

## Annotations to MS Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 877: A Brief Commentary on the Hermetic *Asclepius*

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### Introduction: The Hermetic *Asclepius* and Marginal Glosses

Hermes Trismegistus has been an enigmatic figure in the Western intellectual tradition ever since writings began to circulate under his name during the first few centuries CE. Believed to be an Egyptian sage of great antiquity and wisdom – Medieval and Renaissance scholars thought he was a contemporary of Moses and Zoroaster – his works were known across the Mediterranean. Portions of the Hermetic corpus survive in their original Greek tongue, but also in translations into Armenian, Coptic, and Latin that date back to antiquity.

Greek and Latin Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, and St. Augustine all knew of Hermes and quoted from his books repeatedly, if not always admiringly. St. Augustine reserved his bitterest ire for the pagan sage, whom he denounced in chapters 23-26 of book VIII of his famous work *De civitate Dei* as a promoter of idolatry. The Hermetic text Augustine criticized so vehemently was entitled *Asclepius*.<sup>1</sup> A Latin translation from a Greek original done sometime during the fourth century,<sup>2</sup> it is a short Neoplatonic treatise written as a

<sup>1</sup> Most recently edited among Apuleius' short philosophical works in *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera quae supersunt vol. III De philosophia libri*. ed. C. Moreschini (Stuttgart-Leipzig: Teubner, 1991), 39-86. Recent modern commentaries on this work include *Hermetica*. ed. B. Copenhaver. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and I. Parri, *La via filosofica di Ermete. Studio sull'Asclepius* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> For discussions on Latin translations of Greek texts during early imperial times, see A. Fidora, 'Les différentes approches des traducteurs: de la perception des textes à la réception des traductions', in *Une conquête de savoirs. Les traductions dans l'Europe latine (fin du XIe siècle – milieu du XIIIe siècle. Actes du Colloque organisé à la fondation Singer-Polignac le jeudi 27 novembre 2008*. ed. M. Lejbowicz. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 46-49 and Copeland, R., *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 9-55.

didactic dialogue between Hermes and his pupils Asclepius, Ammon, and Tat. Despite Augustine's single-minded focus on those sections that struck him as idolatrous, the discussions contained within the *Asclepius* cover a wide range of topics, including the distinction between *genera* and *species*, the nature of fate and causation, the existence of a vacuum, the roles of the sexes, the position of man in the Neoplatonic hierarchy of being, and the fate of the human soul after death.

Hermes' repute during the Middle Ages was boosted by the existence of another work attributed to St. Augustine but now known to have been written by one of his successors as bishop of Carthage, Quodvultdeus (d. ca. 450). In this book, entitled *Adversus quinque haereses*,<sup>3</sup> Quodvultdeus followed Lactantius in expressing a more benign view of Hermes, claiming that some of his statements could be understood as consonant with a knowledge of the Christian Trinity. Controversy surrounded the *Asclepius* during the Middle Ages precisely because of the existence of these two diametrically opposed interpretations of the writings of a single figure, Hermes, by what was thought to be the same immensely influential and widely-read author, Augustine.

The Latin *Asclepius* itself was read widely during the Middle Ages. Indeed, seventy-nine manuscripts of this influential text survive,<sup>4</sup> dating from the ninth to the eighteenth century, and the text was quoted widely by such prominent authors as Peter Abelard, Thierry of Chartres, Alan of Lille, William of Auvergne, Roger Bacon, and Albertus Magnus. Many of the manuscripts of the text contain marginal glosses, sometimes in copious quantities, amounting *de facto* to commentaries on the primary text. These provide direct evidence that the text was intensively studied and, more than likely, employed in teaching. Bernard Bischoff observed that "[s]choolbooks and books for study are generally those that most clearly bear the marks of use in their marginalia and glosses."<sup>5</sup> The most famous of the glosses to the *Asclepius* belong to Nicolas of Cusa and his secretary, Andrea Bussi, and are among the former's recently edited complete works.<sup>6</sup> Others have been attributed to the hand of Godefroy de Fontaines,<sup>7</sup> Francesco Petrarca,<sup>8</sup> and Coluccio Salutati.<sup>9</sup> The *Asclepius* MS with the most copious marginal annotations is MS København, Kongelige Bibliothek, Fabr. 91 4<sup>o</sup>, ff. 89r-98r.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the marginal commentaries, a systematic but fragmentary commentary on the *Asclepius*, known as the *Glosae*

<sup>3</sup> Quodvultdeus. *Adversus quinque haereses*. ed. R. Braun, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi episcopo tributa. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 60. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 261-301.

<sup>4</sup> P. Lucentini and V. Perrone Compagni, *I testi e i codici di Ermete nel Medioevo* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2001), 12-17. For fuller manuscript descriptions, see R. Klibansky and F. Regen, *Die Handschriften der philosophischen Werke des Apuleius. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 202.

<sup>6</sup> P. Arfé, ed., *Cusanus-Texte III. Marginalien 5. Apuleius. Hermes Trismegistus, aus Codex Bruxellensis 10054-56* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Werner, 2004). The notes to the *Asclepius* appear pp.105-159.

<sup>7</sup> MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15449, ff.264ra-268vb. Cf. Klibansky and Regen, *Handschriften ... des Apuleius*, 101.

<sup>8</sup> MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 2193, ff. 4rb-9rb. Cf. Klibansky and Regen, *Handschriften ... des Apuleius*, 115-116, and C. Tristano, 'Le postille del Petrarca nel Vaticano lat. 2193 (Apuleio, Frontino, Vegezio, Palladio)', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 17 (1974), 365-468.

<sup>9</sup> MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.36, ff. 44r-49r. Cf. Klibansky and Regen, *Handschriften ... des Apuleius*, 71. MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 284, ff.7v-19r. Cf. Klibansky and Regen, *Handschriften ... des Apuleius*, 74.

<sup>10</sup> The author has a full edition and commentary on these notes in preparation. The notes in this manuscript amount to a commentary of ~2200 words.

*super Trismegistum*, was written sometime in the late twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> Its analysis of the *Asclepius* is extraordinarily thorough: the surviving text covers seventy-two pages in the modern critical edition, but ends abruptly mid-way through chapter four of the *Asclepius*' forty-one chapters. If the text had survived in its entirety with a similar density of commentary, it would cover over eight hundred and sixty pages of modern printed text.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of this article is to provide an edition of the notes to one of the glossed manuscripts of the *Asclepius*, MS Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 877, ff.29r-39v.

## The Manuscript

Shelfmark:	Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 877
Material:	Parchment, 40 folios.
Language:	Latin
Script:	A single scribe employs a late Caroline minuscule for both text and notes
Date:	12 <sup>th</sup> c.
Layout:	Single column, with notes both interlinear and in the margins
Contents:	f.1r-27r: Adelard of Bath, <i>Questiones naturales</i> f.27r-v: ps.-Seneca, <i>De remediis fortuitorum ad Gallionem</i>
f.28:	blank
f.29r-39v:	ps.-Hermes Trismegistus, <i>Asclepius</i>
f.40r:	blank
f.40v:	list of works not corresponding to the above

## The Annotator

The annotator was immersed in the concerns of the schoolmen of the mid-to-late twelfth century. In note 28, he highlights the contrast between Hermes' description of the world as a "receptacle of all species," and the passages from Plato's *Timaeus*, a work that was the focus of intense interest at the time, in which the "archetypal world" is described as "that which contains all the things in the world".<sup>13</sup> William of Conches (ca.1090-post 1154) uses the expression *mundus archetypus* frequently in his *Glosae super Platonem*,<sup>14</sup> and the annotator had already made the link between the two words at note 21. Plato is mentioned explicitly in note 34, where the annotator reacts to Hermes' distinction between *genera* that are eternal and those that can perish. He says:

<sup>11</sup> MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 811, ff.160-167. ed. P. Lucentini, '*Glosae super Trismegistum*. Un commento medievale all'*Asclepius* ermetico', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 62 (1995), 189-294.

<sup>12</sup> This estimate is an update on the one made here: D. Porreca, 'L'influence d'Hermès Trismégiste sur Alain de Lille et ses contemporains', in *Hermetism from Late Antiquity to Humanism (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi "La tradizione ermetica dal mondo tardo-antico al primo umanesimo" (21-24 novembre 2001))*, ed. P. Lucentini, I. Parri, and V. Perrone Compagni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 146.

<sup>13</sup> Waszink, J.H., ed., *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus* (London and Leiden, Warburg Institute and E.J. Brill, 1962), 23.20-24.2 and 30.17.

<sup>14</sup> Jeuneau, É., ed., *Glosae super Platonem* (Paris: Vrin, 1965).

God makes certain things without an instrument, like angels and souls, and he makes certain other things with an instrument, like bodies, which he makes through stars, as Plato says: certain things were made beforehand, before the world, like the angelic spirits, without matter.

Presumably, the annotator intends that those made without instruments should be understood as the immortal ones.<sup>15</sup> His interest in and awareness of philosophy are clear from the explicit reference in note 20 to “philosophers” saying that “similar things are understood by similar ones,” an expression employed by Boethius in this work on syllogisms entitled *De syllogismo hypothetico*.<sup>16</sup>

The annotator shows some sensitivity to the ancient historical context of the dialogue between Hermes, the master, and his disciples – Asclepius among them – when he points out that “it was customary that pupils were called sons” (note 7), presumably contrary to current practice in his day. He comments on the rhetorical technique employed by the author (note 10) in terms of introducing the “nobler” part of man first so as to “motivate all men to the worship of god” so that the author can “delve more easily into his formal composition.” When interpreting a confusing passage about human souls not all being uniformly immortal (note 14), he adds approvingly that “not everyone has the same status, according to the custom of the material world.”

## The Notes

The notes, which are both interlinear and marginal, begin fairly densely, but turn into a series of one-word synonyms or alternative readings after the first few folios before disappearing entirely. They are written in a hand similar to, and contemporaneous with, the scribe of the main text. Only notes 16 and 17 are in a different, somewhat later, hand, one which was also responsible for some of the corrections in a darker ink in the main text. The notes can be divided into two broad categories: the first involves a substantial comment on the text, while the other, representing the vast majority of the seventy-nine notes to the *Asclepius*, consists in the aforementioned synonyms or alternative readings of single-word lemmata from the text. Several of these pertain specifically to some of the transliterated Greek terms contained in the *Asclepius* (e.g., notes 45, 62, 77 and 78). In the case of note 78, the comment clearly refers to the Greek word ‘EIMARMENEN’ in the main text, yet it is inserted above the line over the word ‘OSYARSES’. This mis-match indicates that at least this note, and perhaps (many?) others, were either written inattentively, or copied from an exemplar in which they also appeared, or both. At least one of definitions of Greek terms was common enough at the time: note 73 explains “ades” with “sine uisu.”<sup>17</sup> In the København manuscript of the *Asclepius*, mentioned above, the same lemma is defined as “sine

<sup>15</sup> Waszink, *Timaeus*, 30.15–31.7.

<sup>16</sup> Boethius, *De syllogismo hypothetico*, I, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844), LXIV, col. 855D.

<sup>17</sup> This interpretation is very ancient, dating back to Stoic allegory in Hellenistic and imperial times in such works as Heraclitus’ *Homeric Allegories*, 23, 9–11, edited in *Heraclitus: Homeric Problems*. D. A. Russell and D. Konstan eds., (Atlanta, 2005), 44–45, and Lucius Annaeus Cornutus’ *Epidrome* 5, edited in *Cornuti Theologiae graecae compendium* C. Lang, ed. (Leipzig, 1881), 4–5. See also D. Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford, 1992), 33 and 49. Both of these authors date to the first century CE.

uisione.”<sup>18</sup> Notes 66 and 70 also happen to offer readings identical to notes in the corresponding sections of the København manuscript. The presence of only three such overlapping notes hints more at random convergence and a manifestation of a common understanding of the text among at least two late-twelfth-century scholars rather than any meaningfully direct link of transmission. Indeed, when one compares the notes in this manuscript to those in any of the other extant manuscripts of the *Asclepius* that contain marginal notes, it is the lack of any overlap between the comments that stands out most. Medieval scholars appear to have been reading and annotating the *Asclepius* independently rather than comparing manuscripts to each other or using the notes from one manuscript to annotate another.

## The Edition

The notes often pertain to text that is different from the readings in the standard edition of the *Asclepius*, so a two-columned layout has been provided: a diplomatic transcription of the original text is on the left, while the corresponding notes are on the right. Since the purpose of this edition is to focus on the notes rather than the main text, only a basic transcription of the former has been provided. Elisions have been inserted to replace the lengthy passages without annotations. The manuscript’s own spelling has been maintained throughout. Bibliographical cross-references to Moreschini’s modern edition and to the chapter numbers in the *Asclepius* appear at the beginning of each folio division marker. All abbreviations have been expanded with consideration for the standard spelling employed elsewhere by the scribe (e.g., ‘quedam’, ‘uel’, ‘inmortalis’). A contemporary corrector using darker ink has made occasional but generally helpful textual interventions in the main text which have been incorporated into the text of the left-hand column. Words in transliterated Greek appear in UPPERCASE font. Punctuation and clause division has been maintained as consistently as possible with the manuscript’s readings.

<sup>18</sup> MS København, Kongelige Bibliothek, Fabr. 91 4°, f. 92r.

## The Text

### Asclepius

Moreschini, 39, 1 – 41, 15; *Asclepius* 1-2

Asclepius. Asclepius iste pro sole mihi est deus. deus te nobis o asclepi ut diuino<sup>1</sup> sermoni interessas adduxit eoque<sup>2</sup> tali qui merito omnium antea a nobis factorum uel nobis diuino munere inspiratorum uideatur esse religiosa<sup>3</sup> pietate diuinior. Quem<sup>4</sup> si intelligens uideris; eris omnium bonorum tota mente plenissimus, si tamen multa sunt bona et non unum<sup>5</sup> in quo sunt omnia.

Alterum<sup>6</sup> enim alterius consentaneum esse dinoscitur. Omnia unde esse aut unum esse omnia. Ita enim sibi est utrumque connexum, ut separari alterum ab utroque non possit. Sed de futuro sermone hoc diligenti intentione cognosces. Tu uero asclepi procede paululum atque nobis qui intersit euoca. Quo ingresso, asclepius, et hammonam interesse suggestit.

TRIMEGISTUS; ait. Nulla inuidia prohibet hammonam a nobis. Et enim ad eius nomen; multa meminimus a nobis esse conscripta, sicuti etiam ad amantissimum et carissimum<sup>7</sup> filium, multa phisica exetiquae quam plurima. Tractatum autem hunc; tuo scribo nomine<sup>8</sup>. Preter hammonam uero nullum euoca alterum, ne tante rei religiosissimus sermo multorum interuentu presentiaque uioletur. Tractatum

### MS Reims, BM 877 notes

f.29r

1. id est de diis
2. ideo
3. hinc dociles
4. hoc est utilitas
5. hoc facit alios
6. id est que multa sunt bona et que unum est in quo sunt omnia
7. Mos erat ut discipulos uocarent filios.
8. asclepi

enim tota numinis maiestate plenissimum irreligiose mentis est multorum conscientia publicare. Hammona etiam aditum ingresso sanctoque<sup>9</sup> illo quatuor uirorum religione et diuina dei completa,<sup>10</sup> presentia, competenti uenerabiliter silentio<sup>11</sup> ex ore PRMY, animisque<sup>12</sup> singulorum mentibusque<sup>13</sup> pendentibus diuinus cupido sic est exorsus dicere. O asclepi omnis humana immortalis est anima. Sed non uniformiter cuncte,<sup>14</sup> sed alie alio more, uel tempore.<sup>15</sup> Non<sup>16</sup> enim o trimegiste omnis unius qualitatis est anima. O<sup>17</sup> asclepi<sup>18</sup> ut celeriter de uera rationis continentia decidisti. Num enim hoc dixi: Omnia unum esse, et unum omnia utpote que in creatore fuerunt omnia ante quam creasset omnia. Nec inmerito ipse dictus est omnia, cuius membra<sup>19</sup> sunt omnia, huius itaque qui est unus omnia, uel ipse est creator omnium in tota disputatione curato memnisse. De celo cuncta in terram, et in aquam, et in aera. Ignis solum quod sursum uersus fertur uiuificum. Quod deorsum ei deseruiens. At uero quicquid de alto descendit generans est. Quod sursum uersus emanat nutriens. Terra sola in se ipsam insistens omnium est receptrix, omniumque generum que accipit restitutrix. hoc ergo totum sicut meministi quod est omnium uel omnia, anima<sup>20</sup> et mundus<sup>21</sup> a natura<sup>22</sup> comprehensa agitantur. Ita omnium multiformi imaginum equalitate uariata, ut infinite qualitatum ex

9. conuentu

10. Ostensurus hominum originem incipit a digniori parte scilicet ab anima, ut per hoc possit animare o[mnes] homines ad religionem dei, qui tam dignam componentis attribuit, et ut facilius descendat ad formalem compositionem.; 11. facto

12. id est uoluptatibus

13. uel cognitionibus

14. id est non uniformem habent statum omnes, ad consuetudinem mundi

15. tempore quantum ad detensum.

16. Asclepius.

17. Trimegistus.

18. ubi dictum est omnia esse unum.

19. id est a quibus sunt omnia

20. uel anima dicitur esse omnia quia dicunt philosophi similia non comprehendi non a similibus ideo cum anima comprehendat omnia id est habeat scientiam de omnibus dicitur omnia

interuallo species esse noscantur. Adunate  
tamen ad hoc ut totum unum est ex uno

Moreschini, 41, 15 – 43, 12; *Asclepius* 2-5  
omnia esse uideantur.

[...]

Ergo sensibilis deus administrator est  
omnium corporum quorum augmenta  
detrimentaue sol et luna sortiti sunt. Celi<sup>23</sup>  
uero et ipsius anime et omnium que mundo  
insunt ipse<sup>24</sup> gubernator est qui<sup>25</sup> est  
effector deus. A supradictis<sup>26</sup> enim  
omnibus quorum idem gubernator deus  
omnium frequentatio fertur influens per  
mundum et per animam omnium generum  
et omnium specierum per rerum<sup>27</sup> naturam.  
Mundus<sup>28</sup> autem preparatus est a deo  
receptaculum omniformium specierum.  
Natura<sup>29</sup> autem per species imaginans  
mundum per quatuor ad celum usque  
adduxit. Cuncta dei uisibus placitura.  
Omnia autem desuper pendentia in species  
diuiduntur hoc quod dicturus sum genere.  
Genera rerum omnium suas species  
sequuntur, ut sit ita solitata. Genus species,  
generis particulata.<sup>30</sup> Genus ergo deorsum,  
ex se deorum faciet species. Demonum  
genus eque hominum, similiter uolucrum,  
et omnium que in se mundus habet, sui  
similes species generat. Genus est quidem

esse.

21. archetypus

22. A natura. A materia Anima a natura sua est  
immobilis id est inuariabilis, sed cum miscetur  
corporibus mouetur et permutatur.

f.29v

23. Due dicunt esse generationis sed una creatio,  
prima generatio in mente dei et ex illa fluunt  
omnia per mundum secunda generatio in actu.

24. id est conseruet eis suum esse

25. id est qui ea efficit dat eis ingressum in  
substantiam

26. ab illis que sunt in mente.

27. ad inanimata.

28. Archetipus est uel uniformium receptaculum  
specierum, sed hoc est receptaculum  
omniformium specierum.

29. materiam.

30. participata.



aliud animalis, genus sine anima<sup>31</sup> quidem nec tamen carens sensibus. Vnde et beneficiis gaudet et aduersis minuitur, atque uitatur,<sup>32</sup> omnium dico que in terra radicum stirpiumque incolumitate uiuiscunt, quarum species per totam terram sparse sunt. Ipsum celum plenum est deo. Supradicta autem genera inhabitant, usque ad loca specierum quarum omnium rerum immortales sunt species. Species enim pars est generis ut homo humanitatis quam<sup>33</sup> necesse est sequi qualitatem sui generis unde efficitur. Vt quamuis omnia genera immortalia sunt species tamen non omnis immortales. Diuinitatis enim genus et ipsum et species immortales sunt. Reliquorum<sup>34</sup> genera quorum eternitas est genus quamuis per species occidat, nascendi tamen fecunditate seruatur, deo species mortales sunt, ut homo mortalis sit, immortalis humanitas. Omnibus tamen generibus<sup>35</sup> omnium generum species miscentur. Quedam que antefacte sunt, quedam que de his<sup>36</sup> facte sunt. Hec itaque que sunt omnes simillime generibus suis species. Corpora<sup>37</sup> enim impossibile est conformari sine nutu diuino, species figurari sine adiutorio demonum inanimalia<sup>38</sup> instituet coli sine hominibus non possunt.

**Moreschini 43, 12 – 45, 10; *Asclepius* 5 – 7**

Quicumque ergo demonum a genere suo defluens in speciem<sup>39</sup> fortuito coniuncti

31. motu.

32. corrumpitur.

33. speciem

34. Quedam facit deus sine instrumento ut angelos et animas et quedam cum instrumento ut corpora que facit per stellas ut ait Plato quedam que antefacte sunt id est ante mundum et sine materia ut angelici spiritus.

35. id est genera sequuntur speciem.

36. id est de materia.

37. id est naturas

38. inanimata nec cum omnia quia quedam naturalia sunt.

**f.30r**

39. demon habet uel ui habens non natura.

<p>sunt, alicuius speciei generis diuini proximitate et consortio dissimiles habentur. Quorum uero demonum species, qualitate sui generis perseuerant. Hi amantes hominum ratione demones nuncupantur. Similes est hominum<sup>40</sup> aut eo amplior. Multiformis enim uanaque generis humani species et ipsa a predicto desuper ueniens consortio omnium aliarum specierum multas et prope omnium per necessitatem<sup>41</sup> coniunctiones facit.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>O hominum quanto est natura temporata feliciter<sup>42</sup> diis cognata diuinitate coniunctus.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Colit terram elementis uelocitate miscetur. Acumine mentis maris profunda<sup>43</sup> descendit.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Horum omnium generum que sunt animalia desuper deorsum peruenientes radices habent. Inanimalium<sup>44</sup> autem de imo in superna uiua radice siluescunt. Quedam autem duplicibus aluntur alimentis, quedam simplicibus.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p><b>Moreschini 45, 10 – 47, 7 ; <i>Asclepius</i> 7 – 8</b></p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Solum enim animal homo duplex est et eius una pars simplex que ut greci aiunt OYSIODS<sup>45</sup> quam uocamus diuine similitudinis formam.</p>	<p>40. species.</p> <p>41. materiam</p> <p>42. id est feliciter</p> <p>43. scilicet ad</p> <p>44. inanimatorum.</p> <p>f.30v</p> <p>45. usiades</p>
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[...]

Dominus, et omnium conformator quem recte dicimus deum quo a se secundum fecerit qui mundi et sentiri possit, eundem secundum sensibilem ita dixerim non ideo quod ipse sentiat de hoc enim an ipse sentiat annon? alio dicemus tempore, Sed eo quoniam uidentium<sup>46</sup> sensis incurrit.

46. id est uideri

[...]

Itaque hominem confirmat ex animi et corporis, id est ex eterna et mortali natura ut animalis ita conformatum utreque origini sue satis facere possit, et mirari<sup>47</sup> atque orare celestia

47. id est magnificare

**Moreschini 47, 7 – 49, 3 ; *Asclepius* 8 – 10**

**f.31r**

et incolere atque gubernare terrena.

[...]

Scilicet o asclepi animaduerto ut celeri mentis cupiditate, festines audire, quomodo homo celi uel que in eo sunt dilectum,<sup>48</sup> possit habere uel cultum. Audi itaque o asclepi. Dilectus<sup>49</sup> dei celi cum his que insunt omnibus una est onsequiorum frequentatio.

48. amorem

49. id est dilectio

[...]

Quicumque ex duplici nature confusione interiorem intelligentiam mole corporis resederunt,<sup>50</sup> curandis elementis, hisque inferioribus sunt prepositi.

50. ratificauerunt

[...]

Moreschini 49, 3 – 51, 4 ; *Asclepius* 10 – 11

f.31v

[...]

Is nouit se nouit et mundum. Scilicet ut meminerit quid partibus<sup>51</sup> conueniat suis que sibi utenda sibi inseruendum sit recognoscat. Laudes gratesque maximas agens deo eius imaginem uenerans, non ignarus se etiam secundum esse imaginem dei, cuius sunt imagine due mundus, et homo.

51. id est anime et corpori

[...]

Omnia ergo huius mundi ab homine aliena sunt, etiam corpus, ut et ea que appetimus, et illud ex quo appetentie nobis<sup>52</sup> est uicum despiciamus. Ut enim meum animum rationis ducit intentio homo hactenus<sup>53</sup> esse debuit ut contemplatione diuinitatis partem que sibi iuncta mortalis est mundi interioris necessitate seruandi despiciat atque contempnat.

52. scilicet corpus

53. hoc modo

[...]

Vnde efficitur ut rerum diuersitates,<sup>54</sup> qualitates,<sup>55</sup> effectus,<sup>56</sup> quantitates<sup>57</sup> suspiciosa indagazione sectetur. Recausatus uero graui et nimio corporis uicio has nature rerum causas que uere sunt proprie uidere non possunt.

54. ad animum

55. ad sensus

56. ad memoriam

57. ad prouidentiam

[...]

Moreschini 51, 4 – 53, 8 ; *Asclepius* 11 – 14

f.32r

[...]

Hec est enim merces pie<sup>58</sup> sub deo diligenter<sup>59</sup> cum mundo uiuentibus. Secus

58. ad diuinum cultum

59. ad mundanum

enim impieque qui uixerint et reditus  
denegatur in celum et constituitur in  
corpora alia indigna animo sancto et feda  
migratio. Vt<sup>60</sup> iste rationis sermo processit  
o trimegiste future eternitatis spe anime in  
mundana uita periclitantur. Sed aliis  
incredibile aliis fabulosum aliis forsitan  
~~aliis~~ uideatur esse deridendum.

[...]

Multi etenim eam multifaria ratione  
confundunt.<sup>61</sup>

[...]

Puram dum philosophiam eamque diuina  
tantum religione pendentem tamen in  
reliquas attendere oportebit, ut  
apocatastasis<sup>62</sup> astrorum stationes prefinitas  
cursumque commutationis numeris  
constare miretur, terre uero dimensiones  
qualitates, quantitates maris profunda,  
ignis, uim et horum omnium effectus  
naturamque cognoscens miretur, adhoret,  
atque collaudet arcem mentemque diuinam.

Musicen uero nosse nil aliud esse nisi  
cunctarum rerum ordinem scire, queque sit  
diuina ratio sortita. Ordo enim rerum  
singularium in unum omnium artificii  
ratione collatus concentum quandam melo  
diuino<sup>63</sup> dulcissimum uerissimumque  
conficiet.

[...]

Moreschini 53, 9 – 55, 5; *Asclepius* 14 – 16

Fuit deus et yle quam grece credimus

60. sicut

61. uel confundent

62. aponexta katastasis stacio

63. consonantie diuine

f.32v

mundum, et mundo comitabatur spiritus,  
uel inerat mundo spiritus, sed non  
similiter<sup>64</sup> ut deo nec deo hec in erant de  
quibus mundus.

[...]

dicunt enim ipsi deum debuisse

omnifariam<sup>65</sup> mundum a malitia liberare.

Ita enim in mundo<sup>66</sup> est ut quasi membrum

ipsius uideatur esse dum uisum cautumque

est quantum rationabiliter potuissent a

summo deo tunc consensu,<sup>67</sup> disciplina,

intelligentia mentes hominum est munerare

dignatus. hisce enim rebus quibus ceteris

antestamus animalibus possumus malicie

fraudes<sup>68</sup> dolosque<sup>69</sup> uitare.

[...]

**Moreschini 55, 5 – 57, 16 ; *Asclepius* 16 – 19**

[...]

Intelligibilis summus qui dicitur deus rector

gubernatorque sensibilis<sup>70</sup> dei eius qui in se

circumplectitur omnem locum omnem

rerum substantiam totamque gignentium<sup>71</sup>

creantiumque<sup>72</sup> materiam et omne quicquid

est quantumcumque est.

[...]

Re autem uera sibi ipsi inuisibilis semper

ex quo eius unum uel pars si locus est in

spera grece ades<sup>73</sup> dicitur. Siquidem

IDEIN, grece uidere dicitur, quo uisu unum

spera careat.

[...]

Nam sol quicquid illuminat aliquando terre

64. quia deo est natura in substantia

65. omnimodo

66. malicia

67. discretione

68. ad animam

69. ad deum

f.33r

70. id est mundi huius

71. ad animalia

72. ad arbores

73. sine uisu

et lune interiectus interueniente eius  
priuatur lumine. Sensus autem o semel  
fuerit anime conmixtus humane; sit una ex  
bene cohaescente<sup>74</sup> conmixtione  
mundana,<sup>75</sup> ita ut numquam huiusmodi  
mentes caliginum inpediantur erroribus  
[...]

Moreschini 57, 16 – 60, 8; *Asclepius* 19 – 20

[...]

hii sensibiles utriusque originis consimiles  
sue, qui per sensibilem<sup>76</sup> naturam  
conficiunt omnia, altera per alterum,  
unusquisque opus suum alluminas, celi uel  
quicquid est quod eo nomine  
comprehenditur OYSYARXES<sup>77</sup> est  
iupiter, per celum enim iupiter omnibus  
prebet uitam. Solis OYSYARXES lumen  
est. Donum enim luminis per orbem solis  
nobis infunditur XXXVI. Quorum  
uocabulum est horoscopi id est eodem loco  
semper defixorum siderum horum  
OSYARXES, uel princeps est quem  
PANTOMORFO, uel omniformem uocant,  
qui diuersis speciebus diuersas formas  
facit. Septem spere que uocantur HE  
OSYARSAS<sup>78</sup> id est sui principes quam  
fortunam dicunt, aut EIMARMENEN,  
quibus inmutantur omnia leges, nature  
stabilitate firmissima et sempiterna  
agitatione uariata.

[...]

74. ferueente uel crescente

75. uel materia

f.33v

76. materiam

77. usiarches usia substantia archos princeps

78. marmene temporis continuatio

Moreschini 60, 8 – 62, 17 ; *Asclepius* 20 – 22 | f.34r

[...]

Non deum solum o asclepi, sed omnia  
animalia et inanimalia. Inpossibile enim est  
aliquid eorum que sunt infecundum<sup>79</sup> esse.

[...]

79. id est sine efficiente uisu