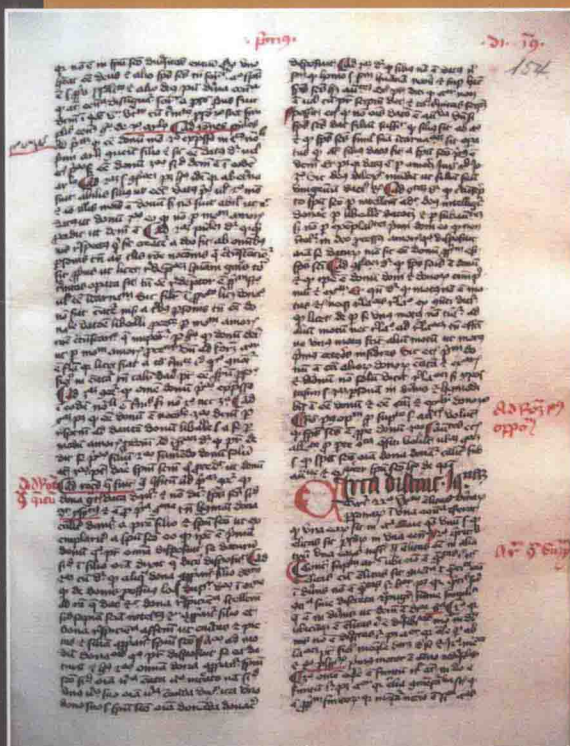


Marsilius of Inghen

Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum, Volume 3: Super primum, quaestiones 22–37

First Critical Edition



Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen & Markus Erne

SERIES EDITOR

Robert J. Bast

BRILL

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super quattuor libros Sententiarum*

Volume 3
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By

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Marsilius of Inghen

Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum

Volume 3: *Super primum, quaestiones 22–37*

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Preface

It is more than ten years ago that the preceding volume of Marsilius's Commentary on the *Sentences* was published. As is almost natural within the context of modern universities, multiple teaching, research, and administrative duties delayed the completion of that part of the edition that was planned as a continuation to the earlier volumes. But even if the finishing of this follow-up took much longer than expected, the initial enthusiasm never declined. We spent many happy late-afternoon hours collating manuscripts, searching for sources, and wracking our brains over those passages that remained obscure until we came through. It was our firm belief that critical editions are crucial to help the field of medieval intellectual history further develop that inspired us to complete the work.

We thank the University of Freiburg for all the resources made available for the preparation of the edition throughout the years. Also we would like to thank Professor Robert J. Bast, editor of Brill's *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, for accepting this volume as part of that series.

Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen

Markus Erne

Freiburg, Spring 2013

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Introduction

1 General Remarks

The editorial principles of Marsilius of Inghen's Commentary on the *Sentences* are discussed in the first two volumes, to which the reader is referred.¹ The complete collation of all textual witnesses for the part of the Commentary edited in the present volume did not show any textual difficulties that would necessitate an emendation of these principles. Therefore these principles are also applied here.

The present editors, however, slightly modified the specification of implicit sources used by Marsilius, the references to the folio numbers of the manuscript J, and the notification of textual conjectures. These changes are explained below. They are minor and will not hinder the use of this part of the edition together with the ones published earlier.

2 The Manuscripts and Early Edition

The part edited in this volume survived in five witnesses, that is, in four manuscripts and one early edition:

- J Isny, Nikolaikirche, Hs. 48, fol. 154^b–256^a (XV).
- K Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cod. 1581, fol. 120^r–235^v (XV).
- L Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 568, fol. 165^r–270^r (XV).
- W Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. 2^o 113, fol. 127^{vb}–216^{vb} (XV).
- f Strasbourg, Martin Flach Junior, 1501, fol. 90^{ra}–152^{va}.

These manuscripts and the edition are described in the first volume.² Working with these witnesses for the part edited here confirmed these descriptions and

1 Marsilius of Inghen, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum*, vol. 1: *Super Primum, Quaestiones 1–7*, ed. M. Santos Noya, Leiden et al. 2000 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 87), xviii–lv, at xlvi–lv, and id., *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum*, vol. 2: *Super Primum, Quaestiones 8–21*, ed. M. Santos Noya, Leiden et al. 2000 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 88), xix.

2 Ibid., vol. 1, xxxii–xl.

did not produce any new information on their dating nor on their quality. Nor were any new manuscripts discovered. None of these witnesses had a version that deviated from the others. The phenomenon that occurs in the earlier part of the Commentary, namely that besides grammatical and stylistic emendations by a corrector to the workshop of Martin Flach Junior, in some questions the printed edition f hands down limited passages that differ substantially from the manuscripts, and that possibly originate in Marsilius's lost autograph, is absent here. Nevertheless, it is also clear that in the part edited here, the text of f is emended by a corrector, who regularly changed the vocabulary or the syntax to comply with a humanist taste for the Latin language. For example, in question 28, page 165, line 8, where J and W read "quae sunt eadem oppositorum", f by contrast emendates this awkward phrase into "habens potentiam oppositorum". Even if such divergent passages are missing in the part edited here, it cannot be excluded that elsewhere in Marsilius's Commentary, not critically edited yet, they reappear again. Future editors therefore should be vigilant.³

Manuscript J has the best textual quality, even if it is not without omissions and mistakes. Also the history of its production is best known. Therefore it is used as the main witness for the constitution of the text of Marsilius's Commentary. It was written by Gerard of Casterkem (Castricum), who was from the diocese of Utrecht, like Marsilius himself.⁴ Gerard was in Heidelberg from

3 On this phenomenon, the lost autograph of Marsilius's Commentary, and the corrector to Martin Flach's office, see *ibid.*, xlviii–liii. To be sure, it is not easy to clearly distinguish between an emendation by a corrector to the printer's workshop and a reworking of the text by its author. As it is a fact that the edition of 1501 has been emended, but not definitively proven that the edition contains parts of Marsilius's lost autograph (see *ibid.*, xlix–lii), it is a matter of good practice first to interpret all peculiarities of f as emendations, and to regard them as originating from Marsilius's lost autograph only if this interpretation no longer works, for example, when substantial doctrinal changes are involved that are in line with other works that Marsilius composed in Heidelberg, when he edited his Commentary on the *Sentences*, such as his Commentary on the *Metaphysics*. Such changes were not observed in this part of the edition.

4 That Gerard originates from the same diocese as Marsilius, that is the diocese of Utrecht, is certified by the registers of the University of Heidelberg. See G. Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, part 1: 1386–1553, Heidelberg 1884, 115. He is named after a place North West of Amsterdam with some importance in the Middle Ages, now called "Castricum". This, however, does not necessarily mean that he was born in Castricum itself. Marsilius of Inghen, for example, is named after a village now called "Ingen", located at the Rhine West of Arnhem, although he originates from Nijmegen, itself about 35 kilometers South East of Ingen. See H.A.G. Braakhuis and M.J.F.M. Hoenen, "Marsilius of Inghen. A Dutch

1411 to 1419, the year in which he became Dean of the Arts Faculty. Most likely, the manuscript was produced in Heidelberg within that period.⁵

Manuscript K is of a good quality as well. It was in the possession of John of Dabrovka, a master of the Theological Faculty of Cracow, who added marginal notes to the manuscript. John of Dabrovka died in the early 1470s.⁶ In contrast, manuscript W has a poor textual quality with many misreadings and omissions. According to the watermark the paper for this manuscript was produced in the late 1430s.⁷ Similarly, manuscript L contains serious mistakes and omissions. It has the poorest textual quality. In it are many marginal notes and it has been corrected by a hand which seems to be from the early sixteenth century. The sources for these corrections are unclear. Possibly, the corrector just tried to make sense of an otherwise unintelligible text, without going back to any manuscripts or the printed edition. As it appears from the inside front cover, the manuscript came to Leipzig in 1488.⁸

As indicated already, the printed edition f was emendated in accordance with the rules of classical Latin, which sometimes makes Marsilius's text more readable, even if it remains unclear whether in these cases the emendations always faithfully express what Marsilius himself intended. Occasionally, also quotations from Augustine and other authors were brought more in line with the original text.⁹ In the year Martin Flach Junior printed Marsilius's Commentary on the *Sentences*, Matthias Schürer was corrector at his workshop. Some years later he published classical writers himself. Without much doubt Matthias Schürer is the author of these emendations.¹⁰

Philosopher and Theologian", in: *Marsilius of Inghen. Acts of the International Marsilius of Inghen Symposium*, ed. H.A.G. Braakhuis and M.J.F.M. Hoenen, Nijmegen 1992 (Artistarium Supplementa 7), 1–11, at 2–4.

5 For more details, see Marsilius of Inghen, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum*, vol. 1, xxxii–xxxiv.

6 See *ibid.*, xxxiv–xxxvi.

7 See *ibid.*, xxxvi–xxxviii.

8 See *ibid.*, xxxix–xl. To be added to the literature mentioned in the first volume is *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig*, vol. 2: *Die theologischen Handschriften*, part 1: (Ms 501–625), ed. P. Burkhart, Wiesbaden 1999 (Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig 5/1), 146–148.

9 Examples are listed in: Marsilius of Inghen, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum*, vol. 1, I note 110.

10 See *ibid.*, xl–xlii. Matthias Schürer, who was a Master of Arts, edited Bernard Perger's *Grammatica nova*, a Latin grammar that was printed with Martin Flach Junior in 1501, the same year as Flach published Marsilius's Commentary on the *Sentences*. The title page of this grammar says that many of its editions up to now were distorted by grammatical

3 The Constitution of the Text

As in the first two volumes, the edition follows manuscript J as long as it has a reading that is grammatical according to medieval standards and not against the obvious meaning of the text. Generally, this worked out well, since J often has a better text compared to other witnesses, as for example in question 23, page 53, line 18, where J has “item”, K, L, W, and f “ita”. Or in question 37, page 414, line 17, where J has “aliud”, K, L, W, and f “illud”. In some cases, however, it was necessary to follow other witnesses, especially when J was grammatically correct, but the meaning obviously wrong. This was the case, for example, in question 25, page 113, lines 3–4, where J has “Antichristo”, L has “Christi”, but the correct reading is “Christo” in K, W, and f.

Throughout the whole edition J is collated with K, W, and f. As said earlier, manuscript L is of a very poor quality. So as not to overload the apparatus with a bulk of meaningless variants, this manuscript is only considered in special cases, in accordance with the practice of the first two volumes. These special cases are explained below. The results are documented in the apparatus. It gives all the variants with the exception of trivial deviations, for example, “igitur” instead of “ergo”, meaningless transpositions, or in cases where the adjective indefinite pronoun “aliquod” is used instead of the substantive indefinite pronoun “aliquid”, as in “aliquod positivum” as a substitute for “aliquid positivum”, or “aliquod absolutum” as a substitute for “aliquid absolutum”. However, when the indefinite pronoun “quid” is used for the relative pronoun “quod”, the reader will find this in the apparatus, as in question 23, page 71, line 9, or in question 24, page 97, line 7. Also, “aliud” instead of “aliquid” or vice-versa is documented only if they are not abbreviated, as in question 22, page 26, line 6. The reason for noting only those instances that are not abbreviated is simple: if abbreviated they cannot be distinguished.¹¹

errors, but that Matthias Schürer published this one cleansed of such mistakes, helped by a professor of grammar. See the titlepage of Bernard Perger's *Grammatica nova* preserved in: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (4 Inc.c.a. 754): “Grammatica nova ab innumeris fere mendis quibus hactenus impressorum incuria extitit infecta, professoris cuiusdam litterariae artis admodum diligenti studio tandem vindicata emendataque vigili quoque cura bonarum artium magistri Matthiae Gravarii (Schürer) in officina Martini Flach Iunioris civis Argentini nedum nitide sed et castigate impressa atque ex eadem deprompta. Anno 1501 XVI kalendas Martias.” Apparently, Matthias Schürer showed the same degree of pride in having all grammatical mistakes cleansed from Marsilius's Commentary on the *Sentences*, when Flach decided to publish the work.

¹¹ See A. Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum. Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, seventh edition, ed. M. Geymonat and F. Troncarelli, Milano 2011, 8.

The apparatus is negatively designed. This means that only those witnesses are named that have the variants mentioned in the apparatus. Those that are not named have the text as given in the main text of the edition, with the exception of L, which has been considered only in the following cases. First, L has been considered whenever the reader finds the abbreviation “fort. leg.” in the apparatus, noting a deviation between the numbering of books or chapters quoted by Marsilius and modern usage, for example in question 26, page 116, line 13, where J, K, W, and f all read “24”, L reads “34”. Modern usage, however, would expect “9”. Second, whenever the reader finds “codd.” in the apparatus. This indicates that all manuscripts have the same incorrect reading, like for example in question 22, page 31, line 12, where not only J, K, and W, but also L, wrongly read “intelligit”, with only the printed edition f having the correct “inceptit”. Third, when none of the manuscripts J, K, and W have a satisfactory reading, like for example in question 22, page 25, line 4, where J, K, and W read “una”. The correct reading here is in fact “unam”, which is documented by the printed edition f and in L. This means that whenever the reader finds in the apparatus all three manuscripts J, K, and W listed after the square bracket, L has been considered. If in such cases L is not mentioned after the square bracket, as in the foregoing example, it has the text as given in the main text. Fourth, in those cases where neither the manuscripts J, K, and W nor the printed edition f have an acceptable reading, L is considered. That is, whenever the reader finds the manuscripts J, K, and W listed after the square bracket as well as the printed edition f, as in question 23, page 45, line 5, where only L has the correct reading “diversa” given in the main text, whereas all other witnesses have the wrong term “diversum”.

However, if none of the witnesses has a satisfactory reading, the editors made conjectures themselves, as for example in question 22, page 30, line 17, where “quas” is needed to make the phrase correct, although J, K, W, and L read “quem”, and f has “quae”. In contrast to the first two volumes, these conjectures are not given in the apparatus, but in the main text of the edition, as it makes no sense to present a main text that is unintelligible, even if all witnesses have it. In these cases, the readings from the manuscripts J, K, W, and L, as well as from the printed edition f appear in the apparatus, so that the reader can always reconstruct the versions transmitted by these witnesses. If words are added to the main text, the conjectures are indicated by square brackets. Otherwise the conjectures can be recognized by the addition of “coniecimus” in the apparatus. The number of these conjectures is thirty-six. This means that, on the whole, the text as transmitted is of good quality, even though some witnesses are poor. Uncertain or ambiguous readings are identified in the critical apparatus as “lectio dubia”, of which there are sixteen cases in the part edited here.

In some references to the numbering of books or chapters of authorities like Augustine, the figures given by some or all witnesses do not agree with what the reader would expect, as for example in question 35, page 344, line 12, where Marsilius refers to a passage in chapter eight of the fifteenth book of Augustine's *De Trinitate*, a passage which in modern editions is in chapter five. These numbers are not corrected in the main text, as it cannot be excluded that the works Marsilius used had different book or chapter divisions in his time.¹² Correcting these numbers according to modern usage therefore would be presumptuous and make the identification of his actual sources more difficult. The references as used in modern editions are given in the apparatus indicated by "fortasse legendum".

The variants of the beginnings and endings of all questions are fully documented in the apparatus, even if these variants are trivial and should not have been noted according to the principles mentioned above. The reason for doing this is the following: In the late medieval period, students and masters collected separate parts from different Commentaries on the *Sentences* and other related works, presumably as a store-house for arguments when delivering their own Commentaries.¹³ It cannot be excluded that within such collections, parts or

12 Marsilius is no exception here. For similar problems with references to Augustine in Gregory of Rimini's Commentary on the *Sentences*, see W. Simon, "Eine neue Quelle zur Augustinrezeption Gregors?", in: *Gregor von Rimini. Werk und Wirkung bis zur Reformation*, ed. H.A. Oberman, Berlin 1981 (Spätmittelalter und Reformation 20), 301–310, at 303–304. Of course, there is always the possibility that Marsilius used a florilegium or some other secondary source and the deviant numbering has its origin in this secondary source.

13 A likely case in point is the anonymous collection in: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A VI 22, a manuscript which belonged to the Dominican convent in Basel. Following the structure of Lombard's *Sentences*, it contains large parts from William of Ockham, Adam Wodeham, John of Mirecourt, and Conrad of Ebrach. For the content of the manuscript, see W.J. Courtenay, "Education and Learning in the Upper Rhine Region in the Fourteenth Century", in: *University, Council, City. Intellectual Culture on the Rhine (1300–1550)*, ed. L. Cesalli, N. Germann, and M.J.F.M. Hoenen, Turnhout 2007 (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale 13), 47–62, at 60–61. Other candidates are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 15.561, and Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. 192. The former manuscript, brought to our attention by Ueli Zahnd, includes parts of the writings (as well as tables) of William of Ockham, Robert Halifax, John of Rodington, Robert Kilvington, and Thomas Bradwardine. The latter, discussed in A. de Poorter, "Les manuscrits des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard à la bibliothèque de Bruges", in: *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet*, ed. A. Lang, J. Lechner, and M. Schmaus, vol. 1, Münster 1935 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters Suppl. 3/1), 69–90 at 83–85,