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THE SUPPOSED AUTOGRAPHA OF JOHN THE SCOT

BY

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

In the fifth part of Ludwig Traube's *Palaeographische Forschungen*, (which I had the honor of publishing after that great scholar's death)^[1] evidence was presented for Traube's apparently certain discovery of the very handwriting of John the Scot. In manuscripts of Reims, of Laon, and of Bamberg, he had observed certain marginal notes which were neither omitted sections nor glosses, but rather the author's own amplifications and embellishments of his work. Johannes had made such additions to his *De Divisione Naturae* in the Reims manuscript, and they all appear in that of Bamberg. In the latter manuscript there are fresh additions—or enlargements as I shall call them in the present paper—which have similarly been absorbed into the text in two manuscripts now in Paris. We thus have, in an interesting series, the author's successive recensions of his work. One of the shorter forms is the basis of the text published by Thomas Gale in 1681; the most complete form was edited by H. J. Floss in 1852 from the Paris manuscripts.^[2] Though not venturing to carry out Traube's elaborate plans for treatment of the subject, I attempted to corroborate his belief that the notes were in the hand of Johannes. The evidence seemed conclusive to me at the time, and was not questioned, so far as I know, in any subsequent publication. In the summers of 1912 and 1913, however, I examined the manuscripts of John the Scot in Paris, in Reims, in Laon, and in Bamberg, and became convinced, most reluctantly, that his autograph is yet to be found. I here present the chain of facts that make this conclusion inevitable.^[3]

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Let us start with the hypothesis that the marginal notes discovered by Traube are in the hand of Johannes himself and let us support this hypothesis until it becomes too heavy to bear. Our first document is the Reims Manuscript 875 (= R) of the *De Divisione Naturae*. This is the work of some six or seven writers, whose hands are sometimes hard to tell apart. Though it is the briefest and hence the earliest form of the text that I have found, it is not the original draft of the work. The scribes could not have taken it from the author's dictation, for they commit errors of various sorts that presuppose the existence of a text that they were copying.^[4] This text, which is as near to the original as our present information permits us to come, I will call O.

Besides making corrections and additions in their copy of O, the scribes also insert marginal notes that have all the characteristics of the author's own amplifications of his work. This fact

does not militate against our present hypothesis, if we assume that Johannes added these marginalia, or caused them to be added, in *O*, and that the scribes of *R*, at first forgetting to include them in the text of their new copy, later wrote them in the margin.^[5] In some cases, as we might expect, a different ink is used. The insular hand (= *I*), which we are assuming to be that of Johannes, corrects minor errors in these enlargements now and then.^[6] This fact is entirely in accord with our hypothesis.

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A number of enlargements omitted by the writers of the text were supplied not by them but by special correctors, who were assigned, it would seem, considerable portions of the manuscript to revise. Particularly important among these wide-ranging correctors are two hands that I will call *r*¹ and *r*². The former is a largish hand with some slight traces of Insular habits.^[7] *r*² is very similar, and indeed may be merely a smaller variety of *r*¹. In the specimen that I have reproduced, as is true of both *r*¹ and *r*² elsewhere, correction by *I* may be observed.^[8] In all, I detected, or thought I detected, five or six correcting hands, which sometimes supplement stretches of text written by others, sometimes supplement their own text, and, in all the cases under discussion, add notes of the author which were evidently in the margin of *O*. It is sometimes hard to be sure whether *r* is the text-hand or not. The point is not vitally important. The main fact is that several different kinds of correcting hand make, either in their own texts or in those of others, the kind of additions or enlargements with which we are specially concerned. However, as we have seen, we can still retain our hypothesis by supposing that *I* is the hand of Johannes, while *r* represents various correctors who copied from *O* enlargements added there by Johannes or at his direction.

But we have now to note an intimate connection between *I* and *r*. They collaborate on the same notes. Plate V (fol. 285^v) shows us an enlargement that begins in the hand (= *r*³) that writes the text. It extends through *substantiam* (1.3), then is succeeded by *I* (*ex his—horum est*), then returns (*Ibi—superans*), and finally gives way to *I* once more (*dum—esse*). The interesting possibility and enlargements taken from *O*. Possibly two or more stages are represented by *O*, *r* starting with an earlier, and *I* supplementing from a more complete form—but into that *terra incognita* of fresh hypothesis we need not enter. *I*'s procedure, at any rate, seems exactly like that of *r*. Thus his practice of calling in a variety of *r* to complete a note too large for the space is paralleled by *r*⁴, the writer of the text on fol. 231^v (Plate II), who uses up a legitimate amount of his margin and then has *r*⁵ finish it, with signs of references, on the following page. The latter scribe uses a finer hand, and has no difficulty in completing the note with a decent margin to spare.^[9]

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Surely in the scribal play illustrated in Plate V, *I* is acting more like a fellow-worker than the author of the work. Likewise on another page, we note corrections and minor enlargements by the text-hand, then similar changes by *I*, and, finally, corrections of *I* by the text-hand.^[10] If Johannes wished to change *cogitationes* to *operationes*, it is strange that he did not do it himself rather than beckon to some scribe to insert the word; another correction, *nisi*, added above the line, is made in the hand of *I*. In short, *r* and *I* are two different scribes collaborating on what would appear to be a rather difficult original or set of originals.

Moreover, if *I* is Johannes, he does not understand his own text. In *De Divisione Naturae* i. 49 (Migne *P.L.* cxxii, 491 A) we read:

Omnium hominum una eademque ουσια est. Omnes enim unam participant
essentiam, ac per hoc, quia omnibus communis est, nullius proprie est. Corpus
autem commune omnium hominum non est. Nam unusquisque suum proprium
possidet corpus, non et ουσιαν. Igitur communis est, et corpus commune non est.

This passage forms part of one of the enlargements of *I*. In it he writes *omnis* for *omnes*, and *Non et ουσιαε igitur communis est* for *non et ουσιαν. Igitur communis est*. These are understandable errors for any scribe, but not for the author of the work, to make. Others occur elsewhere in the Insular hand; I have not recorded many, but I made no systematic search.

We now come to the most startling consideration of all, namely, that *there are two varieties of insular script in the book*. The first variety, which I will now call *i*¹, is exhibited in all the plates thus far presented. It is loose, pointed, flowing, with few abbreviations or ligatures specially characteristic of Irish script. With only one or two exceptions, it uses a *d* with a curved shaft. The other variety (*i*²), as Plate X (fol. 106) shows, is at once more compact and regular, and more cursive, with more of the specifically Irish traits; it has a straight-shafted *d*. Furthermore, the two hands appear in different portions of the manuscript. *i*¹ is confined to foll. 1-80^v (= quires I-X) and foll. 113-318^v (= quires XV-XLI), while *i*² appears only in foll. 81-112^v (= quires XI-XIV) and foll. 319-358 (= quires XLII-XLVI). In the sections corrected by *i*², we note the same features as in the other parts. *i*² inserts many long enlargements and makes many minor corrections. He is supplemented in one of his own enlargements by *r*².^[11] On another page, he is corrected by *r*², or possibly the text-hand.^[12]

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Our last resort, if we are still to look for the autograph of John the Scot in the various hands of Reims, is to suppose that, if not *i*¹, it is *i*². This is indeed the hand that Traube believed was the author's; it happened that almost all of the photographs taken for Traube contain enlargements

by i^2 and not by i^1 . Yet if i^2 is Johannes, why does that hand never correct the sections assigned to i^1 ? Of the two, i^1 seems more free, more individual, more like an author's, unless that author be also a calligraphist. But if we imagine that i^1 is Johannes, why does he never appear in the sections assigned to i^2 ?

Our chain of evidence draws us to the conclusion that neither i^1 nor i^2 is Johannes, but that both are scribes employed by him, together with others, to correct and enlarge the manuscripts of his works. The two Insular writers were very possibly the most important of his workmen, for he entrusted most of the revision to them. Their task was done in intimate coöperation with the other scribes. They would call them in to finish their notes if considerations of space demanded, or, now and then, merely to indulge in a pastime of alternate writing. Perhaps it was the difficulty of deciphering the original that induced a scribe to appeal more frequently than usual for help from a fellow-craftsman. I have confined my discussion to the manuscript 875 of Reims, but the two Insular hands appear also in the manuscripts of Bamberg and of Laon.^[13]

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After all is said and done, the great value of Traube's discovery remains. It is positive that the enlargements in the manuscripts were made at the direction of the author himself. They present to the modern editor of the *De Divisione Naturae* the fascinating task of distinguishing the different revisions, and of following the growth of the subject in Johannes' mind. The best way, I believe, would be to print on the left-hand page the enlarged form of the text, for that is the form in which the author wished his work to be known to posterity. On the right-hand page, the briefest form, the nearest approach to his original draft, might be given, with indication, in the critical apparatus, of the successive stages by which the final text was reached. Possibly further research may reveal *O*, or even the hand of Johannes himself. For the present, we at least have accessible—if the contents of the libraries of Reims and of Laon are accessible—the material for preparing a highly accurate and well-nigh unique edition of one of the masterpieces of medieval philosophy.

FOOTNOTES:

- [1] In Abh. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-philol. u. hist. Classe, München, XXVI (1912).
- [2] In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 122 (1865).
- [3] I have confined my illustrations almost entirely to passages exhibited in the plates. I have notes of many other examples quite as pertinent, but do not include them here, believing that those presented amply prove my point.
- [4] For an example, see Plate I (fol. 273). In the last regular line of the page, after writing *caelestis essentiae particeps est*, the scribe first omitted the words *de die—caelestis essentiae particeps est* (an exceedingly easy haplography) and then added them, with signs of reference, in the margin immediately below. As the error is one of sight and not of hearing, he must have had a text before him.
- [5] Plate II (fol. 231^v) contains a striking instance. After the citation of St. Basil, the author bethinks him of another possible interpretation of his words (*An aliud ex uerbis ipsius—intelligendum*) and sets it forth in the enlargement. It is not probable, I believe, that the author dictated this forthwith to the scribe. As the existence of *O* has been proved, it is more natural to assume that the enlargement had already been inserted there.
- [6] E.g., fol. 59 (I have no photograph). The added *quodam* in l.10 of fol. 231 (Plate II) is not by *I*. See below, note 10. *Ut arbitror* in the right margin seems exactly the thing that an author tucks in when revising and qualifying his work. But see below p. 138.
- [7] Plate III contains a specimen (fol. 64). At first this hand looks like that of the text, but it is really different. The corrections are, I believe, by r^1 himself. They had been made in *O*, I infer, but at first were not observed by r^1 . The heading *De agere et pati* is by a hand of the thirteenth century or later (= *h*).
- [8] See Plate IV (fol. 15). As in the previous specimen, this hand is similar to that of the text, but not identical with it. The hand *h* adds three headings.
- [9] Fol. 232 (Plate VIII). r^5 then collated the work of r^4 with *O*, adding *quodam* in l.10, and perhaps correcting *consequentius* to *consequentias* in l.12.
- [10] Fol. 58^v (Plate IX).
- [11] See fol. 81, Plate XI (= Plate I in *Pal. Forsch.*).
- [12] Fol. 106 (Plate X).
- [13] For i^2 in the Bamberg MS, see *Pal. Forsch.*, Plates III-VIII. For i^1 in the Laon MS, see *Pal. Forsch.*, Plate X.

PLATES

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Plate II. Fol. 231^v.

Plate III. Fol. 64.

Plate IV. Fol. 15.

Plate V. Fol. 285^v.

Plate VI. Fol. 49.

Plate VII. Fol. 56.

Plate VIII. Fol. 232.

Plate IX. Fol. 58^v.

Plate X. Fol. 106.

Plate XI. Fol. 81 (= *Pal. Forsch.*, Plate I).

L alis homo iudicat omnia ipse uero in omni diiudicat. In uero qua clare quam
ipso homine uelut in duos homines diuidit. quorum unus quidem animalis est
qui naturam animalium consistit, quomodo in spiritu alium in se recipit, aliter uero
spiritu alis qui a ceteris et spiritu alibus diuinitate communiter subsistentis totiusque ani
malitatis se partem est, ecce quidem pars qua animal est ceterioris hominis caetero
qua superat cetera animalia et seipsum in quantum animal est interioris congrue
appellatione et corpore tribuitur. qui spiritu aliter uiuunt ut uelut ad apti ceterior
homo corruptibilis interior uero de die in diem renouatur quem perfecte uiuere om
nino corpus suum et uitam qua illud admitterat omni que corporeos sensus cu
his quae per se partem omni que irrationabilis motus quos in se sentiat cum omni
rerum mutabilium memoria non solum spernit uerum etiam quantum potest et cor
ruptum potest cedere ne ullomodo in eo spualitate comminatio potest et ecce sibi
appetit. se ipsum uero in quantum in aeternitate et sentiat partem est, mentem uerum
de die in diem hoc est de uirtute in uirtute ascendens diuina gratia mouente cooperante
diuinitate efficiens renouatur. ecce quidem natura qua animalibus homo communiter cetero
caetero quae celestis essentiae partem est.

PLATE 1

nulla temporum transactionum ueluti inchoante circa luce demum datam
 ab ipso illa quae tegebatur in congregatione una collecta haec enim
 omnia eccetera quae desunt primordialis dierum operibus diuina
 scriptura commemorat simul et semel diuino precepto absque ulla tem-
 poralibus inter uallis suis rationibus scdm quas conditas distancas
 effecta fuisse et in specie suas per diuina beatorum simul et per se
 filius. **N.** Iuste rectaque magni uirum predicat nec aliter de ipso esse
 fertur dum. Pulchre igitur segregata mutabilitate accidentium
 mutabilitate substantiae multiplex ipsius uis per diuersas species
 uisibiliter erupens herbis lignisq; significationibus insinuat
 curam curantem. Omnis enim species in genere eorum genus in substantia naturaliter
 operans et in fine puenit donec mundum consumatur, utq; sphaera cum ab aliquo impellitur
 et cluue accipit propria conformatione eccomoditate regionis ferit in partem eius scdm
 quae aequalitas caput ipsa suscipit. sicut natura gressum uno precepto mota in generatione
 corruptione et creatura plane pariter. Generum consequentia et similitudine saluorum donec ad ipso
 descendat sine. Equi quidem equi filii. Successorem leonem leonis. Aquilam aquile. Quisq; ad
 animalium consequentia successorum conservatum ut species summatione unum factum.

PLATE 2

§. Cuiusdemus ea que per se simplicia sunt et incorruptibilia compositi
 quaedam atq; corruptibile in se composita per se trahere cui omni in cognoscitur.
 hanc molem enim globi ex quatuor simplicibus elementis composita
 quae quidem corruptibilia, solubiliaq; dum sit earum elementa ex quibus conficitur
 Nullo modo ambigendum et hoc in me ipso perspicuo per gradum
 H. Duas categoriae contemplatae omni restant in fallor agendum delu-
 ceptandi nam disputantes de loco quocumq; de corpore quantum per sensum du-
 pliciter necessitas exigitur et sic. **N.** Nil nunc ampli-
 us de corpore quaero sufficiens quae de his dicantur. nam si desingu-
 lis omnia quae ratio considerari appetit quis dixerit dictum aut
 nullum fine disputationis habebit. **N.** Considera itaq; nun actio
 passioq; proprie deo predicantur antequam caeterae categoriae
 per metaforam dicenda sunt. Per metaforam sane
 quidem nunquid arbitrandum est haec duas aliarum regularum excedere
 cum minoris uirtutis uideantur esse. **H.** Dic quaeso quid tibi
 uideat mouere et moueri. nunc agere et ceptari. **N.** Moueri esse
 uideo. **H.** Similiter ut opinor amare et amari. **N.** Eadem regula
 colligunt haec enim uerba sui generis. Si similia de tua et passiva esse nemo

PLATE 3

corpus cuiusque proficiunt. quod tamen non accipiuntur quae admodum
 mut accipere naturalis ne ad oycia in reventi uideantur. haec de
 dico e ueh singular regular in geometris corporibus sciamur
 se conficiunt. In quibus haec tria separata discreta esse posse in na
 turelibus autem inseparabiliter cohaerent in quibus solo intellectu
 quid rectas ab oycia separare. nā cū uideat quis de quatuor tate dir
 pinare tanquā de oycia quiddam esse putat confundere. sciat de
 his dicat cōter. A. Sicut plane sed, refert ut uideo ut de ipra
 tera forma quibus materialia corpora componi dicitur pauca edis
 sonat. nō enim praecundū ut ir bisor siquidem nihil acur duce
 uerū uide formae equae generi subdit equae materiae ut cor
 pulser capulatur. H. I. ort marū aliae in oycia aliae in quatuor *scilicet differentia formae*
 intelliguntur. sed quae in oycia substantiales species generis sunt. que de
 uideat. quid sunt in oycia magister dicit cū uideat inquit quis de quatuor
 tate hoc est differentia quibus corpus conficitur disputat retrahit qui nihil aliud est
 oycia affirmant nisi corpus quod uidentur de ipsa oycia putat quid dicitur.
 Singula geometrica corpora et sola anima dicitur conetplamur solisq; memoriae imaginatione
 siq; corpore uideat in aliqua oycia substantiales species uideat nullas in geometrica et naturalia
 corpora ad differentia substantia quae geometrica corpora solo animo considerantur.

PLATE 7

Lectio proficere non potest nisi in mole terrae sustentetur siue hinc
 p. cunctos poros siue occerit p. p. et in inundationes discurrant
 siue fragm. lacubusq; frant. ita accidit in inundatio non nisi in
 subiecta. subiecta consistere p. ualeat siue in occultis subiecta si
 nibus lateant ut qualitates et quantitates causaliter, siue foras
 erumpant et in aliqua materia appareant ut moles corporeae
 diuersis colorib; superfusae si. frabilia sunt ut. species atq; figu
 rae quae adiecte mutabilitate materiae uisibilia efficiunt corpora
 facta quod a speciali conformata et in unum colligunt. ne subico sol
 uatur inque flux. ut siue mutabilitate specie quae continentur
 de materia labantur et refluant. sed in naturalibus duras immoentur
 1) p. ualeat ut similitudinis. uerbum dicitur inquit p. a. ab initio creaturae usq; ad finem uniuersae semper
 operans omnia commouens p. ualeat. uniuersa q; p. corpore uel in unā quādaē sphaera uel in natura p. ualeat
 et simel facit motus in genera et species. q. ualeat. uel in uniuersum quo dicitur ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat.
 ad finem uniuersae creaturae ualeat ad quādam antiquitatem p. ualeat. uniuersa q; ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat.
 natura firmis sunt quae simel et simel. et condant et in specie p. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat.
 ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat. ualeat.
 loci. sicut componuntur et ualeat p. ualeat.

PLATE 8

substantialem originem ^{complem} ~~speciem~~ Dicimus enim hoc corpus uel hoc ^{calus}
 x uel proportionabilis animalis ^{intra cyclica cōphasi}
 huius nominibus nō animalium corpora sed substantiales formas
 appellare. Tria siquidem discret. & debemus cognoscere si uidero
 bis nec ipsi cogitantes si uideatur animalibus, quid sumus quid
 nrm ē quid carnos; nos sumus substantia nra q̄ uitalis atq; inelli
 gibilis. nrm ē nō corp qd nob̄ adheret quanto equali ac corp qd
 cadentib; cōposita atq; sensibile, carnosē om̄a sensibilia quib; uiam
 uti quatuor mundi ^{hanc} elementa corporaq; q̄ cōposita. si enim mortalia
 nra corpora sine his parti p̄manēt, carnis ^{hanc} uim potant ^{esse}
 igne calificant. Duob; erant in uerū uel utraque duob; ut uerū ab hinc
 quid dicitur. Duob; uerū in corp uel uerū utraque. Quod uerū affirmauimus
 x uel aliud cōuersissimū ē dicitur quā sensus in se uerū uel p̄ se
 que uerū uocant ^{in se uerū} id est ^{in se uerū} in se uerū. In se uerū
 cōuersissimū, dū enim anima in corp cōstitit ^{in se uerū} in se uerū
 sine corpore, q̄ uerū uel p̄ se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 nra uel cōuersissimū cōuersissimū cōuersissimū cōuersissimū cōuersissimū

PLATE 9

Oī cōuersissimū p̄ se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 deum quod propheta ^{in se uerū} in se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 uerū non p̄ se uerū nisi p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 p̄ se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 generalium aliter p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 unius atq; id est p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 generalia possumus arguere ubi scripta est cōuersissimū uel p̄ se uerū
 ad quod aliud dicitur mandatum est p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū
 aqua fouisse fecunditas. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 ac simpliciter in uerbo facta p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū
 ac paratū numerorūq; omniū distribueret atque ordinaret. Oī
 p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 qd illuminat omem homine ueniente in mundū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū
 genit in nrae carnis natura. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 sup̄ can delabru ecclie. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 scientia la sapientia accuorū. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū
 al. caput quippe uniuersi cor. In se uerū uel p̄ se uerū. In se uerū

PLATE 10

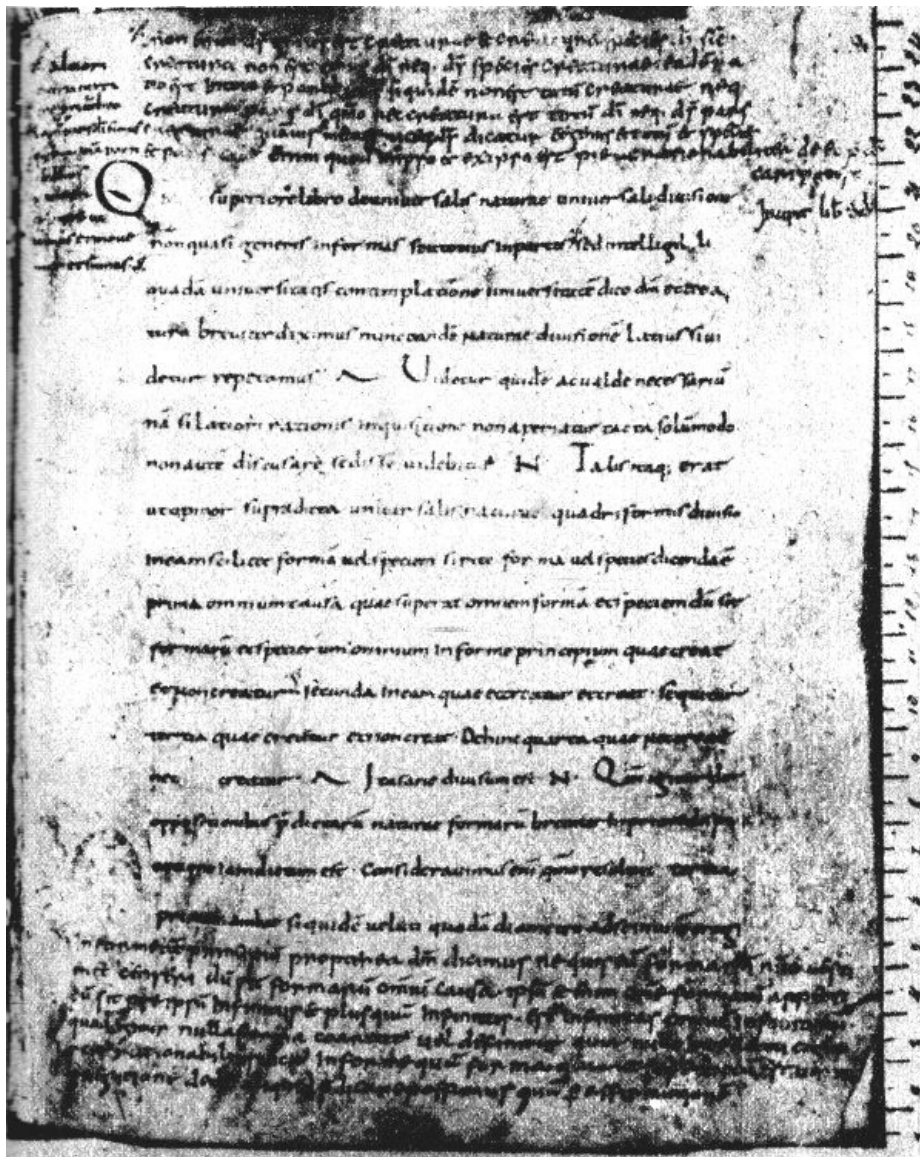


PLATE 11

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