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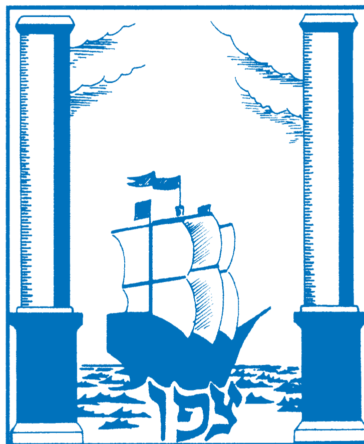

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Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit

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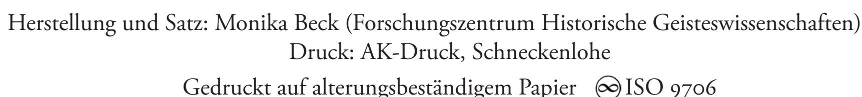

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Practices of Commentary

Edited by
Christina Lechtermann and Markus Stock

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Christina Lechtermann and Markus Stock

Introduction

Commentaries have accompanied sacred, cultural, legal, and literary texts since antiquity, serving to justify and stage these texts' relevance and canonicity. As an »enhancement« of written form and as a special »institution of reappropriation«[1], commentaries have been instruments for the transmission of legal and religious norms and values, as well as purveyors of ancient knowledge that was to be preserved verbatim, and yet kept open for future communication.[2] In this context, commentary acts as a means for constituting and stabilizing traditions: it endows them with dignity, and introduces new thoughts while claiming to enhance the understanding of old ones. By lionizing the accompanied text as an object of prestige and status, commentary generates the source for its own validity. At times, commentary may even attain a sovereignty of interpretation that can supersede or push aside any original intentions of the text. Thus, the study of commentary is key to describing aspects of authority, institutionality, creativity, and textual empowerment.[3]

Especially in premodern cultures, commentaries do not only ›serve‹ the text they accompany, but also tend to follow their very own interests. In many instances, they operate as segues into other thematic contexts, allow for polemics, exploit the commentarial licenses to pursue particular aims, and loosen coherent structures in a variety of ways.[4] Despite these diverse functions of commentary,

1 Jan Assmann, »Text und Kommentar. Einführung«, in: id. and Burkhard Gladigow (eds.), *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation IV*, München 1995, pp. 10, 22. Cf. Wolfgang Raible, »Arten des Kommentierens – Arten der Sinnbildung – Arten des Verstehens. Spielarten generischer Intertextualität«, in: ibid., pp. 51-73.

2 Cf. for example: Jan-Hendryk De Boer, »Kommentar«, in: id. (ed.), *Universitäre Gelehrtenkultur vom 13. bis 16. Jh. Ein interdisziplinäres Quellen- und Methodenhandbuch*, Stuttgart 2018, pp. 265-318.

3 Glenn W. Most, »Preface«, in: id. (ed.), *Commentaries – Kommentare*, Göttingen 1999, pp. VII-XV; Michel Foucault, »The Order of Discourse. Inaugural Lecture at the Collège de France, given 2 December 1970«, in: Robert Young (ed.), *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, Boston and London, 1981, pp. 56-58; id., *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences,* London 2001, pp. 72-75, 114-118.

4 Cf. Karl Enenkel and Henk Nellen, »Introduction. Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge«, in: id. (eds.) *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400 – 1700)*, Leuven 2013, pp. 1-76, pp. 3 f., 11 f.; De Boer (as note 2).

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most researchers assume at least one aspect to be constitutive for nearly all forms of commentary: that of secondariness and belatedness. Hence, commentaries appear as subordinate textual elements added at a later time that mediate between the primary text and its (later) recipients from a third position, explaining difficult grammar, staking out a specific semantic scope, interpreting the earlier text – perhaps even in a fashion deemed contrary to the original intention. In this sense, Grafton, for instance, speaks of the commentator as a »parasite«.[5] Such an ontological definition of commentary as a subsequent text, however, largely ignores textual phenomena that benefit from the power and interpretive potential of commentarial gestures without necessarily occupying a subsequent (›parasitic‹) position. It ignores above all (vernacular) narratives, songs, and poems that make use of commentarial gestures in a creative way, deriving their prestige or simply their very particular form of (in-)coherence from their status as alleged commentary. And it ignores texts that stage themselves as being worthy of commentary aside from the dominant realms of canonical texts.

While commentaries that match a more ontological definition have received some attention in cultural, literary, and media history, some other related textual phenomena have been, exceptions notwithstanding, excluded from the mainstream-research on commentary. These are texts which surround themselves with commentary that is neither belated nor from a different author's hand (i. e. self-commentary) or which use commentarial forms in their very specific ways that go beyond what might be called the usual genres of commentary. In this volume, we have tried to conceive of commentarial forms as a continuity, thereby thinking about commentary in a broader sense. Of course, premodern commentary is first of all a specific practice and dominant genre employed by elites, from theologians to philosophers and masters of law or the liberal arts. Yet, this does not necessarily imply that it has no influence on the making and ›self-fashioning‹ of vernacular literature and textuality.[6]

If we think commentary not in an ontological way, i. e. as a textual or visual entity following and explaining another entity already existing, we can turn to its productive aspects and the special relation it establishes – that is, to its operational dimension. The gesture of commentary draws a distinction between the

5 Anthony Grafton, »Commentary«, in: id., Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis (eds.), *The Classical Tradition*, Cambridge MA., London 2010, pp. 225-233, here p. 226.

6 A connection of commentary and vernacular literature has already been proposed most prominently by Paul Zumthor, »La glose créatrice«, in: Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani and Michel Plaisance (eds.), *Les commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire. France / Italie (XIVe – XVIe siècles). Actes du Colloque international sur le Commentaire Paris, Mai 1988*, Paris 1990, pp. 11-18, and by Christoph Huber, »Formen des ›poetischen Kommentars‹ in mittelalterlicher Literatur«, in: Most (as note 3), pp. 323-352.

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commentary and the commented and thus creates both the subject and object of commentary. This gesture does not only create two texts by relating them to each other, but also claims a hierarchy between them, bestowing the *textus* with dignity, canonicity, or even sacredness and thus – as Assmann has put it – creating a ›cultural and holy text‹.[7] But to do so, commentary does not necessarily have to be ›really‹ secondary, it only has to participate in the gesture or – to be more precise – in one of the differentiating and relating gestures of commentary.

The operational dimension of commentary could be described as a form of deictic gesture, referring to a part of a text or to an enunciation. This gesture might be very explicit (for example ›that means‹, ›this word is ancient‹, ›the commentary to follow is about the *Song of Songs*‹), it might be brought about by any form of index marker – like a number or an initial from the *textus* repeated by the commentary, or a lemma – or it might be implicit (for example, by putting a commentary on the margins next to the part it is meant to explain; or by providing the *textus* in red ink and having the [continuous] commentary follow in black). By this deictic gesture, both a relation and a differentiation is established and both texts are first of all constituted.[8] A special feature of this deictic gesture is that it does not point to anything outside of media, but towards the process of mediation itself: it points towards the words, the sentences, the narration, explaining how they make sense, in which way they can be understood to symbolize, or what they imply. It might be part of the ›empowerment‹ of the commentary that it puts the process of mediation on display, that it shows (or at least claims to know) how the word, the sentence, the text or narration ›work‹, where their traditions are rooted, what the text has (allegedly) left out, and what it ›actually‹ wanted to say.[9]

Such a notion of commentary does (of course) not exclude commentaries which are indeed generically secondary (such as the *Glossa ordinaria*) but permits us to take a new look at what the different forms of commentary do. If we also adopt an operative approach for these seemingly ›typical‹, ›secondary‹ examples we might be able to establish a perspective in which the actual codex is explored in a way that not only considers the formation of the manuscript or its reception as a process, such as in teaching or preaching, but that also takes into account the processuality of the codex itself. If we stress the idea of a relational structure established by commentary we can observe how the text (on each page and/or

7 Assmann (as note 1).

8 Perhaps one could think of this act as a ›transcriptive‹ process, that constitutes the *textus* (as a semiotic as well as material text) and the commentary at the same time. Cf. Ludwig Jäger, »Transkriptivität. Zur medialen Logik der kulturellen Semantik«, in: id. and Georg Stanitzek (eds.), *Transkribieren. Medien/Lektüre*, München 2002, pp. 19-41.

9 Cf. Most; and Foucault (as note 3).

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in the codex as a whole) is newly defined by commentary – and vice versa: how, for example, the demarcation of textual boundaries is staged, how they emerge from the (paratextual) gestures of reference and thus metaphorically or literally form the margins of a text.[10] We could describe relations that put the *textus* at the centre (as in the *textus inclusus* with bracketing gloss), staging its significance in a spatial way.[11] We could also describe relations that shatter the coherence of the *textus* (as in a continual commentary), staging its literalness and wording, or a form of commentary that refers to an absent *textus* staging its virtue as a canonical or holy text. We could perhaps understand better how the commentary takes part in the constitution of a text – and of course this would offer further arguments, as to why they cannot simply be neglected in any close reading that is concerned with a historical concept of ›text‹. If we consider commentary as a historical practice and a quotable gesture in this way, not only the operativity of the (very tangible) commentary on the page could come into view, but also the ways in which its operational core is used in a multiplicity of polemic, subversive, or creative ways that extent from very personal dispute to questions of status and even – in a broad sense – to premodern forms of textual politics.

This issue of *Zeitsprünge* presents papers inspired by a conference that brought together scholars from the University of Toronto and Goethe University of Frankfurt a. M. in December 2018 at the University of Frankfurt. It marked the beginning of a cooperation, which resulted in a second conference on this topic at the University of Toronto in 2019, funded by the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and will be continued as a *Program for Project-Related Personal Exchange* (PPP) funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), in conjunction with funding from the University of Toronto. We would like to thank the DAAD, the *Dr. Bodo Sponholz-Stiftung für Wohlfahrt, Kunst und Wissen*, the *International Office* of the GU, the *Vereinigung von Freunden und Förderern der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität*, and the University of Toronto for their generous support that enabled us to organize the first conference and thus form this international and transdisciplinary collaboration.

Like the conference, this issue unites papers on a variety of subjects, offering a multitude of theoretical approaches to and exemplary readings of medieval and early modern practices of commentary from the point of view of Arabic,

10 Compare, for example, Genette, who already stressed the blurred boundary between paratext and metatext: Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trs. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Lincoln 1997, pp. 7 f.

11 Cf. Meinolf Schumacher, ». . . *der kann den texst und och die gloß*. Zum Wortgebrauch von ›Text‹ und ›Glosse‹ in deutschen Dichtungen des Spätmittelalters«, in: Ludolf Kuchenbuch and Uta Kleine (eds.), *›Textus‹ im Mittelalter. Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im schriftsemantischen Feld*, Göttingen 2006, pp. 207-227.

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Latin, Jewish, English, German, and Romance Studies. They try to highlight the role that the study of commentary can play in a historical understanding of premodern and early modern textuality, epistemology, and mediality. The articles have been organized in a more or less chronological order, expanding from the 7th-century Ḥadīth collections (Brinkmann) and Qur'an Commentary (Saleh) to late 16th-century humanists' correspondence (Ferber / Knüpffer). They discuss commentarial forms connected with al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* (Miller) as well as with Torquato Tasso's *Rime Amorose* (Stockbrugger). They investigate verbal commentaries delivered in the medieval classroom and transcribed into manuscripts (Whedbee) or voiced from the pulpit of preachers in Early Modern England (Dornhofer). They scrutinize the way commentaries shape the retelling of a certain *materia* (Fredette) and analyze the relationship of ekphrasis and commentary (Akbari) or the commentarial dimension of the narrator's voice (Gerber) in Latin and vernacular epic. And they show how commentarial forms participate in the making and presentation of late medieval gloss songs (Lechtermann) and how self-commentaries convey a spiritual meaning to Italian love poems and at the same time take part in the public debate (Ott).

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Stefanie Brinkmann

Marginal Commentaries in Ḥadīṯ Manuscripts

In his article »Upgrading Dioscorides Alphabeticus in Eleventh-Century Monte Cassino«, Erik Kwakkel points out: »A notable feature of the marginal space in medieval manuscripts is that there is so much of it.«[1] He goes on to show that the marginal space in the 353 dated manuscripts he chose for his analysis ranges between 47 % and 50 % of the full page. In many so-called Islamic manuscripts we find similar features. A copied text in a manuscript was not necessarily ready after being copied – it was collated, corrected, lacunae were marked, and text variants given – in short, many steps of a critical editing process followed the copying of the main text. And many of the manuscript texts were then further explained, for private studies and reading, for teaching sessions, and the like. It is these explanatory texts – the marginal commentaries (for terminology, see below) – and specifically those found in Ḥadīṯ collection manuscripts, that are the focus of this article.

Ḥadīṯ (pl. *aḥādīṯ*) are the collected traditions, sayings, actions, and reactions attributed to the Islamic prophet Muhammad (d. 11 / 632)[2], his companions (*ṣaḥāba*), and their successors (*tābiʿūn*). They are the second important source for Islamic law – after the Qurʾān – and provide a normative guide for believers, in matters beyond legal issues. Sunnī canonical collections date from the 9th century, and Twelver-Šīʿī canonical collections from the 10th to the 11th centuries; there are also some earlier collections, and plenty of non-canonical and later collections. Numerous adaptations of these collections were composed, including new collections based on selected traditions from the already existing compilations, abridgements, and versifications. On these Ḥadīṯ collections a great many commentaries were written, with early all-encompassing texts appearing

1 Eric Kwakkel, »Upgrading Dioscorides Alphabeticus in Eleventh-Century Monte Cassino«, in: Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 323-341, here p. 323.

2 The first year refers to the Hiǧra calendar (AH), the second year to the Common Era (CE). The romanisation of the Arabic adheres to the system of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG). The term *ḥadīṯ* will be written with capital letters and not in italics (Ḥadīṯ) due to its frequent occurrence in the article. Arabic technical terms and translations will be set in italics.

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in the 10th century[3], and commentary production peaking from the 14th and 15th century on. The most important centre was Mamluk Egypt. While Ḥadīṯ commentary activity in other regions, such as Iran and India, has been thus far neglected in research, Ḥadīṯ commentaries there and elsewhere continue to be written up until today.[4]

This article aims at presenting a first approach to marginal commentaries as part of the production, transmission, and reception of the Islamic Prophetic traditions. After a review of the state of research, it will address the issues of terminology, general scribal practices, and layout, and will offer a preliminary typology, followed by a closer examination of one commentary type, namely the practice of quoting excerpts from already existing stand-alone commentaries in the margins.

1) Why Studying Marginal Commentaries?

Why study marginal commentaries in manuscripts at all? In fact, these entries, oftentimes scribbled and difficult (and sometimes tiresome) to read, offer a wealth of information: The study of scholia is a crucial part of reflecting on the development, transmission, and reception of different genres. They can give evidence of the distribution and possibly the popularity of texts at a given time and in a given region. This includes the many texts that have been lost otherwise and that have been transmitted – most likely only in bits and pieces – exclusively in the margins of manuscripts.[5] In view of not only the limited number of catalogued manuscripts, but also the paucity of edited works (or texts), the margin of a manuscript can turn into a treasure trove, yielding unknown or neglected texts that might have been once popular and widespread within a specific community. Marginal commentaries can reveal both professional and personal thoughts. They can allow us to partly reconstruct an author's work, based on his revision annotations, and to reconstruct a reader's attitude towards a text by critical remarks or citations in the margin. Especially if marginal commentaries

3 An earlier genre of Ḥadīṯ commentary was developed from the 8th century on, dedicated to lexicography, that is the explanation or translation of foreign or ambiguous words: *ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*.

4 For an overview over the genre of Ḥadīṯ commentary see Joel Blecher, »Ḥadīth Commentary«, in: Kate Fleet et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., Vol. 4, Leiden and Boston 2018, pp. 61-68; Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford 2009, p. 52-54.

5 Any manuscript evidence of this kind has to be contextualised within the methodological framework of *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, above all *Überlieferungschance* and *Überlieferungszufall*, the survival of texts by chance (partly to be reconstructed through certain parameters) or accident (no reconstruction possible).

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have been added not by an individual but by a community, possibly over a longer period of time, these entries reflect knowledge transmitted within specific social groups and intellectual discourses within this community. For many fields of knowledge, these annotations are part of a larger learning and teaching context. Which texts possibly belonged to a curriculum (at a given time, within a given community)? *How* were the main texts studied? What was considered (and by whom?) important for the understanding, or at least the correct transmission, of the main text? In the field of science, they can reveal the state of knowledge of a given person, time, and/or region.

An important question that always has to be asked is: For whom were these annotations written? For and by oneself, for the revision of one's own text, to assist in the study of a foreign text, and/or as an aid in memorisation? For students studying the main text (to indirectly guide their approach)? For a scholarly community? For the transmission of texts? As a means to improve the main text? Personal pleasure?

2) A Marginal Topic: Commentary Literature and Marginal Commentaries in Manuscripts

The commentary genre in general has recently received more attention, directed at challenging the concept of its »not being original«. As in many other cases, the disciplines of Arabic and Islamic Studies lag behind other philologies when it comes to the study of commentary literature.[6] An important contribution, and, as far as I know, so far the only volume dedicated to commentary *manuscripts* (with a few texts referring also to the practice of marginal commentaries) is the edited volume *Commentary Manuscripts* by Youssef Ziedan, published in 2006.[7] For the field of Ḥadīṯ, it might be telling that the first monograph in English on the genre of Ḥadīṯ commentary was published in 2017 by Joel Blecher[8], with a first edited volume on the genre to be published by 2020[9].

6 See the special issue on commentary literature in Oriens 41 (2013), and here especially for the »gloss« / ḥāšiyya: Walid A. Saleh, »The Gloss as Intellectual History: The Ḥāshiyahs on al-Kashshāf«, in: *Oriens* 41 (2013), pp. 217-259; see the issue *Qu'est-ce que commenter en Islam?,* in: *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales*, MIDÉO 32 (2017) pp. IX-170. – Also compare the article by Walid A. Saleh in this volume.

7 Yūsuf Zīdan (ed.), *al-Maḫṭūṭāt aš-šāriḥa: Aʿmal al-muʾtamar ad-duwali aṯ-ṯāliṯ li-markaz al-maḫṭūṭāt (Maris 2006)*, al-Iskandariyya 2009; Youssef Ziedan (ed.), *Commentary Manuscripts. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of the Manuscript Center (March 2006),* Alexandria 2009. (Most articles are in Arabic, except those of Jan Just Witkam and Constantin Canavas.)

8 Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary Across a Millennium*, Oakland 2018.

9 Joel Blecher, Stefanie Brinkmann, and Ali Zaherinezhad (eds.), *Hadith Commentary: Continuity and Change*, Edinburgh 2020 [forthcoming].

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On a more theoretical level, the increasing interest in these texts is embedded in a forceful critique of the so-called narrative of decline: Until recently, the histories of Arabic literature viewed the 6th to the 12th – 13th centuries as a period of literary blossom, where ›original‹ texts were composed in a cultural milieu of genuine expression, or by absorbing and incorporating ideas from surrounding cultures, integrating them in a fruitful way and developing thereby new cultural expressions. Even the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, said by some to be atomistic and repetitive in terms of structure and motifs, would still count as an original, distinct cultural expression. These dynamic, creative centuries are said to have come slowly to a halt during the 12th to the 13th centuries, with the end of the Abbasid dynasty in 1258 as a political caesura. Stagnation and imitation are attributes ascribed to the centuries thereafter, with a reinvigoration occurring only under European influence from the 18th and 19th centuries and beyond: Print was introduced on a larger scale, journalism developed, and European literary genres inspired new genres or modified existing ones in the Islamicate world, such as the novel, or certain types of theatre. It is only recently that these ›dark centuries‹ from the Middle Ages to the early-modern period have started to receive the attention they deserve.[10] A key genre that flourished in the Mamluk (13th – early 16th century) and Ottoman periods (14th century to 1922, the foundation of the Republic of Turkey) was the commentary – in the narrative of decline perhaps the symbol par excellence for the lack of invention and originality.

But while research on the genre of commentary has increased in the past years, the practice of adding commentaries, or commentarial notes in the margin of a manuscript, or partly between the lines, has until today been a neglected field of study in Arabic and Islamic Studies. Other academic disciplines have come much further in this respect, discussing and systematising possible origins of this practice, some examples of which date to Late Antiquity, some to the Middle Ages, or, more specifically, the Mid-Byzantine age.[11] These studies are clearly

10 A detailed critique of the division in classical and post-classical literature is given by Thomas Bauer, »In Search of ›Post-Classical Literature‹: A Review Article«, in: *Mamluk Studies Review* 11 (2007), pp. 137-167; see the Academy research project *Bibliotheca Arabica,* dedicated to Arabic literatures from 1150 to 1850 (www.saw-leipzig.de/bibliotheca-arabica [last accessed 15 October 2019]; the research cooperation and the publication series *Mamluk Studies*, edited by Stephan Conermann and Bethany Joelle Walker, Bonn University (www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/mamluk-studies [last accessed 15 October 2019]); the *ALEA* research project (Arabische Literatur und Rhetorik, Elfhundert bis Achtzehnhundert), dedicated to literatures from 1100 to 1800, principal investigator Thomas Bauer, University of Münster (www.uni-muenster.de/imperia/md/content/alea/alea_flyer_2015.pdf [last accessed 15 October 2019]).

11 See the volume of Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos (eds.), *Trends in Classics* 6 (2014), and particularly Antonietta Porro, »The birth of Scholiography: Some Conclusions and Perspectives«, in: ibid., pp. 192-205.

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dominated by the European literatures. The potential of these marginalia for the reconstruction of the transfer of knowledge, book production and use, teaching and studying, textual criticism and text versions, and the intellectual discourse of a certain time and region can be seen in a number of publications.[12] For the cultures of the Islamicate world, from al-Andalus to India, there exists neither a comparative volume on annotation practices nor a volume on the practices and the impact of marginal commentaries within the boundaries of the literature of one language – such as the Arabic. The latter is the approach taken by the Academy project *Bibliotheca Arabica – Towards a New History of Literature,* with a planned volume on marginal commentaries in Arabic manuscripts, comparing these practices in different genres and regions, and at different times.[13] Despite the lack of such a systematic, broad study, the analysis of marginal commentaries has been conducted in the scope of some research projects and case studies.[14]

As early as 1947, Franz Rosenthal attempted to give a systematic overview of manuscript evidence for Muslim scholarship, appealing for a larger, in-depth study of these paratexts.[15] Spread over the various chapters, Rosenthal addresses marginal commentaries as a means for the transmission of other texts, or for expressing critical opinions.[16]

Since the turn of the millennium, more attention has been dedicated to marginalia in general, not only to marginal commentaries. This attention given to scribes and authors writing on the margins reflects a shift away from the concept of earlier philological and editorial ideas (and ideals) of texts as static, completed works and instead turns towards the mechanisms of drafting and revising – in short, towards the development of an author's ideas, of a genre, or a text, and the development of ideas in a specific intellectual milieu with its manifold actors.

In a 2005 article, Emilie Savage-Smith concentrates exclusively on marginalia, ranging from those without any relation to the main text, such as birth certificates, poems, legal texts, and certificates (*iğāzāt*), to marginal commentaries of diffe-

12 See as points of reference Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani (eds.), *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin and Boston 2013; Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (as note 1). Lied, Liv I., Maniaci, and Marilena (eds.): *Bible as Notepad. Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, Series: Manuscripta Biblica, Vol. 3, Boston and Berlin 2018.

13 www.saw-leipzig.de/de/projekte/bibliotheca-arabica/intro/macro [last accessed 3 January 2020].

14 The following overview does not claim to be exhaustive, but highlights important fields of research.

15 Franz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Analecta Orientalia 24), Rome 1974.

16 A much shorter, descriptive overview of important paratexts has been given by Florian Sobieroj, »Paratexte in arabischen Handschriften«, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (ed.), *Wege zum geistigen Erbe der Menschheit. Die Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Göttingen 2013, pp. 37-47.

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rent types.[17] While she covers a range of genres as main texts and their possible marginalia (as did F. Rosenthal, taking a different approach), later case studies often focus on a specific community, one genre, or one author and/or one title.

The potential of the analysis of marginal commentaries for (partly) reconstructing the intellectual discourses within a scholarly community for a certain period of time has been demonstrated clearly by Florian Schwarz. By studying an array of manuscripts and the paratexts therein authored by members of one family, he could trace networks of scholars, centres of learning and teaching, students, and topics and texts studied in the otherwise comparatively unknown 17th to 18th-century border region of the Ottoman lands, Kurdistan, and the Safawid Empire.[18] Concentrating on one manuscript and its marginal commentaries (*ḥawāšī*), Gregor Schwarb offers insight into theological studies (*kalām*) in the Šīʿī Zaidī community in mid-15th to early-18th-century Yemen.[19] And Dmitry Bondarev examines the familiarity and popularity of certain Qurʾān commentaries (*tafsīr*) in the early sub-Saharan Borno Sultanate (15th – 17th centuries) by analysing the marginal commentaries in Qurʾān manuscripts of that community.[20]

In the special issue of Oriens of 2013 dedicated to commentary literature, it is Walid A. Saleh's article above all that specifically addresses glosses (in the sense of scholia) as a crucial element of the genre of Qurʾān commentary. He points out that only by including the study of glosses a better understanding of the development of the *tafsīr* genre and its place within Muslim intellectual history can be achieved.[21] Analysing marginal annotations as evidence for the development of an author's work, Frédéric Bauden, Joel Blecher, and others have set a benchmark for further studies.[22] Youssef Ziedan's edition on commentary

17 Emilie Savage-Smith, »Between Reader & Text: Some Medieval Arabic Marginalia«, in: Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in Margine: Études Sur Les Marginalia Dans Les Manuscrits Scientifiques Du Moyen Âge à La Renaissance*, Geneva 2005, pp. 75-101.

18 Florian Schwarz, »Writing in the Margins of Empires – The Ḥusaynābādī Family of Scholiasts in the Ottoman-Ṣafawid Borderlands«, in: Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (eds.), *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bern 2010, pp. 151-198.

19 Gregor Schwarb, »MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī *kalām*-Studies During the Ṭāhirid and Early Qāsimite Periods (mid-15th to early 18th centuries)«, in: David Hollenberg et al. (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, Leiden and Boston 2015, pp. 155-202.

20 Dmitry Bondarev, »Tafsīr Sources in Four Annotated Qur'anic Manuscripts From Early Borno«, in: Zulfikar Hirji (ed.), *Approaches to the Qur'an in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Oxford 2019, pp. 25-64.

21 Saleh (as note 6), pp. 217-259.

22 Frederic Bauden, »Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Analysis«, in: *Mamluk Studies Review* 12 (2008), pp. 51-118; Sami G. Massoud, »Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's ›al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal‹: The Making of an All-Mamluk Chronicle«, in: *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi* 4 (2009), pp. 61-79; Li

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manuscripts (see above) has one article by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad al-Ǧīlānī dedicated to marginal commentaries, in this case related to the Maghreb.

In larger research clusters, some attention has been given to marginalia (in general): In the project cluster at the Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg University, which is dedicated to paratexts, some projects specifically include studies on marginal commentaries.[23] Within the academic disciplines related to the Islamicate world, it is the projects dedicated to West African manuscript cultures that bring these studies to centre stage, partly for the reconstruction of teaching and learning contexts and the transmission of knowledge, partly in order to understand the reception of Arabic texts within the multilingual context of West Africa.[24] Beyond the Islamicate world, the project *Textual Practices in the Pre-Modern World: Texts and Ideas between Aksum, Constantinople, and Baghdad* takes a comparative view of textual practices from late Antiquity on.[25]

But even though there is a lack of studies on marginal commentaries in Arabic manuscripts, manuscript evidence can give us a first impression: There are certain texts and genres with oftentimes richly annotated margins (and partly interlinear annotations), while others seem usually to be less annotated. The phenomenon of marginal commentaries in manuscripts seems to reflect, at least to a certain degree, the intensity of general commentarial activity within a

Guo, »Ibn Dāniyāl's ›Dīwān‹: In Light of MS Ayasofia 4880«, in: *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi* 5 (2011), pp. 163-176; Joel Blecher, »Revision in the Manuscript Age: New Evidence of Early Versions of Ibn Ḥajar's Fatḥ al-Bārī«, in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 76 (2017), pp. 39-51.

23 Project Area A, first phase 2011-2015: www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/Projekte_e.html, project area A, second phase 2015-2019: www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/Projekte_p2_e.html [last accessed 5 October 2019].

24 See the project *African Voices in the Islamic Manuscripts from Mali: Documenting and Exploring African Languages Written in Arabic Script (Ajami)* (2017-2029), principal investigator: Dmitry Bondarev, www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ajami/project_e.html [last accessed 5 October 2019]. For a case study, see for example: Dmitry Bondarev, »Qur'anic Exegesis in Old Kanembu: Linguistic Precision for Better Interpretation«, in: *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 15 (2013), pp. 56-83.; Dmitry Bondarev, »Islamic Education and Ample Space Layout in West African Islamic Manuscripts«, in: Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili (eds.), *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Vol. 12, Berlin and Boston 2017, pp. 105-142; Susana Molins-Lliteras, »A Preliminary Appraisal of Marginalia in West African Manuscripts from the Mamma Haïdara Memorial Library Collection (Timbuktu)«, in: ibid., pp. 143-178; Darya Ogorodnikova, »›I Heard It from My Teacher‹: Reflexions on Transmission of Knowledge in Islamic Manuscripts from Senegambia and Mali«, in: Stefanie Brinkmann, Giovanni Ciotti et al. (eds.), *Education Materialized: Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts through Manuscripts*, 2020 [forthcoming].

25 Center for Advanced Studies, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, *Textual Practices in the Pre-Modern World: Texts and Ideas between Aksum, Constantinople, and Baghdad*, speakers: Theresa Bernheimer, Ronny Vollandt.

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given genre. Works of Ḥadīṯ, Qur'ān commentary, law, grammar, and theology, but also philosophy and sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, were the object of numerous commentaries throughout the centuries. Other genres, or text types, were much less the focus of commentators, such as works on geography or texts on material culture. But here, the lack of research leads to an undifferentiated picture. While it seems that many manuscripts, for example, those on techniques of book production and cook books, have comparatively few marginal annotations, other treatises seem to have more.[26] In short, we still lack a clear picture of the distribution of marginal commentaries in manuscripts of different genres or fields of knowledge. Prosimetric works of belles-lettres and poetry seem to represent a middle position between the richly annotated genres and the less annotated ones. Last but by far not least is the central book of the Islamic creed, the Qur'ān. An independent study taking into account local scribal and teaching traditions in the different regions of the Islamicate would be needed to have a systematic overview of marginal and interlinear annotations in Qurʾān manuscripts. In the multilingual context of the Islamicate world, interlinear glosses, for example, in Persian, or a local African language, are a known phenomenon, as are corrections, signs for recitation, or different readings. But many Qur'ān manuscripts from the Middle East do not show a rich apparatus of marginal annotations. This might be for aesthetic reasons, but there is also the connection to the fact that the text is sacred. Marginal annotations often refer to a tradition of ›scholasticism‹ with respect to texts written by authorities, the human endeavour to exploit a text, and the intellectual ›soberness‹ of commenting on and/or interpreting the text. But the Qurʾān manuscript represents God's word, and even though the text on the physical manuscript has been written in time and space (and is therefore created), God's word is considered by the majority of Muslims as un-created and eternal. A reason for the absence of rich marginal annotations in many Middle Eastern Qur'ān manuscripts might be that the reader is supposed to encounter the text ›unveiled‹ – that is, directly

26 In her article on manuscripts of works on book production, and especially the parts on ink, C. Colini points out that only a few marginal remarks relate to the practical work of craftsmanship within the relevant manuscript: An alternative ink recipe, a note indicating a functional check, or a fingerprint with the type of ink for which the recipe is given on the opposite page (Claudia Colini, »Ink Making by the Book: Learning a Craft in the Arabic World«, in: Stefanie Brinkmann et al. [eds.; as note 24]). C. Canavas, on the other hand, has examined four manuscripts of a technical treatise that was written in the 3rd to 9th century (the dates the manuscripts were copied are not mentioned). The marginal commentaries in these manuscripts not only refer to other copies and the commentaries contained therein, but they also include notes on functional checks of devices, give constructive suggestions and amendments, and comment on illustrations (Constantin Canavas, »Commenting Arabic Technological Treatises in Illustrated Manuscripts: A Typology in the Case of Banū Mūsā's Kitāb al-Ḥiyal«, in: Yūsuf Zīdan [ed.; as note 7], pp. 1-11).

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in order to meet its pure presence, without too much human intervention on the page, and without an all-too-strong intermediary. The human is, though, not entirely absent from such Qur'ān manuscripts (apart, obviously, from the scribe): Different readings (*qirāʾāt*) could be added, recitation signs (*taǧwīd*), corrections, and, in the end, (ornamental) markers dividing the Qur'ān text into recitation units. Manuscripts with works on Qurʾānic sciences are often heavily annotated. But these works embody already human efforts, fallible, and bound in time and space. They are a human intellectual endeavour to approach God's eternal speech. From here, a tradition, and with it authorities of this tradition could develop and leave their traces in the margins of manuscripts.

Ḥadīṯ manuscripts are often heavily annotated. But scholia in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts do not show a stage of authority comparable to the *Glossa ordinaria*. Even if the annotations are quotations from authoritative scholars, the sources vary from region to region, time to time, school to school, religious affiliation to religious affiliation, family to family, reflecting the many-voiced religious and intellectual debates in the Muslim world that were so characteristic of the formative period up to the Middle Period, as compared to the institutionally much more centralised religious scene in Europe at that time. (The relative openness to discussion characteristic of that earlier period also stands in contrast to the modern period in the Islamicate world, which is frequently marked by a lack of openness and intolerance toward ambiguity.)

Since marginal annotations reflect scholarly tradition and authority, a future question to be investigated would be to what extent did commentary activity support the process of canonisation of certain works, or to what extent was it a result of such canonisation (or was it a dynamic process of both).

3) A Minefield: Terminology

Terminology seems to be a minefield, and maybe this is the reason why so many scholars have avoided offering a clear definition when using gloss, scholium, marginal commentary, or marginal annotation in their publications. Within a number of academic disciplines, such as the Classics, Byzantine Studies, and medieval philology, there is, at least, some kind of basic agreement on how to approach these texts, some kind of definition, despite some grey areas between gloss and scholium. Within the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies, there is no such methodological common ground.

In many publications in the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies, the terms glosses, marginal commentaries, and scholia are used interchangeably, with glosses often bearing the meaning of marginal commentaries or some kind of

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marginal annotation. The entry on *glosses and scholia* in Adam Gacek's *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers* states at the very beginning: »A gloss or scholium (pl. scholia) is a marginal comment and/or interlinear annotation referring to and explaining a word or group of words in the main text.«[27] Such a wider connotation is also stated in the Oxford English Dictionary, where »to gloss« means: »1. a. *trans.* To insert glosses or comments on; to comment upon, explain, interpret […]; b. *intr.* To introduce a gloss, comment, or explanation upon a word or passage in a text […]«.[28]

But in its primary sense, a gloss translates or explains foreign (or obscure) words.[29] Different from such a gloss, which usually refers to a lexical unit, are longer, explanatory, complementing, and partly interpretative passages in the margin (and, due to the space they require on the manuscript page, such longer passages are less often encountered between the lines than are glosses). Such a marginal annotation, which could be an authorial voice or chosen excerpts from already existing texts, can be termed scholium, pl. scholia.[30] In this article, scholia and marginal commentaries are used synonymously; marginal annotation is used interchangeably with these terms only in such cases when clear reference is made to a scholium-type entry.[31]

There is a grey zone, though: A number of marginal annotations in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts can consist of more than one functional element: Since the Arabic script is consonantal, it had to be made clear how to vocalise the word correctly. In a manuscript with al-Buḫārī's (d. 256 / 870) Ḥadīṯ collection *al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* as the main text[32], we find, for example, on fol. 2r the note in the right corner that the word *al-kursī* has to be vocalised with *u* (*ḍamma*) above the *k* (*kāf*), or that the verb *fa-ruʿibtu* has to be vocalised with *u* (*ḍamma*) above the *r* (*raʾ*), and the letter *ʿain* gets *i* (*kasra*). The scribe adds that, according to the reading of al-Aṣīlī[33], the *raʾ* would be read with *a* (*fatḥa*), and the *ʿain* with *u* (*ḍamma*).

27 Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*, Leiden et al. 2012, p. 114. See also gloss in the sense of scholium in Saleh (as note 6), or Blecher (as note 22).

28 Oxford English Dictionary Online https://www.oed.com [last accessed 5 October 2019]

29 For the Old High German see: G. Kreutzer, »Glossen und Glossare«, in: Heinrich Beck and Heiko Steuer (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Vol. 12, Berlin and New York 1998, pp. 218-234.

30 On the development of the term see Fausto Montana, »The Making of Greek Scholiastic *Corpora*«, in: Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani (eds.; as note 12), pp. 105-161.

31 Teeuwen and Renswoude, in considering glosses, scholia, and also other types of annotation, decided for their edited volume to »avoid the terms gloss and scholia altogether; instead, we chose to use the neutral term ›annotation‹ for anything that was inserted in the space around the main text«; see Teeuwen and Renswoude (as note 1), p. 19.

32 Austrian National Library, shelfmark Glaser 30. On this manuscript see more below.

33 Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Aṣīlī (d. 392 / 1001-02).

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In short: vocalisation is given and, with it, a variant reading.[34] In addition to such elements, a synonym or a short explanation of the meaning of the relevant word in its specific context can be given. One might argue that such an entry could be labelled as a gloss (if gloss is not taken as the translation of a lexical unit, since we are faced here exclusively with Arabic); but since most of these entries include more than one ›function‹ (vocalisation, possibly an alternative reading, and the explanation of the word), I will subsume such entries under the term ›marginal commentary‹, or scholium, as well.

Ḥadīṯ manuscripts contain a variety of different marginalia, from text variants to collation and corrections marks, and these are, together with the scholia, oftentimes subsumed under the rubric ›marginal annotations‹. In Arabic, the wider term of marginal annotations can be translated as *hāmiš* (pl. *hawāmīš*), while the marginal commentary is usually translated as *ḥāšiya* (pl. *ḥawāšī*). Since marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts consist of texts, they are part of the larger body of paratexts; it is not necessary to apply the wider concept of paracontent at this point, which would include marginal illustrations, diagrams, graphics, etc.

The 13th-century classical Arabic dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab* by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711 / 1311 in Cairo)[35] states: »[…] and the ḥāšiya of anything is: its adjacent part or its margin«[36] (*wa-ḥāšiyatu kulli šaiʾin: ǧānibuhu wa-ṭarafuhu*).[37] This basic meaning could be transferred to a number of contexts, ranging from the fringe of a garment to a place at the periphery of anything. It may be interesting to note, though, that neither the *Lisān al-ʿArab* nor a number of other classical dictionaries specifically point to the *ḥāšiya* as the margin of a book, or as a marginal commentary within the manuscript tradition. The notion of *ḥāšiya* as making notes or comments in the margin of a book seems mainly a post-classical notion with respect to dictionary definitions, and appears as such, for example, in the 18th-century dictionary *Tāǧ al-ʿArūs* by al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusainī az-Zabīdī (d. 1205 / 1791).[38] The act of adding scholia to the margin can be called *taḥšiyya*, the glossator or commentator would be the *ḥāšin*, and a margin provided with glosses *muḥaššašā*.[39] While *ḥāšiya* (pl. *ḥawāšin*, *ḥawāšin*) is the most common term for

34 The text in the upper margin on the left side of fol. 2r in Glaser 30 has also notes on vocalisation, but discusses more in detail different readings and recension lines.

35 ʿUmar ar-Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam al-muʾallifīn*, ed. Maktabat al-Muṯannā, 15 vols., Beirut 2010, Vol. 12, p. 46 f.; Hair-ad-Dīn Ibn-Maḥmūd Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarāǧim li-ašhar ar-riǧāl wa-n-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustašriqīn*, Beirut 2002, Vol. 7, p. 108.

36 Or: its side.

37 Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram al-Anṣārī al-Ifrīqī al-Miṣrī al-Ḫazraǧī Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, abridged version, Beirut 1997, Vol. 2, p. 93.

38 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 11, p. 282.

39 Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Leiden et al. 2001, p. 33.

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marginal commentaries, other terms have been used, too, and abbreviations for them can be found in the manuscripts. Even *šarḥ*, often understood as a more exhaustive, line-by-line commentary, could be applied to a marginal commentary and marked accordingly (see table below). Other terms could be *taʿlīq* (something attached), or *fāʾida*, in the sense of »something useful to know, or add«. Semantically closer to *ḥāšiya* is the term *ṭurra* (pl. *ṭurar*). It can, among other meanings, designate both the margin and marginalia.[40] This term was supposedly more in use in the Maghreb, as ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad al-Ǧīlānī points out: »People in the Maghreb call the *ḥawāšī* in books *ṭurra*, and the *ḥāšiya* is what is written in the empty space in the margins of a page.«[41] I would disagree, though, with al-Ǧīlānī's differentiation with regard to content: namely in that a *ḥāšiya* applies (mainly) to a *šarḥ*-commentary and covers at best the whole primary text, while *ṭurar* can be added as (scattered) single notes throughout the text.[42] Compare, for example, Walid A. Saleh's remark on »glosses« (*ḥāwāšī*) on az-Zamaḫšarīʾs Qur'ān commentary *al-Kaššāf*: »The nature of many of the glosses is more in the manner of *taʿlīqāt*, that is, they are not a running commentary, or a gloss on every aspect of al-Kashshāf, but rather they tackle certain specific points.«[43] Despite the academic eagerness for systematisation, historical realities were usually much more complex.

Just as a work titled *ḥāšiya* could be both a collection (and a revised and edited version) of previous commentarial notes from the margin of a manuscript, *and* a marginal commentary in a manuscript, so can a work termed *ṭurra* designate both a collection of earlier annotations from the margins of a manuscript, or a marginal commentary. The collecting and editing of earlier marginal commentaries into an independent text could be done by the author of the marginal notes, or another person, possibly a student, a reader, or another scholar.[44]

Marginal commentaries in manuscripts could be marked with the full term, or with an abbreviation (often above the entry), but this is by no means the rule;

40 Ibid., p. 90. *muṭarrar* would be »glossed, annotated«.

41 *Ammā l-maġāribatu fa-yulṭiqūna ʿalā l-ḥawāši l-kutubi aṭ-ṭurara, fa-l-ḥāšiyatu hiya mā yuktabu fī l-firāġi l-mauǧūdi ʿalā ǧawānibi l-waraqa […].* al-Ǧīlānī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad: »Ẓāhirat aṭ-ṭurar fī l-maḫṭūṭ al-maġribī«, in: Yūsuf Zīdan (ed.; as note 7), pp. 391-417, quotation p. 391.

42 Ibid., 398 f.

43 Saleh (as note 6), p. 248.

44 One example from the field of Qur'ān sciences is the marginal commentary (*ḥāšiya*) by Saʿdī Čelebī, Saʿd Allāh b. ʿĪsā Amīrḫān , known as Saʿdī Čelebī or Saʿdī Efendī (d. 945 / 1539), a Ḥanafī *qāḍī* from Turkey, on the Qur'ān commentary by al-Baiḍāwī (d. 685 / 1286-87, or 691 / 1291-92, or 692 / 1292-93). One of his students (ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān) extracted these marginal commentary notes and made it a stand-alone commentarial text.

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actually, many Ḥadīṯ manuscripts (and others) do not show the full term, or the abbreviation. The most common abbreviations are the following:

Romanised term	Arabic term	Abbreviation(s)
ḥāšiya	حاشية	حش، ح
ṭurra	طرة	ط
šarḥ	شرح	شـ، شر
taʿlīq	تعليق	ت، ع
fāʾida	فائدة	ف، فه
hāmiš	هامش	ه

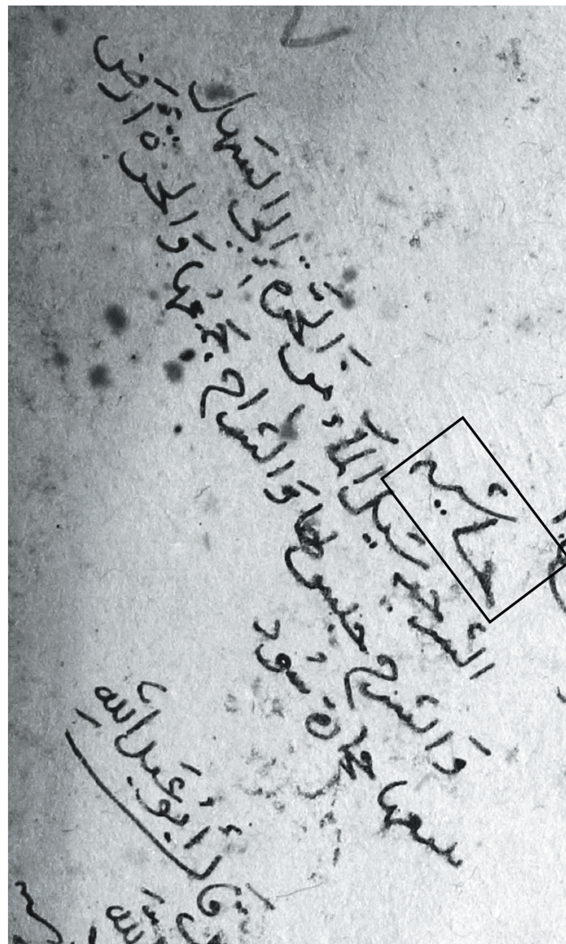

Image 1: The word ḥāšiya written above the entry, B. or. 356, fol. 2r © Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

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In the field of Ḥadīṯ studies, it has remained an open question as to what extent stand-alone commentaries carrying the title *ḥāšiya* really started in the margin of manuscripts. There are numerous types of Ḥadīṯ commentaries: As an ideal scenario, a *šarḥ* is an extensive line-by-line commentary, while a commentary called *ḥāšiya* was originally drafted in the margin of a manuscript and became a stand-alone commentary at a later stage. Beside these two formats, we have a number of other types and names, such as treatises (*risāla*, pl. *rasāʾil*) on particular Ḥadīṯ, question-and-answer-based commentaries on particular Ḥadīṯ, and lecture notes (*amālī*). One should be careful at this point, though, to restrict the term *ḥāšiya* exclusively to a commentary that started in the margin of a manuscript. It might also refer to smaller commentaries, and/or serve as an expression of modesty, as compared to the weighty *šarḥ*. Joel Blecher assumes with some caution the origin of the *ḥāšiya* in the margin of a manuscript, while the *šarḥ* is seen as a line-by-line commentary:

> Gumbrecht's archetypical commentators are driven to fill them to the brim, even exceeding them at times – spilling over into the headers and footers and, sometimes, between the lines of the base text. While this may have been true for the inclusion of marginalia and glosses (*ḥawāshī*) in compilations of hadith, it was not true for the line-by-line commentary (*sharḥ*) under discussion here. The commentaries of Ibn Ḥajar and his predecessors, going back at least to the early Córdoban commentator Ibn Baṭṭāl, were laid out in the center of the page. Commentators would include only lemmata, the fragmentary phrases from the base text that were relevant for explication. Ibn Ḥajar toyed with the idea of including the base text but decided against it, reasoning that it would make his commentary too long.[45]

Systematic research on this question is a desideratum.[46]

45 Blecher (as note 8), pp. 51 f.

46 Dimitri Gutas has outlined the different terms used for commentaries for the Arabic works on logic. With regard to *šarḥ*, he points out that it can have variable length, be detailed or general (in the form of a paraphrase), it can consist of scattered notes on the text, or be a »continuous and running commentary«, see Dimitri Gutas, »Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works«, in: Charles Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts. The Syriac, Arabic, and Medieval Latin Traditions*, London 1993, pp. 29-76, quotation p. 36; on the terminology of commentary in the field of logic, see pp. 31-43.

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4) Scribal Practices

Who were the scribes of the marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts? The vast majority of marginal commentaries are anonymous. This is especially true for marginal commentaries that are quotations or excerpts. However, the moment we have an original, authorial voice, the mention of a name becomes more likely, whether the person be a reader adding his remarks or a teacher whose remarks are noted in the margin. The individual person who writes the scholium can have different functions: He can be the one who makes his comments, or the one who has chosen the quotations from already existing stand-alone works, or he could be identical with the copyist of the main text (a sign that the main text and the scholia are the result of a common, coordinated work process). He could also be a later copyist of marginal commentaries found in an earlier manuscript (his Vorlage), or the collator of the scholia, or he could be identical with the author and scribe of the main text. That marginal commentaries and glosses could be commissioned assignments is illustrated in an example given by Gacek: Here, the scribe has not only marked the end of the marginal commentary with »intahā at-taḥšiyya […] bi-ḫaṭṭ […]« (»here ends the marginal commentation […] in the hand of […]«), but has also given a date (1114 AH) and his name, a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍabwī.[47]

The following image shows the signature of the person who wrote the *ḥawāšī*, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Isḥāq, who introduces himself as »its [that is, the entry's] scribe« (*kātibuhu*)[48].

Admittedly, this example is taken from a Qur'ān commentary, better described as »glosses« (in the sense of scholia), written by the Yemeni author al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Yamanī b. al-Ǧabal (d. 1079 / 1668) on another Qur'ān commentary, the *Kaššāf* by Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar az-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538 / 1144)[49]. It carries the title *Ḥāšiyat as-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ǧalāl ʿalā l-Kaššāf*. His scholia, which have been edited in this manuscript as a stand-alone commentary, are introduced with the word *qauluhu* (his word[s]), referring to the word(s) of the main text (here the *Kaššāf*) that are commented upon; to better orient, *qauluhu* is written in red ink. This manuscript might serve as a »typical« example of a formerly marginal commentary that has become an independent, stand-alone text, carrying the title *ḥāšiya*. But in the end, we do not have al-Ḥasan's

47 Gacek (as note 27), pp. 115 f.; an image of the entry can be found on p. 116.

48 State Library Berlin / Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Glaser 181, part 1, fol. 2r, and elsewhere; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Yamanī b. al-Ǧabal: *Ḥāšiyat as-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ǧalāl ʿalā l-Kaššāf*. For the digitised image see http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de under the given shelf mark.

49 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 12, pp. 186 f.

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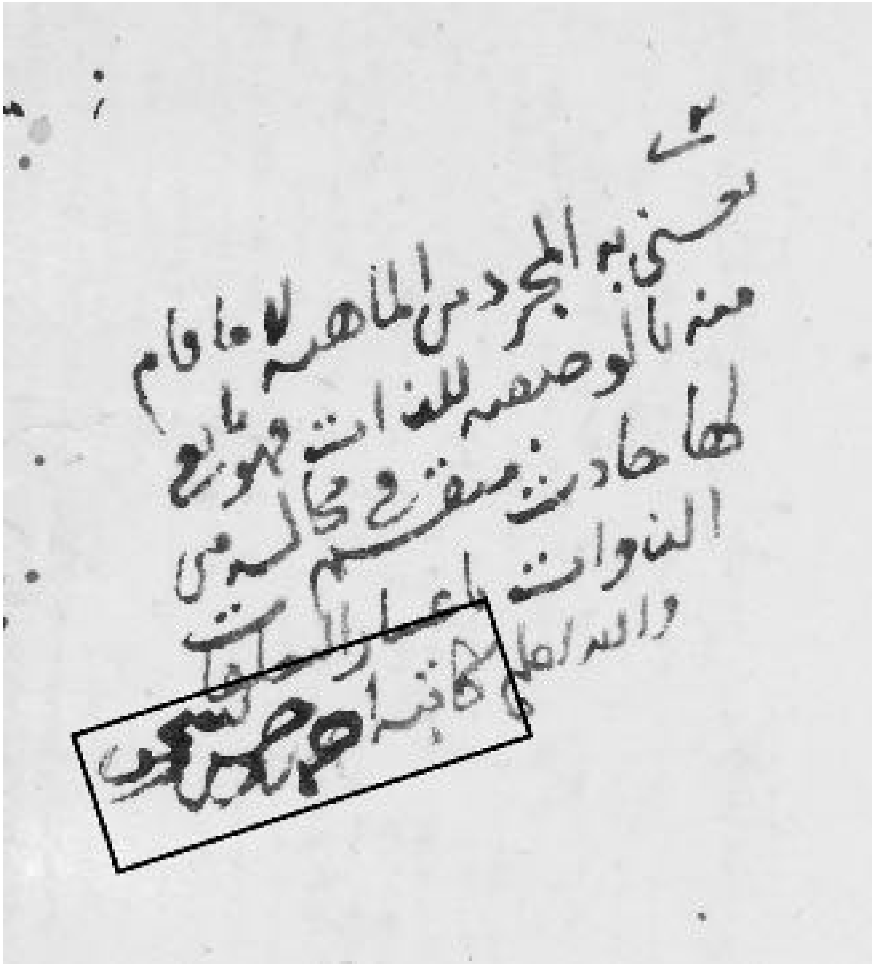

Image 2: Signature of the scribe, Glaser 181, part 1, fol. 2r, copy dated ca. 1100 / 1688
© Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

scholia (as commentaries in the margin of a manuscript), so we do not know what they looked like, and thus this assumption has to be taken as preliminary. The reason why the scribe, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Isḥāq, signs his marginal commentaries might be because he is signing as the copyist for texts from other text sources. (According to the Ahlwardt catalogue, there are citations in the margin from the rare *Ḥāšiya ʿalā l-Kaššāf* by Saʿd ad-Dīn at-Taftazānī [d. 792 / 1390].[50])

50 Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Arabische Handschriften,* 10 vols., Berlin 1887-1899, Vol. 9, No. 10239,1, pp. 577 f.

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Joel Blecher gives an example for a scribe acting as the collator and corrector for auditions: A manuscript dated to the year 822 / 1419 at the Süleymaniye Library with the commentary by Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 / 1449), *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, on the Ḥadīṯ collection by al-Buḫārī, shows a ›first layer‹ of this work, an early version that became subject to several revisions in the following years and decades by its author, Ibn Ḥağar. The person who wrote this early manuscript version, Muḥammad b. al-Ḫiḍr b. Dāwūd Ibn al-Miṣrī Šams ad-Dīn (d. 841 / 1437 – 1438), has also stated in an audition statement that he, Šaiḫ Šams ad-Dīn, collated the copy (with annotations: *katabahu mu'allifuhu,* that is, in the sense of »signed«).[51]

In principle, an anonymous scribe can sometimes be identified by comparing scripts, either within the same manuscript or with other manuscripts. I assume that the hand that wrote the marginal commentaries in a manuscript of a text on Ḥadīṯ sciences, *al-Ḫulāṣa fī maʿrifat al-Ḥadīṯ* by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭībī (d. 743 / 1342)[52] (see also below) is identical with the one that wrote the added folios 18a-b, which the scribe dates 1245 AH, and where he gives his name as al-Ḥāğğ al-Ḥaramain [al-Fardī ?] on fol. 18b.[53]

In general, we can expect the commenting hand in Ḥadīt manuscripts up to the modern period to belong to a male person. This does not mean that a female scribe is impossible. In the field of Islamic sciences, Ḥadīṯ was perhaps the discipline most open to women, compared to Qur'ānic studies or Islamic law. We know that women attended Ḥadīṯ lectures, received certificates, and acted as teachers issuing certificates. But their influence and the range of their studies is contested (and surely differed from time to time, region to region, school to school).[54] Women appear very rarely as owners or readers in Islamic manuscripts (compared to their role as donors to various institutions, such as madrasas) – this does not mean that they did not read or own manuscripts, but we have too little evidence to deduce a clear picture. We cannot rule out the possibility that a woman could have added annotations to a Ḥadīṯ manuscript – but we cannot prove it without factual evidence. The anonymity of marginal commentaries makes it difficult to reconstruct such concrete social contexts.

51 Blecher (as note 22), pp. 40-43, with an image of the audition statement on p. 43.

52 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 4, p. 53.

53 Leipzig University Library, Ms or 339; compare, for example, the scholia on fol. 17v with the text on fol. 18a-b. For the digitised images see: www.islamic-manuscripts.net under the respective shelf mark.

54 Asma Sayeed, »Women and Ḥadīth Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus«, in: *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002), pp. 71-94; Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam*, Cambridge 2013; Muḥammad Akram Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt: The Women Scholars in Islam*, Oxford 2007; Garrett Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission Across a Thousand Years*, Leiden et al. 2019.

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A special category of marginal commentaries are those that can be traced back to the author himself and which have been written by him. Such entries are called *minhiyyāt*, and are usually signed with *minhu* (»from him«).[55]

5) The Layout

While glosses could be added to the interlinear space or the margin, marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts (as in other genres) were usually written in the margin because of the length of many of these entries. As the following examples make clear, there is a general ambition to have the note close to the relevant word or text passage of the primary text. Even in lithographs and early prints – print was not widely introduced before the 19th century – there was an attempt to maintain this tradition of marginal notes, while later on the footnote became the common mode for annotation. What might this convention show? Lipkin and Tribble have pointed out that the shift from the marginal note to the footnote in early 18th-century Europe meant a change in hierarchization: Glosses in the margins began to decline by the late 17th century, »associated as they are with residual medieval notions of authorization (in which the author is authorized by others, by his place in a relatively undifferentiated tradition). In the later seventeenth and the eighteenth century the footnote begins to dominate, a form that promises – but does not necessarily deliver – a hierarchization of knowledge, a firm subordination of text to subtext«.[56] (And if we agree that the footnote system clearly indicates that the primary text presides over the annotations, modern endnotes remove the tradition of annotating a text even further.)[57]

Keeping the marginal annotations in lithographs and early print might reflect the wish to follow aesthetic concepts (that is, keeping the manuscript tradition), but also the wish to maintain a scholarly tradition and the authority connected with it. Printed Ḥadīṯ collections, with possibly a few footnotes about text vari-

55 Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, »Minhīyāt – Marginalien des Verfassers in arabischen Manuskripten«, in: *Asiatische Studien* (=Études asiatiques, Suisse) 60 (2006), pp. 987-1019.

56 Evelyn B. Tribble, »›Like a Looking-Glass in the Frame‹: From the Marginal Note to the Footnote«, in: D. C. Greetham (ed.), *The Margins of the Text*, 4th ed., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2000, pp. 229-244, quotation p. 231; Lawrence Lipking, »The Marginal Gloss«, in: *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1977), pp. 609-655.

57 Already in 1947, F. Rosenthal addressed the issue of marginal note and footnote. He, though, does not broach the issue of intellectual implications of this shift from the margin to the bottom of the page; instead, he stresses the disadvantage of the limited space in the margin and favours the footnote: »A footnote, on the other hand, can be as long as it is necessary, and its place, in the bottom of the page, is clearly defined. Therefore, only a footnote is a satisfactory vehicle for the conveyance of additional material« (as note 15, p. 39).

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ants, are in this sense stripped of a centuries-old tradition of scholarly interaction with the primary text.

In most cases, marginal commentaries would be added on the upper margin, the outer margin, and the bottom of the page. We encounter scholia in the inner

Image 3: al-Buḫārī, al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, B.or.227, copy dated 800 / 1398, fol. 165v © Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

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margin, too, but in general, this is less common, most probably because of the awareness that these notes might (partly) disappear in the fold with the process of a rebinding. The position of these entries is often oblique, sometimes at a right angle to the primary text, or even upside down with respect to the main text area, in order to avoid any confusion between primary text and *ḥāšiya*.

In principle, marginal commentaries could be added systematically in a planned undertaking over a limited time period, with one or a limited number of hands, or they could grow organically over long periods of time. An organised and planned working process is most likely reflected in a manuscript of al-Buḫārī's Ḥadīṯ collection al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ held at the Leipzig University Library, with the shelf mark B.or.227. With the main text being al-Buḫārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, it shows excerpts from two Ṣaḥīḥ commentaries distributed over the margins. The analysis of these marginal commentaries by Ali Zaherinezhad shows that there must have been a conscious selection of the relevant passages prior to the even distribution of these texts in the margins. Even though there are two main hands, and maybe two less dominant ones, this is most likely evidence for a common workshop, or a commissioned work in a limited period of time, at one place (see image 3).[58]

In other instances, it seems that the main marginal commentator prepared his annotations, leaving space for others to add, such as in a manuscript of the Ḥadīṯ collection by al-Ḫaṭīb at-Tabrīzī (d. 741 / 1340 – 1341), *Miškāt al-Maṣābīḥ*:

At other times, a completely crowded margin with many different hands, showing no signs of a common planning process, seems to indicate a more organic growth of notes over a longer period of time.

It becomes obvious that, especially in some cases suggesting a planned layout, marginal commentaries could have an aesthetic value in and of themselves. The annotation text could be fashioned in a way that it formed an image, either a geometrical design, a tree, or, in the case of Šīʿī manuscripts, a stylised sword, representing ʿAlī's sword, *Ḏū l-fiqār*.[59]

The layout of marginal commentaries could already be part of the manuscript production process: In order to mark the lines, the paper was prepared with a ruling board, or ruling frame (*misṭara*). Threads or cords were attached to it corresponding to the desired pattern of the text on the page. The leaf or bifolium was put on it and by pressing the paper on the ruling board, the threads created

58 Ali Zaherinezhad, »The Marginalization of Commentaries in Manuscripts«, in: Joel Blecher et al. (eds., as note 9).

59 For an image of a marginal note in the shape of ʿAlī's sword, see Gacek (as note 27), p. 115. For images illustrating the aesthetic and the less organised marginal annotations see Ziedan (as note 7), pp. 15 ff. (The book can be accessed on Jan Just Witkam's professional website: http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/books/Ziedan-2009-Commentary/Ziedan-2009-Commentary-1-009-046-Ziedan.pdf [last accessed 8 October 2019]).

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Image 4: al-Ḫaṭīb at-Tabrīzī, Miškāt al-Maṣābīḥ, Ms 0999, copy dated 829 / 1426, fol. 5r
© Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

a pattern of blind lines in the paper. The *misṭara* could not only define the space of the margin, it could also create the pattern for marginal commentaries.[60]

The script of marginal annotations was as a rule smaller than that of the main text. Mamluk calligraphers differentiated, according to Gacek, between a *qalam al-matn* (script of the main text) and the *qalam al-ḥawāšī* (script of the marginal commentaries, or annotations).[61] While some marginal annotations are written in a clear script, in most cases the script of marginal commentaries is difficult to read, of poor quality, and lacking vowel signs and often diacritics.[62] Whether this is a sign of negligence, simply an accepted tradition among scholars, and/or

60 For such an example see Gacek (as note 27), p. 232, or the power point presentation by Jan Just Witkam on layout and scripts, which is accessible via his website: http://www.islamic-manuscripts.info/files/Codicology-Layout-scripts-2010.pdf [last accessed 8 October 2019].

61 Gacek (as note 27), p. 115.

62 As a consonantal script, the Arabic needs vowel signs above or below the consonants. In addition, some Arabic letters can be read as up to five different characters, if the letters are not distinguished by diacritical marks.

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some kind of code for the trained, scholarly community can be debated (with these possibilities being, of course, not mutually exclusive). The difficulty of reading many marginal commentaries with regard to script and position makes it likely that they were not meant as a point of reference for live sessions and oral teachings, but instead intended for private study.

Especially if the marginal commentary was a quotation, it was usually introduced by *qauluhu* (his word[s]), referring either to the word(s) of the main text that is commented upon, or to the *qauluhu* mentioned already in the source, that is, the stand-alone commentary. Explanations of the meaning of a word could be introduced by *ayy* (»that is«, »that means«). The end of a marginal commentary is often marked with the word *tammat* (finished), or different symbols for the word *intahā* (finished), versions of the letter *hāʾ*, a circle, or an inverted heart (see on image 4 the marginal annotation with the number 1 in the right corner of the page).[63]

6) Offering Orientation for the Reader: Advice for the Scribe of Ḥadīṯ Texts

There are two main approaches to dealing with *signes de renvoi*, annotation symbols, and practices of adding marginal commentaries: Texts written about such practices, which would need to be studied as texts (philology), and the actual practice of annotating a manuscript (codicology).[64] These two approaches do not run necessarily in accordance, as texts might suggest certain practices that were rarely used in reality. And even though there were certain traditions with regard to adding marginal commentaries, practices were manifold and surely less consistent than in an ideal case scenario.

There is no in-depth study of different texts presenting guidelines and best practices for the addition of marginal commentaries at this point, and this would be a question too large for this article. But one genre dedicated to the terminology and transmission of Ḥadīṯ could be seen as a potential source for scribal practices: the works on *ʿulūm al-ḥadīṯ* (sciences of Ḥadīṯ). In the course of the formation and systematisation of Ḥadīṯ, scholars engaged with this genre tried to develop a more consistent terminology (therefor, *ʿulūm al-ḥadīṯ* is sometimes used synonymously with *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṯ*, that is, Ḥadīṯ terminology), systematised variations of names for the study of the chain of transmitters (*isnād*), and discussed abrogation and patterns of and guidelines for distinguishing proper

63 For other abbreviations of a more regional character see Gacek (as note 27), p. 117.

64 Evina Steinová, *Notam Superponere Studui: The Use of Annotation Symbols in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2019, pp. 23-25.

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or weak transmission.[65] Some of the works of this genre, which began appearing in the 10th century CE, contain information about scribal practices, either in chapters on the transmission of Ḥadīṯ or in chapters specifically dedicated to scribal practice (*adab al-kātib*). For this article, four influential works have been consulted: *al-Muḥaddiṯ al-Fāṣil* by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ar-Rām[a]hurmuzī, also known as Ibn al-Ḫallād (d. before 360/971)[66]; the *Kifāya fī ʿilm ar-riwāya* by al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. 463 / 1071)[67]; the *Kitāb ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīṯ*, known as the *Muqaddima,* by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ aš-Šahrazūrī (d. 643 / 1245)[68], and finally the *Ḫulāṣa fī maʿrifat al-Ḥadīṯ* by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭībī (d. 743 / 1342).[69] A reading of these works reveals the following: While Rāmhurmuzī (10th c.) and al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī (11th c.) dedicate comparatively little attention to scribal problems for the writing of Ḥadīṯ, by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ's time (13th c.) this topic has become much more prominent, and later works sometimes include a separate chapter on scribal practices (*adab al-kātib*), as in aṭ-Ṭībī's book from the 14th century. Here, we find, in a rather systematic order, chapters on the conduct of the Šaiḫ, the teaching master (*fī adab aš-šaiḫ*, pp. 167 ff.), the conduct of the student (*fī adab aṭ-ṭālib*, pp. 171 ff.), and finally the conduct of the scribe (*fī adab al-kātib*, pp. 174 ff.). This might be an indication of the increase in the writing of Ḥadīṯ that took place from the 10th to the 14th century and the growing awareness of the role of the scribe.

Another observation is that in all these works advice and instructions for the scribe (student or professional) for how to write Ḥadīṯ are given; but the advice and instructions refer nearly exclusively to the main text, that is, the copied Ḥadīṯ collection. When text in the margin is addressed in more detail, those notes usually refer to how to mark lacunae in the primary text. Only in passing does Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ address the issue of commentary, errors, and text variants – these he considers as »not part of the original text«.[70] For the main text, the scribe is advised to write clearly and »exactly as the transmitters related it,

65 See Mohammad Gharaibeh, *Einführung in die Wissenschaften des Hadith, seine Überlieferungsgeschichte und Literatur*, Vol. 4, Freiburg i. Br. 2016, pp. 96-99.

66 al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ar-Rāmhurmuzī (or: Rāmahurmuzī), *al-Muḥaddiṯ al-fāṣil baina r-rāwī wa-l-wāʿī,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAǧǧāǧ al-Ḫaṭīb, Damascus 1404 / 1984.

67 Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *al-Kifāya fī [maʿrifat uṣūl] ʿilm ar-riwāya*, ed. Dāʾirat al-Māʿārif al-ʿUṯmāniyya, no place, no date.

68 For references and the citations in this article, the English translation has been used: Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ aš-Šahrazūrī, *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth/ Kitāb maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, trans. Eerik Dickinson, Reading 2005; the Arabic edition: Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ aš-Šahrazūrī and Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīṯ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿAtr, Damascus 1407 / 1986.

69 al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Šaraf ad-Dīn ad-Dimašqī aṭ-Ṭībī, *al-Ḫulāṣa fī maʿrifat al-ḥadīṯ*, ed. Abū ʿĀṣim aš-Šawāmī al-Aṯarī, Cairo 1430 / 2009.

70 Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), p. 137.

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using the vowel signs and diacritical points necessary to eliminate ambiguity«.[71] The individual traditions should be separated by hollow circles, and, after collation, a dot could be placed in the centre of the circle.[72] The scholar should use symbols and signs that are part of the known tradition.[73] Described much more in detail, and illustrating the connection between the main text and marginal annotation, are the remarks on textual omissions (*laḥaq*, addendum). Part of this passage is quoted here:

> The preferred method of supplying a textual omission in the margins – and it is called an ›addendum‹ (laḥaq) – is for the student to make a line going up from the spot of the omission in the line of text and then curve it for a short distance between the two lines of text in the direction of the spot in the margin where he will write the addendum. He should begin writing the addendum in the margin opposite the curved line. Let that be in the right margin. If it is near the middle of the page, let the addendum be written – if there is room for it – going up toward the top of the page, and not down toward the bottom. When the addendum is two or more lines long, the student should not begin the lines going from the bottom to the top, but rather begin them going from the top to the bottom, so that the end of the lines is in the direction of the center of the page, when the insertion is on the right margin; and when it is on the left margin, their end is toward the edge of the page. ›It is correct‹ (ṣaḥḥa) should be written at the end of the addendum. Some people write ›It returned‹ (rajaʿa) with ›It is correct«.[74]

In what follows, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ points to some regional differences. He also mentions another scholar's recommendation to extend the curve from the spot of omission in the main text to the beginning of the marginal addendum. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ himself rejects this practice: »While it does more clearly indicate where the addendum belongs, it blackens the book and marks it up, especially if there are many addenda. God knows best.«[75] Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ then adds a long paragraph on how to distribute the addenda in the margin. In general, the scribe should take

71 Ibid., p. 130. Another possibility for clearly identifying the consonant was to mark those that had to remain unpointed. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ also mentions the possibility of writing an ambiguous word in unconnected letters in the margin, that is the letters in their isolated form, since in this way some consonants are more easily identified than in the connected *rasm*, p. 131.

72 Ibid., p. 132; ar-Rāmahurmūzī (as note 66), p. 606; aṭ-Ṭībī (as note 69), p. 175.

73 Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), p. 132.

74 Ibid., p. 136. This advice is repeated in aṭ-Ṭībī's 14th-century *al-Ḫulāṣa,* which strongly builds on Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ. The curved line is described as: »[…] *fa-la-yaḫuṭṭa min mauḍiʿi suqūṭihi fī s-saṭri ḫaṭṭan ṣāʿidan qalīlan maʿṭūfan baina s-saṭrain ʿaṭfatan yasīratan ilā ǧihati l-laḥaq, ṯumma yaktuba l-laḥaqa qibālata l-ʿaṭfati fī l-ḥāšiya* […].« (p. 176)

75 Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), pp. 136 f.

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care to start with the upper part of the margin for his annotations, so that, if many further addenda have to be written, he does not encounter problems with the space in the margin. If there are more addenda, the student can distribute the annotations on the right and left margins in order to avoid confusion. The left margin should especially be used if the omission in the main text is at the end of the line »because of the proximity of the omission to the margin«.[76]

The interesting issue here is that these detailed descriptions refer to omissions in the main text and how to annotate them; that is, the focus is on the correct transmission of the main text. Marginal commentaries and any additional remarks explaining foreign words, providing biographical information on transmitters, and clarifying content are not addressed in the cited recommendation.

Nevertheless, we can find the tradition in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts of connecting parts of the main text with marginal commentaries by a line to indicate where the insertion belongs. But in general, this practice was not widespread. In fact, most Ḥadīṯ manuscripts from the Middle East do not show such lines. The reason might be – as already pointed out by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ himself – the aesthetics of the page: Alongside the main text and the often numerous marginal annotations, lines connecting these annotations to the relevant places in the main text would »blacken the page« and maybe lead to a more confusing impression than the text without lines. It seems, though, that certain manuscript cultures in the Islamicate world are known to have used such lines of insertion more frequently, such as West African manuscripts, and manuscripts from the Šīʿī community of the Zaidiyya from the Caspian region of Northern Iran.[77]

The clearest reference from a marginal annotation to a place in the main text is done by means of a *signe de renvoi*. But these are not discussed in the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīṯ* works at all – even though they were used. That marginal commentaries were not considered part of a scribe's training, as is evident from the books on Ḥadīṯ sciences, and the fact that the instructions therein refer to the correct written transmission of the *main* text is reflected in the following statement of Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ:

> Commentary, the notation of errors and variant readings from different transmissions or different copies of the text or similar material not part of the original text which is to be supplied in the margins: The expert Qāḍī ʿIyād (God bless him) held the view that a line of insertion should not be used for

76 Ibid., p. 137.

77 Personal communication, Dmitry Bondarev (Hamburg University) and Hassan Ansari (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton). Since only a few manuscripts from the Northern Zaidī community have survived, this remains a preliminary observation with no concluding statement. Comparative research on this issue will be carried out in the Bibliotheca Arabica Project at the Saxon Academy for Sciences and Humanities in Leipzig, Germany.

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> this kind of material. This way ambiguity does not arise with this foreign material being considered part of the original text itself. However, to mark the word for which the additional material was intended, a sign like the ›latch‹ (ḍabba) or the one indicating that the word is correct (taṣḥīḥ) is something placed over it. I say: the line of insertion is better and clearer. The character of this supplementary material inherently eliminates any ambiguity. This supplement differs from the other kind belonging to the original text in that the line of the latter comes between the two words, bracketing the omission, and the line of the former occurs over the actual word for the sake of which the supplementary material in the margin is cited. God knows best.[78]

7) Offering Orientation for the Reader: Manuscript Evidence

Moving from texts that treat adding marginal annotation to codicological evidence: How is the reader guided between primary text and marginal commentaries? In his work on marginalia in English books from 1700 to 2000, H. J. Jackson points out:

> Marking, copying out, inserting glosses, selecting heads, adding bits from other books, and writing one's own observations are all traditional devices, on a rising scale of readerly activity, for remembering and assimilating text. Psychologically, these techniques seem to function by forcing the reader to slow down (or stop) and go back over the material, and by driving a wedge between the author and the reader.[79]

Even though marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts suggest by a large majority the scribe's ambition to place them in relative proximity to the word or passage of the main text they refer to, there are also indicators that many of these entries were meant to be read privately, and slowly: One reason is the *mise en page* that forces the reader to move and turn the book in order to read the sloped marginal annotations or those that are written upside down. In addition, the small and often sketchy and casual script, many times without diacritics, was not easily read (at least not by most readers).

Two scribal practices could better orient the reader: In the discussion of texts for scribes of Ḥadīṯ texts, we have already mentioned the advice to use a line of insertion. Another possibility were *signes de renvoi*, as can be seen the following

78 Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), pp. 137 f.

79 Heather J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, New Haven and London 2001, p. 87.

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example from a 14th-century Ḥadīṯ collection by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫaṭīb at-Tabrīzī (d. 741 / 1340 – 1341), called *Miškāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (the copy is dated 829 / 1426):

Image 5: Signes de renvoi in al-Ḫaṭīb at-Tabrīzī, Miškāt al-Maṣābīḥ, Ms 0999, copy dated 829 / 1426, fol. 3r © Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

Here it is numbers that establish the relation between the word of the main text and the marginal annotation, and in this case the numbers are even written in red.

But in most Ḥadīṯ manuscripts, there are neither lines of insertion nor *signes de renvoi*. The connection between marginal commentary and main text has to be made by the reader himself, a further indicator for private study and slow reading. As an example, see the following image from a manuscript of al-Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, copied in 804 / 1402, most likely in Shiraz, in Timurid Iran:

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Image 6: al-Buḫārī, al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, Glaser 30, copy dated 804 / 1402, fol. 1v
© Courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

On fol. 1v, line 4 in the main text, ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb (d. 23 / 644) is supposed to have said something »in the pulpit« (*ʿalā l-minbar*). The commentary on the upper margin explains that this pulpit is the one »of the Prophetic mosque« (*minbar al-masǧid an-nabawī*), that is, in Medina. The commentary specifies the location of the pulpit mentioned in the Ḥadīṯ of the main text. But neither is there a *signe de renvoi* at *minbar* in the main text, nor before or above the marginal commentary.

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8) Identifying the Source of a Quotation in the Margin

Given that marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts were used to a large extent for study purposes, it is interesting to note that in many cases the source of a quotation in the margin is not necessarily mentioned. This can lead to a number of assumptions, namely that the sources quoted were well known within the scholarly community in which they circulated, or known by the private user of the manuscript.[80] On the other hand, not mentioning the source might point to the rather crucial role of the marginal commentator, in that he consciously guides the reader on how to study the main text, leaving his own sources unnamed. On these possible roles and sources, see below.

9) Main Types of Marginal Commentaries

In general, and for the sake of a systematic approach, we can distinguish four main types of marginal commentaries referring to the origin and completeness of the texts. The first two types are authorial voices, while the last two are quotations.

The first type would ideally be a complete commentary drafted in the margin – a proper *ḥāšiya*, as discussed above. Further research would be needed to identify such texts, and to reconstruct the pathway from the margin to a stand-alone text. In general, we can expect, though, that an author mainly wrote single notes in the margin, his own exegetical notes, and possibly some quotations from other scholars, and that the subsequent revision and edition took place on new sheets of paper as an independent coherent text.

The second type of marginal commentary includes single marginal notes by an authorial voice. Basically, these could be notes written by the author himself (*minhiyyāt*), or his notes copied by another hand, or somebody writing the remarks of a teacher in the context of a live session. Joel Blecher has illustrated the revisions made by Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 / 1449) on his own commentary, as traceable in marginal notes, written by a student during an audition.[81] A manuscript to be studied in line with this would be an autograph by Muḥammad Badr ad-Dīn az-Zarkašī aš-Šāfiʿī (794 / 1392) of his work *Tanqīḥ alfāẓ al-Ğāmiʿ*

80 For the Qurʾān commentary (*tafsīr*), Dmitry Bondarev points out that, due to the popularity of the *Tafsīr al-Ğalalain* by Ğalāl ad-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864 / 1459) and Ğalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 911 / 1505) among scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) of the Borno Sultanate in Sub-Saharan Africa, marginal quotations of this commentary often did not mention the source. Bondarev (as note 20), pp. 32 f.

81 Blecher (as note 22).

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aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, a commentary on al-Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with many of his marginal and interlinear annotations, held at the State Library of Berlin.[82]

Image 7: Autograph Badr ad-Dīn az-Zarkašī, Tanqīḥ alfāẓ al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ, Sprenger 499 (Ahlwardt 1195), fol. 71r © Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

Reflecting a teaching context are annotations that are often introduced by »our master said« (*qāla šaiḫunā*), or »from the mouth of our teacher« (*min fammi ustāḏinā*), and similar expressions. As Darya Ogorodnikova has pointed out, though, one has to take care not to interpret such entries as being written directly in the margin during the live teaching session. She stresses that many times the layout and the careful script might indicate a later addition to the margin[83], maybe copied from notes taken on a piece of scrap paper during the session, and then later added to the proper manuscript. The availability of paper and the value of a manuscript are surely aspects to be considered here.

The following two types are quotations. Analogous to the two authorial types mentioned above, there is either the possibility of a fully quoted commentary in the margin, or of single notes – in this case excerpts from stand-alone texts. For type three, the complete quote of a commentary, the limited space of the margin automatically brings in the constraint of a shorter commentary.[84]

82 Ahlwardt (as note 50), Vol. 2, no. 1195 (Sprenger 499), p. 61.
83 Ogorodnikova (as note 24).
84 See Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Powers of Philology: Dynamics of Textual Scholarship*, Urbana 2003, p. 44.

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But in fact, the most frequently encountered type of marginal commentary in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts is type four, namely selected excerpts from independent, stand-alone commentaries, or other sources. The choice of sources tells us not only something about texts known and possibly popular in a given scholarly environment, they also can tell us something about the methods applied to study the main text and ideological attitudes or agendas reflected in the choice of texts. Let's assume that the scribe of the marginal commentaries is identical with the one who chose the sources to be quoted (something which surely was not always the case): This makes him a rather influential figure. It is he who determines how the reader approaches the text, he who might have an ideological influence on the reader. Given this important role, the usual anonymity of the scribe of marginal annotations seems noteworthy.

Even beyond the selection of text passages considered important, the scribe, or marginal commentator, can also choose from within these passages what to quote. An example from the Glaser 30 manuscript, a copy of the Ḥadīṯ collection *al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Buḫārī (which will be dealt with more in detail below): On fol. 1v Arabic foliation/fol. 5v European foliation, one can see the shortened title of as-Suyūṭī's commentary *at-Tawšīḥ* at the end of the annotation (which appears sporadically). The marginal text in Glaser 30 is as follows:

قوله فغطني بغين
معجمة وطاء مهملة
أي ضمني وعصرني
وفي مسند الطيالسي
فأخذ بحلقي تمت توشيح

In the edited version of as-Suyūṭīʾs *Tawšīḥ*[85], the text is as follows:

(فغطني) بغين معجمة وطاء مهملة. **وفي رواية الطبري: بتاء مثناة فوقية بمعناه**، أي: ضمني وعصرني. وفي "مسند الطيالسي": فأخذ بحلقي.

The scribe of the annotation in Glaser 30 has obviously left out the reference to an alternative reading in the recension of aṭ-Ṭabarī, which is marked bold in the quotation above. Another explanation, other than intentional omission, would be that this part was not included in his *Vorlage*.

Summing up: On the one hand, the usually anonymous scribe of marginal commentaries of the quotation type is part of a tradition: He does not invent something new, but adds useful information for himself or contemporary and future readers. And since he might be only one of many scribes present in the margin, there is not necessarily a »single strong subject«.[86] On the other hand,

85 Ǧalāl ad-Dīn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Suyūṭī, *at-Tawšīḥ šarḥ al-ǧāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Riḍwān Ǧāmiʿ Riḍwān, Riyad 1419 / 1998, p. 138.

86 See also Gumbrecht (as note 84), p. 48.

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copyists often add their names to the colophon, and what they do is also simply an act of copying, similar to the scribe who adds the chosen excerpts of commentaries in the margin of a manuscript. Even more: The scribe of marginal commentaries is not merely copying – he is choosing his material, and acts as a mediator between the primary text and the reader. As a mediator, he seems more active than the copyist of the primary text. He can guide the reader and choose what the reader should have in mind when reading the main text. His role in that respect has more impact than that of the copyist – but still, the individuality of the scribes of marginal commentaries often remains in the shadows.

10) Two Examples of the Quotation Type of Marginal Commentary

To illustrate type four, two examples of manuscripts with al-Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* can be compared. Both were written in late 14th- early 15th-century Timurid Iran, one surely in Shiraz, the other one presumably in Shiraz. The first manuscript with the shelf mark B.or.227 is today held at the Leipzig University Library. It was copied in 800 / 1398 in Shiraz, contains the complete *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Buḫārī, and is covered from beginning (except of fol. 1-23 where the main text area was inserted in a new paper frame) to end with marginal annotations. The other manuscript is today held at the Austrian National Library, with the shelf mark Glaser 30. The colophon dates the manuscript to 804 / 1402, but gives no place of copy. An analysis of codicological features such as format, layout, ornamentation, and a comparison of the nearly identical tables of content in B.or.227 and Glaser 30 makes its provenance from Shiraz more than likely.[87]

B.or.227 has extensive quotations from two commentaries on al-Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see image 3): One is from the Egyptian scholar Badr ad-Dīn [Ibn] ad-Damāmīnī (d. 827 / 1424), called *Maṣābīḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ*. Damāmīnī came from Egypt, but apparently wrote this commentary during his stay in Yemen, maybe finishing it after moving on to the Sultanate of Gujarat. He died in the Deccan, India, in 827 / 1424. The other commentary that gets quoted in the margin was written by the Persian scholar Saʿīd b. Muḥammad ʿAfīf ad-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī (d. most likely 758 / 1357[88]), called *Maqāṣid at-tanqīḥ fī šarḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Kāzarūn is a city west of Shiraz, and Kāzarūnī was an active scholar in the Shirazi scholarly milieu, known as a Ḥadīṯ specialist, and with some ties to the local Sufi milieu.[89]

87 See Stefanie Brinkmann, »From Iran to Kawkabān: The Transfer of Sunnī Texts to Zaydī Yemen – A Case Study on Glaser 30«, in: Sabine Schmidtke and Hassan Ansari (eds.), *Yemeni Manuscripts in Peril*, Piscataway (NJ) 2020 [forthcoming].

88 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 4, p. 231.

89 Zaherinezhad (as note 58).

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While Damāmīnī's commentary has been edited[90], Kāzarūnī's commentary is known to us only due to a few mainly fragmentary manuscripts identified by Ali Zaherinezhad so far, and the marginal quotations in B.or.227.[91] The Kāzarūnī commentary was a local commentary, while Damāmīnī's commentary might have reached Shiraz from India via East Iran – but this has to remain a hypothesis. As Zaherinezhad argues, the marginal commentaries were added as a planned undertaking and most likely were done close in time to the production of the manuscript, that is, 15th-century Shiraz. While Kāzarūnī was a Ḥadīṯ scholar, Damāmīnī was known above all as a specialist in the Arabic language – maybe this made his commentary valuable in a non-Arabic Persian milieu in Shiraz. But the most important impact of Damāmīnī's commentary are the many quotations from contemporary or earlier, mainly Egyptian, commentaries, which apparently were still rare in early 15th-century Shiraz. By the Mamluk period, a Ḥadīṯ scholar was at best well trained in the Arabic language and literature, not only for the sake of memorising the traditions properly (a key competence from the very beginning), but as part of the ›adabisation‹ of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*).[92]

Both, the Kāzarūnī and the Damāmīnī commentary encompass a wide range of topics, from language and legal issues to theology. It seems that the scribes often tried to add as much as they could from these two commentaries in the margin, choosing the excerpts carefully for their content. A different image arises when looking at the Glaser 30 manuscript (see image 6).[93]

Here, only the beginning of the manuscript is densely annotated, a quite typical phenomenon in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts (and those of other genres). Marginal commentaries cover the margins until fol. 8r, becoming less on fol. 8v-9r, and after this, they appear only sporadically. While the marginal commentaries in B.or.227 were added relatively close in time to the production of the manuscript, and most likely in the same city, the marginal annotations in Glaser 30 were added centuries later and far away from Shiraz. By the 16th century, this manuscript must have reached Yemen and come into the possession of the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Šaraf ad-Dīn b. Šams ad-Dīn Yaḥyā (b. 877/1473, d. 965 / 1558).[94] Henceforth it remained in the Šaraf ad-Dīn family until the

90 Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ad-Damāmīnī, *Maṣābīḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ*, ed. Nūr ad-Dīn Ṭālib, 10 vols., Qaṭar 1430 / 2009.

91 Zaherinezhad (as note 58).

92 Thomas Bauer, »Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit«, in: Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (eds.), *Die Mamlüken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942 – 1999)*, Schenefeld 2003, pp. 71-122, especially pp. 79-85.

93 On Glaser 30, see Brinkmann (as note 87).

94 ʿAbd as-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-Muʾallifīn al-Zaidiyya*, Muʾassasa al-Imām Zaid ibn ʿAlī al-Ṯaqāfiyya / Imam Zaid ibn Ali Cultural Foundation, Amman 1420/1999, no. 1197,

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19th century, when it was taken by Eduard Glaser to Austria. A marginal note on fol. 2r mentions water damage in this manuscript, apparently dating from some time at the end of the 17th century. The scribe reports on the damaged marginal annotations (as compared to the main text, which had survived slightly better). In fact, the often-repaired paper and the typical Yemenī script in the margins suggest that these were added after the water damage. Based on the reconstruction of ownership (manuscript notes), its scholarly network, and a *qirāʾa* entry beside the colophon on fol. 516r/520r dated to the year 1211 / 1796 – 1797, it seems reasonable that the marginal commentaries were added sometime between the 18th or early 19th century in the region of Kaukabān in Yemen, within the Šīʿī Zaidī milieu.

While B.or.227 is part of a Sunnī milieu – the Timurid dynasty – with marginal commentaries taken from ›Sunnī‹ commentaries on Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Glaser 30 was kept and used in a Šīʿī Zaidī environment, even though the main text and the marginal commentaries contain ›Sunnī‹ texts. In addition, the marginal commentaries in Glaser 30 quote from more than two commentaries.

The dominant commentary in Glaser 30 is the *Tawšīḥ* written by the Egyptian scholar Ǧalāl ad-Dīn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Suyūṭī (d. 911 / 1505).[95] (Abbreviated as *Tawšīḥ* under some of the quotations.) The *Tawšīḥ* is a concise commentary, a format that had become popular in the Mamluk period (and beyond) and that is, obviously, convenient for the margin because of its brevity. The second commentary quoted in excerpts in the margin is the famous and extensive *Fatḥ al-Bārī* by the Egyptian scholar Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 / 1449). (Abbreviated as *Fatḥ* under some of the quotations.) Quotes from the *Fatḥ al-Bārī* were apparently added where the *Tawšīḥ* was too short or silent on a particular topic, and due to the extensive information given in the *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, the selection of these passages required attention. Besides the quotations from these two proper Ḥadīṯ commentaries, there are two more sources to be identified: One dictionary, and one work situated between Ḥadīṯ sciences and lexicography, the *ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*. *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* works are dedicated to difficult, foreign, or ambiguous words found in Ḥadīṯ, and they were written as early as the 8th century – mainly by philologists who used the Prophetic traditions for the compilation of Arabic lexis and to ensure that these important religious texts were read and understood properly.

The dictionary quoted in Glaser 30 is the famous and widespread *Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* by the Persian lexicographer Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414). (Abbreviated as *Qāmūs* under one relevant entry, see image 6.) Typical for

pp. 1134 ff.; J. Richard Blackburn, »al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Sharaf al-Dīn«, in: P. Bearman et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 7, Leiden and New York 1993, p. 779.

95 On as-Suyūṭī's *Tawšīḥ* as a concise commentary see Blecher (as note 8), pp. 129-139.

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a scholar of his time, al-Fīrūzābādī traveled in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, the Ḥiǧāz, India (Dehli), and Yemen, where he passed away in 817 / 1414.

The fourth source has not been identified with certainty so far. It is an (unedited) abridgement of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī's (555 – 630 / 1160 – 1233) *an-Nihāya fī ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*, the abridgement being called *Muḫtaṣar an-Nihāya* (*li-Ibn al-Aṯīr*). (Abbreviated as *Muḫtaṣar Nihāya* under some entries.) There are three possible authors, all from the 16th century, all originally from India, with more or less time spent in Mecca: A *Muḫtaṣar an-Nihāya* work written by the Indian scholar ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī from Gujarat (d. in Mecca 975 / 1567).[96] But it is only Hidayet Hosein who attributes a work with this title to al-Muttaqī.[97] The second scholar is ʿAlī al-Hindī (lived around 952/1545) who wrote a *Muḫtaṣar an-Nihāya li-Ibn Aṯīr*.[98] (His name might have led to the attribution of the *Muḫtaṣar* work to al-Muttaqī by Hidayet Hosein.) And the third author in question is ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad Quṭb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḫair aṣ-Ṣafawī (900 – 953 / 1495 – 1546).[99]

The two Buḫārī commentaries in Glaser 30 are famous 15th-century Mamluk works on Ḥadīṯ, the *Qāmūs* was a widespread 15th-century dictionary in the Islamicate world from al-Andalus to India, and whoever the author of the *ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* work was, he was a scholar active during the Ottoman period in the Hiǧāz (Mecca). The marginal commentaries prove that they were used for the study of Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in 18th- or early 19th-century Zaidī Yemen. They illustrate the growing influence of Sunnī Islam in the Zaidī community in Yemen from the 17th – 18th centuries on.

Another important issue at hand is that the marginal annotations in Glaser 30 are clearly concentrated on lexical grammatical questions. The very few ›historical‹ annotations, such as the identification of the »pulpit« (*minbar*) in a Ḥadīṯ as the pulpit of the mosque of the Prophet in Medina, are rare. The stress was put obviously on a correct reading and transmission, including noting some variant

96 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 7, p. 59 has 885-975/1480-1567; Ziriklī (as note 35), Vol. 4, p. 271, has as date of death »after 952 / 1545«.

97 Kaḥḥāla does not mention a *Muḫtaṣar* work under the entry on al-Muttaqī. His *Muḫtaṣar* is mentioned in EI²: M. Hidayet Hosein, »Al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī«, in: P. Bearman et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 7, Leiden and New York 1993, pp. 800 f.

98 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 7, p. 257.

99 Ibid., p. 32. His Muḫtaṣar an-Nihāya li-Ibn al-Aṯīr is also mentioned in al-Ḥibšī's reference work on commentary literature (ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī, *Ǧāmiʿ aš-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī. Muʿǧam šāmil li-asmaʾ al-kutub al-mašrūḥa fī t-turāṯ al-islāmī wa-bayān šurūḥihā*, Abu Dhabi 1425 / 2004, p. 2038), and in the Fihris aš-Šāmil (*al-Fihris aš-šāmil li-t-turāṯ al-ʿarabī al-islāmī al-maḫṭūṭ*, al-Ḥadīṯ an-nabawiyya aš-šarīfa wa-ʿulūmuhu wa-riǧāluhu, ǧuzʾ 2, p. 1416 [no. 468]). The Fihris also mentions an anonymous work of the same title (ibid., no. 469).

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readings. This is a clear difference from the extensive marginal annotation in B.or.227, which covers philological issues, as well as legal and theological ones.

This leads us to the question of the exegetical nature of such entries, or the difference between interpretation and commentary. In terms of Ḥadīṯ studies in general, the reader was to learn about important text recensions (variants), the (different) meanings of words that were apparently considered to cause problems or to be ambiguous, and to understand syntactical relations. With regard to content, historical context information might be given and (usually brief) information that would allow for the clear identification of a person, usually one of the transmitters in the *isnād*. Legal rulings, or theological discussions are less prominent than those entries addressing the correct transmission of the Ḥadīṯ texts.

On a more theoretical level, we might conclude that the ›quotation type‹ of marginal commentaries is in many cases not an interpretation of the primary text. It usually does not attempt to identify and reconstruct the meaning of the primary text, but to provide tools close at hand that allow for possible subsequent interpretation. In this sense, it would reflect Gumbrecht's definition of what a commentary is:

> As long as the interpreter thus understands the task at hand as the identification of a given meaning, the main problem he or she faces lies in the asymmetry between the range of general and specialized knowledge that the text presupposes – as a condition for the identification of its (»intended«, »original«, »historical«, »adequate«, or »authentic«) meaning – and the knowledge that the interpreter has at his or her disposal. It has always been the task of the commentator and the function of the commentary to overcome such asymmetry and to thus mediate between different cultural contexts (between that which the text's author shared with a primary readership and that of readers who belong to later historical times or to different cultures). Seen from this angle, a commentary always provides supplementary knowledge; in doing so, it fulfills an ancillary function in relation to interpretation.[100]

In his view, this does not make the commentary completely »subordinate« to interpretation. Whereas an interpreter, according to Gumbrecht, basically wants to come to an end, to conclude with an interpretation, the commentator can give what he/she thinks is necessary information for his/her contemporaries for them to be able to work with the primary text. But since future audiences have to be thought of implicitly, commentary is a never-ending task.[101]

100 Gumbrecht (as note 84), p. 41.
101 Ibid., p. 42.

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With regard to content, one might suggest for the scribes of the marginal entries in the manuscript B.or.227 the aim is one of interpretation through marginal commentaries, given the wide array of topics covered, the extensive annotation, and the planned addition of the texts in a limited time, and most probably at one place. The marginal commentaries in Glaser 30, in contrast, reflect much more Gumbrecht's characterization of commentary as an auxiliary science – they are intended to ensure that the main text is read properly, since only through this is a subsequent proper study (and interpretation) of it possible.

One might dare to say that the potentially never-ending interaction between reader and primary text is more impressively expressed in marginal commentaries in manuscripts than in stand-alone commentaries which, at a certain point in time, conclude, either because the commentator considered his work to be finished or because the author's lifetime came to an end. The limitation for the marginal commentaries is simple: space on the page.

11) Conclusion

As the research projects and case studies presented in this article have shown, the analysis of marginal commentaries in manuscripts can reveal a wealth of information on the history of Arabic literature: the genesis of texts and genres, the distribution and transmission of texts, contexts of learning and teaching, and personal and professional thoughts as part of intellectual discourses. The scribal practices that we can observe in a manuscript can indicate to what extend marginal commentaries were part of the production process of the manuscript, or at least a planned undertaking as compared to the organic growth of notes over longer periods of time. And sometimes, a work (or at least parts of it) only survived in the margins of a manuscript.

The four main types of marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts that have been outlined in this article reflect this information value and illustrate at the same time the many research desiderata: With regard to the authorial drafting of a commentary in the margin which would become a stand-alone commentary at a later stage, research is needed for reconstructing the path (or the many paths) from the margin to the stand-alone-text. Connected to this need is a systematic analysis of the structures and contents of works called *ḥāšiya*, the terminology applied by the author in the preface and his possible motivations and objectives. The second type, the (scattered) authorial annotations, reveals revisions made by an author, and thereby gives an insight into the editing of his (or her) work. While such annotations could be written in the hand of the author (*minhiyyāt*), they also could be the result of teaching and dictation sessions, in

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which a student added the teacher's remarks to the margin of the manuscript. Thus, they allow us a view into learning and teaching contexts, people involved, texts studied, and methods applied. While the third type, the complete copy of an otherwise stand-alone commentary in the margin, presupposes a concise, short text due to the limited space available, it can serve the study of an individual or a community (e.g., at a madrasa), or simply the transmission of a text. The fourth type, the quotation of selected parts of stand-alone-commentaries in the margin, is the most widespread in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts. It reflects known texts at a given time and place and is therefore crucial for our knowledge of the transmission and distribution of texts. In addition, these entries indicate how a Ḥadīṯ text was studied – was the focus on a correct reading and transmission of the traditions? Or was it on specific topics such as legal or theological questions? Were the annotations meant to be auxiliary tools for further interpretation, or was there an obvious attempt to interpret the traditions? It is noteworthy that the scribe of these marginal annotations, if he was identical with the one who selected the relevant passages, often remained anonymous despite his influential role in deciding what commentaries to quote from and what to choose from within these commentaries. His choice had an impact on how the Ḥadīṯ text was read and studied – nevertheless he rarely appears with a name, different from the many copyists of the main text.

The abovementioned examples and the illustrated examples of typical types of marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṯ manuscripts surely will have to be refined in the future: for the genre of Ḥadīṯ, for other genres that arose within the Islamicate cultures, and as part of a much larger tradition, or better still, manifold traditions in different cultures from Europe to China. The study of marginal commentaries in particular, and that of marginal annotations in general, is connected, though, to a number of challenges: On the level of methodology, it requires a set of academic disciplines, such as codicology, paleography, philology, book history, and cultural history – to name just a few. The entries, which usually do not bear a name, or a date, or a place, have to be given meaning in relation to the primary text, which can be done by trying to contextualize the additions in time and space, and/or by analyzing the content of the primary text and the annotation. On a very practical level, it seems difficult, if not at times rather impossible, to get a systematic overview of Ḥadīṯ manuscripts and their marginal annotations: Manuscript catalogues are either tacit when it comes to marginal commentaries, concentrating on the data of the primary text, such as author and title, or they mention the mere existence of marginal annotations without further specifying them.[102] In this case, the only way of determining if

102 See also al-Ǧīlānī (as note 41), p. 393.

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there are marginal commentaries to be studied in a given manuscript is either to travel to the relevant institution (or private owner), or to organise a digitised image. The growing number of digitised, accessible images online is a huge step forward in this respect. There are a few, exceptional catalogues that give more detail on marginal commentaries, such as the catalogue for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts at the National Library of Israel[103], where the sources of the quoted marginal commentaries have been identified, and the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts at the Methodius National Library in Sofia, where quoted marginal commentaries are identified, even though not always entirely.[104] This is not meant as criticism of cataloguers – they usually simply do not have the occasion to invest the time-consuming efforts required to identify marginal commentaries, being faced, as they are, with the task of cataloguing as much as possible (in as little time as possible). But for the researcher, the lack of information given to marginal commentaries in catalogues remains an obstacle for research in this field.

103 Efraim Wust, *The Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel*, Vol. 1 (Islamic Manuscripts and Books, Vol. 13), Leiden 2017.

104 Stoyanka Kenderova, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in SS Cyril and Methodius National Library Sofia,* al-Furqān, London 1995.

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Walid A. Saleh

The Place of the Medieval in Qur'an Commentary

A Survey of Recent Editions

The medieval Qur'an commentary tradition plays a central role in the modern Qur'an commentary tradition. It is the most authoritative voice in any hermeneutical debate and had managed to dominate other voices remarkably well. This centrality is at first baffling, and has so far not received a systematic examination. Why does a medieval tradition of scriptural interpretation continue to play such a central role given the radical transformation of modernity? Are there reasons for such a position beyond conservatism? In this article I will offer tentative explanations for the continuous significance of the medieval in modern Qur'an commentary tradition. Moreover, I will review some of the recent publications of major medieval works that have appeared. These new editions, I believe, have dramatically transformed what we know of the medieval Qur'an tradition on the one hand, which is exerting an unintended consequence on the current debates on how to interpret the Qur'an among contemporary Muslims. Furthermore, the new editions are setting new standards of scholarship and are opening up venues of research that were not possible before. It is a remarkable moment in the history of Tafsir and the new material made available will contribute significantly to the study of the intellectual history of medieval Islam.

1) The Reasons Behind the Continuous Significance of Classical Tafsir in modern Tafsir

The main reason behind the survival of the medieval corpus of Qur'an commentary, I believe, is that it was mostly a philologically based tradition. This was rarely an allegorical tradition and only marginally mystical, and as such much of its explanations were presented in a rational philological setting that makes it appear to be non-doctrinal and as such timeless. Philology as a tool to interpret scripture, a tool that was soon to dominate the hermeneutical medieval practice, was an early event in the Arabic Islamic tradition. There was thus no moment of a rediscovery of philology in Arabic heritage that entailed a rejection of the inherited non-philological tradition. The Qur'an was not translated into

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another language for Arabic to be discovered. The early philological revolution was never forgotten. Rather the tradition became more philological and more philosophical as time went by, and there was a certain de-sacralization of the Qur'an commentary tradition as we can see in the glosses composed in Madrasas from the medieval period. Many of the narratives and mythical interpretations were summarized or hinted at, if not overlooked, in the glosses, such that most of the commentary exercise was a philological exercise. This is, in my opinion, one of the main reasons that allowed this tradition to survive into the modern period. It was not archaic in ways topological or metaphorical interpretations sound to a modern reader. This on its own, however, is not a sufficient reason for the commentary tradition to continue to enjoy authority in the modern period. A philological reading does not necessarily mean a historical-critical reading, it might approach it, but it is an approach that is sustained by a theological outlook that the modern historical-critical method disallows. Theology was not far behind philology, and indeed there was a collusion between the two in medieval craft that allowed for the coherency of the tradition despite philology.

The second reason that permitted this tradition such a central role is its championing by the traditional (mostly Azhari) and Salafi movements in their attempt to wrestle the right to speak for the Qur'an from the rising new educated class that were being trained in the new universities and technical colleges or the Madrasa-educated scholars who became liberals. It is not the place here to retell the story of the fights over the Qur'an that occurred in Cairo at the beginning of the 20th century, but rather I want to point to the implications of these cultural wars on Qur'an commentary.[1] The victory of the conservative camp allowed the medieval heritage an a priori authority that has so far proven impossible to challenge. The Qur'an was not allowed to be turned into a classic work of literature, it remained primarily a scripture and as such guardians stood at its gate. One hadith about the Qur'an was valorized and used to both symbolize the triumph of the traditionalist camp and to undermine any opponent's attempt to venture an interpretation of the Qur'an that was not to their liking. More importantly this hadith was used to undermine any new hermeneutical structure to rise that reached beyond the traditional inherited material. The hadith, available in many variations, was mostly quoted in this form: »man qāl ʿalā al-Qur'ān bi-ra'yihi fa-lyatabawwa' maqʿadahu min al-nār« (whoever interprets the Qur'an by his own opinion, will have a reserved place in Hell).[2] This hadith will become the

1 J. J. G. Jansen, *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt*, Leiden 1980.

2 For references on this hadith see Walid A. Saleh, »Ibn Tayimiyya and the Rise of Radical Hermeneutics: An Analysis of An Introduction to the Foundation of Qur'ānic Exegesis«, in: Shahab Ahmed and Yossef Rapport (eds.), *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times*, Oxford and New York 2010, pp. 123-162, here p. 147.

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beginning and the end of any hermeneutical discussion – it foreclosed any attempt to claim authority to speak as an exegete, unless you prioritized tradition. The potency of this hadith summarized the wrapped victory of the traditionalists, authority was non-human and only inherited material was allowed to speak. It is remarkable that across various fields a select few hadiths were used to symbolize the potency of the victory of the traditionalist camps, and to prevent the legitimization of any new authorities of interpretation. This hadith can be compared to the hadith against allowing women assuming leadership roles in the newly founded colonial structures (namely as presidents or judges): »lan yufliḥa qawmun wallū amrahum imra'ah« (a people will never find salvation if they let a women lead them).[3]

In Qur'an commentary the battle was also waged by issuing new editions of medieval Qur'an commentaries, and as such editing texts in Tafsir was never a purely academic event. The publication history of Qur'an commentary works is thus intimately tied to the debates about the authority of the exegete and about who gets to speak for the meaning of the Qur'an (above and beyond the debate about the place of the Qur'an in the culture).[4] The Salafi hermeneutics tied its claims to speak for the voice of God to a peculiar kind of Tafsir works and hadith works stemming from the medieval period, and a massive effort soon followed to find, edit, and propagate these works. Works as such acquired a fetishist power. They proved that what needs to be known about the Qur'an is already available.

There was however a problem in the structuring of this new hermeneutical paradigm, the Salafi hermeneutics. It was far more restrictive and radical than the mainstream medieval Ashʿarite tradition. Indeed, the radical hermeneutics of Salafism was as opposed to classical modes of interpretation as it was against modern interpretative hermeneutics. It was always a minority despised Sunni fringe program. By claiming it represented the mainstream of medieval interpretive hermeneutics, it pushed itself to a corner, since most of the medieval works were of the classical Ashʿarite school. Soon, the Salafi movement ran out of works to edit or discover, and they ended up championing the very works that would one day undo their program. Medieval works were eventually seen by the Salafi movement as a lesser evil than modern interpretations and editing these works has become a major part of the scholarly program of modern Salafism. A sort of conflation was created with the hope that no one would disentangle the confusion between traditional mainstream Ash'arite tradition and modern Salafi paradigm.

3 For references on this hadith see Fatima Mernissi, *Can We Women Head a Muslim State?*, Lahore 1991.

4 See Walid A. Saleh, »Preliminary Remarks on the Historiography of Tafsir in Arabic: A History of the Book Approach«, in: *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 12, 1-2 (2010), pp. 6-40.

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There was however an overarching reason for the increase in the significance of Qur'an commentary in the modern period, a state that resulted in Tafsir becoming far more central to cultural debates among the Muslims than ever before. Modernity destroyed the two-foundational religious institution of power and cultural organization, namely Islamic law and Kalam (traditional theology). The field was left open for the emergence of a new kind of scriptural theology in which interpreting the Qur'an was the mode of reestablishing religious authority. A cultural market was created for Qur'an commentaries that was never seen before, a market in which the gloss could no more reign supreme. A Qur'an commentary mode had to be found that could be read by all, and non-gloss Qur'an commentary are supremely suitable for this mode. It is in this new landscape that Tafsir became one of the major Islamic modes of Kulturkampf. Everyone wanted to publish Tafsir works, and suddenly the very titles made available were making a statement.

2) New Editions in Tafsir in the Last Two Decades

The repositioning of Qur'an commentary as one of the central Islamic sciences is a major development in Islam. It is for this reason that a review of the new titles appearing in Tafsir is essential. The last two decades have seen the publication of several fundamental medieval works that were not available before. Moreover, new critical editions of previously published works have been appearing, a remarkable new awareness that Tafsir works deserve the same scholarly attention as any other. These new critical editions of older works are a radical improvement over the older editions, and more importantly they make them easier to access, read and study. These works collectively represent a new kind of development not seen since the publication of al-Ṭabarī in 1905. Moreover, all the new editions are multivolume massive works that run into thousands of pages. The editions not only make available material that was inaccessible before, but they stem from various historical periods and as such they have revolutionized what we know of the history of Tafsir.

Each of these works deserves dedicated attention, and the listing here is meant to prove that there is now a critical mass of new and old material that demands a serious attention from scholars of Tafsir. The list here is chronological. It is not exhaustive and should be updated every few years. One remark about »indexing« in the Arab world. The tradition of exhaustive full names index is not the customary tradition in multivolume works. Most of the indexes are for hadiths cited, Qur'anic verses, names of places, of books, and sometimes of significant names. As such readers should become aware of this aspect of Arabic edited works, and the same applies to this list.

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1. Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl āyī al-Qur'ān (Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/911), ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī, 24 Vols. (Cairo: Dār Hājar 2001). Volume 24 is an index volume. The issuing of this critical edition of this most foundational of Qur'an commentaries is a monumental event. For the first time, we have a proper critical edition of this massive work, an edition that has opened for us a work that remains despite all the attention understudied. The improvements on the previous editions are immense – especially the Bāb al-Ḥalabī 1968 edition, to which it is also keyed. New manuscripts were unearthed and used, and a critical apparatus was supplied. A comparison with previous editions shows that a huge number of mistakes were corrected and many omissions were supplied. The introduction to the work supplies a history of the prints of the work, and a list of the new manuscripts used. The work can be seen as the completion of the work of Aḥmad and Maḥmūd Shākir, who issued an incomplete edition that stopped at the beginning of Surat Ibrāhīm (chapter 14). ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī stands at the head of a program to re-edit most of the massive Tafsir works, and his work has transformed the field already. Regrettably the index is not cumulative and lacks an index of names. There is however a mitigating factor in the task of indexing these works properly, the index runs the danger of becoming too large and exorbitant an addition that might prevent the finishing of such works.
2. Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), ed. Ahmad Wānlī Ūghlī (Ahmet Vanlioglu) et. al. (Isṭanbūl: Dār al-Mīzān 2005-2011). 18 Vols. Volume 18 of this edition is a cumulative index, and each volume has its own index. The proper indexing of this edition makes it one of the few works in Tafsir that has such a tool to analyze. The publication of this edition represents the return of Turkey as a centre for Islamic studies and as a publication centre for classical texts. The significance of this work cannot be overstated, it being one of the earliest of encyclopedic texts we have. Al-Ṭabarī now has a companion to compare with. I have already analyzed the significance of this work in an article and compared him to al-Ṭabarī.[5] There is a ten-volume edition from Beirut that can be also used, although scholars should use the Istanbul edition when they can.[6]
3. al-Kash wa-al-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qur'ān, al-Thaʿlabī al-Naysābūrī (d. 427 / 1035), ed. Ṣalāḥ Bāʿuthmān et al. 33 Vols. (Jeddah: Dār al-Tafsīr, 2015). Volume 1 is an introduction to the work, volumes 31, 32 and 33 are indexes. This 33-volume work is a masterpiece of scholarship and grants overdue at-

5 See Walid A. Saleh, »Rereading al-Ṭabarī through al-Māturīdī: New Light on the Third Century Hijrī«, in: *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 18 (2016), pp. 180-209.

6 Al-Māturīdī, *Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunnah*, ed. Majdī Bāsallūm, 10 Vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2005).

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tention to a work that was foundational in the history of Qur'an commentary. I have already dedicated a monograph to this work.[7] The previous Beirut edition was a calamitous work of shoddy scholarship and was full of mistakes and omissions.[8] The present edition radically transforms our access to this work and makes available the work with detailed annotation and cross references. Unfortunately, the indexing is not an exhaustive index of names, but rather of hadith and other miscellaneous organizational access points that are helpful but not exhaustive. The significance of this edition is that it offers a detailed contextualization of al-Thaʿlabī's material. By offering a reference and a number for every hadith tradition in this work, the editors made possible a genealogical study of the sources of his hadith. Moreover, the editors supplied biographical information for every informant of his hadith chains (sanad). This is a monumental scholarly work. That it should come out of Saudi Arabia is, of course, an event rife with irony. The Salafi movement vilified al-Thaʿlabī and his Qurʾān commentary. It is this self-contradictory development that I want to highlight. Most of the Qur'an commentary tradition is Asharite and not hadith-based Qur'an commentary, and as such they contradict the foundational claims of the Salafi hermeneutics. By issuing editions of this Asharite tradition the Salafi movement is undermining its own hermeneutics. The work is based on editions done in PhD programs in Saudi Arabia universities, and as such this is a team effort (see more on this point below).

4. Al-Basīṭ, al-Wāḥidī al-Naysabūrī (d. 468 / 1076), ed. Muḥammad b. Sāliḥ al-Fawzān et al. 25 Vols. (al-Riyāḍ: Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd University 2009). Volume 25 is an index. This edition came out before no. 3 (above), and it started a new tradition in Arabic editorial practices, the publishing of a work out of PhD dissertations done already at universities. Saudi Arabian universities allow for editions of medieval works to be the topic of a dissertation. Professors have devised a process by which a work is divided among several students, each editing a portion. Usually such editions lie dormant and inaccessible in libraries in Saudi Arabia. But every so often an editorial team is set up to harmonize these editions and produce a printed copy of the whole work. This is such a collective effort, and so is no. 2. I have already offered a review of this edition, and I will highlight here the most important aspects.[9] The edition offers a detailed cross-referencing and source references

7 Walid A. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsir Tradition: The Qur'an Commentary of al-Tha`labi* (d. 427 / 1035), Leiden 2004.

8 For references and a review see ibid., pp. 229-230.

9 Walid A. Saleh and Shuaib Ally, »A Lacuna in the New Imām University Edition of al-Basīṭ: A Critical Edition of Q 4:41-53 and a Review«, in: *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 6 (2019), pp. 1-51.

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for every hadith and item of interpretation. This attention to providing the history behind the work allows us to see how and from where a commentator obtained his material and what he changed. Al-Basīṭ remains one of the most important of grammatical commentaries and its importance is only now becoming apparent. Al-Kashf (no. 3) and al-Basīṭ are the jewels of the Nishapuri School of Tafsir and the new editions have opened up for us one of the most important centuries of the genre in medieval Islam.

5. Al-Hidāyah ilā bulūgh al-nihāyah, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī (d. 437 / 1045), ed. under the supervision of al-Shāhid al-Būshaykhī, 13 Vols. (al-Shariqah: The University of Shariqah 2008). Volume 13 is an index for the edition. The author comes from Muslim Iberia (al-Andalus) and thus his is one of the early works from the western lands of Islam. It is a work that has not been studied so far and coming as it is from the same century as nos. 3 and 4 it has to be included in any comprehensive study of Tafsir from that century. The work uses sources not available to exegetes in Nishapur and as such preserves material not available in other works. The work's originality and significance remains to be assessed, and the absence of any study presents a challenge to our overall understanding to the history of Tafsir. This work is also based on dissertations produced in U. A. E.
6. Al-Taḥṣīl li-fawā'id kitāb al-Tafṣīl al-jāmiʿ li-ʿulūm al-tanzīl, al-Mahdawī (d. 440 / 1048) ed. Muḥammad Shaʿbān et al. 7 Vols. (Doha: Wazārat al-Awqāf 2014). This is another work from the western parts of the Islamic world, from Morocco. It is an early work and was influential in the western tradition of Qur'an commentary. The work has not been studied or investigated, and one hopes that its availability now will make possible an understanding of this scholar and his contribution to the history of the genre.
7. Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-ʿazīz (Tafsīr Ibn ʿAṭīyah), Ibn ʿAṭīyah (d. 542 / 1048), ed. Idārat al-Shu'ūn al-Islāmīyah, 10 Vols. (Doha: Wazārat al-Awqāf 3rd edition, n.d.). Volume 10 contains an index. This is the third edition of the work and it is a critical edition. The work has been published before, but it was not properly edited. The work is one of the most important editions that came out of Muslim Iberia and was foundational for the medieval tradition since it was used by Abu Ḥayyān (see no. 8, below). The work has yet to receive the attention it deserves, and this edition should make such a study an easier task. This is a magnificent scholarly work and it represents the attempt of smaller Gulf countries to leave their mark on the scholarly Islamic scene. Editions of Tafsir are seen as one way to impact the field. The problem is that these editions are hard to acquire since they are not part of the commercial distribution networks of the Arab world.

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8. Al-Jāmiʿ la-aḥkām al-Qur'ān al-karīm, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī. 24 Vols. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah 2006). Volumes 23 and 24 are indexes. This is another new critical edition of an already printed work. This critical edition follows the established norms of Arabic editorial practices of suppling a critical apparatus that gives the sources of every hadith and important citation. The first Egyptian edition of 1933 and the subsequent reprints, however, remain reliable if without a critical apparatus.
9. Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745 / 1344), ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī et al. 27 Vols. (Cairo: Dar Hajar 2015). This is a monumental work, a marvelous development that opens this most fundamental work for real study. The first edition of this work was published in Cairo in eight massive volumes in 1910, in the usual 19th century Bulaq style of print. This edition remained the only source for this work and all subsequent prints were pirated from this edition (with disastrous mistakes creeping into these supposed new editions). The amount of care and attention given to this new edition is clear from the fact that the new edition is four times larger than the first Cairo edition. One cannot emphasize enough how radical this new development in Tafsir studies is. Works like these, with thousands of pages were hard to study and get a handle on. Now with these user-friendly editions, they are accessible in ways that we could only dream of.
10. *Futūḥ al-ghayb fī al-kashf* ʿan *qināʿ al-rayb*, (ḥāshiyat al-Ṭībī ʿalā al-Kashshāf), al-Ṭībī (d. 743 / 1343), ed. Muḥammad Sulṭān al-ʿUlamā', 17 Vols. (Dubai: Jā'izat Dubay al-Dawlīyah li-al-Qur'ān al-Karīm 2013). Volume 17 is an index. This is the first gloss on a Qur'an commentary to be published since 1911. Glosses (a commentary on a commentary) are one of the least studied sub-genres of Tafsir.[10] The publication of this particular gloss is a remarkable development in the Islamic world, and points to a reawakening interest in the gloss after a century of neglect. This is the most important gloss written on al-Kashshāf of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538 / 1144). The edition comes with an extensive introduction that does a great job contextualizing the development of the genre and its format. The study of glosses is the next frontier in Tafsir studies.
11. Al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr bi-al-ma'thūr, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 / 1505), ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī, 17 Vols. (Cairo: Markaz Hajar 2003). Volumes 16 and 17 are indexes. This work was first published in Cairo in 1896 in six volumes, a print that was the basis of all other reprints for over a century. This 19th century print was an uncritical edition and the work remained as such

10 On the glosses see Walid A. Saleh, »The Gloss as Intellectual History: The Ḥāshiyahs on al-Kashshāf«, in: *Oriens* 41, 3-4 (2013), pp. 217-259.

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without a critical apparatus. The new critical edition of this work is part of a remarkable trend in the Arab world, the issuing of new critical editions of older works in Tafsir that were not edited. Thus, this most important of medieval Qur'an commentaries is now available in a new edition with full critical notes that makes the study of the traditions in it a much easier task. By using this new edition, we can find the sources of all the material used by al-Suyūṭī. Indeed, this new edition will revolutionize how we use this work and how we unlock it.

12. Mawsuʿat al-tafsir al-ma'thūr, ed. Musāʿid al-Ṭayyār, 24 Vols. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm 2017). Volume 24 is an index volume. This is not a Qur'an commentary from the medieval period, but an encyclopedia of all the traditional interpretations on the Qur'an from the medieval period. It uses no. 11, al-Durr al-manthūr, as a scaffolding to collect all available traditions on every verse of the Qur'an with references and editorial comments. This is a monumental work and is the culmination of a Salafi hermeneutical program that valorized »tradition-based« (al-tafsīr bi-al-ma'thūr) as the only method to interpret the Qur'an. Commentary on the Qur'an is thus only a narrative art, a branch of hadith science. The ideological aims of this work are clear, but it should not prevent us from utilizing it as a tool for the study of Tafsir. This is now one of the most useful tools to look up the history of any hadith or early interpretation and how it traversed the centuries. This encyclopedia also brings to a dead end the attempt to claim that this method was the mainstream method in the medieval period.

3) Conclusion

Tafsir studies is in the midst of a transformative period. Never before have we had available to us this number of new works that are properly edited. The publication of this new literature has radically transformed the field already. One can no more complain about the dearth of material edited – an excuse that one can no more hide behind. We have now critical editions of some of the most important works from the medieval period. Every year, new material is appearing and Tafsir is now a field that needs specialization. It is hoped that now scholars will use these new editions and direct their students to study them.

One of the implications of the availability of this literature is that it is undermining the Salafi notion of tradition-based commentary (tafsīr bi-al-ma'thūr) as the mainstream method of medieval Tafsir. Rather, medieval Qur'an commentary was Asharite and philologically based, and as such the sheer appearance of these new works is having an ideological impact. We might be at the eve of a new

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development in Islamic hermeneutical tradition, one in which al-Azhar is posed to reassert its independence from Gulf Salafism and reassert its Ashārite heritage and its philological Qur'an hermeneutical tradition.

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Jeannie Miller

Commentary and Text Organization in al-Jāḥiẓ's Book of Animals

When texts come alive as part of a canon, they grow and change.[1] One agent of this transformation is the commentator; an equally important but often overlooked agent of reinterpretation and cultural digestion is the copyist. From early on, copyists of Islamic manuscripts often made executive decisions about which words of the base text constituted headings deserving of rubrication or other visual markers. Such interpretive tools increased in variety and density over the long history of Islamic manuscript production, culminating for the most part in the Ottoman era. They included tables of contents, marginal topic headings and notabilia, elaborate notation systems indicating textual variants, dots indicating punctuation, lists, and other kinds of text segmentation, as well as the identification of text segments as chapter headings through rubrication and text size. In some cases, these scribal techniques fit under the heading of what Ann Blair calls »finding devices, and layouts to facilitate consultation reading«, and can be associated with the ever-increasing volume of textual material available in Arabic.[2] In other cases, they fit into an increasingly systematic linguistic pedagogy. The accumulation of this sort of textual management can have a surprisingingly strong effect on the overall sense of the base text. When we turn to particular examples, it becomes clear that the boundary between copyist interpretation and commentary proper is a fuzzy one. Frequently, scribal interpretations by the copyist are as substantive as commentary proper. In order to think more about the relationship between the activities of commentary and copying, this essay focuses on text organization – the identification of chapters and sections, and decisions about which recurrent topics and patterns are primary or secondary.

Following a spurious 19th- and 20th-century ›narrative of decline‹ that discouraged research into the intellectual production of the Mamluk and Ottoman

1 This essay is an early product of a larger research project into the reception and transmission of al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals*, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I would like to thank the Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul which has preserved, digitized and made available the manuscripts used in this article. It reflects also the labour and expertise of research assistants Yussif Adams, Mohannad Abusarah, Shuaib Ally, Kyle Gamble, Bogdan Smarandache and Simon Whitby.

2 Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*, New Haven 2011, p. 9.

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era, there have been numerous recent calls to explore this rich period in Islamic intellectual history.[3] Another consequence of the decline narrative has been to ignore the transformative contributions of Ottoman copyists, commentators, readers, and scholars to the transmitted heritage of earlier periods. When we study Abbasid literature, for example, the so-called ›golden age‹ of Arabic letters, we rarely pause to remember the Ottoman impact on our perception of these texts.[4] The 20th-century editors who published these classics often include lexicographic glosses and topic headings drawn from the Ottoman tradition of text management. They usually distinguish such additions clearly from the ›authentic‹ base text, but rarely give credit to the early modern scholarly labour and insight that they reflect. In the case of al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*), for example, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn's edition includes topic headings in parentheses, tracking the contents of the disorderly text page by page and paragraph by paragraph.[5] These headings are certainly not of al-Jāḥiẓ's authorship, nor does Hārūn claim they are, though a casual reader might be misled. Some of these headings – but not all – appear in the margins of the extant manuscripts. Hārūn made no attempt to distinguish between those he added himself and those he borrowed from the tradition; neither does he identify the authors of these marginal commentaries or assess their work.

The *Book of Animals* (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868 CE) is a perfect test case for studying the impact made by early modern scholarship on our perceptions of the structure and organization of classics from an earlier era. The author is famous for the meandering organization of his large-scale works. Two separate 10th-century authors already claim to provide a more organized account of the contents of al-Jāḥiẓ's book on eloquence, *Clarity and Clarification* (*al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn*)[6], and the 14th-century author al-Ṣafadī names al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* as an authoritative example justifying the use of »digression« (*istiṭrād*) by those identifying themselves as polymathic belles-lettrists (*udabāʾ*).[7] Al-Ṣafadī's

3 Thomas Bauer, »Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches«, in: *Mamluk Studies Review* 9 No. 2 (2005), pp. 105-132. Thomas Bauer, »In Search of ›Post-Classical Literature‹: A Review Article«, in: *Mamluk Studies* Review 11 No. 2 (2007), pp. 137-167. AdamTalib, *How Do You Say ›Epigram‹ In Arabic: Literary History at the Limits of Comparison*, Leiden 2018. Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: Al-Nuwayrī and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition*, Princeton 2018.

4 For a critical investigation of this notion, see Michael Cooperson, »The Abbasid ›Golden Age‹: An Excavation«, in: *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 25 (2017), pp. 41-65.

5 Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, 2nd edition, 8 Vols., Cairo 1966-1969.

6 Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Wahb al-Kātib, *al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān*, ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadīja Ḥadīthī, Baghdad 1967, pp. 51-52. Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatayn*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Bajawī, Cairo 1952, pp. 4 f.

7 Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam*, 3rd edition, Beirut 2003, Vol. 1, p. 12. I thank Kelly Tuttle for alerting me to this.

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comment is quoted by Ḥajjī Khalīfa (Katib Çelebi) in his influential 16th-century encyclopedic bibliography, ensuring its canonicity for the next few centuries.[8] Looking at the texts of al-Jāḥiẓ's great multi-volume works, the reason for this reputation for digression becomes clear. They are compilations gathering poems, anecdotes, arguments, and citations from every discipline, but these materials are not ordered in clear chapters that might facilitate consultation.

Book of Animals has a multi-axis and ambivalent organizational structure. Al-Jāḥiẓ often announces the beginning of »chapters«, but he rarely acknowledges their ending, and these chapters often appear to be subsumed within some other, unmarked structure such as an over-arching debate, whether between al-Jāḥiẓ and the book's Addressee in volume 1, or between the Proponents of the Dog and Rooster in volumes 1 and 2. While al-Jāḥiẓ has some textual mechanisms for segmenting the text, they are not consistent or hierarchical, so it is often difficult to see even at the most basic level what constitutes a chapter. The digressive qualities of his text are clearly in part the result of al-Jāḥiẓ's moment. Drawing on Gregor Schoeler's research into knowledge transmission practices in the early centuries of Islam, James Montgomery has recently pointed out that al-Jāḥiẓ's works bear clear traces of having been recompiled as »authored« texts for verbatim transmission after a prior life as private teaching notes or *hypomnemata* (following Schoeler's adaptation of the Greek terms *hypomnema* and *syngramma* to the Islamic context).[9] Teaching notes would have been transmitted in an oral-written manner – reading or reciting for students who made their own sets of private notes. This method of knowledge transmission was open to reorganization, and encouraged the transmission of text fragments rather than large-scale compilations. As a member of the first generation to write authored compilations for *syngrammatic* dissemination of the text verbatim, al-Jāḥiẓ explicitly spoke of balancing the competing and often contradictory demands of the oral and written contexts when it came to information mangement. However, in addition to the standard 9th-century traces of the oral-written context visible in *Book of Animals* we also find disruptions to text organization that are specific to al-Jāḥiẓ.[10] Much of the book consists of a series of overarching debates, often spanning several hundred print pages and multiple volumes. Within these long debate formats, numerous short passages offer comprehensive anthologies on a particular topic – all the

8 Ḥajjī Khalīfa (Katib Çelebi), *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wal-funūn*, ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā, (reprint) 2 Vols., Beirut 1999, Vol. 1, p. 696.

9 James Montgomery, *In Praise of Books*, Edinburgh 2013, pp. 55-104. For a succinct summary of Schoeler's extensive research, see Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam: From the Aural to the Read*, tr. Shawkat Toorawa and Gregor Schoeler, Edinburgh 2009.

10 Jeannie Miller, *The Quibbler: Al-Jāḥiẓ's Equivocations in Kitāb al-Ḥayawān and Beyond*, Edinburgh [forthcoming], especially chapter 5.

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poetry on the bad smell of dogs, for example. Sometimes these comprehensive collections have a chapter heading, which can be a distraction from following the progress of the debate; sometimes they have no headings and thus the information they transmit becomes difficult to find within the massive seven-volume work.

Using two of the twenty extant complete or partial manuscripts of *Book of Animals*, this article compares the interpretations of text structure made by two copyists and two commentators, from the Mamluk and Ottoman eras, to show the impact and contribution of the intervening centuries of textual management. There is a dramatic development from the older to the later manuscript in the density and content of the copyist techniques used to bring out the structure and plan of the text. While the sparse chapter headings of the older manuscript are largely reproduced in the the top-level chapter headings in the newer manuscript, the newer manuscript's many additional techniques make a dramatic contribution to the text's legibility, while at the same time closing off other valid interpretations of text structure. I will consider here two examples: (1) the tension between organizing the first two volumes according to the topics discussed, or according to the overarching Dog-Rooster Debate and (2) a similar tension in volume 6 between a hierarchical taxonomic chapter structure and organization of the text as a line by line commentary on a poem.

1) Debate and Text Organization

Some 500 printed pages in the edition of *Book of Animals* are dedicated to the Dog-Rooster Debate.[11] It consists of discourses attributed to a Proponent of the Dog and a Proponent of the Rooster, with interpolations in the voice of al-Jāḥiẓ. The first part is led by the Proponent of the Rooster, with responses by his opponent, while the second part is led by the Proponent of the Dog, with responses by his opponent in turn. Discourses range from a brief comment to passages of fifty printed pages or more, and often include subsections compiling textual evidence in the form of a sequence of poetry citations and other authoritative texts. This leads to two simultaneous ways of thinking about the organization of the text: as a debate with different speakers that respond to one another, and as a compilation of texts organized by topic. When we think of the topics as the main organizational structure, the discursive context in which these topics are deployed falls out of the picture. And when we think of the debate speakers as the main organizational structure it becomes more difficult to index the precious materials compiled within the debate. Montgomery has pointed out that

11 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 1, p. 222 – Vol. 2, p. 375.

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al-Jāḥiẓ was deeply ambivalent about the fact that his books would be copied in the open book market and read without the expert aid of a teacher; he asks whether al-Jāḥiẓ made the text organization difficult in part to prevent access.[12] I have argued elsewhere that al-Jāḥiẓ's purpose in using a structure that is so infamously difficult to read and interpret was to transmit not only the materials themselves but also the expert deployment of them in a debate context, facilitating access to a knowledge that was vastly more complex than an accumulation of information.[13] He was teaching both argumentation method and the textual heritage of the Arabic language at the same time. So how did readers understand this odd structure? Were they sensitive to the sophisticated rhetorical techniques of the Dog-Rooster Debate, or were they merely interested in mining this rich text for the voluminous early textual material that is transmitted here and in many cases nowhere else?

The older manuscript consists of two matching Mamluk codices, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992 and 994 (FA) now preserved in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. The codices are labelled volumes 1 and 5, they reproduce the text at volume 1, pages 4-323 and volume 5, page 119 – volume 6, page 25 according to the pagination of Hārūn's edition. Presumably they once formed part of a seven-volume set. Since they both lack a colophon, we can date them only vaguely. They were certainly produced before 859 AH / 1455 CE, when they were purchased in Mecca by ʿUmar b. [illegible] al-Maʿarrī al-Tanūkhī, whose ownership mark appears on their front pages.[14] And they appear to be newer than Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 996 (volume 7), which bears a colophon dating it to 580 / 1184-5, and must have originally belonged to a different set. Although both Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992 and 994 appear to have been rebound at least once, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994 currently sports a two-tone tooled leather Mamluk binding. It is possible it was rebound using its original binding, although this is not necessarily the case. By 859 / 1455, these two matching codices began to be grouped with other volumes to eventually form a mismatched 4-volume set that was bought and sold as a unit following their union in the collection of the Ottoman poet and chancery prose author Veysi, or Uways b. Muḥammad (d. 1628), whose ownership marks on the four volumes date to 1012 / 1603-4 and 1015 / 1606-7.[15] The modern editor Hārūn treats

12 Montgomery (as note 9), especially pp. 70-72.

13 Miller (as note 10), chapter 5.

14 This ownership mark appears on Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 1r and 186v below the colophon, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 993, fol. 1r, and Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 1r. The name is effaced in 992 and 994, but can be read in 993 where unfortunately the name of the owner's father is cut off due to a premodern paper repair.

15 Th. Menzel and Edith G. Ambros, »Weysi«, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition, ed. by P. Bearman et al., Leiden 2002. For Veysi's literary milieu, see Sooyoung Kim, *The Last of an Age: The Making and Unmaking of a Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Poet*, New York 2017.

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the set as a single witness, which he calls the Köprülü manuscript (ل). All four codices do appear to represent an older branch of the text's stemma, resembling the text of Ambrosiana D 140 in Milan and Escorial 897 in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, in contrast to the other extant manuscripts of *Book of Animals*.[16] But they certainly do not represent a single set. For this article, we consider Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992 and 994 as a single source (FA) since they appear to share a single copyist and origin.

The newer manuscript is Damad İbrahim 861 (DI), also now kept in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. It is a single codex containing the entire *Book of Animals*, copied in Cairo in 1084 / 1674 by someone named Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Furayʿī al-Ṣāliḥī, according to the colophon. It transmits what I identify as the ›new recension‹ of the text, with some marginal variants in the hand of the original copyist that in certain passages (notably volume 1) transmit lacunae and variants from the ›old recension‹.

The copyist of FA uses a single visual style for chapter headings: enlarged script in the same black ink as the rest of the text (Figure 8). He uses a separate visual style for paragraph markers: black circles containing dots. Lines of poetry are visually distinct as well – they are usually preceded by a paragraph marker, they take up the entire line, so that their matching rhyme letters are visually perceptible, and they usually extend beyond the justification of the text area. (A great deal of poetry can be seen in Figure 1). There are no other text organization indicators. All the rubrication and marginal comments in FA were added in 1635 by the Ottoman commentator Nevizade Atai, between his purchase of the four codices in 1635 and his death later that year.[17] This is discernable because there are certain sections where the rubrication drops out, and these coincide precisely with the sections lacking Atai's marginal commentary (Figure 1). This means the Mamluk-era FA copyist had originally created a quite minimalist representation of the text.

The copyist of FA pays little attention to the disputational structure of the Dog-Rooster Debate. Only one chapter heading over the course of the entire debate indicates debate structure, and this is the opening of the entire debate itself: »Chapter on what the Proponent of the Rooster Said.«[18] Since we are missing the second volume in the hand of this copyist, it is unclear whether he would have given a similar heading to the opening of the portion of the debate led by

16 This represents an update to the excellent stemma provided in Hellmut Ritter's review of Harūn's first edition of *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, 1938-1947, in: *Oriens* 1 No. 2 (Dec. 31, 1948), pp. 365-372. I intend to publish an updated stemma in full as part of a partial re-edition in the future.

17 Hatice Aynur, »Atai«, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 3rd edition, ed. by Kate Fleet et al., Leiden 2007.

18 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 132r.

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the Proponent of the Dog; since all the surviving manuscripts that include this part of the text do assign it a chapter heading, it is very possible. This means that only the very highest level of the debate structure was made visible by the copyist. Within the part of the debate led by the Proponent of the Rooster, the FA copyist assigns a chapter heading to the Proponent of the Rooster's compilation of reports about people who ate and enjoyed dog meat, thus prioritizing topical organization over debate structure.[19]

In 1635, the commentator Atai supplemented the work of the FA copyist in managing the contents of the text, and his interpretation balances between topical organization and debate structure. He marks in the margin every clearly announced change in voice, with the phrases »the discourse of the Proponent of the Dog« (*qawl ṣāḥib al-kalb*) or simply »Proponent of the Rooster«, either in red ink or in black ink with red overline (Figures 2 and 3). The only exceptions are two changes in voice that he apparently missed, as the pages in question contain no rubrication or comments at all.[20] Atai only occasionally identifies al-Jāḥiẓ's interpolations in the debate, such, as when al-Jāḥiẓ gives his own opinion about the best and worst smells in the world.[21] Atai does not visually distinguish between his indexing and voice-tracking notes. Nonetheless it is possible at any point to read backwards through the marginalia in order to efficiently discover which Proponent is speaking at any given point in the text.

DI, by contrast, sports numerous distinct levels of text segmentation indicators. Chapter headings of the highest order appear in large black lettering flanked by gold rosettes, taking up a full line, followed by a continuation in smaller red ink (Figure 7). At the second level, we find either the same red lettering flanked by gold rosettes indicating a chapter heading, or large black lettering flanked by rosettes and occupying a full line, but without the additional red lettering (Figure 6). With some significant exceptions, these three visual styles correspond to the same chapter headings found in FA. There is one instance of a large blue heading with gold rosettes, and one combined blue and red heading.[22] DI thus transmits a tradition of identifying certain phrases as chapter headings, but newly distinguishes between different levels. It also offers numerous small-scale text segmentation indicators that operate in conjunction and separately, in contrast to FA's single visual style for paragraph markers. At the smallest scale in DI, we find red dots, gold rosettes, and red overlines alone or in conjunction with red dots or gold rosettes. Typically, every citation is marked with a red overline on the phrase »[So and so] said […]«. At the next level up, paragraphs are indicated

19 Ibid., fol. 154v.
20 Ibid., fol. 171v-172r.
21 Ibid., fol. 145r.
22 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 6v and 13v.

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with very large bold initial words in the same black ink as the main text, but without taking up a whole line. It is this intermediate level of text segmentation that allows for the added legibility of DI. These large words act as a flexible tool for visually indicating large-scale text structures without formally designating a new chapter (Figure 4).

Because of the largely conservative nature of chapter headings from manuscript to manuscript, it is the paragraph headings that offer the most flexibility for copyist interpretation. DI works the debate structure into the visual representation of the text, supplying the visual indication of voice changes that Atai had apparently found lacking in FA. Typically, the large-script paragraph openers read simply »Said […]« (*qāla*) and indicate the start of a citation. These low-level text segments are distinguished from changes in voice within the debate in that the changes of voice include the full phrase, »The Proponent of the Dog said«, or even »The Proponent of the Rooster said to the Proponent of the Dog«. This allows efficient visual tracking of the debate structure throughout its long duration. Figure 4 shows the distinction between large black lettering used as paragraph markers versus indicators of voice change in the debate structure. While the lettering looks the same, the difference in length of the enlarged phrase makes it possible to visually track the progress of the debate.

2) Commentary as Text Organization

Throughout *Book of Animals*, al-Jāḥiẓ makes comments about text organization, some of which are highlighted as chapter headings by later copyists, and some of which are not. In the base text itself, we find phrases like »we now begin a complete discussion of […]« or »we have now completed our discussion of […]« or »Chapter on […]«.[23] There is some consistency from one manuscript to the next, as to which of these organizational bits of text are visually marked as chapter headings, but there are also key differences. Overall, the trend was to increase the number of headings, though the opposite occurred as well. Headings are almost never added into the transmitted text, but rather occur when a copyist newly treats an existing phrase from the text of *Book of Animals* as a heading.

Since the earliest manuscript testimony to *Book of Animals* dates to three and half centuries after al-Jāḥiẓ's death[24], it is impossible to determine how the first copies of this text identified chapters. It is more feasible to study al-Jāḥiẓ's general ideas about the text organization of *Book of Animals*, without asking about

23 For a list of these phrases, which Montgomery calls paratexts, see Montgomery (as note 9), pp. 74-93.

24 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 996, copied 580 / 1184-5.

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formal chapter demarcation, because in two passages al-Jāḥiẓ provides tables of contents for the book in a discursive format, with ambivalent discussion of his choices.[25] In both cases, he uses a transition from one major section to another to take stock of his book structure thus far and provide, for the first time, tables of contents listing the chapters he has completed and those he envisions for the rest of the book. In these discursive tables of contents, he refers to »chapters« (*abwāb*), some of which are identified as such when they appear, while others are not. This suggests that these tables of contents functioned more as a description of the organization of the book than as a hard and fast identification of absolute chapter divisions.[26] In any case, the result is a set of manuscripts that represent the chapter structure in differing ways.

These two tables of contents are themselves examples of important text segments that are not visually identified in any of the manuscripts. The first of these authorial discussions of text organization reads as follows:

> We have cited the totality of the discussion on fire, although this does not fit within the discussion of the animals species. This brings us back to noble things, useful to mention and thought-provoking. Discussion will arise that will hopefully prove useful to the reader of this book: a chapter discussing the elephant […].[27]

This clearly marks a new departure, following the massive chapter on fire that spans multiple volumes. But it does not receive a chapter heading in any of the manuscripts, and DI marks it only with a paragraph indicator.[28] FA at least adds here a visually elongated *basmala* invocation[29], a formula typically occuring at the start of books, that occasionally but rarely occurs elsewhere in the body of al-Jāḥiẓ's works. James Montgomery has suggested it is a relic of al-Jāḥiẓ's hypomnemic materials, which likely grouped material in separate notebooks by topic, but in this case it seems more likely to result from a pause and recommencement of composition, comparable to the rededication of his *Epistle on the Merits of the Turks*.[30] We find similarly undramatic treatment of al-Jāḥiẓ's other table of contents in FA, with once again an elongated *basmala* (Figure 5).[31] DI adds a chapter heading reading merely, »Chapter« (*bāb*) before the *basmala*

25 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 5, p. 148 ff. and Vol. 6, pp. 5 ff.

26 For futher discussion and examples see Miller (as note 10), chapter 5.

27 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 5, p. 148.

28 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 200r.

29 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 6v.

30 Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, 4 Vols., Cairo 1964-65, Vol. 3, p. 196.

31 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 166r.

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(Figure 6).[32] Although this may seem a minor change, it is significant that this major transition is now visually recognized and highlighted in the manuscript.

The organization of volume 6 is another instance of a multi-axis structure, comparable to the multi-axis structure of the Dog-Rooster Debate. This is because much of the volume takes the form of commentaries on three long poems, each cited in full before certain lines are cited again in order as *lemmata* with al-Jahiz's comments. There is a running tension between a hierarchical animal by animal structure, and a commentary structure organized according to the *lemmata*. Here is a sketch of the text's structure, with the headings appearing in FA in italics.

I. Small land creatures
- A. spiny-tailed lizards (*ḍabb*, uromastyx), p. 38
- 1. *Complete discussion of the spiny-tailed lizard's share in wonders and rarities,* p. 54.
- 2. *Those who enjoyed or were disgusted by the meat of the spiny-tailed lizard,* p. 79.
  - a. Full citation of the poem by al-Bahrānī.
  - b. Other discussions of the meat of the spiny-tailed lizard.
- 3. *Age and longevity of the spiny-tailed lizard*, p. 115.
- 4. *Names of Bedouoin games*, p. 145.
- 5. Commentary on Bahrānī poem using *lemmata.* Includes these chapter headings:
  - a. *Chapter on the Bedouin and poets who claimed they saw Ghūls and heard the whispers of the jinn*, p. 172.
  - b. *Chapter on what is true (jidd) about the jinn*, p. 264.
- A. Bishr poems, p. 283.
- B. Bishr poem commentaries using *lemmata*. (Includes chapter headings.)

The volume begins with a discursive table of contents that identifies small land creatures (*ḥasharāt*) as a topic that will occupy nearly the entirety of volume 6. After a methodological discussion of the kinds of sources available, the first species announced is the spiny-tailed lizard (*ḍabb*). Several subsections then receive chapter headings in all manuscripts. The discussion of enjoyment and disgust at lizard meat concerns us here, for before delving into a sequence of dietary law discussions and historic anecdotes, al-Jāḥiẓ first mentions one specific reason for this disgust, namely the belief that the spiny-tailed lizard originated when certain humans were transformed into beastly form (*maskh*). In turn, this topic spurs

32 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 234r.

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al-Jāḥiẓ to cite in full a 41-line satirical poem by al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, whom al-Jāḥiẓ describes as an elderly materialist (Dahrī) who lived with the Banī al-ʿAnbar tribe as a jurist.[33] The poem is about a man who married a female *jinnī*, and it mentions human-beast transformation and spiny-tailed lizards. This poem turns out to be suprisingly important for the book's organization. Al-Jāḥiẓ immediately begins his commentary (*tafsīr*) on this poem by announcing that it is the first of three poems whose commentary will structure the rest of the the volume.[34] The other two poems are by a Muʿtazilī theologian, natural scientist, and propagandist, Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, and they provide a structure for discussing the numerous remaining small creatures »about which little is known« within the topic of small land creatures (*ḥasharāt*). The commentary on al-Bahrānī's poem reflects the topics identified in the methodological discussion at the opening of this volume, for it provides the occasion for discussions of superstitions (*baṭalāt, khurāfāt*) regarding *jinn*, throughout the exegesis and in a dedicated chapters, as well as a separate »Chapter on what is true (*jidd*) about the *jinn*.«

There are two overlapping text organization structures here that compete for priority: organization according to a commentary structure with *lemmata* and comment, and organization animal by animal. For most of the text, these structures overlap more or less, in that one line of poetry mentions the hyena, for example, so the comment on this line is equivalent to a chapter on the hyena. However, if the original full citation of the poem is not highlighted as a structural feature, its function as a table of contents loses its force. Theoretically, a reader might memorize the poem and then use the lemmata, ordered according to the order of lines in the poem, to find information. But this is made more difficult when the lemmata are not visually demarcated. Even more confusingly, all the manuscripts highlight as text headings the phrases from the base text starting with the word »chapter« (*bāb*), which I have listed above. But these chapters arise as part of a very long comment on a *lemma.* So the commentary structure gets lost when these chapter headings are marked and the *lemmata* are not.

Because *lemmata* are not demarcated as such in either manuscript, the copyists' use of chapter headings makes a big impact on the reader's perception of text organization. The taxonomic organization at the start of the volume is completely invisible in FA because the chapter on lizards is not visually demarcated at all despite its clear textual announcement: »I will begin in the name of God the discussion of spiny-tailed lizards.«[35] DI rectifies this by giving it a

33 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 6, p. 146. On the Dahriyya, see Patricia Crone, »The Dahrīs According to al-Jāḥiẓ«, in: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 63 (2010-2011), pp. 63-68.

34 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 6, p. 146.

35 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 179r, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 6, p. 38.

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proper second-level chapter heading (enlarged black text occupying the whole line, flanked by gold rosettes)[36], but still reserves the top-level chapter heading style for the subsection that already receives a chapter heading in FA, »Complete discussion of the spiny-tailed lizard's share of wonders and rarities« (Figure 7).[37]

When the Bahrānī poem is first cited in full, it receives no fanfare in either manuscript, although the commentator of DI, al-Shirwānī, does index it in the margin. The start of al-Jāḥiẓ's commentary on the Bahrānī poem receives a proper chapter heading in FA (Figure 8)[38] but is completely invisible in DI, even though the text of DI provides a *basmala* invocation there (Figure 9).[39] This may be an oversight on the part of the DI copyist, since he twice elevates to a second-level chapter heading the phrase »Now the discussion brings us back to commenting on the ode of al-Bahrānī.«[40] These returns occur to mark the close of the chapters embedded in the commentary. The manuscript of FA ends before it reaches the commentary on the poems of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir. DI does not visually mark the full recitation of these two poems that act as a table of contents for the ensuing several hundred printed pages of text[41], nor does it mark the beginning of the commentary on the first poem[42], though chapter headings within the commentaries are marked, mainly on the topic of individual animal species. However, DI does assign an unusually small second-level chapter heading to the end of the commentary on the first Bishr poem: »The first ode of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir has concluded.«[43] The fact that this is also the start of the commentary on the second poem is completely unremarked.

3) Two Ottoman Commentators

The exceedingly broad scope of al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* makes it particularly interesting for a study of reception history, since various interpreters have classed it as natural science, lexicography, rhetoric, or as part of the genre of wonder books that fell between geography and natural history. Montgomery has argued that the book's main purpose was theological, and I have argued that al-Jāḥiẓ meant for it to present his vision of an expanded scope for the discipline of *kalām* (theology)

36 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 237r.
37 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 6, p. 54. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 184r. Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 238r.
38 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 212r.
39 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 244v.
40 Ibid., folio 250v, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5) Vol. 6 p. 225. Damad İbrahim 861 folio 256r, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5) Vol. 6 p. 281.
41 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 256v-257v.
42 Ibid., fol. 257v.
43 Ibid., fol. 266v, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 6 p. 406.

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as a unified science of all things, including the Arabic language and the natural world.[44] This universal science of *kalām* did not catch on, but al-Jāḥiẓ became a canonical figure in the development of the polymathic pursuit of knowledge that almost immediately after came to be called *adab*. Already al-Jāḥiẓ's younger contemporary Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) is often quoted as distinguishing between a scholar (*ʿālim*) who must choose a science, and a polymath or belles-lettrist (*adīb*) who must »have broad knowledge in the sciences (*yattasiʿ fī al-funūn* or *yatafannan fī al-ʿulūm*).«[45] Pellat has demonstrated how quickly al-Jāḥiẓ came to be associated with *adab*.[46] Nonetheless, the tradition of Arabic letters remained undecided about how to classify this polymathic text. In 13th-century encyclopedic texts, al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* was often mentioned along with Aristotle's *Book of Animals* (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*)[47] and a *Book of Animals* by the Galenic physician Ibn Abī al-Ashʿath (d. 970 CE), so that the three works came to constitute a canon of zoology for wonder books.[48] The polymath, medical scholar, and philosopher ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 1228-9 CE) wrote Galenic epitomes of each of these three animal books, confirming that al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* was treated by some as a scientific work.[49] Of these three animal books, only al-Jāḥiẓ's was interpreted as being itself a member of the less technical encyclopedic wonder book genre, by the creators of a manuscript housed in Milan's Ambrosiana Library, D 140.[50] It is a 15th-century manuscript with spectacular illustrations comparable to those in the many lushly illustrated copies of *Book of Creatures* by al-Qazwīni, *Book of Animals* by al-Damīrī, and *Life of Animals*

44 Montgomery (as note 9) and Miller (as note 10).

45 Al-Ṣafadī (as note 7), Vol. 1, p. 11. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 8 volumes, Beirut 1983, Vol. 2, p. 78. Kelly Tuttle, *Expansion and Digression: A Study in Mamlūk Literary Commentary*, Ph.D. dissertation University of Pennsylvania 2013, p 120. I have not been able to locate this statement in any book by Ibn Qutayba.

46 Charles Pellat, »Al-Ǧāḥiẓ jugé par la posterité«, in: *Arabica* 27 No. 1 (Feb. 1980), pp. 1-67.

47 This title was given to a compendium of Aristotle's biological works in translation, including *History of Animals, Parts of Animals,* and *Generation of Animals*. Remke Kruk, »La Zoologie Aristotélicienne: Tradition Arabe«, in: *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques Supplément*, ed. by Richard Goulet, Jean-Marie Flamand, and Maroun Aouad, Paris 2003, pp. 329-334.

48 Remke Kruk, »Ibn Abī al-Ashʿath's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*: A Scientific Approach to Athropology, Dietetics and Zoological Systematics«, in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 14 (2001), pp. 119-168, here p. 119. Remke Kruk, »Some Late Medieval Zoological Texts and Their Sources«, in: *Actas del XII Congreso de la Unión Europea de Arabistas e Islamolólogos* (1986), pp. 424-429.

49 Remke Kruk, »ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*: a Chimaera?« in: *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages: Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation, in Honour of Hans Daiber*, ed. by Anna Akasoy and Wim Raven, Leiden and Boston 2008, pp. 345-362, p. 346. Hajjī Khalīfa (as note 8) Vol. 1, p. 696.

50 Oscar Löfgren and Carl Johan Lamm, *Ambrosian Fragments of an Illuminated Manuscript Containing the Zoology of al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, Uppsala 1946.

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by Ibn Bukhtishūʿ.[51] At the same time, al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* is cited by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 1071) as one of four top books by Baṣran scholars, in the company of other works clearly in the category of linguistic study.[52] It was epitomized by the poet Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 1155) under the title *Spirit of the ›Animals‹* (*Rūḥ al-Ḥayawān*) as well as by the philologist Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1312), author of a dictionary that is still widely used today, *The Arab Tongue* (*Lisān al-ʿArab*).[53] Lexicography, wonder compilation, Aristotelian zoology – al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* is a book with many faces. What can the manuscripts of this work tell us about how readers understood it?

Two Ottoman commentaries on *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* survive in the hand of their respective authors, in the margins of FA and DI. Both commentaries were subsequently copied into the margins of later manuscripts, suggesting they were ascribed some cultural importance.[54] They include marginal topics indexing the subject matter of the text page by page and paragraph by paragraph. While the topic headings do not overtly deal with the large questions of text organization that we have been discussing, the differences between these commentaries do reveal how reader presuppositions about the discipline and purpose of the text can dramatically transform the perception of its contents. Both commentators seem to have read closely, but they differ in their understanding of which ideas are primary and which are mentioned only in passing. Broadly speaking, Atai, the commentator of FA, sees *Book of Animals* as a book about phenomena with relevance for studying the Arabic literary tradition. Meanwhile the commentator of DI, al-Shirwānī, is more concerned to study the texts transmitted within *Book of Animals*, focusing especially on unusual vocabulary. His commentary suggests that he sees al-Jāḥīẓ as pursuing a chiefly philological project in this text. The two commentaries then provide two running sequences of topic headings, with very little overlap.

51 Anna Contadini, *A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the Kitāb Naʿt al-Ḥayawān) in the Ibn Bakhtishūʿ Tradition*, Leiden 2011. Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam*, New Haven 2011.

52 Pellat (as in note 46), pp. 4-5. The other Basran books are: the canonical grammar book, Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*; the first Arabic dictionary, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, and al-Jāḥiẓ's other compilatory work, *al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn*.

53 Ḥajjī Khalīfa (as note 8), Vol. 1, p. 696. The unpublished autograph of Ibn Manzūr's epitome is in San Lorenzo ed El Escorial, Escorial arab. 901.

54 Atai's commentary was copied into the margins of the uniform set of codices Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992M, 997, 995, 997M, which are copied from the mismatched set that FA belonged to. Shirwani's appears in the margins of Reïs'ul-Kuttab 876, Reïs'ul-Kuttab 584, and Nuruosmaniye 3031, all gathered now in the Suleymaniry Library in Istanbul, and in 56870 (adab 9س), in Cairo's Dār al-Kutub.

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The commentary visible on FA is by the the poet, cultural historian, and Ottoman judge in Rumelia, Nevizade Atai (1538 – 1635) or ʿAṭāʾ Allāh b. Yaḥyā Nevʿi.[55] Atai wrote an update to Taşköprüzade's definitive biographical dictionary of Ottoman elites, entitled *Realities of Realities in Completion of the ›Crimson Anemone‹*. He was part of the Ottoman *divan* poetry movement to incorporate into Ottoman Turkish poetry the complex tropology of Arabic and Persian poetics and poetry. He composed prose and poetry in Turkish as well as translating from Persian to Turkish. In his ownership mark on Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 993, volume 3 of the mismatched set to which FA also belongs, Atai takes credit for his commentary and rubrication in general terms:

> Then [this codex] entered into the possession of this humble servant, along with the first, fifth, and final volumes. Its editor (*muḥarrir*) is the most deficient of God's servants, ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, the judge of the city of Uskūb. 1044.

Atai specifies in his ownership notes on Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, 993, and 994 that he was the judge of Skopje (Uskūb), but in the note to Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 996, he writes that he had been removed from his position as judge but was still living in Skopje.[56] On the fly leaf to Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, he adds a line of poetry in Ottoman Turkish by »the humble author« (*al-muḥarrir al-ḥaqīr*), dated to 16 Shawwal 1044 (April 4, 1635) in Trikala (Tirḥāla), Thessaly (Figure 10).[57] It is unclear whether Atai here references himself as author of the poem, or rubricator and commentator of the codex. To confirm Atai's authorship of the commentary, I checked that the hand and ink color and lustre of the comments and rubrication appear to match Atai's ownership marks in these codices, in contrast to the only other ownership mark found on all four manuscripts, that of Veysi. I also compared Atai's practice of rubricating, commenting, and adding a table of contents to numerous other manuscripts that he owned and commented, including an autograph copy of a text he authored.[58] This process was made possible by the catalogs of Ramazan Şeşen and Maḥmūd al-Sayyid al-Dughaym, of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa (Köprülü) and Ragip Paşa collections respectively, both now housed at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.[59] These catalogs index manuscript owners, and in combination with Turkey's massive digitization project, allowed me to quickly compare numerous codices owned by Nevizade Atai.

55 Aynur (as note 17). Maḥmūd al-Sayyid al-Dughaym, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya wal-turkiyya wal-fārisiyya fī maktabat Raghib Pāshā*, 10 Vols., Jeddah 2016, Vol. 4, pp. 382-384, fn. 2.

56 Fol. 1r in each case.

57 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994 fol. Ir (recto of the first fly leaf).

58 Esad Efendi 923 at the Süleymaniye Library.

59 Dughaym (as note 55). Ramazan Şeşen, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt maktabat Köprülü*, 3 Vols., Istanbul 1986.

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The commentary appearing on DI is by the *adīb*, Ottoman financial administrator, and possessor of a vast library, Abū Bakr b. Rustum al-Shirwānī (d. 1135 / 1723). It includes many dictionary definitions taken from the lexicographic works of Ibn Fāris (d. 395 / 1004) and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by al-Jawharī (d. 393-400 / 1003-1010), in addition to topic headings and at least one case of cross-referencing with al-Jāḥiẓ's other large-scale work, *al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn*.[60] Two manuscripts bearing al-Shirwānī's commentary identify certain notes as being authored by al-Shirwānī, by appending to the comment the phrase »in the hand of Abī Bakr al-Shirwānī«.[61] DI bears his ownership mark on fol. 1r, similar to the one published by Ayman Fuad al-Sayyid.[62] Boris Liebrenz's online databases of ownership marks in Islamic manuscripts provide a rich list of numerous manuscripts owned by al-Shirwānī.[63] While Atai's reading practice is consistent across the many manuscripts he owned, al-Shirwānī apparently did not consistently comment the manuscripts he owned, so a comparison with other books in his library was not useful. An examination of the manuscript convinced me that the marginal notes prefaced with the tag ح for »marginal commentary« (*ḥāshiya*) are written in the hand of the original copyist, not al-Shirwānī, while numerous notes can be very clearly identified as belonging to al-Shirwānī. The variety of colours and sizes, however, means that there are inevitably some notes that cannot be reliably ascribed to one or the other. As there are no other ownership marks on the manuscript, these are the only two hands we could try to identify. There are also indications that al-Shirwānī copied a few of these comments from a prior manuscript of *Book of Animals*.

Atai's commentary clearly displays the effects of a long-standing re-interpretation of al-Jāḥiẓ's work as primarily not theological.[64] It segregates certain passages in the text as belonging to al-Jāḥiẓ's theological school, Muʿtazilism, treating this as a curiosity and implying that the rest of the text need not be considered in relation to Muʿtazilism or theology generally speaking. When al-Jāḥiẓ cites the harsh words of his Addressee who falsely ascribes to him the most extreme version of the mild views al-Jāḥiẓ has himself merely described rather than espousing them, Atai's marginal thematic heading reads simply, »Reference to his theological school (*madhhab*)«, responding only to the word *al-muʿtazila* in the

60 Dughaym (as note 55), Vol. 8, p. 330.

61 For example, Reïs'ul Kuttab 584 fol. 2r and 4r, and Nuruosmaniye 3031 fol. 2r and 4r.

62 Ayman Fuad al-Sayyid, »Les marques de possession sur les manuscrits et la reconstitution des anciens fonds de manuscrits arabes«, in: *Manuscripta Orientalia* 9 No. 4 (2003), pp. 14-23.

63 Rifāʾiyya Library now in Leipzig: https://www.refaiya.uni-leipzig.de/content/index.xml Staatsbibliothek in Berlin: http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/content/index.xml Gotha Research Library: http://www.manuscripts-gotha.uni-jena.de/content/index.xml?XSL.lastPage.SESSION=/content/index.xml

64 Pellat (as in note 46).

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base text.[65] This may suggest an insensitivity to the theological import of the text as a whole, which al-Jahiz says aims to prove (and I would add, to reinterpret) the Muʿtazilī doctrine of theodicy (*maṣlaḥa*). Instead, Atai is mainly oriented toward *adab* and the encyclopedic wonder tradition, mining *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* for Arab lore about animals and *jinn*, and only occasionally delving into the philological niceties of lexicography and grammar.[66] It seems he envisioned using this information to understand the Arabic literary tradition. Al-Jāḥiẓ at one point claims that a famous line of poetry by ʿAmr b. Yarbuʿ b. Ḥanẓala references the tale of a *siʿlāt* (a kind of fabulous female being, sometimes identified as a kind of *jinnī*) [67] who lived with the Tamīm tribe long enough to bear a child among them: »When she saw a flash of lightning gleaming from a mountaintop in the land of the *saʿālī*, she became homesick and flew to them.«[68] In his comment, Atai indicates that this narrative explains another canonical line of poetry:

> This is what Abū al-ʿAlāʾ [al-Maʿarrī] referenced when he said [of his camels], *When the lightning gleamed I covered their faces, as if I were ʿAmr and the steeds were saʿālī*.[69]

By Atai's time, the link between ʿAmr's story and the poem by al-Maʿarrī (d. 1057) had become a *topos* in literary commentaries and Arabic poetry[70], but al-Jāḥiẓ of course does not mention this since al-Maʿarrī would not live until several centuries later. Atai thus brings the later Arabic tradition of poetic commentary into the margins of *Book of Animals*. But he also links al-Jāḥiẓ's information more creatively with Persian and Turkish proverbs and idioms, sometimes signed with the first letter of his name, ع (Figure 11).[71]

Al-Shirwānī, by contrast, treats al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of Animals* as a repository of lexicographic information. The vast majority of his comments reproduce dictionary definitions and morphological discussions of difficult terms in the base text. He also provides a running series of topic headings indexing the content consistently, if less closely than the dense topic headings Atai provides. Surprisingly, these two accounts of what the book is »about« rarely coincide. On the balance, al-Shirwānī identifies philological topics discussed in the text, while

65 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 1, p. 7. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 4r.

66 One example is FA 992, fol. 138v, where Atai discussions the phonetic form of the name of the fish called *shabbūṭ*.

67 Pellat and MacDonald, »Ghūl«, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition (as in note 15).

68 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5) Vol. 1, pp. 185-186.

69 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 108v.

70 Yāqūt (d. 1229) describes this verse in his entry on al-Maʿarrī as being, »of dubious explanation« (*mushkil al-tafsīr*) and he cites later poetic riffs on the *topos*. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, Vol. 5, p. 2000.

71 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 139v.

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Atai names the creatures or phenomena it discusses. For example, for the same passage, here are the topic headings provided by each commentary, excluding Atai's marginal identification of changes in speaker. The location in the base text is identified using page and line numbers from Hārūn's edition.

Location in edition Vol.:p.:line	DI folio	Al-Shirwānī heading	FA folio	Atai heading
I:291:08	41r	ḥinn are weak jinn	168v	dogs that are jinn
I:291:10			168v	types of jinn
I:291:15			169r	jinn and ḥinn are two kinds
I:292:03	41r	on killing dogs	169r	on killing dogs
I:292:17			170r	abrogation regarding dogs
I:293:09			170r	reparation for the killing of dogs
I:294:08	41v	the matter of those [houses] with exposed areas		
I:297:05	42r	*al-irbiyāna* [shrimp or another kind of crustacean]	172v	kinds of transformed humans
I:300:03	42v	the Bedouin call any snake a shayṭān		
I:300:05			175r	As is common[ly said] in our age, »Ibn Shayṭān al-defteri« ع [72]
I:301:03			175v	the authoritative story of Khurāfa
I:301:08			175v	Sharīk entered heaven
I:302:02			175v	jinn's touch

72 I do not know this phrase nor to whom it refers. It is signed with Atai's initial. See Figure 11.

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			176v	the reason for killing dogs in Medina
			176v	why rabies affects the dog
			179r	a[nother] book by the author
I:307:04			179v	legal status of beating a thief
I:307:16			180r	killing vermin
I:308:06			180r	discussion of beastly transformation is one of the author's charms
I:308:10	43v	mentioning fables as examples		
I:310:5			181r	joke
			181r	the tongue of the elephant is backwards
			181r	pause [to consider this]
I:311:8			181v	reference to his epistle
I:311:10			181v	kinds of dogs
I:313:02	44r	discussion of [words] for praiseworthy things that have been derived from the word »dog«	182v	discourse of the Proponent of the Dog

While both commentators highlight both phenomena and philology, Atai tends to to focus more often on phenomena, while al-Shirwānī focuses more often on philology. For example, al-Shirwānī identifies the discussion at I:291:08 as a point of philology identifying the meaning of the unusual word *ḥinn*, whereas Atai is more interested in the lore about various appearances and kinds of *jinn*, which I here class as phenomena as opposed to philology. Both commentators point out the legal discussion of killing dogs, and al-Shirwānī notes the legal discussion of keeping dogs when the house is not secure. While Atai then continues to index specific stories related to *jinn*, al-Shirwānī focuses only on the odd philological point, such as the fact that Bedouin called snakes demons (*shayāṭīn*), perhaps

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without intending to claim for them any supernatural status. At I:308-311, al-Jāḥiẓ lists a number of tough questions regarding Bedouin lore and its associated philological and biological conundrums, citing in full a passage he had originally written as part of his *Epistle on Squaring and Circling* to insult and challenge a courtly rival.[73] Atai indexes several of these conundrums as independent topics, and points out the reference to the epistle only when al-Jāḥiẓ finally reveals this connection in the base text. Al-Shirwānī, meanwhile, identifies the rhetorical purpose of this list from the beginning of the passage: »mentioning examples of fables«. At I:313, the Proponent of the Dog responds to his opponent's, citation of negative idioms and semantic derivations from the word »dog« by arguing, »Aren't the derivations from its name for praiseworthy things more numerous?« This announces a new topic, for the Proponent of the Dog follows up with a long list of examples. While Atai remarks simply, »Discourse of Proponent of the Dog«, al-Shirwānī assigns a topic heading: »discussion of [words] for praiseworthy things that have been derived from the word dog (*kalb*).«

A similar difference in weight between Atai's relative emphasis on phenomena and al-Shirwānī's relative emphasis on philology arises in their interpretation of the book's introduction. Both commentators flag a passage in the introduction to *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* where al-Jāḥiẓ gives a taxonomy of »the world along with the bodies in it«.[74] I have argued elsewhere that this taxonomy operates as a performative introduction to the methods of the text as a whole, in that it highlights a tension between al-Jāḥiẓ's divisions and the numerous exceptions and challenges to these divisions that he uses to disrupt the stability of the knowledge system he introduces.[75] In many cases, al-Jāḥiẓ presents this tension as a conflict between the approaches of lexicography and biology. It seems that Atai was not reading closely for tone at this point, for he flags only the major taxonomic divisions introduced, making no note of the the passage's disruptive lexicographic and biological quibbles. His comments on the entire interlude introducing the topic of *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* read as follows:

Introduction to the division of bodies
Elements
That which is growing consists of two classes
Animals 4 [i.e. there are 4 major classes of animals]
That which walks 4
Birds 3

73 Charles Pellat, *Le Kitāb at-tarbīʿ wa-t-tadwīr de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Damascus 1956.
74 Al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 1, pp. 26-37.
75 Miller (as note 10), chapter 2.

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Definition (*taʿrīf*)
Sea animals
Wisdom 2
Communication (*al-bayān*) 4
Important point (*maṭlab*): One of the two classes of wisdom in animals
Return to the discussion of this book[76]

The first comment identifies this passage as a textual segment on the classification of bodies with its own introduction (*muqaddima*). Thereafter, Atai flags each level of the division al-Jāḥiẓ provides, without noting any of the numerous quibbles, caveats, and self-corrections troubling the text. From this outline, we would expect a straightforward taxonomy. The label »definition« contributes to this focus on al-Jāḥiẓ's most apparently definitive statements, while eliding the persistent quibbling rhetoric. The label refers to al-Jāḥiẓ's remark, »Predators (*al-sabuʿ*) among birds are those which eat only flesh, while livestock (*al-bahīma*) among birds are those which eat only grain.«[77] This deceptively simple definition comes in the midst of a long and ambivalent discussion of the many characteristics associated with »predatoriness« (*al-sabuʿiyya*) beyond simply being a carnivore. Carnivore is the default sense of this term for al-Jāḥiẓ throughout *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, so Atai is not wrong to flag this »definition«. But in doing so, he allows a skimming reader to skip over al-Jāḥiẓ's more complex semantic investigation of these terms, that works between law, lexicography, and biology. This goal of simplifying to make the most important information easily accessible can be read as well in Atai's comment, »Communication 4.« This refers to al-Jāḥiẓ's division of human communication (*bayān*) into four categories: speech, script, dactylonomy (the expression of numbers by hand signs), and gesture. It elides al-Jāḥiẓ's immediate addition,

> And the communication of the sign which does not seek signs (i.e. non-human communication) was created to make itself available to the sign-seeker, leading all those who reflect on it to knowledge of the proofs it has stored up and the signs it contains […].[78]

This is a fifth type of communication, non-human communication, namely the semiotic function of Creation. This is a key passage where al-Jahiz vociferously defends the truly semiotic character of Creation as comparable to language, thus setting his book up as a demonstration of his practice of reading together the signs embedded in material reality and in the Arabic linguistic heritage. Atai's

76 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 13v-19v.
77 Ibid., fol. 15v, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 1, p. 29.
78 Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 17r, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 1, p. 34.

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commentary does later flag this fifth type of communication: »The classes of communication are 4 but there is a fifth characteristic.«[79] But this comes too late, for at this point al-Jahiz has turned his attention to linguistic media. The key rationale for insisting on a fifth type of communication is discussed the first time it is mentioned: the identification of the semiotic function of Creation as the fifth form of communication (*bayān*).

Only a century later, al-Shirwānī's lexicographic focus leads him to a more balanced reading of this passage, though his topic headings are less consistent and so provide a more sketchy account of his interpretation. He does not highlight the beginning of the passage as Atai does, possibly since the manuscript copyist had already noted that moment by enlarging its opening word, »I say […]« (*wa-aqūl*). Al-Shirwānī's only topic headings focus on the division of birds:

Classes of birds (*aqsām al-ṭayr*)
Not everything that flies with two wings is a bird (*ṭāʾir*)
That which is called by the name »bird« (*ṭāʾir*)[80]

This collection of notes gives the clear impression of a balanced reading of the text. Al-Shirwānī notes al-Jāḥiẓ's scientific rhetoric of division, without losing track of his lexicographic interest in the semantic extension of class names.

In sum, the distinct interests of the two commentators produce a very different overall impression of what the book is about, and where the text progresses from one topic to the next. Text segmentation through topic headings can make a huge interpretive impact on the perceived purpose and disciplinary orientation of the base text. This only serves to deepen our appreciation of the contributions made by copyists, for the copyists were also actively involved in demarcating text segmentation. In this way, the activities of the copyist and the commentator are only somewhat distinguishable. The copyist of DI performs many of the tasks that Atai undertakes as marginal commentator on FA: indications of voice changes in the Dog-Rooster Debate, and certain topic headings. DI's extensive use of various levels of paragraph and chapter headings make for a much more legible text than what we find in the Mamluk-era FA. But the flip side of this increased legibility is a deeper elision of those important text divisions that the DI copyist does not demarcate.

79 Ibid., fol. 25r, corresponding to al-Jāḥiẓ (as note 5), Vol. 1, p. 45.
80 Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 5r.

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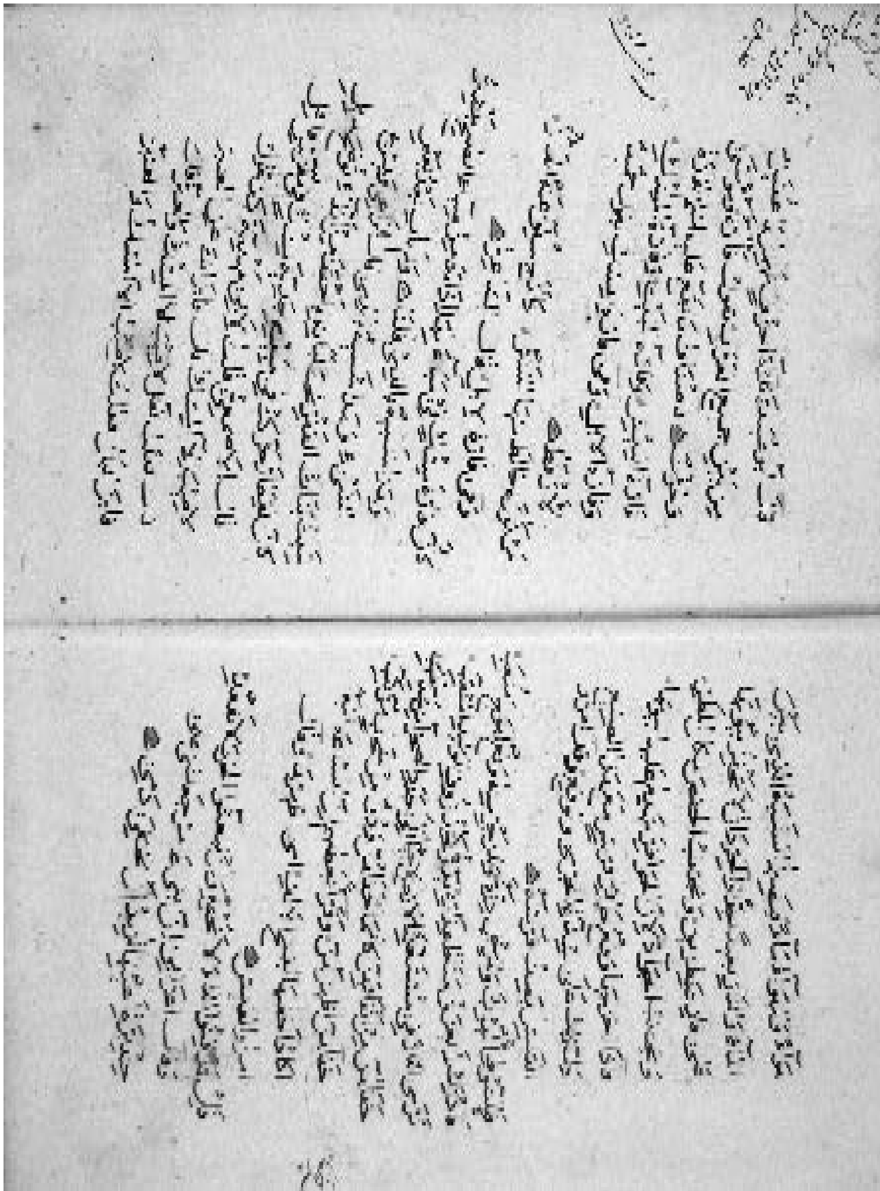

Figure 1: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 61v-62r,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library
The right page displays red dots and red filling in the punctuation circles, but this rubrication drops off mid-way down the left page.

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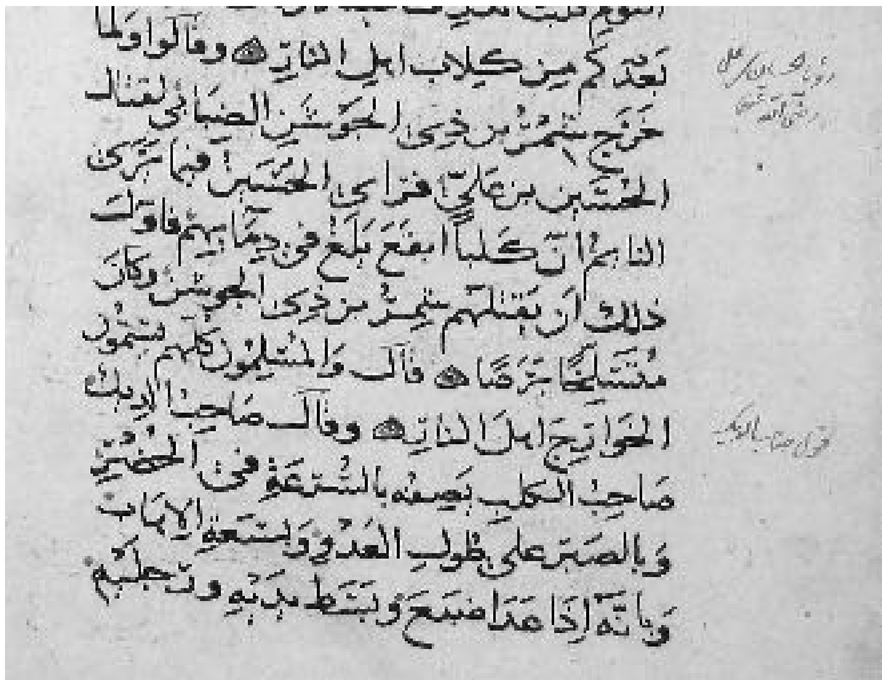

تعد كم من كلاب اهل النار ۞ وقالوا ولما
خرج شمر بن ذي الجوشن الضبابي لقتال
الحسين بن علي فرأى الحسين فيما يرى
النائم ان كلبا ابقع يلغ في دمائهم فاول
ذلك ان يقتلهم شمر بن ذي الجوشن وكان
متسلحا ابرص ۞ قال والمسلمون كلهم يسمون
الخوارج اهل النار ۞ وقال صاحب الديك
صاحب الكلب يصفه بالشجاعة في الحضر
وبالصبر على طول العدو وبسعة الاهاب
وبانه اذا عدا ضبع وبسط يديه وتجلبح

Figure 2: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 156v,
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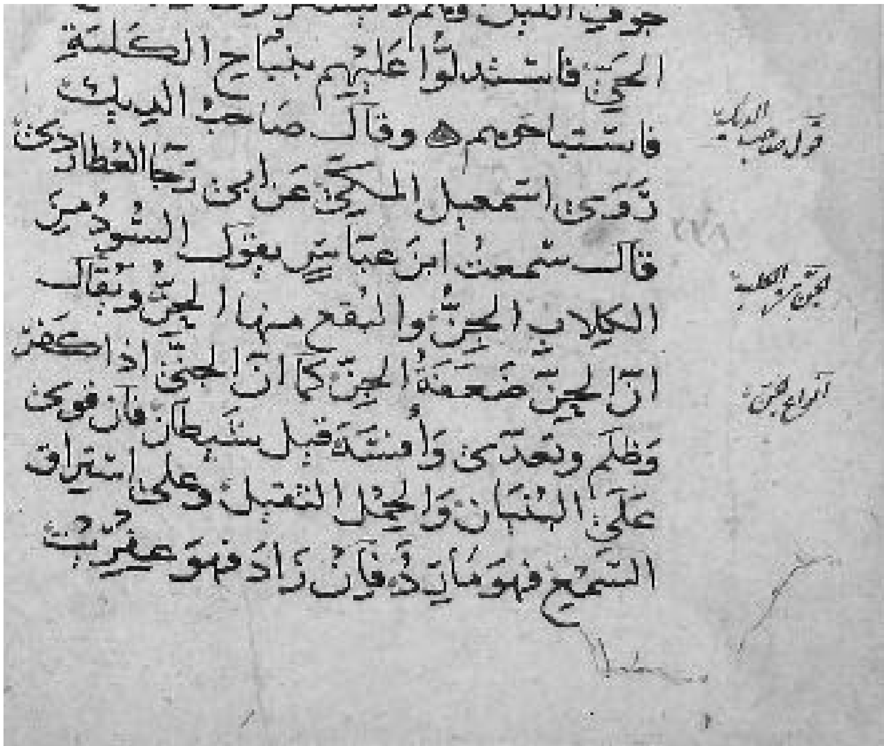

Figure 3: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library

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Figure 4: Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 32v,
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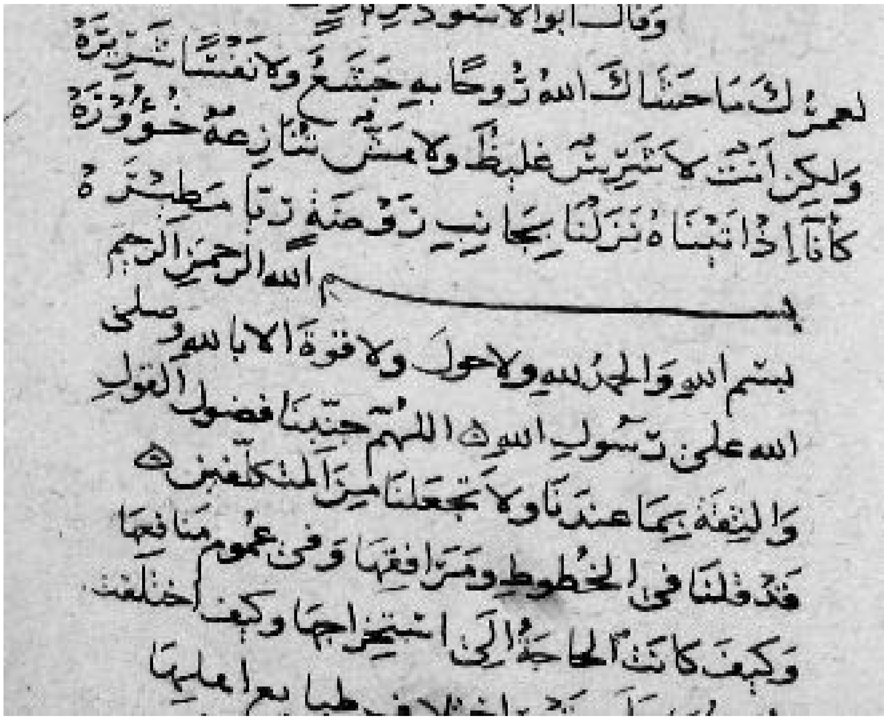
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بسم الله والحمد لله ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله وصلى الله على رسول الله اللهم جنبنا فضول القول والنفقة بما عندنا ولا تجعلنا من المتكلفين

قد قلنا في الخطوط ومرافقها وفي عموم منافعها وكيف اختلفت وكيف كانت الحاجة الى استخراجها وكيف

Figure 5: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 166r,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library

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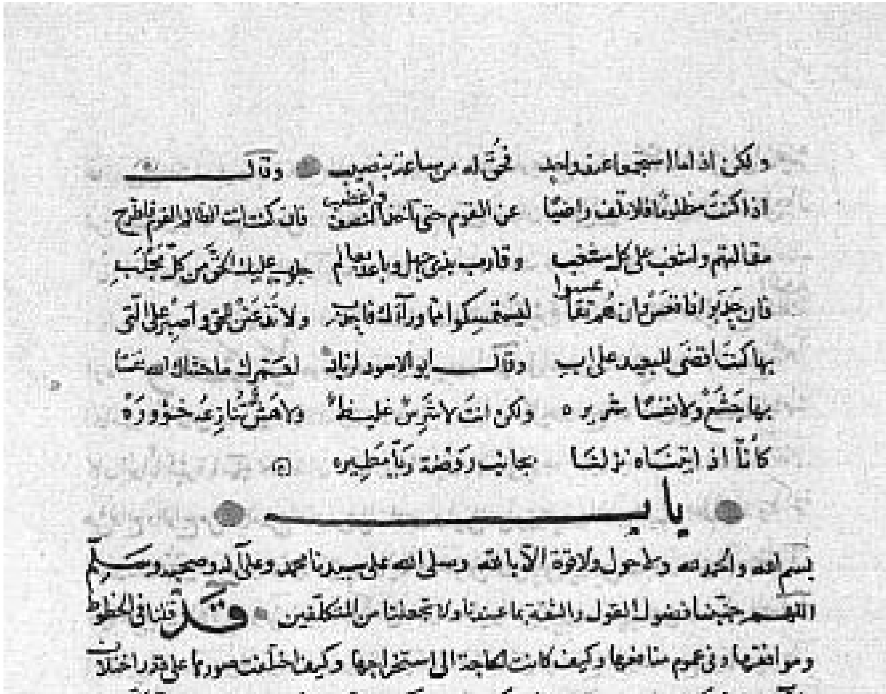
باب
بسم الله والحمد لله ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم

Figure 6: Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 234r,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library

جملة القول في نصيب الضباب
من الأعاجيب والغرائب

Figure 7: Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 238r,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library

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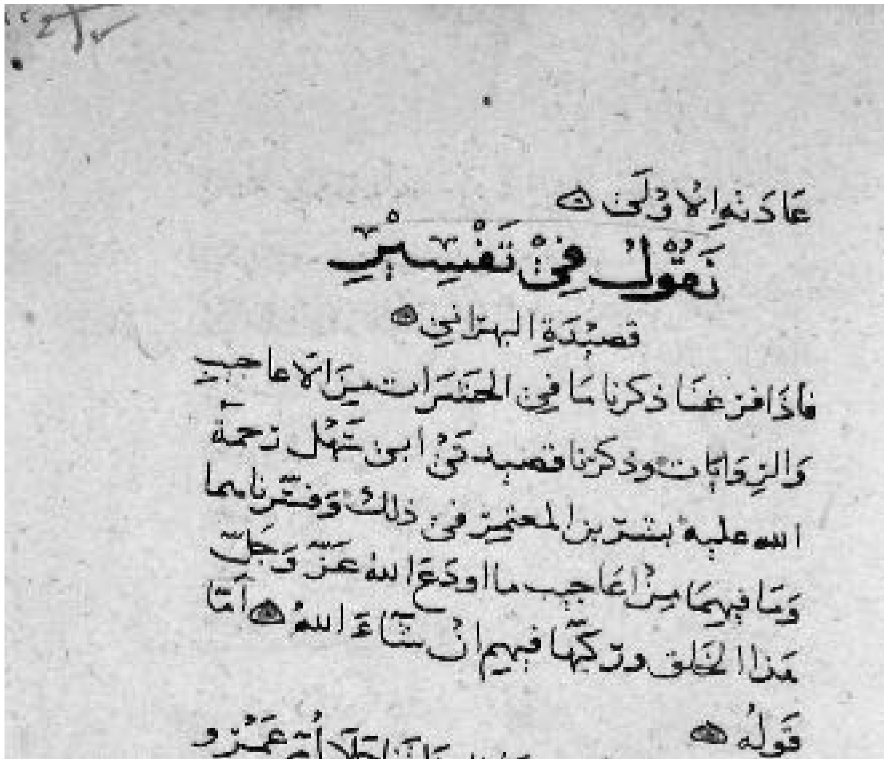
عادته الأولى ه
نقول في تفسير
قصيدة البهراني ه
فإذا فرغنا ذكرنا ما في الحشرات من الأعاجيب
والروايات وذكرنا قصيدتي أبي سهل رحمة
الله عليه بشر بن المعتمر في ذلك وفسرناهما
وما فيهما من أعاجيب ما أودع الله عز وجل
هذا الخلق وركبها فيهم إن شاء الله ه أما
قوله ه

Figure 8: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. 212r,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library

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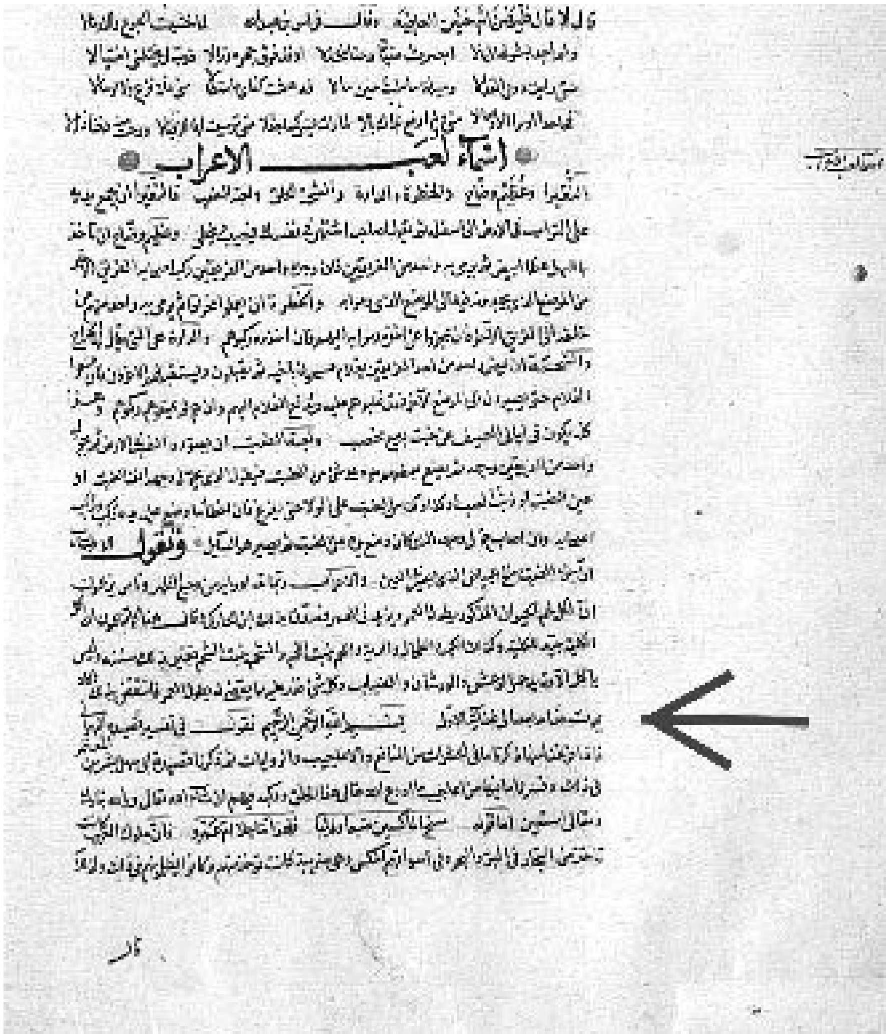

Figure 9: Damad İbrahim 861, fol. 244v, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library

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Figure 10: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 994, fol. Ir (recto of the first fly leaf), detail, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.
I would like to thank Lale Javanshir for transliterating and translating this verse of Ottoman Turkish poetry.

المحرّر الحقير عطايي
شوال 1044
در ترحاله

هب رغبتمز بوسِ لبِ ياره دكلمى
جان نقلي ديمك اكه شكرباره دكلمي

Hep raġbetimiz būs-i leb-i yāre degil-mi
Cān naqli démek aña şekerpāre degil-mi

Don’t we always desire to kiss the beloved’s lips?
Isn’t it sweet to give her a translation of the soul?

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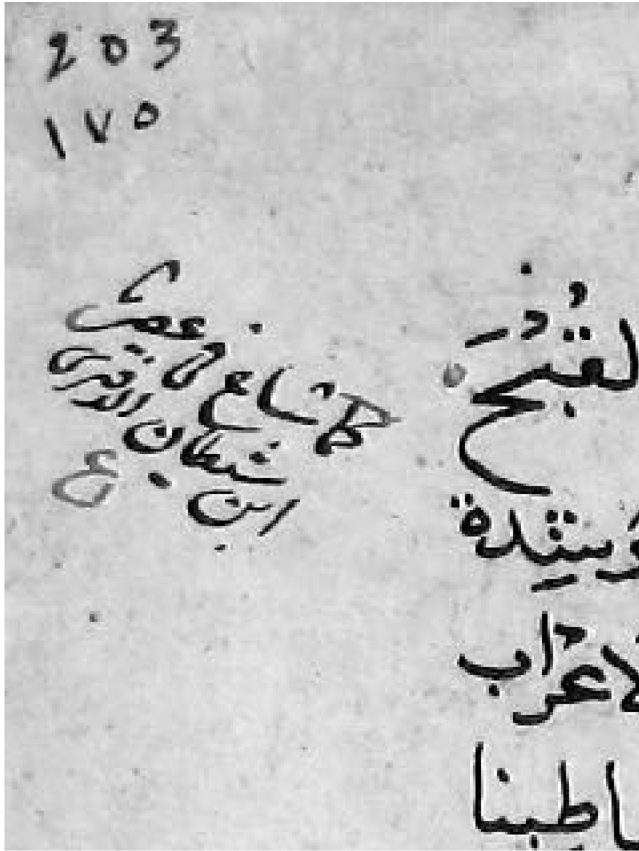

Figure 11: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 992, fol. 175r, detail,
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

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Simon Whedbee

The Pedagogy of Twelfth-Century Cathedral School Biblical Commentaries

Peter Comestor's Lectures on the Gospel of Luke

Peter Comestor, born in Troyes in 1100, taught in Paris in the final third of the 12th century, while serving as chancellor of the cathedral school of Notre Dame.[1] In this position, Peter was responsible not only for overseeing its program of biblical studies, but also for granting the license required to teach theology in the diocese, a role of great administrative importance.[2] In short, he orchestrated what was taught, by whom, and to whom within Paris. Before acceding to the position of *magister* and then chancellor, Comestor studied in the classroom of Peter Lombard, one of the most influential masters of the later Latin Middle Ages, whose writings formed the theological curriculum of the early University of Paris, which emerged at the beginning of the 13th century.[3] Comestor's writings are therefore one of the greatest ›informants‹ on the teaching tradition that stretches back from Peter Lombard to Anselm, master of the cathedral school at Laon at the end of the 11th century.[4] It is this unbroken chain of master and

1 For reviews of Comestor's life and career, see Beryl Smalley, »Peter Comestor on the Gospels and his Sources«, in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 46 (1979), pp. 84-129, here pp. 84-88; Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: the Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Leiden 2009, pp. 209 f.; Mark Clark, *The Making of the* Historia scholastica, *1150 – 1200*, Toronto 2015, pp. 1-10; and Matthew Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, Toronto 2016, pp. 165-181. Also valuable are the collection of articles found in *Pierre le Mangeur ou Pierre de Troyes: Maître du XII siècle*, ed. by Gilbert Dahan, Turhout 2013, there especially David Luscombe, »The Place of Peter Comestor in the History of Medieval Theology«, pp. 27-48.

2 Doyle (as note 1), p. 165.

3 For reviews of Peter Lombard's career and influence upon the curricula of the Latin universities, see, in addition to Doyle (as note 1), Ignatius Brady, »Peter Manducator and the Oral Teachings of Peter Lombard«, in: *Antonianum* 41 (1966), pp. 454-490; Marcia Colish, *Peter Lombard*, Vols. 1-2, Leiden 1994; as well as Mark Clark, »Peter Comestor and Peter Lombard: Brothers in Deed«, in: *Traditio* 60 (2005), pp. 85-142; and »Peter Lombard, Stephen Langton, and the School of Paris: The Making of the Twelfth-Century Scholastic Biblical Tradition«, in: *Traditio* 72 (2017), pp. 171-274.

4 Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, C. 1100 – C. 1280*, London 1985, p. 4.

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disciple apprenticeship that scholars have come to recognize as the Laon/ Paris ›school‹, which later gave rise to the University of Paris.[5]

For current research into the culture of the French medieval education that took place before the rise of the universities, Comestor's lectures are not only revealing because of their occasional reference to Peter Lombard's now lost, but instrumental, biblical teachings[6], but also because they completely throw into disarray the neat categories historians have constructed regarding the study of the Bible and of the classical arts in the Latin Middle Ages[7], which are largely based on modern expectations as to how a scholarly community should operate and appear.[8] Contrary to these narrow expectations, I have come across, in my recent work editing Comestor's biblical teachings, a remarkable variety of topics and surprising expositions held together by his didactic interest in Latin philology, both the simple and the perplexing.[9] In this paper, I will situate Comestor's biblical exegesis within the broader scholarly environment of the French cathedral schools of the 12th century, where the study of the Latin language, through the traditional and largely stable curriculum of the liberal arts, lay at the heart of most formal academic pursuits. I maintain throughout that further study ought to pay more attention to Peter Comestor's method of teaching by means of a grammatical parsing of the Latin Vulgate and its standardized glosses.[10]

5 See Luscombe (as note 1), p. 28; Mark Clark, »The Biblical Gloss, the Search for Peter Lombard's Glossed Bible, and the School of Paris«, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 76 (2014), pp. 57-114; and Alexander Andrée, »*Sacra Pagina*: Theology and the Bible from the School of Laon to the School of Paris«, in: Cédric Giraud (ed.), *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools,* Leiden [forthcoming].

6 See Clark (as note 5).

7 For overviews of Latin education in the 12th century, see Birger Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Paris 1982; for insight into the interaction between arts and biblical curricula, see Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Aldershot 1988.

8 Two prominent critics of scholars' preference for speculative medieval texts at the expense of more representative commentaries have been Marcia Colish and Giulio Silano. See Colish, »The Sentence Collection and the Education of Professional Theologians in the Twelfth Century«, in: Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), *The Intellectual Climate of the Early University: Essays in Honor of Otto Gründler* (Studies in Medieval Culture 39), Kalamazoo, Michigan 1997, pp. 1-26; and Peter Lombard, *Sentences*, trs. by Giulio Silano, Vol. 1 (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 42), Toronto 2007, pp. xxiv-vi.

9 For a review of Comestor's pedagogy see Simon Whedbee, »The Study of the Bible in the Cathedral Schools of Twelfth-Century France: A Case Study of Robert Amiclas and Peter Comestor«, in: Stefanie Brinkmann, Giovanni Ciotti, Martin Delhey, and Stefano Valente (eds.), *Education Materialized: Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts through Manuscripts*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, Berlin [forthcoming].

10 Scholars have currently taken up renewed interest in the writings of Peter Comestor. In addition to the recent publications in Gilbert Dahan's *Pierre le Mangeur ou Pierre de Troyes* (as

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A century ago, scholars in the field of medieval biblical exegesis undertook expansive surveys of the Latin manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries. In the summaries of their findings, however, they mislead their readers by judging the French masters according to entirely modern expectations of what intellectual achievement in written form should amount to.[11] In accordance with their presumptions, they thus divided the writings of the 12th century *magistri* into two camps: the ›speculative, systematic camp‹ championed by Peter Lombard, which looked forward to Thomas Aquinas, and the ›historical, biblical camp‹, championed by Peter Comestor, which led nowhere and supposedly died mere decades after Comestor's own demise in the 1170s.[12] Later scholars who advanced this thesis ignored the fact that Peter Comestor learned nearly all he taught from the lips of Peter Lombard, and that the Lombard himself was the century's strongest proponent of the ›biblical commentary style‹ that the rest of his writings supposedly made obsolete.[13]

But another stream of scholarship now seeks to cast aside this distinction between the world of the biblical commentary and that of the systematic theological treatise organized topically, and emphasizes instead the importance of the liberal arts for understanding theology, in whatever literary form, in terms of the genre expectations of classical philology. Current research returns to the very beginning of the matter by asking: »What was ›theology‹ in the Latin Middle Ages?«. And the manuscripts resound over and over: Nothing other than *sacra pagina*: the close reading of the sacred texts and authorities, which discipline Hugh of St. Victor clearly and explicitly places under the jurisdiction of the liberal arts.[14]

note 1) and Mark Clark's *The Making of the* Historia scholastica (as note 1), University of Toronto scholars Alexander Andrée, David Foley, and I are currently in the process of editing Comestor's lectures on the four Gospels, an extensive project, with early results of our efforts soon to come.

11 Principally, they privileged the very few medieval writings that resembled in form the modern monograph (for example, Anselm of Canterbury's writings, or the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas), largely disparaging the bulk of medieval content, which is in commentary form, and was looked down upon by many scholars of recent centuries.

12 Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, Vols. 1-2, Freiburg i. Br. 1911, especially Vol. 2, pp. 13-24, and pp. 476-506. See also Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1941, pp. 196-198. The strongest current proponent of this view is Frans van Liere, »Biblical Exegesis through the Twelfth Century«, in: Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, New York 2011, pp. 172 f. For a refutation of this point, see Alexander Andrée, »Peter Comestor's Lectures on the *Glossa ›Ordinaria‹* on the Gospel of John: The Bible and Theology in the Twelfth-Century Classroom«, in: *Traditio* 71 (2016), pp. 203-234, here pp. 203-205.

13 This fact has been made most evident by the recent, works of Mark Clark and Matthew Doyle (as note 1).

14 Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon: De studio Legendi*, ed. by C. H. Buttimer, trs. by Thilo Offergeld, Freiburg i. Br. 1997, p. 360. Here, Hugh has a lengthy discourse on the theme of ›his-

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As part of the liberal arts, the exposition of texts (both sacred and profane) must be guided by the *ars grammatica* (the ›art of grammar‹), which Hugh also terms *philologia* (›philology‹), and which includes everything from poetry to history, and thus by extension the sacred *History of Salvation*. Of this primacy of philology, Hugh writes: »The Cathedral of Philology is, to all who have the means to see, the Throne of Wisdom, which the Liberal Arts uphold, for *in these arts* she claws her way forward«.[15] Philology, and the commentary tradition in particular, allows one to navigate through the liberal arts and sciences and brings together the unity of their diverse truths, all of which are hinted at in the biblical scriptures.[16] At least that is what the forerunners of the University of Paris at the end of the 12th century thought, following a long line of Christian thinkers in the Latin tradition.

This intimate relationship between the reading of sacred texts and the formal study of language and literature itself explains the content of Peter Comestor's most famous work, the *Historia scholastica*, a rendition and explication of the

tory‹ which, I think, illuminates the relationship between the study of language (philology) and of biblical texts (theology) in Comestor's lectures (all translations from Latin, here and throughout, are my own): »Thus it is no wonder that education happens best when, before you study history and the truth of deeds [that is, the *enarratio poetarum*, the grammatical reading of canonical texts, the staple of Greco-Roman primary education], you repetitiously commit to memory, from the beginning until the end, what happened, when it happened, where it happened, and by whom it was done [these are the *circumstantiae*. See footnote 73]. For these four things are especially necessary to the study of history: person, deed, time, and place [cf. Comestor's *circumstantiae* for history]. Nor do I think you can become truly learned in allegory unless you are first grounded in history [that his, clearly, ›grammar‹]. Do not spurn these small things! Who shuns the details, little by little slips away. If you had been ashamed to first learn the alphabet, you would now have no place at all among the grammarians [. . .]. Learn all things! Later you will see that nothing was unneeded. Limited knowledge is disagreeable«. [*Sic nimirum in doctrina fieri oportet, ut videlicet prius historiam discas et rerum gestarum veritatem, a principio repetens usque ad finem quid gestum sit, quando gestum sit, ubi gestum sit, et a quibus gestum sit* [the *circumstantiae*], *diligenter memoriae commendes. Haec enim quattuor praecipue in historia requirenda sunt, persona, negotium, tempus et locus. Neque ego te perfecte subtilem posse fieri puto in allegoria, nisi prius fundatus fueris in historia. Noli contemnere minima haec. Paulatim defluit qui minima contemnit, si primo alphabetum discere contempnisses, nunc inter grammaticos tantum nomen non haberes* [. . .]. *Omnia disce, videbis postea nihil esse superfluum. Coartata scientia iucunda non est*.]

15 Ibid., p. 264: »*Cathedra quippe philologiae sedes est sapientiae, quae his suppositis gestari dicitur, quoniam in his se exercendo promovetur*«.

16 This idea has a long history in the Latin Christian tradition. Some of its most influential supporters, with varying opinions, were Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. by R. P. H. Green, Oxford 1996; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, ed. by Wolfgang Bursgens, Freiburg i. Br. 2003; and Hugh of St. Victor (as note 14). Other important examples are Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911; and Alcuin, *The Rhetoric of Alcuin & Charlemagne*, ed. by Wilbur Samuel Howell, New York 1965.

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entirety of the biblical narrative, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, according to etymology, grammar, syntax, and other essential components of medieval philology.[17]

It also explains, as I will aim to demonstrate, Comestor's biblical lectures. In his search for the truth of the *history* of the Gospel stories, Comestor is no antiquarian nor fancier of historical trivialities.[18] He is a ›master of the sacred page‹, with an emphasis on *page*. He is a curator of texts *qua* texts, and that primarily embroils him in the labour of philology. In this tradition, the study of grammar amounts to the practise of philological exegesis, which has at its heart the pursuit of history and literary art, aided by and contributing to an understanding of natural science and, ultimately, sacred divinity.[19]

17 For a description of the philological pedagogy of the *Historia*, see Clark (as note 1), pp. 24-27, 62 f., 82 f., and 151-156. Not only does Comestor's general method of exegesis follow the reading techniques and priorities established by the Latin grammar tradition, but he also frequently cites the most important grammar textbooks, principally Aelius Donatus' *Ars grammatica*. Further study into the *Historia* can elucidate this matter, hopefully strengthened by a suitable edition of the text's many manuscripts. Here is one example, taken from J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 198, Paris 1841-1855, Col.1600B: »And the name ›Hosanna‹ is a Hebrew word, composed of a truncated part and a whole part [technical terms from the grammar tradition]. For ›Osi‹ signifies ›saved‹ or ›saving‹. ›Anna‹ is an imploring interjection [another technical term], just as ›papae‹ is an interjection of wonder.« [*Et est Osanna verbum Hebraeum, compositum ex corrupto et integro. Osi enim sonat salva, vel salvifica. Anna est interjectio obsecrantis, sicut papae admirantis*.] Compare with the unquestioned standard textbook for introductory Latin grammar throughout the Middle Ages, Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor*, ed. by Axel Schönberger, Frankfurt a. M. 2008, pp. 122-124: »What is an interjection? A part of speech signifying the affectations of the mind through a meaningless word. What does an interjection do? Only signify. What can an interjection signify? We can either signify happiness, when we say ›evax‹, or sorrow, when we say ›heu‹, or wonder, when we say ›papae‹, or fear, when we say ›attat‹«. [*Interiectio quid est? Pars orationis significans mentis affectum voce incondita. Interiectioni quid accidit? Tantum significatio. Significatio interiectionis in quo est? Quia aut laetitiam significamus, ut evax, aut dolorem, ut heu, aut admirationem, ut papae, aut metum, ut attat*.]

18 What Luscombe terms an »interest in antiquities« (as note 1), p. 42. Scholars' views that Comestor was principally an antiquarian stem back to Smalley, who characterized his writings as consisting of »liturgy, iconography, relics, and the archaeology and topography of Palestine«; she also described his »typical outlook« as a »preference for … historical meaning« in which »the liturgy in his view re-enacted, recalled and even offered evidence for the gospel story«. See Smalley (as note 4), pp. 69 f. Scholarship dealing with Comestor has been largely dismissive of his lectures on account of this notion that he was principally an antiquarian and liturgist.

19 Smalley (as note 12), p. 27: »Scripture requires the same erudite treatment as the pagans give to Virgil. The sciences and liberal arts are necessary in so far as they contribute to an understanding of Scripture. The student needs language, grammar, and history in order to understand the literal sense, dialectic to distinguish true doctrine from false, arithmetic for number symbolism, natural history for the symbolism of beasts and birds; rhetoric, the crown of the higher education, is necessary not only for his own studies, but to enable him to teach and preach what he has learnt … We learn by sharing our learning. Bible study includes the study

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Comestor and his colleagues would not likely have viewed the grammatical study of the Bible as second rate theology, as Martin Grabmann's distinction between biblical and speculative theology would seem to suggest. The grammatical exegesis of the Bible was an exercise open to all modes and forms of knowledge, precisely because to study grammar was to subject a text to the principal method of antique and medieval universal science: the philological parsing of an authoritative text, a fact which holds true even for those commentaries deemed more speculative.[20] A close look at the bulk of the manuscripts that bear witness to what was being taught in the cathedral schools of Europe in the Middle Ages bears this out; for the purpose of this article, I will examine Comestor's lectures on the Gospel of Luke as a case study.

I must begin by describing the two manuscripts I have transcribed in order to present the pedagogy of Peter Comestor's lectures on the Gospel of Luke. The first is BnF Latin 620, an early 13th century *reportatio*[21], or student's report, that records a lengthy series of lectures on the Glossed Gospel of Luke.[22] The second is the Glossed Gospel owned by Robert Amiclas, a 12th-century scholar who also learned and taught in Paris.

This latter manuscript, Trinity College B.1.12, offers at least two indispensable witnesses to the Latin tradition of medieval biblical education. Most obviously, Amiclas' textbook contains a standard version of the Latin Vulgate text of the Gospel of Luke, along with an early version of the so called *Glossa ordinaria*, the great medieval Gloss on the Bible composed in Laon at the end of the 11th century

of Catholic tradition which St. Augustine does not distinguish from Scripture. It is part of theology, and theology is Bible study; so is philosophy, since their purpose is the same. Scripture is the starting point and the way to blessedness, which is the goal of Christian philosophy and is reached through love«.

20 See Jean Châtillon, »La Bible dans les écoles du XIIe siècle«, in: Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, (Bible de tous les temps 4), Paris 1984, pp. 163-197.

21 For overviews of this genre of manuscript, see Jacqueline Hamesse, »La méthode de travail des reportateurs«, in: *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989), pp. 51-67, and »›Reportatio‹ et transmission de textes«, in: M. Asztalos (ed.), *The Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts from the Middle Ages – Acts of the Conference arranged by the Department of Classical Languages, University of Stockholm, 29-31 August 1984*, (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 30), Stockholm 1986, pp. 11-40.

22 For an overview of the place of Comestor's lectures within his career, see Alexander Andrée, »The Master in the Margins: Peter Comestor, the ›Buildwas Books‹, and Teaching Theology in Twelfth-Century Paris«, in: *Scriptorium* [forthcoming]; as well as »Peter Comestor's Lectures on the Glossa ›Ordinaria‹ on the Gospel of John. The Bible and Theology in the Twelfth-Century Classroom«, in: *Traditio* 71 (2016), pp. 203-234; and Gilbert Dahan »Les exégèses des Pierre le Mangeur«, in: *Pierre le Mangeur* (as note 1), pp. 49-88.

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and taught in the schools of Paris in the 12th and beyond.[23] Second, Amiclas' marginal notes clearly reveal that he studied with Comestor and recorded his *magister*'s teachings in his manuscript for further reference or to amend the text of the Bible or the *Glossa*.[24] Not only does this fact reveal how a student might have processed his teacher's lecture, but it also allows us to approximate what version of the *Glossa* and of the Latin Vulgate Comestor would have had before him while he taught. Amiclas' Glossed Bible was produced around Paris, and likely would have been checked against his master's copy during the lectures, a practice for which we seem to have ample material evidence in the Trinity manuscript.[25] Further evidence for this practice is the great extent to which Comestor pays attention in his classroom lectures to correcting manuscript readings of the Bible: noting errors, suggesting alternative readings, etc.[26] We have double verification, then, of the importance of philology in the cathedral classroom: the masters' lectures themselves, and, in at least this rare case, the notes of a student who highlighted, presumably, what was deemed most relevant.

According to the few studies that have been done on the manuscript, we know that Robert Amiclas taught in Paris in the third quarter of the 12th century and was previously a student there in the 1150s and 1160s when Peter Comestor lectured.[27] Most of Amiclas' notations in the margins of his textbook copy of the Glossed Gospel of Luke likely stem from Comestor's lectures, and even depend on the unique way in which Comestor arranged the Gloss for his students while teaching.[28] For example, many of Amiclas' notes on Jerome's prologue to the Gospel of Luke perfectly echo Comestor's teaching[29], while others provide the

23 See Smith (as note 1), pp. 17-39; Alexander Andrée, »Anselm of Laon Unveiled: The *Glosae super Iohannem* and the Origins of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Bible«, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011), pp. 217-260.

24 For overviews of these codices, see J. M. Sheppard, »Magister Robertus Amiclas: A Buildwas Benefactor?«, in: *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1988), pp. 281-288; Rodney M. Thomson, »Robert Amiclas: A Twelfth-Century Parisian Master and His Books«, in: *Scriptorium* 49, (1995), pp. 238-243; and Andrée (as note 23).

25 See Whedbee (as note 9).

26 Ibid.; and Andrée (as note 23), *passim*.

27 See Thomson (as note 24), pp. 238-243.

28 Throughout this paper, I distinguish between a gloss citation and Amiclas' or Comestor's exposition by marking, in both the Latin and my English translation, the gloss citation in SMALL CAPS, biblical citations in ALL CAPS, and exposition in normal font.

29 Comestor's lecture, BnF lat. 620, fol. 149va: »Variant readings have ›to the elect‹, and thus it reads …«. [*Alia littera habet ›ELECTIS‹, et legitur ita* …]. Amiclas's personal note, Trinity College B.1.12, fol. 2r: »Or, ›to the elect‹«. [*vel* ›is‹ (margin correction made to the word ›electus‹, ›having been elected‹, which modifies the noun from nominative to dative, i. e. ›to the elect‹)].

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same reading with slight variation[30], expand upon an idea[31], or gather various teachings into a single statement.[32] Each folio of the Trinity manuscript contains such classroom *vestigia*. Comestor's students certainly must have owned or borrowed versions of the Gloss, or at least the relevant portions, as Amiclas did.[33]

That the students would have had copies of the Glossed Gospel in Comestor's classroom makes eminent sense once one begins to sift through the lecture *reportationes*. For even a cursory glance at Comestor's lecture material reveals that somewhere around ninety percent of these teachings take the form of philological gloss exposition, the likes of which would be rather unhelpful without a reference copy of the Gospel in question. Comestor notes a biblical lemma, and then explicates that word or phrase from the *sacra scriptura* by ›lemma hopping‹, so to speak, jumping from gloss to gloss, or within a gloss, to best arrange the commentary tradition for his students, who would have been either looking over his shoulder at his magisterial codex or at their own manuscript copies.[34]

30 Comestor (as note 29), fol. 149va: »IN THE BEGINNING, that is, in his own prologue [*proemio*]«. Amiclas (as note 29), fol. 3r: »That is, in the prologue [*prologo*]«.

31 Comestor (as note 29), fol. 149vb: »OF THE INSEPARABLE GOD, that is, of the Father«. [*INDISPARABILIS DEI, id est Patris*]. Amiclas (as note 29), fol. 2v: »According to substance, from the Father«. [*Secundum substantiam a Patre*.]

32 Comestor (as note 29), fol. 150ra: »LEST, for ›so that if we were to do this‹, WE WOULD ›NOT‹ SEEM TO REVEAL, that is, to give a witness of God, TO THOSE WHO DESIRE GOD, supply ›to see‹, that is, to those who want to come to a vision of God and who seek the things that profit salvation. SO MUCH, ›to the extent that‹. BUT RATHER, ›to the extent that‹ we seem to satisfy them. For such people [who disdain God] rejoice in superfluous adornment. ASSISTING THOSE WHO LOATHE HIM, that is, those who seek vain things and that which is useless for edification. Other readings have ›HAVING ASSISTED‹ and in those manuscripts the word ›REVEALING‹ is absent«. [*NE, pro »ut si hoc faceremus, NON VIDEREMVR DEMONSTRARE«, id est Dei noticiam tradere. VOLENTIBVS DEVM, suple »uidere«, id est uolentibus ad Dei uisionem peruenire, et querentibus que prosunt ad salutem. TAM, »in tantum«. QVAM, »in quantum« uideremur satisfacere. Tales enim superfluo ornatu gaudent. PRODESSE FASTIDIENTIBVS, id est inania et inutilia querentibus non que sunt ad edificacionem.* Alia littera habet PRODIDISSE, et tunc non est ibi DEMONSTRARE'«]. Amiclas (as note 29), fol. 2v: »›LEST NOT‹, that is, ›so that‹ ›TO THE EXTENT THAT TO THOSE DESIRING [to see God]‹, etc., or ›LEST‹, that is ›not‹ SO MUCH TO THOSE DESIRING', etc., BUT RATHER TO THE SCORNFUL TO HAVE REVEALED THESE THINGS …«. [*NE NON, id est ›ut‹ TAM VOLENTIBVS et cetera. Vel NE, id est non TAM VOLENTIBVS et cetera, QVAM FASTIDIENTIBVS PRODIDISSE*.]

33 Whedbee (as note 9); and Andrée (as note 23).

34 Take this example, where Comestor clarifies a point of ambiguity in the Luke text (as note 29), fol. 151va: »Note that two things are said in the Gospel of Luke that cannot be simultaneously true, namely that the angel Gabriel says at different times in the text ›I STAND BEFORE GOD‹ and ›I WAS SENT TO YOU‹. And thus note that whenever an angel is sent, he everywhere finds the presence of God, for God is everywhere. Concerning this, you have the gloss that begins WHEN TO US et cetera. And it continues: EVEN THOUGH AN ANGEL IS A CIRCUMSCRIBED … that is, a being in one place and not in another. NOT CIRCUMSCRIBED, that is, not enclosed by spatial boundaries or cutting through the air when moving. WITHIN WHOM, that is, because everywhere the angel finds God's presence. Now move on to that

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Occasionally, his own interest, or the nature of a particular gloss itself, compels Peter to discuss topics that range across all the liberal arts, natural philosophy, and theology, going beyond the gloss, though never without reference to it. However, lessons on Latin grammar, or philology more broadly, often provide the backbone and structure to Comestor's otherwise wide-ranging discussions. Unless one recognizes this pattern, that is, his pragmatic method of training young clerics in their Latinity, one very important and widely applicable ›transferable skill‹ they will take with them wherever they go, one quickly loses oneself amidst what seem like the completely unconnected observations, digressions, and obsessions of a rather eccentric *magister*. In a single course, Comestor discusses the lunar calendar, Jewish naming practices, at what stage a foetus attains a distinctly human soul, the relationship of a bishop to his diocese, the arrangement of the Church's feasts, human sexuality, geometry, the Divine Attributes, and the different writing utensils found in the antique world but no longer in contemporary usage.[35]

Nevertheless, it seems to me that two things in particular bring cohesion to Comestor's classroom: the needs attendant upon building up orthodox piety through study of the sacred texts (the cathedral schools, of course, principally offer a ›religious‹ education), and those skills of prudent distinction and discernment which clerics will find useful in serving the administrative goals of the Church or of the civil authorities whom they will serve as chancellors and attendants of various bureaucratic stations.[36] In that regard, two of the most influential students who studied in the schools of Paris were John of Salisbury, who involved himself in the controversies between Thomas Becket and Henry II, and Comestor's student Stephen Langton, who mediated between Henry's lacklustre son John and the English barons, helping to compose the *Magna Carta*.

other gloss, BECAUSE OF THE LOFTINESS et cetera, and afterward read that other gloss IF IT HAD BEEN A HUMAN et cetera. And see that the same angel, namely Gabriel, announced John the Baptist's conception and the Saviour's conception«. [*Nota quia duo dicuntur que uidentur non posse similes esse, scilicet ASSISTO ANTE DEVM et MISSVS SVM AD TE. Ideo nota quia quocienscumque mittatur angelus ubique inuenit presentiam Dei, quia Deus ubique est. De hoc habes glosam* CVM AD NOS *et cetera.* ETSI ANGELVS EST SPIRITVS INCIRCVMSCRIPTVS*, id est ita ens in uno loco quod non in alio.* NON CIRCVMSCRIPTVS*, id est loci termino clausus et sui interpositione faciens aeris ad aerem distantiam.* INTRA QVEM*, quia ubique inuenit eius presentiam. Modo lege illam* PROPTER ALTITVDINEM *et cetera postea illam* NON HOMO *et cetera. Vide quia idem angelus scilicet Gabriel nunciauit concepcionem precursoris et concepcionem saluatoris*.]

35 I am currently at work editing the portions of Comestor's lectures that contain these excerpts; they are ubiquitous, however, throughout the entirety of all four of his Gospel commentaries.

36 See J. P. Haseldine's introduction to John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon,* tr. by J. B. Hall, Turhout 2013, pp. 13-23; and John Van Engen, »Studying Scripture in the Early University«, in: Robert E. Lerner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 32), Munich 1996, pp. 17-38.

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Indeed, clerics who read, write, and in general communicate effectively and intentionally best serve their kingdom and Church's desire for greater orthodoxy, piety, learning, and integration of Christian teaching within the broader society, the goals in fact outlined by all of the four Lateran Councils that immediately preceded Comestor or followed in his wake.[37] What David Luscombe once wrote about Peter Abelard holds true for Peter Comestor and the other teachers of his day: they sincerely sought to »uphold the teaching of Christ and the Apostles but in understanding that teaching [they were] most concerned to *reveal and to elucidate problems*, *to reorganize the vocabulary of thought and to highlight what had been neglected or exaggerated among the themes contained in Scripture and the Fathers*«.[38]

Giulio Silano has described this concern as the art of cultivating *prudence*, the ability to analyze situations (whether of language, law, or theology) complicated by the immensity and diversity of the traditional authorities who have sought to clearly define them.[39] What to do with a legal case when the canonists seem to contradict themselves? How does one reconcile the paradoxes of the differing Gospel accounts, especially when important Church doctrine is at stake? In the 12th century, the age of *prudentia*, scholars undertook massive projects to provide thorough »casebooks« that would train specialists to be able to handle controversies requiring such fine distinction.[40] And, not coincidentally, these textbooks were the most popular and influential texts to emerge from the schools and to be carried on into the universities: Gratian's *Decretum* for canon law, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* for doctrinal theology, and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* for the study of the biblical narrative.[41] In Comestor's *Historia*, as well as in his lectures, he shows, through his method, that one attains this sort of discerning *prudentia* by the rigorous study of philology (grammar, rhetoric, and logic), the gateway to the other liberal arts.[42]

The simplest of Comestor's philological comments pertain to some of the rhetorical techniques found in the Vulgate and studied throughout the Middle

37 See Silano (as note 8), pp. xxii f.; and Guy Lobrichon, »Une nouveauté: les gloses de la Bible«, in Riché and Lobrichon (as note 20) , pp. 95-114.

38 David Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard. The Influence of Abelard's Though in the Early Scholastic Period*, Cambridge 1969, p. 308 [my emphasis].

39 Silano (as note 8), Book 1, pp. xxii-iv.

40 Ibid., pp. xix-xxvi.

41 See Malcolm B. Parkes, »The Influence of the Concepts of ›Ordinatio‹ and ›Compilatio‹ on the Development of the Book«, in: J. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, Oxford 1976, pp. 115-141, here p. 127; and Minnis (as note 7), p. 13; and Silano (as note 8), p. vii.

42 Cf. Comestor (as note 29), fol. 176rb: »If you pay attention to the rules of grammar, so that the passage reads […]«. [*Si attendas proprietatem artis gramatice ut dicat* …]

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Ages according to the writings of Donatus, Priscian, Cicero, and Quintilian. In two places he references »antonomasia«, a metonym in which an epithet or phrase takes the place of a proper name, for example where »The Philosopher« always refers to »Aristotle«. In the first instance he writes, »Indeed the Jewish Law announced a future peace, and the Gospel [*evangelium*] announces that this peace that was made is now restored between God and mankind through the Mediator. For this reason, such an announcement is called through antonomasia ›The Good News‹ [that is, *evangelium*]«.[43] In the second, he describes the practice of referring specifically to Peter and Paul as »The Apostles«.[44]

Moreover, he mentions elsewhere the structural antithesis created in the Book of Ezekiel when the prophet writes, »their feet [were] upright feet« (*pedes eorum*, *pedes recti*),[45] and later points out a similar case of *adaptacio per antithesim* (i. e. antithesis) in one of the glosses, which reads, »The woman seduced by the Devil brought death, the woman taught by the angel brought salvation«.[46] Such an understanding of literary techniques formed the basis of Latin education since Greco-Roman antiquity, when the grammarians took to the task of expounding Homer and later Virgil.[47]

One further example: Comestor is keen to note any case of pleonasm, the unnecessary repetition of words for added emphasis, as for example in the phrase »Saying, thus hath the Lord dealt with me« (*dicens quia sic mihi*).[48] Where the meaning of *quia sic* might strike a Latin reader as awkward, Comestor rewrites the sentence for greater clarity, adding, »Or so that it might not result in pleonasm: SAYING ›it is a wonder, because [*quia*] in such a way [*sic*] has God dealt with me‹, or ›with merit I cover myself, because in such a way has God dealt

43 Ibid., fol. 149ra: [*Lex quidem nunciauit pacem futuram, euangelium nunciat pacem factam iam per mediatorem inter Deum et homines reformatam. Vnde annunciacio talis antonomasice dicitur euangelium.*]

44 Ibid., fol. 149va: »A DISCIPLE OF THE APOSTLES. Here the prologue depicts Luke in terms of his discipleship, and understand ›a disciple of Peter and Paul‹ on account of their primacy of place. For we are accustomed to refer to them through antonomasia as ›the Apostles‹, as when we say, ›we arranged to visit the Tomb of the Apostles‹«. [*DISCIPVLVS APOSTOLORVM. Hic a conuictu, et intellige Petri et Pauli per excellentiam. Eos enim antonomasice apostolos intelligere consueuimus, ut cum dicitur »disposuimus uisitare limina apostolorum«.*]

45 Ibid., fol. 149ra.

46 Ibid., fol. 152rb: »*TO THE VIRGIN*. Gloss: WOMAN BY THE DEVIL, and this is a fitting adaptation through antithesis«. [AD VIRGINAM. Glosa, MVLIER A DIABOLO, et est elegans adaptacio per antithesim]. The gloss that Comestor here explicates reads: »The woman seduced by the Devil brought death, the woman taught by the angel brought salvation«. [*Mulier a diabolo seducta intulit mortem, contra mulier ab angelo edocta salutem edidit.*]

47 See Frans Van Liere, *Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, New York 2014, pp. 39-48.

48 Luke 1:25.

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with me‹, so that the phrase might connect to that other biblical passage, SHE WAS HIDING HERSELF«.[49]

This last manoeuvre, whereby Comestor connects the meaning of one sentence of the biblical text to another by means of philological exposition, relates to the medieval grammatical technique of *continuatio*, the pursuit of the ›continuity‹ of the many layers of the text's meaning across the different hermeneutic lenses employed by the commentator (literal, allegorical, spiritualizing etc.).[50] Comestor seems to pay equal attention to his audience's comprehension of the biblical account and of these building blocks of Latin style that had been established, polished, and commented upon for over a millennium. While Comestor certainly wants his students to follow the Gospel story, not least of all so that they might learn to imitate Christ[51], he also teaches them the literary and rhetorical terms and techniques that they must learn in order to be able to communicate the message of the Gospel effectively to their own students, parishioners, and charges one day, regardless of their future careers, and which also distinguish them as literate and cultured members of society, the inheritors of the legacy of Rome.[52]

These same biblical literary techniques and *topoi* that Comestor points out to his students, would have also been taught to them by their teachers of the arts classics (such as Virgil, Lucan, and Statius) through the mediation of the most influential late antique Latin grammarians: Donatus, Servius, and Priscian.[53] Students who went on to write literature of their own, whether Latin commen-

49 Comestor (as note 29), fol. 151vb: »*DICENS QVIA SIC MIHI, pleonasmos est. Habundat enim ›quia‹ et est ydioma hebreum. Vel ita ut non sit pleonamsos: DICENS, ›mirum est quia sic fecit mihi Deus‹. Vel, ›merito me occulto quia sic fecit mihi Deus‹ ut respiciat ad hoc quod dictum est OCCVLTABAT SE*«.

50 Édouard Jeauneau, »Gloses et commentaires de textes philosophiques«, in: »*Tendenda vela*«. *Excursions littéraires et digressions philosophiques à travers le Moyen Âge* (Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 47), Turnhout 2007, pp. 285–299, here pp. 290 f.; and Rita Copeland, »Gloss and Commentary«, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. by Ralph Hexter and David Townsend, Oxford 2012, pp. 171-191.

51 As Comestor says in his introduction to the Gospel of Luke (as note 29). One gets an even greater appreciation for the extent to which Comestor associates the study of the Bible with moral formation in the collection of his sermons that have survived, and are contained in Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 198, Paris 1841-1855, especially sermons 2, 3, 12, and 20.

52 Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950 – 1200*, Philadelphia 1994, pp. 1-14, 325-329.

53 See L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 2013, pp. 33-39, 114 f.; Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trs. by Dáibhí ó Cróinín and David Ganz, Cambridge 2014, p. 218; Smalley (as note 12), p. 12; Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle*, Turnhout 2010, pp. 80-83; and Van Engen (as note 36), pp. 37 f..

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taries or vernacular romances, never forgot these lessons, and kept before them the models of ›good writing‹ that their teachers had provided. In these lectures, Comestor built his model of literate thought around the semantic structure of the Latin Vulgate Bible and the writings of the Latin patristic fathers as handed down to him in the Laon *Glossa ordinaria.* He seems to have desired that his students would not only learn Greek rhetorical theory, but also that they would not misunderstand something of their foundational religious literature.

To that same end, Comestor often parses for his students the Latin grammar and syntax required to make sense of the Gospel, and the *Glossa*'s relationship to the *sacra pagina*. In this way he begins his lecture on the *Monarchian prologue* to Luke, attributed to Jerome in the Middle Ages and always attached at the beginning of the Gospel:

> Thus the prologue says, LUKE, supply the *verbum substantivum*[54] ›was‹, SYRIAN BY NATION, that is OF ANTIOCH, supply, ›by fatherland‹, A DOCTOR BY TRADE, here the prologue highlights Luke's place in life before his conversion, A DISCIPLE OF THE APOSTLES, here the prologue highlights Luke's conversion, and understand ›a disciple of Peter and Paul‹ on account of their preeminence. For we are accustomed to understand them specifically, through antonomasia, by ›apostles‹.[55]

One sees clearly here how Comestor fills in the gaps for his students, explicitly stating anything hidden implicitly in the Latin grammar, even explaining the prologue by means of the prologue (for example »SYRIAN BY NATION, that is ›OF ANTIOCH‹«). Elsewhere, taking initiative from the *Glossa*, he makes distinctions between *verba prolativa* and *substantiva*[56], notes that the word *sacerdos* (priest, priestess) may decline as masculine or feminine[57], explains that Hebrew names often do not fully decline when converted to Latin[58], and, in a particularly in-

54 That is, in this case, a verb of being.

55 Comestor (as note 29), fol. 149va: »Ait itaque LVCAS, suple uerbum substantiuum ›fuit‹, SYRVS NACIONE, id est ANTHIOCHENSIS, suple ›patria‹, ARTE MEDICVS. Hic commendat ab officio ante fidem. DISCIPVLVS APOSTOLORVM. Hic a conuictu, et intellige Petri et Pauli per excellentiam. Eos enim antonomasice apostolos intelligere consueuimus.«

56 Ibid., fol. 150rb, 153va. Prolatives extend the signification of a predication, substantives do not merely extend, but replace. Comestor brings up the distinction in a discussion of the *Verbum Dei*, the Word of God who is Christ, which harkens back to a late antique controversy over comparisons between the Word of God and human language, touched upon by Ambrose of Milan, whose gloss Comestor follows. Cf. Ambrose of Milan, *De fide ad Gratianum Augustum*, ed. by Christoph Markschies, Turnhout 2005, Book 4, Chapter 2, line 4.

57 Ibid., fol. 150va.

58 Ibid.

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teresting case, wrestles with the intransitivity of a gloss passage that reads, »The Holy Spirit, entering the Virgin and her mind, purified [her] from the stain of the vices«.[59]

Here, Comestor seems to dance around the question of the Immaculate Conception, which was hotly debated in the decades that followed his death.[60] The condemnations of Abelard in 1121 and 1140 over his own crafty theological distinctions indicate that such a practice of subjecting matters of religious doctrine to techniques of grammar and logic was extremely controversial, especially in France, where the formal study of logic was most rigorous and famous.[61] Perhaps, scholars have wondered, the purpose of such scholastic distinctions was not to settle an inquiry, but to endlessly complicate one in order to create new teaching opportunities.[62] Often, Comestor does not leave us with his preferred reading of the text: he is more than content to split the Latin in two and leave the parts for his students to experiment with.

Moreover, Comestor's treatment of the topic of transitivity reveals that he took for granted that his students would have already scaled the heights of speculative logic and grammar (sometimes called *Sprachlogik* by modern historians) before attempting to formally study the biblical narrative.[63] These notions of transitivity and intransitivity emerged in the 11th century and attained popularity among grammarians in the 12th such as Alexander de Villa Dei, Peter Helias, and William of Conches. The popularity of such *Sprachlogik* in scholarly circles led to extensive academic debates over complicated problems of language classification, relying on the Aristotelian tradition of logic that would become so controversial when applied to Trinitarian theology by the likes of Abelard and his followers.[64] Here, in his own lectures, Comestor limits himself to a rather straightforward observation on the structure of the text in question, though he must have been

59 Ibid., fol. 152vb: »And note that this phrase can be intransitive, where it is said FROM THE FILTH OF VICE, that is, ›from the vices themselves, which are sordid things‹, or it can be transitive, such that the sense reads, FROM THE FILTH OF VICE, that is from the source of vice itself, namely, from concupiscence, that is to say, ›from the cause of the vice‹«. [*Et nota quia potest esse intransicio ubi dictum est A SORDE VICIORVM, id est a uiciis que sunt sordes, uel transicio ut sit sensus A SORDE VICIORVM, id est a fomite uiciorum scilicet a concupiscentia, id est a causa*.]

60 For a history of the theological controversy in the Middle Ages, see Marielle Lamy, *L'immaculée conception: étapes et enjeux d'une controverse au Moyen âge, XII – XVe siècles*, Turnhout 2000.

61 Luscombe (as note 38), pp. 179, 197, 308.

62 Silano (as note 8), Book 1, pp. xviii, xxv f..

63 For an accessible primer on formal logic in one of its most influential medieval contexts, see Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. by Leo A. Reilly, Toronto 1993, pp. 40 f.

64 C. H. Kneepkens, »Transitivity, Intransitivity and Related Concepts in 12th Century Grammar: Explorative Study«, in: G. L. Bursill-Hall, Sten Ebbesen, and E. F. K. Koerner (eds.), *De Ortu Grammaticae: Studies in medieval grammar and linguistic theory in Memory of Jan Pinbor*, Philadelphia 1990, pp. 161-186.

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aware of these daunting arts controversies, as the most influential of the late 12th century treatises on transitivity, the *Summa* of *magister* Robert of Paris, originated among the schools of Paris in the decade leading up to Comestor's death in 1178.[65]

Certainly Comestor had studied, mastered, and lectured within the broad framework of the burgeoning scholastic method, heavily influenced by the *trivium* of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, whose ultimate importance within a Christian worldview was debated all throughout the later Latin Middle Ages.[66] For his part, Comestor makes full use of the philological tools handed down to him through the study of non-Christian grammar texts such as Donatus' *ars grammatica* and Priscian's *Institutiones*, but does not linger over them, and instead silently adapts them for his own interests.[67] For example, at the beginning of his Luke lectures, Peter Comestor taught the medieval *circumstantiae* proper to the late scholastic *accessus* as transmitted to us in the writings of the Laon school.[68] Thus he tells us of the *materia* (subject matter), *intentio* (intention), and *finis* (telos) of the work, as well as the *modus agendi* and the *modus tractandi* (method of treating the matter at hand).[69] He later even catalogues the specific *circumstantiae* proper to a work of historiography, which he terms the *idioma*

65 Ibid., p. 171.

66 For an overview of the medieval reception of antique grammar and rhetoric, see Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, *Medieval grammar and rhetoric: language arts and literary theory, AD 300 – 1475*, Oxford 2009. For the resistance of some to the integration of the language arts into the sphere of religious education, see Reynolds and Wilson (as note 53), pp. 39-50.

67 Interestingly, on the matter of the relevance of the culture of Greco-Roman antiquity to a ›Christian‹ medieval society, Comestor has the following to say (as note 29), fol. 195va: »See, therefore, that the gentile people were far from God when they were beset by their own idolatry, but afterwards the gentile philosphers contemplated the Creator though creatures, and finally came to recognize the One God, whom they had laboured most rigorously to investiage. And thus Socrates too taught his disciples to argue in favour of the existence of a single God, and Pythagoras taught his students to swear in the name of the One God. Therefore, the gentile people had already come to recognize the One God …«. [*Vide ergo quod gentilis populus longe erat a Deo quando per ydola raptabatur, set postea gentiles philosophi per creaturas contemplati sunt Creatorem et tandem peruenerunt ad noticiam unius Dei in qua inuestiganda precipue laborauerunt. Vnde et Socrates precepit discipulis suis ut disputarent de uno Deo et Pitagoras suis ut iurarent per unum Deum. Iam ergo gentilis populus ad noticiam unius Dei uenerat* …].

68 These terms derive from the introductory prologues and lectures that prefaced the master's line by line exegesis of the text under study. In these introductions, the master would catalogue the ›who, what, where, when, why‹ of the text in question in order to contextualise it for the students and perhaps provide a hermeneutic lens to be employed. Hence the denomination the *circumstantiae*, the ›circumstances‹ that surround (literally) the text as such, and enable one to better understand it. See Minnis (as note 7), pp. 15-30.

69 Comestor (as note 29), fol. 149rb: »Luke's ›matter‹ is seven things … the Incarnation, death, Harrowing of Hell, Resurrection, Ascension, Advent of the Holy Spirit, and, finally, the Second Coming. Or, more simply, one can say that his ›matter‹ are the two natures of Christ. His ›intention‹ is to show that we should believe that Christ is God and human. His ›inten-

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historiographi (the historian's craft), listing the *circumstantiae* »about which the historians are accustomed to determine« as the central character's »office, spouse, region, king, and time«.[70]

Afterwards, he speaks of the three persons encountered by Abraham in Genesis 18, whom Abraham puzzlingly addresses with the singular *Domine*, as a *figura* of Christ the Son of God[71], employing a classical term used often, for example by John of Salisbury, to describe the license granted to an author to dance in between *ars* and *vitium* (a grammatical norm and its corresponding betrayal), the study of which allows a reader to move beyond the mere grasp of literary technique towards true semiotic interpretation of *res* and *signum*, signified and signifier, according to the old Augustinian schema.[72]

All of these examples situate Comestor within an implicitly ›speculative‹ milieu, not because he taught in the manner of a modern theoretician, but because the antique study of ›grammar‹ and ›history‹ was always inherently speculative and schematic. Yet, one must already know the ›rules of the game‹ when reading the lectures to perceive these features of his pedagogy. Comestor has no need to be

tion‹, I say, and in fact the ›telos‹ of all the evangelists is revealed by John the Evangelist in the brief passage where he writes, ›All these things are written so that you might believe that Jesus is the Son of God.‹ (John 20:31). Behold, the ›intention‹ of all the evangelists: ›that in believing, you might have eternal life‹ (ibid.). Behold, the ›telos‹ of all things. Luke's ›method‹ is this …«. [*Materia Luce sunt septem … incarnacio, mors, descensus ad inferos, resurrectio, ascensio, Spiritus sancti missio, ultimum secundus aduentus. Vel commodius potest eius materia assignari: utraque Christi natura. Intencio est monere ut Christum Deum et hominem credamus. Intentionem, inquid, et finem omnium euangelistarum breuiter aperit Iohannes in fine euangelii sui dicens: ›Hec autem scripta sunt ut credatis quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei.‹ Ecce intencio omnium euangelistarum, ›ut credentes uitam eternam habeatis‹. Ecce finis omnium. Modus agendi talis est* …].

70 Ibid., fol. 150rb-va: »Luke begins with the precursor John the Baptist's father, obviously Zachariah, and follows the historian's method [*idioma*], establishing for the reader Zachariah's office, his wife, where he lived, who was the king, and in what time he lived, for historians are accustomed to establish these *circumstantiae* about the topics they are going to narrate«. [*Incipit ergo a patre precursoris, scilicet Zacharia, et sequitur ydioma hystoriografi, determinando circa Zachariam officium eius et uxorem et regionem et regem cuius tempore fuit, quia has omnes circumstantias circa eos de quibus narrant solent hystoriografi determinare*.]

71 Ibid., fol. 153va: »And see that Mary, in her canticle known as the Magnificat, commemorating the ancients to whom the revelation of salvation was first made, particularly names Abraham to whom the revelation of the incarnation was first made. For Abraham saw three and worshiped one, because he understood through the Holy Spirit that this stood in as a *figura* for the Son of God who was to incarnate«. [*Et uide quia memorans patres quibus facta est reuelacio salutis, NOMINATIM exprimit Abraham cui primo facta est reuelacio incarnacionis. Vidit enim tres et unum adorauit, qui per Spiritum intellexit gerere figuram Filii Dei incarnandi*.]

72 See Cédric Giraud and Constant Mews, »John of Salisbury and the Schools of the 12th Century«, in: Christope Grellard and Frédérique Lachaud (eds.), *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, Leiden 2014, pp. 29-62, here pp. 51-53.

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overly explicit about the hermeneutic boundaries of his exegesis; they would have been more or less obvious to his students, who had formally studied them for a decade before entering his classroom.

Given all the aforementioned, the *reportationes* of Comestor's lectures on the *sacra scriptura* clearly situate us in a classroom where many subjects make an appearance, and despite the emphasis of previous scholarship on Peter's interest in history and liturgy, a thorough study of the art curriculum's impact on his oral teaching would greatly illumine our understanding both of the 12th century classroom environment, as well as of Comestor's own relationship to the *magistri* and teaching tradition that preceded him. These are not peripheral, but central matters to be investigated regarding the emergence of the early university culture that developed in Paris.

These examples raise several questions that I would like to explore in my further research. Given that Comestor delves into such difficult linguistic concepts in his lectures, why does he also spend a great amount of time explaining the simplest Latin grammatical usages and phrases to his students, as if they were still learning basic Latin constructions? Does he care so much about his listeners' comprehension that he leaves no stone unturned? Perhaps the Latinity of his students ranges from more basic to advanced, despite the years of education that he can presuppose they have undertaken before reaching his doorstep? Is he teaching his students how to teach? Does the exposition of *sacra pagina*, however straightforward, offer contemplators a scholarly reward in and of itself, to the extent that no word or syntactical construction ought to be taken for granted? While this review of some salient features of Peter Comestor's lectures on the Gospel of Luke can only begin to answer such questions, it ought to provide a useful indication of how far manuscript work can take scholars in terms of reconstructing historical practices of teaching and reading, as well as of how much crucial work has yet to be done in the study of the high medieval schools of Europe.

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Anthony J. Fredette

Medieval Commentary on the *Thebaid* and its Reception

Preliminary Observations

The importance of the *Thebaid,* the epic masterpiece of Publius Papinius Statius on the conflict between Oedipus's sons over the throne of Thebes, outside of its intrinsic artistic merit, lies in its influence: since it was the main source of Theban mythology in the Medieval Latin West, its influence can be suspected wherever an author – Latin or vernacular – speaks of the troubled house of Oedipus. Despite the prominence of this text, the corpus of commentary that accompanied it remains to be investigated. Although there are, as far as we can tell, fewer commentary traditions on the *Thebaid,* and their relationships of mutual dependency are more evident, than in the medieval Vergilian or Boethian traditions, this paper can of course only offer some preliminary observations, including a typology of the commentarial forms and functions which the manuscripts hold. To specify their position in the history of medieval commentaries on classical Roman poets, I begin with a short reconstruction of the tradition that influenced their creation. After discussing the known commentaries, I will show how medieval commentary on the *Thebaid* was the one of the important filters through which Statius' masterpiece was received by the first vernacular romance.

1) The Servian Background

Any history of medieval commentary on classical poets must begin in late antiquity. All medieval commentary on school authors – that is, commentary which derives its formal qualities and its *raison d'être* from explicating a specific text, not an entire field as in the case of collections of *sententiae* and *summae* – takes one of three forms: (1) the *accessus*, an introduction to the author and to the specific work under consideration which, at least by the 9th century, represents a teacher's introductory lecture[1], (2) glosses or *scholia*, comments in the margins of manuscripts which aim to elucidate the text, and (3) what have been called ›continuous commentaries‹ (often called *glose* in medieval manuscripts which

1 Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Aldershot 1988, pp. 14 f.

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contain them)[2], that is, commentaries whose layout on the manuscript page[3] does not distinguish them from the text commented upon.[4] These three forms, as far as we know, are inextricable from one another in antiquity. Our earliest, fully-intact witnesses to their use in the Latin-speaking West[5] are the *accessus* to and commentaries on Vergil's *opera omnia* by Maurus Servius Honoratus in the 4th century and the two introductions to Porphyry's *Isagoge* by Boethius in the late 5th century. In these early examples, the *accessus* is an integral part of the commentary which follows it. Of these late-antique sources, Servius is by far the most important for the exegetical tradition surrounding literary texts. The patterns of his *accessus* to Vergil's *Aeneid* and his style of commenting will be imitated by the medieval commentaries discussed here and, even where some enterprising scholar departs from the Servian standard, he indicates explicitly that he is doing so, paying verbal homage to the ancient master. The terms Servius's *accessus* sets are, although not with perfect consistency, taken up in medieval commentaries on poets, philosophical commentaries, commentaries on the Bible, and even in glosses on civil and canon law. He divides his *accessus*, or introduction, into seven parameters which Edwin Quain and subsequent scholars have referred to as *circumstantiae*[6], translating a term (περιστάσεις) found for this type of schema among the ancient commentators on Aristotle's Organon. Of primary importance is the author's biography (*poetae vita*; later *auctoris*), in which, among the expected details, we find the famous story of Vergil ordering his epic to be burned upon his death. The anecdote provokes an ancient form

2 One also encounters the term *commentum*, although there were medieval attempts to disambiguate the two, the most famous of which is that of William of Conches in the prologue to his glosses on the *Timaeus*. In brief, *glossatores* expound the text primarily according to the letter, proceeding systematically and sequentially, whereas *commentatores* are primarily interested in the *sententia*, the deeper meaning. »Etsi multos super Platonem commentatos esse, multos glosasse non dubitemus, tamen quia *commentatores*, *literam nec continuantes nec exponentes*, *soli sententiae seruiunt*, glosatores uero in leuibus superflui, in grauibus uero obscurissimi uel nulli reperiuntur, rogatu sociorum quibus omnia honesta debemus excitati, super praedictum aliquid dicere proposuimus, aliorum superflua recidentes, praetermissa addentes, obscura elucidantes, male dicta remouentes, bene dicta imitantes.« (emphasis mine) William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Édouard A. Jeauneau, Turnhout 2006, p. 57.

3 Lemmata drawn from the commented text were usually heavily abbreviated and often underlined by scribes, but the consistency of this practice varies between manuscripts.

4 I leave to one side the question of whether an *argumentum*, or summary of the text to follow, is a type of commentary, for if it contributes anything which is not to be found in the text itself, its contribution is merely in summarizing its source *selectively*.

5 Comments in some of them and analogues in contemporary and earlier Greek commentaries suggest that the practice was in place before the 4th century A. D.

6 Edwin A. Quain, »The Medieval *accessus ad auctores*«, in: *Traditio* 3 (1945), pp. 215-264; repr. New York 1986, at pp. 13 *et passim*; Harald Anderson, *The Manuscripts of Statius*, Vol. 3, Arlington, VA, 2009, pp. 1 *et passim*.

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of textual criticism: Vergil, according to Servius, desired the destruction of his work because he had left some lines metrically imperfect, and Servius points some of them out.[7] The *titulus operis* is relatively straightforward (*Aeneis* is derived from Aeneas). The *qualitas carminis* gives a succinct, ancient definition of the genre: it is a *metrum heroicum* because it has characters both human and divine, *continens vera cum fictis* (an important consideration to which we will return later). There is also a comment about the style of narration (*actus mixtus*): the poet speaks both in his own voice and through others. Finally, there is the style according to the ancient hierarchy: *genus humile*, *genus medium*, *genus grandiloquum*. Vergil uses the latter. The *scribentis intentio* follows. This *circumstantia* will prove to be very productive in later ages. Servius is rather modest: Vergil wants to imitate Homer and praise Augustus through his ancestors. The *numerus librorum* presents no difficulty as in the case of other authors, so Servius passes it over in silence. The *ordo librorum*, however, is a bit more controversial. Some, wishing for chronological consistency, have made Book II the first book, Book III the second, and Book I the third. But they do not understand the poet's art (*nescientes hanc esse artem poeticam*). Authorization for beginning *in medias res* is offered by Horace. Only the *explanatio* remains, which will constitute the body of Servius's line-by-line commentary.

The commentary itself is extensive and erudite. It is a veritable treasure trove of mythological, historical, and grammatical information, and it is overwhelmingly concerned with what is needed to comprehend the language of Vergil. More than half of the comments deal with language (the precise meaning of words and difficult constructions). Approximately one-third provide information about history, literary allusions, and religious customs.[8] Very few deal with aesthetics or the psychology of the characters. Nevertheless, the grammarian allows himself some digressions from his general purpose. Philosophical commentary finds its way into the exposition in subtle ways. To take one example, at the end of Book I, when Dido urges Aeneas to tell the story of the »insidias Danaum […] casusque tuorum« (I.754), Servius intrudes to add »ut eventu Troia corruerit, non fati necessitate.«[9] There are also the seeds (but only the seeds) of symbolism as a hermeneutic and the occasional desire to attribute allegorical intent to

7 The following citations of Servius are from: Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, Vol. 1-2, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, Leipzig 1881.

8 Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael J. Putnam (eds.), *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*, New Haven 2008, p. 630.

9 Servius (as note 6), ad *Aen.* IV.696, a long Servian digression on fate and just desserts which comes down on the side of conditional fate, fate which obtains because of the contingent *Troianae classis adventus* (emphasis mine) a contentious reading of the philosophy of the *Aeneid* if there ever were one!

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the poet of Mantua. Romulus/Quirinus and Remus are *figurae* of Augustus and Agrippa.[10] To the *physici* (those engaged in questions of natural philosophy), Vergil rightly refers to Venus as »et soror et coniunx« with reference to Jupiter.[11] For Juno is air and Jupiter is fire, siblings because equal in thinness, but spouses because, just as the husband is the head of the household, so too does fire rise above air. The two gates which are the exits of the Underworld in Book VI are likewise symbolic: the gate of horn hosts true dreams because horn is the color of the eyes which do not lie, whereas the gate of ivory allows false dreams to pass through it because teeth are like ivory and we lie through our teeth.[12] Finally, Hercules dragged Cerberus from the Underworld as a sign of his overcoming of all earthly lust, since Cerberus is a devourer of earth; in fact, *Cerberus terra est*.[13]

2) Late-Antique and Medieval Commentaries on the *Thebaid*

That the Servian approach to commentary won the day is shown by another key text originating in late antiquity.[14] An individual identified in one of the commentary's glosses as Lactantius Placidus[15] composed a line-by-line commentary on the *Thebaid* which assumed a canonical status similar to that of Servius in the Vergilian tradition. Like Servius, it is the work of a subtle and thorough philologist, although it is much less interested in explaining the grammar of the epic, a fact which led its most recent editor, Robert Sweeney, to conclude that it was intended for a »general readership« and not for the classroom.[16] Also, like Servius, it occasionally succumbs to the tendency to symbolize. To take but one example, Tisiphone, summoned by a vengeful Oedipus to wreak havoc

10 Ibid., ad *Aen*. I.292.
11 Ibid., ad *Aen*. I.47.
12 Ibid., ad *Aen.* VI.893.
13 Ibid., ad *Aen.*VI.395.
14 The commentary's most recent editor, Robert D. Sweeney, presented the late 4th century as a reasonable estimate of the commentary's date. See Robert Dale Sweeney (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida commentum*. Vol. 1: *Anonymi in Statii Achilleida commentum. Fulgentii ut fingitur Planciadis super Thebaiden commentariolum*, Leipzig 1997, p. vii. But Luca Cardinali has since brought forward convincing evidence that the commentary (or, I would add, at least *some* of the ancient glosses, since it likely draws on material older than itself) was composed between the late 5th and the early 6th centuries of our era. See Luca Cardinali, »A proposito della cronologia e dell'origine di Lattanzio Placido: osservazioni sulla questione«, in: Concetta Longobardi, Christian Nicolas, and Marisa Squillante (eds.), *Scholae discimus: Pratiques scolaires dans l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen* âge, Lyon 2014, pp. 287-304.
15 »sed de his rebus, prout ingenio meo committere potui, ex libris ineffabilis doctrinae Persei praceptoris seorsum libellum composui Lactantius Placidus.« Sweeney (as note 13), p. 411, 575-578
16 »... in usum lectorum communium ...«, ibid., p. vii.

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on his sons, is really just *discordia*.[17] Lactantius commentary lacks an *accessus* and an *argumentum* (brief summary) to Book I of the *Thebaid,* the existence or non-existence of which has generated much scholarly debate.[18] There is no *vita auctoris*, no stated *intentio*, with which the reader can learn about the man behind the poem.

Before the main medieval commentary on the *Thebaid* appears in the 12th century, there were different recensions of the Lactantius commentary circulating in the margins of manuscripts of the *Thebaid*. In the 10th century, contemporaneous with the general 9th-to-12th-century upward trend in the production of manuscripts of Statius[19], the lack of an *accessus* was remedied, as manuscripts begin to appear which feature an introduction beginning with the words *Queritur quo tempore*.[20] It is largely just a brief biography which uses, in true Isidorean fashion, etymology as a tool for describing the stylistic qualities of a work in order to strengthen the case for its *auctoritas*. Statius is Surculus Papinius Statius via confusion with one Statius Ursulus, a rhetor from Gaul mentioned by Jerome. Whereas Statius is his personal name, and Papinius his family name, he is called Surculus, »quasi sursum canens«.

This early tradition of writing new *accessus* – which, beginning in the 9th century, become both logically and actually separable from the marginal and continuous commentaries which they *sometimes* accompany in the manuscripts – continues into the 12th century, when someone whom scholars think was either Anselm of Laon or perhaps one of his students composed commentaries on Vergil and Statius which would go on to become the most widely distributed from the 12th to the 15th century, eclipsing even their venerable predecessors Servius and Lac-

17 Oedipus commands the Fury, »i media in fratres«, to which the commentator adds »signum est discordiae«. Ibid., p. 13, 277.

18 Two examples: Lowell Edmunds, on the basis of a gloss in the commentary (Ad I.64) seeming to announce the existence of an *argumentum* to Book I, along with the existence of a life of Oedipus which this argument should have contained in the Old French *Roman de Thèbes*, thought that it existed but had been lost; see Lowell Edmunds, »Oedipus in the Middle Ages«, in: *Antike und Abendland* 22 (1976), pp. 140-155, here pp. 140-148. An argument against its existence, rejecting the evidence of the gloss on I.64 on stylistic grounds, can be found in Anderson (as note 5), p. xxii.

19 Of 85 manuscripts copied from the 9th to the 12th century, two were copied during the 9th, nine in the 10th, nineteen in the 11th, and sixty-five in the 12th. See Birger Munk Olsen, »La réception de Stace au moyen âge (du ixe au xiie siècle)«, in: Andreas Bihrer and Elisabeth Stein (eds.), *Nova de veteribus. Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, Munich and Leipzig 2004, pp. 230-246, here p. 230.

20 50 out of 253 surviving manuscripts of the *Thebaid* contain this *accessus*, according to Anderson (as note 5), p. 4. The observations which follow are based on Anderson's edition of this *accessus* in the same volume.

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tantius in popularity and influence.[21] To date, these commentaries have not been edited or published in their entirety. In the *accessus* to the commentary on Statius (commonly called *In principi*o)[22], although he is cited by name, Servius's seven *circumstantiae* have been supplemented considerably. *Qualitas carminis* has been retained, but its subdivisions have been made into their own categories: *modus tractandi* (sometimes history, sometimes poetic fiction, sometimes allegory) and (sometimes) *quo genere stili utatur* (humble, medium, grandiloquent). In some manuscripts, *quem auctorem imitetur* has been separated from *scribentis intentio*[23], which is still a discussion of the author's likely particular, historical motivation for writing. Finally, the influence of Boethius's first commentary on Porphyry and perhaps Aristotle as mediated through Boethius has produced entirely new headings, *materia* (the poem's subject matter), *finalis causa* (its usefulness for you and me, elsewhere *utilitas*), and *cui parti philosophiae supponatur*[24], which is, as in all of the classical poets subject to commentary in the High Middle Ages, ethics.

These last two *circumstantiae* break new ground for the reading and interpretation of the poets in schools. The intellectual focus of the *accessus* genre has shifted since Servius. The *Thebaid* could of course be intended to win its author wealth and fame and nothing else, or to dissuade two brothers from conflict leading to mutual ruin[25], in which case its widespread medieval use is due to convention

21 Violetta de Angelis established, via a detailed analysis of cross-references between 12th-century commentaries on the *Aeneid* and *Thebaid* contained in their earliest witness (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. fol. 34), that the two commentaries had the same origin and tentatively proposed Hilarius of Orléans as their compiler. See Violetta de Angelis, »I commenti medievali alla *Tebaide* di Stazio: Anselmo di Laon, Goffredo Babione, Ilario d›Orléans«, in: Nicholas Mann and B. Munk Olsen (eds.), *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship* (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 21), Leiden 1997, pp. 75-136.

22 Published in Anderson (as note 5), pp. 38-44.

23 »Quem actorem imitetur in fine operis sui ipsemet insinuat, dicens ›Uiue precor nec tu diuinam Eneida tempta‹ et cetera.« (86rb) See also Anderson (as note 5), p. 41 for the identical testimony of other manuscripts on this point.

24 »Sex omnino, inquam, magistri in omni expositione praelibant. Praedocent enim quae sit cuiuscumque operis intentio, quod apud illos σκοπός uocatur; secundum, quae *utilitas*, quod a Graecis χρήσιμον appellatur; tertium, qui ordo, quod τάξιν uocant; quartum, si eius cuius esse opus dicitur, germanus propriusque liber est, quod γνήσιον interpretari solent; quintum, quae sit eius operis inscriptio, quod ἐπιγραφήν Graeci nominant…sextum est id dicere, *ad quam partem philosophiae cuiuscumque libri ducatur intentio*, quod Graeca oratione dicitur εἰς ποῖον μέρος φιλοσοφίας ἀνάγεται.« *In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta*, ed. by Samuel Brandt, Vienna-Leipzig 1906, pp. 4 f. (emphasis mine).

25 »[…] cum tempore Domiciani Romam undique poetas confluere Stacius audierat, ibique ad maximos honores provehi, tandem Romam uenit et qualiter populo Romano et imperatori placere posset diu apud se excogitauit.« OR »Quidam enim dicunt quod mortuo Uespasiano, filii eius Titus et Domitianus in tantam regni cupiditatem exarserunt ut fraternale odium incurrerent. Ad quorum dehortationem auctor iste Thebanam proposuit describere historiam […]«, ibid., pp. 39 f.

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and perhaps also something like intrinsic merit. But it could also be a reflection on the dangers which attend the will to political power, a timeless theme[26], and this intention is not necessarily incompatible with the first one suggested.

Subordinating a literary work to philosophy is not an obvious move from a 21st-century literary-critical perspective. In high-medieval literary *accessus*, all epic poems are classified under ethics. Edwin Quain showed its origin in a tradition of Peripatetic commentary on the *Organon* for which the issue of classification was a pressing one. Peripatetics and Stoics in the Roman Empire were divided among themselves over whether logic was simply a tool of philosophy (Peripatetics) or a part of philosophy, and therefore to be investigated in its own right (Stoics). For someone commenting on Aristotle's logical works, then, this περίστασις would be a starting point for serious argument.[27] But to claim that the failure to conform its intention to that of its origins means that this *circumstantia* is merely perfunctory for medieval schoolmen and has lost all meaning – as Quain does – is surely false. Bernard of Utrecht would remind us that all human knowledge is part of philosophy, including the knowledge of how to act well.[28] William of Conches is very specific in his justification for subordinating Boethius's *Consolatio* to ethics[29], and the *In principio accessus* describes the different branches of knowledge into which ethics can be divided.[30] This *circumstantia* may have been applied for different reasons by different masters, but it was not applied carelessly.

A typology of the sorts of commentary which the author-redactor of *In principio* practiced will give the reader a preliminary idea of the commentary's contents. *In principio* is extremely conservative, observing the Servian standard closely with the notable exception that the 12th-century commentary feels free to use the Bible as a reference when advancing interpretations of certain Greek myths. I will divide my examples from the text into five categories of commentary which often but not always exist as separate glosses and are introduced by their own formulaic phrases. This commentary has not been critically edited or

26 »Finis ad quem tendit talis est, ut uisis utriusque partis incommodis tale non aggrediamur officium per quod simile incurramus periculum.« Ibid. (I am here following the version contained in the Berlin manuscript for the sake of consistency, since the excerpts from the commentary which follow were transcribed from this witness.)

27 Quain (as note 5), pp. 37 f.

28 »Philosophia ergo est divinarum et humanarum rerum cognitio, bene vivendi coniuncta studio, constans scientia ut in rebus certis, aut opinione ut in incertis, et aut inspectiva aut activa est.« R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Accessus ad auctores, Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau, Dialogus super auctores. Édition critique*, Leiden 1970, pp. 67, 231-234.

29 »... quia de moribus est sermo.« William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Lodi Nauta, Turnhout 1999, p. 55.

30 »Ethice autem due sunt partes, economica, qua proprie dispensamus familie (economicus enim dispensator interpretatur), <et politica>. Politica est scientia que ad regnum ciuitatum est necessaria (polis enim ciuitas interpretatur).« Anderson (as note 5), pp. 40 f.

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published in its entirety.[31] I am currently preparing a full edition. The quotations which follow are transcribed from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. lat. fol. 34, the oldest witness to the text.

The first form of commentary seems designed to teach students how to read with an eye on grammar and how to identify and name rhetorical devices. At the beginning of the epic, when Statius speaks of the alternating rule of the sons of Oedipus, the commentator clarifies a part of speech and its relation to another:[32] Ad I.2: »[ALTERNATING RULE] FOUGHT OVER that is, warred over, [that] on account of which the brothers fought. A participle without an origin in a verb.«[33] Again, after Oedipus prays to Tisiphone that she should enact his desired revenge against his disrespectful sons, the Fury takes notice of him, and the commentator uses Latin grammar to explain why the poet was not more explicit about the object of his verb: Ad I.89: »[Tisiphone] GIVES HEED turns towards him. A preposition in a compound.«[34] Then there is rhetoric. The end of the *In principio accessus* is a discussion of the rhetorical structure of epic poetry:

> This author, about to write the history of Thebes, in the manner of others who write correctly, proposes, invokes, and narrates. He proposes where he says »brotherly battle-lines« etc. He invokes where he says »Whence do you bid me begin, goddesses?« He narrates where he unfolds his narrative, namely in this place: »[Oedipus, having] already [probed] his impious [eyes] with his guilty [right hand]« etc.[35]

When Statius asks the Muses where to begin his tale, a rhetorical device is introduced: Ad I.4: »ENTER that is, take up the beginning. Or ENTER that is, enter into – and that is aphairesis – that is, begin the narrative.«[36] Finally, Statius's syntax, convoluted at first to the modern or medieval student of Latin, is also given rhetorical explanation. Adrastus, king of Argos, when he wakes to the sound of Polynices and Tydeus fighting, remarks that none of his citizens would be so bold: Ad I.440: »UP TO THE POINT hysteron proteron. ›One

31 Simone Invernizzi, in an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, produced an edition of the commentary on Books VII-XII on the basis of the four manuscripts which transmit it in the continuous format; »Le glosse alla Tebaide attribuibili a Ilario d'Orléans [libri VII-XII]«, 2011.

32 All of the translations into English which follow are my own, unless otherwise specified.

33 »DECERTATA id est debellata, propter quod fratres decertauerunt. Participium sine uerbi origine.« (86rb)

34 »ADVERTIT ad ipsum uertit. Prepositio est in compositione.« (87va)

35 »Actor iste, thebanam scripturus hystoriam, more aliorum recte scribentium proponit, inuocat, narrat. Proponit ubi dicit ›fraternas acies‹ et cetera. Inuocat ubi dicit ›Unde iubetis ire, dee?‹ Narrat ubi lectionem suam explanat, ibi scilicet: ›Impia iam merita‹ et cetera.« (86ra)

36 »IRE id est initium sumere. Uel IRE id est inire – et est afferesis – id est narrationem inchoare.« (86rb)

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of my citizens would not dare to extend the boundaries of his quarrel up to the point that he translated his conflict into the madness of combat.‹«[37]

The second function of commentary in *In principio* is helping the student grasp the basic, literal meaning of the text, what late-antique and medieval commentaries refer to as its *sensus*. Again, at the beginning of the poem, Statius tells us that Pierian fire causes him to »unravel« guilty Thebes. Lest the unsophisticated student be defeated by a metaphor, the commentator intervenes:

> Ad I.2: TO UNRAVEL that is, to describe in an unravelling way. [The metaphor] is derived from thread which is rolled on a spindle. History is ›rolled up‹ before it is told, but, once told, it is unravelled. When history has been unfolded, in what order events occurred is soon declared. Or [the author] said ›to unravel‹ for this reason: that the whole affair was tangled up. For Jocasta was both the mother and wife of Oedipus and the mother and grandmother of her sons, and Oedipus was both the son and husband of Jocasta and the father and brother of his children. The author will go on to explain all of this.[38]

Sometimes explaining the *sensus* involves reordering the syntax of Latin poetry to more closely resemble the syntax of the romance vernaculars. This restructuring is often introduced with the word *ordo*: Ad I.395-396: »TO WHOM Adrastus. The order is as follows: TO WHOM PHOEBUS PROPHESIED THAT SONS-IN-LAW WOULD COME, A BRISTLING BOAR AND A GOLDEN LION, namely AN OMEN RUINOUS TO RELATE epexegesis.«[39]

The third function of commentary (and one of the two preferred modes of Lactantius Placidus, the other being the *sensus explicandus*) is providing the reader with the historical, mythological, religious, and natural-philosophical background information needed to understand the poet's imagery. Sometimes the information needed is the brief retelling of a myth to which Statius merely alludes without explanation. The introduction to the *Thebaid* gives a variety of possible starting points for the narrative in a series of rapid-fire allusions to Theban history. Statius mentions

37 »IN VSQVE histeron proteron. ›Ciuis meus litis sue finem adeo extendere non auderet, ut litigium transferret in furorem manuum.‹« (90rb)

38 »EVOLVERE id est euolute describere. Sumptum est a filo, quod fuso inuoluitur. Hystoria uero inuoluta est antequam narretur, sed narrata euoluitur, qua explicita quo ordine res geste sint mox declaratur. Uel ideo dixit ›euoluere‹, quia totum fuit inuolutum. Nam Iocasta et mater et uxor Edipi fuit et filiorum suorum mater et auia. Edipus uero filius Iocaste et maritus, filiorum suorum pater et frater, quod totum actor iste explanabit.« (86rb)

39 »CVI Adrasto. Ordo: CVI PHEBVS CANEBAT ADVENTARE GENEROS SETIGERVM SVEM ET FVLVVM LEONEM scilicet MONSTRVM EXITIABILE DICTV effexegesis.« (90ra)

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> Ad I.4-5: THE ORIGINS that is, the first beginnings OF A DIRE PEOPLE namely, the Theban [people]. For Agave killed her son, and Athamas, while insane, killed his own son, Learchus, and Oedipus, when his father had been killed, lay with his mother. Ethiocles and Polynices likewise fell by mutual wounds. Because of all of this, [Statius] says ›guilty‹ and ›dire‹. ›SIDONIAN SEIZURES here are the origins. A fable is known in which Jupiter, having taken on the appearance of a bull, seized Europa, the daughter of Agenor, the king of Tyre and Sidon. Agenor sent Cadmus to seek her and forebade him to return without his sister. Cadmus sought her, did not find her, did not return, and founded Thebes while in exile. Thus the abductor of Europa was the founder of Thebes.[40]

Sometimes the information needed is astronomical. In describing the speed of Tisiphone's response to Oedipus's prayer, Statius says that she was swifter

> Ad I.92: AND [FASTER THAN] FALLING STARS [The author] spoke according to opinion. For the truth of the matter is that stars never fall but seem to fall. They are fixed in the firmament, because of which they are called stars from the verb for standing. The [apparent] falling of stars is of two kinds: wordly and heliacal, wordly when, because of the turning of the world, that is, the firmament – which is called ›the world‹ antonomasically – they are not visible to our eyes, heliacal, that is, solar, when they are obscured by the presence of the sun, but they do not then fall into the junctures of their orbits. Those who study natural philosophy say that, when wind or rain are imminent, the lower air usually collides with the higher air, and from this collision sparks shoot forth which resemble the falling of stars.[41]

Finally, sometimes what the reader needs is information about foreign and/ or ancient religious practices. After Jupiter declares that the Fates have decreed

40 »PRIMORDIA id est prima exordia DIRE GENTIS scilicet Thebane. Nam et Agaue filium interfecit et Athamas insanus filium suum Learchum et Edipus patre occiso cum matre concubuit. Ethiocles quoque et Pollinices mutuis cecidere uulneribus. Unde ait ›sontes‹, inde dicit ›dire‹. SIDONIOS RAPTUS ecce primordia. Nota est fabula quomodo Iuppiter in specie tauri Europam filiam Agenoris regis Tyri et Sidonis rapuit, ad quam querendam misit Agenor Cadmum et ei sine sorore reditum interdixit. Cadmus eam quesiuit, non inuenit, non rediit, et in exilio Thebas edificauit. Sic igitur raptor Europe Thebanum fuit exordium.« (86rb)

41 »ET LAPSIS ASTRIS Secundum opinionem locutus est. Nam in rei ueritate astra numquam cadunt sed cadere uidentur. Fixa sunt in firmamento, unde et stelle dicuntur a stando. Duplex est stellarum casus: mundialis et Eliacus, mundialis quando uolutione mundi id est firmamenti – quod antonomasice mundus dicitur – nostris uisibus non apparent, Eliacus id est solaris quando solis presentia obscurantur, sed neque tunc cadunt, immo in iuncturis absidum occultantur. Dicunt physici quod uentis uel pluuiis imminentibus solet iste inferior aer collidi superiori, et inde quedam scintille profluunt que casum stellarum imitantur.« (87va)

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to him that Thebes and Argos should be destroyed, Juno delivers a persuasive speech in an attempt to avert this destruction. In it, she asks him why he does not simply destroy every polity which cultivates the worship of Juno and leave untouched only those, like Egypt, which do not:

> Ad I.265: AND THE MOURNING STREAMS OF THE BRONZE-SOUNDING [NILE] Osiris [was]the husband of Isis and the brother of the giant Typhon, by whom he was torn apart limb from limb. Isis, sounding trumpets around the Nile, sought him for a long time. According to Ovid, who said ›Osiris, never sufficiently sought‹ (*Metamorphoses* IX.693) he was not found. A thing is not sufficiently sought which is not found. According to Juvenal, who said ›it is a pleasure to proclaim what the people shout to Osiris when he has been found (*Satires* VIII.29-30), he was found. In order to imitate this grief of Isis, the Egyptians sounded trumpets around the Nile each year. It is for this reason that he says ›bronze-sounding‹.[42]

The final two functions of medieval Statian commentary are, as far as I can tell, the least represented in the extant manuscripts, but they are significant, I think, for the history of commentary generally. The fourth function is a sort of textual criticism in which the readings of different manuscripts are compared (introduced by a couple of formulaic phrases taken from Lactantius, such as *quidam dicunt* and *quidam libri habent*) and the commentator's preference for one over the others is sometimes, but not always, given and justified. While the Argives prepare to go to war, the seers Amphiaraus and Melampus practice augury and notice ill omens for the coming war in the sky, such as the dominant presence of vultures and hawks:

> Ad III.508-509: [A BIRD BETTER FOR AUGURIES DID NOT COME, BUT A VULTURE, AND HAWKS FROM ABOVE EXULTED IN THEIR] LOFTY PLUNDER that is, great [plunder], not that which they seize in the air but that which they seize on the earth. Certain books have WHICH [IS A] VULTURE (instead of BUT A VULTURE) and, in that case, read [this line] in the following way: ›a vulture, which is better for auguries than other birds, did not come.‹[43]

42 »ET ERISONI LVGENTIA FLVMINA Osiris, maritus Isidis, frater Tiphonis gygantis, ab eo membratim est discerptus, quem Isis sonans era circa Nilum diu quesiuit. Secundum Ouidium non est inuentus, qui ait: ›numquamque satis quesitus Osiris‹. Res non est satis quesita que non est inuenta. Secundum Iuuenalem est inuentus, qui ait: ›exclamare libet populus quod clamat osiri/ inuento‹. Ad hunc dolorem Ysidis representandum singulis annis circa Nilum era sonabant Egyptii. Ideo ait ›erisoni‹. (89ra)

43 »PRO ALTIS RAPINIS id est magnis, non quas in aere faciant sed quas in terris fecerunt. Quidam libri habent QVI VVLTVR, et tunc ita leges: ›non uenit uultur qui est melior auguriis. quam cetere aues.‹« (99rb)

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While the Seven Against Thebes and their armies are assembling at Argos, Statius gives us a vivid ekphrasis of Capaneus's armor:

> Ad IV.172: STIFF because a hydra was depicted dying there. AROUND on the perimeter of the shield and in the middle of the water was a hydra. Or, on account of this: because he says ›stiff‹ he notes that a swamp (the dwelling place of the Lernaean hydra) is sluggish. Certain books have ›burning‹ but [that reading] should refer to the hydra burning, that is, spewing venom.[44]

Finally, the last function of commentary is allegory, the revelation of philosophical truth under the letter of the text. It was obviously important to the commentator that, if Statius' epic should be subordinated to that branch of philosophy known as ethics, the proof of that classification should be made clear in its exposition. However, I should also note that this approach is *largely* – although not exclusively – limited to the commentary on Book I, as if the author of *In principio*, like Fulgentius and Pseudo-Bernardus Silvestris commenting on Vergil, found the approach to be unsustainable across the entirety of the work. The commentator's reading of the myth of Amphion and the walls of Thebes rests on the rocky ground of a pun:

> Ad I.10: AMPHION BID THE MOUNTAINS APPROACH TYRIAN WALLS Zetus and Amphion were born from Jove, under the guise of a satyr, and Antiope, imprisoned on account of Dirce, whom Lycus had brought home as a wife to replace Antiope. Of the two, Zetus was a hunter, but Amphion was a musician, who is said to have constructed the walls of Thebes with the sound of his lyre. For stone willingly climbed atop stone and placed itself on a heap of the others. This was nothing other than that Amphion, whose name means ›circuitous‹, with his eloquence and wisdom taught hard-headed (›rocky‹) and uncultivated men how to live together as one.[45]

In a move resembling that by which Hugh of St. Victor described the natural similitude between water and the grace of the Holy Spirit which justifies and

44 »TORPENS propter ydram ibi morientem est depicta. CIRCVM in circuitu clipei et in medio aque erat ydra. Uel propter hoc quod dicit, ›torpens‹, notat esse paludem pigram. Quidam libri habent ›torrens‹, sed referendum est ad ydram torrentem id est uenenum euomentem.« (101vb)

45 »AMPHION IVSSERIT ACCEDERE TIRIIS MONTES MVRIS Zetus et Amphion a Ioue in specie satyri geniti sunt de Antiopa inclusa propter Dircen quam superduxerat ei Licus. Quorum Zetus uenator fuit, Amphion uero musicus, qui sono testitudinis muros Thebanos dicitur constituisse. Lapis enim super lapidem sponte ascendebat et in aliorum congerie se locabat. Quod nichil aliud fuit nisi quod Amphion – qui ›circuitus‹ interpretatur – homines lapideos et incultos sapientia et eloquentia sua una docuit habitare.« (86va)

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even necessitates their coming together in the sacrament of Baptism[46], our commentator interprets the gadfly which will stimulate Statius to poetic invention in the following way: Ad I.32: »WHEN I, STRONGER BECAUSE OF MY GADFLY that is, in spirit or wisdom. [The author] calls it a gadfly because of a specific likeness, for just as a gadfly pricks animals and sets them in motion, so the spirit [does to] the poet.«[47]

This fifth function, namely the impulse to allegorize, is best known from its most extreme examples, such as Pseudo-Bernardus Silvestris' commentary on the first six books of the *Aeneid*. Although these sorts of commentaries do not seem to have been as widely distributed or as influential as their grammar-school counterparts (if the number of extant manuscripts is any indication), it would be remiss to pass them over while talking about medieval commentaries on Statius. The allegorizing tendency and the use of etymology to achieve it are taken to their logical extreme in another 12th-century commentary on the *Thebaid*. Present today in one manuscript, this work was falsely attributed to Fulgentius the Mythographer, although the influence of the 6th-century author on this work is clear (*Commentariolum super Thebaiden*).[48] Here we see the tendency towards etymological interpretation present since at least the 10th century in its most extreme and fully developed form. Poets are marvelous for wrapping truth in fiction with great skill, says the anonymous author in a passage which resembles some found in 13th-century Scriptural commentaries, and the poem is, metaphorically, a nut; the task of the intellectual adult is not to play with the shell – the literal words of the narrative – but to crack it and get at the mystical kernel of truth.[49] This very short treatise pushes the powers of even spurious etymology to its limits in order to present the *Thebaid* as a *psychomachia*. Thebes (Thebae) is »theosbe« or »dei bonum«, and it represents the human soul armed with the virtues.[50] Thus it is ruled by Laius, »lux ayos« or »lux sancta«.[51] His

46 Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia latina* (176), Paris 1854, p. 318 (Book I, p. 9, c.ii): »Debet enim omne sacramentum *similitudinem quamdam* habere ad ipsam rem cuius est sacramentum, secundum quam habile sit ad eamdem rem suam repraesentandam ... Est ergo aqua visibilis sacramentum, et gratia invisibilis, res sive virtus sacramenti. Habet autem omnis aqua ex naturali qualitate *similitudinem quamdam* cum gratia Spiritus Sancti; quia, sicut haec abluit sordes corporum, ita illa mundat inquinamenta animarum.«

47 »CVM EGO FORTIOR OESTRO id est spiritu uel sapientia. Oestrum uocat per similitudinem specialem, nam sicut oestrum animalia commouet et pungit, ita spiritus poetam.« (87ra)

48 Convincingly dated by Brian Stock, »A Note on *Thebaid* Commentaries. Paris, B.N., lat. 3012«, in: *Traditio* 27 (1971), pp. 468-471. The text has been edited by Sweeney (as note 13), pp. 607-704.

49 Ibid., vv. 1-24.

50 Ibid., vv. 52-59.

51 Ibid., vv. 59-64.

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son »Edippus«, so-named from *hedus*, a young goat, is a mischievous animal, as Ovid attests.[52] In his youthful mischief, he kills his father without knowing his identity, which is to say that he drives the divine light from the human soul while not recognizing that the divine is the source of its being.[53] He then defiles Jocasta, or *iocunditas casta*[54], as youthful mischief is wont to do. Thus do his sons, Polynices (polis = multum and nichos = victor, therefore luxuria, to which many succumb) and Ethiocles (ethos = mos and ocleos = interitus, therefore morum interitus, therefore avaritia) embodied violations of the Golden Mean[55], struggle for control of Thebes, or the human soul.[56] The climax is the arrival of Theseus (*theos suus*), the king of Athens, who stands for God and who combats the Theban regent Creon (*superbia*, which is *cremens omnia*) – who refused to allow the deceased partisans of Polynices to be buried – at the prayerful bidding of the suppliant Argive women (a demonstration of *humilitas*), or human emotions.[57] As Theseus' arrival comes when the Argive women seek aid at Athens' altar of mercy (*clementia*), the victory of Theseus over Creon signifies the liberation of the human soul from vice by the *clementia* of God.[58]

3) The Reception of *In principio*: First Discoveries

The 12th-century *In principio* commentary is the one which seems to have exerted the most influence over other types of literature, from verse epistles to theological tracts to Biblical commentary to Old French romance. Here is one example of a passage in the commentary which percolated throughout the Latin tradition. It involves a scene in the last book of the *Thebaid*, in which the widows of the Argive men who died in the war, distressed by the Theban regent Creon forbidding the burial of the bodies of the enemy dead, travel to Athens to seek a champion for their cause. They come upon a curious monument whose description is unlike anything else in Statius: the *Ara Clementiae*, the altar of Clemency, which is described at length. No expensive offerings adorn the altar, no image of the deity is to be seen, only the wretched are accepted as suppliants, and the powerful may not approach.[59] Even Oedipus would eventually find forgiveness here.[60] The

52 Ibid., vv. 71-74.
53 Ibid., vv. 77-79.
54 Ibid., v. 65.
55 »nascuntur et alia opera speciem uirtutis, sed non uirtutem habentia, quae sunt duo filii.« Ibid., vv. 83-84.
56 Ibid., vv. 85-92.
57 Ibid., vv. 168-173.
58 Ibid., vv. 174-177.
59 Donald E. Hill (ed.), *P. Papini Stati Thebaidos libri XII*, Leiden 1983, pp. 321 f. (XII.481-505).
60 »[...] mox hospita sedes/uicit et Oedipodae Furias [...]«, ibid., p. 322 (XII.510).

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12th-century commentator sees in this passage an echo of the Judaeo-Christian understanding of God. He says:

> When St. Paul had come to Athens to preach, he found Dionysius the Areopagite, a man most wise, whom, when he could not convince him, he led around the altars of the gods, asking to whom each belonged. He came at last to this altar and asked whose it was. Dionysius said to him: »It is the altar of the unknown god.« Then blessed Paul replied: »He whom you call ›unknown‹, he alone is known«, and he began his speech in the following way: »God is known in Judea« etc.[61]

Peter Abelard, in the third book of his *Theologia christiana*, while discussing this very altar, says the following:

> Indeed, the great philosopher Dionysius the Areopagite is read to have shown the altar of this unknown god to Paul the Apostle at Athens, that city known for its learning. This is indeed, unless I am mistaken, that altar of mercy on which suppliants do not make burnt offerings, but only that offering of the Brachmani, namely prayers and tears. Clearly, this is the altar which Statius also recalls in his twelfth book, saying: »In the middle of the city was an altar, dedicated to none of the powerful/ gods, gentle Clemency there placed her abode.«[62]

The parallel is made even closer when one considers Abelard's desire elsewhere sharply to distinguish between *misericordia* and *clementia*, for example in his *Dialogus inter philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum*; one is a virtue and the other *can* be a vice. In the *Theologia christiana*, Abelard not only associates the altar in Acts 17 with the one in *Thebaid* XII but also takes up the *clementia/misericordia* equation exactly as it is found in a nearby *In principio* gloss (Ad I.481): »[Statius] specifies the place to which the descendants of Pelops withdrew, namely the altar of mercy (*misericordia*), which was in the middle of the city [...]«.[63] Anyone who

61 »[...] cum beatus Paulus athenas predicaturus aduenisset, inuenit Dionisium Ariopagitam, uirum prudentissimum, quem cum non potuisset conuincere, duxit eum per singulas aras deorum inquirendo cuius esset. Tandem ad hanc aram peruenit et inquisiuit cuius esset, cui Dionisius ›ara est ignoti dei‹. Tunc beatus Paulus: ›quem ignotum appellas, solus ille notus est‹, et sermonem suum sic incepit: ›Notus in Iudea Deus‹, et cetera.« (112vb)

62 »Cuius quidem ignoti dei aram magnus ille philosophus Dionysius Areopagita Paulo apostolo apud egregiam studiis ciuitatem Athenas legitur ostendisse. Haec quidem, ni fallor, illa est ara misericordiae cui a supplicibus non immolabatur nisi illud Brachmanorum sacrificium, hoc est orationes uel lacrymae; cuius uidelicet arae et Satius in XII meminit, dicens: ›Vrbe fuit media nulli concessa potentum/ Ara Deum, mitis posuit clementia sedem.‹« Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana*, ed. by E. M. Buytaert, Turnhout 1969, III.45, lines 569-577. The discovery of this parallel was originally made by De Angelis (as note 20), p. 123.

63 »VRBE FVIT locum determinat, ad quem secesserunt Pelopeides, scilicet ad aram misericordie, que in medio urbis erat ... (112va).«

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has obtained a measure of the man from reading the *Historia calamitatum* can understand how powerfully an instance of Abelard cutting against the grain of his own thought can argue for his reliance on a source.

The early-14th-century Biblical *Postilia* of Nicholas of Lyra, while glossing this passage in Acts, also briefly recount the history of the Altar to the Unknown God. He says that mercy (*misericordia*) placed her seat in Athens, where an altar was consecrated to her, using Statius's diction almost exactly as it appears in the epic. Because mercy was not a being known to human beings as other gods were, this altar was dedicated to the unknown god.[64] Statius is thus seen to have grasped and correctly described something, even if in shadowy figure, of the true, Christian God. The school tradition of Roman epic has influenced the exegesis of the Bible.

The *Thebaid* and its commentary tradition also seem to have inspired the first surviving instance of that literary genre which would go on to become the most popular form of literary fiction in the Western world: the novel. The first Old French romance, the *Roman de Thèbes*, is an adaptation of the *Thebaid* to the cultural tastes and material conditions of 12th-and-13th-century France and Britain. Significant portions of the romance, however, deal with myths surrounding ancient Thebes which are not to be found in Statius. The most obvious example is the detailed life of Oedipus which serves as the romance's introduction, running to 554 lines in the earliest recension which survives today.[65] Three books[66] and an article[67] have attempted to find the source of this short biography in scattered details in Lactantius' commentary, as well as in accounts found in an expanded text of the Second Vatican Mythographer and free-standing lives in various individual *Thebaid* manuscripts, similarities among which are supposed to be explained by their use of a common source, the putative lost introduction to Lactantius' commentary mentioned above. All of these sources, however, contradict the account given in the *Thèbes* in one or more of the story's significant details, such as the order of events – whether Oedipus encounters his father while going to or from Delphi – the form of the Sphinx's riddle, or the content of Apollo's prophecy to Oedipus concerning his father. The only sources which have been published

64 David Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale*: *Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida*, Philadelphia 1988, p. 163.

65 The »short« or »*francien*« version, edited by Guy Raynaud de Lage, *Le Roman de Thèbes*, 2 Vols., Paris 1966-1968.

66 Lewis Gary Donovan, *Recherches sur »L*e roman de Thèbes«, Paris 1975; Arianna Punzi, *»Oedipodae confusa domus«. La materia tebana nel Medioevo latino e romanzo*, Rome 1995; Sylviane Messerli, *Œdipe enténébré. Légendes d'Œdipe au XIIe siècle* (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 64), Paris 2002.

67 Lowell Edmunds, »Oedipus in the Middle Ages«, in: *Antike und Abendland* 22 (1976), pp. 140-155.

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to date which do not contradict the romance are a 14th-century *argumentum* to Seneca's *Oedipus* play[68] and the life of Oedipus given in a gloss on *Thebaid* I.46 in the *In principio* commentary, following a comment that this is where the story ought to begin.[69] The *vita* reads as follows in the Berlin manuscript:

> Laius, the king of Thebes, since he had heard in oracles that he would be killed by his own son, forbade his wife, Jocasta, when she was about to give birth, to raise the child which she would bear, but ordered her that she should kill him. Jocasta, influenced by maternal devotion, spared her child, giving orders that his feet be pierced and that he be exposed in the woods, where he was found by the king Polybus, who, because he was sterile, gave orders that the child be brought up as his own son. When the child had become an adult, someone taunted him, claiming that he was not Polybus' son but was found in the forest. [Oedipus] went to take counsel with Phoebus and inquire whose son he was, who said »Go forth, and slay the man who first encounters you. Thus will you discover your father.« Then, when he had come to the city of Phocis, he encountered his father, Laius, in the entrance to the city and, not knowing that he was his father, killed him and snatched the diadem from his head. This done, he set out for Thebes, knowing that he was now the king of Thebes, but not that he had killed his father. He then unknowingly took his mother, Jocasta, as wife, with whom he fathered Ethiocles and Polynices, Antigone and Ismene. But when his mother was caressing him one night, as was the wife's custom, she discovered the scars on his feet, and she revealed to her son where he had received these punctures. When he recognized the sin which had been thus revealed, [Oedipus] blinded himself, and, having cast aside the crown of the kingdom, he entered a cave.[70]

68 Transcibed by Arianna Punzi, in: dies. (as note 66), p. 226.

69 »facta propositione et inuocatione, actor narrationem inchoat, utens artificiali ordine, quia secundum naturalem ordinem sic potius inchoaret ...« (87ra)

70 »Laius, rex Thebarum, cum audisset in oraculis quod a filio suo interficeretur, partu imminente mulieri sue scilicet Iocaste interdixit tollere quod pareret, sed ut interficeret. Que materna ducta pietate filio parcens plantas eius perforari precepit et filium in siluam proici, ubi a rege Polibo est inuentus, qui, quia sterilis erat, eum pro suo precepit educari. Cui adulto improperatum est a quodam quod Polibi filius non erat, sed inuentus in nemore. Ueniens ergo consiluit Phebum cuius filius esset, qui ait: ›Uade, et hominem qui tibi primus occuret interfice. Sicque patrem inuenies.‹ Cum ergo Phocidem ciuitatem deuenisset, patri suo Laio in ingressu ciuitatis obuiauit et eum patrem suum ignorans interfecit et diadema de capite eius arripuit. Quo facto Thebas proficiscens sciens quidem se regem Thebarum non autem patrem interfecisse Iocastam reginam sibi nesciens esse matrem duxit uxorem de qua Ethioclen et Pollinicen, Antigonen et Hysmenen genuit. Sed, cum mater eum muliebri mansuetudine de nocte palparet, pedum cicatrices inuenit et fossurasque filio ubi eas accepisset exposuit. Qui facinus quod patuerat recognoscens se exoculauit et corona regni deposita speluncam intrauit.« (87ra-b)

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As in the prologue to the *Roman de Thèbes*, and unlike every other published medieval life of Oedipus – except for the aforementioned *argumentum* to Seneca, whose date is too late to have influenced a 12th-century romance whose short recension discussed here survives in a13th-century manuscript – Oedipus consults Apollo *before* encountering Laius on the road. The specific wording of Apollo's oracle to Oedipus in the *In principio vita* is nearly identical to the one in the *Thèbes*; in fact, one looks very much like a straightforward translation of the other. One need only compare *In principio*'s »Uade, et hominem qui tibi primus occuret interfice. Sicque patrem inuenies«, with the romance's »… Quant tu seras/ issuz de ci, si trouveras/ un houme que tu ocirras;/ ainsi ton pere connoistras.«[71] Finally, there is the famous Sphinx's riddle, which asks for the identity of an animal which walks during one part of the day on a certain number of legs, then on a different number during another part of the day, etc. The number of legs varies widely according to the medieval version of the riddle which one consults. In the short recension of the *Thèbes*, the numbers follow the chiastic pattern four, three, two, three, four.[72] If we look at a gloss in our manuscript which is found slightly after the one containing the *vita* of Oedipus (ad I.67), we find an opinion about the form of the riddle: »Some say that the riddle was ›which animal first walked on four feet, then three, then two, then three again, and later again on four.‹ Oedipus solved it.«[73] Here, I will handily wield Ockham's Razor and claim that, where we do not have to posit any source except a manuscript of the *Thebaid* containing glosses from *In principio*, we should not posit a source of which the romancer had no need and for which we have no evidence of availability in the 12th century.

The preceding example[74] suffices to show that medieval commentary on the *Thebaid* was the one of the important filters through which Statius' masterpiece was received by the first medieval romance. Through its commentary tradition, then, the *Thebaid* could serve as a wellspring of poetic inspiration and creative enthusiasm, a role which it can – and should – continue to perform for us latter-day *moderni*.

71 Raynaud de Lage (ed.), (as note 65), vv. 203-206.

72 Ibid., vv. 317-330.

73 »Quidam dicunt hoc problema fuisse ›quod animal primum cum .iiii. pedibus iret, postea tribus, postea duobus, et postea item tribus, post iterum cum quatuor.‹ Quod Edipus soluit.« (87rb)

74 I am currently compiling a list of other borrowings from *In principio* in the *Roman de Thèbes* as a part of my in-progress Ph.D. thesis.

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Suzanne Conklin Akbari

Ekphrasis and Commentary in Walter of Chatillon's *Alexandreis*

Ekphrasis is the rendering of one form of art in another medium; most often, it refers to the representation of visual art, whether two- or three-dimensional, in vivid poetic language. Ekphrasis is found at key moments in major works of antiquity – the shield of Achilles, in Homer's *Iliad*; the Temple of Juno, in Virgil's *Aeneid* – and it appears frequently in medieval literature, where it marks a deeply intertextual point in the narrative. As a result, ekphrastic passages tend to accumulate significant commentary, whether marginal commentaries by individual readers or systematic commentaries. The following paragraphs begin with a general overview of medieval ekphrasis, the ways in which the medieval use corresponds to ancient uses of the trope and the ways in which it is distinctive, leading to an overview of its use by Walter of Châtillon in his epic poem, with a particular emphasis on the two tomb ekphrases featured in the *Alexandreis*, those of the Persian ruler Darius and his wife. Both of these tombs are monumental, but while Darius's tomb offers a synoptic view of the world in explicitly geographical terms, the tomb of Darius's wife offers a synoptic view of history in explicitly temporal terms. The article then turns to the commentary tradition that grew out of the *Alexandreis*, especially that associated with the tomb ekphrases, in an effort to do two things: first, to learn something about how commentary practices were conducted, particularly in the teaching and study of Latin epic during the late 12th and 13th centuries; second, to determine what the commentary can tell us about how these ekphrases were understood by the first generations of readers of the *Alexandreis*. The closing paragraphs consider how medieval writers and readers understood the relationship of vivid poetic forms that seek to make the reader stand outside of time – that is, ekphrasis – to the linear unfolding of historical narration.

1) Medieval Ekphrasis

Ekphrasis is a common feature in medieval allegory, from Dante's intaglio wall in the *Purgatorio* to Christine de Pizan's monumental castle of Fortune in the *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*. In ekphrasis, as in allegory, the literal surface

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points the way toward a second level of meaning, as the sequence of images gestures towards a narrative. The images that Aeneas sees, for example, on the walls of the Temple of Juno in Carthage show him the historical events of the Fall of Troy; the images that Christine de Pizan's narrator sees in the ›marvelous chamber‹ in the *Mutacion de Fortune* show her the events of world history in order, following the division of ages as presented in Orosius's universal chronicle. One level is the progressive sequence of images; the second level is the narrative order of the literary or historical text. In the particular form of ekphrasis that I will refer to as ›monumental ekphrasis‹, where instead of a static two-dimensional image upon the walls of a building, we find an object (usually a tomb, temple, statue, or textile), the viewer's experience is fundamentally different. Whereas the ekphrastic images seen on the walls of the temple or the ›marvelous chamber‹ are experienced sequentially, as the eye of the viewer progresses in a linear fashion following the historical order of the textual referent, in monumental ekphrasis, the viewer's eye has greater freedom of movement.[1]

In some ways, it is tempting to align ekphrasis with that other rhetorical trope that opens itself up to an exploration of how visual experience conveys meaning, linking the literal level of the image to the figurative level of its referent. That other trope is, of course, allegory, which like ekphrasis has an intricate hermeneutic of interiority, and which shares a commitment to the power of vision to mediate knowledge. But while allegory – especially in the neoplatonic version of the genre in the 12th and early 13th centuries – seeks to render in language a hidden meaning that would ordinarily be inexpressible, enclosing the generative seed of meaning within the integumental veil of language, the meaning conveyed through ekphrasis is almost always a completely recognizable textual source, often a canonical work or school text. Aeneas, in the first book of the *Aeneid*, sees the history of the Fall of Troy; the narrator in Christine's *Mutacion de Fortune* sees the history of the world as told by Orosius; Chaucer's narrator in the *Book of the Duchess* sees, on the walls of the temple, the text and gloss of the *Roman de la Rose*, with the history of Troy depicted in the adjacent stained glass windows. In keeping with that ancient foundational scene of ekphrasis, Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*, many medieval scenes of ekphrasis depict – in a capacious and even encyclopedic way – the whole world. This can be seen in Baudri of Bourgueil's Latin letter describing the chamber of Adela of Blois, decorated with a world map (on the floor), the constellations (on the ceiling), plus statues of the Seven

1 For a more detailed account of monumental and narrative ekphrasis in medieval texts, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, »Ekphrasis and Stasis in the Allegories of Christine de Pizan«, in: Andrew James Johnson, Ethan Knapp, and Magritta Rouse (eds.), *The Art of Vision: Ekphrasis in Medieval Literature and Culture*, Columbus 2015, pp. 184-205.

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Liberal Arts along with Philosophy and Medicine. Other works of the 12th century similarly treat ekphrasis as an opportunity to evoke the span of world knowledge. For example, Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide* features an elaborately decorated robe depicting the Seven Liberal Arts along with astronomical features. Other examples include Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, whose ekphrastic description of the Seven Liberal Arts is among the most heavily commentated parts of the manuscript tradition, and the anonymous *Roman de Thèbes*, which includes an ekphrastic description of the chariot of Amphiaurus, decorated elaborately with the trivium and quadrivium.

As noted above, medieval ekphrasis differs from allegory in the immediately recognizable, even canonical – often encyclopedic, cosmological, or otherwise capacious – source of knowledge to which it gives access through the mediating power of visual experience. Ekphrasis also differs from allegory in a second way, in terms of the effect that it produces in the viewer. Vision provides a common ground for both ekphrasis and allegory, in that visual experience is the primary mediator of what lies beyond the veil of the surface, whether artistic edifice or ornate term. Ekphrasis differs strikingly from allegory, however, in the nature of what is hidden beneath the beautiful exterior: in ekphrasis, the viewer perceives not some truth concealed within the veil of language, but rather a singular, inexpressible sense of wonder. This can be seen, for example, in the »marvelous« tomb of Achilles described in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, which the poet describes as both capacious and eternal: he writes, »under the heavens there had never been any sculpture or work of painting that was not included within it, depicted in such a way that it will endure forever«.[2] Similarly, in Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*, as we will see, tombs are explicitly described as »wondrous« (4.226). The king's monumental sepulchre is a three-dimensional map of the world, including a complete chronicle of world history etched upon its surface. As in the *Roman de Troie*, the capaciousness of the ekphrastic object in the *Alexandreis* is accompanied by a peculiar temporal position: the wonder induced by it will »endure forever«, precisely because the object itself crystallizes all of space and all of time into a single potent locus. It both gathers together all times, in the historical account etched on its surface, and stands outside of time, placing the viewer in a state of *ek-stasis*, almost transported out of the body by the experience of wonder.

2 Anne Marie Gauthier, *Édition et étude critique du cycle des retours du Roman de Troie de Benoît de Sainte-Maure d'après le manuscrit Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 55 sup et six manuscrits de contrôle*, Ottawa 1999, pp. 415-418.

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2) Tombs and Temporality

Before turning to a closer examination of the tomb ekphrases in the *Alexandreis* and their associated commentary tradition, it is helpful to place Walter of Châtillon's epic in the context of 12th-century literature, especially in the context of poetic narrations of history.[3] The *Alexandreis* can be described as an epic in its aspirations to emulate Virgil's *Aeneid* and Statius's *Thebaid*, but it can also be seen in the context of the 12th-century genre of siege literature.[4] This genre, which appears both in Latin and in vernacular poetry, uses historical events of the past to recount a period of warfare and a national or imperial history that can be read in supersessionist terms, as providing a template for contemporary – that is, 12th-century – political and social events. This is not the place to offer a full account of siege poetry[5]; it is useful, however, to point out the very special role that monumental structures – above all, tombs – play within in the genre, as markers of the passage of time. As we will see, in the *Alexandreis* – as in many other siege texts – monuments are described in intricately ekphrastic terms, and commentators were frequently drawn to add glosses (whether marginal, interlinear, or free-standing) to explicate these richly meaningful moments in the text.

Siege poetry is a genre that has a peculiar relationship to temporality. From the fall of Troy to the fall of Jerusalem, the climax of siege literature – that is, the fall of the city – marks a transitional moment in which two things happen: a nation dies and is reborn, and imperial might passes from the hands of the past into the hands of the future. As a genre, siege poetry participates in what we might call an ›imaginative historiography‹, in which poetic form is coupled with symbolic forms – bodies, tombs – in order to produce a coherent image of the past. For medieval readers, the main example of the city under siege was Troy – not Homer's story of Troy, which was known only indirectly, but the version told by Aeneas to Dido within book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The whole *Aeneid* takes place between the time of two empires: Troy falls prior to the action of the

3 For an account of the ekphrases of the *Alexandreis* in the context of the trope's use in classical epic, see Maura K. Lafferty, *Walter of Châtillon's* Alexandreis*: Epic and the Problem of Historical Understanding* (Publications of *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2), Turnhout 1998, especially Chapter 3, »History at a Glance: The Ekphraseis of the *Alexandreis*«, pp. 103-140.

4 On the epic commitments of the *Alexandreis*, see Sylvia Parsons, »Poet, Protagonist, and the Epic Alexander in Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*«, in: Markus Stock (ed.), *Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages: Transcultural Perspectives*, Toronto 2016, pp. 176-199.

5 On siege poetry, from the 12th century to modern manifestations of the genre, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, »Erasing the Body: History and Memory in Medieval Siege Poetry«, in: Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (eds.), *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, Baltimore 2012, pp. 146-173.

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epic, and the epic ends with the rise of Rome, in what we might call a secular supersessionist hermeneutic.

The reception of this Virgilian narrative was inflected for medieval readers by another historical model for understanding the fall and rise of empires: that of Orosius, whose universal history sketches out a four-part model of what he named, influentially, *translatio imperii* – the translation, or movement, of empire. For Orosius, imperium moves from the East, with Babylon; to the North, with Macedonia; to the South, with Carthage; and finally to the West, with Rome. Imperial might was thought to travel from place to place, anchored for a time in a great city, inevitably destined to fall and be replaced by another ruling city. This view of history was manifested not only in universal histories, which set out the whole span of the past within the scope of a single work, and in the integrated chronologies that appear in medieval manuscript miscellanies, but also broadly in medieval history-writing. The reader of a history of Alexander the Great, for example, would know that this was part of a larger narrative of *translatio imperii*, in which the Persian Darius, ruler of Babylon, relinquished his rule to the Macedonian conqueror. Readers of the histories of Troy and Thebes had a similar awareness, knowing that the work at hand was part of a bigger story, the story of »imperial translation«.

To emblematize this moment of the movement of imperial power, siege texts focus on the male body, with the microcosm of the ruler's body standing in for the macrocosm of the city, which in turn stands for the still larger cosmos of the empire. In the *Aeneid*, the body of Priam stands in this place. Following the penetration of the Greek warriors into the fortified city, Priam is dragged before the altar and slaughtered: he »lies a huge trunk upon the shore [litore], a head severed from the shoulders, a nameless corpse« (iacet ingens litore truncus, / avolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus).[6] The sacred inner room of the palace at Troy is a deeply interior, hidden space; simultaneously, however, this most interior space is also a »limen«, or »threshold«, located at the centre in spatial terms but on the margin in temporal terms. The body of Priam lies, metaphorically, upon the shore, the littoral space that marks the dividing line between one era of imperial might and its successor.

The *Roman de Troie*, composed by Benoît de Saint-Maure (1160 – 1170) in the 12th century (a little before the *Alexandreis*), makes a useful point of comparison to the *Aeneid* in its use of the male body to mark turning points in time in the context of siege. In the *Roman de Troie*, instead of a single male body – that of Priam, in the *Aeneid* – marking the turning point from Troy toward Rome,

6 Publius Vergilius Maro, *The Aeneid*, trs. by H. Rushton Fairclough and G. P. Goold, 2 Vols., Cambridge, MA 2006, 2.557 f.

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we find a sequence of fallen male bodies that serve as temporal markers in the inevitable march toward the climax of the siege. The sequence of bodies in the *Roman de Troie* begins with that of Hector, which, after being mutilated by the Greeks, is returned to Priam and enclosed in a »precious tabernacle« (*tabernacle precios*, 16651): here, the wounded body of the king's first-born achieves the status of a martyr, his body preserved like a relic. The process is re-enacted with the body of Troilus, which (like Hector's) has been dragged around the field after death (21447), and the body of Paris, which is encased in a »costly sarcophagus« (*chier sarquel*, 23038). The bodies of the Greek warriors, too, especially that of Achilles, are placed in tombs that mark turning points in time; their ekphrastic descriptions, heightened by the experience of wonder that is emphasized in the text, slow down the narrative at crucial moments, underlining the moments of temporal rupture enacted through the experience of siege.

It would be possible to explore a whole range of other siege poems, from the 12th through 15th centuries, through this interpretive lens. Here, however, we turn to the ekphrastic tombs of the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon. This epic poem both epitomizes the widespread corpus of medieval literature devoted to Alexander the Great and, in some ways, stands apart from it. The *Alexandreis* differs from the rest of the Alexander tradition in several respects, including the way it highlights the role of the body of the ruler as an emblematic or symbolic form marking the transition from one period of rule to another, in the movement of *translatio imperii*. This feature of the *Alexandreis* can only be fully appreciated in the context of siege poetry – not just the *Aeneid*, but the 12th-century *romans antiques* – which is why the preceding paragraphs have dwelled on that genre. The *Alexandreis* stands out from other examples of 12th-century siege poetry, both Latin and vernacular, both in the way that tombs are used to mark periods of time, and with regard to the very particular role of the tombs of Darius and his wife within the larger historical ambitions of the work.

There are two monumental tomb ekphrases in the *Alexandreis*: the first is the tomb of the wife of Darius, and the second is the tomb of Darius himself. Each of these tomb ekphrases, and particularly that of Darius's wife, in book 4, attracted a great deal of commentary, both on the page in the form of interlinear or marginal glosses and in free-standing commentaries. Walter introduces the account of the tomb of Darius's wife (who remains unnamed in the text) in this way:

Interea Macedo condiuit aromate corpus
Vxoris Darii tumulumque in uertice rupis
Imperat excidi, quem structum scemate miro
Erexit celeber digitis Hebreus Apelles.
Nec solum reges et nomina gentis Achee
Sed Genesis notat historias, ab origine mundi

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Incipiens. aderat confusis partibus yle
Et globus informis, uario distincta colore
Quatuor inpressis pariens elementa sigillis.
Hic operum series que sex operata diebus
Est deitas: […]
(Colker, 4.176-186)[7]

That same while, Alexander wrapped the corpse
of Darius' wife in fragrant spice and bade
a tomb be cut into the rock's high summit.
There, famed of hand, the Jew Apelles limned
its finished surface with a wondrous scheme:
beside the names of Grecian kings, he set
the holy tales of Genesis, beginning
where first the world was born. There Matter lay
an unformed mass, painted in varied hue,
as it brought forth four elements, each pressed
with its own seal. Here was the chain of tasks
that Godhead worked in six days: […]
(Townsend, pp. 94-95, 4.222-233)

Here we find the national history of Greece (»the names of Grecian kings«) matched up with »the holy tales of Genesis«, in an evocation of the integrated chronologies we find in Orosius and later universal histories modelled on his work. While the tomb of Darius's wife is »cut into the rock's high summit« – that is, added into the natural landscape – Darius's own tomb will prove to be a product of high art, with an intricate and balanced geometrical form. The tomb of Darius's wife tells a history that emerges from chaos, with prime matter appearing as »an unformed mass, painted in varied hue, as it brought forth four elements«. The description of the tomb (which is over a hundred lines long) goes on to recount biblical history from before the time of Creation to the time of Darius himself, ending with the prophecies of Daniel and the rule of Cyrus. The prose of the biblical history recounted in the *Alexandreis* is itself a kind of translation, offering in the form of written, poetic language the images that are inscribed on the tomb of Darius's wife. In other words, what we see here is

7 Quotations from the Latin text of the *Alexandreis* are from the edition of Marvin Colker and are cited in the text by book and line number. *Galteri de Castellione*, ›*Alexandreis*‹ (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Latinorum Mediæ et Recentioris Ætatis 17), ed. by Marvin L. Colker, Padua 1978. Quotations from the English translation are by David Townsend and are cited in the text by book and line number (which differs in text and translation). Walter of Châtillon, *The Alexandreis: A Twelfth-Century Epic*, trs. by David Townsend, Toronto 2007 ([1]1996).

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biblical history translated into image (on the tomb) and then translated back into words (in the poem). The ekphrasis of Darius's own tomb is quite different:

> Dixit, et exequiis solito de more solutis,
> Regifico sepelit corpus regale paratu
> Membraque condiri iubet et condita recondi
> Maiorum tumulis, ubi postquam condita, celsa
> Pyramis erigitur, niueo que marmore structa
> Ingenio docti superedificatur Apellis
> Coniunctos lapides infusum fusile rimis
> Alterno interius connectit amore metallum.
> Exterius, qua queque patet iunctura, figuris
> Insculptum uariis rutilans intermicat aurum.
> Quatuor ex equo distantibus arte columpnis
> Sustentatur onus, quarum iacet erea basis.
> Argento stilus erigitur, capitella recocto
> Imperitant auro fornacibus eruta binis.
> (Colker, 7.379-392)
>
> He spoke and, having paid the wonted obsequies,
> buried with kingly care that regal body.
> He ordered the embalmed corpse laid to rest
> in Darius' ancestral tombs, and there
> a lofty pyramid was later raised.
> Apelles in his subtle craft adorned it
> with snowy marble facings. Molten metal
> was poured into the cracks, to join the stones
> in mutual love inside the monument.
> Where each joint was exposed, gold gleamed; engraved
> with varied images, its light flashed forth.
> The weight lay on four equidistant columns,
> whose base was bronze, whose shafts rose up in silver,
> while at their summit, capitals of gold
> had been drawn out of twice-refining fires.
> (Townsend, pp. 156-157, 7.420-434)

There is a tremendous amount of wordplay in the Latin text: for example, the way in which the second line uses the words »regifico« and »regale«, the former describing Alexander's »kingly« action, the other describing Darius's »regal« body. Similarly, the wordplay in the second and third lines (*condiri*, *condita recondi*, *condita*) wavers back and forth between reference to the former ruler (Darius)

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and the new one (Alexander), emphasising the extent to which this monumental tomb marks a turning point in time, within the overall temporal economy of *translatio imperii*.

The tomb of Darius also contrasts significantly with that of his wife, described earlier, in book 4. Her tomb is inscribed within the natural landscape, in a peripheral region, »a tomb … cut into the rock's high summit«; the other is placed among »Darius' ancestral tombs«, marked by the geometrical form of a »lofty pyramid«, in contrast to the depiction of the »unformed mass« of prime matter that decorates the tomb of the wife of Darius. The »molten metal … poured into the cracks … join[s] the stones in mutual love«, in an exquisite visual image that evokes the homosocial bond of conqueror and conquered. The geometrical form evoked by the pyramid is enhanced by the description of the structure, which features four columns whose base is bronze, shafts are silver, and capitals are gold. Atop this quadripartite form, further subdivided by the various metals at each level, the perfect form of the sphere appears, made of crystal:

Has super exstructa est, tante fuit artis Apelles,
Lucidior uitro, pacato purior amne,
Crystallo similis caelique uolubilis instar,
Concaua testudo librati ponderis, in qua
Forma tripertiti pulchre describitur orbis.
(Colker, 7.393-397)

Above these rose – such was Apelles' craft –
clearer than glass, purer than placid streams,
a crystal image of the turning sky,
a hollow shell of balanced weight, on which
the tripart world lay beautifully described.
(Townsend, p. 157, 7.435-439)

The chronological scope embedded in the tomb of Darius's wife, extending from Creation to the rule of Cyrus, has its counterpart in the tomb of Darius, where geographical space is epitomized. In other words, the first tomb encapsulates time; the second tomb encapsulates space. The ekphrastic description goes on to provide a long description of all the territories of the world, named in order on the three-dimensional map, ending with the circling Ocean that marks the ultimate limit of Alexander's sprawling empire.[8] In spite of the fact that the ekphrastic tomb of Darius focuses on space – as opposed to time – it nonetheless concludes

8 On the geographical aspects of the ekphrasis, see Alfred Hiatt, »Geography in Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* and its Medieval Reception«, in: *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 23 (2013), pp. 255-294.

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with a chronological summary of all of history, extending from »creation« to the age of Alexander himself, »until the warlike Great One's victories«. In other words, this ekphrasis ends not with image, but with number, so that time and space are ultimately fused in Darius's tomb:

> In summa annorum bis milia bina leguntur
> Bisque quadringenti decies sex bisque quaterni.
> (Colker ,7.429 f.)
>
> The sum of years were read thus: twice two thousand,
> four hundred twice, six tens, and still twice four.
> (Townsend, p. 159, 7.476 f.)

Before turning to the commentaries on these passages, it is necessary to first consider the significance of the passages themselves. Why did they appeal so strongly to commentators? In part, this is due simply to the genre of ekphrasis, which (as noted above) tends to accrue commentary. In part, however, it is due to the very special place of the tomb within the genre of siege literature, where the wondrous edifice marks a transitional moment. The two tombs of the *Alexandreis*, as we have seen, emblematize both time and space, with the integrated history of the Greeks and the Jews recounted on the tomb of the wife of Darius, and all the territories of the world laid out on the globe that surmounts the tomb of Darius himself. The king's tomb closes with an evocation of historical time that makes it into a fully synoptic symbol of all things, marking the extreme boundaries that are surmounted by Alexander in the course of his conquests. The tomb re-members, memorializes, not just Darius himself but the moment of transition from Babylon to Macedonia, and the apotheosis of Alexander as ruler of the Orient.

Yet the *Alexandreis*, in a remarkable move, does not simply offer us one wondrous tomb, that of the warrior-king Darius; instead, it also offers the tomb of his wife, with a very different artistic program. Moreover, it is the latter tomb, that of Darius' wife, that accrues by far the greater amount of commentary – greater than any other scene in the entire work, and remarkable by any standard. Why did medieval commentators think this passage was so worthy of exposition?

3) Typological Commentary

Let us now turn to the commentaries that accrued to the tomb ekphrases of the *Alexandreis*. As noted above, it is often the case that ekphrastic passages accumulate commentary: in the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille, for example, the

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ekphrasis of the chariot driven by Prudence engenders elaborate glosses, both marginal and free-standing, concerning the Seven Liberal Arts. What is perhaps most striking about the tomb ekphrases of the *Alexandreis* is that there are two of them – one for the Persian king's wife, one for Darius himself – and that they differ so significantly. The tomb of Darius fits well with the characteristic siege narrative outlined earlier, where the tomb of the ruler of an empire that is waning marks the end of an era, in an emblematic representation, even an embodiment, of *translatio imperii*. The tomb of Darius's wife, however, fits more oddly into that narrative of imperial succession, as will be shown below. Beyond this, the tombs differ significantly both in terms of form and in terms of content. The tomb of Darius is a monumental structure that inspires wonder in the one who sees it, with many-colored columns of precious metal, a crystal globe, and golden engravings. The tomb of his wife, however, is covered in what appears to be a collection of lists, sometimes simply »names« of patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets, sometimes images arranged in upper and lower »registers«.

The tomb of Darius's wife is the most abundantly glossed passage in the entire work, giving rise both to marginal and free-standing commentaries, where the commentary on her tomb is appended to the end of the glossed poem. The attention paid by commentators to this passage is often explained in terms of the subject matter, which is the biblical history of the so-called »Old Testament«, a term that invites a typological exposition of the fulfillment wrought under the New Law of Christ. In this reading, the biblical intertexts are seen as the motivation for the abundant gloss. This is certainly true, but I would argue that there is more at stake in this commentary than simply an opportunity for exegesis. Instead, I will suggest that the commentary on the tomb of Darius's wife invites the reader to consider both secular and sacred history in typological terms, especially when we put her tomb in dialogue with that of the king, which serves as an emblem of historical change in the form of *translatio imperii*.

As noted earlier, the opening lines of the tomb ekphrasis of Darius's wife state that the tomb is adorned with »the names of Grecian kings« along with »the holy tales of Genesis«, beginning with the creation of the world. The ekphrasis becomes vivid with an evocation of the moment when all things first came into being, the time when »Matter lay / an unformed mass, painted in varied hue, as it brought forth four elements«. These lines attracted the interest of commentators, as we will see in the Vienna gloss on the *Alexandreis*. Before turning to that particular gloss, it may be helpful to provide an overview of the rich commentary tradition on Walter's epic poem. Commentaries on the *Alexandreis* are often marginal or interlinear, with page layout subordinating the gloss to the text, as we would expect. At times – and this is particularly the case in the commentary on the ekphrasis of the tomb of Darius's wife – the gloss is so copious as to overwhelm

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the text. The most abundant gloss of this passage is a free-standing version found in a mid-14th-century manuscript (1359) written in the Benedictine abbey of St. Jacques at Liège, now in the British Library (BL Add. 18217), which has been edited by David Townsend.[9] Unusually, that gloss subordinates the text, placing the glossed line below – not above – the commentary. The following paragraphs explore a different commentary, that is, the glosses of the Vienna manuscript (Österreichische Nationalbiliothek, MS 568), dated to the late 13th century, which was edited by Marvin Colker as a supplement to his edition of the poem. (Colker does not reproduce any of the glossed manuscripts in full, instead just selecting noteworthy portions.)

In this commentary, we find an explication of the »four elements« that is in keeping with the high medieval preoccupation with how to reconcile Genesis and *Timaeus*. The quotation from Bernardus Silvestris that appears a bit later in the same passage affirms this, offering an account of creation that draws upon natural philosophy rather than scriptural text. The nature of prime matter or »hyle« is explained, as well as the four elements and their qualities, listed in a schematic form:

> PARIENS YLE QUATVOR ELEMENTA Yle dicitur parere quatuor elementa, quod facile est uidere in singulis: terra enim est frigida et sicca, aer calidus et humidus. Accipiamus ergo frigidum de terra et humidum de aere, fit aqua, et sic de omnibus aliis:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Ignis | calidus et siccus |
> | Aer | calidus et humidus |
> | Aqua | frigida et humida |
> | Terra | frigida et sicca |
>
> VARIO COLORE id est colorum uarietate. Ignis enim noscibilis est ex rubore, aer a candore, aqua a uirore, terra [a] nigredine, et quod huiusmodi colorem habeant uidere facit arcus celi, qui singulorum elementorum proprietatibus informatur. Yle interpretatur silua quia sicut ex ligno et arbore diuerse possunt fieri materie, sic ex yle diuerse et multe creature diuise sunt et separate, unde Bernhardus Siluester … (Colker, 41)
>
> FOUR ELEMENTS. *Hyle* is said to bring forth four elements, which is easily understood in its specifics: for earth is cold and dry, air hot and moist.

9 David Townsend (ed.), *An Epitome of Biblical History: Glosses on Walter of Châtillon's Alexandreis 4.176-274, edited from London, British Library, MS. Additional 18217*, Toronto 2008.

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> And so taking cold from the earth and moist from the air, water is produced, and so in regard to all the rest:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Fire | hot and dry |
> | Air | hot and moist |
> | Water | cold and moist |
> | Earth | cold and dry |
>
> (Townsend, 95n1)

> IN VARIED HUE. That is, of many colors. For we recognize fire by its redness, air by its whiteness, water by its greenness, and earth by its blackness. The fact that they have these colours makes the rainbow visible, which is informed by the properties of each of the elements. *Hyle* means ›timber‹, since just as different materials can be made from limbs of trees, so from *hyle* many creatures are divided and separated, whence Bernard Silvester … (Townsend, 95n2)

The schematic, even numerical quality we see here is striking: the four elements brought forth by *hyle* are named, and then they are folded outward or expanded to reveal their interlinked and complementary qualities – fire, hot and dry; air, hot and moist; water, cold and moist; earth, cold and dry. The following gloss of »in varied hue« further elaborates this schematic system by associating each element with its color: »we recognize fire by its redness, air by its whiteness, water by its greenness, and earth by its blackness.« This diversity, in turn, leads to unity, in the form of the rainbow.

The closing lines of the ekphrasis of the tomb of Darius's wife also open themselves up to a numerical – even schematic or diagrammatic – explication in the commentary:

> Ezechiel post captam a gentibus urbem
> se uidisse refert clausam per secula portam,
> scilicet intactae designans uirginis aluum,
> ›Occidetur‹ ait Daniel ›post septuaginta
> ebdomadas Christus‹, uatum bissena secuntur
> nomina cum titulis et in unum consona dicta.
> Vltima pars regnum Cyri populisque regressum
> sub duce Zorobabel habet. hic reparatio temple
> pingitur. hystoria hic non pretermittitur Hester
> causaque mortis Aman stolidaeque superbia Vasti.
> Hic sedet in tenebris priuatus luce Tobias,
> in castrisque necat Holofernem mascula Iudith,

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totaque picturae series finitur in Esdra.
(Colker, p. 103, 4.262-274)

Ezechiel,
after the Gentiles take the city captive,
reveals his vision of a long-closed gate,
which signifies the virgin's untouched womb.
And Daniel prophesies Christ will be slain
after seventy weeks. Names of twelve seers
come next, inscribed each with a prophecy
his own, and yet concordant with the rest.
The last part represents great Cyrus' kingdom
And Israel's return: Zorababel
leads them. The Temple's restoration here
is painted. Here the story of Esther
is shown forth and the cause of Haman's death
and foolish Vashti's haughtiness. Here sits
Tobias in the darkness robbed of sight.
The manly Judith strikes down Holofernes
while with Ezra the picture's sequence ends.
(Townsend, p. 99, 4.326-342)

The number of weeks (70) and the number of seers (12) recalls for us the similar emphasis on number in the closing lines of the description of Darius's own tomb, which was described above: there, the »sum of years« was enumerated, broken down into its constituent parts. Here, the figures are instead in the service of a typological numerology that foreshadows the life of Christ, as Daniel foresees the »seventy weeks« preceding the Crucifixion, and the »twelve seers« foreshadow the twelve apostles. More specifically, this allusion to »seventy weeks« refers to an enigmatic prophecy that appears in chapter 9 of the book of Daniel: there, Daniel reads the passage in the book of Jeremiah where the destruction of Jerusalem is mourned (Jeremiah 29:10; 25:11-12). Lamenting, Daniel is comforted by the angel Gabriel, who reveals the hidden meaning of Jeremiah's words; Christian readers of the so-called »Old Testament« would understand this revelation as a prophetic foreshadowing of the life of Christ, with the Temple being restored in the form of the Incarnation, and the Old Law being superseded by the New Law of the enfleshed Word.

Significantly, the prophecy of Daniel takes place under the reign of Darius, the same king of the Persians whose tomb is described later in the poem, in book 7. The closing lines of the ekphrasis of the tomb of Darius's wife thus serve as a textual nexus, where the secular history of *translatio imperii* (in which power

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moves from Darius to Alexander, and from Persia to Macedonia) is matched up with the salvation history of the Old Testament. In other words, the typological relationship of Old Law and New Law, temple of stone and Temple of flesh, is lined up with the Orosian relationship of imperial passage.

This textual nexus is understood and elaborated by the commentary tradition, which amplifies the account of Old Testament history, drawing upon the cues offered by the textual ekphrases of the tomb of Darius's wife, and gestures forward toward the fulfillment of that pre-Incarnation history in the events narrated in the Gospel. In this supersessionist logic, the moment of ending – emphasized in the last line of the ekphrasis – is of particular importance: »with Ezra the picture's sequence ends«. Commentaries on this line are of particular interest in the way that they use the moment to elaborate the overall structure of the gloss on the tomb. That is, the »ending« of the pictorial sequence is simultaneous with the historical ending – in the sense of fulfillment – in which type gives way to antitype. In the Vienna manuscript, the structure of the ekphrasis is described as an »ordo«, or, as Townsend translates it, a »register«:

> TOTAQVE PICTVRE etc. Hesdra, qui fuit de genere Aaron, legem succensam a Caldeis reparauit nouosque apices litterarum excogitauit, qui faciliores fuerant ad scribendum et ad pronunciandum, et postea uero propheta dictus est. Et hoc est TOTAQUE etc. quasi diceret: ordo regum et patriarcharum finem habet in Hesdra id est in illo propheta qui fuit sub Arthaxerse rege antecessore Darii … Fuit autem hec nobilis, ab Adam descendens longe per patriarchas, per iudices, per reges, et prophetas; et uniuscuiusque ordinis nomina pro racione operum subscripta sunt, primo patriarchum, secondo iudicum, tercio regum, quarto prophetarum secundum quod uisum est supra. (Colker, 422; Vienna MS 568, commentary on 4.474)

> Ezra, who came of the line of Aaron, restored the law burned by the Chaldeans and devised new letters which were easier to write and pronounce, and thereafter he was called a prophet. And here we read THE PICTURE'S SEQUENCE, etc., as if he were to say: the register of kings and patriarchs has its end in Ezra, that is, in the prophet who lived under King Artaxerxes, the predecessor of Darius … Moreover, this woman was noble, descending from Adam by a long line through the patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets; and the names of each order are recorded, first the patriarchs, second the judges, third the kings, fourth the prophets, as can be seen above. (Townsend, 99-100n8)

Note the linear, almost diagrammatic quality of this account of »the picture's sequence«, which places the names in order, and sorts them by category – patri-

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archs, judges, kings, and prophets. Interestingly, another manuscript (London, British Library, Add. MS 23891) glosses this passage differently, also emphasizing the orderly and diagrammatic quality of the tomb ekphrasis, but sorting it into five parts instead of four:

> The tomb was decorated in five zones. In the first was the order of the patriarchs, as we see in the passage where he says THE SEQUENCE OF THE PATRIARCHS. In the second was contained the stories which are in Exodus, as evident in the passage HERE EGYPT GRIEVES. In the third, the order of judges, as evident in the passage THE JUDGES' RULE. In the fourth zone, the order of kings, as we see in the passage A NEW DIVISION. And in the fifth and last, the order of the prophets, as we see in the passage THE PROPHETS' IMAGES. Hence the verses, »Apelles' tomb stands pictured in five bands – first patriarchs, then Exodus here stands. The third the judges' deeds, the fourth the kings; the prophets then come last of all these things.« (Townsend, 100n8)

Again, we have an orderly list of names, and a series of categories, but where the Vienna manuscript offered four categories, this manuscript offers five: patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets, as in the Vienna manuscript, but also, in the second »zone«, »the stories which are in Exodus«. What can we infer from this variation? First, we can see that these two glosses share an impulse to categorize, to stress the orderly qualities of the tomb ekphrasis. But the two do not appear to be directly related, suggesting that the impulse to emphasize the diagrammatic quality of the ekphrasis is shared across commentators, not specific to any one part of the tradition. Second, in the five zones of the second commentary, with the additional layer devoted to »the stories« of Exodus, we see an enhanced emphasis on the textual abundance called forth by ekphrasis. The reader is invited by the commentator to flesh out their understanding of the meaning of the passage by drawing upon other texts, weaving them together into a rich historical account which is both secular and sacred, vivid and memorable.

As we have seen, the commentaries on the *Alexandreis* are a rich source of information on medieval reading practices, and especially interpretive practices. They not only reveal how medieval readers unpacked the works they read, but also offer us insights into the texts they gloss. The supersessionist logic of the *Alexandreis*, which yokes together the secular history of *translatio imperii* with the typological history of scripture, is made more explicit by the glosses on the *Alexandreis*. Seemingly small details, like Walter of Châtillon's unique description of the tombs' craftsman as »the Jew Apelles«, are illuminated by this closer look at how »Old Testament« history underlies the temporality of the text as a whole. The craftsmanship of the Jewish artist is fulfilled and superseded by

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the narration of the Christian author, just as the narration of Jewish history on the tomb of Darius's wife is fulfilled and surpassed by the account of empire emblematized, in word and in image, on the monumental tomb of Darius. The prophecy of Daniel, and the figure of Alexander, is what draws together these two historical timelines.

The two tombs of the *Alexandreis*, like the monuments found so often in siege poetry, serve to crystallize time in a single transformative moment, offering a pause in the temporal flow. The ekphrastic description slows down the reader, offering an overwhelming profusion of visual detail, ordered in a memorable, systematic way. The avid glossing carried out on these passages by medieval commentators offers evidence of how rich medieval readers found such ekphrastic monuments to be, and offers us, as modern readers, additional ways to discover what medieval people thought about periodization, and how they understood their own place in time.

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Jennifer Gerber

About Form and Function of German Vernacular Commentaries

I) Introduction

Only canonical texts written by authorities have normally been subject to commentary, as the articles attempting to define commentary by Jan Assmann, Burkhard Gladigow, and Glenn W. Most have shown. Changes to these texts are precluded by their authority and foundational status, and so modifications, modernizations, and reinterpretations can only be added through commentary.[1] While canonical and legal texts in the vernacular do possess this authority, the case appears quite different for non-canonical texts like romances. According to Joachim Bumke and Franz Josef Worstbrock, premodern text production is based on retelling and re-textualization.[2] That premodern text production tends to revise their template already shows that such texts do not create the necessary authority.[3] Following Assmann, Gladigow, and Most, it could be concluded at first that a retold or re-textualized text should not be suitable for commenting. However, if we consider the previous research on premodern vernacular romances, it identifies such factors as narrators, figures, illustrations, actions of individual characters or the genesis of the narration which do have a commentarial dimension.

Overall, vernacular commentaries are based on the Latin school commentaries and represent early forms of commentaries on and in literature.[4] While ver-

1 Jan Assmann, »Text und Kommentar. Einführung«, in: id. and Burkhard Gladigow (eds.), *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie einer literarischen Kommunikation*, München 1995, pp. 9-35, here p. 13; Glenn W. Most, »Preface«, in: id. (ed.), *Commentaries – Kommentare*, Göttingen 1999, pp. V-XV, here p. VIII.

2 Joachim Bumke, »Retextualisierungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur, besonders in der höfischen Epik«, in: id. and Ursula Peters (eds.), *Retextualisierungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Berlin 2005, pp. 6-46; Franz Josef Worstbrock, »Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen«, in: id. (ed.), *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit. Übergänge, Umbrüche, Neuansätze*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 128-142.

3 Cf. Joachim Bumke, »Autor und Werk. Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur höfischen Epik (ausgehend von der Donaueschinger Parzivalhandschrift G^{d})«, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997) Sonderheft, pp. 87-114, here p. 103.

4 Christoph Huber, »Formen des poetischen Kommentars in der mittelalterlichen Literatur«, in: Most (ed.), (as note 1), pp. 323-352, here p. 327.

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nacular glosses, especially Old High German glosses and the ›Buch'sche Glosse‹ to the *Sachsenspiegel* are well investigated[5], fewer academic contributions deal with commentaries on or in poetical texts. Included in this assessment are the volumes edited by Assmann and Gladigow, *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie einer literarischen Kommunikation*[6], published in 1995, and Glenn W. Most, *Commentaries – Kommentar*[7], published in 1999. Both publications contain only two contributions on Middle High German commentaries and their practices in total. While the contribution of Walter Haug[8] that deals with exegetical interpretations of clerical or mystical texts fits into the broad field of vernacular gloss-research, only Christoph Huber deals with so called ›poetical commentaries‹.[9]

Even if there are only a few contributions, they consider various concepts that count as commenting, and I will present a critical overview of approaches with respect to these concepts. For this purpose, exemplary contributions which are dedicated to the narrator's commentary (Huber, Nellmann, Linden, Völkel)[10], commenting as a concept of retelling (Zumthor, Huber, Hausmann, Baisch) [11] and illustrations as commentary (Baisch and Manuwald)[12] will be examined.

5 See the foundational work by Rolf Bergmann and Stefanie Stricker, *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin 2009; Bernd Kannowski, *Die Umgestaltung des Sachsenspiegelrechts durch die Buch'sche Glosse*, Hannover 2007.

6 Jan Assmann and Burkhard Gladigow, *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie einer literarischen Kommunikation*, München 1995.

7 Most (ed.), (as note 1).

8 Walter Haug, »Der Kommentar und sein Subjekt. Grundpositionen der exegetischen Kommentierung in Spätantike und Mittelalter: Tertullian, Hohelied-Mystik und Meister Eckhart«, in: Assmann and Gladigow (as note 6), pp. 333-354.

9 Huber (as note 4), pp. 323-352.

10 Ibid.; Eberhard Nellmann, *Wolframs Erzähltechnik. Untersuchungen zur Funktion des Erzählers*, Wiesbaden 1973; Sandra Linden, *Exkurse im höfischen Roman*, Wiesbaden 2017; Carola Völkel, *Der Erzähler im spätmittelalterlichen Roman*, Frankfurt a. M. 1978.

11 Paul Zumthor, »La glose créatrice«, in: Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani and Michel Plaisance (eds.), *Les commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire*, Paris 1990, pp. 11-18; Huber (as note 4); Albrecht Hausmann, »Stil als Kommentar. Zur inhaltlichen Funktion des sprachlichen Klangs in Gottfrieds von Straßburg *Tristan*«, in: Elisabeth Andersen, Ricarda Bauschke-Hartung et al. (eds.), *Literarischer Stil. Mittelalterliche Dichtung zwischen Konvention und Innovation*, Berlin, Boston 2015, pp. 205-226; Martin Baisch, *Textkritik als Problem der Kulturwissenschaft. Tristan-Lektüren*, Berlin, New York 2006.

12 Ibid.; Henrike Manuwald: *Medialer Dialog. Die ›Große Bilderhandschrift‹ des ›Willehalm‹ Wolframs von Eschenbach und ihre Kontexte*, Tübingen 2008; Id., »Der Autor als Erzähler? Das Bild der Ich-Figur in der ›Großen Bilderhandschrift‹ des *Willehalm* Wolframs von Eschenbach«, in: Gerald Kampfhammer, Wolf-Dietrich Löhr, and Barbara Nitsche (eds.), *Autorbilder. Zur Medialität literarischer Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Münster 2007, pp. 63-92.

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The focus will be on the formal determination and the advantages of a formal definition of commentary as well as the possible interplay of form and function.[13]

II) Poetical Commentary

Most's anthology *Commentaries – Kommentar* includes a contribution by Christoph Huber on the *poetical* commentary of vernacular texts of the Middle Ages. Huber defines commentary itself as a translation or transcoding which generates meaning by the commentator and understanding by the listener.[14] Under the concept of ›poetical commentary‹, Huber assembles commentaries that are part of literary texts and have an explanatory influence on them. A more precise definition helps us to understand at least two out of the three aspects on which Huber focuses. First, those commentaries should use the same poetical-literal technique as the primary texts. That means, poetical commentaries use the same meters and rhymes as their reference texts.[15] The second aspect is that the poetical commentary often refers to another earlier literary text[16] and because of their textual interweaving, these commentaries cannot be removed from the text.

In his analysis, Huber presents various forms of poetical commentary in various genres. One of Huber's examples which I will examine is Otfrid von Weißenburg's *Evangelienbuch*. Otfrid is the first Old High German poet of the 9th century known by name.[17] The text is part of the so-called ›Bibelepen‹, which deal with biblical content in the vernacular. These ›Bibelepen‹ are not to be confused with Bible translations, but are rather narrative adaptations of biblical scenes.[18] When Huber writes about Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch,* he describes three levels of commenting the biblical text.[19] For Huber, the first level is the structure of the text.

13 Unfortunately, due to the abundance of papers to be covered here and the limited scope of this paper this will not be the place for a detailed analysis of the various research opinions that deal with the examples of the primary texts as well. I will therefore refer primarily to the authors mentioned. For more detailed discussions I would like to refer to the contributions I have discussed as examples.

14 Huber (as note 4), p. 324.

15 Ibid., p. 326 f.: »[…] die poetisch-literarischen Verfahren, die sonst für die Dichtung der Primärtexte zur Verfügung stehen.«

16 Ibid., p. 327.

17 Cf. Werner Schröder, »Art. Otfrid von Weißenburg«, in: *Verfasserlexikon. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* 7, ed. by Kurth Ruh, Gundolf Keil, Werner Schröder, Burghart Wachinger, Franz Joseph Worstbrock, Berlin, New York 2010^{2}, col. 173.

18 Cf. Dieter Kartschorke, »Art. Bibelepik«, in: *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*. Neubearbeitung des Reallexikons der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, ed. by Klaus Weimar, Berlin, New York 2007, col. 218-221.

19 Huber (as note 4), p. 329.

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Across five books, Otfrid presents a selection of biblical scenes to the recipient. The five books are divided into various chapters, marked with Latin headings. The second level relates to exegetical chapters, with which Otfrid enriches and interprets his own text. These chapters, although being mainly explicative, also meet the requirements Huber indicates in his aspects and definition of poetical commentary: They have the same metric shape as the narrative chapters and, of course, they refer to earlier texts. In the case of the exegetical chapters of the *Evangelienbuch* they refer to Alcuin, among other authors.[20] The third level, Otfrid's literary self-reflection, relates to Huber's defining aspects, and like the exegeses, is divided into separate chapters. The content of those chapters, for example, the four dedications in Latin and German, also fit with the aesthetic of the narrative chapters.[21] While levels two and three fit very well into Huber's above-named two aspects of the poetical commentary, the first level is a bit more difficult. The structure of the text selection into five chapters, which are always introduced by Latin headings, represent interventions in the text, which speak to a sense-order desired by the writer and probably contribute to the better understanding of the recipient or even simplify the development of the text. In this sense, according to Huber's definition of commentary, the organization into a single chapter would be a commentary. Paul Zumthor in particular also argues that the process of retelling and dealing with the template in various ways includes the commenting of a text. Furthermore, he assumes that writing, in the sense of re-textualization and intertextual connections, arises from the will to comment.[22] According to Zumthor, self-referential commentaries are always part of the text.[23] All in all, it seems questionable whether the structure or headlines of a text form a commentary or rather ought to belong to the pragmatics of the text. Although, as Gérard Genette notes, there may be an overlap between paratext and metatext, through which the paratext approaches the metatext and thus takes on a commenting function[24], this overlapping, in my opinion, should not be accepted in principle: Each paratext should first be checked for its function as metatext and commentary.

Overall Otfrid's *Evangelinenbuch* presents itself as a very good example of poetical commentary, as the exegetical chapters always refer to the narrative chapters in an autoreferential manner, and explicitly identify themselves as exegetical methods.

20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., p. 330.
22 Zumthor (as note 11), p. 14.
23 Ibid., p. 16.
24 Gérard Genette, *Palimpseste. Literatur auf zweiter Stufe*, trs. by Wolfram Bayer and Dieter Hornig, Frankfurt a. M. 2015, p. 18.

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In his analysis, Huber also turns to the courtly romance, at which I would also like to take a closer look. Commentaries provided by a narrator, which Huber examines, are different from the commentaries in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, because they are not obviously marked by explicitly named exegetical chapters or anything similar.

Overall, Huber understands the narrator as a commentator and a mediator: When he departs from the story, as for instance to comment on the plot, he interrupts the coherent structure of the narrative.[25] The narrator of the Arthurian romance *Iwein* by Hartmann von Aue provides a good example. Here, the narrator describes a fight between two knights, yet interrupts the description as he says:

> ich machte des strîtes harte vil,
> mit worten, wan daz ichn wil,
> als ich iu bescheide.
> sî wâren dâ beide,
> unde ouch nieman mê
> der mir der rede gestê.
> Spræche ich, sît ez nieman sach,
> wie dirre sluoc, wie jener stach?[26]

By changing the past tense into the present tense, he breaks the coherent structure of the plot, while reflecting on his narrative template.

Again, following Zumthor, Huber includes the retelling of a template text as part of the main process of commenting. Viewing retelling as simultaneously commentating reveals occasionally open and concealed commentaries that refer to the template.[27] His example of Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneasroman* shows both forms. Here, the narrator often directly refers to his template text of Vergil, when he says:

> Virgilîûs der mâre,
> der saget uns, daz her wâre
> von der gote geslehte
> geboren mit rehte […][28]

25 Huber (as note 4), p. 343.

26 Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*, ed. and trs. by Volker Mertens, Frankfurt a. M. 2008, vv. 1029-1036. – »I could describe the fight with many words, but I will not as I tell you: There were only the two and no one else who could tell me about the fight. How should I tell how one hit and the other stabbed?«

27 Huber (as note 4), p. 342.

28 Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneasroman*, ed. and trs. by Dieter Kartschoke, Stuttgart 1997, vv. 18, 11-14. – »Vergil told us that he was born from the gods.«

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In addition to these open and obvious commentaries that refer to the template, Huber argues, with regard to indirect quotations in Heinrich's text of the Vergil-Commentary by Servius, that Heinrich *qua* narrator understands himself as a critical poet, who tries to substantiate the historical claim of his text.[29] Here, the concealed poetical commentary is given by Eneas himself: When he reports to Dido's court about the Greek found on the beach by the people of Troy who calls himself Sinûn, Eneas comments on his own report by telling Dido that Sinûn's real name was Ulixes (vv. 45, 36 f.).[30] In contrast to the open commentary, this style of commenting is not obviously demarcated linguistically, but rather by the break with the coherent structure of the plot; Eneas introduces knowledge that was not yet available at this point of his story, but is indeed only retrospectively available. However, it is, in my opinion, problematic that Huber treats the narrator's commentaries and commentaries given by figures of the narration in the same way: That Eneas cannot explicitly give a commentary on Servius, who comments on Eneas' history, among others, is evident. Rather, I believe Huber is dealing here with two different forms of commenting. Especially against the background of the historical claim of the text, which Huber sees in Heinrich's commentaries, narrator's and figure's commentaries have to be analyzed separately: What is part of the history of Troy material for the narrator, is for Eneas, as a figure, empirical knowledge.

In Arthurian romance, Huber detects a new quality of the poetical commentary.[31] The commentary refers to its material, but it also relates to the narrative itself. For example, Chrétien's Érec, the protagonist of *Érec et Énide*, the first old French Arthurian romance, is compared to Absalom, Salomon, a lion and Alexander to illustrate his beauty, wisdom, bravery and generosity:

Or fu Érec de tel renon
Qu' an ne parloit se de lui non;
Nus hom n'avoit se boene grace
Qu'il sanbloit Ausalon de face
Et de la lengue Salemon,
Et de fierté sanbla lyon,
et de doner et de despandre
refu il parauz Alixandre.[32]

29 Huber (as note 4), p. 343.
30 Ibid., p. 342.
31 Ibid., p. 343.
32 Chrétien de Troyes, *Érec et Énide*, trs. and ed. by Albert Glier, Stuttgart 1987, vv. 2207-2214 – »Érec had so high reputations, everyone was only talking about him; no one had such excellent qualities as he. He seemed as beautiful as Absalom and eloquent as Salomon, brave as a lion and resembled Alexander in donating and giving.«

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Here, Huber detects a commentary in the form of a literary quotation, which is intended to embed the figure into ancient contexts.[33] While function of a possible commentary is present, the coherent structure of the plot is not broken because the recipient is only told what the other figures can see in Érec. In contrast to the above-mentioned examples of the *Eneasroman* there does not appear to be any formal indication to understand this passage as a commentary. Also, Huber's definition of literary quotations is not explicit. Here I see an intertextual link rather than a quotation. Furthermore, it seems questionable to me to open the commentary to such an extent that even physical and psychological comparisons between characters may be understood as commentary. They do not so much explain and interpret as they paint a picture of the figure. I would like to illustrate this problem briefly with the self-chosen example of Hartmann von Aue's *Der arme Heinrich*.[34] *Der arme Heinrich* is a courtly novella with legendary elements. In a few introductory lines, it tells about the virtuous and brilliant life of the knight Heinrich. At the peak of his life, Heinrich falls ill from leprosy and is excluded from society. During the story, a young girl establishes herself as Heinrich's rescuer. Her blood can cure him of his suffering. A short time before the girl would have died for him, Heinrich sees her flawless naked body and realizes that if God wants him to suffer and die, he should not try to change his fate. With this realization, Heinrich is cured by a miracle not further explained in the text and is integrated back into society. In the description of Heinrich, the narrator tells us that Heinrich is like Absalom. Just like Absalom's secular crown fell to his feet, so did Heinrich's:

An im wart erzeiget,
als ouch an Absalône,
daz diu üppige krône
werltlîcher süeze
vellet under vüeze
ab ir besten werdekeit,
als uns diu schrift hât geseit.[35]

A few verses after that comparison, Heinrich is compared to Job:

Als ouch Jôbe geschach,
dem edeln und dem rîchen,

33 Huber (as note 4), p. 344.

34 Hartmann von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*, ed. by Nathanael Busch, Stuttgart 2015.

35 Ibid., vv. 84-90 – »By him was shown, as well as by Absalom, that the luxurious crown of worldly sweetness falls down to the feet while it's at its highest dignity, as the story told us.«

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der ouch vil jæmerlîchen
dem miste wart ze teile
mitten in sînem heile.[36]

In the first line, we can understand these literary quotations, like Huber does for Chrétien's É*rec,* as an attempt to embed the character into a biblical context. But if these two comparisons to Heinrich are interpreted in this way, as commentaries on his life and his suffering, there would be two opposing reading directions: The Job parable would suggest suffering as a test for Heinrich's secular life, while the Absalom parable would suggest a punishment. Instead of an explicit interpretation, a poetical commentary thus leads to confusion about the stance of the text in this crucial matter. Even if some commentaries intend to puzzle the reader, two such contradictory interpretations seem questionable to me, especially if we want to consider the text as fulfilling a didactic function.

The examples of *Érec et Énide* and *Der Arme Heinrich* show two methodological problems. Both supposed commentaries on Érec and Heinrich are not marked explicitly by any gesture that calls attention to an explanation or something similar. Furthermore, the Heinrich example shows that the intertextual links to Job and Absalom would not have precisely the same function as a commentary. In my opinion, only an explicit marker on a formal level would give reason to think of these passages as commentaries. While Huber's concept of poetical commentaries including their own possible aesthetic is very interesting, his definitions are, all things considered, problematic on a formal and methodological level.

III) Narrator's Commentary and Digression

Besides commentaries, narrators of courtly romances can also embark on digressions which present to the audience some general knowledge, as an author named Der Pleier did in his late Arthurian romance *Meleranz*. He describes some gemstones that are shaped like Venus and Cupid. His short digression to the attributes of Venus and Cupid starts for example with […] *da by bekannt / was* […] (vv. 664 f.).[37] However, the research of Carola Völkel, among others, shows how thin the line between narrator commentary and digression really is. In her description of the narrators in various courtly romances, Völkel uses the term digression as seemingly synonymous with commentary. Although during

36 Ibid., vv. 128-132 – »It was the same with the noble and rich Hiob. As Hiob, the noble and rich, who fell from his fortune into the filth as well.«

37 Meleranz von Frankreich, *Der Meleranz des Pleier*, nach der Karlsruher Handschrift, Edition – Untersuchung Stellenkommentar, ed. by Markus Steffen, Berlin 2011 – »as was known.«

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the course of her work she tends to separate the two terms, she does not go into detail about the differences.[38] It turns out that even the supposedly clear demarcation of a narrator's commentary through a specific narrative attitude, such as referring to his own narration (cf. the above mentioned example of Hartmann's *Iwein*), the use of apostrophe, or by breaking with the coherent structure of the text by changing the tense, continues to cause difficulties.

Sandra Linden has recently addressed the question of digressions in courtly romance. In this context, she sees commentaries as germ-cells of digressions. Commentary and digression are accordingly so closely interwoven that Linden derives the function of the digression from the function of the commentary. The functions are correspondingly closely related: The digression sets its own literary impulses and drives the action forward, while the commentary only explains.[39] But the question of how commentaries can be distinguished from digressions in courtly romance while their function is so similar remains open. Furthermore, Linden emphasizes that digression and commentary are themselves not clearly distinguishable from self-reflexive passages and can digress as well.[40] It also remains an open question at what point commentary and digression are considered as digressive and thus open to more general reflections. Because of this uncertainty, the line between the narrator's commentary and digression seems to me hard to draw. Distinguishing between the two would have great relevance for the courtly romance, however, because in contrast to digressions, the very presence of commentaries may mark passages of the narration itself as important or critical. By commenting passages, the narrator could guide the attention and change the perspective of how the audience will understand those passages and perhaps even the whole text. Those changed perspectives could be very important for Medieval German Studies because they clearly impact the reading of the texts. While Linden's categories give, with a view to digressions, a more explicit idea of a formal definition than Huber's, they show that only a functional definition of commentary (and digression) is possible. However, an explicitly formulated formal definition would be needed as well.

Narrators in courtly romance in general, and therefore also the commentarial dimension of their interventions, are insufficiently researched despite their regular occurrence. Only a few works on the narrator in the courtly novel discuss commentary as part of the narrator's many expressions.[41] Moreover, it is noticeable

38 Völkel (as note 10), pp. 68 ff.

39 Linden (as note 10), p. 28.

40 Ibid., p. 27.

41 Uwe Pörksen, *Der Erzähler im mittelhochdeutschen Epos. Formen seines Hervortretens bei Lamprecht, Konrad, Hartmann, in Wolframs ›Willehalm‹ und in den »Spielmannsepen«*, Berlin 1971; Ursula Kuttner, *Das Erzählen des Erzählten. Eine Studie zum Stil in Hartmanns ›Erec‹ und*

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that the form and function of the narrator's commentary is often only questioned very superficially. Even if the narrator's commentary is often part of literary elaborations, scholarly literature, except for that of Huber and Linden, rarely deals with theory or even the practices of commentary with regard to courtly novels.

Eberhard Nellmann's book on the function of the narrator in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* is one of the few early works which included an analysis of narratorial commentary and outlined what kinds of special meanings Wolfram's form of narratorial commentary has for the whole text. Nellmann rightly reflects that the definition of commentary could be ambiguous and could be related to almost all interventions of the narrator in the text.[42] However, he uses a narrower definition of commentary. For his analysis, he only uses commentaries that interpret or teach. Nellmann does not elaborate on a formal definition of the commentaries, insofar as he only includes commentaries by the narrator and not those by characters. Thus, in contrast to Huber, he separates the level of narration from the level of the narrator and commentaries.[43] Nellmann divides the narrator's commentaries into various functions: The factual explanation, defense, and criticism of action and figures, and guesses.[44] Additionally, he works out a kind of ›special form‹ of Wolfram's commentaries: The defense and criticism of the action and of the protagonist are very often inserted either in parallel or in contrast to the environment of the narrator himself or the present time of his audience. In the case of parallels, Wolfram uses comparison, such as equating characters with historical figures or even with the narrator himself.[45] At the same time, however, commentaries can also express increased or decreased value of the diegetic vis-a-vis the real world.[46] Thus, narratorial commentaries may cast the present time of the audience or the environment of the narrator either as inferior to the diegetic world or vice versa, depending on the context.[47] In my view, Nellmann not only describes commentary and its function in general, but also, and more specifically, Wolfram's commentarial practice. Both the parallelization and the contrast of the diegetic world and the audience's ›reality‹ have an impact on the illusion of reality in the narrative. By making this ›reality‹ a self-evident object of comparison, it seems that both worlds would actually be

›Iwein‹, Bonn 1978; Johannes Frey, *Spielräume des Erzählens. Zur Rolle der Figuren in den Erzählkonzeptionen von ›Yvain‹, ›Îwein‹, ›Ywain›, und ›Ívens saga‹*, Stuttgart 2008; Markus Greulich, *Stimme und Ort. Narratologische Studien zu Heinrich von Veldeke, Hartmann von Aue und Wolfram von Eschenbach,* Berlin 2018.

42 Nellmann (as note 10), p. 129.

43 Cf. Huber (as note 4), pp. 342 ff.; see also above, p. 144.

44 Nellmann (as note 10), pp. 130-140.

45 Ibid., p. 136.

46 Huber (as note 4), p. 137.

47 Ibid.

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comparable to each other. The line between the narration and reality becomes more and more obscure, and the fiction more and more credible.[48] Nellmann argues here at least as much about the *discourse* level as about the *histoire* level. In other words, he sees the function of the commentary both on the level of its content and on its form. So, it seems to me, not only does the content of the commentary have a function on the text, but also on the form and practice of commenting.

Nellmann interprets references to the narrator in *Parzival* as happening in service of the amusement of the audience. According to Nellmann, as the narrator repeatedly presents himself as mediocre and average, and compares himself to the ideal world of the romance, a tension arises for the depicted world, which creates a comic effect.[49] At the same time, the narrator directs the attention of the audience onto his own preferred tracks and can thus distract from other passages. Beyond inserting humourous elements, the narrator here manages once again to move more explicitly into the foreground of the narrative.[50] If in *Parzival* he already tends to stage himself as the ›ruler‹ over the narrative, this kind of comparison offers another possibility for self-expression. In my opinion, through this self-expression, the narrator gains more and more personality and acquires the contours of an anthropomorphic but also a literary figure, who seems to stand almost on the border between the hetero- and the homodiegetic.[51] Furthermore, such findings would be an explicit benefit to subsequent academic explorations of the narrator in pre-modern texts. Nellmann's examples show various functions (general reflections, explanations, defense, critique of characters and their actions and evaluation) of the narrator's commentaries. In particular, the impact of commentarial practices on the text opens up the question of what other possibilities of commenting pre-modern texts might be able to employ and which functions they, in turn, assume for the content of the commentary and the narrative.

48 Nellmann (as note 10), p. 137.
49 Ibid., p. 138.
50 Ibid.
51 Cf. Andreas Kablitz, »Literatur, Fiktion und Erzählung – nebst einem Nachruf auf den Erzähler«, in: Irina O. Rajewsky and Ulrike Schneider (eds.), *Im Zeichen der Fiktion. Aspekte fiktionaler Rede aus historischer und systematischer Sicht. Festschrift für Klaus W. Hempfer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 32-34. – Kablitz assumes that authors and narrators are generally equated. Accordingly, the narrator should not be understood as an anthropomorphic figure. Based on the result described above, however, this assumption does not seem to reach far enough for premodern texts. – Regarding the differences between narrator and author cf. Monika Unzeitig, *Autorname und Autorschaft. Bezeichnung und Konstruktion in der deutschen und französischen Erzählliteratur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, New York 2010; Timo Reuvekamp-Felber, »Autorschaft und Textfunktion. Zur Interdependenz von Erzählerstilisierung, Stoff und Gattung in der Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts«, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 120 (2001), pp. 1-23; Bumke (as note 3).

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What Nellmann calls a ›special form‹ of commentary[52] in Wolfram's *Parzival* can also be found in Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois*.[53] Even though Elisabeth Lienert describes the narrator of *Wigalois* as forming fewer personal contours than the narrator of *Parzival*[54], Wirnt's commentaries and commentarial practices are comparable to Wolfram's on the textual as well as on the formal level. The commentaries of Wirnt's narrator go even one step beyond Wolfram's. After Wigalois killed the pagan Roaz and freed the land Korntin, Roaz' wife Japhite dies from a broken heart. The entourage of Roaz and Japhite falls into deep grief. The narrator reports that there were 40 women in deep mourning and woe (vv. 8058-8060). With this, the report of the narrator ends, and he begins, so he claims, with a true story. This passage is a short report about the funeral of the prince of Meranien, at which the narrator was present. On this occasion, women also displayed deep sadness. The narrator ends with an intercession on behalf of the mourners to relieve their pain and to take care of them (vv. 8091-8093). The report of the true story is translated back into the action by the narrator explicitly picking up the storyline again: *nu wil ich an die rede mîn / wider grîfen dâ ich si lie*.[55] The coherence of the text is broken on a formal and textual level. The narrator's report about the mourning women in the story world of *Wigalois* is told in the past tense, just as the rest of the narrated action. The step into the reality of the narrator, however, is introduced by the present tense (even if the event is told in past tense). The same applies to the transition back to the plot. The narrator says that he intends to speak about an event at which he was present. The formal level of the change of tense corresponds here with the content: While the fictitious world is described in the past tense, the change to the present tense marks the change to the narrator's presence. In his report, the narrator formulates a direct comparison with the unspecified historical event of the burial of the Prince of Meranien and his environment, for he was part of the event:

ich wil gelichen dirre nôt
eines vil edeln vürsten tot
von Merân, dâ ich jâmer sach.[56]

52 Nellmann (as note 10), p. 136.

53 Wirnt von Grafenberg, *Wigalois*, ed. and trs. by Sabine Seelbach and Ulrich Seelbach, Berlin, Boston 2014.

54 Elisabeth Lienert, »Zur Pragmatik höfischen Erzählens. Erzähler und Erzählerkommentar in Wirnts von Grafenberg *Wigalois*«, in: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 234 (1997), pp. 263-275, here p. 265.

55 Wirnt von Grafenberg (as note 53) vv. 8094 f. – »Now I want to pick up my story where I left it.«

56 Ibid., vv. 8062-8064 – »I want to compare their distress with the death of the prince of Meranien, where I saw grief.«

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As in the *Parzival*, the comparison requires putting fiction and history on the same level. The lines between the fictional and the real world are thus not only blurred but almost eliminated on the content level. The result is the illusion of reality described by Nellmann. This is explicitly demonstrated by the fact that the narrator speaks for the characters of the romance. Although narrators often show empathy for their characters[57], here, they are so closely linked with the reality of the narrator that the impression arises that the intercession, recited in the narrator's presence, can actually help the mourning women. Thus, the narrator also undermines the line between homo- and heterodiegetic narration, which he had established previously. Through this, the position of the narrator in the narration as an anthropomorphic and/or literary figure is also affected. Based on these results, Lienert's thesis that commentaries are not referring to the narrative, but only addressed to the audience[58], cannot be confirmed or must at least be qualified.

The examples from Wolfram's *Parzival* and Wirnt's *Wigalois* show that besides the question of the function of the commentary content, questions should also be asked about its formal appearance and its function for the content and the reference texts. Only through the combination of a specific commentarial practice and the content of the commentary can the commentarial dimension of a narrator's intervention be discerned, and its special significance be seen. The formal aspect of a narrator's commentaries is thus a non-negligible factor and must always be the subject of reflection. However, this requires a much narrower definition of the commentary concept, which also takes into account the formal aspects.

4) Allusion and Abridged Version as Commentary in the *Tristanroman*

The work of Albrecht Hausmann can be considered as another example of a very broad commentary concept. At the same time, Haumann's concept illustrates how important a narrower formal definition would be.

In his discussion of Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristanroman*[59], Hausmann identifies the linguistic style and the sound of the spoken text as commentary,

57 Cf. Lena Zudrell, »Was fühlen Erzähler?«, in: Cora Dietl, Christoph Schanze, Friedrich Wolfzettel, and Lena Zudrell (eds.), *Emotion und Handlung im Artusroman*, Berlin 2017, pp. 47-62.

58 Lienert (as note 54), p. 274.

59 Gottfried's *Tristan* tells the well-known story of Tristan and Isolde. Isolde is supposed to marry Tristan's uncle Marke. On the crossing from Ireland to Cornwall, Isolde's servant inadvertently gives her and Tristan a love potion that Isolde's mother cooked for Isolde and Marke. This is the beginning of the forbidden and secret love between the two.

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which in part intends to relate the aesthetics and content of the narrative to the unity between Tristan and Isolde.[60] In his article, Hausmann assumes that the content of the text deliberately confuses the recipient in order to portray later events, such as the servant accidentally giving the love potion to Tristan and Isolde, as coincidental.[61] However, through his suggestive narrative, Gottfried's narrator very early on proposes ways of evaluating the plot, so that the randomness later displayed in the narrative can be deemed necessary by the recipient.[62] In addition, the linguistic style, together with the sound of the read or recited text, implicitly creates a unification between Tristan and Isolde, in that the style provides a surplus of meaning to the event.[63] Hausmann gives the following example:

> ein senedære unde ein senedærîn,
> ein man ein wîp, ein wîp ein man,
> Tristan Îsolt, Îsolt Tristan.[64]

Hausmann posits that the doubling of the oppositional pairs like male and female lover, man and woman and Tristan and Isolde cancels the opposition between Tristan and Isolde. He further argues that the chiasmus in the last two verses increases the reading speed and finds its end in Tristan and Isolde's unity as the solution.[65] Hausmann interprets this surplus of meaning as a suggestive commentary.

At first, it is questionable whether allusion and commentary go well together because contrary to commentary, suggestion does not want to be consciously perceived at all. After all, according to Michel Foucault, it is the task of the commentary, »de dire *enfin* ce qui était articulé silencieusement *là-bas«*.[66] Since the commentary here should not be perceived as such, it also cannot be found. Thus, there is no explicit distinction here between aesthetic play and commentary. The problem of demarcating the commentary, as well as its attributability, arises again, because the unity between Tristan and Isolde results in an overall interpretation of the text, whereby it is not sufficiently explicit why only certain passages in the text form this surplus of meaning.

60 Hausmann (as note 11), p. 208.
61 Ibid., p. 209.
62 Ibid., pp. 214 f.
63 Ibid., p. 216.
64 Gottfried von Straßburg, *Tristan*, ed. and trs. by Rüdiger Krohn, Stuttgart 1986, vv. 128-130. – »A (male) lover and a (female) lover, a man and a woman, Tristan Isolde, Isolde Tristan.«
65 Hausmann (as note 11), p. 217.
66 Michel Foucault, *L'ordre du discours*, Paris 1971, p. 27 – »to *finally* say what was already secretly articulated *there*.« – Emphasis in original.

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Another example where the problem of demarcating and assigning alleged commentaries becomes even more explicit can be found in the monograph *Textkritik als Problem der Kulturwissenschaft* by Martin Baisch.[67] The Munich *Tristan* manuscript Cgm 51 – the subject of Baisch's analysis – gained some prominence in earlier medievalist research, because of its elisions in comparison to the text of Gottfried von Straßburg and the continuation of Ulrich von Türheim. The focus of Baisch's investigation lies precisely in these abridged passages, for which he points out that both Gottfried's method of composing meaning and the suspension of this textual level in the tradition can be considered as evidence of a practice of commenting.[68] Comparable to Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, the telling and restructuring or rather reducing of a traditional text is a form of retelling. Baisch thus follows the concept of commentary, described above, favoured by Zumthor and Huber, who already understand the process of retelling as commenting. That means that the reduced passages and especially the absence of the text would be the commentary here.

The illustrations of the manuscript are also considered under the premise that the text's cuts and deletions pursue the goal of harmonizing Gottfried's *Tristan*, in which the conflict between love and society is dissolved.[69] Baisch for example concludes from the illustrations of the ›Minnegrotte‹ that the illustrations, like the cuts in the text, reduce the tensions between love and society.[70] At the same time the relation of text and illustration gives no space for an allegorical exaggeration of the love between Tristan and Isolde[71], which leads to the above mentioned harmonization of the abridged version.

Commentary in the way Baisch describes it would only be recognizable if one knows the elided passages and lines and recognizes their meaning for the text. Similar to Hausmann, the question arises whether a commentary can be a commentary if it runs the risk of not being recognized as such. Of course, the cuts will have made sense for the editor, the only question is whether this can also be recognized and understood by the recipient. Thus widely-used commentaries that are not demarcated and are sometimes very inaccurate in their assignment to the reference point open up a huge field of commentary attributions. Building off Baisch and Huber, it would be possible to interpret every paratext, poetic

67 Baisch (as note 11).

68 Ibid., p. 93. – »[…] sowohl Gottfrieds Verfahren der Sinnmodellierung wie auch die Suspension dieser Textebene [können, note JG] in der Überlieferung als Belege einer Praxis der Kommentierung gelten.«

69 Cf. ibid., pp. 146-306.

70 Ibid., p. 244.

71 Ibid., p. 247.

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concept, bible parable, and even the co-transmissions[72] of a certain text in medieval manuscripts as commentary.

5) Illustrations as Commentary in Eike von Repgow's *Sachsenspiegel* and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*

This section examines how the marking and attributability of illustrations as commentaries can be seen in the examples of the *Sachsenspiegel* and the illuminated manuscript of the *Willehalm* also by Wolfram von Eschenbach.

The *Sachsenspiegel* by Eike von Repgow is the most important German juridical text of the Middle Ages. It is handed down in various manuscripts, which partly include glosses. The glossing of the *Sachsenspiegel* was necessary because it was common law, which was initially distributed only orally and later was translated from Latin into the vernacular.[73] To avoid ambiguity, Eike von Repgow adds examples or illustrations that clarify the oral tradition.[74]

Four manuscripts include such illustrations instead of glosses. The Dresden (D), Heidelberg (H), Oldenburg (O) and Wolfenbüttel (W) manuscripts[75] were written in the 14th century and probably go back to a common manuscript X, which most likely originated in the 13th century.[76] The Dresden manuscript is the one with the most illustrations; 924 illustrations accompany the text on 92 pages. Its gold decoration also makes the codex the most artistically valuable manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel*. Of course, it is possible that these manuscripts were only composed for their exhibition value. The golden decoration of the Dresden manuscript in particular suggests this may be the case, but strong signs of use can be found in the manuscript, just like in the others.[77] At first, illustrations as a whole were understood as help for illiterate people. However, this thesis was rejected, because the illustrations are hardly interpretable without the text. They

72 Co-transmission means, in this context, texts which are repeatedly handed down together in manuscripts.

73 Cf. Heiner Lück, *Über den Sachsenspiegel. Entstehung, Inhalt und Wirkung des Rechtsbuches*, Dößel 2013, p. 19.

74 Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, »Die Bilderhandschriften des Sachsenspiegels und ihre praktische Bedeutung«, in: Dieter Pötschke (ed.), *Rolande, Kaiser und Recht. Zur Rechtsgeschichte des Harzraums und seiner Umgebung*, Berlin 1999, pp. 198-210, here p. 207.

75 Library call numbers: D = Dresden, Landesbibl, Mscr. Dresd. M. 32; H = Heidelberg, Universitätsbibl., Cod. Pal. germ. 164; W = Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 3.1 Aug. fol.; O = Oldenburg, Landesbibl., CIM I 410.

76 Schmidt-Wiegand (as note 74), p. 199.

77 Lück (as note 73), p. 37.

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rather complement, expand, and clarify it.[78] In several ways they seem to work like visual commentaries. The images form a special relation to the text: The columns with illustration are always placed on the left side of the page. The basic structure of the illustrated columns can be divided into two categories: The first category shows one action or a whole process in a single illustration line. The second category shows a whole process in a whole column by stringing single illustration lines together.[79] According to Henrike Manuwald, both categories of illustrations can develop the narrativity of the text.[80] By reading the *Sachsenspiegel* we would start on the left side with the pictures. Because text and illustrations cannot always be at the same height in the layout, every illustration is related to the corresponding text passage with the initial of the beginning of the passage, which is drawn in the illustrated scene. The marking of the illustrations shows that they are more than ornaments. The structure of these references may be conceived as a kind of precursor of our modern footnote apparatus. So, the form of this reference system may remind us of commentaries. But the presentation of the various figures in the illustrations provides additional information about their use: Clothes, headwear, objects and even the gestures of the illustrated figures are only hard to understand without the text. Even if one knows the text, one also must know the social stereotypes and legal gestures which the figures present.

Some illustrations show special figures which reinforce the argument that they may expand the meaning of the text. Some depictions of the law text include figures with more than two arms and hands. These characters can denote more than one action. Two illustrations of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript will clarify the difference between the few illustrations that only present a fact, and those that complement and expand it and so may also become narrative themselves: The passage about hunting rights starts with an explanation of how hunters have to behave in the game preserve.[81] It is said that the hunting dogs must be leashed while the hunter's bow and his crossbow have to be unstretched. This is the same as the illustration shows us. But the text goes on. Also, his quiver has to be covered which is something we cannot see in the illustration. However, the text goes even further. It also tells what is allowed and forbidden outside the

78 A clarification would be, for example, gestures, which clarify the jurisdiction. The illustrations show also by the colour of their cloth which type of judge is needed etc. – Cf. Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog* (as note 12), p. 447 and Schmidt-Wiegand (as note 74), p. 204.

79 Cf. Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog* (as note 12), p. 443.

80 Cf. ibid., pp. 441-446.

81 Wolfenbütteler-Manuscript (as note 75), fol. 40r: http://diglib.hab.de/mss/3-1-aug-2f/start.htm?image=00109 [last accessed 19 September 2019].

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preserve. But this is not part of the illustration.[82] I think it is only an ornament to the text. However, in the case of feudal law, for example, it seems less important to present a picture artfully than it is to make a concrete statement. A look at folio 71r should serve as an example (Fig. 1).[83] First of all, it is noticeable that the text passage and the image are also connected by repeating the initial. In this example, special attention is paid to the different colours of the initial ›s‹. Since three consecutive passages begin with ›s‹, they were written in yellow (or more precisely gold), green, and red to allow for the explicit assignment of the illustration to the text. The illustration with the golden ›s‹, to which I refer, shows three figures. One figure is standing on the left edge of the picture and is provided with a bevor, a helmet, and a sword. He holds wheat stalks in his hands. The figure in the middle wears blue cloth and has four hands, while the figure on the right wears green cloth, a ›Schapel‹[84], has three hands, and is sitting. The faces of the middle and right figures are facing each other. The corresponding text passage describes a part of the feudal law. The following facts and procedures are described: If a lord voluntarily grants his land to a man and he is deprived of his goods, then the lord must provide for the replacement of the goods as long as the man complains about the loss within a specified period. Overall, it is very noticeable that the hands of the acting figures are displayed as quite large and out of proportion. Indeed, the focus here is on the gestures that put the action in the foreground.[85] In the illustration, the feudal lord is presented through the sitting figure on the right side. The figure in the middle is his vassal. That the fiefdom was given voluntarily is clarified by the commendation gesture. For this purpose, the vassal places his folded hands in the hands of the feudal lord. His other arm points to the man on his right side. With this gesture, he first complains about the robbery. As a symbol for the robbery, the left standing figure holds the stalks in his hands. That the vassal has turned his face away from the robber indicates that the offense is in the past. By pulling the cloak of his feudal lord, the vassal urges his lord to refund his fiefdom. In the illustration, the lord responds to the law and replaces the lost fiefdom by pointing to the stalks behind him. The se-

82 The Oldenburger illustration shows instead of the crossbow a falcon on the hunter's arm: (as note 75), fol. 60r: urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-3571 [last accessed 19 September 2019], cf. as well: Eike von Repgow, *Sachenspiegel. Die Wolfenbütteler Bilderhandschrift, Faksimile, Text und Kommentarband*, ed. by Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, Berlin 1993, fol. 40r, p. 215.

83 Wolfenbütteler Manuscript (as note 75), fol. 71r: http://diglib.hab.de/mss/3-1-aug-2f/start.htm?image=00171 [last accessed 19 September 2019].

84 A wreath of metal or flowers worn in the 12th century as headgear.

85 Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog* (as note 12), pp. 430-433; Schmidt-Wiegand (as note 74)presents a catalog with five categories which describe the function of the various illustrations, pp. 208-211.

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veral hands of the two main characters denote the entire process the text passage describes. The gestures refer to the main components of the text. In addition, the illustration expands the text. While the text only talks about the theft of the fiefdom, the illustration shows an armed figure holding the sword upright. This implies that the fief is forcibly taken, something the text does not say. In total, the reference system that connects text and illustration to its content suggests that some illustrations are commentaries. Also, the transmission of the *Sachsenspiegel* gives further reason to understand the illustrations as commentaries: In printed editions of the 16th century, these kinds of illustrations disappear and are once again replaced with a gloss; these editions only include small wood engravings to introduce the chapters.[86]

If one looks at the illustrations of the so-called ›Große Bilderhandschrift‹[87] of the *Willehalm* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, one will see several similarities in the type of presentation, which suggest a connection to the *Sachsenspiegel*. The GB was conceived around 1270/75 in Quedlinburg/ Halberstadt.[88] As in the *Sachsenspiegel*, the pages are evenly divided between text and illustration. The illustrations are always placed on the left side of the page and are connected to the text passages by the repetition of the initial in the illustration like in the *Sachsenspiegel*. A relationship of influence or dependency between the illustrated *Sachsenspiegel* manuscripts or a possible template X and the GB can indeed be presumed, but not proven, since only the Oldenburg manuscript is located and dated.[89] However, it is clear that all these manuscripts are similar in the function of their illustrations and, as stated above, are identical in their formal text-illustration relation. While the *Sachsenspiegel* illustrations often attempt to depict as much action as possible in one line of the illustration, the GB images follow more of the second category and attempt to translate the text word by word into illustrations. Manuwald shows this for Gyburg‘s speech on religion. The metaphor *ich diene im vn(t) d(er) hohesten hant*[90] is translated into the picture and concretized at the same time: We can see the head of Christ, which is placed at the top of the picture. [91] Gyburg's position as a baptized ›pagan‹, on the other hand, is further consolidated in the illustrations by being placed higher

86 Cf. Gabriele von Olberg-Haverkate, *Die Textsorte Rechtsbücher. Die Entwicklung der Handschriften und Drucke des Sachsenspiegels und weiterer ausgewählter Rechtsbücherhandschriften vom 13. – 16. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a. M. 2017, pp. 102 ff.

87 Abbreviated as GB, library signatur: München, BSB, cgm 193/III.

88 Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog* (as note 12), p. 3.

89 About a possible relation between the *Sachsenspiegel* and the GB cf. ibid. pp. 412-466.

90 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, ed. and trs. by Dieter Kartschoke, Berlin, New York 2003, v. 220, 30. – »I serve him and the highest hand.«

91 Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog* (as note 12), p. 282.

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in the picture composition than her ›pagan‹ father Terramer.[92] Additionally, the pictures gain some autonomy over the text and offer more information than the text does. Elsewhere, the illustrations forego the literal translation and devalue the differentiated depiction of Muslims in Wolfram's text. This happens, similarly to the *Sachsenspiegel*, through the attributes of the figures, etc. While the text gives information about the clothing of the figures only in some places, the images enrich the text with more information about their appearance.[93] Particularly intriguing in this context is the narrator figure[94], who is here transformed into the illustration of a courtly epic for the first time and offers an interesting form of commentary[95]: In the text passages where the narrator comes to the foreground through a longer narratorial commentary and explicitly takes on the characteristics of a character, he is also partially embedded in four illustrations. Especially striking is the appearance of the narrator in the illustrations during the time he speaks directly to his audience. Therefore, he is not only ›audible‹, but can also be seen.[96] Michael Curschmann, however, sees here the failed attempt to develop a kind of vernacular iconography, which attempts to make the picture readable and, accordingly, also depicts the narrator. However, according to Curschmann, this leads to confusion rather than to conveying the text, because in the illustration the narrator is only one figure among many.[97] But every time he appears in an image, the narrator stands between two parties and identifies himself as a mediator by his gestures. Likewise, his blue clothes make him recognizable again and again as a recurring figure. Since not every insertion of the narrator is illustrated, the illustrated narrator-figure can be understood as a certain emphasis of the illustrations and thus possibly direct the reception of the text.[98] In addition, Kathryn Starkey notes that the illustrations, through

92 Ibid., p. 284.

93 Ibid., p. 297.

94 About the narrator in Wolfram's *Willehalm* cf. Pörksen (as note 41) and Nellmann (as note 10).

95 Norbert H. Ott, »Texte und Bilder. Beziehungen zwischen den Medien Kunst und Literatur in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit«, in: Horst Wenzel, Wilfried Seipel, and Gotthart Wunberg (eds.), *Die Verschriftlichung der Welt. Bild, Text und Zahl in der Kultur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wien 2000, pp. 105-145, here p. 110.

96 Cf. Horst Wenzel, »Autorenbilder. Zur Ausdifferenzierung von Autorenfunktionen in mittelalterlichen Miniaturen«, in: Elizabeth Andersen, Jens Haustein, Anne Simon, and Peter Strohschneider (eds.), *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter*, *Kolloquium Meißen 1995*, Tübingen 1998, pp.1-28, here p. 10. – Wenzel speaks in this context of ›vor Augen stellen‹.

97 Michael Curschmann, »Pictura laicorum litteraturaf. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse«, in: Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller, and Nikolaus Staubach (eds.), *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, München 1992, pp. 211-229, here p. 220.

98 Cf. Manuwald, »Der Autor als Erzähler?« (as note 12), pp. 76-79.

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the narrator's portrayal, place great value on the various narrative attitudes. This would not only address the external mediation situation (that is the mediation of the text to the recipient), but also the inner mediation situation, in other words the narrative structure.[99] As the illustrations reflect the narrator's commentary as a text-organizing element through the visualized narrator's commentary, its significance for the narration is further emphasized.

Fig. 1: Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel*, Herzog August Bibliothek: Cod. Guelf. 3.1 Aug. fol., fol. 71r

99 Kathryn Starkey, »Bilder erzählen – Die Visualisierung von Erzählstimme und Perspektive in den Illustrationen eines *Willehalm*-Fragments«, in: Jutta Eming, Annette Jael Lehmann, and Irmgard Maassen (eds.), *Mediale Performanzen. Historische Konzepte und Perspektiven*, Freiburg i. Br. 2002, pp. 21-48, here pp. 31 f.

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Christina Lechtermann

Commentary as Literature

The Medieval ›Glossenlied‹

As scholars of medieval German literature, we quite frequently work with concepts which are – at best – ambivalent when we are trying to explore or merely describe the characteristics of our material. Concerning the term ›literature‹, for example, and concerning its use in one of our major reference works, the *Verfasserlexikon*[1], Burkhard Hasebrink and Peter Strohschneider showed the difficulties of this concept.[2] On the one hand, we associate with literature a quite specific set of conventions, such as polysemy, fictionality, autonomy, or originality – thus thinking of *literature* in an emphatic way. On the other hand, we include in literature as a historic field of description any kind of written transmission. This constellation tends to marginalize some texts – such as religious texts or technical literature and how-to-books, to name just two areas. Although doubtlessly written, they somehow just do not seem to fit the emphatic concept of *literature*. And even if those texts are included, they are only deemed worthy of discussion in a way that might not be appropriate to them, by separating their aesthetic dimension from their functional purpose. Therefore, Hasebrink and Strohschneider recommended to substitute this concept of literature (even if it is thought of as a historically ›extended‹ concept) with an historicized concept of text.[3] However, the very basic term *text* is no less ambivalent: On the one hand and within the scope of material philology, we think of text as a distinctive and very specific object. A text passed down in a certain manuscript, characterized as well by a special linguistic design as by a particular graphic shape, mise-en-page and materiality. But on the other hand, we think of text in a sense of repeatability – as a speech act, transmitted by scripture and picked up again in

1 Kurt Ruh and Burghart Wachinger (eds.), *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, begründet von Wolfgang Stammler, fortgeführt von Karl Langosch, 2., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage Berlin, New York 1978-1999, 1 Nachtrags- und 3 Registerbände 2004-2008.

2 Burkhard Hasebrink and Peter Strohschneider, »Religiöse Schriftkultur und säkulare Textwissenschaft. Germanistische Mediävistik in postsäkularem Kontext«, in: *Poetica* 46 (2014), pp. 277-291.

3 Ibid., p. 288.

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a different situation (»Wiedergebrauchsrede«)[4], where it can be actualized anew and will, in manuscript cultures, be actualized with some variation and within sometimes exceedingly stretched boundaries of equivalence. From this point of view, texts that might in fact be somewhat dissimilar or variant in different manuscripts can nevertheless be described as one text.[5] In this paper I would like to take a closer look at the transition point, where the difference between one text (in several manuscripts) and several texts becomes tricky. My example will be a text (or texts?) that utilizes a commentarial gesture to generate its own form: a Middle High German gloss poem (*Glossenlied*). Taking a closer look at the manuscripts transmitting it (or them?), I would like to discuss how the particular presentations of the gloss song constitute different textual forms and different states of literacy.

The gloss poem *Salve regina künigin Maria Gottes muoter überlaut* belongs to a genre that became relatively popular in Latin as well as in the vernacular. It developed in the 13th century and there can be no doubt that it was quite widely

4 Concerning the concept of ›Wiedergebrauchsrede‹ cf. Konrad Ehlich, »Text und sprachliches Handeln. Die Entstehung von Texten aus dem Bedürfnis nach Überlieferung«, in: Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann, and Christoph Hardmeier (eds.), *Schrift und Gedächtnis. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, 2. ed. München 1993, pp. 24-43. For the adaptation of this concept for the specifics of vernacular premodern manuscript culture cf., for example: Peter Strohschneider, »Situationen des Textes. Okkasionelle Bemerkungen zur ›New Philology‹«, in: Helmut Tervooren and Horst Wenzel (eds.), *Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte, Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997), special issue, pp. 62-87, here pp. 82 f.; Ursula Peters, »Philologie und Texthermeneutik. Aktuelle Forschungsperspektiven der Mediävistik«, in: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 36 (2011), pp. 251-282, here p. 261; Martin Baisch, »Textualität – Materialität – Materialität – Textualität. Zugänge zum mittelalterlichen Text«, in: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 54 (2013), pp. 9-30, here pp. 13-19; Christina Lechtermann, Art. »Material Philology«, in: Susanne Scholz and Ulrike Vedder (eds.), *Handbuch. Literatur und materielle Kultur*, Berlin 2018, pp. 117-125.

5 There have been several attempts to describe this paradox more closely (for example: Jaqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, »Conceiving the Text in the Middle Ages«, in: R. Howard Bloch et al. (eds.), *Rethinking the New Medievalism*, Baltimore 2014, pp. 151-161; Stephen G. Nichols, »Dynamic Reading of Medieval Manuscripts«, in: Markus Stock and Christa Canitz (eds.), *Rethinking Philology. 25 Years After the ›New Philology‹*, Florilegium 32 (2015), pp. 19-57. Shillingsburg – for example – suggested the differentiation between »material text« and »semiotic text« (Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Resisting Texts. Authority and Submission in Constructions of Meaning*, Ann Arbor 1997, pp. 71-73). Baisch (as note 4, pp. 29 f.) tried to describe the manuscript-text via the concept of vestige – comprising the aspect of indexicality as well the aspect of withdrawal. Hausmann proposed the idea of a dynamic identity of the text that emerges between the different versions and their material concretions (Albrecht Hausmann, »Mittelalterliche Überlieferung als Interpretationsaufgabe. ›Laudines Kniefall‹ und das Problem des ›ganzen Textes‹«, in: Ursula Peters (ed.), *Text und Kultur. Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150 – 1450*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 72-95, here pp. 94 f.).

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spread during the 14th and 15th centuries. Besides the Lord's Prayer and miscellaneous hymns and sequences, it have above all been devotional texts about the virgin Mary that have been used to create gloss poems and songs.[6] Judging from the collection of the *Analecta Hymnica* assembled by Guido Maria Dreves at the end of the 19th century, out of the 85 Latin gloss poems and songs catalogued there no less than 80 glorify Mary or broach the topics of the Annunciation and the virgin birth.[7] In his monography on Marian salutations, Peter Appelhans records at least 20 Middle High German gloss songs and poems adapting the *Ave Maria*.[8] And the online database of medieval German manuscripts, the *Handschriftencensus*, registers no less than 45 entries under the heading *Goldenes Ave Maria* as gloss songs or gloss poems and offers several other examples of this text group.[9] The recently established data-base of medieval German translations of Latin hymns and sequences shows that in addition to the *Ave Maria*, the *Salve regina misericordiae* has been very frequently formed into gloss poems. A search in the database records 51 entries for vernacular adaptations of this antiphon and of these eighteen texts are adaptions in the form of a gloss poem or song.[10] My

6 For a concept of vernacular retextualisation that is bound very closely to the Latin pretext as ›glossing adaptation‹ (»glossierende Adaptationen«) see: Andreas Kraß, »Spielräume mittelalterlichen Übersetzens. Zu Bearbeitungen der Mariensequenz *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*«, in: Joachim Heinzle, L. Peter Johnson and Gisela Vollmann-Profe (eds.), *Übersetzen im Mittelalter. Cambridger Kolloquium 1994*, Berlin 1996, pp. 87-108, here p. 104 f.; id., *Stabat mater dolorosa. Lateinische Überlieferung und volkssprachliche Übertragungen im deutschen Mittelalter*; cf. with a special focus on the adaptation of metaphors: Anja Becker and Julia Schmeer, »Ave maris stella. Hans Sachs und Maria im Spannungsfeld von Tradition, Innovation und Reformation. Mit einer Vorüberlegung zum Analysieren vormoderner Übersetzungen«, in: Eva Rothenberger and Lydia Wegener (eds.), *Maria in Hymnus und Sequenz. Interdisziplinäre mediävistische Perspektiven*, Berlin, Boston 2017, pp. 323-344. Concerning the use of hymns and a glossing adaptation in basic school instruction see: Nikolaus Henkel, *Deutsche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte. Ihre Verbreitung und Funktion im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Texte*, München, Zürich 1988, pp. 65-73.

7 Guido M. Dreves and Clemens Blume (eds.), *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi.* Vol. 30: *Pia Dictamina. Reimgebete und Leselieder des Mittelalters III*, Leipzig 1898, passim. In the introduction to this volume Dreves points to several other examples concerning above all the *Ave Maria* among the *cantiones* (*Analecta Hymnica* Vol. 1, 50, 93, 94; Vol. 2, 126. 151; Vol. 20, 176, 179), the hymns (Vol. 4, 53) and the sequences (Vol. 9, 74; Vol. 10, 138); see also: Franz J. Mone (ed.), *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Vol. II: *Marienlieder*, Freiburg i. Br. 1854, pp. 112, 216, 218, 228.

8 Peter Appelhans, *Untersuchungen zur spätmittelalterlichen Mariendichtung. Die rhythmischen mittelhochdeutschen Mariengrüße*, Heidelberg 1970, pp. 41-59.

9 http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke (last accessed 17 July 2019).

10 *Online-Repertorium der mittelalterlichen deutschen Übertragungen lateinischer Hymnen und Sequenzen* (Berliner Repertorium) http://opus.ub.hu-berlin.de/repertorium/browse/hymn/6941?skip=0&_bc=S1.6941 (last accessed 17 July 2019); cf. Burghart Wachinger, Art. »Salve regina (deutsch)«, in: [2]*VL* 8 (1992), col. 552-559 and [2]*VL* 11 (2004), col. 1368.

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example belongs to this group. It has been passed down in three manuscripts, of which the two vellum manuscripts, P and M, date back to the 14th century, while the paper manuscript d dates from the 15th century. My argument focuses on these manuscripts.

1) Manuscript P: The Library of the Benedictine Archabbey at Pannonhalma (= Pannonhalmi Föapátsági Könyvtár), Jesuitica 118.I.46, fol. 40r-43v

Gloss songs and poems are generated in reference to a certain other text, a previous text whose words or phrases are taken as a starting point for the songs' own concerns. In my example, this is – as mentioned above – the *Salve regina misericordiae*, an antiphon that originates from the 11th century and has been used from the 12th century onward for processions on Marian feast days and in readings for the canonical hours.[11] In the later Middle Ages, the text has also been utilized outside of the narrower liturgical context in different congregations of lay brothers.[12] In this example, the Latin text is divided into sixteen segments, each of which opens a paragraph of the rhymed vernacular poem.

The text starts with a lyrical ›I‹ offering its »dinſtleichen gruez« (fol. 40v) to Mary, but soon the speaker adopts a collective ›we‹. While in the first stanzas, the text switches between ›I‹ and ›we‹, the ›we‹ dominates all stanzas from »ad nos conuerte« (fol. 42) onward. Mary is hailed as »regina misericordiae«, as the queen of mercy, sweetness, benignity, as hope, and as »advocata nostra«, and thus as intermediary for those who have to be postlapsarian expatriates because they are children of Eve. In the following lines, the text confronts the world – as a valley of tears – with the beatific vision of God in paradise which can be mediated by the merciful glance that Mary casts on the sinner. The mise-en-page of manuscript P, which probably was written at the end of the 14th century somewhere in Austria or Bavaria, shows distinctly how the German text treats

11 Dreves, *Analecta hymnica* (as note 7) vol. 50, p. 318, no. 245: »Salve, regina misericordiae,/ Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve!/ Ad te clamamus exsules filii Evae,/ Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes/ In hac lacrimarum valle./ Eia ergo, advocata nostra,/ Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte/ Et Iesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,/ Nobis post hoc exilium ostende./ O clemens, o pia,/ O dulcis Maria.« See: http://opus.ub.hu-berlin.de/repertorium/browse/hymn/6941?skip=0&_bc=S1.6941 (last accessed 17 August 2019).

12 Fred Büttner, »Zur Geschichte der Marienantiphon *Salve regina*«, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 46 (1989), pp. 257-270. Transformations concerning the role and status of Mary as presented in *Salve regina* gloss poems of the 15th and 16th centuries are discussed in: Lydia Wegener, Franziska Lallinger, and Arrate Cano Martín-Lara, »Transformation und Destruktion: Formen der volkssprachlichen Aneignung des *Salve regina* im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert«, in: Eva Rothenberger and Lydia Wegener (eds.) (as note 6), pp. 395-450.

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its Latin source (Fig. 1).[13] Like in a continuous commentary, the text is divided in distinctions. The head words preceding the distich stanzas are set in red ink. Only in the first stanza. the Latin text is underlined, so that here instead of if the lemma the name of the Virgin, written in red ink, stands out more distinctly. The text begins as follows:

> **S**alue regina. Chuniginne maria.
> maria auz erwelte gotes praut.
> pedew ſein tochter vnd ſein traut.
> Geporn von ſalomone.
> du traiſt er engel chrone.
> (fol. 40v: Salve Regina, Queen Mary, Mary chosen bride of god as well his daughter and his beloved, born of Salomon, you wear the crown of angels.)

The following verses treat Mary's ancestry, the miracle of virgin birth, and with this her role in the salvation of mankind. The stanza closes accordingly: »Des lob wir dich all./ mit iubel vnd mit ſchall./ hie vnd dort vnd anders ſwa./ ſalue regina.« (fol. 40v: Therefore, we all praise you with jubilance and exultation, here and there and anywhere – salve regina.) The vernacular text, whose wording and imagery falls back on rather conventional formulations, follows at large this form of adaptation: in sixteen stanzas that continuously position the phrases of the Latin song at their beginning, Mary is described as advocate, as mother, and saviour. But as ›elucidations‹ of the Latin lemmas, the vernacular stanzas mostly offer dilatations and elaborations of what the Latin text has already said. Nevertheless, due to their structure, the scarce research dealing with such and similar poems subsumes them under the concept of *gloss*, and connects them to instruments of text explanation and interpretation.[14] Franz J. Mone, for example, thinks of them as a form of »Commentarius perpetuus«[15], and Hans Fromm speaks of them as texts in which the principles of scholastic sermon have been transferred to lyric. Thus he places them in a broader tradition of exegesis and explanation of sacred rituals, gestures, and prayers.[16] But in fact those vernacular stanzas are to a lesser

13 The manuscript (parchment, 118 fols., 21x14 cm) contains, in addition to a calendar and some astronomical charts, a collection of prayers and devotional texts focussing mainly on the passion and the virgin Mary. See: András Vizkelety, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der altdeutschen Handschriften in ungarischen Bibliotheken*, Vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 229-235. For a digitalization of the text see: http://opus.ub.hu-berlin.de/repertorium/browse/witness/10245?_bc=S1.6941.10091.10245 (last accessed 17 July 2019)

14 Nikolaus Henkel, Art. »Glosse 1«, in: Klaus Weimar et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, Vol. 1, ³2001, pp. 727 f.

15 Franz Joseph Mone, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der teutschen Literatur und Sprache*, Aachen, Leipzig 1830, II. Abtheilung u. a. Glossenlieder, pp. 109 f.

16 Hans Fromm, Art. »Mariendichtung«, in: Werner Kohlschmidt et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. 2, ²1965, pp. 271-291, here p. 283.

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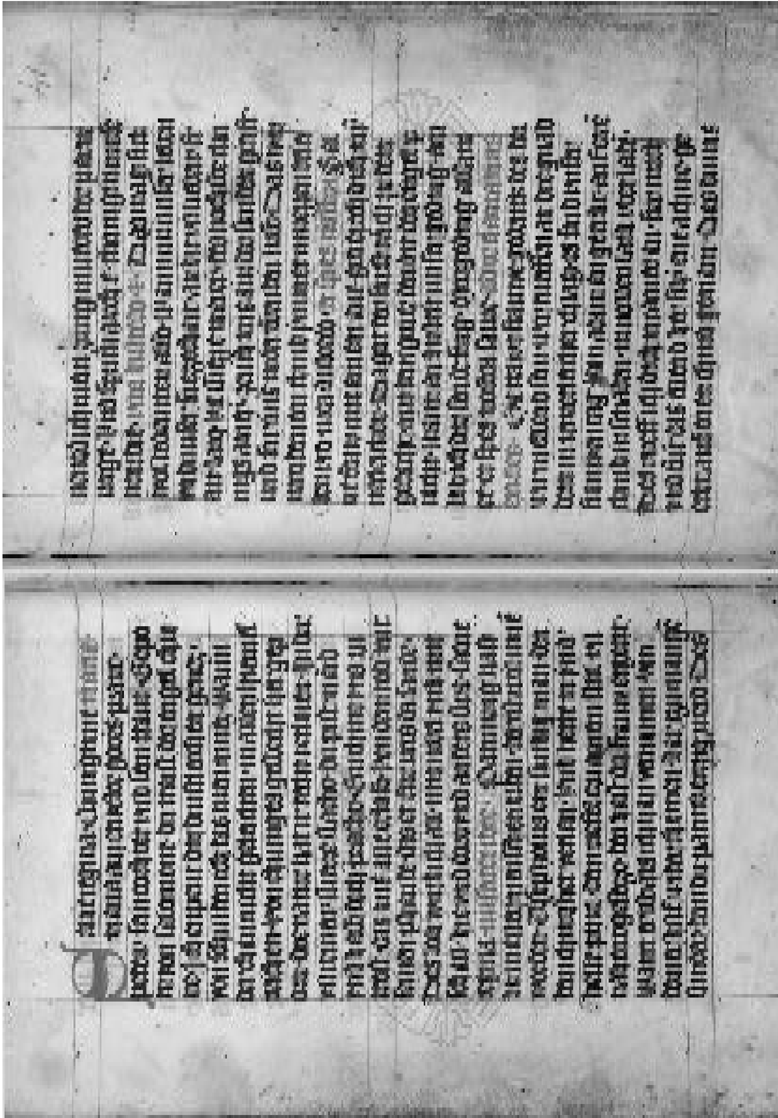

Fig. 1: Manuscript P: The Library of the Benedictine Archabbey at Pannonhalma (= Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Könyvtár), Jesuitica 118.I.46, fol. 40v and 41r.

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extent explicative than they are expansive.[17] Very scarce indeed are the explanations they give and they rarely adopt the specific linguistic forms that mark the beginning of a commentary – as for example the doubling of the Latin lemma by its adjacent translation or an introduction to the explanation by the formula ›that means‹.[18] Hence Appelhans positions the gloss poems right between practices of commentary dealing with a canonical, biblical, or liturgical text on the one side, and the tradition of Latin tropes which were used to elaborate liturgical texts and above all songs by verbal additions or/and melismata on the other.[19] Burghart Wachinger, who considers it unlikely that the trope directly influenced these texts, nevertheless emphasizes the analogy of those forms.[20] However, aside from the question of such dependencies it is obvious that the commentarial gesture structuring the stanzas extensively engages forms of embellishment. Regarding our example, these expansions even cross textual boundaries and include another text: The last stanza, following the phrase *O dulcis Maria* (fol. 42v) contains 55 verses that belong to a song by Sigeher which was probably written in the 13th century.[21] Sigeher's song praises the virgin and comprises seven stanzas, which are – apart from this adaptation – only conveyed in the Codex Manesse.[22] In the process of adaptation the verse order and the form of the stanzas have been changed. Nevertheless, of the 70 lines of the song, 48 are quoted directly or can at least be traced in the phrases of the gloss poem. In this way, Sigeher's song is quite seamlessly blended into the last stanza of the gloss poem.

17 Cf. with a special focus on Oswald von Wolkenstein: Burghart Wachinger, »Sprachmischung bei Oswald von Wolkenstein«, in: id., *Lieder und Liederbücher. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Berlin, New York, pp. 259-277, here p. 272: »Bei den Glossenliedern ist die Analogie zur wissenschaftlich-erbaulichen Glossierungs- und Kommentierungspraxis unverkennbar. Da fast immer sehr bekannte und keineswegs besonders schwierige lateinische Texte zum Ausgangspunkt gewählt sind, zielt die Verwendung der Volkssprache offenbar weniger auf Erläuterung als auf emotionale und meditative Aneignung des starren offiziellen lateinischen Textes.«

18 See for example the beginning of the second or third stanza (fol. 40v and 41r): »miſericordie. Parmung haſt du in aller menſchen orden« and »vita dulcedo. Das mag ſich wol bedeutten alſo«.

19 Appelhans (as note 8), pp. 88-91.

20 Burghart Wachinger, »Notizen zu den Liedern Heinrich Laufenbergs [1979]«, in: id., *Lieder und Liederbücher. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Berlin, New York 2011, pp. 329-361, here p. 353.

21 First edition: Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Minnesinger. Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1838, Vol. II, pp. 360 f.; Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 2, Leipzig 1867, pp. 103 f., Nr. 188.

22 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 848, 410v. The last stanza is also transmitted in Munich, BSB, Cgm 5249/59d, fol. 1r. Cf. Gert Hübner, *Lobblumen. Studien zur Genese und Funktion der ›geblümten Rede‹*, Tübingen 2000, pp. 172-176.

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With regard to this example and its presentation in P, we are thus able to describe a threefold effect that is closely connected to the commentarial form: First the text is shaped by a gesture of demarcation and differentiation that applies to the Latin *textus*, stages it as point of reference, ascertains its dominance, and derives its value and textual status from it. Secondly it is fashioned by a gesture of expansion that allows for a seemingly disproportionate embellishment of the last stanza incorporating nearly the complete song of Sigeher. Thirdly, it alters the semantic scope of the previous text (»Pretext«) and reinterprets its meaning. Those effects, I think, are brought about by an operational virtue of commentary that can be utilised by literary forms.[23]

Definitions of commentary mostly tend to lean towards positivist or materialist explanations, referring to a predominant explicative function or a generic secondariness. The *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, for example, presupposes the existence of a text to be commented on, when it defines commentary as a »memorative, comprehensive, and, in the narrower sense, unlocking (interpreting) text for public and private use«.[24] Jan Assmann, whose anthology might well be considered the starting point of a more theoretical approach to commentary, underlines its functional dimension, defining commentary as the textual authority that organizes and secures the transmission of canonical or holy texts whenever they are used or reused in a new context.[25] With this definition he also accentuates the secondariness of the commentary, which necessarily follows the *textus* as a previous textual object. Glenn Most, while rejecting a definition of commentary derived from »a catalogue of purely formal discursive features«

23 I would like to stress that it is ›a‹, and not ›the‹ operational virtue of commentary that I am trying to describe here. It may apply to those forms of commentary that implement an explicit or implicit deictic gesture pointing towards a *textus* or indicating it by mise-en-page or linguistic means. Other forms of commentary as an »extremely complex, multifaceted genre that resists definition« (Karl Enenkel and Henk Nellen, »Introduction. Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge«, in: id. (eds.) *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400 – 1700)*, Leuven 2013, pp. 1-76, here p. 59), such as the paraphrase (ibid., pp. 37 f.; Kraß [as note 6]), work in a different way.

24 Ralph Häfner, Art. »Kommentar 1«, in: Klaus Weimar et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, Vol. 2, 2007, pp. 298-302; cf. U. Püschel, Art. »Kommentar«, in: Gert Ueding (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, Vol. 4, Darmstadt 1998, col. 1179-1187.

25 Jan Assmann, »Text und Kommentar. Einführung«, in: id. and Burkhard Gladigow (eds.), *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation IV*, München 1995, pp. VII-XV. Meanwhile it has been shown that commentaries – and perhaps above all premodern and early modern commentaries – not rarely renounce their explicative function to follow their very own interests. See for example: Jan-Hendryk De Boer, »Kommentar« in: id. et al. (eds.), *Universitäre Gelehrtenkultur vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert. Ein interdisziplinäres Quellen- und Methodenhandbuch*, Stuttgart 2018, pp. 265-318; Enenkel and Nellen (as note 23), pp. 3 f., and 11 f.

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and stressing the authority, institutionalism, directionality, and potential for ›empowerment‹ of commentary, nevertheless thinks of commentary in an ontological way: first there is a text, then a commentary follows, written by an agent (or agents) who mediate between the primary text and its (later) recipients from a third position, explaining difficult grammar, adding information, staking out the semantic scope, interpreting it – occasionally in opposition to any original intent.[26] Anthony Grafton even speaks of the commentator as a »parasite«.[27] These and similar conceptualizations go some way to grant a certain amount of agency to the commentary, for example by considering the ›making‹ of the canonical text through its commentary. Their underlying ontological definition of commentary, however, ignores textual phenomena that benefit from the authority of commentarial gestures without necessarily occupying a subsequent (»parasitic«) position or serving a text by explanation. This definition ignores above all vernacular narrations, songs, and poems that make use of commentarial gestures in a creative way, deriving their prestige or simply their very particular form of (in-)coherence from their status as alleged commentary. Furthermore, it excludes texts that stage themselves as being worthy of commentary or that surround themselves with commentary that is neither belated nor from a different author's hand.[28] And it excludes literary forms that are staged like/as a commentary, that show verbal and textual gestures and ›postures‹ of commentary to claim their own status, like my example does. In short, it excludes forms that make use of the ›operative dimension‹ of commentary without being commentaries in a very narrow sense.

If we think commentary not in an ontological way, as a textual or visual entity following and explaining another entity already existing, but in an operational way, we can turn to its productive aspects and to the special relation it establishes: the gesture of commentary draws a distinction between the commentarial and the commentated and thus *creates* both the subject and the object of commentary.[29] This gesture does not only produce two texts by relating them to each other, but also postulates an intricate hierarchy between them: It bestows the *textus*

26 Glenn W. Most, »Preface«, in: id. (ed.), *Commentaries – Kommentare*, Göttingen 1999, pp. VII-XV, VII, XIV.

27 Anthony Grafton, »Commentary«, in: id., Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis (eds.), *The Classical Tradition*, Cambridge MA., London 2010, pp. 225-233, here p. 226.

28 Cf. the articles of Christine Ott and Philip Stockbrugger in this volume.

29 Enenkel and Nellen remark, that even this differentiation must not always be stable especially in a literary context (as note 23, p. 12): »Often, the boundary between text and commentary faded and sometimes even disappeared. This topic was ingeniously elaborated in literary works such as *Gargantua et Pantagruel* by François Rabelais. In this manner, a growing scepticism is expressed towards the idea that the user could take advantage of the commentary in order to ascertain the truth of the beliefs and opinions expressed in the text.«

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with dignity, canonicity, or even sacredness, creating a ›cultural and holy text‹.[30] But at the same time it ennobles the commentary that derives its own value from the text it comments on. If we return to our example, we can observe how this relating gesture is brought about by mis-en-page as well as by language as a means of differentiation.[31] The *textus* highlighted in this way shapes the gloss poem, lends coherence to its irregular stanzas and various topics, and legitimates its dilatations. Simultaneously, claims of validity are not only ascribed to the Latin *textus* by the gesture of commentary but they are also derived from it. The gloss poem benefits from the ›institution‹ of commentary as a prominent form of re-appropriation of cultural and religious texts.[32] The relevance and potency it ascribes to the *textus* by using comentarial forms are thus transferred to the gloss poem as well. Hence, the poem on the whole is marked as a prayer and titled with »Ein guet gepet vo[n] vn[cer] vrauwen« (A good prayer of Our Lady). In Manuscript P, the poem can be found among two other gloss poems – one starting »Gegrueßet sistu ane we«[33], the second on the *Ave Maria.* Or to be more precise, it is situated between the latter and a promise of indulgence that has been entered just below our poem. It claims to effectuate no less salvation for the gloss poem than for the original prayer.[34] Thus, the gloss poem itself is defined by gestures of commentary pointing towards it from its (paratextual) margins – defining its textuality and constituting its function and value.

30 Assmann (as note 25), pp. 18-25; Most (as note 26), p. X; Enenkel and Nellen (as note 23), pp. 14-17. This notion of commentary stresses the idea of a relational structure established by implicit or explicit deixis, and it seems to be expressed historically in set phrases like *textus* and *glosa*, which have been examined by Meinolf Schumacher (»… *der kann den texst und och die gloß.* Zum Wortgebrauch von ›Text‹ und ›Glosse‹ in deutschen Dichtungen des Spätmittelalters«, in: Ludolf Kuchenbuch and Uta Kleine (eds.), *›Textus‹ im Mittelalter. Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im schriftsemantischen Feld*, Göttingen 2006, pp. 207-227).

31 Cf. for other examples of such a mise-en-page of gloss poems: Wegener, Lallinger and Cano Martín-Lara (as note 12), pp. 409 f., esp. p. 421.

32 Assmann (as note 25), p. 22; Most (as note 26), pp. 8 f.

33 See Karl Bartsch (ed.), *Die Erlösung mit einer Auswahl geistlicher Dichtungen*, Quedlinburg, Leipzig 1858, pp. 207-209; Franz Joseph Mone, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und Sprache*, Bd. I, Aachen 1830, pp. 110-112

34 P, fol. 43v: »wer ditz gepet ſpricht mit andacht. Der wirt ledig geſagt von pa/bſt clemente drev hundert tag totlei/cher ſunde. vnd ſechs hundert tag lez/leicher ſunde.« After a mark indicating a new paragraph, the following text, a gloss poem on the *Ave Maria*, is announced: »Das iſt der engeliſch gruez vnſer vrawn maria.« András Vizkelety (as note 13, p. 232) sees this passage as an introductory phrase to the *Ave*-gloss song, but the paragraph, I think, at least renders it possible, that the promise of indulgence refers to the *Salve*-gloss song, which has been linked to an indulgence as well; see: Martina Wehrli-Johns and Peter Stotz, »Der Traktat des Dominikaners Albert von Weissenstein über das *Salve regina*«, in: Andreas Meyer (ed.), *Päpste, Pilger, Pönitentiarie*. *Festschrift für Ludwig Schmugge*, Tübingen 2004, pp. 283-313, here p. 309.

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The differentiating and relating gesture of commentary that enables reciprocal textual constitution and creates two texts in one simultaneously generates two different regimes of textual coherence. On the one hand, it displays a fixed text that cannot be altered and for which mouvance and variance, amplification and abbreviation are no options.[35] On the other, it creates a text that happily embraces dilatations, digressions, and additions.[36] It is characterized by a tendency towards expansion, a well-nigh interminable accretion which has been described by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht as *copia*, opulence.[37] Paul Zumthor and Christoph Huber even discuss the poetic commentary and »glose créatrice« as a creative practice and principal constituent of medieval poetics.[38] The terms and conditions to enable this, however, seem to be derived from the gesture of differentiation which does not only constitute two texts by relating them to each other, but also creates two different sets of expectation concerning textual patterns, topical options, and coherence. While the linguistic surface of the *textus* is fixed and thus grants a stable coherent structure of heightened validity, the commentary allows for multiplicity and the inclusion of miscellaneous topics and forms.[39]

Finally, if we think of commentaries as an operative means of reciprocal textual constitution they can never truly be secondary – although they might have been composed later than the text they comment upon: The moment a commentary is linked to a *textus*, it reaches out to its semantic scope, delimiting the possibilities of how it is to be understood, sometimes even claiming to express what *actually* has been written, said, or intended in the *textus*.[40] Our example makes this very clear: The *Salve regina* focuses on the existential plight of man and on the transcendental dignity of the Queen of Heaven; it omits her earthly existence as well as her role in salvific history and even keeps quiet about the

35 Assmann (as note 25), pp. 25 f.

36 Wolfgang Raible, »Arten des Kommentierens – Arten der Sinnbildung – Arten des Verstehens. Spielarten generischer Intertextualität«, in: Assmann, Gladigow (eds.), (as note 25), pp. 51-73, esp. pp. 55 f. and pp. 61 f.

37 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, »Fill up Your Margins! About Commentary and *Copia*«, in Most (as note 26), pp. 443-453, here p. 446.

38 Paul Zumthor, »La glose créatrice«, in: Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani and Michel Plaisance (eds.), *Les commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire. France / Italie (XIVe – XVIe siècles), Actues du Colloque international sur le Commentaire Paris, Mai 1988*, Paris 1990, pp. 11-18, here p. 14: »En ce sens, tout poésie médiévale apparaît comme continuation, d'une part; commentaire, de l'autre.« – Christoph Huber, »Formen des ›poetischen Kommentars‹ in mittelalterlicher Literatur«, in: Most (as note 26), pp. 323-352.

39 Enenkel and Nellen (as note 23), pp. 8-11.

40 Michel Foucault, *Die Ordnung des Diskurses*. Inauguralvorlesung am Collège de France, 2. Dezember 1970, pp. 18-20; id., *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften*, pp. 72-75, 114-118; Assmann (as note 25), pp. 30 f.

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role of the Saviour.[41] But the gloss poem includes those aspects: Mary's role is conventionalized, while her praise is by no means less exuberant. She is »geporn von ſalomone« (fol. 40v), descendant of »chuniges geſlecht« (ibid.), she carried the Saviour (ibid., fol. 41r, 42r), and was greeted by the angel (fol. 41r). In the gloss poem she does not grant mercy herself but mediates between the sinner and the saviour.[42] Accordingly, the mode of addressing the virgin is not only the collective *we* that includes mankind and Christendom and that dominates the *Salve regina*[43], but an iterative use of *I* and *we* that allows for both an ›official‹ and communal address to the queen and a more intimate one.

2) Manuscript M: Munich, BSB, Cgm 5249/59a, fol. 1ra-3va

The conventional pedagogical, theological, or juridical commentary often can be identified by its mise-en-page, presenting itself as a enhanced form of literacy.[44] Although the codex at large is very plain, manuscript P stages its text by carefully highlighting the *textus* through the use of red ink, as described above. The vellum-fragment M, dating back to the 14th century, has a different design. According to Karin Schneider, the three preserved sheets containing our text have been the opening and closing folios of a Latin *Legenda Aurea* manuscript. The hint *quere retro* (search at the back) on fol. 2v would have guaranteed the cohesion of the text all across the codex.[45] Apart from this note, only a small initial and the letters at the beginning of each verse are marked with red ink. The differentiation of *textus* and commentary that is intrinsic to the commentarial gesture is thus reduced to the change of language. The *textus* seems to be assimilated to the poem and its capacity to structure the text is reduced, the commentarial form is still audible or at least comprehensible but no longer visible. At the same time the poem is expanded even further: here, 47 additional verses offer an introduction to the gloss poem. They directly address the Virgin Mary. Using set phrases opened by ›you‹, they attribute quite conventional metaphors and analogies to her (like Salomo's

41 Wegener, Lallinger and Cano Martín-Lara (as note 12), pp. 400-405.

42 In the gloss poem Theopilus gives an example for this: »Parmung haſt du in aller menſchen orden. der iſt wol inn[en] worden. Th[eo]pholus ein ſundig man. den dein chint het verlan. Vnd hette in yn d[er] helle phul. dem tiefel tzu einam ſtul. vil nahent geſetzt. den haſt du frauw ergetzt. Wann er iſt als ich han vernomen. von deiner hilf wider chomen. dar tzu mang[en] ſunder. dem du parmhertzig werd.« (P, fol. 40v).

43 Wegener, Lallinger and Cano Martín-Lara (as note 12), p. 404.

44 Assmann (as note 25), p. 10.

45 Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die mittelalterlichen Fragmente Cgm 5249-5250*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 104 f. Digitalization: http://opus.ub.hu-berlin.de/repertorium/browse/witness/7396?_bc=S1.6941.10091.7396.

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throne for example). Meanwhile, they fall back on phrases from Sigeher's song as well, such as the comparatively scarce image of Mary being a *chrâm* – goods offered for sale – or the rarely used denomination of Mary as Polaris.[46] In this way M contrasts the laudatory expansion of the last stanza with an introduction that adresses the Virgin even bevor the first greeting of *Salve regina* sets in. This introduction not only evokes the situation of a dialogue – opposing the ›you‹ with an ›I‹ that is adressing it[47] – but it also stresses the point that in the face of the Queen of Heavens human language will never suffice and that in any praise of her name and her significane will slip (»enzleifen«) from ones hands. Therefore the gloss poem itself is advertised as a ›new praise‹ to be sung together with the whole Christian community:

> ſint mir den ſin miet wort.
> In dinem lob enzleif.
> ain newes lob ich an greif.
> Chriſtes mveter vnd mait.
> dar zv mich wol der wille lait.
> Vnd singe mit der christenhait.
> Salue regina […]
> (M, fol. 1rb: Since in praise of you sense and word slip from my hands, I will begin a new praise, Mother of Christ and Virgin, to which my will leads me. And I sing with Christendom: Salve regina […]).

In M, the gloss poem that referes to a *textus* is in itself presented as text in text on a second level. And while P marks it as a prayer and ascribes the benefits accordingly, M designates it as »lob« whose aptness as a song of praise is explicitly put into question. Thus, new claims of value are applied. Bruno Quast has described similar transformations in his *From Cult to Art*. He shows, among other things, how vernacular translations of hymns open up ritual texts towards poetic measures and thus change their status.[48] While the liturgical Latin text is essentially characterized by a wording that is stable and repeated word-for-word whenever the text is used, the vernacular adaptions not only vary with regard to form and intent but they also articulate their very own claims of artifice and poetic value. With regard to *Das hell aufklimmen deiner diener stimmen* by the Monk of Salz-

46 *Dv wrtz voller chram.* […] *dv merſtern trimontan.* (M, fol. 1ra). Cf. Anselm Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1967, pp. 143, 402, 513.

47 Cf. first two verses »*Maria mueter vnd mait. von dir mir wunder iſt gesait.*« (M, fol. 1ra)

48 Bruno Quast (*Vom Kult zur Kunst. Öffnungen des rituellen Textes im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Tübingen 2005, pp. 141-154) chooses as an example the translation of a hymn to John the Baptist by Paulus Diaconus *Ut queant laxis*.

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burg, Quast shows how atistry is above all presented by drawing reference to and taking citation from other vernacular poets and poems, such as the poems and lays of Konrad von Würzburg, Frauenlob, or Heinrich von Mügeln. Quast ascertains how a primary materiality of the prayer that is essential for its use in ritual – that is to say the Latin language – is thus substituted by a mesh of allusions significant for the sphere of vernacular poetry.[49] The petitionary prayer, with its specific do-ut-des economy, offering prayer to receive redemption, has been turned into a poetic donation (»Gabe«) offered only for its own ends.[50] Acordingly its addressee (Johannes) is no longer imagined merely as a Saint able to grant salvation, but as recipient of a piece of poetry.[51]

If we return to our text and the manuscript M, we could observe a comparable shift. Here the poem falls back more often (than for example in P) on literary conventions and particularly on Sigeher's song. While the additional verses praise Mary in various metaphors and images, they also question the aptness of poetic language and speak to her as addressee of a new poetic form. In this respect, she takes up an analogous position to that of Johannes in the song by the Monk of Salzburg. But this poem nevertheless differs from Quast's example at a crucial point: while enhancing and exhibiting its poetic qualities, it does not substitute but conserves the original wording of the ritual Latin text as well. So, in a segmented form the *textus* remains present. However, it is no longer presented as a ritual text: Although the poem still emphasizes the gesture of collective speech (the ›I‹ sings together with Christendom), the *Salve regina* loses its auratic character as an audibly sacred text – a text that is, as Quast puts it, less directed towards understanding than towards an audible event of meaning.[52] The fragmented Latin antiphon can no longer create an auratic audible event but has become part of another negotiable audible structure. Quast stresses that comprehension is not only a dispensable dimension regarding the ritual text, but that it is well-nigh alien to it. In contrast to this, the gloss poem falls back onto a gesture of explanation and exegesis, albeit without *executing* interpretation and merely *simulating* it.[53] If we assume that our gloss song might also transfer a Latin text »from cult

49 Quast (as note 48), pp. 146-151.

50 Ibid., p. 150.

51 Ibid., pp. 148 f.

52 Ibid., p. 155: »Ein Sinn ritueller Texte, der sich von deren Wörtlichkeit abheben ließe, ist schlechterdings nicht denkbar. Er bleibt an das performative Wort-Ereignis gebunden. Einer Übersetzung heiliger – und wir können hinzufügen: ritueller – Texte muß es daher nicht darauf ankommen, deren Sinngehalt zu erfassen und in die Zielsprache zu transferieren, sondern vielmehr darauf, den lautlichen Akt des Sinn-Ereignisses in der Zielsprache zu simulieren.«

53 Ibid., p. 28: »Wenn *Verstehbarkeit* des rituellen Textes, sei es implizit oder explizit, eingefordert wird, also die hodegetische Frage zunehmend an Relevanz gewinnt, ist die Logik des Ritus, für den Verstehen nicht nur eine entbehrliche, sondern geradezu fremde Kategorie

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to art«, as it is indicated by its questioning of the appropriateness of language and its lamenting the slip of word and meaning, it achieves this transformation in a specific way, deriving its poetic worth as a *new praise* (»newes lob«) from a twofold presentation of the Latin song – it is referred to as a phatic song of praise and as *textus* to be commented on.

3) Manuscript d: Dresden, SLUB, M 68, fol. 52r-54r

This manuscript, written by only one scribe in the region around Augsburg, dates back to 1447. It contains a collection of smaller texts: fables, examples, *Minnereden*, and novellas.[54] Closer examinations of the codex have shown that it holds three, albeit not very strictly organized parts: a first section mainly consisting of novellas, a second one comprising the *Minnereden*, and a third one offering theological and secular examples.[55] Our gloss poem can be found in the second section on folios 52rb to 54ra. This version of the text differs from the one presented in M because it lacks the 46 introductory verses that can be found there; and it differs form M and P because the last stanza comprising Sigeher's song has been amplified to an even greater extent in d. In 66 additional verses the speaker first addresses the Virgin on his own behalf:

ICh pitt dich, fraw here,
Mit groſſer pett mere,
Das du dicz clain loblin
Dir gu[ae]llig laſſeſt ſin,

darstellt, außer Kraft gesetzt. […] Hodegetik setzt einen sich vom liturgisch-institutionellen Vollzug emanzipierenden Leser voraus, der gleichwohl die Deutungsmacht des instruierenden Hodegeten akzeptiert.«

54 Werner J. Hoffmann, *Die deutschsprachigen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) Dresden*. Vorläufige Beschreibungen. (http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/?INFO_projectinfo/dresden#|5 [last accessed 17 July 2019]). I quote the edition of Paula Hefti, *Codex Dresden M 68*, Bern, München 1980, no. 20a.

55 Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter*, Heidelberg 1967, pp. 92-96 and 133; Hefti (as note 54), pp. 9-20; Jacob Klingner and Ludger Lieb, *Handbuch Minnereden*, mit Beiträgen von Iulia-Emilia Dorobanţu, Stefan Matter, Martin Muschick, Melitta Rheinheimer und Clara Strijbosch, Berlin, Boston 2013, Vol. 2, p. 48 (Dr4); Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, »Kleinepik im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg – Autoren und Sammlertätigkeit«, in: Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (eds.), *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 308-329, 316 and 320 f. – The scribe, Peter Groninger (Grieninger), who notes »anno domini 1447 am ſamſtag nach ſant (vo)lrichs tag in der iij. ſtund« as closing date (Bl. 79vb) has connected the completion of the codex with the feast of the patron saint.

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Das ich hie uil ſündig man
Ze eren dir geſproch[en] han.
(no. 20a, vv. 245-250: I beg you, noble lady, with an intense plea that you kindly accept this little laude, which I as a very sinful man, have spoken to honour you.)

In a second section, the pledge is extended to include the recipients of the text: Mary is asked to send her help to all who hear or read the poem (no. 20a, vv. 265-269). And she is begged to support them ad Judgment Day, so that her son will say »venite«[56] – step forward you blessed (vv. 306 f.; »Ir geſegnoten kommet z[uo] mir«). It is obvious, that this expansion of the last stanza marks the text as a poem to be read alone or read to someone. The passage is closely connected to the *Salve regina* and recourses to the Latin text in its very last verse: »Maria, fraw, dez pitten wir,/ Daz laſſ vns h[oe]ren da,/ O clemens, O pia, O dulcis maria.« (no. 20a, vv. 308-310: Mary, Lady thus we pray, this let us hear there […].)

If we look at the layout of the manuscript, it is noticeable that d usually highlights the Latin lemmas by a small initial while the S of »Salve« it is a bit larger (Fig. 2). The relatively high frequency of initials achieved by this lay-out distinguishes this passage from other parts of the codex that all in all uses initials only at the beginning of a text right beneath the red headings that generally introduce each text of the collection. Only the section right behind our text (d, fol. 54ra-55va) and the *Frauenzuht* of Sibote, that has been entered a few pages below (fol. 57vb-63ra), use initials for structuring within a text.[57] But even more noticeable is the fact that the gloss poem lacks the red headline that in this codex regularly constitutes textual boundaries in alliance with a small red ornament. The end of our text is marked by either, but neither can be found at the closing of the precursory text. Aside from five very short texts at the end of the codex (which are at least separated from each other by the red ornaments) our text would consequently be the only one left without a paratextual element to identify its beginning.

Several researchers have referred to this irritation: The editor of the manuscript, Paula Hefti, who numbers the texts consecutively, gives our text the number 20a, thus indicating a special relation to the preceding text (no. 20).[58] This text is just like the passage following the gloss poem entitled with »Una lra [littera] amoris« (d, fol. 51vb-52rb and 54ra-5vb) – a love letter. Although Hefti obviously seems to feel somewhat uncomfortable with this, her explanatory notes fall back on the universally accepted position that considers no. 20 and 20a of her edition as separate

56 d: *allen den die hör[en]d v[nd] leſ[en]/ alz hie geſchrieb[en] ſtaut*
57 Cf. Hoffmann (as note 54).
58 Hefti (as note 54), p. 312.

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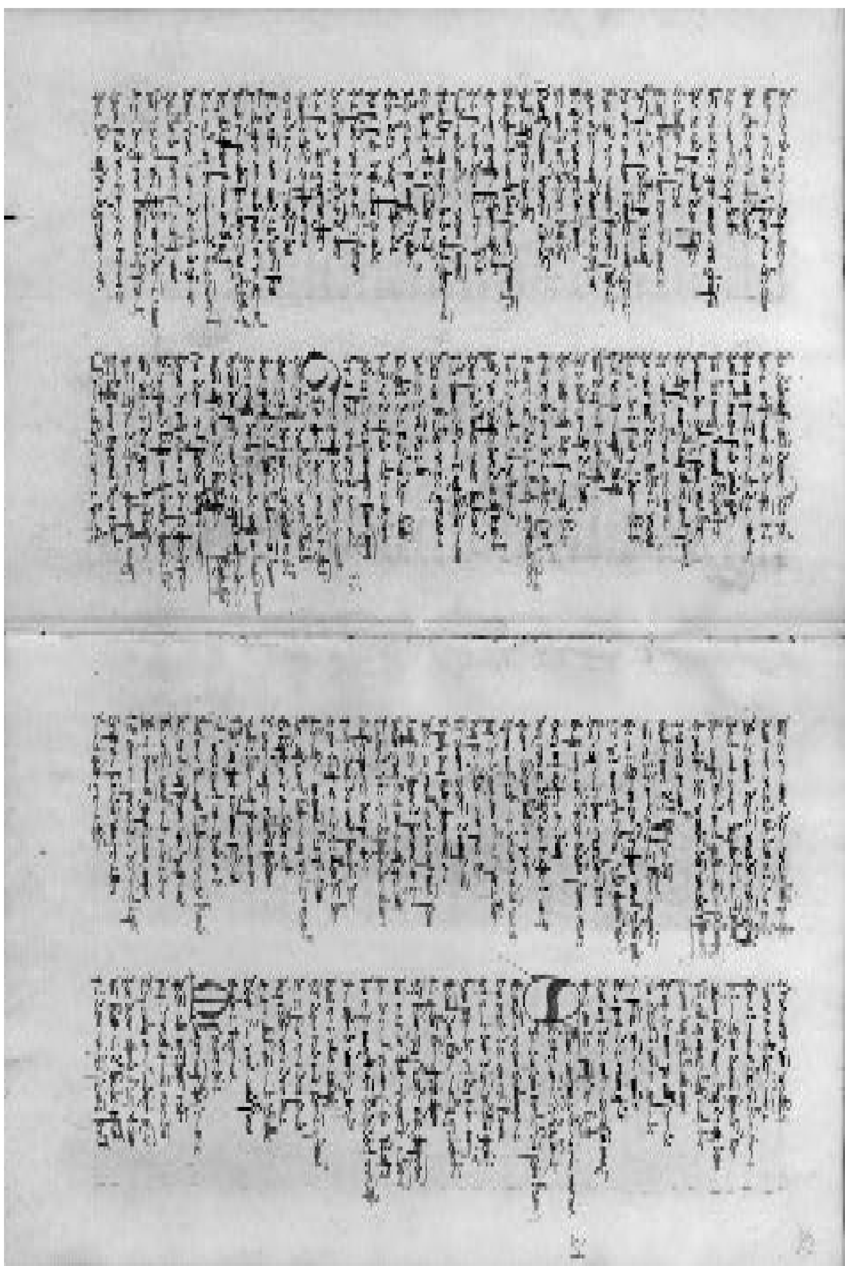

Fig. 2: Manuscript d: Dresden, SLUB, M 68, fol. 51v and 52r

SLUB Dresden / Mscr.Dresd.M.68, https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/?id=5363&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=7804&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=108#
SLUB Dresden / Mscr.Dresd.M.68, https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/?id=5363&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=7804&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=109

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texts. Hence, she assumes that the two sections that are marked as *love letters* and that the relevant encyclopaedias tag as *Dresdner Liebesbriefe* are disturbed by the gloss poem.[59] With this, the edition and – as far as I know – all scholars dealing with the text ever since follow the argument of Moriz Haupt.[60] Haupt had refuted the assumption of Friedrich H. von der Hagen who proposed that the first of the Dresden love letters might have been used as an introduction to the gloss poem.[61] Indeed, von der Hagen's premise that the Latin abbreviation *Una lra amoris* could be read as *Lyra* and would thus apply to the poem is certainly wrong and has later been rectified even by himself.[62] But besides von der Hagen's misreading of the abbreviation, there has been little debate concerning the question whether the letter could nevertheless be connected to the gloss song. The only further argument Haupt brings forth against their unity is his impression that a love letter would make a strange introduction (»seltsame Einleitung«) to the poem – an impression he does not even attempted to substantiate.[63] Following Haupt's opinion, Hefti tries to explain the entry of the poem as an inadvertency of the scribe. But if one looks as the codex as a whole, this can be countered by noting that we have a relatively good structured codex with a rather consistent design. And one could moreover state that the gloss poem has been treated in no other way than the several subsections of the second text group of this codex which is also signed »Una lra [littera] amoris« (fol. 54ra-5vb). The sections gathered beneath this second heading differ from one another in attitude and intent, thus more likely presenting several shorter love letters than one longer one.[64]

59 Ibid., p. 32, 312n1 and p. 497: »Die Briefe richten sich, trotz sprachlicher Anklänge an Metaphern, wie sie für die Jungfrau Maria Verwendung finden an eine weltliche Dame.«

60 Walter Blank, Art. »Dresdner Liebesbriefe«, in: ^{2}*Verfasserlexikon* 11 (2004), col. 385-387; Tilo Brandis, *Mittelhochdeutsche, mittelniederdeutsche und mittelniederländische Minnereden. Verzeichnis der Handschriften und Drucke*, München 1968, pp. 64 f.; Mihm (as note 55), pp. 93, 497; Ziegeler (as note 55), p. 320; Klingner and Lieb (as note 55), pp. 164-172.

61 Moriz Haupt, »Salve regina«, in: *Altdeutsche Blätter* 1 (1836), pp. 78-88. The first edition by Ernst Meyer (*Die gereimten Liebesbriefe des deutschen Mittelalters.* Mit einem Anhang: *Ungedruckte Liebesbriefe aus der Dresdener Handschrift M. 68*, Marburg 1899, pp. 99-108) omits the gloss poem.

62 Friedrich H. von der Hagen, *Literarischer Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie von der ältesten Zeit bis in das sechzehnte Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1812, p. 333; cf. id., *Minnesinger*: *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken gesammelt und berichtigt, mit den Lesarten derselben, Geschichte des Lebens der Dichter und ihrer Werke, Sangweisen der Lieder, Reimverzeichnis der Anfänge, und Abbildungen sämmtlicher Handschriften*, Leipzig 1838, p. 760.

63 Haupt (as note 61), p. 87.

64 Cf. Klingner and Lieb (as note 55), pp. 166-172. Schulz-Grobert even reflects on the possibility that the scribe of the manuscript d, Peter Groninger (Grieninger), might have been the author of the gloss song and the letters as well. (Jürgen Schulz-Grobert, *Deutsche Liebesbriefe in spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung einer anonymen Klein-*

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To relativize the strict refutation of von der Hagen's idea that the letter might indeed offer a potential proem to the gloss song, one should also note that the preceding letter shows some correspondence with the *Salve regina* which is not presented as prayer or song of praise in d, but as a text to be read to someone or to oneself. Indeed, such hints at a similar pragmatic function could be indications of a possible connection as well. With regard to their tenor, the commonalities could be summarized as follows: The wording of the salutation opening the letter conforms to vernacular poems that play on the Salutation of Mary.[65] At least, the metaphors and images used in the letter are profoundly ambivalent and are often evaluated as appropriate means to express the ineffability of the lady's virtues. Just like in other salutations or letters of love they are no less relatable to the Virgin than to a secular mistress.[66] Phrases like »minneclichu raine frucht« (lovely immaculate progeny) would suit Mary even better than any other Lady.[67] Furthermore, the letter – just like the *Salve Regina* – broaches on the topics of gaze, compliment and help given by the lady.[68] And the ›I‹ of the letter presents itself as a faithful servant whose devotion is evidenced »nun zestund« (v. 51) in the very instant of writing the text – just like the first stanza of the gloss poem offers a subservient and devout salutation.[69] The eleven verse directly preceding the *Salve regina* express this relation anew, connecting the constant devotion and praise to Judgment Day.[70] They follow a very short self-referential passage of the letter which states: »Jch bin ein prief, du ſolt mich leſen« (no. 20, v. 54: I

form der Reimpaardichtung, Tübingen 1993, pp. 52-56). – Such a constellation would perhaps render a scribal error for this passage even less probable.

65 For example Appelhans (as note 8), no. 13, cf. pp. 67 f.

66 Blank (as note 60, col. 386) also points to the spiritual quality of the love.

67 Hefti (ed., as note 54), no. 20, v. 15 and annotation; cf. no. 20a, v. 12: »uil rainu ſ[ue]ſſu ſlacht«; no. 20, v. 6: »Got gr[ue]ß dich, pluende roß im mayen taw«; v. 12: »[…] laß uon dir genad flieſſen«. Even the apellation as ›weib‹ (»Got gr[ue]ß dich, wunnecliches weib«, v. 4) that seems to point towards a secular context, can be found elsewhere: for example Oswald von Wolkenstein (ed. by K. K. Klein), *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, 3rd edition by Hans Moser, Norbert Richard Wolf, and Notburga Wolf, Tübingen 1987, no. 38, 2,1-3: »Ain wib, ain dieren,/ ain maid und fraue/ des kinds genas.«

68 Hefti (ed., as note 54), no. 20, vv. 18 f.: »Buit mir deinen werden zarten gr[uo]ß/ Auch mit ainem lieplichen augenplick«; vv. 21-23: »Ez w[oe]lt denn wenden dein werder/zarter mund:/ S[oe]lt mir der hilff ſenden/ Vnd w[oe]lt mir meinen kommer wenden,/ So m[oe]cht meiner ſorgen wol werden r[av]t.«; no. 20a, 231-236: »L[oe]s das uerſtanden pfand […] Vnd wend deinen wol reddened mund,/ Das vns die hell icht werd kunt.«

69 Hefti (ed., as note 54), no. 20, vv. 51-53: »Dez wil ich, fraw, nun zeſtund/ Beweren wol mit minne dir,/ Alz ir künnent gepieten myr.«; cf. no. 20a, vv. 6 f.

70 Hefti (as note 54), no. 20, vv. 59-69: »Gnad, meins herczens küniginne,/ Laß mich in dein[en] huld[en] ſein/ Mein leib mein h[er]rcz daz iſt dein/ V[nd] gib ez aigenlich auch dir/ Fraw daz gelaub mir/ Du piſt mir ze all[er] ſtunde/ In hercz[en] v[nd] in munde,/ In ſi[nn]e v[nd] in m[uo]t/ Du piſt die rain g[uo]t/ Das ich dein nit uergeſſ[en] mag/ Vncz an den j[un]gſten tag.«

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am a letter, read me).[71] Such a demand makes little sense near the end of a letter and can accordingly elsewhere only be found at the beginning of love letters.[72] It seems to be an introductory phrase, not a closing one, and here, I think, it serves as introduction to the gloss poem. However, not only the position of the phrase but also its content point towards the *Salve Regina*, since what the letter tells about its author again holds a parallel: the writer of the letter is »an fr[ae]udn vngeneſen« (no. 20, v. 51), hopelessly devoid of joy and constantly mourning for the love of the lady. In this, he parallels those lamenting endlessly in the *valle lacrimarum*, waiting for the merciful glance of Mary. In view of these parallels, the letter might after all have offered a possible introduction to a gloss poem that is characterized as a text to be read.

Even if the connection of those two texts is clearly not without friction, one could at last consider a relation in which the first letter offers »a kind of preview« presenting the attitude and topic of the following passages – including the spiritual features of their imagery.[73] The salutation as textual gesture and a reiterated artistically amplified apostrophe towards a very special addressee would then offer the least common denominator for these texts. If we accept this idea, we would not have to insinuate that an otherwise relatively consistent scribe (and perhaps even the author of said texts) made two mistakes at once: mixing up the order of texts and neglecting the customs of layout he chose for his codex. But rather we could ask, if he perhaps might have made use of the quite frequently observed vicinity of spiritual and vernacular salutations and their similarity concerning metaphor and imagery. We could ask, if perhaps he did not simply put into practice what the heading of the so called ›Love letter manual of Cologne‹ recommends: »Wye eyn soete lieff wilt kyesen/ dy kyese Maria dye reyne maget.« – Wo wants to choose a sweet lover, should choose Mary the Virgin.[74]

71 Hefti (as note 54), no. 20, vv. 56-58: »Jch bin ain prief, du ſolt mich leſen:/ Er iſt an fr[ae]uden vngeneſen,/ Der mich hat gemachet;/ Der trauret vnd wachet,/ Fraw, nach deiner minne:«

72 For example Iulia-Emilia Dorobanțu, Jacob Klingner, and Ludger Lieb (eds.), *Minnereden*, Berlin, Boston 2017, no. 12, vv. 1 f.: »Ich bin ain brief und auch ein bot,/ Junckfraw, her zu euch gesant an allen spot.« Schulz-Grobert (as note 64), p. 188: »Ich byn eyn boede ende heit eyn brief/ der mich sent der heft mich lieff.« (Brüssel Cod. II 144, fol. 10v [and 46rv], vv. 1 f.); ibid., p. 194: »Ich bin ain brieflin her komen/ ze botten bin ich vz genommen« (Donaueschingen Cod. 104, fol. 8rb-9ra, vv. 1 f.); ibid., p. 210: »Ich pin ein brieff vnd pin ain pott/ daz ich werb daz geb gott« (Mattsee Cod. 24, fol. 76r, v. 1).

73 Blank (as note 60), col. 386: »Der Einleitungsbrief […] präsentiert sich als eine Art Vorschau auf die folgende topische Thematik, die in den Briefen variiert wird: Frauenpreis mit anaphorischen Grußreihungen, Anklänge an geistliche Liebesmetaphorik, Minnesang-Terminologie und -Ideologie.«

74 Schulz-Grobert (as note 64), pp. 96 f.; Brüssel, Cod. II 144, fol. 10r, cf. fol. 43r »De beata virgine« as heading for the second entry of these love-letters.

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In d, the paratextual device leaves the status of the gloss poem – either as a single text or as part of a letter – under-determined. But the example nevertheless again demonstrates the operative dimension of commentarial forms: If we stress the idea of the relational structure established by commentary, we can observe how a text (on each page or in the codex as a whole) can be defined by commentarial forms, how for example the demarcations of textual boundaries are staged, how they emerge from (paratextual) gestures of reference pointing towards a text, towards parts of a text, or towards an enunciation.[75] These gestures can be very explicit (for example ›that means‹, ›this word is ancient‹, ›this is the prologue‹), they can be brought about by any form of index marker (like an initial from the *textus* repeated by the commentary or a lemma), or they can be merely implicit (for example in establishing a relation by means of layout). They do not point to anything outside of media, but towards the process of mediation itself: they point towards the words, the sentences, the narration, explaining, what they are, how they make sense, in which way they can be understood to symbolize, or what they imply. Commentarial forms put the process of mediation on display, they show (or at least claim to know) how the word, the sentence, the text, or narration ›work‹, where their traditions are rooted, what the text has (allegedly) left out, what it actually wanted to say, or – as in our example – whether it is meant to be a prayer, a song of praise or might perhaps be a letter. Thus, if we deal with a historicized concept of ›text‹, we have to deal with those aspects of textuality established by practices of commentary. In this way, it surely will not be any easier to answer the question whether the one text our encyclopaedias register as *Salve regina künigin maria überlaut* might in fact be three texts (a prayer, a song of praise, and perhaps even a letter to Mary), but perhaps we could ask this question more precisely. In this way, reflecting on commentary practices might take us one step further towards a material philology, which not only thinks about texts but about textual objects constituted in many ways.

75 Genette himself already stressed that his five categories of »transtextuality« cannot be understood as separate from each other. Hence, certain forms of paratext can contain metatextual elements like commentarial forms. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trs. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Lincoln 1997, pp. 7 f.: »First of all, one must not view the five types of transtextuality as seperate and absolute categories without any reciprocal contact or overlapping. On the contrary, their relationships to one another are numerous and often crucial. For example, generic architextuality is, historically, almost always constituted by way of imitation (Virgil imitates Homer, Mateo Aleman's *Guzman* imitates the anonymous *Lazarillo*), hence by way of hypertextuality. The architextual appurtenance of a given work is frequently announced by way of paratextual clues. These in themselves often initiate a metatext (›this book is a novel‹), and the paratext, whether prefatory or other, contains many more forms of commentary.«

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Daniel Dornhofer

Performing Commentary

Preaching the Apocalyptic Drama in Early Modern England

On 12 November 1570, fifteen years to the day after Parliament had passed Queen Mary's Second Statute of Repeal, formally abrogated »such acts and statutes as had been made in parliament since the said twentieth year of said King Henry VIII against the supremacy of the see apostolic«[1] and returned England for three bloody years into the fold of the Catholic Church, preacher William Fulke addressed his hearers from the pulpit of the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court. His agenda was to plainly prove out of one verse of Scripture that the papacy was in fact Antichrist and he introduced his intention:

> The greatest controuersy that this day troubleth the world, is wher the true church of God should be, the Papists making great brags, that it is on their side, & we affirming that it is on our side. This controversie will soone be cut of, and brought to an end, if it may be shewed that *Babilon* is *Rome*.[2]

Fulke was a Cambridge educated theologian of promising talent and had become chaplain to the Earl of Leicester the previous year. The printed version of his 1570 Hampton Court sermon was dedicated to his patron's brother Ambrose Dudley, 3rd Earl of Warwick who had been one of Queen Elizabeth's trusted military leaders in the suppression of the Catholic Northern Rebellion earlier that year. The preacher, thus, addressed some of the champions of militant Protestantism in the Elizabethan court and his project was part of a growing phalanx of English Protestant divines who advocated a strongly historio-prophetic interpretation of St. John's visions.

This article seeks to demonstrate why sermons were the most effective weapon in the Protestant arsenal not to disseminate scriptural truths developed by theologians in their weighty tomes, but to perform a commentary of a biblical passage and thus work towards the salvation of its hearers in a way that ›mere‹ writing could never accomplish. My project aims to understand apocalyptic preaching in the reformed tradition as both event and text in which the spoken

1 Second Statue of Repeal, in: *Sources of English Constitutional History*, Vol. I, ed. by Carl Stephenson and Frederick George Marcham, New York 1972, p. 329.

2 William Fulke, *A Sermon Preached at Hampton Court*, London 1570, fol. Bi^{v} f.

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word of the ministers was the beacon of Christ's presence in the world in the middle of the final battle. Preachers were Christ's living witnesses, as Rodney Petersen has discussed in his study of Revelation XI as a central proof-text of the reformed self-image.[3] I am going to discuss the role of the sermon in early modern Protestant culture, introduce its salvational as well as rhetorical status and structural characteristics. This will include an assessment of the primacy of the spoken word characteristic of Puritan culture that made the sermon not only a site of instructing and exhorting the faithful, but the most important occasion for receiving divine grace. I will then go on to sketch out the key elements of Elizabethan apocalypticism which revolved around an interpretation of the Book of Revelation as a history of the afflicted true church of Christ from the crucifixion to the present and on to her final triumph which was at hand. Finally, I will return to Fulke's Hampton Court sermon as a contribution to this discourse. The biblical interpretation of the preacher was by no means considered secondary to the commentary of theologians but rather the other way around: learned volumes of commentary provided the frontline fighters in their pulpits with the raw material to forge the sharpest weapons in the apocalyptic battle.

Commentary can very broadly be defined as a text which explicitly draws upon form and/ or content of an older, authoritative text with the intention of clarifying its meaning or elaborating on questions and problems posed by the latter. It can do so by working more or less closely with the authoritative text it wants to elucidate, either taking its entirety or just a short passage as its object.[4] The interpretation of one to three verses from Scripture delivered orally to an audience of more or less eager listeners to whose lives carnal and eternal the meaning of the text was ›applied‹ and on whom the Holy Spirit might bestow saving grace can surely be considered the most important practice of commentary in early modern Protestant culture. As Mary Morrissey has expediently summarized it:

> Because it simultaneously enunciated scripture and expounded its meanings, the sermon was a powerful vehicle for advancing particular interpretations of the Bible. The interpretative element of early modern preaching cannot be emphasized enough: the sermons […] were essentially exercises in literary interpretation that were ›applied‹ to the circumstances of the sermon's hearers.[5]

3 Rodney L. Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days: The Theme of ›Two Witnesses‹ in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Oxford 1993.

4 Jan-Hendryk de Boer, »Kommentar«, in: id, Marian Füssel, and Maximilian Schuh (eds.), *Universitäre Gelehrtenkultur vom 13. – 16. Jahrhundert: ein interdisziplinäres Quellen- und Methodenhandbuch*, Stuttgart 2018, pp. 265-318, here p. 265.

5 Mary Morrissey, »Ornament and Repetition: Biblical Interpretation in Early Modern English Preaching«, in: Kevin Killeen and Helen Smith (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530 – 1700*, Oxford 2015, pp. 303-316, here p. 303.

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The historical and cultural context of a sermon must be studied alongside the religious content in order to understand its success. Stylistic assessment of rhetorical elegance, which has traditionally been the focus of the few literary scholars to take sermons seriously, can hardly explain why a preacher was popular or why a sermon hit a nerve.[6] Preaching of course also functioned as an instrument of the state to disseminate politically preferred readings on order, obedience and Protestant identity to vast numbers of the population across social and educational divides in a way no other mass medium could, but it was first and foremost an instrument of God »conveying saving grace to instruct, move, and convert«[7]. As the Elizabethan Church of England was a state church where all had to congregate, but only some would eventually be saved, the pulpit, not the altar, was the life raft to cling to.

The printed sermon entered the book market in force only during the second half of the 16th century. Sermons, prayer books, meditations, etc. make up some 50 per cent of the press output in early modern England and an estimated 1200 sermons had been published by 1603.[8] Some elegant folios aside, the vast majority were the products of pastoral daily work in slim, affordable quartos. Reprinting was also more frequent than in other genres: Fulke's oration for instance was available in its sixth edition in 1580. As W. Fraser Mitchell put it in his pioneering study:

> For one person who witnessed a play or ten who happened to read it thousands may […] be said to have attended sermons, or afterwards studied them […] in printed copies.[9]

Just like Elizabethan drama, sermons have come down to us as texts, but were projected as oral events. The very quick publication – often, as in Fulke's case, just a fortnight after preaching – suggests a high demand and eager printers but also a clear connection with the public event still ringing in the buyers' ears. Translated into the medium of print, they became consumer commodities and served as a second wave of persuasion, to solidify what had been heard and to

6 Lori Anne Ferrell, »Sermons«, in: Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (eds.), *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, Farnham 2013, pp. 193-202, here p. 196.

7 Jeanne Shami, »The Sermon«, in: Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, Oxford 2017, pp. 185-206, here p. 185.

8 Mary Morrissey, »Sermons, Primers, and Prayerbooks«, in: Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture* – Volume 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, Oxford 2011, pp. 491-509, here p. 491 and p. 503; cf. Peter McCullough, »Sermons«, in: Andrew Hadfield (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500 – 1640*, Oxford 2013, pp. 560-575, here p. 560.

9 W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrews to Tillotson: A Study of its Literary Aspects*, New York 1962 (1932), pp. 3 f.

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spark application in further oral events such as discussion, catechism, prayer and of course future sermons by other preachers. To spread interpretations and reach those who had not been present was no more than a welcome side effect. While we can only study them as written texts, sermons were considered oral performances to be effective by hearing. Many Protestant ministers saw themselves first and foremost as preachers and were well aware of the pitfalls of medial translation from heard to read text as John Lawrence conceded in the preface to his *A Golden Trumpet* of 1624:

> I must confesse [it] hath lost what it then had, for the dead letter cannot be so patheticall as the living voice, neither can the pen so set it forth in writing, as the tongue in speaking.[10]

Several shaping forces contributed to making the sermon the dominant vehicle for early modern Protestantism. The availability of the Bible in English is one of them. Interestingly enough, the more private vernacular reading of God's word became common, the more guidance was deemed imperative. Preaching was more necessary than ever to provide orthodox commentary and offer preferred readings where otherwise heterodox or idiosyncratic interpretations could take root and spread. The competing translations of the Bible, and most prominently the success and availability of the Geneva Bible with its hard-boiled Calvinist marginal glosses, made the voice of unity and order from the pulpit all the more urgent.[11] According to many early Reformers, the Bible was self-sufficient, and the right sense could readily be understood by the attentive reader without having to rely on glosses and learned commentary, as the Word of God was not dependent on the words of men. William Tyndale even leached out against the Catholic tradition that had turned Scripture upside down by making scholastic theologians the masters of the text.[12] However, when things got more complicated than this naïve enthusiasm suggested, it was the commentary of the preacher that readers would turn to for explication, illustration and as a crash barrier on the road to godliness.

In the Gospels, Christ repeatedly presses the duty to preach onto His disciples but unfortunately, He never tells them how to do it. In the Reformation's propagated return to the ways of the apostles and the far-reaching attempts to purge the church of manmade idols and rituals, the word of God had to take centre stage.

10 John Lawrence, *A golden trumpet, to rowse vp a drowsie magistrate: or, A patterne for a governors practise*, London 1624, fol. A4^r; cf. Ferrell (as note 6), p. 199.

11 Shami (as note 7), p. 188; cf. Maurice Betteridge, »The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and its Annotations«, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14:1 (1983), pp. 41-62.

12 Helen Parish, »›To Conseile with Elde Dyuynis‹: History, Scripture and Interpretation in Reformation England«, in: Elaine Fulton and Peter Webster (eds.), *The Search for Authority in Reformation Europe*, Farnham 2014, pp. 127-146, here p. 127.

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This primacy of the verbal over the visual corresponds with the sermon-based model of the new Protestant ministry. While visual tokens, symbolic ceremonies and mental images were emphatically rejected and excluded from public service and private devotion, the living word reached the parishioner primarily in spoken form.[13] A passage of Scripture was publicly read and explicated to him from the pulpit, then looked up, copied out, memorized, discussed with his peers, used in private meditation and finally in prayer, the second most important oral practice. Preachers frequently referred to how St. Paul stresses in Romans X:13-14 that the faith necessary for salvation comes first by hearing:

> [13] For whoever shal call upon the name of the Lord, shalbe saued.
> [14] But how shal thei call on him, in whom they haue not beleued? and how shal they beleue in him of whom they haue not heard? and how shal they heare without a preacher? [14]

Consequently, mere reading, even of the vernacular Bible, did not seem sufficient for salvation. The Bible was considered by many reformed clergymen not so much a written text, as a record of what had originally been spoken. After all, God had communicated with His people through the mouths of prophets. He had shown visions to the prophets and explained them with His spoken, not written words. God's habit of self-commentary in dynamics of showing and telling can be encountered throughout the Old Testament but is nowhere as apparent as in His revelation to St. John on Patmos.

The Reformation has frequently been described as logocentric, yet early modern English Protestant, and most emphatically Puritan, culture was not just revolving around the word, but more precisely in a »phonologocentric«[15] way around the *spoken* word. Thus, hearing was considered more important than reading in a frequently-stressed dichotomy of true ear-worship versus false eye-worship[16], often calling St. Paul (1 Corinthians I:21) to witness:

> For seeing the worlde by wisdome they knewe not God in the wisdome of God, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to saue them that beleue.

God has chosen preaching to make the Word operative in the Church and it is thus the primary road to salvation since faith is given while listening. If the Word is Christ, then the Bible is not just a record of His sayings, but a revelation of God hidden behind the written words. Consequently, elaborating on a passage

13 Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590 – 1640*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 19 f.
14 All quotations from Scripture are taken from the 1560 Geneva Bible.
15 Tom Webster, »Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality«, in: *Historical Journal* 39:1 (1996), pp. 33-56, here p. 41; cf. Hunt (as note 13), p. 21.
16 Hunt (as note 13), pp. 24 f.; Shami (as note 7), p. 197.

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from Scripture in the sermon does not just inform on Christian doctrines but activates the written text's »latent force«[17] in the hearer. The Word of God only goes to the parishioner's heart, if carried thither by the living voice of preachers as the prophets' and apostles' latter-day successors. This insistence on the primacy of the oral was perfectly in line with Calvin's doctrine of the sacraments as »visible words«[18] presented to both eyes and ears. If they were only visual, they would be illusory, misleading dead images.

While Elizabethan Protestants shared an essentially Calvinist consensus that included the centrality of the Word of God and the need for a godly preaching ministry, the preference of the spoken word over the written was a distinctive feature of Puritan culture and reflects a dissenting view of the office and power of the preacher. This was articulated as a marker of difference in all major confrontations between Puritan and conformist divines from the 1570s on. In his feud with Thomas Cartwright, the future Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift tried to argue for an equal importance of the word read and heard:

> But we may not make so light of reading, whereby so many have come to the knowledge of the truth, whereby also daily more are converted, even such as very seldom or never hear the word preached. Both preaching therefore and reading be means whereby God doth call to salvation those that be his[.][19]

More than twenty years later, Richard Hooker went two steps further when he defined »the *worde of God* always to meane the *scripture onelie*«[20] and strongly advocated reading as the only way of knowing and understanding what is necessary for salvation.[21] Still, even harshest criticism from eminent theologians (Lancelot Andrewes went as far as preaching against excessive preaching) did not have the power to change the dominant practice of Protestant sermon composition.[22] It has frequently been argued that the early modern period marked a transition from an ›age of the ear‹ to an ›age of the eye‹ and the preaching/ reading debate can quickly be simplified to appear as symptomatic for the decline of an oral and the rise of a literate society around 1600.[23] This, however, grossly underestimates the oral features of early modern culture that did not disappear in a sudden,

17 Hunt (as note 13), p. 27.

18 Ibid., pp. 22 f.; Mary Morrissey, »Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching«, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53:4 (2002), pp. 686-706, here pp. 689 f.

19 John Whitgift, *The Works*, Vol. III, ed. by John Ayre, Cambridge 1853, p. 36.

20 Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy.* Book V, ed. by W. Speed Hill, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, p. 84.

21 Ibid., p. 99.

22 Morrissey (as note 18), pp. 697 f.

23 Hunt (as note 13), pp. 56 f.

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modernising shift (just as manuscript culture did not go extinct with the introduction of the printing press). All the evidence points to a complex balance maintained that made the period an aural rather than oral culture.

In a typical Protestant sermon, the reading of the verses which the preacher was to expound and comment upon would be followed by a summary, making the connection with the occasion and the circumstances of the congregation apparent. The sermon then had to deliver an interpretation of the chosen verses in doctrinal and moral terms, application of those doctrines to the listeners' lives and experiences, and finally exhortation to accept and act according to what had been offered.[24] The last segment was usually the one most clearly and urgently appealing to the emotions and frequently disembogued in prayer. Making Christ's presence in the Word operative through preaching was not considered the effect of the minister's talent, though.[25] Much rather, it is the Holy Spirit who gives grace to the hearers and enables them to benefit from the sermon. However, they are not passive recipients either, but must pay minute attention and pray for the grace that God might bestow on His elect. The preacher constructs his sermon around a scriptural passage and his aim must be to teach and exhort. Whether his hearers are actually moved to embrace and follow his calling is beyond his control because humans are incapable of believing without God's help (as stressed by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians III:7). In every sermon, there is thus a fragile triangular relationship at work between him, Him and them. Only if human misunderstanding is ruled out by the preacher's clear and plain style can his attentive hearers be ready, and the Word become effective through the Holy Spirit in some of them. Hence, a good preacher could not claim great performance in the pulpit as his own; the achievement was God's, not his. This also led to diverging opinions on the permissibility of quotations from sources other than Bible and Church Fathers. Profane learning and intertextual references were frequently frowned upon as signs of mere vanity of preachers eager to show off. Puritan theologian William Perkins urges modesty in his remarkable handbook *The Art of Prophecying* of 1592 (first English edition 1607):

> Humane wisdome must be concealed, whether it be in the matter of the sermon, or in the setting forth of the words: because the preaching of the word is the Testimonie of God, and the profession of the knowledge of Christ, and not of humane skill: and againe, because the hearers ought not to ascribe their faith to the gifts of men, but to the power of Gods word. […] it is also a point of Art to conceale Art.[26]

24 McCullough (as note 8), p. 566.
25 Morrissey (as note 18), pp. 690 ff.
26 William Perkins, *The Works*, Vol. II, London 1631, p. 670.

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With this »sermonic sprezzatura«[27], the preacher must be able to address all degrees, ages and backgrounds in his audience to make them all as receptive as possible for the working of the Word. This triangular relationship also makes obvious that preaching was neither considered an office requiring direct divine inspiration, nor a branch of rhetoric aiming to persuade its listeners. Preachers would of course since their grammar school days and throughout their undergraduate education have received a thorough training in classical oratory and were aware which rhetorical techniques could be profitably applied.[28] A successful sermon, however, required more than the humanist textbooks could teach.

Mary Morrisey quite rightly observes that novelty did not count as a virtue in preaching.[29] Much rather, the preacher was required to go over the fundamentals of faith again and again, reiterating points that had already been made before, stressing their importance for salvation and driving home points that his audience should have been familiar with for quite a while. However, he does not convert by originality and rhetorical skill, but must offer and repeat for his hearers to accept the calling. Thus, the message, the sense of a scriptural passage, must become as clear as possible. Style and formal as well as theological finesse might have been applauded, but they did not save a single soul if they could not be made receptive to the Word or were even confused by the complexity of the sermon. St. Augustine's immensely influential handbook *De doctrina Christiana* advocated the appropriation of the full arsenal of pagan rhetoric in the service of the sermon, and thereby argued at the same time against preaching being a part of the classical orders of oratory. Every rhetorical device known to mankind could be fielded, yet most sermons are no parading ground of tropes and figures. Preachers were well educated in rhetoric whose fireworks they unleashed sparingly, selectively, and only when they were certain of the effect. All preachers were thus aiming for ›plainness‹ in the sense of didactic clarity which must not be put at risk by displays of artfulness.

Fulke, too, claims a plain style in his sermon as the best way to the hearers' hearts instead of further confusing them with unnecessarily complex exposition:

> For it is a shame, in thys place to flee vnto Allegories and further expositions of this […] interpretation, which as I sayd before, if it be not cleare, playne and easy to be vnderstood, deserveth not the name of exposition: as when

27 Greg Kneidel, »Ars Prædicandi: Theories and Practice«, in: Peter McCullough (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, Oxford 2011, pp. 3-20, here p. 7.

28 Kate Armstrong, »Sermons in Performance«, in: Peter McCullough (as note 27), pp. 121-136, here p. 127.

29 Morrissey (as note 5), pp. 312 ff.

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> one unknowen thing is expounded by another, as much or more unknowen, it is vayne, superfluous, & ridiculous.[30]

The complex medieval thematic sermon that was based on a single scriptural passage but quickly digressed into a series of learned and logically demanding sub-sermons was frowned upon by Humanists and Reformers alike. Although Erasmus's Ciceronian handbook *Ecclesiastes* (1525) became quite influential in England too, its heavy reliance on pagan models made many Puritan ministers uneasy about structuring their sermons according to the principles of the *genus deliberativum*. The word-by-word explanation of a lengthy biblical passage characteristic of patristic homilies seemed more attractive, but its philological focus and relative dullness made it unsuitable for contemporary pastoral needs.[31] Therefore, Protestant preachers developed the ›doctrine-use‹ scheme focusing on only a few verses from scripture. These must be presented, language and historical context explained, the doctrinal message extracted and finally applied to the hearers' experiences.[32] The ›doctrine-use‹ scheme was a direct result of the dangers of heterodoxic reading experiences. The sermon's central task was (no matter what its genre or occasion might have been) the explication and application of a piece of Scripture. Therefore William Perkins reminded his colleagues »that a Minister must be a divine *Interpreter*, an *Interpreter* of Gods meaning«.[33]

Unfortunately, many difficult parts of Scripture seemed to offer more than one meaning. Yet allegorical interpretation had not fallen into disuse after the Reformation. It was still deemed indispensable to make sense of challenging biblical passages or entire books like Canticles or Revelation. However, allegory was now defined as a rhetorical figure and thereby (in sharp contrast to medieval scholastic tradition) as part of the text's conscious agenda and intention. Metaphor, parable, allegory were all seen as tools used by the author of the sacred text. Consequently, there were not several independent senses to be discovered, but one single sense that sometimes relied on certain rhetorical devices. Even where there was no obvious allegory, a text could point to something beyond itself, which would still be considered part of the one meaning. This allowed for a range of symbolical, typological and moral interpretations that added up to one ›literal‹ sense.[34] Hence, preachers were not meant to choose one of several meanings of a biblical text, but had to keep its one sense intact and deliver the whole ›package‹ to their listeners, not making the task of preaching on difficult passages of Scripture less challenging.

30 Fulke (as note 1), fol. Ciii^r
31 Kneidel (as note 27), pp. 10 ff.
32 Morrissey (as note 8), p. 507.
33 Perkins (as note 26), Vol. III, p. 431.
34 Morrissey (as note 5), pp. 308 f.

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In terms of structure, Perkins summarized his »sacred and onely methode of Preaching« at the end of the *Art of Prophecying*:

1. To read the Text distinctly out of Canonicall Scriptures.
2. To give the sense an understanding of it being read, by the Scripture it selfe.
3. To collect a few and profitable points of doctrine out of the naturall sense.
4. To apply […] the doctrines […] to the life and manners of men, in a simple and plaine speech.[35]

Especially for sections two and three, preachers were expected to consult scholarly exegetical books which were available in print and parish libraries. In the name of ›sermonic sprezzatura‹, they would hide their dependence on all such sources, yet learned commentary had naturally been part of their university training and, as reading lists and library inventories attest, these included works by recent Protestant just as much as medieval and contemporary Catholic theologians.[36] However, they were all relegated to the status of auxiliary science, merely supporting, not structuring the sermon. In his highly popular handbook *The Faithfull Shepheard* (1607), Puritan Richard Bernard further specified Perkins's basic structure of a godly sermon to consist of prayer, preface, reading, analysis, doctrine, use, application, prevention of objections and conclusion[37], which already underlies Fulke's discourse a generation earlier. After a short prayer, Fulke read out Revelation XIV:8, the one verse on which his exposition rested:

> She is fallen, she is fallen, euen Babylon that great Citye, for of the wyne of the fury of her fornication, she hath made all nations to drinke.[38]

He then gives a preface, introducing his structure and guiding questions that he will address and clarify in the following:

> Now this text of scripture […] offereth mee three speciall thinges to be considered: First, what *Babilon* is: secondly, wat is become of her: And thirdly, what is the cause of her heauy decay.[39]

Fulke goes on to concentrate on the first half verse to prove that Rome must be meant by Babylon and more precisely Papal, not Imperial Rome. He does so mostly by commenting on one section of Scripture with the help of other biblical passages (chiefly from Revelation and 2 Thessalonians). This technique of

35 Perkins (as note 26), Vol. II, p. 673.

36 Carl Trueman, »Preachers and Medieval and Renaissance Commentary«, in: Peter McCullough (as note 27), pp. 54-71, here pp. 59 f.

37 Kneidel (as note 27), p. 18; Richard Bernard, *The Faithfull Shepheard*, London 1609, fol. A2^{r} ff.

38 Fulke (as note 1), fol. Aiii^{r}.

39 Ibid., fol. Aiv^{r}.

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illuminating one dark passage of Scripture with the help of other verses – quoted seemingly out of context – was firmly rooted in Protestant modes of Bible reading. While many read in a linear way, taking on the entire text, book by book and chapter by chapter, they would at the same time read discontinuously for ›sentences‹. This meant looking at verses in isolation as moral aphorisms for a godly life or ammunition for religious controversy. This »propositional«[40] approach mirrored the Calvinist understanding of the Bible as the source of doctrine as no belief was to be accepted without scriptural legitimation.

For Fulke and his contemporaries, the identification of Babylon as Rome evidently implied the identification of the papacy as Antichrist. Although the word Antichrist occurs only once in the Bible (in 1 John II:22 where it is used for the deniers of Christ), the Church Fathers were quick to combine it with the »man of sin« of 2 Thessalonians II:3-9 and the false teachers of 1 Timothy IV:1-4. Since all these are clear signs of the end of times, it seemed natural to associate them with the second apocalyptic beast (Revelation XIII:11-18), and so the traditional image of Antichrist as Satan's coming agent took shape, culminating in Adso Dervensis's highly popular 10th-century *Libellus de Antichristo*. Throughout the Middle Ages, popes, emperors, and heretics frequently identified each other as antichrists in their political and theological disputes, and this abuse was also hurled in the early Reformation. However, Protestant writers, who rejected narratives of medieval legend, soon took a different direction. They no longer regarded Antichrist as an actual person to be expected on the eve of the final battle but saw him as a spiritual power opposed to Christ that had been working for a long time and was responsible for temptation, corruption and persecution of the true believers. Reformed theologians and controversialists, including William Tyndale, soon identified beyond doubt the papacy as that anti-Christian church and institution of Satan. This was not merely a defamation of the enemy anymore, but a theologically founded discovery of his true nature. The Book of Revelation rose to prominence among Protestant commentators and preachers who sought to hammer home this reading and thereby also disclose a radically new history of the Christian church. John Bale introduced his readers to the importance of the last book of the Bible in the preface to his commentary on Revelation *The Image of Bothe Churches* (1548):

> Nowhere is the durable kingdom and priesthood of the said Jesus Christ more plenteously spread, more plainly proved, and more largely uttered, than in this holy oracle. Nowhere is the doctrine of health more purely

40 Mary Morrissey, »Nuts, Kernels, Wading Lambs and Swimming Elephants: Preachers and Their Handling of Biblical Texts«, in: Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*, Leiden 2018, pp. 84-103, here p. 86.

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> taught, faith more thoroughly commended, nor yet righteousness more highly rewarded, than here. […] Herein is the true Christian church, which is the meek spouse of the Lamb without spot, in her right-fashioned colours described. [...] He that knoweth not this book, knoweth not what the church is whereof he is a member.[41]

Like other Reformers, he emphasized the edifying benefits of the apocalyptic text, as it captivatingly presented the conflict between godliness and sin. But Bale also introduced a new, historical interpretation was to have tremendous influence on early modern Protestant culture. According to this, the Book of Revelation showed in the struggle of God's elect with the followers of the beast the whole history of the church since the Resurrection, crystallised as the conflict between the true church of Christ and the false church of Rome. It was Bale's achievement to have established St. John's visions as the key to a new, reformed understanding of the entire church history. He no longer read the Apocalypse as a prophecy of eschatological events, but as a clear account of the path of the church of Christ from its beginning to the Day of Judgment. In *The Image of Bothe Churches*, he revealed his chronology, identified the *dramatis personae* and revealed their true role in the struggle between Babylon and Jerusalem. History was pervaded by the eternal dualism between two churches: the true church of the Holy Spirit and the false church of the flesh. In the latter he recognized the church of the Bishop of Rome. Bale considered Antichrist not as a coming figure but as an institution that had been operating in the world for centuries. Hence, he was able to write a history of the Protestant movement, which started long before Luther. The Reformed church was therefore by no means a new one: it was indeed the true church of Christ, from which the Roman, as the real schismatic, had fallen away, and which it had since then persecuted and oppressed. Based on this discovery, Bale developed a chronology of the history of the church based on the seven apocalyptic seals.[42]

Popularized by the marginal glosses of the Geneva Bible (1560), expanded and exemplified by Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563), and picked up by numerous commentaries, tracts and above all sermons, this reading quickly became commonplace in Elizabethan England. The Book of Revelation attained central importance to the self-image of English Protestants as members of the invisible true church, which now, in spite of all persecutions past and present, had entered the final battle with the forces of the Roman Antichrist. How perilous these latter

41 John Bale, *Select Works*, ed. by Henry Christmas, Cambridge 1849, pp. 251 f.

42 Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War*, Toronto 1978, pp. 17 ff.; Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millennarianism and the English Reformation, from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman*, Oxford 1978, pp. 70 ff.

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days still were could also be learned from St. John's prophesies. Although the beast from the sea, which clearly represented the papacy, had been seriously wounded (Revelation XIII:3), its wound healed, for the Protestant reforms were only half-heartedly implemented throughout Europe. As long as the idolatrous practices of Catholicism had not been completely eradicated, a community was vulnerable and the duty to bear witness to the truth, admonish against the deceptive ways of Antichrist and call as many as possible to embrace God's saving grace mostly rested upon the shoulders of the preachers. Accordingly, much effort was devoted to substantiating this finding with further scriptural evidence (frequently cross-referencing to Matthew XXIV:15-28, 2 Timotheus III:1-9, 2 Peter II and Daniel XI), which virtually became a subgenre in biblical commentary, popular tracts and sermons alike. The importance of the subject was insistently summed up Thomas Beard as late as 1625 when he opened his treatise:

> Next unto our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, there in nothing so necessary as the true and solid knowledge of Antichrist.[43]

Fulke, after having established beyond doubt the identification of Rome as Babylon as the central doctrine of his verse, goes on to comment on the nature of her fall:

> But if we will better vnderstand how she is fallen, we must consider more distinctly wherein she is fallen. […] Well, *Babylon* is not fallen onely in wealth and riches, but also in power and authority.[44]

He perceived the Romish church of Antichrist as being in its last agony because princes and nations had begun to turn away from her and more and more witnesses to the truth were rising and preaching the Word of God throughout Europe. The hidden, true church of Christ had finally become visible again.

He then analyses the sins that have led to Babylon's fall and explains those in a metaphorical application to two common vices that preachers never tired to chastise:

> She hath deceiued all the world with false doctrine, which he compareth unto two kindes of vices, whereby men are so deceiued, that they loose all right iudgement: *Dronkennes* and *Fornication*. For as these two vices do allure men to cõmit them, by coueting of vayne delectacion that is in them, euen so *Babylon* hath enticed all men lyke another *Circe*, to drinke the cup of her delectable errors, and to commit most filthy fornication with her idolatrous religion.[45]

43 Thomas Beard, *Antichrist the Pope of Rome: or, The Pope of Rome is Antichrist*, London 1625, fol. *1.

44 Fulke (as note 1), fol. Eiv[v] and Fi[v].

45 Ibid., fol. Giii[r] f.

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Elizabethan Protestants continued to live under the traumatic shadow of the burning stakes of Mary Tudor's reign. Although the country had returned to its covenant with the Lord under the new monarch, there was still an awareness of the menace posed by the Catholic powers of Europe and a recusant fifth column at home. This siege mentality was kept alive by early Elizabethan writings in many genres that drew on John Bale's historical reading of the Book of Revelation. The greatest contribution to popularizing the new understanding of the Apocalypse, the Geneva Bible (1560) whose annotations and commentaries guided three generations of English readers in their study of Scripture. They also included prominently John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (or ›Book of Martyrs‹) and the most complete commentary on the Book of Revelation were the sermons that Heinrich Bullinger had preached to the English exiles at Zurich in 1557 and that were translated into English as *A Hundred Sermons on the Apocalyps of Jesu Christe* in 1561. Apocalyptic preaching and writing returned in force after the Northern Rebellion of November 1569 and Elizabeth's excommunication by Pope Pius V three months later and was again boosted by the shocking massacres in France in 1572.[46] First to appear were a new printing of John Bale's *The Image of Bothe Churches* and the revised edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in 1570. Bullinger's sermons saw a revised edition three years later, the same year William Fulke published his Latin commentary on the Book of Revelation, which was immediately translated as *Prælections vpon the Sacred and Holy Reuelation of S. John*. The translation of Augustin Marlorat's *A Catholike Exposition vpon the Reulationation of Sainct John* (1574) was to have great influence on the marginal glosses of the revised version of the Geneva Bible under the editorship of Laurence Tomson. Over 100 texts dealing with the identification of Rome as Babylon and the Pope as Antichrist were printed between 1588 and 1628 alone.[47] Hence, anti-Catholic controversialist John Fielde observed in 1581 that »to proue the Pope Antichriste [appears to] be needles, considering how it is a beaten argument in euerye booke.«[48] But this was, after all, one fundamental truth that urgently needed to be conveyed, for outwardly, both churches had the same claim to holiness, and it was vital to the salvation of every man to be able to distinguish the church of Christ from that of the Antichrist, as Fulke stressed at beginning of his sermon. Already the famous frontispiece of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* shows impressively the external characteristics of the two churches and preaching the Word of God is the very foundation of the

46 Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530 – 1645*, Oxford 1979, pp. 84 f.; Bauckham (as note 42), pp. 99 f.

47 Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600 – 1640*, Cambridge 1995, p. 93.

48 John Fielde, *A Caveat for Parsons Howlet*, London 1581, fol. Bi^v^.

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true church. For Foxe, Revelation not only contained the entire history of the church, it underlies it as an ordering pattern. Following the biblical guidelines, Foxe divided his chronicle in 1570 into five sections of about 300 years each: the first phase corresponds to the persecutions of early Christianity, which ended with Constantine's victory of 324. According to Foxe's interpretation, this was the binding of Satan for 1000 years from Revelation XX. His release coincided accordingly with the persecutions of the followers of Jan Hus and John Wyclif in the late 14th century, thus ushering in the last phase of Satan's fury against the faithful, which meant that the end was nigh indeed.[49]

As we have seen, by far the largest body of apocalyptic writing was not made up of scholarly commentaries, but popular historiography and sermons that exposed the signs of Antichrist to an immense audience.[50] Also Fulke stressed, that the fall of Babylon, although it could clearly be witnessed in the present time, was a reason for hope, but most definitely not a sign of imminent peace for the faithful, as the raging of Antichrist still intensified.

> Even in the mydst of her tyranny and persecution, great multitudes dayly are lightened with the bright beames of the Gospel, that for all Inquisitions, imprisonments, exquisite torments, and cruel burnings they neuer a whyt diminish, but rather increase, as God hath prouided, that the blood of the Martyrs should be the seede of the church. […] For the word of God must conquer and preuail in the last age, & Antichrist must be consumed by the spirit of the mouth of *CHRIST*, which is hys holye word, and vtterly be abolished by the glorious brightness of the coming to iudgement […]. Therefore it is in uayne that they seeke to vnderprop the doctrine of *Babylon* by cruelty and tyranny, for all will not serue, seeing the tyme of her finall fall approacheth[.][51]

»Victory over Antichrist was not victory as the world understood victory, but victory in and through persecution«, as Richard Bauckham puts it.[52] This did

49 F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, San Marino, CA 1967, p. 100; Bauckham (as note 42), p. 84.

50 Unfortunately, most of the invaluable studies of English Protestant apocalypticism from the 1970s focus near exclusively on biblical commentary and theological tracts, while hardly making any references to the rich output of sermons.With the notable exception of Bauckham (as note 42), Bryan Ball (*A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660*, Leiden 1975), Christianson (as note 42), Katherine Firth (as note 46) and the volume edited by C.A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (*The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions*, Manchester 1984) ignore sermons by all but the most senior clergymen.

51 Fulke (as note 1), fol. Fii^v f.

52 Bauckham (as note 42), p. 146.

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not mean that English Protestants could sit back and watch the drama unfold. The recent troubles had shown that a wounded Antichrist was even more active and dangerous. The purity of Christian doctrine had to be defended at all cost and the reformation had to be pushed further to prepare the realm for the anticipated Day of Judgement.

Fulke, like most of his colleagues, firmly believed that preaching the Word of God was the best or even only way to get ready and save as many as possible. He consequently further expands on the item of application when he warns his hearers against the wasteful vengeance that shall strike them for clinging on to or just tolerating Catholic idolatry:

> For howsoever ignorance before her fall, though it were inexcusable, yet seemed to diminish the greatness of the crime. Now that her wickednes is openlye displayed, no pretence can saue men from the extremity of Gods wrath, if they will still obstinately continue in her heresies.[53]

This was not just meant as an individual warning, for as long as the idolatrous practice existed in their midst, the entire commonwealth remained vulnerable to backsliding and the Old Testament was full of instances where God had withdrawn from the whole people because of the lapse of some. Stamping out Catholicism in England became a necessity to guard against God's wrath and Fulke closes his sermon accordingly with a communal prayer:

> Let vs therefore pray vnto almighty *GOD* instantly, that all men in their vocation may seeke the vtter overthrow and destruction of *Babylon*: that Princes and Magistrats may […] hate her with a perfect hatred, and vtterlye abolishe what soeuer belongeth to her: […] That Preachers and Ministers of Gods word, may plainly and without dissimulation or halting, discouer her wickedness: and earnestlye to vrge, whatsoeuer hath yet neede of perfect reformation, that all subiectes may continue in holy obedience, first to *GOD*, and then to their Prince[.][54]

Mary Morrissey has convincingly shown that anti-Catholic preaching assumed a new tone in the 1570s that reflected a change in the perceived sympathies of the audience: from misguided followers soon after the end of Mary Tudor's reign, to potential backsliders in the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion, and finally, following the Armada crisis of 1588, to hard-boiled opponents of everything remotely smacking of Popery.[55] But this was a long process in which the Catholic element in England had to be reduced and excluded. Attacks on the church of

53 Fulke (as note 1), fol. Hii^{v}.

54 Ibid., fol. Hii^{v} f.

55 Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons 1558 – 1642*, Cambridge 2011, p. 161.

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Rome as an institution of Satan lent a heightened sense of urgency to the rejection of traditional religious practices. Fulke's sermon is relatively early in this new wave of fiery oratory that started immediately after the Northern Rebellion had been crushed. The new tone could be tested when preaching to the converted, as it were, in the relative safety of Hampton Court, but it had to stand the test in more public preaching venues from Paul's Cross to countless country parishes. The new official *Homilie against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion* of 1570, which virtually all church-going English men and women would have been exposed to on numerous occasions, refers to the Pope as the »babylonicall beast of Rome«[56]. And when Edwin Sandys addressed the crowd from St. Paul's Cross in 1573 on 1 Peter IV:7 (»Now the end of all things is at hand. Be ye therefore sober, and watching in prayer.«), he called his listeners to rejoice at the fact that England had »left that man of sin« behind and went on to denounce

> that rose-coloured harlot with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, that triple-crowned beast, that double-sworded tyrant, that thief and murderer, who hath robbed so many souls of salvation, and sucked so much innocent blood of Christian martyrs, that adversary unto Christ, that pretensed vicar, who hath displaced the person, not only taking upon him Christ's room and office, but also boasting himself as if he were a god, and being content of his parasites so to be called. This wicked man of sin is at length revealed by the sincere preaching of the gospel. Daniel in his prophecies, Paul in his epistles, and John in his revelations, have most lively described and pointed him forth as it were with the finger.[57]

The bishop of London seems to assume here that Catholic sympathisers were absent or a silent marginalised minority in his audience. During the 1570s and 80s, Protestant group identity was indeed increasingly strong and the attacked enemy mostly absent.[58] Consequently, anti-Catholic diatribes became a standard ingredient in sermons on nearly any occasion and the commonplaces became highly conventional and predictable with certain proof-texts appearing over and over.[59] Many Elizabethan Protestants would have been so familiar with the Bible and especially the commonplaces recurring in sermons, catechisms and other devotional literature that preachers did not have to expressly draw parallels to current affairs or politics. The biblical idiom functioned as sufficiently political

56 *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547)* and *A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570)*, ed. by Ronald B. Bond, Toronto 1987, p. 244.

57 Edwin Sandys, *The Sermons and Miscellaneous Pieces*, ed. by John Ayre, Cambridge 1841, p. 389.

58 Morrissey (as note 55), p. 175.

59 Ibid., pp. 185 f.

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language and typology facilitated the application of episodes from Scripture to the present day.[60]

For Bishop Sandys, chaplain Fulke and countless ministers in parish pulpits, the survival of the nation seemed at stake and it was not so much threatened by the violence of Catholic armies as by the wrath of the Lord, should idleness prevail and make the English (once more) forgetful of their covenant. Hence, frequent preaching was vital for prevention of sin and thereby of divine vengeance.[61] By identifying the workings of Antichrist in the history of the church of Rome, the primacy of Scripture over ecclesiastical tradition could be further strengthened and the apocalyptic books of the Bible seemed to provide plenty of ammunition if read philologically and historically precise.[62]

In the aural culture of early modern English Protestantism, the voice of the preaching minister delivered a commentary that cleared the way for the Word of God to take effect in the hearts of the well-disposed hearers and work towards their salvation. Fulke, Foxe and many other theologians did compile learned Latin commentaries on the Book of Revelation. Yet they did so first and foremost as educators of future ministers. The books were meant as additions to the arsenal of exegetical material used in university education and provide valuable resources for preachers who could draw on their expositions to translate them into a medium that was considered the frontline of biblical commentary and decisive weapon of spiritual warfare. Published sermons certainly reached larger audiences than the voice of the preacher and familiarised them with patterns of reformed biblical interpretation they could follow in their private reading and devotional practices. But the live sermon was the real thing where the Christian man could hear the Word of God expounded and partake in His grace.

60 Kevin Killeen, »Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and Scriptural Typology«, in: Peter McCullough (as note 27), pp. 387-403, here pp. 388 ff.

61 Natalie Mears, »Paul's Cross and Nationwide Special Worship, 1533 – 1642«, in: Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520 – 1640*, Leiden 2014, pp. 41-60, here p. 53.

62 Parish (as note 12), p. 129.

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Christine Ott

Veils and Naked Words

Girolamo Benivieni's Self-Commentaries

Commentaries on poetry usually aim to make the poetic text more understandable, and sometimes also attempt to fill in the gaps caused by time, culture, and language. But what happens when a poet comments on his own poetry, becoming at once the one who is commented on and the one who comments? The perils of misinterpretation due to the lack of knowledge about the production context are thus reduced to a minimum. Nevertheless, the commenting poet cannot be perfectly identifiable with the poet being commented upon. Often, a relevant time gap exists between the composition of the poem and of the commentary. In this case, the commentator also takes on the role of a recipient of his own work.

There are only a few studies on early modern self-commentary. With her book *Italian Poetic Self-Commentary from Dante to Tommaso Campanella*, which examines six self-commentaries from the 14th to the 17th centuries, Sherry Roush has contributed an important, pioneering study. Roush stresses the fact that self-commentary does not have the primary intention of providing a better understanding of the texts; she claims that, on the contrary, they tend »to subvert the pedagogical intent« of commentary.[1] However, a look at the few known Italian,

1 Sherry Roush, *Hermes' Lyre. Italian Poetic Self-Commentary from Dante to Tommaso Campanella*, Toronto 2002, p. 6. In her study on five self-commentaries to poetic works, Roush stresses the fact that self-commentaries do not necessarily serve a better understanding of the text. Against the background of a problematisation of the ›author's intention‹ the idea that self-commentaries can best reveal the meaning of the text appears as misleading (ibid., p. 7). Instead, Roush claims that a main feature of self-commentaries is their remodelling the original text and their originating »an entirely new poetic vision«. She also claims their tendency »to subvert pedagogical intent« (ibid., p. 6). This does certainly not apply to those religiously motivated authors who want to impede a misreading of their texts. Because of this declared intent, Roush evaluates Benivieni's self-commentary as less successful: »The essence of Dante's and Lorenzo's transformations rests in the dialogue with the Other. By yoking reform to human will (to the intention of the poet/ author) Benivieni, on the other hand, effectively denies the possibility of the Other's power to transforms his lyrics« (ibid., p. 113). Roush seems to privilege a somewhat numinous concept of poetry; not in vain does she theorize self-commentary under the sign of Hermes (ibid., p. 160). However, her book contains many precious observations about the concept and the functions of ›poetic‹ self-commentaries. As for Lorenzo's und Benivieni's self-commentaries, see also Bernhard Huss, »Über das Verse-Schreiben im Spannungsfeld

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French, and Spanish self-commentaries in the 16th and 17th centuries reveals that a pedagogical and spiritual impetus is quite frequent.[2]

It is true, as Roush states, that not all authors strive towards an unambiguous text and that they do not necessarily want everybody to understand their poetry, but they use the figurative language of poetry and the related commentary to create a profane equivalent to the Bible. Behind the literal meaning, often seen as problematic from a moral point of view, a deeper, religious or philosophical meaning shall shine through. Thus, it is not only about liberating the ambiguity of poetic language, as Roush often states, or opening up the text for a »divinatory or prophetic-poetic« dimension, or letting an »Other« complete the meaning of the texts.[3] On the contrary, some of the authors write their commentaries because they want to restrict dangerous ambivalences. Commentators like Girolamo Benivieni or Gabriel Fiamma subscribe to a »purifying« tendency of commentary that starts way before the Counter-Reformation. Already in his 1525 Commentary to Petrarch's poems, Vellutello criticizes the »lascivious love« inherent to most of the love poems for Laura – a critique that will lead, a few decades later, to numerous religious rewritings of Petrarch's poems.[4]

In this article, I will analyze the self-commentaries by Girolamo Benivieni, a worldly poet from the Medici circle who became a follower of the Dominican preacher Savonarola. His commentary does not necessarily serve the commented text; sometimes the text rather acts as a pretext for commentary. But clearly, the author does not want to put the texts' meanings into the readers' hands; he is,

von literarischem, philosophischem und religiösem Diskurs: der Fall Benivieni«, in: Klaus W. Hempfer (ed.), *Sprachen der Lyrik. Von der Antike zur digitalen Poesie*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 239-263 and Bernhard Huss, »Dichtung und Philosophie in Lorenzo de' Medicis Comento de' miei sonetti«, in: Bernhard Huss, Patrizia Marzillo, and Thomas Ricklin (eds.), *Para/Textuelle Verhandlungen zwischen Dichtung und Philosophie in der Frühen Neuzeit,* Berlin 2011, pp. 309-335. Albert Russell Ascoli studies Dante's self-commentaries in the light of his self-authorization strategies (»Auto-Commentary: Dividing Dante«, in: id., *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 175-226). For a very recent survey see also Francesco Venturi, *Self-Commentary in Early Modern European Literature, 1400 – 1700*, Leiden, Boston 2019.

2 A clearly religious and pedagogical intention is manifest in Juan de la Cruz, *Canciones del alma y declaración*, around 1582 – 1585, Gabriel Fiamma, *Rime spirituali del reverendo domino Gabriel Fiamma, canonico regolare lateranense, esposte da lui medesimo*, Venezia 1570, Jean de la Ceppède, *Les Théorèmes sur le sacré mystère de notre redemption*, Toulouse 1613 – 1622. The model of religious commentary is also adopted by the heretical philosopher Giordano Bruno, *De gli eroici furori*, London 1585 (where Bruno comments his own poems and some of the poet Luigi Tansillo), and Tommaso Campanella, *Scelta d'alcune poesie filosofiche di Settimontano Squilla, cavate da' suoi libri detti la Cantica, con esposizione*, Weimar 1622 (where »Settimontano Squilla« serves as the author's pseudonym).

3 Roush (as note 1), p. VIII.

4 *Le volgari opere del Petrarca con la esposizione di Alessandro Vellutello da Lucca*, Venezia 1525.

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instead, obsessed by the desire to control his writings. This is also the case of Torquato Tasso's self-commentary of his own love poems of 1591, which will be studied in the following article of this volume (by Philip Stockbrugger), and may indeed be seen as the author's reaction to several unauthorized editions that circulated before.

At the time when Benivieni and Tasso are writing their commentaries, love poetry has a precarious and somewhat contradictory status. In the hierarchy of genres, it occupies the lowest – or, at best, a middle – position. As opposed to dramatic and epic literature, the theorization of lyric poetry proves to be difficult, especially when attempted in an Aristotelian way. While its figurative language encouraged Dante (and, after him, early humanists like Boccaccio and others) to the claim that poets utter the truth under the veil of beautiful fables, and that poetry may contain a hidden, allegorical dimension, many religious thinkers condemned poetry precisely because of its use of rhetoric and its reference to pagan mythology. Of course, in the 91 years that lay between Benivieni's and Tasso's self-commentaries much had changed. Around 1600, religious poetry was more popular than ever and the conflation of the language of the worldly and that of spiritual poetry was (mostly) not seen as a problem. Also, Benivieni's and Tasso's goals are different from the start: while Benivieni is preoccupied by spiritual issues, Tasso's interest lies in validating his literary theories. Nonetheless, the unspoken issue which associates these two different enterprises is the problem of the functions, the status and the possibilities of poetic language. Therefore, studying and comparing the two self-commentaries should bring some new insight about the status of lyrical poetry in the 16th century.

1) Pico and Girolamo

Embedded in the outer wall of the San Marco Church, in Florence, one finds the original stone of the tomb where Girolamo Benivieni, age 89, was buried together with his friend Pico della Mirandola (1463 – 1494), who died very young, at the age of 31. The inscription says:

> Girolamo Benivieni put (this tomb) for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and for himself in the year of the Saviour 1542.
>
> I pray to God, Girolamo, that you may be united in peace with your Pico in heaven as you were on earth, and as your dead body lies now here, together with his bones.
>
> (Hieronymus Benivenius Ioanni Pico Mirandulae et sibi pos. an. Salv. DMD XXXXII. Io priego Dio Girolamo ch'en pace così in ciel sia col tuo Pico

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congiunto come'n terra eri. Et come il tuo defunto corpo hor con le sacre ossa hor qui iace.)

Since he had become a follower of the Dominican monk Savonarola, it had been Pico's wish to be buried in San Marco (the home church of the Predicator), and Benivieni had fulfilled his friend's last wish. As a testimony to the very close relationship between these two intellectuals, who at first were both members of the Medici circle, and later followed the anti-Medici faction and its leader, Savonarola, this tombstone is a sort of key to Benivieni's lifelong struggle with commentary and practices of self-commentary.[5]

But let us start from the beginning. As a young man, Benivieni was renowned for the love poetry he wrote under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici.[6] It was in the Medici circle that he met the young count Pico della Mirandola in the 1480s. In 1486, the two friends prepared a publication of Benivieni's *Canzone dell'amore* with a vernacular commentary written by Pico. In his poem, Benivieni had put into verse the content of Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic treatise on love. Benivieni describes the birth of Cupido from Aphrodite in order to explain the functioning of divine love. Pico's commentary, also written in the spirit of Neoplatonism, contains however a few critiques to Ficino's theories. Like Pico's famous philosophical theses, the *Conclusiones*, this text is an audacious attempt to bring together heterogenous and contrasting lines of thought, such as Kabbalah, scholastic theology, and Neoplatonism. As Thorsten Bürklin states, the very form of the commentary gives Pico the option to juxtapose various and contradicting theological and philosophical concepts as well as poetic images, without having to draw conclusions or to take sides in the debate.[7]

For example, in the introduction that precedes the word for word commentary of the poem, Pico juxtaposes Neoplatonic and Christian thought:

Questa prima creatura [i.e. l'anima nostra], da' Platonici e da antiqui filosofi Mercurio Trimegisto e Zoroastre è chiamata ora figliuolo di Dio, ora sapi-

5 For the practice of tombs shared by male friends (a practice that did not necessarily involve a homoerotic relationship), see Alan Bray, »Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England«, in: Jonathan Goldberg (ed.), *Queering the Renaissance*, Durham 1994, pp. 40-61.

6 These poems were published in a collection whose print version is no longer available, probably due to Benivieni's efforts to destroy all proves of his former love poetry. A reconstruction of this so-called »Canzoniere laurenziano«, has been published by Roberto Leporatti, who gives also most useful information on Benivieni's remodelings of his former poetry in his different editions (Leporatti, »*Canzone e sonetti* di Girolamo Benivieni fiorentino. Edizione critica«, in: *Interpres* XXVII (2008), pp. 144-298.

7 Thorsten Bürklin, »Einleitung«, in: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Kommentar zu einem Lied der Liebe*, italienisch-deutsch, trs. and ed. by Thorsten Bürklin, pp. VII-XXXI, here p. XIV.

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enzia ora mente, ora ragione divina, il che alcuni interpretano ancora Verbo. Ed abbi ciascuno diligente avvertenzia di non intendere che questo sia quello che da' nostri Teologi è detto figliuolo di Dio, perché noi intendiamo per il figliuolo una medesima essenzia con il padre […] ma debbesi comparare quello che e' Platonici chiamano figliuolo di Dio al primo e più nobile angelo da Dio creato.

The Platonists and the ancient philosophers Hermes Trismegistos and Zoroaster call this first creature sometimes »son of God« sometimes »Wisdom«, sometimes »Mind«, and sometimes »Divine Reason«, which some even interpret as »the word«. But everyone should be careful not to suppose that this word is the same »Word« that our theologians call »the Son of God«. For what we mean by »the Son« is of one and the same essence as the Father […] whereas what the Platonists call »the son of God« must be identified [orig. text: compared] with the first and noblest angel created by God.[8]

Pico states that the human soul is called the son of God, but also »knowledge« or »mens« by the Neoplatonic philosophers, but that they do not mean the son of God in the Christian sense of the word. It is true that the author places himself with the Christians – »noi intendiamo«, »we understand«. But instead of solving this contradiction by a refutation of the »Platonici«, he proposes a comparison, »comparare«. Moreover, the present stand-off from Neoplatonic thought is most probably due to a posthumous alteration of Pico's manuscript. In fact, the original text has been lost and the present commentary is the product of a quite intriguing process of revision and repentance – a process in which Benivieni's commenting activity plays a major role. [9] While the young philosopher had gotten into trouble with the Inquisition for publishing the *Conclusiones* (in the same year as he had written his commentary), he experienced a religious conversion a few years later, around 1493. He, as well as Benivieni, became followers of Savonarola, who banished the Medici from Florence. In 1494 Pico died under somewhat mysterious circumstances.[10] Girolamo Benivieni continued to be an active supporter of Savonarola's spiritual reform and remained his follower well after Savonarola's execution in 1498.

At the same time, his worldly poetry continued to be very popular, and was circulated even in manuscript form. The poet's aim was to stop this unauthorized circulation by composing a new edition, in a commented form – the 1500

8 Pico della Mirandola*, Commentary on a Canzone of Benivieni,* trs. by Sears Jayne, New York 1984, p. 81.

9 For the complex publication history, see below.

10 Pico died »con sospetto di veleno« (Caterina Re, *Girolamo Benivieni Fiorentino. Cenni sulla vita e sulla opera,* Città di Castello 1906, p. 97).

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commented edition *Commento sopra a più sue canzone et sonetti dello amore et della bellezza divina*.[11]

In his prefatory letter to Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, nephew of the more famous Giovanni, Benivieni states that it had been the latter who encouraged him to publish a new version of his poems, this time in a commented edition, and at the same time coherent with the teachings of the Catholic Church.[12] After many doubts about the publication, he claims that he now wants to stop any misinterpretation of his poems by the so-called »huomini animali« (fol. Ir), that is, those people who know only love through lust. Through a »più libera interpretation« (ibid.), he wants to show what kind of love he was truly referring to in his work. To justify his enterprise, he invokes Dante (fol. IIIIr), whose influence on Benivieni's self-commentary is remarkable and in the same time obvious: it was Dante who was the first to provide a philosophical commentary to his own love poems in his *Vita nuova* and *Convivio*, and Benivieni mentions the *Convivio* explicitly (fol. IIIIr).

In describing his undertaking, Benivieni makes very frequent use of the metaphoric and metatextual opposition of ›nakedness‹ vs. ›ornament‹ or ›dress‹. He starts by saying that it seemed risky to him to present his poems to the public in a »naked« form, without any interpretation, because the concepts presented in the verses, although pure, could be easily distorted by the aforementioned »beastly« men:

> e dubitando che se così nudi, cioè senza alcuna esposizione in pubblico si mostrassino, che i loro quantunque per sé puri e inviolabili concetti non fussero da alcuni huomini animali etiam in contrari sensi distorti (fol. 1r).

> And doubting that, if they would show themselves naked and without any exposition in public, their meanings (even if pure and inviolable in themselves) would be distorted to opposite meanings by some beastly men.

11 *Commento sopra a più sue canzone et sonetti dello amore et della bellezza divina*, Firenze per S. Antonio Tubini & Lorenzo di Francesco Venetiano & Andrea Ghyr. Da Pistoia, 1500. I quote the PDF-version provided by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00065623/images/ (which lacks the pages CXI-CXX – probably omitted in this print because they contain a description of Savonarola's »bruciamenti delle vanità«, see Huss, »Über das Verse-Schreiben« [as note 1], p. 254), but I have also consulted the copy of the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, which is complete (Ed. R. 134). The English translations from Benivieni's works are mine.

12 For Benivieni's religiosity, see Olga Zorzi Pugliese, »Girolamo Benivieni: umanista riformatore (dalla corrispondenza inedita)«, in: *La Bibliofilía,* 72, 3 (1970), pp. 253-288, who represents him as »membro notevole del movimento laico di riforma religiosa« (p. 253).

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But Benivieni presents at the same time a completely opposite image: Even if his poems were without blame (which would be impossible because they are, after all, a human product), they still would be imperfect, because the poetic verse could not fully express the »simplicità della nostra christiana professione« (the simplicity of our Christian confession), which ideally should show itself in its perfect and pure nudity:

> sono versi, & consequentemente che in loro è qualche cosa, in ella quale non cosi schiettamente apparisce epsa nuda & per se sempre pura & inviolabile simplicità de la nostra christiana professione (fol. IIrv).

> They are verses, and therefore there is something in them, in which the naked & intrinsically pure & inviolable simplicity of our Christian faith does not appear so clearly.

Nudity appears here not as a flaw, but rather as an ideal. But Benivieni's verses, for their inherent quality of being poetic language, and thus rhetorically embellished, could not attain this ideal without a commentary attached to them. The commentary, thus, while it covers the nudity of poetry, shall uncover the pure nakedness of Christian truth.

In order to fully understand these propositions, it is necessary to show to which theoretical positions Benivieni is referring. As already stated, Dante is the direct model for his self-commentary, but the presence of another authority is also very perceptible: Savonarola and his condemnation of poetry in the treatise *Apologeticus*.

2) Veils and Naked Words – Commentary as Un/Veiling

In using the concept of naked verses that have to be ›dressed up‹ by a commentary, Benivieni points to a typical metatextual metaphor. Dante had already used a similar metaphor in his *Vita nuova* and *Convivio*: in these two works, written in Italian vernacular, the author had commented his own poetry, thereby elevating himself to an authoritative status. In the *Vita nuova*, Dante not only recounts the story of his spiritual love for Beatrice but also of his poetic apprenticeship: Self-commentary in this case equals self-authorization as a poet. The unfinished *Convivio*, on the other hand, had the aim of divulging knowledge through the commentary to some of Dante's philosophical canzoni.

In the *Vita nuova*, Dante concedes that a vernacular poet may, in the same way as the Latin poets, use the cloth of rhetorical ornamentation; he must, however, be able to unveil the ›true sense‹ of his words:

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E acciò che non ne pigli alcuna baldanza persona grossa, dico che né li poete parlavano così sanza ragione, né quelli che rimano deono parlare così non avendo alcuno ragionamento in loro di quello che dicono; però che grande vergogna sarebbe a colui che rimasse cose sotto veste di figura o colore rettorico, e poscia, domandato, non sapesse denudare le sue parole da cotal vesta, in guisa che avessero verace intendimento.[13]

And so that no crude person may become overbold because of this, I say that the [classical] poets did not speak this way without reason, and that the vernacular rhymers should not speak thus if they cannot give a rational account of what they say. For it would be a great shame to one who, rhyming of matters under the cloak of figurative language or rhetorical colours, did not when asked know how to strip his words of said cloak so that they could be truly understood.[14]

Dante thus demands that the poet, besides his competence in rhetoric, should also be able to give his poems a consistent ›rational‹ dimension, a ›deeper‹ meaning that can be expressed in plain prose. In doing this, he qualifies poetry with a hitherto unknown philosophical and spiritual dignity. Like the Sacred Scriptures, poetry possesses an allegorical meaning that commentary must bring to light.

Commentary appears thus as an unveiling of the naked truth of poetry – an idea that Dante perhaps adumbrates in the first oneiric scene in the *Vita nuova*, where the poet sees his beloved, Beatrice, as a half-naked body, »nuda, salvo che involta mi parea in uno drappo sanguigno leggermente« (naked, except that she seemed to me to be covered lightly with a crimson cloth).[15]

Dante also uses the dress-body-opposition in order to express a metalinguistic position. In the *Convivio* he assigns to the commentary the function of revealing the beauty of the »volgare« (the vernacular). This beauty cannot be fully visible because of poetry's embellishments, just as the natural beauty of a woman cannot be visible when she is overdressed:

Ché per questo comento la grande bontade del volgare di sì [si vedrà]; però che si vedrà la sua vertù, sì come per esso altissimi e novissimi concetti convenevolmente, sufficientemente e acconciamente, quasi come per esso latino, manifestare, [la quale non si potea bene manifestare] ne le cose rimate, per

13 Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova*, Garzanti [14]1999, chap. 25.10, p. 50.

14 Translation: Ascoli (as note 1), p. 197.

15 Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova* (as note 13), p. 4, my translation. The promise of a naked truth will not go further than this striptease, because the sense of this scene is never revealed to the reader. This is noted, for example, by Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Body of Beatrice*, Baltimore 1988, p. 62. A similar playful analogy between philosophical truth and the most intimate, naked parts of a woman is to be found in Dante's poem *Tre donne*.

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> le accidentali adornezze che quivi sono connesse, cioè la rima e lo ri[ti]mo e lo numero regolato; sì come non si può bene manifestare la bellezza d'una donna, quando li adornamenti de l'azzimare e de le vestimenta la fanno più ammirare che essa medesima. Onde chi vuole ben giudicare d'una donna, guardi quella quando solo sua naturale bellezza si sta con lei, da tutto accidentale adornamento discompagnata; sì come sarà questo comento, nel quale si vedrà l'agevolezza delle sue sillabe, le proprietadi de le sue co[stru]zioni e le soave orazione che di lui si fanno; le quali chi bene agguarderà, vedrà essere piene di dolcissima e d'amabilissima bellezza (Dante, Convivio, Trattato primo X, 12-13, pp. 43-44).[16]

> For through this commentary people will be led to recognize the great goodness of the Italian vernacular: They will see the power it has as it expresses the most sublime and new ideas aptly, fully and attractively, almost as in Latin. This power cannot be displayed well in rhymed works, because of the incidental embellishments, such as rhyme and rhythm and regulated meter, just as the beauty of a woman cannot be displayed well when the embellishments of her finery and her clothes, rather than she herself, draws people's admiration. So whoever wishes best to appreciate a woman should see her when she is graced by her natural beauty, unadorned by any incidental embellishment. Such is how this commentary will appear, in which will be seen the smoothness of the syllables of this language, the propriety of its constructions and the sweet orations fashioned from it, which will be recognized, by anyone who pays them careful attention, to be full of the sweetest and loveliest beauty.[17]

The passage is somewhat contradictory. At first, Dante seems to say that the »volgare« can express philosophical contents as well as Latin, and it seems that the »natural beauty« of the »woman« should mean the beauty of plain vernacular prose. But in the end he focuses rather on the »beauty« than on the lucidity of the vernacular.

In fact, Dante's position on the relationship of Latin and vernacular, as well as his conception of vernacular poetry, is quite unstable and contradictory. As Albert Russel Ascoli and others have recently argued, the unstableness of his positions in the *Convivio* is certainly (also) due to the precarious definitory status of poetry itself: on the one hand, it may be conceptualized by means of its use of meter and rhetoric (with the risk of being perceived as unsubstantial

16 All quotes from the *Convivio* are based on Dante Alighieri, *Convivio*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno, Firenze 1995.

17 Translation: Ascoli (as note 1), p. 211, slightly changed. Ascoli quotes another edition of the *Convivio* and omits »almost as in Latin«.

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»bellezza«); on the other hand, its claim to contain allegorical truth has to rely on the topos of divine inspiration.[18]

The humanist theories on poetry will respond to this legitimation issue by continuing what Dante had already begun to conceptualize: The rhetorical language of poetry is not just beautiful, but a beautiful veil that contains truth. By these means, it is also possible to subsume the references to pagan mythology under the idea of *integumentum*. At Benivieni's time, the *integumentum* theory is forcefully defended by the Neoplatonist Cristoforo Landino. But in the climate of the religious crisis, the old accusations against poetry become sharper. In his *Contra poetas*, Ermolao Barbaro compares poetry to »a woman who, although covered by ornaments, is inwardly dishonest and indecent«.[19] Under the influence of Savonarola, Pico juxtaposes ›naked‹ philosophy with rhetorical playfulness and lasciviousness.[20] But the most inexorable adversary of poetry is, of course, Savonarola himself. In his treatise *Apologeticus de rationae poeticae artis* (1491 – 1494)[21], he defines poetry as a purely human art and puts it at the lowest level of the sciences.[22]

Its goal should be to prompt men to act virtuously by means of examples (similitudo), using simple language and aimed at simple people.[23] The verse form is not an essential part of poetry, and in opposition to the Sacred Scriptures, poetic metaphors do not have a hidden, spiritual meaning.[24] Finally, Savonarola concedes that the writings of humanist poets about virtue and religion may – in some rare cases – trigger ruefulness in their readers – but as for himself, he has

18 The inspirational definition is precarious because it inevitably raises the question of which poets may claim to ›have‹ divine inspiration, and of who is authorized to interpret the poem (the author himself or others) etc.

19 Concetta Carestia Greenfield, *Humanist and Scholastic Poetics, 1250 – 1500*, Lewisburg 1981, p. 205.

20 Pico della Mirandola, »Lettera a Ermolao Barbaro«, in: Eugenio Garin (ed.), *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, Milano, Napoli 1952, pp. 805-823, here p. 818. See also Greenfield (as note 19), p. 241.

21 Girolamo Savonarola, *Apologeticus de rationae poeticae artis*, in: id., *Scritti filosofici*, ed. Giancarlo Garfagnini, Eugenio Garin, Vol. I, Roma 1982, pp. 209-272.

22 »Cum enim ars poetica sit infima scientiarum […]« (ibid., p. 271).

23 »Finis autem poetae est inducere homines ad aliquid virtuosum per aliquam decentem repraesentationem, ad modum, quo fit homini abominatio alicuius cibi, si repraesentetur ei sub similitudine alicuius abominabilis.« (ibid., p. 248).

24 »Nulla ergo scientia praeter Sacram Scripturam proprie et vere sensum habet spiritualem, quia sensus metaphorarum poeticarum est literalis tantum, sicut et sensus parabolarum evangeliorum nostrorum.« (ibid., p. 262).

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never encountered a book of this sort.[25] Savonarola's condemnation of poetry, even of religious poetry, appears to be relentless and even radical.[26]

From this perspective, it becomes clear why Benivieni utters his persisting doubts about his publication. No poetry, even the one that avoids all references to worldly or pagan contents, may claim to have a hidden spiritual meaning. Therefore, a commentary with the implicit claim of an allegorical dimension inherent to poetry that needs to be clarified is incompatible with Savonarola's definition of poetry. Very aware of this problem, Benivieni repeatedly insists on the futility of his pursuit, especially in the final part of his commentary. Here, the commentator finally renounces any effort to comment about his own verses any further. Instead, he wishes to present concepts in their purest form, without any rhetorical embellishment, in order to represent his nobler pursuits:

> Considerando io che gli extrinseci ornamenti & male forse inumbrate spoglie non tanto di questa quanto di qualunche altra Canzona, o Sonetto della opera precedente hariano per ventura in qualche modo potuto ritenere l'occhio di alcuno in ella sola superficie delle loro *nude parole*: et consequentemente dubitando che da questo non fussi data occasione ad altri di qualche sinistra interpretatione, mi piacque in el fine di questa ultima Canzona convertirmi non secondo che suole esser di consuetudine ad epsa Canzone, perche questo non serviva a tutto el precedente discorso: ma a Amore, pregandolo che per rimedio di questo lui o deponga & si spogli gli extrinseci & in ciascuna parte della opera presente inumbrati suoi vestimenti: & cosi *nudo & fuori d'ogni ombra* dimostri la intrinseca pura & da noi prima intesa verità de' suoi altrimenti candidissimi concepti (fol. CXXXVIIIv, my emphasis).

> With the thought, that the exterior ornaments and the perhaps badly shaped exterior traits not as much of this particular *canzone*, but of any other *canzone*, or sonnet of this collection of poems could have drawn the eye of the reader only to the surface of their naked words, and with the consequent doubt, that those exteriorities could engender a malicious interpretation, I preferred, at the end of this song, not to speak directly to the *canzone*, as it is usual, but rather to Amor, to beseech him, to show firstly the intended truth of his otherwise candid concepts, naked and without any shadow, by undressing all his exterior and ambiguous layers.

25 Ibid., p. 271.

26 Girardi is probably right in stating that the fact that Savonarola wrote some religious poems himself does not make him more moderate in his judgement, since he considered his own verses no more than occasional compositions (Enzo Noé Girardi, »L'›Apologetico‹ del Savonarola e il problema di una poesia Cristiana« (1952), in: id., *Letteratura come bellezza. Studi sulla Letteratura italiana del Rinascimento*, Roma 1991, pp. 45-67, here p. 65).

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Here, »nude parole« means a superficial level of signification that could lead to misunderstanding the ›true‹ sense of the poem. The only possible consequence is to abandon any verbal attempt to utter spiritual issues and to let divine love manifest itself in a – this time again positively evaluated – nudity, free from all rhetorical vanity.[27]

3) The Commentary's Structure – a Problematic Conversion History

Bernhard Huss concludes his essay on Benivieni by stating that he is absolutly in line with Savonarola's harsh evaluation of poetry, and this is certainly true. However, Benivieni does not totally purify his commentary from his former Neoplatonic credo. Therefore, a closer look at his strategies in composing his commentary seems necessary.

Despite his persisting doubts, Benivieni comments on 101 of his own poems over about 300 pages. A closer look at the structure and the rhetorical gesture of his enterprise makes clear that this text is intended to tell and to perform the history of a redemption. His main strategy consists in recycling and rewriting. Benivieni writes about 45 new poems for the 1500 edition,[28] but he also recycles his former love poetry by adapting parts of the texts to his new spiritual orientation and leaving several other parts completely unchanged. In this revision process, he makes use of the already existing convergence of Christian spirituality and Neoplatonism in the tradition of Italian poetry for a reinterpretation in which love for a woman becomes love towards God. Sometimes, it suffices to exchange »donna« with »signore« (meaning the Christian God) in order to obtain an acceptable text. In his revision process, Benivieni has to remodel his former poems, written alternatively in a Petrarchist or in a Neoplatonist fashion – both inacceptable in the light of Savonarola's conception of poetry.[29]

But much more surprisingly, Benivieni also recycles Pico's commentary (while his own *Canzone* about love is never quoted). For example, the introduction to the second part of his auto-commentary quotes Pico word by word (and also mentions him)[30], and he explicitly refers to his commentary on several occasions.

27 This ›linguistic‹ dilemma is paralleled by a spiritual one: especially in the last part, Benivieni insists on the assumption that only the final departure of the soul from the body (that is, not the temporary departure that is possible in a mystical rapture, but the effective death of the body) allows the soul to fully unite with God.

28 Leporatti (as note 6), p. 191.

29 Huss, »Über das Verse-Schreiben« (as note 1) gives detailed examples about the functioning of this revision process.

30 Benivieni quotes from Pico's commentary to the first verse of his *canzone* (Benivieni, *Commento*, fol. XLIIv-XLIIIr). Apart from a few changes in the word order (and, at one point,

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The second strategy consists in creating a sort of contemporary hagiography which act as testimony for the ›miracles‹ happening in a spiritually renewed Florence. Among the new poems Benivieni writes for his commentary, the most interesting are certainly those he devotes to this goal in the third part (fol. CX-CXX). In sonnet XXXII (folio CXrv) the poet describes the vision a friend of his had »in the year of our salvation 1476«: He saw a young Florentine woman »all encircled by the purest light« (»circundata tutta di purissima luce«). He then makes comments about the *Canzonas* he wrote for the religious happenings organized by Savonarola and gives a detailed description of the »bruciamento delle vanità« of 1497 (cf. 110). In opposition to this pro-Savonarola direction, Benivieni leaves out or modifies poems dedicated to the Medici's praise.[31]

A third strategy consists in structuring: Benivieni divides his commentary into three parts. The first part, as he announces in his introduction, shows how the love for God's creation may lead the soul to the love of God. The second part performs a sort of leap to sin of the soul, which is vanquished by mortal temptation. The third part tells about the final triumph of the love for God. However, when one compares the poems of these three parts, the differences between them seem quite imperceptible. For instance, no poem of the second part portrays the speaker in a state of sinful lasciviousness: Rather, the speaker is shown in an albeit sinful, but nevertheless already repentant attitude. However, precisely this conflict between an attachment to the body and to the senses and Christian repentance can already be seen in the first part (for example *Prima parte*, sonetto III, fol. XIIr) – and it continues into the third part. Consequently, there seems to be no real change, no psychological development in the attitude of the speaker, and this is, as it happens, a typical feature of Petrarca's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*.[32]

Furthermore, while many poems lend themselves easily to a spiritual interpretation, in others their original signification as worldly love poems remains quite manifest: The speaker talks about the beautiful eyes of his lady, or even imagines the taste of her lips (interpreted by the commentary as a kiss between

»ruina« instead of »cade«), his text is identical with the text Eugenio Garin established in his critical edition of Pico's *Commento* (Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Kommentar zu einem Lied der Liebe* [as note 7], pp. 154-156). In the quoted passage, Pico describes the hierarchal order of all creatures and insists on the importance for the human soul being guided by divine love.

31 The most blatant example: the first verse of the introductory poem *Sotto un bel Lauro a l'ombra*, where »Lauro« clearly is meant to glorify Lorenzo de' Medici (Leporatti [as note 6], p. 214) becomes *Sopra un bel prato a l'ombra* in the Commentary version (fol. XIVv).

32 The difference is of course that the Petrarchan speaker exchanges Laura for a divine beloved (the mother of God) only in the very last poem, while Benivieni's speaker puts divine love over worldly love from the beginning.

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the God-loving soul and God).[33] A particularly interesting case is sonnet V in Part 3 (fol. LXXVIIv):

> Era già benché in van contenta fora
> di questo ingrato carcere mortale
> l'alma, & dietro al disio battendo l'ale
> si tornava ad quel ben che l'inamora.
>
> Quando, ah lasso, udì dir che volto ancora
> non era in tutto el suo corso fatale
> là donde al cor, perché pugnar non vale
> col cielo, tornossi: ivi si affligge & plora.
>
> Dolce gli era el partir: sol l'alma Amore
> pietoso rintenea: che ben sentiva
> meco in parte perir tuo flebil core.
>
> Che s'egli è che in due corpi una alma viva
> da Amor nutriti, advien che se l'un more
> l'altro in gran parte di sua vita priva.

The first quartet describes how the speaker's soul happily leaves the prison of the mortal body in order to reach God. But fatally and to its great dismay, the soul is forced to return into the body (second quartet). As the first tercet explains, it was love that held the soul back: feeling that its departure would also cause the death of his beloved's heart, it refrained from leaving definitively. The final tercet then explicitly refers to the Neoplatonic theory of the exchange of hearts, or, as it is stated here, the union of souls living simultaneously in two bodies. The death of the speaker would therefore also cause (at least »in gran parte«) the death of his beloved.

While Benivieni also uses the Neoplatonic motif of the exchange of hearts in other poems, this case is particular because of the identity of the beloved »you« (»tuo flebil cuore«, V. 11). It refers not, as usual, to God. While in all other commentaries the beloved »donna« or »signor« is interpreted as God, divine love, etc., here we learn that »you« refers to Pico della Mirandola. While Benivieni had modified some other poems originally dedicated to Pico in order to expunge any allusion to a human addressee, here he allows himself to let the

33 For example, the sonnets *Quando el primo ineffabil mio ben quella*, *Se'l foco che da e belli occhi ognhora* in Part I (sonnet XII, fol. XXIIIIv, sonnet XXII, fol. XLIr); or the sonnets *Dal volto piove di madonna amore*, *Chi potessi ben gli occhi mirar fiso* in Part III, (sonnet XXIII, fol. LXXXXVIIIr; sonnet XXXIIII, fol. CXXIIr).

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mortal win over the immortal affection.[34] Since the commentary alludes to a severe illness of the poet, the original occasion of the text may have been such a malady. However, the text focuses less on the trouble this deadly danger may have caused in Pico than on the conflict of the poet, who appears torn between his desire to abandon his mortal life, and his affection for his friend, who would be condemned to die with him. Curiously, the real circumstances are inverted, since in real life it is Benivieni who is left behind. But, on the other hand, the sense of loss and death appears as mutual.

The function of this poem, which appears in a series focused on the relationship between body and soul, and the soul's conflict between its love to the body and the love to God, seems to precisely illustrate the poet's still lasting attachment to earthly things. But the commentary does not in any way condemn this attachment. Despite all his efforts to purify his poetry, Benivieni remains attached to his former Neoplatonic ›identity‹; his commentary cannot be in line with Savonarola's claims.

4) Benivieni's Last Self-Commentary

His final refusal of all poetry notwithstanding, Benivieni continues to publish. In 1519, he edits a new edition of selected works (without commentary). This edition contains unpublished poetry composed in his youth, such as several amicable verses addressed to the Medici family, religious poetry and – for the first time – his Neoplatonic *Canzone d'amore* together with Pico's commentary.[35] We learn from Benivieni's own foreword that he wished for this latter poem not to be published, but that he was forced to do so because his fellow publisher, Biagio Buonaccorsi, had already entrusted a copy to the editor (fol. 4r). As shown by Eugenio Garin, this edition is not identical with Pico's original (lost) version. In this edition of Pico's commentary all objections to Ficino are missing – possibly because Buonaccorsi was a relative of Ficino, who thus had some interest in

34 For example, the sonnet *S'i potessi explicare l'alto concepto* originally celebrates Pico's superior intellect and claims the poet's incapacity of adequately expressing his feelings for him (Leporatti [as note 6], p. 238); in the new version it is about the impossibility of expressing God's perfection (Part 3, sonnet XXVII, fol. CIIrv).

35 Girolamo Benivieni, *Opere*, Firenze, Giunti 1519. This version does not contain any poem from the 1500 edition, so Benivieni deems this former edition as still valid (Leporatti (as note 6), p. 193). The fact that Benivieni now also publishes his youthful poetry results, according to Leporatti (ibid.), from a »più indulgente atteggiamento documentario«.

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suppressing any negative commentary.[36] In the preface to this edition, Benivieni briefly explains the story behind the edition of this commentary. Pico and Benivieni himself had had doubts at an early stage if it was morally just to talk about Love, the divine kind in particular, as Platonists, not Christians (»come Platonico, & non come christiano«, fol. 3v). This is the reason why they distanced themselves from the publication, in order to verify that by correcting the work, they could turn it from Platonist to Christian (»sospendere la pubblicatione«, »per qualche reformatione potissi di platonica diventare Christiana«, fol. 3v-4r). After Pico's death, Benivieni had wished to abandon this work, along with some others, but as it had become available to publishers, without his personal effort, he could not impede its publication (fol. 4r). Benivieni nevertheless asks the reader to be guided by the authority of Jesus Christ, the Saints and the theologists, in particular Thomas Aquinas, rather than by those of a »huomo gentile« (i. e. the pagan Plato, 4v) in those parts of the text that seem to diverge from Christian Doctrine.

The reader should excuse Benivieni and Pico, because their mistake exists merely in the fact that they represented the opinions of others (Platonists), without thereby condoning or approving of them. The title itself should furthermore explain that in this case only the opinion of Platonists is intended. Nonetheless, the reading of this text could help any Plato scholar to better understand the »remote significations« (»remoti sensi«) of the great ancient philosopher (fol. 4v). The reader should thus understand Pico's commentary and correct it where it deviates from Christian doctrine. The insistence with which Benivieni tries to control the reception process of his (and Pico's) work shows how vital this is for him. From a letter he wrote to a friend, we understand clearly that what is important to him is nothing less than for his and Pico's souls to be saved.[37]

36 For the complex publication history of Pico's *Commento* and his own attempt to reconstruct the original version in a critical edition see Eugenio Garin, »Introduzione«, in: Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate. Heptaplus. De ente et uno e scritti vari*, a cura di Eugenio Garin, Firenze 1942, pp. 3-59, especially pp. 12-15.

37 Benivieni is worried about his and Pico's souls. In a letter to his friend Lorenzo Strozzi, he mentions Pico's opinion on Petrarch's regret about his poetic activity. He recalls that Pico, in a conversation about Petrarch's sonnets, had declared his conviction that the poet, if he had not, while living, had deep regret and had not made that penance, which should be adequate for that kind of sin, he now would be weeping about it, because never again could he be purged from it in eternity (»E' mi ricorda, diletto mio Lorenzo, che ragionando, come si fa, uno giorno con la felice memoria del conte Giovanni de La Mirandola, de' sonetti del Petrarca, che mi disse che credeva assolutamente che, se vivendo non aveva avuto quello dispiacere, e fattane quella penitenza che si ricerca a purgare una tale colpa, colpa come esso per li effetti che gli avevano operati in lui gravissima, che la piangessi ora, per non poterla ma' più in eterno purgare«, Caterina Re [as note 10], p. 323).

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It is reasonable to think that, in his older years, this spiritual anxiety engendered the desire to compose a further self-commentary. The manuscript, which today can be found at the Florentine Biblioteca Ricciardiana (Ricc. 2811), was composed by Benivieni himself, and his nephew Lorenzo. It is not clear to what extent Lorenzo made his own editorial decisions, and the date of the manuscript, perhaps composed over a quite long period (1525 – 1540), is also uncertain. This manuscript has only partly been published.[38] It is undeniable that this self-commentary is identical for the most part to the one published in 1500: it includes the same poems and their same respective commentaries. Why then did the author compose this remake?

In his introductory note, Lorenzo Benivieni gives a very pragmatic answer. He had tried to somewhat shorten the commentary, thereby sparing the reader from boredom. On the other hand, the commentary was necessary, since the poems are clothed with a veil of rhetorical figures, which are difficult to understand without some explanation:

> Con ciò sia che le canzoni et i sonetti nel presente volume compresi fussino così dallo autore composti, et sotto tali velami di poetiche figure tessuti, che male senza i loro giusti commenti intendere pienamente si possino, et che la expositione copiosa di quelli possa nella mente di chi legge generare qualche tedio, ho più volte meco medesimo pensato se fussi opera di qualche utilità il restringere et abreviare in qualche parte epsi commenti.

> As the canzoni and the sonnets contained in this book were composed by the author in such a way, and veiled by entangled poetic figures, so that it is difficult to understand them fully without their pertinent comments, and as the rich explanations of them may cause some boredom in the mind of the readers, I oftentimes thought it to be a useful endeavour to shorten and abbreviate the commentary in some parts.

A more profound motivation for this remake, anyway, seems to be present in the final part of the manuscript. Here, once again, we find Benivieni's *Canzone* with its Neoplatonic commentary, but thereafter a new, ›Christian Orthodox‹ version of this poem, again with commentary.[39] This last version is accompanied by a

38 I want to thank Andrea Baldan, who helped me to decipher and transcribe some portions of this text. For the question of the authorship, Lorenzo's own agenda and the dating, see Sergio Di Benedetto, »Girolamo Benivieni e la questione della lingua«, in: ACME LXIII,1 (2010), pp. 139-156.

39 For a transcription and discussion of this Christian *Canzone* see Sears Jayne, »Benivieni's Christian Canzone«, in: *Rinascimento* XXIV (1984), pp. 153-179. Jayne states that it is not known when Benivieni wrote this *Canzone* (ibid., p. 158); Leporatti thinks it was in last years of his life (Leporatti [as note 6], p. 147). The title says »Canzone by Girolamo Benivieni […]

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tortuous ›Apology‹ by Benivieni. Here we can read that Benivieni himself has commented the Christian version, and that both versions are inscribed by the author in a conversion scheme, an operation similar to the one enacted in the 1500 *Commento* to his poems. Consequently, it is made possible for the reader to distinguish the »gold« of Christian love from the »alchemy« of Platonic love:

> ho più volte pensato come si potessi […] recompensare questo mio errore et non mi occorrendo altro migliore modo che scoprire col paragone della verità et scoperto discernere lo oro dello amore christiano dalla alchimia dello amore platonico, di nuovo mi messi a comporre una altra canzone d'epso medesimo amore, ma secondo la traditione de sani/savi/suoi theologi crestiani […] pensando che per comparatione […] dell'uno amore a l'altro si potessi assai facilmente discernere la luce dalle tenebre.

> I thought several times how I could […] make up for this error of mine, and not knowing a better way than unveiling with the comparison of truth and distinguishing the gold of Christian love from the alchemy of Platonic love, I wrote once more a poem about this same love, but according to the tradition of the wise Christian theologians […], thinking that comparing […] one love to the other one could distinguish very easily the light from the shadow.

In conclusion, we can say that Benivieni uses different concepts of readership and of commentary in his three editions of his work. His 1500 self-commentary first wants to cover the ›naked‹ verses with ›a cloth of commentary‹ in order to prohibit lascivious misreadings. He seems to think about most of his readers as »huomini animali« and supposes that they mostly tend to pervert the true sense of the poems (»perversità di molti«, fol. Ir). But finally, he changes his mind and thinks that the problem lies in the very ambiguity of his verses. Only the naked concepts, not words or verses, can then express the true love for God. In his 1519 version, the reader is asked to read Pico's commentary, correcting it according to the authority of Christian authors (especially Thomas Aquinas); and the reader of the 1540 self-commentary should be able to compare the Platonic and the Christian version of the *Canzone* in order to separate the Catholic truth from the pagan error. So finally, Benivieni addresses knowing readers, who should be able to relativize the author's juvenile poetry, and Pico's commentary thereto. The fact that in his manuscript commentary the author leaves the comparison of both versions to the reader can also be understood as an act of piety towards his friend Pico. To exclude Pico's commentary would be equal to condemning

according to the truth of Christian religion and Catholic faith«: Around 1540, in a Counter-Reformation atmosphere, Benivieni feels urged to clarify that this is not only a Christian, but a Catholic version.

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him, but leaving the comparison open to the reader, on the other hand, makes a redemption of the Count's writing possible.

By this modified attitude towards his readership, Benivieni somewhat loosens the control he wanted to exercise in his first self-commentary. However, this does not mean that Benivieni wants to open the texts up for literary polyvalence; it rather means that Benivieni challenges the reader to participate in a redemptive mission. Despite his Savonarolian idea that all poetry, even spiritual verses, implies an enormous risk for the soul because it may lead to hubris and deals with idle rhetoric, Benivieni does not give up the idea of a possible purification of his and Pico's common work.

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Philip Stockbrugger

Mirroring Authorization in Torquato Tasso's *Rime Amorose*

In our eyes, Torquato Tasso is forever associated with his most famous endeavour, the *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), but it is exactly this ambitious *epopeja* that mirrors the profound moral restlessness of its author. As we know, the *Gerusalemme liberata* constitutes an intermediary stage in a series of drafts that radically changed face at every turn. The *liberata* version, although it quickly had become popular, could not satisfy, and even preoccupied Tasso: in his opinion, the epic poetry as displayed in his *magnum opus* was too ambiguous. The struggles around the material of the First Crusade, with the powers of divine Good and diabolical Evil matched against each other to determine the final victory constituted a morally dubious topic, and the poet risked expressing heretic positions in trying to accord the epic language and fiction to the reality of history. Tasso was convinced of the efficacy of a commentary in order to guide the reader towards a moral high ground. This is why, some years after the publication of the *Gerusalemme*, a new version was printed (1593), this time with a narrative *Allegory*, that explained the forces at play and the events in an introductory framework, thus in fact bypassing the problem of verisimilitude, and at the same time offering the reader a sort of guideline that was not morally dubious, but quite the contrary.

From this complex editorial development, we can at the very least deduce that Tasso put great trust in the virtue of commentary, first and foremost as a way of clarifying potentially dangerous deviations from anything moral and good. We cannot therefore be amazed, if the author used this instrument when it was time to positively reframe another history of moral negativity: his own, as a lyrical poet and lover, as depicted in his *Rime amorose* (1591). These *Rime* have not been the centre of attention for Tasso studies, which tend to focus more on the *Gerusalemme*. But even in the case of an important work that focuses on the *Rime*, such as Gerhard Regn's monograph, the perspective does not surpass the analysis of the poetic text itself. In other words, the commentary is not considered as part of the whole. The recent critical edition of the *Rime amorose*, curated by Vania de Maldé, is a step in the right direction: it allows scholars to appreciate more easily this interchange between text and commentary, and to observe not merely punctual and erudite, but isolated *loci*. This study tries to go in this direction: it is a first attempt at subsuming some general strategies in commenting lyrical poetry by Tasso – strategies that enhance and enrich the semantic value of the *Rime* themselves.

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Since at least Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, the poetic biography, as readable in fragmented collected poems, was associated with the amorous biography in a functional way. Loving meant singing the love experienced, and the change in tone was always caused by a change in affection, a continuous pendulum, that more often than not inclined towards negativity and hopelessness. Tasso, as many before him, reprised Petrarch's model, and composed a collection of poems called *Rime amorose*. They were published in Mantua in 1591 as the first part of a larger quadripartite anthology.[1] These *Rime amorose* should have been, in the mind of the author, the final fixation of his profuse lyrical production, a fixation that in his fragmentary, but undoubtedly coherent diegetic progression could at the same time rival with its Petrarchan example, represent Tasso as an accomplished lyrical poet, and disband any ›rumors of immorality‹. While the first two motivations appear strong, the latter can only be understood if we comprehend the nature of self-fashioning on which Petrarchan lyrical production was based in the 16th century, as influenced by Pietro Bembo and others. In most *Canzonieri* of the century, a clear line is drawn in the imaginary biography of the lyrical self between *before* and *afterwards*. The turning point is always a moral, and also poetic conversion, caused by the death of the lady, as in Petrarch, or by other factors. What is important, is that at this point a sort of doubling of the poetic self takes place, where the young, passionate slave of Lust is judged from the perspective of the moral high ground occupied by the older, disenchanted poet. In Petrarch, after the death of his beloved Laura, the poet gradually takes the virtuous path of the praise of God, and we can follow this slow progression to goodness by reading the single poems.

Tasso takes a completely different road. The proof of conversion cannot be found directly in the poetic material: in the reconstructible biography of the poetic self in the *Rime* the turning point is not the death of the beloved woman, but rather the intervention of a new love, a *secondo amore*, that takes over the sovereignty from the old. From a moral standpoint, no betterment can be found: a love of the flesh is substituted with a similar one. It is in fact the commentary itself that enacts the conversion: the commentator is the result of the conversion towards Good, and his way of commenting and rejecting the appeals of Lust is the realization of such conversion.

One of the key aspects that put Tasso's *Rime* in close relationship with Petrarch's *Canzoniere* is the presence of an introductory sonnet[2], *Vere fûr queste gioie e questi*

1 In the following, I will cite from the critical edition of the collected poems in the 1591 edition: Torquato Tasso, ed. by Vania de Maldé, *Rime*, Prima Parte, Tomo II, *Rime d'amore con l'esposizione dello stesso Autore*, Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Torquato Tasso IV, I, 2, Alessandria 2016.

2 On the multiple common petrarchan markers in Tasso's *Rime* see Gerhard Regn, *Tassos zyklische Liebeslyrik und die petrarkistische Tradition. Studien zur ›parte prima‹ der ›Rime‹*, Tübingen 1987.

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ardori, which sums up the moral, and at the same time poetological struggle of the lyrical self. In *Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono* (RVF 1) Petrarch looks back on his life as a lover and lyrical poet, and condemns his juvenile mistake (*giovenile errore*) which consisted basically in thinking that any love towards a mortal object – be it a near celestial being like Laura – could be of benefit to the soul, whereas it is in fact pernicious. The comparison of Tasso's introductory sonnet with *Voi ch'ascoltate* shows the close intertextual relationship between the two sonnets:

Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core
in sul mio primo giovenile errore
quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'i' sono,
del vario stile in ch'io piango et ragiono
fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,
ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,
spero trovar pietà, nonché perdono.
Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto
favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente
di me medesmo meco mi vergogno;
et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,
e 'l pentersi, e 'l conoscer chiaramente
che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

Vere fûr queste gioie e questi ardori
Ond'io piansi e cantai con vario carme,
Che poteva agguagliar il suon de l'arme
E de gli eroi le glorie e i casti amori:
E se non fu de' piú ostinati cori
Ne' vani affetti il mio, di ciò lagnarme
Già non devrei, ché piú laudato parme
Il ripentirsi, ove onestà s'onori.
Or con l'esempio mio gli accorti amanti,
Leggendo i miei diletti e 'l van desire,
Ritolgano ad Amor de l'alme il freno.
Pur ch'altri asciughi tosto i caldi pianti
Ed a ragion talvolta il cor s'adire,
Dolce è portar voglia amorosa in seno[3]

3 Tasso (as note 1), p. 4: »True were these joys and these my inner fires whereby I wept and sang in varied style / that could have equaled the very sounds of arms, / the glory of great heroes, and

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At a first glance, one can notice a similarity in the internal biography of the self: a vain love (*vane speranze,* v. 7, P. – *vani affetti*, v. 7, T.) is now in the past (*or*, v. 9, P. and T.), and this love story must be taken as an *exemplum* for a betterment of some sort. This betterment is completely intimistic in Petrarch (contrast *me medesmo – popol tutto*), while Tasso insists on the exemplary quality of his story that has to positively influence the wise lovers (*accorti amanti*). This slight difference in target constitutes in fact the cornerstone of the whole concept of lyrical poetry as intended by the two poets. Petrarch's sonnet admits no room for moral ambiguity: all that is worldly (*quanto piace al mondo*) is in itself negative, and the implicit, only possible activity of the renewed poet can solely be the praise of God. Tasso on the other hand initiates his *Rime* with perhaps the most direct objection to Petrarch: love is no dream (*sogno*), but true are these joys and passions (*vere fur queste gioie e questi ardori*). The commentary to this first verse further deepens that strong assertion, because Tasso cites the authority of Plato, who in his *Philebo* states true joys can only be pursued by good men. So not only is terrestrial love not a diabolical fiction, but in its goodness for the soul it is similar to ambrosia, the divine food.[4]

The third and fourth verses of *Vere fur queste gioie* immediately introduce the second thematic cluster, that of poetological theory. Tasso states that the trueness of his feelings expressed in his love poetry elevates it to the level of another genre, one not directly mentioned, but which the reader can easily deduce from the subjects – arms (*armi*), glories (*glorie*), heroes (*eroi*) and, above all, innocent love (*casti amori*) – namely epic poetry (*epopeja*). Again, the commentary strengthens

their chaste loves: / And if mine never was among the hearts / most obstinate in vain affections, I / must not complain, for repentance seems to me / more laudable when honesty is honored. / Now let wise lovers, learn from my example /as they read of my delights and vain desire: / let them release their souls from the chains of Love / Though some may need to dry their burning tears, / and the heart at times is rightly moved to wrath, / it's sweet to bear love's longing in one's breast.« Torquato Tasso, ed. by Maria Henry, Susette Acocella, *Rhymes of Love*, Ottawa 2011. The rubric reads: »Questo primo sonetto è quasi proposizione de l'opera: nel quale il poeta dice di meritar lode d'essersi pentito tosto del suo vaneggiare, ed esorta gli amanti col suo esempio che ritolgano ad Amore la signoria di se medesimi.« (This sonnet is almost a general proposition of the *Rime*, wherein the poet claims to be laudable because he has repented early from his errors, and furthermore exhorts lovers to follow his example, and to take back the reins of the soul from Amor.)

4 Tasso (as note 1), p. 219: »E 'veri' son quelli (come scrisse Platone nel *Filebo*) de' quali si nutriscono i buoni, percioché gli huomini malvagi si rallegrano de' falsi piaceri ch'imitano i veri, ma in un modo degno di riso. Si dee ciò nondimeno intender del nutrimento de l'animo e de l'intelletto, ch'è quella ambrosia de la quale favoleggiano gli antichi poeti.« (And ›true‹ are those – as Plato writes in his *Philebo* – that are food for good men, because evil men rejoice for false pleasures that imitate the true ones, but in a ridiculous fashion. We must understand this food of soul and intellect as that ambrosia about which the ancient poets used to fable.)

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and deepens an already strong assertion. Quintilian is the authority now, in particular his extremely positive judgment of Stesichor. Stesichor was a poet who combined the highest thematic material with a genre that was not the *epopeja*, but rather something similar to the Dante *canzone,* the author cited next as an authority by the commentator.[5] So not only were the past *amori* true, but they are at times also described through the features of the highest poetic genre available to Tasso. Petrarch wrote scattered rhymes (*in rime sparse*), but Tasso uses various carms (*vario carme*), which is also technically the most accurate term to define the variety of stylistic levels used by him.

The last *terzina* of *Vere fur queste gioie* establishes the final distancing from Petrarch's famous example. It is worth mentioning that these final three verses, although they convey a message that desperately needs a clarification, are not directly commented. This is commonly the case for this edition of the *Rime*, and a further indicator of the subtle playfulness of this anthology, where sonnets often have an unexpected – even erotically charged – ending, and nevertheless the author purposefully leaves these ambiguities unsolved. As we have mentioned, the whole ethical organization of Petrarch's lyrical self is based on the fact that all mortal love is in itself dangerous, because it deviates the soul from the only true, divine love. Tasso unexpectedly concludes with a tone to which we are not used, especially after a somewhat gloomy moral condemnation: if the tears of an old love are dried by a new one, even if the soul at times justly angers, then a desire of love (*voglia amorosa*) is sweet (*dolce*) to bear. It is a hedonistic *chiusa*, but at the same time an autobiographical one, because the reader will discover that a first love will be substituted by a second, which will effectively make the lyrical self forget the pains of his previous *amore*.[6] All these events, internal to the *diegesis* of the soul, are as already mentioned observed from the perspective

5 Tasso (as note 1), p. 219: »Ha risguardo a quel detto di Quintiliano nel giudicio ch'egli fa di Stesichoro. ›Stesichorum quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostendunt maxima bella. Et clarissimos canentem, Duces, et epici carminis onera lira sustinentem‹. E conforme a questa è l'opinione di Dante ne la *Volgare Eloquenza*, che l'arme siano soggetto ancora della canzona.« (It refers to that famous saying by Quintilian, in his judgement on Stesichor. ›As Stesichor is of great ingenuity, he has as subject the greatest wars and heroes, and his lyre sustains the epic songs‹. And in accordance with this opinion we find Dante who, in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, says that arms may be the subject of the *canzone.*)

6 The contrast between the *primo* and *secondo amore* is the theme of a cluster of poems, starting with CXLI (*L'incendio, onde tai raggi uscir già fore*), which carries the emblematic rubric: »Narra come facendo prova d'estinguer uno amore, n'habbia acceso uno altro e racceso il primo similmente« ([The sonnet] narrates how in trying to extinguish one love, [the poet] ignites another, at the same time reigniting the first), and ends with two shorter *madrigali* celebrating two different and divergent beauties. The sonnet at the centre of this cluster, CXII (*Dal vostro sen, qual fuggitivo audace*), has the function of describing the psychological condition of the lover torn between two ladies, but it does so with ambiguous, not entirely explainable means.

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of a more mature lyrical self, but with a completely different moral position from Petrarch's stern condemnation: it is in fact the patient tolerance of a condition, love, considered to be natural and inevitable, with no small degree of *bonhomie* in judging the *amanti*, whether they be wise (*accorti*) or not.

Of course, in Petrarch the thematic of love is also tightly bound to matters of poetological theory, but this *liaison* remains often implicit, whereas Tasso, with the aid of his commentary, as we already have seen from the example of the introductory sonnet, comes to the point of using his own lyrical production as a valid example of the possibilities offered to the genre when it is not restricted by too stringent interpretations of literary rules, as stated first and foremost by the greatest authority on the subject matter, Aristotle.

This complex and metapoetic *mise en scène* of the two Tassos, the young, lusty poet on one hand, and the old, morally just one on the other, combined with a highly erudite poetological theorization, can be observed throughout the entire collection of *Rime amorose*, but it is in strategically well-placed poems, especially in the form of *canzoni*, that these aspects are particularly visible and have a surplus of relevance. One of these *canzoni*, *Quel generoso mio guerriero interno*[7], proves to be particularly appropriate for analyzing some of the central features of the entire *Rime*, and will therefore be at the core of my investigation.

First of all, it is essential to once again state the importance given to the *canzone* genre in the Italian poetic tradition. Dante in his *Vita nuova* choses some *canzoni* to underline topical moments in his spiritual and poetic journey. Petrarch, soon after, places *canzoni* in key positions in his *Canzoniere*, and a *canzone* is the final prayer to the Virgin Mary, which closes his collection of poems. In the *Cinquecento*, when Petrarch had already risen to the level of canonical author, at least concerning love poetry, *canzoni* continued to be texts that intercepted some of the more arduous concepts regarding the topic of love, or the poetic, and thus metapoetic one. Not the least important reason for this is at the same time a very banal one: the length of a *canzone* permitted the development of much more complex rhetorical structures than for example a shorter sonnet. It is therefore no surprise to find that Tasso choses this genre to present a crucial point in his interior biography.

Tasso's personal interest in assigning, as we will see, an intricate allegory of the state of his mind, or more precisely, of his will to rise to Reason, to a *canzone* can be traced in part to the patent relevance that the *genre* had enjoyed for centuries. It is certainly noteworthy that Tasso, in the decade preceding the publication of the commented edition, had published several dialogues and treatises on the

7 Tasso (as note 1), pp. 118-122.

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theory of poetry in general.[8] The *canzone*, as the ideal vernacular vehicle for hymns and odes, as exemplified in the lyric production of Pindar and Stesichor, was the singular *genre* that could elevate itself to the level of the *epopeja*, and thus carry the style and the subjects of epic poetry. This feature rendered the *canzone* the necessary choice for topics which are of a highly complex doctrinary nature. In addition to this theoretical, absolute factor, which indeed played a crucial role for the very theoretically aware Tasso, a second, shall we say ›personal‹ aspect should be mentioned. Since its composition well before the edition of 1591, Tasso had already imagined a strategic position for this poem, as can be seen by the projects of *canzonieri* in the '80s.[9] In order to explore this second kind of personal motivation further, we will have to analyze the poem for some of his topical aspects.

Introduce lo Sdegno a contender con Amore avanti la Ragione

Quel generoso mio guerriero interno,
Ch'armato in guardia del mio core alberga
Pur come duce di guerrieri eletti,
A lei, ch'in cima siede ove il governo
5 Ha di nostra natura e tien la verga,
Ch'al ben rivolge gli uni e gli altri affetti,
Accusa quel ch'a i suoi dolci diletti
L'anima invoglia, vago e lusinghiero: –
Donna, del giusto impero
10 C'hai tu dal ciel, che ti creò sembiante
A la virtú che regge
I vaghi errori suoi con certa legge,
Non fui contrario ancora o ribellante,
Né mai trascorrer parmi
15 Sí che non possa a tuo voler frenarmi.

Ma ben presi per te l'armi sovente
Contra il desio, quando da te si scioglie
Ed a' richiami tuoi l'orecchie ha sorde,
E, qual di varie teste empio serpente,
20 Sé medesmo divide in molte voglie

8 Torquato Tasso, *Discorsi dell'Arte poetica e del Poema eroico*, ed. by Luigi Poma, Bari 1964.
9 Vincenzo Martignone, *Catalogo dei manoscritti delle Rime di Torquato Tasso*, Bergamo 2004.

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Rapide tutte e cupide ed ingorde,
E sovra l'alma stride e fischia e morde,
Sí che dolente ella sospira e geme
E di perirne teme.
25 Queste sono da me percosse e dome,
E molte ne recido,
Ne fiacco molte e lui non anco uccido:
Ma le rinnova ei poscia e, non so come,
Via piú tosto ch'augello
30 Le piume o i tronchi rami arbor novello.

Ben il sai tu, che sovra il fosco senso
Nostro riluci sí da l'alta sede
Come il sol che rotando esce di Gange;
E sai come il desio piacere intenso
35 In quelle sparge, ond'ei l'anima fiede,
Profonde piaghe e le riapre e l'ange;
E sai come si svolga e come cange
Di voglia in voglia al trasformar d'un viso,
Quando ivi lieto un riso
40 O quando la pietà vi si dimostra,
O pur quando talora
Qual vïola il timor ei vi colora,
O la bella vergogna ivi s'inostra;
E sai come si suole
45 Raddolcir anco al suon de le parole.

E sai se quella che sí altera e vaga
Si mostra in varie guise, e 'n varie forme
Quasi nuovo e gentil mostro si mira,
Per opra di natura o d'arte maga
50 Sé medesma e le voglie ancor trasforme
De l'alma nostra che per lei sospira.
Lasso! qual brina al sole o dove spira
Tepido vento si discioglie il ghiaccio,
Tal ancor io mi sfaccio
55 Spesso a' begli occhi ed a la dolce voce;
E, mentre si dilegua
Il mio vigor, pace io concedo o tregua
Al mio nemico; e quanto è men feroce

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Tanto più forte il sento,
60 E volontario a' danni miei consento.

Consento che la speme, onde ristoro
Per mia natura prendo e mi rinfranco
E nel dubbio m'avanzo e nel periglio,
Torca da l'alto obietto a' bei crin d'oro
65 O la raggiri al molle avorio e bianco
Ed a quel volto candido e vermiglio;
O la rivolga al varïar del ciglio,
Quasi fosse di lui la spene ancella
E fatta a me ribella.
70 Ma non avvien che il traditor s'acqueti;
Anzi del cor le porte
Apre e dentro ricetta estranie scorte
E fòra messi invia scaltri e secreti;
E, s'io del ver m'avveggio,
75 Me prender tenta e te cacciar di seggio. —

Cosí dic'egli, al seggio alto converso
Di lei che palma pur dimostra e lauro;
E 'l dolce lusinghier cosí risponde: —
Alcun non fu de' miei consorti avverso
80 Per sacra fame a te di lucido auro
Ch'ivi men s'empie ov'ella piú n'abonde;
Né per brama d'onor ch'i tuoi confonde
Ordini giusti. E s'io rara bellezza
Seguii sol per vaghezza,
85 Tu sai ch'a gli occhi desïosi apparse
Donna cosí gentile
Nel mio piú lieto e piú felice aprile
Che 'l giovinetto cor súbito n'arse:
Per questa al piacer mossi
90 Rapidamente e dal tuo fren mi scossi.

Forse, io no 'l niego, incauto allor piagai
L'alma; e se quelle piaghe a lei fûr gravi,
Ella se 'l sa tanto il languir le piace
E per sí bella donna anzi trar guai
95 Toglie, che medicine ha sí soavi,

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Che gioir d'altra, e ne' sospir no 'l tace.
Ma questo altero mio nemico audace,
Che per leve cagion, quando piú scherza,
Sé stesso infiamma e sferza,
100 In quella fronte piú del ciel serena
A pena vide un segno
D'irato orgoglio e d'orgoglioso sdegno
E d'avverso desire un'ombra a pena,
Che schernito si tenne,
105 E del dispregio sprezzator divenne.

Quanto ei superbí poscia e 'n quante guise
Fu crudel sovra me, già vinto e lasso
Nel corso e per repulse isbigottito,
Il dica ei che mi vinse e non m'ancise;
110 Se 'n glorii pur ch'io gloriare il lasso.
Questo io dirò, ch'ei folle, e non ardito,
Incontra quel voler che teco unito
Tale ognor segue chiare interne luci
Qual io gli occhi per duci,
115 Non men che sovra 'l mio l'armi distrinse;
Perché 'l vedea sí vago
De la beltà d'una celeste imago
Come foss'io, né lui da me distinse;
Né par che ben s'avveda
120 Che siam qua' figli de l'antica Leda.

Non siam però gemelli: ei di celeste,
Io nacqui poscia di terrena madre;
Ma fu il padre l'istesso, o cosí stimo:
E ben par ch'egualmente ambo ci deste
125 Un raggio di beltà, che di leggiadre
Forme adorna e colora il terren limo.
Egli s'erge sovente, ed a quel primo
Eterno mar d'ogni bellezza arriva
Ond'ogni altro deriva:
130 Io caggio, e 'n questa umanità m'immergo:
Pur a voci canore
Tal volta ed a soave almo splendore
D'occhi sereni mi raffino ed ergo,

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Per dargli senza assalto
135 Le chiavi di quel core in cui t'essalto.

E con quel fido tuo, che d'alto lume
Scòrto si move, anch'io raccolgo e mando
Sguardi e sospiri, miei dolci messaggi.
Per questi egli talor con vaghe piume
140 N'esce, e tanto s'inalza al ciel volando
Che lascia a dietro i tuoi pensier piú saggi.
Altre forme piú belle ad altri raggi
Di piú bel sol vagheggia; ed io felice
Sarei, com'egli dice,
145 Se tutto unito a lui seco m'alzassi:
Ma la grave e mortale
Mia natura mi stanca in guisa l'ale,
Ch'oltre i begli occhi rado avvien ch'i' passi.
Con lor tratta gl'inganni
150 Il tuo fedel seguace, e no 'l condanni.

Ma s'a te non dispiace, o Peregrina,
Che là donde in un tempo ambo partiste,
Egli rapido torni e varchi il cielo,
Condotto no, ma da virtú divina
155 Rapto, di forme non intese o viste;
A me, che nacqui in terra, e 'n questo velo
Vago d'altra bellezza, e non te 'l celo,
Perdona, ove talor troppo mi stringa
Con lui che mi lusinga.
160 Forse ancora avverrà ch'a poco a poco
Di non bramarlo impari,
E col voler mi giunga e mi rischiari
A' rai del suo celeste e puro foco,
Come nel ciel riluce
165 Castore unito a l'immortal Polluce. —

Canzon, cosí l'un nostro affetto e l'altro
Davanti a lei contende
Ch'ambo gli regge, e la sentenza attende.

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As the rubric informs us, Tasso imagines that Disdain (*Sdegno*) accuses Amor in the presence of Reason (*Ragione*), the supreme judge. The allegorical setting is therefore clear from the beginning. Disdain, as the offended party, commences to speak. He first of all states his loyalty to Reason, for whom he has played the part of leader of soldiers against the perils of Lust. Amor, the lustful kind, and therefore identified in Disdain's speech with Lust itself, is accused of having continuously tempted Disdain with the infinite numbers of pleasures, too many to resist them all. The reply of Amor is an apology, constructed using some of the finest rhetoric subtleties.[10] He defends himself by accusing Disdain of being blind to the obvious. While it is true that the mortal nature of Amor prohibits him to elevate his eyes above mere sensual beauty, the mortal lustful Amor is nevertheless conjoined with the immortal Will, the Divine Lust for intellectual pleasures. Disdain, by trying to hinder mortal Lust, *de facto* hinders also the divine quality of men. In Petrarch's version of this dispute (as we will see below), Reason responds by declaring that the struggle between the self and Amor can only be decided in the distant future; Tasso is even more mysterious, because his conclusion of the *canzone* does not give a solution either: the poet imagines a scene with the two contestants awaiting the verdict.

We could use the commentary that follows every poem of this collection as a sort of barometer of the importance that Tasso attributes to each one, by using a simple quantitative proportion: the more the commentary thickens, the more the poem is charged with significance. Following this empirical rule, the sheer volume of commentary to this *canzone* astonishes. Tasso usually keeps the commentary to the bare minimum, but in this case most single verses are commented upon, often with two references per verse. Almost uniquely, an additional introductory comment can be found at the beginning as an addition, and this portion of text is particularly relevant to us, because it – at least partially – justifies the unusual extension of this commentary.[11]

10 We could see the commentary to vv. 91 f.: »›Forse (io no ‹l niego) incauto allhor piagai / l'alma‹: è concessione, figura assai spesso usata dagli oratori.« (that is *concessione*, a *figura* often used by orators); and to v. 109: »mirabile artificio o di non manifestare i vitij de l'aversario, perch'egli medesimo li confessi, o di palesarli, dicendo di non palesarli« (wonderful artifice to not show the vices of the adversary, so that he himself might confess them, or show them, by declaring to not want to show them).

11 »In this *Canzone*, wherein the Poet imitates Petrarch's accusation to Amor, before the tribunal of Reason, and the defense of Amor. In the same manner he introduces Wrath or Disdain, who accuses Amor before the same queen [Reason]. And this is done by the Poet with no small aptness. Because in our soul you find the example, and the image of the Republic, as Plato states as the first in his dialogues on Justice. And the parts of the soul are organised as the parts of the City. Reason, to which belong the acts of thinking, counseling and deciding, represents the King, with his Senate. Wrath, or the power of anger is similar to the Soldiers, who defend; and the *concupiscibile* is the most similar to the multitude of workers, and ser-

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> In questa Canzona, ne la quale imita il Poeta l'accusa fatta dal Petrarca ad amore, avanti il tribunal de la ragione, e la difesa d'Amore; egli introduce ne l'istesso modo, l'ira, o lo sdegno, il qual accusa Amore avanti la medesima Regina. E non è ciò fatto dal Poeta senza molta convenevolezza, imperoché ne l'animo nostro è l'essempio, e l'imagine de la Republica, si come afferma Platone primo di tutti gli altri, ne' suoi dialoghi de la Giustitia. E le parti de l'animo sono disposte come quelle de la Città, avvegna che la ragione, di cui sono operationi il discorrere, il consigliare, l'eleggere, rappresenta il Re, co 'l Senato. L'ira, o la potenza irascibile è simile a' Soldati, che stanno a la guardia: ma la concupiscibile più s'assomiglia a la turba de gli artefici, e de' ministri. E si come queste tre potenze sono distinte, così parimente si distingue la sede di ciascuna, o 'l luogo, in cui si manifesta le sue operationi. Perché la ragione sta nel capo, l'appetito irascibile nel cuore, il concupiscibile nel fegato separato da quello, che si chiama septotransverso, e legato come bestia al presepe, o se vogliam così dire, come asino a la mangiatoia. E benché Aristotele porti contraria opinione, peroché assegnando al cuore il principato fra le parti del corpo, pomne la regia de l'anima ne l'istesso luogo: i Medici nondimeno, ch'attribuiscono il principato al cervello, seguirono il giudicio d'Hippocrate, e di Platone, i quali furono in ciò assai concordi, come dimostra Galeno nel libro de' Placitiis Hippocratis, & Platonis.[12]

At this point it is useful to remark that the Petrarchan poem in which the allegorical *mise en scène* of a tribunal of the soul is represented, *Quell'antiquo mio dolce empio signore*, was one of the better known texts by the author, and Tasso, just by mentioning the subject in his *commento*, enabled the reader to easily recognize the exact quote. First comes the attribution of the origin of the idea as a whole: Petrarch, in his *canzone quell'antiquo mio dolce empio signore* (RVF 360), which has a relevant position just at the end of his *Canzoniere*, imagines a similar *mise en scène*. It is similar, though not perfectly superposable. Petrarch imagines a scene where before the supreme seat of Reason stands the lyrical self, opposed to Amor, whereas Tasso maintains the supreme judge and Amore as characters, but the *io* is substituted by Disdain. Disdain/ Wrath is present already in Petrarch's poem

vants. And as these three powers are distinct, so all have distinct seats, or places, where they manifest their acts. Because reason resides in the head, the angry appetite in the heart, and the lustful in the liver, divided by the so-called *septotransverso*, and bound as an animal to the barn or, in other words, as the ass to the manger. And although Aristoteles has the opposite opinion, for he attributes to the heart the supreme place amongst the parts of the body, and thus puts the control of the soul in the same place, the Physicians nonetheless, who attribute this control to the brain, follow Hippocrates' and Plato's opinion, who in this instance think very much alike, as Galen demonstrates in his *De placitiis Hippocratis, & Platonis*.«

12 Tasso (as note 1), p. 295.

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(v. 11), though not as an anthropomorphized being, but simply as the bitter fruit gathered by an unloved lover. In Tasso's complex allegory, these unwelcome gifts in the Petrarchan lyrical self's eyes become a personification, the aforementioned Disdain. This Disdain has a whole other status, representing in fact the opposing power to lustful Amor, that feature which could elevate a poet to the moral high ground, be it an ethical, or more accurately, a poetological one.

This reference to Petrarch is quite unexpectedly followed by the praise of Tasso himself, for having represented this struggle in an apt manner. In aid of this strong declaration of valour comes a philosophical authority, Plato, who sees a structure of the soul parallel to the one of the ideal State as traced in his *Republic*. Reason represents the rulers, the philosophers; Disdain is the soldier class, who protect the state; and Lust/ Amor is the merchant and labourer class, wherein the base instincts of humanity lie. Immediately thereafter Aristotle is cited, but interestingly enough not as an authority, but rather as a representative of a false position, in this case the conviction that the soul has his realm in the heart. Tasso then recurs again to the authority of Plato, in conjunction with Hippocrates, to state the correct theory, from his point of view, that the soul has his place in the brain, far away from the organs of Disdain, the heart, and of Lust, the liver.

With this introduction, not only is the tone of the following commentary set, but the whole conceptual architecture of the allegory is established from the start, and justly so, because this poem is a depiction, following a syncretic theorization between Platonism and Aristotelianism, of the complex of impulses and aspirations of the lyrical self, torn between Lust and the knowledge of its perils, but also aware of the inherent potential for ascension of any Love, whether it be secular or spiritual. In the lion's share of the commentaries to the other poems, the ›philologist‹ Tasso seems to have the upper hand. We can find a number of references to poetic antecedents of similes and metaphors, for example, or the recurrence of poetic *concetti* taken from a poetic tradition that goes back to Homer and the ancient Greek lyrical poets. Metaphysical and moral reflection has a far from secondary role in the general economy of this commentary, but it is undeniable that poetic theory and practice constitute the true focal points of the anthology. In the case of this *canzone*, on the other hand, we see a reversal of relevance, where the doctrinary point of view far surpasses the poetic or poetological, one. The attention to the text is in this case far more ›atomistic‹: rather than addressing small, but coherent portions of the poem, the commentator choses to focus on single words, though ones still particularly relevant to the overall philosophical discourse.

An example of how this doctrinary level surpasses the poetic one can be found in the commentary to verse 46, where Petrarch is mentioned, but astonishingly as a somewhat imprecise poet: by calling Laura proud and disdainful (*altera e*

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disdegnosa) the commentary claims that the medieval poet had not represented accurately the qualities of any beloved[13], who must be *altera e vaga* (beautiful), as the poet Tasso correctly states, because it is the quality of *vaghezza* that captures Lust.[14]

The surpassing of the poetic level by the theoretical one also becomes clear through the commentary to verse 76. Here, the poet Tasso mentions the attributes of Reason, the palm (*palma*) and the aforementioned laurel (*lauro*). The commenting Tasso specifies that those are the gifts of virtue (*virtù*), and that men guided by Reason want nothing more, among the things exterior (*cose esteriori*), than honor (*honore*).[15] In accordance with his philosophical system, Disdain cannot aspire to anything more than human, but it is relevant to see that the laurel here does not stand for love poetry in particular, but represents rather intellectual conquests in a broader sense: Tasso once again states indirectly the high level of discourse sustained in this *canzone*, a doctrinary rather than an elegiac one.

This doctrinary level at times even forces the original meaning of the verse, or at least gives it a very specific value, much more precise than the letter originally would state. In verse 31 for example, Disdain apostrophizes Reason, by rhetorically stating that she »knows very well« (*ben il sai tu*) how many dangerous forms Lust can take. The verse functions entirely on this rhetorically charged level, but the commentary once again surprises. Aristotle is mentioned directly, where he states that »knowing things means knowing them for their causes«[16] – a feature of Reason, because the senses can attain only certitude, not true science. It seems that in this case, as in others, Tasso exceeds juxtaposing doctrinary material to the poetic one, attributing accidental meanings to the original text.

13 R.V.F. 105, vv. 7-9.

14 Tasso (as note 1), pp. 296-297: »Non ›altera e disdegnosa‹ si dimostrava l'amata Donna, come la desidera il Petrarca, dicendo ›Et in Donna amorosa ancor m›aggrada / Ch›in vista vada altera e disdegnosa / Non superba o ritrosa‹, ma ›altera e vaga‹ perch'in questo modo potea invaghirlo più agevolmente.« (The beloved woman was not ›proud and disdainful‹, as Petrarch wants her to be, saying ›And in loving woman I most desire / That she shows pride and disdain / Not be haughty nor prude‹.)

15 Tasso (as note 1), p. 298: »Però che questi [palma e lauro] sono i premi che distribuisce la virtù, quasi volendo accennare che l'huomo guidato da la ragione, non cerca fra le cose esteriori alcuna più de l'honore, il quale è grandissimo oltre tutti i beni.« (Because these [the palm and the laurel] are the rewards of virtue, almost as if to say, that men driven by reason, do not desire anything more among the exterior goods then honor, which is the greatest among all goods.)

16 Tasso (as note 1), p. 296: »Il saper è conoscer le cose per le cagioni, come dice Aristotele, e questo è proprio de la ragione, perché la cognitione del senso, quantunque possa essere certa, non è scienza.« (Knowing something, means understanding it through its causes, as Aristotle says, and this is a feature of reason, because knowledge through senses, albeit certain, cannot be science.)

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Self-stylization as theoretician is just one part of the more articulate program enacted by Tasso in this unique edition. To ascend to the epistemological level of discourse meant of course using the *canzone* genre, but in conjunction with an elevated poetic language. This strategy is enacted firstly already on the level of the poetic text. Undoubtedly keeping in mind the model of Giovanni della Casa, but also that of his father Bernardo, both of whom were capable of producing conceptually extremely dense *canzoni,* Tasso constructs both *plaidoyers* following complex syntactic structures, as can be seen in the use of the finest judiciary rhetoric. The vocabulary as well rises to the occasion, and we can trace parallels with the one used in the *Gerusalemme*. The commentary, this time we could say in alliance with poetry, has the function of reconstructing the poetic models of Tasso, and this is a feature that can be observed throughout the entire collection. The perspective adopted here surpasses the one of mere Petrarchism often ascribed to the *Cinquecento* poet: Tasso intends to show how his poetic imagery stems from a tradition that reaches further back than Petrarch.

The commentator often enacts this strategy with a sort of two-step mechanism. Verse 80, for example, reads »the terrible hunger for shiny gold« (*per sacra fame* […] *di lucido auro*). An averagely educated reader of the time could easily recognize a reference to *Aeneid,* III, but Tasso cites Dante as the first source (*Purgatory*, XXII, v. 40), and then uses the term *ad imitatione*, a technical term always used in these cases, to refer to Virgil.[17] A chain is thus constituted, that binds classical antiquity, place of origin of all poetry, through the Middle Ages,

17 Tasso (as note 1), p. 298: »Amore, come habbiamo detto, è ne l›appetito concupiscibile: però chiama ›suoi consorti‹ tutti gli affetti che sono ne l'istesso appetito, i quali sono molti, et infiniti, come stima alcuno. Ma egli, tacendo le cupidità del mangiare e del bere, fa mentione di due principali: de l'avaritia, la quale è soverchia cupidigia d›havere, e de lo smoderato desiderio d'honore, che chiamiamo ambitione, dicendo che ne l'animo del Poeta niuno di questi affetti discordò da la ragione, ma tutti paiono da lei moderati. De l'avaritia parla in quel verso ›Per sacra fame a te di lucido auro‹. E soggiunge ›Ch'ivi men s'empie, ov'ella più n'abonde‹, per darci a divedere che le cupidità de l'avaro sono insatiabili. Dante, ragionando nel medesimo soggetto, disse ad imitatione de Vergilio, ›o sacra fame‹, cioè essecrabile. Et in un altro luogo: ›de la tua fame, senza fine cupa.‹« (Love, as we already said, is in the lustful appetite: therefore he [Tasso] calls ›his consorts‹ all affects that are in the same appetite, and these are several, and even infinite, as some believe. But he, without mentioning the appetites of eating and drinking, names the two main ones: of greed, which is excessive lust to possess, and the excessive desire for honor, which we call ambition, saying that in the poet's soul none of these affects conflict with reason, but all are controlled by her. On greed he speaks in that verse ›for terrible hunger of shiny gold‹. And furthermore ›that the more you have of it [greed], the less it can be filled‹, to show us that the appetites of the greedy are insatiable. Dante, speaking on the same subject, wrote in imitation of Vergil, ›o terrible hunger‹, that is execrable. And elsewhere ›of your hunger, dark without an end‹.)

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origin of poetry in the vernacular, up into modernity, namely Tasso himself. As we have seen, another chain had been formed by Tasso already in the commentary to his introductory sonnet: there once again Dante is cited, as the theoretician of the *De vulgari eloquentia,* and put into direct relation with Quintilian, the most important theoretician of the Latin world, who in turn cites Stesichor as an example of cross-thematic lyrical poetry. These authoritative chains can be found throughout the whole *Rime,* and are much more than an erudite show of *imitatio*. Indeed they are one of the main tools through which Tasso on one hand tries to force the tight theoretical bounds ascribed by *Rinascimento* theory to the elegiac genre with the support of true examples, and on the other demonstrates his intrinsic value as *poeta doctus*. The self-stylization as theoretician is therefore complementary to the self-stylization as erudite poet.

But authorization does not only function on the level of the two responding and mirroring persons, that is Tasso the poet and Tasso the commentator. This 1591 edition plays an important role in the overall poetological strategy of the already famous author. As I have mentioned before, theoretic reflections on poetry had occupied Tasso in the years preceding the edition. A key point was the role that lyrical poetry could play in the hierarchy of genres as established by the scholastic tradition. This hierarchy appeared too stringent in Tasso's opinion, and from a mere historical standpoint already. Pindar and other poets who treated on noble poetic material remain at the borders of this theoretic architecture, but nearer to Tasso are the examples of Dante and Petrarch, and even nearer Della Casa. All these poets conveyed the noblest topics with the highest degree of poetic language, without having to practice the *epopeja* genre. The theory, empirical in a sense, is put into contact with poetic practice thanks to the accurate choice of references and annotations that are present in our commentary. The aforementioned chains of *imitatio* are just one of the means used by the theoretician Tasso. The commentary on the present poem for example, by focusing on the philosophical vocabulary, and underlining its aptness in describing the system of the appetites of the soul, *de facto* authorizes lyrical language implicitly, as being able to carry such a heavy doctrinary burden.

As we have seen, the word *lauro* is re-semanticized in the commentary to v. 76, because in this poem it does not merely represent the glory of love poetry, but of human intellectual pursuits in a broader sense. A similar strategy is used for the word *velo* (veil, v. 156), which we can read in the last stanza. Lust is at the end of his *plaidoyer*, and his reasoning has brought a surprising turn. Instead of defending himself by responding to the accusations of Disdain, the parallel structure is broken, and Lust calls to his aid the Will, that follows bright interior lights (*volere … che segue chiare interne luci*, v. 113). This is the Will or Lust for celestial objects, the divine counterpart of the mortal Lust, but as the latter declares, both

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stem from the same origin, as Castor and Pollux.[18] Lust states that he would gladly follow his immortal brother into the aerial regions where he ascends, if his mortal veil (*velo*) would not keep him so tightly bound to human pleasures. The veil is used in Tasso almost exclusively as an accessory of the appearance of his Beloved: it is a sign of modesty, and the corresponding unveiling is on the other hand always a sign of victory of the woman over the overwhelmed self, thanks to her beauty. The *velo* has in this case a whole other value. It represents the mortality inherent to Lust itself, an irrevocable quality that theoretically could not be lifted. But the final desiderative declaration, introduced by a maybe (*forse*), opens to the possibility of a gradual elevation to the celestial realm, just as Castor shines together with Pollux in heaven. The commentary, that had opened on Plato, closes on a commentary by Donato Acciauoli on Aristotle's *Ethics*[19], without citing a precise passage, but clearly stating that he refers to the *locus* where the union between immortal and mortal appetites is sketched out.[20] The *coda* of this *canzone*, which would have been solely desiderative – not much more than wishful thinking (and especially because it lies in the position where Tasso usually delivers his final *concetti*) – becomes on the contrary a concrete hopeful option, and this only thanks to the commentary, which conveys the philosophical basis of the whole discourse.

18 Tasso (as note 1), p. 298: »›Non siam però gemelli‹: i due appetiti del senso e de l›intelletto sono i due amori, nati di due Veneri. Cioè da la celeste e da la volgare. L'uno immortale, l'altro mortale. Et in questa parte simili a Castore et a Polluce, ma differenti, perché quelli hebber commune la madre terrena, questi il padre celeste. Si può anche intender per la madre de l'uno, l'anima ragionevole, o la mente: e per la madre de l'altro la sensitiva. la qual nasce e muore co ,l suo corpo. E questa spositione è più conforme a la mente del Poeta, et a le parole d'Amore che mostrò di riconoscere per padre, cioè per la cagion factrice il bello, o ,l ›raggio‹ de la bellezza.« (›Though we are not twins‹: the appetites of the senses and of the intellect are two Amores, born from two Venuses, that is, from the celestial and from the vulgar. One immortal, the other mortal. And in this respect similar to Castor and Pollux, but different, because these had the divine father in common, whereas the appetites share the worldly mother. We could also understand the mother of the first being the rational soul, or the mens: and the mother of the second being the sensual soul, who is born and dies together with her flesh. And this explanation is more congruent to the mind of the Poet, and to the words of Amor, who recognizes as his father – that is as his effective cause – Beauty, or the ›ray‹ of beauty.)

19 *Aristotelis Stagiritae peripateticorum principis Ethicorum ad Nichomacum libri decem. I Argyropylo Byzantio interprete, cum D. Acciaoli Forentini viri [...] commentariis*, Lugduni, apud A. Vincentium, 1560.

20 Tasso (as note 1), p. 301: »l'appetito del senso, congiungendosi con quello de l'intelletto, parteciperà de la sua immortalità, come Castore di quella di Polluce. Ma di questa unione leggi l'Acciaiuolo sovra l'Etica di Aristotele.« (The appetite of the senses, conjoining with the lust of the intellect, will partake in its immortality, like Castor enjoys the immortality of Pollux. But on this union read Acciaiuoli on the *Ethics* by Aristotle.)

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At this point we have not yet unraveled this allegory, but with the aid of the commentary it becomes clear what the lyrical self intends to convey. It is true that Lust, by multiplying pleasures *ad libitum*, seriously hurts his chances of ever being set free from mortality. In the final stanzas, however, the positive potential of Lust is stated, which can elevate the soul in at least partial accordance with the divine Lust, and the conclusive silence of Reason expresses an uncertain position. It seems that Tasso wants to partially liberate his soul from a hierarchy of impulses, while simultaneously remaining open to the potential of creative elevation offered by a love poetry that engages in topics far above the mere sensual and lustful. The commentary also gives us the only true contact to the biographical reality of the lyrical self, a dimension almost completely absorbed in the dense and complex allegory. In the commentary to v. 149, we read:

> ›Con lor tratta gl'inganni‹: dapoi trasporta la colpa ne la volontà, se pur v'è alcuna colpa: ma pur che l'uno e l'altro appetito sia colpevole, l'uno per haver passati i segni ne l'amar sensualmente l'altro, perché negando la pace, haveva impedito che l'amor sensuale si convertisse in amicitia, come era l'inclinatione de la volontà.[21]

The concept of *amicitia* rarely appears in this collection, but it is one always latently present in Tasso's concept of Love as has been presented in this *canzone*. The surpassing of the erotic features of Amor, those that are pernicious to the soul, is here stated as necessary – of course in the defending words of *Amore* – but nevertheless this can only be possible if there had first been the presence of lustful love. Disdain, as a human appetite, could not surpass the mere sensual, whereas erotic love always has an ascensional potential, so long as it stems from a noble soul.

Once again, the genre of lyrical love poetry and the fate of the lyricist Tasso are intertwined: by giving authority to the genre – an authority that in this poem stems directly from the divine nature of the Will – the love poet is indirectly authorized. In the opposite direction, if the commentary retraces the noble origins and the general high rhetorical value of the poetic material presented, in other words, if the commentator ennobles the lyricist, the genre, which proves thus capable of sustaining an elevated song, is indirectly but logically ennobled.

Tasso, as an anxious member of the Catholic Church in times of religious unrest, is of course worried for the health of his mortal soul. This genuine an-

21 »›With them he [the Will] fights its trickeries‹: then he [Amor] ascribes the fault to the Will, if there even is any culpability, and if there is, then both appetites [Amor and Disdain] be guilty, one by having transgressed his bounds in loving sensually, the other, because by denying peace, he had prevented that sensual love could be converted in friendship, as was the Will's inclination.«

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xiety possibly presents itself in some mediated form, and the constant worries for the perilous subjects treated in the *Gerusalemme* are in fact a manifestation of said troubles. But the moral restlessness presented in this first part of the *Rime* clearly shows a conflict already resolved in factual reality. As I have said, after the *Rime amorose* the other parts of the anthology will have the additional function of showing the reader that a conversion *has* in fact already taken place: proof thereof are the hundreds of poems dedicated to noble subjects, that thus do not require a commentary. If we understand commentary from an exclusively explanatory point of view, we cannot understand this lack of them. As I have tried to demonstrate, however, commentary for Tasso serves the purposes of self-authorization and ennoblement of the lyrical genre in itself. The repentance of the sinful, poetic youth is at this point nothing more than a poetic pose, established through the centuries, and if Tasso embraces this particular stylization, he does so precisely because he is aware of the strength of this poetic tradition, in other words, he wants to be part of a line that commences with Petrarch, without risking being identified too strongly with him.

›Forcing‹ the blatant sovereignty of Petrarch in the field of lyrical poetry without openly breaking what had become a common model for a collection of poems, the *Canzoniere*, is only a part of a much more articulate program of self-authorization. This particular *canzone* deals with the highly complex and debated topic of the moral justness of Love, and at this level as well Tasso subtly enacts his quiet ›rebellion‹ to the norm. As we have seen, Aristotle is the basis of the ethical structure that we can perceive throughout the entire *Rime amorose*, but he is not at all an undisputed authority. On the contrary, in the commentary to this *canzone*, Plato and his commentators are almost always cited as representing a different, sometimes diametrically opposed position, and the commentator himself undoubtedly favours the latter opinions. The constant mirroring authorization has here its extreme but necessary consequence: The *Rime amorose* become in themselves a *corpus exemplorum*, biographical material that can be commented from a distance, and which in its empirical truth offers more than one objection to the undisputed authority in poetic matters, Petrarch, and to the even more undisputed philosophical authority, that is Aristotle.

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Magnus Ulrich Ferber and Philipp Knüpffer

Letters as Comment on Commentary

The Annotationes in *Hymnos Callimachi* by Nicodemus Frischlin (1577) and Bonaventura Vulcanius (1584)

1) Introduction

> Non pauci è vobis sunt, qui suis me calamis tanquam stimulis et calcaribus quibusdam eò conantur impellere, ut ad Hymnorum Callimachi versionem iam olim in Gallia editam et nuper à quodam *plagiario* mihi furtim ablatam, tum etiam ad quinque Comoedias Aristophanis priores, quas ante quinquennium verti, sex reliquas adiiciam.[1]

With these lines forming part of a letter from December 1, 1584, Tübingen humanist Nicodemus Frischlin (1547 – 1590) tried to convince a number of unspecified recipients in Germany, Italy, France, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary to help him raise funds in order to promote the publication of a series of poetic and philological works he had ready for printing. Frischlin, who had gained considerable prestige as a playwright and author of a wide range of humanist writings, felt the urgency to launch this appeal since he was attempting to reestablish himself at the University of Tübingen after a two-year intermezzo as headmaster of the Latin school in the Slovene town of Ljubljana. In his letter, Frischlin presents a list of approximately twenty works which he promised to complete within two years' time if only he had the funds necessary.

1 Frischlin to his friends in Germany, Italy, France, Denmark, Poland and Hungary, Strasbourg, December 1, 1584, printed after the edition of his play *Dido*, in: Nicodemus Frischlin, *Operum poeticorum Pars scenica*, Strasbourg 1595, fol. C2v. (Translation: Many of you have tried to convince me, using their pens as a spur or goad, to translate the remaining six comedies of Aristophanes in addition to the first five comedies translated by me five years ago, and my translation of Callimachus' hymns, which have been published earlier in France and recently stolen from me in secret by some plagiarist.)

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In our article, special emphasis is placed on one of the works referred to in the opening quote, namely Frischlin's translation of Callimachus' *Hymns*. In 1577, one of the most renowned humanist printers of the time, especially for his edition of Plato, Geneva-based Henri Estienne, also known by his Latin alias, Henricus Stephanus, published his *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni et Epigrammata*[2] containing Frischlin's translation of both hymns and epigrams into Latin as well as *Annotationes in Hymnos*, a commentary on the hymns.

In his letter from 1584, Frischlin mentions a ›plagiarius‹ who, so he claims, had stolen his translation. Apparently, he is referring to a fellow humanist author, Flemish professor of Latin and Greek at Leiden University, Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538 – 1614).[3] Earlier that year, Vulcanius had published his own edition of Callimachus' texts at the famous Plantin Press in Antwerp and Leiden using a nearly identical title, *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni, Epigrammata et Fragmenta.*[4] This edition also consisted of a proper translation in verse and, what is more, a commentary of his own.

In this paper, we intend (1) to characterize Frischlin's commentary on Callimachus as genuinely humanistic, (2) to discuss the quarrel that arose between the competing editor-commentators, and (3) to show in this case how the surviving correspondences of the three protagonists can serve as comment on the commentary to Callimachus. Lastly, we present two commented letters by Frischlin as a sample of our current edition of his correspondence.

2) Frischlin as Commentator of Callimachus

Nicodemus Frischlin[5] was born in 1547 as the son of a Lutheran pastor in the Württemberg town of Balingen. He had undergone the typical humanist training

2 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni (cum suis Scholiis Graecis) et Epigrammata. eiusdem Poematium de Coma Berenices a Catullo versum. Nicodemi Frischlini Balingensis Interpretationes duae Hymnorum, una Oratione soluta, altera Carmine. Eiusdem Interpretatio Epigrammatum et Annotationes in Hymnos. Henrici Stephani Emendationes partim Annotationes in quosdam Hymnorum Locos. Eiusdem duplex Interpretatio Hymni primi, Carmine utraque, quarum una strictae, altera liberae et paraphrasticae Interpretationis Exemplum esse possit*, Geneva 1577.

3 Cf. Hélène Cazes (ed.), *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks. Bruges 1538 – Leiden 1614*, Leiden, Boston 2010 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 194).

4 Bonaventura Vulcanius, *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni, Epigrammata et Fragmenta, quae extant, et separatim Moschi Syracusii et Bionos Smyrnaei Idyllia Bonaventura Vulcanio Brugensi Interprete cum Annotationibus eiusdem et Indice copioso*, Antwerp 1584. On this edition cf. Thomas M. Conley, »Vulcanius as Editor: The Greek Texts«, in: Cazes (as note 3), pp. 337-350; here p. 338.

5 On his biography still cf. David Friedrich Strauß, *Leben und Schriften des Dichters und Philologen Nicodemus Frischlin. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Culturgeschichte in der zweiten Hälfte des 16.*

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when he entered the University of Tübingen, which at that time was a centre for Orthodox Lutheran studies in Germany, at the age of fifteen. In 1567, he became an associate professor and began lecturing on Virgil, Caesar, Horace, Sallust, Cicero's letters, and the like. At about the same time, Frischlin published his first Latin comedy, *Rebecca*[6], a biblical stage play imitating Plautus and Terence with regard to their characters and style. During his life, he composed seven more Latin comedies and two Latin tragedies in addition to a German play, making him one of the most widely read authors of this genre up to the 17th century in the German-speaking countries. His most famous plays are the university comedy *Priscianus vapulans*[7], premiered during the centenary celebration of the University of Tübingen, the patriotic comedy *Iulius redivivus*[8] and the confessional drama *Phasma*[9].

This distinguished poet had turned his attention to Callimachus of Cyrene, a popular Greek poet in ancient times affiliated with the famous library of Alexandria in the 3rd century BC, as a possible stylistic role model for composing verse. His vast poetic oeuvre has survived partially in fragments, but it has been extensively supplemented by new papyrus findings in the last two centuries.[10]

As early as the Renaissance period, Callimachus' six hymns to the Olympian gods were known. They were published in 1496 for the first time.[11] During the 16th century, numerous new editions appeared, including the one that Henricus Stephanus enclosed in his *Poetae Graeci Principes Heroici Carminis*[12] in 1566. Eight years later, an expanded edition was published in Paris in the printing house of Joannes Benenatus, offering not only the ancient Greek commentary on Callimachus, but also a metrical translation into Latin by Nicolaus Gulonius from Chartres.[13]

Jahrhunderts, Frankfurt a. M. 1856. For an extensive overview on his work and secondary literature until the year 2005 cf. Thomas Wilhelmi and Friedrich Seck, *Nikodemus Frischlin (1547 – 1590). Bibliographie*, Leinfelden, Echterdingen 2004 (Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 4).

6 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Rebecca. Comoedia nova et sacra*, Frankfurt a. M. 1576.

7 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Priscianus vapulans. Comedia lepida, faceta et utilis, in qua demonstrantur Soloecismi et Barbarismi, qui superioribus Seculis omnia Artium et Doctrinarum Studia, quasi quodam Diluvio inundarunt: Scripta in Laudem huius Seculi*, Strasbourg 1580.

8 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Iulius redivivus. Comoedia in Laudem Germaniae et Germanorum scripta*, Strasbourg 1585.

9 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Phasma. Hoc est Comoedia posthuma, nova et Sacra de variis Haeresibus et Haeresiarchis*, Strasbourg 1592.

10 Cf. Luigi Lehnus, »Kallimachos aus Kyrene«, in: *Der Neue Pauly* VI, col. 188-194.

11 Ioannes Laskaris (ed.), *Καλλιμάχου Κυρηναίου Ὕμνοι*, Florence 1496.

12 Henricus Stephanus (ed.), *Poetae Graeci principes Heroici Carminis et alii nonnulli*, Geneva 1566, part III, pp. 153-181.

13 Nicolaus Gulonius, *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni cum Scholiis*, Paris 1574.

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This edition perhaps forced Stephanus to present an improved one. For this project, he was able to fall back on the work of Frischlin, whose edition offers some reader's aids to the hymns. Thus, the ancient commentary encloses the verses of Callimachus typographically in the style of medieval glosses explaining words and names. At the bottom of each page Frischlin presents a Latin translation in prose.[14]

In a second, separate part, Frischlin offers his own commentary on Callimachus[15] which happens to be the first modern commentary on this poet and thereby stands in a typical humanistic tradition. Furthermore, commentaries on ancient classics can be considered the one genre that most clearly expresses the humanistic claim that new knowledge can only be acquired through a recourse to antiquity. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that »[b]etween 1400 and 1700, more commentaries were written than during any other period of ›Western‹ history«, as Karl Enenkel assesses.[16] The commentary is followed by a metric translation of the hymns into Latin by Frischlin[17] and the first publication of 31 epigrams attributed to Callimachus, accompanied by Latin translations from Frischlin.[18] The book ends with a biography of Callimachus in Greek by Frischlin.[19]

Frischlin's commentary meets the philological standards established over decades by his humanistic forerunners. Thus, he uses lemmas to explain individual words, such as the epithets of the gods, and often combines them with references to etymology or proverbs usually cited after the *Adagia* of Erasmus[20], to indicate parallel passages in ancient literature and to explain proper names of places and rhetorical figures, such as comparisons[21], amplifications[22], apostrophes[23], metonymies[24], periphrases[25], or hypotyposes[26] he considers especially elaborate.

14 Frischlin (as note 2), part I, pp. 1-52.
15 Ibid., part II, pp. 1-71.
16 Cf. Karl Enenkel, »The Neo-Latin Commentary«, in: *Brill's Encyclopedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropedia*, Leiden, Boston 2014, pp. 207-216, here 207. In the following, Enenkel argues that compared to the time before 1400 a change took place both in quantity and quality of texts that were commented upon. Now even texts from outside the literary cannon were regarded as worthy of commentary as they helped to assemble as much information about antiquity as possible.
17 Frischlin (as note 2), part II, pp. 73-84.
18 Ibid., part I, pp. 60-70.
19 Ibid., part II, pp. 85 f.
20 Cf. Frischlin (as note 2), p. 14 concerning Hymn II,45 and pp. 23 f. concerning Hymn III,38.
21 Cf. ibid., p. 20 concerning Hymn II,108 and p. 49 concerning Hymn IV,228.
22 Cf. ibid., p. 25 concerning Hymn III,91 and p. 45 concerning Hymn IV,137.
23 Cf. ibid., p. 49 concerning Hymn IV,21 and p. 70 concerning Hymn VI,277.
24 Cf. ibid., p. 51 concerning Hymn IV,277.
25 Cf. ibid., p. 56 concerning Hymn V,24 and 26.
26 Cf. ibid., p. 24 concerning Hymn III,59.

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Proceeding this way did not only imply a better understanding of the source text, but it also allowed the commentator to use the classical text as a point of departure to deploy his own knowledge about any field of science.

Frischlin emphasized this practice in a letter to his Tübingen colleague Georg Burckhard dated March 25, 1575.[27] Starting from Poliziano's dictum »Qui poetarum interpretationem suscipit, eum non solum ad Aristophanis lucernam, sed etiam ad Cleanthis oportet lucubrasse«[28], and referring to a commentary on the *Aeneid*, which he had in mind[29], Frischlin named all the subject areas which, in his opinion, were relevant for a comprehensive commentary on an ancient poet: history, mythology, ethics, economics, politics, physics, medicine, geography, astronomy, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics. In order to obtain a better understanding of Virgil, one would consequently have to consult nearly 150 authors, all of which Frischlin listed by name. His list included Callimachus whom he sees as one of the possible role models for the Roman poet. In his commentary on Callimachus, Frischlin therefore mentions four passages in the hymns that Virgil had relied on, supposedly.[30]

In his commentary, Frischlin actually practices the aforementioned all-encompassing method discussing physical[31], astronomical[32], and medical[33] phenomena as well. Nevertheless, geographical comments on ancient places of worship mentioned in the hymns are much more numerous. Sometimes Frischlin quotes ancient *loci classici* referring to these places. Even historical remarks mainly refer to the history of ancient cults – once even with a comparison to ritual practices of the Celts, of which Caesar reports.[34]

The majority of the factual commentary, however, consists of explanations on mythology. At this point, Frischlin surprisingly acts quite defensively, as if he

27 Printed in: Melchior Goldast, *Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria*, Leipzig 1674, pp. 279-290.

28 Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima*, Florence 1489, fol. ci^{v}, thus referring to a famous passage by Varro, *De lingua Latina*, V,9,1. (Translation: Attempting an interpretation of the poets, one needs to work not only by the light [i. e. following the model] of Aristophanes but also by the one of Cleanthes [a stoic who lived around 331-232 BC and was said to have studied only by night]).

29 Only the commentary on the first two books of the *Aeneid* has been handed down in Nicodemus Frischlin, *P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos Libri duo priores ex Livio, Caesare et Cicerone luculenta ac perspicua Paraphrasi expositi*, Frankfurt a. M. 1602.

30 Frischlin (as note 2), part II, p. 11 concerning Hymn II,1; p. 24 concerning Hymn III,49; p. 45 concerning Hymn IV,141 and p. 67 concerning Hymn VI,57.

31 Cf. ibid., p. 39 concerning Hymn IV,31 has a note about the theory of lightning by Aristotle.

32 Cf. ibid., p. 40 concerning Hymn IV,38 has a note about shooting stars.

33 Cf. ibid., p. 13 concerning Hymn II,40 has a note about the effect of the moon carrot according to Pliny the Elder.

34 Cf. ibid., p. 11 concerning Hymn II,2 discussing Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, VI,16.

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as a philologist at an Orthodox Lutheran university in the confessional age was under strong pressure to justify and explain why he dealt with Greek mythology. His solution for this problem is a recourse to the medieval practice of allegorical interpretation[35]: Frischlin uses classical literature as a treasure trove filled with metaphors representing Christian contents.

In his commentary on the giants, for example, Frischlin not only points to the literary treatment of the motif of the *Battle of Giants* by Hesiod, Ovid, and Claudian as well as to references to this myth in Virgil, Horace, Homer, and Cicero, but he also applies a Christian interpretive perspective when comparing the *Battle of Giants* to the expulsion from paradise or to the construction of the Tower of Babel as a metaphor for turning away from God.[36] He found

35 About this way of interpreting classical texts, cf. Lothar Mundt, »Einleitung«, in: Georg Sabinus, *Fabularum Ovidii interpretatio – Auslegung der Metamorphosen des Ovid*, ed. and trs. Lothar Mundt, Berlin, Boston 2019 (Frühe Neuzeit 226), pp. IX-XXXVIII, here pp. XXIV-XXIX, with numerous further literature notes.

36 Frischlin (as note 2), part II, p. 1 concerning Hymn I,3: »De pugna verò Gigantum lege Hesiodum in Theogonia, Ovidium lib. 1. Metam. et Fastorum lib. 5. Item Claudianum in Gigantomachia. Eiusdem meminit Virgil. in 6., Horat. lib. 3. Carm. ode 4., Homerus in Batrachomyomachia. Quanvis autem ea, quae de Gigantibus coelo arma inferre ausis poetae fabulantur, etiam Cicerone teste, dicantur et credantur stultissimè et plena sint futilitatis summaeque levitatis: nihilominus tamen, si dextrè ac sobriè intelligantur paulóque altius expendantur, aliquam veritatem earum rerum, quas diabolus huiusmodi figmentorum nebulis tegere et obscurare voluit, sub ista fabula latere, apertè constabit. Quis enim è sacris literis non didicit primos humani generis propagatores, πηλογόνους, hoc est è limo terrae formatos, posteaquam Satanae fraudibus et technis elusi fuissent Dei mandato neglecto et spreto honores divinos affectasse, sed è paradiso miserrimè eiectos et expulsos esse? Quis nescit posteros Noë excelsissimam turrim quasi coacervatis montibus erigere conatos, cuius culmen summum coeli verticem attingeret, sed ab opere incepto divina vi prohibitos fuisse? Quis ignorat ipsum Satanam cum omni coetu cacodaemonum in Tartarum abiectum esse? Quid denique Gigantes aliud (Macrobio teste) fuisse credendum est, quàm inpiam quondam gentem deos negantem et ideò existimatam Deum pellere de coelesti sede voluisse? Berosus lib. 1. Antiquit. Babyloneos Gigantes vocat, qui temporibus Noe diluvio absorpti sunt.« (Translation: About the *Battle of Giants* you should read Hesiod's *Theogony*, the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and book five of his *Fasti*, then Claudian's *Gigantomachy*. The same thing is commemorated in book six of Virgil's *Aeneis*, as in book three, ode four of the *Carmina* by Horace and in Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*. Even though everything the poets tell about the giants daring to bring arms into Heaven, as also Cicero mentioned, are only foolish stories and beliefs, futile and unreliable, it is nevertheless crystal clear that in these stories, if understood properly and prudently and pondered a little bit more deeply, there is hidden a certain truth about the things the devil wants to cover and obscure with this kind of clouds of inventions. Is there anyone who did not learn from the Holy Script that the first procreators of humankind, the πηλογόνοι, that means made by earthen clay, were affected by divine honors, but relentlessly were expelled and chased from Paradise after being deluded by the frauds and tricks of Satan, ignoring and disdaining the mandate of God? Is there anyone who does not know that the progeny of Noah tried to erect an enormously high tower – as if they were

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the epithet Πηλόγονοι[37] (›arisen from loam‹) that Callimachus uses for the Giants especially appealing since it was a suitable reference to the first generation of humankind described in Genesis. In this respect, it is understandable that Frischlin celebrates Callimachus both as a moral and poetic role model in his dedication letter from 1 July, 1571.[38]

3) Vulcanius, a Plagiarist?

When Frischlin claims to have been robbed of his Callimachus in 1584, he is most certainly referring to the edition presented by Vulcanius, professor for philology in Leiden, in the same year. This book offers an edition of the hymns of Callimachus and their metric translations by Vulcanius himself[39], then translations by other authors[40], including two renderings by Henricus Stephanus, Frischlin's publisher. The translations of the Tubingen poet are missing, however. The book also contains the epigrams of Callimachus with a Latin metric translation written by Vulcanius[41] and the ancient Greek commentary on the hymns mentioned above[42], followed by Vulcanius' own commentary about the hymns and epigrams of Callimachus[43].

Vulcanius' commentary remains very close to the text. Concerning the passage on the giants mentioned above, he explains for example only the epithet Πηλόγονοι based on the *Lexicon* of Hesychios of Alexandria first printed in 1514[44], which he consults for numerous explanations of words. Vulcanius uses other Greek authors to compare the meanings of a word, but does not attempt to classify the hymns of Callimachus in literary terms. The Dutchman keeps further

heaping up mountains –, the peak of which was meant to touch the highest point of Heaven, but that they were prevented from doing so by divine force when they had just started? Who does not know that Satan himself was thrown down into Tartarus together with all his evil demons? Should one believe that the giants were anything else than an impious people that once upon a time neglected the gods and therefore were believed to have tried to expel God from his heavenly throne, as Macrobius assesses? Berossus in the first book of his *Babylonian Antiquities* calls giants those people who drowned in the flood in Noah's time.)

37 On the controversial reading of this term, cf. Adolf Köhnken, »Πηλογόνων ἐλατήρ. Kallimachos, Zeusmythos V. 3«, in: *Hermes* 112 (1984), pp. 438-445.

38 Frischlin (as note 2), fol. iir-iir. Cf. Irene Polke, *Selbstreflexion im Spiegel des Anderen. Eine wirkungsgeschichtliche Studie zum Hellenismusbild Heynes und Herders*, Würzburg 1999 (Epistemata 257), pp. 64-86.

39 Vulcanius (as note 4), pp. 1-89.

40 Ibid., pp. 90-112.

41 Ibid., pp. 113-133.

42 Ibid., pp. 139-168.

43 Ibid., pp. 177-244.

44 Ibid., p. 177.

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associations to himself, place names are rarely commented on, and historical or rhetorical explanations are completely absent. The dimensions of his commentary are thus considerably smaller than the ones of Frischlin's.

In his translation as well as in his commentary, Vulcanius strikes us as an independent scholar and his book could hardly be regarded as plagiarism. Nevertheless, Frischlin's anger over this publication is quite understandable: It basically offers the same approach as his own work on Callimachus at almost the same time, while avoiding any reference to it.[45] Apparently, the Callimachus published in Antwerp was meant to replace the one from Geneva, allowing the latter to sink into oblivion.

4) Letters as Comment on Commentary

The reasons for Vulcanius' action cannot be found in the commentaries themselves or in the paratexts of the two versions of Callimachus. Therefore, to find comment on the commentaries, it is worthwhile to examine the correspondences of both parties involved. As for Vulcanius, an edition of his letters was published in 1923.[46] Unfortunately, it only covers the period from 1573 to 1577, but it nonetheless gives an impression of how Vulcanius reacted to Frischlin's edition.

Vulcanius himself had served as an editor for Stephanus in Geneva in 1575, with whom he published his edition of Arrianus in the same year. He then moved on to Basel and in October 1576, he learned through a letter from the Genevan humanist Simon Goulart about Stephanus' plans of producing a new edition of Callimachus.[47] It was in this context that he heard of Frischlin for the first time.

Vulcanius responded immediately: he wrote a letter to Stephanus, referring to the rumour that the latter was planning a new edition of Callimachus with additional texts by an unknown author. At the place where Frischlin's name should have appeared in this letter, Vulcanius simply left a blank. Together with this letter, he sent his own translation of the first hymn of Callimachus, which he had already prepared in 1555. He sarcastically stated that Stephanus should examine whether this student work could actually be outdone by a ›veteran‹,

45 Frischlin's name can be found in this issue only in the commentary on Hymn IV,246, where Vulcanius refers to Frischlin's translation for a better understanding of the text (Vulcanius [as note 4], p. 222).

46 Herman de Vries de Heekelingen (ed.), *Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle (1573 – 1577). Précédée de quelques lettres écrites avant cette époque*, The Hague 1923.

47 Simon Goulart to Vulcanius, October 17, 1576 (ibid., p. 387): »Nunc excudit [scil. Stephanus] Callimachum Frischlini et editionem Platonicam unico prelo«. (Translation: Now Stephanus is printing Frinschlin's Callimachus and the edition of Plato at the same printing press.)

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thus referring to Nicodemus Frischlin, seven years his junior.[48] The chosen wording proves that at that time Vulcanius knew exactly who Frischlin was. His formulation *lauream petente* alludes to Frischlin's recent elevation to Poet Laureate during the Regensburg Diet. After this intervention, Stephanus added Vulcanius' translation alongside his own two translations of Callimachus' hymns to Frischlin's rendering.[49] The Callimachus edition of 1577 thus documents a veritable battle of translations.

This impression is reinforced after reading the letters by and to Nicodemus Frischlin, which we are currently editing in a historical-critical edition funded by the German Research Foundation.[50] The extant correspondence that has been identified by now consists of 445 letters, of which almost 80 %, 352 in total, were written by Frischlin, whereas the remaining 20 % (93) were addressed to Frischlin by various authors. This imbalance is due to the fact that, given his untimely death in 1590 as a prisoner of his former patron, Duke Ludwig of Württemberg, no literary estate has come down on us. Both Duke Ludwig's court in Stuttgart and the University of Tübingen had a deep interest in preserving, systematically ordering, and filing the correspondence with this unruly poet in order to document the proceeding of the conflicts with his colleagues[51] and the aristocracy of

48 Vulcanius to Stephanus, November 1, 1576 (ibid., p. 197): »Ex Goulartii literis intelligo te parare editionem Callimachi ex versione … Quo in genere studii cum aliquando, cum adolescens anno aetatis XVI, quum una cum Utenhoviis fratribus Gandavi Graecis literis operam navarem, versatus, hymnum Callimachi tum temporis a me versum ad te mitto, ut si dignum iudicaveris qui aliis adiiciatur, integrum tibi sit. Neque erit, quod doleam, si me tyronem a veterano iam non rudem sed lauream petente superatum intellexero«. (Translation: From Goulart's letter I learned that you are preparing an edition of Callimachus [from …'s] version. I am sending you my translation of a hymn by Callimachus that I made when I was engaged in this kind of studies as a young man at age 16 and dedicated myself to Greek literature together with the Utenhove brothers in Ghent. In case you judge it worthy, I would be pleased if you add it to other translations. I will not be in pain should I learn that I, as a recruit, have been outdone by a veteran who is not inexperienced any more but already reaching out for the laurel wreath.)

49 Frischlin (as note 2), part II, pp. 109-119.

50 On this project, cf. Philipp Knüpffer, »Aus der Werkstatt eines Auftragsübersetzers. Die ›Acta Oecumenici Consilii‹ von Jakob Schropp im Briefwechsel des Tübinger Späthumanisten Nicodemus Frischlin (1547 – 1590)«, in: Wolfgang Mährle (ed.), *Spätrenaissance in Schwaben: Wissen – Literatur – Kunst*, Stuttgart 2019 (Geschichte Württembergs. Impulse der Forschung 2), pp. 181-208, here pp. 190-193. We would like to thank our colleagues Robert Seidel (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M.), Thomas Wilhelmi (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften) and Lothar Mundt (Freie Universität Berlin) for their valuable advice.

51 On the conflict between Frischlin and his Tübingen teacher Martin Crusius that contemporaries dubbed a ›Grammar War‹ cf., for example, Hubert Cancik, »›Crusius contra Frischlinum‹. Geschichte einer Feindschaft«, in: Sabine Holtz and Dieter Mertens (eds.), *Nicodemus Frischlin (1547 – 1590). Poetische und prosaische Praxis unter den Bedingungen des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, Stuttgart, Bad Cannstatt 1999 (Arbeiten und Editionen zur Mittleren Deutschen

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the Empire[52] that accompanied his entire career and beyond. In comparison, only a small number of letters to non-resident scholars is known to exist, in some cases because of the scarce transmission of letters, and in others because contact was abruptly ended after a controversy between correspondents. Frischlin only exchanged a small number of letters with pre-eminent representatives of the Late Renaissance like the Leiden philologist Justus Lipsius[53], the printer Aldus Manutius in Venice[54] or, indeed, Henricus Stephanus and Bonaventura Vulcanius.

The first thing we learn from Frischlin's correspondence concerning Callimachus is that his manuscript of the edition had already been completed in 1572 because in that year he had asked in vain the Leipzig philologist Joachim Camerarius the Elder to proofread the manuscript.[55] So his commentary on Callimachus is the first important work of the young professor for poetics and history in Tübingen. Obviously, he wanted to gain a good reputation in the Republic of Letters by a basic work about a well-known author who had only been received by a few scholars.

In a letter from 1577 precisely to Vulcanius, Frischlin also remarks that his manuscript was sent to Stephanus for examination as early as in 1573[56], and from a letter to the Basel lawyer Basilius Amerbach, who subsequently transmitted the letters of Frischlin, Vulcanius, and Stephanus between Tübingen and Geneva, we know that Frischlin met Stephanus during the Frankfurt fair.[57] However, this work was first published four years later.

We first hear about preparations of the publication in a letter from Frischlin to Stephanus from November 12, 1576.[58] There, the commentator expressed his ambiguity regarding the layout of the proof sheets. On the one hand, he gave the

Literatur. Neue Folge 1), pp. 261-295. In addition, Frischlin fell into dispute with many other members of the Tübingen faculty of arts. Cf. Magnus Ulrich Ferber, »›Colluctatio Fröschlini et Onocrusii‹. Die absichtlich missglückte Kommunikationsstruktur im Vorfeld des Tübinger Grammatik-Streits«, in: Karl Enenkel and Christian Peters (eds.), *Humanisten über ihre Kollegen. Eulogien, Klatsch und Rufmord*, Berlin 2018 (Scientia Universalis I. Studien zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Vormoderne 3), pp. 145-176, here p. 147.

52 Frischlin's quarrel with the German nobility was ignited by the publication of his *Oratio de Vita Rustica* in 1580. Cf. Siegfried Wollgast, »Frischlin als junger Müntzer? Zu einer Polemik«, in: Holtz, Mertens (as note 51), pp. 445-470.

53 Cf. Magnus Ulrich Ferber, »Patriotismus und Konfessionalisierung bei schwäbischen Späthumanisten. Die Korrespondenzen von Nicodemus Frischlin und Marx Welser im Vergleich«, in: Mährle (as note 50), pp. 209-228, here pp. 219-221.

54 Biblioteca Ambrosiana Milan E 35 inf., fol. 89 and E 37 inf., fol. 132.

55 Frischlin to Joachim Camerarius the Elder, September 7, 1572 (Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, B: Frischlin, Nicodemus, Nr. 1802).

56 Frischlin to Vulcanius, July 26, 1577 (University Library Leiden, VUL. 105, III).

57 Frischlin to Basilius Amerbach, October 1, 1575 (University Library Basel, G II 17, fol. 69).

58 State and University Library Bremen, MS. A. VIII, fol. 420.

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publisher a free hand in arranging the individual parts; on the other, he emphasized the fact that he had spent more time and effort on the metric translation and the commentary than on the more recent prose translation.

After the publication of Frischlin's Callimachus, the Tübingen poet appeared to be quite disappointed with the outcome as one can discern from his letter to Stephanus from April 13, 1577.[59] This letter can be found as a supplement to this paper.[60] It may as well serve as a sample of our edition, which in turn provides a comment and thus covers the affair with another layer of commentary. We also use lemmas to explain individual words, to indicate parallel passages in ancient literature, and to explain places and figures. In the case at hand, this implies that we not only had to take account of Frischlin's knowledge of Callimachus, but we also had to consult modern readings of this author. Unlike our humanistic forerunners, we also offer a critical apparatus which refers to textual variants in case of various text versions, to document deletions and later improvements, which provides information on material aspects of the letters and, as appropriate, even intervenes in the text if the original contains an obvious error.[61]

According to today's standards, Frischlin would have been well advised to make use of a critical apparatus, too, because he emends the Callimachus text as presented by Stephanus in 1566, now and then even tacitly.[62] However, this corresponded with humanistic practice of the 16th century which allowed a talented scholar to improve a surviving text wherever he deemed necessary without informing the readers. After all, Frischlin's letter to Stephanus gives some information about his emendations[63], but it does not replace the apparatus.

Vulcanius also emends the text of the hymns of Callimachus and compares in his commentary the text editions available to him, including that of 1577, which he calls »editio Henricostephaniana«.[64] Although he praises Stephanus in detail in his commentary at one point[65], Vulcanius rejects many changes made in the edition by Frischlin.[66]

In the letter mentioned, Frischlin accused his publisher of having humiliated him before the scholarly world by publishing his hastily written prose translation

59 University Library Leiden, VUL. 36, fol. 99.
60 Supplement I.
61 For example, cf. Supplement I, line 64.
62 An exception is the change made to Hymn VI,120 that is explicitly mentioned in the commentary (Frischlin [as note 2], part II, p. 70).
63 Cf. Supplement I, lines 49-51 and 70-76.
64 Vulcanius (as note 4), p. 212.
65 Cf. ibid., p. 201.
66 Cf. ibid., p. 195 concerning Hymn II,88 f.; p. 200 concerning Hymn III, 18; p. 212 concerning Hymn III,248; pp. 223 f. concerning Hymn IV, 323; pp. 228-230 concerning Hymn V, 94, 136 and 138; p. 233 concerning Hymn VI,88 and p. 240 concerning epigram XIII.

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without any corrections.[67] Interestingly, this letter to Stephanus has been handed down to us only in a copy from the hand of Vulcanius. Through whom und when he received insight into the letter, however, remains uncertain.

The contact between Frischlin and Stephanus ends with this reproach. Although the Tübingen professor offered the Genevan printer his translations of Aristophanes[68] mentioned in the opening quotation via Amerbach for publication in 1578[69], Stephanus ignored this offer. The abrupt end of his correspondence with the scholars of his time is a common pattern in Frischlin's correspondence, which was highly detrimental to his career.

Even in his only known letter to Vulcanius himself dating from July 26, 1577, Frischlin repeats his allegations against Stephanus.[70] The beginning of the letter »Rectè ominatus es per Deum immortalem, mi Vulcani«[71] does not just indicate that the two scholars had previously had contact, but that Vulcanius had warned Frischlin against Stephanus. In fact, Vulcanius had come to know beforehand that Frischlin was angry with his publisher. In a letter to Joachim Camerarius the Younger from May 1577, he complained that Stephanus was troubling his authors by bungling their works, as one could tell from Frischlin's experience. By referring to this example, he explained his decision not to work with Stephanus any more.[72]

From then on, there is no trace of contact between Vulcanius and Frischlin. Both scholars strove to present their research on Callimachus in the proper light without the help of Stephanus, Vulcanius by bringing out his edition of 1584, in which he disregards Frischlin, and Frischlin by pursuing a new edition of his book. His attempt to have it printed by Aldo Manuzio in Venice in 1583 failed[73], but

67 Cf. Supplement I, line 32-59.

68 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Aristophanes Veteris Comoediae Princeps, Poeta Longe Facetissimus et eloquentissimus Repurgatus a Mendis et Imitatione Plauti atque Terentii Interpretatus*, Frankfurt a. M. 1586. Cf. on this work Patrick Lucky Hadley*, Athens in Rome, Rome in Germany. Nicodemus Frischlin and the Rehabilitation of Aristophanes in the 16th Century*, Tübingen 2015.

69 Frischlin to Basilius Amerbach, June 15, 1578 (University Library Basel, G II 17, fol. 73).

70 University Library Leiden, VUL. 105, III, printed as Supplement II at the end of this paper.

71 Translation: By God, you predicted correctly, my dear Vulcanius.

72 Vulcanius to Joachim Camerarius the Younger, May 1577 (Vries de Heekelingen (as note 46), pp. 256 f.): »Henrici Stephani opera uti non libet. Neque enim mihi placet religiosa illius hominis, quam tantopere ipse iactitat, diligentia, aut potius supervacanea in alienis laboribus curiositas, qua et Serranum, cuius Platonem graeco-latinum excudit et Frischlinum, cuius Callimachum nuper edidit, infensissimos sibi habet«. (Translation: One should not rely on the help of Henricus Stephanus. Neither do I like the strict diligence of that guy, that he is constantly bragging about, and even less do I like his needless curiosity concerning the work of others by which he antagonized Serranus, whose Plato graeco-latinus he printed, and Frischlin, whose Callimachus he has published recently.)

73 Cf. Frischlin to Johann Christoph Gailing, September 1, 1583 (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 15, fol. 54v): »Nam in procinctu sum Venetias versus, ut ibi praelis committam Aristophanem, Callimachum, Persium, Horatium, novam Gram-

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eventually a second edition appeared in Basel in 1589[74]. In this edition, in turn, there is no indication of Vulcanius' share in the work whatsoever. That Frischlin was well aware of Vulcanius' work is clear only from the passage quoted at the very beginning of this paper. Apparently, both scholars wanted to present themselves as the single expert on Callimachus by simply denying each other's existence.

All mentioned books on Callimachus strive for completeness as all of them include an edition of the Greek text with a Latin translation and a commentary layer. Obviously, this was the only means for these works to succeed on the book market.

While the books themselves do not reflect the competitive situation between the scholars involved, their respective correspondences expose aims and actions or, as one could argue, comment on them. Their correspondences reveal the role that individual vanity played during the process of preparing the commentaries on Callimachus. Evidently, Vulcanius was offended because Stephanus had not commissioned him to produce this book. He tricked Frischlin into becoming infuriated with Stephanus and then replaced his work himself. Due to his pugnacious disposition that repeatedly threw him past the limit of conventional social interaction, Frischlin tactlessly sought quarrels with Stephanus and Vulcanius, even when it went against his own interests.

In the end, posterity did not care about the controversies between Stephanus, Vulcanius, and Frischlin, and used both commentaries on Callimachus for understanding the Greek poet. So another commentary on Callimachus published in Utrecht in 1697[75] simply includes all previous commentaries, among others the ones of Vulcanius and Frischlin, without attributing one scholar more authority than the other.

maticen et Strigilem Grammaticorum cum aliis multis operibus«. (Translation: For I am just preparing to get back to Venice in order to submit my editions of Aristophanes, Callimachus, Persius, Horace, my new Grammar and my Strigilis *Grammatica* together with many more works to the printing press.)

74 Nicodemus Frischlin, *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni et Epigrammata Quae Extant cum Duplici Interpretatione et Commentariis*, Basel 1589.

75 Johann Georg Graevius, *Callimachi Hymni, Epigrammata et Fragmenta ex Recensione Theodori J. G. F. Graevii cum eiusdem Animadversionibus. Accedunt N. Frischlini, H. Stephani, B. Vulcanii, P. Voetii, A. T. F. Daceriae, R. Bentleii Commentarius et Annotationes Viri Illustrissimi Ezechielis Spanhemii*, Utrecht 1697.

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Supplement 1

Nicodemus Frischlin an Henri Estienne (in Genf)

Tübingen, 15. April 1577

[illegible]

[1] Frischlin verweist auf einen früheren Brief an Estienne, den er Commelinus zusammen mit seiner bei Wechel gedruckten Rebecca *und seinem Epos* De nuptiis *in Frankfurt übergeben habe. Darin habe er begründet, warum er seine Übersetzung des Apollonius von Rhodos nicht habe abschließen können. [2] Er bestätigt den Empfang seiner Belegexemplare der* Callimachi hymni et epigrammata *zusammen mit einem Brief Estiennes, in dem auch die [illegible] erwähnt werde, zu deren Veröffentlichung ihn die Erben [illegible] drängten. Bereits in seinem vorhergehenden Schreiben habe er aber dargelegt, dass weder er noch Estienne zu dieser Aufgabe verpflichtet seien, weil gewisse Straßburger versäumt hätten, das Buch an Estienne weiterzuleiten. Estienne könne in dieser Angelegenheit also beruhigt sein. [3] Die Veröffentlichung der Kallimachos-Ausgabe freue und schmerze ihn zugleich. Positiv vermerkt er die Bewahrung des Autors vor dem Vergessen und seine eigene Ehre, als Deutscher bei einem französischen Drucker mit eleganten Drucktypen veröffentlichen zu können. [4] Er beklagt dagegen, dass seine eilig hingeworfene Prosa-Übersetzung der Hymnen des Kallimachos von Estienne nicht, wie angekündigt, vor der Veröffentlichung korrigiert worden sei. Dazu habe er ein Glossar der von Kallimachos verwendeten Wörter, die in Estiennes* Thesaurus Graecae linguae *nicht aufgeführt seien, und eine Liste mit Emendationen von Estiennes älterer Kallimachos-Edition mitgeschickt. [5] Frischlin wirft Estienne vor, sich durch die wissentliche Veröffentlichung von Frischlins Fehlern in der Gelehrtenwelt auf seine Kosten profilieren zu wollen. [6] Er nennt drei Stellen, an denen seine metrische Übersetzung korrekt, diejenige in Prosa aber falsch sei, so dass Estienne dort ohne großen Aufwand hätte eingreifen können. Bei entsprechenden Hinweisen hätte Frischlin auch selbst leicht nacharbeiten können. [7] Zu weiteren Stellen, die Estienne auch leicht verbessern hätte können, statt ihn durch die Veröffentlichung bloßzustellen, wolle er sich nicht äußern. [8] Um Ähnliches bei seiner Übersetzung des Apollonius zu vermeiden, wolle*

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er diese lieber zurückhalten als zensiert veröffentlichen zu lassen. [3] Er kündigt eine baldige Rezension von Estiennes De Latinitate falso suspecta *in einem Brief an, da er in vielen Punkten anderer Meinung sei.*

Nic. Frischlinus H. Stephano.

S.

[1] Cur Apollonii Rhodii versionem absolvere non potuerim, causas te percepisse arbitror ex iis literis, quas Hieronymus ad te cum exemplo Rebeccae meae à Wechelo excusae et Nuptiarum Illustrissimi mei principis septem libris descriptarum ad te Francofurdia attulit. [2] Iterum allata sunt mihi exemplaria Callimachi cum tuis ad me literis, [illegible] de Indice Homerico, quem haeredes Halae a me [illegible] [illegible], ut [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], pauca [illegible].

6 Illustrissimi] [illegible] 9 quam] [illegible]

1–3 Apollonii ... versionem] *Zu Frischlins nicht realisiertem Plan, bei Estienne eine Übersetzung der Argonautika des Apollonios von Rhodos zu veröffentlichen, siehe auch* [illegible] 4 ex ... literis] *Dieser Brief ist nicht überliefert.* [illegible] Hieronymus] [illegible] Commelinus († 1597) [illegible] 5 Rebeccae] [illegible] Rebecca. *Frankfurt am Main* [illegible] Wechelo] *Andreas Wechel* [illegible] 6 Nuptiarum ... descriptarum] [illegible] De nuptiis illustrissimi principis [illegible] Wirtembergici, *Tübingen 1577.* [illegible] Illustrissimi ... principis] [illegible] 7 Francofurdia] [illegible] 8 Callimachi] [illegible] Callimachi hymni et epigrammata, *Genf 1577.* [illegible] literis] *Dieses Schreiben ist nicht überliefert.* 9 Indice Homerico] [illegible] *Philologie* [illegible] *Universitätsbibliothek Gießen* [illegible] haeredes [illegible] 10 [illegible]

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Sed ex iisdem literis, quas Hieronymus accepit, haud dubie intelliges neque te penes, neque me negotium istud constitisse, propterea, quod Argentinenses quidam in isto libro ad te transmittendo plus pene [illegible] fuerunt. Quare te otioso animo esse et in utramvis aurem conquiescere libet. Neque enim aut ego aut quisquam alius postea illius libri gratia tibi molestus erit. 15

[3] Ad Callim. editionem quod attinet, nescio utrum plus voluptatis an doloris, plus honoris an dedecoris ea mihi afferat. Loquar pace tua et cum amico, quem syncerum et candidum habeo. Voluptati mihi est videre auctorem ab injuria esse vindicatum, et suo [illegible] pristino nitori restitutum et e multis mendis repurgatum. Honori mihi duco, quod illius laudis aliqua pars etiam ad me pertinet, qui partim ipse quaedam erui, partim tibi, homini doctrina et ingenio abundanti, quaedam [illegible] et emendandi occasionem praebui. Nec parvius me reficit ac recreat, quod elegantissimis typis ista omnia adornata video et Germani hominis operam qualemcumque tanti factam a summo in Gallia viro, ut digna sit habita, quae lucem illic inter peregrinos acciperet. 20 25 30

[4] Sed [illegible], obsecro, quid me magna aegritudine afficiat ac pene conficiat? [illegible] non [illegible] me adultam, sed longe post tempore etiam Callimachi pene oblitus essem, te ita iubente adornatam. Quid dico adornatam, quae inter pulveres scholasticos et multiplices occupationes [illegible] scripta et subito calore effusa est? Nam dum tuae voluntati satisfacere cupio et omni mora sublata (quia occasiones ad te scribendi rarissimae sunt), librum ad 35

---

12 ut] über der Zeile [illegible] 16 [illegible]

13 Argentinenses quidam] [illegible] 16 Callim.] [illegible] 33 [illegible] Callimachus [illegible] 35 te ita iubente] [illegible] 38 occasiones [illegible]

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Tr[illegible] [illegible] saltem [illegible] ([illegible]), quem etiam suum usus restitui commodissime potuisset. Quod si harum emendationum fuisses auctor, certe omnibus [illegible] [illegible] orasses ut mihi [illegible]. Cum enim nostra versio esset edita et adhuc in chartis manuscriptis inclusa, potuissem ipsemet diligentiori opera adhibita, quae in magna festinatione commiseram, errata demum corrigere. Equidem pro [illegible] legerim [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Nam Graeci [illegible] saepe ei usurpant syllabae producendae causa. Pro [illegible] [illegible] veri deceptus Budaei authoritate, qui [illegible] interpretatur depopulor, [illegible] id est [illegible]. [illegible] pro [illegible] an dici non posset Grammatici iudicent.

[7] Sed nolo de aliis dicere compluribus, quae tamen, si voluisses, levissima opella in meis versionibus emendare potuisses. Aequiorem te certè mihi fore credidissem, quam ut [illegible] totius humani coetus scriptam à me versionem [illegible] [illegible] subiecisses publica animadversione castiges emendesque.

[8] Quam aegrè hoc [illegible] [illegible] qui in te sunt [illegible] sed amicis meis [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Itaque Bluchium etiam [illegible] ad finem deducerem et summa elementorum [illegible] diligentia [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] male, quam [illegible] [illegible] censura in lucem [illegible].

64 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 68 [illegible] 71 [illegible] 74 [illegible] 76 [illegible] 80 [illegible] 83 [illegible]

64 [illegible] [illegible] Hymni [illegible] Callimachus [illegible] 71 [illegible] Hymni [illegible] Callimachus [illegible] 73 [illegible] Hymni [illegible] 74 [illegible] Commentarii linguae Graecae, [illegible] 1530 [illegible] 75 [illegible] Hymni [illegible]

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[9] De Latinitate tua falso suspecta responsum à me per litteras brevi accipies. Nam in multis, quod tuo iudicio et cuiusquam [illegible] salvo, plurimum dissentio.

Haec subito exaravi, quae tu in bonam accipias partem, vehementer oro.

Tubingae, XIII. Aprilis 77

Tuus Nicodemus Frischlinus
Poëta coronatus etc.

Supplement II

Nicodemus Frischlin an Bonaventura Vulcanius (in Basel)

Tübingen, 24. Juli 1577

a: UB Leiden, VUL 105, [illegible] – *Autographe Ausfertigung* [illegible]

A. [illegible]: *Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle (1573–1577)*. Den Haag 1923, S. 469–471 – [illegible]

Vorlage: a

[1] Frischlin beklagt das Unrecht, das seiner Kallimachos-Ausgabe widerfahren, wie es Vulcanius vorhergesagt habe. [2] Vor vier Jahren habe er eine Übersetzung der Hymnen des Kallimachos an Estienne geschickt, der diese vor einer Veröffentlichung prüfen sollte. Stattdessen habe Estienne Frischlins Version unverändert abgedruckt und mit eigenen Kommentaren versehen. [3] Selbstverständlich hätte Frischlin seinen Text verbessert, wenn er sich nicht auf Estienne verlassen hätte. Seine Übersetzung sei noch nicht für die öffentliche Kritik freigegeben gewesen. [4] Seine Aristophanes-Ausgabe und seine Argonautika-Übersetzung wolle er einem vertrauenswürdigen Drucker übergeben, den er mit Vulcanius' Hilfe leicht finden könne. [5] Er gratuliert Vulcanius zu seiner Isidor-Ausgabe und bietet ihm für ein Exemplar derselben seine Rebecca und seine De [illegible] an. [6] Crusius erwidere die Grüße des Vulcanius.

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89 multis] [illegible] – 92 [illegible]

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88 De [illegible]] [illegible] De Latinitate [illegible] 1576. – 89 per litteras] [illegible]

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Doctissimo viro B. Vulcanio Basileae in officina libraria Henricpetrina degenti, aut [illegible] vulgari.

S.

[1] Recte ominatus es per Deum immortalem, mi Vulcani. Quis enim huiusmodi Aristarchum, qualem meus expertus est nuper Callimachus, non reformidet, qui [illegible] censura non nauseam et dolorem moveat? [2] Miseram ante quatuor annos fere Hymnorum Callimachi versionem H. Stephano primum, ut emendaret aut de erratis per literas me commoneret, ac deinde, ut in lucem ederet.

Ille ex duobus neutrum praestitit. Nam neque naevos sustulit ipse neque me de illis praemonuit. Sed ut scripti erant Hymni, ita edidit ac suam limam ita adhibuit, ut omnes errata mea viderent et H. Stephani censuram ante oculos cernant.

Quid hoc rei est? bonaene fidei opus, an Gallicae aut [illegible] genti, quod [illegible]?

[3] Ego meos naevos ipse auferre et emendare potuissem, nisi fide atque amicitia illius nixus fuissem. Adde quod mea nondum erant publici iuris, in quae illi publica animadversione grassari licuisset.

1,3 Doctissimo … 2 vulgari] [illegible] 10 [illegible] 11 ex duobus] [illegible] 15 bonaene] bonae ne

[1] [illegible] 2 Henricpetrina] Heinrich Petri [illegible] in Basel als Buchdrucker tätig. Vulcanius (1538–1614) hielt sich von 1575 bis 1577 dort auf. 4 ominatus es] [illegible] 5 Aristarchum] Der Grammatiker Aristarchus von Samothrake [illegible] 6 Callimachus] [illegible], Callimachi hymni et epigrammata, Genf 1577. 7 Miseram … 9 H. Stephano] [illegible] 8 Hymnorum … versionem] [illegible] Callimachus 1577 [illegible] 13 nam … 14 cernant] [illegible] Briefs an Estienne vom 13. April 1577 [illegible] Henrici Stephani opera uti non licet. Neque enim mihi placet religiosa illius amicitia, quam [illegible] Frischlinum, cuius Callimachum nuper edidit, infensissimus hostis [illegible] Correspondence [illegible]).

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[4] Sed transeant ista. Mihi certe non succedebit [illegible] in [illegible], ut Aristophanem meum et Rhodium Apollonium [illegible] [illegible]. Ubi ad unguem castigavero, idoneum Typographum vel tua opera interveniente facile inveniam.

25 [5] De Isidoro tuo valde tibi et Reipub. gratulor eumque quam primum videre gestio. Ubi videro, faciam te meae Rebeccae et [illegible] Heroicorum de Nuptiis Wirtembergicis participem.

[6] Interim vale, mi Volcumi, et salutem ad Crusium nostrum

30 ab eodem cum favore recipe. Tubingae, 26. Iulii 77.

Tuus Nicod. Frischlinus
P. L., professor Tubingensis

23 Aristophanem meum] [illegible] 1586 [illegible] in Frankfurt am Main [illegible] Übersetzungen [illegible] Komödien des Aristophanes [illegible] 1576 [illegible] Frischlin [illegible] Übersetzung [illegible] – Rhodium Apollonium] [illegible] Apollonius von Rhodos [illegible] 1576 [illegible] – 25 Isidoro tuo] [illegible] Isidori [illegible] Episcopi [illegible] et Martiani Capellae De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri [illegible] 1577 [illegible] – Reipub.] [illegible] – 26 faciam [illegible] participem] [illegible] Frischlin und [illegible] – 27 meae Rebeccae] [illegible] Rebecca [illegible] 1576 [illegible] – 28 Wirtembergicis] [illegible] De nuptiis illustrissimi principis Ludovici Ducis Wirtembergici, Tübingen 1577 – 29 Crusium] Martin Crusius (1526–1607) [illegible] Professor für Griechisch und Lateinisch [illegible] in Tübingen – 32 P. L.] Poeta Laureatus

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Abstracts

Stefanie Brinkmann

Marginalkommentare in Ḥadīṯ-Manuskripten

Marginal- und Interlinearkommentare in Manuskripten erlauben Rückschlüsse auf die Produktion, Überlieferung, Verbreitung und Rezeption von Texten, Lesepraktiken und Lehrkontexte. Der Beitrag untersucht Text- und Schreibpraktiken in arabischen Manuskripten prophetischer Traditionen (Ḥadīṯ), die am Rand oder interlinear kommentiert werden. Als zweite normative Quelle nach dem Koran wurden Ḥadīṯ-Sammlungen vielfach überliefert und kommentiert. Im Zentrum steht die Frage nach dem Potential dieser Paratexte für die arabische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung der Gattung Ḥadīṯ und nach einem methodischen Zugang. Entsprechend bietet der Beitrag zunächst einen interdisziplinär verorteten Stand der Forschung und Fragen zur Terminologie, bevor Schreib- und Textpraktiken exemplarisch anhand von Ḥadīṯ-Manuskripten dargestellt werden und eine Typologie der Marginal- und Interlinearkommentare erstellt wird.

Walid Saleh

Mittelalterliche Qur'an-Kommentare und ihre Präsentation in aktuellen Editionen

Der Beitrag gibt einen Überblick über neuere Editionen mittelalterlicher arabischer Texte, die die wissenschaftliche Perspektive auf und das Wissen über die vormoderne Qur'an- und Tafsir-Tradition nachhaltig beeinflussen und sich so auch auf aktuelle Interpretationen auswirken. Er zeigt wie sich Tafsir-Studien derzeit neuformieren und versucht eine Erklärung für die anhaltende Bedeutung vorzuschlagen, die mittelalterliche Qur'an Kommentare im Rahmen neuerer kommentierter Ausgaben besitzen.

Jeannie Miller

Kommentar und Texteinrichtung in al-Jāḥiẓ's Tierbuch

Der Beitrag untersucht am Beispiel der ebenso rhetorisch wie inhaltlich komplexen Debatte zwischen Hund und Hahn in al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*Buch der Tiere*) die kommentarhafte Dimension der Paratexte islamischer Handschriften. Gezeigt wird, inwiefern eine Abgrenzung zwischen derjenigen Interpretation, die in der Arbeit der Schreiber und Kopisten durch mise-en-page, diakritische Zeichen, die Wahl rubrizierter Worte und v. a. durch die Organi-

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sation in Abschnitte und Kapitel sowie das anbringen von Überschriften ins Werk gesetzt wird, und dem ›eigentlichen‹ Kommentar in der Überlieferung des Textes problematisch ist. Der Beitrag verfolgt diese Vermischung von para- und metattextuellen Aspekten der mise-en-page bis in die spätere, Ottomanische Rezeptionsgeschichte des *Buchs der Tiere*.

Simon Whedbee

Die Pädagogik der Bibelkommentare in Kathedralschulen des 12. Jahrhunderts: Petrus Comestors Vorlesungen über das Lukasevangelium

Der Beitrag untersucht zwei Manuskripte, die Petrus' Comestor Lektionen zu den Evangelien enthalten und auf Grund ihrer fachspezifischen, abkürzungsreichen und stark verdichteten Sprache sowie ihres hohen Grads an Intertextualität für moderne Leser schwer verständlich sind. Ein Vergleich der Vorlesungstranskripte von Comestor mit einem Codex, der die glossierten Evangelien von Robert Amiclas, einem Schüler Comestors enthält, ermöglicht es, nicht nur den abgekürzten Text der Vorlesungstranskripte zu dekodieren, sondern sie auch mit einem konkreten Vorlesungsbericht zu vergleichen. Auf diese Weise kann gezeigt werden, inwiefern sich durch einen Focus auf geschriebene Glosse und Kommentarpraxis des Unterrichts die bisher übliche Einschätzung von Comestors theologischer Position relativiert.

Anthony J. Fredette

Vorüberlegungen zur mittelalterlichen Rezeption und Kommentierung der Thebais

Der Beitrag untersucht die mittelalterliche Kommentartradition der *Thebais* von Publius Papinius Statius, dessen mittelalterliche Rezeption ab dem 11. Jahrhundert z. T. sogar diejenige Ovids in den Schatten stellte. In einer ersten Annäherung an diese noch weitgehend unerforschte Kommentartradition werden ihre verschiedenen Formen und Funktionen katalogisiert und im Blick auf die Tradition der Vergil-Kommentare des Servius perspektiviert. Schließlich wird ihre Reichweite über die lateinische Tradition bis hin zum ersten volkssprachlichen Text, dem französischen *Roman de Thèbes* verfolgt. So kann gezeigt werden, inwiefern die literarische Tradition eines der zentralen antiken Texte im Mittelalter immer auch seine Kommentarpraktiken umfasst.

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Suzanne Conklin Akbari

Ekphrasis und Kommentar in der Alexandreis Walters von Châtillon

Ekphrasen, als sprachliche Repräsentationen gestalteter Objekte, markieren häufig zentrale Momente im vormodernen Erzählen und binden sie über ihre komplexen Beschreibungen in intertextuelle Verweissysteme ein. Nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund lagern sich gerade an diesen Stellen umfangreiche Kommentare an. Der Beitrag untersucht anhand der Ekphrasen in Walters von Châtillon *Alexandreis* die mittelalterliche Kommentartradition zu diesem Text. Die Beschreibungen der Gräber des Darius und seiner Gemahlin, die als symbolische Kondensationen von Raum und Zeit die Translatio-Erzählung selbst repräsentieren, evozieren typologische Erklärungen die Heils- und Weltgeschichte gleichermaßen betreffen und miteinander verbinden.

Jennifer Gerber

Über Form und Funktion mittelhochdeutscher Kommentare

Volkssprachliche Kommentare sowohl in als auch zu literarischen Texten der Vormoderne sind, verglichen etwa mit althochdeutschen Glossen, kaum erforscht. Nur verhältnismäßig wenige Arbeiten verhandeln entsprechende Themenbereiche wie Erzählerkommentare, Wiedererzählen als Praxis des Kommentierens, Illustrationen als Kommentar etc. Der vorliegende Beitrag diskutiert einige dieser Ansätze hinsichtlich ihrer Methodik und mit Blick auf eine formale Definition des Kommentars. Da bisher vor allem die Funktionen von Kommentaren im Zentrum der Forschung standen, soll gleichzeitig ein Plädoyer für eine formale Definition des Kommentars gehalten werden. An ausgewählten Beispielen unter anderem zum Erzählerkommentar in Wirnts von Grafenberg Wigalois und Wolframs von Eschenbach *Parzival* soll eine entsprechende formale Definition des (Erzähler)Kommentars vorgelegt werden.

Christina Lechtermann

Kommentar als Literatur. Das volkssprachliche ›Glossenlied‹ in der Vormoderne

Am Beispiel eines spätmittelalterlichen ›Glossenlieds‹, das heute unter dem Titel *Salve regina künigin Maria Gottes muoter überlaut* geführt wird, untersucht der Beitrag Formen der Textkonstitution. Anhand der heute bekannten drei Überlieferungszeugen fragt er nach der Rolle kommentarhafter Formen bei der Genese des Liedes sowie bei der je unterschiedlichen Präsentation des Textes. Ein besonderer Blick fällt dabei auf den Überschneidungsbereicht paratextueller und metatextueller Formen, die dem Text in den einzelnen Handschriften einen je

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unterschiedlichen Status zuweisen. Aus der Perspektive der Kommentarpraktiken stellt sich so erneut die Frage nach Momenten der Äquivalenz und Differenz in vormoderner handschriftlicher Überlieferung.

Daniel Dornhofer

Kommentar und Performativität: Das apokalyptische Drama in frühneuzeitlichen englischen Predigt

Ausgehend von William Fulkes 1570 gedruckter Hampton Court-Predigt, entwirft der Artikel ein Bild von der protestantischen Kanzelrede als wichtigster mündlicher Kommentarpraktik der religiösen Alltagskultur im frühneuzeitlichen England. Nach der Reformation wurde die Predigt schnell zur zentralen Anleitung für persönliche Bibellektüre englischer Protestanten. Prediger bedienten sich aus dem Arsenal klassischer Rhetorik und neuester Gelehrsamkeit, um schwierige Bibelstellen zu erhellen, im Lichte calvinistischer Doktrin zu kommentieren und auf die Lebenswirklichkeit ihrer ZuhörerInnen anzuwenden. Der Protestantismus wird meist als logozentrisch charakterisiert, doch die Kultur des englischen Calvinismus drehte sich nicht nur um das Wort, sondern vor allem um das gesprochene Wort. Entsprechend des reformierten Verständnisses von Prädestination und Sakramenten dominierte die Auffassung der erlebten Predigt als wichtigstem Mittel göttlicher Gnade. Erlösung wird so nicht durch das gelesene, sondern das gehörte Wort Gottes erreichbar. Fulkes Predigt über Offenbarung XIV:8 wirft zudem ein Schlaglicht auf die kommentatorische Auseinandersetzung mit der Apokalypse, die im englischen Protestantismus seit den 1550er Jahren als Kernstück einer neuen Ekklesiologie verstanden wurde, da sie die Geschichte der wahren Kirche Christi beinhalte. Die Identifikation der Papstkirche als Hure Babylon und Antichrist, die auch Fulkes Gegenstand ist, war eine elementare Glaubenswahrheit, die dringend in Predigten vermittelt werden musste, denn äußerlich traten beide Kirchen mit demselben Anspruch auf und es war entscheidend für das Heil jedes Menschen, die Kirche Christi von der des Antichrist unterscheiden zu können. Die biblische Interpretation des Predigers galt dabei keineswegs als zweitrangig gegenüber den Kommentaren der Theologen, sondern vielmehr lieferten gelehrte Auslegungen den Gemeindepfarrern das Rohmaterial für den apokalyptischen Kampf um jede Seele, dessen wichtigster Schauplatz die Kanzel war.

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Christine Ott

Schleier und nackte Worte. Die Selbst-Kommentare Girolamo Benivienis

Der Beitrag widmet sich den Selbstauslegungen des Savonarola-Anhängers Girolamo Benivieni. Als junger Mann hatte dieser die neuplatonische Liebestheorie in einer Kanzone zelebriert und sein Freund Pico della Mirandola diese mit einem philosophischen Kommentar versehen. Dieses Werk blieb jedoch bis 1519 unveröffentlicht – vermutlich, weil Benivieni und Pico zu Anhängern Savonarolas geworden waren und sich vom Neuplatonismus distanzieren wollten. In den Sammlungen eigener Gedichte, die Benivieni nach Picos Tod zusammenstellte, erfährt Picos Kommentar eine geheime Wiederauferstehung. Der Beitrag analysiert die Art und Weise, in der Benivieni in seinen Selbstkommentaren eigene, frühere Liebeslyrik umschreibt und uminterpretiert, und dabei zugleich auch Picos Kommentaren einer spirituellen Rehabilitierung zuzuführen sucht. Er untersucht ferner Benivienis Reflexionen über Dichtung und Kommentar vor dem Hintergrund traditioneller (Dante) und zeitgenössischer (Savonarola, Pico) sprach- und dichtungstheoretischer Positionen. Benivienis kommentierendes und apologetisches Unternehmen gestaltet sich als unendliche Re-Inszenierung einer Selbstrechtfertigung.

Philip Stockbrugger

Reflexe der Autorisierung in Torquato Tassos Rime Amorose

Die 1591 erschienene Ausgabe der *Rime amorose* von Torquato Tasso ist mit einem Kommentar versehen, von Tasso selbst verfasst, und bietet insgesamt eine Darstellung des Dichters als Liebender, die dem *Canzoniere* von Petrarca – zumindest makrostrukturell – nahesteht. Anhand des Kommentars zu der *canzone* »Quel generoso mio guerriero interno« werden in diesem Aufsatz einige Strategien der Selbststilisierung bei Tasso erläutert, und es zeigt sich, dass der Dichter die doppelte Rolle – die des jungen Dichters und die des erfahrenen Kommentators – so verwendet, dass eine gegenseitige Autorisierung stattfindet. Diese Autorisierung ist wiederum nützlich, um die zu eng empfundenen Stilregelungen der Lyrik, wie im italienischen Cinquecento kodifiziert, zu ›sprengen‹, und das gesamte Genre als erhabener und vor allem thematisch vielseitiger zu beurteilen.

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Magnus Ulrich Ferber und Philipp Knüpffer

Briefe als Kommentar zum Kommentar. Nicodemus Frischlins (1577) und Bonaventura Vulcanius' (1584) Annotationes in Hymnos Callimachi

Der Kommentar zu antiken Klassikern war ein unter Renaissance-Humanisten beliebtes Genre, in dem das eigene Wissen in Rückbindung an ein literarisches Vorbild gesichert werden konnte. Dies gilt auch für den Kallimachos-Kommentar, den der Tübinger Dichter Nicodemus Frischlin 1577 veröffentlichte. In Konkurrenz dazu erschien sieben Jahre später ein weiterer Kommentar zu den überlieferten Texten des griechischen Autors, den der Leidener Philologe Bonaventura Vulcanius vorlegte. Das Verhältnis der beiden Kommentare zueinander wird zwar aus den Drucken selbst nicht deutlich, kann aber aus den Korrespondenzen der beiden Verfasser erschlossen werden. Die dazu einschlägigen Briefe erweisen sich somit als zweite Kommentarschicht, die über die publizierten Kommentare hinausgeht. Sie illustrieren zudem, wie Mechanismen des Ignorierens und Ausschließens eingesetzt wurden, um missliebige Konkurrenten auf dem heißumkämpften Büchermarkt zu marginalisieren.

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Philipp Knüpffer studied Classical, Medieval and Neo-Latin Studies, and Romance Studies (Italian and French). He works as a Research Associate at the German Department at the Goethe University of Frankfurt a. M. preparing a critical edition of the correspondence of the late Renaissance scholar Nicodemus Frischlin (1547 – 1590). He defended his PhD thesis on early modern university announcements from the beginnings of the University of Jena (*Das Hildburg-*

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