

VIDE IN ALIO QUATERO: THE COMPLEX GENESIS OF JAMES OF METZ'S COMMENTARY ON THE SENTENCES

NICOLÒ VANTAGGIATO

Abstract: This study reconstructs the complex textual evolution of James of Metz's *Commentary on the Sentences*, a pivotal yet problematic work of 13th-century Dominican thought. Drawing on a comparative analysis of the three surviving textual versions – the first redaction, the second redaction, and the *Additiones* – the paper reassesses previous hypotheses by Koch, Decker, Ullrich, Köhler, Olszewski, and Schabel. By tracing the stages of textual evolution, the study proposes a chronology of James's revision process and situates his work within the broader dynamics of the reception of Thomas Aquinas's texts.

Keywords: James of Metz; Thomism; Dominican Order; medieval textual tradition; authorial revision.

1. Introduction

In the context of renewed interest in early Thomism, historiographical research over the last century has devoted considerable attention to the historical and philosophical developments which occurred between the death of Thomas Aquinas (1274) and his canonisation (1323). The main aim of these studies has been to reconstruct the reception of Thomas's texts and the progressive spread of his doctrines, both within and without the Order of Preachers.¹

In this articulated framework, James of Metz stands out as one of the most debated Dominican theologians in the historiography of the late 13th and early 14th centuries.² On the one hand, Martin Grabmann described him as a faithful interpreter of Aquinas;³ on the other hand, based on Josef Koch's reconstruction in 1929, James appears to be the possible founder and exponent, together with

1 For an overview of the phenomenon, see GILSON 1922; GRABMANN 1925; KOCH 1928; ROENSCH 1964; HINNEBUSCH 1966–1973; WÉBER 1996; BERGER 2002; KERR 2002; BIANCHI 2002; LOWE 2003; CESSARIO 2005; ROBIGLIO 2005; ROBIGLIO 2008; SACCENTI 2020.

2 For an essential bibliography on James of Metz's biographical profile, see GRABMANN 1925; KOCH 1929; ULLRICH 1966; DECKER 1967; KÖHLER 1971; OLSZEWSKI 2010; FRIEDMAN 2011; SCHABEL 2018.

3 Cf. GRABMANN 1925, 207.

his confrere Durand of Saint-Pourçain, of an anti-Thomistic current within the Dominican Order, rooted in a more conservative Augustinian tradition.⁴

The inconsistency between these opposing interpretations seems to point to a more fundamental difficulty: James's only known work, his *Commentary on Sentences*, lends itself to multiple and sometimes conflicting readings, which reflect a complex textual tradition.

Following the line of previous studies on James's *Commentary*, the present paper seeks to gather and compare all the data available to date. Its purpose is to advance an interpretative hypothesis aimed at reconstructing the complex work underlying James of Metz's *Commentary on the Sentences*.

2. James of Metz's *Commentary on the Sentences*: *status quaestionis*

The complex manuscript tradition of James's *Commentary* transmits three distinct versions of the text, which seem to be the result of two separate cycles of lectures given by James on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. According to the most recent research findings, the first cycle of lectures took place at the provincial *studium* in Reims between 1297 and 1298, while the second was held at the *studium generale* in Paris between 1300 and 1301.⁵

The central issue raised by James's *Commentary* – which remains unsolved to this day – concerns the correct interpretation of the manuscript material derived from these lectures. The *Commentary* is transmitted by twelve manuscripts, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. The amount of text preserved varies considerably from one codex to another: only one manuscript, Borgh. lat. 122 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (V), transmits the *Commentary* in its entirety, while the others contain a limited number of books or portions thereof.⁶

In 1929, Koch discovered, at the beginning of manuscript 992 of the Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne (T), a quire of twelve folios bound together with the main codex.⁷ At the end of the preceding *Tabula quaestio-*

4 Cf. KOCH 1929, 169–170.

5 Cf. SCHABEL 2018, 349–353.

6 For an overview and an updated review of the manuscript tradition, see SCHABEL 2018, 346 and 377–384.

7 Cf. KOCH 1929, 171–194.

num, a copyist added this clarification: “Primi sexterni sunt additiones, quas frater iste fecit in secunda uice qua legit Sententias.”⁸ This note states that the text contained in the quire consists of some *Additiones*, namely, additions to the *Commentary*, probably gathered by a copyist to systematically record the changes introduced by James during his second lecture on the *Sentences*. Koch further clarified that the *Additiones* do not usually constitute a complete text but rather collect portions of text intended to supplement a first version of the *Commentary*. According to Koch’s hypothesis, the copyist omitted the parts that remained unchanged between the old and the new version, limiting himself to transcribing the sections in which the *lectio* of the second lecture differed from the first one.⁹

Within the *Additiones*, three types of information can generally be distinguished: (1) indications relating to the sections of the *Commentary* to be changed; (2) instructions concerning the action to be taken; and (3) the modifications to be inserted into the text. To understand how this system works in practice, it is useful to analyse an example:

De articulo sicut prius et adde primo membro primi articuli, ubi probatur per duas auctoritates lumen illud esse possibile, rationem istam: plus de lumine debetur doctori theologo, dum in uia, quam inferiori populo uel plebi. Hoc autem non esset, nisi supra lumen fidei quod habent alii haberet¹⁰ aliud lumen; ergo etc.¹¹

This passage appears in the *Additiones* in relation to the first question of the Prologue to the *Commentary*. The note indicates that an additional argument should be inserted into the first article, in the section where James, referring to two eminent theological authorities – Augustine and Isaiah – shows how theological knowledge can assume scientific status owing to a supernatural light

8 T, 1v.

9 Cf. KOCH 1929, 180.

10 Following T, 9ra, Olszewski reports here the *lectio haberent*, according to the plural form. However, the reference to the doctor theologian suggests that the *lectio haberet* should be adopted.

11 IACOBUS METENSIS 2010, *Super Sent., Prol.*, 1, 34. In all the cited editions, the spelling has been standardised. In this study, however, medieval spelling has been retained, in accordance with the *usus scribendi* of the manuscript tradition.

intermediate between the *lumen fidei* and the *lumen gloriae*.¹² Because of these indications, the author's intention is to provide a precise reference to the point to be integrated in the *Commentary*, usually identified with the expression 'alius quaternus', a formula that occurs frequently in the *Additiones* to indicate references to questions or sections in the main text of the *Commentary*.

Based on this evidence, Koch believed that the part of manuscript *T* that preserves James's main text reflects the first lecture on the *Sentences* and accordingly he designated it as the 'first redaction' of the *Commentary*. However, by comparing the text of manuscript *T* (both in the *Additiones*' section and in the first redaction) with that of manuscript *V*, Koch noted significant differences. In addition to differences in length, the version of the *Commentary* preserved in *V* exhibits anomalous editorial features. In some places *V* incorporates the content of the *Additiones*, in others it returns to the first redaction, while in others still, it independently introduces new arguments and stylistic changes that are absent in both previous versions.¹³ Koch named this new version 'second redaction', and warned against the tendency, which he considered misleading, to regard it as merely the sum of the first redaction and the annotations contained in the *Additiones*.¹⁴

A representative example of the ambiguous character of *V* is provided by the same question mentioned above. Among the positions presented and discussed by James, there is the well-known thesis of Aquinas, according to which, theology can be conceived as a science subordinate to God's science. In both versions, James addresses the same topic, but the explanation is significantly different.

12 Cf. IACOBUS METENSIS 2010, *Super Sent.*, *Prol.*, 1, 51–52.

13 Cf. DECKER 1967, 15.

14 Cf. KOCH 1929, 186–189. The second redaction is transmitted by almost all the manuscripts of the James's *Commentary on the Sentences*. The only exceptions are the manuscript Borgh. lat. 317 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*D*) and the manuscript 1321 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Wien (*W*). They transmit, respectively, the text of the first redaction and a contaminated version of the *Commentary*, obtained by mixing material from the three versions of the text.

Redaction I and II	<i>Additiones</i>
Secunda opinio est quod theologia proprie et simpliciter loquendo est scientia sicut scientia subalterna. Dicunt enim quod ad scientiam subalternam que proprie scientia dicitur sufficit habere solam fidem de suis principiis credendo scientie superiori. Et ideo cum theologia sua principia supponat a scientia Dei et beatorum, que est superior, simpliciter est scientia subalterna, sicut et alie scientie humane. Ista opinio imponitur magistris et ideo ipsam non reprobō.¹⁵	In secunda opinione, que est Thome, quod numquam intellexit eam esse scientiam proprie et maxime, cum ponat eam esse subalternam, quia sola credulitas non causat scientiam, et pro tanto dicit Philosophus II <i>Physicorum</i>, quia cecus non potest habere scientiam de coloribus, quantumcumque persuadeatur ei quod color disgreget; set theologia credulitati innititur, quia fidei; ergo etc. Item Philosophus I <i>Posteriorum</i> dicit quod subalterna scientia dicit quia de eo de quo subalternans dicit propter quid. Vnde et scientia subalterna aliquid supponit. Hoc non est quia, set propter quid, quia autem cognoscit et accipit a sensu, et non a superiori scientia. Et ideo quia theologia nec propter quid, quia subalterna, nec quia, quod¹⁶ non accipit a sensu, euidenter scit de principiis, ideo impossibile est eam esse scientiam proprie loquendo. Et hoc intelligere siue dicere uoluit, sicut dicitur prius in ultima demonstratione questionis.¹⁷

In the second redaction, without explicitly naming him, James reiterates the arguments put forward by Thomas in the *Summa theologiae*. In this passage, James limits himself to presenting Aquinas's position, treating it as the sole valid view, given its authoritative status among the masters, and explicitly declines to provide a reply.¹⁸ This mindset is, however, contradicted by the *Additiones*. Here,

15 IACOBUS METENSIS 2010, *Super Sent.*, Prol., 1, 56.

16 Here, manuscript *T* presents the lectio *quia*. Considering the meaning of the sentence, the lectio *quod* is to be preferred.

17 IACOBUS METENSIS 2010, *Super Sent.*, Prol., 1, 35.

18 On closer inspection, the refutation of Aquinas's arguments already appears in the text of the first and the second redaction, at the end of the question, albeit in a marginal position and without references. See IACOBUS METENSIS 2010, *Super Sent.*, Prol., 1, 58: "Et hoc expresse dicit Philosophus I *Posteriorum*, quod de eodem principio subalternans dicit propter

James not only openly recognises Thomas as his direct interlocutor, but also enters into open conflict with his position by rejecting it, since it is impossible for the theologian to know either the *propter quid* or the *quia* of theology.¹⁹

The reason why the second redaction systematically omits the material from the *Additiones* in this passage and returns, almost *verbatim*, to the text of the first redaction is unknown. Koch ruled out the possibility that this was self-censorship aimed at silencing positions considered contrary to the *doctrina fratris Thomae*.²⁰ However, other scholars have proposed different hypotheses, and it is therefore necessary to systematically evaluate each solution, highlighting both the strengths and limitations considering the available textual evidence.

2.1 Koch's hypothesis

Based on a relatively small manuscript tradition, Koch believed that James's authentic work should be limited to the first redaction and the *Additiones*, both preserved in manuscript *T*. According to his reconstruction, the text handed down from the second redaction was composed at a later date by a disciple or a student, probably after James's premature death. This anonymous editor, endowed – in Koch's words – “more with good will than with reason,” would have used only part of the *Additiones* to create a new version of the *Commentary*, identified precisely with the second redaction.²¹

In this way, Koch completely rejected the textual and doctrinal value of the second redaction, considering it a mere inauthentic reworking. However, this reconstruction suffers from a fundamental problem: it does not explain why the

quid et subalternata dicit quia, ita quod si principium suum crederet ab alio et quantum ad propter quid et quantum ad quia, non esset scientia, set fides uel opinio. Et hoc est intentio Philosophi II *Physicorum* ubi dicit quod cecus potest syllogizare de coloribus, non tamen habere scientiam. Vnde quantumcumque ipse credit alii dicenti propter quid albedo disgregat et quia disgregat ex quo non potest hoc accipere a sensu quia ita est, non habet de hoc scientiam. Quia ergo theologus nec propter quid nec quia uidet de articulis, impossibile est theologiam esse scientiam et subalternam.”

19 In this way, James repeats *verbatim* the refutation already developed in the first and second redactions (see the previous note). The final comment in the *Additiones* refers precisely to that passage, inviting the reader to consider the last argument presented in the question.

20 Cf. KOCH 1929, 185–186.

21 Cf. KOCH 1929, 188–189.

supposed disciple would have continued his master's work in such a clumsy and incomplete way. In opposition to Koch's thesis, a few years later Bruno Decker observed that editorial interventions such as those of the second redaction cannot be attributed to the work of a simple disciple or copyist but presuppose the direct action of the author.²² In support of this hypothesis, it should be remembered that the second redaction – the only one to have enjoyed a significant circulation – was received by contemporaries as an authentic work, something that would hardly have occurred if it had been perceived as the result of a student's alteration.²³

2.2 *The hypotheses of Decker, Ullrich and Köhler*

Although representing three distinct contributions, the studies by Decker, Lothar Ullrich, and Theodor Köhler share a common assumption. While the three versions of James's *Commentary* originate from the two cycles of lectures on the *Sentences*, both the second redaction and the *Additiones* are the result of James's second lecture.²⁴ What distinguishes the position of these three scholars from Koch's, then, is the different perspective adopted in considering the second redaction and the *Additiones*. Decker and Ullrich argued that the stylistic and content-related variations in the second redaction should be regarded as the result of a revision process conducted by James himself, to prepare the text for publication. The second redaction would therefore represent the definitive version of the work – i.e., the *ordinatio* of the *Commentary* – while the *Additiones* would retain the provisional character of a *reportatio*.²⁵

Although following the interpretative line drawn by Decker and Ullrich, Köhler's reconstruction differs from the other two for the different editorial status attributed to the second redaction. In fact, according to Köhler, it should not be understood as an *ordinatio*, but rather as a second *reportatio*, parallel to that preserved in the *Additiones*. To be more precise, Köhler believed that both the second redaction and the *Additiones* were autonomous and independent

22 Cf. DECKER 1967, 16. On the topic of authorial interventions (with specific reference to the *quaestiones quodlibetales*), see also GLORIEUX 1939.

23 Cf. DECKER 1967, 13–17.

24 See DECKER 1967; ULLRICH 1966; KÖHLER 1971.

25 Cf. DECKER 1967, 16–17.

transcriptions of the same second lecture on the *Sentences*. This common origin would explain the presence of parallel portions of text in the two versions, while the stylistic and lexical differences would be attributable to the different editors who materially transcribed the lecture.²⁶

The hypotheses put forward by the three scholars restored the authorial status of James's second redaction, thereby rejecting the criticism previously formulated by Koch. Beyond the differences regarding the definitive or provisional nature of the text, their studies have also helped to establish a connection between the second redaction and the *Additiones*, highlighting their partial similarities and tracing it back to a common origin, identified in James's second lecture on the *Sentences*.

However, several additional problems remain to be addressed. Although it is plausible that two different *reportationes* – according to Köhler's hypothesis – could present stylistic or terminological variations, it is much more difficult to explain differences in content between the two versions. It seems highly unlikely that, during the same lecture, James would have taken diametrically opposed doctrinal positions towards Thomas, as shown in the example above.²⁷ Therefore, following this line of thought, the second redaction and the *Additiones*, though closely related, should not be attributed to the same lecture on the *Sentences*.

2.3 Current research trends

Although several contributions have appeared in recent years – some of which aim to offer partial critical editions of the *Commentary* –²⁸ the overall interpretative framework has not undergone any substantial changes.

Like Decker and Ullrich, Mikołaj Olszewski, in his work devoted to the Prologue of the *Commentary*, considered the second redaction as the final version of James's work.²⁹ However, the analysis of the Prologue, as structured in the

26 Cf. KÖHLER 1971, 55–61.

27 See *supra*, 108–110.

28 See IACOBUS METENSIS 2010; SCHABEL 2014; PECK, SCHABEL 2015; OLSZEWSKI 2018; SCHABEL 2020.

29 Cf. OLSZEWSKI 2010, especially VII, 5–6, 17, and 333.

edition made by Olszewski, does not solve all the problems of the text.³⁰ For example, in the first five questions of the Prologue, the second redaction takes up the text transmitted by the first redaction, even when there is a corresponding version in the *Additiones*; only in the sixth question – concerning the practical or speculative nature of theological knowledge – does the second redaction conform to the text of the *Additiones*, abandoning that of the first redaction.

In contrast to Olszewski, Christopher Schabel has put forward, albeit in entirely hypothetical terms, the hypothesis that the second redaction constitutes a reworked version of the first redaction, while the *Additiones* represent the final version of the text.³¹

In such an interpretative scenario, still open and characterised by considerable margins of uncertainty, it seems necessary to carefully reconsider the available textual evidence, identify new elements, and provide a coherent hypothesis to explain the complex editorial status of James's *Commentary on the Sentences*.

3. A new interpretative hypothesis

Considering what has been explained so far, the differences found between the various redactions of the *Commentary* cannot be considered simple mechanical variations, i.e., due to corruptions or alterations that arose during the transcription and transmission of individual manuscripts. This is particularly evident in

30 OLSZEWSKI 2010, 5: "The Prologue (ff. 2ra–6vb) [of *T*] and the *Additiones* testify to two stages of elaborating a new redaction of the *Commentary*. The Prologue is its first stage, while the *Additiones* are its completion and emendation. James probably started a new version of the *Commentary* with the Prologue (ff. 2r–6v). At some point his work was interrupted. When he resumed the *Commentary*, he was dissatisfied with the first version of the Prologue and decided to correct it: partially completing the older version (as in case of Question 1) and partially revising or rewriting the text – this was done in the *Additiones*."

31 SCHABEL 2018, 374–375: "Nevertheless, there are other possibilities, for example that for Book I GKLMNPV is a revision of the first redaction made in Paris in preparation for the lectures, which only got as far as Distinction 34, and the *Additiones* represent final adjustments in the lectures themselves. At that time, moreover, it was normal to lecture at Paris in the sequence I–IV–II–III, and after the *Additiones* in I, Book IV does betray the most revision and Book III the least, with the ends of both Book II and III, like Book I, carrying only one text. [...] Since the note on f. 1vb of Troyes asserts that these *Additiones* come from the second lectures on the *Sentences*, we can extrapolate from Olszewski's remark to assert that, after James of Metz had finished his first lectures, probably at Reims, he came to Paris and began his revisions, continuing them while he actually lectured."

cases where the second redaction does not use the *Additiones* or does not return to the first redaction. Rather, it seems to proceed independently, introducing textual changes and conceptual clarifications.

As Decker has already observed, the interventions found in the second redaction must be regarded as authorial, that is, as the result of James's own reworking of the *Commentary* at a certain stage of his intellectual activity.³² From these premises one may infer that the different redactions of the *Commentary* may not represent independent texts or versions, but successive stages of elaboration of the same work.

This would make James's *Commentary* a paradigmatic case of an evolving authorial text (*Autorentext im Wandel*),³³ such as Meister Eckhart's *Opus Tripartitum*³⁴ and Durand of Saint-Pourçain's *Commentary on the Sentences*.³⁵ This means that the manuscript tradition of James's *Commentary* can be understood as an *open tradition*, in which the 'law of progressive improvement of the text' is followed. According to this law, it is possible to reconstruct a complex manuscript tradition conceiving the author's text as a singular text developed through various editorial stages, in which the author progressively sought to perfect it.³⁶ The application of this principle, therefore, offers a fruitful methodological perspective, capable of providing useful elements for understanding and reconstructing the complex editorial stratification of James's *Commentary*.

3.1 *The relationship between the Additiones and the alius quaternus*

As mentioned previously, the note at the end of the *Tabula quaestionum*³⁷ allows us to identify the text transmitted by manuscript *T* – excluding the *Additiones* – as a witness of the first redaction. Moreover, having ruled out the possibility that the second redaction and the *Additiones* constitute independent develop-

32 Cf. DECKER 1967, 16.

33 The *Autorentext im Wandel* paradigm was introduced for the first time by Sturlese to explain the peculiarities of the manuscript tradition of Eckhart's *Opus Tripartitum*. See STURLESE 1985.

34 See STURLESE 1992.

35 See JESCHKE 2014; RETUCCI 2014; SPEER 2014.

36 Cf. STURLESE 1992, especially 33.

37 *T*, 1v: "Primi sexterni sunt additiones, quas frater iste fecit in secunda uice qua legit Sententias."

ments of the same second lecture on the *Sentences*, it can reasonably be assumed that James's editorial activity followed two possible lines of development:

A) Redaction I to *Additiones* to redaction II

B) Redaction I to redaction II to *Additiones*

The solution to this problem is based mainly on an analysis of the *Additiones* and the version immediately preceding it. Indeed, the *Additiones* repeatedly refer to the *alius quaternus* as the place where the *Additiones* corrections have to be integrated. If the *alius quaternus* to which they refer coincides with the text of the first redaction, it can be confirmed that the second redaction was only composed later, as Olszewski claims. Conversely, if the expression *alius quaternus* in the *Additiones* indicates the text of the second redaction, then the latter should most probably be regarded, in accordance with the hypothesis put forward by Schabel, as an intermediate version of the *Commentary*, chronologically situated between the two lectures on the *Sentences*. Three examples offer sufficiently clear elements to answer this question and to outline, with greater precision, the evolutionary dynamics of James's text.

The first and most significant example is Distinction 11, devoted to the inter-trinitarian relations. Schabel edited this text and pointed out in his study the differences between the three versions. He claims that James's revisions are not merely stylistic, but affect the entire structure, the arrangement of topics, and the formulation of whole paragraphs.³⁸ From the very beginning, the parallelism between the second redaction of the *Commentary* and the *Additiones* is evident, revealing their close affinity:

Redaction I	Redaction II	<i>Additiones</i>
Circa XI distinctionem queritur utrum Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Filio si non procederet ab eo.	Vtrum Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Filio, dato quod non procederet ab eo.	Circa distinctionem XI queritur utrum Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Filio, dato quod non procederet ab eo.
Videtur quod sic, quiaque habent repugnantiam ad inuicem distinguuntur, dato quod unum ab	Videtur quod sic, quia sicut se habet generare ad spirare, sic generari ad spirari; set generare et	Et uidetur quod sic, quoniam sicut se habet generare ad spirare, sic generari ad spirari; set

³⁸ Cf. SCHABEL 2020.

alio non procedat; set Filius et Spiritus Sanctus repugnantiam uel oppositionem habent ad inuicem; ergo etc. Minor patet, quia de ratione Filii est quod non sit spiratus, quicquid enim Filio potest conuenire communicatum est sibi a Patre; non autem communicatum est sibi quod sit spiratus; ergo esse spiratum non potest sibi conuenire. [...] Tria uidenda sunt, primo positio que reputatur uera.	spirare distinguuntur re; ergo generari et spirari distinguuntur re, et per consequens Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, qui per ista constituuntur. [...]	generare et spirare distinguuntur realiter; ergo similiter generari et spirari. Si sic, ergo Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, qui per ista constituuntur. [...]
	Tria sunt uidenda: primo opinio minus uera, secundo opinio uerior, tertio solutio rationum prime opinionis.	Respondeo. Hic sunt tria uidenda: primo opinio minus uera, que ponit Spiritum Sanctum distinguere personaliter a Filio, dato quod non procederet ab eo; secundo opinio opposita et uerior; et tertio soluentur rationes prime opinionis.³⁹

Furthermore, James's response to the question – common to all three redactions of the *Commentary* – is developed across three articles: the first is devoted to presenting the opinion considered erroneous; the second to expounding what James considers to be the correct position; and the third and final, to refuting the arguments put forward in favour of the erroneous opinion. According to the first opinion, the Holy Spirit could be truly distinct from the Son even if He did not proceed from Him:

Redaction I	Redaction II	Additiones
Dicunt enim quidam quod Filius distinguetur a Spiritu Sancto etiam	Prima opinio dicit quod Spiritus Sanctus distinguetur personaliter a	Prima opinio probatur sex rationibus. ⁴⁰

³⁹ SCHABEL 2020, *Super Sent.*, I 11, 252–253.

⁴⁰ SCHABEL 2020, *Super Sent.*, I 11, 254.

si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet ab eo. Et hoc probant tripliciter.	Filio, dato quod non procederet ab eo. Quod probant sex rationibus.	
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The number of arguments in support of this opinion varies considerably between the different versions. While the first redaction provides only three arguments, the second redaction and the *Additiones* present six of them. A similar result can also be found in the third and final article of the question, which James devotes to refuting the arguments stated by the first opinion. Here too, the *Additiones* show a clear parallelism with the text of the second redaction but differ in the organisation of the textual material.

In refuting the fourth argument, the *Additiones* transmit a final note that, in turn, makes reference to the solution of the fifth argument, found in the *alius quaternus*:

Redaction II	<i>Additiones</i>
Ad quartum dico quod si Pater non generaret, uerum est quod adhuc esset innascibilis et Filius nascibilis, set tamen per hoc non distingueretur a Filio, quia solum distinguitur ab eo paternitate, que non esset in Patre nisi generaret. Et ideo Pater non distingueretur a Filio sicut suppositum a supposito, quia esse personale prius est quam proprietas personalis cuius est generare. Similiter dico quod esse inspirabile uel non spiratum non distingueret Filium a Spiritu Sancto, qui est spiratus, nisi ipse Filius spiraret ipsum, et per consequens nisi procederet ab eo. Ideo non ualet.	Ad quartum, “sicut se habet innascibilitas ad generare etc., remoto generare a Patre, adhuc remanet innascibilis et Filius nascibilis,” dico quod licet Pater non generaret, esset innascibilis et Filius nascibilis, set per hoc non distingueretur a Filio, quia non distinguitur a Filio nisi paternitate, que non esset in Patre nisi generaret. Et ideo Pater non distingueretur a Filio sicut suppositum a supposito, quia esse personale prius <i>est</i> quam proprietas personalis. Vnde si Pater non generaret, esse innascibile non distingueret ipsum a Filio. Ita esse inspirabile non distingueret Filium a Spiritu Sancto, dato quod Spiritus Sanctus sit spiratus, nisi Filius esset spirans; ideo etc. <i>Vide aliam solutionem in quinto argumento ad questionem in alio quaterno.</i>⁴¹

41 SCHABEL 2020, *Super Sent.*, I 11, 273–274.

This reference is unequivocal proof that the *alius quaternus* – and therefore the version immediately preceding the *Additiones* – cannot be identified as a witness of the first redaction. The latter, in fact, contains only the first three arguments, thereby not including the fifth argument referred to in the *Additiones*. It must therefore be concluded that the *Additiones* refers to a version of the text certainly later than the first redaction and closely related to the second, as demonstrated by the constant parallelism between those two versions.

The fact that the reference to *alius quaternus* cannot refer to the first redaction is further confirmed in question 2 of Distinction 3, on the faculties of the soul and their relationship with the soul itself. The redactional situation, as regards the incipits, is as follows:

Redaction I	Vtrum potentia anime sit idem quod essentia. ⁴²
Redaction II	Vtrum potentie anime differant ab anima uel sint idem cum essentia anime, ita quod anima sit immediatum principium suarum operationum. ⁴³
<i>Additiones</i>	Adde ad questionem ‘Vtrum potentie anime differant ab ipsa anima’. ⁴⁴

The copyist compiling the *Additiones* specifies that a series of arguments should be added, indicating at the same time the question to which these additions refer. However, this indication is only consistent if we take the second redaction as the reference text, since it literally reports the opening words used in the *Additiones*. By contrast, in the first redaction, no question has a similar opening.

As a final example, it is worth returning to the passage of the Prologue examined earlier, concerning the possibility of establishing theology as a science subordinate to God’s science.⁴⁵ If the *Additiones* represent the final version of James’s *Commentary*, the content of the second redaction – which appeared anomalous in relation to Olszewski’s reconstruction – is clear and consistent. The second redaction, in fact, does not include the text introduced by the *Additiones* because, at the time of the writing of the second redaction, the reworking of the *Additiones* had not yet taken place. The textual similarities between the

42 T, 35rb.

43 V, 7va.

44 T, 12va.

45 See *supra*, 108–110.

first and second redaction, in terms of these points, should therefore not be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to conceal a polemical stance towards Aquinas, but rather as an indication that, at this stage of development, James still considered the first redaction's formulation to be valid. Only later would he consider it possible to openly express his dissent towards Aquinas's authority.

As has been shown, considering the *Additiones* as the final version of James's *Commentary* helps to resolve most of the editorial inconsistencies highlighted by previous research hypotheses. Moreover, the significance of the *Additiones'* constant reference to the *alius quaternus* must be emphasised. We should avoid the temptation to identify the *alius quaternus* with one of the current surviving versions of the *Commentary*. Contrary to what Koch argued,⁴⁶ it cannot coincide with the first redaction (and therefore not even with manuscript T) for the reasons explained; yet, at the same time, it cannot be a copy of the second redaction, as it has been passed down to us. Indeed, as clearly brought to light by Schabel's edition, the second redaction and the *Additiones* transmit large sections of parallel text. However, this textual evidence contradicts the principle according to which, through the reference to the *alius quaternus*, the copyist of the *Additiones* frequently refrains from transcribing those portions of the *Commentary* that were not subject to revision. Then, a question arises: To which redaction of the *Commentary* do the *Additiones* refer? There are valid reasons to believe that the *alius quaternus* corresponded rather to James's personal codex, which has been lost. To fully clarify this point, it will be necessary to analyse the specific methods followed by James in each phase of the editorial process.

3.2 *The transition from the first to the second redaction*

The second redaction presents some significant peculiarities. As Schabel has pointed out in his studies, it has a different length in each book of the *Commentary*. The overall editorial situation can be summarised as follows:

Book I: two distinct redactions are attested up to Distinction 34; from Distinction 34 to 48, all manuscripts report, without substantial variations, the text of the first redaction.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. KOCH 1929, 180.

⁴⁷ Cf. SCHABEL 2018, 367–373.

Book II: two versions up to Distinction 18; from Distinction 19 to 43, all manuscripts report, without substantial variations, the text of the first redaction.⁴⁸

Book III: two redactions up to Distinction 3; from Distinction 9 to 39, all manuscripts report, without substantial variations, the text of the first redaction.⁴⁹

Book IV: two redactions up to Distinction 16; from Distinction 17 to 49, the only text available is that transmitted by *V*, making it impossible to determine whether it belongs to the first or to the second redaction.⁵⁰

According to this overview, the second redaction appears to be more of a revision of the *Commentary* rather than an independent version of it. Furthermore, manuscript evidence indicates that this revision process was carried out through two distinct modes of intervention.

The first revision method consists of corrections and additions in the form of marginal and interlinear glosses.⁵¹ In this regard, Ullrich's research plays an important role in the studies of James's text. Analysing manuscript *T*, he clarified that some of the marginal notes in the codex could be traced back to the second redaction of the *Commentary*, while the main text clearly reflects the first redaction.⁵² Realising that these marginal notes were subsequently integrated into the main text of the second redaction, Ullrich hypothesised that they came directly from the latter. To 'save' manuscript *T* without making a new complete copy, a scribe would have tried to update it progressively with the new redaction.⁵³ It is likely that this method did not reflect a copyist's independent initiative, but rather the method used by James himself in his own revision process.

A case example of what has just been described can be found in question 5 of Distinction 3 of the first redaction, corresponding to question 1 of the same

48 Cf. SCHABEL 2018, 365–367.

49 In manuscript *V*, the text from Distinction 4 to Distinction 9 is completely missing. Schabel believes this is due to the loss of a *bifolio* in the exemplar from which *V* was copied. Cf. SCHABEL 2018, 362–364.

50 Cf. SCHABEL 2018, 359–362.

51 The use of marginal and interlinear glosses was particularly widespread in medieval university circles. For an overview of the phenomenon, see BASWELL 1992; O'SULLIVAN 2017; TEEUWEN, VAN RENSWOUDE 2017; BROWN-GRANT, CARMASSI, DROSSBACH, HEDEMAN, TURNER, VENTURA 2019; VALENTE 2021; HENNINGS 2021.

52 Cf. ULLRICH 1966, 13 and 26.

53 Cf. ULLRICH 1966, 26–27.

Distinction of the second one. A comparison of the two redactions highlights how the marginal notes in *T* work:

Redaction I	Redaction I + <i>marginalia</i>	Redaction II
Propter primum sciendum quod, V <i>Metaphysice</i> , Philosophus distinguit duplicem potentiam, actiuam scilicet et passiuam. Extendamus uero nomen potentie passiuæ ad receptiuam, et actiuæ ad operatiuam. [...]	Propter primum sciendum quod, V <i>Metaphysice</i> , Philosophus distinguit duplicem potentiam, actiuam scilicet et passiuam. Extendamus uero nomen potentie passiuæ ad receptiuam [siue sit <potentia> forme substantialis siue accidentalis, dum tamen sit receptiua], et actiuæ ad operatiuam, [operatiua, siue sit naturalis siue non, sicut forte uisuiua]. ⁵⁴ [...]	Primo ponetur quedam distinctio de potentia. Secundum Philosophum, VI <i>Metaphysice</i> , potentia est duplex: scilicet actiua et passiuæ. Et uoco passiuam potentiam quamcumque potentiam receptiuam, siue sit potentia forme substantialis siue accidentalis, dum tamen sit receptiua. Actiuam uoco operatiuam, siue sit naturalis siue non, sicut forte uisuiua. [...]
Potentia uero actiua uel operatiua duplex est: quedam remota, et hec est essentia anime uel forme cuiuscumque; alia propinqua, que est immediatum principium (principium] <i>coni.</i> : proprium <i>scr.</i>) operationis.	Potentia uero actiua uel operatiua duplex est: quedam remota [et hec <est> primum principium operationis, non immediatum], et hec est essentia anime uel forme cuiuscumque; alia propinqua, que est immediatum [et proximum] principium operationis.	De actiua autem potentia distinguitur, quia quedam est principium operationis immediatum, quedam uero non immediatum, set remotum, primum tamen <est>.
Quod autem forma substantialis sit sua potentia actiua uel operatiua, probatur sic. Illud cuius uirtute agens agit suam operationem, habet rationem potentie respectu operationis; set omne	Quod autem forma substantialis sit sua potentia actiua uel operatiua [uel primum principium operationis <non> immediatum], probatur sic. Illud cuius uirtute [sit operatio, est forma; forma	Et de hoc remoto dicitur quod forma est principium actus, scilicet primum principium, non tamen immediatum, quia illud est primum principium respectu operationis, cuius uirtute

⁵⁴ Unlike their traditional use in critical editions to indicate words considered superfluous or inauthentic, here square brackets are used solely to make the material in the *marginalia* immediately recognisable.

agens agit in uirtute forme substantialis; ergo etc. ⁵⁵	«<u>substantialis</u>» <u>est huiusmodi</u>; ergo etc.] agens agit suam operationem, habet rationem potentie respectu operationis; set omne agens agit in uirtute forme substantialis; ergo etc. [<u>Ideo dicit Philosophus quod anima est quo uiuimus.</u>]	<u>sit operatio. Forma substantialis est huiusmodi</u>, quia forma accidentalis non agit nisi uirtute substantialis; ergo etc. <u>Et ideo dicit Philosophus quod anima est primum quo uiuimus</u>; aliud est principium operationis immediatum, et de hoc querit questio.⁵⁶
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These *marginalia* fill both the margins of the folios and the spaces between lines in a chaotic manner, sometimes making it difficult to read and correctly place the notes within the text. However, a further example is provided by Distinction 4, devoted to the theme of generation in the divine nature. Also in this case, the absence of a perfect correspondence can be noted between the two redactions of the text, although partially parallel. The copyist who wrote the marginal notes in manuscript *T* attempted to integrate the text of the second redaction into the limited space available, placing it mainly between the lines of the main text in the first redaction, corresponding to the initial arguments.⁵⁷ This operation, which was clearly complex and carried out with considerable care, continues until the fourth article of the same question, where James's revision is particularly evident:

Redaction I	Redaction II
Quarto uidendum qualiter differenter est generatio in diuinis et in creaturis. Generatio enim in creaturis est per motum et ex supposita materia; in diuinis autem sine motu et materia. Et generaliter, quando perfectiones quecumque reperte in creaturis attri-	Quarto est quomodo differat illa generatio a generatione in creaturis. Intelligendum est quod omnis creatura, relicta uirtuti sue, requirit aliquid in quod agat, sibi presuppositum. Ideo, omnis actio creature est motus uel mutatio, quia eius subiectum aliter

⁵⁵ *T*, 35rb–va.

⁵⁶ *V*, 7va–b.

⁵⁷ Cf. *T*, 36ra and *V*, 8vb.

buuntur diuinis, relegandum est quod imperfectionis est in eis. Vnde generatio in diuinis dicit solam habitudinem Patris ad Filium secundum relationem originis; sicut et omnis actio, circumscripto motu, dicit solam habitudinem agentis ad passum.

Sciendum tamen quod in inferioribus quandoque fit generatio de materia aliena, ut quando generatur ignis in aere; quandoque de materia propria, ut in animalibus. Et hec secunda generatio magis assumitur generationi in diuinis, set differt, quia generatio in diuinis est de tota substantia, set in animalibus de parte, scilicet de superfluo alimenti.⁵⁸

se habet nunc quam prius; et hoc est mutari uel moueri. Et ideo in hoc differunt: quia generatio diuina non est motus nec mutatio, quia non presupponit subiectum in quod agat, set solum naturam quam communicat. Secundo, inuenitur in creaturis generatio, secundum quod aliquid agit in materia extrinseca, ut ignis in materia aque uel aeris. Et hoc est imperfectior generatio que reperiatur in creaturis, et ideo tollitur a diuinis. Tertio, inuenitur generatio in creaturis, que est de parte substantie et cum diuisione substantie, ut in animatis, que habent generationem de sua substantia, id est, de illo quod erat in propinqua dispositione ut conuerteretur in substantiam. Set tamen est de parte substantie, non de tota substantia; set in diuinis est generatio (generatio] *om. sed suppl. in marg. al. m.*) et de substantia et de tota substantia. Quare autem est hoc, quod in creaturis non est generatio de tota substantia, ita quod tota substantia generantis non communicatur generato? Licet aliqui dixerint (dixerint] *coni.: dixerunt scr.*) hoc esse, quia essentia creature non est suum esse, tamen dico quod ratio est illa: quia in creaturis supposita distinguuntur (distinguuntur] differunt *scr. sed del. et suppl. in marg. al. m.*) uel per formas substantiales, uel per aliquid absolutum, ut per quantitatem; et ideo requirunt diuersas formas substantiales uel diuersa absoluta, ut diuersas quantitates. Modo, in creaturis non inueniuntur in uno reali diuerse forme substantiales

⁵⁸ T, 36ra.

	uel diuersa accidentia eiusdem speciei absoluta; ideo creature generant de parte sue substantie et de parte diuina. Set in diuinis est distinctio per relationes. Modo diuerse relationes reales possunt esse in eodem fundamento, licet hoc sit respectu diuersorum terminorum; ideo persone diuine, distincte per relationes constituentes supposita, possunt communicare in tota essentia diuina, manente eodem numero. ⁵⁹
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In this last passage, the text of the second redaction is internally reorganised and significantly reformulated. The changes introduced by James in this section are incompatible with the space available between the lines in manuscript *T*. Thus, faced with this difficulty, the copyist responsible for updating the codex decided to transcribe the entire section in the lower margin of the page, according to the version of the second redaction. Consequently, the original version of the first redaction, present in the main text, was deemed superfluous and removed by adding the note ‘va-cat’ at the beginning and at the end of the section.

Starting from f. 36va of the manuscript *T*, the frequency of such interventions decreases significantly, although still attested throughout the entire codex. It is reasonable to assume that the reduction in the number of this kind of intervention is due to a decision made by the copyist, who, upon realising the impossibility of continuing with the method adopted, chose to interrupt the updating process. These methods of intervention were indeed more suitable for short additions or specific corrections.

On the other hand, the reworking of larger sections required the use of additional supports, such as *schedulae*, i.e., small paper-leaf, to increase the space available for writing.⁶⁰ Two noteworthy cases seem to confirm the adoption of this method of intervention in James’s *Commentary*.

⁵⁹ *V*, 9rb. The transcription also appears in DECKER 1967, 295–296.

⁶⁰ See KWAKKEL 2018, 183–186. Evidence of the use of *schedulae* to correct and supplement James’s *Commentary* can be found in manuscript 1583 of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska of Kraków (*K*). See *K*, 13v, 26v and 130v (the latter has fallen from its place but is still present in the codex).

The first case is Distinction 2, devoted to the theme of the divine attributes. While the second redaction of this Distinction is a complete and meaningful text,⁶¹ the text of the first redaction, rather than being an actual version, has the characteristics of mnemonic notes. It summarises the topics to be developed and the interlocutors to be referred to. Below are some examples that illustrate the fragmentary and provisional nature of this initial redaction:

Responsio. Attributum dicitur alii tributum. [...]

Secundo, uide in primo Thome, scilicet quid est (est] *om. sed suppl. sup. lin. al. m.*) ratio attributalis, quoniam (quoniam] *quo sed corr. sup. lin. al. m.*) correspondet aliquid (correspondet aliquid] *om. sed suppl. sup. lin. al. m.*) in re. [...]

Quarto, uide in Thoma, II distinctione primi <libri>, quomodo istorum distinctio attributorum accipiat ex parte (parte] *om. sed suppl. sup. lin. al. m.*) intellectus nostri et ex parte essentie diuine.⁶²

All these notes are present in the second redaction as well. Here, they are fully developed and integrated into a coherent and more extensive discussion. However, a major editorial change can be seen in the fifth article of the first redaction, which is devoted to the theme of the distinction of attributes in the divine nature. The article briefly describes the contrasting positions of Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines, without explicitly indicating James's own opinion on the topic. Once again, rather than an effective redaction, these appear to be preparatory notes:

Quinto, uidendum utrum distinctio attributorum sit in Deo circumscripta creatura.

Quidam dicunt quod sic.

Primo. Quidquid inest Deo per respectum ad creaturas, inest ei per modum causalitatis; set attributa non insunt Deo per modum causalitatis; ergo etc.

Preterea, prius potest absolui a suo posteriori; set attributa per prius et perfectius insunt Deo quam creaturis; ergo etc.

Item, differt ratio attributalis a ratione ydealis; ratio ydealis distinguitur non in Deo nisi per comparisonem ad creaturam; ergo etc.

Alii dicunt contrarium, quod rationes attributales non distinguuntur in Deo nisi per comparisonem ad creaturas.

61 Cf. OLSZEWSKI 2018.

62 T, 34va-vb.

Primo, quia unum ut unum non representatur in uno nisi unice; set essentia diuina est una et simplicissima; ergo etc.

Preterea, omnis differentia secundum rationem fundatur super distinctionem realem. Numquam enim cuiuslibet <genus> et differentia, cum sint essentialiter, intelligerentur differre ratione, nisi quia a diuersis rebus accipiuntur, ut animal a natura sensitua, rationale a natura intellectiua; set circumscripta creatura in essentia diuina non est realis distinctio secundum absoluta; ergo etc.

Preterea, Philosophus II *Celi et mundi* dicit quod columpna non dicitur dextra uel sinistra secundum rationem nisi per comparisonem ad animal, in quo est distinctio dextri et sinistri secundum rem; ergo etc.⁶³

In the transition from the first to the second redaction, James splits the article from the rest of the discussion, giving it the status of an autonomous question within the same Distinction. A comparison with the second redaction shows that James's intellectual framework remains essentially unchanged; nevertheless, the question is significantly longer, owing to the addition of several textual sections for each opinion discussed.⁶⁴

The breadth and articulation of these interventions could suggest that they were perhaps carried out using *schedulae* and subsequently incorporated into James's personal copy of the *Commentary* as external additions. This hypothesis is supported by the *Additiones*, which, as mentioned before, systematically collected and recorded all those sections of James's *Commentary* that were not contained in the *alius quaternus*. In all the previously discussed cases (as well as in others, such as question 6 of the Prologue, Distinction 1, and Distinction 17, to name just a few) the *Additiones* entirely reproduce the text of the second redaction, thereby showing that these sections were indeed external additions.

3.3 The transition from the second redaction to the Additiones

If we accept the indication contained in the *Tabula quaestionum* of codex *T*,⁶⁵ the material included in the *Additiones* should correspond to the second lecture on the *Sentences*, probably held at the *studium generale* in Paris between 1300 and

63 *T*, 34vb. The transcription also appears in DECKER 1967, 135.

64 Cf. OLSZEWSKI 2018, *Super Sent.*, I 2 2, 334–341.

65 *T*, 1v: "Primi sexterni sunt additiones, quas frater iste fecit in secunda uice qua legit *Sententias*."

1301. The close textual affinity between the second redaction and the *Additiones* suggests that the second redaction served as the basis for the second lecture. However, the second redaction and the *Additiones* do not coincide perfectly. As noted above, not all the content of the *Additiones* can be found in the second redaction, implying that James perhaps continued to modify the text of the *Commentary* even during the lecture. In many cases, these interventions refine the text and provide a more detailed version of it. This editorial effort seems to have had the aim of making James's *Commentary* more readable and accessible.

Redaction II	<i>Additiones</i>
Ad secundum concedo maiorem. Ad minorem, dico quod si intelligas Filium procedere per actum intellectus et Spiritum Sanctum per actum uoluntatis, male intelligis, ut uisum est supra. [...] Ad tertium, concedo maiorem, si sit ibi sufficiens repugnantia. Ad minorem, cum dicis quod Spiritus Sanctus haberet repugnantiam ad Filium, dato quod non procederet ab eo, dico per interemptionem. [...] Ad quartum, dico quod si Pater non generaret, uerum est quod adhuc esset innascibilis et Filius nascibilis, set tamen per hoc non distingueretur a Filio, quia solum distinguitur ab eo paternitate, que non esset in Patre nisi generaret.	Ad secundum, quando dicitur "emana- tiones siue productiones sunt di- stincte" etc., concedatur maior. [...] Dico quod, si intelligas Filium proce- dere per actum intellectus et Spiritus Sanctus per actum uoluntatis, male intelligis, ut improbatum est superius. [...] Ad tertium, quando dicitur, "que ha- bent repugnantiam inter se sufficien- ter sunt distincta" etc., uerum est, si habeant sufficientem repugnantiam. Ad minorem, quando dicitur, "Spiri- tus Sanctus, dato quod non procedat a Filio, habet repugnantiam, quia est spiratus, Filius non", dico per inte- reptionem, quia si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, non esset spi- ratus, quia idem est spirari et produci a duobus per modum uoluntatis, quo- rum quodlibet sufficit. [...] Ad quartum, "sicut se habet innascibi- litas ad generare etc., remoto generare a Patre, adhuc remanet innascibilis et Filius nascibilis," dico quod licet Pater non generaret, esset innascibilis et Fi- lius nascibilis, set per hoc non distin- gueretur a Filio, quia non distinguitur a Filio nisi paternitate, que non esset in Patre nisi generaret.

Ad quintum, dico quod quedam sunt actiones, que de sui nomine uel ratione exprimunt medium, per quod fiunt, ut dolare incisionem ligni per talem modum, scilicet cum dolabra. [...] Ad sextum, dico quod quando aliquid est a duobus, ab uno sicut a principali, ab alio sicut ab instrumentali, non potest esse a principali sine alio.	Ad quintum argumentum, quando dicitur, “quod habet omnem potentiam productiuam et non habet respectum oppositum et potest producere quamcumque personam in diuinis”, hic dico quod quedam sunt actiones que in suo nomine uel in sui ratione dant intelligere siue exprimunt medium, sicut dolare includit incisionem ligni per talem modum, cum dolabra, mediante qua dolatur. [...] Ad sextum, quando dicitur, “prius potest absolui secundum nostrum modum intelligendi a posteriori”, hic dico quod quando aliquid est a duobus, ab uno sicut a principali, ab alio sicut instrumento, non potest esse a principali sine instrumento.⁶⁶
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In other cases, James intervenes to further elaborate on his arguments, introducing additional examples or new paragraphs aimed at clarifying the meaning and scope of his reasoning:

Redaction II	Additiones
Tertio sic: que habent oppositionem et repugnantiam distinguuntur ab inuicem, dato quod unum non procedat ab alio; set sic est hic; ergo etc. Maiores patet, quia omnis distinctio est per oppositionem aliquam. Minor patet, quia Filius habet esse non spiratum, Spiritus Sanctus esse spiratum, ergo etc. [...]	Tertio sic: que habent oppositionem et repugnantiam distinguuntur ab inuicem, dato quod unum non procedat ab alio; set Filius et Spiritus Sanctus habent repugnantiam, dato quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedat a Filio; ergo etc. Maiores patet, quia omnis distinctio est per oppositionem aliquam. Minor declaratur, quia Filius habet esse in-spirabile uel non spiratum, Spiritus Sanctus esse spiratum. Quod autem Filius habeat esse non spiratum probatur, quia quicquid potest Filio communicari a Patre totum sibi communicatum est; non est autem communicatum sibi quod sit spiratus,

⁶⁶ SCHABEL 2020, *Super Sent.*, I 11, 271–277.

Alio modo distinguitur una relatio ab alia ratione fundamenti, quod contingit dupliciter, uno modo quando relationes habent diuersa fundamenta, ut similitudo et equalitas, in creaturis saltem. Et sic non accipitur in diuinis distinctio relationum ad constituentium supposita, quia essentia est unicum fundamentum. Alio modo quando fundamentum est unum, set habet habitudinem ad diuersa et distincta, ut super unam quantitatem, prout habet habitudinem ad diuersa et distincta, fundatur relatio equalitatis et inequalitatis, sicut etiam forte Sortes generans alia ratione refertur ad patrem et alia ad solem uel ad Deum. Et hoc modo non potest dici quod distinguantur relationes constituentes personam Filii et Spiritus Sancti, quia oporteret quod essentia diuina per huiusmodi relationes haberet habitudinem ad diuersa et distincta, quod	set quod sit genitus; ergo non potest sibi communicare. Filius ergo est non spiratus et Spiritus Sanctus spiratus, quare etc. [...] Modo ratione fundamenti non possunt distingui supposita in diuinis, quoniam hoc potest contingere dupliciter: uno modo sic quod diuersis relationibus responderent diuersa fundamenta, quod non potest esse in diuinis, quoniam omnibus relationibus diuinis respondet unum et idem fundamentum, scilicet essentia diuina, que est simplicissima. Alio modo sic quod, licet fundamentum sit unum, habet tamen relationem ad distinctos terminos, ut equalitas et inequalitas in eodem ligno habet idem fundamentum, scilicet quantitatem, que habet comparisonem ad lignum equale, et sic relatio equalitatis, uel maius uel minus, et sic relatio inequalitatis, et eadem albedine aliquis est similis albo et dissimilis nigro. Et sic diuerse relationes possunt esse in eodem fundamento propter diuersos respectus quos potest habere ad distinctos terminos, immo plus, eadem res ut est a diuersis agentibus diuersarum rationum adhuc habet relationes diuersas propter diuersum modum agendi siue producendi, ut asinus alia relatione reali refertur ad asinum et alia ad solem, II <i>Physicorum</i>. Sic autem non possunt distingui relationes constituentes personam Filii et Spiritus Sancti, dato quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedat a Filio, quia tunc oporteret quod essentia diuina per huiusmodi relationes haberet habitu-
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falsum est, quia per generari et spirari, etiam secundum eos, non habet essentia diuina habitudinem nisi ad Patrem. Oportet ergo dicere quod huiusmodi relationes constituentes personam Filii et Spiritus Sancti distinguantur secundum rationem sui generis, que erat maior. Et sic habetur propositum, ut uisum est.	dinem ad diuersa et distincta, quod falsum est, quia per generari et spirari, etiam secundum eos, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus non habet habitudinem nisi ad unum, scilicet ad Patrem, qui esset generans et spirans (qui...spirans] <i>om. sed suppl. in marg.</i>), quod non est a se ipso distinctum. Vel sic: des unum fundamentum in quo fundentur diuerse relationes. Dico quod per hoc non habes intentum, quoniam ille diuerse relationes non constituerent diuersa supposita. Cuius probatio est quia ex illa diuersa operatione non habetur maior distinctio uel differentia inter se, scilicet generari et spirari, in Filio et Spiritu Sancto quam sit inter generare et spirare, que non constituunt diuersa supposita, set sunt in Patre, licet differant realiter, non suppositorum persona. Non enim Pater est duplex persona quia generans et spirans. Ergo similiter nec generari et spirari [non] constituent diuersa supposita, licet differant realiter. Ergo oportet redire ad primum, quod huiusmodi scilicet relationes constituentes personam Filii et Spiritus Sancti distinguantur secundum relationem sui generis et rem: Spiritus Sanctus distinguetur a Filio sicut spiratum a spirante, quoniam, cum relatio secundum suum genus non dicat nisi ordinem ad aliud solum, non distinguit nisi a directe opposito, puta a directe opposita relatione, quare etc.⁶⁷
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Even in these cases, it is plausible to assume that James once again used *schedulae* to supplement the text in his personal copy of the *Commentary*.

⁶⁷ SCHABEL 2020, *Super Sent.*, I 11, 255–266.

This detail sheds new light on the note in the *Tabula quaestionum*: “Primi sexterni sunt additiones, quas frater iste fecit in secunda uice qua legit Sententias.” The note should not be interpreted as proof that all the material collected in the *Additiones*’ quire was composed during James’s second lecture on the *Sentences*, i.e., between 1300 and 1301. It has, in fact, been demonstrated that James wrote a substantial part of it earlier, while he was composing the second redaction of the *Commentary* to develop and improve the text of the first redaction. This evidence allows us to confirm that the second redaction was the basis for James’s second reading, while the authentic innovations introduced by James during the second lecture of the *Sentences* consisted of the parts not present in the second redaction but handed down only through the *Additiones*. The shared passages between the second redaction and the *Additiones* confirm that some of these interventions were not written in James’s personal copy (the so-called *alius quaternus*). Instead, they were written on *schedulae* attached to the codex, which James used on several occasions. Therefore, the *Additiones*’ quire brought together both the revisions made by James during the second redaction and the further clarifications that emerged during the second lecture.⁶⁸ A clear conclusion follows from this: James’s *Commentary on the Sentences* should not be regarded as a work transmitted in different versions, but as a single text in constant transformation and subject to ongoing authorial revisions. These revisions reflect both the demands arising from James’s academic commitments and his progressive intellectual refinement.

4. Concluding remarks

Considering the evidence gathered so far, the complex editorial history of James’s *Commentary on the Sentences* can be reconstructed as follows. The first redaction is the text prepared for or the result of the first lecture on the *Sentences*, probably held in Reims between 1297 and 1298. At the end of this reading and in view of a subsequent lecture, James undertook a thorough revision of his work, attested to at different levels in various books and conducted in at least

⁶⁸ Currently, the *Additiones* represent the final known editorial stage of James’s *Commentary*. However, new data may emerge from the analysis of manuscript *W*, which will be discussed in a forthcoming paper.

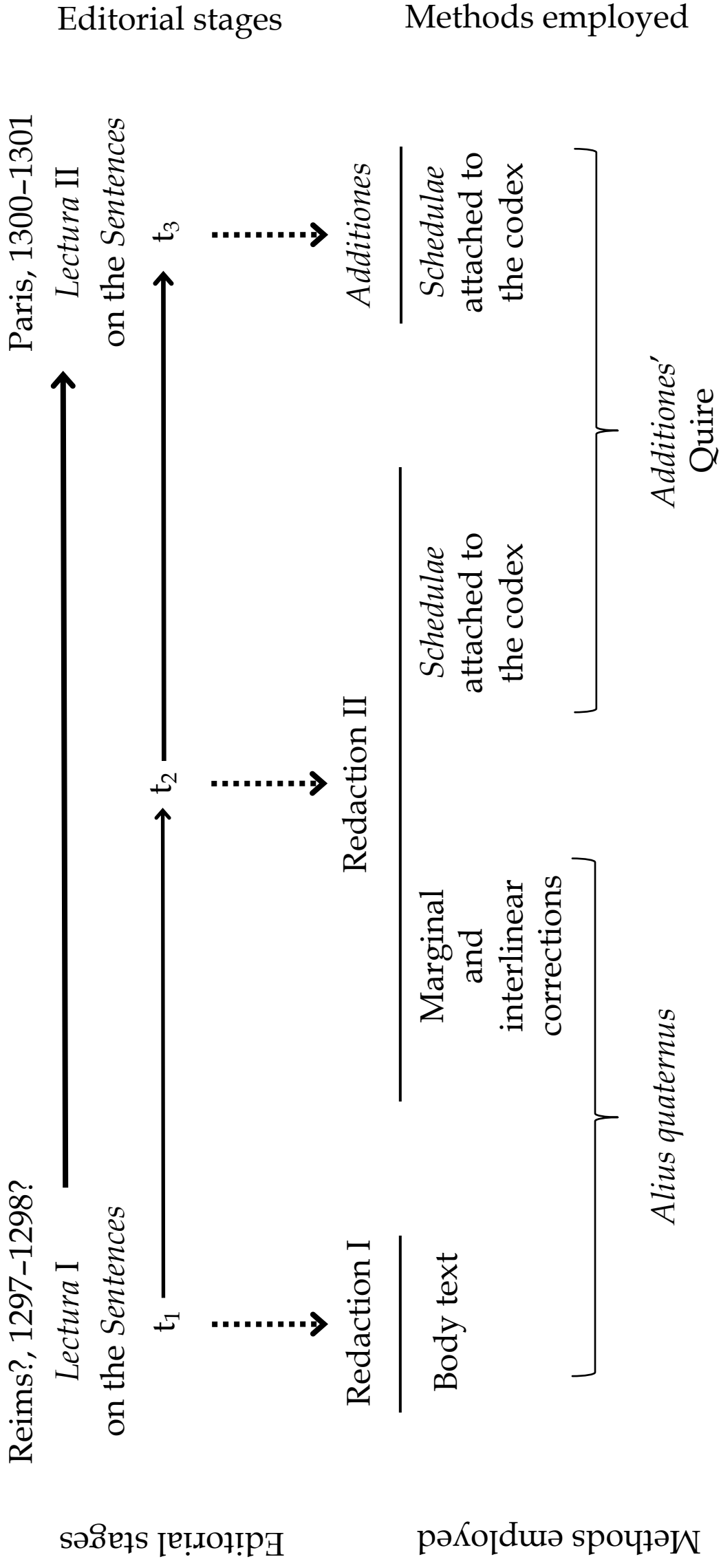
two distinct ways: for minor interventions, through marginal and interlinear corrections to the text itself; for more extensive and radical interventions, probably through the use of *schedulae* attached to the volume. This revised version formed the basis of the second lecture on the *Sentences*, held in Paris between 1300 and 1301. During this period, James continued to refine the text, probably again using some *schedulae*, and adding further examples and clarifications. Only later did a copyist collect all the material attached to the codex into a single quire, now known as the *Additiones*' version. This quire contains the *schedulae* attached to James's personal copy (the *alius quaternus*), both those produced during the revision of the *Commentary* and those introduced during the second lecture, thereby allowing the most complete version of the text to be transmitted. These editorial changes can be represented according to the diagram appended below.

The hypothesis proposed here should be understood as a model, subject to verification and revision. Its validity must be assessed through a systematic comparison with all the data and evidence present throughout the *Commentary* and not exclusively based on the material currently available. Only a broader and methodically conducted investigation will, in fact, make it possible to specify with greater certainty the chronological placement of each redaction and define more clearly the internal relationships between the different phases of composition.

NICOLÒ VANTAGGIATO

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PAVIA, UNIVERSITÄT ZU KÖLN*

* vantaggiatonicolo@gmail.com; Università degli Studi di Pavia, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Strada nuova 65, 27100 Pavia PV, Italy. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-0669-0247>.



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