

HERMETICA PHILOSOPHICA

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FORTUNA

Although Greek in origin, influenced by Platonic and Gnostic thought, and dating generally from about the third century A. D., the so-called Hermetic writings were ascribed soon after their composition to an ancient Egyptian sage, Hermes Trismegistus. Traditionally, Hermes, also known as Mercurius, was considered a historical person who had written a vast number of books

dealing with magic, astrology, alchemy, and other pseudo-sciences. Among the philosophical-religious works ascribed to him, the *Pimander*, the *Asclepius*, and the *Definitions* were considered the most important.

The present form of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, often called after the first work, *Pimander*, we owe to Michael Psellos of the eleventh century. A renewed interest in the

Hermetic writings occurred in the fifteenth century when Georgios Gemisthios Plethon (ca. 1355-1452) and the writers of the Platonic Academy of Florence incorporated them into a religious philosophy that claimed great antiquity and apparently confirmed Christian theology. Hermes Trismegistus was considered a contemporary of Moses and one who was among the first of mankind to raise himself to the contemplation of the divine and thus found theology. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the true origin of the Hermetic writings was recognized (e.g., by Casaubon), and except for those interested in natural religion, in the occult, and in esoteric theosophy, the importance of the philosophical writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus began to decline. Cf. especially the definitive work of André M. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, (4 vols. Paris 1944-1954).

I. TRANSLATIONS OF THE PIMANDER

1. Marsilius Ficinus

The translation, dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici, was completed in April, 1463. (*Opera*, 1561, II 1537: Posthaec autem anno millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo tertio... mihi Mercurium primo Termaximum, mox Platonem, mandavit interpretandum. Mercurium paucis mensibus eo vivente peregi, Platonem tunc etiam sum aggressus). Many manuscripts also mention April, 1463 as the date the translation was completed. Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* I v-lv, cxxix. The Latin version is also known as 'De sapientia et potestate Dei.'

Preface (ed. 1471)[*Inc.*]: Tu quicumque es qui haec legis sive grammaticus sive orator seu philosophus aut theologus, scito: Mercurius Trismegistus sum quem singulari mea doctrina et theologica Aegyptii prius et barbari, mox Christiani antiqui theologi ingenti stupore attoniti admirati sunt... [*Expl.*]: Bene vale. Franciscus Rholandellus Tarvisanus Gerardo de Lisa scriptori mei copiam fecit, ut ipse caeteris maiorem copiam faceret. Tarvisii MCCCCLXXI Novemb.

Argument [*Inc.*]: Eo tempore, quo Moses natus est, floruit Atlas Astrologus Promethei

physici frater, ac maternus avus maioris Mercurij; cuius nepos fuit Mercurius Trismegistus... [*Expl.*]: Tu vero Cosme felix, lege feliciter, ac diu vive, ut et diu patria vivat.

Translation of the Pimander [*Inc.*]: Cum de rerum natura cogitarem, ac mentis aciem ad superna erigerem, sopitis iam corporis sensibus, quemadmodum accidere solet iis, qui ob saturitatem vel defatigationem somno gravati sunt... [*Expl.*]: Cuncta enim quatuor sunt, ac Deus et generatio, quibus omnia comprehenduntur.

Bibl.: P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* I (Florence 1937) lvii-lviii, cxxix-cxxx, 96-98. The preface of the 1471 edition is reproduced in Fr. G. Freytag, *Adparatus litterarius* III (Leipzig 1755) 84-85, in Dom. Maria Federici, *Memorie Trevigiane sulla tipografia del secolo XV* (Venice 1805) 185, and in P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.* I 96.

Greek source: A text of the Greek *Pimander* (Laurentianus 71, 33, s. XIV, containing the fourteen chapters of the *Corpus Hermeticum*) which Cosimo de' Medici obtained from Macedonia with the aid of the monk Lionardo of Pistoja.

Manuscripts:

Besides the thirty-five Mss which can be found, *passim*, in the *Index Codicum* of all of Marsilius Ficinus' works in P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.* I v-lv; II 368-369, and in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* ([Rome 1956] 165 and 223), there are the following:

(*) Burgo de Osma (Spain), Iglesia Cathedral, 25, s. XV. Grubbs (1933) II 86; T. Rojo Orcajo, *Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la santa iglesia catedral de Burgo de Osma* (Madrid 1929), 89.

(*) Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, mbr. fol. 21, a. 1481, fols. 29-44^v. A. de Vries, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Harlemensis* (Haarlem 1848) 15.

Editions:

1471, Tarvisii (Treviso): Gerardus de Lisa: HR 8456; BMC 6. 883; Proctor 6458; St H 70.

1472, Ferrariae (Ferrara): Andreas Belfortis Gallus: H 8457; Proctor 5725; St H 71.

1481, Venetiis (Venice): Lucas Dominici: HC 8458; BMC 5. 280; Proctor 4490; St H 72.

- (*) 1483, Venetiis (Venice): H 8459.
- (*) 1491, Venetiis (Venice): Maximus de Butricis: HC 8460; St H 73.
- 1493, Venetiis (Venice): Damianus de Mediolano: HC 8461; BMC 5. 543; Proctor 5514; St H 74.
- (*) 1494, Parisiis (Paris): Johann Higman for Wolfgang Hopyl: HC 8462; BMC 8. 134; Proctor 8133; St H 75.
- (*) [after 1500?, Venice: Petrus Lichtenstein or Johann Hamman]: H 8455; Proctor 5647; St H 76.
- 1503, Moguntiae (Mainz): Johann Schoeffer. Brunet, III 1647; Graesse, III 250-251; Proctor 9843; Panzer VII. 406. 3. BM; BN; (PPCP, NNP, DLC).
- 1505, Parisiis (Paris): Henricus Stephanus. A. A. Renouard, I 3; Brunet III 1647; Graesse III 250; Panzer VII.515.129. BM; BN; (DGS, ICJ, NjP, PU, USGS).
- 1512, Florentiae (Florence): Philippus de Junta. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, fols. cixvii-cc. Bandini, *Juntae* II 39 (p. 33 gives 1510); Brunet I 362; Graesse III 251; Panzer VII 13.48. BM; BN; DK; (Ct Y, NNC, NNP, PU).
- 1516, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus. Jamblichus *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum*, fols. 111-125. A. A. Renouard, II 132; Brunet III 494; Graesse III 447; Panzer VII.434.795. BM; BN; (Ct Y, ICN MH, NIC, NNP).
- 1522, Parisiis (Paris): Simon Colineus. *Pimander*, fols. 2-37. Ph. Renouard, 40; Graesse III 250; Panzer VIII 78.1324. BN; (ICN, MsG).
- 1532, Basileae (Basel): Michael Isingrius. *Pimander et Asclepius*, 3-117. Panzer VI.291.892. BN; (ICN).
- (*) 1549, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 361-473. Cartier I 278. BN; (IU, NcU, PPCP, RPB).
- (*) 1552, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 361-473. Cartier I 325; Brunet III 494; Graesse III 447. BN; (MH, PU).
- 1554, Parisiis (Paris): Adrianus Turnebus (Gr.-Lat.). Brunet III 1647; Graesse III 250. BM; BN; (CtY, ICU, MH, MHi, MnU).
- 1561, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1836-37. Graesse II 576. (ICU, NIC, PU).

1570, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 361-473. Cartier II 557; Brunet III 494. BM; BN; (DLC, ICN).

(*) 1576, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1836-57. Graesse II 576. BM; BN; (CLSU, NH, NNUT, NJ P, MiU).

(*) 1577, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 361-473. Cartier II 583; Graesse III 447. BM; BN; (OCU).

(*) 1594, Parisiis (Paris): Fabricius *BG* I 55; Graesse III 250.

(*) 1607, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 361-473. Cartier 677-678; Graesse III 447. BM; (NjP).

(*) 1641, Parisiis (Paris): Guillelmus Pelé. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II. Graesse II, 576. BM; BN.

Biogr.:

Marsilius Ficinus (Marsilio Ficino) was born on October 19, 1433 at Figline, near Florence, and died October 1, 1499. Little is known of his early life and education; reportedly he studied at Bologna. Began study of Greek about 1456. Cosimo de' Medici whom he had known since 1452 became his patron in 1462 thus founding the Florentine Platonic Academy. Was ordained a priest in 1473 and made a canon of the Cathedral of Florence in 1487. After the Medici were driven from Florence (1494) Ficinus retired to the country.

Works: Composed the *Institutiones ad Platonicam disciplinam* (1456, now lost), the *Theologia Platonica*, the *De Christiana religione*, and numerous shorter treatises. His translations include works of Hermes Trismegistus, Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, and Dionysius the Areopagite. He also wrote commentaries on Plato's *Symposium* and *Philebus*, on Plotinus, and on St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* (incomplete). For a full list and chronology see P. O. Kristeller, *Suppl. Fic.*, I, lxxvii-clxvii.

Bibl.: Giuseppe Saitta in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XV 221-222.; G. Anichini, *L'umanesimo e il problema della salvezza in Marsilio Ficino* (Milan 1937); W. Dress, *Die Mystik des Marsilio Ficino* (Berlin 1929); H. J. Hak, *Marsilio Ficino* (Amsterdam 1934);

P. O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino* (New York 1943); *id.*, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome 1956) 221-241; G. Saitta, *La filosofia di Marsilio Ficino* (Messina 1924); Arnaldo della Torre, *Storia dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze* (Florence 1902).

2. Franciscus Flussas Candalla

The translation, completed in 1574 at Bordeaux, was dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II. Besides the fourteen chapters of the Pimander, this translation includes Hermetic excerpts from Stobaeus and Suidas (XV) and the Definitiones (XVI).

Dedication [Inc.]: Invictissimo Caesari Maximiliano huius nominis quarto [sic] Franciscus Flussas Candallar robur et imperium. Virtutum et clementiae splendor, quo tuae sublimitatis undique praefulget meritum, Sacra Maiestas, omnium peritorum animos excitat, in ea potissimum studia quibus viros illustres et inclytos ad agnoscendos et excipiendos culturae labores urgeant, quorum autoritate et sanctimonia apud probos et claros gratior adsit lubricatio...[*Expl.*]: Quod faxit summum illud Bonum Optimum Maximum, ac sua clementia tibi conspirans, vires imperium et decus perpetua felicitate conferat. E Bachabelleo castro, ad borealis poli altitudinem 45 grad., longitudinem vero 18 grad. infra Burdigalam sito, ad 3. cal. Malas anno salutis 1574.

Introductory verses: Ianus Rivierus Burdigalensis aerarij regij Antigrapheus in Trismegistum D. Francisci Flussatis Candallae. [*Inc.*]: Num spirat, num vivit adhuc ter Maximus Hermes

Relligione sacer, doctrina insignis et arte... [*Expl.*]: Gallica seu Latij iungas, seu Graeca Latinis

Permites, vero fulget rediuvia colore Pagina, quae primos imitetur et augeat ortus.

Preface [Inc.]: Quandoquidem omnium eorum quae sunt causas a divinis ortum ducere constat;... Quapropter dictiones aut particulas quas a graeco exemplari ad annum 1554 edito detraximus ad oram codicis e regione contulimus, ut tibi varietatis causa nullo taedio sit obuia; harum autem

dictionum nonnullas a pristinae editionis indice selegimus, quas aliquando a textura deletas esse idem indicat index; aliquas vero accito consultorum assensu non tantum graecarum, sed etiam orientalium linguarum (ut pote Iosephi Scaligeri, iuvenis illustrissimi, non minus doctis linguis eruditi quam conditione et prosapia praeclari opera) perpauco pingentis errores sarcientes transtulimus, quarum loquutiones passim a latinis alienas, cum verborum phrasi, tum hieroglyphicarum significationum vetusta frequentia comperies... [*Expl.*]: Aequi igitur bonique consule et labori nostro indulge.

Translation of the Pimander [Inc.]: Cum eorum quae sunt aliquando speculatio mihi contingeret, et intellectus meus sublimia peteret, sopitis penitus corporeis meis sensibus... [*Expl.*]: Universa namque quatuor sunt, et ipse Deus ac generatio in quibus quae sunt existunt.

Translation of the Stobaeus excerpts [Inc.]: De veritate, o Tat, non potest homo (animal imperfectum imperfectis membris constructum ac multis et alienis corporibus) tabernaculum constans audacter dici... [*Expl.*]: Hoc autem mors est, corporis quidem dissolutio, et corporei sensus abrogatio.

Translation of the Suidas excerpt [Inc.]: Mercurius Trismegistus iste fuit sapiens Aegyptius... [*Expl.*]: Adiuvo te per unigenitum Verbum et Patrem, qui cuncta circumambit, propitius, propitius esto.

Bibl.: The preface is reproduced in Gustav Parthey, *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander* (Berlin 1854), xii-xvii.

Greek source: Flussas used the Greek text of Turnebus (1554), as amended by Joseph Scaliger and others (Cf. Preface).

Edittons:

1574, Burdigalae (Bordeaux): Simon Millangius (Gr.-Lat.). Franciscus Flussas Candalla, *Pimandras*. Graesse III 250. BM; BN; (CLSU, CtY, DLC, ICU, NjP).

1630, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Petrus Cholinus (Gr.-Lat.). H. Rosselius, *Divinus Pymander Hermetis Mercurii Trismegisti, cum commentariis*. Graesse III 250. BN; (ICN, IEN, MH, PU).

Biogr.:

Franciscus Flussas Candalla (François de Folx Comte de Candalle) was born in

1502 and died February 5 1594. In 1570 he became Bishop of Aire. Candalla was a noted mathematician, and founded a chair of mathematics at the University of Bordeaux.

Works: In 1566, he published at Paris a Latin edition of Euclid; a second edition appeared there in 1578 and a third in 1602. A Dutch edition was printed in 1695. His French translation of the *Pimander* of Hermes Trismegistus accompanied by a French commentary was published in Bordeaux in 1574 and in 1579 (Brunet III 1648; Graesse III 251). Cf. Jean Dagens 'Le Commentaire du Pimandre de François de Candalle' in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire offerts à Daniel Mornet* (Paris 1951) 21-26.

Bibl.: Joecher II 656; Michaud XIV 287.

3. Franciscus Patritius

This translation, completed by August 5, 1591, was dedicated to Gregory XIV with a secondary dedication to Cardinal Girolamo della Rovere. By adding other Hermetic writings and excerpts, Patritius expanded the original fourteen chapters of Ficinus into twenty chapters, all rearranged.

Dedication [Inc.]: Quinque hoc volumine, pius omnes, omnes Catholicae fidei consonas, Gregori Pater Beatissime, tibi afferimus philosophias... [*Expl.*]: Deo opus egeris charissimum, me vero, tam gloriosi, tam proficui operis apud te promotorem atque hortatorem, pro veteris erga te mei cultus ratione, pro praesentis tuae gloriae et futurae studio in clientele tuam, potes enim, suscipe. Ferrariae, Augusti die V. Anno MDXCI.

Preface [Inc.]: Hermetem Trismegistum virum apud Aegyptios sapientia maximum fuisse viri multi ac magni multis iam saeculis habuere persuasum... [*Expl.*]: Et ex ea facilitate amor ac studium vere philosophantium erga divinas hasce utrasque philosophias excitetur.

Translation of the Pimander [Inc.]: Hermetis Trismegisti de Pietate et Philosophia Liber I. Ego, o filii, et humanitatis gratia et erga Deum pietatis primum hoc conscribo... [*Expl.*] (Liber XX): Deus autem statim dixit sancto verbo, crescite in accretione et multiplicamini in multitudine omnes creaturae et opificia.

Bibl.: Fabricius BG I 55-62; W. Scott, *Hermetica* (Oxford 1924) I 36-40; G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice Great Hermes* (London 1906) II 277-284. Excerpts from the Preface are reproduced by G. Parthey, *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander*, xviii-xix.

Greek source: Used the printed editions of Turnebus (1554, Gr.) and Flussas (1574 Gr.-Lat.) or may have had a ms. Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig 1904), 322. Arbitrary rearrangement of chapters. Emended versions of Ficinus and Flussas in more than 1040 places (Preface: et iuxta nostra illa exemplaria plus quam mille quadraginta loca tum in Ficinianis, tum in Stobaeanis et Candallianis emendavimus).

Editions:

(*) 1591, Ferrariae (Ferrara): Ben. Mamerellus (Gr.-Lat.). Franciscus Patritius, *Nova de universis philosophia*. Brunet IV 442; Graesse V 169. BN; (MH, PU).

1593, Venetiis (Venice): Robertus Meietus (Gr.-Lat.). F. Patritius, *Nova de universis philosophia*, fols. 1-51. Brunet IV 442; Graesse V 169. BM; BN; (CtY, MH, PU).

1593, Hamburgi (Hamburg): s.t. F. Patritius, *Magia philosophica*, fols. 89-253. BM; BN; (DLC, ICU, MH, MIU, PU).

(*) 1611, Londini (London): Reprint of 1593, Venice edition of *Nova de universis philosophia*, appendix only (Gr.-Lat.). Fabricius BG I 55; Graesse III 250; W. Scott, *Hermetica* I 37; STC 13218.

(*) 1628, Londini (London): Reprint of 1593, Venice edition of *Nova de universis philosophia*, appendix only (Gr.-Lat.). Fabricius, BG I 56.

Doubtful edition:

(*) 1594, Hamburg. Fabricius BG, I 55.

Biogr.:

Franciscus Patritius (Francesco Patrizi). Was born April 25, 1529 on the island of Cherso, off Dalmatia, and died February 7, 1597 in Rome. Studied at Ingolstadt, at Padua where Franciscus Robertellus was one of his teachers, and at Venice. Much influenced by Ficinus' works, he turned from medicine to philosophy. Went to Cyprus and later to Spain; was ambassador from Venice to Geneva and to Madrid. Sold books and manuscripts, and traded in cotton.

Was appointed in 1578 Professor of Platonic Philosophy at the University of Ferrara until he was called to the University of Rome in 1592 by Pope Clement VIII. There he remained until his death in 1597.

Works: His many works range from poetry, annotations and translations, to works on rhetoric, the philosophy of history, literary criticism, military history and science, mathematics, classical scholarship, metaphysics, natural sciences, and moral philosophy. Cf. the complete list of 34 such works in Benjamin Brickman, *An Introduction to Francesco Patrizi's Nova de Universis Philosophia* (New York 1941) 13-14.

Bibl.: G. Calogero in *Enciclopedia italiana* 26 (1935) 522; G. Tiraboschi VII, pt. II (Florence 1810) 448-456.

Brickman, *op. cit.*, gives an exhaustive bibliography on 76-77; Franz Lamprecht, *Zur Theorie der humanistischen Geschichtsschreibung: Mensch und Geschichte bei Francesco Patrizi* (Zurich 1950); Th. A. Rixner and T. Siber, *Leben und Lehrmeinungen berühmter Physiker IV* (Sulzbach 1823); F. Walkhoff, *F. Patrizis Leben und Werk* (Bonn 1920).

COMMENTARIES.

a) *Jacobus Faber Stapulensis*

This short commentary, really a brief synopsis, first appeared in the edition of Ficinus' translation of the *Pimander*, which Faber Stapulensis brought out in Paris in 1494. In the 1505 edition (Paris) of the *Pimander*, Faber Stapulensis inserted parts of the synopsis after each of the fourteen chapters of the *Pimander*. The same was also done for each of the fifteen divisions of the Asclepius dialogue. In subsequent editions these synopses were considered the work of Ficinus. Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Finicianum*, I, cxxx-cxxxi, 97.

Introduction (1494 edition): *Precedentium quattuordecim librorum sub brevitate comprehensa argumenta. Curavit libenter qua valuit diligentia Faber Stapulensis ex viciato exemplari hoc opus reddere castigatum, tum amore Marsilii quem tanquam patrem veneratur, tum Mercurii sapientie magnitudine*

permotus. Vult tamen lectores ammonitos esse, religionis semper salva pietate, in primo ex quattuordecim libellis Mercurium Mosaica mysteria tractare.

Preface (1505 edition) [*Inc.*]: *Sacro antistiti Guillermo Briçonneto episcopo Lodoviensi Iacobus Faber. Ut universa numerorum congeries in parem diducitur et imparem adeo ut nichil numero reperiendum sit quod par non sit aut impar, licet imparis diviniore natura, ita universa mortalium vita in negotium secta est et ocium, in actionem et contemplationem, sed contemplatio diviniore...* [*Expl.*]: *Ceterum Pimandro et Asclepio Crater Hermetis non vetus sed presentaneum, pium tamen opus adiungitur, quod eo libentius a me factum ductes, quod cognoscam te nulla unquam rerum divinarum sacietate teneri. Vale presidium nostrum presulumque decus.*

Commentary (Chap. I) [*Inc.*]: *In hoc primo ex quattuordecim dialogis, salua semper religionis pietate, videtur Mercurius Mosaica mysteria tractare...* [*Expl.*] (Chap. XIV): *Prodeat tamen Mercurius hic de diuina potestate nunc in lucem ad Dei honorem, et ad illustrationem legentium, ex iis praesertim, qui ex gentilibus prodierunt omnibus seculis insigni sermonum pietate conspicuus, cui deinceps librum eiusdem de voluntate diuina subiungamus.*

Editions:

(*) 1494, Parisiis (Paris); Johann Hignman for Wolfgang Hopyl. HC 8462; BMC 8. 134; Proctor 8133; St H 74.

1505, Parisiis (Paris): Henricus Stephanus. *Pimander*, ed. by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, fols. 4-37. Cf. above, p. 139.

1516, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus. Jamblichus, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, fols. 112-125. Cf. above, p. 139.

1522, Parisiis (Paris): Simon Colineus. *Pimander*, ed. by Faber Stapulensis, fols. 4-37. Cf. above, p. 139.

1532, Basileae (Basel): Michael Isingrius. *Pimander* 9-117. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1549, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* 379-473. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1552, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 379-473. Cf. above, p. 139.

1554, Parisiis (Paris) : Adrianus Turnebus. *Poemander* 14-104. Cf. above, p. 139.

1561, Basileae (Basel) : Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1839-57. Cf. above, p. 139.

1570, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 379-473. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1576, Basileae (Basel) : Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1839-57. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1577, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 379-473. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1607, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 379-473. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1641, Parisiis (Paris) : Guillelmus Pelé. M. Ficinus, *Opera*. Cf. above, p. 139.

Biogr. :

Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples) was born at Étaples, Pas de Calais, about 1455. He received the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Paris, learning Greek from Hermonymus of Sparta and studying also mathematics, astronomy, and music. He visited Padua, Pavia, Venice, and Rome, and in the winter of 1491-92 he was in Florence where he was much influenced by the views of the Platonic Academy. Faber was appointed a professor in the college of Cardinal Lemoine at Paris and later went to Germany to study the works of Nicholas of Cusa. In 1507 he settled at Saint-Germain-des-Prés under the protection of his former pupil, Guillaume Briçonnet, later the Bishop of Meaux. Condemned by the Sorbonne for his Biblical humanism, Faber fled to Strasbourg, but was recalled to become tutor of the royal family and royal librarian at Blois. After 1531 he was protected by Queen Marguerite of Navarre. Faber died in 1536.

Works : Among his many works are commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul (1512) and on the Gospels (1522), the *Quintuplex Psalterium* (1509), *De Maria Magdalena* (1517), and a French translation of the Bible. He also published works of Raymund Lull, Nicholas of Cusa, the *Physics*, *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Politics* of Aristotle, and the *De Arithmetica* of Boethius.

Bibl. : Michaud XIII 475-477 ; Joecher II 463-464 ; Hofer XXX 333-339.

C. H. Graf, 'Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* (1852) 2-86 ; 165-237 ; P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme* II (Paris 1909) 382-395 ; A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie, 1494-1517* (Paris 1916 and 1953).

b. *Hannibal Rosselius*

This ponderous and discursive commentary was begun in the city of Todi in 1571, and the first volume was completed July 14, 1572 ; cf. Fabricius, *BG* I 54, and the *Expl.* of Vol. I below. Volume V was completed six years later at Todi on July 16, 1578 ; cf. *Expl.* of Vol. V below. The commentary was printed at Cracow in five folio volumes : I, de SS Trinitate (1585) ; II, de Spiritu Sancto et angelis (1585) ; III, de ente, materia, forma et rebus metaphysicis (1586) ; IV, de Caelo (1584) ; V, de Elementis et descriptione totius orbis (1586). The volumes were dedicated to Francesco Gonzaga, the General of his order, to Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici, Duke Francesco de' Medici, Archbishop Stanislaus Hosius, and to Stephen I, King of Poland. A sixth volume (1590) contains a commentary on the Latin Asclepius (Pseudo-Apuleius). The projected volumes VII to X never appeared in print. The elaborate commentary covers selected passages of the *Corpus Hermeticum* I-VII in Rosselius' own translation.

Preface to Vol. I [Inc.] : Reverendissimo Patri, Patri Fratri Francisco Gonzagae, totius Ordinis S. Francisci Fratrum Minorum Ministro Generali. . . Cum ex tuis literis intellexerim Reverendiss. et Christo Iesu amantissime Pater, parvum meae obedientiae obsequium caeteraque mea studia, quae tibi viro prudentissimo et gravissimo in studiis promovendis apud almam provinciam Poloniae praestiti, grata tibi esse vehementer gavisus sum. . . [*Expl.*] : Quod si feceris (uti spero) sanctae obedientiae labores, aenumnas, perplexitates, omniaque incommoda feliciter mihi cessisse putabo. Vale. Datum Cracoviae ex aedibus nostri Coenobij ad S. Bernardinum. Anno 1585. III Non. Ianuarij.

(Vol. I, text of the Pimander) *Cum de rerum natura cogitarem...*

Commentary [Inc.]: Magni Mercurii historiam in principio 4. libri texui, ideoque denuo hic retexere non opus esse iudicavi; sed illius intentionem ordinemque, quem in hoc primo libro observat, exprimere... (Last text of the *Pimander*, I 358): *At ego illi: Elementa naturae unde manarunt? Cui Pymander: Ex voluntate dei, quae verbum complexa...* *Commentary [Expl.]*: (p. 381). Laus tibi Pymander sancte, qui per tuum verbum linguas infantium facis disertas, et revelas profunda de tenebris, sancte Pymander. Tuderti hora nona 14 Julij 1572, labore et industria fratris Hannibalis Rosseli Calabri, ordinis Divi Francisci de observantia. Lege Lector attente. Amor meus Iesus Christus.

(Last Text, V 641): *Inprimis autem oportet vestem quam circumfers exuere...* *Commentary [Expl.]*: (V 645) Laus tibi Pymander qui per verbum tuum lucidum et Spiritum sanctum, omnium artificem, revelas profunda de tenebris, et quae delitescunt, educis in lucem. Tu solus es Deus benedicendus quoniam omnibus paternam pietatem exhibes, nosque mortales tua sancta religione consecrare dignatus es. Amen. MDLXXVIII, 16. Julii die Lunae hora 21, Tuderti in Monte Sancto. Laus sit nostro Pymandro.

Greek source: Used the Greek-Latin text of Flussas, Bordeaux 1574. Cf. L. Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome 1650), p. 159.

Editions:

1585, Cracoviae (Cracow): Lazarius. H. Rosselius, *Pymander cum commento*. Vol. I. BN; (MH, NNC).

(*) 1585, Cracoviae (Cracow): Lazarius. H. Rosselius, *Pymander cum commento*, Vol. II. BN.

(*) 1586, Cracoviae (Cracow): Lazarius. H. Rosselius, *Pymander cum commento*, Vol. III. BN.

1584, Cracoviae (Cracow): Lazarius. H. Rosselius, *Pymander cum commento*, Vol. IV. BN; (DLC).

(micro) 1586, Cracoviae (Cracow): Lazarius. H. Rosselius, *Pymander cum commento*, Vol. V. BN.

1630, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Petrus Cholinus. H. Rosselius, *Divinus Py-*

mander Hermetis Mercurii Trismegisti, cum commento. Graesse III 250. BN; (ICN, IEN, MH, PU).

Biogr.:

Hannibal Rosselius was born ca. 1524 in Calabria. Became a member of the Franciscan order. Studied at Paris and Louvain. Went to England, then to Todi near Perugia, and finally to Cracow where he taught theology. After thirty-eight years of teaching in various schools and in various disciplines, Rosselius turned to writing. He died in 1600.

Works: Besides the ponderous commentary, Rosselius wrote *De Septem Sacramentis* (1590) and two large volumes of *Conciones et homiliae in Evangelia* (not published).

Bibl.: H. Hurter III 158. L. Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome 1650) 159-162.

II. TRANSLATION OF DE DIVINITATE
BY ASCLEPIUS

1. *Lucius Apuleius*

This translation is by an unknown author, but is commonly attributed to Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis. The original Greek of this dialogue of Hermes Trismegistus to his disciple, Asclepius, has been lost. A Latin translation was known to St. Augustine early in the fifth century A. D. (*De civ. Dei* 8. 23 ff). The translation was probably made between 280 and 426 A.D. (W. Scott, *Hermetica*, I 79). A Coptic translation, recently found, dates from the third century A.D. Cf. J. Doresse, 'A Gnostic Library from Upper Egypt,' *Archaeology*, III ii (1950), 69-73. The Latin translation is also known as *De voluntate divina* and as *De natura deorum*.

Translation of the Asclepius [Inc.]: Deus, deus te nobis, o Asclepi, ut divino sermoni interesset, adduxit... [*Expl.*]: Haec optantes convertimus nos ad puram et sine animalibus coenam. (The *Asclepius iste pro sole mihi est* which appears after the Greek title in the codices is probably an interpolation by a reader. Cf. Scott, *op. cit.* III 2, and Paul Thomas, 'Remarques critiques sur les œuvres philosophiques d'Apulée,' in *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, ser. 3, 37 [1899], 474).

Bibl.: J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin 1885) 327-346; Fabricius *BG* I 62-66; Apuleius Mad., *Opuscula*, ed. A. Goldbacher (Vienna 1876) 28-62; L. Apuleius, *Opera omnia*, ed. G. Hildebrand (Leipzig 1842) I xliv-liv; II 279-334; A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* (Paris 1945) II 259-404; W. Scott, *op. cit.*, I 49-81; 286-377; III 1-300; Martin Schanz, III (3d ed. Munich 1922) 129-130; Paul Thomas, *Apulei opera* (Leipzig 1908) III v-xvii; 36-81. L. V. Schwabe in Pauly-Wissowa II 257 mentions also K. Köberlin, *Die Frage nach dem Übersetzer des Dialogs Asclepius* (Augsburg 1882), not located in U.S.A.

Greek source: The original Greek work, now lost, was entitled 'Ἑρμοῦ τρισμεγίστου Βιβλος ἱερὰ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν προσφωνηθεῖσα or Ἑρμοῦ τρισμεγίστου λόγος Τέλειος. The work may be divided into three parts with probable dates of the Greek original being: I, late second century A.D.; II, ca. 150-270 A.D.; III, ca. 268-273 A.D. (Scott, *op. cit.* I 54-76). Bernays, *op. cit.* 345 ff, dates the Greek original in the third century A.D.

Manuscripts:

Besides the total of thirty-two MSS listed variously by Hildebrand (14); Goldbacher (10); Nock and Festugière (10); P. Thomas (8); P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* I v-lv; II 368-369 (7); Id., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (1956) 221-247 (1), there are the following twenty-four:

(*) Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, IV 16, s. XIII, fols. 1-7. (Leitschuh I ii, 1).

(*) Bern, Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana), 136, s. XI-XII, fols. 13-23. (Hagen 183).

(*) Burgo de Osma (Spain), Iglesia Catedral, 25, s. XV. (Grubbs II 86; T. Rojo Orcajo, *Catalogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la Santa iglesia catedral de Burgo de Osma*, Madrid 1929, 89).

(*) Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, cod. Amplon. Octavo 7, s. XV, fols. 27-36. (Schum 673).

(*) Escorial, Real Bibliotheca, III 16, s. XV, fols. 142-163. (Antolin III 238-239; Grubbs 221).

(*) Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 52. 12, s. XV, fols. 98-117 (Bandini, *Catalogus* II, cols. 555-556).

(*) —, —, 54.12, s. XV, fols. 10-23. (Bandini, *Catalogus* II, cols. 652-653).

(*) —, —, 54.15, 1469, fols. 147-175. (Bandini, *Catalogus* II, col. 654).

(*) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. Ruhnkenianus 13, s. XIV, fols. 1-21. (Jacobus Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae accesserunt*, 1852, 90 n. 337; *Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, Catalogus*, Deel XIV, 'Inventaris van de Handschriften, Eerste Afdeeling', Leiden 1932, 76).

(*) —, —, Cod. Ruhnkenianus, 77, fols. 1-13. (Geel, *Catalogus* 160 n. 505; *Catalogus* XIV, 'Inventaris,' 78).

(*) —, —, 464 (XXIII Gron. 108), s. XIV, fols. 1-18. (Geel, *Catalogus* 144).

(*) München, Staatsbibliothek, 18971, (misc.), s. XV, fols. 2-49. (*Catal. CLM* II iii 227).

(*) —, —, 5309, s. XV, fols. 294-313. (*Catal. CLM* I iii 3).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 6369, s. XIV. (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae* IV 234-235).

(*) —, —, Lat. 6672, s. XV. (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae* IV 266).

(*) Reims, Bibliothèque de la ville, 877, s. XII, fols. 29-40. (*Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo* XXXIX 193-195).

(*) Tours, Bibliothèque de la ville, 258, s. XIV, fols. 241-256. (*Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo* XXXVII 190).

(*) —, —, 692 s. XV, fols. 101-113. (*Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo* XXXVII 551-552).

(*) Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 224, s. XV, fols. 118-170. (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* I 171).

(*) —, —, Vat. Lat. 1778, s. XV, fols. 59-72 (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* III 234-235).

(*) —, —, Vat. Lat. 1893, a. 1456, fols. 181-224. (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* III 341).

(*) —, —, Urbinas Lat. 1141, s. XII-XIII, fols. 9-20. (Stornaiolo III 172).

(*) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. lat. VI 81, s. XIV, fols. 131-146. (Valentinelli, III 87-89).

(*) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 3228, s. XV, fols. 1-34. (*Tabulae* II 239; Endlicher p. 154).

Editions:

- 1469, Romae (Rome): Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. HC 1314; GW 2301; BMC IV. 6; Proctor 3297; Pell. 923; St A 833.
- 1488, Vincentiae (Vincenza): Henricus de Sancto Urso. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, fols. 142-153. H 1316; GW 2302; Proctor 7172; Pell. 924; St A 834.
- 1493, Venetiis (Venice): Philippus Pincius. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, fols. xciv-cii. H 1317; GW 2302; BMC V 495; Proctor 5297; Pell. 925; St A 835.
- 1497, Mediolani (Milan): Leonardus Pachel. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, fols. 97-105. HC 1318; GW 2304; Proctor 6001; St A 836.
- 1505, Parisiis (Paris): Henricus Stephanus. *Pimander*, ed. by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, fols. 38-60. A. A. Renouard, *Estienne* I 3; Brunet III 1647; Graesse III 250; Panzer VII 515. 129. BM; BN; (DGS, ICJ, NjP, PU, USGS).
- 1512, Florentiae (Florence): Philippus de Junta. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, fols. cxlix-clxvi. Cf. above p. 139.
- 1516, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus. Jamblichus *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, fols. 125-141 (printed 117). Cf. above p. 139.
- 1521, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus. L. Apuleius, *Opera* 173-192. A. A. Renouard, *Alde* II 158; Brunet I 362; Graesse I 171; Panzer VIII 467.1068. BM; BN; DK; (ICU, MH, NN, NPV).
- 1522, Parisiis (Paris): Simon Colineus. *Pimander*, ed. by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, fols. 38-60. Cf. above p. 139.
- 1522, Florentiae (Florence): Philippus de Junta. L. Apuleius, *Opera* 255-273. Bandini, *Juntae* II 182-183; Brunet I 362; Graesse I 171; Panzer VII 38.203. BM; BN; DK; (CU, ICN, ICU, InU, MH, NN, NN-As).
- 1532, Basileae (Basel): Michael Insingrinus. *Pimander et Asclepius*, 118-171. Panzer VI 291.892. BN; (ICN).
- (*) 1549, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.
- (*) 1552, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.
- 1561, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera*, II 1858-71. Cf. above, p. 5.
- 1570, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.
- (*) 1576, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1858-71. Cf. above, p. 139.
- (*) 1577, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.
- (*) 1587, Lugduni (Lyons): Sib. à Porta. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, II. BM; DK; (MH, vol. I; reported by D. C. Weber, Ref. Assistant, MH).
- (*) 1591, Ferrariae (Ferrara): Ben. Mamerellus. Franciscus Patritius, *Nova de universis philosophia*. Cf. above, p. 141.
- 1593, Venetiis (Venice): Robertus Meietus. F. Patritius, *op. cit.* fols. 1-6. Cf. above, p. 141.
- 1593, Hamburgi (Hamburg): s.t. F. Patritius, *Magia philosophica*, fols. 63-88. Cf. above, p. 141.
- (*) 1594, Parisiis (Paris): *Pimander et Asclepius*. Fabricius BG I 55; Graesse III 250.
- 1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Franciscus Raphelengius. L. Apuleius, *Opera* 349-380. Graesse I 171. BM; BN; DK; (MH, NIC).
- (*) 1597, Basileae (Basel): Sebastianus Henrici Petri. L. Apuleius, *Opera* II. Graesse I 171. BM; DK; (MH, MNS, PU).
- (*) 1600, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Raphelengius. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM; DK; (MB).
- 1601, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): Christophorus Beys. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM; (DLC).
- (*) 1601, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): M. Sonnius. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM.
- (*) 1601, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): Stephanus Valet. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. (MH, PPL-R).
- (*) 1604, Lugduni (Lyons): J. de Cabianus and S. Girard; H. à Porta. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BN; DK; (CtY, IU, ViLxW).
- (*) 1607, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.* 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.
- 1610, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Raphelengius. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. DK; (ICU).
- (*) 1611, Londini (London): Reprint of

1593, Venice edition of F. Patritius, *Nova de universis philosophia*, appendix only. Cf. above, p. 141.

1614, Lugduni (Lyons): Vid. Anthonii de Harsy. L. Apuleius, *Opera* II. Brunet I 362. BN; (DLC, ICU).

(*) 1614, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxxvi.

(*) 1620, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM; BN; DK; (CtY, MH).

1621, Francofurti (Frankfort): D. and D. Aubrius and C. Schleichius. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM; BN; DK; (CtY, CU, ICU, MH, OCU, PPAmP, PPL-R, PU).

(*) 1623, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): J. Maire. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxxiii. BM; BN; DK; (CtY-M, MA, PBL, ViLxW, ViU).

(*) 1628, Londini (London): Reprint of 1593, Venice edition of F. Patritius, *Nova de universis philosophia*, appendix only. Fabricius BG I 56.

(*) 1628, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): J. Janssonius. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM; DK; (CtY, IU, NB, NjP, PPL-R).

(*) 1641, Parisiis (Paris): Guillelmus Pele. M. Ficino, *Opera*. BM; BN.

(*) 1778, Altenburgi (Altenburg): Richter. L. Apuleius, *Opera*. BM; BN; (CtY, PBm, PU, ViLxW; reported by Librarian, ViLxW).

1788, Biponti (Zweibrücken); ex. typ. Societatis. L. Apuleius, *Opera* II 285-325. BM; BN; DK; (ICU).

1842, Lipsiae (Leipzig): C. Knobloch. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, ed. G. F. Hildebrand, II 279-334. BM; DK; (ICU).

1843, Lipsiae (Leipzig): C. Knobloch. L. Apuleius, *Opera*, ed. G. F. Hildebrand. BM; DK; (ICU).

1876, Vindobonae (Vienna): G. Geroldus Fil. L. Apuleius, *Opuscula quae sunt de philosophia*, ed. A. Goldbacher, 28-62. BM; DK; (ICU).

1908, Lipsiae (Leipzig): B. G. Teubner. L. Apuleius, *De philosophia libri*, ed. Paul Thomas, 36-81. BM; DK; (ICN).

1924, Oxford: Clarendon. W. Scott, *Hermetica*, I 286-376. (ICU).

1945, Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres.' Her-

mes Trismegistus, *Corpus Hermeticum*, edd. A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, II 296-355. (NIC).

Doubtful Editions:

(*) 1472, Romae (Rome): Panzer II 432.78. T. F. Dibdin, *Classics* I 283; Brunet I (5th ed.) 362.

(*) 1472, Venetiis (Venice): Nicolas Jenson: H 1315: Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxviii.

(*) 1480, Vicentia (Vicenza): Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxviii.

(*) 1483, Venetiis (Venice): Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxviii.

(*) 1485, Vicentia (Vicenza): Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxviii.

(*) 1498, Vicentia (Vicenza): Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxviii.

(*) 1499, Romae (Rome): C. Sweynheym and A. Pannartz: Hildebrand, *Apuleius* I, lxxvii-lxxviii.

(*) 1594, Hamburg: Fabricius BG I 55.

The Latin translation of the Asclepius (de divinitate) is not considered that of Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis by editors Colvius, Wowerius, Elmhorstius, Scriverius, Floridus, and Valky and does not appear in the following editions of Apuleius:

(*) 1533, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri.

(*) 1560, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri.

(*) 1560, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri.

1588, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Plantiniana, Franciscus Raphelengius.

(*) 1606, [Basel]: Froben.

1624, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): G. Caesinus.

1688, Parisiis (Paris): Fed. Leonardus.

1786-1823, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): van der Eyk and Vygh (Vol. I); S. and I. Luchtmans (Vols. II and III).

1825, Londini (London): ed. A. J. Valky.

COMMENTARIES

a) *Jacobus Faber Stapulensis*

Cf. above, p. 142.

Commentary (Chap. I) [Inc.]: Caput primum edocet. omnia unius esse, et omnia unum...[*Expl.*]: (*Chap. XV*): Quintumdecimum caput dialogorum religiose finit, in gratiarum actionibus: adoratione autem fi-

nita, et gratis Deo persolutis, Mercurius, Asclepius, Ammon, et Tadius quatuor viri, qui sacrum adytum impleverant, secundum religiosum Aegyptiorum ritum se convertunt ad puram, et sine animalibus coenam, et hic Hermetis de voluntate dei libelli Finis.

Editions :

1505, Parisiis (Paris) : Henricus Stephanus. *Pimander*, ed. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, fols. 38-60. Cf. above, p. 139.

1516, Venetiis (Venice) : Aldus. Jamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, fols. 125-133. Cf. above, p. 139.

1522, Parisiis (Paris) : Simon Colineus. *Pimander*, ed. Faber Stapulensis, fols. 38-60. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1549, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1552, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.

1561, Basileae (Basel) : Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1858-71. Cf. above, p. 139.

1570, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1576, Basileae (Basel) : Henricus Petri. M. Ficinus, *Opera* II 1858-71, Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1577, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1607, Lugduni (Lyons) : Ioannes Tornaesius. Jamblichus, *op. cit.*, 473-543. Cf. above, p. 139.

(*) 1641, Parisiis (Paris) : Guillelmus Pelé. M. Ficinus, *Opera*. Cf. above, p. 139.

Biogr. :

Cf. above, under I a.

b) *Hannibal Rosselius*

This elaborate commentary was based on selected passages from the Asclepius attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. In the twelve chapters of Rosselius' work there is a total of fifty-two commentaries, all argumentative and discursive. The work was dedicated to Archbishop Solikowski on January 1, 1590.

Dedication [Inc.]: Illustri ac Reverendissi-

mo in Christo patri ac Domino, D. Ioanni Demetrio Solikowski, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Archiepiscopo Leopoliensi Dignissimo etc. Frater Hannibal Rosseli ordinis S. Francisci de obseruantia Theologus omnis felicitatis genus à Domino Iesu Christo. Magnus ille Salomon. Illustris ac reuerendiss. Domine, regum omnium sapientissimus atque potentissimus, cum mirificam coleret sapientiam, utpote supernae sapientiae munere cumulatissime illustratus, sic de ea egregie disseruit, atque ad illius studium amplectendum sectandunquē ardentē inuitauit : . . . [*Expl.*] : et sic viam salutis inueniant, per quam ad summum pastorem animarum nostrarum in aeterna felicitate contemplandum et fruendum perueniant. Amen. Datum Cracouiae ex Monasterio S. Bernardini, Calendis Januarij, 1590.

Commentary [Inc.] : De Immortalitate Animae. Textus Mercurii. *O Asclepi, omnis anima humana immortalis est.* Commentum primum. Quamvis de multis et variis rebus scitu dignis, de Deo, de caelicolis, de Aegypti exterminio, de mundi exitio instar prophetae in hoc libro sapientissimus Mercurius sit locutus ; . . . (Last commentary) [*Expl.*] : Sed tempus iam est, ut de medio mari, naufragolis scopulis, debilis haec nostra cymba ad portum optatae salutis deducatur, utque deinceps calciatis pedibus et accinctis lumbis atque apprehensis manu faculis ad alium librum transeamus. Finis sexti libri, qui est primus Asclepij.

Editions :

(micro.) 1590, Cracoviae (Cracow) : Lazarus. H. Rosselius, *Asclepius Mercurii Trismegisti cum commento*, BN.

1630, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne) : Petrus Cholinus. H. Rosselius, *Divinus Pymander . . . cum commento*. Graesse III 250. BN ; (ICN, IEN, MH, PU).

Biogr. :

Cf. above, under I b.

c) The following is a fragmentary commentary on the Asclepius by an unidentified author :

(*) Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Ottob. lat. 811, s. XIV, Part I, fols. 160-167. Incipit Trismegistrus (?) Mercurii. Quatuor sunt in quibus quasi. (Reported by Paul O. Kristeller).

III. TRANSLATIONS OF THE DEFINITIONES

1. *Lodovicus Lazarellus*

This translation, the first, was completed by Lazarellus late in the fifteenth century. The Hermetic treatise, evidently incomplete, is an epitome summing up all the Hermetic teachings, but the title 'Definitions of Asclepius' is inappropriate as the work is not a collection of definitions or aphorisms. The work was most likely written in the third century A.D. Cf. W. Scott, *Hermetica* II 428-457; G. Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes* II (London 1906) 257-84; Fabricius, *BG* I 64-65; R. P. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* (Paris 1949) II 17-18.

Dedication (Found only in the Viterbo MS; cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (1956) 245-246. [*Inc.*]: Ioanni Mercurio de Corigio Lodovicus Enoch Lazarellus Septempedanus quondam poeta nunc autem per novam regenerationem verae sapientiae filius salutem pacem et gratiam in domino nostro Iesu Christo. Cum imperscrutabiles verae sapientiae semitas omnipotentis Jesu Christi gratia te duce ingressus, o pater o mi benignissime praeceptor Joannes Mercuri... contigit ut inter antiquos divorum hominum libros quos sedulus perscrutator inquiri in quoddam nectareum poculum omni dulcedine plenum quod ex divino immensoque Hermetis Trismegisti crathere emanasse non dubito ex insperato inciderem, graecum videlicet opusculum quod Asclepii diffinitiones inscribitur... graecum illud opusculum non multa cum industria, verum sine verborum circumlocutione ornatuque veluti graeca ipsa sonat locutio de verbo ad verbum ad te in latinum traduxi. ... [*Expl.*]: Tu lege qui sapis mi fulgentissime Sol et una mecum congaude et laetare meaeque in te fidei filialisque reverentiae semper ut facis reminiscere. Vale.

Translation of the Definitiones [*Inc.*]: Magnum tibi sermonem o rex misi omnium aliorum tanquam verticem et commentarium... [*Expl.*]: Iam vero et sola imago regis visa victoriam operata est atque in-trepiditatem et insaucietatem concessit indigenis.

Bibl.: P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.*, 221-247; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 192; 197-200. *Greek source*: The original Greek work is entitled "Ὅροι Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρός" Ἀμμωνα βασιλέα.

Manuscript:

(*) Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale, II D I 4, s. XV, fols. 83-91. (P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.*, 227-247).

Editions:

1507, Lugduni (Lyons): Stephanus Gueynardus and Jacobus Huguetanus. Symphorianus Champerius, *Liber de quadruplici vita* (without the Lazarellus Preface). Brunet I 1765; Graesse II 114; Panzer VII 287.98; P. Allut, *Étude Biographique et Bibliographique sur Symphorien Champier* (Lyons 1859) 149-150. BM; BN; (DSG, NN, PPCP).

(*) 1519, [Venice or Lyons]: Joannes Phiroben (Syroben) and Joannes Divineur. Symphorianus Champerius, *Duellum epistolare* (without the Lazarellus Preface). Brunet I 1768-69; Graesse II 114; Panzer VIII 458.993; P. Allut, *op. cit.*, 201-206.

Biogr.:

Lodovicus Lazarellus (Lodovico Enoch Lazzarelli) was born in 1450 at San Severino (Marche). He became a disciple of the wandering magician or prophet Giovanni Mercurio and after 1495 was instructed in alchemy by John Richard de Branchiis of Burgundy. Lazarellus was versed in Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and astrology. He died in 1500.

Works: Lazarellus is the author of *Crater Hermetis* (1505), a poem *Bombyx ad Angelum Colotium* (Basel 1518), a poem on a tournament in Padua (printed in the seventeenth century), and other poems. An alchemical tract remains unpublished (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 984) and he is also apparently the author of an *Epistola Enoch*.

Bibl.: Tiraboschi VI 2 (1784) 282; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* V (New York 1941) 533; VI 438.

P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.*

2. *Adrianus Turnebus*

The translation of the *Definitiones* was made by Turnebus to accompany Ficinus'

translation of the *Pimander*, both being printed in the *editio princeps* of the Greek texts. The *Definitiones* forms Bks. XVI-XVIII of the *Corpus*.

Dedication: In Greek by Angelus Vergecius. The Greek Preface, also by Vergecius, is reproduced in G. Parthey, *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander* p. vii-xi.

Translation of the Definitiones [Inc.]: Magnum tibi Rex sermonem mittendum curavi, omnium aliorum veluti caput atque brevium, non ex vulgi compositum opinione, sed multorum sententiis aduersas rationes complectentem...[*Expl.*]: Iam vero etiam sola regis imago conspecta victoriam parit, et securitatem ab omni formidine atque vulnere conciliat indigenis.

Bibl.: W. Scott, *Hermetica* I 33.

Greek source: The Greek text of the *Definitiones* as edited by Vergecius (Bargicius).

Edition:

1554, Parisiis (Paris): Adrianus Turnebus (Gr.-Lat.). *Poemander* 111-126. Brunet III 1647; Graesse III 250. BM; BN; (CtY, ICU, MH, MiH, MnU).

Biogr.:

Adrianus Turnebus (Adrien Turnèbe, Tournebu), the French Greek scholar, was born at Andelys in Normandy in 1512. Was educated at an early age under Toussain at Paris. Became professor at Toulouse and later at Paris. Published many Greek works as Director of the Royal Press from 1552 to 1556. Became known as the first critical editor in France of classical texts, his editions of Aeschylus (1552) and Sophocles (1553) being especially noteworthy.

Works: Produced critical editions of Aeschylus; Sophocles with the scholia of Triclinius; Cicero's *De legibus*; Philo and Oppian; commentaries on Varro and the elder Pliny. Emended and explained many passages in classical authors in the thirty books of his *Adversaria* (1600). For a complete bibliography of his nineteen works, cf. M. Maittaire.

Bibl.: Hofer XLV 732-734; Michaud 42.283-284; Nicéron, *Mémoires* 38.334-355.

M. Maittaire, *Historia typographorum* (London 1717) 47-80; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II (Cambridge 1908) 185-186.

3. Franciscus Flussas Candalla

This translation, divided into thirteen sections, appeared as Book XVI of Flussas' edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum* which he completed at Bordeaux in 1574. It was dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II (1564-1576).

Dedication: Cf. above, p. 140.

Introductory verses: Cf. above, p. 140.

Preface: Cf. above, p. 140.

Translation of the Definitiones [Inc.]: Sublimem, o Rex, sermonem ad te misi, caeterorum omnium veluti summam et monumentum, non iuxta vulgi sententiam constructum, sed multam illis repugnantiam habentem...[*Expl.*]: Et quemadmodum Deus finem non habet ita nec ipsius factio initium aut finem habet. Finis.

Bibl.: Cf. above, p. 140.

Greek Source: Cf. above, p. 140.

Editions.: Cf. above, p. 140.

Biogr.:

Cf. above under I 2.

4. Franciscus Patritius

This translation, dedicated to Gregory XIV, is in three parts (De sole et daemonibus; De anima a corporis passione impedita; and De bona fama et encomium Regis) and includes more than just Book XVI of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. The remark, 'videntur sequentia ex alio libro sumpta,' shows that Patritius clearly saw that his second and third parts did not belong to the *Definitiones*.

Dedication: Cf. above, p. 141.

Preface: Cf. above, p. 141.

Translation of the Definitiones [Inc.]: Asclepius ad Ammonem regem. De sole et Daemonibus. Magnum tibi sermonem o Rex transmisi, omnium aliorum veluti summam et commentarium...[*Expl.*]: Sed statuae eius, ijs qui maxime periclitantur, parvus fiunt pacis. Iam enim sola regis imago comparens victoriam peperit et securitatem et sanitatem habitantibus effecit.

Bibl.: Cf. above, p. 141.

Greek Source: Printed editions of Turnebus (Paris 1554; Gr.) and Flussas (Bordeaux 1574; Gr.-Lat.) which Patritius further emended.

Editions : Cf. above, p. 141.

Biogr. :

Cf. above under I 3.

COMMENTARIES

a) *Symphorianus Champerius*

This commentary, written in four parts, appeared in Champerius' *Liber de quadruplici vita* at Lyons in 1507. The work was dedicated to François de Rohan, Bishop of Angers and later Archbishop of Lyons, with a second dedication to Jacobus Faber Stapulensis.

Dedication [Inc.]: Epistola prohemialis in sequens opusculum. Eruditissimo atque in omni disciplinarum cognitione consummatissimo, totius item Gallie philosophorum principi Iacobo Fabri Stapulensi. Simphorianus Champerius Lugdunensis physicus S. P. D. Cum divini Platonis sententiam qua non solum nobis natos astruit, verum ortus nostri partem et patriam et amicos sibi vindicare atque homines ut placet Stoicis hominum causa generari mecum animo volutarem, tu mihi Iacobe doctissime visus es preter reliquos mortales unus eam studiosius executus... [*Expl.*]: Sed tamen si quid in eo mancum aut mutilum aut imperfectum offenderis, id emendare atque pristinae velis restituere veritati obnixius tuam humanitatem etiam atque etiam comprecamur. Vale totius rei litterarie decus. Lugd. anno domini MCCCCCVII, ix kalendas Iunij.

Commentary [Inc.]: Quoniam apud Aegyptios deorum genus primum fuisse fabulant poetae... [*Expl.*]: Multa in libris atque sententiis suis scripsisse evidens satis est, quae ante illorum tempora Galli habuerunt; atque de his hactenus.

Bibl.: W. Mönch, *Die italienische Platonrenaissance und ihre Bedeutung für Frankreichs Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte* (Berlin 1936) 250-264.

Editions :

1507, Lugduni (Lyons) : Stephanus Gueynardus and Jacobus Huguetanus. S. Champerius, *Liber de quadruplici vita*. Cf. above, p. 149.

Biogr. :

Symphorien Champier (Morien Piercham; various spellings and pseudonyms as Champerius, Campegius, Chambier, Theophile du Mas, Seigneur de la Faverge, Seigneur Campepe, M. Leonard de la Ville), ca. 1471-1538. Was educated at Paris, Montpellier, and Pavia. Practiced medicine in Lyons and Nancy. Published a great variety of short treatises on numerous subjects. Was largely responsible for founding in 1527 the Collège de la Trinité at Lyons and for the creation of the college of medicine there. Was physician to the Duke of Lorraine.

Works: His publications number forty-nine and are on philosophy, history, medicine, theology, natural philosophy, the city of Lyons, France, Galen, the Chevalier Bayard, and other subjects.

Bibl.: Nicéron, *Mémoires* XXXII 239-271; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* V (New York 1941) 111-126 *et passim*.

P. Allut, *Étude Biographique et Bibliographique sur Symphorien Champier* (Lyons 1859); W. Mönch, in *Fortschritte der Medizin* 41 (1933); E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique des Médecins en France au Moyen Age* (Paris 1936) II 745-46; F. G. Freytag, *Adparatus litterarius* (Leipzig 1752) I 652-662.

APPENDIX I

by MARIE-THERÉSE D'ALVERNY
(Bibliothèque Nationale)

IV. LIBER XXIV PHILOSOPHORUM

24 Definitions of God, supposed to be pronounced during a symposium of 24 anonymous philosophers.

Place and date of composition :

Unknown, probably second half of the 12th century. Shows influence of the School of Chartres. Ascribed to 'Hermes, Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus' by some mss.

Thierry of Chartres quotes Asclepius under the heading: 'Mercurius in Trismegisto.'

Sources: Augustine, Pseudo-Augustine (Quaestiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum), Asclepius, Pseudo-Dionysius, Boethius, Joannes Scotus Eriugena, Anselmus Cantuariensis, etc.

Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* I, 5, quotes opinions of the philosophers on God.

Petrus Alphonsus, *Disciplina clericalis*, fabula XXX, quotes 22 sayings ascribed to 22 philosophers who met around Alexander's golden bier: 'De Alexandro dictum est quod sepultura eius foret aurea, et in atrio posita, ad quem plurimi convenerunt philosophi, de quibus unus ait' etc.

The number XXIV is very likely related to the XXIV elders in the Apocalypse.

Axiomatic form: imitation of Euclid. Gilbertus Porretanus, in his commentary on Boethius' *De Hebdomadibus* transfers this form of composition to Theology, with *Regulae*, and commentary, as had been done by Proclus.

Sentence III: 'Deus est sphaera infinita, cuius centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam, is derived from an Empedoclean Logion, transmitted very likely through Florilegia. It is quoted as 'Empedocles' by Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum doctrinale*, V, 64; *Speculum historiale*, 1; *Speculum naturale*, II, 64. Cf. a Florilegium printed in the 15th century: *Auctoritates Aristotelis (et aliorum) Coloniae*, 1487, f. XLIIIv: 'Empedocles... Deus est spera cuius centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam'.

Sentence XXIII 'Deus est qui verius cognoscitur quod non est quam quod est' has disappeared in all mss. except one: Erfurt, Amploniana 4° 151; but the commentary remained, and was joined to the commentary on sentence XXIV: 'Deus est qui sola ignorantia mente cognoscitur.' In several mss. other sentences: 'Deus est lux...' have replaced the missing axiom, as a heading of the last paragraph of the commentary.

Prologue (in full).

Congregatis XXIV philosophis solum eis in quaestione remansit: Quid est Deus? Qui, communi consilio, datis induciis et

tempore iterum conveniendi statuto, ut singuli de Deo proprias proponerent propositiones sub definitione, ut ex propriis definitionibus excerptum aliquid de Deo communi consensu statuerent. Quorum unus sic proposuit.

Sentences.

[*Inc.*]: I. Deus est monas, monadem gi-gnens, in se suum (variant: unum) reflectens ardorem.

[*Expl.*]: XXIV. Deus est qui sola ignorantia mente cognoscitur.

First commentary (anonymous).

Deus est monas... Haec definitio data est secundum imaginationem primae causae, prout se numero multiplicat in se...

Deus est qui sola ignorantia... Et sic intelligentia creata sola ignorantia mente cognoscitur.

Second commentary (anonymous), probably s. XIII in.

[*Inc.*]: *Deus est monas...* Haec definitio data est...

Deus est monas monadem... Quia numerus est principium sapientiae, tum quia numerus principium est exemplar in Deo; tum quia numero sublato ceterae scientiae auferuntur...

[*Expl.*]: *Deus est qui sola...* et huius ratio est quare cognoscit ipsum cognoscendo quid non est, ignorando quid est.

Thomas of York, O.F.M. Commentary of the first three sentences contained in the *Sapientiale* (circa 1250):

Post hoc ponam descriptiones XXIV quas referuntur dixisse XXIV philosophi, quas singulas singuli protulerunt...

[*Inc.*]: 1a. *Deus est monas...* Nomen autem monadis Deo convenienter adaptatur...

[*Expl.*]: 3a. *Deus est totus in quolibet sui...* verum etiam cuilibet facti eius totus pariter adest.

Note of the copyist: 'Album multum in originali, ubi debuerunt esse XXI descriptiones quas auctor non compilavit.'

Manuscripts:

I. Sentences alone, with or without prologue.

* ERFURT, Amploniana, 4° 151, f. 22, s. XIV.

24 sentences. Sentence 23 and 24 are interchanged. Rubric:

'Egredie et autentice diffinitiones de Deo.'
(Schum 414; Baeumker's ed. of the
'Liber XXIV Philosophorum,' *Beiträge z.
Geschichte der Philosophie des M.A.* 25, 1-2,
201).

* ERFURT, Amploniana, 8° 7, f. 36^v, s. XV
in.

23 sentences. Rubric: 'Diffinitiones de
Deo eiusdem Hermetis' (the sentences fol-
low Asclepius). No prologue.

(Schum 674; Baeumker 201).

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 6286,
f. 21-21^v, s. XIII ex.

23 sentences. No prologue.

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 3010, f. 141, s. XIII

23 sentences. Rubric: 'Incipit liber qui
Trimegistus Hermes Mercurius appellatur.'
No prologue.

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 4847, f. 39, s. XV in.

24 sentences. Sentence 24: 'Deus est lux
quem non capit oculus, vox quem non cepit
tempus, odor quem non spergit flatus, cibus
quem non minuit edacitas, amplexus quem
non devellit societas.' Explicit: 'Hec in
libro Trimegisti Hermetis sive Mercurii phi-
losophi primi vel precipui.'

II. Sentences with commentary.

CAMBRIDGE, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mc
Clean 169 (Phillipps 3547), s. XV, f. 262^v-
263^v. Scribe: Robert Enylton, of Durham.

24 sentences. Sentence 24: Deus est lux
que fractione non clarescit transit sed sola
deiformitas in re.' Explicit: 'Expliciunt
propositiones philosophorum magistrales de
Deo.'

CAMBRIDGE, University Library, II.i.29
s. XIV, fols. 83-85.

23 sentences. Marginal and interlinear
glosses.

DURHAM, University Library, Cosin V.II.
5, s. XIV in., fols. 88-89^v.

24 sentences. Sentence 24: 'Deus est lux
que fractione non clarescit transit sed sola
deiformitas in re.' Explicit: 'Expliciunt 24
propositiones philosophorum cum commento
de essentia diuina.' (*Catalogi veteres librorum
ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis...*, London
1838, 146-147; — reported by A. I. Doyle).

* GÖTTWEIG, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 59 (69),
s. XIII, f. 230-232^v.

23 sentences. Rubric: 'Incipit Termegis-
tus.'

(Reported by P. O. Kristeller and R.
Bauer).

LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, 412, s.
XIII, f. 92^v-93^v.

23 sentences.

* LEIPZIG, Universitätsbibliothek, cod.
1442, s. XIII, fols. 159-161^v.

(Aristoteles latinus, ed. G. Lacombe and
others, I, Romae 1939, 711-712). Destroyed.

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 6319,
s. XIII, f. 206^v-208.

23 sentences. Title: 'Liber Hermetis.' —
Explicit: 'Explicit liber Termegisti de re-
gulis theologie cum commento Chalcidii
Amen ut puto.'

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15888,
s. XIV, f. 98-98^v.

23 sentences numbered 25 (scribe's mis-
take).

Incipit of sentence I: 'Deus est substan-
tia monas...'

Explicit: 'Explicit liber de sapientia phi-
losophorum.'

* PERUGIA, Biblioteca Comunale 'Au-
gusta', cod. A 39, s. XV (a. 1462, cf. fol.
179^v), fols. 180-182^v.

22 propositions, with prologue and Second
Commentary.

Prop. I [*Inc.*]: Deus est monas... ardo-
rem. Quia numerus est principium sapientie...

[*Expl.*]: ...ignorando quid est. Explicit
liber Trimegisti Mercurii Hermetis qui totus
est de Deo. Ideo Deus ipse sit a nobis in
perpetuum alta mente colendus. Amen.

(Reported by P. O. Kristeller and I.
Brady O.F.M.).

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 3060, a. 1333, f. 32-32^v,
'scriptus a Richardo de Londoniis.'

23 sentences and extracts of the commen-
tary. Incipit: 'Incipit Liber de propositionibus
sive de regulis theologie qui dicitur
Termegisti philosophi.'

III. Sentences with first commentary and
a second commentary.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Digby 67, s.
XIII, f. 89-92^v.

23 sentences. Rubric: 'Tremegistus, Tre-
megistus.'

* SEVILLA, Colombina, 7-2-26, s. XIII,
f. 43^v-47.

23 sentences. An attribution to 'Alanus'

(s. XIII) has been erased. (reported by Ant. Dondaine, O.P.; microfilm).

IV. Thomas of York, *Sapientiale*

FLORENCE, Biblioteca nazionale. Conventi soppressi A 6, 437, f. 25-26.

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 4301, f. 20-20^v.

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 6771, f. 37^v-38.

(reported by C. Piana, O.F.M. and Ant. Dondaine, O.P.).

V. Adaptation and extracts.

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, N. acq. Lat. 3072, s. XIV, f. 127^v-128.

Florilegium: 'Hee sunt diffinitiones Dei.' List of sentences attributed to Anselm, Augustine, Boethius, Dionysius, Plato, Avicenna, Aristoteles, Averroes, etc. Sentences V, VII, VIII, IX, XIX, quoted anonymously; sentence II quoted with the variant: 'Deus est spera in circumscribibilis ...' and attributed to 'Secundus philosophus.'

VI. Manuscripts quoted in some ancient catalogues.

<AMIENS> Richard of Fournival, *Biblionomia* (ed. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* II [Paris 1868-81], 531); ed. A. Birkenmajer (Krakow 1922).

n° 103 'Nicolaus Ambianensis... Liber de articulis fidei. Item, cuiusdam alterius Liber de Monade, ascribitur Mercurio Trismegisto sign. N.'

BOLOGNA, San Francesco (96), described by Fabio Vigili, saec. XVI in.

(M. H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les anciennes bibliothèques de Bologne*, Rome 1943, 119).

'Mercurii Trimegisti Liber de difinitionibus divinis, videlicet quid sit Deus. Varie diffinitiones, ut: Deus est, etc. qui incipit: Congregatis XXIII philosophis, solum eis in questione remansit, Quid est Deus, etc. quem librum eius esse nullo pacto credo, et est cum commentario.'

<PATAVII> Johannis Marchanova Inventarium Bibliothecae, 1467. (ed. L. Sighinolfi, in *Collectanea Leoni S. Olschki oblata* [1921] 209):

n° 132 'Liber viginti tribus (sic) differentiarum (sic pro diffinitionum) Dei, in membranis.'

First quotations of the sentences.

Alanus de Insulis, *Regulae Theologicae*, quotes sentence I = Regula 3, and sentence III = Regula 7, with the variant: 'Deus est sphaera intelligibilis'... (Migne, PL 210.627). S. XII ex.

Alexander Neckham alludes to sentence III in *De naturis rerum*, cap. 173, circa 1197-1204 (ed. Th. Wright, London [1863] 299) with an attribution to Aristotle. He quotes sentence I attributed to 'Hermes Trismegistus' in a sermon for Trinity Sunday (Oxford, Bodl. ms. Wood empt. 13, f. 116^v) circa 1190-1197; and in *Speculum Speculationum* I 3 (ms. London, British Museum, Royal 7 F. I, f. 6^v) circa 1210 (reported by R. W. Hunt).

Editions of the sentences with first commentary.

Cl. Baeumker, 'Das pseudo-hermetische Buch der vier und zwanzig Meister (Liber XXIV philosophorum), ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Neupythagoräismus und Neuplatonismus im Mittelalter' *Festgabe von Hertling*, [Freiburg im Breisgau 1913] 17-40.

2d ed. in Cl. Baeumker, *Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge, Studien und Charakteristiken zur Geschichte der Philosophie insbesondere des M.A.* (Beiträge z. Geschichte der Philosophie des M.A., 25, 1-2 [Münster 1927] introduction 194-207; text 207-214).

Thomas of York, ed. prepared by the Institute of Mediaeval studies, Toronto.

Bibl.: Cl. Baeumker, *op. cit.*

D. Mahnke, *Unendliche Sphäre und Allmittelpunkt* (Halle 1937).

M. D. Vicaire, 'Les Porrétains et l'Avicennisme,' *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 26 (1937) 449-482.

M. T. d'Alverny 'Un témoin muet des luttes doctrinales du Moyen Age,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 17 (1949) 223-248.

APPENDIX II

by THEODORE SILVERSTEIN
(University of Chicago)

V. DE VI RERUM PRINCIPIIS

A Latin pseudepigraph composed in the twelfth century, possibly as early as the decade before 1147 (see *Modern Philology* 46 [1948-1949] 96, 104-07, 115, and below, *Sources*, and *Edition*, 'Introduction,' sec. 2, 234-37).

Prologus de tribus Mercuriis [Inc.]: Legimus in veteribus divinatorum hystoriis tres fuisse philosophos, quorum primus Enoch... [*Expl.*]: Morienus uero summus philosophus... secretam alkimie naturam longo labore rimari cepit, de qua subtiliter scribens illam tandem composuit.

Text [Inc.]: Tria sunt que intellectum hominis perfeccius formant, componunt et constituunt, causa, scilicet, et ratio et natura... [*Expl.*]: Sed tardius equinoccium in solari circulo reccius est propter mutacionem et mutabilitatem temporis et temporalium.

Bibl.: Lynn Thorndike II (1923) 222-23 (cf. Thorndike and Kibre, 729); *Hermetica*, ed. Scott-Ferguson IV (1936) xlvi; Silverstein, 'The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus Silvestris,' *Modern Philology* 46 (1948-49), esp. 96, 104-07; Tullio Gregory, *Anima mundi* (Rome 1955) 153, 185-86; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley 1956) 66-67, nos. 7.36 and 7.37 (see below, *Manuscripts*). For a further discussion see also *Edition*, 'Introduction,' *passim*.

Sources: There is no apparent contact with the Greek texts of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the few similarities to the Latin *Asclepius* are brief and general. The chief sources are Firmicus Maternus: Macrobius, *Saturnalia*; Alcabitius, *Isagoge*, in the translation of John of Spain: the Latin version of Zahel ben Bischr, *Liber de interrogationibus* and *Liber electionis*; Guillaume de Conches, *Philosophia mundi*; Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturales*; probably Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*; possibly Bede,

De natura rerum; and a twelfth-century brontological treatise (cf. K. Sudhoff, in *Sudhoff's Archiv* 10 [1917] 265-313). In addition there are citations from a *Liber almanach* and a *Liber ezich* and at least one other astronomical work of Arabic origin, all three probably in Latin renderings. A passage on *tugaton-noys* is almost exactly like Bernardus Silvestris' *De mundi universitate* I.ii. 150 ff., and I.iv. 84-87, 97-101 and 109-11 (ed. Barach, Innsbruck [1876], 13 and 31-32), written ca. 1147 A.D., but which of the two is the borrower is uncertain.

Influence: The work is quoted in *De septem septenis* attributed to John of Salisbury (ed. Giles, V, esp. 230-37; Migne PL, 199.960-63); in Thomas of York *Sapientiale*, ca. 1250 A.D. (see D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century* [1930] 53); in the *Roman de Fauvel* ii, 2993 ff., A.D. 1314 (ed. Långfors [Paris 1914-19] 107 f.; the editor confuses the citation with Gilbert de la Porrée's work of the same name, ciii-iv); and in Thomas Bradwardine's *De causa dei*, before 1349 A.D. (ed. Henry Saville [London 1618] 75, 135, 151-52, 155, 711, 826, *et passim*). It may also have been used by Lippoldus in his *Compilatio de astrorum scientia* ([Augsburg 1488] sigs. [f 7^v-8^v]), ca. 1271; appears extensively in John of Eschenden's *Summa astrologiae judicialis* ([Venice 1489] fols. 2^v, 89^v, 93^v, 100^v, 117-117^v, 122^v, 143-143^v, 145^v-146, 159); and is perhaps the source of a s. XV English vernacular thunderbook in ms. Morgan 775. The prologue *de tribus Mercuriis* parallels and may be the source of that in the Latin *Morienus*, which was probably written s. XIII or XIV (see, e.g., Thorndike, II 215, and, for date and ascription, Ruska, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* 11 [1928] 28-37). For other indications of influence from s. XIV to s. XVII see below, *Manuscripts*.

Manuscripts:

(photo.) Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Bodl. 464 (Western 2458), ca. A.D. 1318, fols. 191-202. (Madan II.1. 375-76; H. M. Bannister, in *Mélanges... Chatelain* [1910] 146). This is the manuscript numbered 1156 in the catalogue of the St. Augustine's Abbey library, Canterbury (James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* [1903] 328-29; 520) and evidently belonged to the Middle English author Dan Michael of Norgate (s. XIV). It was bequeathed by John Twyne in 1577 to his son Thomas, who gave it to the Bodleian in 1612.

(photo.) Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 67, s. XI ex. - XIII in., fols. 69-78 (Catalogi codicum 9, 1883, 73-76; Madan II 1, 72). Bequeathed by Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall in 1632 to Sir Kenelm Digby, by whom it was given to the Bodleian in 1634.

(photo.) Oxford, Bodleian, Digby, 221,

misc., s. XIV, fols. 88-99. (Catalogi codicum 9. 236; Madan and Craster II 1, 76). This manuscript also belonged to Thomas Allen. Carmody, *Arabic Astron. and Astrol. Sciences* 67, no. 7.37, incorrectly lists this as containing a different treatise, classing it with Vatican Palat. 1339, fols. 1^v ff., which has a part of the Latin Morienus.

(photo.) Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 722, s. XIV, fols. 95-104^v. (P. A. Tiele, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibl. univ. Rheno-Traject.* I [1887] 187-89).

Edition:

Liber Hermelis Mercurii Triplicis de VI rerum principiis, ed. Theodore Silverstein, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 22 [1956] 217-302; 'Introduction,' 217-45.