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Article

Taking Notes on Italian Logic at Paris: Étienne Gaudet's Notebooks and James of Piacenza's Lost *Questions on Posterior Analytics*

Ioana Curut | Cluj**Abstract**

In one of Étienne Gaudet's many notebooks, specifically manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, there survives a set of notes on questions concerning Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (fols 183^r–190^r). This article proposes to identify the author of these previously unattributed questions as the Italian scholar James of Piacenza. The attribution rests on a previously overlooked reference to his toponymic surname found in one of Gaudet's *tabulae* within the same codex. This internal evidence is corroborated by additional clues, which also help to situate Gaudet's notes and James's original redaction within a chronological and institutional framework. This contribution showcases the kind of unexpected findings that can emerge from close work with often-neglected scholastic material, such as medieval notebooks. A list of the questions is provided in the Appendix.

Keywords

medieval notebooks, University of Paris, Étienne Gaudet, James of Piacenza, *Questions on Posterior Analytics*

Not every medievalist, when confronted with a cluster of crossed-out texts in a manuscript notorious for its *mauvaise écriture*, will ask themselves if the respective folios are worth any scholarly attention. Decisions of this sort have to be made while browsing through the notebooks of Étienne Gaudet, a French theologian active in Paris during the fourteenth century. Gaudet frequently struck through his own notes for different personal or pragmatic reasons. Yet it is precisely this category of scholastic 'waste-material', discarded by its own author, that can, upon closer inspection, lead to unexpected findings, as the present contribution testifies.

In one of Gaudet's philosophically rich notebooks, specifically manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, one finds a congeries of unattributed questions addressing themes from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*. These questions are spread over several folios (183^r–190^r), all of which have been crossed out with diagonal lines. This study identifies the author of these hitherto anonymous questions as the Italian scholar James of Piacenza (Jacobus de Placentia), based on a previously overlooked reference to his toponymic surname found in one of Gaudet's *tabulae* (the tables of contents he included throughout his notebooks). The first section offers a brief overview of Gaudet's life and works, with particular focus on his notebooks. The second section presents James of Piacenza's intellectual profile, situating his writings within the broader context of the Bolognese program of logic, before arguing, in the third section, why the text recorded in Gaudet's

notebook should be ascribed to James. The fourth section provides a detailed analysis of Gaudet's note-taking practice, clarifying how he reworked James's text, while the fifth section turns to the reconstruction of the original form, function, and academic context of James's *Questions*, insofar as the available evidence allows. The paper concludes with reflections on directions for future research, particularly with regard to other potential witnesses to James's *Questions*. A list of James's questions is provided in the Appendix.

1. Étienne Gaudet and his notebooks

Several dates concerning the life and academic career of Étienne Gaudet (Lat. Stephanus Galdeti/Gaudeti) have been refined in light of recent scholarship. Born around 1317–1320 in the diocese of Saint-Flour, Gaudet died in late 1391 or early 1392.¹ He is mentioned as Master of Arts at the University of Paris in 1362, a title he must have obtained earlier, following the completion of his studies at the Faculty of Arts, which he commenced around 1335–1340. As most scholarly attention has focused on his activity within the Faculty of Theology, the chronology of his theological career is correspondingly better documented. He began his theological studies in 1344 or 1345, and attained the title of Master of Theology probably in 1367.² Previous scholars, including Zénon Kaluza, placed his reading of the *Sentences* in 1361–1362 (or 1362–1363), but Christopher Schabel has recently argued, supplying convincing proof, that Gaudet's sentential lectures took place in 1359–1360.³

Gaudet is principally known for his involvement in the controversy over the Western Schism, particularly for his defence of the Avignon pope, Clement VII (1342–1394), against the line of conciliarists and the supporters of Urban VI (1318–1389), most notably, Marsilius of Padova (1275–1342). As an author, Gaudet did not produce any finalized or polished work. There is no evidence that he ever redacted a set of questions based on his lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. His only substantial work, the *Questions on the Great Schism* (dated to 1383–1384), remains unfinished.⁴ Gaudet's significance as a historical figure lies primarily in the remarkable corpus of notebooks he left behind. These substantial bodies of text, produced over an extended period mainly during his activity at the Parisian Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology, are presently preserved in

¹ According to Kaluza 1979, 87–89, the available information concerning Gaudet's birth derives from two sources: a document from 1385 states that Gaudet was at the time 68 years old and had resided in Paris for over 40 years (Chartularium 1894, 416), while another document from 1379 (Chartularium 1894, 248) reports his age as 60, making 1319 his birth year (erroneously '1329' in Kaluza). On his biography, see also Gorochoy 1997, 638–639; Kaluza 2002, 1119–1122.

² The approximate date of his first theological studies has been established by Kaluza based on Gaudet's reference from one of his *tabulae* in manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408: *In 7o sisterno huius voluminis reportata de principiis bacallariorum anni primi quo audistis Sentencias* ('In the seventh sextern of this book [there are] reports from the principal debates of bachelors, from the first year in which you attended [lectures on] the *Sentences*') (Kaluza 1979, 141). The *tabula* is edited by Glorieux 1966, 51, who placed Gaudet's first stage of his theological training around 1348–1352 or later (Glorieux 1966, 54). Gaudet compiled many *tabulae* for his notebooks and their first systematic study was undertaken by Glorieux 1966.

³ Kaluza 1979, 89; Schabel 2024, 294–297. As Schabel acknowledges, the same dates for Gaudet's *Sentences* were previously mentioned, without supporting arguments, by Courtenay 2011, 929 n. 18.

⁴ On Gaudet's treatise on the schism, see Kaluza 1979, 88–89, 139–142; Kaluza 2002, 1115–1146; Maga 2025.

the manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15561, 15888, 16408, 16533–16535, and 16621.⁵

Typically comprising approximately three hundred folios each and written on paper, these notebooks are composite manuscripts, consisting of independent circulation units produced by Gaudet over a long period of time. These units, which originally circulated independently as unbound *volumina* ('volumes' or 'books'), were later assembled by the author himself into single books toward the end of his life.⁶ Gaudet's notebooks encompass both excerpts from philosophical and theological works of his own composition and a multitude of notes he took from university lectures, scholastic disputations, academic exercises, and other events in which he participated or attended. Thus, his notebooks convey a vivid portrait of fourteenth-century Parisian university life, and, as Kaluza remarks, they embody a scholarly model, 'a distinctive way of working, writing and thinking'.⁷

Gaudet's notebook pages often contain material that was gradually revised at different points in time, either through deletions or by the addition of new text in the margins and other available spaces, revealing his dynamic and accretive note-taking practice.⁸ To exemplify the typical visual organization of Gaudet's notebooks and the multi-layered nature of their contents, images of two facing folios (54^v–55^r) from the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, are reproduced in Figs 1–2 below.⁹

As with other notebooks in Gaudet's collection, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408 bears an interesting attribution history. Initially misattributed by Palémon Glorieux to Gaudet's contemporary Jean de Falisca, the manuscript was correctly reassigned to Gaudet by Kaluza.¹⁰ Although the manuscript has not escaped scholarly attention – and successive studies have progressively enriched our understanding of its composition – many of its sections, featuring a diverse array of philosophical and theological content recorded by Gaudet during his academic formation, remain insufficiently studied and await rigorous, in-depth analysis that may reveal further significant discoveries.¹¹

⁵ Kaluza 1979; Kaluza 2002, 1116. According to Kaluza, the additional manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16279, 16425, and 15373 also belonged to Gaudet's personal library, but are not notebooks (Kaluza 2002, 1115). See also, more recently, the introduction in Baneu (ed.) 2026, 1–19, esp. 3–9.

⁶ Kaluza 1989, 171; Kaluza 2013, 89. Also, Kaluza adds that many of Gaudet's notes were lost (Kaluza 2013, 193 n. 1). For a recent codicological study examining the quire structure in Gaudet's notebooks, see Baneu and Brinzei 2026. On the concept of circulation unit, see Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 61.

⁷ Kaluza 1979, 142.

⁸ On material aspects of manuscripts written for personal use, see Durand-Guédy and Paul (eds) 2023.

⁹ The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408 is accessible via the digital collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France on the gallica.fr platform: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52514617v>> (accessed on 9 October 2025).

¹⁰ Glorieux 1966; Kaluza 1979, 63. Another manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16409, which belonged to Thomas of Cracow (c.1360–1410), contains big portions copied from manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408.

¹¹ For the ongoing electronic edition of Gaudet's notebook in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, see the 'Transcriptions' section of the NOTA Project Database: <<https://nota.granturi.ubbcluj.ro/public/transcription>> (accessed on 24 September 2025). See also the recent contributions on Gaudet's notebooks in Baneu (ed.) 2026.

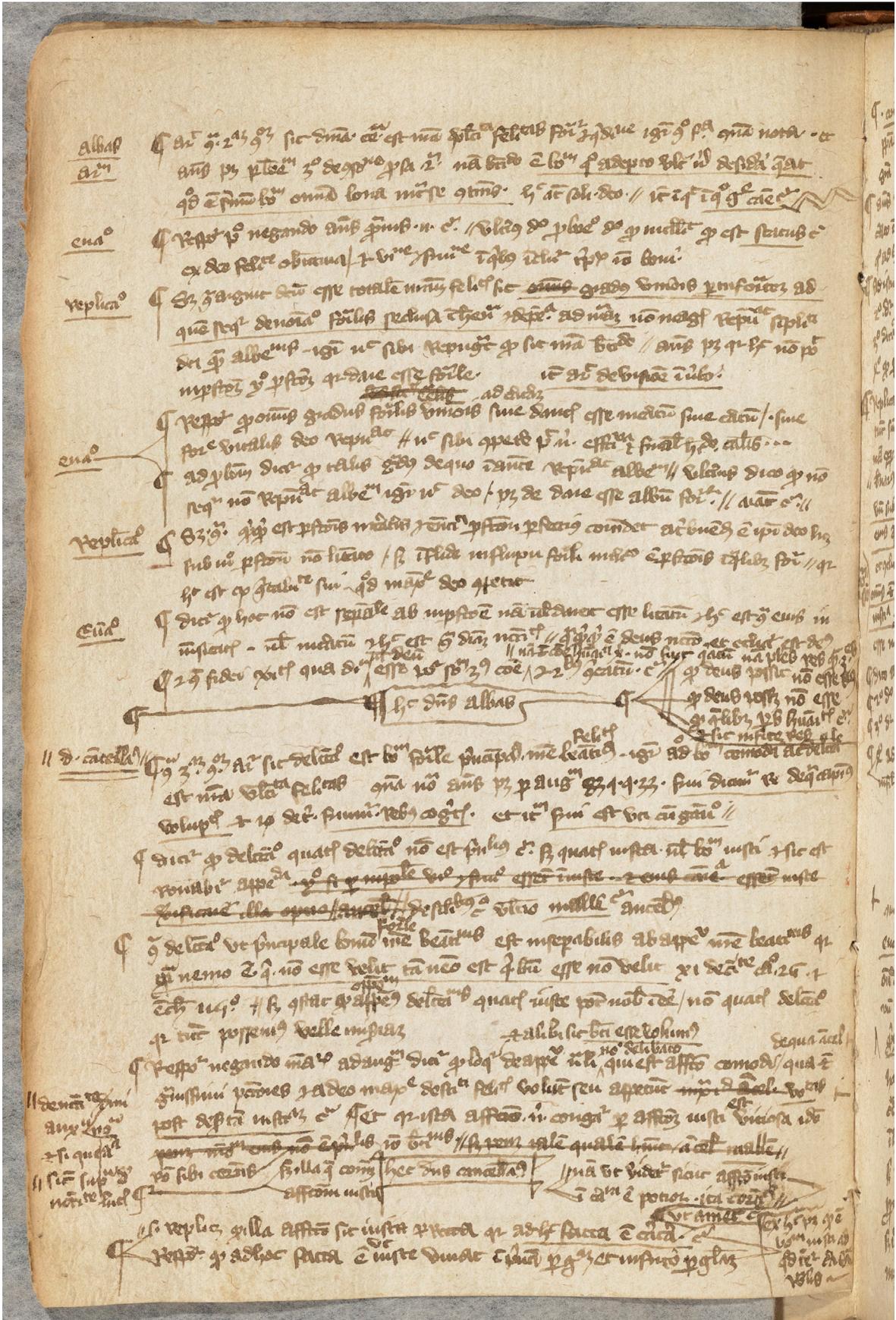


Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 54r.

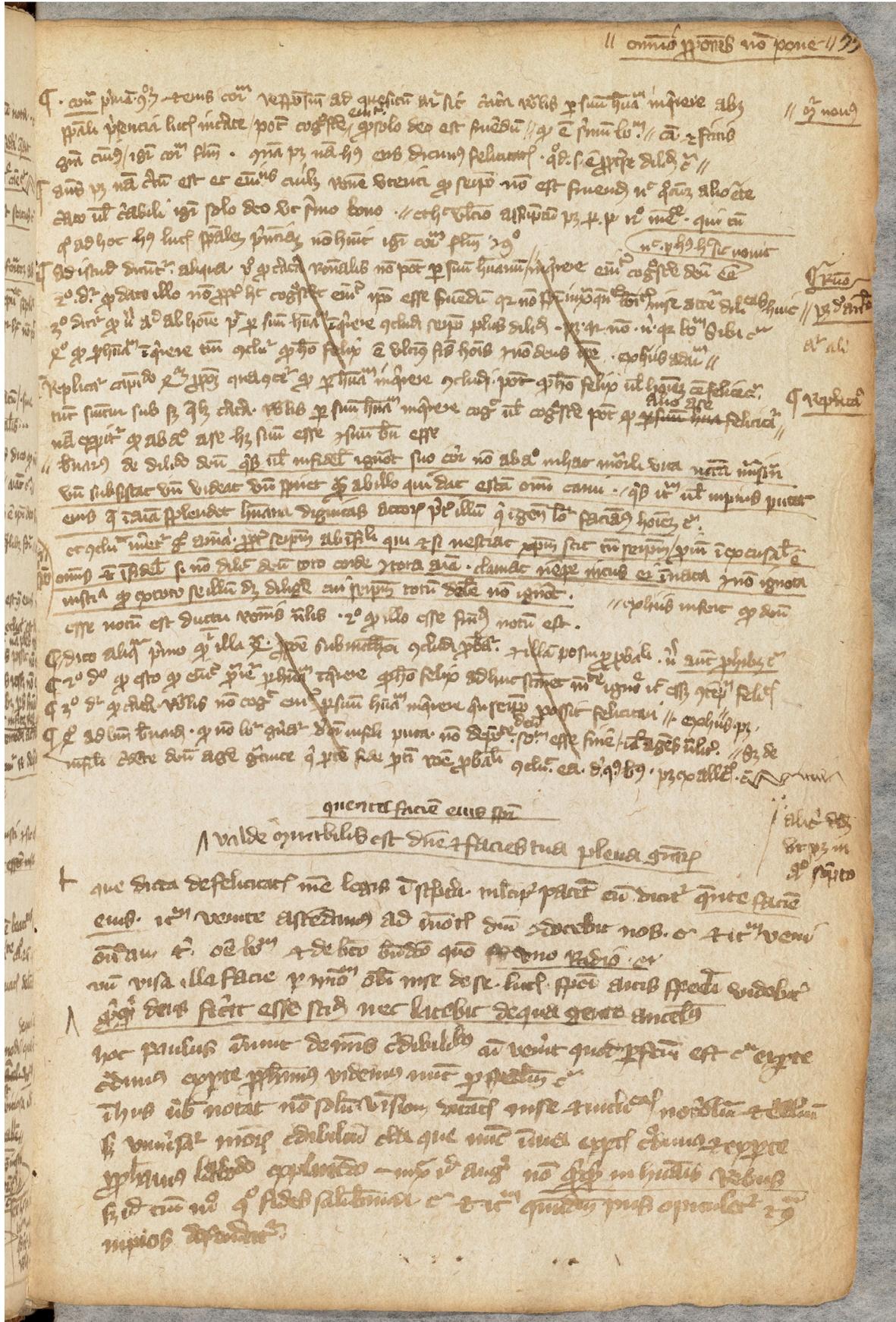


Fig. 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 55r.

2. James of Piacenza and the study of logic at the Bolognese Faculty of Arts

The years of James's birth and death remain unknown, though his birthplace was Piacenza (Northern Italy).¹² He was a logician and philosopher who taught at the University of Bologna during the 1340s and belonged to the second generation of Bolognese Averroists.¹³ Not much information is recorded of his academic life, except few details concerning his career at the Faculty of Arts and Medicine in Bologna. More precisely, he is documented as having taught logic in 1341, and subsequently other philosophical disciplines until 1348.¹⁴ According to another source, on 12 May 1342, he was granted by the Bolognese *scholares* ('students'), represented by the rector of the *universitas medicorum* ('Faculty of medicine'), the right to teach both medicine and philosophy, in exchange for an annual salary of one hundred *librae Bononienses*.¹⁵

Several manuscripts containing James's works have survived, offering a valuable testimony to his academic activity at the Faculty of Arts in Bologna: Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97 (2594); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226.¹⁶ It was not until the twentieth century that James's doctrinal profile began to be reconstructed, as scholars identified, edited, and analysed portions of his works preserved in these manuscripts. One category of his writings comprises commentaries on Aristotle's works, including the *Categories*,¹⁷ *On Interpretation*,¹⁸ *Topics (I–II)*,¹⁹ and *On the Soul*.²⁰ His contributions to logic

¹² Other spellings of his name include Jacobus Placentinus, Jacobus Zinidolus, and Jacobus de Regulo, the latter referencing the name of James's father, Regulus.

¹³ Generally, on this movement in the fourteenth century, see Kuksewicz 1965 (with editions of texts composed by Anselm of Como, Matthew of Gubbio, James of Piacenza, and Cambiolo of Bologna). For historiographical remarks on the understanding of Averroism, see Hasse 2007, esp. 317–320 (on Bolognese Averroism).

¹⁴ Alidosi 1623, 28: 'Giacomo di Regolo da Piacenza del 1341, fù lettore di Logica e poi di Filosofia fin al 1348' ('James, son of Regulus, of Piacenza, was, from 1341, lector of logic and later of philosophy until 1348'). The information is repeated by Mazzetti 1847, 150, no. 1483: 'Giacomo da Piacenza figlio di Regolo. Nell'anno 1341 leggeva Logica, indi insegnò la Filosofia sino al 1348' ('James of Piacenza, son of Regulus. In the year 1341 he taught logic, after that he taught philosophy until 1348'). James's name does not appear in the *rotuli* (i.e., the official lists of Bolognese professors, edited in *De claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis professoribus 1769–1772*), but those were incomplete. See also the short entry on James in Tabarroni 1992 (citing at 613 Piana 1976, 31–34).

¹⁵ This information is given in Grmek 1990, 42 (who references the following sources: 'Archives d'Etat de Bologne, *Riformatori dello Studio*, 1342; *Bollettino dell'Istituto per la Storia Italiana dell'Arte Sanitaria*, 3, 1923, 42'; I did not have access to these documents).

¹⁶ An updated list of manuscripts containing James's works has been compiled by Lohr 1970, 145–147; see also Weijers 2001, 111–114. The following *status quaestionis* about James's known works is based primarily on these sources.

¹⁷ *Scriptum Predicamentorum (cum questionibus)*, in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97, fols 28^r–57^r. Another version of this commentary (which could belong to Walter Burley) is in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana 391, fols 67^{ra}–91^{vb}. See Kuksewicz 1963b, 213–214; Weijers 2001, 112. For a study and question list, see Conti 1992.

¹⁸ *Scriptum (et questiones) super Perihermenias*, in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97, fols 58^r–71^r (Kuksewicz 1963b, 214; Weijers 2001, 113).

¹⁹ *Scriptum super Topicam (I–II)*, in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97, fols 75^{ra}–78^{vb} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 214–215; Weijers 2001, 113). See also Green-Pedersen 1984, 395.

²⁰ *Scriptum super tertium De anima cum questionibus*, in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 656 (fols 2^r–34^r, containing commentary with questions; completed in 1341, according to its colophon) and 742 (fols 199^v–208^v, containing only the questions) (Kuksewicz 1963b, 212; Weijers 2001, 113). James's commentary on *On the Soul* is edited in Kuksewicz 1967; see also Kuksewicz 1963a; Kuksewicz 1963c; Thirry 1966/67, 83–84; Kuksewicz 1967, 3–28.

include commentaries on standard logic texts, such as Porphyry's *Isagoge*,²¹ Peter of Spain's *Treatises (I–VI)*,²² and Thomas Aquinas's *Fallacies*.²³ A final category of writings attributed to James consists of his disputed questions on philosophical topics.²⁴

James has also been (erroneously) credited with two disputed questions on medical subjects, both preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2418, a fourteenth-century manuscript. As Mirko Grmek has demonstrated, however, these questions belong to a namesake of James.²⁵ The crucial element in distinguishing the philosopher James of Piacenza from his namesake (a physician of the king of Hungary during the 1330s, bishop of Csanád and subsequently of Zagreb, who died in 1348), is the name of their respective fathers: Regulus in the case of the former, and Albertus in the case of the latter.²⁶ According to Grmek, this 'other' James of Piacenza

²¹ *Scriptum (et questiones) super libro Porphyrii*, in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97, fols 1^{vb}–28^{ra}. According to Maierù 1994, 98, the ordinary reading of this work at Bologna does not include the section on *communitates*, with the exception of the extant *reportationes* of Matthew of Gubbio, in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 737, fols 120^{ra}–124^{va}. Another version of the same commentary (shorter and lacking the introduction), which could belong in fact to Walter Burley, is found in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391, fols 53^{ra}–66^{tb} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 212–213; Weijers 2001, 112; for a study and question list, see Conti 1992).

²² *Scriptum super Summulas logicales Petri Hispani*, in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391, fols 2^{vb}–49^{vb}; and in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 621, fols 1^r–60^r (according to Weijers 2001, 113, who refers to De Rijk); see also Vescovini 1976, 254–255; Maierù 1992, 498–499, 511–513 (arguing that James's commentary preserved in the Antoniana manuscript 391 is not explicitly attributed to him, but most probably derives from him, and that it could be the redaction of a reportator); Maierù 1994, 104 n. 48.

²³ *Super S. Thome de Aquino De fallaciis*, in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391, fols 49^{vb}–52^{va} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 215; Weijers 2001, 114). It is an incomplete commentary, according to Maierù 1994, 101–102.

²⁴ *Utrum accidens possit intelligi sine subiecto* ('Whether an accident can be understood without a subject'), in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97, fol. 83^{r-v} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 215; Weijers 2001, 114). This question was edited by Kuksewicz 1965, 191–195; the explicit of the question, on fol. 83^v, reads: *Questio disputata per magistrum Jacobum de Placentia in MCCC quadragesimo et fuit prima, etc.* ('Disputed question by master James of Piacenza in 1340, and this [question] was the first etc.'). According to Grmek 1990, 44, the scribe could have erroneously transcribed here *primo* by *et fuit prima*, which would confirm 1341 as the year of his lectures. *Utrum obiectum logicae est res* ('Whether the object of logic is the thing'), in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 97, fols 83^{va}–85^{va} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 215; Weijers 2001, 114). *Utrum subiectum est causa efficiens proprie passionis* ('Whether the subject is the efficient cause of its own attribute'), in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226, fols 32a^{va}–33^{ra}. The foliation of this question is incorrect in all the previous descriptions: Thomson 2011, 81, who gives fols 32a^v–37^v; CALMA 2021, 78, which gives fols 31^v–35^{va}; Kuksewicz 1963b, 216, who gives fols 31^v–38^r; Weijers 2001, 114, who gives fols 32^v–37^v. *Utrum preter indivisibile cuiuslibet rei naturalis sive successive sive permanentis sit dare minus quo nihil sit minus* ('Whether beyond an indivisible part of any successive or permanent natural thing one must postulate a part smaller than any other part'), in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226, fols 70^{ra-vb} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 216, who reads 'Utrum preter indi...le cuiuslibet rei ...'; and gives fols 70^r–71^r; Weijers 2001, 114, who reads 'Utrum preter indi...le cuiuslibet rei ...'); according to its explicit, the text is a *Questio disputata per magistrum Jacobum de Placentia quam sustinuit M. Thomaxinus de Cremona* ('Disputed question by master James of Piacenza, which has been defended by master Thomaxinus of Cremona'); Thomson 2011, 81 (the catalogue does not give the title of the question). *Utrum universale significat rem aliquam aliam extra animam a singularibus* ('Whether a universal term signifies outside the soul something other than particulars'), in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226, fols 70^{vb}–74^{rb} (Kuksewicz 1963b, 216, who gives fols 71^r–76^r; Weijers 2001, 114). For all the aforementioned questions in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226, I have verified both the titles and the foliations against the manuscript.

²⁵ The two questions are the following: 'Whether the black bile is generated from moderate heat' (*Utrum melancholia generetur a temperato calore*), on fols 176^{ra}–177^{vb}, and 'Whether it is adequate to take a bath after taking a resolute medicine' (*Utrum post medicinam solutivam competat balneum*), on fols 180^{vb}–182^{ra}; the latter question is also erroneously mentioned in connection to our Piacenza (the philosopher), in Siraisi 1981, 45 n. 91. On James's namesake, see Grmek 1990, 36.

²⁶ Grmek 1990, 44.

was a professor of medicine at Bologna in 1322, based on the explicit of another witness containing his question on the black bile.²⁷

James's extant works on logic accord very well with the academic curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Bologna, as outlined in the statutes of the University of Medicine and Arts of Bologna (1405).²⁸ As Alfonso Maierù has noted, although the earliest version of these statutes dates to 1405, they 'represent the codification of long-standing teaching programs and practices, dating at least from the time when the university of medicine and arts was officially recognized in 1316'.²⁹

According to the Rubric XXXVII of the statutes, there were three cycles of lectures on the following works: (1) the first six treatises of Peter of Spain's *Treatises* (on modals, on predicables, on categories, on syllogisms, on topics, and on suppositions) followed by Aquinas's *Fallacies*; (2) Porphyry's *Isagoge* (excluding the chapters on *communitates*), followed by Aristotle's *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Topics* (limited to Books I–II, IV, and VI), and *Sophistical Refutations*; (3) Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (from the beginning to chapter 22, and then chapter 27) and *Posterior Analytics* (excluding chapters 16–17 of Book I).³⁰

The requirements outlined in the statutes thus indicate that, at Bologna, lectures on a given text often covered only selected portions (specific books or chapters), rather than the work in its entirety. As Maierù has shown, the extant commentaries generally confirm the corpus of texts prescribed for reading at Bologna, though some exhibit notable deviations. For instance, James's commentary on Peter of Spain's *Treatises* corresponds precisely to the first six treatises listed in the statutes and is followed by an incomplete commentary on the *Fallacies*.³¹ Nevertheless, the version of James's commentary on Peter's *Treatises* transmitted in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391, includes a discussion of the entire first treatise, rather than confining itself to the section on modals, as stipulated in the statutes.³²

With regard to the works assigned to the second cycle of lectures, the prescribed partial reading of the *Isagoge* is confirmed by extant commentaries on this text authored by Gentile of Cingoli (chair of philosophy in Bologna in 1292–1318), Angelo of Arezzo (d.1422) and our James of Piacenza, all

²⁷ Grmek 1990, 36–37, citing 'Ms. Escorial, f. I 4, f. 3'; Beaujouan 1972, 189; Jacquart 1981, 450–452. The question on medicine referenced in BAMAT 1994, 207, probably pertains to James of Piacenza, the physician.

²⁸ Malagola (ed.) 1888.

²⁹ Maierù 1994, 94.

³⁰ *Statuti*, Rub. XXXVII, in Malagola (ed.) 1888, 251–252, based on manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1394, fols 44^r–45^r; reedited by Maierù 1994, 113–116 (Appendix). According to Maierù, paragraphs 4–8 from Malagola's edition were also reedited in Dallari 1889, xiv n. 6. On the Bolognese curricula, see also Rashdall 1951, 249.

³¹ There are other Bolognese questions which are devoted only to the first five treatises, such as those of Biagio Pelacani (d.1416) or James of Udine (taught logic at Bologna in 1370–1371). Biagio's commentary is preserved in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI, 63, fols 1^{ra}–92^{rb}. There are also some anonymous glosses only on the first five treatises (and on Aquinas's *Fallacies*) in Cremona, Biblioteca Governativa, 27 (de Rijk 1970, 28–30). James of Udine's *Recollectiones* on *Treatises* I–V is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 203, fols 113^r–166^r. According to Maierù 1994, 100, Gentile of Cingoli's *Scriptum super Tractatibus et Falaciis fratris Thome* has not been identified.

³² This led Maierù to conclude that the 'decision to require an ordinary lecture on only the section on modals from the first treatise – a decision codified in the 1405 statutes – was made after this commentary was written' (Maierù 1994, 104).

of which omit the section on *communitates*.³³ As for the other texts belonging to the second cycle of lectures on the *ars vetus*, multiple Bolognese commentaries survive on both Aristotle's *Categories* and *On Interpretation*.³⁴ However, in the case of the next two works of the *logica nova*, namely the *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations*, only James's commentary on the former text is known to have survived (in an incomplete form, covering only the first two books).³⁵

Concerning the third cycle of lectures, relatively few extant Bolognese commentaries survive to corroborate the curricular requirements of the statutes. Notable exceptions include Gentile of Cingoli's commentary on the *Prior Analytics*³⁶ and Matthew of Gubbio's commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*. The latter, preserved in Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapitoly, 1324 (L.LXXVIII), fols 1^r–27^r, confirms the statutory omission of chapters 16–17 from the prescribed reading of the *Posterior Analytics*.³⁷ The Bolognese convention is explicitly acknowledged in a note found in the aforementioned manuscript: 'Note that this [commentary] does not include the chapter *De ignoranciis*, because here, at Bologna, it is not read'.³⁸ As will be argued below, this specific requirement – the omission of chapters 16–17 – constitutes a significant clue in linking the newly identified commentary in Gaudet's notebook to the Bolognese program of logic.

James's profile as a logician has been reconstructed primarily through his commentaries on the *ars vetus* mentioned above (namely, on the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, and *On Interpretation*), as well as on the first six treatises of Peter of Spain's *Treatises*.³⁹ On the basis of these works, he has been characterized as a supporter of a 'Modistic interpretation of the nature and object of logic'.⁴⁰ In this respect, he aligns himself with the modist tradition that emerged in Bologna at the end of the thirteenth century, particularly through the work of Gentile of Cingoli. According to Maierù, James's modist orientation is especially evident in his commentary on the sixth treatise of Peter's *Treatises* (on suppositions), where the commentator systematically 'uses the conceptual tools of modist logic', making frequent reference to the *modi essendi* ('modes of being') and *modi significandi* ('modes of signification').⁴¹

³³ The exception is Matthew of Gubbio's lecture on *Isagoge*, of which there are extant *reportationes* containing a discussion of Porphyry's entire work (Maierù 1994, 97–98).

³⁴ Matthew of Gubbio's commentary on the *Categories* is found in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 737, fols 139^r–150^v (Kuksewicz 1961, 43–45, with a list of questions; Lohr 1970, 340).

³⁵ Maierù 1994, 97. It seems that there are no identified Bolognese commentaries on the *Sophistical Refutations*.

³⁶ The commentary (preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. J.1.35, fols 1^{ra}–31^{ra}) contains only the first 35 chapters of Book I and treats chapters not required by the statutes, e.g. ch. 24–26 (Bertagna 1992; Maierù 1994, 99).

³⁷ Lohr 1970, 341.

³⁸ Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapitoly, 1324 (L.LXXVIII), fol. 19^{vb}: *Nota quod hoc deficit super capitulo de ignoranciis, quia hic, scilicet Bononie, non legitur* (Maierù 1994, 99 n. 27 [also 119 n. 15]; see also Rossi 1992).

³⁹ Conti 1992; Lambertini 1999.

⁴⁰ Lambertini 2009.

⁴¹ On James's modist logic, see Maierù 1994, 107–113 (quotation at 109).

James's intellectual profile also displays an Averroistic orientation, most notably reflected in his commentary on Book III of Aristotle's *On the Soul* (dated to 1341).⁴² In this work, he adopts several key elements of Averroes's interpretation of Aristotelian psychology, including the doctrines of the unicity and separation of the intellect. Zdzisław Kuksewicz, the editor of James's commentary on *De anima*, described him as a fully-fledged Averroist ('un averroïste au plein sens du terme').⁴³ Elsewhere, drawing again on James's commentary, Kuksewicz characterizes him as a heterodox Averroist ('un averroïste rigoureusement hétérodoxe'), whose views were shaped by figures such as Siger of Brabant (d. before 10 November 1284), John of Jandun (d.1328), Thomas Wylton (d.1322), Thadeus of Parma (d.1359) and Matthew of Gubbio (fl. c.1333–1347).⁴⁴

3. Identifying James as the author of the *Questions* in Gaudet's notebook

I was able to identify James as the author of the hitherto anonymous questions on *Posterior Analytics* preserved in Gaudet's notebook (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fols 183^r–190^r) while transcribing these folios, and, more specifically, through checking Gaudet's *tabula* (table of contents) within the same codex against Glorieux's transcription ('Table B'). The *tabula*, written on the upper section of folio 206^v, is reproduced in Fig. 3.

Two words from the manuscript, which had previously puzzled Glorieux, offer the key to identifying the author. The *tabula*, which outlines the contents of the ten quires bound together in the codex, contains a particularly valuable entry concerning the fifth sextern (Lat. *sisternus*, i.e., a quire consisting of six double folios) of the present book (*volumen*). It reads: 'In the fifth [quire, there are] some [questions] on rhetoric according to Buridan and some [notes] from Piacenza's questions on *Posterior Analytics*' (*In quinto aliqua de rethorica secundum Buridanum et aliqua de questionibus de Placentia supra Posteriorum*) (Fig. 4).⁴⁵ It was precisely this entry that Glorieux failed to read in full: although he correctly associated the corresponding folios (179^r–190^v) with the two sets of questions mentioned in relation to the fifth quire, he hesitantly transcribed the reference to the author's name (*de Placentia*) as 'de plate(?)', thereby overlooking this critical evidence.⁴⁶

The role of the *tabulae* in establishing the authorship of texts proves to be crucial in this case, since the questions attributed to James in the *tabula* bear no attribution on the folios on which they were copied. The same is true for the questions from Buridan (on fols 179^r–182^r), introduced only by a marginal note in a later hand at the top of the folio 179^r, reading: 'Some [questions] on rhetoric begin [here]' (*Incipiunt aliqua de rethorica*). Unlike James's text, Buridan's questions have been securely identified through comparison with other extant copies of his commentary on the *Rhetoric*.⁴⁷ In the absence of any known witnesses to James's *Questions* and with no additional

⁴² The date of his commentary is based on the colophon in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 656; see Lohr 1970, 145–147.

⁴³ Kuksewicz 1963b, 211.

⁴⁴ Kuksewicz 1963a, 20. See also Kuksewicz 1968, 353–398 (quotation at 394); and Ghisalberti 2003.

⁴⁵ A transcription of 'Table B' is found in Glorieux 1966, 28–29, where he also misreads *supra* as 'super'.

⁴⁶ In Glorieux 1966, 50, he reads again 'de plate'.

⁴⁷ Weijers 2001, 160.

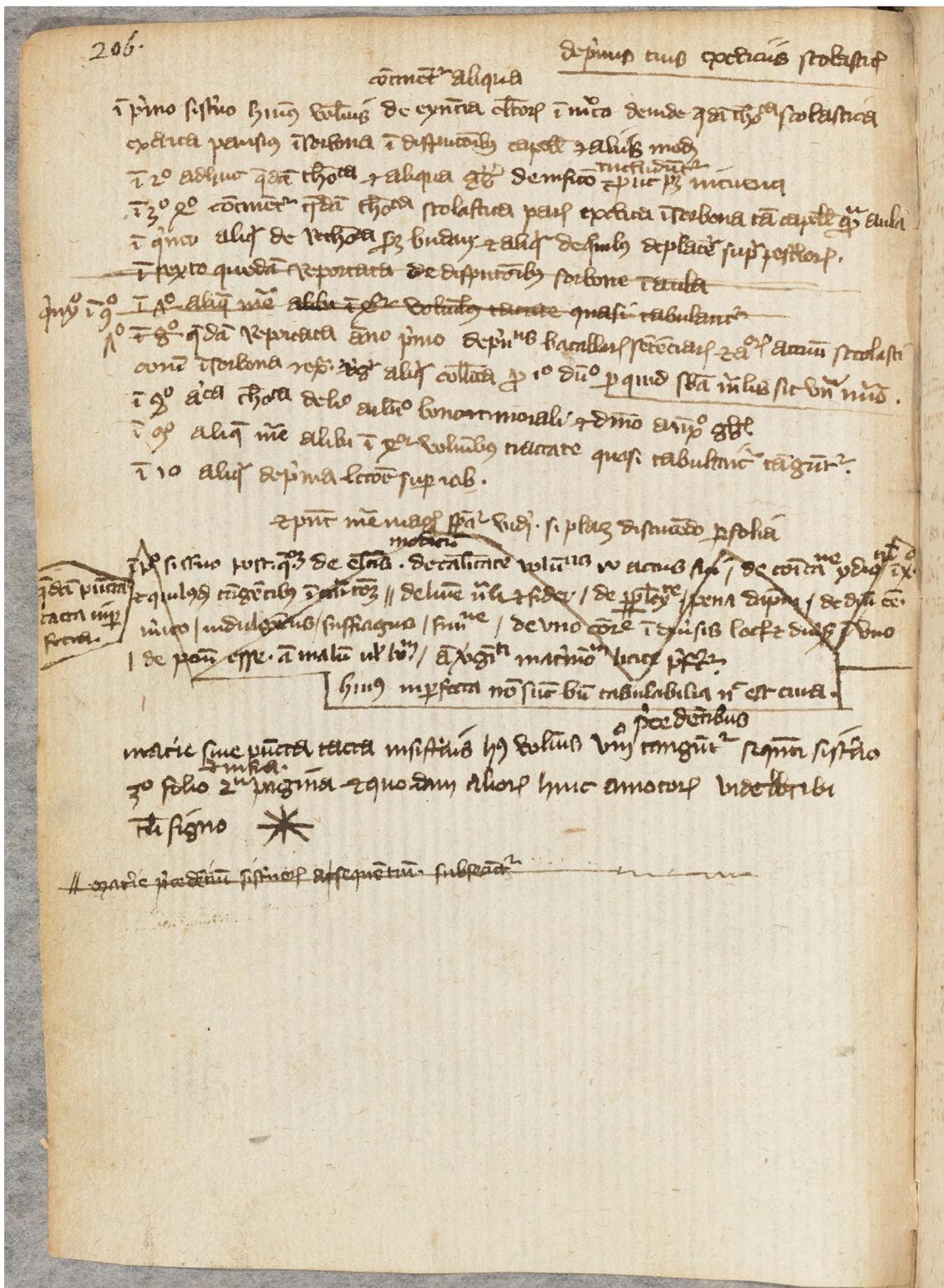


Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 206^v (Gaudet's tabula).

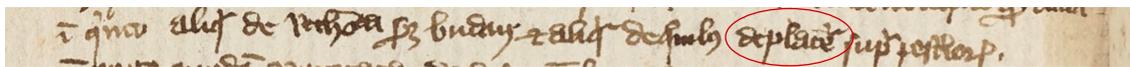


Fig. 4: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 206^v (Detail from Gaudet's tabula, illustrating the entry for the fifth quire; the words de Placentia have been marked with a red circle for illustrative purposes).

information on the margins of his questions in Gaudet's notebook, the latter's table of contents remains the only source providing essential data concerning both the authorship and the title of the text.

As far as internal textual evidence is concerned, several additional elements support the attribution of the questions on the *Posterior Analytics* to James of Piacenza.⁴⁸ The following observations are based on our forthcoming edition of Gaudet's rendition of James's text.⁴⁹ While transcribing these questions, I encountered numerous explicitly cited authorities, alongside more generic references (such as *dicunt aliqui* ['some say'], *secundum alios* ['according to others'], *secundum istos* ['according to these'], *alii dicunt* ['others say'], *solent aliqui arguere* ['some often argue'], *respondent aliqui* or *antiqui* ['some reply' or 'the ancients reply']). In addition to citations from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *Physics*, *De caelo*, *De anima*, *Perihermeneias*, and *Topicorum*, the text also refers to Robert Grosseteste (*Lincolniensis*, likely a reference to his commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*), Porphyry (*Porfirius*), Jean de Jandun (*magister Iohannes de Ianduno*), Plato, Avicenna and Vitalis de Tarbia. Some of these references are unexpected, such as the one to Vitalis de Tarbia, a lesser-known master in Arts, whose *Lectura super librum Predicamentorum* (*Lecture on the Categories*) and *Lectura super librum Porphyrii* (*Lecture on Porphyry's Book*) appear to survive only in the manuscript Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2354.⁵⁰ Yet the reference to John of Jandun, the famous Averroist of the fourteenth century, is especially significant, as it points toward the intellectual milieu of the Bolognese Averroist school, where Jandun's authority was frequently invoked, including by James himself.⁵¹

⁴⁸ There is another Bolognese logician bearing the same toponymic surname, i.e. Zilfredus (or Gilfredo) de Piacenza, but not much is known about his works. According to Alidosi 1623, 28, he read philosophy at Bologna from 1329 to 1333. The same information is reprised in Mazzetti 1847, 151. According to Maier 1949, 264 n. 38, Zilfredus authored the question bearing the title: *Utrum intellectus possibilis ad actum intellectionis eliciendum concurrat effective ... fuit quaestio magistri Zilfredi de Placentia* ('Whether the possible intellect concurs effectively to elicit an act of understanding ... [this] was the question of master Zilfredus of Piacenza'), preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 318, fols 168^r–170^r (edited in Kuksewicz 1963d), as well as two additional questions, namely the one in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2141, fols 122^r–128^r: *Utrum dicendo 'homo est animal', 'animal' in ista actuali praedicatione positum praedicetur adaequatum homini aut superius ad hominem ... Expl. qu. determinata a magistro Zilfredo de Placentia* ('Whether in saying "man is animal", the term "animal", posited in this actual predication, is adequately predicated of man or of something above man ... Here ends the question determined by master Zilfredus of Piacenza'), and the one in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagellońska, 748, with the following explicit on fol. 9^r: *Explicit quaestio determinata Bononiae anno Christi 1346 in diebus martii per Magistrum Zyffridum doctorem eximium et subtilissimum disputatorem* ('Here ends the question determined at Bologna, in the year of the Lord 1346, in March, by master Zyffridus, distinguished doctor and most subtle disputant') (Wisłocki 1877, 222). The same author is supposedly discussed in Grabmann 1956, but I was unable to access this source. In another source, Zilfredus is referred to as a teaching assistant in logic (*repetitor in logica*) with a certain 'Matteo del fu Cristoforo da Cortona' (Zaccagnini 1926, 116). Even though Zilfredus could be a fitting candidate for the author of the questions in Gaudet's notebook, it is much more probable that they belong to James of Piacenza, for reasons we explain below.

⁴⁹ The edition will be published electronically in the 'Transcriptions' section of the NOTA Project Database, accessible online: <<https://nota.granturi.ubbcluj.ro/public/transcription>> (accessed on 24 September 2025).

⁵⁰ Lilao Franca and Castrillo González (eds) 2002, 735–737.

⁵¹ See the explicit reference to John of Jandun (*secundum quod exponit Iohannes de Ganduno*) in James's commentary on *De anima* edited in Kuksewicz 1967, 170. James's potential connection to Paris and his contact with John of Jandun remain matters of scholarly debate; see, for instance, Patar 2006, 211: 'A-t-il fait une partie de ses études à Paris, où il aurait connu Jean de Jandun et Thomas Wilton? Rien ne le prouve' ('Did he pursue a part of his studies in Paris, where he could have met John of Jandun and Thomas Wylton? There is no evidence to prove this').

Another argument supporting the attribution of these questions to James is provided by the frequent references to the different modes employed in the treatment of particular issues. The questions occasionally invoke terms such as *modus predicandi* ('mode of predicating'), *modus inherendi* ('mode of inhering'), *modus sciendi* ('mode of knowing'), and *modus essendi* ('mode of being'). The systematic use of these conceptual tools throughout the questions is telling of a modist approach to logic, which fits well James's intellectual profile as reconstructed from his other works. It is also worth noting that, although one of the questions includes a passing reference to the chapter on ignorance, the chapter itself is not treated in any of the questions recorded by Gaudet. This omission aligns with the Bolognese curricular practice, which, as noted above, prescribed the exclusion of chapters 16–17 of Book I of the *Posterior Analytics* from the standard reading program. This detail further situates the composition of these questions firmly within the institutional framework of the University of Bologna, where James was active.⁵²

4. Gaudet's notes from James's Questions

Before turning to the presumably original form of James's *Questions on the Posterior Analytics*, let us consider more closely the manner in which Gaudet engaged with James's text in his notes, by examining his textual interventions, the academic context of their production, and the role they may have played in his intellectual training. Fortunately, the diagonal lines crossing Gaudet's notes do not render the text illegible. In Gaudet's hand, James's *Questions* read as a set of *dubia* ('doubts' or 'questions'), most of which are introduced by standard formulae, such as *dubitatio est utrum* or *dubium est utrum* ('it is asked whether'). The initial letters of the questions in Gaudet's notebook (typically a capital D) are either minimally ornamented or left as blank spaces, presumably to be filled in later with decorative initials (see Fig. 5).⁵³

The structure of each question in Gaudet's notebook follows a uniform pattern: it begins with arguments in the negative (*argumenta*), followed by stating the opposite thesis (*oppositum*); often, *notanda* are introduced by phrases such as *Nota quod* ('Note that'), *Sciendum quod* ('One must know that' or 'It must be known that'), *Intelligendum quod* ('One must understand that' or 'It must be understood that'), *Dicendum quod* ('One must say that' or 'It must be said that'), *Est videndum qualiter* ('It must be seen how'), and even shorter *dubia*; subsequently, one or more conclusions (*conclusiones*) are formulated (typically a single conclusion, though occasionally up to four or, in some cases, none at all); finally, replies to the preliminary arguments in the negative (*ad rationes*) are provided as the solution (*solutio*). This structure matches that of a simple disputed question, comparable to those found, for example, in James's commentary on Aristotle's *On the*

⁵² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 186^v: *Item omne immediatum est per se; sed alica negativa est immediata, ut apparet capitulo de ignorantia in principio* ('Likewise, anything that is immediate is *per se*; but a negative [proposition] is immediate, as it is clear from the chapter on ignorance at the beginning').

⁵³ These incipits are consistent with James's known practice in his other commentaries, where he typically introduces each question with the phrase *In ista lectione est dubitatio utrum* ('In this lecture it is asked whether'); this formula appears, for instance, in his commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *Categories* (Conti 1992, 442–443, *apud* Weijers 2011, 200 n. 25; see also Weijers 2011, 268 n. 45).

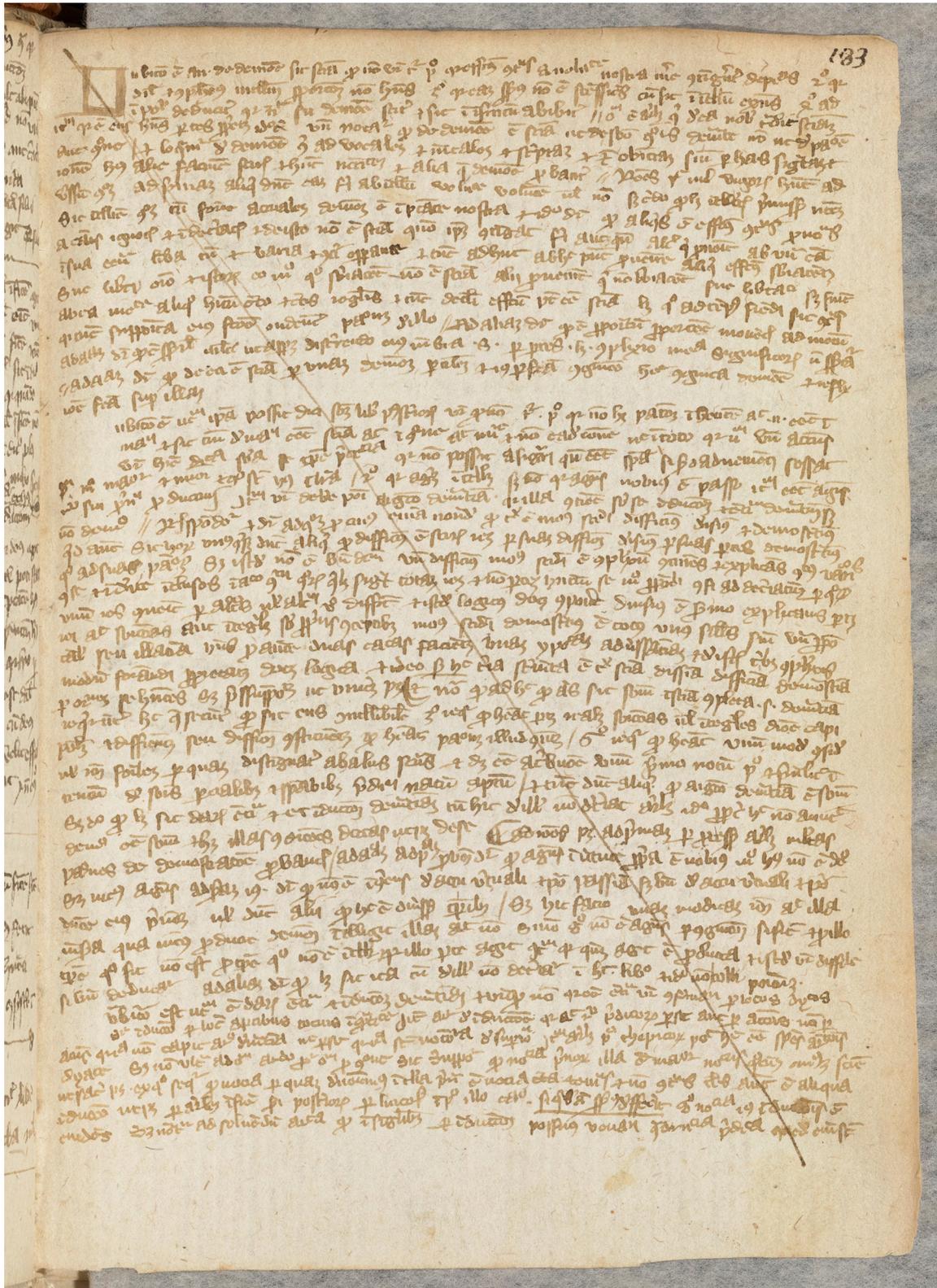


Fig. 5: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 183' (first folio of James's Questions).

Soul (negative response, in *oppositum* with arguments, refutation of the contrary arguments).⁵⁴ Nonetheless, this fact does not necessarily imply that James's questions were originally *questiones disputate* ('disputed questions'), as will be argued below.

Moreover, throughout Gaudet's notes, it appears that most arguments have been summarized. For instance, in responding to the *oppositum*, it is stated that 'from many reasons I choose two' (*ad oppositum de multis rationibus eligo duas*) (fol. 184').⁵⁵ Occasionally, entire replies to an argument are reduced to brief remarks, such as those found on fol. 183': '[In response] to the other [argument], it is sufficiently clear from the conclusion' (*Ad aliam satis patet ex conclusione*); '[In response] to the argument, it is clear that although they deny [it] with [their] mouth, [they do] not do so in [their] heart' (*Ad rationem patet quod ipsi licet negarent ore, non corde*). While these latter remarks appear within the main text and may well originate from James himself, the reduction of an entire reply section to such concise statements likely reflect Gaudet's editorial intervention, aimed at reworking James's *Questions* into a more abbreviated, study-oriented format.

More significantly, the latter example strongly echoes James's distinctive argumentative style as evident in his commentary on *De anima*. At a key point in the discussion concerning the unicity of the intellect, James employs a virtually identical phrase – *licet ore et verbis potest negare, non tamen mente* ('although it can be denied by mouth and through words, [it] cannot [be denied] in one's mind').⁵⁶ This stylistic parallel lends further weight to the attribution of the *Questions* preserved in Gaudet's notebook to James.

A particularly compelling example of Gaudet's abbreviation strategy is found in the question on fol. 183', where several arguments are omitted. When outlining the conditions required for something to serve as the subject in a complete, that is demonstrative, science (*Et nota quod ad hoc quod aliquis sit subiectum in scientia completa, scilicet demonstrativa, requiruntur hec que secuuntur [...]*; 'And note that, for something to be a subject in a complete, that is demonstrative, science, the following things are required ...'), the text abruptly skips from the third to the sixth requirement (*tertio requiritur [...]*; *sexto requiritur [...]*), having already omitted the second. Similar instances of truncated arguments appear elsewhere in the notes, at times rendering portions of the text unintelligible to readers unacquainted with James's original formulation. These omissions suggest that Gaudet's notes were produced with a degree of haste and sloppiness, characteristic of working materials rather than polished texts.

Given the aforementioned features of Gaudet's notes, several possibilities arise regarding the type of text jotted down by Gaudet. It may be either (1) a copy of an already abbreviated version of James's *Questions*, such as a *reportatio*, i.e. student notes taken during the class, or (2) Gaudet's

⁵⁴ Weijers 2011, 269.

⁵⁵ In his notes from James's *Questions*, Gaudet has kept the first-person verbs (e.g. *dico* ['I say'], *pono* ['I put'], *concedo* ['I concede'], *credo* ['I believe'], *respondeo* ['I reply'], *eligo* ['I choose'], *videtur mihi* ['it seems to me']).

⁵⁶ Iacobus de Placentia, *Lectura cum quaestionibus super tertium De anima*, q. IV, edited in Kuksewicz 1967, 65. The same passage is quoted in Kuksewicz 1968, 358: 'Tertia opinio est fidei, quae licet ore et verbis potest negare, non tamen mente, [...]' ('The third opinion is the one of faith, which, although it can be denied by mouth and through words, [it] cannot [be denied] in one's mind, [...]'). According to Kuksewicz, by employing this catchphrase, James sought to be prudent in presenting the *opinio fidei* ('the opinion of faith') concerning the unicity thesis, before proceeding to criticize this position of faith on multiple points.

own abbreviation of an exemplar containing the full text (or a more complete version) of James's *Questions*.

The more plausible scenario is the second, namely that Gaudet's notes from James's *Questions* constitute his own abbreviation, likely based on a model transmitting James's commentary. This is also suggested by the way Gaudet refers to his notes in the *tabula* on fol. 206^r: 'some [notes] from Piacenza's questions on *Posterior Analytics*' (*aliqua de questionibus de Placentia supra Posteriorum*). That this abbreviation is Gaudet's own is further supported by the fact that in other notebooks he adopts similar methods of textual condensation – for example, in his abbreviation of Nicholas of Aston's commentary on the *Sentences* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16535, fols 118^r–122^r), and in his abbreviation of several theological works by Richard Brinkley (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16535, fols 123^r–129^r; lat. 16408, fols 40^r–41^r).⁵⁷ To these examples, we may add his notes on Genesis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15561, fols 1^r–41^v), which combine abbreviated material from both Nicholas of Lyra and Hugh of Saint-Cher – notes I have examined elsewhere.⁵⁸

A valuable clue regarding the academic context of Gaudet's notes from James's *Questions* is provided by the very heading he inscribes at the top of the *tabula* on fol. 206^v (see Fig. 3 above): 'Some [notes pertaining] to your first academic exercises are contained [here]' (*De primis tuis exercitiis scolasticis continentur aliqua*). This phrase leaves little doubt that the notes from James's *Questions*, recorded in the fifth quire of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, were jotted down by Gaudet during the early stages of his academic formation at the University of Paris. The expression *exercitiis scolasticis* most likely refers to the formal academic exercises required as part of his training at the Faculty of Arts and Theology, especially since the same *tabula* references both philosophical and theological material across the different quires. Yet it was probably in the context of his studies at the Faculty of Arts (late 1330s to early 1340s) that the young Gaudet undertook the 'scholastic exercise' of working through James's *Questions* on the *Posterior Analytics*, as part of his early academic formation.⁵⁹ Associating Gaudet's notes from James's *Questions* with this formative period not only provides a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of James's text, but also helps to account for the occasional textual errors in Gaudet's notes, since the text does not always flow easily and appears to have been jotted down hastily, perhaps even without a full grasp of the issues at hand.

⁵⁷ Kaluza 2013, 53–86 (with an edition of Gaudet's abbreviation of Aston's text at 77–86) and 87–189 (with an edition of Gaudet's summary of Brinkley's works at 145–189).

⁵⁸ Curut 2026.

⁵⁹ According to the statutes, the *Posterior Analytics* was studied at the Faculty of Arts: *Item statuimus auctoritate predicta quod scolares antequam ad determinandum in artibus admittantur, congrue sint in gramatica edocti, et Doctrinale et Grecismum audiverint; dummodo in studiis aut aliis locis, ubi grammaticalia didicerint, dicti libri legantur. Item quod audiverint veterem artem totam, librum Thopicorum, potissime quoad quatuor libros, et libros Elenchorum, Priorum et Posteriorum complete; etiam librum de Anima in toto vel in parte* (Chartularium 1894, 145). English translation in Kimball 2010, 140: 'Also, we decree by the said authority that scholars, before they are admitted to determining in arts, be properly trained in grammar and have heard [the books of Alexander of Villedieu and Evrard of Bethune], provided the said books are read in the schools or other places where they have learned grammar. Also, that they have heard the entire *Old Logic*, the books of *Topics* or at least four books of it, and the *Sophistical Refutations*, *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* completely; also *On the Soul* in whole or part.'

One might also ask whether Gaudet attended James's lectures on the *Posterior Analytics*, or whether James's commentary was read at the Parisian Faculty of Arts, especially given that some scholars have suggested that James was in contact with his Parisian colleagues.⁶⁰ This connection could explain the accessibility of his works at Paris, and by extension, Gaudet's access to James's *Questions*. Regardless of the precise mode of transmission, Gaudet's excerpts provide insights into the learning practices of a Parisian student of the Arts.

Still, one may wonder why Gaudet's notes from James's *Questions*, along with the preceding excerpts from Buridan's commentary on the *Rhetoric*, were crossed out and by whom.⁶¹ The answer is provided by Gaudet himself in a marginal annotation on the first folio of the fifth quire, fol. 179^r, where a *manicula* directs the reader's attention to the following explanation: 'Four folios are crossed out in this sextern, and another four after, since [they are] incomplete and unrelated to theological inquiries, as it is clear.'⁶² A similar justification appears on the lower margin of fol. 125^r, also introduced by a *manicula*, where Gaudet explains the cancellation of another series of folios (from the first quire): 'not because their contents are useless, but because [they are] unrelated to theological inquiries'.⁶³ These explicit remarks prove that the decision to cross out these texts, including James's, was Gaudet's own, motivated by their perceived lack of relevance to his theological pursuits.

This is presumably the same rationale behind Gaudet's decision to describe only the *materie theologice* ('theological contents') in another *tabula* within the same codex (labelled 'Table F' by Glorieux), including in his description of the contents of the fifth quire, where the reference to the texts on rhetoric is visibly a later addition.⁶⁴ In this sense, Glorieux's observation that Gaudet (whom he mistook for Jean de Falisca) recorded in his *tabule* only what pertains to theology⁶⁵ is indeed true for 'Table F', but the same cannot be said for the *tabula* on fol. 206^v ('Table B'), where the contents of both the first and fifth quires include philosophical material. Taken together, these interventions in the organization of his collected notes suggest that Gaudet was far more invested in cultivating his theological profile than his philosophical interests, a conclusion further supported by the significantly greater volume of material he recorded on theological subjects.

⁶⁰ Weijers 2001, 111.

⁶¹ The notes from Buridan are followed by several notes on fol. 182^v. Gaudet's notes from James's *Questions* are interrupted only by a note in another hand concerning the continuum on fol. 187^r, and by a blank space occupying the lower half of fol. 188^r. Only the fragments from Buridan and James are crossed out with a diagonal line, while the short note in another hand remains untouched.

⁶² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 179^r: *Lineantur in hoc sisterno quatuor folia et post alia quatuor, quia imperfecta et impertinentia theologice inquisitionibus, ut patet clare* (Glorieux 1966, 50, where he erroneously reads *deleantur* instead of *lineantur*).

⁶³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 125^r: *Rigantur vel lineantur hec tria folia, non quia contenta in eis sunt inutilia, sed quia impertinentia theologice inquisitionibus*.

⁶⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 219^v. A later hand (possibly Gaudet himself at a later stage) added above the line after *sisterno*: *aliqua de rethorica* ('some [notes] on rhetoric'). Note the faulty readings of *tangunt* as *tanguntur*, and of *quarto folio, secunda* as *quatuor folia et* in Glorieux 1966, 49.

⁶⁵ Glorieux 1966, 50.

5. The original form and purpose of James's *Questions*

In the absence of known witnesses preserving a more faithful version of James's text, reconstructing its original form and purpose presents a significant challenge. Any attempt must necessarily begin from Gaudet's adaptation, while remaining aware of its limitations as a secondary and abbreviated source.⁶⁶ One initial question concerns the genre to which James's *Questions* originally belonged. Do they stem from disputed questions or lectures?

Given that the structure of James's *Questions*, as preserved in Gaudet's notebook, closely follows the format of *quaestiones disputatae*, it is reasonable to consider whether the text may have originated in a disputational context. However, several factors weigh against this hypothesis. First, in his reference to the fifth quire, where James's *Questions* are mentioned, Gaudet acknowledges the fragmentary nature of the material ('some [notes] from [...]'), as seen above, but pointedly refrains from identifying its genre. This stands in contrast to his description of the first quire in the same *tabula*, where he explicitly labels the contents as *disputationes*.⁶⁷ Moreover, the *Questions*, as we have them in Gaudet's notebook, lack the formal elements typically associated with public disputations: there is no mention of the presiding master, no identification or trace of an opponent (*opponens*) or respondent (*respondens*), and no indication of the oral character of the event, all features that are otherwise present in Gaudet's records of actual disputations found elsewhere in his notebooks.

Consequently, to assess the second hypothesis, namely that James's *Questions* may have originated in a teaching context, one must turn to the specificity of the Bolognese lectures on the *Posterior Analytics*. The statutes of the Faculty of Arts at Bologna (as at other Italian universities) distinguished between two types of lectures: ordinary (*ordinarie*) and extraordinary (*extraordinarie*), depending mainly on the text to be read.⁶⁸ Ordinary lectures were held by masters or doctors (*magistri/doctores*) formally licensed to teach (*conventuati*), or by advanced students who were about to receive their licence to teach in a few months.⁶⁹ Extraordinary lectures, by contrast, could be given either by a doctor, a *repetitor* or a student (*scholaris*) – with the latter two

⁶⁶ Trying to answer the question whether there are any extant manuscripts of James's work turned out to be quite a labyrinthine task. According to Martin Grabmann, the manuscript Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. X, 31 contains James's commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* (Grabmann 1956, 210). Grabmann's reference to James's commentary on the *Analytica Posteriora* is odd given that the library catalogue, available to the German scholar, did not record this information: Valentinelli (ed.) 1871, 23. Next, Grabmann's statement was repeated uncritically by Kuksewicz, who, ironically, introduced another element of confusion by replacing *Analytica Posteriora* (from Grabmann's reference) with *Analitica Priora*, probably by mistake (Kuksewicz 1968, 424 n. 123). In Kuksewicz's reference to Grabmann's text there is another mistake: he erroneously sends the reader to the second volume instead of the third. Yet Kuksewicz's main error is even more confusing given that five years earlier, in one of his articles on James (Kuksewicz 1963b), there was no mention at all of the *Prior* nor the *Posterior Analytics*. Finally, in 1994, after examining the extant Bolognese commentaries pertaining to the third cycle of lectures, Maierù concluded: 'To my knowledge only the commentary on the *Prior Analytics* attributed to Gentile [of Cingoli], and that of Matthew of Gubbio on the *Posterior Analytics*, are extant' (Maierù 1994, 99).

⁶⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fol. 206r.

⁶⁸ Maierù 1994, 45–54; Weijers 2011, 268.

⁶⁹ *Statuti*, Rub. L, in Malagola (ed.) 1888, 257, *apud* Maierù 1994, 45.

categories, known collectively as *lectores* ('lectors'), receiving only half of the salary of a doctor.⁷⁰ While the statutes of the Faculty of Arts contain no explicit reference to extraordinary lectures before the fifteenth century, both Maierù and Weijers have argued that the practice may have been well established earlier.⁷¹

As previously noted, the *Posterior Analytics* was amongst the texts that had to be read *ordinarie*, but it could also be read in an extraordinary lecture. Whether the version of James's *Questions* transmitted by Gaudet ultimately derives from an oral or a written source, it is more plausible to stem from an extraordinary lecture James may have delivered on the *Posterior Analytics*. The key reason lies in the statutory definition of such extraordinary lectures: according to the final part of Rubric XXXVIII, any lecturer (*quilibet legens*) delivering an extraordinary lecture was required to accompany each lesson (*lectio*) with the discussion of a question (*questio*), that is, he was obliged 'to raise or determine a question on every lecture'.⁷² Thus, this statutory requirement of conducting a *lectura cum questionibus* ('commentary with questions') combined a literal commentary, intended to offer a systematic exposition of Aristotle's text, with questions modelled on the structure of disputed questions, designed to develop points of doctrine and address difficulties.⁷³ At Bologna, the structure of extant commentaries produced within the Faculty of Arts confirms this format of 'commentary with questions' mandated by the statutes. Notable Bolognese examples include Gentile of Cingoli's commentary on Martin of Dacia's *Modi significandi*,⁷⁴ Matthew of Gubbio's commentary on the *Isagoge*,⁷⁵ and James's own commentaries on *On the Soul*, on the *Isagoge*, and on the *Categories*.⁷⁶ According to Weijers, James's *Lectura cum questionibus super tertium De anima* is itself an example of a *lectura extraordinaria*: a literal commentary interrupted by questions, as confirmed by both the structure of the text and its internal references.⁷⁷

It is therefore possible to suppose that James, either during his final year as a bachelor or already as master at the Faculty of Arts in Bologna, delivered an extraordinary lecture (*lectio extraordinaria*)

⁷⁰ On the *repetitor*, see Maierù 1994, 113.

⁷¹ Weijers 2011, 257–270; Maierù 1994, 94. On the cursory lecture, see Maierù 1997, 375–378. On fifteenth-century mentions of extraordinary lectures at the Faculty of Arts, see Dallari 1924, 63 (nos 1432–33), and 65 (nos 1433–34).

⁷² *Statuti*, Rub. XXXVIII, in Malagola (ed.) 1888, 252, *apud* Maierù 1994, 51 n. 60 (also 122 n. 28): *Item quod quilibet legens predicta seu aliquid predictorum, teneatur super unaquaque lectione movere unam questionem vel motum [motam!] determinare* ('Likewise, anyone reading the previously mentioned [books] or a part of them ought to dispute or determine a question for each lesson').

⁷³ On the difference between literal commentary and questions (and their distinct pedagogical aims), see Weijers 2011, 214–217. As Weijers has remarked, the relation between the commentary and the questions is not clear and it was possible that the commentary with questions were assembled later, as certain cases suggest; see Weijers 2011, 199 n. 22, who refers to Buzzetti, Lambertini and Tabarroni 1997, 82–84.

⁷⁴ Alessio 1992, 3–4.

⁷⁵ Lambertini 1992, 282–284, 319–323.

⁷⁶ Kuksewicz 1967; Conti 1992, 442.

⁷⁷ This was misunderstood by Kuksewicz, the editor of James's text, who thought that James read his commentary on the *De anima* (the literal exposition) in the same year during which he organized disputed questions on the same text, and consequently has erroneously separated the two components of the extraordinary lecture in his edition (Kuksewicz 1967, 13–14). Yet Weijers has shown that the text was meant to have the structure of a *lectio* followed by a *questio*, just as the statute demanded for this type of extraordinary lecture (Weijers 2011, 268–269).

on the *Posterior Analytics*, from which his *Questions* preserved in Gaudet's notebook ultimately derive. Given that James ceased teaching logic sometime before 12 May 1342 (when he started teaching medicine and other philosophical disciplines until 1348), and that he completed his commentary on *On the Soul* as late as 1341, it would seem likely that his commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* predates this latter work. Thus, taking 1341 as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of James's *Questions* accords well with the *terminus ante quem* previously established for Gaudet's redaction of his notes from the same text.

6. Conclusions

The study of medieval academic notebooks, a field of research that has only recently begun to receive the attention it deserves, is driven, on one hand, by a scholarly curiosity to examine annotation methods that stand at the roots of our own current practices.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the *prima facie* counter-intuitive effort of delving into 'scholastic rubbish' can be fuelled by the drive to unearth new authors or recover lost texts precisely through this disruptive, work-in-progress material. The painstaking labour of sifting through piles of neglected scraps of paper, scribbled notes, deleted passages, or disordered folios, is amply rewarded when it leads to the understanding of note-taking practices and the recovery of a forgotten or previously unknown text, as it is the case with James's *Questions on the Posterior Analytics* in the form they survive in one of Gaudet's notebooks. There is a quiet irony in the fact that a text which had ceased to hold significance for the very person who produced it (in our case, Gaudet) should now stand as such a valuable witness to the medieval intellectual production. Gaudet's decision to gently cross out, yet still retain, his non-theological notes rather than discard them altogether, speaks not only to his shifting academic interests but also to a methodical approach to archiving the material he accumulated during his student years, even after it had outlived its initial purpose.⁷⁹ That a work once deemed obsolete by its own reader should now emerge as the sole witness to an otherwise lost text is a fitting reminder of the contingent nature of textual survival in the Middle Ages and the enduring importance of manuscripts as material vehicles of knowledge. The survival of James's *Questions* through Gaudet's notebook also underscores the vital role played by student compilers in preserving the textual heritage of their time – sometimes despite themselves.

The new attribution proposed in this study – supported by a chain of converging arguments, including the reference to John of Jandun, the use of modist vocabulary, the omission of chapters 16–17 of Book I, and a notable stylistic parallel – appears well founded, even if some degree of caution must remain. Nevertheless, if correct, it would require updating the known corpus of James of Piacenza to include a set of *Questions on the Posterior Analytics* alongside his other commentaries

⁷⁸ Amongst the numerous studies dealing more generally with notebooks, see Teeuwen and Renswoude (eds) 2017; Sherman 2008; Even-Ezra 2021; and Maksimczuk and Staack (eds) 2026. For contributions on medieval academic notebooks, see the studies in Brinzei (ed.) 2022. On early-modern student note-taking, see Feys, Maleux, Peetermans and Van Rooy (eds) 2025.

⁷⁹ In this regard, see the recent study in Marinca 2026 on Gaudet's successive redactions of the same aulical debates preserved in his notebooks.

on Aristotle. The version preserved in Gaudet's autograph notebook, though fragmentary and heavily adapted, would thus constitute the first known witness to a text otherwise presumed lost. Still, many questions are left unanswered regarding the transmission of James's *Questions* and Gaudet's approach to his source. Did Gaudet intentionally copy only the questions from a model containing James's commentary that also included the *lectura*, i.e. the literal exposition of Aristotle's text? Were there originally twenty-seven questions, or did Gaudet make a selection, perhaps choosing those that addressed particularly difficult points in order to help him in his studies? Did James's *Questions on the Posterior Analytics* ever circulate separately from the literal commentary, as is known to have been the case with some of his other works, despite having been conceived together as part of a continuous *lectura cum quaestionibus*?⁸⁰ Finally, does Gaudet's interest in James's text reflect a broader intellectual trend, namely a revival of modism in Paris after its decline post-1330?⁸¹

All these questions, and others, can now begin to be addressed on the basis of the newly identified text, an edition of which is forthcoming. Undoubtedly, more work needs to be conducted on James of Piacenza in order to reconstruct the intellectual legacy of this *doctor Bononiensis famosissimus* ('most famous doctor of Bologna').⁸² A starting point for further inquiry would be the manuscript Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. X, 31, which I have not been able to consult. The present contribution, together with the list of questions provided in the Appendix, offers a set of tools with which other potential witnesses of James's *Questions on the Posterior Analytics* may be identified.

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⁸⁰ This was the case for his previously mentioned commentary on *De anima* in manuscript Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 742, which comprises only the question part.

⁸¹ On the demise of modism at Paris after 1330, see Pinborg 1967, 195–209; Pinborg 1982, 267–268; Biard 1989, 242–288.

⁸² The moniker applied to James appears in a fourteenth-century manuscript containing some of his works, namely Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391, fol. 66^v.

Appendix

The Appendix contains the list of James of Piacenza's questions on *Posterior Analytics* as recorded by Étienne Gaudet in his notebook, manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16408, fols 183^r–190^r, with a parallel English translation. I have kept the spelling found in the manuscript.

<Jacobi de Placentia *Questiones supra Posteriorum*>

<Abbreviatio Stephani Galdeti>

1. Dubitatio est an de demonstratione sit scientia. (fol. 183^r) ('It is asked whether there is a science of demonstration').
2. Dubitatio est utrum ipsa possit dici subiectum libri Posteriorum. (fol. 183^r) ('It is asked whether this [i.e, demonstration] can be called the subject of the *Posterior* [*Analytics*]').
3. Dubitatio est utrum est dare entimema et inductionem demonstrativam. (fol. 183^{r-v}) ('It is asked whether we ought to posit demonstrative enthymemes and inductions').
4. Dubitatio est de precognitionibus: utrum sint tantum due. (fol. 183^v) ('It is asked whether there are only two kinds of precognition').
5. Questio est utrum de subiecto precognoscatur 'quid est' et 'quia est'. (fol. 183^v) ('It is asked whether it is foreknown of the subject "what it is" and "that it is"').
6. Dubitatio est utrum intellectus in ultimo⁸³ instanti discursus quo intelligit conclusionem intelligat premissas (fol. 184^r) ('It is asked whether the intellect understands the premises in the last instant of the discourse by which it understands the conclusion').
7. Dubium est utrum contingat aliquid scire. (fol. 184^r) ('It is asked whether it is possible to know anything').
8. Dubium aliud est utrum habitus virtutis et scientie sint eterni a principio generationis in nobis. (fol. 184^{r-v}) ('It is asked whether the habitus of virtue and science are eternally within us from the principle of generation').
9. Dubitatio circa diffinitionem ipsius scire: utrum sit bene data.⁸⁴ (fol. 184^v) ('It is asked whether the definition of knowing is proper').

⁸³ ultimo] *p.c.*

⁸⁴ data] *di add. sed del.*

10. Queritur: utrum diffinitio demonstrationis dicens ‘demonstratio est ex primis et veris etc.’ sit bona. (fols 184^v–185^r) (‘It is asked whether the definition of demonstration that says that “demonstration is from the first and true etc.” is good’).
11. Dubitatio est utrum aliquid sit per se. (fol. 185^r) (‘It is asked whether something is *per se*’).
12. Dubium est utrum diffinitio per se predicetur de diffinito⁸⁵ in primo modo dicendi per se. (fol. 185^{r-v}) (‘It is asked whether definition is predicated *per se* of the defined thing in the first mode of saying *per se*’).
13. Dimissa dubitatione utrum genus per se dicatur⁸⁶ de specie et quomodo sit verum et quomodo non – quia hoc⁸⁷ declaratur in conclusione magistri Iohannis de Ianduno – est dubitatio an ista sit per se: ‘homo est homo’. (fol. 185^v) (‘Skipping the question whether genus is said *per se* of the species, and in what way it is true and in what way it is not – since this issue is clarified in master John of Jandun’s conclusion – it is asked whether this is *per se*: “man is man”’).
14. Dubium est utrum ista sit per se: ‘animal est homo’. (fol. 185^v) (‘It is asked whether this is *per se*: “animal is man”’).
15. Dubitatio est utrum⁸⁸ accidens insit per se substantie. (fol. 186^r) (‘It is asked whether the accident inheres in the substance *per se*’).
16. Dubitatio est utrum subiectum sit causa efficacia passionis.⁸⁹ (fol. 186^r) (‘It is asked whether the subject is the efficient cause of the attribute’).
17. Dubium est utrum tertius modus sit modus predicandi. (fol. 186^r) (‘It is asked whether the third mode is a mode of predicating’).
18. Dubium; de quarto sextoque uniter dico tres propositiones. (fol. 186^v) (‘Question; I state three propositions in relation to both the fourth and the sixth’).
19. Dubium est utrum sit alicuius propositio negativa que sit per se. (fol. 186^v) (‘It is asked whether there is some negative proposition that is *per se*’).

⁸⁵ diffinito] et videtur *add. sed del.*

⁸⁶ dicatur] de differentia et *add. sed del.*

⁸⁷ hoc] *p.c.*

⁸⁸ utrum] *iter.*

⁸⁹ This question is almost identical in its title with James’s disputed question in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226, fols 32a^{va}–33^{ra}: *Utrum subiectum est causa efficiens proprie passionis*. The contents of the two questions are however different.

20. Dubium est utrum est dare aliquam falsam per se. (fol. 186^v) ('It is asked whether we ought to posit some false *per se* [proposition]').
21. Dubium est utrum genus sit predicatum speciei. (fol. 186^v) ('It is asked whether genus is the predicate of the species').
22. Dubitatio est utrum demonstratio sit ex necessariis. (fol. 187^r) ('It is asked whether demonstration is from necessary [truths]').
23. Dubitatio est utrum⁹⁰ necessaria possit sciri ex contingentibus. (fol. 187^r) ('It is asked whether necessary [truths] can be known from contingent [truths]').
24. Dubium est utrum passio demonstrata de⁹¹ particuli alicuius universalis non habentis nisi unum suppositum sit bene demonstrata. (fol. 187^r) ('It is asked whether an attribute demonstrated of the particular instance of some universal that has only one suppositum is well demonstrated').
25. Circa voluntatem [et] intellectum, horum obiecta sunt aliqua que secuuntur videnda. (fols 187^v–188^v) ('Regarding the will [and] the intellect, some of whose objects will be examined in what follows').
26. Dubitatio est utrum substantia prius occurrat intellectui. (fols 188^v–189^v) ('It is asked whether substance occurs to the intellect first').
27. Dubitatio est de distinctione predicamentorum, utrum scilicet sit per intellectum. (fols 189^v–190^r) ('It is asked regarding the distinction between predicamenta, namely whether this takes place by the intellect').

⁹⁰ utrum] est *add. sed del.*

⁹¹ de] *sup. l.*

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- Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 742
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- Cremona, Biblioteca Governativa, 27
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. J.1.35
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 203
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 226
- Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 391
- Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 621
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- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15888
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16279
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