

## **G R E E K   A U T H O R S**

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### **ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS**

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*Fortuna.*

Bibliography.

#### **GENUINE WORKS OF ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS.**

##### **I. *De Anima.***

1. Chapter *De Fato* of *De Anima* II. Anonymous medieval.
2. Book I. Hieronymus Donatus.
3. Book II. Angelus Caninius.
4. Book I, partial. Antonius de Albertis.
5. Chapter *De fato* of *De anima* II. Horatius Ursinus.
6. Doubtful. Gerard of Cremona.

##### **II. *De Augmento.***

1. Gerardus Cremonensis.

##### **III. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora.***

1. Preface only. Bartholomaeus Zambertus.
2. Johannes Bernardus Felicianus.

##### **IV. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Librum de Sensu.***

1. Guillelmus de Moerbeka(?).
2. Lucillus Philalthaenus.

##### **V. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica.***

1. Johannes Genesius Sepulveda.
2. Partial translation of Book XIII(?). Anonymous.

##### **VI. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica.***

1. Guillelmus de Moerbeke.

2. Petrus Franciscus Portinarius.

3. Alexander Piccolomineus.

4. Ludovicus Nogarola.

5. Johannes Baptista Camotius.

6. Doubtful.

- a) Thomas Linacre.

- b) Edition of 1491.

##### **VII. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica.***

1. Marcus Musurus.

2. Bartholomaeus Zambertus.

3. Guillelmus Dorotheus.

4. Anonymous.

5. Book VII. Marcus Antonius Muretus.

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6. Book III. Petrus Gherardius.
7. Johannes Baptista Rasarius.
8. Doubtful : Lucillus Philalthaeus.

VIII. *De Fato.*

1. Anonymous medieval.
2. Hieronymus Bagolinus.
3. Hieronymus and Johannes Baptista Bagolinus.
4. Gentianus Hervetus.
5. Hugo Grotius.
6. Anonymous, 1658.

IX. *De Intellectu.*

1. Gerardus Cremonensis.
2. Hieronymus Bagolinus.
3. Doubtful : Baptista Turrius.

X. *De Mixtione.*

1. Jacobus Scheckius.
2. Angelus Caninius.
3. Gaspar Gabriel.

XI. *De Motu et Tempore.*

1. Gerardus Cremonensis.

XII. *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales.*

1. Partial translation. Book I, Chapter IV ; Book II, Chapter XXI ; Book III, Chapter XIII. Hieronymus Bagolinus.
2. Partial translation. Books I-III. Hieronymus Bagolinus ?
3. Partial translation. Book I, Chapter III. Ambrosius Leo.
4. Hieronymus and Johannes Baptista Bagolinus.
5. Gentianus Hervetus.

XIII. *De Sensu et Sensato.*

1. Gerardus Cremonensis( ?).

SPURIOUS WORKS OF ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS.

XIV. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum.*

1. Andreas Gratiolus.
2. Doubtful. Medieval translation of entire commentary.

XV. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos.*

1. Bartholomaeus Zambertus.
2. Guilelmus Dorotheus.
3. Johannes Nabascuensis.
4. Gaspar Marcellus.
5. Johannes Baptista Rasarius.

XVI. *De Febribus.*

1. Georgius Valla.

XVII. *Problemata.*

1. Petrus Padubanensis.
2. Theodorus Gaza.
3. Georgius Valla.
4. Angelus Politianus.
5. Johannes Davionus.
6. Doubtful : Georgius Merula.

Alexander Aphrodisiensis : doubtful.

- a) translations by St. Jerome.
- b) *De noi* or *De principio incorporeae et corporeae substantiae.*

## FORTUNA\*

The writings of Alexander Aphrodisiensis (fl. c. 200 A.D.) are devoted to the exposition and interpretation of the philosophy of Aristotle. As a result, the various intellectual movements associated with his works are phases of the wider intellectual movements associated with the works of Aristotle. Where Aristotle's intent is clear, Alexander confines himself to the role of expositor and commentator, and in such cases his influence simply reinforces that of Aristotle. But where Aristotle is ambiguous or incomplete, notably on the problem of the intellect, Alexander goes beyond mere exposition and demonstrates his power as a constructive thinker. Here he creates a new type of Aristotelianism, a type marked by a strong emphasis on the material and individual aspects of reality, and here he exercises his own influence.

The writings of Alexander fall into two groups: the independent works and the Aristotelian commentaries.

The independent works include: 1. *De Anima* I-II (Book II is probably not by Alexander in its present form). 2. *De Fato*. 3. *De Mixtione*. 4. *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales* (probably not by Alexander in its present form). Of the other independent works, none is known to survive in Greek

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or in translation, and none seems to have exercised any significant influence.

The Aristotelian commentaries are: 1. *Categoriae* (lost). 2. *De Interpretatione* (lost). 3. *Analytica Priora* I-II (Book II lost). 4. *Analytica Posteriora* (lost.) 5. *Topica* I-VIII (Books V-VIII not by Alexander in their present form). 6. *Sophistici Elenchi* (lost). 7. *Physica* (lost). 8. *De Caelo* (lost). 9. *De Generatione et Corruptione* (lost). 10. *Meteorologica*. 11. *De Anima* (lost). 12. *De Sensu*. 13. *Metaphysica* (Books VI-XII not by Alexander in their present form).

Of the spurious works, the extant commentary on the *Sophistici Elenchi* shares the *fortuna* of the genuine commentaries and may be treated together with them. The *De Febris* and the *Problemata* have histories which are independent of the general *fortuna* of Alexander, and they will be considered separately.

The *fortuna* of Alexander has three main divisions, corresponding to the three main philosophic traditions which were heir to his writings: 1. Late Greek and Byzantine. 2. Arabic. 3. West European.

The late Greek and Byzantine philosophers studied the writings of Alexander with care, particularly the Aristotelian commentaries. Although no new developments were as-

freely of their time and knowledge in answering queries on books and manuscripts inaccessible to the author. Their names will in most cases be found listed in connection with the items with which they were specially concerned; the author would also express his appreciation to Dr. Antonio Toschi of the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna, Dr. Jerzy Zathey of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska of Cracow, Dr. Louis B. Wright of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and Dr. Richard Lemay of Columbia University. Mrs. E. G. Allingham has supplied valuable research assistance at the British Museum, and Professor Elizabeth C. Evans of Connecticut College has generously helped to resolve several problems having to do with the finer points of Latinity.

sociated with his influence, Alexander soon won for himself the titles of 'the commentator' and 'the second Aristotle'. Indeed, later commentators made such extensive use of him that we can in part reconstruct his lost works from them.

Meanwhile, in Western Europe, all first-hand knowledge of Alexander's writings had gradually disappeared. The later Latin philosophers and the Church Fathers (e.g., Macrobius and Jerome) were acquainted with a few of his works, but this was the end of a tradition. Greek texts could no longer be read, and there were no translations. For over five hundred years, Alexander was little more than a name to the Latin West.

In the contemporary Moslem world, however, Alexander's *fortuna* was brilliant. The transmission of his writings to this civilization began with translations from Greek into Syriac, and it continued with the later, more important translations from Syriac into Arabic, or directly from Greek into Arabic. By the end of the ninth century, the Arabs probably had a version of the independent work *De Anima* I and they certainly had versions of the *De Intellectu* (which is an extract from *De Anima* II) and of the commentaries on the *Topica* and on the *De Generatione et Corruptione*. Later the Arabs obtained versions of several shorter works and of the commentaries on the *Categoriae*, the *Sophistici Elenchi* (Genuine?), the *Physica*, the *De Caelo*, the *Meteorologica*, and on parts of the *Metaphysica* (Books X and XII?). In passing, it may be noted that while there was no systematic translation of Alexander into Hebrew, Samuel ben Juda produced a Hebrew version of the Arabic *De Anima* I in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Alexander's commentaries had an extensive influence on the Arabic Aristotelian commentators. Averroes, for example, when preparing a commentary, made every effort to obtain the corresponding work of Alexander or, failing this, to recover as much as possible of the interpretation of Alexander.

It was the *De Intellectu*, however, which did most to stimulate original philosophic thought among the Arabs. In it, Alexander was concerned with problems which were

crucial in Moslem thought, and a long tradition of Arabic philosophers discussed his solution (e. g. Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Averroes). In this context, despite the opposition of Moslem orthodoxy, an Arabic Alexandrism developed, and Averroes tells us that some of his contemporaries regarded as 'knowing and perfect' only those who were disciples of Alexander. Averroes himself treated Alexander with great respect, but he finally rejected the position of the *De Intellectu* in favor of one midway between Alexander and Themistius.

In Western Europe, a few of Alexander's writings, unknown since the late ancient period, were again made available in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A group of short works, including the *De Intellectu*, were translated from Arabic into Latin at Toledo in the later twelfth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, three other works had been translated directly from the Greek: the *De Fato* (twelfth or thirteenth century), and the commentaries on the *Meteorologica* (1260) and on the *De Sensu* (c. 1265); at least fragments were available of Alexandrian *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*. In addition the Latin scholastic thinkers learned much of the opinions of Alexander from translations of the Arabic philosophers, notably Averroes, and of the Greek commentators on Aristotle, notably Themistius.

The scholastics, like the Arabs, found their main stimulus in the *De Intellectu*. It survives today in at least 25 manuscripts, and it was an important document in a long and passionate debate. In this debate the orthodox scholastics were confronted by two main 'Aristotelian' solutions to the problem of the intellect, that of Alexander and that of Averroes. For Christian reasons, they had to reject both, though they might still argue that there was another interpretation of Aristotle which a Christian might accept. (See, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas* and *Summa contra Gentiles* III 62f.). On the other hand, the radical Aristotelians tended to accept the Averroistic interpretation of Aristotle, though they might also make some use of Alexander.

In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, interest in Alexander slackened somewhat and no new translations appeared. But toward the end of the fifteenth century, under the inspiration of Renaissance philosophy and humanism, interest revived suddenly and reached a new high point. In about fifty years, the West came to know, both in Greek original and in Latin translation, virtually all the extant works of Alexander.

All Alexander's works, with the exception of the commentary on the *Metaphysica*, were published in Greek 1513-36. All were first published at Venice and, with a single exception, by the Aldine Press. In most cases one edition was sufficient, and only the *De Fato* was printed more than twice in the sixteenth century. In general these editions were prompted by a zeal for Hellenic studies rather than by contemporary philosophic developments.

The story of the Latin translations differs in several respects from that of the Greek editions. The first translations appeared earlier than the Greek editions, and new translations were still being made after the Greek editions had ceased. Many of the translations went through a large number of editions. Finally, the translations were most closely connected with the philosophic movements of the time.

As regularly, the writings on the soul and on the intellect took a prominent place. The *De Anima* I was published in 1495 (12 editions by 1559). The translation of the *De Intellectu* from the Arabic had been reprinted five times by 1528, and there was a new translation of the *De Intellectu*, from the Greek, in 1516. A translation of *De Anima* II was published in 1546 (four editions by 1559).

For the first time, the *De Fato* became a center of attention, and Alexander's ideas played an important part in the controversy over determinism and free will (See Pomponazzi, *De Fato*). The *De Fato* was first published in translation in 1516, revised in 1541, and retranslated in 1544 (a total of seven editions by 1559).

Study of the *De Anima* and of the *De Fato* directed attention to the other writings

of Alexander which impinge on the same problems. The *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales* appeared in partial translation in 1516, and in complete translations in 1541 and 1548 (a total of seven editions by 1559). Translations of the *De Mixtione* were published in 1540 and in 1546 (a total of five editions by 1559).

The reception of the Aristotelian commentaries lagged somewhat behind that of the *De Anima* and the *De Fato*. The commentary on the *Metaphysica* was published in 1527 (six editions by 1561), the commentary on the *Meteorologica* in 1540 and 1556 (a total of five editions by 1556), and the commentary on the *De Sensu* in 1544 (three editions by 1573).

Alexander's commentaries on the logical works were all first published in the early 1540's. The commentaries on the *Topica* and on the *Sophistici Elenchi* were frequently retranslated in the following decades, and both works seem to have been important in the rhetorical studies of the time. The commentary on the *Analytica Priora* was published in 1542 (four editions by 1560). The commentary on the *Topica* was first published in 1541, revised in 1547, and retranslated in 1573 (a total of seven editions by 1573); in addition there were separate translations of Books III (1569) and VII (1554). The commentary on the *Sophistici Elenchi* was first published in 1541, revised in 1542, and retranslated in 1546 and 1557 (a total of five editions by 1559). The *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum*, which had been published in 1542 under the proper ascription to Eustratius, was reprinted in 1568 as the work of Alexander and Eustratius.

In addition to the published translations which have been listed, there are a number of sixteenth century translations which exist only in manuscript. None of these, however, appears to have had wide diffusion or to have exerted any significant influence. (See below for details).

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the study of Alexander declined rapidly along with the general decline of Aristotelianism as a vital force in European thought. Only in the nineteenth century,

with the emergence of the history of philosophy and of modern classical scholarship, did the study of Aristotle and of Alexander revive. There were a few new Greek editions of Alexander toward the middle of the century, and at its end Alexander received an abiding monument with the critical edition of all his works in the Berlin *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*.

Of the spurious works, the *De Febribus* is a medical treatise associated in its history with a number of similar treatises. The small number of Greek manuscripts suggests that it enjoyed no great popularity in the Byzantine world, and there was no Greek edition until 1821. A Latin translation was published in 1498, and four more editions, always in collections of medical works, had appeared by 1612.

The *Problemata* deal with questions which lie on the borderline between philosophy, popular science, and folklore, and the work attributed to Alexander is associated with

a corpus of similar works attributed to Aristotle, Plutarch, Cassius, etc. Alexander's *Problemata* were frequently copied in the Byzantine world, and a Latin translation appeared in the first years of the fourteenth century. Their greatest popularity, however, began toward the end of the fifteenth century, and during the following period they had a much wider diffusion than any of the genuine works of Alexander. A second Latin translation (= the shorter recension, with some additions) was made in 1453, first published in 1504, and revised in 1541 (21 editions by 1608, regularly with the *Problemata* of Aristotle). A third translation (= the longer recension) was published in 1488 (seven editions by 1520, regularly with the *Problemata* attributed to Aristotle and Plutarch). A fourth and most popular edition (= Book I only) was published in 1498 (33 editions by 1686, usually with the *Problemata* attributed to Aristotle and those of Zimara).

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### II. INFLUENCE

#### A. General

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mentatoren und in der Scholastik des 13. Jahrhunderts' *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Supplementband 3.1 [1935]) 447-62.

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*commentateurs* (Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie, Paris 1953) ; H. Linke, *Quaestiones de Macrobius Saturnaliorum fontibus* (Diss. Breslau 1880) ; K. Praechter, review of *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* XXII 2, in : *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1906) 861-907 ; H.-R. Schwyzer, s.v. 'Plotinus,' Pauly-Wissowa 21. 1(1951) 573-4 ; J. Zahlfleisch, 'Die Polemik des Simplikios gegen Alexander...', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 10 (1897) 191-227.

### C. Syriac and Arabic

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## GENUINE WORKS OF ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS

### I. *De Anima*

**Editio Princeps:** with the works of Themistius, Venetiis, in aedibus haeredum Aldi Manutii et Andreae Asulani, 1534. Critical edition: *De Anima liber cum mantissa*, ed. I. Bruns (Supplementum Aristotelicum II 1) Berlin 1887. The two books of the *De Anima* differ markedly in form and content, and they were not originally a single work. Book I is generally recognized as authentic. Book II is almost certainly not by Alexander of Aphrodisias in its present form, though much of the material may be his or from his school. For a discussion of the problem, with bibliography, cf. P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Extégète de la Noétique d'Aristote*. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 99, Liège 1942) 24-28. That part of Book 2 known as the *De Intellectu* (= p. 106, line 19 through p. 113, line 24 ed. Bruns) had a separate *fortuna* among the Arabs and the Latins: for it, see IX below.

1. Chapter *De Fato* of *De Anima* II (= p. 179, line 25 through p. 186, line 31, ed. I Bruns).

An unknown author translated the chap-

ter *De Fato* of *De anima* II sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The translation is found in three manuscripts, two of the thirteenth century and one of the fifteenth century; in each case the manuscript also contains the independent work of Alexander, *De Fato* (See VIII, 1 below). The manuscripts contain no explicit evidence on date or authorship. However, the style of the translation is clearly medieval and cannot well be dated earlier than the twelfth century. It has been suggested that William of Moerbeke was the translator, but the exact stylistic studies which would confirm or deny this suggestion have not yet been made. (See F. Pelster, *Theologische Revue* 29 [1930] 118). The Greek manuscript used for the translation seems not to be identical with any now extant.

[Inc.]: (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16096, fol. 138). *De fato autem dignum considerare, quid est et in quo existentium, Esse enim aliquid fatum sufficienter communis aestimatio hominum statuit . . . / . . . [Expl.] Manifestissime autem Theophrastus ostendit idem ens quod secundum fatum ei quod secundum naturam in Callistene et est multum diligens circa fatum in sic inscripto libro.*

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(\*) El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Cod. Lat. V III 6, s. XIII, fols. 229-30. (Antolin, IV 181-3).

(\*) Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Cod. 243, a. 1423, fols. 62-64v (H. O. Coxe, Colleges II 100-101).

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16096, s. XIII, fols. 138-139v (L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 31 (1870) 38.

2. (Book I only) Hieronymus Donatus

Hieronymus Donatus began his translation of Book I of the *De Anima* not earlier than 1489, and he published the completed translation in 1495. The *terminus post quem* is established by Donatus' statement in his Preface (See F. E. Cranz, 'The Prefaces...', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 102 [1958] 516-7) that he read the *De Anima* while ambassador at Milan, a position which he first held in 1489. Further, in March 1490 Donatus writes to Politian from Milan: Sunt item apud me hic nonnulla illius (sc. Alexandri) opera mira erudita et gravia. In his habentur duo volumina Περὶ Ψυχῆς quae per hos dies perlegi. (Angelus Politianus, *Opera Omnia*, Basel [1553] 26). Donatus does not say in this letter that he is translating the *De Anima*, but Politian in his reply remarks, 'Sed et te quaepiam scriptoris eiusdem narrat Seraticus interpretari' (ibid. p. 27). While Donatus, as far as is known, translated only Book I of the *De Anima*, he asked Politianus to search in the Medici library at Florence for a complete copy of Book II (ibid. p. 26). According to I. Bruns (in his edition p. xiv) Donatus based his translation on the Greek codex later used for the Aldine edition.

*Praefatio* [Inc.]: (ed. Venetiis, apud H. Scotum, [1546]) Aristotelem Philosophum ita ab initio antiquitas admirata est, ut eum

laudaret potius quam sectaretur .../...

[Expl.]: Id dumtaxat ex hoc labore mercedis et gloriae mihi postulo, si quid quenquam inter legendum offenderit, non auctorem accuset, sed interpretem.

*Alexander, De Anima*

[Inc.]: (p. 78) Propositum nostrae institutionis est, ut de anima disseramus, quae versatur in corpore quod generatur et interit .../... [Expl.] Quibus intercedentibus partium membrorumque motio et progressus passim in omni animalium natura gignitur.

*Bibl.* : G. degli Agostini, *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori Viniziani* (Venice 1752-54) II 204-05; 210; 225; I. Bruns, in his edition p. xiv; E. Garin, 'Testi minori sull' anima nella cultura del' 400 in Toscana,' *Archivio di Filosofia* 20 (1951) 23-24; idem, *Filosofi Italiani del Quattrocento* (Firenze 1942) 539-41 (= a partial reprint of the Preface of Donatus, from the edition of Venice, 1549); B. Nardi, 'Il Commento di Simplicio al De Anima...', *Archivio di Filosofia* 20 (1951) 141-45.

*Manuscript:*

(Reported by the Rev. A. M. Albareda). Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Lat. 4535, fol. 1-117. The incipit and the explicit of the Praefatio and of the *De Anima* are identical with those of the edition of Venice, 1546. G. degli Agostini, *op. cit.* II 225.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1495, Brixiae: opera Bernardini de Misentis de Papia. GW 859.

(\*) 1500, Venetiis: per Johannem Herzog. With works of Themistius. BMC 5. 596-97; H 15465; St T 113; GW I col. 425.

(\*) S.a. (1500?) Venice. Simon Bevilaqua. L. S. Olschki, *Monumenta Typographica* (Florentiae 1913) n. 1313 p. 452; St T 114.

(\*) 1502, Venetiis. BM (under Themistius); R. Proctor 2.2. 43, no. 12657.

(\*) 1514, Venetiis: per A. de Zannis de Portesio. BN.

(\*) 1520, Venetiis: Lucantonius de Giunta. BM (under Themistius).

(\*) 1528, Parisiis: apud Simonem Colinaeum. BM (under Themistius); Renouard, Colines 110.

(\*) 1535, Basileae. BN.  
(\*) 1538, Venetiis : apud O. Scotum. BN.  
(micro.) 1546, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum.  
With other works of Alexander. BN.

(\*) 1549, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM.  
(\*) 1555, Venetiis : apud J. Gryphium. BN.

(\*) 1555, Venetiis : apud J. Gryphium. BN.  
(\*) 1559, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Doubtful editions :*

1481. GW 869 ; Hoffmann, BL I 117.  
This is not Alexander of Aphrodisias.

*Biogr. :*

Hieronymus Donatus (Girolamo Donato) of Venice, statesman and man of letters, was born c. 1454 and died in Rome in 1511. Donatus began the study of Latin and Greek at Venice; he then continued his studies at Padua, where he specialized in theology. On the completion of his studies he returned to Venice and devoted the rest of his life largely to the service of his city. He served as ambassador on various occasions to the King of Portugal and to the German Emperor, but most of his embassies were to Italian cities (Milan, Ravenna, Lucca) and to the papacy. In the period just before his death, Donatus played an important role in persuading the pope to remove the interdict from Venice and to join the Venetians and Ferdinand of Aragon against the French.

Donatus' writings include a number of speeches (e.g. to the Emperor, to the Pope, and to the French king); some tracts in defense of the Catholic position against the Greek Orthodox Church; and some translations (in addition to Alexander of Aphrodisias, the commentaries on St. Paul by John Chrysostom).

*Bibl. :* Eckstein 124 ; Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VI 1095-96.

Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie Istorico-critiche intorno la Vita e le opere degli scrittori Viniziani* (Venezia 1752-54) II 201-39 ; E. A. Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane* (Venezia 1824-53) I 90-91 and Index.

3. (Book II only) Angelus Caninius Anglariensis

Angelus Caninius did the translation of Book II of the *De Anima* at the instance

of friends shortly before its publication in 1546. On the letter of dedication, see F. E. Cranz, 'The Prefaces...', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 102 [1958] 518). He probably based his translation on the Aldine edition (I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xiv).

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis, apud H. Scotum, 1546).

Illustrissimo ac Reverendo Domino Bernardo Salviato, Priori Romano Dignissimo, Angelus Caninius Anglariensis S.P.D.

[Inc.] : Superioribus diebus quorundam meorum amicorum hortatu Alexandri Aphrodisiensis secundum librum De Anima una cum libello De Mixtione in latinam linguam converti, qui meorum studiorum primus fructus in publicum emersit. . . . [Expl.] : Accipe igitur, Vir Illustrissime, hilari vultu hoc tenue munus, quod mei ingenii vires elaborare potuerunt, meque in tuorum clementium numero repone. Vale.

Alexander, *De Anima* Book II

[Inc.] : p. 111 Quidnam anima sit, quaeve eius substantia, quae item accidentia, haud facile cognitu nec promptum est... p. 113 Chapter XIII (= beginning of *De Intellectu*. See IX below). [Inc.] : Intellectus ex Aristotelis sententia tripartitus est, quippe alter est intellectus materialis . . . . p. 116 Chapter 23 (= end of *De Intellectu* [Expl.] : sed separabilis quidem dicitur tanquam perse existens, et non cum meteria [materia], separatur autem a nobis quoniam non intelligitur, non quod alio demigret. Ita enim in nobis quoque gignebat.

Chapter XLVIII (= XXXVIII) De Fato

[Inc.] : p. 141 De fato considerandum est ac perspicendum quidnam sit et in quibus . . . [Expl.] : (p. 144 Chapter XXXVIII of Book II) Apertissime vero Theophrastus ostendit in Callisthene idem esse, quod secundum fatum est, cum eo quod est secundum naturam. Polyzelus quoque in libro, qui de Fato inscribitur.

*Bibl.*

I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xiv.

*Editions :*

(micro.) 1546, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum.  
With other works of Alexander. BN.

(\*) 1549, *ibid.* BM.

(\*) 1555, Venetiis : apud J. Gryphium. BN.

(\*) 1559, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.  
1824. Turici. Ioannes Conradus Orellius  
reprinted Chapters XLVII-XLVIII of *De  
Anima* II in a collection of Greek writings  
on fate, pp. 125-55. BM.

*Biogr. :*

Angelus Caninius (Angelo Canini) of Anghiari, was born in 1521 and died in 1557. He was the most learned man of his time in oriental languages. Caninius wandered from place to place teaching, and we are told that he taught in Venice, Padua, Bologna and also in Spain. He was a close friend of Andreas Dudithius, the Hungarian humanist, and through his influence was called to Paris, where he entered the household of Guillaume de Prat, Bishop of Clermont. He died in 1557 at Paris, or according to other authorities, in Auvergne.

His writings include grammars of Greek and of the Oriental languages, and some Old Testament commentaries. He edited the plays of Aristophanes, and he translated, in addition to Alexander of Aphrodisias, Simplicius' commentary on Epictetus.

*Bibl. :* Eckstein 79 ; Joecher I 1623 ; Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VII 1437-39.

F. Inghirami, *Storia della Toscana* (Fiesole 1843-44) XII 375-76 ; J. A. Thuanus, *Historiarum Sui Temporis Tomus Tertius* (Londoni 1733) ad an. 1557, III 667.

#### 4. (Partial translation of Book I) Antonius de Albertis.

Antonius de Albertis did a translation of part of Book I of the *De Anima* (through p. 95, line 2 of the Bruns edition) in the sixteenth century, probably in its middle period.

The translation is found anonymously in a single manuscript. (See below). The manuscript is evidently the author's working copy ; there are many corrections in the same hand and a number of places left blank for later completion, and the translation breaks off without explanation in the middle of a sentence.

The ascription of the manuscript to Antonius de Albertis is based on a comparison with Codex 10.701 of the same library, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This manuscript is in the same hand

as the *De Anima*, is also an author's copy, and the translations of Archimedes which it contains are explicitly ascribed to Antonius de Albertis.

Both manuscripts are of the sixteenth century, but neither is precisely dated, though it is known that Codex 10.701 was sold in Bologna in 1562. A somewhat more definite date for the translation may be obtained if we can identify Antonius de Albertis with Antonio di Niccolò degli Alberti, born in 1495 and Consul of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1553.

(Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10487) Preface. Lectori.

[*Inc.*] : Quisquis es, qui perfectam quoad fieri potest quarumcumque rerum scientiam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] : Sis felix.

Alexander, *De Anima*

Fol. 1. [*Inc.*] : Propositum nostrum est, de illa anima verba facere, quae est eius corporis, quod tum generationi, tum corruptioni obnoxium . . . / . . . fol. 85v. [*Expl.*] : in ipso digeruntur, aliae vero ad (= p. 95, line 2 of I. Bruns edition).

*Manuscript :*

(Micro. and reported by Dr. Franz Unterkircher).

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10487 (Philos. 408), s. XVI, introductory page plus fols. 1-85v. *Tabulae VI* 196.

*Biogr. :*

Antonius de Albertis (Antonio di Niccolò degli Alberti) of Florence, was born in 1495 and died in 1555(?). He was a pupil of Francesco da Diacceto and a fellow student of Pier Vettori. He served as Censor of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1541 and as Consul in 1553. His interests included mathematics, philosophy, and music as well as Italian literature. Of his writings, we possess the incompletely translated of the *De Anima* of Alexander Aphrodisiensis and also translations of the *Opera varia* of Archimedes (contained in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10701).

*Bibl. :* Mazzuchelli I 300.

L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon* (Milan 1947) 13 ; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome 1956) 322 n. 189 ; 323 n. 201 ; Salvino Salvini,

*Fasti Consolari dell' Accademia Fiorentina*  
(Firenze 1717) 114-115.

5. Chapter *De Fato* of *De Anima* II  
(= p. 179, line 25 through p. 186, line 31,  
ed. I. Bruns).

Horatius Ursinus translated the chapter *De Fato* of *De Anima* II sometime between c. 1550 and 1571. The translation is preserved only in Ms. Vat. Lat. 5313 of the Biblioteca Vaticana, and nothing is known of the circumstances of the translation. It may be dated after c. 1550, since the manuscript, probably autograph, is of the late sixteenth century, and before Ursinus' death in 1571.

Alexander, Chapter *De Fato* from *De Anima* II (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 5313).

[Inc.] : De fato, quid est et in quo genere ponendum, considerandum videtur .../... idem esse quod fit secundum fatum et quod secundum naturam, et Polyzelus etiam in eo qui de Fato inscriptus est liber.

Manuscript : Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat 5313, s. XVI ex., fols. 65-75v. (Micro. and reported by Biblioteca Vaticana).

#### *Biogr. :*

Horatius Ursinus (Orazio Orsini) of the famous Orsini family of Rome, flourished toward the middle of the sixteenth century and was buried in Pisa, November 3, 1571. He was the cousin and associate of Fulvio Orsini, and he was the friend of such classical scholars as Antonius Augustinus, Carolus Siganus, and Octavius Pantagathus. Ursinus appears in the correspondence of these men as a bibliophile and an archaeologist, and in 1562 he was made a Cavaliere di S. Stefano. His only known work, apart from some letters, is the translation of the chapter *De Fato* from the *De Anima* of Alexander Aphrodisiensis.

Bibl. : Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane* (Milano 1819-74) Fasc. 62, *Orsini di Roma*, Parte I, Tav. 14; P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études 74; Paris 1887); idem, 'Les Collections de Fulvio Orsini' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 29 (1884) 427-36, esp. no. 6, p. 431, and no. 31, p. 432; G. B.

de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores* (Rome 1857-88) I, Praef. xviii; C. Siganus, *Opera Omnia* (Mediolani 1732-7) VI 999 f.

#### 6. Doubtful.

G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210*. II. *Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 7 [1926]) 11, note 4, refers to a translation of the *De Anima* by Gerard of Cremona, printed in A. Achillinus, *Opus Septisegmentatum* (Bologna 1516). This is evidently a slip of the pen, and Théry intends to refer only to the translation of part of the *De Anima* II, the chapter *De Intellectu*. (See below IX 1).

### II. *De Augmento*

The Greek text of the *De Augmento* has not been recovered. Possibly it is an extract from Alexander's *Commentaria in Aristotelis De Generatione et Corruptione*, which was translated into Arabic in the ninth century by Hunain Ibn Ishaq.

#### 1. GERARDUS CREMONENSIS

Gerardus Cremonensis translated the *De Augmento* from Arabic into Latin in the twelfth century. The translation is attributed to Gerardus in the catalogue of his works compiled by his pupils. (See K. Sudhoff, 'Die kurze Vita und das Verzeichnis der Arbeiten Gerhards von Cremona...' *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 8 [1915] 78). The attribution is supported by the fact that in the manuscripts the *De Augmento* is regularly associated with other works translated by Gerardus or those of his school. The style of the *De Augmento* indicates that it was translated from the Arabic (e.g. the use of *yle*, which was often transliterated from Greek into Arabic and then from Arabic into Latin, but which regularly appears as *materia* in the translations made directly from Greek into Latin).

Alexander, *De Augmento* (ed. G. Théry, Paris 1926)

[Inc.] : Aristoteles dicit in libro de Generatione et Corruptione quod augmentum et

*Incrementum fiunt in forma et non in yle .../... Jam ergo declaratus est sermo philosophi quod augmentum sit in forma, non in materia.*

*Bibl.* : G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210*: II *Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 7 [1926]) 99-100.

*Manuscripts* : Nine manuscripts are known (6 = s. XIII; 2 = s. XIII-XIV; 1 = s. XIV). G. Théry, *op. cit.* 98-99 lists four; see also *Aristoteles Latinus Nos.* 57 (1.263); 966 (1.698); 1181 (2.827); and 1267 (2.878). The *De Augmento* is also found in:

(\*) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 242 (C. 4.10), s. XIV, fol. 20a (Narducci, *Catalogus...* 1.138-40).

*Edition* : G. Théry, *op. cit.* 99-100.

#### *Biogr.* :

Gerardus Cremonensis (Gherardo Cremonese, Gerard of Cremona) was born c. 1114 in Cremona in Lombardy, and died in 1187. He began his education in Italy and in 1134 went to Toledo to study Arabic. In Toledo he was very active as a translator from the Arabic, and perhaps as the head of a school of such translators, until his death in 1187.

His works consist entirely of translations. A list drawn up after his death by his pupils includes some 71 titles, but it is probable both that some works have been omitted and that some have been included which should be attributed to some member of the school rather than to Gerardus himself. Gerardus' translations include works of Aristotle and of other Greek and Arabic philosophers; mathematical and astronomical treatises by Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, etc.; and medical treatises by Galen, etc.

*Bibl.* : G. Sarton 2.338-44; Steinschneider EUA I 16-32.

B. Boncompagni 'Della vita e delle opere di Gherardo Cremonese' *Atti dell' Accademia Pontificia de' Nuovi Lincei* 4 (1850-51) 387-493; K. Sudhoff, 'Die kurze Vita und das Verzeichnis der Arbeiten Gerhards von Cremona' *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 8 (1914) 73-82; F. Wüstenfeld, 'Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische seit dem XI. Jahrhundert II,' *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der*

*Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 22 (1877) Hist.-philol. Cl. 55-81.

### III. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora*

*Editio princeps* : Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1520. The *editio princeps* was immediately copied, Florentiae, per haeredes P. Juntae, 1521.

Critical edition, ed. M. Wallies (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 2.1; Berlin 1883).

There are two classes of manuscripts, and the Aldine edition, like the Juntine edition copied from it, is based on the inferior class and contains many interpolations. See M. Wallies, in his edition, p. vi-viii.

#### 1. (PREFACE ONLY) BARTHOLOMAEUS ZAMBERTUS

Zambertus translated the Preface of Alexander's *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora* in 1524 or earlier. It is probable that he first did the translation in 1511 and that he revised it in 1521 and again in 1524.

The translation is found in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Lat. 117; this is apparently an autograph of Zambertus. Alexander's Preface here serves as an introduction to the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora* of Johannes Philoponus. A note at the end of the Philoponus *Commentaria* supplies the evidence for the dating (Fol. 602): *Aristotelis Stagiritae Priorum Resolutivorum libri secundi cum expositione Ioannis Grammatici finis: Bartholomaeo Zamberto Veneto interprete, qui opus ipsum alias ab ipso anno MDXI latinitati donatum reconditumque studentium utilitati consulens anno MDXXI secundo et tertio recognovit et castigavit planiusque et apertius fecit; et pridie kalendas Martii absolvit studentibusque legendum tradidit, principe sapientissimo et inclito Venetae reipublicae Andrea Griti, principatus eius mense nono. Anno vero ipsius interpretis quinquagesimo primoque dimidio elapso.* (The chronology of the note is not entirely clear, and it appears that there has been a slip of the pen somewhere.)

The references to Zambertus' age and to the tenure of office of Andrea Gritti, who was elected to the dogeship May 20, 1523, give 1524 (or, Venetian style, 1523) as the date when the work was completed. Possibly MDXXI should be read MDXXIV; possibly 1524 should be inserted as the date of the third working of the translation). In any case the note is conclusive evidence that the Preface of Alexander had been translated by 1524. Since the Preface is so closely associated with the *Commentaria* of Philoponus, probably it too was first translated in 1511 and was revised in 1521.

#### Alexandri Praefatio.

[Inc.]: *Logicus et syllogisticus tractatus qui nobis in praesentia proponitur sub quo et demonstrativa et dialectica et experimentalia .../... quales mores esse debeant eorum qui civitatem complent; his enim civitatis primae sunt partes.*

*Bibl.* Otto Hartig, 'Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek...', *Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., München, Abhandlungen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 28.3 (1917) 272-3.

#### Manuscript:

(Reported by Dr. Bernhard Bischoff, and micro).

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 117, s. XVI, fols. 15-20v. Catalogus CLM III 1 p. 23.

#### Biogr.:

Bartholomaeus Zambertus (Bartolomeo Zamberti) of Venice was born in 1473 and died some time after 1539. He was a man of letters and philosopher, and his particular interests were Alexander Aphrodisiensis and Euclid. Possibly he is to be identified with the Bartholomaeus Zambertus who was active on various Venetian councils in the first half of the sixteenth century.

His writings include a Latin comedy and a series of translations from Greek into Latin (the logical works of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Apollonius, Proclus, Euclid, Nicomachus Gerasenus, Ammonius, and Philoponus) and, if this is the same B.Z., a number of compilations of Venetian law.

*Bibl.:* Enc. Ital. 35.874.

M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* (repr. of 2nd ed., Leipzig

1913) II 338-40; E. A. Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane* IV 510; M. Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana* (Padova 1852) I 21 n. 42; 174 n. 211; 315 n. 267; Pietro Riccardi, *Biblioteca Matematica Italiana* (Modena 1870) II 644-48; G. Soranzo, *Bibliografia Veneziana* (Venezia 1885) 549, no. 6866.

## 2. JOHANNES BERNARDUS FELICIANUS

Felicianus published his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora* in 1542, and the letter of dedication suggests that he did the translation in the immediately preceding period. (See Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'). According to M. Wallies in his edition of the Greek text (p. xv) Felicianus based his translation either on the Aldine or the Juntine edition; he includes full lemmata of the Aritotelian text.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis, apud Scotum, 1542-43).

Clarissimo atque illustrissimo Diego Hurtado Mendozae Caesaris Oratorem apud Venetos agenti, Ioannes Bernardus Felicianus S.

[Inc.]: (p. 3) In iis omnibus, Mendoza clarissime, quae rationis particeps homo humano generi utiliter excogitavit, nihil mihi vel praestantius vel admirabilius videri solet, quam quod artes ac disciplinas inventerit, quibus ratio ipsa excoleretur .../... [Expl.]: (p. 4) Alexander hic noster quoque nunc tibi oblatus summam animi in te mei venerationem non solum in praesentia tibi significabit, verum etiam in posterum apud omnes testatam relinquet. Vale.

#### Commentaria

Alexandri...Praefatio. [Inc.]: (p. 5) Logica et ratiocinatrix tractatio quae nunc nobis proposita est, sub quam demonstrativa, dialectica seu dissertativa, et tentativa .../... (p. 8) eo quod necessarium fuerit de moribus hominis prius docere, quales esse debeant, qui civitatem constituent, quippe quae primae hae partes civitatis sint. Alexandri...Explanatio. [Inc.]: (p. 9) Primo dicendum est...et scientiam demonstrativam. Quod propositum et quis scopus resolutoriae disciplinae sit, brevibus exponit.

.../... (p. 246) propterea quod si non accurate sumantur, aliter nonnulla esse posse videantur, quam demonstratum fuerit.

*Bibl.* : M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xv-xvi (includes a specimen of the Felicianus translation).

*Editions:*

(Micro.) 1542, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

(\*) 1549, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM ; (Ct Y).

(\*) 1559, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

(\*) 1560, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.  
Doubtful editions :

According to Hoffmann, BL I 119, Brunet I 161, and Graesse I 69, the Felicianus translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora* was also published together with the translation by Gaspardus Marcellus of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* at Venice by H. Scotus in 1546. A 1546 edition is also mentioned by Fabricius, BG V 655.

*Biogr.:*

Johannes Bernardus Felicianus (Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano, also called Regazzola) of Venice was born c. 1490 and died c. 1552. He began his studies in Padua and received degrees in philosophy and medicine. About 1520 he returned to Venice and began to teach Greek literature. In 1528 the Senate of Bologna made him a generous offer, but Felicianus preferred to remain in Venice. In his last years (1541 f.?) he taught Greek and Latin letters at the University of Pavia.

Felicianus' writings are all translations and include the works of Demosthenes, commentaries on the New Testament, the Greek commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and works of Galen, Dexippus, Porphyry, and Ammonius.

*Bibl.* : Eckstein 155 ; Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VII 2063.

F. Arisi, *Cremona Literata* (Parma 1702-41) II 164-6 ; III 359-360 ; E. A. Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane* (Venezia 1824-53) IV 206-10.

(\*) L. Cicorio, *Medaglioni umanistici con un Epilogo sul Cinquecento cremonese* (Cremona 1919).

#### IV. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Librum de Sensu*

*Editio princeps* : with the *De Anima* of Themistius, Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1527.

*Critical edition* : ed. P. Wendland (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 3 ; Berlin 1901).

##### 1. *GUILLELMUS DE MOERBEKE* (?)

The medieval translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Librum de Sensu* was completed not later than c. 1270, and it was probably the work of Guillelmus de Moerbeke. The translation is found in three manuscripts, none of which contains explicit evidence on date or authorship. A *terminus ante quem* for the translation is provided by St. Thomas' use of it in his commentary on the *De Sensu et Sensato* (see A. Mansion, below). It may with good probability be attributed to Guillelmus de Moerbeke on the basis of style, although G. Théry (see below) has argued for the authorship of Gerardus Cremonensis.

The lemmata of the Aristotelian text were apparently translated specially for the Alexander *Commentaria*, since they differ from the 'nova translatio' of the *De Sensu*. (Arist. Lat. I 97). The translation is based on a Greek manuscript differing from any now extant and is important for the establishment of the Greek text.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Librum de Sensu*. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 14714, cited in *Aristoteles Latinus* I 200).

[*Inc.*] : Cum dixisset in hiis que de anima, de anima omni in genere et universaliter, et similiter de qualibet potentiarum ipsius .../... Et cum hoc dixisset recapitulat breviter ea quae dicta sunt in libro et insinuat quod post librum ordinatus est qui de memoria et sompno.

*Bibl.* : *Aristoteles Latinus* I 97 ; M. Grabmann, *Guglielmo di Moerbeke, O.P.* (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 11 [1946]) 132-34 ; A. Mansion, 'Le Commentaire de Saint Thomas sur le "De Sensu et Sensato" d'Aristote,' *Mélanges Mandonnet* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 13 [1930] I 83-102, esp. 91-96 ; F. Pelster, *Theologische Revue* 27

(1928) 134 and 29 (1930) 118 ; G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210 : II. Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 7 [1926]) 84-6 and 91-92 ; C. Thurot, in his edition, (see below) 385-8.

*Manuscripts :*

Four manuscripts are known (2 = s. XIII ; 1 = s. XIV ; 1 = s. XV) ; see *Aristoteles Latinus Nos.* 105 (I 286) ; 641 (I 545), 1233 (II 853), and 1570 (II 1077).

*Edition :*

Alexandre d'Aphrodisias, *Commentaire sur le Traité d'Aristote De Sensu et Sensibili*, édité avec la vieille traduction latine, par Charles Thurot (Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale... 25. 2, 1875).

*Biogr. :*

Guillelmus de Moerbeke or Moerbicanus or Moerbekensis (William of Moerbeke) was born at Moerbeke in East Flanders c. 1215 and died, probably at Corinth, in 1286 or 1285. Guillelmus was penitentiary and chaplain to a number of popes, took part in the Council of Lyons in 1274, and from 1278 to his death was Archbishop of Corinth. From 1266 to 1278 he was most often at the papal court at Viterbo and Orvieto, and he was in Greece on at least two occasions, once before 1266 and then in 1280 and the following years. Guillelmus was closely associated with St. Thomas and at his instance undertook a series of translations, largely of philosophic works, from the Greek. These translations (in some cases revisions) include writings of Aristotle, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Philoponus, Proclus, Simplicius, and Themistius in addition to some scattered mathematical, medical, and physical treatises. In addition Guillelmus composed a book on geomancy.

*Bibl. :* G. Sarton II 2.829-31.

M. Grabmann, *Guglielmo di Moerbeke O.P.* (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 11 [Roma] 1946) ; T. Kaepeli, 'Per la biografia di Guglielmo di Moerbeke, O.P.,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 17 (1947) 293-94 ; L. Minio-Paluello, 'Guglielmo di Moerbeke, traduttore della Poetica di Aristotele,' *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 39 (1947) 1-17. G. Verbeke, 'Guillaume de Moerbeke, traducteur de Jean Philopon,' *Revue Phi-*

*losophique de Louvain* 49 (1951) 222-35 ; 'Guillaume de Moerbeke, traducteur de Proclus,' *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 51 (1953) 349-73 ; 'Guillaume de Moerbeke et sa méthode de traduction,' *Medioevo e Rinascimento (Studi in onore di B. Nardi)* II (Florence 1955) 779-800.

## 2. LUCILLUS PHILALTHAEUS

Philalthaeus translated the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Librum de Sensu* shortly before its publication in 1544 (see his Letter of Dedication, in F. E. Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'). He based his translation on the Aldine edition (C. Thurot, in his edition of the Greek text with the medieval translation, p. 2) and he included full lemmata of the Aristotelian text.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis, apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1544).

Iacobo Philippo Sacco Excellentissimo Senatus Mediolanensis Praesidi Lucillus Philalthaeus S.P.D.

[Inc.] : Postquam praeclara illa sapientiae studia, quae homine nobili et excellenti digna essent . . . / . . . Quod tu pro tua hoc tempore praesertim facias velim, quo paene renasci politiores literae videntur. Bene et diu vale.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Librum de Sensu*

[Inc.] : (p. 1) Haec Libro de Anima cum Aristotle narrasset qua nobis cumque de anima communiter, in universum, et proprie quot quaeque essent eius facultates . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (p. 39) Deinde mentionem facit de his quae illico hunc librum sequuntur, id est de memoria et somno.

*Bibl. :* C. Thurot, in his edition, p. 2.

*Editions :*

(Micro) 1544, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. With Aristotle, *De Sensibus*. BN.

(\*) 1549, *ibid.* BN.

(\*) 1573, Venetiis : apud haeredes Scotti. BN.

*Doubtful Editions :*

1559, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum (Fabricius BG B 658. Hoffmann, BL I 120).

*Biogr. :*

Lucillus or Lucilius Philalthaeus (Lucilio Filalteo, also called Maggi) of Brescia, was born c. 1510 and died in 1578. He began his

studies at Venice under Johannes Baptista Egnatius and then went to Padua where he worked under Zimara. In 1527 he was forced to leave Padua and continued his studies in 1528 at Bologna where he remained to 1535. For a time he was physician to the Marchese del Vasto at Milan and on various expeditions. After the death of the Marchese in 1546, Philalثaeus began a long teaching career at Pavia, where he remained to 1565. Toward 1565 he was in some trouble with the Inquisition, and, perhaps as a result, went to Turin, where he taught until his death, in 1578. Philalθaeus wrote a *Libellus de methodo recitandi curas ad eos qui lauream petunt*, commentaries on Aristotle (*Physica I-II* and *De Caelo*), and a volume of letters; he also translated works of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Aristotle, Philoponus, and Simplicius.

Bibl.: Eckstein 158; Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VII 917-25.

G. Ghilini, *Teatro d'Huomini Letterati* (Venezia 1647) I 155; P. Argelatus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium* (Milano 1745) II 2144-45.

#### V. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica*.

There was no Renaissance edition of the Greek text. The first complete edition was by H. Bonitz (Berlin, 1847), and the standard edition is by M. Hayduck (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca I*) Berlin 1891.

Several recensions of the work are found in the Greek manuscripts. Hayduck edits the vulgate, best found in his manuscripts A, M, and, for part of the commentary, in L and F. In addition there is a later adaptation of Books A,a, and the first part of B; there is also an epitome beginning with Book K. (See Hayduck in his edition p. vii-x).

The first five books of the commentary are recognized as the work of Alexander. The remaining books are almost certainly not his in their present form, but they may incorporate Alexandrian material. For a summary of the discussion, with bibliography, see P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Exégète de la Noétique d'Aristote*

(Bibl. de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège fasc. 99 [1942]) 14-19. Before the Latin translation published in 1527, Europeans could learn something of a commentary by Alexander on Book XII through the extensive quotations from it by Averroes. (See the works by Freudenthal and Festugière in the bibliography to Alexander's *fortuna*, above II, C and E).

#### 1. JOHANNES GENESIUS SEPULVEDA

Sepulveda translated Alexander's *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica* at the instance of Giulio de' Medici. He began work on the translation at least as early as 1523 and published it, dedicated to Giulio (then Pope Clement VII) in 1527.

In the preface to his translation of Aristotle's *De Mundo*, dated August, 1523, Sepulveda writes to Hercules Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua: 'Ac ut fias ad capessenda studia philosophiae occasione librorum alacrior, scito me Alexandri Aphrodisei divinam illam enarrationem in omnes libros Metaph. Aristot. e greco in latinum convertendi provinciam susceptam urgere. Ex cuius operis lectione latini philosophi quibus antehac fuit incognita, si quem fructum percepient (percipient autem, ut affirmare audeo, vel maximum) hunc debebunt divino viro, et nato ad iuvanda imprimis studia litterarum Julio Medicae Cardinali, cuius voluntatem honesto laboris proposito prae-mio et studiose et libenter exequimur.' (cited by A. Losada, *Revista de Filosofia* 8 [1949] 118). The translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica* was published at Rome in 1527, and the pope's letter of license for the printing is dated January 22, 1527 (J. G. Sepulveda, *Opera* [Madrid 1780] I 14).

Sepulveda appears also to have taken an active interest in the second edition of Paris, 1536. In 1534 he writes to Rodricus Manricus, 'Alexandri Aphrodisiensis commentaria in duodecim Aristotelis libros περὶ τὸν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά a nobis ante aliquot annos e graeco in latinum conversa, Romaeque impressa, ad te quemadmodum jussisti, mittimus. Quae, si me audies, saepe ac

diligenter lectitabis : nihil est enim eis eruditius, nihil ipsorum auctore vel gravius vel subtilius... Illud autem a te peto, vehementerque rogo ut, si hoc opus Lutetiae, quemadmodum te facturum ostendis, excendum curaveris, des operam, ut id accurate diligenterque fiat...' (Sepulveda, *Epistolarum Liber* 2.8 in his *Opera* III 127).

In a letter of dedication (See Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') Sepulveda tells something of the circumstances of the translation. In addition to the patronage of Giulio de Medici, he had the encouragement of Johannes Matthaeus Gibertus and the expert advice of Nicolaus Judecus.

He consulted four Greek manuscripts to determine the text. According to M. Hayduck (in his edition p. viii-ix) Sepulveda's text belongs to the vulgate recension and is very close to manuscripts L and F in the parts of the *Commentaria* where these contain the vulgate. All the manuscripts of Sepulveda were incomplete at the beginning (omitting page 1 through page 2, line 1 of Hayduck) and lacked Books M and N (XIII and XIV). For the Aristotelian lemmata, Sepulveda made use of the translation of Argyropylus, but he occasionally modified it where it seemed to him inaccurate or not well adapted to the comments of Alexander.

Letter I (ed. Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinaeum, 1536).

Illustrissimo ac Generosissimo Principi Ioanni ab Luxemburgo Antonius Erlautaeus Maroliensis S.

[Inc.] : Quum iampridem cuperem meam erga te tibi perspectam esse voluntatem .../... et quae sunt homine Principe digna, curaturus, Bene vale.

Poem.

Ad eumdem eiusdem Tricolon Tetrasphonon.

[Inc.] : Luxemburge tuam nobilium domum .../... [Expl.] Quando etiam tanto vindice sceptr'a vigent.

Letter II. Ad Clementem Septimum Pont. Max. Ioannis Genesii Sepulvedae Cordubensis Praefatio...

[Inc.] : Vetus querela est, Clemens septime, Pont. Max., et ea nec imprudentium hominum nec ineruditorum, quidnam sit causae

demirantium .../... Quod vero quibusdam in locis ab Argyropyli interpretatione abhorreamus, ne quis id putet negligentia quapam fuisse commissum, partim idcirco fecimus, quoniam ea quandoque nobis haud admodum probatur, partim quoniam licet sententias ille recte convertisset, Alexandri tamen enarratio alia verba, aliam verborum seriem postulabat, cui enarrationi auctoris dictio nobis fuit accommodanda. Vale.

Alexandri *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica*

[Inc.] : p. 1 *Omnis homines natura appetunt... rerum declarat.* Omnes homines appetunt scire. Actioni autem praestare cognitionem, indicio est, quod omnis actio ad alium finem refertur. (= ed. Hayduck, p. 2, line 2)...

Letter III p. 220-222 (after end of Book V)

Ad Clementem VII Pont. Max. Io. Genesii Sepulvedae Praefatio in Alex. Aphr. Enarrationem posteriorum librorum Arist. de prima philosophia.

[Inc.] : Hoc quoque in loco, Clemens Septime, Pont. Max., pauca me praefari sine, et more nobilissimorum poetarum in medio tanquam operis cursu, opem divinam, hoc est nomen tuum implorare.../...ut sciant omnes, quantum tibi aetas nostra hoc quoque nomine debeat, quod tales tantosque auctores velut capite diminutos in libertatem asserendos ac variis tenebris depresso, in lucem, nec eam, ut spero malignam, cures revocandos. Vale.

[Expl.] : (of entire commentary) (p. 402) Nam vagantium sphaerarum causae sunt illae quidem dii, sed participatione et voluntate a primo eodemque beatissimo intellectu pendent (= ed. Hayduck p. 721, line 33).

Bibl. H. Bonitz, in his edition, p. xv-xvii (reprints part of Letter III); Angel Losada, *Juan Ginés de Sepulveda a través de su Epistolario y nuevos documentos* (Madrid 1949) 273-80; idem, 'Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, traductor y comentarista de Aristóteles,' *Revista de Filosofía* 7 (1948) 499-536, esp. 512-19; idem, 'Apéndice documental al artículo sobre Juan Ginés de Sepulveda...', *Revista de Filosofía* 8 (1949) 109-28; J. G. Sepulveda, *Opera Omnia* (4 vols. Madrid 1780) I xiv-xvii; III 366-75 and 375-81 (reprints Letters II and III).

*Editions :*

- (\*) 1527, Romae : M. Silber. BM.  
 1536, Parisiis : apud S. Colinaeum BN ;  
 Renouard, Colines p. 257-58. (Ct Y).  
 (\*) 1536, Parisiis : ex officina chalcographica L. Cyanei. BN.

- (\*) 1544, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM.  
 (\*) 1551, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. DK.  
 (\*) 1561, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Biogr. :*

Johannes Genesius Sepulveda (Juan Ginés de Sepulveda) was a Spanish humanist, philosopher, and historian who was born in Pozoblanco, near Cordoba, in 1490 and who died in 1572-73. Sepulveda had his early education at Cordoba and continued his studies first at the University of Alcalà and then at the Spanish College in Bologna where Pomponazzi was his chief teacher. From 1522 to 1526 he was closely associated with Alberto Pio. After the death of Alberto Pio in 1527, Sepulveda served several of the great churchmen of his time, including Pope Clement VII. After the death of Clement VII, Sepulveda in 1536 accepted the post of official chronicler to Charles V. He returned to Spain and henceforth made Valladolid his headquarters. After the death of Charles V, Sepulveda continued his work for Philip II until his death in 1572-73.

Sepulveda did a number of translations of Aristotle (*De Mundo*, *De Ortu et Interitu*), a volume of letters, some works on the law of war, a *De Fato et Libero Arbitrio*, and his main historical works : *De Rebus Gestis Caroli V* and *De Rebus Gestis Philippi II*.

*Bibl. : Enc. Ital.* 31, 404-5 ; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 14.2, 1905-07.

A. F. G. Bell, Juan Ginés de Sepulveda (Hispanic Notes and Monographs 9. Oxford 1925) ; A. Losada, *Juan Ginés de Sepulveda a través de su Epistolario* (Madrid 1949) ; J. G. Sepulveda, *Opera* (Madrid 1780) I i-cxii.

## 2. ANONYMOUS. PARTIAL TRANSLATION OF BOOK M (XIII)

A partial translation of Book M of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica* is found anonymously in Ms. S 85 sup. (of

the Codici Pinelliani) of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. It is probable that this translation of Book XIII was not done until after Sepulveda had published his translation of Books I-XII in 1527. The manuscript is of the sixteenth century, and a definite *terminus ante quem* is provided by A. Schott's mention of the translation in 1603 (See *Bibl.* below.).

In the manuscript the *Commentaria* of Alexander are confusedly combined with Aristotle's *Metaphysica* and with some scattered glosses, of uncertain origin, on the *Metaphysica*. It does not appear whether this arrangement goes back to a Greek manuscript or whether it is the work of translator or copyist.

The first section of the manuscript (fol. 1-7v) contains a translation of Alexander's *Commentaria* (p. 722 through p. 732, line 15 of the Hayduck edition) with very brief Aristotelian lemmata. In the middle of fol. 7v, without any notice in the text, there are a few transitional (?) sentences and then a translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, beginning at 1077b 1. An incomplete collation indicates that fol. 7v-19 contain the rest of Aristotle's Book M, with some slight omissions and with some brief glosses. On fol. 19 Book XIV begins. The title again refers to Alexander Aphrodisiensis, but what follows has no apparent connection with his work. There are a few general sentences of introduction, and then the beginning of the text of Aristotle's N. This breaks off in Chapter II (1089b 27) with the note : Et sequitur textus usque ad ultimum capit. There are separate headings for Chapters III-VI and a few brief notes on each (the longest contains only 14 lines). These insignificant notes usually contain a few phrases of Aristotle, a general division of the text, and sometimes one or two glosses. None of the material appears to be derived from our present text, and some of it certainly comes from other sources (e.g. the musical glosses in Chapter VI).

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica*, Books XIII and XIV(?) (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. S 85 sup.)

[Inc.]: (fol. 1) Alexandri Aphrodisei in Mu, hoc est tertium decimum Metaphysicae. In Lambda huius operis, quod inscribitur super naturalia, cum de primo divinoque ac immobili principio dixerit...[Expl.]: (of Book XIII, fol. 19) sed liquidissimo claret intuitu quod quodammodo quidem scientia est universalis, quodam autem modo nec excogitari potest.

[Inc.] (of Book XIV fol. 19): Alexandri Aphrodisei in N, hoc est in quartum decimum Metaphysicae. *De istac itaque substantia tota que (tantaque) disserta sunt et hoc in libro quod (qui? There appear to be several corruptions or omissions in the sentence) Ni inscribitur est decimus quartus liber et supremus Aristotelis Metaphysicae ubi discutiuntur adamussimque trutinantur tum Pythagoreorum tum Platonis opiniones. . . .* [Expl.] (of Book XIV and of entire work, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>) Quamobrem hic ac in superiori satis determinatum fuit de substantiis separatis a materia juxta priscorum antiquorumque opinionem.

*Bibl.* : Fabricius, BG III 257.

(Reported by M<sup>me</sup> Marie Thérèse d'Alverny). A. Schott, *Vitae Comparatae Aristotelis ac Demosthenis* (Augustae Vindelicorum, apud C. Mangum, 1603) 160.

*Manuscript:*

(Reported by E. Franceschini and micro).

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. S 85 sup., s. XVI, fols. 183-206<sup>v</sup>. (The manuscript is a miscellany and the translation also has its own, more accurate pagination, fol. 1-22<sup>v</sup>). A. Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani*, 159.

## VI. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica*

Editio princeps: with Johannes Grammaticus, In Libros de Generatione et Corruptione, and Alexander Aphrodisiensis, De Mixtione, Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1527.

Critical edition: ed. M. Hayduck (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 3.2; Berlin 1899).

### 1. GUILLELMUS DE MOERBEKE

Guillelmus de Moerbeke translated Alexander's *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* at Nicea in 'Greece,' April 24, 1260.

Two manuscripts state that the work was translated 'de greco in latinum apud Nicream urbem Grecie anno Christi 1260. (Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2178 and Ottob. lat. 2165. See *Aristoteles Latinus I* 96), and six manuscripts give the date of completion 'anno Domini MCCLX in vigilia Marchi Evangeliste' (Arist, Lat. I 96). Despite the absence of direct evidence, there can be no doubt that Guillelmus de Moerbeke was the author. The style is his, and the date and place both point to him. He did the 'nova translatio' of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, and a gloss of the translation indicates that he had available the Commentary of Alexander (ibid.). Finally a note in a fourteenth century manuscript couples the two translations in speaking of the 'nova translatio' of the *Meteorologica*, 'Et dico quod anno domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo translatus est textus de greco in latinum apud Niceam urbem, et similiter cum hoc translata est expositio Alexandri Aphrodisii.' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 153 f. 28. Arist. Lat. I 57).

Guillelmus includes the Aristotelian lemmata in his translation of the Commentary, but they are not identical with the 'nova translatio' and were apparently specially translated for the Alexander *Commentaria*.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16097 as printed in *Aristoteles Latinus I* 199-200).

[Inc.]: (fol. 72 = p. 199) *De primis quidem igitur causis...motu naturali. Incipiens metheorologica primo nobis ad memoriām reducit dicta... . . .* [Expl.]: (fol. 107<sup>v</sup> = p. 200) Dixit enim in ipso primo quid de omiomeris partibus, deinde de anomioemeris que sunt ex hiis.

*Bibl.* : *Aristoteles Latinus I* 96-97; F. H. Fobes, 'Mediaeval Versions of Aristotle's Meteorology,' *Classical Philology* 10 (1915) 297-314, esp. 299-300; M. Grabmann, 'Mittelalterliche lateinische Aristotelesübersetzungen...' *Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., München, Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1928, Heft 5, 16-20; M. Grabmann, *Guglielmo di Moerbeke, O.P. (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae)* 11 (1946) 134-35; L. Minio-

Paluello, 'Henri Aristippe, Guillaume de Moerbeke, et les traductions latines médiévales des Météorologiques,' *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 45 (1947) 209-10; F. Pelster, 'Neue Forschungen über die Aristotelesübersetzungen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Gregorianum* 30 (1949) 68-69; A. Pelzer, 'Une source inconnue de Roger Bacon, Alfred de Sareshel, Commentateur des Météorologiques d'Aristote' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 12 (1919) 45-46; Mahieu le Vilain, *Les Méthéores d'Aristote, traduction du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, ed. R. Edgren (Uppsala 1945) esp. xxiii f.

#### *Manuscripts:*

Nine manuscripts are known (5 = s. XIII; 1 = s. XIII-XIV; 3 = s. XIV). See *Aristoteles Latinus* Nos. 105 (I 286), 190 (I 328), 370 (I 413), 668 (I 559), 1242 (II 858), 1325 (II 916), 1752 (II 1179), 1766 (II 1185), and 1861 (II 1227).

*Biogr.:* See above under IV 1.

## 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS PORTINARIUS

Petrus Franciscus Portinarius translated the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* in 1515.

The translation is found in three copies, all said to be autograph, in Ms. II II 53 of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze. Copies I (fol. 1-128) and II (fol. 129-228<sup>v</sup>) are clearly author's manuscripts with many corrections; copy III (fol. 229-344), on the other hand, is a handsome manuscript with few corrections. Copies I and III are substantially identical, while copy II appears to be an earlier version, many of the corrections of which are taken into copy I.

Copy III identifies the translator in its title: *Alexandri Aphrodisei in Aristotelis Meteora interpretationis Liber primus, Petro Francisco Portinario interprete.* A note on the binding in a seventeenth (?) century hand supplies the date, 'interpretato da Pier Francesco di Folco Portinari nel 1515 e di sua proprio mano scritto.'

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. II II 53, fols. 229-344<sup>v</sup>).

[Inc.]: *De primis igitur naturae causis deque omni naturali motu. Acturus Aristoteles*

*de his quae ad meteorologicam pertinent facultatem, in memoriam primum nobis redigit.../. In secundo enim operis illius egit de his quae in praesentia contemplanda esse inquit (corrected to : ait), siquidem de similaribus primum partibus agit, dein de dissimilaribus, quae ex illis constant.*

(The variant *Inc.* and *Expl.* of copy II read as follows:

[Inc.]: (fol. 129) *De primis igitur naturae causis et de omni naturali motione. Aggregatus (corrected to : Acturus) Aristoteles Meteorologica.../[Expl.]: (fol. 228<sup>v</sup>) deinde (corrected to : postea) de dissimilaribus quae ex his constant).*

#### *Manuscript:*

(micro. and reported by Berta Maracchi) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. II II 53. s. XVI in. Copy I: fol. 1-128. Copy II: fol. 129-228<sup>v</sup>. Copy III: fol. 229-344. (Mazzatinti 8.169).

#### *Biogr.:*

Petrus Franciscus Portinarius (Pierfrancesco Portinari) of the famous Florentine family of the Portinari, flourished in the early sixteenth century. Portinarius studied under Francesco da Diacceto and later took an active part in the cultural life of Florence; he was a member of the Sacred Academy of the Medici and had connections with the Rucellai circle. He was also active in politics, particularly during the crisis of 1527-30, when the Republic sent him on a number of important embassies. His writings include some Italian poems and Latin commentaries on the *De Interpretatione* and the *Praedicamenta* of Aristotle.

*Bibl.:* Mazzatinti 10.103.

G. Busini, *Lettere a Benedetto Varchi* (Firenze 1860); P. O. Kristeller, 'Francesco da Diacceto and Florentine Platonism in the Sixteenth Century,' *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 4 (Studi e Testi 124, Città del Vaticano [1946]) 260-304, esp. 274 n. 52; 277 n. 60; 298 (the article has since been reprinted, with additions, in: Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* [Rome 1956] 287-336, see esp. 300 n. 51-52, 303 n. 60, 310 n. 117, 322, 324 n. 204); (\*) Ambrogio Mariani, *Notizie della Nobil. Famiglia Portinari* (Firenze 1897); Giulio Negri, *Istoria degli*

*Scrittori Fiorentini* (Ferrara 1722) 454; F. T. Perrens, *Histoire de Florence* (1434-1531) III (Paris 1890) *passim*; B. Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina* (2 vols. Milano 1845-6).

### 3. LUDOVICUS NOGAROLA

Ludovicus Nogarola translated the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* shortly before its dedication in 1536 to Cardinal Clesio (1485-1539).

The translation is preserved only in Ms. B C 10 X 11, University Library, Glasgow, Scotland, where it is accompanied by full Aristotelian lemmata and by scattered annotations of Nogarola. The manuscript is apparently an author's copy, with many corrections; it goes only to p. 57,6 of the Hayduck edition, but the dedication suggests that Nogarola had translated the whole work and that it is only our manuscript which is incomplete.

Scipione Maffei, in his *Verona Illustrata* (Milano 1825) III 314, describes a manuscript of the translation which he had seen in the Saibante collection, and his description does not entirely agree with the Glasgow ms. It seems probable, however, that the divergencies result from minor inaccuracies of Maffei and from the fact that the manuscript he saw was later divided.

The dedication to Cardinal Clesio (On the dedication, see Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') may be dated in 1536, since Nogarola refers to the recent visit to Trent of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, with his retinue. (On Ferdinand's visit, see *Annali, ovvero Croniche di Trento...composte da Giano Pirro Pincio Mantovano* [Trento 1648] 382-8; C. Schnitzer, *Die Kirche des heiligen Vigilius* [Bozen 1825] 308-09). In the Glasgow ms., the dedication has been in part corrected so that it be addressed to Mary of Hungary (1505-58), who was Regent for Charles V in the Netherlands 1531-56. Perhaps Nogarola began to change the dedication after the death of Cardinal Clesio in 1539.

Letter of Dedication (Glasgow, University Library, Ms. B C 10 X 11).

Amplissimo et Illustrissimo Bernardo Clelio, SS. Sedis Romanae Cardinali Episcopo

Principique Tridentino Ludovicus Nogarola Comes. (Corrected to read: Amplissimae et Invictissimae Mariae V Pannoniae Reginae et Galliae Belgicae Praesidi Ludovicus Nogarola Comes).

[Inc.]: (fol. 1) Multae quidem Dei optimi maximi munere concessae sunt artes et scientiae.../[Expl.]: (fol. 3) ut hoc opus meum, qualemcumque sit, quamdie extet ac permaneat, tamdiu summum in te meum amorem et incredibilem observantiam testari possit.

Alexandri Vita Nogarola Auctore.

[Inc.]: (fol. 3) Alexander patria Damascenus, cognomento Aphrodisiensis, magnus in peripatetica disciplina vir fuit.../[Expl.]: (fol. 3v) De Alexandro complura alia colligat ex Averroe diligens labor. (An additional sentence has been crossed out: Haec pauca nobis imprimis satis superque sint).

Alexander, Commentarius in Aristotelis Meterologiae.

[Inc.]: (fol. 4) Liber meteorologicus, idest liber agens de rebus sublimibus...Haec sublimia dicimus quae editiora imis sunt. (This is a brief summary of the *Meteorologica*, apparently by Nogarola).

*De primis naturae causis.../... fol. 4v omnis fere propositi a principio operis finem faciemus.*

Aristoteles in exordiendis libris meteorologicis in primo ad nostram revocat memoria.../[Expl.]: (fol. 92v) qui sane mons habetur maximus eorum omnium qui ortum hiemalem spectant (= Hayduck 57, 6). There follows an annotation of Nogarola, consisting largely of a quotation from Polybius, Book III.

Bibl.: Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (4 vols. Milano 1825) III 314.

Manuscript:

(Reported by P. O. Kristeller and micro). Glasgow, University Library, Ms. B C 10 X 11, s. XVI, fols. 1-92v.

Biogr.:

Ludovicus Nogarola (Lodovico Nogarola) of Verona, was born in 1507 and died in 1559. He studied under Hieronymus Bagolinus and heard Petrus Pomponius and Marcus Musurus. He was active in politics in Verona and served frequently as ambassador to

Venice. Nogarola also took an active part in the religious disputes of the time and gave a speech at the Council of Trent in 1554; his general position was that of a Catholic imperialist. His original writings include a tract on the divorce of Henry VIII, *Apostolicae Institutiones*, *De Nilo*, and *De viris illustribus genere Italis qui Graece scripserunt*. He translated, in addition to Alexander of Aphrodisias, works of John of Damascus, Ocellus Lucanus, Plutarch, Themistius, and Timaeus Locrus. Scipione Maffei mentions a large number of works in manuscript which he saw in the Saibante collection.

Bibl.: Joecher 3, 967; Nicéron 12, 305-10; 20, 55.

A. v. Druffel, 'Ueber den Grafen Ludwig von Nogarola und das Trierer Concil,' *Bayerische Akad. der Wissenschaften, Sitzb. Phil.-hist. Cl.* 1 (1875) 426-56; Ettore Galli, *Un cattolico imperialista del secolo XVI* (Pavia 1899); Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (Milano 1825) III 311-17; (\*) Valerius Palermus, *Oratio habita in funere L. Nogarolae Comitis* (Veronae 1560).

#### 4. ALEXANDER PICCOLOMINEUS

Alexander Piccolomineus translated the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* while at his usual summer villa during the academic vacation of 1540 (See Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'). He included the full Aristotelian text with his translation.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis, apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1540).

Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino etc. Domino Francisco Bandineo Piccolomineo Archiepiscopo Senarum Optimo, Alexander Piccolomineus S.

[Inc.]: Complurimi Praesul amplissime tum de natura, tum etiam de his maxime quae ex ipsiusmet hominis voluntate ortum habent, inter clarissimos viros Vincentium Magium, praceptorum meum, philosophum sane praeclarissimum, ac aetatis nostrae celeberrimum et Speronem Speronium, virum illustri philosophia praeditum atque uberrima ac consumata eloquentia insignitum . . . . [Expl.]: Hac igitur occasione ductus,

lucubratiunculam hanc tibi censui dedicandum, ut meam iam pridem tibi mentem devinctam, aliquo quasi teste cognoscas. Vale. Patavii Quinto Idus Septembbris M D XL.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica*

[Inc.]: *De primis igitur causis naturae . . . . quae a principio nobis electionis.*

Aggregiens de meteorologicis pertractare, primum in memoriam nobis recovat . . . .

[Expl.]: (fol. 58) Dicit enim in illo secundo: primo quidem de homoeomeris partibus, dehinc de anomoeomeris quae constituuntur ex illis.

*Editions:*

(Micro.) 1540, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

(\*) 1545, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM.

(\*) 1548, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

(\*) 1561, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Doubtful Editions:*

1573, Venetiis. Fabricius, BG V 659; Hoffmann, BL I 120; Graesse, I 70.

*Biogr.:*

Alexander Piccolomineus (Alessandro Piccolomini) of Siena, humanist and man of letters, was born in 1508 and died in 1578. He spent his early years at Siena and devoted himself largely to Italian drama and poetry. In 1540 he moved to Padua and remained there, with the exception of an extended stay at Rome, until 1574. At this period his interests turned more to learning and science; he was lecturer on Moral Philosophy and did much work in natural philosophy. In 1574 Piccolomineus returned to Siena and was appointed Archbishop of Patras and coadjutor to Francesco Bandini Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena.

Piccolomineus' writings include two Italian comedies and some Italian poems, a number of translations from Latin and Greek into Italian, an *Instituzione di tutta la vita dell'uomo nato libero...*, and a series of writings, partly in Latin and partly in Italian, on natural philosophy and particularly on astronomy.

Bibl.: Enc. Ital. 27. 156; Hurter (3d. ed.) III 302-03; Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VII 772-78; Thorndike VI 27-28.

F. V. Cerreta, 'Alessandro Piccolomini's Commentary on the *Poetics* of Aristotle,'

*Studies in the Renaissance* 4 (1957) 139-168 ; M. Rossi, 'Le opere letterarie di Alessandro Piccolomini' *Bollettino senese di storia patria* 17 (1910) 289-328 ; 18 (1911) 3-43.

### 5. JOHANNES BAPTISTA CAMOTIUS

Johannes Baptista Camotius translated the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* at the instance of students in Padua and Bologna shortly before its publication in 1556. (See Letter I in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') The translation is accompanied by a translation of the text of Aristotle.

Letter I (ed. Venetiis, apud Franciscum Camotium, 1556).

Primoribus populi Senatuique Maceratensi, Io. Baptista Camot. S.

[Inc.]: Studia et officia erga me vestra libenter mecum ipse cogito atque considero, Patres optimi Maceratenses.../[Expl.]: Quod simul cum nomine ac fama civitatis vestrae sempiternum sit optare possum, praestare nequeo. Valete.

Letter II. Camotius Philosophiae Studiosis. S.

[Inc.]: Johannem Franciscum Camotium fratrem meum salvere jubete boni omnes.../[Expl.]: Applaudite laboribus nostris, et prae-sertim fratrem meum aliquo in numero habbatis, vos etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica*.

[Inc.]: (fol. 1) *De primis itaque causis naturae...ab initio proposita ratio*.

Initium faciens rerum meteorologicarum primum nobis redigit in memoriam, quae-cumque iam ab ipso complexa sunt in eo tractatu, qui est de natura.../[Expl.]: (fol. 57v) In ipso enim primo disserit de parti-bus consimilariibus, deinde dissimilariibus, quae ex hisce constant.

*Edition:* (Micro.) 1556, Venetiis : apud F. Camotium, Johannes Gryphius excudebat. BM.

*Biogr.:*

Johannes Baptista Camotius (Giambattista de Camozzi) of Asolo, was born in 1515 and died in 1581. He began his studies in medicine and later turned to philosophy ; in addition he had a reputation for learning in the Oriental languages. He taught phi-

losophy in the Spanish School at Bologna under Julius III (1550-55) and at Macerata under Paul IV (1555-59). Later he was called to Rome by Pius IV (1559-65), where he was active in translating the Greek fathers.

His works include an *Oratio de Antiquitate Litterarum*, a Greek commentary on Book I of Theophrastus' *Metaphysics*, an edition of the works of Aristotle (Venetiis, Aldi filii, 1551-53), and translations of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Olympiodorus, Psellus etc.

*Bibl.:* F. A. Eckstein 78 ; G. Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VII 1507-08.

J. A. Thuanus, *Historiarum Sui Temporis Tomus Quartus* (Londini 1733) ad annum 1581, 43 ; P. Trieste de' Pellegrini, *Saggio di Memorie degli Uomini Illustri di Asolo* (Venezia 1780) 32-36.

### 6. DOUBTFUL

a) At the end of the fifteenth century Thomas Linacre was at work on a translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica*, but there is no evidence that the translation was ever completed. In 1499 Aldus Manutius wrote to Albertus Pius of Linacre, 'Qui utinam et Simplicium in Aristotelis Physica, et in eiusdem meteora Alexandrum, quos nunc summa cura latinos facit, ad me dedisset, ut et illos una cum Proclo ad te mitterem' (from the letter preceding the *Sphaera* of Proclus, in : Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Astronomicorum Libri Octo...* Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1499. There is a French translation of the letter in : A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellenisme à Venise* [Paris 1875] 129-31).

b) Alexander Aphrodisiensis. *In quatuor Aristotelis Metheorum libros expositio*. Venetiis 1491. fol. Bocca (Rome 1891) Cat. 85, no. 143.

There appear to be no other references to this edition, and it is not mentioned in GW.

### VII. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*

*Editio princeps* : Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1513.



Critical edition : ed. M. Wallies (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 2.2 ; Berlin 1891).

The authentic text of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* is preserved complete only in the first four books ; in the last four books some of the manuscripts present an incomplete text, and others include a number of chapters which are certainly or probably not by Alexander. (See M. Wallies, *Die griechischen Ausleger der aristotelischen Topik* (Berlin 1891).

The best text is found in Wallies' manuscripts A, B, D, and P (except for Book VIII), and these are the basis of the critical edition. His manuscript N adds a number of chapters in Books V-VII and in Book VIII ; manuscript P adds a number of different chapters in Book VIII. The Aldine edition follows manuscript P (or one closely resembling it) for Books I-IV and a large part of Book VIII ; it follows manuscript N (or one closely resembling it) for Books V-VII and a small part of Book VIII. (See M. Wallies in his edition p. vi-xv).

### 1. (BOOKS I-IV ONLY) MARCUS MUSURUS.

Marcus Musurus Cretensis translated the first four books of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* at the urging of Alberto Pio ; he finished Book III at Carpi October 15, 1501 and Book IV, also at Carpi, January 17, 1502. The translation is found only in the Vatican manuscript, Vat. Lat. 4564, and all our information comes from the manuscript. The title reads : fol. 1. Alexandri Aphrodisei in Libros Topicorum Aristotelis Expositio, auspiciis clarissimi ac illustris Carpensis Principis Alberti Pii de graeco transferri coepit. The titles and colophons of Books III and IV supply information on the translator and on the date and place of the translation : fol. 55. Alexandri Aphrodisei in tertium librum Topicorum expositio incipit, M. M. C. interprete ; fol. 71<sup>v</sup>. Laus Deo supremo, optimo, maximo. Carpi, idibus Octobris, 1501. M. M. C. Interprete ; fol. 71<sup>v</sup> Alexandri Aphrodisei in librum Topicorum Aristotelis quartum incipit, M. M. C. interprete ; fol. 92. Laus Deo supremo, optimo, maximo. Explicit liber quartus, die 17<sup>o</sup> Januarii,

MDII, Carpi. There can be no doubt that M. M. C. is Marcus Musurus Cretensis, who was in Carpi in the service of Alberto Pio at this time and who was later to edit the Greek text of the *Commentaria* for the Aldine edition of 1513. Parts of the manuscript may be autograph (see the autographs of Musurus in Plate VI of Giovanni Mercati, *Codici Latini Pico Grimani Pio* [Studi e Testi 75] ; Città del Vaticano 1938).

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4564).

[Inc.] : (fol. 1) Intentionem topicorum tractatus et circa quot et quae philosophantibus ista sit utilis institutio...

Book III. [Inc.] : (fol. 55) Cum in secundo Topicorum locos accidentis exposuisset, quibus ut construere possemus.../[Expl.] : (fol. 71<sup>v</sup>) Porro Aristoteles quantum ab exemplis quae posuit conjici potest, hoc etiam in loco de universalibus, non de particularibus problematibus meminisse videtur.

[Expl.] : (of entire work, fol 42) Quo ergo pacto fieri potest ut quod essentia vacat essentiam habentis genus sit in essentia debet esse. (The last two lines are corrupt and should probably read : ut quod essentia vacat, essentiam habentis genus sit ? Genus enim in essentia debet esse).

#### Manuscript :

(Micro.) Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 4564, 1502 A. D., fols. 1-92.

#### Biogr. :

Marcus Musurus (Marco Musuro) was born c. 1470 in Retimo, Crete and died October 25, 1517 in Rome. He studied Greek under Aristobulos Apostolios and Janus Lascaris, and he later developed a command of Latin which won the admiration even of Erasmus. Musurus came early to Italy and never left it again except for one brief visit to his birthplace. He was for a time in Florence and then went to Venice where about 1494 he began a long association with Aldus Manutius in the edition of Greek authors. In 1499 Alberto Pio summoned him to Carpi, and Musurus occupied an honoured position in the Pio household through 1502. In 1503 the Venetian Republic designated him as censor for all Greek books published within its territories, and in the same year Musurus

received a temporary appointment at the University of Padua. In 1505 the appointment was made permanent, and Musurus continued to teach at Padua with great success through 1509. Musurus withdrew from public teaching during the troubled period of the League of Cambrai, but in 1512 he received an important chair at Venice. In 1516 Pope Leo X summoned him to Rome to aid in the organization of a Greek college. Pope Leo in the same year named him archbishop of Monembasia in the Morea, but Musurus died before leaving for his see.

Musurus' literary work was primarily editorial, though he also left many letters and some poems. For Aldus Manutius he took an active part in the publication of the earliest editions of Aristophanes, Euripides, Plato, Athenaeus, Hesychius, and Pausanias. He translated, besides Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Johannes Philoponus, *Commentaria in Aristotelis De Generatione et Corruptione*, and Musaeus, *De Herone et Leandro*.

*Bibl.* : Enc. Ital. 24, 164 ; Legrand, BH I cviii-cxxiv and I-II passim ; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge 1903-08) I 79-80.

A. Biedl, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Codices Palatini Graeci,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37 (1937) 36-37 ; A. Ferrajoli, 'Il ruolo della Corte di Leone X. Prelati domestici, Arch. della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria 39 (1916) 544-45 ; A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise* (Paris 1875) 460-64 and passim ; F. Foffano, 'Marco Musuro professore di Greco a Padova ed a Venezia,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 3 (1892) 553-74 ; R. Menge, 'De Marci Mursi Cretensis Vita Studiis Ingenio Narratio,' in : *Hesychius Alexandrinus, Lexicon* ed. M. Schmidt (5 vols., Jena 1858-68) V 1-88 ; G. Marangoni, 'Lazzaro Bonamico e lo studio Padovano,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* N. S. 1 (1901) 123-28 ; G. Mercati, *Codices Latini Pico Grimani Pio* (Studi e Testi 75; Città del Vaticano 1938) 72-74, Plate VI and Index).

## 2. BARTHOLOMAEUS ZAMBERTUS

Bartholomaeus Zambertus completed his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristote-*

*lis Topica* November 25, 1521. The colophon of the autograph reads : Cum huiusmodi opus rarissimum et utilissimum sit clementia divina expeditum, Deo omnipotenti gratias et eius sanctissimae genetrici ; completum anno virginei partus MDXXI, luce XXV Novembris, principatus serenissimi D. Antonii Grimani incliti ducis Veneti et c., mense IIII, die XVIII ; anno vero interpretis octavo et quadragesimo, mense III<sup>to</sup> et die uno. (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lat. 121, fol. 425v). Zambertus includes the full Aristotelian text in his translation.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*.

[Inc.] : (fol. 1) Topici tractatus intentionem in quibusque et in qualibus huiusmodi methodus philosopho utilis...

Book III. [Inc.] : (fol. 158v) *Ex duobus vero vel...contingit*. Cum exposuerit in secundo libro locos qui sunt ab accidente, quibus possumus .../[Expl.] : (fol. 214v) problemata universalia, non autem particularia.

Book VII. [Inc.] : (fol. 359) *Utrum vero idem vel...est*. Cum dixerit in primo Topicorum quod problemata definitiva sunt illa quae.../[Expl.] : (fol. 347) problemata accidentalia, cum unice destruantur, ad destruendum aliorum sunt difficillima.

[Expl.] : (of entire work, fol. 425) sic enim sciet eam quae est eiusdem alicui inesse.

*Bibl.* : Otto Hartig, 'Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek...,' *Bayerische Akad. der Wiss. Abhandlungen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 28, 3 (1917) 272-3.

### Manuscript:

(Reported by Dr. Bernhard Bischoff, and micro).

1. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat., 121, s. XVI, fols. 1-425v (*Catalogus CLM* III 1, 23).

### Biogr.:

See above under III 1.

## 3. GUIELMUS DOROTHEUS

Guilelmus Dorotheus translated the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* shortly after he had come from Naples to Venice in 1540. (See Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The

Prefaces...'). He included full lemmata of the Aristotelian text, and he based his translation on the Aldine edition (M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xlvi).

Letter of Dedication (ed. Parisiis, apud J. Roygni, 1542).

Clarissimo Marco Antonio Venereo Doctori ac Senatori gravissimo Guilelmus Dorotheus Venetus felicitatem.

[Inc.]: Cum e Neapoli decedens Octaviani Scotti a typis, et studiorum et partium necessitudine conjunctissimi mei suasu Vene-  
tias venisse.../... Utrosque igitur variis atque eisdem de causis tuae excellentiae et nobilitati maxime devinctos, et librum inscriptum ut tua municipia (mancipia?) velimus accipias. Bene vale.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*.

[Inc.]: (fol. 3) Propositum huius tractationis de locis sedeque argumentorum et quot quibusque philosopho praesertim haec via discendi conferat.../

Book III. [Inc.]: (fol. 54) Cum exposuisset in secundo libro locos ad accidens, per quos poterimus vel construere aliquid, ut accidens aliud alii simpliciter.../... [Expl.]: (fol. 70v) Videtur tamen ipse per exempla de universalibus problematibus, sed non de particularibus adhuc mentionem facere.

Book IV. [Expl.]: (fol. 89) Quomodo igitur dicetur genus esse non existens, eius quod existit. Nam genus debet existere.

Book VII. [Inc.]: (fol. 123 = 126!) *Utrum autem idem... sunt dicendum*. Cum dixerit in primo Topicorum definitiva esse problemata et ea quae habent quaestionem de hoc.../... [Expl.]: (fol. 132) Et ob id cum sit facilis eorum destructio, problemata ad accidens uno modo sublata destructaque sunt, eo quod aliorum difficillima sunt ad destructionem.

[Expl.]: (of entire work fol. 151v) scientiae proprium est scire ad quod inest alicui, pari ratione etiam scire quod non inest illi, nam sic sciret quid insit alicui perfecte.

Bibl.: M. Wallies, in his edition p. xlvi-xlvii (includes a specimen of the translation).

#### *Editions:*

(\*) 1541, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM. (Micro.) 1542, Parisiis : apud J. Roygni. BN.

#### *Doubtful editions:*

1524, Venetiis. Fabricius, BG V 655-6 ; Brunet, I 161 ; Graesse I 69.

1526, Venetiis. Brunet I 161.

1547, Venetiis. Fabricius, BG V 655-6 ; Graesse, I 69. (These notices apparently rest ultimately on a confusion between the Dorotheus translation and the Anonymous translation. See VII, 3).

1554, Venetiis. Fabricius BG V 655-6 ; Graesse I 69.

#### *Biogr.:*

Guilelmus Dorotheus (Guglielmo Doroteo) of Venice, was a theologian of the Augustinian order who was born c. 1500 and died some time after 1571. He taught at Rome in the period after 1526, and in 1539 he was appointed to dispute publicly at the General Chapter at Naples. From 1560-64 he taught for the Order at Venice, and from 1566-71 he was a reader for the Camaldensian Monks and the Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit in the same city. Finally he was public professor of philosophy at Pavia.

His writings are mainly translations of Aristotle and of other Greek philosophers : The *Physica* and the *De Caelo* of Aristotle ; Simplicius on the *Categoriae* and on the *De Caelo* ; and Philoponus on the *Physica* I-IV and on the *Analytica Priora*.

Bibl. : J. F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt 1776) ; D. A. Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana... Scriptores Itali* (Firenze 1929-37) II 38-39.

#### 4. ANONYMOUS

A translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* was published anonymously at Venice by Hieronymus Scotus in 1547. This translation is in small part a revision of the earlier translation of Guilelmus Dorotheus (See VII, 2 above), in large part simply a reedition of the Dorotheus translation. The author is unknown.

The translation as published seems an attempt to present as a new translation what is still basically the Dorotheus version ; possibly it may represent a work of revision begun in good faith but never completed. In the opening chapters of Book I (including the text of Aristotle) the revision is extensive,

and it is proper to speak of a new translation. The extent of the revision decreases rapidly in the later chapters, and beginning with Chapter X (104a 3 of Aristotle) the 1547 edition is substantially identical with the Dorotheus translation. In the later books of the *Commentaria*, the author's procedure, if one can judge from an incomplete collation, is to revise completely the first paragraphs of the Dorotheus version and for the rest of the book to use the Dorotheus text. In general, the revisions in the 1547 edition are in the direction of a more literary and less literal version; there is less transliteration of Greek terms and less close adherence to the Greek word order.

There can be no doubt that the Dorotheus translation is the original and the 1547 edition the revision, and one can exclude the hypothesis that Dorotheus revised an earlier manuscript translation and that this manuscript translation was then published in its entirety in 1547. This conclusion rests largely on the continuity of style in the Dorotheus translation as against the clear breaks in the 1547 edition. For example, in the opening sections of Book IV the reviser changes *problema* in the Aristotelian lemma to *quaestio*; in the unrevised commentary on this lemma, both the Dorotheus translation and the edition of 1547 have *problema*.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* (ed. Venetiis, apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1547).

[Inc.]: (fol. 1) *Propositum nobis...investigamus, intelligatur.* Aristoteles in hoc ipso libri initio declarat hoc volumen esse de sedibus argumentorum, et exponit ad quot quasque res haec via atque ratio philosopho utilis sit...

Book III. [Inc.]: (fol. 35) Aristoteles cum in secundo libro exposuerit locos, qui ad accidens pertinent, quibus poterimus vel affirmare aliquid accidere alicui simpliciter, vel infirmare...[Expl.]: (fol. 47) Videatur tamen ipse per exempla de universalibus problematibus, sed non de particularibus adhuc mentionem facere.

[Expl.] (of Book IV, fol. 61): Quomodo igitur dicetur genus esse non existens, eius quod existit. Nam genus. debet existere.

Book VII. [Inc.]: (fol. 85) *Utrum autem*

*idem sit...nunc est dicendum.* Cum in primo Topicorum dixerit eas etiam quaestiones ad definitionem referre, quibus quaereretur, utrum hoc huic idem sit necne...[Expl.]: (fol. 79 = 89) et ob id igitur cum sit facilis eorum destructio, problemata ad accidens uno modo sublata destructaque sunt, eo quod aliorum difficillima sunt ad destructionem.

[Expl.]: (of entire work, fol. 102) scientiae proprium est scire ad quod inest alicui, pari ratione etiam scire quod non inest illi, nam sic sciret quid insit alicui perfecte.

#### *Editions:*

(Micro.) 1547, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

(Reported by M<sup>lle</sup> Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny) 1554, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

(Reported by R. O. Dongan) 1554, Venetiis : Gryphius. This edition contains the Anonymous translation in Books I-VI and VIII, the Muretus translation of Book VII (See VII, 5, below). DK.

(Reported by M<sup>lle</sup> Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny) 1563, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

Note: According to Fabricius, BG V 655-56, Hoffmann, BL I 118 etc., the edition of 1563 is the corrected version of J. B. Rasarius; actually the 1563 edition is identical with those of 1547 and 1554 (apud H. Scotum), and even in the revised sections differs from the translation of Rasarius published in 1573 (See VII 6 below).

#### 5. (BOOK VII ONLY) MARCUS ANTONIUS MURETUS

Marcus Antonius Muretus published his translation of Book VII of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* in 1554, and it is probable that he did the translation at Venice in the period shortly before its publication. (See Letter of Dedication, in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') The translation is based on the Aldine edition (M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xlv.) and includes full lemmata of the Aristotelian text.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Ingolstadij, excudebat Adam Sartorius, 1602).

M. Ant. Muretus L. Memmio Fremioto Patricio Divionensi S. [Inc.]: (p. 570) Quibus ex causis quaeque res effecta est,

Luci Memmi, earum interitu ac commutazione ipsam quoque labefactari ac concidere necesse est.../...librum animi causa e graeco interpretatus, etiam in publicum edere statuisse, neminem habui, cui eum potius dicatum vellem, quam tibi. Vale. Venetiis, Cal. Juliis, MD LIV.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* Book VII.

[Inc.]: (p. 572) *Iam vero quaestionum... maxime propria est.* Cum dixerit in primo Topicorum, definitioni adjuncta esse ea quoque problemata.../[Expl.]: (p. 613) Itaque cum alia problemata duobus modis reprehendi queant, ob idque facilis sit eorum reprehensio, problemata de adjuncto, quibus labefactandis una tantum proposita via est, difficillime refelluntur.

Bibl.: C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret* (Paris 1881) Chapters V-VII; M. Wallies, in his edition p. xlvi-xlvii (Wallies cites a number of short passages as specimens).

#### *Editions:*

(Reported by R. O. Dongan) 1554, Venetiis: Gryphius. This edition contains the Anonymous translation (See VII, 4 above) of Books I-VI and VIII of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*. DK.

1602, Ingolstadii: A. Sartorius. With other works of Muretus. BN; (Ct Y).

#### *Biogr.:*

Marcus Antonius Muretus (Marc-Antoine Muret) was born at Muret in the Limousin in 1526 and died in Rome in 1585. Muretus appears to have been largely self-taught but as early as 1545 we find him lecturing on Latin authors at the college of the Archbishop at Auch. In 1546 Muretus studied law at Poitiers, and in the following year he taught there. From 1551 to 1553 he taught at Paris, possibly in the Collège de France, and at this time he had close connections with the poets of the Pléiade. In 1553 Muretus continued his study of law at Toulouse. In 1554 he was brought to trial there, and although he managed to escape, he was condemned *in absentia* as a sodomite and a Huguenot, and he was solemnly burned in effigy.

From Toulouse, Muretus made his way to Venice, and he was immediately successful in winning an appointment to one of the

chairs in the humanities and held this position from 1554-1557. After a brief interlude at Padua, Muretus joined the household of Ippolito Cardinal d'Este at the end of 1558 or the beginning of 1559. In 1563 he went to Rome, where he began a long career of teaching at the Papal University (1563-67 Professor of Moral Philosophy; 1567-72 Professor of Law; and 1572-84 Professor of Rhetoric). In 1576 he took Holy Orders. Muretus retired from teaching in 1584 and died in the following year.

His writings include orations and letters in Latin, a number of works on Latin philology, editions of various Latin authors, translations from Greek into Latin (Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Aristotle), commentaries on Greek works, and some French poetry.

Bibl.: Eckstein 392.

C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret* (Paris 1881); M. N. P. Packer 'Muretus, Man of Letters, Classical Scholar,' *American Philological Association, Transactions and Proceedings* 71 (1940) xlix-1; H. T. Rowell, 'Marc-Antoine Muret: A Sixteenth-Century Classicist and his Work,' *Classical Weekly* 35 (1941-42) 268-72; J. Ruysschaert, 'Quomodo Marcus Antonius Muretus orationes suas correxerit,' *Latinitas* 2 (1954) 133-137.

#### 6. (BOOK III ONLY)

PETRUS GHERARDIUS

Petrus Gherardius translated Book III of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* in the summer of 1569. He planned a translation of Books I-IV of the *Commentaria*, and he published Book III alone to test the demand for such a translation. Gherardius worked under the patronage of Francesco de' Medici and made extensive use of a manuscript of the Medici library. Petrus Victorius was of much assistance to him. (See prefatory letters in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') The edition of 1569 includes not only the translation of the *Commentaria*, but also the Greek text and Latin translation of Aristotle's *Topica* and considerable commentary.

Letter I (ed. Florentiae, apud filios Laurentii Torrentini et Carolum Pectinarium socium, 1569).

Francisco Medici Florentinorum ac Senensis Principi Petrus Gherardius S.D.

[Inc.] : In arte disserendi quae dialectica dicitur, summam esse utilitatem, et verbis et re docuit Aristoteles.../...ut ad alia praestantiora, quae tuo munitus praesidio instituam, fiam alacrior. Vale. Florentiae III id. Octobris M D LXIX.

Letter II.

Flaminius Nobilius Lectoribus S.D.

[Inc.] : Quod Themistoclem dicere solitum memoriae proditum est, Milciadis sese trophaeis a somno excitari, id Petro Gherardio optimo atque eruditissimo iuveni plane accidit.../...Spondeo enim vobis, in meque recipio fore, ut temporis in eo legendo positi numquam vos poeniteat. Valete.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*, Book III

[Inc.] : (p. 3) Cum in secundo libro locos ad accidens pertinentes exposuerit, quorum ope vel aliquid alicui simpliciter accidere probare liceat.../...[Expl.] : (p. 86) quare animus non erit aut par aut impar numerus : Ergo nec numerus onmino. Videtur tamen ipse Aristoteles, cum exempla adponit, de quaestionibus universis, non item de singulis mentionem facere.

*Edition :*

(Micro.) 1569, Florentiae : apud filios L. Torrentini et Pectinarium socium. BN.

*Biogr. :*

Petrus Gherardius (Pietro Gherardi) of Borgo San Sepolcro, was a man of letters of the second half of the sixteenth century. Of his early life little is known, but he became learned in Latin and Greek and appears also to have been trained in medicine. Much of his life he spent in Rome with Prince Marcantonio Colonna. In Rome he became famous for his literary work and attracted the attention of Cardinal Sirleto, under whom Gherardius served as Custos of the Biblioteca Vaticana. In 1574 Gherardius returned to San Sepolcro, where he founded a literary academy, and he died there in 1580.

His works include poems and translations from the Greek (Aristotle's *Politics*, and commentaries of Philoponus).

Bibl. : Ludovicus Iacobillus, *Bibliotheca Umbriae* (Fulgineae 1658) 223 ; U. Viviani, *Medici, Fisici e Cerusici della Provincia Are-*

*tina* (Collana di pubblicazioni storiche e letterarie aretine VII, Arezzo 1923) 132-133.

## 7. JOHANNES BAPTISTA RASARIUS

Johannes Baptista Rasarius published his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica* in 1573, and he dedicated it, at the urging of Guzmanus Sylva, to Philip II of Spain. Rasarius had first devoted his attention to the Greek text of the *Commentaria* and by a careful study of the manuscripts he had been able to produce a new text much better than that of the Aldine edition. His friends urged him to translate it into Latin, and he finally published this translation, along with a translation of the Aristotelian text, in 1573 (See Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...').

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis, apud haeredes Vincentii Valgrisii, 1573).

Philippo II, Hispaniarum, ...regi potentissimo, Io. Baptista Rasarius Novariensis Doctor S.P.D.

[Inc.] : Maxima semper fuit opinio, Potentissime Rex, iam usque ab eo die, quo regale sceptrum suscepisti.../...curavi ut in tuo immortali nomine ut quamdiu ipse liber legitur, tandiu hoc admirabilium virtutum tuarum testimonium et meae summae in te pietatis extaret monumentum. Vale. Venetiis. K. Augusti, MDLXXIII.

Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*

[Inc.] : (p. 5) *Huius tractationis propositum...contrarium dicemus.* Quid sit Aristotelis propositum in Topicis, et ad quot, quasque res haec methodus utilis sit ei, qui in philosophia versatur...

Book III. [Inc.] : (p. 88) *Utrum autem duobus...quod excellat.* Cum superiore libro locos, qui ad accidens pertinent et quibus vel confirmare vel refellere possimus.../...[Expl.] : (p. 117) Ipse tamen iis exemplis quae apposuit, de quaestionibus universalibus et non item de iis, quae sunt rerum singularum, facere videtur mentionem.

[Expl.] (of Book IV) (p. 147) : Quo nam igitur pacto quod nulla ex parte subest, genus de specie quae subest, dici poterit ? genus enim subesse constareque debet.

Book VII. [Inc.] : (p. 200) *Utrum idem*

*sit... eadem sunt.* Quoniam in primo huius operis libro dixit ad definitionem etiam pertinere quaestiones, in quibus quaeritur .../[Expl.]: (p. 208) quae uno solo modo refelli possunt, sint ceteris ad infirmandum difficiliores.

[Expl.]: (of entire work) (p. 238) et simul etiam quod non inest, eadem ratione cognoscere; quare quae eiusdem est, in aliquo inesse cognoscatur.

*Edition:*

(Micro.) 1573, Venetiis: apud haeredes Valgrisii. BN.

*Doubtful edition:*

1563, Venetiis: apud Hieronymum Scotum. Fabricius, BG V 665-6; Hoffmann, BL I 118; Brunet, I 171; Graesse, I 69. This edition is identical with that of the anonymously published translation of 1547 (See VII 4 above).

*Biogr.:*

Johannes Baptista Rasarius (Giambattista Rasario) of Novara, was born in 1517 and died at Pavia in 1578. He began his studies in Milan, primarily in Greek and Latin, and then went to Pavia, where he completed his studies in medicine and jurisprudence. From Pavia, Rasarius went to Venice and there taught Greek and Latin Letters for 22 years with great success. It is said that Philip II of Spain was greatly impressed by Rasarius and that this monarch persuaded Rasarius to leave Venice for Pavia, where he taught eloquence from 1574 to his death in 1578.

His writings include orations, letters, and a large number of translations from the Greek (Ammonius, Aristoteles, Galen, Oribasius, Pachymeres, Soranus, Xenocrates).

*Bibl.:* Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) 7, 1492-93.

P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Amsterdam 1730) 4, 36; G. Ghilini, *Teatro d'Huomini Letterati* (Venetia 1647) 2, 42; Thuanus, J. A., *Historiarum sui Temporis Tomus Tertius* (London 1733) ad annum 1578, III 594-95.

## 7. DOUBTFUL

In 1528 Lucillus Philalthaeus wrote to Sebastiano Foscarini that he wished to de-

dicate to Marcantonio Valerio his translation of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Topica*. (See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura italiana* Venezia 1823-25, VII 920). No other references to this translation are known to me. It cannot be identified with the anonymous translation published in 1547, since this is a revision or a reedition of the Dorotheus translation of c. 1540. (See VII 2 and 3 above).

## VIII. De Fato

*Editio princeps:* with the works of Themistius, Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1534. A second edition appeared in 1536, Venetiis, in aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti.

*Critical edition:* ed. I. Bruns (*Supplementum Aristotelicum* 2.2; Berlin 1892).

### 1. ANONYMOUS

The *De Fato* was translated from Greek into Latin by an unknown translator sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The translation is found in three manuscripts, two of the thirteenth century and one of the fifteenth century. The manuscripts contain no explicit evidence on date or authorship. However the style of the translation is clearly medieval and cannot well be dated earlier than the twelfth century. It has been suggested that William of Moerbeke was the translator (See F. Pelster, *Theologische Revue* 29 [1930] 118), but the exact vocabulary studies which would confirm or deny this suggestion have not yet been made. The Greek manuscript used for the translation appears not to be identical with any now extant.

[Inc.]: (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16096). Erat quidem mihi desiderio, maximi imperatores, Severe et Antonine, ut ego praesens apud vos viderem.../...quia solum utique rationabiliter agere putabimur si secundum opinionem Aristotelis de ipsis assignaverimus causas, quam temptavi vobis per totum sermonem.

*Bibl.:* A. Birkenmajer, *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1930) 396; M. Grabmann, 'Mittelalterliche lateinische Übersetzungen von Schriften der Aristoteles-Kommenta-

toren...', *Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., Sitzungsbs.*, Phil.-hist. Abt. 1929, Heft 7, 48-61; F. Pelster, *Theologische Revue* 29 (1930) 118.

*Manuscripts:*

(\*) El Escorial, Cod. V III 6, s. XIII, fols. 230<sup>v</sup>-240 (Antolin IV 181-3).

(\*) Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Cod. 243, a. 1423, fols. 64<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>v</sup> (H. O. Coxe, II, 100-101).

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16096, s. XIII, fols. 139<sup>v</sup>-149 (L. Delsile, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 31 [1870] 38).

## 2. HIERONYMUS BAGOLINUS

Bagolinus translated the *De Fato* shortly before 1516. (See Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'). In preparing a Greek text to serve as the basis of his translation, Bagolinus made use of and edited in Greek a series of chapters from the *De Anima*, Book II, and from the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales* (See the Preface to the latter, in Cranz, l.c.).

Letter of Dedication (ed. Veronae, ab Andrea B.C., impendio interpretis, 1516).

Hieronymi Bagolini Veronensis in Interpretationem Alexandri Aphrodisei de Fato ad Illustrum Ioannem Baptistam Spinellum Comitem Cariati Veronae Gubernatorem Caesareum Praefatio.

[Inc.]: Cum incidisset nuper in manus meas, Illustris Comes, Alexandri Aphrodisei libellus de Fato et libero arbitrio.../... Reliquum est quod etiam per initia diximus, ut insignem hunc Alexandri tractatum a me in Latinum conversum tuoque nomini creditum amplectaris et foveas, quod si feceris plurimum certe illi et dignitatis et ornamenti attuleris.

p. 1-23 Greek texts of those parts of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *De Anima* II, used by Bagolinus in determining the text of the *De Fato* (= ed. I. Bruns, p. 169-86).

Alexander, *De Fato* [Inc.]: Optabam equidem, maximi Caesares, Severe et Antonine, cum ad vos ipse me recepissem, intueri vos et salutare coram et mutuas pro beneficiis gratias profiteri.../... si secundum Aristotelis opinionem de ipsis causas reddiderimus per universum hunc sermonem vobis ostendere tentavimus.

*Edition:*

(Micro.) 1516, Veronae: ab Andrea B. (= Benedicto). Followed by other translations of works of Alexander by Bagolinus.

R. Proctor, II 2, p. 115, no. 13853; BN.

(Preface only) 1957, Lugano. R. Lemay, ed. Petri Pomponatii *Libri Quinque De Fato, De Libero Arbitrio, et De Praedestinatione* 458-61.

*Biogr.:*

Hieronymus Bagolinus (Girolamo Bagolino) of Verona was a philosopher and physician who lived during the first half of the sixteenth century. He taught at Padua (e.g. *Explicator philosophiae ordinariae*, 1520) and possibly at Bologna. Among his pupils were J. F. Burana, Ludovicus Nogarola, and Vincentius Madius, and two of his sons, Johannes Baptista and Johannes Franciscus, were associated with him in his scholarly work. Bagolinus died c. 1540.

He wrote a commentary on Aristotle, *Analytica Priora* and translated, in addition to Alexander Aphrodisiensis, works of Syrianus and of Johannes Philoponus.

*Bibl.:* Mazzuchelli II 65-66.

H. Busson. *Les sources et le développement du rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance* (Paris 1922) 138-139; Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* Part II, Vol. III (Milan 1825) 307-08; A. Riccoboni, *De Gymnasio Patavino* (Patavii 1592) 21-23.

## 3. HIERONYMUS BAGOLINUS AND JOHANNES BAPTISTA BAGOLINUS

Hieronymus Bagolinus' translation of the *De Fato* appeared in an extensively revised version in 1541 under the names of Hieronymus Bagolinus and of his son Johannes Baptista Bagolinus. There is no direct evidence on the date or circumstances of the revision. However, the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*, published in the same edition of 1541, are also in part translations of Hieronymus Bagolinus revised by his son, and Johannes Baptista Bagolinus tells us in his *Letter of Dedication* (See Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') that he had translated them after the death of his father and shortly before 1541. Possibly the *De Fato* was revised at the same time. According to I.

Bruns (in his edition, p. xxxiii-xxxiv) the manuscript or manuscripts used in the translation are intermediary between V (the best of the extant manuscripts) and the editions.

Alexander, *De Fato* (ed. Venetiis: apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1546).

[Inc.]: (p. 62) Optabam equidem, maximi imperatores Severe et Antonine, cum ad vos ipse me receperissem, et videre vos et affari, et gratiam pro his, quibus saepe a vobis affectus sum.../[Expl.]: (p. 76) si secundum Aristotelis opinionem de illis causas reddiderimus, per universum conatus sum vobis ostendere sermonem.

*Bibl.* : I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xxxiii-xxxiv.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1541, Venetiis: apud Hieronymum Scotum. With Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Quaestiones naturales, morales*. BM.

(Micro.) 1546, Venetiis: apud H. Scotum. With other works of Alexander. BN.

(\*) 1549, Venetiis: apud H. Scotum. BM.

(\*) 1555, Venetiis: apud J. Gryphium.

BN.

(\*) 1559, Venetiis: apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Biogr.:*

Johannes Baptista Bagolinus (Giovanni Battista Bagolino) of Verona, the son of Hieronymus Bagolinus, lived in the first part of the sixteenth century and died in 1552. He studied under his father and also under Vincentius Madius, and he taught philosophy and medicine at Padua (e.g. *Explicator Logicae*, 1533).

He was closely associated with his father's translating activities and revised and completed some of the latter's translations of Alexander Aphrodisiensis. In his last years he undertook an edition of the works of Aristotle and Averroes for the Junta press, but he overexerted himself in preparing the edition and died shortly before its completion.

*Bibl.* : Mazzuchelli II 65.

Aristotle, *Omnia quae extant Opera* (11 vols. Venetiis: apud Juntas, 1550-1552) I 5f. (contains an account, by Marcus de Odis Patavinus, of Bagolinus' work on the edition); A. Riccoboni, *De Gymnasio Patavino* (Patavii 1592) fol. 25.

#### 4. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus translated the *De Fato*, as part of a campaign against the 'atheists,' shortly before its publication in 1544. (See Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...').

Letter of Dedication (ed. Lugduni, apud Aegidium et Iacobum Huguetan fratres, 1544).

Christianissimo Francorum Regi Francisco, Gentianus Hervetus Aurelius S.

[Inc.]: Si tua in summa omnium rerum potestate insignis humanitas ex constantissimo omnium sermone mihi satis nota non esset, Christianissime princeps, non ausus essem hoc Alexandri Aphrodisaei opusculum nuper a me Latine versum tibi consecratum offerre.../...Quem utinam tam benigne suscipias, quam tibi penitus devoto studio ab eo missus est, qui, ut Christus servator noster, te, et omnia tua perpetuo fortunet, assiduis votis sollicitat. Vale Christianissime Princeps. Lugduni X Calend. Decembris.

Alexander, *De Fato*

[Inc.]: Mihi quidem esset in votis, Imperatores maximi Vere et Antonine, ut ipse vos praesens viderem.../...si iuxta Aristotelis sententiam de eo causas reddamus, tota hac oratione sum explicare conatus.

*Edition:*

(Micro.) 1544, Lugduni: apud Aeg. et J. Huguetan fratres. BN.

*Biogr.:*

Gentianus Hervetus (Gentien Hervet) of Orleans, was born in 1499 and died in 1584. He studied at the College of Orleans and was for a time tutor to Claude de l'Aubépine. Later he was tutor to Arthur Pole in England. He went to Rome with Reginald Pole, was in France after 1533 for an interval of teaching at Bordeaux and Orleans, and then returned to Rome where he was attached to the households of Reginald Pole and then of Marcellus Cervinus (later Pope Marcellus II). Shortly after the death of Cervinus, Hervetus returned to France and was ordained priest in 1556. He was active against Calvinism and attracted the attention of the Cardinal of Lorraine who took him to Reims and to the Council of Trent in 1562-63. After his return to France,

Hervetus became a canon of Reims and remained there until his death in 1584.

Hervetus wrote extensively (for a list of his writings, see BN 71, 567-75) and his works include a series of orations, a number of writings against the Calvinists, a series of translations from Greek into Latin (Aristotle, Clement of Alexandria, Cyril, Gregory of Nyssa, Sextus Empiricus, Philoponus), and some translations from Latin into French.

*Bibl.* : H. Hurter (3d ed.) III 296 ; J. P. Nicéron, 17, 187-200.

J. Debarbouiller, in : *Les Hommes Illustres de l'Orléanais*, ed. C. Braine, J. Debarbouiller, and C.-F. Lapierre (Orléans 1852) I 364-68 ; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 6.2, 2315-2320.

### 5. HUGO GROTIUS

Hugo made a collection of the most important Greek writings on fate, including the *De Fato* of Alexander, and translated them into Latin. The collection was published posthumously by Grotius' widow in Paris 1648, under the title *Philosophorum sententiae de fato*.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Amsterodami, 1648)

Eminentissimo Cardinali Julio Mazarino.

[Inc.] : Novi ipsa, Cardinalis Eminentissime, quam magni te Hugo Grotius conjunx carissimus meus, faceret... / ... quid veteres philosophi senserint, lectorem studiosum admonebit.

Eminentiae Tuae,  
Addictissima  
Maria Reigersbergia.

Alexander, *De Fato*

[Inc.] : (p. 158) Nihil magis mihi in votis fuit, Severe et Antonine imperatores maxi, quam cum in vestris essem locis ... / ... [Expl.] : (p. 243) si ex Aristotelis sententia causas actionum reddamus, hoc est quod per omnem hunc sermonem conatus sum vobis ostendere.

*Editions* :

For a list of the 7 editions, cf. Jacob ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (The Hague 1950) 197-99, nos. 523-528.

Hugo Grotius (Huig van Groot)

Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist, theologian, and humanist, was born April 16, 1583 in Delft, Holland. He studied classical philology at the University of Leyden in 1598 and came under the influence of J. J. Scaliger : later he went on to a doctorate in law. Grotius began the career of a lawyer with great success and also became active in Dutch politics. In 1607 he became advocate-general of Holland and in 1613 pensionary of Rotterdam. In the quarrel over Arminianism, Grotius sided with Oldenbarneveldt against Maurice of Orange, but by 1618 Maurice had triumphed. Oldenbarneveldt was sentenced to death and Grotius to perpetual imprisonment. In 1621 Grotius escaped, with the help of his wife, and eventually reached Paris. During the following years of exile Grotius continued his early work on the classics, and he also put into final form the ideas on theology and law through which he significantly influenced the development of modern thought. In 1625 he published the *De iure belli ac pacis* and in 1627 the *De veritate religionis Christianae*. From 1635 to 1645 he represented Sweden at the French court. In 1645 Grotius paid a last visit to Sweden. On his return he was ship-wrecked near Danzig ; he continued his journey by land but became ill in Rostock and died there August 28, 1645.

Grotius' extensive writings include Latin poems and tragedies, editions and translations of classical authors, and works on history, theology, and law.

*Bibl.* : Enc. Ital. 17.989-90 ; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II 315-19.

E. Hirsch, *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie* (5 vols. Gütersloh 1949-54) I 13-30 ; W. S. M. Knight, *The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius* (London 1925) ; Jacob ter Meulen, *Concise Bibliography of Hugo Grotius* (Leyden 1925) ; Jacob ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (La Haye 1950).

### 6. ANONYMOUS

An anonymous translation of the *De Fato* appeared in London, 1658, and the trans-

lation seems to have been made especially for this edition.

Preface (ed. Londini ; typis Thomae Roycroft, 1658) Lectori.

[Inc.] : (p. 3) En tibi, bone lector, qui graecas literas et antiquos mores coles, eruditam de Fato et Arbitrii humani potestate dissertatiunculam.../...teque nescire quisnam has tibi fruges apposuerit, non gravaberis. Uttere, Lector, et vale.

Alexander, *De Fato*

[Inc.] : (p. 6) Erat quidem mihi in votis, Maximi imperatores Severe et Antonine, ut ipsi apud vos esse mihi contingeret et conspicari et alloqui vos.../[Expl.] : (p. 177) si secundum Aristotelis sententiam actionum causas reddamus, per omnem hunc sermonem ego vobis ostendere conatus sum.

*Edition :*

(micro) 1658 Londoni : Typis Thomae Roycroft, Impensis Jo. Martin, Jacobi Allestrye, et Tho. Dicas. Gr.-Lat. BN.

IX. *De Intellectu* (= *De Anima* II, p. 106, line 19, through p. 113, line 24, ed. I. Bruns).

For the Greek editions of *De Intellectu*, See I. *De Anima*, above.

### 1. GERARDUS CREMONENSIS(?)

The *De Intellectu* was translated from Arabic into Latin in the twelfth century, perhaps by Gerardus Cremonensis. The translator used the Arabic version of Hunain ibn Ishaq (See, for example, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Lat. 2186 : Liber Alexandri philosophi de intellectu et intellecto secundum sententias Aristotelis translatus de greco in arabicum ab Ysaac filio Johanicii,' as cited by G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210. II Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 7 [1926]) 69. Théry argues (*op. cit.* 77 n. b) that the translator also made use of a Greek text as a control, but the evidence adduced shows only that Hunain ibn Ishaq used a Greek text.

The authorship of the translation has commonly been ascribed to Gerardus Cremonensis (See Théry, *op. cit.* 74 and 82, on the basis of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 6325 : Incipit liber Alexandri... translatus a G. de greco in latinum ab Ysaac

filio Johanicii). However the translation is anonymous in most manuscripts, and the Paris manuscript which alone identifies the translator calls him only G. and does so in a very confused notice. Recently M. Alonso has argued on the basis of style that Gerardus Cremonensis cannot have been the translator and suggests instead Dominicus Gundissalinus. (See the article by M. Alonso listed below). In any case, the age of the manuscripts in which the *De Intellectu* is found and the complex of other works with which it is regularly associated suggest that the translation should be dated in the twelfth century and assigned to the Toledo school of translators.

Alexander, *De Intellectu* (ed. G. Théry, *op. cit.* p. 74-82).

[Inc.] : Dixit Alexander quod intellectus apud Aristotelem est tribus modis.../... separata existens per se sine yle, sua autem separacio a nobis est quod non intelligimus nec acquirimus sic, sicut cum erat in nobis. Expletus est liber.

*Bibl.* : M. Alonso, 'Traducciones del arcediano Domingo Gundisalvo,' *Al-Andalus* 12 (1947) 295-338, esp. 315-17; *Bulletin de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 6 (1952) 424, no. 1442; G. Théry, *op. cit.* 69-83.

### *Manuscripts :*

The *De Intellectu* is found in 25 manuscripts (11 = s. XIII; 4 = s. XIII-XIV; 7 = s. XIV; 2 = s. XV; 1 = s. XVI). Fifteen manuscripts are listed in G. Théry, *op. cit.* 69-74; see also *Aristoteles Latinus* Nos. 57 (I 265); 175 (I 318); 1267 (II 879); 1540 (II 1058). The *De Intellectu* is further found in the following manuscripts :

(\*) Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 2299, s. XIV, fol. 205-208v. F. Stegmüller, 'Neuaufgefundene Quaestiones...', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 3 (1931) 162-8.

(Micro. and reported by Angela Zanini). Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cod. lat. 296, s. XVI, fols. 33-35v.

(\*) München, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 8001, s. XIV, fols. 123-124. *Catal. CLM* III, 3, p. 214. See E. Gilson, 'Les sources gréco-arabes de l'augustinisme avicenniant...', *Archives d'Hist. Doctr. et Litt. du Moyen Age* 4 (1929) 110-111.

(\*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Digby 217, s. XIV, fols. 116-7 (Oxford, *Quarto Catalogue IX* 230).

(\*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Digby 217, s. XIV, fol. 177 (*ibid.* 231). The incipit as here given differs from that found in most manuscripts, but a comparison of incipits of the *De Intellectu* suggests a very loose tradition at this point of the text).

(Reported by F. Stegmüller). Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, cod. C 595, mbr. misc. s. XIII, fols. 24-24v.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1501, Bononiae: impensis Benedicti Hectoris. With Aristoteles, *Secretum Secretorum* etc. BN.

(\*) c. 1500, Venetiis: per Bernardinum Venetum de Vitalibus. R 1453. GW2 col. 578.

(\*) 1516, Bononiae: impensis Benedicti Hectoris. Panzer VI 329, 84.

(\*) 1520, Parisiis. BM.

(\*) 1528, Lugduni: in aedibus A. Blanchard. BN.

1926. G. Théry, *op. cit.* 74-82.

*Biogr.:*

See above under II.

## 2. HIERONYMUS BAGOLINUS

Hieronymus Bagolinus published his version of the *De Intellectu* in 1516 but he refers to it as a work which he had translated much earlier, 'enarrationem iampridem a me in Latinum conversam.' He further suggests that his translation had not yet been completed at the time of the death of Marcus Antonius Turrius. Shortly before 1516, Bagolinus discovered the earlier version made from the Arabic, but he found it so full of errors that it urged him on to publication of his own translation. (For the preface, see Cranz, 'The Prefaces...').

*Praefatio* (ed. Veronae, ab Andrea B. C., impendio interpretis, 1516).

...Ad Joannem Baptistam Turrium Veronensem.

[Inc.]: Enarrationem Alexandri Aphrodisii de trino intellectu ex Aristotelis placitis, angustis verborum limitibus clausam, sed sensibus effusam et quaestionibus perquam arduis uberem, iampridem a me in latinum conversam, tibi, Joannes Baptista, dicare

constitui.../... Sed nos eiusmodi hominum detractionis, cum grammaticae potius quam philosophi habendi sint, parvi facimus, modo abs te aliisque qui non nudos, ut aiuat (aiunt) cortices sed rerum scruntur praecordia exquisitae doctrinae judicio perspicaci probari haec ipsa percipiam.

Alexander, *De Intellectu*

[Inc.]: Intellectus ex Aristotelis institutione est trinus. Unus est materialis.../... separatur vero a nobis quia non intelligitur, non quia transferatur nam eo modo etiam nobis advenerat.

Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565, in comparison with the edition of 1516, contains a different recension, apparently earlier, both of the Preface and of the *De Intellectu* itself.

In the Preface the manuscript has a number of variant phrasings and also contains an additional paragraph at the end (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565, fol. 66).

Reliquum est ut non moleste feras si sublime celebratissimi fratris tui desiderium ad hoc temporis distulimus, nam et morae poenas dedimus, cum aes alienum quo tenebamur foenore, et etiam quidem ditioni, persolvimus. Siquidem se in bibliothecam tuam non incomitatus Alexander recipiet, nam et quaedam ex libris Quaestiones Naturam eiusdem capita addidimus, quae ad materiam de fato, de providentia, de intellectu spectantia ad huius libelli declarationem plurimum conductura putavimus. Vale.

In the edition of 1516 Bagolinus abandoned the plan suggested in this paragraph, and he attached the chapters from the *Quaestiones Naturales* not to the *De Intellectu* but to the *De Fato* (See VIII, 2 above and XII, 1 below). Accordingly he dropped the paragraph from his Preface. Perhaps this was done at the last minute; in any case the printed Preface now ends somewhat abruptly without the customary 'Vale' of the manuscript.

Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 also presents a slightly different text of the *De Intellectu*. The recension of the manuscript appears to be the earlier, and some of the variant readings of the edition are found in Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 as interlinear or marginal corrections. The

incipit and explicit of the manuscript read : [Inc.] : (fol. 66) *Intellectus ex institutione Aristotelis est triplex.../[Expl.]* : (fol. 70v) non quia transferatur nam eo modo etiam nobis inhaerebat (interlinear addition : advenerat).

*Manuscript :*

(micro. and reported by Biblioteca Vaticana).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565, early sixteenth century, fols. 65-70v.

*Editions :*

(micro.) 1516, Veronae : ab Andrea B. (= Benedicto). With other works of Alexander.

R. Proctor II 2, p. 115 no. 13853. BN.

(Preface only) 1957, Lugano. R. Lemay, ed. Petri Pomponatii *Libri quinque de Fato, De Libero Arbitrio, et De Praedestinatione*, 462-63.

*Biogr. :*

See above under VIII 2.

### 3. DOUBTFUL

L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (Cambridge 1937) 58, refer to a translation of the *De Intellectu* by Baptista Turrius. This is the translation of Hieronymus Bagolinus, which is dedicated to Johannes Baptista Turrius.

### X. *De Mixtione*

*Editio princeps* : with the works of Philoponus, Venetiis : apud Aldum, 1527.

Critical edition : ed. I. Bruns (*Supplementum Aristotelicum* II, 2) Berlin 1892.

### 1. JACOBUS SCHECKIUS

Jacobus Scheckius published his translation of the *De Mixtione* in 1540, and he probably did the translation shortly before its publication. According to I. Bruns (in his edition, p. xxxix) Scheckius depends on the Aldine edition for his Greek text.

Alexander, *De Mixtione* (ed. Tubingae : apud Ulricum Morhardum, 1540, fols. 44-69v).

[Inc.] : Quisquamne potest rationi consenteum existimare, ac non potius arbitrari

ab omni sensu, veritate, judicioque mentis alienissimum . . . / . . . quia illa corporum penetratio qua vicissim sese occupant quo nihil inscitius a Stoicis affirmatur minime sit ad concludendam sententiam illam necessaria.

*Bibl.* : I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xxxviii-xxxix.

*Edition :*

(Micro.) 1540, Tubingae : apud U. Morhardum. With Scheckius, *De Causa Continente*. BN.

*Biogr. :*

Jacobus Scheckius (Jakob Schegk, also called Degen) a German philosopher and physician, was born in Schorndorf in 1511 and died in 1578 in Tübingen. He studied at the University of Tübingen and worked in philosophy, theology, and medicine. Medicine became his main interest, and in 1543 he became Professor of Medicine. From then until his death in 1578, although he became blind in 1577, Scheckius taught both medicine and philosophy at Tübingen.

His writings include commentaries on Aristotle, a general summary of Aristotelian natural philosophy, writings on logic against Ramus, and his main work : *De Demonstratione Libri XV*.

*Bibl.* : Schottenloher I 151 ; V 60.

A. Hirsch, *Biog. Lexikon d. hervorragend. Ärzte* 5 (2nd ed. 1934) 59 ; A. Richter in : *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 5 (1877) 21-22 ; C. Sigwart, 'Jacob Schegk, Professor der Philosophie und Medicin...', *Literar. Beilage des Staatsanzeigers f. Württemberg* (1883) 65-79.

### 2. ANGELUS CANINIUS ANGLARIENSIS

Caninius did the translation of the *De Mixtione* at the instance of friends shortly before its publication in 1546. (See Letter of Dedication to his translation of the *De Anima* and the *De Mixtione*, cited under I *De Anima* 3, above). He based his translation on the Aldine edition or on a manuscript close to it. (I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xxxviii).

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis : apud H. Scotum, 1546). See under I. *De Anima* 3. above.

Alexander, *De Mixtione*.

[Inc.]: (fol. 1) Qui vero fieri potest, ut aliquis admittat ac concedat, in eiusmodi corporum crassi seu temperamento, unum-quodque eorum quae temperantur.../... [Expl.]: (fol. 6v) neque augmentum quicquam conducere iis, qui corpus per corpus penetrare asserunt ad incredibilis et mirabilis illius placiti confirmationem.

Bibl.: I. Bruns. in his edition, p. xxxviii-xxxix.

*Editions:*

(Micro.) 1546, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. With other works by Alexander. BN.

(\*) 1549, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM.

(\*) 1555, Venetiis : apud J. Gryphium. BN.

(\*) 1559, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

Biogr.: See above under I 3.

### 3. GASPAR GABRIEL.

Gaspar Gabriel, of Padua, translated the *De Mixtione* in the first half of the sixteenth century, perhaps in 1541 and certainly before 1553.

The translation is found in Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 682. The manuscript is composite, in various hands of various dates, and the *De Mixtione* at one time belonged to J. P. Tomasinus, who describes it as follows: De mixtione, versio Latina, ceteris vulgaribus magis propria et elegantior, cuius Gabrielem Patavinum Medicum Clarissimum esse auctorem monstrat stilus. (J. P. Tomasinus, *Bibliothecae patavinae manuscriptae* [Utini 1639] 127. For other references to Gabriel and for his identification with Gaspar Gabriel, see 101 and 130).

The manuscript of the *De Mixtione* is not dated, but it is found in close association with another manuscript, apparently by the same hand, which bears the date 1541. Possibly this is also the date of the *De Mixtione*; in any case a *terminus ante quem* is 1553, the year of Gabriel's death.

Alexander, *De Mixtione*

[Inc.]: (Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 682) Quonam pacto quisquam unquam sibi id persuadere posset, quod a nonnullis .../... atque admiratione dignam valet.

*Manuscript:*

(Reported by Bianca Saraceni Fantini)

Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 682, s. XVI-XVII (*De Mixtione* = s. XVI), fols. 96-109. H. Diels, « Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte. II », *Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss., Abhandlungen, phil.-hist. Kl.* (1906) 10.

*Biogr.:*

Gaspar Gabriel or Gabrielius (Gaspar Gabrieli) of Padua, a physician, was born c. 1495 and died in 1553. He studied philosophy and medicine at the University of Padua and studied Greek at the University of Ferrara under Antonius Musa Brassavolus. In 1528 he was appointed professor of medicine at the University of Ferrara and continued in this position to 1550. He then returned to Padua and devoted himself to writing. Shortly before his death he was called to Porto Gruaro as its physician, but he fell ill of a fever and returned to Padua, where he died in 1553.

Two of his writings were published: 1. *Dissolutiones in quaestiones Hier. Bonaperti de materiae imminutione in principio morbi.* 2. *Explicatio de totius evacuandae materiae ratione.* In addition he left in manuscript three books of poems, 5 orations, *Liber de claris Gymnasii discipulis*, and some miscellaneous material.

Bibl.: C. W. Kestner, *Medizinisches Lehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740) 324; G. M. Koenig, *Bibliotheca Vetus et Nova* (Altdorf 1678) I 79; G. Vedova, *Biografia degli Scrittori Padovani* (Padova 1832) I 439-40.

### XI. De Motu et Tempore

The Greek text of the *De Motu et Tempore* has not been recovered. The opusculum may originally have been part of Alexander's *Commentaria in Aristotelis Physica*, which was available to the Arabs in translation. See G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210: II. Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 7 [1926]) 21-22.

#### 1. GERARDUS CREMONENSIS

Gerardus Cremonensis (d. 1187) translated the *De Motu et Tempore* from Arabic into Latin at Toledo. The translation is attributed to Gerardus in the catalogue of his works (See K. Sudhoff, « Die kurze

Vita und das Verzeichnis der Arbeiten Gerhards von Cremona... „*Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 7 [1915] 78, no. 39) and also in the manuscripts (See G. Théry, *op. cit.* 92). One of the manuscripts states that the work was translated 'a G. de greco in latinum' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 6325. See Théry, *loc. cit.*), but this notice apparently rests on a misunderstanding of a statement which originally applied to the Arabic translation. (For similar misunderstandings, see the manuscripts of the *De Intellectu* cited by Théry, *op. cit.* 69-74, nos. 1, 7 and 15).

Alexander, *De Motu et Tempore* (ed. G. Théry, *op. cit.* 92-97).

[Inc.]: Sicut difficultas sermonum illorum qui a nobis in loco dissensiunt.../... in se ipso vero est unum continuum sempiternum secundum dispositionem unam. Expletus est tractatus.

*Bibl.*: G. Théry, *op. cit.* 92 and 97.

*Manuscripts*:

Eight manuscripts are known (6 = s. XIII, 1 = s. XIII-XIV, 1 = s. XV). G. Théry, *op. cit.* 92, lists five manuscripts. See further *Aristoteles Latinus*, nos. 57 (I 263); 966 (I 698-99), and 1267 (II 878). The Alexander, *De Motu* listed in no. 1181 (II 827) is not the known *De Motu* of Alexander Aphrodisiensis. The *De Motu et Tempore* is also found in:

(\*) London, British Museum, Royal Ms. 12 C XV, s. XIII, fol. 149. G. F. Warner II 30. See also A. Birkenmajer, 'Eine wieder aufgefunden Übersetzung Gerhards von Cremona,' *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Supplementband III 1; 1935) 475.

*Edition*:

G. Théry, *op. cit.* 92-97.

*Biogr.*: See above under II 1.

## XII. *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*

*Editio princeps*: with the works of Damascius etc., Venetiis in aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti 1536.

Critical edition : ed. I. Bruns (Supplementum Aristotelicum 2.2; Berlin 1892).

The *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales* are

probably not by Alexander in their present form, though they incorporate materials from Alexander or from his school. See P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Exégète de la Nostique d'Aristote* (Bibl. de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 99 [1942]) 19-24.

1. (Partial translation : Book I, Chapter IV; Book II, Chapter XXI; Book III, Chapter XIII.)

## HIERONYMUS BAGOLINUS

Hieronymus Bagolinus published three chapters of the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales* along with his translation of the *De Fato*. Like the *De Fato*, the three chapters were probably translated shortly before their publication in 1516 (See VIII 2 above). Bagolinus had used the Greek text of these chapters to determine the text of the *De Fato*, and he finally decided to publish translations of them as supporting evidence for his version of the *De Fato*. At one time, however, he had apparently planned to publish at least some of them as a supplement to his translation of the *De Intellectu* (See the concluding paragraph of the manuscript Preface to the *De Intellectu* in IX 2 above).

These three chapters are found in substantially identical form in the manuscript translation of Books I-III of the *Quaestiones* which is attributed to Hieronymus Bagolinus. It appears likely that Book I, Question IV and Book II, Question XXI as they appear in the edition of 1516 are revisions of the manuscript translation, while in Book III, Question XIII, the manuscript is a revision of the edition of 1516 (See XII 2 below).

Preface (ed. Veronae : ab Andrea B.C., impendio interpretis 1516).

Hieronymus Bagolinus Lectoribus.

[Inc.]: Quam arduum sit, eruditii lectores, Latinis hominibus quae in aliena et peregrina lingua didicerint in suam sibi cognatam transferre.../...ut et isti neglexerint aut omnino damnaverint, superest tandem quem nullus negat Palinodiae locus.

Alexander, *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*.

Book I, Chapter IV. [Inc.]: Num videntur tibi quae ordine causarum fiunt, ita fieri,

ut et omnium horum praecurrant quaedam causae.../. Sequitur enim ad hos qui dicunt hoc pacto fieri quae fiunt pariter veram affirmationem et negationem fieri dicere in his quae hoc modo fiunt aut pariter utramque ipsarum falsam.

Book III, Chapter XIII. [Inc.] : Quoniam id quod in nobis dicimus, est in rationali consensu, ob hoc enim in solo homine est quod in nobis, quia et solus animalium homo est rationalis atque consultandi vim habens. Consentient namque et animalia bruta, sed visionibus quae a sensibilibus.../. constat autem quicquid ex praevidentia fit, illud in nobis esse.

Book II, Chapter XXI. [Inc.] : Cum haberemus nuper sermonem ad alios de providentia et tentarem ego monstrare quod juxta Aristotelem divina ipsa curam habent et providentiam, promptumque esset dicere quaenam esset.../. nihil ab Aristotele de providentia dictum esse, parum explorare aut accurate dicere.

*Edition :*

(Micro.) 1516, Veronae : ab Andrea B. (= Benedicto), with other works of Alexander.

R. Proctor II 2, p. 115, no. 13853. BN.

(Preface only) 1957, Lugano. Richard Lemay, ed. Petri Pomponatii Mantuani, *Libri Quinque De Fato, De Libero Arbitrio, et De Praedestinatione* 463-64.

*Biogr.:* See above under VIII 2.

2. (Books I-III only)

HIERONYMUS BAGOLINUS?

Hieronymus Bagolinus is in all likelihood the author of a manuscript translation of Books I-III of the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*, to be dated in the neighborhood of 1516.

The translation is found anonymously in Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 (one complete copy, and one incomplete, from the last phrases of Book II, Chapter XXIV through the title of Book III, Chapter IX), but several arguments point to Hieronymus Bagolinus as author. First, the translation is substantially identical with that of the three specimen chapters published by Bagolinus in 1516 (See XII 1 above); second, the only other work in the manuscript is the Bago-

linus translation of the *De Intellectu* (See IX 2 above); and third, Hieronymus' son. Johannes Baptista Bagolinus, tells us that his complete translation of the *Quaestiones*, published in 1541, had been begun by his father, and this translation of 1541 is for Books I-III simply a revision, largely stylistic, of the translation of Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565. (See XII 4 below, and the phrase of the Preface, '...Quaestiones, a patre olim inchoatas.'

The dating of the translation of Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 depends largely on its relation to the translation of the three chapters published in 1516. As noted, the two translations are substantially identical, and a preliminary comparison of their different readings suggests that in Book I, Chapter IV and Book II, Chapter XXI the manuscript is the earlier recension, while in Book III, Chapter XIII the edition of 1516 presents the earlier draft. (In Book II, Chapter XXI, for example, ed. Bruns p. 65, line 24, Ms. Vat. Lat. fol. 35<sup>v</sup> reads : Qui enim non dicunt esse juxta Aristotelem providentiam, quam sc. dicimus fieri providentiam, per accidens dicunt illam dici et fieri. The edition of 1516 reads : Qui enim negant esse juxta Aristotelem providentiam, quam sc. nos dicimus fieri providentiam per accidens illam aiunt dici et fieri. On the other hand in Book III, Chapter XIII the edition of 1516 first translates the key term *phantasia* by the awkward *visio* and then shifts generally to *imaginatio*; Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 uses *imaginatio* throughout). The tentative conclusion would be that the translation of Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 had been begun, at least through Book II, Chapter XXI, before the edition of 1516 was prepared, and that it was finished, at least from Book III, Chapter XIII after the edition. Such an early dating, in the neighborhood of 1516, receives some support from the fact that Johannes Baptista Bagolinus in 1541 speaks of his father's *Quaestiones* as 'olim inchoatas.'

Alexander, *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*, Books I-III (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565, fol. 1-63).

[Inc.] : Si substantiae omnes sunt corruptibiles erunt omnia corruptilia. Nam

alia omnia a substantia separari non possunt.

Book I, Chapter IV.

[Inc.] : (fol. 4<sup>v</sup>) Numquid videntur tibi quae ordine causarum fiunt, ita fieri ut et omnium ipsorum praecurrent quaedam causae.../[Expl.] : (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>) Sequitur enim ad hos qui dicunt hoc pacto fieri quae fiunt pariter veram affirmationem et negationem in his quae hoc modo fiunt fieri dicere aut pariter utramque ipsarum falsam.

Book II, Chapter XXI.

[Inc.] : (fol. 35) Cum haberemus nuper sermones ad alios de providentia et tentarem ego monstrare quod juxta Aristotelem divina ipsa curam habent et providentiam, promptumque esset dicere quaenam sit et quo pacto.../[Expl.] : (fol. 38) ostendere eos qui quae Platonis sunt pollicentur maximeque sibi persuadent nihil ab Aristotele de provi-(38<sup>v</sup>) dentia dictum esse, parum exploratae aut accurate dicere.

Book III, Question XIII [Inc.] : (fol. 57<sup>v</sup>) Quoniam ipsum quod in nobis dicimus est in rationali consensu, ob hoc enim in solo homine est quod in nobis, quia et solus animalium homo est rationalis atque consultandi vim habens. Consentient namque et animalia bruta, sed imaginationibus quae a sensibilibus.../[Expl.] : (fol. 58<sup>v</sup>) Est autem manifestum quocunque ex providentia fit, illud in nobis esse.

[Expl.] : (of Book III and of entire translation) (fol. 63) sequitur quoque rursus diventi ipsum in impartibilia dividi, ex impartibili compositione magnitudines fieri.

*Manuscript:*

(Micro. and reported by Biblioteca Vaticana) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565, s. XVI in.

a) fols. 1-65. Complete version.

b) fols. 71-79<sup>v</sup>. Incomplete version from the last sentence of Book II, Chapter XXIV through the title of Book III, Question IX.

*Biogr.:* See above under VIII 2.

3. Book I, Chapter III (= p. 7, line 20 through p. 8, line 28, ed. I. Bruns). AMBROSIUS LEO.

Ambrosius Leo of Nola translated Book I, Chapter III, 'De definitione,' of the *Quaes-*

*tiones naturales et morales*, and the translation was printed with the *Dialectica* of Boethius in 1549. Leo dedicated the translation to Foelix Vicariensis, whom he congratulates on the quick progress of his studies (on Foelix Vicariensis, see Ambrosius Leo, *De Nola* (Venice, 1514) f. 47). It appears that both the dedication and the translation are to be dated in the first years of the sixteenth century.

Letter of dedication. (Venetiis, J. Gryphius, 1549).

Ambrosius Leo Nolanus Foelici Vicariensi amicorum praestantissimo atque optimo Salutem.

[Inc.] : Crebrius illud inter amicos factitari animadvertisimus, Vicariensis Foelix .../...[Expl.] : tum ut re compari donantes corresponderemus tibi Vicariensis, tum ut ab eo opusculo multum nomine tuo caperent nostrates utilitatis. Vale.

Ps. Alexander, *Problemata* I 3.

[Inc.] : Rerum singularium diffinitiones ipsas non esse, nam singularia id ipsum quod est esse sensibile cum quibusdam quae eis contigerunt habent.../[Expl.] : Atque eam ob rem aliquod caducum existens, esse perenne, nequicquam vetuit, mortale enim quod est, quemadmodum singularia, esse perpetuum.

*Edition:*

(micro.) 1549, Venetiis, J. Gryphius. With the *Dialectica* of Boethius. Lyman Riley, 'Aristotle Texts and Commentaries to 1700 in the University of Pennsylvania Library,' *The Library Chronicle* (University of Pennsylvania) XXIV (1958) p. 42, no. 281.

Ambrosius Leo of Nola was a physician, philosopher, and humanist who flourished at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century and who died c. 1524. He studied Medicine at Padua, where Nicoletus Vernias was among his teachers. He was named Professor of Medicine at Naples by Ferdinand of Aragon and remained there until some time after the beginning of the French invasions. Leo then returned for a while to Padua where he studied Greek under Marcus Musurus; in 1507 he went to Venice where he joined the household of Aldus Manutius, whom he

served both as physician and as editor. Leo had close contacts with the other humanists of his time and was a correspondent of Erasmus, who cited him with high praise in the *Adagia*. Leo remained in Venice until his death and published actively during his last years. His writings include a Latin history of his native Nola, *Castigationes aduersus Averroem, Novum opus quaestionum seu problematum*, Latin translations of Accius, *De urinis*, and of Aristotle, *De virtutibus*, and *De nobilitate rerum*. The last work was edited posthumously by his son Camillus, who includes in the preface a list of Leo's writings still unpublished.

*Bibl.* : Fabricius, BLMA II 538; C. G. Joecher II 2375 and VII 1610; Thorndike V 143-7.

Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*. ed. P. S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-58) III 352-3; C. Minieri-Riccio, *Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* (Napoli, 1844) 177; (\*) P. de Montera, 'La Béatrice d'Amboise Leone de Nola. Ce qui reste d'un "Beatricium" consacré à sa gloire' *Mélanges Hauvette* (Paris, 1934) 191-210; L. Nicodemi, *Addizioni copiose alla Biblioteca Napoletana del dottor Niccolò Toppi* (Napoli, 1683) 8-10; F. A. Soria, *Memorie storico-critiche degli storici Napolitani*, 2 vols (Napoli, 1781-82) II, 347-51; G. B. Tafuri, *Istoria degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* III 1 (Naples 1750) 158-163; N. Toppi, *Biblioteca Napoletana* (Naples 1678) 11.

#### 4. HIERONYMUS BAGOLINUS AND JOHANNES BAPTISTA BAGOLINUS

Johannes Baptista Bagolinus published a complete translation of the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*, largely at the instance of his teacher Vincentius Madius, in 1541. He tells us that the translation had been begun some time before (olim) by his father Hieronymus, and of Hieronymus' work we possess the three chapters published in 1516 (See XII 1 above) and Books I-III as preserved in Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565 (See XII 2 above). In effect the translation published by Johannes Baptista Bagolinus in 1541 is simply a revision, largely for stylistic reasons, of the edition of 1516 and of the translation of Ms. Vat. Lat. 4565.

Johannes Baptista appears to have completed the translation shortly before its publication (See in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') and presumably after the death of his father (c. 1540). He used a Greek text close to that of the Aldine edition, but in some cases more complete. (I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xxv).

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis: apud Hieronymum Scotum 1546).

Johannes Baptista Bagolinus Veronensis, Hieronymi Filius, Vincentio Madio Brixiano Philosopho, S.P.D.

[Inc.]: Magnam esse vim propinquitatis et similitudinis animorum rerumque omnium, sicut ante sentiebam, sapientissime idemque mihi amicissime Vincenti.../... Quod tu factum meum cum probaris, probatum omnibus pro tua et in rebus judicandis intelligentia, et apud omnes auctoritate putabo. Vale.

Alexander, *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*

[Inc.]: (p. 1) Si substantiae omnes sunt corruptibles, erunt omnia corruptibilia...

Book I, Chapter IV.

[Inc.]: (p. 3) Num videntur tibi, quae secundum seriem causarum fiunt, ita fieri, ut et ipsorum omnium antejactae sint causae .../... [Expl.]: (p. 4) pariter veram affirmationem et negationem fieri dicere in his, quae hoc modo fiunt, aut pariter utramque ipsarum falsam.

Book II, Chapter XXI.

[Inc.]: (p. 24) Cum haberemus paulo ante sermones cum sociis de providentia, et tentarem ego monstrare .../... [Expl.]: (p. 26) nihil ab Aristotele de providentia dictum esse, nihil explorare atque accurate dicere.

Book III, Chapter XIII.

[Inc.]: (p. 40) Quoniam quod in nobis est in rationali assensu.../... [Expl.]: (p. 40) constat quod et quicquid ex praevidentia fit, in nobis.

[Expl.] (of Book III): (p. 43) sequitur quoque rursus dicenti ipsum in impartibili dividi, ex impartibilium compositione fieri magnitudines.

[Expl.]: (of entire work) (p. 61) sed ex oppositione secundum contradictionem, quoniam nihil est substantiae contrarium.

*Bibl.* : L. Spengel, ed. Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Quaestiorum Naturalium et Mora-*

*lium...Libri Quatuor* (München 1842) p. xi-xiii. I. Bruns, in his edition, p. xxv.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1541, Venetiis : apud Hieronymum Scotum. Followed by Alexander, *De Fato*. BM.

(micro.) 1546, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. Followed by other works of Alexander. BN.

(\*) 1549, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM.

(\*) 1555, Venetiis : apud J. Gryphium. BN.

(\*) 1559, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Doubtful editions:*

1544, Venetiis : Mazzuchelli II 65.

1563, Venetiis : Fabricius BG V 662.

*Biogr.:* See above under VIII 2 and 3.

## 5. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus translated the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales* not later than 1547. The dedication (see Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') was written at Trent, where Hervetus had gone to the Council as part of the household of Marcellus Cervinus (later Pope Marcellus II), and in March, 1547, the Council and Cervinus had moved to Bologna. The translation may be grouped with a number of others, of the Greek fathers and of other Greek authors, done by Hervetus under the patronage of Cervinus.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum 1548).

Marcello Cervino, tituli Sanctae Crucis Cardinali Amplissimo, Tridentini Concilii Legato, Gentianus Hervetus.

[Inc.] : Quam doctus sit Aristotelis interpres, et quam pulchre et praecclare universam philosophiam suis commentariis illustraverit Alexander Aphrodiseus, nemo est in iis studiis aliquantis per versatus, qui non satis intelligat.... Hunc autem meum labore, si aequi boni consuleris, nec tibi ingratum esse prae te tuleris, ego me lucubrationum mearum vel maximum fructum coepisse putabo. Vale. Tridenti.

Alexander, *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*.

[Inc.] : (p. 1) Si substantiae sunt omnes corruptiles, erunt omnia corruptilia. Alia enim a substantia separari non possunt...

Book I, Chapter IV.

[Inc.] : (p. 12) Numquid tibi videntur,

quae per causarum seriem fiunt, ita fieri.../[Expl.] : (p. 19) affirmationem et negationem in iis quae fiunt, fieri dicant, vel utramque ipsarum similiter falsam.

## Book II, Chapter XXI.

[Inc.] : (p. 112) Cum nuper apud amicos de providentia verba facerem, et ostendere conarer.../[Expl.] : (p. 122) nihil Aristotelem de divina providentia dixisse, nihil nec scienter nec diligenter dicere.

## Book III, Chapter XIII.

[Inc.] : (p. 190) Quia quod in nostra est potestate, est in rationali assensione.../[Expl.] : (p. 193) quod quidquid consulto et ex deliberatione fit, est in nostra potestate.

[Expl.] : (of Book III) (p. 209) Sequitur autem rursus in dicendo ipsum in indivisibilia dividi, ut ex indivisibilium compositione fiant magnitudines.

[Expl.] (of entire work) : (p. 297) Quae est autem per substantiam, non ex contrariis sed ex ea oppositione, quae est secundum condictio[n]em (contradictionem).

*Edition:*

1548, Basileae ; per Ioannem Oporinum. BN ; (MB).

*Biogr.:* See above under VIII 4.

## 6. DOUBTFUL

It is possible that Angelus Politianus translated some or all of the *Quaestiones Naturales et Morales*, but the evidence is inconclusive and no manuscript is known.

The only references to such a translation are found in a letter from Politian to Hieronymus Donatus in 1490. In reply to an inquiry about Alexander, *De Anima* (See I 2 above), Politian replies that he does not know the work and adds: Evidem non nullas Alexandri huius peracutas in philosophia quaestiones, anno iam tum superiore Latinas feci. (A. Politianus, *Opera* [Basel 1553] 27).

The problem is to determine what Politian means in this context by *peracutas in philosophia quaestiones*. It might refer to the *Quaestiones naturales et morales*, but it might also refer to the *Problemata* (for Politian's translation of these, see XVII, 4 below) or even to Alexander's writings in general (for such a usage of *naturales quaes-*

*tiones*, see Politian's *Miscellaneorum Liber*, Caput I (*ibid.* 226).

*Bibl.* : F. O. Mencken, *Historia Vitae et in Literas Meritorum Angeli Politiani* (Leipzig 1736) 164 and 596.

### XIII. *De Sensu et Sensato*

The Greek text of the *De Sensu et Sensato* has not been recovered. Possibly the work was originally a part of the lost *Commentaria in Aristotelis Libros de Anima*.

#### 1. GERARDUS CREMONENSIS?

The *De Sensu et Sensato* was translated from Arabic into Latin, probably by Gerardus Cremonensis, in the twelfth century. The translation is anonymous in all the known manuscripts, but it is regularly found in association with works certainly translated by Gerardus and it is listed in the catalogue of his translations. See K. Sudhoff, 'Die kurze Vita und das Verzeichnis der Arbeiten Gerhards von Cremona...', *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 8 (1915) 78 no. 39.

Alexander, *De Sensu et Sensato* (ed. G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210* : II. *Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 7 [1926]) 86-91.

[*Inc.*] : Postquam consumavit Aristoteles, in libro suo qui *de anima* liber dicitur.../... cum potentia secunda paciens imprimentem incedens ad actum in sensibili, absque alteracione et motu omnino.

Expletus est tractatus Alexandri de Sensu.

*Bibl.* : G. Théry, *op. cit.*, 83-96 and 91-92.

*Manuscripts* :

Six manuscripts are known (4 = s. XIII; 1 = s. XIII-XIV; 1 = s. XV). Two are listed in G. Théry, *op. cit.* 83; see also *Aristoteles Latinus*, nos. 57 (I 263), 966 (I 698-99), 1267 (II 878), and 1570 (II 1077).

*Biogr.* : See above under II 1.

### XIV. *Commentaria in Aristotelis*

*Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum.*

Editio princeps, under the proper ascription to Eustratius : Venetiis : apud Aldum 1534.

Critical edition : ed. M. Hayduck, Eustratius, *In Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 21, 1 ; Berlin 1907).

The *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum* are ascribed to Eustratius in both surviving manuscripts, and there appears to be no reason to question the ascription. They are also ascribed to Eustratius in the first edition of the translation (Venetiis : apud H. Scotum 1542). In the second edition (Venetiis : apud H. Scotum 1568) however, they are ascribed not only to Eustratius but also to Alexander.

#### 1. ANDREAS GRATIOLUS

Andreas Gratiolus published his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum* in 1542 under the proper ascription to Eustratius along with a translation of an anonymous commentary on the same book (ed. M. Wallies, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 13, 3 Berlin 1909), and he dedicated both to Ioannes Baptista Campegius, Bishop of Majorca (1507-83). The translations were reprinted in 1568, without the letter of dedication, and the Eustratius commentary appeared under the double authorship of Eustratius and of Alexander Aphrodisiensis. It is doubtful whether the addition of Alexander's name had any better justification than the desire to make the edition sell more copies.

Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis : apud H. Scotum 1542).

Amplissimo Ioanni Baptista Campegio Maioricae Episcopo Andreas Gratiolus S.

[*Inc.*] : (p. 3) Qui libros e Graeco in Latinum convertunt, ii fere triplici ratione ad eam operam aggredi solent.../[*Expl.*] : (p. 4) Quod si eam non omni ex parte probabis, probare certe debebis, quatenus ex ea cognosces meam erga te observantiam et voluntatem. Vale.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analyticorum Posteriorum Librum Secundum*.

[*Inc.*] : (p. 5) Intentionem secundi libri Posteriorum librorum Resolutivorum.../...

[Expl.]: (p. 160) sic omnis scientia ad omnem se habebit scibile cognoscens ipsum.

*Editions:*

(micro. and reported by Elizabeth de W. Root) 1542, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BM ; (The Case Memorial Library, Hartford).

(micro.) 1568, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Biogr.:*

Andreas Gratiolus (Andrea Grazioli) of Toscolano and Salò near Lake Garda, was a physician of note who flourished c. 1540-80. Gratiolus studied philosophy and medicine at Padua, and he mentions as his teachers Lazarus Bonamicus and Remigius Melioratus. In 1553 he was physician at Desenzano; later he served five years at Mantua. In 1567 he was again at Desenzano, and after some years he served as physician at Montagnana. He wrote a discourse on the plague, translated Philoponus in addition to Eustratius and Alexander, and edited a translation of Avicenna.

Bibl. : C. G. Joecher II 1141-42.

L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon* (Milano 1947) 376; C. W. Kestner, *Bibliotheca Medica* (Jenae 1746) 360; A. Schivardi, *Biografia dei medici illustri bresciani* (2 vols. Brescia 1839-52) 197-98.

**2. DOUBTFUL.** Medieval translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora*.

Richard de Fournival in his *Biblionomia*, written toward the middle of the thirteenth century, lists the *Commentaria*: 23. Ejusdem (sc. Alexandri Affrodisii) liber commentariorum in posteriores analecticos ejusdem Aristotelis, in uno volumine cuius signum est littera C. No positive conclusion can be drawn from this listing since we cannot tell when the *Biblionomia* describes a real library and when an ideal one.

Bibl. : L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* II (Paris 1874) 525.

**XV. Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos**

Editio princeps : Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae socii, 1520. (The Aldine edition

was almost immediately copied in a second edition, Florentiae, per haeredes P. Juntae, 1521).

Critical edition : ed. M. Wallies (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* II 3) Berlin 1888.

The *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* has long been recognized as not the work of Alexander of Aphrodisias. (See C. A. Brandis, 'Von den griechischen Auslegern des Organons,' *Kgl. Akad. der Wiss., Berlin, Hist.-philol. Kl., Abh.* 1833, 298-99. For the manuscript ascription to other authors, see M. Wallies, in his edition, p. v.)

The manuscripts present three very different recensions : 1. the standard text ; 2. an incomplete recension ; 3. an extensively interpolated recension. The Aldine edition is an example of the first of these recensions. The Aldine editor apparently discovered one or more better manuscripts when about half way through his edition ; the readings of these manuscripts for the first half of the *Commentaria* were not incorporated in his text but added in a separate 'mantissa.' See M. Wallies, in his edition p. v-viii and xxviii-xxix.

**1. BARTHOLOMAEUS ZAMBERTUS**

Bartholomaeus Zambertus completed his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* February 7, 1524. A note at the end of the autograph manuscript reads : Aristotelis stagiritae peripateticorum principis elenchorum libri finis cum expositione Alexandri Aphrodisii peripatetici, Bartholomaeo Zamberto Veneto interprete ; Deo immortali gratias. Expeditum opus anno domini MDXXIIII, Februarii luce VII, anno interpretis primo et quinquagesimo et mense sexto (München, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 120, fol. 145v-146). Zambertus completes the lemmata and provides a full Aristotelian text.

[Inc.] : (München, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 120, fols. 1-146). Cum Aristoteles docuerit syllogismum demonstrativum et dialecticum, nunc nos elenchos sophisticos doctrinus est . . . . cui oportet nos omnes non multos, ut ipse dixit, sed quas neque dicere sit possibile grates habere.

*Bibl.*: Otto Hartig, 'Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek...., Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., München, Abhandlungen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 28.3 (1917) 272-3.

*Manuscript:*

(Reported by Dr. Bernhard Bischoff and micro.) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 120, s. XVI, fol. 1-146. (*Catal. CLM III 1*, p. 23).

*Biogr.*: See above under III 1.

2. GUILELMUS DOROTHEUS.

Guilelmus Dorotheus published his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* in 1541, and the work may be grouped with a series of translations of Aristotelian commentaries done at about the same time. (See, for example, VII 2 above). Dorotheus used the Aldine or the Junta edition for his text but did not incorporate any readings from the Aldine *mantissa* (M. Wallies, in his edition, pp. xxix-xxx. ) He provides full lemmata of the Aristotelian text. For the letter of dedication, see Cranz, 'The Prefaces...' Letter of Dedication (ed. Venetiis : apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1541).

Marco Maurocoeno Senatori Veneto Doctorique Excellentissimo Guilelmus Dorotheus Venetus Salutem.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 42) Summa vel erga patriam patritiosque meos pietas, vel in studiosos eiusdem benevolentia facit (Marce Senator et doctor ornatissime).../...Nec me fallit pro doctrinae tuae excellentia, pro virtutibus tuis, pro meritis vel optima erga me voluntate, ut tanti aestimem te, quanti amicorum quemlibet. Bene vale.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 2) Cum docuerit Aristoteles syllogismum demonstrativum et dialecticum, tandem venit ad docendum nos de sophisticis elenchis.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 41v) cui par est, ut nostrum quisque non ingenteis gratias (ut ipse inquit) sed etiam quae vix referri possunt, habere debemus.

*Bibl.*: M. Wallies, in his edition p. xxix-xxx (includes a specimen of the translation).

*Edition:*

(Micro.) 1541, Venetiis : apud H. Scotum. BN.

*Biogr.*: See above under VII 3.

3. JOHANNES NABASCUENSIS

Johannes Nabascuensis did a revision of Dorotheus' translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* in 1542. Nabascuensis had been given the translation of Dorotheus so that he might check it against the Greek text for a second edition. Nabascuensis tells us that he soon discovered so many errors as to demand a completely new translation. However, he lacked time for such a task and had to content himself with a simple revision. (See the Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'. For a specimen of Dorotheus' translation, with the changes of Nabascuensis added in parentheses, see M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xxix-xxx). Like Dorotheus, Nabascuensis used the Aldine or the Juntine edition but did not incorporate any readings from the Aldine 'mantissa' (M. Wallies, *ibid.*). He provides full lemmata of the Aristotelian text.

Letter of Dedication (1542, ed. Parisiis : apud Simonem Colinaeum).

Gabrieli Agnuesio, Sancti Seruatoris Leirensis Abbati Dignissimo, Ioannes Nabascuensis, S.D.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 2) Saepe apud me cogitavi, praesul ornatissime, rationem aliquam inire, qua tibi significarem, me in eorum esse numero, qui tuam dignitatem tueri cupiunt .../... Vale praesul humanissime, et hoc munusculum velut signum amoris, quo te persequor, accipe.

Letter of Dedication of Guilelmus Dorotheus: Marco Maurocoeno Senatori Veneto Doctorique... (See XV 2 above).

Pseudo-Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 3) Cum docuerit Aristoteles syllogismum demonstrativum et dialecticum, nunc venit ad docendum nos de sophisticis elenchis, id est, apparentibus argumentis, quos docet nos non ea de causa ut ipsis utamur.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 47) ut, nostrum quisque non ingenteis gratias modo (ut ipse inquit) sed etiam quae vix referri possunt, habere debemus.

*Bibl.* : M. Wallies, in his edition p. xxix-xxx (with a specimen of the translation of Dorotheus together with the changes made by Nabascuensis).

*Edition :*

1542, Parisiis : apud S. Colinaeum. BM ; Renouard, Colines, 350 ; (MH).

*Biogr. :*

Johannes Nabascuensis or de Nabasques or Nevasquez of Sanguessa in Navarre, was a scholar and physician who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century.

His writings include, in addition to the translation of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, an edition : Joannis Mesue Damasceni Liber I seu methodus medicamenta purgantia simplicia diligendi et castigandi, theorematis quatuor absolutus, cum interpretatione et expositione (Caesaraugustae 1550).

*Bibl.* : Antonius, Nova I 748 ; Joecher, III 799.

#### 4. GASPAR MARCELLUS

Gaspar Marcellus published his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* in 1546, and it is probable that he did the translation in the years immediately preceding its publication. (See the Letter of Dedication, in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'). Marcellus used the Aldine or Juntine edition as a basis for his translation, and he also incorporated readings from the Aldine 'mantissa.' (M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xxxi). The edition of 1559 contains full lemmata of the Aristotelian text.

Letter of Dedication (1559, ed. Venetiis : apud Hieronymum Scotum).

Illustrissimo D. D. Nicolao Rodolfo Ecclesiae Romanae Diacono Cardinali Maximo, Gaspar Marcellus Montagnanensis Philosophus Patavinus, bene et recte perpetuoque agere D.

[*Inc.*] : Quantum Aristoteli Philosopho, vir amplissime Nicolae Rodolfo Cardinalis Maxime, hominum genus beat, nemo unus qui progressus in literis vel modicos fecerit quive artium studia modice coluerit ambigere potest.../...isque qui me tibi munus mittit re parvum, sua in te animi propensione magnum, amplioribus oneratus muneribus tuos sanctissimos exosculaturus pedes

teque divini numinis instar adoraturus Romanum accedit.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*

[*Inc.*] : (p. 1) Aristoteles post demonstrativa ac dialecticae ratiocinationes (ratiocinationis) doctrinam ab ipso traditam, redagationum institutionem mentientium nunc proditurus accedit.../[*Expl.*] : (p. 98) cui nos omnes non plurimam (ut ipse dixit) sed neque tantam quanta oratione complecti potest gratiam habere oportet.

*Bibl.* : M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xxix-xxxii (includes a specimen of the translation).

*Editions :*

(\*) 1546, Venetiis : Scotus. DK.

(Micro.) 1559, Venetiis : apud Hieronymum Scotum. BN.

*Doubtful edition :*

1. According to Hoffmann BL I 119, Brunet, I 161, and Graesse, I, 69, the Marcellus translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* was published in 1546 in Venice by Hieronymus Scotus in combination with the translation by J. B. Felicianus of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Analytica Priora*.

*Biogr. :*

Gasparus Marcellus or Marzolus (Gasparo Marcello) of Montagnana, was a philosopher and physician of the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1528 he held the chair of Medicina Practica at Padua, and he seems still to have been active at Padua in the early 50's.

In addition to the translation of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, he translated Philoponus, *Libri duodeviginti adversus totidem Procli successoris rationes de mundi aeternitate*.

*Bibl.* : C. G. Joecher, *Fortsetzung IV* 657.

G. Vedova, *Biografia degli Scrittori Padovani* (Padova 1832-36) I 588 ; Bernardinus Scardeonius, *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii* (Basel 1560) 250.

#### 5. JOHANNES BAPTISTA RASARIUS

Johannes Baptista Rasarius published his translation of the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* in 1557, but he did the translation at an earlier date. (See Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefa-

ces...'). He based his translation on the Aldine or Juntine edition (M. Wallies, in his edition, p. xxix) and included complete lemmata of the Aristotelian text.

Letter of Dedication (1557, ed. Venetiis : Ludovicus Avancius excudendum curabat).

Ioannes Baptista Rasarius Matthaeo Donato Aloisii filio S.P.D.

[Inc.] : Cum iis bonis, quae mortalium generi deorum concessu atque munere data sunt, nullum optabilius nullumque praestantius unquam sit habitum quam philosophia.../...ut una cum eis maneat hoc meae singularis in te benevolentiae et summae erga patrem tuum observantiae monumentum. Vale. Venetiis, pridie Calen. Sext. MDLVII.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*.

[Inc.] : (p. 1) Cum Aristoteles de syllogismo demonstrativo deque dialectico disseruerit, hoc loco ad sophistica etiam reprehensiones declarandas aggreditur.../...

[Expl.] : (p. 118) ut ei non modo magnam gratiam, ut ipse ait, sed etiam quam maximum fieri a nobis possit, habere debeamus.

Bibl. : M. Wallies, in his edition p. xxix-xxx (includes a specimen of the translation).

#### *Edition :*

(micro.) 1557, Venetiis : L. Avancius excudendum curabat. BN.

*Biogr.* : See above under VII, 7.

#### 6. DOUBTFUL

Medieval translation of the (genuine?)

#### *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*

L. Minio-Paluello in an important note in the *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 46 (1954) has argued that an Alexandrian *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos* was available in the West at least as early as the twelfth century, and he has further argued that this was a translation of the genuine commentary, not of the extant pseudo-Alexandrian Greek text.

The evidence which he presents may be summarized under the two headings : 1. quotations and fragments. 2. testimony.

1. — a) Martin Grabmann in 1936 noted references to Alexander 'super libro Elenchorum' in a medieval logical tract and in the *De modo opponendi et respondendi* attributed to Albertus Magnus (*Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., München Sitz., Phil.-hist. Abt.* 1936, Heft 9, 87).

b) Minio-Paluello adds two citations from a commentary on the *Elenchi* preserved in a twelfth-century Bodleian manuscript and some 25 fragments found in the margins of a fourteenth century Vienna manuscript of a translation of the *Sophistici elenchi*.

2. — a) In the Arabic tradition there are references to the *Commentaria in Sophisticos Elenchos* of Alexander from the tenth or eleventh century. Since this is too early for a commentary by Michael of Ephesus, whom Minio-Paluello accepts as the author of our Pseudo-Alexander, they must refer to another commentary and presumably to the genuine work of Alexander.

b) Richard de Fournival in his *Bibliomia* lists 'Alexandri Affrodisii liber commentariorum in sophisticos elenchos Aristotelis, in uno volumine cujus signum est littera C.' (L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* II [Paris 1874] 525).

Minio-Paluello's research has yielded important information on the medieval Alexander tradition, but it is necessary to distinguish in his conclusions between what is certain and what must for the moment remain tentative.

In the first place, it is certain that the medieval West was in possession of some fragments of an Alexandrian *Commentaria in Aristotelis Sophisticos Elenchos*.

In the second place, it is probable that they possessed the complete translation of these *Commentaria*. On the other hand it is possible that only fragments were available, whether these had been selected by a Latin translator or whether they had existed as fragments in Greek, perhaps as marginalia to the Aristotelian text of the *Sophistici elenchi*. (One might in each case think of the work of Jacob the Venetian, as brilliantly analyzed by Minio-Paluello, e.g. 'Note sull' Aristotele latino medievale. VII. Manoscritti aristotelici latini del XII secolo con note contemporanee : Scolii greci alla "Metaphysica"'

tradotti in latino da Giacomo Veneto,' *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 44 [1952] 485-95; 45 [1953] 398-411; 46 [1954] 211-29). The testimony of Richard de Fourneval has little independent value since we cannot in his *Biblionomia* separate what is actual from what is simply imagined. (See XIV 2, above).

In the third place, it is possible that what the Latin West possessed, whether fragmentary or complete, was the genuine *Commentaria* of Alexander, but the evidence accessible to me lends no positive support to this view. It is by no means certain that Pseudo-Alexander should be attributed to Michael of Ephesus (See M. Wallies in his edition, p.v), and the extant *Commentaria* may be early enough so that the references of the Arabic tradition may be referred to them. Further, the fragments cited by Minio-Paluello do not diverge conclusively from the extant Greek text and, if anything, rather support the hypothesis that it was the Pseudo-Alexandrian *Commentaria* which had been translated.

*Bibl.* : L. Minio-Paluello, 'Note sull' Aristotele latino medievale. IX. Gli 'Elenchi sofistici': redazioni contaminate colla ignota versione di Giacomo Veneto (?); frammenti dello ignoto commento d'Alessandro d'Afrodizia tradotti in latino.' *Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica* 46 (1954) 223-31, esp. 229-31.

## XVI. *De Febribus*

### *Editions:*

ed. D. G. Schina, *Musei Critici Cantabrigiensis* fasciculus 7 (1821).

ed. F. Passow (Vratislaviae 1822).

The *De Febribus* is generally recognized as not the work of Alexander.

### 1. GEORGIUS VALLA

Georgius Valla published his translation of the *De Febribus*, along with a number of other translations, in 1498. The translation may have been done earlier but probably not before 1489, since in the separate letter of dedication which accompanies the *De Febribus* (see Cranz, 'The Prefaces...').

Georgius Cornelius is addressed as 'eques juratus,' a title which he did not receive until after the Venetian acquisition of Cyprus in 1489. Valla used a Greek manuscript different from those now extant, and his translation is important for the establishment of the Greek text (see F. Passow in his edition, p. 50).

1. Letter of Dedication to the collection of translations (1498, ed. Venetiis : per Simonem Papiensem, dictum Bevilacquam).

Georgius Valla Placentinus Illustri Guidoni Duci Urbini Durantisque Comiti Salutem dicit aeternam.

[*Inc.*] : Saepe ac diu, illustris Guido Urbini nec non exercitus Veneti dux sapientissime, dubitavi.../...denique illud quoque accedit ad cumulum debitum tibi a me hoc amoris monimentum exhiberi, quo cum omni laude dignissimo patre tuo conciliatam olim non parvam benevolentiam in te instauramus atque propagemus, quod sane sedulo facere moliemur. Vale aeternum.

2. Letter of Dedication to *De Febribus*

Georgius Valla Placentinus Magnifico Equiti Iurato Georgio Cornello Veneto Senatori Sal. dicit aeternam.

[*Inc.*] : Cum sua cuilibet, Georgi Cornelli Venete Senator inclyte, natura tribuerit animanti, ut suum suorumque copus (corpus) tueantur salubria disquirendo vitandoque contraria... Hunc ergo, inclyte Georgi Cornelli, a me tibi habe conciliatum, ut omnes doctos habere consuesti.

Pseudo-Alexander, *De Febribus*

[*Inc.*] : Postulasti a me, Asclepiadum clarissime Apolloni, ut quaecunque tibi ad me frequenter eunti lingua depropseram de febribus iam scribendo aperirem.../[*Expl.*] : Cunctas autem has febrium differentias quidem ante nos examussim simulque perspicue exposuit inquiens. Haec Alexandri verba secuntur de differentiis febrium Galeni doctissimi medici volumina. Alexander Aphrodiseus medicus clarissimus de febribus feliciter explicit.

*Bibl.* : J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek* (Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 16. 1896) 21 and 37; F. Passow, in his edition, 50.

*Editions:*

(Micro.) 1498, Venetiis : per Simonem Pa-  
piensem dictum Bevilacquam. With Nice-  
phorus *Logica* etc. BM (under N. Blemmidas) ;  
BN ; BMC 5. 523.

(\*) 1506 ?, Lyons : J. de Campis. With  
*Symphorianus Champerius*. BM.

(\*) 1518, Parisiis : H. Stephanus. With  
*Claudius Galenus* etc. BN.

(\*) 1542, Basileae : R. Winter. Followed  
by *Johannes Damacenus* etc. BN.

(\*) 1612, Coloniae Allobrogum : apud P.  
et J. Chouet. With *Jacobus Fontanus*,  
*Opera*. BN.

1822, Vratislaviae : ed. F. Passow. Does  
not contain the introductory letters.

1835. In : F. Passow, *Opuscula Academica*  
(Lipsiae 1835) 523-98.

*Doubtful edition :*

1489. See Hoffmann, BL I 116 ; Passow,  
in his edition (1822) 50.

*Biogr. :*

Georgius Valla (Giorgio Valla) was born in  
Piacenza in 1447 and died in Venice in 1500.  
After his early schooling in Piacenza, Valla  
studied under Constantine Lascaris at Milan  
and then under Johannes Marlianus at Pavia.  
Valla taught at Milan (possibly 1467-69), at  
Genoa (possibly 1477-78) and at Pavia  
(1466 to 1484 with some interruptions).  
In 1485 he went to Venice and took over the  
place of Georgius Alexandrinus (Merula).  
In 1496 he was imprisoned by the Council of  
Ten in connection with Milanese intrigues,  
but Valla's innocence was finally recognized.

Valla wrote commentaries on both Greek  
and Latin authors (e.g. Cicero, Juvenal,  
Ptolemy) and did numerous translations  
from the Greek (Alexander Aphrodisiensis,  
Euclid, Galen, Nicephorus Gregoras, Psellus,  
etc.). His *magnum opus*, an encyclopedia in  
49 books, was the *De expetendis et fugiendis  
rebus*.

*Bibl.:* Tiraboschi (Venezia 1823-25) VI  
1416-22.

Ph. Argelatus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Me-  
diolanensium* (Milan 1745) II 2181-85 ; J.  
L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg  
Valla's und seiner Bibliothek* (Beihefte zum  
Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 16) Leip-  
zig 1896 ; C. Poggiali, *Memorie per la Storia  
Letteraria di Piacenza* (2 vols. Piacenza 1789)  
I 131-70.

## XVII. *Problemata*

The tradition of the Greek text of the  
*Problemata* is very complicated, but two  
main recensions may be distinguished : 1.  
The shorter recension found in the *editio  
princeps* (1497, Venetiis : apud Aldum) and  
reprinted from it by I. L. Ideler, *Physici et  
Medici Graeci* (2 vols. Berlin 1841-42) I 3-80.  
This recension is in two books ; Book I  
contains 152 problems, Book II 76 problems.

2. The longer recension contains two ad-  
ditional books, Book III with 22 problems  
and Book IV with 192 problems. These were  
first edited by U. C. Bussemaker in : *Aris-  
toteles, Opera Omnia* IV (Paris 1857) 291-  
332. Later they were more adequately  
edited by H. Usener (Berlin 1859).

In the following discussion, Books I and II  
are used in the edition of Ideler, Books III  
and IV in the edition of Usener. (For a  
fuller discussion of the recensions, cf. U.  
C. Bussemaker, in his edition p. viii-ix ; H.  
Usener, in his edition, p. iiiii-viiii ; and V.  
Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* [Lipsiae  
1863] 215-221).

It is universally admitted that the *Pro-  
blemata* are falsely attributed to Alexander  
Aphrodisiensis, and V. Rose, *op. cit.*, 216-19,  
has shown that Books III and IV were ori-  
ginally falsely attributed to Aristotle. Some  
of these problems, or variants of them, are  
found in a collection of 43 problems known  
only in Latin translation and edited by V.  
Rose, *op. cit.* 666-76, under the title *Pro-  
blemata quae dicuntur Aristotelis philosophi*.  
For a full account of this translation see  
the article on Aristotle.

### 1. PETRUS PADUBANENSIS (PETER OF ABANO)

Petrus Padubanensis completed his trans-  
lation of the *Problemata* at Padua, December  
15, 1302. (See the colophon of El Escorial,  
Real Biblioteca, f. I. 11. : explicit liber  
problematum alexandrii affrodiseos trans-  
latus per petrum padubanensem padue de  
greco in latinum M CCC secundo XV die  
Decembbris, et sunt omnia problemata nu-  
mero 197. G. Antolin, *Catálogo...* II 137).  
The Escorial manuscript of the *Problemata*

contains a prologue or dedication which might supply further information on the circumstances of the translation, but the manuscript is illegible at this point.

The Greek text from which Petrus worked evidently contained two main groups of problems : Book I, 1-119 and Book II, 2-76. This is essentially the shorter recension, with the omission of some thirty problems at the end of Book I. (For Greek manuscripts which correspond in general to that used by Petrus, cf. H. Usener, in his edition, p. vii).

A comparison of the questions of the translation (as found in the Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Reg. 747) with the Ideler edition, gives the following results :

Petrus Padubanensis omits	Ideler Book I, Praef.
1- 77	1-77
78- 79	78
80- 88	79-87
89- 90	88
91-101	89-99
102-3	101- 2
104	100
105-113	103-111
114	112-113
115- 20	114-119
121-182	II,2-63
183	65
184	64
185-195	66-76
196	Not in Ideler

The Escorial manuscript contains the same number of questions as the Vatican manuscript, but it presents Vatican q. 141 as two separate questions and therefore reaches a total of 197. The Vatican manuscript does not indicate the source of the last question ; the Escorial manuscript at the end of Vatican q. 195 adds the note : Explicit. Sequens est translatoris.

#### Pseudo-Alexander, *Problemata*

[Inc.] : (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Reg. 747). Propter quid homines temporicanos vocavit.../...utrum membra additione aut diversorum inferiorum a superiorum mole et figurazione.

Bibl. : L. Thorndike II 878 ; 918.

(\*) L. Norpeth, 'Zur Bio-Bibliographie

und Wissenschaftslehre des Pietro d'Abano,' *Kyklos* 3 (1930) 308 ; Lynn Thorndike 'Manuscripts of the Writings of Peter of Abano,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 15 (1944) 216-217.

#### Manuscripts :

(Reported by P. Morales and micro). El Escorial, f I 11, s. XIV, fols. 31-42. (Antolin II 137).

(micro.) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. lat. 747, s. XIV (?), fols. 62-103v (Thorndike-Kibre, col. 533).

#### Biogr. :

Petrus Aponensis or de Apono or Paduanensis (Peter of Abano) was born at Abano near Padua c. 1250 and died c. 1316. He was widely travelled and spent sometime in Constantinople as well as almost ten years in Paris (c. 1293-1303). After 1303 he remained in Padua and taught at the University there. Petrus was primarily an astrologer but also had a good general training in the science of his time.

His works include the *Conciliator*, the *Lucidator*, a commentary on the *Problems* of Aristotle, and a treatise on poisons. In addition he did some translations from the Greek into Latin (the *Problems* of Aristotle, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, and Cassius, Book XIV of Galen's *Methodus Medendi*) and from French into Latin (Abraham ben Ezra's astrological treatises).

Bibl. : G. Sarton, III 1, 439-46 ; Thorndike, II 874-947.

Pietro d'Abano, *Il Trattato 'de Venenis'* commentato e illustrato ed. A. Benedicenti, (Firenze 1949) ; (\*) L. Norpeth, 'Zur Bio-Bibliographie und Wissenschaftslehre des Pietro d'Abano,' *Kyklos* 3 (1930) 292-353 ; L. Thorndike, 'Translations of Galen from the Greek by Peter of Abano,' *Isis* 33 (1942) 649-53 ; idem, 'Manuscripts of the Writings of Peter of Abano,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 15 (1944) 201-219.

## 2. THEODORUS GAZA

Theodorus Gaza translated the *Problemata* for Pope Nicholas V in 1453. He states (see the Letter of Dedication in Cranz, 'The Prefaces...') that the translation was done the year after his translation of Aris-

totle's *Problemata*, and the latter translation can be dated in 1452. (For the evidence, see G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, Studi e Testi* 44 [1925] 42 n. 3).

The manuscript used by Theodorus is presumably the one mentioned in a letter written to Nicholas V from Trebizond. The writer describes four manuscripts which he has located: 'Tertius Aristotelis continet *Problemata plura quam hucusque viderim*, item *Problemata Alexandri Aphrodisei ex eadem ut aiunt schola.*' (Text of the letter in E. Muntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris 1887] 114. For disproof of the common ascription to Niccolò Perotti, see G. Mercati, *op. cit.* 40-43).

Theodorus' manuscript contained the shorter recension and some of the additional questions from Books III and IV. (For a Greek manuscript which has roughly the same questions, see Usener, in his edition p. vii on Oxford, New College, Ms. 233). A detailed collation of the problems in Theodorus' translation (1504, ed. Venetiis: apud Aldum) with the editions of Ideler and Usener gives the following results, though it should be noted that in some cases a problem in the Latin translation corresponds only approximately to the problem in the Greek original.

Theodorus Gaza	Ideler-Usener
I, proem.	I, proem.
I, 1	I, 1-2
2-25	3-26
omits	27
26-128	28-130
omits	131-2
129-31	133-5
omits	136
132-47	137-52
omits	II, proem.
II, 1-6	II, 1- 6
omits	7
7	8
omits	9
8-13	10-15
14-15	16
16-28	17-29
omits	30-31
29-59	32-62

omits	63
60-72	64-76
omits	III, proem.
II, 73-94	III, 1-22
II, 95- 96	IV, 1-2
omits	3
97-116	4-23
omits	24
117-120	25-28
121-127	30-36
128	38
129	37
130	29

Letter of Dedication (1513, ed. Venetiis: apud Aldum).

Theodori Gazae Thessalonicensis in *Problemata Alexandri (Alexandri) Aphrodisie ad Nicolaum quintum pontificem Maximum, Praefatio.*

[Inc.]: (fol. 156) Num aegre interim feras,  
Pater sanctissime, si ego falsam deprehendi libri descriptionem, an libros tantum illos de hierarchia autoris esse Dionysii Atheniensis viri doctissimi velis.../...nam et sermonis faciem talem nos scitamentis huius recentis parumque linguae periti autoris posuimus, ut ex eadem officina interpretis, ex qua illa Aristotelis, haec quoque exisse viderentur. Vale.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Problemata*

Book I, Proem. [Inc.]: (fol. 156) Quaestitionum naturalium ratio partim certa ex se conspectaque est omni ambiguitate discussioneque ab juncta.../...[Expl.]: (fol. 156<sup>v</sup>) animus auditoris regendus sit, haec propnenda solvenda censuimus.

Book I, Problem 1. [Inc.]: (fol. 156<sup>v</sup>) Cur Homerus homines a canitie temporum πολιορκόταφος cognominavit? Quod (Quia?) ea maxime parte capit is canities oritur.../...[Expl.] (of Book II and of entire work): (fol. 273<sup>v</sup> = 173<sup>v</sup>) tenue autem omne acre est. At gustus quia humidus est, mellis percipere potest lenitatem. LAUS DEO.

Bibl.: A. Gercke, *Theodoros Gazes*, in: *Festschrift der Universität Greifswald* (Greifswald 1903) 26-29; G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti* (*Studi e Testi* 44 [1925]) 42; L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* (Quellen und Forschungen

aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 20 [1923]) 266 ; H. Usener, in his edition, p. vii.

*Manuscripts :*

(Reported by L. Bertalot) Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria, cod. 580 (20-2-15), s. XV (1468), fols. 200-260.

(\*) Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, ms. 1392, s. XV, fols. 139-189 (A. Mancini, 'Index codicum latinorum publicae byblithecae Lucensis,' *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 8 [1900], 196-197).

(\*) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. Q 46 sup., mbr. s. XV, fols. 227-302 (E. Francesco, 'L'Aristotele latino nei codici dell'Ambrosiana,' *Miscellanea Giovanni Galliati* III [Milan 1951] 245 n. 1).

(Micro. and reported by Biblioteca Vaticana) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 2111, s. XV ex., fols. 187-245v.

(Micro. and reported by P. O. Kristeller) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 2990, s. XV ex., fols. 60-141. The copyist was J. Questenberg. (G. Mercati, 'Questenbergiana' in his *Opere Minori* IV (Studi e Testi 79 [1937]) 452-53.

*Editions :*

1503-04, Venetiis : in domo Aldi. With Aristotle, *De Natura Animalium* etc. BM ; Renouard, Alde I 45-46.

(\*) c. 1505, Lyons : Balthazar de Gabiano. BM.

1513, Venetiis : in aedibus Aldi et Andreea Asulani. BM ; Renouard, Alde I 65 ; (MH).

(\*) c. 1520, Parisiis. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. DK.

(\*) 1524, Parisiis : ex officina S. Colinaei. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. BN ; Renouard, Colines 57.

(\*) 1525, Venetiis : Octavianus Scotus. DK.

(\*) 1534, Parisiis : ex officina S. Colinaei. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. BN ; Renouard, Colines 223.

(\*) 1537, Basileae : Cratander. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. DK.

(\*) 1539, Parisiis : ex officina P. Calvarini. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. BN.

(\*) 1551, Lugduni : apud P. Mirallietum. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. BN.

1552, Venetiis : Junta. In Vol. VII of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK ; (MH).

(\*) 1554, Valentiae : Joannes Mey. With Aristotle, *Problemata*. Cf. *Filosofia española y Portuguesa de 1500 a 1650, Repertorio de Fuentes Impresas* (Madrid 1948) 10 ; Hoffmann, BL I 346.

(\*) 1560, Venetiis : Cominus de Tridino. In Vol. IX of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK. See Aristoteles *Opera Omnia*,... recensuit J. T. Buhle (Biponti 1791-1800) I 221-224.

(\*) 1561, Lugduni : Junta. In Vol. VI of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK.

(\*) 1562, Venetiis : Junta. In Vol. VII of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK.

1573, Venetiis : Junta. In Vol. VII of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK.

(\*) 1576, Venetiis : Bindoni and Officina Salicatiana. In Vol. VI of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK ; BM

(\*) 1579, Lugduni : Junta. In Vol. VI of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK.

1580, (Lyons) : Berjon. In Vol. VI of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK ; BM.

(\*) 1585, Venetiis : Bruniolus. In Vol. VI of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK.

1608 (Coloniae Allobrogum) : Stoer. In Vol. VI of Aristotle, *Opera*. DK.

*Doubtful editions :*

1501, Venetiis. Fabricius, BG V 664.

1518, with Aristotle, *Problemata*. Hoffmann, BL I 118.

1520, with Aristotle's *Problemata*. Hoffmann, BL I 118.

1524, Venetiis. Fabricius BG V 664.-

1572, Lugduni : S. Beraud. Part of an unidentified larger work. DK.

1650, with Aristotle, *Problemata*. Hoffmann, BL I 118.

1680, with Aristotle, *Problemata*. Hoffmann, BL I 118.

Note : Many editions of Aristotle, *Opera Omnia* also contain the *Problemata* of Alexander Aphrodisiensis ; in all cases known to me the translation is that of Theodore Gaza. In the above list of editions, however, the *Opera Omnia* of Aristotle have been included only where the catalogues explicitly refer also to Alexander. Possibly other editions of Aristotle contain the *Problemata* of Alexander : see the lists in DK VI 589 f. ; BM VI 60 f. ; BN IV 8 f. ; and in Aristoteles, *Opera Omnia*,... recensuit J. T. Buhle (Biponti 1791-1800) I 210 f.

**Biogr.:**

Theodorus Gaza (Theodoros Gazes) of Salonike, was born in 1400 and died in 1476. He did his early studies at Constantinople and was brilliantly successful. He was in Italy for the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-39 and soon settled permanently in Italy. He studied c. 1442-46 under Vittorino da Feltre and taught at the University of Ferrara 1447-49. Theodorus was then called to Rome, where he was in the service of Pope Nicholas V and devoted his time mainly to translations. On the death of Nicholas V, he went to the court of Alfonso V at Naples. After the death of Alfonso in 1458, Theodorus was in great difficulty but received much help from his old friend, Cardinal Bessarion. He returned to Rome and did scholarly work such as editing for Bishop Johannes Andreas of Aleria. He also received from Pope Pius II the commenda of the Badia di S. Giovanni in Calabria. After the death of Bessarion in 1472, Theodorus seems to have divided his time between Rome and Calabria.

Theodorus' writings include translations from the Greek (Aristoteles, *Problemata*; Theophrastus, *Botanica*; Mauritius, *Tactica*; Aelian, *Tactica*), translations from Latin into Greek (Caesar, *Commentarii*; Cicero, *De Senectute*), a Greek grammar, several short philosophic works, speeches, and letters.

*Bibl. : Enc. Ital.* 16. 468 ; G. Voigt, (3d. ed.) II 143-46.

L. Dorez, 'Un document sur la Bibliothèque de Théodore Gaza,' *Revue des Bibliothèques* 3 (1893) 385-90; A. Gercke, *Theodorus Gazes*, in: *Festschrift der Universität Greifswald* (Greifswald 1903); L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 20, 22, 24; Paderborn 1923-42) *passim*; idem, 'Theodorus Gazes, seine bisher ungedruckten Schriften und Briefe,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 42 (1948-49) 50-75; C. Pizzi, 'La grammatica greca di T. Gaza ed Erasmo', *Atti dell' VIIIº Congresso internazionale di Studi Bizantini (Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 7; Roma 1953) I 183-88; L. Stein, 'Der Humanist Theodor Gaza als Philosoph,' *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 2 (1889) 426-58; J. W. Taylor, 'More Light on Theodore Gaza,' *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 56 (1925) xli.

**3. GEORGIUS VALLA**

Georgius Valla published his translation of the *Problemata* in 1488 and revised it slightly at that time. He did the original translation much earlier, possibly c. 1466, at the request of his teacher Johannes Marlianus.

The colophon of the first edition reads (ed. Venetiis, per Antonium de Strata, 1488): Finis est libri problematon Alexandri Aphrodisei e graeco in latinum a Georgio Valla iampridem rogatu praceptoris sui Ioannis Marliani mathematici longe praestantissimi translati et nunc demum cum imprimendum datur ab eodem propter varias occupationes cursim et uno ut aiunt oculo recogniti. (See also Letters I and II in Cranz 'The Prefaces...').

The date of the original translation cannot be determined with certainty, but it must be considerably earlier than 1488. The translation is dedicated to Marlianus, who died in 1493. Further, the dedicatory letter speaks of Marlianus' sons as only *adolescentes*, and we find Paulus Marlianus lecturing at the University of Pavia in 1483. (See Letter II and, for the dates, M. Clagett, *Giovanni Marliani and Late Medieval Physics* [New York 1941] 12-13 and 19). And in a letter of 1498, Valla speaks of having done the translation of the *Problemata* while still a *juvenis*. (See J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's...*, [Leipzig 1896] 90). Finally the close connection with Marlianus suggests the period c. 1465-67 when Valla was studying with Marlianus at Milan. A letter of Philephus to Marlianus in 1466 possibly refers to the translation and certainly establishes Marlianus' interest in the *Problemata* at that time. Philephus, writes in January, 1466: Animadverto te esse occupatissimum, qui cum hinc abiens es pollicitus continuo, ubi Papiam pervenisses, ad volaturum ad me, quod ex Alexandri Aphrodisei problematis abs te tantopere petie-

ram...’ (Quoted by J. L. Heiberg, *op. cit.*, 11).

The translation of Valla includes, with some minor omissions and additions, Books I, II, and IV, 60-192 of the *Problemata*. He presents the problems in an unusual order, and he divided them not into books but into five sections, numbered I, II, V, VI, VII. (Section II is entitled, *Eclogae medicinalium et naturalium ambiguitatum*, and Section V, is entitled, *De quadrupedibus ambiguitates et solutiones differentes*. Sections I, VI, and VII have no titles). The contents of the sections are as follows (ed. Venetiis, per Antonium de Strata, 1488) :

Section I : Praef. and 34 problems (= Ideler, I, Praef. and 119-152).

Section II : Praef. and 62 problems (= Ideler II, Praef. and 1 ; Usener IV 60-69 ; 71-84 ; 86-87; 89-101; 103-106; 108-122; and 124-126).

Section V : 56 problems (= Usener IV 128-130 ; 132-133 ; 136-144 ; 146-150 ; 152-153 ; 155 ; 157-170 ; 172-173 ; 175-192).

Section VI: 120 problems (= Ideler I 1-118 with problems 1-2 combined as a single problem, 78 as two problems, and 88 as three problems).

Section VII : 78 problems (= Ideler II 2-49; 51; 50; 52-62; Cassii Problem 53; Usener IV 23 ; Ideler II 63-75 ; 76 ; Usener III 8).

This unusual arrangement of the *Problemata* is not an invention of Valla but may be explained in terms of the Greek manuscripts he used. (On the manuscripts, see Usener, in his edition, p. vi-vii, and the corrections by E. Kalinka, ‘*De Codice Mutinensi 145...*’, *Innsbrucker Festgruss von der philosophischen Fakultät* [Innsbruck 1909] 176-180). For his sections I, II, and V, Valla apparently used Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. graecus. 145, for here too Book I, 1-118 and Book II, 2-IV, 59 are missing. For his sections VI-VII he may have used Modena, Biblioteca Estense Cod. graecus 109. Valla’s numbering of the sections seems to imply a plan, never carried out, to translate Book III and Book IV, 1-59 as Sections III-IV.

Letter I (ed. Venetiis, per Antonium de Strata, 1488).

Victor Pisanus Ludovico Mucenigo praecellenti in eloquentia viro, S. P. D.

[Inc.] : Singularis doctrina, facundia minime vulgaris insignisque tua prudentia, Ludovice Mucenige, me iampridem ad te amandum et observandum compulerunt..../... Iam igitur te ad eius visendam in scribendo peritiam et Alexandri Aphrodisei longae (longe) praestantissimam dimitto doctrinam.

Letter II. Georgius Valla Placentinus Johanni Marliano Mathematico et in tota philosophia medicinaque praestantissimo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[Inc.] : Alexandri Aphrodisei philosophi ac medici praestantissimi Problemata hortatu et auspicio tuo in Latinum, vir longe doctissime Johannes Mariane, converti..../... Denique quoniam nos ut in praefatione iam satis multa locuti videmur, Alexandro ipsi Aphrodiseo cedamus me interprete locuturo.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Problemata*.

Section I, Praef [Inc.] : Problemata quae-dam per se sunt fidem facientia et cognita omnis ambiguitatis ac quaestionis expertia ..../[Expl.] : (of Section VII) Proinde natura humidi nutrimenti assumptione animalisque spiritus conquiescit, quo amissam rursus reparet instauretque humiditatem.

Bibl.: J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek* (Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliotheks-wesen 16 [1896] 11-12 ; 22-23 (reprints Letter I) ; 37 ; 89-90. E. Kalinka, ‘*De codice Mutinensi 145...*’, *Innsbrucker Festgruss von der philosophischen Fakultät* (Innsbruck 1909) 176-80 ; V. Puntoni, ‘*Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*’, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 4 (1896) 379-536. He lists Valla’s manuscripts p. 535, and describes several Greek manuscripts of the *Problemata* which Valla probably used.

*Manuscript:*

(\*) Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. LXXXIV, Cod. XVI, s. XV, fol. 1-56 (Bandini, *Catalogus* III 247-48).

*Editions:*

1488, Venetiis : per Antonium de Strata. Followed by the *Problemata* of Aristotle and Plutarch. GW 860.

(\*) 1489 or later, Venice. GW 861.

(\*) 1501, Venetiis : per B. Locatellum. With Aristotle, *Problemata* etc. BM.

(\*) 1501, Venetiis : per Albertinum Ver-cellensem. BM.

GREEK AUTHORS

(*) 1505, Venetiis : de Gregoriis. With Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> etc. DK.	56-59	58-61
(*) 1519, Venetiis : Octavianus Scotus. With Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> etc. DK.	60	23
(*) 1520, Parisiis : opera et diligentia magistri Andree Boucard, impensis vero J. Petit. With Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> etc. BN.	61-62	24-25
<i>Doubtful edition :</i>	63-67	62-66
1497, Venetiis : Benedictus Fontana. GW 1, p. 427 lists as probably part of a composite volume.	68	19
	69	14
<i>Biogr.</i> : See above under XVI 1.	70-72	69-71
	72(bis)-82	72-82
	83	10
	84-147	84-147
	148-151	149-152
Letter I (ed. Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi Romani, 1498).		

Petrus Crinitus Io. Francisco Pico, Mirandulano Principi, S.D.

[Inc.] : Hactenus in eo fuit, Mirandule princeps, ut Politiani problemata ex Alessandro Aphrodiseo putaverim suppressa.../... Parum moror, si et illud in calce Plutarchi Cheronensis amatorias adiecimus narrationes ad Pandolfum Collenucium, qui adeo Politianum suspexit, adeo eruditio eius observavit, ut nostrum quoque studium (quid hoc enim negem?) propemodum ut alumnus se agnoscere profiteatur. Vale. Kalendis Aprilis. MCCCCL XXXXVII. Florentiae.

Pseudo-Alexander, *Problemata*

Book I, Praef. [Inc.] Problematum alia suapte natura credibilia sunt et nota, omnisque ambiguitatis et quaestionis experitiae.../... sed tanquam manu ducendus, qui eruditur, age iam solutiones ipsas aggrediamur.

Book I, Problem I. [Inc.] : Cur Homerus homines a canitie temporum πολιορκοτάφους appellavit : quoniam plurimum inde cani incipiunt.../[Expl.] (of Book I) : repugnant enim, ceu legitimi quidam milites, qui pro sua ipsorum patria arma ceperint.

Bibl. : F. O. Mencken, *Historia Vitae et in Literas Meritorum Angeli Politiani* (Leipzig 1736) 164-5 ; 559-60 ; 596.

*Editions :*

1498, Venetiis : in aedibus Aldi Romani. With Politianus, *Opera*. BMC 5, 559 ; BN ; St P 808.

(\*) 1499, Florentiae : ope et impensa Leonardi de Arigis (= Bernardus Misenta, Brescia). With Politianus, *Opera*. BMC 7.992-3 ; St P 809.

Politianus	Ideler
Praef.	I, Praef.
1	1
2-3	2
4-10	3-9
11	83
12-14	11-13
15-18	15-18
19-20	67-68
21-23	20-22
24-26	54-56
27-32	26-31
33	53
34-53	33-52
54	32
55	57

(\*) 1512, Parrhiis : in aedibus Ascensionis et I. Parvi. With Politianus, *Opera*. BM.

(\*) 1519, Parisiis : in aedibus Ascensionis. With Politianus, *Opera*. BN.

(\*) 1520, Basileae : ex aedibus Andreeae Cratandri. Followed by Plutarch, *Amatoriae Narrationes*. BM.

(\*) 1528, Lugduni : apud S. Gryphium. With Politianus, *Opera*. BN.

(\*) 1533, Lugduni : apud S. Gryphium. With Politianus, *Opera*. BN.

(\*) 1537, Lugduni : apud S. Gryphium. With Politianus, *Opera*. BN.

(\*) 1544, With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. DK.

(\*) 1548, Francofurti : ex officina P. Brubachii. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BN.

1549, Francofurti : ex officina Cyriaci Iacobii. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. (MH).

(\*) 1550, Lugduni : apud S. Gryphium. With Politianus, *Opera*. BN.

(\*) 1552, Paris. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae (1716) 156.

(\*) 1553, Basileae : apud N. Episcopium Iuniorem. With Politianus, *Opera*. BM.

1554, Parisiis : apud Benedictum Prevotum. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. (CtY)).

(\*) 1554, in vico sanctae Mariae Formosae. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. DK.

1555, Parisiis : apud Carolum Perier. (CtY).

1560, Parisiis : apud Hieronymum de Marnef. (CtY).

(\*) 1561, Lugduni : apud T. Paganum. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BN.

(\*) 1569, Lugduni : apud T. Paganum. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BN.

(\*) 1571, Coloniae : apud haeredes A. Birckmanni. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BM.

(\*) 1573, Lugduni : ex officina L. Cloquemin et S. Michaelis. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BN.

(\*) 1579, Lugduni : ex officina L. Cloquemin et S. Michaelis. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BN.

(\*) 1580, Venetiis : D. Farreus. L. W. Riley, *Library Chronicle* (University of Pennsylvania) XXIV (1958), p. 87, n. 392. (PU).

(\*) 1583, London : G. Bishop. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. Catalogus Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecae Bodleianaee I (1843) 117.

(\*) 1601, Coloniae : in officina Birckmannica, sumptibus A. Mylii. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BM.

(\*) 1609, Francofurti : sumptibus A. Hummii. With Longinus Caesar, *Trinum magnum*, etc. BM.

(\*) 1631, Douai : G. Patté. Riley p. 88, n. 393. (PU).

(\*) 1633, Leipzig : E. Rehefeldius. Riley, p. 88, n. 394. (PU).

(\*) 1643, Amstelodami : apud J. Janssonium. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BN.

(\*) 1650, Amstelodami : apud J. Janssonium. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. BM.

(\*) 1671, Leipzig : sumptibus Philippi Fuhrmanni, typis Jo. Jac. Bauhoferi. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. F. O. Mencken. *Historia vitae et in literas meritorum Angeli Politiani* (Leipzig 1736) 560.

(\*) 1686, Amsterdam : Janssonius. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. F. O. Mencken, op. cit. 560 ; DK Berichtigungen, V 1.

*Doubtful editions :*

1497, Florentiae : with Politianus, *Opera*. Fabricius, BG V 664.

1534, Parisiis : Fabricius, BG V 664.

1555, Cologne, with Aristotle, *Problemata*. F. O. Mencken, op. cit. 560.

1558, Parisiis : apud Hieronymum de Marnef. With Aristotle, *Problemata*, etc. Hoffmann, BL I 346.

1558, s.l. Hoffmann, BL I 346.

1566, Cologne. F. O. Mencken, op. cit., 560.

1568, Frankfort. F. O. Mencken, op. cit. 560.

1580, Frankfort. Fabricius, BG V 664.

1580, Frankfort. Fabricius, BG V 664.

1582, Cologne. F. O. Mencken, op. cit., 560.

1633, Leipzig. F. O. Mencken, op. cit., 560.

1680, Amsterdam. Hoffmann, BL I 346.

*Biogr. :*

Angelus Politianus (Angelo Poliziano, also called Ambrogini) one of the greatest of the humanists, was born at Montepulciano in Tuscany in 1454 and died in 1494. Politian early went to Florence, where he studied Latin under Christophorus Landinus and

Greek under Argyropylus and Andronicus Callistus. He soon attracted the attention of Lorenzo de Medici, who took him into his household in 1473, and in 1480 obtained for Politian the chair of Greek and Roman Letters at the Studio of Florence. Politian acquired great fame as a teacher and a scholar at Florence, and he remained there until his death in 1494.

His writings in the vernacular include *La Giostra* and the *Orfeo* as well as short poems. Politian made many editions of Latin authors and a number of translations from the Greek into Latin (Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Aristotle, Herodian, Athanasius, Callimachus, Homer, Epictetus); he also compiled a *Liber Miscellaneorum*, a volume of letters, and poems in Greek and Latin.

*Bibl.* : *Enc. Ital.* 27. 690-93 ; V. Rossi (2d ed. 1933) 359-87.

Ida Maier, 'Travaux de l'année : Politien (1954)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 17 (1955) 297-311 ; F. O. Mencken, *Historia vitae et in literas meritorum Angeli Politiani* (Leipzig 1736).

## 5. JOHANNES DAVIONUS

Johannes Davionus translated Book I, 27, 131, 132, and 136, and Book II, Praef., 7, 9, 30, 31, and 63 in connection with his edition of the *Problemata* in 1540-41. Davionus edited the Greek text mainly from the Aldine edition, and he accompanied it with the translation of Theodorus Gaza (See XVI 2 above). Where problems had been omitted by Gaza, Davionus supplied translations of his own, even though some of these problems had already been translated by Politian and all of them by Valla. Davionus also supplied within brackets certain phrases omitted by Gaza, and he added marginally a number of small corrections. For the letter of dedication, see Cranz, 'The Prefaces...'

Letter of Dedication (ed. Parisiis, sumptibus E. Tussanae, 1540-41).

Illustrissimo Principi, Ioanni, Cardinali Lothoringio, Ioannes Davionus, S.P.D.

[*Inc.*] : Cum superiori tempore physica medicaque problemata Alexandri Aphrodisiei nomine publicata diligenter graece relegissem.../...quod coeptum gloriosum feliciter

perficere et similia meditari ac designare facinora per vitae longitudinem Deus Opt. Max. tibi largiatur.

Pseudo-Alexander. *Problemata*

Book I, 27. [*Inc.*] : (fol. 12) Quare qui minus sunt prudentes.../...sic nec corpus animus imbecillior.

Book II, Praef. [*Inc.*] : (fol. 45) Esculapii donum, omnia quae sunt ad humanae vitae usus.../... [*Expl.*] : (fol. 46) sed adiumentum etiam non parvum adferentia ad rerum inventionem.

Book II, 63. [*Inc.*] : (fol. 62) Cur in omni transmutatione id quod generatur.../... [*Expl.*] : (fol. 62<sup>v</sup>) quae ipsam tuetur ac moderatur, elementorum commixtionem.

*Edition* :

(micro.) 1540-41, Parisiis : sumptibus E. Tussanae, viduae Neobarii Gr.-Lat. (Some editions contain only the Latin translation). BN.

*Biogr.* :

Johannes Davionus (Jean Davion) was a classical scholar and editor of the middle sixteenth century in France. He was assisted by Jacobus Tusanus (Jacques Tousain) and was possibly his pupil ; and Jean, Cardinal of Lorraine, was his patron.

Davionus edited Gaza's translation of the *Problemata* of Alexander Aphrodisiensis and Nicolaus Leonicenus' translation of the *Aphorismi* of Hippocrates.

*Bibl.* : The *Prefaces* of the two editions mentioned.

## 6. DOUBTFUL

A number of authorities (e.g. Fabricius, BG V 664) refer to a translation of the *Problemata* by Georgius Merula, published at Paris in 1520. All these references apparently derive from a notice in the *Appendix Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Tiguri, apud Christophorum Froschoverum 1545) fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. In this notice the description of the translation applies perfectly to that of Georgius Valla (See XVII, 3, above), and the description of the edition closely resembles that of Paris, 1520 which contains the Valla translation (See XVII 3 above). There can be little doubt that *Merula* is here simply a slip of the pen for *Valla*.

*Bibl.* : Fabricius, BG V 664.

U. C. Bussemaker, in : *Aristoteles, Opera Omnia* (Paris, Firmin-Didot 1848-69) IV viii-ix.

#### 7. DOUBTFUL

a) It has been argued (See, for example, Fabricius BG V 667) that St. Jerome translated some or all of the *Commentaria* of Alexander, since he remarks in *Epistola L, ad Domnionem*: *Frustra ergo Alexandri verti Commentarios, neququam doctus magister per ελσαγωγήν Porphyrii introduxit ad logicam* (ed. I. Hilberg, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 54 [1910] 389). However the context of Jerome's remark indicates that he here refers to intensive study, not actual translation. (See the notes on the passage in Migne, *PL* [Paris 1844-64] 22, p. xxxv-xxxvi and col. 513, and in Saint-Jérôme, *Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, [Paris 1949-58] II 202).

b) Albertus Magnus on several occasions

mentions a work of Alexander Aphrodisiensis which he calls either 'De noi, hoc est de mente et Deo et materia prima' or 'De principio incorporeae et corporeae substantiae.' (See the passages cited in G. Théry, *Autour du Décret de 1210. I. David de Dinant*, Bibliothèque Thomiste 6 [1925] 20 n. 1-2). Albertus states that the *De Tomis* of David de Dinanto was derived from the *De Noi* and that the *De Noi* defended the thesis that all things are one which is matter. These statements are applicable to none of the known works of Alexander and could hardly apply to any genuine work of his. Albertus is therefore probably referring to some apocryphal writing attributed to Alexander, but nothing else is known of it.

Albertus Magnus knew the *De Noi* by 1245 at the latest (See Théry, *op. cit.*, 20, n. 3). If Albertus' statements about David de Dinanto are correct, the *terminus ante quem* for the *De Noi* would have to be pushed back to the first years of the twelfth century.

*Bibl.* : Théry, *op. cit.*, esp. 20 ; 35 ; 57-72.