

THE STUDY OF THE *TIMAEUS* IN EARLY
RENAISSANCE ITALY

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In 1363 an anonymous Italian commentator on Plato's *Timaeus*, justifying his own work on the dialogue, claimed that "none of his predecessors, after Calcidius, had taken the trouble to expound or comment upon Plato, perhaps because of his strange manner of speaking."¹ An odd remark to make, at least from the perspective of modern scholarship on medieval philosophy. It now seems clear that Plato's *Timaeus*, in the partial translation of Calcidius, was among the more frequently studied texts of the High Middle Ages. In addition to major lemmatic commentaries by Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches, we have dozens of heavily glossed manuscripts, mostly northern French and German, ranging from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries. What the "1363 commentator" (as we may as well christen him) could not have known was that he stood on the threshold of a great revival of Platonic scholarship—centered in Italy and culminating in the work of Marsilio Ficino a century later—in which Calcidius' *Timaeus* would once again be frequently copied, taught, glossed, and cited.²

Indeed, as Paul Dutton has recently shown, the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were second only to the twelfth century as a great age of Calcidian studies.³ This revival of interest in the Calcidian and Chartrean tradition of Timaeian study in early Renaissance Italy has gone largely unnoticed by historians of philosophy, part of a general tendency to ignore Renaissance revivals of medieval philosophy. The aim of the present study is to explore the nature and extent of this revival and to offer some speculations regarding its impact on the later development of Renaissance natural philosophy.

To begin with the manuscript tradition of Calcidius, of the 198 known manuscripts containing Calcidius' translation of or commentary on the *Timaeus*, at least 40 (not counting excerpts) were written in the later fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and at least 28 in Italy. One can, moreover, document the presence of another 23 manuscripts written in Europe before 1350 that were present in Italian collections or were studied by Italian scholars during the fifteenth century. So something like a quarter of the surviving

manuscripts either were written in Italy or were present in Italy during the early Renaissance.⁴

The presence of Calcidius manuscripts can be documented in most of the important public and princely libraries of early Renaissance Italy. Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence and the mentor of a whole generation of humanists, had a copy made for his large library; this codex, now in the Vatican library, later entered the collection of Pope Nicholas V. The papal collections already possessed by 1436 another copy, which had almost certainly been the property of the humanist cardinal Giordano Orsini. The great collector Niccolò Niccoli, whose books later formed the nucleus of the Library of San Marco, Florence's public library, owned no fewer than four copies of Calcidius. The Visconti library in Milan owned three copies, including one formerly owned and annotated by Petrarch. Cardinal Bessarion's great library, later the nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, contained a copy; other codices from the Veneto include two owned by the fourteenth-century Trevisan collector Oliviero Forzetta,⁵ one owned by Doge Pietro Mocenigo, and one owned by the Zabarella family, later in the possession of the philosopher Giacomo Zabarella. Among the famous collectors of the later fifteenth century, copies were made or purchased for the libraries of the condottiere Federico of Urbino; Alessandro Sforza, signore of Pesaro; Cardinal Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini (an associate of Pius II and Pomponio Leto); the Florentine merchant Guglielmo Sasseti; Andrea Matteo III d'Acquaviva, duke of Atri; and Lorenzo de' Medici, *il Magnifico*.

We can also identify numerous copies of Calcidius owned by humanists and philosophers of quattrocento Italy. All the major Platonic philosophers of the fifteenth century possessed copies of the text. In addition to Bessarion's copy, already mentioned, Nicholas of Cusa owned two copies, Niccolò Leonicensino had one copy, and Marsilio Ficino possessed a copy written and annotated in his own hand. Pierleone da Spoleto, Lorenzo de' Medici's physician and an associate of Ficino, annotated a twelfth-century manuscript of the text.⁶ Pico della Mirandola annotated, or rather scribbled on, a manuscript of Calcidius, now in Naples—of which more anon.

The humanists of the early Renaissance also had ready access to the dialogue. I have already mentioned the copies owned by Petrarch, Salutati, and Niccoli. Leonardo Bruni, the most important translator of Plato before Ficino, studied Calcidius in a manuscript owned by his great friend Niccoli, probably in the first decade of the fifteenth century. Pier Paolo Vergerio, an older contemporary and friend of Bruni, studied the *Timaeus* while still a young man; there survive excerpts from the dialogue written by him in 1388. Two famous humanist schoolmasters of the early quattrocento, Guarino

Veronese and Gasparino Barzizza, owned copies that they may have used in their teaching. Two associates of Bessarion's circle in Rome, Guillaume Fichet and Nicolaus Modrussiensis, also had the text in their libraries. Nicolaus Modrussiensis's copy may have served as one of the witnesses for the *editio princeps* of Calcidius, printed in Paris in 1520.⁷

Renaissance Italians knew not only Calcidius' interpretation of the *Timaeus* but also the Chartrian commentary tradition on the dialogue.⁸ Many years ago Raymond Klibansky pointed out that the "Contius" and the "Policrates" referred to by Marsilio Ficino in a letter describing his Platonic sources could be identified, respectively, with William of Conches and with the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury.⁹ More recently, Sebastiano Gentile has identified silent borrowings from William's *Glosae super Platonem* and the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury in Ficino's letters and in an early theological work, *Di Dio et anima*.¹⁰ It would have been easy enough for Ficino to have consulted William's *Glosae super Platonem*, as there were at least two copies in quattrocento Florence, one formerly owned by Niccoli.¹¹ Other, non-Florentine copies of the text were owned by a certain Leonardus (not Bruni), who seems to have read it with some attention, and by Cardinal Bessarion.¹²

In addition to William's glosses on the *Timaeus*, Chartres produced at least one other important set of anonymous glosses, recently identified by Paul Dutton as the work of Bernard of Chartres.¹³ Like William's, Bernard's glosses not only circulated as an integral lemmatic commentary but also were copied freely into the margins of many manuscripts of the Latin *Timaeus* written during the twelfth century and afterward. Bernard was known to the grammarians of the Veneto in the late fourteenth century, as is evidenced by the glossary commentary of Antonius de Romagno (discussed below). Glossed manuscripts influenced by Bernard were also known in quattrocento Florence: Salutati's manuscript, later owned by Nicholas V, had glosses descending from the Bernardine tradition, as did two of the manuscripts owned by Niccolò Niccoli and a manuscript, now in London, copied by the Florentine scribe Piero Strozzi.¹⁴ Ficino, too, may well have known these Bernardine glosses, as he once or twice refers in his own notes on Calcidius to "post-Calcidian commentaries."¹⁵

This brings us to the subject of Renaissance glosses on the Calcidian *Timaeus*. We have over a dozen manuscripts surviving from the early Renaissance that contain extensive glosses, notes, or study materials of various kinds assembled by Italian humanists and philosophers. From the fourteenth century we have notes by Petrarch, the large lemmatic commentary by the "1363 commentator," and a glossary commentary by Antonius de Romagno,

a grammarian and humanist from the Veneto. From the fifteenth century we have several anonymous sets of glosses: one composed by a Venetian humanist;¹⁶ one by a midcentury humanist whom we shall christen the “Recanati Master”; glosses written for Andrea Matteo III d’Acquaviva;¹⁷ and a set of glosses, surviving in three copies, probably composed in Padua shortly after the middle of the quattrocento. Identifiable annotators of Calcidius include Marsilio Ficino’s associate Pierleone da Spoleto, who added a few glosses to his twelfth-century copy of the *Timaeus*; Ficino himself; and his student and colleague Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

Petrarch’s glosses can be dealt with summarily, as they have been the object of a recent study by Sebastiano Gentile, who is preparing a new edition of them.¹⁸ The glosses, consisting mostly of *notabilia*, short comments, and cross-references, were clearly written for his private use rather than for teaching purposes. Gentile supposes them to have been written in two distinct stages, an earlier stage (around 1335–1338 or even earlier) and a later stage (after 1355). In the first stage the *Timaeus* seems to have been among the books Petrarch read in preparation for writing his *Rerum memorandarum liber* (1343–1345), while during the second stage Petrarch’s reading of the dialogue was closely connected with the composition of his invective *De sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia* (1367). It was in his reading of the *Timaeus* and its creation myth that Petrarch was able to find confirmation of Augustine’s view, so important for the history of Renaissance Platonism, that Plato was the closest of the ancient philosophers to Christianity. He was therefore an ideal authority to be used in the polemic against the godless Aristotelianism of the universities—a polemic continued by humanists and philosophers down to the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁹

The other two fourteenth-century encounters with the *Timaeus* preserved in manuscripts can both be associated with the northern Italian grammatical tradition.²⁰ Both of these commentaries were intended for classroom use, and manifest the typical interest of the northern Italian grammarians in exhibiting the logical structure of the text, in the solution of *dubia* and in the illustration of parallel texts. The older of the two, composed by the “1363 commentator,” consists mostly of paraphrases of the text itself. Sometimes he also explains technical matters, using Boethius, Macrobius, Cicero, Apuleius, and (silently) Calcidius. These authors are in fact mentioned in his preface, where he speaks of his desire to render intelligible the opinions of these “and other Platonists” by explicating the “holy opinions of Plato.” The preface also speaks acerbically of “the many learned theologians and philosophers who nowadays are proud to cite Plato without having ever read him—or without fully understanding him if perchance they have read him.” This re-

mark (and the classing of Cicero as a Platonist) suggests that the 1363 commentator may have been a follower of Petrarch, for the latter made similar criticisms of contemporary scholastics with regard to their knowledge of Plato.²¹

Like Petrarch's, the 1363 commentator's study of the *Timaeus* seems to have taken place largely in isolation from the previous medieval glossary tradition associated with Chartres and Paris. There is no trace of Bernard's or William's influence, and the commentator shows his independence of the tradition in such matters as his extensive treatment of the historical myth of Atlantis, neglected by earlier commentators, and his idiosyncratic division of the text.²² The same cannot be said of Antonius de Romagno de Feltrò, a grammarian and humanist (fl. 1388–1408) who worked primarily in the Veneto.²³ With Antonius' glossary commentary on the *Timaeus* we are once again back in the mainstream of Calcidian and Chartrian interpretation. Antonius' commentary, in fact, is often dependent on Bernard of Chartres, sometimes verbally.²⁴ More often, however, Antonius reworks Bernard's material, condensing and combining it with his own observations or with matter drawn from Calcidius, Boethius, and Macrobius, as well as from other staples of the late medieval grammarian such as Servius' commentaries on Virgil.²⁵

Antonius' interest in Plato's moral and political thought is seen most clearly in his *accessus*, in which he emphasizes the derivation of "popular" or customary justice—what the medieval tradition called "positive justice"—treated in the *Republic*, from "natural justice," treated in the *Timaeus*. The model polity constructed by Socrates is parallel to the model universe laid out by Plato in the *Timaeus*. By observing the justice implicit in God's creation of the natural world, human beings will be better able to imitate it in their own lives; indeed, God's just order in Nature shows us what human justice was like in the time before the Fall.²⁶ The actual moral lessons Antonius draws in his reading of the *Timaeus* seem rather more homely stuff, however, as when he allegorically compares the normal motion of the firmament to the good, while the opposite motion of the planets reminds him of the wicked, returning to their sins like the proverbial dog to his vomit.²⁷

Antonius is at his most original when treating Plato's elemental theory. Plato's theory posits a substrate, *hyle* or matter, metaphysically prior to the traditional four elements, and *ydeas* or exemplars, which serve as models for the informed matter created by the Demiurge. Antonius correctly saw Plato's account as a challenge to Aristotle's elemental theory, and he boldly identifies himself with Plato's conception (writing explicitly "et hoc est mea sententia" next to Plato's summary at 53A). He defends against Aristotle (who is

not named) Plato's view that *hyle* can have some kind of metaphysical status as a *tertium quid* between being and non-being.²⁸

Like a true Platonist, Antonius echoes Plato's belief (52B) that our normal intuitions of reality are like dreams; behind them is "the marvelous nature of the philosophers" consisting of idea and matter: "Truly we experience or think what dreamers think, since we think whatever exists exists in a material place, and we think nothing exists except what is in heaven or on earth, or in water or in air. Which is false, because before these things existed, *hyle* and *ydea* existed in their marvelous nature of sorts according to the philosophers."²⁹ Not very sophisticated, perhaps, but Antonius still has the honor of being the first Renaissance thinker to defend the Platonic theory of matter against the overwhelming hegemony of Aristotelian physics, a defense that would not become common until the time of Marsilio Ficino.

Calcidius' Plato continued to be read by the grammarians of the Veneto even in the second half of the fifteenth century. From the third quarter of the fifteenth century we have a highly traditional glossary commentary, surviving in three manuscripts, which is likely to be the work of a Paduan arts master.³⁰ All three manuscripts of the commentary also contain Latin translations of Plato's *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Crito* made by Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), showing that the medieval *Timaeus* had now entered the orbit of the humanistic book.³¹ But in compiling his glosses the Paduan master showed no interest in enlarging his understanding of Plato by consulting the new humanist translations made by Bruni, Uberto, and Pier Candido Decembrio, and others. His commentary is largely a pastiche of Calcidius, with echoes of Bernard and other medieval glossators.³² The glossator provides textual summaries and *divisiones*, gives explanations of philosophical terms, and indicates a few parallel passages from Macrobius (probably relying on intermediate sources). The glossator may have had some kind of university training, for he shows a familiarity with scholastic terminology and his interests seem to be more philosophical than literary. In one of the few glosses not dependent on Calcidius, we get some sense of his philosophical profile:

There is one good thing alone which is only good and nothing else. This is the first good which is good in that it exists. There is also a second good which also is called good in that it exists, but in a certain other sense, namely, because that which itself is good flows from his will whose Being is good. Whence every white thing is good. Therefore white both exists and is good. But it is good in that it exists as flowing from his will who is good, not as something said to be white in that it exists, but it is only said to be white because he is not white who wished it to be white. Thus there—

fore the nature of every single thing is capable of beatitude and receives a similitude of some kind of its artificer.³³

This gloss, significantly, is placed next to a famous passage of the *Timaeus* that emphasizes—in contrast to later medieval Christian theology—the necessary and unique character of the created universe. It was also a locus classicus for the Plotinian interpretation of Plato’s metaphysics, which orders the realm of Being into descending hypostases of Mind, Soul, and Body, causally dependent on the One beyond Being. Plotinian metaphysics, too, was at odds with the major theological traditions of the later Middle Ages, which identified God with Being itself. The glossator here seemingly wishes to impose an Augustinian reading of Plato’s text by emphasizing the identity of Being and Goodness in the First Good and the derivative character of second goods, whose existence depends on the will of the First Good (making them *eo ipso* contingent goods). It is their derivative character that enables them to receive a similitude of their Maker and makes them capable of beatitude. All of this, of course, is foreign to the thought of Plato (and Calcidius).

It is only toward the middle of the fifteenth century that we begin to find glosses on the *Timaeus* markedly different in character from the kind of annotations associated with the medieval grammatical tradition. From that period we have a hitherto unknown set of glosses, possibly Roman in origin, that seem to be the work of a humanist teacher; we shall label him the “Recanati Master” after the present location of the manuscript that preserves his glosses.³⁴ The Recanati Master shows no signs of having had a formal university training in arts. Nor does he divide the text, search for *dubitationes*, or cite parallel authorities in the manner of the professional grammarian. Rather, his chief aim seems to have been to summarize and clarify the text, and to provide an aid for the compilation of copybooks. He draws attention especially to passages illustrating Plato’s piety and the harmony of his cosmological thought with Christianity. Sometimes the search for harmony pushes him to the edge of syncretism, as when he identifies Plato’s “children of the gods” with Christian “sancti uiri” (40E), Plato’s “lower gods” with angels (42D), and Plato’s vague remarks about the lower gods “receiving back the mortal things [they] have created” with the “resurrectio universalis” (41D). His longest gloss attempts to compare the concepts of time and eternity (37D), but one does not feel oneself in the presence of a powerful philosophical intelligence. If the Recanati Master was indeed a Roman humanist, his was not the Rome of Lorenzo Valla or Cardinal Bessarion.

By the second half of the fifteenth century, Florence had emerged as a center of philosophical study to rival Rome and the Paduan Studio; and,

thanks to Marsilio Ficino, it had become the most important center for the study of Plato since the closing of the ancient Platonic Academy. Ficino's study of the *Timaeus* began at a very early age and continued up to the last few years of his life. His very first work, the lost *Institutiones ad Platonicam disciplinam*, is supposed to have been largely a commentary on the *Timaeus*, and we have a manuscript containing Calcidius' commentary written by Ficino in 1454, when he was about twenty-one years old.³⁵ The codex is festooned with notes in Ficino's own hand, which may well have been added at a later date.³⁶ The notes seem to have been intended for use in his private teaching and are strikingly different in character from those on any of the other annotated manuscripts discussed so far.

Ficino's glosses on Calcidius are no mere rearrangements of traditional materials and topics, but give the impression of a fresh reading of the text by a critical philosophical intelligence. The glosses (as usual) indicate *notabilia*, summarize arguments, identify sources,³⁷ and offer further illustrations and explanations of Calcidius' text. The Florentine studies Calcidius' idiosyncratic vocabulary, and he frequently notes philosophical, astronomical, musical, and mathematical terms, sometimes comparing them with the terminology used in his own time. As one would expect of the self-styled *doctor animarum*, he is deeply interested in what Calcidius has to say about the World-Soul and soul in general; he recognizes some unorthodox tendencies in Calcidius' thought but insists that Plato should not be accused of vulgar error in the matter of the transmigration of souls.³⁸ Yet he is attracted to Numenius' solution to the problem of evil, that evil is caused by a lower soul latent in matter which is mastered by a higher, rational soul imposed by God on matter. His own solution offers slight refinements on Numenius:

There are two World-Souls according to Plato. I think that in matter there are two souls: one educed from the potency of matter itself, which is vegetative and has motion, which always existed in it, which is subcorporeal and agitates matter without reason using every irrational motion, which we call evil, that is, "rash." The other is the soul God created when he wished to adorn the cosmos, which has reason and thus clarifies the cosmos through the order of motion.³⁹

Ficino also studies carefully Calcidius' remarks on astronomy, noting differences of opinion among ancient authorities about the order of the planets. He glosses approvingly Calcidius' theory that planetary retrogradations are optical illusions.⁴⁰ He takes particular notice of the passage where Calcidius says that from the point of view of soul, it is the sun, not the earth, that must be considered the center of the universe: the warm, vital, beating heart,

not the dark and motionless uterus.⁴¹ This is an image that recurs in Ficino's short treatise *De sole*, one of the texts that inspired Copernicus' heliocentrism.⁴² Ficino also read closely Calcidius' discussion of Plato's theory of vision, but—surprisingly for so devoted a Platonist—seems to have disagreed with Plato in this matter.⁴³

The part of Calcidius' commentary that most occupies Ficino, however, is the long section at the end on matter and elemental theory. Ficino uses Calcidius as a sourcebook for collecting the opinions of the ancient philosophers on elemental theory. Indeed, at one point in his marginal notes, Ficino puts together a kind of *placita philosophorum* on the nature of matter and the primary elements, in which he tries to collate ancient opinions with the ancient schools as described in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* (in the translation of Ambrogio Traversari).⁴⁴ Some of this material would ultimately find its way into Ficino's mature commentary on the *Timaeus* (1484, 1493–1496) where he would use it in his campaign to undermine Aristotle's elemental theory; we shall return to this shortly.

As the notes cited show, Ficino's annotations on Calcidius often have a strong pedagogical flavor, and we can now confirm that they were actually used by his most famous pupil, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.⁴⁵ Despite Pico's tendency to play the *ingratus discipulus*, Ficino supported his student's studies generously by lending him for long periods rare codices from his own library (as we know from Ficino's patient letters asking for their return).⁴⁶ Such would seem to be the case with Ficino's manuscript of Calcidius. In Pico's own copy of Calcidius a vocabulary list and a number of Ficinian notes are copied word for word, while other notes of Pico are clearly dependent on Ficino's.⁴⁷ Pico also used Ficino's text to fill lacunae in his own and entered variants from the Ambrosiana codex in the margins of his own manuscript. In themselves, Pico's notes are not of great interest, as they consist mostly of short *notabilia*. Occasionally, however, we can catch sight of Pico's concordist juices flowing, as when he remarks sharply, "Plato seems to have said other things in agreement with Aristotle, aside from these matters about the substance of souls" (*Alia, praeter ea quae de substantia animarum, videtur Aristoteli Plato consentanea dicere*), next to a passage where Calcidius summarizes various Middle Platonic objections to Aristotle's definition of the soul as an entelechy.⁴⁸

Ficino's and Pico's notes on Calcidius show signs of a fresh approach to the Calcidian *Timaeus*, but the real watershed that separates traditional from early modern study of the *Timaeus* is formed by Ficino's mature *Compendium in Timaeum*. First published in 1484 and republished in enlarged form in 1496, this commentary is probably the least well-known of Ficino's major

works, but it certainly deserves further study.⁴⁹ It is important for at least three reasons.

In the first place, Ficino's commentary brings a whole new range of ancient sources to bear on the problem of understanding Plato's text, sources that the dialogue's sixteenth-century commentators continued to invoke.⁵⁰ Traditional Calcidian and Chartrian grammatical commentaries had used for this purpose a relatively narrow range of Latin sources, mostly Middle Platonic in inspiration: Calcidius himself, Boethius, Apuleius, and Macrobius. Ficino, thanks to his knowledge of Greek and to the matchless resources of the Medici and San Marco libraries, was able to consult a number of fresh ancient sources of more varied philosophical hue: the eclectic Middle Platonist Galen, Plutarch's *De fato* and *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, Theon of Smyrna's *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*, the academic skeptic Cicero,⁵¹ the eclectic Diogenes Laertius, the first part of Proclus' Neoplatonic *Timaeus* commentary, and the neo-Pythagorean *Περὶ ψυχᾶς κόσμου καὶ φύσιος*, a work falsely attributed to Timaeus of Locri, the main interlocutor of Plato's *Timaeus*.⁵² The latter work, composed in pseudo-Doric dialect, is now considered a first-century C.E. neo-Pythagorean forgery based on the Platonic *Timaeus*. Ficino, gullible in such matters, believed the work to be a genuine opusculum of Timaeus of Locri and the main source for Plato's dialogue. This in turn led him to characterize the *Timaeus* as one of Plato's "Pythagorean" works, that is, a work that reports Pythagorean doctrine but does not necessarily represent Plato's own settled views.⁵³

Ficino's tendency to distance the doctrine of the *Timaeus* from Plato's own doctrine brings us to the second reason for the importance of the *Compendium in Timaeum*. It was a central contention of Ficino's own philosophical writing, and the justification for his life's work, that Plato's philosophy offered a more adequate basis for Christian theology than did Aristotle's. Whether this was in fact the case would become a major subject of debate during the sixteenth century among Italian and northern European philosophers. The *Timaeus* was of course a central text for this debate, as it afforded grist for all the main philosophical mills: Platonists, Aristotelians, and concordists. Platonists naturally felt that Plato's doctrine of creation brought him closer to Christian truth than was Aristotle, who had believed in the eternity of the world. But the matter was hardly simple. In fact, the *Timaeus*, read closely, contained a whole syllabus of errors that the partisans of Aristotle could point to gleefully. Plato's seeming belief in the eternal recurrence of the ages; in an historical chronology that conflicted with biblical chronology, in polytheism; in the indirect creation or subcreation of the physical world by

lower divinities (a heterodox solution to the problem of evil), in the transmigration of souls, in salvation through the rational control of appetites (a doctrine close to Pelagianism), in the uniqueness of the universe (arguably a limitation on God's absolute power), in the extradeical existence of the Ideas, in the eternity of the "receptacle," preexisting the act of creation and thus challenging creation *ex nihilo*—all of these Timaeian doctrines threw down a formidable challenge to would-be Christianizing interpreters of Plato. Ficino's *Compendium in Timaeum* offered exegetical solutions to many of these problems (some more plausible than others), and thus became the point of departure for many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century partisans of Plato's cosmology.

Which brings us to a third reason for the importance of Ficino's commentary to the later tradition of Timaeian study. Though Ficino's own position in the Plato-Aristotle controversy was officially concordist—he believed that Aristotle as well as Plato should be part of the formation of Christian thinkers and theologians⁵⁴—he did not, in fact, hesitate to criticize Aristotle in order to demonstrate the superiority of Plato. His criticisms of Aristotle's elemental theory in the *Timaeus* compendium came to assume particular importance in the sixteenth century. As we have seen, Calcidius and some later medieval commentators were conscious that Plato's theory of matter implicitly challenged Aristotle's, and Antonius de Romagno at the end of the fourteenth century explicitly sided with Plato against Aristotle on this subject. But it was not until Ficino that the West possessed a commentator of sufficient learning and philosophical acumen to use Plato's elemental theory to mount a full assault on Aristotelian physics.

Several chapters in Ficino's commentary, in fact, constitute a sharp critique of Aristotle's theories of quintessence and elemental motion. While not questioning the existence of a real distinction between celestial and terrestrial matter, Ficino nevertheless tends to reduce the contrast between the two realms by arguing that the four terrestrial elements of earth, water, air, and fire are also present virtually in the celestial realm, as they are present beyond the celestial realm as ideas in the mind of the *opifex mundi*. He uses the Neoplatonic theory of correspondence, in other words, to emphasize the continuities rather than the discontinuities in the created order, especially the continuity between terrestrial fire and celestial fire; indeed, according to Ficino, the heavenly world consists predominantly of celestial fire.⁵⁵ Likewise, he argues that Aristotle's contrast between the rectilinear motion of the terrestrial elements and the circular motion of quintessence is overly schematic and superficial. For Ficino, all elemental motion is naturally circular, rectilinear motion being essentially a derivative, a consequence of the

displacement of the elements from their natural location. The apparent rectilinear motion of fire, for example, can be interpreted as the unnatural motion of an element seeking to return to its natural place; once it regains its place, it resumes its natural circular motion, as can be seen (Ficino says) from the circular motion of comets.⁵⁶

We see in Ficino's *Compendium*, in other words, a number of the characteristic features of the countercultural science of the later sixteenth century. There is the desire for greater unity and simplicity in scientific explanation, expressed in the form of a theory of the elements and of elemental motions that embraces both terrestrial and celestial spheres—a direct challenge to Aristotle's two-sphere universe. There is the concern, seen clearly in Galileo, that the Aristotelian natural philosophy of the universities provides an inadequate basis for Christian theology, as well as the argument that biblical authority is more consonant with the new alternative science than with traditional Aristotelian science.⁵⁷ And there is also (what we do not, unfortunately, have space to consider here) the desire to find mathematical structures underlying appearances, the “mathematization of the cosmos,”⁵⁸ along with the affirmation of the Timaeian principle that “the unobservables we postulate to account for properties of observables need not themselves possess those same properties”⁵⁸—a principle that lies behind Galileo's distinction between primary and secondary qualities. All of these principles are taken up by the Timaeian commentators and Platonic philosophers of the sixteenth century. Platonist criticism of Aristotelian natural philosophy thus not only comes to constitute one of several cultural solvents of hegemonic Aristotelianism but also provides several key principles adopted by the scientific counterculture of the later sixteenth century.

The persistent antagonism of Platonic philosophers toward school Aristotelianism—an antagonism sometimes revealed even by officially “concordist” philosophers such as Ficino himself and his followers, the Florentine philosophers Francesco da Diacceto and Francesco II de' Vieri—thus emerges as an attitude of some importance for understanding the history of early modern science. If one asks the reasons for the sense of rivalry between Platonists and Aristotelians, one need look no further than the institutional and disciplinary context for an explanation. The *Timaeus*, a central text in the twelfth-century schools of northern France, had been ejected from the curriculum of the universities some time in the first half of the thirteenth century. Why this happened is not known, but it probably had much to do with the mythical and literary characteristics of the work, as well as with issues of orthodoxy.⁵⁹ In any case the work disappeared from university curricula, to become the intellectual property of the lowly grammarians and eventually of

the not-so-lowly humanists. The humanists, as ever advocates of philosophical pluralism, beginning with Petrarch used the *Timaeus* and the works of Plato generally as a stick with which to beat the integral Aristotelians. They kept alive the Chartrian tradition of glossary commentaries that emphasized the concord of Plato with Christianity. In the mid-fifteenth century, some Byzantine philosophers and their Italian acolytes, in order to demonstrate the value of the Greek and Byzantine heritage, argued that Plato's theology approximated Christian truth more nearly than Aristotle's.⁶⁰

In the fullness of time humanist educators produced a philosopher, Marsilio Ficino, capable of moving beyond the Parthian shots of a Petrarch or a Bruni, a philosopher who was able to turn the cultural prejudices of the early humanists into a real philosophical movement. Yet the participants in this movement long retained their sense of being outsiders, of belonging to an esoteric sect. The Platonic dialogues remained rarely, if ever, read by professional university philosophers or theologians. Even in the mid-sixteenth century, Lodovico Boccadiferno, a philosophy professor at Bologna who wrote a commentary on the *Timaeus*, could complain that Plato was neglected in the universities, "read by no one, either publicly or privately": "First, because he himself, treating of natural subjects, mixes with them divinity and mathematics, thus not preserving a distinct order, but treating everything in a sort of disordered and confused way. Another reason is the deeply rooted practice of reading Aristotle; another is ignorance of Greek."⁶¹ It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century, under pressure from secular rulers, that Plato's dialogues reentered the university as texts to be read by professional philosophers.⁶²

Yet thanks to the centuries-old pattern of antagonism between Aristotelianism and Platonism, the "Platonic professors" of the later sixteenth century retained the sense of being outsiders in a university milieu dominated by Aristotelians. Hence they came to make common cause with the new cosmologists in the struggle of the latter against hegemonic Aristotelianism. Hence Ficinian Platonism became a powerful resource drawn on by the new science of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in its search for new scientific principles and a new scientific vision.

APPENDIX 1 MANUSCRIPTS OF CALCIDIUS' TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY ON PLATO'S *TIMAEUS* IN EARLY RENAISSANCE ITALY

This list includes all manuscripts of Calcidius' translation of or commentary on the *Timaeus* known to me that were written in early Renaissance Italy, documentably present in Italian collections of the early Renaissance, or owned by figures of the early Italian

Renaissance. The items marked with an asterisk (*) I have inspected *in situ*. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Berti = Ernesto Berti, *Il Critone latino di Leonardo Bruni e Rinuccio Aretino*, Studi dell'Accademia Toscana di scienze e lettere "La Colombaria" 61 (Florence: Olschki, 1985).

Dutton, *Bernard* = *The "Glosae super Platonem" of Bernard of Chartres*, ed. Paul Edward Dutton, *Studies and Texts* 107 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991).

Dutton, "Material Remains" = Paul Edward Dutton, "Material Remains of the Study of the *Timaeus* in the Later Middle Ages," *L'enseignement de la philosophie au XIIIe siècle: Autour du "Guide de l'étudiant" du ms. Ripoll 109*, ed. Claude Lafleur and Joanne Carrier (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 203–230.

Dutton, "The Uncovering" = Paul Edward Dutton, "The Uncovering of the *Glosae super Platonem* of Bernard of Chartres," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 192–221.

Gentile, *Ritorno* = *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone, Mostra di manoscritti, stampe e documenti, 17 maggio–16 giugno 1984*, ed. Sebastiano Gentile, Sandra Niccoli, and Paolo Viti (Florence: Le Lettere, 1984).

Hankins, *Plato* = James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols., *Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* 17. 1–2 (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

Iter = Paul Oskar Kristeller, comp., *Iter Italicum; A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, 7 vols. (London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1963–1996).

Jauneau, *Glosae* = Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. Edouard Jauneau, *Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age* 13 (Paris: Vrin, 1965).

Jauneau, *Lectio* = Edouard Jauneau, *Lectio philosophorum: Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).

Klibansky = Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages* (London: Warburg Institute, 1939; reprinted with supplement, separately paginated, Munich: Kraus, 1981).

Mazzatinti = G. Mazzatinti and A. Sorbelli, eds., *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 107 vols. to date (Forli: Olschki, 1890–).

Pellegrin, *Vaticane* = E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 3 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 1975–1991).

Pellegrin, *Visconti* = Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1955).

Pellegrin, *Visconti, Supplément* = Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, Supplément*, ed. Tammara de Marinis (Florence: Olschki, 1969).

Ullman = Berthold Louis Ullman and Philip Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua: Antenore, 1972).

Waszink = *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, ed. J. H. Waszink, 2nd ed., *Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi: Plato Latinus* 4 (London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

*1. Arezzo, Biblioteca della Città, MS 431. Written in central Italy, s. XV¹, two semi-gothic hands. A few annotations and corrections in a second, perhaps Florentine hand, s. XV². Copied from no. 38, below. Mazzatinti 6:240; Waszink, p. cix.

- *2. Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 573. Italy, s. XII ex. (fols. 79r–86v); one gloss at the end (fol. 86vb), also s. XII ex. From the library of the Franciscan convent in Assisi; listed in its inventory of 1381 and presumably continuously present in the convent from that time. Cesare Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad sacrum conventum Assisiensem* (Assisi: Casa editrice Francescana, 1981), 1:260–261, no. 432; 1:266, no. 454.
- *3. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, “Angelo Mai,” MS MA 350 (*olim* Delta VI 35). Paduan decoration, s. XV 3/4. One of three manuscripts containing the glosses of the “Paduan master”; also contains Bruni’s translations of Plato’s *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Crito*. *Iter* 1:8, 5:481–482; Berti, p. 151; Hankins, *Plato*, 2:671; see above, p. 82.
- *4. Berne, Bürgerbibliothek, MS 681. Northern French, s. XII. Owned by Guillaume Fichet (“Ficheti theologi doctoris”), a French scholastic theologian with an interest in Italian humanism, connected with the circles of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, Bessarion, and Sixtus IV. Waszink, p. cx; on Fichet, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, “An Unknown Humanist Sermon on St. Stephan by Guillaume Fichet,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, Studi e Testi 236 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), 6:459–497.
5. Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket, MS Gl. kgl S 208 fol. Written in Italy in 1470. Dr. Marianne Pade kindly informs me that the codex does not contain any glosses. Waszink, p. cxv.
- *6. El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial MS S III 5. French? s. XII in. Contains an owner’s note written in a fifteenth-century Italian script, s. XV: “Francisci Sabadini codex hic est.” G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* (Madrid: Imprenta Helenica, 1910–1923), 4:57–58.
7. Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, MS II 389. Italy, s. XV. *Iter* 2:503; Waszink, p. clxxxvii.
- *8. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut. LXXXIV, 24. Italy, s. XV 4/4. A collection of Latin Platonica, written for Lorenzo de’ Medici, his arms; illuminated by Attavante; derived from no. 13, below. Waszink, p. cxvi; Gentile, *Ritorno*, pp. 7–8, no. 6.
- *9. ———, MS Plut. LXXXIX sup. 51. Italian, s. XII. Notes of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. At least three fourteenth-century Italian hands, monastic rather than scholastic in character (according to Gabriella Pomaro), though one annotator cites Averroës’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, book 12. The manuscript is the source for at least three other fifteenth-century copies, nos. 25, 32, and 33, below. Waszink, p. cxvi.
- *10. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Conv. soppr. E 8, 1398. S. XII. Contains the *Timaeus* in Calcidius’ translation with the commentary of William of Conches. Some later glosses of the thirteenth century, mostly interlinear. From the monastery of SS. Annunziata. Waszink, p. cxiv; Jauneau, *Glosae*, pp. 31–32 (s. XIII¹); Gentile, *Ritorno*, pp. 8–9, no. 7.
- *11. ———, MS Conv. soppr. J 2, 49. French origin. Three sets of glosses from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; some of the twelfth-century glosses are excerpted from Bernard of Chartres’s commentary. Owned by Niccolò Niccoli and left by him to the San Marco library. Waszink, p. cxiv; Ullman, pp. 71, 200; Dutton, *Bernard*, pp. 267–274.

- *12. ———, MS Conv. soppr. J 2, 50. Glosses of the thirteenth century showing the influence both of William and of Bernard. Owned by Niccoli; formerly in the library of San Marco. Eugenio Garin, *Studi sul platonismo medioevale* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1958), p. 53n; Waszink, p. cxiv; Ullman, p. 200; Dutton, “Material Remains,” p. 210.
- *13. ———, MS Conv. soppr. J 4, 28. S. XI. Notes and corrections in the hand of Niccoli and Leonardo Bruni, mostly consisting of corrections of the text and short observations on the translation; e.g., at fol. 2v, Bruni writes: “Hec clausula cum greco textu male convenit”; at fol. 3r, “*rhapsodias: non convenit cum greco*” (= *Tim.* 21B, ed. Waszink, p. 12, 18, *memoriae*). From the library of San Marco. Waszink, p. cxiv; Ullman, pp. 71, 200.
- *14. ———, MS Conv. soppr. J 9, 40. S. XII. Corrections and notabilia in a twelfth-century hand. One note only by Niccolò Niccoli (fol. 64v): “Hic plures chartae desunt.” From the library of San Marco. Waszink, p. cxiv; Ullman, p. 200.
- *15. London, British Library, MS Add. 22815. S. XII, except for one page of s. XV. Several sets of glosses, one set drawn from Bernard, another from William. One page of the *Timaeus* was written by the Florentine scribe Piero Strozzi, indicating a Florentine provenance. No. 46, below—also written by Piero Strozzi—was copied from this MS. Waszink, p. cvii; Edouard Jeuneau, “Extraits des *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches dans un manuscrit de Londres,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 212–222; Dutton, *Bernard*, p. 278; Dutton, “Material Remains,” p. 207.
- *16. ———, MS Harl. 2652. German, s. XI. Owned but not annotated by Nicholas of Cusa. Waszink, p. cxiv; “Kritisches Verzeichnis der Londoner-Handschriften aus dem Besitz des Nicolaus von Kues,” *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge des Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 3 (1963): 16–100, at 48–51 (reference from Dr. Martin Davies); Cyril E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972), pp. 120–121.
- *17. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S 14 sup. Written by Marsilio Ficino in 1454; copied from no. 13, above, or an intermediary. Contains Calcidius’ commentary on the *Timaeus* with Ficino’s annotations, Bruni’s translation of the *Gorgias*, Apuleius’ *De deo Socratis*, and an excerpt from book 8 of Augustine’s *De trinitate*. Waszink, p. cviii; Hankins, *Plato*, 2:700; see above, p. 84.
- *18. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 225. Written in 1478–1480 at Amberg for Hartmann Schedel by Heinrich Stolberger from no. 36, below. Contains the glosses of the Paduan Master as well as Bruni’s translations of Plato’s *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Crito*. Waszink, p. cxvii; *Iter* 3:613; Bertl, pp. 152–154; Hankins, *Plato*, 2:702; above, p. 82, with note 30. The correspondence between Schedel, Stolberger, and Baptista Augustensis regarding the copying of this manuscript is published in Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1908; reprint, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1969), pp. 67–68, 242–244.
- *19. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS V A 11. French, late caroline and gothic minuscules, s. XII. Glosses in a twelfth-century hand. Owned by Gasparino Barzizza, who annotated another text in the MS, Macrobius’ commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*. Later owned by Gasparino’s son Guiniforte Barzizza, Janus Parrhasius, and Antonio Seripandi.

Waszink, p. cxviii; Lucia Gualdo Rosa et al., "*Molto più prezioso dell'oro*": *Codici di casa Barzizza alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples: Luciano, 1996), pp. 38–40, no. 20, with plate.

*20. ———, MS VIII E 29. Italy, s. XV 4/4, 300 x 200 mm., III + I + 177 (modern numeration) + III leaves, initials painted in blue and red, humanist cursive bookhand. Copied from a Niccoli codex (no. 14, above), with variants from Ficino's codex (no. 17, above). Owned and annotated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Farnese binding; perhaps acquired by Pope Paul III from Cardinal Marino Grimani. Waszink, p. cxviii; François Fossier, *La bibliothèque Farnese: Etude des manuscrits latins et en langue vernaculaire* (Rome: Ecole Française, 1982), p. 379; above, p. 85. Probably to be identified with no. 469 in the inventory of Pico's library, published by Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 182. See figures 2.1–2.6.

*21. ———, MS VIII E 30. Northern Italian, s. XV med., semigothic bookhand. Closely related to Vat. lat. 1544 and Canon. class. lat. 175. Waszink, p. cxix.

*22. ———, MS VIII F 11. German, s. XII. Annotations in Greek and Latin by an Italian hand of the fifteenth century, very likely that of Guarino Veronese. The annotator addresses a reader named Franciscus on fols. 31r (twice) and 32v; the style of annotation is similar to that used by Guarino in his notes on Plato's *Republic* (where he also addresses "Franciscus," i.e., Francesco Barbaro). The Greek hand is similar to that used by students of Manuel Chrysoloras; in one place (fol. 28v), the annotator provides the Greek text behind Calcidius' quotation in Latin from Pythagoras' *Aurei versi*, ll. 70–71 (= Waszink, p. 177, 2–4). Waszink, p. cxix.

*23. Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, MS C. F. 3–10 (formerly XVI. XVIII). Written by the scribe Donnus Vitus in 1507, probably in Naples, for Matteo III d'Acquaviva, duke of Atri. With glosses copied by the scribe. Waszink believed the manuscript to be perhaps copied from Vatican Library, MS Reg. lat. 1308, which if true would indicate an Italian Renaissance stage in the provenance of that MS as well. Waszink, p. cxx; A. Putaturo Murano and A. Perriccioli Saggese, *Codici miniati della Biblioteca oratoriana dei Girolamini* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1995), pp. 119–121; above, p. 80, with note 17.

24. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. class. lat. 175. Italy, s. XV. Closely related to Naples VIII E 30 and the *editio princeps* of 1520. Waszink, pp. cxix, clxx.

25. ———, MS Canon. class. lat. 176. Italy, s. XV ex. Waszink, p. cxx.

*26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Par. lat. 6280. France, s. XI. Acquired by Petrarch in Avignon; annotated by him. Later in the library of the Visconti dukes of Milan. Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, new ed. (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), 1:127–150; Pellegrin, *Visconti*, p. 98; Waszink, p. cxx; Armando Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967), p. 126, no. 41; Klibansky, supplement, p. 70; S. Gentile, "Le Postille del Petrarca al *Timeo* latino," in *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell'umanesimo: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Firenze 9–22 maggio 1991*, 2 vols., published as *Quaderni Petrarqueschi 9–10* (1992–1993), 9:129–139; Dutton "Material Remains," p. 212; above, p. 80.

Auf p. Cant: 7. *ypzant*. 3. *dom*. 4. *Nov*. 6.

C. 1/2 *Geysane*. 7. *anim* *Geysant*.

globo consistat hōies etiam in ceteris errantibus tel.

Et iuxta se uero qd in alijs libris idem asserat al.

terna uice fungi munere aīas quibus temerarij

reij tutela mandatur ita ut que iam *stans*

fungentur munere primē ferantē in terrāq

post has in lunari glōbo ac demicep alijs glōbof

In luna
hōies

Figure 2.1

All plates are from Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," Ms VIII E 29; reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali of the Republic of Italy. Fol. 111r. With Pico's characteristic marginal sign. Top margin: "Animas primo creat, secundo applicat, tertio docet, quarto serat; quinto cadunt, sexto incorporantur, septimo animant corpus." Right margin: "In luna et in alia sydera homines esse." Cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 220, 10.

Plato quaedam uult providentia, quaedam fato, quaedam ex libero arbitrio, quaedam casu fieri.
 fore: Neq; n. uniforme nam se reze
 pensantur. Ita quaedam ex providen
 tum: quaedam ex decreto, nonnulla ex u
 te nra: nonnulla et ex uanitate for
 pleriq; casu que ut libet accidunt. Et

Figure 2.2

Fol. 92v. Left margin: "Plato quaedam uult providentia, quaedam fato, quaedam ex libero arbitrio, quaedam casu fieri." Cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 183, 15.

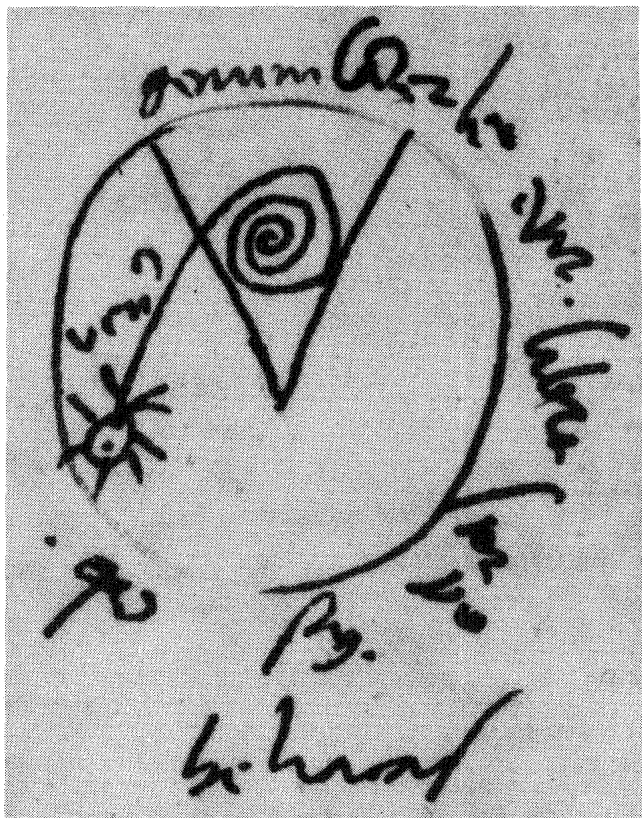


Figure 2.3

Fol. 69r. Pico's version of a Calcidian diagram explaining how the motions of the Same and the Different generate the spiral motion which in turn generates the illusion of contrary motion in the planets. Cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 162, 5.

*27. ———, Par. lat. 6281. Southern France or northern Italy, s. XII in. Coeval marginal and interlinear glosses by a grammarian. From the Visconti library. Pellegrin, *Visconti*, p. 99.

*28. ———, Par. lat. 6282. France, ss. XI–XII. Coeval interlinear and marginal glosses on the *Timaeus* and Calcidius; none by Cusanus. Owner's note of N<icolaus> Cusan<us>. Waszink, p. cxxi (s. XI med.).

*29. ———, Par. lat. 6283. France, s. XIII ex. No glosses but an *accessus* ("Capitulum universalis summe libri Platonis qui appellatur Thimeus") on fol. 1ra, *inc.* Osii Cordubensis episcopi rogatu. This *accessus* contains slight echoes of Bernard of Chartres's commentary. The manuscript also contains Cicero's partial translation of the *Timaeus* (*De essentia mundi*). Entered the Visconti library from the collection of Giacomo dalle Eredità and perhaps of Pasquino Capelli. Pellegrin, *Visconti*, p. 80; eadem, *Visconti, Supplément*, p. 14; Waszink, p. cxxi.

*30. ———, Par. lat. 7188. Normandy or England, s. XII in. No notes. "Ex bibliotheca Guilelmi Sacheti dono dedit Ael. Des Fontaines." Waszink, p. cxxi.

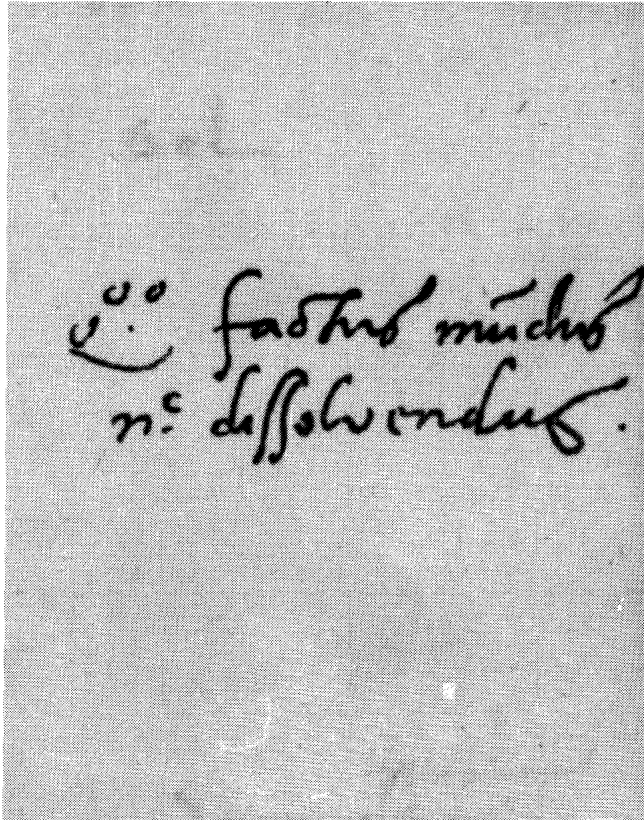


Figure 2.4

Fol. 25r. Pico's calligraphic hand. "Quomodo factus mundus nec dissolvendus." Cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 73, 5.

*31. ———, Par. lat. 8677. Italy, s. XV 3/4, round humanistic bookhand, Florentine decoration. Marginal notabilia. A note on the flyleaf reads: "Visto per me Francisco da Luza, 1469"; this is followed by the owner's note: "domini Nicolai Leoniceni." Waszink, p. cxxi.

*32. Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augustea, 717 (*olim* J 111). Italy, written in 1500; copied from a codex derived from no. 9, above. In addition to Calcidius' version of the *Timaeus* on fols. 132v–151r, as indicated by Waszink, the manuscript also contains an excerpt from Calcidius' commentary (= ed. Waszink, pp. 204, 5 *Principio dicamus cuncta quae sunt*–210, 2 *plurimum distat*). Waszink, p. cxxii; *Iter* 2:60.

*33. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library, MS Lat. 13. Florence s. XV ex. *Notabilia*, some in Greek; copied from a derivative of no. 9. Also contains cosmographical texts by pseudo-Aristotle (*De mundo*), Philo Judaeus, and Cleomedes. Waszink, p. cxxii; Norman Zacour et al., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p. 4.

*34. Recanati, Biblioteca della Casa Leopardi, MS 2 VIII F 7 (Libr. I rep. sup. C 119; *olim* LVII). Italy (Rome?), s. XV med., mbr., 103 leaves. Not s. XII, despite *Iter* and Waszink.

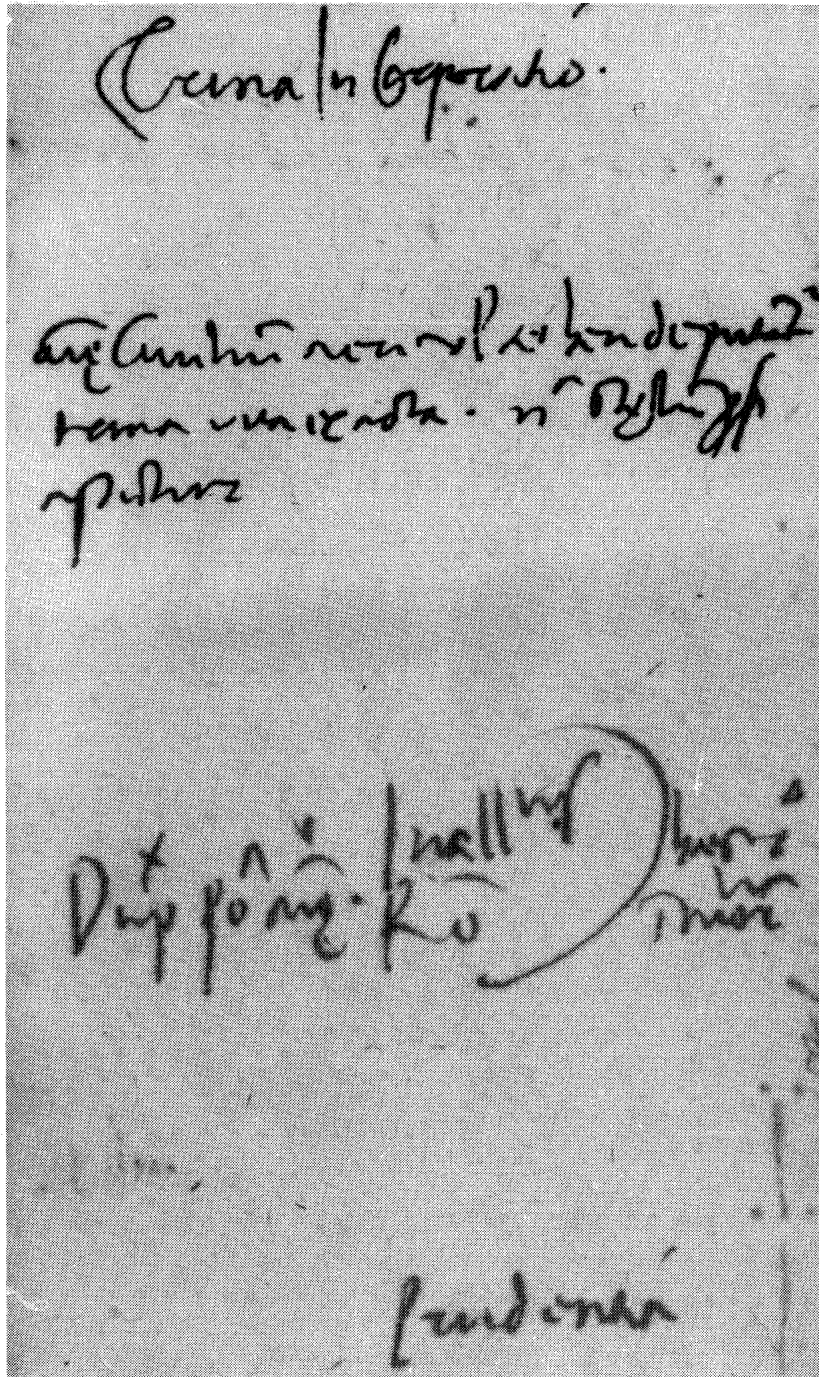


Figure 2.5

Fol. 89v. Left margin: “Trina incorporatio. animae ciuilium aeri vel aetheri deputantur trina vita exacta nec in caelum proficiscuntur. Duplex forma anime: intellectus, ratio: haec immortalia.” Cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 177, 10.

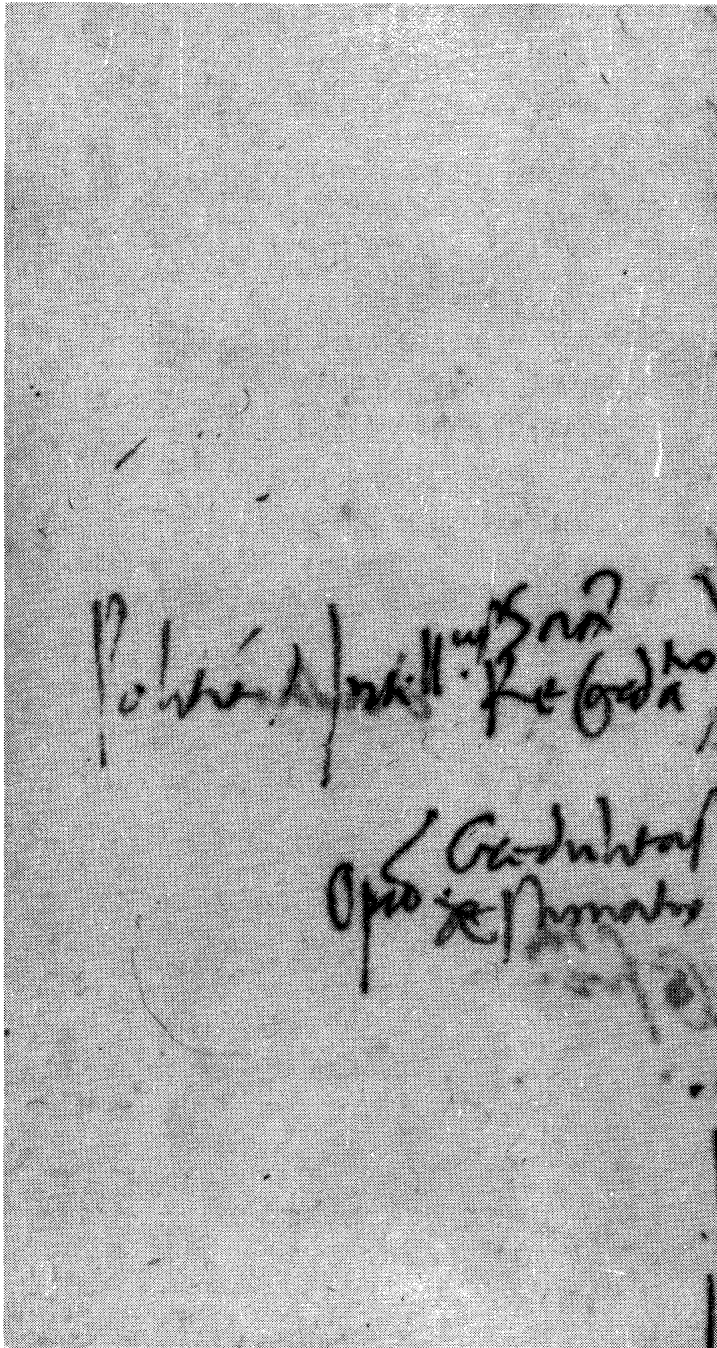


Figure 2.6

Fol. 167v. Pico notes Calcidius' version of the "Divided Line," Plato's account of the levels of cognition in *Republic* 6. 533D–534A. Cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 334, 20.

Politia:	Intellectus	Scientia
		Recordatio
	Opinio	Credulitas
		Aestimatio

Round humanistic bookhand, glosses in the hand of the scribe, large decorated initial (Paduan?). *Iter* 2:558–59; Waszink, p. clxxxvii; above, p. 83.

35. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 862. Italy, s. XV in. Written in Italy for Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre, who sent it to the chapter library of Reims Cathedral. Contains also Bruni's translations of Plato's *Gorgias* and *Phaedo*. Waszink, p. cxxiv; *Iter* 3:341; Hankins, *Plato*, 2:714. Fillastre's letter of transmission to the Chapter of Reims is edited in *ibid.* 2:496–497.

36. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. et philos. fol. 58. Written by Baptista Augustensis in Padua in 1470; contains the glosses of the Paduan Master as well as Bruni's translations of Plato's *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Crito*. Waszink, p. cxxv; *Iter* 3:701; Berti, pp. 152–162; Hankins, *Plato*, 2:719; Dutton, "Material Remains," p. 225.

*37. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Arch s. Petri H 51. S. XII. Numerous twelfth-century glosses. Owned by Cardinal Giordano Orsini; entered the Vatican collection by 1436. Waszink, p. cxii; Jeuneau, *Lectio*, pp. 195–200; Giovanni Mercati, *Codices Latini Pico Grimani Pio* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938), p. 147.

*38. ———, MS Barb. lat. 21. Two parts: the part containing the *Timaeus* is French, s. XII; that containing Calcidius' commentary is "perhaps Italian" (Pellegrin), s. XI. Glosses of the eleventh, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries on the *Timaeus* and on Calcidius. One of the fifteenth-century hands has been identified by José Ruyschaert as that of Pierleone da Spoleto, physician of Lorenzo de' Medici and a member of Ficino's circle. The second part of the codex comes from the Franciscan convent in Siena, and is the source for nos. 1, above, and 47, below, according to Waszink. José Ruyschaert, "Nouvelles recherches au sujet de la bibliothèque de Pier Leoni, médecin de Laurent le Magnifique," *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5th ser., 46 (1960): 50, no. 3; Waszink, p. cix; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 1:72; Dutton, "Material Remains," p. 207; James Hankins, "Pierleone da Spoleto on Plato's *Psychogony* (Glosses on the *Timaeus* in Barb. lat. 21)," in *Roma, magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire* (Louvain-la-Neuve: F.I.D.E.M., 1998), 3:337–348.

*39. ———, MS Chis. E V 156. Italy, s. XV, Italian gothica formata. Owned by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, bishop of Pienza (el. 1484). R. Avesani, "Per la biblioteca d'Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini," in *Mélanges Tisserant*, 6:43; Waszink, p. cxii; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 1:261 (ss. XIV or XV).

*40. ———, MS Chis. E VI 194. Italy, s. XV, round humanistic script, vine-stem initials. Owned and probably written for Alessandro Sforza, signore of Pesaro (1409–1473). The codex was copied from Petrarch's codex, no. 26, above. Waszink, p. cxii (where the owner is falsely identified as Cardinal Ascanio Sforza); Pellegrin, *Visconti, Supplément*, p. 62; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 1:262.

*41. ———, MS Ottob. lat. 1516. S. XII or XIII in., brought to Italy by the fourteenth century. Scattered *notabilia* in an Italian hand of the sixteenth century. Waszink, p. cxx; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 1:603.

*42. ———, MS Reg. lat. 1114. Italian, s. XIV or XV. Short glosses and notabilia in two hands, one a Venetian hand similar to (but not identical with) that of Bernardo Bembo. From the Jesuit house in Venice. Waszink, p. cxxiv; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 2.1:145.

*43. ———, MS Urb. lat. 203. Written for the condottiere and book collector Federico d'Urbino. Derived from no. 13, above. Waszink, p. cxxvi; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 2.2:525.

*44. ———, MS Vat. lat. 1544. Written in Italy ca. 1470 by Nicolaus Antonii de Montelpero, Lombard script. Rubricated *notabilia* and diagrams in a second hand. Owned by Nicolaus Modrussiensis, a Dalmatian humanist who worked mostly in Italy. This MS may have been one of those used by the editors of the *editio princeps* of Calcidius printed in Paris in 1520. Waszink, p. cxxvii; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 3.1:116.

*45. ———, MS Vat. lat. 2063. Italy, s. XIV. Contains a glossary commentary virtually identical with that found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 278; about a quarter of the glosses are derived from Bernard of Chartres's commentary. Sent to Coluccio Salutati by Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna (1343–1408); owned by Salutati and later by Pope Nicholas V. Waszink, p. cxxvii; Tullio Gregory, *Platonismo medievale: Studi e ricerche*, Studi storici 26–27 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1958), pp. 88–89; Claudio Leonardi, *Codices Vaticani latini, Codices 2060–2117* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1987), pp. 7–9; Pellegrin, *Vaticane*, 3.1:510–511; Antonio Manfredi, *I codici latini di Niccolò V* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), p. 374, no. 596; Dutton, *Bernard*, pp. 292–295.

*46. ———, MS Vat. lat. 3348. Florence, s. XV med., copied by Piero Strozzi from no. 15, above. Also contains all of Bruni's translations from Plato. Waszink, p. cxxvii; Hankins, *Plato*, 2:729, no. 339.

*47. ———, MS Vat. lat. 4037. Italy, s. XV ex., copied from no. 38, above. Contains also the Latin works of Cardinal Bessarion, written by the same scribe, and Lilio Tifernate's translation of ps.-Timaeus Locrus. Waszink, p. cxxvii; John Monfasani, "Bessarion Latinus," *Rinascimento* 21 (1981): 167, 173–175, 185–188, 196–204.

*48. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Zan. lat. 469 (coll. 1856). Italy, s. XIV ex., written by four Italian gothic hands, I + 144 + I leaves. The glosses on fols. 1r–14v are in the hand of Antonius de Romagno de Feltro (signed, fols. 14v, 58r, 95r). Fol. 58r has the note, in Antonius' hand: "Excusetur scriptor si in locis compluribus liber iste corruptus inveniatur. Sumpsit enim ab exemplari cuius summa emendatio erat esse corruptissimum." On fol. 144v there are a few notes regarding Antonius' family history. The codex later belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. Waszink, p. cxvii; see above, p. 81, and below, appendix 2.A.

*49. ———, MS Marc. lat. VI 137 (coll. 2853). Italy, s. XV. Scattered notes in a fifteenth-century hand. Owned by the philosopher Giacomo Zabarella (1533–1589). Waszink, p. cxviii.

*50. ———, MS Marc lat. XIV 54 (coll. 4328), fol. 101r–v. Eight excerpts from the *Timaeus*, called "Alegabilia dicta collecta ex Thymeo Platonis," in the hand of Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444) and dated "in Justinopoli, anno domini 1388, die VII a Septembris." The excerpts correspond to *Timaeus* 42A (Waszink, p. 37, 1–20), 42E (*ibid.*, p. 38,

6–9), 44A (ibid., p. 40, 1–16), 44D (ibid., pp. 40, 19–41, 13), 47A–D (ibid., pp. 44, 4–45, 8), 48C–E (ibid., p. 46, 2–9), 51E (ibid., p. 50, 9–10). The variants suggest that the codex may have been copied from Petrarch’s manuscript or a close relative. *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. Leonardo Smith (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1934), pp. lxxiv, 4, 12, 492, with a plate of fol. 101v; Waszink, p. clxxxviii; *Iter* 2:264.

51. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2269. S. XIII in. Owned by “Petrus Mocenico dei gratia dux Venetiarum” (doge 1474–1476). Waszink, p. cxxvi.

Index of Owners, Scribes, and Glossators

Acquaviva, Matteo III d’, 23
 Antonius de Romagno de Feltro, 48
 Assisi, Franciscan convent, 2
 Baptista Augustensis, 36
 Barzizza, Gasparino, 19
 Barzizza, Guiniforte, 19
 Bernard of Chartres, 11, 12, 15, 29, 45
 Bessarion, Cardinal, 48
 Bruni, Leonardo, 13
 Capelli, Pasquino (?), 29
 Conversini, Giovanni, da Ravenna, 45
 Federico d’Urbino, 43
 Fichet, Guillaume, 4
 Ficino, Marsilio, 17
 Fillastre, Cardinal Guillaume, 35
 Florence, Monastery of SS. Annunziata, 10
 Francisco de Luza, 31
 Giacomo dalle Eredità, 29
 Grimani, Cardinal Marino (?), 20
 Guarino Veronese (?), 22
 Leoniceno, Niccolò, 31
 Medici library, Florence, 8, 9
 Medici, Lorenzo de’, 8
 Mocenigo, Piero, 51
 Niccoli, Niccolò, 11, 12, 13, 14
 Nicholas of Cusa, 16, 28
 Nicholas V, Pope, 45
 Nicolaus Antonii de Montelpero, 44
 Nicolaus Modrussiensis, 44
 Orsini, Cardinal Giordano, 37

- “Paduan Master,” 3, 18, 36
 Parrhasius, Janus, 19
 Patrizi Piccolomini, Agostino, 39
 Paul III, Pope, 20
 Petrarch, Francesco, 26
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, 20
 Pierleone da Spoleto, 38
 “Recanati Master,” 34
 Reims cathedral chapter, 35
 Sabadinus, Franciscus, 6
 Sacchetti, Guglielmo, 30
 Salutati, Coluccio, 45
 San Marco library, Florence, 11, 12, 13, 14
 Schedel, Hartmann, 18
 Seripandi, Antonio, 19
 Sforza, Alessandro, 40
 Siena, Franciscan convent, 38
 Stolberger, Heinrich, 18
 Strozzi, Piero, 15, 46
 Vatican library (ss. XV–XVI), 37–47
 Venice, Jesuit house, 42
 Vergerio, Pier Paolo, 50
 Visconti library, Milan, 26, 27, 29
 Vitus, Donnus, 23
 William of Conches, 10, 12, 15
 Zabarella, Giacomo, 49

APPENDIX 2 EXTRACTS FROM RENAISSANCE GLOSSES ON THE *TIMAEUS*

A. Antonius de Romagno

Source: Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Zan. lat. 469 (1856). See appendix 1, no. 48. The edges of the folios have been cropped by the binder, resulting in the loss of parts of the text; conjectural restorations of the text are indicated by angle brackets.

Antonius de Romagno’s *Accessus* to the *Timaeus*

/fol. 1r/ Quoniam quidem in huius operis principio quid inquiratur notare debemus, quis sit modus tractandi prius prelibare temptemus. Plato Socratem magistrum suum imitatur ne dispositissimis verbis suis dissentire videatur. Nanque Socrates cum de republica

tractare disposuerit, <ad> eius statum pertractandum virtutes necessarias repperit ceterisque virtutibus in eiusdem reipublice statu et regimine iusticiam prevalere cognovit, excellen<tia> eius eminentie persuasionibus suis ciuitatum rectores admovit. Est autem iusticia qua unicuique quod iustum est redditur servata communi utilitate <et conven>ientia, cuius adhibita reipublice status liberaliter disponitur. Volens igitur Socrates de republica tractare, de iusticia populari, id est consuetudinaria, in quodam volumine suo diu diserere non permisit, cuius tractatum reipublice statui commodissimum in decem libros diuisit. Sed quia scilicet in nulla ciuitate reipublice statum bene regi percepit, cuiusdam reipublice effigiem sibi ad tractandum suscepit. Quandam enim ciuitatem, non ut realiter esset, sed sola mentis consideratione sapienter edificauit in qua quomodo prelati, quomodo subditi et quodlibet genus hominum unum sequi deberet pre ordin<e quolibet>, quomodo respublica in qualibet ciuitate regenda esset manifestauit. Et quemadmodum Socrates sibi quandam ciuitatem effigiauit cuius similitudine reipublice statum tenendum esse uoluit, ita Plato mundi artificem introducens quendam archetipum mundum in mente sua disposuisse dicit, ad cuius similitudinem mundus iste sensilis factus fuerit.

Quoniam vero Socrates de iusticia populari, idest consuetudinaria, tantum tractauerat et ideo de iusticia ad plenum non dixerat, quia unde procederet iusticia popularis querebatur et ideo oportebat ut ad iusticiam naturalem que mater est eiusdem aperiendam ascenderet, uoluit Plato quod Socrates magister suus intactum reliquerat suscipere, idest de iusticia naturali disserere. Est autem iusticia naturalis per quam homines quod iustum est faciunt, non seruili timore sed filiali amore, que unde sit, inde in <an>gelis nulli dubium est. Et quia de naturali iusticia prius tractare disposuit ut dei iusticiam demonstraret, oportuit <demonstrare quod> deus hunc mundum et omnia que in mundo sunt, dando unicuique quod suum est, iuste creauit. Asserit nanque quod quemadmodum <deus> in sua dispositione nichil ordinauit iniuste, sed omnia dando unicuique quod suum est iuste formauit, ita unusquisque homo suo in opere quod iustum est debet facere, unicuique quod suum est dando.

Duabus de causis Platoni visum est oportunum dei iusticiam demonstrare, tum quia tempus ostendere uoluit in quo naturalis iusticia hominum maxime ualuit, scilicet quando statim facto mundo primum homo in seculum floruit, vel quia dei iusticiam ad argumentum hominibus induxit. Et quia hoc negocium erat valde difficile, nolluit Plato sibi ascribere hoc opus more sapientum causa euitande arrogantie, et ne videretur magistro suo se uelle preferre, quia susceperat id agendum quod magister suus intactum reliquerat, ergo Thimeo cuidam suo discipulo hoc opus ascripsit, quia illum magis quam se ipsum laudari uoluit.

Hunc autem librum P<latonis> Calcidius de greco in latinum transtulit, quem persuasione Osii pape transferre sibi commisisse librum suum valde commendabilem reddit, cum vir tante auctoritatis hoc opus sibi iniunxerit, quod nunquam sibi iniunxisset nisi illum hoc posse perficere cognouisset.

Intentio huius libri est de naturali iusticia tractare, persuadendo hominibus secundum eam vivere. Materia est ipsa iusticia, causa <vero> intentionis est utilitas et fructus iusticie, <ideoque> ethice supponitur. Sed secundum hoc quod tractat de inuisibilibus, idest de consonantiis, supponitur phisice.

Videndum est quod Calcidius premitit quendam prologum more recte scribentium in quo reddit lectores attentos, dociles et beni<volos>, in quo quidem prologo dum Osii pape captat benivolentiam, eius commendat sapientiam.

Antonius de Romagno's Dependence on Bernard of Chartres

1. Bernard of Chartres, ed. Dutton, pp. 183–184, 11. 276–281. *Sed animal* (37D).

Vult accedere ad genituram temporis, ut ostendat quod sicut mundus intelligibilis est aevo coaequaeuus, ita hic sensibilis tempori, et sicut hic mundus est imago illius, ita tempus est imago aeui. Continuatio. Immortalis genuit sensilem mundum, cuius natura non aequatur aevo, *sed natura animalis*, id est *animal*, *quod generale*, id est intelligibilis mundus, *aevo*, id est aeternitati, *exaequatur*.

Antonius de Romagno, MS cit., fol. 8r, right margin.

Ut ostenderet quod sicut mundus intelligibilis est coequeuus aevo, ita hic sensilis tempori, et sicut hic mundus est ymago illius, ita tempus est ymago eui; coequeuuum immortale genuit sensilem [im]mortalem etiam, cuius tamen natura non equatur evo, sed tempori.

2. Bernard of Chartres, ed. Dutton, p. 146, 11. 21–42. *Unus, duo, tres* (17A).

Nam subtracto quarto, remanent partes quae coniunctae faciunt primum perfectum numerum, id est sex, et ideo a perfecto incipit, ut notet perfectionem operis. Vel ideo quartum uoluit abesse, quia tractaturus erat de anima, quae ex tribus primis consonantiis primo loco figuratur constare, scilicet diatessaron, diapente, diapason. Vel ideo quia in his tribus numeris magna uis perpenditur, unitas enim fons est omnium numerorum: binarius et ternarius primi sunt qui in se ipsos et alter in alterum multiplicati firmam faciunt connexionem, sicut bis bini bis, ter terni ter, bis bini ter, ter terni bis. Quae tam firma et solida conexio praesenti operi de mundi genitura agenti bene conuenit, quod per tres auditores notatur. Si uero Socratem cum tribus consideres, quattuor sunt, in quo numero omnes musicas consonantias uel proportiones inuenies. Duo enim ad unum duplus est, scilicet diapason; tres ad duo sesquialter, id est diapente; quattuor ad tres sesquitercius, id est diatessaron; ad unum idem quattuor quadruplus, id est bis diapason. Quibus simphoniis mundi fabricam constructam esse docebit. Non sine causa ergo quartus auditor subtractus est. Hunc quartum dicunt fuisse in re Platonem, qui pro magistri reuerentia se subtraxit, ne uideretur se illi praeferre, si suppleret quod magister non poterat. Sed totum in significantia melius uidetur esse dictum.

Antonius de Romagno, MS cit., fol. 2r. *Unus, duo, tres*.

Quartus defuit non sine causa quia a senario numero incipit qui est perfectus, idest per partes eius. Realiter, ut quidam dicunt, quartum querebat scilicet Eudigedium,¹ sed inuenire non potuit: vel quia quartum <fuis>se Platonem, sed arrogantiam vitando se ponere nolluit, ne uideretur preferri magistro suo, uidelicet Socrati.

Vel sub integumento *unus duo tres* posuit et non [sine] quartum,² ut perfectionem in suo opere designaret, ponendo quasdam numeri partes quibus aggregatis perfectus numerus constituitur, scilicet senarium. Et dicitur perfectus quia diuiditur in partes equaliter quibus aggregatis ipse redditur perfectus numerus. Diuiditur enim in duos ternarios et tres binarios et sex unitates equaliter, quibus adiunctis ipse perfectus existit, nam unum et duo et tres senarium perficiunt, nec plus nec minus reddunt.

Vel ut firmam ac solidam complexionem rerum denotaret, que firma et solida rerum complexio presenti operi, scilicet agenti de genitura mundi, bene conueniret, et hoc facit ponendo principium numerorum, uidelicet unitatem et ipsos primos et cubicos numeros: qui primi et cubici dicuntur quia in se ipsis duplicati, vel <quia> unus in alterum firmam et solidam rerum complexionem denotant. Harum proportione notata ad ipsa elementa quibus omnia colligantur <referuntur>. Unde Boetius in libro De consolatione:

Tu numeris elementa ligas,* in seipsis duplicati, ut bis bini bis et ter terni ter; unus in alterum, ut bis bini ter et ter terni bis.

Vel ideo ut se ostenderet principaliter velle tractare de anima que ex tribus primis consonantiis figuratiter dicitur constare, scilicet dyatesseron, dyapente et diapason.

Vel idcirco potius ut notaret se disserere de exemplari iusticia, hoc est naturali, unde Macrobius:** *Quattuor sunt quaternarum genera virtutum*, idest que quattuor modis tractantur. Nam alia *politica*, idest que tractatur civili modo, et alia *purgatoria*, idest illa <qua> homines cum adhuc sunt in mundo, mori iam mundo cupiunt; alia *animi iam purgati*, scilicet qua solum rimantur celestia et nil terrenum desid<erant>, ut illa que fuit in Paulo Heremita; alia *exemplaris* que est divina essentia. Et de hac in hoc libro intendit Plato.

Notes

¹*scil.* Euthydemum

²quare *MS*

*Boethius, *Cons.*, *metrum* 3.9.10

**Macrobius, *In somn. Cic.* 1.8.5.

Antonius de Romagno on Matter and the Elements

/fol. 13v/ Ostendit superius multis rationibus et similitudinibus hilen propria forma carere. Nunc autem vult dicere nec terram nec aerem nec aliquid ex visibilibus creaturis nec etiam pura elementa esse matrem facti, sed quod factum visibiles et invisibiles creaturas comprehendit. . . . Matrem vero totius creature ait esse quandam informem capacitatem positam intra nullam et aliquam substantiam, que cum sit inter hec duo tam discreta, idest nullam et aliquam, hec¹ non nulla erit quia erit aliqua, idest informis, nec aliqua erit formatorum. Sicut cum inter album et nigrum medium ponimus, illud nec album nec nigrum dicimus, sed medium. Ait etiam illam nec plane intelligibilem propter formas receptas [i.e., because it has not received forms], nec plane sensibilem, idest sensibus subiacere, sed etiam talem que videtur intelligi per ea que variantur in ipsa. Et concludit dicendo, ergo, quia nulla propria species sensibilis est² <ei> tribuenda et hec sola inter elementa pura est, ipsa tantum mater totius facti dici debet.

Diceret aliquis: non est verum quod hec elementa omnium non sint mater. Quod removet Plato dicendo: Que sunt partes illius immutabiles rei, si illa que sine parte est in se pars dici potest?

/fol. 14r/ Aliquis fortasse diceret quod essentia hyles verteretur in essentiam idee et econtrario, sed hoc est falsum, quia numquam essentia unius in alterius essentiam vertitur.

Esse et fuisse (52D): idest erunt et fuerunt ante sensibilem mundum hec tria, scilicet existens idest idea, et locus idest hyles, et generatum idest pura quattuor elementa potentialiter generata, idest formata hile.

Quia hile semper erit, igitur omniformis videtur, et nutricula totius generationis.

Notes

¹Nec *MS*

²est sensibilis *MS*

(Other passages from this commentary are cited in notes 27 and 29.)

B. The Recanati Master

Source: Recanati, Biblioteca Leopardiana, MS 2 VIII F 7 (Libr. I rep., sup. C 119). See appendix 1, no. 34. As this manuscript is difficult of access and photographs are not at present permitted, it seems desirable to give here a complete edition of the glosses.

- 20A Timeus Locrensis. (10v)
- 22B Quare nullus e Grecia senex. (16v)
- 27C Nota quod etiam antiquorum consuetudo fuit in cuiuslibet operis principio divinitatis auxilium inuocare. (30v)
Nota de quibus intendit tractare. (30v)
- 27D Inuocatio auxilii predicti. (30v)
Hic incipit explanare suam intentionem de quibus intendit edicere, diuidens librum. (31r)
- 28B *Omne igitur celum uel mundus.* Subaudi: factus est ex aliqua legitima causa, quandoquidem supra dictum est quod nil fit cuius ortum <ex> causa legitima non procedat. (32r)
- 28C Omnium deus est a<u>ctor nec a nobis inuenitur nec digne laudatur. (33r)
- 29D Nota quare deus mundum fecerit. (36r)
- 29E Nota quod dei voluntas omnis boni est causa nulliusque mali, quin immo cuncta quae ad malum tendere uidentur ex nature mobilitate ad bonum reducit suo ordine. (36v)
- 30B Mundus est animatus anima intellectuali. (37v)
- 30C Hic probat quod mundus perfectus creatus est et quod est tantum unus et non plures. (38r)
- 31B Ignis et terra sunt fundamenta mundi. (39v)
- 31C Hic probat quod necesse fuit ut quattuor essent elementa. (40r)
- 32A Hic probat quod sicut est de toto mundo, ita de ipsius partibus: existunt enim ex quattuor elementis. (41r)
- 32B Hic est conclusio: quod constat ex quattuor elementis. (41v)
- 32C Preter dei uoluntatem mundus dissolui non potest. (42r)
- 33A Ex diuina prouidentia mundus regitur. (42v)
[next to a diagram:] Per istud cognoscimus quomodo elementa coniungantur. (43v)
- 33B Mundus est rotundus et a centro ad omnes partes equalis. (44r)
- 33C Hic probat quod licet mundus sit admodum animalis, tamen membris non indiget. (44r)
- 34A Sufficit mundo motus circularis. (45r)
- 34B Deus fecit mundum summe perfectum, ita quod nihilo preter eum <indiget>. (46r)
- 34C Deus constituit animam nobilitate presse corporee nature. (46v)
- 36D Orbis contrario motu rotant ut septem planete a firmamento opposite uertuntur. (50v)

- 37A Deus omnia intuetur atque prescit. (52r)
- 37C Ex beneficiis nobis a deo impensis noster intellectus hillaescit et ad sui conditoris complacentiam studet. (53r)
- 37D Facto euo deus tempus constituit et eius partes, utputa annum, diem, mensem, septimam et horam, sed euo et tempori habitus est qua re euum est continuum non habens partes, tempus autem partium diuersitatem sortitur. Amplius euum est mensura simplicium substantiarum et in eorum partibilitatem, tempus uero mensura est corruptibilium. Item euum creatum est cum anima mundi, sed tempus cum motu celi qui est mensura ipsius et ipsum eius atque creatum celo. (53v)
- 38B Hic sensibilis mundus similis intellectuali. (55r)
- 38C Nota quare facte sunt stelle erratice, equidem ut temporis partes narrentur. (55v)
- 38D Nota locationem septem planetarum. (56r)
Explicare ornatum celi difficile est ipso opere. (56v)
- 39B Achantus arbor est que folia habet in speram versa. (58r)
Nota quod sol illuminat omnia que infra celum sunt. (58v)
- 39C A<d> septem planetarum aliarum<que> stellarum discursus non notat uulgus, ex quibus diuersitas euentuum fit. (59r)
- 39D Cum sol aliaque sydera compleuerit cursum, iterum circuunt ut annus tempusque continuetur. (59v)
- 39E Non obstante quod mundus intelligibilis esset, sensibilem mundum fecit deus. (60v).
Cum opifex deus aliquid facere uult, ideas respicit. (60v)
Nota quattuor quae fecit deus. (61r)
- 40A Nota ornamentum celi. (61v)
- 40B Sydera que sunt in octavo orbe semper sunt in eodem statu. (62v)
Nota quod terra est mater terrenorum custosque poli diei et noctis. (63r)
- 40C Circulatio stellarum. (63r)
Occultatio eadem debet. (64r)
- 40D Diuinarum potestatum ratio assignari non potest, ideo credendum est diuinis hominibus et coticibus. (64v)
- 40E Nota quod antiqui posuerunt filios deum quibus credi debent. Sed apud nos sancti uiri intelligi debent huiusmodi. (65r)
Enumerat hos filios deum. (65v)
- 41B Nota de innouatione mundi. (67r)
- 41C Loquitur in persona dei. (67r)
- 41D Ad beatam uitam. (68v)
Resurrectio uniuersalis. (69r)
Anime electe ad eternam uitam. (69v)
- 42A Vincendo carnis uicia habebimus uitam beatam. (70r)
- 42D Curam hominum angelis dedit deus. (72v)
- 44C Infernus. (78v)
- 44D Formatio humani corporis. (78v)
Nota de capite. (79r)

- 45B Oculi et quare dati sunt. (80v)
 45C Quomodo creatur uisio. (81v)
 45D Quare non uidemus de nocte. (82v)
 45E De imaginibus que apparent in speculis et in liquidis. (83r)
 46D Nota quod licet corpora recipiant peregrinas impressiones, tamen non prospiciunt, sed sola anima sentit ipsaque habet rationem, intellectum et prudentiam. (85r)
 47A Nota de uisu. (86v)
 47B Maximum beneficium est uisus. (87v)
 Nota bene quare datus est uisus hominibus. (87v)
 47C Quare datus est auditus et sermo hominibus. (88r)
 48A Hic nota de mundo sensibili. (89v)
 48D Inuocatio dei. (91r)
 48E Tres mundos ponit: intelligibilem et exemplarem et sensibilem. (91v)
 49B Nota stabilitas est in naturalibus corporibus. (92v)
 49C Generatio et corruptio elementorum. (93r)
 49D Nota stabilitatem habent que in mundo sunt. (94r)
 50A Similitudo. (94r)
 50B Prima materia omnia recipit in se. (95v)
 50C Hic epilogat iam dicta, scilicet unum quod gignitur, aliud in quo gignitur atque <aliud> ad cuius similitudinem gignitur. (96v)

C. The Paduan Master

Source: Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica “Angelo Mai,” MS MA 350. See appendix 1, no. 3.

The Paduan Master’s Dependence on Calcidius and “Chartrian” Sources

1. (Glossing Calcidius’ preface, ed. Waszink, p. 5, 1)

Osius Hispaniensis episcopus hunc librum, uidens latinis profuturum quia ex eo pendent omnes sententie philosophorum, rogauit Calcidium archidiaconum suum ut hunc transferret. Qui cum transtulisset hanc partem misit ei, cum hac epistola in qua commendat amicitiam, uirtuti eam conferendo quia sicut uirtus uel res quasi impossibilem ad possibilem redigit, sic et amicitia.

Compare to Bernard of Chartres in Dutton, *Bernard*, p. 142, 9–10, and to the glosses in a twelfth-century manuscript from Mont-Saint-Michel (Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 226), edited in Jauneau, *Lectio*, p. 226.

2. (Glossing *Tim.* 17A, *Unus duo tres*)

A numero incipit quia numerus est exemplar et origo omnium et ipse est tractaturus de archetipo mundo qui est exemplar totius sensibilis mundi.

Plato de iusticia sub quorundam philosophorum personis, id est Socratis, Thymeis et Critie et Hermocratis egit, primo in persona Socratis de politica, id est de ea que ciuitatis dicitur positua. Quod utique decem libris illis fecit quos de republica composuit. Ad quem tamen tractatum ex consequenti descendit quia principaliter de iusticia quesitum

est, quam Trasimachus orator diffinierat eam esse que huic prodesset qui plurimum posset. Contra quem Socrates diffiniuit eam esse pocius que his prodesset qui minimum posset. Que ut non ex unius hominis ingenio sed illustriori urbis exemplo spectaretur, quandam urbis depinxit ymaginem que iustis institutis et moribus regeretur, a quibus, si quando degeneraret, improspera atque [in]exitiabilis huic morum mutacio fieret.

Compare to Calcidius' commentary, ed. Waszink, p. 59, 3–13.

3. (Glossing *Tim.* 22C, *Sed est uera*)

Sed uera est quia calor sole natus quasi filius solis, paulatim crescendo et humori prevalendo exhustionem immittit; sic emissio, humori paulatim crescendo et calori prevalendo diluuium gignit.

This naturalistic explanation for the Flood is extremely close to a twelfth-century gloss published by Jeuneau (*Lectio*, p. 196) from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Arch. S. Petri H 51 (see appendix 1, no. 37).

4. (Glossing *Tim.* 23E, *utramque urbem*)

Minerva condidit utramque ciuitatem, id est naturalem et humanam, et *educauit* moribus et *instituit* legibus. Condidit *uestram priorem fere mille annis*, quasi fortasse parum defuit annis dico computatis, *ex indigente agro et Vulcanio semine*, idest ex illo tempore ex quo Vulcanus nimio amore succensus cum ea concubere uoluit, sed semen ea fugiente in terram cecidit, unde Erictonius fuit natus. *Hanc uero nostram post octo mille annorum*, sicut *continetur in sacris apicibus*. Indigentes uocantur indigene, quasi inde geniti, et uocat indigere agrum, quasi matrem Vulcanii seminis, et potest intelligi duobus modis quod dicitur de annis: uel quod illa ciuitas fere mille annis facta fuisse antequam Vulcanus in terram semen fundaret, uel quod post effusionem illius seminis fere mille <annis> facta fuit.

This gloss is dependent both on Bernard (ed. Dutton, *Bernard*, pp. 152, ll. 194 ff., 153, ll. 211 ff.) and the Vatican glosses published by Jeuneau (*Lectio*, p. 196).

5. (Glossing *Tim.* 24E)

Atlas mons est in occidente inter quem et Calpen oceanus terram intrat et uocatur mediterraneum. Et quia posset queri quomodo illa gens poterat ex Athlantico uenire quod non est commeabile, respondit quod *Tunc erat commeabile*. Nam insulam in ore sinus, id est recurationis, habebat, et sic per illam et per alias insulas que erant in eodem mari illic tunc iter agentibus patebat comeatum usque ad defectum illarum insularum, id est ad initium continentis terre, id est continue, que uicina Athlantico, quia fretum diuiditur angusto littore in quo apparent uestigia ueteris portus.

The first part of this gloss is closely related, again, to the Mont-Saint-Michel glosses edited by Jeuneau (*Lectio*, p. 220). The rest is a back formation from the text of the *Timaeus* itself, which also postulates an archipelago of islands linking Atlantis with the Pillars of Hercules.

D. Marsilio Ficino

A placita philosophorum on Matter and the Elements

Source: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS S 14 sup., fols. 90v–91r. See appendix 1, no. 17. The *placita* is written into the margins of Ficino's text of Calcidius (= Waszink, p. 287, 2).

The *placita* is compiled mostly from Diogenes Laertius and from Calcidius himself. It is noteworthy that Ficino here follows Diogenes Laertius in assimilating Plato's views on matter to Aristotle's.

fol. 90v/ Plato et Filolaus habuerunt eandem opinionem; quere Laertium.* Opiniones de materia. Ignis: Eraclitus. Aer et infinitus: Anaximenes et Anaximander. Aqua: Tales, Homerus. Medium inter prima, primo. Medium inter 2a. Medium inter 3a. Quattuor elementa: Empedocles. Totum quod est et finitum: Parmenides. Totum quod est et infinitum: Xenophanes. Totum quod est sed non unum, immo in atomas divisum: Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus. Totum quod est sed confusum omne in omnibus: Anaxagoras. Informis capacitas: Pictagoras, Plato, Aristoteles, Stoici.

Anaxagoras Clazomenius Anaximenis auditor. Tales Milesius. Anaximenes Milesius Anaximandri auditor. Anaximander Milesius Taletis auditor. Archelaus Atheniensis sive Milesius Anaxagore auditor; materiam dixit esse frigidum agens calidum. Eraclitus Ephesius nullius discipulus.** Xenophanes Colophonius Archelai auditor. Parmenides auditor Xenophanis; duo putant principia, ignem et humum: illum agens, hanc materiam.*** Mellissus Samius Parmenidis auditor: hoc omne dixit esse immutabile, immobile et infinitum unum, a quo Plato multa sumpsit, maxime hoc, quod mundus esset animal unum.# Zeno Eleates, Melissi auditor, idem dixit.

/fol. 91r/ Leucippus Eleates vel Abderites Zenonis huius auditor. Democritus Abderites Leucippi auditor. Diogenes Appolloniates, Anaximenis auditor, elementum dixit aerem, mundos infinitos, et inane infinitum. Anaxagoras posuit materiam esse infinita corpora omoiegenia que semper sunt, simul permixta, et numquam sit perfecta discretio, sed talis ut hoc magis apparent unum quam aliud. Democritus infinita corpora individua. Trismegistus, Pittagoras, Philolaus, Numenius, Plato et Aristoteles, Stoici de materia idem dixerunt.

Notes

*cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 2–3.

**Ibid. 9. 5.

***Ibid. 9. 21–22.

#cf. Calcidius, ed. Waszink, p. 285, 10–12.

List of Manuscripts Not in Appendix 1

Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 226

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
Aldovrandi 56, vol. II

Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale
4 C A 2.80

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
Magl. XII 11
Nazionale II I 105
Palatino 1024, vol. II

London, British Library

Add. 11274

Add. 19968

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

F 19 sup.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

lat. 12948

lat. 14716

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Arch. s. Petri H 51

Chigi E V 152

Reg. lat. 1308

Urb. lat. 1389

Vat. lat. 5223

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana

Zan. lat. 225 (1870)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

278

NOTES

For abbreviations used in the notes, see appendix 1.

1. The *accessus* to the 1363 commentary was published in Jauneau, *Lectio*, pp. 200–202; the same text was later republished in Klibansky, supplement, pp. 66–67.

2. On the Platonic revival of the fifteenth century, see my *Plato*.

3. Dutton, “Material Remains,” pp. 205–206. I am grateful to Prof. Dutton for allowing me to consult his article in proof. The present essay is intended to supplement Dutton’s study, which deals primarily with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

4. For detailed information on the manuscripts discussed, see appendix 1.

5. On Forzetta’s important collection, see Luciano Gargan, “Il Preumanesimo a Vicenza, Treviso e Venezia,” in *Storia della cultura veneta* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), 2:168–170. That Forzetta owned two copies of the *Timaeus* is known from a surviving inventory, but the codices have not yet been identified with any manuscripts in modern collections.

6. Pierleone’s few, but interesting, glosses on the *Timaeus* discuss Aristotle’s claim in *De anima* 1.3 that Plato had attributed “magnitude” to the soul, and defend Calcidius’ understanding of the substance of soul as a *tertium quid* between First and Second Substance (*Tim.* 34E–35A) against Themistius and other Greek commentators. See James Hankins, “Pierleone da Spoleto on Plato’s Psychogony (Glosses on the *Timaeus* in Barb. lat. 21),” in *Roma, magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l’occasion de son 75e anniversaire* (Louvain-la-Neuve: F.I.D.E.M., 1998), 3:337–348.

7. See Waszink, pp. clxix–clxx. The two other candidates for the main manuscript used for the *editio princeps* are also fifteenth-century Italian codices: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII E 30 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. class. lat. 175. See appendix 1 for these manuscripts. The editor, Agostino Giustiniani (Genoese, 1470–1536), also collated an eleventh-century codex now in the British Library, MS Add. 19968. Giustiniani’s preface to the 1520 *editio princeps* is published in Waszink, pp. clxvii–clxix. On Nicolaus Modrussiensis, see George McClure, “A Little-Known Renaissance Manual of Consolation: Nicolaus Modrussiensis’ *De consolatione*,” in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. James Hankins, John Monfasani, and Frederick Purnell, Jr. (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), pp. 247–277.

8. I use the term “Chartrian tradition” rather narrowly to refer to study materials descended from, or similar in character to, the two important twelfth-century commentaries on the *Timaeus* thus far identified, i.e., those of Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches. For the controversy surrounding the “School of Chartres,” see R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 58–101, with references to the earlier literature. While agreeing with much of Southern’s argument, I believe that he does not succeed in his attempt to disassociate the twelfth-century study of the *Timaeus* from Chartres. Nor can his attempt (p. 81n) to dismiss Paul Dutton’s attribution of a set of *Glosae super Platonem* to Bernard of Chartres (see below, note 13) be accepted in the absence of a serious review of the evidence assembled by Dutton.

9. Klibansky, pp. 35–36, 43. The *Policraticus* (7.5) includes a section arguing for parallels between Genesis and the *Timaeus*. A manuscript of the *Policraticus* that may have been known to Ficino is Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Naz. II I 105, a thirteenth-century manuscript with fourteenth-century Italian annotations. See Mazzatinti 8:40. Fols. 21–22v of this manuscript, containing the “Epistola Johannis Anglici episcopi Carnotensis ad librum suum,” has been recopied in Florentine round humanistic hand of the mid-fifteenth century.

10. See Marsilio Ficino, *Lettere, I: Epistolarum familiarium liber I*, ed. Sebastiano Gentile (Florence: Olschki, 1990), pp. 46, 82. The “Indice delle fonti” also identifies seven quotations from Calcidius and one from Cicero’s translation of the *Timaeus*. For the influence of William’s trinitarian interpretation of the *Timaeus* on the *Di Dio et anima*, see S. Gentile, “In margine all’epistola *De divino furore* di Marsilio Ficino,” *Rinascimento*, ser. 2, 23 (1983): 40–50.

11. The library of the convent of the Santissima Annunziata contained a copy of William’s *Glosae Super Platonem*, now Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. E 8, 1398, described in Gentile, *Ritorno*, pp. 8–9, no. 7. Niccoli’s library also contained a copy, later at the library of San Marco, now Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Conv. soppr. J 2, 50 (see appendix 1, no. 12). London, British Library, MS Add. 22815, of the twelfth century, contains several sets of glosses, including glosses drawn from William of Conches and Bernard of Chartres. A page added to this MS by the well-known Florentine scribe Piero Strozzi, a professional calligrapher associated with Vespasiano da Bisticci’s

bookshop, makes it likely that this manuscript, too, circulated in Florence (see appendix 1, no. 15).

12. See Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 1389 (Jeauneau, *Glosae*, pp. 32–33), with the colophon: “Iste liber glozarum super Timeo Platonis constitit mihi, Leonardo M. M. de mense Augusti 1434, L. 6, s. 14, d. 6.” The “M. M.” may indicate a member of the Malatesta family, many of whose codices passed to the collection of Federico of Urbino and thus to the Fondo Urbinato. The manuscript has many short glosses and *notabilia* in Leonardo’s hand and in another fifteenth-century hand. Bessarion’s manuscript of William of Conches is now Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Zan. lat. 225 (1870); see Jeauneau, *Glosae*, pp. 40–41 (“Rien, dans le manuscrit, ne permet de dire que ce texte a été lu par le Cardinal”). The manuscript has Florentine decoration and is written in a round humanistic script of the mid-fifteenth century.

13. See Dutton, “The Uncovering,” and idem, *Bernard*, pp. 8–21.

14. See appendix 1 and above, note 11.

15. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S 14 sup., fol. 35v (= Waszink p. 148, 9): “Sed hec melius dividuntur in commenta post Calcidium.” Ibid., fol. 76v (= Waszink, p. 250, 14): “Peripathetici. Geometre. De his lege in <commenta> post Calcidium.” (The word or words after “lege in” were lost when the binder trimmed the pages; I restore <commenta> conjecturally on the basis of the parallel gloss at fol. 35v.) For the manuscript, see appendix 1, no. 17.

16. See appendix 1, no. 42.

17. See appendix 1, no. 23. The glosses mostly consist of parallel passages from Apuleius’ *De dogmate Platonis*, Lucretius, and Bede’s *De temporibus*. On Andrea Matteo III d’Acquaviva, see *Gli Acquaviva d’Aragona: Atti del VI Convegno del Centro Abruzzese di ricerche storiche* (Teramo: Centro Abruzzese di ricerche storiche, 1985).

18. S. Gentile, “Le postille del Petrarca al *Timeo* latino,” in *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell’umanesimo: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Firenze 9–22 maggio 1991*, 2 vols., published as *Quaderni Petrarqueschi* 9–10 (1992–1993), 9:129–139. A selection of the glosses was published by Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque e l’humanisme*, new ed. (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), 2:141–47. The glosses are also discussed in Zintzen, “Il platonismo del Petrarca,” in *Il Petrarca latino*, 9:97–98. For the rest of the bibliography, see appendix 1, no. 26.

19. The *De sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia* is edited in Francesco Petrarca, *Prose*, ed. G. Martellotti et al. (Milan: Ricciardi, 1955), pp. 710–767. On the Platonism of Petrarch, see now the article of Zintzen, “Il platonismo del Petrarca,” pp. 93–113. But the complaint of literary men that Aristotle was being preferred to Plato despite the contrary opinion of the ancients as to their relative ranking was already a topos of late medieval literature: see Dutton, “Material Remains,” pp. 217–219.

20. Klibansky, supplement, p. 66, thought that the “1363 commentator” must be a French master, citing “peculiarities of style and . . . the provenance of the manuscript [*sic*].” But the text is preserved in two manuscripts—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 14716, and Vatican Library, MS Chigi E V 152—and neither of these witnesses can

be a *codex descriptus* of the other. I have not been able to see the Paris manuscript, but the Chigi manuscript has an Italian (or possibly Avignonese) provenance and is written in Italian bastarda and Italian gothic cursive hands. Klibansky does not specify the “peculiarities of style” that would indicate a French authorship, unless he means simply that the author’s Latin is not very classical. In any case, the Chigi manuscript was in Italy during the early Renaissance since it contains annotations in a late-fifteenth-century Italian hand. The codex displays the capital letters “E A” in the top margin of fol. 24r, in the middle of text; these could be the initials of the author, or, more likely, the owner of the codex.

21. Petrarch, *De sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia*, pp. 732, 750–56.

22. The text is broken down into four main “books” and numerous “tractates”: book I = 17A–27D; II = 27D–39E; III = 39E–47E; IV = 47E–53C. (The commentary from 22C–27D is missing in the Chigi MS.) In the Calcidian and Chartrian tradition, the dialogue was usually broken into two books, i.e., book I = 17A–39E; II = 39E–53C. Most medieval commentators classed the *Timaeus* under ethics, logic, and physics; the 1363 commentator sees the work as belonging to ethics, politics, natural philosophy, and “scientiam chronicam et historiam.”

23. Antonius de Romagno de Feltro corresponded with Guarino, Antonio Loschi, Omnebono della Scola, Nicolaus de Tarvisio, and other humanists of northeastern Italy; he served as chancellor to the humanist bishop Pietro Marcello; he was the author of various works on moral philosophy, including the unfinished *De paupertate, a quaestio* on whether it is always evil to lie (dedicated to his teacher, magister Baptista de Feltro), and a work on the four cardinal virtues based primarily on Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*. See Remigio Sabbadini, “Antonio de Romagno e Pietro Marcello,” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s. 30 (1915): 225–235; E. Petersen, “Antonio de Romagno und die vier Kardinal Tugend,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen Age grec et latin* 13 (1974): 63–76. In his correspondence, preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 5223, Antonio is addressed as “ser,” indicating perhaps a notarial training, and “orator,” i.e., ambassador.

24. See appendix 2. A, “Antonius de Romagno’s Dependence on Bernard of Chartres,” example 1.

25. *Ibid.*, example 2.

26. The *accessus* is edited in appendix 2. A.

27. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Zan. lat. 469 (1856), fol 8r (36E): “Circulus firmamenti volvitur ab oriente in occidentem et iterum revertitur ad orientem, per quem boni designantur, qui, licet quandoque aberrant de bono ad malum, scilicet in occidentem, revertuntur tandem ad bonum, videlicet ad orientem. Per circulum planetarum qui volvitur ab occidente in orientem significantur peccatores qui quamvis videantur resipiscere, semper tamen revertuntur ad occidentem, idest ad peccatum, de quibus dictus est: canis revertitur ad vomitum.”

28. See appendix 2. A, “Antonius de Romagno on Matter and the Elements.” Antonius, like Pierleone da Spoleto (see above, note 6), was doubtless responding to Aristotle’s criticism that Plato had attributed “magnitude” to the soul (*De anima* 1.3, 407a–b).

29. MS cit., fol. 14r: “Vere patimur vel putamus quod somniantes putant, quia putamus quicquid est esse in loco materiali, et putamus nichil esse nisi quod in celo vel in terra est, vel in aqua vel in aere. Quod falsum est, quia antequam hec essent, hyle et idea fuerunt in sua quadam mirabili natura secundum philosophos.”

30. For the manuscripts, see appendix 1, nos. 3, 18, and 36. The Bergamo and Munich manuscripts were both copied from the Stuttgart MS; the latter was written in Padua in 1470 by Baptista Augustensis, “scriba oppidi imperialis Nordlingensis,” probably while he was a student at the university (though his name does not appear in the Paduan *acta graduum*). While it is possible that Baptista himself compiled the glosses from Calcidius and other sources, it is more likely that they were the work of an arts master. Two possible Paduan candidates are (1) Cristoforo Rappi da Recanati (1423–1480), a professor of philosophy in Padua in the 1450s and ’60s, who is known to have studied Plato; see Lucia Gualdo Rosa, “Un documento inedito sull’ambiente culturale padovano della seconda metà del sec. XV,” *Quaderni per la storia dell’Università di Padova* 4 (1971): 1–38, and Maria Chiara Billanovich, “Cristoforo da Recanati, *artium et medicine doctor* (†1480): I libri, gli scritti,” *ibid.*, 22–23 (1989–1990): 95–132; and (2) Niccolò Leoniceno (b. 1428), a student of Ognibene da Lonigo, who studied at Padua in 1446 and taught there briefly, 1462–1464, before taking up his post in Ferrara; see Daniela Mugnai Carrara, “Profilo di Niccolò Leoniceno,” *Interpres* 2 (1979): 169–212. For Leoniceno’s codex of Calcidius, see appendix 1, no. 31.

31. In addition to the three codices listed in appendix 1 (nos. 17, 35, and 46), I may mention London, British Library, MS Add. 11274, written in an English hand, which contains Bruni’s translations of the *Phaedrus*, *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Letters* (see Hankins, *Plato*, 2:693, no. 130); the codex may have been copied in Italy as the *Crito*, at least, was copied from Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 8611 (see Berti, p. 188). That the Paduan master’s Plato manuscript contains the earlier version of Bruni’s *Crito* translation also points to a non-Tuscan provenance, as Florentine bookshops usually published the definitive second version.

32. See appendix 2. C.

33. Bergamo MS (appendix 1, no. 3), fol. 72v, glossing 29E–30C: “Unum solum bonum est quod tantum bonum est et aliud nichil. Hoc est primum bonum quod, in eo quod est, bonum est. Est et secundum bonum quod et, in eo quod est, bonum dicitur, sed alio quodam sensu, quia scilicet hoc quod ipsum est bonum, ab eius voluntate fluxit cuius esse bonum est. Unde et omne album bonum est. Igitur album et est et est bonum. Sed est bonum in eo quod est quia fluxit ab eius voluntate qui bona est, non uero in eo quod est esse album dicitur, sed tantum esse album quia non est albus qui illud uoluit esse album. Sic itaque unius cuiusque natura beatitudinis capax est et opificis sui qualemcumque similitudinem recipit.”

34. See appendix 1, no. 34, and appendix 2. B for an edition of the glosses. I am grateful to Contessa Anna Leopardi for permission to consult this manuscript.

35. See appendix 1, no. 17. For Ficino’s lost *Institutiones*, composed before 1458, which Kristeller identifies with Ficino’s early commentary on the *Timaeus* (also lost), see *Supplementum Ficinianum*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller (Florence: Olschki, 1938), 1:cxx, clxiii. Fi-

cino also copied excerpts from the *Timaeus* and other Platonic dialogues in Greek in Milan, Ambrosiana F 19 sup.; see A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Hoepli, 1906), 1:375–78, no. 329, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Some Original Letters and Autograph Manuscripts of Marsilio Ficino,” *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* (Verona: Stamperia Valdonega, 1964), 3: 28–29.

36. Perhaps when he was tutoring Pico della Mirandola in the 1480s; see discussion later in the text.

37. At Waszink, pp. 181, 13–214, 16, Ficino identifies as Calcidius’ source [pseudo-] Plutarch’s treatise *De fato*, a source not identified in modern scholarship until the late nineteenth century. See A. Gercke, “Eine platonische Quelle des Neuplatonismus: 2. Calcidius und Pseudoplutarch,” *Rheinisches Museum*, n.s. 41 (1886): 26–279.

38. See Ficino’s notes to Waszink, p. 76, 10 (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S 14 sup., fol. 12r) “Anima mundi semper fuit”; *ibid.*, p. 80, 20 (MS. cit., fol. 13v) “Anima mundi semper fuit sed non semper habuit rationem, sed tunc deus illi rationem inseruit cum genuit mundum”; and *ibid.*, p. 212, 4 (MS cit., fol. 61v) “Anima cum ratione a deo creata. Irascibilis vero vis et concupiscibilis a ceteris diis.” But at Waszink, p. 219, 4, Ficino insists that Plato did not literally believe in the transmigration of human souls into beasts: “*In bestias ire: Plato intelligit: in homines similes bestias.*” At a later stage in his career as an expositor of Plato, Ficino would explain away entirely Plato’s apparent belief in the (dangerously unorthodox) doctrine of transmigration; see my *Plato*, 1:358–359.

39. MS cit., fol. 96r = Waszink, p. 302, 5: “Due anime mundi secundum Platonem. Opinor in silva esse duas animas: unam eductam de potentia ipsius materie, quae vegetativa vel motiva, quae semper in ea fuit, quae infra corporea est et sine ratione omni motu inrationabili materiam agitabat, quam malam, idest temerariam dicimus. Alia est quam deus creavit quando voluit mundum exornare, que rationem habet et ideo ordine motus mundum <illustrat>.”

40. MS cit., fol. 27r = Waszink, p. 122, 12: “Probat planetas non retrocedere sed ita nobis videri. Forte unum retro moveri dum aspicimus.” MS cit., fol. 31r = Waszink, p. 134, 22: “Tres planete superiores fallunt oculos ut retrocedere videantur, dum perveniuntur ab inferioribus qui angustiores orbis suos citius peragunt. Ceteri planete nec retrocedunt nec videtur recedi.” MS cit., fol. 31v = Waszink, p. 136, 5: “Cause cur planete videantur retrogradi.”

41. Waszink, p. 151, 15. This passage is also frequently discussed in the medieval glossary tradition.

42. Ficino, *Opera* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1563; reprint, Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1983), p. 969.

43. MS cit., fol. 80r = Waszink, p. 259, 5: “Ego vero ambigo ne forte radius visualis per umbrationem potius quam reflexionem mittitur, et ista natura solum ex speculis repercutitur usque ad visum.” MS cit., fol. 82v = Waszink, p. 266, 2: “Ego vero puto solo comuni lumine fieri illic imagines, sed quod variis modis apparuerint ex lumine ut cuique contingere.”

44. Edited in appendix 2. D.
45. I have identified Pico's hand in this MS (appendix 1, no. 20) on the basis of photographs published in *Pico, Poliziano, e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 4 novembre–31 dicembre 1994*, exhibit catalogue, ed. Paolo Viti (Florence: Olschki, 1994), figs. 27–29. See my figures 2.1–2.6. I plan to edit Ficino's and Pico's notes on Calcidius in a future publication.
46. See *Pico, Poliziano*, pp. 127–147 (by Sebastiano Gentile).
47. Some examples: (1) The note on Pico's fol. 38v corresponds exactly to that on fol. 20r of Ficino's manuscript (Waszink, p. 99, 17): "13 qui sunt inter cc 43 et cc 56 ex tertia parte 92 quae est 64 certissime manant et hoc est hemitonni vel limmatis causa." (2) Pico, fol. 92v (Waszink, p. 183, 15): "Plato quaedam vult providentia, quaedam fato, quaedam ex libero arbitrio, quaedam casu fieri" (see figure 2.2); Ficino, fol. 50v: "Plato: quaedam fiunt providentia, quedam fato, quedam voluntate nostra, alia fortuna, alia casu." (3) Pico, fol. 111r (see figure 2.1) and Ficino, fol. 65r (Waszink, p. 220, 10): "Animas primo [om. Pico] procreat, 2o applicat, 3o docet, 4o serat; 5o cadunt, 6o incorporantur, 7o animant corpus." Pico also copied on the flyleaf (fol. Ir) of his manuscript a list of words entitled "Nomina memorie"; this same list, in only slightly different order, is found in Ficino's MS, fol. 87r.
48. Waszink, p. 239, 16 and following.
49. For the textual history and sources of the commentary, see M. J. B. Allen, "Marsilio Ficino's Interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and Its Myth of the Demiurge," in Hankins, Monfasani, and Purnell, *Supplementum Festivum*, pp. 399–440. I shall be giving a more detailed analysis of Ficino's *Compendium in Timaeum* and the "scientific Platonism" of the sixteenth century in an article to appear in the proceedings of a Warburg Institute colloquium, *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Jill Kraye (Routledge).
50. The chief sixteenth-century commentators on the *Timaeus* are Ambrosius Flandinus, O.E.S.A., *Annotiones in Timaeum* (from 1523, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 12948); Lodovico Boccadiferro (attrib.), *In Timaeum Platonis* (from 1545, in Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 4 C A 2.80—see *Iter* 1:53—and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldovrandi 56, vol. 2, fols. 270r–277v; see below, note 61); Sebastian Fox Morzillo, *In Platonis Timaeum commentarius* (Basel: Oporinus, 1554); Fox's *De naturae philosophia seu de Platonis et Aristotelis consensione libri V* (Paris: Iacobus Puteanus, 1560) is in effect a second commentary on the *Timaeus*; Matthaeus Frigillanus, *In Timaeum Platonis ex mediis philosophorum et medicorum spatiis scholia* (Paris: Th. Richardus, 1560)—this is not a pseudonym of Marsilio Ficino, despite the British Museum Catalogue; Francesco II de' Vieri, *Libro della natura dell'Universo* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XII, 11); Paolo Beni, *In Platonis Timaeum sive in naturalem omnem atque divinam Platonis et Aristotelis philosophiam decades tres* (Rome: Gabiana, 1594); Cosimo Boscagli, *In Timaeum Platonis* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Palat. 1025, vol. 2, fols. 1–40). But the *Timaeus* is discussed in many other works of sixteenth-century Plato scholarship.
51. On Ficino's use of Cicero's *Timaeus* in his own translation of the *Timaeus*, see now Maria Cristina Zerbino, "Appunti per uno studio della traduzione di Marsilio Ficino dal *Timeo* platonico," *Respublica litterarum* 20 (1997): 123–165; I am grateful to dott.ssa Zerbino for allowing me to consult her article in typescript.

52. For Ficino's new Greek sources, see Allen, "Myth of the Demiurge," and Gentile, *Ritorno*. For the two Latin translations of Timaeus Locrus in the later fifteenth century, by Gregorio Tifernate and Francesco Filelfo, see my *Plato*, 2:436, 522.

53. See my *Plato*, vol. 1, part IV, section 3.

54. See my article "Marsilio Ficino as a Critic of Scholasticism," *Vivens Homo: Rivista Teologica Fiorentina* 5 (1994): 325–334.

55. Ficino, *Compendium in Timaeum*, in *Platonis opera* (Venice: Andrea Torresano, 1491), fol. 245r–v, in the chapter entitled, "Quomodo totus mundus ex quattuor componitur elementis et quomodo hec alia ratione sunt in celo, aliter infra lunam."

56. *Ibid.*, fol. 245v, in the chapter "Circularis motus omnis spere semper mobili proprius est. Item ignis maxime proprium est lumen."

57. Ficino defends his theory of celestial elements, for example, by citing biblical passages where water and earth are described as being in or above the heavens; see his *Compendium*, fol. 245rb: "Audiant [the critics of Plato's elemental theory] denique sacras litteras ponentes saepe in celis aquas, ponentes terram quoque viventium" (cf. Jer. 10:13, 51:16; Dan. 3:60; Jth. 9:17). But the search for biblical parallels to Timaeian science is a major theme of the *Compendium*, as of the traditional hexaemeral literature going back to the twelfth century and to Augustine.

58. Gregory Vlastos, *Plato's Universe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), p. 68. On the "mathematization of the cosmos," see especially *Compendium*, fol. 251r–v.

59. See Dutton, "Material Remains," and my article "Anti-platonism in the Renaissance and the Middle Ages," *Classica et Medievalia* 47 (1996): 359–377.

60. See my *Plato*, vol. 1, part III.

61. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldovrandi 1996, fol. 270: "Nescio sane qua de causa passim Platonis scripta iaceant, nec ab ullo publice neque private legant. . . . Tres autem comperio causas cur Platonis scripta non ita floruerint ut debebant: prima est quia ipse de naturalibus rebus loquens cum illis miscet divina et mathematica et ita non ordinem servavit distinctum, sed omnia inordinata quodammodo confuse tractavit; alia est quia consuetudo invaluit ut Aristoteles legeretur; alia est per ignorantiam grecarum literarum." (I am grateful to David Lines for helping me obtain a microfilm of this MS.) In both the Bologna MS and the Fermo MS (see above, note 50) this text is anonymous, but it can be tentatively attributed to Boccadiferro on the basis of its presence among other texts of the same author in the Fermo MS. Boccadiferro's known works are all connected with his classroom teaching of Aristotle, but they contain numerous references to Plato, and it is known that he intended to write an epitome of the *Laws*. On Boccadiferro, see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), 11:3–4.

62. See Charles B. Schmitt, "L'introduction de la philosophie platonicienne dans l'enseignement des universités à la Renaissance," in *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance: 16^e Colloque international de Tours* (Paris: Vrin, 1976), pp. 93–104, and my article "Renaissance Platonism," in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1998), 7:439–447.

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MARSILIO FICINO: DAEMONIC MATHEMATICS
AND THE HYPOTENUSE OF THE SPIRIT

Michael J. B. Allen

One of the enduring questions in medieval and Renaissance philosophy concerns the relationship between nature and art (in Greek *technē*), given that nature herself is full of Plinian art, given too that man's nature is defined by his art, his skills, and his ingeniousness, and given that the daemons and angels are by nature ingenious and intellectual beings. "In brief all things," wrote Sir Thomas Browne in the *Religio Medici* 16, "are artificial." One of the interesting thinkers in this regard is the Florentine Platonist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), who produced some of the age's most arresting analyses of the artfulness, and thus of the structure, of both human and daemonic nature and by implication of their capacities to be moved and to be acted on.

Of particular interest is material in the commentary, subtitled *De numero fatali*, that he compiled in the last decade of his life on Plato's notoriously enigmatic passage on the fatal number in book 8 of the *Republic*. But in order to understand Ficino's psychology—both of human beings and of daemons—and his speculative ideas concerning the soul's various faculties, we should first briefly consider some of the mathematical issues confronting him in Plato. For our story has an extraordinary ending and concerns the manner in which the triangular "powers" of the human spirit and habit can be the object of what we would now think of as scientific, and specifically as mathematical, manipulation.

While some interpreters have argued that Plato's metaphysics is fundamentally dualistic in that it postulates an intelligible real world and an illusory material world, Aristotle claimed in his *Metaphysics* 1.6 that Plato had divided all reality into three spheres: ideas or intelligibles, mathematical, and sensibles. His source for this trichotomy may have been Plato's "Lecture on the Good," as Philip Merlan and others have suggested,¹ or it may have been some later development in Plato's thought. However, as early as the *Phaedo* 101B9–C9 Plato had postulated Forms of numbers, Ideal Numbers, at the same time implying that individual numbers participate in such Numbers while being inferior to them.² But Speusippus, Plato's nephew and his successor as head of the Academy from 347 to 339 B.C.E., had apparently