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IVAN PRCHLÍK, JÁN BAKYTA
and MARTIN BAŽIL (eds.)

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Existimationes librorum

EDITORIAL

Diese Ausgabe der Zeitschrift *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica* ist der griechischen und lateinischen Textkultur von der klassischen Antike bis zur frühen Neuzeit gewidmet. Sie knüpft somit thematisch an die Reihe *Graecolatina Pragensia* an.

Im Mittelpunkt stehen zwei Themenschwerpunkte, die aus internationalen Tagungen hervorgegangen sind, welche von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Karlsuniversität in Prag in den letzten Jahren (mit)organisiert wurden. Den drei Studien zum Thema „*Ovidiana*. The Reception of Ovid in the Culture of Central Europe" – von Eszter Kovács (Budapest), Radka Nokkala Miltová (Brno) und Anikó Polgár (Bratislava) – liegen Vorträge der Tagung „*Roma aeterna MMXIX*: The Afterlife of Ovid in the Culture of Central Europe" (Prag, Villa Lanna, 9.–10. 11. 2018, organisiert von Marie Okáčová, Martin Bažil, Ivan Prchlík und Petr Kitzler) zugrunde, die den Abschluss der Veranstaltungsreihe des Prager Instituts für griechische und lateinische Studien zum *Annus Ovidianus* bildete. Ähnlich sind auch die Studien von Andrea Torre (Pisa) und Luis Merino Jerez (Extremadura) ursprünglich als Vorträge für den Workshop „Neighbours in the Landscape of Memory" (Prag, Centrum medievistických studií/Zentrum für mediävistische Forschungen, 27.–28. 9. 2019, organisiert von Lucie Doležalová) entstanden; sie werden in dieser Ausgabe durch den Aufsatz von Manuel Mañas Núñez (Extremadura) ergänzt. Beide Tagungen wurden durch das Projekt KREAS unterstützt („Kreativita a adaptabilita jako předpoklad úspěchu Evropy v propojeném světě", Nr. CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/00 00734, finanziert mithilfe des Europäischen Fonds für regionale Entwicklung).

Zum Hauptteil des Bandes gehören auch zwei weitere Studien: die Untersuchung von Lucie Doležalová (Prag) zur Rezeption eines obskuren mittellateinischen Textes im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter sowie der Aufsatz von Alena Bočková (Prag) zur lateinischen, tschechischen und deutschen Version einer Schrift des böhmischen jesuitischen Späthumanisten Bohuslav Balbín. Der *Miscellanea*-Beitrag von Raphael Brendel (München) ist eine Reflexion über das historiographische Werk von Klaus Peter Johne. Die beiden Buchbesprechungen von Dagmar Muchnová (Prag) zu einem neuen Standardwerk der altgriechischen Grammatik und von Alena Bočková (Prag) zur Edition zweier humanistischer Beschreibungen Prags runden den Band ab.

Die nächste thematische Ausgabe zur griechischen und lateinischen Sprache und Literatur ist für das akademische Jahr 2021/2022 geplant.

Die Herausgeber

OVIDIANA
THE RECEPTION OF OVID
IN THE CULTURE OF CENTRAL
EUROPE

OVID'S POEMS IN THE PRINTED BOOKS OF SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARY*

ESZTER KOVÁCS

ABSTRACT

Masterpieces of the classical Latin poetry were continuously among the products of the printing presses. Although Ovid was among the popular antique authors, researches in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history of Hungarian book-printing show a surprising picture: only a few editions of Ovid's works are known. In spite of this, Ovid was an often cited author in Hungary even before the publication of the first home edition of his works. There are two explanations for this: (1) foreign editions were used instead, or (2) citations, adaptations, and translations circulated beside the official whole-text editions.

Keywords: Ovid; Jesuits; Johann Weber; translation; Old Hungarian literature (16th–17th century)

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hungarian literature cannot be interpreted without a certain familiarity with classical authors, because it was deeply rooted in the ancient Greek and Roman tradition. The aim of the paper is to present the literary antecedents of this age, those of the 16th–17th century.[1]

Editions of Ovid's work issued in Hungary in the 16th–17th centuries

Ovid was a classical author popular in Hungary and his poems were a powerful source of inspiration for Hungarian poets already from the 16th century. One of the first significant examples is the so-called story of Paris and Helena the Greek (Páris és Görög Ilona históriája) by an unknown author from Léva/Levice (Lévai névtelen): *Historia continens verissimam excidii Troiani, causam ipsum videlicet Helenae raptum per Paridem Troia-*

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*   This paper was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
[1]   About the influence of Ovid's poetry in eighteenth-century Hungary see Lengyel (2017).

num, cum finali utriusque exitu. Non ita pridem idiomate Hungarico per anonymum quendam ex scriptis poetae Nasonis…[2] (Debrecen 1576).[3] The text is based on Ovid's works, especially on the *Heroides*. The title-page of a 1597 edition contains a quatrain from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.[4] Another contemporary book, *Stories about Perfect Women* by Miklós Bogáti Fazekas (*Szép historia az tökélletes aszszonyállatokról, melly az Plutarchosból forditatott magyar nyelvre…*, Kolozsvár/Cluj Napoca 1577), is a collection of stories about thirteen women (Chiomara, Micca, Stratonia, Timoclia etc.) from the ancient world based mainly on Plutarch, but in the story of Lucretia, the author used Ovid's *Fasti* as a subsidiary source as well.[5] The story of Ajax and Ulysses by Mátyás Csáktornyai (*Ieles szep historia két görög hertzegröl, erös Aiaxról és bölcz Vlissesröl* [An illustrious and beautiful story about two Greek Princes, the strong Aiax and the wise Ulysses], Kolozsvár 1592) is based on the *Metamorphoses* XIII (*Armorum iudicium*),[6] similarly to the story of Priam and Thisbe (*Pryamus és Thysbe historiája…*, Levoča c. 1680), from which only a short fragment has survived.[7] The funeral oration about Krisztina Bethlen, daughter of István Bethlen, contains some Latin citations from Ovid (*Temetesi pompa… Betthlen Christina aszszonynak…* [Funeral splendour for Christina Bethlen], Debrecen 1631).[8] There is a Lutheran apologetic pamphlet completely compiled from Ovid's verses (Georg Hochschild, *Cento Ovidianus de Christiani nominis hostium furore inaudito…*, Keresztúr 1615).[9] It was a great technical performance to put together citations like that. By all means, the schoolbooks regularly quoted from Ovid.

István Magyari, a Lutheran theologian, the main polemical adversary of Péter Pázmány published a book about the "art of dying well" in Sárvár in 1600 (István Magyari, *Kezbeli könyuetske au iol es boldogvl valo meg halasnac mesterségeröl* [Manual about the art of the dying well and happy]).[10] In this book there are two quotations from Ovid in Hungarian translation. The first one, arguing that love and lust can be defeated by respectable work, is from *Remedia amoris*:

> Ha te henyélést futsz, nyila nem bánt az szerelemnek,
> dolgozzál: s-enged annak ő, s-megszabadulsz.[11]

The original quotations from *Remedia amoris* are:

> Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
> …
> Cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris.[12]

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[2] The title is Latin, but the whole text is in Hungarian.
[3] RMNy No. 367. About the "Anonym from Léva": Polgár (2010a: 93–104; 2010b).
[4] RMNy No. 807. Ov. *Ars* II, 559–562.
[5] RMNy No. 385. Ov. *Fast.* II, 725–856. Salgó W. (1975: 152).
[6] RMNy No. 686.
[7] Čaplovič (1972–1984: No. 1384).
[8] RMNy No. 1498.
[9] RMNy No. 1088.
[10] RMNy No. 869.
[11] Magyari (1600: 17v). Dézsi (1903: 469).
[12] Ov. *Rem.* 139 and 144.

We can see that the Hungarian author combined two verses, which do not follow one another in the original, into a two-verses-long poem. The other Ovid translation in Magyari's book is from the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. It says that sudden death is the best way of passing:

> Könnyebben hal az meg, ki az víztől hertelen elborittatik,
> Hogy sem mint az, ki karját az folyó vizekben elfárasztja.[13]

The original:

> Mitius ille perit, subita qui mergitur unda,
> quam sua qui tumidis brachia lassat aquis.[14]

Some other authors, such as György Szepsi Korotz, also made translations from classical authors, especially from Ovid, in his cogitations about the virtues of the ideal king: György Szepsi Korotz, Βασιλικον δωρον. *Az angliai, scotiai franciai és hiberniai elsö Jacob kiralynac… fia tanitasaert irtt kiralyi ajandeka…* (A royal present written by James I, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland for the teaching of his son), Oppenheim 1612.[15] Another work discussing the same topic is *Feiedelmeknec serkentö oraia az az Marcvs Avrelivs csaszarnac eleteröl az hires Gvevarai Antaltól …* (The alarm clock of princes, that is life of emperor Marcus Aurelius by Antal Gvevarai), Bártfa 1628, by János Draskovich and András Prágai.[16] The most significant of these publications is perhaps *Discursus de summo bono, az legföb iorol…* (… about the supreme Good…), Lőcse 1630,[17] by Albert Szenci Molnár, who translated into Hungarian several verses from Ovid and other ancient authors as well. He transposed parts especially from *Epistulae ex Ponto*,[18] *Tristia*,[19] *Ars amatoria*,[20] *Fasti*,[21] and *Amores*[22] etc.[23]

Surprisingly, researches in the history of book-printing in this age show a completely different picture. From among Ovid's original oeuvre only the *Tristia* was published with full text in a separate volume in Hungary in the 17th century, first in Lőcse (Levoča) in

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[13] Magyari (1600: 83a).
[14] Ov. *Pont.* III, 7, 27–28.
[15] RMNy No. 1038.
[16] RMNy No. 1400.
[17] RMNy No. 1483.
[18] Critical edition: Vásárhelyi (1975: 151, 159, 353, 451).
[19] Vásárhelyi (1975: 152–153, 291, 316).
[20] Vásárhelyi (1975: 188, 316).
[21] Vásárhelyi (1975: 197).
[22] Vásárhelyi (1975: 269).
[23] There is a repertory of ancient Hungarian poetry, Horváth, Hubert H. (1992), and all volumes of the RMNy contain an index of the "incipits" of Hungarian poems and songs ("A magyar nyelvű énekek és versek incipitmutatója"). A repertory of Czech and Slovak poetry in the territory of Hungary is being compiled: cf. Kovács (2012). A third repertory of the German language poetry in Hungary is only planned. Once it is finished, it will surely give to researchers a lot of new details about Ovid's reception in Hungary.

1642 by the protestant Brewer press,[24] and afterwards twice in Nagyszombat (Trnava), in 1677 and in 1692.[25]

We can see that Ovid was an often cited author in Hungary even before the publication of the first home edition of his work. There are two explanation for this: (1) foreign editions were used instead, or (2) citations, adaptations, and translations circulated beside the official whole-text editions.

Ovid's works as export from abroad

The whole intelligentsia read Ovid's works. Familiarity with his lifework was a part of elementary education and school curricula, so it is not surprising that the masterpieces of Ovid could be found in the libraries of schools, religious orders, and private persons as well. The Jesuit library of Nagyszombat owned twenty-seven volumes of Ovid in 1632.[26] It held most of Ovid's work: *Ars Amatoria, Heroides*, *Metamorphoses*, *Fasti*, *Tristia*, and *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Surprisingly, in 1690, when Márton Szentiványi revised the whole library, he found only sixteen items,[27] even though in the meantime the press

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[24] *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Tristium libri 5, ex accuratissima Andreae Naugerii castigation*, Leutschoviae 1642. Čaplovič (1972–1984: No. 886); RMNy No. 1943.

[25] *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis De tristibus libri V., ejusdem De Ponto libri IV., diligenter emendati et novis elegiarum summulis, item praefixa poetae vita illustrati ex commentariis Jacobi Pontani Societatis Jesu in usum gymnasiorum ejusdem Societatis*, Tyrnaviae 1677. Szabó (1885: No. 1410); Čaplovič (1972–1984: No. 2102). – *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis De tristibus libri V. ejusdem De ponto libri IV. […] ex commentariis Jacobi Pontani […]*, Tyrnaviae 1692. Čaplovič (1972–1984: No. 2237a).

[26] The original catalogue was edited by Farkas (1997). I have used his critical edition. Farkas (1997: 120): *15. Ouidij Opera in 16. membrana alba sine loco 1611. 9. Eiusdem Amatoria in 12. corio rubro Lugduni 1555. 10. Eiusdem Epistolae Heroidum cum quibusdam alijs in 8. membrana alba Francofurti 1575. 11. Idem in 16. corio nigro Venetijs 1516. 12. Eiusdem Metamorphosis in 12. corio rubro Lugduni 1546. 13. Idem in 8. corio albo Basileae 1534. 14. Idem de Fastis, de Tristibus et de Ponto in pergameno Francofurti 1587. 15. Idem de Festibus et de Ponto in pergameno Monachij 1616. 16. Idem Monachij 1616. 17. Idem de Festibus in membrana alba sine loco sine anno 18. Idem de Festibus de Ponto in pergameno Monachij 1616. 19. Idem de Tristibus Augustae Vindelicorum 1587… 24. Ouidij Opera (exeptis Libris de Ponto et Fastis) cum enarrationibus in folio corio albo in basi Mediolani 1517. … 25. Ouidius de Tristibus et de Ponte in 8. in pergameno Augustae Vindelicorum 1619. 26. Idem de Tristibus in 8tauo corio rubro 27. Eiusdem Epistolae ad Ibidem et Liuiani… 29. Idem 30. Idem 31. Idem de remedio amoris cum Epistolis Heroidum in duodecimo Coloniae Agrippinae 1617. in membrana 32. … 34. Ouidij omnia opera in parua quantitate et alba membrana.* Farkas (1997: 122): *701. Publii Ouidij Metamorphosis Coloniae 1560. in 8vo 702. Eiusdem aliud cum notis Farnabij Amstelodami 1649. in 12. membrana alba margine rubro … 704. Publii Ouidij Fastorum libri VI. Tristibus libri V. de ponto libri VI.* Farkas (1997: 127): *209. Publij Ouidij Nasonis Opera in duodecimo Amsterodamij corio uiridj.*

[27] Farkas (1997: 289–290): *Ovidij opera omnia 12mo Amsterodami 1624. membrana alba 1690. Eiusdem Tabularum interpretatio per Georgium Sabinum octauo Wittembergae 1555. membrana scripta 1627. Eiusdem libri Tristium 16to Tyrnauiae 1677. membrana alba cum tabulis 1677. Eiusdem de tristibus, et de Ponto cum commentariis Pontani 12mo Tyrnauiae 1677. membrana alba cum tabulis 1680. Eiusdem idem 12mo Tyrnauiae 1677. membrana alba cum tabulis 1690. Eiusdem idem 12mo Tyrnauiae 1677. membrana alba 1679. Eiusdem idem octauo Basileae 1... (?) corio albo cum tabulis 1690. Eiusdem libri selecti 12mo Romae 1618. membrana alba 1669. Eiusdem Elegiae 12mo membrana subnigra 1690. Ouidij Nasonis Metamorphosis octauo Coloniae 1551. corio albo cum tabulis 1635. Eiusdem idem octauo Amsterodami 1549. membrana alba 1655. Eiusdem idem octauo Coloniae 1560. corio albo cum tabulis 1638. Eiusdem idem octauo Lipsiae 1590. corio albo 1638. Eiusdem idem octauo Lipsiae 1578. corio albo 1684. Eiusdem idem cum Commentario folio Mediolani 1517. corio albo cum tabulis.* Farkas (1997: 291): *Ovidij Metamorphosis Hispanice explicata octauo corio nigro 1617.*

in Nagyszombat published works of Ovid as well, and the library held copies of them.[28] In 1690, the library had *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *Metamorphoses* and one volume of *Opera omnia* in the original Latin, and *Metamorphoses* in Spanish. They were not the same volumes as the ones registered previously in 1632. The older volumes may have been worn by long school use, or may have been lost, therefore the Jesuits had to buy new ones. Except the editions from Nagyszombat (four items), they came from the Netherlands, from Germany, and from Italy.

The situation was the same in other Jesuits libraries. In Kassa (Košice) between 1660 and 1682, there were nine volumes of Ovid, all of them published abroad;[29] in Pozsony (Bratislava), there were eight items in 1639,[30] and seven (all of them *Metamorphoses*) in the next catalogue (c. 1655).[31] In the first catalogue, there was a book about Ovid's life by the Italian humanist Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius).[32] In Pozsony, the same tendency can be discovered as in Nagyszombat: the second catalogue contains different editions of Ovid's works than the previous list, and all of them were imported from abroad. In 1639, János Kecskés donated his library to the Jesuit Convent of Pozsony. Among his books, there was a volume (2°) of Ovid's works (*Epistulae*, *Fasti*).[33] A catalogue of the Jesuit library in Ungvár (Uzhhorod) is known from 1707. At this time, there were three volumes of Ovid: an unidentifiable 4° format, a volume of *Tristia*, and a *Metamorphoses* volume in 8° format.[34] There are no details about the place and date of printing.

Ovid is equally significant in the libraries of protestant schools. The most important protestant school in this period was the Calvinist college in Debrecen. A catalogue of its library is known from 1738. It is more thorough than the previous Jesuit catalogues. It contains thirteen volumes of Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*, *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*), all of them published abroad.[35] This catalogue was written in the middle of the 18th century, but all the Ovid volumes in it were from the 16th–17th centuries. The smaller Calvinist colleges had smaller libraries as well, therefore they contained fewer copies of

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[28] Farkas (1997: 290).

[29] Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 23): *534. Ouidij Nasonis Metamorphosis. Colon(iae) Agrippinae 1556. in 8uo. in Corio albo.* Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 61): *211. P(ublii) Ovidij Opera omnia. Coloniae 1630. in 12. in alba memb(rana) … 218. P(ublii) Ouidij metamorphosis 219. P(ublii) Ouidij Opera omnia purgata. Coloniae 1630. in 12mo. membr(ana) viridi marg(ine) inaurato 219. P(ublii) Ouidij Tristium. 220. Pu(blii) Ovidij Fastorum lib. 6. Tristium 5. de Ponto 4. Coloniae 1547. in 8uo. In corio albo Scissura alba … 222. P(ublii) Ovidij Tristium cum De Ponto. in 12mo. In Scripta membr(ana) mar(gine) albo 223. P(ublii) Ouidij Metamorphosis. in 8uo. in assere in Membr(ana) alba.*

[30] Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 134, 135): *Ovidius in 16. Ambsterodami (!) 1624. Gulielmus Caesius -- Eiusdem Metamorphoses in 16. Lugduni 1568. Bartholomeus Vincetius (?) -- Idem De Fustibus (!) in 8. Lipsiae 1613. Valentinus ab Ende … Ouidius in 8. Lugduni 1553. Sebas(tianus) Gryphius -- Eiusdem Metamorphoses cum Commentario in 8. Venet(iis) 1513. Joan(nes) Thaurinus. -- Ouidij De tristibus in 8. Lipsiae 1640. Valentin Am Ende Eiusdem Epistolae in 8. Viennae 1640. Seuerus Esch Eiusdem Metamorphoses. in 16. Lugduni 1640. Antonius Griphius.* Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 191): *Metamorphosis.*

[31] Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 191 [186 in the online version]): *Ouidius Methamorphosis in albo in folio 1513… Ouidius Methamorphosis in albo in 8 Coloniae 1556 – Idem in albo in 8 Basileae 1541 – Idem in ligno in 16 – Idem in 8 1627 … Ouidius Methamorphosis in albo c(oreo) in 8 Lugduni 1563.*

[32] Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 135): *Ouidij vita ab Aldo M(anutio) R(omano) collecta in 8. 1640.*

[33] Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 222).

[34] Unknown: Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 266). *Metamorphoses* and *Tristia*: Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 271).

[35] Oláh (2009: 150–151). Oláh (2009: 217): *Ovidii Nas[onis] op[era] omnia c[um] n[otis] integris Heinsii ex editione Cnippingii Leidae 1670. 3. voll.*

Ovid's works. In Gyöngyös (the Catalogue is from 1677), there was only one volume of *Tristia*[36] (no details about the place and the date of printing); in Nagykőrös (the catalogue is from 1712–1730), there were two Ovids (without the data of their printing).[37] And finally, there were numerous Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist schools which had no volumes of Ovid in their libraries (the Jesuit library in Sárospatak in 1686, 1704;[38] the Lutheran library in Késmárk c. 1600;[39] Kisszeben in 1654–1670;[40] the Calvinist parsonage of Trnava in 1674).[41]

Private persons also owned books: book catalogues compiled as appendices to last wills, or lists of possessions reveal that the intelligentsia had their own libraries of classical literary masterpieces and in them volumes of Ovid as well among others. The bibliophile humanist Hans Dernschwam collected his books in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica). He had eight volumes with Ovid's works, having bought all of them in Venice and Augsburg. They were high-quality editions with the commentaries of such great Western-European humanists as: Antonius Volscus, Antonius Constantinus Fanensis, Bartolomeus Merula, Christophosrus (Zarotti) Zarotus, Domitius (Calderini) Calderinus, Domitius Marius Niger, Raphael Regius, and Ubertinus Crescentinas.[42] There is another catalogue of a private library from 16th century-Hungary, the catalogue of Joannes Sambucus' library. He also ordered his Ovid-volumes from Venice,[43] Padova,[44] Paris,[45] Leiden,[46] Basel[47] and preferred the critical editions with the comments of the above-mentioned humanists. No other significant private library catalogue has survived from the 16th-century Hungary. The shorter catalogues of smaller private libraries, such as libraries of citizens or noblemen, contain fewer items of antique authors; their owners preferred religious literature and sometimes practical books (herbaria, medicine, laws etc.) to classical authors. There are some exceptions, however, such as the unknown citizen of Sárvár, whose list of possessions (c. 1590) contains his 22 books. He collected antique authors as well; among others, he had a three-volume edition of Ovid. There are no details about its origin, but considering the period, it must have come from abroad.[48] The situation is the same with the inventories listing the possessions of Georg Pukhen (1591),[49] a citizen of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica), of the parochial library in the same city,[50] of Tobias Zaunakh (1598), a citizen of Körmöcbánya (Kremnica),[51] of Con-

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[36] Oláh (2009: 230).
[37] Oláh (2009: 247): *Metamorphoses, Libri V. Historiae et 4 de Ponto*.
[38] Farkas, Monok, Pozsár, Varga (1990: 229–236).
[39] Oláh (2009: 11–12).
[40] Oláh (2009: 12–14).
[41] Oláh (2009: 248–251).
[42] Berlász (1984: 328). Ovid's works in the critical edition of the catalogue: Berlász (1984: 41, 176, 177, 204, 208, 213, 217, 243, 250, 257).
[43] From the years 1558 and 1533: Gulyás (1992: 161 and 202).
[44] From the year 1553: Gulyás (1992: 194).
[45] From the year 1542: Gulyás (1992: 259).
[46] From the year 1547: Gulyás (1992: 258).
[47] From the years 1549 and 1550: Gulyás (1992: 266).
[48] Bajáki, Bujdosó, Monok, Viskolcz (2009: 25–26).
[49] Čičaj, Keveházi, Monok, Viskolcz (2003: 10–11).
[50] Čičaj, Keveházi, Monok, Viskolcz (2003: 15).
[51] Čičaj, Keveházi, Monok, Viskolcz (2003: 236).

rad Schall (1551) from Selmecbánya (Banská Štiavnica),[52] of Guthar Schlosser (1635)[53] and Christian Schaller (1683),[54] citizens of Beszterce (Bistriţa), of Elek Bethlen, an aristocrat from Transylvania (1683),[55] and others. These catalogues contain generally only the author and the title, sometimes only the author, or on some occasions other details about the book as well, such as its size, the colour of the binding etc.

Ovid's poems as secondary citations

Ovid's poems figured sometimes as secondary citations. This phenomenon may be best exemplified by a sanitary manual about the plague. Jan Weber, a pharmacist from Eperjes (Prešov) issued a book about the plague and how to prevent it, in 1644. He published it in Bártfa (Bardejov) in German, then in the next year in Bártfa in Hungarian and in Lőcse in Biblical Czech.[56] This book contains some citations from ancient classical authors, such as Cato the Younger, Virgil, and Ovid. The publication is especially valuable, because it is one of the few printed books published on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom to contain Czech translations of Ovid's poems.

I will present the Czech version first (Johann Weber: *Amuletum to jest zpráva krátká a potřebná o moru… Lőcse, 1645*), but the same poems have German and Hungarian versions as well. There are three quotations from Ovid in it. The first is an exact translation from *Remedia Amoris*. Weber cited it in Latin, and then gave the Czech translation:

> *V začátku hleď se brániti*
> *nemoci, a jí léčiti,*
> *když již se nemoc rozmůže,*
> *lékářství málo pomůže.*[57]

Ovid's original poem is about love, but Weber used the literal meaning, diseases can only be prevented or stopped at the beginning, because when they overpower the body, nothing can stop them any longer.

As we can see, the translator changed the versification. Weber translated Ovid's distiches in eight-syllables-verses, with double rhymes (a–a–b–b). The same tendency was noticed by Anežka Vidmanová in the translations of Šimon Lomnický z Budče and other Czech authors from the early Modern Age.[58] The German and Hungarian variants of

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52 Čičaj, Keveházi, Monok, Viskolcz (2003: 289). He owned Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in a German translation.
53 Monok, Ötvös, Verók (2004: 26).
54 Monok, Ötvös, Verók (2004: 80).
55 Monok, Németh, Varga (1994: 19).
56 Czech: Weber (1645a); RMNy No. 2111. Hungarian: Weber (1645b); RMNy No. 2095. German: Weber (1644); RMNy No. 2052. Facsimile and Slovak translation with annotations: Bartunek (1984).
57 Weber (1645a: 80). Translation: "Terminate your illness with medicine immediately, because if the illness overcomes you, all medicine will be in vain." Ov. *Rem.* 91–92: *Principiis obsta; sero medicina paratur, / cum mala per longas convaluere moras.*
58 Vidmanová (2004: 23). Lomnický's translation of the same verse: *Opři se hned při počátku / než by došel v něčem zmatku / neb budeš-li dlouho dlíti / zlé bude posilu míti.*

Weber's texts follow the same system, distiches are translated in eight-syllables-verses. The Hungarian translation of the same verses:

> Ottan mindgyárt ellene állj,
> Nyavalyádnak orvossággal,
> mert ha erőt vészen rajtad,
> héában orvoslod magad.[59]

And in German:

> Suche beyzeit ein guten Rath,
> Die Arzney kompt dir sonst zu spat,
> Wann Krankheit uberhandt hat gnommn,
> Die Gsundheit (!) wirst du schwer bekommn.[60]

The other citations are from the *Epistulae ex Ponto* and the topic and the method of versification are the same.

> Nemá to doktor v své moci,
> aby mohl všechněm pomoci.[61]

The German and the Hungarian versions do not contain this verse.

In the following poem, Weber may not have used Ovid's original works, perhaps taking over the quotations from other medical books:

> Někdy nemoc tak zlá bývá,
> že žádný lík neprospívá.[62]

> A betegség néha úgy elhatalmazik,
> hogy semmi mesterseggel meg nem gyógyithatik.[63]

> Die Krankheit hat oft grösser macht,
> Als aller Artzney beste Kraft.[64]

The secondariness of the citations is not obvious from the lines themselves, but it can be proved by examining other quotations from other antique authors in this book. There is a citation from Virgil about the benefits of lemons to one's health:

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[59] Weber (1645b: 72).
[60] Weber (1644: 76).
[61] Weber (1645a: 135). Translation: "The doctor is not able to help everybody." Ov. *Pont.* I, 3, 17: *Non est in Medico, semper relevetur ut aeger.*
[62] Weber (1645a: 155). Translation: "Sometimes the illness is so strong, that no medicine is able to help." Ov. *Pont.* I, 3, 18: *interdum docta plus ualet arte malum.* – The same verse in Hungarian: *A betegség néha úgy elhatalmazik, / hogy semmi mesterseggel meg nem gyógyithatik* (Weber [1645b: 140] = Varga [1977: 243 and 644]).
[63] Weber (1645b: 140); Varga (1977: 243 and 644).
[64] Weber (1644: 135).

Citrín jest kyselé jablko,
nemá větší moci jak to
Byť nemoc i s jedem byla,
však aby ti neškodila,
Citrín zas pomáhá k zdraví,
mladým, starým jest lík pravý.[65]

The versification has been changed into an eight-syllable form in the German and the Hungarian variant as well:

Citron noha keserű alma,
de vagyon igen nagy haszna,
betegség ellen igen használ,
ha méreg vólna is ellene áll,
A' nyavalyát elkergeti,
Vént és iffiat megerősíti.[66]

Der Citron giebt ein sawren Saft,
Kein Apfel hat ein grössre Kraft,
Wenn schon der Krancke wär vergift,
Ihm doch nichts schadt noch böses trift,
Der Citron hilft das Leben frist,
Ein Arzney Jung und Alten ist.[67]

Weber wrote that this is a quotation from the *Aeneis*, but it is in fact from the *Georgica*, and the translation is not too faithful.[68] Probably, he did not know the exact source of the verse, just heard or read it somewhere as a citation without its context. Another citation from the Greek doctor Galenus is given without its source as well:

Moč a smrad lidí nemocných, / vůně přední doktorů ctných.[69]

This quotation can be found in other medical books, such as Leonhart Fuchs' *Institutionum medicinae libri quinque*.[70] Perhaps Weber had taken the Galenus passage over from Fuchs' work, and that is why he did not know the original source. Both the Hungarian[71] and the German[72] variants give the translation of this verse in prose.

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65 Weber (1645a: 40).
66 Weber (1645b: 38). Translation: "The lemon is a bitter apple but very useful against the illness, it can defeat poisons, chase the illness away, and make both the young and elder stronger." Hungarian, Czech and German poems are cited according to modern orthography, but nothing else has been changed.
67 Weber (1644: 40).
68 The original version is: *Media fert tristis sucos tardumque saporem / felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum, / pocula si quando saeuae infecere nouercae, /* [*miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia uerba,*] */ auxilium uenit ac membris agit atra uenena* (Verg. *Georg.* II, 126–130).
69 Weber (1645a: 88). Translation: "Urine and smell of the sick person is very valuable for the doctors." The Latin text: *Stercus et urina, medicorum fercula prima.*
70 Fuchs (1594: 698).
71 Weber (1645b: 79–80).
72 Weber 1644: 84).

Conclusion

Ovid was known in Hungary in the 16th–17th centuries, but the overwhelming majority of the editions containing all his works came from abroad, especially from the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. Beside the official whole-text editions, citations and adaptations also circulated, most of them in Latin. The number of translations from Latin to local vernacular languages (Hungarian, German, Slovak) was smaller, but (especially the Hungarian) translations were not so uncommon in this age. With regard to the reception of Ovid in the Hungarian literature, the 16th–17th centuries can be considered as an opening of the Age of Enlightenment, when ancient literature and secular themes acquired a stronger role in literature.

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OVIDIOVY BÁSNĚ V MAĎARSKÝCH TIŠTĚNÝCH KNIHÁCH ŠESTNÁCTÉHO A SEDMNÁCTÉHO STOLETÍ

Mistrovská díla klasické latinské poezie byla stálou součástí produkce tiskařských lisů. Ačkoli Ovidius patřil k populárním antickým autorům, výzkumy dějin uherského knihtisku šestnáctého a sedmnáctého století odhalují překvapivý obraz: je známo jen několik edic Ovidiových děl. Přesto byl Ovidius v Maďarsku často citovaným autorem dokonce předtím, než vyšla první domácí edice jeho děl. To lze vysvětlit dvěma způsoby: (1) místo domácích byly používány zahraniční edice, nebo (2) spolu s řádnými edicemi kompletních textů byly v oběhu citáty, adaptace a překlady.

Eszter Kovács
National Széchényi Library, Budapest
koveszt@gmail.com

RECEPTION OF ILLUSTRATED PRINTS OF OVID'S METAMORPHOSES IN BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN ART: JOHANN JACOB VON SANDRART AND THE JUDGEMENT OF TIRESIAS

RADKA NOKKALA MILTOVÁ

ABSTRACT

One of the major traits of Baroque art in Bohemia and Moravia is its receptive character. In the cycles thematically taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* artists often accurately followed widespread and popular illustrations. My paper focuses on rare example of reception of *Metamorphoses* edition published by J. J. von Sandrart in Nürnberg 1698. This edition includes several engravings depicting less frequently visualized stories that were followed in stucco decorations in the Silesian chauteau in Kravaře, irrecoverably damaged during a fire in 1937. The discovery of printed model allowed for the identification of all the iconographic motifs in Kravaře. The ceiling of the grand hall showed story about the prophet Tiresias. The article analyses visual representations of Judgement of Tiresias as well as its textual interpretations. The stucco ceiling in Kravaře was the only known monumental visual representation of this motif not only in the Central European context, but most probably in all Europe.

Keywords: Kravaře; Ovid; *Metamorphoses;* Tiresias; Baroque art; stucco; iconography; ancient mythology

Referentiality is one of the essential characteristics of Baroque visual art in Bohemia and Moravia. Artists took inspiration from various graphic models which they used as compositional models for their canvas paintings, wall paintings, reliefs and other works of art. When working with motifs from Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* artists mainly used popular illustrated editions of the work, in Bohemia and Moravia primarily copies of several famous graphic cycles: woodcuts by Virgil Solis, line engravings by Hendrick Goltzius, Crispijn de Passe, Antonio Tempesta, Johann Wilhelm Baur, and also engravings from the 1676 Paris edition or the 1677 Brussels edition of the *Metamorphoses*.[1]

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[1] The cycle of 178 woodcuts by Virgil Solis was first printed in 1563 in two Frankfurt editions; the engravings by Hendrick Goltzius were published by his workshop in three waves in 1589–1615; the series of 150 engravings by Crispijn de Passe was used in a 1602 Cologne edition; Antonio Tempesta made a set of engravings for an Antwerp edition published ca 1606; and Johann Wilhelm Baur for a Vienna edition, ca 1639. The Paris edition included prints of 226 engravings by Sébastien Le Clerc and François Chauveau; and the 1677 Brussels edition contained illustrations by Martin Bouche,

Fig. 1: Judgement of Tiresias, Kravaře, chateau, former stucco decoration of main hall, 1730s. Photo: Silesian Museum, Opava, inv. no. D319 and D320.

Most authors selected pictures from the most famous stories and used them in various combinations in numerous decorative objects. Motifs from less popular stories were replicated rather seldom. Therefore, every artwork showing an aberration from the prevailing praxis attracts attention. Some of these rare depictions of less popular myths from the *Metamorphoses* were included in the stucco decorations on the ceilings in the Kravaře chateau (Deutsch-Krawarn), Silesia, irrecoverably damaged during a fire on 21 January 1937. The original decorations from 1730s, however, were documented in a series of photographs taken during the 1930s.[2] Interpretation of the scenes in the Kravaře stuccoes was recently considerably facilitated when the source of graphic inspiration, a specific illustrated edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, was discovered. That allowed for the identification of all the iconographic motifs.[3] For instance, the decoration in the grand hall of the northern wing[4] had been titled simply "The feast of the Gods" due to the presence

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Peter-Paul Bouche, Frederic Bouttats and Hendrik Abbé. On the reception of these prints in Bohemian and Moravian art, see esp. Miltová (2009: 33–50); Nokkala Miltová (2016: 263–269).

[2] The Silesian Museum in Opava, item nos. D317, U449F, U446F, D321, D216, U43F, U464 F, D318, D319, D320, U443F, U442F; and the National Heritage Institute, Brno, no. 10572 and no. 10573. For a detailed description of the chateau, see Augustinková, Kouřilová, Míčková (2017–2018).

[3] Augustinková, Kouřilová, Nokkala Miltová (2019: 87–95).

[4] The Kravaře estate went to the Eichendorff family through the marriage between Freiherr Jakob von Eichendorff and the daughter of Michael Sendivogius in 1636. Jakob's great-nephew Johann Rudolf (1687–1750, from 1724 the high chamberlain of the Duchy of Krnov) took over the estate in 1708 and started to renovate it in 1721. The most essential modifications were made in 1721–1728: Samek (1990: 197–200); Augustinková, Kouřilová, Míčková (2017–2018: 17–18).

of Juno and Jupiter at the table (**Fig. 1**).[5] The newer interpretation of the scene and its relations to a wider context of Baroque art shall be discussed in this article.

The edition of the *Metamorphoses* which inspired the artists in Kravaře was a lavish print by the Nuremberg printer and publisher Johann Jacob Sandrart (1655–1698) published in Nuremberg in 1698 under the title *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosis Oder Sinn-reicher Gedichte von Verwandlungen | Erster Theil | Enthaltend Die sieben Ersten Bücher | Gezieret Nicht nur allein mit Lehr-reichen | über jede Fabel | aus dem Französischen in das Teutsche übersetzten herrlichen Anmerckungen | Sondern auch Mit gantz neuen | über die in denenselben vorkommenden Handlungen | beygefügten Kupffer-Figuren.* The edition has received little attention among researchers, and there is little evidence of its influence within the Czech milieu.[6]

Johann Jacob Sandrart was the son of the Nuremberg printer and publisher Jacob Sandrart and great-nephew of the famous artist and art theoretician Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688). Johann Jacob Sandrart created an extensive graphic collection. His artistic and business activities are well documented in the estate inventory of 1698, compiled by the artist, academy director and connoisseur Georg Christoph Eimmart, Jr. (1638–1705). The estate inventory makes it clear that Johann Jacob owned an extensive, high-quality collection including items previously owned by his great-uncle Joachim.[7]

The creation of his 1698 edition of the *Metamorphoses* was a remarkable process, given the family background. Sandrart's sumptuous edition followed the heritage of his famous great-uncle Joachim and his commented translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into German, which was included in the 2nd volume of Joachim Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie*. The first volume was published in Nuremberg in 1675, and received much acclaim, which encouraged Sandrart to instigate the creation of a second volume. Published in Nuremberg in 1679 by Christian Sigismund Froberger,[8] the second volume was inspired by a Dutch version of the Ovidian commentary written by the Haarlem painter and art theoretician Carel van Mander (1548–1606).[9] Joachim attempted to make improvements to the text, but his efforts were ended by his death.[10] Johann Jacob Sandrart's edition was

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[5] Hlubinka (1971: 65–74 and 1973: 98–104).

[6] The only other example known to the author is the stucco ceiling in one of the rooms of the chateau in Velké Hoštice.

[7] Peltzer (1925); Vollmer (1935: 398–399); Von Hagen, Tacke (2005: 428–429); Grieb (2007: 1295). The work of Johann Jacob Sandrart is rarely described in literature (with the exception of reference works), on his work, see e.g. Hoffmann (1994: 65–71); Gerst (2000: 23–25).

[8] The commentary on the Metamorphoses is entitled *P. Ovidii Nas. Metamorphosis, oder Des verblümten Sinns der Ovidianischen Wandlungs-Gedichte gründliche Auslegung: Aus dem Niederländischen Carls von Mander Zu Behuf der Edlen Poesie-Kunst und Tugend Liebhabere ins Teutsche übersetzt, Und der Sandrartischen Academie enverleibet.*

[9] Carel van Mander valued the *Metamorphoses* greatly. His *Het Schilder Boeck* includes an independent commentary on the *Metamorphoses* (*Uytleggingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidii Nasonis. Alles streckende tot voordering des oronnen en eerlocken Vorgherlycken wandels. Seer dienstich den Schilders, Dichters, en Const-beminders. Oock yeghelyck tot leeringh by een ghebracht en geraemt Door Carel van Mander Schilder*). Mander's interpretation of the myths combines three levels: euhemeristic ("gheschiedighe"), astro-psychological ("natuerlijcke") and moral ("leerlijcke"). On Mander's commentary, see esp. Sluijter (1986: 295–321); Miedema (1973: 653–668).

[10] *Teutsche Academie* by Joachim von Sandrart was later printed in 1768–1775 in a new eight-volume edition by Johann Jacob Volkmann who obtained Sandrart's matrixes. The commentary on the *Metamorphoses* is accompanied with engravings by Johann Jacob Sandrart and Christian Engelbrecht, but the text is different because Volkmann considered the original translation outdated. He used short

Fig. 2: Judgement of Tiresias, engraving from edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Johann Jacob Sandrart, Nürnberg, 1698.

a long-running project, too. Most engravings for the book were created by Christian Engelbrecht (1672–1735) based on Sandrart's drawings, but some graphic representations were the work of Johann Jacob's son, Lorenz.[11] Due to his early death, Johann Jacob Sandrart's work remained incomplete and only managed to cover the myths up to the beginning of Book VII. Some of the detailed, vivid and inventive pictures in Sandrart's edition relate to less visualized Ovidian stories which were not included in older editions (e.g. Bacchus nursed by the nymphs or Clytie turning into a sunflower). This is reflected in the decorations of the Kravaře chateau, especially the ceiling of the grand hall which shows the rare story from Book III of the *Metamorphoses* about the prophet Tiresias (**Fig. 2**).

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explanatory commentaries, loose translations of the French *Explications historiques* by Abbé Banier into German. On the genesis of these commentaries, see esp. *Die Metamorphosen des Ovid* (2000: 50–54); Thimann (2007: 28–29).

[11] The matrixes and ready-to-use graphic compositions are mentioned in the estate inventory of Johann Jacob von Sandrart. Among the sketches and engravings in the workshop (Kupfer-Cammer), one item reads: *Lit. E Mehr ein großes Buch mit zwey Hundert fünf und sechzig Handrißen, in Landschaften und Ruinen bestehend, umb Die Original-Handriße über den Ovidium, von Johann Jacob de Sandrart*: Peltzer (1925: 156).

Ovid used Tiresias's story to introduce the tale about Narcissus who was connected with the royal house of Thebes. Tiresias was called to judge a dispute between Juno and Jupiter triggered by the chief god's teasing remark that women experience greater enjoyment (*maior voluptas*) during sexual intercourse than men.[12] The gods chose Tiresias to judge their dispute because he had both male and female experience. The story has it that one day Tiresias saw two snakes coupling. Frightened, he killed the female with his walking stick and consequently changed into a woman. He spent seven years in his female body. To reverse the unwelcome change, he looked for two coupling snakes again. When he finally found them, he killed the male, and returned to his male body. When asked to judge the dispute, he decidedly ruled that women enjoy sexual intercourse more than men. Juno took her revenge on him by taking away his sight. Since gods could not reverse decisions of other gods, Jupiter compensated his hardship by giving him prophetic vision. Tiresias became a famous prophet and Narcissus's mother Liriope contacted him to discuss her son's future.

Ovid's version of the story was inspired by the pseudo-Hesiodic *Melampodia*, but there are also alternative stories, including a rare version offered by Pherecydes (6th century BCE), later adopted by Callimachus (310/305–ca 240 BCE) in his 5th hymn, which says that Tiresias saw Minerva bathing, the goddess accidentally blinded him when she tried to cover his eyes with her hand, and then gave him the prophetic powers as compensation.[13]

Tiresias's prophecies then became a part of the story of Thebes: he established that the plague which affected Thebes during Oedipus's rule was caused by Oedipus's marriage to his own mother; he advised King Creon to sacrifice his son in order to end the siege of Thebes; and, ten years later, he told the Thebans to leave the town when he had foreseen its fall, but then he intentionally stayed behind because he saw his own death approaching. In the underworld, according to Homer, Tiresias advised Odysseus how to get back to the shores of Ithaca.[14] In the Roman epic poem *Thebaid* by Publius Papinius Statius (ca 45–ca 96) about the fall of Thebes, Tiresias and his daughter, the prophet and priestess Manto, stage the summoning of dead spirits upon a request from the young Theban king Eteocles.

Tiresias's adventures were rarely depicted in early modern art, regardless of the source text. The last mentioned scenes related to Statius's *Thebaid*, the summoning of dead spirits by Tiresias or Tiresias and Manto, can be found in paintings by the Amsterdam painter Domenicus van Wijnen (1658–1700),[15] but his works are an exception in 17th century art. Visual representations of Ovid's version of the story of Tiresias are generally limited to the illustrations used in various editions of his *Metamorphoses*, most often picturing Tiresias killing the coupling snakes with his stick or transforming into a woman.[16] The

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[12] For an analysis of the Judgement of Tireisias in Ovid's poetry, see e.g.: Coleman (1990: 571–577); Balsley (2010: 13–31).

[13] Nagle (1984: 239–240); O'Hara (1996: 174–176).

[14] Reid (1993: 1031–1033).

[15] Salomonson (1985: 114). The painting of Tireisias summoning dead souls is kept in the collection of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Kassel; the painting of Tireisias and Manto summoning dead souls is kept in the collection of Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig.

[16] In addition to the editions mentioned further in this text, illustrations of this part of Tireisias's story are included for instance in the 16th-century Venice editions with commentaries by Lodovico Dolce, illustrated by G. A. Rusconi.

Fig. 3: Sébastien Le Clerc – François Chauveau, Judgement of Tiresias,
engraving from *Métamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux*, Paris, 1676.

motif of Tiresias's judgement appeared in Sandrart's edition and two more illustrated
cycles; the first by the Dutch engraver Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1618), whose workshop
published 52 engravings up to Book IV of the *Metamorphoses* between 1589 and 1615;[17]
the second was a richly illustrated French edition published in Paris in 1676 and titled
Métamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux. The engravings were created by Sébastien Le Clerc
(1637–1714) and François Chauveau (1613–1676) (**Fig. 3**). Comparing the three consec-
utive depictions of Tiresias's judgement (Goltzius – Le Clerc and Chauveau – Sandrart),
Sandrart's representation of the iconographic theme is clearly the most complex one; it
is a grandiose multi-figure scene. Sandrart was the only artist who included the motif of
Tiresias's blinding; Tiresias is groping in the dark guided by Mercury. The comparison
makes it clear that Sandrart was inspired by the French engraving and developed its con-
cise structure into a lavish visual composition.

   In addition to the narrative component visualised by the illustration, it is interesting
to look at the contemporaneous explanations of Tiresias's judgement, which take very
diverse courses, from moral messages to astrological implications. The interpretation in
Sandrart's edition dedicated ample attention to the latter, stating that Tiresias judged two

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17   Hollstein (1953: 16–67); Leesberg (1993: no. 260.578 I).

gods who represent two elements – Jupiter stands for the fire, Juno for the air. With this in mind, Tiresias's judgement seems understandable because plants need air rather than fire and moisture rather than heat to reproduce:

> *Tiresias zum Richter erkohren worden | um zwischen zweyen Gottheiten den Gereit zu ent-*
> *scheiden | ob der Mann oder das weib in den liebes-Wercken die mehreste Ergötzung empfinde*
> *| so wird durch diese zwey Gottheiten verstanden das Feuer und die Lufft. Jupiter bedeutet das*
> *Feuer | und Juno die Lufft.*
> *Auch ist das Urtheil Tiresiæ hierinnen nicht unrecht | da er den Ausspruch gethan | daß an den*
> *Wercken der Generation die Juno am mehresten Lust habe | dann die Zeit hat viel Experimenta*
> *gelehret | daß zur Hervorbringung der Pflanzen und Gewächse | zweymalso viel Lufft als Feuer*
> *erfordert werde | oder um es verständlicher zu geben | nochmal so viel Feuchtigkeit als Hitze.*[18]

Sandrart asserts that Juno blinded Tiresias to show him that the air (which she represented) gets thicker with fog and clouds in the winter, eventually becoming dark and impenetrable to sight. Jupiter then replaced Tiresias's bodily sight with prophetic one, representing the sun which gains power as the winter passes, ultimately breaking through the fog and clouds and bringing the earth to life again. Also, a skilled farmer can tell from the fields and trees in the winter what weather he can expect the next year:

> *Endlich wird in eben dieser Fabel gemeldet | daß Juno den Tiresiam aus die Letze habe blind*
> *gemacht | um zu zeigen | daß die Lufft | welche unter dem Namen der Juno verstanden wird |*
> *in dem Winter sic hmit Nebel und Wolcken verdicket | und dadurch die Zeit ganz finster | trüb*
> *und blind machet.*
> *Mann nun ferner gedichter wird | daß Jupiter an statt der leiblichen Augen | die Tiresias ver-*
> *loren | ihm die Augen des Verstands geöffnet | so will man damit so viel sagen | daß die Sonne*
> *| welche in dem Winter anfängt sich wieder gegen uns zu nähern | und die Wolcken und Nebel*
> *zu vertreiben | der Zeit die Krafft mittheilet | daß sie die Erde wieder lebendig machet | damit*
> *sie die Sachen | die in ihr stecken | hervorbringen kan; oder vielmehr will man dadurch anzei-*
> *gen | daß man an der Beschaffenheit des Winters urtheilen könne | was man hernach vor ein*
> *Jahr | ob es fruchtbar oder unfruchtbar | zu erwarten habe. Dann wer nur den Feldbau ein*
> *wenig verstehet | der weiß daß man in dem Winter an den Bäumen | Stäuten | und andern*
> *Dingen sehen könne | wie die Witterung des folgenden Jahrs beschaffen seyn werde.*[19]

Sandrart also refers to Lucian of Samosata's treatise *Astrology* which includes a different interpretation of the myth. The author says that Tiresias was a distinguished astrologer who used to be both male and female, which taught him that the differences between the sexes are caused by the planets. Another author, according to Sandrart, believed that Tiresias was a hermaphrodite. Sandrart concluded that Tiresias was initially a proper man who did many praiseworthy deeds, but later, through extensive indulgence in lechery, became too effeminate to be respected more than a woman:

> *Sonsten finden man auch in Luciano, wiewol nur in zwey oder drey Worten | noch eine andere*
> *Auslegung von dieser Fabel: Dann dieser Author saget | daß Tiresias ein grosser Astrologus*

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18 Ovidius (1698: 50).
19 Ovidius (1698: 50).

gewesen seye | man habe aber von ihm gedichtet | daß er so wol ein Mann als Weib gewesen | um willen er gelehrt | daß der Unterscheid des Geschlechts allein von dem Einfluß der Planeten herrühre. Ein anderer Author hat diese Fabel mit noch weniger Worten ausgelegt | und vermeint | Tiresias seye ein Hermafrodit, das ist | zu gleich männ-und weiblichen Geschlechts gewesen. Ausser dem aber möchte man auch auf die Gedancken kommen | daß diese Fabel auf Veranlassung der Sitten des Tiresiæ, also seye ersonnen worden; Anfänglich habe man ihn vor einen rechtschaffnen und braven Mann gehalten | wegen seines guten Lebens und ansehnlicher Thaten die er verrichtet | hernachmal aber habe er sich den Wollüsten ergeben | und seye dadurch so Weibisch worden | daß man ihn vor nicht viel besser als ein Weib geachtet.[20]

Johann Jacob Sandrart's passage about Tiresias's judgement is completely different from Carel van Mander's interpretation (from his His *Het Schilder Boeck*), which was used by Joachim von Sandrart for his commented edition of the *Metamorphoses* (published in 1679 by Christian Sigismund Froberger). Although Joachim's and Johann Jacob's editions are often seen as related, the differences between both texts indicate that Johann Jacob's version was influenced by Mander's interpretation, and consequently Joachim's translation, much less than usually assumed.[21] Joachim's explanation of the story of Tiresias soon departs from Ovid's version, and with reference to Hyginus's *Fabulæ* maintains that Jupiter prolonged Tiresias's life by seven generations. Then he includes a variant of the story of Tiresias's blinding by Minerva, which leads to a moral: By seeing a naked goddess, Tiresias experienced the sweetness of real insight, and therefore desired other things; because when we see divine wisdom, it leaves us blind and confronted with our own ignorance; but when we struggle to continue our search for wisdom, we gain a better insight into the things that are to come:

Den Wahrsager Tiresias | weil er blind gewest | haben wir | im dritten Buch | stillschweigend vorbey gegange | ietzo aber gibt uns seine Tochter Manto | voll vom Weissager-Geiste | im Einladen zum Opffern der Latona | Anlaß | seiner zugedencken. Von deme | daß er Mann und Weib gewest seyn soll | lieset man | im dritten Buch der Verwandlung unsers Poeten | und warum dem armen Manne von der Juno das Gesicht benommen | und vom Jupiter die Gabe des Weissagens gegeben worden. Eben dieses wird auch vom Hyginius | im 75. Capitel seiner Fabeln | also beschrieben | daß er annoch beyfüget | wie der Jupiter | über die Gabe der Weissagun | ihme auch das Leben | bis auf sieben Menschen Alterthum | erlängert habe. Es wird aber sonsten auch eine andere Ursach seiner Blindheit erzehlet: weil nemlich die keuschreine Minerva | mit andren | gantz mutternacket sich gebadet | in dem Heliconischen Brunn/ Tiresias wird von Minerva blind gemacht: weil er sie nacket gesehen. Hippocrene | und vom Tiresias allda unversehens nacket gesehen worden sey | welches sie so übel empfunden und aufgenommen/ daß sie ihm seins Gesichts beraubt habe: Dann ihr nicht ziemlich zu seyn bedünckte | daß sich ein sterblicher Mensch rühmen solte | er hätte sie | die doch für ihre Ehre so sorgfältig war | nacket gesehen: Jedoch habe Chariclo | des Tiresias Mutter | von der Minerva erlangt/ daß er | an statt seines auswendigen Gesichts | ein inwendiges | nemlich zukünfftige Dinge vorzusagen | Lehrliche Auslegung über des Tiresias blindheit. bekommen. Hierinn nun einen verständlichen Sinn zu finden/ ist zu wissen | daß bey dem nackend sehen der Minerva angedeutet werde/ wie derjenige | so die Süssigkeit der rechten Weisheitsfrucht nur einmal geschmeckt | oder die Klarheit derselben eins recht gesehen | die Augen seiner Sinnen | alle

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[20] Ovidius (1698: 50).
[21] On the mutual links, see esp. *Die Metamorphosen des Ovid* (2000: 50–54).

andere Dinge zu wünschen | oder zu begehre | willig zu zuschliessen pflege; oder daß wir | wann wir gründlich betrachten | was die Göttliche reine Weisheit sey | befinden und bekennen müssen | daß wir von uns selber blind und unverständig seynd | und gar nichts wissen. Wenn wir ihr aber mit Fleiß nachspüren und dieselbe ernstlich suchen | bekommen wir ein besser Gesicht | durch welches unser Geist | mit ihrer Erkändnus | erleuchtet wird | daß wir alsdann zukünfftige Dinge deuten | zu vor sehen und sagen können. Sintemal wir alsdann weislich überlegen | was auf diese | oder jene weise vorfallen | oder geschehen könte. Nunmehro wird vonnöhten seyn/ auch den Amphion vor die Hand zu nehmen.[22]

If we compare the above-mentioned variants of Tiresias's judgement with the explanations of leading mythographers, we can see that the explanations must have influenced Carel van Mander and consequently Joachim Sandrart. Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*, for instance, offers both alternative stories – about Minerva and about the dispute between Juno and Jupiter – and the lines of reasoning display marked similarities with the interpretations presented above:

Tiresias l'apperceut; ce qu'elle prit en si mauaise part qu'elle luy'fit perdre laveuë, faisant estat n'estre aucunemēt raisonnable qu'vn homme mortel osast se v'ter d'auoir veu Minerue nuë, & se baignant. Toutefois Chariclo mere dudit Tiresias obtint d'elle à force de prieres, qu'au lieu des yeux corporels dōt elle l'auoit priué, il luy pleust le recompenser d'vne veuë spirituelle, & luy dōner le don de prophetie pour deuiner les choses à venir […] Toutefois Hygin au 75. chap. Des fables nous dōne vn autte sujet de l'aueuglement de Tiresias: […] Mais Iupiter en recompense luy prolongea sa vie iusqu'à sept aages d'hommes, & luy ottroya par mesme moyē l'esprit de propethie par dessus tous autres mortels.[23]

The distance of the textual and visual component of Johann Jacob Sandrart's *Metamorphoses* from its sources of inspiration, as well as the influence of this edition in 18th century art, deserves more research in future. The example of Judgement of Tiresias clearly shows that although Joachim Sandrart's and Johann Jacob Sandrart's commentaries have not been thoroughly compared yet, it is clear that they differ considerably.[24] It also remains unclear why the Judgement of Tiresias was chosen for the ceiling decoration in the grand hall of the Kravaře Chateau in the 1720s, and what message it was intended to convey. Although it is hard to tell whether it was the moral or astrological implications that played the main role, we can infer from the motifs depicted in other rooms of the chateau, mainly romantic scenes with astrological allusions, that it was rather the astrological explanation, which was also accented in Johann Jacob Sandrart's commentary. In other rooms of the chateau there were following scenes: Venus and Adonis, Cephalus

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[22] Ovidius (1679: 73).
[23] Le Comte (1611: 282–283).
[24] The inventory of Johann Jacob Sandrart makes it clear that he had access to Joachim's texts, including the translation of the *Metamorphoses*. See Peltzer (1925: 159).
The title of Johann Jacob Sandrart's edition of the *Metamorphoses* indicates that it is a translation from French, but the source has not been identified yet. It could be the edition by Michel de Marolles, as his commentary of Ovid's work was listed in Sandrart's inventory. Although the list only offers a vague note *Der Ovidius, von Michel de Marolles* (Peltzer 1925: 160), it could be the commentary published in 1677 and titled *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide comprises en quatre vers pour chaque fable des 15 livres de cet ouvrage ou plus tôt pour leur servir d'argument*. Still, it seems undisputable that Johann Jacob Sandrart used more source texts for his commentary.

and Procris, Venus and Pluto, Rape of Proserpine, Rape of Europe and Juno putting Argus's eyes on peacock's tail. Sandrart compares, in accordance with other authorities, one hundred eyed Argus with the night sky full of stars. Destiny of Adonis and Proserpine represents traditional example of cyclical course of seasons of the year in nature.[25] Therefore, it was no wonder that Venus and Adonis depiction was surrounded by allegorical compositions of seasons of the year.

Natural-allegorical (astrological) connotation of mythological stories belonged to widely used early modern iconography where depictions of elements, seasons of the year, planets or phases of the day were integral part of the decorations. References to the nature cycles had become a metaphorical allusion to eternal glory of the celebrated family. It is beyond doubt that that these metaphorical allusions were carved in order to reinforce the high social status of High Chamberlain (*Oberstlandkämmerer*) Jan Rudolph Francis count of Eichendorff, who commissioned the decorations.[26]

The ceiling in the grand hall in Kravaře was a rare phenomenon in Baroque art, because the motif of Tiresias's judgement was very rare in early modern iconography, and it has never appeared in monumental artistic compositions. Its exceptionality was underlined by its prestigious location on the ceiling in the grand hall of the seat of the Eichendorffs. The stucco ceiling in Kravaře was the only known visual representation of this motif not only in the Central European context, but most probably in all Europe.

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25 Ovidius (1679: 19–21, 88–91).
26 On the family of Eichendorff, see Weltzel, Heiduk (1992).

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RECEPCE ILUSTROVANÝCH VYDÁNÍ OVIDIOVÝCH *METAMORFÓZ* V ČESKÉM A MORAVSKÉM UMĚNÍ. JOHANN JACOB VON SANDRART A SOUD TEIRESIŮV

Jedním ze základních znaků barokního umění v Čechách a na Moravě je jeho receptivní charakter. V případě příběhů čerpajících z textu Ovidiových *Metamorfóz* umělci využívali zejména populární ilustrované edice Ovidiova díla. Příspěvek se zabývá vzácným dokladem recepce edice *Metamorfóz* publikované J. J. von Sandrartem v Norimberku roku 1698. Precizní a živé rytiny této edice ilustrují i méně obvyklé ovidiovské příběhy, což se odrazilo též ve výzdobě zámku v Kravařích, která byla nenávratně zničena při požáru roku 1937. Objev grafické předlohy napomohl určit všechny ikonografické motivy někdejší výzdoby Kravař. Strop hlavního sálu kravařského zámku zdobil výjev líčící osudy slavného proroka Teiresia a vedle příběhu samotného se příspěvek věnuje dobovým vizuálním reprezentacím a výkladům Teiresiova soudu. Kravařský hlavní sál však reprezentoval mnohem podstatnější fenomén barokního umění, neboť motivy Teiresiova soudu náleží mezi zcela raritně se vyskytující raněnovověkou ikonografii, která se v monumentálních uměleckých zakázkách neobjevuje vůbec. Kravařský štukový strop tak zastupoval dosud jediné známé znázornění tohoto příběhu nejen v kontextu středoevropském, ale patrně i evropském.

Radka Nokkala Miltová
Masaryk University, Brno
miltova@phil.muni.cz

GÁBOR DEVECSERI UND DIE OVIDSCHEN *METAMORPHOSEN**

ANIKÓ POLGÁR

ABSTRACT

Gábor Devecseri and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
The paper is dealing with the works of Gábor Devecseri (1917–1971), who was one of the most prominent and eminent translators of ancient literature in Hungary. The special focus is on the Ovidian tradition: Devecseri published his translation of *Metamorphoses* in 1964. The first part of the paper demonstrates his methodology tracing his translation strategies with the special regards to the translations from the 19th century. The author bases on the manuscripts and documents (mostly the textual variants of translations) conserved in the manuscript collection of the Petőfi Literary Museum (Budapest). The second part examines the influence of the translation of *Metamorphoses* on Devecseri's poetry and novel writing techniques. The Ovidian elements are especially helpful for Gábor Devecseri to modulate his authorial relations to the cultural memory, to the questions of identity, and to the dialogue between photograph and text.

Keywords: translation; Hungarian literature of the 20th century; Gábor Devecseri; Ovid; *Metamorphoses*

„Wie bei seinem lieben Ovid, wurde auch in seiner Hand alles zu Poesie oder zumindest zu Prosa, auch das nicht Unerhebliche, was er aus der höchsten Wissenschaft seiner Zeit geschöpft und verarbeitet hat", schreibt János György Szilágyi über Gábor Devecseri.[1] Gábor Devecseri war Dichter, Prosaist und Philologe, und seine Werke, besonders seine literarischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen und dem Latein haben einen bis heute währenden Einfluss. Dank seiner Übersetzungstheorie und -praxis wurde er der Schöpfer eines neuen Paradigmas und mit seinem Radikalismus löste er mehrere Diskussionen aus. Er hat bedeutende Verdienste auf dem Gebiet der Übersetzung sowohl

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[1]   Szilágyi (2011: 352).

der antiken Lyrik, als auch der antiken epischen Lyrik und der Dramen. Da er aber als Dichter und Literaturorganisator in den 1950-er Jahren im Dienst des Regimes stand, wird heute sein Lebenswerk kontrovers beurteilt. Seine im Jahre 1964 herausgegebene Übersetzung der *Metamorphosen* erfreut sich bis heute einer weit verbreiteten Nutzung einerseits als Schulklassiker, andererseits als Referenzgrundlage der ungarischsprachigen wissenschaftlichen Fachliteratur bezüglich Ovid. Mein Ziel ist einerseits, die übersetzerische Arbeitsmethode von Devecseri zu charakterisieren, andererseits – ausgehend aus der Wechselbeziehung von Dichtung und Übersetzung[2] – jene Elemente des Devecseri-Lebenswerkes aufzuzeigen und zu interpretieren, die eine Wirkung ovidscher Verwandlungsmythen zeigen.

Übersetzung der *Methamorphosen*: ein Textkörper, der eine neue Form annimmt

Im Blick auf die Metrik greift einer der ausgezeichnetsten ungarischen Dichter der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Mihály Babits, auf die Muster des Klassizismus zurück. Seine Übersetzungsprinzipien wurden von Gábor Devecseri weiterentwickelt, dem die Übersetzung gleichzeitig eine dichterische und philologische Herausforderung bedeutete.

Nach Devecseri ist Gültigkeit eins der wichtigsten Ziele der literarischen Übersetzung. Er betont, dass es nicht ausreicht, wenn der ungarische Text lediglich eine inspirierte Variation des Originals ist: „Ich wünsche *das* Bild vom Werk Homers, und nicht ein daran erinnerndes, aber anderes Bild, so schön es auch sein mag. Gefallen kann das letztere auch. Gültig sein kann aber nur das erstere."[3]

Nach seiner einflussreichen Homer-Übersetzung begann er mehrere größere Unternehmungen. Unter ihnen war die imposanteste die Übersetzung von Ovids *Metamorphosen* (1964). Diese Übersetzung von Devecseri rief auch deshalb ein großes Interesse hervor, weil die vorausgehende komplette ungarische Übersetzung des Werkes, die Übersetzung (1851) des katholischen Priesters Antal Egyed (1779–1862), schwer lesbar, klobig, und dichterisch wenig inspirativ ist. Devecseris *Metamorphosen* sind, in die Perspektive der ungarischen Übersetzungsgeschichte gesetzt, eine hervorragende Leistung. Sie überragt zweifellos nicht nur die früheren ungarischen *Metamorphosen*-Übersetzungen, sondern auch die meisten zeitgenössischen Ovid-Übersetzungen (*Amores* von Gábor Karinthy, *Amores* von László Gaál, *Fasti* von László Gaál, *Heroides* von Gyula Muraközy). Der Übersetzer, dessen dichterischer Charakter als ovidisch zu beschreiben ist, setzte in der dichterischen Struktur einen besonders großen Akzent auf den Schliff und die Geläufigkeit der Hexameter. Es gelang ihm, gleichzeitig einen lustigen und einen würdevollen Ton zu finden, in dem gleichzeitig „gesetzestreue Symmetrie" und „gesetzesschöpfende Spielerei" anwesend sind.[4]

Devecseris uns hinterbliebener Nachlass seiner Übersetzungen, einschließlich der handschriftlichen Varianten, ist in der ungarischen Übersetzungsgeschichte eine der

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[2] Devecseri (1973: 383–397).
[3] Devecseri (1973: 338).
[4] Devecseri (1973: 257).

monumentalsten Leistungen. Die große Anzahl der Varianten ist die Folge der spezifischen Übersetzungsmethode, die die Unvollendung des übersetzten Textes, das stetige im Wandeln seiende Werden charakterisiert. Devecseris Meinung nach sich der Mechanismus des Dichtens und des Übersetzens ähnelt.[5] Er sieht aber in dem Arbeitsvorgang einen solchen Moment, der die beiden scharf voneinander trennt: Er meint, ein Dichter kann sein eigenes Werk zwar als beendet betrachten, aber eine Übersetzung endet nie, sie spornt immer zur Suche nach neueren und neueren Lösungen an.

Die neuen Ausgaben betrachtete er als vorübergehende Abschnitte auf dem Weg zur unerreichbaren Perfektion, und wenn er nur konnte, verbesserte er seine früheren Übersetzungen, schliff an ihnen. Da der Text der *Metamorphosen* zu Lebzeiten Devecseris nur einmal erschien, könnten wir glauben, dass wir in diesem Fall nicht mit zahlreichen Varianten rechnen müssen. Die im Handschriftenarchiv des Budapester Petőfi Literaturmuseums auffindbare Menge der Handschriften beweist jedoch etwas anderes. Das in drei Kisten gesammelte Material beinhaltet ältere Texte, „Zwischenvarianten" (das ist Devecseris eigener Terminus), die mit Schreibmaschine geschriebene Variante mit Bemerkungen des Lektors, György János Szilágyi, sowie die Korrekturen des Herausgebers. Devecseri betonte mehrmals, wie viel ihm hinsichtlich der Entwicklung seiner Übersetzungen die vielen „Diskussionen und Plaudereien" bedeuteten: Zu den Meistern und Freunden, die seine Laufbahn beeinflusst haben, gehören neben dem Kunsthistoriker und klassischen Philologen György János Szilágyi auch der weltberühmte Religionshistoriker und Altertumswissenschaftler Karl Kerényi.[6]

Nach György János Szilágyi arbeitete Devecseri so, wie die griechischen Bildhauer, die ihre Figuren im Ganzen formen und sie danach schleifen.[7] Devecseri fertigte zuerst eine grobe Übersetzung des Ganzen an, und aus dieser entwickelte er schichtweise die Übersetzung, die er als annehmbar fühlte. Eine halbfertige Übersetzung bedeutet also, dass das grobe blockartige Grundmaterial auf weitere Bearbeitung wartet. Als ob es um eine unvollendete Verwandlung ginge, um ein Übergangsstadium zwischen zwei Qualitäten (oder zwei Sprachen). Es ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden, wann man eine Verwandlung als vollkommen abgeschlossen bezeichnen kann.

Devecseris Methode bei der Suche nach einer idealen Übersetzung beinhaltete auch die Übernahme gelungener Lösungen früherer Übersetzungen. Dieses Verfahren ist in der Übersetzungsgeschichte weitgehend verbreitet, obwohl seine Beurteilung widersprüchlich ist, wie dies die in der ungarischen Literaturgeschichte erste Plagiatsdiskussion, der sogenannte Ilias-Prozess,[8] auch gezeigt hat. Die dem Original möglichst perfekt entsprechende Rekonstruktion erlaubt dem Übersetzer, bzw. verlangt sogar von ihm, sich nicht von den gelungenen Lösungen seiner Vorgänger abzugrenzen. Bei Devecseri gab es neben diesem prinzipiellen Grund, die früheren Übersetzungen intensiv zu nutzen, auch einen praktischen: die enge Zeitspanne, die das beschleunigte Übersetzungstempo erforderte. Im letzten Jahrzehnt seines Lebens kämpfte er mit ständigem Zeitmangel, das bezeugen auch die erhalten gebliebenen Dokumente, Briefe, Verträge seines Nachlasses.[9]

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[5] Devecseri (1973: 396–397).
[6] Devecseri (1961: 622).
[7] Szilágyi (1977: 573).
[8] Die Teilnehmer des Disputs sind Ferenc Kazinczy und Ferenc Kölcsey.
[9] Handschriftenarchiv des Petőfi Literaturmuseums, Budapest, Nachlass Gábor Devecseri.

Angesichts der Schwierigkeit der Aufgabe war es natürlich, dass die Übersetzung der *Metamorphosen* mehrere Jahre beanspruchte. Überraschend war jedoch die vom Verlag gesetzte enge Frist. Am 16. September 1958 wurde der Vertrag vom Verlag Magyar Helikon mit Devecseri abgeschlossen, und die Frist war der 1. Mai 1959.[10] 1961 wurde der Übersetzer, der den Vertrag bereits früher aufgelöst hatte, vom Verlag in einem Brief gedrungen, und es wurde ihm eine neue Frist angeboten. Aus den Verträgen ist ersichtlich, dass Devecseri einen Großteil der Aufgaben, die er etwa gleichzeitig mit der Ovid-Übersetzung angenommen hatte, nicht zu erfüllen fähig war. Die Übernahme der Aufträge schien bei den gegebenen Fristen in mehr als einem Fall irreal zu sein, auch dann, wenn es sich um einen Übersetzer mit großer Erfahrung und Routine handelte. Im Fall der *Metamorphosen* beschleunigte er seine Arbeit, wie das die überlieferten mit Schreibmaschine geschriebenen Seiten und Übersetzungsvarianten bezeugen, in dem er bestimmte Elemente der Übersetzung von Antal Egyed[11] in seine eigene einfügte. Im Manuskript wirken die von Egyed übernommenen Elemente bisweilen extrem archaisch, deshalb wurde auch der Lektor (ohne dass er auf die Quelle der gegebenen Textstellen verwiesen hätte) auf diese nicht zu Devecseris Prinzipien passenden Abschnitte aufmerksam und empfahl in diesen Fällen eine Abwandlung. Die im Druck erschienene Form der Übersetzung Devecseris entfernte sich demzufolge ziemlich von Egyeds Übersetzungen, aber die Verbindung bleibt offensichtlich, wenn wir die früheren Varianten der in Manuskripten befindlichen Übersetzungsvarianten mit der im 19. Jahrhundert erschienenen Übersetzung vergleichen.

In der endgültigen Variante findet man meistens die von Antal Egyed dorthin übernommenen Wörter nicht wieder. Diese Arbeitsmethode hinterließ aber eine Spur an der Übersetzung von Devecseri: An manchen Punkten spürt man ein gewisses Veraltetsein, es zeigt sich eine Mosaikhaftigkeit infolge des Austausches einzelner Elemente, der natürliche Gang des Textes wird öfters gebrochen. All dem sollten die Änderungsvorschläge von János György Szilágyi ein Gegengewicht halten, der sich gegen die Latinismen, etwaige Lösungen, die im Ungarischen als verschroben wirkten, aussprach.

Laut Erklärung Devecseris war mit der *Metamorphosen*-Interpretation sein Ziel, im natürlichen Rahmen der ungarischen poetischen Sprache eine eigene ovidsche Gedichtssprache zu entwickeln.[12] Die Skala der Hexameter Devecseris ist außerordentlich vielseitig (manchmal erhaben, manchmal leicht verspielt, er bringt in die Erzählung der mythologischen Geschichten mitunter die Natürlichkeit der Alltagssprache ein), die Verszeilen schleift er immer zu eleganten Zeilen. Was Zsigmond Ritoók bezüglich der Homer-Übersetzungen feststellte, gilt auch für die Ovid-Übersetzung: „Auf der einen Seite übersetzte Devecseri präziser als jeder frühere Übersetzer, auf der anderen Seite war er konsequenter als alle früheren Übersetzer".[13] Nach dem Erscheinen der *Metamorphosen* konzentrierte sich Devecseri in seinen letzten Lebensjahren auf sein dichterisches Werk, bzw. auf die künstlerische Aufarbeitung seiner griechischen Reiseerlebnisse, die Ovid-Übersetzung aber hat bei seinen späteren Arbeiten Spuren hinterlassen.

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[10] Brief von Róbert Falus an Gábor Devecseri, 20. 9. 1961, Handschriftenarchiv des Petőfi Literaturmuseums, Budapest, Nachlass Gábor Devecseri.
[11] Egyed (1851).
[12] Devecseri (1973: 258).
[13] Ritoók (2009: 102).

Ovidsche Elemente in der Lyrik
und der Prosa von Devecseri

In den 1960-er Jahren entwickelte Devecseri einen vertieften Stil, der von der griechischen Dichtung der 20. Jahrhunderts, von den Übersetzungen altgriechischer Dramen und seiner griechischen Reiseerlebnisse inspiriert waren. In seiner Dichtung verschmolz er ebenfalls visuelle Einflüsse und Einflüsse aus den bildenden Künsten, und er zeigte eine neue Strategie des Aufeinandertreffens vom antiken und zeitgenössischen Horizont. Bei der Entwicklung des neuen Stils bekommt die Ovid-Wirkung eine bedeutende Rolle: Die markanteste Darstellung dessen ist der Band Öreg fák (Alte Bäume), der das Zusammentreffen von Bild und Text, die Verwandlung und die pflanzliche-menschliche Hybridität aufzeigt. Die Verwandlung ist auch eine mit der Vergangenheit und der Erinnerung im engen Zusammenhang stehende Kategorie: die verwandelten Figuren schließen in sich die Erinnerung an das, was sie früher waren, ein.[14] Die alten Bäume sind zwar keine vom Menschen erschaffene Denkmäler, aber die mit ihnen verbundenen Traditionen und die aus ihrem Anblick entstandenen Bilder der Vergangenheit weihen sie zur Verkörperung des kulturellen Gedächtnisses.[15] Sie bieten die Möglichkeit zur Verbindung mit der Vergangenheit, mit dem Ursprung und mit der Abstammung an, sie öffnen Wege für den Schritt in eine andere Dimension.

Die von Ernő Vajda angefertigten Fotos von alten ungarischen Bäumen, die zum größten Teil aus den 1950-er, 1960-er Jahren stammen, helfen in erster Linie bei der Nuancierung unseres Verhältnisses zur Vergangenheit. Das von János Kass entworfene imposante Album Öreg fák (Alte Bäume) beinhaltet Fotos Jahrhunderte alter Bäume, die an das vergangene Jahrhundert erinnern, die Spuren der Stürme, der Fröste tragen. Devecseri tritt in dem Band als Interpret dieser alten Bäume auf,[16] und seine Texte dokumentieren die erdachten Monologe der Bäume, bzw. die mit ihnen geführten Gespräche. Die Gedichte der Öreg fák (Alten Bäume) können gleichermaßen aus Sicht der Identitätsfragen, der intermedialen Aspekte und der Verwandlungsmotive untersucht werden. Die Bäume sind oft eine Verkörperung der pflanzlich-menschlichen Hybridität, des Zwischenstadiums, und im Zusammenhang mit ihnen ergeben sich auch mythologische Parallelen. Das Hintergrundmuster dieser Texte geben in erster Linie Ovids *Metamorphosen*, deren Übersetzung ins Ungarische Devecseri kurz vor der Erscheinung der Öreg fák (Alten Bäume) abgeschlossen hat.[17] Die in den Bäumen gesehenen menschlichen Körperteile lassen den Teil der *Metamorphosen* aufleben, in dem sich mythologische Figuren in Bäume verwandeln (z.B. Daphne, Philemon, Baucis).

Das Gedicht *Az erdő fái* (Die Bäume des Waldes)[18] spielt mit der Möglichkeit des Austausches der Formen *pars pro toto* und *totum pro parte.* Die Bäume – wie unbenennbare Körperteile eines größeren Organismus – schmelzen in den Wald hinein, sie entwickeln keine eigene Identität, sie können jederzeit miteinander verwechselt werden. Wenn man

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[14] Schmeling (2008: 338).

[15] Assmann (2005: 21).

[16] Vajda, Devecseri (1969 [ohne Angabe von Seitenzahlen]).

[17] Devecseri (1964).

[18] Im Band Öreg fák (Alte Bäume) stehen die Gedichte neben den Bildern ohne Titel. Da das Album ohne Angabe von Seitenzahlen ist, gebe ich aus Gründen der leichteren Identifizierung die Titel an, die im Band der gesammelten Gedichte steht: Devecseri (1974: 607).

sich die Bäume einzeln vorstellte, würde die Vergleichsbasis verloren gehen: Wenn es von der Gemeinschaft keine Anerkennung oder Ablehnung gibt, stellt sich die Existenz des Individuums auch in Frage. An diesem Punkt erscheint im Gedicht Narkissos' mythisches Bild als Phantasie des radikalen Außenstehens, der absoluten Unabhängigkeit. Narkissos ist hier das Symbol der vorbehaltslosen Einsamkeit: Er ist so allein, dass er nur in sich selbst einen Partner finden kann. Das Spiegelbild, das der See zeigt, ist die bildliche Projizierung dieser mitleiderregenden Einsamkeit. Ovids Narziss ist nicht ganz allein, er achtet nur nicht auf das um ihn herum, z.B. auf das ihm in den Tod folgende Echo. Seine manische Steifheit, seine einseitige Sichtweise sind das Symptom des Liebeswahnsinns. Als Narziss sich im Spiegelbild des Sees ansieht, verzehrt ihn die Liebesflamme so sehr, dass auch seine Kraft schwindet, und auch sein Körper, den Echo einst liebte, bleibt nicht mehr erhalten (*nec corpus remanet, quondam quod amauerat Echo*,[19] Ov. *Met.* III, 493). Die Nymphe erbarmte sich trotzdem seiner, und so oft der Jüngling klagend sein „Eheu" rief, echote sie mit ihm gemeinsam das „Eheu" (*quotiensque puer miserabilis 'eheu!' / dixerat, haec resonis iterabat vocibus 'eheu!'*,[20] Ov. *Met.* III, 495–496). Es handelt sich also um eine Interaktion, nicht nur um eine scheinbare Reflexion des Spiegelbildes, sondern auch um eine Verdoppelung der Stimmen, um einen eigentümlichen Dialog, bei dem nur die eine Person auf die Worte des anderen achtet, gleichzeitig sind ihre eigenen Sprachmöglichkeiten bedingt.

Bei Ovid ist Narziss' Monolog kein Selbstgespräch, da er immer einen Gesprächspartner anspricht, der ihm aber nicht antworten kann.[21] Er wendet sich an die Bäume des Waldes als Zeugen langer Zeiten, er fragt sie, ob sie schon größeres Leid als seins gesehen haben: *ad circumstantes tendens sua bracchia siluas, / 'ecquis, io siluae, crudelius' inquit 'amauit? / scitis enim et multis latebra opportuna fuistis. / ecquem, cum uestrae tot agantur saecula uitae, / qui sic tabuerit, longo meministis in aeuo?'*,[22] Ov. *Met.* III, 441–445). Die alten Bäume des Waldes verfügen also sowohl bei Ovid als auch im Ernő Vajdas und Devecseris gemeinsamen Buch über ähnliche intellektuelle Fähigkeiten wie die Menschen (wenn sie auch nicht mit Worten antworten können), und so wären sie auch fähig, die menschliche Erinnerung zu verlängern. Auf einem von Philostratos beschriebenen Gemälde gelangt Narkissos in Verbindung mit dem Kult Dionysos' und mit der Wucherung der Pflanzen: Auf dem Bild befindet sich die Höhle der Nymphen, und Weinreben sowie Efeu umranken die Quelle.[23] Der Tod des Jünglings und seine Verwandlung in eine Blume symbolisiert die Regenerierung des Lebens in der Natur.[24] Devecseri betont dagegen das nicht-weiterführbare Sein von Narkissos, seine Verdoppelung ist keine Vermehrung, sondern nur eine Spiegelung. Wer mit anderen nicht in Verbindung kommt, den gibt es laut dem Gedicht im Grunde genommen gar nicht.

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[19] Übersetzung von Suchier (2019): „Und nicht bleibet der Leib, den früher ersehnete Echo."

[20] Übersetzung von Suchier (2019): „und so oft der Bejammernswürdige: »Wehe!« / Ausrief, hallte das Wort sie nach und erwiderte: »Wehe!«"

[21] Krupp (2009: 115).

[22] Übersetzung von Suchier (2019): „die Arme gestreckt zu den ringsum stehenden Wäldern: / »Hat je einer geliebt, ihr Wälder, mit härteren Qualen? / Denn ihr wisst es und waret schon vielen gelegnes Versteck. / Seid ihr, da euer Bestand so viele Jahrhunderte währt, / Eines gedenk in der Länge der Zeit, der also geschmachtet?«"

[23] Philostr. *Im.* I, 23 (Schönberger 2004: 144–146).

[24] Schönberger (2004: 351).

Wie Devecseri betont, beim Zeigen des Getrenntseins des Individuums sollten sich „getrennte Würde" und „gemeinsame Kraft" miteinander verbinden. Das Gedicht *Die Bäume des Waldes* wurde nicht zufällig an die Spitze des Albums gestellt, es bringt auch die Zielsetzung des ganzen Bandes näher. Am zugeordneten Bild sind die dicht nebeneinander stehenden Bäume eines Fichtenwaldes zu sehen, die im Hintergrund auftauchenden neueren Stämme und Zweige füllen den Raum zwischen den Bäumen vollständig aus. In dieser kollektiven Wucherung lassen sich die einzelnen Exemplare nicht voneinander trennen. Nachstehend wird mit den meisten Fotos des Bandes je ein alter Baum hervorgehoben, wobei auch ihre Umgebung aufgezeigt wird, gleichzeitig werden sie auch daraus herausgerissen.

Auf die *Metamorphosen* weist auch Devecseris Gedicht mit dem Titel *Fehér szeder* (Weiße Brombeere) hin,[25] in dem der Brombeerbaum als Bruder des Baumes von Pyramus und Thisbe das Wort ergreift. Dieser Baum bleibt zwar weiß, da das spritzende Blut der Liebenden ihn nicht schwarz färbt, aber in den zwei Geschwisterbäumen erlöschen auch die zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Ereignisse der Vergangenheit: Der eine Baum, der weiße, zeigt dem Gedicht nach das Erwachen der Liebe, der andere, der schwarze, zeigt das spätere Grauen, „das Blut des geborstenen Herzen".

Ein anderer visuell inspirierter Band Gábor Devecseris transformiert die erotischen und zugleich humorvollen Zeichnungen von Károly Reich in Textform.[26] In dem teils lukianisch-apuleisch, teils ovidisch inspirierten, spielerisch-epischen Gedicht verliebt sich ein Wollesel in die antiken Nymphen ähnliche Felicia, aber das Mädchen bemerkt den Wollesel, der viel kleiner ist als sie, nicht einmal. Ein außergewöhnlicher weiblicher Kentaur erscheint, der den Esel ermutigt, genauso wie sein Vorgänger, Lucius, Rosen zu essen. Felicia läuft vor dem die Rose nur halb auffressenden, zu einem Ungeheuer verwandelten Esel weg, an diesem Punkt geraten wir in die ovidische Geschichte von Phoebus und Daphne. Die jambische, gereimte Metrik wurde in einem achtzeiligen Einsatz zu einem Hexameter. Devecseri fügte hier eigene Elemente seiner *Metamorphosen*-Übersetzung ein (Ov. *Met.* I, 508–511).[27] Felicia bleibt schließlich auf Bitte des Pferdemädchens stehen und küsst den Wollesel, und so geschieht die Verwandlung zum ersehnten Menschen.

Auf dem Zusammenhang zwischen Verwandlung und Erotik beruht Devecseris einziger Roman, *A meztelen istennő és a vak jövendőmondó* (Die nackte Göttin und der blinde Wahrsager).[28] In dem Roman werden die Kategorien Gott und Mensch, Mann und Frau, Lüstling und Jungfrau spielerisch miteinander verwischt. Die Wurzeln der Geschichte des die badende Pallas Athene erblickenden und deshalb erblindenden Teiresias sind bei Kallimachos zu finden (Call. *Lav. Pall.*).[29] In dem Moment, als Teiresias das Sakrament verletzt, treffen der erotische und religiöse Aspekt aufeinander.[30] Athene, obwohl es ihr keine Freude macht, nimmt Teiresias gezwungenermaßen sein Augenlicht, macht ihn aber zum Wahrsager und verlängert sein Lebensalter (Call. *Lav. Pall.* 119–130).[31] Der

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[25] Devecseri (1974: 626–627).
[26] Reich, Devecseri (1970).
[27] Reich, Devecseri (1970 [ohne Angabe von Seitenzahlen]); Devecseri (1964: 25).
[28] Devecseri (1972).
[29] Devecseri (1943: 72–81).
[30] Krupp (2009: 68).
[31] Devecseri (1943: 81).

Fall wird das Vorbild einer ovidschen Geschichte, des Mythos Aktaions, obwohl dessen Ausgang nicht so rücksichtsvoll ist. In den *Metamorphosen* ist der Anlass der Erblindung Teiresias ein ganz anderer: Hier wird er von Iuno bestraft, nachdem Teiresias ihren erotischen Streit zu Gunsten Jupiters entschied, der Hauptgott dagegen beschenkt ihn als Kompensation mit der Kunst des Wahrsagens und einem langen Leben (Ov. *Met.* III, 316–338). Auch die Reihenfolge der Ereignisse ist eine andere, da die Geschichte Aktaions in den *Metamorphosen* früher passiert, als die von Teiresias: In diesem Fall passt sich Devecseri Ovid an (im Roman zitiert Athene den Fall Aktaions als schon geschehen).[32] Teiresias ist in den *Metamorphosen* das Gegenstück zu Narziss, der Erste von ihnen sieht zwar auf einem Auge nichts, dafür kennt er aber die Zukunft; der Zweite von ihnen kann zwar mit beiden Augen sehen, dafür aber fehlt ihm gerade vollkommen die Fähigkeit der Übersicht über die Geschehnisse.[33]

Devecseris Roman ist außer dem kallimacheischen Ausgangspunkt eng mit Ovid verbunden, er verbindet die beiden Traditionen, und dafür waren kleinere Veränderungen notwendig. Die Verwandlung in eine Frau, und dann wieder in einen Mann durch die Schlangen geschieht auch bei Devecseri, genauso wie bei Ovid. Im lateinischen Text schlug Teiresias beide Schlangen mit seinem Stock: *nam duo magnorum uiridi coeuntia silua / corpora serpentum baculi uiolaverat ictu* (Ov. *Met.* III, 324–325).[34] Devecseris Romanfigur dagegen muss darauf achten, dass er mit seinem Stock zuerst die weibliche, dann nach sieben Jahren die männliche Schlange schlägt.[35] Teiresias steht im Roman zuerst im Dienste von Athene, dann (in eine Frau verwandelt) im Dienste Aphrodites, aber als Frau (Nanno genannt) gerät er mit sich selbst in Konflikt. Nach seiner Rückwandlung geschieht die aus dem Ovid schon bekannte Rechtsprechung, bei der Teiresias Zeus Recht gibt, aber Zeus und Hera kamen mit der Bestrafung und der Beschenkung zu spät.

Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, dass die Verwandlung in Devecseris Werken auf mehreren Ebenen erscheint: zum einen in der stufenweisen Verwandlung des Textkorpus, zum anderen in Devecseris eigenen Werken. Auf der textuellen Ebene stellt sich die Frage nach der Identität des umgekehrten Textes: Als Übersetzer glaubt Devecseri im Prinzip daran, dass sich die Identität des Originaltextes erhalten lässt, aber er hält seine Übersetzungen nie für beendet. Er kommt nicht bei der als ideal angesehenen Variante an, die entstandenen Varianten dokumentieren ein ständiges „Im-Prozess-Sein".

Die Interpretationen der Ovid-Umarbeitungen sind immer zeitgebunden. Devecseri passte die aus der Antike übernommenen mythischen Elemente seinen eigenen literarischen Konzeptionen an. In Devecseris später Lyrik spielen die visuellen Eindrücke sowie die Wirkungen der bildenden Kunst, bzw. das Zusammentreffen des antiken und

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[32] Devecseri (1972: 69).
[33] Krupp (2009: 87).
[34] Übersetzung von Suchier (2019): „Denn er hatte verletzt zwei Leiber gewaltiger Schlangen, / Die sich gepaart im grünen Gebüsch, mit dem Streiche des Stabes."
[35] Devecseri (1972: 167).

zeitgenössischen Horizonts eine wichtige Rolle. Die ovidschen Elemente helfen bei der Nuancierung der Einstellung des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, der Identitätsfragen und des Bild-Text Verhältnisses.

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GÁBOR DEVECSERI A OVIDIOVSKÉ *METAMORFÓZY*

Článek se zabývá prací Gábora Devecseriho (1917–1971), který byl jedním z nejvýznačnějších a nejlepších překladatelů antické literatury v Maďarsku. Zvláštní zájem je věnován ovidiovské tradici: Devecseri vydal svůj překlad *Metamorfóz* v roce 1964. V první části článku je vyložena jeho metodologie: jeho překladatelské postupy jsou inspirovány zejména překlady 19. století. Autorka vychází z rukopisů

a dokumentů (často obsahujících textové varianty překladů) uchovávaných v rukopisné sbírce Petőfiho literárního muzea (Budapešť). V druhé části je zkoumán vliv překladu *Metamorfóz* na Devecseriho techniku psaní poezie a románů. Ovidiovské prvky pomohly Devecserimu především změnit svůj vztah jako autora ke kulturní paměti, k otázkám identity a k interakci mezi fotografií a textem.

Anikó Polgár
Comenius-Universität in Bratislava
aniko.polgar@uniba.sk

ARS MEMORATIVA
THE ART OF MEMORY
IN LATE MIDDLE AGES
AND EARLY MODERN TIMES

MEMORIA, ELOQUENTIA AND *SAPIENTIA* IN JOHN OF SALISBURY'S *METALOGICON**

MANUEL MAÑAS NÚÑEZ

ABSTRACT

John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon* is a defence of logic and its role as an instrument for philosophy, as well as a commented reading of Aristotle's *Organon*. It presents, therefore, a didactic effort, learnt from masters, to help readers to understand the realities perceived by the senses and to obtain true, intellectual and scientific knowledge. Thus, the influence of William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor is revealed: John of Salisbury intends, as do they, to provide a method which will lead to the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom. For this method, memory plays a vital role, acting as a bridge between *sensus* and *ratio*, from sensory perception to rational knowledge.

Keywords: John of Salisbury; rhetoric; memory; knowledge

1. John of Salisbury and the Renaissance of the twelfth century

John of Salisbury was neither a grammarian nor a rhetorician, nor did he write any work on grammar or rhetoric, yet in his works he offers valuable first-hand information on the teaching of the *trivium* in the twelfth-century schools. He was educated in France and attended the Cathedral school of Chartres, where he soaked up its spirit of renewal of learning. His teachers were the most important intellectuals of the time and he was an exceptional witness to the thought and vital transformations of the century; thus it is no surprise that he became an illustrious representative of the Renaissance and humanism of the twelfth century.

Following the so-called "Dark Ages", from the fall of the Western Roman Empire (fifth century) to the start of the economic and cultural revitalisation of the tenth and eleventh centuries, a cultural rebirth was witnessed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries which transformed the face of Western Europe. This cultural rebirth is known as the Renaissance of the twelfth century.[1]

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[1]   Brooke (1998: 398–400).

This cultural renaissance involved the development and improvement of study methods and programmes within a new scholastic framework where reason stands as the best interpreter of reality. Nature, and in general, reality, was still considered to be visible symbols of God's action, and was at this time seen as a rational structure worthy of study, as a rationally organized according to certain laws which made knowledge of the universe possible. A consequence of this revived school activity is the emergence of different centres for inquire into the *artes*, especially grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, including the school of Chartres during the first half of the twelfth century, whose particular field of study may be distinguished by naturalism and humanist spirit: these two aspects, taught and practised in schools, define the rebirth of which we speak.[2]

One of John of Salisbury's great teachers was Bernard of Chartres (died *ca.* 1130), an expert in grammar and logic and a diffuser of Platonism in the West.[3] Bernard is famous for his observation, as told by his disciple John, that modern-day authors compared to ancient ones are like dwarves sitting on the shoulders of giants: they can see more and further ahead, but not because of their own qualities or virtues, but because they are guided and elevated by the gigantic stature of the ancient writers:

> *Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.*
>
> "Bernard of Chartres used to compare us to [puny] dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants. He pointed out that we see more and farther than our predecessors, not because we have keener vision or greater height, but because we are lifted up and borne aloft on their gigantic stature."[4]

Other teachers of importance were Gilbert of Poitiers (1070–1154), who taught dialectic and theology for twenty years at Chartres, and later, from 1137 onwards, in Paris; and Thierry, who taught at Chartres and Paris, where John of Salisbury was his student. Thierry was systematic in his teachings, as he methodically compiled the necessary texts for the study of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* in his work entitled *Heptateuchon*, which clearly refers to the seven liberal arts. In his teaching programme he associates the science of words or *sermocinales* with the science of things, that is, letters with science, convinced that all are necessary to philosophise, or in other words, all are necessary to illuminate the spirit and express one's discoveries: the spirit lights up with the arts of the *quadrivium* and correct, reasonable and elegant expression is achieved through the arts of the *trivium*.[5]

Along with other key figures in the humanistic culture of the twelfth century these scholars were, as will be seen, teachers of John of Salisbury. Perhaps also those who encouraged him to fight against the so-called "Cornificians" (college students who wanted a reduction of courses in the curriculum, undervaluing, for example, rhetoric)[6] inspired his ideal of the totality of knowledge and of the union of sciences, but especially of the arts of speech (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic).

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2   Raña Dafonte (1999: 13–16).
3   Jeauneau (2009: 37–42).
4   Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* III, 4 (ed. by Hall 1991: 116; transl. by McGarry 1955: 167).
5   Lemoine (1998: 65).
6   Delhaye (1988: 53–54).

2. John of Salisbury and humanism

In the works of John of Salisbury, although they are of a philosophical character, a spirited defence of the liberal arts and especially the *trivium* may be found, with the idea that grammar, rhetoric and logic or dialectic constitute the instrument and method to facilitate and carry out rational inquiry. Thus, given the importance attached to the unification of philosophy and *eloquentia* to reach *sapientia* and realising that grammar is essential to achieve this objective, it is not uncommon to consider grammar as the science which, teaching us to speak and write correctly, constitutes the source and support of all liberal arts and, particularly, as the "the cradle of philosophy":

> *Est enim grammatica scientia recte loquendi scribendique, et origo omnium liberalium disciplinarum. Eadem quoque est totius philosophiae cunabulum, et ut ita dixerim totius litteratorii studii altrix prima, quae omnium nascentium de sinu naturae teneritudinem excipit, nutrit infantiam, cuiusque gradus incrementa in philosophia provehit et sedulitate materna omnem philosophantis producit et custodit aetatem. Vnde a primis tam scribendi quam loquendi principiis grammatica appellatur.*
>
> "[It includes] Grammar [which] is 'the science of speaking and writing correctly – the starting point of all liberal studies.' Grammar is the cradle of all philosophy, and in a manner of speaking, the first nurse of the whole study of letters. It takes all of us as tender babes, newly born from nature's bosom. It nurses us in our infancy, and guides our every forward step in philosophy. With motherly care, it fosters and protects the philosopher from the start to the finish [of his pursuits]. It is called 'grammar' from the basic elements of writing and speaking."[7]

Yet, in order to understand the work of John of Salisbury we must place ourselves in his time and trace the outline of his life. Indeed, belonging to the so-called Renaissance of the twelfth century, he rubbed shoulders with the most powerful men and the foremost intellectuals of the time and this led him to become a famous political thinker and an active witness to the main philosophical currents of his time.

In his youth, as he recounts in the second book of the *Metalogicon*, he was educated in France by the best teachers; in 1136 he was already learning logic with Abelard, dialectic with Alberic, grammar with William of Conches, rhetoric with Thierry of Chartres and Peter Helias, and theology with Gilbert of Poitiers:

> *Cum primum adulescens admodum studiorum causa migrassem in Gallias, anno altero postquam illustris rex Anglorum Henricus, leo iustitiae, rebus excessit humanis, contuli me ad Peripateticum Palatinum, qui tunc in Monte Sanctae Genovefae clarus doctor, et admirabilis omnibus praesidebat… Deinde… adhaesi magistro Alberico qui inter caeteros opinatissimus dialecticus enitebat, et erat revera nominalis sectae acerrimus impugnator. Sic ferme toto biennio conversatus in Monte, artis huius praeceptoribus usus sum, Alberico, et magistro Roberto Meludensi… Interim legi plura, nec me unquam paenitebit temporis eius. Postmodum vero Ricardum, cognomento episcopum… secutus sum, et quae ab aliis audieram, ab eo cuncta relegi, et inaudita quaedam ad quadrivium pertinentia, in quo aliquatenus Teutonicum praeaudieram Hardewinum. Relegi quoque rhetoricam, quam prius cum quibusdam aliis a mag-*

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7   Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 13 (ed. by Hall 1991: 32; transl. by McGarry 1955: 37).

istro Theodorico tenuiter auditis paululum intelligebam. Sed eam postmodum a Petro Helia plenius accepi… Reversus itaque in fine triennii reperi magistrum Gilbertum, ipsumque audivi in logicis et divinis, sed nimis cito subtractus est. Successit Rodbertus Pullus, quem vita pariter et scientia commendabant. Deinde me excepit Simon Pexiacensis, fidus lector, sed obtusior disputator. Sed hos duos in solis theologicis habui praeceptores. Sic fere duodennium mihi elapsum est, diversis studiis occupato.

"When, still but a youth, I first journeyed to Gaul for the sake of study, in the year following the death of the illustrious King of the English, Henry [I], 'the Lion of Justice,' I betook myself to the Peripatetic of Pallet, who was then teaching at Mont Ste. Genevieve… After his departure… I became the disciple of Master Alberic, who had a very high reputation as the best of the other dialecticians. Alberic was in fact a most bitter opponent of the Nominalist sect. After thus passing almost two full years at the Mont, I had, as instructors in this art, Alberic and also Master Robert of Melun… I studied under the latter for three years, during which I learned much. Nor will I ever regret the time thus spent. Following this I became a disciple of Richard, known as 'the Bishop'… With Richard, I reviewed all that I had studied under the others, as well as learned certain additional points concerning the Quadrivium, to which I had been previously introduced by Hardewin the German. I also reviewed rhetoric, of which, together with certain other subjects, I had already learned a little in previous studies under Master Theodoric, but of which, as of these, I did not understand a great deal. Later, however, I learned more rhetoric from Peter Helias…. At the end of three years I returned and sought out Master Gilbert, whose disciple I became in dialectical and theological subjects. But all too soon Gilbert was transferred. His successor was Robert Pullen, a man commendable alike for his virtue and his knowledge. Next, Simon of Poissy, a dependable lecturer, but rather dull in disputes, took me as his student. The last-mentioned two [Robert and Simon] only instructed me in theology. I [had] thus spent almost twelve years engaged in various studies."[8]

His mature years were dedicated to administrative labour in the Roman Curia and as secretary, first to Archbishop Theobald and then to his successor Thomas Becket, until the latter was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170. These were years of extended travel and diplomatic missions, although also of exile due to the strong differences of opinion regarding the state of the Church vis-à-vis the monarchy in England between the Archbishop and Henry II. During his final years he dedicated himself to pastoral activity as Bishop of Chartres, where he had once studied.[9]

Thus, a solid humanistic and theological education and his political and courtesan experiences of great intensity and drama supplied him with endless material with which he could reflect, from an intellectual and political perspective, upon scholastic and curial matters.[10] The written result was three works, which apart from reporting his reflections about his own life also represented an authentic philosophical vision of man and his destiny. It would seem that his first work was *Entheticus sive de dogmate philosophorum* (1155), a summary in verse of ancient philosophy and a defence of the *trivium*. And published practically at the same time (1159–1160), composed for many years and with various interruptions, were his two great works: *Policraticus* (The governor), a work of political theory where doctrine is elaborated upon the basis and limits of political power

[8] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* II, 10 (ed. by Hall 1991: 70–72; transl. by McGarry 1955: 95–98).
[9] Jeauneau (2009: 77–80).
[10] O'Daly (2018: 1–24).

and ecclesiastical rights are defended; and *Metalogicon*, a defence of logic and its role as an irreplaceable instrument for philosophy.

It has long been noted that John of Salisbury was a real humanist, a scholar trained at the School of Chartres who, rhetorising philosophy, professed the probabilism of the New Academy.[11] He was seen, therefore, as an eclectic who, without being a true philosopher, contributed, as did Cicero, to the spreading of philosophical thought. From this perspective, it is argued that in his *Metalogicon* there was indeed a defence of logic, but subordinate to *eloquentia*, thus appearing to misinterpret this discipline and somewhat underestimate the role it plays in the field of science by giving it a simple prerequisite value and considering it, along with grammar and rhetoric, as one of the three necessary tools (*trivium*) for science. It is therefore concluded that he had also misread Aristotelian logic itself.

Yet it was a myopic view of John that has now been overcome, thanks to studies carried out by Dal Pra, Luscombe and Wilks, among others, who have argued that the language of the *Metalogicon* displays an eminently philosophical character, and that John of Salisbury, despite having a complex personality, follows a non-systematic line of thought, yet one which is coherent; coherence that could be perceived by the unitary character that he tries to portray in his three main works, taking the *Metalogicon* and the *Policraticus* as two parts of one single work and the *Entheticus* as a poetic appendix.[12] In fact, John wanted to offer his methodological contribution, which in the twelfth century, in light of the great work of Anselm of Aosta, was seen as an unavoidable necessity: to define the method with which to acquire wisdom. For this he could appeal to tools of reason, as he had received in-depth theological training thanks to the teaching of Gilbert of Poitiers; or he could appeal solely to faith, like his friend Bernard of Clairvaux, who distrusted any attempt at fathoming the mysterious divines with reason. The position that John of Salisbury took was different, and highly original: to assign to logic the method, the purpose and the limits of philosophy. And therefore he understands philosophy as *stadium sapientiae*, as the search for wisdom, which is its ultimate aim, but wisdom that will lead to the realisation of human nature, finite or imperfect, that aspires to naturalise the infinite and the perfect:[13]

> … *Philosophia sit studium sapientiae… Nam philosophiae finis, sapientia est.*
> "… Philosophy is 'devotion to wisdom'… For the end of philosophy is wisdom."[14]

3. The defence of logic and the enemy to fight: Cornificius

The *Metalogicon* was created as a defence of logic advocating for the role of logic as an irreplaceable tool for philosophy; and with an enemy to fight against: Cornificius, who,

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[11] Lejeune (2009: 61 and 84).
[12] Cf. Dal Pra (1951); Luscumbe (1984); Wilks (1984b).
[13] Finaldi (2010–2011: 3–6).
[14] Ioh. Saresber. *Policrat.* V, 9 (ed. by Webb 1909: I, 319; transl. by Nederman 1990: 82). There is a new partial edition by Keats-Rohan (1993).

far from being a real adversary must be treated as a mere fictitious and symbolic name. Indeed, Cornificius symbolises the enemies of classical studies, who oppose the efforts required by this literary study and education, especially eloquence, and who are hostile towards any cultural and educational value that the liberal arts may have. This sect of "Cornificians", as defined by John, argues that the study of the arts of *trivium* is useless, as eloquence is given or denied directly by nature. In their mind it is nature itself that equips us with all that is necessary and, in this way, gives us enough reason and capacity to speak, and thus to become eloquent. What is more, these Cornificians argue that the arts of *Trivium*, dealing only with words and language, have very little or even nothing to do with philosophy, whose aim is to investigate not words but realities. This is all clearly explained by Cornificius:

> *Non est ergo ex eius sententia si tamen falsa opinio sententia dicenda est, studendum praeceptis eloquentiae, quoniam eam cunctis natura ministrat aut negat. Si ultro ministrat aut sponte, opera superfluit et diligentia. Si vero negat, inefficax est et inanis… Postremo quid est eloquentiae cum philosophia? Altera enim consistit in verbo, altera sapientiae vias affectat, investigat et circuit, et interdum pro studio efficaciter apprehendit. Plane eloquentiae praecepta sapientiam non conferunt sed nec amorem eius, et saepissime quidem ei obtinendae non conferunt. Res enim philosophia, aut finis eius quae est sapientia quaerit non verba. Ex his itaque liquet, quia praecepta eloquentiae ab operis suis philosophia eliminat.*
> "In the judgment of Cornificius (if a false opinion may be called a judgment), there is no point in studying the rules of eloquence, which is a gift that is either conceded or denied to each individual by nature. Work and diligence are superfluous where nature has spontaneously and gratuitously bestowed eloquence, whereas they are futile and silly where she has refused to grant it… Finally [Cornificius argues], what can eloquence and philosophy possibly have in common? The former relates to language, but the latter seeks after, investigates, and applies itself to learning the ways of wisdom, which it sometimes efficaciously apprehends by its study. Clearly the rules of eloquence confer neither wisdom nor love of wisdom. More often than otherwise, they are not even helpful for the acquisition of wisdom. Philosophy (or wisdom, its object) is concerned not with words, but with facts. From what has been said [if we are to believe Cornificius], it is evident that philosophy eliminates the rules of eloquence from its activities."[15]

Cornificius embodies all of those individuals who exclusively cultivate formal logic and are always faced with dilemmas or disputes of this kind: "if the pig which is taken to the market is led by the man or the rope; or if he who has bought the cape has also bought the hood."[16] Cornificius is the product of teachings by those bad teachers who profess formal and deterministic logic and think that eloquence actually hinders the study of reality. And the worst of all is that Cornificius elected himself to be the master of a group of gullible and ignorant students who, paraphrasing Juvenal, intend on suddenly becoming eminent philosophers, without any effort to study the liberal arts, to become philosophers in a day and, furthermore, to spread around the world the words of their teacher. Indeed, John tells us that any illiterate individual would only need to remain in

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[15] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 6 (ed. by Hall 1991: 22–23; transl. by McGarry 1955: 24–25).
[16] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 3 (ed. by Hall 1991: 16; transl. by the author).

the school for as long as a chick takes to shed its feathers, or the time in which the chick takes to fly from the nest:

> *Fiebant ergo summi repente philosophi. Nam qui illitteratus accesserat, fere non morabatur in scholis ulterius quam eo curriculo temporis quo avium pulli plumescunt. Itaque recentes magistri e scolis, et pulli volucrum e nidis sicut pari tempore morabantur, sic pariter avolabant.*
>
> "Of a sudden, they blossomed forth as great philosophers. Those newly arrived in school, unable to read or write, hardly stayed there any longer than it takes a baby bird to sprout its feathers. Then the new masters, fresh from the schools, and fledglings, just leaving their nests, flew off together, after having stayed about the same length of time in school and nest."[17]

Actually, they are only worried about appearing to be philosophers, and thus, making money and having a comfortable life with their fake wisdom; some entered into convents, but even there they continued to conceal their arrogance beneath the habits of humility; and others, at the height of madness, left for Salerno and Montpellier, and after becoming apprentices with doctors somehow quickly became doctors themselves, in the same way as they had previously become philosophers with one stroke of the pen.[18]

In light of this falsehood, John of Salisbury brings up an indisputable fact: nature has endowed man with reason and language, and this feature is what distinguishes man from other animals.[19] Man, in fact, is a rational animal and this is what allows him to examine reality, to distinguish the regular order that is hidden beneath the reality arranged by nature and, thus, to take action in order to reach happiness and to measure the efficiency of one's actions. But nature also flatters man with the gift of language, of *usus eloquii*, as man needs to express and reveal the results of his rational practice. Hence, reason and language are the genuine human abilities that allow man to carry out his mission for knowledge of reality, ethical actions and, finally, social cooperation, passing on the fruits of his knowledge and actions to other men. For this, as is sustained by the Cornificians, the language and reason that we have acquired as men from nature is not enough, as in fact *eloquence* is needed in order to obtain a fruitful encounter between *ratio* and *verbum.* Indeed, eloquence is highly useful to perfect what nature brings, as it provides us with a simple path, a method. Eloquence, as John says in accordance with Cicero, is the ability to adequately express what the spirit wishes to exhibit, but to be true eloquence it has to be preceded by a study of reality carried out through *ratio*, and then, the correct terms must be found for its expression. The *ordo loquendi*, so as not to fall into vain eloquence, must follow the *ordo legendi* provided by grammar and then adjust to the *ordo rerum*:

> *Est enim eloquentia facultas dicendi commode quod sibi vult animus expediri. Quod enim in abdito cordis est, hoc quodam modo in lucem profert et producit in publicum. Siquidem non est eloquens quisquis loquitur, aut qui quod voluerit utcunque loquitur, sed ille duntaxat qui animi sui arbitrium commode profert.*

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[17] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 3 (ed. by Hall 1991: 16–17; transl. by McGarry 1955: 15).
[18] Raña Dafonte (1999: 20–22).
[19] Finaldi (2010–2011: 9–13).

"What is eloquence but the faculty of appropriate and effective verbal expression? As such, it brings to light and in a way publishes what would otherwise be hidden in the inner recesses of man's consciousness. Not everyone who speaks, nor even one who says what he wants to in some fashion, is eloquent. He alone is eloquent who fittingly and efficaciously expresses himself as he intends."[20]

Following the ancient philosophers John estimates that the study of reality cannot be separated from eloquence, as eloquence helps us to learn and to communicate knowledge learnt through *ratio*. Eloquence is part of human culture and removing it from philosophical studies, as the "Cornificians" did, is a mistake. Eloquence is essential in the training of a true philosopher, the key that opens the way to all knowledge, as he who dominates eloquence is able to dominate any discipline, to be able to correlate perfectly words and realities and to achieve a logical articulation of the speech that provides credibility, argumentative strength and, finally, persuasion.

Therefore, eloquence must be intimately linked to *ratio*. Philosophy and eloquence are closely connected and whoever disregards eloquence also disrupts the order of studies and gives up their chance to obtain knowledge, separates the two key principles that God gave to man in mutual connection, breaks the marriage between Mercury and Philology in clear allusion to the work of Martianus Capella, and finally, becomes a kind of public enemy who undermines the foundations of the human community. Because, as John states:

> *Nam ratio scientiae virtutumque parens, altrix et custos, quae de verbo frequentius concipit, et per verbum numerosius et fructuosius parit, aut omnino sterilis permaneret, aut quidem infecunda, si non conceptionis eius fructum in lucem ederet usus eloquii, et invicem quod sentit prudens agitatio mentis hominibus publicaret. Haec autem est illa dulcis et fructuosa coniugatio rationis et verbi, quae tot egregias genuit urbes, tot conciliavit et foederavit regna, tot univit populos et charitate devinxit, ut hostis omnium publicus merito censeatur quisquis hoc quod ad utilitatem omnium Deus coniunxit, nititur separare. Mercurio philologiam invidet, et ab amplexu Philologiae Mercurium avellit qui eloquentiae praeceptionem a studiis philosophiae eliminate. Et quamvis solam videatur eloquentiam persequi, omnia liberalia studia convellit, omnem totius philosophiae impugnat operam, societatis humanae foedus distrahit, et nullum caritati aut vicissitudini officiorum relinquit locum.*
>
> "Reason would remain utterly barren, or at least would fail to yield a plenteous harvest, if the faculty of speech did not bring to light its feeble conceptions, and communicate the perceptions of the prudent exercise of the human mind. Indeed, it is this delightful and fruitful copulation of reason and speech which has given birth to so many outstanding cities, has made friends and allies of so many kingdoms, and has unified and knit together in bonds of love so many peoples. Whoever tries to 'thrust asunder what God has joined together' for the common good, should rightly be adjudged a public enemy. One who would eliminate the teaching of eloquence from philosophical studies, begrudges Mercury [Eloquence] his possession of Philology, and wrests from Philology's arms her beloved Mercury. Although he may seem to attack eloquence alone, he undermines and uproots all liberal studies, assails the whole structure of philosophy, tears to shreds humanity's social contract, and destroys the means of brotherly charity and reciprocal interchange of services."[21]

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[20] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 7 (ed. by Hall 1991: 24; transl. by McGarry 1955: 26).
[21] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 1 (ed. by Hall 1991: 13; transl. by McGarry 1955: 11).

4. John of Salisbury: *ingenium, sensus, memoria, ratio* and *ars*

The sermocinal arts or *trivium* are therefore essential for all further study. If reason has the natural ability to examine reality with a firm and sincere judgement,[22] the inspection of reality must be carried out using an effective method. And it is precisely the liberal arts, especially those of the *trivium*, issued or created by human reason itself, which enable us to facilitate and implement rational inquiry. Thus, John of Salisbury, employing an epistemology of Aristotelian roots, delimits the steps on the scale of knowledge: we all have innate and vigorous capabilities, introduced by nature into our souls, to investigate reality and this force is *ingenium*; nature stimulates the human *ingenium* through sense perceptions; and then providing and consolidating reason through memory, with the necessary elements to develop a safer and more diligent judgement through the examination of the realities drawn from memories:

> *Excitat* [*natura*] *enim primo ingenium ad res aliquas percipiendas, et cum eas perceperit, deponit quasi in custodia et thesauro memoriae; ratio quae percepta et commendanda vel commendata sunt studio diligenti examinat, et ex natura singulorum de singulis nisi forte labatur in aliquo, verum profert incorruptumque iudicium. Haec tria quidem quasi omnium artium fundamenta et instrumenta natura praemittit. Est autem ingenium ut Isidoro placet vis quaedam animo naturaliter insita, per se valens.*
> "Nature first evokes our natural capacity to perceive things, and then, as it were, deposits these perceptions in the secure treasury of our memory. Reason then examines, with its careful study, those things which have been perceived, and which are to be, or have been, commended to memory's custody. After its scrutiny of their nature, reason pronounces true and accurate judgment concerning each of these (unless, perchance, it slips up in some regard). Nature has provided beforehand these three factors [natural capacity, memory, and reason] as both the foundations and the instruments of all the arts. Natural ability (according to Isidore) is 'an immanent power infused into one's soul by nature.'"[23]

Nature, indeed, provides us with wit, senses, memory and reason. With all this we can have a human experience. But it is reason, with the special help of memory, that stores perceptions and experiences, familiarising itself with them, strengthening those which are profitable and ending up with a method to find out about reality. Human *ratio* devises resources and procedures, choosing those that, from experience, may be considered to be profitable, and stores them in the memory in accordance with their effectiveness: the repeated application of the same procedure in such cases makes reason stronger and leads to the systematising of a set of rules, a method, in short, that gives unity to the multiple experiences and provides us with a shortcut that gives us, "by saving time, the ability to do things that are naturally possible"; this method "shows us a path that will save us time and gives us the ability to do difficult things." In other words, based on innate qualities, uniting reason and memory, exercise and personal activity, we acquire quality or artistic ability.[24] This set of rules that deals with the same single activity produces an "art" or

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[22] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* III, 15.
[23] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 11 (ed. by Hall 1991: 29; transl. by McGarry 1955: 34).
[24] Raña Dafonte (1999: 23).

"rational system" that enables or makes a skill available to man. The arts, therefore, with their starting point being sense perceptions captured by reason, as has been said, have a natural origin:

> *Nam ut dictum est, multi sensus aut etiam unus memoriam unam, multae memoriae experimentum, multa experimenta regulam, multae regulae unam reddiderint artem, ars vero facultatem.*
>
> "Or, as we put it above, many sensations, or sometimes even only one, result in a memory, many memories in an experimental proof, many experimental proofs in a rule, and many rules in an art, which provides scientific skill."[25]

Man therefore created arts to serve as an aid to the *ingenium* of anyone who wish to dedicate themselves to philosophy and to supply them with the tools needed to use language correctly and to carry out successful research on nature. The arts act as a guide so that, after a full training curriculum that tradition has established and perfected, we may attain wisdom.[26] And within this curriculum, the study of the sermocinal arts (*trivium*) or eloquence constitutes the first state, in a sort of science that is clearly designed in the *Entheticus*: one must first study all of the arts of speech, which will provide students with *eloquentia*: grammar, declamation, composition, *elocutio* and speech; then the focus of study would move to philosophy, in three elements:

> *Sed nec apud veteres confunditur ordo legendi,*
> *Namque gradum proprium quaeque decenter habent:*
> *Grammaticam sequitur diasyrtica, synthesis illam,*
> *Lexis eam, rhesis posteriore gradu.* 360
> *His gradibus crescens facundia possidet arcem,*
> *Et varias artes absque labore docet.*
> *Eloquii si quis perfecte noverit artem,*
> *Quodlibet apponas dogma, peritus erit.*
> *Transit ab his tandem studiis operosa iuventus,* 365
> *Pergit et in varias philosophando vias,*
> *Quae tamen ad finem tendunt concorditer unum;*
> *Unum namque caput philosophia gerit.*
> *Rerum naturas scrutantur, quid sit honestum,*
> *Undique proveniat vita beata sibi;* 370
> *Inspiciunt vires et stricti iuris et aequi,*
> *Sanis aut aegris quid medicina valet.*
> *Cum cunctas artes, cum dogmata cuncta peritus*
> *Noverit, imperium pagina sacra tenet.*

> "But with the ancients the order of reading is not confused,
> for everything has its own proper stage:
> diasyrtica follows grammatical, then synthesis,
> then lexis, and in the last stage rhesis.
> By these stages fluency increases until it possesses the citadel,

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[25] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 12 (ed. by Hall 1991: 151; transl. by McGarry 1955: 222).
[26] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* I, 21.

and it teaches without difficulty the various arts.
If anyone should have had a perfect knowledge of the art of eloquence,
he will be skilled in whatever doctrine you may set before him.
The industrious youth passes at last from these studies
and proceeds philosophizing into various paths,
which, however, tend unanimously to one goal:
for Philosophy bears but a single head.
They examine the nature of things, what may be virtuous,
and whence the blessed life will come to them;
they inspect the strength of strict and equitable law
and what medicine can do for the healthy or the sick.
If one should be skilled in all arts and in all doctrines,
the sacred page holds the highest authority."[27]

John here is reformulating and developing the traditional teaching that the arts of the *trivium* are first and grammar is at the head of all elements, followed by rhetoric and dialectic. This union between grammar and dialectic, both belonging to the same discipline, logic, although coinciding in a broader sense with the whole *trivium*, had been taught to John of Salisbury by his teacher William of Conches, yet the approach that both disciplines have in the *Didascalicon* by Hugh of Saint Victor should not be ignored.[28]

5. William of Conches: *intellectus*, *ratio* and *memoria*

Indeed, in his work *Philosophia*,[29] William of Conches analyses, from an anatomical-physiological point of view, the process of knowledge operated by the brain, where experiences perceived by the senses occur successively through three brain cells, or in other words, first through *intellectus*, then *ratio* and finally *memoria*.

Under the skull, William tells us, there are two layers known as *meninges*: the outer layer is harder and is called *dura mater* and the other, closer to the brain, is softer, in order not to cause any damage to it and is called *pia mater*. Beneath these layers we find the brain, defined by Constantine (eleventh):[30] "The brain is a white liquid substance, without blood". Therefore the question arises as to whether it is cold or hot and we claim that it is cold by nature, in such a way that continual movement does not dry it out. On its surface it has three cells: one on the bow, one in the middle and one at the stern. The first is hot and dry and is *visual*, because in it resides the faculty of sight and understanding. It is hot and dry to attract the shapes and colours of things. The middle cell is called *logic*, meaning *rational*, because in it resides the faculty of judgement. What is attracted by the *visual* part is passed on to the middle cell where it is then discerned by the soul. It is warm and wet to conform to the properties of visuals, to distinguish better. The third cell is called *memorial*, because in it the power to retain memory resides. And, what has been discerned in the *logic* cell passes to the *memory* cell through a kind of hole, which

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27 Ioh. Saresber. *Enth. mai.* 357–374 (ed. and transl. by Laarhoven 1987: 127–128).
28 Jaeger (2012).
29 Guil. de Conch. *Phil.* IV, 21, 37–38.
30 Const. Afric. *Pantechni decem libri theorices* I, 10.

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is closed by a small cloth and opens when we wish to memorise something. It is cold and dry to retain information better, as constriction is typical of the cold and the dry.

William of Conches therefore raises the question of how all of this can be proved. The answer, for him, is easy: from injuries sustained in those parts of the brain. Indeed, when examining the reason and memory of an individual of great intelligence the doctors saw that after receiving a wound in one of these three cells the brain lost the strength of that cell but retained the strength of the other two. Therefore, Solinus claims in his *Polyhistor*[31] that a man, after receiving a wound in the *occiput*, became so ignorant of everything that he did not even know his own name.

> *Ergo merito antiqui dixerunt in capite esse sedem sapientiae. In capite enim habent sedem quae faciunt sapientem: intellectus scilicet, ratio et memoria.*
> "They were right to say that wisdom was indeed found in the head. Inside the head, in fact, resides what makes a man wise, namely intellect, reason and memory."[32]

6. Hugh of Saint Victor: *ratio, ingenium* and *memoria*

In the Middle Ages the primary means for gaining wisdom was reading the texts written by men, pagans and Christians, and the Holy Scriptures. And one cannot fully understand or assimilate these texts if one does not possess knowledge of the liberal arts, especially the sermocinal arts, and if the hermeneutical keys to unveil the mysteries contained in the Scriptures are not mastered. Therefore, Hugh of Saint Victor composed, in the second decade of the twelfth century, his work named *Didascalicon*, devoting the first three books to the seven liberal arts and the last three to reading sacred texts. It is, indeed, a work that should have been known and used by John of Salisbury, since, as we shall see, many of his ideas can be found in the *Metalogicon*, which incidentally, we should not forget, is a praise of logic and a reader's guide to the Aristotelian *Organon*.

At the beginning of his career Hugh had spoken from a philosophical and metaphysical perspective about the three powers of the soul and had exalted man as the only living being endowed with reason. Indeed, the first human power is purely vegetative, which gives life to the body and then causes it to grow and survive, with food, and this it shares with other living beings; the second is sensitive, which gives the judgement of sensory perception that is shared with other animals endowed with senses; and the third rests on the strength of mind and reason, exclusive of man. It is with the second power, sensitivity, with which animals endowed with sense can capture the shapes of sensual bodies and retain, for more or less time depending on the ability of the animal in question, images of the perceived sensual shapes. These images are confusing and obscure and, in principle, by combining them in any way, cannot provide any clear meaning; in fact, they cannot even retain in memory all of the images recorded and, if they are forgotten, they cannot be recovered. Reason (*ratio*) is required in order to receive and retain the sensations and images of reality in a clear and orderly manner and to combine them properly and take from them a sense or meaning, both if those things are present or absent as well as if we

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[31] Sol. 1, 110.
[32] Guil. de Conch. *Phil.* IV, 21, 38 (ed. by Albertazzi 2010: 288–289).

are dealing with sensitive or just intelligible things; reason, therefore, which Hugh calls the "soul of divine nature", is essential to interpret memories and to remember rationally; and is what empowers man with knowledge of the real and known, but also the imagined and unknown:

> *Itaque… huic divinae naturae non ea tantum in cognitione sufficiunt, quae subiecta sensibus comprehendit, verum etiam ex sensibilibus imaginatione concepta, et absentibus rebus nomina indere potest, et quod intelligentiae ratione comprehendit, vocabulorum quoque positionibus aperit.*
>
> "And… this divine nature is not content with the knowledge of those things alone which it perceives spread before its senses, but, in addition, it is able to provide even for things removed from it names which imagination has conceived from the sensible world, and it makes known, by arrangements of words, what it has grasped by reason of its understanding."[33]

Hence, without *ratio* knowledge of what we have perceived and memorised is not possible. In order for there to be pure and accurate knowledge of the principles of things there must first be understanding, which is the *intellectibile*; these principles must be perceived (God, ideas, materials and the incorporeal), retained in memory and then understood in order to learn and know about them. On the other hand, memorising what is purely sensory, from the sensations that the exterior prints on the soul from the outside, is a simple process of intellection (*intelligibile*), but not of precise knowledge, as the intelligible is imagination and, in contrast with *intellectibile*, does not lead to pure knowledge:

> *Est igitur, ut apertius dicam,* intellectibile *in nobis id quod est intelligentia,* intelligibile *vero id quod est imaginatio. Intelligentia vero est de solis rerum principiis, id est, Deo, ideis, et hyle, et de incorporeis substantiis, pura certaque cognitio. Imaginatio est memoria sensuum ex corporum reliquiis inhaerentibus animo, principium cognitionis per se nihil certum habens. Sensus est passio animae in corpore ex qualitatibus extra accidentibus.*
>
> "Thus, that I may speak more openly, the *intellectible* in us is what understanding is, whereas the *intelligible* is what imagination is. But understanding is pure and certain knowledge of the sole principles of things – namely, of God, of ideas, and of prime matter, and of incorporeal substances. Imagination, however, is sensuous memory made up of the traces of corporeal objects inhering in the mind; it possesses in itself nothing certain as a source of knowledge. Sensation is what the soul undergoes in the body as a result of qualities which come to it from without."[34]

In this sense, as the good pedagogue that he is, Hugh wants his students to acquire an adequate study method that will lead them to knowledge and wisdom. However, he feels unsatisfied with the students of his time, as the majority of them study, but few are wise. The problem, therefore, lies within the study method and not the application of the students. It is something, as Hugh tells us, that contrasts sharply with what used to happen in antiquity, when some of the disciples of Pythagoras had eagerly studied the liberal arts

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[33] Hugo de St. Vict. *Didasc.* I, 3 (ed. by Buttimer 1939: 9; transl. by Taylor 1961: 50), taken from Boeth. *In Porph. comm. sec.* I, 1.
[34] Hugo de St. Vict. *Didasc.* II, 5 (ed. by Buttimer 1939: 29; transl. by Taylor 1961: 65–66).

that they conserved in their memory and, without the need to consult books, had all the principles and reasons stored in their memory that would allow them to resolve doubts and respond to each specific case that was presented to them. Hugh looks for students like these and, therefore, the training of memory for him is a pre-condition, essential for reading texts and gaining knowledge.[35]

Thus, in *Didascalicon* III, 7 Hugh warns that those who dedicate themselves to this study must be equipped with two basic qualities that are intimately linked together in any study and discipline. On the one hand, they must have *ingenium*, natural talent, which comes from nature, but improves with practice and balanced training, as excessive exercise can be exhausting and weaken this talent; and to improve this *ingenium* there is nothing better than *lectio*, which provides us with the rules and regulations we get from books, and *meditatio*. The second skill that must be possessed by those dedicated to this study is *memoria,* the receptacle to store learning. These two qualities are complementary and if either of them is missing the other cannot reach perfection. Indeed, if we have knowledge but do not know where or how to store it, it is as useless as if we have memory but lack knowledge. *Ingenium* finally finds wisdom, but it is memory which holds on to it:

> *Ingenium invenit et memoria custodit sapientiam.*
> "Aptitude gathers wisdom, memory preserves it."[36]

And so, as Hugh puts forward in the *Didascalicon* III, 11, entitled *On memory*, that the function of *ingenium* or natural talent is to investigate and discover through division, while *memoria* has to conserve information through recollection. In the learning process first it is necessary to *dividere*, then to *colligere* and entrust memory with what has been divided and collected. And this *colligere* implies a selection process, of synthesis and analysis; which really means reducing to a brief and substantial summary, synthesising what has been presented or discussed, finding and analysing the principles or foundations which the issue in question is based upon:

> *Colligere est ea de quibus prolixius vel scriptum vel disputatum est ad brevem quandam et compendiosam summam redigere, quae a maioribus epilogus, id est, brevis recapitulatio supradictorum appellata est. Habet namque omnis tractatio aliquod principium, cui tota rei veritas et vis sententiae innititur, et ad ipsum cuncta alia referuntur. Hoc quaerere et considerare colligere est.*
> "Now 'gathering' is reducing to a brief and compendious outline things which have been written or discussed at some length. The ancients called such an outline an 'epilogue', that is, a short restatement, by headings, of things already said. Now every exposition has some principle upon which the entire truth of the matter and the force of its thought rest, and to this principle everything else is traced back. To look for and consider this principle is to 'gather'."[37]

In the same way, during the learning process, man's memory, which is weak, must try to keep hold of the essential sources of accurate and safe data, having always passed the selection process, synthesis and analysis. This is what man has to store in his "memory

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[35] Illich (2002: 49–50).
[36] Hugo de St. Vict. *Didasc.* III, 7 (ed. by Buttimer 1939: 57; transl. by Taylor 1961: 91).
[37] Hugo de St. Vict. *Didasc.* III, 11 (ed. by Buttimer 1939: 60; transl. by Taylor 1961: 93).

chest", in order to always have this data at hand and to obtain from it, when circumstance requires, the correct conclusions. But we must not just simply store it; as if it is not constantly revised it will disappear and be forgotten. Therefore, Hugh suggests to his disciples that it is not enough to have simply read a lot and to have understood what has been read, yet what is really important is to know how to retain in one's memory what has been read and understood.

> *Debemus ergo in omni doctrina breve aliquid et certum colligere, quod in arcula memoriae recondatur, unde postmodum, cum res exigit, reliqua deriventur… Rogo te, o lector, ne nimium laeteris si multa legeris, sed si multa intellexeris nec tantum intellexeris sed retinere potueris.* "We ought, therefore, in all that we learn, to gather brief and dependable abstracts to be stored in the little chest of the memory, so that later on, when need arises, we can derive everything else from them. … I charge you, then, my student, not to rejoice a great deal because you may have read many things, but because you have been able to retain them."[38]

Being completely convinced of this, Hugh, in one of his works, the *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*,[39] composed *ca.* 1130, encourages his disciples to strengthen and perfect their mnemonic skills through the mental construction of a "treasure chest". Thus, Hugh asks his students to envisage a long journey during which they should mentally place numbers in a staggered, continual manner. For each number a concept or symbol is assigned that will label each number. On one of these numbers or "steps" the rivers of the Bible may be placed; on another, the virtues, or the angels, or the apostles, etc. This exercise consists in mentally visiting these numbers randomly, memorising the *locus* and its content and repeating the process over and over again, after which these visits will become usual. Therefore, when the young student perfectly dominates these places marked by Roman numbers he/she will place the facts of the biblical history within its frame, assigning everything to a time and a place within the series. And, for more advanced readers, Hugh proposed a three-dimensional ark; a space-time matrix made up in the student's mind and modelled on Noah's ark.[40] We are therefore faced with an authentic *artificiosa memoria*, memory training aimed at facilitating the student learning process at different levels of reading and education, and especially at the contemplative penetration of the Scripture, but also creating a spoken or written speech. Hermeneutics and rhetoric, deconstruction and construction shake hands.

Indeed, in the *Didascalicon* he developed a mnemonic method that enabled the discovery of discursive matter; but this method is now refined in *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum* and finally perfected in his *De Archa Noe morali*. In this method memory is seen as *a modus imaginandi domesticus* (an imaginary or mental interior space) whose visual image is the ark and its various compartments, where the speaker or writer may find arguments to develop their subject.[41] In the *Didascalicon* there are a total of four *loci* where arguments are stored: *persona*, *negotium*, *tempus* and *locus*. In *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum* such *loci* are reduced to three: *personae*, *loca* and *tempora*.

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[38] Hugo de St. Vict. *Didasc.* III, 11 (ed. by Buttimer 1939: 60; transl. by Taylor 1961: 94).
[39] Green (1943); Zinn (1974).
[40] Illich (2002: 49–53).
[41] Weiss (2002).

Clearly we are faced with artificial memory, with the invention of a set of mnemonic processes for making a speech, but we are also experiencing a rhetorical evolution of inventive logic of Ciceronian tradition, the *Topica inventionis*.[42]

7. John of Salisbury: memory and knowledge

John, as he states in the seventh book of his *Policraticus*, is convinced that certainty is the starting point and the central pillar of philosophy, and therefore, moving away from scepticism and towards Academic probabilism defends the certainty of knowledge, at least in certain issues, while stating that in doubtful matters we must show caution and issue only provisional, probable and credible allegations.[43] Thus, once the possibility of knowledge has been accepted what remains is to expose it to this theory. Earlier, in the first book of his *Metalogicon*, in the texts previously discussed, John had said that nature provides us with wit, senses, memory and reason to get to know the sensitive and supersensitive reality. Now, in his fourth book, which analyses the logical works of Aristotle, he delves deeper into the question of human knowledge and outlines his theory of degrees of knowledge, where, as will be seen, we catch a glimpse of influences from the lessons learnt from his teachers and, in particular, the doctrines of William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor.

Indeed, John of Salisbury insists on the idea that human knowledge stems from the experience of the realities perceived by the senses, but, thanks to the proper intellectual activity of man, this sensitive knowledge can climb a higher step and become intellectual knowledge, that is, go beyond the knowledge of sensitive realities to reach super-sensitive knowledge. In this process various agents play a role, such as sensation, imagination, reason and intellect, as the ultimate goal of knowledge is none other than the acquisition of wisdom and truth.

Therefore, the first step to knowledge is sense (*sensus*), sensitive perception, which, according to Aristotle,[44] is an innate ability to distinguish and evaluate realities; if this *sensus* is missing there is almost no possibility of knowledge. This sensitive perception is a physical shock resulting from certain realities that are on the outside and that shake the body, carrying that sensation to the soul. And, once again following in the footsteps of Aristotle and Chalcidius, John believes that sensitive perception (*sensus*) is more a power of the soul than a sense of the body, despite this power of the soul to form judgement about realities being stimulated by bodily sensations. As perceived by realities, the soul deposits and keeps inside images of these realities.[45] And this is how, by retaining these images and reviewing them repeatedly, the *sensus* creates for itself the kind of treasure that is memory:

> *Nam cum sensus secundum Aristotilem sit naturalis potentia indicativa rerum, aut omnino non est, aut vix est cognitio, deficiente sensu… Est autem sensus ut Chalcidio placet passio corporis ex quibusdam extra positis et varie pulsantibus corpus, usque ad animam com-*

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42 Domínguez (2004: 40–41).
43 Raña Dafonte (1999: 32–33).
44 Arist. *An. post.* II, 19, 99b35.
45 Carruthers (2008: 142–143).

means… Aristotiles autem sensum potius vim animae asserit, quam corporis passionem, sed haec eadem vis ut iudicium suum de rebus formet, passionibus excitatur. Et quia res percipit, earundem apud se deponit imagines, quarum retentione et frequenti revolutione quasi thesaurum memoriae sibi format.

"As sensation is, according to Aristotle, 'an innate power that discriminates things', no or very little knowledge can exist independently of it… According to Chalcidius, sensation is 'a bodily state of being affected by action, a state which is induced by things that are extrinsic and that make an impression on the body in various ways, a state which makes its way even to the conscious soul'… But Aristotle asserts that sensation is a power of the soul, rather than a [mere] bodily state of passive receptivity. However, Aristotle admits that in order for this power to form an estimation of things, 'it must be excited by a [bodily] state of being affected by action'. As it perceives things, our soul stores up their images within itself, and in the process of retaining and often recalling them [to mind], builds up for itself a sort of treasury of the memory."[46]

The second stage of sensitive knowledge would be imagination (*imaginatio*), which comes to life from the repetition in the mind of images received from realities. And this imagination is not only able to remember those things observed, but also, thanks to its liveliness, its cognitive process progresses and it forms original models of the observed:

Dum vero rerum volvit imagines, nascitur imaginatio, quae non modo perceptorum recordatur, sed ad eorum exempla conformanda sui vivacitate progreditur.

"And as it mentally revolves the images of [these] things, there arises imagination, which proceeds beyond the [mere] recollection of previous perceptions, to fashion, by its own [creative] activity, other representations similar to these."[47]

Hence, it is proven that for John of Salisbury imagination is one step higher than sensation, as while sense (*sensus*) only captures images from realities and stores them in the "memory deposit", imagination does not need to have these realities present, but can directly access them from the *thesaurus memoriae*. Imagination, therefore, is not restricted to things which are present, but can also recall the absent, through evoking memories stored from realities. Imagination is born through the sensations that have rooted themselves in the brain thanks to encouragement from memory.

Imaginatio itaque a radice sensuum per memoriae fomitem oritur.

"Imagination, accordingly, is the offspring of sensation. And it is nourished and fostered by memory."[48]

So if sense (*sensus*) first represents a sensitive judgment, perceiving in the here and now a certain colour, a temperature or a body, at a higher level there is also a second sensitive judgement, which is the imagination, like when something perceived and stored in the memory is declared to be of one or another quality, thus carrying out a judgement about the future or the distant. These first and second judgements are called opinions,

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[46] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 9 (ed. by Hall 1991: 147–148; transl. by McGarry 1955: 216–217).
[47] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 9 (ed. by Hall 1991: 148; transl. by McGarry 1955: 217).
[48] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 10 (ed. by Hall 1991: 148–149; transl. by McGarry 1955: 218).

which can be true or false; but in order for these views to reach the category of truth prudence must play a role, which ultimately is that which gets stronger and becomes science. For John, it is clear that from sensitive perception comes the imagination; and that from the two of them opinion emerges; and from opinion comes prudence, which develops and makes itself a science; therefore, science, after all, takes its origin from sensitive perception. In fact, many sensitive perceptions, or even just one, as has been explained by John, produce a memory; many memories, a fact proven by experience; numerous facts proven by experience, a rule; many rules, an art; and an art, a faculty or science.[49]

> *Ex his patet quod cum de sensu imaginatio, et ex his duobus opinio, et ex opinione prudentia nascatur, quae in scientiam convalescit, [quod] scientia de sensu trahit originem. Nam ut dictum est, multi sensus aut etiam unus memoriam unam, multae memoriae experimentum, multa experimenta regulam, multae regulae unam reddiderunt artem, ars vero facultatem.*
> "Since sensation gives birth to imagination, and these two to opinion, and opinion to prudence, which grows to the maturity of scientific knowledge, it is evident that sensation is the progenitor of science. Or, as we put it above, many sensations, or sometimes even only one, result in a memory, many memories in an experimental proof, many experimental proofs in a rule, and many rules in an art, which provides scientific skill."[50]

The next level on the scale of knowledge is reason (*ratio*), a spiritual power, aware of corporal and spiritual realities, which strive to set aside the deceptions of the senses and opinions and, thanks to its own energy, can see reality more clearly, understand it more firmly and examine it with a safer judgement.[51] *Ratio* progresses from the known to the unknown and even sees the mysteries of truth.[52] Reason is a mental power and activity that does not occur in other animals, only in men, reflecting therefore the divine spirit in humans, as it is an exclusive heritage of man, not the other living beings, to be able to overcome all sensitive perceptions and judgement with reason, and thus, to examine incorporeal and spiritual realities. Reason, therefore, is at a higher level than sense (*sensus*) and imagination (*imaginatio*), because it is this that, located at the top of the head (as William of Conches already said) between the imagination and memory cells, examines and controls from a kind of watchtower, the judgements of the senses and the imagination:

> *Et quia sensuum examinatrix est qui ob fallendi consuetudinem possunt esse suspecti, natura optima parens omnium universos sensus locans in capite, velut quemdam senatum in Capitolio animae rationem quasi dominam in arce capitis statuit, mediam quidem sedem tribuens inter cellam phantasticam et memorialem, ut velut e specula sensuum et imaginationum possit examinare iudicia.*
> "Since reason examines our sensations, which, because they are wont to deceive us, are subject to suspicion, mother nature, the very considerate parent of all [that exists], has made our head the seat of all sensation, in which citadel she has enthroned reason as queen. In other words, reason serves as a sort of supreme senate in the soul's Capitoline Hill, where

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49 Bloch (2015).
50 Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 12 (ed. by Hall 1991: 150–151; transl. by McGarry 1955: 222).
51 Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 15.
52 Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 16.

it is centrally situated between the chambers of imagination and memory, so that from its watchtower, it may pass upon the judgments of sensation and imagination."[53]

Above reason itself is where *intellectus* can be found, "the supreme power of the soul that not only sees the humane but also has in its power the divine causes of all reasons that it can perceive according to their nature."[54] Hence, what reason has investigated and discovered intellect understands, leading, finally, to *sapientia*.

And following this distinction between sensation and thought, between sensory knowledge and intellectual knowledge, in his *Metalogicon*, John of Salisbury concludes by addressing the real goal of rational and intellectual knowledge: The truth. And the means of getting to this truth are basically judgement or *vera opinio* and true statement (*vera locutio*). In other words, if we understand a reality for how it really is then the opinion which we have of it is true; and if what we say about that reality accurately corresponds to it and represents it with precision, then the expression or statement is true:

> *Si enim res ut se habet comprehenditur vera opinio est, si sic verbo exponitur, est vera locutio.* "An opinion is true if it perceives things as they actually are. Speech is true if it presents things as they really are."[55]

In effect, we must avoid false realities, those which do not represent how they really should be, as these realities will lead us to false opinions and false statements. Therefore, he who wishes to know everything and to always know the truth must abide by true realities, opinions and statements. Only God is capable of knowing everything in its truth, as man, despite his efforts to reach this true knowledge, is prone to error and is not always correct.[56] In fact, there is a real correspondence and interaction between reason and the light of the mind. If reason were to be removed then the truth would be unattainable, in the same way that if truth were eliminated then reason would not be of any use to us.[57]

8. Conclusions

We must not forget that the *Metalogicon* is a defence of logic and its role as an indispensable instrument for philosophy, but also a reader's guide to the Aristotelian *Organon*. It is well written with a didactic eagerness, learnt from teachers, to help readers understand the realities perceived by the senses and reach intellectual, scientific and true knowledge. The influence, therefore, of William of Conches and Hugh of St. Victor is revealed: John of Salisbury aims, as do they, to provide a method that can be used to acquire knowledge and wisdom. In that method memory plays a crucial role, working as a bridge to connect *sensus* to *ratio*, to go from sensory perception to rational knowledge.

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[53] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 17 (ed. by Hall 1991: 155; transl. by McGarry 1955: 229).
[54] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 19 (ed. by Hall 1991: 156; transl. by the author): *Est itaque intellectus suprema vis spiritualis naturae, quae humana contuens et divina penes se causas habet omnium rationum, naturaliter sibi perceptibilium.*
[55] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 33 (ed. by Hall 1991: 170; transl. by McGarry 1955: 254).
[56] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 36.
[57] Ioh. Saresber. *Met.* IV, 39; Raña Dafonte (1999: 36–39).

We must also remember that the fourth book of the *Metalogicon* is a real commentary of the *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics* by Aristotle. Hence, Salisbury's entire knowledge theory, in which the *sensus*, *memoria*, *imaginatio*, *ratio* and *intellectus* are involved in order to reach *sapientia* and *veritas*, is nothing more than a commentary; expanded, broadened and deepened, of a particular passage from the *Posterior Analytics* (II, 19) by Aristotle, in which Aristotle analyses the apprehension of principles. He establishes that principles are not given at birth but must be acquired; and to acquire them one must possess a faculty or power (δύναμις), but this power must not be superior in accuracy to those principles. This authority or power, says Aristotle, seems to occur in all living beings, which all have an innate ability to distinguish, and this power is called sense or sensation (*sensus*). All animals have sense, but only some are able to make the sensation persist. Consequently, the animals which do not possess this sensory persistence do not possess any kind of knowledge apart from sense. On the contrary, those animals which are able to keep a sensation, after sense, will conserve that sensation in the soul. And when many sensations of this kind arise there may be distinction or difference (διαφορά), in such a way that for some sensations a concept appears (λόγος), from the persistence of these things. And this is how, according to Aristotle, memory comes from sense/sensation (*sensus*); and from the repeated memory of the same thing, experience.[58]

We note, therefore, that John of Salisbury's doctrine stems from Aristotle's thesis, although enriched by his experience of the contributions of William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor.

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58 Arist. *An. post.* II, 19, 99b–100a.

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MEMORIA, ELOQUENTIA A *SAPIENTIA*
V *METALOGICU* JANA ZE SALISBURY

Metalogicon Jana ze Salisbury je obhajobou logiky a její role jako filosofického nástroje a také komentovanou četbou Aristotelova *Organa*. Vyznačuje se tedy didaktickou snahou, s níž se Jan seznámil u starších autorit, pomoci čtenářům pochopit skutečnosti vnímané smysly a získat pravdivé, rozumové a vědecké poznání. To prozrazuje vliv Viléma z Conches a Huga ze Svatého Viktora: stejně jako oni Jan ze Salisbury zamýšlí poskytnout metodu, která povede k získání poznání a moudrosti. Zásadní roli pro tuto metodu hraje paměť, protože má úlohu mostu mezi *sensus* a *ratio*, od smyslového vnímání k rozumovému poznání.

Manuel Mañas Núñez
Universidad de Extremadura, Cáceres
mmanas@unex.es

THE GOOD NEIGHBORS:
WORDS AND IMAGES IN THE MS. 3368
OF THE SAINTE-GENEVIÈVE LIBRARY IN PARIS

ANDREA TORRE

ABSTRACT

The essay aims to explore some historical-conceptual junctures of the Early Modern literary culture, starting from the perspective of the meeting and interaction between words and images in the physical space of a manuscript and in the conceptual space of a mnemotechnical treatise. Therefore the article describes a richly illustrated manuscript of the Parisian library of Sainte-Geneviève (ms. 3368), which contains an Italian treatise on the art of memory from the mid-15th century. The semiotic, rhetorical and cultural strategies mobilized by the physical co-presence of a text and its figurative translation represent in fact the core of every mnemonic process. The illustrations visualize the result of the associative process that enables remembrance, whilst the text follows and breaks down the process in a linear way, normally mentioning the *res memorandae* and then the image that has to be visualized in the mind.

Keywords: illustrated manuscript; art of memory; words and images interaction; Italian rhetoric

'So I began to move my memories, to place them round the cell, in the cracks of the floor, on the rustly handle of the slop bucket. By rights, such a small room could not serve the purpose. But I gave each spot a meaning, and as I populated it with the things I have been given to remember, the cell began to grow. It was like pushing the walls outwards with my hands. Now it has expanded to the horizon. To me, it is as grand as a power station.'

Hari Kunzru, *Memory Palace*

The semiotic, rhetorical and cultural strategies mobilized by the physical co-presence of a text and its figurative translation represent the core of every mnemonic process. Since the ancient times but more intensively starting from the Middle Ages, organizing and educating memory means representing it concretely through mental structures which are preshaped by our experiences.[1] For this reason, mnemonists turn to the topography

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[1] On the tradition of the art of memory see: Yates (1966); Rossi (1983); De la Flor (1988); Carruthers (1990); Coleman (1992); Carruthers (1998); Draaisma (2000); Bolzoni (2001); Antoine (2002); Assmann (2002); Berns (2003); Bolzoni (2004); Merino Jerez (2007); Busse Berger, Rossi (2009).

and architecture of the real world in order to go through a mental space. The relationship between real spaces and interior spatiality is dialectic. In fact, the introjection of the topography and architecture of the real world evokes a rationalized mental space and leads to a representation of memory as an orderly and measured place. On the other side, the mnemonic techniques lead to a more geometric and abstract perception and conceptualization of the real space:

> *Ma se averrà che la natura o l'arte quivi non abbia operato di maniera che si conoscano i luoghi a bastanza, imàginatene alcuno di quelle cose che hai vedute: come sarebbe altare, camera, o cosa tale. E se anco non sarà conceduto ad alcuno di poter discorrere e veder tutte le cose di dentro, a guisa di diligente architetto avertisca la varietà delle magioni e de i luoghi.*[2]
> 'If nature or art do not allow us to reach a sufficient knowledge of the real places, we need to create some imaginary places starting from the things we have seen: for example, an altar, a room, etc. And if we do not manage to see all the things present at one place, like a diligent architect we have to take into consideration the variety of houses and places.'

In the texts of art of memory we find a sort of canonical image of *locus mnemonicus*, which has mainly an architectonic design and constitutes a discriminating factor both for those who need to create such places *ex novo* as well as for those who only need to select them among already existing places. In the same way as 'the diligent architect' – mentioned in the mnemotechnical treatise of Lodovico Dolce – traces the outline of a building in his mind, starting from the vision of several existing constructions or from the study of graphic design, a detailed conservation of the variety of each building space allows us for a plurality of solutions in the construction of the mnemonic place. In both cases, the writing of the space has necessarily to take into consideration the memories in order to characterize them in significant units and reassemble them in a new syntagmatic sequence. It is namely one of the main authors of *ars memoriae* of the sixteenth century, Giulio Camillo with his *Discorso sopra Hermogene* (Speech about Hermogen), who makes a comparison between the writing of literary texts and the design of buildings, and outlines the fact that in both cases the real construction of a space or of a text starts with the preparation of a mental model:

> *Sì come l'architetto, non con sana mente si condurrebbe a fabricar alcun edificio con le pietre, ed altri semplici, se prima nella mente non avesse con belli e dotti pensieri fatta una mental fabrica: ad imitazion di cui, di fuori esercitasse le mani. Così di nuovo consiglio è da giudicare quello componitore, il quale a caso si dà a mettere insieme le parole, ed altri ornamenti, senza regger lo stile, secondo alcuna forma prima collocatasi nella mente.*[3]
> 'In the same way as an architect would not erect any building with stones and other components, if he had not done in his mind with nice and erudite thoughts a mental factory by imitating the work done by hands in the reality; so it is to be considered as weak that writer who starts writing his speech without supporting his style with a form or idea that he had put in his mind well in advance.'

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[2] Dolce (2001: 67).
[3] Camillo Delminio (1580: 111).

In fact the rhetoric dimension of memory, characteristic of Greek sophistry and Latin oratory, underlines the principle of order as the cornerstone of its own dogmatic reflection, a principle that oversees the composition of well-defined places of memory and the creation – and management – of logical links connecting all these virtual spaces of the mind in a network of relationships which, in many aspects, can be compared to the syntax of linguistic discourse.

Starting from this point of view, I would like to introduce an anonymous manuscript of *ars memoriae* which supplies a good example for the mnemonic definition of space and for a productive cooperation between words and images. Here words and images become good neighbors and cooperate to build the complex rhetorical and cognitive mechanisms at work in an illustrated manuscript book.

The document is written in vernacular Italian, it is currently in the Parisian library of Saint Geneviève (ms. 3368) and most probably dates back to the fifteenth century.[4] Some linguistic characteristics make us think that the author could be from Venice, even if the most interesting aspect in this manuscript is not the textual component, which is simply an invitation to continuous exercise and a vulgarisation of the main classical rules about local memory (the straightforward paratactic structure of the treatise proceeds from the rules of *loci* [ff. 5v–6r] through to the twenty rules relevant to *imagines* [ff. 7r–v]), that we can find in many other mnemotechnical text of the fifteenth century. For example, we have many parallels with the Quattrocento Latin treatise of Jacopo Ragone, as stated by Sabine Seelbach.[5] Most probably Ragone is also the *misser Iacomo* from whose work the anonymous author/compiler of the manuscript states to draw the one hundred examples of *loci* listed on folii 2v–3v (*da misser Iacomo vi l'[h]o tolti*, 'I have taken them from miser Iacomo'). This identification is supported by the frequent parallels between the manuscript and Ragone's Latin text, to the extent that we could hypothesize a rewriting of his *Regulae*, if not a *volgarizzamento* proper. In the works of both Ragone and the anonymous, the technical aspect of *ars memoriae* largely dominates over the theoretical component, in line with a trend that is typical of fifteenth-century treatises, as argued by Paolo Rossi.[6] This art of memory is aimed at practical rather than at speculative activities: it offers a set of rules meant to be applied to the most diverse facets of material life. As a consequence, the number and range of examples largely outweighs the concise statement of general principles. The most significant difference between Ragone's treatise and the text transmitted by the manuscript concerns the choice of examples from the rule to memorize *graduati nomi* (literally names accompanied by a grade or title, *cariche*) on (f. 22r and ff.), examples which in most cases seem to attest to a direct interest in the institutions and administrative roles of the Republic of Venice.

The pragmatic dimension of this manuscript depends also by the original, constant and constitutive presence of illustrations, which are not only more numerous but also significantly less abstract and schematic than the ones commonly found in the tradition of art of memory. The hybrid nature of the manuscript unveils the inadequacy of the simple text (the *figura literale*, 'the verbal figure', as stated by the author) to give a complete

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[4]   For an anastatic and commentated edition of the Parisian manuscript see Pich, Torre 2017 (with essays of Federica Pich, Andrea Torre, Sabine Seelbach, Sara Shroukh, Federica Toniolo).
[5]   Seelbach (2017: 167–182).
[6]   Rossi (1983: 43–46).
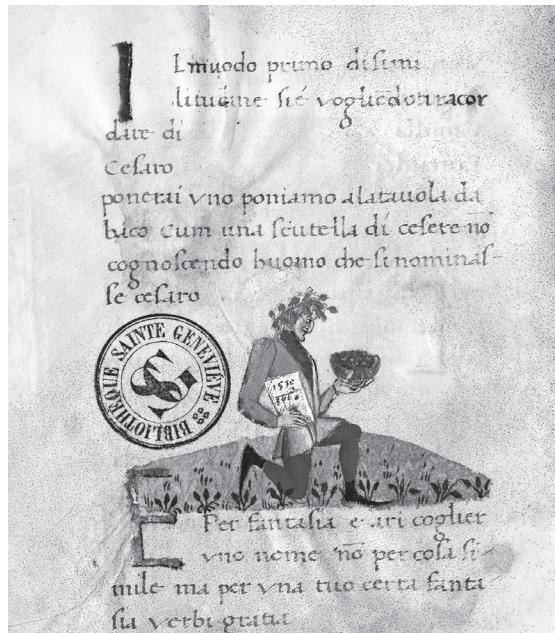
Fig. 1: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, c. 14v.
© Réserve de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.

definition of artificial memory without the participation of a visible image (the *aparente imagine*). The images of memory 'designed' in the text are already virtually iconic, in the sense that, despite adopting the linear and temporal order of verbal exposition, they condense the abstract principles of the *ars* in spatial articulations, which are then ready to become mental images in the mind of the reader-disciple, as well as concrete images on the page, in the form of the illustrations accompanying the text. In other words, a virtually ekphrastic component can be detected in the words that prescribe the construction of a memory image. The increasing complexity of the rules and the processes they involve is clearly reflected in the growing complexity of the illustrations. In fact, the illustration makes visible the result of the association process which enables the creation of memories. Each rule presented in the text finds its direct figurative translation and explanation in the image that always accompanies it.

Thanks to this didactic dimension the treatise can be considered as a textbook for the instruction of a person closely affiliated to the author, maybe the addressee of the treatise. Each image is then built according to the rules of composition of the images of memory that traditionally: (1) supply the most essential elements of an image; (2) create striking relationships among the elements of an image; and (3) collocate the elements of the image in an animated scene. In order to be didactically useful, illustrations must embody and display the rules they build on in a clear way. In this sense, their effectiveness is essential both to their construction *per se* (they should be effective *as* good memory images) and to their impact on the reader-viewer-disciple, who must be captured by the vividness of the specific figures and at the same time be enabled to single out the mnemonic pattern
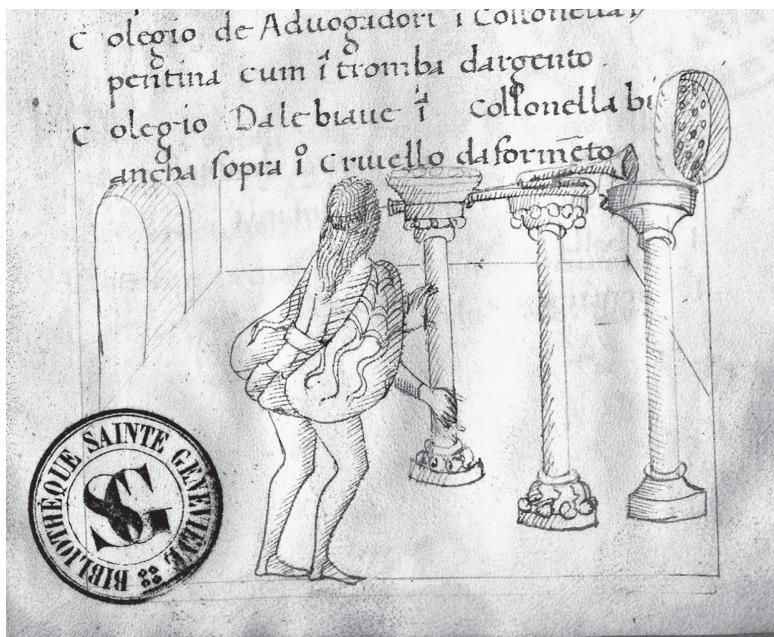
Fig. 2: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, c. 24v.
© Réserve de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.

around which the image is built. The obsessive presence of human beings among the illustrations meets all these compositional requirements. The human body is a convenient place where a single *res memoranda* or a set of mnemonic images can be placed; at the same time it is the main and most efficient tool to represent a mnemonic content or to activate the necessary logical connections that allow the creation of memories: as well as individual body parts, memories and images of memory are intertwined with each other. Each morphological element (if the body is whole or partial, dressed or naked, static or in action, real or phantastic, alone or in relation with other human beings) and each semantic attribute (gestural expressiveness, physical characteristics, actions) allow us to consider the illustrations as textual spaces to be read or on which we can write. For example, the **Fig. 1** illustrates the sentence *Cesare al luogo della tavola d'abaco* ('Caesar at the place of the abacus tablet', f. 12v) and exemplifies the so-called *modus similitudinis*, here based on the similarity between the word *cerese* and the name *Cesare*; the *cerese* are evoked by the cup of cherries, while the abacus stands for the *locus* number 10.

The phenomena of constructing meaning and message, that take place in the passage from the text to the image and vice versa, guide also the reading of the work and mould it, constituting in themselves the case of a particularly complex form of reception. Furthermore, the human body is the most obvious and spontaneous image through which we can activate all the energy necessary to improve our natural strength of memory. This iconographic model enables a more natural empathy between mnemonist and mnemonic image and support the specific aim of our treatise which is to explain how a memory system works. The didactic purpose of the treatise is furthermore made clear through

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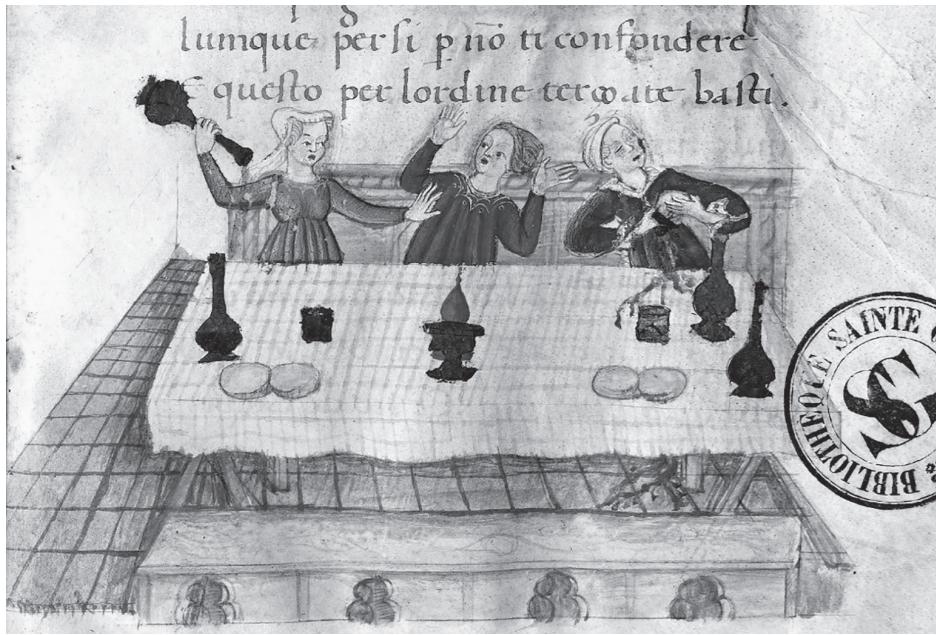
Fig. 3: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, c. 12r.
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the image of the real learning subject to whom the author addresses his speech. On page 24v (**Fig. 2**), for example, we can see a man observing three columns, and on the top of them there are three mnemonic notes (which is what the text is talking about); the man is showing us his back, and his posture indicates how carefully he is looking at the columns, presenting himself as a symbol of the concept of concentration, if not a kind of portrait of the reader inserted in the page of the book. The man seems to remain outside the illustrated scene of memory and this underlines the visual relationship which should bind the mnemonist with his own images of memory.

The iconographic theme of the human body represents a primary mnemonic unit in our treatise but it is not always as an autonomous unit; on the contrary, it is very often integrated in a more structured syntactical system, which can be realized by simply placing side by side human figures, by creating dynamic relationships among them, or by arranging them in a syntagmatic structure (for example, the order given by the dis-position of persons around a table) (**Fig. 3**). Here is the image of memory that should help the memorization of a sequence of three female names, embodied in three figures interacting surprisingly and violently: a flask thrown over, a knife and blood from the chest. If needed, for example due to a higher number of mnemonic images, other figures could be placed on the empty bench on the other side of the table, but they should not be made to perform any kind of possible interaction with the figures sitting on the opposite side of the table, in order to avoid potential confusion.

The most recurring and interesting example is given by the disposition of several persons inside an architectural scene designed according to a perspective order, which

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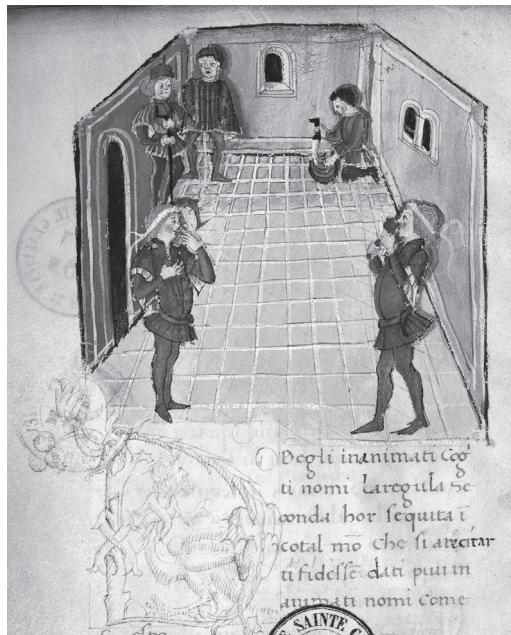
Fig. 4: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, c. 8v.
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makes the four corners of the room more easily intelligible in the three-dimensionality typical of a mnemonic container (**Fig. 4**). The way the composition of the image is made depends on its structural function, or on a heuristic function.[7] The reading of each room has to be done circularly from left to right, starting from the foreground figures to the ones in the background, that is to say according to procedures of observation of a perspective space, where the movement of the eyes goes from the access point to the exit point of the picture. This architectonic order characterizes the art of memory from Cicero's house of memory to the rooms of memory described in the Jacobean England by Robert Fludd and John Willis.[8]

Robert Fludd, for example, built the last big Theater of Memory in a period which was ready to remove the Renaissance imagery in favour of the scientific and logical method. His system of memory combines the mnemonic representation of virtues and vices of the Middle Age with the classical system of placing the image of things and persons in real spaces; but the most interesting aspect of Fludd's *ars memoriae* is the typology of memory place he chooses for his project of memorization of the real world: i.e., the stage (**Fig. 5–7**).[9] The illustrations represent a stage developed in perspective and characterized

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[7] See Carruthers (2010).

[8] On the connection between architecture and art of memory in the early modern see: Carpo (1998); Kuwakino (2011).

[9] See Yates (1969: 89): 'The evidence of various kinds collected in this book all points to the Theatre of the World as the "Idea" of the Globe Theatre. To the cosmic meanings of the ancient theatre, with its plan based on the triangulations within zodiac, was added the religious meanings of the theatre as a temple, and the related religious and cosmic meanings of the Renaissance church. The Globe

by three to five doors.[10] All the doors can be assembled on the central wall or displayed along the three walls of the scene. The images of memory, like actors, play on the stage. The point of view of this scene of memory arises from the auditorium and reduces the stage to a room of memory, where imaginary characters are acting thanks to the performing power of the theatrical practice. The illustrations that accompany Fludd's text show that the architectonic peculiarity of the stage is linked to the performing dimension of the mnemonic act. As we can see, the illustration of Fludd's stage contains also a chessboard floor, which has been introduced by the author for specific reasons. The mnemotechnic tradition – as confirmed by Lodovico Dolce's treatise – very often resorted to the structural order and logical mechanism of chess, in order to give a systematic nature to the planning of mental spaces and accuracy to the mnemonic rules:

> Nel giuoco de gli scacchi […] si fanno una parte neri un'altra bianchi, variandoli per lo scacchiere. […] e quando vorrai ricordarti il giuoco, per ciascun tratto ripon la sua imagine nel suo luoco, in guisa che se'l rocco bianco leverà il nero fingerai nelle tue imagini che un bianco parimente levi un nero. Ma con le regole dette di sopra potrai raccordarti agevolmente di qualunque cosa.[11]
> 'The players in the game of chess are […] black and white, located on different parts of the chessboard. […] And when you wish to remember the game, for each part of it put its image in its own place so that in case the white tower eats the black one, you will pretend in your images that a white replaces a black one. Following these rules, you will be able to easily remember everything.'

A specific geometric composition of the stage offers to actors, chessplayers and mnemonists important points of reference for the management of his presence on the stage, at the same way the order perceived by the spectator enables the correct comprehension of the drama and supplies a mental model of ordered place. It is not by chance that such expedient was used also by the illustrator of Sainte-Geneviève manuscript (**Fig. 8**). These architectonic scenes have to be remembered in themselves and according to their content in the same way as the bodies which live in them. Every image of memory is considered as an action carried out by human and animal forms (real or virtual but always characterized by a sort of movement) inside an architectural scene that is harmoniously designed according to a strict perspective order. It is this order in turn that makes the four corners of the room, *loci* topically created to house the images of memory, more easily intelligible in the three-dimensionality typical of a mnemonic container. In this way the spatial depth, that does not allow the image to be reduced to a diagram, designs a space which can be both real and imaginary; and at the same time, it offers a visual representation of the metaphor of memory as a storage mechanism (*thesaurus*).

Theatre was a magical theatre, a cosmic theatre, a religious theatre, an actors' theatre, designed to give fullest support to the voices and the gestures of the players as they enacted the drama of the life of man within the Theatre of the World. These meanings might not have been apparent to all, but they would have been known to the initiated. His theatre would have been for Shakespeare the pattern of the universe, the idea of the Macrocosm, the world stage on which the Microcosm acted his parts. All the world's a stage. The words are in a real sense the clue to the Globe Theatre.'

[10] Fludd (1619: 55): 'Theatre is the place where all the actions of words, sentences and details of a speech or of some topics are displayed, exactly as in a public theatre where comedies and tragedies are played.'
[11] Dolce (2001: 190–191). On this mnemonic technique see: Di Lorenzo (1973); Murgia (2013).
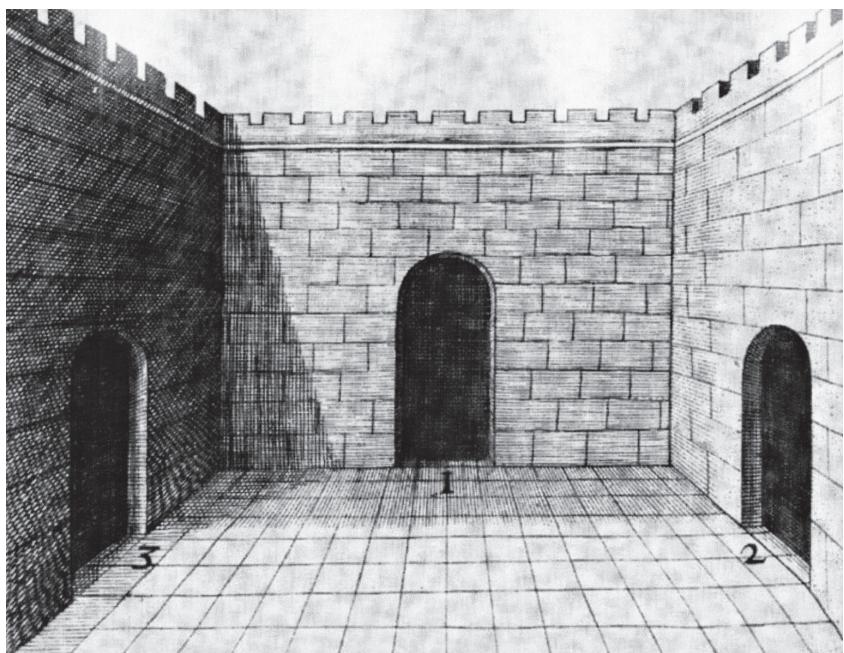
Fig. 5: Robert Fludd, *Supernaturali, naturali, praenaturali et contranaturali Microcosmi Historia*, Oppenheim: Hyronimi Galleri, 1619, p. 535.
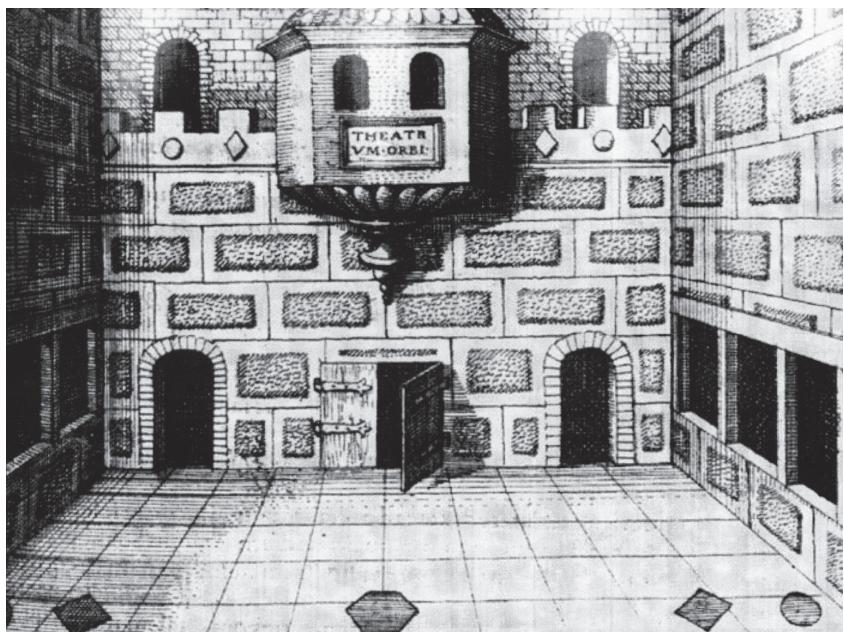
Fig. 6: Robert Fludd, *Supernaturali, naturali, praenaturali et contranaturali Microcosmi Historia*, Oppenheim: Hyronimi Galleri, 1619, p. 535.
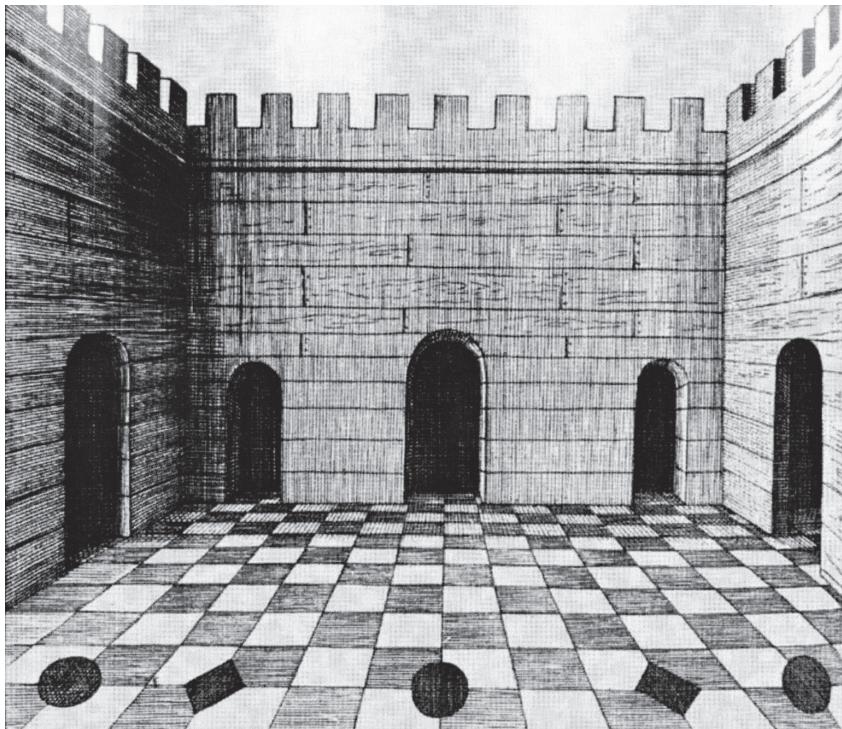
Such double value is outlined also by the presence of a third imaginary level which contributes to the functioning of the mnemonic structure of the treatise. All of these rooms of memory are collocated in a further, and bigger, architectural place – defined by the author as 'the hotel of memory' –; an architectural place that supports their memorization through the principle of a visualized sequential order. In fact, on pages 4 and 5, we can see the frontal representation of an internal space containing 12 rooms, which are also designed according to the perspective rules and which are different from one another in the structure of the ceiling (with or without beams, dark or light), of the floor (checked, coloured floor boards, light, dark, etc.) and of the walls (with or without windows, coloured, made of wood or cloth, etc.) (**Fig. 9**). The rooms are also easily identified thanks to the sharp chromatic contrasts that bring each single unit inside the main structure into relief, and make the illuminated page a reference model for those who wish to configure their memory as *liber mentalis*, as it is stated in a further manuscript of the fifteenth century about memory, written in French and also located in the Parisian library of Sainte-Geneviève (ms. 2521).[12] Both the major hall of memory and the smaller rooms

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[12] *Notables enseignemens pour avoir memoire…*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 2521, f. 96: *Et de fait les anciens quand ils voloient aulcune chose impectorer et recorder ilz metoient en leurs livres diverses couleurs et diverses figures ad fin que la diversité et la difference leur donnast meilleure souvenance* [And in fact the ancients, when they wanted to fix and retain something, they used different
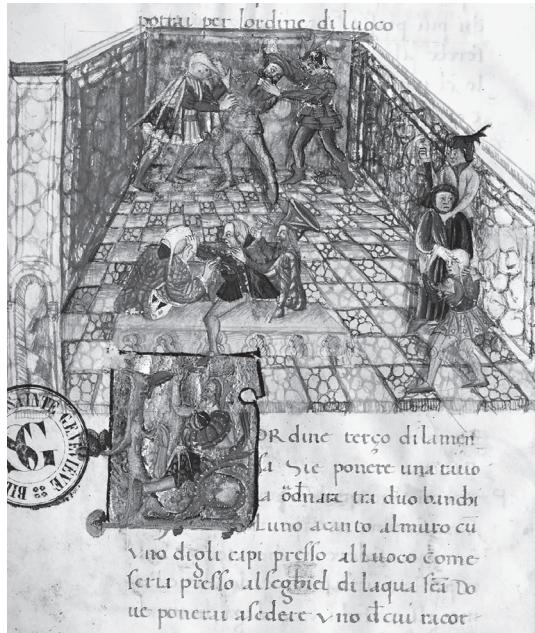
Fig. 8: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, c. 11v.
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of memory seek to achieve a perspectival effect (i.e. a spatial effect through a perspectival foreshortening), and aim to suggest a kind of movement of the reader's gaze into the illustrated space of the manuscript.

On the whole, this illustration represents a real compendium of possible ways of visualizing the *locus memoriae*; and at the same time it is a predefined scheme of rooms ready to be filled with the concepts that the treatise is going to present. The text, accompanied by the main classical authorities, explains how to use the mental structure that is illustrated here, by placing and removing the images in the different rooms and stairs and repository that build it. Such a clear image, stated at the beginning of the treatise, is to be considered as a plan of memory that helps us to understand the instructions for the use of the art. The peculiarity of these sequential rooms, compared to the other rooms we will find at a later stage of the treatise, consists of the fact that they are empty and do not house any imaginary unit. They offer themselves as purely potential mnemonic tool. The author decides to represent the place where the mnemonic scene should take place, but not the mnemonic scene in itself, which has to be then mentally recreated and entered in this empty space by the reader. The possibility for the reader to become key player of a plastic scene of memory, and therefore active part of the mnemonic process, represents the main explanation of the success experienced by the architectonic metaphor of memory.[13]

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colours and figures in their books so that such diversity and difference would improve their retention]. Cited in Antoine (1982: 13–29, citation at 25–26).

[13] See Carruthers (1998: 80–81): 'Spatial and directional metaphors are essential to the conception of the "way" of monastic meditation, as is well known. And the rhetorical concept of *ductus* emphasizes
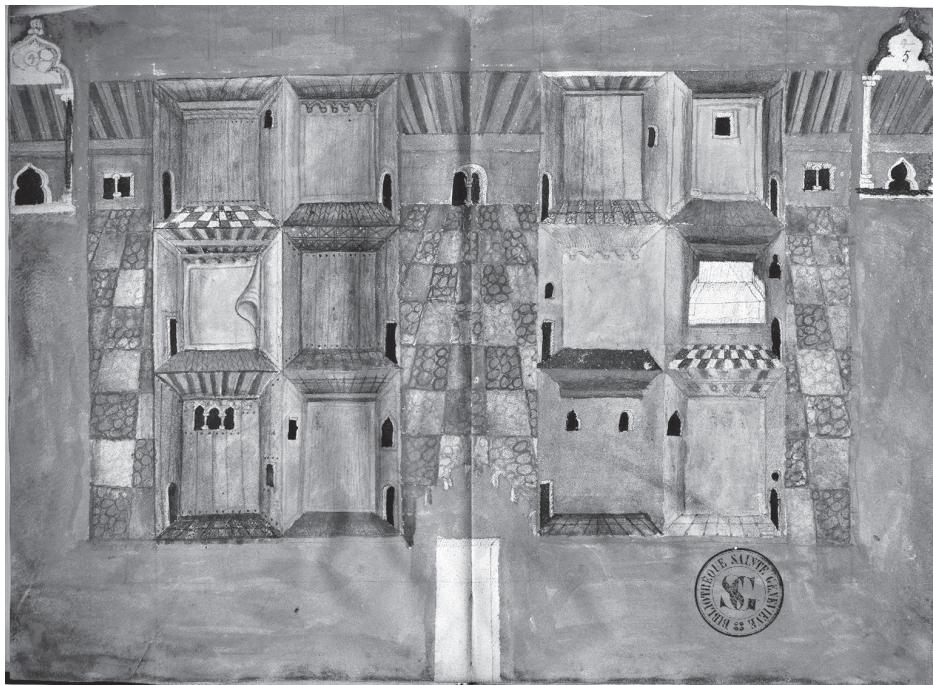
Fig. 9: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, cc. 4v–5r.
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The reader of the treatise on *artificial memory* is asked: (1) to verify the functioning of the mental process, which has been theoretically defined; (2) to repeat the experience of imagination done by the author during the creation of the mnemonic rooms; and finally (3) to accompany the addressee along the didactic course given by the treatise. It seems therefore clear from the beginning that the author desires to achieve three main objectives: (1) to define in a clear and simple way the main rules of the local memory; (2) to help the memorization of those rules through examples of their functioning, which is then illustrated through images; and (3) to make these images available for further mnemonic use as prefabricated images of memory. We can see that the textual part of the treatise contributes to the achievement of the first objective only, while the other two purposes are entrusted completely to the iconographic component.[14]

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way-finding by organizing the structure of any composition as a journey through a linked series of stages, each of which has its own characteristic flow (its "mode" or "color"), but which also moves the whole composition along. And the "colors" or "modes" are like the individual segments of an aqueduct, carrying the water, yes, but changing its direction, slowing it down, speeding it up, bifurcating, as the water moves along its "route" or "way". For a person following the *ductus*, the "colors" act as stages of the way or ways through to the *skopos* or destination. Every composition, visual or aural, needs to be experienced as a journey, in and through whose paths one must constantly *move*.'

[14] See Bolzoni (2001: XVIII): 'The perception of words and mental faculties in terms of space and visualization is enormously expanded by the phenomenon of the printing press. This book analyses a paradoxical situation: a long phase of rich, but precarious, equilibrium. Techniques of memory reach their greatest development in a world in which their meaning and importance are gradually being stripped away from them by the development of technology, especially by the printing press.
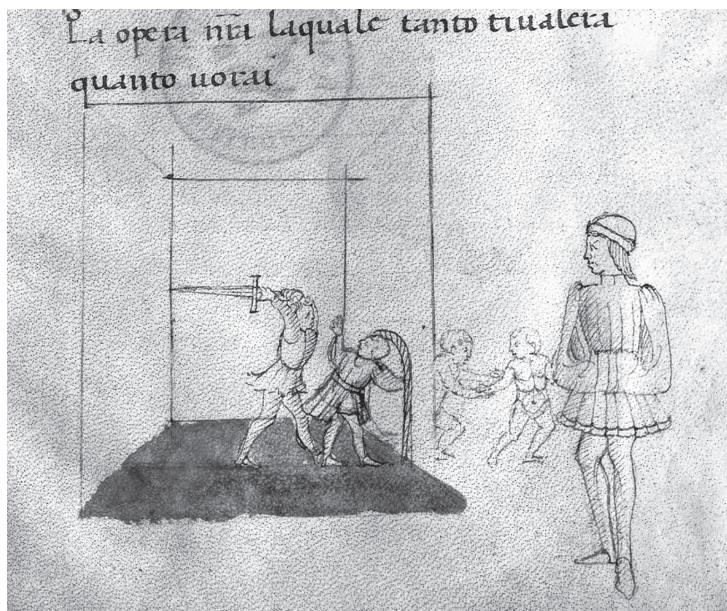
Fig. 10: *Di l'artifitial memoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3368, c. 44r.
© Réserve de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.

It is also interesting to point out that the final part of the treatise explains how to cancel the images of memory from the *loci* and hence make them free to store other images and other memories. The anonymous author describes four main ways to cancel images. We can, for example, free the *locus* and eliminate the old images of memory by removing them from the internal vision thanks to a black curtain; or by imagining trap doors, that suddenly fall open; we could also cover the old images of memory up with straw and setting them on fire, with a very interesting anticipation of George Orwell's memory holes;[15] or imagine a new character who enters the mental scene in an extreme frenzy and kills the old image of memory (**Fig. 10**). As a further confirmation of what has been stated before concerning the semantic value of the attributes of *imagines* and *loci*, please note that the cancelled images are here naked and therefore neither characterized by a precise mnemonic configuration nor linked to a specific memory. We have also another case of representation of a man: who is he? An ideal mnemonist? The commissioner of the treatise?

At the same time, we will see how techniques of memory interact, often productively, with the new possibilities created by the printed word. Among other things, the printing press helps to expand that sense of the mirroring relationship between the mind and writing to which I have alluded, between mental places and textual places, between inner experience and the external world. Through a sometimes dizzying and illusionistic play of relationships, poems can be transformed into galleries, texts into palaces, collections into encyclopedias and castles inside the mind, and vice versa.

[15] Orwell (1949: 47): 'In the walls of the cubicle there were three orifices. […] For some reason they were nicknamed memory holes. When one knew that any document was due for destruction, or even when one saw a scrap of waste paper lying about, it was an automatic action to lift the flap of the nearest memory hole and drop it in, whereupon it would be whirled away on a current of warm air to the enormous furnaces which were hidden somewhere in the recesses of the building.'

As a conclusion, we can say that this peculiar treatise on art of memory is characterized by a quite complex structure and offers itself at the same time: (1) as a *handbook* that offers a set of rules to be memorized; (2) as a *collection* of images that show the possible final products of a memorization process and offers them to the immediate imitative reproduction; (3) as a *two-dimensional structure* which keeps a specific content of memory; and finally, (4) as the *project* of a mnemonic architecture that can be repeatedly re-built. This kind of visualisation of the mnestic processes leads the mnemonists to investigate the connections that the good neighbors words and images suggest to their imagination; and through it the *place of memory* – i.e. the conceptual model of the most varied architectures of knowledge – can be considered not only as a visual space but also as a manipulable and physical space of thought.

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DOBŘÍ SOUSEDÉ.
SLOVA A OBRAZY V RUKOPISU
BILIOTHÈQUE SAINTE-GENEVIÈVE V PAŘÍŽI Č. 3368

Cílem studie je probádat některé historicko-konceptuální souvislosti raně novověké literární kultury, počínaje vazbou a interakcí mezi slovy a obrazy ve fyzickém prostoru rukopisu i v konceptuálním prostoru mnemonického traktátu. V článku je proto popsán bohatě ilustrovaný rukopis pařížské Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (rkp. 3368), jehož součástí je italský traktát o umění paměti z poloviny 15. stol. Sémiotické, rétorické a kulturní strategie aktivované fyzickým sousedstvím textu a jeho překladu do podoby obrazu vlastně představují jádro každého mnemotechnického procesu. Ilustrace vizualizují výsledek asociativního procesu, který umožňuje zapamatování, zatímco text tento proces sleduje a lineárně rozkládá: obvykle nejprve zmiňuje *res memorandae* (věci, které je třeba si zapamatovat) a poté obrazy, které mají být vytvořeny v mysli.

Andrea Torre
Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa
andrea.torre@sns.it

IACOBUS PUBLICIUS'S *ARS MEMORATIVA*: AN APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF THE (PRINTED) TEXT[*]

LUIS MERINO JEREZ

ABSTRACT

Three stages can be distinguished in the history of the printed text of Iacobus Publicius's *Ars memorativa*. The first one comprises two volumes published in Toulouse and Paris, around 1477. The same stage in the composition of the text is also to be found in a later edition (around 1489). Two versions have been preserved of the second stage of the text: the version that is possibly earlier in time (around 1481) lacks *tituli* and even omits the author's name. It also contains several engravings, all of them with moving parts, representing the combination of *imagines* and *literae reales*. The second version of this second stage was published in Venice in 1482 at the Ratdolt printing press. The *Ars memorativa* was associated with two rhetorical treatises (*Institutiones oratoriae* and *Ars epistolandi*), and the resulting volume was published under the generic title *Oratoriae artis epitomata*. This version includes a mnemonic alphabet that largely coincides with the one presented in the 1481 version, although now almost all images are fixed. Regarding the text, the main novelty is a profound rearrangement of the contents throughout all the books. The last stage (1485, by Ratdolt) wants to achieve two aims: put the three books on the same level despite having been clearly in favour of the first one before, and homogenize the content of each of the three books. The result is a well-balanced work from a doctrinal point of view and an interesting one from the editorial, which both surely explain much of its success.

Keyworsds: Publicius; *Ars memorativa*; Ratdolt; mnemonic; memoria

Publicius's *Ars memorativa* is a well-known text nowadays, especially after the study by Mary Carruthers and Henry Bayerle and the English translation by the latter, in the book *The Medieval Craft of Memory*.[1] This work constitutes the best starting point for

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[1] Carruthers, Ziolkowski (2002). The translation of Publicius's text is by Bayerle (2002), which is the English version that I follow here unless otherwise noted.

those who approach Publicius's text and wish to make new hypotheses on certain aspects that are yet to be clarified, for instance, the history of the text, especially the printed text. Indeed, the *Ars memorativa* is a text that, after a brief evolution, culminates in the Venice edition of 1485, which establishes the final version, even though it was not the last printed edition. The time and place of composition of Publicius' *Ars memorativa* is unknown, although it is likely to have happened in the scholarly environment of one of the many universities where this "wandering humanist" is recorded as being enrolled between 1458 and 1470.[2] Quite possibly, the making of this treatise on memory had to do with the growing interest in this type of literature among university students in central Europe. Thus, it is safe to assume that it may have been a "cover letter" of sorts in his university career.[3]

Many handwritten and printed versions of *Ars memorativa* are kept at present. Their comparison constitutes an indispensable step to learn a history of that text. So, our main aim here is to compare the printed versions, since, from our point of view, the result of such a comparison will allow us to establish the essential stages of that text which are worth to be pointed out in its evolution up to reach the 1485 Venetian version. In other words, both the printed and handwritten versions reflect an evolution which, as we try to show here, is developed by stages, ones taking place over time while others overlapping each other. The comparison of the printed versions allows establishing the essential goal of a history of the text which is also reflected by the handwritten versions, but these latter will be dealt with on another occasion.

There are many extant manuscripts of this work, known thanks to the rigorous work of Sabine Seelbach and Angelika Kemper.[4] The twenty-seven manuscripts that have survived are not necessarily older than the printed versions, and they are quite often mere copies of the text in question. Some are of particular interest because of the images they include, such as the well-known copy by Thomas Swalwell, a monk at Durham, which is housed at the British Library (Ms. Add. 28805).[5] Others, by contrast, are worthy of mention because of the text annotations and the interlineal comments. Such is the case of the obscure anonymous fragment in the prologue of the manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid Ms 9309). The collation of the manuscripts, a task that remains to be completed, will undoubtedly shed light on the history of the text, but for the moment, this study will be confined to analyzing the evolution of the text in the known printed versions.

The catalogues of incunabula record 12 printed editions of Publicius's *Ars memorativa*, four of which were published as separate works,[6] three as part of a larger volume

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2   On Publicius' biography, see Sottili (1975; 1985); Wójcik (2016: 69–73); Kemper (2018).
3   Kiss (2008: 108).
4   Heimann-Seelbach (2000: 116–121). More recently, Kemper (2019) has updated the first 27 manuscripts in the introduction to the German edition and study notes of the *Ars memorativa*.
5   Volkmann (1929: 124–131 and figs. 113–124); Thayer (2016). According to Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 226), this manuscript is a copy of the second Venice edition by Ratdolt (1485), although in our view, it is actually closer to the first edition (1482), as will be shown in a forthcoming essay.
6   *Ars memorativa*: GW M36443 [Toulouse: Henric Turner, around 1475–1476]; GW M36442 [Paris: Petrus Caesaris and Johannes Stol, around 1475–1480]; GW M36437 [Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, around 1481]; GW M36439 [Paris: Antoine Caillout, around 1484–1490].

that included other texts on rhetoric by Publicius,[7] one together with the poem *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*,[8] and four together with Baldovinus Sabaudiensis's *Ars memorie*.[9]

It is not possible to determine the exact chronology of the printed editions because of the lack of verifiable data about printers, places, and dates. In addition, the editorial chronology of *Ars memorativa* does not always match the different stages of the composition of the text, as was also the case of *Ars epistolandi*. Indeed, some of the later editions reproduce the first version of the text. More specifically, Publicius's *Ars epistolandi* contains a chapter on the openings of epistles *ad Romanum Pontificem*. In the first edition by Ratdolt (1482) the argument is illustrated with the name *Paulus Secundus*.[10] However, later editions by Ratdolt (Venice, 1485; Augsburg, 1490)[11] update the name of the Pope to *Innocentius Octavus*, who ascended to the papacy in August 1484. This reference suggests that *Ars epistolandi* was composed during the papacy of *Paulus Secundus* and was later updated on the occasion of the second Venice edition (1485). This allusion is kept in the 1490 edition, when *Innocentius Octavus* was still the Pope. In this regard, there are two facts that strike the reader. First, that the 1482 edition does not cite the reigning Pope at the time, *Sixtus Quartus*, and second, that the majority of the editions of *Ars epistolandi* published between 1488 and 1502 in printing presses other than Ratdolt's continue to mention *Paulus Secundus* in the chapter *ad Romanum Pontificem*.[12] The same happens in the case of *Ars memorativa* since, as we shall see, some later editions reproduce earlier stages of composition of the text. Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable to abandon the editorial itinerary and focus on the history of the text itself. In this regard, we will firstly draw our attention to the three stages which must be pointed out in the history of the text. Later on, we will make a note of the changes which had to be added throughout the following stages. In this way, we will note down the changes added around 1482 (second stage: Bod, NY, V82) in relation to the first versions (first stage: M, G, Z) and to the changes already made in the 1845 Venetian version (third stage: V85, V90) regarding the previous stage.

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[7] *Oratoriae artis epitomata*: GW M36431 Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482; Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1485; [Augsburg:] Erhard Ratdolt, 1490. Redgrave (1894).

[8] *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*: GW M36441 Paris: Alexandre Aliate, [after 1500].

[9] *Liber de arte memorie*: GW 03207 [Lyon: Jean du Pré, around 1489]; GW 03208 [around 1495]; GW 03209 Paris: Etienne Jehannot, [1495–1497]; GW 03210 [Lyon: Pierre Mareschal and Barnabé Chaussard, around 1500]. In his list of nine editions, Wójcik (2012: 409–410) includes two that do not contain *Ars memorativa*: *Ars epistulandi orandique modus*, Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, [around 1504] (GW M36423); and *Institutiones oratoriae et ars epistolandi*, Reutlingen: Michael Greyff, [around 1491] (GW M36429). See Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 226).

[10] V82, b3: *Divo Paulo secundo, domenici gregis pastoris pietissimo [...] divo Paulo secundo sacrorum antistiti [...] Paulus secundus divino dei nutu [...]*.

[11] V85 and V90, [f7v–f8r]: *Divo Innocentio octavo, domenici gregis pastoris pietissimo [...] divo Innocentio octavo sacrorum antistiti [...] Innocentius octavus divino dei nutu [...]*.

[12] *Ars conficiendi epistolas elegantissime Tulliano more in lucem redacta*: GW M36417 1488, Civ.; GW M36419 [1488], B4v; GW M36415 [around 1490], B3; GW M36422 [around 1502], [C2v.]; GW M36423 [around 1502], [C8]. However, a joint edition of *Ars oratoria* and *Ars epistolandi* cites *Innocentius Octavus*: GW M36429 [around 1492], [f5v].

1. The three stages in the history of the printed text

In light of the contents and the structure of the work itself, three different stages can be identified in the edition of the printed text. The first stage is prior to 1482 and is represented by two volumes *sine anno et sine loco*, one of them kept in a factitious volume at the Bibliothèque Mazarine of Paris (Inc 618-5) (M) and the other at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Grenoble (I.320[3] Rés.) (G). These are two different editions. The one at the Bibliothèque Mazarine does not have a date, printer, or printing place – although the information provided by the bibliographical catalogues of some authors, such as Carruthers, indicate that it was printed in Toulouse between 1475 and 1476, perhaps at Henric Turner's press.[13] Similarly, the bibliographical catalogues suggest that the volume kept in Grenoble may have been published in Paris by Petrus Caesaris and Iohannes Stoll between 1475 and 1480.[14] It must be noted that the Grenoble volume is incomplete, one of the pages has been rearranged, and it is not without errata. Still, the errata are fewer that in the volume at the Bibliothèque Mazarine.[15] At any rate, the examination of these two printed texts throws in relief that, even though the printers had different sources to work with, both texts follow the same version.[16] Indeed, both volumes share their *incipit* (*Iacobi publitii in arte memorie prologus feliciter incipit)* and *explicit* (*Explicit ars memorativa Iacobi publicii*),[17] but, above all, they arrange the chapters and contents in the same way. Finally, neither of these two volumes include the changes that were made to the text after the Venice edition of 1482.

This first printed version is also the one that reproduces the edition of Publicius's *Ars memorativa* which was published together with Baldovinus Sabauldiensis's *Ars memorie* –probably made by Jean du Pré in Lyon around 1489 (Z).[18] This edition does not match those volumes at the Mazarine and Grenoble libraries exactly, as the text reads differently on some occasions[19] changes usually improve the text, though not always. At any rate, the most notable aspect in this regard is the insertion of some passages and the inclusion of engravings at the end of the volume. With respect to the inserted passages, it can be observed that two brief examples have been added in the chapter *de opposito*.[20] Also, the verses which illustrate *literarum figurae reales* have been expanded and, in the same place,

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[13] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 226); Hillard (1989: no. 1702).

[14] Maignien (1899: 479).

[15] In the Grenoble volume, f. [12] erroneously follows f. [11], which itself should actually be f. [12]. Also, f. [14] is missing. It should contain the end of the chapter *de effectu rerum*; the chapters *de suis cuisque rei instrumentis*, *de partibus humani corporis*, *de opposito*, *de accidenti et proprio*, *de causa*, *de resolutione*, *de figuris*; and the beginning of *de insigniis personarum*.

[16] This explains some minor variants (however significant) between both volumes. So, for example, we have *ridiculum* (Mazarine = M) / *ridiculosum* (Grenoble = G); *diversitate humana* (M) / *diversitate hac* (G); *reservanda* (M) / *revellanda* (G); *opus* (M) / *opis* (G); *notabulis* (M) / *vocabulis* (G). Occasionally, we find terms in one version that do not occur in the other, such as *elingues* (G), *inde* (G); *abolitione* (G); *iam* (G); *sic* (G); *esse* (M).

[17] The Grenoble volume has *Publicii* both in the *incipit* and in the *explicit*.

[18] GW 03207. Out of the four extant copies of this edition, only one still has the engravings; namely, that at the Biblioteca Universitaria de la Universidad de Zaragoza (I 163.4) (Z).

[19] By way of illustration, the title is amended of the chapters *de corroboratione memorie* and *que conferunt et que obsunt memorie* (*de corroboratione materie* and *que conferunt et que obsunt materiae* in M and G). Cf. Z, [a7v–a8r].

[20] *Ut Nero, misericors*; *Hector, timidus* (Z, biiiv).

an explanation has been introduced on the figurative understanding of the grammatical cases by association with parts of the human body.[21] Finally, there is also a new lengthy paragraph on the *dictio spiritualis* at the end of the chapter *de sententia*.[22] The absence of any further references to these insertions in the rest of editions seems to indicate that they were not Publicius's.[23] However, the final disquisition on *dictio* is not completely alien to the text of *Ars memorativa*, since *dictio* is one of the six elements displayed in the engraving of the tree of memory that closes the Venice edition of 1485.[24]

These engravings also match the notions Publicius formulated, especially in the second book.[25] The volume kept at the Universidad de Zaragoza (Z) contains four folds with illustrations at the end of the text. The first of them depicts a half-naked man in a loincloth and seventeen figures of letters (**Fig. 1**).[26] The next fold has twelve figures of letters (**Fig. 2**). The third one, four more figures of letters plus a series of Greek and Hebrew letters and a square grid (**Fig. 3**).[27] The last fold is deteriorated and possibly incomplete, as indicated by the fact that the *Arbor artis memorie* only lists three elements in its trunk (*tempus*, *genus*, *locus*) as opposed to the six elements in the Venice edition of 1485 (*tempus*, *genus*, *locus*, *sententia*, *persona*, *dictio*) (**Fig. 4**).[28]

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[21] *Omni re carta O sit tibi rotunda. Omnis homo naturaliter se habens, nominativi casus; genubus flexis, genitivi casus; sedendo, dativi; versa facie in celum, accusativi; prostratus in terra, vocativi casus; caput contra terram et pedes contra celum versus, ablativi casus significabit* (Z, b2r).

[22] *Dictio spiritualis est duplex: significativa et non significativa. Spiritualis significativa est duplex: scilicet propria et impropria (…) dictionem compositam res composite, dictionem simplicem res simplex; tota totum, sic vel sic, media medium, tertia tertium, quarta quartum et sic consequenter significabit* (Z, b5v).

[23] It should also be noted that Romberch, the main champion of Publicius, records a different explanation about the mnemonics for the grammatical cases; and that the argument on *dictio spiritualis* appears right after the statement that concludes *Ars memorativa*.

[24] To this day, this is the only edition that has a complete *arbor artis memoriae*. The rest either have it missing (M, G, NY/Bod) or incomplete (Z). On the other hand, it turns out necessary to consider whether the image of the tree of memory does not recall the Pseudo-Lullian art of memory: Yates (1966: 173–198); Rossi (2000: 76–77).

[25] The first explicit reference to the engravings occurs at the end of the first book, in the chapter *de locis commenticiis*, where Publicius recommends that places *ne fulgida splendescant vel obscura opacitate oblecta prorsus lactitent, sed distincta et clara, ut sequenti figura evidens est*. The only edition that heeds this warning is the second edition by Ratdolt, which includes an engraving of the cosmos where three continents are mentioned (Asia, Europe, Africa), the four elements are represented (earth, water, air, fire) and we can see the symbols of the planets and the three highest layers of the heavens: *celum nonum*, *celum cristallinum*, and *paradisus* (V85, [g7r]).

[26] The engravings of the mnemonic alphabet in this edition (Z) are of lesser quality than those in the Ratdolt editions. On the whole, however, the objects and shapes depicted in them are roughly the same. The shape of some letters, such as M, bear a stronger resemblance to the letters in the edition attributed to Guldenschaff (NY/Bod). The fact that some of the letters are not represented in it and also that there is no female figure to go with the male, suggests that some folds may have been lost.

[27] The engraving that displays a square is used to describe the tenets of the second book, where we learn about the methods to make mnemonic words by the combination of letters that are placed on the edges of the square: *Si literarum loca et dispositionem noscere volemus, vocales namque extrinsecis centro collocabimus, relique vero litere vacua loca ordine sortiantur, quod facile exitus dictionum complecti et claudere possimus* (M, [153v]; G, [8v–9r]). The Zaragoza volume (Z, b1v) has *varia* (instead of *vacua*), which is perhaps no mere coincidence because the drawing has no letters and also lacks the necessary mechanism to combine vowels and consonants, as we shall see in the Ratdolt editions (V82, [d3v] and V85, [h8r]). Bayerle (2002: 249 n. 51 and 252–254) explains how this complex mechanism works through its reception in Romberch's *Congestorium*. Others, by contrast, such as Conrad Celtis, outspokenly criticized this method, as reported by Kiss (2008: 108–109).

[28] Although small changes may be noted, on the whole, the distribution of the elements in the extant parts of the engraving match the Ratdolt edition (V85). The first Ratdolt edition (V82) does not have
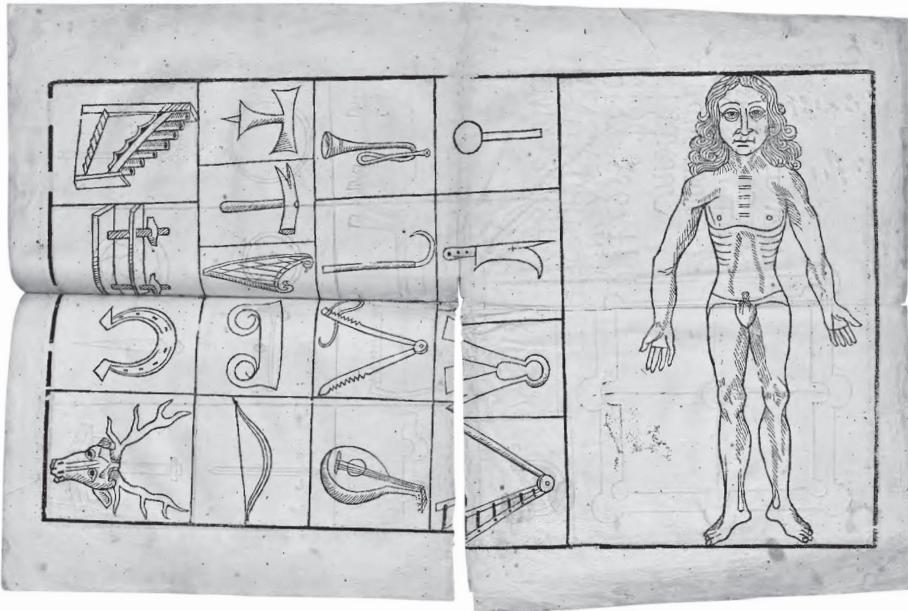
Fig. 1: Naked man and mnemonic alphabet (letters A^3, B^2, C^1, D^2, F^1, P^2, S^1, T^2, V^3).
Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, [Lyon: Jean du Pré, around 1489].
Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza, Fondo Antiguo I 163–4.

In all, despite the fact that the date of this volume (Z) is later than Ratdolt's Venice editions (V82 and V85), the text itself coincides for the most part with the volumes kept at the Mazarine and Grenoble libraries. The engravings in this version (Z), although incomplete in the only volume that still has them, follow the notions described in the book and they are likely to have been very similar, if not identical, to those that were printed in the editions before Ratdolt's (M and G).

The second stage of composition of this work also spans two editions. The first and best known edition is that printed in 1482 by the German printer Erhardus Ratdolt in his Venetian workshop. This edition consists of a compilation of works by Publicius, collectively entitled *Oratoriae artis epitomata*. This volume comprises *Oratoriae institutiones*, some *Scribendi breves rationes*, and finally *Ars memorativa*. Like in the case of the cover and colophon to the volume, the *incipit* of *Ars memorativa* describes Publicius as *Florentinus*.[29] Plenty of copies of this edition are extant in many libraries.[30] This, together with the typography of the text and the beauty of the engravings, made this the *editio princeps* for many – i.e., they forgot about the aforementioned volumes in Paris and Grenoble.[31]

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the *arbor artis memoriae*, although it is alluded to, as well as in all the other editions consulted: *De quibus tabulam dupliciter depictam in medium afferam, ut facilior exitus huic operi detur* (M, [163v]; G, [14r]; Z, [b5v]).

[29] V82, c1: *Iacobi Publicii Florentini ars memorie feliciter incipit et primo prefatio.*

[30] GW M36431: 106 copies.

[31] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 226) acknowledged the existence of an *Ars memorativa* that "was printed first as a separate work in Toulouse in 1475/6, perhaps by the printer Henricus Turner."
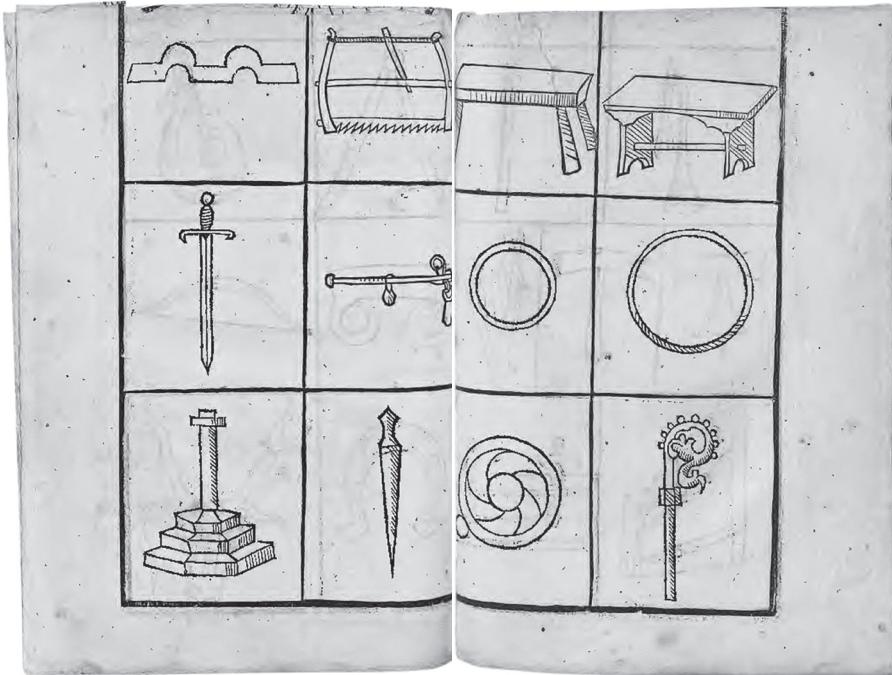
Fig. 2: Mnemonic alphabet (letters E², I³, L¹, N², O³, P¹). Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, [Lyon: Jean du Pré, around 1489]. Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza, Fondo Antiguo I 163–4.

Another version has also been neglected, although it is likely to be earlier than the Venice edition of 1482. Several copies of this version are kept in libraries including The New York Public Library (NY),[32] the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Bod)[33] and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SB).[34] By comparing these three copies, we can say that all of them belong to the same edition, as corroborated by how closely they match, even in typographical errors.[35] These three copies present *Ars memorativa* as an independent, apocryphal work. The *incipit* does not mention the name of the author. It does not cite a place, a year, or a printer, but the typographical features suggest that these three copies belong to the edition printed in Cologne by Johann Guldenschaff circa 1481.[36] This edition, likely to have been

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[32] Available at SASB, Rare Book Collection Rm 328 (*KB 1483).

[33] Available at Bod-inc., P-535.

[34] Available at 8º Inc 899.7. This issue lacks the engravings.

[35] A few differences of little consequence may be noted here: the volume at the New York Public Library does not have initials and includes the engravings at the end; the issue at the Bodleian Library has initials in black ink and the engravings precede the text; finally, the issue at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin has neither initials nor the engravings. The engravings in the New York and Oxford copies are identical, although they are incomplete and do not follow the same order.

[36] Denis (1789: 646). Publicius arrived in Cologne in 1468 and stayed there until 1469. However, if we consider that the *incipit* does not mention the name of the author, one may hypothesize that the edition of the text occurred after his departure, perhaps between 1480–1481 as suggested in GW M36437. We believe this is the same edition that Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 230) attribute to Antoine Caillaut, who allegedly published it in Paris between 1484 and 1490.
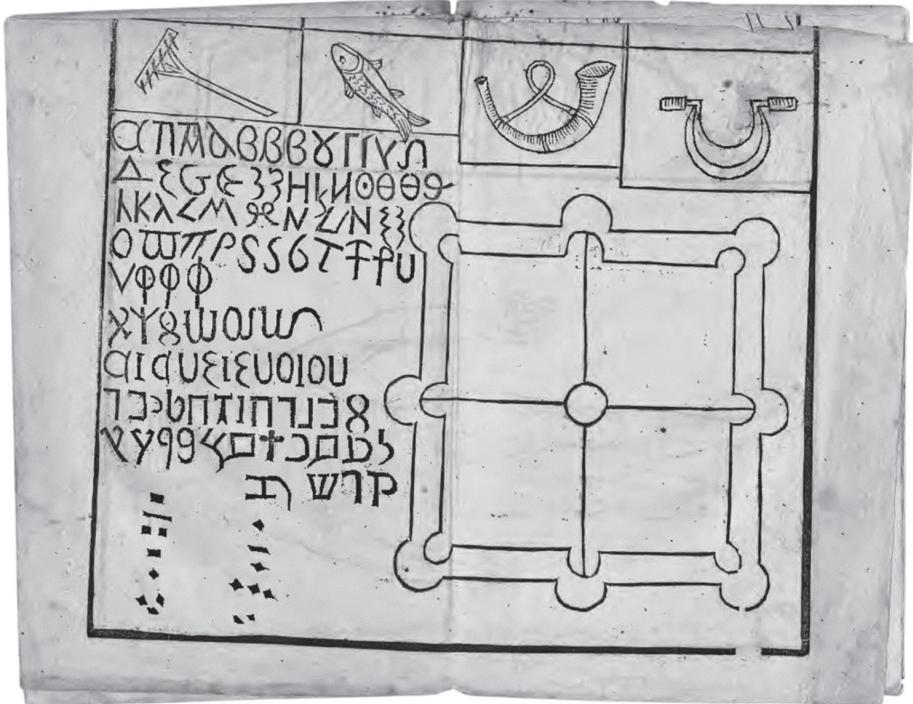
Fig. 3: Mnemonic alphabet (letters I², C²), Greek and Hebrew alphabets, mnemonic square.
Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, [Lyon: Jean du Pré, around 1489].
Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza, Fondo Antiguo I 163–4.

published by Guldenschaff, was not divided into *capituli* and it also featured engravings
that differed from those in the Venice edition of 1482. However, the text of Ratdolt's first
edition (V82) matches that of the edition attributed to Guldenschaff (NY/Bod). Thus, it
is safe to say that both editions represent the same stage in the composition of the text.

The third stage in the composition of the printed text is represented by the Venice
edition of 1485. This version has the largest number of extant copies, so it is safe to
assume that it was an editorial success.[37] In addition, this is the final version of the text
and the version that had the greatest influence on later authors – whether because it was
carefully crafted or because it is the edition with the most engravings.[38] This edition of
Publicius's *Ars memorativa* is, incidentally, the best known at present and represents the
reference edition for the study of this work – for want of a modern critical edition that, of
necessity, must eventually take into account the rich manuscript tradition[39] and the later
reproductions of the text in joint editions with other texts and authors.

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[37] GW M36435: 116 copies. See Wójcik (2012).

[38] After leaving Venice, Erhard Ratdolt settled in Augsburg, where he again published the *Oratoriae artis
epitomata* in 1490 (GW M36428). This edition reproduces the Venice edition of 1485 without any
changes in the text or the engravings.

[39] Heimann-Seelbach (2000: 116–121).
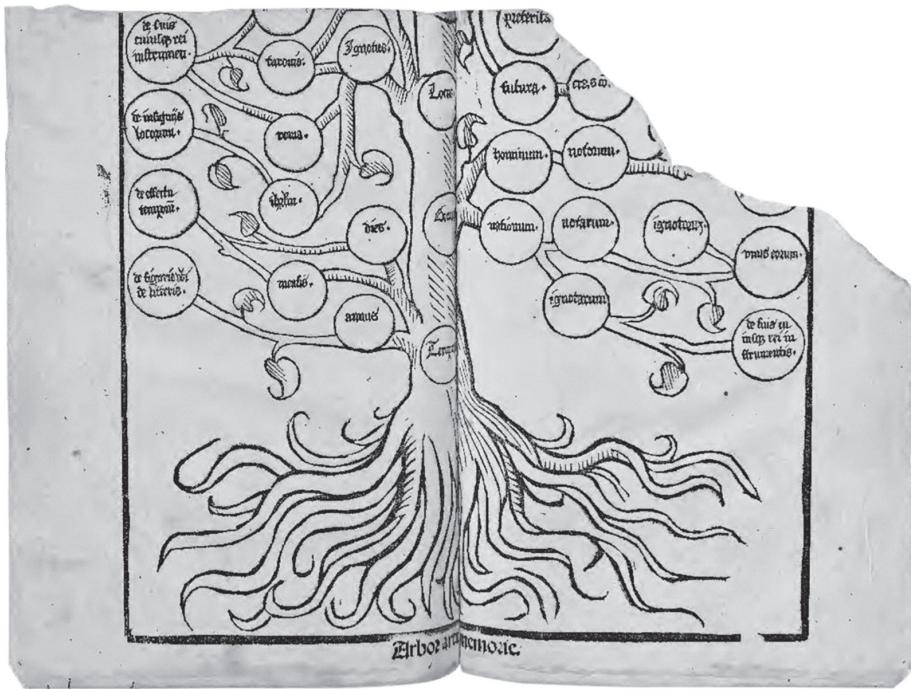
Fig. 4: *Arbor artis memorie.* Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, [Lyon: Jean du Pré, around 1489]. Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza, Fondo Antiguo I 163–4.

Once these three stages have been established, we shall move on to analyse the changes in the progressive fixation of the text of *Ars memorativa*.

2. The printed text of *Ars memorativa*: from the first to the second stage

The first stage of the printed edition of *Ars memorativa* corresponds to two copies printed before 1482 in different places and on different dates (M and G), as well as to a later version (Z), whose text is for the most part identical to that of the first stage. It has already been mentioned that the engravings in this later edition (Z) were probably quite similar to those in the first two editions, which are unfortunately lost. However, the most relevant fact about this first printed edition (M, G and Z) is that it foreshadows the structure of the text that would later be expanded in the 1482 edition and modified in the 1485 edition.

The work begins with a *prologus* containing a general disquisition about memory. This is followed by *Primus libellus*, covering two broad topics: places and medicinal advice for memory. *Liber secundus* is brief. It is restricted to *litterarum ratio*; i.e., a method to make mnemonic words by dint of a combination mechanism of vowels and consonants that are

laid out on a quadrangular grid. This method is referred to as *quadrati norma*[40] in the first book. *Tertius liber* is devoted to *imagines* and, according to Publicius's words, it consists of four parts. The first part is not singled out as an independent section itself, but it is safe to assume that it comprises the preliminary discussion on *imago*. The second part deals with the twelve types of *signa*, which Publicius discusses with varying degrees of detail, each in a separate chapter with their own individual title. The third part, entitled *de figuris*, delves into *rerum realium formae*. The fourth and final part analyzes three types of *insignia* (*personarum*, *locorum*, *rerum*).[41] The work does not end here, however, for there is a chapter entitled *De sententia* before the *explicit*, where Publicius comments on how to memorize *sententiae*, syllogisms, and arguments. As regards the *sententiae*, he recommends taking into account the following: *genus*, *locus*, *tempus*, *persona* and *sententia*.

In the 1482 edition we find that the structure of the text is identical, and the same occurs with the arrangement of the contents within each of the books and the main sections.

Prologus	*Prefatio*
Primus libellus	*[Primus libellus]*[42]
Liber secundus	*Liber secundus*
Tertius liber de imaginibus	*Liber tertius et ultimus*
De sententia	*[De sententiis]*[43]
(M, G, Z)	*(V82)*

However, some differences of varying significance must be noted between both stages. The most obvious difference is the absence of engravings in the first editions (M and G). Although, as already pointed out, this should not be taken as an important difference, especially if one takes into consideration that the text of these first editions makes reference to figures that may have been lost over time.[44] These references are the same as in

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[40] In the chapter *De multitudine locorum* (first book), readers are invited to apply *quadrati norma* – that is going to be discussed in the second book – to other places: *Que, qui sine labore multiplicari voluerit, quadrati normam, de quo secundo volumine agendum est, sequitur* (M, [145v]; G, [4v]; Z, [a7r]; NY, [5r]). This advice disappears from V85.

[41] *Superest ut de quarta huius extremi voluminis parte dicamus* (M, [161r]; G, [11v]; Z, [b4v]; NY, [b5r]). This reference changes in V85, H2r: *Superest ut de quarta huius secundi voluminis iam parte dicamus*.

[42] The heading of the *capitulus* is missing, but the text remains.

[43] The heading of the *capitulus* is missing, but the text remains.

[44] As previously noted, M and G lack images. But in this regard it should be taken into account that M and G are the unique exemplars of these versions to have survived. G is *mutilus* and M is included in a factitious volume. Furthermore, some images are referred to in M and G at the end of the first book: *Si distincto ordine sedium ratione excogitata erunt, ne fulgida splendescant vel obscura opacitate oblecta prorsus lactitent, sed distincta et clara, ut sequenti figura evidens est, locorum multitudinem apertam nobis prebeant* (M, [152v]; G, [8r]); at the beginning of the second book: *Est autem compositio loci et imaginis vel utrorum [utros horum M; utro horum G] vis [ius M], coniugatio ut hac prima et secunda figura demonstrabitur, qua locorum et elementorum dispositione vocabula distincte variare poterimus* (M, [153r]; G, [8v]); and at the end of the first book: *De quibus tabulam dupliciter depictam in medium afferam, ut facilior exitus huic operi detur* (M, [163v]; G, [14r]). In short, although both copies lack images, the hypothesis that M and G originally included some figures inserted in the middle or at the end of the text should not be ruled out. In any case, M and G reproduce one or more manuscripts that probably included images similar to those that can be seen in Z.

NY and V82. It is even possible that the figures that were allegedly lost would be roughly the same as the ones in the edition Z which, despite its later date (1489?), reproduces the text of M and G with little variation. Another minor difference has to do with the wording of the *incipit*. The first editions (M and G) do not have the *cognomen Florentinus*, and *prefatio* is referred to as *prologus*. In addition, Ratdolt's edition omits the *capituli* in the third book, although it has those of the first book.[45]

Other differences affect the text itself, in which some small changes are introduced, such as the deletion or addition of isolated words or the amendment of erroneous readings.[46] Of greater importance is the deletion of some brief passages, as in the case of the chapter *de insigniis personarum*, where we find the signs identifying different dignities, the evangelists, etc. The reference to *colus* ("spinning wheel") and to *catella* ("chain") as the signs for women and prostitutes, respectively, disappears from the text for good in the editions of the second stage.[47] The most significant change in the text is to be found in the second book, containing the procedure to create different mnemonic words by means of the combination of *loci* and *elementa*. As a result, the 1482 edition provides an explanation of the mnemotechnic mechanism more easily understandable for the reader. The 1482 Venetian version improves even more the explanation of the system adding some small but significant changes in the text.

The insertion of new contents is equally worthy of note. Thus, for example, to the discussion *de figuris* in the third book a new paragraph is added that, following the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, stresses the importance of using striking images.[48] But the most noticeable changes occur at the beginning of *Ars memorativa*. First, in the prologue, in which a new chapter, entitled *divisio memoriae*, was incorporated in 1482. Second, at the beginning of the first book, where we find a definition of the concept of *ordo* and a disqui-

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[45] In most cases the wording of the headings is changed. Thus, the nominative is used instead of *de* with ablative: *De preceptione / locorum preceptio; de qualitate locorum / locorum qualitas; de multitudine locorum / numerus locorum*, etc.

[46] See, for example, in the third book, the discussion *de effictio*: *in cano iam mento mundum nasum tergentem* (M, [154v]) / *in cano iam mento iam mundum nasum tergentem* (G, [9v] / *in cano mento iam mucidum nasum tergentem* (V82, d1v). A clearly erroneous reading in the first printed versions can be seen in the chapter *de insigniis locorum*: *Sic candia et chura, florentia purpuram, valentia risum mittens suo proprio bono denotabitur* (M, [162r]; G, [13r]). This is later amended in the versions of the second stage: *Sic caudia azathura [...])* (NY, [14r]); *Sic caudia zagarum [...]* (V82, [d7r]). And also in the final version: *Sic candia zugarum [...]* (V85, H2). The reference to the city of Valencia in this section is quite significant. Additional external references, such as that to the controversy with Valencian humanist Iohannes Serra, may lead us to believe that Publicius was born there or that "la carriera di professore del Publicio si inaugura a Valenza", as suggested by Francisco Rico (Sottili 1985: 7–9). Finally, let us add that Leporeus omits the reference to Valencia when he takes this passage over to his *Ars memorativa* (Morcillo Romero 2015: 126–127).

[47] *Plato secum peditem trahit Aristotelem; colus mulierum; catella meretricum* (M, [161v]; G, [13r]; Z, [b4v]). Missing in NY, [13v]; V82, [d4v]; V85, H2r. There is another example, in the chapter *de partibus humani corporis* of the second book, where the reference to animals and things is omitted: *Item de animalibus et aliis rebus intellige* (M, [159r]). Missing in Z, NY, V82 and V85.

[48] *Magna quippe incredibilia, invisa, nova, rara, inaudita, flebilia, egregia, turpia, singularia ac pervenusta menti et memoriae nostrae ac recordationi plurimum conferunt* (NY, [b1v–b2r]; V82, d4r). Here, Publicius follows the advice in the *Rhet. Her.* III, 36 quite closely: *usitatae res facile e memoria elabantur, insignes et novae diutius manent in animo. [...] Docet ergo se natura vulgari et usitata re non exsuscitari, novitate et insigni quodam negotio commoveri.* Leporeus reproduces Publicius's text verbatim (Morcillo Romero 2015: 120).

sition on its application for the sorting of places.[49] This chapter is substantially enlarged and it looks practically like a new chapter, although one cannot discard the hypothesis that the first versions of the text would follow an incomplete manuscript version, at least in this chapter of *Ars memorativa*. The analysis of the summary that closes the first book seems to reinforce this notion.

Indeed, at the end of the first book Publicius summarizes the main sections covered thus far.[50] As regards the text of *Ars memorativa*, this summary presents some significant changes in the titles of the *capituli*.[51] It is particularly striking that the summary would include a reference to *de lege*, since *locorum lex* does not appear in these first versions of the text (M, G, Z) – although it is found in the two versions of the second stage (NY, V82). Consequently, the summary that closes this book now reproduces the number of chapters and their *tituli*[52] more faithfully, although it would undergo some reworking in the following edition.[53] If the principles of *de locorum lege* are an addition *ex novo* to the second stage of the text, it does not explain why it is mentioned in the closing summary of the first book.[54] Therefore, it can be assumed that in these first versions of the printed text (M, G, Z) perhaps an incomplete source manuscript may have been followed. And what is more, there is reasonable suspicion that the mistake could have occurred because the principles *de lege*, as seen in later versions, are nothing but a list of the remaining chapters similar to the one found at the end of the first book. In any case, this is just one of the many mysteries of Publicius' text, whose possible solution may follow from an exhaustive study of the manuscript tradition.

3. The printed text of *Ars memorativa*: from the second stage to the third

The second Venice edition by Ratdolt (1485) constitutes the third and the last stage of the history of the printed text because, as noted earlier, the version published by Ratdolt in 1490 is but a reprint. The most obvious change is the insertion of new images, whose

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[49] The same changes can be observed in the edition attributed to Guldenschaff, following our own perusal of the two volumes consulted (NY/Bod).

[50] *Ceterum, quoniam de ordine, lege, praeceptione, qualitate, inventione, dissimilitudine, numero, locorum impressione, memorie corroboratione, exercitatione, ingenio conferentium et commentitis locis, cognitione in (sic) mentis dicentes, satis huius primi libelli magnitudine crevit, commodius reliquis de rebus in sequenti volumine dicendum censuimus* (M, [152v]). The list of items is slightly different in the three editions of the first stage of composition: G, [8v] adds *abolitione* and corrects *vi menti*; likewise, Z, b1v includes *abolitione* and changes the word order in *vi mentis cognitione*.

[51] For example: M and G replace *numero* with *multitudine* (M, [145r]; G, [3v]); *memorie* with *materie* (*memorie / materie corroboratione*) (M, [146r]; G, [4r]); uses *ambolitione* instead of *abolitione* (M, [146v]; G, [4v]). The chapter *de notatione* (M, [147r]; G, [4v]; Z, [A7v]) is not mentioned in the summary (M, [152v]; G, [8v]; Z, b1v).

[52] *Ceterum quoniam de ordine, lege, preceptione, qualitate, inventione, dissimilitudine, numero, locorum impressione, memorie corroboratione, abolitione, exercitatione, ingenio conferentium, et comenticiorum locorum cognitione dicentes [...]* (NY, [b1r], omits *cognitione*; V82, [c4v]).

[53] *Ceterum quoniam de ordine, lege, preceptione, inventione, qualitate, dissimilitudine, notatione, impressione locorum, multitudine, et comenticiorum locorum cognitione dicentes [...]* (V85, G4v).

[54] *Locorum lex preceptione, qualitate, inventione, dissimilitudine, numero, impressione, memorie corroboratione, imaginum abolitione, notatione, exercitatione ac ingenio conferentium et vi mentis cognitione commenticiisque locis plene perfecteque constat* (V82, c3r).

presence is justified, according to Carruthers and Bayerle, because the printer wanted the work to be more appealing.[55]

Engravings are mentioned from the earliest editions of the text. From the extant copies (M and G), if they were ever printed during this first stage, they have been lost, however. If they were indeed printed, those engravings, as mentioned before, must have been quite similar to those in the Z edition that corresponds to the first stage of the text despite its late publication date. Whatever the case, the first printed engravings that have survived are to be found in the edition attributed to Guldenschaff (Cologne, c. 1481). The engravings in at least two copies (NY and Bod) allow us to reconstruct the whole set of figures of this version of *Ars memorativa*. They consist, firstly, of two square checkerboards or "grid diagrams" with a moving figure at the center (**Fig. 5** and **6**), perhaps the printer's reinterpretation of *quadrati norma* – announced in the chapter *de multitudine locorum* of the first book and briefly discussed in the second book.[56] These are followed by 48 figures of letters "printed on small circular pieces of paper attached to the page by a string so that they can rotate".[57] The majority of letters represented here coincide with those of the 1482 Venice edition (**Fig. 7** and **8**). Although there are fewer letters in Ratdolt's edition (V82), new figures have been incorporated. More specifically, six figures of letters (a G, an M, a P, two Vs, and an X) and two additional images that are also inserted in circles, although they are not letters: a vessel at sea and a landscape. In addition, Ratdolt's edition also includes other new images that were already glossed by Carruthers and Bayerle: a brief list of Greek letters,[58] a "grid diagram" with 25 figures of animals,[59] a mechanism to create words by combining vowels and consonants,[60] and a chessboard with the pieces on it.[61] Apart from the greater number of engravings, it is particularly significant that only one engraving has moving parts in all of Ratdolt's editions, whereas all of the engravings in the edition attributed to Guldenschaff do have moving parts.

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[55] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 229).

[56] See *supra* n. 45.

[57] Description by Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 230), who nevertheless attributed this edition to Antoine Caillout [Paris: between 1484 and 1490]. According to them, "Diagrams with moving parts, made by cutting out pieces of parchment and fastening them to a page, were a commonplace feature in medieval manuscripts, but this is one of the earliest examples in a printed book."

[58] The use of Greek (and Hebrew) letters is alluded to in the earliest printed versions: *He autem ebree grece reales inanimatae et animatae erunt* (M, [152v]; G, [8v]; Z, biv); *Diversarum quoque nationum et gentium littere veluti nove nobis et ignote figure cum plurimum mentem in recordationem excitant, grecas hic literas sic subicere consilium fuit, ut diversarum figurarum ratione mentem facilius levare possimus* (M, [153r]; G, [9r]; Z, b2r; NY, [biv]; V82, [c7r]).

[59] This "grid diagram" was inserted at the end of the work, but it is specifically connected to the advice in the chapter *numerus locorum*, where we learn how to increase the number of *loci memoriae* with the help of animal figures: *Centum etiam conficta animalia litterarum et alphabeti ordine exquiret ac unicuique figure quinque maxima diformia animalia accomodabit, vel res aliquas animalibus commiscere poterit ut diversitate hac firmius memorie impressa inhereant. In quibus pro eorum magnitudine plurimas ac diversas imaginum sedes pro sententia nostra statuere poterimus* (V82, c4r). It should be noted that the series of figures follows, for the most part, the alphabetical order of the Latin names of the animals. In addition, each animal is represented inside a specific architectural design.

[60] Bayerle (2002: 249 n. 51 and 252–254) explains this complex mechanism following on *Congestorium artificiosae memoriae*, by Iohannes Romberch.

[61] Although it can be assumed that the chessboard with the pieces on it may work as a *locus memoriae*, there is no explicit reference to it in the text of Publicius's *Ars memorativa*. This would indicate that this engraving was inserted by Ratdolt.
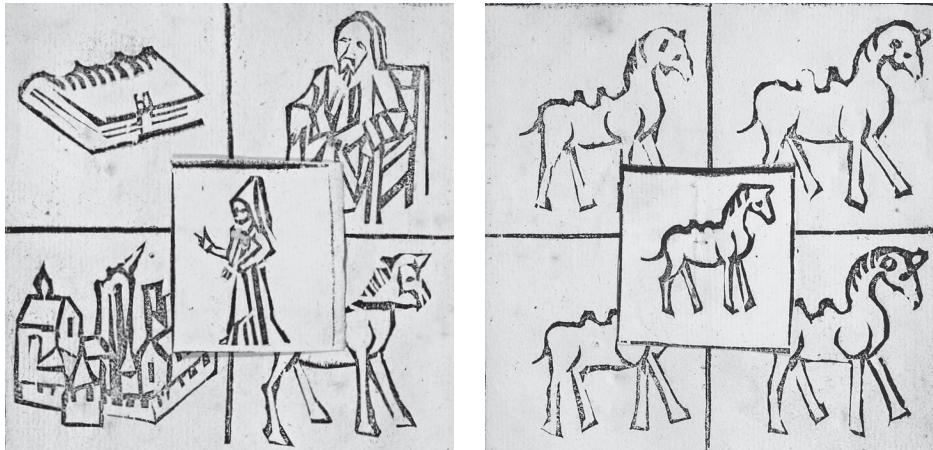
Fig. 5 and **6:** Mnemonic grid. [Iacobus Publicius], *Ars memorativa*, [Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, around 1481], [7v–8r]. Bodleian Library, Bod-inc., P-535.
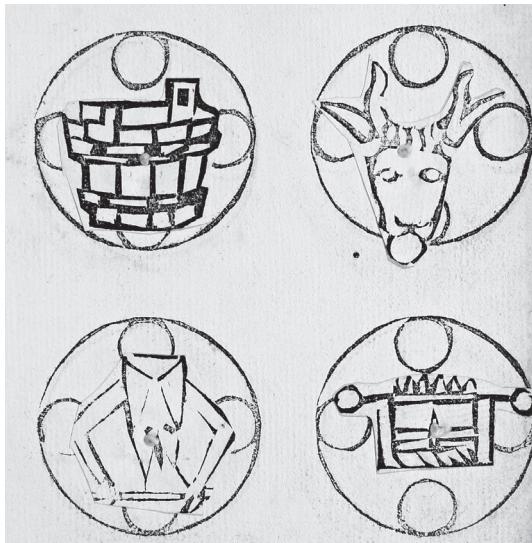
Fig. 7: Mnemonic alphabet, letters D^2 and E^2. [Iacobus Publicius], *Ars memorativa*, [Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, around 1481], [3r]. Bodleian Library, Bod-inc., P-535. (and in V90)

Fig. 8: Mnemonic alphabet, letters C^1, D^2 and E^2. Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482, c8r. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ink P-868

As far as the engravings are concerned, there are few differences between V85 and V82. In V85 four new engravings were added and only one removed. This replacement implies the deletion of the last circle in the series of letters, more specifically the circle with the landscape.[62] In its stead, a different landscape was inserted in the chapter *loco-*

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[62] This mnemonic alphabet of sorts became very popular and it was reproduced, among others, by Romberch (1520: E6v–F1v), Leporeus (1523: 19r) and Valadés (1579: 100).

Fig. 9: Mnemonic landscape. Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482, d2v. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ink P-868.

Fig. 10: Mnemonic landscape. Iacobus Publicius, *Ars memorativa*, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1485, G5v. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 79 Quod. (6).

rum qualitas (**Fig. 9** and **10**). In addition to the similarities between both engravings, its relocation within the text seems especially relevant, since the engraving apparently illustrates the concepts on *locorum inventio*, the chapter following immediately after this one, where the author argues that out of the three mechanisms to come up with mnemonic places (*natura*, *ingenium*, and a combination of the two), the combination of natural and artificial elements is the most advisable method. This is indeed what can be observed in the new landscape, where we find the sea, the countryside, the hills (natural elements) dotted with boats, houses, and watchtowers (artificial elements).

The engraving of the cosmos that illustrates the chapter *de locis comenticiis*, whose authorship Carruthers and Bayerle rightly attribute to Ratdolt,[63] does not seem as consistent with the content of *Ars memorativa*. However, we believe this is not the case of the two new engravings. The first one depicts the figures of a man and a woman, practically naked and with outstretched arms.

This would probably imply that Publicius was trying to illustrate the mechanism whereby mnemonic words can be created by attaching letters to different parts of the human body. The mechanism is scarcely illuminated, which makes it obscure. However, in any case, the figures are not alien to the contents of the text.[64] Finally, this edition

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[63] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 229).
[64] *Unica littera plures referre perpulchrum est, ut quodcumque Δ perfossa ea parte corporis locetur, nomen verbumque variat, ut in hac figura patebit* (H2r). There is also an image of a naked man in Z, but without a caption (**Fig. 6**). As Kiss (2008: 115) rightly notes, the lack of captions makes the interpre-

(V85) includes a two-page tree almost at the end of the work, between the chessboard and the animal grid diagram. This *arbor memoriae* is relevant to the text. In fact, it is referred to as *tabula dupliciter depicta* from the earliest editions of the text, although it is only to be found now.[65]

Therefore, as far as the engravings are concerned, there are noticeable differences between the two Venice editions by Ratdolt (V82 and V85). But the differences are even more striking if we look at the text itself. In this regard, it should be noted first that Publicius corrects several passages of the earlier edition. These changes are negligible for the most part, and they do not affect the substance of the ideas in the text. The only chapter where significant changes may be observed belongs to the second book (V82), here called *Memorie per adiunctionem literarum alleviatio* (V85). Here, Publicius describes the instructions to operate what Carruthers and Bayerle call "The Wheel for Combining Letters".[66] In order to make this combination mechanism more easily understandable, Publicius relocates a statement and adds a new one, but the instructions are not changed in essence. In fact, both versions use the same engraving.[67]

Truth be told, the comparative analysis of the two Venice editions brings to light that the most significant change does not affect directly the content of the work itself but the way of the text, that is, its structure. According to Carruthers and Bayerle, the addition of a new chapter, the third one, is the only modification. This new chapter deals with the training and strengthening of memory through medicinal remedies.[68] However, a close scrutiny of both versions reveals that there is actually no new chapter. What happens is that some chapters have been renamed and, especially, that some materials have been rearranged in different chapters and books. This is of particular relevance in the case of the original first book, whose contents are now to be found in books one and three of the later version. These modifications have been summarized, for ease of reference, in the following diagram (**Fig. 11**), where we can see that the first book has been "ransacked" of contents that are now found in the third book (formerly, the second book). Thus, these are not novel contents; they have simply been relocated within the treatise. In the following graph below (**Fig. 12**), it can be clearly seen how the first book gets completely emptied for the benefit of the third book. Therefore, the main innovation of V85 regard-

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tations in the manuscripts all the more interesting. Along the same lines, British Library Ms. Add 28805 – a copy of V85, according to Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 226) – depicts the figure of a man with inscriptions in different parts of his body. The woman, however, has no inscriptions. This would suggest that its owner was trying to apply Publicius's method. According to Doležalová, Kiss (2014: 134), the absence of captions or annotations is due to the fact that "chaque enseignant de l'art de la mémoire désirait gagner sa vie, raison pour laquelle il aspirait à se rendre indispensable. Ces traités sont donc rédigés de sorte qu'ils restent presque incompréhensibles sans explication du professeur".

[65] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 230): "This latter image, which does not appear in the first incunable edition, played an important role in Raymond Llull's classification of universal knowledge." However, this *tabula dupliciter depicta* is mentioned in all editions and it is even possible that from the extant copies of the first editions (M and G) this and other engravings may have been lost, as suggested by the fact that Z does have them (**figs. 1–4**).

[66] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 227).

[67] This is the statement that was relocated at the beginning of the chapter: *Caput namque rei cuiusque obliqua linea circunductum variabimus figura quadrati*. A new statement is inserted towards the end of the chapter: *Que versibus his cernuntur complexa: Prima tenet centrum O, celum medium diem D, septem F triones, omni recurta O sibi sit rotunda* (H4r). Here, the reference to Hebrew letters is present again, after having been removed from the previous version (V82, [c7r]).

[68] Carruthers, Bayerle (2002: 226).

In hoc primo libro

- Locorum praeceptio
- Locorum qualitas
- Inventio locorum
- Dissimilitudo locorum
- Numerus locorum
- Impressio locorum
- Corroboratio memoriae
- Imaginum abolitio
- Locorum notatio
- Exercitatio locorum
- Ingenio conferentia
- Cognitio mentis
- Commentitia loca

1482

In hoc primo libro

- [Praeceptio locorum]
- Locorum inventio
- Locorum qualitas
- Dissimilitudo locorum
- Locorum notatio
- Impressio locorum
- Locorum multitudo
- Commentitia sive ficta loca

Liber tertius et ultimus

- [Exercitatio locorum]
- Corroboratio memoriae
- Ingenio conferentia
- Memoriae per adiunctione litterarum alleviatio
- Modus commendandi memoriae …
- Imaginum abolitio
- Imaginum repetitio

1485

Fig. 11: New chapter ordering, from V82 to V85.

Ars memorativa Publicii

1482 / 1485

- Praefatio
- In hoc **primo** libro …
- Realium litterarum quoque figurarum liber **secundus**.
- Imaginum liber **tertius et ultimus**.

- Praefatio
- In hoc **primo** libro …
- Imaginum liber **secundus et** ultimus.
- Exercitii memoriae corroborationisque (…) **liber tertius et ultimus**.
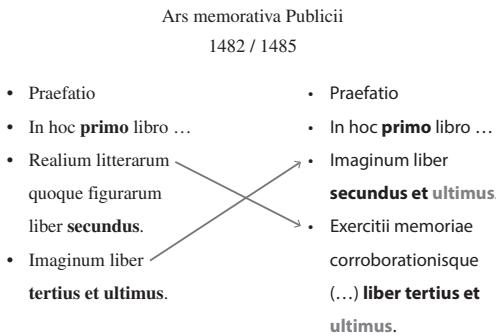
Fig. 12: General structure, from V82 to V85.

ing V82 is not the addition or the removal of new contents but the reorganization of pre-existing contents.

The outcome of all these changes is a well-balanced text, both formally and conceptually. The new version tries to give each of the three books equal weight, and also to make their respective contents more homogeneous. The first book, clearly oversized in the first editions (M, G), is now strictly reduced to the analysis of *loci. Imagines* are now the domain of the second book, which remains practically intact from the earlier version except for its new position within the whole – it used to be the third (and last) book. Oddly enough, the editor did not realize that it was no longer the last book, and so the 1485 version has two "last" books: the second and the third one.

The third and final book incorporates into the scarce contents it had in the earlier version the discussion on memory *exercitatio* and the physiological maintenance of its natural qual-

ities; i.e., the chapter on medicinal matters that was formerly part of the first book under the title *ingenio conferentia*. The immediate consequence of this rearrangement of materials is a book that is better organized and with a more conventional layout – its compositional structure adhering to the classical order: *loci, imagines, exercitatio* and medicinal advice.

4. Conclusion

Three stages can therefore be distinguished in the history of the printed text of *Ars memorativa*. The first of these comprises two volumes (M and G), published in different years and cities (Toulouse and Paris, around 1477). Curiously enough, the same stage in the composition of the text is also to be found in a later edition (Z, around 1489), which also includes a series of engravings that were probably also part of the first editions, although they were unfortunately lost, at least in M and G. Two versions have been preserved of the second stage of the text: the version that seems be earlier (Bod, NY, around 1481) has no *tituli* and even omits the name of the author. It has some engravings, all of them with moving parts, depicting a combination of *imagines* and *literae reales*. The mnemonic alphabet matches for the most part that of the first Venice edition by Ratdolt (V82), which also includes a few other carefully crafted illustrations. At any rate, with regards to the earlier version, the second stage of the text of *Ars memorativa* is enriched by virtue of two significant additions: the chapters *divisio memorie* and *de ordine*. These two chapters, both inserted at the beginning of the treatise, allow the reconciliation of the neo-Platonic conception of natural memory with the methods and rules of artificial memory with a clear wink to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and neo-Aristotelian philosophy.[69] Because of Ratdolt's work, *Ars memorativa* was linked in 1482 to two rhetorical treatises (*Institutiones oratoriae* and *Ars epistolandi*), and the resulting volume was published under the generic title *Oratoriae artis epitomata*. Among the engravings in this version (V82) we find one describing a mechanism to create mnemonic words through the combination of vowels and consonants. This mechanism had been outlined in a way in the earliest versions and, because of its complexity, its formulation would undergo certain changes in the third (and last) version of the text, printed by Ratdolt in 1485 (V85).

With regards to the previous version, the second one is characterized by a profound rearrangement of the contents across all the books of the text. A large part of the chapters, initially in the first book, passes now into to the third book. The result of these changes is a more well-balanced text from both the formal and doctrinal point of view. The last version (V85) wants to achieve two aims: put the three books on the same level despite

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[69] In the second stage of the text (NY/Bod, V82), Publicius added the chapter *divisio memorie* which integrates the classical distinction between natural and artificial memory, but in terms more and more close to those of the classical rhetoric. Memory, says Publicius, is like "a roll of writing, a sheet of paper, or a book", while reminiscence is like "a sound, an utterance, or a voice" (*Easque tamen invicem distare animadvertunt ut opera volumini, papiro et libro alteram, alteram sono, pronunciationi et voci compararunt*, V82, c2r). A similar comparison to that was made by Cicero who, in a Platonic way, likes describing the functioning of the artificial memory as a luck of writing on wax boards (Cic. *De orat.* II, 354 and II, 360; Cic. *Part.* 26). See Merino Jerez (2015). But when identifying later the *memoria* with *actus* and the *reminiscentia* with *habitus,* a kind of Thomist twist is introduced in the doctrine of Publicius. On this matter Merino Jerez (in press).

having been clearly in favour of the first one before, and homogenize the content of each one of the three books.

The first book, which was oversized with heterogeneous contents in the first versions (M, G, Z; NY/Bod, V82), is now limited to the strict analysis of the *loci*. The second book is focused on the analysis of the images. And the third and last book includes everything concerned with the *exercitatio* of the memory and with the physiological care of its natural features, that is, the medicinal chapter which was previously in the first book with the title of *ingenio conferentia*. As a consequence of these massive reallocations, this manual turns out to be much more well-organized and more traditional since its compositional structure articulated through a simple composite procedure is adjusted to the classical order of *loci*, *imagines*, *exercitatio* and medicinal advice.

Also, new engravings were added – most of which are connected to the doctrine of the text. This seems to indicate that, as Carruthers claims, more often than not these engravings were made by the editor and not the author. In any case, the final result is a well-balanced text in terms of content that is made all the more appealing by the editorial challenge it poses. These two factors surely account for much of its success. To sum up, the final result is a well-balanced work from a doctrinal point of view and an interesting one from the editorial, which both surely explain much of its success.

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ARS MEMORATIVA IACOBA PUBLICIA.
NÁSTIN VÝVOJE (TIŠTĚNÉHO) TEXTU

Ve vývoji tištěného textu *Ars memorativa* Iacoba Publicia lze rozlišit tři stadia. První z nich zahrnují dva svazky publikované v Toulouse a Paříži kolem roku 1477 a totéž stadium kompozice textu figuruje i v jedné pozdější edici (vydané kolem roku 1489). Druhé stadium je dochováno ve dvou verzích. Ta zřejmě dřívější (kolem roku 1481) postrádá *tituli*, a dokonce v ní není uvedeno ani jméno autora. Obsahuje ale různé rytiny s pohyblivými komponenty, které představují kombinaci *imagines* a *literae reales*. Druhá verze tohoto druhého stadia byla publikována Ratdoltovou tiskárnou v Benátkách v roce 1482. *Ars memorativa* byla sdružena se dvěma rétorickými spisy (*Institutiones oratoriae* a *Ars epistolandi*) a výsledný svazek byl publikován pod souhrnným titulem *Oratoriae artis epitomata*. Tato verze obsahuje mnemonickou abecedu, která se velmi podobá té, kterou prezentovala verze z roku 1481, ačkoli nyní jsou téměř všechny obrázky zafixovány. Pokud jde o text, hlavní novinkou je důkladné přeuspořádání obsahu v rámci všech knih. Poslední stadium (1485, u Ratdolta) usiluje o dva cíle: vyrovnat rozdíly mezi jednotlivými knihami, protože dříve byla ta první předimenzována, a homogenizovat obsah každé z těchto tří knih. Výsledkem je práce vyvážená z hlediska didaktického i atraktivní z hlediska editorského. Nepochybně jedno i druhé z velké části vysvětluje její úspěch.

Luis Merino Jerez
Universidad de Extremadura, Cáceres
lmerino@unex.es

VARIA

PAINS AND PLEASURES OF INTERPRETING AND APPROPRIATING OBSCURITY: THE *VERSUS MALIGNI ANGELI* IN THE TWELFTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES*

LUCIE DOLEŽALOVÁ

ABSTRACT

The study addresses the subject of methods and character of medieval text transmission and interpretation through a case study of a brief obscure poem sometimes entitled *Versus maligni angeli*. While its origin is not known, it provoked four different detailed interpretations. All the commentators explain its meaning as Christian one but radically differ in the specific interpretations. They also justify the supposed devil's authorship of the poem in very different ways. They apply traditional strategies of Biblical exegesis to this idiosyncratic source. Although it is a mere opuscule, this case shows medieval exegetical flexibility as well as curiosity inherent in perceiving the created world. List of surviving manuscript copies of the verses as well as editions of two of the glossed versions are provided in appendices.

Keywords: medieval manuscript culture; medieval obscurity; medieval Latin; textual transmission; medieval interpretation; medieval literature

Sed multis et multiplicibus obscuritatibus et ambiguitatibus decipiuntur, qui temere legunt, aliud pro alio sentientes, quibusdam autem locis, quid uel falso suspicentur, non inueniunt: ita obscure dicta quaedam densissimam caliginem obducunt. Quod totum prouisum esse diuinitus non dubito ad edomandam labore superbiam et intellectum a fastidio reuocandum, cui facile inuestigata plerumque uilescunt.

"But hasty and careless readers are led astray by many and manifold obscurities and ambiguities, substituting one meaning for another; and in some places they cannot hit upon even a fair interpretation. Some of the expressions are so obscure as to shroud the meaning in the thickest darkness. And I do not doubt that all this was divinely arranged for the purpose of subduing pride by toil, and of preventing a feeling of satiety in the intellect, which generally holds in small esteem what is discovered without difficulty."

Aug. *Doctr. christ.* II, 6

1. Obscurity of the Scripture and practice of interpretation and appropriation

From all the possible obscurities,[1] it is the obscurity of the Scriptures that is discussed most frequently throughout the Middle Ages. The Scriptures, as well as the entire world, are perceived as the reflection of God's will and nature and can never be completely grasped in this life – St. Paul describes the earthly grasp as *per speculum in enigmate* (1 Cor 13, 12).[2] In the passage quoted above, Augustine, within his most influential "theory of signs," presents his notion of scriptural enigma as challenge.[3] He states that the same messages could have been put much more simply and clearly, and indeed, are revealed at other places in the Scripture in a straightforward way, but there is a greater pleasure coming from contemplating an enigma. The toil of decoding causes us to be more modest, and it gives us greater appreciation for what we learn. Due to Augustine, throughout the Middle Ages the Scripture was viewed as an intentionally encoded message that cannot be fully decoded in this life. Engaging with it, however, was a praiseworthy act bringing one closer to God.[4]

During the Middle Ages, there was actually no radical difference between elucidating the Bible – a sacred text into which God himself encoded the greatest mysteries – and explaining a text with a historical, identifiable author:[5] in practice they were often very close to each other in their methods.[6] The existence of a commentary to a text is, in the first place, an indication of the text's authoritative status – a text commented on is a text that is considered to deserve one's detailed attention.[7] But to what degree does the existence of an interpretation, explanation, or commentary to a text imply that the text itself is obscure? Perhaps it rather implies that there *was* something unclear in the text (or in the relationship between the text and its relevance to perceived reality, or to established practice), but also that it ceases to be obscure for its reader who was able to decode it and is now offering a solution. Through the commentary, the degree of the text's obscurity diminishes, the text moves from obscurity to clarity. Unless the author believes that he or she is able to reduce the obscurity of a text, he is not likely to comment on it. Thus, the existence of a commentary suggests that the text commented on was perceived as

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[1] I use "obscure" here simply in the meaning of "unclear" although the concept is a complex one. For a possible definition, see, e.g., Brandt, Fröhlich, Seidel (2003). See also Doležalová, Rider, Zironi (2013).

[2] *Nunc videmus tanquam per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem.* In the Douay-Rheims Bible: "We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known." The King James version reads: "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." Within this volume, I cite the Vulgate always according to the Clementine version available at http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/html (last accessed May 5, 2020), and its English translation according to the Douay-Rheims Bible at http://www.drbo.org (last accessed May 5, 2020).

[3] See, e.g., Markus (1957).

[4] This is, of course, a very complex issue presented here in a simplified manner. For basic details, see de Lubac (1959–1964) and Smalley (1982).

[5] The other crucial discourse on obscurity is found within poetics and rhetoric. The medieval advices to poets oscilate between suggestions of *perspicuitas* and a certain degree of *obscuritas*, see Ziolkowski (1996).

[6] To my knowledge, there is no full comparative treatment of medieval exegetical methods, a large topic that exceeds the scope of this study.

[7] Cf., e.g., Geerlings (2002: 1).

an *interpretable obscurity*. The absence of a commentary, on the other hand, may imply either absolute clarity of the text (i.e. no need for a commentary), or, on the other hand, its absolute obscurity (i.e. failure to appropriate the text, no capability to write a commentary), or, finally, indifference towards the text (i.e. no interest in writing a commentary).

Any explanation is a sort of appropriation. It is within the context of appropriation that something is perceived as unclear and can consequently be *made* clear, and "one's own." Since the structures regulating the appropriation of texts are always socially and culturally bound, texts are interpreted again and again in new contexts, and the character of the appropriation tells often more about the rules of discourse in the appropriating culture than about the text itself. Commentaries provide an insight into the norms, the framework into which the original obscurity was made to fit, than about the obscurity itself. On the other hand, it might be possible to assess the efforts behind the appropriation: the more obscure the text, the more struggle lies behind its explanation, which might be articulated within the commentary. In cases where a number of commentaries exist from the same time, one can detect either the unanimity of exposition or a variety in it. The former indicates either a lesser degree of obscurity within the text, or a higher force of the norm, the latter suggests the opposite: that the text found itself at the edge, not belonging anywhere, not easy to appropriate.

Besides full scale commentaries, the actual character of interpretation and appropriation of a text can be discerned from interlinear glosses, changes to the text itself, as well as from analysis of the physical and cultural environment in which the text is transmitted. The present case study is an attempt at such a multi-faceted analysis of interpretation and appropriation of an obscure text.

2. The *Versus maligni angeli*

The text analysed here is a brief obscure poem of uncertain origin. It was first discovered and transcribed for the Benedictine edition of Du Cange's *Glossarium* by Lebeuf,[8] and subsequently edited by Quicherat[9] and Castets[10] from individual manuscripts. Although mostly neglected by scholars so far,[11] it was quite largely diffused and commented on and is found in a variety of environments in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. An exploration of its reception thus serves as an apt case study of interpreting and appropriating obscurity in the Middle Ages.

The poem is usually transmitted without an author attribution and a title. The few titles that appear include *Versus daemonis* (Verses of a demon), *Versus maligni angeli* (Verses of a malign angel), *Versus diaboli* (Verses of a devil), *Versus extranei* (Verses from outside), and even *Tractatus de fluvio Oronte* (Treatise on the Orontes River). In the hith-

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[8] Du Cange (1840: 216).
[9] Quicherat (1879: 602–603), edited from the Charleville-Mézières ms.
[10] Castets (1887: 112–119), edited from the Montpellier ms.
[11] There is one detailed article on the verses and their reception, Hilka (1937). In addition, there is a brief discussion of the verses in Schmidt (2008). I have briefly discussed it within Doležalová (2017). Specific aspects were addressed in studies discussed below.

erto oldest known manuscript, Bourges, BM, 105, written at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century in Chezal-Benoît (**Fig. 1**), the poem reads:

> [O]ppositum montem transcendere cernis orontem
> Arma tua dextra capies et fer capud extra
> Hinc gladio multos umbris mactabis inultos
> Sed prius hoc unus puerorum fret [!] tibi munus
> Lanx quę cum carne tibi dudum servit agarne   5
> Iam prolatura tibi constat munera plura
> Hinc et gallina dat vocem pandite lina.
> Panibus indutos piscesque videte minutos
> Trax capud orontis iacet hoc in corpore montis
> Quem circumstabant acies et vociferabant   10
> Amaratunta tili codoxia noxia nili
> Pensa tibi dippus eris hoc in limine lippus
> Victus amore pio sic cantat maxima clio.

The very approximate translation I propose is:[12]

> Facing the mountain, you note Orontes descending[13]
> You will seize your weapons with your right hand and take the head out
> Hence you will elevate to the shadows many un-revenged with [your] sword
> But before [that] one of the boys brings you this gift
> A plate with meat which he humbly[14] serves just now
> Already about to bring forth to you many gifts
> Hence the hen also gives the voice, spread out the ropes
> Behold the diminished[15] fishes clad in bread
> Thracian head of Orontes, it lies in the body of the mountain
> Around which the troops stood and exclaimed
> Amaratunta tili codoxia noxia nili[16]
> Consider for yourself, you will be Oedipus blind in this light
> Defeated by pious love, thus sings the greatest Clio.[17]

The original source, meaning, and purpose of the poem are far from clear. At first sight, this looks like nonsense. Something is occurring – perhaps a fight – but no real story can be discerned. Two of the words, *amaratunta* and *codoxia*, are *hapax legomena* – they appear only here and their meaning is obscure.[18] There are clear allusions to the Gospels (the miracle of the bread and the fish, and the simile of stretching the ropes,

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[12] The translations here and below are mine.
[13] Or: You see Orontes ascending against the mountain.
[14] Based on the medieval commentaries claiming that *agarne* is an adverb derived from Agar, i.e. Haggar, the servant of Sara (Genesis 16), meaning "in a servant-like manner."
[15] Probably "divided into small pieces."
[16] Based on the medieval explanations of the text the translation of this line would be: "In the second coming of the Lord the vain glory of the heretics will become to them the plague of the Red Sea" (see the discussion below).
[17] Clio or Kleio is the Muse of history.
[18] Cf. Du Cange (1840: 216) – the entry does not appear in the original edition of the dictionary, only in the version revised by Benedictines of St. Maur.
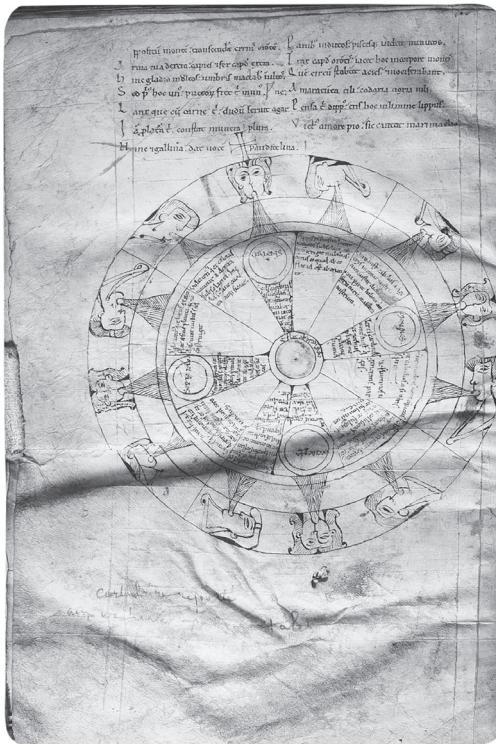
Fig. 1: Ms. Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, 105, f. 95v.

i.e., the nets by the apostles), but also to classical culture (Oedipus and the Muse Clio). The use of the second person, which gives the poem a sense of appellation, is curious.

The readings of the poem differ from each other in the manuscripts and I am unfortunately not yet able to provide a critical edition of the text. Some of the variants are surely scribal mistakes, such as *fret* (line 4) standing for *fert* (sometimes substituted by *fer* or *dat* in the manuscripts), or the variants *perlatura / parlatura / prolatura / prelatura* (line 6, clearly due to manuscript abbreviation), but even in such cases it is not always easy to decide which of the variants might have been the original one. In general, they point to the scribes' uncertainty concerning the overall meaning – uncertainty that remains till today. Noteworthy is the variant *orantem* (a praying one, acc. sg.) for *orontem* (Orontes River, acc. sg.) in line 1, which suggests that it is a person, not a river that ascends the mountain. Line 10 contains a variation between past and future tenses (*circumstabant / circumstabunt*, *vociferabant / vociferabunt*), thus calling into question whether the whole poem describes a past event or refers to the future. Many of the variants affect the meaning,[19] but in each case the poem remains obscure.

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[19] Among others, there are, for example, *lanx / laus* (l. 4), *trax / trux* (l. 9), *corpore / vertice / culmine / capite* (l. 9), *codoxia / quod doxia / codaxia / cenodexia* (l. 11), *noxia / naria* (l. 11), *pensa / plexa* (l. 12), and *lumine / limine / munere / carmine / corpora* (l. 12) (these are simply examples of the variety;

3. Exorcism?

The most striking part of the poem is the totally incomprehensible line 11: *Amaratunta tili codoxia noxia nili*. A similar line is found in a manuscript in the Uppsala University Library[20] and several further versions exist[21] with scribbles on the beginnings or end of codices, or on the margins, that prevent us from interpreting their meaning. Searching for parallels offering some interpretable context, we find *Carmina burana* 55:

> *Amara tanta tyri pastos sycalos sycaliri*
> *Ellivoli scarras polili posylique lyvarras*[22]

In contemporary scholarly interpretations, the poem is considered a mixture of Greek, Latin, and nonsense,[23] pretended Latin, or untranslatable gobbledygook.[24] Aldous Huxley refers to it as a magic spell from the twelfth century when speaking of magic always being poetry.[25] The poem follows *Carmina Burana* 54, which is an enumeration of various demons ending with an explicit exorcism.[26] It is actually far from clear that the two poems are two separate texts: *Carmina Burana* 55 begins on a new folio but without the markedly larger initial characteristic of new beginnings in the codex. Thus it seems most likely that *Carmina Burana* 55 is the actual exorcist formula belonging to *Carmina Burana* 54. Indeed, very similar lines appear in a thirteenth-century exorcism. Roberta Astori reprints them with her "translation" suggestion:

> *Amara tanta tyri pastos sycalos sycaliri*
> *celklivoli scarra polici posylisque lyvarras*
> "Un'abbondante dose di pozione amara di serpente impastare con salvia ben pestata / una quantita' opportuna de caprifoglio e una misura di urina e policaria."[27]

Another medieval exorcist poem includes a line close to line 9 of the *Versus maligni angeli*:

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[20] references to the particular manuscript witnesses preserving each variants will be included in an edition of the text which is under preparation).

[20] It reads: *Amara tonta tyri post hos sycalos sykaliri*; Uppsala, UB, C 377, is a 14th c. sermon collection and the verse is here included on f. 2r between two sermons, followed by five more verses, of which only one is reminiscent of our poem (see Appendix I). Similar lines are also found in Uppsala, UB, C 228, also a collection of sermons, but dating back to 1300, perhaps Paris University, and the lines are contained on the very last folio, 302v (see Appendix I).

[21] Hilka (1934–1937: 2) mentions two, München, BSB, clm. 2611, f. 123r from Alderspach and Oxford, BL, Digby 53. Similar verses are found in Merseburg, DSB, 40, f. 188v, in Wien, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 303, f. 64r (for all the versions, see Appendix I).

[22] München, BSB, clm. 4660, f. 18v, ed. Hilka, Schumann (1930: 110).

[23] Beatie (1967: 18).

[24] Parlett (1986: 31).

[25] Huxley (1932: 227).

[26] Inc.: *Omne genus demoniorum*, expl.: *vos exorcizo, Larve, Fauni, Manes, / Nymphe, Sirene, Hamadry-ades, / Satyri, Incubi, Penates. / ut cito abeatis, / chaos in colatis, / ne vas corrumpatis / christianitatis* ("... I exorcise you, Ghosts and Fauns, / Goblins, Sirens, Nymphs, and Dryads, / Satyrs, Nightmares, Household Gods, / Swift to Chaos get you gone, / And no more trouble Christendom. / And do Thou, O God, vouchsafe to keep us from our foes").

[27] Astori (2000: 99).

> *Si vis scire utrum homo sit obsessus an non, scribe ista verba in una carta vel littera: AGLA * LAY * ELEYTH * et illos quatuor versus que vocantur versus dyaboli quia per se fecit illos versus:*
> *Omimara chentazirim post hossita lossita lux*
> *Ebulus lepolpes mala raphamius allilous*
> *Helmo starius sed poli polisque*
> *Lux capit horrontis latet vertice montis.*
> *Dissen prieff sol man in sein hand legen. Recipit autem in manu, tunc non est obsessus, si autem non, tunc est obsessus.*[28]

Here, the verses are called verses of a devil (*versus diaboli*) because he composed them himself (*quia per se fecit illos versus*).

Already Hilka noted the exorcist link: in a Wolfsthurn manuscript from the fifteenth century there are four lines that are, just like those quoted above, believed to force the demon to identify himself when the priest whispers them into the ear of the possessed person; the first two lines are similar to *Carmina Burana* 55, the second two lines are not in the *Versus* but (as Hilka points out) resemble another exorcism. Hilka suggests that the Wolfsthurn probably represents a version older than our *Versus*. Although all the other comparable examples are only from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[29] there are reasons to assume that the formula is much older, perhaps the ninth or tenth century.[30] My conjecture is that our poem developed around the magic exorcist formula, and meaning was gradually added to it. This feature is thus most likely to be responsible for the poem's title *Verses of a malign angel* or *Verses of a demon* – these verses were either written by a demon, or can be used against him.

Although this suggestion cannot be proven now, its implications are thought-provoking: if the original basis of our poem was exorcism, that is magic or an incantation, then it was *designed* as obscure and enigmatic and was not expected to be interpreted at all. Magical incantations are meant to sound unusual and have an aesthetic dimension (they contain alliterations, rhymes, etc.) but they should be indiscernible as far as their meaning is concerned. Of course, some of the words generally remind the listeners of God and demons, or of other familiar concepts, but in the context of exorcism one is not expected to analyze the meaning and author's intentions.[31]

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[28] München, BSB, clm. 23325, f. 32v; and an inscription close to it in Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 794, f. 83v, cf. Caciola (2003: 245, n. 58). The author notes that the manuscript contains also a piece of paper with the same inscription. A paper with an inscription to be placed on the head of the possessed is evoked in München, BSB clm. 1352, f. 51.

[29] Audin (1854: 296): "There are worthy Lutherans in Saxony who still repeat the singular exorcism, the invention of which is assigned to the Catholics by Jodocus Hocker in his *Theatrum Diabolorum*, on the authority of the doctor: *Amasatonte, Tiros, Posthos, Cicalos, Cicaltri, Aeliapoli, Starras, Polen, Solemque, Livarrasque, Adipos adulpes, Draphanus, Ulphanus, Trax, caput Orontis. Jacet hoc in virtute montis.*" Cf. Hocker (1569: 76). Raabe (1969: 162) cites words linked to Simon Magus that are to be written on a piece of paper: *Amarathonta, tiros, posthos, cicalos, cicattri, eliapoli, starras, polen, solemque, linarras, edipos, edulpes, mala, draphanus, ulphanus, trax caput orontis jacet hoc in virtute montis.*

[30] This statement is repeatedly made in the context of magic but there are no actual sources known to support it.

[31] Formulas in which every word is meaningful of course also exist. The relationship between the two modes (or styles?) has not been, to my knowledge, fully explored yet.

It is not evident in what exact way the exorcist formula could have been transformed into a poem commented on independently by at least four twelfth-century exegetes. It seems that there must have been a shift in its contextualization, which either happened by a chance (the verses were found by themselves and re-contextualized differently), or was somehow intended. Yet (as shall be discussed in detail below), the question of how an obscure text of suspicious origin got sufficient authority to receive serious attention might be anachronistic. Within medieval rich tradition of encountering obscurity as a natural part of the created world, this particular obscurity of an "external" origin (i.e. not created by a human but by a demon or a devil) might have been a natural challenge to the exegete and an obvious choice for elucidation.

4. Manuscript transmission

Thus far I have traced 37 manuscripts of the poem, two more described in medieval catalogues, and a medieval reference to another apparently lost copy.[32] Seventeen of the manuscripts (and one lost copy) come from the twelfth century. Great majority of them originated in a monastic environment. Frequently the poem is accompanied by explanatory interlinear glosses, and, in addition, there are four independent commentaries to it, each witnessed in at least one twelfth-century manuscript, and each presenting a different interpretation of the enigmas of the poem. Three of them were known to Alfons Hilka who edited them in 1937,[33] the fourth one has passed unnoticed so far.

It should be stressed that the present analysis is only preliminary: there is no doubt that more manuscripts wait to be discovered. Several of the surviving copies are fragments without a title, or they contain the whole poems but integrated within other texts without any sign of distinction, and thus they are often not noted even in modern catalogues. The fact that there is no author or a fixed title presents further complications with the manuscript search. Yet, there are some transmission patterns.

To date I have traced five u n g l o s s e d   m a n u s c r i p t s of the poem.[34] It is surely especially among the unglossed copies that many remain to be noticed. It is difficult to judge the status of the poem or an approach to it on the basis of these copies as the verses were usually only added at the beginning or at the end of the codex by a different (often later) hand.[35] There is also for example the manuscript New York, PML, M 764 from Amor-

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[32] In the Appendix I and in the tables below, there are 46 manuscripts discussed, since also eight partial copies and specific versions, as well as one copy described in medieval catalogue (the Pontigny copy) are included.

[33] See Hilka (1934–1937: 1–30). However, since Hilka was not aware of many manuscripts and did not include almost any context information, the commentaries should be re-edited.

[34] They are:
Bourges, BM, 105, f. 95v,
Paris, BnF, lat. 2877A, f. 27v,
Wien, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 2521, ff. 33v–34r,
Edinburgh, NL, 18.6.12, ff. 34v–35r,
Glasgow, UL, 205.

[35] That is the case of the oldest known surviving copy, Bourges, BM, 105, where the verses appear on the last folio of a codex containing only Gregory the Great's *Homilies to Ezekiel*. The poem is accompanied by a sketch of the winds (**fig. 1**) that was made before the poem was copied (note how the text of the poem breaks to avoid the cross of the sketch) and seems unrelated to it. Paris, BnF, lat. 2877A is a small
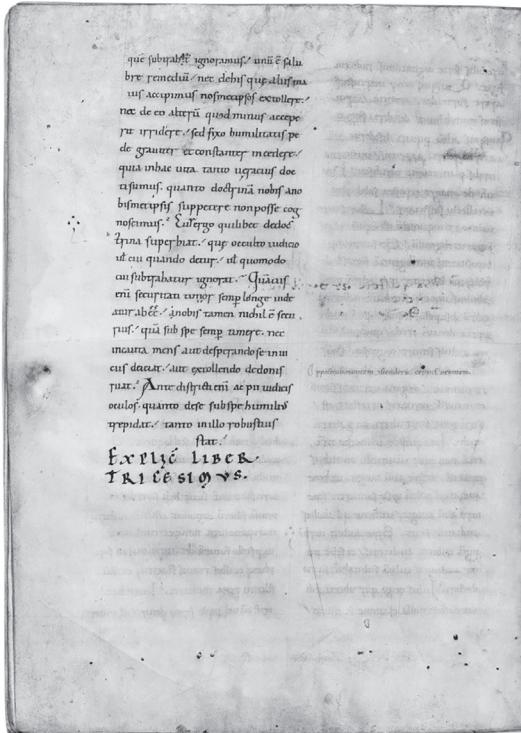
Fig. 2: Ms. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 765, f. 148v (detail).

bach, where only the first verse of the poem appears, added at the end of an otherwise unified codex with Gregory the Great's (540–604) *Moralia in Iob* (**Fig. 2**).[36] Alternately, the verses are integrated among other verses without being separated from them by a title, a void line or other means. In two manuscripts,[37] they appear in the vicinity of poems by Marbode of Rennes (1035–1123).

Thus far I am aware of six g l o s s e d m a n u s c r i p t s.[38] In most cases the glosses are interlinear but they vary in length. Three of the manuscripts[39] are closely related to one

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fascicle of 27 folios, which also contains one primary text, Honorius Augustodunensis' *Elucidarium*, with the brief addition *De tribus Mariis*, followed by our verses. In Glasgow, UL, 205, the verses are a sixteenth-century addition to a thirteenth-century codex with the collected works of Seneca.

[36] For a description, see Hoffmann (2004: 14–15) who treats 27 codices coming from Amorbach in the 10th–11th c. (including New York, PML, M 765, which originated at the same time and place and also contains *Moralia in Iob*).

[37] Wien, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 2521 and Edinburgh, NL, 18.6.12.

[38] They are:
Besançon, BM, 862, f. 24,
Karlsruhe, BLB, St. Peter Perg. 12, f. 120v, from St. Peter im Schwarzwald,
Laon, BM, 23, f. 114v,
Paris, BnF, lat. 1628, f. 145r, from St. Amand-en-Pévèle,
Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1543, f. 125v, from Hautmont,
Wien, ÖNB, s. n. 12702, f. 80r.

[39] The two Paris manuscripts and the Besançon one.
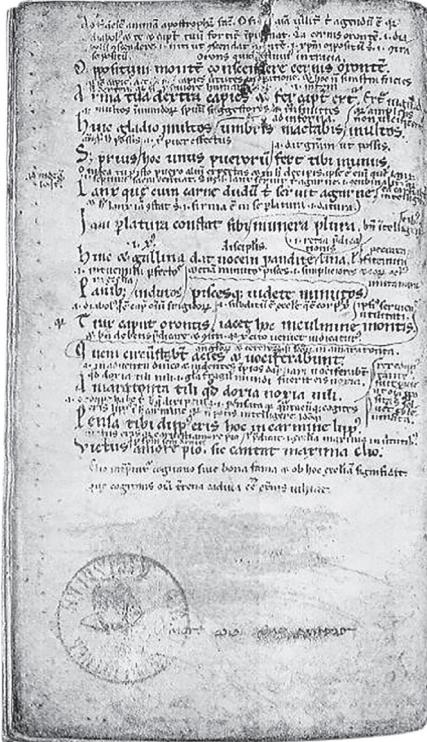
Fig. 3: Ms. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter Perg. 12, f. 120v;
Versus maligni angeli with interlinear glosses.

another. The Laon glosses are very brief and might be linked to the novelistic commentary, while the interlinear glosses in the Karlsruhe manuscript are different (**Fig. 3**); they are substantially longer and seem to be derived from the "exegetical" commentary. The most unusual is Wien, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 12702 discussed further, which places the poem among Virgil's poetry and refers to classical writers in its elucidation.

Hilka called the three different commentaries he edited "moral", "apologetic", and "novelistic" (moralisch, apologetisch, novellistisch). The newly found commentary (Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117, ff. 1v–19r) is the longest of all and includes a detailed description of the method of explanation applied, which is in line with Biblical exegesis. Thus I call it the "exegetical" commentary. While the commentaries seem to have originated independently, the "exegetical" and "novelistic" share several common features and biblical references.

The "moral" commentary does not include a general introduction, it consists only of comments on the individual lines, and thus it resembles a set of longer glosses. The poem does not appear in it independently, it is only included within the commentary. It survives in five manuscripts, two of which were known to Hilka.[40] The previously

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[40] They are:
München, BSB, clm. 2561, f. 161v,

118
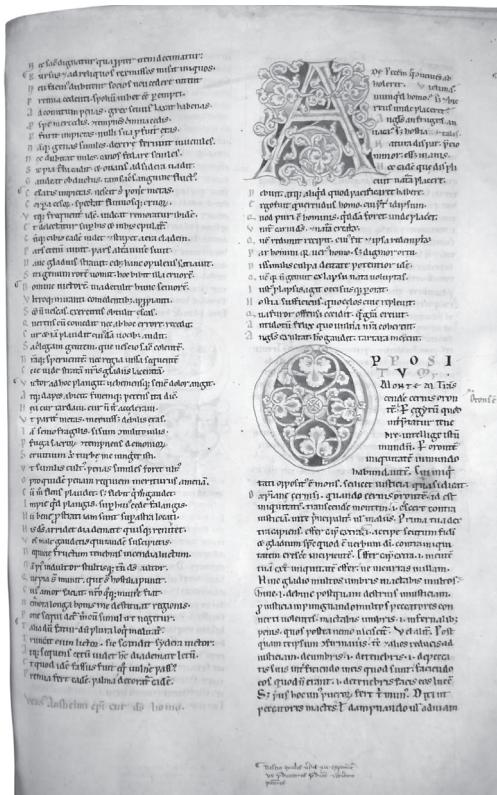
Fig. 4: Ms. Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 11, f. 150r; the *Versus* within the "moral" commentary with a note in the lower margin: *Nescio quales versus XII exponuntur ut predicatores predicent et convertant peccatores.*

unnoticed manuscript, München, BSB, clm. 18921, from Tegernsee, contains a shortened version of this commentary but includes a note that the full version can be found in a *passionale*: *Nota quod istos versus et exposicionem plenius invenies in passionali parte estivali post legendam de translatione beate Marie Magdalene.*[41] The manuscript München, BSB, clm. 2561, does indeed feature the verses after the Life of Mary Magdalene, but it is a miscellany, not a *passionale*, and the codex seems to have been written and always kept in Aldersbach. Thus the reference is probably to another, lost, copy. The Heiligenkreuz manuscript includes a later marginal note in lower margin of the folio with the poem: *Nescio quales versus XII exponuntur ut predicatores predicent et convertant peccatores* ("I do

Freiburg, UB, 9, f. 53v,
Zwettl, SB, 13, f. 207v, newly noted,
Heiligenkreuz, SB, 11, ff. 150r–150v, newly noted,
München, BSB, clm. 18921, newly noted, much condensed version.
The Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl manuscripts are clearly connected, each of them containing legends for liturgical use, but also a number of shorter varied texts. In both the poem is followed by *De nequitia heretici* and two more stories from Gregory of Tours' *Miracles*.

[41] F. 22v.

not know what twelve verses are explained so that preachers would preach and convert sinners"; **fig. 4**).[42] This certainly, besides providing a summary of the poem's meaning, indicates a medieval reader's bafflement at its obscurity.

The "apologetic" commentary[43] survives in eleven manuscripts (Hilka knew five of them).[44] In addition, there are two medieval catalogue entries referring to further copies.[45] Although this commentary is, like all the others, anonymous, among the five manuscripts unnoted by Hilka that I have traced, there are three manuscripts,[46] two of them already from the twelfth century, in which the text appears together with exegetical works by Herveus Burgidolensis (Hervé de Bourgdieu, ca. 1075–1149 or 1150).[47] Also the manuscript from Pontigny that is now lost included the verses and commentary together with Herveus' writings.[48] The commentary to this poem is not listed among Herveus' writings in a circular written after his death characterizing him and listing his works,[49] but it might have been easily omitted because it was brief. In any case, it seems to fit his interests: Herveus is the only known medieval commentator on a similarly enigmatic opuscule, the *Cena Cypriani*, which may be seen as parallel to our verses in many respects.[50] In two manuscripts (Tours and Wooster) a commentary to our verses directly follows Herveus' commentary to the *Cena Cypriani*. Thus, although it remains to be proven, it seems plausible to suggest that Herveus might have authored the commentary.

In four later copies with a number of common variants[51] the commentary is titled *Expositio versuum extraneorum*, attributed to Joachim de Fiore and transmitted among

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42 F. 150r.
43 Ed. Hilka (1934–1937: 13–21), and also transcribed (with errors) from the Montpellier ms. by Castets (1887: 112–119).
44 They are:
   Basel, UB, A. II. 25, ff. 43r–45v, noted by Stegmüller, *RB* no. 4055, 2 (this is the only ms. he notes and refers to it as Ps. Joachim de Fiore, *Expositio versuum extraneorum*),
   Bruxelles, BrB, 5387-96, ff. 115v–119v,
   Bruxelles, BrB, 10038-53, ff. 49v–54v,
   Innsbruck, UB, 355, ff. 82r–82v—the commentary to our verses included here is much shorter and only partial (pertains to verses 1–6); see Hilka (1934–1937: 21),
   Ivrea, BC, VI (74), ff. 64r-68v, linked to Joachim de Fiore – I was not able to consult this manuscript yet; I assume the presence of the poem based on the title in the catalogue: *Expositio versuum extraneorum*; the contents of this manuscript are close to that of Madrid, BN, 9731,
   Madrid, BN, 9731, ff. 182v–184v, linked to Joachim de Fiore,
   Montpellier, BU, Méd. H.4, ff. 127r–128v – Castets' (1887) edition is based on this ms.,
   Roma, BV, E5, ms. not noted before, from Fleury (Benoît-sur-Loire),
   Tours, BM, 257, f. 150v, ms. not noted before,
   Vatican, BAV, Ottob. lat., 1758, ff. 158v–159r – only a fragment of the commentary with several changes,
   Wooster, Ohio (no call number), f. 117v, ms. not previously noted.
45 Peñiscola Castle, no. 134 in the catalogue; this codex has similar contents as Madrid and it was suggested that they are identical, the presence of the *Versus* with the apologetic commentary is assumed only from the title: *Expositio versuum extraneorum*.
   The other is a 12th c. ms. from Pontigny described in a catalogue from 1794.
46 Roma, Tours, and Wooster.
47 Cf. Oury (1971) and also Clément (1869: 344–349).
48 See Vernet (1981: 667), who also notes several additional manuscripts compared to Hilka.
49 Edited in *PL* 181, 9–12. It is usually called *Epistola vitam et libros magistri Hervei continens* in the mss.
50 For details see Doležalová (2007: 54–58).
51 Ivrea, Madrid, Peñiscola and Basel.

his other works.[52] Both Madrid and Ivrea also contain Pseudo-Methodius Patarensis' *De principio et fine seculi*. Although Joachim's authorship has always been questioned and is indeed impossible, the link to prophecies is important. Finally, we find this commentary together with Late Antique material[53] and within miscellanies.[54] The possibility that the text was written already in Late Antiquity exists but cannot be verified.

One of the copies included in this group is a hitherto unnoticed fifteenth century fragment of a commentary based on the apologetic commentary.[55] Yet, its opening paragraph is different (inc. *Heretici licet ab exordio natentis* [!] *ecclesie molliti*), and later it mentions Czech heretics: *Aliquociens vero contigit ut subdolus ille hereticorum lapsus magnam sibi partem huius populi subiugans inquinaret uti et nunc in regno Boemie et alibi inquinat*. Unfortunately the text ends soon after, without having finished commenting on the second line of the poem. Other texts within the codex are primarily chronicles, and the fragment follows materials from the council of Constance 1414–1418. Thus, it is a curious example of appropriating the "apologetic" commentary in the fifteenth century, and associating the general heretics mentioned in it with particular contemporaty danger.

The "novelistic" commentary seems to survive in nine manuscripts all originating from Central Europe.[56] Hilka's edition presents two recensions (a shorter and a longer one), but the oldest surviving manuscript, which was so far unnoticed (Zwettl, SB, 355, **Fig. 5**), is different from them, while revealing similarities to both, and thus the edition should be reconsidered. In some of the manuscripts, there is a prologue addressed to a certain *pater Hugo* wherein the supposed origin of the poem is described. This commentary is most frequently transmitted in a literary context among poems and fictional texts but we find also prayers and other brief devotional texts in its vicinity. Perhaps the most curious manuscript of all, worthy alone of a particular case study, is Praha, Kap, A 79/4, where the commentary is followed by another obscure poem very similar in style also accompanied by a commentary.[57]

One manuscript[58] contains a commentary to the verses (inc. *Mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Ihesus leviatan quem*) that has passed unnoticed so far and seems to survive in this sole manuscript. The text which I call the "exegetical" commentary, covers 19 folios of the manuscript and includes a lot of extra material, such as a discussion of the meanings of the names of the apostles, or of virtues and vices.[59]

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52 I have analyzed this group of manuscripts in more detail in Doležalová (2016: 201–213).
53 In Bruxelles, BrB, 10038-53 and Montpellier, BU, H.4.
54 In Bruxelles, BrB, 5387-96 and Innsbruck, UB, 355.
55 In Vatican, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1758.
56 They are:
   Darmstadt, HB, 947, ff. 105r–107r, not noted before,
   Kraków, BJ, 126, ff. 45r–45v, indicated to me by François Dolbeau,
   München, BSB, clm. 23390, f. 56r, Hilka – only a fragment of the commentary, and much shortened,
   Praha, Kap, A 79/4, ff. 286r–287r, Hilka – a shorter version,
   Praha, Kap, B 62, ff. 136v–137r, Hilka – a shorter version,
   Salzburg, SB, St. Peter, a.VII.17, ff. 85r–85v, Hilka – a longer version,
   Wien, ÖNB, Pal. lat., 1062, ff. 89v–90r, Hilka – a shorter version,
   Wrocław, Ossolineum, 601, ff. 325r–326v, not noted before,
   Zwettl, SB, 355, ff. 105v–107v – between the versions, mostly closer to the longer one.
57 Also transcribed by Hilka (1934–1937: 30).
58 Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117.
59 I am currently preparing an edition of the text.
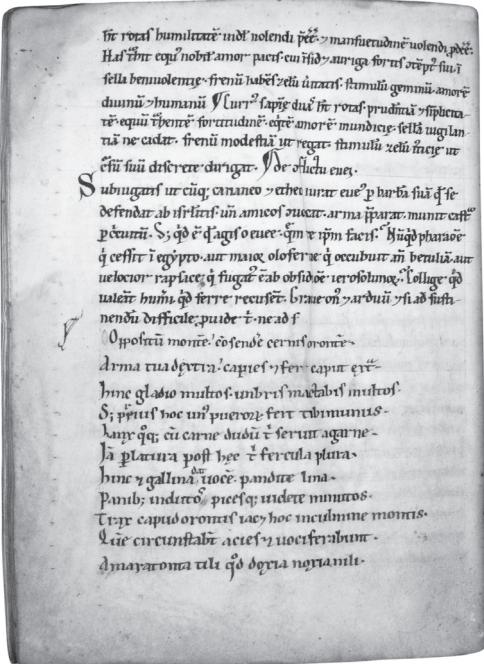
Fig. 5: Ms. Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 355, f. 105v; *Versus maligni angeli* with the "novelistic" commentary.

5. Times and places

As it was already noted, each of the versions survives in at least one twelfth century copy. Actually, it seems that it was in the twelfth century that the text was copied most frequently:

text \ century	XII	XII–XIII	XIII	XIV	XV	total
apologetic[60]	2	3	1	3	3	12
novelistic	1	1	1	2	4	9
moral	2		2	1		5
exegetical	1					1
only verses	3	1			1	5
glossed	4	1			1	6
different verses	3		1	4		8
total	16	6	5	10	9	46

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[60] Here and further on, too, also the lost Pontigny copy signalled in the catalogue has been counted, and, although that is a conjecture, it is assumed that it included the apologetic commentary.

The manuscripts come from various environments. The fact that no manuscript is known to have been associated with mendicant orders should not be overemphasized: itinerant preachers' books were more liable to destruction, and, at the same time, some of the codices of "unknown" origin might have well been copied by a Franciscan or a Dominican. Many of the fourteenth and fifteenth century "unknown" copies actually seem to have been in private possession.

century / origin	XII	XII–XIII	XIII	XIV	XV	total
Benedictine	7	5		1		13
Cistercian	5		4			9
Carthusian				1	1	2
Augustinian	1				1	2
University			1	1		2
Cathedral	1					1
Papal lib.				1		1
unknown[61]	2	1		6	7	16
total	16	6	5	10	9	46

It is not the case that a certain version would be associated with a particular environment: both Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries from which most of the manuscripts come each had several versions:

text / origin	apo	novel	moral	exeg	verse	gloss	diff	total
Benedictine	2	1	2		3	3	2	13
Cistercian	1	2	3	1		1	1	9
Carthusian	1	1						2
Augustinian						1	1	2
university							2	2
cathedral	1							1
Papal lib.	1							1
unknown	6	5			2	1	2	16
total	12	9	5	1	5	6	8	46

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[61] When the provenance is not known, the codex was, especially during later Middle Ages, most likely in a private rather than monastic possession. These manuscripts are primarily those with literary contents (see the discussion below), and might have originated in a school environment.

Also comparing the times and the areas,[62] we get quite a complex picture:

area\cent.	French + Belgian	British	German + Swiss	Austrian	Central European[63]	Italian	total
XII	9	1	3	3			16
XII–XIII	3	1	1	1			6
XIII	1		3	1			5
XIV	3		3	2	1	1	10
XV	1	1	1		4	2	9
total	17	3	11	7	5	3	46

Most revealing for the patterns of transmission is a comparison of the types of texts and areas:

area\text	French + Belgian	British	German + Swiss	Austrian	Central European	Italian	total
apologetic	7		1	1		3	12
novelistic			2	2	5		9
moral			3	2			5
exegetical	1						1
only verses	2	2		1			5
glossed	5		1				6
different verses	2	1	4	1			8
total	17	3	11	7	4	3	46

From this table it becomes clear that Britain did not know any of the commentaries; in Italy there was only the "apologetic" commentary (and only in 14th–15th c.); the "moral" commentary circulated only in German speaking area, and the "novelistic" only in German speaking area and further east (where it got only in the 14th–15th c.). Interestingly, the Cistercian monastery at Zwettl had both the "novelistic" commentary (a twelfth century copy) and the "moral" commentary (a thirteenth century copy, perhaps directly derived from that of Heiligenkreuz). Similarly, it seems that at the council of Basel, both the "apologetic" and the "novelistic" commentary circulated.[64]

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62 There is a substantial simplification in this table: manuscripts of unknown provenance were placed in it to the areas where they are presently kept.
63 Bohemia, Poland, Hungary.
64 The former then owned by Carthusians of Basel, the latter included, with many other texts, in a miscellany now in Kraków. The late medieval Church councils in general played crucial role in text dissemination (Hobbins 2009: 193–197).

6. Obscure explanations of obscurity

The commentaries each explain the poem in a specific way, but, as A. Vernet observed, they are not very lucid in themselves:

> Le diable en effet est poète à ses heures [...] mais c'est un auteur difficile dont les vers obscurs défient la glose, tels ces *versus maligni angeli* (inc. *Oppositum montem...*) aussi énigmatiques que les commentaires destinés à les éclairer qui les accompagnent dans plusieurs manuscrits du XIIe siècle.[65]

Thus, a closer look at them will not necessarily make the poem itself any clearer, but will rather show the variety of approaches to obscurity.

As far as the process of appropriation is concerned, the commentaries are in accordance: in each case the explanation of the poem corresponds with Christian beliefs. Each of the commentators interprets the fight as the fight between good and evil with a moral for the reader. That the poem is aligned with the teachings of the Scriptures is expressed explicitly in the "exegetical" commentary: *quorum [versuum] plane mysticus et per omnia doctrine ecclesiastice concordans sensus* ("whose meaning is clearly mystical and in accordance with the church doctrine in all aspects").[66]

Although the glosses merely explain the figurative meanings of individual words, the glossed manuscripts (with the notable exception of Wien, ÖNB, s. n. 12702) reveal the very same nature of the framework of the poem's explanation: namely Christian moral context.[67] Similarly, the "moral" commentary is basically a longer gloss offering fuller elucidation of individual lines but no overall meaning. The other three commentaries, on the other hand, include also a general summary of the poem's contents. The "apologetic" commentary perceives the meaning of the poem thus:

> ...ęcclesia vel quilibet fidelium per eos docetur sive monetur habere cautelam adversus hereticos super catholicum populum insurgentes, et gladio verbi Dei percutere eos, atque diabolum, cuius ipsi membra sunt, ab eis amputare, ut ad Christum possint pervenire. Fallacem quoque persuasionem ipsius hostis que per eos fit, et mortiferam eorum doctrinam cavere monetur vocemque salvatoris subtili receptaculo mentis percipere et miraculum quinque panum ac duorum piscium, ubi reseratio Testamenti Veteris figurata est, intelligere. Dehinc per huius vocis intelligentiam panumque fractionem ostenditur eiusdem crudelis adversarii deiectio, dum ad Christum convertitur magna pars hereticorum, qui eiusdem hostis erant membra et undique defendebantur contra catholicos ab heresiarchis oblatrantibus. Sed et ipsorum heresiarcharum perditio demonstratur, que fiet in adventu iudicis, quin in abyssum eos arrogantia ipsorum demerget. Rursumque monetur quilibet nostrum ut lancem iuste ponderationis teneat et videb-

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[65] Vernet (1950: 384).
[66] Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117, f. 2r.
[67] In the case of Karlsruhe, BLB, 12, the glosses are closely connected to the "exegetical" commentary, while the versions in Paris, BnF, n. a. lat. 1543, Paris, BnF, lat. 1628, and Besançon, BM, 862 are linked to each other but are not derived from any of the noted commentaries. Paris, BnF, 1628 might be directly dependent on Paris, BnF, n. a. lat. 1543—the third line, which has no gloss in Paris, BnF, n.a. lat. 1543, is omitted entirely here, while the rest is almost identical (to compare the two versions, see Appendix II). The glosses in Besançon, BM, 862 are much shorter but undoubtedly derive from the same model.

it in sentenciis hereticorum tenebras, in quibus imperiti lumen esse putant, si pie religionis amor in eius corde regnaverit.[68]

"The Church or anyone among the faithful is taught or reminded through them (the verses) to be cautious with heretics rising up over the Catholic people, and to strike them with the sword of the word of God, and to cut away from them the devil, whose limbs they are, so that they can reach Christ. It is advised to beware the deceitful persuasion of the enemy which comes through them, and their fatal teaching, and [rather] to perceive the voice of the Savior by the subtle reservoir of the mind, and to comprehend the miracle of the five loaves of bread and two fishes, in which the unlocking of the Old Testament is formed. Hereafter, through the understanding of this voice and the division of the bread, the rejection of the same cruel adversary is shown, while a great part of the heretics, who were the limbs of the same enemy and were everywhere protected from Catholics barked at by heresiarchs, are converted to Christ. But the ruin of the heresiarchs shows what will happen on the day of Judgement. Indeed, their arrogance will plunge them into an abyss. And again each of us is advised to hold the plate weighing the just, and we will see darkness in the judgments of the heretics, where the inexperienced consider there to be light, darkness, if the love of pious reverence for God reigns in their heart."

The "novelistic" commentary states more simply:

Scripsit ei preterea antiquus hostis hec carmina in quibus suam deiectionem, Christi incarnationem, apostolorum predicationem, gentium conversionem, ultimum quoque tremendumque iudicium sub enigmate breviter comprehendit.[69]

"Thereafter the ancient enemy wrote to him these poems in which he briefly and in a riddle-like manner treated his [own] fall, the incarnation of Christ, the preaching of the apostles, the conversion of the gentiles, and the last and fearful judgment."

The "exegetical" commentary describes:

Loquitur enim de pugna, quam gerit adversus Christum et eius ecclesiam et de eorum victoria. de adimpletione Sacre Scripture in nativitate ac passione Christi, et de die iudicii, fatendo veritatem, fidelibus operans in fide confirmationem et infidelibus pro detractione fidei graviorem condemnationem.[70]

"In fact, it speaks of a fight that [the devil] fought against Christ and his Church, and of their victory, of the fulfillment of the Sacred Scripture in the nativity and passion of Christ, on the day of the judgment acknowledging the truth, bringing to the faithful ones confirmation of their faith, and to the unfaithful ones, for the removal of faith, a very severe condemnation."

Although in this respect, the commentaries resemble one another linking the poem to the Last Judgement and the final victory of Christ / Church over the devil / heretics, on the level of the explanation of individual words they are quite different. Among other, Hilka cites the example of *Orons*, the Orontes River, which is a cold river in Thracia and

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68 Here as in Roma, BV, E 5, ff. 150v–151r.
69 Zwettl, SB, 355, f. 106r, and Hilka (1934–1937: 7, 2nd column); the first recension by Hilka (1934–1937: 7, 1st column) has: *Fecit ei preterea nequam spiritus versiculos suprascriptos in quibus suam e celo precipitationem, Salvatoris incarnationem, apostolorum predicationem, gentium vocationem, Iudeorum cecitatem, ultimum quoque tremendumque iudicium sub enigmate breviter comprehendit.*
70 Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117, f. 2r.

the place of the devil in the "novelistic" (and also in the "exegetical") commentary;[71] in the "apologetic" commentary it is a river in Babylon, the city of false and fallen heretics; in the "moral" commentary it is the river of Egypt, which signifies this world full of inequality.[72]

The commentators struggle to find meaning for the difficult words and phrases, and quite frequently provide more suggestions without preferring one. The presence of these problematic words is not explicitly addressed, but it can be assumed that they were connected to the poem's authorship and associated with the "obscure" language of the devil. Only the novelistic commentary allows another interpretation: it describes the schoolboy trying to compose poems "from the material given to him" by the master (*de data sibi a doctore materia componere vellet carmina*), which could mean that the teacher assigned the pupil specific words that had to be used within the poem.

While the "moral" commentary does not include anything beyond explications of the individual lines of the poem, the other commentaries add a general introduction in which they address the problem of authorship as well as the general meaning of the text. The newly found "exegetical" commentary also includes a lot of other material, such as a long treatment of virtues and vices taken from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, or etymologies of the apostles' names who are compared to fish jumping high from the water. The "moral" commentary is close to interlinear glossing, the "apologetic" to an anti-heretic sermon, the "novelistic" to a story, and the "exegetical" commentary to biblical exegesis or catechetic teaching. Although each does so in a different way, each of the commentators is nevertheless completely certain that there *is* a meaning behind the text and they shape the text to fit the mold of Christian moral teaching.

7. The devil's authorship

None of the commentaries include any reflection on the choice of the text to comment on.[73] There is no trace of the source of its authority, or a reason for writing about it. A possible explanation is exactly the authorship of the poem, which the three commentaries that include a kind of introduction (the "apologetic", "novelistic", and the "exegetical" one) all agree on: the poem was composed by the devil or a demon. This extraordinary authorship is manifest not only from some of the titles,[74] but is also discussed within the commentaries themselves. Because all the commentators agree that the poem has

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[71] The coldness of Orontes is found by Isid. *Orig.* XIII, 21, 17: *Fluvius Syriae qui vocatur Orontes iuxta Antiochiae muros decurrens, qui a solis ortu oriens non longe ab urbe mari conditur, quem de originis suae tractu Orontem veteres Latine appellavere. Cuius fluentis ex ipso impetu frigidioribus, et zephyris assidue ibi spirantibus tota civitas momentis prope omnibus refrigeratur.* The explanation of why should the devil be cold reads in the "exegetical" commentary: *Qui bene diabolum signat, qui non solum in se frigidus est ab omni bono, sed etiam eos in quorum mentibus regnat ardentes quidem libidine ceterisque viciis facit, sed a feruore caritatis ceterarumque virtutum frigidos reddit* (Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117, ff. 3v–4r).

[72] Hilka (1934–1937: 25–29).

[73] This subchapter, in a somewhat different form, is included also in Doležalová (2014: 321–330).

[74] In addition to those already mentioned is the special copy Oxford, BL, Digby 53, entitled: *Versus demonis Johanni heremite quibus occupatus solvendis cessaret ab oracione*. Thus, the verses were supposedly given as a type of riddle to John the Hermit (ca. 1050–1143).

a Christian moral meaning, they feel compelled to explain how it is possible that it was actually written by a demon or a devil. A certain hesitation or bafflement may be felt in their tones.

The author of the "apologetic" commentary says that it is not clear whether the poem was written by a devil or an angel. It could have been the devil because, as all power comes from God, the devil would not have been able to say something wrong.[75] The author refers to the biblical Balaam whose words, through God's intervention, were turned into good:

> *Hos versus composuisse fertur malignus angelus, et tamen recta sunt, nisi fallor, que in eis dicuntur, quia nullus malignorum spirituum quidquid agere vel loqui potest, nisi quod disponente deo permittitur. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo. Et videlicet voluntas quidem demonum semper sit iniusta, potestas tamen eorum semper est iusta, quia voluntatem a se ipsis habent, sed a Deo potestatem. Unde et scriptum est quod 'spiritus domini malus irruebat in Saul'. Domini enim erat ipse nequam spiritus per licentiam potestatis iuste, sed malus per maliciam voluntatis iniuste. Sic et iste, qui versus istos composuit, fortasse spiritus Domini malus fuit. Non ergo videatur incredibile, quia malignus spiritus aliquid loqui volens ad deceptionem fidelium, conpulsus sit ea loqui per que fideles contra deceptionem cauti redderentur, vel a deceptione liberarentur, quoniam Scriptura Sacra docente cognovimus quod et Balaam populo Israel maledicere voluit, sed disponente Dei sapientia benedixit ei. Aliis tamen visum est quod angelus sanctus hos versus composuerit, quod et nos ipsi approbamus, licet quedam ex libris gentilium in eis cernamus. Sed quicumque eorum auctor sit…*[76]

"It is assumed that these verses were composed by a malign angel, but nevertheless the things told in them are true, if I am not mistaken, because none of the malign spirits is able to do or say anything unless permitted by the will of God. Indeed, there is no ability except that given by God. And although the will of demons is obviously always unjust, their ability is always just, because they possess the will from themselves, but the ability from God. Thence it is also written *the evil spirit from God came upon Saul* [1 Kings 18,10]. Indeed, this vile spirit was from the Lord through the freedom of just ability, but evil through the evilness of unjust will. Thus also the one who composed these verses was perhaps an evil spirit from the Lord. Therefore it should not seem incredible that the malign spirit wishing to say something to deceive the faithful should be forced to say things through which the faithful would again become cautious concerning the deception, or freed from the deception, because thanks to the teaching of the Sacred Scripture we know that also Balaam wanted to curse the people of Israel but through the operation of the wisdom of God he blessed it. But others think that a holy angel had composed these verses, which also we ourselves approve, although we detect in them something from the books of the gentiles. But whoever was their author…"

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[75] The basis of this idea is found as early as Paul's letter to the Romans, and then again in Aug. *Trin.* XIII, 12, where he says that the demons also receive their power from God: *Nec hominem a lege suae potestatis amisit quando in diaboli potestate esse permisit, quia nec ipse diabolus a potestate omnipotentis alienus est sicut neque a bonitate. Nam et maligni angeli unde qualicumque subsisterent vita nisi per eum qui vivificat omnia?*, and also in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, which was then adopted by Isidore of Seville in his *Sententiae*.

[76] The reading of Roma, BV, E 5, f. 276v; cf. Hilka (1934–1937: 13).

The biblical quotations are relevant to the commentator's argument. The passage from 1 Kings brings the paradox of the existence of a spirit that is both evil and comes from God, which is then explained through the division of the spirit's (evil) will and (good) ability. The biblical example of Balaam (Numbers 24–26) aptly supports the case, showing that our poem is not the first and only occasion when an author's will diverged from the actual result through the power of God. In this explanation, the devil's evil will is overcome by God's power. At the same time, the commentator mentions also the unproblematic possibility that the author of the poem was an angel, and he seems happy to drop the authorship argument and move to discussing the poem itself.

Within the "novelistic" commentary it is explained that a diligent but not very smart pupil was unable to satisfy his master's request and write verses using the assigned words. While he was crying, a demon appeared and promised to fulfill the task in exchange for the pupil's soul:

> *Erat quidam puer adolescens in scolis studiosus sed ingenii tardioris adeo ut vix unum facere posset in die versiculum. Quem magister suus crebro verberans sed crebrius increpans magistrali iure a discipulo exigebat versuum pensionem. Quadam vero die cum idem iuvenis secreto quodam sedet in loco et de data sibi a doctore materia componere vellet carmina nec valeret premissis gemitibus in lacrimis resolutus se de sua duricia flens et eiulans increpabat. Cumquam talibus se lamentis afficeret et dolore pre nimio capillos suos conturbatus evelleret, apparuit ei quidam vultu terribilis. Erat enim dyabolus causamque tristicie sciscitatus, id ab eo responsi accepit quod supra retulimus. Cui Satan: "Si adquiescere," inquit, "consilio meo volueris, per me omnium peritiam arcium celerrime consequeris." Quid plura? Credidit ille diabolo suggerenti seque illi ex integro mancipans desideratam quidem percepit scientiam, sed infelix suam perdidit animam.*[77]

"There was a young boy diligent at school but of slower talents, and that to such a degree that he was hardly able to create one verse a day. His teacher was frequently beating him, but more frequently rebuking him, by the teacher's right, he required from the pupil a payment of verses. And one day when this youth was sitting in some secret place and wanted to compose poems from material given to him by the master, but was unable to do so, he, after sighs, broke into tears crying over his hardships and lamented. And while he was lamenting in this way and troubled by excessive anguish he tore his hair out, and someone with a frightful face appeared to him. In fact, it was the devil and, enquiring about the cause of his sadness, he heard from him in response what we narrated above. Satan says to him: 'If you wish to assent to my advice, you will obtain through me knowledge of all arts most quickly.' What more? He believed the suggestions of the devil and giving himself to him entirely, he received the desired knowledge but, miserable, he lost his soul."

Thus, in this case, the fact that the contents of the poem are in line with Christian beliefs instead of being demon's deceits, is rather the mark of Satan's double victory: it is precisely by reading the verses he got from Satan in exchange for his soul that the unfortunate pupil realizes his mistake.

Finally, in the so far unknown "exegetical" commentary the author suggests that the devil sometimes tells the truth because if he always lied, no one would believe him. In this way, the devil is able to confuse people more easily:

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[77] Transcription based on Zwettl, SB, 355, f. 106r; cf. Hilka (1934–1937: 6–7).

Sed forte queritur quomodo ille qui in veritate non stetit, quia mendax est et pater eius videli-cet mendacii, aliquando vera loquatur. Ad quod dicendum, quia quotiens alieni aliquid, id est veritatis, loquitur – de propriis enim mendacium loquitur – hoc non ad consultionem, sed ad faciliorem facit audientium deceptionem: quatinus vera aliquando loquens, etiam in falsitate credatur.[78]

"But one might ask how the one who did not stay in truth [i.e. on the side of the truth] because he is a liar and the father of lies, could sometimes speak the truth. To which it must be said that sometimes he says something true about the matters concerning others, but of his own matters he indeed lies. He does not do so in order to give advice but in order to deceive his audience more easily, because by sometimes saying the truth he can also be trusted in falsehood."

Thus, in each of the three cases the devil's authorship is harmonized with the Christian content of the poem, each time in a different way but each time the proposition is coher-ent and logical. Each of these justifications is creative and seems to reveal sincere interest in solving the issue. The traditional stereotype of the devil is maintained – he is witnessed here to promote Christianity either because the stronger God made him do so, or at a point when his victory is secure just to torture the caught soul some more, or because he is a sophisticated trickster who likes to play.

8. The exegetical method and the commentators' hesitations

Only the author of the "exegetical" commentary comments on his method of expla-nation: refering to a verse from Psalm 41 (42), *abyssus abyssum invocat* ("deep calls for the deep"), he explains that the difficulty of the verses calls for explanation through the Scripture:

Versus itaque diaboli magna, ut superius dictum est, misteria continentes, auctorem execrantes recipimus quorum exponere non ex mei tenuitate, sed ex magistrorum quibus Deus reve-lavit traditione auxiliante Deo explicabo, ut lucerna hactenus sub modio ignorantie occultata, exposita super intelligentie candelabrum utilitati luceat eam intuentium. Hoc autem opuscu-lum 'Abyssus abyssum invocat' appelari volui; istorum etenim versuum profunditas ad suam explanationem Sacre Scripture invocat profunditatem.[79]

"Abhorring their author, we accept the verses of the devil containing, as mentioned above, great mysteries, the meaning of which I will explain, with God's help, not from my simplicity but from the tradition of the masters to whom God revealed, just as a lamp so far hidden under the measure of ignorance exposed on the lampstand of intellect will shine to the use-fulness of those who look at it. So I wanted to call this opuscle 'Deep calleth the deep' [Ps 41, 8], because the depth of these verses calls for explanation of the depth of the Sacred Scripture."

And indeed, throughout the commentary, he is referring to the Bible. This passage is also an explicit recognition of the obscurity of the verses.

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[78] Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117, f. 2r.
[79] Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117, ff. 2v–3r.

The other commentators do not present any kind of a specific method. It seems that they simply try to decode the verses as well as they can. On several occasions they show hesitation about their proposed solutions. This could be a typical topos of *captatio benevolentiae*, but also a sincere reaction to the obscure poem. In the "apologetic" commentary, for example, the author says: *et tamen recta sunt, nisi fallor, que in eis dicuntur* ("and yet it is correct, if I am not mistaken, what is told in them").[80] The same author shows uncertainty when introducing the second authorship option:

> *Aliis tamen visum est quod angelus sanctus hos versus composuerit, quod et nos ipsi approbamus, licet quedam ex libris gentilium in eis cernamus. Sed quicumque eorum auctor sit...*[81]
> "But others think that a holy angel had composed these verses, which we ourselves also approve, although we detect in them something from the books of the gentiles. But whoever was their author..."

And again, slightly below:

> *Quia ergo sensum historicum versuum breviter prelibavimus, iam de hiis, prout Dominus dederit, tractare incipiamus. Ait namque eorum compositor, quisquis ille fuerit...*[82]
> "Because we have thus briefly foretasted the historical sense, we will begin to treat them, as the Lord allowed. For their author, whoever he was, says..."

In several manuscripts the "novelistic" commentary contains a longer introduction with a dedication to a certain father Hugo that addresses the problem with interpretation very explicitly, and so I quote it here in full:

> *Expositurus vobis, pater Hugo, versiculos quos humani generis inimicus fecit cuidam ut dicitur puero multum fateor hesitavi hinc considerans mei parvitatem ingenii, inde pondus perpendens opusculi: opusculum dixerim propter brevitatem verborum, pondus autem ob difficilium obscuritatem enigmatum. Nemo enim, quamlibet sapiens, versus istos enodare valeret, nisi prius eos ille, qui revelat misteria, spiritus explanaret aut, qui fecit illos, per se ipsum dyabolus explicaret. Eos ergo non ut volui, sed ut potui vobis exposui, nam ipsorum expositionem prolixam, quam magister quidam a quodam nigromantico clerico, non parvo emerat precio, semel tantum vidi et legi, vix eodem concedente magistro. Sed quia eam ferventi animo percurri sententiarum summam tenaci memorie commendavi. Rogo denique, ne urbana prudentia vestra impolitum et incultum sermonem abhorreat, sed que simplici proferuntur eloquio, diligenter attendat. Neque enim inperitus ego et urbanitatis expers homuncio tullianam ualeo propinare facundiam, qui propter inopiam codicum divinorum quos ardenti studio legerem si haberem grande mihi parientem fastidium cotidie musito psalmodiam. Vobis igitur inputetur, quicquid hic vitiosi invenitur sermonis, quia me conscientia vestra teste, ut opusculum istud inciperem, compulistis. Et licet me a legentibus non ambigerem irridendum, malui tamen petitionibus vestris annuere quam superbie, que origo est omnium malorum, execrabilem noxam incurrerem.*[83]

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80 Roma, BV, E 5, f. 276v; cf. Hilka (1934–1937: 13).
81 Roma, BV, E 5, f. 276v; cf. Hilka (1934–1937: 14).
82 Roma, BV, E 5, f. 277r; cf. Hilka (1934–1937: 14).
83 This part is missing in Zwettl, SB, 355. This is reading found in Kraków, BJ, 126, Praha, Kap, A 79/4, and Wien, ÖNB, 1062, cf. Hilka (1934–1937: 5), who does not know Kraków; in Darmstadt, HB, 947

"Father Hugh, I confess that I hesitated much when I was about to explain to you the little verses which, as it is said, an enemy of the human race made for some boy. Here I considered the smallness of my talent, there I examined the weight of the opuscule. I have said opuscule for the brevity of the word, but weight for the obscurity of difficult enigmas. Indeed no one, however wise, would manage to elucidate these verses unless the spirit that reveals mysteries explained them to him, or the one who made them, though himself the devil, explicated them. Thus, I did not explain them to you as I wished but as I could, since I have only once seen and read their detailed exposition, which a certain master bought for not a low price from a certain nigromantic cleric, the master hardly allowing it. But because I ran through it with a fervent mind, I stored the summary of the sentences in [my] firm memory. I only wish that your urban sagacity does not shudder at [my] rough and uncultivated speech, but considers attentively what is narrated in a simple style. Indeed, I, an inexperienced dwarf lacking elegance, do not succeed at approaching Tullian eloquence. Due to the lack of divine codices which I would have read with ardent interest had I possessed them, everyday I mutter psalms bringing me great nausea. So whatever is found faulty in this speech should be attributed to you, because, be your consciousness the witness, you urged me to begin this opuscule. And even if I do not avoid being mocked by the readers, I preferred to acquiesce to your wishes than to run into the accursed crime of pride, which is the origin of all evils."

On the one hand, apologizing for the roughness of style and the lack of learned elegance, *urbanitas*, as well as calling oneself a dwarf and appealing to the reader's benevolence are familiar commonplaces. On the other hand, it is unusual, and certainly not part of the *captatio benevolentiae* topos, that the author blames father Hugo (rather than himself) for all the text's flaws. Several unique features appear here: the verses are described as brief but heavy due to their obscurity, which may be explained only by the divine spirit or by the devil who composed them. The origin of the commentary itself is most curious, too: it is not simply the creation of its author but his attempt to remember the text's explanation that he was able to see by another master, who bought it from a necromantic who, as it is implied, probably obtained it from a devil. The fact that the author could see the commentary only briefly (*vix eodem concedente magistro* ["the master hardly allowing it"]) adds another topos: vague memory of something precious but elusive.[84]

The commentators thus try hard to explain the obscurities of the verses, often providing several possibilities. If they are not sure about the interpretation, they see the fault in themselves, not in the text; they do not question the Christian message behind.

9. Physical context: the codex contents

Whether accompanied by commentaries or not, the *Versus* are always placed into another context – the context of other texts copied in the same codices. As long as the codex was written at one time and place, or at least bound already in the Middle Ages, these may suggest where a particular text was thought to best fit. However, utmost care is

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it is substantially shortened.

[84] Since the "exegetical" commentary shares some features with the "novelistic," it seems theoretically possible that the commentary that author of the "novelistic" commentary saw and attempts to reconstruct was the "exegetical" commentary. This seems very unlikely – the author of the "novelistic" commentary would have a very bad memory indeed.

to be taken to avoid overinterpretation. For example, there is a curious codex Bruxelles, BrB, 5387-96 (with the "apologetic" commentary), which is actually a kind of a draft book of Guibert of Gembloux, who later revised and polished a number of his works included here. Guibert was very actively promoting St. Martin of Tours,[85] and also this codex contains several texts linked to St. Martin. Just preceding the *Versus* we find a part of *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours, which he also used later. Yet, as far as the *Versus* are concerned, they do not seem to be related to the other texts in the volume, nor does Guibert appropriate it in his later writings. It is thus possible that Guibert simply saw the *Versus* in the model from which he copied the *Historia Francorum*, and included it in his book out of simple curiosity.[86]

In most other occasions it is nevertheless possible to see some transmission patterns. Beside the typical and expected context of biblical exegesis, liturgical and other practically useful religious texts, three basic types of this physical context emerge for the *Versus maligni angeli*: history, prophecy, and literature in the sense of fiction or "belles-lettres." To my knowledge the full poem is never found together with magic or medical texts.

a) Exegesis, liturgy, and practical religion

This is not a true category but simply a group comprising a variety of texts closely linked to Christian religious practice. There are, on the one hand, learned biblical commentaries. In two early manuscripts, our verses are added to works of Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* and *Homilies to Ezekiel*.[87] There are also, for example, Origen's homilies,[88] Song of Songs commentary by Gilbert of Stanford,[89] Psalter commentary by frater Thomas Gualensis (or Wallensis or Willes, d. 1255),[90] works by St. Cyprian,[91] and, in several cases, exegetical works by Herveus Burgidolensis, a possible author of the "apologetic" commentary.[92] The commentators of the *Versus*, as was shown in detail above, used the established methods and form of Christian exegetical tradition.

On the other hand, there are less learned but more common texts linked to religious practice, such as an excerpt from Honorius Augustodunensis' *Elucidarium*,[93] Odo of Morimond's *Tractatus de spirituali edificio*,[94] prayers, sermons, theological and exegetical notes, and moral treatises. There are several treatises by Hugh of St. Victor: *De sac-*

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[85] The links to Tours within the transmission of the *Versus* are actually quite frequent: the oldest known manuscript of the apologetic commentary (Tours, BM, 257) is provenient from the St. Gatien cathedral of Tours. In Heiligenkreuz, SB, 11 and Zwettl, SB, 13, selected miracles by Gregory of Tours are found immediately after the *Versus* with the "moral" commentary.

[86] There is only one more text in the codex with no direct connection to Guibert of Gembloux, namely Arnold of Bonneval's *Tractatus de verbis Domini in cruce positi*.

[87] New York, PML, 765, and Bourges, BM, 105. The link might be still stronger: the author of the "exegetical" commentary uses the list of virtues and vices as it appears in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*.

[88] In Paris, BnF, lat. 1628.

[89] In Laon, BM, 23 (Guglielmetti 2002).

[90] As the main contents of Praha, Kap, A 79/4. Thomas was in close contact with Robert Grosseteste, and was active in Lincoln, Leicester, Oxford, and Paris before becoming the bishop of St. David's in Wales.

[91] Tours, BM, 257.

[92] Wooster, Roma, BV, E5, and the lost Pontigny copy.

[93] The main contents of Paris, BnF, 2877A, followed by a note on the three Maries and the *Versus*.

[94] The *Versus* are copied just after this text in Zwettl, SB, 355.

ramentis christiane fidei[95] and six shorter ones (*De meditatione*, *De iudicio veri et boni*, *De quatuor voluntatibus in Christo*, and *De verbi incarnatione*, *De potestate et uoluntate dei*, *De unione corporis et spiritus*)[96]. In Darmstadt, HB, 947 (XIV), the *Versus* are followed by brief expositions on *Pater noster*, *Credo*, and *Quicumque vult* (The Athanasian Creed), the most widespread texts pertaining to Christian worship. München, BSB, clm. 18921 is a very miscellaneous codex with a number of brief texts on saints, virtues and vices (but also on chess or interpretation of dreams). We often find a variety of brief excerpts and remarks in vicinity of the verses, curiously notes on excommunication immediately following the verses in a codex that includes primarily Augustine's and Pseudo-Augustine's texts,[97] or *Explicatio excommunicationis ejusque fautoris* immediately after the verses in a miscellany with Philo's *Antiquitates Biblicae*,[98] or the *De nequicia heretici* just after the verses in two related codices containing primarily the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* for January–March.[99] Actually, legends – a type between practical religion and fiction – reappear, too: besides these two full legendaries, the *Versus* follow the *Life of Mary Magdalene* in München, BSB, clm. 2561, and was apparently included in a Tegernsee *passionale* just after a legend on the translation of the same saint.[100] In München, BSB, clm. 23390, *Breviarium apostolorum* immediately follows a fragment from the "novelistic" commentary. A great part of Paris, BnF, n. a. lat. 1543, is concerned with saints' relics.

These and similar texts were much widespread throughout the Middle Ages and do not seem to offer a distinguished easily interpretable context for the *Versus*. Yet, they remind us that majority of medieval Latin textual production was concerned with Christian ethics: defining and discussing good and evil in all possible contexts within the Christian framework, that is, with frequent reference to the Bible – most obscure but also most authoritative text. The *Versus maligni angeli* fit very well within this tradition: it is obscure but provides another ("external") evidence on the fight between good and evil, and directly urges the reader to make the correct choice.

Among these texts, a subgroup of brief obscurities accompanied by an elucidation can be discerned. These usually immediately precede or follow the *Versus*. That is the case of another brief poem connected to the devil (*Parabola diaboli*) in Praha, Kap, A 79/4,[101] and especially of the *Cena Cypriani* with Herveus' commentary. Although the *Cena* is substantially longer, its commentary has the same formal features of the *Versus* commentaries: Herveus explicitly confesses when he hesitates or is at a loss about the interpretation but he never doubts that there *is* a Christian meaning behind the text. These texts form a very relevant context of curious but appropriable opuscules that can be used for religious or moral instruction.

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[95] In Karlsruhe, BLB, 12; the *Versus* are added at the end of Hugh by a different hand, though.
[96] In Charleville-Mézières, BM, 117.
[97] In Freiburg, UB, 9.
[98] Salzburg, SB, A.VII.17.
[99] Heiligenkreuz, SB, 11 and Zwettl, SB, 13.
[100] As states the note in München, BSB, clm. 18921 quoted above.
[101] Inc. *Hec autem parabola diaboli est ad quendam clericum in Ungaria nunciata. Hac in nocte passus…*

b) History

The verses are found together with chronicles, too, namely *Historia Karoli Magni* by Pseudo-Turpin,[102] with several Flemish (namely that of Sigebert of Gembloux, d. 1112) and crusade chronicles in Paris, BnF, n. a. lat. 1543, just after Landulphus Columna's *Breviarium historiale* (from ca. 1320) in Vatican, BAV, Ottob. 1758, or just after an excerpt from the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours in Bruxelles, BrB, 5387-96. Although this connection is not easy to interpret, the possibility remains that the *Versus* describe an actual event.[103] This is the supposition presented in the revised edition of the Du Cange *Glossarium*, which, when commenting on the poem, says:

> *…arbitror ænigmaticos esse versus, quibus ad aliquam historiæ illius ævi partem alluditur. Certe his versus: 'Praelatura tibi jam constat munera plura,' prælatum aliquem simoniaca labe infectum arguere videtur.*[104]
>
> "…I consider them to be enigmatic verses, through which an allusion is made to a certain part of the history of that time. Certainly the verse: 'already your office brings many gifts,' seems to argue that a certain prelate is infected by a simoniac fall."

In the historical sources, however, I have not found a close parallel to the *Versus*. Only within the description of the Battle of Soissons (June 15, 923) in the account of Richer of Saint-Remi (Richerus Remensis, 10th c.), there is a clause reminiscent of the *Versus maligni angeli*:

> *Et post hęc, cum episcopis virisque religiosis qui aderant, m o n t e m   l o c o   o p p o s i t u m   c o n - s c e n d i t, ubi etiam est basilica…*[105]
>
> "And afterwards, together with bishops and religious men who were there, he ascends the mountain opposite to that place, where there was a church…"

Here, the priest goes to pray before the battle, which, as D. S. Bachrach describes in this very context, was apparently a usual procedure:

> "The importance of battlefield prayers for raising the spirits of the troops should not be underestimated. It was hardly coincidental that after King Charles III of France delivered a rousing oration to his troops on the eve of the battle of Soissons in June 923, the bishops and other clerics serving with his forces ostentatiously withdrew to the nearby high ground where a basilica dedicated to Saint Genevieve was located. Richer emphasized that they went there to help prepare for the battle, almost certainly by praying to God to intercede on behalf of their soldiers. The fact that these prayers could not be heard by Charles' men was less important than their almost certain knowledge of what the clerics were doing."[106]

If any relationship exists to this event, then the reading *Oppositum montem conscendere cernis o r a n t e m* (opposite the mountain you note t h e   p r a y i n g   o n e descending), rath-

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[102] In Besançon, BM, 862; cf. Paris (1865) and Robert (1891: 213).

[103] History is in some aspects not far from prophecy; see Southern (1972).

[104] Du Cange (1840: 212) (revised edition by Benedictines of St. Maur).

[105] Richer. Rem. *Hist.* I, 45 (ed. Hoffmann 2000: 78). The work survives in an autograph manuscript, now Bamberg, SB, Misc. Hist. 5, where we find this passage on f. 11v.

[106] Bachrach (2003: 78).

er than *Orontem* (the Orontes River), would be the original one. None of the surviving manuscripts, however, appear together with Richer's chronicle, nor with any other chronicle describing a similar event.[107]

In this case, we face again the problem of meaning: the poem might have been written as an encoded narrative of a battle and gradually corrupted to greater degree of incomprehensibility during its transmission, or, on the other hand, it might have first appeared as an almost incomprehensible example of the devil's language, and the meaning was gradually added to it during the transmission. If the former was the case, it would suggest that the formula *Amaratunta tili…* was used also as a battle cry for encouraging the troops or scaring the enemy. In any case, the poem might have been influenced by Richer's chronicle, or Richer might have used the image from the poem in his chronicle, or the two might be completely unrelated. Unless new data are discovered, this question cannot be satisfactorily answered.

c) Prophecy

The context of a prophecy comes to the fore especially in the manuscripts in which the "apologetic" commentary is ascribed to Joachim of Fiore and transmitted among other prophetic texts.[108] There are other texts near the *Versus* that are concerned with the future events, e.g. München, BSB, clm. 2561 includes *Prognosticon futuri saeculi* (the first Christian systematic treatise on eschatology) by Julian of Toledo (Iulianus Toletanus, 652–690) together with the "moral" commentary, but these are not real prophecies.

Prophecy is a type of obscure text *par excellence*; it is a result of the communication of divine knowledge through a medium (a prophet) in such a way that its meaning is obscure. As text, prophecy is surely not a genre in itself, it may be embedded into a variety of other genres. It is not necessarily a narrative either, as there are purely descriptive prophecies as well. Are there, then, any common aspects or characteristics of the literary type?

Intuitively, one might claim that prophecy refers to the future, but this is in fact not true: the future events (culminating in the Last Judgement) are known to medieval Christians thanks to the biblical Revelations, and thus prophecies in fact rather offer a key for understanding the past and the present. Another notion is that prophecy offers a type of knowledge not normally accessible to mortals; however, many prophecies are interpreted as re-confirming the coming of Christ, information that would have been repeated to medieval Christians almost daily. Another possible characteristic is the extraordinary circumstances of the origin of a prophecy that serve to authenticate a text as prophecy in the first place. For example, a prophecy might be legitimized by a specific person (medium) who is in touch with the divine, or half-human, or appears on the border of society in some way. Alternatively, it may be authorized through the specific state of the medium (sleep, half-death, possession by spirits, etc.), or by its extra-terrestrial origin (e.g. a let-

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[107] Another possibility, which would make the poem refer to reality, was suggested to me by Cristian Gaspar. The poem could be a description of the city of Antioch, through which the Orontes River runs and where a head is carved into the mountain over the city. *Lanx* could then be *lancea* (i.e. a lance rather than a plate) referring to Christ's lance that was "found" in Antioch.

[108] Basel, UB, A.II.25, Ivrea, BC, VI (74), Madrid, BN, 9731, and the apparently lost Peñiscola Castle, no. 134. This subchapter was already partly published in Doležalová (2016).

ter from heaven, or a text that comes from "the outside"). Frequent are also texts from different cultures which are then appropriated to reinforce the ideas to be promoted (for example, even the pagans are proven to speak of Christ). Yet this "authorization" does not necessarily have to leave textual traces at all – it may depend solely on the identity of the author, and thus be assumed. Another aspect is the use of the text, which may be political (linked to a power struggle), philosophical and spiritual, or meditative and related to personal salvation.[109] Yet, again, the use of it is not necessarily an obvious part of the text – these aspects may be reflected in the style but cannot be applied as reliable criteria for categorizing the texts.

Thus, I would like to claim, the single distinguishing feature of prophecy as text is its obscurity, ambivalence or ambiguity: the possibility for different interpretations that invite explanation. This feature is linked to a general aspect of prophecy that does not help to define the type but rather illustrates that its classification as prophecy is based on its reception: the text is complemented by its explanation. In a way prophecy fully exists only when it is "activated", which is to say interpreted, explained or perhaps rather manipulated to fit where we want it to fit. Thus, we encounter "failed prophecies" that begin to operate as leisure literature,[110] or brief obscure texts which function as riddles, or do not have any role at all until found and expounded on as prophecies.

All this is most relevant for *Versus maligni angeli*. The link to meditation and personal salvation is not unheard of, nor is the connection to converting heretics. The references to classical culture, Oedipus and Clio, are surprisingly integrated without hesitation, perhaps exactly because it was common for prophecies to stem from other cultures. Most importantly, the "external origin" troubling the commentators fits perfectly in this context. *Versus maligni angeli* thus indeed operate as a prophecy, and, when transmitted together with the "apologetic" commentary, it resembles, in several aspects, Joachim de Fiore's *De prophetia ignota*. Matthias Kaup discusses both the texts, taking for granted that our *Versus* are actually a prophecy.[111] He also surveys strategies in creating new prophetic texts, discussing the possible sources – God, demon or pagan – and stresses their frequently long life and a number of re-interpretations: again, features characteristic for the *Versus*, too.

Could *Versus maligni angeli* have been a prophecy? The little we can infer about its origin does not seem to suggest it – placing the "apologetic" commentary among other prophetic works by Joachim de Fiore is certainly a later phenomenon (the link to Herveus Burgidolensis is earlier and stronger). Yet, as discussed above, no universal features for a prophetic type of writing exist. Prophecy might simply be defined as an obscure text ready to be picked up and (re)interpreted in a new way, possibly in order to serve for reinforcing Christian dogmas and motivating Christians to change their behavior to take part in the salvation history. This seems to be its contextualization within Basel, BU, A II 25, where the "apologetic" commentary is attributed to Joachim de Fiore, yet not transmitted

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[109] Regarding circulation in a monastic and clerical environment, Holdenried (2005: 167) writes: "In these surroundings eschatological beliefs were not synonymous with conjectures about the imminence of the End. Rather, devotional practices encouraged reflection upon an individual's chances on the Day of Redemption." *Sibylla Tiburtina* is, in Holdenried's (2005: 168) conclusion, "an aid for devout reflection… tied to the monastic preoccupation with personal eschatology."

[110] Cf. Pedretti (2011).

[111] Kaup (1998: especially 85–144).

among his works but mostly with texts relevant to the council of Basel (1431–1449) or contemporary with the event.[112] The *Versus* are immediately preceded by a disputation of a Jew and a Christian, and followed by an excerpt from William of Paris'[113] *De universo* on the nature of demons. The few texts concerned with the last things such as Heinricus de Hassia's[114] *De ultimo statu ecclesie et fine mundi*[115] function exactly to reinforce the idea of the present crisis. Understood in this broad meaning as an obscurity arousing curiosity of the reader to be subsequently explained to confirm Christian dogmas and approach to the meaning and framework of history, *Versus maligni angeli* certainly are a prophecy.

d) Literature

In several codices, and especially in codices from unknown but probably not monastic environments, *Versus* are copied together with truly literary texts. Of these, most frequently recurring are medieval language games. Twice we find them together with the playful poetry of Marbode of Rennes (1035–1123). In Edinburgh 18.6.12 (XII–XIII, Thorney), our verses are immediately followed by Marbode of Rennes' poem usually called *Vas fractum*:

Porticus est Rome,	*quo dum spatiando fero me*
Res quaerendo novas,	*inveni de saphyro vas*
Institor ignotus,	*vendebat cum saphyro thus,*
Thus socius noster	*tres emit denatorios ter*
Vas tribus et semi	*solidis ego prodigus emi,*
Hoc inconcussum	*dum tollere sollicitus sum*
Pro cofino mundo	*de viminibus pretium do*
Ponitur introrsum	*sanum vas inde memor sum,*
Extrahitur fissum,	*tristis, miser inde nimis sum.*
Inter convivas	*magni foret hoc pretii vas*
Si foret allatum,	*sicut positum fuerat tum.*[116]

We read the same poem in Wien, ÖNB, 2521, although a little further after the *Versus*.[117] One immediately notices a simple funny story narrated with special attention to rhyme. It is not a very artistic creation, but rather the result of a play with words. In the Edinburgh manuscript, further poems in a very similar style follow: they are entitled *differentiae*, and always juxtapose two homonyms of different meanings. They begin:

Parce tuis verbis.	*Nunquam veniat tibi ver bis.*
Semper inops vivas.	*Cur aufers hoc mihi vi vas?*[118]

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[112] There are also text on the Hussites including the manifest of Tábor from 1430 and reactions to it. Cf. Bartoš (1931a: 43; 1931b: 256).

[113] Or William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris from 1228, d. 1249.

[114] Heinrich of Langenstein, 1325–1397.

[115] Also called *Planctus ecclesiae*, deals with the Papal schism.

[116] Walther (1959: no. 14284). *PL* 171, 1685 (as poem no. 59). See also Werner (1905: 93, no. 216).

[117] F. 41r. It is included also in Paris, BnF, lat. 152, f. 35, Zürich, ZB, C.58, Wien, ÖNB, 143 (f. 15v, where there are also pseudo-Virgil's poems, f. 14r, and *versus et quidem undecim disticha* by Gregory the Great on ff. 13v–14r).

[118] F. 35r. This text does not seem to be edited yet and I am not aware of any other manuscripts.

The codex opens with an originally independent part with Persius' satires, Avian's fables, *Cato novus*, or exemplary verses from Horace, and further in it we find a playful epitaph, epigrams, and riddles (including Symphosius' *Aenigmata*).[119] In Praha, Kap, B 62, our verses immediately follow John of Garland's[120] *Carmen de equivocis*, a very similar type of poetry.

Another link to literature is the "novelistic" commentary itself: first, it tells a very novel-like story (the pact between student and devil appears during the Middle Ages also in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Libri miraculorum*[121] or in *Gesta Romanorum*,[122] for example). Second, within the story, the poem is actually a school exercise: the student is assigned particular (supposedly difficult) words from which he is asked to make a poem (*de data sibi a doctore materia*). Composing a poem in this way (although here the pupil fails and the devil does it for him) resembles language games practiced by Marbode of Rennes or John of Garland. Thus, even if our verses were not originally a literary creation, a kind of a riddle, an enigma, or a play with words, these forms became a suitable context for their transmission.

Other reappearing literary context is that of the literature of Classical and Late Antiquity. Beside the Edinburgh manuscript mentioned above, two copies of the verses with the "apologetic" commentary include a selection of mainly Late Antique authors such as Proba's *cento*, Prudentius, Macrobius' commentary to *Somnium Scipionis*[123] or Cassiodorus, Symmachus, Boethius' *De Trinitate*, and Sidonius Apollinaris.[124] Several codices are at least partly literary[125] – for example in Bruxelles, BrB, 10038-53 (XIII), the *Versus* are immediately followed by *Collocutio invectiva ovis et lini,* a text by a Flemish author; or there is Innsbruck, UB, 355 (from 1334), an encyclopaedic miscellany in Latin and German on various types of knowledge (e.g. the names of fish, birds, and other animals, astrology and alchemy, colours, recipes), which has also fictitious letters of Pharaoh to Joseph. Another unique and noteworthy manuscript is Kraków, BJ, 126 from the fifteenth century (**fig. 6**), a miscellany with texts linked to the Council of Basel, including works of contemporary Italian humanists as well as by Poles who appearently brought it back from there to Poland.[126] The *Versus* appear within Pseudo-Alexander's dialogue and correspondence with Didymus but could also be linked to some of the anti-heretical texts included in the codex. It is not difficult to imagine that some of these codices were used at schools but since we lack explicit evidence on this point, the school use of the *Versus* remains a mere suggestion.

In a very specific manuscript, Wien, ÖNB, s. n. 12702, written in 1444 by Johannes Meerhout, an Augustinian canon at Korsendonk (d. 1476), the verses are completely integrated with excerpts from Virgil accompanied by Meerhout's explanatory notes and are

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[119] Vernet (1948).
[120] English grammarian and poet, ca. 1180–1252, lived mostly in France.
[121] Caesar. Heisterb. *Mirac.* II, 22.
[122] *Gesta Roman.* 163.
[123] Bruxelles, BrB, 978.
[124] Montpellier, BM, H.4.
[125] Less relevant for our discussion is Glasgow, UL, 205, where the verses are a sixteenth-century addition to a twelfth century codex with the works of Seneca.
[126] This codex serves as an apt example of the intellectual and cultural exchange beyond the theological debate that must have taken place during big medieval councils.
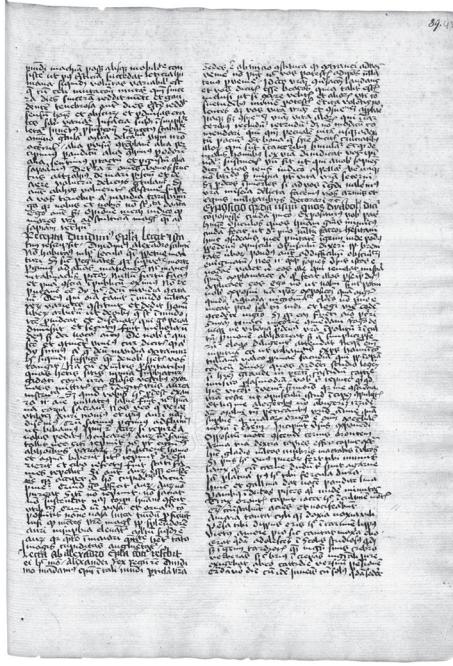
Fig. 6: Ms. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 126, f. 45r; the *Versus* with the "novelistic" commentary within Pseudo-Alexander the Great's correspondence with Didymus.

not distinguishable from them in any way. Marc Laureys, who analyzed Meerhout's comments, noted that although our verses are not really connected with Virgil, they contain a number of rare words and may have aroused Meerhout's interest for that reason.[127] The presence of a general note – *istos versus diabolus fecit cuidam puero timenti verberari* – makes it seem influenced by the "novelistic" commentary. The notes themselves do not explain the meaning of the text with the exception of one concrete word, *Clio*. A strong classical link is made in quoting Virgil, Servius, and Martianus Capella in this context:

> Clio debet esse, de qua Virgilius in 4º Georgicorum s[cribit]: *Altera tum primos lucine experta labores, Clioque et Beroe soror, Oceanitides ambae, ambae auro, pictis incinctae pellibus ambae* [Verg. *Georg.* IV, 340–342]. Servius: Notanda autem figura honestissima facta ex repetitione sermonis.
> Greco *dyan*, quod est lux vel claritas.
> M[artianus Capella:] *Dione Venus a matre sic dicam et dicitur quasi duo nectans.*[128] Vide summam[129] 13º: sacra Dione a.

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[127] Laureys (1992).
[128] Westra, Kupke (1998: 46): *Unde Dione dicitur a 'dian', quod est claritas, a quo et dies dicitur, licet etiam Dione dici possit quasi duo nectens, eo quod Venus in duorum commixtione gaudet.*
[129] Perhaps *Summa super Priscianum* is meant where this also appears.

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However, making the *Versus* part of Virgil and stressing the Classical rather than the Christian tradition in its contextualization seems to be an exception.

10. Contextualizing obscurity

The hardly intelligible verses of uncertain origin discussed here may have developed around an exorcist formula. While today's reader would tend to consider the poem an insignificant obscurity, medieval reception did not place it in the margin: it survives in 37 manuscripts from twelfth to fifteenth centuries (and in at least 8 more in some distorted version) originating from various environments and areas of Europe. In addition, it attracted attention of four different twelfth-century interpreters who dedicated their energy to explain its meaning without feeling the need to justify or defend this activity.

Each commentary interprets the verses in the context of Christian ethics, either as a fight between Christ and devil, or as encouragement for preachers to fight against heretics, or an urge for Christians to avoid devil's tricks and sinning. Just like in biblical exegesis, the commentators frequently offer several possible explanations without hierarchization. Each of them devotes special attention to explaining how come a devil or a demon authored verses that actually turn the audience to the good side. Each of these justifications is creative and reveals sincere interest in solving the issue. Thus, the commentaries are, on the one hand, similar in appropriating the verses to fit the "mainstream" culture (and thus reflect and prove its "power"), while, on the other hand, they substantially differ in particularities where they reveal independent creative and associative treatments.

Only once were the verses fully integrated among writings of a Classical author, namely Virgil, and glossed on with the use of other Classics rather than the Bible. This exception might be only a seeming one, though: a very detailed study of the codex (Wien, ÖNB, s. n. 12702) was necessary to find out that the *Versus* are included in it. Thus, there might be other instances of similarly inconspicuously integrated copies of the *Versus* waiting to be noticed.[130]

The scrutiny of the codex contents (although several possible paths were not followed)[131] enabled us to observe that the *Versus* were not only interpreted and contextualized in a variety of ways but also played different roles: they were a prophecy, a game with words, a moral treatise, or a simple curiosity. The fact that the text, while remaining acceptable for the Church, was appropriated in such various ways and made fit so diverse environments suggests not only that its initial place and meaning was (for whatever reason) not fixed, but also that the medieval Church was not so strict about forcing general uniformity as it is still often assumed. Although not quite in the centre of the Christian discourse, there was sufficient space provided for obscurity and the pains and pleasures of interpreting and appropriating it.

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[130] It is also a noteworthy pattern that the better the *Versus* are integrated, the more difficult it is to trace it.

[131] For example, I have not explored here the link to the excerpts from Aristotle (in Basel, Innsbruck, Praha, Kap, A 79/4, and Wien, ÖNB, 1062), which, however, seem different in each case and only a detailed scrutiny of them would reveal whether this connection is relevant.

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STRASTI A SLASTI INTERPRETACE A APROPRIACE OBSKURITY.
VERSUS MALIGNI ANGELI VE 12.–15. STOLETÍ

Studie se zabývá středověkými metodami interpretace a charakterem rukopisné tradice na příkladu krátké obskurní básně, která je v některých rukopisech nazvaná *Versus maligni angeli*. Přestože její původ není znám a její obsah je velmi nejasný, dočkala se čtyř různých komentářů. Každý z komentátorů vysvětluje, že báseň je křesťanská, jednotliví vykladači se ale liší v detailech interpretace. Každý také jiným způsobem obhajuje fakt, že je báseň připisovaná ďáblu. Při interpretaci tohoto velmi neobvyklého pramene všichni používají tradičních metod biblické exegeze. Přestože jde pouze o drobné dílko, tento případ poukazuje na středověkou interpretační flexibilitu, stejně jako hlubokou zvědavost a touhu po poznání stvořeného světa. V příloze je zahrnut seznam rukopisů a edice dvou glosovaných verzí této básně.

Lucie Doležalová
Charles University, Prague
lucie.dolezalova@ff.cuni.cz

Appendix I:
The list of the manuscripts of the *Versus maligni angeli*

The manuscripts are listed in an alphabetical order according to the cities where they are currently kept. The descriptions are very brief and should serve for a basic orientation. They inform about the version of the verses that is included in the manuscript, the folios where they appear in the manuscript, its dating, provenance (sometimes later ownership is added in the brackets) and reference to catalogue entry (if detailed catalogue is available) or other relevant literature. Manuscript witnesses of peculiar versions of the *Versus* (refered to in the study) are transcribed here in full. This is meant as a mere shortlist.

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A. II. 25
verses + "apologetic" commentary (attr. to Joachim of Fiore) as: *expositio versuum extraneorum*, ff. 43r–45v
XV (ca. 1430–1445)
Basel (owned by Carthusians in Basel)

Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 862
verses + interlinear glosses, f. 24r
XII
?, owned by Nicolas Hocquigny and C. R. Jardel (b. ca. 1720)
Jeudy, Riou (1989: 758)

Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, 105
verses (+ image of the winds), f. 95v
XI–XII
Chezal-Benoît?

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 10038-53 (978)
verses + "apologetic" commentary; as: *Versus quos spiritus nequam composuit*, ff. 49v–54v
XIII
? (later in Bibliothèque nationale de France)
van den Gheyn (1902: 50–52)

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 5387-96 (3168)
verses + "apologetic" commentary, ff. 116r–119v
early XIII (or late XII)
Gembloux monastery
van den Gheyn (1905: 122–124)

Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, 117
verses + "exegetical" commentary, ff. 1v–19r
XII
Signy abbey? (Cistercian; later there)
Quicherat (1879: 602–603)

Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 947
verses + "novelistic" commentary, 105r–107r
XII–XIV, verses XIV
Niederrhein or Netherlands (in the 15th c. in Carthusian monastery of St. Barbara in Köln)
Knaus (1979: 220–222)

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 18.6.12
verses, ff. 34v–35r
XII–XIII
Thorney (Benedictine, there till 1539)
Vernet (1981: 177–195)

Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, 9
verses + "moral" commentary (as interlinear), f. 53v
2/2 XII
Ottobeuren (Benedictine)
Hagenmaier (1974: 12–14), Schwarzmaier (1962: 18, no. 21)

Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian Museum 205 (U.1.9)
verses, f. IIIr
XII, XIV, verses an addition from XVI
?
Young, Aitken (1908: 147–148)

Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 11
"moral" commentary, ff. 150r–150v
XII
? (owned by the Cistercian abbey in Heiligenkreuz)
the manuscript is digitized and available through https://manuscripta.at/diglit (accessed July 3, 2020)

Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, 355
verses + fragment of appropriated "apologetic" commentary, ff. 82r–82v
XIV (1334)
Tirol; scribe Cornutus (expl.: *Anno Domini 1334 in die beate Lucie virginis, conpletus est auctor iste nomine Cornutus per manus Rudolffi Scolaris in Tyrol*)

Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, VI (74)
verses + "apologetic" commentary (linked to Joachim de Fiore), ff. 64r–68v
XIV or XIV–XV
probably from Ivrea
Professione (1967: 90–92)

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter Perg. 12
verses + with interlinear glosses, f. 120v
XII, additions XIII–XIV
St. Peter im Schwarzwald [?] (Benedictine), bound at the beg. XV, prob. in Konstanz
Heinzer, Stamm (1984: 30–31), Heinzer (1988: 331–346).

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 126
verses + "novelistic" commentary, f. 45r
XV (ca. 1440) and XVI
linked to the council of Basel, to Italian humanists, to Poland—owned by Johannes de
Ludzisko (d. before 1460), then by Petrus Gaszowiec (d. 1474)
Wodek, Zathey, Zwircan (1980: 99–115)

Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 23
verses + interlinear glosses, as: *Versus diaboli*, f. 114v
XII
from Vauclair (Cistercian)
Guglielmetti (2002: 300 and lxxxvi–lxxxviii)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9731 (olim Ee 47)
verses + "apologetic" commentary (linked to Joachim de Fiore) as: *Expositio versuum
extraneorum*, ff. 182v–184v
XIV
from Southern France or Italy (belonged to papal library in Avignon, features in cata-
logue from 1369)
Jostmann (2006: 391–396), Wannenmacher (2005: 269–276)

Merseburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, 40
different verses:

> (f. 188v:) *Achmata thonti post oxica loxica lyri*
> *euenit yarras olypolyri que lyvarras*
> *edypol edulpes malagraphanus ulpes*
> *hoc caput erontis latet hoc in vertice montis.*
> (f. 194r:) *Contra omnes febres preter mortales scribe in plumbo in nomine p et ƒ et ss hec tibi*
> *proficiant. sed prius nouem dies comburet totum.*
> *Achmara toucha tyri post toxica noxica leri*
> *euoluit scarras olavii levyque lymarras*
> *edepol adulpes malagraphanus alphanus wlpes*
> *hoc caput edrontis latet hoc inuertice montis*
> *cantat gallina fugam cape pandido lyna*
> *sed nota quod sin canones musicata vocabula et karacteres non debent scribi et poni*

XIV (1388 [dated on 188v])
Petrus Sparnow (prior of Merseburg)?

Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, Méd. H.4
verses + "apologetic" commentary, ff. 127r–128v
XII–XIII
Troyes, Oratoire (+ Pithou)
Castets (1887)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 2561
verses + "moral" commentary, no title, ff. 161v–162v
1/4 XIII
Aldersbach (Cistercian)
Klemm (1980: 152–153, plates 588, 589)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 2611
verses, different, f. 123v:

> *si mihi rhetorica vis tota phylosophy illuminare* [? looks like *ihlm*[*um*]]
> *ammaratonta tyri post doxia noxia nili*
> *elipolis carras poli polilique lauarras*
> *edupes et ulpes mala graphanas alpanus ulpes*
> *trox caput erontis iacet hoc in uertice montis*
> *obpositum montem conscendere cer*[*nis o*—hole in ms.]*rontem*
> *arma tua dextra capiens effer caput extra*
> *si proclamat clamor eius Deo caritati inter et exterius sit perunctus*
> [the preceding and following notes do not seem to be linked]

XIII (1225–1250)
Aldersbach (Cistercian, surely there in 14th and 15th c.)
Cat.: Klemm (1998: 99, plates 237 and 239)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 18921
verses + much shortened "moral" commentary, f. 22v
+ a reference to another (now lost) manuscript which contained a full version of the commentary (*Nota quod istos versus et exposicionem plenius invenies in passionali parte estivali post legendam de translatione beate Marie Magdalene*, f. 22v)
XIV
Tegernsee (Benedictine)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 23390
fragment of the "novelistic" commentary but a different version, f. 56r
XIII
Kaisheim (Cistercian)
Klemm (1998: 151)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 765
only the first verse: *Oppositum montem conscendere cernis orontem*, f. 148v
end X, the verses XI, explicit added XII
Amorbach (Benedictine, Würzburg, Germany)

150

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 53
verses, different, f. 44r, as: *Versus demonis Johanni heremite quibus occupatus solvendis cessaret ab oracione*:

> *admaratonta tyri post toxica noxica liri*
> *eliuaris carras pololique polorique riuarras*
> *edipus edulpes malagrafanas alfanus ulpes*
> *trans capud orontis iacet hoc in uertice montis*

XII (end)
Bridlington, Yorkshire, Augustinian Priory of St. Mary the Virgin
Hoffmann (2004: 14–15)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1628
verses + interlinear glosses, f. 145r
XII
St. Amand-en-Pévèle (shelfmark E 109 on f. 1, 2r up: *Liber bibliothecae Sancti Amandi in Pabula*)
Lauer (1940: 98)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2877A
verses, f. 27v
XII
Saint-Martial de Limoges (Benedictine)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions lat. 1543
verses + interlinear glosses, f. 125v
2/2 XII
Hautmont[?] (Benedictine)

[Peñiscola Castle, no. 134 = Santa Fe (Cistercian monastery by Saragossa)]
CATALOGUE ENTRY ONLY
verses + "apologetic" commentary (Joachim)
XIV (1348?)
? (library of the Popes of Avignon)
(omitted from the tables since it might be identical with the surviving Madrid ms.)
Faucon (1887: 51, no. 134)

[Pontigny 204 LOST]
CATALOGUE ENTRY ONLY
verses [+ "apologetic" commentary?]
XII
Pontigny (Cistercian)

Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Knihovna metropolitní kapituly Sv. Víta, A 79/4
(no. 151)
verses + "novelistic" commentary; as: *exposicio versuum daemonis cuiusdam*, ff. 286r–287r
XV (1410's)
?
Patera, Podlaha (1910: 102–103)

Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Knihovna metropolitní kapituly Sv. Víta, B 62
(no. 371)
verses + glosses + "novelistic" commentary, f. 136v
XIV
?
Patera, Podlaha (1910: 219)

Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E 5
verses + "apologetic" commentary, ff. 276v–278r
XII–XIII
Fleury, St. Benoît sur Loire (Benedictine), later belonged to Achiles Stazius
Petrucci (1970: 1058–1060)

Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, A.VII.17
verses + "novelistic" commentary, ff. 85r–85v
end XII–beg. XIII
St. Peter in Salzburg (Benedictine)
Wind (1982: 190)

Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Min. 42
only the first verse: *Oppositum montem conscendere cernis orontem*, f. 151v
2/4 IX, the verse is an addition from XII
Mainz, later Schaffhausen (cat. 1589)
Gamper, Knoch-Mund, Stähli (1994: 134–135)

Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 257 (olim 457)
verses + "apologetic" commentary; as: *Versus contra hereticos ad ecclesiam*, ff. 134v–136v
2/2 XII
Saint Gatien cathedral, Tours
the verses following Herveus' com. to the *Cena Cypriani*
Collon (1900: 189)

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 228
only 5 verses, different, badly readable, f. 302v

> *Amara tanta tiri post thosica losica liri*
> *Eliuolas farras poli polique nauarras*
> *ydipus edipes mala cesanus affanus wlpes*

> *trans capud horrentis iacet hic sub uertice montis*
> *Fya lenera scharri polmi polirrique liwarri*

XIII–XIV (1300)
Paris University?, Dominican context
Andersson-Schmitt, Hedlund (1988: 101–107)

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 377
only 6 verses, different, f. 2r:

> Amara tonta tyri post hos sycalos sykaliri
> Ely voly skarras warras poly lyque lyuarras
> Transcaput errontis iacet hoc in vertice montis
> ut puriel abyel baldala gut et[?] guttam
> luon[???] pius pater est paux filius spiritus sanctus
> kyes kyebis alus aluster alus

XIV
unknown, Sweden?
Andersson-Schmitt, Hallberg and Hedlund (1991: 476–485)

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1758
verses + a fragment of appropriated "apologetic" commentary, ff. 158v–159r
XV
Rome?, old shelfmark 296

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Pal. lat. 303 [Novus 392]
verses (different, fragmentary: *dudum tibi seruit. Iam perlatura constat tibi. iacet hoc in vertice montis. circumstabunt acies et vociferabunt. codoxia noxia nili. eris hoc in limine*),
f. 64r
XIV
?

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbiblothek Pal. lat. 1062
verses + "novelistic" commentary, ff. 89v–90r
XV
Hungary?

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Pal. lat. 2521 [Philol. 413]
verses, ff. 33v–34r
XII
?

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series nova 12702
verses with glosses, f. 80r
XV (1444)

Korsendonk (priory in Belgium), written by Johannes de Meerhout (= Jan van Meerhout van Diest, d. 1476)
Laureys (1992: 383–387)

Wooster, Library of the College of Wooster (Special Collections), Ohio (no call no.)
verses + "apologetic" commentary, ff. 117v–120r
XV
Italy, Genova?
the verses following Herveus' commentary to the *Cena Cypriani*
de Ricci (1937: 1978)

Wrocław, Ossolineum, 601
verses + "novelistic" commentary, ff. 325r–326v
XV
Cracow (f. 600v: *sunt finite per Iacobus de Cossow in vigilia sancte Zophie Cracovie in bursa Ierusalemitana, reportate anno Domini 1469*)

Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 13
"moral" commentary (verses integrated), f. 207v
XIII (1/4)
Zwettl (Cistercian); scribe Chunradus
Ziegler, Rössl (1985: 31–37)

Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 355
verses + "novelistic" commentary, f. 105v
late XII (4/4)
Zwettl (Cistercian)
Ziegler, Rössl (1997: 186–189)

Appendix II:
Two glossed versions of the *Versus maligni angeli*

1. Paris, BnF, n. a. lat. 1543, f. 125v

concupiscentis seculi; montem Christum; triumphare de principe mundi; significantem tene-
bras i.e. mundum
Oppositum montem conscendere cernis orontem

lucis; quo nesciat sinistrum pugnando contra vicia *spiritaliter; id est mentem carnem*
Arma tua dextra capies effer caput extra

Hinc gladio multos umbris mactabis inultos

et propter hoc ecclesia; vocem predicationis; retia fidei per predicationem
Hinc et gallina dat vocem pandite lina

quoniam hoc intelligas; unitas predicatorum; intelligentie
Sed prius hoc unus puerorum fert tibi munus

vetus lex; carnalibus preceptis; nunc servit filius gratie; servivit filius agar
Lanx que cum carne tibi dudum servit agarne

id est incarnato Christo; de lege spiritaliter intelligenda
Iam prolatura tibi constat munera plura

scripturarum
confirmatione sanctos predicatores; hereticos videte ad verbum evangelii minutos
Panibus indutos ~~indutos~~ piscesque videte minutos

id est diabolus; caput malorum; prosternitur id est in presenti ecclesia que corpus est Christi
Trax caput orontis iacet hoc in corpore montis

diabolum; malorum; cum eo dampnato plangentes semetipsos malorum
Quę circumstabant acies et vociferabant

In secundo adventu d[omini] *uana gloria fuit mundi*
Amaratunta tibi codoxia noxia nili

et suspense spiritales   penitens si sicut vixeris   in munere huius vite non adtenderas
sint tibi;   lugens;   ad amorem seculi
Pensa tibi dippus eris hoc in munere lippus

celes[tis] *desiderii sapientia damnat in plateis; sapientia*
Victus amore pio sic cantat maxima clyo
Ave Maria

155

2. Paris, BnF, lat. 1628, f. 145r

This version was transcribed also by Baehrens (1916: 43), who, however, restituted classical Latin spellings in his presentation of the text. A special feature of this copy are musical notes.

concupiscentiis seculi; triumphare de principe mundi; tenebras significantem mundum Christum
Oppositum montem conscendere cernis orontem

lucis que nesciat sinistra; id est mentem; carnem pugnando contra vicia
Arma tua dextra capiens effer caput extra

propter hoc; ecclesia; predicationis; id est recia fidei per predicationem
Hinc et gallina dat vocem pandite lina

quam hoc intelligas; unitas predicatorum; intelligentie
Sed prius hoc unus puerorum dat tibi munus

vetus lex; carnalibus preceptis; filius agar nunc servit filiis gratie
Laus que cum carne dudum servivit agarne

id est incarnato Christo; de lege spiritaliter intelligenda
Iam prolatura constat tibi munera plura

scripturarum sanctos predicatores; hereticos; ad verbum evangelii
Panibus indutos piscesque videte minutos

diabolus, corpus malorum, proponitur in presenti ecclesia que est corpus Christi
Trux caput orontis, iacet hoc in corpore montis

id est diabolum; malorum; plangentes semetipsos
Quem circumstabant acies et vociferabant

in secundo adventu Christi; vana gloria; mundi
Amaratonta tili cenodexia noxia nili

impense spiritales sint tibi; lugens si sic in itinere huius vite vixeris
Pensa tibi edippus eris hoc in limine lippus

celestis desiderii; sapientia clamat in plateis; sapientia
Victus amore pio sic cantat maxima clyo

BALBÍN'S *DIVA MONTIS SANCTI* (1665)
AND ITS VERNACULAR VERSIONS AS A TYPE
OF EARLY MODERN TRANSLATIONS[*]

ALENA BOČKOVÁ

ABSTRACT

Diva Montis Sancti (1665), written by B. Balbín, is an important work
on Marian pilgrimage sites. Within the background of the cultural and
historical contexts, the paper compares the Latin text with its translation
into Czech (*Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, 1666) by M. V. Štejer and an
anonymous German version (*Heiliger Berg*, 1668). The language analysis
of the Latin and Czech versions of the text is underpinned by examples of
Štejer's translation strategies. The article also states the function and pre-
sumed readership of the versions. In contrast with the historical / patriotic
function of the original aimed at educated European elites, both transla-
tions can be in today's terms characterised as paraphrases, accentuating
the religious and educative functions and, therefore, intended for less
educated readers.

Keywords: *Diva Montis Sancti*; Bohuslav Balbín; *Přepodivná Matka Sva-
tohorská*; Matěj Václav Štejer; *Heiliger Berg*; Neo-Latin literature; Baroque
translations; Marian pilgrimage sites; hagiographic literature

Introduction

In his conclusion to *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular*, Tom Deneire states
three main research traditions in Early Modern multilingualism: "Imitatio / aemulatio",
"Translation studies" and "Transfer studies".[1] My article should be a contribution mainly
to "Translation studies",[2] using the methodological approach that compares form, content

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[*]   This study was created with the financial support of the Czech Science Foundation as a part of stand-
ard project no. 17-19400S.
[1]   Deneire (2014c).
[2]   For an introductory overview see Hosington (2014); cf. also Ijsewijn, Sacré (1998: 488–501); Burke
(2007a; 2007b); Deneire (2014b; 2014d); Bloemendal (2014; 2015); Čapská (2014); Ramminger
(2015–2016); Pérez Fernández, Wilson-Lee (2014). An historical overview in the European context
provide e.g. Windle, Pym (2011).
    The core of Czech translation theories is formed by the work of Jiří Levý, closely followed by Anton
Popovič: last edition Levý (2012); an English translation Levý (2011); Popovič (1975). Svoboda (2010)

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and linguistic aspects of the original and the translated text. The aim of such an analysis is to determine the extent to which the translation is exact or free and to state the function of the work depending on its source and target language.[3] The study focuses on two translations of the Latin treatise *Diva Montis Sancti*, which are typical representatives of Baroque adaptations with extensive text changes.

Diva Montis Sancti, published in 1665,[4] is one of the most important works by the great Latinist Bohuslav Balbín and the culmination of his Marian hagiographic production. It was preceded by other *Divae*, works pertaining to Marian pilgrimage sites (Silesian place Warta *Diva Wartensis* and Moravian place Tuřany *Diva Turzanensis*).[5] Following *Diva Montis Sancti*, Balbín utilised the same topic in the two final books of his historical treatise *Epitome rerum Bohemicarum seu Historia Boleslaviensis*.[6] The religious place of the examined writing, *Mons Sanctus* (Svatá Hora), is located in the middle of Bohemia, adjacent to the formerly renowned mining town of Příbram. Only a year later, a Czech translation was published by the outstanding expert on Czech literary language Matěj Václav Štejer.[7] The author of the translation is not listed on the title page, nevertheless Balbín himself attributes the translation to Štejer. Balbín mentions in his catalogue of scholars called *Bohemia Docta* that Štejer translated the history of *Mons Sanctus* from Latin to Czech and he characterises this translation as an abridged summary (*historia in compendium contracta*).[8] The author of the German translation (*Heiliger Berg*), which was published two years later, remains unknown.[9] However, the German version corresponds to the Czech version in its extent and structure[10] and, thus, it is likely that the translator also used the Czech version when adapting the Latin original.[11]

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deals with methodological approaches in the research of Baroque translations, focusing mainly on multilingualism in the Czech lands and relations between Latin, Czech and German works.

[3] This approach is close to G. Toury's methodology for descriptive translation studies. In his theoretical framework oriented to target text, he combines a linguistic comparison of original and translated versions and the wider role of the sociocultural system. His aim is to identify the translation strategies and thereby to define the norms in the translation process. Cf. Munday (2016: 174–186).

[4] Balbinus (1665) – hereinafter *Diva Montis Sancti*. There are tens of copies preserved in Czech and foreign libraries as well; cf. for instance the library search engine WorldCat: https://www.worldcat.org/search?qt=worldcat_org_all&q=diva+montis+sancti (acc. March 31, 2020).
The 2nd edition: Balbinus (1670).

[5] Balbinus (1655; 1658).

[6] Balbinus (1673).

[7] Štejer (1666) – hereinafter *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*.

[8] Balbinus (1778: 418 [s.v. 'Štejer']): *Item Historiam S. Montis in compendium contractam ex latino bohemice reddidit.*

[9] *Heiliger Berg* (1668) – hereinafter *Heiliger Berg*. Unfortunatelly, no research has been done about this treatise.

[10] See the structure of all three versions in the attachment.

[11] As a proof for this statement cf. e.g. the different titles of the chapter about *Ernestus I. Archiepiscopus Pragensis* (*Diva Montis Sancti* II, 6; *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská* I, 5; *Heiliger Berg* I, 4) or the *Relatio Ernesti* (*Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská* part of I, 7; *Heiliger Berg* I, 7), missing in the Latin treatise and included in the Czech version with these words: *Chceš-li pak věděti, laskavý čtenáři, kterak Arnošt, jsa ještě pacholetem, potrestán byl od dotčeného kladského Panny Marie obrazu, položím tuto (ač v latinské svatohorské historii se nenachází, ale v české léta 1655 na světlo vydané) předivné naddotčeného velebného otce Arnošta vidění, od něho samého před smrtí sepsané a k vyhlášení vydané* [Kind reader, if you want to know how Ernestus, as a child, was punished by the Virgin Mary painting in Glatz, I will describe a vision of reverend Father Ernestus (not mentioned in the Latin history of Mons Sanctus but published in the Czech one in 1655), that was written by himself and issued before his death] (*Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 35). Hereinafter, all Czech citations are translated by A. Bočková.

The topic of the book *Diva Montis Sancti* has to be examined in a broader context of hagiographic works on the Marian theme and of literary production in Baroque Bohemia. The cult of the Virgin Mary had a unique position in the Czech lands in the 17th and 18th centuries. Pilgrimages to places dedicated to the Virgin Mary were one of the main expressions of Baroque religiousness and they took place wholly within the re-catholicisation intentions of the ruling Habsburg dynasty. A number of books were created that celebrate miraculous Marian depictions. Some of them were geographically divided registers, the most famous one was probably *Atlas Marianus* by Wilhelm Gumppenberg to which Bohuslav Balbín also contributed (namely to the issue from 1672).[12] Others were dedicated to individual paintings / sculptures, for instance *Divae* of Justus Lipsius,[13] which also served as an example for Balbín. These authors not only wanted to honour the Virgin Mary but also to have an educative impact on a broad range of readership since the books were published in multilingual versions (in bilingual Bohemia, besides Latin, usually also in Czech and German languages).[14] The inner structure of the treatises did not differ much. In books dedicated to one specific pilgrimage site, an inscription and a foreword were usually followed by a legend about the origins of the place and its name, the history of the site and its surroundings and a description of the miraculous depiction. The major part of the book is then dedicated to miracles that subsequently happened.

Diva Montis Sancti represents the peak of this type of hagiographic literature dedicated to a single pilgrimage site. Its author, Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688),[15] was appreciated by the Bohemian and European intellectual elites as an educator, poet, literary scholar, toponymist, hagiographer, historian and a staunch patriot. All of his books were written in Latin; the only Czech sentence (Saint Wenceslas' apostrophe: *Nedej zahynouti nám i budoucím!* [Don't let us and our posterity perish!]) concludes his treatise about the defence of the Czech language generally called *Dissertatio apologetica*.[16] For his extensive historical work, Balbín was called the "Bohemian Livy". The translator of the Czech version, Jesuit Matěj Václav Štejer (1630–1692),[17] was a teacher, preacher, missionary, translator of the New Testament and religious literature and an author of Czech treatises. He wrote *inter alia* a popular language handbook called *Žáček* (Pupil),[18] which has summarised the standard language norm of that time. In the period 1664–1666, he resided at Svatá Hora where he probably met with Balbín several times. Unfortunately, there is no evidence as to whether they discussed the translation of *Diva Montis Sancti* together or not. At any rate, these two authors have created a very important work for Czech literary history, which also illustrates the social situation and the state of religiousness in Baroque Bohemia. The main part of this article constitutes a comparison of the language variations of the treatise.

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[12] Gumppenberg (1672).
[13] Lipsius (1604; 1605).
[14] Svatoš (2000).
[15] Cf. Sommervogel (1890: 792–808); Bobek (1931); Kalista (1939); Kučera, Rak (1983); Rejzek (1908); Pokorná, Svatoš (1992).
[16] Balbinus (1775).
[17] Cf. Sommervogel (1896: 1575–1577); Stich (2001); Svatoš (2001); Kroupa (1994); Koupil (2012).
[18] Štejer (1668).

Diva Montis Sancti vs. vernacular versions

Form of the book

The Latin treatise is almost twice as long as the vernacular versions. When translating Balbín's original, the translators adjusted it greatly; they left out many historical and geographical passages, sometimes even whole sections or chapters, and concentrated mainly on the miracles. The vernacular versions of the treatise have therefore predominantly religious character. A different format and number of pages show that both the Czech and German versions are almost half the size, the German even smaller,[19] and thanks to it, readers could probably keep it at hand and carry it with them during their pilgrimages to Svatá Hora to remind them of the miracles right on the spot.

All three versions contain engravings depicting the statue of Sacromontana Virgin Mary although in a different illustration, according to the printing block available in the printing house. An interesting observation was made with other engravings in the Latin and Czech treatises, namely about the sanctuary. Although both versions were published only one year apart, in the Latin version the church at Svatá Hora is depicted in its original form as a small chapel, whereas in the Czech version it is depicted in its current form as a large Baroque church, resulting from a reconstruction led by Carlo Lurago. This latter engraving is probably one of the newest depictions, most likely based on architectural plans than on the actual appearance of the Svatá Hora complex. Work on the extensive reconstruction was taking place at the time when both books were written, namely in the period 1659–1673.

In terms of the typographic layout of the books, the Latin core text is accompanied by frequent marginalia. Through them Balbín supplies links, divides the text into subchapters, numbers individual events, gives explanations, adds Czech names or summarises the paragraph content. These and other formal adjustments ensure better orientation in the text. In both translations, marginalia are omitted, the text is rarely divided into paragraphs and the abridged text is thus difficult to navigate through. The reasoning for this was probably the author's or printer's attempt to save space. In the marginalia, Balbín also lists sources of his quotes from classical authors, the Bible, medieval authorities and contemporary writers, which he uses in the text as examples, parallels or as a basis for reflections. The translators do not list the sources, not even in the plain text; moreover they often exclude the reflections entirely. This could have resulted from the assumption that these quotations and reflections neither add to the main story line, nor pertain directly to the miracles, and, thus, they might distract the readers from the principal topic.

The Latin text is accompanied by verses, in the form of both short and longer epigrams, which conclude almost every chapter. Their topics are a celebration of the Virgin Mary and her mercifulness, the flourishing of Svatá Hora, devotional praise or poetic plays.[20] However, not all of them are necessarily written by Balbín.[21] All these epigrams

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[19] *Diva Montis Sancti*: format 4°, size 15 × 19 cm, 618 pp; *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*: format 8°, size 9 × 15 cm, 510 pp, *Heiliger Berg*: format 8°, size 10 × 15 cm, 396 pp.

[20] For instance a poem addressed to the pen describing miracles of the Virgin Mary *Ad pennam scriptoriam, ut sese ad miracula Beatissimae Matris scribenda comparet diligenter* (*Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 4–5).

[21] E.g. *Praecatio poetae ad Divam Sacromontanam pro patria* (*Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 136–137), which Balbín introduces: *Addam hoc loco, forsitan opportune ad oblectandum lectorem, pro patria preces expressas carmine, quas discipulus meus et religionis instituto frater, cum S. Montem una conscender-*

are omitted in both the Czech and German texts; nevertheless the German translator adds other verses / Marian litanies at the end of each book, in order to create a more compact hagiographic work.[22]

Structure and content

As a typical foreword, all versions use a dedication, the traditional form for expressing honour and thanks to the donors, which were different for each book version.[23] In the Latin *Epistola dedicatoria*, Balbín additionally includes historical comments or reflections on the dedication genre and outlines how he has divided the entire work (*origines et miracula*). The German version inserts only a short conventional dedication (2 pages). The Czech translation attaches after its dedication a foreword to reader, concluded by an important note in which Štejer formulates the main principles of his translation method – paraphrased from Czech he says: "The translator of this History wanted it to be well understood by common people. Hence he intentionally omitted verses and other means of high style and, where necessary, added explanations for the readers."[24]

The text of the original is divided into five books (*libri*). In the first two (called *origines*), Balbín narrates the history of Svatá Hora, its miraculous statuettes, describes the Svatá Hora's complex, chapel, hermitage and healing spring, as well as the town of Příbram and its surroundings. He depicts legends and the most important historic events and he describes at length the silver mines, including such details as a description of a machine used for draining the water from the mines.[25] The first book – which consists of general considerations of miracles, holy sites, the meaning of pilgrimages and of worshipping miraculous statuettes – was not included in the translations. From the second book, the vernacular versions left out everything that was not closely connected to Svatá Hora (details about the town of Příbram, silver mines, mining machinery etc.). The German translator only inserted a brief summary of the history of the town Příbram as an introduction to the whole book.[26]

The next three books are dedicated to the miracles of the Virgin Mary (*miracula*) and – as a pendant – followed by benefactions of grateful believers: devotional offerings, precious gifts for Svatá Hora, financed constructions and works of art. The miracles are thematically divided: transformations of the statuette (tears, sweat or blood announcing future disasters), light and sound phenomena (rays around the chapel, bells tolling on

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[22] *emus, Beatissima Virgine adorata, in Sylvulae modum effudit ex tempore mihique adhuc ab ingenio calens et rubens porrexit.* (*Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 135).

[22] *Die Lauretanische Litanei* (*Heiliger Berg*, p. 74–76), *Ehren-Sonnet* (*Heiliger Berg*, p. 187–188), poem *O Du Mutter* (*Heiliger Berg*, p. 300), poem *Beschluß* (*Heiliger Berg*, p. 396).

[23] *Diva Montis Sancti*: Malovecz stirps; *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*: Aleš Ferdinand Vratislav z Mitrovic; *Heiliger Berg*: Frantz Edmund Putz von Adlers-Thurn.

[24] *Co se pak dotejče přeložení této Historie z latinské řeči na česko, věděti máš, laskavý čtenáři, že kdo tuto Historii překládal, měl oumysl tak ji spraviti, aby sprosten lid mohl jí dobře rozuměti. A protož verše i jiné všecky vysoké a od skladatele latinské Historie důvtipně složené věci schválně opustil a místem, kde se zdálo, že by sprosten lid potřeboval nějakého vysvětlení, něco přiložil.* (*Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. A8v).

[25] *Diva Montis Sancti* II, 3, §5 (*De artificiosa machina et automate, quo ex fodinis ad S. Montem aqua mirabiliter extrahitur et exantlatur*). At the end of the chapter see the scheme *Delineatio machinae, qua ex fodinis Przibramensibus aqua educitur* (*Diva Montis Sancti*, engraving following page 96).

[26] *Heiliger Berg* I, 1 partly translated from *Diva Montis Sancti* II, 2.

their own) and miraculous healings of various diseases. Balbín always consistently lists his sources in order to put a stamp of historic work on his treatise. In these books, the translations deviate from the original to a much lesser extent. The translators leave out some quotations, philosophical and reflective passages or Latin and Greek verses. However, they never shorten the text to the detriment of the story; in some passages they even broaden it, correct information that is no longer up-to-date or add new pieces of information.[27]

In the epilogue, the Czech translator skips over Balbín's extensive digression into the topic of classical heroes and he connects only the introduction and the conclusion about the never ending mercifulness of the Virgin Mary. The *Beschluß* of the German translation consists only of few verses invoking the Holy Mother,[28] which finally conclude the last chapter.

The next two appendices of the Latin treatise (topographic and genealogical) are left out in the vernacular versions, certainly for the reason that they deviate too much from the hagiographic topic and miracles. Nevertheless, the Czech translation adds as an attachment a discourse of Georgius Crugerius about the affection of the Virgin Mary towards the Czech people and, vice versa, the affection of the Czech people for the Virgin Mary,[29] which is originally inserted in the first book of *Diva Montis Sancti*.[30] Although this discourse does not relate to Svatá Hora and the miracles themselves, it can represent an appropriate conclusion of the whole book.

Language and style

In the Latin original, there are prevailing language-stylistic elements of humanistic Latin typical for Bohemia of the 17th and 18th centuries – so called "Baroque humanism".[31] The Czech text uses a good standard of Baroque language norms, reasoned from the fact that Štejer was not only a translator but also an author of several language handbooks. Our linguistic analysis was concentrated only on the Latin and Czech texts[32] and compared both the lowest text units (words and terms), set phrases and constructions, as well as entire clauses, sentences and more extensive passages.

Štejer translated the Latin original rather freely, i.e. he focused mainly on the narrative of the text, which he transformed into a simple and easy-to-understand manner. We have listed some examples to show his translation approach to the text:

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[27] As already mentioned *Relatio Ernesti*: see above n. 11.
[28] *Heiliger Berg*, p. 396.
[29] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 450–580 ('Přídavek'), where Štejer introduces: *Ačkoli tato věc, o které chci nyní jednati, nepřináleží vlastně k Svatohorské Historii, nicméně poněvadž jest k pochvale předešlé pobožnosti českého národa a může býti podnětem k budoucí horlivosti a ctihodný Pater Jiří Crugerius z Tovaryšstva Ježíšova, an tuto částku složil, hoden jest, aby tato jeho perlička z onoho Pokladu české pobožnosti, který míní světu ukázati, vzatá vyšla na světlo, soudím užitečnou věc býti, tuto jeho spis z latinska na česko přeložený připsati* [Although this aspect, I want to present now, does not really belong to the History of Mons Sanctus, yet it praises the previous piousness of the Czech nation and may be an impetus for future zeal. Reverend Father Georgius Crugerius of the Society of Jesus composed this treatise as a pearl in the treasure of Czech devotion and it is worth being taken into the light and shown to the world. So I intend to attach here his text translated from Latin to Czech] (*Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 450).
[30] *Diva Montis Sancti* I, 9.
[31] Hejnic (1974); Svatoš (2000).
[32] A detailed analysis of the German translation is a task for future research.

Omissions

The translator leaves out rhetorical adornments, especially these forming whole sentences, omits additional information or rhetorical questions. He skips historical or literary digressions, simplifies long clauses and searches for suitable phrases that allow him to substitute an entire sentence while preserving the substance of the original. This may be explained by the assumption that uneducated recipients will perceive the text only by listening.

- Leaving out rhetorical adornments:

Enimvero, ut haec ita sint, tamen veritatis ego exercitum contra statuam, armatura tam firma, ut immortales Persarum (quos vocabant) milites non desideres[33]

Postavím proti němu pravdu v pevném odění a s bystrou výbornou zbraní.[34]

ante genam per dies aliquot pendebat, cruento chamaeleontis exemplo, quod animal oculos habet sanguine semper natantes[35]

několik dní nad lící viselo[36]

- Omitting additional information or rhetorical questions:

cum serenissimo coelo, in Augusto sub Virgine, cum formosissimus annus est[37]

ač bylo všudy na nebi jasno[38]

in media Germania natus, qui ut fit in artibus, quo eum error et libido rapiebat, peregrinabatur et magistris operam addicebat suam[39]

rodem z Němec, člověk vandrovní[40]

hunc unum afflavit primum et obcoecavit, deinde dejecit exanimem. Haeccine est meretricis aut latronis potestas?[41]

toho samého zlolejce trefil, omračil a na zem porazil[42]

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[33] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 245.
[34] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 164: "I will set the truth against him, in solid armour and with the best sharp weapon".
[35] D*iva Montis Sancti*, p. 313.
[36] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 246–247: "it hung for several days on her cheek".
[37] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 164.
[38] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 70: "even though all the sky was clear".
[39] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 163.
[40] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 68: "born in Germany and a wandering man".
[41] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 164.
[42] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 70: "it struck the only villain, stunned him and knocked him to the ground".

- Skipping literary digressions:

secum adducit. Apparuit hic, quod scripsit Aristoteles: „Opus suum omnis bonus artifex diligit.“[43]	*Dovedši pak ji předce na to svaté místo*[44]

- Simplifying long clauses:

Is cum magnum operae suae pretium, totius fere Przibrami ad religionem nostram accessionem tulisset, Przibramensibus in fide notra satis jam confirmatis[45]	*ten skůro celé město na katolickou víru obrátiv*[46]

- Simplifying Latin synonymic variations (e.g. Latin synonyms *imago, effigies, statua, signum* translated with the only Czech word *obraz* [picture]).

Shifts

Štejer transposes the Latin phrases into the local environment, substitutes sayings or similes with Czech idioms and uses expressive elements or common and vulgar expressions.

imagines odissent et velut in ulcere unguem haberent[47]	*a svatí obrazové byli jim jako sůl v očích*[48]

Additions

On the other hand, he inserts explanations or repeats certain information in order to facilitate understanding. He amplifies the story for the sake of better continuity, fluency and clarity. In some places, he inserts his own reflections, ideas or observations into the text, as well as effective metaphors, similes or poetical ornaments, which adds interest to the translation and makes it more gripping for the readers.

- Inserting explanations:

Recte scripsit Seneca[49]	*Poznamenal světský mudřec Seneka*[50]

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[43] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 315.
[44] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 250: "Then he led her to the holy place".
[45] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 162.
[46] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 68: "he turned almost the entire city to the Catholic faith".
[47] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 120.
[48] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 22: "and holy images were like salt in their eyes".
[49] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 164.
[50] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 69–70: "The secular scholar Seneca noted".

- Amplifying the story:

Facit[51]

*Následujíc ona této dobré rady,
šla na Svatou Horu, tam svou pobožnost
vykonala*[52]

ut ferre lucem sine horrore non posset[53]

*že bez bolesti na žádné světlo nemohla
hleděti, ale pro uvarování bolesti
do tmavých koutův, kde jen mohla,
se ukrejvala*[54]

*Mors tibi, mors, sceleste, constituta fuit,
nisi natura et mores coelestes vetarent:
cum iratus fuerit Deus, misericordiae
recordabitur*[55]

*Zasloužiľ ovšem ten Boha prázdný
člověk hned na tom místě od tohoto ohně
zcepeněti, ale milosrdný a dlouho
shovívající Bůh, bez pochyby na přímluvu
Matky Milosrdenství, naložil s ním ne
podle zasloužení jeho, ale podle
milosrdenství svého, nechtě, aby zahynul*[56]

- Inserting own reflections:

horret calamus scribere![57]

*Hrozím se jeho bezbožné klení vejslovně
tuto poznamenati a bojím se, abych
snad tím Pána Boha neurazil, kdybych je
napsal;*[58]

*sed invidia, cum maxime videt,
nil videt*[59]

*Ale závistivý člověk vida nevidí, slyše ne-
slyší, a proto mluví ledacos, byť toho nikdy
nemohl prokázati.*[60]

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[51] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 314.
[52] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 249: "she obeyed this good advice, went to Svatá Hora and there did her devotion".
[53] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 314.
[54] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 249: "that she couldn't look at any light without pain, but to hide from pain, she hid in the dark corners wherever possible".
[55] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 164.
[56] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 70: "Surely the impious man deserved to be killed by the fire, right in that place, nevertheless without doubt at the intercession of the Mother of Mercy, the merciful and long-forgiving God dealt with him not according to villain's merits but according to his own mercy, because he did not want him to perish.
[57] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 163.
[58] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 69: "I fear to explicitly mention his blasphemous curse and I am afraid I might offend God if I wrote it".
[59] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 244–245.
[60] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 164: "But an envious person, though he sees, does not see, though he hears, does not hear, and, therefore, speaks many things, even if he could never prove it".

respondit, tam acutum jam esse, quam sit calumnia[61]	*Odpověděl, že jest tak ostrý jako pohanění. Nad pohanění pak není ostřejšího meče na světě. Tímť zajisté všecko se může přetíti, všecko poraziti. Nebo nic není tak svatého, tak jistého, tak dokonalého, čeho by člověk nemohl pohaněti.*[62]

- Adding poetical adornments:

sua Matri Dei veneratio et affectus in eam tot saeculis intermortuus coepit exsurgere[63]	*povstala jako z mrtvých někdejší česká k Matce Boží láska a zdálo se všem katolíkům, jako by nastalo žádoucí a milé jaro po dlouhé a tuhé zimě.*[64]
At sceleratus nebulo in domum Joannis Welwarsky ingressus[65]	*ale bylo to platno, jako kdyby někdo hrách na stěnu sypal, neb přijda s tím rouháním do hospody*[66]

The Czech word order often remains influenced by the Latin (for instance a verb at the end, hyperbaton[67] or postposition of adjectives) and, following the Latin example, the Czech text is divided by rhetorical punctuation. The translator uses many participles[68] as a means of condensing the text and even infinitive phrases can be found, which is untypical for the Czech language.[69]

On the contrary, the Latin text is retrospectively influenced by Czech, which is a quite uncommon aspect. There are, for example, Czech toponyms, explanations or allusions in the marginalia. Perhaps most interesting is a linguistic pun pertaining to the name of the Czech hermit called Procházka (whose name means a "walk" in Czech) in a short epigram:

Prochazkam *nostris fecit* Prochazka *Bohemis;*
Virginis ad Montem Patria tota venit.

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[61] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 245.
[62] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 164: "He replied that it was as sharp as the calumny. There is no sharper sword in the world than the calumny. It can cut everything, defeat everything. For nothing is so holy, so certain, so perfect, that one cannot defame it".
[63] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 162.
[64] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 67: "the former Czech love for the Mother of God arose like from the dead, and it seemed to all Catholics as if a desirable and sweet spring had occurred after a long and stiff winter".
[65] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 163.
[66] *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, p. 69: "but it was like throwing peas on the wall, for when he came to the pub with the blasphemy".
[67] *Někdejší česká k Matce Boží láska*; *za jeden rok našeho na Svaté Hoře přisluhování*; *výborný přírodních věcí zpytatel.*
[68] *došedši, obrátiv, následujíc, nechtě, přijda…*
[69] *Odpověděl se s přísahou několikrát opětovanou do své nejdelší smrti nic více proti Rodičce Boží nemluviti ani činiti. Soudím užitečnou věc býti...*

Balbín explains the meaning of this name to readers without the command of Czech in his marginalia: Prochazka *Boëmice, Latine* Ambulatio.[70]

Conclusion

From the formal part of the comparison above it follows that the vernacular versions of the treatise cannot be considered as translations within today's meaning of the word. They present a selection, i.e. a paraphrase / adaptation,[71] done with a different intention and for a different readership than the Latin original. In the Latin work, the ratios between hagiographic elements and other parts, mainly historic, topographic and genealogical, is balanced, whereas the translations focus purely on the miracles because they offer faith in healing, mercifulness and the protection of the Virgin Mary to common readers. This is the reason why all digressions, philosophical, historic and patriotic passages, as well as verses and rhetorical adornments, are left out in the translations.

The languages of the different versions also refer to the intended recipients. Balbín's book is comprehensible only to a reader who commands Latin and who is capable of appreciating the author's style of narration, which involves long digressions, expert descriptions, quotations from Greek and Latin works, and a high stylistic level of text. This treatise was intended for the educated European elites and, besides a promotion of the Cult of the Virgin Mary, it has informative, historical-educational and patriotic functions, not overlooking its aesthetic function as well.

The Czech and German vernacular versions, on the other hand, make the text accessible for local readers or listeners. The translations are abridged with respect to the content and the topic of the original and omit large parts of the text. They leave out not only the quotes by classical authors but also a number of biblical quotes or parallels and thus significantly shift Balbín's style of narration. In the translations, the religious experiences result mainly from miracles, cult objects and acts. However, the detailed language analysis of the Czech translation shows Štejer's deep understanding of the original and a great feeling for the language. He avoids literal set phrases, yet interprets faithfully the essence and the meaning of the story. He transposes the Latin text with the same richness and aptness, adds plasticity to the text through his own complements and uses Baroque figurativeness, all of which are necessary elements for capturing the attention of common readers. The function of both translations is especially religious-educative and they are primarily intended for lower social classes.

This submitted article will hopefully serve as a component for a larger synthesis of the typology of Baroque translations in the Czech lands during the 17th and 18th century. Such a summary outline cannot be done without primary form, content and linguistic comparisons of the originals and the translations, which determine the function of the works and their intended readership. Further work is needed to draw up a comprehensive list and classification of the translation output. These pebbles in the mosaic will finally help to create a picture of Early Modern multilingual dynamics.

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[70] *Diva Montis Sancti*, p. 225.
[71] In modern translation theory, these terms are defined as degrees of free translation. Cf. Hrehovčík (2006); Bastin (2020).

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BALBÍNOVA *DIVA MONTIS SANCTI* (1665) A JEJÍ PŘEVODY DO NÁRODNÍCH JAZYKŮ JAKO JEDEN Z TYPŮ BAROKNÍCH PŘEKLADŮ

Jedním z metodologických přístupů k analýze překladu je formální, obsahové a jazykové srovnání s originálem, stanovení míry volnosti či přesnosti překladu a zkoumání funkce díla v závislosti na jeho původním a cílovém jazyce. Tento článek se zaměřuje na překlad bohemikálního spisu *Diva Montis Sancti* (1665), který je typickým zástupcem barokních adaptací s rozsáhlými textovými úpravami a současně je jednou z nejvýznamnějších prací Bohuslava Balbína o mariánských poutních místech. Na pozadí kulturněhistorického kontextu a zařazení do dobové produkce v rámci tohoto žánru studie přináší komparaci latinského textu s jeho českým překladem od Matěje Václava Štejera (*Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská*, 1666) a s německou variantou (*Heiliger Berg*, 1668), jejíž autor zatím není znám. Podrobnější jazykovou analýzu latinské a české verze textu doplňují příklady, demonstrující Štejerovy překladatelské postupy. Článek naznačuje, jaká byla funkce a předpokládaný recipient jednotlivých jazykových verzí: oba překlady lze charakterizovat jako parafráze, adresované méně vzdělanému čtenáři, akcentující nábožensky-vzdělávací funkci, na rozdíl od historicko-vlastenecké funkce originálu, který byl určen vzdělanecké elitě celé Evropy. Cílem studie je nastínit základní překladatelské tendence, a přispět tak k rozsáhlejšímu výzkumu typologie barokních překladů.

Alena Bočková
Charles University, Prague
alena.bockova@ff.cuni.cz

Attachment: Content of the Latin, Czech and German versions (l. = liber, c. = caput)

l.	c.	Diva Montis Sancti	l.	c.	Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská	l.	c.	Heiliger Berg
		Benedictio						
		Epistola dedicatoria			Připsání			Dedikation
		Censurae			Předmluva k laskavému čtenáři			
I		Liber I., qui apparatum quendam continet et viam ad reliquam historiam praemunit et praestruit						
	1	Institutum operis explicatur						
	2	Quae praecipua causa, cur Mons Sanctus tanto tempore ab annis prope trecentis ignoratus et inter perdita sit habitus. Accusatio et defensio vetustatis						
	3	Causae praecipuae, quibus permotus ad hanc historiam scribendam accessi						
	4	Beatissima Virgo Sancti Montis est fatale Regni Bohemiae pignus et cimelium, in quo fatum suum intueatur Bohemia						
	5	Quam fidelem Divinitati operam Beatissima Dei Mater extremis hisce temporibus generatim atque universe tot miraculis praestiterit; ac potius per illam quanta praestet Deus						
	6	Miraculis a Beatissima Dei Matre atheos hoc tempore oppugnari potissimum						
	7	Defensio miraculorum generatim, tum eorum, quae in Sancto Monte patrantur						

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg	
8	Quam opportunitatem secuta videatur Beatissima Virgo Maria, cum in Monte Sancto sedem sibi fixit, unde velut pro tribunali gratiae sederet et amoris et vitae populis responsa daret					
	Notae. Celebres imagines et templa Divae Matris					
9	Beatissimae Dei Matris in Bohemorum gentem propensio vicissimque istius in Virginem Matrem saeculis omnibus pietas					
§1	Affectus Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in Bohemiam, Moraviam et Silesiam					
§2	Affectus gentis Bohemae erga Matrem Dei					
10	Peregrinationes ad templa et loca sancta sanctarumque imaginum cultus brevissime laudatus et defensus					
II	Liber II., qui est originum, in quo Mons Sanctus, ubercula Przibramum totaque illa Beatissimae Virginis vicinia describitur	II	O jménu Svaté Hory, o počátku a cti svatohorského zázračného obrazu; o kostelíčku, studánce i jiných k Svaté Hoře nějak přináležejících věcech	I	Worinnen die Stadt Przibram, der Heilige Berg, Capell, Bildnus, Brunnen und völlige unser lieben Frauen Umbkraiß beschrieben wird	
1	Mons Sanctus. Montium nobilitas et sanctitas et nostri hujus praecipue					
2	Civitas Przibramensis ad Sanctum Montem sita, ejus origo, fortuna, calamitates, servitus et libertas				Von der Stadt Przibram und Ansinnen dieses Wercks	1
3	Praecipua Przibramensium ad Montem Sanctum gloria, argenti fodinae et arena aurea					
§1	Fodinae Przibramenses argenteae feliciter inventae					

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
§2	Przibramensium et Horomiri dynastae capitales inimicitiae, oppressis fossoribus finiuntur				
§3	Fodinarum Przibramensium resuscitatio et usque ad nostra tempora deductus labor; tum de arenulis aureis				
§4	Diva S. Montis ad aurum et argentum sedet				
§5	De artificiosa machina et automate, quo ex fodinis ad S. Montem aqua mirabiliter extrahitur et exantlatur				
		1	Vejtažní zpráva o Svaté Hoře a jejím svatém obrazu		
		2	O těch, kteří nevěří svatohorským příkladům		
4	Accessus ad S. Montem propior, quaedam conjecturae de appellatione Montis Sancti et sacelli sancti prima origine adducuntur et examinantur	3	Odkud Svatá Hora tak pěkné jméno dostala	2	Woher dieser Berg den Nahmen eines Heiligen Bergs und die alldasige Capell ihren Ursprung genommen
5	Quaedam rursus vetustae de miraculis coelestibus, in Monte Sancto editis, deque sacello sancto narrationes eaeque omnes fama communi tantum et senum, qui Przibrami sunt, authoritate nituntur	4	Jiné staré rozprávky o někdejších starých zázracích a příhodách na Svaté Hoře zběhlých	3	Was ferner wegen des Heiligen Bergs und der Capellen von denen Vorfahrern Berichtsweiß an uns gediegen
6	Prima statuae Beatissimae Virginis, quae in Monte Sancto colitur, origo ab Ernesto I. Archiepiscopo Pragensi	5	Krátká zpráva o svatém životě Arnošta, prvního arcibiskupa pražského, prvního původu a ctitele svatohorského obrazu	4	Kurtz verabfaster Bericht vom Leben Ernesti deß I. Ertz-Bischoffen zu Prag, als zugleich ersten Urhebers und Liebhabers deß Wunderthätigen Bilds ob dem H. Berg

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
10	De S. Petri templo, quod ex miraculo Sslivicze veteres appelarunt quodque residentia Societatis Jesu in Monte Sancto pluribus annis procurat	12	O kostelu svatého Petra v Slivici	12	Von St. Peters Kirchen Schliwitz genannt
					Die Lauretanische Litanei
III	Liber III, qui est miraculorum primus, quibus se Beatissima Virgo, antequam Societati Jesu Sanctus Mons traderetur, Przibramo totique illi viciniae commendavit	II	O zázracích	II	Von Wunderzeichen, mit welchen der Heil. Berg, ehe er der Societät anvertrauet, sich aufgeschwungen
1	Quo in cultu Sanctus Beatissimae Virginis Mons fuerit Patrum nostrorum memoria, antequam celebrari et miraculis illustrari coepisset	1	Jaká pobožnost byla na Svaté Hoře prvé, než Patres Tovaryšstva Ježíšova na ni se dostali	1	In was Ansehen der Heil. Berg mit dem wunderthätigen Bildnus zu Zeiten unserer Vorfahrer gehalten worden
2	Pictor haereticus, cum Beatissimae Virgini nostrae malediceret et effigiem sacram obscoenissimis probris laceraret, sereno coelo fulmine percutitur	2	Na nekatolického malíře, an o svatohorském obrazu slova rouhavá a nepoctivá z své tlamy kydal, hrom z jasna udeřil	2	Ein Un–Catholischer Mahlergesell, so das wunderthätige Bildnus gelästert, wird bei hellem Wetter vom Donner geschlagen
3	Caecus ad Divam S. Montis Praga mittitur, quae prima celebritatis et sequentium miraculorum origo, quibus famam S. Montis, aetate nostra pene jam abolitam et fugientem, revocavit exaltavitque Deus	3	Slepý od Svatohorské Panny Marie byl uzdraven, což bylo počátkem zvelebení Svaté Hory a následujících zázraků, jimiž Bůh toto svaté místo zvelebiti ráčil	3	Ein Blinder wird auf den Heil. Berg beruffen und allda sehend gemacht. Welches ein Vortrab der zukünfftigen Mirackul und Erhöhung deß Heil. Bergs ist
4	Joannes Prochazka Beatissimae Virginis ope in Sancto Monte visum recipit	4	Jan Procházka s pomocí Rodičky Boží na Svaté Hoře jest od slepoty uzdraven	4	Hanß Prochaska wird wunderbarlich durch Hilff der seligsten Mutter Gottes auff dem Heil. Berg sehend gemacht
5	Fons Beatissimae Virginis, oculis praecipue salutaris, ab Joanne Prochazka mirabiliter invenitur	5	Svatohorská studánka velmi zdravé vody, vzláště pro oči, od Jana Procházky divně jest nalezená	5	Der Heilbrunnen unser lieben Frauen, so wider unterschiedliche Gebrechen deß Leibs, sonderlichen aber der Augen gesund ist, wird von Hanß Prochaska wunderbarlich am Heil. Berg gefunden

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
6	Vultus et oculi in statua Beatissimae Virginis Mariae et pueri Jesu varie idque saepius in S. Monte mutatur; statua ipsa occulta vi avertitur ab orante	6	Obličej a oči na obrazu Panenky Marie a dětátka Ježíše rozličně a často se mění. Týž jedním časem od jisté osoby se odvrátil	6	Augen und Gesicht werden öffters in dem wunderthätigen Bildnus verwendet, auch von einer Person gar abgewendet
7	Effigiem Beatissimae Virginis in S. Monte una cum puero Jesu ad majores Regni Bohemiae calamitates sudavisse, illacrymasse cladibus et cruentum sibi in ipsa facie vulnus aperuisse	7	Když nastávalo jaké hrubé neštěstí Českému království, svatohorský obraz časem se potil, časem plakal, jednou také krvavou ránu na tváři ukázal	7	Wann einiges Unheil dem Königreich Böheimb vorgestanden, hat solches das wunderthätige Bildnus mit Schweiß, Zähern und blutrüstigen Wunden zuerkennen geben
8	Lumine coelesti ardere saepius visus Mons Sanctus et luce ea cingi sacellum atque etiam impleri. Campanae sponte pulsantur, mirum item aliud de altaris campanula; at denique (quod omnia mira superat) messis in Februario Przibramensibus viciniisque servata	8	Svatá Hora za časté obkličená byla nebeským světlem. Zvony na ní samy se zvonily. Stalo se cos divného s zvonečkem. Obilí na polích až do měsíce února dochováno	8	Der Heil. Berg wird mit himmlischen Liecht umfangen. Die Glocken leuten von sich selbst, etwas seltzames von dem Meßglöckel. Das Getreid bleibt im Felde biß in Februario unversehrt
9	Caeci aut caecutientes in Monte Sancto lucem aspiciunt	9	Kterým na zraku spomoženo	9	Blinden und gebrächlichen Augen wird geholffen
10	Beatissima Dei Mater per quietem saepius ea ipsa effigie, quae in Monte Sancto colitur, apparet	10	Nejsvětější Rodička Boží ukázala se některým osobám ve snách právě v podobném způsobu a oděvu, jaký jest její svatohorský obraz	10	Die seligste Mutter Gottes erscheinet etlichen mit solchem Schmuck und Gestalt, wie sie am Heil. Berg ist
11	Aegritudines quaedam, Beatissima Virgine de Monte suo opitulante, sublatae aut mitigatae: dysenteria, febris, caecitas ex variolis, vulnus lethale, dirus hydrops ac primum loquendi facultas restituta	11	Rozmanité nemoci skrze dobrodiní Svatohorské Panny Marie zapuzeny, jmenovitě červená nemoc, zimnice, slepota z neštoviček pošlá, smrtelná rána, vodnotedlnost, němota	11	Allerhand Kranckheiten werden vertrieben, und benentlichen entfallene Sprach, rothe Ruhr, Fieber, Blindheit von Blattern, tödliche Wunden, Wassersucht

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
12	Testificatio duorum illustrium in S. Monte miraculorum et mirabile quiddam de equo A.R.D. Salleri, Przibramensis Decani	12	Vysvědčení o dvouch znamenitých zázracích, na Svaté Hoře zběhlých. Potom cos divného o koni dvojictihodného kněze Sallera, příbramského děkana	12	Von 2 ansehentlichen Wunderzeichen. Item was denckwürdiges von dem Pferdt deß gewesten Dechanten zu Przibram
13	Sacellum Beatae Virginis in Monte Sancto reparari et ornari coeptum	13	Jak svatohorská kaplička počala se opravovati i ozdobovati	13	Von seeligem Absterben und etlichen Tugenden deß alten Hanns Prochaska, welcher aus Göttlicher Schickung der erste den Heil. Berg in Beruff gebracht
14	Beata mors et quaedam virtutes optimi senis Joannis Prochazcae, qui primus admonitu coelesti S. Monti celebritatem dedit	14	Šťastné skonání a některé ctnosti dobrého starečka Jana Procházky, an z Božího vnuknutí byl přední příčina zvelebení Svaté Hory		
15	Successor Joannis Prochazcae Joannes Havranek, centenario major, in S. Monte moritur ac sepelitur utriusque epitaphium recitatur	15	Po Janu Procházkovi dostal se na Svatou Horu Jan Havránek. Děje se zminka o jeho životu, smrti i pohřbu	14	Von Hanns Hawraneck, so an deß abgeleibten Hanns Prochaska Stell getretten, seinem Leben und seeligen Hintritt

Ehren-Sonnet |
IV	Liber IV., qui est secundus miraculorum, in eoque continentur illa, quae post S. Montem Societati Jesu traditum proximis decem annis, videlicet ab initio anni 1647 ad exitum anni 1656, digna memoratu evenere	III	Vypravují se tuto věci hodné paměti a zázrakové, kteří se stali od toho času, od kterého Svatá Hora Tovaryšstvu Ježíšovu jest darovaná, totižto za prvních deset let, počítaje od počátku léta 1647 až do konce léta 1656	III	Von Wunder-Zeichen, welche in nechsten zehen Jahren, nach dem die Societät in Possession des Heil. Bergs getretten, vorbeigangen, von Anfang des 1647 biß zu Außgang des 1656sten Jahrs zu rechnen
1	Sancti Montis sacellum et in eo Divae Virginis statua prodigiosa Societati Jesu donatur et traditur	1	Svatohorský kostelíček a v něm zůstávající zázračný obraz Panny Marie darován i odevzdán jest Tovaryšstvu Pána Ježíše	1	Welcher Gestalt die Heil. Bergs Capell sambt dem wunderthätigen unser Lieben Fr. Bildnus der Societät Jesu zugeeignet worden
2	Accessus ad ea miracula, quae Societate Jesu in S. Montem inducta, Beatissima Virgo patravit eorumque defensio ac fides	2	O zázracích, kteříž se stali od té doby, co naší Patres přisluhují na Svaté Hoře		

	Heiliger Berg		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Diva Montis Sancti
2	Verstands-Verruckung, Schwindel und andere Haubts-Mängel werden wunderbarlich benommen	3	Smyslem pominulí, na závrat neb jináč na hlavní nemoc stonající divně uzdraveni	3	Amentia et nescio quae imagines, Beata Virgine S. Montis in auxilium vocata, delentur ex animo, tum etiam vertigo et capitis dolores sanantur
3	Sieben augenscheinliche Exempel von wunderbarlich erlangten Gesicht	4	Sedmero příkladův o navrácení zraku	4	Exempla luculenta restituti visus septem
4	Non ein mehrers von vertriebenen Augen-Schmertzen. Item von gefährlich- und abscheülicher Lefftzen-Geschwulst	5	Bolení očí od Svatohorské Panny Marie zahnáno a uzdraveny nebezpečně oteklý pysky	5	Ad aegritudines oculorum Diva Virgine S. Montis vocata, dolores abscedunt. Addita de foedo et periculoso labiorum tumore testatio
5	Gebrechen des Gehörs, Gesichts unnd der Sprach, auch andere Kranckheiten werden auff dem Heil. Berg curiret	6	V hluchotě a těžkém nebezpečenství smrti spomoženo. Zahnané poškvrny tváře, pošlé z opaření. Rozvázán jazyk. Vysvobození od těžké nemoci	6	Surditas et grave in abortu periculum; ex aqua ferventi in facie haerentes noxae; loquendi difficultas et denique gravis morbus ope Divae Virginis sublatus
6	Das wunderthätige Bild giebt der Sachen Ausschlag zuerkennen, erscheinet in- und ausserm Schlaff. Wendet von einem das Gesicht ab	7	Na svatohorském Panny Marie obrazu poznaly se budoucí věci. Týž ukázal se ve snách i krom sna. Od jednoho odvrátil svůj obličej	7	Beatissima Virgo in statua sua rerum eventum significavit petentibus; eadem per vigiliam et quietem apparet, quodam aspiciente vultum avertit
7	Mehr Veränderungen des Gesichts in dem Wunderbild. Item etwas von Licht, so die Heil. Capell umbgegeben	8	Nové proměny svatohorského obrazu a nová světla vídána na Svaté Hoře	8	Statua Divae Virginis ad contactum rosarii vultum mutavit. Plura mutationis istius exempla referuntur; aliquid item de luce circumfusa templo
8	Tödliche Wunden werden geheilet. Wälsche Kramer vor Strassen-Raubern, die Stadt Přzibram aber sambt eines vornehmen Herren Gesind vor der Pest bewahret	9	Zhojily se smrtedlné rány. Kupcové divně vyvázli loupežníkům. Příbramští uchováni od moru. Čeládka jednoho pána od hlízy uzdravená. Všecko se dařilo po slibu svatohorské pouti	9	Vulnera lethalia consanescunt; Itali mercatores mirabiliter praedonum evadunt saevitiam; Przibramum pestilentiae tempore servatur incolume; ab eadem pestilentia et contagiosa febre familia illustris viri convalescit, omnia voto Sanctomontanae peregrinationis perfecta

Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg	
Infaelicitas et lapsus praeceps ab alto indicio candelae, sponte dissilientis, in S. Monte cuidam significatur, aliud item ab aquis periculum ope Divae Virginis superatur	10	Nešťastný pád rozpuknutím voskové oběti divně předznamenán byl. Jiná osoba od utonutí jest vysvobozená	10	Ein beivorstehender jäher Fall wird durch Zetspringung des Lichts vorbedeütet	9
Vertigo, asthma et multa in eadem domo pericula Beatissimae Virginis praesenti ope superantur	11	Závrat hlavy, dejchavičnost i jiné rozličné nemoci skrze přímluvu Rodičky Boží šťastně zapuzeny	11	Einer wird von Schwindel. Der ander von Keüchen oder schweren Athen. Unnd ein Hauß von vielfältiger Gefahr erlediget	10
Febres ardentes aliaeque cum dysenteria et ictero, tum phrenesis ac rediviva et periculosa febris ac denique permolesta quartana ad votum S. Montis ab aegris pelluntur	12	Od Svatohorské Panny Marie uzdravení na pálčivou zimnici, červenou nemoc, žloutenici, ztřeštění, čtvrtodenní i jinou nebezpečnou zimnici	12	Hitzig und andere Fieber. Item rothe Ruhr und Gelbsucht weichen nach thanem Geliebd auff dem Heil. Berg	11
Calculus, colica aliique dolores curati, quibus doloribus alius repentinus de peccatis dolor successit. Manus a sex et viginti annis sanguinem ex dolore fundentes, aqua S. Montis perfusae, clauduntur. Claudicatio emendata, tussis sopita	13	Který stonal na kámen, měl zření v břiše a střevách, uzdraven jest. Zastavila se krev, která s bolestí na šestmecítma let z rukou tekávala. Napraveno kulhání. Přestal kašel	13	Der Stein sambt der Colica. Item ein 26jähriges Gebrechen der Händ, wie auch das Hincken und Husten werden auff dem Heil Berg curiret	12
Plura mala Divae Virginis ope superata: lethalis dolor in partu; febris ardens, ex eaque alienatio mentis; varioli; lapsus ab equo, cum obtritu multo; omnia in eadem familia	14	Rozličná dobrodiní Matky Boží jednomu rodu prokázaná, totižto vysvobození z nebezpečenství smrti při porodu, od pálčivé zimnice, od nemoudrosti, neštovic, těžkého potlučení	14	Vielfältiges Unheil. Todes-Gefahr bei der Geburt, hitziges Fieber mit Verwirrung des Gemüths: Blattern unnd Fall von Pferd, alles in einem Hauß wird durch Anruffung unser lieben Frauen am Heilig. Berg glücklich vermittelt	13
Podagra et graves pedum cruciatus, aliquando cum lethali aegritudine conjuncti tolluntur, aut mitigantur. Effusum in pedes fervens ab igne lac, ut innoxium esset, praestat Diva Virgo	15	Podagra a těžké bolesti v nohách anebo zahnány, anebo polehčeny byly. Uzdravěla noha spařená od vřelého mléka	15	Podagra und andere der Füß Gebrechen werden gelindert und abgetrieben	14

#	Heiliger Berg	#	Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská	#	Diva Montis Sancti
15	Mehr Exempel von Gebrechen der Füß	16	Jiní tří příkladové o uzdravení noh	16	Iterum de pedum doloribus attestationes duae recitantur; tertia de R.P. Ludovico, Ordinis Carmelitani religiosissimo viro
16	Ein Feüer-Brunst wird gestillet. Einer nach thanen Geliebd wird gesund, nach dessen Verwarlosung wieder Kranck und Contract, doch auff abermalige Verlobung widerumb gesund	17	Oheň škodlivý udušen. Nekatolický člověk po učiněném slibu uzdraven, ale když jej nevyplňoval, zase znemocněl; a po učiněném druhém slibu zase uzdraven, katolíkem zůstal	17	Incendio correpta domus, invocata Diva Virgine ex S. Monte, protinus liberatur. Homo, cui fides nostra suspecta diu fuit, post votum curatur; sed cum votum explere negligit, integratur morbus, manus et pedes contrahuntur; iterum B. Virgini se devovet, convalescit et Catholicis aggregatur
17	Böse Augen werden gebessert. Item ein andere Wolthat an der Geburt und an Augen	18	O uzdravení vysedlých očí. Potom o šťastném porodu a spolu uzdravení očí	18	Exeuntes ex palpebris oculi et foras pendentes, bis curantur. Beneficium aliud geminum partus et oculorum
18	Ein heimliches Anliegen der Mutter unnd Tochter. Item schwere Geburt in einer andern werden glücklich vermittelt und überwunden	19	O uzdravení jedné matky s dcerou od jakés neznámé nemoci. Item o jiné matce, které Matka Boží Pomocnice byla při porodu	19	Ignotus morbus matris et filiae, item in alia matre pariendi difficultas
19	Stechen unnd andere den gantzen Leib durchdringende Schmertzen werden auff Fürbitt der seligsten Jungfrauen abgelediget	20	Někteří příkladové o zapuzení těžkých bolestí a pichání po celém těle s nebezpečenstvím života	20	Volaticos toto corpore dolores et acerbissimas punctiones cum proximo ad mortem periculo fugat Diva Virgo S. Montis idque exemplis quibusdam approbatur
20	Die seligste Mutter Gottes kombt denen Sterbenden zu Hilff mit Hinwegnehmung der eüssersten Kranckheiten	21	Rodička Boží jest Spomocnice umírajících, z nichžto někteří divně uzdraveni byli	21	Beatissima Virgo S. Montis morientes adjuvat et aegritudinibus extremis saepius medetur
21	Von einem Adelichen hochgebrechlichen Jüngling, item von mehr tödlichen Kranckheiten	22	Opět o zahnání smrtedlných nemocí; ale prvé o urozeném mládenečku, an když rostl do sebe jako klubko, uzdraven jest od Matky Boží a potom jí zjevně před jejím zázračným obrazem za to děkoval	22	Iterum de lethalibus morbis; sed prius de nobili adolescentulo, qui convolvoli instar in se ipsum crescens, a Diva Virgine curatur, novoque exemplo publice ad ejus sacram effigiem in templo parentum jussu perorat

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg	
23	Alia quaedam exempla eorum, qui e media morte, jam extrema unctione suscepta, ad votum S. Montis surrexerunt	23	Jiní příkladové o těch, kteří po posledním pomazání z jistého nebezpečenství smrti jsou vysvobozeni	22	Von Zweenen, die nach empfangener letzten Ölung durch Geliebd auff den Heil. Berg wunderbarlich salviret worden
24	Duplex statuae Divae Virginis e Sancto Monte profectio: in silvas hostium metu et Pragam, ut pingeretur et sculperetur ac potius amaretur	24	O dvojím přenešení svatého obrazu, jednou do lesův pro nepřátely, po druhé do Prahy, aby byl přemalován anebo raději milován		
25	Indulgentiae Montis Sancti, quantus item in eo loco pietatis sit proventus, ex quo tempore Societas Jesu S. Montem tuendum ornandumque suscepit. Denique quotidianae consuetudines sacelli sancti	25	O odpustcích svatohorských. Item o rozmnožení pobožnosti po příští našich Paterův na Svatou Horu. Naposledy o každodenních obyčejích v svatohorském chrámečku zachovaných		
26	Quam brevi tempore Sancti Montis sacellum ex pauperrimo ad non contemnendas opes et supellectilem sacram, sane divitem, pervenerit beneficiis et donis hominum piorum	26	Jak v brzkém čase svatohorská kaplička, byvši velmi chudá, zbohatla a nemalý kostelní poklad dostala od dobrých lidí		
					Gedicht O Du Mutter
V	Liber V. idemque ultimus miraculorum, qui ea, quae ab initio anni 1657 usque ad annum jam decurrentem 1661 gesta sunt totamque S. Montis historiam, summa brevitate deductam, complectitur	IV	O zázracích. Předmluva. V této knize obsahuje se všecko to, co se zběhlo od léta 1657 až do léta 1661. Potom klade se krátký vejtah celé svatohorské historie	IV	Continuation der Wunder-Zeichen, welche von 1657 biß zu Ablauff des 1661sten Jahrs am Heil. Berg vorgelauffen
1	Gravissimus et prope pestilens capitis dolor ad votum S. Montis curatur; item auditio difficilis. Pustulae quaedam per linguam sparsae momento, hausta S. Montis aqua, deterguntur. Eadem aqua ossicula in ore transversim haerentia quam primum abluit	1	O uzdravení velmi těžké hlavní bolesti. Item o navrácení sluchu. O neštovicích na jazyku vyrostlých, ale svatohorskou vodou v okamžení splesklých. Item o kůstkách v hrdle uvázlých, touž vodou splákhnutých	1	Unerträgliches Haubtwehe vergehet nach thanem Geliebd auff den Heil. Berg, schweres Gehör wird gelindert, böse Zungen-Blattern und im Halß steckende Beiner werden durch Wasser des Heil. Bergs abgetrieben

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
2	Acutissimi dentium dolores ante Beatissimae Matris et pueri Jesu in Monte Sancto effigiem evanescunt	2	Bolení zubův ukroceno před svatohorským Panny Marie a jejího dětátka obrazem	2	Erbärmliche Schmertzen der Zähnen werden hinweggenommen
3	Oculis et pedibus restitutus vigor; morbus item difficilis curatus. Affectus morientis cujusdam e Societate Jesu in Divam nostram commemoratur	3	O uzdravení na oči, na nohy a zahnaní jakés těžké nemoci. Item o horlivé lásce k Svatohorské Panně Marii jednoho umírajícího bratra z Tovaryšstva Ježíšova	3	Augen und Füß werden erfrischet, ein gefährliche Kranckheit geheilet, eines Bruders der Societ. Jesu zu dem wunderthätigem Bild auf dem Todtbeth erwiesener zarter Liebseiffer
4	Morbi articularis chiragraequae in Monte Sancto inventa curatio	4	O lámání v rukou a v článcích, kterak obě na Svaté Hoře jest odvráceno	4	Contracte und Podagrische kommen auf thanes Geliebd wieder zu recht
5	Plures manuum, pedum ac prope omnium membrorum in gravissimis cruciatibus curationes in S. Monte recitantur	5	Více příkladův o uzdravení rukou, noh i jiných oudův	5	Noch etliche Exempel der curirten Händ, Füß und anderer Glieder
6	Calculosorum exempla tria atque etiam curatae clauditatis	6	Trojí příklad o uzdravení nemocných na kámen a kulhání	6	Vertriebene Steinschmertzen
7	Febres malignae cum faedo ulcere, aliae item ad primum accessum, voto ad S. Montem nuncupato, pelluntur. Ex lapsu lethalis aegritudo contracta, voto eodem innoxie curatur	7	Pálčivá zimnice s ohavným vředem. Item jiná zimnice po učiněném slibu svatohorské pouti byla zahnaná. Item o uzdravení smrtedlné nemoci z těžkého pádu pocházející	7	Das hitzige Fieber und Geschwär, item tödtliche Kranckheit wird wunderbarlicher Weiß abgeholffen
8	Pestilentia contactus illustrissimus adolescens, e media morte post votum S. Montis mirabiliter surgit; alia gravissimi morbi per Divam S. Montis curatio; ejusdem ope amissa non parva pecunia ad dominum redit; inveteratus dorsi dolor curatur	8	Urozený mládenec jsa uzdraven na morovou ránu, povstal z jistého nebezpečenství smrti. Jiný od jiné těžké nemoci jest vysvobozen. Nalezly se ztracené peníze. Přestala bolest na zádech	8	Die Pest, item ein andere Kranckheit und langwürdiges Ruckenweh ziehen ab, verlohrnes Geld kombt wiederumb zu seinem Herren
9	Supremis aegritudinibus opitulatur Diva Montis Sancti vitamque restituit	9	O vysvobozených od smrti skrze Panenku Marii	9	Die seeligste Mutter Gottes eilet zu Hilff in letzten Todes-Nöthen

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
10	Ignotae quaedam et inveteratae plurium annorum aegritudines. Narratio item mirabilis de aqua S. Montis, quae per errorem ancillae pro aqua lavandulae porrecta, lethaliter aegram illustrissimam matronam sanavit	10	O zahnání jakýchs neznámých a zastaralých nemocí. Item o svatohorské vodě, které když se jedna urozená paní místo levanduli napila, ozdravěla	10	Verjährte Kranckheiten werden verheeret, item was wunderliches vom Wasser des Heiligen Bergs
11	Mater, quae mortuas proles pariebat, voto ad Sanctum Montem edito, vivas quatuor ordine parit. S. Montis anathemata quaedam recitantur. Muta, surda et laesa periculoso in oculis vulnere filia cum matre sua in S. Monte curatur	11	O matce, která zplodivši patero nedošlých dětí, slib učinila na Svatou Horu a potom čtvero jiných živých dítek zplodila. O některých dařích na Svatou Horu obětovaných. Posledně o dceři němé, hluché a na oči raněné, s svou matkou uzdravené	11	Eine, die vorhero in der Geburt unglückselig, gebähret glücklich nach thanem Geliebd, etliche Gedencktaffeln werden angeführt, eine Stum, Taub und Augen verletzte Tochter wird mit ihrer Mutter reduciret
12	Exempla foecunditatis post annos plurimos in conjugio exactos	12	Někteří příkladové o vyžádané plodnosti od dlouho neplodných rodičův	12	Unfruchtbare Ehe wird nach vielen Jahren mit Frucht gesegnet
13	Pragensis mulier, ea in urbe ob mendicitatem notissima, annorum septuaginta trium, surda, clauda, manibus contractis, apoplexia insuper a duobus annis icta, in S. Monte mirabiliter curatur	13	O jedné žebrakyni v Praze hrubě známé, která byvši hluchá, kulhavá, na rukách chromá a nad to všecko od dvou let šlakem poražená, na Svaté Hoře divně jest uzdravená v sedmdesátém třetím létu svého věku	13	Ein elende Creatur wird wunderbarlich geholffen, etliche Vorsatzbrüchige zu Vollziehung ihrer Geliebd angetriben
14	Nobilis matrona praesentissimam Dei Matris opem in vitae bonae propositis experitur. Aliud de viro illustri stratagemate et dolo bono a vitiis abducto. Duo exempla huc spectantia	14	O urozené paní, která v svém dobrém předsevzetí obzvláštní pomocí Panny Marie zkusila. Item o jednom urozeném pánu, chvalitebnou chytrosti odvedeném od zlého života. K posledku klade se pár příkladův k tomu náležejících	14	Etliche werden von bösem abgewendet und im guten bestärcket

Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg	
15	Beatissimae Virginis e S. Monte varia in pagum Jarossov beneficia: incendium pagi opposita S. imaginis extinctum, surditas, delirium, pedum dolores curati	15	O rozličných dobrodiních od Matky Boží jarošovským obyvatelům prokázaných, jaká jsou uhašení ohně, navrácení sluchu, udělení rozumu, uzdravení bolavých noh	15	Unterschiedliche Wolthaten der seeligsten Jungfrauen gegen das Dorff Jaroschau
16	Novum in eodem Jarossovienses Divinae Matris beneficium: infans lapsus in puteum et aquis immersus, post multum temporis extrahitur et Divae Virgini commendatus vivit	16	O dítěti, které padna do studnice, neutopilo se, ač dlouho v vodě potopené zůstalo	16	Ein Kind, so lange weil unterm Wasser gelegen, wird wunderbarlich beim Leben erhalten
17	Exempla duo, superiori simillima, infantum, qui cum pro mortuis haberentur, post votum S. Montis incolumes apparuerunt	17	O jiných dvouch dětech, podle lidského zdání umrtlých a po učiněném slibu živých a uzdravených	17	Andere zwei Kinder, welche vor Tod gehalten waren, kommen auff thanes Geliebd wieder zu sich
18	Simile periculum adolescentulus quidam ex scholis nostris ope Beatissimae Virginis evadit et faeliciter emergit ex aquis	18	Z podobného nebezpečenství vyvázl jiný mládenček, jenž podivně neutonul v studnici, do níž byl upadl	18	Von einem andern Jüngling, welcher in Brunn gefallen und die Gefahr glücklich überwunden
19	Gravia aliquot ab equis pericula ope Divae Virginis Sanctomontanae faeliciter superantur	19	O některých, kteří skrze koně přišedše k neštěstí, z něho jsou skrze Matku Boží vysvobozeni	19	Etliche Gefahren von den Pferden werden durch Beistand der Mutter Gottes vermittelt
20	Tabulae quaedam illustriores Sancti Montis pictae et postremis hisce annis affixae recitantur	20	O některých přednějších obrazich, až do léta 1661 na Svatou Horu přinešených a obětovaných	20	Etliche vornehme Gedencktaffeln, so diese letztere Jahr auf den Heil. Berg kommen
21	Quaedam Dei Matris de Monte Sancto beneficia, quorum attestationes quidem non habentur, sed veritas ex donariis eorumque inscriptionibus constare potest, per indicem et compendio referantur	21	Některá dobrodiní Svatohorské Boží Rodičky, o nichž ač nemám psaného vysvědčení, však jejich jistota poznává se z darův na Svaté Hoře obětovaných	21	Etliche Wolthaten der seeligst. Jungfr. am H. Berg, so viel aus denen Opferschanckungen und deren überschrifften abzunehmen

	Diva Montis Sancti		Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Heiliger Berg
22	Plura hujusmodi beneficia Divae Virginis ex donariis et anathematis colliguntur	22	Více takových dobrodiní poznává se z obětí na Svaté Hoře obětovaných	22	Noch allerhand Leibsgebrechen, so nach Ausweisung der Opferschanckungen wunderbarlich hinweggenommen
23	Quibus potissimum (post Deum, Divam Virginem caeterosque Caelites) sua debeat incrementa Mons Sanctus, explicatur; renovata principum ac nobilissimorum virorum tum etiam oppidorum ac civitatum memoria, ad extremum ingeniorum munera Divae S. Montis oblata	23	Kteří nejvíce po Bohu, Matce Boží a svatých jeho napomáhali k zvelebení Svaté Hory, tuto se kladou. Přitom obnovuje se pamět předních pánův, měst a městeček. Naposledy navrhují se darové literního umění, na Svatou Horu obětování	23	Von Aufnehmen des Heil. Bergs
§1	Favores virorum principum ac nobilitatis, cujus maxime opera ad praesentem gloriam Mons Sanctus pervenit	§1	Přízeň velikých pánův, kteří nejvíce k zvelebení Svaté Hory napomáhali	§1	Von Stifftern der Lampen und Capellen Folget die Verzeichnus der Capell-Gebäuden
§2	Supplicationes publicae ad S. Montem civitatum et oppidorum	§2	Poznamenání, z kterých měst a městeček chodívají s processí na Svatou Horu. Item veřejně kolik poutníkův každý rok na to svaté místo putovalo, kolik se zpovídalo a velebnou svátost přijímalo a kolik mší slouženo v svatohorském chrámečku	§2	Von Wallfahrtern, Communicanten und heil. Messen
§3	Ingeniorum munera et dona Musarum Virgini S. Montis oblata	§3	Čest skrze obrazy, knihy a spisy Svatohorské Paní prokazovaná	§3	Von Schrifft- und Bildern
24	Epitome historiarum S. Montis, qua compendio sub unum aspectum ponitur, temporum serie, quidquid in S. Monte memorabile ab anno 1647 gestum est	24	Vejtah celé svatohorské historie, v němž se navrhuje krátce, co se od léta 1647 až do léta 1661 každoročně zběhlo na Svaté Hoře		
	Epilogus		Závírka		Beschluß Gedicht

Heiliger Berg	Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská		Diva Montis Sancti
	Přídavek. O lásce blahoslavené Panny Marie k zemím české, moravské a slezské a o pobožnosti českého národu k též blahoslavené Panně		
	O lásce Matky Boží k českému, moravskému a slezskému národu	§1	
	O lásce českého národu k blahoslavené Panně Marii	§2	
	Rejistřík		Index
	Omyly takto naprav		Errata typographica
	Censura		
			Auctuarium I. Sacra memorabilia continens regionis illius, quae circa S. Montem sita est, ac brevem quandam districtus Podbrscensis descriptionem
			Auctuarium II. Quod illustrissimae, generosissimae et antiquissimae stirpis Baronum et Equitum Maloveciorum antiquitates complectitur

MISCELLANEA

SOLDATENKAISER, *SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE* UND SCHOLLENBINDUNG. BEMERKUNGEN ZU KLAUS-PETER JOHNES *KAISER, KONSULN UND KOLONEN* (2007) UND SEINEM HISTORISCHEN GESAMTWERK[*]

Klaus-Peter Johne, *Kaiser, Konsuln und Kolonen. Studien zu Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* [= Studien zur Geschichtsforschung des Altertums 15]. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2007, 272 S., ISBN 978-3-8300-2707-2.

RAPHAEL BRENDEL

ABSTRACT

Soldier emperors, *Scriptores historiae Augustae* and serfs tied to the land:
Remarks on Klaus-Peter Johne's *Kaiser, Konsuln und Kolonen* (2007) and his historical work
This is a detailed discussion of the volume of collected studies of the well-known classicist Klaus-Peter Johne which was published in 2007. It offers a summary of the individual papers, a discussion of their contents, and several additions to the list of publications, which is a useful bibliographical tool. Together with a short assessment of Johne's contributions in the context of the scholarship of the German Democratic Republic, some general methodical remarks are offered on the concept of a volume of collected studies.

Keywords: colonate; Elbe; Germans; *Historia Augusta*; Klaus-Peter Johne; *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*; prosopography; Tacitus (emperor)

Der Band, dem die hier gebotenen Zeilen gewidmet sind, hat bisher, soweit ich sehe, keine Beachtung in den Rezensionsteilen altertumswissenschaftlicher Fachzeitschriften gefunden. Das alleine wäre noch keine Rechtfertigung für eine derart späte Rezension, wohl aber die Person des Autors. Klaus-Peter Johne, zuletzt an der Humboldt-Universität in Berlin tätig, gilt mit Recht als einer der besten Kenner der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser

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[*] Seitenangaben ohne weitere Angabe beziehen sich immer auf diesen Band. Mein Dank gilt den Herausgebern der Zeitschrift, die sich auf das Wagnis dieses etwas unkonventionellen Beitrages eingelassen haben, dem Verlag Dr. Kovač, der trotz des seit der Publikation des Bandes vergangenen langen Zeitraumes dennoch bereitwillig ein Rezensionsexemplar zur Verfügung stellte, und Thomas Banchich (Canisius College), der die ins Englische übersetzten Teile durchgesehen hat.

(235–284 n. Chr.) und ist der Herausgeber des wichtigsten und entsprechend vielbeachteten Handbuches zu dieser Epoche (siehe auch die Liste der Rezensionen dazu unten). Daneben hat er sich wiederholt zu dem Problem der *Historia Augusta* geäußert, jener rätselhaften Sammlung von Biographien der Kaiser von Hadrian bis Carinus (117–285 n. Chr.), deren Abfassungszeit und Zweck bis heute nicht zufriedenstellend geklärt ist und der sich Johne bereits in seiner Dissertation widmete. Zwei weitere seiner Forschungsschwerpunkte sind das Phänomen des Kolonats in der römischen Geschichte und die Beziehung zwischen Rom und den germanischen Völkern. Zuletzt war Johne auch Mitarbeiter der *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (PIR), jenes unersetzlichen prosopographischen Standardwerkes für die ersten drei Jahrhunderte der Kaiserzeit.[1] Ein Band, in dem eine Reihe von Aufsätzen des verdienten Forschers zu diesen zentralen Themen erneut abgedruckt sind, darf also von vornherein eine gewisse Bedeutung beanspruchen. Kann er den sich daraus ergebenden Erwartungen auch gerecht werden?

Zunächst zum Inhalt: Den Aufsätzen Johnes vorangestellt sind ein Vorwort (S. 7–8) und eine Kurzbiographie Johnes (S. 9–14), die beide von dem Herausgeber Udo Hartmann, selbst ein exzellenter Kenner der Soldatenkaiserzeit, verfasst wurden. Den insgesamt 22 Aufsätzen (S. 17–262), unterteilt nach den fünf Forschungsschwerpunkten Johnes (S. 17–59 Prosopographie; S. 61–108 Germanien; S. 109–147 Soldatenkaiser; S. 149–196 Kolonat; S. 197–262 *Historia Augusta*) folgen ein Gesamtverzeichnis (fast) aller Schriften Johnes (S. 263–270), auf das noch ausführlicher zurückzukommen sein wird, und eine Liste der Erstpublikationen der in den Band aufgenommenen Aufsätze (S. 271–272).

Dem Vorwort (S. 7–8) sind der Anlass und die Konzeption des Bandes zu entnehmen: Publiziert wurde er anlässlich des 65. Geburtstages von Johne und umfasst „Beiträge, die für die weiteren Forschungen auf den entsprechenden Themenfeldern wesentlich waren und von bleibender Bedeutung sind" (S. 7). Die insgesamt 22 Aufsätze stammen aus den Jahren 1967 bis 2006, sind thematisch angeordnet (eine Systematik der Anordnung der einzelnen Aufsätze innerhalb der Oberthemen wird allerdings nicht benannt und ist auch nicht ersichtlich) und fast vollkommen unverändert, wenngleich in neuer Setzung abgedruckt. Geändert gegenüber den Erstpublikationen wurden nur kleinere Formalien: Endnoten sind in Fußnoten umgewandelt, die Anmerkungen in jedem Aufsatz durchgezählt, lateinische Begriffe und Zitate kursiv gesetzt, Kapitälchen in normale Buchstaben umgewandelt und die ursprüngliche Paginierung der Erstpublikationen ist ergänzend beigefügt.

Die Kurzbiographie („Klaus-Peter Johne – Stationen eines Forscherlebens", S. 9–14) informiert zuverlässig über die Entwicklung der Karriere und Forschung Johnes und dürfte vor allem Erforschern der Wissenschaftsgeschichte einen guten ersten Anlaufpunkt bieten. Lediglich eine Beobachtung: S. 9 wird Wolfgang Seyfarth, der wichtigste akademische Lehrer Johnes und Erstgutachter seiner Dissertation, als „Althistoriker" bezeichnet. Selbst wenn das formal korrekt sein sollte, dürfte es nicht ganz den Tatsachen entsprechen. Zum einen beendete Johne sein Studium bei Seyfarth zunächst mit dem Abschluss eines Fachlehrers für Latein und Griechisch sowie dem eines Diplom-Philologen (S. 9); Seyfarths eigenes Studium weiterhin umfasste sowohl Klassische Philologie

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[1] Ausführlich zur Geschichte dieses Unternehmens handelt nun der Anm. 11 zitierte Beitrag von Werner Eck.

als auch Geschichte;[2] zuletzt stammt von Seyfarth eine Vielzahl philologischer Beiträge, von denen der wichtigste seine Edition des Ammianus Marcellinus ist.

Der erste thematische Block („Studien zur Prosopographie der römischen Kaiserzeit", S. 17–59) ist den Beiträgen Johnes zur Prosopographie gewidmet. Dabei wurde allerdings keiner seiner zahlreichen Artikel in der PIR (siehe dazu unten) oder der dieselbe ergänzende Aufsatz zu dem Kaiserbiographen Marius Maximus (S. 264) berücksichtigt, sondern bei den insgesamt fünf aufgenommenen Studien handelt es sich meist um breiter gefasste Überblicke zur Geschichte und Methodik der Prosopographie.

Bei „100 Jahre *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*" (S. 17–24) handelt es sich ursprünglich um einen Vortrag anlässlich der Emeritierung von Leiva Petersen, der langjährigen Herausgeberin der PIR (zu ihr S. 10), gehalten am 29. November 1972. Johne bietet hierin einen Überblick über die Systematik und Geschichte der PIR. Der Aufsatz ist für den eigentlichen Althistoriker ebenso von Interesse wie für den Wissenschaftshistoriker, da einerseits Aufbau und Funktion der PIR diskutiert und das Werk mit verwandten Projekten sowie die beiden Auflagen der PIR miteinander verglichen werden, andererseits auch die Geschichte der PIR von ihren Anfängen (Anregung durch Mommsen und die erste Bearbeitung durch Dessau, Klebs und von Rohden) bis in die (damalige) Gegenwart nachgezeichnet wird.

Der nächste Beitrag („Die *Scriptores historiae Augustae* und die *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. Zum Beginn der modernen Historia-Augusta-Forschung vor 100 Jahren", S. 25–34) – ein Vortrag, der den Besuch Jan Burians in Berlin auf einer Veranstaltung zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum der Entdeckungen Dessaus zum Anlass hatte und dann auf dem Genfer Kolloquium zur *Historia Augusta* (9.–12. Mai 1991) gehalten und im entsprechenden Kongressband publiziert wurde – weist starke Überschneidungen mit dem vorhergehenden auf, konzentriert sich jedoch vor allem auf die Bedeutung der prosopographischen Forschungen Hermann Dessaus für seine Erkenntnis, dass die *Historia Augusta* nicht in der Zeit geschrieben sein kann, in der sie geschrieben zu sein vorgibt.

Der Aufsatz zu „Vergleich und Analogie in der prosopographischen Methode" (S. 35–43), zuerst erschienen in einem Themenband einer Zeitschrift zu „Vergleich und Analogieschluss in den Altertumswissenschaften",[3] befasst sich in allgemeinerer Form mit der Wissenschaft der Prosopographie. Johne erläutert hierin deren Möglichkeiten und Grenzen (so kann auf diesem Wege etwa weder die Macht des Senates noch die Opposition gegen den Kaiser im Detail erfasst werden) und demonstriert die Fortschritte der prosopographischen Forschung exemplarisch an einem Beispiel aus dem damals aktuellsten Faszikel der PIR.

„Die Publii Martii – eine prosopographische Studie" (S. 45–52), ursprünglich ein Vortrag auf dem VII. Internationalen Kongress für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik (Constanţa, 9.–15. September 1977) behandelt die senatorischen Familien der Martii und bietet eine nützliche wie eingehende Belegsammlung und Statistik zu selbigen.

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[2] Siehe dazu den Lebenslauf seiner Dissertation *Untersuchungen zur Kompositionsweise des Tacitus in den Historien*, Diss., Berlin, 1934, unpaginierte S. 64.

[3] Der Kongressbericht (der allerdings nicht auf Johnes Beitrag eingeht): Bernhard Rink, „Vergleich und Analogieschluß in den Altertumswissenschaften (3. bis 5. November 1987 in Heiligendamm)", *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 26/3, 1988, S. 249–251.

Ebenfalls in dem Band berücksichtigt ist der Beitrag „Zu den Siegernamen der Kaiser Marc Aurel und Commodus" (S. 53–59), bei dem es sich um die erste Publikation Johnes (außer seiner ungedruckten Diplomarbeit) überhaupt handelt; erschienen ist der Aufsatz in einem Heft der Zeitschrift *Klio*, das Werner Hartke, einem der akademischen Lehrer Johnes und Zweitgutachter von dessen Dissertation, anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 1. März 1967 gewidmet ist. Behandelt werden im Wesentlichen zwei Themen: Zum einen ordnet Johne zwei in ihrer Datierung unsichere Papyrusfragmente der 1963 publizierten *Papyri Iandanae* in die Zeit des Commodus ein; daneben kann er durch die allgemeine Untersuchung der Titulatur des Kaisers Marcus Aurelius zeigen, dass dessen Anweisung, seine mit Lucius Verus erworbenen Siegestitel auf offiziellen Dokumenten wegzulassen, zwar weitgehend umgesetzt wurde, auf den Papyri jedoch nicht befolgt ist.

Das zweite große Thema des Bandes („Rom und Germanien", S. 61–108) ist das Verhältnis zwischen Rom und den germanischen Stämmen in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten der Kaiserzeit, das in drei Aufsätzen behandelt wird. Die Relevanz dieses Teilbereiches wird allerdings dadurch gemindert, dass Johne im Jahre 2006 eine größere und aktuellere Monographie über die Römer an der Elbe (S. 263) der Fachwelt vorgelegt hat, in die auch die Ergebnisse dieser Aufsätze eingegangen sind.

In dem zuerst in der Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Karl Christ publizierten Aufsatz („Einst war sie ein hochberühmter und wohlbekannter Fluß". Die Elbe in den Schriften des Tacitus", S. 61–77) geht Johne von der Beobachtung aus, dass es sich bei der Elbe um den einzigen Fluss im Inneren Germaniens handelt, der von Tacitus erwähnt wird. Durch eine Analyse der entsprechenden Passagen kann er zeigen, dass Tacitus in der *Germania* der vergangenen Erfolge der augusteischen Zeit gedenkt, während die Nennungen in den *Annales* teils als Rückblick gedacht sind und teils das angestrebte Ziel des Germanicus darlegen sollen. Bei der Frage nach der Elbgrenze als Ziel der römischen Expansion spricht sich Johne für eine Entwicklung in vier Stufen aus, bei der spätestens im Jahre 9 n. Chr. die Elbe als Grenze des Reiches erstrebt, dies aber seit 17 n. Chr. trotz entgegenlautender Propagandistik faktisch aufgegeben wurde.

Ebenfalls ein Beitrag in einer Festschrift, diesmal für Achim Leube, ist „Semnonen am Lech. Der Augsburger Victoria-Altar und die *Historia Augusta*" (S. 79–91). Der hier von Johne untersuchte Siegesaltar wurde 1992 in Augsburg entdeckt und nimmt auf Ereignisse der Germaneneinfälle in den Jahren 259 und 260 Bezug, die in der *Historia Augusta* (vermutlich aufgrund der Feindseligkeit des Biographen gegenüber Gallienus) unerwähnt bleiben. Deswegen und aufgrund der weitgehenden Unkenntnis der nachdionischen Autoren über die Verhältnisse im Inneren Germaniens bietet das Monument wichtige Ergänzungen zur literarischen Überlieferung.

Erneut mit der Elbe befasst sich „Die Elbe und der nördliche Ozean in der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 93–108), ursprünglich ein Vortrag auf dem Kolloquium zur *Historia Augusta* in Perugia (2000) und im entsprechenden Kongressband publiziert. Auf Basis seiner Erkenntnisse zur Bedeutung der Elbe in den Schriften des Tacitus (S. 61–77, siehe dazu oben) untersucht Johne deren Bedeutung in der *Historia Augusta*, die mit diesem den einzigen außerhalb des römischen Reiches befindlichen Fluss nennt. Er gelangt zu dem Ergebnis, dass auch die *Historia Augusta* die Elbe und den nördlichen Ozean als angestrebtes Fernziel der römischen Expansionspolitik darstellen will und sich dieser Gedanke somit über die Jahrhunderte nach Augustus erhalten hat.

Vier Aufsätze stellen den dritten thematischen Block („Studien zur Soldatenkaiserzeit", S. 109–147), der sich mit der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser im dritten Jahrhundert befasst. Die Leitlinie aller hier abgedruckten Studien ist die Entwicklung des Kaisertums und die Wandlung der Voraussetzungen dafür vor dem Hintergrund der wachsenden Bedeutung der hohen militärischen Offiziere und der schwindenden des Senats sowohl als Reservoir für Kaiserkandidaten sowie als Institution zur Wahl oder auch nur Bestätigung neuer Kaiser.

Mit „Tacitus, der Kaiser und der Konsul" (S. 109–116) wird eine für die soeben genannte Thematik wesentliche Persönlichkeit behandelt. Der nur wenige Monate in den Jahren 275 und 276 regierende Kaiser Tacitus gilt aufgrund seiner Herkunft und den Umständen seiner Wahl als letzter wirklicher Senatskaiser, nach dessen Herrschaft die Soldaten endgültig die alleinige Erhebung des Kaisers übernommen hätten. Der Beitrag behandelt gleichermaßen allgemeine Fragen (wie den Realitätsgehalt der genannten Annahme) und spezielle Probleme (vor allem das, ob der Kaiser Tacitus mit dem gleichnamigen Konsul des Jahres 273 identisch ist). Der Beitrag ist zweifellos noch immer lesenswert, wird aber mittlerweile durch den Beitrag Johnes im großen Handbuch zu den Soldatenkaisern (S. 267, siehe auch unten) überlagert.

Einen Vergleich des Kaisers Tacitus mit Oclatinius Adventus, einem der Prätorianerpräfekten des Kaisers Caracalla und, obwohl aus dem Soldatenstand stammend, nach dessen Tod als Nachfolger erwählt, zieht „Oclatinius Adventus und Claudius Tacitus – zwei Karrieren aus der Soldatenkaiserzeit" (S. 117–126). Die Vorgehensweise entspricht der des vorhergehenden Aufsatzes, so dass es dementsprechend starke Überschneidungen gibt. Durch den Vergleich und das Nachzeichnen der zwischenzeitlichen Entwicklungen kann Johne zeigen, wie sich in den Jahren von 217 (Tod Caracallas) bis 275 (Kaiserwahl des Tacitus) die Voraussetzungen für das Kaisertum gewandelt haben.

Bei dem Beitrag „Die illyrischen Kaiser als Herrscher neuen Typs" (S. 127–138), ein Vortrag auf einer Tagung zu den Transformationsprozessen im römischen Reich des dritten Jahrhunderts (Humboldt-Universität Berlin, 8.–10. Juli 2005), handelt es sich um den jüngsten des Bandes. Johne betrachtet hierin erneut die Entwicklungen des römischen Kaisertums in den Jahren 217 bis letztlich 310 (erstmals Propagierung der angeblichen Abstammung Konstantins von Claudius II. Gothicus) mit Blick auf die soziale und lokale Herkunft der Kaiser und auf die wesentlichen Zäsuren (217 wird Macrinus als erster Ritter zum Kaiser, 235 Maximinus Thrax als erster Soldat, ab 268 Illyrer als Kaiser neuen Typs, 310 erneutes Hervortreten des dynastischen Elements). Auch wenn der Aufsatz viele nützliche Einzelbeobachtungen bietet, kann er als einziger des Bandes nicht wirklich zufriedenstellen, da Johne sich größtenteils auf die Breviatoren des späteren vierten Jahrhunderts (insbesondere Aurelius Victor und seine Einteilung der Kaiserzeit) und somit auch nur auf im Rückblick urteilende Autoren stützt, während zeitgenössische Quellen weitgehend ausgeklammert bleiben. Als Beitrag zur Wahrnehmung der entsprechenden Entwicklungen der Reichskrise durch spätere Autoren kann man den Aufsatz allerdings als gelungen betrachten.

Auch bei „Das Offizierscorps des 3. Jahrhunderts als Reservoir einer neuen Führungsschicht" (S. 139–147) handelt es sich um einen Vortrag auf einem Kolloquium (Köln, 24.–26. November 1991), dessen Beiträge als Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Leiva Petersen, der bereits erwähnten langjährigen Herausgeberin der PIR (S. 10), konzipiert waren. Wie die zuvor genannten Studien behandelt auch dieser Aufsatz denselben The-

menkomplex, doch geht es nunmehr stärker um die Bedeutung des Soldatenstandes und der Offiziere im Allgemeinen, so wird etwa auch die Heeresreform des Gallienus einer genaueren Betrachtung unterzogen.

Der vierte thematische Block („Kolonen und Kolonat", S. 149–196) behandelt mit dem Kolonat in römischer Zeit ein Themenfeld, das Johne erstmals in seiner Habilitationsschrift (1981, publiziert 1983) eingehender erforschte. Die vier Aufsätze sind zwar vor allem der Spätantike gewidmet, behandeln die Thematik allerdings aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven und mit verschiedenen Schwerpunkten.

Eine exzellente Zusammenstellung ist die begriffsgeschichtliche Studie „*Colonus*, *colonia*, *colonatus*" (S. 149–164), in der das Material zur Terminologie gesammelt und geordnet vorliegt und die Entwicklung der einzelnen Begriffe von der Republik bis in die Spätantike nachvollziehbar gemacht wird.

Mehr auf die archäologischen und epigraphischen Quellen konzentriert ist hingegen „Die Entwicklung von Kolonenwirtschaft und Kolonat mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nördlichen Grenzprovinzen des Reiches" (S. 165–179), ein Vortrag auf einem Kolloquium zur ländlichen Besiedlung und Landwirtschaft in den Rhein-Donau-Provinzen des römischen Reiches (Passau, 16.–21. April 1991). Der Wert des Beitrages besteht in der Diskussion der oft in ihrem genauen Wert für die Thematik unklaren archäologischen Zeugnisse und deren Kontextualisierung durch einen Vergleich mit den literarischen und juristischen Quellen.

Ebenfalls auf einen Vortrag geht der Beitrag „Zum Begriff Kolonat in der Spätantike" (S. 181–185) zurück, der auf der 16. Internationalen Eirene-Konferenz (Prag, 31. August–4. September 1983) gehalten wurde. Der begriffsgeschichtlich interessierte Beitrag weist dieselben Vorzüge auf wie der bereits erwähnte fünf Jahre später erschienene (aber in diesem Band vor dem früheren Werk angeordnete) Aufsatz „*Colonus*, *colonia*, *colonatus*" (S. 149–164), geht jedoch nicht wesentlich über diesen hinaus, so dass sich daraus im Vergleich kein zusätzlicher Gewinn ergibt.

Einem sehr speziellen Thema gewidmet ist „Kolonen und Kolonat in der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 187–196), ein Vortrag auf dem Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1986/1989, worin die drei Erwähnungen von Kolonen in der *Historia Augusta* untersucht werden. Johne kann hierin zwar zeigen, dass alle drei Angaben unhistorisch sind, die ersten beiden jedoch mit der Evidenz in Einklang zu bringen sind und somit als historische Fakten theoretisch möglich wären. Da in der dritten Passage die Kolonen mit den Sklaven in einem Zug genannt werden, scheint das ihren Status der Halbfreiheit in der Spätantike vorauszusetzen und bietet somit einen vagen Hinweis auf die echte Abfassungszeit der *Historia Augusta* im späteren vierten Jahrhundert.

Mit dem fünften und letzten thematischen Block („Studien zur *Historia Augusta*", S. 197–262) ist nach Ansicht des Rezensenten auch der Höhepunkt erreicht, da hier insgesamt die besten und wichtigsten unter den abgedruckten wie unter den Aufsätzen Johnes allgemein zu finden sind. Thema ist die bereits in einigen oben behandelten Beiträgen (S. 25–34; S. 79–91; S. 93–108; S. 187–196) thematisierte *Historia Augusta*, mit deren Problematik sich Johne seit seiner Dissertation (1971, publiziert 1976) befasst. Insgesamt sechs Aufsätze aus deren Umfeld sind hier erneut abgedruckt.

Der Aufsatz „Zum Geschichtsbild in der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 197–209) ist in doppelter Hinsicht eine wertvolle Ergänzung zur Dissertation Johnes. Zum einen wird darin der

exzellente Forschungsüberblick derselben für die Jahre 1889 bis etwa 1970, bei dem es sich bislang um den besten und ausführlichsten Überblick über das Datierungsproblem allgemein handelt, bis etwa 1982 fortgeführt. Zum anderen ergänzt Johne in diesem Aufsatz seine Untersuchungen zu den Elementen des in der *Historia Augusta* vorliegenden Geschichtsbildes der heidnischen stadtrömischen Senatsaristokratie; behandelt werden die Bedeutung Roms, die Beurteilung der Kaiser nach ihrem Verhältnis zum Senat sowie die Idealisierung der Republik und die Verklärung der Königszeit durch die *Historia Augusta*.

Die Abhandlung „Zur Widerspiegelung der Krise des römischen Reiches in der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 211–218) stellt die Frage, ob sich die nach der Schlacht bei Adrianopel im Jahre 378 feststellbare Auflösung des Reiches in der Darstellung der *Historia Augusta* über die Außenpolitik der behandelten Kaiser nachweisen lässt. Nach Johnes Ansicht ist dies der Fall und der dort vertretene Eroberungsgedanke könne nur als Wunsch einer Zeit verstanden werden, in der die Germanen, nicht aber die Römer die Eroberer sind. Der Rezensent muss bekennen, in diesem Fall von der sich weitgehend auf Indizien und mögliche, aber nicht zwingende Schlussfolgerungen stützenden Beweisführung nicht überzeugt zu sein, doch macht bereits die eingehende Belegsammlung den Aufsatz zu einem wichtigen Hilfsmittel für die Erforschung der *Historia Augusta*.

Neben dem oben behandelten ersten (S. 53–59) ist auch der zweite jemals publizierte Aufsatz Johnes („Zur stadtrömischen Tendenz der *Historia Augusta*", S. 219–226), erschienen im Themenband einer Zeitschrift über „Die antike Geschichtsschreibung und ihre gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen", in diesem Band enthalten. Hierin wird die stadtrömische Tendenz der *Historia Augusta* auf Basis der Beurteilung der Kaiser nach ihrem Verhältnis zum Senat und der in der *Historia Augusta* erfolgten Herabsetzung Konstantinopels, womit gegen die im Jahre 359 erfolgte Gleichstellung mit Rom protestiert werden sollte, herausgearbeitet. Der Aufsatz argumentiert überzeugend und ist ein relevanter Beitrag, allerdings wird sein Wert dadurch gemindert, dass die konkrete Thematik nur wenige Jahre später von Johne ausführlicher in seiner Dissertation behandelt wurde.

Gewissermaßen eine Fortsetzung und Ausweitung des letzten Aufsatzes ist der Beitrag zu „Byzanz in der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 227–239). Johne demonstriert hier, dass die *Historia Augusta* zwei Formen der Erwähnungen von Byzanz bietet. Die Angaben über die Bestrafung durch Septimius Severus nach dem Bürgerkrieg gegen Pescennius Niger sowie über den Aufenthalt Aurelians in dieser Stadt und seine Ermordung in deren Nähe sind historisch und somit durch die vorhandenen Tatsachen bestimmt. Die Behauptung hingegen, Soldaten des Gallienus hätten die Stadt verwüstet und keine Person aus dem lokalen Adel am Leben gelassen, zielt auf eine Herabsetzung der Stadt ab, was durch die Gleichstellung mit Rom im Jahre 359 zu erklären ist. Die sich daraus ergebende Datierung der *Historia Augusta* kann Johne durch einen Vergleich mit einer Reihe von Kritikern Konstantinopels aus dem späteren vierten Jahrhundert erhärten.

Der Aufsatz über „Die Rolle der Kaiserresidenzen in der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 241–250) geht dasselbe Thema in etwas allgemeinerer Form an, indem neben Byzanz auch die übrigen spätantiken Kaiserresidenzen und ihre Darstellung in der *Historia Augusta* betrachtet werden. Eher negativ beurteilt werden Byzanz, Antiochia, Sirmium und Mediolanum, weitgehend unberücksichtigt sind Nikomedia (das nach der Aufwertung Konstantinopels deutlich an Bedeutung verloren hatte), Trier und Thessalonike,

Serdica bleibt vollkommen unerwähnt. Entsprechend zeigt sich eine allgemeine Tendenz zur Herabsetzung der spätantiken Hofstädte. Sehr interessant ist auch die Beobachtung Johnes, dass die neutrale Darstellung des nur in historisch gesicherten Zusammenhängen genannten Ravenna darauf hindeutet, dass diese Stadt noch nicht den Status einer Kaiserresidenz hatte und die *Historia Augusta* somit wahrscheinlich vor dem Jahr 404 abgefasst wurde. Auch dieser Aufsatz ist verdienstvoll und nützlich, doch droht das Publikationsjahr (1978) in die Irre zu führen: Da er anscheinend zu einer Zeit verfasst wurde, als Johne zwar bereits seine Dissertation fertiggestellt hatte (1971/1972), deren Buchfassung (1976) jedoch noch nicht publiziert oder abgeschlossen war (S. 243, Anm. 3 = S. 355, Anm. 3 der Erstpublikation, wo nur die frühere Fassung erwähnt ist), liegt somit mit dem entsprechenden Kapitel ebenjener Buchfassung (V, 2: S. 156–176) eine ausführlichere und aktuellere Version des Aufsatzes vor.

Einer speziellen Vita der *Historia Augusta* gewidmet ist „Die Biographie des Gegenkaisers Censorinus. Ein Beitrag zur sozialen Herkunft der *Historia Augusta*" (S. 251–262), ursprünglich ein Vortrag auf dem Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1972/1974, worin die Lebensbeschreibung des vollständig erfundenen Usurpators Censorinus, der sich gegen Claudius II. Gothicus erhoben haben soll, geprüft wird. Johne kann hier zeigen, wie diese Vita aus literarischen Anspielungen und Elementen anderer Viten der *Historia Augusta* zusammengesetzt ist, in der fiktiven Laufbahn des Censorinus Elemente des *cursus* des 2./3. Jahrhunderts mit dem des 4./5. Jahrhunderts vermengt sind (so setzt der Aufstieg vom Stadtpräfekten zum Prätorianerpräfekten die konstantinischen Reformen voraus) und sich die Verbindungen des Autors zu den stadtrömischen Aristokratenfamilien der Spätantike auch in dieser Vita erkennen lassen (etwa in der Bedeutung der Stadtpräfektur). Der gelungene Aufsatz ist im selben Jahr auch als Teil eines Kapitels in der Buchfassung der Dissertation Johnes erschienen (IV, 2: S. 121–129).

Soweit zu den Inhalten des Bandes (auf das Schriftenverzeichnis Johnes wird hingegen unten noch ausführlicher eingegangen). Nun ist die Frage zu stellen, welchen Wert er als Gesamtwerk hat.

Auf der einen Seite gibt es viel Gutes zu sagen: Die Qualität der einzelnen Aufsätze ist exzellent, viele sind zudem noch immer aktuell und wichtig, einige nur schwer zugängliche Publikationen Johnes sind auf diesem Wege leicht zugänglich, das (fast) vollständige Schriftenverzeichnis ist als bibliographisches Hilfsmittel wertvoll und der Band bietet einen guten Querschnitt durch das Gesamtwerk Johnes. Zudem nützt der Band nicht nur dem eigentlichen Altertumswissenschaftler, sondern auch für den Wissenschaftshistoriker lohnt sich ein Blick, da einerseits die ersten beiden Aufsätze des Bandes (S. 17–24; S. 25–34) die Geschichte der PIR behandeln und andererseits Person und Werk Johnes für einen Erforscher der Geschichte der Altertumswissenschaften in der DDR von Interesse sein können (für einige Ansätze dazu siehe unten).

Bei allen Verdiensten weist der Band jedoch auch verschiedene (teils grundlegende) Schwächen auf. Ich behandle die einzelnen Aspekte in aufsteigender Reihenfolge nach der ungefähren Schwere ihrer Problematik.

Druckfehler und Ähnliches treten immer wieder auf, haben jedoch fast nie größere Auswirkungen. Manchmal wurde versäumt, Fehler, die bereits in der Erstpublikation

(EP) auftauchen, zu korrigieren;[4] etwas größer ist die Zahl der erst durch die Neupublikation eingegangenen Fehler.[5]

Einen doppelten Anlass zur Kritik bietet der Umgang mit den Querverweisen. Das erste Problem ist die Tatsache, dass die Erstpublikationen an den unterschiedlichsten Orten erschienen sind und somit auch die Standards bei den Querverweisen innerhalb der Aufsätze abweichen: Während in vielen Aufsätzen Vollzitate durch eindeutige Verweise auf frühere Anmerkungen schnell und einfach gefunden werden können und in zwei Fällen ein Verzeichnis am Ende des jeweiligen Aufsatzes die durch Kurztitel angegebenen Literaturzitate auflöst (S. 89–91; S. 137–138), finden sich manchmal Fälle, in denen Querverweise nicht oder nur sehr unsystematisch auftauchen (unsystematisch: S. 149–164; keine: S. 139–147; S. 219–226; S. 241–250; S. 251–262).

Der zweite Kritikpunkt zu den Querverweisen betrifft die Tatsache, dass es, obwohl die Aufsätze in neuer Setzung gedruckt sind und sich entsprechende Ergänzungen somit leicht hätten durchführen lassen, versäumt wurde, auf in demselben Band ebenfalls erneut abgedruckte Aufsätze entsprechend zu verweisen.[6] Dass dies grundsätzlich möglich gewesen wäre, bezeugt S. 232, Anm. 22, wo ein Querverweis innerhalb dieses Aufsatzes gegenüber der (übrigens fehlerhaften: EP S. 126, Anm. 22) Vorlage so verändert wurde, dass er auch in der Neupublikation nachvollzogen werden kann; auch wurde S. 138 ein kurzes zusätzliches Literaturverzeichnis für die Fälle ergänzt, in denen sich der Aufsatz auf einen anderen Beitrag des Bandes, in dem er zuerst publiziert wurde, bezieht und die Anmerkungen sind entsprechend ergänzt (S. 129, Anm. 7; S. 130, Anm. 11; S. 131, Anm. 16; S. 134, Anm. 26; S. 136, Anm. 36).

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[4] Besonders gravierend ist die Tatsache, dass S. 23, Anm. 21 = EP S. 25, Anm. 21 zwei falsche bibliographische Angaben erhalten geblieben sind, da die zitierten Beiträge nicht in *Revue des études latines* 49, 1971 und in *Epigraphica* 33, 1971, sondern in den Bänden 48, 1970 und 32, 1970 erschienen sind. S. 127 = EP S. 125 fehlt ein Komma („Geta erst", richtig „Geta, erst"); S. 132 = EP S. 129 ist „letzten" statt „letzen" zu lesen; S. 251, Anm. 1 = EP S. 131, Anm. 1 ist die alphabetische Reihenfolge nicht ganz eingehalten. Nicht falsch, aber ungewöhnlich sind S. 19 = EP S. 23 „Quelle" statt „Quellen" (mit Blick auf den Kontext des Satzes); S. 101, Anm. 42 = EP S. 300, Anm. 42 „Julian. conv." (üblicher ist „Caes.") und die Bezeichnung des Jahres 69 als „Dreikaiserjahr" (S. 128 = EP S. 126).

[5] S. 18 wird durch fehlerhafte Kleinschreibung die Satzstruktur durcheinandergebracht („u. Z. alle" statt EP S. 22 „u. Z. Alle"); S. 54 „nämlich, die" (EP S. 178 „nämlich die"); S. 57, Anm. 25 „in. der" (EP S. 180, Anm. 4 „in der"); S. 57 wäre Sarmaticus noch kursiv zu setzen (richtig EP S. 180); S. 58 sind an einer Stelle die griechischen Buchstaben (EP S. 181) durch lateinische (zudem mit falscher Transkription) ersetzt; S. 85, Anm. 20 „Quellen in" (EP S. 302, Anm. 20 „Quellen III"); S. 124 „Pertinax. war"; S. 141 „Maximums" (EP S. 253 „Maximinus"); S. 145 „proviorischen" (EP S. 256–257 „provisorischen"); S. 161 „Jahrs" (EP S. 319 „Jahre"); S. 213–217 jeweils in der Titelzeile „Reichesin" statt richtig „Reiches in". Recht häufig sind fehlende oder zusätzliche Leerzeichen (S. 35; S. 75, Anm. 59; S. 86, Anm. 25; S. 123, Anm. 20; S. 237, Anm. 48; S. 261, Anm. 44) und vor allem sonderbare Worttrennungen (S. 32; S. 82, Anm. 8; S. 83; S. 95, Anm. 7; S. 96; S. 98; S. 110; S. 115–116; S. 122; S. 145; S. 199; S. 215; S. 223; S. 233; S. 242; S. 248).

[6] Ich stelle die Fälle zusammen, in denen Querverweise zu ergänzen wären (die Zahl vor den Klammern ist die Stelle, wo der Verweis einzufügen wäre, die in Klammern bezeichnet die Seiten, auf die zu verweisen ist): S. 27, Anm. 6 (S. 17–24); S. 35, Anm. 2 (S. 17–24); S. 85, Anm. 20 und S. 90 (S. 61–77); S. 94, Anm. 6 (S. 61–77; S. 68–69); S. 95, Anm. 7 (S. 72–76); S. 96, Anm. 11 (S. 64–66; S. 75–77); S. 103, Anm. 52 (S. 211–218); S. 109, Anm. 1 (S. 197–209); S. 124, Anm. 26 (S. 109–116); S. 125, Anm. 32 (S. 110, Anm. 4; S. 112, Anm. 12); S. 133, Anm. 24 und S. 137 (S. 117–126); S. 194, Anm. 27 (S. 149–164); S. 205, Anm. 36 (S. 251–262); S. 231, Anm. 17 (S. 251–253). Übersehen wurde auch ein Querverweis innerhalb eines Aufsatzes, da S. 162 noch auf „Seite 309" (richtig wäre S. 150–151) verwiesen wird, was allerdings durch die durchgehend gebotene parallele Angabe der Paginierung der Erstpublikation zumindest leichter nachzuvollziehen ist.

Es wurde darauf verzichtet, die Aufsätze zu überarbeiten und eine Auseinandersetzung mit der neueren Literatur zu bieten. Das ist grundsätzlich nachvollziehbar, doch wären zwei Ergänzungen zweifellos nützlich gewesen. Zum einen hätte man am Schluss der einzelnen Aufsätze oder des Bandes eine kurze Liste mit der zwischenzeitlich erschienenen Spezialliteratur zu dem jeweiligen Aufsatzthema bieten können. Zweitens wäre es gut möglich gewesen, wenn denn von Eingriffen in den eigentlichen Inhalt der Aufsätze abgesehen werden soll, zumindest auf Zweitpublikationen[7] und Neuauflagen[8] (sowie in einigen Fällen auf Erstpublikationen) von zitierten Werken zu verweisen.

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[7] Folgende Ergänzungen wären hier möglich gewesen: Géza Alföldy, *Die römische Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986, S. 82–98 (zu S. 143, Anm. 16) und S. 434–484 (zu S. 187, Anm. 1; S. 200, Anm. 8; S. 201, Anm. 15; S. 202, Anm. 25); Géza Alföldy, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989, S. 25–68 (zu S. 215, Anm. 15); S. 390–405 (zu S. 225, Anm. 34) und S. 406–418 (zu S. 200, Anm. 8); Barry Baldwin, *Studies on late Roman and Byzantine history, literature and language*, Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1984, S. 51 (zu S. 200, Anm. 8); Barry Baldwin, *Roman and Byzantine papers*, Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989, S. 197–200 (zu S. 200, Anm. 8); Timothy David Barnes, *Early Christianity and the Roman empire*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1984, Nr. IV (zu S. 111, Anm. 9); Eric Birley, *The Roman army*, Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1988, S. 44–52 (zu S. 200, Anm. 11); Jochen Bleicken, *Gesammelte Schriften II*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998, S. 901–953 (zu S. 225, Anm. 37); André Chastagnol, *Aspects de l'antiquité tardive*, Rom: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994, S. 259–274 (zu S. 108, Anm. 70); André Chastagnol, *Le pouvoir impérial à Rome*, Genf: Droz, 2008, S. 29–55 (zu S. 202, Anm. 23); Alexander Demandt, *Zeitenwende*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2013, S. 52–84 (zu S. 137; S. 147, Anm. 32) und S. 112–133 (zu S. 206, Anm. 44); Ernst Hohl (Übs.), *Historia Augusta I*, Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1976, S. 1–27 und S. 371–373 (beides zu S. 25, Anm. 2); Adolf Lippold, *Die Historia Augusta*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998, S. 15–33 (zu S. 30, Anm. 16); S. 82–96 (zu S. 139, Anm. 4; S. 204, Anm. 33); S. 97–113 (zu S. 32, Anm. 26–27); S. 114–130 (zu S. 103, Anm. 52; S. 106–107, Anm. 64) und S. 213–229 (zu S. 217, Anm. 23); Arnaldo Momigliano, *Ausgewählte Schriften zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung I*, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1998, S. 313–349 und S. 407–416 (beides zu S. 219, Anm. 3 und S. 233, Anm. 31, deren Angaben über die weiteren Publikationsorte sich gegenseitig ergänzen); Theodor Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften VII*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1909, S. 298–301 (zu S. 257, Anm. 20); Alfons Rösger, *Studien zum Herrscherbegriff der Historia Augusta und zum antiken Erziehungswesen*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2001, S. 11–64 (zu S. 200, Anm. 11; S. 204, Anm. 35); Wolfgang Schmid, *Ausgewählte philologische Schriften*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984, S. 616–625 (zu S. 199, Anm. 3; S. 223, Anm. 22; S. 227, Anm. 1); William Seston, *Scripta varia*, Paris: École française de Rome, 1980, S. 109–117 und S. 215–219 (beides zu S. 45, Anm. 2); Johannes Straub, *Regeneratio imperii*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972, S. 329–349 (zu S. 103, Anm. 52) und S. 410–417 (zu S. 226, Anm. 39); Ronald Syme, *Emperors and biography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, S. 1–16 (zu S. 238, Anm. 49); Ronald Syme, *Roman papers I*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, S. 271–291 (zu S. 42, Anm. 31); Ronald Syme, *Historia Augusta papers*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, S. 109–130 (zu S. 199–205, dort vierzehn Zitate der Erstpublikation); Dieter Timpe, *Römisch-germanische Begegnung in der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit*, München: K. G. Saur, 2006, S. 147–170 (zu S. 73, Anm. 48; S. 95, Anm. 8); S. 171–190 (zu S. 71, Anm. 41); S. 191–215 (zu S. 67, Anm. 30; S. 93, Anm. 3) und S. 358–399 (zu S. 65, Anm. 19); Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, *Res publica und Imperium*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2004, S. 275–280 (zu S. 178, Anm. 42); Richard Whittaker, *Land, city and trade in the Roman empire*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1993, Nr. I (zu S. 152, Anm. 13; S. 189, Anm. 7) und Nr. IV (zu S. 178, Anm. 42; S. 193, Anm. 22).

[8] Die Dissertation von Ernst Hohl wird stets nach der (nicht ganz einfach zugänglichen) monographischen Fassung zitiert (S. 109, Anm. 3; S. 195, Anm. 28; S. 204, Anm. 34), während der damit identische, aber leichter zugängliche Zeitschriftaufsatz *Klio* 11, 1911, S. 178–229 und S. 284–324 nie angeführt wird. Dietmar Kienasts Kaisertabelle wird meist nach der ersten Auflage zitiert (S. 97, Anm. 15; S. 101, Anm. 43; S. 120, Anm. 12; S. 123, Anm. 21; S. 124, Anm. 28; S. 125, Anm. 29), während die wesentlich überarbeitete und ergänzte zweite Auflage erst zehn Jahre nach ihrer Publikation Berücksichtigung gefunden hat (S. 137); auch Lippolds Biographie des Theodosius I. (S. 215, Anm. 13) und Birleys Biographie des Septimius Severus (S. 228, Anm. 6) liegen in erweiterten Neuauflagen vor. Die in S. 196, Anm. 33 gebotenen Angaben zu Jones können aus den vollständigeren anderer Aufsätze (S. 149, Anm. 1; S. 165–166, Anm. 1; S. 182, Anm. 1) ergänzt werden. Die Orte von Erstpublikationen lassen sich aus den zitierten Werken entnehmen (S. 57, Anm. 29; S. 143, Anm. 16; S. 145, Anm. 25;

Zu der Sammlung der Liste von Rezensionen zu den Faszikeln IV, 3 und V, 1 der PIR (S. 23, Anm. 21) ließen sich noch vier hinzufügen: Zu IV, 3 die von Edmond Van't Dack, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 48, 1970, S. 577–578 und Ladislav Vidman, *Listy filologické* 93, 1970, S. 68–69 sowie zu V, 1 die von Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *Classical Review* 86 = N. S. 22, 1972, S. 284 und Sergio Daris, *Aegyptus* 55, 1975, S. 308–309.

Vielleicht mag es erlaubt sein, an dieser Stelle zwei kurze Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Thesen der Aufsätze einzufügen, die zu weiteren Forschungen anregen könnten:

Mit Blick auf die Quellenverhältnisse der *Historia Augusta* stellt Johne fest „die Abhängigkeit von Aurelius Victor und Eutrop [ist] allgemein anerkannt" (S. 199 = EP S. 633, ähnlich S. 212 = EP S. 618). Das trifft für Aurelius Victor (mit Ausnahme der wenigen Forscher, die eine vollkommen vom üblichen Konsens abweichende Datierung der *Historia Augusta* vertreten) in der Tat zu, nicht aber für Eutropius, da die Frage, ob dessen Werk von der *Historia Augusta* direkt benutzt wurde oder ob beide auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückgegriffen haben, noch immer nicht mit letzter Sicherheit beantwortet ist.

Laut Johnes Aussage (S. 136 = EP S. 133) ist Aurelius Victor der einzige Autor, der den Kaiser Claudius II. Gothicus (268–270) nicht an der Pest sterben lässt, sondern für ihn einen heroischen Opfertod im Dienste des Staates nach dem Vorbild der republikanischen Senatorenfamilie der Decier, von denen drei Vertretern ein solcher Tod zugeschrieben wird, angibt. Tatsächlich spricht aber auch Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. XVI, 10, 3; ergänzend Amm. XXXI, 5, 17; siehe auch *Epitome de Caesaribus* 34, 3–4) von einem Kaiser, der wie die Decii sein Leben für den Staat gab. Dieser Kaiser wird von ihm nicht namentlich genannt, doch besteht in den Kommentaren und Diskussionen dieser Stelle Einigkeit darüber, dass es sich um Claudius II. Gothicus handelt. Da Aurelius Victor ein überzeugter Senator und Zivilist mit Abneigung gegen das Heer war, Ammianus sich hingegen offen als ehemaliger Soldat darstellt, bieten diese beiden Passagen einen interessanten Ansatzpunkt für eine Untersuchung der Geisteswelt des vierten Jahrhunderts und ihrer Beeinflussung durch die Wandlungen im dritten Jahrhundert.

Die entscheidende Frage ist nun die nach dem Band als Gesamtwerk. Warum stellt man (von persönlichen Gründen wie der Ehrung eines Forschers abgesehen) einen Band Kleiner Schriften zusammen? Insgesamt sind dafür vier mögliche Gründe zu nennen: 1) Das Gesamtwerk eines Forschers soll entweder vollständig oder in seinen wesentlichen Elementen abgebildet werden. 2) Eine Reihe wichtiger Aufsätze zu einem bestimmten Thema soll so gesammelt vorliegen. 3) An abgelegenen Orten publizierte Aufsätze sollen auf diesem Weg leichter zugänglich gemacht werden. 4) Durch die bei einem Einzelwerk bestehenden Möglichkeiten (etwa ein ausführlicher Registerteil) sollen so die Aufsätze besser erschlossen werden.

Die Abbildung von Johnes Gesamtwerk ist größtenteils gelungen und die wesentlichen Stationen seiner Forschungstätigkeit sind gut repräsentiert. Den Gesamteindruck abgerundet hätten allerdings einige seiner größeren und wichtigeren Beiträge für die PIR (siehe dazu auch die Liste unten) und die im nächsten Absatz angeführten Werke.

Bedingt gelungen ist die Sammlung wichtiger Aufsätze zu einem bestimmten Thema. Während die wichtigsten Beiträge Johnes zur *Historia Augusta* in diesem Band

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S. 201, Anm. 18; S. 203, Anm. 32; S. 237, Anm. 45), weswegen sie hier nicht im Einzelnen angeführt sind.

versammelt sind, haben die Auswahl der Aufsätze bei den anderen Themenkomplexen und deren häufige Überschneidung untereinander immer wieder zur Folge, dass manche Themenfelder zugunsten anderer überrepräsentiert sind. So haben die Studien zur Soldatenkaiserzeit (S. 109–147) insgesamt schwerpunktmäßig den Kaiser Tacitus zum Thema, während Johnes nicht weniger interessante Studie zu Maximinus Thrax in der Festschrift für Jan Burian (S. 265) nicht aufgenommen ist. Ebenso sind die Beiträge zum Kolonat (S. 149–196) sehr stark auf die Spätantike fixiert, was aber zumindest dadurch ausgeglichen wird, dass die frühere Zeit eingehend in der Buchfassung von Johnes Habilitationsschrift (S. 263) behandelt ist. Umgekehrt widmen sich die Beiträge zur Prosopographie (S. 17–59) vor allem den ersten drei Jahrhunderten der Kaiserzeit, während der in der Festschrift für Günther Christian Hansen publizierte Beitrag zur Prosopographie der Spätantike (S. 266) nicht in den Band aufgenommen wurde.

Ebenfalls bedingt erfolgreich ist die Zugänglichmachung abgelegen publizierter Aufsätze. Da einige Beiträge in Festschriften oder wenig bekannten Zeitschriften erschienen sind, werden diese vermutlich erst durch die Neupublikation überhaupt einem größeren Fachpublikum zugänglich. Bei den meisten Sammlungen wäre es natürlich wenig sinnvoll, diesen Aspekt an erster Stelle zu setzen, aber in manchen Fällen hätte eine ausgewogenere Auswahl mit Blick auf den vorhergehenden Aspekt auch den Wert des Bandes in dieser Hinsicht erhöht; so etwa im Fall des oben erwähnten Festschriftenaufsatzes zu Maximinus Thrax (S. 265).

Im vierten Punkt versagt der Band leider fast vollkommen. Das Fehlen von Aktualisierungen und Querverweisen wurde bereits erwähnt. Ebenfalls versäumt wurde die Anfertigung eines Registers, so dass die (manchmal sehr begrenzten) Registerteile der Erstpublikationsorte sowie die mittlerweile teilweise als Digitalisate (mit entsprechenden Suchfunktionen) vorliegenden Zeitschriftenaufsätze hier von größerem Nutzen sind.

Bevor nun zu einem Gesamturteil gelangt werden kann, ist noch auf das Schriftenverzeichnis Johnes am Schluss des Bandes (S. 263–270) einzugehen. Dieses ist einer der wertvollsten Teile des Bandes, da es eine in Schriftenverzeichnissen selten gewordene Vollständigkeit aufweist. Erfasst sind nämlich auch kleinere Aufsätze sowie nahezu die gesamte Rezensionstätigkeit Johnes. Als bibliographisches Instrument hat das Verzeichnis einen großen Wert und es bedarf eingehender Recherchen, um die wenigen bestehenden Fehlstellen auszumachen.

Insgesamt konnten genau vierzehn Publikationen Johnes aus dem von dem Schriftenverzeichnis abgedeckten Zeitraum ermittelt werden, die darin nicht berücksichtigt sind. Dabei handelt es sich um die drei ursprünglichen Qualifikationsschriften (Nr. 1–2, 4), zwei Beiträge anlässlich von Geburtstagen seines akademischen Lehrers Wolfgang Seyfarth (Nr. 3, 5),[9] ein Bericht über ein Kolloquium zu Ehren von Werner Hartke (Nr. 6) – dessen Ergebnisse im selben Jahr publiziert wurden (S. 265) –, drei allgemeinere Beiträge in ansonsten vollständig erfassten Sammelbänden (Nr. 8, 12, 14), drei Rezensionen (Nr. 9–11), einen Beitrag in einem Kongressband (Nr. 7) und ein Vorwort zur Buchfassung einer von ihm betreuten Magisterarbeit (Nr. 13).

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[9]   Der Nachruf auf ihn wurde dann aber von zwei anderen Schülerinnen Seyfarths verfasst: Liselotte Jacob-Karau, Ilse Ulmann, „Wolfgang Seyfarth zum Gedenken", *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 27, 1986, S. 278–280.

1) Diplomexamensarbeit mit nicht ermittelbarem Titel und Thema (*Historia Augusta*?) [siehe nur kurz und sehr allgemein S. 9].

2) *Untersuchungen zur Datierung und sozialen Herkunft der Historia Augusta*, Diss., Berlin, Humboldt-Universität, 1971 [ein Inhaltsverzeichnis findet sich im *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1971/3, S. 296].

3) „Wolfgang Seyfarth zum 70. Geburtstag", *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 17, 1976, S. 109–110.

4) *Die Kolonen in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches vom 2.Jahrhundert v.u.Z. bis zu den Severern nach den literarischen Quellen*, Diss. B [Habil.-Schr.], Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 1981 [die Zusammenfassung in der *Ethnographisch-archäologischen Zeitschrift* ist S. 265 angeführt].

5) „Wolfgang Seyfarth 75 Jahre", *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 29, 1981, S. 623.

6) „Rom und Germanien. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Akademiemitglied Werner Hartke, Berlin 1982", *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 24, 1983, S. 164–165.

7) „Kolonenwirtschaft und Kolonat", in: *XVe conférence internationale d'études classiques Eirene*, Bukarest: Ed. Acad. Republicii Socialiste Românîa / Sofia: Balgarska akademija na naukite, 1985, S. 66–71.

8) „Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse", in: Klaus-Peter Johne (Hrsg.), *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993, S. 377–384.

9) *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 44, 1996, S. 841–843 [zu Gerhard Fink, *Who's who in der antiken Mythologie*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1993].

10) *Altertum* 43, 1997, S. 69–70 [zu Auguste V. B. Miron, Andrei Miron, Argonautika, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1995].

11) *Altertum* 43, 1997, S. 73–74 [zu Christian Leiber (Hrsg.), *Schätze der Ostgoten*, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1995].

12) Mit Thomas Gerhardt und Udo Hartmann, „Einleitung", in: Klaus-Peter Johne, Thomas Gerhardt, Udo Hartmann (Hrsg.), *Deleto paene imperio Romano*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006, S. 7–10.

13) „Vorwort", in: Katja Wannack, *Hermann Dessau*, Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2007 (Magisterarbeit Berlin, Humboldt-Universität 2004), S. IX–X.

14) Mit Udo Hartmann, „Krise und Transformation des Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert", in: Klaus-Peter Johne (Hrsg.), *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser II*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008, S. 1025–1053.

Das Schriftenverzeichnis enthält S. 263, S. 266–267 und S. 270 neun Titel, die zum Zeitpunkt des Drucks abgefasst, aber noch nicht publiziert waren. Diese sind hier nachgetragen.

1) *H-Soz-Kult* 30. Juli 2007 = *Historische Literatur* 5/3, 2007, S. 17–19 [zu Peter Eich, *Zur Metamorphose des politischen Systems in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-7345)
(https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18500/HistLit_2007-3.pdf)

2) *H-Soz-Kult* 21. August 2007 = *Historische Literatur* 5/3, 2007, S. 48–51 [zu Gerhard Rasch, *Antike geographische Namen nördlich der Alpen*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2005].

(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-7341)

(https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18500/HistLit_2007-3.pdf)

3) „Zum Begriff *Germania* in der *Historia Augusta*", in: Giorgio Bonamente, Hartwin Brandt (Hrsg.), *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Bambergense*, Bari: Edipuglia, 2007, S. 245–258.

4) Herausgeber von: *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser I–II*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008.

5) Mit Thomas Gerhardt und Udo Hartmann, „Einleitung", in: *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser I*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008, S. 5–12.

6) „Die *Historia Augusta*", in: *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser I*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008, S. 45–51.

7) „Der „Senatskaiser" Tacitus", in: *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser I*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008, S. 379–393.

8) „Das Kaisertum und die Herrscherwechsel", in: *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser I*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008, S. 583–632.

9) „Hermann Dessau und die Anfänge der prosopographischen Forschung", in: Manfred G. Schmidt (Hrsg.), *Hermann Dessau (1856–1931)*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009, S. 31–46.

Da die mit diesem Beitrag verbundenen Recherchen auch Material zu einer Fortsetzung des Schriftenverzeichnisses erbracht haben,[10] seien der Fachwelt deren Ergebnisse nicht vorenthalten. Ermittelt wurden sechs Aufsätze und zwanzig Rezensionen.

Die Aufsätze:

1) „Das Gallische Sonderreich", in: Alexander Demandt, Josef Engemann (Hrsg.), *Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus. Konstantin der Grosse*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007, S. 48–50.

2) „Die Langobarden in den Schriftquellen bis zu den Markomannenkriegen", in: Jan Bemmann, Michael Schmauder (Hrsg.), *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa*, Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2008, S. 43–50.

3) „„Schon ist die Elbe näher als der Rhein". Zur Diskussion um die Elbgrenze des Imperium Romanum", *Gymnasium* 115, 2008, S. 237–250.

4) „Krisenwahrnehmung in der *Historia Augusta*", in: Andreas Goltz, Hartmut Leppin, Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen (Hrsg.), *Jenseits der Grenzen. Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2009, S. 79–90.

5) „Das Stromgebiet der Elbe im Spiegel der griechisch-römischen Literatur", in: Ernst Baltrusch u.a. (Hrsg.), *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2012, S. 25–58.

6) „Klienten, Klientelstaaten und Klientelkönige bei den Germanen", in: Ernst Baltrusch, Julia Wilker (Hrsg.), *Amici – socii – clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*, Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2015, S. 225–242.

Die Rezensionen:

1) *H-Soz-Kult* 21. Januar 2008 = *Historische Literatur* 6/1, 2008, S. 26–29 [zu Olivier Hekster u.a. (Hrsg.), *Crises and the Roman empire*, Leiden: Brill, 2007].

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10 Ebenfalls ergab sich im Rahmen dessen (durch den gleichen Nachnamen) ein vielleicht nicht vollständiges, aber doch zumindest alle wesentlichen Beiträge von Renate Johne erfassendes Verzeichnis. Darüber ist jedoch an anderer Stelle zu handeln.

(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-10768)
(https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18515/HistLit_2008-1.pdf)

2) *Klio* 90, 2008, S. 511–512 [zu Jochen Haas, *Die Umweltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Nordwesten des Imperium Romanum*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006].

3) *H-Soz-Kult* 16. März 2009 = *Historische Literatur* 7/1, 2009, S. 41–42 [zu Ralf-Peter Märtin, *Die Varusschlacht*, Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer, 2008].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-12147)
(https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18503/HistLit_2009-1.pdf)

4) *H-Soz-Kult* 21. September 2009 = *Historische Literatur* 7/3, 2009, S. 82–83 [zu Helmuth Schneider (Hrsg.), *Feindliche Nachbarn. Rom und die Germanen*, Köln: Böhlau, 2008].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-12254)
(https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18505/HistLit_2009-3.pdf)

5) *H-Soz-Kult* 22. März 2010 = *Historische Literatur* 8/1, 2010, S. 39–41 [zu Klaus Tausend, *Im Inneren Germaniens. Beziehungen zwischen den germanischen Stämmen vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-13782)
(https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18519/HistLit_2010-1.pdf)

6) *H-Soz-Kult* 14. November 2011 [zu Kai Ruffing (Hrsg.), *Kontaktzone Lahn. Studien zum Kulturkontakt zwischen Römern und germanischen Stämmen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-16563)

7) *Klio* 93, 2011, S. 530–532 [zu Oliver Schipp, *Der weströmische Kolonat von Konstantin bis zu den Karolingern*, Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2009].

8) *H-Soz-Kult* 23. April 2012 [zu *Histoire Auguste IV, 3. Vies des trente tyrans et de Claude*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2011].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-17108)

9) *H-Soz-Kult* 20. August 2012 [zu Gustav Adolf Lehmann, *Imperium und Barbaricum*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-17927)

10) *H-Soz-Kult* 15. Oktober 2012 [zu Gülden Cicekdagi, *Publius Quinctilius Varus*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2012].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-18223)

11) *H-Soz-Kult* 15. April 2013 [zu Thomas Fischer (Hrsg.), *Die Krise des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. und das Gallische Sonderreich*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-18895)

12) *H-Soz-Kult* 16. Dezember 2013 [zu Holger Sonnabend, *August 14. Der Tod des Kaisers Augustus*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-20124)

13) *H-Soz-Kult* 5. Mai 2014 [zu Michael Geiger, *Gallienus*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2013].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-20424)

14) *Klio* 96, 2014, S. 746–749 [zu Clifford Ando, *Imperial Rome AD 193 to 284*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012].

15) *H-Soz-Kult* 7. April 2015 [zu Boris Dreyer, *Orte der Varuskatastrophe und der römischen Okkupation in Germanien*, Darmstadt: Konrad Theiss, 2014].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-21964)

16) *Historische Zeitschrift* 302, 2016, S. 467–468 [zu Klaus Altmayer, *Die Herrschaft des Carus, Carinus und Numerianus als Vorläufer der Tetrarchie*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2014].

17) *Sehepunkte* 16/2, 2016 [zu Lorenzo Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2012].
(http://sehepunkte.de/2016/02/21728.html)

18) *H-Soz-Kult* 18. September 2017 [zu Rudolf Aßkamp/Kai Jansen (Hrsg.), *Triumph ohne Sieg. Roms Ende in Germanien*, Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2017].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-25929)

19) *H-Soz-Kult* 1. April 2019 [zu Günther Moosbauer, *Die vergessene Römerschlacht. Der sensationelle Fund am Harzhorn*, München: C. H. Beck, 2018].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-27295)

20) *H-Soz-Kult* 20. Januar 2020 [zu Nikolas Hächler, *Kontinuität und Wandel des Senatorenstandes im Zeitalter der Soldatenkaiser*, Leiden: Brill, 2019].
(https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-28330)

In zweierlei Hinsicht ist das Schriftenverzeichnis zwar nicht lückenhaft, aber ausbaufähig. Das betrifft zum einen die Rezensionen zu den Werken Johnes, die vollkommen ausgeklammert wurden, aber gerade deswegen, da die einschlägigen bibliographischen Hilfsmittel in dieser Hinsicht (und insbesondere bei Forschungen aus der DDR) nicht immer Vollständigkeit aufweisen, von Interesse sind; aufgenommen wurden in den folgenden Listen nur die Rezensionen von Monographien und – aufgrund der großen Bedeutung des Werkes – dem Handbuch zur Soldatenkaiserzeit (die zu den Bänden, bei denen Johne Herausgeber und/oder Beiträger war, haben sich dagegen als weitgehend unergiebig erwiesen). Zum anderen handelt es sich um die Beiträge Johnes zu Lexika und Sammelwerken, die nur in sehr allgemeiner Form angegeben sind (S. 263⁻264).

Zunächst zu den Rezensionen. Hier sind neben dem Handbuch zur Soldatenkaiserzeit drei Monographien anzuführen (die S. 263 angeführte Druckfassung der Antrittsvorlesung Johnes scheint hingegen nicht rezensiert worden zu sein).

Kaiserbiographie und Senatsaristokratie (1976):

1) Jan Burian, *Eirene* 17, 1980, S. 145–146.
2) André Chastagnol, *Revue historique* 259, 1978, S. 77 mit Anm. 12.
3) André Chastagnol, *Revue historique* 269, 1983, S. 111–112 mit Anm. 10.
4) Alexander Demandt, *Gnomon* 50, 1978, S. 694–695.
5) Aristid I. Dovatur, *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 149, 1979, S. 196–202.
6) Roger P. H. Green, *Journal of Roman Studies* 69, 1979, S. 225–228 (hierzu S. 228).
7) Rigobert Günther, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 26, 1978, S. 653.
8) Rigobert Günther, *Klio* 61, 1979, S. 189–194 (hierzu S. 190–191).
9) Wieland Held, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 98, 1977, Sp. 730–733.
10) Leszek Mrozewicz, *Eos* 66, 1978, S. 179–181.
11) François Paschoud, *Revue des études latines* 55, 1977, S. 517–518.
12) Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier, *L'antiquité classique* 47, 1978, S. 649–650.
13) Ronald Syme, Propaganda in the *Historia Augusta*, *Latomus* 37, 1978, S. 173–192

= Ronald Syme, *Historia Augusta papers*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, S. 109–130.

Die Kolonen in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen (1983):

1) Jan Burian, *Eirene* 23, 1986, S. 132–134.
2) Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi, *Labeo* 33, 1987, S. 330–338.
3) André Chastagnol, *Revue historique* 280, 1988, S. 137–138 mit Anm. 192.
4) Alexander Demandt, *Gnomon* 57, 1985, S. 661–663.
5) Richard P. Duncan-Jones, *Journal of Roman Studies* 76, 1986, S. 295–297 (hierzu S. 297).
6) Hagen Fischer, *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1985/4, S. 167–175.
7) Bruce W. Frier, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 115, *Romanistische Abteilung* 102, 1985, S. 564–569.
8) Antonio Guarino, *Labeo* 30, 1984, S. 232 (Nr. 2).
9) Rigobert Günther, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 106, 1985, Sp. 174–176.
10) François Hinard, *Revue historique* 279, 1988, S. 131–132.
11) Liselot Huchthausen, *Klio* 67, 1985, S. 618–623.
12) Georgij S. Knabe, *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 183, 1987, S. 164–181 (Sammelrezension).
13) Marcel Morabito, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4.S. 66, 1988, S. 118.
14) François Paschoud, *Revue des études latines* 62, 1984, S. 510–512.
15) Georges Raepsaet, *L'antiquité classique* 56, 1987, S. 468–469.
16) Bernhard Rink, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 32, 1984, S. 829.
17) Elena M. Štaerman, *Listy filologické* 109, 1986, S. 247–250.
18) Jean A. Straus, *Latomus* 46, 1987, S. 642–644.
19) Joachim Thiel, *German Studies. Section 1. Philosophy and history* 19, 1986, S. 59–61.
20) Ladislav Vidman, *Listy filologické* 108, 1985, S. 119–120.
21) Gerda von Bülow, *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 28, 1987, S. 525–527.

Die Römer an der Elbe (2006):

1) Anthony R. Birley, *L'antiquité classique* 77, 2008, S. 736–737.
2) John F. Drinkwater, *Latomus* 68, 2009, S. 1090–1092.
3) Michael Erdrich, *Germania* 86, 2008, S. 791–795.
4) Hans-Werner Goetz, *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 62, 2009, Sp. 113–115.
5) Ulrich Lambrecht, *Sehepunkte* 7/5, 2007. (http://sehepunkte.de/2007/05/11539.html)
6) Yann Le Bohec, *Revue des études latines* 84, 2006, S. 420–421.
7) Rainer Wiegels, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 206, 2006, S. 371–373.
8) Christian Winkle, *Gymnasium* 114, 2007, S. 492–493.
9) Reinhard Wolters, *Historische Zeitschrift* 287, 2008, S. 157–158.

Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser (2008):

1) Ferenc Barna, *Acta classica universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis* 48, 2012, S. 191–205
2) Guido M. Berndt, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 14, 2011, S. 1087–1100. (http://gfa.gbv.de/z/2011/dr,gfa,014,2011,r,13)
3) Anthony R. Birley, *L'antiquité classique* 79, 2010, S. 673–675.
4) Jean-Marc Doyen, *Bulletin du cercle d'études numismatiques* 50, 2013, S. 172–177.
5) John F. Drinkwater, *Journal of Roman Studies* 100, 2010, S. 342–343.
6) Lily Grozdanova, *Archaeologia bulgarica* 13/3, 2009, S. 85–89.

7) Matthias Haake, *H-Soz-Kult* 23. März 2009 = *Historische Literatur* 7/1, 2009, S. 19–21. (www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-12117) (https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/18503/HistLit_2009-1.pdf)

8) Katrin Herrmann, *Gymnasium* 117, 2010, S. 402–404.

9) Christian Körner, *Sehepunkte* 9/5, 2009. (http://sehepunkte.de/2009/05/15201.html)

10) Ulrich Lambrecht, *Das historisch-politische Buch* 56, 2008, S. 599–600.

11) Laura Mecella, *Mediterraneo antico* 11, 2008, S. 657–671.

12) Karin Mosig-Walburg, *Klio* 92, 2010, S. 244–245.

13) François Paschoud, *Antiquité Tardive* 17, 2009, S. 403–405.

14) Marcus Reuter, *Plekos* 11, 2009, S. 109–112. (http://www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2009/r-johne.pdf)

15) Michael Sommer, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 57, 2009, S. 641–643.

16) [S. n.], *Helvetia archaeologica* 40, 2009, S. 126.

An kleineren Beiträgen in Sammelwerken, die nicht einzeln im Schriftenverzeichnis erfasst sind, wären die Übersetzung und Kommentierung einiger Quellentexte in der Sammlung der Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas (S. 263) sowie die Artikel in insgesamt vier Lexika zu nennen. Beim *Lexikon der Antike* sind angesichts der zahlreichen Änderungen sowohl die Artikel Johnes der ersten (1972) wie die der zehnten Auflage (1990) angeführt.

Für die Quellensammlung hat Johne insgesamt vier Autoren übersetzt und kommentiert.

1) Mit Hansulrich Labuske, „Caesar", in: Joachim Herrmann (Hrsg.), *Griechische und lateinische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z. I*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988, S. 86–165 (Text und Übersetzung) und S. 450–474 (Kommentar).

2) „Tacitus, Annalen", in: Joachim Herrmann (Hrsg.), *Griechische und lateinische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z. III*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1991, S. 94–161 (Text und Übersetzung) und S. 506–532 (Kommentar).

3) Mit Renate Johne, „Cassius Dio", in: Joachim Herrmann (Hrsg.), *Griechische und lateinische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z. III*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1991, S. 266–335 (Text und Übersetzung) und S. 602–624 (Kommentar).

4) „Historia Augusta", in: Joachim Herrmann (Hrsg.), *Griechische und lateinische Quellen zur Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z. IV*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1992, S. 188–221 (Text und Übersetzung) und S. 487–504 (Kommentar).

Mit Blick auf die Fachlexika ist von Interesse, dass die Schwerpunkte bei den einzelnen Artikeln Johnes variieren: In den späteren Auflagen des *Lexikon der Antike* – in den früheren stammen zu wenige Artikel von ihm, als dass eine klare Richtung erkennbar wäre – behandelt Johne die unterschiedlichsten Persönlichkeiten der Kaiserzeit vom ersten bis zum fünften Jahrhundert, im *Lexikon früher Kulturen* deuten die wenigen Artikel eher einen militärgeschichtlichen Schwerpunkt an, die Beiträge Johnes in der PIR sind vor allem für das dritte Jahrhundert von Bedeutung, während er als Beiträger für das Lexikon *Der Neue Pauly* vor allem zum fünften Jahrhundert gearbeitet hat.

1a) *Lexikon der Antike* (1972, sieben Artikel): 1. Cäsarenwahnsinn; 2. Drakon; 3. Drusus; 4. Eugenius; 5. Hermunduren; 6. Scriptores Historiae Augustae; 7. Tacitus (2).

1b) *Lexikon der Antike* (1990, 145 Artikel und drei Listen): 1. Adoptivkaiser; 2. Agonistiker; 3. Agricola (1); 4. Agrippa; 5. Agrippina; 6. Aliso; 7. Antoninus Pius; 8. Arbogast; 9. Arcadius; 10. Augusta; 11. Aurelianus; 12. Avidius Cassius; 13. Bataver; 14. Belger; 15. Bonn; 16. Boudicca; 17. Brigetio; 18. Brukterer; 19. Caesarea; 20. Caligula; 21. Caracalla; 22. Carinus; 23. Carnuntum; 24. Carus; 25. Cäsarenwahnsinn; 26. Cassius Dio; 27. Chatten; 28. Chauken; 29. Cherusker; 30. Commodus; 31. Constans; 32. Constantinus; 33. Constantius; 34. Decuriones; 35. Didius Iulianus; 36. Diocletianus; 37. Diokletian; 38. Domitianus; 39. Drakon; 40. Drusus; 41. Eburacum; 42. Elagabalus; 43. Eugenius; 44. Eutropius; 45. Faustina; 46. Festus; 47. Flavius; 48. Florus; 49. Galba; 50. Galerius; 51. Gallienus; 52. Gallisches Sonderreich; 53. Germanen; 54. Germania; 55. Germanicus; 56. Geten; 57. Gordianus; 58. Gratianus; 59. Hadrianus; 60. Hadrumetum; 61. Hermunduren; 62. Heruler; 63. Honorius; 64. Iberer; 65. Illyrien; 66. Indiktion; 67. Ingenuus; 68. Ingwäonen; 69. Insubrer; 70. Iovianus; 71. Katalaunische Felder; 72. Konstantin; 73. Licinius; 74. Livia; 75. Londinium; 76. Macrinus; 77. Marbod; 78. Marcus Aurelius; 79. Mark Aurel; 80. Markomannen; 81. Maxentius; 82. Maximianus; 83. Maximinus Thrax; 84. Maximinus Daia; 85. Mediolanum; 86. Naissus; 87. Nero; 88. Nerva; 89. Nisibis; 90. Norden, Eduard; 91. Numerianus; 92. Obsequens; 93. Octavia; 94. Octavianus; 95. Odaenathus; 96. Odoaker; 97. Optimaten; 98. Otho; 99. Pächter; 100. Pertinax; 101. Pescennius Niger; 102. Philippus Arabs; 103. Postumus; 104. Quaden; 105. Ravenna; 106. Regensburg; 107. Ricimer; 108. Romulus Augustulus; 109. Scriptores Historiae Augustae; 110. Segestes; 111. Seianus; 112. Semnonen; 113. Septimius Severus; 114. Serdica; 115. Severus; 116. Severus Alexander; 117. Siegernamen; 118. Sirmium; 119. Soldatenkaiser; 120. Spätantike; 121. Stilicho; 122. Sueben; 123. Suetonius; 124. Sulpicius; 125. Syagrius; 126. Tetricus; 127. Themistios; 128. Theodosius; 129. Tiberius; 130. Titus; 131. Traianus; 132. Trebonianus Gallus; 133. Ulpius; 134. Valens; 135. Valentinianus; 136. Valerianus; 137. Vandalen; 138. Varus; 139. Verus; 140. Vespasianus; 141. Victor, Aurelius; 142. Vitellius; 143. Weströmisches Reich; 144. Xanten; 145. Zenobia; L1. Die wichtigsten hellenistischen Herrscherfamilien, S. 649; L2. Die römischen Kaiser, S. 650–651; L3. Stammtafeln der römischen Kaiserfamilien, S. 652–655.

2) *Lexikon früher Kulturen* (1984, fünf Artikel): 1. Heerwesen; 2. Kriegskunst; 3. Optimaten; 4. Suffeten; 5. Valentinianus.

3a) PIR V, 3 (1987, Buchstabe O, 88 Artikel): 1–5) Nr. 9–13 (S. 408–412); 6–7) Nr. 15–16 (S. 412–413); 8) Nr. 21 (S. 415); 9) Nr. 25 (S. 415–418); 10) Nr. 28 (S. 418–419); 11–14) Nr. 30–33 (S. 419); 15–19) Nr. 36–40 (S. 421–422); 20) Nr. 48 (S. 424); 21–23) Nr. 50–52 (S. 425); 24) Nr. 54 (S. 426); 25) Nr. 56 (S. 426); 26–28) Nr. 59–61 (S. 428); 29–30) Nr. 63–64 (S. 429); 31) Nr. 67 (S. 433); 32–36) Nr. 69–73 (S. 433–434); 37–38) Nr. 76–77 (S. 434–435); 39) Nr. 79 (S. 435); 40) Nr. 83 (S. 436); 41–44) Nr. 85–88 (S. 436–437); 45) Nr. 93 (S. 440); 46) Nr. 98 (S. 440–441); 47–48) Nr. 100–101 (S. 441); 49) Nr. 103 (S. 441–442); 50–53) Nr. 106–109 (S. 442–450); 54) Nr. 112 (S. 450–451); 55) Nr. 115 (S. 452); 56–57) Nr. 119–120 (S. 453); 58) Nr. 129 (S. 457–458); 59) Nr. 133 (S. 459); 60–65) Nr. 140a–145 (S. 461–463); 66) Nr. 147 (S. 463); 67) Nr. 149 (S. 463); 68–69) Nr. 154–155 (S. 464); 70–73) Nr. 157–160 (S. 465–466); 74–75)

Nr. 168–169 (S. 470–471); 76–77) Nr. 176–177 (S. 472–473); 78) Nr. 181 (S. 478); 79–88) Nr. 183–192 (S. 479–484).

3b) PIR VI (1998, Buchstabe P, 86 Artikel): 1) Nr. 1 (S. 1); 2) Nr. 842 (S. 357–358); 3) Nr. 851 (S. 365); 4) Nr. 854 (S. 366); 5) Nr. 857 (S. 367); 6–7) Nr. 861–862 (S. 368); 8) Nr. 864 (S. 369); 9) Nr. 868 (S. 369); 10) Nr. 872 (S. 370); 11) Nr. 877 (S. 371–372); 12) Nr. 882 (S. 373); 13–14) Nr. 887–888 (S. 376); 15–21) Nr. 890–896 (S. 376–378); 22–24) Nr. 898–900 (S. 378–380); 25–27) Nr. 902–904 (S. 381); 28–29) Nr. 906–907 (S. 381–382); 30) Nr. 911 (S. 382); 31) Nr. 913 (S. 382–383); 32) Nr. 919 (S. 386); 33–34) Nr. 921–922 (S. 387); 35) Nr. 925 (S. 388); 36) Nr. 928 (S. 390–391); 37–39) Nr. 941–943 (S. 398–399); 40) Nr. 950 (S. 401); 41) Nr. 952 (S. 402); 42–43) Nr. 959–960 (S. 404); 44) Nr. 965 (S. 404–405); 45–46) Nr. 970–971 (S. 405); 47–51) Nr. 973–977 (S. 406–411); 52) Nr. 979 (S. 411); 53–54) Nr. 995–996 (S. 416); 55) Nr. 1001 (S. 418); 56) Nr. 1004 (S. 418); 57–58) Nr. 1008–1009 (S. 425–426); 59–60) Nr. 1014–1015 (S. 427–428); 61) Nr. 1019 (S. 428–429); 62) Nr. 1034 (S. 432); 63) Nr. 1039 (S. 433); 64) Nr. 1041 (S. 433); 65–67) Nr. 1043–1045 (S. 435); 68–70) Nr. 1050–1052 (S. 437); 71) Nr. 1055 (S. 438); 72–73) Nr. 1057–1058 (S. 439); 74–76) Nr. 1064–1066 (S. 440); 77) Nr. 1070 (S. 441); 78) Nr. 1074 (S. 443); 79–81) Nr. 1077–1079 (S. 444); 82–84) Nr. 1084–1086 (S. 445–446); 85) Nr. 1092 (S. 449); 86) Nr. 1096 (S. 449–450).

4) *Der Neue Pauly* (1996–2002, 54 Artikel): 1. Aegidius; 2. Agrippinus; 3. Anthemios/ -us (2); 4. Arbogastes; 5. Avitus (1); 6. Faustus (1); 7. Faustus (2); 8. Felix (6); 9. Ferreolus; 10. Festus (5); 11. Fidelis; 12. Flavianus (3); 13. Florentius (3); 14. Florentius (4); 15. Gabrielus; 16. Gaiso (2); 17. Gaudentios/-us (4); 18. Gerontius (3); 19. Gildas; 20. Glycerius; 21. Heraclianus; 22. Herakleios (5); 23. Herculius (1); 24. Historia Augusta; 25. Honoria; 26. Honorius (3); 27. Iovinus (2); 28. Iovius (2); 29. Isidoros/-us (5); 30. Iustus/-os (3); 31. Lagodius; 32. Laterculum; 33. Litorius; 34. Longinianus; 35. Macedonius (2); 36. Magnus (6); 37. Magnus (7); 38. Nomus; 39. Notitia Africae; 40. Notitia Dignitatum; 41. Notitia Galliarum; 42. Notitia Romae; 43. Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae; 44. Parthenius (2); 45. Parthenius (3); 46. Priscus (3); 47. Regendarius; 48. Reparatus (1); 49. Rufinus (1); 50. Ulpius (3); 51. Ulpius (4); 52. Vigilantia; 53. Zemarchos; 54. Zenonis.

Zum Schluss noch einige Anregungen im Bereich der Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Die Frage, die sich dabei am stärksten aufdrängt, ist die nach der Verbindung der Person und der Forschungen Johnes (zumal bei einem Thema wie dem Kolonat) mit dem DDR-Regime. Eine zuverlässige Untersuchung zum erstgenannten Aspekt erfordert eine eingehende Prüfung des Archiv- und Aktenmaterials,[11] doch zum zweiten lassen sich auf

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[11] Eine noch immer wichtige allgemeine Vorarbeit ist die Dissertation von Matthias Willing, *Althistorische Forschung in der DDR*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991. Johne wird dort (im Gegensatz etwa zu seinem akademischen Lehrer Seyfarth: S. 142–144) zwar nicht systematisch behandelt, jedoch immer wieder in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen erwähnt (siehe den Eintrag im Registerteil S. 309). Speziell zur Geschichte der PIR (und somit auch zur Tätigkeit Johnes) handelt jetzt auch Werner Eck, „Die PIR im Spiegel der beteiligten Personen", in: Werner Eck, Matthäus Heil (Hrsg.), *Prosopographie des Römischen Kaiserreichs*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017, S. 1–94 (zu Johne: S. 1, Anm. 1; S. 15, Anm. 46; S. 44 mit Anm. 161; S. 52 mit Anm. 195; S. 57 mit Anm. 217; S. 58, Anm. 221; S. 59; S. 65,

Basis des in dem Band und diesem Beitrag gebotenen Materials einige erste Grundlagen erarbeiten.

Eine Durchsicht der oben angeführten Rezensionen zu seinen beiden Monographien (außer den mir sprachlich unzugänglichen)[12] ergab ein fast durchgehend positives Urteil. Die einzige stark negative gehaltene Kritik an seinem Buch zur *Historia Augusta* stammt von Ralph Green, der es als „rather pedestrian" und „only a minimal contribution to the subject" bezeichnet und über Johne meint, seine „conclusions are unoriginal, his methods unrefined, and his capacity for doxography apparently unlimited" (alle Zitate *Journal of Roman Studies* 69, 1979, S. 228). Der Kritik, die das Urteil zudem nicht anhand von Einzelfragen näher begründet, kann mit Blick auf das deutlich positivere Urteil der zahlreichen Rezensenten, die sich in größerem Ausmaß mit der *Historia Augusta* befasst haben (darunter immerhin André Chastagnol, Alexander Demandt und François Paschoud), keine große Bedeutung beigemessen werden – hier ist die Diskussion einer Reihe von Einzelfragen durch Ronald Syme (*Latomus* 37, 1978, S. 173–192 = *Historia Augusta papers*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, S. 109–130) deutlich relevanter –, aber wichtig für die hier diskutierte Frage ist die Tatsache, dass auch ein so harscher Kritiker offensichtlich keine ideologisch begründete Problematik des Buches ermitteln konnte. Aus der anderen Richtung ist festzustellen, dass die DDR-Forschung (namentlich Rigobert Günther und Wieland Held) das Buch ebenfalls wohlwollend aufnahm und sein fachlicher Wert offensichtlich die mangelnde ideologische Ausrichtung ausgleichen konnte, so dass entsprechende Kritik durch Wieland Held nur sehr angedeutet und vorsichtig geäußert wurde.[13]

Nun könnte man das weitgehend positive Urteil über die Dissertation Johnes damit erklären, dass die Altertumswissenschaft in der DDR zwar ein großes Interesse an den in der *Historia Augusta* geschilderten Ereignissen, dafür aber nur ein vergleichsweise geringes an dem Werk selbst und den damit verbundenen großen Fragen (Datierung, Autorschaft, Tendenz) aufweist[14] und Johnes Erstlingswerk sich somit auf insgesamt unproblematischem Terrain bewegte. Allerdings fällt auf, dass sich auch für die Publi-

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Anm. 254; S. 67 mit Anm. 264⁻265; S. 68, Anm. 268⁻269; S. 69 mit Anm. 271; S. 70, Anm. 275; S. 73, Anm. 286).

[12] Konkret sind das zur Dissertation Johnes die von Dovatur und Mrozewicz und zu seiner Habilitationsschrift die von Knabe, Štaerman und Vidman. Es wäre ohne Zweifel ein lohnenswertes Unterfangen, wenn Forscher mit entsprechenden Sprachkenntnissen diese und vergleichbare Beiträge systematisch durchgehen und die daraus resultierenden Ergebnisse für die Altertumswissenschaft wie für die Wissenschaftsgeschichte einem größeren Fachpublikum zugänglich machen würden. Bislang werden, wie es scheint, Rezensionen als Quelle für wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Fragen auch allgemein noch immer nur unzureichend ausgewertet.

[13] *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 98, 1977, Sp. 732: „Sicher wäre es wünschenswert gewesen, wenn J. es unternommen hätte, im Laufe seiner Untersuchungen bzw. zumindest am Schluß seiner Studie auf die Rolle der stadtrömischen Senataristokratie zu verweisen, die diese in der Übergangszeit von der auf Sklaverei beruhenden Gesellschaftsformation zum Feudalismus spielte".

[14] Als Beispiel für die Vorgehensweise und die Prioritäten stärker ideologisch beeinflusster Forscher sei auf die Dissertation von Hans-Joachim Herrmann verwiesen: *Studien über Usurpationen und Krise im 3. Jahrhundert u. Z. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Darstellung in der „Historia Augusta"*, Diss., Greifswald, 1964. Herrmann diskutiert zwar das Problem der *Historia Augusta* etwas ausführlicher, lehnt aber sämtliche Überlegungen seit Dessau ohne eingehendere Auseinandersetzung mit selbigen als unbewiesene Hypothesen ab (lediglich einige spätere Eingriffe eines späteren Redaktors lässt er gelten) und stellt S. 64 fest: „Das Problem der Tendenz kann nicht lediglich im Sinne einer konkreten politischen Propaganda, die nur aus einer zeitlich exakt festzulegenden nachkonstantinischen Situation erklärbar ist, erörtert werden. Es muß als Widerspiegelung bestimmter Klasseninteressen – auch des 3. Jahrhunderts – umfassender analysiert werden." Entgegen dem, was der Titel der

kationsfassung der Habilitationsschrift, die mit dem Kolonat ein für die DDR-Ideologie deutlich interessanteres Thema behandelte, der Befund nicht ändert. Die westlichen Wissenschaftler, die sich zu dem Buch äußerten, kamen zu einem klar positiven Urteil,[15] aber auch die Kritiker aus Ländern des Ostblocks nahmen das Buch wohlwollend an. Der Schlüssel zum Verständnis dessen liegt weniger in dem Thema selbst, sondern vielmehr in der Art der Aufbereitung (nicht nur) durch Johne: Im Wesentlichen handelt es sich bei dem 1983 publizierten Buch um eine Sammlung der relevanten Passagen aus den antiken Quellenwerken, die in Text, Übersetzung und einem Sachkommentar geboten werden, nicht so sehr hingegen um eine systematische Erfassung des Kolonats als Phänomen im Kontext der römischen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.[16] Bei den weiteren Studien Johnes aus DDR-Zeiten zu dem Thema Kolonat handelt es sich entweder um Kurzfassungen der Inhalte des Buches, um extrem speziell gehaltene Untersuchungen einzelner Passagen der *Historia Augusta* (S. 187–196) oder um terminologische Untersuchungen, in denen der Bedeutung des Begriffs in der Antike nachgegangen wird und somit eher um philologische als um sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Beiträge im engeren Sinne (S. 149–164 und S. 181–185).

Der Gesamteindruck, wie er sich aus dem publizierten Schrifttum Johnes und den Schilderungen der Kurzbiographie Hartmanns zu Beginn des Bandes (insbesondere S. 11–12) ergibt, ist also der folgende: Johne gelang es, mit seinen Forschungsthemen bzw. deren praktischer Umsetzung eine Nische zu finden, die ihn einerseits mangels Interesse des Regimes daran nicht dazu zwang, sich in seinen Publikationen in einer der wissenschaftlichen Integrität entgegenstehenden Weise den ideologischen Vorgaben der SED zu unterwerfen, ihm andererseits aber im In- und Ausland ausreichend fachliches Ansehen einbrachte, um seine Forschungen nicht nur ungehindert, sondern auch mit ausreichender Förderung fortsetzen zu können. Dabei mag gewiss auch der finanzielle Aspekt eine Rolle gespielt haben, denn die Fortführung und der Verkauf unverzichtbarer Standardwerke wie der PIR brachte der DDR neben wissenschaftlichem Ansehen auch zusätzliche Geldmittel. Bis eingehende Archiv- und Aktenstudien vorliegen, lässt das erfasste und publizierte Material die folgende Einschätzung am plausibelsten erscheinen: Johne war weder ein begeisterter Anhänger des DDR-Systems noch ein offener Gegner desselben, sondern gehörte zu denjenigen Forschern, denen es gelang, sich mit den Gegebenheiten zu arrangieren, ohne dabei bewusst oder auch nur unbewusst ihre Prinzipien wissenschaftlichen Arbeitens aufzugeben.

Die auf den vorhergehenden Seiten gebotenen umfangreichen Ausführungen haben nun hoffentlich nicht den Eindruck erweckt, der Band sei insgesamt ein nur mangelhaftes Werk. Gewiss, er ist in mancherlei Hinsicht noch ausbaufähig und hat an einigen weni-

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Dissertation und das angeführte Zitat versprechen, ergeben sich für die *Historia Augusta* als Werk aus den weiteren Ausführungen Herrmanns keine weiteren Erkenntnisse irgendwelcher Art.

[15] Paschouds letzter Satz in seiner Rezension lautet sogar (*Revue des études latines* 62, 1984, S. 512): „Ce livre ne devrait donc manquer dans aucune bonne bibliothèque du domaine classique." Die jüngste Gesamtbewertung bietet Oliver Schipp, *Der weströmische Kolonat von Konstantin bis zu den Karolingern (332 bis 861)*, Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2009, S. 1–2 mit Anm. 3, der zwar die marxistische Grundtendenz des Buches hervorhebt, diese jedoch vor allem im (nicht von Johne stammenden) juristischen Teil verortet.

[16] Darauf wies bereits Antonio Guarino in seiner kurzen Anzeige hin (*Labeo* 30, 1984, S. 232): „L'opera non difende nuove e originali teorie sulla genesi e sugli sviluppi di uno dei più oscuri istituti dell'esperienza romana, ma appresta una ricca dotazione di dati e di dottrine agli studiosi futuri".

gen Stellen sogar starken Verbesserungsbedarf (vor allem mit Blick auf die Querverweise und das fehlende Register). Doch die wesentliche Leistung Johnes in seinem Gesamtwerk, die erneute und stellenweise erheblich verbesserte Zugänglichmachung desselben durch den Neuabdruck der Aufsätze und das Schriftenverzeichnis haben gegenüber den problematischen Elementen ein deutliches Übergewicht. Die Aufsätze Johnes waren zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Publikation von großem Wert und sind das auch jetzt noch – außer in den Fällen, wo sie durch seine eigenen Forschungen zum selben Thema durch bessere Darstellungen ersetzt sind. Jeder Forscher, der sich mit den in dem Band behandelten Themen, insbesondere der *Historia Augusta* und/oder der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser, befasst, wird den Band als nützliches Arbeitsinstrument zu schätzen wissen.

**VOJENŠTÍ CÍSAŘI, *SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE*
A PŘIPOUTÁNÍ K PŮDĚ.
POZNÁMKY KE KNIZE *KAISER, KONSULN UND KOLONEN*
KLAUSE-PETRA JOHNEHO (2007)
A K JEHO HISTORICKÉMU DÍLU JAKO CELKU**

Příspěvek podrobně rozebírá soubor drobných spisů známého historika starověkých dějin Klause-Petra Johneho publikovaný v roce 2007. Kromě shrnutí obsahu jednotlivých článků a rozboru tezí, které jsou v nich podány, je předložena zejména řada doplňků k úplnému soupisu Johneho díla, který je cenný coby bibliografický zdroj. S tím se pojí některé obecné metodické úvahy o konceptu souboru článků a stručné zhodnocení Johneho bádání v rámci pojetí věd o starověku v Německé demokratické republice.

Raphael Brendel
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
raphaelbrendel@arcor.de

EXISTIMATIONES LIBRORUM

Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker,
Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2019, xlii + 811 pages, ISBN 9780521198608 (hardback), 9780521127295 (paperback),
9781108229456 (ebook).[*]

Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek, having the catchy abbreviation CGCG, is
a long-awaited reference grammar of Classical Greek, published by respected Dutch
scholars Evert van Emde Boas (University of Oxford), Albert Rijksbaron (University of
Amsterdam), Luuk Huitink (University of Heidelberg) and Mathieu de Bakker (Univer-
sity of Amsterdam), some one hundred years after the famous Smyth's Greek Grammar[1]
appeared. CGCG reflects the progress in both general and ancient Greek linguistics made
in the last fifty years (pragmatics, functional grammar, discourse analysis, cognitive lin-
guistics, as well as comparative grammar), and at the same time, it preserves the canoni-
cal ordering of the treatment in a Greek grammar which we are accustomed to. Entirely
novel are the sections on textual coherence (pp. 657–662), word order (pp. 702–721),
and four sample passages (pp. 722–748), appearing for the first time in a Greek grammar.
The way of the description and explanation of grammatical phenomena is scientifically
up-to-date but refreshing and user friendly, not abusing specialized linguistic terminol-
ogy. The book is primarily intended for university students and teachers,[2] not only for
native speakers of English, but for all those are able to read in English.

The book opens with a preface informing the reader on the history and aims of the
CGCG,[3] presenting abbreviations, symbols and editions, and giving some terminological
information concerning various linguistic phenomena.

The text itself encompasses three parts: Part I 'Phonology and Morphology' (includes
sections 1–25, pp. 1–304), Part II 'Syntax' (sections 26–57, pp. 305–654), and Part III
'Textual Coherence' (sections 58–61, pp. 657–748), followed by a selected bibliography,
arranged by topic, and very useful indexes (examples, subjects, Greek words). Sections are
of different length, from one to forty pages, usually divided into many sub-sections, with

[1] H. W. Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*. New York [et al.]: American Book Company, 1920 (fol-
     lowing H. W. Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges*. New York / Cincinnati / Chicago:
     American Book Company, 1916), later revised as H. W. Smyth, G. M. Messing, *Greek Grammar*.
     Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
[2] It is not a scientific grammar like R. Kühner, F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache.
     Erster Teil. Elementar- und Formenlehre*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1890–1892; R. Küh-
     ner, B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil. Satzlehre*. Hannover /
     Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1898–1904; or E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, München:
     C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939–1950 encompassing several volumes.
[3] A more detailed account can be found in the paper by E. van Emde Boas, A. Rijksbaron, L. Huit-
     ink, M. de Bakker, 'The Cambridge grammar of classical Greek: aims and principles'. *The Journal
     of Classics Teaching* 20 (40), 2019, 30–34. https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-clas-
     sics-teaching/article/cambridge-grammar-of-classical-greek-a-new-reference-grammar-for-classi-
     cal-greek-aims-and-principles/5B95441737CE11BEDEA269DBC8C4DD42 [retrieved 15/3/2020].
     The authors also draw attention to 'Resources' placed on: https://www.cambridge.org/gb/academic
     /subjects/classical-studies/classical-languages/cambridge-grammar-classical-greek?format=HB
     #resources. See some pages of 'Corrections and additions to the Cambridge Grammar of Classical
     Greek' published by Emde Boas on Academia.edu: https://oxford.academia.edu/EvertvanEmdeBoas
     [retrieved 14/6/2020].

excellent cross-referring. Written in a clear and transparent way, the book is extremely user-friendly with a great layout, printed on high-quality paper with easily legible font, leaving large margins and sufficient interline space, the only disadvantage being its weight (paperback 1.7 kg).

As with other Greek grammars, the book begins with the alphabet and pronunciation, and continues with historical developments arranged in a modern (scientific) way, clearly indicating the names of phenomena like ablaut (vowel gradation), contraction of vowels, compensatory lengthening, Osthoff's Law, etc., while e.g. Smyth[4] hides them under covering terms like euphony of vowels, euphony of consonants, movable consonants, etc. Such historical observations are not autotelic, on the contrary they are particularly useful for university students as they help them to better understand the forms of the nominal as well as verbal inflection.[5]

The treatment of nominal as well as verbal morphology opens with a general introduction, i.e. a helpful survey of grammatical categories and concepts. The authors then gradually proceed with individual word classes beginning with the article, continuing with nouns, adjectives and participles, adverbs, pronouns, correlatives pronouns and adverbs, numerals, and ending, as expected, with the verb.

The noun declensions are illustrated by a smaller number of paradigms than grammars usually do, since not all accentuation types are presented: e.g. the second declension of masculine nouns in -ος is exemplified by δοῦλος and νοῦς, while e.g. Niederle offers ἵππος, ἄνθρωπος, ποταμός, δοῦλος and νοῦς (see note 5). This seems to be a bit strange, especially when the section on accentuation (where some other paradigms are given) is placed at the end of Part I 'Phonology and Morphology'. From my experience I know that students who will master accentuation prefer to have all declension paradigms before their eyes. Declension of adjectives and participles, despite adopting the same types of paradigms as nouns, are treated in a special section (as in Smyth). In other grammars their forms are treated together with the noun paradigms, e.g. perfect active participles (-ώς, -υῖα, -ός) with noun stems in dental stops (-τ, -δ, -θ), while the chapter on adjectives gives only an overview of the different adjectival stems and endings, being focused on degrees of comparison. It is noteworthy that the forms of the dual of all declensions are treated *en bloc* in a separate section. The section on numerals encompasses notation of numbers in later inscriptions, papyri, and manuscripts (with letters of the alphabet modified by an oblique stroke). It would be useful to also mention the notation of numbers used in a list, as e.g. in Homeric poems (κ 223 = *Od.* X, 223). This way of referencing was still employed in the 1970s.

The treatment of verbal forms is naturally more extensive than that of nominal forms. Individual sub-sections successively cover the forms of the present, the aorist (active and middle), the aorist passive, the future active and middle, the future passive, the perfect

4   H. W. Smyth, G. M. Messing, *Greek Grammar*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956, 14–34.
5   Such historical treatments are also found in earlier Greek grammars, e.g. E. Bornemann, E. Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*. 2. Aufl. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Diesterweg, 1978; J. Niederle, V. Niederle, L. Varcl, *Mluvnice řeckého jazyka* [Greek Grammar]. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1974; J. Bertrand, *Nouvelle grammaire grecque*. 2e éd. rev. et corr. Paris: Éllipses, 2002, to name some non-English written textbooks.

active and middle-passive, and the future perfect. This way of treatment, i.e. following indi-vidual stems, is different from the organisation in earlier grammars and is certainly clearer.

The authors group together the items that are intimately connected, e.g. in the section on the present (pp. 128–146) they treat together thematic (contracted and uncontracted forms are adjacent in the same table) and athematic present, first explaining the various formations of the thematic present stem and then that of the athematic present. Then come the forms of the aorist stems: active and middle (pp. 147–167: sigmatic, thematic and root aorist) and passive (pp. 168–179). It is worth noting that the authors use a novel, more intuitive terminology, i.e. *sigmatic* vs. *thematic* and *θη-aorist* vs. *η-aorist* instead of the traditional terms 'first/weak' vs. 'second/strong' aorist. Then follow the forms of the future stem: active and middle (pp. 180–193: sigmatic vs. so-called Attic future), and pas-sive (pp. 194–196: *θη-future* vs. *η-future*). And finally, there are the perfect and future per-fect stems (pp. 197–223). I miss the translations of difficult forms, such as πεπαίδευμαι, which, for that matter, is common to many grammar books: there is the translation of the basic form: παιδεύω ~ *I educate*, but even graduate students would appreciate the transla-tions of the perfect middle-passive forms, etc. The passages on verbal morphology finish with a list of 'irregular' verbs (called 'Principal Parts with Peculiarities') that contains 191 verbs (pp. 230–259); verbs with regular principal parts like ἀγγέλλω, νομίζω, αἰσχύνω are not included in the list (unlike Smyth). The order of the six parts (the present = the entry form, the verb root, the aorist active and passive, the future, the perfect active and middle/passive) is different from that presented in Smyth and other grammar books but is intuitive and felicitous. Time will tell whether it will be universally adopted in teaching.

The treatment of morphology also contains special sections on correlative pronouns and adverbs, on dual forms, and on word formation. This part closes with a very useful section on accentuation (which used to be treated at the beginning of the morphology part which I prefer), and finally, on morphological characteristics of Ionic prose (and Doric ā in Choral Lyric).

Part II 'Syntax' virtually encompasses two major divisions, simple sentences (sections 26–38, pp. 307–490) and complex sentences (sections 39–57, pp. 491–654), each of them beginning with a detailed introduction. As for simple sentences, there is a section on agreement, use of the article, pronouns and quantifiers, functions and meaning of cases, prepositions, comparison, and verbs (tense and aspect, mood and voice, and impersonal constructions), covering more than 60 pages. The last sections of this division devote attention to verbal adjectives, and finally to the four sentence types and communicative functions (questions, directives, wishes and exclamations).

We now come to an intriguing phenomenon – tense and aspect. An apposite and student-friendly explanation of basic notions (absolute and relative tense, grammatical and lexical aspect, telic and atelic verbs, narrative and non-narrative text) is followed by a sound and clear description of the basic uses and specific interpretations of the seven indicatives (pp. 409–437). The authors point out the importance of the distinction between telic and atelic verbs since certain interpretations are limited only to one group, sometimes semantically even more restricted (telic verbs: resultative present, conative and immediative imperfect, gnomic aorist; atelic verbs: ingressive aorist, intensive perfect and pluperfect, etc.). A special sub-section focuses on the uses of the imperfect and aorist (and historical present) in narrative texts. As for the conative interpretation of the present

with telic verbs, it would be better to give an example other than that with the verb πείθω which moreover occurs in a relative clause (p. 413), and not in the main clause. The future indicative is seen as aspect-neutral.

The introduction to finite subordinate clauses offers a general overview of their different types and functions, paying special attention to the uses of the moods. Whereas other grammar books begin with completive clauses and finish with the most complex phenomenon, indirect discourse, CGCG surprisingly starts with a section on indirect statements, which in fact contains a treatment of completive clauses with ὅτι / ὡς, and another on subordinate clauses in indirect speech. While other grammars focus on clarifying the use of the oblique optative, CGCG is brief on this point ("The oblique optative signals that the reporter presents everything from his own temporal perspective", p. 509), and rather concentrates on moods corresponding to those of direct speech, adding some novel ideas: These moods are considered to present "the content of the speech emphatically from the perspective of the reported speaker. As such, the construction functions as a distancing device: it may suggest that the reporter believes the reported words to be false or otherwise inappropriate, or that the reported words were of particular importance in the reported speech situation...". Note: Examples (26), (27), (28) on p. 510 contain matrix verbs of knowledge (ἔγνων, ἐπιστάμενος, εἶδεν), while the sub-section deals with verbs of speaking.

After an explanation of indirect questions and exclamations, the next passages focus on the remaining subordinate clauses: fear clauses, effort clauses, purpose clauses, result clauses, temporal clauses, causal clauses, conditional clauses (including concessive clauses), and finally relative clauses (including clauses of comparison). The description is not as exhaustive as that in Smyth, but better accessible for students. It is noteworthy that the examples illustrating the clauses are all taken from Greek original texts, translated by the authors of CGCG, and accompanied by sound explicative notes. This also holds for the detailed and well-structured treatment of the infinitive and participle. Very helpful are the five overviews, which close the section on syntax: an overview of subordinate constructions, moods, uses of ἄν, negatives, and ὡς (as conjunction, as adverb, as preposition).

The final Part III ('Textual Coherence', pp. 655–748) opens with a brief introduction to textual coherence, illustrated – for better understanding – by examples in English and informing the user on new concepts, hitherto untreated in Greek grammars. Their application on Greek texts is provided in section 61, presenting four sample passages (narrative, description, argument and dialogue), each with an English translation and thorough commentary. Special attention is paid to particles, which are divided into three groups: connective, attitudinal, particles of scope, and, in addition, particle combinations. The section on word order is novel and especially valuable.

To sum up: The authors of CGCG succeeded in harmonizing the traditional arrangement of the features of a Greek grammar with an up-to-date approach and new findings in (Greek) linguistics. CGCG is an excellent tool that should reside in any Classics library and on the bookshelves of every earnest student of ancient Greek. I believe it will be the reference grammar for next one hundred years.

Dagmar Muchnová

Jan Hubecius a Bartoloměj Martinides, *Dva humanistické popisy Prahy: Úvodní studie, edice, překlad a komentář* **Vojtěch Pelc** [Jan Hubecius and Bartoloměj Martinides, Two Humanistic Descriptions of Prague: Introductory study, edition, translation and commentary by Vojtěch Pelc] [= Bilingua III]. Praha: Jednota klasických filologů, 2019, 265 pages, ISBN 978-80-904945-5-8.

Making early modern texts available to today's readers is a meritorious deed per se. In addition, if it is a topic such as the description of Prague, which belongs to a genre very popular in humanism but relatively little known today, it is a very good basis for an interesting book.

This peer-reviewed book is the third volume of the *Bilingua* series, published by the Jednota klasických filologů (Union of Classical Philologists) and led by L. Pultrová and M. Bažil (Institute of Greek and Latin Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University). The aim of this publishing project – similar to the *Reclam* series in Germany or *Collection Budé* in France – is to provide critical editions of Greek and Latin texts, accompanied by a Czech translation, a commentary and an introductory study. The texts are thus available not only to researchers in the field, but also to students and the general public. Following the two volumes of ancient texts – Alcman's *Partheneion*[1] and Cicero's *Caesarianae*[2] – there is now a published volume of humanistic texts, closely related to the ancient tradition.[3]

In this book we find two of the three preserved early modern comprehensive descriptions of Prague, Hubecius' poem and Martinides' prose text, neither of which has yet been published to its full extent. The third preserved text, the narration of Prague in a letter by B. Hasištejnský, was published by J. Martínek and D. Martínková already in 1969[4] and its translation is being prepared by V. Pelc and M. Vaculínová. Namely M. Vaculínová examines the literary descriptions of Prague, presents their chronological overview and analyses them in more detail.[5] The starting point for the research of these texts was a joint project of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University and the University of Rostock on the topic *Praise of the City in Latin Literature of the Early Modern Age*.[6] As part of this project,

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[1] R. Roreitner (transl.), Alkmán, *Partheneion z Louvru* [Louvre-Partheneion]. Praha: Jednota klasických filologů, 2016.

[2] M. Ctibor (transl.), Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Caesarianae: Řeči proslovené před Caesarem* [Caesarianae: The speeches delivered before Caesar]. Praha: Jednota klasických filologů, 2018.

[3] Subsequently, the fourth volume of the series was also published: D. Urbanová, E. Poláčková, T. Weissar, R. Černoch (transl.), Titus Maccius Plautus, *Curculio aneb Darmojed* [Curculio or The Weevil]. Praha: Jednota klasických filologů, 2019. The original texts of these ancient works are taken from existing modern editions.

[4] J. Martínek, D. Martínková (eds.), *Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz Epistulae. Tom. I: Epistulae de re publica scriptae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1969, 1–12.

[5] M. Vaculínová, 'Obraz Prahy v latinských literárních dílech raného novověku' [An image of Prague in Latin early modern literary works]. In: O. Fejtová, V. Ledvinka, M. Maříková, J. Pešek (eds.), *Historiografie s městem spojená: Historiografie o městech a historiografie ve městech* [= Documenta Pragensia 37]. Praha: Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 2018, 269–287.

[6] M. Vaculínová, 'Obraz Prahy v latinských literárních dílech raného novověku' [An image of Prague in Latin early modern literary works]. In: O. Fejtová, V. Ledvinka, M. Maříková, J. Pešek (eds.), *Historiografie s městem spojená: Historiografie o městech a historiografie ve městech* [= Documenta Pragensia 37]. Praha: Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 2018, 269, note 1.

a parallel seminar took place in 2015–2016 (led by M. Vaculínová in Prague, and M. Bažil in Rostock), which concluded with a joint workshop.[7] The structure of the reviewed publication is given by the *Bilingua* series: an introductory study, a Latin edition with a parallel Czech translation, an editorial note and bibliography.

In the introductory study, V. Pelc first focuses on the character of Neo-Latin literature. He draws attention to the neglect of Latin production, especially poetic, in the 16th and 17th centuries by older Czech researchers and also presents newer and contemporary research (D. Martínková, V. Moul, J. Bloemendal, Y. Haskell). Most researchers admit a certain legitimacy of negative judgments of humanistic texts (e.g. their non-originality) and try to critically reflect on them. However, it is not possible to rely solely on the standards of modern literary criticism, as the examined texts have inestimable value for historiography, source study or literary and cultural history.

The next part of the study deals with the description of cities as a very popular humanistic genre with a long literary tradition, whose character was primarily celebratory and idealising (*laus*), but at the same time endeavouring to provide an accurate description (*descriptio*). There is a constant tension between the traditional elements of celebratory rhetoric and the effort to capture the specific reality of the described city.[8] The genre builds on prescribed rhetorical rules and uses common motives, so-called *loci communes*. In humanism, there was a number of handbooks with *loci communes* inventories, which, unfortunately, given the scope and focus of publication, V. Pelc does not deal with further.

The main part of the study presents the basic biography and literary production of both authors, Jan Hubecius (post 1570–1632) and Bartoloměj Martinides (literary active 1594–1631),[9] taken mainly from the handbook *Rukověť humanistického básnictví* (The Enchiridion of Humanistic Poetry).[10] V. Pelc discusses in more detail the writings published in the book under review, Hubecius' poem *Carmen continens descriptionem Pragae* (1591)[11] and Martinides' prose *Descriptio amplissimae atque ornatissimae regiae urbis Pragensis* (1615).[12] Both texts show the same content and structural features. In the case of content, there is a celebration of the capital, the city's location, historical excursions, description of important monuments, Prague's inhabitants and their daily lives. For structure, there is a dedication to the city council, related verses written by friends and a three-part construction of the text (*Praga Vetus, Minor, Nova*). V. Pelc outlines in detail

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[7] *Roma, Praga, Rostochium: Obraz a chvála města v latinské literatuře: Städtebild und -lob in der lateinischen Literatur*. Institute of Greek and Latin Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University and Heinrich Schliemann-Institute of Ancient Studies, University of Rostock. Prague 16 March 2016.

[8] M. Vaculínová, 'Obraz Prahy v latinských literárních dílech raného novověku' [An image of Prague in Latin early modern literary works]. In: O. Fejtová, V. Ledvinka, M. Maříková, J. Pešek (eds.), *Historiografie s městem spojená: Historiografie o městech a historiografie ve městech* [= Documenta Pragensia 37]. Praha: Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 2018, 270, note 4; M. Vaculínová uses the term "encomiastic topography", which D. Martínková introduced in the Czech literature.

[9] According to the database BCBT (Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohemikálních tisků do roku 1800 [Foreign-language printed Bohemica up to year 1800]): http://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cll~P=492855 (accessed 27 May 2020).

[10] J. Hejnic, J. Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví: Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae 1–6*. Praha: Academia, 1966–2011.

[11] J. Hubecius, *Carmen continens descriptionem celeberrimae urbis Pragae*. Pragae: Schuman, 1591. Cf. BCBT: http://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cll~P=422974 (accessed 27 May 2020).

[12] B. Martinides, *Descriptio amplissimae atque ornatissimae regiae urbis Pragensis, metropolis totius Boëmiae*. Pragae: Sedesanus, 1615. BCBT: see note 9.

the content of both works and compares how the descriptions differ (level of detail, geographical scope, social issues of the day).

The typical character of Hubecius' poem is the effort to update traditional poetic forms and their use in a new context. It consists of 552 hexameters and uses direct quotations, paraphrases and expressions from Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics* - therefore both heroic and didactic epics are applied. V. Pelc revealed that about one third of the verses came from Virgil and, using concrete examples, he shows the ways of transposing, i.e. exact quotes and freer adoption (pp. 37–38). Related to this method of writing, V. Pelc mentions the cento, a genre that is mainly studied in the Czech Republic by M. Bažil and M. Okáčová.[13] In addition to Virgil, V. Pelc also presents a contemporary source of inspiration for the poem, a two-year older Czech poem by B. Jičínský,[14] to which M. Vaculínová has already alluded.[15] As V. Pelc shows with specific examples of mistakenly adopted information (e.g. about the builder of the Powder Gate, p. 36), this acceptance of entire passages of the text seems to be Hubecius' effort to render Jičínský's Czech verses into Latin. In addition, V. Pelc observes the contemporary intertextual connection between Hubecius' work and the work of his classmates. He points out, for example, that Hubecius became a source of inspiration for V. Rhacotomus Vodňanský[16] – even though his poem celebrates another city, namely Hradec Králové – and V. Pelc provides proof of it with an example of a greedy merchant in the market (p. 29). V. Pelc pays attention not only to what the poem contains, but also to what is left out (surprisingly little is devoted to the Lesser Town and, for example, the description of Prague Castle is omitted completely). The editor draws attention to the recurring motifs that form a kind of structuring/connecting element of the poem, such as ascension to heavenly heights, edifices built to the stars, receiving somebody or something with cheers or applause etc. (p. 34).

Martinides' prose is the most comprehensive early modern description of Prague (64 pages of printed text, 4° format), which is presented as an international cultural metropolis (p. 51). The description is based on the accumulation of details, enumerations (sometimes absurd)[17] or numerical data (e.g. the length of the Prague bridge, pp. 158–159). The core of the text constitution is the rhetorical ideal of formal and con-

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[13] Cf. M. Bažil, *Centones Christiani: Métamorphoses d'une forme intertextuelle dans la poésie latine chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive* [Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 47]. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 2009; M. Bažil, 'Pátá kniha Aeneidy v antické centonové poezii. Část I: Úvod, témata performance a pohledu' [Aeneid V and ancient cento poetry I: Introduction, the concepts of performance and gaze]. *Listy filologické* 142, 2019, 307–322; M. Okáčová, *Centones Vergiliani: Klasická poezie „pod kaleidoskopem"* [Centones Vergiliani: Classical poetry in the kaleidoscope]. Praha: KLP, 2016.

[14] B. Dominus Jičínský, *Píseň historická o slavných městech Pražských* [An historical song about the famous Prague cities]. Praha: Valda, 1589.

[15] M. Vaculínová, 'Obraz Prahy v latinských literárních dílech raného novověku' [An image of Prague in Latin early modern literary works]. In: O. Fejtová, V. Ledvinka, M. Maříková, J. Pešek (eds.), *Historiografie s městem spojená: Historiografie o městech a historiografie ve městech* [= Documenta Pragensia 37]. Praha: Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 2018, 275, note 23.

[16] V. Rhacotomus, *Reginae Hradecii topographia, cui accesserunt clarorum virorum ibidem defunctorum epitaphia.* Pragae: Schumaniana, 1595; cf. BCBT: http://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cll~P=479405 (accessed 27 May 2020).

[17] For example, a list of 35 religious orders, some of which never settled in Prague (pp. 214–217), an overview of various craftsmen and professions (pp. 234–235) or a mixture of imagined nations inhabiting Prague (including *Catizi*, according to Pliny the Elder a Pygmy tribe, probably from Thrace, p. 182).

tent abundance (*copia*) and variety (*varietas*), which V. Pelc critically reflects. In addition, he brings a surprising observation: Martinides drew a source of inspiration for his enumerations from a dictionary by D. Adam of Veleslavín *Dictionarium linguae Latinae* (1579),[18] as specific examples show (p. 53). V. Pelc also touches on the more general cultural-historical features of the work, especially the emphasis on contemporary issues such as confession, social elites and contacts, values and taste. The text is accompanied by numerous marginalia (names of monuments, additional information, citations of other works). The overlap outside Prague makes the description partly the praise of the whole of Bohemia. The editor considers the passages dedicated to Lutheran churches (Holy Trinity and St. Salvator) to be the most informative and valuable parts of the writings, as they are intending to provide an accurate and very detailed description.[19]

The introductory study is followed by an edition of both texts with a parallel Czech translation. For both writings, the surviving copies, the concept of the edition itself, the character of the translation and the commentaries are briefly introduced. The critical apparatus of Hubecius' text mainly includes references to the quoted passages from Virgil and the original wording of the emended printing errors. The commentary under the Czech translation specifies factual information, interprets ancient names and compares the text with the Czech verse work by B. Jičínský.[20] In his successful translation, V. Pelc is guided by an effort to be as accurate as possible, but at the same time he preserves the poetic qualities of the original and shows great ingenuity, for example in translating idioms or language puns.[21] He has thus formally created a prosaic translation that respects the layout and order of the verses as much as possible.

The edition of Martinides' description omits, especially for reasons of scale, the dedication text and poems written by friends. The critical apparatus under the Latin text includes quotations from ancient authors, the Bible and humanistic works. Emendations of printing errors are more frequent in this text, which indicates a lower quality of the print. The commentary under the Czech translation focuses on the factual, cultural and historical context and explains selected rhetorical elements. Some parts of Martinides' work have been translated before,[22] however, for the first time a complete translation of the text is submitted in this publication written in a very cultivated and readable language.

The texts are followed by a united editorial note (pp. 255–256), which provides – perhaps too briefly – an overview of the principles used in the transcription of texts. Creating

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[18] D. Adam z Veleslavína, *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae, ex Magno Basilii Fabri Thesauro collectum […], nunc primum in gratiam studiosae inventutis Bohemicae editum*. Pragae: Melantrich, 1579.

[19] E.g. lists of the participants at the founding ceremonies of both churches: pp. 208–211, 218–223.

[20] Although the scope of the Jičínský's poem is less than one third of the Hubecius' ones, the content and order of the material of both writings are essentially the same, and Jičínský paradoxically describes – more briefly and without epic digressions – more buildings and interesting places.

[21] See p. 121, note 73: in Latin, onion (*caepe*), that Hubecius derives etymologically from the head (*caput*), hence the translation "head cabbage" in Czech.

[22] Some of the accompanying poems were translated by B. Ryba in V. Schwarz (ed.), *Očima lásky: verše českých básníků o Praze* [Through the eyes of love: Verses of Czech poets about Prague]. Praha: Borový, 1941, 41–45; the whole work was freely translated into Czech by C. A. Straka, 'Popis Prahy od Bartoloměje Martinida z r. 1615' [Description of Prague by Bartoloměj Martinides from 1615]. *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností českých v Praze* 24, 1916, 122–133; about one third of the text was translated by D. Martínková, *Poselství ducha: Latinská próza českých humanistů* [The message of the spirit: Latin prose of Czech humanists]. Praha: Odeon, 1975, 207–222.

common rules for transcribing several different texts is always a challenging task. V. Pelc follows the path that prevails in the Czech environment today: slight unification or modification (*i/y, ae/e, u/v*), keeping non-classical forms, preserving common abbreviations, adjusting capital letters and punctuation towards the current rules of Czech. All this leads to an easier understanding of the text and helps the reader with orientation in the text. There is a question whether it is necessary to keep the variant writing *i/j* and to modify *faemina > femina*, while *faelix* remains. I think neither prevents comprehension. In the edited Latin text, however, we also find a variant form of *foemineum* (p. 74), *infelix* (p. 96) and some emendations, which are rather classicising adjustments (*squallebant > squalebant*, p. 70, *septigentos > septingentos*, p. 74). A list of abbreviations is not attached to the edition, but their meaning is obvious from the translation even to a less familiar reader. After all, the editor really leaves only the most common abbreviations and he writes all the others in full (*d[omi]n[us]*, p. 218).

However, these are trifles that do not detract from the quality of careful editorial work, sensitive translation and adequate notes. The peer-reviewed publication has the aim of contributing to the study of Neo-Latin literature and to bring enrichment, not only for neo-Latinists but also for the professional and lay public,[23] which V. Pelc has definitely succeeded in doing.

Alena Bočková
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[23] V. Pelc (p. 15): "Budiž tedy tato kniha chápána jako příspěvek ke kolektivnímu úsilí o náležité představení novolatinské literatury s veškerými jejími přednostmi i slabinami" [Let this book be understood as a contribution to the collective effort to properly present Neo-Latin literature with all its strengths and weaknesses].