

The Teaching of the *Tegni* in Italian Universities in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century (*)

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SUMMARY

1.—The debate about the «latitudo sanitatis». 2.—«Paduani» and «Bononienses» in the commentary by Giovanni Santasofia. 3.—The commentaries by Marsilio Santasofia, Antonio da Scarperia and Cristoforo Degli Onesti. 4.—Ways and times of lecturing on the *Tegni*. 5.—Bodily conditions and social status in the *Introductorium* by Bolognino. 6. The *Tractatulus* by Piero da Arezzo. 7.—Conclusion. 8.—Appendix: *Introductorium ad doctrinam de corporibus secundum Bologninum*.

ABSTRACT

To challenge the opinion that in the second half of the fourteenth century there was a gap in the production of scholastic exegetical works, this paper discusses nine commentaries on the *Tegni* that were produced in Padua, Perugia and Bologna and transmitted mostly in the form of *recollectiones* by students. Their authors were Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, Albertino Rinaldi da Salso, Giovanni Santasofia, Antonio da Scarperia, Cristoforo Degli Onesti, Marsilio Santasofia, and the author of Vatican Lat. MS 4472. The interpretation of the Galenic *latitudo sanitatis* was of central importance in these commentaries and was the focal point for two brief introductions to the first book of the *Tegni*, written by Bolognino and Pietro d'Arezzo. Bolognino's text is edited in an appendix to this paper.

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(*) In the edition of the texts I have been faithful to the orthography of the manuscripts.

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The second half of the fourteenth century is a rather neglected period in the history of medicine in Italian universities. Very few studies have been devoted to physicians, theories and institutions in these decades, and consequently, every general account of scholastic medicine in Italy has tended to undervalue this age (1). The period has mostly been ignored, but it has also been the object of misinterpretations or mistaken theories.

In this paper I would like to correct one of these theories. I would like to contest the opinion that the second half of the fourteenth century marked a long hiatus in the production of commentaries on the *Tegni* (2). This opinion arose from a *recensio* of such works almost exclusively limited to the printed examples of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By contrast, my inquiry into the manuscript tradition has allowed me to collect a series of nine unknown commentaries and two brief introductions to the first book. Furthermore, the opinion that the second half of the *Trecento* represented a lacuna in the field of scholastic commentaries was based on the misinterpretation that the Black Death might have put an end to the development both of scientific debate in the universities and of the composition of exegetical works. Recent studies show, on the contrary, that the Black Death did not interrupt either the institutional or the intellectual life of Italian universities (3). In some universities, indeed, it also led to forms of strong intellectual reaction, for instance

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- (1) There are, however, valuable contributions by BELLONI, Annalisa. Giovanni Dondi, Albertino da Salso e le origini dello Studio pavese. *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, 1982, 82, 17-47, and by PARK, Katharine. *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1985.
 - (2) See OTTOSSON, Per-Gunnar. *Scholastic Medicine and Philosophy: A Study of Commentaries on Galen's Tegni (ca. 1300-1450)*, Napoli, Bibliopolis, 1984.
 - (3) See COURTENAY, William J. The Effect of the Black Death on English Higher Education. *Speculum*, 1980, 55, 696-714; PESENTI, Tiziana. La medicina scolastica padovana in alcuni studi recenti. *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 1987, 20, 153-154; BERGDOLT, Klaus. *Der Schwarze Tod in Europa. Die Grosse Pest und das Ende des Mittelalters*, München, C. H. Beck, 1994, Italian translation: *La peste nera e la fine del medioevo*, Casale Monferrato, 1997, pp. 282-289.

in Florence, where the *Studio fiorentino* was founded for the second time immediately after the plague (4).

The production of new commentaries, not only on the *Tegni* but also on the entire collection of the *Articella* and on the *Canon*, can surely be regarded as a sign of vitality in the universities. A wide range of commentaries on the curricular texts were issued at Bologna during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries (5) and also—thanks to Gentile da Foligno—at Perugia in the first half of the fourteenth century (6). In other universities, however, the first extant commentaries on the curricular texts were produced precisely in the second half of the *Trecento*. Even in a great university such as Padua, founded in 1222, the first extant commentaries on the *Tegni* and the other texts of the *Articella* were composed only in the second half of the century.

1. THE DEBATE ABOUT THE «LATITUDO SANITATIS»

A few years after the Black Death, in 1356, Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio commented on the *Tegni* at Padua and inaugurated his lectures with a now lost *Sermo in principio libri Tegni, cuius fuit principalis intentio illius libri commendare doctrinam* (7). When Dondi moved to the new University

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- (4) See GARFAGNINI, Gian Carlo. Città e Studio a Firenze nel XIV secolo: una difficile convivenza. In: Luciano Gargan; Oronzo Limone (eds.), *Luoghi e metodi di insegnamento nell'Italia medioevale (secoli XII-XIV)*, Galatina, Congedo editore, 1989, pp. 107-115. The action of the Black Death on the cultural life and particularly on the foundation of new universities is underlined by HERLIHY, David. *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, edited by K. Cohn, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1977.
- (5) SIRAISSI, Nancy G. *Taddeo Alderotti and his Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1981; OTTOSSON, note 2.
- (6) OTTOSSON, note 2; CECCARELLI, Lino. Gentile da Foligno. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999, vol. 53, pp. 162-167.
- (7) BELLONI, note 1, pp. 25-26, 46-47; PESENTI, Tiziana. Dondi dall'Orologio, Giovanni. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, vol. 41, pp. 97 and 101.

of Pavia, founded in 1361, a pupil of his in this *studio*, Tommaso da Crema, transcribed twenty four *Questiones super libro Tegni* in the manuscript of Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Parmense 1065 (8). According to the colophon,

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- (8) At f. 329r-346r: <Liber I> 1) f. 329r, «Queritur utrum medicina sit scientia»; 2) f. 329v, «Queritur consequenter utrum inter sanum et egrum detur medium»; 3) f. 330v, «Queritur consequenter utrum sanum nunc sit talle a generatione vel a tempore»; 4) f. 331r, «Queritur consequenter utrum optima dispositio sive corpus humanum sanum simpliciter sit reperibile in rerum natura»; 5) f. 331v, «Queritur consequenter utrum aliquod corpus a generatione sit sanum in complexione et egrum in compositione, vel sit egrum in complexione et sanum in compositione». <Liber II> 6) f. 332r, «Queritur consequenter utrum corpus optime compositionis habeat signa per que possit cognosci»; 7) f. 332v, «Queritur consequenter utrum in specie humana sit reperire plura individua optime compositionis»; 8) f. 333r, «Queritur consequenter utrum medicinalis speculatio trascendat sensum»; 9) f. 333v, «Queritur consequenter utrum membra principalia sint quatuor» (see *Turisani monaci plusquam commentum in microtegni galieni. Cum questione eiusdem de ypostasi*. [colophon:] *Venetiis impressum mandato et expensis nobilis Viri Domini Octauiani Scoti Ciuis Modoetiensis. 1498. pridie ydus apriles. per Bonetum Locatellum Bergomensem*. (H *15684) [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. II 425], liber II, com. 12, q. [12], c. D3vb-4va); 10) f. 334v, «Queritur consequenter utrum virtus naturalis influat ab epate aliis membris participantibus ipsam etc.» (see *Turisani monaci plusquam commentum*, liber II, com. 44, Digressio de virtutibus epatis, c. G7rb-8ra); 11) f. 335v, «Queritur consequenter utrum sit dare complexionem distemperatam simpliciter»; 12) f. 336r, «Queritur consequenter utrum omnis distemperancia cuiuslibet membri habeat mansiones sive latitudines in quibus possit existere»; 13) f. 337r, «Queritur consequenter super qua complexione habeat magis significationem oculus glaucus»; 14) f. 337v, «Queritur consequenter cuius complexionis dicatur esse cor»; 15) f. 338v, «Queritur consequenter utrum virtus sensitiva et motiva que vocatur virtus animalis sit in cerebro vel in corde» (see *Turisani monaci plusquam commentum*, liber II, com. 13, q. [19], c. D8rb-va); 16) f. 339r, «Queritur consequenter utrum motus pulsus fiat a virtute animali, illa existente in corpore»; 17) f. 340v, «Queritur consequenter utrum mores universales possint permutari per consuetudinem, legem vel doctrinam»; 18) f. 341r, «Queritur consequenter utrum sit reperire sanguinem pro uno humore distincto ab alio» (see *Turisani monaci plusquam commentum*, liber II, com. 41, q. [56], c. G4va-b); 19) f. 342v, «Queritur consequenter utrum cor et epar possint ad invicem contraoperari» (see *Turisani monaci plusquam commentum*, liber II, com. 48, q. [66], c. H1rb); 20) f. 344r, «Queritur consequenter utrum sperma sit materia generationis membrorum»; 21) f. 344r, «Queritur consequenter utrum complexio naturalis apetat similia et egritudinalis contraria»; 22) f. 344v, «Queritur consequenter utrum evacuatio sit fienda in die motus morbi»; 23) f. 345r, «Queritur

the questions were disputed in Padua and *edite*, that is drafted and edited, by Dondi himself: «edite a venerabili doctore magistro Iohanne de Orologio de Padua, in Padua disputate» (9).

These questions constitute the first extant Paduan commentary on the *Tegni* and were edited in the very years after the Black Death. Five questions concern the first book of the *Tegni*, *De corporibus*; eighteen the second, *De signis*; and only one the third, *De causis*. Dondi continuously quotes Galen, Haly Rodohan, Aristotle, Avicenna, Johannitius, Hippocrates and Haly Abbas in order to distinguish the opinions of the physicians from the opinions of the philosophers. But he scarcely discusses the opinions of contemporary commentators. As far as I could see from an examination of the questions, Dondi quotes only Torrigiano (f. 339v, 341r-342r) and Antonio da Parma (f. 333v). Only a few questions among the nineteen on the second and third books deal with the same themes discussed by Torrigiano. Most are original in their formulation, such as question 8, whether medical speculation goes beyond the senses; or question 13, in which *complexio* are glaucous eyes more significant; or question 17, whether universal uses and customs can be changed by custom, law or doctrine.

After this brief commentary *per modum quaestionis*, the first literal commentaries on the *Tegni* were produced in the Universities of Pavia

consequenter utrum signa digestionis proprie significant salutem». <Liber III> 23) f. 345r, «Queritur consequenter utrum regimen conservativum sanitatis fiat per similia vel per contraria» (see *Turisani monaci plusquam commentum*, liber III, com. 20, q. [25], c. M1va-3ra). The colophon at f. 346r is: «Expliciunt questiones super libro Tegni edite a venerabili doctore magistro Iohanne de Orologio de Padua, in Padua disputate, amen etc.».

- (9) The concept of *editio* is analyzed by BOURGAIN, Pascale. La naissance officielle de l'oeuvre: l'expression métaphorique de la mise au jour. In: Olga Weijers (ed.), *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1989, pp. 195-205, and summarized by COURTENAY, William J. Programs of Study and Genres of Scholastic Theological Production in the Fourteenth Century. In: Jacqueline Hamesse (ed.), *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1994, p. 343. The study by SOETERMEER, Frank. *Utrumque ius in peciis. Aspetti della produzione libraria a Bologna fra Due e Trecento*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1997, pp. 159-195, is very valuable with regard to this topic.

and Padua in the seventh and eighth decades of the century by Albertino Rinaldi da Salso (also called Albertino da Piacenza) and by Giovanni Santasofia respectively.

Albertino Rinaldi da Salso, who had already taught at Bologna and Florence, commented on the *Articella* at Pavia in the academic years 1366-1367 and 1369-1370 (10). Tommaso da Crema, the same student who transcribed the *Quaestiones* edited by Dondi, also prepared the *recolectiones* of his lectures, putting together in Ms. Parmense 1065 the notes he had taken in those two academic years (11). Unlike Dondi, who tended to interpret the *Tegni* first of all in the light of the ancient *auctores*, Albertino concentrated on the *Tegni* commentators of the first half of the century and was a follower of the theories of Torrigiano. In his commentary on book one Albertino adopted Torrigiano's position on the *latitudo sanitatis* (12). To represent his view about the relation between *sanum*, *egrum* and *neutrum* he gave to his students a scheme that Tommaso da Crema reproduced in Ms. Parmense [Figure 1] (13). In Albertino's scheme, as in Torrigiano's explanation, the *latitudo sanitatis* embraces health, neutrum and disease; only *neutrum nunc decidentie* and *egrum nunc* are placed outside the *latitudo*, because only these bodies are reputed to be ill.

Although Torrigiano's *Plusquam Commentum* was the exegetical work of reference, his interpretation of the *latitudo sanitatis* had been radically

(10) BELLONI, note 1, pp. 19-26, 46-47; PESENTI, Tiziana. Le origini dell'insegnamento medico a Pavia. In: *Storia di Pavia*, Milano, Banca del Monte di Lombardia, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 466-471 (reprinted in *Miscellanea Domenico Maffei dicata*, Goldbach, Keip, 1995, vol. 3).

(11) The manuscript has been described by BELLONI, note 1, pp. 46-47.

(12) Particularly in the following questions: «Dubitatur primo utrum egrum sive egrotativum sint idem corpus» (f. 20v); «Ulterius dubitatur utrum quando tangitur corpus egrum simpliciter possit intelligi quia ex complexione habet sanitatem imperfectam» (f. 21r); «Item dubitatur utrum egrum simpliciter sit sanum nunc» (f.21r); «Ultimo dubitatur utrum aliquod corpus possit esse sanum complexione a generatione et egrum in compositione, vel e contrario» (f. 21v).

(13) Pietro d'Abano used these graphic paradigms in his *Conciliator* to represent the *complexiones*, the relations between winds and geographic latitude, and the music of the pulse [ed. Venetiis, Apud Iuntas, MDLXV (ristampa fotomeccanica a cura di Enzo Riondato e Luigi Olivieri, Padova, Editrice Antenore, 1985), c. 32v, 103v, 125r].



Figure 1.—Ms. Parmense 1065, f. 63r: diagram of the latitude of health according to Albertino Rinaldi de Salso.

criticized by Gentile da Foligno in his *Questiones in primum Tegni* (14). Gentile returned to the interpretation of Haly and placed the *corpus egrum simpliciter* outside the latitude of health, regarding it as the worst kind of chronic disease, such as leprosy. The reproposal of Torrigiano's theories by Albertino had probably a noticeable echo, not only at Pavia, but also in other Italian universities.

The debate about this problem was opened by Giovanni Santasofia, a Paduan professor who had also taught in Perugia (15). He was the author of the first known extant literal commentary on the *Tegni* given in Padua. Two Paduan pupils of his, Niccolò Dell'Orto and Antonio Meliori da San Severo wrote the *recollecciones* of Giovanni's lectures on the *Tegni* in the academic year 1376-77 (these are preserved in Ms. Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 7-7-18) (16). In this commentary

(14) OTTOSSON, note 2, pp. 189-194.

(15) Two chapters of my *Marsilio Santasofia tra corti e università* [in progress] are devoted to Giovanni.

(16) Niccolò writes f. 1v-143v. Antonio starts writing at f. 143va and then revises the whole text and adds marginal and interlinear glosses in order to make it clearer and more correct. In the critical annotations I shall indicate the handwriting of Niccolò with *N* and that of Antonio with *A*. Incipit (f. 1vb): «*Tres sunt omnes doctrine. Hiis generalibus et communibus taliter qualiter expeditis, venio ad libri divisionem, qui prima et generali divisione dividitur in .2.: nam primo premitit prohemium, in quo suam manifestat intentionem, modum et ordinem procedendi; 2o tractatum...*», explicit of book I (f. 27rb): «*...tunc res que est sanitas, scilicet caliditas, intenditur, et tamen non intenditur sanitas, ymo pocius intenditur egritudo. Ista sufficiant*»; incipit of book II (f. 27rb): «*De signis deinceps dicendum. Postquam in primo tractatu explanavit diffinitionem medicine ad corpora sana, egra et neutra variata, nunc diffinitionem medicine explanat ad signa per easdem differentias consignificata, et iste secundus tractatus prima divisione dividitur in .3....*», explicit of book II (f. 135ra): «*...Ego vero longitudini parcens. Nunc epitomat quantum ad secundum librum et dicit quod brevilouens in hoc libro intendit finire librum de signis et transire ad librum de causis. Et sic explicit expositio super 2o libro Tegni per me Nicholaum de Orto recolecta sub luminoso artium et medicine doctore magistro Iohanne de Sancta Sophia [die *addidit et delevit N*], die 20 aprilis die lune hora 12^{ma} cum dimidia. Ista cartas reliqui propter ponere quedam relicta cadentia super 2o [Tegni *addidit et delevit N*] presenti Tegni de modo hanelitus, utrum sit naturalis et utrum sit pulsui proportionalis. Deo gratias amen*»; incipit of book III (f. 135ra): «*Quoniam vero et harum sunt quedam. Dicit hic Tadeus quod secundum hic, scilicet quod hec particula, [quod...particula*

the explanation of the lemma *Egrum vero simpliciter* is devoted to confuting the opinions both of Albertino and of Gentile. Like almost all *Tegni* commentators of the first half of the century (17), both Albertino Rinaldi and Giovanni Santasofia used the *translatio antiqua* and collated it with the *translatio arabica* and the *Commentum* by Haly Rodohan. To the locution *egrum simpliciter* of the *translatio antiqua* corresponded in the *translatio arabica* the noun *egrotativum* (18). On the basis of the *Commentum*

addidit in intercolumnio A] Transeam etc. sive [sive addidit in interlinea A] ponatur precedentis tractatus sive presentis non est vis, sed quia magis videtur pertinere sequentibus quam precedentibus, ideo tercius liber [ideo...liber addidit in intercolumnio A] ibi incipit...», explicit of book III (f. 170rb): «Dictum est autem. Hic et ultimo pro sufficienti determinatione eorum remittit nos ad librum Therapeutice et dicit quod dictum est de horum regimine particulariter in 2°. et 4. Therapeutice. Et subdit quod hic ista sunt dicta velut in summa et sub epilogo, que omnia sunt in libris particularibus, quos libros invenies si legis sequens capitulum. Et dicit modo quod non intendit capitulum sequens exponere, quia oporteret totam medicinam exponere. Item multi libri nominantur hic qui ad manus suas non venerunt, quare et ideo sequens capitulum non legitur. Deo gratias referamus infinitas. /f. 170rb / Explete sunt recolleciones super libro Tegni secundum egregium doctorem magistrum Iohannem de Sancta Sophia, arcium et medicine clarissimum, scripte Padue et complete hora XXI. die sabati in vigilia Pentecostes de mense madii XX°VI° per me Antonium de Sancto Severo tunc in medicinalibus studentem». Below we can read the note by Antonio: «Est mei Antonii Melioris de Sancto Severo medicine doctoris».

(17) See OTTOSSON, note 2, pp. 24-28.

(18) Giovanni Santasofia summarizes the different interpretations in this way: «*Egrum vero simpliciter*. Ad huius capituli evidentiam notetis quod ubi nostra translatio, que est ex greco, habet *egrum simpliciter*, alia translatio, que est ex arabico, habet *egrotativum*, et dicit Aly quod *egrotativum* non est *egrum*, sed est illud ad quod properantur egritudines ex causis infirmantibus, sive sint debiles sive parve, et hoc corpus *egrotativum* non fuit ostensum a Galieno in eo quod preteriit, et propterea Galienus non numeravit ipsum in partibus diffinitionis. Est ergo secundum Aly *egrotativum* sanum nunc ad quod properantur egritudines, propter quod secundum Aly Galienus non determinat de egro, sed de sano nunc. Quam expositionem volens Gentilis salvare, dicit quod postquam Galienus consideravit de sano nunc uno modo considerato, nunc determinat de sano nunc alio modo considerato; unde sanum nunc consideratur dupliciter: uno modo ut habet sanitatem lassam qua suas perficit operationes, et sic de eo determinatum est supra; 2° modo ut habet sanitatem de facili removibilem ad egrotandum paratam, unde dicitur *egrotativum*, et sic de ipso determinat hic Galienus. Et si dicatur Gentilem

Haly Gentile interpreted *egrotativum* as *sanum nunc* (19). Giovanni Santasofia went to the root of this issue in his detailed question entitled: *Utrum egrum simpliciter sit sanum nunc* (f. 16ra-vb). He distinguished two ways: that followed by Torrigiano (whom he and also other commentators used to call «Commentator Novus») (20) and the Bolognese masters who went after him, and that followed by Gentile (21). Torrigiano identified both *egrum simpliciter* and *neutrum simpliciter* with *sanum nunc* and claimed that they were a *generatione*. After explaining Torrigiano's theories, Giovanni radically rejected his position: *egrum simpliciter* is by no means *sanum nunc*, because *sanum* is a *dispositio naturalis* whereas *egrum* is, on the contrary, a *dispositio preter naturam* (22). The *ratio formalis* of the *egrum simpliciter* is in fact that of having an intense degree of preternatural, fixed and durable disease (23). For this reason the *egrum*

secundum translationem arabicam hoc vocare egrotativum, ex greco vocatur vero egrum simpliciter, unde accidit hec diversitas secundum Gentilem: quod hoc corpus vocatur in arabico egrotativum quoniam est paratum labi in egritudines; in greco <vero> [non] vocatur egrum [egrum *addidit in interlinea A*] simpliciter, non ut dicat peximitatem egritudinis, sed ut dicit rei veritatem, ut sit sensus quod est egrum simpliciter, id est in rei veritate est [eger *addidit et delevit A*] aptum egrotare [est...aptum egrotare *addidit in interlinea A*] eo quod habet sanitatem valde lassam ab optima sanitate, omnisque ideo [ideo *correxit in interlinea ex e delete A*] talis sanitas appellatur egritudo» (f. 15vb).

(19) See OTTOSSON, note 2, pp. 191-192.

(20) Torrigiano is normally called «Commentator Novus» in the anonymous commentary on the *Tegni* in Vat. MS lat. 4472, f. 113va, 114ra, 116ra and so on.

(21) «In ista questione distinguo solum duos modos: primum Commentatoris Novi et omnium Bononiensium sequencium eum; secundo proprium modum Gentilis» (f. 16ra).

(22) «Sed credo oppinionem oppositam esse veram, scilicet quod egrum simpliciter nullo modo sit sanum nunc, et hoc probatur, quia [et...quia *addidit in margine A*] sicut sanum importat solam dispositionem naturalem, ita egrum solum dispositionem preter naturam; unde vult ista [ista *addidit in interlinea A*] oppinio quod tam corpus egrum simpliciter quam ut nunc est egrum egritudine preter naturam et nullum est egrum egritudine naturali; et vult [vult *addidit in interlinea A*] quod egrum simpliciter habet gradum intensum egritudinis preter naturam et durabilem; egrum vero [vero *addidit in interlinea A*] nunc habet gradum remissum egritudinis preter naturam non durabilem» (f. 16rb).

(23) «Ratio formalis egrum simpliciter est habere gradum intensum egritudinis preter naturam fixam et durabilem» (f. 16rb).

simpliciter is excluded from the *latitudo sanitatis* and cannot be identified with the *sanum nunc* (24). To support these *conclusiones* Giovanni Santasofia adduced a principle common to logic, physics and medicine, that *sanum* and *egrum* are opposites because they indicate opposite dispositions; so the adverb *simpliciter* cannot modify their fundamental meanings (25).

2. «PADUANI» AND «BONONIENSES» IN THE COMMENTARY BY GIOVANNI SANTASOFIA

At this point of his commentary, Giovanni Santasofia recalls sending his own text to Albertino da Salso (26), whom he had already quoted as a follower of Torrigiano (27). He says that Albertino had adopted Torrigiano's theories and had written a *tractatus* about them.

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- (24) «Ex ista sequitur sexta conclusio: quod [quod *addidit in interlinea A*] *egrum simpliciter* non est *sanum nunc*. Probatur: non est in latitudine sanitatis, ergo non est *sanum simpliciter* nec ut *nunc*. Tenet consequentia, quia latitudo sanitatis tota comprehenditur per sanitatem simpliciter et *sanum nunc*» (f. 16va).
- (25) «Iste conclusiones confirmantur quibusdam rationibus, sed omnes supponunt unum principium loyce, physice et medicine: quod *sanum* et *egrum* sint contraria, quia dispositiones contrarias connotant. Ista habetur in loyca, quia loyca ponit esse contraria immediata, et similiter naturalis, et Galienus superius dixit quod [dixit quod *addidit in interlinea N*] neutrum in primo significato est illud [est illud *addidit in intercolumnio N*] quod neutro contrariorum participat. Hoc supposito arguo sic: *simpliciter* additum ad *ly sanum* contrahit *sanum* ad significandum summum gradum sanitatis et sanitatem durabilem; ergo *simpliciter* additum ad *ly egrum* contrahit *egrum* ad significandum summum gradum egritudinis. Consequentia tenet, quia utrobique idem additur: et sicut *sanum* significat naturalem dispositionem, ita *egrum* dispositionem preter naturam; et quod hoc sit verum potest declarari ex fundamento ditto loyce [ditto loyce *addidit in interlinea A*], quia significat dispositiones contrarias, scilicet quid nominis. Probatur, quia *sanitas* idem est quod dispositio [dispositio *addidit in interlinea A*] naturalis et conveniens; et egritudo idem est quod dispositio [dispositio *addidit in interlinea A*] preter naturam et disconveniens» (f. 16va).
- (26) «Istas rationes misi magistro Albertino da Placentia et posuit conclusiones per se Novi Commentatoris et fecit in hoc tractatum et multa notat que infra dicam» (f. 16vb).
- (27) «Confirmatur per Albertinum: nam infra in pluribus locis ubi Galienus nominat *egrum* vel *egrum simpliciter* secundum nostram translationem, alia habet egrativum» (f. 16rb).

Albertino's *tractatus* is conserved in the miscellaneous Ms. Vat. lat. 4445, where it was transcribed soon after its composition by a Paduan student, Guadagnino Guadagni da Finesano (28). The master of Pavia wrote it in February 1376 and immediately sent it to the Paduan university of medicine. In the colophon he presented his writing as the second tract he had written on the problem of the *corpus egrum simpliciter*. His intention was to defend Galen's and Torrigiano's opinion and to systematically answer Giovanni Santasofia's objections (29). The previous phases of the academic debate are summarized thus by Albertino in the course of his text: it had been Giovanni Santasofia's *epistula* to Albertino that had given rise to it; the latter had replied with a *tractatus*; Giovanni had responded to this with another *tractatus* in which he repeated the same reasons and conclusions he had stated in his *epistola*. This last *tractatus* is certainly to be identified with the writing to Albertino quoted by Giovanni in his commentary. Albertino had written his *tractatus secundus* just to reply to it (30).

(28) A brief presentation of this work has been made by PESENTI, Tiziana. Generi e pubblico della letteratura medica padovana nel Tre e Quattrocento. In: *Università e società nei secoli XII-XVI. Pistoia, 20-25 settembre 1979*, Pistoia, Presso la sede del Centro, 1982, pp. 528-529, and by BELLONI, note 1, pp. 20-21.

(29) «...tractatus secundus de corpore egro simpliciter, defensivus oppinionis Galieni et Plusquam Commentatoris quod ipsum sit contentum in latitudine sanitatis, et in ipso respondetur per ordinem ad omnia que scripsit in contrarium magister Iohannes de Sancta Sophia» (f. 33v).

(30) Albertino summarizes Giovanni Santasofia's theses in the following way: «(f. 1rb) Iste bonus homo tractatum suum dividit in 4^{or} capitula. Primum capitulum intitulat, in quo premitit quedam preambula, Galieni vocabula ad propositum exponendo. In isto primo capitulo ipse vult primitus habere, ut allegat ex multis auctoritatibus, quod divisio generalis et prima corporum sit per sanum, egrum et neutrum, et quod 3^{es} sint dispositiones corporis humani, scilicet sanitas, egritudo et neutralitas, et quod quelibet istarum dispositionum habet magnam latitudinem, et quod ita magna est latitudo egritudinis, sic est latitudo sanitatis, et quod sicut latitudo sanitatis est distensa per supremum gradum, medium et infimum, ita latitudo egritudinis est distensa per supremum gradum, medium et infimum, et quod similiter est de neutralitate. [...]

(f. 4ra) Expedito capitulo primo, venio ad capitulum 2^{um}, quod ipse intitulat: <<Capitulum de corpore sano simpliciter et de sano nunc>>, in quo ostendit quid sit utrumque et ponit questiones de utroque. Primo ergo loquitur de corpore sano simpliciter et primo ponit diffinitionem ipsius et diffinitionem declarat. 2^o

The discussion between these two masters of Padua and Pavia was fiercely passionate and both called upon their students as witnesses and supporters of their positions. We should remember that both Albertino Rinaldi and Giovanni Santasofia were among the first medical professors in Pavia and Padua to write on the *Tegni*. In the new *Studium* of Pavia the teaching of the *Tegni* was probably grounded on the very commentaries of Giovanni Dondi and Albertino (now preserved in Ms. Parmense

reprobat Glosatorem de eo quod dixit quod hec dictio *simpliciter* in diffinitione sani simpliciter significat etc., et ipsum reprobat ut comuniter reprobat ab aliis. 3^o ponit questiones 8 de sano simpliciter, que sunt vere et multum leves et cuilibet manifeste. 4^o concludit quod simpliciter dicitur sanativum. 5^o assignat differentiam inter *sanum simpliciter semper* et *sanum simpliciter ut multum* et ponit differentiam esse quia / f. 4rb / sanum simpliciter semper est aptum durare sanum toto tempore sue vite, set sanum simpliciter ut multum solum est aptum durare sanum plurimo tempore sue vite, unde dicit sic: <<Ut multum vero est ab optima complexione derelictum, propter quod parum lapsum dicitur et non est ex hoc toto, set plurimo tempore aptum manere sanum>>. [...]

(f. 6vb) Expedito 2^o capitulo, venio ad capitulum 3^m, quod ipse intitulavit: <<Capitulum de egro simpliciter et egro nunc>>. Resumam et successive per ordinem respondebo ut expedit. Ipse primo loquitur de egro simpliciter et ponit primo diffinitionem ipsius quam Galienus ponit in primo *Tegni* et dicit quod ipsum est corpus omnino preter naturam et quod habet egritudinem peximam. 2^o dicit quod quia alia translatio dicit *egrotativum* ubi mea translatio habet *egrum simpliciter*, quod egrotativum dicitur dupliciter: uno modo ab aptitudine ad egrotandum, et isto modo *egrum simpliciter* non dicitur egrotativum; alio modo dicitur egrotativum ab aptitudine manendi *egrum* et isto modo *egrum simpliciter* dicitur egrotativum. 3^o dicit quod Gentilis male dixit cum dixit quod Galienus hic diffinit sanum nunc aliter consideratum / f. 7ra / quam supra. 4^o dicit quod etiam Haly male dixit cum dixit quod Galienus hic manifestat corpus quoddam quod non fuit sibi superius ostensum. 5^o concludit quod Galienus non diffinit sanum nunc, ymo corpus quod est maxime preter naturam, et tunc prorumpit contra me dicendo multas contumelias, quas obmitto. 6^o reprobat Glosatorem de eo quod dixit quod simpliciter in diffinitione egi simpliciter accipiebatur prout est esse tale ex primis principiis, que sunt sperma et sanguis menstruus etc. 7^o revertitur contra me et dicit quod non est verum quod accipiatur simpliciter in diffinitione egi simpliciter sicut ego dixi. [...]

(f. 19vb) [E]xpedito 3^o capitulo, venio ad capitulum 4^m et ultimum, quod ipse intitulat, in quo ponuntur instantie contra sua dicta et solvuntur. Ipse in isto capitulo in primis ponit conclusiones meas et rationes ipsarum illo ordine quo eas sibi misi in tractatu quem sibi transmisi, et satis succincte et imperfecte recitat aliquas illarum rationum, quod facit ut minus appareat veritas ipsarum».

1065). In the old *Studium* of Padua, on the contrary, the exegetical works on the *Tegni* had for a long time been the *Conciliator* of Pietro d'Abano and the exposition of book one of the *Tegni* by Gentile da Foligno (31). Some Paduan masters of the first half of the century, such as Giovanni Sanguinacci, Matteo da Ronciette and Giacomo da Arquà, were held to be remarkable commentators of Galen by Michele Savonarola and other later sources, but their writings are no longer extant. The discovery and transcription of the commentary by Giovanni Santasofia now confirm his fame as a great *interpres* of Galen, fame previously based solely on the account on Michele Savonarola. His commentary also allows us to evaluate the Paduan attitude towards the achievements in commenting on the *Tegni*.

Giovanni's commentary is in fact conceived as an ambitious work which proposes to recapitulate the entire tradition of previous commentaries and discuss almost all past theories. In its broad *accessus* Giovanni renews the traditional pattern followed by the early commentators, inserting between the invocation to the Lord and the discussion of the four Aristotelian causes the long exegesis of a quotation from Torrigiano: *Hec est planta fructum ducens omnium saporem habentem* (32). Besides Torrigiano, he also often quotes and discusses Pietro d'Abano, Taddeo, Mondino Luzzi and Gentile. This effort of critically recapitulating and explaining the tradition could have been suggested by the novelty of Giovanni Santasofia's work in a *Studium* where there was no tradition of local commentaries on the *Tegni*. Precisely because he was doing an *opus sine exemplo*, Giovanni did not hesitate to pay particular attention to the theories of his own time. In fact, if we return to his commentary, we can see that he devotes more than five columns to a systematic discussion with his students of the «rationes Albertini» (33). In Albertino's view *egrum* has a twofold meaning: it can indicate either a body which is

(31) On this and following points I present some conclusions from my book *Marsilio Santasofia* [in progress].

(32) PESENTI, Tiziana. Il proemio del commento di Giovanni Santasofia alla *Tegni* de Galeno. *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 2000, 33, 27-44, with the edition of the text.

(33) At f. 16vb-17vb.

actually ill (*actu egritudine infortunatum*) or a body which is naturally prone to become ill (*aptum naturaliter egrotare*). Only this last body is *egrotativum* and it is the *sanum nunc*. Giovanni radically rejects this interpretation: according to Galen's *littera*, he says, the *egrum simpliciter* is *egrotativum* because it is actually ill (*aptu egrum*) (34). Its disease is not necessarily *ex generatione*, as Taddeo had claimed, because it can arise after the *instans* of the generation or even during life; nor is it *absolute*, as Torrigiano had argued, because the *egritudo absolute* is not a *dispositio naturalis*. On the contrary, Albertino intends *simpliciter* as *naturalis* and in this sense he defines the *egritudo simpliciter* as *naturalis valde distans ab optima sanitate*. Giovanni rejects this interpretation because it is not *ad mentem Galieni*: the adverb *simpliciter* of the *translatio antiqua* was in fact translated in the *arabica* as *absolute* (35). So Giovanni intends *simpliciter* in the meaning of *absolute*: it indicates that there is no condition diminishing the two fundamental requisites of an illness, that is, being severe and being durable (36). This theory of the *privatio conditionis diminuentis* was exemplified by Giovanni, who discussed in three *dubia* its application to the *triplex natura*, that is, to the *complexio consimilium*, *compositio organicorum* and *unitas* (37).

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- (34) «Ex hoc dico ad auctoritatem magistri Albertini quod egrum simpliciter sit egrotativum secundum aliam translationem. Dico ad omnes quod quando Galienus appellat egrum simpliciter egrotativum debet exponi: egrum simpliciter aptitudine, quod est aptum naturaliter egrotare, et tale est sanum valde lapsum. Sed simpliciter egrum, de quo facit mentionem, tale non dicitur egrotativum quia est aptum egrotare, sed dicitur egrotativum quia aptu manet egrum». (f. 16vb).
- (35) «Albertinus notat quod *simpliciter* sumitur prout naturalem; notat dispositionem sic: egritudo est simpliciter talis que est naturalis valde distans ab optima sanitate; sed hoc non sit ad mentem Galieni, quia Galieni ubi nostra translatio dicit *simpliciter*, alia habet *absolute*, sed hoc nomen *absolute* [nomen absolute *addidit in intercolumnio N*] non habet virtutem importandi dispositionem naturalem; ergo nec hoc simpliciter, cum sint idem» (f. 17ra).
- (36) «Sed pocius hic sumitur *simpliciter* ut dicat idem quod *absolute* privacione condicionis duplicis egritudinis essentiam diminuentis, scilicet quod habet summam [egrie *addidit et delevit N*] egritudinem et durabilem» (f. 17ra).
- (37) «Sed insurgunt dubia. Nam dicet quis hanc diffinitionem esse superfluum, quia 6° Topicorum dicitur [dicitur *addidit in interlinea N*] quod diffinitio unius contrarii relinquit diffinitionem alterius contrarii esse [esse *addidit in interlinea N*] manifestam, ergo» (f. 17ra); «Sed parti dubitatur, quia contraria continentur sub eodem

Giovanni's pupils were very interested in these problems and asked him many questions, even after the lecture (38). First of all, they asked to have some examples of *egritudines simpliciter* and *egritudines nunc* (39). Then, they objected that there were some severe but not durable diseases, just as there were some non-severe but durable diseases, and that neither of these could be qualified as *simpliciter* or *nunc* (40). These last *quesita* arose not from Giovanni's exposition but from the individual reading of Albertino *tractatus* by Giovanni's students. Albertino countered Giovanni's opinion with the authority of the *Canon*, book I, fen 2, cap. *De complendis dispositionibus*, where Avicenna discerns six *ordines* which embrace all the dispositions of the human body. Among them *egrum simpliciter* cannot be intended but as *egrotativum*, in the meaning of a body naturally prone

genere et per idem genus debent diffiniri, sed sanitas et egritudo non diffiniuntur per idem genus ut patet hic, ergo» (f. 17rb); «Sed dubitatur propter ultimam expositionem utrum a generatione sit possibile dari solutionem continuitatis» (f. 17rb).

- (38) «Contra dicta alia die precedenti in questione sunt plures instancie» (f. 17rb). These questions were probably presented by the students in written form, as the Paduan statutes of the university of law of 1331 prescribed: «Item quilibet doctor cedulas proiectas ad cathedram questionem sue facultatis continentes sine alicuius lesione legere in scolis publice teneatur, et super hijs bona fide et sine fraude scolaribus in scolis publice teneatur satisfacere illa die vel proxima sequenti, prout ei fuerit divinitus inspiratum. [Idem intelligimus] esse statutum de dubijs et questionibus scolaribus occurrentibus in lectione presenti vel proxima precedenti» (*Statuta Universitatis scholarium iuristarum Paduan. an. 1331*, liber quartus, rubr. (5): «Qui et quando debeant disputare et disputationibus adesse», edited by DENIFLE, Heinrich. *Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Padua vom Jahre 1331. Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1892, 6, 476). This disposition was still in force in the new statutes of the year 1463 (Padova, Biblioteca Civica, MS B.P. 1381, c. 39r). See also GLORIA, Andrea. *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1222-1318)*, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, lettere ed arti, 1884, pp. 138 and 167.
- (39) «Nam primo quidam dicet: <<Que sunt egritudines simpliciter et que nunc declarentur per exempla>>» (f. 17rb).
- (40) «2º: <<Alique sunt egritudines intense paucio tempore durantes et [non *addidit et delevit N*] alique remisse multo tempore durantes; et prime non erunt simpliciter, cum paucio tempore durent, nec nunc, cum sint intense; nec 2º egritudines erunt egritudines [egritudines...egritudines *addidit in margine A*] nunc, cum diu durent, nec simpliciter, cum sint remisse>>» (f. 17rb).

to become ill, but actually *sanum nunc*. So Albertino's conclusion is that the *egrum simpliciter* is to be placed inside the latitude of health because its functions are not significantly impaired (*egrum simpliciter non habet operationes sensibiliter lesas*).

Giovanni answered his pupils' first question by giving a diffuse exemplification of the various categories of diseases (41). Regarding their second question, he considered both the *egritudines intense non durabiles* and the *egritudines remisse et durabiles* as dispositions pertaining to the *corpus neutrum*, not to the *corpus egrum* (42). He then rejected the interpretation Albertino had given of Avicenna's six *ordines*. As before, he objected that Albertino had made a mistake in explaining the *littera* of Avicenna and that Avicenna had intended *egrotativum* in the sense of *neutrum nunc*, not in the sense of *sanum nunc* (43). To Albertino's

(41) «Ad primum quesitum, cum querebatur que sunt egritudines simpliciter et que sunt egritudines nunc, respondeo et [quesitum...et *addidit in margine A*] dico quod egritudines simpliciter erunt ille que erunt intense et durabiles; egritudines nunc sunt [sunt *addidit in interlinea A*] remisse et non durabiles. Prime sunt sicut [sicut *addidit in interlinea N*] cecitas a nativitate et corpora [corpora *addidit in interlinea A*] carencia pedum, et tales sunt egritudines semper, quia toto tempore vite sunt durabiles. Egritudines simpliciter ut multum tales a generatione erunt sicut podagra, quoniam in semine ereditantur: nam habens talem erit plurimum tempore vite eger, sicut aparet, quia aparenter aliquando sanantur; sicut est de lepra aut tipsi, que in semine hereditantur: nam in principio non sunt leprosi, sed postquam incurrerunt durant plurimo tempore vite. Vel sicut dixit supra Albertinus quod egrum ut [ut *addidit in interlinea N*] multum et egrum ut semper est aptum toto tempore manere [e^o *addidit et delevit N*] egrum, sed differunt, quia egrum multum est minus aptum manere egrum [manere egrum *addidit in intercolumnio A*] quam egrum semper, per ipsum habere minorem lapssum. Exemplum 2ⁱ sicut cecus a nativitate habens unum oculum cecum est egrum ut multum respectu habentis duos cecos» (f. 17va).

(42) «Ad propositum dico quod egritudines remissas [re- *addidit in margine N*] et durabiles et egritudines intensas non durabiles habet hec corpus neutrum, unde hec est dispositio media, quia intensa non durabilis; nam coincidit cum dispositione egrum nunc ratione qua non durabilis, cum dispositione egrum simpliciter ratione qua intensa. Similiter egritudo durabilis et remissa ratione qua durabilis coincidit [*coincidit addidit in margine N*] cum egritudine simpliciter, ratione qua remissa cum egritudine nunc, [ratione...nunc *addidit in margine A*] et sic est media» (f. 17va-b).

(43) «Ad auctoritatem Avicenne secundo quod illi 6^o. ordines corporum capiunt omnes dispositiones corporis humani, sed dico quod non est littera exponenda ut ipse

opinion that the *egrum simpliciter* should be placed inside the latitude of health, Giovanni responded that the *egrum simpliciter* is more significantly impaired in its function than the *egrum nunc*, and that this very impairment is the *ratio formalis* of the *egrum* in its whole sense, not only of the *egrum nunc* that Albertino had placed outside the latitude (44). To definitively refute Albertino's theories, Giovanni drew his own graphic representation of the *latitudo sanitatis*. The first scribe, Niccolò dell'Orto, reproduced it at f. 17v of the Sevilla manuscript [Figure 2]. Giovanni identifies his own position with that of the whole Paduan school and sets it against the generic position of the Bolognese school. This position absorbs in his view the different theories of Haly, Torrigiano, Gentile and Albertino, whom he avoids naming.

The polemic between Albertino Rinaldi and Giovanni Santasofia over the interpretation of the *egrum simpliciter* can be seen as evidence of the central role played by the *Tegni* both in the medical curriculum and in the academic debates of this time. On the grounds of that very interpretation Giovanni Santasofia was able to distinguish two different academic trends, that of Padua and that of Bologna. Although the

Albertinus [Albertinus *addidit in supralinea A*] exponit: nam sicut sanum est divisum in simpliciter et nunc, ita et egrum et neutrum; et sic faciunt sex ordines, quare erunt sex ordines omnia corpora [corpora *addidit in supralinea A*] comprehendentes. Ideo primo erunt 2. corpora sana: primum quod est sanum in ultimo et per tale intellexit sanum simpliciter; aliud est sanum non in ultimo et per hoc intellexit sanum nunc. 3^m est corpus quod non [non] est sanum nec egrum quemadmodum dicunt medici, et tale est neutrum primi significati. 4^m est corpus egrotativum, quod cito egritudinem incurrit; dico quod per hoc corpus Avicenna [corpus Avicenna *addidit in supralinea N*] non intellexit sanum nunc (sicut intellexit Albertinus) [sicut...Albertinus *addidit in interlinea N*], sed intellexit neutrum nunc, ita quod sicut posuit .2. sana, posuit .2. neutra, ideo» (f. 17vb).

(44) «Ad ultimam rationem [rationem *addidit in interlinea N*] quando probat Albertinus [Albertinus *addidit in interlinea N*] egrum simpliciter contineri in latitudine sanitatis, respondeo. Nam [respondeo. Nam *addidit in intercolumnio N*] cum dicit: «Omne egrum existens in latitudine egritudinis [existens...egritudinis *addidit in interlinea N*] habet operationes semper lesas,» istud [istud *addidit in margine N*] concedo; et cum dicit: «Sed [sed *addidit in interlinea N*] egrum simpliciter etc.,» nego, ymo habet sensibiliter lesas magis quam egrum nunc; et causa dicitur, quia [quia *addidit in interlinea N*] sensibilis lesio operationis est ratio formalis egri et non solius egri nunc» (f. 17vb).

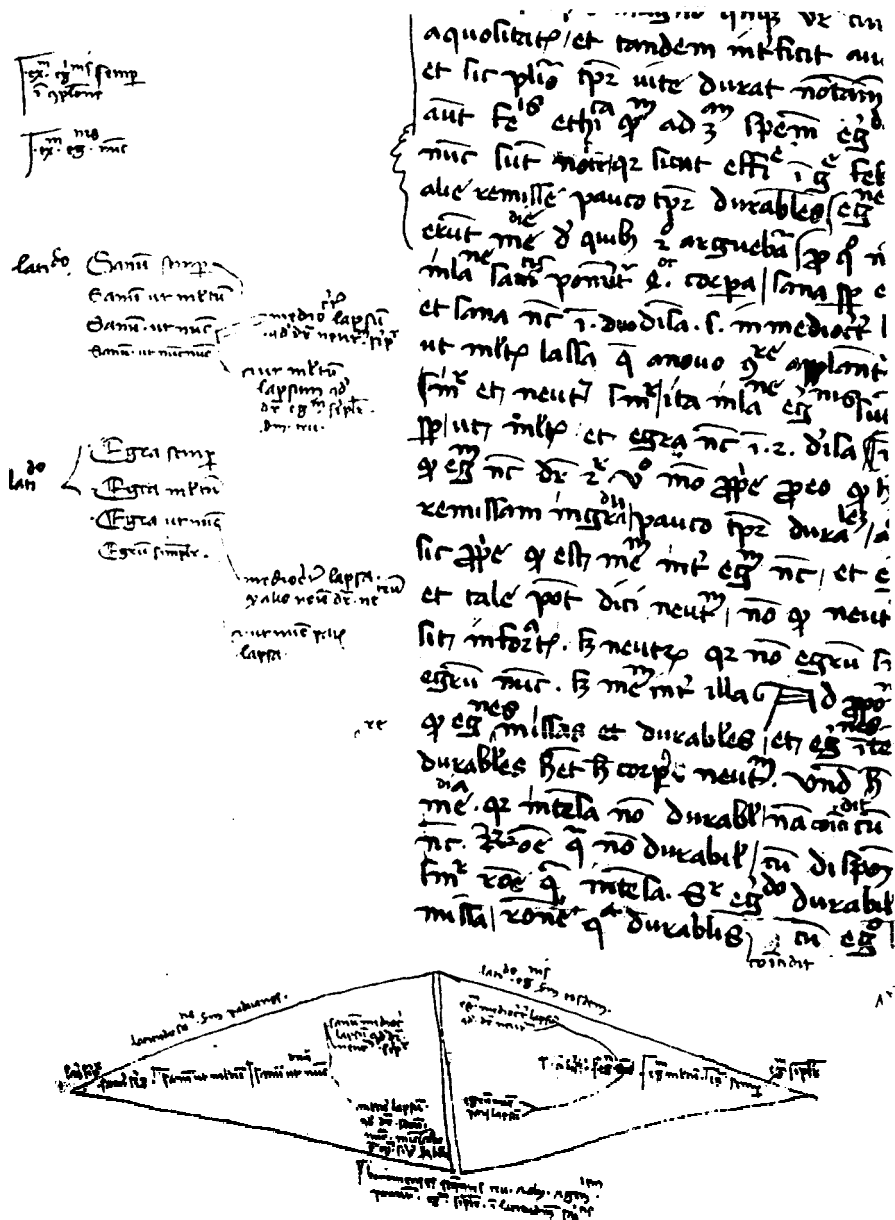


Figure 2.—Ms. Sevilla, 7-7-18, f. 17v: diagram of the latitude of health according to Giovanni Santasofia.

Studium of Padua did not have a tradition of *Articella* commentaries, it could nevertheless claim its own original scholarship on the grounds of the interpretation of a controversial point of the *Tegni*.

3. *THE COMMENTARIES BY MARSILIO SANTASOFIA, ANTONIO DA SCARPERIA AND CRISTOFORO DEGLI ONESTI*

The centrality of the *Tegni* in the Paduan curriculum was then confirmed by Giovanni Santasofia's younger brother, Marsilio. Marsilio devoted three different commentaries to the *Tegni* (45). I have now established that Marsilio's first lectures on the *Tegni* were held in the same year, 1376-77, that Giovanni commented on the text. In this first commentary Marsilio strictly followed the theories (46) that his brother was to develop in his last written commentary (47). Marsilio was the first master who commented on the whole *corpus* of the Italian *Articella*. His commentaries were widely diffused in Italian universities until the middle of the fifteenth century and were among the first commentaries used in the universities of Prague and Vienna, as many manuscripts have allowed me to prove. The very issuing of commentaries on the *Articella* and the *Canon*, and their diffusion in the German world, contributed to make Padua the most important university for medicine by the beginning of the fifteenth century.

(45) PESENTI, Tiziana. The *Articella* Commentaries by Marsilio Santasofia of Padua. In: *Papers of the Articella Project Meeting, Cambridge, December 1995*, Cambridge, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine [Articella Studies 3], 1998, pp. 1-9.

(46) At the lemma *Egrum vero corpus*, Marsilio explains in the following way: «Primo dicit sic: quod corpus simpliciter egrum simpliciter est corpus a generatione distemperatum in partibus consimilibus aut male compositionatum in organicis aut in utroque peccans. Nota quod per egrum debemus intendere corpus lesum sensibiliter in propriis operationibus non tantum respectu optime sanitatis, ymmo etiam respectu sui, quod corpus nullatenus reponitur in latitudine sanitatis, ymmo ponitur in latitudine egritudinis» (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 365, f. 12r).

(47) I shall edit Marsilio's commentary on book I (in Vat. MS lat. 2486) in my *Marsilio Santasofia* [in progress].

Outside Padua, however, commentaries on the *Tegni* were also produced in Perugia and Bologna. The Florentine Antonio da Scarperia commented on the *Tegni* in Perugia in 1389-90, and his lectures were recollected by «Griffolus Franciscy domini Petri» (now in Ms. Vat. lat. 4486) (48). The Bolognese Cristoforo Degli Onesti left 29 *Quaestiones super primum librum Tegni*, which Marsilio Santasofia wanted to have transcribed after his own commentary on book one (now in Ms. Vat. lat. 2486) (49). Besides

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- (48) The colophon at f. 23rb is: «Et in hoc terminatur expositio huius primi tractatus libri Tegni Galieni ad honorem et laudem omnipotentis Dei, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum amen, sub millesimo CCC° LXXXVIII°o, indictione XII^a, tempore domini Bonifacii pape VIII, sub reverendo doctore artium et medicine magistro Antonio de Scarperia nunc in Studio Perusino legente; quas recollectas ego Griffolus Franciscy domini Petri magistri Griffoli sub eodem magistro recollegi in scholis suis dum festinanter legebat, igitur et cetera». I am indebted to Alfonso Maierù for this observation about Antonio da Scarperia. The manuscript is also quoted by PARK, note 1, p. 200, note 39.
- (49) At f. 9va: «Hec sunt dubia que movet solempnis et egregius artium ac medicine doctor magister Christophorus de Bononia super primum librum Tegni Galieni»: 1) f. 9va-b, «Dubitatur utrum diffinitio medicine sit bona»; 2) f. 9vb-10rb, «Dubitatur 2° utrum medicina sit scientia vel ars»; 3) f. 10rb-11ra, «Dubitatur 3° utrum inter sanum et egrum detur neutrum»; 4) f. 11ra, «Dubitatur utrum ars medicine sit corporum sanorum, egrorum et neutrorum»; 5) f. 11ra-va, «Dubitatur utrum divisio corporum, signorum et causarum in talia simpliciter et talia ut nunc sit bona et de consideratione medici»; 6) f. 11va, «Dubitatur utrum sanum, egrum et neutrum solum dicantur de corpore, signo et causa»; 7) f. 11va-b, «Dubitatur utrum ars medicine sit de signis et causis, et est questio Trusiani»; 8) f. 11vb-12rb, «Dubitatur utrum corpus humanum sanabile, egrotabile etc. sit subiectum medicine»; 9) f. 12rb-va, «Dubitatur utrum doctrina de corporibus debeat precedere doctrinam de causis»; 10) f. 12va-b, «Dubitatur utrum doctrina de corporibus sit medico necessaria»; 11) f. 12vb-13ra, «Dubitatur utrum sanitas sit idem quod bona complexio»; 12) f. 13ra-14ra, «Dubitatur utrum corpus tale simpliciter sit tale a generatione»; 13) f. 14ra-b, «Dubitatur utrum sanum nunc possit esse ex generatione»; 14) f. 14rb-vb, «Dubitatur utrum corpus habens optimam sanitatem permaneat cum tali per omnes suas etates»; 15) f. 14vb-15va, «Dubitatur utrum sanum semper et sanum ut multum sit sanum ut nunc»; 16) f. 15va-b, «Dubitatur de sano semper utrum sit reperibile»; 17) f. 15vb, «Ultimo dubitatur utrum sint reperibilia plura corpora optime sana»; 18) f. 15vb-16ra, «Dubitatur utrum diffinitio egrum simpliciter sit bona»; 19) f. 16ra, «Dubitatur utrum egrum simpliciter possit esse ex tempore»; 20) f. 16ra-b, «Dubitatur utrum corpus in una dispositione optime sanum et in alia lapsum ab optima sanitate

these authored commentaries, there is also an anonymous Italian literal commentary dating from the second half of the century (now in Ms. Vat. lat. 4472) (50).

4. WAYS AND TIMES OF LECTURING ON THE TEGNI

The commentaries on the *Tegni* I have presented thus far were mostly transmitted in the form of *recollectiones* compiled by students. As far as I have been able to investigate in Italian medical manuscripts, this term *recollectiones* usually indicates the redaction of a scholastic text prepared by students on the basis of the notes they had taken in lectures; in this sense, the term is a synonym for *reportatio* (51). Sometimes, however, it also indicates the redaction of university lectures prepared

simpliciter possit dici egrum simpliciter»; 21) f. 16rb-17va, «Dubitatur utrum egrum simpliciter sit sanum ut nunc»; 22) f. 17va-b, «Dubitatur utrum egrum semper possit inveniri cum distemperamento complexione stante et in complexione stante temperamento in compositione»; 23) f. 17vb-18ra, «Dubitatur utrum neutrum nunc primi significati possit esse ex generatione»; 24) f. 18ra-va, «Dubitatur utrum egrum semper sit tale semper simpliciter»; 25) f. 18va, «Dubitatur que dispositio sit magis lapsa, an neutralitas semper simpliciter primi significati an ut multum»; 26) f. 18va-b, «Dubitatur utrum corpus hoc sic dispositum debeat dici neutrum»; 27) f. 18vb-19ra, «Utrum corpus sanum simpliciter in una natura et neutrum simpliciter primi significati in allia vel neutrum simpliciter primi significati secundum cor et sanum optime in toto residuo debeat dici neutrum de 2^o significato»; 28) f. 19ra, «Dubitatur in quo differunt neutrum simpliciter et neutrum ut nunc 2ⁱ significati in participando contrariis»; 29) f. 19ra-22rb, «Dubitatur utrum neutrum simpliciter primi significati sit medium sanissimi et egerrimi». At f. 22va: «Incipit titulus questionum magistri Christofori super primo libro».

(50) It has been quoted by AGRIMI, Jole; CRISCIANI, Chiara. *Medicina e logica in maestri bolognesi tra Due e Trecento: problemi e temi di ricerca*. In: Dino Buzzetti; Maurizio Ferriani; Andrea Tabbaroni (eds.), *L'insegnamento della logica a Bologna nel XIV secolo*, Bologna, Presso l'Istituto per la Storia d'Università, 1992, p. 214.

(51) See HAMESSE, Jacqueline. *La technique de la reportation*. In: Olga Weijers; Louis Holtz (eds.), *L'enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des arts, Paris et Oxford, XIII^e-XV^e siècles*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1997, pp. 405-421.

by a master and then given to his students for transcription (52); in this sense, it is used in opposition to *reportatae* (53).

Two manuscripts of *recollectiones* taken by students allow us to follow the ways and times of lecturing on the *Tegni* during the academic year. The lectures on the *Tegni* by Albertino Rinaldi (now in Ms. Parmense 1065) and by Marsilio Santasofia (now in Ms. Clm. 365) start immediately at the beginning of the academic year and last until May in the first case (54), and until the middle of June in the second (55). After lecturing on the *Tegni*, they both lectured on the *Pronostica* and the *De regimine acutorum*, including Galen's commentaries. The *De regimine*, however, was lectured upon only as far as the third book (56). In the *Studia* of Bologna, Padua and Pavia the *Tegni* was lectured upon by the professors of «*medicina theorica*». At the University of Florence, by contrast, there was a specific «*lectura Tegni*» (57). It was probably instituted in the academic year 1388-89 and lasted at least until 1402-1403 (58). We do not know so far, however, whether it really was the only chair for the teaching of the *Tegni* or whether it was, on the contrary, a subsidiary course in addition to that of «*medicina theorica*». The first book of the *Tegni* is very short compared to the second and the third, although it is theoretically the most complex. It was usually lectured upon in about

(52) So, for example, in Marsilio's commentary (Vat. MS lat. 2486).

(53) BELLONI, Annalisa. *Iohannes Heller e i suoi libri di testo: uno studente tedesco a Padova nel Quattrocento tra insegnamento giuridico ufficiale e «natio Theutonica»*. *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 1987, 20, 78-79, shows that *recollectae* and *reportatae* are used in juridical manuscripts with this same meaning, that is, *recollectae* as «dispense a cura del docente», *reportatae* as «dispense a cura degli studenti».

(54) Parmense MS 1065, f. 229v: «Expliciunt recollectiones super libro Tegni scripte sub excelenti et famoso doctore MCCCLXX per me Tomaxum de Crema artium doctorem et explete die quarto madii in mane ante tercias. Amen». The first date at the beginning of the manuscript is «MCCCLXX, die veneris nono novembris» at f. 27r, towards the end of Albertino's commentary on book I.

(55) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 365, f. 266v: «Finis recollectionum Tegni magistri Marsilii, anno Domini MCCCLXXVII, die medio mensis iulii durante».

(56) See BELLONI, note 1, pp. 46-47, and PESENTI, note 45, pp. 4-5.

(57) See ABBONDANZA, Roberto. *Gli atti degli Ufficiali dello Studio fiorentino dal maggio al settembre 1388*. *Archivio storico italiano*, 1959, 117, 97.

(58) This problem is discussed in my *Marsilio Santasofia* [in progress].

twenty days, surely in less than a month (59), whereas lecturing on the second book lasted usually until February (60), and on the third book until May or June.

During the fourteenth century, the Italian medical curriculum progressively reduced the importance of Johannitius' *Isagoge*. It was still quoted by Giovanni Dondi in his *Quaestiones*, but there were no more commentaries on it and the Italian *Articella completa* excluded it from its corpus (61). But lecturing on the *Tegni* presupposed anyway a propaedeutical introduction that explained the concepts of *natura*, *complexio*, *compositio* and *unitas* which form the basis of Galen's theories of health and disease. This isagogical role was assigned in the Italian medical curriculum to the first book of the *Canon*, to which fourteenth-century Italian commentators on the *Tegni* often referred. In their lectures on the first book of the *Tegni* they deal with detailed questions on *complexio* and *compositio* precisely because they presuppose that their students had already been trained in these topics through the teaching of the *Canon* (62). The early statutes of Bologna and Padua ratify this didactic order: the teaching of the first book of the *Canon* is in fact assigned to the first year of the medical course, and that of the *Tegni* to the second or third year (63).

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- (59) Albertino probably started lecturing after the feast of Saint Luke (18 October) and was already towards the end of the book by 9 November (see above, note 54).
- (60) The lectures on book II end in Parmense, MS 1065 on 17 February 1367 at f. 160v: «MCCCLXVII die martis decimo septimo februarii, indicione Ia in ecclesia Sancti Iohannis Vangeliste, amen».
- (61) See PESENTI, Tiziana. Le «Articelle» di Daniele di Marsilio Santasofia (†1410), professore di medicina. *Studi petrarcheschi*, 1990, 7, 50-92.
- (62) For example, Marsilio Santasofia introduces rather difficult *dubia* about the concepts of *complexio* and *compositio* in his written commentary in Vat. MS lat. 2486 without previously explaining them. He only quotes in a *notandum* the definitions of the *Canon* and refers his readers to them. See *dubium* 9, «Utrum possint reperiri plura corpora optime sana» (f. 3v-4r) and *dubium* 10, «Dubitatur etiam sub quo modo equalitatis ad iustitiam reponatur sanum ut semper et sanum ut multum» (f. 4r).
- (63) See for Bologna *Statuti dell'università di medicina e d'arti del 1405*. In: Carlo Malagola (ed.), *Statuti delle università e dei collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, Bologna, 1888, rubrica lxxviiij: «De lectura et ordine librorum legendorum», pp. 274-276; for Padua *Statuta Dominorum Artistarum Achademiae Patauinae*, [sine notis], liber II,

But the teaching of the *Tegni*, and especially of its first book, was probably rather difficult even for advanced students. The first book was probably lectured upon quickly. We may suppose that it was the organization of the *puncta* that necessitated its being lectured upon in so a short time (64). The first book of the *Tegni* was probably divided in two *puncta* and each of them was to be read in about two weeks, although many central questions arose from them.

Consequently, besides the literal and question-form commentaries, I have also found two brief and very unusual introductions to only the first book. One of them consists of three leaves in Ms. Vat. lat. 4445 and is entitled: *Introductorium ad doctrinam de corporibus secundum Bologninum* (65).

rubr. xvi: «Quae teneantur legere doctores», c. XXIVv. At the University of Ferrara in the fifteenth century the *Tegni* and the first book of the *Canon* were both lectured upon in the first year of the course, the *Tegni* «de mane», the *Canon* «in nonis»: see the edition of the statutes in CAPUTO, Vincenzo; CAPUTO Riccardo. *L'università degli scolari di medicina e d'arti dello Studio ferrarese (sec. XV-XVIII)*, Ferrara, Accademia delle scienze di Ferrara, 1990, p. 128.

- (64) Although secondary sources emphasize the use of the *puncta* only in the universities of law (see, for example, WEIJERS, Olga. *Terminologie des universités au XIIIe siècle*, Roma, Edizione dell'Ateneo, 1987, pp. 302-306), they were also fixed in the universities of medicine and arts. In the Bolognese *Statuti dell'università di medicina e d'arti del 1405*, the prescription of the *puncta* is to be found at the rubrica xxxj: «Qua hora debeant legere doctores»: «[...] Omnes autem tam magistri quam doctores quacumque hora legentes debeant puncta taxata servare, non preveniendo vel pretermittendo terminum taxatum, pena viginti solidorum bon., pro quolibet eorum et quolibet puncto non observato tam in prima lectione quam in secunda» (MALAGOLA, note 63, p. 254). See also JACQUART, Danielle. *La scolastica medica. In: Mirko D. Grmek (ed.), Storia del pensiero medico occidentale. 1. Antichità e medioevo*, Roma-Bari, Editori Laterza, 1993, p. 277; MAIERÙ, Alfonso. *University Training in Medieval Europe*, translated and edited by D. N. Prys, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1994, pp. 50-53.
- (65) This miscellaneous manuscript, written by many Italian hands of the second half of the fourteenth century, focuses on the study of the *Tegni*. After two fly-leaves in parchment, taken from a juridical manuscript, it contains the *Tractatus* by Albertino da Salso (f. 1ra-34vb), some questions on the *Tegni* by Marsilio Santasofia (f.34ra-59vb), the *Introductorium* by Bolognino (f. 60ra-62ra), a compendium of the exposition of the *Tegni* by Taddeo Alderotti entitled «Incipiunt autoritates et diffinitiones super libro Tegni secundum Tadeum et quamplures utiles dubitationes», (f. 62ra-65rb) (which I would like to edit in the future), a *Questio de contraoperantiis*

The other one consists of three leaves in Ms. Erfurt, Stadtbibliothek (Amploniana), CA 2° 261, and its author, Piero d'Arezzo, presents it as a *Tractatulus* (66). Both are centred on the concepts of *corpus sanum*, *egrum* and *neutrum* and of *latitudo sanitatis*. These theories are explained in a rather informal way. Neither Bolognino nor Piero d'Arezzo follow Galen's text; rather, both authors summarize it in the light of Torrigiano's theories. I shall first discuss Bolognino's *Introductorium* (an edition of which appears as an appendix to this paper) and I shall then briefly discuss the work by Piero d'Arezzo.

5. *BODILY CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL STATUS IN THE INTRODUCTORIUM BY BOLOGNINO*

To explain the theories of the *sanum simpliciter*, *neutrum simpliciter* and *egrum simpliciter*, Bolognino compares these bodily conditions to the social classes in a monarchy. In every such secular kingdom there is just one monarch who is the supreme ruler; then there are the courtiers and barons (*curiales*, *barones*) who attend and serve the monarch; finally, there are the *populares*, or the lay and civilian population, who are subject to the monarch and can exist in many different social and economic conditions. Together, they form the latitude of kingdom (*latitudo regni*), which can be compared to the latitude of health. The monarch corresponds to the *sanum simpliciter*. This is the best disposition to be found in the human species, in the same way as the monarch holds the supreme dignity in his kingdom. Courtiers and barons correspond to the *neutrum simpliciter* because they are as close to the monarch as the *neutrum simpliciter* is close to the *sanum simpliciter*. The lay and civilian population corresponds to the *egrum simpliciter* because they are as far from the monarch as the *egrum simpliciter* is from the *sanum simpliciter*. Insofar as they exist in many different social and economic conditions, however, so their distance from the *sanum simpliciter* can be very different. Both courtiers and barons and the lay and civilian population have the

membrorum, on book two of the *Tegni*, by Antonio da Scarperia (f. 66ra-75va), and a series of anonymous questions on the *Tegni* and the first book of the *Canon*. (66) See *infra*, pp. 187-196.

state of servants in comparison with the monarch, although courtiers and barons are less inferior than the lay and civilian population. But they are all at the same time the lords of their own houses, families and wealth. Therefore, in the latitude of kingdom there is a lord *simpliciter* who is the monarch, and there are many people who are at the same time servants and lords, servants in comparison with the monarch and lords of their own possessions, which the monarch has given them. In a similar way, the latitude of health encloses but one disposition that can be defined as *sanum simpliciter* and many kinds of dispositions that can be defined as either *neutrum simpliciter* or *egrum simpliciter*. Both the *neutrum simpliciter* and the *egrum simpliciter* are respectively neutral and ill in comparison with the *sanum simpliciter*, but are *sana ut nunc* in comparison with themselves and with the disposition they have been given *a generatione*. So, there is a fourth latitude of health which is the latitude of the *sanum ut nunc*. This fourth latitude, however, is to be identified with the latitude of the *neutrum simpliciter* and *egrum simpliciter*. Bolognino's explanation of a great latitude (*magna latitudo* or *latitudo sanitatis lata*), which includes *sanum simpliciter*, *neutrum simpliciter* and *egrum simpliciter*, corresponds perfectly to Torrigiano's and Albertino's theories. But he gives a new graphic scheme of the latitude and explains it in the last part of his *Introductorium*. He is especially interested in the problem of the latitudes excluded from the latitude of health. To explain the passage from the latitude of health to the latitude of disease Bolognino supposes that any one of the bodies in the latitude of health makes such a heavy mistake in its *regimen* that it becomes impaired *sensibiliter* and *manifeste* in its own functions. This body then becomes *egrum ut nunc* and is to be placed in the *latitudo egrorum*; but before becoming *egrum ut nunc*, it becomes *neutrum ut nunc* and also this condition is to be placed outside the latitude of health.

Bolognino was very probably a Bolognese author, because he quotes the opinion of a rather modest Bolognese master, Fabiano Zancari (one of the sons of Alberto Zancari), as that of a famous *auctor*, so famous that he associates his authority with that of Duns Scotus (67). His name,

(67) In 1349, Fabiano Zancari was a doctor of medicine attached to the Bolognese College of Physicians; in 1352, he was vicar of the Archdeacon Agapito Colonna.

moreover, allows us to hypothesize that he was almost certainly a member of the Bolognini family, to whom belonged Lodovico and other professors of law and medicine of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (68). But there are no attestations of his life and activity as a master in the Bolognese sources available so far.

Bolognino says he was persuaded to write his *Introductorium* out of his affection for some people who used to complain about the confusion of Galen's text: «Motus igitur dilectione quorundam studentium, fratrum et sociorum» (f. 60ra). The terms he uses, *quorundam studentium, fratrum et sociorum*, can be interpreted in at least two ways. *Fratrum et sociorum* could be simple appositions of *quorundam studentium*: thus Bolognino might have been referring to some students whom he would call not only companions but also brothers. But referring to university *socii* as *fratres* is a rather unusual occurrence (69). More probably, then, Bolognino intends to designate with the three terms three different categories of people. The *studentes* are thus the students attending the lectures on the *Tegni*. The *fratres* are the Franciscan friars of Bologna, whose relations with the university of arts and medicine are well known [they used to house the convocations of the university of medicine in their convent of San Francesco (70) and used to take part in the disputations of the medical university (71)]. Finally, the *socii* are the bachelors and

He taught medicine until his death in 1365, and was reputed in Bologna to be an «eloquentissimo filosofo e medico» MAZZETTI, Serafino. *Repertorio di tutti i professori antichi e moderni della famosa Università e del celebre Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna*, Bologna, Tip. di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1848, p. 327.

- (68) See FANTUZZI, Giovanni. *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, Bologna, Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1782, vol. 2, pp. 254-273, where we also find a Bolognino who was a friar of S. Domenico in Bologna and author of some *Quaestiones super primo Sententiarum*; IX (Bologna, 1794), 66-67; CAPRIOLI, Severino. Bolognini, Ludovico. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1969, vol. 11, pp. 337-352.
- (69) Alfonso Maierù points out to me, however, that Antonio da Scarperia calls his students «fratres» in his commentary on the *Tegni*: «Ut autem, fratres karissimi, hoc faciliter prosequamur, duo sunt premittenda» (Vat. MS lat. 4448, f. 1ra).
- (70) SIRAISSI, note 5, p. 10.
- (71) MAIERÙ, note 64, p. 68.

repetitors (72) and of this very category Bolognino was probably a member. He was perhaps a *repetitor* and his *Introductorium* could be a rather free version of his *repetitiones*, studied precisely to solve the difficulties he had noticed during his explanation of the first book of the *Tegni*.

As Anneliese Maier has emphasized, the Bolognese *repetitores* were not obliged to give an explanation of the exegetical themes that conformed with the lectures of their professors (73). On the contrary, they could concentrate on some topics and introduce new digressions, following the questions of their students. Bolognino's choice to concentrate on the latitude of health and to compare it with the latitude of a kingdom arose almost certainly out of the particular importance of the first book of the *Tegni* in the medical curriculum.

6. *THE TRACTATULUS BY PIERO DA AREZZO*

The author of our second introduction to the first book of the *Tegni* adds «P. de Aretio vester siquid est» at the end of his work (now in the miscellaneous Ms. Erfurt, CA 2° 261, f. 96v). The pointed initial «P.» was assumed to be «Petrus» by Wilhelm Schum, the author of the catalogue of the manuscripts of Amplonius Rating de Bercka (74). This manuscript, however, is not described in the old inventory of Amplonius' library of the year 1412 (75). Amplonius did give a short summary of the contents

(72) COURTENAY, William J. The Arts Faculty at Paris in 1329. In: Olga Weijers; Louis Holtz (eds.), *L'enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des arts, Paris et Oxford, XIII^e-XV^e siècles*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1997, pp. 56-57, underlines that the term *socius* refers to a colleague at the same academic level or at a lower level.

(73) MAIER, Anneliese. Eine italienische Averroistenschule aus der ersten Haelfte des 14. Jahrhundert. In: *Die Vorläufer Galileis im 14. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Naturphilosophie der Spätscholastik*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e letterature, 1949, pp. 254-262, and also BUZZETTI, Dino; LAMBERTINI, Roberto; TABARRONI, Andrea. Tradizione testuale e insegnamento nell'università di medicina e arti di Bologna dei secoli XIV e XV. *Annali di storia delle università italiane*, 1997, 1, 78.

(74) SCHUM, Wilhelm. *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887, p. 169.

(75) As Schum notes in his description of the manuscript (p. 169) and as we can

of the manuscript inside its binding, but he did not mention the author of the *Tractatulus* (76).

A Piero d'Arezzo is, anyway, known. The son of Giovanni, and father of another Giovanni, he was physician of the Comune of Arezzo in 1387 and died after 1415 (77). According to the local historian Ugo Viviani, he taught «fisica» in the *Studium* of Arezzo in 1392 (78). But was there a *Studium Aretino* in those years? (79). We do not know whether he taught in other universities because there are no attestations of his name in the available sources. In the course of his *Tractatulus* he twice quotes a «magister Ia. doctor Ari.» (80), but this abbreviated name, despite our best efforts, remains unknown. Piero's identification with Petrus de Aretio, the author of three very short astrological texts in the miscellaneous Ms. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VIII, 89 (3418) (81), is rather doubtful because the manuscript was written in

check reading the inventory, section *De medicina*, at pp. 822-833 of his *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*.

- (76) Amplonius' summary is: «Lectura Marsilii de Sancta Sophya super primo Canonis. Item lectura eiusdem super Tegni Galieni. Item Gentilis De corde. Item diverse recepte».
- (77) BLACK, Robert. *Studio e scuola in Arezzo durante il Medioevo e il Rinascimento. I documenti d'archivio fino al 1530*, Arezzo, Accademia Petrarca di lettere, arti e scienze, 1996, pp. 333-334, note 188, and pp. 403-404, note 330. COTTON, Juliana Hill. *Name-List from a Medical Register of the Italian Renaissance 1350-1550*, Oxford, [no publisher given], 1976, p. 94, puts his *floruit* in the years 1392-1400.
- (78) VIVIANI, Ugo. *Medici, fisici e cerusici della Provincia Aretina vissuti dal V al XVII secolo d. c.*, Arezzo, Dott. Ugo Viviani Editore, 1923, p. 63. His entries for *Pietro d'Arezzo* (24), *Piero d'Arezzo* and *Pietro di Giovanni di Arezzo* refer to the same person.
- (79) According to BLACK, note 77, pp. 106, 133, 136-154, there was no institutional teaching between 1373 and 1456.
- (80) «Magister Ia.» is quoted in the course of the *dubium* «Utrum egritudo nunc possit esse a generatione.»: «...et ista est responsio magistri Ia. doctoris Ari., que tamen mihi dubium fecit magnum» (f. 96v), and again in the course of the *dubium* «Uterius dubitatur quod corpus sit melius: vel neutrum simpliciter semper in primo significato vel neutrum simpliciter ut multum.»: «Respondet magister Ia. quod corpus neutrum simpliciter ut multum» (f. 96v).
- (81) THORNDIKE, Lynn; KIBRE, Pearl. *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin*, revised and augmented edition, Cambridge, Mass, Mediaeval

the sixteenth century, even though it also contains works by Arabic authors and by the medieval astrologer Guido Bonatti (82).

The Erfurt manuscript, the only witness of Piero's *Tractatulus* known so far, is no less problematic. Written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century in various German and Italian hands, it conserves two commentaries—one on the first book of the *Canon* and another on the second book of the *Tegni*—that were ascribed to Marsilio Santasofia by Amplonius. This attribution is, however, unreliable (83). The other works by Italian physicians are the *De corde* by Gentile da Foligno (f. 164ra-170va), a question by Francesco di Pietro Zanelli da Bologna, pupil of Gentile and professor at Perugia from 1351 (84) (f. 90r-92v), and thirteen anonymous questions on physical themes (f. 174r-177r). It thus seems difficult to locate this group of works in a specific university context. As a very weak hypothesis, we can think that the manuscript could have been produced in the *Studium* of Perugia, where some Aretini physicians taught in the fourteenth century (85).

The intention of the author of the *Tractatulus* is to give a short and precise personal explanation of the first book of the *Tegni*, with some references to the other two books (86). His explanation is grounded in

Academy of America, 1963, col. 1881, gives only one authored entry for the two works. The works by Petrus de Aretio in this manuscript are: «Ordo et regula in iudicandis nativitatibus magistri Petri de Aretio» (f. 300r), «Ad iudicandum nativitatem canon magistri Petri de Aretio» (f. 301r), and «Canon de observationibus temporum eiusdem magistri Petri de Aretio» (f. 303r).

- (82) The manuscript was written for the most part in 1511 in Buda (Hungary) by the Paduan physician Antonio Gazio who transcribed his own astronomical works; the remainder of the manuscript was written by a German scribe who completed his work in 1520 in Nürnberg.
- (83) I discuss the problem in my *Marsilio Santasofia* [in progress].
- (84) ROSSI, A. Documenti per la storia dell'Università di Perugia. *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, 1877, 6 (60), 251-252. Francesco quotes in the course of his question Giovanni da Penne (f. 91vb).
- (85) VIVIANI, note 78, quotes Beltrame di Neri Chiribaldi da Cortona (pp. 41-42), Angelo Blasi da Cortona (p. 42), Matteo Ruggieri da Arezzo (p. 64), and Tebaldo d'Arezzo (p. 65) as professors in the *Studium* of Perugia.
- (86) Incipit of the text: «In hoc tractatulo intendo perquirere quedam brevia circa scientiam de corporibus secundum modum tractandi a Galieno in Tegni, primo

the *Plusquam Commentum* of Torrigiano and intends to present *per ordinem* the *capitula* of the *Tegni* related to the *corpus sanum, egrum et neutrum*. According to their attributions of *simpliciter semper, simpliciter ut multum* and *ut nunc*, each *corpus* aggregates three *capitula*; the *corpus neutrum* aggregates, however, by itself nine more *capitula*. So they aggregate together eighteen *capitula*. The same computation applies also to the *signum* and the *causa*, which aggregate thirty six more *capitula*. But the *causa* is twofold: *efficiens* and *conservans*, and the latter also aggregates eighteen *capitula*. The *capitula totius artis medicine* are thus in total seventy-two (87).

tractatu, quem iuxta potentiam mei intellectus sequi volo, quibuslibet aliis prorsus exclusis erroribus. Et quia brevitatis causa facilioris memorie, ideo ad brevia me vertam, necessaria in hac scientia tangendo et alia obmittendo; non solum autem dicam de corporibus, sed aliquid de signis et causis, propterea quia Galienus de eis immediate determinat, non tamen nisi quantum ad propositum spectat meum. Sic ergo incipiam» (f. 94r).

- (87) «Medicina est scientia corporum sanorum, egrorum et neutrorum, causarum sanarum, egrarum et neutrarum, signorum sanorum, egrorum et neutrorum. Semper adde: corporum humanorum, ex quo sequitur quod scientia medicine non versatur ad bruta. Ita exponit Plusquam Commentator litteram Galieni in commento 7, ibi *Medicina est scientia sanorum, egrorum etc.* Quodlibet autem trium dictorum dicitur 3^{bus} modis, ut Galienus in littera, scilicet *simpliciter semper, simpliciter ut multum* et *ut nunc*, unde argumentatur: quoddam est sanum simpliciter semper, quoddam simpliciter ut multum et quoddam ut nunc; similiter quoddam est egrum simpliciter semper, quoddam simpliciter ut multum et quoddam ut nunc; sequitur neutrum. Et ita proportionaliter dic de signo et causa: quoddam est signum sanum, id est significans sanitatem simpliciter semper; quoddam est signum sani et significans sanitatem simpliciter ut multum; et quoddam ut nunc. Ita etiam de egro et neutro, et similiter de causa. Ex quo infero quod capitula totius ipsius artis in summa erunt 54, quod sic declaro: summo *corpus*; ipsum dividitur in simpliciter semper tale et in simpliciter ut multum tale et in nunc tale; ita quod aliquod est sanum simpliciter semper, aliquod simpliciter ut multum et aliquod ut nunc; habentur tria capitula. Et sicut corpus dicitur sanum semper, sanum multum et sanum nunc, ita etiam dicitur egrum tripliciter et similiter neutrum, quare iam habentur circa corpus .9. capitula; sed quia neutrum dicitur quadrupliciter, ut ponit Galienus in littera *secundum 4^{or} eius significata*, et quodlibet significatum constituit 3^a capitula, ideo sciatur quod etiam corpus constituit preter dicta .9. capitula alia .9. Proba ut *sanum*: habes ergo iam XVIII capitula solum circa corpus tam *sanum* quam *egrum* et etiam *neutrum*. Eodem modo precise procedatur in *signo* et *causa*, et a quolibet summantur alia .18. capitula,

The author of the *Tractatulus* systematically follows this organization of the *capitula* and the *intentiones* of Galen and Torrigiano (88). Concerning the *corpus sanum*, for instance, he discusses the *dubium* whether the *sanum simpliciter* is always a *generatione* and the *sanum nunc* is always a *tempore et post principia generationis* (89). After analyzing the *propositiones*

ergo habes in totum 54, quia ter .18. Sed tu dices: nonne causa est duplex, scilicet efficiens et conservans? Respondeo quod sic; conclusio: secundum hoc poterunt addi pro causa conservante alia .18. capitula et per consequens in totum erunt .72. capitula totius artis medicine» (f. 94r).

(88) «De quorum quolibet intendo per ordinem dicere quantum spectat ad presens [quantum...presens *addidit in margine ms.*] secundum intentionem Galieni et Plusquam Commentatoris» (f. 94r).

(89) «Ideo circa hoc oritur dubium utrum debeat intendi sicut innuit Galienus quod sanum simpliciter sit semper a generatione et sanum nunc sit semper a tempore et post principia generationis.

Arguitur quod non, quia potest aliquod corpus sanum semper egrotare, demum sanari et reduci ad pristinam sanitatem, licet ista non erit eadem sanitas numero cum prima; ergo optima sanitas potest esse a tempore, ergo non semper a generatione.

Preterea nos videmus hunc distemperatum toccum nasci talem a generatione, et hunc flaccum et sic de aliis multis egris simpliciter; ergo non semper sanum nunc est a tempore.

Preterea corpus sanum nunc potest reduci ad corpus optime sanum per bona regimina paulative, licet in longo tempore; ergo sanum semper non erit a generatione, ymmo tunc erit a tempore.

Respondet Plusquam Commentator ponendo multas propositiones.

Prima est ista: corpus sanum simpliciter semper est corpus de secundo modo equalitatis.

2^a: tale corpus est tale a generatione.

3^a: esse tale a generatione non est ratio formalis eius.

4^a: ratio formalis sani simpliciter est habere sanitatem fixam et habituatam.

5^a: aliquod corpus sanum simpliciter semper potest esse tale a tempore.

6^a: talis sanitas acquisita a tempore per reductionem non est ita bona nec ita vera sanitas sicut illa que a generatione; ymmo est similitudo et ydolum eius.

7^{am} quam infert est quod ideo scientia medicine non est de isto corpore optime sano reducto per arte<m>. Probat, quia scientia medicine non est de corporibus factis ab arte, sed de factis a natura. Subcedit quod licet non sit de illis, est tamen ad illa, id est etiam scientia medicine extendit se ad illa corpora. Probat, quia scientia medicine extendit se ad considerandum de conservatione, reductione, preservatione et huiusmodi.

of Torrigiano, he concludes with him that the *sanum simpliciter* is always *a generatione* because the health someone can acquire *a tempore* is only an *ymago et similitudo* of the real *sanum simpliciter*. As a corollary to the question, Piero specifies that the terms *simpliciter* and *nunc* are not to be referred to the time but to the bodily disposition («non sunt note vel signa temporis, sed dispositionis inherentie subiecto») (90). The *sanum simpliciter* is thus the absolutely healthy body («habet sanitatem que absolute dicitur sanitas et non isti vel illi solum»); the *sanum nunc* is, by contrast, the imperfectly and relatively healthy body («habet sanitatem lassam et defectuosam paucio tempore duraturam, que non est absolute sanitas, sed habenti solum») (91). *Simpliciter* always indicates an absolute and steady disposition, whereas *nunc* indicates a relative and temporary disposition (92). If the same terms are applied to the *corpus egrum*, the *egrum simpliciter* will be, in Piero's view, the body which has the worst

Deinde Plusquam Commentator ponit alias propositiones similes de sano ut nunc.

Prima: sanum nunc habet sanitatem secundum quid et potest esse tale a generatione.

2^a: aliqua sanitas nunc potest esse a tempore.

3^a: hoc esse a tempore vel a generatione non est ratio formalis eius.

4^a: ratio formalis eius est habere sanitatem lapsam paucio tempore duraturam.

5^a: sanitas nunc a tempore est similitudo et ydolum sanitatis nunc a generatione.

6^a: scientia medicine non est de illo sano nunc facto a tempore, sed de illo a generatione etc.

Stat ergo in hoc sententia Plusquam Commentatoris in brevi, quod sanum simpliciter, pro ut de ipso dicit Galienus, semper est a generatione et nunquam a tempore, quia illud sic reductum, licet sit sanum simpliciter, tamen non est illud sanum simpliciter de quo fit mentio a Galieno, sed est ymago et similitudo representans illud, et ideo non tamen intelligamus quod licet ipsum simpliciter tale sanum sit a generatione, quod ista dictio *a generatione* distinguat ipsum a sano nunc, quia etiam sanum nunc potest esse a generatione.

Ex quo clare patet solutio et responsio quesiti» (f. 94r-v).

(90) At f. 94v.

(91) At f. 94v. Piero's explanation of the terms corresponds to concepts and terminology of Torrigiano (see OTTOSSON, note 2, pp. 182-189).

(92) «Ly *simpliciter* ergo secundum Galienum ubicumque de hoc loquitur dicit michi unam rem absolute et maxime talem, affixam et ex principiis intrinsicis aptam toto tempore vel maiori parte temporis perdurare; sed ly *nunc* dicit unam rem contractam isti vel illi, non absolute nec maxime talem et que ex principiis intrinsicis habet quod paucio tempore duret» (f. 94v).

disposition inside the latitude of health because this disposition is constitutional to it. But this disposition is not the worst disease but the worst health which is fixed and durable; the *egrum nunc*, on the other hand, will be the body impaired in its operations whose disposition is the worst not absolutely but only in relation to it (93).

The discussion about the *neutrum* allows the author of the *Tractatulus* to explain more precisely these two concepts of the worst disposition. The *corpus neutrum in primo significato* is the real medium between *corpus sanissimum* and *corpus egerrimum*, which does not participate in the nature

(93) «Sed propter pleniorē evidentiam dīctorum et dicendorum videndum est in quo differt *ly simpliciter* a *ly nunc* tam in sano quam in egro; 2° quare Galienus posuit semper in diffinitione sani simpliciter et egri simpliciter et neutri simpliciter istam particulam *a generatione*, non autem in *ly nunc*, ymmo dixit *secundum presens tempus*.

Ad primum dico quod *ly simpliciter* in sano dicit unam dispositionem [sub *addidit et deleuit ms.*] optimam, perfectam, fixam et perdurabilem, id est aptam ex principiis intrinsicis durare toto tempore vite sue vel maiori parte temporis vite sue (dico propter sanum simpliciter ut multum). Dicitur autem tale *simpliciter*, id est absolute et maxime tale sine aliquo addito; et ergo corpus sanum simpliciter habet sanitatem que absolute dicitur sanitas et non isti vel illi solum. Et per oppositum sanum nunc dicitur esse illud quod habet sanitatem lassam et defectuosam pauco tempore duraturam, que non est absolute sanitas, sed habenti solum; unde *simpliciter* et *nunc* non sunt note vel signa temporis, sed dispositionis inherentis subiecto. *Ly simpliciter* ergo secundum Galienum ubicumque de hoc loquitur dicit michi unam rem absolute et maxime talem, affixam et ex principiis intrinsicis aptam toto tempore vel maiori parte temporis perdurare; sed *ly nunc* dicit unam rem contractam isti vel illi, non absolute nec maxime talem et que ex principiis intrinsicis habet quod pauco tempore duret. Per idem dic de egro simpliciter et nunc, quia *egrum simpliciter* est illud quod habet pessimam dispositionem in latitudine sanitatis existentem, eo quod ipsa est congenita et connaturalis corpori; non dico pessimam egritudinem, sed pessimam sanitatem fixam et aptam perdurare semper vel ut multum, que absolute dicitur egritudo et maxime egritudo respectu optimi sani, non aliter, quia vera est sanitas, et hec dispositio a principio generationis contraxit quod debeat semper vel multum durare, quapropter eam habens est maxime aptus cadere statim et subito in lassum egritudinalem. Sed *egrum nunc* habet dispositionem preter naturam ledentem eius operationes, de ratione cuius non est quod multum duret nec quod sit pessima et malla dispositio absolute, sed habenti solum. Et licet alique sint egritudines multum durantes, scilicet tota vita, sic tamen durare non est ratio nec de ratione earum, sed est per accidens ab aliquo extrinseco» (f. 94v).

of either of them (94). The *corpus sanissimum* is the *corpus sanum simpliciter semper*. The *corpus egerrimum* is the *corpus egrum semper*, which coincides in his view with the *sanum nunc*. They are both within the latitude of health; also the *neutrum simpliciter* is consequently inside this latitude (95).

As we can see from its first part, the exposition of the *Tractatulus* is a short, accurate compendium of Galen's opinion as given by Torrigiano in his *Plusquam Commentum*. It is not as simplified as Bolognino's explanation. Instead, it tends to conserve the structure of an *expositio cum quaestionibus*. But only the first three questions are fully formulated and formally developed. After these, the questions are only formulated, without formal discussion (96), or are just mentioned (97). The way of exposing is,

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- (94) «Incipio a primo significato et dico cum Galieno quod corpus neutrum in primo significato est illud quod est vere medium inter corpus sanissimum et egerrimum, nullo duorum extremorum participans, ymmo absolvitur a natura utriusque. Sed hic aliqui difficultant multum quid intellexerit Galienus per sanissimum et egerrimum. Omnes concordant quod per sanissimum, sanum simpliciter semper; sed per egerrimum aliqui dicunt quod egrum nunc, aliqui quod egrum simpliciter. Dicam infra cum aliis que movebo dubiis» (f. 94v).
- (95) «Neutrum ergo simpliciter semper in primo significato est vere medium inter extremum intensissimum sanitatis, scilicet inter sanum semper, et inter extremum remississimum, id est inter egrum simpliciter semper, et ambo ista extrema sunt in latitudine sanitatis, et similiter illud neutrum est in latitudine sanitatis, ymmo est vere sanum; dicitur autem neutrum et medium quia non participat sanitate simpliciter semper nec egritudine simpliciter semper, sed habet unam naturam mediam inter hec, quam contraxit a principio generationis, per quam ipsum est aptum naturaliter permanere tale toto tempore vel maiori, scilicet medio modo, quia non ita aptum cadere in lassum sicut egrum semper, nec ita ineptum sicut sanum semper» (f. 94v-95r).
- (96) For instance, at f. 95r: «Sed hic et supra circa totum istud neutrum 2ⁱ significati cadit pulchra et difficilis questio, utrum idem corpus possit esse simul et simpliciter egrum in complexione et sanum in compositione vel e contra. Tangitur in principio 2ⁱ huius et in 2^a fen primi. Nota autem quod istud neutrum 2ⁱ significati subdividitur a Galieno, quia vel participat sanitate et egritudine equaliter vel inequaliter. Quodlibet constituit unum significatum et ita oportet dicere in uno sicut in alio, ideo non recapitulo. Habes ergo iam 3^a significata neutri».
- (97) For instance, at f. 96r: «Amplie dubitatur an corpus optime sanum et corpus egrum simpliciter cum transeunt ad egritudinem nunc remaneant sana simpliciter vel egra simpliciter. Dicendum quod sic aptitudinaliter, non autem actualiter. Amplie dubitatur cum queritur an inter sanum et egrum detur medium, de quo

thus, formal and hurried at the same time. Piero often underlines that he writes in a compendious style (98); sometimes he also says that there is no time for a longer explanation (99). So he leaves choices and solutions to the *legentes* of his *Tractatulus* (100). But who were these *legentes*? They can not have been the students of medicine because they were supposed to receive a clear explanation of the *Tegni*, and they were not supposed to have to choose among various exegetical solutions. Rather, they must have been the professors of medicine because only the latter could have been interested in a general, compendious scheme of the matter and could have profited by twofold or threefold ways of discussing exegetical problems (101). Piero often addresses his *legentes* to give them brief suggestions and indications (102); but he also presupposes that they already know the subjects he is discussing. For this reason he simply enunciates some explanatory passages when he thinks that their discussion is already well known (103).

neutro intelligatur, quia tale medium non est nisi neutralitas. Dicendum quod intelligitur de neutro nunc primi significati, non autem de neutro simpliciter, quia omnia talia sunt sana, sed neutrum nunc non est sanum, ymmo forte vel est egrum nunc vel pars egritudinis nunc». And also, at f. 96v: «Dubitatur etiam utrum ad sanitatem et egritudinem sit motus vel semper acquirantur in instante; et utrum sint vere contraria differentia semper, an solum secundum magis et minus. Iste essent videlicet pulchre et difficiles questiones et vellent multum de tempore; sed quia non spectant ad istam materiam, ideo relinquam».

- (98) «His sic sub compendio habitis de sano simpliciter,...» (f. 94v); «Respondeo breviter cum Plusquam Commentatore quod...» (f. 96r).
- (99) «Dico quod non, licet alii quasi omnes dicant quod sic; et hic esset longo sermone utendum, sed nolo nunc, quia tempus non habeo» (f. 96r).
- (100) «Obmitto probacionem contrariarum legentibus» (f. 94v); «Ideo cogita tu lector» (f. 96r); «Sic et hic cogita» (f. 96v).
- (101) For instance, at f. 96r: «Posset tamen, si quis vellet, teneri opositum, scilicet quod quelibet egritudo nunc est peior qualibet egritudine simpliciter, et forte est verum».
- (102) «Ad primum dic quod...Eodem modo dic ad secundum. Sed ad 3^m dico quod tu debes considerare...» (f. 95r); «...ymmo dico tibi quod non est inconveniens concedere unum et idem corpus essentialiter esse egrum simpliciter...» (f. 95r); «Sed dicis tu: Quomodo Galienus fecit tot capitula de una et eadem re? Respondeo, et quia hic apparet esse satis magna confusio, aliquantulum loquar diffuse...» (f. 95r).
- (103) «Dubitatur preterea utrum inter sanum et egrum sit dare medium. Quia ab omnibus disputatur et est questio communissima et antiqua, ideo aliis dimitto

All these features of the work allow us to conclude that the *Tractatulus* by Piero d'Arezzo was almost certainly a guide for the professors of medicine, not for the students. It was probably devoted to those professors who had to comment on the first book of the *Tegni*. The term *legentes* (in some occurrences *lector*) therefore refers not to the readers of the work but to those professors who were lecturing on Galen's text.

This kind of work confirms the continuing relevance of the *Tegni* in medical teaching. But the *Tractatulus* still poses a number of questions. First of all, who was Piero d'Arezzo, this unknown author? Was he only a town physician, or did he teach in a university? And in which university did he actually teach, in Arezzo or in Perugia or where? These questions are especially relevant if we consider that he was expert enough to write a guide for the commentators of the first book of the *Tegni*. But did these commentators really need his guide or appreciate it?

The *Tractatulus* by Piero d'Arezzo and the *Introductorium* by Bolognino testify that Torrigiano's theories were widely diffused in the Italian universities. The exegesis of the first book of the *Tegni* was commonly carried out according to those theories. Knowing Piero d'Arezzo better and identifying «magister Ia. doctor Ari.» would be very important for a better evaluation of the range of this doctrinal influence.

7. CONCLUSION

Although the series of lectures on the first book of the *Tegni* lasted a rather short time, it had a central position in Italian medical teaching. The very interpretation of the latitude of health distinguished two different schools, that of Padua and that of Bologna. The Bolognese school had its followers in Pavia, with Albertino da Salso, and in other universities, and Piero d'Arezzo was a disseminator of those theories among the professors of medicine. The school of Padua had its founder

eam, quia est multum tediosa» (f. 96v); «Multa alia cadunt dubia moralia, sed quia reperiuntur in omnibus qui in hoc aliquid scripserunt, ideo illuc recuratur pro eis et etiam pro istis iam dictis, saltim pro aliquibus, quia non possum ea discutere pro ut convenit» (f. 96v).

in Giovanni Santasofia and was authoritatively represented by Marsilio Santasofia.

This was the real historical way of commenting on Galen's conception of health and disease in the second half of the fourteenth century. The commonly held theory of the two ways—the *via Plusquam commentatoris* and the *via Haly, Gentilis et Patavorum*—was introduced only later, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, by Giacomo Della Torre da Forlì (104). He, however, called the second way the «via Haly, Gentilis et aliorum» and only in the printed editions was the term «aliorum» substituted with the term «Patavorum» (105).

(104) See OTTOSSON, note 2, p. 189.

(105) Vat. MS lat. 2472, which is datable to the second decade of the fifteenth century on the grounds of its watermarks (mountain correspondent to Briquet 11689, and basilisk similar to Briquet 2662), is one of the oldest witnesses of his *Expositio super tres libros Tegni*. Commenting on the lemma *Egrum vero simpliciter*, Giacomo writes, «Primo nota hanc litteram dupliciter posse introduci: primo secundum Plusquam Commentatorem, tenentem quod egritudo simpliciter non est lapsum a sanitate propria ... Aliter introduci potest secundum viam Haly, Gentilis et aliorum, ut egritudo simpliciter hic intelligatur pessima egritudo...» (f. 250vb-251ra). The same text is found in two other manuscripts: Vat. MS lat. 2468 (which is coeval with Vat. MS lat. 2472) at f. 134rb, and Vat. MS lat. 2467 (datable to the middle of the century) at f. 10rb, 178ra. The reference «ut Haly, Gentilis et Patavini medici» in the *quaestio* 10 of the edition Venice, Heirs of Lucantonio Giunta, 1547, c. 90rb, (see OTTOSSON, note 2, p. 193, note 207) is missing in the corresponding text of Vat. MS lat. 2467, f. 10rb, where we read only: «Ponunt ergo quidam egritudinem simpliciter esse lapsum naturalem, quidam vero preternaturalem et secundum hoc aliqui eorum posuerunt egrum simpliciter esse in latitudine sanorum situandum».

8. *APPENDIX: INTRODUCTORIUM AD DOCTRINAM DE CORPORIBUS SECUNDUM BOLOGNINUM*

Ms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano lat. 4445, f. 60ra-62ra.

Adsit principio Virgo Maria meo. Introductorium ad doctrinam de corporibus secundum Bologninum.

<C>onfusam multi clamant loquentes ac fantasticam doctrinam Galieni de corporibus in primo tractatu Tegni seu Artis Parve. Secundum enim subiectam materiam valde lucide speculantium mentes aperuit. Et si qua aparet confusio aut fantasia, magis imputetur nature operanti et ad diversos fines diversas formas in esse ponenti: miscuit enim invicem corpora, ut dicit que mixtiones intellectum non velocem sed pigrum confundunt. Plura etiam nomina uni rey Galienus imponens, insequens Elenes et medicos seniores, parum difficultavit, quod tamen reduci potest in nature confusionem. Motus igitur dillectione quorundam studentium fratrum et sotiorum, primo aliqua introductoria narrabo satis tollentia has confusiones et fantasias, in fine eisdem addens figuram ad maiorem evidentiam; 2º vero et ultimo movebo circa materiam aliqua dubia, ex eis et narratione aliquas propositiones elliciens.

<C>irca primum est sciendum quod natura vigilans in mondo ellementorum varias et peregrinas formas in entibus ad esse producens, cuius causam non cogor hic assignare, doctatas naturis distinctis, proprietatibus, passionibus, complexionibus et finibus, cum ipsa nihil frustra producat, ut primo Celi (1), amplius nolens laboribus insistere, ex precedentibus formis et mixtionibus ellementorum, mineralium, plantarum et brutorum ultimo traxit hominem et certificavit (2) eius formam conctis compositiorem et perfectiorem et virtualiter omnia antecedentia continentem, et ideo Aristoteles in homine adinvenit virtutes cuiuscumque animalis et aliorum, ibi quiescens nec ulterius cupiens formam perfectiorem nobis ex homine compensare, et hoc senserunt sette perypateticorum, maxime Averroes, 2º De anima, commento 32 dicens: «Complementum animalium et finis eorum est modus animalium habentium virtutem speculativam, que cum natura potuit pertingere, stetit» (3). Hanc vero humanam naturam et

(1) ARISTOTLE. *De caelo*, I, 4, 271 a 33, and see also HAMESSE, Jacqueline. *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis: un florilège médiéval: étude historique et édition critique*, Louvain, Publications universitaires/Paris, Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1974, p. 159, n. 18.

(2) certificavit: h *addidit et delevit ms.*

(3) AVERROES. *Comm. De anima*, II, 32, ed. F. Stuart Crawford, Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953, pp. 178, 15-19.

ultimam formam in esse produxit cum non parva latitudine et equalitate non tamen certe sed iusticiali, ut Avicenna primo prima, doctrina De complexionibus (4), habente operationes et fines perfectiores quacumque alia equalitate in generabilibus et corruptibilibus existente. In qua quidem equalitate totam speciem humanam ambiente concessit primo latitudinem temperatorum sanorum simpliciter semper talium et ut multum, habentium hanc temperiem quantum est ex complexione aptam discurre per omnes etates, ut in hac sint reperti pueri, iuvenes et senes temperati, non autem quantum est ex etate, ut loquebatur Avicenna, primo prima, doctrina De complexionibus, in secundo modo equalitatis (5). Sit ergo quod .A. sit, alias fuerit (6), generatum et constitutum in hac latitudine (7) sanorum simpliciter et vivat regimine sibi convenienti et conservativo usque ad primum non esse eius, non occurrente aliquo extrinseco alterante trahente .A. extra latitudinem sue equalitatis. Tunc constat quod .A. in instanti animationis est sanum simpliciter: ipsum enim pro tunc est affectum aliqua dispositione et non nisi sanitate simpliciter ut positum est, ergo. Et si istud posset litigari, quod aparebit in secundo huius operis, nunc michi peto concedi, quia hic magis utor narratione. Sed, cum ipse vivat ut dictum est, denominabitur etiam sanum simpliciter usque in finem vite nullatenus suam varians latitudinem; ulterius hec latitudo comprehendit sanum simpliciter (8) multum, non multum sed parum defectum ab .A. optime sano, ex ipso / f. 60rb / et .a. essentialiter constituta.

Post vero hanc latitudinem sanorum simpliciter, mota natura ex causis determinatis (9), non hic dicendis, aliam concessit latitudinem in specie humana, recedentem ac defectam sensibiliter a prima, nunc dictam, in qua reposuit plures homines saltem apud nos: pauciores enim sunt temperati, sicut pauciores apud nos sunt divites. Sit ergo quod .B. sit, alias fuerit (10), generatum et (11) constitutum in hac latitudine defectorum et recedentium sensibiliter a sano simpliciter; tunc constat evidenter quod .B. non est sanum simpliciter nec semper nec multum, cum sensibiliter ab eis recedat; ergo .B. est comparatione illius lapsus et lesus et per consequens, quia recedit sensibiliter ut pono,

(4) AVICENNA. *Canon*, I.1.3.1, ed. Venetiis 1507, c. 2ra-b.

(5) AVICENNA. *Canon*, I.1.3.1, c. 2rb.

(6) alias fuerit *addidit in margine ms.*

(7) latitudine: c *addidit et delevit ms.*

(8) simpliciter: usque in finem vite *addidit et delevit ms.*

(9) determinatis: h *addidit et delevit ms.*

(10) alias fuerit *addidit in margine ms.*

(11) et *addidit in interlinea ms.*

dicetur egrum et discrasiatum. Et vivat .B. etiam usque in primum non esse eius cum dispositione (12) ista, quam contraxit ab instanti animationis, et regimine sibi conservativo, non etiam occurrente isti aliquo extrinseco alterante trahente .b. extra latitudinem istius equalitatis sibi concessa; tunc sumo .c. esse sue animationis; constat quod .b. est affectivum aliqua dispositione non sanitate simpliciter, ymmo recedit ab ea sensibiliter, nec neutralitate simpliciter, propter eandem causam; igitur est affectum ex ditione sufficienti egritudine, sed non ut nunc, ergo simpliciter; quod non egritudo ut nunc patet, quia egritudo ut nunc ledit a<c>tu proprias operationes et est res temporalis occurrens, sed constat quod .b. nondum aliquas habuit operationes nec adhuc fuit in tempore, igitur non potuit pati egritudine temporali.

Et si hic velles litigare tu, quia tenes quod egritudo ut nunc est a generatione pro nunc, concede michi quod hec non sit ut nunc, quia nec tu concedis quod omnis egritudo que est a generatione sit ut nunc, .b. igitur in instanti animationis est egrum simpliciter; sed cum .b. continuo vivat regimine conservativo absque alteratione, ut dictum est, numquam exhibit suam equalitatem et hanc latitudinem nec eam variabit et cum sit dicta egritudo simpliciter, ergo usque in finem vite sue .b. dicetur egrum simpliciter.

Ulterius hec latitudo comprehendit egrum ut multum, ex ipso et .b. essentialiter constituta.

Iam ergo evidenter ex nobis a natura concessis apparet primo latitudo instantanea et temporalis sanorum simpliciter semper et ut multum; 2^o latitudo instantanea et temporalis egrorum simpliciter semper et ut multum. Ex quibus 3^o insurgit latitudo neutrorum simpliciter semper et ut multum instantanea et temporalis; cum enim in specie humana generata eiusdem recedunt a latitudine sanorum simpliciter talium dicatorum insensibiliter, aut sensibiliter secundum aliquorum opinionem, et ut fiunt media sanissimum et egrum ad mentem Galieni reponentur in 3^a latitudine neutrorum simpliciter; et sic possum accipere .C. quod fuerit generatum in eadem, et idem dicere de .C. quod dixi de .a. et .b., sed ut brevius expediam dimitto. Sed dixi primo de latitudine egrorum simpliciter tamquam de nobis magis notis et ut in pluribus occurrentibus, ex quorum sensibili recessu a sano simpliciter, unde dicuntur egra simpliciter, satis patet insensibilis recessus ab eodem sano simpliciter, ex quo dicuntur neutra simpliciter, vel sensibilis, quamvis minus quam egrorum simpliciter et ut multum, ex quo etiam eis hec 3^a latitudo est essentialiter/f. 60va/ordinata.

(12) dispositione: sua *addidit et delevit ms.*

Hucusque vero nil (13) confusum apparet, sed modo (14) occurrent loquentibus apparentes confusiones et fantasie. Dico ergo quod si natura omnia corpora constituisset temperata, nulla utique apparuisset fantasia, sed non absque adequata causa plura in specie humana voluit esse non talia, que recederent sensibiliter et manifeste a sano simpliciter, lesa in operationibus suis comparatione ad illud sensibiliter et manifeste. Sint ergo .a.b.c.d.e.f., et sic de aliis huiusmodi, corpora in specie humana sensibiliter recedentia a sano simpliciter, et vivant, nutriantur et regantur regimine eisdem conservativo, nullo occurrente extrinseco alterante; tunc constat quod iam concessa .a.b.c.d.e.f. non sunt corpora sana simpliciter nec neutra simpliciter, quia recedunt sensibiliter a tali sano simpliciter et manifeste; ergo debent dici egra simpliciter: non enim possunt dici egra ut nunc, quia nunquam variabunt equalitatem concessam eis in instanti animationis et cum illa durabunt usque in finem vite aut circha, ut iam positum est.

Sed Galienus et alii seniores medici, considerantes ista corpora in universo ut pueros et ut (15) iuvenes et ut senes (tetigit enim aliquos cum erant pueri et ipsosmet cum facti sunt iuvenes propter difficultatem de caliditate pueri et iuvenis, ut ipse narrat 2^o De complexionibus) (16), et notantes quod ab instanti animationis contraxerunt unam dispositionem et equalitatem cum qua steterunt pluribus aut omnibus temporibus etatum suarum, cum sint recta regimine conservativo ac etiam quod exercuerunt operationes debitas in specie humana, quas eisdem natura concessit, non febrientia, non dolentia, et breviter nil inconsuetum patientia, ut suppono necessitati se concedere et firmare dispositiones, quibus dicta corpora .a.b.c.d.e.f. afficiuntur, esse dictis corporibus quasdam naturalitates et perfectiones et quasdam temperies, ex regimine enim conservativo quod (17) habent non possunt ad melius ire. Sed consueverunt et voluerunt Galienus et dicti medici seniores appellare corporis naturalitatem temperiem seu perfectionem sanitatis, eisdem maxime pluribus aut omnibus temporibus duraturam et per omnes etates ut convenit discurrentem. Ergo per hanc dispositionem sive dispositiones dicta corpora dicentur sana, sed non dicentur sana simpliciter, cum ab eisdem recedant sensibiliter et manifeste; ergo cum si *simpliciter* non predicatur de aliquibus terminis alicuius latitudinis significative sumptis, necessario oporteat hunc terminum secundum quid esse eiusdem

(13) nil *correxit in margine ex vel deleto ms.*

(14) modo: a *addidit et delevit ms.*

(15) ut *addidit in margine ms.*

(16) GALENUS. *De complexionibus*, 2,2, ed. Richard J. Durling, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1976, pp. 56-67.

(17) quod: h *addidit et delevit ms.*

predicari; sequitur quod si dicta corpora non possint dici sana simpliciter, et oporteat ipsa dici sana, necessario dicentur sana secundum quid; sed apud medicos et mentem Novi Commentatoris, commento .11. (18), idem est secundum quid et ut nunc; ergo ista corpora dicentur sana ut nunc. Hoc etiam claret de mente Averrois, 4^o Celi commento .31. (19), cum dicit sanitatem videtur recuperare essentialiter, egritudinem vero accidentaliter, ergo prius naturalibus non impeditis nec in animatione nec in / f. 60vb / vita post animationem usque in finem, ut supposui. Sequitur quod dicentur sana.

Sed ex alia parte illamet corpora probatum est esse egra simpliciter, ergo eadem corpora cum eisdem dispositionibus et omnibus requisitis dictis dicentur egra simpliciter et sana ut nunc. Et sicut dictum est de .a.b.c.d.e.f. corporibus egris simpliciter, quod propter causas dictas possunt et debent dici sana ut nunc, multo magis possumus dicere de corporibus quibusdam recedentibus a sano simpliciter insensibiliter aut minus sensibiliter quam egra simpliciter, que efficiuntur media sanissimi et egerimi. Sint igitur tot vel plura vel pauciora et vivant regimine eorum conservativo et debito, sicut illa egra simpliciter. Tunc patet quod multo magis possint dici sana quam illa egra simpliciter, cum habeant minorem lapsum et recessum a sano simpliciter; dicentur ergo sana sed non simpliciter, ergo secundum quid, ergo ut nunc, que omnia patent per iam dicta.

Aparet igitur mixtura et confusio nature: miscuit enim invicem corpora, sanum cum neutro, sanum cum egro; confusio enim aparet quomodo idem corpus sit sanum et neutrum, sanum et egrum etc., et quomodo simpliciter et quomodo secundum quid sive ut nunc et quomodo semper et quomodo ut multum.

Sed Galienus, perpendens hanc naturalem et realem confusionem, in hoc primo tractatu Tegni loquutus est aperto sermone. Primo enim diffinivit sanum simpliciter semper tale et ut multum tale tamquam corpora unius latitudinis essentialis, super qua nil aut parum formidatur. Post diffinivit sanum ut nunc non quia non esset neutrum simpliciter vel egrum simpliciter, ymmo non est nisi illa loquendo de diffinito hic a Galieno, sed quia dicta corpora: neutrum simpliciter et egrum simpliciter ut positum est, perficiebant operationes eis debitas et concessas, non variantia latitudinem et equalitatem eorum ex quo meruerunt nominari sibi temperati et sani; et quia plus conveniebat sanum cum sano saltem in voce, ideo statim post diffinitionem sani simpliciter diffinivit

(18) TURISANUS. *Plusquam Commentum*, I, comm. 11, Venetiis 1498, c. 10va-b.

(19) There is no relation between Bolognino's quotation and the text by Averroes.

aliud sanum vel aliud corpus quod meruit appellari sanum; et quia nullo modo meruit appellari sanum simpliciter nec semper nec multum, dixit sanum ut nunc.

Ex quibus patet solutio ad dubium quo queritur sub quo plus reponitur aut cum quo magis conveniat sanum ut nunc: aut cum sano simpliciter aut cum neutro vel egro simpliciter? Patet igitur per data quod solum in voce convenit cum sano simpliciter et non quo ad vocem totam, sed quo ad partem: dico enim sanum sed non simpliciter; realiter tamen convenit cum neutro vel egro simpliciter, differens in voce. Modo convenientia realis est maior quam convenientia vocalis. Quia igitur habuit solum vocem aut partem vocis sani simpliciter, iam statim diffinitionem eius adiunxit diffinitioni sani simpliciter; habuit autem partem vocis et non totam, unde vocatur sanum ut nunc, quia habet sanitatem lassam ab / f. 61ra / optima et diminutam, aut quia est tale huic, non autem tale in tota spetie, secundum oppinionem Doctoris Subtilis (20) nec non et famosi Fabiani de Zanchariis (21), quam alibi inferius videbitur (22). Preterea etiam quia convenientius fuit diffinire omnia que appellari possunt sana continue quam discontinue, ac etiam quia sanum ut nunc est sicut magis comune ad neutrum et egrum simpliciter (ab eis enim ad illud consequentia est bona et non e contra) (23), sed comuniora prius debent diffiniri et notificari.

Post hec autem diffinivit neutrum simpliciter, semper et multum (24) (non ut ly 'post' dicit michi ordinem Galieni in tractatu De corporibus, sed ordinem quem hic tenui), tamquam media et tamquam recedentia aliququaliter a sano simpliciter, et quia magis conveniebant cum eo minus recedentia ab eo quam egra simpliciter, semper et multum, taliaque sunt extrema.

Ultimo vero diffinivit quantum ad hoc egra simpliciter sensibiliter recedentia a sano simpliciter extrema omnium talium, a generatione dico inclusive; ex quibus omnibus sano, neutro et egro talibus simpliciter et sano ut nunc, quod tamen non est aliquid aliud quam neutrum et egrum simpliciter, apud medicos

(20) For some hints in Iohannes Duns Scotus' discussion of *sanitas/sanum* see: *Reportata Parisiensia*, II, d. 12, q. 2, n. 10-11, in I. DUNS SCOTI, *Opera omnia*, XI, pt. 1, ed. Luke Wadding, Lugduni, 1639, p. 323; *Super Praedicamenta*, q. IV, n. 4-5, in I. DUNS SCOTI, *Opera omnis*, I, Parisiis, 1891, p. 446; *Super libros Elenchorum*, q. XVI, n. 4, *ibidem*, II, 24.

(21) See *supra*, p. 185. No works by Fabiano Zancari are known so far.

(22) videbitur: modo *addidit et delevit ms.*

(23) contra: c *addidit et delevit ms.*

(24) comuniora prius...multum *addidit in margine ms.*

constituitur una lata et magna latitudo, cuius unum extremum est sanum simpliciter, aliud vero egrum simpliciter, medium vero est neutrum simpliciter.

Et ut incipientibus ab hac doctrina clarius pateat nature mixtura (25) seu remota confusio, aducam pro exemplo illud quod de facto est in monarchis mundi elementorum. Reperitur enim unus monarcha et rex principalis et naturalis, in regno eiusdem princeps et dominus et regulator; reperiuntur in eodem curiales, barones eidem regi convenientes et servientes. Reperiuntur 3^o alii populares, fideles et subiecti et hic multorum graduum et perfectionum, ut de facto apparet nobis. In hac igitur latitudine regni est unus solus dominus et rex et princeps seu monarcha: sit iste sanum simpliciter; et convenienter potest dici sanum simpliciter, quia sicut sanum simpliciter est affectum meliori dispositione reperibili in specie humana, sic ille rex et monarcha est doctatus altiori dignitate illius totius regni. In ista eadem latitudine regni sunt barones, curiales multum propinqui domino regi: sint isti neutri simpliciter (26); et convenienter possunt dici neutri simpliciter, nam sicut neutra simpliciter parum sive non multum aut non sensibiliter recedunt a sano simpliciter, et sic sunt isti barones et curiales. In ista etiam latitudine regni sunt populares et alii subiecti magis inferiores: et sint isti egra simpliciter, quod convenienter eis imponitur, quia sicut egra simpliciter recedebant sensibiliter et manifeste a sano tali simpliciter, sic isti recedunt a monarcha. Et sicut isti recessus in istis sunt diversi, ita reperiuntur in humana specie recessus diversi, aliqui magis egrum simpliciter, aliqui minus etc. Iam ergo patet evidenter quod in hac latitudine regni est sanum simpliciter ut monarcha; sunt neutra simpliciter ut barones; / f. 61rb / sunt egra simpliciter ut inferiores et minus valentes. Omnes ergo isti barones et inferiores dicuntur servi ad dominum monarcham, quamvis aliqui plus ut populares, aliqui minus ut barones. Sed hoc nobis obstante, quilibet (27) baro, quilibet popularis, quamquam dicatur servus in comparatione ad monarcham, est dominus domus, familie et diviciarum suarum, unde sunt omnes isti sibi domini proprii et suorum priorum. Dicuntur ergo omnes isti servi et domini, unde ergo est dominus simpliciter ut monarcha (28); omnes autem alii possunt dici servi et domini, servi respectu monarche, domini respectu priorum suorum, quos sibi concessit dominus simpliciter. Et sic eodem modo est dicendum de latitudine equalitatis reperte in specie humana, in qua est unum sanum simpliciter tale (vel plura, non curo ad presens), quodlibet autem aliud tale a

(25) mixtura *ms.*, *sed delevit e.*

(26) simpliciter: et convenienter possunt *addidit et delevit ms.*

(27) quilibet *ms.*, *sed delevit primum li.*

(28) monarcha: o *addidit et delevit ms.*

generatione est neutrum simpliciter aut egrum simpliciter et quodlibet tale est sanum sibi et sanum ut nunc, neutrum vel egrum comparatione ad sanum simpliciter, sanum ut nunc comparatione ad semetipsum et ad sanitatem sive dispositionem propriam datam et concessam ei a generatione et ab ***** <principio> animationis, et ideo dicebat Galienus in diffinitione sani ut nunc *eucraton* et *coequale* non secundum (29) optimam eucrax<i>am et coequalitatem, sed secundum propriam ipsius sani corporis naturam.

Ex istis igitur patet quod adinventum est quarta latitudo, scilicet sanorum ut nunc, que tamen non est alia a latitudine neutrorum et egrorum simpliciter, ut patet per data. Et prius loquendo dicere possumus quod adinventum est, natura hoc operante, quod illa corpora illarum latitudinum dictarum, scilicet neutralitatis et egritudinis (30) simpliciter, possunt nominari et appellari alio nomine quam neutra et egra simpliciter, scilicet hoc nunc sanum ut nunc aut secundum quid.

Admiratio igitur est invocabilis. Et forte si Galienus non nominasset ea sana ut nunc, non fuisset tanta fantasia loquentibus, et per consequens patet quod illud nomen *sanum ut nunc* multas fantasias adgenerat non inspicientibus hunc processum, quamquam etiam multe alie sint que inferius apparebunt. Sed propter rationes et persuasiones factas superius convenienter potuit Galienus nominare ea sana ut nunc, et quia insequebatur viam seniorum medicorum.

Postquam igitur visa est evidenter hec magna latitudo que dici potest latitudo sanitatis lata, comprehendens omnia sana simpliciter, omnia neutra simpliciter et egra simpliciter, restat modo videre latitudines exclusas ab ista magna latitudine, que totaliter sunt extra eam et ad quas exclusio terminatur. Ut igitur istud appareat, peto michi concedi quod corpora superius nominata (sive aliquod illorum, non curo)/f. 61va/erorem faciant in regimine sensibilem et manifestum, per quem errorem ledantur sensibiliter et manifeste in operationibus quas ut naturales et eisdem temperatas primo exercebant, et sic febriant, gratia exempli. Tunc manifeste patet quod ista corpora non dicentur sana: nec simpliciter, cum non habeant optimam dispositionem; non nunc, quia leduntur manifeste in ea quam naturaliter habebant; nec egra vel neutra simpliciter, cum habeant hanc dispositionem a tempore acquisitam non consuetam sed extraneam; nec dicentur neutra (31) ut nunc, quia recedunt et ledunt

(29) secundum: c *addidit et delevit ms.*

(30) egritudines *ms.*

(31) neutra *correxit in margine ex egra deleto ms.*

sensibiliter in operationibus. Ergo necessario concluditur per diffinitionem egritudinis quod debeant nominari egra ut nunc.

Iam ergo est adinventata latitudo egrorum ut nunc totaliter exclusa a latitudine magna superius nominata, cum nil illius latitudinis ledat sensibiliter operationibus suis absolute vel huic, simpliciter vel ut nunc; sed cum non transire possit tale corpus ad egrum ut nunc nisi primo transeat per medium et per dispositionem remissioem sive minus malam, per quam recedit parum sensibiliter a sano simpliciter vel sano sibi, et talis dispositio constituit neutrum ut nunc, sequitur quod sit adinventata latitudo neutra ut nunc. Et quod ista latitudo neutra ut nunc sit totaliter extra latitudinem magnam dictam, patet quia nil illius latitudinis magne leditur in temperationibus suis nec sensibiliter nec insensibiliter (32), absolute vel simpliciter vel huic vel nunc, igitur est totaliter extra illam.

Ex dictis ergo patet introductorium ad doctrinam Galieni de corporibus, tollens a loquentibus confusiones et fantasias, maxime ab incipientibus, pro quorum appetitu (33) ad hoc me ex (34) corde humili exposui.

Et ut intellectus quiescat, apertius oculis figuram expono has dictas latitudines taliter qualiter cum ordine comprehendentem:

- .A. Tota latitudo sanitatis
- .B. Sanum simpliciter
Sanum simpliciter semper
Sanum simpliciter multum
- .C. Neutrum simpliciter
Neutrum simpliciter multum
Neutrum simpliciter semper
- .D. Egrum simpliciter
Egrum simpliciter multum
Egrum simpliciter semper
- .E.
- .F. Neutrum decidentie
Neutrum convalescentie
Neutrum ut nunc

(32) insensibiliter: at *addidit et delevit ms.*

(33) *apetibtu ms., sed delevit b.*

(34) *ex: q addidit et delevit ms.*

.G. Egrum ut nunc
 Egrum salubriter
 Egrum mortaliter

Mors

/ f. 61vb / Ad cognoscendum igitur figuram est sciendum quod .a.b.c.d.e.f.g. possunt esse una latitudo et possunt esse due latitudines se ad invicem formaliter et essentialiter excludentes. Siquidem ponatur tota una latitudo, sicut potest poni, tunc non vocabitur qualitercumque, sed dicetur quod est latitudo vite: latitudo enim vite comprehendit omnia sana et egra, qualitercumque sint sana et egra, cuius unum extremum inclusum sit sanum simpliciter, aliud vero inclusum sit egrum ut nunc egritudine mortali tanta exclusive ad mortem sive ad primum non esse.

Si autem ponatur quod non sit tota una latitudo, ymo sint due, se formaliter et essentialiter excludentes, secundum quem modum Galienus videtur insinuare, dicam tunc et pono sic esse, quod .a. sit magnus quadratus sive quod .a. sit magna latitudo ad modum quadrati, comprehendens sub se tres parvos quadrangulos, scilicet .b.c.d., et hoc totum sit una latitudo, que vocetur .a.; volo autem quod .e. sit alia latitudo ad modum quadrati, comprehendens sub se duos parvos quadrangulos, scilicet .f.g., et hoc totum sit una latitudo, que vocetur .e. Exclusa igitur est formaliter latitudo .e. a latitudine .a., qua per iam superius concessa contenta in latitudine .e. totaliter et formaliter excluduntur a contentis in latitudine .a., igitur et .e. excluditur ab .a.; ergo possunt poni vere due latitudines formaliter distincte. Sed quamvix .a. latitudo sit dicenda latitudo sanitatis, tamen non est quoad omnes suas partes uniformiter se habens, ymo multum difformiter. In quadam enim parte .a. latitudinis, que significatur per .b., sunt omnia sana simpliciter, semper et ut multum talia. In quadam vero parte illi immediata, que significatur per .c., sunt omnia (35) neutra simpliciter, semper et ut multum talia. In quadam vero parte et tertia et ultima, que significatur per .d., sunt omnia egra (36) simpliciter, semper et ut multum talia. Quod .b.c.d. essentialiter apud medicum constituunt .a. latitudinem, que potest vocari latitudo sanitatis, sed quia in .a. est una pars ut .b., que solum designat sana simpliciter, semper et multum talia; et quia per superius concessa reperiuntur quedam alia corpora ultra ista que debent dici sana, licet non simpliciter sed secundum quid vel ut nunc, idcircho necessario

(35) omnia: sana *addidit et delevit ms.*

(36) egra: sp *addidit et delevit ms.*

oportet concedi quod in .a. latitudine .c.d. constituent latitudinem sanorum ut nunc; et sic patet latitudo sanorum simpliciter et nunc in .a. latitudine.

Exclusive autem ad hanc .a. latitudinem de facto reperitur .e. latitudo non etiam uniformis (37), sed difformiter procedens. In quadam enim parte sua, que designatur per .f., reperiuntur neutra ut nunc, que dividuntur in neutra decidentie, quando posita in latitudine .a. transeunt ad egrum ut nunc aut ad mortem, et hic regulariter et cum ordine; et in neutra convalescentie, quando scilicet posita in .a. latitudine moventur de egro ut nunc ad propriam eorum latitudinem. In quadam / f. 62ra / etiam parte eius, que designatur per .g., sunt corpora egra ut nunc diversis egritudinibus involuta, salubribus quedam, mortalibus quedam, alia exclusive terminata ad mortem et latitudinem primi non esse, quod Deus misericors a me repellat quousque omnes etates ad eius nomen valeam feliciter cursitare. Amen, Deo gratias, amen.

(37) uniformis: d *addidit et delevit ms.*