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THE DISCOVERY OF A NEW WITNESS TO WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE'S TRANSLATION OF ARISTOTLE'S *DE ANIMALIBUS* IN VERCELLI, MUSEO LEONE

Abstract

A hitherto neglected manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca del Museo Camillo Leone (Vercelli) contains William of Moerbeke's translations of *De animalibus*, i.e., the Latin collection of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium* and *De generatione animalium*. Two colophons deserve particular attention. The first records the completion of the *Historia animalium* on 21 November 1260, a date previously unknown; the second confirms the already attested completion date of *De partibus animalium* (23 December 1260). This discovery prompted a closer examination of the manuscript, focusing on the text of the *Historia animalium*. The results suggest not only that the newly attested date deserves to be taken into account in reconstructing the chronology of Moerbeke's translation, but also that the manuscript preserves an exceptionally valuable textual witness for the final chapters of Book X. The manuscript thus provides new evidence both for the chronology of Moerbeke's translation and for the textual reconstruction of its concluding section.

Keywords

William of Moerbeke, Aristotle *De animalibus*, *Historia animalium* X, *Aristoteles Latinus*, Museo Leone (Vercelli)

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Introduction

MS Vercelli, Biblioteca del Museo Camillo Leone, F5 (henceforth: Vc), preserving William of Moerbeke's (d. before 26 October 1286) translations of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, and *De generatione animalium*, has never been examined as a textual witness to these translations. The present article offers the first study that considers together the textual evidence preserved by the manuscript and the two dated colophons accompanying the translations.¹

On f. 121rb there is a colophon to the text of *De partibus animalium* that mentions 23 December 1260 as the date of completion of the translation, together with the geographical indication "Thebis", two elements previously known only from one witness of the translation: MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Leopold. Med. Fesul. 168.² Even more remarkable is that, on f. 89ra, the colophon to the translation of the *Historia animalium* dates the completion of the work to 21 November 1260.³ Since this colophon, and the date reported in it, are absent in all other known witnesses of the translation, we were prompted to examine the codex – and, in particular, the part of it containing the translation of the *Historia animalium*.

¹ The colophons have been recently signaled the one by Gavinelli (2007) pp. 609-10, the other by Rossi (2025) p. 57. Nonetheless, their relevance for reconstructing the chronology of Moerbeke's translations has not yet been recognized. We are grateful to Riccardo Rossi (Museo Leone, Vercelli) and Elvira Di Marino (Università del Piemonte Orientale) for bringing this manuscript to our attention and inviting us to explore its significance.

² Vc, f. 121rb: "Explicit completa anno domini MCCLX decimo kalendas ianuarii. Thebis". Compare the colophon to the translation in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Leopold. Med. Fesul. 168, f. 65v: "Explicit completa anno Domini 1260 X^o kalendas Januarii Thebis. De Partibus Animalium liber explicit" (quoted from Rossi 1989, pp. 222-3; on the interpretation of this colophon, see *ibid.*, p. 223 n. 8; Bossier 1989, p. 289 n. 29, and Vanhamel 1989, pp. 332-3). The same date is also mentioned in the colophon to Moerbeke's translation of *De generatione animalium* in MS Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut. S.VII.3, f. 166v: "Explicit liber de animalibus Aristotelis, cuius greca [?] translacio completa est anno gracie 1260. decima kalendas. januarij. tebis" (quoted from Drossaart Lulofs 1966, p. XXII). However, given that, as remarked by Drossaart Lulofs, only the words "Explicit liber de animalibus" have been written by the copyist, this colophon has been disregarded in the debate concerning the dating of Moerbeke's translations of Aristotle's zoological treatises. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. XXII-XXIII.

³ Vc, f. 89ra: "Explicit completa anno domini MCCLX XI kalendas decembris".

Our examination suggests that the importance of the manuscript is not confined to the dating of Moerbeke's translation. As we shall point out, the manuscript is likely to preserve the best available text for the treatise *De sterilitate*, i.e., *Historia animalium*, Book X, 5-7.

The article is structured as follows. In the following section, we briefly present some codicological and paleographical features of Vc. Next, we review the conclusions reached by the editors of Moerbeke's translation of the *Historia animalium* concerning the manuscript tradition of the work, and we discuss some aspects of the relationship of Vc to this tradition. These aspects show that Vc holds particular value for the reconstruction of the transmission of Moerbeke's translation. Afterwards, we present a selection of the textual evidence we have gathered so far to support this conclusion. Then, based on these considerations, we conclude by discussing the potential implications of the discovery of Vc both for the dating of Moerbeke's translation of the *Historia animalium* and for the constitution of the text itself.

1. The Manuscript

Vc is a parchment manuscript (mm 243x170) with an early 20th-century binding containing 162 folios, presumably dating to the very late 13th century or to the 14th century, written in two columns in *littera textualis* by what appears to be a single hand. The manuscript contains William of Moerbeke's translation of the three main Aristotelian zoological treatises, which circulated in the Middle Ages under the title *De animalibus*:⁴ *Historia animalium* (ff. 3ra-89ra), *De partibus animalium* (ff. 89rb-121rb), and *De generatione animalium* (ff. 121va-161rb), interspersed with mostly limited marginal and interlinear glosses, some of them by the same hand that copied the text and in the same ink.⁵

⁴ Note that the title "De animalibus" is used explicitly in the manuscript, on f. 3r ("Liber I de animalibus Aristotelis"), and that the books of the three zoological treatises are numbered continuously. At the same time, the title "de ystoriis" has been written in the upper right corner of the recto of each folio, from f. 6r to f. 88r.

⁵ For more codicological and paleographical information, see the full catalogue record of the manuscript by Rossi (2022) available at the following link: <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000311376>. However, note that, in the record, the two chronolog-

2. *The Tradition of Moerbeke's Translation of the Historia animalium and Some Remarks on Vc's Relationship to It*

For the purposes of this article, we have focused only on the text of the *Historia animalium* contained in ff. 3ra-89ra of the manuscript, leaving aside the folios containing *De partibus animalium* and *De generatione animalium*.

Regarding the text in Vc, it is necessary, first of all, to consider the conclusions reached by the editors of Moerbeke's translation of the *Historia animalium* for the *Aristoteles Latinus*, Pieter Beullens and Fernand Bossier, concerning the manuscript tradition of the treatise.⁶

In addition to Vc, there are 38 known witnesses of Moerbeke's translation of the *Historia animalium*, to which should be added five more containing fragments of the text. According to the editors, the manuscript tradition of Moerbeke's translation is divided into two branches. One branch consists solely of MS Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 47.10 (henceforth: Tz, following the sigla adopted by the editors),⁷ whereas all the other 37 witnesses considered by the editors make up the second branch. Both branches appear to stem from an archetype that was not William of Moerbeke's autograph: Tz directly from the archetype and the other witnesses through the mediation of a sub-archetype that the editors call 'a' (henceforth, in what follows we refer to this branch of the tradition as the 'a-tradition'). While the transmission of the translation of Book X of the *Historia animalium* has some peculiarities that distinguish it from the transmission of the translation of the first nine books, it is safe to say that the same considerations apply to the manuscript tradition of the translation of Book X as well.

As the editors clearly demonstrated, on most occasions Tz contains a text that is superior to that of the other branch of the tradition. Apart from frequently preserving better and more accurate renderings of the Greek, Tz also

ical indications of 21 November 1260 and 23 December 1260 are treated as dates of completion of the copies themselves, not of the works being copied. The record also includes and discusses all the known information concerning the provenance of the manuscript.

⁶ Cf. Beullens and Bossier (2000) pp. XXV-LXII, and Beullens and Bossier (2020), pp. XXVI-XXXIV. See also the important remarks in Rossi (2004) pp. 598-608.

⁷ We have not been able to examine the manuscript directly; therefore, all our information on the text of the *Historia animalium* in Tz is taken from Beullens and Bossier (2000) and Beullens and Bossier (2020).

includes, to a significantly greater extent than the witnesses belonging to the other branch of the tradition, several features that appear to derive from the autograph. These elements have made Tz the fundamental point of reference for the editors in the constitution of the text of Moerbeke's translation.

Our examination suggests that Vc does not belong to the a-tradition, giving it special relevance as a textual witness of the translation, especially for the *Historia animalium* X, 5-7, which is missing in Tz.⁸ A selection of the evidence we have gathered so far is presented in the next section. A common overall feature that Vc shares with Tz deserves particular attention. Like Tz, Vc carefully preserves numerous blank spaces corresponding to Greek words for which no Latin equivalent was supplied in the translation. These spaces are transmitted with remarkable consistency and appear to reflect a characteristic feature of Moerbeke's working method: he used to leave a blank space in the autograph indicating Greek word(s) that he was unsure how to translate, writing the corresponding Greek word(s) in the margin.⁹ By contrast, the a-tradition does not transmit these blank spaces.¹⁰

3. Textual Evidence

In order to assess the relationship between Vc and the a-tradition, in what follows we focus on some of the distinctive readings and additional features that have been used to distinguish Tz from the a-tradition in the "Introduction" to the two volumes of the *Aristoteles Latinus* edition of Moerbeke's translation of the *Historia animalium*.¹¹ As we shall show, significantly, in

⁸ Tz breaks off at 637a18. The last words of the text are: "organis adducunt aut".

⁹ On this feature of Moerbeke's working method, see now Beullens (2022) pp. 90-2. For the case of the *Historia animalium*, see Beullens and Bossier (2000) p. XII and pp. XXVIII-XXX, and Beullens and Bossier (2020) pp. XXX-XXXI.

¹⁰ As the editors remark: "The preservation of the lacunae in Tz thus proves its separate position and its high quality" (Beullens and Bossier 2000, p. XXX). And, again, with specific reference to the text of Book X: "The blank spaces in Tz where Greek text is clearly missing form supplementary evidence for its superior quality. The other manuscripts ignore the lacunae, even if the omissions completely distort the text to the point of leaving it incomprehensible" (Beullens and Bossier 2020, p. XXX). To the extent that Vc shares this feature of Tz, it seems legitimate to apply these considerations to it as well.

¹¹ Cf. Beullens and Bossier (2000) pp. XXV-XXXI, and Beullens and Bossier (2020) pp. XXIX-XXXII. For the Greek text of the *Historia animalium*, we have used the edition by

almost all of the cases we discuss, Vc has the same readings and preserves the same additional features as Tz. We focus first on Books I-IX, and then on Book X. Of course, the relationship between Vc and the a-tradition (and, *a fortiori*, that between Vc and Tz) requires further investigation.

3.1 Books I-IX

Regarding the text of Books I-IX of the *Historia animalium*, the hypothesis that Vc does not belong to the a-tradition is supported by the following evidence.

First and foremost, in a number of cases where Tz has a distinctive reading compared to the a-tradition (a reading that is also a more accurate rendering of the Greek), Vc has the same reading as Tz. They are the following ones:¹²

- At 488a34, corresponding to τὰ δ' ἄνωδα, Vc (f. 4rb) has the reading “hec autem non cantativa”,¹³ which is present in Tz and absent in the a-tradition.

- At 489a7, corresponding to γάρ, Vc (f. 4vb) has “enim”, which is also the reading adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “autem”.

- At 493b19, corresponding to σχεδόν, Vc (f. 7vb) has the reading “fere”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “sunt”.

- At 494b6, corresponding to κινητικώτερον, Vc (f. 8rb) has the reading “mobilior”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “mollior”.

- At 496a9, corresponding to πᾶσι, Vc (f. 9rb) has the reading “omnibus”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “omnium”.

- At 496b7, corresponding to μόνον, Vc (f. 9va) has the reading “solum”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “suum”.

- At 497b17, corresponding to ἀνοιχθείς, Vc (f. 10rb) has the reading “apertus”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “apertius”.

- At 501b33-502a1, corresponding to ἐξ ἐναντίας, Vc (f. 13ra) has the reading “ex opposito”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “expositos”.

Balme (2002). Concerning the debate on the authenticity of Book X, as well as for the relevant literature, see van der Eijk (1999).

¹² However, note that, as the editors remark, in some of the cases in the list that follows “the reading of Tz is also found in one or more of the other manuscripts in the form of a variant or a correction, [...]” (Beullens and Bossier 2000, p. XXVI n. 55).

¹³ The copyist first wrote “cantiativa” and then corrected it to “cantativa”.

- At 519b8, corresponding to ἀπίμελον, Vc (f. 23rb) has the reading “sine sagimine”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “sine sanguine”.
- At 531a2, corresponding to πάμπαν, Vc (f. 29vb) has the reading “omnino”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “omnia”.
- At 547a5, corresponding to Σίγειον, Vc (f. 38va) has the reading “Sigium”, which is also adopted by Tz, whereas the a-tradition has “Signum”.

In other cases where Tz has a reading different from – and superior to – that of the a-tradition, the reading of Vc is not the same as that of Tz. Even in these cases, however, the reading of Vc does not match the reading in the a-tradition. For instance, at 493a28, corresponding to συμφύεται, Tz has the reading “connascitur”, whereas the a-tradition has the reading “commiscetur”. In this case, Vc has the reading “cognoscitur” (f. 7va). Again, at 531a26, corresponding to μικρόν τι, Tz has the reading “modicum quid”, whereas the a-tradition has “medium quidem”. In this case, Vc has the reading “modicum quidem” (f. 29vb).

Secondly, Vc also presents, in the margins, some translations of terms that were initially only transliterated in the main text. These translations are omitted in the a-tradition, but are present in Tz. Consider the following two cases:

- One particularly significant case occurs at 506a17, where not only the translation, but also the transliteration in the main text are missing in the a-tradition, but are present in Tz. Indeed, Tz has the reading “egocephalus” (transliteration of ἀιγοκέφαλος), which is accompanied, in the margin, by the suggested translation “quasi caprini capitis”. In the same way, in Vc, on f. 15va, the text reads “egocephalus” and in the left margin is the suggested translation “quasi caprini capitis”.
- At 530a6, corresponding to “in strombis” (transliteration of ἐν τοῖς στρόμβοις), Vc has the marginal note “id est in tornatis” (f. 29rb), as does Tz; but this note is absent in the a-tradition.

Thirdly, Vc contains many explanatory marginal notes concerning the meaning of specific terms that, according to the editors, were also likely present in the autograph. Some of them – at least the following ones – are present in Tz but absent in the a-tradition:

- At 552a15: “agrostea est nympha montana” (Vc, f. 41va).
- At 553b20: “est pestilentia aeris respectu fructuum” (Vc, f. 42rb).

Fourthly, in a case where, in the a-tradition, “[t]he text has undergone accidental transpositions of one or more words that have altered it significantly”,¹⁴ Vc has the correct text, in which no transpositions have occurred (again, as in Tz). In particular, at 506a19, “*emis fryna*” is omitted from the enumeration and displaced after the first occurrence of *habent* (506a21) in all manuscripts except for Tz, thus rendering the text incomprehensible”.¹⁵ Vc, like Tz, has “emis fryna” in its correct place in the enumeration (f. 15vb).

Fifthly, Vc (again, just like Tz) preserves a more faithful rendering of the Greek text in several cases where, in the a-tradition, “some sentences have been completed or corrected”.¹⁶

- At 496b25, corresponding to ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, “in sacris” is changed into “in multis sacris” in the a-tradition but not in Tz. Vc, like Tz, has the reading “in sacris” (f. 9vb).

- At 512a17, “the correct singular genitive *pedis*, which modifies the untranslated τὸν τάρσον (blank in Tz, but omitted in the other manuscripts), is changed into the plural accusative *pedes*, probably to match the preceding *ad*”,¹⁷ in the a-tradition but not in Tz. Vc, like Tz, has the reading “pedis” (f. 19rb).

- At 544a9, in the a-tradition, unlike Tz, “to the translation *albe* for λεύκης (“white poplar”) that was misunderstood, the explicatory remark *vitis* is added”.¹⁸ Vc, like Tz, has the reading “albe”, without *vitis* (f. 37ra).

¹⁴ Beullens and Bossier (2000) p. XXX.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. XXXI.

Finally, but no less importantly, Vc preserves a significant number of blank spaces in the text of the translation. As already mentioned, these blank spaces are normally the result of a peculiar feature of Moerbeke's translation method. Tz, unlike the a-tradition, has a significant number of these blank spaces, sometimes accompanied by the indication "Gr" ("Grecus") in the margin referring to them. Although, in the case of the translation of the *Historia animalium*, there are a far higher number of such blank spaces in the text of Book X, some are also present in the first nine books. Many of these blank spaces are also present in Vc.¹⁹ Here are a few relevant instances of such blank spaces:

- At 491a2, καὶ γίνωφ καὶ ἴνωφ is left untranslated and, in Tz, these words correspond to a blank space in the main text. In this case, the a-tradition has an attempted transliteration of the Greek characters that Moerbeke had supposedly written in the margin corresponding to the blank space in the main text, resulting in the reading "et rippa et ippa".²⁰ By contrast, Vc (f. 6ra) has a blank space, precisely like Tz. Moreover, as in Tz, in this case, the indication "Gr" in the margin is absent.

- At 512a17, τὸν τὰρσόν is left untranslated and, in Tz, these words correspond to a blank space in the main text, accompanied, in the margin, by the indication "Gr". The same situation is found in Vc (f. 19rb): the words, left untranslated, correspond to a blank space accompanied by the indication "GR" (in capitals) in the margin. No blank space is present in the a-tradition, where, however, as mentioned above, the genitive singular *pedis* that immediately follows the untranslated words has been changed into the accusative plural *pedes* in agreement with the preposition *ad* that

¹⁹ The significantly higher number of Greek terms left untranslated in Book X compared to the previous books seems to have been explicitly noted by the copyist of Vc. A note in the lower margin of f. 85vb, which refers to the incipit of Book X, and which appears to be not only by the same hand that copied the text but also in the same ink, reads as follows: "Iste decimus tractatus non est correctus multum habens de greco". After these words, a different hand has added: "tamen sic repertus est in aliis libris".

²⁰ The only exception is MS Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 44 ('Js' in the apparatus of the edition) where, instead, in the margin, there is the variant reading "al(ias) et gino et ynno", which the editors explain by suggesting that the copyist of this manuscript was able to consult an antigraph that preserved features not present in the archetype of the tradition of Moerbeke's translation (identified as 'x' in the *stemma codicum*). Cf. Beullens and Bossier (2000) pp. LVII-LXII.

immediately precedes the untranslated words. As mentioned, the genitive *pedis* is retained in both Tz and Vc.

- At 539b22, *πυγηδόν* is left untranslated and, in Tz, these words correspond to a blank space in the main text, accompanied, in the margin, by the indication “Gr”. The same blank space is found in Vc (f. 34va), but “Gr” does not appear in the margin. The blank space is absent in the a-tradition.

- At 550b4, *κύτος* is left untranslated and, in Tz, the word corresponds to a blank space in the main text, whereas the a-tradition has a transliteration of the Greek characters, “kyrot”. Vc (f. 40va), like Tz, has a blank space, and, again like Tz, “Gr” does not appear in the margin.

- At 559a9-10, after *εἰς τὰ στελέχη*, translated as “in stipites”, Tz inserts a blank space, which is also found in Vc (f. 44vb), with “GR” in the margin (which, in this case, is not found in Tz). The blank space is absent in the a-tradition.

All the blank spaces in the text of the first nine books of the *Historia animalium* in Vc also appear in Tz. And, based on our first examination, the situation seems to be largely similar for Book X as well.

3.2 Book X

The same situation is confirmed regarding Book X. In 14 out of the 15 cases pointed out by the editors where, in the first chapter of the book, Tz has a distinctive (and better) reading compared to the a-tradition, Vc has the same reading as Tz:²¹

- At 633b13, corresponding to *μέν*, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “quidem” (f. 85vb), which is omitted in the a-tradition.

- At 633b24, corresponding to *ἀπεργαζομένη*, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “operans” (f. 85vb), whereas the a-tradition has “operetur”.

- At 633b29, corresponding to *εἰ φύματι ὄν*, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “si pustula” (a translation of *εἰ φύματιον*) (f. 85vb), which is omitted by the a-tradition.

²¹ Note, however, that the editors in this case added the caveat that “minor or individual variants [within the a-tradition] are not considered” (Beullens and Bossier 2020, p. XXX n. 44). The only case in which one such variant is mentioned in the apparatus has been pointed out below, in n. 23.

- At 634a2, corresponding to ἐν ἄλλῳ, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “in alio” (f. 85vb), which is omitted by the a-tradition.
- At 634a10, corresponding to καὶ, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “et” (f. 86ra), which is omitted by the a-tradition.
- At 634a13-14, corresponding to ὑγιαίνοντος, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “sano” (f. 86ra), whereas the a-tradition has “sanato”.
- At 634a22, corresponding to the first καὶ, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “et” (f. 86ra), which is omitted by the a-tradition.
- At 634a32, corresponding to ταῖς [...] πλείσταις, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “plurimis” (f. 86ra), whereas the a-tradition has “pluribus”.
- At 634a34, corresponding to δεόνται, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “indigent” (f. 86ra), whereas the a-tradition has “indigere”.
- At 634b1, corresponding to προσεξαμαρτάνη, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “adpeccet” (f. 86rb), whereas the a-tradition has “appetant”.²²
- At 634b1, corresponding to αὐτῇ, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “ipsi” (a translation of αὐτῇ) (f. 86rb), which is omitted by the a-tradition.
- At 634b3, corresponding to δὲ, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “autem” (f. 86rb), which is omitted by the a-tradition.²³
- At 634b4, corresponding to δεῖ, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “oportet” (f. 86rb), whereas the a-tradition has “operiri”.
- Finally, at 634b6, corresponding to ποιῶσιν, Vc, like Tz, has the reading “faciant” (f. 86rb), whereas the a-tradition has “faciunt”.

²² Nevertheless, the reading “appetant” has been added by another hand in a marginal note referring to “adpeccet”, that reads “al. appetant” (Vc, f. 86rb). This is not an isolated case: similar marginal notes, quite likely by the same hand, appear at other places of Book X as well. For instance, a note at 634b4, referring to “consequi” (which translates ἀκολουθεῖν), reads “al. obsequi” (Vc, f. 86rb). In this case, however, “consequi” is the reading adopted in both branches of the tradition. A case closer to that of 634b1 is, instead, found at 635a1-3. Here, Tz has a line of the translation that is missing from the a-tradition: while Tz reads “propter predictam causam, quantum attrahere non utique poterunt sperma. Si quidem igitur fortiter natura sic habeant ab infirmitate, incurabilis passio”, the reading adopted in the a-tradition omits all the words between “causam” and “habeant”. Vc, like Tz, has the full line. Nonetheless, a marginal note referring to this passage, apparently by the same hand that added the other two notes just mentioned, reads: “al. post predictam sic habeant aut ab infirmitate incurabilis passio” (Vc, f. 86va), thus omitting the same words that are missing from the reading preserved in the a-tradition.

²³ Save for MS Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA, Fol. 28 (‘Dn’ in the apparatus of the edition), which has the reading “quidem”.

A case that deserves a separate discussion is 634a30-31. The a-tradition, unlike Tz, omits a line due to homoioteleuton. The line, as it reads in Tz, is “notari habentis ut non oportet, sanis autem alba procedunt”. The Greek text at this point reads: ἐπισημαίνειν ἐχούσης ὥς οὐ δεῖ. ταῖς δ’ ὑγιαίνουσας τὰ λευκὰ καὶ σεσημμένα προέρχεται. In Tz, καὶ σεσημμένα is not translated, and a blank space is left in the manuscript for these words. Vc, like Tz, preserves the translation of this passage (without “autem”); however, in Vc καὶ σεσημμένα has been translated, and the full passage reads: “notari habentis ut non oportet, sanis alba et putrefacta procedunt” (Vc, f. 86ra). Remarkably, at this point of the text, Vc seems to preserve a reading superior to that of Tz.

Other important cases to consider are those in which both the reading of Tz and that in the a-tradition could have been variants present in the autograph as alternative translations of the same word. The editors mention two such cases. In both, again, Vc has the same reading as Tz against that in the a-tradition:

- At 633b20, οἶον is rendered as “veluti” in Tz and as “puta” in the a-tradition. Vc has “veluti” (f. 85vb), just like Tz.

- At 635b22, τὰ λαμπρότερα is rendered as “fulgentiora” in Tz and as “fulgidiora” in the a-tradition. Vc has “fulgentiora” (f. 87ra), just like Tz.

A final significant case is καθίστασθαι at 634a40. Here Tz preserves two variants for the translation of this verb, “consistit desistit”. By contrast, the a-tradition features the conjunction “et” between the two verbs, so that the reading of this passage is “consistit et desistit”. Even in this case Vc has the same reading as Tz, “consistit desistit” (f. 86rb), with a graphic sign between the two verbs.

4. The Wider Implications of the Discovery of Vc

The wider implications of the discovery of Vc, especially if its independence from the a-tradition were confirmed, are numerous.

First of all, given that the colophon of the *Historia animalium* contained in Vc was already evidently in the antigraph, such a colophon pre-

serves information transmitted from an earlier stage of the manuscript tradition. The question therefore is how far back in the tradition it may ultimately go. In this respect, it is striking that the colophon of *De partibus animalium* contained in Vc confirms a date already accepted by scholarship, whereas the one of the *Historia animalium* preserves a previously unknown date. The combination suggests that both deserve to be examined together rather than in isolation.

The date of 21 November 1260 differs from the chronology usually assigned to the translation of the *Historia animalium*, generally dated, mostly on stylometric grounds, to around 1262-1263 (perhaps slightly earlier for Book X).²⁴ If the chronological indication found in Vc ultimately reflects the date of completion of the translation itself, the accepted chronology requires revision.²⁵

The consequences extend beyond the history of Moerbeke's translations. Also affected is the dating of two works by Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274), namely, the *Summa contra Gentiles* and the *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*. Indeed, Aquinas' use of Moerbeke's translation of the *Historia animalium* in these works (which are the earliest known quotations of this translation) has played a role in the discussion of their dating. The new evidence provided by Vc invites a reassessment of at least one of the chronological assumptions underlying that discussion.²⁶

Perhaps the most suggestive implication concerns Moerbeke's working method. Considering the short interval between the dates of completion of the two translations reported in Vc (a mere 32 days), if both dates were to be accepted, it would not be far-fetched to hypothesize that Moerbeke, at

²⁴ See especially Bossier (1989) pp. 290-1: "Il nous paraît probable qu'à peu près à la même époque (1262-63) Guillaume avait aussi le *De hist. an.* sur le métier, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'occupait alors de la traduction tout entière, ayant traduit probablement le livre X déjà un peu auparavant. Il ne nous paraît pas assuré qu'il a traduit les livres I-IX d'un seul élan et dans l'ordre qu'ils occupent dans les mss grecs". See also Beullens and Bossier (2000) p. XVI.

²⁵ Incidentally, the date in the colophon of the *Historia animalium* in Vc also provides an argument against the hypothesis that the date in the colophon of *De partibus animalium* in MS Fesul. 168 refers not only to the translation of *De partibus animalium* itself, but instead to that of the entire zoological corpus. On this debate, and for the relevant literature, see Vanhamel (1989) pp. 332-3.

²⁶ For a synthesis of the debate, as well as for the relevant literature, see Beullens and Bossier (2000) pp. XVI-XVII.

least for a certain period, worked at the same time on the translation of both *Historia animalium* and *De partibus animalium*.²⁷

Finally, the manuscript has implications for the textual history of the *Historia animalium*. Since Tz breaks off before the concluding gynaecological chapters of Book X, Vc (in which the text of Book X is complete) warrants particular attention for the final section of the treatise, Book X, 5-7, as it might represent the only known witness of that section not belonging to the a-tradition.

It is in these final chapters – as in Book X more generally – that one of the most distinctive features of Moerbeke’s translation becomes especially conspicuous: the frequent blank spaces left for Greek terms that remained untranslated. As already mentioned multiple times, while the a-tradition eliminates these spaces, Vc preserves this feature in a form that, for the part of Book X present in both witnesses, makes a detailed comparison with Tz particularly valuable. Such a comparison, extending also to the size of the blank spaces, may offer a new criterion for assessing the proximity of both witnesses to Moerbeke’s original translation, where such blank spaces must have been originally left.

Conclusion

Much remains to be investigated concerning Vc and, especially, the text of Moerbeke’s translation of the *Historia animalium* contained in it. The place of this witness in the manuscript tradition of the translation, the nature of its marginal and interlinear glosses, and its unique colophon all require further study. Yet even our preliminary account in this article shows that a witness long overlooked has the potential to reopen questions that have appeared settled for decades. To facilitate further research, the complete photographic reproduction of the text of Moerbeke’s translation of Book X of the *Historia animalium* in Vc (ff. 85vb-89ra) is provided in the plates at the end of this article.

²⁷ That Moerbeke may have worked at the same time on multiple translations, even as a general practice, has been explicitly considered by Bossier, who thought that it was “not impossible”. See Bossier (1989) p. 293: “[...] si Guillaume était coutumier d’interrompre les traductions qu’il avait sur le métier, ou s’occupait d’ordinaire de plusieurs traductions en même temps – ce qui ne nous paraît pas impossible –, [...]”.

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Photographic Plates

The plates reproduce the text of *Historia animalium*, Book X, as transmitted in MS Vercelli, Museo Leone, F5, ff. 85v-89r. The images, published by kind permission of the Museo Leone, Vercelli, are presented in their original sequence and correspond to the manuscript foliation:

Plate 1. MS F5, f.85v.

Plate 2. MS F5, f. 86r.

Plate 3. MS F5, f. 86v.

Plate 4. MS F5, f. 87r.

Plate 5. MS F5, f. 87v.

Plate 6. MS F5, f. 88r.

Plate 7. MS F5, f. 88v.

Plate 8. MS F5, f. 89r.

ratur aut semp inuigilare pmutat
 mag. r sompnusa uicent palam qui
 d fit. O demoratur a tarce fantasias
 Alus quid g alibus nlla dria ollium
 si omia pfa fuit. pueris a bregma ma
 ue. utarce opingitur. Et h quid nalg
 hntia hntes. pueri a septio nte ma
 puit tentes ponce. pducit a pmo
 antiores. ihu quid supiores pus. hu
 amfiores. omis aut ciuul pduot. quo
 ri nutter calius hnt lac. Post pty
 a r purificatones mlibus lac hmdat
 quibzda no solu p lactatoria. s et
 in mltis locis ubi. quibzda aut et
 f alcellas. r pmanet in postius itiga
 liter. cu no emitat. totum. n. ub. e
 somfon. ita ut. r in corp accipuit
 puu. dolor mlt in ubiis q uocat
 pilzare. donec a spontaneus egre
 diat riu cu lacte. aut ex figura
 lac a hnt donec ium acipiant. te
 a cessat. Et extinguitur simil in hoib
 r alus alifit. r quadrupedibz. lacte
 a exeunte. no sunt purificatones
 ut frequiter qm iam quibzdam lac
 tantibz. fca est purificat. vlt aut
 simi pmuta loca no accou impeto
 hntatis. uelut hntibz emaroydas.
 teniores purificatones si ueniunt.
 Quibzda aut r p uteb am alubz
 segreget anqm ueniat in mntes
 Et quibzdam a si no fca purificat
 nly. sanguis oadit uomites nichil
 ledunt. Consuevit a puos plimos
 spasm cap. r mag meh mntoc.
 ilacte utentes. r plurimi r grollio
 r. r nutteribus bi carnosic. Noctiu
 a ad passionem. r umu ngru magis

albo. r q no aquosus. Et plima mflatio
 rum. Et si uent detit plim pmut an
 septimana. p q r noia tuu imponit
 tanqm ofidentes iam mag de salute
 Et in plenilunio aut mag toleat
 pidosum aut r quibzdam pueno
 r. spalm atoulo inapunt.

Procedente a etate
 uir r mulieri no
 in quandi muce deutes. ca alu q
 d in ambobz est. alu in alio solum.
 Primo quid g in femella o r ofidare
 que ca mntes quo hnt. ut siquid
 in hnt ca. hee forciat cura. si a no
 in hnt ca. aham alqm carum faci
 ant curam. Et a q adin. ita aham
 ptem manifesti si sana est. Cum opus
 ipius sufficiat efficiat. r in dolore fir
 r post opationes si dolabore. ueluti o
 culus cu trititia nulla efficiat. r ui
 deat. r post uisionem. r no sit turbato.
 in impotit sit uide ium. sic r ma
 tur dolore no eribent. r q uultus est
 h sufficent opant. r post opa no in
 potens. s in dolore. D aut r non
 bu hntem mntem. m ad opus p
 um hnt bu. r in dolore. si no ipius
 detus opus est. hnt q adin oculum
 nich philet ipm uide diligenter
 si hnt oculo bu omis ptes. aut si
 pustula. Simili aut r mnt. si he
 at optinu locu. nich utiq ad hoc
 nocent. Oz itaz hntem bu mntem
 pmo quid loco no in alio. in ali
 o ee. s simil pone. r impu fieri q
 remoti si passione r hntia. r m
 ch insensibiliores ee tactas. hic a

Iste terminus tractatus est correc
 tus multu hnt de greco. r mnt
 repm r alus lib.



indicare nō difficile. Q' aut' or tales ee
ex huius manifesti. si nō. n. ppe emysm
nō erūt siml' tractue. longe n. ab
ipis ent' locis. vii or assimie. si a ppe
maneat. nō pōter redire longis fūdi
oriet erūt. tangi a sp' unqz nō ato api
ri. or a h' uehemiter facere. tbi au
dicant ee. h' g' or exite. quibz cum a
nō exūt. hec cura indiget aliqua. s
mīstra si bñ. h' aut' est p equalia
tpa. i nō errabunde sano aut' corpe
dignit. n. siqz fca bñ hñe ad apiri.
iustice ea. que ex corpe hūitatem
ei corpus cedit. Cum aut' sepius aug
ramus. aut errabunde emittant a
corpe nō ea exite. s. sano. necē hoc
accide p ipas. i p sūditates. Nona
pūntur aut' in tpiibz. ut pauca i
sūspiant. aut mag' arthrit hūi
dum p qūdam flegmasia iparum
q' cura signit indige. q' adim i ocl
uella iuent. i alia omia. n. loca
flegmatizantia trahūt hūitatem
talem q' nata est segregari i unū
q'q' locū. si nō talit. aut tanta. Sūt
a i mīx plura tbiuent siqz flicam
aliq' passionē. Si sūia quid' plura
a tribūt. Si a sūia i putrefcā ma
g' qm' qualia sanis pcedunt. tūc
quid' iam pas i notabil' fit. Necē
n. i colozes quosdam notari hñas
ut nō or sanis alba i putrefcā pro
cedunt. hūc quid' i mapienitibz
plurū a desinentibz mēstruū qui
bz cum quid' g.
mag' fuit qm' sanis. aut in ordina
ta plura. aut pauciora mag' in
dige cura tanqm' impedientibz

ad p'fctū quibz cum a tpiibz
colū in regularibz. i nō p equalia mī
quid' plibitā passio siqz tū mīar i
tū motū i nō sp' siml' manēre. Est
a h' passio quales quid' letere bñ natar
ad oceptōm. nō tū mīstutac s. tant' an
qua passio. qualis o'fūc. tēstut. i sū
cura. si nō aliq' ad p'cet ipi. Si a pū
tentur ordine. aut multitudie aliq'
corpe nō siml' hñe. Si ali' quid' hūi
ore. ali' aut' sūcaore. nich' ee mīcer
s. or i osequi corpi hūitū sūsapiente
i emittatet p' rationē. Si quid' g' sa
no corpe pmutato a s. faciant. nich'
ipē indiget alia. Si aut' languen
te. aut mīno tradant. q' alia ubi al
bi o'fūitū sūpflūū. aut laborat cor
pus. Si a plura emittant. q' hñe
i h' siqz ipas mīcer
indige cura. Si cor' tanqm' cum a bz
cum corpi hūitū pmutent mu
liebra. manifestat q' nūllā ea m i
mīcibz est. uelut q' sane p'fue
rant. Ipē aut' se ipis ali' quid' i s
mores. ali' a ualent mag'. i ali'
quid' hūidiores. ali' a sicciores. i
ipis qm' quid' plus fuit
corpus ipius pla. qm' aut' mīno m
nora. i siquid' hūidū aquosiora. si
a siccū. sanguinea. i apūit quid' ex
alb. q. lacteis sū odore quid' ex mīb
h' a pūmicea. desinentia a albiora
ultime desinētie. odorem aut' hū
tia alba. i nō.
i gūiore mī sūmca
i sū quid'
e calitate. tū cū ille fuit mod' signo
rū. Quibz cum quid' sic accidit hū



ma si passione sicut uenit remitte et
magnat fias. immores ipam si infirma
te. in hystoriam ipas. q. tuch solidiores
sit. qm or in surte. in na. in infirmitate
p q. ino puit nure. si conuipuit em
buones siquid uolenter tales sunt ad huc
puot exites. Si a mino. maior. si a oino
quere. piora. Inuunt a fetul. uelut i
uale pucio nure. ad huc a tacte que ad
terra. i q. ad simut. reglana ipus ee. i
alia hyl simili. i in eo qui ad uirum
coru mmedu. humitari no sepe a ual
te. Et a si passio uelut resudato loci
qadm rore saluamo
i ad oblatem aboz. i cu loquamur i
opemur ipi. plus. i ocul. lacrimantur ad
fulgentora uentres. i a figore. i calidita
te foutei. cui dnanur pter bec cum fue
unt huudus hutes. sic i muer. humec
tantur. opantes cu fime huudions dis
pome. Patumt aut huc passionem. i
q. manebn apte nate sunt. p q. cura
p indiget mueres. aut amphou. aut
mior. qadm ioc spuitone. Si quibz
dam tanta huicas fit. ut no possint
pueru q. uiri atthere p omixtura
fco a muliere huatit. Cum huc aut
passionis bi. i tui or osidare si accidit
cu putatit in sopno. primare uno
quo huc exurgit pua si teblor. Usno
semp no ali quid. ali aut n. aut ali
qm i fortior. si aut no licior. pmo tem
humectat. or. n. h. accide. plific. mili.
dissolui quid. n. liget emulsiu ee corp
spmatil sp. facit. i
corpulencia a exnibus teblor. huc a
fui infirmitate pati. signu. q. fm im. i
quo or mo abscessus huus fit. si no

n. languola erat infirmitas
niqui. i ualte mag. i uicam ece
mitem. tem humitan signu. q. totu
corpus accipit. i extinuit. i no solum
mix. i corpus ualeat. spu. n. trahit ma
tur. q. aduenit ex ipi. sicut pus dan e
no. n. in se ipm emittit. Si ubi i uira
am. a spu omia
opuntur. q. palam. q. ioc attituum
q. talit. Sunt a qued a que patumt
aliquid. tale q. uocant examinan. or
itaq. i q. no pati. est a talit passio. cu
omittant uro no aliq. emittentes
lyma. in q.
q. i uocatur examinari. Ca huc passio
nol mnt. cum fuit ualte lica. ftem. n.
ad ipm huudum. dimittit ex. i aut
ofuitur i modicam
quidda. fcm ex se ip. exidit. i latuit.
p puitatem egredient. i qm quid h
ualte patiat mix. i uat ualte lica a
to q. abieat. i uo palam fit. q. non
gestat. si a no ualte ato h. facient in
int medio tpi putatur gestare q. an
hat ipa ad se ipm. donec utiq. eiciatur
i similes accit ato huc passionel qua
les recte gestantibz. i uat multu qe
eleuat mix. ut manife paretur ge
stare donec exidit. tuc aut simlis fit
qual pmo erat. aufant a huc passio
nem. i est curabilis.
si no na talis. aut ueliment patitur
q. patit. Signu a no talem ee si appent
no emittentes. cu accipiant a uro. i
no occupant. phitentur aut. i si spal
mos hant mices. Sunt aut spma
ta in mictibz. aut flegmasia tenca
mice. aut in ptu repleone multa.

Pualis

Picar

Flegmasia

inacente. i. nō apto ore
tunc a distensione fit spasma. Signū a
nō hndi spasmos. si nō uideat in fleg-
masia ptinges in pīs opibul mīx ha-
bens. n. spasma. flegmāzabit utiq; ali-
Adhuc a si nascentia in ore fuit mul-
ta fiente impedit ad oceptōnes. Sig-
nū autē i q. has nō hant si uideat ap-
ta bñ mīx. i. claudens cum fca sunt
ipī mulieba. rufus ad unū. Adhuc
est quibz ad os coplant. hū quid a nat-
uitate. hū p infirmitate. Simul fit a
h. i. sanabile i. mīsanabile. Non difficile a
h. cognoscere si fuit nō. n. possūt mac-
cip mīx eoz que os n. emittit. Sig-
uicat. i. suspiciens a uro idmutat
in manifestū. q. i. utiq; elenchus sic t-
pas. Quibz cum a horū nīm imp-
dmtū. si hnt quō hīc os dcm est. si nō
uir cī fuit silicatis. Aut ambo quidē
possunt pūos face admutē aut non
sint oīnsurati ad siml emittend. sed
multū dissonent. nō erūt pūi hūc. Ad-
stetendū a si que uiri cī. est quid i. ali-
asigna accipe. que maxie uidebuntur
ad alias appinquit. i. gñant. Cum a ad-
mutem nō eod cursu se hant omibz
dās exnabuz nō gñant. Declarant. n.
q. h. cī solum. siquid. n. i. mīlier ofert
ad spma i. gñonem. palam q. os equa-
le autē ab ambobz. siquid g. quid cito
efficiat h. a uir s. p. līma. n. mīlires i.
tardiores s. phitet. p. q. i. alr. oīngati
gñant cum mutem nō gñantel. cum
madint equali cum ocurrentibz ad t-
contū. Si. n. h. quid impetiosa. i. para-
fuit. i. mīntōnes hīs ydoneas. h. autē
p. mīlato i. mīfatus mīspato. nōte tē

equali oaurie ipos adinuicem. Et autē
alī mīlibus. i. cū mīcopmī emmīnt. et
uiri cī coierint accit meli9 ualentes eē
nō robore s. sanitate. fit a. i. cum mīlta
spma fuit oīgregatū mīlotū mī emmīnt
Sig. tūc abscedat mīel debliores fūnt
nō. n. sp. dissoluitur abscedentibz cum
sufficientia fūnt relecta. m. utiq; nulla
i. utilia fūnt siml i. facile uelut a. i. replē-
ne libata. p. q. nō robore meli9 ualentes
s. alleuatiōne fūnt. Si cū a. tautis quibz
corpus. indiget. tūc debliores fūnt. cessat
a. cito. Si a. alr. aliquis sano fuit p. corp-
i. m. etate fuit q. cito spma facit. crede-
tibz. n. h. est cito. i. cretālibz. i. mīstam-
tē maxie impignate. nō. n. putant co-
cepisse. si nō senant emittentes
exultantes q. os in ambobz
oatē siml. i. a mīliere. i. a uro. o. axie
a. latet cī putent in pōle o. xie. si non
exficcitate fūnt. s. notāblī dīspat q.
datū est. Accidit a. plus emittē i. p. m. i.
uiri. q. pō utiq; pōtūnt absorbē. i. suf-
ficiens. Cum g. attraxerit quid sufficiēs
relinqūtur a. mīlta. tūc nesciūt impig-
nate. Qat tale oīngit h. i. nō ex omī
sic pas. manifestant queoz alīū ab uno co-
itu. mīlta pūunt. i. gemiorū gñio cum
ab uno fca fuit. si pte alqm ipī ut ac-
cepit. Aliquis locū hūc a. reliquit q.
multiplex. Adhuc a. si multa ab uno
coitu fuit. q. quid uir mīsubz. i. nge-
mīus. alī fcm palam. q. nō ab omī
uenit spma a. corpe. si in una q. sp-
pau fuit. ab omī quid. n. oīngit se-
pari. i. totū in multa q. siml. i. sim-
ptem mīpōs. Adhuc muliorem mītat
in antius os mīstūm. ubi uir cum

P. mīlta

P. mīlta

P. mīlta

P. mīlta

P. mīlta

appropinquat: omnia. n. quocumque non
organus adducit: aut in sufflatione hinc
resup. gcaua exorta. aut spu chumt ex
loco p q. curant. quo fiat sic. iste fluit
mi h accit. Si a. apta nata est. uia p qm
uenit. mlibus hntab

q adm uun putendu. si in corp efflanc
p p m

supius qm uincent
mliet. p q. iai matent uetia pati
iste locus no hie finit. 7 anq. mataren
tur. ab h utiq. canali sit excentia. 7 q
antius mias mto maus qm s quem
in illi locum exedit. Simit est a h s h
narib. 7. n. naref hnt mto ad fauces
pou q adm. 7 ad extioiem aem sic. uile
7 ex huc pou pui ualte. 7 angustig m
ad hie exitu. cu aut qui ad mntus m
cu amplu. sic naref eu qui ad aure ma
ioiem eo qui ad of. fauces. simit a et
mliet. maiorem eu qui ad auidus m
tuq. pou hnt. 7 amplioiem eo qui ext
qi ofit ad h

emittit eetem
mbz q mliet
a e e hie accit. 7. n. quibz aut mnta
tis. aut mortis uidet. alidus ca e e olte
rnt. ut mntu ad pnapia. q. oz uidet hie
quid. n. hie ome pme huc a nich. houi
a h quid. h aut no. Allignt. g. p rone
7 euenientia. 7 huc quid. p ome accit
p mntu eadem passionet. huc a p multas
quibz multet. huc a p pauca. huc a p
nullam. quibz cum nulla. Mania aut
alia sunt. cum cotu pati indigeant. per
sequunt. maseles. uelut galline. psequi
tur. 7 supponit se ipas. si no moueantur
maseles. h aut facit. 7 alia alia. guta
q. eetem passionet. omibz alibus u
tent. erntes ita cotu palam q. 7 ome

cause

accit. 7. n. uis aut quid no solum accipie
di occupiam. h et emittendi. Signu aut
hui. si. n. no adit maseles. cadit sub p
lam. 7 signant sit. 7 p. ypenemia. sicut
occupulcent. remittendi. tuc remittent
ta. cum maseles extitit. facit. a h 7
alia. qm. 7 cantant. locustari. quidam
capta sunt nutent. adhuc tenas hnt 7
fite sunt. augmtate signantes. Et huc
itaq. palam q. ofe ad spina

si quid. 7 in uno gne uidet. h fcm n
n. differt. al. ypenemiu. ab h. mliet. no
gnat. al. h aut q. 7 ab ambobz uenit. 7
p. q. n. q. a maseles omia. p. uita uidet
tur. h queda silia. cum no. ex ambobz
uor. coaptata sunt. qm mliet

7 huc fuit. ut omne filit
uio. eetem passionet. post
dissolut. 7 in potitia palam g. h m
uut. emittentes. tuc ofit. q.

7 post. h. id locus humorta
tur. 7 cura indiget. qd. ipe a se ipis. q.
adm. cu omleant. uio. q. manifest.
q. ab ambobz sit. emisso. symat. hie
beat. eetemittit. a non
in se ipas mntes. h. ex. ubi. 7. uir. 7. m
in. hnt. in se ipas. quaru. h. quid. ge
nant. ale ipis. femmina. a. uelut. aut
h. a. ypenemia. h. aut. nich. uelut. equi
7. uel. aut. q. aut. quid. in. mntem. e
mutat. 7. no. est. ex. locus. in. q. emittit
in. maseles. p. q. si. no. fuit. coient. m
ram. effundit. quadrupedi. a. est. ex
locus. alius. in. q. 7. femella. emittit. et
maseles. q. adm. alius. quid. cum. alius
huius. ofundit. 7. no. ollat. in. mntem
p. no. mntem. alius. a. accipiens. mntem
cum. digit. 7. corpi. simile. in. alia. h.

no al. pp q orer ambobz al et. **U**t aut
militare suera dnt dntes q f hiet et
fugit polam n q thit mnt d sup
q pp quid non ghamt ipa f lepa
fermina qm ruitat trahit q u
n. pp quid no q. r capre ppe thunt
qentit fice ex pp quid quibz am
f f paffio gestantibz Annis multu
punit n q uocant mola mater
uelut accidit quda mulieri ompte
uob. r credens. pcepisse molas cre
mo mital. raba fca sui pmo f rone.
fian at tp fuit ptat. n3 pepit n3 mo
lef mior fca fca fca amul mlt. aut
quatuor f pmanit amtem dntem
n3 fca. r pldat ipa pepit caruem
f agne qntitit qm uocant mo
lam quibz am a r cu senelat par
fca. r omote pmti f p calitatem fca
paffio h aut cu gigit mnt calda r
fca exnt r pp h actitua ad te ipm
fca ut fca at ppe r fca m lepa.
fca h fca h fca h fca h fca h fca h
ab ambobz f fca r ppenm m qm
gat ab alio h fca uocata moleo
n3 al. pp q q no m ambobz. n3 m
atatum. pp atatum acceptum ee fi
tur ppenm m multo aut tpe m
manet. r p mntal dntem. r qui
a aut quid mlt mlt ipm pnt
ab huf fca m mlt.
adducit r apit rca fca
rultano egredit no. n. est phibent
f f corpus emittam fca cu reple
batur no amplius mlt mlt fca q
fca. Queam aut alia fca
pp pmutare hnt augmta. r ali
al alio indige alimto fca fca

zant aliq mlt fca pti. **I**aro q p
no al. al ee fca p mlt mlt. o. n. qd
gude mlt mlt mlt
ut r aliquibz gntat. r paffio fca non p
eufomiu mlt mlt accdat fca aut
pce ad dntia. Vnt aut fca dnt
pp calitatem fca paffio. aut mag p
hntatem qm rca rca uelut
cu no fca fca fca mlt. uedi
mattat. n3 fca calda. ut dntat. pp q
mola paffio q ad m que mlt mlt
multo tpe pmanet. Decota aut fca
m hnt r uelocitate rca aut mlt
pntes fca fca
multo. adhuc a p no p p p mlt
tu no fca rca. mo. n. ligam
m rca fca fca q p mlt mlt
embo rca rca fca rca mlt mlt
pntes fca. fca dnt. ut rca no
pnt dnt. Decota quid rca
dnt mlt fca fca fca aut mlt
fca rca fca mlt mlt mlt mlt
pp mlt mlt
pntes pntes fca fca uen
rca rca fca fca rca. r mlt
m fca mlt mlt mlt fca paffio
hoc a no ee fca rca fca fca
alut quid fca fca
rca rca fca fca rca rca
alut quid rca mlt mlt qui rca
uentis fca fca fca fca fca
fca mlt mlt pntes rca rca
m calitatem pp fca. Inuenim
a accipitua. h quid mlt fca aut mlt
mlt aliam accipitua mlt p
ter te ipa fca fca alut quid
fca a mlt mlt fca pp mlt mlt
fca fca fca fca fca fca

amp

Sur

pant

mola

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care

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Ala

n. huius aut non sunt aut pauca. alii aut
 in medio loci inuas. i. uentis ofluer
 ex carne putat. et non erit
 a non difficile discernere si
 ta mite. si n. sunt. tac
 incrementum. palam q. non in illa passio.
 si a talis fuit. uelut q. pueru. h. e.
 calida. i. fia. i. lica. erit. q. mto. u. l. a. t.
 sunt huius. i. ol. talis qualis cu. gestent. si
 a. aliq. aliud fuit. molet. erit. fia. tacta. i.
 no. lica. semp. of. simile. Maxime aut
 latent. quocumq. putat. impo. e. e. o. q. p.
 si no. existeret. i. notab. disp. datu. de
 adit. aut. alii. plus. enutrire. i. ipm. et
 uiru. qm. q. possit. disp. facere. i. ultra
 sufficiens. Cum. g. attrahit. quid. sufficiat
 relinquat. aut. multu. tuc. ignorante. i.
 impugnanter. Cum. a. tale. contigit. fia. q.
 no. ex. omi. fit. passio. manifestant. quocumq.
 q. alium. ab. uno. cotu. multa. p.unt. i.
 gemm. g. uo. si. ab. uno. fiat. palam. n.
 q. no. ex. omi. fiebat. si. ptem. ipius. acci
 pit. aliquis. locus. hac. aut. reuelinquit
 que. multiplex.

Explicat o. p. l. e. t. a. m. o. d. n. i. o. s. c.

l. r. l. l. t. e. c. e. m. b. r. i. s.

Sicet omne theoria
 i. methodu. simili. huius
 liorem. i. honorabilem
 duo. uident. modi. huius. e. e. Quoru. h. e.
 quid. sciam. rei. b. n. h. n. t. appllat. huius. a.
 uelut. et. uditom. q. n. d. a. erudit. n. est. fm.
 modu. posse. iudicare. b. n. o. n. e. t. u. r. a. b. i. l. i. t.
 quid. b. n. aut. no. b. n. affigat. qui. d. i. a. t.
 talem. utiq. q. d. a. m. i. t. o. t. a. l. i. t. eruditum
 e. e. posse. posse. facere. q. d. a. m. e. t. i. m. p.
 t. n. huius. quid. t. e. o. m. i. b. u. s. ut. e. t. d. i. e. u. d. i.
 catu. putamo. e. e. huius. n. u. m. o. e. x. a. t. i. o.
 huius. aut. t. e. q. u. a. d. a. m. n. a. t. a. d. i. n. a. t. a. l. i. t.
 m. utiq. i. n. a. l. i. q. u. i. s. m. o. e. o. d. t. e. o. d. i. s. p. o. s. i. t.
 p. t. e. m. Quare. palam. quia. quid. h. y.
 stou. t. e. n. a. o. s. q. u. o. d. a. m. e. x. i. t. e. t. i. n. o. s. t. a.
 l. e. s. a. d. q. u. o. s. r. e. f. e. n. s. s. u. s. a. p. i. e. t. m. o. d. u. m.
 o. n. s. o. u. m. s. i. u. e. s. q. u. a. l. i. t. h. e. u. e. r. u. s. u. e. t.
 s. i. c. h. i. a. l. i. t. Dico. aut. puta. utru. o. s. a. c. c. i.
 p. i. e. n. t. e. s. u. n. a. q. u. i. n. q. u. i. u. m. s. i. a. m. t. e. h. a. c.
 t. e. t. i. n. a. r. e. p. l. e. i. p. m. p. u. t. a. t. e. n. a. t. u. r. a. h. o. m. i. s.
 aut. l. e. o. n. i. s. aut. b. o. u. s. aut. a. l. i. c. u. i. u. s. a. l.
 t. i. u. s. s. m. u. n. i. q. u. e. m. q. c. o. n. a. n. t. e. s. aut. i.
 o. t. e. r. a. c. c. i. n. t. a. o. m. i. b. u. s. s. a. l. i. q. u. i. d. o. m. n. i.
 n. e. s. u. p. p. o. n. e. n. t. e. s. Q. u. l. t. a. n. e. a. d. e. x. i. t.
 m. u. l. t. a. g. i. n. b. u. s. a. l. i. t. e. x. i. t. a. b. u. m. u.
 t. e. m. p. u. t. a. s. o. m. p. n. o. r. e. s. p. i. r. a. t. o. a. u. g. m. i. n. i.
 t. e. t. i. n. a. t. u. m. m. o. i. s. t. a. d. h. u. c. q. u. e. a. m. i. t. a.
 l. u. i. r. e. l. i. q. u. a. r. i. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. u. m. i. d. i. s. p. o. n. u. m. i. n.
 m. a. n. i. f. e. s. t. n. i. m. d. e. t. i. n. a. t. u. m. e. s. t. d. i. e. n. o.
 t. e. h. u. i. s. M. a. n. i. f. e. s. t. a. u. t. q. i. r. e. s. p. t. e. m. q. u. i.
 d. d. i. t. e. s. t. e. m. u. l. t. a. s. d. i. c. e. m. o. m. u. l. t. o. c. e. a. d.
 l. e. n. e. q. u. i. s. t. a. m. b. i. z. i. h. o. m. i. b. z. e. x. i. t. u. d. i.
 e. t. o. z. q. u. a. l. i. z. I. t. a. q. s. i. u. n. i. q. u. e. m. a. c.
 c. i. d. e. r. e. t. u. m. d. i. a. t. q. u. i. s. m. u. l. t. o. c. c. o. g. e. t. u. r.
 t. e. e. s. t. e. d. i. e. Q. u. e. a. m. i. t. e. a. d. q. u. i. d. e. x. i. t.

videt q. s. d. a. s. i. a. s. i. t. h.
 ad. q. u. i. d. i. a. t. B. o. e. t. i. u. s.
 n. u. o. e. s. e. t. s. i. c. s. e. s. i. t. s. e.
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 s. i. t. u. n. i. n. u. o. s. e. q. u. e. t.
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 e. x. m. a. t. e. r. i. a. e. t. f. o. r. m. a. t. a. l. i. s.
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 t. a. t. u. m. q. u. i. s. h. i. e. d. d. i. s. t. i. n. g. s. f. o. r.
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