

THE LEONINE COMMISSION, 125 YEARS AFTER ITS FOUNDING, SETTLES IN PARIS

ADRIANO OLIVA, OP

The origin, historical development and current projects of the Leonine Commission, which is in charge of the critical edition of the complete works of St. Thomas Aquinas.

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1. “QUO LATIUS SPARGATUR AC DISSEMINETUR ANGELICI DOCTORIS SAPIENTIA”.¹

With these words, in his Letter *Iampridem considerando*, published on the 15th of October of 1879, Leo XIII indicated his motive for undertaking a new edition of the complete works of Saint Thomas Aquinas: “so that the wisdom of the Angelic Doctor might propagate and be spread as widely as possible”. And the Pope judged such an undertaking “of such importance because it pertains strongly to the common good of the Church”. (“*Confidimus enim in re tam gravi, quae ad commune Ecclesiae bonum magnopere pertinet, adfore nobis divinam opem ...*”).²

1. LEO XIII, “Littera *Iampridem considerando*”, 15th of October, 1879 (ed. Leon., t. 1, p. XXI).

2. *Ibidem*.

The Letter *Iampridem considerando* was a kind of decree which put into effect the recommendations of the recent Encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (4th of August of 1879), in which professorial chairs in the doctrine of the Angelic Doctor were instituted, and the Academy of Saint Thomas in Rome was created. Along with these two initiatives, the papal letter decreed that a complete edition of the works of Saint Thomas should be printed, considering that the *Piana* edition of 1570 was not easily accessible, and that the collections of his works which had recently been printed—in particular the Parma edition (25 volumes, 1852-1873) and the Vivès edition (34 volumes, 1871-1872)—suffered from a double deficiency: in the quality of the printing, and in the completeness of the works of the Holy Doctor.

Therefore, the new edition first of all had to remedy these two deficiencies, but also it had to contribute a critical revision of the text, “basing itself upon the manuscripts discovered recently and which thus have been returned to being of service in our age” (“*accurateque emendata; iis etiam adhibitis codicum manuscriptorum subsidiis, quae aetate beam nostra in probroad lucem et usum sunt*”).³

In obedience to the Letter *Iampridem considerando*, which is dated the 15th of October of 1879, the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) was immediately put in charge of searching for the manuscripts of works of Saint Thomas: this is testified in a letter of the 9th of November of 1879, directed to the entire Order, by Father Giovanni Maria Sanvito, who at that time governed the Dominicans as Vicar General of the Order. This letter—published by Father P. de Contenson in a famous article dedicated to the origins of the Leonine Commission—⁴ begins by announcing to the entire Order the initiative of Leo XIII of beginning a new edition of the complete works of Saint Thomas; it continues, later,

3. *Ibidem*.

4. P. M. DE CONTENSON, “Documents sur les origines et les premières années de la Commission Léonine,” in *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974. Commemorative Studies*, vol. 2, Toronto, 1974, p. 354 [331-388].

by mentioning that some members of the Order were already researching, in the most important libraries of Europe, the manuscripts of the works of the Angelic Doctor. In addition, he noted that other friars, “erudite” and “experienced”, were applying themselves diligently (“*desudant*”) to the revision of the *Piana* edition, correcting and improving it from the manuscripts.

This letter, and the results of the work of those “*ex Ordine doctissimi Viri*” is important in several aspects. First of all, it shows that, 25 days after the Letter *Iampridem considerando*, two groups of friars were already working on the new edition, anticipating the Pope’s decree: doing the research necessary to complete the *Piana* edition, looking in all possible libraries for unpublished works of Saint Thomas, with which to correct this edition. Secondly, this letter reveals the attempts of the Pope to promote this revised edition, already called “Leonine”⁵ in the letter of Fr. Giovanni Maria Sanvito: Leo XIII did not have in mind the launch of a new critical edition of the works of Aquinas, but rather only a very good revision of the 1570 *Piana* edition, completing it with any newly-discovered genuine works lacking there. The use of the “manuscripts discovered recently and thus returned to use”⁶ to which the papal letter makes reference, does not have anything to do with the reestablishment of a critical text (something that was a true novelty at that time), but consists simply in resorting to the manuscript tradition to correct texts that were considered unsatisfactory: something that had been practiced even before the invention of the press! On the other hand, the reference to the method of preparation of the new edition, contained in the Letter *Iampridem considerando*, disappears in later letters of Leo XIII.

And indeed when, on the 18th of January of 1880, in his Motu proprio *Placere Nobis* the Pope ordered three cardinals (De Luca, Simeoni, Zigliara) to preside over these works of revision

5. P. M. DE CONTENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 354. The dedication to Leo XIII of the first volume of the edition (1882), calls it precisely “Leonine” (ed. Leon., t. 1).

6. *Ibidem*.

(“*editioni [...] praeesse*”),⁷ there is no reference to any particular method for carrying out the work. Nevertheless, a new element appears: the rate at which each new volume should appear would have to be established by the cardinals.

It has already been noted by Father P. M. de Contenson that the *Motu proprio* does not institute a commission of cardinals, but rather personally directs the three cardinals to take over the task. The selection of these cardinals, on the other hand, is specified in the document: Cardinal de Luca as Prefect of Studies; Cardinal Simeoni as Prefect de Propaganda Fide (and therefore also in charge of the Vatican Press, where the new edition would be printed); and Cardinal Zigliara, insofar as he was an eminent disciple of Saint Thomas (“*ad disciplinam S. Thomae apprime institutum atque eruditum*”).⁸ Although the “Leonine Commission” as such did not take its current form until the years 1934-1935, nevertheless, at least from the 11th of December of 1882, the friars who worked on the *editio Leonina* were grouped in a *Collegium editorum operum Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*.⁹ The expression *editio Leonina* is already used in the letter which the Vicar General, Fr. G. M. Sanvito, sent to the entire Dominican Order on the 9th of November of 1879, and would be consecrated in the dedication of the first volume of the series to Pope Leo XIII.

What do we know about the work undertaken at the dawn of this publishing enterprise?

In order to obtain an answer, it is sufficient to refer to the volumes themselves of this collection. The first volume appeared in July 1882, only two and a half years after the beginning of the enterprise. In his introduction, Cardinal Zigliara explains how the revision of the text was carried out: the friars who researched the copies of the works of Thomas in European libraries have

7. “Editioni autem curandae destinamus ac praecipua auctoritate praeesse volumus tres sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales.” *Placere Nobis*, 18 ianuarii 1880 (ed. Leon., t. 1, p. XXV).

8. *Ibidem*.

9. P. M. DE CONTENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 332, n. 3.

compared the text of the *Piana* with the manuscripts thus discovered, and have communicated the textual variants to the team of friars who, in Rome, were in charge of performing the revision.¹⁰ Wherever the text of the *Piana* had to be corrected, it was done based on the readings of the manuscripts, following, however, the most scientific rules of textual criticism (“*leges sapientioris critices*”),¹¹ and not without indicating in a footnote the reading of the *Piana* edition (“*neque unum iota aut unum apicem in Editione Piana mutare nisi auctoritate fretus codicum*”).

Although it is true that we cannot speak of a critical edition for the series of volumes prior to the *III^a Pars* (1906), the expression “scientific edition” is perfectly applicable to these first publications.

The first issue of the 2005 *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* has just published an article by Concetta Luna about the history of the Leonine edition. This study, 80 pages long, demonstrates the scientific seriousness of the first Leonine editions, and highlights the skill with which the friars of the *Collegium editorum S. Thomae* applied the earliest achievements of philological science to the medieval Latin texts of Thomas Aquinas, which until then had been mainly developed in the revision of classic editions of Latin and Greek authors, and of the Sacred Scriptures.¹²

10. “Huic Summi Pontificis desiderio ut faceret satis Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, cui demandata est a Leone XIII cura huius novae Editionis operum s. Thomae, quosdam religiosos in scientiis simul et arte paleographica eruditos designavit, qui Bibliothecas perlustrant, codices optimae notae inquirunt, scripta s. Thomae inedita diligenter investigant, atque omnia in scripto notata aliis religiosis Romae degentibus et novam hanc editionem curantibus transmittunt.” (ed. Leon., t. 1, p. XXXVI-XXXVII).

11. “Quid vero in adornando ... leges sapientioris critices inculcant” (*Ibidem*, p. XXXVII).

12. Cf. C. LUNA, “L’*édition Léonine de saint Thomas: vers une méthode de critique textuelle et d’*ecdote*que.*” *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 89/1 (2005), pp. 31-110.

The Dominicans working in the publishing house certainly wanted to make a true critical edition, or at least to make an effort. We preserve a rich correspondence between the Vicar General of the Order of Preachers, Cardinal Zigliara, and the Provincial Generals of Europe as well as various friars, among them the famous historians Chapotin, Balmes, Denifle, which shows that the highly competent Dominican friars maintained the effort to perform their work in a scientific manner. In the course of just the three months which intervened between, on the one hand, the publication of the Letter *Iampridem considerando* on the 15th of October of 1879, which began the work of revision officially, and on the other hand the publication of the Motu proprio on the 18th of January, which ordered the three cardinals to administer the revision, there was at least one letter per fortnight exchanged between the institutions and the above-mentioned officials to who were to organize the task.

One of these letters is particularly useful in showing that Pope Leo XIII and the Dominicans understood the work to be done in diametrically opposite ways. The Pope had anticipated a reprinting of the *Piana* edition, nothing else, and had calculated that two years would be sufficient to complete the work. On the other hand, the Dominicans, in particular Fr. Denifle, were in contact with the most important academic centers of Europe, and had collected critiques from scholars concerning the project proposed by the Pope. Father Denifle echoed their critique, and in a letter to the Master General of the Order, prior to the 28th of October of 1880, he wrote: “all the German scholars and some of the French whom I have met here have told me that if the Supreme Pontiff does not modify his project, our Order, and the Supreme Pontiff himself, will later suffer damage, because the critiques, since I myself have already listened, will be directed first against the Cardinal [Zigliara] and our Order, and then also against the Supreme Pontiff”.¹³

13. “Omnes docti in Germania et aliqui Galli, quibuscum conveni, mihi dixerunt, quod si Summus Pontifex consilium suum non mutabit, [...] ordo noster et ipse Summus Pontifex in detrimentum veniret, quia critici, ut iam audivi, primo

We must suppose that Father Denifle was, in a way, the representative of an opinion shared within the Order, opposed to the intentions of the Supreme Pontiff; this latter would solve the problem in 1883, by promoting Father Denifle to be Prefect of the Vatican Secret Archive. Next, on the 3rd of October of 1886, Pope Leo XIII himself, in a letter to Cardinal Zigliara, would establish the plan to be followed in the re-editing of the *Piana* edition, dictating that it would be begun by publishing the two *Summas*.¹⁴

Given that in 2005 we are commemorating the 125th anniversary of the declaration, on the 4th of August of 1880, of Thomas Aquinas as the Patron Saint of all universities, academies, grammar schools and Catholic schools, it seems to me opportune to revisit the origins of the Leonine edition, which, as we have seen, dates from the 15th of October of 1879, and to highlight two things: first of all, that Pope Leo XIII and the Dominican friars who collaborated with Cardinal Zigliara conceived in different ways the publishing enterprise which they had initiated together. And, secondly, that the Dominican friars were conscious from the beginning of the scientific requirements that the new science of textual criticism demanded of the Leonine edition. If they were limited to produce a “scientific edition”,¹⁵ this was due, from the beginning, to the will of the Supreme Pontiff.¹⁶

contra Card. et nostrum ordinem insurgent et deinde etiam contra Summum Pontificem” (P. M. DE CONTENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 369).

14. Cf. P. M. DE CONTENSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-380. We are preparing a monograph focusing on the role of the Dominicans during those difficult beginnings of the *Leonine Edition*, which will include the publishing of new documents.

15. Concetta Luna, in the article mentioned, not only demonstrates the lack of basis of the criticism of Clemens Baeumker to the edition of the *I^a pars*, but also demonstrates that the option chosen by the Leonine editors was, to a great degree, more scientific than the solution proposed by the critic Baeumker.

16. About the origins of the Leonine Commission, apart from the article of Fr. M. de Contenson, see also L. J. BATAILLON, “L’édition léonine des œuvres de saint Thomas et les études médiévales,” in *L’enciclica “Aeterni Patris” nell’arco di un secolo. Atti dell’VIII Congresso Tomistico internazionale*, Pontificia Accademia di S. Tommaso e di Religione Cattolica, Città del Vaticano, 1981, pp. 452-464; IDEM, “Le edizioni di *Opera Omnia* degli scolastici e

2. THE LEONINE EDITION IN THE PRESENT DAY

Beginning on the 10th of June of 2003, the Leonine Commission for the Critical Edition of the Works of Saint Thomas Aquinas has been based in Paris. The legal headquarters of the Commission continues to be in Rome, along with the administrative offices, on which the Leonine depends directly; its main headquarters, however, is now in Paris, where it can make use of specialized libraries and the numerous research centers on the Medieval era.

a) *The Leonine in Paris: Chronicle of a Return*

In a certain sense, it is possible to speak of a return of the Leonine to Paris. In fact, beginning on the 1st of October of 1952, a branch of the Leonine Commission was founded in Étioilles, next to the *studium* of Le Salchoir, that “School of theology” made famous by its method and research, and which continued later, through various initiatives, in the convent of Saint Jacques (Paris XIII). These new surroundings were advantageous for the whole Leonine Commission. In fact, it was this branch that promoted the reorganization of the work requested by the General Chapter of 1949: a campaign to photograph about 4000 manuscripts of the works of Saint Thomas (and also of contemporary authors, or of those who could have served as Aquinas’s sources), a campaign which was brought to fruition by the Leonine team. In addition, the method of collating manuscripts was totally renewed; historical and codex-related research was improved, and the rules of textual critique were adapted to the editing of medieval texts of various traditions; the study of paleography was greatly deepened through meticulous and scientific study of the autographs of Thomas

l’edizione Leonina,” in R. IMBACH; A. MAIERÙ (eds.), *Gli studi di filosofia medievale fra Otto e Novecento. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 21-23 settembre 1989*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1991, pp. 141-154.

Aquinas: this has led, among other things, to the publishing of texts according to a spelling that follows medieval usage.

The works published in this period were as follows: the commentary on the book of Job (1965); the commentaries on two works of Aristotle, i.e. the Nicomachean Ethics (1969) and the Politics (1971); and the first two volumes of opuscles (1968; 1970). Aside from the commentary on Job, prepared by the Ottawa branch and finished in Rome, the other volumes were prepared by the branch of Le Saulchoir.

b) *The Last Thirty Years in Italy*

At the beginning of January 1973, after the closing of the *Studium* of the French Dominican Province in Étioilles (Paris), the Leonine branch of Le Saulchoir was transferred to Grottaferrata, where part of the Leonine branch of Santa Sabina (Rome) had also been transferred. In Grottaferrata, the Dominicans were welcomed by the Franciscan Friars Minor, the famous “Editors of Quaracchi,” who had had to leave Quaracchi, near to Florence, after the disastrous floods of 1969. The Franciscans had just finished settling in to the south of Rome, above the “castelli romani,” in the “School of St. Bonaventure.”

The collaboration with the team of Franciscans was particularly positive, and the first ten years were crowned by the organization of an international colloquium, in May of 1983, concerning the production of *exemplar* manuscripts and *pecie*. This medieval system of reproducing manuscript consisted of not giving the entire text to the person who wanted to make the copy, but rather an *exemplar*, formed of separate booklets called *pecie*. The copyists were lent texts divided in this manner, and would copy one *pecia* at a time, while at the same time other copyists could borrow other sections of the same work. The classical technique for reproducing a codex, however, required that it be monopolized by a single copyist who would make only one single copy at a time.

It is important to remember that the celebration of this colloquium was the culmination of extensive research on *pecia*, initiated by the Leonine Commission at the beginning of the century. It was in 1906, in the introduction to the edition of the *Supplementum* of the *III^a Pars*, when the Leonine scholars published a study on *pecia*, that the components that distinguish the *exemplar* and *pecia* are described accurately. The *pecia* was no longer treated as a unit of text, instead being accurately considered to correspond to a booklet of folios. It was also determined that, generally, one *pecia* was made up of 2 bifolios (four folios), although sometimes there were *pecie* of 3 bifolios.¹⁷ The results of this research into codices were later examined in the light of the Statutes of the Universities of Paris and Bologna, where there are mentions of *exemplaria* and *pecie*; the conclusion was finally reached that *pecia* served not only to determine the unit of work of the copyist, but also to provide a certain guarantee of “authenticity” of the copied text.

The later investigations of the Leonine editors on this second point have allowed for greater precision and caution. However, in the introduction to the *Supplementum* the foundations were already laid for understanding the system of the university textual tradition. The stages of these studies on *pecia* can be briefly recalled: in 1954, thanks to Father H. D. Saffrey—who worked in close collaboration with the Leonine branch of Le Saulchoir, especially with Fr. L. J. Bataillon—the edition of the *Super De causis* showed the various *exemplaria* simultaneously available, and the interchangeability of the *pecie*. The edition of *Super Iob*, in 1965, permitted the editors to state that the text of the work

17. “Illa scilicet mensurae unitas, quam ratio petiae importat, existerat in exemplarium petiis tamquam in re mensurante, et quia scriptor L, occasione accepta e casu extraordinario, rem mensurantem dicit esse de sex chartis, excludit ni fallor mensuram quae supra margines exemplaris signata tantum esset; exprimit e contrario formaliter mensuram-fasciculum. Si autem haec exemplaris petia erat verus ternio, petiae ordinariae amplitudinis veri duerniones fuerunt; quae vero petiae notabiliter medium linearum numerum excedunt, terniones fuisse videntur, ita scilicet ut sextae chartae aut totae aut magnam partem albae relictas fuerint” (ed. Leon., t. XII, 2^a pars, p. X).

transmitted by the *exemplar* does not necessarily belong to the best family. The system of loaning *exemplaria* was studied in the introduction to *Super Ethicam* (multiplicity of *exemplaria*: revision *pecia* by *pecia*) and to the *Super Politicam* (duplicate *exemplar* and reworked *exemplar*).

With these premises, it will be easily understood that the Proceedings of the colloquium held in Grottaferrata in 1983, and published by the C.N.R.S. of Paris, came to constitute the work of reference on this subject in the eyes of the entire academic community of medievalists.¹⁸

During its thirty years in Grottaferrata (January of 1973-June of 2003), the Leonine Edition has published fourteen volumes. The editing of some texts was begun and brought to completion in Grottaferrata; other texts were reviewed and prepared for printing there.

- c) *The Move to the "Space Saint-Jacques" in Paris (10th of June, 2003)*

With the agreement of the Holy See, the administrative headquarters (*curia*) of the Order of Preachers implemented the transfer to Paris of the Leonine Commission, with the aid of the Dominican Province of France. The Leonine settled at the "Library of Le Saulchoir," next to the *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, in the convent of Saint-Jacques.

The patrimony of the Leonine consists first of all of its collection of manuscripts reproduced on microfilm: nearly 500,000 photographs. Umberto Misso, a professor of Philosophy (Logic) at

18. L. J. BATAILLON; B. G. GUYOT; R.H. ROUSE (eds.), *La production du livre universitaire au Moyen-Age, "exemplar" et "pecia"*. *Actes du Symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, Éd. du C.N.R.S., Paris, 1988. Concerning the role of the first Leonine editions in the study of the system of *pecia*, vid. C. LUNA, *op. cit.*

the University Roma 3, has produced a database for the different kinds of reproductions of manuscripts (microfilm, printed photos, digital photos, transliterations, transcriptions, collations) that constitute the treasure of the library. We are currently working on a project to develop this database as soon as possible so that it can be made available to other libraries. The library of the Leonine also conserves nearly 18,000 volumes, mostly for aiding in the production of the critical edition: a small specialized library.

In addition to the collaboration with the Library of Le Saulchoir, and with *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, the Leonine Commission in Paris has initiated privileged contacts with the “Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes,” and in the course of 2004-2005 the two institutions have promoted common training initiatives in the production of critical editions of medieval texts.

Under the auspices of the “Centre Pierre Abélard,” Paris IV-Sorbonne, on the 13th of December of 2003, Professor Ruedi Imbach organized a colloquium with the title “The Leonine Commission: Philology and History at the Service of Thought”. The lecturers positioned the Commission vis-a-vis the history of the intellectual movements at the end of the 19th century and the beginnings of the 20th. At the same time they highlighted the contribution of the work of the Leonine Commission to multiple areas of the philological sciences. This colloquium, besides celebrating the arrival of the Leonine Commission in Paris, also offered an occasion to express public gratefulness to Father L. J. Bataillon, who has been working for more than 50 years in the Leonine, not only for the high scientific quality of his works, but also for the cheerful availability and the amiability that characterize his style of being both a scholar and a friar. The morning presentations of the colloquium were published in the first issue of the 2005 *Revue de Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*.

d) *Works in Progress*

The preparation of volume 44/1 is very advanced: it contains the critical editions of 21 sermons of Thomas, prepared by Father L. J. Bataillon. The text is at the stage of correcting the typesetter's proofs. The richness of this volume is twofold. The first, in the most general sense, corresponds to the study of preaching, mainly in university contexts, in the Middle Ages: the general introduction of the volume studies all the collections of manuscripts that have transmitted the sermons of Thomas, authentic or only attributed, and thus represents a small introduction to this sort of preaching and the method with which it should be studied. The second contribution of the introduction, and also of the edition of the sermons itself, is to reveal an unedited Thomas: the *reportationes* of his homilies introduce us to his presence. It seems as though he were speaking directly to those who read the sermons today. On the other hand, the topics treated by Aquinas lead us to an encounter, sometimes with the teacher, at other times with the friar, and at other times with the *uir euangelicus*.

Another edition which is very advanced in production is the *quaestio disputata De potentia* (volume 21). This text was worked on, first by Father Gallet, and later Father Gauthier, who died in 1999; the latter prepared the text but was unable to finish the work. It remains to review the text, and also to write half of the introduction and half of the source apparatus. Although it is not a small amount of work, it is not imposing either. The team in Paris will work together to complete this publication.

The editions of several works are at the moment in the phase of revision. Of particular importance is volume 24/3, which will contain the *quaestiones disputatae De uirtutibus in communi, De spe, De caritate, De unione Verbi incarnati, and De duobus praeceptis*. The edition has been prepared by Father E. Deronne, of Louvain, and now it must be reviewed and prepared for printing.

In addition to these works, the edition most advanced is that of the Commentary on the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans. Father

G. de Grandpré will complete the introduction shortly, and then the entire work will be able to be reviewed, and should be sent to the press before long.

The edition of the other Biblical commentaries is not very advanced, with the exception of the Commentary on the Psalms, being prepared by Dr. M. Morard, who has also prepared the Biblical text of the Psalms commented on by Thomas (1-56), and who has prepared up to half of the text of the commentary.

The edition of the Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle (volume 46) is being prepared by Professor J. Reilly, who is set to finish the introduction and the source apparatus. The revision of the text will begin soon, because Professor Reilly has just sent the definitive text and the apparatus of almost all the books.

Of the other commentaries on Aristotle, the edition of the *Super Meteora* (volume 3/3) is also in progress, under the direction of Dr. Kevin White, of the Catholic University of America (Washington), who had already published, several years ago, three unpublished chapters of the commentary on book 2 (chapters 13-15). The collation of the manuscripts is very advanced.

Also the work of editing is proceeding apace on the *Commentary on the Sentences*. The text of the third book, prepared by Father Hinnebusch, is already prepared, and Dr. R. Wielockx, who has to carry the work to completion, is advancing in researching the sources and in the editing of the text. Fr. P. M. Gils († 2001) prepared the edition of the text of book II; Father A. Oliva is in charge of the editing of the text, and Father Z. Pajda is in charge of the manuscript sources. The text of Book IV will be established in the course of 2005 by Father W. Fauser, SJ. Also he has written part of the introduction. It remains to establish who will be in charge of preparing the sources for the fourth book, which has a wordcount superior to the total of Books I and II.

The work on the edition of Book I are still in the stage of collating the manuscripts: Father H. Dondaine has organized a dozen manuscripts that allow for following the formation and evolution of the text. The edition of the prologue to the Commen-

tary will be published by the publishing house J. Vrin, of Paris, preceded by two studies: one on the manuscript tradition of Book I, and another one on the teaching of the *Sentences* by Thomas.¹⁹

Father L. J. Bataillon has done some preliminary research on the text of the *Prima pars* that has allowed him to identify several textual traditions: two *exemplaria* from Paris, one Neapolitan and one from an independent family. Father W. Senner, with an eye to the publication of the German translation of the treatise on sin of the *Prima Secundae*, has studied the printed tradition of this part of the *Summa*.²⁰

Dr. Denise Bouthillier is preparing the edition of volumes IV and V of the *Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino*. Her work is based on notes gathered by partners of the Leonine, especially by Hugues Shooner. The description of the manuscripts in libraries from Prague to Varna has finished already (volume IV); and the description of the codices conserved in the Vatican Apostolic Library (volume V) has been undertaken.

At the moment, 12 researchers work in the Leonine Commission, and three young Dominican friars have begun formation.

3. SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Now that we have come this far, the question could arise about how much time is required for publishing a volume of the Leonine Edition.

19. A. OLIVA, *Les débuts de l'enseignement de Thomas d'Aquin et sa conception de la 'Sacra Doctrina'. Édition du prologue de son 'Commentaire des Sentences' de Pierre Lombard*, J. Vrin, Paris, 2006.

20. L. J. BATAILLON, "Recherches sur le texte de la Prima pars de la Summa Theologie de Thomas d'Aquin," in *Roma magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis* (Mélanges L. E. Boyle, OP), Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 11-24. W. SENNER, *Deutsche Thomas Ausgabe*, t. 12.

Naturally, many of you will already have formulated an answer, bearing in mind the long list of variants studied by Fr. R. A. Gauthier, or the beautiful *stemmata* of the *Quaestiones de ueritate*, each a small work of art from the typesetter's point of view. Certainly, it is not a matter of responding to the question by referring to the editions already published, which constitute a model of applying textual criticism to medieval Latin texts. Permit me to provide some information about the textual tradition of the commentary of Thomas on the first *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

These are the stages to follow in producing a critical edition of a work: (1) Census and analysis of all the preserved manuscripts; (2) classification of the manuscripts according to provenance and characteristics; (3) tests (*collations*) of all manuscripts on one significant part of the text (at least 8000 words); (4) if the manuscript tradition has a university branch, collation (mutual comparison) of all the manuscripts in *pecia* whenever there is a change of *pecia*; (5) possible tests of all the manuscripts in particularly significant variants; (6) elaboration of a *stemma* (a genealogical tree of the manuscripts).

What is a university tradition of a medieval work? Earlier, as I spoke about the history of the Leonine Commission, I emphasized the role of this institution in the discovery of the purpose of *pecia* in the production of medieval books. I would like at this point to show the application of this discovery to a critical edition.

The great demand for books, originally for legal writings and later theological as well, at the end of the 12th century and the beginnings of the 13th, caused the university students to develop a special system of reproducing manuscripts. Until that point, habitually, a manuscript would be borrowed by a copyist, who retained it during the time required to copy it. Consider that a professional copyist could copy five or six columns of text per day. This means that the manuscript could not be used for study during the time required to make the copy.

In order to avoid this problem, it was decided to create special manuscripts, called *exemplaria*, formed by booklets, like any other

manuscript, but not sewn, so that a copyist could borrow each booklet separately. These booklets were called *pecie* (“pieces”) and together constituted an *exemplar* (the “model”).²¹

I invite you to consider that this one innovation in the system of book reproduction in the Middle Ages has resulted in at least two important consequences: (1) first of all, it made it possible to simultaneously copy more codices from the same *exemplar*; (2) secondly, it changed the relation of each copy to the archetype of the text.

This second innovation is certainly the most significant from the point of view of the textual critic, who tries to reconstruct a text as close as possible to the original, based on the testimonies of the conserved codices.

The commentary of Thomas on the first Book of the *Sentences* has been transmitted via this system of *exemplar-pecie*. Limiting ourselves to the first *pecie*, which contain the prologue to the Commentary, we have compared all of the 76 manuscripts that transmit this work. The result has been the identification of three large families, represented in *stemma* (see figure 1).

21. As an aside, I'd like to remind you that the Library of the Cathedral Chapter of Pamplona preserves a famous *exemplar* of Aquinas's *Super III Sententiarum*: see P. M. GILS, “Codicologie et critique textuelle pour une étude du ms. Pamplona, Catedral 51”, *Scriptorium*, 32 (1978), pp. 221-230.

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[autographe supposé]

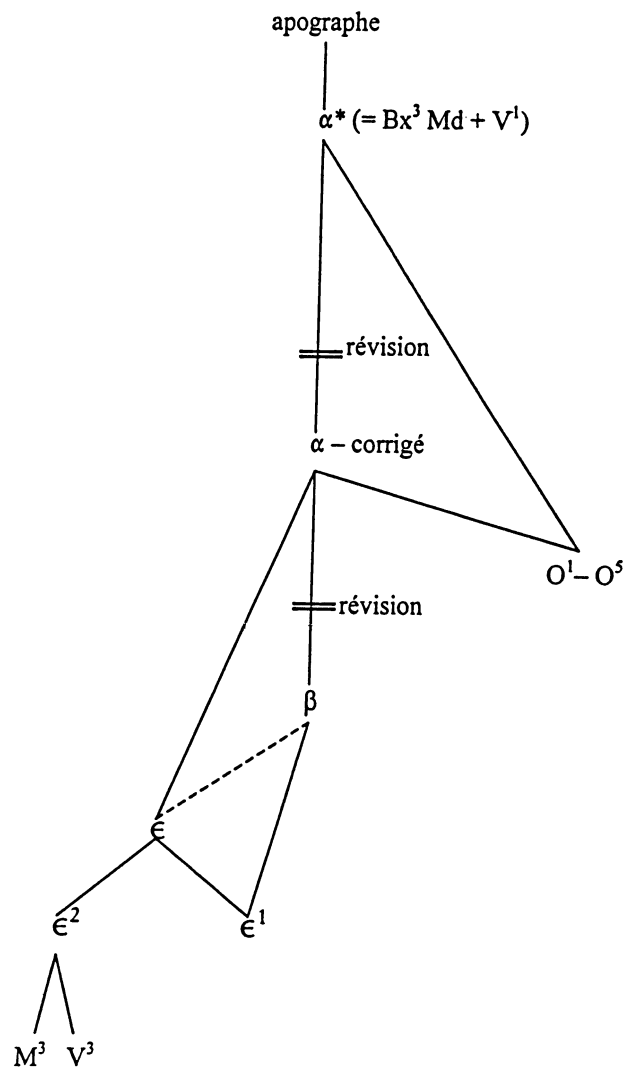


Figure 1

What is it that has allowed me to place the manuscripts of the family ∇ (alpha) in such a close relation with the archetype? There

are a series of special variants, which provide added explanations or highly significant additions which mark the difference between the first edition of the text and the second edition.

How can we speak of two successive editions and in addition to privilege one over the other? To explain this, it will be helpful to present an analysis of how Thomas himself edited the third book of the *Sentences*, an analysis that we will derive from the autograph manuscript, preserved today in the Vatican Apostolic Library.

As Father Gils has shown, with ample evidence, in his three articles dedicated to this manuscript,²² Thomas made some very characteristic corrections to the first edition of his text. We can observe some of these in folio 31r of the codex.

It has to do with explanations added or short corrections (although, sometimes, they can be very ample corrections) which we found in the autograph codex, written sometimes by the hand of St. Thomas himself, others by that of his secretary, as in this case. It is important to also observe that Thomas returned to these corrected passages time and time again: thus, we can be sure that these corrections have his approval and are therefore variants from the author himself.

This same phenomenon can be found in the textual tradition of the commentary on the first book of the *Sentences*. Here are some examples (the references made here are to the lines of the upcoming edition of the prologue;²³ ∇* (alpha)* indicates the first version, not reviewed by Thomas):

Prol., a. 3, ad 2,1, u. 61-63:

“Et hoc usitatur etiam in scientia morali, quia operationes particularium, et circa particularia sunt, **unde per exempla**

22. P. M. GILS, “Textes inédits de st. Thomas. Les premières rédactions du ‘Scriptum super tertio Sententiarum’”, *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 45 (1961), pp. 201-228; 46 (1962), pp. 445-462, 609-628.

23. A. OLIVA, *Les débuts* cit.

particularia ea que ad mores pertinent melius manifestantur”

unde per exempla particularia ea que ad mores pertinent melius manifestantur] *def.* \forall^* (alfa) * (*suppl. mg. sec. m. Md*), O^1 *pr. m.* O^5

Prol., a. 3, ad 3, u. 111-112:

“Habitus istorum principiorum, **scilicet articularum**, ideo dicitur fides et non intellectus, ...”

scilicet articularum] *def.* \forall^* (alfa) *, Bg^2 Bx^4 , P^1 P^5 , *mg.* O^5 , F^2 Mo Zw : scilicet *sup. ras.* (articularum) W^2 : est (articularum) V^2

Prol., a. 5, resp., u. 21-23:

“modus accipiendi ista principia debet esse reuelatiuus ex parte infudentis **ut in uisionibus prophetarum** et oratiuus ex parte recipientis ut patet in Psalmis”

ut in uisionibus ^{prophetarum}] *def.* * (*suppl. mg. sec. m. Bx³*), *pr. m.* P^5 , O^1 *ac pr. m.* O^5 (*suppl. mg. sec. m. P⁵*, *ac O⁵*) : *transp. ante* ex parte (= reuelatiuus ut in uisionibus prophetarum ex parte infudentis) W^1

Super I Sent, d. 7, q. 1, a. 2, resp., on *potentia generandi*

Here is the first revision of \forall^* (alfa)* (in italics):

“Similiter dico quod, cum proprietas realiter sit ipsa essentia, *aliquis actus egreditur ab ipsa essentia secundum quod ipsa est paternitas et iste actus est generare*, unde principium generationis est essentielle sub ratione relationis”;

However, the corrected version is as follows:²⁴

24. Ed. Mandonnet, p. 179. The italics are mine.

“Similiter dico quod, cum proprietates realiter sit ipsa essentia *secundum quod est paternitas est principium huius actus qui est generare, non sicut agens sed sicut quo agitur* unde principium generationis est essentiale sub ratione relationis”.

Super I Sent., d. 37, q. 3, a. 1, resp.: Vtrum angelus sit in loco.

And next, the corrected passage from the text, \forall^* (alpha) *, not witnessed by the printed tradition until the edition of Parma, inclusive:²⁵

“Angelus et quaelibet substantia incorporea non potest esse in corpore vel in loco nisi per operationem, quae effectum aliquem in eo causat. Hoc autem contingit multipliciter”

The following version is, however, the text authorized by Thomas and published only in the Vivès edition:²⁶

“Angelus et quaelibet substantia incorporea non potest esse in corpore vel in loco nisi per operationem, quae effectum aliquem in eo *facit, vel praesidendo, vel ministrando, vel aliquo modo agendo, ut dictum est ; vel etiam a corpore in ea efficitur, quae in passione spirituum solum accidit ; unde de hoc nihil ad praesens. Effectum autem facit in loco multipliciter*”

Thanks to the autograph manuscript of *Super III Sententiarum*, we can identify which is the primitive version and which the corrected one; and, naturally, it is necessary to treat the corrected manuscript as Thomas’s authorized version, certainly not the primitive one. The revision by Thomas, not only of folio 31, but also of other parts of the autograph, assures us of the authorization of the revised text.

25. Ed. Parmensis, p. 303 a.

26. Ed. Mandonnet, p. 871. The italics are mine.

Another observation about the text of *Super III Sententiarum*: the autograph has been corrected only up to distinction 28. Afterwards there are no further corrections. Nevertheless, the manuscript tradition testifies to a double revision, the original and the secondary. This means that, at the same moment at which Thomas was revising his text, a copy of the autograph was being prepared, which would be the archetype of the tradition and its *exemplar*. Once the *exemplar* had been prepared, Thomas made no further corrections to the autograph, which was quite difficult to read, but corrected the archetype (or the *exemplar* itself).

This fact also testifies to the frenetic rate at which works in the Middle Age were published. And it confirms our research, which has led to us to establish that, in only a single year, Thomas commented in class on two books of the *Sentences* of Lombard: Book III (1252-1253) and Books III-IV (1253-1254).

If we now take a look at the representation of family ∇ (alpha) in Figure 2, we will see that the three manuscripts Bx^3 Md y V^1 , which transmits the primitive text, are copies of the *pecia* number 1 of *exemplar* ∇ (alpha).

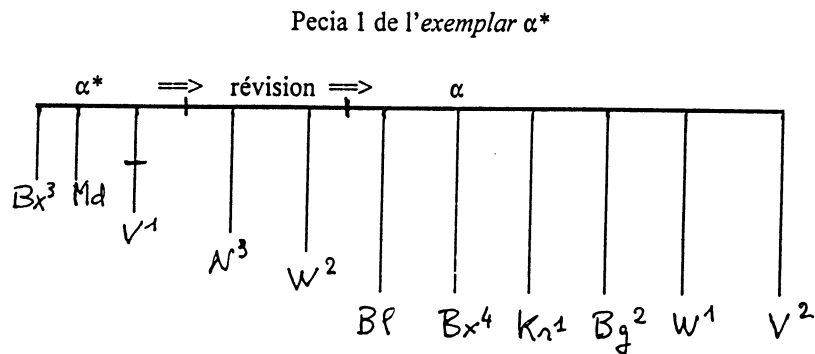


Figure 2

In these three manuscripts there are copying incidents that testify with certainty to their dependency on the *exemplar*. Also it is safe to say that the other manuscripts of ∇ (alpha) are copied

from the same *pecia*, because they react to the same errors in the primitive version of *pecia* \forall^* (alpha*). And this means that the revision of the text was performed after Thomas's first version already was in circulation!

At the beginning of these considerations about textual criticism, I observed that the manuscripts copied from the *pecie* of an *exemplar* maintain a close relation with the original text. During the period that a single *pecia* is used as a model by many copyists, the copyists make marks; some copyists write their names in the margin, "Bernardus" for example, so that they could remember where they had finished copying. It could then happen that a later copyist, when returning to copy the same *pecia*, might think that the name is some *auctoritas* that should be inserted in the text. In this way, the text of a *pecia*, even those close to the origin of the tradition, is exposed to a series of corruptions of the following type:²⁷

Iamblicus ==> Istimblicus ==> Istumblicum ==> Simplicus ==> Simplicius

or else:

naturam-communem ==> numeracionem ==> intencionem

In addition, the text of an *exemplar* can depend, not on an archetype made by Thomas or his secretaries, but from a manuscript of low quality, as is the case, for example, with the commentary of Thomas on the Book of Job.²⁸ In contrary to what was believed when the system of *exemplar-pecia* was discovered,²⁹ the fact that a textual tradition is transmitted by means of *exemplar* is not really a guarantee that the text based on the *exemplar* is a text very close to the original one: the text transmitted by the *exemplar* must be studied next to that of all the other manuscripts, and be located in the totality of the textual tradition.

27. Cf. ed. Leonina, t. 23, p. 31 *.

28. Ed. Leonina, t. 26.

29. J. DESTREZ, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle*, Vautrain, Paris, 1935, 104 pp.

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After having clarified the characteristics of the university manuscript tradition, we can conclude by saying that this study does not eliminate the need to put into practice the traditional rules of textual criticism as applied to a classic tradition of the text. We are not dealing with a *petitio principii* (in the negative sense of the term), but rather of arriving at, or at least glimpsing, the origin of the text, which constitutes the ideal for all critical editions.

Adriano Oliva, OP
Commissio Leonina
20 rue des Tanneries
F - 75013 Paris, France
email: aoliva@nerim.net