

A Commentary on the *Categories* from the School of Alberic in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 2087

An Analysis of the Manuscript

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Introduction

The manuscript Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 2087 (figure 12.1) is known for including the text of an anonymous 12th-century commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* called C15.¹ Despite the interest the text has received in the field of logic, much less attention has been paid so far to the manuscript as an object of study and a historical source. Except for the entry in the library's 19th-century catalog and some codicological observations by L.M. de Rijk and a few other scholars, the codex has not yet received much attention. However, besides providing new information that helps situate the text in its place and time, the material aspects of the manuscript are worthy of further attention and unveil a context of production, which traces back to the 12th-century schools in a wider sense.

1 Henceforth I refer to the manuscript as Padua, BU 2087. For the alpha-numerical label "C15," see John Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries and Glosses on Aristotelian Logical Texts, before c. 1150 AD," in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions*, ed. Charles Burnett (London: The Warburg Institute, 1993), 113. The commentary is also sometimes referred to as "Anonymus Patavinus," see Heine Hansen, "Anonymus Patavinus on *Categories* 7," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 84 (2015), 129–163.

1 The 19th-Century Catalog and the Contents of the Manuscript

The text, C15, is an extensive Latin commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* and was discovered in 1955 by de Rijk.² De Rijk claimed that the only available catalog, Gloria's handwritten *Bibliotheca Regia Patavina manuscripta*, did not give reliable information about the dating and content of the manuscript, indicating it as a 15th-century "Tractatus super predicamentis Aristotelis membranaceo in 8°." It is worth mentioning that later on (presumably) other librarians tried to correct the dating first to the 12th and then to the 13th century, thereby revealing how hard it was to precisely date the codex. But at least the number of pages (96, i.e., 48 leaves) and the fact that the manuscript is said to be *mutilus in principio et in fine* were correct.

To recall what we know about the text, C15 is a "problem commentary" which engages closely with Alberic's views.³ According to de Rijk, it originated from lectures given at the Mont Sainte-Geneviève sometime in the 1130s, where the two masters Alberic and Abelard—frequently mentioned in the text—taught at the time.⁴ However, the dating of the text presents some problems and has remained under discussion. According to Francesco Bottin, the commentary was compiled after Alberic's stay in Bologna.⁵ According to Yukio Iwakuma, the text dates to a time when Alberic and Abelard were no longer active in Paris or

2 The manuscript was first inspected by Ezio Franceschini in 1932, as the library's list of readers, the so-called "schedone" reveals. Franceschini, however didn't publish anything on it. L.M. de Rijk, "Some new Evidence on twelfth century Logic: Alberic and the School of Mont Ste Geneviève (Montani)," *Vivarium* 4 (1966), 36; L.M. de Rijk, *Logica Modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, 2 vols (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962–1967), 2:89–90 and 2:214–215 (giving the wrong shelf-mark "2084").

3 Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries," 113. See also John Marenbon, "The Tradition of Studying the *Categories* in the early Middle Ages (until c. 1200): A Revised Working Catalogue of Glosses, Commentaries, and Treatises," in *Aristotle's Categories in the Byzantine, Arabic and Latin Traditions*, ed. Sten Ebbesen, John Marenbon, and Paul Thom (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2013), 144–145, 161.

4 de Rijk, "Some new Evidence," 37–39, first pointed out the references to the masters and indicated the relation with the teaching practices of Mont Sainte Geneviève; as underlined by Hansen, "Anonymus Patavinus," 132, the reference to the masters is a strong argument for this connection. As for the names of the masters, see Yukio Iwakuma and Sten Ebbesen, "Logico-Theological Schools from the Second Half of the 12th Century: A List of Sources," *Vivarium* 30 (1992), 173–210; Yukio Iwakuma, "Alberic of Paris on Mont Ste Geneviève against Peter Abelard," in *Logic and Language in the Middle Ages: A Volume in Honour of Sten Ebbesen*, ed. Jakob L. Fink, Heine Hansen, and Ana María Mora-Márquez (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 28–29.

5 Francesco Bottin, "Quelques discussions sur la transitivité de la prédication dans l'école d'Albéric du Mont," in *Gilbert de Poitiers et ses contemporains: aux origines de la Logica Modernorum*, ed. Jean Jolivet and Alain de Libera (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1987), 68–69.

even alive, as suggested by occurrences of references in the past tense to the views of both masters.⁶

The dating of the text thus fluctuates. As I will discuss in Section 5, the chronological span that can be provided for the script will not solve the problem either, as the copying can only be narrowed down to some point in the second or the third quarter of the 12th century.⁷ As far as the place of origin is concerned, the school context that emerges from the text seems to be confirmed by the manuscript as well, as many clues in the structure, material, and writing indicate. But as to its geographical provenance, it must be said that whatever origin scripts and codicological habits could indicate, books travelled with men (especially when they travelled for the purpose of learning). Furthermore, references to specific places within the text are not closely tied to the historical background of its handwritten copy.⁸ Therefore, the hypotheses that can be provided on that topic should also be considered and discussed in the light of these premises, and compared with an overall analysis of the manuscript, of its content, and of the cultural and social background in which the text was produced.

2 A Palimpsest Manuscript

The codex is made of solid parchment. Generally, the flesh side and the hair side do not differ much in color, but rather in terms of surface, as the hair side bears barely visible follicle marks. A fact hitherto neglected about Padua, BU 2087 is that the manuscript is almost entirely a palimpsest, that is to say, the material is mostly reused parchment. Inspecting the earlier layer of writing provides important clues for the context of the production of the copy, as the already

6 Iwakuma, "Alberic of Paris," 29; Hansen, "Anonymus Patavinus," 138.

7 de Rijk, "Some new Evidence," 36 dated the hand to the middle of the 12th century.

8 Iwakuma stresses a "local Italian color" as a feature of the text, based on the reference to a "Parmensis sextarius," that C15 shares with P25 (a commentary on Porphyry found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 624, even though in a different codicological unit from C17); see Iwakuma, "Alberic of Paris," 29–30. This last opinion stems from de Rijk's view about the reference to a bishop "Girardus" mentioned in P25. Nonetheless, de Rijk seems to be in doubt when identifying the bishop mentioned in the text with an actual bishop, and particularly with Gerardus Crassus of Bologna, saying: "Are we justified in taking the name of bishop Girardus as a reliable clue for the environment in which our commentary originated? If so ... I feel inclined to choose Gerardus Crassus." (de Rijk, "Some new Evidence," 30). Furthermore, if we look for 12th-century bishops with the same name, there were far more than the six listed, as one can see by consulting, as de Rijk did, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, ed. Pius B. Gams (Regensburg: J.G. Manz, 1873–1886).

inked sheets were probably at the copyist's disposal where and when the copying process took place.

In natural light conditions the *scriptio inferior* is almost completely invisible, but a uv-light lamp and microscope allow for a better analysis of the entire manuscript. Unfortunately, most of the previous text still remains hardly legible because the early-layer text mostly overlaps with the lines of the *scriptio superior*.⁹ Nonetheless some new information has emerged on both levels of the manuscript.

2.1 *The Characteristics of the scriptio inferior*

The parchment comes from groups of leaves connected by similar content, dating, and *mise en page*. Fols. 24–31, which constitute a quire, are non-palimpsest leaves, as is fol. 48. Moreover, both this quire and the last leaf are made of smoother and more flexible parchment.

As for the palimpsest leaves (fols. 1–23, 32–47), the residues of ink are not enough to allow for a full reconstruction of the manuscript from which the leaves came, but still, they provide data concerning the sort of text, script and *mise en page* of the first layer.

First, most of the palimpsest sheets have been reused with the same folding-direction as in the previous manuscript. Not only was the parchment, once washed off, ruled and copied on the very same surface, but the folding line was also placed near to the original. Thus, each bifolium of BU 2087 was already a bifolium even in the former manuscript, though of different measures. As a consequence of this type of reuse, the texts nearly overlap in the writing frame of the page, and only in the margins of the present manuscript can longer bits of *scriptio inferior* be seen. Among the reused leaves, only two bifolios, fols. 11–12 and fols. 18 and 21, have been placed upside down; some reversed lines of text in the bottom margins of fols. 11^{r-v}, 12^r, 18^r, and 21^v, some red initials in fols. 18^r and 21^r, as well as a bit of text in fol. 21^r provide evidence of that.¹⁰ The rareness of entirely readable sentences does not allow for much speculation about the reuse of these two bifolia or the order in which the pages were supposed to be

9 I am planning to undertake further research aimed at the transcription and a wider reconstruction of the earlier layer manuscript.

10 Long actually readable parts are very few. Of the four lines (three for fol. 11^r) of which we see traces of ink, only “quo dixerant” on fol. 12^r and “Priscianus ... per singula” on fol. 11^v are effectively readable. Especially on fol. 18^v, even though the page is mostly blank in the upper layer (and thus there isn't a problem of overlapping writing), the uv light helps to resurface nothing but shadows of the *scriptio inferior* that originally covered the entire page.

originally read. But—and I will come back to this later—the content and script seem to be perfectly compatible with the rest of the reused sheets.

As the folding line between fols. 11 and 12 is visible (and surrounded by a bit of burnishing), an entire internal margin can be observed at the center of this bifolium.¹¹ There, and between fols. 43 and 44 (the central bifolium in the 6th quire), the dimensions of the internal margins (15 mm) are fully maintained and appear a bit wider than the ones of the current manuscript. In addition, whereas on most pages they are hidden by the binding,¹² on fols 3^r, 9^r, 10^r, 17^r, and 43^r the former sewing holes are a few millimetres to the right of the quire tackets of the current manuscript (and, coherently, on fol. 11 they are few millimetres to the left). All these clues—the traces of holes and margins, as well as of the direction of the writing—confirm that the bifolia of the present manuscript were cut approximately from the center of some other slightly bigger bifolia and comprise not much more than the earlier layer's writing frame (figure 12.2). Furthermore, traces of holes that appear on several folios at the same distance indicate that the bifolia were likely arranged within one and the same gathering, rather than just dispersed sheets.

As for the earlier size of these sheets, it is worth noting that the top or bottom lines are alternately cut off. Regarding the width, the *scriptio inferior*'s first or last words of each line are rarely fully visible, especially when they are placed in the external margins of the current codex, where they could be most frequently damaged. However, some pages show even traces of *marginalia* which are partially cut away: on fol. 11^v, for instance, there is a reference mark belonging to a partially cut-off marginal addition, and we find somewhat longer—though damaged—notes in the margins of fols. 11^v and 33^v. It goes without saying that not all the leaves were cut in the same way, from the same point of the page, and then folded and placed with the exact same coherence. Nonetheless, all considered, the former bifolia, albeit hard to determine precisely, seem not to have been that much bigger than those in BU 2087.

As can be gathered from the nearly overlapping of the lines in most folios, the distance between the early layer's lines (3–4 mm with slight variations) is almost the same as the one of the *scriptio superior*. However, there is no doubt that the *scriptio inferior* used a different layout, as it was copied in full lines.

The script was nearly as much of a small module as the *scriptio superior* and appears to be by at least two hands, dating between the end of the 11th and the

11 The former layout is hidden by the reuse, as all the external margins were cut away and the internal ones absorbed within the binding.

12 Additionally, in some case, for instance in fol. 17, a stripe of parchment reinforces the quire and hides the sewing line.

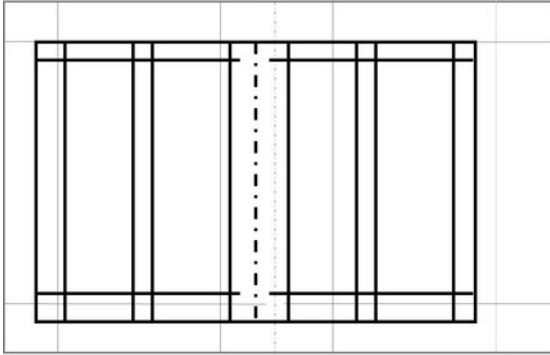


FIGURE 12.2

An approximate representation of the earlier-layer manuscript's *mise en page* (gray) and its relationship with the present manuscript (black)

beginning of the 12th century. The hands that can be observed all write in a neat Caroline minuscule whose origin is hard to settle.¹³ Word separation seems to be respected consistently, as was customary from the 11th century onwards.¹⁴

The text of the *scriptio inferior* presents several red initials, on fols 4^r, 5^v, 7^v (on the top of the folio, just after fol. 7^r, which is a blank page), 8^r, 9^v, 15^v, 33^{r-v}, 34^r, 35^{r-v}, 36^r, 38^r, 39^{r-v}, 40^r, 41^v, 42^v, 43^v, and 44^v. None of them are major initials, but rather paragraph initials protruding into the margins. Even if the order of the texts cannot be reconstructed, these initials seem to have been used to organize the text in subsections, as can be seen more clearly by the presence of three partially trimmed red letters in the margin of fol. 43^v (figure 12.3). The short distance at which the red initials occur, and thus the frequency in the separation of the paragraphs, could trace back to a collection of excerpts, such as those that may be found, for instance, in a well-organized handbook.

13 It is difficult to discuss the peculiar features of each hand due to the (un)readability of the *scriptio inferior*. As for some morphological traits, one can mention that the ampersand is frequently used for the conjunction *et* but also as a verbal ending; the lower bow of the “g” is open in the parts written by the first hand, but also round and closed, especially in the last pages, probably written by different hands. Some ending folios (for instance, fol. 39^r) and traces of marginal notes (for instance, on fol. 33^v) also present the Tironian note for the conjunction *et*.

14 Word separation was well attested in France from about the 11th century onwards. Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 200–223; Antonella Tomiello, “Razionalizzazione grafica e leggibilità tra littera antiqua e textualis,” in *Per Alberto Piazza. Studi offerti nel cinquantesimo del sacerdozio*, ed. Carlo Albarello and Giuseppe Zivelonghi (Verona: Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, 1998), 373.

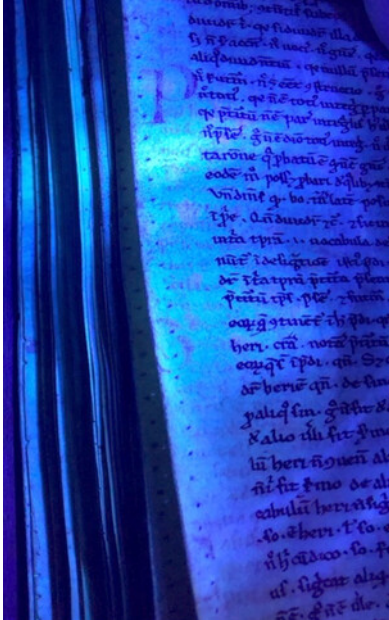


FIGURE 12.3
Red initials in the margins of Padua, BU 2087,
fol. 43^v

2.2 *The Contents of the scriptio inferior*

The few sentences and words that can be read through uv light indicate a grammatical content. The individual texts cannot be reconstructed in detail, but all the palimpsest sheets could come from a grammatical handbook or collection of grammatical works. Evidence of a common subject are words such as “sil-laba,” “lingua,” “vocales,” and “pedes spondeus” in the leaves that now make up the first quire (fols. 1–7); references to singular and plural forms and the name of Priscian in the second quire (fol. 11^v); “casus” and a hint to the construction of singular and plural forms in the third one (fols. 17^v and 19^r); and, finally, interspersed semi-sentences, probably related to the preposition, in the sixth. Three out of four pages in the bifolium of fols. 32 and 39 contain the first part of the treatise *De verbo* by Euthyches.¹⁵ As these few examples—some of which will be discussed in more detail shortly—suggest, this general coherence in the subject matter could support the idea that all the leaves used in the Paduan manuscript once belonged to one and the same codex, even though possibly made of gathered booklets, as the changes of hands and *mise en page* could indicate. To be sure, a few individual words—sometimes paired in an incomplete sentence, or just interspersed within a bit of text whose context

¹⁵ More on the structure of the quires in Section 3.

and meaning are impossible to recover—provide an insufficient basis for in-depth speculation about the nature of the texts at the moment. However, the few almost completely readable sentences seem to indicate that the pieces of content may consist more of excerpts and commentaries than authoritative grammatical works, at least for the leaves of the first three quires. Besides the quotation (*ad perficiendam sillabam consonantur alie*) from the first book of the *Institutiones Grammaticae* on fol. 3^r, it is worth noting that Priscian's name on fol. 11^v belongs to a sentence that isn't found in Priscian's own work.¹⁶ The line of discussion to which the sentence belonged eludes our comprehension because of the loss of the majority of the text, but the presence of the quotations from Priscian as well as a dispersed grammar-related vocabulary seems to indicate some commentaries on grammatical authors as a possible subject matter.

However that may be, towards the last part of the codex, the bifolium made up of fols. 32 and 39 of the fifth quire bears, in the early layer, a continuous section from the opening chapters of the treatise *De verbo* by the grammarian Eutyches. Indeed, in both the top and bottom margins of fols. 32^{r-v} and 39^v one can read more than two lines of *scriptio inferior*. The work seems to begin on fol. 39^v.¹⁷ The *incipit* is not fully readable because the layers almost completely overlap at this point, but the sentence we read at the end of the page (as it is nowadays) belongs to one of the opening paragraphs of the first book, and the red capital “C” in the middle of the page is quite probably the initial of *Cum semper novas*, the very beginning of the prologue.

Incidentally, the bits we can read on fols. 39^v and 32^{r-v} reveal that the bifolium has been reversed. The chunk of the *De verbo* runs directly from the middle of fol. 39^v to 32^r and then 32^v.¹⁸ This sheet, now employed as the external bifolium of a quire of eight leaves (figure 12.4), was then folded and placed differently: fols. 32^v and 39^r, which are internal pages (flesh side) within the

16 Priscian's name shows up in *Institutiones Grammaticae*, books 2, 8, 10, and 17; Priscian, *Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri XVII*, ed. Martin Hertz, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1855–1859; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961). On fol. 11^v we read bits of a sentence in which Priscian's name seems to be a reference to what the grammarian said: “[...] Priscianus [...] c[...]suus [...] per singula [...] [s ...] per plural [...] dict[...].”

17 From fol. 39^r up to the middle of fol. 39^v a different text, which is difficult to identify, was copied, but it was by the same hand as the *De verbo* and was quite surely grammar-related.

18 The text copied on fols. 39^v and 32^{r-v} matches Eutyches, *De verbo*, 1.2, ed. Heinrich Keil, in *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 5, *Artium scriptores minores: Cledonius, Pompeius, Iulianus Excerpta ex commentariis in Donatum Consentius, Phocas, Eutyches, Augustinus, Palaemon, Asper De nomine et pronomine De dubiis nominibus Macrobi excerpta* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1868; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), 449–452.

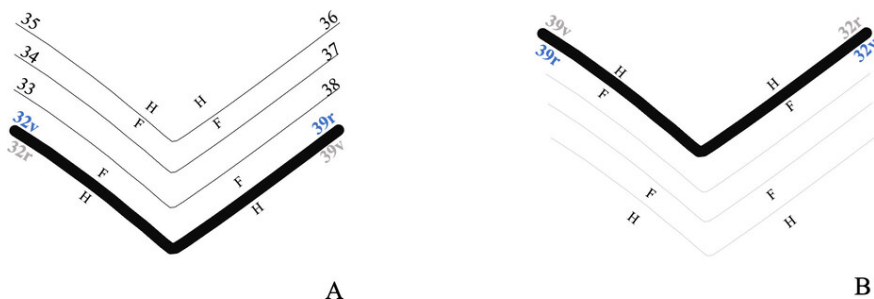


FIGURE 12.4 “A” represents the situation of the manuscript of C15 as we see it nowadays; “B” shows how the bifolium might have been used in the copying of Eutyches’ *De verbo* in the former manuscript

present manuscript, were in origin outward facing; fols. 32^r and 39^v (hair side) faced inward towards each other.

The near completeness of the text between the last line of fol. 39^v and the first one of fol. 32^r proves that there were no other leaves in between these pages. The missing part from the end of fol. 39^v and the beginning of fol. 32^r is approximately one line of the edited text, as is the missing part between the bottom of fol. 32^r and the top of fol. 32^v.¹⁹ This would indicate that what was cut away when that bifolium was prepared for reuse corresponded to the top margin and the very top of the writing frame.²⁰ Moreover, the near completeness of this section of the text, which can be deduced from the readable words and sentences at the top, center, and bottom of the pages, further confirms that the size of the codex from which the sheet was taken was very similar to that of BU 2087. At the same time, the order of the earlier-layer text indicates that the bifolium opening on fol. 39^r was possibly the center of a bigger quire, as the position of the external flesh side might suggest. Indeed, it would perfectly fit the flesh/hair-side disposition it would have had in a quire of eight leaves.²¹ However, given that on fols. 33^r–38^v the *scriptio inferior* is mostly illeg-

19 In the bottom margin of fol. 32^r: *primae coniugationis invenitur, ut dictum est, excepto hio hias et pio pias*. In the top edge of fol. 32^v the *scriptio inferior* is damaged. However, the first word we read is *adverbio*, which in the edition follows the last words of fol. 39^v. If we consider the average length of a line of text of the *inferior*, the missing bit is again no more than a line.

20 Given the differences among the many reused sheets, this only applies to the bifolium made of fol. 32 and 39, whose writing surface counted about 43–44 lines per page.

21 This hypothesis is based on the data and statistics concerning the composition of the quires in the Middle Ages provided by Jean Vézin, “La réalisation matérielle des manuscrits latins pendant le haut Moyen Âge,” *Codicologica* 2 (1978), 15–51; Paola Busonero, “La fascicolazione del manoscritto nel Basso Medioevo,” in *La fabbrica del codice*, ed. Paola

ible, it is not clear whether the section of text by Eutyches belonged to a full (and mostly lost) copy of the work, or was supposed to be just a longer excerpt among other grammatical texts.

3 Structure of the Manuscript

As already mentioned, Padua BU 2087 consists of 48 folios, with a modern and complete foliation 1–48. This foliation was added in the 19th century, after the manuscript was acquired by the library, and after the production of the current binding. The wooden boards with half binding and a hook were indeed installed in the 20th century in the laboratory at Praglia, in the vicinity of Padua.²² Therefore, the bindings and foliation do not say much about the actual composition of the manuscript.

The fact that it is incomplete both at the end and at the beginning emerges only from the direct inspection and overall analysis of the leaves, quires, and text. The first line of fol. 1^r appears to begin with the last word of a missing sentence, *universale*, followed by a new one starting with a conjunction: *Ergo nec divisio illa est totius universalis nec vocis nec secundum accidens nec generis quod sic probatur*. Even though the discussion of the first page still concerns the exordial topics, the first paragraph traces back to the last part of the *intentio*.²³ Therefore, what appears to be missing is only the very first part of it.

As all the quires are quaternions (figure 12.5) and the first one consists of seven leaves with the last leaf detached from it, the conjoint leaf of fol. 7 should be the one now lost.²⁴ A missing leaf at the beginning would also explain why the codex now opens with the external flesh side on fol. 1^r and the hair side on fol. 7^v. This is noteworthy, as up to the 12th century manuscripts were usually copied on the first folio (flesh side) verso, often leaving the first (hair side)

Busonero, Maria Antonietta Casagrande Mazzoli, Luciana Devoti, and Ezio Ornato (Rome: I Libri di Viella, 1999), 36–37, 48.

22 The center for the restoration of the book was established in Praglia in 1951. The tag glued on the cover reads “Gabinetto di restauro del libro. Praglia.”

23 In the first lines of fol. 1^r, the reading is hampered by a spot left by a fatty substance (probably candle wax; see figure 12.1 above). The substance was possibly dropped on fol. 1^v (where the spot is thicker and denser) and then spilled over onto fols 1^r and 2^{r–v}. The stain covers some words in the upper half of all these pages. Despite this, the text on fols 1^r and 2^{r–v} is mostly readable with a UV lamp.

24 Fol. 7 is now an individual leaf, probably due to the recent restoration. However, we cannot reconstruct when it fell out from the first quire. The fact that the manuscript is incomplete was first noticed by de Rijk, “Some new Evidence,” 36.

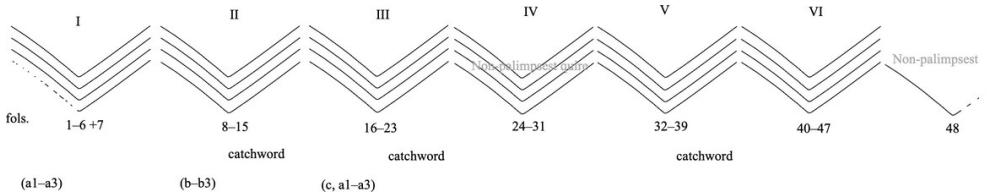


FIGURE 12.5 The structure of the quires

recto blank.²⁵ Thus, if the first quire actually had a now missing folio with the external hair side, the text was likely to be copied from the verso onwards. In that event, the missing part would actually have been of a modest length, as we would expect for a missing discussion on the *intentio*.²⁶

The second, third, and fifth quires surprisingly present original catchwords, presumably added by the copyists, whereas the leaf signature on the first three quires was added by a later medieval user.²⁷ In the third quire, the combination of letters and numbers in the leaf signature does not exhibit a marked consistency. Whereas in the first and second, the bifolia are signed as “a1,” “a2,” “a3” and “b,” “b1,” “b2,” in the third they are named “c,” “a1,” “a2,” “a3.”²⁸ As the text does not seem to be affected by breaks of any sort, the mistaken quire signature could possibly be explained as a misunderstanding.²⁹

Moving back to the structure, the last complete quire ends with fol. 47, and even though fol. 48 is now attached to the last quire, it could have been the first half of an individual bifolium, or possibly of a new quire. If we look at the end of the manuscript, the final words are damaged by a probably unintentional erasure and the sentence *fine predicamen(torum)* seems to be followed by some incomplete words (figure 12.6). The last lines are not as compressed as we would

25 Vezin, “La réalisation matérielle,” 25–28; Marco Palma, “Modifiche ad alcuni aspetti della produzione libraria,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988), 119–133.

26 Of course, we do not know whether C15 was copied after another lost commentary in the same codicological unit, as very often happened with other manuscripts of logical commentaries, such as for instance in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arsenal 910 or in Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 266.

27 Jean Vezin, “Observations sur l’emploi des réclames dans les manuscrits latins,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 125.1 (1967), 5–33; Albert Derolez, *Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33–34.

28 In the first quire, consisting of 7 folios, “a1,” “a2,” and “a3” are on the first three folios, conjoint to fols. 4–6; in the second quire, consisting of 8 folios, “b,” “b1,” “b2,” and “b3” are on the first four. It is hard to say whether “a” was supposed to indicate the first now missing folio.

29 This system does not seem effective as it fails to clearly indicate the position of fol. 7. Additionally, it seems to convey that fol. 16 (conjoint to fol. 23) was not part of the same quire.

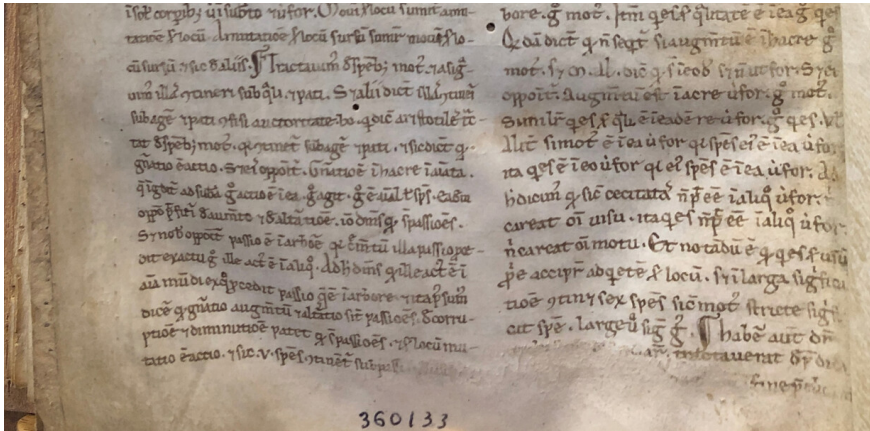


FIGURE 12.6 The end of the manuscript (Padua, BU 2087, fol. 48v)

expect if the available space of the second column was supposed to finish with the very last word of the text. In addition, the last word does not seem to be followed by any sign marking the end of the work. But if we look at the text, the last sentence traces back to chapter 15, which is often neglected in similar commentaries, as happens, for instance, in C17 and C8. In this commentary, the length of chapters 12–14 varies a lot: 42 ll. (ch. 12), 27 ll. (ch. 13) and 3 columns and 17 ll. (ch. 14), but we do not have a strong reference for guessing the length of the last one. However, since the sentence is opened by a paragraph (painted in black ink by the copyist) and the last word does not look like the very ending of the text, we would expect at least a little discussion on that topic as well, on a new leaf.

Generally speaking, concerning the physical structure, for manuscripts of this kind it is quite a challenge to understand where the manuscript was supposed to end (and even begin). Most of the manuscripts that contain 12th-century logical commentaries are actually multiple-text multiblock manuscripts resulting from the juxtaposition of booklets, whereas only a few are unitary codices.³⁰ In many cases, several codicological units are juxtaposed one

30 For the terminology of multiple-text multiblock manuscripts, see Marilena Maniaci, “The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container: The Greek and Latin Traditions,” in *One Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-text Manuscripts*, ed. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 28. At this stage of my research, 30 out of 40 codices containing 12th-century logical commentaries can be identified as composite manuscripts.

after another, or the leaves added to complete a copy were filled by copying other short or incomplete texts too.

Even though the Padua manuscript now appears to be a unitary manuscript, the level of damage to the external sides of the manuscript makes us think that at least the appearance of the manuscript could have changed over time. Moreover, whatever the composition of the last part of the manuscript looked like shortly after the copy was completed, the loss of the first and last folio is one of the most common situations for manuscripts kept without proper bindings. Therefore, it is quite likely that this codex remained, at least for a while, a gathering of several unbound quires and that their number was higher than the current one.³¹

4 Ruling Pattern and *Mise en texte*

The ruling pattern of the manuscript is in two columns of 39 lines, with the text beginning above the top line. The manuscript is entirely hard-point ruled and presents still visible prick-holes in the external margins.³² As for the layout, it is worth mentioning that the margins are very narrow, and particularly the top and lateral ones, as if the text was not meant to be paired with *marginalia* of any sort, which is the case. As for the *mise en texte*—that is to say, how the text is effectively arranged within the ruling pattern—C15 shows a peculiar distribution of text and blank columns on fols. 13^{rb}, 16^{va}, 18^{va}–b, 20^{vb}, 21^{va}–vb, 22^{va}–vb, and 23^{va}–vb.³³ De Rijk noticed these blank spaces and thought that they were lacunas, but the text seems to run without interruptions.³⁴ Looking at these pages, however, we get the impression that the copyist intentionally left spaces

31 For manuscripts such as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14458 and Clm 14779, the absence of medieval bindings is proven by the early 16th-century catalog in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14675, fols. 133^r–141^v, edited in *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.1, *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg*, ed. Christine E. Ineichen-Eder (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1977), 265–271.

32 These features, ruling technique and placement of the first line of text, have been discussed in Palma, “Modifiche ad alcuni aspetti” as elements affected by changes between the 11th and 13th centuries.

33 For a definition of the concept of *mise en texte*, see Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 58.

34 de Rijk, “Some new Evidence,” 36. For instance, there are no breaks between fols. 13^{rb} and 13^{va} or between fols. 16^{va} and 16^{vb}. In both cases, the words divided by the blank space belong to meaningful sentences.

blank. Particularly on fol. 16^{va}, not only the first column was mostly left blank, but the words are also weirdly aligned with the right margin (figure 12.7).

As I will explain shortly, the commentary was copied by two main hands. This peculiar layout only appears in the part that was copied by the second hand, B, at the end of the second and all through the third quire, whereas the text by the first hand, A, shows a stronger coherence in the disposition of the text within the ruling pattern.

It is worth noting that the first hand seems to manage the surface and space of the reused bifolia more effectively. Hand B instead, leaves some wide, apparently unnecessary, blank spaces. For some folios, and most clearly on fol. 16^v, it is likely that the scribe was struggling with the surface of the parchment, as its rate of impermeability could have been compromised by washing and scraping. The spreading of the ink particularly on fols. 13^{rb}, 16^{va}, 21^{ra} and 22^{va} was probably deemed a factor potentially hindering the text's legibility. However, in some heavily damaged folios the text is transcribed without leaving blank spaces (such as, for instance on fols. 12^v, 13^{vb}), whereas on some others and especially on fols. 18^v, 20^{vb} (figure 12.8) the surface of the empty spaces appears as clear and clean as in most other folios, even with less traces of *scriptio inferior*.

The situation of the *mise en texte* is quite unusual. It is possible that the pages and columns with blank spaces were somehow compromised when the scribe was supposed to use them, more so than we see them now. For, as a hypothesis, some leaves that now we see dry and clean, might have been wet or damp at that time and the copyist might have chosen to skip them, to prevent the risk of a less precise and clear transcription. At the same time, for cases where the parchment does not present any problem in terms of surface and absorption of the ink, we may not exclude other explanations. Where the text stops with the end of a sentence before the blank space and starts again with a new sentence on a new column, even though on the same topic, as it is the case on fol. 20^{vb}, we may not exclude, for instance, that the space might have been left for a further addition on that same subject which, in the end, in the sole known copy of the text, was not accomplished.

qe lo die. plato sed. ubi inflati. et iste die. so. sed. i
 alio inflati. et iste n' p' d' illud id' p' d' locutione.
 Iste p' q' no' n' legim' libri. ar. q' n' p' t' q' i' uenit.
 rui' illa locutione qua. ar. p' t' uat' h'at' calliat' i' u' t' .
 calliat' i' i' p' . i' talo i' p' t' . i' no' p' p' t' i' e' i' illo i' p' t' .
 q' n' p' t' i' illa locutione qua. q' p' t' uat' . i' sic i' l' e
 gum' libri. ar. p' p' b' i' uenit' i' a' d' m' i' q' e' eade' o' r' o
 . lo. sed. cu' p' p' t' i' i' b' i' q' t' i' . i' cu' i' talo i' p' t' . i' q' eade'
 o' r' o' i' g' e' u' i' . i' fal. . i' d' m' i' g' b' e' m' u' l' . q' d' a' u' i' p' e' o' .
 . f' . i' . q' d' a' u' i' p' f' i' e' i' . f' . a' . q' d' a' u' i' e' . f' . i' . i' d' g' o' r' h' a' c
 p' p' o' e' q' d' a' u' i' e' . f' . e' u' i' . f' . S; q' d' i' g' i' m' q' eade' o'
 r' o' i' g' e' u' i' . f' . no' u' d' e' a' m' i' g' locutione i' q' . p' o' t' e' h' y
 nom' i' d' e' h' i' c' p' e' c' e' d' i' d' o' . u' l' n' e' g' a' d' o' . i' s' t' e' p' e' c' e' d' i' d' a' e' .
 u' e' n' o' m' a' u' d' i' t' h' i' r' o' m' e' . eade' u' o' x' p' e' f' f' e' r' t' a' m' o' r' e' .
 eade' o' r' o' s' i' m' i' l' i' t' . i' . cu' u' e' l' u' i' u' l' . a' d' n' o' i' a' r' e' z' .
 i' n' e' g' a' d' e' s' i' c' eade' e' e' n' t' i' a' a' u' d' i' t' a' m' e' . i' . a' t' e' . i' . eade'
 q' u' a' l' i' t' a' . S; p' i' c' i' p' i' a' m' a' p' r' o' s' u' b' e' . i' . d' e' u' n' o' q' .
 t' e' t' a' d' o' u' e' f' a' c' i' e' n' t' . i' s' t' e' i' n' e' g' a' d' e' u' e' h' o' u' e' t' a' m' o' r' e' .
 . i' . a' t' e' . i' . q' u' i' h' y' n' o' m' i' d' e' u' i' g' e' c' a' n' o' i' b' . q' d' r' a' p' e' d' i' u' . i' .
 i' p' e' d' i' u' . q' u' i' u' i' g' e' c' u' l' i' n' o' t' e' p' u' l' i' . i' . e' o' d' o' . i' . s' i' c' i' d' e'
 b' i' p' u' l' i' . m' a' d' e' t' a' n' o' b' . i' . g' e' m' e' d' o' d' e' e' o' d' e' m' a' c' a' r' e' l' l' o
 t' e' c' i' d' u' p' l' e' x' . i' . d' e' m' a' c' a' r' e' l' l' o' e' i' d' e' m' a' n' e' r' i' e' . v' . d' e'
 e' o' d' e' m' a' c' a' r' e' l' l' o' . i' . d' e' eade' r' e' i' d' u' a' u' a' l' i' q' u' i' t' a'
 m' a' c' a' r' e' . f' . i' d' e' d' e' t' e' d' e' b' e' n' i' . d' i' s' t' i' n' o' i' e' a' r' b' o' r' . i' . d' e' n' o' i'
 b' i' p' e' z' a' r' b' o' r' i' . s' i' c' d' e' q' u' e' r' t' u' . S' i' m' i' l' i' t' . i' . h' a' c' d' e' b' e' n' i'
 m' i' d' e' d' o' . i' d' e' f' r' u' c' t' u' c' o' m' e' d' i' t' a' m' e' . i' . a' t' e' . h' u' e'
 d' u' p' l' e' x' . e' g' o' a' m' e' d' o' d' o' e' d' e' t' e' c' e' r' a' l' i' t' e' r' . d' e' c' e' r' a' l' i'
 e' i' d' e' m' a' n' e' r' i' e' . v' . S' e' l' a' c' e' r' a' l' i' . i' . d' e' e' i' d' e' r' e' r' o' b' . i' d' a'
 u' o' d' a' l' i' b' . q' u' i' t' e' c' e' r' a' l' a' . f' . N' e' a' d' e' r' e' i' d' a' t' a' u' e' m' .
 a' n' t' h' a' c' d' e' b' e' n' i' i' d' e' d' o' . i' d' e' l' a' p' u' i' d' e' t' a' m' e' . i' . a' t' e' .
 h' u' e' n' e' g' a' d' a' p' r' i' u' s' i' d' e' b' e' r' i' l' l' i' u' i' d' e' t' a' n' o' b' . i' . q' u' i'
 q' u' i' n' d' i' u' i' d' e' t' h' i' c' h' a' u' i' d' e' e' a' d' e' q' u' e' r' o' u' i' d' e' t' a' n' o' b' .
 n' o' r' e' s' p' o' n' d' e' n' t' d' i' c' i' t' a' o' q' u' i' t' h' i' c' h' e' . i' . s' i' c' i' s' t' a' d' e' s' u' b' a'
 i' p' t' e' n' e' a' z' s' u' s' t' i' c' i' a' t' .

Iste n' p' d' e' b' i' t' e' t' a' c' d' e' q' u' i' t' a' . q' d' e' q' u' i' t' a' . s' i' c' n' u' l' l' a
 s' u' b' a' . i' . s' i' n' q' u' i' t' a' t' e' . i' e' a' n' t' l' a' s' u' b' a' e' t' i' n' e' q' u' i' t' a' t' e'
 q' e' n' u' l' l' a' . e' g' n' h' a' t' c' o' r' p' o' r' a' t' e' . u' l' d' o' r' p' e' n' a' t' e' i' t' e' .
 S; a' l' i' u' i' n' t' u' e' n' e' u' e' t' i' l' . c' a' u' s' i' p' r' e' t' a' t' d' q' u' i' t' a' . q' u' i' p'
 m' a' . b' o' . i' n' o' m' i' o' a' l' l' i' g' e' t' d' i' c' e' o' i' t' r' e' e' i' d' e' t' s' u' b' n' u' o' .
 i' h' i' p' l' a' z' q' u' i' o' i' t' r' e' a' u' t' e' u' n' a' . a' u' t' p' l' o' .

Iste n' p' d' e' b' i' t' e' t' a' c' d' e' q' u' i' t' a' . q' d' e' q' u' i' t' a' . s' i' c' n' u' l' l' a
 s' u' b' a' . i' . s' i' n' q' u' i' t' a' t' e' . i' e' a' n' t' l' a' s' u' b' a' e' t' i' n' e' q' u' i' t' a' t' e'
 q' e' n' u' l' l' a' . e' g' n' h' a' t' c' o' r' p' o' r' a' t' e' . u' l' d' o' r' p' e' n' a' t' e' i' t' e' .
 S; a' l' i' u' i' n' t' u' e' n' e' u' e' t' i' l' . c' a' u' s' i' p' r' e' t' a' t' d' q' u' i' t' a' . q' u' i' p'
 m' a' . b' o' . i' n' o' m' i' o' a' l' l' i' g' e' t' d' i' c' e' o' i' t' r' e' e' i' d' e' t' s' u' b' n' u' o' .
 i' h' i' p' l' a' z' q' u' i' o' i' t' r' e' a' u' t' e' u' n' a' . a' u' t' p' l' o' .

FIGURE 12.8 Padua, BU 2087, fol. 20^v

5 Writing

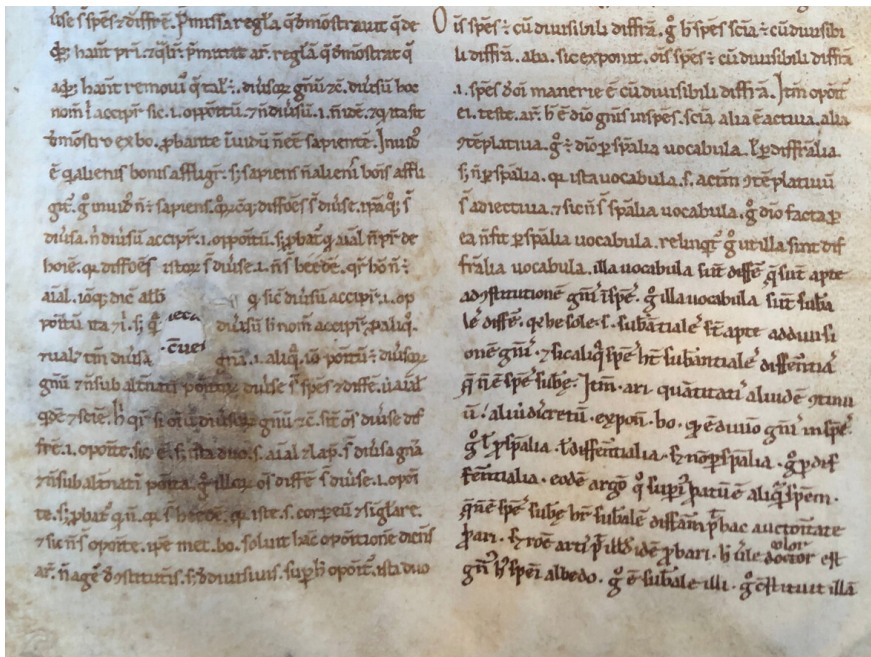
The text of C15 is copied by two main hands (figure 12.9): A (fols 1^{ra}–10^{rb}) and B (fols. 10^{rb}–48^{ra}). The very last part of the commentary has been completed by a different hand, C (fol. 48^{rb}–48^{vb}), which shares most of its features with the two others. The script is a Caroline minuscule, or *littera antiqua*, even though many features clearly tend towards what would later become the *littera textualis*.³⁵

A strong tradition of studies has shown that the shift from the old type of writing to the new one (and the *littera textualis* is indeed also called *littera moderna* in late medieval texts) took place between the 11th and the beginning of the 13th century, first in Northern France and England, and then in the rest of Europe. During that process, the book script saw the rise of structural choices that went towards a clearer distinction between words, the compression of letters, and the rationalization of the act of writing.³⁶

Both hands in BU 2087 are placed in a transitional phase between the two systems. The script, although well rooted in the Caroline script as for several stylistic and morphological choices, indeed presents a well-developed framework of graphic habits that go in the direction of the *littera textualis*. Syntactical strategies to keep the graphic word together, such as approaching or merging contrary curves (“nessi di curve” or “biting”), uncial “d,” and closing of the

35 Concerning the nomenclature, my references for the use of the historical terms *littera antiqua* for Caroline minuscule and *littera textualis* for the so-called Gothic script are Gérard-Isaac Lieftinck, “Dénominations d’écritures livresques dans un manuscrit italien de la fin du XI^e siècle (Leyde, Bibliothèque universitaire, ms. Voss. Lat. F. 21),” *Scriptorium* 13 (1959), 260–261; Emanuele Casamassima, “Per una storia delle dottrine paleografiche dall’umanesimo a Jean Mabillon,” *Studi medievali* 5 (1964), 525–578; Emanuele Casamassima, “Scrittura documentaria dei ‘Notarii’ e scrittura libraria nei secoli X–XIII. Note paleografiche,” in *Il notariato nella civiltà toscana: Atti di un convegno (maggio 1981)*, ed. Mario Montorzi (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale del Notariato, 1985), 70–72. In Derolez’s terms, the type of script I am dealing with would be called *Praegothica*. Derolez, *Palaeography*, 56–67.

36 The theories on the emergence of the new script exposed by Dobiache-Rojdestvensky and Boussard are now mostly rejected. See Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, “Quelques considérations sur les origines de l’écriture dite gothique,” in *Mélanges d’histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925), 691–721; Jacques Boussard, “Influences insulaires dans la formation de l’écriture gothique,” *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), 238–264. See also Emanuele Casamassima, *Tradizione corsiva e tradizione libraria nella scrittura latina del Medioevo* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 1999), 103; Stefano Zamponi, “La scrittura del libro nel Duecento,” in *Civiltà Comunale: Libro, Scrittura, Documento* (Genoa: Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1989), 319; Bernard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 127–136; Derolez, *Palaeography*, 68–70.

FIGURE 12.9 Hands A and B (Padua, BU 2087, fol. 10^r)

bows to the right are used on a regular basis.³⁷ In addition, in both writings we observe a reduced height of the ascenders and a consistent use of feet.³⁸ At the same time the round “r” is never employed, not even after “o,” and neither is the capital “s” to mark the end of a word.

If we compare this manuscript with the samples of writings that most of the studies on the development of the *litterae textuales* provide or refer to, we understand that the analyses have been conducted for the most part on a different—bigger, more expensive and refined—kind of book.³⁹ The trends

37 For these “biting” rules, called Meyer’s rules, see Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Buchstaben-Verbindungen der sogenannten gothischen Schrift* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1897).

38 For data to compare with this analysis, see Eric Kwakkel, “Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century,” in *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book*, ed. Erik Kwakkel, Rosamond McKitterick, and Rodney M. Thomson (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 96–102; Antonella Tomiello, “Dalla littera antiqua alla littera textualis. Prime considerazioni,” *Gazette du livre medieval* 29 (1996), 4–6.

39 Derolez, *Palaeography*, Plates 3–14. In Stefano Zamponi, “Elisione e sovrapposizione nella littera textualis,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988), 142, for instance, the analysis was conducted

and criteria that have emerged must certainly be used for dating and analysing the writing; but the scripts of the Padua manuscript seem to belong to a different context of production and use. A wider overview of the manuscripts of similar logical commentaries shows that the books that usually transmit them are small sized, and that the text is copied in two columns with narrow or no margins.⁴⁰ In those manuscripts, whose use and production are supposed to be personal or for a narrow circle, the small and abbreviated scripts which transmit the commentaries trace back to probably quite well-trained scholars, who were accustomed to copying work but nonetheless weren't aiming to create the most aesthetic result as much as just recording the available commentaries. The writings by which 12th-century logical commentaries are transmitted thus are not calligraphic, even if they are clearly book scripts and present a group of recurring features.⁴¹ Nonetheless, even these scripts are involved in the spreading of the new graphic habits. Features of this kind certainly apply to a wider range of books than the logical commentaries only and appear as a worthwhile field of further investigation.⁴²

on later liturgical books. Similarly, for the English context, an overview on more formal book hands by Richard Gameson, "The emergence of formal Gothic script in England," in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, ed. Frank T. Coulson and Robert G. Babcock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 361–368. If we consider just a few samples of French, dated manuscripts, however, we see that again, among the available *specimina*, dated personal-use books are quite few for the 12th century: Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, eds., *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine: portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. 2, *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin Nos. 1 à 8000*, (Paris: CNRS, 1962), Plates 12–22; vol. 3, *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin Nos. 8001 à 18613* (Paris: CNRS, 1964), Plates 25–39.

40 These features had already been noticed by John Marenbon and Caterina Tarlazzi, "Logic," in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Eric Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 221–224.

41 I refer to some recurring features which, though by different hands with different trainings and habits, make all these writings similar to each other. Particularly, several technical abbreviations, the preference towards some letter variants, a common level of compression, and rationalization of the letters.

42 Some remarks on these features are provided in Derolez, *Palaeography*, 56; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 121; Armando Petrucci, "Censimento dei codici dei secoli XI–XII. Istruzioni per la datazione," *Studi Medievali* 111 9 (1968), 1123: "in ambito usuale e scolastico sono ovunque in Europa adoperate tipizzazioni individuali a base ancora carolina o già gotica, di formato ridotto, di aspetto trascurato, in genere ricche di abbreviazioni." See also Mirella Ferrari, "Late Carolingian," in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, ed. Frank Coulson and Robert Babcock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 289, with a particular focus on notaries' and judges' books.

For the moment, however, we can observe that, in a codex that is intended for studying purposes by an individual or a small group, a more compressed and readable script can also align with the needs of its specific users.

Conclusion

Having considered all the discussed (codicological and palaeographical) features and the possible implications the type and purpose of the book could have on the writing, for Padua, BU 2087, it seems safer to stick to a wider dating between the second and the third quarter of the 12th century.

As for its origin, several palaeographical elements indicate northwestern Europe for all three hands.⁴³ Italy, instead, appears as the place in which the manuscript was stored from a certain moment onwards. The manuscript actually does not present effective signs of provenance (nor traces of use after the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century), but quite surely comes from a religious institution of the Padua area, as some codicological clues indicate.⁴⁴ However, an attempt to localize the production of the manuscript can be undertaken by considering that *all* the three copyists actually betray French elements and that the text is connected with Alberic's teaching.

Secondarily, if C15—as has been said—is in some way derived from a discussion on the *Categories* and contains clues regarding a school provenance,⁴⁵ it will not be much of a surprise if its sole copy, dating not that long after the production of the text, was physically produced in a (perhaps French) school as well.

If we turn to the features of the early-layer manuscript—which comprise size, layout, script, and content of the *scriptio inferior*—all these elements actu-

43 Many elements seem to argue for northwestern Europe (probably France), and particularly the fact that all the strokes tend to be constructed in the same way, with a wide use of serifs which help to place the letters on the baseline. Letters such as "o" and the body of the uncial "d" are rhomboidal throughout the manuscript, and in particular in hand B's section. The "double breaking" of ascenders, the "-bus" abbreviation in the form of a semicolon, as well as the limb of the "h" in the shape of a claw occasionally crossing the baseline all point to the same conclusion. These elements can be compared with Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 121–123; for Northern *littera textualis*, see Derolez, *Palaeography*, 58–68, 71.

44 On the basis of the number of the shelf-mark and the section of the catalogue; see also the short description of the manuscript in the appendix for the presence of a 14th-century Italian notarial act used as front end-leaf (numerated as fol. 1).

45 Hansen, "Anonymus Patavinus on *Categories* 7," 130.

ally indicate that the parchment that was employed to copy C15 came from a handbook, or a collection of grammatical texts possibly made for studying purposes that eventually became old or no longer useful. Such a book, which we can imagine to have been at the scribes' disposal, provided a cost-effective writing surface for a new text.

All considered, the scribes are likely to have been students or early-stage logicians, that is to say, people quite used to writing and copying texts for studying purposes, but not at all concerned with aesthetics. In addition, if we look at the general aspects of the manuscript, all the clues—particularly the lack of decoration, the portable dimensions, the cheap parchment, the absence of a durable binding, and the general sobriety of the product—do indeed indicate that the scribes did not work in a structured *scriptorium*, but rather collaborated to get a copy finished for some fellow student or their personal use.

The context of a school would also explain the re-employment of a no longer useful grammatical handbook as copying material. Indeed, not only was grammar the foundation of learning, but logical commentaries and grammatical ones, particularly on Priscian, shared traits from the point of view of the modes, references, and contents of the discussion, as some topics were discussed in both contexts.⁴⁶ In the case of BU 2087 that relationship also emerges from the specific physical context in which C15 was copied, where the scribes had at their disposal some possibly out-of-use or old grammatical texts. Therefore, the materiality of the codex seems to confirm that a 12th-century school with a strong interest in logic, and particularly in Alberic's views on the *Categories*, was the social and cultural environment where C15 was copied at a quite early stage after its production.

Appendix: Short Description of the Manuscript

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 2087

Commentary C15 on Aristotle's *Categoriae* (fols 1^{ra}–48^{vb})

Parchment: fols. 1–23, 32–48 palimpsest; a stain of wax crosses fols 1^r–2^v. Fols 11, 48, 1^r; fol. 1 is a fragment of a mid-14th century Italian notarial act (“affitto

46 On the connections between the *Glosulae in Priscianum Maiorem* and logical commentaries, see Anne Grondeux and Irène Rosier-Catach, “Les Glosulae super Priscianum et leur tradition,” in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XIe–XIIe siècles*, ed. Irène Rosier-Catach (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 127, 154; on the cultural and social milieu, see, in the same volume, Anne Grondeux, “Guillaume de Champeaux, Joscelin de Soissons, Abélard et Gosvin d’Anchin: étude d’un milieu intellectuel,” 3–44.

a livello”), cut and turned 90° to be reused as a front end-leaf; modern foliation 1–48; quires 1⁶ (1–6), 1fol. (7), 2–6⁸ (8–15; 16–23; 24–31; 32–39; 40–47), 1fol. (48); catchwords on 2nd, 3rd, and 5th quire; leaf signature a1–a3 (1st quire), b–b1–b2–b3 (2nd quire), c–a1–a2–a3 (3rd quire); unreadable traces (of a catchword?) on fol. 7^v; 180 × 129 = 11 [154] 15 × 3 / 5 [51 (6) 52] 4 / 8, 39 ruled lines (fol. 46); hard-point ruled; prick-holes on the external margins.

Written by three hands in a transitional *littera antiqua*: A (fols 1^{ra}–10^{rb}), B (fols. 10^{rb}, 11 lines from the bottom–48^{ra}), C (fol. 48^{rb}–vb). Few marginal notes on fols. 23^v, 29^r, 30^v (13th–14th cent.)

The modern binding (20th century) was crafted in Praglia as shown by the tag on the cover: “Gabinetto di restauro del libro. Praglia.”

History of the manuscript:

On fol. 1^r several Italian names (for instance, “Albertus Bono” and the brothers “Iacobus,” “Franciscus,” and “Antonius”), as well as the feasts of “Sancta Giustina” and of the saints Peter and Paul as dates for the payments, show a direct connection of this re-employed 14th-century document with Padua. However, it is not possible to settle when the act was reused as a front end-leaf.

A tag with the title “Super Predicamentis [*sic*] Aristotelis” (15th cent.), to which an 18th-century hand has added the word “Filosofia,” has been placed on the inside cover.

The manuscript entered the library in 1867, when the newly founded Kingdom of Italy suppressed religious institutions and acquired their books, as the number of the shelf-mark proves. Recent marks and inventory numbers (“RG 2424,” “360133”) appear on fols 1^r, 1^r, and 48^v.

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