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THE QUESTIONS ON THE *METAPHYSICS* ATTRIBUTED TO JOHANNES RUCHERART DE WESALIA (A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS)

Abstract

It can hardly be questioned that the history of Western philosophy is to a good extent also a history of texts. For medieval philosophy it is likewise valid, from the thirteenth century onward, that these texts are mostly connected to university teaching and, at the same time, for good or not, to the Aristotelian philosophy. This fact is easily verifiable for the major commentaries on the *Aristoteles latinus* and for almost each European university as well.

The present contribution deals with a part of the later commentary tradition on the *Metaphysics* at the late medieval German universities. It focusses on a text – a *quaestiones* commentary on the *Metaphysics* – the transmission of which is extraordinarily complex. It examines two late medieval authors: John of Wesel (Johannes Rucherat de Wesalia), less known for his Aristotelian commentaries than

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for his confrontation with the Roman Church, and Nicholas of Amsterdam, whose work has received considerable attention in recent scholarship. Both philosophers were active at several German universities during the first half of the fifteenth century and commented on many Aristotelian texts, including the *Metaphysics*. This paper emerged from an analysis of a manuscript (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F VIII 7) conveying a *quaestiones* commentary attributed to John of Wesel. After some basic information, a more detailed comparison shows, however, that this text runs essentially identical with one of Nicholas' versions of his own commentary. Finally, a proposal of interpreting this fact considering the university standards of the time is included.

Keywords: Medieval text tradition; Medieval university teaching; Metaphysics; Buridanism.

Authors: Aristotle; John of Wesel; Nicholas of Amsterdam.

Las cuestiones sobre la Metafísica atribuidas a Johannes Rucherart de Wesalia (Un análisis textual)

Resumen

Es un hecho difícilmente cuestionable que la historia de la filosofía occidental es también, en buena medida, una historia de textos. Para la filosofía medieval es igualmente válido que, desde el siglo XIII en adelante, estos textos se relacionan sobre todo con la docencia universitaria y, al mismo tiempo, para bien o para mal, con la filosofía aristotélica. Este es un hecho fácilmente comprobable para los principales comentarios al *Aristoteles latinus* y, al mismo tiempo, para casi todas las universidades europeas.

La presente contribución se ocupa de una parte de la tradición tardía de los comentarios a la *Metafísica* en las universidades alemanas de la Baja Edad Media. Se centra en un texto, un comentario en *quaestiones* sobre la *Metafísica*, cuya transmisión es extraordinariamente compleja. Examina dos autores medievales tardíos: Johannes Wesel (Johannes Rucherat de Wesalia), menos conocido por sus comentarios aristotélicos que por su confrontación con la Iglesia Romana, y Nicolás de Amsterdam, cuya obra ha recibido considerable atención en recientes estudios. Ambos filósofos fueron miembros de varias universidades alemanas durante la primera mitad del siglo XV y comentaron varios textos aristotélicos, incluyendo la *Metafísica*. Este artículo surge a partir del análisis de un manuscrito (Basilea, Universitätsbibliothek, F VIII 7), el cual transmite un comentario en *quaestiones* atribuido a Johannes Wesel. Luego de ofrecer alguna información básica, una comparación más detallada muestra, sin embargo, que este texto es esencialmente idéntico a una de las versiones del comentario de Nicolás de Amsterdam. Finalmente,

se incluye una propuesta de interpretación de este hecho considerando los standards universitarios de la época.

Palabras clave: Tradición textual medieval; Docencia universitaria medieval; *Metafísica*; Buridanismo.

Autores: Aristóteles; Johannes Wesel; Nicolás de Amsterdam.

Introduction

In a previous paper I discussed some aspects of Johannes Rucherat de Wesalia's commentary on the *Physics*¹. I offered the *tabula questionum* and referred to his analysis of accelerated motion in connection with the mathematisation of natural philosophy initiated in the fourteenth century by the Oxford *calculatores*. Continuing my research on the same author, to whom I refer indistinctly as «John of Wesalia» or «John Rucherat» or even «John Rucherat of Wesalia», I shall now focus on his questions on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This brief textual analysis could serve, so I hope, as a useful basis for further studies on the content of the text itself as well as on the connection of this text with other, similar, texts belonging to the late medieval commentary tradition on the Aristotelian corpus. As the study of the corresponding *tabulae quaestionum* will show, this commentary, which according to one manuscript is to be attributed to John Rucherat, is closely connected with the commentary attributed to Nicholas of Amsterdam, especially with one of its versions.

I. Biographical Background

Let me start by giving a basic background about John Rucherat of Wesalia (c. 1425–1481) and his work. John Rucherat attracted historians' attention first of all because of his criticism of the Church. He questioned the Pope's *potestas* and was opposed to indulgences, two issues against which he composed treatises². His «error in materia fidei» led to the «only Inquisition

¹ Di Liscia, D. A., «Der Kommentar des Johannes Rucherat de Wesalia zur aristotelischen *Physik*: Seine Bedeutung und Überlieferung», *Codices manuscripti et impressi*, 99/100 (2015) 9–28.

² For bibliography and general biographical details see Samoray, Reinhard, *Johann von Wesel. Eine Studie zur Geistesgeschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters*. Diss., Univ. Münster 1954. and Benrath, G. A., «Rucherat, Johann, von Wesel», *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 8 (1992) cols. 298–304.

trial that was conducted against a theology professor in the fifteenth century»³. Already for nineteenth-century scholarship Rucherat was considered one of «Luther's predecessors»⁴. Indeed, the impact of the trial would not have been so profound had he not already been a university professor with a considerable production on several topics of philosophy and theology. He commented on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, on logic, natural philosophy and, allegedly, on metaphysics. As background, it is important to take note of his activity at the newly founded university of Basel after 1461 and, above all, of his previous relationship with the University of Erfurt, one of the most prestigious universities at the time in the German countries. At Erfurt he was *Baccalaureus* (1442), *Magister artium* (6/1/1445), *Licentiatuſ theologiae* (c. 18/10/1456), and *Doctor theologiae* (15/11/1456). During 1456/57 he was Rector of the University and Vice-rector in 1457⁵.

II. The Basel Manuscript

It is probable that John Rucherat could have dealt with Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in the context of university teaching. Even if Samoray does not mention a commentary on this text, one, written in the form of *quaestiones*, seems to be conserved in a Basel manuscript – the only extant copy known of this text:

B = Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F VIII 7, ff. 1r–261v:

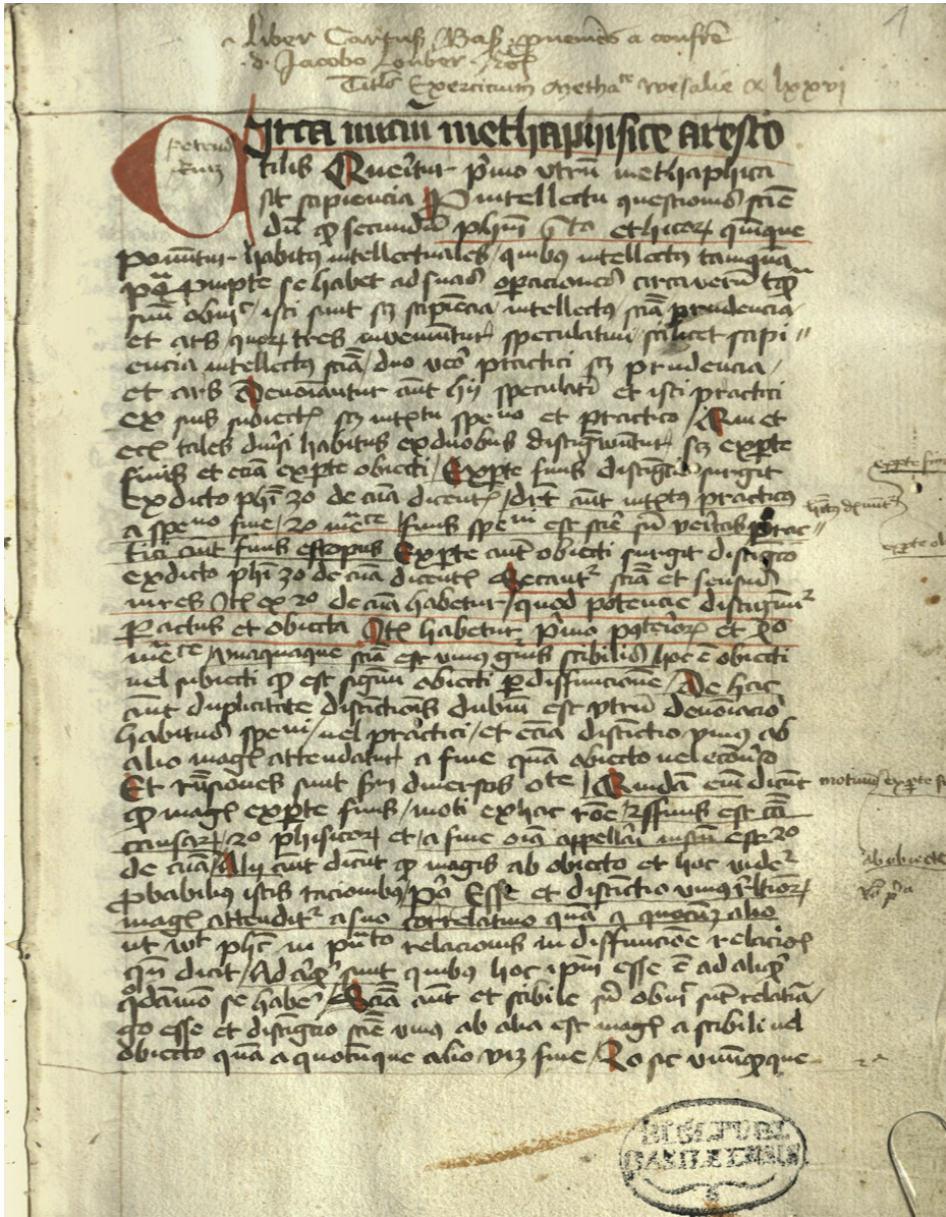
Inc.: «Circa initium metaphysice aristotilis quaeritur primo. Utrum methaphisica sit sapientia. Pro intellectu questionis sciendum quod... » (f. 1r).

Expl.: «... claram visionem beatificam nos producat qui solus princeps toti mundo presidet atque summe delectabitur sempiternae vivit et regnat super omnia eternaliter benedictus Dominus noster ihesus christus, amen» (f. 259v).

³ Kleineidam, E., *Universitas Studii Erfordensis. Überblick über die Geschichte der Universität Erfurt Teil II: Spätscholastik, Humanismus und Reformation 1461–1521*, Benno Verlag [Erfurter Theologische Studien, 22], Leipzig² 1992, p. 108.

⁴ Ulman, C., *Johann Wessel, ein Vorgänger Luthers. Zur Charakteristik der christlichen Kirche und Theologie in ihrem Uebergang aus dem Mittelalter in die Reformationszeit*, F. Perthes, Hamburg 1834.

⁵ See Benrath, op. cit., pp. 302–303.



Manuscript Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F VIII 7, (f. 1r) with the incipit of the *Exertitium Metaphysice* attributed to John of Wesalia. (© Basel, Universitätsbibliothek)

B was written in full pages, most likely by one and the same hand throughout. The metaphysical questions are the only text in the manuscript (ff. 135r and 260r are blank). It contains numerous marginal and interlineal remarks of a reader who has surely read the text not long after the copy was made (but who is probably not the copyist). These remarks are sometimes only the reader's mark-up of points to note when reading or teaching; sometimes, however, they belong to the text itself (for an example of both cases, fol. 81r). The manuscript was numbered throughout by a modern hand at the superior right corner. It must be emphasised that the attribution to John of Wesalia is unequivocal. The following statement can be read inside the book cover: «In illo libro continentur *Disputata sive Exercitium Magistri Johannis de Wesalia* sacre theologie professoris super Libris Methaphysice Aristotelis». And again, on fol. 1r: «Liber Cartusiensis Basiliensis proveniens a confratre d. Iacobo Louber (...). Exertitium Metaphysice Wesalie...». Given that Wesalia's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* is known as «*Exertitium Physicum*», these questions on the *Metaphysics* might also be called «*Exertitium Metaphysicel Metaphysicum*» making evident its purpose and function as a textbook. The copy belonged to the Carthusian monastery at Basel⁶. A *tabula quaestionum* was included at the end of the manuscript (ff. 260v–261v), which all in all coincides with the questions in the text, although some questions present a slightly different formulation. The he only extant copy of this text, this manuscript was mentioned first by Max Burckhardt, and later included by Charles Lohr in several of his bibliographical studies⁷.

III. John Rucherat of Wesalia and Nicholas of Amsterdam

Johannes Rucherat, of course, was not the only *magister* teaching on this text. Lectures on *Metaphysics* were highly appreciated in late medieval

⁶ For further details regarding the material features of the manuscript see the description that Martin Steinmann offered in 1984 and his additions until 2005, available in (24.10.2019): https://aleph.unibas.ch/F/CPKSC7M4IBE4U2CJB7UJCL98UHY8N2F24X9FE7AEQMJ6AD6FT618824?func=direct&local_base=DSV05&doc_number=000117541.

⁷ Burckhardt, Max, «Aus dem Umkreis der ersten Basler Universitätsbibliothek», *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 58/59 (1959), p. 173, fn. 73. Lohr, Charles H., «Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries Authors: Johannes de Kanthi – Myngodus», *Traditio* 27 (1971), p. 277; Lohr, Carolus *Aristotelica helvetica. Catalogus codicum latinorum in bibliothecis Confederationis Helveticae asservatorum quibus versiones expositonesque operum Aristotelis continentur*, Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz [Scriinium Friburgense 6], Freiburg 1994, pp. 138-39; Lohr, Charles H., *Latin Aristotle Commentaries I.1 Medieval Authors A–L*. Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze 2013, p. 328.

university, especially in the German countries⁸.

During his stay in Erfurt, Johannes must have come in contact with the texts of a previous colleague of the same university, Nicolaus Theoderici de Amsterdam (c. 1390–1438), a fifteenth century philosopher who has received much more attention in the past few years than Johannes Rucherat of Wesalia himself⁹. Nicholas of Amsterdam was active in at least three different German universities: Cologne (1407), Erfurt (1412–1414), and Rostock/Greifswald (1422). According to Pluta he must have died during the first days of the university of Rostock's exile period at Greifswald (1437–1443)¹⁰. Nicholas wrote on logic and commented on many of Aristotle's works, including the *Metaphysics*. Apparently, he gained some fame as an extraordinarily competent (*subtilissimus*) commentator of this text, as one of his students attested¹¹. Unlike Wesalia's commentary, Nicholas of Amsterdam's commentary on the *Metaphysics* – also *quaestiones* – is conserved in several manuscripts. Pluta lists nine copies and distinguishes two redactions¹². One is conveyed in the manuscript København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Ny kgl. saml. 190 4°, ff. 62ra–11vb and 124ra–166ra (=ms. N in Pinborg 1964; in this paper, however,

⁸ Gabriel, Astrik, «Metaphysics in the curriculum of Studies of the Mediaeval Universities». En Wilpert, P. (ed.), *Die Metaphysik im Mittelalter. Ihr Ursprung und Ihre Bedeutung. Vorträge des II. internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie, Köln (31. August – 6. September 1961)*, W. de Gruyter & Co. [*Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 2], Berlin 1963, pp. 92–102; see for instance p. 97 for the university of Vienna and p. 98 for the University of Leipzig.

⁹ See especially Włodek, Zofia, «Le commentaire de Nicolas d'Amsterdam sur le De anima d'Aristote. Introduction – Textes inédits», *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 11 (1963) 23–42; Pinborg, Jan, «Die Aristoteles-Quaestionen des magister Nicolaus von Amsterdam», *Classica et mediaevalia* XXV (1964) 244–261; Pluta, Olaf, «Materialism in the Philosophy of Mind. Nicholas of Amsterdam's *Quaestiones De anima*», in Bakker, P. J. J. M. – Thijssen, J. M. M. H. (eds.), *Mind, Cognition and Representation. The Tradition of Commentaries on Aristotle's De anima*. Ashgate Studies in Medieval Philosophy, Aldershot 2007, pp. 109–126; Dewender, Thomas, «Nicholas of Amsterdam on Infinity», *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter*, 15 (2012) 200–244; Bakker, Paul J. J. M., «Nicholas of Amsterdam on Accidental Being: A Study and Edition of Two Questions from his Commentary on the *Metaphysics*», *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter*, 15 (2012) 131–180; Wöhler, Hans-Ulrich, «Der operationale Konzeptualismus des Nikolaus von Amsterdam vor dem Hintergrund der Universaliendebatte», *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter* 15 (2012) 26–36; Wöhler, Hans-Ulrich, «Nicolaus de Amsterdam *Quaestiones circa libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis*, Liber VII, Quaestio 12: Utrum ponenda sint aliqua universalia realia a singularibus secundum esse distincta», *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter* 17 (2014) 221–250; and the seminal paper by Pluta, Olaf, «Nicholas of Amsterdam: Life and Works», *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter* 16 (2013) 185–265. Pluta 2013; Bos, provides an edition of Nicholas's *Commentary on the Old Logic in*: Bos, Egbert P., *Nicholas of Amsterdam. Commentary on the Old Logic. Critical edition with introduction and indexes*, John Benjamin's Publishing Company, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 2016.

¹⁰ Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 191.

¹¹ Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 190.

¹² Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 233.

K_a), and further manuscripts from Berlin, Greifswald (2 copies), Wolfenbüttel, and Zeitz. This redaction is attributed to Nicholas in several manuscripts. In addition, one of the Greifswald manuscripts gives us 1429 as a *terminus ante quem*¹³. I shall call this redaction Nic1. Another redaction («different redaction», according to Pluta) is conveyed in the manuscripts München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 28395, ff. 1ra–103ra (= M²) and St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 840 ff. 1r–205r (S)¹⁴. I shall refer to this different redaction as Nic2. Both, ‘Nic1’ and ‘Nic2’ are only identifying labels without carrying any importance or (even less) the sequences of composition.

IV. The *tabula quaestionum* of Johannes Rucherart’s *Exertitium Metaphysice*

A comparison of the *tabulae quaestionum* will help to clarify the relationship between the commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Johannes of Wesalia and that of Nicholas of Amsterdam. As I will show, they are similar but not identical. Of course, connections to further commentaries belonging to the same teaching context cannot be excluded.

The table for comparison has five columns. From left to right, the first one includes the questions book by book of all redactions or versions. They are, so to say, «abstract», since no single redaction contains all these questions at once¹⁵. Without carrying any importance or (even less) the sequences of composition, I used ‘Nic1’ to name the redaction that has been studied by most scholars and that is conveyed – apparently – in a larger number of manuscripts¹⁶, and ‘Nic2’ to name the «different redaction»¹⁷ conveyed in three manuscripts. Nic1 appears on the second and Nic2 on the third column. The fourth and fifth columns are reserved for manuscript B, offering first the occurrence of a question within the text of the manuscript and, finally, its occurrence in list added at the end (260v–261v: *tabula quaestionum*). At the end of each book I added some remarks about the differences or similarities of all these redactions.

¹³ Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 234.

¹⁴ Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 243–250.

¹⁵ I have checked all details I offered about Nic1 using the manuscript K_a *de visu*. For Nic2 and B and could make use of manuscripts M² and B. For this latter manuscript, however, I worked mostly on scans provided by the university library, where I could initiate my survey on the manuscript in October 2014. I am grateful to Renate Wüsch and other collaborators of the library for their help. For S, the additional manuscript of Nic2, I used a microfilm.

¹⁶ Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 233.

¹⁷ Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 243.

For the sake of clarity, I avoided repetitions (*queritur, utrum, sit... et.*) and considered some of the different formulations that, in my opinion (and because of the limited scope of the paper), were more significant. I did not mark off many cases of trivial divergence, like for instance «Utrum accidentia debeant diffiniri per sua subiecta» (in Nic2=B) and «Utrum accidentia debeant definiri per sum subiectum» (Nic1). I attempted to pay more attention to details that could be useful considering the current state of research.

Quaestio	Nic1	Nic2	B Text	B List
Liber I				
Utrum methaphisica sit sapientia.	I.1	I.1	I.1, 1r–4v	I.1
Utrum methaphisica sit dignissima scientiarum aut noticiarum.	I.2	I.2	I.2, 4v–8v	I.2
Utrum methaphisica sit prima philosophia.	I.3	I.3	I.3, 8v–10v	I.3
Utrum omnes homines natura scire desiderent.	I.4	I.4	I.4, 11r–13v	I.4
Utrum sensus visus preceteris (inter ceteros: Nic1, Nic2) sit magis diligendus.	I.5	I.5	I.5, 13v–16r	I.5
Utrum actus et generationes sint circa singularia.	I.6	I.6	I.6, 16r–18v	I.6
Utrum expertus non artifex certius operetur artifice non experto.	I.7	I.7	I.7, 18v–21v	I.7
Utrum scientie priorum et ex paucioribus sunt certior quam ex additione dictis.			I.8, 21v–23v	I.8
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic1=Nic2=B for qq. 1–7 (and same sequence). B adds a q. 8 at the end.				
Liber II				
Utrum comprehensio veritatis certa et evidens sit possibilis.	II.1	II.1	II.1, 24r–29r	II.1
Utrum comprehensio veritatis sic quidem sit facilis sic quidem difficilis.	II.2	II.2	II.2, 29v–31v	II.2
Utrum prima causa sit a nobis cognoscibilis.	II.3	II.3	II.3, 32r–35v	II.3
Utrum deum esse per solum metaphisicum sit demonstrabile.	II.4	II.4	II.4, 36r–38v	II.4
Utrum prima principia sint nobis naturaliter nobis cognita.	II.5	II.5	II.5, 39r–42r	II.5 ¹⁸
Utrum in causis processus in infinitum sit possibilis.			II.6, 42r–46v	
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic1=Nic2=B for qq. 1–5 (and same sequence). B adds a q. 6 at the end.				
Liber III				
Utrum unius scientie sit omnia genera causarum considerare.	III.1 ¹⁹	III.1	III.1, 47r–49v	III.1

¹⁸ The word «causa» was written and deleted before «principia».

¹⁹ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum ad unam scientiam pertineat consideratio omnium causarum.

Utrum res magis sciatur per causam formalem quam finalem.	III.2	III.2	III.2, 50r–51v	III.2
Utrum de primis principiis demonstrationis similiter de substantia et accidentibus possit esse una scientia.	III.4	III.3	III.3 ²⁰ , 52r–54v	III.3
Utrum differentia faciat rem magis scire quam genus.	III.3			
Utrum universalis sint principia essendi singularium.	III.5			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B for qq. 1–3 (and same sequence). Nic1 ¹ Nic2=B by (a) adding 2 qq. (3 and 5); (b) sequence of the qq. 3 « 4 is altered.				
Liber IV				
Utrum omnium rerum considerativa sit una scientia.	IV.3	IV.2	IV.1, 54v–57r	IV.1
Utrum omnes habitus intellectuales et actus intelligendi sint eiusdem speciei specialissime.	IV.1			
Queritur unde scientie demonstrative capiant unitatem ex parte principiorum vel ex parte conclusionum ²¹	IV.2	IV.1	IV.2 57v–60r	IV.2
Utrum ens sit subiectum methaphisice.	IV.4	IV.3	IV.3, 60v–63r	IV.3
Utrum univocum sit ad substantiam et accidentes.	IV.5 ²²	IV.4	IV.4, 63v–67v	IV.4
Utrum negationes sint entia.	IV.8	IV.7	IV.5, 67v–72r	IV.5
Utrum ens et unum convertantur.	IV.6	IV.5	IV.6, 72v–76r	IV.6
Utrum in eadem re esse et essentia realiter differant.	IV.7	IV.6	IV.7, 76v–80v	IV.7
Utrum contradictio sit maxima oppositio.	IV.9	IV.8	IV.8, 81r–83v	IV.8
Utrum circa primum principium contingat errare.	IV.10 ²³	IV.9	IV.9, 84r–87v	IV.9
Utrum hec propositio «idem simul inesse et non inesse eidem et secundum idem» impossibile sit principium.	IV.11 ²⁴	IV.10	IV.10, 88r–90v	IV.10
Utrum non–ens possit intelligi.	IV.12			
Utrum qui non–unum intelligit nichil intelligat.		IV.11	IV.11, 91r–96r	IV.11
Utrum duo ad invicem contradictoria esse simul vera sit possibile.	IV.13	IV.12	IV.12, 96v–102r	IV.12
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic1=Nic2=B for 12 qq., but in different sequence. Qq. 1, and 12 of Nic1 are not contained in Nic2 and B. Qq. 1,2, (inverted), and 11 of Nic2 and B are not contained in Nic1.				

²⁰ The formulation in Nic2 and in B runs: Utrum de primis principiis demonstrationis omnium scientiarum sit una scientia.

²¹ In think that in this question the beginning should be «unde» (as in B), not «utrum», like in Nic1 and Nic2 according to Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 245. The question is about «whence» the demonstrative sciences take their unity, not whether they take unity from somewhere.

²² Formulation in Nic1: Utrum ens univoce significet substantiam et accidens. Ed. Bakker, Paul J. J. M., «Nicholas of Amsterdam on Accidental Being...», art. cit., pp. 165-72.

²³ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum possibile sit aliquem errare circa primum principium.

²⁴ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum hec propositio «idem eidem simul inesse et non inesse» apponendo alias condiciones ad contradictionem requisitas sit primum principium.

Liber V				
Utrum distinctio nominum multiplicium pertineat ad methaphisicum.	V.1	V.1	V.1,103v–104v	V.1
Utrum quatuor sint genera causarum.	V.2	V.2	V.2, 104v–108r	V.2
Utrum Policletus sit causa per accidens et statue factor per se statue, sumpto quod Policletus sit statue factor.	V.7 ²⁵	V.3	V.3, 108r–110v	V.3
Utrum diffinitio elementi sit bona qua dicitur elementum est «ex quo componitur aliquid primo inexistente indivisibili specie in aliam speciem».	V.3	V.4	V.4, 110v–112v	V.4
Utrum bene dividatur in unum, numero, specie, genera et analogia.	V.8 ²⁶	V.5	V.5, 113r–115v	V.5
Utrum ens bene dividatur in ens secundum se et ens secundum accidens.		V.6	V.6, 115v–118r	V.6
Utrum entium modorum ad aliquid relativa sint de per se in predicamento relationis.		V.7	V.7, 118v–121v	V.7
Utrum deum esse causam Sortis sit Deus, supposito quod Deus causet vel conservet Sortem.		V.8	V.8, 121v–124v	V.8
Utrum convenientie et diversitates rerum sint res vel dispositiones addite rebus convenientibus et diversis.		V.9	V.9, 124v–128v	V.9
Utrum causalitates et effectualitates sint dispositiones superaddite causis et causatis.		V.10	V.10, 129r–131r	V.10
Utrum relatio sit ens extra animam distinctum a suo fundamento.	V.4	V.11	V.11, 131v–134v	V.11
Utrum definitio continui sit bene data qua dicitur «continuum est cuius motus secundum se est unus et indivisibilis et impossibile est aliter esse».	V.5			
Utrum accidens cum subiecto faciat unum.	V.6			
Utrum inter duo extrema poterit esse una relatio numero.	V.9			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic1=Nic2=B for 6 qq., but in different sequence. Nic2=B for 11qq, = sequence. Nic1 add qq. 5, 6 and 9, not contained in Nic2 and B. The qq. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 of Nic2 and B are not contained in Nic1.				
Liber VI ²⁷				
Utrum solius metaphysice sit considerare quid est.	VI.8 ²⁸	VI.1	VI.1, 135v–136v	VI.1
Utrum philosophia theoricam bene dividatur in physicam, mathematicam et metaphysicam.	VI.7 ²⁹	VI.2	VI.2, 137r–139v	VI.2

²⁵ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum statue factor sit per se causa statue et Policletus sit causa per accidens ponendo quod Policletus sit statue factor.

²⁶ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum unum bene dividatur in unum genere, unum specie, unum numero et unum analogia.

²⁷ Attention should be given to the fact that Nic1 includes as first question the same title as in B, book VIII.5: Utrum celum habeat materiam.

²⁸ The formulation in Nic1 is strongly divergent: Utrum sola metaphysica sit rerum quidditatum considerativa.

²⁹ The formulation in Nic1 is strongly divergent: Utrum tantum tres sint scientie speculative, scilicet metaphysica, mathematica et physica sive naturalis philosophia.

Utrum de ente per accidens sit scientia.	VI.5 ³⁰	VI.3	VI.3, 140r–141r	VI.3
Utrum omne futurum de necessitate eveniat.	VI.9	VI.4	VI.4, 141v–144v	VI.4
Utrum verum et falsum sint circa compositionem et divisionem in mente.	VI.2 ³¹	VI.5	VI.5, 141v–146v	VI.5
Utrum ad veritatem affirmative requiratur compositio in re significata vel rebus significatis et ad ad veritatem negative divisio in re significata vel rebus significatis requiratur.	VI.3 ³²	VI.6	VI.6, 147r–149v	VI.6
Utrum ex eo quod res est vel (post vel: vel scr. et del. B) non est propositio sit vera vel falsa.		VI.7	VI.7, 149v–152r	VI.7
Utrum verum et ens per accidens a consideratione metaphisice. sint pretermittenda.		VI.8	VI.8, 152v–154r	
Utrum una propositio possit dicere verior alia.	VI.4			
Utrum ens per accidens habeat causam per se et determinatam.	VI.6			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B throughout. Nic1 shows strong divergences: (a) 2 qq. (7 and 8) of Nic2=B are not contained; (b) 2 qq. (4 and 6) are added; (c) different formulation of many questions; (d) q.1 in Nic1 is contained in Nic2=B as q. VIII.5.				
Liber VII ³³				
Utrum substantia sit prior accidente ratione notitia et tempore.	VII.1 ³⁴	VII.1	VII.1, 154v–156v	VII.1
Utrum forma sit prior et magis ens materia et composito.	VII.2 ³⁵	VII.2	VII.2, 156v–158v	VII.2
Utrum in dictis secundum accidens sit idem «ipsum» et «esse ipsum» sicut in dictis secundum se.	VII.3 ³⁶	VII.3	VII.3, 159r–161v	VII.3
Utrum accidentis aliqua sit diffinitio.	VII.4	VII.4	VII.4, 162r–165r	VII.4
Utrum accidentia debeant diffiniri per sua subiecta.	VII.5	VII.5	VII.5, 165v–167v	VII.5
Utrum in generatione <forme: <i>add.</i> B List> substantiali materia, forma vel totum compositum generetur sive fiat.	VII.6	VII.6	VII.6, 167v–169v	VII.6
Utrum propter generationem substantiarum sensibilium necesse sit ponere substantias separatas.	VII.8	VII.7	VII.7, 169v–171v	VII.7

³⁰ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum de ente per accidens possit esse scientia.

³¹ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum verum et falsum sint circa compositionem et divisionem in anima.

³² If this question corresponds to a question in Nic1, then to this: Utrum ad veritatem propositionis affirmative requiratur et sufficiat ita esse in re sicut per ipsam significatur.

³³ Nic1 adds a question (VII.11): utrum genera et species et differentiae significant formam vel totum compositum which seems to correspond to VIII.1 in Nic2=B.

³⁴ Slightly different formulation in Nic1: Utrum substantia sit prior accidente definitione, notitia et tempore.

³⁵ Ed. Bakker, Paul J. J. M., «Nicholas of Amsterdam on Accidental Being...», art. cit., pp. 173-180.

³⁶ In Nic1 the formulation is lacking the important addition «sicut in dictis secundum se».

Utrum omne quod fit, fiat a sibi simili.	VII.7	VII.8	VII.8, 171v–172v	VII.8
Utrum in diffinitione totius debeant poni partes.	VII.9 ³⁷	VII.9	VII.9, 173r–175r	VII.9
Utrum in substantiis materialibus forma sit tota quidditas.	VII.10	VII.10	VII.10, 175v–177v	VII.10
Utrum universalia realia sint ponenda.	VII.12 ³⁸	VII.11	VII.11, 177v–180v	VII.11
Utrum singularia sint diffinibilia.	VII.14 ³⁹	VII.12	VII.12, 181r–183v	VII.12
Utrum in simplicibus sit questio quid est.	VII.16	VII.13	V I I . 1 3 , 183v–185r	VII.13
Utrum species contrahantur ad individua per differentias essentielles.	VII.13			
Utrum de re non sensata possit haberi conceptus singularis.	VII.15			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B throughout. Nic1 adds 2 qq. at the end (13 and 15) and presents some different formulations. Q. 11 corresponds to q. VIII.1 in Nic2=B.				
Liber VIII				
Utrum genera et species differentie significant compositum vel formam.	VII.11	VIII.1	VIII.1, 185v–187v	VIII.1
Utrum entium universi perfectio specifica sit more numerorum ymaginanda.	VIII.1 ⁴⁰	VIII.2	VIII.2, 187v–192v	VIII.2
Utrum secundum pluralitatem predicatorum perfectionalium rebus maior perfectio sit attribuenda.	VIII.2	VIII.3	VIII.3, 193r–196r	VIII.3
Utrum forma alterius speciei cum composito eiusdem sit perfectionis cum eo.	VIII.3 ⁴¹	VIII.4	VIII.4, 196r–197v	VIII.4
Utrum celum habeat materiam.	VI.1	VIII.5	VIII.5, 198r–200v	VIII.5
Utrum accidens sit compositum ex realiter differentibus	VIII.4			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B throughout. Nic1 adds a q. (4) at the end. Nic1 seems to be a more chaotic redaction: (a) it includes 2 qq. (VII.11 and VI.1) that are apparently out of place, and (b) the added question is as well thematically connected (it seems to belong to book VII).				
Liber IX				
Utrum idem agere possit in se ipsum.	IX.1 ⁴²	IX.1	IX.1, 201r–203r	IX.1
Utrum actus et potentia sint diverse et opposite res.	IX.2 ⁴³	IX.2	IX.2, 203v–206v	IX.2

³⁷ The formulation in Nic1 contains «partes materiales».

³⁸ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum sint ponenda aliqua universalia realia a singularibus secundum esse distincta. Ed. Wöhler, “Nicolaus de Amsterdam Quaestiones...», art. cit., pp. 225-231.

³⁹ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum termini singulares sint definibiles.

⁴⁰ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum rerum ordinis universi perfectio specifica sit more numerorum ymaginanda.

⁴¹ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum forma sit eiusdem speciei cum composito.

⁴² Formulation in Nic1: Utrum idem agat in se ipsum et patiatu a se ipso.

⁴³ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum actus et potentia opponantur.

Utrum differentia per Philosophum assignata inter potentias rationales et irrationales sit bene data.	IX.4	IX.3	IX.3, 206v–209v	IX.3
Utrum actus sit prior potentia ratione substantia et tempore	IX.6 ⁴⁴	IX.4	IX.4, 210r–213v	IX.4
Utrum potentia irrationalis sit causa oppositorum	IX.3			
Utrum actus sit prior potentia	IX.5			
Utrum esse intelligibile competat rei secundum quod est in actu.	IX.7			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B throughout. Nic1 adds 3 qq. (3, 5, 7). The sequence is in comparison to Nic2=B strongly altered.				
Liber X				
Utrum omne mensurabile mensuretur uno.	X.1	X.1	X.1, 214r–216r	X.1
Utrum diffinitio contrarietatis sit bene data qua dicitur in hoc decimo contrarietas est perfecta differentia maxima.	X.2 ⁴⁵	X.2	X.2, 216r–217v	X.2
Utrum contingat plura uni esse contraria.	X.3 ⁴⁶	X.3	X.3, 218r–219r	
Utrum prima contrarietas sit habitus et privatio.	X.4	X.4	X.4, 219r–221r	X.3
Utrum omnia media contrariorum componantur ex contrariis.	X.5 ⁴⁷	X.5	X.5, 221r–223r	X.4
Utrum corruptibile et incorruptibile sint diversa genera.	X.6	X.6	X.6, 223r–225v	X.5
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B throughout. Nic1 presents some different formulations.				
Liber XII				
Utrum diversitas effectuum proveniat ex diversitate materiarum et efficientium.	XII.1	XII.1	XII.1, 226r–228r	XII.1
Utrum eadem sint principia et elementa substantiarum et accidentium.	XII.2	XII.2	XII.2, 228v–231r	XII.2
Utrum primus motor sit actus vel potentia.	XII.3	XII.3	XII.3, 231r–233r	XII.3
Utrum una intelligentia vel mobile moveat tanquam causa efficiens et finalis.	XII.5	XII.4	XII.4, 233r–236r	XII.4
Utrum intentio Aristotelis sui que Commentatoris fuit quod primus motor moveat primum mobile efficienter et non solum in genere causa finalis.	XII.6	XII.5	XII.5, 236r–240r	XII.5
Utrum celum secundum substantiam eius dependeat a primo motore tanquam a causa efficiente.	XII.7	XII.6	XII.6, 240r–242v	XII.6
Utrum Deus sit delectatio et vita.	XII.8	XII.7	XII.7, 243r–244r	XII.7
Utrum primus motor sive Deus sit omnino simplex.	XII.4	XII.8	XII.8, 244v–247r	XII.8
Utrum tot sunt intelligentie quot sunt motus corporum celestium.	XII.9 ⁴⁸	XII.9	XII.9, 247r–250v	XII.9

⁴⁴ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum actus sit prior potentia tempore et ubstantia, id est perfectione.

⁴⁵ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum definitio contrarioum sit bene posita qua dicitur «contrarietas est eorum quae sunt sub eodem genere maxima differentia vel perfeta differentia».

⁴⁶ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum tantum unum uni sit contrarium.

⁴⁷ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum omnia media componantur realiter ex extremis contrariis.

⁴⁸ Formulation in Nic1: Utrum numerus intelligentiarum sit adaequatus numero motuum caelestium.

Utrum ad salvandum apparentiam in motibus celestium corporum sint ponendi orbis eccentrici et episcirculi sperici. ⁴⁹		X.10	XII.10, 251r–253r	XII.10
Utrum secundum ordinem orbium celestium in situ sumendum sit ordo ipsorum suorunque astrorum et intelligentiarum eis appropriatarum in perfectione.	XII.10	XII.11	XII.11, 253v–255r	XII.11
Utrum Deus intelligat se et alia a se.	XII.11	XII.12	XII.12, 255v–257v	XII.12
Utrum in universo sit tantum unum princeps.	XII.13	XII.13	XII.13, 258r–259v	XII.13
Utrum in lumine naturali notum sit Deum esse	XII.12			
<i>Remarks:</i> Nic2=B throughout. Nic1 shows a high degree of coincidence with Nic2=B. It differs by (a) changing the sequence of some questions (4 « 8), (b) by lacking q. 10 of Nic2=B, and (c) by adding a last q. 12 that is not contained in Nic2=B.				

V. Concluding Remarks

It is still too an early state of research on these texts to draw any definitive conclusion. More texts must be compared, more critical editions of at least some selected questions of both redactions must be prepared, and the different sources and contexts must be explored still more precisely. Nevertheless, some provisional remarks and some – perhaps not extremely cautious – questions could be of use for future research.

1) It is evident that there is a close connection between the text conveyed in the Basel manuscript B and the redaction Nic2, attributed to Nicholas of Amsterdam. It is true that B adds a question II.6, and there are some changes of order in the respective sequences, but all in all the similarities are striking. In the context of my research project on the tradition of *De perfectione specierum*, (including an edition of the fundamental text by Jacobus de Napoli⁵⁰), I have prepared a critical edition of the question *Utrum entium universi perfectio specifica sit more numerorum ymaginanda* (VIII.1 in Nic1, and VIII.2 in Nic2 and B) and can confirm that the texts of M², S and B are the same (besides, of course, the critical variants). The text conveyed in Nic1 runs, of course, parallel in many passages, but it represents, in fact, another redaction.

2) How should the relationship between Nic2 and B be established? We cannot ignore the fact that B states an unambiguous attribution to John of Wesalia. Cases of wrong attributions are not rare in the medieval text tradition;

⁴⁹ I read «episcirculi» in B. Nic2 contains «epiciculi» in M2 and «epiculi» in S (Pluta, «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit., p. 249).

⁵⁰ DFG, Project N° LI 2648/2–1, see also Di Liscia, D., «Perfections and Latitudes. ...», forthcoming.

this case could also be one. The attribution statement is probably a later addition, but this fact does not immediately mean that it is wrong (and thus it is understandable that the text was included in Lohr's list under the name of John of Wesalia). There is one more fact to be mentioned in this context: none of the two further manuscripts that conveys Nic2 includes any trustworthy attribution. Modern catalogues have indeed attributed this text to Nicholas of Amsterdam, but, as a matter of fact, neither M² nor S include any attribution⁵¹.

3) Thus, taken only Nic2 and B into consideration, one could, with good reasons, assert that there is no such Nic2 redaction. Instead, one could affirm that this is, simply, the *quaestiones* commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (also called *Exertitium Metaphysicum/Metaphysice*) written by master Johannes Rucherat of Wesalia, of which we knew before only one manuscript (B) and we now know of two more (M² and S, i.e. Nic2).

4) The previous conclusion is, however, unacceptable. For, as Pluta has already shown Nic2 runs in general parallel to Nic1 and the attribution of Nic1 to Nicholas of Amsterdam is – for many reasons that I cannot describe here – out of discussion⁵². Yet, I am not trying to say that this redaction is the first, not even the better one (in fact, I find that the order of the questions and the formulation in Nic1 is by no means superior to those of Nic2).

5) Thus, looking at the table of comparison, we find two «extreme» possibilities: a) Nic1 and B with assumable attributions respectively to Nicholas of Amsterdam and John of Wesalia. b) Somewhere in the midst of both is Nic2, without any attribution.

The easiest way to solve this puzzle of questions, redactions, formulations, sequences, and attributions is simply to target the weakest member: manuscript B was wrongly attributed to John Rucherat. The added question in B is only an added question, as it is not unusual for scholastics commentaries. Consequently, Nic2 is not made of two manuscripts of Wesalia's commentary; rather, B is a not particularly good copy of Nic2 including this one attribution. This could be the case. It is even likely that this is the right solution. After all, neither Nic2 nor B convey questions to book XI and we know that this book

⁵¹ M² comes from Erfurt (end of the fifteenth century). The manuscript itself does not contain any mention to Nicholas of Amsterdam. The attribution was included in the catalogue following Pinborg («Die Aristoteles–Quaestiones...», art. cit.) and Lohr («Medieval Latin ... Narcissus – Richardus», art. cit.). See Glauche, Günter, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Clm 28255 – 28460*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 83). The same happens with S, in which the catalogue's attribution can neither be verified (see <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/csg/0840/Lohr>).

⁵² Pluta «Nicholas of Amsterdam...», art. cit.

was not commented in Rostock, where Nic1 should have emerged⁵³.

Nevertheless, to end these concluding remarks with a general question that I shall let open to further investigations, I would like to ask whether we have here a more complex constellation than our usual characterization by «texts», «author X», «incipit/desinit», and *tabula questionum* is able to grasp. A good part of the fifteenth-century Aristotelian «text tradition» is built upon texts that were fundamentally composed two or three generations before. Nicholas and Johannes' time is a time of «*questiones accurtate*» and abbreviations for students. The questions in Nic1 are clearly attributed to the master Nicholas of Amsterdam, but perhaps there was a more complex text dynamic at work at fifteenth-century universities. Johannes of Wesalia, the something younger Erfurt scholar, could have known and used Nicholas' text to compose his own commentary that, perhaps, in itself and by its own purpose was not thought to be that different.

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⁵³ Pluta 2013: 242.

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