritus Sanctus filius hominis fieret et ab homine aliquid initium existendi acciperet, et Pater unigenitus Dei homo factus filius Filii sui propter assumptam humanitatem eoque minor ulla consideratione existeret. Similiter absurda multa dici possent, si persona Spiritu⟨s⟩ Sancti hominem assumeret. At persona Filii conuenientissime assumpsit. Decebat enim ut Verbum per quod facta sunt omnia caro fieret, hominem perditum restitueret, et opus nostre restitutionis perageret, quia per ipsum facta sunt omnia et sine ipso factum est nichil. De hac sua consummatione restitutionis nostre dicit idem Filius ad Patrem in Euangelio: *Pater, opus consummaui quod dedisti michi ut faciam*. Quod autem Iudei et Gentiles improperant nos dicere: *Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus Sanctus est Deus, et tamen non tres Dii sed unus Deus*, nulla est in hac nostre fidei confessione absurditas, quia nulla est in ipsa re contrarietas. Quod autem dicitur de substantia Dei unum omnino et idem est, et quecumque plura dicuntur de Deo, ea plura unum et idem sunt omnino. Pater uero et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, hec tria his nominibus discretiue dicta, quoniam relatiua sunt, et relatiuorum est ipsum esse ad aliud se habere, non de substantia, Dei per se dicuntur, et ea omnia sunt una et omnino simplex substantia Dei, nulla uero earum trium personarum per se dicitur, quia ad aliud dicitur neque est ulla earum quod altera. Quamuis enim Pater Deus ⟨est⟩ et Filius Deus est, aliud tamen est Patrem esse et aliud Deum esse et aliud est Filium esse et aliud Deum esse, nec idem est Patrem esse quod est Filium esse. Similiter de Spiritu Sancto. Spiritus Sanctus procedens a Patre et Filio est Deus, et tamen aliud est Deum esse et aliud a Patre et Filio procedentem esse, ⟨nec idem est Spiritum Sanctum esse⟩ quod est Patrem

6 maioribus *cod.* 7 commitamus *cod.* 10 assumpta *cod.* 23 se habere: serabere *cod.* *post* non dicuntur *add. cod.* 24 earum: rarum. 28 Filius *cod.*

5-12 cf. Anselmus, *De Incarn. Verbi*, c. 5 (PL 158 col. 276): Si ergo spiritus sanctus natus esset ex Virgine, cum Filius Dei haberet excellentiorem nativitatem solam, quae ex Deo est, et Spiritus Sanctus minorem tantum, quae esset ex homine, alia persona esset maior et alia minor secundum dignitatem nativitatis; quod non convenit. Quodsi Pater in unitatem suae personae hominem assumpsisset, easdem faceret in Deo pluralitas filiorum inconvenientias . . . Quoniam ergo quamlibet parvum inconveniens in Deo est impossibile, non debuit alia Dei persona incarnari quam Filius. 14-15 cf. Joh. I 3. 16-17 Joh. XVII 4. 17-19 cf. *Disp. Iudaei cum Christiano*, PL 159 col. 1011. 17-19 Symbol. Athanasianum.

uel Filium esse. Sic dicit Apostolus Paulus: *Inuisibilia Dei per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur*. A fonte, uerbi gratia, Nilo manat riuus et a fonte ⟨et⟩ riuo colligitur lacus. Fons quidem aliud est quam riuus et lacus, et riuus aliud est quam fons et lacus, et lacus aliud quam fons et riuus, et tamen una aqua, et una atque eadem aqua substantia est fontis et riui et lacus. Communi nomine Nilus appellantur fons ⟨et⟩ riuus et ex fonte ⟨et⟩ riuo confluens lacus, quia Nilus est nomen ipsius aque; nec tres Nili sunt; unus dicitur Nilus, quia non sunt tres aque sed una fontis et riui atque lacus est substantia aque. Fons uero, riuus et lacus non sunt nomina aque sed quarundam habitudinum ipsius aque; et propterea hec tria discretiue dicuntur, quia que sunt relatiua ab eis sunt diuersa quorum sunt relatiua. Qui ergo deitatis unitatem et in deitatis unitate personarum intelligit esse trinitatem, agat Deo gratias; et qui capere non potest, ita esse indubitanter credat. In paruulis uero baptizatis, quorum etas et sensus ad hec capienda minime potest assurgere, et in laicis qui sunt idiote catholici fides et baptismus salutem operantur, sicut promittit ipse Dominus: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit*. Gratias Deo, qui omnibus nobis dedit hoc refugium uite et salutis.

Discipulus. [cetera desunt.]

Pitchcott. Clement C. J. Webb.

2 Nillo *cod.* 15 operatur *cod.* 17 Discipulus: Gentilis *cod.*

1-2 Rom. I 20. 2-11 cf. Anselmus, *De Incarn. Verbi*, c. 8 (PL 158 col. 280-1): Ponamus fontem, de quo nascitur et fluit rivus, qui postea colligatur in lacum; sitque nomen eius Nilus. Sic igitur discrete dicimus fontem, rivum, lacum, ut fontem non dicamus rivum aut lacum; nec rivum, fontem aut lacum; nec lacum, fontem aut rivum . . . Tres igitur sunt, fons, rivus, lacus; et unus Nilus, unus fluvius, una natura, una aqua, et dici non potest quod tres. 15 Marc. XVI 16.

ST. ANSELM AND GILBERT CRISPIN, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER

I. INTRODUCTION

THE works of Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, which are printed below, illustrate the thought and intellectual development of one who was, in his own day, a notable theologian.[1] Taken together with the *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili*, which is edited in this number by Dr. C. C. J. Webb, and with the better-known *Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano* they contribute an important chapter to our knowledge of the early flowering of St. Anselm's influence in England, and they throw, I believe, some new light on the origins of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*.

The main events of Gilbert's life, as established by Armitage Robinson, may be briefly summarized. He was born about 1045 and belonged to the distinguished family which, of all others, had the most intimate connexion with the monastery of Bec. He entered the monastery as a boy, and belonged to the circle of the closest friends of Anselm, who was prior during most of the time which Gilbert spent at Bec. He left the monastery to assist Lanfranc at Canterbury in 1078 or 1079, became abbot of Westminster probably in 1085, and died in 1117. His life has left little impress of the records of the time and his memory has survived chiefly as the author of one of the best, if not the best, of the treatises in which Christian thinkers in the Middle Ages sought to confute the arguments of the Jews. We shall be chiefly concerned with that period of Gilbert's life, which opened with the arrival of St. Anselm in England in September 1092, and particularly with the few months immediately following Anselm's arrival.

[1]) For a study of the life and works of Gilbert Crispin, see J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule* (Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey, No. 3), Cambridge, 1911. Although this excellent book contains valuable notes on the 'Literary Remains' of Gilbert, the series in which it appeared indicates that it was intended rather as a contribution to the history of the Abbey than to the history of mediaeval speculation. The treatment of Gilbert's writings is therefore necessarily somewhat jejune.

The public circumstances and importance of this visit of the abbot of Bec to England are well known. A journey, which was expected to be a hurried one, combining a visit to the sick-bed of the earl of Chester with some business of the monastery, had momentous consequences in the history of the English Church: Anselm's elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury; the beginnings of the dispute between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in England; Anselm's exile; the growth of Papal influence among the clergy; the example of a suffering archbishop, which inspired the later martyr of Canterbury. These things are well known, but the visit had also another side to it, less well known. It renewed a contact between two friends, the abbot of Bec and the abbot of Westminster, which—except for occasional letters and brief visits—had been cut short some thirteen or fourteen years previously. To understand the significance of this, at first sight, merely domestic detail, we must attempt to form some picture of these two men as they were in 1092.

When Anselm came to England, he had been abbot of Bec for fourteen years and was now about fifty-nine years old. For some years he had added little to the main body of his writings. All the major philosophical and theological works which he had so far completed belonged to the great creative period when he was still in his forties.[1] A handful of letters is all that can confidently be ascribed to the period since his previous visit to England in 1086. To these must be added an unfinished work against the opinions of Roscelin which he had begun, laid aside and abandoned at Bec. Then, in circumstances which will be examined later, he took up the threads of his earlier work, and, during the next ten years, worked at and produced in rapid succession a series of works of the highest importance: *De Incarnatione Verbi* (1093-4), *Cur Deus Homo* (1095-8), *De Conceptu Virginali et de Originali Peccato* (1100), *Meditatio Redemptionis Humanae* (1100), and *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* (1100-1102).

Twice in the years after 1092, Anselm returned to forms of composi-

[1]) For a study of the chronology of Anselm's works, see F. S. Schmitt, *Zur Chronologie der Werke des hl. Anselm* (RBén. 44 [1932], 322-50). The only major work which may have been completed during the nine years before 1092 is the *De Casu Diaboli*. The dating of this raises complicated problems which cannot be discussed here, but it seems likely that it was composed at, or about, the same time as Ep. II, 8: i.e. about 1083. This letter includes a passage also found in the *De Casu Diaboli*; but whether the letter or the treatise came first has not been clearly established.

tion which had been favourite ones with him in earlier days: in the *Cur Deus Homo*, he returned to the form of a dialogue between a master and a monastic pupil, and in the *Meditatio Redemptionis Humanae*, to the meditative and affective prayer, in which as a young man he had laid the foundations of his later work. But even when the form was the same, there was, in comparison with what he had written before he became archbishop, a spirit at once larger and more authoritative. He moved in a bigger and more hostile world. He retained in his life the serene air of monastic intimacy which had once breathed through his works, but it was now less often communicated to his writings. Anselm, as prior and abbot of Bec, had not been accustomed to controversy until Roscelin appeared towards the end of the 1080s. His previous controversy with Gaunilo over the argument in the *Proslogion*, had been a friendly affair, conducted in a spirit of mutual regard and unchallenged agreement on fundamentals. But with Roscelin it was different. He had brought the knife of a primitive but penetrating logic to the central mysteries of the faith. He could only be treated as an enemy. Anselm thought he had finished with him when he left Bec in the summer of 1092, but he found he was mistaken in this, and by Christmas he had once more taken up Roscelin's challenge. This time he brought his reply to Roscelin to a conclusion in the *De Incarnatione Verbi* (1094). In the following years Anselm met new enemies—speculative as well as practical. He found himself by force of circumstances a controversialist. Even in the *Cur Deus Homo*, within the framework of a monastic colloquy, there breathes an air of controversy more serious than in the former dialogues: the disciple urged his objections with a pertinacity and fulness of exposition unknown before, and he urged them also not only in the name of faithful inquiry, but in the character of an *infidelis*. The *infidelis* was not altogether, as we shall see, a creature of the imagination. In the ten years from 1092 to 1102, Anselm was engaged in controversy covering a wide field both of theory and practice. The one outstanding controversy to which he made no express contribution during these years was the controversy with the Jews. By its nature this was exegetical rather than speculative, and was not of a kind to draw forth Anselm's special gifts. It was work more suited to the temperament and learning of the abbot of Westminster; and to him we must now turn.

Gilbert Crispin does not seem to have become an author until after

he left Bec, and his early works show little inclination for the abstract speculation in which Anselm was a master. These works are distinguished by sound sense, wide but unadventurous Biblical learning, and a deep and large-minded attachment to the practical virtues of the monastic life. Broad-minded, tolerant, weighty rather than brilliant: one can imagine that he possessed in a high degree the qualities which marked him out for the administration of an important abbey. The first two works printed below bear witness to these qualities of mind: the first, written before he became abbot of Westminster, is a sober and dignified exposition of the Christian virtues embodied in the monastic life; the second illustrates his temper of reasonable and well-documented conservatism in the field of Biblical criticism. But more important than either of these was the work on which Gilbert was engaged at this time when Anselm came to England: his account of a dispute with a London Jew.

The fact that Gilbert was engaged on his Disputation with the Jew at this time will later, I hope, become clear on other grounds; but a textual support for this hypothesis may here be mentioned. Armitage Robinson has pointed out that there are two forms of this treatise: an earlier (and longer) version dating from the period before Anselm became archbishop —before March 1093—, and a later one, which became the current text, in which Anselm is addressed as archbishop.[1] It is probable that the actual conversations, to which the treatise refers, had already taken place some time before Anselm came to England; but the issue was still a live one in this period between the first and second versions. For the final form, while it omits much, adds a detail about the conversion of a Jew at Westminster which is new. Gilbert evidently continued to be occupied with the subject and with the text of his treatise long after the encounter which occasioned it. The treatise was not a hasty work arising from a chance meeting: it took a considerable time to complete and may have occupied Gilbert's mind for several years. Certainly in the autumn of 1092 the subject was neither a new one to him, nor one on which he had said his last word.

[1]) J. A. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 54. A proof that the earlier version was sent to Anselm before he became archbishop (apart from the fact that he is not called archbishop in the address) lies in the fact that he is there addressed in the second person singular: all Gilbert's letters written to Anselm after he became archbishop address him in the plural.

The subject, moreover, was one which suited him and called forth his best powers. Inevitably the points in dispute were chiefly concerned with questions of the interpretation and translation of the Old Testament. They were points on which his mind was well stocked with examples and arguments. He might justly feel that with his store of Biblical knowledge with his cool and judicious mind, he was well equipped for the task of persuasion and conversion. The arguments and counter-arguments were not yet the well-trodden paths which they were to become during the next hundred years: Gilbert could meet his opponent as a friend, and treat his arguments with scholarly candour.

There was, however, among the questions raised by the Jew, one which presented problems far outside the range of Biblical learning. This is how it is expressed in Gilbert's treatise:

Si Deus est quo nihil maius sive sufficientius cogitari potest, qua necessitate coactus humanae calamitatis particeps et tantorum factus est consors et patiens malorum? Denique si Deus homo factus est quomodo stabit quod ipse locutus est ⟨cum⟩ ad Moysen dixit: NON ENIM VIDEBIT ME HOMO ET VIVET? Multum repugnare videtur ut Deus homo factus sit et ab homine vel ab ipsa matre sua videri non potuerit. Absit enim ut circa Deum aliquid fantasticum fuisse dixeris. (PL 159, col. 1018.)

The substance of this objection agreed well with the general attitude of the Jew. The Old Testament is turned against the Christian with a forceful irony which suggests that the words may retain something of their original flavour. But the definition of God in the first sentence as "that than which nothing greater can be thought" arrests the attention. The definition is strikingly Anselmian, coined by him in the *Proslogion* as the starting-point of his unique argument for the existence of God. Its use here suggests a closeness to the thought of St. Anselm, which Gilbert's earlier works have scarcely led us to expect. He must, of course, have been familiar with this definition given by St. Anselm in his *Proslogion*, but the use of the phrase is uncommon and found little currency even among Anselm's closest pupils. Anselm's definition was a refinement, for the special purpose of the argument in the *Proslogion*, of St. Augustine's definition of God as "that than which nothing greater exists", and for most purposes St. Augustine's definition had the advantage of being simpler and more easily intelligible. This was the definition to which

Gilbert reverted in his later Dialogue with the Pagan, printed above (p. 60, l. 21). Like Anselm's other pupils, he does not seem to have adopted the argument of the *Proslogion* and had consequently little use for the definition it contained. It is safe to say that where this definition is found, Anselm's influence is particularly strong and undebased. This impression is confirmed when we examine the reply, brief though it is, which Gilbert gave to the Jew's question.

It will easily be seen that the question which the Jew had raised, "by what *necessity* did God become Man?" cannot be answered by Biblical commentary. It involved two philosophical difficulties which required a reply on philosophical grounds:

1. How could the Incarnation take place without an injury to or debasement of the Nature of God?
2. Even if it were *possible* for God to become Man, why was it *necessary* for Him to suffer even the appearance of debasement and changeableness?

To the first of these questions Gilbert answered by drawing a distinction between the Nature and Persons of God which would not perhaps attract our notice, were it not that Anselm was dealing with just the same difficulty, and answering it in a similar way during the time between his arrival in England and his elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury in March 1093. We have already noticed that, when he left Bec, he left behind him an unfinished work directed against the views of Roscelin, which later grew into the treatise *De Incarnatione Verbi*. Now Roscelin had attacked the doctrine of the Incarnation from quite a different angle from the Jew to whom Gilbert was replying. The Jew denied the historical fact of the Incarnation because it involved an injury to the dignity, nature and unity of God; Roscelin accepted the historical fact but denied the validity of the formulae which Christians had used in speaking of it, because they were logically inconsistent. The two attacks were different in the conclusions which they sought to draw, but the point of attack was the same and the answer was the same in both cases. Faced with the Jew's objection to the Christian faith, Gilbert drew a distinction between the Nature and Persons of God, which safeguarded the inviolability of the

divine Nature in the act of Incarnation. Faced with the objection of Roscelin to the Trinitarian formula of the Church, Anselm drew a distinction between the Nature and Persons of God, which safeguarded the Unity of God in the Incarnation of one only of the three Persons of the Trinity. The distinction between the Nature and Persons of God struck at both enemies at once.

It appears that Anselm had not reached this point in his argument when he left Bec, but he was working on it in the early months of 1093, and it is worth putting his words side by side with those of Gilbert in order to see how the minds of the two men were working:

Anselm, De Incarnatione Dei [1]	*Gilbert, Disp. Judaei cum Christiano* (PL 159, col. 1020)
Videte, si hoc dicit (*scil.* Roscelinus), quomodo claudicat utroque pede in incarnationem Filii Dei. Nam qui recte suscipit eius incarnationem, credit eum non assumpsisse hominem in unitate naturae. Hic (*scil.* Roscelinus) autem somniat hominem a Filio Dei magis esse assumptum in naturae unitate, sed non in unitate personae . . . Quippe Deus non sic assumpsit hominem, ut natura Dei et natura hominis sit una et eadem, sed ut persona Dei et hominis una eademque sit.	Deus et homo, propter unitatem personae, unus est Christus, quamvis Deus nec in hominem conversus fuerit, nec in Deum homo; sed divisa Dei et hominis natura, indivisa Dei et hominis personae conservatur et adoratur unitas . . . Suscepit ergo Deus hominem in unitatem personae, ingenita bonitate sua non nostra, et multa necessitate non sua sed nostra, et ratione magna tibique approbanda . . .

Whether or not Gilbert knew of Anselm's work against Roscelin when he wrote these words, it is certainly interesting that at this point their replies to such widely different opponents took a similar form.

Gilbert had, however, by this argument by no means dealt with the main substance of the Jew's objection. Even granted the *possibility* of the Incarnation taking place without an injury to the divine nature, he was still left with the problem: why was it *necessary*?

[1]) In order to get as near as possible to Anselm's thoughts in the early days of 1093, I have quoted this passage in the form in which it appears in Hereford Cathedral MS. P. I. i, fol. 155. This MS. preserves a draft written after Anselm had left Bec and before he became archbishop; see *ante* I, 29-34. The final version contains several improvements in detail (PL 158, col. 275; Schmitt, II 24).

This question, he divided into two parts:

1. Why was the Incarnation of a sinless Being necessary at all?
2. Why was it necessary that this sinless Being should be God and not an angel or a man of a new creation?

To the first of these questions Gilbert gave a traditional answer.[1] By men's sin the Devil had acquired rights over man which God, in His justice, would only annul by due process of law. To break the bonds of the Devil's jurisdiction over men, it was necessary that a sinless Man should be born over whom he had no authority. That was the first stage. The next stage was that the Devil should abuse his power by claiming as his own, and subjecting to Death, this sinless Man; and thus, being guilty in regard to man, he rightly lost his jurisdiction over the human race.

So far Gilbert could claim good precedent for his argument—though the way in which it is stated would repay careful study; but when he came to argue that it was *necessary* for God Himself to be incarnate for the salvation of mankind, his treatise was breaking new ground where few of his successors would follow. His argument was as follows:

If the sinless Being who saved mankind had been an angel or a man of a new creation, man would certainly have been saved from the Devil, but he would not have been restored to his former dignity. For, having been created subject only to God, he would in future have owed a divided allegiance: to God and to his Redeemer—the latter, infinitely no doubt his superior, but still less than God. Gilbert therefore concludes:

> Quia ergo per alium plena hominis restitutio fieri non valebat, necesse fuit ut Creator creaturae subveniret.. . . ut per ipsum Creatorem homo restitutus, soli Creatori ad serviendum obnoxius remaneret. (PL 159, col. 1023.)

To ascribe such necessity to the Divine action in the plan of redemption was indeed something new—a break with all tradition, which commonly admitted that God might have chosen some other means to save mankind. It is reasonable, therefore, to inquire under what influence Gilbert wrote as he did.

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In order to go back behind Gilbert's words, it is first necessary to go forward about five years and read some words which appeared in Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, a work begun (so he tells us) in England "in magna cordis tribulatione" and finished in Italy in 1098. For the sake of convenience we may put Anselm's words beside the passage in Gilbert Crispin which contains the argument which has just been outlined:

Cur Deus Homo, I, 5 (PL 158, col. 365; Schmitt II, 52)	*Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano* (PL 159, col. 1022-3)
Boso Haec ipsa liberatio si per aliam quam Dei personem, sive per angelum sive per hominem esse facta quolibet modo diceretur, mens hoc humana multo tolerabilius acciperet. Potuit enim deus hominem aliquem facere sine peccato, non de massa peccatrice, nec de alio homine, sed sicut fecit Adam, per quem hoc ipsum opus fieri potuisse videtur.	Quis autem hominem de communi massa perditionis natus id explere posset ut reliquam humani generis massam restitueret? Vix enim sibi justitia cujusque sufficit; non est immunis a peccato infans, cujus vita est unius diei super terram. Quod si novus vel aliunde natus homo seu angelus factus homo hominem liberaret, non sic ad pristinum dignitatis ingenitum statum restitui posset. Cum enim angelis homo par creatus non natura sed rationis et concessae libertatis gratia, soli Deo creatori ad serviendum erat obnoxius, ad eundem libertatis statum seu per hominem seu per angelum restitui non valebat; a quo enim quis a servitute redimitur ei obnoxius esse ad serviendum judicatur.
Anselmus An non intelligis quia, quaecumque alia persona hominem a morte aeterna redimeret, eius servus idem homo recte iudicaretur? Quod si esset, nullatenus restauratus esset in illam dignitatem quam habiturus erat, si non peccasset; cum ipse, qui non nisi Dei servus et aequalis angelis bonis per omnia futurus erat, servus esset eius qui Deus non esset et cuius angeli servi non essent.	

It cannot be supposed that these passages are independent of each other. The question, therefore, immediately arises: did Anselm, in a work written between 1094 and 1098, borrow from a work of Gilbert Crispin written before March 1093? The point deserves a sharp emphasis for we are dealing here with a major break from the Augustinian tradition which had for so long held the field. The other break, so far as Anselm was concerned, came when, in the *Cur Deus Homo*, he rejected the whole doctrine of the rights of the Devil and placed the doctrine of the Atonement in a new light. It has more than once been noticed that, in retaining the theory of the rights of the Devil, Gilbert's Dialogue with the Jew clearly dates itself before the appearance of Anselm's work in 1098.[1] But the consequent dilemma that, if Gilbert wrote before 1098, he would appear to be the source of one important branch of Anselm's argument, has not been faced. In order to resolve this dilemma, we must return to the situation of the winter of 1092-3.

There has always been something of a mystery about Anselm's movements between September 1092 and March 1093. We know from Eadmer that he arrived in Canterbury on September 7th and left hurriedly the next morning, despite the pressing invitation of the monks that he should stay to celebrate the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin on that day. He was hastening to Chester, where he expected to find earl Hugh on his death-bed. The last we hear of him is that he had speech with the King—lately returned from his expedition in the North—on his way; and then he disappears from view. We know that he found earl Hugh unexpectedly recovered, and Eadmer tells us that he spent *plures dies* at Chester. He was in the vicinity of the royal court at Christmas, and in a village not far from Gloucester at the beginning of March 1093 when the King was taken ill.[2]

Thanks to the work of Professor Tait we know something of Anselm's activities while he was at Chester.[3] He was concerned with the preliminary steps by which the church of secular canons at Chester was turned into the Benedictine monastery of St. Werburgh. It seems very unlikely that these preliminaries can have gone so far as to see the establishment of monastic life at Chester while Anselm was there. In any case, as Professor Tait rightly remarks, there is no evidence to suggest a stay of several months at Chester. Most naturally, we should have expected Anselm to spend

[1]) J. A. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 64; cf. B. Blumenkranz, *La Disputatio Judei cum Christiano de Gilbert Crispin*, Rev. du Moyen Age Latin, 4 [1948], 240 n. The latter does not however notice the existence of two editions of Gilbert's treatise.

[2]) The above is a summary of the information given by Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. M. Rule (Rolls Series, 1884), 29-31.

[3]) *The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester*, ed. J. Tait, I, xxiii-xxiv, 22-4, 38-9 (Chetham Soc., vol. 79, 1920).

some time with his friends at Canterbury; but this he certainly did not do. He was embarrassed by rumours that he was angling for the vacant archbishopric, and Eadmer implies that one of the reasons for his hasty departure in September had been the inconsiderate hailing of him as archbishop when he arrived. Canterbury was no place for him at such a time.

The one further piece of definite information we have comes from a letter written by Anselm to the monks of Bec about Christmas-time 1092. After telling them that he is still waiting for an audience with the King on some affairs of the monastery, the letter continues:

> The bearer of this letter, a monk of Abbot Gilbert, will give you news of my health better than any letter. Please receive him with every kindness. I do not expect that I shall be back before Lent. . . . Send me the Prayer to St. Nicholas which I composed, and the letter against the opinions of Roscelin which I began to write, and any other letters of mine which Dom Maurice has and which he has not sent. Salute our Mothers, the Lady Eve and the Lady Basilia. (Ep. II 51; Schmitt III 293, no. 147.)

It seems clear from this that Anselm was with Gilbert Crispin, doubtless at Westminster, and this probably explains his proximity to the royal court at Christmas.[1] He was preparing for a long stay in England and gathering round him the materials which he needed for his literary work in a period of enforced inactivity. He planned to finish the treatise against Roscelin, and he was busy collecting his letters and possibly his Prayers. Finally he sends his greetings to the two noble recluses who for twenty years had lived at Bec under Anselm's spiritual direction. The first of these, the Lady Eve, was the mother of Gilbert Crispin.

We can follow Anselm's progress with his literary tasks in some detail. Something has already been said about the growth of the *De Incarnatione Verbi* out of the unfinished letter against Roscelin. Anselm was also at work on the text of his letters and, watching him at work as we are now able to do in Dom Schmitt's edition of the letters, we once more catch a glimpse of Gilbert Crispin in the background.

[1]) Following the precedent of William I we should have expected the Christmas court to be held at Gloucester, but the practice of William Rufus was not regular in this respect: in 1090 the Christmas court was at Westminster, in 1093 at Gloucester, in 1095 at Windsor, and in 1099 at Gloucester again; (see the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under these years).

We must first notice a point which Dom Schmitt's edition of the letters makes abundantly clear: there are two distinct groups of manuscripts of the letters written while Anselm was prior and abbot of Bec. One of these groups is symbolized in Dom Schmitt's edition by the letters *EVLP*; the other has, as its chief representative, the British Museum MS., Cotton Nero A. VII (*N*). Dom Schmitt has suggested, and the suggestion is one which carries immediate conviction, that the first of these groups contains the results of Anselm's correction and rearrangement of the letters undertaken at this time, while *N* represents the collection as it existed about the year 1090.[1] It is indeed not impossible that *N* was a manuscript which Anselm had in front of him in making his revision. However this may be, the result of the revision as we find it in *EVLP* was to improve the text in small details, to omit some passages and short letters of only temporary interest, to add letters which had been omitted in the earlier collection, and to arrange the letters with some care in chronological order.[2]

Among the more striking differences of text offered by the group *EVLP* as against *N* is one which is clearly an addition to the original text of this letter. The letter in question is a brief exhortation to a certain Odo, urging him to leave the world and to become a monk: it appears to have been written in the early days of Anselm's abbacy. At the end, in *EVLP* but not in *N*, there is a passage—as Dom Schmitt says, "post signum divisionis"—which reads as follows:

> Qui voverunt se ituros Romam vel Ierusalem in saeculo, si ad ordinem nostrum venerint et devote et oboedienter se habuerint, omnia vota sua quaecumque voverunt compleverunt. Quippe qui se in partem Deo per vota tradiderant, postquam se Deo totos tradiderint, totum in partem postmodum non habent redigere, nisi qui quod Deo obtulerunt, sibi velint in proprietatem subripere, et

[1]) F. S. Schmitt, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der handschriftlichen Sammlungen der Briefe des hl. Anselm v. Canterbury*, RBén 48 [1936], 300-18.

[2]) Dom Schmitt has pointed out (*loc. cit.*, p. 310) that, of the ten letters to Dom Maurice in *EVLP*, only two are found in *N*. Dom Maurice would therefore seem to have responded to Anselm's appeal for letters in the passage which has just been quoted. Of the two letters in *N* which are addressed to him, one (Ep. I, 43; Schmitt no. 51) is addressed to two other monks as well; the other (Ep. II, 8; Schmitt no. 97) is, I believe, a draft of the final version which Anselm had retained—not, as Dom Schmitt suggests, a reconstruction of the letter by Anselm from memory. Their presence in *N* is thus easily explained.

ita non solum indevoti, immo rei fiant tam suae abrenuntiationis quam professionis et suae ipsorum damnationis.[1]

Dom Schmitt has expressed a justifiable doubt, whether this passage could be ascribed to Anselm; it has nothing which suggests the polish of his style or thought. Yet its presence in a whole group of manuscripts which derives from Anselm himself makes it difficult to believe that the addition was not his own. Where did it come from? The answer is found in the first of the texts printed below (p. 103). Except that it lacks the reference to the abbot of Cluny and contains a misreading in its last word, it is a quotation from Gilbert Crispin's treatise on the monastic life.

There is a natural explanation of this addition to the text of this letter dealing with the difficulties of lay people who wished to enter a monastery. Anselm was at Westminster revising his letters; he had been reading the treatise of his friend, and was glad to extract from it an opinion on a practical question, which must often have concerned him as the head of a monastery. This is a natural explanation, but a doubt remains: for some reason which cannot now be discovered, this particular letter, in its revised form, has got displaced in all the known manuscripts, and appears—together with a small group of early letters—much later than it ought to be, among the letters written by Anselm as archbishop. It might, therefore, be doubted whether this addition belongs to the revision of 1093.[2]

Fortunately, however, we have a further indication that Anselm had been reading Gilbert's treatise at about this time. For in the months between his election in March and his consecration in December 1093 he had occasion to write two letters, one to the Bishop and the other to the Precentor of Paris, urging the Bishop to allow the Precentor to fulfil his vow of becoming a monk.[3] Once again, it would seem, a difficulty about the admission of an aspirant to the monastic life turned Anselm's mind to the practical uses of Gilbert's treatise. Once more he invoked its aid, this time to bring together two texts of Canon Law—a pronouncement of

[1]) Ep. III, 116 (PL 159, col. 153); Schmitt III 222, no. 95. The correct reading of the last word in the extract is *donationis* (see below, p. 104), but the misreading seems to be common to the MSS. of Anselm's letters.

[2]) In the great Canterbury MS. of Anselm's letters, the group of early letters (III 115; IV 68; III 116; IV 69) breaks into the sequence of letters of the archbishop between III 114 and IV 70.

[3]) Ep. III, 12, 13 (PL 159, 35-8).

Gregory the Great and a decree of the fourth Council of Toledo. These two texts do not appear together in any of the canonical collections known to have been current at this time, and the quotation from Gregory the Great does not seem to have found its way into any of the well-known collections. But there can be no doubt about the source of the quotations in Gilbert's treatise and Anselm's letter: they both used an abbreviated version of the collection commonly known as Lanfranc's, to which was appended a set of excerpts from the letters of Gregory the Great.[1] The two passages are both found, though widely separated, in this collection; and the extract from Gregory in both Gilbert and Anselm has textual peculiarities which associate it unmistakably with the excerpts attached to this version of Lanfranc's canons. It is hardly likely that they came upon these dispersed extracts independently. There is only one previous extract from Canon Law collections in the whole of Anselm's writings—in a letter written nearly twenty years earlier, before he became abbot of Bec—and, in this branch of learning, he would find the abbot of Westminster better equipped than he was himself.

Borrowing from contemporary authors and references to Canon Law are almost equally scarce in Anselm's writings: to find two traces of Gilbert's little treatise among Anselm's letters argues that it had made a considerable impression on his mind. Anselm no doubt found the abbot of Westminster a practical and experienced man. He would also find him, as we have seen, exercised about the arguments which a learned Jew could bring against the Christian faith. Anselm found Gilbert sufficiently impressive to make some use of his treatise on the monastic life. Did he also find his Disputation with the Jew sufficiently impressive to make use of it in the *Cur Deus Homo*?

I cannot think so. It is one thing to believe that Anselm borrowed a quotation from Canon Law or extracted an opinion on the commutation of religious views; it is quite another to believe that he borrowed a central point in his doctrine of the Redemption from Gilbert Crispin. But if we cannot believe that Anselm in the *Cur Deus Homo* borrowed from the

[1]) There are two extant MSS. of this type: Durham Cathedral MS. B. IV 18 (probably written at Canterbury) and Lambeth Palace 351. See Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 81-2 and below, p. 102, n.

Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano, we must believe that Gilbert Crispin, in this passage of the *Disputatio*, borrowed from Anselm. Given the background of friendly intercourse between the two men in the months between September 1092 and March 1093 as we now know it, this supposition raises no difficulties. We cannot tell how long the two abbots were together during this time, but it was long enough for Anselm to prepare to settle down to renewed literary activity; it was long enough for him to learn something of Gilbert's activities, to read a treatise of his, and hear about his dispute with the Jew. How much he contributed to the finished form of this *Disputatio*, we cannot precisely tell: I am inclined to think that in the strictly philosophical passages of this dialogus there is much more of Anselm than of Gilbert, not only in their substance but even in their wording. For we must remember that these are very short and could have been inserted in an already almost finished work without difficulty. They are confined to one speech of the Christian, and to the form in which one objection of the Jew is phrased; they break the sequence of exegetical argument which occupies the whole of the rest of the treatise; and it is perhaps significant that the Jew, in the speech which follows the Christian's philosophical reply, makes no allusion to this tightly packed argument but confines himself to the Scriptural evidences between which it is placed.[1] When we notice how distinct these philosophical passages are from the rest of the argument, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the original dispute between Gilbert and the Jew took place on the familiar ground of rival Biblical interpretations, more usual in such disputes, and that the deeper matters of the relation between the Persons and the Substance of the Trinity and the philosophical justification of God's plan of Redemption had no place in it.

I have so far talked of 'borrowing' as of a mechanical process, which justifies us in chopping up a treatise and ascribing some of the ideas in it to one man and some to another. But when two men meet who are bound by so many intimate ties of common experience and purpose, and when one of them is not only among the greatest of theologians but also a man

[1]) The philosophical argument which foreshadows Anselm's treatment of the problem in his *Cur Deus Homo* occupies less than a column in Gilbert's treatise. (Migne, PL 159, col. 1022-3.)

endowed in the highest degree with the gift of friendship; and the other, one of the most lamented of all those who had left Bec in the wake of archbishop Lanfranc, 'borrowing' is unimportant. The effect of this meeting on the mind of Gilbert Crispin was profound. Even on Anselm it was not negligible. His intellectual resources were incomparably richer than those of Gilbert, and there can be no question in his case of a change of direction in his thought. Yet the meeting suggested a problem, which became one of the many strands which went to make up the *Cur Deus Homo*. No doubt much else intervened before this work was completed. Perhaps the original impetus was almost forgotten. But the Jew of London had raised, or at least suggested, the fundamental problem of that work. In the company of Gilbert Crispin, Anselm had taken the first steps in answering it. If we are right in seeing his mind at work in this portion of Gilbert's treatise, it appears that his first thought was to hold on to the main body of the traditional teaching about the rights of the Devil over mankind, and that his far-reaching criticism of this doctrine, which appeared in the *Cur Deus Homo*, was only worked out later. He did not break lightly with a universally held opinion which could claim the authority of St. Augustine. Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio* preserves only his first thoughts on the subject which grew in his mind during the next five years.[1]

The meeting with Gilbert Crispin gave Anselm food for thought. For Gilbert it was the beginning of a new period in his intellectual life. His feet were set in new paths. He became the chief exponent in England of the theological method of St. Anselm, and his most faithful follower in

[1]) The question of a possible connexion between the *Cur Deus Homo* and the Christian-Jewish controversy has been examined by P. G. van der Plaas, O.S.B., *Des hl. Anselm 'Cur Deus Homo' auf dem Boden der Jüdisch-Christlichen Polemik des Mittelalters* (Divus Thomas 7 [1929], 446-67; 8 [1930], 18-32). Dom van der Plaas considered that the topics dealt with in the *Cur Deus Homo* had already occupied a central place in this polemic, and that the *infidelis* of Anselm's treatise was in fact the Jew. Dom van der Plaas's views have not met with general acceptance (see Dom Cappuyns in Bull. Rech. de Théol. Ancienne et Médiévale 2 [1930], no. 380 and J. Rivière, *Le dogme de la rédemption. Études critiques et documents*, Louvain, 1931). It would indeed be difficult to substantiate Dom van der Plaas's view that the philosophical questions dealt with by Anselm were an ordinary part of the Jewish dispute. But in the limited sense which has been explained above—namely, that Gilbert's controversy with the Jew in London introduced Anselm to the problem of the necessity for the Incarnation and to the objections which could be brought against it, and that this was the occasion for a brief preliminary sketch of Anselm's answer to the problem—I believe that Dom van der Plaas was right.

the region of abstract thought. From this date he began to produce a series of treatises moulded on Anselm's plan and reproducing some of the main lines of his thought. He did not entirely abandon his Biblical predilections—we shall see evidence of that in the last of the treatises printed below; and two other works of this period of his life, which have been printed by Armitage Robinson, the *Vita Herluini* and the *De Simoniacis* do not bear the marks of his new interests. But alongside these is the series of works which give him his place as an exponent of Anselm's thought. We shall here only speak of two which are printed in this number. They illustrate the new direction of Gilbert's thought.

The first of these (No. III) is a Palm Sunday sermon. It is an unusual sermon for the occasion. After a brief reference to the ceremonies of the day, it plunges without more ado into a rapid but comprehensive account of the whole process of the Fall and Redemption of Man. We find here the same sequence of ideas, expressed in similar words as in the philosophical chapter of the Dispute with the Jew. It is sometimes difficult in reading the clear, short sentences, with their rhyming antitheses, so different from the style of Gilbert in his earlier works, to resist the thought that it is Anselm who speaks. The manuscript evidence would give no support to such a hypothesis. It would seem rather that the sermon was written when Gilbert's mind was full of the subject, and that it obtruded itself at every opportunity. Externally there is nothing to indicate the date of the sermon. In the manuscript of Gilbert's works, in which it is preserved, it follows immediately on the text of the early (pre-March 1093) form of the Dispute with the Jew: but this cannot be allowed much weight in determining its place in the chronology of Gilbert's works. More significant is the fact that the language and ideas of the sermon are much nearer to the Dispute with the Jew than to the Dispute with the Gentile (1093-8), in which something of the clearness of the first impression seems to have been lost. It would fit in with all we know if this sermon were composed for Palm Sunday (April 10th), 1093, under the influence of the discussions, which, as we have seen, left their mark on the Dispute with the Jew.

The next work, the *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili*, may be regarded as a companion-piece to the Dispute with the Jew; and we have now, I believe, reached a position from which we can understand the true significance of the setting in which it takes place. We may here translate the descriptive passage with which the work opens:

> Issue had been joined (says Gilbert) between two philosophers about the worship of the one God and the unity of the true faith. I knew the place, but I did not presume to go there, because the roads were many and various. A certain person summoned me to go there, and to hear a statement of the true faith. I protested my weakness and the, to me, unknown variety of so many roads. He promised to lead me; he offered me his hand, and with friendly violence began to draw me after him. At last we came to the inn which was our goal. He went inside, because he was of the household: I stayed outside because I was a stranger. I sat down by the door because I was known to one of the door-keepers. There were many learned men there, students as it seemed to me of logic. For the question which was being discussed was this: how was that sentence of Aristotle to be understood in which he said that without the existence of first substances, it is impossible that any of the others should exist. . . . Two other men beside me discussed another question, to wit, whether grammar is the same as logic. . . . (Here follows a brief account of the problem.) . . . I awaited an answer to these questions, but soon I received a summons to a higher court (melioris causae suscepimus actionem). Behold, one of those who was within, a person of venerable appearance, came to those of us who waited outside. With a few grave words he ordered us to be silent and to listen with close attention and due reverence to those things which we should hear being said within. I approached; I looked inside; I entered. The debate was between two men of great fame, but philosophers of different persuasions. One was a Gentile and a shrewd attacker of the Christian faith in the name of reason; the other on the contrary a defender of that faith. . . . (Here the debate begins, and no further details of the characters are reported until, when the discussion reaches the point where the Trinity is its subject, the pagan philosopher retires with downcast looks.)

Ever since the time when Armitage Robinson drew attention to this work, scholars have been interested in the possibility of the existence of such a discussion group, and such a body of informed non-Christian thought in the London of Rufus's day as is represented by the pagan philosopher of this dialogue.[1] The transparent genuineness of the background of the Dispute with the Jew and the strain of irreligion in Rufus's character have disposed scholars to look with a friendly eye on such a

[1]) See Armitage Robinson's remarks, *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 74, and C. C. J. Webb, *Studies in the History of Natural Theology*, pp. 194-5, 198.

possibility. But, even when every allowance has been made for exaggeration and imaginative embroidery, we come at every step against improbabilities which do not meet us in the previous dialogue. All the stories of Rufus's blasphemies, even the wildest of them, are told in connexion with Jews and not with pagans; still less with pagans living, as this one seems to do, under Roman Law (see above, p. 64, l. 29). Indeed, it is clear from his arguments that, though the opponent of the Christian philosopher is in this dialogue called *Gentilis* and not *Judaeus*, he is only the Jew in a generalized form: his God is the God of the Old Testament, and his objections to the Christian are in large part the objections which have already been raised in the previous dialogue, though the method of argument is different. The picture of the great abbot of Westminster being led by the hand through the streets of London, sitting familiarly with the door-keeper of an inn—an inn where logic was discussed at the gate and theology indoors—, all this is not a picture of real life. Unless it is purely fanciful another explanation must be found. If the description were pure fancy it would be singularly pointless; but if it is taken as an allegory, not only does it come into line with the thought and literary habits of the time, but it is, in outline, immediately comprehensible and vivid. It is, I believe, an allegorical picture of what happened to Gilbert Crispin in his approach to the high subjects, to which he was now emboldened to turn his mind. The person who summoned him, took him by the hand and led him with friendly violence, despite his protests, can be none other than Anselm. His long hesitation and sense of insufficiency may perhaps refer to his long delay in following in the footsteps of his master. The inn, of which his guide was an inmate, but Gilbert an outsider, becomes intelligible as the House of Wisdom, where the disciplines preparatory to theology occupy the gate-house and theology itself the inner hall. Perhaps Gilbert's words mean he had long bothered his head with logical problems to which he found no solution; but at last he was summoned to go inside. The result of this summons is seen in a whole series of theological books which breathe the spirit of Anselm. Henceforth he was set in a new way to which he remained faithful to the end.

It would be to do violence to the picture to try to press too closely into the details of the allegory, but I believe that its main purport becomes clear in the light of the events of the Winter of 1092-3 and of the exchanges

which took place between Anselm and Gilbert Crispin at that time and which left a mark on the minds of both of them—but particularly, as we should expect, on the younger man.

It only remains now to give a brief analysis of the *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili* in order to indicate its relation to the works of Gilbert Crispin on the one hand and St. Anselm on the other. In barest outline, the argument is as follows:

1. The Christian and Pagan agree on their starting-point and on the method of argument: both accept as a fact the existence of God and of a future life, and they agree to proceed in their argument by the use of reason and not of authority.
2. The Pagan brings his first objection to the Christian system, that it presupposes the mutability of God, since Christians do not observe the Law laid down in the Old Testament. This is the same objection as the Jew had raised in Gilbert's earlier dialogue and a great deal of time is spent in discussing it. Although Biblical texts are freely exchanged, the Christian on the whole keeps his promise to justify the Christian interpretation of the Law by rational arguments. He is however beginning to get carried away with the quoting of Messianic prophecies, when the Pagan recalls him to the question.
3. The Pagan persists in his objection, and now elaborates it in three directions. Christianity, he argues, presupposes the mutability of God because
   (a) Christians do not keep the Law of the Old Testament.
   (b) God (if Christians are to be believed) suffered change in becoming Man.
   (c) The unity and simplicity of God is denied by the doctrine of the Trinity.

   On the first of these points the Christian now adds some further arguments, pointing out the symbolic nature of the Law, until the Pagan professes himself satisfied on this score. With regard to the other two points, the Christian says he will only answer the first of them, since the question of the Trinity is to be discussed

only among the faithful. On the charge that God would suffer change in becoming Man, the Christian repeats two of the arguments which have already been used in the Dispute with the Jew:

i. God could assume manhood *in unitate personae* without any alteration in the divine nature.
ii. The Incarnation was necessary if men were to be redeemed.

The second of these points is only lightly touched on, and the rights of the Devil are not mentioned at all; but for the rest there is an unmistakeable similarity between Gilbert's treatment of the subject here and in the Dispute with the Jew (see above pp. 70-1).

4. The Pagan now takes up the argument which had previously been urged by the Jew about the ignominy suffered by God in becoming Man, but he does not press it with any great conviction. Then, with a final fling at the Christian for refusing to discuss the doctrine of the Trinity, he leaves the room.
5. A believer now assumes the role of questioner in the place of the Pagan, and a discussion takes place on the doctrine of the Trinity in which the influence of Anselm's *De Incarnatione Verbi* is particularly apparent.

The whole treatise may be regarded as Gilbert's development of the problems suggested by the dispute with the Jew, just as the *Cur Deus Homo* was Anselm's infinitely grander and more subtle extension of the position first adumbrated in a few lines of Gilbert's earlier dialogue. Gilbert's work cannot of course compare in power or importance with the *Cur Deus Homo*: one has the feeling that Gilbert would gladly have remained on the humbler level of Biblical exegesis and not ventured on the heights of speculation. But, like all that Gilbert wrote, it is an honest work. It must belong to the period after March 1093, for it makes use of parts of the *De Incarnatione Verbi*, which do not appear in any of the early drafts but only in the version completed after Anselm became archbishop of Canterbury. But it has so many points of likeness with the Dispute with the Jew and the Palm Sunday sermon that it was probably written not long after this date. It is incomplete in the manuscript and, in more than one place, incoherence

and abrupt transitions in the argument suggest that the work was never finished. It would in any case soon have been eclipsed by the *Cur Deus Homo*, finished in 1098, and it may for this reason have been left incomplete.

II. TEXTS

I *A Treatise on the Monastic Life*

This treatise and the following one (No. II) are contained in the Brussels MS., Bibliothèque Royale 1403 (formerly 8794-9), a mid-twelfth-century volume from Rochester.[1] Folios 17-72 of this MS. once formed a separate book containing:

1. fol. 18-33r. Excerpts from St. Augustine with the title: *Sententie de sancta Trinitate ex libris magni Augustini carptim sumpte, maxime ex eo qui inscribitur de sancta Trinitate.* The same title is also found attached to a series of excerpts in Durham MS. B. IV. 18, a MS. with Canterbury connexions which has been mentioned above (p. 91 n.). I have not been able to compare these excerpts but, from the similarity of title, they are evidently related.
2. fol. 33v-36v. The treatise on the Monastic life printed below (No. I).
3. fol. 37r-43r. The treatise printed below as No. II.
4. fol. 43v-70v. Gilbert Crispin's *Disceptatio Iudei cum Christiano* (PL 159, col. 1005-36).
5. fol. 70v-71. Medical notes, inc. *A leguminibus preter lenticulam cum cedro aut coriendio . . .* expl. *Fumum omnem et maxime cornibus capre ascendentem quasi periculum mortis timeatis.*

The present text also occurs, in an inferior form and with many omissions, in Bodleian MS., Laud Misc. 171, fol. 85r-86v (mid-twelfth century), where it lacks the address and has instead the title: *Anselmi* (sic) *sententia quid sit monachatus.*

The Brussels text is here distinguished as *B*, and the Laudian as *L*.

Dilecto atque diligenti domino et fratri R., frater G., que preparavit Deus 1
diligentibus se.

Quesivit a me dilectio vestra quid sit monachatus, an prosit, ad que prosit, et quantum prosit. Videtur mihi, sacrisque auctoritatibus et assentaneis rationi-

1-2 Anselmi sententia quid sit monachatus *L*. 3 an prosit: an prosit et *L*.

1 fratri R.: this is possibly the same person as the recipient of no. II (see below, p. 105, n.).

[1]) N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, London, 1941, p. 90.

bus astrui posse videtur mihi, quod nil aliud sit monachatus quam perfecta Christianismi observatio et divine sanctionis adimpletio. In baptismo enim cum quereret sacerdos "abrenuntias Sathane et operibus eius?" respondimus "abrenuntio". "Et ego" inquit "baptizo te" et cetera. Acsi diceret: "Eo quidem tenore baptizo te". Si ergo antecedens nostra responsio minime observatur, promissa conditio remissionis iure evacuatur. Quid ergo? Manebit prevaricatio? Que vero rursus plenaria fiet expiatio? Ad baptismi gratiam redire non possumus, quia reiterari non potest baptismus. Ad secundariam ergo, id est, confessionis gratiam refugiendum est. Sicut enim de baptismo dicitur "QUI CREDIDERIT ET BAPTIZATUS FUERIT, SALVUS ERIT", ita de confessione Scriptura testatur omnia in confessione delicta donantur. Et Psalmista DIXI inquit, CONFITEBOR ADVERSUM ME INIUSTICIAM MEAM DOMINO, ET TU REMISISTI IMPIETATEM PECCATI MEI. Perfecta vero confessionis ac penitentie professio in solo fit monachatu. Nam sicut baptizandus promittit se abrenuntiaturum Sathane et operibus eius, ita suscipiendus ad hunc ordinem promittit conversionem morum suorum et obedientiam, et sic suscipitur, contestante eo qui suscipit: "Exuat te Dominus veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induat te novum hominem qui secundum Deum creatus est in iusticia et sanctitate veritatis."

Denique trina illa mersio in aquam baptismatis, dominici corporis per triduum in sepulchro requiem figurans, hic representatur, cum in ipso sacre religionis habitu monachus per triduum quodam modo consepelitur. Prodest itaque monachatus. Ad quid? Ad optinendam delictorum veniam. Quantum? Nulla poenitentia adeo, quia nulla est adeo magna. In isto quippe satisfactionis genere, propria et spontanea manumissione sua, obtinende gratia misericordie reddit Deo se et sua omnia peccator, indeque voto se alligat coram Deo et sanctis eius, in presentia quoque hominum, et scripto id confirmat. Prodest et ad optinendam vitam aeternam. Cum enim quesisset quidam a Domino QUID FACIENDO VITAM ETERNAM POSSIDEBO?, ait ei Dominus SI VIS INGREDI AD VITAM, SERVA MANDATA: NON OCCIDES, ac cetera. Et ille HEC OMNIA OBSERVAVI A IUVENTUTE MEA. Et Dominus: ADHUC TIBI UNUM DEEST. SI VIS PERFECTUS ESSE, VADE VENDE OMNIA QUE HABES, ET SEQUERE ME. Qui ergo vult ingredi ad vitam, qui vult perfectus esse, pro his optinendis vendat omnia. Quis autem pro

5 posse videtur mihi: potest *L.* 10 promissa conditio remissionis: consequens remissio promissionis *L.* 10-11 Manebit . . . expiatio? *om. L.* 18 diabolo *L.* 20 Dominus *om. B.* 22 veritatis: et veritate *L.* 25 sepelitur *L.* 25-26 Prodest itaque ista satisfactio ad optinendam *L.* 27 poenitentia *om. L.* 28 genere: satisfaciendo inquam Deo *add. L.* 31 quidam *om. L.* 35 et vende *L.*

13-14 Marc. XVI 16. 15-16 Ps. XXXI 5. 20-2 See the order for the Benediction of Monks printed by d'Achéry in his Annotations to the works of Lanfranc (PL 150, col. 61). 32 Luc. X 25. 32 Luc. XVIII 20-2.

Deo vendit omnia que habet, nisi qui seipsum vendit et omnia que habet, ita ut iam nil habeat, neque sui iuris iam existat? Quis denique potest dicere Deo ECCE NOS RELIQUIMUS OMNIA, nisi is qui seipsum abnegando et sua omnia relinquendo, se suaque omnia Deo committat? Quia vero gressualiter ad Deum accedere non potest, facit hoc vicario Dei ad quem accedere potest. Prodest igitur hec vita ad delictorum indulgentiam et optinendam vitam eternam, et nullum vite genus ad id optinendum adeo prodest, quia nullus pro Deo plus facere potest, quam is qui pro Deo relinquendo omnia, seipsum scilicet et sua omnia dat et facit pro Deo quicquid facere potest. Ecce quid sit monachatus, ad que prosit, et quantum prosit.

Istud propositum vite primus ille instituit, qui auctor omnium existit. SI QUIS, inquit, VULT POST ME VENIRE, ABNEGET SEMETIPSUM ET SEQUATUR ME. Istud propositum vite hominum primus ille arripuit, qui ad Dominum ait: ECCE NOS RELIQUIMUS OMNIA. Et Dominus ad huius modi homines: CENTUPLUM ACCIPIETIS, ET VITAM ETERNAM POSSIDEBITIS. Sed quoniam inter seculares seu turbines seu homines quiete hoc vite genus hominum propositum suum exercere non potest, confugit ad monasterium; ibi se concludit; unde et claustralis hec hominum congregatio appellatur. Huius itaque propositi Deus ipse auctor fuit; conversationis autem in claustro beatus Benedictus institutor extitit, insinuans quibus horis sedere in claustro, quibus ire ad oratorium et ad claustrum redire oporteat, quot vel quos psalmos dicere conveniat. Nam ante vel soli vel quatterni per heremum vivebant, sed quia scriptum est, VAE SOLI QUONIAM SI CECIDERIT NON HABET *qui allevet eum*, visum est rationabilius, ut simul sint, sub iudice et sub magistro agant quicquid egerint.

Nullus denique salvari potest, nisi vitam monachi sequatur in quantum potest. Vita quippe monachi est non occidere, non adulterari et cetera que cavere Christianus debet; nec solum ista cavere, sed ad omnes illas niti virtutes, ad quas Christianum eniti oportet. In quantum ergo hec quisque exequitur, vitam monachilem imitatur et salutem consequitur. In quantum ab istis declinaverit, a via salutis recedit et proximat perditioni.

Habitus ipse huius ordinis propterea exterius abiectionem vilitatis protestatur, ut qualis homo interior esse debeat semper contestetur. Talaribus vestimentis utimur, ut semper illud ad memoriam reducamus, quoniam QUI PERSEVERAVERIT USQUE IN FINEM, HIC SALVUS ERIT. Non preciosi coloris, quoniam a preciosis

39 is *om. L.* 40 omnia *om. L.* 40 vero: ergo *L.* 40 Deum: eum *L.* 44 datsibi *B.* 45 ad que: et quid *L.* 47 ille *om. L.* 50 huiuscemodi *L.* 51-52 seu homines *om. L.* hominum *om. L.* 57 quaterni *L.* 58-9 quoniam: quia *L.* allevet: sullevet *L.* 64 exsequitur *L.*

39 Matt. XIX 27. 47-8 Luc. IX 23. 49-50 Matt. XIX 27. 50-1 Matt. XIX 29. 58 Eccle. IV 10. 69-70 Matt. X 22.

vestibus feminas quoque deortatur apostolus Petrus. NON IN VESTE, inquit, PRECIOSA. Ostentationem tamen abiectionis fugimus, iuxta apostolum, PROVIDENTES BONA NON *solum* CORAM DEO SED ETIAM CORAM HOMINIBUS. Iuxta eundem quoque apostolum *vitamus nè* ADVERSARIO *demus* MALEDICENDI *aditum*. In manicarum et capitii extensione figuram crucis presignamus, ut mortificationem interioris hominis iugiter apud nos circumferamus. Ad hanc vitam qui assurgere conatur, quoniam meliorem vitam appetere non potest, a nullo prohiberi potest vel debet qui rationem sequi velit, et sacre auctoritati resistere non velit. Quis enim sane mentis absolute bonum quod infra est potius appetet quam illud quod optimum est? Nam aliquando aliis ex causis postponimus bonum quod per se melius videtur et rationabiliter appetimus quod minus bonum esse videtur. Rationi suffragatur hac in re sacra ubique auctoritas. Unde apostolus: SI SPIRITU DUCIMINI, NON ESTIS SUB LEGE.

De monachatu sic legitur in Toletano concilio quarto, capitulo .L.: "Clerici qui monachorum propositum appetunt quia meliorem vitam sequi cupiunt, liberos eis ab episcopo in monasteria largiri oportet ingressus, nec intercidi propositum eorum qui ad contemplationis desiderium transire nituntur." Beatus quoque Gregorius in Registro ad Desiderium episcopum sic scribit: "Pancratius lator presentium diaconus aecclesie vestre divina inspiratione conpunctus, gratiam monachice conversationis apetiit. Hortamur ergo ut eius sic prompte devotioni qua in sancto studet adesse proposito minime vestra sit impedimento fraternitas. Magis autem quibus valetis adortationibus pastorali admonitione succendite."

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71 dehortatur *L.* 78 non velit: nolit *L.* 79 expetet *L.* 84 quarto capitulo. L. *om. L.* 86 ab episcopo *om. L.* 89 nostre *L.* 90 Hortamus *B.* ergo vos *L.* 91 adesse: esse *L.*

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71 I Tim. II 9; cf. I Petr. III 3. 72-3 Rom. XII 17. 74 I Tim. V 14. 82-3 Gal. V 18. 84-92 cf. ANSELM, *Ep.* III 12 (March-Dec. 1093) to Geoffrey Bishop of Paris: Beatus namque Gregorius in libro XIV Registri, scitis quid mandet Desiderio episcopo de quodam qui divina inspiratione compunctus gratiam monachicae conversationis appetierat; quomodo scilicet hortetur eundem episcopum ut propositum eius nullo modo impediat, sed magis eum quantum valet pastorali admonitione succendat, ne fervor conceptus in eo tepescat, nec ullatenus debere eum, qui monasterii portum petiit, rursus ecclesiasticarum curarum perturbationibus implicari. In Toletano Concilio IV legistis clericos monachorum propositum appetentes, quia meliorem vitam sequi cupiunt, liberos esse debere ab episcopis ad monasteriorum ingressus. The decree of the Fourth Council of Toledo is found in Ps.-Isidore (normally numbered XLIX, and not, as here, L), and thence it passed into "Lanfranc's collection", an abbreviated version of Ps.-Isidore (see Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy 1066-1215*, pp. 59ff.). The letter of Gregory the Great is IX, 157 in the edition of L. M. Hartmann (MGH, *Epp.* II, 158-9) or XII, 35 in Migne (PL 76). In two MSS., "Lanfranc's Collection" in a specially abbreviated form, is followed by excerpts from the Register of Gregory the Great. These excerpts include the passage quoted above and refer it to the 14th Book of the Register. The text runs as follows (Durham B. IV. 18, fol. 63v) and the words in brackets indicate the variations and omissions as compared with the full text of the letter:

Dominus quoque in evangelio: QUI AMAT PATREM AUT MATREM PLUS QUAM ME, ADHUC AUTEM ET ANIMAM SUAM, NON POTEST MEUS ESSE DISCIPULUS. Ideo addidit PLUS QUAM me, quoniam alligatus seu coniugio seu aliquibus aliis affectionum legibus, si secundum Deum in his nullo modo vivere potest, liber ab his ad Deum fugere potest. Qui autem ab omni lege solutus est, quanto liberior, tanto facilius ad Deum ire potest ac debet. Quod autem opponitur scriptum in canonibus quod clericus nichil agat absque noticia episcopi sui, approbamus, ut et hoc et quicquid boni agit, agat cum noticia atque benedictione episcopi sui. Verum si episcopus sibi hoc interdixerit, dicimus et sacra auctoritate asserimus super hoc sibi non esse oboediendum, quia OBOEDIRE OPORTET DEO MAGIS QUAM HOMINIBUS qui in evangelio ait: QUI NON RENUNCIAT OMNIBUS QUE POSSIDET, NON POTEST MEUS ESSE DISCIPULUS; et alibi: SI VIS PERFECTUS ESSE, VADE, VENDE OMNIA QUE HABES, DA PAUPERIBUS, ET VENI SEQUERE ME. Aperta est auctoritas evangelii, interpretetur quisque prout vult. Stat fixum: SEMEL LOCUTUS EST DEUS. Quod enim locutus est Deus, quoquomodo interpretemur nos, fiet quod locutus est Deus. Qua vero intentione, qua devotione, qua bonorum actuum recompensatione, salvus fieri queat quisquis seu coniugio iunctus, seu qualibet alia necessitudine alligatus, non renunciat omnibus que possidet, quaerat cuius hoc interest, salvaque auctoritate divina, super hac re divinum consilium accipere potest.

Sententia domni abbatis est de Cluniei de his qui voverunt in seculo se ituros ad aliquos sanctos, sive in Ierusalem, sive Romam, si ad ordinem nostrum venerint, et devote et obedienter se habuerint, omnia vota sua quaecumque complevisse et perfecisse. Quippe qui se in partem Deo per vota tradiderant, postquam se Deo totos tradiderint, totum in partem postmodum non habent redigere, nisi qui quod Deo obtulerunt sibi velint in proprietate subripere, et ita non solum indevoti,

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94 ADHUC AUTEM ET ANIMAM SUAM *om. L.* 95 alligatus quis *L.* 96 si *om. B.* 98 Deum: Dominum *L.* 103 qui: et *L.* 104 VADE ET VENDE *L.* 112 *Post* potest *add.* Explicit *L. et reliqua desunt.*

Gregorius Desiderio episcopo. Pancratius lator presentium (*omission*) intimavit nobis quod in clericatus officio vestre militaverit ecclesie. Unde divina inspiratione compunctus (divini motus inspiratione compunctus) gratiam monachice conversationis appetiit (appetit). . . . Hortamur ergo ut sic prompte devotioni eius qua in sancto studet adesse propositum (quam in sanctum studet habere propositum), minime vestra sit impedimento fraternitas. Magis autem quibus valetis adhortationibus pastorali admonitione succendite, ut fervor huius in eo desiderii non tepescat. Ut quia (qui) a turbulento curarum secularium tumultu se segregans, quietis desiderio monasterii portum appetit, rursus ecclesiasticarum curarum non debeat perturbationibus implicari, sed in Dei laudibus permittatur secure ab his omnibus, ut postulat, permanere. 93-4 Matt. X 37; Luc. XIV 26. 98-102 cf. ANSELM, *Ep.* III 13: Episcopi servant sibi auctoritatem quamdiu concordant Christo; ita ipsi sibi eam adimunt cum discordant a Christo. 102-3 Act. V 29. 103 Luc. XIV 33. 104-5 Matt. XIX 21. 106 Ps. LXI, 12. 113-104, 2 cf. the addition to ANSELM, *Ep.* III, 116 discussed above, p. 90.

immo rei fiant tam sue abrenuntiationis quam professionis et sue ipsorum donationis.

II *A treatise on the three Maries of the Gospels.*

This treatise deals with a problem which exercised scholars in Patristic times and has continued to do so from the time of the Reformation. So far as I know, the present treatise is a solitary witness to the discussion of the problem in the Middle Ages, when—from the time of Gregory the Great—it was considered as virtually a closed controversy until the subject was reopened in the early sixteenth century.[1] There were two points at issue, though they tend to get confused in the course of the discussion:

1. Do the various accounts of the anointing of the Lord's head or feet, in Matthew XXVI 7, Mark XIV 3, Luke VII 36 and John XII 1 refer to the same woman, and, if so, are they different accounts of the same incident?
2. Are any or all of these women identical with Mary Magdalene?

The first of these questions raises points of serious critical interest. On the second question, it is hard to see that, on the evidence of the Bible, there is anything to be said at all. Yet the identification of Mary Magdalene with the "sinner" of Luke VII 36, the sister of Martha and Lazarus of John XII 1, and the woman in the house of Simon the Leper (Matt. XXVI 7 and Mark XIV 3), was a commonplace in the West from the time of Gregory the Great. Bede (commenting on Luke VII 36) refers to a contrary opinion, but he does not stop to refute it, and this is probably simply a scholarly allusion, rather than a reference to a living controversy. The only question on which the tradition was not fixed by the time of Bede was whether the incident recorded by Luke was the same as that recorded by the other evangelists. Bede took the view that there were two incidents, and saw in them a touching symbol of the process of a sinner's redemption. Later tradition favoured the view that the various accounts described a single incident, and this was the opinion held by Gilbert Crispin.

His opponent, however, whose words are largely reproduced in the Treatise of Gilbert printed below, not only held that the two incidents were distinct, but also that the persons of whom they were related were different people, and neither of them identical with Mary Magdalene. How radical this opinion was, and how great an independence of mind it reveals in Gilbert's opponent, can be seen by a consideration of the great elaboration which the story of Mary Magdalene had

[1]) A survey of the literature on the subject may be found in F. Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible (1904), under *Marie-Madeleine*, to which I am indebted.

received by her association with the incident of the anointing. In the late eleventh century the impulse towards a more affective or emotional attitude towards religion had given the legend of Mary Magdalene a position of peculiar veneration in the cycle of Christian stories. St. Anselm, himself a leader in this movement, had written a prayer in her honour, which wove the various strands into a few phrases:

> Sancta Maria Magdalena, quae cum fonte lacrimarum ad fontem misericordiae Christum venisti, de quo ardenter sitiens abundanter es refocillata, per quem peccatrix es justificata, a quo amarissime dolens dulcissime es consolata (Or. LXXIV; PL 158, col. 1010).

And Peter Damian had made a similarly affecting use of the various elements which had become part of the story of Mary Magdalene:

> Felix Maria unxit pedes Jesu, felicior eadem caput unxit auctoris (? salvatoris), felicissima quae rorem unguentarium toti Christi corpori praeparavit. (Sermo XXIX; PL 144, col. 665.)

In short, the alabaster box had become inseparable from the name of Mary Magdalene and continued so for several centuries. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the treatise which follows is that it reveals the existence in the late eleventh century of a critic—or, rather, a school of critics—who wished to break a tradition consecrated by so many famous names and so firmly established in the affections of religious people. In order to distinguish more clearly the views of these critics, the arguments ascribed to them are printed below in italics. By contrast, it must be confessed that Gilbert's arguments in their general tenor are a striking example of the use of learning and reason to support a received and much cherished, but indefensible, opinion.

Probatio G⟨ilberti⟩ abbatis de illa peccatrice que unxit pedes Domini.

Dilecto atque diligenti sancte Sagiensis ecclesie monacho et cantori R⟨odulfo⟩, frater G⟨ilbertus⟩ abbas Westmonasterii, que preparavit Deus diligentibus se.

Ad ea que per litteras me interrogasti iussus tuoque iussu coactus respondi, et si non sufficienter, non tamen omnino extra rem aut inconvenienter. Libellus in manus tuas incidit, in quo libelli auctor approbare satagit, quia tres sint femine non una, peccatrix illa in evangelio secundum Lucam, et Maria Magdalene, et Maria que unxit pedes Domini circa Passionis sue tempora. Rationabilia sunt

[2] R⟨odulfo⟩: it is almost certain that the person here addressed is Ralph d'Escures, a close associate of St. Anselm and his friends, and successively monk (? 1079) and abbot (1089) of Séez, Bishop of Rochester (1108) and Anselm's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury (1114). If this is he, the present treatise must be dated between 1085 and 1089. For a fuller account of Ralph, see M.A.R.S. I 28-9.

que opponit, sed non sufficientia id destruere quod intendit. Cum enim beatus Augustinus et beatus Gregorius unam esse putent et scripto commendent, cumque ante eos idipsum antiquiores sacrarum litterarum tractatores et hystoriarum diligentissimi exquisitores putaverint et scripto ediderint, tot tantisque personis fidem adimere non valet nisi aut persona maioris nominis que illis temporibus vicinior existens personarum illarum vocabula exploratius addiscere potuit, aut ratio certa aliqua que in omni controversia personis omnibus potior existit. Sed ut de persona interim omittamus, que in illa disputatione contra priorum sententiam rationes afferuntur aut parti nostre magis assentire videntur, aut neutri parti potius astipulantur.

Prima eorum ratio: *Peccatrix illa non fuit Maria Magdalene, quia evangelista non dixit, eodemque argumento nec Maria soror Lazari.*

Quid ergo si par pari referamus, id non esse contradicendum quoniam evangelista nullum contradicendi eis aditum dedit? Peccatricis enim illius in evangelio mulieris nomen quia nullum evangelista dixit, iccirco dicenti alii minime contradixit. Si autem, ut ipsi aiunt, insolentis esse temeritatis dicitur ut nomen quod evangelista reticuit, qui actus narravit, hoc ab alio quolibet assignetur nullo eam aliquis assignabit vel assignatam fuisse dicet nomine, quoniam nullum sibi nomen evangelista assignavit vel assignatum fuisse designavit. Atqui ei nomen aliquod fuit. Qui ergo super hoc credibilius audiendi sunt, priores aut qui fuere postremi? Qui canones evangeliorum scripserunt, in quibus que eadem seu que diversa evangeliste narrent assignaverunt, hoc Luce et illud Iohannis de sorore Lazari unum et idem opus esse consignaverunt. Beatus Ieronimus in commentariis super Mattheum, ubi ventum est ad illam questionem solvendam de mulieribus que venerunt ad monumentum, dixit inter cetera, his verbis, "Quattuor autem fuisse Marias in evangeliis legimus. Unam matrem Domini Salvatoris alteram materteram eius que appellata est Maria Cleophe, terciam Mariam Iacobi et Ioseph, quartam Mariam Magdalene." Ex his igitur consequi videtur, ut Maria

9-10 beatus Augustinus et beatus Gregorius: Gilbert is mistaken (as also apparently were his opponents) in thinking that his views had the support of St. Augustine. Augustine was inclined to accept the view that the "sinner" of Luke VII 36 was the same as the sister of Martha and Lazarus in John XII 1 and the woman in the house of Simon the Leper in Matt. XXVI 7 and Mark XIV 3, but he did not refer these incidents to Mary Magdalene. (*De Consensu Evang.* II 79, PL 33, col. 1154; *Tract. in Joh.* XLIX, cap. 3, PL 35, col. 1748.) Gregory the Great's opinion, however, was unambiguous and is expressed in several places (*Hom. in Ezech.*, I, *Hom.* VIII, PL 76, col. 854; *XL Hom. in Evang.*, II, *Hom.* XXXIII, PL 76, col. 1239; *Registrum* VII 2, PL 77, col. 877). 29 canones evangeliorum: I have not identified the quotation. 30 Luc. VII 36; Joh. XII 1. 31-2 Beatus Jeronimus in commentariis super Mattheum: Gilbert must here have been misled by some collection of excerpts. These words are not found in Jerome's commentary on Matt. XXVIII 1. On the contrary, he expressed very forcibly the contrary opinion a little earlier in this work: Nemo putet eamdem esse quae super caput effudit unguentum, et quae super pedes. Illa enim et lacrimis lavat, et crine tergit et manifesto meretrix appellatur. De hac autem nihil tale scriptum est. (*Comm. in Matt.* XXVI 7, PL 26, col. 191.)

soror Lazari que in evangeliis non solum legitur, verum et plurimum commendatur, cum nulla reliquarum fuit, Maria Magdalene sit. Idem ipse hoc evidentius in primo commentariorum in Osee prophetam astruit. "Hec est", inquit, "mulier meretrix et adultera que in evangelio pedes Domini lavit, lacrimis crine detersit et conversionis sue honoravit unguento. Indignantibusque discipulis, et maxime proditore, quod non fuisset venditum et precium eius in alimenta pauperum distributum, respondit Dominus: QUID MOLESTI ESTIS MULIERI? OPUS BONUM OPERATA EST IN ME." Itaque cum in superiori huius testimonii parte dicat illam fuisse meretricem et adulteram que in evangelio pedes Domini lavit et cetera, in posteriori vero de eadem commemoret que ante sex dies Pasche Mariam sororem Lazari fecisset circa Dominum, nemo est qui dubitet, profecto unam dat intelligi esse feminam illam et istam. Quid super his beatus Augustinus et beatus Gregorius sentiant, quoniam ipsi non bene id sensisse quod una fuerint calumniantur, inserere supersedemus. Tamen durum auditu est, ut in ecclesia hi viri calumnientur. Beatus Maximinus unus e septuaginta discipulis Christi, ei de qua loquimur beate mulieri contemporaneus, ut in gestis eiusdem viri legitur eiusdemque mulieris beate videlicet Marie Magdalene, post Passionem Domini illam in sua accepit, secum Massiliam duxit et usque ad finem illam secum habuit. Postea supra tumulum illius una ex parte in lapide exculpi fecit quomodo ad pedes Domini accessit, lacrimis lavit, crine detersit; ex alia vero quomodo post Resurrectionem procumbenti ad pedes suos ei Dominus dixerit NOLI ME TANGERE et cetera. Et hic itaque monstrat peccatricem illam Mariam Magdalene fuisse. Si ergo superiora manent, profecto una eademque est mulier, illa secundum Lucam peccatrix, Maria Magdalene, et Maria soror Lazari. Proinde universa per orbem aecclesia Eusebio Cesariensi, Amonio Alexandrino, Origeni, ac ceteris qui vicinius temporibus illis successerunt, super hac re magis esse credendum censuit, quoniam de nominibus locorum ac personarum potissima eis adhibetur fides qui de locis ad personis de quibus narratio fit contemporanei extitere aut viciniores.

47 fecisset *MS*.

39 *Comm. in Osee Prophetam*, Prologus, PL 25, col. 817. 42 Matt. XXVI 10. 51 Beatus Maximinus: From the eighth century onwards there is a large collection of Lives and legends referring to the journey of Mary Magdalene, with her sister Martha and St. Maximinus to Marseilles, and their brother Lazarus was reputed to have become bishop of that city. The accounts have been collected by E. M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de sainte Marie-Madeleine*, 2 vols., 1848. The lives of Mary Magdalene are brought together in vol. II, pp. 440-603; the details of her tomb, however, differ slightly from those which Gilbert gives here. 57 Joh. XX 17. 61 Eusebio Cesariensi, Amonio Alexandrino, Origeni: With Origen, there was no question of the identification of Mary Magdalene with the other women with whom later tradition identified her. In his view there were four women: one in Matt. XXVI and Mark XIV, another in Luke VII, a third in John XI and XII, and Mary Magdalene. See Origen, *In Matt.* XXXV, PG 13, col. 1721-2. I have not found the source used by Gilbert here for these references; cf. above, note to ll. 31-2.

Sentiunt autem et consentiunt annotati doctores unius eiusdemque mulieris esse illas operationes.

Item intendunt *quod illud de sorore Lazari in Bethania et circa Passionem Domini gestum sit.*

Nec Luce, inquam, narratio fit contraria, quia nullum prorsus locum vel tempus quod illud illius mulieris factum fuerit designat. Atque evidentissimum est quod Lucas ab eo rerum gestarum ordine quem alii tenent longe digredit[illegible] multa prius que illi posterius commemorant insinuans. Nam postquam memora[illegible] de his qui ad baptismum Iohannis confluebant, antequam memorasset quod ad eum baptizandus Dominus venisset, intulit quia Herodes Iohannem posuit in carcerem, quod longe postea actum est. Matheus post habitum sermonem illu[illegible] prolixum quem in monte Dominus habuit, continuat de leproso qui ait: "DOMIN[illegible] SI VIS POTES ME MUNDARE"; Lucas vero ante ea gesta longe prius hoc miraculu[illegible] narrat. Cum ergo nec ubi nec quando illud de peccatrice gestum sit Lucas aliqua certitudine insinuat, videtur quia id ut multa alia ordinem non servando anticip[illegible] cum nusquam alibi illud tam memorabile factum de sorore Lazari aliquaten[illegible] commendat.

Item. *Sororem Lazari peccatricem fuisse nusquam evangeliste dicunt.*

Verum quidem est sed nec minus verum quod id nequaquam contradicu[illegible] Si enim illam semper iusticie vacasse aliquomodo insinuassent, tunc peccato[illegible] nomen ei attribuendum minime permisissent.

Item. *Peccatricem illam phariseus cuius domum intravit multa cum indignatio[illegible] suscepit et quidem propter malorum actuum eius enormitatem, eandemque de illa estimatione[illegible] aliis fuisse evangelista non tacuit, dicendo* MULIER QUE ERAT IN CIVITATE PECCATRI[illegible] *At vero de Maria sorore Lazari patenter insinuat quia diligebat eam Iesus.* DILIGEBA[illegible] *inquit,* IESUS MARTHAM ET SOROREM EIUS MARIAM ET LAZARUM. *Vicini quoque eam honori habebant, honoris et officii sedulitatem circa illam impendebant.*

Quia ergo penes illum arrogantem phariseum multa indignatio adversu[illegible] peccatricem illam prius existit, concedamus ut et aliis; ubi tamen facta est circa eam tanta DEXTERE EXCELSI IMMUTATIO et morum illius secuta est tanta commutatio, quis astruere conabitur aliorum et ipsius etiam Symonis penes illam non esse commutatam estimationem post auditam de ea Domini tantam testificationem[illegible] "PROPTER QUOD DICO TIBI", inquit, "DIMISSA SUNT EI PECCATA MULTA, QUONIAM[illegible] DILEXIT MULTUM." Scriptum etiam est, EX USURIS ET INIQUITATE REDIMET ANIMAS EORUM, ET HONORABILE NOMEN EORUM CORAM IPSO. Prius inquam execrabile[illegible] postea honorabile. Ut enim improbitatem odium et infamia, sic probitatem gratia consequi solet et gloria. Quid tandem in fine ait Dominus ad illam que peccatrix venerat? "FIDES TUA TE SALVAM FECIT: VADE IN PACE." Exosa venit; in pace

67 illud: i.e. the account in John XII 1. Gilbert here deals with the objection that the incident of the "sinner" recounted in Luke VII 36 is not the same as the incident at Bethany in John XII 1.
74 Luc. III 3-22. 76 Matt. VIII 2. 88 Luc. VII 37. 89-90 Joh. XI 5. 94 Ps. LXXVI 11. 97 Luc. VII 47. 98 Ps. LXXI 14. 102 Luc. VII 50.

discessit. Si in pace, nil inconveniens dictu quod diligebat eam Iesus. Illam honoris exhibitionem et officii impensam sedulitatem non legimus, sed potius miserationis compassionem indultam animadvertimus. Multi, inquit, ex Iudeis venerant ad Martham et sororem eius Mariam ut consolarentur eas de fratre suo. Hic non sedulum aut frequens describitur obsequium, sed ad tempus et pro fratris desolatione consolationis beneficium. Quod autem obiciunt, *nec enim poterat meretrix statim capitis Domini digna fieri,* per ipsum per quem accessum habemus in gratiam istam in qua stamus obsecramus ut considerent quid obiciant et peccatoribus gratie et miserationis divine confidentiam non adimant. Ardentissima erat eius devotio, et scriptum legimus quia FORTIS EST UT MORS DILECTIO. Denique si ad id pensare dignitatem iusticie hominum quis voluerit, UNIVERSE hominum IUSTICIE QUASI PANNUS MENSTRUATE in conspectu Domini.

Item. *Mariam sororem Lazari usquequaque Dominum secutam esse nusquam evangeliste dicunt; immo Iohannes quando Martham sororem illius ad Dominum venisse refert, Mariam domi sedere non tacet. Lucas vero ubi narrat Dominum ab illis sororibus hospitio susceptum,* MARTHA, *inquit,* SATAGEBAT CIRCA FREQUENS MINISTERIUM; MARIA AUTEM SEDENS SECUS PEDES DOMINI AUDIEBAT VERBUM ILLIUS. *Atqui ipse Lucas scribit Mariam Magdalene Dominum usquequaque sequi et de suo illi ministrare.*

In nullo ista sibi repugnare videmus. Quanto enim avidior Maria erat audire verbum illius, tanto rationabilius esse videtur eam omnimodis instare ut nusquam vacare ab auditione verbi illius, usquequaque illum sequendo et semper sive domi sive extra illi adherendo. Ministrare etenim hic accipimus de suo ei ad ministerii supplementum aliqua sumministrare. Nam Iudas loculos habens ea que mittebantur portabat, que necessaria erant procurabat, que egenis danda erant distribuebat. Denique fieri non irreligiose potuit, ut cum frater eius Lazarus infirmaretur, soror et familiares eius propter eam miserint ad exhibendum fratri morienti obsequium et desolande sorori solatium, sicut postea miserunt propter ipsum Dominum ut veniret, illucque veniens eam domi sedentem Dominus inveniret.

Item. *Si peccatrix illa seu Maria Magdalene esset Maria soror Lazari, Lucas contrarius esset sibi ipsi. Cum enim narrasset de peccatrice illa, dixit continuo quod quedam mulieres inter quas erat Maria Magdalene Dominum usque ad Passionem secute sunt a Galilea. Si peccatrix,* inquiunt, *illa esset Maria Magdalene, vicinius designasset unam eandemque esse una eademque appellationis designatione. Nec id honoris causa factum est, quoniam multo gravius quiddam de illa dixit quam si eam appellasset nomine peccatricis:* MARIA, *inquit,* MAGDALENE DE QUA *eiecerat* SEPTEM DEMONIA. *Dein, quomodo stare posset ut in Bethania ante sex dies Pasche tunc primo ad Dominum peccatrix illa sive*

124 et ab *MS*.

105-6 Joh. XI 31, 45. 112 Cant. VIII 6. 114 Is. LXIV 6. 116 Joh. XI 20. 118-9 Luc.X 39-40. 120 Luc. VIII 2-3; XXIII 54. 135 Luc. VIII 2-3 138 Luc. VIII 2.

Maria Magdalene accesserit, indulgentiamque promeruerit, cum a Galilea secutam esse Dominum et de suo ministrasse eam Lucas aperte dixerit? Narratio itaque diversa alias esse hanc, aliam esse illam, et aliud hoc, aliud esse opus illud insinuat.

Cum Psalmista dicat, DIXI, CONFITEBOR ADVERSUM ME INIUSTICIAM MEAM DOMINO ET TU REMISISTI IMPIETATEM PECCATI MEI, fideli sensu credimus quia remissionem peccati mulier illa optinuit ex quo poenituit, mala horruit, ad bona se agenda devovit; sed nulla item necessitate cogimur ut id eam tunc primo fecisse credamus quando in Bethania ante sex dies Pasche cum unguento ad Dominum accessit. Nam rationi quidem satis consentaneum existit, nec ullus adversantium sibi scripturarum locus contradicit quod aut idem opus bis fecerit, aut quod malorum suorum consideratione compuncta et audiendi verbum optinendi salutis avida, primo autem Dominum secuta fuerit de suis facultatibus ministrandi ei, dein eo veniente ad Passionem, illa exhibuit circa eum obsequia, tam ad consummatam delictorum satisfactionem, quam ad sepulture ipsius Domini commendationem. "PREVENIT", inquit, "UNGUERE CORPUS MEUM IN SEPULTURAM." Quod autem evangelista de ea locuturus ait, MULIER QUE ERAT IN CIVITATE PECCATRIX, iccirco eam ex actuum preteritorum enormitate designat, ut potiorem circa poenitentes gratiam Dei commendet. Nec adversatur quod ita subiungit: ET FACTUM EST. DEINCEPS ET IPSE ITER FACIEBAT PER CIVITATES ET CASTELLA PREDICANS ET EVANGELIZANS REGNUM DEI ET DUODECIM CUM ILLO, ET MULIERES ALIQUE QUE ERANT CURATE A SPIRITIBUS MALIGNIS ET INFIRMITATIBUS, INTER QUAS ERAT MARIA MAGDALENE DE QUA EIECERAT SEPTEM DEMONIA. Illam quippe poenitentis actionem inseruit ea ratione inductus qua premiserat Dominum propter Iohannem Baptistam tunc in carcerem positum turbas increpasse dicentem, "CUI ERGO SIMILES DICAM HOMINES GENERATIONIS HUIUS? VENIT ENIM IOHANNES BAPTISTA NEQUE MANDUCANS CARNEM NEQUE BIBENS VINUM ET DICITIS, DEMONIUM HABET. VENIT FILIUS HOMINIS MANDUCANS ET BIBENS, ET DICITIS, ECCE HOMO VORAX, AMICUS PUBLICANORUM ET PECCATORUM." Quod ut exemplo approbaret subnexuit evangelista peccatricem illam ad Dominum accessisse atque ab illo satisfactionem eius benigne susceptam fuisse. Dein ad ordinem rerum gestarum rediens, DEINCEPS, inquit — hoc est postquam Iohannem in vincula retrusum audivit, non postquam peccatrix illa ad eum sic accessit — ibat PER CIVITATES ET CASTELLA ET XII CUM ILLO ET MULIERES ALIQUE, INTER QUAS ERAT MARIA MAGDALENE, cuius poenitentie satisfactionem vel anticipando praelibaverat, vel idem ab eadem bis factum intelligi volens, ordine suo tunc dixerat. Dicendo DE QUA SEPTEM DEMONIA EXIERANT, cum ubi vel quando hoc de illa sit factum alibi nusquam insinuat et tamen factum esse commemorat, dat intelligi peccatricem illam

161 eiecerat: exierant *add. interlin.*

143-4 Ps. XXXI 5. 154 Marc. XIV 8. 155 Luc. VII 37. 158-61 Luc. VIII 1-2. 163-67 Luc. VII 31-4. 170 Luc. VIII 1-2. 174-5 Luc. VIII 2.

cuius poenitentiam scripserat et de qua Dominus ipse dixerat, "Dimissa sunt EI PECCATA MULTA QUONIAM DILEXIT MULTUM", Mariam Magdalenen fuisse de qua nunc quoque commemorat septem demonia exisse, hoc est omnem in ea vitiorum enormitatem et peccatorum numerositatem curatam fuisse. Quoniam ergo una eademque est in appellationis designatione significatio, una eademque femina esse potest de qua fit utraque narratio. Illam vero demoniorum expulsionem beatus Gregorius sine ulla ambiguitate dicit delictorum omnium emundationem. Hunc rerum ordinem quem diximus, Marcus evidentius aliquantisper ponit, sic inquiens, POSTQUAM AUTEM TRADITUS EST IOHANNES, VENIT IESUS IN GALILEAM PRAEDICANS EVANGELIUM REGNI DEI. Plane non prorsus eadem Lucas in hoc negotio et alii narrant, nulla tamen inter eos existit contrarietas. Moris equidem est scriptorum quod ea que ad intentionis sue negotium pertinent aliis omissis sola assumunt. Matheus qui Ebreis evangelium scripsit, ubi memorat Dominum ad Passionem venire, super asinam — per quam populus ille significabatur — eum refert sedisse; alii vero qui gentibus scripserunt, eum sedisse super pullum asine — per quem effrenis ille populus figurabatur — dixerunt. Nec sibi sunt contrarii, quia nec ille quod tantum super asinam, nec isti quod tantum super pullum asine sederit innotuerunt. Hoc ipsum fit, inquam, pluribus aliis. Ut igitur in multis aliis negotiis agunt, cum eadem narrent, quisque pro sua intentione quedam interserit, reliqua omittens que alius interserens cetera omittit; sic in hoc negotio Lucas poenitentium formam in ea muliere designans, ea tantum que poenitenti sunt proponenda describit, alii aliud intendentes ea tantum scribunt que proposito sue intentionis congruunt. Nam mulier illa typum gessit, non modo poenitentium, verum et eorum qui fructus dignos poenitentie agunt, qui providentes bona non tantum coram Deo sed coram extremis etiam quibusque fidelibus tamquam caput et pedes Domini unguento perfundunt, obsequii eis impendentes honorem et beneficii opem, ex cuius odore domus impletur, quia bone vite eorum fama usquequaque refertur.

Itaque cum nullam rationis approbationem opponimus necessariam, aut scripture sacre auctoritatis alicuius evidentiam, teneamus quod dixere priores, doctiores, qui probabilius id nosse potuerunt, ne punienda temeritate transgrediamur terminos patrum nostrorum. Sed illam peccatricem Mariam Magdalenen fuisse dixerunt, alii aperte et quibus non est facile contradicendum, alii veris quibusdam aut verisimilibus coniecturis hoc intelligi posse reliquerunt; nulli vero id aliquomodo contradixerunt. Quia igitur salva fideli religione, et sine ulla evangeliorum inconvenientia id teneri potest, donec aut per evidentius scripture testimonium aut persone maioris iudicium refellatur, quod dixere

196 cum: que cum *MS.*

177-8 Luc. VII 47. 186-7 Marc. I 14. 190 Matt. XXI 7. 192 Marc. XI 7; Luc. XIX 30.

tenendum est, cum nulla obiectio obscura in hac re occurrat nobis que illos latuerit aut cuiusvis hominem sollertie in scripturis. Multa quippe ex evangelii fide inconcussa tenemus que nulla tamen evangelistarum auctoritate sed sola priorum assertione indubitanter habemus. Nam Matheus qui solus magos ad Dominum adorandum scribit venisse, quot fuerint minime scribit, universa tamen ecclesia tres illos non dubitat extitisse, nulla alia hoc astruens rationi necessitate, nisi quia sic maiores et priores dixere. Nam propter tria munera aurum, thus et mirram hoc astrui non potest: tam bene enim fieri potuit — nec ulla evangeliorum auctoritas contradicit — ut quisque eorum hec tria simul quam ut singuli singula obtulerint. Nec solum hoc in evangeliis, verum et in aliis tam divinis quam secularibus litteris persepe invenitur, quod commentator dicit multa aliunde cognita que in textu scripture nequaquam reperiuntur inserta, neque ulla proinde falsitatis culpa annotatur, dummodo non fiant textui scripturarum contraria ea que dicuntur.

III *A Palm-Sunday Sermon.*

The only MS. in which this sermon of Gilbert Crispin is known to be preserved is the British Museum MS. of Gilbert's works, Add. MS. 8166. The MS. has been described by Armitage Robinson in his *Gilbert Crispin*, pp. 54-5. The present sermon occupies fol. 17v-18v, and has the title *Sermo eiusdem in Ramis Palmarum*: it is preceded in the MS. by Gilbert's Dialogue between the Christian and the Jew. There was formerly another copy of this work among the Towneley MSS. (MS. xlv, 12th century, from Hatfield Priory). It was sold by auction in 1883 and cannot now be traced. (See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 53.) The relation of the sermon to the Dialogue, and the place which it has in the development of Gilbert's thought, have been discussed above, p. 94.

Sermo eiusdem in Ramis Palmarum

Exigit solempnitatis hodierne causa et processionis sacre facies insolita ut de sacramento huius diei dicamus vobis prout Deus dederit nobis. Omnipotenti et iusto dispensationis sue consilio Deus homo fieri voluit, et ut homo fieret, nobis omnino necesse fuit. Cum sit enim Deus omnipotens, iusticiam servat IN OMNIBUS VIIS SUIS, et in hac ergo redemptionis nostre causa etiam contra diabolum Deus sic uti voluit omnipotentia sua, ut nulla eius actio adversus eum esset sine iusticia, prebens formam homini quem ad imaginem suam creavit, ut potentia utendi ratione sic utatur quatinus ipsa potentia utendi ratione sua in nulla actione abutatur. Videamus ergo in hoc sacramento ubique iusticiam Dei.

Peccaverat diabolus in Deum, quia licet a Deo omnia haberet, et hec ab eo

5 Ps. CXLIX 17.

se habere non nesciret, adversus Deum se extulit et omnipotentiam Dei demoliri voluit. Cum enim sit Deus a quo omnia, per quem omnia, et in quo sunt omnia, qui non vult esse sub Deo sed vult esse par et equalis Deo, efficere vult ut Deus non sit ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo sunt omnia. Hanc ergo impietatem et impietatis machinationem si ulcisci Deus nollet, iustus non esset. Si pro culpe modo ulcisci non posset, omnipotens non esset. Quia ergo Deus et iustus et omnipotens est, pro culpe modo hanc impietatem ultus est. Abstulit a diabolo unde superbus peccabat, non abstulit unde non superbiebat. Abstulit ab eo beatitudinem, non abstulit nature conditionem. Non enim quia conditus erat, sed quia beatus erat diabolus insolescebat. Quia ergo diabolus ad superiorem rerum ordinem ascendere non potuit quoniam Deo par et equalis esse non potuit, nec in eo rerum statu in quo erat conditus remanere voluit, quia sub Deo suo ordine esse non voluit — quoniam, inquam, nec supra potuit esse, nec in medio voluit remanere, ad inferiorem rerum ordinem, hoc est ad inferna, eum Dei omnipotentia deiecit. Perdita ergo angelorum tanta numerositate, creavit Deus hominem ut dampnum hoc suppleretur et ordo debitus atque destinatus ab eo electorum numerus adimpleretur. Creavit eum mortalem et quandoque moritur, quamvis postea immortalis futurus et iam ultra non moritur. Ne ergo et ipse homo adversus Deum insolesceret et inani elatione se adversus Deum erigeret, posuit ei Deus iugum obedientie omnino lene atque tolerabile. PRECEPIT, inquam, EI Deus sic: EX OMNI LIGNO PARADISI COMEDE; DE LIGNO AUTEM SCIENTIE BONI ET MALI NE COMEDAS. IN QUAQUE DIE COMEDERIS MORTE MORIERIS. Lignum scientie boni et mali eo usu locutionis appellavit quo dicere solemus diem gaudii seu meroris, quia non dies in se gaudium habeat seu merorem, sed quia in eo gaudium habuimus seu merorem. Quid plura? Peccavit et ipse homo in Deum. Noluit esse sub Deo, sed voluit esse quasi similis Deo. Dolebat diabolus concessam homini beatitudinem quam ipse amiserat, suggessit mulieri, seduxit mulierem, et virum impulit ad peccandum per mulierem. (fol. 18) "Non est", inquit, "ita; SCIT ENIM DEUS QUIA IN QUACUMQUE DIE COMEDERITIS, APERIENTUR OCULI VESTRI; ET ERITIS SICUT DII, SCIENTES BONUM ET MALUM." Mulier, sicut dicit apostolus, in prevaricatione illa seducta est, vir seductus non est, sed maluit uxori morem gerere quam precepto Dei obedire. Comedit ergo illa et ille et protinus aperti sunt oculi eorum et ⟨h⟩abuerunt scientiam boni et mali illa et ille. Quid bonum quidem esset, antea sciebant quia solus homini creator preerat, nulli creature homo subditus erat. Nichil erat in homine, nichil erat circa hominem quod eius offenderet voluntatem. Nudus erat sed in ipsa nuditate sua non erubescebat. Lex enim nulla erat in carne eius, que repugnaret legi mentis eius. Hoc igitur bonum inesse sibi homo sciebat atque sentiebat. Habuit confestim et

29 immortalem *MS.* 27 ab: ad *MS.* 40 inquit: inquam *MS.*

31-3 Gen. II 16-17. 40-1 Gen. III 5. 41 I Tim. II 14.

scientiam mali. Protinus enim expulsi sunt de paradyso. Audivit homo datam in se maledictionis sententiam a Domino. "In labore", inquit "et SUDORE VULTUS TUI VESCERIS PANEM TUUM, DONEC REVERTARIS AD TERRAM DE QUA SUMPTUS ES." Mulieri quoque dictum est, "In DOLORE et gemitu PARIES FILIUM ET SUB VIRI ditione ERIS." Corporis quoque sui ditionem protinus homo amisit. Erubuit nuditatem suam. Non erubesceret nisi aliquid insolitum, aliquid indecens, aliquid indecorum in carne sua videret. Fugit ad folia ficus et nuditatem suam operuit. Hec est lex illa in carne nostra, que legi mentis nostre repugnat, de qua dicit apostolus, VIDEO ALIAM LEGEM IN MEMBRIS MEIS REPUGNANTEM LEGI MENTIS MEE ET CAPTIVUM ME DUCENTEM IN LEGEM PECCATI QUE EST IN MEMBRIS MEIS. Etiam omnium creaturarum ditionem amisit homo antea sibi concessam a Deo. Hoc itaque modo habuerunt scientiam boni et mali. Sed illi habuerunt prius scientiam boni; postea habuerunt scientiam mali: nos econtra nunc habemus scientiam mali; habebimus quandoque scientiam boni. "AD VESPERUM", inquit "DEMORABITUR FLETUS ET AD MATUTINUM LETICIA."

Ab hoc itaque malo, quis humanum genus liberaret? Qui oraret pro alio? Quis ageret causam pro alio? Nemo erat immunis a peccato. Quis ergo de filiis Ade ditionem diaboli ab aliis filiis Ade poterat submovere? Si vero angelus vel alter homo nasceretur de virgine absque peccato, per passionem suam redimere posset hominem, sed eum restituere non posset ad pristinam libertatem. A quo enim aliquis redimitur, eius ditioni iure servus addicitur. Ut igitur homo redimeretur et amisse libertati atque dignitati omnino restitueretur, verbum quod creavit hominem caro factum est ut redimeret hominem. Ad eius gratiam redire potuit atque redire potest homo, nam ab eius ditione numquam recessit aut recedere potest homo. Recedit enim male voluntatis obsequio, non recedit nature dominio. Deus itaque homo factus est sed inter mortuos liber, quia de virgine homo factus est. In eo igitur homine qui inter mortuos liber erat, diabolus nichil suum habebat, quia omnino sine peccato erat. Et quia nichil omnino in eo habuit, iniuste ditionis sue tiranidem in eum exercuit. In Christo igitur natura humana iniuste mortem subiit. Mortem quippe quam primus homo propterea subiit quia peccavit, quia Deo obediens non fuit, iste propterea subiit quia peccare noluit, quia Deo per omnia obediens fuit. Ergo Christus, qui est Deus et homo, quia iniuste mortem subiit, iuste iugum mortis ab homine excussit et sic plenissime hominem ad pristinam libertatem restituit, quia Deus est qui hanc circa nos

79 iuiuste: iuste *MS*.

51-2 Gen. III 19. 53 Gen. III 16. 58-9 Rom. VII 23. 63-4 Ps. XXIX 6. 65-76 cf. *Disp. Judaei cum Christiano* PL 159, col. 1022-3, quoted above, p. 86. See also *Disp. cum Gentili*, p. 71, l. 3, above. 76-84 cf. *Disp. Judaei cum Christiano* PL 159, col. 1023: Quia igitur presumptione injusta mors in eum feriendo deliquit, in quo nihil suum repererat, nihil omnino juris habebat, jure amisit eam jurisdictionem, quam peccato primi hominis in hominem primum ejusque posteritatem obtinuerat.

mi- (fol. 18v) serationem exhibuit. Ita igitur ubique MISERICORDIA ET VERITAS OBVIAVERUNT SIBI et Deus misericors et iustus fuit IN OMNIBUS VIIS SUIS. Quia igitur qui fecit nos, redemit nos, cui sumus obnoxii quia fecit nos, ei sumus obnoxii quia redemit nos et propterea soli Deo pro redemptione nostra honor et gloria. Sicut vero propter hominem et in homine Christus paulominus minoratus est angelis, ita per Christum et in Christo natura humana multo sullimior facta est angelis, quia VERBUM quod FACTUM EST CARO ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS est illud ipsum verbum per quod facta sunt omnia que sunt in celo et in terra. Hanc igitur redemptionis nostre causam peracturus et pro redemptione nostra mortem subiturus, sexto ante passionem die, hoc est hodie, venit Dominus in civitatem Iherusalem. Populus vero cum audisset quia venit Jesus Jerusalem, exiit ei obviam cum floribus et palmis et qui prehibant et qui sequebantur clamabant "Osanna in excelsis", quoniam et eorum qui ante legem et sub lege fuerunt et eorum qui sub gratia existunt, una est fides atque una fidei confessio, quia proprio filio suo non pepercit Deus sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum, UT OMNIS QUI CREDIDIT IN EUM NON PEREAT SED HABEAT VITAM ETERNAM, sicut nobis ipsa veritas promittit. Illam ergo illius populi devotionem et illam illius sacre processionis actionem solenni recolimus obsequio ac debito celebramus obsequio, gratias illi agentes qui nos gratuita bonitate sua fecit de nichilo eademque gratia redemit sanguine suo et augmentato gratie sue dono fecit nos heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi. Cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto honor.

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NOTE

Since this article was printed, Dom J. Leclercq has published Gilbert's treatise on the monastic life in *Studia Anselmiana* XXXI, 1953, 118-23.

84 Ps. LXXXIV 11. 85 Ps. CXLIV 17. 88 Heb. II 7. 90 Joh. I 14. 94 Matt. XXI 8-9. 98-9 Joh. III 16.

THE 'ARS DISSERENDI' OF ADAM OF BALSHAM 'PARVIPONTANUS'

I

ADAM of Balsham was probably the first 'novus auctor in arte'.[1] At a time when training in the arts of the trivium consisted mainly in the study and explanation of ancient 'auctores', his *Ars Disserendi* (A.D. 1132) was a bold, not wholly unsuccessful, attempt at establishing a completely modern text-book of an art. It is the first systematic treatise of the second—or third—discipline of the trivium not modelled on the patchwork of the Porphyrian, Aristotelian and Boethian *corpus*. The author's aims were apparently these: to produce a handbook containing all that is essential for the mastering of logic—in the narrower sense of 'dialectica'—, clear in language and construction, rich in examples, so that the student who has learnt what is 'in arte' should acquire the 'facultas' of discoursing 'ex arte'; to expound its foundations in the form of an analysis and classification of the forms of 'enuntiatio' and 'interrogatio', from which every discourse begins; to free logic of all complicated accretions and superstructures. Adam's short account of the origins, development, decay, rebirth of an art vividly reveals the new spirit of his age. The long section on sophisms bears witness to a teaching which probably initiated, certainly stimulated, and gave order to, the mediaeval study of that part of logic, one of the most fertile for philosopher and theologian alike in the twelfth and following centuries. New in its plan and in many major and minor sections, the *Ars* inevitably owes much to the authors of the past, mainly to Aristotle and Boethius. Perhaps for the first time Aristotle's *Topics* and *Sophistici Elenchi* were put directly to contribution in an original treatise by a Latin-

[1]) This phrase is applied by John of Salisbury to one, real or typical, member of the school of the Petit Pont but not to Adam. See pp. 163-164.

writing author. A very artificial style, revealing Adam's passion for complicated patterns of sentences, for symmetry and parallelism, a vocabulary rich in new technical meanings, a systematic exclusion of most traditional terms of the art, may explain why this work had such a short and limited life, and why modern scholars have been deterred from even reading it. Some masters used Adam's *Ars* as a handbook, and some of their corrections and additions are preserved, testifying to the way in which it contributed to further thinking on logical matters. John of Salisbury's description of the Cornificians throws light on, and receives light from, the original *Ars* and the alterations which it underwent.

Very little is known about Adam. His family was of French extraction, from Beauvais,[1] and owned some land in his birthplace, Balsham near Cambridge, where he probably returned for a visit at a time when he was earning his living in Paris, after an absence of eleven years spent, at least partly, in that city, and after becoming a 'magister' [6a].[2] In 1132 he produced his *Ars Disserendi* [5b]. John of Salisbury met him probably between 1136 and 1138 in Paris,[3] and frequented him in later years, before 1148, discussing many problems with him, apparently as a younger man discusses with a more learned and wiser friend, and exchanging books [2a, c]. As a recently appointed canon of Paris, he testified against Gilbert de la Porrée in 1147 [1a]. On 21 March 1148 he was present, with Peter Lombard, Thierry of Chartres and several other masters, at the Council of Reims where Gilbert's doctrines were discussed [1b]. He died on August 6th of an unknown year [8], perhaps before 1159.[4] He may have taught at some

[1]) B. Hauréau (*Not. et extr. de quelques manuscr.* III, Paris, 1891, p. 218; also in Not. et Extr. XXXIV. i [1891], p. 56) suggests 'Beverlacensis' for 'Belvacensis': this "signifierait qu'Adam était d'une famille originaire de Beverley" (and M. Manitius: "Adam gehörte zur Familie Beverley," *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mitt.* III, Munich, 1931, p. 202). But 'belvacensis' is already in a twelfth-century manuscript and in one containing the notes by Adam's 'prepositus'. Adam's father or grandfather might well have come to England in or after 1066.

[2]) The numbers in heavy type refer to the passages at pp. 159-168.

[3]) It is usually said that John met Adam in Paris after his two years' absence, viz. in 1140 or after: but at this time he "contraxit familiaritatem *ulteriorem* ad magistrum Adam"; he might even have met him already in England.

[4]) John's words (especially 2d) are more likely to have been written about a dead man. Nequam's words [4] "nostro fulgens tempore sidus Adam" might seem to suggest that Adam was alive, if not when Nequam was writing (1216), at least when he was at the school of the Petit Pont (*ca.* 1175): but Adam is contrasted as a 'fulgens *sidus*' with Gilbert, Alberic, Abailard who 'temporibus suis micuere

time on the Petit Pont.[1] He had a number of pupils in logic, among them one William of Soissons, and friends and supporters—one Peter was his 'prepositus'—, and many detractors, as well as followers who were unwilling to acknowledge their dependence on his teaching [2, 6b]. Jealousy restricted his intellectual intercourse with other students; and he may have pretended that logic was more difficult than he thought it to be in order to compete, in the trade of attracting pupils, with the masters who accumulated all kind of teaching around texts like Aristotle's *Categories* [2a, c]. One Anselm, a friend of his, blamed him for his style, too simple and straight to the point, and Adam met his wish for a 'nobler' style by writing an 'oratio', later known as *De Utensilibus* or *Phaletolum*,[2] in which he tried to save from oblivion rare Latin words for common objects, and incidentally to give advice to Anselm on rural housing and on the dangers of property as a

quasi *lumina terre*'. Was Adam the heavenly star of the school, while the others' light had not overlasted their earthly life?

[1]) This is suggested by 'de Parvo Ponte' [1, 5a, 8] and 'Parvi Pontis' [3], or the more recent 'Parvipontanus' [6c, 7]. But the addition to the name is missing from all the evidence nearer to Adam himself [2, 5b, 6a, b].

[2]) "Quoniam planum illum loquendi modum quo uti consuevi flumini visum usquequaque in ima admittenti comparabas, nobiliorem autem tibi videri dicebas orationem fluvio tenebricosa profunditate stagnato comparandam, ad arbitrium morem tibi geram" (p. 2 Hoffm., 77 = 121 Schel., 205 = 45 Haur.). The addressee Anselm (called 'magister' only in later gloses, cf. 6c) has not been identified: E. Lesne's suggestion that he might be the 'Magister Anselmus' mentioned with Mainerius in a document of 1160 is not supported by evidence (*Hist. de la Propr. Eccl.* V: *Les Écoles*, Lille, 1940, p. 232 n. 10). — At least thirteen manuscripts of the *De Utens.* have survived down to modern times: one of the twelfth century, Cologne Wallraf (? now in the Stadt- u. Univers.-Bibl., used by Hoffmann), the others of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Bruges Ville 536 (used by Scheler), Cambridge Gonv. a. Caius 136, Cambridge Trin. O. 7. 9, Dublin Trin. Coll. D. 4. 9, Leipzig Univ. Paul. 172 (used by Haupt), Lincoln Cath. 132, Oxford Bodl. Rawlins. G 99 (S.C. 15462), Paris B.N. lat. 2582 and 14877, Paris Arsen. 3807 (the two last mentioned used by Hauréau), Wolfenbüttel 3035 (incomplete, used by Rose), Worcester Cath. Q.50 (only the beginning). See, for lost manuscripts with ascriptions to Adam or Alexander Nequam, or anonymous, Manitius, *Gesch.* III, p. 204. The *De Utens.* has been edited four times: by M. Haupt in Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. phil.-hist Kl. 1849, pp. 276-285; by A. H. Hoffmann v. Fallersleben, *Epist. Ad. Balsam. ad Anselm.*, Neuwied, 1853 (the best published text); by A. Scheler, *Trois traités de lexicogr. lat.*: *III* in Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Lit. VIII [1867], pp. 75-93, and in separate vol., Leipzig, 1867, pp. 119-137 (? also Brussels, 1863); and by B. Hauréau, *Not. et extr.* III, pp. 203-216 = Not. et Extr. XXXIV. i, pp. 44-54. A few passages are printed by V. Rose in his introduction to Giles of Corbeil's (Egidii Corboliensis) *Viaticus*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. xvi-xix. J. K. Floyer and S. G. Hamilton (*Catal. of MSS. preserved in the Chapter Libr. of Worcester Cath.*, Oxford, 1906, pp. 186-188) printed as the 'first' edition of the whole work, the small section preserved in the Worcester manuscript.

temptation against knowledge and love of the true good.[1] Admirers and detractors would judge in opposite ways the subtlety and complication of his style in the *Ars Disserendi*, a style which John of Salisbury saw to be modelled on that of Aristotle's writings at their literary worst [2d]. A clever and learned man in the eyes of some of his contemporaries, he was a keen student of Aristotle [1a, 2a]: one or two words in Aristotle's *Elenchi Sophistici* which Thierry of Chartres had misread were read rightly by him [3];[2] he probably called William of Soissons' attention to a proposition from the *Prior Analytics* as quoted by Boethius [2a].[3] In the *De Utensilibus* he used some passages from Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* and from Isidorus' *Etymologiae*.[4] Some opinions on transubstantiation [7], and probably others on the Father and Son as 'principium' of the Holy Ghost [9], which are found in a collection of twelfth-century *quaestiones*, testify that he took part in theological debates.[5] He was mentioned with some bitterness by Otto of Freising in 1158 [1a], with gratitude and qualified admiration by John of Salisbury in 1159 [2], with reverence

[1]) "Sed ut aliquid non superfluum et vere utile amico destinata contineat epistola, si philosophiam de huiusmodi rebus consulas, ipsa tibi certissime ostendet tantae rerum copiae incomparabiliter praestantiorem esse cognitionem quam possessionem. Neque ego nunc de ea cognitione loquor qua talium rerum species et nomina distinguntur neque de ea quam physici de huiusmodi rerum natura profitentur, sed de ea qua intelligitur quam monstruosam efficaciam habeant res huiusmodi animos hominum ad sui concupiscentiam alliciendi et a veri boni cognitione et amore abducendi. Quare, mi Anselme, illud numquam apud te ipsum, ut quidam faciunt, dissimula, non talia possidere, sed talibus vel bene uti vel bene carere pretiosum esse, quod quidem a philologis qui sola verba iactant sicut numquam credi sic numquam intelligi, et sicut inutile putari sic illis inutile esse saepe a me accepisti" (p. 12 Hoffm., 93 = 137 Schel., 216 = 54 Haur.).

[2]) The passage in which Thierry had read 'plunulas' is either "ut Hippocratis aut quadratura per lunulas, sed ut Brysso . . ." (*Soph. El.* xi, 171b15-16) or ". . . quae est quidem per lunulas non litigiosa, Bryssonis autem litigiosa" (172a3-4): Thierry probably read only the 'p' of the compendium for 'per' and attached it to 'lunulas'. Is it a mere coincidence that John of Salisbury mentions 'Brisso' among the almost unknown 'authorities' who must be considered as less important than Adam [2b]?

[3]) The proposition "idem cum sit et non sit non necesse est idem esse" (cf. *Pr. Anal.* II. iv, 57b3-4) became known to the masters from Boethius, *De Syll. Hypoth.* (PL 64, col. 836A), and is already used by Abailard (*Dialect.*, pp. 557-8 Cous.). For its use in sophistical arguments see, e.g., Alexander Nequam, *De Nat. Rer.* clxxiii, pp. 288-90 Wr.

[4]) Cf. M. Hertz's introduction to his edition of the *Noct. Att.* II, Berl. 1885, p. xxxv. Did John of Salisbury come to know Gellius through Adam? For quotations in the *Ars Disserendi* see pp. 146-147.

[5]) This does not mean that Adam was a master in theology as well as in dialectic. Such a hypothesis was made, but on the wrong assumption that our Adam and the bishop of St. Asaph were the same person [iv].

by Alexander Nequam in 1216 [4]. His *De Utensilibus* enjoyed some degree of popularity in the thirteenth, perhaps also in the fourteenth, century, was annotated more than once, e.g. by his 'prepositus' Peter and by a 'Magister N.', and was the model for similar works by Alexander Nequam and John of Garland [6b, c].[1] The *Ars Disserendi* aroused discussions, was re-edited, at least in part, before the end of the twelfth century with the contributions of other masters, and copied, apparently as a rarity, about A.D. 1300. Du Boulay, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was the first of the historians who made scholarly inquiries, and occasionally created learned legends, concerning Adam: the inquiries are still to be completed, some of the legends still to be exposed.[2]

[1]) Extracts from Peter's notes are published in Haupt's edition, others from anonymous notes in Scheler's and Hauréau's editions. For the notes by 'Magister N.' (not, probably, to be expanded 'Nequam', cf. R. W. Hunt, *Alex. Neck.*, Oxford, 1936, unpublished thesis in the Bodl. Libr., pp. 9-10; see P. Meyer, *Les manuscr. franç. de Cambr.* IV: *Gonv. and Caius Coll.* in Romania XXXVI [1907], pp. 486-8.

[2]) Our Adam might be recognized in the 'Adamus parvus vel de Pountenay' to whom J. Bale ascribes a *Super dictiones Bibliorum* 'exemplo Alexandri' (*Ind. Brit. Script.*, Oxford, 1902, p. 7; cf. *Script. Ill.* II, Basle, 1559, p. 49; from him J. Pits, *Relat. Hist.*, Paris, 1619, p. 820 [de Adamo Pontuaio], and T. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.*, London, 1748, p. 606 [Pountnaius, Adamus]). Du Boulay (*Hist. Univers. Par.* II, Paris, 1665, pp. 431, 667, 715-6) combined the evidence from Otto of Freising and John of Salisbury with that about the bishop of St. Asaph [1a, 2, iv]: this wrong identification was accepted by almost everybody (see particularly: T. A. A[rcher], *Adamus Angligena* [this epithet comes from Du Boulay, p. 715] in D.N.B. I, London, 1885 and Oxford, 1922, pp. 75-6; V. Rose in Egidius Corbol., *Viaticum*, pp. xx-xxii; Manitius, *Gesch.* III, p. 203), but doubted by D. Humphreys (cf. Hunt, *Alex. Neck.*, p. 7 n. 3). Du Boulay made of him a pupil of Abailard and an 'insignis grammaticus, disertus rhetor, philosophus clarissimus et subtilissimus et in artibus professor celeberrimus'. Tanner (p. 6) added to Adam what Bale (p. 81; Pits, p. 819; but cf. D.N.B. I, p. 75) had said of one Adam (? Wodeham) mentioned by Vincent Bandello [viii], making of him the author of a commentary on the *Sentences*. A. D. Pastoret (*Hist. Litt. de la Fr.* XIV, Paris, 1817, p. 190) says he was a pupil of Matthew of Angers and a professor of theology at the episcopal school of Paris. In 1840 V. Cousin published some passages from the *Ars Disserendi* discovered by him in a manuscript of St. Victor, now B.N. lat. 14700 (*Fragm. philos.*: *Philos. scolast.*, Paris, 1840, pp. 417-24; 5th edit. 1865, pp. 385-9); soon after T. Wright identified as Adam the 'Parvi Pontis incola' of the *Metamorphosis Golie* [10] (*The Lat. Poems commonly attributed to W. Mapes*, London, 1841, p. 28); Ch. Petersen (*Iob. Saresb. Entbet. de Dogm. Philos.*, Hamburg, 1843, pp. 79-82, 91) saw again Adam in the 'incola Modici Pontis' of the *Entheticus* [i] (but C. Schaarschmidt, *Job. Saresb.*, Leipz., 1862, p. 78 n. 6 realized that a pupil rather than Adam himself was meant), and did not reject Herbst's and Bernays' suggestion that the 'Pontilianus' of the same poem was also Adam [ii]; M. Haupt published the first of the three or four 'first' editions of the *De Utens.* (1849; Hoffmann, Scheler, and Floyer and Hamilton did not know of the older editions). In 1861 Prantl (*Gesch. d. Log. im Abendl.* II, pp. 211-2) gave a few indications on the *Ars* from the passages published by Cousin, and, misinterpreting John of Salisbury's 'expressit' [2d], stated that the *Ars* was based on the *Prior Analytics*; this other legend

The *Ars Disserendi*[1] is preserved incomplete in two manuscripts: *S* = fol. 163-226 of the present composite volume cod. Paris B. N. lat. 16581.[2] These leaves formed an eight-quire book (mm. 160 × 120, 24-26 full-length lines, wide margins) neatly written in a biggish French hand of the second half of the twelfth century. The book, probably in Richard of Fournival's library *ca.* A.D. 1250, was bequeathed in 1271 by Gerard of Abbeville to the Sorbonne (no. 1 or 14 or 17 of class XLVI according to the 1290 [?] classification), bound in one volume (Z. f) with two other books *ca.* 1300-1350, and mentioned as 'Dyaletica Alexandri' in the fourteenth-century list of contents, fol. 226v.[3] Some sigla were written on the

is still repeated (e.g. Manitius, *l.c.*, and Lesne, *Écoles*, p. 603), although Ch. Thurot (in Rev. Crit. d'Hist. et de Litt. II [1867] i, pp. 194-203, and ii, pp. 4-11), after examination of the two manuscripts of the *Ars* —the second was discovered by him—had stated its independence of that work of Aristotle. Thurot also gave a very short characterization of the *Ars* and published a passage from it. This passage was analysed, but mostly misunderstood, by Prantl (II², 1885, pp. 212-5), who had previously asserted for the *Ars* the Byzantine influence on which he thought all the new Western logic was based (*Mich. Psell. u. Petr. Hisp.*: *eine Rechtfert.*, Leipz., 1867, p. 13). In more recent times new evidence on Adam was brought to light (7 by J. F. Schulte in 1891, 3 by P. Meyer in 1896, 8 by A. Molinier in 1902, 4 by R. W. Hunt in 1936, 1b by A. Wilmart in 1945) or suggested (vii by Manitius in 1906, v by Rose in 1907, 9 by Landgraf in 1930, 11 by Grabmann in 1937). B. Geyer (*Die alten lat. Uebersetzgn d. aristot. Anal.* in Philos. Jahrb. XXX [1917], p. 29) confirmed the independence of the *Ars* from the *Pr. Anal.*; M. Grabmann (*Bearbeitgn u. Ausleggn d. aristot. Log.* in Abhdlgn d. preuss. Akad. hist.-phil. Kl. 1937, v, pp. 16-17) saw both manuscripts, noticed the originality of the work, and published a short passage. Lesne's picture of Adam (*Écoles*, pp. 217-20, 603-5) is mainly based on sections of John of Salisbury's *Entbet.* which do not refer to him and contradict John's words in the *Metal.*; misinterpretations and imagination add to the picture.

[1]) The title 'Ars Disserendi' appears in the *Metalogicon* [2d], and in Richard of Fournival's *Biblionomia* [5a] as the title of cod. *S* which is now anepigraphus. Cod. *V* has the title 'Ars Dialectica'; but Adam always uses 'ars disserendi' in the course of the work, and does not employ in any sense the word 'dialectica'. For the phrase itself see, e.g., Boethius, *In Top. Cic.* I, PL 64, col. 1047C; and Pseudo-William of Conches: "secunda est ars disserendi" of which "in trivio habetur tractatus gravis et utilissimus" (C. Ottaviano, *Un brano ined. della 'Philos.' di Gugl. di C.*, Naples, 1935, p. 28; on the authorship, T. Gregory, *Sull'attrib. a G. di C. . . .* in Giorn. Crit. d. Filos. Ital. XXX [1951], pp. 119-25; on the date, *ca.* A.D. 1140, Th. Silverstein, *The Tertia Philos. . . .* in *Quantulacumque, Stud. present. to K. Lake*, London, 1937, p. 26, n. 12). Can it be that this 'tractatus gravis et utilissimus' is Adam's *Ars*?

[2]) See G. Lacombe etc., *Arist. Lat.*, *Cod.* I, Rome, 1939, p. 691, and our preface to *Phaedo interprete Henr. Arist.* (Plato Lat. II), London, 1950, p. xi.

[3]) Richard's *Biblion.* No. 24 (in Delisle, *Cab. d. Manuscr.* II, p. 525, and A. Birkenmajer, *Bibljot. Rysz. de Fourn.* in Polska Akad. Umiej. Wydz. Filol. LX. 4, Cracow, 1922, p. 47). Birkenmajer did not realize that this was Richard's, or at least Gerard's, copy of the *Ars*, being misled by the mistaken attribution to 'Alexander' and not having seen at fol. 226v the insertion "Iste liber est collegii pauperum . . . ex legato magistri Geroudi de Abbatisvilla". In the 1338 catalogue nos. 1, 14, and 17 in the class of

inner margins, perhaps by the same hand which wrote the text, and a few marginal notes were added by three or four different hands of the twelfth and early thirteenth century: among them an example from Aristotle's *Elenchi* (fol. 187v),[1] one suggested correction ("numquid sophisticum nonne verius falsum?" 193r), an ironical remark ("presumptio vel miraculum" 200v), some marks of approval ("bene, melius, optime" 175v, "bonum exemplum" 203v), a few explanations in the traditional language of logic (200v, 210r, etc.). Some of the notes are written in Greek capitals: CΩFICMA XPYXIC (200v), EYΓPAΦI' (the commentator of Terentius) . . . TEPENXIYM (209r), EΠIΛOΓ' (212r), KAΛXIΔIYC (222r).

V = fol. 246r-272r of cod. Paris B. N. lat. 14700 (St. Victor 32, acquired for the Abbey by J. Lamasse, *ca.* A.D. 1440).[2] In this volume the *Ars* is the thirteenth out of twenty-two, mostly rare, philosophical writings of the twelfth century, copied rather carelessly in a continuous series by one (? French) scribe about A.D. 1300 (mm. 345 × 220, in two columns of

logic (XLVI) are not accompanied by the title (*Cab. d. Man.* III, pp. 57-8). The titles are also missing after LII. 17 and LIII. 42 (pp. 62, 64), which correspond to the Latin *Phaedo* and to the *Summa Alexandri* and *Dogma moral. philos.*, the two books which—probably at that time—were bound together with the *Ars*, and then put on bench Z of the 'grande librairie' (pp. 81, 86, 87, 102); the volume was apparently not there at the time of the fourteenth-century inventory (p. 77). — In the 'répertoire méthodique' the title is that of the list of contents: 'Dyaletica Alexandri libri III: Principium propositi de quo et ad quid' (*Cab. d. Man.* III, p. 81; the beginning of the *Ars*, which, in this manuscript, is divided into three books). Although Thurot had already recognized the mistake, this was perpetuated by Delisle's Catalogue (*Inventaire d. manuscr. de la Sorb.*, Paris, 1870, p. 67) and repeated by Lacombe (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 691) and Birkenmajer (p. 70).

[1]) "In elenchis: scit seculum"; these two words are Boethius' adaptation of ἐπίσταται γράμματα (*Soph. El.* iv, 166a18-19).

[2]) See the description in *Arist. Lat.* I, pp. 544-5 (cf. *Cab. d. Man.* II, p. 217 on the acquisition for St. Victor). This unique manuscript contains, among other things, the only existing copy of Sextus Empiricus' *Hypotyp. Pyrrh.* in Latin (cf. Ch. Jourdain, *Excurs. hist. et philos.*, Paris, 1888, pp. 201-17; Cl. Baeumker, *Eine bisher unbek. mittelalt. lat. Uebers. d.* Πυρρων. Ὑποτυπ. in Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos. IV [1890-1], pp. 574-7; H. Mutschmann, *Sexti Emp. Opera* I, Leipz., 1912, pp. x-xii and (specimen) 209-10), one of the three existing manuscripts of Aristotle's *Post. Anal.* in Gerard of Cremona's translation (cf. our *Note sull'Arist. lat. med. IV: la tradiz. semit.-lat. d. Sec. Anal.* in Riv. Fil. Neoscol. XLIII [1951], pp. 97-124), and one of the four manuscripts of Avencebrol's *Fons Vitae* (cf. S. Munk, *Mélanges de philos. juive et ar.*, Paris, 1877, pp. [v], 6-148; and Cl. Baeumker, *Avenc. Fons Vitae* in BGPM I. ii, Münster, 1892, p. viii). Editions of works of al-Kindi, al-Farabi, al-Gazali, Isaac Israeli, Adelard of Bath, Alfred of Sareshel, Gundissalinus, have been partly based on this manuscript (see BGPM I. i, II. v, IV. ii-iii, XIX. iii, XXIII. i-ii, XXXI. ii; AHDLMA XI [1927-8], pp. 299-340; and J. T. Muckle, *Algaz.'s Metaph.*, Toronto, 1933, p. ix).

41 lines). There are no marks or notes, but the text has been corrected in a few places. In the fourteenth century list of contents, f. 1v, the *Ars* is called 'Dyaletica Alexandri' as in *S*, but the incipit and explicit of book I give Adam as the author [5b].

The *Ars* breaks off in the middle of a sentence, possibly of a word, in *V*, and at the end of the preceding sentence in *S*.[1] The first half of the extant part is preserved by *V* in a recension clearly very near to the original,[2] by *S* in a second widely different recension.[3] The other half is preserved by both manuscripts in the second recension.[4] We know, therefore, (a) Adam's work in a more or less pure form for the first half of what is preserved, (b) the alterations made in this half by the editor or editors of the second recension, (c) the composite recension of the second half of the preserved section. We do not know (a) to what extent the second half reproduces Adam or other people's views, and (b) how much of the *Ars* has been completely lost. — The twelve passages marked by sigla in the first half of *S* are, with one exception, either missing from *V* or found there in a very different form. The exception concerns one passage which is clearly interpolated.[5] The first passage marked by a siglum in the second half of *S* is marked in the same way (but in the text, not in the margin) in *V*, where, however, it is misplaced:[6] obviously the addition in question

[1]) *S* ends with "Sed nec aliquo predictorum quinque modorum multiplex apparet"; *V* adds "Quoniam autem huiusmodi interrogatio dissimilitudine principii non partis se", and, after a blank of two or three letters, "de;" (='deficit'?).

[2]) The style and language are uniform, the exposition of the doctrine clearly follows the author's plan almost without interruption. The one exception of some importance seems to be a passage at fol. 250rb: after a dichotomic division of the sources of doubts in the subject of a proposition, a third source is mentioned; the passage concludes with 'tria sunt'; immediately after, the 'two' kinds are again discussed. This passage seems to be marked in *S* by one of the sigla (.B'.) which accompany passages added or corrected in the second recension. It is, however, possible that the addition is by Adam himself.

[3]) Grabmann has already remarked that the texts contained in the two manuscripts are substantially different (*Aristoteles im zwoelften Jahrhundert* in Mediaeval Studies XII [1950], p. 143).

[4]) The marginal sigla occur several times in this section of *S*, and all the characteristic features of the second recension are found in many passages of the second half.

[5]) See above, n. 2.

[6]) The addition is a claim of discovery and at the same time an apology: it reminds one of the final sentence of Aristotle's *Elenchi Sophistici*, and is similar to other passages in the *Ars*: "Que si non secundum enumerationem sufficienter distinximus inventori primo, si non secundum locutionem convenienter explicatori primo indulgendum est; horum enim nec appellationes nec descriptiones nec ullam omnino notificationem a prioribus habuimus" (*V* fol. 260va, *S* fol. 200v).

was on the margin of the common source, and was inserted by one copyist or editor as part of the text, by another as an addition. Ten more passages of the second half are marked by sigla in *S* and not in *V*. The sigla are .B'. (thirteen times altogether), .b'. (four times, and once in *V*), .H. (twice) and HE (once), T̥ (twice), .9. (once). The following names might be tentatively suggested as explaining the sigla: B[ernardus], [Petrus] He[lias], T[he]o[doricus], [Willelmus de] Con[chis].

II

The introduction to the *Ars*, or 'principium propositi' (printed at pp. 149-152) answers the questions "de quo, ad quid, qualiter ars sit instituenda".[1] The third question is treated first ("primo prius ultimum"), so that the book can begin with an account of the beginnings of the art: in order to show *how* the work is to be carried out it is enough, Adam thinks, to describe the origin and present state of the art.

By 'ingenium' man finds and expounds reasons, thus acquiring some knowledge of how to discourse, 'scientia disserendi'. Then 'usus' widens the scope of 'scientia', and shows the variety of discourse: man realizes that discussion and understanding will be made easier if rules are found to govern and teach discourse.[2] Attention to the 'usual' ways of discourse in fact led men to discover the first rudiments of the art; the more people knew the rudiments, the more the art grew until much information on it was collected and set out in various text-books, 'institutiones ad disciplinas'. An ever wider knowledge of the art, a fuller expansion of 'usus', a more enlightened activity of 'ingenium', must have led to some kind of

[1]) The group of questions 'de quo, ad quid, qualiter' is given in the third section of the *Ars* (see the text at p. 158) as one example of the sets of questions which may be asked about one and the same subject: the traditional method of exposition of an art was becoming the object of philosophical reflexion. The same three questions—under the names of 'materia, causa, modus'—and their answers form the introduction to the *De Utensilibus* (p. 1 Hoffm., 77 = 121 Schel., 203 = 44 Haur.).

[2]) For 'ingenium, natura, scientia, usus, ars' see Cicero, *Topica* xix, and Boethius' commentary thereupon, VI, PL 64, col. 1167-9, and cf. col. 1046-7. Particularly on the origin of the arts cf. Boethius, *ibid.* col. 1155 C-D, and his second commentary *In Porph. Isag.* I. 2 (C.S.E.L. XLVIII, pp. 158-9 = PL 64, col. 72C-73B), a passage taken over by Hugh of St. Victor, *Didasc.* I. xi, pp. 19-20 Butt. (See also p. 21; and John of Salisbury, *Metal.* I. vi, xi, pp. 20-1, 28-30 W., probably influenced by Adam himself.)

'facultas', skill and ability, of discourse. But when everything seemed to be achieved—"et arte ista et ceteris ex ista multipliciter et velut iam satis ad cognitionem explicatis"—discoursing and the appreciation of its results became rarer and rarer until they disappeared: 'facultas, ars, scientia' came to an end. At last—and here Adam shows himself a man of the renaissance of studies—revived interests led to the rediscovery, through the old text-books, of the aims of some arts, not yet, however, of the 'ars disserendi'. Three historical reasons of this delay in the rediscovery of logic are suggested by Adam, which correspond remarkably well to the situation as we see it: (1) many had written about the art, but nobody had discovered and expounded the whole of it in its due order ("a pluribus de arte quedam, a nullo artem totam ordine explicatam contigit inveniri"); (2) the language of the text-books was antiquated, the translations were inaccurate, the terminology too artificial ("disciplinalis ad docendum loquendi licentia ad huius artis explicationem equo confidentius sumpta"); (3) practice of debates had not yet been revived, and art comes from practice, not vice-versa.

The third question of the introduction, 'qualiter', can now be answered: "erit igitur contra hec a nobis susceptum artis instituende negotium huiusmodi, ut artis ex eo plena sit et facilis cognitio, secundum artem exercitii artificiosa facultas": the art will be expounded completely and systematically, nothing will be found in it of what "nugatorie, improbabiliter, falso, impedite, ociose, turpiter, improprie, dure dici solet", and every point will be exemplified so that it will be easy to acquire the 'facultas'. — The first two questions are answered more concisely: the subject-matter, 'de quo', cannot be properly known before the art itself is known, and in any case the art will deal with discourse, particularly with discourse in the form of question and answer, 'disputatio' (the other, expository, kind of discourse[1] will not be treated); the aim, 'ad quid', of the art is the 'facultas disserendi' and, more important, the understanding of all philosophical disciplines.

Turning to the 'ars' itself, Adam says that he will concentrate on 'enuntiatio' and 'interrogatio', in which is to be found the 'principium

[1]) For the two parts of 'disserere' cf. "ars docet docere et disputare" in the text quoted at p. 121, n. 1.

disserendi': every discourse starts from one or other of them, and each further step in discourse depends on them. It is not clear whether Adam planned to give in his *Ars Disserendi* only a study of the 'principium disserendi' or of all the other parts of discourse as well: what is left covers only part of the study of the 'principium'. This study is divided by Adam into four sections. Both 'enuntiatio' and 'interrogatio' (to be considered together in each of the four sections) are concerned with saying or asking something about something (Adam purposely avoids mentioning the terms 'subject' and 'predicate'): the 'about what' ('de quo', subject) will be studied in the first instance, because it is the 'principium principii', the 'what' ('quid', predicate) in the second instance.[1] But each of the two will be studied from two different points of view: in itself and in the way in which it is expressed by means of words. The four sections will deal, therefore, with (1) 'de quo', (2) 'qualiter (quibus verbis) de quo', (3) 'quid', (4) 'qualiter (quibus verbis) quid'. Section (1) and about three-quarters of section (2) are preserved both in the original and in the revised version, the end of section (2) and a substantial part of section (3) only in the revised version, the rest is missing.[2]

In the first two sections, 'de quo et qualiter de quo enuntietur vel interrogetur', reference is always made to, and examples taken from, 'enuntiationes' not 'interrogationes', because questions and statements are about the same kinds of things and are not distinguished from the way in which they contain the subject. The 'de quo', with which the first section is concerned, can be (a) the genus 'of some things', (b) a species 'of some things', (c) an individual, 'singulare'. The genus is something whose fundamental characteristic, 'proprium', belongs to things differing in species from each other; the 'proprium' of an individual belongs to only one of the things of a genus, that of a species to more than one but not to

[1]) "Omnis simplex propositio ex subiecto praedicatoque consistit. Subiectum est *de quo* dicitur id quod praedicatur, praedicatum est *quod de eo* dicitur quod subiectum est" (Boethius, *In Top. Cic.* V, introd. PL 64, col. 1130C).

[2]) The division in books does not correspond to the division in sections. Each book covers more or less the same amount of pages: book I (*S* fol. 163^{r}-186^{r}, *V* 246ra-253rb) contains the introduction, the general plan of the 'ars', the first (very short) section and about one-third of the second; book II (*S* 186^{r}-208^{r}, *V* 253rb-264ra; the end of this and beginning of the following book are not specially marked in *V*) contains the remaining part of the second section; book III, incomplete (*S* 208^{v}-226^{v}, *V* 264ra-272rb) contains what is preserved of the third section.

all. Since there are species which are genera of other species, (a) and (b) are better classified as (a′) genus-but-not-species of some things, (a″ = b′) genus-and-species of some things, (b″) species-but-not-genus of some things. — Some kinds of 'de quo' which may seem not to fit into this three- or four-fold classification can be brought into it; but the classification may not be wholly satisfactory. It may, e.g., be suggested (Adam goes on to say) that 'probabilia' in 'probabilia falsi similia non sunt' is neither a genus of some things, nor a species of some things, nor an individual, because that word refers to a 'quale' not to a 'quid': still, it can be reasonably maintained that 'probabilia' refers to a genus or a species or individuals of things that are said (other 'enuntiationes' of a similar form are just nonsensical, 'nugatorie', e.g. 'probabile est ratio', unless 'probabile' is preceded by 'omne', 'aliquod', 'nullum'). Again, 'disputare' in 'disputare est disserere' is a genus of 'disserere'. One can even classify as genera, species, individuals of, e.g., 'affirmatio' such kinds of 'de quo' which cannot be expressed by a name—be it a name of a 'quid' or of a 'quale'—, but must be expressed in terms of 'A esse B' or 'esse B', e.g. 'falsum esse falsum' in ' "falsum esse falsum" non est "verum esse verum" ', or 'esse falsum' in ' "esse falsum" non est "esse verum" '. But there is one other kind of 'de quo' for which no name exists, the 'non-something' (Adam says the 'everything-but-one-thing'),[1] like 'quod-non-est-dictio': and this kind of 'de quo' does not seem to be reducible to any of the three or four classes.

The second section is concerned with the different ways in which the 'de quo' can be designated, viz. with the 'qualiter (quibus verbis) de quo'. The elementary study of words ('loquendi rudimenta'), which is outside the scope of the 'ars disserendi', gives the knowledge of their usual meanings ('noticia usus locutionum'). This other study teaches how things (the 'de quo') are expressed for the purpose of discourse in its different kinds, and is twofold (we, not Adam, might speak of a theoretical and a practical aspect): the study of the various ways in which the 'de quo' are expressed resulting in a classification of the 'principia principiorum disserendi', and the study of the usefulness of each way for the several kinds

[1]) See p. 141. This corresponds to the ἀνώνυμον or ἀόριστον ὄνομα of Aristotle, *De Interpr.* ii, 16a29-32, and x, 19b6-9.

of disputation, i.e. of the "genus inquisitivum ad sciendum, contentiosum ad vincendum, exercitativum ad utriusque dictorum usu habundandum". — The 'de quo' can be designated (a) in such a way that it is understood clearly ('plane')—and this way is mainly used in expository discourse, only to a lesser extent in disputation of the 'inquisitivum genus', and even less in disputation of the other two kinds; and (b) in such a way that the 'de quo' is not understood clearly (the uncertainty about the 'de quo' may be obvious, e.g. in the case of 'alterum' in 'alterum aliquorum falsum est', or not immediately apparent, as in the case of 'ars disserendi' in 'ars disserendi est ad docendum disserere'). The second alternative is twofold: (b′) when the word or phrase designating the 'de quo' is ambiguous, i.e. has various meanings; in this case we have sophisms, and the 'principium principii disserendi' is a 'principium sophisticum'; (b″) when there is no ambiguity, but it is somehow difficult to know what the word or phrase refers to; in this case the 'principium' is 'sine sophismate dubitabile'.[1] Adam does not propose to discuss the cases in which the 'de quo' is clear: when the origin of uncertainty is known, through the study of (b), the rules for certainty in (a) will be evident.

The discussion of (b′), viz. of the case in which there is going to be a sophistic discourse, almost develops into a treatise by itself which occupies one-third of what remains of the *Ars Disserendi* (see part of it at pp. 152-156). Adam proposes to show: (1) in what ways can the words for the 'de quo', the 'principia principiorum' be sophistic; (2) what kinds of disputations arise from the different kinds of sophistic principles—very little is, however, said on this point—; (3) how can the sophism be detected? But before coming to the study of the sophistic element in the 'principia principiorum' Adam remarks that sophisms are found at every stage of discourse, in each part of it, and in the connexions between the various parts. In fact, it is often impossible to detect the sophistic character of the words used for the 'de quo' unless the whole 'enuntiatio' or 'interrogatio', or indeed the whole discourse is taken into account. In order to obviate to a certain extent, this difficulty whole 'enuntiationes' will be given by

[1]) Cf. Augustine (?), *Princ. Dialect.*: "Impedit auditorem ad veritatem videndam in verbis aut obscuritas aut ambiguitas. Inter obscurum et ambiguum hoc interest, quod in ambiguo plura se ostendunt quorum quid potius accipiendum sit ignoratur, in obscuro autem nihil aut parum quod attendatur apparet" (cap. viii, PL 32, col. 1414).

Adam as examples for the different kinds of sophisms depending on the words used for the 'de quo'.

Sophisms originating in the words which designate the 'de quo' can be divided into two main classes: (A) those which depend on the designating word, when only one word is used for that purpose ('sine complexione'), (B) those which depend on one or more words, when a whole phrase is used for the designation ('secundum complexionem'). Sophisms of class (A) are mainly—perhaps only—caused by equivocation. Now, the origin of equivocations is threefold: common usage ('usus loquendi communis'), technical language ('modus loquendi docentibus concessus'), argumentative analysis of possible meanings ('ad diversa designanda verborum argumentis diductio'). By combining in twos these sources of equivocation and by adding the possible equivocation within each source, we have six kinds of sophisms of this class:[1] e.g., when a word can be taken in a meaning of the common language and in another of the technical language, when a word can be taken in a meaning of the common language and in one established by argumentative analysis, when a word can be taken in two meanings of the common language, etc. Some sophisms of the same class (A) may also seem to originate from univocation (defined in a slightly altered Aristotelian way as "eādem ratione diversorum eadem appellatio"): this would mean that every proposition with a general subject (in Adam's language, every 'enuntiatio' with a 'principium generale') would be sophistic.[2] Adam would say that there is in this case no real sophism, because no two contrasting arguments can derive from a univocal

[1]) The account of the origin and classification of sophisms from equivocation appears again to be a development of Augustine's (?) doctrine: "Ambiguitatum quae ab aequivocis veniunt primo genera tria sunt: unum ab arte, alterum ab usu, tertium ab utroque; arte nunc dico propter nomina quae in verborum disciplinis verbis imponuntur — aliter enim definitur apud grammaticos quid sit aequivocum ... Alterum genus est quod ex loquendi usu venire memoravimus ... At si utrumque confundat audientem vel legentem, sive quod ex arte, sive ex loquendi usu dicitur, nonne tertium genus recte annumerabitur?" (*Princ. Dialect.* x, col. 1416-7).

[2]) Cf. the passage quoted by M. Grabmann (*Method. u. Hilfsmittel d. Aristot.-Stud. im Mittelalt.* in Sitzgsb. d. bayer. Akad., Philos.-hist. Abt. 1939. v, p. 24) from a twelfth-century commentary on the *Elenchi*: "Dicit M.p.: 'legi et relegi elenchos, sophisma univocationis non inveni'; respondet M.a.: 'bene dixisti quia non intellexisti'." Grabmann thinks that 'M.p.' is Peter Abailard, and 'M.a.' Alberic, the teacher of John of Salisbury (see also his *Komment. z. aristot. Log. aus d. 12 u. 13. Jahrh. im MS. lat. fol. 624 d. preuss. Staatsbibl.* in Sitzgsb. d. preuss. Akad., Philos-hist. Kl. 1938. xviii, pp. 189-91, and see below, p. 136, n. 1).

word, as is the case with equivocal words. Other sophisms of the same class depend on the use of words designating a plurality of things, which may not designate distinctly one or other, or all of, the things thus designated; e.g., 'contraria' in 'contraria non sunt concedenda' (= both must be rejected, or = when one is accepted the other must be rejected). These are called the 'principia sophistica ex plurium ut non unius appellatione'.

Before turning to the study of other kinds of 'principia sophistica' Adam teaches how to detect the sophisms of class (A), in fact only of those deriving from equivocation. He lists eleven or twelve possible tests, 'experimenta', to which one can submit the words in order to see whether or not they are equivocal. E.g., one can try to consider the meaning of a word taken by itself, and then taken in conjunction with others ('conveniens' by itself means 'that can be accepted', 'concedi non extraneum'; in conjunction with 'cum aliquo', 'in aliquo' it means 'that has something in common with so-and-so'); again, the same word in different connexions may prove to have different meanings ('videri alicui' and 'videri ab aliquo'); sometimes the different meanings detected by this test appear to derive respectively from the original 'positio' of the word and from its metaphorical usage, 'translatio' ('sight of the eyes', 'sight of the mind'). Again, a word may be considered as meaning something different in different categories (called 'genera assignationum' instead of 'predicamenta' or 'categorie'): 'conveniens' has a meaning in the category of quality, and a different meaning in the category of relation. Equivocity may not be apparent in a word, but in another word closely related to it: 'concedendum' becomes clear by reference to 'concedere' which is patently equivocal (this test applies to words derived according to the rules of grammatical morphology, etc., words which would be called 'derivativa', 'paronyma', 'denominativa', and which Adam calls 'diducta secundum verbi commutationem'). Equivocity may become evident if one tries to assign the contrary to the meaning of a word: 'concedere' has two contraries, 'contradicere' and 'prohibere'.

The second class (B) of 'principia sophistica', i.e. the class of those 'secundum complexionem', is divided into two groups: the sophistic character may lie in one of the words of the phrase designating the 'de quo', or it may depend on the connexion between the various words. In the first group are included those instances in which the word in question

is equivocal (either in itself, or because what is attached to it makes it such, and all the kinds of equivocation previously studied are possible here), and the instances in which the case or number or mood or tense of the word is ambiguous ('ex indistinctione'). This first group also contains the cases in which the meaning of the word is modified by the context, and those in which the word does not give sufficient indication of what is understood by it so that the hearer is left to find out for himself what the exact meaning may be (e.g., time circumstances may not be sufficiently indicated, 'an tunc an quando an simpliciter', or modality—simple assertion or possibility, etc.—, or the agent that should follow a passive verb, etc.). A number of suggestions for the detection of sophisms of this first group are also given.

III

Up to this point approximately the text of the *Ars* as preserved in *V* can be considered as giving Adam's own words. The chapter on the second group of 'principia sophistica secundum complexionem' and the chapters on obscure but not ambiguous designations of the 'de quo', which conclude the second main section of the *Ars*, as well as the third, incompletely preserved, section, are found in both manuscripts in the second recension. Before continuing the short summary for these parts, it will be convenient to mention some points in the second recension of the first half. In a short addition, probably by 'HE', a tripartite division of the 'genera dicendi' is given: 'genus disserendi', 'oratorium dicendi genus', 'poeticum dicendi genus'. In the chapter where Adam discusses the possible kinds of 'de quo' which seem not to come under the tripartite or quadripartite classification (genus, species, individual) a passage was added (not marked by a siglum) suggesting 'accidens' as a class by itself. The most important changes, probably due to '.b'.' concern the theory of equivocation (see the text in the apparatus at p. 155, and in the passages at pp. 156-158). Of the three sources of equivocation the third was, according to Adam, 'ad diversa designanda verborum argumentis diductio'; this is substituted by 'ex impositione intelligendi significatio' or 'ex inventione'. The theory of 'impositio' and 'inventio' (only hinted at indirectly by Adam under the

name of 'positio') is thus introduced, side by side with that of 'usus' and technical language as explaining one of the ways of giving meaning to words. The number of possible kinds of equivocation is also found to be much greater than Adam had thought: in fact the additional text shows that there is an indefinite number of kinds, since there can be indefinite ways of varying the meaning of a word, either by 'usus' (what was usual at one time may become obsolete, what was metaphorical may become usual), or by technical usage, or by 'inventio'. An independent classification based on 'impositio' and 'transumptio' (this second word substituted almost consistently in this additional section the term 'translatio') is expounded and discussed at some length. — In what follows the views of Adam and those of other logicians which have been worked into the structure of the *Ars* by the editor of the second recension cannot at present be separated.

The second group of 'principia sophistica secundum complexionem', viz. those which originate in the connexion itself, can be of twelve kinds.[1] Among them are the following: 'ex coniunctione' ('hoc et illud non sunt vera': both false? only one? which of the two?), 'ex disiunctione' ('diem vel noctem esse semper est verum'), 'ex abiunctione' ('in probabili responsione': does 'in' govern 'probabili responsione' or only 'probabili'?); 'ex transversione' ('quod concedi vere negatur non conceditur': does 'vere' go with 'concedi' or with 'negatur'?); 'ex defectione' ('hominem esse animal et non aliud est verum': 'aliud quam hominem' or 'aliud quam animal'?). Rules are again given for the detection of these sophisms; and with these the whole discussion of (b′), viz. of the 'de quo' designated by ambiguous or sophistical words comes to an end. — The discussion of (b″), viz. of 'principia sine sophismate dubitabilia' is much shorter. They are divided into eight kinds, two of them including the 'de quo' designated in an obscure way because the things themselves are not sufficiently known (either because of lack of training in discussion or because differences

[1]) Prantl (II², pp. 212-3) saw in this chapter mainly a collection of ideas and definitions from Cicero, the *Rhetor. ad Her.*, Gellius, Boethius, Cassiodorus, but he was almost completely misled by verbal similarities. E.g., he says that Adam took the word 'complexio' "in jener schwankenden Bedeutung in welcher wir es in der römischen Rhetorik finden, wo es sowohl den Schlussatz eines Syllogismus als auch das rhetorische Dilemma bezeichnet": the meaning attached by Adam to 'complexio' has nothing to do either with the conclusions of syllogisms or with rhetorical dilemmas.

between the things concerned are not evident), and six kinds of 'de quo' which cannot be understood immediately because the words are unknown (either new or rarely used) or obscure. — After a chapter containing rules for the detection and use of these 'dubitabilia', which must have concluded the second main section of Adam's *Ars*, there come four other chapters, probably inserted by the editor of the second recension: one dealing with 'nugatory' subjects of propositions (e.g. 'homo bipes' = 'quoddam bipes bipes') or false subjects ('homo quadrupes'); the second about subjects about which one may have doubts, although they are not themselves the origin of uncertainty; the third giving examples of various ways in which a subject may be expressed (by a noun like 'enuntiatio', by a pronominal phrase like 'quod enuntiatur', or in other ways like 'quod non est enuntiabile', 'esse quod non est', 'esse album'); the fourth dealing with additional meanings which may accompany the meaning of the word or phrase designating the 'de quo': the additional meanings, 'consignificationes', are fourfold: universal ('*omnis* affirmatio'), non-universal ('affirmatio'), singular ('*hec* affirmatio'), non-singular ('*aliqua* affirmatio').

The third main section, which deals with 'quid enuntietur vel interrogetur' (i.e. with the predicate of propositions), is only incompletely preserved: additions and re-elaborations of the original text are apparently much more numerous and extensive than in the first half, and it is difficult to find out the order of distinctions which Adam himself may have had in mind. While in sections one and two the study of 'enuntiatio' appeared to be sufficient also for the purpose of knowing the nature of, and rules governing, 'interrogatio', here 'interrogatio' and 'enuntiatio' must be studied separately. (We might make this clearer than Adam or the revisors have made it, by an example: the 'de quo', i.e. the subject, is the same in the 'enuntiatio' and in the 'interrogatio'—'*man* is a rational animal', 'what is *man*?'—; but the other part of the expression, the predicate, is different.) Since not knowing precedes knowing, the study of 'interrogatio' must precede the study of 'enuntiatio'. What is still extant of the third section covers only, and not completely, the study of 'interrogatio'. In fact the whole of the last third of the text is taken up by a treatise on the various kinds of 'what is being asked'. Things that are asked are classified in two different ways. According to the form of the question, they are asked (a) 'disciplinaliter' when he who asks does not suggest a choice to him who

answers, e.g. 'what is prudence?', or (b) 'elective' when the choice is suggested, e.g. 'is prudence a virtue (or not)?'. According to what in fact is being asked, they are divided into ten kinds (in fact the ten Aristotelian categories): 'quid sit, quale sit, quantum . . .' The 'disciplinaliter interrogata' can be 'inceptiva' if the question is put in the general terms of the ten categories ('what is so-and-so', 'of-what-quality is so-and-so', 'when is so-and-so', etc.), and 'assecutiva' if the question is more determined ('what kind of animal is man', etc.). Correspondingly, the 'elective interrogata' can be 'initialia' ('is so-and-so a something', 'is so-and-so of some quality', 'has so-and-so a quantity', 'is so-and-so somewhere', etc.), and 'executiva' ('is so-and-so a man', 'is so-and-so white', etc.). — The tenfold division according to the categories is seen to be open to doubt as to its exhaustiveness. Questions about movement, or others of the kind 'utrum duorum . . .', 'quid plurium . . .', 'cur aliquid . . .', 'unde terremotus', etc. may be partly fitted into that classification, but not all of them. One further way of classifying questions is based on the parts of the answer which meet the 'interrogatum': 'sol est lucentissimus' may answer the question 'what is "lucentissimus"?' (the answer is given by the first part, 'sol') or the question 'what is a characteristic of "sol"?' (the answer is given by the second part 'lucentissimus'). — A more detailed study is made of the 'elective interrogabilia' than of the 'disciplinaliter interrogabilia': in fact, it is probable that most of what is said of the latter is a series of passages and chapters not belonging to Adam, added at the wrong place in the midst of the discussion of the 'elective interrogabilia'. These are divided, not only according to the ten categories, but also into 'simplicia'—when only one thing is asked in one question, e.g. 'an mundus sit perpetuus an non'—, and 'multiplicia', e.g. 'an mundus sit vivens et perpetuus an non'. The 'multiplicia' are subdivided in their turn according to the various relations obtaining between the several parts of the question—they can be 'coniuncte, coherenter, disiuncte, determinate multiplicia', etc.: e.g. the question 'an ius sit ars boni et equi' is 'partim determinate partim coniuncte multiplex'; 'determinate' because it does not ask 'simpliciter' whether 'ius' is an art, but adds 'boni'; 'coniuncte' because it also asks whether it is 'ars equi'. — The text as it has reached us breaks off in the middle of a sentence in this chapter.

IV

Adam presents himself as a discoverer and a pioneer. There is no doubt that the plan of the *Ars* and many developments in it are new: it required more than skill and information about previous discoveries to conceive of a system of logic which could be complete and well organized through a study of the 'principium' of discourse, to apply a method of dissection and analysis of the material to be considered and carry it on with many classifications, some of them subtle and penetrating, to fit, without apparent obtrusiveness, into the same plan, a theory of the subject-matter of discourse, a theory of sophisms, and one of possible types of questions. There was novelty in the language, and not only the vanity of using new words for old things. The technical language—as Adam himself tells us—had been used for ill-conceived systems; it had become ambiguous, and prevented a direct approach to logical problems. 'De quo enuntietur vel interrogetur' and 'quid enuntietur vel interrogetur' are more clumsy expressions than 'subiectum' and 'predicatum': but they bring one's mind directly to the object under discussion and allow one to dispense with the doctrines, true or false, already attached to those terms. The extensive use of the word 'principium' in the very common and elementary sense of 'first part' clears the ground from any preconceived theory about the internal structure of propositions and arguments. 'Predicamentum', 'categoria', 'syllogismus', 'propositio',[1] 'terminus', 'definitio', are among the many technical terms which do not appear in the *Ars*, and not all of them have been replaced by a new equivalent: the conceptions themselves, if necessary, had to be built again, perhaps in missing sections of the *Ars*. — Still, much of the tradition of logic lies behind, and is absorbed into, the *Ars Disserendi*: this is apparent in some irreplaceable words like 'genus, species', and the names of each of the ten categories; in the presupposition that rules of logic are found through an atomization, as it were, of our usual or technical language; in the conceptions themselves of proposition, of predicables, of categories; in the realization that words, while being significant, are possible carriers of ambiguities. Adam had recognized that

[1]) Cf. Boethius, *In Top. Cic.* I, col. 1054: "propositio id est enuntiatio".

something had been done for this art, but that was not enough, and it was dispersed: he had to organize what had already been discovered, as well as to make new discoveries.

We have already seen (pp. 124 n. 2, 126 n. 1, 128 n. 1, 129 n .1, and 135 n. 1) several points where Adam's sources of knowledge or of inspiration for further developments can be traced to Boethius' *In Topica Ciceronis* and to Augustine's (or pseudo-Augustine's) *Principia Dialecticae*. It is more interesting to see how he drew upon Aristotle's *Topics* and *Elenchi Sophistici*, two works of which he appears to be either the discoverer or one of the very first students in the Latin-speaking world since Boethius.[1] This applies if not to the whole works, at least to some sections of them: the first book of the *Topics*, and the beginning, classification of sophisms, and conclusion of the *Sophistici Elenchi*.

Aristotle begins the *Topics* by explaining, like Adam, the 'propositum' ("propositum quidem negotii est . . ."), viz. by mentioning the various kinds of discourse and singling out, for his present purpose, the 'dialectical' discourse as opposed to the demonstrative: Adam chooses the 'disputativa' as opposed to the expository kind (this, the expository kind, will also be called 'demonstrativa'). Then he discusses the purposes of his work (the 'ad quid'); if we compare some passages of this chapter with the last section

[1]) The only evidence so far known of the study of the Latin *Topics* in the first half of the twelfth century is in its being included by Thierry of Chartres in the *Eptateucon* and in the puzzling sentence by John of Salisbury: "Magister Theodoricus, ut memini, Topica non Aristotilis sed Trecassini Drogonis irridebat, eadem tamen quandoque docuit; quidam auditores magistri Rodberti de Meliduno librum hunc fere inutilem esse calumniantur" (*Metal.* IV. xxiv, p. 191 W.). The *Elenchi* was equally included in the *Eptateucon*, Thierry misread 'plunulas' in it [3], Abailard had some knowledge of its contents (cf. B. Geyer, *Die alten Uebersetzgn*, pp. 33-4, 38-9). James of Venice and Alberic had written commentaries on it (cf. L. Minio-Paluello, *Note sull'Arist. Lat. Mediev. VI* in Riv. di Filos. Neo-Scol. XLIV [1952], pp. 401-405, and *Iacobus Veneticus Grecus Canonist and Translator of Aristotle* in Traditio VIII [1952], p. 304), and Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary was probably known in a Latin translation (? by James of Venice; two passages from "Alexander in commento" are quoted in a fragment of a Latin commentary, cod. Oxford Bodl. Laud. Lat. 67, fol. 8va; they correspond in contents to, but are not translated from, passages in Michael of Ephesos' commentary; Richard of Fournival possessed "Alexandri Affrodisii liber commentariorum in sophysticos elenchos," *Biblion.* No. 22, Delisle, *Cab. d. Manuscr.* II, p. 525; "Alexander super libro Elenchorum" is again quoted in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus maiorum fallaciarum* and in an anonymous *Tractatus de modo opponendi et respondendi*, cf. M. Grabmann, *Hschriftl. Forsch. u. Funde zu den philos. Schr. d. Petrus Hisp.* in Sitzungsb. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch. Philos.-hist. Abt. 1936. 9, p. 87, and *Die Sophismatalit. d. 12. u. 13. Jhdt.* (BGPM XXXVI. i), Münster, 1940, p. 31).

of Adam's introduction the similarity will appear striking in spite of obvious differences:

Sequens autem erit his quae praedicta sunt *dicere ad quot et ad quae* utile sit hoc negotium. *Est autem ad* tria: . . . *Ad secundum philosophiam* autem *disciplinas, quoniam* potentes ad utraque dubitare *facile* in singulis *speculabimur verum et falsum*. (*Top.* I. ii, 101a 15-36; cod. Oxf. Trin. Coll. 47, fol. 19^{r}.)	De quo igitur ars, ut dictum intelligatur, *ad quid autem ut dicendum. Est autem ad* duo: . . . sine huius cognitione singularum *que secundum philosophiam sunt disciplinarum* notitiam necesse deesse, quod *quoniam* ignoranti incredibile, attendenti dubium, *intelligenti certum eius plene demonstrationi* non nisi *arte cognita locus erit*. (*S*, fol. 165^{v}-166^{r}.)

The sequence of thought, from the 'de quo' to the 'ad quid', the similarity in one at least of the aims, the correspondence of words ('est autem ad', 'secundum philosophiam disciplinae', 'quoniam') are, it seems, evidence of Adam's having the *Topics* in his mind. — Aristotle goes on (I. 3, 101b15-17): 'fiunt orationes ex propositionibus; de quibus autem fiunt syllogismi problemata sunt': the starting-point for Adam is: 'principium disserendi [and 'disserere' includes all kinds of reasoning] ab interrogatione [='problema'] vel enuntiatione [='propositio']'. — Proposition starts from ('fit a') 'terminus', 'proprium', 'genus', or 'accidens'; and these can be considered either under the heading of genus or of species or of individual (*Top.* I. 4-7, 101b17-103a38): the 'principium principii', the beginning of propositions is, according to Adam, either a genus, or a species or an individual (*V* 247vb, *S* 167^{v}). Aristotle continues by showing the kinds of predicates which these things may have: they are the ten categories (*Top.* I. ix, 103b20-104a2): the ten kinds of 'quid dicatur' are the same. And it is significant that Adam does not use 'substantia' for the first kind, as would be natural if he had taken the classification from the schools and the works of Aristotle usually read and commented upon, but 'quid est', the phrase used by Aristotle in this passage of the *Topics*. — When Aristotle begins his study of 'propositio dialectica' and 'problema dialecticum', he wants to show 'quomodo sumemus et per quae facile poterimus' (104a1-2): one of the main concerns of the study of 'sophismata' (which correspond to the 'dialectica propositiones et problemata') is, for Adam, 'qualiter eorum prompta cognitione et facili inventione habundemus' (*V* 250va, *S* 175^{r}). Aristotle is careful to exclude from the start

propositions and problems which are not dialectical because nobody would accept them (I. x, 104a5-8): Adam speaks, in the parallel passage, with a different emphasis of 'sophismata quibus intente insistere protervire et contra que attente resistere nichil agere' (*V* 251ra, *S* 176r). — No other work than the *Topics* could have suggested to Adam these elements, and this order, for part of his plan; and these and other parallels are clearly not accidental. A linguistic analysis would probably add support to this view: the frequent elliptical form of clauses (without the verb 'to be'), the use of words like 'obviare', 'palam quoniam', the series of 'rursus', are reminiscent of Boethius' version of the *Topics*: and John of Salisbury's charge against the *Ars Disserendi* that it was modelled in style on works of Aristotle is borne out by many features of the text as we have it. Some points of Adam's doctrine may derive either from the *Topics* or from the *Elenchi*, e.g. the detection of ambiguities by testing the meanings of words in the several categories (*V* fol. 252vb, *S* fol. 183v; cf., e.g., *Top.* I. xv, 107a3-17; *El. Soph.* xxii, 178a4-28).

A comparison of the section on sophisms in the *Ars* with the *Sophistici Elenchi* reveals similarities of the same kind as those which we have pointed out for the *Topics*; of these similarities we give here some examples. Shortly after the beginning Aristotle says that one of the main sources of ἔλεγχοι lies in the fact that "non est ipsas res ferentes disputare, sed nominibus pro rebus utimur notis et quod accidit in nominibus in rebus quoque arbitramur accidere" (*Soph. El.* i, 165a6-9, cod. Cambr. Trin. Coll. O. 7. 9, fol. 158r). This is the very distinction ('de quo' and 'quibus verbis de quo') on which Adam's theory of sophisms is based. Aristotle proceeds distinguishing the kinds of 'disputationes' (οἱ ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι λόγοι); it is with the same classification (except for the 'disputatio dialectica', which appears to be considered as the genus under which the three other kinds come) that Adam introduces the section on sophisms. The whole purpose of the *Elenchi* is to account for the sources of sophistical arguments and to suggest the ways for discovering them: this again is the avowed aim of this section in the *Ars*. The classification of the sources of sophisms into 'secundum dictionem' (containing in the first instance equivocation) and 'extra dictionem' come very near to the main division into 'principia sophistica sine complexione' and 'secundum complexionem'. One singular similarity is in the claims of originality made by Aristotle in the last chapter

of the *Elenchi* and by Adam at the beginning of the section on sophisms. Aristotle gives a very short summary of what he has been showing so far, and passes on to claim that what he has done in the *Topics* and *Elenchi* was completely new: because arts develop from a few discoveries by means of further additions, as can be seen in the history of rhetoric; but in the 'art of syllogism from probable premises' nothing yet has been done or attempted. Among other things he says:

> Ex quantis igitur et qualibus fiunt disputantibus paralogismi . . . amplius autem quid sint utiles huiusmodi orationes . . . et quomodo solvendum disputationes . . . dicta sint . . . hec. . . . Eorum que inveniuntur omnium, que quidem ab aliis sumpta sunt prius elaborata particulariter augentur ab eis qui accipiunt postea; que autem ex principio inveniuntur, parum in primis augmentum sumere solent, utilius autem plurimum illo quod postea ex his fit augmentum. Maximum autem principium omnium videtur quam difficillimum; quanto enim potestate optimum, tanto parvissimum magnitudine difficillimum videri; hoc autem invento facile est addere et augere reliquum. Quod et circa rhetoricas orationes accidit, pene autem et circa omnes alias artes. Nam qui principia invenerunt omnino ad parvum quid perduxerunt, qui autem nunc famosiores sunt assumentes a multis velut ex successione particulariter colligentibus sic auxerunt . . . et multi multas coadunaverunt partes . . . (*Soph. El.* xxxiv, 183a27-b33; cod. Cambr. Trin. Coll. O. 7. 9, f. 173rv).

Adam begins his second section with a passage which bears striking similarity with this, especially if we supplement it with some phrases from the general introduction:

> Quibus autem et quot modis de quo dicatur disserendo designandum . . . que et quot ex quibus disputationes, et qualiter facile et ad quid utile talia copiose invenire et prompte dinoscere, hec omnia ut nondum fortasse comperta sine artis preceptione comperiri non facile. Quonian igitur magis ad disputandum necessaria . . . sit aliquid artis quo ad hec prompta facultate habundemus expedire propositum. Quoniam autem qua sit ad hec arte facultas a prioribus nec traditum nec fortassis compertum, artem incompertam invenire, inventam expedire primi temptemus. Est autem artem tanti negotii primo tradere et eidem plene invenire et plane explicare difficillimum. Artium enim singularum a primis inventoribus posteriorum successioni paulatim innotuit noticia; primorum autem inventione vix aliquid compertum, posteriorum additione mediocriter adauctum, postremis postrema addentibus ad plane explicandum vix tandem patuit. Quare quanto singularius nobis hoc negotii suscepti difficillimum et utilissimum attribuetur, tanto studiosius singularem attentionem apponere necesse. (*V* 249rb-va, *S* 172r.)

Ex primo autem de arte compertis plurium pluribus noticiam sumentibus et posteriorum singulis ⟨priorum⟩ inventioni aliquid addentibus, diversorum diversis institutionibus plurima de arte ad disciplinam edisseri accidit. . . . Ex quibus autem horum initia ad amplius crementum ex sese deinde provenientibus . . . pleniu postea patuisse manifestum est. (*V* 246rb-va, *S* 164r.)

The similarity is not confined to the general trend of thought, but is apparent, here and there in the words themselves: 'ex quantis et qualibu . . . disputantibus . . . quid utiles . . . quomodo solvendum disputatione and 'que et quot ex quibus disputationes, et qualiter facile et ad quid utile . . . dinoscere'; 'qui principia invenerunt omnino ad parvum . . . ex succes sione particulariter . . . auxerunt' and 'artium . . . inventoribus posteriorum successioni paulatim innoutit . . . primorum inventione vix aliquid compertum, posteriorum additione mediocriter adauctum'; 'quanto . . . tanto difficillimum' and 'quanto . . . difficillimum'.

V

The second recension differs from the first—as far as the two can be compared—in many respects, but it is impossible to say whether the final text is the result of the work of one editor[1] who has revised the style, introduced minor changes and included passages by other masters, or whether it is the outcome of a varied process of accretion. The original text was made more readable: the verb 'to be' was added in scores of elliptical clauses;[2] the order of words was rearranged here and there; diction was changed where it appeared to be too clumsy (e.g., "nichil est dicere" *V* 253rb becomes "non dicitur" *S* 184v; "de his que non plana sunt" *V* 250ra becomes "de non planis" *S* 173v); the syntax of whole sentences is sometimes altered although most of their words remain un-

[1]) No name can be suggested as that of the editor. The fact that both manuscripts of the *Ars* carry an attribution of it to one 'Alexander' in a hand of the fourteenth century might mean that at that time the *Ars* itself or its second recension was thought to be the work of a logician of that name. Can this be Alexander Nequam, a 'Parvipontanus' himself, and admirer of Adam, one to whom the latter's *De Utens.* was also sometimes ascribed?

[2]) See, e.g., the second apparatus of the introduction (pp. 149-151, specially to lines 32-45) and of the chapters on sophisms (pp. 152-155, specially to lines 10-24).

changed (cf. the second sentence of the treatise, p. 149); some technical expressions are replaced by others wherever they occur (e.g. "id quod eque singula preter unum quoddam" *V* 248vb, 249ra, becomes "non nisi contradictive [or 'secundum contradictionem'] designabile" *S* 170v, 171r); different words and ideas appear in the introduction (e.g., "ratio a principio homini concessa", "studiosa veri disquirendi et demonstrandi diligentia . . . ex qua velut ex munere quodam nature . . ." *S* 163rv). The vocabulary of the second recension shows some preference for words missing from the first, e.g. 'disquirere, disquisitio, exemplariter, licentiosus, idoneus, utcumque, ergo'. The consistent alteration of one word in a certain context substantially alters the doctrine, as in the case of 'inventio' for 'argumentum' (see pp. 155-157). The more important changes often bear the mark of explanations of the text, beginning as they do by 'intelligatur' or 'advertatur', or by phrases like "sed ne quis secundum ignotiora noscenda distinguere laboret . . . intelligatur . . ." (*S* 178v).

From the additions and changes (see pp. 149-158) something can be learnt about the attitude of the logicians who contributed to the formation of the second recension, and probably belonged to the same generation of Adam or to the following one. The interest in 'impositio', 'inventio' and history of words, e.g. in connexion with 'transumptio', which we have noted in the additions on the theory of equivocation, is evident in many passages, almost as a worry on the difficulties accompanying the use of new words or of old ones with new meanings. The 'consuetus loquendi usus', the usage of the 'veteres', the foolishness of the 'corrixantes' who enjoy 'disquisitiones' about words rather than considering them as necessary tools to express newly discovered ideas, are pointed out over and over again in the additions, especially in those marked by the siglum .B'. (or .b'.).[1] There is also a tendency to moderate the assurance of the

[1]) "Advertatur autem que hic dicimus *iuxta consuetum quendam loquendi usum* ut ad disciplinam, tamen *non ad disquisitionem* hic dicta, ne qui forte verbis insistentium *corrixandi occasionem* hinc etiam sumant, quemadmodum ex ignoratis *veterum locutionibus* licentiosis obtusive ille orte sunt *contentiones ad disquisitionem utentium non ut ad disquisitionem dictis*" (*S* fol. 167v-168r). — "Si quid autem aliter *in scriptis veterum* sophisma aut sophisticum appellari invenitur, *de nominibus non contendat* attendens . . ." (*S* fol. 174v). — "Ut enuntiatio *secundum veterum scripta* appellatur locutio qua verum vel falsum dicitur [cf. Boethius, *De Diff. Top.* I introd., PL 64, col. 1174C], secundum inventionis modum . . ." (*S* fol. 177r). — "Erit autem secundum quod dictum est equivocationum genera et causas nosse utile, et ad omne discipline genus et potissimum ad abductiva et multipliciter licentiosa illa quibus *in veterum scriptis creberrime falluntur*

original author: what was stated as 'palam est esse' (e.g. *V* 248ra, three times), is accompanied by 'dicitur' only (*S* 168r). But the general order and plan of the *Ars* is felt to be authoritative, so that it must not be too much disturbed by additions.[1] The novelty of the doctrines, claimed by Adam, is reiterated in some additions: it was a pride of the school or of the age. The arithmetical side of classification, which was already noticeable in Adam, becomes much more prominent: even a formula of combinatory calculus is suggested for the reckoning of the possible kinds of equivocations.

Some of the changes reveal a determined reform in certain aspects and methods of the teaching of the 'ars'. At the beginning of the *Metalogicon* John of Salisbury justifies to a certain extent Cornificius for his almost unpardonable faults by showing that these had come to him from his (Cornificius') teachers. The school which Cornificius had followed was contemporary with Abailard, Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches and with Gilbert de la Porrée's chancellorship at Chartres (*ca.* A.D. 1137). Among the charges made by John against the school we read that:

inconveniens prorsus erat oratio in qua hec verba 'conveniens' et 'inconveniens', 'argumentum' et 'ratio' non perstrepebant (*Metal.* I. iii, p. 10 W.); solam 'convenientiam' sive 'rationem' loquebantur, 'argumentum' sonabat in ore omnium; et asinum nominare vel hominem aut aliquid operum nature instar criminis erat aut ineptum nimis . . .; impossibile credebatur 'convenienter' et ad 'rationis' normam dicere quicquam aut facere, nisi 'convenientis' et 'rationis' mentio ex-

verbis innitentes; item ad omne disputationum genus, et potissimum contra obtusiones illas quas pro disputationibus usurpare consueverunt *circa veterum disciplinas corrixantes*" (*S* fol. 179v-180r). — "Intelligatur autem nunc posita distinctio *secundum illum loquendi modum quo vulgo dicitur* id de uno dici . . . Si quis autem alterne probabilitatis *disquisitione* utrimque exercitatus hoc non susceperit . . ." (*S* fol. 181v).

[1]) After some indications for further developments: ". . . quis sit circa huiusmodi verborum usus licentiosus, quis debitus, et quid . . . qui autem . . . et qualiter, *alius erit docendi locus* . . . *Satis hic* de quibus sit enuntiandum *utcumque distinguere*" (*S* fol. 168r). — "*Artis ergo viam sine deviis permeare volenti* exemplariter hinc innotescant dicta quatuor . . . genera" (*S* fol. 168v). — "Inchoatam preceptionem non consummari graviter ferentibus proposite sunt superiores distinctiones; inceptiva autem cognitione contentis sufficiant hec ultima . . ." (*S* fol. 178r). — After other hints for developments: ". . . cum de eis que secundum complexionem sunt disseretur commodius ostendetur" (*S* 181r).

[2]) See the passage at pp. 156-157, lines 13-21; in our algebraic notation the formula is: $x = \frac{(n+1)(n+2)}{2}$ where x is the number of possible combinations of n meanings under the three headings 'usus, ars, inventio'.

pressim esset inserta; sed nec argumentum fieri licitum nisi premisso nomine argumenti. Ex arte et de arte agere idem erat (*ibid.*, p. 12).

'Conveniens, argumentum, ratio': these words occur over and over again in several passages of Adam's *Ars Disserendi*, with an insistence which would justify John's charge. More significant perhaps than this fact is another, that almost all the passages in question have been altered in the second recension; and even in some passages where those words occur without much repetition they have been altered. Here are some of the passages:

First recension.	Second recension.
Item '*argumenta* sunt ad hoc ut ad quod nullum *argumentum* est'. *Ratio* ad hoc quoniam *argumenta* sunt ad probandum contraria . . . (*V* 252ra).	Tale est et vulgatum illud 'homines habent duos pedes tantum' (*S* 181v).
Item aliqua diffinitio que *rationi convenit* falsi diffinitio est; diffinitionem *rationi convenire* multipliciter dicimus, tum *rationem* ei consentire . . . Quare *convenire* ex additione sic equivoce dicitur (*V* 253rb).	Item ratio respondendi alia est quam interrogandi, an eius quod est respondendum an eius quod est respondere incertum est. Consideretur et huiusmodi equivocatio que secundum adiunctionem est in eis que tum substantive tum adiective dicuntur, . . . (*S* 187v).
Item aliud quam *rationem* concedere *conveniens* est; item aliud quam *rationi convenire* verum est; item quod falsum concedi sit falsum contradici verum esse falsum sic verum esse ipsum *conveniens* non est (*V* 254vb).	Item aliud quam dubium esse certo contrarium falsum est (*S* 188v).
Eidem ut diversis diverse, ut *argumentum* sine probatione fieri non *convenit*; sine probatione enim *argumentum* . . . ; item ex hoc quod *argumento* probatur falsum *argumentum* probari . . . quoniam non idem verum *argumento* probatur quia falsum (*V* 255ra).	Eidem ut diversis diverse, ut nulla falsa sunt de numero eorum que sunt vera . . . ; item ex hoc quod probatur falsum probari . . . quoniam non idem verum probatur quia falsum (*S* 189v-190r).

Ut quod falsum est sine *ratione* verum est, an verum esse dicatur quod falsum sit sine *ratione* (*V* 255rb).	Ut nullum verum est quod nichil aliud sit a vero, an intelligi debeat velut dictum sit quodlibet verum esse aliquid aliud a vero, an quod nullum verum sit nichil esse aliud a vero (*S* 190r).
Ut contra aliquid quod negatur disputare *conveniens* est (*V* 255va).	Ut omni enuntiatione verum vel falsum dici verum est (*S* 190v).
Aliter etiam a quo ut indiscretum *ratio* arbitrati (?) contingit ut quod sine *argumento* conceditur *argumento* probari non est conveniens . . . (*V* 255vb).	Aliter etiam indiscretum a quo, ut concessum negari in disputatione non convenit . . . (*S* 191r).
. . . et si accidit non inde satis *argumenti* . . . ut eo probetur quod negatur *convenit* . . . tum ad utrumque prius ut aliquid *argumento* probatur . . .(*V* 256rab).	. . . et si accidit non inde multum dubitationis est . . . ut eo probetur qui negatur contingit . . . tum ad utrumque prius, ut aliquid est verum de aliquo . . . (*S* 191v-192r).
. . . ambiguum an generale principium an non, ut aliquid quod est *argumentum* est aliqua species *argumenti*, an de aliquo ut de qualibet specie *argumenti* verum . . . (*V* 256rb).	. . . ambiguum est an generale sit principium an non, ut aliquis color in pluribus est, an de aliquo ut de qualibet specie coloris verum . . . (*S* 192rv).
Ut aliqua *ratio* negari dicitur; aliquam enim *rationem* negari dici sophistice dicimus . . . Videbitur autem ex his que dicimus quod et huiusmodi enuntiationis principium cum (?) dicitur 'aliqua *ratio* negatur' . . . [the whole discussion continues with the example of '*ratio*'] (*V* 256va).	Ut aliquid *verum* negari dicitur; aliquid enim *verum* negari sophistice dicimus . . . Videbitur autem ex his que dicimus quod et huiusmodi enuntiationis principium sit sophisticum dicitur 'aliquod *verum* negatur' . . . [it goes on with 'verum'] (*S* 192v).
Ut id quod non est *ratio* esse id quod non est *ratio* nec aliud *conveniens*, an aliud quam *ratio*, an aliud quam id quod non est *ratio* incertum (*V* 256rb).	Ut id quod non est *enuntiabile* esse id quod non est *enuntiabile* nec aliud *verum* est, an aliud quam *enuntiabile*, an aliud quam id quod non est *enuntiabile* incertum (*S* 192r).

Passages like the following are left out altogether from the second recension:

Habebitur tum sic intelligendorum alterum velut nugatorium dicenti nichil esse sine *ratione*, dubitabitur an preter hoc an quod falsum est sine *ratione* dicatur esse verum, an falsum dicatur esse sine *ratione* verum. . . . Item non est *conveniens* quod non sit aliquid aliud ab *argumento*. . . . Item nullam *rationem* esse aliquam quam verum sit *argumentum* esse verum est . . . (*V* 255rb).

Item ex hoc quod *argumentum* est ad aliquid *argumentum* esse ad aliud verum est, an quia *argumentum* . . . [some more lines with the example 'argumentum'] (*V* 254rab). See also *V* 256rb-257ra.

It is clear that the 'editor' of the second recension was careful to avoid as much as possible the use of those three words, at least when they occurred with a technical meaning.

On another point there seems to be some agreement between John of Salisbury's description of the school attended by Cornificius and Adam's teaching on the one hand, and between John's criticism and the attitude of the revisors of the *Ars Disserendi* on the other. John says: "asinum nominare vel hominem aut aliquid operum nature instar criminis erat aut ineptum nimis." This is precisely what we find in the original sections of the *Ars*. The only and obvious opportunity of mentioning donkeys, men, and other created things in a treatise of logic is in the examples. But Adam chose *all* his examples from logic itself, from words of the art and propositions which can occur in the art: this is a selection of them:

'enuntiatio', 'interrogatio', 'ars', 'disputatio', 'affirmatio', 'interrogatio dubitabilis', 'ars disserendi', 'disputatio inquisitiva', 'dictio', 'disputare', 'disserere', 'certum est ratio', 'enuntiationis principium', 'falsum esse falsum non est verum esse verum', 'quod non est dictio non est contradictio', 'interrogare aliud est quam enuntiare', 'ars disserendi est ad docendum disserere', 'exemplum', 'contraria non sunt concedenda', 'conveniens', 'contradicendum'.

If we consider that Adam thought examples to be the best way to lead the student to the 'facultas disserendi', viz. to be able to talk 'ex arte', and that, with this kind of example, the only training one received was to talk about things connected only with the art, the other words of John "ex

arte et de arte agere idem erat" appear to be an accurate description of this aspect of Adam's teaching. — If we turn to the second recension of the first half, we find that the examples are chosen nearly always from other quarters: if not precisely from donkeys, certainly from men and other created things: 'substantia formam habet', 'animal sentit', 'homo loquitur', 'hic homo disserit', 'reprehensores', 'elementa', 'pes geometricus', 'pes turris', 'pes montis', 'sanus', 'documenta obscura', 'vox obscura', 'ignis subtilis', 'color', 'creata', 'a Socrate et a Platone legitur', etc. As we shall see in a moment, the range of examples is even wider in the second half, a possible pointer to the non-original passages.

It cannot be suggested that Adam's school was coming directly under John's criticism: too many features in the description of Cornificius' masters do not agree with what we find either in the *Ars Disserendi* or in John's words about Adam. But there is no doubt that some connexion existed between Adam's teaching and that of the 'Cornifician' school. In chapter v of book I John mentions the masters who opposed that school and in the long run prevailed over it: Gilbert, Thierry, William of Conches, Abailard; but he does not mention Adam, with whom he had had probably more familiarity than with any of the others. Should we conclude that Adam stood between the two groups, and that the revisions of at least some sections of the *Ars Disserendi* is one of the results of the reaction against some features common to Adam and the 'school for Cornificians'?

Some of the examples given in the second half in the course of the study of the different kinds of questions, particularly of the 'multiple' questions, are taken from classical texts, without the mention of the source.[1] Those which we have identified are the following:

Aulus Gellius.[2]— . . . an vox sit corpus ut Stoicis visum est, an non ut Platoni (*S* 211r, *V* 265rb; *Noct. Att.* V. xv). — . . . an ad utendum visu aliquid per oculos sentiatur ut ait Plato, an intus suscipiatur ut in auditu et olfactu et gustu fieri videtur, an horum neutrum fiat (*S* 224v, *V* 271va; *N.A.* V. xvi). — . . . an voluptas sit summum bonum ut ait Epicurus, an summum malum ut Antistenes Socraticus,

[1]) R. W. Hunt (*Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Cent.* in M.A.R.S. II [1950], pp. 29-32) mentions the wide choice of examples from classical and later authors as one of the characteristics of the 'school of Ralph of Beauvais': he also suggests (p. 18) that its members might be 'Parvipontani'. This parallel development in the teaching of dialectic seems to confirm Hunt's view.

[2]) Cf. p. 119.

an malum non summum ut Critolaus peripateticus, an nec bonum nec malum ut Zeno Stoicorum princeps (*S* 225r, *V* 271va; *N.A.* IX. v). — . . . an omne verbum ambiguum ut ait Crisippus, an nullum ut Diodorus, an nec omne nec nullum ut plurimis videtur (*S* 226r, *V* 272r; *N.A.* XI. xii).

Seneca.— . . . an parhelia sit nubes rotunda et splendida . . . (*S* 224r, *V* 271v; *Natur. Quaest.* I. xi). — . . . an ex aqua sit terremotus ut Taleti visum est, an ex igne ut Anaxagore, an ex ipsa terra ut Anaximeni, an ex spiritu ut Archelao et Aristotili, an ex pluribus horum ut ait Democritus, an ex omnibus his ut ait Epicurus (*S* 217r, *V* 268rab; *N.Q.* VI. vi-xx). — . . . an cometes sit stella ut affirmat Apollonius Mundius, an ignis accensus turbine aeris concitati et intorti ut Epigenes, an falsa facies sideris ex planetarum conventu confusa ut Zeno (*S* 224v, *V* 271va; *N.Q.* VII. iv, and ? VII. xix).

Corpus Iuris. — . . . an aliquis non habens ferrum armatus sit, ut asseruit Gaius et Paulus . . . (*S* 211v, *V* 265vb; *Dig.* XLVIII. vi. 9). — . . . an ius sit ars boni et equi ut Celsus diffinivit . . . an iustitia sit constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens ut Ulpianus diffinivit (*S* 224r, *V* 271rb; *Dig.* I. i. 1, *Instit.* I. i. 1).

Cicero. — . . . an anima sit inmortalis ut Phercide Siro credidit Pitagoras, an non ut arbitrantur indebite bestiis se conformantes (*S* 211r, *V* 265rb; *Tusc.* I. xvi). — (?) . . . utrum pronoea, que latine providentia vocatur, mundum regat ut Stoici dixerunt, an non ut Epicurei (*S* 211r, *V* 265va; *De Nat. Deor.* II. xxii, xxix).

Quintilian. — . . . an rethorica sit ars fallendi ut ait Atheneus, an vis persuasibilis inveniendi ut ait Aristotiles, an scientia recte dicendi ut Crisippus, an usus dicendi ut Critolaus, an simulacrum iustitie ut Socrates (*S* 225r, *V* 271v; *Instit. Orat.* II. xv. 13, 23, 35).

Censorinus. — . . . an dies sit tempus, an mane usque ad mane ut Babilonii dixerunt, an ab occasu usque ad occasum ut Attici, an a meridie ad meridiem ut veteres Umbri, an a media nocte ad mediam noctem ut Romani decreverunt, an quodlibet spacium viginti quatuor horarum undecumque inchoatum. (*S* 225r, *V* 271vb; *De Die Nat.* xxiii).

Chalcidius (?) — . . . an sit in speculo quod per speculum videtur, ut facile estimatur, an non ut visus aciem speculo repercussum ad obstans rectorqueri coniectantes asserunt (*S* 211v, *V* 265va; cf. *In Tim.* cclv).

Boethius (apart from some examples taken over with points of doctrine). — . . . an aliquis non habens ferrum armatus sit, ut asseruit Gaius et Paulus (cf. above),

an non ut Boetius arbitratus videtur (*S* 211v, *V* 265vb; *De Diff. Top.* II, PL 64, col. 1189 C-D).

Another passage in the same section is based on an unidentified commentary on the *Timaeus*:

Tale etiam est et illud 'a quo et ex quo et ad quid et secundum quid et quali factus sit mundus', que quinque Plato in Thimeo demonstrare conatur, mundo opificem et materiam et finem et exemplar et formam assignans (*S* 222r, *V* 270rb; cf. Will. of Conches, *Glosa in Tim.* p. 142 Parent: "Thimeus . . . quatuor illius causas, scilicet efficientem, formalem, finalem, materialem ostendit." In the *Ars*, the 'exemplar, secundum quid' is distinguished from the 'causa formalis' while William identified them: "hec formalis causa mundi est, quia iuxta eam creator mundum formavit", p. 143).

Four other examples reflect the struggle over the limits of dialectic vis-à-vis faith. One of the logicians whose views had been inserted into the *Ars Disserendi* suggested possible alternatives on points of faith (*S* 211rv, *V* 265rb-va): Does or does not providence rule the world? Is the soul immortal or not? Is God in all time since He is always, or is He in no time since He is non-temporal? Is God in every place since He is beyond measure, or is He in no place since His nature is that of 'incorporea et illocalia'? These examples did not meet with the approval of some other logician who wanted to replace them by others: his reaction on the question of providence was almost threatening:

Hoc apud nostros in ambiguum disquiri iam est ociosum fide facta veri; immo et *illicitum lege prohibente et ipsa de qua queritur sibi adversantem digne cohercente*. Sit ergo quinti generis exemplum 'an mentiatur qui nichil nisi mentiri dicit'.

On the question of the immortality of the soul he says:

Hoc apud nostros opere divino firma fide certificatum dubie disquiri iam non oportet; sit ergo secundi generis exemplum in quo utrumlibet opinari liceat 'an rethorica utilis sit, ut eius scriptores probaverunt, an non, ut Lacedemones et Athici de civitatibus eam expellentes decreverunt'.

As for the two other questions:

quoniam his disquirendis inpar esse accidit disputantis et per se querentis negotium, sit septimi generis exemplum 'an aliqua non simul secundum tempus existentia nunc sint, ut infinitas esse partes temporis concedentes fateri cogentur, an non ut videtur onus imprevisum subire cogendis quod atomos esse cum Democrito dicentes sustinere coguntur'; octavi ut 'an sit in speculo quod per speculum videtur . . .'

VI

FROM THE 'ARS DISSERENDI':[1] A. *Introduction* (first recension, *V* fol. 246ra-247ra; in the second apparatus, second recension, *S* fol. 163r-166r).

Principium propositi de quo et ad quid et qualiter ars disserendi instituenda dicere, propositum autem de eo ad id et sic artis rationem instituere. Erit autem qualiter artem institui conveniat cognito eius initio manifestius. Ut igitur ab artis initio negotii initium sumi possit, sit trium premonstrandorum primo prius ultimum. 5

Innotescat igitur quod initium non idem scientie et artis et facultatis disserendi, id autem innotescet ex quibus horum initia cognito. Sunt autem ex tribus: ingenio, usu, arte. Tria igitur et quorum et ex quibus initia, sed non ex singulis singulorum. Scientie enim disserendi ex ingenio absque ceteris initium, artis autem ex hoc et usu, facultatis autem ex his et arte. Cuius enim primi dis- 10

V 7-8 ex tribus *add. in marg.* 9 enim] cum

S 1 ars diss. inst.] inst. sit ars diss. 2 art. rat.] rationem 3-4 erit autem . . . conveniat . . . manif.] quoniam autem . . . conveniat non nisi . . . plene innotescet 3 igitur *om.* 4 init. sumi poss.] sumamus initium 6 init. non id.] non est id. init. 7 quibus + sint 8 igitur + sunt 9 ceteris + est 10-12 cuius . . . disserendi] ratione enim a principio homini concessa, ingenii quedam velut fecunda habundantia studiosam veri disquirendi et demonstrandi diligentiam animo contulisse videtur, ex qua, velut ex munere quodam nature, disserendi negotium disserentium primis initialiter utcumque innotuisse necesse est, cum nondum disserendi esset

[1]) An edition of the complete texts is in preparation. The following passages have already been published in the works mentioned above, pp. 120-121, n. 2: (a) the first third of the introduction, as far as 'ex tribus que dicta sunt initium', (b) the beginning of the 'ars' itself, from 'Principium disserendi' to 'reliquum ex nostre artis eruditione', (c) the first lines of book II as far as 'genera que sint et ad que docuimus', and (d) the end of the text from 'De his tamen que separate', all by Cousin from *V* fol. 246rab, 247ra-va, 253rb, 272rab; (e) some parts of the chapter on 'principia sophistica ex ipsa complexione', from 'Ex coniunctione igitur sophisticum' to 'notificationem a prioribus habuimus' with gaps, by Ch. Thurot from *S* fol. 197v-200v; (f) a short passage on the three kinds of disputations, by M. Grabmann from *S* fol. 172v. — In A. and B. we give the full text of the original recension (*V*). The first apparatus contains the readings of *V* of some importance from which we depart; and the second all the points in which the second recension (*S*) differs from the first.

serere propositum, solum quod ingenio ad propositum exequendum rationes invenire et explicare eius attentioni innotuit. Nondum igitur disserendi usus—nam adhuc tunc initium—, nondum disserendi ars — prius enim disseri oportuit quam de hoc ars fieret, prius enim de quo ars quam ipsa —. Sic igitur scientie huius initium ex ingenio, non ex usu vel arte (non autem hoc dicere videamur quod non ex horum quolibet disserendi scientia; nam scientia quidem ex unoquoque eorum, scientie autem initium ex uno; non enim ex usu vel arte sed ante utrumque, ut ostensum est). Artis autem initium ex ingenio non sine usu. Cum enim usus scientiam disserendi habundantiorem redderet, et quo de pluribus disserebatur eo plures disserendi varietates paterent, ex ingenii quidem habilissima facilitate et usu disserendi frequenti, incidit in hoc qualiter dissereret considerantis industria, ut comperiret, sicut ceteras scientias arte et disciplina faciliores, sic et de eis disserendi et eas intelligendi scientiam arte aliqua certiorem et faciliorem posse fieri. Inde igitur ex quo modo iam tunc disserere consuetum attentionis industria paulo plus comperiente, artis quasi prima rudimenta comperiri contigit. Sic igitur ex ingenio et usu artis huius initium. Et primo autem de arte comperti plurium pluribus notitiam sumentibus, et posteriorum singulis inventioni aliquid addentibus, diversorum diversis institutionibus plurima de arte ad disciplinam edisseri accidit. Artis igitur ratione plenius innotescente, usu disserendi iam ad plenum augescente, ingenii industria artis preceptionem usu exequente, aliquid facultatis ad disserendum provenisse non est dubium. Sic igitur facultatis ex tribus que dicta sunt initium. Trium igitur unius quidem ex tribus, alterius ex duobus, tertii ex uno initium.

Ex quibus autem horum initia ad amplius crementum ex sese deinde provenientibus, et quorum ex eis initia disserentium attentioni plenius postea patuisse manifestum est; postremo autem et arte ista et ceteris ex ista multipliciter et velut iam satis ad cognitionem explicatis, usum disserendi et sic ad disserendo explicata attendendi paulatim primo rarescere, omnino deinde pretermitti, accidit. Quare ad id ad quod ars nullis attendentibus, disserendi primo facultatem, inde artem, deinde scientiam posteriorum fugisse cognitionem necesse est; quare et singulorum que edisseruntur artificiosam intelligentiam nullam esse.

Tandem autem sciendi studio velut iam iterum incipiente, attentioni neglecta repetenti plerisque artium institutionibus eorum ad que artes notitiam redintegrari accidit. Ex huius autem multiplici institutione ad quid ipsa vix cuidam innotuit,

11 solo 13 enim] cum 16 quod] que quidem] qua unoquoque] uno quo 19 pluribus + scientiis 20 quidem] qui 27 singulis *add. in marg.* 28 *post* addentibus *spatium quattuor litterarum* (? *supple* priorum) 31 sic] si 40 posteriori 42 attentionem

15 hoc autem 24 fieri posse . . . modo quo 26 et] ex 27 singulis + priorum 32 initium + est 34 horum + sunt 35 et + hec eis + sunt 39 quod + est 43 repetenti + ex que + sunt 44 ipsa + sit

nedum eius ad quod ipsa ex ipsa proveniret facultas. Quare autem sic, causa hec: primo quod a pluribus disperse de arte quedam, a nullo totam artem ordine explicatam contingit inveniri; deinde quod primo de arte inventorum intelligentiam non parum impediunt tum usus verborum rarescendo antiquatus, tum inproprie ex aliis in alias translationes loquelis, tum disciplinalis ad docendum loquendi licentia ad huius artis explicationem equo fidentius a pluribus sumpta; postremo quod ex disserendi usu ars, ut predictum est, non ex arte usus primis etiam innotuit. Quare usum ut penitus pretermissum ignorantibus et que ex usu ad artem sumpta sunt, usus negotium non satis explicantia, ignota esse non mirandum. Ex trium ergo que dicta sunt primo non plene, secundo non facile, tertio non satis ad exercitium commode artem innotuisse intelligendum.

Erit igitur contra hec a nobis susceptum artis instituende negotium huiusmodi, ut artis ex eo plena sit et facilis cognitio, secundum artem exercitii artificiosa facultas: 'plena artis cognitio' quoniam nos totam artis viam ordine monstrare curabimus, ne more ceterorum circa artem conquisita magnifice explicantes ipsam artem nusquam docuisse inveniamur;[1] 'facilis' autem tum ex quo plena, tum ex modo quodam docendi quem in his admirantius comperient in priorum libris exercitati et subtili quadam disputationis industria in singulis quid nugatorie, quid inprobabiliter, quid falso, quid impedite, quid ociose, quid turpiter, quid inproprie, quid dure, quid his singillatim contrarie dici soleat comperientius experti; 'artificiosa exercitii facultas' et ex quibus plena et facilis artis huius cognitio et quoniam quibus et ex quibus et de quibus sunt disputationes secundum artem ea in exemplis ponere studuimus, ut et in ipsis et in eiusmodi ex ipsis facile sit exercicium. Qualiter igitur ars instituenda, ex dictis perspiciendum, de quo autem ex dicendis.

Erit autem de quo ars attentius considerandum quam premonstrandum: hoc enim vix apertum nisi arte precognita. Est autem de eo ars omnis cuius in ea docetur scientia, in hac autem disserendi: disserere igitur id de quo hec. Disserendi autem genera sunt duo: unum quod interrogatione et responsione expeditur, ut in disputando; alterum quod sine eis, ut nos hic (huiusmodi enim negotium non ut ad alterum). Horum igitur eius quod ad alterum, ut in disputando, in hac arte

45 quid . . . preveniret 50 licentia] scientia 56 huius- *add. in marg.* 57 ea 62 nugatoria 65-6 plena et . . . de quibus *add. in marg.* 75 ad *post* quod *om.*

45 quod ipsa + est causa + est 49 discipl. + quedam 52 que + nunc 59 ceter.] plurium 60 ex + eodem ex 62 libris + studiosius sing.] plerisque 63 quid turp. *om.* 65 et] tum ex eisdem huius *om.* 66 et[1] tum 68 exerceri 70 quo + sit 72 igitur + est quo + est 73 duo sunt genera 74-75 huiusmodi . . . ut ad alterum] illud ut ad alterum, hoc ut per se

[1]) Cf. John of Salisbury, *Metal.* III. iii, p. 134 W. [2c].

ratio tradenda; reliquum autem, quod per se, ex ea pene satis intelligetur. De quo igitur ars ut dictum intelligatur, ad quid autem ut dicendum.

Est autem ad duo ars disserendi: ad quod ex inicio manifestum et ad que disserendo dant intelligendi facultatem. Quod ex hoc manifestum: quicquid enim qualibet arte facile fieri, hoc eadem ubi fieri videtur facilius intelligi posse non est dubium; qua igitur disseri, eadem que edisseruntur facilius posse intelligi palam; his autem disseri, ex his igitur intelligatur quibus huius † singularum que secundum philosophiam sunt disciplinarum noticiam necesse deesse. Quod quoniam ignoranti incredibile, attendenti dubium, intelligenti certum, eius plene demonstrationi non nisi arte cognita locus erit. Ad quid igitur artis huius institutio sicut dictum. His ita prefinitis hinc ipsam artem expedire inchoandum.

76 quod] que 78 ars] ad ad quod] et quod 82 *post* huius] es [?] etiam in

76 ex ea . . . intelligetur] quo communem cum hoc habet usum simul innotescet, quo autem non, separatim. Intelligatur autem in his que dicta sunt disserere velut ab oratorio dicendi genere et poetice separatum, disputare autem ab his et a per se disserendo 78-86 est . . . his] Est autem ad hoc ars omnis, ut id ex ea sit facile quod faciendi ipsa est ars. Quare manifestum est quoniam facultas disserendi id est ad quod est ars disserendi. Amplius autem, si quid arte qualibet fieri facile est, hoc eadem ubi fieri perspicitur facilius intelligi posse non est dubium. Qua igitur disseri facile est eadem quecumque edisseruntur, intelligi facilius esse palam est. Quare manifestum quoniam et facultas que de singulis disciplinis dicuntur intelligendi, id est ad quod est ars disserendi. Ad que igitur est ars hec duo sunt que dicta sunt. Intelligatur autem iuxta hec sine huius cognitione singularum que secundum philosophiam sunt disciplinarum intelligentiam vel nullam esse vel parum artificiosam; quod quoniam eque erit et ignoranti improbabile et artem scienti certum, conveniet non prius hoc quam artem, sed prius quam hoc artem plene demonstrare. Quare his

B. *On sophisms in general and on 'principia sophistica sine complexione' from equivocation* (*V* fol. 250rb-251vb; *S* 174r-180r).

Principiorum . . . in quibus dubitatio genera . . . duo, quorum alterum sophisticum, alterum sine sophismate dubitabile: sophisticum quo tum de uno, tum de alio ambigue est enuntiare incipiendum; sine sophismate dubitabile quo non sic, sed de quo tamen ignorabile. Est autem ut sophistice incipiatur ad in disputatione fallendum curandum in contentiosa frequenter, in exercitativa nonnunquam, in

S 1 sophisticum + appelletur 2 quo] si eadem locutione 3 alio + vel ut de alio 3 quo] cum 4 ignorabile + Si quid autem aliter quam in scriptis veterum sophisma aut sophisticum appellari invenitur, de nominibus non contendat attendens, sed hic appellari constet sophisma id secundum quod aliquid sophisticum dicitur; sophisticum autem id in quo latet duplicitatis causa ex qua non plene nota ad contraria perduci accidit respondentem. Sunt autem in utroque genere principiorum multiplices dubitationum cause quibus secundum propositum demonstratis plenius innotescent que nunc inceptive distincta sunt 4-5 ut . . . curandum] sophisticorum in disput. usus 5 frequens non-

inquisitiva nunquam; ut sine sophismate dubitabiliter in omni aliquando. Est autem sophisticis habundare mobilioris ingenii et magis exercendi, ceteris altioris et magis exercitati. Quare de sophisticis prius dicendum.

De sophisticis igitur principiis sit nobis propositum primo quibus et quot modis ipsa sophistica, et sic in ipsis que et quot sophismatum genera et que ex quibus disputationes; deinde qualiter et ad quid eorum prompta cognitione et facili inventione habundemus ostendere. Est autem ipsa esse sophistica et in ipsis esse sophisma idem dicere. Quare, si quibus modis ipsa sophistica ostenderimus, et que sint in eis sophismatum genera ostensum erit; quibus enim modis aliquid sophisticum eos idem esse quod sophismatum genera dicere vel verum vel a vero parum distans. — Sunt autem disputationes ex his ex quibus est contraria arbitrari contingens, hoc autem in huiusmodi principiis ex eo quod aliquid sophisticum; inde enim vel non id dici quod dicitur, vel non de eo de quo dicitur, vel non ita ut dicitur etiam eruditis frequenter probabile. Ex hoc igitur disputationes quod aliquid aliquo modo sophisticum; est autem 'ex hoc quod aliquid aliquo modo sophisticum' et 'ex modo quo ipsum sophisticum disputationem esse' idem dicere vel non longe distans; quare et 'ex aliquo sophismatum genere esse disputationem' idem vel non alterius cognitionis indigens. Quare, si in ipsis principiis que sint sophismatum genera ostenderimus, et in ipsis que sint ex quibus disputationes ostensum erit. Ex his igitur palam quoniam quibus modis principia sint sophistica ostendere — quod primo de sophisticis propositum est — plene erit expedire. Reliqua autem eorum que de sophisticis proposuimus, separati erit demonstrare negotii.

Prenotescat autem sophismatum genera inveniri posse quedam in ipsis disserendi principiis que ab enuntiatione et interrogatione constituimus, quedam in ceteris que ad disserendum, quedam in ipsorum ad alia adiunctione. In ipsis autem principiis, tum in ipsis disserendi principiorum principiis que enuntiandi vel interrogandi principia dicimus, tum in eis que in principiis reliqua, tum etiam in horum ad illa adiunctione; et tum in his omnibus eadem, tum in eorum singulis singula. De singulis que ad disserendum ordine disserentes, que in ipsis sophismata et quot modis ipsa sophistica distinguemus.

V 11 qualiter] quantum 13 ostendimus 17 *et* 18 quod] qui 19 disputationis 21 quo] quod 22 et *om.* 24 ostendimus 31 alia] illam

nunquam] nonnullus 6 nunquam] ad fallendum nullus, talium autem non in hoc quod talia in hac ut in disciplinis interdum necessarius ut *om.* 6 dubitab.] autem dubitabilibus uti conveniens est aliquando] quidem disputationum genere ad ambigendum, in disciplinis autem tum non in hoc quod talia, tum exemplariter ut in hac 10 ipsa + sint 11 quibus + sunt 13 sophisma + quasi ipsa + sint 14 aliquid + est 15 eadem *ex* idem dicere *om.* verum + est 16 his] eis 17 aliquid + est 19 freq. + est 20 modo[1] + est modo[2] + est 21 ipsum + est 23 idem + est 24 quibus + sunt 27-28 neg. demonstr. + Quare ex prius dicendis quibus et quot modis principia sint sophistica innotescat 31 que + sunt 35 de singulis + igitur disserendum + sunt 36 ipsa + sint

In ipsis autem disserendi principiorum principiis sophismata sic implicita esse non ignoretur, ut in ipsis separatim per se vel raro vel nunquam dinosci possint, quare de singulis exempla ponentes non sola principia sed totas enuntiationes ex ipso principio sophisticas ponemus, ut in ipsis quam per se faciliu discentibus dinosci possint. Quanto autem in tota enuntiatione quam in eius principio manifestius apparet sophisma, tanto in tota disputatione quam in enuntiatione a qua eius principium; que enim in enuntiationibus implicari ea in ipsis disputationibus explicari contingit. Quare que in ipsis disputationibus vix pluribus apparere contingit, ea in ipsis enuntiationibus statim cuilibet manifestum esse nemo arbitretur. Si qua igitur in exemplis ponemus in quibus non satis artis ut ex eis sint disputationes cuilibet appareat, neminem perturbari decet; non enim qualiter ex eis disputationes disserendi principiis disserenti propositum ostendere et qualiter ea in ipsis principiis implicanda; qualiter autem ex eis disputationes et qualiter eis insistendum et ad ea resistendum, et qualiter in facili difficultate inveniendum, cum de ceteris que ad disserendum disseremus, ostendendum erit. Ibi igitur artis plurimum in eis convenire videbitur que hic minus artificiosa visa fuerint, et quanto in ipsis principiis latentius sophisma, tanto artificiosius. Non lateat tamen quod sunt quedam sophismatum quibus intente insistere protervis et contra que attente resistere nichil agere, quorum ut studiose inventioni attentos sic facili cognitioni non promptos disputatores esse non decet; eis enim ut fallere contempnendum, sic falli posse contemptissimum. Quare nec quelibet sophismatum genera invenire serium nec quelibet non statim dinoscere disputatori erudito dignum. Que autem talia, que non, ex dicendis perspicietur; non enim proposito satis fiet nisi omnia que in principiis implicantur sophismatum genera distinxerimus.

Quoniam igitur sunt quedam principiorum sine complexione, ut cum dicitur quoniam ars est ratio, quedam autem secundum complexionem, ut cum ars disserendi ratio dicitur, que in utrisque sint sophismatum genera ostendendum. Quoniam autem que secundum complexionem principia et ceteris multiplicium sophistica et ad de eis disserendum magis confusa, de eis post dicetur. Quoniam autem que sine complexione ceteris cognitu priora ut ex quibus illa, non ea ex illis, qualiter ipsa sophistica prius ostendendum.

Sunt autem huiusmodi principia maxime ex equivocatione sophistica; videbuntur tamen ex quibusdam aliis de quibus post dicetur. Equivocatio est eadem diversorum, non eadem ratione, appellatio. Equivocationum autem genera sunt sex: unum ex loquendi usu et artis verbis, alterum ex loquendi usu et argumento, tertium ex artis verbis et argumento. Est autem ex usu et artis verbis equivocatio cum alterius in usu loquendi, alterius ad artem docendam fit eadem appellatio, ut 'exemplum' quoddam argumentationis genus artem docentes nominant, non id sed quo ut de pluribus dictum in uno ostenditur 'exemplum' appellari communis docet sermonis usus; hec igitur equivoce quia non eadem ratione; ex usu et artis verbis propter quod dictum est. Ex usu vero et argumento, cum hinc ad usum planior, inde ad obviandum argutior ratio, ut artem ipsam scientiam nominari (?) usus non prohibet, non artem sed eius ex ea noticiam esse ratio arguit. Ex artis verbis et argumento, cum hinc sola artis verba, inde vis argumenti, ut 'inductio' aliter quoddam argumentationis genus, aliter aliquorum (?) vi argumenti. Preterea ex diversis usibus, ut 'videri' tum 'intelligi' tum 'existimari'. Ex diversis artis verbis, ut 'propositio' tum 'enuntiatio' tum 'interrogatio'. Ex diversis argumentis, ut 'probatio' tum id quo aliquid probatur nominari nec . . . . . (?) verbis, sed argutius ostenditur.

Palam igitur quoniam ex quibus equivocatio tria: usus loquendi communis, modus loquendi docentibus concessus, ad diversa designanda verborum argumentis diductio. Qui autem ex his equivocationum modi, sex sunt qui dicti sunt: ex trium singulis tres, ex coniunctis trium duobus tres. Est autem qui ex diversis usibus vituperabilior (?) et protervior, qui ex argumentis celatior, qui ex artis verbis inquisitior et ad disputandum contemptior; qui autem ex his verbis coniunctis, secundum hoc ut videbitur habeantur.

Videbuntur autem alicui dicta equivocationum genera non satis differenter distincta esse, ex hoc quod est in omni equivocationum genere usum ex utraque parte accedere frequenter contingens. Et est hoc quidem verum, non tamen id inde arbitrari verum; erit enim experto compertum verba quedam tum argumenti

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50 *an post* diffic. *addendum* et in difficili facultate *? cf. S* 52 hic] sic 60 satis] *lacuna quattuor litt.* nisi] si

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43 eius + est principium + est 48 equaliter [*sic*] eis + fiant propositum + est 50 diffic. + et in difficili facultatem 51 disserendum + est 52 convenire *om.* 60 genera + infinitorum adunativa discretione est 62-63 cum . . . ratio] in quibus non est nisi unum verborum 63-64 cum . . . dicitur] in quibus plura 64 genera + erit 65 complex. + sunt mult. + sunt 68 qualiter + sint

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70 post dic.] predicetur eadem + ratione 76 id] idem 79 noim [*sic*] 83-84 artis . . . diversis *om.* 85 *post* nec] propasu (?) plano *et lacuna sex litt.* 91 vituperabilior *con.*] vocabiliorum 92 contemptio

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70 tamen + et 72 argumento] inventione 73 argumento] inventione + preter hec ex diversis usibus et ex diversis artis verbis et ex diversis inventionibus 78 est *om.* argumento] inventione 79-80 ad . . . arguit] secundum vocabuli positionem firmior ratio ut 'locutio' tum sermo tum loquentis actus appelletur, alterum secundum usum, alterum secundum vocabuli positionem 81 argumento] inventione vis argumenti] ratio impositionis 81-82 inductio . . . argumenti] 'enuntiatio' secundum veterum scripta appellatur locutio qua verum vel falsum dicitur, secundum inventionis modum ipsa veri vel falsi dictio que fit locutione 84-86 argumentis . . . ostenditur] inventionibus ut 'differentia' tum differentium habitudo dicitur tum que differunt dicuntur 87 quibus + est tria + sunt 88-89 ad . . . diductio] ex impositione intelligendi significatio 89 his + sunt 90 ex[1] + duplicibus 90-93 est . . . habeantur *om.* [*Here follows an additional section, see below* C. (a)] 95-96 ex utraque parte] aut utrimque aut undique 97-98 arg. rat.] inventionis consideratione

ratione tum translatius ad artes docendas quam in sermone loquendi licentia ab usu educi posse, et sic tum ex artis verbis tum ex argumento, licet non ex usu, equivocationem contingere; usum tamen deinde accedere nichil prohibere. Erit igitur dictam equivocationum differentiam secundum ea ex quibus ipse, ut distinximus, intelligendum. Sunt autem dictis sex equivocationum modis sophistica sine complexione principia, in quibus communi diversorum appellatione de quo enuntietur equivoce designari — vel potius celari — contingit. Exempla autem enuntiationum, in quibus secundum dictos equivocationum modos varientur principia, expositis equivocationum exemplis facile erit sumere. Non autem ex his sola sine complexione principia sophistica fieri arbitrandum, sed et cetera principia et cetera a principiis in quibus aliquid eorum que equivoce dicuntur latere contingit ex his equivocationum modis sophistica esse, ut ostendendum sciendum. Quibus autem modis ex equivocatione principia huiusmodi sophistica sic dictum sit.

S 98 translatius] aliter in + commune [*sic*] 99 posse + sicut et usu a compositiva [*sic*] designatione non numquam transumuntur argum.] inventione 101 ut distinx. *om.* 102 [*After* intelligendum *follows another addition, see below* C. (b)] dictis sex] ex dictis 107-108 cetera . . . cetera] alia . . . alia 110 sophistica sint principia huiusmodi

C. *Anonymous additions to the section on equivocation:* transumptio, inventio, impositio (*S* fol. 177r-178r, 178v-180r).[1]

(a) Modi ergo quibus duorum eandem equivoce fieri appellationem contingit tot innotescant: modi autem quibus trium fieri equivocationem accidit, si iuxta hec distinguantur, decem innotescent: ex triplicibus trium singuli tres, ex dupliciter coniunctis trium duobus sex, ex simpliciter coniunctis tribus unus. Dico autem ex dupliciter coniunctis trium duobus, ut cum ex usu et inventionibus aut ex usibus et inventione trium fit eadem appellatio, item ex usu et disciplinalibus transumptionibus, aut ex usibus et disciplinali transumptione, item ex inventione et disciplinalibus transumptionibus aut ex inventionibus et disciplinali transumptione. Ex simpliciter autem coniunctis tribus, ut cum unius ex inventione, alterius ex disciplinali transumptione, tertii ex usu fit eadem appellatio, ut 'facultas', ex inventione 'facilitas aliquid faciendi', ex disciplinali transumptione 'ars', ex usu 'opum copia', nomine tam usu quam disciplinali licentia transumptio ab eo quod ex aliquo est ad id ex quo ipsum est. Si quem autem inquisiti perceptione crescens perquirendi diligentia illexerit, ut quot modis etiam quatuor equi-

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[1]) The first chapter (a) takes the place of the sentence 'Est autem . . . habeantur' at lines 90-93 of the text B. printed above; the second (b) is added after 'intelligendum' at line 102.

vocari possint perquirere velit, quindecim inveniet: ex quadruplicibus trium singulis tres; ex coniunctis trium duobus utroque duplici tres, alterutro triplici, altero simplici sex; ex coniunctis tribus uno duplici reliquis simplicibus tres. Sed et quantumlibet plura quot modis equivocari possint facile inveniet si inter modorum numeros distantias secundum ordinem semper uno auctas perpendat, cum equivocari possint duo modis sex, tria decem, quatuor quindecim, quinque viginti et uno; et deinceps similiter uno semper crescente distantia.

Discentem autem non turbet licentiose, ut ad artem, coartata dictorum explicatio; si qua autem huiusmodi distinctionum multitudo magis confundit quam instruit, sufficiat et genera equivocationum simplicius distinguere: primum ex diversis inventionibus, secundum ex inventione et usu, tercium ex inventione et disciplinali transumptione, quartum ex coniunctis tribus. Non enim absque impositione reliqua duo aut separata aut coniuncta contingit inveniri, nisi forte alicuius nominis adeo obsolescat impositio ut iam nullam eius positivam esse designationem dicendum sit, manentibus transumptivis. Quod si contingit, possibile est septem equivocationum genera inveniri: tria ex trium singulis, tria alia ex coniunctis trium duobus, unum ex coniunctis tribus. Inchoatam ergo preceptionem non consummari graviter ferentibus proposite sunt superiores distinctiones; inceptiva autem cognitione contentis sufficiat hec ultima in septem, aut simplicior illa in quatuor.

(b) Sed ne quis secundum ignotiora noscenda distinguere laboret, oportet dictas equivocationum causas distinctius notificari. Intelligatur ergo transumptionum disciplinalium alia equivocationis effectiva (ut ea qua elementorum nomen ad litteras transumitur), alia inefficax (ut qua argumentum mentem argumentationis aut id unde sumitur argumentum sedem argumenti dicunt). Est autem similiter et que secundum usum fiunt transumptionum quedam equivocationis effectiva, quedam non, ut 'pes animalis', 'pes statue', 'pes metricus', 'pes geometricus'; dicitur primum ex impositione, secundum ex transumptione que fit usu, reliqua ex disciplinalibus transumptionibus. Fit autem et alia huius nominis transumptio secundum usum vulgarem, qua 'pes montis' vel 'pes turris' dicitur; sed ista equivocationis inefficax est, prior effectiva. Item 'sanum' tum 'susceptivum sanitatis', tum 'causa', tum 'signum' dicitur: primum ex inventione, reliqua ex usu et artis verbis. Cum autem preter ea dicitur 'sanus intellectus' aut 'sana fides', equivocationis inefficax est transumptio. Habeatur autem talium discretio talis, ut illa sive disciplinalis sive secundum usum sit transumptio equivocationis effectiva dicatur, qua efficitur ut eius sit nomen transumptum ad quod transumitur; inefficax vero qua hoc non efficitur.[1] Sunt autem et in hoc internoscende tran-

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[1]) Cf. Boethius, *In Praedic.* I, at the end of the section on 'aequivoca', PL 64, col. 167A; and John of Salisbury, *Metal.* I. xvi, p. 40 W.: "Fit autem translatio [two lines before he called it 'transumptio'] nunc quidem necessitatis causa, nunc ornatus [from Cicero, Quintilian, Boethius]; sed, ut celebre est apud eruditos, que ornatus causa non fit ab equivocatione non est aliena."

sumptiones tam disciplinales quam que ex usu sunt, quod alie notiores et quarum inter plures usus, alie ignotiores; ut ignotius dicuntur rationum elementa quam vocum (vocum littere, rationum rationes prioris cognitionis ex quibus sunt initia ad posteriorum demonstrationes), item 'sanum' notiori transumptione causa dicitur quam signum. — Est autem iuxta hoc et impositionum differentiam considerandum. Sunt enim positive verborum designationes tum sine contradictione note, tum superante transumptionis usu quasi delete, ut iam difficile comperiri et in noticiam revocari possint. Ut hoc nomine 'differentia' appellari contingit tum quo aliqua tum que aliquo tum que aliquid differunt tum differentium habitudinem: primum ex disciplinali transumptione, reliqua ex inventione triplici, duabus notis, tertia ignota; fatentur enim omnes et que aliquo et que aliquid differunt differentia appellari: hec ut ex quibus est dilatio, illa ut inter que distantia. Differentium vero habitudinem differentiam appellari negare conati sunt, velut nec ex usu nec ex artis verbis hoc intelligentes; sed iam tandem ad hoc inductivi permoti sunt ut, sicut convenientia convenientium habitudo dicitur, dissimilitudo dissimilium, diversitas diversorum, distantia distantium, sic etiam differentia differentium habitudinem dici comperiant, impositione vocabuli iam in noticiam revocata. — Consuescit ergo per hec que dicta sunt et exemplariter et commonitive instructus discernere verborum designationes positivas a transumptivis, et ipsarum transumptionum disciplinales ab eis que usu fiunt, et in utrisque equivocationes effectivas a non effectivis, et in his omnibus latentes ab eis que patent, ut huiusmodi experientia exercitatus equivocatorum numerum et equivocationum modos expeditius et plenius dinoscat. — Erit autem, secundum quod dictum est, equivocationum genera et causas nosse utile et ad omne discipline genus, et potissimum ad abductiva et multipliciter licentiosa illa quibus in veterum scriptis creberrime falluntur verbis innitentes; item ad omne disputationum genus, et potissimum contra obtusiones illas quas pro disputationibus usurpare consueverunt circa veterum disciplinas corrixantes.

D. *Multiple questions of definite subjects* (second recension: *S* fol. 221v-222r, *V* fol. 270rab).[1]

Assequentiora . . . sunt, sicut initialibus inceptiva, inceptivis executiva, sic assecutivorum simplicibus multiplicia et coartate conquisita, quale est illud 'quid, qualiter, ad quid doceatur', que tria in disciplinarum principiis demonstrare

2 multipl. simplicia et coartata (*om.* conquis.) *V*

[1]) This passage belongs to the third section, of which only the second recension is preserved in both manuscripts. It cannot, therefore, be taken as necessarily representing Adam's thought. The examples suggest another author.

solemus. Tale est et illud septemplicis indiculi memoriale quod iudicii in exemplaribus directivum constituimus 'que, cui, a quo, qualiter, qua occasione, quo proposito, qua spe dicantur'. Tale est et illud 'quid, quo, de quo, qualiter enuntietur', in quibus quatuor rationem enuntiandi constituimus ne documentorum obtusiva sequeremur, que male doctos indoctis imperitiores quamvis loquaciores reddiderunt. Talium etiam usu crescit amor veri non ea que in disciplinis dicuntur memoriter tenere contento, sed quid, quare verum, et unde compertum, et ad quid necessarium studiose perquirenti, prequisitis tamen quibus hec adiuncta sunt electivis. Tale etiam est et illud 'a quo, et ex quo, et ad quid, et secundum quid, et qualis factus sit mundus' que quinque Plato in Thimeo demonstrare conatur, mundo opificem et materiam et finem et exemplar et formam assignans. Cavendum autem in huiusmodi ne quis elective perquirendorum certificatione excludenda frustra conquirere conetur, ut prequisito an mundus ex aliquo factus sit, et certificato quoniam non, exclusum est et queri ineptum ex quo factus sit mundus. Observandum autem huiusmodi disciplinalium alia indubitanter excludenda esse, ut si queratur quid sit quod non est; alia autem secundum quasdam opiniones, ut si queram cuius temporis finis primus fuit, excludenda videbitur huiusmodi interrogatio cum Aristotile opinanti tempus nullum primum fuisse, cum Platone autem hoc reprobanti non.

6 quo[1] *om.* *V* 8 sequerentur *V* 10 tenere memor. *V* quare] *lacuna quinque litt.* *V*
12 et[1] *om.* *V* 17 sit et *om.* *V*

APPENDIX

I. EVIDENCE ON ADAM'S LIFE AND WORKS.[1]

The following evidence clearly refers to one and the same person:

1. (a) [A.D. 1158] Itaque presidente, cum cardinalibus episcopis aliisque viris et eruditis in iam dicta civitate Parisius [A.D. 1147], summo pontifice Eugenio,

[1]) We collect here all the sure (1-8) and probable (9-11) evidence with which we are acquainted, as well as all the evidence which we know to have been at some time referred to Adam (i-ix). We have not been able to find the epitaph quoted by Hauréau ("nous le trouvons dans notre no. 152, fol. 35"): "Nominis et culpae primi patris hic situs heres: / terra fuit, a terrae nomine nomen habens" (*Not. et extr.* III, p. 218 = Not. et Extr. XXXIV. i, p. 56). — The twelfth-century cod. Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibl. 2282—containing the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, and Boethius's logical treatises—has on fol. 1v a picture of 'Dialectica domina' (a crowned woman), and of Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, and 'magister Adam' (see Lacombe, etc., *Aristoteles Latinus*, *Codices*, I, Rome, 1939, p. 647; Grabmann, *Arist. im zwölft. Jhdt.*, p. 143): which other magister Adam could be worthy of joining the great dialecticians of the past?

predictus episcopus Gisilbertus consistorio presentatur de his capitulis responsurus. Producuntur contra eum duo magistri, Adam de Parvo Ponte, vir subtilis et Parisiensis aecclesiae canonicus recenter factus, Huco de Campoflorido, cancellarius regis, asserentibus eis et quasi sub sacramento pollicentibus se aliqua ex his de proprio ore audisse, non sine multorum qui aderant admiratione viros magnos et in ratione disserendi exercitatos pro argumento iuramentum afferre. (Otto Fris. *Gesta Frid.* I. liii, p. 75 W.[3]). — (b) [late xiith cent.] Nomina (eorum) qui interfuerunt concilio [of Reims, A.D. 1148]: . . . magistri scolarum: Gauterius de Mauretania, Gauterius Eboracensis archidiaconus, Gaufridus Eboracensis archidiaconus, Humbertus Bituricensis, Petrus Lumbardus, Theodoricus Carnotensis, Robertus de Bosco, Adam de Parvo Ponte (Cod. Vatic. Regin. lat. 278, fol. 73r).

2. [A.D. 1159] (a) Urgebar quod audieram ad memoriam crebrius revocare. Unde ad magistrum Adam, acutissimi virum ingenii et, quicquid alii sentiant, multarum litterarum, qui Aristotili pre ceteris incumbebat, familiaritatem contraxi ulteriorem; ut, licet eum doctorem non habuerim, michi sua benigne communicaret, et se, quod aut nulli faciebat aut paucis alienis, michi patentius exponebat. Putabatur enim invidia laborare. Interim Willelmum Suessionensem, qui ad expugnandam, ut aiunt sui, logice vetustatem et consequentias inopinabiles construendas et antiquorum sententias diruendas machinam postmodum fecit, prima logices docui elementa, et tandem iam dicto preceptori apposui. Ibi forte didicit idem esse ex contradictione, cum Aristotiles obloquatur, quia idem cum sit et non sit, non necesse est idem esse, et item, cum aliquid sit, non necesse est idem esse et non esse. Nichil enim ex contradictione evenit. (John of Salisb. *Metal.* II. x, pp. 81-82 W.). — (b) Quis autem, nisi insulsus aut ingratus, propositum habebit authenticum, eo quod illud Coriscus, Brisso protulit aut Melissus eque omnes ignoti, nisi quatenus ab Aristotile exempli gratia nominati sunt? Et illud idem reprobabit eo quod a Gileberto, Abailardo et Adam nostro sit prolatum? (*ibid.* III prol., pp. 118-119). — (c) Sed plane magis dedocent quam erudiunt qui in hoc libello [Aristotle's *Categories*] legunt universa et eum brevitate sua contentum esse non sinunt. Quicquid alicubi dici potest, hic congerunt quibus gravior esse videtur confessio ignorantie veri. Deridebat eos noster ille Anglus Peripateticus Adam, cuius vestigia sequuntur multi, sed pauci prepediente invidia profitentur; dicebatque se aut nullum aut auditores paucissimos habiturum si ea simplicitate sermonum et facilitate sententiarum dialecticam traderet qua ipsam docere expediret. Habui enim hominem familiarem assiduitate colloqui et communicatione librorum et cotidiano fere exercitio super emergentibus articulis

[1]) Cf. A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini* II, Vatican 1945, p. 83, and J. Leclercq, *Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porrée* in Mediaeval Studies XIV [1952], p. 109. Cod. Oxford Bodl. Lat. misc. d. 74, fol 99rb contains only the beginning of the list of those present at the council of Reims; it does not, therefore, include the names of the 'magistri'; on the contents of this manuscript see [R. W. Hunt], *Notable Accessions: Manuscripts* in Bodleian Library Record II [1947], p. 169.

conferendi; sed nec una die discipulus eius fui. Et tamen habeo gratias quod eo docente plura cognovi, plura ipsius, quoniam aliud ratione consulta preelegeram, ipso arbitro reprobavi (*ibid.* III. iii, p. 134). — (d) Qui Aristotilem sequuntur in turbatione verborum et intricata subtilitate, ut suum venditent, aliorum obtundunt ingenia, partem pessimam michi preelegisse videntur, quo quidem vitio Anglicus noster Adam michi pre ceteris visus est laborasse in libro quem *Artem Disserendi* inscripsit. Et utinam bene dixisset bona que dixit; et licet familiares eius et fautores hoc subtilitati asscribant, plurimi tamen hoc ex desipientia vani, ut aiunt, hominis contigisse interpretati sunt. Adeo enim expressit Aristotilem intricatione verborum, ut sobrius auditor recte subiungat: 'Nonne hoc spumosum et cortice pingui, / ut ramale vetus pregrandi subere coctum?' Habenda est tamen auctoribus gratia, quia de fonte eorum haurientes labore ditamur alieno (*ibid.* IV. iii, p. 167).

3. [*ca.* A.D. 1200] In geometria dicuntur lunule quedam portiuncule circuli, et in hac significatione utitur Aristotiles vocabulo in libro Elenchorum, ubi de quadratura circuli loquitur; ubi Terricus deceptus legit 'plunulas', antequam iste venisset in manus magistri Ade Parvi Pontis. (Alex. Nequam, *Corrog. Prom.*, p. 677 Meyer).

4. [A.D. 1216] En Porretanus, Albricus, Petrus Alardi, / Terricus, monachus Gualo sophista potens / temporibus micuere suis quasi lumina terre, / et nostro fulgens tempore sidus Adam. (Alex. Nequam, *Suppl. Defect.* [de logica] II. 1575-1578, pp. 9 and 219 Hunt).

5. (a) [*ca.* A.D. 1250] Magistri Adam de Parvo Ponte liber de arte disserendi in uno volumine cuius signum est littera C. (Richard of Fourn. *Biblion.* no. 24, p. 525 Del., 47 Birk.). — (b) [*ca.* A.D. 1300] Anno m̊.c̊.x̊x̊x.i̊i ab incarnatione domini editus liber adam de arte dialetica. Incipit ars dialetica [written twice]; Explicit liber primus Ada [*sic*] de arte dialetica. (Cod. Paris B. N. lat. 14700, fol. 246ra and 253vb).

There is no reason to doubt that also the following evidence refers to the same Adam:

6. (a) [xiith cent.] Pape autem inquis, mi Anselme, ut iam video; quorsum hoc tam scabrosum orationis respicit inicium? . . . Domum quam in Anglia a Gallia rediens adire optabam qualiter adierim et qualem invenerim . . . conscribo. . . . Introeunti occurrunt qui me puerum viderant anno iam duodecimo revertentem . . . Accurrit . . . matertera sororis meae; galus et ipsa adhuc investis, quam ceterae, quod me, ut in pueritia consueverat, Adam Balsamiensem appellaret, nec magisterii nomen adiceret, corripiebant . . . Quid ergo, inquit consobrinorum qui aderant unus, tu cum sis natione Anglicus, patria Balsamiensis, genere Belvacensis, mansione jam diutiore quam voluissem Parisiensis, numquid alicubi rurale aedificium huic simile vidisti? Nonne tibi honestius judicares rure paterno frui

quam salarii lucello addictum fuisse? (Adam, *De Utensil.*, pp. 1, 4-5, 9-10 Hoffm.; 203-4, 206-7, 212-13 = 44, 47, 51 Haur.; 76-7, 79-80, 88 = 120-1, 123-4, 132 Schel.). — (b) [xiith cent.] Explicit expositio super faletholum magistri Ade a Petro preposito suo laboriose conquisita et excerpta a libris Ieronimi, Gregorii, Augustini, Ysidori, Pauli ad Karolum regem, magistro Gerhardo scripta. (Cod. Leipz. Paul. 172; ed. Haupt p. 276). — (c) [xiiith cent.] Causa suscepti operis est petitio magistri Anselmi, qui artificem huius libri, scilicet magistrum Adam Parvipontanum, pro levitate epistularum suarum . . . redarguit . . . Titulus est hic 'Incipit oratio magistri Adae Parvipontani de utensilibus ad domum regendam ad Anselmum socium suum.' (Codd. Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 14877 and Arsen. lat. 3807, ed. Haur. p. 199 = 41.)

7. [*ca.* A.D. 1190] De hoc articulo ['Quod ante bened.' *Decr. Grat.* III. II. 40] in sententia Parisiensis episcopi Petri diffusius disputatur. Verumtamen attendendum quod praecipui nostri temporis doctores non aeque verba haec admittebant. Robertus enim Meluensis, Ricardus s. post Victoris episcopus concedebant id quod fuit panis nunc esse corpus Domini. . . . Magister vero Adam Parvipontanus neutrum recipiebat, scilicet id quod fuit panis est corpus Domini, id quod fuit panis non est corpus Domini. Et primam quidem non, propter praeassignatam et ei similes absurditates; secundam vero non, quia, cum prior in auctoritate inveniatur, hanc quasi contradicentem ei admittere incongruum iudicabat. Si ergo prior illa ex auctoritate introducebatur, determinabat, si disputando, prorsus refutabat. Determinabat autem eam sic: Id quod fuit panis etc. convertitur, transformatur, transsubstantiatur in corpus Christi; cum enim omnia verba commutationis admittantur ut transsubstantiatur convertitur, et huiusmodi, transsubstantiatur ut est vel erit vel fuit non admittitur, ne tamquam ex materia fieri credatur ut avis ex ovo. Ita enim panis convertitur in corpus, ut non sit verum: hoc erit illud, vel ex hoc tamquam materia fiet illud. Parisiensis vero episcopus P[etrus]: id quod fuit panis Christi corpus non est, concedebat priorem cum determinatione, in illo articulo magistro Adae concedendo determinabat. Tantorum virorum aliquam praeferre alteri nostrae non est infirmitatis. (Stephen of Tournai, *Summa in Decr. Grat.* p. 73 v. Sch.).

8. [? xivth cent.] Augustus . . . viii Idus — Obiit Magister Adam de Parvo Ponte.[1] (*Necrol.* Abbaye du Val, p. 630 Molin.).

Probably our Adam is to be recognized in the text of a theological question, in a passage of the *Metamorphosis Golie*, and in a passage of an *Introductio Dialectice*:

[1]) Molinier (*Obituaires de la Province de Sens* I, Paris, 1902, in Recueil d. Hist. de Fr.: Obit. I) adds in square brackets the date '1181', obviously because he accepted the identification of our Adam with the bishop of St. Asaph, cf. iv.

9. [late xiith cent.] Pater est principium Spiritus Sancti . . . Magister Adam dicit quod proprietas qua Pater et Filius . . . Sed contra eum sic: Et illa . . . Nec concedit Magister Adam, et dicit non concedere Magistrum Petrum, quod . . . Magister Adam dicit quod nec de substantia nec de persona . . . (Cod. Oxf. Bodl. Rawlinson C. 161, fol. 154r).[1]

10. [middle of the xiith cent.] Inter hos et alios in parte remota / Parvi Pontis incola — non loquor ignota — / disputabat digitis directis in iota, / et quecumque dixerat erant per se nota. (*Metam. Gol.* 193-6, p. 28 Wr.)

11. [late xiith cent.] Sed dicit magister Adam: 'Omne significatum dictionis est simplex et incompositum.' (Cod. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. lat. 4652, quoted by Grabmann, *Bearb. u. Ausleg.*, p. 37.)[2]

Other passages from writings of the twelfth and later centuries have been quoted as possibly referring to Adam 'Parvipontanus'. Some of the suggestions are not sufficiently justified, others are certainly wrong.

i. [*ca.* A.D. 1157] Incola sum Modici Pontis, novus auctor in arte / dum prius inventum glorior esse meum. / Quod docuere senes nec novit amica iuventus / pectoris inventum juro fuisse mei. / Sedula me juvenum circumdat turba, putatque / grandia iactantem non nisi vera loqui. (John of Salisb. *Enthet. de dogm. philos.* 49-54.)

John of Salisbury is depicting members of the 'garrula turba' who, about 1157, pretend to represent the best that schools can offer, and lack all respect for the 'veteres': it includes the bad follower of the school of Melun who has many words to utter but little to say ("loquax minimumque dicax" or—London MS.—"loquax dicaxque parum"), one who pretends to be more learned than Albericus, a third one who 'corrects the errors' of Abailard (vv. 55-8). They want novelties ("pellitur a nostro trita moneta foro; / temporibus placuere suis veterum bene dicta, / temporibus nostris iam nova sola placent", 59-60). First in the series of the new, degenerate, generation of 'artists' is the 'incola Modici Pontis', who pretends to be the discoverer of what was invented before him, of what the 'senes' had been teaching. He cannot be the man, probably dead or more than sixty years old, about whom John was soon going to write: "vir acutissimi ingenii et,

[1]) See the complete text at pp. 168-169.

[2]) This sentence may well belong, as Grabmann suggests, to the *Ars Disserendi*, but does not occur in the extant part of it.

quicquid alii sentiant, multarum litterarum, qui Aristotili pre ceteris incumbebat" [2a]. He may rather be one of the 'ingrati', of the 'multi' who were following Adam's steps, but did not acknowledge it 'prepediente invidia'; a man, perhaps, like William of Soissons, who, "ad expugnandum, ut aiunt sui, logice vetustatem et consequentias inopinabiles construendas et antiquorum sententias diruendas machinam postmodum fecit" [2c, a]. A man who can say "cum sit ab ingenio totum non sit tibi cure / quid prius addiscas posteriusve legas" (61-2) cannot be the man who wrote the introduction to the *Ars Disserendi*.

ii. [*ca.* A.D. 1157] Hunc (scil. Furvum) meus a Conchis Willelmus saepe legebat, / hunc etiam noster Pontilianus amat (*ibid.* 205-6).

'Noster' may mean 'English'; but it is not likely that 'Pontilianus' should be an adaptation, for metrical or other purposes, of 'Parvipontanus'. Nothing is known of Adam's love for 'sermones cothurnati' and allegorical interpretation,[1] as is implied by John; nor does John ever call Adam 'Parvipontanus' in the *Metalogicon*.

[1]) Petersen's suggestion (*Enthet.*, p. [138]) that Furvus is Virius Nicomachus Flavianus was accepted by Schaarschmidt (*Joh. Saresb.*, pp. 105-6) and even by Manitius (*Gesch.* III, p. 256, n. 1), but is not based on any probable argument. Admitting, what is likely, that the Flavianus mentioned four times by John (*Policr.* II. xxvi, VIII. xi, xii, pp. 141, 304, 309, 314 W.) is the anti-Christian prophet and politician of the fourth century (on whom see H. Bloch, *A New Docum. of the Last Pagan Revival* in Harv. Theol. Rev. XXXVIII [1945], pp. 210-41, and A. Reifferscheid, *Zwei litterargesch. Phant.* in Rh. Mus. N.F. XVI [1861], p. 23), he does not appear to be in John's mind one of the greatest authorities (as Petersen thinks), nor is there any reason to think that he had written 'sermones cothurnati' which could be interpreted allegorically. The only author of such writings seems to be Seneca. His tragedies do not appear to have been read in the twelfth century: but John says precisely that "sermo cothurnatus Furvi discessit ab usu / et raro legitur prae gravitate sui" (*Enthet.* 201-2). He gives details of the rare readers and manuscripts of these works: "in pago Ligurino [?] charus habetur / hic [i.e. Furvus] ubi de florum germine nomen habet; / hunc [wrongly interpreted as Martianus Capella by Lesne, *Écoles*, p. 213] meus a Conchis Willelmus saepe legebat, / hunc etiam noster Pontilianus amat. / Clauditur archivis Remorum, Belgica prima / hunc dedit, et Primas Aurelianis [the poet Hugo of Orleans] habet" (*ibid.* 203-8). Furvus is one of the two allegorists who "excutiunt rerum causas, et federa tractant" (199) the other being Martianus Capella, but "*mores, historie* plus tibi, Furve, placent" (200), and "utilior magnis Furvus, sed lacte capella / plenior est, parvis sensibus apta magis" (209-10). It may not be just a coincidence that John makes a pun on 'capella' while speaking of 'sermo cothurnatus', and that Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of 'capella' and of 'cothurnus' in the lines in which he wrongly distinguishes two Senecas, the tragedian and the philosopher: ". . . Corduba praepotens alumnis . . . / quorum unus colit hispidum Platona . . . / orchestram quatit alter Euripidis, / pictum faecibus Aeschylon secutus, / aut . . . Thespin, / qui post pulpita trita sub *cothurno* / ducebant olidae marem *capellae*" (*Carm.* IX. 227-35). At the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century Alexander Nequam included Seneca's tragedies among the books to be read by the 'scolaris liberalibus educandus artibus' (C. H. Haskins, *Stud. in the Hist. of Med. Science*², Cambridge [Mass.], 1927, p. 373). For moral quotations from Seneca's tragedies in the early Middle Ages and in Vincent of Beauvais see F. Leo, *Anecd. Lugdun.* in *Comment. in honor. F. Buecheler*, Bonn, 1873, pp. 29 ff.

iii. [*ca.* A.D. 1200] Cessent manare fluenta / fontis adamantis [*sic* in one of the two manuscripts, 'adaratici' in the other, 'Adamatici' conj. Rose], Parvipontana columna / submissim deponat onus. (Giles of Corbeil, *Viaticus* 2346-8.)

Rose's conjecture 'Adamatici' was obviously suggested by the fact that Giles, the doctor, styles himself 'Parvipontana columna': it is ingenious, but by no means sure. A medical school is known to have had its seat near or on the Petit Pont, at least by the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

iv. [late xiith and early xiiith cent.]: (a) Rex dedit (at the council of Westminster, 18th May, 1175) episcopatum Sancti Asaf magistro Adam Walensi. (Roger of Hov. *Chron.* II p. 78 St.).[2] — (b) Adam canonicus Parisiensis electus in episcopatum Sancti Assavi, consecratus est a Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apud Westmonasterium iii° idus Octobres [1175]. (Ralph of Dic. *Ymag. Hist.* p. 402 St.).[3] — (c) Venerunt clerici duo . . . nuntiantes ei [Giraldo] Lanelvensem episcopum Adam ad ecclesiam de Kerri . . . proxima dominica [end of 1175 or beginning of 1176] proculdubio venturum ipsamque . . . dedicaturum . . . Episcopus [Adam] ut venit, praecepit archidiacono [Giraldo] quatinus cum suis festinanter abiret . . . Alioquin ipsum, licet invitus quia Parisius olim socii fuerant et conscolares, excommunicaret. Archidiaconus autem e contra rogavit episcopum quatenus causa amicitiae et societatis antiquae in pace discederet . . . Episcopus . . . literas archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, a quo non longe ante consecratus fuerat, produxit et legi fecit . . . Archidiaconus . . . noverat hominis naturam, quod praeceps erat in actibus suis et praesumptuosus . . . garrulus et verbosus . . . Episcopus ait: 'Propter amicitiam quae inter nos olim fuerat et scolasticam societatem, parcemus nunc personae vestrae' . . . Rogavit [Giraldus] quod, sicut

[1]) Henri d'Andeli, *The Battle of the Seven Arts*, ed. Paetow in Mem. of the Univ. of Calif. IV. 1, Berkeley, 1914, p. 46 (line 108).

[2]) See also [Bened. of Peterb.] *Chron.* I, p. 91 St., and Gerv. of Cant., *Chron.*, p. 255 St.

[3]) W. Richardson added in brackets, probably as a conjecture, 'Persorensis' after 'Parisiensis' when quoting this passage from the 1652 edition of Ralph of Dic. (*Hist. Anglic. Script. X*, col. 587) in the note added to F. Godwin's paragraph on Adam (*De Praesul. Angliae Comment.*, London, 1743). The right 'Parisiensis' was abandoned and the wrong 'Persorensis' accepted in Le Neve-Hardy, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* I, Oxford, 1854, p. 65: "Adam, a canon of Pershore . . ." — For the consecration see also Gerv. of Cant., *Chron.* 255 and *Act. Pontif.*, p. 398 St.

olim in Francia socii fuerant boni et amici forent in potestate constituti. (Giraldi Cambr. *De Gest.* I. vi, pp. 32-38 Br.). — (d) Bishop Adam is present in London at the council for the Spanish award (13th March, 1177) and signs as a witness (Roger of Hov. pp. 121, 131).[1] — (e) He is a witness at the granting of a new charter by Henry II to Christ's Church, Canterbury (21st April, 1177) (Gerv. of Cant. *Chron.* p. 262 St.). — (f) He accompanies the king to Geddington, Windsor and Amesbury (2nd, ?8th, 22nd May, 1177) ([Bened. of Peterb.] *Chron.* I, pp. 160, 165). — (g) Alexander papa nuper in concilio Romano [Lateran, 1179] paraverat nominati illius (scil. Petri Lombardi) sententias damnare . . . Quidam . . . episcopus Adam Wallensis exivit dicens: 'Domine papa, ego et clericus et praepositus olim scholarum eius defendam sententias magistri' (Walter of St. Vict. *In tres Labyr. Fr.*, pp. 406-407 Den.).[2] — (h) 'Adam de Sancto Asaph' in the list of bishops attending the Lateran council. (Mansi XXII, col. 217 and 467). — (j) MCLXXXI . . . mortuus est apud Oseneiam Adam episcopus Sancti Asaph. (*Ann. Osn.* IV, p. 39 R.L.).[3]

This Adam was, like the 'Parvipontanus', a canon of Paris and a master: but he appears to have been Welsh [iv a], not English; he also was a colleague, 'conscolaris' of Gerard of Wales, poor and 'privatus', at a time, about 1160, when the 'Parvipontanus' was, if alive at all, at least fifty years old, and a canon of Paris for more than ten years. The obituary mentioning the 'Parvipontanus' could not fail to record his episcopal dignity, had he had it.[4]

v. [middle xiith cent.] Iterum alia vice, cum essem Rome, quidam Lateranensis canonicus nomine Adam noviter de scholis magistri Petri Abailardi egressus, conabatur astruere Christum ex parte Deum et ex parte hominem esse . . . Cum postea predictus Adam factus apostata ivisset in Apuliam, dixit michi unus cardinalium recte illum pro sua perfidia relictum a Christo (Gerhoh of Richersb. *Epist.* xxi, PL 193, col. 576-577).[5]

It is difficult to reconcile the facts mentioned here with those known of Adam's life.

[1]) See also [Bened. of Peterb.], *Chron.* I, pp. 144, 154 St.

[2]) The passage was discovered by Du Boulay (*Hist.* II, p. 431), reprinted from his text, e.g., by Mansi (XXII, col. 247-8), and re-edited from the manuscript by H. Denifle, *Die Sentenzen Abael. u. die Bearbeitgn sein. Theol.* in Arch. f. Literat. u. Kirchengesch. d. Mittelalt. I [1885], pp. 406-7.

[3]) See also *Ann. de Theokesb.*, p. 52 R.L., and *Ann. de Waverl.*, p. 242 R.L.

[4]) Miss E. Rathbone kindly suggested to us the main arguments against the identification of the bishop with the logician.

[5]) The identification of this Adam with ours is suggested by Rose (Egid. Corb. *Viat.*, p. xv, n. 3).

vi. (a) [before 1164] Et famosum illum magistrum Adam inter animas beatorum michi ostendit gloria et gaudio plenum, quam infra quinquennium fuisse liberatum asseruit dicens: 'Ab eo tempore liberatus est, quo ad ordinem sacerdotii promotus est unus ex familiaribus suis'. (St. Elizabeth, *Visiones* II. 22, p. 50 Roth[2]). — (b) [A.D. 1159] Ipsa (scil. caritas) est, que in diebus adolescentie nostre conglutinavit mentes nostras, quando in scola electissima nostri amabilis doctoris domini Ade viri eminentissimi tam vita quam scientia simul dulces capiebamus cibos philosophice doctrine, et erat nobis sicut studium unum ita idemtitas voluntatum. (Ecbert, *Epist. ad Reinold.*, pp. 311-312 Roth[2]).

The chronology would agree with that of Adam of Balsham, but there is nothing to show that Ecbert or Reinald had studied at Paris.[1] — There is equally little reason to identify with ours the Adam of the following passage:

vii. [xiiith century] Apud magistrum Adam philosophia est sapore virtutum condita sapientia (Cod. Dresden Dc 171a, fol. 42v).[2]

The Adam of the following passage might be Ockham's pupil Adam Wodeham (Goddam):

viii. [A.D. 1481] Idem [i.e. the conception 'in peccato'] tenet Magister Adam Anglicus doctor Parisiensis in III Sent. Dist. iii sic dicens: 'si credendum est dictis sanctorum tenendum est beatam Virginem fuisse conceptam in peccato originali . . .' (Vincentius Bandellus de Castro Novo, *Narrat. Disput. de Materia Concept.*, Bologna 1481, fol. 36r).[3]

It is also very unlikely that 'A[dam]', and particularly the 'Parvipontanus' should be read in

ix. [before A.D. 1155] (a) Domino et amico suo magistro A. G[alterius de Mauretania] salutem. A quibusdam dominis . . . — (b) Domino magistro A. G[alterius]

[1]) A. Hofmeister's view is that this Adam cannot be the 'Parvipontanus' because the latter died in 1181 as a bishop, while the former must have died before 1164, date of Elizabeth's death (*Stud. üb. Otto of Freis.* in Neues Arch. XXXVII [1912], pp. 146-7.) His idea that Otto of Freising might have been a pupil of Adam is not based on evidence (*ibid.* 668-9).

[2]) Manitius discovered the short treatise containing this passage, and suggested that the definition in question might be found in the *Ars Disserendi* (*Analekt. z. Schulgesch. d. Mittelalt.* II, in Mitteil. d. Ges. f. deutsche Erz.-u. Schulgesch. XVI [1906], pp. 40-49; and *Gesch.* III, p. 203); it is not in what remains of the *Ars*.

[3]) Cf. p. 120, n. 2.

salutem. De beneficio litterarum . . . — (c) Magistro G[alterio] A. salutem [answer to the two preceding letters] (in Mart. Dur. *Ampl. Coll.* I. 834-9).[1]

II. ADAM (? OF BALSHAM) ON THE TRINITY.

The following text, preserved in the late twelfth-century manuscript Oxford Bodl. Rawlins. C. 161 (fol. 154r), contains several opinions ascribed to one Magister Adam and to other masters. It was published only partly by Landgraf.[2]

Pater ab eterno fuit principium Spiritus Sancti; ergo ab eterno fuit principium alicuius; ergo falsa est auctoritas que dicit 'Pater ex tempore cepit esse principium alicuius'. Primum argumentum falsum est, quia cum dicitur 'Pater est principium alicuius', sensus est 'est principium alicuius creature'. Exemplum: 'Deus de Deo est'; ergo Deus ab alio est.

Item: Pater est principium Spiritus Sancti; ergo proprietate vel essentia: non essentia, ergo proprietate. Distinguitur, ab aliquo vel a nullo; ea distinguitur a Spiritu Sancto; ergo Pater ea est vel alius vel aliud a Spiritu Sancto; ergo alia persona; ergo sunt persona.

Solutio. — Magister Adam dicit quod proprietas qua Pater et Filius sunt principium Spiritus Sancti personalis est, ut 'personalis' notet plures personas, non unam, sumptum a plurali, non a singulari, distinctivum duarum personarum a tertia, non unius persone a qualibet alia. Vel 'personalis' unam vel plures personas significat equivoce, sicut 'taurina vestigia', teste Prisciano tauri vel taurorum, et 'coloratum', effectum colore vel coloribus.

Sed contra eum sic. Et illa proprietate vel aliqua persona est persona nec alique persone sunt persone nec persona; ergo ipsa non est personalis. Exemplum primi argumenti: Ea distinguitur persona a persona, ergo ea aliqua persona est persona, vel alique persone sunt persone. Proprietatum que circa divinam naturam attenduntur quedam est notio, quedam distinctio, quedam caractum, quedam ypostasis, quedam relatio. — Notio est illa, qua divina substantia discernitur ab aliis substantiis, scilicet creaturis; sed communis est toti Trinitati, ut illa que notatur hoc termino 'divina' vel hoc termino 'eterna'. — Distinctio est illa proprietas, qua due distinguntur a tertia, ut ea qua Pater et Filius sunt principium Spiritus Sancti, qua ipsi spirant Spiritum Sanctum; et ut ea, qua Pater et Spiritus Sanctus distinguitur a Filio, que appellatur innascibilitas. Sancti tamen

[1]) This is one of Lesne's hypotheses (*Écoles*, p. 222).

[2]) A. Landgraf, *Some Unknown Writ. of the Early Schol. Per.* in New Scholast. IV [1930], pp. 3-5. Landgraf, who was the first to call the attention of students to Stephen of Tournai's reference to Adam [7], attributed to the 'Parvipontanus' the views ascribed to Adam in this text.

dicunt quod quinque sunt proprietates, quarum nomina sunt quatuor, (vel habent), quinta sine nomine est: paternitas, filiatio, processio, innascibilitas. Unde peccant illi, qui quintam appellant spirationem. Nec concedit Magister Adam, et dicit non concedere Magistrum Petrum, quod Pater et Filius spirent Spiritum Sanctum, sed Spiritus Sanctus spirat. Unde invenitur 'Spiritus Sanctus spirat ubi vult', et ab utroque spirans flamen. Tamen Magister Petrus glosat 'spirans spiratum'. Dicit autem Magister R. Polanus prohibuisse in cathalogo dici proprietatem factivam persone vel effectivam vel constitutivam. Persona enim eterna nec facta nec effecta nec constituta. — Caractum est signum humanitatis in Deo, quod notatur his omnibus 'passus, mortuus, crucifixus, sepultus'. Unde invenitur 'portantes signum Dei vivi in frontibus suis', id est crucem. — Ypostasis autem dicitur prosopa et proprietas prosope, quasi status inferior ab ipso, et status quo scilicet una persona distinguitur a qualibet et notatur his modis 'Pater, Filius, Flamen', que nomina etiam notant relationes; et duo sunt relativa, 'Pater' et 'Filius', sed non tertium, quamvis notet relationem. Unde dicimus 'Spiritus Sanctus Spiritus Patris', non tamen 'Pater' et 'Pater Spiritus Sancti'.

Notandum quod quidam dicunt Patrem et Filium esse unum principium Spiritus Sancti, et utrumque eorum esse unum principium Spiritus Sancti, et eos esse idem principium Spiritus Sancti, et eos non esse principia Spiritus Sancti. Quidam dicunt quod cum sola auctoritate principium, et eorum una sit auctoritas, et non eadem; et eorum diverse sunt auctoritates, ut diligere et diligi. Similiter, unum spiramen active et non idem. Et sunt diversi spiratores, quod ipsi sunt unum principium, sed non idem; et utrumque eorum est unum principium, et sunt diversa principia Spiritus Sancti. Item Pater nec persona nec substantia est que non sit paternitas; ergo nil. Sed Pater est illa proprietas qua ipse est principium Spiritus Sancti; ergo paternitas illa est illa proprietas que est Filius; ergo paternitas est Filius. Sic potes probare quod Pater est Filius. Item principium Spiritus Sancti est Pater et Filius. Hac igitur de Deo, ergo de substantia divina vel de persona. Non de divina substantia, quia secundum hoc divina esset principium Spiritus Sancti; ergo de persona; ergo alia persona est Pater et Filius. Item dicunt quidam quod agitur de personis. Sed si dicas 'principium Spiritus Sancti est Pater' agitur de una sola persona; et secundum hoc illa oratio 'principium Spiritus Sancti' equivoce [*sic*]. Magister Adam dicit quod nec de substantia nec de persona, et tamen de aliquo, scilicet de principio. Sic circa ea agitur de aliquo et non de creatore; ergo de creatura.

Oxford. L. MINIO-PALUELLO

THE *FIGURAE* OF JOACHIM OF FIORE
GENUINE AND SPURIOUS COLLECTIONS

An article in the last number of this journal[1] drew attention to the discovery in Oxford and Reggio of two closely-related manuscripts containing a work now identified as the *Liber Figurarum* of the Abbot Joachim of Fiore. This work consists of tables of concords and mystical figures setting forth the meaning of history and the divine truth of the Trinity. The designs are intricate and beautiful; in the history of mediaeval symbolism they seem to be unique; Dante drew inspiration from them,[2] and even to-day they bring to the mind of the beholder a vivid sense of the poetic imagery that could stir the imaginations of men in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The degree of identity between the Oxford and Reggio copies, in the form and decoration of the figures, in their colouring and in their texts, establishes beyond doubt the existence of a specific figure-collection or *Liber Figurarum*, while a comparison of this work with the genuine writings of Joachim shows that it springs directly from the characteristic ideas of the Abbot and may therefore be regarded as a genuine collection.[3]

For the present writers the discovery of the Oxford manuscript served to focus attention on the whole subject of the *figurae* of Joachim and the extent to which they were copied and imitated by his followers. Once the search was started figures hitherto neglected or unknown came to light in a number of manuscripts. The most important of these is a well-known Joachimist manuscript at Dresden which contains a figure-collection

[1]) M. Reeves, *The Liber Figurarum of Joachim of Fiore*, M.A.R.S. II (1950), 57-81.

[2]) On Dante and the *Liber Figurarum*, see L. Tondelli, *Il libro delle figure dell' abbate Gioachino da Fiore*, Turin, 1939, I 185-336.

[3]) The writers hope to give full reasons for this assertion elsewhere. In this judgment we agree with L. Tondelli (*op. cit.*, I 16-24 and in *Sophia* 9 [1941], 344-357 and *Da Gioachino a Dante*, Turin [1945], pp. 34-61) and H. Grundmann (*Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore*, Marburg [1950], pp. 20-23) as against F. Foberti (in *Sophia*, *loc. cit.*, 332-343, 534-539 and *Gioacchino da Fiore e il Gioacchinismo antico e moderno*, Padua [1942], p. 228 ff.

closely related to those of Oxford and Reggio. So far as we know, these three manuscripts provide the only complete, or nearly complete, copies of the *Liber Figurarum*. But the lively interest which these figures continued to arouse during the two centuries after Joachim's death is attested by the number of manuscripts in which either single figures, or fragments of an original collection, or imitative collections are found. Even as late as the sixteenth century one in particular—the small collection associated with the Joachite work *Super Esaiam*—interested the Venetian editors of the genuine and spurious works of Joachim. The purpose of this article is to describe briefly the groups of figures in various manuscripts and to analyse the relations between them.

The examples to be examined can best be grouped in the following way:

A. COMPLETE OR NEARLY COMPLETE COPIES OF THE LIBER FIGURARUM.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 255A (O) (early 13th century).[1]
Reggio, Libr. of the Seminario Vescovile Urbano (R) (second half of the 13th century; Plates XVIII, XIX,[2] first half of the 14th century).
Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl., A. 121 (D) (second half of the 13th century).

B. MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING FRAGMENTS AND EXCERPTS OF THE LIBER FIGURARUM.

(a) *Figures with text*
Vatican, Lat. 4860 (V) (second half of the 13th century).
Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 11864 (P^2) (first half of the 13th century).[3]

(b) *Text without figures*
Vatican, Lat. 3822 (V^2) (13th/14th century).
Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 3595 (P) (14th century).
Milan, Bibl. Ambr., H. 15 inf. Misc. (13th/14th century).
Vatican, Urb. Lat. 8 (15th century).
} Text of one figure only.

[1]) The grounds for the dating of manuscripts here given in sections A and B will be fully set out in the second edition of *Il libro delle figure dell' abbate Gioachino da Fiore*, vol. II (ed. L. Tondelli, M. Reeves, B. Hirsch-Reich); those in section C will be dealt with in a later article by the writers.

[2]) All references to plates are to Tondelli's first edition, vol. II, followed by the plate number of the second edition.

[3]) See addendum, below, p. 198.

C. SMALL PSEUDO-JOACHIMIST COLLECTION.

(a) *Eleven Figures*[1]
Vatican, Rossianus 552 (S) (second half of the 13th century).
London, British Museum, Additional 11439 (B) (14th century).
Vienna, Staatsbibl., 1400 (Theol. 71) (W) (14th century).
Raudnitz (Roudnice), Bibl. Lobkowicz, Membr. VI Fc. 25 (14th century).

(b) *Nine Figures*
Vatican, Lat. 4959 (V^3) (second half of the 13th century).

(c) *Eight Figures*
i. Görlitz, Bibl. Milich, Membr. fol. N. 8 (13th/14th century) (lost).
Venice, Bibl. Marc., Lat. I. LXXIV (Valentinelli, cod. 72) (M) (14th century).
London, British Museum, Cotton Tib. B. V., Pars II. (C) (14th century).
ii. Venetian printed editions (Ed.).
Super Esaiam, 1517.
Super Hieremiam, 2nd edition, 1525.
Expositio in Apocalypsim } one volume
Psalterium decem chordarum } 1527.

(d) One additional figure (the dragon) stitched into V^2.

Of the manuscripts in the first group, that of Oxford was briefly described in the previous article,[2] while Mgr. Tondelli, who discovered the Reggio copy, published it with a full description in 1939.[3] Two common characteristics set these two manuscripts in a class by themselves: they are remarkably free from later Joachite additions or alterations; the Oxford manuscript certainly and the Reggio one probably formed part of a volume containing the three main genuine works of Joachim.[4] Detailed comparison has proved that O is earlier by about half a century and much more correct than R, being very nearly perfect. It appears to be close to the archetype, while R, which is clearly dependent on an intermediate

[1]) Three small figures which appear together on one page are here counted separately.
[2]) M. Reeves, *loc. cit.*, 58-59.
[3]) See p. 170, n. 2.
[4]) See M. Reeves, *loc. cit.*, 58, n. 7 and L. Tondelli, *op. cit.*, I 5.

manuscript and contains a number of mistakes, would seem to be a clumsier copy.[1] But, as we have already noticed, there is a remarkable degree of identity between the two and this faithfulness with which the *Liber Figurarum* was copied, without appreciable alteration or addition, affords clear testimony to the continuing interest in Joachim's figures.[2]

The Dresden manuscript stands somewhat apart. On the one hand, it contains the genuine figures and their texts more completely than any other copy except O, adding besides two unique Trinitarian figures which appear to be genuine;[3] on the other hand, it contains, among several genuine, one spurious work attributed to Joachim—the *Interpretatio super Hieremiam*—and throughout we see traces of a Joachite hand. Thus on fol. 36r, at the end of the *Liber Concordie*, occurs the following: *Explicit primus liber evangelii spiritus sancti*, corrected to *Expl. quintus liber Concordie*. On fol. 83v there is an illegible erased line which contained an *Explicit*, but on fol. 100v occurs an *Explicit* in a less obvious place which has escaped alteration: *Explicit prologus in secundum librum evangelii eterni spiritus sancti. Incipit liber secundus evangelii eterni abreviatus*. Lastly, on fol. 131r we find: *Explicit apocalipsis nova i.e. liber* (*evangelii* erased) *spiritualis, qui tamen non est integer, sed abreviatus*.[4] In nearly all the figures, too, there are additions or alterations. One very suggestive Joachite addition occurs in two trees which represent the true succession of spiritual inheritance in the old Dispensation and the new. In O[5] the topmost sections of the trees are labelled *Effraym* and *Ordo Cisterciensium* respectively; D[6] adds yet another

[1]) A full analysis of the relation between O and R will be given in the second edition of *Il Libro delle figure*, see above, p. 171, n. 1.
[2]) The only instance in which it seems that attempts were made to bring a figure up-to-date is in the case of one of the tables of concords (Pl. IV). These tables (of which there are two pairs) are calculated in periods of thirty years and in all MSS. the one in question ends thus: *XXX Celestinus cum duobus MCC.* (blank) *MCCXXX.* (blank) *MCCLX.* Thus all have the curious feature of Celestine III in the place of Innocent III, but in O the name *Celestinus* has been written over an erasure and may be a slightly later addition, though this is not certain, while the words *cum duobus* may be a later addition still. D preserves these words, but inserts *Innocentius* faintly as well; furthermore, it adds the *Celestinus cum duobus* in the appropriate place in the other pair of tables (Pl. X). We are indebted to Dr. Minio for the suggestion that these words are a later addition in O; cf. Riv. Stor. Ital. 63 [1951], 256 f.
[3]) See Tondelli, I 57, 59 ff. and Pl. XXIIa (XXVIa).
[4]) We are indebted for these notes to Professor Grundmann.
[5]) Fol. 13r. See M. Reeves, *loc. cit.*, 73 and Pl. III facing (Pl. XXIII).
[6]) Tondelli, *op. cit.*, II Pl. XXI b (XXV b).

section with blanks for names, thus obviously hinting at another spiritual order to come in the new Dispensation. According to Professor Grundmann, D must have been written by an Italian Joachite since, he says, there could hardly have been Joachites in Germany at this time. It is, however, striking that, according to Dr. Pächt,[1] the faces in the figures of the Tree-Circles and the Wheels[2] in D seem to be of western German origin; furthermore, the style of the manuscript throughout is late Romanesque, although belonging to the late thirteenth century,[3] which again suggests Germany rather than Italy. There are, in fact, already some strands of evidence to suggest that Joachimist ideas and works, including figures, were penetrating into northern Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century[4] and it is, therefore, surely not impossible that before the end of the century a German Joachite was drawing the figures of the Dresden manuscript. Thus we may have here further evidence of the dissemination of these ideas north of the Alps, but the interpretation of the evidence is, as yet, doubtful.[5]

It is to south Italy that we must turn for most of our evidence of Joachites who in the thirteenth century were copying, adapting and imitating their master's figures. Thus it is to south Italy and to the second half of the thirteenth century that J. Bignami-Odier assigns the first manuscript in our second group, Vat. Lat. 4860 (V).[6] This consists of extracts

[1]) We are indebted to Dr. O. Pächt for giving his expert opinion on several artistic points in connection with this article.

[2]) Fol. 93v, 92v.

[3]) F. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Hss. der Kön. Bibl. zu Dresden*, I 157, judged it to belong to the 14th century, but in the view of Dr. Bischoff (Munich), Dr. E. Jaffé (Cambridge) and Prof. Grundmann, who have kindly given their opinions by letter, it must be put back to the late 13th century.

[4]) For a probable reference to the tables of concords as early as 1213, see Reeves, *loc. cit.*, 61, n. 1. In 1220/22 the Cistercian Prior Gebeno von Eberbach in his *Speculum futurorum temporum vel Pentacron Hildegardis* describes the visit of a certain Abbot John from Calabria whom Grundmann believes to have been one of Joachim's disciples (*Kleine Beiträge über Joachim v. Fiore* in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 48 [1929], 164-5). We may note, too, that before the mid-century Alexander of Bremen is quoting extensively from the spurious work *Super Hieremiam* (see A. Wachtel, *Die weltgeschichtliche Apocalypse-Auslegung des Minoriten Alexander v. Bremen* in Franziskanische Studien, 24 [1937], 223-4).

[5]) Dr. Bischoff notes some German peculiarities in the handwriting but thinks, nonetheless, that it was written in Italy.

[6]) *Notes sur deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Vatican contenant des traités inédits de Joachim de Fiore* in Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, 54 [1937], 211-41.

from various writers, together with sermon notes, written throughout in a single hand. Mme. Bignami-Odier suggests that it was compiled by a Franciscan, since twice the text from the Apocalypse *Vidi alterum angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis* (ch. 7, v. 2) is applied prophetically to St. Francis.[1] The compiler gives fragments from the three main works of Joachim, two minor works which may be authentic[2] and part of the spurious commentary on Jeremiah. The figures occur in a group towards the end (fol. 198r-204v). They are carefully drawn, though greatly inferior in artistic quality to O and R, with the genuine text of the *Liber Figurarum* faithfully reproduced, though with some mistakes and one real distortion. First come tables of concords, corresponding to the later tables in the *Liber*,[3] in which it is notable that the author has not tried to bring the list of popes any further up to date than in O and R.[4] This is followed by the text of the dragon figure from the *Liber*[5] but here accompanied by a quite different reptile, a unique, bird-like creature with two feet, seven heads and yet another in the tail.[6]

In the next figure we come upon the first stage in the most remarkable metamorphosis or process of debasement which any of these figures under-

[1]) This identification of St. Francis appears to have first been openly made by Gerard of Borgo San Donnino (Archiv für Litt.-u-Kirchengesch., I 101-2), but Ubertino da Casale later declared that he had heard John of Parma assert that the sixth seal was fulfilled in St. Francis (*Arbor Vitae Crucifixae* [1485], lib. V, c. 3). St. Bonaventura incorporated it into the official legend (*Legenda maior*, *Opera Omnia* [Quaracchi] VIII, 545 and *Legenda minor*, VIII, 577). For a survey of works in which this identification occurs, see S. Bihel, *S. Franciscus fuitne angelus sexti sigilli* (*Apoc.* 7, 2)? in Antonianum, II, 59 ff.

[2]) *Tractatus in expositione vite et regule beati Benedicti* (H. Grundmann in Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch., 48 [1928], 141) and *Liber de ultimis tribulationibus* (see E. Donckel, *Die Prophezeiung des Telesforus* in Arch. Francisc. Hist., 26 [1933], 53).

[3]) Plates III and IV.

[4]) See above, p. 173, n. 2.

[5]) Pl. XIV.

[6]) The dragon in D is very similar. V2 has another design of a bird-like, footed creature, with the heads spreading fan-wise from the body, and akin to this is the dragon figure in the *Chronica Imperatorum* of Alberto Milioli (Bibl. Estense, MS. M. I. 7, fol. 121r, reproduced in *Arch. Muratoriano*, I fasc. 8, Pl. I by A. Cerlini, cf. L. Tondelli, *op. cit.*, I 19). On the other hand, the OR class of the *Lib. Fig.* and the pseudo-Joachimist collection have serpent forms. In O and R this is a reptile body, curved in a semi-circle, with seven heads at one end, a tail at the other and no feet; in the pseudo-collection the reptile has a twice-knotted body stretching down vertically, with the tail curving leftwards. One feature common to all designs is that the sixth head, Saladin, is crowned; the dragon of Milioli, however, has all the seven heads and that in the tail crowned.

went. Joachim saw the annual cycle of the Church's liturgical year as a figure symbolizing the whole sweep of history. In the *Liber* he drew this as a spiral, called the *Mysterium Ecclesiae*, beginning in the centre with Septuagesima and sweeping out to Pentecost in the 'tail'.[1] In order to work out his required symbolism he did not go straight through the Church's year but broke off at the end of Lent, returning to Advent and so round again to Lent and thence to Easter and Pentecost which symbolized the culmination of history. His thought was entirely of the ages of history in relation to the seasons of the Church and the Scriptures appointed to be read at each season, but his spiral certainly has a serpentine appearance and the compiler of V (or his source), failing to understand its significance has added a dragon's head in the centre and elongated the tail which now points sharply downwards. Surprisingly enough, he has kept the genuine text—even the unusual arrangement of the Church's seasons—so that the 'tail of the dragon' still represents the seventh age of history, the great Sabbath Age, followed by the *Dies Pentecostes*, i.e. the great day of eternity. The result is a puzzling, hybrid figure which represents the first stage in a process of debasement and illustrates strikingly the Joachite predilection for the dragon theme. Beside the last column of text belonging to this figure is a simpler version of a figure which in O is one of the most beautiful, the Trinitarian Tree-Circles.[2] Next comes a well-drawn reproduction of the *Dispositio novi ordinis pertinentis ad tercium statum* in which Joachim endeavoured to set out a pattern of the religious life in the Age of the Holy Ghost.[3] Last of the figures from the *Liber* is the second of a pair of 'tree-ladders' both of which are found in O and D.[4] The original designs express vividly the idea of the three *status* of mankind, but in V the clarity of the conception has been lost and the real point obscured.[5] On the *verso* of this figure are circles taken from the *Liber Concordie*,[6] whilst further on

[1]) Pl. XIX.

[2]) O fol. 12ᵛ (Pl. XXII).

[3]) Pl. XII.

[4]) O fol. 11ᵛ and 12ʳ; D fol. 88ᵛ. The figure from V is reproduced by Tondelli, II, Pl. XXa. (XXIVa). See also I 94-7.

[5]) It should be noted that three sentences which in O and D accompany the first tree-ladder are here inserted beside the second.

[6]) *Lib. Conc.*, Lib. II, Tract. II, cap. 5, fol. 21ᵛ. All folio references are to the 1519 edition.

the writer reproduces what seems to be the original of a debased tree-figure in the printed edition of the *Liber Concordie*.[1] This suggests that various sketches of Joachim's figures were in circulation besides those in the *Liber Figurarum*.

Taken altogether, the compiler of V has made a fairly representative selection of the figures which express the essential ideas of Joachim: the tables of concords show his treatment of the double sweep of history; the dragon, with his seven heads marking the persecutions of the Church, stands for another, most popular, aspect of the Abbot's thought; the figure of the Trinitarian tree-circles, forming the three *status* of history, represents one of Joachim's characteristic metaphors; the *Dispositio novi ordinis* looks forward to the third *status*; the tree-ladder again expounds the three *status* in characteristic form. In one figure only, the *Mysterium Ecclesiae*, there is a serious and surprising perversion of Joachim's ideas, either perpetrated by the compiler of V himself, or derived from his source. This one exception apart, he remains close to the genuine thought of his master, though he includes in his selection of writings the spurious commentary on Jeremiah. Apart from the two textual figures, he derives all of them from the *Liber Figurarum* and he never departs significantly from its texts, even in the case of the perverted figure. An interesting point is that, in spite of the indications elsewhere of a Franciscan view-point, he has not tried to use Joachim's ideas or figures for the glorification of the Minorites.

In MSS. 3822 of the Vatican (V^2) and 3595 of Paris (P) we have two closely-related examples of another selection from the figures of Joachim. The former was described by O. Holder-Egger[2] and has more recently been analysed by Mme. Bignami-Odier;[3] the latter will be fully described by Mlle. d'Alverny in vol. iii of P. Lauer's *Catalogue général des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. V^2 is, in the words of Prof. Grundmann, a typical Joachite text-book, containing genuine and spurious writings of Joachim or extracts from them, written in a variety of hands. The oldest entries go back to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century and it probably emanates from south Italy. The diagrammatic

[1]) In V fol. 289ʳ. Cf. *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 14ʳ. This figure has hitherto passed unnoticed.

[2]) *Neues Archiv*, 33 [1903], 97-105.

[3]) *Loc. cit.*, 214 ff., 219 ff.

arrangements which have to do service for figures occur in the first part and are associated with two letters and a short work, all written in the same hand: *Epistola abbatis Joachim: Universis Christi fidelibus* (fol. 1r-1v);[1] *Septem tempora Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (fol. 1v-2r);[2] *Epistola subsequentium figurarum* (fol. 3v-4r). To the last of these we shall return shortly. On two pages confronting each other are tables of concords corresponding to the earlier pair in the *Liber Figurarum*.[3] The outstanding feature here is that, though an attempt is made to preserve the generations of mankind in columnar form, all trace of the original design has been lost. The copyist has, however, grasped the basic meaning: he realizes that the notes on either side relate to specific generations and tries to connect them by spidery lines, but clearly he was hampered by the small size of his page and he was probably incapable of the feats of intricate draughtsmanship and delicate ornamentation displayed in the Oxford and Reggio versions of this figure. The same characteristics appear in the next figure. Here he sets out to reproduce what in O and R is a magnificent tree of the whole of history, with two sets of branches representing Old Testament Tribes and New Testament Churches. The scribe of V^2 gives a mere parody of this. He copies the top half first (fol. 4v) and then the bottom (fol. 7r),[4] with the first generations, which ought to form the base of the tree, squeezed in horizontally at right-angles to the rest. The branches are indicated in the most primitive way and there is no trace of the tree-form. Moreover, the text proves to be a conflation of two tree-figures which confront each other in the *Liber Figurarum*,[5] one culminating in the *Spiritus Sanctus* and the other in *Jesus Christus* and the *Secundus Adventus*.

[1]) Edited J. Bignami-Odier, *loc. cit.*, 220-223, who regards it as apocryphal, as also does Tondelli, *op. cit.*, I 41. H. Grundmann, *Neue Forschungen über Joachim v. Fiore*, p. 25, thinks it genuine and the writers agree with him.

[2]) This short text, which we may call *De septem sigillis*, occurs at the beginning of O (fol. 6v), in D (fol. 221v-222v) and P (fol. 25v-28r), and also, without a title, in MS. 322 (fol. 166r-v) of the Bibl. Antoniana, Padua. At the end of the 15th century it was still known to Trithemius who gives it in his list of Joachim's writings (*Liber de eccles. scriptoribus* [1494], fol. 59r). We believe it to be genuine and hope to publish it shortly. In all but the last MS. it appears in conjunction with figures: for this reason and also because of its diagrammatic character and association of ideas we regard it as standing in close relation to the *Lib. Fig.* See Reeves, *loc. cit.*, 71.

[3]) Pl. IX and X.

[4]) They originally confronted each other, but folios 5 and 6 were later stitched in between.

[5]) Plates I and II. See also Reeves, *loc. cit.*, Pl. I and II.

The scribe follows neither in his crowning text, inserting instead *Christus Judex*. He further adds notes on Seals and Persecutions derived from another figure,[1] and in these one already detects a Joachimist addition: *Alexander, Lucius, Urbanus pape et alii successores eorum usque ad pseudo papam*. Folios 5 and 6 do not belong to the quaternion but were stitched in later, being written in a different thirteenth-century hand. Fol. 5r contains a dragon figure which is completely different from that of O and R, and with it is a text which, as we shall see, occurs in the pseudo-Joachite collection associated with the *Super Esaiam*. On fol. 7v-8r we find the genuine dragon text from the *Liber Figurarum* without the figure.[2] Finally, on fol. 18v and 19r another scribe has drawn geometrical figures from the *Psalterium decem chordarum*[3] and the great eagle from the same work of which we shall speak later,[4] and on fol. 20v the same figure of three circles from the *Liber Concordie* as in V.[5]

Leaving aside the additions made by other hands, we have here a small collection of figures which derive from the *Liber Figurarum* (or its source) and are associated with certain texts. The copyist has not attempted any elaborate designs, but he has made an effort, within the exigencies of his space, to preserve the proper relation of notes and captions. He has taken liberties with his source by conflation and by additions. Some additions strike a distinctly pseudo-Joachimist note. Besides the one already quoted, there occur in the New Testament table of concords (fol. 3r) the words *Passio domini nostri Jesu Christi a qua usque ad pseudo-papam seu Antichristum anni MCCLX*. Here the computation of *anni a passione* shifts the critical year from 1260 to 1290 and suggests that V^2, or its source, was written after 1260. It is noteworthy that this is the only manuscript with genuine texts from the *Liber Figurarum* in which these have been tampered with by Joachites.

[1]) Pl. III and IV.

[2]) But the names of five Heads and Persecutions from the figure are written in short columns. The Heads are: Herodes, Nero, Constantinus, Machometus, Muselemuthus. This corresponds to MSS. O, R, D where they are: Herodes, Nero, Constantius (R Constantinus), Mahometh (O Maometh), Mesemothus (O Mesemot, D Masimuth), together with Saladinus (OR Salahadinus) and the unnamed seventh head.

[3]) Fol. 256v, 257r, 260v, 261r, 268v. All references are to the 1527 edition.

[4]) See below, p. 187.

[5]) See above, p. 176.

MS. P, a fourteenth-century production, contains from fol. 19v to 35v a collection of material almost exactly similar to that in V² which we have examined, though in a different order.[1] Clearly this derives from a source similar to V², for it reproduces many of its peculiarities. Yet it is not a direct copy: not only does the order differ, but in P there are many small omissions and mistakes as well as some additions. The scribe here does not in the least understand the nature of the figures he is copying and, owing to the exigencies of space, the result is often a wildly-jumbled text in which the various notes to the figures are squeezed in anywhere at random.[2] On the other hand, P does not contain the pseudo-Joachimist additions to the notes which occur in V², and in this connection it is important to notice that various pseudo-Joachimist additions to the *Epistola subsequentium figurarum* in V² are also absent from P.[3] Thus, whilst the date of V², or its immediate source, must be placed after 1260, P's source is probably prior to that date. Their common elements prove conclusively, however, that ultimately they derive from a common source. Thus we have to postulate an anthology of Joachimist material, made before 1260 and containing, besides certain texts, material drawn from the *Liber Figurarum* which suffered conflation and probably rearrangement, owing to the exigencies of space, but which had not yet received the distinctive pseudo-Joachimist additions of V².[4]

We must now turn for a moment to the *Epistola subsequentium figurarum* which occurs in V² and P. The fact that it is found only in these two manuscripts,[5] which show so many marks of addition and alteration, at once arouses suspicion. In any case it would be difficult to regard this as

[1]) The contents is as follows: fol. 19v-21v *Epistola. Inc. Universis Christi fidelibus*; fol. 22r-25v Tables of Concords; fol. 25v-28r *De Septem Sigillis*; fol. 28v-29r *Epistola subsequentium figurarum*; fol. 29v-31r Text of the Tree; fol. 31r-34r Text of the Dragon figure; fol. 34r-35r *Epistola . . . Valdonum monasterii abbati . . . frater Joachim*. This last also occurs in V² on fol. 4r but in a different hand.

[2]) For example, the text of the Tree is given backwards (i.e. the top half first), with its bottom section squeezed into a margin, the 'branches' are scribbled in at random, and the only recognizable features are the nodal points of the tree.

[3]) See below, p. 181.

[4]) The two texts of single figures mentioned in the table on p. 171 do not call for detailed comment. That at Milan is a good text of the Dragon figure. Cod. Urb. Lat. 8 in the Vatican is a beautiful Renaissance MS. of the *Liber Concordie* in which the greater part of the text of the Seven *Estates* has been inserted between chapters 77 and 78 of Book V, with a space left for the figure.

[5]) See addendum, below, p. 198.

genuine, for the characteristic of the genuine figures in the *Liber Figurarum* is that they were so designed as to be complete in themselves, each with its own text attached, where necessary. As they are conceived, the genuine figures need no further explanation, apart from the background of Joachim's writings, and it is difficult to understand why he should have written such an unnecessary and fragmentary one. The main part of the *Epistola* describes a single tree in language which brings it close to the figure of the tree in the *Liber Figurarum* which culminates in the Second Advent.[1] But the description does not correspond exactly to the tree of the *Liber*. The most obvious difference is that the tree of the *Epistola* culminates in *Christus Judex*, suggesting at once a connection with the skeleton tree in V² and P. Furthermore, it follows V² and P in incorporating certain elements which in the *Liber* belong to other figures.[2] The main part of the *Epistola* is, in fact, a description of a tree which is a composite one, combining elements from three genuine figures and clearly connected with the hybrid 'tree' of V² and P. The last part of the *Epistola* consists of notes which have no clear reference to specific figures. They relate to the subject-matter of several figures in the *Liber* but give the impression of notes on Joachim's schemes of thought rather than descriptions of figures.

In V² the *Epistola* contains two obviously later elements: in four places the New Testament generations are calculated from the Passion instead of the Nativity, thus pushing on the fateful year to 1290,[3] and furthermore it contains an interpolated verse:

Cum fuerint anni transacti mille ducenti
Seni decies post partum Virginis alme
Tunc Antichristus nascetur demone plenus.

[1]) See above, p. 178.

[2]) On either side of the tree described in the *Epistola* are notes on parallel events reminiscent of the tables of concords. The next sentence describes a detail which in the *Lib. Fig.* is found only in the tree of the *Spiritus Sanctus*: *Numero terdenarii ab utroque latere linea protenditur in quibus numerus apostolicorum, ab alia parte imperatorum esse monstratur* (Bignami-Odier, *loc. cit.*, 225; Tondelli, I 43).

[3]) We quote one of these passages: *Cum vero a nativitate vel melius a passione Christi complete sint hoc nostro tempore XL generationes id est MCC nec restant nisi due generationes complende id est anni LX a passione vel LXXXX a nativitate quasi duo ternarii in quo impleri oportet quidquid de Antichristo dicitur et de consummatione seculi.* (Bignami-Odier, *loc. cit.*, 224; Tondelli, I 43.)

This was one of a number of oracular verses which were flying about in the mid-thirteenth century.[1] It was popular then and later—with suitable modifications of date—but its earliest appearance is only in the mid-century and there is no trace of it in the genuine writings of Joachim.[2] It is quite foreign to the Abbot's thought to put the emphasis thus on the appearance of a single Antichrist and nothing else; the verse, in fact, has the ring of a thirteenth-century Joachite who has taken the old standard expectation of Antichrist and attached it to the Abbot's date. These Joachite additions are not in P, but even when we remove them we are left with a text which does not belong to the *Liber Figurarum* but, in its main part, relates to the composite tree-figure which was in the source used by the copyists of V^2 and P. Whilst these latter have almost completely lost the tree form, the *Epistola* presupposes an actual figure before the eye.[3] Thus we are brought to the conclusion that the *Epistola* was written for the purpose of interpreting a small collection of figures put together by a Joachite before the year 1260. We see, too, that this little picture-book continued to interest people, not only to the point of copying it, but also to the point of making additions sometime between 1260 and 1290.

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[1]) In Mathew Paris's *Book of Additamenta* (Rolls Series, VI 80) it appears under the year 1242, applied to the year 1250. Shortly after, Albert of Stade echoes it for the year 1260 (MGH, SS XVI 341). Versions occur in the British Museum, Royal and King's MSS., 10 B. XII, fol. 43 (13th century, applied to 1260); 8 D. II, fol. 70^{v} (14th century, applied to 1500); Harleian MSS., 1280, fol. 427 (14th century, applied to 1260). See also Oxford, Oriel Coll. MS. 76, fol. 147rb (14th century, applied to 1260). Another version appears in the appendix to the Chronicle of Peter Langtoft (Rolls Series, II 449). O. Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1889) 175, quotes the 1260 version from the Bibl. Vitt. Emanuele (Rome), MS. 14 S. Pantaleone 31, fol. 57^{v}, and again in 33 (1907) 100, from MS. Vat. Lat. 3822, fol. 14^{v}. A version applied to 1310 was printed in the 1525 edition of the *Interpretatio in Hieremiam*, fol. 62^{r}. For further references see H. Grundmann, *Neue Forschungen über J. von Fiore*, p. 24, n. 1.

[2]) John of Paris mentions in his tract on Antichrist (ed. Venice, Lazarus de Soardis, 1516) fol. 47^{a} that he failed to find it in Joachim's works in this form; both he and Henry of Harclay, chancellor of Oxford University who critically examines the calculation of these verses in his Quaestio, written in 1313: *Utrum astrologi vel quicumque calculatores possint probare 2^{m} adventum Christi* (MS. Worcester, Library of the Cathedral, F. 3, f. 186^{r}) have the additional verse: *Hec Florensis* (*Floretensis* Pelster; *Hic syntheris* John of Paris) *Ioachim predixit in anno / quo Saladinus armis sanctam cepit urbem*; cf. Fr. Pelster, *Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay über die zweite Ankunft Christi und die Erwartung des baldigen Weltendes zu Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts, Arch. ital. per la stor. d. pietà* I (1950), pp. 38 and 74.

[3]) Tondelli, *op. cit.*, I 42: . . . *et hec stipes arboris dicitur. A Jacob ramos incipit diffundere XII . . . Ab Ozia usque ad Christum extenduntur duo rami . . . A Christo vero hec secunda et inserta arbor tot ramos fecit quot principia, XII scilicet ecclesias . . .*

CONTENT OF MANUSCRIPTS[1]								RELATION TO GENUINE WORKS AND FIGURES	RELATION TO THE *SUPER ESAIAM*
FIGURE	V^2	S	B	W	M	C	Ed		
1. Eagle	—	1^r	99^v	21^r	—	—	—	Simpler version of *Psalt.* 268^r; figure and text related to *Lib. Fig.* Pl. V, VI; *Expos.* 17^r ff., 28^r, 49^v ff., 62^r ff.; *Psalt.* 267^r, but text an independent composition with spurious elements.	Pattern of $5+7=12$ worked out in tribes and churches and senses of Scripture: 4^v, 44^r, 50^r-51^r.
2. Two Trees of Orders	—	1^v	100^r	21^v	—	—	—	Figure similar to *Lib. Fig.*, MS. O fol. 13^r (Pl. XXIII), but much debased.	Manasseh and Ephraim, Reuben, Judah, Gad, St. Bernard, the Cistercian Order: 5^r, 8^r, 16^v, 30^v, 37^v, 44^r.
3. Three Interlaced Circles	1^r	2^r	100^v	22^r	2^r	1^r (89^r)	a^r	Figure and text derived from *Lib. Conc.* 21^v, but badly adapted to express a simpler idea with spurious elements. See also *Expos.* 7^r, 62^r.	Entry into Promised Land, sequence of twos: 5^r. Two *testes passim.*
Text following								Close in phrases to *Lib. Conc.* 8^r, 21^r-22^r, 125^v; *Expos.* 5^r-10^r, 146^r-168^v, but goes beyond sources in stating that the second *status* ends in 1260 and in naming the second Antichrist Frederick II.	3rd *status*, 7 *tempora*, 7th age=Sabbath Age, conflict of twos, 3 worst kings: Prologue, 1^v, 6^v, 14^r, 19^r, 27^{r-v}, 29^v-30^v, 35^r, 50^v-52^v, 56^{r-v}. Two *testes passim.*
4. Mysterium Ecclesiae	1^v	2^v	99^{r2}	22^v	2^v	1^v (89^v)	a^v	Figure similar to *Lib. Fig.* Pl. XIX, with dragon head added and a partly new text substituted for the original one within the figure. The long, accompanying text is absent.	
5. Three Circles side by side								Akin to, but differing from, *Lib. Fig.* Pl. XI (top right-hand), text from *Expos.* 5^r, 14^v, 38^v; see also *Lib. Conc.* 65^v, 72^r, 111^r-112^r.	Obscurity of the Letter, veil of Moses, blindness of clergy, 6th and 7th angels: 1^r, 5^r, 6^r, 56^v-58^v.
6. Trumpet	2^r	3^r	101^r	23^r	3^r	2^r (90^r)	b^r	Derived from *Expos.* 40^v, 127^v.	Significance of Isaiah, Trumpet, Two Testaments: Prologue, 3^r, 6^r, 50^r.
7. Seven Seals and Openings								Similar but more complicated patterns in *Lib. Conc.* 26^r-42^r; *Expos.* 6^v, 116^r. No source for opening of last three seals.	Opening of the Seals: 3^v, 4^v, 6^v, 29^r, 50^r-52^v.
8. Seven-headed Dragon[3]	2^v	3^v	101^v	23^v	3^v	2^v (90^v)	b^v	Figure identical in subject with *Lib. Fig.* Pl. XIV, but different in form; 4th to 7th heads differ, making Frederick II the seventh. Text differs from that of *Lib. Fig.*, being partly drawn from such passages as *Lib. Conc.* 38^v-42^r, *Expos.* 6^v, 10^{r-v}, 156^{r-v}, 196^{r-v}, partly independent. It is much shorter than the *Lib. Fig.*	Dragon, series of conflicts, *Statua Babylonis*, Gog=dragon's tail: 3^r, 4^v, 29^v, 35^r, 37^r, 42^v, 47^{r-v}, 50^v-52^v 57^v, 59^r. Anti-German attitude *passim.*
9. Babylon-Rome Figure	3^r	4^r	102^r	24^r	—	—	—	Similar to *Lib. Fig.* Pl. XVI, XVII in shape. Text drawn from ideas in *Lib. Conc.* 17^v, 39^r, 92^{r-v}, 134^{r-v}; *Expos.* 4^r ff., 23^v, but with spurious elements.	Babylon / Rome, David / Silvester, *Urbs Romulea*, [redacted] has his seat like God, Israel's ascent from Bab[redacted] persecutions: 4^r, 5^v, 9^r, 10^r, 52^v.
10. Psaltery with Ten Strings	3^v	4^v	102^v	24^v	4^r	3^r (91^r)	c^r	Similar to figure inserted in *Psalt.* 228^r, but with more text, and also to *Lib. Fig.* Pl. XIII, but with less text; closely related to *Psalt. decem chordarum* in conception.	
11. Wheels of Ezechiel	4^r	5^r	103^r	25^r	4^v	3^v (91^v)	c^v	Figure identical with *Lib. Fig.* Pl. XV; text partly different; innumerable references in all works.	The Wheels, Four Animals, Four Senses of Scripture, Four Orders: Prologue, 5^v-6^v, 34^r, 57^{r-v}.

[1]) For the full designation of each MS., see the table on p. 171. In addition to the MSS. analysed here, the first table shows two MSS. (at Roudnice and Görlitz) which we have been unable to study.
[2]) The only variation in order is that B. places this figure first.
[3])The text of this, together with a quite different dragon figure, occur also in V^2 (fol. 5^r).

Fig. 1

There is yet another, and this, the most popular of these post-Joachim collections of figures, is also the most obviously spurious, in that the figures are debased and the text almost wholly different from that in the *Liber Figurarum*.[1] This is the collection preceding the *Super Esaiam*, later printed by the Venetian editors of the sixteenth century, and for convenience we shall adopt their name for it—the *Praemissiones*.[2] There are three main points of interest here: the content of the manuscripts, the relation of the figures to genuine sources and their relation to the *Super Esaiam*. For the sake of clarity in the discussion below, we set out some of the relevant detail in the accompanying table (Fig. 1):

All these manuscripts obviously go back to a common source. In spite of the varying number of figures, the same order is preserved in all[3] and this roughly follows that of the three main works of Joachim—the *Liber Concordie*, the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and the *Psalterium decem chordarum*. The last figure of the Wheels belongs to them all. The earliest and best manuscript is V^3 which seems to be closely related to the next in date—S. In these two manuscripts the figures are almost identical, apart from the important fact that the Eagle and the Two Trees of Orders are missing from V^3. In the other manuscripts there is a large amount of similarity between the figures, except in the case of B where they differ considerably. It is noteworthy that the Dragon—perhaps the most popular of all the figures—is exactly the same in all copies both in shape and in position of the texts, and the other texts, too, vary little in content and position. Both V^3 and S have finely-drawn figures, of which the first of

[1]) In the lively controversy between the late F. Foberti and L. Tondelli on the *Liber Figurarum* in *Sophia* 9 [1941], Foberti (p. 336) took the figures which appear in the 'printed works (of Joachim) in the Venetian editions' as the norm both as regards the number and the appearance of the figures and their texts. Though he noticed some misplacements and alterations in the Venetian texts, he did not draw the proper conclusion that the figures and texts of the Reggio and other manuscripts of the *Liber Figurarum* represent the authentic tradition much more closely. Furthermore, neither Tondelli nor Foberti clearly distinguished the figures within Joachim's genuine works from those of the pseudo-collection prefacing the *Super Esaiam* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 346 and 534).

[2]) See the heading to the Venetian edition of the *Super Esaiam*, 1517. The editors did not invent this title: one MS., now in the Bibl. Marc. at Venice (M) gives the heading *Premissiones Ab. Joachim in Esaiam prophetam*. This was probably the MS. used by the editors; it was then in the monastery of the Austin Canons of S. Joannes in Viridario, Padua.

[3]) Except that in B the *Mysterium Ecclesiae* is placed first.

the two Trees of Orders in S is notable in design. The dragon's head added to the *Mysterium Ecclesiae* is almost identical in these two manuscripts and, significantly, resembles closely that of the debased figure in V.[1] It will be observed from the table that the three manuscripts, S, W and B all have the extra figures of the eagle and the two trees. W, which in some respects stands related to B, is the worst manuscript, with bad misreadings and misplacements.[2] The last two manuscripts, M and C, which are both later ones, lack not only the eagle and the trees but also one figure—Babylon/Rome—from V[3].

MS. B—British Museum Additional 11439—calls for a little further description, since it has hitherto been unnoticed by students of Joachimism and it possesses some interesting features. It is a fourteenth-century compilation of Joachim's works, or extracts from them, both genuine and spurious. We propose to give a full analysis of it and of another Joachimist compilation in the British Museum, Royal 8 F. XVI, elsewhere. For our purpose here the most interesting feature of this manuscript is the writer's predilection for figures. Anyone studying the Abbot's intricate pattern of ideas must feel the need to set these out diagrammatically—where Joachim does not do it himself—and this urge probably inspired the construction of five unique figures on fol. 73v to 75r. These do not form part of the collection we are studying but it is worth while glancing at them a moment for they show clearly how Joachim's followers, playing with the same stock of ideas, could produce their own designs to illustrate the main themes. The first (fol. 73v) expresses in different form the rise-and-fall movement of exaltation and deposition embodied in the Babylon-Rome figure;[3] the second (fol. 74r) sets out the two parallel sequences of seven *bella* or persecutions so often found in the *Liber Figurarum*;[4] the third (fol. 74v) is another version of the Wheels of Ezechiel; the fourth (fol. 75r)

[1]) See above, p. 176.

[2]) See H. Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Hss. Österreichs*, N.F.V. (VIII, 5), Leipzig, 1928, p. 16 ff., who concludes that it is a 14th-century MS. based on an early 13th-century south-Italian source.

[3]) See below, p. 188.

[4]) Here the sequences are: in the Old Testament—*Bellum Egyptiorum, Philistinorum, Syrorum, Assyriorum, Chaldeorum, Assyriorum, Grecorum*; in the New Testament—*Bellum Judeorum, Paganorum, Arrianorum, Turcborum, Alamanorum, Sarracenorum, Patarenorum*. Cf. *Liber Figurarum*, Pl. III and IV; VIII; IX and X.

plays on the senses of Scripture, using the same number symbolism of 3, 5 and 7 as Joachim does in connection with the Eagle.[1] The last (fol. 75r) gives us an illuminating example of how Joachites completed their master's system of thought. Joachim discerned in the fact that five tribes in the Old Testament received their inheritance first and seven afterwards a symbol of two stages in spiritual growth—a former, outer, literal, and latter, inner, spiritual. In the New Testament he found five churches first established by St. Peter and then the seven churches of Asia associated with St. John. Thus the 5/7 (=12) idea became for him a powerful symbol of that spiritual inheritance in the Age of the Holy Ghost for which he waited. He clearly hints that such a spiritual succession from the former to the latter will take place in the orders of the Church, but he never ventures on a complete 5/7 sequence of orders. The Joachite author of this manuscript (or its source), however, works out a clear diagram to his own satisfaction: Tribes of the Old Testament on the left, Churches of the New on the right, each grouped in fives and sevens, and in between Orders grouped thus: *Apostoli, Martires, Confessores, Virgines, Pastores / Greci, Crucesignati, Clerici, Canonici Nigri, Albi, Viri futuri*—and in this final order of the seven surely lies the clue to his interest and his hope.[2]

The *Praemissiones* (fol. 99r-103r), as we have already noted, have the same content and order as S and W, except for the misplacement of the *Mysterium Ecclesiae*. Two figures are unfinished—the two trees of orders (fol. 100r) which are only faintly sketched, and the three circles (fol. 100v) which are empty although the textual notes below are complete. On the other hand, the serpent's head in the debased version of the *Mysterium Ecclesiae* is drawn with care and crowned (fol. 99r), the eagle, the dragon with seven heads and the Babylon/Rome figures are also well drawn and the Psaltery has an interesting addition in the form of a representation of God the Father at its head. It is this last feature, as well as the faint sketch for the trees, which links the manuscript with that of Vienna (W).

How and by whom was this figure collection first made? If the table above is studied, it will be seen firstly, that the compiler is familiar with

[1]) See below, p. 187.

[2]) The sequence of five here is only a variation of a common sequence of four constantly used by Joachim (see, for example, *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 25v; *Expos. in Apoc.* (ed. 1527), fol. 23v, 106r, 162r; *Lib. Fig.*, Pl. XII, XIV, XV). It is the sequence of seven here which is original.

the three chief works of Joachim from which he draws some figures and a good deal of text; secondly, that he knows and draws on figures which are to be found in the *Liber Figurarum*, but does not reproduce any of its longer texts; thirdly, that, though its sources can easily be traced in Joachim's writings, the text to these figures is original and contains obvious thirteenth-century elements. The impression left by comparison with the genuine works is that the compiler wants a clarification of some of Joachim's main ideas in the form of simple summaries and figures. Perhaps it is a text-book for eager Joachites that he is trying to compose! He prefers the straightforward, geometrical figures and those expressing a single idea; he does not attempt any more elaborate figures, such as those in the *Liber Figurarum*, which bring together a complex of ideas from many parts of Joachim's writings. The *Praemissiones* is clearly more primitive in thought and execution than the *Liber Figurarum*, but the problem is to decide whether this is the primitiveness of an early collection made by Joachim himself, or of a blundering disciple imitating his master. The answer may, perhaps, be a combination of both.

What immediately strikes the eye is that the *form* of most of the figures seems to be the true one: the interlaced circles and those side by side, the eagle, the trumpet and the seven seals, the Babylon-Rome figure and the wheels of Ezechiel all draw their form from genuine sources. Some would seem to represent very early and undeveloped ideas. Thus the three circles side by side embody a conception of three stages—*Tempus ante legem*, *Tempus sub lege*, *Tempus sub gratia*—which was certainly used by Joachim, but which seems to precede the more famous system of three *status* in which the third is that of the Holy Ghost.[1] On the same page are simple figures of the trumpet and the seven seals with disconnected notes grouped round the three figures. There is no unity of idea in this page, but all the designs bear the character of textual illustrations which someone has copied and put together in this form. The three interlaced circles exhibit a peculiar arrangement which does not occur elsewhere in Joachim's works yet seems closest to the mystical diagram which inspired all the Joachimite

[1]) See *Expos. in Apoc.*, fol 5ᵛ, where Joachim shows that this sequence of three can be extended to five by the addition of *Tempus sub spiritali intellectu* and *Tempus in manifesta visione dei*. See also fol. 14ᵛ, 35ᵛ.

combinations of circles.[1] Once more, we seem to catch a glimpse of an early and fundamental sketch by Joachim; it has, however, as we shall see, suffered the superimposition of a completely wrong and muddled text. The wheels of Ezechiel, too, seem to preserve a genuine and early version of Joachim's favourite symbol for the *Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti* —the wheel within the wheel. It shares important details with the corresponding figure in the *Liber Figurarum* [Pl. XV] (the four living creatures, the four *opera Christi*, the four orders of saints and the four senses of Scripture) but is clearly an alternative version which is only marred by misplacements perpetrated by the blundering scribe of the common source of all known manuscripts.

Again, the eagle which appears in three manuscripts seems to be a simple figure, with a primitive text, related to two very complex ones. In the *Psalterium decem chordarum* there is an eagle which is closely associated with an intricate exposition in the text of the pattern of $5+7=12$,[2] worked out in relation to the senses of Scripture, the Old Testament tribes and the Churches of the New. The figure of the eagle is built up on this number pattern which, together with the closely connected symbolism of threes, is expounded with much wealth of detail in the captions of the feathers and the surrounding text.[3] This figure does not reappear in the *Liber Figurarum*; its place is taken by two magnificent 'tree-eagles'[4] which show simply the 5/7 division of tribes and churches, out of which (when reversed) there rise two eagles symbolizing the contemplative life. Here the expository figure, cluttered with much text, has given way to two profoundly simple, though enigmatic, figures which yet express the detail they have shed. The eagle in the *Praemissiones* is simple in a different, more primitive way. In form it is related to the eagle of the *Psalterium*, using the same 5/7 division in the feathers, but out of the wealth of ideas there expressed only one is selected for these captions, namely, the different

[1]) The source and development of Joachim's circles will be dealt with in our *Studies in the Liber Figurarum*. He adopts from Petrus Alphonsi a mystical diagram of three interlaced circles within a large one in which the Name of God is inserted in Hebrew letters; cf. P. Alphonsi, *Dialogus*, PL 157 col. 611.

[2]) *Psalt.* fol. 268ʳ. For an explanation of the 5/7 pattern, see above, p. 185.

[3]) The printed edition gives most of the expository notes round the figure, but that originally they appeared on the feathers themselves is clear from Cod. Vat. Lat. 5732, fol. 28ᵛ.

[4]) For a further description of these, see Reeves, *loc. cit.*, 78-9.

senses of Scripture. That it belongs, however, to the whole complex of ideas concerning the five and seven tribes is clear, for above the eagle appear notes on these. Here its relation to the tree-eagles is seen, for the lists of tribes and churches are given in almost exactly the same order as in the *Liber Figurarum* and where the notes speak of Benjamin joined to Judah and Ephesus to Rome, these pairs are, in the tree-eagles, joined together in the tree-trunks.[1]

Another example of a figure obviously connected with one in the *Liber Figurarum* is the Babylon-Rome figure. In the *Liber* two 'standards' represent the history of the Chosen People in the old Dispensation and the new. Abraham issues forth from Ur (Babylon) and his seed travels upwards through conflicts to the glorification of Jerusalem under David and then downwards again until once more it is led into captivity by the Chaldeans; the new Israel is led out of the new Babylon (Rome) up through persecution to its exaltation under Pope Silvester and then downward to captivity under the Alemanni. It should be noted that this rise-and-fall movement of history is unique among Joachim's figures, but there is no real reason to doubt the genuineness of this figure which in details echoes Joachim's writings at various points. So, too, do the captions and notes of the parallel, though differing, figure in four of the manuscripts of the *Praemissiones*. This is an alternative version, with the emphasis placed not so much on the peregrinations of the Chosen People as on a series of juxtapositions: Babylon/Rome v. Jerusalem/Ecclesia; Cain/Romulus v. Abraham/Pope Cletus; Cain v. Abel; the Devil v. Christ. At first sight, the version in the *Praemissiones* seems to fit Joachim's writings more closely than that in the *Liber*; in particular, it seems to be based on the sequence of thought in the *Liber Concordie*, Bk. V, cap. 118, fol. 134v. Yet closer examination suggests that there is something wrong: an emphasis on the powers of evil set up against the powers of good has been thrust

[1]) Plates V, VI.

[2]) Plates XVI, XVII. It is difficult to decide how these figures ought to be described. In O and R they spring from the ground but otherwise hardly resemble trees at all. In D they form almost circular figures, suggesting an affinity with the wheel of fortune. In S and V[3] these figures resemble each other closely, looking like formalized trees, W has a design looking still more like a plant, and B gives the figures roots and leaf-shapes.

into a figure meant to portray stages in the spiritual pilgrimage.[1] Moreover, some quite incongruous additional notes on the seven senses of Scripture applied to Babylon suddenly appear. We suggest, therefore, that this figure may be a Joachite composition which draws on genuine sources, composed, perhaps, when the figure collection was made, for it occurs in the earliest manuscripts. The motive which inspired it is not far to seek: nothing excited greater interest than the age-long conflict of 'Babylon' with 'Jerusalem', and Joachim's identification of Rome with Babylon was one of the focal points of interest in his prophecies. Probably we can find here, too, the clue to the disappearance of this figure from later manuscripts and from the printed editions, for such an identification was highly dangerous and to present it in this striking pictorial form would put into the hands of heretical groups, to whom Rome signified the Church, not the Empire, a weapon the use of which might well recoil on orthodox Joachites and the reputation of their master.[2]

Close examination shows, in fact, that embedded deep in nearly all the texts and some of the figures there are spurious elements which reveal the hand of a thirteenth-century Joachite. Even a simple figure such as the seven seals has a topical addition, for in Joachim's works there is no clear statement of where the three last crises of history (or 'openings of the seals') will take place, whilst in the *Praemissiones* they are named as *Teotonia*, *Soldanorum Provincia* and *Italia*. The figure of the eagle seems far removed from current politics, yet suddenly a text closely based on the genuine writings passes into polemics thus: . . . *Similiter Ephesina ecclesia et clericalis multitudo sic unite sunt Romane sedi ut ab invicem nullatenus dissentirent. Inde est quod Paulus adiunctus est Petro. Inde Regnum et Sacerdotium in uno Christo conveniunt. Tu, inquit, es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech qui fuit rex et sacerdos, non secundum ordinem Aaron qui solum pontifex et umbratilis extitit, non eternus.* Again, the long text following the three inter-

[1]) Whereas in the two genuine figures the stems spring from *Adam* and *Ozias*, in the *Praemissiones* they spring from the forces of evil, *Cayn* and *Romulus*, suggesting that the whole process of history is rooted in evil, and according ill with the *Exaltatio Jerusalem* and *Exaltatio Ecclesie* in the topmost part of the standards.

[2]) In this connection it may be noted that in O the Old Testament figure of Babylon has the caption *Mater Fornicationis* (fol. 15v) where in the corresponding figure of Rome (fol. 16r) an erasure has been made.

laced circles goes beyond its sources in two important respects: it declares that the second *status* ends in 1260, a statement to which Joachim never actually committed himself,[1] and it names the second of the three Antichrists, Frederick II. Frederick II appears again as the seventh head of the dragon, while in the accompanying text the seventh conflict *principum Ytalicorum et hereticorum* is again a topical addition, echoing the opening of the seventh seal. Perhaps we may detect here an emphasis on Italy as the centre of the crisis of history which gives a clue to authorship.

Four figures, in particular, show very clearly how Joachites distorted or made bad imitations of their master's figures. The three interlaced circles represent, we believe, an early and genuine figure; into this a wholly incongruous text has been inserted which is a simplified but muddled version of one belonging to a textual figure in the *Liber Concordie*.[1] This goes in sets of three (three *status*, three persons, three pairs of guides, three groups of twelve) which fit very badly into the four sections created by the intertwining of the circles. The second figure is that of the *Mysterium Ecclesiae*. In V we saw the first stage in debasement[2] when the genuine text was preserved but the meaning perverted by the addition of the dragon's head; in the *Praemissiones* we see the second stage in which a new text has been substituted, intelligible by itself, since it goes straight through the liturgical year, but bearing no relation to the dragon head and tail which have transformed the spiral into something quite different. Just what the new figure is meant to convey, it is difficult to see, but it has undoubtedly been given an evil twist—with the tail, in most versions, curling away to the left, the side of wickedness, instead of to the right, as in the *Liber Figurarum*. Again, we find distortion in the Psaltery with ten strings. The essence of this figure lies in the form of the equilateral triangle (with a slightly blunted top) which, to Joachim, appeared as a symbol of the Trinity. Here it is distorted to an isosceles trapezoid with a broad top. The captions, too, are reversed, so that the nine hierarchies of angels and the *Homo* which belong on the left (the side assigned to God the Father) are transferred to the right (the side assigned to the Holy Spirit), while the seven gifts of the Spirit and the three theological virtues go over to the left.

Finally, we seem to have in the figure of the two trees of orders which occurs in three manuscripts[3] an imitative figure by a Joachite which has not been very successful. One tree—*Stipes arboris Legis Veteris*—springs from the *Ordo patriarcharum*; the other—*Stipes arboris Novi Evangelii*—from the *Ordo Apostolorum*. The branches of the trees are formed by Tribes and Orders in the first, and Churches and Orders in the second; the first culminates in *Tribus Effraym in Joseph*, the second in *Ecclesia Clarevallensis in Bernardo*. In S this figure is drawn in a clear and striking design[4] such as one would expect from a close disciple of the Abbot's. It picks up ideas scattered in the genuine writings, whilst in conception it resembles,

[1]) This may appear a surprising assertion, but a close examination of all the passages concerned with the dating of Last Things in the *Liber Concordie* makes clear the following points: (i) Joachim's main calculation is based on generations and he expects the beginning of the third *status* in the forty-third generation after Christ or during the two preceding ones (fol. 8r ff.). (ii) Generations are to be reckoned approximately as thirty years, but not rigidly, and the length of the final generation cannot be certainly foretold (fol. 12v). (iii) Joachim derives the number 1260 from the multiplication of the generations (42 × 30) and from the number of days during which the Woman clothed with the sun was hidden in the wilderness (Rev. xii, 6) which he equates with the number of days that Elijah was hidden from Ahab (I Kings xvii) (fol. 12v). Clearly *days* can here stand for *years* and the year 1260 may therefore be the crucial one, but he insists that the length of the last generation is uncertain and his 'days' may be symbolic rather than to be strictly equated with years. Thus, although the two calculations (by generations and by 'days') clearly come together in a possible statement that the third *status* begins in the year 1260, we can find no passage in which Joachim states this in so many words. Instead, whenever the end of the second and the beginning of the third *status* is in question, he speaks in terms of *generations*: only God knows when the third *status* will begin (fol. 56r ff., 67v, 118r, 134r ff.). In the *Liber Figurarum* there is one passage running across the later tables of concords (Pl. III and IV) in which Joachim does specifically say that as the Old Testament was consummated in 1260 years, so '*testamentum novum sub eodem numero conclusum fore patet Mille scilicet ducentorum et sexaginta annorum*'. It is important to notice that he is here thinking, not in the pattern of the three *status*, but in that of the two testaments which cover the whole of history, so that only the Last Judgment follows the 'end' of the New Testament. Thus the reckoning here gives the date 1260 as the probable end of history; it does not give a date for the end of the second status and the beginning of the third. When Joachim's statements are considered altogether, it is extremely difficult to bring together calculations made on the pattern of 'twos' with those on the pattern of 'threes' in one chronological scheme. The third *status* cannot be pegged down to definite dates: although it is within time, it seems to hover over the end of history in a most elusive fashion. The clue to this lies, we believe, in the mystical rather than the historical character of the third *status*. On this point and on the alternative patterns of 'twos' and 'threes', see Reeves, *loc. cit.*, pp. 74-77.

[1]) See above, p. 176 and p. 179 for sketches of this textual figure in other MSS.

[2]) See above, p. 176.

[3]) See the table at p. 183.

[4]) W has a cruder design and makes some bad mistakes in the captions; B has only a faintly sketched outline which follows W in design.

and in design it draws upon, the two trees of Orders in the *Liber Figurarum*.[1] A comparison with this latter, however, leads to the conviction that here we have, not a genuine figure of the Abbot's, but the work of a Joachite who was well-acquainted with the stock of Joachimist ideas but could not create for himself a clear and intelligible figure. The outstanding characteristic of the *Liber* is that each figure embodies a distinctive idea which imposes its own logic on the details and makes the whole understandable. If this be taken as a test of genuineness, our figure fails the test, for the details are muddled and the conception is not logically worked out. It is fairly easy to suggest the motive which prompted this Joachite to attempt a figure of his own, for its theme is that which kept Joachimism alive for so long—the spiritual succession of orders in the Church and the rearrangement of the hierarchy according to a final celestial pattern. We recall the popularity of prophecies concerning new orders, Salimbene's interest in Joachim's figure of the *Dispositio Novi Ordinis*,[2] the blank space left by the Dresden manuscript in the second Tree of Orders for the name of the final order[3] and the concern of the writer of MS. B with the succession of orders.[4] Here the intention is clearly to glorify the Cistercians, for, whilst the *Ordo Augustini regularis* and the *Ordo Cluniacensis* are only branches of the tree, the *Ecclesia Clarevallensis* crowns it. It is noteworthy that the application of Joachim's prophecy of new spiritual orders to the two Mendicant orders finds no place here; to this point we shall return.

This brief examination of the figures and texts in the *Praemissiones* suggests two things: first, that behind them there lie genuine figures, often, it would seem, early and simple ones; secondly, that these have been worked upon and formed into a collection by Joachites. That Joachim drew figures at an early stage of his development is clearly suggested by his own words: ". . . *que ut fidem inquirentibus facerem, iam dudum in figuras converti*",[5] and that various sketches and copies of figures circulated among his disciples seems extremely likely. But the *Praemissiones* does not bear

[1]) In O the two trees are crowned with elaborate heads of foliage (see Reeves, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III). In S the central portion of this design from O has been used for the heads of the trees.

[2]) *Cronica fratris Salimbene*, MGH Scriptores, XXXII 293.

[3]) See above, pp. 173-4.

[4]) See above, p. 185.

[5]) J. C. Huck, *Joachim von Floris u. die joachitische Literatur* [1938], p. 290.

the character of a collection of early, genuine figures. The thirteenth-century additions go too deep and in too many of the figures there are mistakes or perversions. One has rather the impression of Joachites working on their master's sketches, adapting his figures, making their own, as the scribe of manuscript B (or his source) certainly did,[1] building up explanatory texts from their knowledge of Joachim's writings. There is a notable difference in the use of text between the *Liber Figurarum* and the *Praemissiones*: in the former, with a few important exceptions,[2] the text is an integral part of the diagram and the figures stand complete in themselves, without the need of further supporting text; in the *Praemissiones*, on the other hand, a long section of text is introduced after the interlaced circles and the feebler figures are buttressed by explanatory sentences, grouped round but not integrated with the design. There is a sense of unity and harmony in the figures of the *Liber* which the compiler of the *Praemissiones* is unable to impose on the heterogeneous elements of his collection. Altogether, the primitive character of the *Praemissiones* has much more the mark of a timid and not wholly comprehending disciple who could not think original thoughts in figure form, than of the master mind just beginning to put together those complex and mystical designs which were so much more than textual illustrations or geometrical patterns.

All the evidence, then, suggests that we have here a collection of figures made by a thirteenth-century Joachite who drew partly on the Abbot's writings and textual figures, partly on the figures which appear in the *Liber Figurarum* and on other sketches which were in circulation, and partly on his own somewhat feeble invention. One feature remains a puzzle: the figures of the eagle and the trees of orders found in S and in three later manuscripts, but absent in the earliest version, V^3. The figure of the orders is, we have suggested, a Joachite invention on a subject of perennial interest in these circles; it might well, therefore, have been added by the writer of S, much as the writer of B (or his source) appears to have added his own figures. The eagle, on the other hand, is a simplified version of a genuine figure. Was it an early sketch, seized upon by a Joachite and

[1]) See above, pp. 184-5.

[2]) In the case of three figures—the *Septem Etates*, the Dragon and the *Mysterium Ecclesiae*—a long, consecutive text is added.

adapted for inclusion in this collection? If so, a certain incongruity of choice is apparent which may account for its absence from some manuscripts, for the *Praemissiones* is in all cases[1] associated with the spurious work *Super Esaiam*, and in this the eagle appears, indeed, but as the dreaded Hohenstaufen eagle, not the eagle of contemplation!

This leads directly to the last point to which we wish to call attention. The association of the *Praemissiones* with the *Super Esaiam* can hardly be accidental and it therefore becomes necessary to study the relation between the two. The *Super Esaiam* is a composite work which is very difficult to follow to-day and must also have been puzzling to the uninitiated in the thirteenth century. It consists largely of a commentary on chapters of Isaiah and some minor prophets, a commentary which presupposes a Joachimist scheme of ideas as a background, but which does not expound this as a coherent whole.[2] The need for annotation obviously gave rise to the notes which surround the text,[3] but even these do not offer a full exposition of the basic ideas. The work is full of elusive references, as, for instance, to the *tempus tertii status*, the *dies septimus*,[4] the two *testes* or *ordines*,[5] which hardly make sense without the sequence of ideas of which they form a part. This suggests at once the need for an accompanying 'manual of Joachimism' which might be a brief, straightforward statement of the main pattern of ideas and could appropriately be carried out in notes and figures. Is the *Praemissiones*, then, an A.B.C. of Joachimism

[1]) There is only one partial exception: B contains only the geographical section of the *Super Esaiam*.

[2]) The work contains the following parts: (a) Prologue of the Abbot Joachim to Fr. Rayneriu de Pontio. (b) Commentary on the first eleven chapters of Isaiah. (c) Pars I *de oneribus sexti temporis*, containing a figure and notes on the 'burdens' of Isaiah, a commentary on part of Is. ch. xiii, a geographical section, returning at the end to a commentary on Isaiah and some of the minor prophets. (d) Pars II *de septem temporibus ecclesie*. (e) Pars III. (f) Pars IV. (g) Pars V. (h) Pars VI. O. Holder-Egger examined the relation of this work to another spurious work entitled *De Oneribus prophetarum* (*Neues Archiv*, 33 [1907], 136) but a number of problems remain to be solved in connection with this group of Joachite works on the prophets.

[3]) In the earliest MSS. the annotations are written in the same hand as the main text, in wide margins obviously designed for them. We can, perhaps, conclude that, in all probability, the notes formed part of the original work.

[4]) These two phrases occur immediately in the prologue without any kind of explanation.

[5]) See, for example, fol. 2^{r}, 5^{r}, 6^{v}, 7^{r}, 8^{v} in the 1517 edition, to which all further folio references are made.

in pictures? Taken simply as a straightforward manual for beginners it is not altogether satisfactory, since the choice of some figures and material seems rather odd. But if we suppose that the choice of the compiler was governed largely by references in the *Super Esaiam* which he wished to elucidate, the whole problem of why he made just this selection of ideas is illuminated. For instance, as the figures are usually arranged, the last of them, the Wheels of Ezechiel, immediately precedes, and is often placed opposite to, the prologue to the work; that prologue begins: *Si ad hoc rotarum mysterialium centrum ingredimur*, to which elusive opening the notes add a reference to Ezechiel but without any explanation of the significance of this symbol to Joachim. The figure, of course, sets out the whole complex of ideas associated with the Wheels—the four Gospels, four animals, four senses of Scripture, four orders—which, moreover, are alluded to several times in the *Super Esaiam*.[1] Again, it seems odd that the comparatively unimportant figure of the Trumpet (signifying the preaching of the Word) should be included until one perceives that the *nodus tube* is labelled *Ozias* (i.e. Uzziah) and that the accompanying note reads: *Nodus vero a quo tuba grossescere habuit significat insertionem novi ac veteris testamenti in quo missus est Esayas qui fuit altera vox dei de paradiso . . .*[2] The figures and their notes do, in fact, dovetail into the text of the *Super Esaiam* in many different ways: they echo phrases of the work and explain elusive ones; the selection of ideas is largely the same;[3] the political outlook—anti-German and anti-Hohenstaufen, aware of the menace of the Patarins, expecting the final crisis of history in Italy—is similar. The connection of ideas is particularly striking in three cases. The 5/7 pattern which is embodied in the Eagle and its accompanying notes is found in the *Super Esaiam*.[4] Two passages in the work contain a direct echo of the Babylon-Rome figure in the version peculiar to this collection of figures.[5] Most interesting of all are some obscure passages on the spiritual succession of

[1]) See, for example, fol. 1^{r}, 5^{v}, 6^{r}, 34^{v}, 36^{r}, 43^{v}, 57^{r-v}.

[2]) In the calculations of Joachim the reign of Ozias became the central point from which the New Dispensation took its beginning and this point could be used, as in the Trumpet figure, to enhance the significance of Isaiah.

[3]) There is one exception: it is difficult to explain the inclusion of the figure of the Psaltery by reference to the *Super Esaiam*.

[4]) See fol. 4^{v} and 51^{r}.

[5]) See fol. 5^{v} and 10^{r}.

orders which only really become intelligible when read in conjunction with the figure of the Orders in the MS. Rossianus.[1] Here the idea seems to be so distinctive as to make almost certain some connection between the writer of the work and the designer of the figure.

Thus we arrive at the tentative conclusion that our collection of figures may have been put into this final shape as an explanatory supplement to the *Super Esaiam*, either by the writer or by someone closely associated with him. The author of this work is unknown, but when it is studied in conjunction with the figures certain characteristics emerge. The writer does not always understand the Abbot but he keeps close to what we may term the original Joachimism, drawing largely on the three main works and using some of Joachim's most characteristic ideas, as, for instance, not only the well-known pattern of threes but the much less popular, equally characteristic pattern of $5+7=12$. His point of view is not only Italian but south-Italian, and one reference suggests that he belonged to the diocese of Cosenza with which Joachim was associated.[2]

Most interesting of all is the writer's attitude towards one of the key-points in Joachimist expectation—the prophecy of two new orders to lead the Church into the third *status*. It is often assumed that the *Super Esaiam* and the other important pseudo-Joachimist work, the *Super Hieremiam*, emanated from Franciscan circles and set out to claim a chief part in the drama of Last Things for the Minorites. A close reading of the *Super Esaiam* suggests, however, that although the writer returns often to the idea of the two *testes* or *ordines*, he draws it from the thought of Joachim himself and is not really concerned to develop its application to the two Mendicant orders in general or the Franciscans in particular.[3] In fact there is no real attempt to assign these two important rôles in the drama. The

[1]) See fol. 8r and 16v, and perhaps also the obscure reference to a tree on fol. 37v.

[2]) Fol. 14r. In the earliest MSS. the diocese of Cosenza is represented in a distinctive way in the geographical section of the *Super Esaiam*.

[3]) In the *Praemissiones* there is no direct reference to the two Mendicant orders. In the *Super Esaiam* there are two quite clear references (fol. 11v and 7r) which show that the writer knew of this application, but he does not stress it at all and there are many references to the two orders which give no suggestion of the Mendicants. Moreover, in these two passages there is no bias in favour of the Franciscans as the greater of the two orders, and in another passage (fol. 57r) the Angel of the 6th Seal, applied by the author of MS V and by many others to St. Francis (see above, p. 175, n. 1), is applied to Christ or St. Paul. The presumption that the writer is not a Franciscan seems strong.

figure of the Orders, however, together with a few hints in the *Super Esaiam*,[1] do suggest a more general belief that out of the Cistercian Order might emerge the leaders of the *Ecclesia Spiritualis* in the Age of the Holy Ghost. We remember that Joachim himself, though always refraining from assigning rôles and above all from glorifying his own order, hinted at the importance of the Cistercians in several passages[2] and that the Tree of the Orders in MS. O (fol. 13r) gives pride of place to this order, though it does not crown the spiritual tree as in the Joachite figure of the *Praemissiones*. All this suggests that the authors of the *Super Esaiam* and the *Praemissiones* were in close touch with the original tradition of Joachimism in south Italy, belonging, perhaps, to a group of disciples in the diocese of Cosenza rather than to a group of Franciscan Joachites. We have, then, the possibility of an active centre of Joachite writing in south Italy, producing the *Super Esaiam*, the collection we have called the *Praemissiones* and perhaps also the collection on which MSS. V^2 and P drew. Its characteristics, we suggest, are the extent to which it drew on the Abbot's original thought as expressed in his writings and figures and its absence of a marked 'party line' on the prophecy of the two new orders.

The sixteenth-century editors found the *Praemissiones* preceding the *Super Esaiam*. They had already entered upon their task of editing what they took to be the works of Joachim with the publication of the *Super Hieremiam* in 1516. When this was followed in 1517 by the *Super Esaiam* they published the figure collection as a prologue. Their next edition—the *Liber Concordie* in 1519—does not contain this prologue, but when in 1525 they republished the *Super Hieremiam* they decided that the figure collection would form a useful introduction here too, as also in their edition of the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and *Psalterium decem chordarum* in one volume in 1527.[3] The reasons which led these editors—an Augustinian hermit and his friends—to focus their attention on Joachimist works form an interesting study in sixteenth-century thought with which we shall deal elsewhere. Here we only wish to add a note on their editions of these figures. The manuscript used by them did not contain the three extra

[1]) See fol. 8r, 16v, 37v, 38v.

[2]) *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 11r, 23r, 57v-60r.

[3]) Here they split up the figures, placing four pages in front of the *Expositio* and the Psaltery and the Wheels in front of the *Psalterium*.

figures and consequently these remained unpublished. For the rest, the editors reproduced the text and form of the figures most faithfully. They seem to have felt the necessity of justifying the inclusion of these figures even in their edition of the *Super Esaiam*. Hence they prefaced them with an interesting little introduction, and again, with a rather more philosophical one, in the edition of 1527. The main point they make is that these figures must be regarded as the *universalia* or *generalia* of Joachim:—*Quia (teste Aristotele in prologo physicorum) oportet ex universalibus in singulari procedere: ita et Abbas Joachim volens circa Romanam ecclesiam et alias particulares ecclesias ac nationes populosque diversos quedam singulariter ex sacro eloquio prenunciare quedam generalia premittit.* As such they are essential to an understanding of his works. The introduction then comments briefly on each figure, showing, in the case of the *Super Esaiam*, the connection of some figures with the work and, in the 1527 preface, pressing home the point that Joachim cannot be understood without them.

Thus, quite unaware as they must have been of the long and intricate history of this figure tradition, the sixteenth-century editors yet hit upon the truth when they declared that the *Super Esaiam* could not be understood without these figures and that the Abbot created his 'general' figures to illumine his particular points, though they could not have known that the *Super Esaiam* and its figure collection were pseudo-Joachimist works and that Joachim's original *Liber Figurarum* contained many more 'universal' figures.

The figures that the Abbot created were in a real sense general expositions of his system of thought—not illustrations to his text merely, but

Addendum. When this article was already in proof, we found—following a clue given by E. Renan, *Nouvelles Études* (1884), p. 225—that a 12th-century MS. of the works of Isidore of Seville (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 11864, *olim* St. Germain 58) contained at the end, in a hand of the early 13th century, the following Joachimist material:

(1) fol. 151v *Earlier Tables of Concords* from the *Liber Figurarum* (see above, p. 178).

(2) fol. 152r *De 7 Sigillis* (see above, p. 178, n. 2).

(3) fol. 151v-152v (across the foot of fols. 151v, 152r) *Epistola subsequentium figurarum* (see above, pp. 180-2).

(4) fol. 152v *Epistola: Universis Christi fidelibus* (see above, p. 178).

It will be obvious that, in its selection of material, this collection bears a close relationship to MSS. V², P. and that its early date is a fact of importance for the questions investigated in this article. We hope to deal with this later.

independent designs, embodying the multitudinous patterns of his thought in some ways far more adequately than words could do. Perhaps the hold which Joachimism exercised over the minds of so many in the thirteenth century is in part to be explained by the appeal of these striking images to men's imaginations. Certainly the existence of these various manuscript collections of figures shows the continuing interest in them and reveals to us some of the focal points of that interest—the never-ceasing preoccupation with the Dragon of the Apocalypse and the imminence of a last and worst Antichrist, the age-long conflict of Babylon/Rome with Jerusalem, the expectation of new spiritual men or of new orders to bring in the Age of the Holy Ghost.

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WHICH WILLIAM OF NOTTINGHAM?

I

THE TWO WILLIAMS

'NOTTINGHAM super unum ex quatuor secundum Clementem Lantoniensem' was one of the ponderous aids to study that weighted the shelves of the theological section in an English library of the later middle ages: a commentary on a gospel harmony. Two Friars Minor called William of Nottingham have claims to its authorship. The aim of this note is to decide between them. The sources, method and doctrine of the work will be treated only incidentally.

The first William of Nottingham[1] was fourth Provincial of the English Franciscans, 1240-54. He died in 1254. Perhaps, at an earlier stage in his career, he studied under Grosseteste when the latter was lector to the Franciscans at Oxford.[2] He certainly promoted learning as an administrator by organizing the schools in his province.[3] A. G. Little ascribed the commentary to him on the strength of a passage in the *De adventu Fratrum Minorum*: "That the well-known *Commentary on the Gospels* called also *Unum ex quatuor*, or *De concordia evangelistarum*, by Friar William of Nottingham was by this William, and not by his namesake, the seventeenth provincial of the English Minorites, is proved by Eccleston's words." Since Eccleston knew William very well, his testimony would be convincing. Modern scholars who have had occasion to mention the commentary have followed

[1]) See the notices on him in A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, Oxford, 1892, pp. 182-5, and *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, Manchester, 1943, p. 190. These books will be referred to as *Grey Friars* and *Papers* respectively.

[2]) Little says that he 'seems to have attended Grosseteste's lectures at Oxford'; *Grey Friars*, p. 183. The passage in Eccleston quoted in support of the statement only mentions his presence at a sermon, preached by Grosseteste in chapter when he was lector at Oxford; *De adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Collections d'Etudes, etc., vol. vii, Paris, 1909), p. 123.

[3]) *Papers*, pp. 62, 131-2, 227.

Little. Only Fr. Perrier favours William II, without stating his reasons.[1] One must ask, however, just what sort of work it was that Eccleston attributed to William I. Eccleston writes:

> Ipse in scripturis sanctis studiosissimus erat et studentes studiose promovebat. In mensis extra refectorium lectionem semper habere volebat, et affectu specialissimo nomen Jesu venerabatur, et verba sancti Evangelii devotissime recolebat; unde et super *Unum ex quatuor* Clementis canones perutiles compilavit, et expositionem, quam idem Clemens fecit, complete scribi in ordine procuravit.[2]

The first point to emerge from Eccleston's story is that William did not read his work as a lecture in the schools. William never, in fact, held the office of lector or was regent in theology. One would gather from Eccleston that he composed it when he was Provincial. The sequence of ideas in the passage would rather suggest that he had it read to him when business obliged him to take his meals in private, 'extra refectorium': that is, if we take *unde* as referring to his love for reading at table, as well as to his devotion to the gospels and the name of Jesus. Eccleston says that he compiled very useful canons. The last word here has the sense which is given to it in the *Etymologies*. St. Isidore defines it as follows:

> De canonibus Evangeliorum: Canones Evangeliorum Ammonius Alexandriae primus excogitavit. . . . Qui ideo facti sunt, ut per eos invenire et scire possimus qui reliquorum Evangelistarum similia aut propria dixerunt. Sunt autem numero decem. . . . Quorum expositio haec est. . . .[3]

Gospel canons, then, meant an apparatus for comparing and harmonizing the four gospels. Clement, Prior of the Augustinian house at Lanthony, who died about 1190,[4] had published an improved version of previous canons; at least, its popularity shows that mediaeval students found it an improvement. After composing his Harmony, *Unum ex quatuor*, he made an 'enormous commentary on it that seems to be nearly all taken from

[1]) In his list of fourteenth-century commentators on Scripture in C. Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1944, p. 345.

[2]) *De adventu, op. cit.*, p. 125.

[3]) Lib. vi, cap. 15, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911.

[4]) See *Dictionary of National Biography*, suppl. 22, pp. 458-9.

older writers'.[1] William of Nottingham, according to Eccleston, had this commentary written out in full and in order. Eccleston probably means that the Harmony and its commentary were copied consecutively. They had sometimes been separated, circulating in different volumes. William I, by keeping them together, would be providing his friars with a book very suitable for reading and meditation of the Franciscan type. Readers or hearers would be able to follow the story of Jesus in its fullest possible detail, conflated from all four evangelists. He was also, in accordance with his policy of fostering learning, supplying an explanation of the differences between the gospels, as given by Clement, and relevant excerpts from the Fathers, as given by Clement in his commentary.

The second conclusion to be drawn from Eccleston is that William added nothing to Clement's exposition; his addition was to the Harmony. He compiled 'very useful canons' on the basis of Clement's *Unum ex quatuor*. William must have elaborated the Harmony in some way, leaving the commentary unaltered.

Apart from the activity described by Eccleston he left one sermon, copied in MS. Pembroke College, Cambridge, 265 fol. 192-6, in a hand of about the third quarter of the thirteenth century. It has no contemporary title; but the table of contents of the volume, written on the first flyleaf in a fifteenth-century hand, describes it as "Sermo bonus de obedientia fratris Willelmi de Notyngham". Other items in the miscellany that makes up the volume suggest a Franciscan provenance; there are works by Bonaventure, John of Wales, John of La Rochelle.[2] The sermon is simple

[1]) R. W. Hunt, *English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, 19 [1936], 27. Clement's commentary was still being used in the fifteenth century. Thomas Gascoigne quotes it with approval, *Liber de veritate*, MS. Lincoln College, Oxford, lat. 117, pp. 455-6.

[2]) M. R. James, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 243. Prof. J. C. Russell suggests that this may be the same as the "Epistola fratris Gulielmi Notingham de obedientia" noted by Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, vol. IV, p. 16; *A Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth-Century England*, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Suppl. vol. 3, p. 197. A note to the catalogue in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, records that the piece was partially copied by A. G. Little in 1921. I do not know that Little published it and he does not mention it in his notice of William in *Grey Friars*. The incipit is: "*Quia peregrini et advene* . . . Secundum apostolum vigilanter providendum . . .", the explicit: ". . . feliciter pervenimus. Quod nobis prestare etc. Amen".

in form, having only a 'theme', i.e. an introductory text, and no 'protheme'.[1] It was certainly addressed to religious and probably to friars in a *studium*; the author mentions, among examples of obedience, the case where a person is ordered by his superior to get himself a Bible or to undergo a course of study, which he welcomes, feeling that he has it in him to be a good student.[2] The authorities quoted are in no way out of the ordinary. The most interesting is Anselm's *Liber de similitudinibus*, which appears three times.[3] This little piece, as far as it goes, agrees with what we know of William's zeal for education, but tells us nothing of his intellectual attainments.

William of Nottingham II was lector to the Oxford Franciscans about 1312 and seventeenth Provincial, 1316-30 (?). He attended the General Chapter of his Order in 1322,[4] had a royal licence to go overseas in 1324 and again to attend the General Chapter as Provincial in 1325.[5] Bale puts his death at Leicester in 1336.[6] While he was lector he copied manuscripts, now MSS. Merton College, Oxford, 166, 168-71, at the expense of Sir Hugh of Nottingham.[7] They are big volumes, comprising postills by Gorran and others on almost the whole Bible, copied by William with 'tedious solicitude' and 'laborious diligence'.[8] They must have cost his benefactor a good sum in parchment. Sir Hugh of Nottingham suggests some sort of family background for William II, since he may well have

[1]) For the elaborate structure recommended in contemporary aids to preaching, see Th.-M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi*, Paris, Ottawa, 1936. The protheme seems to have been introduced into actual sermons preached in England in the second half of the thirteenth century and to have been at least less common in the first half; see J. Sweet, *Some Thirteenth-Century Sermons*, Journal of Ecclesiastical History, [1953], 30.

[2]) Fol. 192v: "Alicui iniungitur per obedientiam ut querat sibi bibliam . . . quod faciat cum labore et difficultate. . . . Alicui iniungitur obedientia ad studendum; libenter obedit, quia videtur ei competens obedientia, eo quod sentit se ad hoc faciendum bene dispositum, quoad bona naturalia et adquisita . . ."

[3]) This work derived from St. Anselm's teaching, though it was not written by him, and became very popular in England; R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his English Pupils*, M.A.R.S. 1 [1941], 7-12.

[4]) *Grey Friars*, pp. 165-6; *Papers*, p. 195; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321-24*, p. 75.

[5]) *Ibid.*, p. 367, *ibid. 1324-27*, p. 119.

[6]) J. Bale, *Index*, ed. Poole and Bateson, Oxford, 1902, p. 140.

[7]) F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 174-5.

[8]) B. Smalley, *Some Commentaries on the Sapiential Books of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age, 18 [1950], 107-8.

been a kinsman. He was a civil servant earning a comfortable living at the Exchequer. He was employed there from 1291, as remembrancer 1305-7, then as keeper and engrosser of the Pipe Roll.[1] In 1313 he was still 'continuously engaged in the king's service at the Exchequer'.[2] He was presented to a number of churches and refused one benefice in the diocese of Lincoln.[3] The archbishop of York in 1300 licensed him to build an aisle to the church of St. Nicholas at Nottingham, to have an altar to St. Anne placed there and to have divine service celebrated in an oratory in his house in the same parish.[4] In 1302 he got leave for Master John of Nottingham to absent himself from his church of Clifton for a year of study.[5] We hear of him last in 1318 when two livings were declared void by the cession of Hugh of Nottingham who held them as a pluralist without papal dispensation.[6]

A note in two hands of about 1500 after the explicit of Nottingham on the gospels in MS. Balliol College 33 says that William of Nottingham was secular canon and precentor of York and afterwards joined the Order of St. Francis. The statement is too late to be trusted.[7] There is no trace of a canon or precentor called William of Nottingham in the registers of the archbishops of York in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth

[1]) *Calendar of Close Rolls 1288-96*, p. 246; *ibid., 1296-1302*, pp. 461-2; *ibid., 1302-1307*, pp. 68, 194, 235; *ibid., 1307-1313*, p. 2; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1301-1307*, pp. 28, 309, 463, 519; T. F. Tout, *The Place of Edward II in English History*, Manchester, 1914, p. 348; *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, Manchester, 1920, ii, 220 n.

[2]) *Calendar of Close Rolls 1313-1318*, p. 281.

[3]) He was presented by the king to Ivychurch, Kent, in 1293, to Doddington, Cambs., in 1298, *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1292-1301*, pp. 58, 95, 336. In 1307 the king granted the right of free warren to Hugh de Notingham, king's clerk, parson of the church of Bishop Hatfield, *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, p. 100. He declined the church of Barnack about 1297; the parson was instituted in that year, Mar. 6, *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, ed. R. M. T. Hill (Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, vol. 43, 1950), ii, 138. He was commended to the church of Bunney for six months in 1294, *Register of Archbishop John le Romeyn*, ed. W. Brown (Surtees Society, vol. 123, 1913), i 322.

[4]) *Register of Archbishop Thomas Corbridge*, ed. W. Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson (Surtees Society, vol. 138), i 208. He is called "illustris Anglie regis clericus" and is given the title of *dominus*. Nothing remains of his church building at Nottingham, since St. Nicholas' church was pulled down in 1647, see *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire*, ed. J. Throsby, ii [1790], 100.

[5]) *Register of Archbishop Thomas Corbridge, op. cit.*, p. 243.

[6]) The rectory of Hatfield, Herts, and the parish church and chapel of Tatterigge in the diocese of Lincoln, *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, ii 172, 177.

[7]) See below, p. 216. Little was sceptical of the notice, *Grey Friars*, pp. 165-6.

centuries, though John le Romeyn had a clerk of that name with the title of *magister* 1286-91.[1]

William II left a commentary on the *Sentences*, now MS. Gonville and Caius College 300.[2] Leland noted among the books of the London Carmelites 'Notingham super omnes epistolas Pauli' with the incipit *Bonum visitationem*, and Bale a *determinatio pro lege Christianorum* at the Franciscan convent at Reading.[3] These lost works are more likely to belong to the second than the first William, since they would fit into his duties as lector. A note in an early sixteenth-century hand on the flyleaf of MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 305 may represent an independent tradition; it calls William 'Richard' and ascribes various works to him:

> Ricardus Notingham Anglus, sacrae theologiae doctor, scripsit lecturam sententiarum lib. 4, conclusiones ordinarias, commentaria in Mathaeum, Lucam et Pauli epistolam ad Romanos et Corinthios. Claruit anno 1320.

A tradition in the Order credited this William with the commentary on *Unum ex quatuor*. The list of Provincials in the fifteenth-century register, printed by Brewer and re-edited by Little, has an entry on the seventeenth holder of the office:

> Frater Willelmus Notyngham doctor Oxoniae, qui fecit solempnem postillam super unum ex quatuor. iacet Leycestre.[4]

The work ascribed to him in this notice does not really correspond to that which Eccleston ascribed to William I. A 'postill' suggests a continuous commentary on the sacred text and it usually implies an origin in the classroom.[5] 'Solempnis' might be translated 'of recognized academic

[1]) *Register, op. cit.*; see the indexes to vols. i and ii under 'Master William of Nottingham'. It is unlikely that this is our William. If he had his M.A. by 1286, he might just have had time to join the Order and qualify in theology between 1291 and 1312; but he would have been over forty as lector, probably nearer fifty.

[2]) He was influenced by Duns Scot. See the bibliography in Rashdall's *Medieval Universities*, ed. Powicke & Emden, Oxford, 1936, iii 259, n. 3. The most recent paper is by C. Balič, "La valeur critique des citations des oeuvres de Jean Duns Scot", *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*, Louvain, 1947, pp. 531-56.

[3]) *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, iv 52; *Index, op. cit.*, p. 141.

[4]) Appendix to *De adventu*, ed. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[5]) See P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Büchertitel*, I Heft, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch., Philos.-hist. Kl. 1948, Heft 4, 1949, pp. 42-47.

importance'. Thus William II in his commentary on the *Sentences* quotes 'opiniones solempnium magistrorum' and says: 'audivi solempnem magistrum valde. . . .'[1] The postill on *Unum ex quatuor*, therefore, would probably represent a lecture course delivered by William while he held the chair at Oxford, though it might have been worked over afterwards. Anyway, it could not be the same as the 'canons' that William I attached to his transcript of Clement of Lanthony. Which of the two, the postill or the canons, has survived in the manuscripts?

II

THE EVIDENCE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

(a) The complete work

The surviving copies are rich in information about their owners and even tell us what these owners thought of the book and its author. They were mainly English. Fr. Stegmüller has noted only one copy on the Continent and this is at Prague,[2] which had close relations with England in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Many copies are imperfect, since the book was so large and cumbrous that it tended to lose its outside leaves. The illuminations also tempted thieves to cut out leaves or pieces of them. The commentary ascribed to William of Nottingham accumulated an apparatus consisting of tables and explanatory notes, and the Harmony of Clement of Lanthony (without his commentary) was sometimes copied before or after. The commentary is always divided into twelve parts, corresponding to the divisions of Clement's Harmony. Hence it is easy to identify, even in a fragmentary state. The following list could perhaps be supplemented by a thorough search in English and continental libraries. My description is meant to supplement, not to replace the catalogues, which are generally adequate. I have noted only the date, provenance, arrangement, ascription and any notices concerning the authorship and contents. More information could probably be collected

[1]) Quoted by C. Balič, *A propos de quelques ouvrages faussement attribués à Duns Scot*, Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 2 [1930], 173, 176.

[2]) *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, Madrid, 1950, ii 430.

about the owners, and a liturgiologist could make better use than I have of the tables of gospels and saints' days contained in many manuscripts.

The incipits and explicits of the complete work are:

Prologue

Da michi intellectum et scrutabor legem tuam. . . . In psalmo. Dionisius de divinis nominibus capitulo tertio dicit quod ante omne et maxime theologiam ab oratione incipere est utile, vel debitum secundum translationem Lincolniensis. Hec est etiam doctrina beati Augustini. . . .

Prologue of St. Jerome

Hic est Iohannes. . . . Dividitur iste prologus in vi partes. . . .

Commentary

In principio erat verbum. . . . In primis est sciendum quod totus processus evangelicus principaliter dividitur in ii partes. . . .

Explicit of part xii

. . . ut possimus ad dona sempiterna pervenire que dominus ipse promisit, ipso iuvante igitur qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

CAMBRIDGE

PEMBROKE COLLEGE 192[1]

Written in a fifteenth-century English hand, with illuminated borders and initials. The initial on fol. 27 has been cut out. The order is as follows: 1. Prologue and Harmony of Clement of Lanthony, fol. 1-19v. It is defective, lacking some of part iv and all of parts v and vi. The text corresponds to that in MS. Bodl. Hatton 61 (4083), fol. 1-133, a twelfth-century copy of the Harmony. A rubric, fol. 19v, in the same hand as the text, explains the connexion between Clement's Harmony and Nottingham's commentary on it:

Explicit concordia quatuor evangeliorum Clementis. Notandum quod sequens evangelice historie continuatio, quam (MS. qui) primo cum intentione redeundi, corrigendi et completius exponendi studiose colligit Frater W. de Notingham, observat in pluribus ut in processu Clementis ipsum auctoritatibus confirmando. In aliquibus tamen paucis rationabiliter discrepat ab eodem. In

[1]) M. R. James, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 179.

prima autem parte litteram illam *Fuit homo missus a Deo etc.* usque illuc inclusive *sed ex Deo nati sunt* ponit Clemens in primo capitulo partis secunde, in sequenti vero continuatione ponitur et exponitur continue, sicut ponitur in Iohanne. Item genealogiam salvatoris secundum Matheum ponit Clemens statim in principio capitulo secundo. Hic autem rationabilius eam ponit post septimum vel potius sextum capitulum, quod ideo dico quia hic preponit septimum capitulum sexto. Item genealogiam salvatoris secundum Matheum ponit Clemens parte secunda capitulo quarto. Hic autem eam immediate convenienter coniungit cum genealogia secundum Lucam. Item illud Luce quarto, *Et ait illis: Utique dicetis michi hanc similitudinem: Medice cura teipsum etc*, ponit Clemens capitulo quarto partis tertie. Sequens continue interserit illud infra, capitulo octodecimo eiusdem partis. Et sic de aliquibus aliis, paucis tamen.

2. The ten Eusebian canons and an explanation, comparing them with Clement's Harmony, fol. 20-21. The heading is:

Expositio ex predictis quid sit canon et quot sint canones, quia decem.[1]

The table of ten canons follows, with an explanation:

Si vis ergo scire tabulam canonum evangeliarum, disponet cuiuslibet evangelice capitula per numeros. . . . In Clemente vero loco illius scribitur illud Iohannis, *Vespere autem facto*, et sic de multis aliis. Deo gratias.

This piece has not been taken from Clement's Harmony and differs from the prologues concerning canons to be found in mediaeval Bibles.[2]

3. A table relating the four gospels in order, according to their chapters, with the corresponding part of the Harmony and its commentary by William of Nottingham, according to its twelve parts, fol. 21-24. A rubric at the end explains the use of the table and points to further slight differences between Clement and 'the truth':

Ex predicta tabula, si diligenter consideratur, patere potest satis clare ubi quidlibet contentum in quocumque evangelio, cognito eiusdem situ et loco, inveniri poterit in Clemente et hoc vel in se vel in suo simili seu equivalente. Ex eadem patere potest que et quot mirabiles anticipationes et preposterationes

[1]) MS. Laud misc. 165, fol. 584vb has a slightly different and probably more correct wording: "Supposito ex predictis quid sit canon et quot canones, dic quod decem, ut notatur inferius."

[2]) F. Stegmüller, *op. cit.*, i 307-8.

processus hystoriales evangelice in tribus evangeliis, scilicet Mathei, Marci et Luce ponuntur, inter quos Lucas precedentis plures ponit. Patet etiam ex eadem quod in evangelio Iohannis nichil anticipatur, nichil preposteratur nisi in duobus locis tantum, scilicet in primo capitulo ibi, *Fuit homo missus a Deo*, et infra, *Et de plenitudine eius*, et hoc secundum processum et opinionem Clementis. Secundum tamen rei veritatem nulla videtur esse ibi anticipatio vel preposteratio, sed recta hystorie continuatio. Sequitur nunc tabula canonum evangeliorum.

4. A table partly erased, relating the gospel canons to the commentary, fol. 24-5.

5. The prologue and commentary, fol. 27-287v. It is incomplete; the top of the first leaf with its initial has been cut out, and some of part xi, with the whole of part xii has been lost. The leaves are numbered, beginning afresh with each part. The parts are distinguished by rubrics, 'incipit pars prima' etc.

DURHAM

CATHEDRAL A.1.

I have not seen this manuscript. Rud gives a detailed and even vivid account of it: "Codex hic grandis est et etiam elephantinus, totius Bibliothecae maximus; neque enim in eodem cum reliquis pluteo stare potest. Habet folia 380."[1] He identified it by the incipits and compared it with MS. Pembroke College 192. The arrangement seems to be almost identical with that in British Museum MS. Royal 4 E. II, to be described later. The script reminded him of MS. Durham A. 3, dated 1386. Thomas Langley, Chancellor of England 1405-7 and 1417-24, bishop of Durham 1406-37,[2] may have left it to the Chapter. His will, dated Dec. 21, 1436, and proved Dec. 17, 1437, has an entry:

Item lego eidem ecclesiae meae Librum vocatum Notyngham super Ewangelia.[3]

The arrangement, according to Rud, is:

1. Prologue of William of Nottingham's commentary.

[1]) T. Rud, *Codd. MSS. eccles. cathedr. Dunelm. cat. class.*, Durham, 1825, pp. 1-3.

[2]) *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, xi 553-5.

[3]) *Catt. Vett. Lib. Eccles. Cath. Dunelm.*, ed. Raine (Surtees Soc., 1838), pp. 119-20.

2. List of chapters.
3. Commentary.
4. Table.
5. Table of canons.
6. Reasons for the order followed in each of the twelve parts. This must represent a transcript of the concluding section of Clement's Harmony, where he explains the 'ratio ordinis' of his Harmony in twelve parts, MS. Hatton 61, fol. 124-131v. Rud specifies the length as three pages, which would be about right.

LONDON

BRITISH MUSEUM, Royal 4 E. II.

The catalogue gives a full and excellent description;[1] I am noting only arrangement and provenance. The hand is late fourteenth-century English.

1-3. Prologue, list of chapters, and commentary, fol. 2-462v. This corresponds to items 1-3 in the Durham manuscript. The leaves have no mediaeval foliation, but the number and chapter of the part are marked at the top of each leaf.

4. Eusebian canons with explanation, fol. 463v-469v. This corresponds to item 5 in the Durham, item 2 in the Pembroke College manuscript.

5-6. Tables with explanation, fol. 463v-469v. They correspond to items 3 and 4 in the Pembroke College manuscript and presumably to item 4 in the Durham manuscript.

7. The reasons for the order followed in the twelve parts, fol. 470-1 corresponding to item 6 in the Durham manuscript.

The only difference between the Royal and Durham copies is that in the Royal the tables to the commentary come after, instead of before, the table of Eusebian canons. They both differ from MS. Pembroke College 192 in that the Harmony of Clement has been omitted, except for the 'ratio ordinis' at the end. And they both put what is left of Clement's Harmony at the end instead of at the beginning.

A colophon on fol. 471 reads:

In hoc volumine continetur expositio xii partium totius processus evangelici

[1]) Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Royal and King's MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1921, i 92.

secundum ordinem et distinctionem Clementis. Quo qui usi sunt rogent pro anima domini Iohannis Leyre Rectoris ecclesie de Dodington, qui dictum volumen ad suum proficuum et honorem Dei quoad omnia fecit parari, pro anima etiam fratris Wyllelmi de Notingham, qui studio laborioso predictam expositionem ex variis compilavit.

A verse follows, ending with the date 1381. John Leyre, parson of Great Doddington, Northants, was credited with a loan of ten marks to the Crown in 1379[1] and exchanged his living for that of Olney in 1390.[2] The monks of Evesham received the book as a present from their abbot, John Wykwon (abbot 1439-*c.* 1460),[3] on the feast day of St. Augustine (Aug. 28), 1458, according to an inscription on the flyleaf.

OXFORD

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Laud misc. 165.

This is the most expensively produced and in many ways the most interesting copy. It was written in the later fourteenth century by James le Palmere, who gives his name in the explicit, fol. 585:

Explicit liber qui vocatur unum ex quatuor vel unus ex quatuor et differt a Clemente in multis. Evangelia concordat et plene super quatuor evangelia tractat et plures bonas questiones movet et solvit. Et qui istum librum diligenter inspexerit et secundum ea que scripta sunt in eodem vixerit vitam eternam habebit. Iste liber est liber Iacobi le Palmere quem scripsit manu sua propria. Deo gratias.

Libro finito lassatum me fore scito,
Premia pro merito des michi te rogito.
Hic liber est scriptus, qui scripsit sit benedictus.

An Exchequer clerk called James le Palmere was granted an annual pension in 1375 on account of his good service.[4] This is the only person of the name who seems a likely candidate for identification in the public records in print. In fact, the text does not seem to have been written all by the same hand; but the explicit is in the hand of the rubricator.

[1]) *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1377-81*, p. 636. He also appears on the Close Roll of the same year, *Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II, 1377-81*, p. 240.

[2]) *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1388-92*, p. 180.

[3]) *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray (Rolls Series, 1863), p. 338.

[4]) *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1374-7*, p. 82.

There are many illuminations of biblical scenes by at least three artists, in an English style of the late fourteenth century. They are vigorous and rather crude. Fol. 5-12 have been added to the original and contain an illumination of a more refined type.[1] The manuscript came into the possession of Thomas Arundel, who gave it to the monks of Christ Church while he was archbishop, 1396-1414. A picture on fol. 5 commemorates the event. It shows him sitting in his pastoral chair, which bears his arms on the back, pointing to a book open at a page saying: "quod factum est in ipso vita erat" (Ioh. i 3-4). Four Benedictine monks are grouped round him, one of them holding a book, presumably the gift to the Priory.

The top margin has a prayer: "Assit principio sancta Maria meo." Below the picture, in the same hand as the prayer, is an explanation of the table which follows. The archbishop's clerk and chaplain has compiled a table of contents of the volume, out of pity for students whose overwork leads to sickness and death or to diseases even worse than death. He dedicates his table to the archbishop. The passage demands transcription as an unusually personal introduction to an index:

Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Thome Arundell, divina gratia et brachio patris altissimi cooperante Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, capellanus et clericus suus simplex et humilis obedientiam et reverentiam tanto patri debitas et honorem. Motus etenim studii nimietate per quam multi incurabiles egritudines et morbos diversemode incurrerunt, de quibus aliqui moriuntur et aliqui, substantiali humiditate consumpta, de die in diem vergunt ad interitum quod est deterius quam privatio ipsa vitalis, igitur, pater reverende, ne per presentem librum vestrum, Notyngham videlicet super evangelia, multum diffusum atque prolixum et claustro vestro et huius ecclesie per litterature doctrinam in agro dominico fulgure mirifico deaurantem, — ne mens studentium rapiatur nimium extra modum, sed tanquam formosum germen fructificet et pullilet (*sic*) in addiscendis materiam seu scripta in eodem contenta, in hoc opusculo per modum tabule

[1]) Prof. Margaret Rickert writes (Sept. 28, 1951) in answer to my inquiry: "MS. Laud misc. 165 is interesting for its illumination because its style (at least in part, as in the first miniature) is so typically late fourteenth-century English, and, I presume, London. I am using it, among other similar MSS. for comparison with the English artists' miniatures in the Carmelite Missal which I have reconstructed (MSS. Add. 29704-5 in the British Museum). My monograph on the Missal is now in the press and should appear this autumn but may be delayed till spring." See now M. Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, London, 1952, p. 76, pl. XLIII.

elaborato in unum succinctius quo potui et brevius redegi. Sed cum idem liber sit divisus in partes duodecim, est notandum quod primus numerus partibus deservit, secundus numerus foliis, et hee quatuor littere, videlicet *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, foliorum columnis, ita quod per *a* notatur prima columpna folii, per *b* secunda, per *c* tertia, et per litteram *d* quarta.

The table, fol. 5rb-12va, corresponds to the description; it begins: "Abraham et eius multiplex commendatio, parte septima, folio xvii, a, b." Since the leaves are numbered (in roman numerals) so as to begin afresh for each of the twelve parts, the table of contents supplies a convenient and clear guide to the volume. A later hand has made additions to the table in the margins. Along the top of fol. 12v a different hand has written: "Frater Willelmus Notyngham de ordine minorum erat auctor huius libri, ut infra, parte iiia, fol. viiio, col. iia." This refers to a passage in the text, fol. 116rb, marked by a marginal note, "Nomen auctoris istius libri." The passage, where William of Nottingham refers to himself as author, will be transcribed later. An erased inscription at the end of the table on fol. 12v can be partially read by ultra-violet light:

"Q . . . . . .
Da michi pignum."

The order is as follows:

1. Table relating the contents of the commentary, according to the order of parts, to the chapters of the four gospels, fol. 1-4. It begins:

Hic incipit kalendarium super quatuor evangelia, videlicet super illo libro qui vocatur unum ex quatuor.

Prima pars. Verbum, id est filius Dei, fit ab eterno . . . Ioh. i.

It ends with a rubric:

Circa predicta ad eorum evidentiam est notandum quod non omnia contenta in unoquoque capitulo a singulis evangelistis ponuntur, qui in fine uniuscuiusque tituli supradicti exprimuntur, quamvis ut in pluribus hoc contingat, sed aliquando in aliqua in omnibus, aliqua in aliquibus, aliqua in uno solo, quod infra in serie manifestius apparebit. Hoc etiam patere potest per cotationes marginales superius annotatas.

The 'cotationes' presumably mean the chapter numbers of the gospels,

marked in the top margins throughout the commentary, to indicate the *loci* which are being expounded.

2. The table of contents compiled by the archbishop's clerk and chaplain, with the prologue, as already described, fol. 5-12v.

3. Prologue and commentary, fol. 13-484v. The inscription of ownership is written above the text, fol. 13:

Doctor qui dicitur Notyngham super Evangelia de dono domni Thome Arundell', archiepiscopi Cant. in claustro Cant.

The rubric is:

Hic incipit quedam nobilis expositio super quatuor evangelia et est, ut dicitur, ultima et melior omnibus aliis et vocatur unum ex quatuor et multum plenius et diffusius tractat quam Clemens et plura dubia solvit.

An unusual feature is that each part has its separate incipit and explicit. They have been carefully varied so that the wording is never the same. The aim is generally to bring out the relationship between Clement and Nottingham. For instance:

Explicit quarta pars operis secundum processum Clementis, quem auctor huius libri prosequitur et in multis cum eo concordat, tamen eum in multis excedit et plenius et planius exponit et etiam tractat, ut patere potest intuenti, si bene inspiciatur (fol. 210va); Hic incipit quinta pars huius operis secundum ordinem Clementis, quem ordinem auctor huius libri prosequitur in multis (fol. 211ra); Explicit septima pars huius voluminis secundum distinctionem Clementis per Notingham compilata. Deo gratias (fol. 355va).

That the commentary was at least looked at in the sixteenth century appears from a proverb written in a sixteenth-century hand at the bottom of a column, fol. 508va: "The neer the cherch the fardest from god."

4. Table of Eusebian canons with explanation, fol. 584v-585, followed by note of ownership by James Palmer as transcribed above.

5. Table of gospels and holy days for the year, according to the Use of Sarum, with references to the number of the part and of the folio where the gospels are treated in the commentary, fol. 585v-588. The table is incomplete, breaking off in the middle of an entry, 'Sancti Dionisii sociorumque eius'. This table is in a different hand from the rest of the volume.

It will be noted that the tables here are different from those in the copies described above, and that Clement's Harmony has been omitted.

BALLIOL COLLEGE 33.

This copy is dated by the donor. An inscription on the flyleaf (fol. 1) in a hand of about 1400 reads: "Liber domus de Balliolo ex legato magistri Iohannis Waltham subdecani ecclesie Ebor. quondam socii predicte domus, cuius anime propitietur Deus. Amen. Contentum: Notyngham super evangelia." Mr. Emden has been kind enough to identify Master John Waltham for me, which involved disentangling him from his namesake, the bishop of Salisbury. Mr. Emden further allows me to quote his notes on John Waltham's career. The relevant facts are as follows: Waltham was a nephew of John Thoresby, archbishop of York.[1] He must have been a fellow of Balliol before 1349 and got leave to study at Oxford for four years on June 29, 1358.[2] He had incepted in arts by 1352, had his B.C.L. by 1358[3] and was licentiate of Canon Law by 1368.[4] He was ordained deacon on May 22, 1361.[5] His large number of preferments culminated in his becoming subdean of York, Oct. 24, 1381.[6] He died in 1384 and his will, dated Aug. 20, 1375, was proved on Nov. 26, 1384.[7] He left to Balliol "bibliam meam, librum accordanciarum, Nothyngam super evangelia, liram super psalterium et liram super epistolas Pauli."[8]

The hand is late fourteenth century. There are illuminated borders and initials, of which the first, fol. 4, has been cut out.

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1) *Calendar of Papal Petitions*, i 245.

2) Register of Gynewell, Linc. viii, fol. 56v.

3) *Calendar of Papal Petitions*, i 245; *Calendar of Papal Letters*, iii 608.

4) Register of Thoresby, York xi, fol. 67.

5) Register of Zouch, York x.

6) Register of Alexander Neville, York xii, fol. 81. He had been canon and prebendary since 1368, Reg. Thoresby, fol. 67, J. Le Neve *Fasti Eccles. Angl.*, ed. Hardy, Oxford, 1854, iii 205.

7) *Wills, Dean and Chapter of York*, Yorks Archæol. Soc., Record Series, p. 66. The notice by A. H. Thompson in Yorks Archæol. Journal, 25 [1919], 257-60, confuses the two John Walthams in some respects.

8) York, Dean and Chapter Library, Register of Wills for the Peculiar of the Dean and Chapter, 1321-1493. Mr. Emden very kindly sent me this extract.

1. Prologue and commentary, fol. 4-354. There is a verse at the end of part vi, fol. 189:

> Scribitur hic medium libri, sit laus data Christo,
> Qui michi subsidium scribendi prebuit isto [confiso].

Another verse after the explicit of part xii reads:

> Hic postillatus evangelicus liber iste
> Est consummatus, sit laus et honor tibi Christe,
> Scriptoremque tibi fac huius vivere gratum,
> Ac William N. cui scribitur, esse beatum.

An early sixteenth-century hand has written after the explicit:

> Iste Notyngham fuit canonicus secularis et precentor eboracensis ecclesie.

A hand of about the same date has added:

> et postea factus est frater de ordine sancti Francisci.

The leaves are numbered afresh for each part. The formula for the incipit for each part is either: "Hic incipit prima pars" or: "Incipit sexta pars secundum Clementem." There are many marginal notes in a hand of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, indicating an attentive reader, for instance, "Hic incipit notabilis collatio de sancto Iohanne baptista," (fol. 8v).

2. A table relating the chapters of the gospels according to their division by letters, *a-h*, to the parts and chapters of the commentary. It is written on both sides of a leaf which has been sewn to fol. 354 and folded over inside the cover.

The leaves at the beginning of the volume, fol. 1-3v are mainly blank or filled with notes referring to the commentary which amount to a fragmentary table of contents. A sermon of St. Augustine in praise of *lectio divina* is written on fol. 2v.[1] The title of another, *De periurio*, is written at the top of fol. 3; but the space for the sermon has been left blank.

[1]) PL 40, col. 1339.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, lat. 160.

Fifteenth-century English hand with illuminated borders and initials, many of them cut out. Incomplete at the beginning. The mediaeval foliation begins at fol. 26; part i up to chapter 9 has been lost. William of Nottingham is mentioned as author in the incipit of part vi. The provenance is unknown. The exemplar was either the Laudian manuscript or some copy deriving from it.

1. Commentary from end of chapter 9, part i to end, fol. 1-297.

2. Eusebian canons with their explanation, fol. 297v, followed by the same concluding rubric as in the Laudian manuscript: "Explicit liber qui vocatur . . . vitam eternam habebit." The note of ownership by John Palmer and the verse have been omitted.

3. Table of gospels for the year with references to the commentary, fol. 297v-299v. It is similar to the corresponding table in the Laudian manuscript, but complete; the gospels of Masses for special occasions have been added.

4. A second table of the same kind, partly identical and partly differing from the first, fol. 300v-302.

5. Table of contents prefaced by the prologue of Archbishop Arundel's clerk and chaplain, fol. 302-308v. The heading is "Tabula in expositionem Willelmi Notyngham super quatuor evangelia." The text of the prologue is identical. There is some confusion in the order of items 4 and 5. The scribe broke off the table of contents, fol. 302, in order to copy the end of his liturgical table, which had been left unfinished; there is a cross reference, fol. 301v: "Quere aliam partem huius tabule in proximo quaterno ad tale signum." Then he chose to begin the table of contents all over again, so that the prologue and beginning of the table, *Abraham* to *angeli*, have been copied twice. The leaves are numbered, beginning afresh for each part. Whoever prepared the table, however, lacked the courage to adapt it to the foliation of this particular copy. Sometimes the number of the leaf and the letter of the column, as found in the original, have been omitted, leaving only the part and chapter; sometimes number and letter have been added; but they do not correspond to those of the manuscript. Consequently the table is likely to mislead and would irritate rather than relieve the student for whom the archbishop's clerk and chaplain had intended it.

MERTON COLLEGE 156.

English hands of the second half of the fourteenth century. Illuminated border and initial on fol. 1. No other decoration apart from large blue and red initials. Given by John of Bloxham, Warden of Merton, 1375-87.[1] The last leaf has been cut out, so that the end of part xii of the commentary is missing. Some blank spaces indicate a defective exemplar. "Notyngham super evangelia" is written in a hand roughly contemporary with the text on the flyleaf.

1. Prologue and commentary, fol. 1-399v.

The part of the commentary and the biblical chapters expounded in the text are marked in the upper margins, but there is no mediaeval foliation. The incipits of the separate parts are short: "Incipit pars prima", with an occasional variant: "Hic incipit sexta pars Clementis". The book was rebound by Master John Burbach, 'sacre theologie professor' and chained in the library for the use of students. Burbach was fellow of Merton and 'theologus senior' of the University 1433-9.[2]

MERTON COLLEGE 157.

English hands of the later fourteenth century. Red and blue initials. Given by John Wood, bachelor in theology, fellow of Merton, and afterwards archdeacon of Middlesex, who died in 1475.[3] A strip of parchment bearing the title "Notyngham super Evangelia" with the note on the donor is pasted on the flyleaf.

1. Prologue and commentary, fol. 1-357v. The part and number of the leaf, beginning afresh for each part, are marked in the upper margin.

2. A table of gospels for the year and for special occasions, with references to the part of the commentary and the number of the leaf. The numbers of the leaves have been added in a different hand and correspond with the actual foliation of this manuscript.

The incipits of the separate parts correspond roughly to those of MS. 156. A hand of about 1500 has written "Robert Inkyn ys a good son" and *probationes pennae* on the margin of fol. 3v of part vi.

[1]) F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, Oxford, 1931, p. 187.

[2]) *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[3]) *Ibid.*, p. 209.

The Balliol and these two Merton manuscripts show us the commentary in its simplest, least decorated form. All accessories have disappeared except for one table each in MS. Balliol 33 and MS. Merton 157.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE 2.

A notice pasted inside the cover reads: "Ex dono magistri Ioannis Stonor Generosi de Northstoke in Comitatu Oxon. 1609." Of the ten manuscripts given by Sir John Stonor in 1609, seven undoubtedly came from Reading Abbey.[1] The inscription of ownership in Reading books was on a flyleaf.[2] As this manuscript has lost a few leaves at the beginning, there is no way of confirming its Reading provenance. Late fifteenth-century English hand with illuminated borders, grotesques and stripes across the leaves. It has a table, dated Oxford, 1489, which may have been copied.

1. Prologue and commentary, fol. 1-339v. The prologue is incomplete, beginning towards the end. The table of Eusebian canons and their explanation have been inserted between part vi and part vii, instead of being put at the beginning or end of the commentary.

2. Table of gospels for the year with references to the parts of the commentary, as in the Laudian manuscript, fol. 339v. The next leaf has been cut out, so that the table is incomplete, only reaching Septuagesima Sunday.

3. Table of contents in alphabetical order, *Abba pater - Zorobabel*, with references to the commentary, fol. 340-70. It ends:

> Explicit tabula sententiarum secundum ordinem alphabeti super doctorem Notyngham de concordia quatuor evangeliorum, edita Oxon. 1489 et completa tertia decima die mensis Iulii anni supradicti.

This table is fuller than that in any of the other manuscripts.

4. Table of *quaestiones* contained in the commentary, also in alphabetical order, fol. 370-76v. It ends:

[1]) See J. R. Liddell, *Some notes on the library of Reading Abbey*, Bodleian Quarterly Record, 8 [1935], 47-54; R. J. Stonor, *Stonor*, Newport, 1951, pp. 240, 261, mentions the Stonors of North Stoke.

[2]) N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, London, 1941, p. 86.

explicit tabula questionum quas movet Notyngham in opere suo de concordia evangeliorum.

This is fuller than the tables to the excerpted *quaestiones* which will be described when we come to the abridgments.

In this manuscript the columns are numbered, beginning afresh with each chapter. The columns are divided into sections of varying length, each marked by a letter from *a* to *g*. This division of the columns, however, begins only at chapter 8 of part vii, fol. 185. The table of *quaestiones* refers to the column only, not the section. The table of contents sometimes gives the letter as well as the number of the column. Since it gives letters in some cases for parts of the commentary coming before part vii, chapter 8, where the letters begin, one imagines that the table has been copied from an exemplar with columns divided by letters all the way through. The letters in this manuscript must have been put in so as to correspond with the exemplar, though it was not done systematically. This would explain the unevenness of the divisions, which otherwise would have no reason.

PRAGUE

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1870 (X.C.17), fol. 94a-260b.[1]

Fifteenth-century. It has the usual incipit of the prologue, "*Da mihi intellectum* . . . Dionysius de divinis nominibus . . ." and ends incomplete. No tables are mentioned in the catalogue. It is part of a miscellany, containing St. Albert's *Biblia mariana* and anonymous treatises on the Canticle "Benedicite omnia opera" and on the Gospel parables.

We can now answer our question, "do the manuscripts contain the canons of William I or the postill of William II?" The majority have both canons and a postill. A comparison between the contents of the manuscripts suggests a hypothesis. MS. Pembroke College 192 comes closest to the original apparatus prepared by William I for the use of his friars. It begins with the Harmony of Clement, which is followed by a table of Eusebian canons with an explanatory note. Here we have some-

[1] J. Truhlář, *Cat. cod. MSS. lat. qui in C. R. Bibliotheca publica atque Univ. Pragensis asservantur*, Prague, 1906, ii 59.

thing like the apparatus as described by Eccleston: William I had the Harmony of Clement, to which he added 'very useful canons', copied together with Clement's exposition. Then William II replaced Clement's exposition by a postill of his own. Here, with the addition of a few tables, we have the collection contained in MS. Pembroke College 192. Henceforward the natural tendency would be for the original apparatus to melt away, making room for the postill and an increasing number of tables to facilitate its use. In MSS. Durham A.1. and Royal 4 E. II Clement's Harmony has been drastically abbreviated. Prologue and treatise have been cut away, leaving only the 'ratio ordinis' at the end. This, moreover, has been pushed from the front to the back of the volume in both manuscripts. It has dropped out of the others altogether. The table of canons and their explanation survived and were joined to the postill, except in MSS. Balliol 33 and Merton College 156-7, where they, too, have disappeared. It remains to prove this hypothesis, in so far as it can be proved, by making a closer study of the postill. Could it have been written by William I or only by William II?

The dates of the manuscripts favour William II: not one is earlier than about 1350. Yet readers formed a high opinion of the postill. Its author had taken infinite pains to prepare an improved apparatus for the study of the gospels. It was the latest and best. It surpassed Clement's. It set one on the road to everlasting life. The book appeared in sumptuous copies. Tables were devised for the benefit of overworked students and of preachers: indeed, the manuscripts provide material for the history of early indexing. Readers also show an interest in the author's identity. Rubricators distinguish between Clement and Nottingham. MS. Laud misc. 165 has a note directing us to a passage where the author calls himself "Brother William of Nottingham O.F.M." MS. Balliol 33 has a note claiming him as canon and precentor of York. Prayers are asked for his soul. Even the very ownership of the manuscripts suggests popularity. It is surprising that so many private persons, as distinct from institutions, should have owned so expensive a book. A bishop of Durham and a sub-dean of York could afford it, while a Warden and a fellow of Merton might need it for their academic work; but it also belonged to a country parson and to James Palmer, who cannot have been a celebrity. A book so valued in the later Middle Ages is unlikely to have remained unknown

for a century after it was written. Had William I been author of the postill one would have expected to find at least one copy dating from the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

Other evidence confirms the conclusions to be drawn from existing manuscripts. The book makes a late appearance in library catalogues: Syon Monastery, founded 1415, had two copies. One of them contained tables resembling the set in MS. Laud misc. 165. The catalogue description is interesting both for its account of the tables and for its clear statement that the liturgical table was used for preaching:

> Notyngham super unum ex quatuor secundum Clementem Lanthoniensem. Bona tabula super idem opus in principio libri. Capitula singulorum (*sic*) partium eiusdem operis in fine libri. Breviarium quoddam eiusdem operis secundum Clementem. Decem Canones de concordantiis Evangelistarum iuxta formam antiquam. Quotationes evangeliorum totius anni tam de sanctis quam de temporali in hoc Monasterio predicandorum secundum idem opus in principio libri.[1]

This gives us still another arrangement if the cataloguer has set the items in order. Clement's Harmony comes after the commentary, as in MS. Royal 4 E. II; it is followed by the Eusebian canons, as in the Pembroke College and Durham manuscripts.

A monk called John of Canterbury gave "Clemens super Euangelia" and "Exposicio Notyngham post Clementem super Euangelia" to St. Augustine's, Canterbury. As he also gave Fitz Ralph's *De quaestionibus Armenorum* and Walter Burley's commentaries on the *Ethics* and *Politics*,[2] he must have been living in the second half of the fourteenth century at earliest. There is no trace of the book in the catalogue drawn up in the priorate of Henry Eastry, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1284-1331, nor in the list of books which he gave to Christ Church.[3] We have seen that Christ Church obtained its copy through the gift of Archbishop Arundel. Exeter seems to have got one as part of a legacy on Jan. 22, 1411,

[1]) M. Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 67. The second copy, catalogued on the same page, either had no tables or was described less fully.

[2]) M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 217, 263, 314.

[3]) *Ibid.*, pp. 113-63. The item "Glose super unum ex quatuor", p. 105, now at Lambeth, MS. 142, is Peter the Chanter's gloss on a gospel harmony, according to the incipit; see F. Gutjahr, *Petrus Cantor Parisiensis*, Graz, 1899, p. 54.

when an executor of Master Robert Rygghe, formerly chancellor of the cathedral, delivered two books for the library, "quorum duorum librorum unus vocatus Notyngham qui incipit secundo folio lya".[1] There is no trace of it, however, in the inventory of Exeter books drawn up in 1506.[2] Three copies cannot be dated even by guesswork. Leland saw "Notingham super unum ex quatuor"[3] in the library of the London Franciscans and Bale two more, in the house of William Hanley and at Oriel College.[4]

We get the same evidence of lateness if we turn from the complete commentary to extracts.

(b) Abbreviations and excerpts

The abbreviators gathered round Nottingham like flies round a honey pot. The most popular abridgment was a collection of *quaestiones* extracted from his commentary and arranged in alphabetical order. We find what was probably the original form with the excerptor's name attached to it in MS. Merton College 68, fol. 121ra-201v. The volume is a miscellany containing some interesting pieces, including a *determinatio* by Robert Alyngton, Chancellor of Oxford University in 1393.[5] The compilation has a strongly anti-Lollard bias. Our excerpts, written in a fifteenth-century English hand, have the title in the same hand as the text:

> Iste sunt questiones quas movet Notyngham in scripto suo super evangelia extracte secundum ordinem alphabeti per magistrum Iohannem Wykham (fol. 121ra)

The incipit is: "Abel. Queritur super illo dicto Mat. 23 . . .", the explicit, on the word *zizania*: ". . . per naturam, parte 9, cap. 9" (fol. 195ra). There follows a table of gospels for the year, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent according to the Use of Sarum, "Cum appropinquasset Iesus etc." and ending with a Mass for the dead (fol. 195ra-201ra). Each has a reference to the *quaestio* dealing with this particular passage, e.g.: "Quere questiones

[1]) *Historical MSS. Commission. Various Collections*, vol. IV, p. 40. From the chapter acts book of Exeter, no. 3550, fol. 109b. Mr. J. Crompton kindly pointed this out to me.

[2]) G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Exeter, 1861, pp. 366-378.

[3]) *Coll.*, iv 50.

[4]) *Index*, pp. 140-1.

[5]) Powicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7.

pertinentes ad hoc evangelium in verbo *honorare*. . . ." Finally comes a list of those words which are the subject of *quaestiones*, from *Abel* to *zizania* (fol. 201ra-201v), with the explicit just above it: "Expliciunt questiones Notyngham super evangelia." The list is independent of that given at the end of some manuscripts of the full commentary, which is much longer. A collation of *quaestiones* and commentary shows that the extracts are generally verbally identical with the original, though they may have been shortened, but that the excerptor worked selectively; he copied only some, not all of the *quaestiones* contained in the commentary.

Mr. Emden has kindly identified Master John Wykeham, too, and allows me to quote his notes on Wykeham's career. Master John was one of the many kinsmen of Bishop William of Wykeham who had an Oxford degree. He was charged for the rent of a room in the Queen's College, 1398-9, and was still being charged in Michaelmas Term, 1408.[1] He was ordained acolyte in 1396 and, after passing through the minor grades, priest in 1398.[2] He had already been admitted rector of Stockton, Wilts, in 1395.[3] From then onwards he had a number of preferments; the last which can be traced was in 1404, the year of his patron's death. William of Wykeham made him a bequest of £50 for his inception in theology at Oxford.[4] It is known that John Wykeham had taken his M.A.; whether he actually did incept in theology is uncertain. The bequest, together with his continued renting of a room at Queen's, suggests that he was studying for a degree. The copying and rearrangement of extracts from a standard work on the gospels must have been a useful way of getting up one's subject for examination purposes. The table of gospels accompanying his

[1]) Queen's College, Long Rolls.

[2]) *Register of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester* (Hants Record Society), i 339 bis, 343, 347.

[3]) *Register of John of Waltham*, Sarum, part i, fol. 95, Phillipps 81, 83.

[4]) Collated to be canon of the king's free chapel, Bosham, Sussex, Jan. 25, 1397; exchanged May, 1397, *Register of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (1886), p. 147, 373; collated to be canon of Howden, Yorks, and prebendary of Thorpe, May 25, 1397, *Sede vacante register of York*, part iii, fol. 206v; to be rector of Mapledurham, Buriton, Hants, Aug. 1, 1397, and still rector in 1403, *Register of Wykeham, op. cit.*, i, 210, *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1401-1405*, p. 227; admitted vicar of Steeple Aston, Wilts, Apr. 15, 1400, had vacated by June, 1400, *Register of Bishop Medford, Sarum*, part iii, fol. 62v, 63v; collated to be rector of Colbourne, Isle of Wight, Nov. 2, 1403, vacated by May, 1404, *Register of Wykeham, op. cit.*, i 243, 245; to be rector of Brightstone, Isle of Wight, May 15, 1404, vacated by June, 1404, *ibid.*, i 246; to be rector of Bishops Waltham, Hants, June 19, 1404, *ibid.*

quaestio collection, however, shows that its primary purpose was to provide material for preaching: you looked up the *quaestio* on the gospel for the day. They are not the type of long, elaborately worked out *quaestiones* familiar to the student of scholasticism in disputations, but give information in a simple 'question and answer' form. They deal with the literal sense of the text, it is true; but then the preacher was supposed to base his teaching on an explanation of the literal sense, before proceeding to allegories and moralities. The popularity of these alphabetically arranged *quaestiones* shows that they answered a need. There are six other copies and a seventh, which I have not seen, is reported to have been at the Franciscan convent at Ravenna.[1] A difference in incipit arises from the fact that the first lines of the text have dropped out, so that in all copies except the Merton College one the first *quaestio* is on Abraham instead of on Abel; the Ravenna copy also began at Abel. The text may be disposed a little differently, beginning: "*Abraham pater meus* . . . Ioh. viii, super quo queritur," or: "Queritur super illo dicto Christi, Ioh. viii," with the word *Abraham* in the margin. The explicits vary from copy to copy, since only two (or three counting that from Ravenna) reach the word *zizania*. The others break off short at various stages. The hands are all fifteenth-century English.

1. MS. Cambridge, Pembroke College 239,[2] fol. 112-237v, ending on *veritas*. Table in columns, fol. 237v-239v, headed: "Hic incipiunt questiones Notyngham secundum capitula quatuor evangeliorum." The table attaches the *quaestiones* to their chapters in the four gospels. Bale may have seen this copy; he mentions Nottingham's *Quaestiones in evangelia* among the Pembroke College manuscripts.[3] The volume also has 'distinctiones theologice' ascribed to 'Ianuensis' (Jacobus de Voragine), fol. 1-107v, and the *De venenis* ascribed to Grosseteste, fol. 240-254.[4] A former owner was John Sparhawk, D.D., Fellow of the College about 1420, who died in 1474.[5]

2. MS. Oxford, Bodl. 583 (2214), fol. 133-246, ending on *vendi in templo*,

[1]) Spicq, *op. cit.*, p. 345, Stegmüller, *op. cit.*, ii 341. Bale saw a copy at Norwich, *Index*, p. 264.

[2]) M. R. James, *Catalogue of Pembroke College MSS.*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[3]) *Index*, p. 141.

[4]) The attribution to Grosseteste is doubtful, S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 268-70.

[5]) He also owned MS. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 328.

followed by a table similar to that in the Pembroke College manuscript, fol. 246-7v, with a table of gospels for the year with their corresponding *quaestiones*, similar to that in the Merton College manuscript, fol. 247v. The explicit is: "Expliciunt questiones Notyngham super evangelia per annum, quaterni xxi, precium xxix s." A marginal note on fol. 147 against the word *credere* says: "Hic deficiunt septem questiones quas require in fine libri." There are in fact seven *quaestiones* missing between *credere* and *conficere*; but they have not been added at the end of the book. The only other item in the volume is the *Distinctiones theologice* of Jacobus de Voragine, as in MS. Pembroke College 239, fol. 1-132v. It was given to Bodley by the dean and canons of Windsor in 1612.

3. MS. Oxford, Bodl. Rawl. C. 572, fol. 1-260v, ending on *zizania*, as MS. Merton College 68, followed by table of gospels, fol. 260-269v, ending: "Explicit libellus questionum Notyngham quas movet idem doctor in opere suo de concordia quatuor evangelistarum." The flyleaves have *probationes pennae*, scribbles, a list of names beginning "Adam, Benett, Clement, Davyth", and several rhymes, in sixteenth-century hands, of which one on fol. iv reads: "Ihus marcy Lady helpe for [?] my dogge ys a parillus welp"; the dog's name is illegible.

4. MS. Oxford, Balliol College 75, pp. 2-208, ending on *Virgo Maria*. The work is not ascribed. Gerard Langbaine wrote "Questiones super difficultates Evangeliorum" over the incipit and "Desunt (ut videtur) nonnulla. Questionum finis imperfectus G.L." at the end. There are two Oxford university sermons, of which Coxe gives incipits and extracts, pp. 213-227; they are unconnected with either the *Quaestiones* or the full commentary of Nottingham; then comes a table to the *Quaestiones*, attaching them to the chapters of the gospels, pp. 228-234. It is a table of the usual type, but here it is obviously home-made. The owner of the book had the columns ruled and the names of the Evangelists written at the top and the chapters at the side; then he filled in the references to the *Quaestiones* himself, in an untidy, irregular way. On pp. 245-249 are short pieces and sermons ascribed to St. Augustine. There are a number of different hands but the general impression is of a miscellany made by a scholar for his own use.

5. MS. Oxford, Lincoln College lat. 78, fol. 12v-161v, ending on *Christus*; the words go as far as *Zacheus*, several *quaestiones* on *Christus* having been added

at the end; they consist mainly in cross references. The title is: "Questiones quas movet Notyngham in scripto suo super evangelia secundum ordinem alphabeti." Here the tables come at the beginning, first a table of words only, as in MS. Merton College 68, fol. 2-3v (Abraham to Zacheus), then the usual table of Gospels headed "Evangelia de temporalibus", fol. 3v-12. The scribe has written "Me tibi virgo pia genetrix commendo Maria", fol. 161v. The book was given by a great benefactor of Lincoln College, John Forest, canon of Lincoln and dean of Wells, who died in 1446.[1] He seems to have been interested in biblical commentaries, since he also gave Ringstead on Proverbs and Holcot on Wisdom (MSS. Lincoln College lat. 86 and 110).

6. MS. Paris, Bibl. nat.lat. 13,207, fol. 1-147, ending on *zizania*, "Explicit libellus questionum Notyngham super evangelia." A collection of *quaestiones* without heading, written in a different hand, fol. 148-62, seems to deal largely with matters concerning the parish clergy. A table to these *quaestiones* on the flyleaf, fol. iiv, calls them "Questiones alique conscientiam serenantes". The first is: "Utrum presbiter parochialis debeat credere parochiano suo dicenti se esse confessum alteri." There is a table of words for the Nottingham *Quaestiones* (Abel-zizania), fol. i-iv, and the usual Gospel table, fol. iii-xv. This copy resembles MS. Rawl. C. 572 more closely than any of the others, ending on *zizania*, and having the same title, "libellus questionum". It still has its mediaeval wooden binding. It belonged to the collection made by Chancellor Séguier in the first half of the seventeenth century, then passed to de Coislin, bishop of Metz, who left it to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près in his will. The Abbey received his bequest in 1735.[2]

Another collection of extracts is found in MSS. Cambridge University Library Kk III. 27 and Gg III. 31. The excerptor is anonymous. He took a table of gospels for the year and arranged his extracts from the full commentary under each, giving the effect of a series of homilies for the Christian year. This has naturally led bibliographers to ascribe homilies as well as a commentary to William of Nottingham. A collation shows

[1]) See A. Clark, *A History of Lincoln College*, London, 1898, pp. 8, 12, 19; J. Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Angl.*, ed. Hardy, Oxford, 1854, ii 105; *Vict. Count. Hist. Somerset*, London, 1911, ii 168.

[2]) L. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1874, ii 46, 78-99, 360.

that the supposed homilies are mere extracts from the commentary. They have not even been organized as formal sermons, with theme and conclusion, but simply provide material for the preacher on the gospel for the day to use as he pleases. Here we have the connexion with preaching in its most direct form. The preacher had no need of a table; he just opened the book at the appropriate season of the year.

1. MS. Kk III. 27,[1] fol. 1-186v. Incipit: "*Cum appropinquasset Iesus.* In hoc evangelio in littera circa honoris exhibitione tanguntur tria. . . ." Explicit: ". . . Require in quarta dominica quadragesima. Explicit Gorhan super textum omnium evangeliorum totius anni que leguntur in ecclesia Sarum in dominicis diebus."[2] A fifteenth-century hand has corrected Gorhan to Notyngham.[3] The scribe has written "Assit principio sancta Maria meo" along the top margin of fol. 1.[4] There are many marginal notes giving cross references and directions to preachers, such as "melius in dominica palmarum" and "notate episcopi et prelati". They are additions, not found in the full commentary. The hand is fifteenth-century English and there is an illuminated border.

2. MS. Gg III. 21, fol. 1-246v.[5] This is closely connected with the former manuscript. Many of the marginal notes are the same and there is the same invocation to St. Mary on fol. 87v. The incipit and text correspond up to fol. 85v, ending with a passage corresponding to the explicit of the text in MS. Kk III. 27. The remaining leaves contain more extracts from William of Nottingham, designed to fill up gaps in the material for sermons for the year, so that weekdays are added to the Sundays provided for in the first part. It ends: ". . . in tristitia erit super mensam suam." A table of contents follows. The hand is fifteenth-century English. There is no contemporary title or ascription.

[1]) *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1858, iii 636.

[2]) The gospels do in fact correspond with *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Oxford, 1916.

[3]) The mistaken ascription to Gorran was not due to any verbal identity in the two commentaries. A comparison between Gorran (Antwerp, 1617) and William of Nottingham in MS. Laud misc. 165 shows a certain amount of common material, as one would expect to find in two commentaries on the same books, but no evidence that one was using the other as a source.

[4]) The same invocation to St. Mary is found in MS. Laud misc. 165, see above, p. 212; this may point to the use of the Laudian manuscript or a derivative as the exemplar from which the excerpts were made.

[5]) *Cat. of MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, iii 82.

MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 305 has extracts following the order of the original, written in a hand of the late fourteenth century, fol. 1-352v.[1] A preface explains that the abbreviator has picked out what he thought would be most profitable to the less educated. He goes on to give full instructions on the use of his tables. These enable the reader to find the explanation of the gospel for the day of the year and they also index the contents. He has used arabic numerals but has added the more usual roman ones, because some are ignorant of the arabic:

> Incipit quedam extractio extracta ab illa magna compilatione que appellatur Notyngham super evangelia. In hac extractione non exponuntur omnia evangelia, sed aliqua que videbantur extractori fore magis proficua minus litteratis. Plura etiam evangelia hic solum exponuntur ubi sensus litteralis vel misticus posset videri deficilis (*sic*) minus litteratis. Et quia in hoc libello raro ponuntur evangelia secundum ordinem dierum in quibus communiter solent dici in ecclesia, sed frequenter secundum ordinem historie et aliqua etiam evangelia inter⟨ser⟩untur neque secundum ordinem dierum, neque cum respectu ad historiam immediate precedentem, neque ad historiam immediate subsequentem, sed quasi absolute considerata propter quandam specialem effectum in eis conceptum, ideo folio 214b incipit tabula huius libelli in cuius prima parte notatur quibus diebus et quibus festis evangelia in hoc posita solent dici in ecclesia, quoto folio per numerum algorismi signato et qua parte folii secundum ordinem harum litterarum a, b, c, d, e, f, g eorum expositio incipit. In secunda parte folii secundum ordinem harum litterarum a, b, c, d, e, f, g diverse materie et diversa notabilia in hac extractione contenta invenientur. Et quia aliqui ignorant numeros algorismi, ideo in fine tabule exponuntur per numeros communiores supra positos. . . .

He goes on explaining his system of references (fol. iiv). The bibliographical note on William of Nottingham in a late hand, transcribed above,[2] has been written underneath this preface.

The text, written in the same hand as the preface, has the usual incipit, *Da mihi intellectum* (fol. 1). It seems to be unfinished, breaking off after the comment on Mt v 12, ". . . paupere quam in quocumque divite" (fol. 339v). The original was so long and unmanageable that the excerpts fill a fat volume without reaching the middle. The leaves have arabic numbers, as

[1]) See M. R. James, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1911, ii 102-3.

[2]) p. 205.

stated, and letters down the side of the page, which is written in a single column. The tables are on fol. 214-22v, as stated in the preface, breaking into the text in a rather peculiar way. They must have been copied from an exemplar, since they tabulate the second part of the commentary, which has not been included in this incomplete copy. Moreover, the exemplar itself had an incomplete table of gospels. The scribe writes "vacat" in the margin and goes straight on to the table of contents.

Lastly there are three pages of excerpts in a commonplace book, written in a hand of about 1500, MS. Oxford, Bodl. 487 (2067), fol. 22-3 (not 22-38 as the catalogue states). The excerpts are headed "Ex prologo Notyngham de Concordia". The title is quite correct: they are shortened extracts from Nottingham's prologue dealing mainly with the four senses of Scripture. The book seems to have belonged to a John Curteys, Fellow of Winchester and New College, who died in 1509.

A survey of the extracts has cleared up the bibliographical confusion about the biblical works ascribed to William of Nottingham. We have reduced them to one commentary on the *Unum ex quatuor* of Clement. The *quaestiones* and homilies ascribed to him are merely rearranged excerpts from this one commentary. The purpose of all, with the exception of the few scholar's notes in MS. Bodl. 487, was to put an enormous book at the disposal of preachers or of less educated readers. The dates again point to William II. The simplest of the abridgments survives in one copy of the late fourteenth century. John Wykeham excerpted the *quaestiones* about 1400. The homilies are found in two fifteenth-century copies. Another short set of extracts from the prologue was made about 1500.

III

THE POSTILL AND ITS SOURCES

We shall now turn to the postill itself. The form suggests that it originated in lectures on the text of the gospels. After a prologue of the normal scholastic type, setting out the four causes of the composition of the gospels, and a commentary on their prologues, the commentator discusses the connexion between his texts. He comments on each passage,

in places where the gospels are synoptic, bringing out the different shades of meaning. He speaks of himself as "reading and expounding":

> Quoniam, ut dictum est supra, maxime intendo seriem evangelii secundum Iohannem et ordinem observare, ideo inprimis prologum beati Ieronimi in evangelium eiusdem legam et exponam.

He quite commonly says "in littera iam lecta" when he wants to refer back to an earlier section. The lecturer on Scripture used to read out the text to his class and this is what Nottingham seems to be doing.[1] Moreover, he is teaching as a master of theology, certainly not as a bachelor. He speaks with authority. He has chosen to base himself on Clement after mature deliberation. The passage marked out by the annotator of MS. Laud misc. 165 as giving the name of the author comes at a point where the sequence of events in the gospel story can be variously interpreted. The commentator has to decide which of the existing harmonies to follow; he opts for Clement, reserving the right to differ should he find a better authority:

> Et ideo Clemens suum unum ex quatuor post omnes alios ordinando composuit, sicut patere potest ex dictis suis in principio sui operis, et aliorum ordinem diligentius inspexerat. Quia etiam processum evangelicum diffusius, studiosius et efficacius quam aliquis predictorum exposuit, innitens quasi totaliter auctoritatibus plurimorum sanctorum, ideo ego, frater Willelmus de Notingham de ordine minorum, intendo ex nunc ordinem suum tenere, nisi fortasse inveniendo aliquem doctorum vel auctorem sollempniorem eo sibi contradicentem (fol. 116rb).

John Bale correctly noted that Nottingham "scripsit super Evangelia expositive et disputative". He raises and solves *quaestiones* and he is ready to give his own opinion on disputed points: "quod magis credo."[2] Much of his material has been borrowed, it is true. The rubricator of MS. Royal 4 E. II was also right when he stated that Nottingham "studio laborioso predictam expositionem ex variis compilavit". But this could be applied to most mediaeval commentators. One expressed oneself in one's

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[1]) B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1952, 217-8.

[2]) My quotations are from MS. Laud misc. 165 unless otherwise stated.

choice of authorities and in one's discussion of their differences. Clement's commentary, moreover, is by no means his chief authority. He had it on his desk, as he had the Harmony; we find him referring to it;[1] but a comparison has not brought out unacknowledged quotations or any noticeable similarity of treatment.[2]

Since William I was never regent in theology, the chances that he could have written a magisterial work of this kind are negligible. The argument can be clinched by internal evidence of date.

Both the sources and the general tone of a commentary can usually be relied on to date it. We may start with a number of pointers, which are significant though not conclusive. The prologue begins with the text *Da mihi intellectum, et scrutabor legem tuam* (Ps. cxviii, 34), followed by a quotation from Pseudo-Dionysius' *De divinis nominibus* "secundum translationem Lincolniensis". Grosseteste's translation probably dates from 1239-1243;[3] William I could easily have quoted him. On the other hand, the commentary on the *Sentences*, now definitely restored to William II, begins with a very similar text, *Da mihi intellectum, ut sciam testimonia tua* (Ps. cxviii, 125); he repeats it at the opening of each book.[4] He also quotes Grosseteste's commentary on *De divinis nominibus*.[5] Here would be a coincidence. Even stranger would be the appearance of a quotation from Pseudo-Dionysius at all at the opening of a biblical prologue of the mid-thirteenth century. Only towards the end of the century did commentators begin to double their introductory text from Scripture by a second text chosen from one of the Fathers.[6] By that time all the appropriate texts from Scripture must have been used for incipits, some of them many times over. Lecturers wanted to draw the attention of their audience at the outset by something new and striking. A second text, drawn from a wider, less familiar field, would give them their opportunity.

[1]) MS. Laud misc. 165, fol. 33vb: "Clemens autem in expositione sua accipit sic: quo autem modo fieri potest? et iterum ita quo ergo fieri potest modo etc.?" For the context see below, p. 234.

[2]) I compared the postill with the copy of Clement's commentary in MS. Bodl. 334 (2333).

[3]) D. A. Callus, *The Date of Grosseteste's Translations and Commentaries on Pseudo-Dionysius and the Nichomachean Ethics*, Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 14 [1947], 186-210.

[4]) Quoted by C. Balič, *op. cit.* (above, p. 206, n. 1), p. 171, 4, 7.

[5]) *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 57, 79.

[6]) See B. Smalley, *Some Commentaries on the Sapiential Books*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 119.

Then we find William quoting 'correctores' when discussing the variant readings in his text.[1] The use of lists of variants and emendations to the Paris text of the Vulgate began towards the middle of the thirteenth century, if not earlier.[2] But the actual name, 'correctores', does not occur, in my experience, in any commentator working before the time of Nicholas Gorran, towards the end of the century.[3] Then a number of the *quaestiones* on the fourth gospel contained in the commentary, though not all, can be traced to St. Bonaventure's commentary on St. John.[4] Bonaventure lectured on St. John's gospel during his teaching period at Paris, 1253-7.[5] His commentary on Ecclesiastes, which belongs to the same years, had a great success in the schools; later masters reproduced *quaestiones* from it in their own postills anonymously,[6] just as William of Nottingham copied *quaestiones* from the gospel commentary. Given this parallel, it is improbable that Bonaventure and Nottingham were drawing on a common source for their *quaestiones*. The use of Bonaventure very nearly excludes William I. Even if the commentary on St. John came at the beginning of Bonaventure's teaching period, 1253, a quick book service would have been required for it to be quoted by a man who died in 1254.

Two quotations from Thomas Docking bring certainty. William quotes, in the same passage, Docking on St. Luke and Docking in 'his grammar'. William is discussing the meaning of *quomodo* in the question

[1]) On John i 18: "Sed ut dicunt correctores nec grecum nec antiqui nec libri glosati nec Augustinus habent hic *nisi* vel *sed*, sed(ab)solute sine utroque *unigenitus Dei filius*." (MS. Laud misc. 165, fol. 80rb.)

On John i 31: "Correctores dicunt hic quod grecum et antiqui et Augustinus habent *manifestetur Israel*, sine *in*, ita quod *ly* Israel sit dativi casus." (fol. 94ra.)

On John i 42: "Sic etiam ut dicunt correctores habent communiter moderni, sed, ut addunt, grecum et antique glose habent *filius Iohanna*, sed Augustinus *filius Iohannis*." (fol. 95va.)

[2]) It should be possible to identify the *correctorium* that William of Nottingham used; but only a selection on Proverbs has been printed; H. Denifle, *Die Handschriften der Bibelcorrectorien des 13 Jahrhundert*, Archiv für Lit. und Kirchengesch., 4 [1888], 263-311, 471-601. The identification, therefore, even with the help of Denifle's list of manuscript *correctoria*, would need a long piece of research.

[3]) B. Smalley, *Some Commentaries on the Sapiential Books*, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[4]) Here are some examples taken from three different chapters: *S. Bonaventurae Opera* t. VI, Quaracchi, 1893, pp. 466-7, Q. ii on Ioan. xvi 25; p. 518, Q. vi on Ioan. xx 29; pp. 528-9, Q. iv, v, vi on Ioan. xxi 20-23, are found in MS. Laud misc. 165, fol. 302ra, 475va, 475vb, 481va. Not all of the *quaestiones* in William of Nottingham can be found in Bonaventure, however, and *vice versa*.

[5]) P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie à Paris*, Paris, 1934, ii 37, 39.

[6]) B. Smalley, *Some Thirteenth-Century Commentaries on the Sapiential Books*, Dominican Studies, 3 [1950], 41, 51, 72-3, 243-4.

put by Our Lady to the angel in the annunciation (Luke i 34). The references to Docking come just before a reference to the exposition of Clement of Lanthony (quoted above, p. 232, note 1).

Ex hac auctoritate accipiunt aliqui, ut Dokkingus, quod hec vox *quomodo* due dictiones sunt, velut si diceret: quis modus est quo fieret istud? Addunt etiam ad hoc glosam xxvii causa ii, capitulo *sufficit*, ubi dicitur sic: Licet hec interrogaret, non tamen dubitavit de verbis angeli, sed dubitavit quo modo istud posset fieri, ut sint due dictiones, 'quo' et 'modo'. De modo dubitavit, non de facto.[1] Ad hoc etiam addunt unam rationem talem: si enim esset una dictio, dubium esset utrum questio esset de facto an de facti modo, sed hoc dubium evacuatur si sint due dictiones. Certum est quod non de facto sed de modo facti est questio ista. Unde iste idem doctor in grammatica sua, capitulo de accentu, dicit sic opinando: de hac autem voce *quomodo* dicitur quod cum querit de re simul et de modo rei, tunc est dictio et acuit penultimam, unde vero supponit rem et querit tantum de modo, sicut fuit cum sacra virgo quesivit ab angelo *quo modo fiet istud?*, tunc est oratio. (MS. Laud misc. 165, fol. 33^{va-vb}).

Neither quotation can be checked, but the first, at least, refers to a work which Docking is known to have written. His commentary on St. Luke survives only in a few pages of extracts in the compilation from English masters now at Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 3183, fol. 190-3.[2] Docking's comment on this particular text was not included in the extracts. I compared them with Nottingham on the same passages in St. Luke, but could not find any resemblance. It would follow that William of Nottingham was using Docking on St. Luke for occasional consultation only; we must not expect to recover the lost work of Docking through William as a medium. The second work, the grammar, does not seem to have survived at all. A. G. Little, however, noted that Syon Abbey possessed a book listed in the index to the catalogue as "Dokkyng ordinis minorum in suis correctionibus super sacram scripturam abbreviatus".[3] The context of William's quotation suggests that Docking's

[1]) Gratian, *Decretum*, secunda pars, Causa xxvii, Q. II, c. 2, Palea, *sufficit*, Gloss to *Cum ergo*, on "Voluntas non coitus facit matrimonium". See the *Decretum* with its *glossa ordinaria* ed. Strasbourg, 1472, vol. II, unfoliated, *ad loc.* It is a verbally exact quotation from the *Gloss* to the *Decretum*.

[2]) A. G. Little, *Thomas Docking* in *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), gives a notice of this manuscript, pp. 101-2. His 'fol. 170^{r}-3^{v}' should be corrected to '190^{r}-3^{v}'.

[3]) *Ibid.*, 103. See M. Bateson, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

'grammar' dealt with biblical terms; so the grammar may be the same as the 'correctiones'.

Docking, to quote the notice of him by A. G. Little, "was seventh lector to the Friars Minor at Oxford, . . . and must have been regent master in theology for two or three years between 1260 and 1265. He had ceased to be regent master in 1269, but was still at Oxford . . . in that year."[1] It was natural that one of Docking's successors as lector should quote him, although his works, as far as is known, were not very popular in the fourteenth century. The quotation puts William I out of court. An allusion to Thomas Aquinas gives us an even closer date for William II. William is commenting on the story of the Visitation. He finds that all his sources make Our Lady stay with Elizabeth until after the birth of John the Baptist. He wonders, therefore, by what authority the commentator Theophilus, frequently quoted by Friar Thomas Aquinas, makes her withdraw before the birth:

Et in hoc omnes postillatores concordant. Nescio ergo qua auctoritate unus Theophilus expositor, quem frequenter, immo communiter, allegat frater Thomas de Alquino, dicit sic: quando vero Elizabeth paritura erat, virgo recessit. . . . (MS. Laud misc. 165, fol. 39va.)

The quotation comes from St. Thomas's *Catena aurea* on St. Luke under the name Theophilus.[2] "Frater Thomas" occurs in MS. Merton 157, fol. 17rb, as well as in the Laudian MS. Merton MS. 156, fol. 19ra, has "sanctus Thomas". It also has a reference to the *Summa Theologica* (2a 2ae, a. 1, q. 124) with the words "et hoc tenet Thomas" following on a question about the slaughter of the Innocents, fol. 35rb, where the other two copies have no such reference. MS. Merton 156 must represent a later tradition.

[1]) *Ibid.*, 99.

[2]) I used the edition of the *Catena aurea* in the *Opera* of St. Thomas, vol. XV, Venice, 1593. For this quotation, see fol. 39^{r}. The Greek sources of the *Catena aurea* have not been studied. No fragments from Theophilus have been found in the Greek *catenae* on the gospels; see R. Devresse, art. 'Chaînes, exégétiques grecques', *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl. I, ed. L. Pirot, Paris, 1928, col. 1084-1233. Nor do the quotations in the *Catena aurea* occur in the Latin compilation on the gospels, wrongly ascribed to Theophilus, ed. T. Zahn, *Der Evangeliencommentar des Theophilus von Antiochen*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentliche Kanons, 2 [1883], 29-85; see O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, translated from 2nd ed. by T. J. Shahan, Freiburg i. Br. and St. Louis, Mo., 1908, p. 67. St. Thomas's 'Theophilus', therefore, remains to be identified.

The 'frater' in the early tradition of the text puts the commentary before Thomas's canonization, July 18, 1323. It would fit the lectorship of William II, about 1312, very well indeed, and the rather grudging tone of his allusion agrees with the attitude of his Order at the turn of the century. This has been characterized as "thoroughly anti-Thomist, but the opposition was not given a clearly defined official expression".[1]

In spite of his scruple William has made extensive use of the *Catena aurea*. He quotes Theophilus many times, evidently by way of the *Catena*, since the quotations correspond,[2] and some of his other authorities, St. Basil, for instance, may have come from the same collection.[3] There is a parallel in his prologue, where he discusses the four senses of Scripture. He approaches the Thomist formulation, but does not adopt it wholeheartedly. The passage gives an interesting example of the way in which Thomas could influence, without radically altering, a deeply-rooted tradition. William quotes the current verse about the four senses:

> Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
> moralis quid agas, quid speres anagogia.

He proceeds to criticize it as too condensed and unclear. The literal or historical sense expresses the 'first intention' of the sacred writer. Hence it includes figures of speech and so it cannot correctly be described as simply narrative: "littera gesta docet." William gives a painstaking account of the difference between the literal sense, which includes both narrative and metaphor, and the mystical sense. Thomas, however, had defined the literal sense as covering the whole meaning of the sacred writer, while the mystical sense was the signification which God, the first author of Scripture, had put into sacred history.[4] William lays more stress on the three mystical senses, allegory, tropology and anagogy, than Thomas or Albert

[1]) M. Burbach, *Early Dominican and Franciscan Legislation regarding St. Thomas*, Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 4 [1942], 149.

[2]) I compared William's quotations of Theophilus in MS. Merton 156, fol. 6rb, 6vb, 7ra, 17vb with St. Thomas's in the *Catena aurea, op. cit.*, fol. 213^{v}, 214, 214^{v}, 138^{v}. They give the same excerpts on the same texts.

[3]) MS. Merton 156, fol. 18ra, *Catena aurea*, fol. 138^{v}. There is the same quotation from St. Basil on Luc. i 49: *et sanctum nomen eius.*

[4]) *Summa theologica*, I q. i, a. 10; *Quodlibet* vii a, 14-16.

had done. He is reacting against the vagueness and imprecision of the traditional formula, but he cannot bring himself to accept the only doctrine that clears up the muddle. He gets as far as using the Thomist expression, "the literal sense is what the author intended"; he does not like to say that the mystical sense goes beyond the human author's intention. Instead he equates it with the author's 'second intention', which he explains in a lengthy account of the distinction between the literal sense understood in this way and the mystical sense.

> Sensus scripture quatuor. Multiplicitas enim sensuum consistit in quaternario numero. Est enim sensus historicus, allegoricus, ⟨moralis⟩, anagogicus. Primus docet quid sit actum, secundus quid sit credendum, tertius quid agendum, quartus quid sperandum, unde:
>
> Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
> moralis quid agas, quid speres anagogica.
>
> Et sic communiter dicitur, sed iudicio meo nimis diminute et obscure, et ideo est advertendum quod sensus litteralis seu hystorialis est qui primo intenditur ab auctore et hic duplex est, unus proprius, ille scilicet qui surgit ex prima vocis significatione, verbi gratia, *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram.*[1] Prima huius vocis significatio est creatio vel productio celi et terre ab ipso Deo in principio mundi vel temporis. . . . Est etiam alius sensus litteralis, scilicet figurativus, qui consurgit ex secunda vocis significatione ab auctore intenta vel ab auctoris intentione elicita, verbi gratia, Gen. 49, ubi dicitur: *Beniamin lupus rapax*[2] et Iudicum capitulo 9: *Inierunt consilium ligna silvarum ut ungerent super se regem.*[3] Planum est quod sensus quos iste enuntiationes faciunt per se ex sua prima significatione false sunt. Nam planum est quod Beniamin fuit frater uterinus Ioseph, non est ergo lupus etc. Similiter patet de aliis, et tamen utraque littera sensualiter est vera sive verus sermo. . . . Quid autem fuerit de prima intentione ipsius Iacob verba illa proferentis, *Beniamin lupus rapax*, vel etiam Spiritus sancti eadem inspirantis difficile est dicere. . . .[4] Ex quibus patet quod sensus litteralis frequenter in scriptura exprimit alia quam res gestas et ideo forte non est idem dicere secundum acceptionem auctorum et quoad significata vocabulorum sensus litteralis et sensus historicus, quia sensus historicus solum respicit res gestas. . . . Sensus autem litteralis est plus, quia non solum res gestas, sed etiam alia exprimit,

[1]) Gen. i 1.

[2]) Gen. xlix 27.

[3]) Iud. ix 8.

[4]) William here compares the interpretations of the passage given by Jerome, Isidore and Augustine.

ut dictum est. Loquendo tamen de sensu isto qui precise dividitur contra sensum misticum, prout etiam nunc loquimur, secundum communem modum loquendi, indifferenter litteralis, historicus seu hystorialis, qui nichil aliud est quam rerum gestarum vel figuratarum explicatio, que vel ex prima littere significatione vel ex prima loquentis intentione consurgit. Omnis autem sensus qui secundo intenditur ab auctore misticus est. . . . Est autem triplex sensus misticus. . . . (fol. 14m-b.)

William II, therefore, is the author of the postill, and the sole author. It is a product of the early fourteenth century. The references to Thomas Docking and to Brother Thomas of Aquino do not stand alone. They could not possibly have been interpolated into a commentary written in the mid-thirteenth century. The use of 'correctores', quoted as such, the borrowing from Bonaventure, the near-Thomism of the doctrine on the four senses of Scripture, the lack of manuscripts or notices of them before the second half of the fourteenth century, all this points to an original composition by William II. A. G. Little was mistaken in ascribing it to William I; but what a natural mistake! It must be rare in the history of bibliography to find that two men of the same name, of the same Order, separated by some sixty years, should have been associated in the same work. The share of William I is limited to a transcript of Clement of Lanthony, a transcript of a table of canons and an explanatory note which occupies little more than a column in a folio volume. His authorship of even this modest piece is problematic, resting on an interpretation of Eccleston in the light of the manuscript evidence. It seems certain, however, that he popularized Clement at least among the Oxford Minorites, and his apparatus must have given William II the idea for a work which became classic in England.

Now that the authorship of the postill has been established, one hopes that it will be used for the study of theology and of learning in Oxford in the early fourteenth century. Here is a solid, popular book to swell the evidence for a neglected time.

St. Hilda's College, Oxford. BERYL SMALLEY

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF DUNS SCOTUS IN GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN LIBRARIES

About twenty years ago the view was put forward by Father Charles Balič, O.F.M.,[1] that: "It is impossible to speak with any degree of certitude about the life and writings of John Duns Scotus until all the libraries, not only in Europe but also in America, have been thoroughly combed for material. An investigation of this immensity, which is far beyond the capacity of any one man, must form the necessary basis for an edition of all the works of John Duns Scotus."

When in 1938 Fr. Balič was summoned to take over the direction of the Committee in Rome which was preparing a critical edition of all the works of Scotus, his first act was to call in a number of collaborators in various countries, who took upon themselves the task of examining systematically all the manuscript collections within their reach.[2] It was at this time that the search for manuscripts in German libraries was entrusted to me. In the midsummer of 1938, therefore, I undertook the work of travelling throughout the whole of Germany following a scientific method which, when submitted to experts in this matter, was received with universal approbation.[3] Now, after spending ten years in this laborious work, the time seems to me opportune for giving a comprehensive account of my journeys and to communicate the results with some confidence to my friends and, perhaps, to my critics. It will be readily agreed that the years 1938 to 1948 were not particularly conducive to the execution of works of a literary or historical nature, but the labours imposed upon me by obedience were under divine providence eventually brought to a happy issue.

Of the seven hundred and eight libraries examined, one half were investigated by me in person, the rest being examined either through printed catalogues or through direct communication with people on the

[1]) *Theologiae Marianae Elementa*, in *Bibliotheca Mariana Medii Aevi*, II, A, Sibenici, 1933, XLIV.

[2]) *Ratio criticae editionis Operum omnium Io. Duns Scoti*, I, Romae 1939, 106-12.

[3]) *Vier Jahre Skotusforschung in deutschen Bibliotheken*, in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, LX [1943], 145-67.

spot. In this manner all the manuscript collections to be found within the former confines of Germany and Austria have been listed[1] in a comprehensive survey which I have placed in the archives of the Scotus Commission in Rome.

Besides a palæographical description of many of the manuscripts, I have deposited there also a complete description of the contents of each library visited, giving a notice of the catalogue, the different classes of manuscripts, their titles and provenance, and describing their present state. There I have noted also, where necessary, whether a library was, for one reason or another, not completely accessible and therefore in what respects my description of it was incomplete and in need of further revision. The causes which impeded my work were many and various. Sometimes, for instance, a library was inaccessible for reasons connected either with politics or the war or with conditions obtaining in the post-war period: sometimes, and this was not rare, the manuscripts were hidden away for safety: at other times, the buildings had been utterly destroyed; at other times difficulties arose on account of the breakdown of social life, particularly in its cultural aspects. I do not mention the difficulties connected with housing, food and transport. Therefore, where I was unable to surmount all these obstacles, I have faithfully recorded my inability to furnish a full and exhaustive report so that at the earliest possible moment, certainly before any final editing of texts, a supplementary investigation may be undertaken. But in not a few cases, it is regrettably true to say that on account of the destruction of war, no supplementary investigation will be possible.[2] Nevertheless it can be positively stated that these gaps are of no great importance and that the lack of material caused by them cannot weaken the basis of a scientific judgment formed on the present investigation.

What then is the result of all this labour, towards the cost of which the Franciscan Province of Bavaria (which contributed 14,000 RM) and other benefactors responded so generously; and to which so many librarians, of every kind and degree, gave their unstinting co-operation with much courtesy and often at the cost of considerable sacrifice?

[1]) For the purpose of this article, therefore, libraries in towns which are now part of France (Colmar, Metz, Strasbourg) and of Poland (Danzig, Liegnitz) are included.

[2]) G. Leyh, *Die deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken nach dem Krieg*, Tübingen, 1947.

The following list of manuscripts which contain the genuine works of Duns Scotus will afford sufficient answer. The manuscripts were found in the following libraries:

Aschaffenburg, Stiftsarchivbibliothek
Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek (former)
Colmar, Bibliothèque du Consistoire Protestant
Danzig, Stadtbibliothek
Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek
Eichstätt, Staatliche Bibliothek
Erfurt, Stadtbibliothek
Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek
Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek
Kassel, Landesbibliothek
Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek
Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek
Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaushospitals
Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek
Liegnitz, Kirchenbibliothek zu St. Peter und Paul
Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt
Magdeburg, Bibliothek des Domgymnasiums
Melk, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts
Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek
Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de l'Université
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
Trier, Stadtbibliothek
Wien, Nationalbibliothek
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek
Zwickau, Ratsbibliothek

In the list of manuscripts the following abbreviations are used for the titles of the libraries:

AC	Stadtarchiv	BNat	Nationalbibliothek
BC	Stadtbibliothek	BP	Staatsbibliothek
BE	Kirchenbibliothek	BR	Landesbibliothek
BG	Gymnasialbibliothek	BSem	Seminarbibliothek
BM	Stiftsbibliothek	BU	Universitätsbibliothek

Commentarii in Primum Librum Sententiarum:[1]

Aschaffenburg BE Cod. Pap. 7
Berlin BP Cod. Theol. Fol. 657
Berlin BP Cod. Lat. Fol. 686
Colmar BE Cod. 1935
Danzig BC Cod. 1968
Erfurt BC Cod. Fol. 121
Giessen BU Cod. 730a (d. 28, 36, 37)
Heiligenkreuz BM Cod. 216 (d. 47)
Kassel BR Cod. Theol. Fol. 171 (Add. d. 20-25)[2]
Klosterneuburg BM Cod. 813 (Rep. Prol. q. 2)[3]
Kremsmünster BM Cod. 23 (Rep. Prol. q. 1)
Kremsmünster BM Cod. 221
Lambach BM Cod. 40
Liegnitz BE Cod. 23 (Ox., Rep. d. 4)
München BP Cod. 42
München BP Cod. 18332
Schlägl BM Cod. 140
Wien BNat Cod. 1405
Wien BNat Cod. 1423 (Ox. Rep.)
Wien B Nat Cod. 1449
Wien BNat Cod. 1453 (Rep., Ox., Prol. q. 2, 4, d. 3, q. 3, Rep. d. 8, q. 5)

Commentarii in Secundum Librum Sententiarum:

Aschaffenburg BE Cod. Pap. 7
Berlin BP Cod. Theol. Fol. 657
Berlin BP Cod Lat. Fol. 928 (Add.)[4]
Danzig BC Cod. 1968
Lambach BM Cod. 104
Melk BM Cod. 123
München BP Cod. 42
München BP Cod. 8717
München BP Cod. 18333
Rottenburg BSem Cod. 13 (Ox., Rep.)
Wien BNat Cod. 1423
Wien BNat Cod. 1449
Wien BM (Schotten) Cod. 335 (295)

Commentarii in Tertium Librum Sententiarum:

Berlin BP Cod. Theol. Fol. 657
Kremsmünster BM Cod. 214
Lambach BM Cod. 41
Melk BM Cod. 418
Wien BNat Cod. 1423
Wien BNat Cod. 1560 (Ox. III & Ox. III, d. 6, q. 1)
Wien BNat Cod. 4360

[1]) Except where otherwise indicated, the manuscripts contain the *Opus Oxoniense*.

[2]) On this fragment cf. L. Meier, *De raro quodam codice scotistico Cassellano nuper invento*, in Zeitschrift für Religions-und Geistesgeschichte, I [1948], 88-90.

[3]) Cf. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, Herbipoli, 1947, I, Num. 423, 1.

[4]) This manuscript, on vellum, confirms the testimony of Oxford, Balliol College, Cod. 208. For on fol. 35d it ends: "Expliciunt Additiones Secundi Libri Magistri Ioannis Duns extractae per Magistrum Wilhelmum de Allnewick de O.F.M. de Lectura Parisiensi et Oxoniensi praedicti Magistri Ioannis."

München BP Cod. 42
München BP Cod. 18333
Rottenburg BSem Cod. 21
Wien BNat Cod. 4368
Wien BNat Cod. 4629

Commentarii in Quartum Librum Sententiarum:

Berlin BP Cod. Theol. Fol. 634
Darmstadt BR Cod. 2776 (d. 21, q. 2)
Erfurt BC Cod. Fol. 130
Giessen BU Cod. 730
Kues BE Cod. 79
Lambach BM Cod. 50
Leipzig BU Cod. 528
Melk BM Cod. 281
Melk BM Cod. 421
Metz BC Cod. 38
München BP Cod. 3834
München BP Cod. 18334
München BP Cod. 18399 (d. 42).
Rottenburg BSem Cod. 19 (Ox., Rep. d. 49)
Wien BNat Cod. 1416
Wien BNat Cod. 1539
Wien BNat Cod. 4628
Wien BNat Cod. 4904
Wolfenbüttel BN Cod. 143 (Helmst. 122) (d. 15, qq. 2-4)

Quaestiones de Quolibet:

Erfurt BC Cod. Fol. 368
Giessen BU Cod. 731
Jena BU Cod. El. Fol. 36
Klosterneuburg BM Cod. 307
Leipzig BU Cod. 451
Lübeck BC Cod. Theol. Lat. 65 (q. 20)
Magdeburg BG Cod. 47 (Qq. diversae)
München BP Cod. 8717
München BP Cod. 15829
München BP Cod. 23572
München BP Cod. 26309
Münster BU Cod. 199 (164)
Schlägl BM Cod. 140
Strassburg BU Cod. 67 (q. 20)
Trier BC Cod. 964 (q. 20)
Wien BNat Cod. 1447
Wolfenbüttel BN Cod. Nov. 404.5 Nr. 17 (q. 20)
Zwickau BC Cod. I. XIII. 25

Tractatus de primo principio:

Berlin BP Cod. Lat. Fol. 687
München BP Cod. 15829
Rottenburg BSem Cod. 13
Wien BNat Cod. 1405

Theoremata:

Klosterneuburg BM Cod. 307

Quaestio de principio individuationis:

Erfurt BC Cod. Fol. 369

Quaestiones in Metaphysicam:

Berlin BP Cod. Lat. Fol. 420
Erfurt BC Cod. Qu. 291
München BP Cod. 15829

Quaestiones super Porphyrium:

Berlin BP Cod. 220 (Phill. 1700)
Leipzig BU Cod. 1351

Quaestiones super Praedicamenta:

Berlin BP Cod. 220 (Phill. 1700)
Leipzig BU Cod. 1351

Quaestiones super Perihermeneias:

Berlin BP Cod. 220 (Phill. 1700)

We do not wish to speak here of the numerous indications of manuscripts, given to the Commission, concerning the works of disciples of Scotus or works wrongly attributed to him, or of problems of this kind. All this will appear later when, in the last volume of the edition, questions regarding authenticity have to be decided. But it may be worth while to mention in passing that two collections of sermons commonly ascribed to Scotus can be restored with certainty to their true authors, Conrad of Brundelsheim, O. Cist., and Ioannes Contractus, O.F.M.[1]

The *Commentarius in Matthaeum*[2] also attributed to Scotus can now be restored to Nicholas Gorham, O.P., on the evidence of the Erlangen BU manuscript 31, after eight years' examination of all the copies of this commentary. We have searched in vain for many years for the biblical works of Scotus and it remains to be seen whether the English and French libraries will yield any evidence on this point. In the Augsburg BP Cod. Fol. 286 there is an indication of the real author of the work *De perfectione*

[1]) See the short proof given in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, *l. c.*, 164. Since then we have found several manuscripts which confirm our statement.

[2]) Cf. C. Balič, *Ioannis Duns Scoti Initia Operum omnium* (In manuscripto dactylographato), Romae 1938, pag. 28. H. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, I, Erlangen, 1928, 38-9.

statuum,[1] but I have not been able to follow up this matter to its final conclusion.

I may be allowed to call attention to the anonymous *Sermo de Conceptione B.V.M.* of which C. Balič and A. Emmen have found manuscripts and about which they have written.[2] The full list of manuscripts is as follows:

Assisi BC Fragm.
Berlin BP Cod. 420 (Theol. Qu. 78)
Colmar BE Cod. 1940
Eichstätt BP Cod. 211
Eichstätt BP Cod. 224
Heidelberg BU Cod. Heidelb. 368. 191
Innichen BM Cod. VIII. C. 6
Lambach BM Cod. 136
Lambach BM Cod. 328
Mainz BC Cod. II. 82
München BP Cod. 8944
München BP Cod. 8982
München BP Cod. 12283
München BP Cod. 14118
München BP Cod. 23936
München BP Cod. 26731
St. Florian BM Cod. 221
Stuttgart BR Cod. Theol. Fol. 85
Stuttgart BR Cod. Theol. Qu. 616
Trier BC Cod. 289
Vatican Library Cod. Pal. 397
Vatican Library Cod. Chigi B.V. 76
Würzburg BM Cod. I. 52

From the outset the importance of examining systematically every library was not to be judged by the discovery of numbers of manuscripts of Scotus which have so far escaped the eye of investigators. New manuscripts have, in fact, been brought to light, as the careful observer will easily notice, and others have been more clearly described palæographically or correctly assigned to their true authors. But, generally speaking, the scientific aim of this search has been to establish a complete inductive method[3] by which the critical edition could be placed on a solid and lasting foundation. Other precious information of a historical and biblio-

[1]) Fol. 1r notes in a fifteenth century hand: "Scotus, *De diversis statibus*," but the text is that of Iacobus de Iueterbog O. Carth., *Quodlibetum statuum humanorum*.

[2]) C. Balič, *Theologiae Marianae Elementa, l. c.*, XCVII-CII. A. Emmen, *Historia opusculi mediaevalis "Necdum erant abyssi" olim S. Bernardino Senensi adscripti*, in Collectanea Franciscana, XIV [1944], 148-87. This Sermon is important for the biography of Scotus since it states that he spoke at Paris in favour of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Balič, *l. c.*, mentioned two manuscripts, Emmen added another four, the rest have been discovered by me.

[3]) For complete induction cf. S. Reinstadler, *Elementa Philosophiae Scholasticae*, I, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1923, 161.

graphical nature has been acquired in the process.[1] It has become clear that the number of manuscripts containing the works of Scotus was not large and that it corresponds more or less with the number of manuscripts which transmit the more important writings of Saint Bonaventure.[2] In this respect the libraries have yielded nothing new. On the other hand, the short treatises of the Seraphic Doctor which had a devotional appeal and were in great demand by communities of religious women are to be found in hundreds of manuscripts which have hitherto passed unnoticed. The works of Scotus appealed only to theological specialists and, with the exception of the *Quodlibeta*, the twentieth question of which deals with stipends and is therefore of practical interest, and often transcribed, never descended to the level of practical theology. On the whole, manuscripts of the works of Scotus are to be found in places connected with the Universities, convents of friars or monastic colleges, where graduates were accustomed to teach and to leave at their death their collections of books.

The loss of manuscripts, which is one of the natural accidents of time, must also be considered. At Erfurt, which was a centre of Scotist studies,[3] there were towards the end of the Middle Ages 24 manuscripts containing the works of Scotus, yet to-day only six of them remain at

[1]) An incidental result of our research has been the discovery of some manuscripts containing works of William of Ockham, which I may enumerate here:

Berlin BP, Cod. lat. Qu. 928. II-IV Sent.

Beuron Cod. 1, on paper, late 14th century. Summa totius logicae, with the prologue of Adam of Woodham, *inc.* Omnes logicae tractatores intendunt.

Darmstadt BR, Cod. 797, fol. 1-24v. Tractatus de corpore Christi, *inc.* Stupenda supernae munera.

Innsbruck BU, Cod. 490, on vellum, early 14th century. Summa totius logicae, *inc.* as above.

Köln AC, Cod. GB Fol. 76, on paper, 15th century, fol. 1-313v. Dialogus.

Stettin BG, Cod. 13, on paper, 15th century, fol. 1-110v. "Expositio libri physicorum edita per M. Wilhelmum Ockham," *inc.* Philosophos plurimos sapientiae titulo decoratos qui tamquam luminaria fulgida . . . (2v) Quoniam quidem intelligere . . . Liber iste prima sui divisione dividitur in duas partes sc. in prooemium. *Finis.* Expositio magistri (Io. Pammyn *del.*) non sic sed Wislai decani Caminensis edita per M. Wilhelmum (Octam *del.*) Ockham.

[2]) A useful list is to be found in Stegmüller, *l. c.* I, 111, to which should be added Berlin BP, Cod. Theol. Fol. 650, on paper, 15th century, containing S. Bonaventura II. Sent. At present it is kept in the University Library of Tübingen.

[3]) Cf. L. Meier, *Ein neutrales Zeugnis für den Gegensatz von Skotismus und Ockhamismus im spätmittelalterlichen Erfurt*, in Franziskanische Studien, XXVI [1939], 167-82, 258-87.

Berlin and Erfurt.[1] In the same way, of the complete series of the *Oxoniense*, which was formerly extant in the ecclesiastical library of Butzbach, books I and II are bound together in a volume at Aschaffenburg, book IV and the *Quodlibeta* are in separate volumes at Giessen, whilst book III is completely lost. In so far, therefore, as we have been able to gather information on the manuscripts of Scotus which were formerly in old libraries, we have made it known to the Commission, in order that the diffusion of Scotus' works may be more clearly traced. Finally, it may be emphasized that no fragment of evidence has been found which could link the teaching of Scotus with the schools of the sixteenth-century Reformers, of which he was sometimes supposed to be the ultimate ancestor.

As regards the actual state of the critical edition of the writings of Scotus, certain conclusions may be drawn. The libraries of Germany, Austria, Italy[2] and Scandinavia[3] have been subjected to a thorough examination whilst those of Spain are in the process of being investigated.[4] Those that remain are the libraries of England[5] and France. These must be diligently searched, beginning with the great centres and ending with the small private collections, for in these countries we have literary circles closely linked with the celebrated Universities of Paris and Oxford. It may happen that we shall discover there what we have been unable to discover in other places. Nor should this task need protracted study for its completion. Experience has shown that by employing the proper method, the work of sifting the manuscripts can be satisfactorily accom-

[1]) P. Lehmann, *Bistum Mainz. Erfurt*, in *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, II, München, 1928, 39, 42, 67, 76, 142, 144, 160, 162, 192, 193, 209, 217, 329, 566.

[2]) *Ratio criticae editionis*, *l. c.*, II, Romae, 1940, page 2, note 2.

[3]) W. Lampen, *Mitteilungen über franziskanische Handschriften in Dänemark und Skandinavien*, in Antonianum, XX [1945], 439-58.

[4]) Cf. C. Balič, in *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, LXVII [1948], 143, where we are also informed that the libraries of Portugal have been examined.

[5]) The systematic examination of the English manuscript collections was begun in the summer of 1949, authorized by the following document: "Curia Generalizia dei Frati Minori. Roma, Via Aurelia 139, 22 March 1949. To whom it may concern. The bearer of this letter, the Reverend Father Ludger Meier, O.F.M., a priest of the Franciscan Province of Saint Anthony in Bavaria, has been commissioned by his religious superiors to undertake research work relative to Franciscan authors, particularly William of Ockham and John Duns Scotus, in the libraries of England. Courtesy extended to Father Meier will be deeply appreciated. (Sigillum.) Most Rev. Polycarp Schmoll, O.F.M., Delegate General."

plished within a short space of time. Then, and then only, can the critical edition of the writings of the Subtle Doctor be published with some degree of security, an end which all lovers of truth most ardently desire.[1]

Bamberg. FR. LUDGERUS MEIER, O.F.M.

[1]) This article is based on our first report, *Iter Germanicum Scotistlicum*, in Antonianum, XXIII [1948], 500-20, which has been completed and corrected. We are greatly obliged to Dr. C. H. Talbot, who translated this paper into English.

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