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**Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz:  
The Last Scholastic Polymath**



# **Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz: The Last Scholastic Polymath**

Petr Dvořák  
Jacob Schmutz  
(editors)

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## **Caramuel in Prague: The Intellectual Roots of *Mitteleuropa***

The Spanish polymath Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) spent about ten years of his life in Prague – “the most novelistic and radiant in a life-story that was already stranger than fiction”, as Henry Sullivan has suggestively written.<sup>1</sup> The papers in this volume hope to shed new light on this central period of his life, but also to give new insights of the intellectual achievements of an author to whom his contemporaries and first biographers referred only in superlatives. It is also a way to document more extensively the intellectual life of what can be seen as the founding epoch of intellectual *Mitteleuropa*, a tradition that would last until the first part of the twentieth century, before being torn apart by the Nazi disaster and the Cold War.

### **I.**

Born in Madrid in 1606, Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz was apparently himself of Central European descent. His curious name betrays his origins: Caramuel is a Spanish-sounding version of Cramer, since his father was of Luxemburgish origin;<sup>2</sup> his mother bore a Flemish name, De Vries, but her own mother was Regina, the youngest daughter of

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<sup>1</sup> H. W. Sullivan, “Fray Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz O.Cist.: The Prague Years, 1647–1659”, in: *Corónente tus hazañas. Studies in Honor of John Jay Allen*, ed. M. J. McGrath, Juan de la Cuesta Hispanic Studies, Newark (DE) 2005, pp. 339–374.

<sup>2</sup> In his oldest autographs, Caramuel spells his name *Charamuer* or *Caramuer*, with a final “r” (he does so while in Salamanca). His father Lorenzo, in the earliest documents found by Jorge Fernández-Santos, was referred to as Cramer, obviously also a Spanish version of Kramer.

Jan Popel von Lobkowitz (1521–1590).<sup>3</sup> It seems that Caramuel only began to claim this ancestry after his arrival in Prague, having realized that the Lobkowitz name could open doors in Central Europe. His life and academic career are well known, thanks to ancient and more recent biographies. It may however be useful to summarize some of its major moments for the unfamiliar reader.<sup>4</sup> He was educated in the best academic institutions of the Spanish peninsula, successively at the universities of Alcalà de Henares and Salamanca, and among his masters we find some of the major scholastic philosophers and theologians of the time: in Alcalà, he was taught by Benito Sánchez de Herrera, John of Saint Thomas (João Poinot, 1589–1644), Pedro de Lorca (1561–1621) and Juan Martínez de Prado (†1668). In Salamanca, he studied under the Cistercians Luis Bernaldo de Quirós and Ángel Manrique (1577–1649) and the Dominican Francico de Araújo (1580–1664). He probably also attended the last classes of Agustín Antolínez (1554–1626; who taught until 1622), the major Augustinian theologian of the time, and probably visited the Jesuit college, since he often mentions the opinions of Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza (1578–1641), the master of an entire generation, and the mysterious Jesuit Jerónimo José de Lázarraga (1577–after 1622). In 1625 he entered the Royal Monastery of La Espina (near Valladolid) and became a novice in the Cistercian Order.

After several years spent in monasteries of the order in Spain, he was despatched to the Spanish Low countries, and more specifically to the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the latest history of the Lobkowitz family to date, S. Kasík, P. Mašek, M. Mžyková, *Lobkoviczové. Dějiny a genealogie rodu*, Veduta, České Budějovice 2002.

<sup>4</sup> The standard account is J. Tadisi, *Memorie della vita di Monsignore Giovanni Caramuel di Lobkowitz, vescovo di Vigevano*, Venice 1760. The major monographs including biographical details are: L. Ceysens, “Autour de Caramuel”, *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* 33, 1961, pp. 329–410; D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel: Probabilismo ed Enciclopedia*, La Nuova Italia, Florence 1975; J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989; A. Serrai, *Phoenix Europae. Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz in prospettiva bibliografica*, Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, Milano 2005. For a complete updated bibliography see: J. Schmutz, “Caramuel electronicus”, <http://pagesperso-orange.fr/caramuel/>

very troubled University of Louvain. He spent ten years in Louvain and its surroundings, taking part in numerous controversies fuelled by the presence of the Jansenist party (Jansenius, bishop of Ypres since 1636, died of the plague in 1638), the Jesuit theologians and the Irish Franciscans. In 1638, he obtained his doctorate in theology in Louvain, but failed to gain a chair. Through the intercession of the King of Spain, Philip IV, and of Fabio Chigi (1599–1667), the papal nuncio in Cologne, he finally accepted to become abbot of Disibodenberg in the Lower Palatinate. His “journey to the empire” is presented for the first time in this volume, by means of a fantastic document unearthed by Jorge Fernández-Santos: a 39-page long letter kept with the rest of Fabio Chigi’s (future pope Alexander VII’s) manuscripts at the Vatican Library. Caramuel left Louvain in February, and arrived at Bad Kreuznach by 20 April 1644, only to discover that the monastery of Disibodenberg had been burned down in the meantime. The following years spent in the Southern regions of the Empire were all marked by the Protestant-Catholic confessional conflict and attempts of mediation, but it was also for him a period of relative isolation in what was by then an intellectual *Niemandsländ*. He compensated it through an extensive correspondence and numerous travels, in order to attend disputes in various colleges. He was also appointed as the King of Spain’s counsellor at the Imperial court in 1646, and became close to the Emperor Ferdinand III (1637–1657).

The call to Prague came as a relief. Through the intercession of Count Bernard Ignatz von Martinitz (1603–1685), Caramuel was appointed to the most suitable post of Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat in Counter-Reformation Prague, a Gothic monastery founded by Charles IV and originally known as the Slavonic Monastery of Emmaus (“*Na Slovanech*” as the familiar Czech title goes), then occupied by the Catalan Monks of Montserrat.<sup>5</sup> He held the title of Prior of Montserrat for twelve years, from 1647 to 1658.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Sousedík, “Jan Caramuel, opat emauzský”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 9, 1968, pp. 115–138. On the Prague

When he arrived in August, as Hedvika Kuchařová shows in her contribution, Caramuel was apparently not particularly welcome. Neither did he continuously reside in the Bohemian lands, but kept travelling: he spent the major part of 1649 in Vienna, and since 1655 was actually more or less settled in Rome, at the eve of the last part of his life, the Italian “exiles”. Caramuel’s life in Prague has been reasonably documented by historians and by himself, first of all because of his involvement in the siege of the city by the Swedes, as commander of a “monastic corps”, just after his arrival in 1648, as it is recalled in this volume by Olivier Chaline. War seems to have continuously inspired Caramuel – who was the son of a military engineer – just as it would inspire Ludwig Wittgenstein, who conceived the *Tractatus* in the trenches of the Eastern Front of World War I. Caramuel claims to have conceived his *Philosophia secundum dici* during the siege of Frankenthal, and not surprisingly, he counts *philosophia militaris* as a distinctive part of his encyclopaedia of sciences. Due to his action in favour of the Empire, numerous honours were to follow: he was offered the bishoprics in the diocese of Roscopolije in Herzegovina (of little import, since it was occupied by the Turks) and in Hradec Králové (Königgrätz, which had been ruined by the Lutherans). Cardinal von Harrach named him his Vicar General, and Ferdinand appointed him for a period of four years as President of the Counsel of Reformation in Prague, a body charged with the vindication of heresy.

During those years, Caramuel was closely involved with all the major figures of the Prague *intelligentsia*. His was in close contact with the

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years, it is worth mentioning the following studies which bring new insights: S. Sousedík, *Filosofie v českých zemích mezi středověkem a osvícenstvím*, Vyšehrad, Prague 1997, pp. 185–210; A. Catalano, “Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia”, *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 44, 2002, pp. 339–392; and H. W. Sullivan, “Fray Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz, O.Cist.: The Prague Years, 1647–1659”, op. cit., note 1. On the general context and that involving Caramuel, see also A. Catalano, *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa centrale (1620–1667)*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2005.

Capuchin polymath Walerian Magni (1586–1661), Jan Marek Marci z Lanškrouna (Joannes Marcus Marci von Kronland, 1595–1667)<sup>6</sup> and with his countryman Rodrigo de Arriaga (1592–1667).<sup>7</sup> His long-lasting interest in Judaism and Hebrew seems to have been prompted by his encounter with several rabbis of the Prague Jewish community, as both Yossef Schwartz's and Henry Sullivan's papers suggest in this volume, albeit some further thorough research needs to be done. He kept close ties with the Irish Franciscans, just as in the Louvain years, and continued an active correspondence with the whole of learned Europe. His publishing activity was as relentless in Prague as it had been before in Louvain. He drafted several works in the Bohemian capital and sent them to the printers: he published his first work on music, *Ferdinandus Tertius* (Viennae 1647), the *Sacri Romani Imperii pax* (Francofurti 1648; Viennae 1649) dedicated to the Treaty of Westphalia, the *Boethius expresso stylo Caramuelis*, full of political reflections (Pragae 1648),<sup>8</sup> the *Sanctus Benedictus Christiformis*, a Life of Saint Benedict (Pragae 1652), the *Maria liber* (Pragae 1652), the very original *Encyclopedia concionatoria*, in which sermons mix with philosophy (Pragae 1652–1653), and finally the *De Ecclesiae Romanae hierarchia* (Pragae 1653) and the *Dominicus* (Viennae 1655). He also claims to have given the final form to his Moral Logic in Prague (*Logica moralis*, published in the *Pandoxion physico-ethicum*, Vegevano 1678): he wanted to send it to the printers, but the Swedish inva-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, Romae 1656, vol. II, p. 109, § 1623: "Ioannes Marci ... viri vere doctissimi, quem Lovanii existens doctrinae gratia amavi, et modo hic Pragae inter amicos speciales enumero." On his relationship with Marci, see J. Smolka, "Caramuelův list Markovi ještě jednou", *Studia Neoaristotelica. Časopis pro aristotelsky orientovanou křesťanskou filosofii* 3/1, 2005, pp. 92–106, and his contribution to this volume.

<sup>7</sup> On his work and his life in Prague, see T. Saxlová and S. Sousedík (eds.), *Rodrigo de Arriaga. Philosoph und Theologe (Prag 25.-28. Juni 1996)*, Karolinum, Prague 1998.

<sup>8</sup> On the same subject: see his Letter to Bernardine Clancy, professor of theology (dated 1 April 1654, Prague, Montserrat Convent), on Boethius' Consolation (Vigevano ACV, vol. 28, fasc. 48).

sion finally prevented this.<sup>9</sup> We know that he appreciated the skills of Prague printers,<sup>10</sup> and also especially its engravers: in a work by his life-long friend and correspondent Pier Francesco Passerini from Piacenza (1622–1697), one finds a *Mysticon monostichon* by Caramuel, a sort of metametrical game based on a labyrinth engraved in Prague using the letters IOCARAMEL, with 22 476 combinations of it.<sup>11</sup> During the Prague years, Caramuel also redacted a second edition of his *Theologia regularis* (Venetiis 1651) and of his *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* (Francofurti 1652–1653). And last but not least, it was in Prague that he conceived the final plan of what can be regarded as his philosophical masterpiece, the ill-named *Theologia rationalis*, published by Schoenwetter in Frankfurt in 1654–1655, which should have actually been called *Philosophia rationalis*. Several clues indicate that the redaction is linked with Prague, and with Central Europe in general: we know that shortly after his arrival to Montserrat, he puzzled the students of the monastery by delivering them a sermon ... on the virtue of dialectics, entitled “De philosophia rationali”.<sup>12</sup> And

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. Caramuel, *Pandoxion physico-ethicon*, Campagna, 1678, *Logica moralis*, § 220, f. 80a: “Mitto Moralem Logicam ... Ethicarum mearum Speculationum primam partem Salmanticae in Hispania conceptam, Lovanii in Belgio promotam, et tandem Pragae in Bohemia imprimi jussam, sed supervenientibus hostium copiis praepeditam, nam silent Musae, cum reboant tubae, et tonant militares bombardae. Post annos sedecim impressa fuit me absente, et dum relego transmissa folia, nonnulla optarem dici fusius, immo et nonnulla clarius.”

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also the following documents in the ACV Vigevano: *Facultas pro impressione libri*, Pragae, Montserrat convent, 1 July 1651 (ACV, vol. 29, fasc. 4); *Letter to Rev. P. Plachius*, head of the Academia Typographica, about the publication of a work entitled *Uranometria*, dedicated to the squaring of the circle, Pragae, Montserrat Convent, 1 June 1653.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Mysticum monostichon de Ioanne Caramuele*, contained in: Pietro Francesco Passerini (1622–1697), *Schedarium liberale*, Piacenza 1659. This work was brought to our attention by J.-R. Armogathe (Paris).

<sup>12</sup> J. Caramuel, *Encyclopedia concionatoria*, Pragae 1652, p. 190: “Oratio XIX. De philosophia rationali, habita fuit in Caesareo mei Montisserratensis Monasterii Capitulo, die S. Ioannis Evangelistae, anno M.DC.XLVII. coram Studiosis Dialecticae”.



in the last part, the book ten, “De severa argumentandi methodo”, an addition to his “Metalogica”, after exposing scholastic techniques of disputation, he gives examples mainly taken from his experience in Louvain, but also from debates he witnessed in Vienna, Southern Germany and Prague.

Caramuel left Prague in 1655, the year his old friend Chigi was elevated to papacy as Alexander VII. His journey to Rome is also well documented. He leaves Prague for Rome in April 1655, and his journey leads through Bratislava, Trieste and Venice.<sup>13</sup> He would spend the rest of his life on the Italian peninsula. After two years in Rome, he was appointed, for reasons still unclear, to the poor and remote bishopric of Campagna-Satriano, near Naples. Understandably, Caramuel would not leave civilization without a farewell trip to the Empire, including Prague, in 1657–1658.<sup>14</sup> Fifteen years later, in 1673, he moved to his final destination, the more comfortable see of Vigevano in Lombardy,<sup>15</sup> then also under Spanish political influence, where he died on 8 September 1682. During his Italian years, Caramuel kept contact with his Prague friends, especially Marcus Marci, and continued his relentless writing and publishing, reaching finally “a volume of books equal to the years of his life”, as his epitaph in Vigevano says.

<sup>13</sup> This is well documented in his autograph missive sent *in iterum* to Pope Alexander VII: Cf. Vatican Library, ASV, *Segretaria di Stato, Particolari*, 30, f. 365r, transcribed in: J. Fernández-Santos, “Classicism *hispanico more*: Juan de Caramuel’s Presence in Alexandrine Rome and Its Impact on His Architectural Theory”, *Annali di architettura* 17, 2005, pp. 137–165 (p. 154, document 1). See also the entries in Harrach’s diary, as documented by A. Catalano, “Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia”, *op. cit.*, p. 382, note 130.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Letter to Alexander VII*, Prague, Montserrat Convent, 8 May 1657 (Vatican Library, ASV, *Segretaria di Stato, Vescovi*, 43, f. 90r–v, transcribed and published by J. Fernández-Santos, “Classicism *hispanico more*...”, *op. cit.*, p. 156, document 9).

<sup>15</sup> Another conference on Juan Caramuel was organized in Vigevano in December 2006. The proceedings are to be published by Paolo Pissavino and Daniele Sabaino.

## II.

The papers in this volume can be grouped in several sections.<sup>16</sup> The first group of papers deals with purely philosophical issues. *Petr Dvořák* starts by summarizing the major contributions of Juan Caramuel in the field of logic. Like several medieval authors and later logicians such as Bolzano, Caramuel did not see logic only as an organon, but as the most accomplished form of philosophy itself. Dvořák presents the major achievements of Caramuel in the field of pure or “formal” logic, offering us, in effect, a summary of a substantial part of his recent book<sup>17</sup> dealing with the innovative if not revolutionary aspects of Caramuel’s *Theologia rationalis* of 1655. Caramuel’s major contribution consists in the development of the so-called “oblique logic” (*logica obliqua*), or what we would today call “relational logic”.

Another aspect in which Caramuel seems to have had premonitory insights was his attempt to specify different rules of reasoning applying to the different realms of being. This is what is argued by *Jacob Schmutz*, in a paper dedicated to Caramuel and what we are nowadays used to call the “naturalistic fallacy”, i.e. the impossibility of deriving *ought*-statements from *is*-statements. Caramuel was convinced that one needs to develop a different logic – and even a different grammar – for each realm of being. He dedicated many efforts to sketch the foundations of a “political” or “moral” logic, expressed in numerous later works. This paper tries to trace back the origin of this insight to his Prague correspondence with the Belgian Thomist Carmelite Franciscus Bonae Spei (François Crespin) during the year 1653.

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<sup>16</sup> Three papers delivered at the conference are not included in the proceedings: M. Stone (KU Leuven), “Caramuel Lovaniensis”; F. Dupuigrenet-Desroussilles (ENSSIB, Lyons), “Labyrinth of Time: Poetry and Prophecy in the *Metametrical*”; A. Plattus (Yale University, New Havens), “The Astronomer’s House: Caramuel and the Problem of a Scientific Architecture in Early-Modern Europe”.

<sup>17</sup> P. Dvořák, *Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic: Vybrané aspekty formální a aplikované logiky (Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz: Selected Aspects of Formal and Applied Logic)*, OIKOYMENH, Prague 2006.

Finally, *Daniel D. Novotný* deals with one of the most controversial and creative issues of early-modern scholastic philosophy: the famous *entia rationis*, beings of reason or “fictions”. This question has received a continuous attention by Caramuel since his Louvain years and his first comprehensive treatise in philosophy, the *Rationalis et realis philosophia* (1642), always with the fundamental idea in mind that the discourse about fictions should not be equated or done with the same rules as the discourse about real beings. Novotný presents the ultimate position of Caramuel on this topic, as portrayed in his late *Leptotatos* (1681), offering thereby a general outlook on the various schools or ways of treating beings of reason in scholastic philosophy. It again gives Caramuel’s philosophy an unmistakably Wittgensteinian flavour: he believed that most problems arise from language, and beings of reason should be treated as linguistic entities (*entia secundum dici, entia linguae*).

In theology, Caramuel had the terrible fate of being nicknamed “prince of the laxists” by Alfonso de Liguori, and contemporary historians of early-modern moral philosophy have in their vast majority failed to take seriously the intellectual and conceptual creativity of casuistry.<sup>18</sup> With four (or five, if one counts the first Louvain draft) editions of his *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, Caramuel was, however, one of the major moral thinkers of his age. His work shows that the core of casuistry is not at all the question of either accepting or rejecting deviant behaviour, but the analysis of human agency in general in order to discover its motives, its finality and to scrutinize the conscious and unconscious mechanisms of action and decision-making.

Several papers in this volume shed a new light on Caramuel as a moral theologian. *Julia A. Fleming*, who just published the first complete monograph dedicated to Caramuel’s moral theology,<sup>19</sup> offers an

<sup>18</sup> We are looking forward to the new appraisal by M. W. F. Stone, *The Subtle Arts of Casuistry*, forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism: The Moral Theology of Juan Caramuel*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C. 2006.

analysis of Caramuel's classification of probable opinions and degrees of certainty, focussing mainly on his later works, which have often been overlooked. She stresses the fact that Caramuel had repeatedly insisted that one must approach each discipline by using the intellectual categories appropriate to that discipline, and that practice cannot, therefore, follow the same lines as theory.

On this very topic, *Ulrich Gottfried Leinsle*, whose scholastic erudition matches Caramuel's, presents the Cistercian's moral theology from the specific point of view of monastic problems, showing that the *Theologia regularis* should not be neglected for the assessment of his ethics. In particular, he reveals an aspect which – while being for instance at the core of psychoanalysis – is often overlooked in the contemporary philosophy of action: namely, the problem of *omissions*: what is the moral value of acts we do *not* commit? He shows that Caramuel sides with a tradition initiated in Salamanca as “pure omissionism” teaching that a pure omission can be meritorious: someone sins when he or she does not do something he or she is asked to do; but does he or she sin when not doing something he or she is not necessarily asked to do? A monk may not leave the monastery: staying in the monastery becomes thus a meritorious act, since he omits to do something forbidden.

Still on moral theology, *Jean-Robert Armogathe* presents some of the very specific sources of Caramuel's casuistry for the first time: Benedictine monastic theology in general, but also the work of his former master, the Cistercian Pedro de Lorca (1561–1612). In his time, Lorca was famed for having given original and unconventional solutions to numerous metaphysical and theological problems, and he was widely read. Armogathe presents the way Caramuel distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic morality: sins (such as fornication, murder or lie) are theologically evil, not intrinsically, in their own nature and essence, but only because they are prohibited by the Decalogue.

*Yossef Schwartz* provides us with the first interpretation of a totally overlooked piece of Caramuel's writings, namely, his preface to the first Hebrew translation of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*

by the Roman Bishop Joseph Maria Ciantes, who had been appointed by Pope Urban VIII as early as 1626 to convert the Jewish Roman community.<sup>20</sup> Caramuel was asked to judge the work and justify it in view of the critical voices raised against it in Rome. His *Iudicium*, published in 1657, is a long and dense article, extending over 44 double columned large folios and divided into thirteen chapters and 120 paragraphs. It reveals Caramuel's long-standing interest and familiarity with the linguistic praxis of Kabbalah and Kabbalistic theology, an interest quite widely shared by then among Christian thinkers, and with medieval Hebrew literature in general. However, Schwartz shows that Caramuel's approach turns out to be a "unique example of metaphysical anti-kabbalistic argument". This document turns out to be an important piece for the scholarship on the phenomenon of "atheism", since the Atheists now replace the classical *Gentiles*. Caramuel is perhaps the first thinker of the seventeenth century to develop a systematic argument against Jewish Kabbalah *qua* atheism. He claims that Kabbalah transcends God to a point at which he can no longer function as a significant religious figure.

Caramuel's familiarity with Judaism is also the object of *Henry W. Sullivan's* contribution, dedicated to Juan Caramuel's account of medieval Sephardic literature in his *Dominicus*, published in Vienna during his Bohemian period (1655). Caramuel records numerous ancient sources up to the Rabbinical-poetic and philosophical writings of the eleventh- to thirteenth-century Sepharad, probably again prompted by his contact with Prague Judaism.

*Anne-Marie Barrande-Azam* discusses an aspect of Caramuel's work wholly neglected until now, namely, Caramuel's contribution to the field of history. Curiously enough, Caramuel never wrote about history as a science, neither did he apparently grant it a specific status

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<sup>20</sup> This piece was recently translated into Hebrew: Ioannes Caramuel Lobkowitz, *On Rabbinic Atheism*, translated from Latin with Introduction by M.-J. Dubois, A. Wohlman and Y. Schwartz. Notes to the text by Y. Schwartz: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, Jerusalem 2005 (in Hebrew).

in his numerous catalogues of sciences, such as the *Apparatus* (1665). But Caramuel did practice history, particularly in his works about the Spanish crown (*Philippus Prudens*, 1639) and about the *Pax licita* (the Portuguese “revolution” and the Treaty of Westphalia). The issue of historical proof is a problem which has recently received much attention in contemporary theory of history – for instance in the work of Carlo Ginzburg. Barrande-Azam shows that Caramuel had already developed a coherent theory of historical proof. He scrutinizes different types of proofs (documents, testimonies, authorities of ancient writers, etc.) and introduces a piece of syllogistic reasoning in order to reach historical conclusions. His aim is to develop what Azam calls a “historico-analogical method of resolution of contemporary problems”. History is therefore not studied for its own sake, but as an auxiliary science able to provide arguments for political or theological problems.

Within Caramuel’s contribution to science, one can distinguish three aspects: first, his theoretical achievements, particularly notable in the fields of architecture, mathematics, linguistics and music; second, his attempt to organize the sciences within a general encyclopaedic project, the *catena scientiarum*; and third, his more philosophical reflection on what science can deliver to man, in terms of happiness or morality.

*Karel Mačák* gives a general overview of Caramuel’s *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* (1670) and reminds us of the first Czech scholar on Caramuel as mathematician, Josef Smolík (1832–1915). *Georg Schuppener* offers a general presentation of Caramuel’s contribution to mathematics and of his position on the status of mathematical objects, as either objects of discovery or those of invention. As Schuppener shows, Caramuel clearly sides with the latter solution: *Intellectus igitur, non reperit, sed facit Numeros*. He also shows the link between arithmetic and symbolic considerations of numbers in the *Mathesis biceps*, and provides us with an excellent presentation of the wide-ranging philosophical consequences of Caramuel’s mathematics. The binary, ternary or quaternary systems (used among American Indi-

ans, as they were documented in Caramuel's time by Antonio Ruiz de Montoya) turn out to be different "mappings" of the world.

*Daniele Sabaino* is the unquestioned specialist as regards Caramuel's contribution to music. He presents his eight-hundred-page manuscript "harmonic encyclopaedia" entitled – simply – *Musica*, in relationship with the printed work, as well as Caramuel's conception of music as a link in the *catena scientiarum*. Sabaino shows the sources and the content of the work, in which once again a Bohemian presence is found, with the *Harmonices mundi* by Johannes Kepler.

Just as music, Caramuel believed that architecture was "a unifying language for the universe", as *María Elisa Navarro* elegantly puts it in her paper, in which she recalls the fundamental principles of his "oblique architecture". According to Caramuel, the traditional architecture of the orders presupposes ideal situations where the ground is perfectly horizontal, but ignores those situations where the ground plane of a building is at an angle or where the floor plan is round or elliptical. Caramuel therefore proposes the need for an oblique architecture to respond to real conditions instead of simply assuming ideal ones. This leads to an increase in number of the orders from five to eleven. She also shows that it must be embedded into a more general narrative: "After having elevated the origin of architecture to the status of the sacred, Caramuel inserted the classical orders into the story."

Still on the same subject of architecture, *Pavel Štěpánek* shows that Caramuel did not practice religious architecture in Italy only: he recalls Caramuel's architectural legacy in the city of Prague. In 1654, Caramuel began the construction of the church of St. Cosmas and Damian which was (according to the inscription on the church's façade) later altered by Isidoro de la Cruz.

In a sound interpretation of the frontispiece in Caramuel's *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* of 1652, *Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas* discusses the more general problem of what science can achieve for man. This is embodied by the figure of the *theoscope*, a Caramuelian adaptation of the telescope often found in the early-modern emblematic tradition, and apparently identified in the frontispiece with *Lux*

and *Moralitas*. He shows how Caramuel's iconographic use of the telescope defeated most expectations – like those of his Jesuit predecessors Christoph Scheiner or Giambattista Riccioli. He shows also how it provides a key for understanding Caramuel's own position on the relationship between sense perception and reason, probability and certainty, and also between the heavily discussed cosmological alternatives between Ptolemy and Copernicus. As a result, one finds that prudence is elevated to the central place among the virtues by Caramuel.

Historical scholarship relies on the discovery of new sources, and not only new interpretations. Dino Pastine and Julián Velarde Lombrana have revealed some of the treasures of the Vigevano archives, and Lucien Ceysens, Alessandro Catalano and Jorge Fernández-Santos have unearthed other primary sources. We are therefore particularly happy that several papers in this volume present new sources. As already stated, *Daniele Sabaino's* paper deals with a still unpublished manuscript on music. *Olivier Chaline* presents Caramuel's diary of the Prague siege (26 July – 29 November 1648), that had already been used by Julián Velarde Lombrana. *Hedvika Kuchařová* makes an excellent use of several so far neglected chronicles of Prague academic life, and shows the long-lasting image left by Caramuel as an abbot of Emmaus and a teacher of philosophy and theology in the city, including his first – and highly epic – encounter with Rodrigo de Arriaga. She shows Caramuel's relations with tertiary institutions, among other reasons in order to secure the books necessary for his own research. Caramuel would later bitterly regret not being in the Prague libraries any longer, when stationed in the desolate diocese of Campagna.<sup>21</sup>

Still on the Prague intellectual context, *Josef Smolka* presents a summary of the relationship between Joannes Marcus Marci and Juan Caramuel, from 1644 down to the 1660s. He also reconstructs

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<sup>21</sup> He later complains that in Campagna, he cannot even find the edition of some of the works he wrote himself: Cf. J. Caramuel, *Haplotēs*, in: *Trismegistus*, Vigevano 1679, vol. III, p. 45b: “...cum haec in his Apenninis scribo, non habeo; hic enim non sunt libri, sed ventorum et boum in asperrimo monte fragor, et inconcinnus strepitus; huc enim me mea antiqua peccata specie promotionis deduxerunt.”



Caramuel's efforts to gain Count Martinitz's attention from as early as 1643. And finally, *Jorge Fernández-Santos* presents a document apparently overlooked by Lucien Ceysens fifty years ago in the Vatican Archives: a 39-page letter relating Caramuel's journey from Louvain to Bad Kreuznach in 1644. Conceived as a personal account, he addresses fundamental issues as well as paramount trivia, giving his opinions about Catholic authority, witchcraft, the paleness of Jews in Bingen, but also about a donkey's ears. Once again, the writer of fiction could hardly do better. Fernández-Santos' very sensitive presentation of his style, just as Olivier Chaline's analysis of the diary, help us to imagine what daily life in Caramuel's company would have been like: a curious blend of laconic feelings, caustic remarks and permanent wit.

### III.

Studying Caramuel's presence in Prague is also a way of recalling an entire forgotten intellectual universe, which we could call the intellectual roots of *Mitteleuropa*. Through his numerous contacts and travels, we discover a rich and varied intellectual world linking the South of Germany, Austria, Northern Italy, the Bohemian lands, reaching out to Poland and Hungary. Small forgotten cities such Trnava (now in Slovakia), home of the Jesuit University of Tyrnau, Litomyšl (Leitomyšl) in the Czech Republic or Sulzbach-Rosenberg in Bavaria were important printing places in those years.<sup>22</sup> The Prague Klementinum was one of the richest and most advanced institutions of learning in the entire Central Europe, in close contacts with colleges and universities reaching from Dillingen in Bavaria up to Kalisz in Poland. There was also a host of immensely varied intellectual traditions linked to the numerous

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<sup>22</sup> Important books such as the famous *Cabala denudata* (1677) by Knorr von Rosenroth and Bolzano's first edition of the *Wissenschaftslehre* (1837) were printed in Sulzbach.

religious orders: the Thomist Dominicans, Premonstratensians, Carmelites or Benedictines, Scotist Franciscans or Capuchins, Jesuits of various tendencies, as well as numerous “eclectic” or “novantiquous” figures.<sup>23</sup> All the roads Caramuel travelled and most of the cities he visited may sound very provincial today, but they were major centres in his time. These roads also lead back in history to the most important streams of European Academic culture, to the places where all of Caramuel’s classical references, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus once taught: the French Monastic schools and the medieval University of Paris. The link between this medieval Western European and early-modern Central-European tradition was the Spanish Peninsula and, more generally, the lands under Habsburg rule. In the history of philosophy we must admit that there is a specific Spanish road – a concept dear to military historians<sup>24</sup> – which needs further to be studied, and Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz travelled on it all his life, from Spain to Flanders, from Flanders to Southern Germany, from there to Austria and Prague, and finally to the Spanish homelands on the Italian Peninsula, from Naples to Lombardy.

Recent historians of the philosophical tradition of *Mittleuropa* have often considered the work of the Prague logician Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848) as its starting point. His work is at the origin of the various roads taken by authors such as Gottlob Frege, Franz Brentano, Edmund Husserl or Alexius Meinong up to the Vienna Circle, and it can be considered as the common root of the two major trends of contemporary philosophy, the so-called “continental” tradition, mainly inspired by phenomenology, and the Anglo-American “analytical” tradition.<sup>25</sup> But this obliterates the fact that Bolzano himself,

<sup>23</sup> On this *novantiqua* and more eclectic tradition, see a good overview in: P. R. Blum, *Philosophenphilosophie und Schulphilosophie. Typen des Philosophierens in der Neuzeit*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1998.

<sup>24</sup> See the classical work by G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659. The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries’ Wars*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1972.

<sup>25</sup> This is clearly argued by J. Benoist, *Représentations sans objet. Aux origines de*

a Roman Catholic priest schooled in the very late scholastic tradition of the *Katholische Aufklärung*, was himself deeply indebted to numerous early-modern sources, and that most of the problems he is often acknowledged to have introduced into philosophy – negative state of affairs, the distinctions between the intensional and extensional analyses of concepts, the paradoxes of the infinite, and above all his attempt to vindicate realism against Kantian subjectivism – have all their sources in the tradition of Caramuel's Prague. The same could perhaps be said of numerous other contributions by Caramuel. His analysis of *entia linguae* anticipates Wittgenstein; the doctrine of mental restrictions and body language in the *Haplotes* is probably the first attempt to sketch something like a “psychopathology of everyday life”. In logic, as Petr Dvořák has shown, he can be seen as the forerunner of some of the major inventions attributed to the later Lvov-Warsaw tradition, challenging Aristotelian syllogistics.

Recovering this tradition in a longer and broader perspective will be the major task for future research. It is a promising work. Since the end of the Cold War, historical justice is written high on the agenda of the newly unified Europe. One can only hope that this historical justice will also one day affect the history of philosophy itself, and promote a more “democratic” approach, at last, when scholastic authors such as Juan Caramuel and his contemporaries will be treated with the same rights as “aristocrats” like Descartes, Spinoza or Thomas Hobbes.<sup>26</sup>

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*la phénoménologie et de la philosophie analytique*, PUF, Paris 2001. See also the classical works by J. C. Nyíri (ed.), *From Bolzano to Wittgenstein. The Tradition of Austrian Philosophy*, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, Vienna 1986; A. Coffa, *The Semantic Tradition from Kant to Carnap. To the Vienna Station*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991; M. Dummett, *Origins of Analytical Philosophy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA) 1993; P. Simons, *Philosophy and Logic in Central Europe from Bolzano to Tarski*, Nijhoff, Dordrecht 1992; B. Smith, *Austrian Philosophy*, Open Court, Chicago – La Salle 1994.

<sup>26</sup> A talking example of this long-standing prejudice: the recent two volumes of the *Cambridge History of Seventeenth Century Philosophy*, eds. D. Garber and M. Ayers, CUP, Cambridge 2003, do not even mention the name of Caramuel in the Index.

For all these reasons, we are deeply grateful to the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic which chiefly sponsored this international conference dedicated to the work of Juan Caramuel on the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth through a grant, whose recipient was the Bishopric of Hradec Králové whose present bishop, Msgr. Dominik Duka, O.P., is to be chiefly credited with conceiving of and inspiring this conference in the first place. In this case, it was the happy cooperation and the joint forces of the state, the church and the world of learning embodied in the Institute of the Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences which made the event possible.

It is also a way of perpetuating an old tradition of Czech scholarship focusing on the figure and work of Juan Caramuel, originating with the researches of Prof. Josef Smolík, Prof. Karel Berka and the most important of all, that of Prof. Stanislav Sousedík, often undertaken in harsh material and intellectual conditions.

We wish therefore to express our warmest thanks to all those who have made this conference possible, in the delightful setting of Villa Lanna in Prague: the Czech Academy of Sciences, in the person of Dr. Pavel Baran, the present director of the Institute of Philosophy as well as the previous director of the same institution Doc. Vilém Herold. Our gratitude extends to H.E. Cardinal Miroslav Vlk, archbishop of Prague, Msgr. Dominik Duka, O.P., bishop of Hradec Králové and Prof. Stanislav Sousedík (Charles University, Prague) for their inspiration and various involvement in the event. Our thanks also go to Prof. Paul Richard Blum (Loyola College, Baltimore) and Doc. Ivana Čornejová (Prague) for chairing the various sessions. We finally wish to thank to the Library of Strahov Monastery and the Graduate School (*Ecole doctorale*) of the University of Paris-IV Sorbonne for the financial support of the conference proceedings volume.

Petr Dvořák  
Jacob Schmutz

# Philosophy



## Formal Logic in Juan Caramuel

Petr Dvořák

The aim of the following contribution is to introduce Caramuel's logical work in general (Part I) and its most important aspect in particular, the so-called oblique or relational logic (Part II).

### I

The *locus classicus* of formal logic in Caramuel is undoubtedly his *Theologia rationalis* (Iohan. Godofredi Schoenwetteri, Francofurti 1654), published under two full titles: *I. Caramuelis Theologia rationalis sive in auream angelici doctoris summam Meditationes, Notae et observationes, Liberales, Philosophicae, Scholasticae, tomi duo*; and *II. Theologia rationalis Grammatica audacem, Dialecticam vocalem, scriptam et mentalem, rectam et obliquam; Herculeam, Metalogicamque exemplis Humanis et Divinis disserit, totamque primam Angelici Doctoris partem eodem cursu et labore dilucidat*. Rational Theology, an anthology of sorts, brings together more or less independent logical treatises, some of which were published separately either prior to 1654 or later. Designating a set of works in the fields of formal and applied logic, the title appears to be misleading for two reasons: first, the relation of the content to Aquinas and his principal *Summa* is very vague. Second, the title intended by the author, *Philosophia rationalis*, was changed at

will by the printer, as Caramuel reports in the printed list of his works composed in Vigevano.<sup>1</sup>

*Theologia rationalis* consists of two main parts, *Praecursor logicus* and *Metologica*. First, the former will be introduced. The part exhibits the following structure:

\* **Praecursor logicus**<sup>2</sup>

\* *Praecursoris logici pars prima*

1. *Praecursor logicus complectens Grammaticam audacem...*

(127 pages)

Partes: Methodica

Metrica

Critica

2. *Logica vocalis, scripta et mentalis* (278 pages)

Logica vocalis: Partes Dictionaria (18 art.)

Iudicativa (39 art.), Discursiva (19 art.)

Logica scripta (5 art.)

Logica mentalis (15 art.)

3. *Logica obliqua* (97 pages)

Partes: Lectori, Pars I, Pars II

*Praecursoris logici pars altera*

4. *Herculis logici labores tres* (88 pages)

Labor I: Nil-negans

Labor II: Non-omnis

Labor III: Contingens (Partes: Citerior, Ulterior, Ultima)

<sup>1</sup> J. Caramuel, *Ioannis Caramuelis ... opera omnia, quae prodierunt in lucem: interseruntur etiam libri aliqui, qui ultimam manum subierunt, et lucem opportunam expectant*, vol. XVI, *Miscellanea in-folio*, in Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia: *Typographi, cum Author longe abest, et ipsi suis sumptibus librum imprimi curant, putant se habere potestatem alterandi, quae volunt, et ideo hic Liber, ut melius distraheretur, inscriptus fuit Theologia, cum Philosophia deberet...*

<sup>2</sup> I use “\*” for expressions not explicitly stated, but assumed in the chart.



*Praecursor logicus* proper, or explicitly so stated, consists only of *Grammatica audax: Caramuelis Praecursor logicus complectens Grammaticam audacem, cuius partes sunt tres...* However, Caramuel speaks of *Herculis logici labores tres* (Three Labors of Hercules, the Logician) as *Praecursoris logici pars altera*, so one can assume that *Grammatica audax* and the various “Logicae” form *Praecursoris logici pars prima*. Hence the entire four-volume structure could be rightly denominated *Praecursor logicus*. It is interesting to note that the aforementioned list of Caramuel’s works states only the “Logicae”, i.e. *Logica vocalis, scripta, mentalis, recta, obliqua* to be the sole parts of *Theologia rationalis* under the name of *Loxica* with the other treatises listed separately. The chart above also indicates the relative lengths of the various parts of respective works either in terms of the numbers of articles contained or overall amounts of pages. *Grammatica audax* was published as an independent work in 1651. The same applies to *Herculis logici labores tres*.

From the standpoint of formal logic, not all works included in the first part of *Theologia rationalis* are of equal interest. *Grammatica audax* deals with grammar and contains only a brief summary of the standard logic of the time.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, *Logica vocalis, scripta et mentalis* is a fully-fledged logical work presenting the classic Aristotelian “upright” logic (*logica recta*). Logic treats of language and the emphasis is put on its spoken form. Hence, Vocal Logic, presenting the material in the classic order of term-proposition-argument, is the most extensive. By contrast, Written and Mental Logics add issues peculiar to their specific modes of language, either written or mental. The view that logic deals with language clearly betrays a nominalist approach. The formal organization of the material into the levels of language – spoken, written, and mental – appears to be novel.

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<sup>3</sup> *Grammatica audax*, pars III Critica, med. I Logica, pp. 65–74. One should notice the quantification of the predicate term in the part devoted to contemporary logic, for this is an important presupposition of Caramuel’s own relational logic.

However, it is only *Logica obliqua* (abbreviated as *LO* below) which marks a truly original contribution to the field in its content. It amounts to a systematic presentation of the logic of binary relational statements on the levels of proposition (Part I) and argument (Part II). We shall take up the matter below in somewhat more detail.

*Herculis logici labores tres* appears to be an interesting collection of three studies devoted to three logical problems. The first Labor reduces the system of valid modes of the syllogism based on the reduction of the negative copula to the negation of the predicate, i.e. term negation. Caramuel appears to have defended this so-called infinite logic (negated terms are called “infinite”) as part of his bachelor exams in philosophy at Alcalá, early on in his career.<sup>4</sup> The second Labor deals with the issue that in natural language – Latin – the compound expression *non omnis* (not every) is equivalent to “some... not... and some...” for instance, “not all students smoke” is equivalent to “some students do not smoke and some do”, rather than to “some... not...” only, as is the purely logical meaning. It seems that the meaning of the natural language quantifier includes something over and above the logical one. Caramuel explores this idea and shows the logical properties of statements including Latin *non omnis*: equivalences and oppositions of these statements as well as valid modes of syllogism. Finally, the third Labor is a systematic treatment of modal logic. The basic idea is that *contingens* (contingent) is not equivalent solely to “possible”, but “possible and possible not”.<sup>5</sup>

The second part of Rational Theology, *Metalogica*, or – as the full title reads – *Metalogica, sive disputationes de logicae essentia, proprietatibus, et operationibus continens*, rather than being a work in formal logic, is a set of treatises, formally books, *libri*, in the fields of the philosophy of logic (Book I), philosophical logic (Books VII, IX), meta-

<sup>4</sup> P. Bellazzi, *Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz*, Buona Stampa, Vigevano 1982, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed treatment see P. Dvořák, “The Logic and Semantics of Modal Propositions in Juan Caramuel”, *Acta Comeniana* 19 (43), 2005, pp. 105–115. For the problem of *non omnis* see footnote 7.

physics (Books II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII, X) and informal logic (Book X). The following chart indicates the respective books and their topics:

*Caramuelis Metalogica, sive disputationes de logicae essentia, proprietatibus, et operationibus continens* (over 700 pages)

- Liber I the nature of logic
- Liber II rational entities
- Liber III distinctions
- Liber IV universals
- Liber V the principle of individuation
- Liber VI predicables
- Liber VII the theory of proposition
- Liber VIII self-evident principles (26 in number)
- Liber IX paradoxes (insolubles)
- Liber X *De severa argumentandi methodo*

Partes: Theorica, Practica, unnamed

The last book, tenth in number, is the most extensive of all, containing three parts (Partes: Theorica, Practica, unnamed) and having 258 pages in length. It appeared as an independent work in 1644. The content ranges from informal logic to logic applied in specific problems in philosophy and theology. For instance, it includes Caramuel's Salamanca theses of 1630 as well as two sets of Louvain theses of 1641, both on the problem of divine predetermination and human freedom.<sup>6</sup> Let us note in passing that *Metalogica* was reissued under the title *Metalogica scholastica* in Vigevano in 1682, the year of Caramuel's death, without book X.

<sup>6</sup> *Physicae praedeterminationes infallibitantes et non necessitantes. Inventae et defensae sunt ab Authore Salmanticae anno 1630, Metalogica, lib. X, pp. 154-161.*

*Theses Theologicae De gratia et libero arbitrio ad mentem mellistui doctoris decretis Tridentini Concilii confirmatam, ibid., pp. 161-166.*

*Theses Theologicae De gratia et libero arbitrio: In quibus demonstramus doctrinam illustrissimi P. Didaci Alvarez Archiepiscopi Tranensis et Salpensis, ex doctissimo Ordine PP. Dominicanorum assumpti, esse eandem, quam hodie solent in scholis suis defendere Patres Iesuitae, ibid., pp. 166-172.*

It comes as no surprise to learn that Caramuel, famed for his moral theology, also dealt with deontic logic. This is to be found especially in his *Pandoxion physico-ethicum cuius tomi sunt tres, primusque logicam, secundus philosophiam et tertius theologiam realiter et moraliter novo modo, et studio dilucidat* (Campagnae 1668) and somewhat extended in *Moralis seu Politica logica* (Vegeven 1680). So far no serious study on this matter in Caramuel has been undertaken.

## II

By far the most interesting contribution of Caramuel to formal logic is his oblique logic. A key part of this is what we would call relational logic dealing with the formal structure of relational statements and their properties (Pars I of *Logica obliqua*, pp. 407–429) and the theory of argument consisting of such propositions (pars II, pp. 429–503).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Properly speaking, *logica obliqua* covers more than relational logic, for Caramuel treats also propositional logic under the same heading (the so-called “hypothetical” propositions). The meaning of the term “discrete” will become clear below.

Caramuel’s relational logic was presented for the first time in the studies of S. Sousedík (and K. Berka) in the 1960’s and early 70’s: S. Sousedík, “Diskrétní logika Jana Caramuela z Lobkovic” (A Discrete Logic of Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz), *Filosofický časopis* 17, 1969, 2, pp. 216–228; K. Berka, S. Sousedík, “K relační logice Jana Caramuela z Lobkovic” (On Relational Logic of Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et historica, Studia logica* 1972, 2, pp. 9–16. Since then only few studies appeared, for instance, N. Borrega Hernández, “La lógica oblicua de Juan Caramuel”, *Theoria: Revista de teoría, historia y fundamentos de la ciencia* VII, 1992, 16–17–18, pp. 297–325.

So far the most extensive treatment can be found in P. Dvořák, *Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic: Vybrané aspekty formální a aplikované logiky* (Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz: Selected Aspects of Formal and Applied Logic), OIKOYMENH, Prague 2006. Besides relational logic, the latter monograph also explains the problem of *non omnis* in Labor II of the Herculean Labors and selected issues from *Meta-logica*, e.g. logical paradoxes (*insolubilia*), change of propositional truth value, future contingents, etc. It also covers an interesting polemics of Leibniz against Caramuel on *antistropheus*.

*Propositio obliqua seu discreta* or relational statement is a statement including a complex predicate which could be further analyzed and whose analysis is important from the point of view of securing and determining validity within an argument. Apart from a verb, this complex predicate consists of the so-called *terminus obliquus*, oblique term, grammatically a noun in a case other than the nominative (*terminus rectus*). For instance, in the statement “every man commits some sin” the term “sin” is oblique, for the Latin equivalent *peccatum* would be in the accusative form. Caramuel in *Logica obliqua* extends syllogistics to include relational logic, i.e. to handle syllogisms consisting of relational statements, either some or all:

Every man commits some sin  
*Every sin is a moral fault*  
 Therefore, every man commits some moral fault

Every ant is greater than every atom  
 Every elephant is greater than every ant  
 Every elephant is greater than every atom

While the former is a specimen of an argument Caramuel calls mixed relational syllogism (*syllogismus obliquus mixtus*), for, apart from relational statements in a premise and the conclusion, it contains an “upright” premise (*propositio recta*), the latter is of a pure relational form (*syllogismus pure obliquus*). Prior to Caramuel these oblique syllogisms were typically reduced to non-oblique ones (Ockham, Jungius) and thus accommodated within the standard Aristotelian system of figures and modes. The reduction was based on the reduction of oblique statements into non-oblique or “upright” ones. The oblique form of a proposition, seen as somehow deficient, was thus from the point of view of formal logic not recognized as an independent form, different from a non-oblique one. Thus the resulting logic could be called the logic of relations but not relational logic proper. Only when the oblique form is recognized as a logical form in its own

right can one speak of relational logic or relational syllogistics. This is what happens in Caramuel for the first time, though it is true that his more famous predecessor, Joachim Jungius, recognized a non-reducible form of relational argument or inference, that of *a rectis ad obliqua* (from terms in the nominative to oblique terms), but regarded it as a type of non-syllogistic immediate inference.<sup>8</sup> A step further would be to say that the standard “upright” form is a special case of the oblique form; hence, really, the oblique form is paradigmatic for any statement. We shall see below that this is arguably the path Caramuel will eventually take.

There seem to be two possible ways of analyzing a relational statement, for instance “Every man commits some sin”:

Every man is [some sin is committed by]

The first way regards the complex predicate consisting of a verb and an oblique term to be an embedded predication; hence the oblique term is regarded to be a (subordinate) logical subject. Therefore, there are two subject-predicate structures present within a relational statement and, consequently, two *copulae*. This rather conservative view of the logical form of a relational statement accommodates the latter statements within a quantifier-subject-copula-predicate “upright” scheme, without reducing them to this form altogether. (The relational form is clearly seen as different from the non-relational one, but not substantially, as one can see). Caramuel takes this approach in his initial formal symbolism introduced to grasp the logical form of the relational statement. Apart from the signs for quantifiers “a”, “i”, “e”

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<sup>8</sup> For example: A circle is a plane figure. Therefore, whoever draws a circle draws a plane figure.

J. Jungius (Junge), *Logica Hamburgensis, hoc est, institutiones logicae in usum schol. Hamburgensis conscriptae, et sex libris comprehensae*, eds. R. W. Meyer and J. J. Augustin, Hamburg 1957 (1st edition 1638), lib. II, c. 4, par. 6; lib. III, c. 1, par. 5.

(all, some, no), the asterisk symbol “\*” divides the subject part from the predicate part. For instance, “a\*i” means (every...is some..., e.g. “Every man commits some sin”). However, the introduction of two symbols for negation, copula negation “ñ” and quantifier negation “n”, and their possible positions in Caramuel show that Caramuel assumes there are two *copulae* in relational statements. The following are the possible places of negation:

- (i) n\*-
- (ii) -ñ\*-
- (iii) -\*n-
- (iv) -\*ñ-

It is clear that (ii) and (iv) are both negations of the copula, but in each case a different one. The first stands outside the predicate structure, the second within it. “Every man does not commit any sin”, añ\*i, and “Every man non-commits some sin”, a\*ñi, are different, for the first is equivalent to “Every man non-commits every sin”. Caramuel makes the former logical form with outside negation even more explicit: “añ,q\*i”, where “q” stands for the relative pronoun (*qui*): “Every man is not the one, who commits some sin.”<sup>9</sup>

However, in his relational syllogistics, Caramuel settles for another, less conservative and more innovative approach. The symbolism is simplified. The asterisk and relative pronoun signs are dropped. Thus “ai” means “every...some...” as in “Every man commits some sin”. The key idea to this analysis is the generalization of the copula from semantically rather empty verb “to be” to any meaningful verb, e.g. “commits”, amounting to a major step in the direction towards contemporary predicate logic. Hence, there is only one copula present in the relational statement. As for negation, only one symbol for nega-

<sup>9</sup> “a\*ñi” could be rendered as “Every man is the one, who does not commit some sin”. See *LO*, pars I, disp. I De propositione obliqua in genere, pp. 407–415.

tion is introduced, “n”, either for quantifier negation (n- and -n-), or for the negation of the (inner) copula (--n). There is no place for the negation of the outer, non-predicate copula, for none is needed. More precisely, since the form (ii) -ñ\*- is equivalent to (iii) -\*n-, one does not need (ii) and can do with (iii), second quantifier negation. This allows for the simplification, for two different negation symbols are no longer necessary. The position before or after the quantifier makes all the difference now.

If the verb “to be” is only one copula among many possible ones, the standard quantifier-subject-copula-predicate “upright” form is but a special case of relational statement quantifier-subject term-copula-quantifier-predicate term form. Thus, grammatically, even though there is no predicate quantifier in “Every man is an animal”, it is only not made explicit, but logically, it is present (“Every man is some animal”).<sup>10</sup> It is precisely this move of generalizing the copula and the consequent view of relational form as paradigmatic, which guides A. de Morgan in his *Formal Logic* (1847) and later works in developing a predecessor of predicate logic as we know it today.

In dealing with relational syllogisms, Caramuel distinguishes the following figures of the pure relational syllogism:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Caramuel’s survey of contemporary logic in *Grammatica audax*, pars III, art. 1, shows that the quantification of the predicate term is not an uncommon feature. Caramuel himself in *LO*, pars II quite naturally occasionally rewrites “a” with “ai”.

Caramuel also speaks of the extended number of moods in relational logic in comparison to the classical Aristotelian syllogistics due to discriminating two forms within the universal affirmative statement (A): either ai or aa: J. Caramuel, *LO*, pars II, disp. IX, p. 432: “Quatuor isti modi constant ex universalibus et affirmativis, et tamen differunt inter se; ut ... intelligatur, quanto sit ditior obliqua Dialectica caeteris; siquidem quatuor aut pluribus modis praemissas suas disponit, quas omnes rejiceret antiqua ad *Bammada*, et si non cognosceret hunc modum, (non enim Aristotelicus sed Platonius est) ad *Barbara*.”

<sup>11</sup> Caramuel deals with the pure relational syllogism in *LO*, pars II, disp. IX Syllogismorum pure obliquorum formas et figuras expendens, pp. 432–436. Only this type of syllogism is presented in Sousedík, see footnote 7.



A is related to M	Platonic figure
M is related to B	
A is related to B	

M is related to A	Figure I
B is related to M	
B is related to A	

A is related to M	Figure II
B is related to M	
B is related to A/A is related to B (indirect)	

M is related to A	Figure III
M is related to B	
B is related to A/A is related to B (indirect)	

The letters A, B, M stand for terms, where M is the middle term and A, B are the extremes. All the terms are quantified and the quantification is given by the mood (see below). The expression “is related to” stands for a transitive verb, the extended copula. We can see that the logical form of the syllogism

Every ant is greater than every atom  
 Every elephant is greater than every ant  
 Every elephant is greater than every atom

is that of Figure I.

Caramuel gives valid moods for each of the figures above. By way of an example, let us present the valid moods under Figure I:

1. **aa.aa.aa.**
2. aa.ai.ai.
3. aa.ia.ia.
4. aa.ii.ii.

5. ai.aa.ai.
6. ai.ai.ai.
7. ai.ia.ii.
8. ai.ii.ii

We see that our specimen of a pure relational syllogism is of mood I.

Our second specimen syllogism

Every man commits some sin  
*Every sin is a moral fault*  
 Therefore, every man commits some moral fault

is of the mixed type as already known. The four figures could be distinguished also for the mixed relational syllogism.<sup>12</sup> Our example is of the most common Platonic figure:

A is related to M  
 M is B  
 A is related to B

As we can see, the mood is ai.a.ai, and it is one of the valid moods Caramuel states for this figure:

- |              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| aa.a.ai.     | <b>ai.a.ai.</b> |
| aa.a.ii.     | ai.a.ein.       |
| ae.a.ain.    | ai.a.ii.        |
| ae.a.ea.     | 10. ai.a.iin.   |
| 5. ae.a.iin. | ain.a.ain.      |
| ae.a.ina.    | ain.a.ea.       |

<sup>12</sup> Caramuel treats of mixed relational syllogism in *LO*, pars II, disp. XI De syllogismo obliquo mixto, pp. 442-464.

ain.a.ina.	ian.a.ina.
ea.a.ain.	30. ina.a.iin.
15. ea.a.ea.	ie.a.iin.
ea.a.iin.	ie.a.ina.
ea.a.ini.	ine.a.ine.
ee.a.ai.	ine.a.ii.
ee.a.ee.	35. ien.a.ii.
20. ee.a.ein.	ii.a.ii.
ei.a.ain.	iin.a.iin.
ei.a.ea.	ina.a.iin.
ei.a.iin.	ina.a.ina.
ein.a.ai.	40. ine.a.ii.
25. ein.a.ein.	ine.a.ine.
ein.a.ii.	ini.a.iin.
ia.a.ii.	ini.a.ina.
ian.a.iin.	

What has been said concerning relational syllogisms here suffices as an illustration of Caramuel's approach. Caramuel's is a logic which is not only an extension, but also a fundamental revision of the traditional syllogistics as such. Not only does Caramuel in his opinion present logic of types of discourse previously not treated ("Sum traditurus Novam Logicam nempe obliquam, de qua Antiqui Dialectici nihil aut parum..." *LO*, Lectori, p. 406), but he thinks syllogistics is based on a false principle if this is to be regarded as the most general logical principle:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> J. Caramuel, *LO*, Lectori, p. 406: "Sum, inquam, traditurus LOGICAM a veteri toto distinctam, et oppositis fundamentis inhaerens ... majorem enim, quam Oraculi loco habent Peripatetici, falsam assero: et novam viam ingressus Terminis realiter distinctis utor, illisque novas propositiones et novos syllogismos fabricor."

*Ibid.*, p. 406: "Non est animus diruere Antiquam LOGICAM ab aliis aut etiam a nobis summo studio firmatam: sed illi Novam hanc accensere, et numerum augere Musarum."

Things, which are identical with some third, are identical themselves.<sup>14</sup>

In relational statements the terms are really distinct (discrete), not identical. Thus Caramuel also dubs his system “discrete logic”. The most general principle of this logic could be hypothesized as the following:

\* Things, which are *related* to some third, are *related* themselves.

It is only to be regretted that Caramuel’s system remained little known and did not exert a greater impact on the logic of his time. One could only speculate how the discipline would unfold and what it would be like today had it been otherwise. It is our hope that this historical injustice is remedied as time goes on and the subtle genius of Caramuel achieves proper recognition at last.

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<sup>14</sup> See also J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, Francofurti 1652, lib. I, fund. XLV, § 1177.

## Caramuel on Naturalistic Fallacy

Jacob Schmutz

The aim of this paper is to shed some new light on Juan Caramuel's achievement as moral philosopher. Caramuel is rightly remembered as one of the most important casuists of his age, and was often famed for his heterodox positions. But Caramuel was also much more than a casuist and moral theologian. I believe he should be counted as one of the most important contributors to the reflection about the *methods* and the *status* of moral philosophy in the early-modern period. This point seems never to have been really noticed, since most of the studies on Caramuel's moral philosophy have concentrated on empirical issues, such as his position on papal authority, monastic discipline, homicide, or even sexual matters.<sup>1</sup> My claim is that behind the huge amount of empirical statements, that indeed make up the bulk of the thousands of pages he devoted to moral theology, there is also a very conscious and innovative method of treating moral matters, unprec-

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<sup>1</sup> J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989, pp. 313–314 had already noticed the originality of the project of a *logica moralis* that cannot be reduced to Aristotelian logic. For general presentations of Caramuel as a casuist, see D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel: Probabilismo ed Enciclopedia*, La Nuova Italia, Florence 1975, p. 274 sq.; J.-R. Armogathe, “Probabilisme et Libre-arbitre: la théologie morale de Caramuel y Lobkowitz”, in: *Le meraviglie del probabile: Juan Caramuel (1606–1682). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. P. Pissavino, Comune di Vigevano, Vigevano 1990, pp. 35–40; and more recently the complete account by J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism: The Moral Theology of Juan Caramuel*, Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C. 2006.

edented in scholastic thought, but comparable – though very different – to those often acknowledged as the official founding fathers of modern ‘civil philosophy’, such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) with his *scientia civilis* or Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) with his demonstrative *Ethics*. Caramuel’s central question was the relationship between the realm of morality and the realm of nature: can the principles of morals be *deduced* from the principles of nature? In the Seventeenth Century, resolving this question implied the possibility of developing Aristotelian prudence into a real science of morality: if moral matters could be the object of a speculative science, then they must be treated according to certain universal principles. The big temptation of early-modern political theory was to deduce very strictly moral principles from physical principles: Thomas Hobbes’ *Elements of Law* are a perfect example of this, placing men’s natural desire of self-preservation at the basis of his politics. Many moral theorists have since then expressed their distrust of such constructions. The most famous was the Cambridge philosopher G. E. Moore (1873–1958), who coined the expression ‘naturalistic fallacy’: “...the naturalistic fallacy ... consists in identifying the simple notion which we mean by ‘good’ with some other notion.”<sup>2</sup> This fallacy is at the basis of most early-modern naturalistic ethics as well as later utilitarianism: what is good for the body (for instance protection) is thus qualified as morally good. In this contribution, I will show that the first author to have given a complete account and critique of the naturalistic fallacy was Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz, well before David Hume, who had already noticed the difference and non-derivability of *ought*-sentences from *is*-sentences. The fact that this has been totally overlooked in all common histories of moral philosophy, who praise Locke, Spinoza or Hobbes as great innovators, is just another indication of the blatant ignorance of scholastic thought in contemporary intellectual history. At its best, the scholastic contribution to the history of moral reasoning is reduced

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<sup>2</sup> G. E. Moore, *Principia Ethica*. Revised edition (1903), ed. Th. Baldwin, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993, I, § 10, p. 62.

to its early-modern development on natural law, from Francisco de Vitoria to Hugo Grotius. As I will show, Caramuel cannot even be reduced to that mainstream scholastic tradition, since natural law theory itself commits the form of fallacy that he considered as unacceptable.

Caramuel had obviously a very high opinion of himself and of his inventivity. No wonder he claims that actually nobody before him had ever written a ‘moral philosophy’, and having invented a ‘moral dialectic’ nobody ever tried before him.<sup>3</sup> Even better, he says that actually only idiots or uneducated people have up to his time written on moral matters: “*moralia saepe ab indoctis tractantur*”, namely people who had no idea of logic, metaphysics nor physics. This harsh judgement may well, as we shall see, even apply to the author of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. But Caramuel’s boasting must again be put into the right historical context: his contemporary Spinoza for instance had made exactly the same claim, saying that everybody before him had written fairy tales about politics, and not a science.<sup>4</sup> Caramuel gave several

<sup>3</sup> J. Caramuel, *Sacri Romani Imperii pax*, editio tertia (=Pax), Vienna 1649, p. 5: “...alter tomus moralem philosophiam complectitur, ante me, quem viderim, a nullo scriptam”; J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* (=TMF<sup>1</sup>), Francofurti 1652–1653, p. 29; *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, editio secunda (=TMF<sup>2</sup>), Romae 1656, § 11, p. 17; *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, editio quarta (=TMF<sup>3</sup>), Lugduni 1675, vol. I, § 11, p. 13: “Habeo paratos speculationum moralium multos libros: dialecticam moralem a nemine quod sciam tentatam, in qua forte Narcissus opinione aemulorum videbor. Philosophiam etiam moralem. Totam etiam physicam et metaphysicam transtuli ad mores, et medicinam magno aegrorum solamine radiis theologicis dilucidavi, et tandem theologiam ingressus, multa sum meditatatus, quae perire non patiar.”

<sup>4</sup> B. Spinoza, *Tractatus politicus* (1677), c. 1, in: *Opera*, ed. C. Gebhardt, Heidelberg 1925, vol. III, p. 267: “...unde factum est, ut plerumque pro Ethicâ Satyram scripserint, et ut nunquam Politicam conceperint, quae possit ad usum revocari, sed quae pro Chimaerâ haberetur, vel quae in Utopiâ, vel in illo Poëtarum aureo saeculo, ubi scilicet minime necesse erat, institui potuisset.” Compare this statement also with T. Hobbes, *Elements of Law* (1640), ed. F. Tönnies, London 1889, Preface: “From the two principal parts of our nature, Reason and Passion, have proceeded two kinds of learning, mathematical and dogmatical. The former is free

names to his own project. He actually seems to be the first to use the expression *fundamentalis* as applied to moral theology,<sup>5</sup> thereby stressing that moral theology must rest on some fundamental principles, just as there is a fundamental ontology resting on speculative principles and axioms. But the most recurring expression is his regular use of the prefix *meta*, of which he is particularly fond: just as there are *metaphysics*, conceived as a science of the first concepts and first rules of the understanding, there must be a *meta-ethics*, defined as a science of the first principles of morality. The core of this meta-ethical project lies in a clear distinction between the realm of morality and nature and between the principles to be used in each of them. The fact that we cannot simply deduce morality from nature does therefore not mean we should give up the hope of constructing a science of morals, just as we can construct a science of moving bodies in physics. This basic insight is behind the numerous titles of his later works, in particular the *Pandoxion physico-ethicum*, published during his South Italian exile in Campagna in 1668,<sup>6</sup> but also the *Moralis seu Politica logica* of 1680 and the very late *Physik-ethicon* and *Met-ethica*, both very rare works printed in Vigevano just after his death.<sup>7</sup> Caramuel claims having already had these insights about the different “logics” applying to

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from controversies and dispute, because it consisteth in comparing figures and motion only ... But in the later there is nothing not disputable, because it compareth men, and meddleth with their right and profit. ... To reduce this doctrine to the rules and infallibility of reason, there is no way, but first, to put such principles down for a foundation.”

<sup>5</sup> I owe this observation to Thomas Michelet, o.p. (Toulouse).

<sup>6</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pandoxion physico-ethicum ... opus pugnax et contentiosum, non solum philosophis et theologis, nec-non canonistis et legistis, sed medicis et mathematicis utile ac necessarium, huic protheoremati, velut fundamentali basi innittitur: “ut de realibus realiter, sic etiam de virtualibus et moralibus virtualiter et moraliter philosophandum est”, quod a multis non bene intellectum, exponitur, et ab initio ad metam eximiâ diligentîâ observatur (=Pandoxion)*, Campaniae 1668; cf. also the later statement in J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>3</sup>, vol. III, § 2949, p. 22: “Ego metheticam, quae omnium moralium entium rationes cogitat et edisserit, tribus tomis, quae *Pandoxia* inscribuntur, copiose tradidi.”

<sup>7</sup> J. Caramuel, *Physik-ethikon*, Vigevano 1682; idem, *Met-ethica*, Vigevano 1682.



physics and ethics since the very beginning of his career.<sup>8</sup> But it took obviously several years to mature, and it really unfolded itself during his time in Prague. This is well documented in the philosophical correspondence he held in the 1650s with a rather unknown figure, the Belgian Carmelite Franciscus Bonae Spei, in which he explains the naturalistic fallacy as a tendency to “transfer physical errors to ethics” (“ut errores physicas transtulere at ethicam”).

In this paper, I shall first quickly recall the details of this philosophical correspondence and present its central thesis, namely that the methods of moral inquiry cannot be reduced to the method of physics or metaphysics. Second, I will show that in spite of their irreducibility to each other, the realm of morality can be treated as seriously as the realm of physics, and become a proper science with its proper object and its proper rules, namely ‘moral science’. Third, I shall try to put Caramuel’s work in a broader historical perspective, in order to appreciate its significance both from the medieval and contemporary point of view.

## I. The Fundamental Axiom

The most important programmatic piece of Caramuel’s views on naturalistic fallacy is a letter written from the Montserrat Monastery in Prague on the 8 November 1653 to the Carmelite Franciscus Bonae Spei (1617–1677). They were apparently old scholastic friends, and

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<sup>8</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pandoxion*, op. cit., § 220, p. 80: “Mitto Moralem Logicam ... Ethicarum mearum Speculationum primam partem Salmanticae in Hispania conceptam, Lovanii in Belgio promotam, et tandem Pragae in Bohemia imprimi jusam, sed supervenientibus hostium copiis praepeditam, nam silent Musae, cum reboant tubae, et tonant militares bombardae. Post annos sedecim impressa fuit me absente, et dum relego transmissa folia, nonnulla optarem dici fusius, immo et nonnulla clarius.” An important letter already noticed by J. Velarde Lombrana, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, op. cit., p. 313.

probably knew each other from Louvain times. Born in French Flanders under the name of François Crespin, he took the name of Franciscus Bonae Spei and taught theology in Louvain, and also became an influential figure of the Belgian Carmelite Province. He published two important scholastic courses, one of philosophy and one of theology, mainly in the Thomist tradition that was the official line of thought of the discalced Carmelite order.<sup>9</sup> Both are of high quality, and Caramuel kept quoting them, just as they enjoyed a rather wide readership inside the Carmelite order and in Thomist circles at large. Caramuel's letter is a reply to an earlier letter sent by Franciscus from Louvain in March 1653, and printed in the second volume of first edition of his *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* (1653).<sup>10</sup> The controversy continued for several years, and in 1657, Franciscus published finally a complete volume entitled *Belgian Night Owl vs. German Eagle*. This curious title, more evocative of a European Basket-Ball championship final rather than of a theological debate, is actually a remembrance of Pliny, who said that the poor night owls awaited sight from the eagles. And so our Belgian 'night owl' submitted his begging questions to Caramuel, who had been nicknamed "German eagle" by Giuseppe Costalta, a Benedictine from Piacenza and another of his numerous correspondents.<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>9</sup> Franciscus Bonae Spei, *Commentarii tres in universam Aristotelis philosophiam*, Bruselas 1652; idem, *Commentarii tres in universam theologiam scolasticam*, Antverpiae 1667, 3 vols. On his life, see the relevant indications in: *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, vol. I, col. 482; J.-Fr. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Bruselas 1739, vol. I, p. 287; *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. IV, Brussels 1873, pp. 499–500 (A. Vander Meersch). Some aspects of his metaphysics have been studied by P. Di Vona, *I concetti trascendenti in Sebastián Izquierdo e nella scolastica del Seicento*, Loffredo, Naples 1994, pp. 167–175.

<sup>10</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 99–105, with Caramuel's reply *ibid.*, pp. 105–108; this letter was continuously reprinted: at the beginning of Franciscus Bonae Spei, *Noctua belgica ad aquilam Germanicam Caramuelis qua illius ... quaestio de circumstantijs aggravantibus, ac praecipua ejusdem theologiae fundamentalis puncta, fundamentaliter discutiuntur & resolvuntur*, Lovanii 1657, no page numbers.

<sup>11</sup> G. Costalta shared Caramuel's interest in the history of the Benedictine order and anagrammatism: he was the author of *In diuum Benedictum elogia*, Romae

correspondence turns around the discussion of an axiom that seems to have appeared for the first time in Caramuel's 1645 "draft" edition of the *Theologia moralis*,<sup>12</sup> and which is the following: "Oportet de moralibus moraliter philosophari, sicut de realibus realiter" – or, in a slightly different version, "sicut de physicis physice".

The formulation of the principle has obviously some Boethian flavor: in his *De Trinitate*, Boethius had divided the three classical Aristotelian speculative sciences – physics, mathematics and theology – on the basis not only of their *objects* (as Aristotle had done), but also on the basis of the *method* of knowledge proper to them.<sup>13</sup> This Boethian axiom had a long medieval history, and Caramuel uses a similar grammatical formula, characterizing in an adverbial way the method of the science and in a nominal way its object, and claiming that each science does not only have different objects, but also different

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1665 (repr. Parisiis 1666) and a *Sancti patris Benedicti vita centum anagrammatis-  
mis descripta*, Romae 1655.

<sup>12</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis ad prima eaque clarissima principia reducta* (=TMPPR), Louvanii 1645, p. 17: "...cum sicut de physicis physice, sic de moralibus moraliter philosophamur"; TMF<sup>I</sup>, p. 105 (*Epistola*): "Oportet, sicut de physicis physice, ita etiam de moralibus moraliter philosophari." In a letter to his friend Pier Francesco Passerini (1612–1695), he claims this as his "fundamental hypothesis" (*hypothesis fundamentalis ipsa theologiae moralis*). See the letter (no date, probably sent from Sant'Angelo le Fratte around 1663–1665), as reproduced in his *Theologia regularis, videlicet in sanctorum Benedictii, Basilii, Augustini et Francisci regulas, commentarii historici scholastici morales, judiciales, politici*. Editio quarta multo auctior (=TR<sup>4</sup>), Lugduni 1665, vol. I, § 2047, p. 729.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Boethius, *Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus ac non tres Dii*, II, § 3, ed. C. Morechini, Saur, Munich 2000 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana): "...in naturalibus igitur rationabiliter, in mathematicis disciplinaliter, in divinis intellectualiter versari oportebit." For a medieval testimony, see Dominicus Gundissalinus, *De processione mundi*, eds. M. J. Soto Bruna and C. Alonso del Real, EUNSA, Pamplona 1999, p. 122: "Unde dicitur, quod in naturalibus rationaliter, in mathematicis disciplinaliter, in theologis intelligentialiter versari oportet." The transmission of this axiom is well studied by A. Fidora, *Die Wissenschaftstheorie des Dominicus Gundissalinus - Voraussetzungen und Konsequenzen des zweiten Anfangs der aristotelischen Philosophie im 12. Jahrhundert*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 2003, pp. 48–56 in particular.

methods and principles. To understand what Caramuel had exactly in mind, let's go back to what seems its first appearance in the *Theologia moralis* of 1645.<sup>14</sup> The context was the discussion of property: should we distinguish *physical* property from *moral* property? The example is quite striking, and introduces us immediately to Caramuel's point: the fact that I hold something physically in my hands does not imply I am its owner, which must be considered as a moral and not a physical concept. In this first work on moral theology, Caramuel treated many traditional concepts such as property according to this distinction. The distinction seems quite straightforward, but may well have far-reaching consequences. This is what attracted Franciscus Bonae Spei's attention: as a good Thomist, he was quite anxious about the implications of this distinction. If we apply it universally, it means that we could perfectly disassociate the materiality of an act from its intention. The letter he wrote to Caramuel starts discussing such very particular cases, echoing a decision of the Council of Trent (session 14, c. 5), that says that in confession must be explained the circumstances that transform the *species* of a sin (*etiam eas circumstantias in confessione explicandas esse, quae speciem peccati mutant*).<sup>15</sup> Let's give three

<sup>14</sup> Although Caramuel claims having already thought of his 'moral logic' in Salamanca, it seems well that his 'discovery' of the principle must be traced back to his time in Louvain. It is striking that one finds already a very close formulation in the work of the bright Irish Jesuit Peter Wadding (1583–1644), who had also taught in Louvain and Prague, in his discussion of the ontology of modes. Wadding made a similar point to Caramuel, namely that one should not be confused between physical and moral mutation, for instance: P. Wadding, *Tractatus de incarnatione*, Antverpiae 1636, p. 5: "...fuisse tantum hic mutatum ens morale et vere factam mutationem moralem in Saule [speaking of Saul who was King and ceased to be King]; aliter autem loquendum de physicis denominationibus, quae non possunt mutari sine alicuius physici mutatione." But Wadding continues, in Suarezian fashion, by admitting what Caramuel would refuse, namely that the moral realm has some relationship with the physical: *Ibid.*: "...non potest mutatio moralis intelligi sine fundamento aliquo physico: sicut enim omnes morales denominationes habent fundamentum physicum, ita et mutations." This was exactly the parallelism Caramuel reacted against.

<sup>15</sup> *Canones et decreta Concilii Tridentini ex editione Romana a MDCCCXXXIV repeti-*

examples, all used by Caramuel and Franciscus: (1) What about if I kill four people in one blow: should I just confess homicide, or four homicides? (2) What about if I commit sodomy with a man or with a woman: should I just confess sodomy, or is sodomy with a man different in species from sodomy with a woman, or even, sodomy with a nun (“copula habita cum moniali”)? (3) And finally, what if I steal medicine? Does the species of the crime (theft) change according to the person I rob, since it is just theft if I rob a healthy person, but it becomes theft *and* homicide if I rob a sick person? In all those issues, Caramuel very clearly appeals to his reader to dissociate the physical from the moral aspect of those acts: if by one act of the will I kill four people, I commit four physical acts but only one moral act. This solution seems appalling to Franciscus, because it widens the gap between the materiality of the act and its moral qualification. As a Thomist ‘realist’, he trusts that rational and moral species *must* correspond to natural species.<sup>16</sup>

These objections seem to have prompted Caramuel to get serious about his project of writing up a moral philosophy according to his own principles. The basic idea is that morality cannot be deduced from physics, i.e. that the naturalistic fallacy should be avoided. According to him, even the greatest thinkers committed this fallacy

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*ti*, ed. A. L. Richter, Lipsiae 1853, sessio 14, c. 5, p. 78: “Colligitur praeterea, etiam eas circumstantias in confessione explicandas esse, quae speciem peccati mutant, quod sine illis peccata ipsa neque a poenitentibus integre exponantur, nec iudicibus innotescant, et fieri nequeat, ut de gravitate criminum recte censere possint, et poenam, quam oportet, pro illis poenitentibus imponere.” (Transl. by J. Waterworth: “Those circumstances which change the species of the sin are also to be explained in confession, because that, without them, the sins themselves are neither entirely set forth by the penitents, nor are they known clearly to the judges.”)

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Franciscus Bonae Spei, *Noctua Belgica*, op. cit., § 12, n.p. (repr. in: J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 102): “Unde salvo meliori iudicio, falsum putamus, quod supponitur, nempe esse unicum peccatum quadriforme in eo, qui unico voluntatis actu quatuor homines occidere vellet, dicens pro materiali unicam solam volitionem et pro formali quatuor obiecta, adeoque quatuor malitias et peccaminositates puro distinctas numero: iudicamus enim ibi unicum esse formale et quatuor materiale, ac proinde quadruplex peccatum uniforme...”

– starting with Aristotle.<sup>17</sup> He says that Aristotle did not sufficiently distinguish between physics and morality in his work on categories. Let's take the example of the category of 'having' (*ekhein*): Aristotelians make a 'confusion' between artificial and natural having: having teeth, hair or horns (which is natural) cannot be treated the same ways as having clothes or weapons (which is artificial) and having wealth, honors and friends (which is moral). This example shows that as much as we can construct a table of categories applicable to real beings, we must construct another one for moral beings.<sup>18</sup> The first relates to intrinsic accidents, whereas the latter are extrinsic. This means that physics and morals do not share the same *ontology*, and thus also not the same rules, axioms or principles. This is what Caramuel intends when he urges us not to reduce morals to physics and metaphysics, but on the contrary, to devise an original 'moral physics' and a 'metaethics'. Meta-ethics must rest upon first principles, and it

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<sup>17</sup> Caramuel often stressed the limitation of Aristotelian logic: the *Categories* have been developed for the sake of ontology, not for the sake of ethics. Several small manuscripts conserved in the Vigevano archives (Archivio Storico Diocesano, Fondo Caramuel) stress the same point: see in particular his piece entitled *De logica Aristotelis* (Ms. 4°, 1-14, f. 1r): "Logica Aristotelis, quando agitur de facto, est inutilis. Ergo pro quaestionibus facti nova debet logica conformari. ... Quid dicemus? An-ne esse alogicos omnes ethicos, omnes iuristas (advocatos, iudices, consiliarios) omnes principes, quorum est rempublicam administrare? Minime. Essent enim alogi (irrationales) si alogicos (si sine logica) ius pronunciarent. Ergo praeter Aristotelicam, quae in scholis philosophicis traditur, est alia quaedam logica, quae quia moralibus et practicis praesidet, poterit et debet <lv> *moralis* seu *virtualis* vocari." I wish to thank Mgr Paolo Bonato and Emilia Mangiarotti for their kindness during my visit at the archives in December 2006.

<sup>18</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>4</sup>, vol. III, § 3495, p. 230: "Aristotelem praedicamentum 'habere' non intellexisse, immo nec peripateticos qui naturalia cum artificialibus et moralibus passim confundunt: nam habere capillos, dentes, ungues, cornua, etc. est naturale, habere vestes, arma, etc. artificiale; et habere fundos, dignitates, amicos, etc. est morale. Ergo sub uno ente naturali corporeo constituenda sunt decem praedicamenta naturalia corporea, et sub uno ente artificiali enumeranda sunt decem praedicamenta artificialia, et sub uno ente morali (et hoc est summe necessarium) decem praedicamenta moralia, etc. Et haec dicta sint propter Aristotelem et peripateticos, qui in praedicamento 'habere' naturalia, moralia et artificialia confundunt."

is therefore also called a 'speculative ethics' (*ethica speculativa*).<sup>19</sup> But these principles are not the same as the axioms of metaphysics: the principle of non-contradiction does not, for instance, have the same validity in morality as it does have in physics. It is therefore possible to identify the *rationale* of Caramuel's extensive production on moral theology: although his *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* went through four editions (and actually five, if one adds the first 1645 draft), his real ambition was to construct a moral philosophy course containing the following sections, all listed in the 1653 letter to Franciscus Bonae Spei: *Philosophic secundum dici*, *Grammatica moralis*; *Logica et dialectica moralis*; *Physica moraliter examinata*; *Animastica philosophia moraliter examinata*; *Libri de caelo et mundo moraliter examinata*; *Politica ad prima physicae fundamenta reducta*; *Res pecuniaria moraliter considerata*; *Medicina moralis*, etc.

The distinction of these sciences is based on his famous axiom.<sup>20</sup> Every type of being can be considered either *really-physically* (*realiter, physice*) or *virtually-morally* (*virtualiter, moraliter*). This means that just as there are concepts such as substances, categories, properties and species in physics and metaphysics, one has to admit substances, categories, properties and species in morals.<sup>21</sup> We do not find a complete table in Caramuel's works. But there are some indications in his *Apparatus*, in which, again in a very Boethian fashion, he argues about the change of meaning of the categories when they are applied to different matters, such as God and morals.<sup>22</sup> Let's take a basic ontological problem, for instance the concept of substance. We must distin-

<sup>19</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pandoxion*, op. cit., § 135, p. 43: "...ethica speculativa, sicut et aliae scientiae, assumit praemissas vere et rigore universales."

<sup>20</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 106.

<sup>21</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 93, p. 17: "Moralia et physica ex eisdem principiis resolvi debent, non tamen eodem prorsus modo, sed analogo, concordi et parallelo. Tunc exacte discurrimus, cum formamus conceptus consentaneos."

<sup>22</sup> J. Caramuel, *Apparatus philosophicus quatuor libris distinctus (=Apparatus)*, Coloniae 1665, lib. I, p. 33, where he mentions the following examples concerning relation and action: "Si ad relativa deveniamus, creari virtualiter dicitur, qui vir-

guish, says Caramuel, the concept of substance conceived physically from the concept of substance conceived morally. A striking example are Spanish food habits. During the Day of Fasting, Caramuel says that people in Madrid keep eating sheep's heads and collars, although eating flesh is forbidden. According to Caramuel, the moral theologian can deal very simply with this issue: what is physically identical as a substance (i.e. the sheep, its head, and its collar) can be morally distinguished as different substances. The same goes with fish: you can slice off his head and eat it without sinning, whereas substantially or physically you ate fish.<sup>23</sup> Numerous corollaries can be derived from such an insight, for instance a new theory of distinctions: what is identical morally must be distinguished physically, or conversely, what is different morally can be identical physically. In the example of the sheep or the fish, one must distinguish only 'modally or accidentally' in physics what is substantially distinct in ethics.<sup>24</sup> All the examples given above do illustrate the fact that according to Caramuel, we cannot deduce the structure of morality from the structure of physical acts, and there is no parallelism: in the first case (killing four or one people), there are *four* physical acts but only *one* moral act of 'collective' homicide. In the second example, if one has sex or even sodomy with a nun, one commits *one* physical act, but actually *two* moral acts, namely fornication and sacrilege.<sup>25</sup> And in the third case, if you steal

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tualiter erat nihil in illo ordine ad quem promovetur. Generatur virtualiter qui adoptatur. Occiditur virtualiter qui in exilium perpetuum mittitur. Actiones generosae et infames, licet realiter transeuntes sint, virtualiter sunt entia permanentia: virtualiter enim perserverant et ita se habent acsi non transissent."

<sup>23</sup> On all this, see J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, § 68, pp. 46–47 ("De comedente carnes in Hispania die Sabbati"). The same text in *TMF*<sup>2</sup>, § 713, pp. 246–247.

<sup>24</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, § 68, p. 47; the same text in J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>2</sup>, § 714, p. 247: "Corollarium: Ergo multa distinguuntur modaliter aut accidentaliter in Physica, quae in Ethica distingui debent substantialiter. Ergo multa similiter distinguuntur in physica essentialiter et substantialiter, quae eiusdem sint speciei moraliter considerata?"

<sup>25</sup> The same applies to sodomy: see J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>2</sup>, vol. II, § 1666, pp. 130–131.



medicine from a sick person, you also commit two moral acts, namely theft *and* homicide, but only one physical act.<sup>26</sup> But the opposite is true as well: several physical actions can be considered as only one moral action, which leads Caramuel to formulate another of his principles:<sup>27</sup> physical actions may be distinct, but morally identical. It is for instance possible for somebody to die twice: once physically and once morally.<sup>28</sup> Let's say you are accused of murder, and the accusation requires death, although you have not committed the crime. The headsman that carries out the sentence will kill you physically, but only physically, since he is not in a position of examining whether the sentence was justified. However, the judge who condemned you will cooperate morally in your death, since he knows you are innocent. The judge commits a moral homicide and the headsman only a physical one. Numerous other examples are given by Caramuel, also in his unpublished *Metapolitica* dedicated to political theory, about institutions such as the Republic or the Senate: an assembly consists physically in numerous persons, but must be morally conceived as

<sup>26</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>d</sup>, vol. I, § 740, p. 267: "...unico actu physico et reali possunt et solent plura peccata perpetrari. Ostenditur: nam copula habita cum moniali est fornicatio et sacrilegium: et Petrus, si aut medicinas ab aegroto, aut cibos a sano furatur, sciens illarum aut istorum defectu alterutrum omnino moriturum, fur simul et homicida est."

<sup>27</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>d</sup>, vol. I, § 729, p. 263: "Existimo omnem legem violari actione, nec enim puram omissionem intelligo, nec admitto. Sed haec quaestio physica est, et alibus uberius tractata. Progredior ad impetum actionis considero, et hanc thesim pronuntio: *Interdum aliquis uno impetu multas actiones elicit, quae sunt physice physicae distinctae numero, et tamen unicum committit peccatum.* Nam illae omnes, tametsi in esse physico sint distinctae, moraliter consideratae sunt unica."

<sup>28</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pax*, op. cit., § 104, p. 104: "Et exemplo divisionem illustro: ab iniquo accusatore Fredericus traducitur, postulatur in crucem, et tandem innocens damnatur et arbori infoelici suffigitur; nempe sententia Iudicis innocentiam traducti cognoscentis, manibus carnificis, qui potuit eum elabi permittere et non voluit. In casu enim proposito iudex et carnifex voluntatem accusatoris promovent et exsequuntur; mere quidem physice carnifex, cuius non interest examinare, an legitima sententia sit; at iudex cooperatur moraliter, quia cooperatur non solum morti physicae sed et mortis iniquitati."

one person.<sup>29</sup> As a result, since moral and physical categories do not correspond in a univocal way to each other, we must admit a dual ontology: real being and moral being.

## II. The Ontology of Moral Being

If we can talk about moral actions, moral passions, moral species, moral genus, etc. we find back the framework of Aristotelian and Porphyrian categories, but all ‘moralized’. If one realm cannot be reduced from the other, what relationship is there finally between them? Caramuel says that sometimes morality may be considered as some ‘shadow’ or ‘image’ of reality,<sup>30</sup> but not as a bare copy, with the same structure. Although we must know physical distinctions in order to establish moral distinctions, we cannot simply deduce one from another.<sup>31</sup> He therefore says that we must think in terms of *analogy*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> J. Caramuel, *Metapolitica*, Vigevano, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Fondo Caramuel, Ms. 10–14, f. 23v: “Infero animam rationalem politicam indivisibilem esse moraliter; sentio enim non repugnare entitatum unam physice, moraliter dividi: ut videre est in Philippo IV multarum coronarum Rege, qui tametsi unus realiter individuus sit, moraliter multiplex est; adeoque infero nec repugnare unam entitatem moralem habere partes physicas, ut videre est in Senatu, qui moraliter unicus est, et tamen hac illaesa unitate physice ex multis personis componitur.”

<sup>30</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104: “Omnes enim Moralitates sunt realitatum umbrae aut imagines, et eisdem terminis aut similibus configurantur.”

<sup>31</sup> See J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>2</sup>, II, § 1666, p. 130: “Sic discorro: *ut physicus de rebus naturalibus naturaliter, sic ethicus de moralibus moraliter philosophatur*: moralitates enim omnes ad instar realitatum concipiuntur [imo illae multorum opiniones sunt quaedam relationes verae et reales, hoc est, reales denominationes extrinsecae] nam alias essent formalitates chimaericae, nec veritati indagandae servient. Igitur moralitatum distinctionem examinaturus, praecognoscat realitatum distinctiones, necessarium est.”

<sup>32</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pax*, op. cit., p. 5: “Volumusque sicut scholastica theologia philosophia naturali, sic moralem morali subcollocari, et naturali per analogiam exactissimam correspondere.”

This question of analogy was already clearly settled in 1645: morals and physics should be treated “non tamen eodem modo, sed analogo, concordi, & parallelo“. The concept of analogy used here by Caramuel has not much to do with medieval semantics and modes of signifying, but is rather to be understood in the framework of his encyclopedic project, as expressed in the *Analogia omnium scientiarum* at the end of his *Rationalis et realis philosophia*.<sup>33</sup> Caramuel has given various definitions and classifications of forms of analogy in his works, including in the *Logica moralis* of the *Pandoxion*, where he treats analogy *within* the realm of morality: ‘prince’ (*princeps*) can be treated as an analogous name for emperors, kings, dukes, counts, etc.<sup>34</sup> In some manuscript drafts, we find also more precise statements about analogy *between* the realm of morality and the realm of nature, which is the basis of his common axiom. There he explains that moralities, just as ‘realities’ are composed of essence and existence, the first having been constituted by God’s thinking and the second by God’s willing. Just as realities have an essence that corresponds to the divine idea, the moralities can be considered as hypotheses or *virtualitates* that correspond to the ideas wished either by men or by God. But the analogy must be limited in order to be free from naturalistic fallacy: *realitates* are posited just as ‘theses’, as corresponding to reality, whereas ‘moralities’ are only posited virtually as ‘hypotheses’, i.e. as something that should be ‘as it is said to be’. Moralities are *concepts* that are not adequate representations of reality, but conventional concepts dependent on some form of positive willing – whether divine or human.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Cf. J. Caramuel, *Rationalis et realis philosophia*, Lovanii 1642, s.v.

<sup>34</sup> J. Caramuel, *Logica moralis*, in: *Pandoxion*, op. cit., art. 2 De univocis, aequivocis, multivocis, synonymis et analogis, pp. 13–14, where he distinguishes between *analogia inaequalitatis*, *analogia diversitatis*, *analogia transcendentiae*, *analogia attributionis* and *analogia proportionalitatis*. He gives general definitions, and then applies them to moral matters: the Pope for instance can be said Emperor, on basis of an analogy.

<sup>35</sup> See in particular J. Caramuel, *De analogia*, Vigevano, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Fondo Caramuel, Ms. 4°, busta 1.50, f. 2r: “Addamus hunc tertium exemplum,

This is the reason why the Caramuelian axiom is the cornerstone of an original metaphysics of *moral beings*, *entia moralia*, as opposed to the *entia realia* of classical scholastic metaphysics.<sup>36</sup> But what is the epistemic and ontological status of these *entia moralia*? Caramuel ponders very much: “*Moralities* are not really existent entities; what are they? If they are nothing, then we may as well burn all our books on morals. So they must be something. They must be concepts, since they are nothing really existent outside of the mind. But what sort of concepts? They must be concepts with some foundation in reality, since chimeras and *entia rationis* are conceived ideas without any foundation in reality, and must be distinguished from moralities according all ethical theorists.”<sup>37</sup> Caramuel is facing here an ontological problem very similar to the classical medieval theological problem of the status of non-actual beings (or *possibilia*), such as creatures in God’s mind

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ut analoga, quae partim similia, et partim dissimilia sunt, intelligantur. Realia et moralia sunt analoga: ergo sicut de realibus realiter, sic de moralibus moraliter est philosophandum. Realitates habent proprias essentias; suas etiam essentias habent moralitates. Essentias Deus per intellectum cognoscendo et existentias per voluntatem volendo condidit. Et moralitates seu virtualitates sunt hypotheses, quas quoad ideam et essentiam intelligendo, quoad existentiam volendo homines condunt. Quamobrem, sicut realitas habet essentiam, quae ideae divinae correspondeat, sic virtualitas seu hypothesis habet essentiam, quae correspondet ideae, quam Caesares aut viri prudentes praescripserunt. Realitates sunt ex thesi, et virtualitates ex hypothesisi: in hoc nullam servant analogiam: nam opponitur veritati supposito: illa enim supponi jubemus, quae non sunt vera. ... moralia sint omnes ex hypothesisi (a Deo, vel ab hominibus facta).”

<sup>36</sup> On the medieval and scholastic history of ‘entia moralia’, see also the excellent book by T. Kobusch, *Die Entdeckung der Person. Metaphysik der Freiheit und modernes Menschenbild*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1997, pp. 23–65. Unfortunately, he does not mention Caramuel in this history.

<sup>37</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104: “Moralitates, realitates vere existentes non sunt: quid ergo sunt? nihil-ne? Si nihil, omnes libris Morales comburantur. Sunt aliquid ergo. Conceptum igitur, siquidem aliquid realiter existens extra mentem non sunt. Conceptum? Ergo cum fundamento in re: vel sine fundamento. Hoc ultimum dici non potest; quoniam Chimoerae et Entia rationis sunt ideae conceptae sine fundamento, et distinguuntur a Moralitatibus in omnium Ethicorum sententiâ.”

before creation,<sup>38</sup> or the classical problem of the ‘intentional being’ of objects *qua* objects of thought. The problem may well be summarized as an attempt to escape from the classical Aristotelian-Averroist ontology and its division between being in the soul and extra-mental being (*ens in anima|ens extra animam*). How can we claim that possible creatures before creation, intentional beings or ‘moralities’ *exist* or *subsist*, once we admit that they do not share the ontological status of real existing extra-mental entities, but nevertheless cannot be considered as simple fantasies, without any foundation in reality?

As we know from his works on metaphysics, such as the *Rationalis et realis philosophia*, Caramuel was very anxious to expel chimaeras, *entia rationis* and so-called *entia linguae* from the field of proper philosophy.<sup>39</sup> This means that *entia moralia* cannot have the status of pure fictitious beings, that are defined as having no foundation whatsoever in reality and are just ‘beings of language’ (*entia linguae*). Moral beings are described as ‘resemblances of real beings’ (*similitudines entium realium*),<sup>40</sup> and must thus be considered as something not totally fictitious. They must be granted the status of a particular type of fiction (since they are non-existing extramentally), namely that of a ‘hypothesis’. Caramuel claims that moralities or ‘objective concepts’ must be considered as *hypotheses* posing as beings and having effects

<sup>38</sup> For a presentation of Caramuel’s contribution to this debate, see J. Schmutz, “Juan Caramuel on the Year 2000: Time and Possible Worlds in Early-Modern Scholasticism”, in: *The Medieval Concept of Time. The Scholastic Debate and Its Reception in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. P. Porro, Brill, Leiden – New York – Cologne 2006 (*Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 75), pp. 399–434; P. Dvořák, “John Caramuel and the Possible Worlds Theory”, *Acta Comeniana* 14 (38), 2000, pp. 87–97.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. numerous testimonies: J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>h</sup>, vol. IV, § 12, s.p.: “...nam entia rationis non admitto, et nihilum non scio proprie concipere.” More generally already in the metaphysics in: J. Caramuel, *Rationalis et realis philosophia*, op. cit., § 484 sq., p. 77a sq.

<sup>40</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>h</sup>, vol. III, § 2949, p. 21: “Moralia non sunt entia rationis aut figmenta illudentis ingenii, sed sunt quaedam realium entium similitudines et necessariae quaedam a prudentibus inventae hypotheses.”

as if (*ac si*) they were real beings. He gives even the clear following definition of the moral being: "...that which is not really as it is said, but that through a prudent judgement or supposition behaves 'as if' it were as it is."<sup>41</sup> At this occasion, Caramuel introduces a number of his favorite examples and develops a real epistemology of fictions. Having admitted that we cannot reduce the moral realm to the physical laws, we must admit an autonomous realm of moral laws that work 'as if' they were physical. The first example, continuously used by Caramuel, including in his debate with Franciscus, is the question of *adoption*: an adoptive son is called a son, although in real or physical terms he is not a son; but according to prudent judgment, for instance for the sake of inheritance and propagation of the name, he must be seen *ac si* (as if) he was the real son. Caramuel gives an empirical illustration of his general axiom: "...as we philosophize really about the real son, so we must philosophize morally about the moral son."<sup>42</sup> Caramuel's interest for filiation dates back to his *Philippus Prudens* (1639), in which he defended the legitimacy of the continuity of the Spanish

<sup>41</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104: "...ens morale definitur esse id, quod non est revera quale dicitur, prudentum autem iudicio ac suppositione ita se habet, ac si quale dicitur esset." Almost the same definition to be found in: J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>3</sup>, vol. III, § 2949, p. 22: "Vocamus ens morale aut virtuale quod non est quale dicitur, prudentum autem existimatione aut suppositione ita se habet, ac si quale dicitur, esset. Ita generatio civilis (adoptio) non est revera generatio ut dicitur, at ex prudentium suppositione ita se habet ac si qualiter dicitur esset"; and in the *Pandoxion*, he speaks of *ens virtuale*: *Pandoxion*, op. cit., § 389, p. 190a: "Ens virtuale definiebamus esse id, quod non est quale dicitur, prudentum tamen suppositione ita se habet, ac si quale dicitur, esset." The same definition can be found in the *Leptotatos latine subtilissimus*, Vegevano 1681, § 316, p. 156b.

<sup>42</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104: "Quod clare videtur in Adoptivo filio, qui est filius Moralis adoptantis: vocatur enim *filius*, et realiter loquendo non est filius, prudentum autem iudicio et suppositione, quoad subordinationem, haereditatem, propagationem nominis et familiae etc. ita se habet, ac si esset vere et realiter filius. Ergo sicut de filio reali realiter, ita de filio morali (adoptivo) moraliter est philosophandum." The question of adoption is recurrent example of his works: so for instance his distinction between the physical and moral father in: J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>2</sup>, § 1554, II 80: "Pater duplex, naturalis, moralis."

crown on the basis of similar *ac si* reasonings.<sup>43</sup> A very actual reflection, besides adoption, is the process of ‘naturalization’ (*naturalizatio*, a remarkable Latin neologism): you may be physically a Spaniard, because your mother is Spanish and you are born in Spain. But you could also be “Spanicized” (*hispanizari*) by the Republic, who can bestow upon you Spanishness. You may be born in Greece but you will become a Spaniard, writes Caramuel, probably thinking of El Greco (1514–1614).<sup>44</sup> To summarize this conscious use of the fictions, Caramuel says that the moral law is following rules ‘as if’ they were physical: “...lex moralis nihil est aliud quam physica virtualiter. Nempe lex quae physica non est, et tamen ita se habet ac si physica esset.”<sup>45</sup> As a result, in Caramuel’s catalogue of the sciences, we find *Philosophia virtualis* supposed to deal with such ‘virtual’ or simply ‘hypothetical beings’ based on such *as if* reasoning.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 566, p. 143: “...ita filius identificetur patri mortuo, ut sit verum dicere hic vir, designato Philippo Prudenti, est virtualiter seu moraliter Carolus V, hoc est non quidem realiter Carolus V, sed ita se habet quoad jus in regna Hispaniae *ac si* realiter Carolus V esset.” In general, this reasoning applies to the concept of representation: J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 566, p. 143: “Est ergo representatio identitatis moralis personarum representantis et representatae, vel ut citatae disputationis octavae num. 14 definivi, representationis beneficium (sic dicitur) est fictio quaeque metaphysica et veritas rata moralis. Id enim patrem et filium alias realiter distinctos moraliter identificat; ideoque, qui alias essent duae hypostases, uniuntur hypostaticae, et fiunt una persona, et hoc, in sensu morali et politico, non vero in sensu naturali.”

<sup>44</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 950, p. 238: “Productionem realem et physicam dixi frequentissime, actionem veram, qua agens suos effectus producit; productionem vero moralem, illum actum, ob quem terminus ita se incipit habere, *ac si* realiter illud attributum haberet, quod ipsi dicitur communicari. Verbi causa: esse physice hispanum dependet a matre naturali, quae te in Hispania peperit: esse moraliter Hispanum seu hispanizari dependet a matre morali seu Republica, quae per se vel Regem iuxta consuetudinem Patriae concessit diploma, cuius virtute, licet natus in Graecia, ita te habes *ac si* esses natus in Hispania.”

<sup>45</sup> J. Caramuel, *Apparatus*, op. cit., § 231, p. 74.

<sup>46</sup> J. Caramuel, *ibid.*, lib. I prooemialis, p. 33: “Philosophia virtualis contemplatur id quod virtualiter est ens, id est, quod tametsi non sit realiter quale dicitur, nihilominus ita se habet, ac si quale dicitur, esset. Talis est *adoptio*, quae est virtualis

### III. Caramuel's Moral Philosophy in a Historical Perspective

Reading Caramuel's philosophy of 'as if', it is hard not to think of Hans Vaihinger's famous *Die Philosophie des Als Ob*, published in 1911: in this work, Hans Vaihinger (1852–1933) was interested in the third part of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, the realm of *Dialektischer Schein*: namely all that which is of no use for knowledge, but nevertheless full of use for life. Vaihinger's philosophy of 'as if' is inspired by Kant's claim that dialectical ideals can be treated 'as if' they were attainable: men should for instance be considered 'as if' they were free, if a society wants to make punishment possible. In several sections of this work, Hans Vaihinger also tried to reconstruct the origins and the history of such a pragmatic use of fictions. He found it in early-modern natural science, for instance in the speculations of atoms that actually do not exist but must be thought 'as if' they were existing. Vaihinger developed in Germany an entire school, around the Journal *Logos*, and a couple of his students have tried to find some more origins to his theories of fictions.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, nobody went so far as to find Caramuel – certainly the best of all candidates – but one author hinted to the early-modern development of juridical fictions among lawyers.<sup>48</sup> The

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filiatio, quae tametsi vere et realiter filiatio non sit, ita tamen se habet, ac si realis et vera filiatio esset.”

<sup>47</sup> H. Vaihinger, *Die Philosophie des Als Ob. System der theoretischen, praktischen und religiösen Fiktionen der Menschheit auf Grund eines idealistischen Positivismus, mit einem Anhang über Kant und Nietzsche*, Berlin 1911. The work was translated into English by Cambridge philosopher C. K. Ogden, *The Philosophy of 'As If'*, Harcourt Brace, New York 1924. For a general presentation of Vaihinger's epistemology in a historical context, see J. Schmutz, “Epistémologie de la fiction: Thomas Hobbes et Hans Vaihinger”, *Les Etudes philosophiques* 4, 2006, pp. 517–535.

<sup>48</sup> G. Boehmer, “Ein Vorgänger der Philosophie des Als-Ob vor 235 Jahren (Eine Jenenser Dissertation 'de fictionibus tam hominis quam juris' aus dem Jahre 1689)”, *Annalen der Philosophie* 4, 1924, pp. 240–242 (mit Nachschrift Vaihingers, *ibid.*, pp. 243–246). More generally, on the history of juridical fictions, see: F. Todescan, *Diritto e realtà. Storia e teoria della fictio iuris*, cedam, Padua 1979;



*Pandoxion* in particular is full of reflections on such fictions.<sup>49</sup> And just as Vaihinger, Caramuel very closely distinguished between arbitrary fictions and hypotheses:<sup>50</sup> a pure fiction (i.e. a literary fiction, an *ens linguae*) does not claim to be verified one day in reality, whereas a hypothesis is something that should produce something in reality, for instance, actions according to a rule. Beyond Vaihinger, the entire Neo-Kantian movement remains actually close to Caramuelian insights. Neo-Kantians tried to do something very similar to what G. E. Moore had done in the same years, and the ‘insular’ and ‘continental’ traditions shared a similar goal: fighting naturalism in ethics as well as in historical explanation. Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–1884), the father of German historicism, had a prominent role in this context, himself already stressing that the realm of history – governed by the laws of freedom – should not be considered as a mere ‘analogon’ (his expression) of the realm of nature, and by ‘analogon’ he means, just as Caramuel, a simple copy.<sup>51</sup> Following Droysen, Neo-Kantians,

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E. Bianchi, *Fictio iuris. Ricerche sulla finzione in diritto romani dal periodo arcaico all'epoca augustea*, cedam, Padua 1997. Let's note that some of Vaihinger's admirers have pursued research in early-modern law. Caramuel actually dismissed the fictions of Jurist because they were mere hypothesis, without a foundation in reality: J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104: “Nec contra nos citandi sunt Iurisperiti (p. 106), qui Moralitates aut etiam Virtualitates omnes *Iuris fisiones* dicunt, hoc enim ipsi nomine non chimoeras intelligunt, sed suppositiones juridicas, quae realiter loquendo non sunt. Ergo isti conceptus obiectivi Morales habent fundamentum in re.”

<sup>49</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pandoxion*, op. cit., § 389, p. 190a: “Ego igitur fictionem Iuris ab omni longe abesse mendacio pronuncio; et sic illam definio: *Fictio*, quam vocant Iurisperiti, et virtualitatem deberent, est hypothesis a Iure introducta, ut bono publico consulatur.”

<sup>50</sup> J. Caramuel, *Pandoxion*, op. cit., § 165, p. 51: “Fictio iuris hypothesis vocari debet.”

<sup>51</sup> J. G. Droysen, *Grundriss der Historik*, Veit & Co., Leipzig 1868, § 37: “Läge die logische Notwendigkeit des Späterem in dem früheren, so wäre statt der sittlichen Welt ein analogon der ewigen Materie und des Stoffwechsels. ... So wäre das geschichtliche Leben ohne Freiheit und Verantwortlichkeit, ohne sittlichen Gehalt, nur organischer Natur.”

with their strict delimitation between *Naturwissenschaft* governed by the laws of physics and *Kulturwissenschaft*, governed by values and the laws of morality – think of Heinrich Rickert (1863–1936) and Wilhelm Windelband (1848–1915) – considered, just as Caramuel had done centuries before that, a science of morality, or that history was *possible* even if it was not following the same categories and rules as the science of nature based on necessity and regularity.

To get a broader picture of Caramuel’s achievement, it also worthwhile looking backwards into history, and try to speculate about Caramuel’s possible sources. Again, the discussion with the ‘Thomist’ Franciscus Bonae Spei reveals itself instructive. Caramuel’s position can actually be considered as a very modern and technical reformulation of much older insights, going back to the Augustinian opposition between nature and will (*natura et voluntas*). It is Augustinian in the sense that his entire moral philosophy is based on an anthropology that cannot, in the last stage, be reduced to Aristotelian rational choice. Caramuel was a monk, and he took monasticism very seriously, as the huge *Theologia regularis* attests it. His writings on Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux are all dedicated to explain why the will *cannot* be reduced to nature. The very principle of the monastic rule implies that men must live according to laws freely set upon themselves, away from the temptations of nature. Next to the monastic interpretation of will and nature, Caramuel also relies upon the classical Scotist position, and in particular with the ‘positivistic’ interpretation of Scotist legal philosophy. Albeit he often says, being unconcerned by etiquettes,<sup>52</sup> in reality he continuously sides with contemporary Scotists, and even rather radical Scotist interpretations of the classical problem of natural law. In his moral theology, two issues are recurrent: the first is that of the theory developed by the Irish Franciscans of Louvain about Scotus’ sentence “Something is not good in itself, but because God wills it as good”, a famous debate dating back to

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. for instance J. Caramuel, *Pax*, op. cit., § 120, p. 64: “...parum enim refert, Thomam-ne hic an Scotum sequamur.”

1643 to which Caramuel assisted.<sup>53</sup> Caramuel clearly claims that it is only God's will that makes something positively good. Concerning the question whether the Decalogue should be treated as natural or as voluntarist law, Caramuel's response was always very clear: "I like Scotus' opinion, since he takes it from Saint Bernard, namely, that God can, if he wants, act *against* nature."<sup>54</sup> The second issue regularly addressed by Caramuel is a virtual discussion on sexual matters with the Jesuit Gabriel Vázquez (1549–1604), the foremost theorist of natural law in the Company of Jesus and who could perfectly be labeled a 'moral realist' in contemporary terms. Against Vázquez who defends the intrinsic rationality of evil and goodness, Caramuel gives a very strong account of positivist law, claiming that there are no such things as "sins in themselves".<sup>55</sup> Moral concepts like goodness or evil cannot be reduced to anything else, and must be thought of as themselves, as mere 'fictions' or 'hypotheses'. Theological examples are numerous, but Caramuel shows here a peculiar interest for the art of hunting: it is a physical evil to hunt a stag, since the poor animal didn't ask to be shot. This is *malitia physica*, but there is no *malitia moralis*.<sup>56</sup> This

<sup>53</sup> Cf. J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 1185, p. 297: "Defenditur communiter ab Scotiis sub magna latitudine...: *Naturalis lex non est ipsa natura, sed actus divinae voluntatis, quo per impossibile sublato nullum restat peccatum contra legem naturae.*"

<sup>54</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMF*<sup>1</sup>, § 56, p. 41: "An possit [Deus] dispensare in Decalogo? Respondeo placere opinionem Scoti, quam ille didicit a D. Bernardo et suos discipulos docuit." He often insists on the similarity between Bernard's and Scotus' views: *Pandoxion*, op. cit., § 301, p. 117: "D. Bernardo Scotus omnino subscribit."

<sup>55</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 1042, p. 258: "Vera sententia: legem naturalem-moralem in praecepto Dei positivo consistere." J. Caramuel, *Pax*, op. cit., § 120, p. 64: "...me non credere dari peccata ex se, eo sensu, ut dicatur dari aliquid, quod praescindendo a lege naturali lata a Deo, sit peccatum; doceor enim peccata omnia esse mala qua prohibita a Deo, et praescindendo a prohibitione nullum intelligi posse peccatum. Hanc sententiam ante annos aliquod in mea theologia morali edidi."

<sup>56</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 1025, pp. 253–254: "Malitiam esse duplicem, physicam et moralem. Malitia physica est realis et vera deordinatio unius respectu alterius. Sic cervum insequi, persequi, venari, occidere, actio mala physice est, respectu huius bestiae cui melius esset non occidi. ... Cervicidium malum physice est, non

also leads Caramuel to reject what he sees as a continuous naturalistic trend in Thomist interpretations of natural law, based on the self-preservation. Thomism, as understood by Caramuel, rests ultimately also on a form of naturalistic fallacy, even at the level of transcendental notions: if 'being' is the first notion in ontology, just as 'true' is the first notion in cognition, 'good' will be the first notion in ethics. But for Caramuel, the 'good' cannot be simply deduced from being. The strongest rejection of Caramuel is based on the fact that he considers the principles of law and morality as originating in the will and not in the intellect. This also means that there are *no moral evidences*, but that everything depends on the legal framework we choose, as a realm of legal fiction of its own right. The strongest rejection of the Thomist position is the fact that moral principles can in no way be considered as evident propositions, just as metaphysical axioms. This is very clearly in direct opposition with Thomist naturalism, for instance as expressed in the very famous question on law of the *Summa*.<sup>57</sup>

#### IV. Conclusion

As a conclusion, I will summarize the results of this analysis. First, we owe to Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz the first historical expression of the 'naturalistic fallacy', defined as the impossibility to deduce the

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tamen ex se peccaminosum: quia malitia moralis est deordinatio actus respectu legis moraliter-obligatoriae. Sic non audire sacrum die feriali malum moraliter non est, quoniam nulla lege indicitur audire missam tali die. Missam non audire die Paschatis peccatum est, quoniam est contra Pentalogum Ecclesiae."

<sup>57</sup> J. Caramuel, *TMPPR*, § 1031, p. 255: "Respondeo negando praecepta moralia esse principia per se nota; talia enim sunt non a necessaria terminorum connexione, sed a libero decreto Dei." For Thomas' account, see *Summa theologiae*, Ia-IIae, q. 94, a. 2. Among the huge list of commentaries, the best study (directly relevant for the current discussion) remains O. Lottin, "L'ordre moral et l'ordre logique d'après S. Thomas d'Aquin", *Annales de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* 5, 1924, pp. 303-399.

laws of morality from the laws of being. Moral identity does not, for instance, imply physical identity, which means that one must think according to moral rules in ethics and according to physical rules in physics. The second conclusion is that this distinction does not make a science of morality impossible, but different. The fundamental concept used by Caramuel in that context is the notion of 'analogy': one must be able to conceive an independent but parallel table of categories and reasoning for legal, political and moral matters. This is what makes up the core of his later works such as the *Physik-ethicon*, in which he draws numerous 'moral' or 'political parallels' from physical laws. This also explains the peculiar structure of his *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, since it is divided according to a 'moralized' version of the Aristotelian categories, addressing for instance issues such as the quantity or quality of law. The third conclusion is that Caramuel develops a very creative and innovative ontology for the sake of his moral philosophy, by reflecting on the ontological and epistemological status of moral beings, fictions as opposed to pure *entia linguae*. Through these three points, I hope to have shown that it is very reductive to treat Caramuel as a casuist, even if he may well have been one of the most brilliant casuists of his age. Caramuel was not Antonino Diana: his own casuistry is 'theory-overloaded' by a very complex theory about the relationship between law and nature. As I have tried to show with a short historical comparison, this is also what makes Caramuel a real philosopher, who deserves attention from general histories of philosophy and not just from scholastic Antiquarianism. The early-modern scholastic contribution to moral philosophy is regularly seen under the sole aspect of the slow process of secularization of medieval natural law. I believe Caramuel was already far beyond that, since he dismissed the entire natural law theory as epistemologically flawed. In the age of Hobbes and Spinoza, he was probably the first to give a thoroughly antinaturalistic account of politics and law, and must be considered as such in the history of philosophy.



## ***Ens rationis* in Caramuel's *Leptotatos* (1681)**

Daniel Dominik Novotný

The being of reason (*ens rationis*) belonged to one of the most controversial topics among the seventeenth century scholastic philosophers. Thus, an important contribution to this topic might be expected from recently re-appreciated polymath Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682). This paper aims to investigate Caramuel's last word on beings of reason in *Leptotatos* (1681). Caramuel is shown to be a critical commentator of the debate among the Jesuits over the ontological status of impossible entities (as the sole species of beings of reason). Also, it is shown that the guiding idea of Caramuel's approach to beings of reason might be called 'the bewitchment by language'. In Caramuel's own words, beings of reason are nothing but beings of language.

Seventeenth century scholastic philosophy witnessed an explosion of debates over mind-dependent entities (*entia rationis*, beings of reason). The present paper aims to identify Caramuel's contribution to these debates in *Leptotatos* (1681). My procedure is as follows: I will (I) give a summary of the content of the relevant parts of Caramuel's *Leptotatos*; (II) explain his *impossibilist* understanding of what beings of reason are; (III) discuss the central difficulty of impossibilism, which concerns the *unity* of beings of reason; (IV) briefly discuss Caramuel's two novel ideas (the first concerns his refutation of the "ontological" argument for the existence of beings of reason, the second concerns the argument for the existence of God from the

non-existence of beings of reason). (V) I conclude the paper by a brief evaluation of Caramuel's contribution to the debate over beings of reason.

### **I. Beings of Reason in *Leptotatos*: An Overview**

Caramuel's treatment of beings of reason in *Leptotatos* is highly interesting and readable. Its structure, however, is disorganized. Caramuel often deals with the same or related topic at more than one occasion, without making an attempt to bring these two occasions together or referencing them. He seems to be writing extremely quickly and without revisions. He probably makes only one rereading, only to add occasional inserts indicated by '[\*]'. Large portions of the text consist in comments and analyses of long passages quoted from other authors. Probably the best way to get the feeling of what Caramuel discusses and how, is to summarize the content of the relevant sections of *Leptotatos*:

Article I: On *Paro-entities* and *Pseudo-entities* which are Called in Latin *Entia rationis* [LEP 168–209]

1. On the importance of linguistic analysis. [LEP 170]
2. The linguistic analysis of the concept of being of reason; its division. [LEP 171–175]
3. What science studies beings of reason? [LEP 176]
4. Do painters make beings of reason? On the nature of unity of beings of reason. [LEP 177–181]
5. If the unity of beings of reason is extrinsic, human intellect can make them, but if the unity is intrinsic, it cannot. On the distinction between “legitimate” beings of reason (*paro-entities*, united extrinsically) and “illegitimate” being of reason (*pseudo-entities*, united intrinsically). [LEP 182–183]



6. The “states” of *pseudo-entities*: quidditative, possible, and existential (actualism vs. potentialism). [LEP 184–188]
7. On the causes of beings of reason. [LEP 189–191]
8. More on the causes of beings of reason. [LEP 192–197]
9. The alleged examples of pseudo-entities are often examples of possible entities. [LEP 198]
10. The process of making of beings of reason does not consist in *conceiving one thing instead of another*. [LEP 199–200]
11. The intellect cannot assent to evidently false propositions. [LEP 201]
12. Beings of reason cannot be simple. [LEP 202]
13. More on the nature of beings of reason. [LEP 203]
14. The proponents of beings of reason lack arguments to convince opponents. [LEP 204]
15. Arriaga on whether beings of reason exist before an act of intellect (actualism vs. potentialism). [LEP 205]
16. Second intentions are real relations, not beings of Reason. [LEP 206–207]
17. Pseudo-entities are impossible entities which receive imperfect objective being from the intellect. [LEP 208]
18. Beings of reason and the divine intellect. [LEP 209]

Article II: Whether, Assuming that There were *Paro-entities* and *Pseudo-entities*, God and the Angels would Understand or Make Them? [LEP 210–232]

1. All possible and intelligible perfections are to be attributed to God. [LEP 210–211]
2. Two sorts of beings of reason need to be distinguished: *paro-entities* and *pseudo-entites*. [LEP 212]
3. God does not make *paro-entities* although he knows them as made by humans. [LEP 212]
4. Whether angels know *paro-entities* made by humans. [LEP 213]
5. Neither humans nor God nor the angels make *pseudo-entities*. [LEP 214]

6. If pseudo-entities existed, God would know them.  
[LEP 215]
7. Are human beings first causes of beings of reason?  
[LEP 216]
8. More on whether God makes paro-entities (Lalemandet, Rubio). [LEP 217–219]
9. More on whether God makes pseudo-entities.  
[LEP 220–232]

The descriptive titles of the sections are mine. They should be self-explanatory, except for the distinctions actualism/potentialism and paro-entities/pseudo-entities. Concerning the former: according to potentialism, beings of reason exist *before* the acts of intellect; according to actualism, they do not. Caramuel defends potentialism: the *quiddities* or *whatnesses* of beings of reason do exist before the acts of intellect (conditionally on the assumption that beings of reason exist, which Caramuel ultimately denies).<sup>1</sup> Concerning the paro-entities/pseudo-entities distinction: it will best be clarified by quoting Caramuel's own words:

Beings of reason ... can be reduced to two classes: Although every being of reason necessarily unites two incompatible things, in some [i.e. paro-entities] there is an extrinsic union of the incompatible things, which consists in the mental act of thinking the things together. In other [i.e. pseudo-entities] there is an intrinsic union on the part of object, which consists in the ... real unity grasped by intellect and placed where it cannot be. [\*LEP 183a]

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<sup>1</sup> This means, that beings of reason (or some of their components) are mind-independent!

## II. Caramuel's Impossibilist Point of Departure: What Is a Being of Reason?

What is an *ens rationis*? It will best be represented by a diagram:<sup>2</sup>

Active: [A]  
 Passive: Real [B]  
           Subjective-Intentional [C]  
           Objective  
                   Impossible [D]  
                   Possible [E]: Logical  
                                 Physical  
                                 Psychical  
 “Inhaesive” [F]

First, the word could be applied in the *active* sense, A, to refer to *the intellect itself*. This meaning, however, is dismissed as idiosyncratic. Caramuel also disregards the sense F, which refers to *intelligible species*. From the ontological point of view both A and F entities count as real. Secondly, we come to the *passive* sense, referring to the “products” of intellect. These products can be *either* extra-mental, B, or intra-mental (subjective or intentional), C. The examples of B-products include *artifacts*, which are designed by reason. The examples of C-products include *mental acts*, regardless whether *directed* to possible or impossible objects. Both B and C are, ontologically speaking, real entities.

Now only D and E remain. Caramuel dismisses the *possible* beings of reason E. Addressing those who admit these possible beings of reason, Caramuel says that human reason cannot produce possibility

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<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, there is a slight mismatch between the diagram and the explanations in Caramuel's text [LEP 171–174]. Since, from the context, it seems clear what Caramuel means, in what follows I present a “polished” version of Caramuel's analysis.

since we cannot “decide” what is possible and what not. It is the Divine Intellect that determines the possibilities (and thus “produces” possible entities) and the Divine Will that gives actuality to some of these possible entities.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, we are left with D – beings of reason are impossible entities. Caramuel defines them as “the extrinsic or intrinsic union of incompatible things” [\*LEP 172a].<sup>4</sup> This view very much differs from the classical view of Suárez, for whom impossible beings are only one *kind* of beings of reason. In Suárez’s view, although no beings of reason can exist in reality, some beings of reason are intrinsically contradictory (impossible), while others are not.<sup>5</sup>

Caramuel’s reduction of all beings of reason to impossibles did not originate with him. This view had been widespread among the Jesuits, such as, for instance, Richard Lynch, S.J. (1610–1676), from whose *Universalis philosophia scholastica* (1654) Caramuel approvingly quotes:

Being of reason is to be distinguished into objective and subjective. The former is commonly defined as that which has merely objective being in the intellect. This objective being in the intellect means to be objected to the intellect, to be known by it, and to be completely devoid of all [other] being, positive and negative, actual and possible. This is why it is not common to classify possible creatures among the [objective] beings of reason, although they are nothing in actuality; to the contrary, because of their possible being, it is common to call them ‘real beings’. And this is as it should be. Similarly, lacks, such as shades, are not [objective] beings

<sup>3</sup> At this occasion Caramuel ridicules philosophers in general for claiming the ability to think beings of reason (*impossibilia*): “Let us call such things ‘*philosophical* beings of reason’.” [LEP 174]

<sup>4</sup> The asterisk ‘\*’ indicates that the Latin text is reprinted at the end of this paper.

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, this dramatic shift of opinion happened under the cover of identical phraseology. Both Suárez and Caramuel *say* that beings of reason are that “which is merely an object of reason” or “that which has merely an objective being in the intellect”. However, their explanations of this phrase differ dramatically. (See Suárez’s *Disputationes metaphysicae* 54.1.6)

of reason either, because they have their negative and diminished being even apart from being objected to the intellect and they are known by it. Thus only that which cannot exist, even under the absolute power, as it is thought, i.e. that which is thoroughly fictitious and known otherwise than it could [ever] be, is objective being of reason. ... properly and strictly speaking, being of reason is that which is completely outside the extension of 'real being'. [Lynch quoted in \*LEP 172b]

Thus we see that the early modern scholastic preoccupation with *entia rationis* was *not* about possible or negative entities.<sup>6</sup> It was about impossible entities – at least for Caramuel and many Jesuits. And although Lynch in this passage does not state impossibilism quite explicitly, he and many other Jesuits assume it throughout.<sup>7</sup>

### III. The Central Issue of Impossibilism: The Unity of Beings of Reason

Caramuel takes up the question of unity in section four [LEP 177–181], while evaluating the dispute between Valentin de Herice, S.J. (1572–1636) and Georges de Rhodes, S.J. (1597–1661) and very

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<sup>6</sup> There is a common misconception that *entia rationis* include every non-actual entity, such as *possibilia*. For instance, N. Rescher writes: “With regard to non-existents, the medieval mainstream thus sought to effect a compromise. On the one hand, their lack of reality, of actual existence, deprived nonentities of a self-sustaining ontological footing and made them into mind-artifacts, *entia rationis*. On the other hand, their footing in the mind of God endowed them with a certain objectivity and quasi-reality that precluded them from being mere *flatus vocis* fictions, mere verbalisms that represent creatures of human fancy.” (“Nonexistents Then and Now”, *Review of Metaphysics* 57, 2003, p. 362)

<sup>7</sup> Besides the *classical* and *impossibilist* understanding of beings of reason, there was also the *fallibilist* conception, according to which beings of reason result in the (mistaken) thinking of possible entities as impossible and vice versa. In LEP 174, Caramuel alludes to fallibilism but simply declares it absurd in LEP 199. In *Leptotatos*, neither the classical nor the fallibilist account is properly treated.

briefly in section thirteen [LEP 203] and fourteen [LEP 204], while evaluating the dispute between Rodrigo de Arriaga, S.J. (1592-1667) and Lynch. Given the space limitations of this paper I am not going to give full details of Caramuel's arguments but merely summarize the main points of the first debate.

According to Herice, the unity between two incompatible items within a given being of reason is *actual* (i.e. real) and *extrinsic* (derived from intellect). Rhodes, in turn attacks Herice's view as a "bad novelty" and claims that the unity of beings of reason is something *fictitious* and *intrinsic* (*ex parte obiecti*). Caramuel resolves this dispute in four steps (the fifth is a tangential comment about nominalism, which we leave aside):

Step 1: An Attempt is *Not* the Success: Our human intellect is incapable of *really* apprehending two incompatible essences as *united* in one object. Rather, our intellect apprehends "externals", such as colors and shapes, for instance, of a goat and a stag and then it combines these "externals" into the mental image of a goat-stag. (So, we do not really think of a goat-stag but we imagine something like it.) [\*LEP 179a]

Step 2: The Powers of Language to Unite: The alleged impossible entities have mere *extrinsic* unity bestowed upon them by our intellect and/or our language. We are misled by the fact that 'and' is a conjunction: we *think* to connect *things* when in reality we only connect *words*. Caramuel suggests that philosophers should study more Speculative Grammar to avoid these mistakes. [\*LEP 179b]

Step 3: There is No *Sui Generis* Fictitious Unity: As we have said, according to Rhodes, the two incompatible elements of within a given being of reason are united not really but fictitiously. The latter view, however, comes in two versions: (a) fictitiously united in the sense of some *sui generis* unity; (b) fictitiously united in the sense of misplaced real unity. The (a)-version of the view is dismissed by

Caramuel as mysterious nonsense. The (b)-version, which is the version held by Rhodes, is also rejected but much more cautiously. Caramuel acknowledges that it has some plausibility. [\*LEP 180a]

Step 4: Ontological Parsimony: The main virtue of Herice's view is that in this way one can eliminate an extra category from the ontology. Beings of reason will be subsumed under real entities as a special case. Caramuel finds this parsimony appealing. [\*LEP 180b]

#### IV. Two Interesting Arguments

##### *A. The "Ontological" Argument for the Existence of Beings of Reason*

In seventeenth century scholasticism, an argument for the existence of beings of reason which might be called "ontological" was employed. According to this argument, beings of reason *must* exist; otherwise we could not even assert that they do not exist. Caramuel correctly identifies the flaw in this argument:

"Titius denies beings of reason; and he knows *what* he denies (he does not think that he can deny beings of reason blindly); thus he knows them and consequently he also makes them, because in this matter the same is to know and to make." This argument is weak. ... I concede that Titius knows, what beings of reason would be *if* they existed, but not what they are, since they do not exist. And I deny that the one who knows what they would be, makes them; in order to make them it is required to understand what they are. The one who would conceive circular triangle, makes a being of reason; but not the one who conceives a circle, if *per impossible*, it would be a triangle... [\*LEP 198]

If I deny the existence of beings of reason, let us say a circular-triangle, I do not *first* make up a circular-triangle and *then* deny the (intra-

mental) existence of it. This would be a contradictory procedure. The correct analysis of the denial is that I *first* think of a circle and *then* I assert that *if* this circle *were* a triangle, it would be a being of reason. But the antecedent is false. Thus there is no being of reason. Such analysis makes a step in direction of Russell's Theory of Descriptions. It enables us to get rid of apparent ontological commitments to unwelcome entities (in this case, beings of reason).

*B. Proof of God's Existence from the Non-existence  
of Beings of Reason*

It is surprising that the denial of beings of reason has anything to do with the existence of God. Caramuel, however, shows that it does: Beings of reason do not exist. Thus, whatever is conceived by a human being exists either possibly or actually. God is conceived by humans. Thus, God is either possible or actual. But it is incompatible with God to be merely possible. Thus, he is actual. QED [\*LEP 198b]

## V. Conclusion

Cautious elimination of beings of reason as non-real items of our ontology had already occurred among the Jesuits before Caramuel. Still, the Jesuits at least preserved the overt loyalty to the *expression* 'being of reason'. It was probably Caramuel who, as the first mainstream post-Suarezian philosopher, openly ridiculed the whole traditional preoccupation with beings of reason:<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> According to John P. Doyle (personal communication) the Jesuits did not abandon beings of reason. This is true only in so far as the *term* 'being of reason' goes. The overt universal allegiance to this term makes it difficult to notice that some Jesuits accept beings of reason (e.g. Lynch) and some do not (e.g. Herice). Caramuel was the first to be quite frank about his eliminativism.



...we ask, *Whether those very recent metaphysicians who say that they can ... conceive a non-being as a being and ... that in this way they make a being of reason, in consequence [also] say that they can conceive a being as a non-being and thus form a non-being of reason or a nothing of reason?* ... Since in my opinion it is altogether impossible to conceive a non-being as a being, I also ... hold that it is similarly impossible to think of a being as non-being. In other words, if I were to acknowledge that beings of reason are possible, in consequence I would need to be induced or seduced to asserting that it is possible to conceive ... nothings of reason... [\*LEP 168]

Caramuel's argument is clear: if one insists that there are non-existing entities which we treat *as if* they existed, then one should also accept the existing entities which we treat *as if* they did not exist. And since the consequent is absurd, so is the antecedent.

Caramuel always tackles philosophical problems *via* analyzing the language. Not only that, he even claims that language has peculiar powers which exceed the mental/intentional powers as such. Accordingly, beings of reason are rather beings of language:

We have argued in *Metalogica*<sup>9</sup> that neither imagination, nor the intellect, nor the will can make such entities [i.e. beings of reason]. In spite of this we claim that *they can be made by language*. We have introduced into scholasticism 'beings of language', a term not known or heard of before. We have defined it as that which consists of two incompatible "formalities", which can be put together neither by God nor intentionally by humans; ... *but they can be in reality put together by words*. Examples of such monsters of language include *irrational human being, square triangle, and shimmering shade*. [\*LEP 189; emphasis mine]

Caramuel's preoccupation with language and its tricks seems to be unique to him among all seventeenth century scholastic thinkers. In many ways Caramuel's linguistic approach resembles twentieth-century analytic philosophy.

<sup>9</sup> Caramuel's earlier *Metalogica* is part of *Theologia rationalis* (1654–1655).

*Sources:*

Caramuel Lobkowitz, J., *Leptotatos latine subtilissimus: est opus ingeniosum et novum, sublimium scientiarum professoribus maxime necessarium. Demonstrat enim, non solum ethnicos priscae aetatis philosophos, sed et christianos Graecae et Latinae ecclesiae patres, ubi debebant proprias et conceptus exprimere, haesisse omnino, nec potuisse voto suo satisfacere terminorum defectu. Et, ut huic generali morbo opportunam medicinam adhibeat, dialectum metaphysicam, brevissimam, facillimam, et significatissimam exhibet*, typis episcopalibus, apud Camillum Conradam, Viglevani 1681.

References: 'LEP 168' for 'numerus (paragraph) 168'.

## Latin texts

[\*LEP 168] ...sub initium inquirimus, *Utrum novitii metaphysici, qui dicunt se posse et solere concipere non-ens per modum entis et asserunt ens rationis tunc facere, teneantur addere, se posse concipere ens per modum non entis, et tunc non-ens rationis aut nihilum rationis formare?* ... et quia censeo, esse omnino impossibile, quod non ens per modum entis concipiatur, debeo consequenter asserere, similiter esse impossibile, ut ens per modum non entis cogitetur. Caeterum si esse possibile ens rationis admitterem, a consequentia ductus aut seductus assererem, posse ... intelligi ... *nihilum rationis*...

[\*LEP 172a] ...*ens rationis obiectivum [vocari solet] extrinseca aut intrinseca rerum incomponibilium unio*...

[\*LEP 172b] ...P. Richardus Lynceus ... dicens: "Ens rationis aliud est obiectivum, aliud subiectivum; illud definiri ab omnibus solet, *quod habet tantum esse obiective in intellectu*; esse autem obiective in intellectu, est praeter ei [sc. intellectui] obiecti, ab eoque cognosci, omni prorsus esse destitui, tam positivo, quam negativo, tam actuali, quam possibili; quo fit, ut creaturae possibiles, etsi nihil actu sint, tamen propter esse possibile, non ens rationis obiectivum, sed potius ens reale dici soleant, ac debeant; inde etiam fit carentias v. gr. tenebras haud esse ens rationis obiectivum, quoniam suum habent esse negativum et diminutum, idque quin intellectui obiectantur, ab eo cognoscantur; solum igitur illud, quod

repugnat de potentia absoluta esse sicut cogitatur, quodque est aliquid dumtaxat fictum, cognitumque aliter quam esse posset, ens rationis obiectivum est ... illud proprie et stricte est ens rationis, utpote quod extra latitudinem totam entis realis.”

[\*LEP 179a] Patet, quia cum hircocervum intelligit, essentias hircinam et cervinam, quae existunt in rerum natura, nititur apprehensione concipere. Et consulto illud *nititur* posui ... quia intellectus humanus non apprehendit essentias, sed earum loco colores et figuras sensibiles. Et id experientia demonstrat, quia pictor qualem hircocervum suo penicillo imaginat sicut illum in tabula lineis et coloribus exprimit, sic in sui intellectus idea imaginatur.

[\*LEP 179b] Apud Gerardum Ioannem Vossium *de Arte Grammatica* ... sic lego: *Coniunctio ... est dictio, quae coniungit verba et sententias. Sane aliud est res coiungere aliud verba. Coniunctiones cum disiunctivae tum aliae omnes sententiam sententiae coiungunt. ... Hoc lucis radio ex grammatica speculativa desumpto iam, puto, praesens difficultas manet dissoluta et decisa. Quoniam, quando Herice hircocervum intelligit, naturas hircinam et cervinam intelligit; hoc autem et, quod est unio et coiunctio, habet ibi coniunctionis disiunctivae virtutem: quoniam non se tenet ex parte obiecti sed ex parte intellectus et linguae; significat enim essentias illas, quae intrinsece et realiter uniri non possunt, realiter et de facto extrinsece in intellectu et in lingua coniungi.*

[\*LEP 180a] *Est mihi certum indubiumque unionis ... fictae repugnare conceptum. Et huic tam firmiter adhaerescio sententiae, ut oppositam improbabilem iudicem. At mihi non ita certum et indubium est non posse hominem veram et realem distinctionem et unionem concipere et intellectualiter collocare ubi non possit esse.*

[\*LEP 180b] *Est opinio Hericae ingeniosa et plausibilis: et si ad illam entia explicentur, nihil dicitur impossibile. Patet: quia omnia entia, quae in entis rationis conceptu ab Herice ponuntur, sunt vera et realia; [et] unio illorum extrinseca est vera et realis: ... res, quae ... intrinsece uniri nequeunt, possunt ... extrinsece (puta, in mente, aut in lingua) coniungi.*

\*[LEP 183a] Entia rationis ... ad duo genera seu classes reduximus: nam, licet in omnibus duae res incomponibiles uniri debeant, in alteris unio est ipsis rebus incomponibilibus extrinseca, et consistit in actu mentis illas

simul intelligente: in alteris est intrinseca et se tenet ex parte obiecti et consistit in unione vera et reali intellecta ... et posita ubi non potest esse.

- \*[LEP 189] Nos autem, quia similia entia nec ab imaginativa, nec ab intellectu, nec a voluntate posse fieri in *Metalogica* nostra statuimus; et tamen lingua dici posse affirmamus, *entia linguae* (prius ignota et inaudita) in scholas induximus, definivimusque *ea consistere in duabus incomponibilibus formalitatibus, quae nec realiter divinitus, nec intentionaliter humanitus ... queant coniungi et tamen verbaliter coniungantur de facto*. Et talia linguae monstra sunt *homo irrationalis, triangulus sphaericus, tenebra coruscantes*.
- \*[LEP 198a] “Entia rationis negat Titius; scit ergo quid neget; non enim est censendus entia rationis coeco modo negare; ergo cognoscit ens rationis, ergo etiam facit ens rationis, nam in hac materia idem est facere ac cognoscere.” Est elumbis haec ratio; ... concedo a Titio cognosci, quid esset ens rationis si daretur, non autem, quid illud sit, quoniam non datur. Et nego facere ens rationis, qui cognoscit quid illud esset, requiritur enim, ut faciat ens rationis, ut intelligat Titius quid illud sit. Faceret ens rationis, qui conciperet circulum triangularem; non autem qui conciperet circulum, si per impossibile esset triangulus...
- \*[LEP 198b] Mirabilis alicui, primo intuitu forte videri poterit haec consequentia; videlicet, *Non dantur entia rationis, ergo datur Deus*; sed illam breviter demonstraturus sum. Ergo attende.
- Quidquid ab homine concipitur, aut est possibile aut existens (alias enim darentur entia rationis, quae non dari, praesens corollarium supponit). At Deus ab humano intellectu concipitur. Ergo Deus aut erit res possibilis aut existens. At repugnat Deum esse rem mere possibilem. Ergo est res existens.

# **Theology, Judaism, Historical Proof**



## Distinctions Without Practical Effect: Caramuel's *Apologema and Dialexis de non-certitudine* on the Standard Classifications for Probable Opinions

Julia A. Fleming

In his discussions of probable opinion and its sufficiency for the security of conscience, Juan Caramuel necessarily refers to the categories that his predecessors and contemporaries used to classify the types and grades of probability.<sup>1</sup> This legacy included the distinction between *probable* and *more probable* opinions and the further classification of such opinions on the basis of their support from reason or authority.<sup>2</sup> In his early writings, Caramuel employs such language

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<sup>1</sup> The classic theological resource regarding the history of probabilism has been T. Deman's "Probabilisme", in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Letouzey et Ané, Paris 1936, vol. 13, cols. 417–619. For references to more recent discussions of probabilism, see J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism: The Moral Theology of Juan Caramuel*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C. 2006, p. 154, n. 5. For particularly important discussions of Caramuel's approach to probabilism, see D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel: Probabilismo ed Enciclopedia*, La Nuova Italia Editrice, Florence 1975; J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989; and J.-R. Armogathe, "Probabilisme et libre-arbitre: la théologie morale de Caramuel y Lobkowitz", in: *Le meraviglie del probabile: Juan Caramuel (1606-1682). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. Paolo Pissavino, Comune di Vigevano, Vigevano 1990, pp. 35–40.

<sup>2</sup> The common terms for the latter categories are *intrinsic probability* and *extrinsic probability*. Caramuel often uses the terms *rational (rationalis)* and *authoritative (authentica) probability*. See, for example, the *Dialexis de non-certitudine (=DNC)*, Anisson, Lugduni 1675, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. II, no. 682 (p. 235).

without comment, although he always argues that the distinction between the probable and the more probable has no significance in practice. Yet he later came to question the utility and even the accuracy of both sets of distinctions for the discussion of theological (as distinct from philosophical) probability. In a late work, his *Dialexis de non-certitudine*, Caramuel argues that theological probability does not have gradations, and that the essence of probability is distinct from a probable opinion's accidental support from reason or authority. Such classifications, in any case, have no bearing upon the task of moral theology. Thus, Caramuel's long reflection upon the nature of probability eventually led him to reject the traditional categories.

In reviewing Caramuel's approach to the classification of probable opinions, it is helpful to remember two things. First, Caramuel's theories of probable opinion developed significantly over time, so one must not rely too heavily upon the early works, which have received disproportionate attention in theological analyses of Caramuel's positions.<sup>3</sup> Second, the discussion that follows will consider only *some* of Caramuel's major *theological* texts on the subject. Since he eventually came to distinguish theological probability from philosophical probability, one should explore his philosophical works for a discussion of the latter. Such an investigation, however, lies beyond the scope of the immediate project.

### **The *Benedicti regulam* and the *Apologema***

The *Benedicti regulam*, published in 1640, provides an early illustration of Caramuel's reference to the traditional categories. Here he

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Because this work has large unnumbered sections and repetitions in page numbers, all references will begin with the title of the major section (e.g., *Dialexis*, *Prodromus*, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> See J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism...*, op. cit., pp. 43-46.



defines probability as *dual*, distinguishing rational probability (which is intrinsic and established by arguments) from authoritative probability (which is extrinsic and proven by the testimony of the learned). He also refers to probable and more probable opinions, explaining, for example, that the intrinsically more probable opinion relies on stronger reasons and more solid foundations than its probable counterpart.<sup>4</sup> At this stage, however, Caramuel pays little attention to the relationship between rational and authoritative probability. He is more concerned to demonstrate that the distinction between the probable and more probable has no practical effect, since the former suffices for security of conscience. Agents do not sin when they act according to reason. Those who rely upon probable opinions act according to reason, since they can ground the legitimacy of their acts in grave arguments or the judgment of the wise. In addition, given its support from the doctors, the claim that probability suffices for security of conscience is more extrinsically probable than the opposite position.<sup>5</sup> Finally, reliance upon probable opinion is a necessary consequence of the limitations of human knowledge. We have no choice but to use such opinions, Caramuel observes, *since we are not angels, but human beings*.<sup>6</sup> For all these reasons, the traditional distinction between the probable and the more probable has no practical effect.

Caramuel defends this conclusion throughout his career, repeating and refining his arguments on the sufficiency of probable opinion, and hence, on the practical insignificance of the distinction between the probable and the more probable. His *Apologema pro antiquissima et universalissima doctrina de probabilitate*, published in 1663, makes the point by comparing probable opinions to a group of coins of the

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<sup>4</sup> J. Caramuel, *In D. Benedicti regulam commentarius historicus, scholasticus, moralis, iudicialis, politicus (=BR)*, Nic. Breyghelius, Brugis 1640, lib. I, disp. VI, De opinione probabili, art. I, nos. 52–53, pp. 23–24: *bifariam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. I, disp. VI, art. II, nos. 57–59, pp. 26–27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. I, disp. VI, preface, no. 51, p. 23: “...cum non simus Angeli, sed homines...”

same type. If a scientist were to set them on a scale, he might discover slight variances in their weight, and thus, in the amount of precious metals they contain. Such a scientist might well argue that the heavier coins are worth more than the others. But for the person who wishes only to spend them in the marketplace, the small discrepancies in weight are unimportant. Similarly, one can make a real, but not a moral distinction between the various grades of probable opinions. “For all are imprinted with the seal of prudence,” Caramuel notes, “and are equally good, that we may purchase eternal glory.”<sup>7</sup>

If Caramuel’s arguments in the *Apologema* reassert and illustrate his earlier contentions about the practical unimportance of the grades of probability, the text does develop his analysis of the relationship between the rationally probable and the authoritatively probable in a very striking way. By the time that the *Apologema* was published, Caramuel’s critics had attacked his theology by citing a phrase from the dedicatory epistle to Diana that appeared in the first edition of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*. To his critics, Caramuel’s encomium of his colleague suggested that theologians had the arbitrary power to make positions probable or improbable.<sup>8</sup> Without citing his opponents directly in the *Apologema*, Caramuel answers the charge by considering the relationship between rational and authoritative probability. Here, he argues that every probable opinion is grounded in grave reason. Rational argument and authority are simply two different ways in which the agent comes to know that an opinion is probable. “The authors that are cited on behalf of an opinion do not give it probability, but testify either expressly or implicitly that it is probable.”<sup>9</sup> This assessment leads Caramuel to say explicitly – in refer-

<sup>7</sup> J. Caramuel, *Apologema pro antiquissima et universalissima doctrina, de probabilitate* (= *Apologema*), Anisson, Lugduni 1663, epist. II, no. 85, p. 37: “...nam Prudentiae sigillo omnes insigniuntur, & aequae bonae sunt, ut gloriam aeternam emamus.”

<sup>8</sup> See J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism...*, op. cit., pp. 42–43, 115–117. The first edition of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* appeared in 1652.

<sup>9</sup> J. Caramuel, *Apologema*, op. cit., epist. II, no. 97, p. 43: “Auctores, qui pro aliqua

ence to *probabilioritas* – that the extrinsically more probable *ought to be reduced* to the intrinsically more probable.<sup>10</sup> In essence, these two traditional categories are nothing more than methods for discerning probability. In this text, one might argue, the conventional distinctions function almost as sources of potential confusion, rather than as useful classifications that bear consequences for action.

### The *Dialexis*

Twelve years later, in his *Dialexis de non-certitudine*, Caramuel was willing to adopt a more radical stance regarding the traditional categories. Unlike the *Apologema*, this work makes frequent references to *theological probability* (i.e., as opposed to philosophical probability). Distinctions between the more and less probable, or the rationally and the authoritatively probable, Caramuel asserts, are properly speaking, philosophical rather than theological in nature. In fact, the moral theologian can be unaware of them without any detriment to his guidance of behavior. He can safely leave such classifications to the philosophers, as an exercise for their ingenuity.<sup>11</sup>

Why does Caramuel reject the utility of these categories for theologians? His assertions are the logical consequence of his presuppositions concerning theological sin, human liberty, and the nature of law. For Caramuel, theological sin is a violation of divine law.<sup>12</sup> Where

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opinionē citantur, non dare illi probabilitatem, sed testificari expresse aut implicite esse probabilem.”

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, epist. II, no. 100, p. 45: *reduci debet*.

<sup>11</sup> *Idem*, *DNC*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. II, no. 682, p. 236. Cf. Caramuel’s discussion of the difference between the *realiter* probable and the *moraliter* probable in *Prodromus*, c. IV, *De iure possessionis naturali & morali*, no. 233, p. 102.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, *Prodromus*, c. 2, *Iterum de definitionibus*, art. IX, no. 116, p. 63. Note that Caramuel distinguishes theological sin from philosophical sin within this text. For the distinction, see *Prodromus*, c. 2, art. 1, no. 62, p. 41.

law is absent, persons remain in possession of their liberty.<sup>13</sup> Because promulgation is part of the essence of law, a law does not bind those who are (though no fault of their own) unaware of it.<sup>14</sup> Thus Caramuel rejects the existence of both material sins and probable sins, substituting instead the category of hypothetical sins, i.e., actions that would be sinful, if the invincibly ignorant agent were aware of their prohibition.<sup>15</sup> Unless a law's existence is certain, it is truly, for the person in question, non-existent. For Caramuel, therefore, the phrase *uncertain law* might be described as a contradiction in terms.<sup>16</sup>

All this has important consequences for Caramuel's analysis of theological probability. If liberty remains in possession barring the certain existence of law, all that agents require to be sure that their actions are legitimate is non-certitude of the claim that the proposed actions are illicit. For the direction of conscience, finer distinctions between types and degrees of probable opinions are unnecessary. This is why Caramuel asserts that, in terms of its essence, the theologically probable opinion cannot be characterized as either more probable or less probable.<sup>17</sup> While acknowledging that the *theological crowd* (*vulgus theologicum*) is accustomed to use such language, Caramuel denies the existence of these gradations.<sup>18</sup>

To explain this contention, Caramuel draws a number of analogies, some philosophical, and others taken from ordinary experience. On the philosophical plane, he compares probability to whiteness, understood as a category in itself, as distinct from particular white objects.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars I, no. 294 (p. 118); pars II, art. I, nos. 305–306, pp. 120–121.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, *Quaestio prooemialis*, *De veritatis & veracitate distinctione*, art. III, nos. XIII, XIV, XVI, XIX.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, asserta VIII–X, nos. 693–700, pp. 240–242. As an example of a hypothetical sin, Caramuel cites the suicide of Lucretia.

<sup>16</sup> This is why the volume juxtaposes certainty with non-certitude rather than with uncertainty. See J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism...*, op. cit., pp. 121–122.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. III, no. 683, p. 236.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, *Prodromus*, c. 2, art. VII, no. 106, p. 58.

At the level of essence, whiteness is indivisible, and not properly described as greater or smaller, intense or more intense, widely spread or more widely spread. Caramuel argues that probability shows the same essential indivisibility.<sup>19</sup> In addition to such philosophical arguments, the theologian also invokes analogies from everyday life, comparing essential probability to the validity of a will. Suppose that three men have signed their testaments in front of witnesses, in accordance with the laws of the cities in which they live. Antonius, at Rome, acts in the presence of a priest and two witnesses. Claudius, at Vienna, follows that city's custom in having seven. Finally, Aurelius, also at Vienna, enlists the assistance of a dozen. Which document is more valid than the others? None, asserts Caramuel. All are equally valid, because all have met the basic standard for validity in their own cities. Extra witnesses do not make Aurelius's will more valid than Claudius's testament.<sup>20</sup> Caramuel's argument invites this obvious comparison: at the essential level, a will is either valid or invalid; at the essential level, an opinion either meets or fails to meet the standards for probability.<sup>21</sup> To ask whether the will or the opinion exceeds the required standards is unnecessary.

Caramuel recognizes, of course, that it is quite possible to use terms such as *more* and *less* in reference to probable opinions. Into the mouth of the reader, he places an objection to his claims regarding the essence of probability. In some cases, one might argue, it is certainly possible to chart the growth of an opinion's probability over time. If one examines the historical development of the thesis that kisses between engaged persons are not mortal sins, for example, one will discover that this position, originally formulated by Cajetan, later found other defenders, so that both the arguments in its favor and the list of supporting authorities eventually grew more extensive. Is it

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. III, no. 686, pp. 237–238.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. III, nos. 687–688, p. 238.

<sup>21</sup> Of course, the opinion could also be certain, a point that Caramuel would certainly acknowledge, although he does not mention it here.

not fair to say that this thesis was less probable in the beginning, and that it grew more probable, as it became both popular and better explained?<sup>22</sup> Caramuel acknowledges the historical development of the thesis, yet he describes the process a bit differently. In the beginning, Cajetan's opinion had *bare probability*, i.e., the essential probability that does not admit of gradations such as *more* or *less*. Later, when theologians developed special arguments in defense of the position, these additional arguments made it accurate to call the position more probable, just as its growing popularity made it correct to describe it as *more common*.<sup>23</sup> What is important to note, however, is that these developments do not belong to the essence of probability. Even more importantly, they have no practical consequences, as far as Caramuel is concerned.

How then, does Caramuel understand the significance of the special arguments or the learned authorities that might be cited in favor of a particular opinion? What is the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic probability? (It is noteworthy that the *Dialexis* does not repeat the arguments of the *Apologema*, which had basically treated the latter as a means of recognizing the former). In the *Dialexis*, both intrinsic arguments and extrinsic authorities are deemed accidental attributes of probability, rather than aspects of its essence. To speak of the rationally probable or the authoritatively probable, Caramuel asserts, is like describing human beings as black or white, or explaining that a particular stone is hot or cold. Skin color does not constitute the essence of humanity. A stone is a stone, whether its temperature is low or high. In the same way, a probable opinion may find support in special arguments or authorities, but it is not these characteristics that render it probable. Probability requires only two things: (1) the opinion must not be certain (since certitude and probability are mutually exclusive categories); and (2) the opposite position must not be

<sup>22</sup> J. Caramuel, *DNC*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. III, nos. 684–685, p. 237.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars. II, art. XIV, assert. III, no. 686, p. 238: “Probabilitatem nudam.”

certain.<sup>24</sup> These conditions constitute the heart of probability. Thus, Caramuel describes the arguments and authorities that buttress particular opinions as the *real and physical* accidents of probability, since they can be present or absent without detriment to the subject.<sup>25</sup>

Despite his effort to portray the traditional categories as relevant only for discussions of philosophical probability, Caramuel does acknowledge that such a judgment reflects one side of a debate within theology itself. A *Theologus probabiliorista*, who maintains that one is obliged to choose the more probable opinion, must use the scale of Critolaus to compare the various views. For such a theorist, Caramuel reports, the traditional divisions are theologically significant. Yet they are of no interest to the *Probabilistae*, who “wish neither to lose time, nor to fatigue the mind, by examining the distinction between the more probable and more common and the less probable and less common”. Such classifications, Caramuel asserts, are best left to the philosophers. The divisions simply have no significance for moral theology’s task, the direction of souls.<sup>26</sup>

At this point, Caramuel returns to a question that had occupied him throughout his career: what precisely is necessary for security of conscience? As we have seen, the *Dialexis* defines this as the non-certitude of the position opposing one’s own. Since the certain opinion, the more probable opinion, the equally probable opinion, the probable opinion, and the less probable opinion all share this characteristic, it is unnecessary that the agent classify his position in accordance with these categories.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, even if such distinctions exist in reality, “certain knowledge of this distinction is generally, perhaps al-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Prodrumus, c. 2, art. V, no. 94, p. 52; *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. I, no. 680, p. 235.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. II, no. 682, pp. 235–236: “Reale & physicum.”

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. II, no. 682, p. 236: “...nec velle tempus perdere, aut fatigare mentem in probabiliorum & communiorum a minus probabilibus & minus communibus examinanda distinctione.”

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. V, no. 690, p. 239.

ways, impossible for us".<sup>28</sup> Wryly, Caramuel points out that the elderly Augustine retracted some of his previously held opinions, and would probably retract some of his retractions, were he alive today. How is the agent to judge between the learned authorities that assign various grades of probability to the same position? In Caramuel's view, formulating such an assessment is unnecessary and even exceeds human capacities.<sup>29</sup>

In the *Dialexis de non-certitudine*, therefore, Caramuel basically denies the practical significance of the traditional categories (probable and more probable, intrinsically probable and extrinsically probable) for the assessment of theological probability. At best, such categories denote theological probability's accidents rather than its essence. At worst, they disguise the true character of *probabilitas* and waste the theologian's time in fruitless attempts to attain the unattainable. Such distinctions, in any case, have no relevance for the direction of souls, which is the goal of moral theology.

Caramuel's rejection of these categories, however, must not be misconstrued as evidence of fideism or a prejudice against speculation within moral theology. He is hardly the enemy of distinctions, and his moral theology explores the foundations of the discipline that many of his contemporaries' works pass over, in their focus upon the resolution of cases.<sup>30</sup> Instead, Caramuel's stance reflects his repeated insistence that one must approach each discipline by using the intellectual categories appropriate to that discipline.<sup>31</sup> Moral theology is a

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, assert. VI, no. 691, p. 239: "...certa istius distinctionis cognitio plerumque (& forte, semper) quoad nos impossibilis est." In the unnumbered section entitled *Totius Operis Assertiones Praecipuae*, near the beginning of the book, Caramuel goes even farther and makes the following claim: "...nec post Adae lapsum sine Divina illuminatione possibilis."

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. XIV, asserta VI-VII, no. 691, p. 239.

<sup>30</sup> See J. A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism...*, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Caramuel's comparison of theology, jurisprudence, and medicine, in *DNC*, *Quaestio Proemialis*, art. VI, no. XLII. Cf. Caramuel's comments in the first edition of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* (Schoenwetter, Francofurti



type of knowledge directed toward a particular goal, the guidance of consciences. As a result, its central object is the goodness or malice of the human act as perceived by the agent, not the act's moral character *in se*. In Caramuel's terms, moral theology focuses upon veracity rather than truth.<sup>32</sup> To pursue this agenda, moral theologians must ask the questions appropriate for their discipline. Undue attention to the grades of probability and their support by arguments or authorities has distracted theologians from the central question: exactly what is it that renders consciences secure? Caramuel notes: "Before today, I think this formal reason that renders human consciences secure had not been found."<sup>33</sup> Perhaps, he might have added, it had not been found because theologians had been looking in the wrong place, and devoting unnecessary attention to the inessential grades and accidental qualities of probability.

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1652) at the beginning of fund. 10, De sensibilibus experimentorum certitudine, nos. 203-204, p. 98.

<sup>32</sup> Idem, *DNC*, Quaestio prooemialis, art. VI, no. XXXVIII.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dialexis*, pars II, art. I, no. 303, p. 120: "Ante diem hunc existimo Rationem illam formalem, quae conscientias hominum securas reddit, non fuisse inventam."



# Probabilismus im Kloster

## Caramuels *Theologia regularis*

Ulrich Gottfried Leinsle

Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) war seit 1625 Zisterzienser und fühlte sich auch in seinen vielfältigen Tätigkeiten außerhalb des Ordens immer als solcher.<sup>1</sup> Ein Ausdruck dieser Zugehörigkeit, aber auch der theologischen Reflexion über Fragen des eigenen Standes ist seine *Theologia regularis*, die im 17. Jahrhundert drei Auflagen erlebte und in jeder guten Klosterbibliothek zu finden war.

### 1. Eigenart der *Theologia regularis*

Der Ausgangspunkt der *Theologia regularis* ist der 1640 bei Nicolaus Beygelius in Brügge gedruckte, in Teilen aber bis in die spanische Studienzeit Caramuels zurückreichende Kommentar zur *Regula Benedicti*.<sup>2</sup> 1646 erscheint bei Theobald Schönwetter in Frankfurt die

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<sup>1</sup> Zu Leben und Werk vgl. die Biobibliographie von J. Schmutz in <http://perso.wanadoo.fr/caramuel/>. – Zur *Theologia regularis*. *Hoc est in SS. Basili, Augustini, Benedicti, Francisci &c. regulas commentarii*, Schoenwetter, Francofurti 1646, vgl. vor allem den wichtigen Beitrag von J.-R. Armogathe, „Probabilisme et libre-arbitre: la théologie morale de Caramuel y Lobkowitz“, in: *Le meraviglie del probabile: Juan Caramuel (1606–1682). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Vigevano 29–31 ottobre 1982, ed. P. Pissavino, Vigevano 1990, S. 35–40.

<sup>2</sup> J. Caramuel, *In regulam D. Benedicti commentarius*, Breyghelius, Brugis 1640; vgl.

erste Auflage der *Theologia regularis*.<sup>3</sup> Der Kommentar zur *Regula Benedicti* bildet das Herzstück und umfasst mit 481 Seiten ca. 4/5 der 607 Seiten des Kommentarwerks. Er allein ist auch durch einen eigenen *Nomenclator* erschlossen. In fast allen wichtigen Sachfragen wird in den anderen Regelauslegungen auf den Kommentar zur *Regula Benedicti* zurückverwiesen. 1648 lässt Caramuel einen zweiten Band mit den Teilen IX und X folgen, in denen jeweils 50 Briefe über verschiedenste Fragen des klösterlichen Lebens, aber auch über persönliche Angelegenheiten im Umkreis der Entstehung der *Theologia regularis*, gesammelt werden.<sup>4</sup> Neuauflagen des gesamten Werkes erfolgen 1651 in Venedig und 1665 in Lyon. Die Erstauflage Frankfurt 1646 steht in unmittelbarem zeitlichen Kontext zur Publikation der *Theologia moralis*, Löwen 1645, und kann als deren Anwendung auf das klösterliche Leben, mithin im vollen Sinne als *Theologia moralis vitae regularis* gelesen werden.

Die Auslegung der Benediktus-Regel vollzieht sich im Wechsel von Literalkommentar und Disputationen. So sind nach Caramuels eigenem Verzeichnis in den Regeltext 138 systematische Disputationen eingeschoben.<sup>5</sup> Dass Caramuel seine Moralthologie zudem weithin als Philosophie sieht, ähnlich wie seine *Theologia rationalis*, zeigt

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idem, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., S. 9. Die u. a. bei D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel. Probabilismo ed Enciclopedia*, La nuova Italia, Florenz 1975, S. 53–54; und J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989, S. 33–34, genannte Erstausgabe der *Theologia regularis*, Brugis 1638, hat offenbar nie existiert.

<sup>3</sup> Aufbau: pars I: Kommentar zur *Regula Benedicti*; Pars II: zu den Benedikt zugeschriebenen Opuscula; pars III: zur Templer-Regel Bernhards von Clairvaux; pars IV: Kommentar zur Basilius-Regel, angeblich wegen der Eile des Druckers durch eine Kapitelansprache ersetzt (n. 1889, S. 536), aber auch in den späteren Auflagen nicht nachgeliefert; pars V: Kommentar zur Augustinus-Regel (*Praeceptum*, ohne *Ordo monasterii*); pars VI: zur *Regula bullata* des Franz von Assisi; pars VII: zur Regel des Regulierten Dritten Ordens des Franz von Assisi in der Fassung Leos X.; pars VIII: zur Regel des Weltlichen Dritten Ordens des hl. Franz.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *Basis theologiae regularis*, tomus secundus, Schoenwetter, Francofurti 1648.

<sup>5</sup> Deren Zählung im Druck (1646) ist allerdings recht fehlerhaft.



*J. Caramuel, Theologia regularis, Francofurti 1646, Titelblatt, Stiftsbibliothek Schlögl*

nicht zuletzt die dauernde Verwendung von „philosophari“, wenn er seine eigene Position darlegt. Bereits in der *Protheoria* umreißt er klar das Ziel seiner Auslegung. Es sollen nicht neue Verpflichtungen aufgestellt werden; denn: „Non sunt addendi scopuli & laquei semitae, aliàs difficili; vel in via evadet. Obligationum & onerum multiplicatio non infert sanctitatem: praestat enim paucis legibus exactè satisfacere, quam multis tametsi latis coelitus dissonare.“ Vielmehr ist die Regel auszulegen 1. aus dem Kontext, 2. aus der Meinung der Alten, 3. in den Grenzen der Moralthologie und 4. in denen der Probabilität.<sup>6</sup> Dieses klare Bekenntnis des angeblichen „Princeps Laxistarum“ (so Alphons von Liguori) und „schlimmsten unter allen Casuisten“<sup>7</sup> zur Probabilität ist die moraltheologische Basis des gesamten Werkes.

## 2. Probabilismus in der *Theologia regularis*

Der von Bartholomäus de Medina OP 1577 eingeführte Probabilismus ist wohl das am weitesten verbreitete Moralsystem des 17. Jahrhunderts, nicht zuletzt durch die Rezeption bei den Jesuiten.<sup>8</sup> In der Zeit der Abfassung der *Theologia regularis* stehen wir noch vor den Angriffen Pascals (1656) und den Verurteilungen des „Laxismus“

<sup>6</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., protheoria, fol. d3v. – Zur Bedeutung von „theologia moralis“ vgl. J. Theiner, *Die Entwicklung der Moralthologie zur eigenständigen Disziplin*, Pustet, Regensburg 1970; U. G. Leinsle, *Einführung in die scholastische Theologie*, Schöningh, Paderborn 1995, S. 270–272.

<sup>7</sup> I. von Döllinger, F. H. Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 2 Bde., Beck, Nördlingen 1889, Bd. 1, S. 30–39.

<sup>8</sup> G. Otte, „Der Probabilismus: Eine Theorie an der Grenze zwischen Theologie und Jurisprudenz“, in: *La seconda scolastica nella formazione del diritto privato moderno. Incontro di studio Firenze 16–18 ottobre 1972*, ed. P. Grossi, Giuffrè, Mailand 1973, S. 283–302; P. Schmitz, „Probabilismus – das jesuitischste der Moralsysteme“, in: *Ignatianisch. Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, eds. M. Sievernich und G. Switek, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Vienna 1990, S. 355–368.

durch das Hl. Offizium von 1665/66 und 1679.<sup>9</sup> Bereits in der *Protheoria* bekennt sich Caramuel in der Rolle des *Conscientiae-consultus* klar zum Probabilismus. Hier geht es nicht um scholastische Konsequenz, sondern um das Prinzip der *benignitas*. Ausschlaggebend sind für Caramuel jedoch nur die Gründe der Probabilität, nicht die *nuda auctoritas* des großen Namens des Sachverständigen. Fehlen die Gründe, gelten auch die größten Namen nichts im Vergleich zu einem einzigen rein probablen Enthymen.<sup>10</sup>

In der *disputatio 6 De opinione probabili* arbeitet Caramuel nach der Behandlung der Arten und des Verpflichtungscharakters der Gesetze die Grundlagen und Anwendungsfelder des Probabilismus heraus.<sup>11</sup> Der Probabilismus erscheint als das dem menschlichen Erkenntnisstand angemessene Moralsystem. Da wir keine Engel sind, haben wir nur von ganz wenigen Dingen evidente Erkenntnis und müssen in allen restlichen eben nach vertretbaren (= probablen) Sentenzen handeln.<sup>12</sup> Der Probabilismus erlaubt nun, der probablen Meinung zu folgen, auch unter Hintansetzung der probableren. Denn – das ist Caramuels Hauptargument – in der Frage der Sicherheit sind alle probablen Meinungen gleich. Entscheidend ist nur, dass sie

<sup>9</sup> H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*. Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen. Lateinisch-deutsch, übers. und hg. v. P. Hünermann, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Rome, Vienna <sup>37</sup>1991, Nr. 2021–2065, 2101–2167; zum Probabilismusstreit vgl. I. von Döllinger, F. H. Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten...*, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 28–272; J.-R. Armogathe, „Probabilisme et libre-arbitre...“, op. cit., S. 38–39. Zu Caramuel vgl. den Beitrag von J. A. Fleming in diesem Band.

<sup>10</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., *Protheoria*, fol. d4r. – *Ibid.*, fol. d4v: „*Doctorum auctoritates veneror non tamen propter nuda nomina, sed propter nervosas rationes quas adducunt; qui si ratione careant, tametsi magni, tametsi eximij, posthabendi sunt vel uni enthememati purè probabili.*“

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pars I, lib. I, disp. VI, S. 24–29; vgl. *ibid.*, disp. II De legibus, S. 14–17; disp. III De obligatione, quae ex legibus oriri solet, S. 17–19; disp. IV De legum materia, S. 19–22; disp. V De legum intrinsecis extrinsecisque qualitatibus, S. 22–23.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 51, S. 24; vgl. J.-R. Armogathe, „Probabilisme et libre-arbitre...“, op. cit., S. 36–37.

probabel sind. Sind sie dies aber, dann handelt man nicht unüberlegt, unklug oder wider die Vernunft, weil man gemäß der Kriteriologie gewichtige Gründe oder entsprechende Autoritäten hat: *Qui autem secundum rationem operatur non peccat.*<sup>13</sup> Folglich sind alle probablen Meinungen von höchster Sicherheit. Denn die sicherste Meinung ist doch die, nach welcher der Handelnde in keinem Fall sündigt. Wer aber der weniger probablen Meinung folgt, sündigt nicht, wie gerade gezeigt, weil er nach *ratio* bzw. *auctoritas* handelt. Folglich handelt er nach der *opinio tutissima*.<sup>14</sup> Die Quellen der Probabilität sind dabei, wie allgemein anerkannt, die Autorität der Sachverständigen (*probabilitas extrinseca*) und die Vernunftgründe (*probabilitas intrinseca*). Über die intrinsische Probabilität einer Sentenz zu entscheiden, soll aber ausschließlich ausgebildeten Theologen vorbehalten sein.<sup>15</sup> Sie ist dann gegeben, wenn eine Sentenz 1. nicht dem Glauben widerspricht, 2. Gründe vorweisen kann, mit denen sie verteidigt werden kann, 3. auf Grundlagen basiert, aus denen die Einwände der Gegner entkräftet werden können. *Probabilior* ist eine Meinung, wenn die Bedingungen (2) und (3) in höherem Maße gegeben sind.<sup>16</sup> Die extrinsische Probabilität gründet sich auf die Autorität und ist grundsätzlich das sicherste Erkennungsmittel einer probablen Sentenz. Die Frage, wieviele Sachverständige nötig sind, ist aber arithmetisch nicht zu lösen, vielmehr sind die Autoritäten qualitativ zu gewichten, so dass sich eine geometrische, keine arithmetische, Progression ergibt. Dabei kann ein Autor viele andere aufwiegen.<sup>17</sup> Aus diesen Prinzipien lässt sich die extrinsische Probabilität einer Meinung rechtfertigen:

<sup>13</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 57, S. 25.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 58, S. 25-26: „...quia illa opinio est tutissima, secundum quam operans nec moraliter nec venialiter peccat; atqui qui sequitur minùs-probabilem neutro modo peccat: ergo qui sequitur minùs-probabilem, sequitur opinionem tutissimam.“

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 52a, S. 24; n. 52b, S. 24: „De intrinseca probabilitate ne sunt iudices, qui Theologiam non docti.“

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 52c-d, S. 24.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 53b-54, S. 24-25.



1. Kann die Meinung einen Autor von höchstem Ruf vorweisen, gilt sie als vertretbar, auch wenn alle älteren Autoren das Gegenteil vertreten haben. Denn dem Autor ist zuzubilligen, dass er selbst nach den Prinzipien der Vertretbarkeit philosophiert und dabei neue, gründlichere, bisher verborgene Beweisgründe entdeckt hat. Deshalb ist es auch erlaubt, einen solchen Autor als zu konsultierendes Lehrbuch für Entscheidungen vorzuschreiben. Stellt sich aber nach der Publikation heraus, dass die Prinzipien trügerisch oder ganz schwach waren und seine Meinung von niemandem geteilt wird, gilt sie als improbabel.<sup>18</sup>

2. Die Sentenz, die auf die größere Autorität verweisen kann, ist extrinsisch probabler. Extrinsisch improbabel ist eine Sentenz, deren Gegenteil mehr als siebenmal probabler ist. Kann man also für die eigene Sentenz nur einen Autor anführen, während sieben gleichrangige Autoren das Gegenteil vertreten, ist die Sentenz immer noch probabel. Gegen neun Gegner von gleichem Gewicht dagegen kann die Sentenz nicht vertreten werden, denn  $1/9$  ist keine hinreichende Stärke für die Probabilität ( $1/7$  ist gefordert).<sup>19</sup> Diese auf den ersten Blick überraschende Berechnung erklärt sich aus der Übertragung der in der aristotelischen Naturphilosophie der Zeit üblichen acht Grade bei der Erklärung der Intensivierung und des Gegensatzes von Qualitäten (Formlatituden, z. B. Kälte vs. Wärme). Als solche Qualität wird bei Caramuel u. a. die Schwere der Sünde, aber auch die Probabilität einer Sentenz betrachtet und entsprechend berechnet.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 55, S. 25; vgl. J.-R. Armogathe, „Probabilisme et libre-arbitre...“, op. cit., S. 36–37. – 1665 wird als *ut minimum scandalosa* die Sentenz verurteilt: „Si liber sit alicuius iunioris et moderni, debet opinio censeri probabilis, dum non constet, reiectam esse a Sede Apostolica tamquam improbabilem.“ H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum...*, op. cit., Nr. 2047.

<sup>19</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 56, S. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Zur Lehre von den Formlatituden vgl. A. Maier, *An der Grenze von Scholastik und Naturwissenschaft. Die Struktur der materiellen Substanz. Das Problem der Gravitation. Die Mathematik der Formlatituden* (= *Studien zur Naturphilosophie der Spätscholastik* 3), Storia e letteratura, Roma <sup>2</sup>1952, S. 257–384; C. Lewis, *The Merton Tradition and Kinematics in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Italy*, Antenore, Padova 1980, S. 76–96.

3. Extrinsische und intrinsische Probabilität reichen je für sich aus, um dem Gewissen Sicherheit zu geben. Es ist also gerade keine Kombination der beiden Probabilitäten nötig.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Anwendungen in der klösterlichen Welt

Seine Brisanz zeigt der Probabilismus Caramuels in der Anwendung, die keineswegs einen moralischen Laxismus favorisiert, wohl aber sehr klar die Rechte des Ordensleute auch gegenüber den Oberen betont. Als besonders signifikante Bereiche sollen hier der Verpflichtungscharakter der Ordensregel, das Armutsgelübde und das Vollkommenheitsstreben der Ordensleute betrachtet werden.<sup>22</sup>

#### 3.1 Die Verpflichtung der Ordensregel

Die Verpflichtung der Ordensregel ist für Caramuel zunächst zu sehen im Rahmen der allgemeinen Gesetzesverpflichtung, unterschieden nach *lex moralis* (= *absoluta*), *poenalis* und *mixta*. Ein reines Strafgesetz verpflichtet als solches (*per se*) nach allgemeiner Lehre nicht im inneren Wirkungsbereich (*in foro interiori*), der bei Caramuel als moralischer Gewissensbereich gedeutet wird.<sup>23</sup> Hier muss ich – mo-

<sup>21</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 56b, S. 25; zur weiteren Entwicklung vgl. den Beitrag von J. A. Fleming in diesem Band.

<sup>22</sup> Gehorsampflicht gegenüber den Oberen, Chorverpflichtung, Fasten und Abstinenz werden ausführlicher dargestellt in: U. G. Leinsle, „Servatius de Lairuelz und Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz OCist. Zwei Auslegungen der Augustinusregel“, *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 82, 2006.

<sup>23</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 29, S. 17; n. 30: „Poenalis regula vitam dirigit rigore & metu: supplicia praevaricatoribus imponit corporalia, & per se non obligat conscientias“. – Zur Problematik des *forum internum* vgl. H. Pree, „Die Ausübung der Leitungsvollmacht“, in: *Handbuch des katholischen*

ralisch ganz in Ordnung – nur wissen, wie ich der Strafe entgehe. So kann ich z. B. auch damit rechnen, dass der Gesetzgeber es nicht wagen wird, gegen mich vorzugehen, weil ich mich gut entschuldigen kann oder mächtige Beschützer (*patroni*) habe.<sup>24</sup> Im Unterschied dazu verpflichten die moralischen Gesetze im Gewissen und die *leges mixtae* im inneren und äußeren Wirkungsbereich, während reine Ratschläge (*consilia*, auch die „evangelischen Räte“) keine Verpflichtung beinhalten. Deshalb erstreckt sich die im vierten Gebot begründete moralische Gehorsampflcht den Oberen gegenüber nicht auf Ratschläge oder reine Strafandrohungen.<sup>25</sup> Auf die jeweilige Formel, mit der das Gesetz erlassen wird, ist dabei besonders zu achten.<sup>26</sup>

Diese Unterscheidung ist gerade für den Verpflichtungscharakter der *Regula Benedicti*, die sich ja als *lex* vorstellt,<sup>27</sup> aber auch für die Augustinusregel, die sich als *praeceptum* gibt, von Bedeutung.<sup>28</sup> Die Benediktus-Regel hat in keiner ihrer Bestimmungen aus sich selbst Verpflichtungscharakter, unabhängig vom Befehl (*praeceptum*) des Abtes. Denn sie beginnt: *Obsculata, o fili, praecepta magistri ... et admonitionem pii patris libenter excipe*. Auch aus der Profess kann eine moralische Verpflichtung der Regel als solcher nicht abgeleitet werden.<sup>29</sup> Eine materiale moralische Verpflichtung kann sich aber aus der

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*Kirchenrechts*, eds. J. Listl, H. Müller und H. Schmitz, Pustet, Regensburg 1983, S. 131–132.

<sup>24</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 33b, S. 18.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 35–36, S. 18–19.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 29, S. 17. Sie lautet für *leges morales* z. B. *Praecipio in virtute sanctae & salutaris obedientiae omnibus et singulis religiosis...*; für *leges poenales*: *Iubeo sub poena tali, quod omnes jejurent tali die*; für *leges mixtae*: *Praecipio sub obedientia formali & tali poena, ut...* – Die bei Navarrus, Filliucius, Diana u. a. als nicht *in foro interno* verpflichtend angenommenen *leges mixtae* sind deshalb für Caramuel reine Strafgesetze; vgl. *ibid.*, n. 37, S. 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. VII, S. 29–34.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pars V, n. 1897–1904, S. 545–546.

<sup>29</sup> *Regula Benedicti*, Prol. 1 (CSEL 75, S. 1); J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., disp. VII, art. II, S. 29–30; vgl. *ibid.*, n. 1978, S. 561, im Vergleich der Professformeln der Benediktiner und Augustiner-Eremiten.

Übernahme anderer Vorschriften ergeben, z. B. des Dekalogs oder des Gebotes der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe am Anfang der Augustinus-Regel. Denn nur die *lex evangelica* verpflichtet moralisch; die *lex regularis* ist reines Strafrecht.<sup>30</sup>

Da somit aber die gesamte Verpflichtung auf den Befehl des Abtes verlagert ist, könnte dieser kraft des heiligen Gehorsams befehlen, alles zu halten, was in der Regel steht. In diesem Fall kann die Verpflichtung entweder aus der *gravitas praecepti* oder der *gravitas materiae* begründet werden. Im ersten Fall besteht keine Verpflichtung, weil eine solche Vorschrift nicht die inneren Merkmale eines verpflichtenden Gesetzes erfüllt, nämlich vernunftgemäß und gerecht zu sein, ja ihnen widerspricht, da sie nicht zum Himmel, sondern ins Verderben führt. Im zweiten Fall verpflichtet sie nur entsprechend der *gravitas materiae*.<sup>31</sup> Dasselbe gilt analog, wenn jemand gelobt, alles auch im Einzelnen zu halten, was in der Regel steht.<sup>32</sup> Ein Verächter der Regel und der rein regularen Observanzen ist deshalb nicht schon, wer diese häufig übertritt, sondern nur, wer dies *ausu temerario*, nicht aus Schwachheit, tut.<sup>33</sup>

Eine in der Zeit der nachtridentinischen Ordensreformen höchst brisante Frage ist, ob ein Religiöse seinem Abt zum Gehorsam *secundum regulam, ad literam & in rigore sumptam*<sup>34</sup> oder nur entsprechend den derzeit herrschenden Gewohnheiten des eigenen Hauses

<sup>30</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 1899–1890, S. 546; n. 1952, S. 555.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. VII, art. IV, S. 32; n. 1903, S. 546; zu den Qualitäten der Gesetze *ibid.*, disp. V, S. 22–23; zur mathematischen, absoluten und relativen Bestimmung der *gravitas materiae* vgl. *ibid.*, disp. IV, S. 19–22.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. VII, art. V, S. 32–33; n. 1904, S. 546.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. VII, art. VI, S. 33–34; n. 1905, S. 546.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. XLVIII, S. 149–155. – Zur Brisanz vgl. z. B. L. Horstkötter, „Zum inneren Leben in einigen Prämonstratenser-Klöstern des nördlichen Rheinlands zwischen 1450 und 1500“, in: *Studien zum Prämonstratenserorden*, eds. I. Crusius und H. Flachenecker, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2003, S. 463–515; U. G. Leinsle, „Die Ordensreform des 17. Jahrhunderts im Alltag einer schwäbischen Reichsabtei. Die *Consuetudines Minoraugienses*“, *Analecta Praemonstrantensia* 72, 1996, S. 200–234.

verpflichtet ist. Wörtliche Regelauslegung und *rigor antiquus* waren ja die Hauptmotive der neuen Observanzbewegungen und ggf. auch für Übertritte in ein reformiertes Haus. Grundsätzlich kann sich auch nach Caramuel glücklich schätzen, wer in einem Kloster mit wörtlicher Regelauslegung lebt. In einem *monasterium relaxatum* ist zu prüfen, ob die *tria substantialia* (Armut, Keuschheit, Gehorsam) noch eingehalten werden. Andernfalls handelt es sich um eine *communitas irreligiosa*. Wer in einem solchen Haus mit klarer Intention Profess macht, ist trotzdem an die *tria substantialia* gebunden. Wer in einem *monasterium irregulare*, in dem sich verschiedene Missstände gegen die Regel eingeschlichen haben, Profess macht, ist gehalten, sich einer Reform zu unterwerfen und den entsprechenden Anordnungen des Prälaten Folge zu leisten. In einem *monasterium bene ordinatum* schließlich kann der Abt jede regelgemäße Observanz moralisch verpflichtend vorschreiben, aber nicht Gebräuche, die durch rechtmäßige Dispens außer Übung gekommen sind, wieder einführen. Das Dispensrecht des Oberen im Einzelfall ist davon unberührt. Wenn durch Anordnung der Oberen oder lange Gewohnheit eine Observanz außer Übung geraten ist, haben die Religiösen kein Recht, beim Abt deren Wiedereinführung zu fordern, solange ansonsten ein geregeltes Ordensleben *in sobrietate, pietate, iustitia & bono ordine* geführt wird.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.2 Implikationen des Armutsgelübdes

Zentral in der Ordensreform der Frühen Neuzeit war die Abschaffung des Privateigentums, des Pfründenwesens, der Pitanzen und eine strikte Einhaltung des Armutsgelübdes.<sup>36</sup> Hier macht auch Caramuel

<sup>35</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., disp. XLVIII, art. I, S. 149-152; zur Bestimmung des *monasterium bene ordinatum* als *difficultas politico-Christiana* vgl. *ibid.*, art. II, S. 152-154.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. U. G. Leinsle, „Die Ordensreform...“, op. cit., S. 206-208.

keine Ausnahme, legt aber besonderen Nachdruck auf den Schutz des geistigen Eigentums im Kloster. Für ihn ist z. B. der Religiöse wirklich Eigentümer seiner Manuskripte; er kann sie also auch mitnehmen, wenn er in einen anderen Orden übertritt, ohne Abschriften davon im Kloster hinterlassen zu müssen. Das betrifft aber nur indirekt die Handschriften als Bücher, direkt dagegen die Autorenrechte an ihnen, *prout continent ideas interni hominis*; ebenso ist das Bild geistiges Eigentum des Künstlers, nicht des porträtierten Herrschers. Der Mönch kann deshalb entsprechend der Bulle *Religiosae congregationes* Clemens' VIII. seine Handschriften auch verkaufen. Das Eigentumsrecht an Tinte und Papier aber ist nur ein indirektes, da die Manuskripte ohne diese nicht subsistieren können.<sup>37</sup> Als evident sieht daher Caramuel auch das *dominium* des Lehrers an den Klosterschülern als solchen an. Denn sie sind nicht Schüler des Konvents oder des Abtes, sondern ausschließlich des Lektors und stehen in derselben Beziehung zu ihm wie der Sohn zum Vater, die Wirkung zur Ursache. Der Grundsatz, dass der Religiöse alles, was er erwirbt, für das Kloster erwirbt, gilt hier nicht, da er nur von Hausrat und Ähnlichem handelt, und z. B. nicht von Kopfschmerzen, die sich ein Religiöse zuzieht. Deshalb kann ein Abt nicht grundlos die Manuskripte eines Religiösen verbrennen lassen oder unter anderem Namen herausgeben. Anders verhält es sich, wenn die Publikation der entsprechenden Schriften dem Kloster schadet oder zu Ärger Anlass gibt. Ebenso kann der Abt eingreifen, wenn die Schriften dem Autor selbst schaden, z. B. zu intellektuellem Hochmut führen.<sup>38</sup> Bei Kunstwerken ist zu unterscheiden, ob sie von Laienbrüdern im Auftrag des Klosters hergestellt oder von Chormönchen freiwillig in ihrer Freizeit geschaffen wurden. Im ersten Fall gehören sie sicher dem Kloster, wie sich syllogistisch ableiten lässt, im zweiten gehören sie dem Künstler, nicht der Kom-

<sup>37</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 831–838, S. 192–193; Bulle Clemens' VIII. v. 19. Juni 1594, in: *Magnum bullarium Romanum* V, 2, Romae 1751; Reprint: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, Graz 1965, S. 31–35.

<sup>38</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 839–845, S. 193–194.

munität, wie sich wieder syllogistisch beweisen lässt. Dasselbe gilt von Kunstwerken, die ein Laienbruder an Feiertagen schafft.<sup>39</sup>

Der Mönch ist auch wirklich Eigentümer seiner leiblichen Kinder; durch die Profess verliert er jedoch alle zivilrechtlichen Befugnisse über sie. Er bleibt aber nach natürlichem, nicht staatlichem Recht auch Eigentümer von nach der Profess gezeugten illegitimen Kindern, da die Profess naturrechtliche Bindungen nicht aufhebt.<sup>40</sup> Vor allem ist der Mönch Herr seiner natürlichen und inneren Handlungen, über die der Prälät, der nur ein *regimen politicum* hat, nicht verfügen kann, weder unter dem Rechtstitel der Armut noch des Gehorsams. In äußeren Akten dagegen untersteht er dem Abt nur kraft des Gehorsams, nicht aber der Armut, bleibt also diesbezüglich ihr Herr.<sup>41</sup> Da der Religiöse über in einem einzigen Akt verzehrbare Dinge wirkliches Eigentumsrecht erwirbt, kann er z. B. seine Essensration oder Pitanz einem Armen geben, allerdings nicht gegen ausdrücklichen Befehl des Abtes.<sup>42</sup>

Im Rahmen des Eigentumsrechts legt Caramuel auch die Rolle des Abtes in der Güterverwaltung dar. Der Abt ist nicht Eigentümer (Dominus) des Klostersgutes, sondern *merus dispensator, & communitatis absolutus oconomus*. Obwohl das alle Äbte wissen, tun manche so, als wüssten sie es nicht.<sup>43</sup> In den kasuistischen Lösungen der Einzelfälle ist Caramuel durchaus großzügig. So bricht für ihn (nach Suárez) das Armutsgelübde nicht, wer von den üblichen Speisen etwas, auch

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 859–870, S. 196–197; n. 860: „Artefactum est Artificis. Atqui Artifex, quā talis, est Monasterij. Ergo Artefactum est Monasterij. Quia si ignis est Petri; ejus erit & splendor.“ – *Ibid.*, n. 861: „Artefactum quā tale pertinet ad Artificem ut effectus ad causam; Atqui Monachus Artifex, quā Artifex non pertinet ad communitatem. Ergo neque illud artefactum.“

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 849–851, S. 194–195.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 852–858, S. 195–196.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 871–874, S. 197–198; gestützt auf das im Armutsstreit ergangene Extravagans Johannes' XXII. *Ad conditorem*: Extrav. Joan. 14, 3, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. A. Friedberg. Reprint: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, Graz 1959, Bd. 2, Sp. 1226.

<sup>43</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 830, S. 192.

wiederholt, abzweigt, sei es zum eigenen Gebrauch oder für einen Mitbruder; denn das heimliche Essen verstößt bestenfalls gegen den Willen des Prälaten, nicht gegen die Armut. Außerdem ist der körperlichen Konstitution Rechnung zu tragen. Die Quantität tut hier nach Diana nichts zur Sache. Dass hier eine Verletzung des Armutsgelübdes vorliege, hat keine Probabilität für sich, *cum licita sint quae fuerint probabilia*.<sup>44</sup> Ebenso ist es dem Religiösen gestattet, ohne Erlaubnis des Abtes Bücher anzunehmen oder zu kaufen, sofern er diese dann offen in seinem Zimmer aufstellt. Dies ist mit Diana u. a. vertretbar, obwohl die gegenteilige Sentenz probabler ist. *A fortiori* wäre es deshalb auch erlaubt, Bücher oder Hausrat auf Pfand zu leihen; dies ist aber wegen der daraus erwachsenden Gefahren verboten worden.<sup>45</sup> Geschenke können aber nicht ohne Erlaubnis des Prälaten angenommen und behalten werden. Dies gilt nach Caramuel auch von Messstipendien. Dagegen ist es durchaus erlaubt, wenn Weltleute einem Religiösen Geld zum Gebrauch zur Verfügung stellen, sich aber das Eigentumsrecht daran vorbehalten.<sup>46</sup>

Die in der Praxis der Zeit höchst umstrittenen eigenen Kassen und die Anlage von Depots (*loculi*) für Gelder von Weltleuten durch Ordensleute gestattet Caramuel, zumal sie die *devotio populi* fördern, allerdings nur, wenn sie mit Erlaubnis des Abtes, nicht auf eigene Faust der Religiösen angelegt werden, die Ausgaben daraus ebenso mit Erlaubnis des Abtes erfolgen und ferner jeder Beigeschmack von Wucher und Habgier vermieden wird.<sup>47</sup>

Für die Berechnung von erlaubtem Eigentum setzt Caramuel die aus der aristotelischen Zahlentheorie und seiner eigenen Metaphysik

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 888–893, S. 201; vgl. F. Suárez, *De religione*, lib. VIII, c. XI, n. 629–630, in: idem, *Opera omnia*, Vivès, Paris 1856–1878, vol. 15, S. 629–630; A. Diana, *Resolutiones morales*, pars I, tract. VI De paupertate religiosa, resol. 30, Baba, Venetiis 1638, tom. 1, S. 196.

<sup>45</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 886, S. 201; vgl. A. Diana, *Resolutiones morales*, op. cit., tract. VI, resol. 26, tom. 1, S. 81.

<sup>46</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 881–887, S. 199–200.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. LXI, S. 203–204.



der *entia moralia* begründete Lehre voraus, dass wiederholte lässliche Sünden keine Todsünde ergeben, sofern sie nicht in einem einzigen Akt gewollt werden. Denn die Einheit der *materia moralis* berechnet sich aus der Einheit des Willensaktes.<sup>48</sup> Caramuel weiß, dass mathematische Größe nicht gleichbedeutend ist mit der faktischen moralischen Wirkung. Deshalb müssen allgemein anerkannte Größen eingeführt werden, die am Schluss auch mit Umrechnungstabellen in andere Währungen angegeben werden. Die absolute Betrachtung muss sich aber mit der relativen verbinden, nach der 1/8 eines Tageseinkommens bereits eine *materia magna* ist, andererseits das, was bei einem einfachen Bürger viel ist, bei einem Fürsten mit einem Jahreseinkommen von 12 000 Dukaten nur als Bagatelle erscheint.<sup>49</sup> Eine *materia moraliter nulla* dagegen liegt vor, wenn z. B. ein Blatt Papier oder ein Griffel, der auf dem Weg liegt, mitgenommen wird. Grundsätzlich gilt für den öffentlichen Bereich: Was geringer ist als die kleinste gängige Münze, ist *politice nihil*. Als kleinste *materia parva* erscheint 1/8 von einem 1/8, also 1/64.<sup>50</sup> Die Stellung des Mönchs im Kloster ist nun grundsätzlich die eines *filiusfamilias*. Wenn sich dieser also vom Gut der Gemeinschaft jeweils nur einen *regalis* oder fünf niederländische Stüwer aneignet, sündigt er nach der relativen Berechnung nur lässlich.<sup>51</sup>

Der Probabilismus Caramuels zeigt sich schließlich deutlich bei der Bewertung der Erlaubnis des Prälaten zu entsprechenden Geschäften. Diese muss, wo nicht gefordert, nicht ausdrücklich erfolgen. Es genügt vielmehr, wenn sie *probabiliter* erschlossen werden kann (*licentia interpretativa*), wobei viele Rechtstitel für die Vermutung angeführt werden können. Dies ist jedenfalls das beste Heilmittel gegen Skrupel.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. LXII, S. 204–208.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 932–942, S. 208–209; Umrechnungen n. 957, S. 211.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 954–957, S. 210–211.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 943–953, S. 211–212 mit weiteren Berechnungen.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, disp. LXIV, S. 211–212.

### 3.3 Das Vollkommenheitsstreben

Der Ordensstand zählt in der klassischen Terminologie zum *status perveniendi ad perfectionem*.<sup>53</sup> Ist aber der bzw. die einzelne Religiöse zum Vollkommenheitsstreben verpflichtet? Gegen Navarrus, der eine allgemeine Verpflichtung zum Vollkommenheitsstreben als für die Ordensleute schrecklich ansieht und mit Berufung auf das leichte Joch Christi (Mt. 11,13) ablehnt,<sup>54</sup> weitet Caramuel die Verpflichtung zur Vollkommenheit zunächst auf alle Christen aus. Nur die Art und Weise dieses Strebens ist verschieden, weil die jeweiligen konkreten Verpflichtungen anders sind, z. B. für einen Familienvater, einen Richter oder Lehrer. Daraus leitet Caramuel durchaus hart klingende Folgerungen ab:

1. Ein Religiöse, der nicht nach Vollkommenheit strebt durch Beobachtung seiner Regel, wenn sie ihn dazu unter schwerer Sünde verpflichtet, ist im Zustand ewiger Verdammnis.<sup>55</sup> Dasselbe gilt aber für einen Ehemann, wenn er nicht nach Vollkommenheit strebt durch Beobachtung seines Gesetzes, wenn es ihn unter schwerer Sünde dazu verpflichtet.

2. Aber auch der ist verdammt, der nicht durch Befolgung eines Gesetzes, das unter lässlicher Sünde verpflichtet, zur Vollkommenheit voranschreitet. Denn die Befolgung eines solchen Gesetzes ist verdienstlich; dass er das nicht tut, ist ein Zeichen, dass er nicht im Stand der Gnade ist.

3. Ein Religiöse ist auf keinem anderen Weg zum Vollkommenheitsstreben gehalten, als in einem Leben gemäß der Regel. Gleiches gilt aber auch für Eheleute in ihrem Stand. Für Ordensleute ergibt sich nur eine Verpflichtung, das in hervorragenderem Maße zu tun, näm-

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Thomas von Aquin, *Summa theologiae* II/II, q. 184, Marietti, Torino - Rom 1948, S. 853-856, q. 186, art. II., S. 876-877.

<sup>54</sup> M. de Azpilcueta (Navarrus), *Commentarius I de regularibus*, n. 10, in: idem, *Opera*, Gymnicus, Coloniae 1616, tom. 1, S. 87-88.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. Thomas von Aquin, *Summa theologiae* II/II, q. 184, op. cit., art. V ad 2, S. 870.

lich durch besondere Tugendübungen, die den Geist mehr mit Gott vereinen.

Wir wären aber nicht bei Caramuel, wenn dies das letzte Wort in der Frage wäre; denn wer im Stand der Gnade ist, macht immer Fortschritte, wenigstens extensive. Damit ist ein unbewusster Fortschritt zur Vollkommenheit möglich, der sich z. B. auch beim Essen und Schlafen, ja bei jeder der Profess entsprechenden Tätigkeit vollziehen kann, solange man nur im Ordensstand bleibt. Und so wächst man in der Gnade wenigstens extensiv; so wird auch der Schlaf, wenn er gemäß der Regel erfolgt, im Himmel gekrönt. Wenn ein Mönch also keine Todsünde begeht, nimmt er immer an Gnade zu. Das berechtigt zum Umkehrschluss: Wer nicht an Gnade zunimmt, ist im Stand der Sünde. Ein Stillstand auf diesem Weg ist nicht möglich; denn der heißt Rückgang, zumal man mit einer lässlichen Sünde in einer Gattung verdienstliches Handeln in einer anderen verbinden kann.<sup>56</sup>

Sogar eine reine Unterlassung, ohne dass dabei etwas anderes gewollt oder getan wird, kann nach Ansicht des sog. „Omissionspurismus“ verdienstlich sein, wie 1630 in Salamanca verteidigt wurde.<sup>57</sup> Der Omissionspurismus, der die Möglichkeit einer freiwilligen reinen Unterlassung lehrt, wird dabei als *probabilissimum* angenommen. Es ist klar, dass jemand sündigt, falls er eine gebotene Handlung unterlässt. Dagegen handelt er verdienstlich, wenn er eine verbotene Handlung unterlässt, vorausgesetzt, er ist im Stand der Gnade. Es ist aber z. B. dem Mönch immer verboten, das Kloster ohne Erlaubnis zu ver-

<sup>56</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 657–666, S. 155–156.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 667, S. 156; zum Omissionspurismus vgl. T. Ramelow, *Gott, Freiheit, Weltenwahl. Der Ursprung des Begriffs der besten aller möglichen Welten in der Metaphysik der Willensfreiheit zwischen Antonio Perez S.J. (1599–1649) und G. W. Leibniz (1646–1716)* (= *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* 72), Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, S. 168–195, bes. S. 175–178. Die Nähe des Omissionspurismus zum Probabilismus zeigt auch die 1665 verurteilte Sentenz (H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum...*, op. cit., Nr. 2021): „Homo nullo umquam vitae suae tempore tenetur elicere actum fidei, spei et caritatis ex vi praeceptorum divinorum ad eas virtutes pertinentium.“

lassen. Wenn er also dies unterlässt, handelt er immer verdienstlich. Schon das reine Im-Kloster-Bleiben ist also ein Fortschreiten auf dem Weg zur Vollkommenheit. Wer aber nicht aktuell fortschreiten will (*non velle actualiter proficere*), indem er also diesen Willensakt (*velle proficere*) einfach unterlässt, sündigt grundsätzlich nicht, weil er nicht den Willensakt setzt, nicht fortzuschreiten (*nolle proficere*). Dagegen ist das *velle non proficere* ebenso formal sündhaft wie das *nolle proficere*, wobei Letzteres noch das *odium formale* des Fortschritts beinhaltet. Das *Non velle actualiter proficere* beinhaltet nur die Unterlassung der aktuellen Liebe zum Fortschreiten. Diese ist aber, von der grundsätzlichen Gottesliebe abgesehen, hier nicht geschuldet. Mit diesen zugegebenermaßen sehr subtilen Unterscheidungen ist aber eines möglich geworden: Das Bleiben im Kloster ist für den Omissionspuristen und Probabilisten, selbst ohne besondere Anstrengungen, der beste Weg zur Vollkommenheit: Also doch „una via facile per il cielo“?<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia regularis*, op. cit., n. 669–672, S. 157– Schlussatz: „Sed haec fortè nimis subtilia sunt: ad clariora & morum instructioni utiliora veniamus.“ D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel...*, op. cit., S. 318–322. – Zum zeitgenössischen Vorwurf gegen Caramuel, den Weg zum Himmel zu leicht zu machen, auch I. von Döllinger, F. H. Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten...*, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 37.

## Caramuel, a Cistercian Casuist

Jean-Robert Armogathe

The fate of Caramuel in the field of moral theology has been sealed for posterity by Pascal's attacks against "the learned Caramuel" in the *Provinciales*.<sup>1</sup> The few historians or theologians who ever worried about him were all too eager to throw him out in the same bag as the Jesuits. Fewer still ever cared about reflecting how his Moral theology could be specific and original, without owing much to the Jesuits (for instance, he opposes mental restrictions, a favorite feature of Jesuit moral theology which, in his opinion, destroys all human society). I would like to argue in this paper that Caramuel's moral theology and his developed casuistry was not so much dependent on the Jesuits but was, to a great extent, the sheer product of his Cistercian training and his debt to the tradition stemming from the *mellifluous* Bernard of Clairvaux.

The first consideration comes from a general historical assertion: the religious Orders, in the Post-tridentine Catholic Church did eagerly try to trace back their doctrinal formation to its origins, a kind of *aggiornamento*, which is the main characteristic of the Catholic Reformation, as opposed to what is called Counter-Reformation. They all tried, with more or less success, to link itself with the original intui-

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<sup>1</sup> This paper stands as a complement to my former study of Caramuel's morals, published in: *Le meraviglie del probabile: Juan Caramuel (1606-1682). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Vigevano 1990, pp. 35-40 ("Probabilisme et Libre-arbitre: la théologie morale de Caramuel y Lobkowitz").

tions of their founders: this renewal led to a wide movement of Reformation, not limited to the Carmelite family, with Teresa of Jesus and John of the Cross. The Cistercians had to face, in the very years of Caramuel's formation, the Reformation of the Order, the split between those who maintained the Common Observance and the Reformers of the Strict Observance. Caramuel sided with the former, and his relations with the influential Abbot of the Holy Cross in Rome, Ilarione Rancati, show his unwillingness to take sides in the quarrel, although he tended to stand closer to the more conservative Common Observers. Nevertheless, whether Reformers or Conservators, both camps held a firm stand in favor of tradition: the teaching of the founders became rogatory in the schools of the main religious orders.

Caramuel's moral theology was not necessarily a product of Jesuit training: he merely imparted what he had received from his Cistercian teachers, first at the monastery of Monte Rama (Orense), and afterwards in Salamanca, where he studied in the books of "noster Lorca apud Complutenses primarius cathedraicus" (*Rationalis et realis philosophia*, p. 79) before he, himself, taught in the Colleges of his Order. It is seldom noted how much Caramuel relied upon the theological tradition of Cîteaux as a disciple of Bernard. The polemical and often flashing character of his thought as well as his persistent preoccupation with claiming the originality of his sayings<sup>2</sup> have often concealed his theological sources, particularly his debt to Bernard and the Bernardine theologians.

In his *Catalogus* printed in 1652 in Frankfurt, Caramuel mentions his interest in Bernard: "...multum olim in Bernardi castigatione et illustratione elaboravi; multa etiam num habeo parata, multa diebus singulis occurrunt, quae poterunt intento prodesse. Sed quia dare iam non potero Bernardum, qualem volui, dabo qualem per tempus licuit, et qualem volebam explicabo, si forte alius, aut Ego alias, possim hunc laborem subire."

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<sup>2</sup> A perfect anagram of Ioannes de Caramuel is: *En declaras nova mei* (*Theologia praeterintentionalis*, Lugduni 1664, beginning).

He mentions his huge corpus of material and sources, and laments the loss of his manuscripts. The *Bernardus Triumphans*<sup>3</sup> attests to Caramuel's knowledge of Bernard's life and the writings against Abaelardus; among the charges against Abaelardus, he mentions the following proposition:

God is compelled by necessity to do whatever he does. (p. 64)

Moreover, a close study of the *Commentary* of the *Summa theologica* by his countryman and religious fellow Pedro de Lorca (Belmonte/Cuenca 1561–Alcalà 1612), who taught in Alcalà, at the Complutense, in the chair of Scotus,<sup>4</sup> shows how much Caramuel's moral theology is indebted to the tradition of his Order (Caramuel's renunciation in Louvain, to Lorca's thesis of grace and mortal sin seems more a tactical move than a deep conviction). Lorca commented on the *Summa theologica*, and was able to publish his lessons on the Ia–IIae [I–LXX], that is on the three treatises *De peccatis*, *De legibus* and *De gratia* (2 vol., Compluti 1609) (BnF: D-136). After his death (1612, he was 52), lessons were published on the II–IIae [I–XLV] (posthumous Madrid 1614) (D-137) and the first 26 questions of the Third Part (posthumous, Compluti 1616) (D-138). Pedro de Lorca is the light of Cistercian theology, and it is no surprise that Caramuel read it carefully. We tried to do the same, using the set of volumes at the Bibliothèque nationale de France which bears, on the first volume, the autograph ex-libris of Ysambert (1569–1642), who taught theology as Regius Professor in Paris from 1616 to 1642.

We shall not presently try to treat Lorca's adaptation of Thomism: through lengthy *disputationes*, he reinterprets many questions of the *doctor angelicus* through a different doctrinal standpoint, largely in-

<sup>3</sup> *Bernardus Petrum Abailardum eiusque potentissimos sectarios Triumphans*, Lovanium 1644, BnF (microfiches, Ln-27.24952).

<sup>4</sup> Copy D-136 (137, 138) at the BnF (Alcalà 1609, 1614 et 1616). Some words have been underlined by the same ink(?) as the autograph ex-libris in the *De gratia*, t. 1, p. 583.

spired by Duns Scot and Bernard. In his treatise *De actibus humanis*, he insists on the freedom of reason (the same in God as in us, since we have been created in his image and likeness) and introduces the probability of opinions for moral choices:

...in rigore philosophico probabilius existimo moralitatem posse esse absque actuali libertate. (p. 379)

In his discussion of natural law, Lorca weakens the Thomist concept by saying that natural law does not include all the virtues *universaliter* and that the first principle (*bonum est amandum, malum est fugiendum*) should be interpreted in a negative way (we do not seek anything other than goodness, we do not fly from anything other than evil). Finally, Lorca proposes to maintain that natural law depends on the various peoples. This introduces the argument of ignorance, *invincibilis* or *vincibilis*.

Caramuel mentions Lorca, in his *Catalogus* (p. 12) among the *heterodox metaphysicians*, pointing out what he holds as Lorca's major contribution in the renewal of the whole set of sacred Sciences: *gratiam peccatumque in eodem instanti intrinseco et reali esse simul*, the temporal coexistence of (mortal) sin and grace.<sup>5</sup> This thesis is proposed and discussed by Lorca in his disputatio XL *De gratia* (in *Iam-IIae*, t. 2, pp. 800–805):

...utrum peccatum mortale expellat gratiam physice, an solum de meritorie, et moraliter.

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<sup>5</sup> T. Raynaud, *Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris, deque justa aut injusta eorumdem confixione, cum indicibus necessariis*, Lugduni 1653, p. 252: "...novam sententiam philosophicam Petri de Lorca, qui simul et semel (tametsi non nisi transeunter) formam et privationem eius, duasque oppositas formas inesse per momentum eisdem subiecto existimavit. Inde periculosam semper sum arbitratus, quod, ut idem auctor fassus consequenter est, dici posse videatur, quod gratia sanctificans et mortale peccatum, coëxistant in eadem anima per momentum, panisque et corpus Christi, sub iisdem accidentibus transeunter inveniantur." (I owe this reference to Jakob Schmutz.)



In this question – *antiqua controversia inter scholasticos* – two opinions have been raised: the first one, espoused by Cajetanus, Soto, *et plures alii ex Thomistis recentioribus (et defenditur acriter a quibusdam Neotericis)* is opposed to the concomitance of grace and mortal sin, while another set of theologians sees it as only a moral discrepancy, which does not imply a physical contradiction: this view is chiefly held by the Scotists. The main outcome of this dissociation of actual grace from sin, meaning that they may exist together, is a reconsideration of actual sin.

The original Cistercian view about divine grace and human freewill stems from Bernard's treatise *De gratia et libero arbitrio* and his Sermon 81 (10) on the Song of Songs. For Bernard, original sin cancelled freedom *a peccato*, which he calls *libertas consilii*, but maintained a freedom *a necessitate*, which is the *libertas arbitrii* as such. Lorca used the Bellarminian distinction between *potentia physica* and *impotentia moralis* (*De gratia et libero arbitrio*, cap. 8). Will, at the pursuit of an honest good, may not follow the injunction of reason (p. 338). Lorca underlines that the goodness of an action does not ask its author to keep charity as an end, or as the goal of his action. A good action does not necessarily aim to the supreme good: it is enough that it is not bad in itself, and is considered as good by its author (in Iam-IIae, q. 20, a. 6, disput. XLVII, p. 332). Lorca quotes several times Bernard as an authority:

Will, wherever it turns, is always accompanied by reason, not that it be always moved by reason, but it is never moved without it.<sup>6</sup>

The immediate outcome for moral theology is the neutrality of all actions, which receive their moral qualities from their subject, their object, the circumstances, etc. Moreover, the main tenet in Caramuel's

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<sup>6</sup> "...habet sane quocumque se verterit voluntas semper rationem comitem, non quod semper ex ratione, sed quod numquam absque ratione moveatur." (pp. 335-336), *De gratia et libero arbitrio*.

moral theology is the assurance that moral evil is not contained in any action, but produced by the law which condemns it:

...malitia est dissonantia ab lege.<sup>7</sup>

Since no action (at least, no moral action) is *per se* bad, Caramuel is able to maintain that God can dispense from the observance of the Ten Commandments. Here again, his source is Lorca. Lorca introduces the discussion on God's power to dispense from the obligations of the Decalogue (*De legibus*, disp. IX, p. 396): the first opinion is that of the Nominalists ("Deum posse dispensare omnia et singula praecepta legis naturae si potentia sua absoluta velit uti"), the second opinion stems from Scotus (some commandments can be dispensed of, the negative ones),<sup>8</sup> the third one (*mihi plus probatur tertia sententia*):

...non potest Deus dispensare legem naturae, quoad aliquod praeceptum, etiamsi de inferioribus et remotioribus sit dispensatione, quae vere et proprie sit dispensatio, et eadem ratione non potest ullum praeceptum legis naturae abrogare. Secundum: Deus potest potentia absoluta et ordinaria facere ut lex naturae in aliquo eventu non obliget, non quidem abrogatione, aut dispensatione, sed indirecta immutatione, ut cesset legis materia, aut lex ipsa, variatione circumstantiarum et subtractione conditionis requisitae, ut lex naturae obliget et subsistat.

Here again, the discussion is partly borrowed from Saint Bernard, *De praecepto et dispensatione*:

...quod immutabile nominant, illud intelligo, quod non ab homine traditum, sed divinitus promulgatum, nisi a Deo qui tradidit, mutari non potest.

<sup>7</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis intentionalis*, Francofurti 1652.

<sup>8</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia intentionalis*, Lugduni 1664, p. 265, n. 1214: Bernard distinguishes between the first and the second tables of the Decalogue.

As a matter of fact, in the second volume of the *Theologia regularis*, Caramuel writes at this occasion:

...[to the question: can God dispense with the Decalogue?] respondeo placere opinionem Scoti, quam ille didicit a D. Bernardo, et suos discipulos docuit. (vol. 2, p. 295, n. 3256)

Natural moral law consists indeed in God's positive precepts, and He is able to dispense from them, so that a moral action can be good or bad according to God's will.<sup>9</sup> More exactly, God can dispense from the second set of commandments (the negative ones), which is Scotus's position, the theologians habitually agree that He cannot dispense from the first table, the positive commandments, a limitation which does not imply the obligation of the contradictory or of the opposite.

After discussing several *sententiae* and a long exposition of his *Sententia vera*,<sup>10</sup> Caramuel calls upon Saint Bernard in two lengthy disputations: *An Bernardus nostram habeat sententiam?* (*Does Bernard agree with our opinion?*) and *An Bernardus Dei auctoritatem libertatemque rationibus fortibus suadeat?* (*Does Bernard bring strong reasons to assert God's power and freedom?*). Caramuel borrows his authorities from Saint Bernard's treatise *De praecepto and dispensatione*, cap. 7. A good instance is given by the suicide of Samson: if suicide is *per se* a wicked action, Samson should be damned, but in his case, he did God's will by destroying his enemies, and succumbing to his action as a secondary effect of his decision. So the change in matter can affect the prohibition: *Thou shalt not kill* does not apply to the animals, the sixth commandment does not apply to one's husband or wife, etc. In some way, Caramuel enlarges the opening made by Bernard, and extends to the first table the opinion about the second:

<sup>9</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis intentionalis*, lib. II, De lege morali, disput. VI: *Utrum Deus possit dispensare in praeceptis Decalogi?*, pp. 253–261.

<sup>10</sup> He published the opinion given to him on Dec. 9, 1643 by Petrus Marchantius (*Theologia regularis*, Lugduni 1665, t. 2, pp. 245–251 (nn. 3147–3164)).

a change of matter is possible also for the positive commandments, which do not necessarily bind in any case.

In the resolution of cases, this possible dispensation of the commandments brings out a very specific question: is it sinful to say *how much I would enjoy fornicating, if fornication were not forbidden by God?* To those who oppose him that *fornication, murder or lying are evil things*, Caramuel answers that they are *theologically* evil, but not *intrinsically*, not from their own nature or essence, but only because they are prohibited by the Decalogue. *Intrinsece mala fieri nequeunt*. He contends that his opinion is shared by the whole Classical School of theologians: the Scotists and the Nominalists, because they think that all or most of the precepts of the Decalogue are free, and Thomas, who thinks they are necessary, but nevertheless does not grant there could be something essentially bad. And if somebody said: *if fornication were not fornication, I would fornicate*, he would just be mad, and therefore not guilty. Furthermore, if somebody said, *I would commit murder, if murder had not been prohibited by God*, he is supposed to commit a mortal sin according to saint Thomas, and no sin at all according to Scotus. However, Caramuel grants that to say: “I would kill, if murder were not punished by law”, or “I would have an affair with Clorida, if she were not married (or: a nun)”, or “I would have an affair with Phyllis, if she were not my best friend’s wife” are, to varying degrees, sinful thoughts and sayings.

Caramuel divides moral life into segments, and every segment is bound to its circumstances, which will assess the moral valuation of the action (or non-action).

In any case, and without giving a detailed investigation of Lorca’s teaching, I would like to emphasize that the conditions were ripe to produce the *theologia praeterintentionalis*, Caramuel’s most notable contribution, which is a moral theology that evaluates acts according to their intention. We can already find in the act itself the very matter of it, that is the understanding of the conscience the subject might have of his action. This explains the various cases espoused in the ill-famed volume of the *Theologia praeterintentionalis*. As I would not

like to write a new *Provinciale*, I will just limit myself to some of them to illustrate my argument.

At the battle of Nieuport (1600), the archduke Albert to save his troops, defeated by the Anglo-Dutch coalition, ordered a headlong retreat, which meant a heavy massacre of civilians, women and children, clustered behind of the army. The case is discussed by Caramuel: a) it is illicit to kill innocents, if the retreat can be done in another way; b) if there is no other issue (*si erat periculum in mora et imminebat certa aut probabile calamitas*), then the soldiers could, for their own security, and to save their lives, as they were ordered to do, make their path and even murder innocent people.

Caramuel raises a typical objection: what about the babes, thus killed before being baptized? Is it not sinful to send them to hell? Caramuel answers that you kill heartily the criminal who assaults you, and who shall necessarily go unforgiven right to hell, while the unfortunate babes either won't at all be punished – an opinion shared by Caramuel – or, according to Augustine, they shall go to Limbo, with so light a penance that it is better to endure it than to disappear forever.

By the way, Caramuel quotes here the opinion of a certain Samuel of Lublin. I think this should refer to Rabbi Samuel Eliezer Ben Judah Edels, known as Samuel of Lublin (a Polish rabbi, born in Posen, 1555; died at Ostrog, November 30, 1631).<sup>11</sup> This reference shows

<sup>11</sup> His published works are: *novellae* on Behah and Yebamot, Basel 1600; on Nidah and Nedarim, Prague 1602; and on the other treatises of the Talmud, Lublin 1611–1621; *novellae* on the haggadic portions of the Talmud, vol. i., Lublin 1627; vol. ii., Cracow 1631; supplement to parts of his halakic *novellae*, Lublin 1670; hymns for the Sabbath in the work *Habbalat Shabbat*, Lublin 1620. Most editions of the Talmud contain Edels' *novellae*.

Bibliography: *Ha-Nesher*, No. 20, Lemberg 1864; C. N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, ii. 126, Cracow 1893; B. Friedberg, *Luhot Zikkaron*, Drohobiez 1897, p. 16; idem, *Geschichte der Familie Schor*, Frankfurt 1901, p. 10; S. A. Horodetzky, *Shem mi-Shemuel*, Drohobiez 1875; S. B. Nissenbaum, *Lekorot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin*, Lublin, 1899, p. 34; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, col. 2419; Grätz, *Geschichte*, Hebr. transl., Warsaw 1899, viii, 111; M. Perles, *Megillot Yuhasin*, Warsaw 1899, p. 32 (from the entry in the *Jewishencyclopedia.com*).

another source of Caramuel's moral theology, the rabbinic writings, in this case the *hiddushim*“ (novellae written by Rabbi Samuel on the entire Talmud. His constant desire was to discover something new and original, and because of his originality, discussions that were actually quite complex and difficult seemed to him extremely simple.

Rabbi Samuel in 1600 published part of his *hiddushim* anonymously. On learning that his new method had made a favorable impression upon his contemporaries, he published the remaining part in 1611. He also endeavored to apply his new method to the *Haggadot* of the Talmud. This he did in a work which he published in 1627 in opposition to the many rabbis who devoted their time to the Cabala, and who tried to explain the Haggadah by means of it. He considered the method of his opponents as a mere waste of time.

Caramuel quotes Rabbi Samuel saying the the horseman retreating, flying from the enemy, who runs over a child sleeping on a road is guilty. But Caramuel disagrees: the horseman is obeying orders, and has a *ius viae*: a road is intended to travel, not to sleep, and the child has no *ius spatii* over it, the road does not belong to him and is not intended as a sleeping place!

Let us propose another example (p. 128) which is quite real: in *Al-bitorpius* (I think it is Weisstorf, a city in Lithuania), a criminal takes a four-year old child as a hostage and climbs in the bell tower of a church to escape the police. The parents of the child want to give him some food to feed the child, but the magistrates forbid it. If the child dies of hunger, are the Magistrates' guilty? The theologian answers: no, because their intention is not the death of the child, but the surrender of the criminal. If the child dies, the kidnapper is guilty, not the magistrates. He makes the point that the criminal, afraid of dying of hunger, surrendered ultimately and the child was taken back safe and sound to her parents. In this dramatic context, Caramuel has a very humane touch:

...interim puello non auderem ego alimenta negare, etsi per accidens et contra intentionem sequeretur illi scelerato et criminoso profutura: prae-

stat enim ut vivere permittatur reus quam ut perire cogatur innocens. Ceterum, quia aliud est minari, aliud facere (some other means might have been found to threaten the criminal and compel him to surrender leaving the child uninjured).

The burden of many sinful actions is thus alleviated by a double action: the reduction of one action to separate elements, and the application of the *intentio*. Sin is defined as a free madness, a voluntary delirium (*Theologia intentionalis*, p. 337, n. 1517). Caramuel's new theology has deep traditional roots in his own Cistercian tradition, from Bernard and Lorca at least, and perhaps from other authors yet to be unearthed (probably including Jewish commentators on the Talmud). I already have already stated that Caramuel's morals are intended for the angels who live in the *aevum* where time is a non-durative succession of instants. The coeval existence of grace and sin explains probabilism, that is, another way of looking at the same action as a rigorist theologian. Since every action is committed in a separate fragment of time, this *pointilliste* view of moral life induces successive judgements and opinions, making it easy to find a way out of culpability. Technically intended for angels, Caramuel's morals delineate the horizon of action, the world as an anticipation of the empyreum where all humans shall dwell as perfect and virtuous souls.





## "On Rabbinic Atheism": Caramuel's Critique of Cabala

Yossef Schwartz

Jewish Kabbalah might be defined briefly as a form of theosophical and philosophical *Arcanum*, parallel to and interconnected with Moslem and Christian medieval spiritual movements.<sup>1</sup> Its literal expressions first appear during the early decades of the thirteenth century, reached their peak at its end and continued to flourish during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. As a Jewish tradition the Kabbalah had many liturgical and ritual implications. The Kabbalists tended to differentiate themselves fundamentally from Jewish philosophical traditions, often through sharp polemics and conflicts. Arguing against the philosophers, Kabbalists claimed that they were the true adherents of ancient Jewish tradition and myth. However, beyond this strong divorcement, many Kabbalists are deeply involved with philosophic

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<sup>1</sup> I have no intention to provide the reader here with any kind of introductory remark on Kabbalah. The classic research on the origins and nature of Kabbalah is to be found in the work of Gerschom Scholem – esp. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York 1973 (first edition 1941) (= *Major Trends*); idem, *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem 1974; Moshe Idel suggested a series of essential corrections to Scholem's historical description, and see M. Idel, *Kabbala: New Perspectives*, New Haven 1988; to the nature of Kabbalistic esotericism and its origins see idem, "Maimonides and Kabbalah", in: I. Twersky (ed.), *Studies in Maimonides*, Cambridge (MA) – London 1990, pp. 31–81; and see also M. Halbertal, *Concealment and Revelation: Esotericism in Jewish Thought and Its Philosophical Implications*, trans. J. Feldman, Princeton, New Jersey 2007.

speculations. It was mostly on the theoretical level that the Kabbalah attracted also Christian attention. The so-called “Christian Kabbalah” ignores the ritual and legal aspects of Jewish Kabbalistic speculation and reads it in harmony with philosophic thought. Under the title “Christian Kabbalah” one may find innumerable writings and cultural practices that are positioned within the larger framework of Christian Hebraism, i.e. the encounter of the Christian world with Hebrew literature and with ancient Jewish Truth (*Hebraica veritas*). From the 12th century, such pursuit was linked to the discovery of post-biblical Jewish literature, especially of the Talmud, the Midrash and Judaeo-Arabic philosophical speculation.<sup>2</sup> During the period of the late Renaissance and Humanism there emerged an intellectual movement that can be identified by its interest in Kabbalistic literature. Members of this movement engaged in the translation of central works of Jewish Kabbalah into Latin and into European vernacular, and in the creation of a tradition of Kabbalah study and interpretation.<sup>3</sup>

Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz was neither a Hebraist in the strict sense of the word, nor was he part of the tradition of Christian Kabbalah. However, in 1643 he published a short description of the linguistic praxis of Kabbalah<sup>4</sup> and during the 1650s he composed another two short treatises dealing with Kabbalistic theology.<sup>5</sup> Reading his

<sup>2</sup> See A. Funkenstein, “Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages”, *Viator* 2, 1971, pp. 373–382.

<sup>3</sup> On Christian Kabbalah see J. L. Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance*, New York 1944; G. Scholem, “Die Erforschung der Kabbalah von Reuchlin bis zur Gegenwart”, in: *Iudaica 3. Studien zur jüdischen Mystik*, Frankfurt 1970, pp. 247–263; J. Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah*, Cambridge (MA) 1997; W. Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbalah*, Ostfildern 2003.

<sup>4</sup> E. Puteanus, *De anagrammatismo, quae Cabalae pars est, diatriba, amoenitatis causa scripta, utilitatis edita. Accedit Io. Caramuelis LobkowitzI brevissimum totius Cabalae specimen*, Bruselas 1643, pp. 61–81; J. Caramuel, *Cabalae grammaticae specimen, ó Modo que los rabinos tienen de deletrear la Sagrada Escritura* (Bruselas 1642, Romae 1663).

<sup>5</sup> J. Caramuel, *Cabalae theologicae exidium: sive contra cabalistas Rabinos, qui ne unum quidem de Deo verbum in sacris Bibliis contineri somniantur*, Romae 1656;

thoughts on this matter reveals unexpected ideas concerning a series of central issues:

1. Caramuel's politics and his theory on the Catholic mission during the Thirty Years War.
2. Caramuel's concept of Jewish Kabbalah and its role as the central mode of rabbinic thinking or of Jewish Theology in his time.
3. Caramuel's general notion of atheism and his strong censure of his contemporary culture for being atheistic.
4. The critique of Kabbalah as an atheistic doctrine. As I shall discuss below, in modern scholarship such a negative judgment of the Kabbalah is often attributed to Johann Georg Wachter (1699). Caramuel provides a unique example of metaphysical anti-Kabbalistic argument in the mid-17th century.

In the following I shall describe the historical circumstances of Caramuel's writings on Kabbalah and then develop a brief discussion of the four points mentioned above.

It seems that Caramuel's decisive and negative impetus towards Jewish theology emerged out of a very concrete situation. His close friend, the Roman Bishop Joseph Maria Ciantes, who had been appointed by Pope Urban VIII already in 1626 to convert the Jewish Roman community.<sup>6</sup> As part of his missionary efforts Ciantes wrote in the late 1660's two polemical works, concerning the Christian Dogmas of the Trinity<sup>7</sup> and of the Incarnation.<sup>8</sup> Both works were based mainly

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J. Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Judicium*, in: J. Ciantes, *Summa divi Thomae Aquinatis Ordinis Praedicatorum contra gentiles*, Romae 1657 (= *Judicium*).

<sup>6</sup> On Ciantes' epitaph one reads: "Praedicator christianae fidei Romae ad Hebraeos." And see Quetif-Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, tom. II, pars II, Parisiis 1719-1723, pp. 634f.; F. Ughellus, *Italia sacra*, Venetiis, tom. VII, p. 735; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 2b, Paris 1905, col. 2472.

<sup>7</sup> J. Ciantes, *De sanctissima Trinitate ex antiquorum Hebraeorum testimonijis evidenter comprobata*, Romae 1667.

<sup>8</sup> J. Ciantes, *De sanctissima incarnatione clarissimis Hebraeorum doctrinis ab eorundem argumentorum oppositionibus evidenter defensa*, Romae 1668.

on ideas taken from Jewish Kabbalistic sources, relying especially on Yehuda Hayat's commentary on *Sefer Maarechet Ha-Elohut*.<sup>9</sup> Earlier, in the mid 1650s, as part of the same effort at conversion, Ciantes also published a monumental work: a bilingual edition of the first three Parts of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*, which includes the original Latin Text and a Hebrew translation prepared by Ciantes himself.<sup>10</sup> Caramuel was asked to judge the work and justify it in view of the critical voices raised against it in Rome. His *Iudicium* is a long and dense article, spread over 44 double columned large folios and divided into thirteen chapters and 120 paragraphs.<sup>11</sup>

Caramuel's treatise reflects a direct and thorough acquaintance with Jewish literature, especially with Jewish Kabbalah, both in original Hebrew and through Latin sources. It seems highly probable, that Caramuel gained much of this knowledge during his period in Prague (late 1640s), where he was deeply involved in the anti-Protestant struggle and became closely acquainted with Jewish Kabbalistic sources. It seems that his move from Prague to Rome, where a more general discussion on the Catholic mission and its global conditions was taking place, had a strong influence on the specific claims he developed in this treatise. As on many other occasions, here as well, Caramuel reacts in a polemical tone to the concrete challenge of the condemnation of his friend's work.

A concrete relation to Prague can be found in two places in Caramuel's text.

The first is a quotation from *Imre Binah*<sup>12</sup> by Issachar Baer, son of Moshe Ptachia of Kremnitz, a kabbalistic work that was published in Prague in 1611. This is Caramuel's only quotation taken from a contemporary source. When introducing the author Caramuel uses su-

<sup>9</sup> 1558 מפערכת האלקות עם פי' הגאון כמהר"ר יהודה חייט, מנטובה

<sup>10</sup> J. Ciantes, *Summa divi Thomae Aquinatis Ordinis Praedicatorum contra gentiles quam Hebraicè eloquitur Iosephus Ciantes Romanus episcopus Marsicensis ex eodem ordine assumptus*, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> J. Caramuel, *Iudicium*, op. cit., pp. 1-44.

<sup>12</sup> See n. 27 below.

perlatives that he otherwise uses only concerning the great Kabbalist R. Moshe Cordovero. It seems highly probable that such disproportionate admiration of a rather marginal scholar must have been the result of his direct acquaintance with some living figure in Prague.

Another connection to his relationships with the intellectual scene in Prague occurs towards the end of his *Iudicium*, where Caramuel quotes from his correspondence with Ioannes Marcus Marci (Jan Marek Marci), to whom he sent parts of Ciantes' translation and who also had a positive opinion of it.<sup>13</sup> Marek suggested that the project should not stop with the Hebrew translation but should develop further, in order to translate the work of Aquinas to other oriental languages as well, especially to Arabic. He also suggested to fill the linguistic gaps where Hebrew language lacks the necessary philosophical terminology, with Arabic terms instead of the Greek and Latin ones that are much more foreign to Hebrew idiomatic structure.

Caramuel starts his discussion in the *Iudicium* with the claim raised by some young Roman theologians who rejected the basic idea of translating the *Summa contra gentiles* into Hebrew. Thomas's main apologetic aim in this *Summa*, they argued, is to prove the existence of God and His unity in a rational way, dominated by Christian reasoning. However, such a project has no relevance for the contemporary Jew because: One, no one doubts such basic religious principles any longer, and especially not the Jews who always believed in the existence of the one God and argue against Christianity especially on Christological grounds; Two, Thomas based his arguments on the subtle method of scholastic discussion. Such method is open only to a scholar trained in scholastic method, especially in metaphysics and dialectics. But the Jews are uncouth merchants who have neither experience nor taste for dialectic argumentation.<sup>14</sup> If these anonymous claims quoted by Caramuel reflect real opinions of the time, then it seems that the debate concentrated not only upon the right method

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2, §§ 2–3.

for converting the Jews but also upon the basic value of the Thomistic intellectual approach in a modern world that no longer shares common concepts of rationality.

In his answer to this approach, Caramuel develops two principal arguments:

1. The basic principles developed by Thomas are far from being trivial or self-evident for 17th century Europe. On the contrary, looking closely at the European and global situation one finds that “the world (marvelous, immense, limitless, that its light was taken) is afflicted with malignant disease. Those who until yesterday were Gentiles, Jews and Arabs, or Heretics, all those became nowadays atheists.”<sup>15</sup> The first part of Caramuel’s treatise is dedicated therefore to the proof of this general claim, whereas most of the discussion, besides a rather short paragraph concerning the Moslems,<sup>16</sup> is dedicated to Luther, Calvin, Bucer and Protestantism at large.<sup>17</sup>
2. Concerning the Jews, Caramuel again develops a double argument: first, a minority of Jewish intellectuals hold leading positions in their communities. Converting such leading individual figures might prove decisive for thousands who would follow them.<sup>18</sup> Second, these intellectuals are all adherents of the secret and supreme theology of the Jews, which is the Kabbalah.<sup>19</sup> What is generally

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3, § 7: “Mundus (monstrum immane, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum) lue pestisera & lethali laborat. Qui heri errant Ethnici, Iudei, Ismaelitae, aut Haeretici, hodie sunt athei.”

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4, § 9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, § 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2, § 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5: “...suprema et fundamentalis Iudaeorum Theologia.” Caramuel describes Kabbalah often in such superlatives. Such formulations does not differ so much from definitions suggested by Gershom Scholem as he describes Kabbalah as the “mystischen Theologie des Judentums”, and see G. Scholem, “Abraham Cohen Herrera - Leben, Werk und Wirkung”, in: *Abraham Cohen Herrera, Das Buch שער השמים oder Pforte des Himmels*, aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von F. Häußermann, Frankfurt 1974, p. 8 (= *Herrera*).

true for the spiritual situation of Europe is even truer for these Kabbalists, and their dangerous teaching threatens not only Jewish religiosity but is even capable of spreading out and afflicting the Christian intellectual world. "Fundamental" or "Supra natural" theology is defined here as that part of theology that deals with divine perfections and attributes, deducing it from the testimonies of the Holy Scripture.<sup>20</sup> Jews also have such theology, which is known only to few and is rooted in chimerical speculations. This Jewish secret and supreme theology threatens the whole Christian world. Therefore, no Christian mission among the Jews can be based on such secret theology.<sup>21</sup> Here Caramuel rejects not only Jewish theology but also, and perhaps even primarily, the Christian intellectual tradition that is based on Kabbalistic sources and that hopes to convert the Jews with the aid of arguments taken from Kabbalistic literature. Caramuel mentions Ioannes Reuchlin, Raymundus Lullus, Pico della Mirandola, Agrippa of Nethesheim and Robert Fludd. But interestingly enough he could also have referred to his friend Joseph Ciantes, who as I mentioned above, makes intensive use of Kabbalistic sources in his converting efforts of the Jews. I found no evidence to any acquaintance with the Kabbalistic writings of Henry More, to whom I shall refer below. Yet Caramuel believes in the basic methodology of Aquinas and of the Thomistic interpretation of late scholastics of which he quotes especially Spanish thinkers like Phillipus de SS Trinitate, Vasquez, Granado and Antonio Bernardo de Quiros.<sup>22</sup>

Without entering into too many details on the issue, it is important to note that many modern scholars also assume that the Kabbalah maintained such supreme position in the Jewish intellectual milieu of

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<sup>20</sup> J. Caramuel, *Iudicium*, op. cit., p. 4, § 11: "Suprema (vel ... Supernaturalis) Theologia est Scholastica quaedam Facultas, Sacrae Scripturae testimonia prae-mittens, & ex illis Dei perfectionis, & attributa inferens, & exponens."

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7, §§ 13–14.

the 16th–17th centuries, a position that culminated in the Sabbatian movement in the 17th and Hassidism in the 18th centuries. In their eyes, even the opposition against Kabbalah at that time seems to reflect its dominance.<sup>23</sup>

Caramuel's reflections on Judaism in this tractate contain no element of rabbinical literature or of Jewish medieval philosophy, which indeed was in decline at that period but still had some representative figures, especially in Italy. The only rabbinical (and philosophical) authority he mentions, besides his Kabbalistic sources, is the Spanish-Italian scholar Itzhak Abravanel. Regarding Caramuel's Kabbalistic sources it is important to differentiate between his Jewish-Hebrew and European-Latin sources. In the first category, certainly the most dominant work is *Pardes Rimonim* by R. Moses Cordovero, an encyclopedic work that summarized medieval Kabbalistic and philosophic sources<sup>24</sup> that was written at the end of the 16th century. Other works quoted by Caramuel, such as Gikatilya's *Shaarey Ora (Portae lucis)*, reflect much less intensive reading and might very well be secondary quotations taken from Cordovero or otherwise from Christian Latin sources. A survey of Caramuel's Kabbalistic quotations throughout his writings clearly demonstrates that Caramuel belongs to large group of European scholars of the first half of the 17th century who are totally ignorant of the newly developed Lurianic Kabbalah. Abraham Cohen Herrera was the only European writer at that time who developed a completed new synthesis between Lurianic Kabbalah and Hermetic philosophy.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For a updated summary of the materials and positions see M. Idel, "Differing Conception of Kabbalah in the Early 17th Century", in: I. Twersky and B. Septimus (eds.), *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge (MA) - London 1987, pp. 137–200.

<sup>24</sup> For Cordovero see B. Sack, *The Kabbalah of Rabbi Moshe Cordevero*, Jerusalem 1995 (in Hebrew).

<sup>25</sup> To Herrera's work see G. Scholem, *Herrera*, op. cit.; A. Altmann, "Lurianic Kabbalah in a Platonic Key: Abraham Cohen Herrera's *Puerta del Cielo*", in: I. Twersky and B. Septimus (eds.), *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, op. cit., pp. 1–37.



But his Spanish work remained unpublished. Only a partial Hebrew translation was printed during the 1650s and was later translated into Latin within the larger innovative project of the *Kabbala denudata*.<sup>26</sup>

According to Caramel, the Kabbalah that dominates Jewish Rabbinic theology leads to atheism and this rabbinic atheism is characterized by two main features: one, it denies the presence of the divine in the writings of the revelation and two, it replaces God with new, secondary and mediatory divine powers. The main point of departure here is the relation between God and the created universe. The Kabbalistic mechanism of explaining Creation, Revelation and Divine Providence is basically Neo-Platonic and rests on a highly complicated and developed system of emanations. Relying on "R. Isachor Beer filius Moyseos Pesach lib. Imre Binah"<sup>27</sup> Caramuel explains the central Kabbalistic hypothesis of the four worlds: "*Summa Mysterij eorum est, inquit (R. Issaschar Baer), Emanatio Mundi Archytipi; Creatio Mundi intellectualis, seu Angelici; Formatio Mundi syderei; & Factio Mundi Minoris, seu Elementaris.*" The four worlds of Emanation (Atsiluth), of Creation (Baria), of Formation (Ietsirah) and finally the Factual world (Hasciah) are actually four ontological levels of cosmic reality, of which only the fourth includes our physical universe. Caramuel, however, concentrates on the first, the world of emanation, where he is interested mainly in the relation between Ensof, i.e. divine infinity, and the system of the Sefiroth or divine emanations.

The nature of the Godhead and the way it is expressed by the mythical figures of Adam Kadmon and the tree of the Sefiroth was a central issue among Kabbalists in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern

<sup>26</sup> R. Abraham Cohen Irira, "Liber שער השמיים seu Porta Coelorum in quo Dogmata Cabbalistica Philosophicè proponuntur & cum Philosophia Platonica conferuntur", in: Christian Freiherr Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabala denudata seu doctrina Hebraeorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque theologica*, Sulzbach 1678-1684 (ND by Olms 1999), pars tertia, pp. 3-192.

<sup>27</sup> J. Caramuel, *Iudicium*, op. cit., p. 8; Caramuel refers here to *Sefer Imre Binah*, written by R. Issachar Baer, son of Moshe Ptachya, from Kremnitz, that was published in Prague 1611 by Moshe ben Betzalel Katz, pp. 2b-3a.

Age. It was also a matter for internal Jewish debate between Kabbalists and Philosophers. Making the Sefiroth a part of the Divine itself seems to question the monotheistic nature of Judaism, as against the Christian concept of trinity or even idolatry. When Caramuel argues that there is an inner contradiction between Jewish denial of the trinity and Kabbalistic affirmation of Sefiroth he is just repeating a claim raised already by the Kabbalist Abraham Abulafia at the end of the 13th century, when he argued that the masters of the Sefirotic Kabbalah reject Christian dogma because it makes the one God into three, while they themselves turn him into ten.<sup>28</sup>

Kabbalists who wanted to avoid such dangers of pantheism and polytheism had to stress the transcendence of the Godhead above the Sefiroth as its dynamic manifestation. This could be achieved by emphasizing the unique ontological status of the first Sefira – Kether, or by creating an inner division within Kether itself, between its transcendent aspect of absolute unity and its “communicative” aspect of emanation, or by putting Ensof above the whole tree of the Sefiroth, including the first Sefira of Kether.<sup>29</sup> Christian Kabbalists, from Pico della Mirandola, Paulus Ricius and Ioannes Reuchlin until Henry More developed these speculations about the unity aspect of Kether and the supreme status of the three higher Sefiroth above the seven lower ones (that are often interpreted as being parallel to the seven days of creation, i.e. to the created universe) in order to see here a direct confirmation of Christian Trinitarian teaching.<sup>30</sup> Caramuel rejects this as a typical case of wishful thinking and prefers to rely on the systematic and coherent claims of Moses Cordovero on this point. Cordovero was perhaps the most sophisticated among the phil-

<sup>28</sup> A. Abulafia, “Wezot Le-jehudah”, in: A. Jellinek (ed.), *Auswahl kabbalistischer Schriften*, I, Leipzig 1853, pp. 13–28.

<sup>29</sup> See G. Scholem, *Major Trends*, op. cit., pp. 207–243; idem, *Kabbalah*, op. cit., pp. 88–116.

<sup>30</sup> See W. Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis. Historische Umriss abend-ländischer Spiritualität in Antike, Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Frankfurt 1998, pp. 148–204, esp. pp. 160–168.

osophically - oriented Kabbalists, who, in order to avoid the pantheistic issue, preferred to locate "Ensof" above and beyond the whole system of Sefiroth. The problem is that while escaping the threat of pantheism, one falls very easily into difficult questions concerning the theological role of the Sefiroth, once they have been defined ontologically as being inferior to God. It seems that they gain the power of mediators between God and the created universe according to the Neo-Platonic teaching of mediated causes.<sup>31</sup> The possible similarity between the system of the ten Sefiroth and the parallel or analogous systems of the Ptolemean orbs, the separated substances or the intelligences of the Trans-lunar spheres<sup>32</sup> only augments the problem because all those entities are described by many, especially in the fields of Magic, Astrology and Alchemy, as mediating powers between the infinite God and the universe. This is exactly the point stressed by Caramuel throughout the whole treatise, which may be summarized in the following arguments:

1. Ontologically, the Kabalistic system assumes a real difference between God as creator and the Sefiroth as created entities. "Sephirae opinione Hebraeorum realiter loquendo non sunt Deus."<sup>33</sup> Caramuel formulated his argument also in a syllogistic form:

Hinc igitur rationem premissam poterimus alio modo formare. Dicamus sic:

Entitas infinitae perfectionis, & Entitas finitae perfectionis non possunt identificari.

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<sup>31</sup> See G. Scholem, *Major Trends*, op. cit., pp. 208f.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la kabbale dans la pensée juive du Moyen Age*, Paris 1962, pp. 396-403; A. Altmann, "Moses Narboni's 'Epistle on Shi'ur Qoma': A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text with an Introduction and an Annotated English Translation", in: idem (ed.), *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Cambridge (MA) 1967, pp. 225-264, esp. pp. 243-245.

<sup>33</sup> J. Caramuel, *Iudicium*, op. cit., p. 9, § 17.

At אין סוף *Ensoph (Deus) est perfectionis infinitae*, & אצילות *Atsiluth*,  
& *quaevis Sefhira finitae*  
*Ergo אין סוף Ensoph*, & אצילות *Atsiluthum distinguuntur realiter*.<sup>34</sup>

2. This ontologically absolute differentiation between God and the Sefiroth has epistemological and hermeneutical implications. Caramuel quotes a series of Kabbalistic sources that make assertions typical of Neo-Platonic oriented “*theologia negativa*”, i.e. that stresses the ineffable dimension of the divine. Other quotations help him prove that Kabbalistic hermeneutics interpret all biblical divine attributes as aiming to the Sefiroth. Even the attribute of creation, as appears in the first verse of Genesis becomes an attribute of the fifth Sefira *Gevura (Fortitudo)*.<sup>35</sup> In that point Caramuel completely ignores the dialectical tension, so typical of mystical and Neo-Platonic speculations, between the hidden dimension of the absolute one and the simultaneous plurality of its manifestations. Such speculation is to be found not only in medieval thinkers such as Meister Eckhart and Nicolaus Cusanus<sup>36</sup> but also in Robert Fludd’s *Philosophia Moysaica*, where precisely this Kabbalistic theory of *Ensof* is interpreted into series of dichotomic systems.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, § 24.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23, § 55: “*Ergo si hoc admittitur, illa scita periodus, In principio creavit creavit אלהים Elohim caelum, & terram, equivalebit huic: Sefhira Quinta cui nomen אלהים Elohim, et cognomen גבורה Gebura, in ipso temporis initio e non esse ad esse, caelestia et terrestria perduxit.*” See also p. 25, § 63.

<sup>36</sup> For both see W. Beierwaltes, *Platonismus im Christentum*, Frankfurt 2001, pp. 100–171.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. R. Fludd, *Philosophia Moysaica in qua sapientia & scientia creationis et creaturarum sacra vereque Christiana ... ad amussim & enucleate explicatur* (Auctore Rob. Fludd, alias de Fluctibus), Goudae 1638 (R. Fludd: *Mosaical Philosophy Grounded upon the Essential Truth or Eternal Sapience*, London 1659). Ebd., fol. 67r: “...videlicet ab ejus Noluntate & Voluntate, quarum una per tenebras, altera per lucem exprimitur .... Atque haec sua negativa seu contractiva action est perfectus suae noluntatis Character, cujus effectus generales sunt Tenebrae & privatio. ... Per istiusmodi ergo suae contemplationis objectum percipiebat, quod

However, Caramuel's interpretation of Ensof is not very far from some Kabbalistic interpretations, for instance that of Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut<sup>38</sup> or of R. Meir Ibn Gabay.<sup>39</sup>

3. This ontological placement has direct implications on the realm of ritual, liturgy and theurgy. Caramuel quoted from the rich Kabbalistic literature concerning the intentions (כוונות) of prayer and observation of commandments in order to show that the Kabbalists direct all their religious efforts toward the Sefiroth instead of towards God.<sup>40</sup> This he interpreted as direct evidence of idolatry.<sup>41</sup> He uses here the Maimonidean teaching as formulated by the Spanish Rabbi Itzhak Abravanel in his *Rosh Emunah*, a summary of Jewish basic dogmas. Caramuel quotes Abravanel's assertion, that any such worship of mediatory causes must be defined as idolatry.<sup>42</sup>

The hermeneutic problem again connects to the traditional Christian-Jewish polemics. In a way we find here in Caramuel an interest-

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actus ille tam voluntatis, quam noluntatis in unica unitate essentiali continebantur. ... Nam, quatenus ipsa est unum & omnia, ita quidem ejus voluntas & noluntas non est, nisi unica Identitas in ea & tamen omnia & per omnia." As motto to the second section, under the same emblem as on the front page of the book, Fludd quotes Jes. 45,67: "Ego Dominus et non est alter, formans Lucem, creans tenebras, faciens bonum et creans malum: Ego Dominus faciens haec omnia." See. R. Edighoffer, "'Philosophia Moysaica': die Wirkung der Kabbalah im älteren Rosenkreuzertum", in: W. Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbalah*, op. cit., pp. 143–155.

<sup>38</sup> See G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. E. Gottlieb, *Studies in the Kabbala Literature*, Tel Aviv 1976 (in Hebrew), p. 34.

<sup>40</sup> J. Caramuel, *Iudicium*, op. cit., pp. 26–27, §§ 64–66.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28, § 72.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30, § 80; Abravanel's claim belongs to a central rationalistic tradition derives directly from the formulation of Maimonides himself, claiming in his *Guide of the Perplexed* (III, 29–30) that the main aim of Jewish Law is the destruction of all forms of idolatry and identifying the basic source of idolatry in the theological fallacy of those who mistakenly worship mediated causes.

ing reversal of the traditional argument. The Pauline claim, repeated by Christians throughout the Middle Ages, regards the Jews as the representatives of the literal meaning of divine revelation, blind to its pneumatic level. In the Augustinian interpretation it was precisely this blind loyalty to the written law that gave the Jews the right to maintain their existence, even within Christian medieval communities.<sup>43</sup> Major parts of Christian polemics were therefore dedicated to the effort to reveal the Christian truth within the literary meaning of Scriptures. When, during the 12th–13th centuries, European Christianity discovered the existence of post-biblical rabbinic traditions that differed sharply from Biblical Judaism<sup>44</sup> this constituted a severe cultural crisis. Caramuel's claim however is much more radical. He describes Kabbala as a subversive hermeneutic methodology that negates all possibility of Christian hermeneutics of the Old Testament, this time not because of literal meaning but due to an even more profound and inner spiritual meaning of Scriptures. Here again one can differentiate between Juan Caramuel and Henry More. Both thinkers discuss the problem of antiquity and authenticity of Kabbalistic literature based not on a philological but rather on an analytical approach. For More in his *Conjectura Cabalistica*, Jewish Kabbalah is as ancient and true as divine scripture itself, because only thus can the spiritual nature of divine revelation be guaranteed.<sup>45</sup> Caramuel rejects Kabbalistic claims of the antiquity and divine source of their ideas, declaring that such claims must a priori be defined as false simply because of the absurd and erroneous content of Kabbalah.

My last remark in this paper deals with the notion of atheism developed by Caramuel and its relation to later developments in Euro-

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<sup>43</sup> See J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, Berkeley 1999.

<sup>44</sup> See A. Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics...", op. cit.

<sup>45</sup> H. More, *Conjectura Cabalistica or, A Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Minde of Moses, according to a Threefold Cabbala*, London 1653, The Epistle Dedicatory, p. A3a–b.

pean thought. I have no evidence of any direct influence of the ideas described here on later writers, but still, it seems to me important to analyze the way Caramuel arguments both form part of the catholic theology of his times and simultaneously anticipate some important further developments.

Winfried Schröder very convincingly argued that there is no genuine atheism, i.e. positive assertion for the non-existence of God, before the mid-18th century.<sup>46</sup> However, based on some of my former research, I am convinced that the traditional orthodox notion of atheism underwent a radical change at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>47</sup> The most intensive discussion of atheism took place within circles of Catholic as well as Protestant theologians, and was directed both towards variety of new phenomena of the modern world (scientific discovery, changing anthropological and cultural notions concerning the inhabited world, new philosophical ideas etc.) and towards religious polemics in the age of Confessionalism. Marin Mersennes' *Genesis* commentary published in 1623<sup>48</sup> is a good example for the first, and Florimundus Raemundus, *Historia de ortu, progressu et ruina haereseon huius saeculi* (Coloniae 1614) is a good example for the second. Caramuel is acquainted with both. Not only in Mersenne but also in Athanasius Kircher<sup>49</sup> one can find a thorough description of Kabbalah, which is dominated by a critical tone.

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<sup>46</sup> See W. Schröder, *Ursprünge des Atheismus: Untersuchungen zur Metaphysik und Religionskritik des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart-Bad Constanz 1998, p. 21; M. Mulsow, *Moderne aus dem Untergrund: Radikale Frühaufklärung in Deutschland 1680-1720*, Hamburg 2002.

<sup>47</sup> On the notion of atheism see Y. Schwartz, "Kabbalah als Atheismus? Die *Kabbala Denudata* und die religiöse Krise des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Morgen-Glantz: Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 16, 2006, pp. 259-284, here pp. 259-269.

<sup>48</sup> F. Marini Mersenni Ordinis Minimorum *Questiones celeberrimae in Genesim, cum accurate textus explicatione, in hoc volumine Athei et Deistae impugnantur, & expugnantur*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1623.

<sup>49</sup> Athanasii Kircheri Soc. Iesu *Oedipi Aegyptiaci*, Romae 1654, tom. secundus, pars prima.

Their criticism of Kabbalah is directed especially toward its magical implications and toward what they see as superstition. None of them raise the charge of atheism against Kabbalah. In his *Conjectura Cabalistica* Henry More, another contemporary thinker even considered Kabbalah to be an “Antidote against Atheism”. Caramuel is perhaps the first thinker of the 17th century to develop a systematic argument against Jewish Kabbalah qua atheism. The next well known and influential hypothesis in such direction would be raised by Johann Georg Wachter in 1699 in his *Der Spinozismus im Judenthumb oder die von dem heutigen Judenthum und dessen Geheimen Kabbala vergötterte Welt*.<sup>50</sup> Wachter’s description of Kabbalah as “spinozistic” form of atheism would gain enormous influence throughout the 18th century, even among Jewish thinkers, such as Moses Mendelssohn and Salomon Maimon and would become a major source of reference during the “Pantheismusstreit”.<sup>51</sup> Because of that he was always described in research as the first modern author to raise such charge of “metaphysical” atheism against Kabbalah. As a matter of fact, Wachter mostly summarized a variety of arguments raised during the 17th century, especially following the Sulzbach-project of the *Kabbala denudata*. However, some fifty years earlier, and before the appearance of the new Lurianic materials in European thought, it was Caramuel who raised similar arguments. Interestingly enough his argument is the opposite to the one of Wachter. Wachter argues for a spinozistic fallacy in Kabbalah that reduces God to the world in a pantheistic model. Caramuel

<sup>50</sup> New Print Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1994 edited with introduction W. Schröder.

<sup>51</sup> See H. Scholz, *Die Hauptschriften zum Pantheismusstreit zwischen Jakobi und Mendelssohn*, Berlin 1916; A. Altmann, “Lessing und Jacobi: Das Gespräch über den Spinozismus”, in: idem, *Die trostvolle Aufklärung: Studien zur Metaphysik und politischen Theorie Moses Mendelssohns*, Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt 1982, pp. 50–83 (= *Forschungen und Materialien zur deutschen Aufklärung*, Abteilung II, Bd. 3); G. Scholem, “Die Wachtorsche Kontroverse über den Spinozismus und ihre Folgen”, in: K. Gründer and W. Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), *Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner religiösen Wirkung*, Heidelberg 1984, pp. 15–26 (= *Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung*, Bd. 12).



claims the opposite, i.e. that Kabbalah transcends God to a point at which he can no longer function as a significant religious figure.

As I tried to demonstrate in this paper, both arguments derive from the basic tensions to be found in medieval Kabbalistic texts and are parallel to contemporary debates within Judaism. Both attitudes however reduce the delicate point of balance that the Kabbalists tried so hard to maintain – between absolute transcendence of the deity leading to the total absence of God from the human realm; and divine immanence with its danger of pantheism.



**Jews of Prague & Jews of Spain:  
Juan Caramuel's Account of Medieval Sephardic  
Writings in His *Dominicus* (Vienna 1655)**

Henry W. Sullivan

In his voluminous biography of the former General of the Discalced Carmelite Order, the Spaniard *Dominicus a Jesu Maria Orzola* (or Ruzzola) of Bilbao (1559–1630) – a work commissioned by Ferdinand III marking his Imperial father's devotion to the Carmelites – Caramuel touched on various matters of historical and literary interest not strictly related to his subject.<sup>1</sup> A brief and apparently

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<sup>1</sup> In the preliminaries to his *Dominicus* (apud Mattheum Cosmorovium, Vienna 1655), Caramuel reminds the Emperor how greatly his father Ferdinand II had both esteemed the Carmelite Order and encouraged its reformed foundations throughout the German Empire, especially in Austria and Bohemia. He also writes to Ferdinand III on how the presence and spirit of *Dominicus a Jesu Maria* live on in this book: “Et Tu Ferdinande III nequaquam debes DOMINICI carere consortio. Sed quo fiet istud modo? An per apothetim quae ritu veteri Imperatoribus vita functis conceditur? Minime: semper enim fuisti necessarius Ecclesiae, semper Imperio, et impraesentiarum praecipue Ferdinando Francisco [i.e., Ferdinand II], nostro Rege, ab hac valle lachrymarum sublato. An DOMINICUS ad nos redibit? Minime: quoniam optimam partem ille elegit, quae non auferetur ab eo. Ergo quomodo? Explicabo. Vivit in hoc Libro DOMINICUS; in hoc recurat aegros, fugat Daemones, et obduratos plurium animos ad Fidem Orthodoxam convertit... Sit Tibi igitur Invictissime Caesar, Enchiridion quotidianum hic Liber...” [folio 5v]. On the spread of the Carmelite Order in Bohemia, cf. also Z. Kalista, *Ctihodná Marie Elekta Ježíšova: Po stopách španělské mystiky v českém baroku*, Kostelní Vydří, Prague 1992, ch. 5, pp. 74–99.

anomalous digression towards the middle of Caramuel's 660-page tome is his compact, highly selective review of ten outstanding Jewish philosophers, scholars and poets from Medieval Spain. I say "anomalous" because, in Renaissance and Baroque Spain, familiarity with the Hebrew language, Hebrew poetry – or matters Jewish in general – became highly suspect in the eyes of the Inquisition and secular society at large. As is well known, Ferdinand and Isabella decided in the name of Peninsular unification and homogenization to expel the Sephardic community in 1492. Those Jews who stayed and converted to Christianity were disparagingly referred to as New Christians (*cris-tianos nuevos*), *conversos*, or Marranos by the Old Christian majority. They remained a group reputed to practice Jewish rites in secret – rightly or wrongly – and a source of much social hysteria in Spain. Though some major, if controversial figures like the Spanish Humanist Fray Luis de León (1527–1591) and the Baroque scholar-poet Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) had a fine command of Hebrew, it is frankly hard to imagine Caramuel publishing his short history of the Sephardic poets with impunity in the Habsburg Madrid, Seville or Barcelona of that era. That he could do so with impunity in the Habsburg capital of the German Empire, Vienna, raises complex historical and social issues. For the purposes of this paper, it is the thriving Jewish community of Old Town Prague and its relation to the German Emperors from Maximilian II through Ferdinand III that I wish to discuss. I do so in the light of what Juan Caramuel recorded about rabbinical-poetic writings of eleventh- to thirteenth-century Sepharad in seventeenth-century Bohemia.

The standard sources credit Caramuel with the acquisition of 24 languages in the course of a lifetime, and his long familiarity with Hebrew dated back to boyhood studies in Madrid with Juan de Esron, Maronite Archbishop of Mt. Lebanon. What Hebrew sources, books or MSS were at his disposal for the account under discussion, Caramuel unfortunately does not say. Like much of Caramuel's work, the *Dominicus* was composed in haste. For instance, his survey of the Sephardic literati contains many factual blunders with regard to

names, book-titles, authors' birth-place or country of national origin; these I point out in the appropriate place. On page 218 of his Carmelite biography, Caramuel has been praising the Cordoba-born Arabic-Aristotelian philosopher Averroës (Ibn Rushd) (1126-1198). He then turns to the Jewish sages, promising us a brief overview of several of the many whom Spain has given to the world.<sup>2</sup> The first of these is Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra (1092-1167), whom he terms "the Prince of Theologians" for Spanish Jews. Ibn Ezra was born in Tudela in Andalusí Navarra and was a master of many skills - mathematician, astronomer, grammarian and philosopher - as well as a fine commentator on the Biblical texts. He is perhaps less celebrated now as a "prince" of theologians than as the itinerant poet who brought the culture of the Sephardic Jews to those living in Italy, France and England. Schools of Hebrew poetry began to flourish in Italy and Provence, taking the Spanish achievement as their model, and the much-traveled Ibn Ezra may have died in London.<sup>3</sup>

Caramuel turns next to Rabbi David Kimchi (1160-1235), calling him "a most erudite explicator who, in order to trace matters back to their proper beginning, started with his Grammar (which he called *The Way of Wisdom*)". (218b) Kimchi was not actually a Sephardic Jew at all, but a great Provençal Hebrew grammarian, biblical commentator and philosopher born in Narbonne, France. He is best known today for his commentaries on the books of the Prophets. But he did indeed excel in linguistics - one of Caramuel's pet topics (as his remark *ut ab ovo rem duceret* illustrates) - and he produced a dictionary of the Hebrew language called the *Michlol* or *Book of Roots*. The *Michlol* is also a compendium of grammar and presumably the

<sup>2</sup> I should here like to record my great indebtedness to the distinguished Ibero-Medievalist and Hebrew scholar John M. Zemke (University of Missouri, Columbia (MO)), without whose vital assistance in identifying many of the following figures, this essay could not have been written. See J. M. Zemke, *[Sephardic] Jewish Literature: Origins to 1369*, in press, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Goldstein, *The Jewish Poets of Spain*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, UK 1971, p. 153.

work Caramuel refers to here as the *Via sapientiae* or *Way of Wisdom*. The next figure mentioned in Caramuel's list is Rabbi Schlomo ben Yitzchak (1040–1105) and Caramuel tells us that “commentaries on the whole Bible and annotations on the Talmud are ascribed to him” (*ibid.*). Ben Yitzchak, or Rashi (the acronym by which he is usually known), was not a Spanish Jew either. He was born in Troyes in eleventh-century France and educated in Germany. But Caramuel is accurate with regard to his fabled status. Rashi is widely regarded as the greatest commentator of all time on the first five books of the Bible known as the Torah (or Written Law) and the Talmud (or Oral Law). He is studied universally in both areas by experts and beginners alike. In fact, when the Oral Law came to be written down as the Mishnah and Gemara in the second century A.D. and afterwards, all post-Medieval editions added Rashi's commentaries as an integral part of the so-called Babylonian Talmud.<sup>4</sup>

Caramuel tells us that a second author of “highly-thought-of” commentaries was the “Portuguese” Solomon ben Abraham Ibn Adnet (1235–1310), known by the acronym Rasba. The Talmudic scholar Ibn Adnet was not actually born in Portugal, but in Barcelona. He was a rabbi and the head of an influential school there. Maurice Liber writes of him: “The extent of [Rasba's] knowledge as well as his moderation won for him a wide reputation, proof of which is afforded by his intervention as arbiter in the quarrel between the partisans and adversaries of [Moses] Maimonides, and by his numerous *Responsa*, of which about three thousand have been published. Besides, he wrote Talmudic commentaries and casuistic collections.”<sup>5</sup>

Caramuel now turns to the great Maimonides himself, Moses ben Maimon (known as Rambam) (1135–1204), stating he was “physician to Sultan Suleiman [of Egypt] and of Portuguese extraction and he interpreted and elucidated the Talmud” (*ibid.*). Maimonides certainly

<sup>4</sup> See R. A. Steinsaltz, *The Talmud, The Steinsaltz Edition: A Reference Guide*, Random House, New York 1996, pp. 301–302.

<sup>5</sup> M. Liber, *Rashi*, Kessinger, Whitefish (MT) 2004, p. 158, n. 148.

wrote commentaries on the Mishnah both in Arabic and Hebrew, but Caramuel makes no reference at all to Maimonides' most influential book, *The Guide to the Perplexed*, a philosophical work that tried to harmonize and differentiate Aristotelian philosophy and Jewish theology. As to Rambam's land of origin, he was not Portuguese either, of course, but born in Cordoba shortly before the incursions of the fanatical Almohades. Rambam also wrote extensively on medicine, but did not serve as physician to Sultan Suleiman of Egypt (whom Caramuel seems to be confusing with the sixteenth-century Ottoman Sultan Suleiman "the Magnificent"). He attended the celebrated Sultan Saladin (Sala al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub). Saladin was born to a prominent Kurdish family in Tikrit in 1138 and ruled Egypt from 1174 to 1192 during the second Ayyubide Period. Maimonides attended him in the years 1174 to 1182 (after which Saladin left Cairo for ever). In his private correspondence Maimonides would bemoan the fact he was obliged to make the daily journey into Cairo and back (to wait on the Sultan) before he could return to nearby Fostat to see his other sick patients, eat a mouthful of something at last, and rest up for the next day's busy round.

The next figure in Caramuel's list is Rabbi Moses ben Nahman Girondi or Nahmanides (1194–c.1270), known by the acronym Ramban, or in Catalan as Bonastruc ça Porta. The Abbot of Emmaus tells us that Ramban was born in Toledo and "attained to such glory of erudition that he illustrated the whole Bible with learned commentary; edited a book depicting *Words from the Days of the Kings of Israel*, and ingeniously encompassed many historical and philosophical matters in a single account" (219a). As usual, Caramuel is mistaken about the birth-place. Nahmanides was not, in fact, born in Toledo, but in Gerona in northeast Catalonia. He was a Catalan rabbi, philosopher, cabbalist and – as Caramuel rightly states – a biblical commentator. What work Caramuel is referring to by the title of *Words from the Days of the Kings of Israel* (or the *Words of Nahmanides*) is not immediately clear. Nahmanides' *Perush-ha-Torah* is a commentary on the Torah or Pentateuch. Deuteronomy, the fifth book of the Pentateuch, intro-

duces the later sequence known as the Deuteronomistic History and these do, indeed, contain the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel I and II (often referred to as the first and second book of Kings), and Kings I and II. Perhaps this is what Caramuel means by Ramban's combining a philosophical commentary on texts from the historical times of the Kings of Israel "in a single account". This Nahmanides is best remembered today, however, for his comparative dispute with the renegade Pablo Christiani on Christian and Jewish theology in 1263 – at a very advanced age – in the presence of King James of Aragon, an event staged by the vindictive Dominicans in their drive towards orthodoxy in the Cathar regions north of the Pyrenees and the Sephardic communities south of them.

Caramuel now comes to the celebrated Solomon ibn Gabirol (1021–1058) and says of him the following: "[Ben Gabirol] was a great man in Castile; and (as the Jews rave) the greatest of all besides; with his natural gifts he composed secular odes and many liturgical poems on the Holy Scriptures (which we most highly esteem) several of which adorn the Talmud." (219b) Solomon ben Gabirol did indeed write secular poems on love and nature, as well as religious poems which have been incorporated into Jewish liturgy. He has been termed the poet laureate of Jewish history. It was Ben Gabirol, for example, who introduced into the Hebrew poetic canon the poem addressed to the "soul" (by which he generally meant man's intellectual aspiration to discover God). Caramuel's ascription of his place of origin to Castile, however, is another of his solecisms, since Ben Gabirol was born on Spain's Mediterranean coast in Malaga and he died at the sea-port of Valencia. He lived the greater part of his life in the Aragonese city of Zaragoza. As in the case of Maimonides' *The Guide to the Perplexed*, it may seem curious that Caramuel does not mention here the major philosophical work by which Ben Gabirol is remembered, especially since it circulated widely in a Latin version in Medieval Christian Europe under the title *Fons vitae*. *The Well of Life* is a masterpiece of Jewish wisdom literature, written in Arabic and profoundly influenced by neo-Platonism. In it Ben Gabirol found con-



solation for the crippling illnesses that dogged him from childhood and which became a constant theme of his poetry. Its ascription to Solomon ben Gabirol was not confirmed until the nineteenth century, however, when the scholar Solomon Munk discovered a Hebrew version of the work indicating the poet's authorship. This would be the explanation of Caramuel's apparent omission.<sup>6</sup>

Another curiosity of Caramuel's survey is his mention of a "son" of Ben Gabirol whom he calls simply Rabbi Yehudah Lusitanus. This son, if he existed, must have lived in the second half of the eleventh century. I have found no trace of him in any of the sources available to me. Caramuel says: "[Ben Gabirol's] son Rabbi Yehudah of Portugal committed ceremonial defilement through his florid wit and retold the histories of the Ancient Patriarchs in Hebrew verse." (*Ibid.*) The use of the disparaging Latin verb *polluere* (*ingenio polluit florido*) seems unambiguous here and makes one wonder to what defilement Caramuel could have been referring. The Hebrew verse retelling of Ancient history is equally mysterious. As to this son's putative Lusitanian origin, we may be skeptical about this too. If Ben Gabirol spent all his life in the Mediterranean east of the Peninsula and in Aragon, it surely seems unlikely he sired a son born and raised in today's Portugal.

Bringing his brief survey to a close, Caramuel first mentions Rabbi Moses ben Jacob ibn Ezra (1055–1135/1140). Moses ibn Ezra was one of four distinguished brothers born in Granada. Caramuel says of him that he "auspiciously surpassed" the mysterious son of Ben Gabirol in similar fields of endeavor and that "learned men everywhere commend [him]" (*ibid.*). Ibn Ezra survived a persecution of the Jews in Granada in 1066, and after the Jewish community was re-established there, gathered round him a circle of scholars and poets, both Jewish and non-Jewish. In addition to his acclaimed poetic achievement, Ibn Ezra wrote a comprehensive treatise on rhetoric and poetry entitled *Kitāb al-Muṣāṣarah wal-Mudhakarāh*. The only one of its kind

<sup>6</sup> See D. Goldstein, *The Jewish Poets of Spain*, op. cit., p. 75.

in Hebrew literature, the *Kitāb* replies to eight questions from a friend in eight corresponding chapters. Its fifth chapter contains a history of the settlement of the Sephardim in the Peninsula, naming the most important authors and their works. His best-known philosophical work is called *The Bed of Spices*. Ibn Ezra spent his last years of exile in northern Christian Iberia, longing for the physical and intellectual environment of his birth-place.<sup>7</sup>

One of the young poets in Ibn Ezra's Granada circle was the highly gifted Judah ben Samuel ha-Levi (1075–1141).<sup>8</sup> This must surely be the person to whom Caramuel refers as Rabbi Judah Alicuta (ha-Licuta?), the tenth and last Sephardic man-of-letters in his list.<sup>9</sup> Certainly the Cistercian Abbot's description of his literary production fits that of Judah ha-Levi. He writes: "I further add Rabbi Judah ha-Levi, an erudite and learned poet who wrote heroic verses, eclogues and many odes worthy of praise." (212b) But this almost afterthought, though perfectly accurate, would hardly do justice to Judah ha-Levi. David Goldstein writes of him: "The peak of Spanish Hebrew poetry was reached in the works of Judah ben Samuel ha-Levi. He excelled

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> Judah ha-Levi composed a moving ode to his teacher Moses ibn Ezra, marooned as the latter was in the Christian kingdoms of the north. It reads as follows in David Goldstein's modern translation (*ibid.*, p. 147):

TO MOSES IBN EZRA, IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN

How, after you, can I find rest?  
 You go, and my heart goes with you.  
 Were I not to wait for the day of your return,  
 Then your departure would have made my death complete.  
 Look, the mountains of Bether testify  
 That the clouds are miserly, and my tears abundant.  
 Return to the West, lamp of the West.  
 Become a seal on every heart and hand.  
 Why do you with your pure lips linger among stammerers?  
 Why does the dew of Hermon appear on Gilboa?

<sup>9</sup> I wish to thank my Tulane colleague Ari Zhigelboim for his suggestion in identifying Jejida Alicuta as Judah ha-Levi.

in all the media of his art, and he is generally considered to be the greatest of all post-biblical Hebrew poets.”<sup>10</sup> Like Abraham ibn Ezra, Judah ha-Levi was born in Tudela. After his afore-mentioned studies in Granada with Moses ibn Ezra, he was driven from the city in 1090 following its devastation and wandered from Lucena to Seville and even Toledo, when it was part of Alfonso’s kingdom of Castile. After a persecution of the Jews in Castile in 1109, ha-Levi retired to the Muslim city of Cordoba fearing, like many, for the economic and spiritual future of the Sephardim amid a worsening Christian-Muslim conflict. Judah ha-Levi became convinced that the redemption of the Jews could only be accomplished by their return to the Holy Land. His strong emotional desire to go on a pilgrimage there (and settle down) aroused opposition from those around him and became a characteristic theme both of his poems (“My Heart is in the East”; “Jerusalem”; “Mount Avarim”; “Longing for Zion”), as well as of his philosophical dialogue, *The Kurzari*.<sup>11</sup> Quite what Caramuel meant by ha-Levi’s “heroic verses” is hard to say. Epic or heroic verse is not a genre one associates with Hebrew poetry. “Eclogues” (which we associate with the pastoral dialogue poetry of Theocritus and Virgil) also sounds like an odd appellation, though one of ha-Levi’s poems is a “Dialogue between Israel and God” rich in imagery of wine, fruit and flowers.<sup>12</sup> Judah ha-Levi did eventually depart Iberia for Alexandria and Cairo, admiring the life and civilization of the Egyptian Jews. He may have died there or, according to legend, been struck down by a Muslim horseman at the very gates of Jerusalem.

These remarks bring Caramuel’s excursus on Sephardic literature to a close. While we may cavil about his inaccuracies, the main narrative is clearly well informed and betrays a considerable personal involvement and a careful reading of the Jewish sages and bards of

<sup>10</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 117.

<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 117, 128–133.

<sup>12</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 119–120.

Spain. What this measure of expertise now brings up for us is the extent to which Caramuel took advantage of his sojourn in Bohemia to pursue his Hebrew studies both in language and literature, especially cabbalistic literature, and perhaps Tosafot. We know he was already familiar with the Cabbala from his short tome published in Brussels in 1643, *Brevissimum totius Cabalae specimen* (A Very Brief Sample of the Entire Cabbala) (see Appendix B). As regards Hebrew studies in Prague – in stark contrast to the beleaguered *conversos* of Habsburg Spain – Bohemia’s Jews enjoyed a remarkable period of tolerance under the Austrian Habsburgs. The latter part of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth are often termed “the Golden Age of Jewish Prague”. Realizing the importance of Jewish merchants in supplying the army, for example, or providing a taxation base to the Imperial coffers, emperors from Maximilian II to Ferdinand III all confirmed the Jews’ ancient privileges in the Czech Lands.<sup>13</sup> Maximilian, for example, revoked the expulsion orders of his father’s time and on a cloudless day in 1571 walked through the jubilant streets of the Prague Ghetto with his Spanish-born wife Empress María (sister of the Catholic zealot Philip II) to receive a rabbinical blessing. The Jewish privileges were further confirmed by Rudolf II in 1577 and again by his brother Matthias in 1611. As P. Demetz writes: “Rudolf also protected the self-rule of the Jewish Town by a number of legal measures; he made it incumbent on the Imperial judge, not the Prague town authorities, to function as the highest legal advisor in Jewish matters; exempted the Jews from paying fees to the townships (rather

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<sup>13</sup> According to the Marxist historian Josef Janáček, the wealthiest inhabitants of Prague were the Jewish usurers who took to speculative dealings in diverse commodities. He writes: “The richest inhabitants of Prague were Jewish moneylenders, who also engaged in speculative business endeavors concerning various products. Christian businessmen could not compete with the rich Jews in their affluence, not even those who were also involved in financial operations, because their business activities were preponderantly goods-centered and this type of business afforded more limited opportunities for gain than usury.” Cf. his *Dějiny obchodu v předbělohorské Praze*, Československá akademie věd, Prague 1955, p. 380.

than the crown), and went on to protect the community against continuing attacks by the Christian guilds.”<sup>14</sup> Nor could Emperor Ferdinand II dispense with the financial support provided by Jews during the Bohemian war; he also reconfirmed their former privileges in 1623 and 1627 (granting freedom of marketplaces throughout the nation, exemption from taxes and tolls in Prague’s towns, and greater power to the Jewish Elders and the Emperor’s Jewish judge at the cost of the rights of the Municipal Court).<sup>15</sup>

Juan Caramuel made early contact with the Jews of Prague. When he reached the capital in 1647, he was quickly involved in the defense of the city against the Swedes. During the siege of 1648, Caramuel rallied and commanded the monastic corps, but the Prague Jews were also drafted to dig trenches, build and repair fortifications, provide ammunition, man a firefighting service, and so on.<sup>16</sup> In recognition of their bravery, Ferdinand III permitted the Prague community to build a turret with a bell atop the Jewish Town Hall and granted the Jews the right to use a Swedish cap in the middle of the Star of David as its emblem.<sup>17</sup> It is impossible to believe – in this post-war Prague – that the Abbot of Emmaus did not pursue his fruitful connections among the learned rabbis of the city, particularly those of the Tosafist tradition (the descendants and inheritors of Rashi’s great commentaries on the Talmud). The Tosafists Isaac ben Moses of the Přemyslid period, for example, and Maimonides’ stout defender in Prague, Jom Tov Lipmann-Mülhausen, both played speculative games with numbers and letters. Caramuel’s interest in artificial languages, universal grammar, “discreet” logic, strange anagrams, acrostics, retrogrades,

<sup>14</sup> P. Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold: Scenes from the Life of a European City*, Hill & Wang, New York 1998, p. 201.

<sup>15</sup> A. Pařík, L. Pavlát, J. Fišer, *Židovská Praha*, Lidové noviny, Prague, n.d., p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Šedinová, “The Jewish Town in Prague”, in: *Rudolf II and Prague: The Imperial Court and the Residential City as the Cultural and Spiritual Heart of Europe*, ed. E. Fučíková, Prague Castle Administration, Prague 1997, p. 306.

<sup>17</sup> A. Pařík, L. Pavlát, J. Fišer, *Židovská Praha*, op. cit., p. 83.

and so on, should have made these Hebrew games irresistible to him.<sup>18</sup>

But there are broader questions involved in Caramuel's Hebrew studies at Prague. One of his principal responsibilities as Ferdinand III's President of the Council of Reformation for four years was the process of conversion and re-Catholicization of the Protestant populations. Yossef Schwartz of Tel Aviv University has suggested that Caramuel may have seen the Ashkenazi Jews as an asset in this endeavor.<sup>19</sup> Y. Schwartz's thesis is that commentaries on Jewish texts such as the Talmud and the Cabbala – that chronologically postdate the canonical Hebrew Bible – represent a hermeneutic tradition sharing much in common with the Catholic tradition of theological commentary on sacred texts throughout Late Antiquity and on into the Middle Ages. Stemming from similar sources and similar methods, he argues, these two traditions would have shared more in common with each other than either did with the new and heretical doctrines of Protestantism. Rather than studying Cabbalism in order the better to refute it, the Cistercian's curiosity may have had the positive purpose of being a key for the conversion of the Jews. In this rather odd sense, the rabbinical community of Prague could be placed, in Caramuel's eyes, on the pro-Catholic side of the ledger in the Counter-Reformation drive to eliminate heresy. Finally, Caramuel's small work of 1643 on Cabbala has already been mentioned (see Appendix B). Elsewhere in the

<sup>18</sup> See S. Sousedík, "Diskrétní logika Jana Caramuela", *Filosofský časopis* 17, 1969; S. Sousedík, "Universal Language in the Work of John Caramuel, a Contemporary of Comenius", *Acta Comeniana* 9 (33), 1991; S. Sousedík, *René Descartes a české baroko*, Filosofia, Prague 1996, pp. 20-21; H. Hernández Nieto, *Ideas literarias de Caramuel*. Edición, traducción, bibliografía y notas de *Las epístolas preliminares*, PPU, Barcelona 1992.

<sup>19</sup> I refer to the Prague Conference of October 12-14, 2006, where Yossef Schwartz spoke on this subject. He takes up the topic again at Vigevano, Italy in December of 2006 with a paper entitled: "Kabbalah and Conversion: Caramuel and Ciantes on Kabbalah as a Key for the Conversion of the Jews". I am extremely grateful to Y. Schwartz for his many valuable comments and suggestions to me.

present volume, Y. Schwartz also addresses two other writings of Caramuel on the subject dating from the same frame of years. This raises the further query as to whether Caramuel quizzed the Old Town rabbi on Jewish mysticism (even if Prague never matched Safed in Israel or Gerona in Spain as a center of Cabbalism).<sup>20</sup> There is obviously a new chapter to be written on the life of Juan Caramuel as a pupil of the learned Jews of Prague during his dozen years of residence there.

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<sup>20</sup> C. Swietlicki, *Spanish Christian Cabala: The Works of Luis de León, Santa Teresa de Jesús, and San Juan de la Cruz*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia (MO) 1986, pp. 1–27.

**Appendix A: Latin Text  
(with English Translation)  
of Caramuel's *Sephardic*  
Commentary in his *Dominicus*  
(Vienna 1655)**

[218b] Miseriae publicae etiam Judaeis aperuerunt Hispaniam, regionem opulentam et fertile, qualem inhabitare exoptant, eorum nepotes, qui Christum Dominum crucifixerunt. (Notari [219a] nihilominus volo aliquas etiamnum reperiri familias, quae ante Christum natum in Hispaniam abactae; quae tamen non ideo apud nos minori ignominia notantur). Praeter antiquas, admissae, aut etiam advocatae ab Aragenis sunt novae Hebraeorum coloniae, quae toleratae postea ab Arrianis et Ethnicis, vel invitis Catholicis, tam altas egerunt radices, ut nunc extirpari vix possint. At illae tot viros claros Orbi litterario dederunt, ut nec Judaicae Musae Latinis, aut Graecis invadeant: nec Philosophi Naturae Genium parcum<sup>1</sup> et circumcisum, Peripatai luxurianti postponant. Volo e multis recensere nonnullos, ut videat Lector Hispaniam esse patriam divinam, quae solem suum (ingenium, et mentis claritate intelligo) communicat bonis et malis.

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<sup>1</sup> The Latin expression *parcus genius naturae* harks back to Horace's Epistle to Florus (II, 2) on the subject of opulence, frugality and miserliness: "Scit *Genius*, natale comes qui temperat astrum, / *naturae* deus humanae... / discrepet et quantum discordet *parcus* avaro." (ll. 187–188; 194) The phrase figured at the center of a Jesuit controversy in Ingolstadt about ten years before Caramuel was writing these lines and his reminiscence here undoubtedly refers back to that debate. Significant works on the issue were A. Burghaber's *Parcus genius naturae* (Haenlin, Ingolstadt 1645) and three works by T. Lohner (all published by Ostermayr in Ingolstadt in 1654): *Largus genius recentiorum contra parcum genium naturae*; *Parcus genius naturae largum genium recentiorum* and *Difficultates potiores contra modos a parco naturae genio objectae; a largo RR. genio solutae*. See Ulrich G. Leinsle, "Schwester 'formalitas' oder Bruder 'modus'? Matri im Streit um modale Entitäten", in: *Rem in seipsa cernere: Saggi sul pensiero filosofico di Bartolomeo Mastri (1602–1673)*, ed. Marco Forlivesi, Il Poligrafo, Padua 2006, p. 396–397. I am very grateful to Prof. Leinsle for bringing these sources to my attention during the Prague Conference and later, in greater detail, by mail.



Volo ergo primo loco Abrahami, filii Hesrae meminisse: qui apud suos Theologorum est Princeps. In omnia Biblia lectiones et animadversiones composuit, quae *Affardi d'Hispania* vocantur. Addatur illi David Kimchius Expositor eruditissimus; qui ut ab ovo rem duceret, a Grammatica incepit, quam *Viam sapientiae* nominavit. Rasio Expositiones in Biblia omnia et in Thalmud adnotationes eruditas adscribunt: nonnullas etiam, nec contemnendas Rasbae Lusitano. Eminuit inter alios Rubi Mosse Majmon, Sultanis Solimanis Medicus; gente fuit Lusitanus, et [219b] Thalmudum purgavit et dilucidavit. Aranbanus Toleti natus ad tantae eruditionis gloriam venit ut omnia Biblia docto commentario illustra[ve]rit et *Verba dierum regum Israel* imitatos, qui *Verba Aranbanis* inscribitur, librum ediderit et multa historica et Philosophica connexa ingeniose complectitur. Rubi Selemo, Gevirolis filius fuit in Castella magnus; et ut Judaei delirant, etiam Magnas: composuit ingeniosa carmina, et multa in sacram Paginam, quae non contemnimus omnino; et nonnulla quae Thalmudum exorant. Ejus filius Rubi Jejida Lusitanus ingenio polluit florido et veterum Patriarchum historias ad carmina Hebraica reduxit: quod etiam feliciter praestitit Rubi Mosse Hesdrae filius, quem passim eruditi commendant. Addo et Rubi Jejidam Alicutam, poetam eruditum et doctum, qui edidit Heroica, Eclogas et carmina multa laude digna.

Possum plures adjungere: sed quo id fructu? Sufficiant ergo recensiti, ut cognoscat Invidia Hispaniam (Patriam laudo, Regiones alias non contemno) qua Ethnicam, qua Judaeam, qua Mahometanam, dedisse Mundo Viros, quorum singuli sufficerent, ut illustris diceretur, et esset.

\* \* \*

These national misfortunes [i.e., the legend of Roderick the Goth, the seduction of La Cava, Count Julian and the Arab invasion] also opened up our opulent and fertile Spain to the Jews, a region which the descendants of those who crucified Christ the Lord eagerly wished to inhabit. (Nevertheless, I wish certain families to be reckoned with – still to be discovered even at this date – who emigrated to Spain be-

fore the birth of Christ; but who are not, however, reckoned amongst us with any less ignominy on that account). Apart from these ancient families, new colonies of Hebrews were admitted – or even called in as advisors by the Arageni – who were later tolerated by the Aryans and the Ethnic Iberians, whether the Catholics willed it or not, and they set down roots so deep that they can hardly now be extirpated. But they gave so many famous men to the World of Letters that the Judaic Muses have nothing to envy of the Latin or Greek; nor should their Philosophers esteem their own miserly and trim genius of Nature any less than the wild abundance of the Peripatetic sage. Among the many, I wish to pass in review several in order that the Reader may see Spain is a divine homeland which communicates its sun – by which I mean its wit and clarity of mind – to both good and evil.

In the first place, therefore, I wish to recall Abraham ibn Ezra: who among his own people is the Prince of Theologians. He composed commentaries and observations on the whole Bible, which are termed the *Affardi d'Hispania*. To him should be added David Kimchi, a most erudite explicator: who, in order to trace matters back to their proper beginning, started with his Grammar (which he termed *The Way of Wisdom*). They ascribe commentaries on the whole Bible – and erudite annotations on the Talmud – to Schlomo ben Yitzchak; as well as several highly-thought-of commentaries to the Portuguese Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adnet. Eminent among others was Rabbi Moses Maimonides, physician to Sultan Suleiman [of Egypt] and of Portuguese extraction, who interpreted and elucidated the Talmud. Moses Nahmanides Girondi, born in Toledo, attained to such glory of erudition that he illustrated the whole Bible with learned commentary; edited a book depicting *Words from the Days of the Kings of Israel*, which are known as the *Words of Nahmanides*, and ingeniously encompassed many historical and philosophical matters in a single account. Rabbi Solomon ben Gabirol was a great man in Castile; and (as the Jews rave) the greatest of all besides; with his natural gifts he composed secular odes and many liturgical poems on the Holy Scriptures (which we most highly esteem) several of which adorn the Talmud.

His son Rabbi Yehudah of Portugal committed ceremonial defilement through his florid wit and retold the histories of the Ancient Patriarchs in Hebrew verse: in this he was also auspiciously surpassed by Rabbi Moses ibn Ezra, whom learned men everywhere commend. I further add Rabbi Judah ha-Levi, an erudite and learned poet who published heroic verses, eclogues and many odes worthy of praise.

I could add more: but what would be the point? Let those who have been examined here suffice so Envy may realize that Spain (I praise my Native Land; I do not condemn other Regions) - whether she be Ethnic, whether she be Jewish, whether she be Mohammedan - has given Men to the World who would, singly, be enough for her to be pronounced illustrious and be so indeed.

**Appendix B:  
Photocopy of Caramuel's *Brevissimum totius  
Cabalae specimen* (Bruselas 1643)**

Caramuel's brief treatise on Cabbala is inconspicuously appended to a late work of the Belgian philologist, encyclopedist and musicologist, Erycius Puteanus (Hendrik van der Putten) (1574–1646). Puteanus' title is *De anagrammatismo, quae Cabalae pars est, diatriba...*, a compendium of anagrams, transpositions, “commutations”, cryptography and steganography. Caramuel's little addition is worth reproducing here – for the first time since 1643 – on at least three different grounds. In the first place, it confirms the nature of Caramuel's wide intellectual interests at that time, so close to those of the prolific Belgian (a pupil and follower of Justus Lipsius) with whom he was clearly corresponding. Second, Caramuel's open letter to Puteanus that serves as his *Foreword* contains a compact summary of major progress in seventeenth-century European astronomy made up to the moment he penned it at Louvain on June 26, 1642 (*sexto Kalendas Julias M.DC. XLII*). In the third place, the body of the treatise itself proves beyond a reasonable doubt Caramuel's absolute mastery of Hebrew, as well as his fascination with juggling and tabulating Judaic theological categories unfamiliar to Christian readers. In this note, I shall only address the latter two considerations.

Caramuel names ten leading astronomers as “inventors” of his day: Lansgravius; Lansbergius; Galileo; Marius; Brahé; Scheiner; his own father Lorenzo Caramuel; Gassendi; Kepler and himself. He credits them with various achievements, some scientifically sound and some bogus. Beneath the printing blunder Lansgravius (Hans-Gravius?), our Cistercian clearly refers to the English traveler, John Greaves (Johannis Gravius) (1602–1652), an Orientalist and the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford University. Caramuel states that “by his persistent diligence he established the positions of the fixed stars” (p. 62), a reference to Greaves' translations in bilingual Latin texts of ancient, but accurate Persian astronomical tables for stellar posi-

tions. Lansbergius (the probable source of the printer's confusion) is the Dutch astronomer Johan Philip Lanberge (1561–1632), and Caramuel credits him with “an indefatigable study of the wandering planets” (*ibid.*). And, indeed, the Dutchman did author a set of astronomical tables for predicting planetary positions, his *Tabulae motum coelestium* (which regrettably contained some inaccuracies, since he rejected the elliptical orbits of Kepler). Next, Caramuel commends the great Galileo and his “lynx-like perspicacity” in observing the strange “earrings” (*inaures*) or “handles” of Saturn, a reference to the planet's famous rings. To the fourth observer in his list, Simon Marius (1573–1624), Caramuel attributes discovery of the “four Ganymedes” or large moons of Jupiter. This is most dubious. Already tainted with one case of plagiarism from an early sojourn in Italy, Marius later claimed his priority over Galileo in observation of Jupiter's moons in the *Mundus Jovialis anno M.DC.IX detectus ope Perspicilli Belgici* (Nurembergae 1614), bogus assertions soon contemptuously refuted by the Florentine astronomer.

Tycho Brahé is mentioned – of all things – only in connection with his account of “Martian excursions across the half sphere of the Sun” (*ibid.*), a phenomenon long held to represent a collision between these two heavenly bodies. Such an illusory potential collision of Mars and the Sun was not fully resolved until Margolis<sup>1</sup> used clear and unambiguous reference-frames to explain the celestial *trompe-l'oeil*. Caramuel's subsequent mention of the work of the Jesuit astronomer, Christoph Scheiner (1561–1632), refers to the latter's observation of “stains running about the Sun” (*ibid.*). Scheiner published several accounts of sunspot activity in a series beginning with his *Tres epistolae de maculis Solaribus* (Augsburgae 1612). In a surprising claim, Caramuel now gives credit to his father, “my most excellent parent, Lorenzo Caramuel”, for having first observed the phases [*transfigurationes*] of Venus. Though Lorenzo, a military engineer by profession, did train

<sup>1</sup> H. Margolis, “Tycho's Illusion: How it Lasted 400 Years and What that Implies about Cognition”, *Psychology* 9 (32), 1998.

his small son Juan in astronomy in Madrid – and though the changing crescent shapes of Venus are visible to persons with remarkably acute eyesight – the first known account of the full planetary phases of Venus was accomplished by Galileo once more, observations made in 1610 and their findings given to the public in 1614. To the French mathematician and philosopher, Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), Caramuel next attributes an account of “Mercury on the Sun” (*ibid.*). This refers to Gassendi’s observations from his Paris apartment of Mercury’s transit across the Sun on November 7, 1631, an event which lasted about five and a half hours and which had been accurately predicted by Kepler before his death. Kepler himself (1571–1630) is only credited by Caramuel with his description of the “mountains of the Moon” (*ibid.*); he makes no mention of Kepler’s work on the supernova of 1604, nor of his three laws of planetary motion – anti-Ptolemaic theories still unorthodox at the time. Finally, in a second surprise move, Caramuel credits himself with having observed that “the Earth which we inhabit is not spherical, but similar to an ellipse” (*ibid.*). The Earth, flattened at both poles by the effect of its own rotation and angular momentum, is indeed an ellipsoid with a 40 km difference between equatorial and polar radii, not a perfect Pythagorean sphere. According to some authorities, it was Isaac Newton who first claimed (1689) that the Earth is not spherical, but “oval”.<sup>2</sup> Though Caramuel can often exaggerate or stretch the truth of matters, his accurate pronouncement made here to Putaneus in 1632 would actually predate Newton’s work by over half a century and, if confirmed, be one of Caramuel’s greatest claims to fame.

The body of Caramuel’s *Brevissimum specimen* itself is composed of seven chapters. Chapter 1 treats of the origin of Cabbala, its early authorities and internal organization. In the ensuing six chapters, Caramuel distinguishes a series of categories of Judaic theology using the Hebrew letters by which they are known. These are as follows: 2) Of

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<sup>2</sup> J. Leys, É. Ghys, “The Shape of Planet Earth”, 25 November 2006, <[http://www.josleys.com/show\\_gallery.php?galid=313](http://www.josleys.com/show_gallery.php?galid=313)>, p. 1.

Cariath Rasce-Theboth, or Transmaterial Theology, 3) Of Thoar, or Transformative Theology, 4) Of Thamira, or Transfigurative Theology, 5) Of Thescumeth, or Transpositive Theology, 6) Of Masoreth, or Transpunctive Theology, 7) Of Gimatria, or Transnumeratory Theology. The whole argument and the author's ingenious experiments with Hebrew roots illustrate two things: 1) Caramuel's belief that Hebrew commentaries on the Cabbala and the whole Catholic hermeneutic tradition had more in common with each other than either did with the heretical theology of the Protestants, and 2) Caramuel's arcanelly "universalist" conception that knowledge is a series of harmonious, but hidden relationships waiting to be discovered by the investigator and laid bare for the public's edification.

*et*  
*Amplissimo, & Clarissimo*

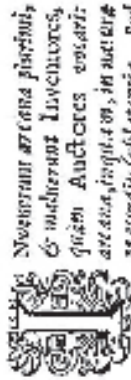
VIRI

**D. ERYCIO  
PVRANO,**

HISTORIOGRAPHO,

ET CONSILIARIO

REGIO.



*Noverunt aeterna posteritas,  
& iudicant Lucentes,  
quos Auctores vocari  
aeterna, inquit, in aeternis  
paxordia solentia. Sed  
quis quareat ferata in publicos, qui ac-  
telle in proprio? Hec nostri aevi felici-  
tas, laboribus ad ingenii aeternam. Dubi-  
taretur profecto, An Secretum insensibile  
examinetur? An Iuppiter debet perij-  
scopus? An Sol Euboeos? Fatis iuxta  
Tanto computron, nobis quos quinque mil-  
le sexcentis totum Calam; & quia macta-  
tad*

IOAN. CARAMVILIS

LOBKOWITZI

CABALAE TOTIVS

BREVISSIMVM.

SPECIMEN.

C 6 Amplif.



63  
 no p'cedis; totum latuit. Nulla erat scilicet cogita; quia nihil bene, quousque Longirani pariter diligunt. Inerrantem solum bene respicibile laudemque solum errorem plimerarum, Salomon quatuor Lyrae Galilee peritactis, Irenaeus quatuor Gypuritas Martius, Maritides per medium Sole sphaeram excarpones Strabon, & menses Solem circummercuri- ter Saturnus, Venus transfigurationis sacra Opt. Parenti Laurentino Caramueli, Mercurius in Sole Cassiodoro, Mente Lu- ce Keplerus; & ego mecum ipsammet Telesium, quatenus incolimus, non esse Spha- ricum, sed solum Ellipticum observatum. In rebus praecedit, consistare, proindeque; & solum istos nostris Archaus stre- quenziana & circuli inveniunt. Tibi Encyclopaedia Olympica efficitur alium tota patuit, & latuit: praenot observatione, & periplo sicuti indagabat. Superavi- missi, qui in istis clarissimo lumine circa- na referret. Saturnus, Ceteris scilicet, seu Xpistis, autem dignior, à se habet quod accedat orate; illius autem Hi-  
 flo-

64  
 horum illustrius, autem veritas, & admi- rum suavitatem erudit. Iuppiter divitiarum Praefectus habet non cum inopiositas quatuor trecentos Gypuritas, qui in sagras exantimus; los detestis longi experientia- religiose, horum eruditione possit de- quo singulati, curam Galilee libello; qui Lapide Philosophici inquit conperit me- duxerit diligenti in actum. Principes, quo hoc lapide peritiosum creperit, erant paritipes Triumphi liberalitatis, quatuor aliquando de Gypis; Martis esset ad- daturus, dum Laurentino, ademerit, inter- nam referre veritatem, & oppugnat, scripsi: meile incantus Galilee illam ex- peditione videt, tametsi infeliciter con- feratur, feliciter descriptus est. Solem suam usque temporis facula, quatuor de Dis- sione in Gypis, metitur; ut tunc Sol com- ipse illustrat, facula solummodo exuberet lapsi carat; Et ut Laurentino Circulo- rum Dico, necesse & Presentino Circulo- Ordem eruditionem exantibus, scripsi a la- trantur sicuti quatuor, effusis. Venus est leporis, qui quatuor & legat Ptolema-  
 16

69  
 ta, quæ ex temporaneo impetu exuberant, tam diu Musa sine oratione, Legat Epistolæ, quæ sunt una & in illo negotio ille Lipsius effudit, acriter sine actionum in sensibus, in virtutibusque acutem inuentionem habere. Legat Orientis, & Africae Solæde Iohannes habet. Legat Ammonitionis, & terra de verba literarum Turpe inuenit. Si Mercurius in Sals se obferuisse aut negat, Gassendus effert; negat. Et effert Keplerus, non suo iure. Quos, si incantata metamorphosi in se affert, inuenerit ad alio: sed Cryptographice Turanus paco est claudens; et effert inuenerit; et effert, quæ characteres canonicos legitur; et effert, quæ inuenerit. Mercurius effert, quæ circumspicit ceterosque Argum: Inuenit Gensuiterus an. yltum expulsi. Conspicit tam de Die Natali inscripserit. doctrinæ rationis thesaurum. Terra debet ubi radicem conuenit, sicut utrumque quod Incho Diorthosi, sicut exortationis. Mercurianis: conuenit quidem, sed effert  
 piteana.

et  
 ticiam; dies enim radii sunt, & in omni ditate iniquitate. Ceterum habent sua Africa, in suo reperio Affricam inuenientem schismam. Hanc est inces conuenit; quot ibi; et schismas, quot capere; et radii, quot inces. Dea erat motus, ne stella conuenit exortationes: motus Terræ ibi Incho dicitur, cum inuenit; motus, ut veniant; et inuenit, ne error evadant. Hinc quæ de Augmentationis Libris, inuenit inces peripha, inuenit inces. Cum olim Augmentationis peripha, inuenit; peripha, quæ vulgare operatur; Latine, quæ ante se inuenit. Cum inuenit legat inuenit, ut inuenit inuenit. Te Tale Litera evadit, ut inuenit inuenit inces, quot verba inuenit. In Cryptographis, in hoc Diorthosi inuenit inuenit Romanus Camillia, quod quod Hebraice cum inuenit inuenit; cum Latine tranis; si illa sunt inuenit, quod claret inuenit inuenit inuenit inuenit inuenit; quod inuenit claret inuenit, et conuenit  
 piteana.

IOAN. CARAMVELLIS  
LUBKOWITZI  
CABALÆ TOTIVS  
BREVISSIMUM  
SPECIMEN.

CAPVT I.

*Cabala origo, Magister, Paris.*

**C**ABALÆ EVRYTH & Nominatim  
simul, ut vocari solent, frequen-  
tibus difficultatibus excita-  
tur Geometricis & Lampsoc-  
tatis animi, ut delectis &  
gravi evadant. Dicitur  
se sine coloribus, & solum à Græcis, &  
etiamur: à nobis frequenter. At He-  
bræe Aethere non nisi Neomathesoliti ex-  
antur. Ut prout ostendunt: in quibus at-  
tama consilii, ut invenit, et.  
-Præter Cabalæ candidatione discenda sunt  
no-

66  
igitur jure ad injuriã existeret Cabalæ  
sua doctrina dicitur, hoc specimen per-  
tinet in quo videtur Latine, seu inditiorum  
Cabalistarum sua inventis fundamta, vi-  
dendum debet suo ingenio conditionis Re-  
soluta est Latine comparata, in anno  
Reverent in Latina edidit: scripta,  
clari Latini in Hebraicis studiorum.  
Vale, Lovanii, sivee Latiniæ delict  
M. DC. XLII.

IOANNES CARAMVEL  
LUBKOWITZ.

IOAN

68 16. C. A. B. L. A. C. C. E. P. T. I. T. I.  
nami communis : potes tradere Ro-  
gula salutarum familiam.

Theologiaeque Melior. קריאת  
ב א ל א א ד י ק ר א ו ח ה ו פ ל C. A. B. L.  
Asper, asperitas. Quae emittit  
tuae, quod vocatoretur abeduliano  
dicendum. Physologiae Antipodes Sui  
Ejuslibet de metelli auctoriore  
sunt : Etatis Dialectos emittuntur  
loquitur : *Asperitas* de *Asperitas*  
Grato Felicitas (Rodericus), et de Ca-  
bolz Ductoribus formam facit, vel  
[18] E T U S *praeferentia et abey-*  
*no omnia* nuntiat. Et hanc illis Panali-  
bus venient, qui de illis disceptant  
agunt.

Huiusmodi praefates עולמות  
M. E. V. E. L. I. M. A. S. T. A. S. T. A. S.  
*omne praefate* documenta, Auctor cre-  
ditur Moyse.

Hinc hinc Graecorum formam  
Moeny, Dea Graecorum Praefates vo-  
cant, & Deus Larum Antioch. Moesy-  
& Graecum Moesy-jan Graecum *Asp-*  
in Panalliam Graecum invenisse, & occe-  
sant praefate omnibus illis *Asp-*  
quis retia Graecum delatant.

C. A. B. L. A. A. S. T. I. T. I. T. I.  
T. A. S.

CAROLAZ SYSTEMEN.  
Theologia, lexemilano lictas ( min-  
ram Theostatificationem, Transfor-  
mationem, Transformationem, Transfor-  
mationem, Transformationem, & Transfor-  
mationem) eductus habet.

C A P U T I I.

קריאת המשפחה  
DE קריאת המשפחה  
C A R T A R I A C I T H E R E T I C A S,  
sive Theologiae Transformativa.

E. L. E. A. S. T. A. Verba sunt dictio-  
nem, maxime, iacque transformati-  
one et elestemem, transformem; &  
huc transformem & diminutionem con-  
duntur; etiam cor quidem, in singulis  
lertis integram dictionem intelligit: ut  
cum loquimur אורם א D A M, nuncpe tot  
litras, & tres dictiones, legis liter-  
as singulas correspondentes, amantur,  
אורם אורם אורם אורם אורם אורם אורם  
C. A. B. L. A. S. T. I. T. I. T. I. T. I. T. I. T. I.  
*quod est* Ceterum.

Vocant hinc Carolaz pars קריאת  
קריאת C. A. B. L. A. S. T. I. T. I. T. I. T. I.  
voca, Capitulum dictionem *Asperitas*,  
Apud scripturales *Asperitas* dictionem ap-  
petat, quia hinc dictionem artiales. Ex-  
tensibiliter hinc, in quibus de *Asperita-*  
tis

70 **Ιο. Καμ. Λορροφνιχι**  
 des hujusmodi Theologicas abbreviationes  
 eas contose dilyguar.  
 Hæreticos imitari sunt Græci; in ð &  
 Ierem. Exalkipkustia complorem fronti-  
 spiciis D. O. M. & legimus Des Optores  
 Aladoms. Oculi thotrequatillimè in mot-  
 uoribus literis pro integrè dictione sup-  
 polita; quæ à secltris C. utis Niza vo-  
 canitur; & à Valerio Pueblo Grammatico;  
 & aliis postea quosdam exornantur.  
 Græci etiam Locummodo exponendi vo-  
 cabula relectabant; Recitant vellet Pro-  
 toplasus Adam; & quomam eius He-  
 braice non veni expolitur; etiam Græ-  
 ceusad veritas in antian ex adæctus.

▷ **δρα τοδ.** *Orisbe.*

▷ **δρα τοδ.** *Occident.*

▷ **δρα τοδ.** *Septentrion.*

▷ **δρα τοδ.** *Meridien.*

Si Galie romanus literis anglice Mun-  
 di plures indigenti consilii et versatilia  
 paxaligmate; quod consistunt hæc Sy-  
 belli veramens;

**Αντιδιδης εδανδρες πρηνυγρη-**  
**σαντα ΑΔ' ΑΜ.**

**Υπο πρηνυγρη εδανδρες, καδ εδαν-**  
**ρη πρηνυγρη εδανδρες.**

**Αντιδιδης εδανδρες, καδ εδανδρες,**  
**καδ εδανδρες.**

Quæ

**CAMALAE STPOLEIN.**

Quæ Sixtus Soranus sine Bibliobotheca ter-  
 tior; & alii per hæc aut similia verba tam-  
 fuerunt.

**Ninurum Trisibus dixit: arripit grammatice-**  
**169 A D A M.**

**Quæ primus hinc fuit; & quæ primus**  
**complet**

**Orisum; & quæ primus; & quæ primus**  
**complet**

Opponitur augmentatore: diminutio; &  
 accitio cūtes singulis ibi thocubus ara; &  
 sola intialis adnotat. Sic exemplo pri-  
 mus verlis Græcos: **ΥΠΟΤΡΑΧΗ**

**ΠΡΟΤΡΑΧΗ** **ΚΑΤΑΡΑΧΗ** **ΕΠΙΤΡΑΧΗ**  
**ΑΝΤΙΤΡΑΧΗ** **ΕΝΑΝΤΙΤΡΑΧΗ**

**ΕΠΙΤΡΑΧΗ** **ΕΝΑΝΤΙΤΡΑΧΗ**  
 In præsupponitur Dicit edoçeçh retrans;  
 Sunt intiales literæ; & habetur **ΠΡΟΤΡΑ-**

**ΧΗ** **ΕΝΑΝΤΙΤΡΑΧΗ**; In **επιτροχ** era;  
 Quæ est jabborum Ieremia; cui amosq;  
 videntur oculis suspensum amos; qd  
 staten sine in pace;

**C A P Y T I I I .**

**De הנה תהאב; seu Theologia**  
**Transfigurata.**

**Flora** an inuis Caballitate sonquet  
 finis est; & in es litteration dilectio o-  
 re sebetur: quod ponat verlus datus il-

in-





74 Iſa. CAR. LONECVIIVL

CA PV L I V.

DE התורה תהאמה, פס  
Tologia Transfigurata.

**M**VTA de' ieremi' ceteris Grae-  
ci s' dicitur quia non regit: exprimitur  
et deus est quod ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
Causa h' dicitur: de dicitur manente eodem  
Pronunciare de significatione d' dicitur  
res mutata: et dicitur A legibus pro B,  
C, &c.

Hięc omnia sunt Falsitas, Falsitas, Falsitas,  
tine imp'it' a' ierem' ab, ierem' a' ierem'  
clar' dicitur, et e' dicitur ierem' ierem'  
una, constitutum pro secundo, et tunc  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' &c. Et dicitur ierem'  
comp'it' in dicitur ierem' ierem'.

כחן רוחן  
טורן

Hięc omnia sunt ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
regit' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'.

Hięc omnia sunt ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'.

**E**XTATE SICUTIS, 75  
communitas Cionel' dicitur ierem' ierem'  
regit' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
que dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'.

Ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
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i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'  
i' dicitur ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem' ierem'.

D X. C A







סו יב. סאק. לטורטורזל

C A P I T V I I .

דא נאטורא געמאכט האט, פאר  
דערפאר דערפארמאכונג.

**F**ILIAS apud Boethianum, געמאכט  
אז, עס איז דאס פאר דערפאר, פארמאכונג  
דערפאר, פארמאכונג. In tri-  
butum illi Caballe partu, quae mentes ob-  
tinuam significat: Etsi tamen veritatem  
Iudaei, dicitur quod esse epistolam signifi-  
cantis y qua epistolam p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.  
dicitur vocat Epistolam y dicitur veritatem  
veritatem, quia utique numerum xi.  
complectitur: & postea Tribuiti obliga-  
tiones excolunt, ad metaphisiam dicit  
p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
TATEROS caput illud in Tiberi: M-  
TATEROS p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
fuita Regis excolunt, ad d. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
die esse est, quae p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
fuita Regis excolunt, ad d. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
die esse est, quae p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
fuita Regis excolunt, ad d. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
die esse est, quae p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

Huc referre videtur Evangelium  
Apocryphos cap. 13. ubi bellum tunc  
erant

CAPITULUM SPECIEM. Et  
cum dicit esse 566. In dicitur notum con-  
ponere hunc, quae p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.  
complectitur.

F I N I S .

E R R O R E S .

**P**AG. 10. lin. 19. post Quotus Notandis  
dicitur p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
quae dicitur p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
Liber notandis pag. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
Causam notandis pag. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
hancam notandis, pag. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
legitiquit, pag. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.  
Tribuit: causam notandis in Tribuiti-  
bus, notandis pag. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

A P .

**Appendix C: Spanish Text  
(with English translation)  
of a Letter in Caramuel's Hand  
(dated in Salamanca, October 30, 1629)<sup>1</sup>**

Caramuel addressed the following, little-known letter to an unidentified high-born couple whom he refers to simply as *Vuestras Mercedes*. It dates from the Salamanca period before his great fame, but clearly announces in its preoccupations all the strengths and less lovable characteristics of the mature Caramuel (writing books, the business of publication, printing costs, safe dispatch and arrival of mail, convenient connections, mastery of Latin and learning-methods, an abject self-abasement before patrons and noble benefactors, etc.). It is not immediately clear what volume is at the center of the epistle's discussion in late 1629. It could be his first published book, *Psalterio en que un gran Príncipe Lusitano ... pide perdón de sus pecados* (Brussels 1635), but the six-year publishing delay makes this less likely.<sup>2</sup> The reference to the Infanta Doña María Ana (1606–1646), the youngest daughter of Philip III and Margarita of Austria, concerns her engagement to Ferdinand III and imminent departure for Vienna in 1630 in the company of the Imperial Ambassador to Spain. Velázquez's fine farewell portrait of her (now in the Prado) dates from the same year. María Ana became Queen of Bohemia by her marriage to Ferdinand on February 20, 1631, some sixteen months after Caramuel's inquiry. The Lorencico referred to in the text must be a son of the lord and lady in question, one presumably entrusted to Caramuel's pedagogic care at the University of Salamanca. If he were then memorizing the basics of Latin from a vocabulary-book over the winter vacation, this

<sup>1</sup> I wish here to thank my former dissertation graduate Dr. Doña Isabel Crespo López of Madrid for her patient transcription of Juan Caramuel's Salamanca MS (BN 2298 S) in the Biblioteca Nacional.

<sup>2</sup> J. Schmutz, "Bibliographia Caramueliana: Inventaire générale des oeuvres de Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1606–1682) et bibliographie critique", <<http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/scholastikon/bibcaramuel.html>>, 2002, p. 1.

suggests young Lorenzo might have been 10–12 years old. Though Caramuel scholarship is still a long way away from any complete edition of his correspondence in Spanish and Latin (or other languages), the publication of this item is offered here as a tiny contribution toward that end.

\* \* \*

Ya estoy en esta Universidad donde, aunque cada día tengo más y más ocupaciones, no deja que me impida el servir a Vuestra Merced si se ofreciere alguna cosa a que mis fuerzas se extiendan. Tengo salud gracias a Dios y gusto. Y me huelgo en el alma que Vuestras Mercedes la tengan. Las rayas del papel no se impriman habiéndose de dar un cuarto más que 20 reales y aviseme luego Vuestra Merced lo que hay de nuevo acerca del libro, porque quizá sabe que el dinero que de él resultare yo no le he menester para mí, sino para servirles a Vuestra Merced y a mis hermanos cuyas manos beso muchas veces; si estuviera impreso ya tuviera despachado en la Universidad muchos tomos porque todos los que han visto algo de él me hacen mucha merced por ello, y pienso que se han de ganar estos dineros si Dios nos da ventura y Vuestra merced pone diligencia.

Las cartas se suelen detener en llegar a mis manos a así Vuestra Merced ponga el sobre escrito:

Al Licenciado Juan de Negreda junto a la Iglesia Mayor guarde Dios =====

que vive junto a la estafeta (y cada día nos vemos en escuelas) y me dará las cartas con puntualidad luego que lleguen; y ponga en acabando el sobre escrito aquellas tres rayas, que con eso sabrá que es para mí porque de otro modo se detienen algunos días.

Aviseme Vuestra Merced cuándo se va la Infanta [María Ana] y el embajador del Emperador, que me holgase de saberlo.

Ítem. Si con mucha comodidad me pudiere Vuestra Merced enviar algún dinero, me lo envíe por el ordinario. Aquí tengo un vocabulario para Lorencico muy copioso; cuando envíe el libro lo enviaré con él por no andar haciendo mil viajes.

Año ————— 1629 =

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En casa de Fray Pedro de S. Jeronimo  
 de Madrid, a diez y siete de Mayo de 1629  
 Juan Caramuel de Lobos  
 a Fray Pedro de S. Jeronimo  
 de Madrid

Fray Pedro en esta universidad donde aun cada dia tengo  
 mas y mas ocasionar no esta de mi impio el servir  
 a V. M. si se hiciere alguna cosa en mi favor  
 y de la misma tengo salud como a Dios se guiso  
 y me huelgo al alma y V. M. la tenga  
 la paga del papel no se impriman asiéndose de  
 dar un quarto mas de 20 d. y asieme luego  
 V. M. hoy ay de much. a cerca del libro de  
 la ley y el dinero y del resultado de las empuer  
 para mi sino para servirle a V. M. y asi me  
 caga mi vida muchas veces, si viera alguna  
 buena de que yo en la universidad muchos cosas  
 de la ley, en esto algo del maestro mucha  
 merced por ello, de que yo me voy a andar por  
 aqui. Si Dios me da ventura y V. M. me sea diligencia  
 las cartas se pueden tener en Lyon como yo  
 y ad V. M. ponga el sobre escrito.  
 Al licenciado se le requiere junto ala  
 escuela mayor que de diez  
 y me junto ala escuela y cada dia nos venis en  
 escuela y mudare las cartas con puntualidad luego  
 que lleguen y ponga en adelante el sobre escrito  
 aquella del papel y con en sabra y el papel  
 porij de otros se detienen alij dias.  
 Asieme V. M. se le de la infamia y el con-  
 sulador del d. y me signa de saberlo.  
 Pero si con mucha consideracion me podre  
 venir ombor algun dia me embia por el ordinario  
 aqui como un vocabulario para latraco me ca  
 de que embia el libro lo embia con el por no an  
 dar haciendo mil viajes

Me D.

Y con esto Nuestro Padre me quede a Vuestra Merced mil años: de Salamanca octubre 30 de 1629.

[P.S.] Por amor de Dios que Vuestra Merced haga que Lorencico estudie mucho este invierno y acabe con el Latín si fuere posible, para que demos orden de que vaya adelantando en clase, que acá le hagan ilustre y entre con nombre; que ese le será de importancia para toda su vida.

Su hijo y criado de Vuestra Merced,

Fray Juan de Caramuel

\* \* \*

Now I am at this University where, although I have more and more activities each day, it does not mean I am prevented from serving Your Worship if some matter were to come up where it was in my power to assist you. Thanks be to God, I am in good spirits and good health. And I most heartily trust Your Graces enjoy the same. Don't let them print the lines of paper since a quarto of 416 pages will cost more than 20 reals; but please inform me right away, Your Worship, what news there is concerning the book, because perhaps you know I have no need of any monies arising from it, but rather in order to serve Your Worships and my Brethren, whose hands I kiss many times over. If it were printed already, I would have dispatched many volumes to the University, because all those who have seen some part of it accord me great favor on its behalf. And I think these sums of money will be forthcoming if God grants us luck and Your Worship applies diligence.

Your letters tend to be slowed up getting into my hands and so would Your Worship add on the address:

To Licentiate Juan de Negreda, next to Salamanca Cathedral (God keep him) =====

for he lives next to the sub-post office and we see each other every day in the Schools, and he will give me the letters punctually as soon

as they arrive; and put at the end of the address those three strokes, because in this way he will know that it's for me. For otherwise they get held up for several days.

Be so good as to advise me when H.R.H. Princess [Maria Anna] and the Imperial Ambassador are leaving, for I would be glad to know it.

Item: If Your Worship could send me some money through the regular mail whenever it suits you, I have a very copious [Latin] vocabulary-book here for Lorencico. When I send the book, I will send it along with him so that it doesn't go hither and thither a thousand times.

And with that, may Our Father be with Your Grace a thousand years: Salamanca October 30, 1629.

[P.S.] For heaven's sake please ensure that Lorencico studies a great deal this winter and finishes up the Latin if possible, so that we can arrange for him to be making progress in class; which will make him illustrious and so enter with distinction, since this will be of importance to him for the rest of his life.

Your Grace's Son and Servant,

Fray Juan de Caramuel





**« Haec quo magis publica, eo magis sunt infallibilia » :  
la validité des preuves historiques dans  
le *Philippus Prudens* et la *Pax licita* de Caramuel**

Anne-Marie Barrande-Azam

« Parmi les preuves, les unes concernent les faits, les autres le droit. Les premières, celles qui concernent les faits, sont proprement historiques, elles dépendent de documents d'une autorité indubitable. Plus ces documents sont connus du public, plus ils sont infaillibles », écrit Juan Caramuel dans le *Prélude* qu'il adresse au lecteur en introduction au *Philippus Prudens* publié en 1639.<sup>1</sup>

Dans l'œuvre théologique et philosophique de Caramuel, nous rencontrons fréquemment les termes *probatio* et *auctoritas*. Il n'est pas surprenant que la notion de « preuve » occupe une place centrale chez Caramuel, puisqu'elle est le pivot de la doctrine probabiliste développée à partir du *Commentaire de la Règle de Saint Benoît*, publié à Bruges en 1640. La relation étroite entre probabilisme et autorité a déjà été étudiée dans la contribution de J.-R. Armogathe au colloque de Vigevano en 1982, « Probabilisme et libre-arbitre : la théologie morale de Caramuel y Lobkowitz ». <sup>2</sup> Rappelons simplement, à la

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<sup>1</sup> Juan Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens Caroli V Imperatoris filius Lusitaniae, Algarbiae, Indiae, Brasiliae legitimus rex demonstratus*, Antverpiae 1639, Prélude au lecteur, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> In: *Le meraviglie del probabile: Juan Caramuel (1606-1682). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Vigevano 1990, pp. 35-40.

suite de Jean-Robert Armogathe, que lorsque la preuve vient à l'appui d'une démonstration, ce qui est généralement le cas dans bon nombre d'ouvrages de Caramuel, il convient de distinguer entre preuve *intrinsèque* – lorsque la valeur probante de la preuve découle d'un raisonnement – et preuve *extrinsèque* – lorsque la preuve doit sa valeur probante à une autorité à laquelle il est fait référence.

La remarque extraite du *Prélude au lecteur* citée en titre de la présente communication concerne le statut de la preuve historique. Caramuel y pose un principe. Il rattache la preuve historique au domaine des « faits » en lui accordant d'autant plus de crédit que les éléments qui la constituent (documents, témoignages) possèdent plus de publicité. Mais cette proposition de Caramuel suscite un certain nombre d'interrogations : quelle valeur probante peuvent avoir les arguments qui, dans la classification binaire de Caramuel, ressortissent au domaine du fait (*factum*), de l'Histoire et non du droit ? Le caractère public d'un événement ou d'un document est-il vraiment garant de son authenticité ? Une preuve peut-elle être tenue pour indubitable du seul fait que le document ou le fait invoqué sont publics, c'est-à-dire connus de tous, ou du moins, susceptibles d'être connus des érudits ?

Caramuel fut mêlé de près à deux grands événements de son siècle : la révolution portugaise de 1640, qui mit un terme à la réunion des couronnes d'Espagne et de Portugal, et les négociations de la paix de Westphalie de 1648. Il fut consulté et on le pria de donner son avis sur ces deux événements et les réponses à ces consultations ont donné lieu à deux ouvrages, respectivement le *Philippus Prudens* et la *Pax licita*, qui posaient deux problèmes différents.

Le *Philippus Prudens* tentait de résoudre un litige juridique : le roi d'Espagne doit-il être reconnu comme Roi légitime de Portugal ?

Quant à la *Pax licita*, elle abordait les négociations de paix sous l'angle d'une problématique morale et théologico-politique : l'Empereur, Ferdinand III, pouvait-il en conscience conclure la paix avec les protestants, sans nuire à l'Église catholique ?

Ces deux ouvrages sont atypiques dans l'œuvre encyclopédique

de Caramuel. Ils ont été écrits sur commande. On connaît la fidélité dynastique de l'auteur, bien perceptible dans la *Declaración mystica de las armas de España, invictamente belicosa*, parue à Bruxelles en 1636 ; cette fidélité dynastique est également manifeste dans le *Philippus Prudens* lorsque Caramuel se dit « de sa Majesté Catholique éternellement dévot »<sup>3</sup> il y a là plus qu'une de ces formules de politesse et de déférence typiques des dédicaces. Nous connaissons également la participation subie et active de Caramuel aux événements de la guerre de Trente Ans. Dès lors, on pourrait penser que ces deux ouvrages ne sont que des pamphlets l'un pro-espagnol, l'autre pro-impérial, et que Caramuel est tour à tour à la solde des deux partis. Or, nous nous proposons de montrer qu'il n'en est rien, que ces deux ouvrages se présentent comme des démonstrations rationnelles de la thèse défendue par leur auteur et que la démarche intellectuelle de Caramuel dans ces écrits est particulièrement originale puisque, cette fois-ci, c'est non par le raisonnement comme dans la philosophie ou par le recours à l'Écriture Sainte comme dans la théologie morale, mais dans *l'Histoire* que Caramuel cherche ses « preuves », les arguments qui lui permettent de progresser dans sa démonstration. Autrement dit, bien que le *Philippus Prudens* et la *Pax licita* ne soient nullement explicitement voulus comme des ouvrages historiques, bien qu'ils ne soient pas consciemment présentés comme tels, tous deux sont en fait le fruit d'un véritable travail de recherche historique, au sens moderne du terme. Dans ces deux ouvrages polémiques, Caramuel, par nécessité, se fait résolument historien, même si l'Histoire n'y constitue pas pour lui un objet d'étude représentant une fin en soi.

Penchons-nous tout d'abord sur le premier de ces ouvrages, le *Philippus Prudens*, avant d'évoquer la *Pax licita* et enfin de réfléchir à l'articulation entre le discours et la preuve historique chez Caramuel.

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<sup>3</sup> J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens*, op. cit., adresse à Philippe IV.

### **Le *Philippus Prudens* : réflexions sur la légitimité et recherches généalogiques**

En 1639, Juan Caramuel publie à Anvers un ouvrage intitulé *Philippus Prudens Caroli V Imperatoris filius Lusitaniae, Algarbiae, Indiae, Brasiliae legitimus rex demonstratus*, à un moment où la présence espagnole au Portugal est fortement contestée. Cet ouvrage fut l'objet d'une vive polémique et de nombreux textes réfutèrent le *Philippus Prudens*, auxquels Caramuel dut répondre en 1642.<sup>4</sup> Dans le *Philippus*, l'auteur cherche à démontrer les droits de Philippe IV d'Espagne au trône de Portugal, dont s'était emparé par la force Philippe II en 1580. Caramuel déclare lui-même dans l'adresse à Philippe IV que tel est le seul objectif de l'ouvrage.<sup>5</sup> Pour défendre sa thèse, il adopte une démarche purement démonstrative, présente ses arguments avec une logique rigoureuse selon le modèle scholastique. L'originalité de l'exposé réside dans le fait que Caramuel effectue des références constantes à l'Histoire sans se contenter de reprendre les arguments utilisés en 1580 par les théologiens et les juristes pour justifier le coup d'état de Philippe II. Caramuel a eu connaissance des études des Docteurs de Salamanque à ce sujet, mais il ne les reprend pas à son propre compte. De surcroît, il n'utilise pas dans le fil de son argumentation les auteurs partisans déclarés du monarque espagnol dont il fournit néanmoins la liste.<sup>6</sup> Caramuel affirme son originalité en déclarant avoir accompli un *immensus labor* au terme de la résolution de toutes les difficultés posées.<sup>7</sup>

Dans le *Philippus*, la preuve est l'élément-clé du processus rhétorique. Mais les différentes preuves historiques rassemblées sont réparties par Caramuel selon trois degrés d'autorité :

<sup>4</sup> Cette réponse de J. Caramuel est la *Respuesta al Manifiesto del Reyno de Portugal*, publiée à Anvers en 1642.

<sup>5</sup> J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens*, op. cit., adresse à Philippe IV : « Hoc unum ambio, hoc me adsecuturum esse spero. » (« C'est la seule chose que je recherche, j'espère que j'y parviendrai. »)

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

- une autorité primordiale est accordée aux documents officiels publics, aux institutions, donations, ultimes volontés, privilèges, condamnations, inscriptions, épitaphes ;
- le deuxième degré d'autorité, inférieur au premier, est celui des écrivains qui ont écrit *l'Histoire de leur temps* ;
- enfin le troisième et moindre degré d'autorité est celui que représentent les ouvrages de ceux qui rapportent des événements anciens sans les prouver.

Le premier livre du *Philippus Prudens* est consacré aux recherches généalogiques : il dresse les portraits biographiques de chacun des souverains portugais depuis le père du premier roi de Portugal Alphonse-Henrique, le comte Henri de Bourgogne mort en 1112, jusqu'à Philippe IV d'Espagne. Pour composer ce premier livre, Caramuel s'appuie sur des textes officiels, des documents publics et sur plusieurs historiens de la monarchie lusitanienne. Voici, à titre d'exemple, comment Caramuel expose lui-même l'origine des sources qui lui ont permis de constituer la notice biographique du comte Henri de Bourgogne :

Telle est la généalogie la plus exacte du comte Henri. C'est celle à laquelle donnent leur accord les chronologistes les plus compétents, parmi lesquels - nul n'étant moins digne d'éloges qu'un autre - Pierre Pithou, dans ses *Annales* et *Histoire des Francs de Robert I<sup>er</sup> jusqu'à Philippe I<sup>er</sup>*, Théodore Geodefroy dans son *Origine des Rois du Portugal*, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Président du Parlement de Paris dans *l'Histoire de son temps*,<sup>8</sup> Prudence de Sandoval, évêque de Pampelune, historiographe du roi Philippe III, André du Chesne, géographe du Roi de France, dans son *Histoire de la Bourgogne et de la Maison de Vergy*, le jésuite Antoine de Vasconcellos dans ses *Récapitulations des actes des rois de Portugal*, Scèveole et Louis de Sainte-Marthe, dans leur *Histoire généalogique des Rois de France*.<sup>9</sup>

L'autorité accordée à la généalogie présentée comme la plus sûre par Caramuel s'appuie sur le témoignage d'historiens français (Pi-

<sup>8</sup> Le titre original est *Historiarum sui temporis libri*.

<sup>9</sup> J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens*, op. cit., p. 15.

thou, Godefroy, de Thou, du Chesne, les frères de Sainte-Marthe), espagnol (Sandoval) et portugais (Vasconcellos) qui ont vécu entre la deuxième moitié du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle et la première moitié du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle. La multiplication de ces références fonctionne comme autant de preuves historiques revêtues du deuxième degré d'autorité, d'après la classification de Caramuel. L'ensemble de son ouvrage est ordonné comme une démonstration, il faut que chacun de ses arguments soit une *preuve*. C'est en effet la preuve – il s'agit dans cet exemple de l'autorité d'auteurs relativement récents et plus particulièrement de « *chronologi* » – qui valide la démonstration.

Lorsqu'il s'agit d'examiner une à une les revendications des différents prétendants au trône de Portugal, Caramuel cherche à fournir le plus grand nombre de documents possible. Dans le cinquième livre, il examine sous la forme de huit disputes les arguments des uns et des autres. La première dispute concerne les droits de suzerain que posséderait le Souverain Pontife sur la couronne portugaise. Caramuel précise que le document attestant du lien de vassalité entre le Portugal et l'Église romaine se trouve aux Archives de Tolède, selon l'information qu'il a récoltée chez l'historien Antonio Brandão.<sup>10</sup> Suit un long développement sur l'authenticité du document qui avait été contestée. Après avoir exposé les quatre critiques susceptibles de semer le doute sur la validité du document, Caramuel les réfute une à une, procédant toujours de la manière systématique qui est la sienne et qui rappelle le schéma des disputes scholastiques.

Voici, par exemple, l'une de ces critiques émise par les adversaires de l'authenticité du document, ils affirment que :

La lumière [de la raison] naturelle exige qu'une lettre ait été écrite avant sa réponse : le Souverain Pontife répond au roi Alphonse ; donc la lettre pontificale sera postérieure à la lettre du roi. Qui en douterait ? Or, si le

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186 : « Si lubeat totum hoc instrumentum ad longum legere, consule Antonium Brandao in Monarch. Lusit. Part. 3. hb. 10. cap. 12. » (« Si l'on souhaite lire l'intégralité de ce document officiel, consulter Antonio Brandão... »)

Souverain Pontife répond avant que le roi n'ait écrit, cette lettre est dépourvue de toute autorité. Je prouve la mineure. Le roi donne la lettre aux Ides de décembre de l'année 1142 et le Pontife répond au mois d'avril de cette même année.<sup>11</sup>

Caramuel se défend ainsi :

Je réponds à ce premier argument en deux parties, car il est possible que le copiste de la lettre se soit trompé, comme cela arrive souvent ; ou bien qu'Alphonse ait écrit en l'an 1141 et qu'il ait à nouveau écrit au Souverain Pontife aux Ides de décembre 1142, de peur que la première lettre ne soit pas parvenue entre ses mains. Entre temps, le Souverain Pontife, ayant reçu la première lettre, y répond au mois d'avril 1142, et cette réponse est reçue par le roi après les Ides de décembre de cette même année 1142 (personne ne s'étonnera qu'il faille huit mois pour aller de Rome à Lisbonne, car il y a cinq cents ans les courriers n'étaient pas aussi fréquents qu'aujourd'hui), et c'est la raison pour laquelle les lettres écrites restaient plus longtemps chez le messager. J'emprunte à Brandão un troisième argument. Il aurait pu se passer la chose suivante. Le roi Alphonse aurait placé la Lusitanie sous l'autorité de l'Église romaine, mais il l'aurait fait entre les mains du légat et au mois de décembre il aurait écrit au Souverain Pontife : celui-ci aurait concédé le privilège cité au mois d'avril et dans ce même privilège, il fait mention de la soumission faite au légat, non à lui-même. Quelle que soit la voie choisie, elle te conduit de la même manière à la résolution de la difficulté.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> « Naturale lumen dictat Epistolam debere praescribi responsioni : Pontifex respondet Regi Afonso ; ergo Epistolâ Regiâ erit posterior Pontificia. Quis ambigat ? Atqui Pontifex respondet antequam Rex scripsisset ; istae ergo Epistolae carent omnino auctoritate. Minorem probo. Rex dat Epistolam Idibus Decembribus anni 1142 et Pontifex respondet mense Aprili ipsius anni. » J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens*, op. cit., p. 186.

<sup>12</sup> « Bifariam primae rationi satisfacio. Nam vel exscriptor erravit, ut saepissime accidit : vel Afonsus scripsit anno 1141 et dubitans an litterae ad Pontificis manus devenissent, rescripsit iterum Idibus Decembr. anni 1142. Interim summus Pontifex receptâ primâ epistolâ respondet mense Aprili anni 1142 et haec recipitur a Rege post Idus Decembres ipsius anni. Nec alicui mirum appareat, Româ ad Ulysiponem octo menses consumi, quia a quingentis annis non erat tam frequens ta-

Caramuel établit donc ici la validité de ce qui constitue pour lui une preuve du premier degré d'autorité, un document public provenant d'archives. En ayant établi l'authenticité, il s'en servira pour démontrer que la suzeraineté du Souverain Pontife sur le roi de Portugal est d'ordre purement spirituel et que le Pape n'a aucun droit sur la couronne de Portugal.

Nous avons vu comment Caramuel procédait pour prouver de manière négative que les autres prétendants n'étaient pas les bons ; mais il cherche naturellement aussi à prouver de manière positive les droits de Philippe IV d'Espagne. C'est déjà une autre démarche mais Caramuel se sert de la même façon de preuves historiques comme arguments.

De tous les prétendants à la succession au trône de Portugal, c'est le roi d'Espagne qui possède la légitimité la plus *probable*, car c'est en sa faveur que le faisceau de preuves est le plus important. Pour résoudre la controverse et démontrer cette légitimité, Caramuel pose un unique principe qui a recours à quatre critères bien définis : la lignée, le degré de parenté, le sexe, l'âge.<sup>13</sup> Ces critères régissent la désignation du prétendant, sanctionnent la revendication de légitimité. Ici, le travail d'historien s'effectue en premier lieu dans la reconstitution de la lignée. Caramuel effectue lui-même de véritables recherches généalogiques pour établir avec exactitude la lignée des rois de Portugal. Il s'entoure des preuves les plus valables, des preuves dont le degré d'autorité est le plus fort. La preuve historique est incluse dans le processus rhétorique de légitimation.

Le rôle assigné à l'Histoire apparaît donc clairement dans cet ouvrage : elle permet de donner une réponse à la question non his-

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bellariorum ministerium ; et ideo scriptae Epistolae manebant diutius apud relato-rem. Dabo ex Brandao satisfactionem tertiam. Potuit sic accidisse. Ante Aprilem anni 1142 subjecerit Romanae Ecclesiae Afonsus Rex Regionem Lusitanicam, sed in manus Legati ; et mense Decembri scripserit summo Pontifici : hic concesserit citatum privilegium mense Aprili, inque eo mentionem faciat sujectionis exhibitae legato, non sibi. *Quamlibet viam eligas, deducet te indemnem ad terminum difficultatis.* » J. Caramuel, *ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.



torique – en l’occurrence juridique – posée au départ, mais l’Histoire n’est pas étudiée pour elle-même, elle ne joue qu’un rôle de science auxiliaire permettant de fournir des arguments pour résoudre un problème juridique.

Venons-en dans un second temps à la *Pax licita*, ouvrage dont la parution suscita une vive polémique dans l’Empire. De caractère théologique avant tout, ce livre montre également comment la preuve historique vient à l’appui d’un autre type de démonstration, celle qui permet de résoudre un problème éthique.

### **La *Pax licita* : « Rien de nouveau sous le soleil » ou l’Histoire au service de la casuistique**

Au printemps de 1648, Juan Caramuel publie à Francfort un ouvrage de 328 pages intitulé *Sacri Romani Imperii pax licita demonstrata*. À la demande de plusieurs commanditaires, le nonce Fabio Chigi, l’empereur Ferdinand III et le prince-électeur de Mayence, il doit réfléchir sur les conditions morales de la signature de la paix.<sup>14</sup> Alors qu’il réside à Prague, Caramuel rédige une réponse au pamphlet du jésuite Heinrich Wangnereck le *Judicium theologicum supra quaestione, an pax qualem desiderant Protestantes sit secundum se illicita*, pamphlet qui circulait dans l’Empire à la fin de l’année 1646.<sup>15</sup> Ce texte dénonçait les concessions que l’empereur Ferdinand III et son conseiller Trautmannsdorf accordaient aux protestants. Ces concessions étaient

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<sup>14</sup> Au sujet de la réaction de Chigi à la lecture de l’ouvrage de Caramuel, voir les lettres publiées par L. Ceysens dans « Autour de Caramuel », *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* XXXIII, 1961, pp. 329-410 et plus particulièrement les lettres No. 48 à 58, pp. 382-390.

<sup>15</sup> Sur la littérature polémique autour des questions morales soulevées par les traités de paix, voir L. Steinberger, *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage in der Zeit vom Prager Frieden bis zum Nürnberger Friedensexekutionshauptrezess 1635-1650*, Fribourg 1906.

jugées par Wangnereck moralement irrecevables, ce que réfute Caramuel.

Dans la *Pax licita*, la trame démonstrative s'appuie sur un syllogisme étayé par des références historiques et canoniques. Il s'agit cette fois de discuter des articles d'un traité de paix en mesurant leurs conséquences religieuses et morales. La question de savoir si la paix est licite relève donc de la casuistique morale. Dans son discours, Caramuel recourt à l'Histoire en dressant la liste des précédents historiques, autrement dit des cas où l'Église catholique a été contrainte par les circonstances à composer avec l'hérésie :

- au 6<sup>e</sup> siècle, au moment de la crise arienne ;
- au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle, lors des nombreux colloques religieux tenus en Allemagne ;
- au moment du colloque de Ratisbonne de 1541 ;
- pendant le deuxième colloque de Ratisbonne de 1546 ;
- lors de l'Intérim d'Augsbourg de 1546-1547 ;
- lors de la paix d'Augsbourg de 1555 ;
- en 1629 au moment de l'Édit de restitution ;
- en février 1635, quelques mois avant la signature de la paix de Prague ;
- lors des négociations de la paix de Ratisbonne en 1640-1641 ;
- en 1645 pour la signature de la paix de Vienne ;
- et lors des débats préliminaires aux traités dans les années 1646-1647.

La mineure du syllogisme de Caramuel est argumentée par le récit de quinze consultations théologiques.<sup>16</sup> Il s'agit de controverses, de discussions ou d'expertises portant sur des problèmes religieux qui furent plus ou moins publiques. Pour Caramuel, les questions débattues à Münster et à Osnabrück l'ont déjà été dans le passé, ce sont les antécédents historiques de la paix de Westphalie. Mais pour Caramuel, cette répétition, cette possibilité de se référer à un précédent

<sup>16</sup> J. Caramuel, *Sacri Romani Imperii pax licita demonstrata*, Francofurti 1648, Prodromus, pp. 27-59.

n'est pas un hasard qui serait lié à l'histoire particulière de la guerre de Trente Ans : c'est tout au contraire une règle générale qu'il érige en un principe qu'il adopte *a priori*. Selon Caramuel, il ne peut y avoir de situation, de circonstance présente qui n'ait été déjà l'objet de débats, de discussions ou qui n'ait été un jour soumise à un conseil ou une assemblée. Toutes les questions débattues *hic et nunc* l'ont forcément été antérieurement et ont déjà été résolues par le passé. Il suffit par conséquent de puiser dans l'Histoire la solution au problème du jour ; non pas, certes, en redisant les mêmes choses, mais en procédant par analogie.

Mais le plus intéressant est la manière dont Caramuel pose explicitement ce principe qui fonde son raisonnement : il écrit en effet dans la marge de la page 29 de la *Pax licita* : « Nihil novum sub sole. Nihil controvertitur hodie, quod olim controversum et decisum non fuerit. » (« Il n'y a rien de nouveau sous le soleil. Rien qui fasse l'objet de controverses aujourd'hui et qui n'ait pas fait l'objet de controverses et n'ait pas été tranché par le passé. »)<sup>17</sup> Bien évidemment, il y a là la célèbre citation de l'Ecclésiaste, mais cette indication marginale de Caramuel ne se résume pas à un simple ornement, à la plate évocation du proverbial « *nihil novum sub sole* ». C'est bien plus que cela : il s'agit en fait d'une véritable paraphrase de l'ensemble des versets 9 et 10 du chapitre premier de l'Ecclésiaste : « Quid est quod fuit ipsum quod futurum est quid est quod factum est ipsum quod fiendum est ; nihil sub sole novum nec valet quisquam dicere ecce hoc recens est iam enim praecessit in saeculis quae fuerunt ante nos. » (« Ce qui a été, c'est ce qui sera, ce qui s'est fait, c'est ce qui se fera : rien de nouveau sous le soleil ! S'il est une chose dont on puisse dire : “ Voyez, c'est nouveau, cela ! ” – cela existe déjà depuis les siècles qui nous ont précédés. »)<sup>18</sup>

En paraphrasant ainsi la Bible, Caramuel cherche sans aucun doute à montrer que le principe méthodologique qu'il énonce – le fait qu'il

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Prodrumus, p. 29, dans la marge.

<sup>18</sup> Traduction de la TOB.

existe toujours une possibilité de se référer à un cas passé analogue – n'est pas une affirmation gratuite, mais qu'il découle quasiment de l'Écriture ; il confère ainsi à sa méthode historico-analogique de résolution des problèmes présents un fondement quasi-religieux. Le principe qu'il pose et qui fonde la légitimité du recours à l'Histoire se trouve ainsi pratiquement élevé au rang de dogme théologiquement fondé.

La deuxième dispute de la *Pax licita* évoque la position prise par le cardinal Otho Truchsess après la paix religieuse de 1555. La question que Caramuel pose est de savoir si Truchsess a véritablement protesté contre la paix d'Augsbourg. Il cherche à savoir si sa protestation portait sur le dogme, la juridiction, les personnes ou les biens ecclésiastiques.<sup>19</sup> Ce texte, qui n'avait eu aucun écho dans l'Empire, avait été rappelé par le jésuite Paul Laymann dans la *Pacis compositio* de 1629. Caramuel refait l'histoire de cette protestation peu connue et se livre à l'explication de son contenu. Au terme de cette nouvelle enquête historique il conclut qu'il est permis en conscience à l'Empereur de signer la paix.

Le rôle de l'Histoire dans la *Pax licita* apparaît donc dans toute son importance : c'est l'Histoire qui, à nouveau, permet de donner la réponse à la question posée au départ, mais, tout comme dans le *Philippus Prudens*, l'Histoire n'est pas étudiée pour elle-même, mais joue à nouveau le rôle de science auxiliaire permettant de fournir des arguments pour résoudre un problème théologique. La série d'analogies effectuées avec le passé constitue autant de preuves historiques fournissant des arguments théologiques.

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<sup>19</sup> J. Caramuel, *Sacri Romani Imperii pax licita demonstrata*, op. cit., p. 38 : « An Otho Truchsessius vere et authentice sit protestatus ? An proprio nomine, an nomine summi Pontificis ? An in spiritali dogmatum, jurisdictionum, et personarum ; an etiam in temporalibus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum materia ? An in sua semper ipse Protestatione persistenterit ? » (« Othon Truchsess a-t-il vraiment et authentiquement protesté ? L'a-t-il fait en son nom propre ou au nom du Souverain Pontife ? L'a-t-il fait en matière spirituelle à propos des dogmes, des juridictions et des personnes, ou même en matière temporelle à propos des biens ecclésiastiques ? Lui-même a-t-il toujours persisté dans sa propre Protestation ? »)

## Discours et preuve historique

Comment Caramuel en vient-il à se référer à l'Histoire dans le *Philippus Prudens* et la *Pax licita* ? Dans ces deux ouvrages qui traitent de situations douteuses, Caramuel remonte le fil du temps par nécessité. À ces deux problèmes, il ne peut pas répondre par l'application de principes généraux. En effet, dans le cas du *Philippus Prudens*, les raisons de la légitimité du roi d'Espagne sont généalogiques et les revendications ne peuvent se fonder qu'en référence à l'Histoire et aux origines de la monarchie lusitanienne. De même, en ce qui concerne la *Pax licita*, la question était de savoir si l'Empereur peut moralement conclure la paix avec les Protestants. Le recours à l'Histoire permet de montrer que non seulement des cas de conscience analogues se sont posés dans le passé, mais également que les solutions données jadis sont encore valables actuellement.

L'Histoire est instrumentalisée et mise au service d'une cause que Caramuel estime juste.

Caramuel aborde-t-il ces deux questions comme des cas de conscience à résoudre ?

À la lecture de ces ouvrages, il apparaît clairement que Caramuel a traité les deux problèmes qui se posaient à lui comme des cas de conscience. Dans la *Pax licita*, il tient le rôle de conseiller moral de l'Empereur et lui recommande de choisir entre deux maux le moindre. Signer la paix avec les hérétiques est un moindre mal. Dans le *Philippus Prudens*, la conscience morale du souverain n'est pas en jeu directement (sauf lorsqu'il s'agit de dénoncer des conduites iniques ou des usurpations politiques) ; l'enjeu est simplement juridique.

Comment la démarche démonstrative de Caramuel fonctionne-t-elle ?

S'il y a recherche de preuves, c'est qu'il y a doute. Pour établir la vérité, l'auteur se livre à un effort de restitution des documents. Il s'agit d'accumuler un maximum d'éléments afin que la preuve historique permette de sortir d'un état de doute très fort. De plus, cette recherche nécessite la plus grande rigueur démonstrative. On constate

un rapport étroit entre le principe établi et la mise en œuvre de la démonstration elle-même. De ce rapport dépend le degré de validité de la preuve. Parmi plusieurs théories possibles, on choisit celle dont la valeur de cohérence et la valeur probante est la plus élevée. La reconstitution devient une histoire argumentée et vérifiable par tous. Mais l'accumulation de témoignages et d'arguments conduit à exclure toute explication contraire à celle que l'on propose. Par exemple, quand Caramuel annonce le plan du second livre du *Philippus Prudens*, il écrit dans l'index ne rien avoir laissé au hasard. C'est dans ce cadre que s'inscrit la validité de la preuve historique.

Mais la preuve historique même dotée du plus fort degré de validité peut-elle être objective ? Les prises de position de Caramuel semblent en partie partisans. Le *Philippus Prudens* exalte l'hégémonie espagnole et dans ce domaine l'ouvrage n'a rien à envier à la *Declaración mystica*. De même, Caramuel prend le parti affiché de l'Empereur. Caramuel se livre en fait à un exercice périlleux : il écrit une histoire partisane argumentée par des preuves qu'il veut irréfutables. Il accumule pour sa démonstration le plus grand nombre possible de ces preuves qu'il soumet à critique – une critique historique au sens moderne – et qu'il pondère en attribuant à chacune un certain degré d'autorité. Les deux questions à résoudre, la légitimité du roi d'Espagne et la licéité de la paix ont besoin d'arguments d'une autorité telle, que nul ne puisse les révoquer en doute.

La référence à l'Histoire constitue-t-elle une démarche *laxiste* ?

« Si cela s'est fait par le passé, alors pouvons-nous le faire ? » demande la *Pax licita*. La solution proposée peut également être considérée comme une décision de prudence ou de sagesse politique, étayée sous la plume de Caramuel par le recours à des experts en matière de théologie ou de jurisprudence. Dans le *Philippus Prudens*, l'auteur veut dénoncer une iniquité et use de toute sa force de persuasion pour inciter ses contemporains à choisir le souverain espagnol contre l'usurpateur Bragance.

En somme, ce que cherche Caramuel c'est toujours l'argument juste, inattaquable. Dans sa logique démonstrative, il recherche ce qui

peut jouer le rôle de principe, fonctionner comme un axiome sur lequel sera fondé tout l'édifice logique du raisonnement. Or l'Histoire peut fournir cet axiome puisqu'on peut tirer d'elle le *factum*, le fait qui, du moment qu'il est irréfutable, s'impose à l'esprit sans nécessiter lui-même de démonstration, comme tout bon principe logique. Lorsqu'il nous est connu, notamment par un témoignage direct ou un document public, le fait est indubitable et peut donc être présenté comme le principe ou – selon le point où l'on se trouve dans la démonstration – l'argument objectif par excellence.

Les deux ouvrages évoqués, le *Philippus Prudens* et la *Pax licita*, montrent une nouvelle fois la vaste érudition de Caramuel. Cette érudition, manifestée ici au moyen des références historiques, est donc au service de la doctrine probabiliste de Caramuel. Dans le *Philippus Prudens*, l'auteur a pris soin de définir le code déontologique de l'historien et ce programme devient, d'un point de vue épistémologique, une formule à validité permanente :

Nihil debemus asserere quod non sit probabile, et aliquibus ex causis constet : et in re historica levis asseritur, quicumque sine antiqui auctoris testimonio facinora antiquorum asserit. (Nous ne devons rien affirmer qui ne soit probable et qui ne découle comme un fait établi de certaines causes : en histoire aussi, quiconque affirme l'existence d'actes des personnages du passé sans le témoignage d'un auteur ancien affirme avec légèreté.)<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens*, op. cit., p. 31.





# Science, Music, Architecture



# Caramuels Schrift *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova*

Karel Mačák

## I. Einführung

Caramuels Buch *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* wurde im Jahr 1670 in Campania veröffentlicht.<sup>1</sup> Es hat mehr als 1800 Seiten in Folio und daraus folgt, dass hier nur ein kurzer allgemeiner Überblick des Inhaltes des Buches und ein paar Anmerkungen zu einigen Teilen gegeben werden kann; keine speziellen mathematischen Probleme können hier behandelt werden.

Wenn wir über Caramuels *Mathesis biceps* sprechen wollen, sollten wir zuerst darauf aufmerksam machen, dass der Inhalt der Mathematik im 17. Jahrhundert weit vielfältiger war als heute. Zur Mathematik gehörten z. B. Astronomie, manche Teile der heutigen Physik, die Konstruktion der Sonnenuhren, die sogenannte *Architectura militaris* und viele andere Disciplinen, die heute ganz selbständig sind. Diese Vielfältigkeit der damaligen Mathematik finden wir auch in Caramuels *Mathesis biceps*, deren Inhalt<sup>2</sup> sich auf der gedruckten Titelseite befindet und der die folgenden vierzig Themen enthält:

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<sup>1</sup> Bei der Vorbereitung des Beitrags wurde das Exemplar des Buches Caramuels verwandt, das sich in der Bibliothek des Prämonstratenser-Klosters Strahov unter der Signaturen AG XII 1 und AG XII 2 befindet. Der Autor des Beitrags dankt Dr. Hedvika Kuchařová für die aufopferungsvolle Vorbereitung einer digitalen Kopie des Buches und der Königlichen Kanonie der Prämonstratenser in Strahov für die kostenlose Gewährung eines Exemplares der digitalen Kopie.

<sup>2</sup> Besser gesagt: von Caramuel geplanten Inhalt.

I. Arithmetica; II. Algebra; III. Geometria generalis; IV. Cosmographia; V. Geodaesia; VI. Geographia; VII. Centroscopia; VIII. Orometria; IX. Hydrographia; X. Histiodromica; XI. Hypothalatica; XII. Nectica; XIII. & XIV. Nautica sublunaris & aetherea; XV. Potamographia; XVI. Hydraulica; XVII. Aërographia; XVIII. Anemometria; XIX. Ptetica; XX. Sciographia; XXI. & XXII. Logarithmica fluens & refluens; XXIII. Combinatoria; XXIV. Kybeia: De ludis; XXV. Arithmomantica; XXVI.–XXXVIII. Trigonometria generalis, recurrens, astronomica; XXIX. Aethereus rectangulus; XXX. ΔΙΑΒΗΤΗΣ. Circinus; XXXI. Architectura militaris; XXXII. Musica; XXXIII. Metallaria; XXXIV. Pedarsica; XXXV. Statica; XXXVI. Hydrostatica; XXXVII. Meteorologia; XXXVIII–XL. Sphoericae, Oscillatoriae, Rectilineae planetarum hypotheses.

Manche hier angewandte Termini können heute vielleicht für einen klassischen Philologen verständlich sein, aber für Mathematiker, Physiker usw. sind viele hier angegebene Themen ganz dunkel und sagen ihnen nichts. Zum Glück wurde der Text des Buches von Caramuel in zehn Teile geteilt, die mit dem Terminus „Syntagma“ benannt wurden, und diese Teilung kann uns helfen, sich im Inhalt des Buches zu orientieren.

SYNTAGMA PRIMUM. ARITHMETICA enthält nur das Thema I und sein Umfang ist etwa 120 Seiten.

SYNTAGMA SECUNDUM. ALGEBRA enthält nur das Thema II und sein Umfang ist etwa 110 Seiten.

SYNTAGMA TERTIUM. GEOMETRIA enthält nur das Thema III und sein Umfang ist etwa 135 Seiten.

Das Thema IV befindet sich nicht im Buch.

Syntagma quartum Geometria specialis enthält die Themen V–XX und sein Umfang ist etwa 435 Seiten (also mehr als die drei vorigen Syntagmen zusammen).

SYNTAGMA QUINTUM. LOGARITHMICA enthält die Themen XXI und XXII und sein Umfang ist etwa 140 Seiten.

SYNTAGMA SEXTUM. COMBINATORIA enthält die Themen XXIII-XXV und sein Umfang ist etwa 115 Seiten.

SYNTAGMA SEPTIMUM. TRIGONOMETRIA GENERALIS enthält die Themen XXVI-XXIX und sein Umfang ist etwa 100 Seiten.

SYNTAGMA OCTAVUM. ΔΙΑΒΗΤΗΣ, HIC EST, CIRCINUS MATHEMATICUS enthält nur das Thema XXX und sein Umfang ist etwa 110 Seiten.

Die Themen XXXI-XXXIII befinden sich nicht im Buch.

SYNTAGMA NONUM. MECHANICA enthält die Themen XXXIV-XXXVII und sein Umfang ist etwa 80 Seiten.

(Pedarsica = die Lehre über einfache Mechanismen, d. h. über den Hebel, die Rolle, den Flaschenzug usw.)

SYNTAGMA DECIMUM, INTERIM ASTRONOMICUM enthält die Themen XXXVIII-XL und sein Umfang ist etwa 335 Seiten.

Wir sehen also, dass das umfangreichste und thematisch vielfältigste Syntagma das vierte ist und wir werden uns mit ihm noch ein wenig ausführlicher beschäftigen. Es gibt aber noch einen Grund für unser Interesse für dieses Syntagma und davon werden wir jetzt sprechen.

## II. Josef Smolík

Jeder, der sich mit Caramuel beschäftigt, kennt wahrscheinlich die Internet-Seiten *Caramuel electronicus*,<sup>3</sup> die von Jacob Schmutz vorbereitet werden. Ein Teil dieser Seiten heißt „Studia critica“; hier befindet sich ein komplettes chronologisch geordnetes Verzeichnis aller

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<sup>3</sup> <http://pagesperso-orange.fr/caramuel/>

Arbeiten, die über Caramuel geschrieben wurden. Am 30. September dieses Jahres befanden sich in diesem Verzeichnis im ganzen 151 Titel und unter der Nummer 137 befindet sich hier die erste tschechische Arbeit über Caramuel, die von Josef Smolík geschrieben wurde und in den Jahren 1872 und 1873 unter dem Titel *Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic a jeho dílo* [und sein Werk] *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* im sechsten und siebenten Jahresbericht des Realgymnasiums in Prag veröffentlicht wurde. Und weil es sich vielleicht um die erste Arbeit in ganz Europa handelt, die dieser Schrift Caramuels gewidmet wurde, halten wir es für geeignet, hier ein paar Worte über Josef Smolík und seine Studie über Caramuel zu sagen.<sup>4</sup>

Smolík lebte in den Jahren 1832–1915 und wirkte den größten Teil seines Lebens als Mittelschulprofessor der Mathematik und anderer Gegenstände, er war aber auch intensiv wissenschaftlich tätig. Am Anfang seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit widmete er sich der Geschichte der Mathematik; unserer Meinung nach kann man Smolík für den ersten modernen tschechischen Historiker der Mathematik halten. Später widmete er sich der Archäologie und der Numismatik; am Ende seines Lebens wirkte er als Direktor der numismatischen Sammlung des Nationalmuseums in Prag. Für uns ist aber Smolík als Historiker der Mathematik wichtig, hauptsächlich seine Arbeit über Caramuel.

Diese Arbeit hat einen Umfang von 24 Seiten im Format A4; die ersten vier Seiten sind Caramuels Leben gewidmet, die weiteren sind der Mathematik in Caramuels *Mathesis biceps* gewidmet. Smolík geht dabei von der heutigen Auffassung der Mathematik aus und daraus folgt, dass er die Teile von Caramuels Buch ganz unbeachtet ließ, die im 17. Jahrhundert zur Mathematik gehörten, aber im 19. Jahrhundert schon selbständig waren. Wenn wir also den Artikel von Smolík

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<sup>4</sup> Ausführlicher über Smolík siehe z. B.: K. Mačák, „Josef Smolík – první český historik matematiky“, in: *Rozpravy Národního technického muzea* 145. *Dějiny vědy a techniky* 3, ed. J. Folta, Národní technické muzeum, Prag 1997, S. 67–71; M. Bečvářová, „Eukleidovy *Základy*, jejich vydání a překlady“, in: *Dějiny matematiky*, sv. 20, Prometheus, Prag 2002.

mit Caramuels Syntagmen vergleichen, dann sehen wir, dass Smolík Caramuels Syntagmen IV, IX und X beiseite ließ. Es handelt sich zwar nur um drei Syntagmen, aber ihr Umfang ist etwa 900 Seiten und das heißt, dass Smolík nur etwa eine Hälfte des Inhaltes von Caramuels Buch beschrieb.

Unserer Meinung nach ist die Abhandlung von Smolík sehr gut und wenn sie deutsch geschrieben worden wäre (und es wäre damals ganz gut möglich gewesen), wäre Smolík heute weit bekannter. Wir sind also der Meinung, dass Caramuels mathematische Syntagmen (im heutigen Sinn des Wortes „Mathematik“) schon gut beschrieben sind und dass es jetzt interessanter ist, sich den „nichtmathematischen“ (wieder im heutigen Sinn des Wortes „Mathematik“) Syntagmen zu widmen. Das ist der andere Grund dafür, dass wir uns jetzt ein wenig mit dem vierten Syntagma beschäftigen werden. Zuvor geben wir aber noch ein paar Anmerkungen zu einem Teil von Smolíks Arbeit, in dem sich Smolík bemüht, die Beziehungen zwischen Caramuel und dem Adelsgeschlecht Lobkowitz zu erklären.

### III. Caramuel und das Geschlecht Lobkowitz

Smolík meinte in seiner schon erwähnten Arbeit, dass Caramuel sich „Lobkowitz“ nach dem Namen seiner Mutter schrieb. Das ist nicht wahr und Smolík kam später zum anderen Schluss, nämlich dass Caramuel sich „Lobkowitz“ nach seiner Großmutter Regina schrieb, welche die Tochter von Jan Popel der Jüngste von Lobkowitz (1521–1590) war. Diese Familienbeziehung zwischen Caramuel und dem Geschlecht Lobkowitz befindet sich auch in der neuesten Monographie über das Geschlecht Lobkowitz, die im Jahre 2002 erschien.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> S. Kasík, P. Mašek, M. Mžýková, *Lobkowiczové (Dějiny a genealogie rodu)*, Vedita, České Budějovice 2002.

Diese Frage hängt mit der graphischen Ausstattung der *Mathesis biceps* zusammen. Smolík machte darauf aufmerksam, dass viele Initialen in diesem Buch mit heraldischen Figuren verziert sind, die (nach Smolík) an das Wappen des Geschlechts der Lobkowitz erinnern. Zwei solche Initialen<sup>6</sup> sehen wir in den Abbildungen Nr. 1 und 2, im Buch gibt es viele ähnliche.

Weil es sich um eine spezielle heraldische Frage handelt, kontaktierte der Autor dieses Beitrages die Heraldische Gesellschaft in Prag und er möchte hier Jakub Hrdlička und Stanislav Kasík aus dieser Gesellschaft für wertvolle Konsultationen danken; besonders dankt er S. Kasík, der sich mit dem Geschlecht Lobkowitz ausführlich beschäftigt und ein Mitautor der schon erwähnten Monographie über das Geschlecht der Lobkowitz ist. Er bot dem Autor eine seiner Handschriften an,<sup>7</sup> die den Beziehungen zwischen Caramuel und dem Geschlecht Lobkowitz gewidmet ist, und stimmte zu, dass man hier aus dieser Handschrift zitieren kann.

Was die genealogischen Beziehungen zwischen Caramuel und dem Geschlecht Lobkowitz betrifft, machte S. Kasík auf eine kleine Unklarheit aufmerksam. Es handelt sich darum, dass Caramuels Mutter Katharina von Fries die Tochter der schon erwähnten Regina von Lobkowitz sein sollte. Diese Regina war zweimal verheiratet, zuerst mit einem gewissen Grafen von Hoyos, dann mit einem gewissen Herrn von Fries. Das Problem besteht darin, dass der Graf von Hoyos erst im Jahre 1609 starb und daraus folgt, dass Regina nicht früher als im Jahre 1609 „von Fries“ heißen konnte. Es ist also nicht klar, wie ihre Tochter Katharina, die „von Fries“ hieß, schon im Jahre 1606 Caramuels Mutter sein konnte.

Von dem Gesichtspunkt der *Mathesis biceps* aus ist diese Frage nicht wichtig, weil Caramuel im Titel dieses Buches das Prädikat „von

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<sup>6</sup> Die erste Initiale befindet sich im Buch Caramuels z. B. auf der S. 1, die andere auf der S. 217, aber beide sind in diesem Buch mehrmals angewendet.

<sup>7</sup> S. Kasík, *Několik poznámek ke genealogii a erbů Juana Caramuela z Lobkovic* (bisher nicht veröffentlicht).





*Abbildung 1:*  
Die erste Initiale  
auf der S. 1  
in der Schrift  
*Mathesis biceps,*  
*vetus et nova*  
(*Bibliothek Strahov,*  
*Sig. AG XII 1).*



*Abbildung 2:*  
Die Initiale auf  
der S. 217  
in der Schrift  
*Mathesis biceps,*  
*vetus et nova*  
(*Bibliothek Strahov,*  
*Sig. AG XII 1).*

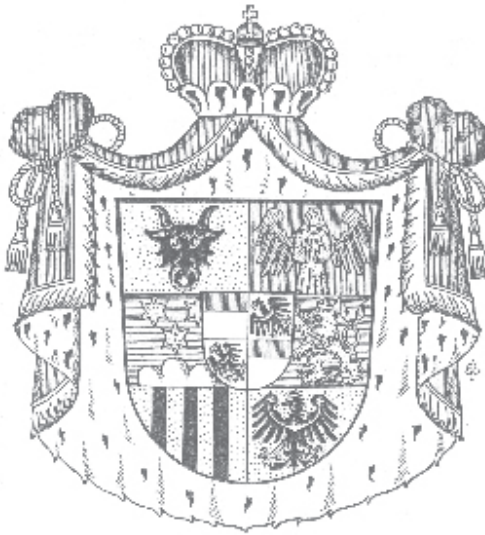
Lobkowitz“ nicht angibt. S. Kasík stellte aber eine interessante Frage, wann Caramuel eigentlich das Prädikat „von Lobkowitz“ anzuwenden begann. Wenn wir von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus die Titel der Schriften Caramuels im Katalog der Nationalbibliothek Prag durchsehen, dann sehen wir, dass der Name „Lobkowitz“ sich nur in Titeln der Bücher Caramuels befindet, die er zwischen den Jahren 1639 und 1646 veröffentlichte. Es scheint also, dass Caramuel dieses Prädikat erst in Louvain anzuwenden begann; nach seiner Ankunft in Prag wandte er es nicht mehr an.

Was den eventuellen Zusammenhang zwischen den Initialen in *Mathesis biceps* und dem Wappen des Geschlechts Lobkowitz betrifft, sieht das Wappen etwa seit der Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts so aus, wie wir in der Abbildung Nr. 3 sehen können;<sup>8</sup> am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts (d. h. in der Zeit von Caramuels Geburt) hatte das Wappen nur die Form des Schildes, das sich jetzt in der Mitte des Wappens befindet. Unserer Meinung nach ist die Ähnlichkeit zwischen den Figuren in den Initialen und im Wappen sehr klein. S. Kasík machte aber darauf aufmerksam, dass die Figuren in den Initialen sehr ähnlich den Figuren in Caramuels Bischofswappen<sup>9</sup> (Abbildung Nr. 4) sind. Wir wissen aber nicht, woher das Bischofswappen Caramuels stammte; das einzige, was nach S. Kasík klar ist, ist das sog. Lilienkreuz im Wappen, das darauf hinweist, dass Caramuel Zisterzienser war.

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<sup>8</sup> Aus dem Buch *Almanach českých šlechtických rodů*, Martin, Brandýs nad Labem 2003, S. 262, übernommen.

<sup>9</sup> Aus dem Buch J. Velarde Lombrana, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989, S. 359 übernommen.



*Abbildung 3:  
Das Wappen des  
Geschlechts Lobkowitz  
(ohne Kleinode und  
Devise; aus dem Buch  
Almanach českých  
šlechtických rodů,  
Martin, Brandýs  
nad Labem 2003,  
S. 262 übernommen).*



*Abbildung 4:  
Caramuels  
Bischofswappen  
(aus dem Buch  
J. Velarde Lombaņa,  
Juan Caramuel. Vida  
y obra, Pentalfa,  
Oviedo 1989, S. 359  
übernommen).*

#### IV. SYNTAGMA IV – ein Überblick

In diesem Teil des Beitrages wird ein Überblick der Themen aus dem Syntagma IV gegeben, der mit Zitaten aus Caramuels *Mathesis biceps* ergänzt wird, welche die Benennung der Themen erklären. Es gibt hier auch die Nummern der Seiten, auf denen sich die einzelnen Themen befinden, und daraus kann man sehen, welche große Aufmerksamkeit Caramuel den einzelnen Themen widmete.

**Syntagma quartum. Geometria specialis. Nimirum, geodaesia, cuius est  $\Gamma\text{HN METPEIN}$ , Terram metiri (S. 345–779)**

(V) Geodaesia (S. 347–381)

(VI) Geographia (S. 382–414)

(VII) Centrosopia. De Centro Gravitatis & Terrae (S. 415–486)

(VIII) Orometria. Montium altitudinem metiens (S. 486–517)

(IX) Hydrographia. Marium superficiem metitur, & describit, postea-  
que audentior, in abyssus subterraneas se insinuat, expenditque,  
quomodo in Mare Fluvii exonerent, ut iterum fluant (S. 518–562)

(X) Nautica, seu Ars navigandi, quam Graece vocamus Histiodromi-  
cam (S. 562–635)

(XI) Hypothalatica. Ars navigandi sub aquis (S. 636–642)

(XII) Nectica. Nandi ars (S. 642–646)

„No est verbum notae significationis.<sup>10</sup> Graecè  $\text{NHXOMAI}$ , seu  
 $\text{KOAYMBAQ}$ .“

(XIII) Nautica terrea. Ars navigandi supra Terram (S. 646–648)  
S. 646: „...si vela auferam, currus est; si auferam rotas, navis est:

<sup>10</sup> Das Thema ist also dem Schwimmen gewidmet.

unde, quia è navi, & curru coalescit, poterit ΑΡΜΑΠΛΑΟΙΟΝ,  
*Currunavium*<sup>11</sup> vocari.“

(XV) Potamographia. De fluviis naturalibus, & artificialibus  
(S. 648–684)

(XVI) Hydraulica. De fontibus artificialibus, & naturalibus  
(S. 685–714)

(XVII) Aërographia. Aërem mensurans, ac ponderans (S. 715–720)

(XVIII) Anemometria. De ventorum numero, & varietate  
(S. 721–739)

(XIX) Ptetica. Ars volandi (S. 740–742)

(XIV) Nautica aetherea. Ars navigandi supra aërem (S. 743–762)  
S. 744: „Supra Aërem est alia materia, quocumqae ab aliis nomine  
significetur, ipsa à nobis dicatur *Aura-aetherea*.“

S. 752: nota VI: An Centrum Mundi sit Sol:<sup>12</sup> & omnes Planetæ,  
& Terra cum ipsis circa Solem<sup>13</sup> ferantur?

S. 753: nota VII: An Sydera in Aethere navigent?

(XX) Sciographia. De umbra, & Solari praecipue: adeoque de delin-  
eatione horologiorum (S. 763–772)

Mathesis ferrea<sup>14</sup> (S. 773–779)

S. XXV: „Est Artium miraculum: & solo Circino Arithmeticae,  
& Geometriae difficillimas Operationes, & Quaestiones summa  
facilitate, & felicitate dissolvens, & debetur Ingenio D. Dominici  
Plati, Antistitis Disembergensis, nostri Vicarii Generalis Campaniae.  
à pag. 773. Multiplicat, dividit, Auream regulam expedit: Radices  
(Quadratam, & Cubicam) investigat, &c.“

<sup>11</sup> Siehe die Abbildung Nr. 5, die sich im Buch in der Lamina 21 befindet.

<sup>12</sup> Im Buch befindet sich hier ein astronomisches Symbol für die Sonne.

<sup>13</sup> Siehe die vorige Fußnote.

<sup>14</sup> Dieses Thema befindet sich nicht im Verzeichnis am Anfang des Buches.

## V. SYNTAGMA IV – ein Teil eines Briefes

Nach dem gegebenen Überblick des Inhaltes des Syntagma IV wird jetzt ein Teil dieses Syntagmas (S. 714) ein wenig ausführlicher behandelt. Es handelt sich um den Schlussteil eines Briefes, den Caramuel am 12. September 1664 von Neapel nach Prag an Jan Marek Marci und Godfried Kinner schrieb. Unserer Meinung nach ist dieser Teil in einem gewissen Sinne für Caramuels *Mathesis biceps* typisch. Rein mathematisch genommen, befindet es sich in diesem Teil nichts Neues, aber trotzdem ist es interessant, diesen Brief zu lesen, weil hier verschiedene Kontakte und Zusammenhänge im damaligen gelehrten Europa zu sehen sind, deren Kenntnis uns helfen kann, die Entwicklung der Wissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert besser zu begreifen und zu verstehen.

Wir werden hier den Teil des Buches zitieren und mit gewöhnlicher Schrift kommentieren.

Librum de Fontibus artificialibus à Clarissimo D. Iacobo w. Dobrzenskio de Nigroponte ingeniosè compositum, quia meum D. Kinnerum honorat, & Epistolâ à D. Kinnerum honoratur, libentissimè legi; & interim duos fontes adderem, quos summâ brevitate describo.

Lamina 24, Figur. 3.

Das erwähnte Buch hat den Titel *Nova, et amaenior de admirando fontium genio ex abditis naturae claustris, in orbis lucem emanate philosophia...* und wurde im Jahr 1659 in Ferraria veröffentlicht. Sein Autor Jakub Jan Václav Dobřenský z Černého Mostu (von der Schwarzen Brücke) lebte in den Jahren 1623–1697 und wirkte an der medizinischen Fakultät der Prager Universität. Er schrieb viele Schriften, die nicht nur der Medizin, sondern auch anderen Gebieten gewidmet waren; was die zitierte Schrift betrifft, ist sie (in der heutigen Terminologie) der Hydraulik gewidmet.

Was Herrn Kinner betrifft, handelt es sich um Godefridus Aloysius Kinner von Löwenthorn, einen gelehrten Domherrn bei der Kirche

Aller Heiligen auf der Prager Burg. Es ist nur wenig von ihm bekannt, aber in seiner Zeit sollte er gut bekannt gewesen sein; er wirkte z. B. als Mathematik-Lehrer des Erzherzogs Karl Joseph (1649–1664), des Bruders des Kaisers Leopold I.

Weiter befindet sich ein Hinweis „Lamina vicesima quarta, Figura tertia“. Er ist nicht ganz genau; es handelt sich um die Abbildung Nummer 3 in einem Teil der „Lamina tricesima quinta“ (solche kleine Ungenauigkeiten befinden sich bei Caramuel ganz oft). Der folgende Text mit dieser Abbildung (siehe Abbildung Nr. 6, *Fig. III*) ist aber ganz klar und braucht keinen Kommentar.

Sit vas vitreum ABCD. bene clausum: ponatur mare cujuscumque materiae: nempe EF aquâ plenum ex mari adscendat fistula KI. & ex vitro superiori descendat fistula GH. si vas superius habeat aquam à D ad L haec descendet per fistulam G, & habebimus fontem H. in loco libero. Sed, quia descendete aquâ per G, daretur in vase superiori vacuum, ni aliud corpus succurreret, adscendet aquâ è mari FE per fistulam KI. & in vitro clauso habebimus fontem IM. Poterit mare EF aquâ deciduâ ab H, vel aliâ quâcumque adimpleri, & sic poterit fons IM non cessare.

Non recordor, an inter fontes, quos exhibet impossibilitas vacui, hic sit expressus: si non sit, addi poterit, nam pretium, & laudem meretur. Illum vidi Pragae apud P. Moretum, & spectationi effectus respondebat exactè. [N.B. Si non hic omninò: alii similes repetiuntur in libro videlicet Figur. 14. 15. 16. 17. 26. 28.]

Saltem in libro ingeniosissimo non reperitur hic, quem describam.

Lamina 24, Figur. 4.

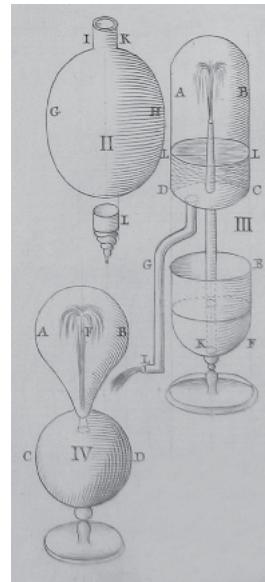
Theodor Moretus wurde im Jahre 1602 in Antwerpen geboren, im Jahre 1618 trat er in den Jesuitenorden ein und seit dem Jahre 1628 wirkte er in der damaligen böhmischen Provinz der Societatis Iesu; er starb im Jahre 1667 in Breslau. Unserer Meinung nach war Moretus eine der wichtigsten Persönlichkeiten in der Entwicklung der Mathematik und Physik nicht nur an der damaligen Prager Universität, sonder auch im ganzen damaligen Mitteleuropa.

Was den Hinweis auf die Abbildung betrifft, handelt es sich wieder



*Abbildung 5:  
Das sog. Currunavium auf der Lamina 21 in  
der Schrift Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova  
(Bibliothek Strahov, Sig. AG XII 1).*

*Abbildung 6:  
Zwei Apparate auf der Lamina 35 in der  
Schrift Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova  
(Bibliothek Strahov, Sig. AG XII 1).*





um einen Teil der „Lamina tricesima quinta“, diesmal um die Abbildung 4. Der folgende Text mit dieser Abbildung (siehe Abbildung Nr. 6, *Fig. IV*) ist ganz klar und braucht kein Kommentar.

Conformetur ex vitro duae phialae aequales: altera cum brevi colo, ut AB: altera sine colo, ut CD. Impleatur phiala AB aquâ clarâ, & phiala CD, vino rubro. Cùm aqua sit vino gravior, opus est, ut aqua in inferiorem cadat, vinumque faliat in superiorem, & formet fontem rubrum EF. Hunc fontem anno 1655. Xenii munere dedit mihi Romae Illustrissimus Dominus Iosephus Ciantes, Pontifex Marsicensis, cujus labore, & operâ Doctor Angelicus Hebraicè loquitur, & Gentes ad Fidem orthodoxam convertit. Est pulcherimus visu, sed aliquo laborat vitio, nam ascendente vino rubro, aqua paulatim tingitur, & obscuratur. Ergo quaerendi sunt duo liquores, qui misceri non possint; alter colori aquei (hoc est, nullius) alter cujuscumque, & quò obscurior, meo iudicio, erit aptior. Ego uterer spiritu therebynthi.

Was Herrn Iosephus Ciantes betrifft, handelt es sich um einen gelehrten italienischen Dominikaner, der in den Jahren 1602–1670 lebte. Wegen seiner Kenntnisse der hebräischen Sprache wurde er vom Papst Urban VIII mit dem Predigen für die römischen Juden betraut; im Jahre 1649 wurde er Bischof in Marsico in Italien.

Der letzte zitierte Satz scheint uns interessant. Wir sehen hier, dass Caramuel nicht nur ein Philosoph, Theologe, Mathematiker usw., kurz gesagt ein Theoretiker war, sondern dass er auch praktisch experimentierte und dabei bis zu solchen Details ging, dass er probierte, welche Flüssigkeit zum gegebenen Experiment am besten geeignet ist. Leider müssen wir bekennen, dass wir nicht wissen, was „spiritus therebynthi“ eigentlich ist. Wir möchten hier Vladimír Karpenko aus der Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Prager Universität für eine ausführliche Konsultation zu dieser Frage danken; V. Karpenko ist ein ausgezeichnete Kenner der Geschichte der Chemie und Alchimie, aber wegen der Ungenauigkeit der damaligen alchimistischen Terminologie konnte er nur sagen, dass es sich um eine Flüssigkeit handelt, die als eine (anscheinend flüchtige) Fraktion bei der Destillation aus Terpentin entsteht.

## VI. Kleine Schlussanmerkung

Wenn wir zum Schluss unsere Meinung über Caramuels *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* am kürzesten formulieren sollten, dann würde sie von der Auffassung des Wortes „Mathematik“ abhängen.

Wenn es sich um die Mathematik im heutigen Sinn des Wortes handeln sollte, dann wären wir der Meinung, dass der mathematische Inhalt des Buches schon von Josef Smolik gut beschrieben wurde und – im Ganzen genommen – wir halten das Buch für interessant, aber vom Gesichtspunkt der Geschichte der Mathematik aus nicht für sehr wichtig.

Wenn es sich aber um die Mathematik im damaligen Sinn des Wortes handeln sollte (d. h. insgesamt mit der Physik, Astronomie usw.), dann sollten wir bekennen, dass wir eigentlich nicht wissen, womit sich Caramuel in diesem Buch beschäftigte, und angesichts der Breite von Caramuels Interessen und Kontakten im ganzen gelehrten Europa würden wir es für nützlich halten, auch diese Teile des Buches (d. h. die Syntagmen IV, IX und X) ausführlicher zu studieren.

# „Intellectus igitur, non reperit, sed facit Numeros“ *Caramuels Reflexionen über das Zahlensystem*

Georg Schuppener

## I. Allgemeines

Zahlen stellen die Grundlage der Mathematik dar. Darüber hinaus sind sie im alltäglichen Leben des Menschen seit alters von hoher Bedeutung und wurden daher schon früh symbolisch aufgeladen. Insofern spielen Zahlen in der Kulturgeschichte eine herausragende Rolle, die sich nicht allein auf ihre mathematische Funktion beschränkt.

Insbesondere die symbolische Verwendung von Zahlen wurde in der Geistesgeschichte intensiv rezipiert.<sup>1</sup> Sie erwies sich in Religion, bildender Kunst, Literatur, Recht und vielen anderen Bereichen des kulturellen Lebens als befruchtender Faktor, dessen Relevanz z. B. im Mittelalter oder in der frühen Neuzeit aus heutiger Sicht kaum mehr erschöpfend erschlossen werden kann. Von der Vielzahl an Elementen in diesem Bereich soll hier als Beispiel nur der Einfluss der Kabbala erwähnt werden.

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. F. C. Endres, A. Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl. Zahlensymbolik im Kulturvergleich*, Eugen Diederichs, München 1996<sup>9</sup>.

Die symbolische Deutung von Zahlen band immer auch Zahlentheoretisches und arithmetische Zusammenhänge zwischen Zahlen ein. So begründete man die zahlensymbolische Bedeutung der Zahl Vier aus ihrer Rolle als erster (echter) Quadratzahl, die Symbolbedeutung der Zahl Sieben wurde u. a. aus der symbolischen Deutung der Zahlen 3 und 4 motiviert. Die Interpretation der Zahl 12 wirkt sich auf deren Vielfache aus, beispielsweise im Hinblick auf die Symbolik der Zahl 60.<sup>2</sup> Eine symbolische Deutung von Zahlen kommt ohne Berücksichtigung der Arithmetik folglich nicht aus. Umgekehrt kann auch bei einer Betrachtung der Arithmetik der Blick auf die symbolische Komponente der Zahlen gelenkt werden.

Genau dies findet sich im ersten Teil der Arithmetik der *Mathesis biceps* (1670) von J. Caramuel Lobkowitz, die in der Forschung bislang nur wenig beachtet worden ist.<sup>3</sup> Hier stellt der Verfasser verschiedene Zahlensysteme vor, beginnend mit dem Binärsystem bis

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. G. Schuppener, „Die Zahl 60 in der Kulturgeschichte - Von den frühen Hochkulturen bis heute“, in: J. Vild, J. Mach und J. Přihonská (Hrsg.), *Mezinárodní konference „60 = 2<sup>2</sup>·3·5?“*. 11.-12. September 2001, Liberec. Sammlung, 2. Teil, Technická univerzita, Liberec 2002, S. 39-46.

<sup>3</sup> Einige Bemerkungen zur *Mathesis biceps* finden sich in der Monografie A. Serrai, *Phoenix Europae. Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz in prospettiva bibliografica*, Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, Mailand 2005, S. 149ff. und S. 212f. Kurze Erwähnung aus mathematikhistorischer Sicht findet dieses Werk von Caramuel Lobkowitz bei J. Tropicke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik in systematischer Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fachwörter*, Bd. 1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin - Leipzig 1921<sup>2</sup>, S. 3; sowie bei M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, Bd. 2, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1900<sup>2</sup>, S. 771 und S. 783. M. Cantor hat jedoch Caramuels Werk offenbar nicht selbst eingesehen. Ausführlicheres enthalten die Aufsätze J. Smolík, „Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic a jeho dílo: ‚Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova‘“, in: *Šestá Výroční správa o obecním gymnasiu realním v Praze, podaná konce roku školního 1872*, S. 3-12; und *Sedmá Výroční správa o obecním gymnasiu realním v Praze, podaná konce roku školního 1873*, S. 3-16; R. Ceňal, „Juan Caramuel. Su epistolario con Atanasio Kircher, S.J.“, in: *Revista de filosofía* 12, 1953, S. 101-147. Die *Mathesis biceps* verkörpert im Übrigen die ersten beiden Bände eines auf vier Teile angelegten *Cursus mathematicus*; die beiden letzten Teile sind nicht in gedruckter Form nachweisbar. Vgl. A. Serrai, *Phoenix Europae...*, op. cit., S. 212f. und S. 278.

hin zum Sexagesimalsystem. Dabei beschränkt er sich nicht auf die Erläuterung der unterschiedlichen Basen der Zahlensysteme, sondern er verbindet die Zahlen mit Aspekten aus Theologie, Philosophie, Astronomie usw.

Im Folgenden soll untersucht werden, welche Zugangsweisen Caramuel Lobkowitz dabei wählt und auf welche Autoritäten er sich stützt. Betrachtet wird insbesondere, welche Argumente er für die einzelnen Zahlensysteme anführt und auf welche Weise er die außermathematischen Gesichtspunkte mit den mathematischen verknüpft.

## II. Zahlensysteme

Nach einer stark historisch geprägten allgemeinen Einleitung stellt Caramuel Lobkowitz unterschiedliche Zahlensysteme vor. Bei allen Zahlensystemen gibt er in einer Tabelle die Potenzen der Basis an. Ferner stellt er für die Basen bis vier jeweils in einer weiteren Tabelle die ersten Zahlen in der entsprechenden Zahlendarstellung vor, für die er Buchstaben verwendet.<sup>4</sup>

Zuvörderst befasst er sich mit dem Binärsystem (S. XLV–XLVIII) und betrachtet dabei dessen Vor- und Nachteile. Erwähnung verdient dies insbesondere, weil Caramuel dieses Thema unabhängig von Pascal<sup>5</sup> und noch vor Leibniz behandelt,<sup>6</sup> der häufig als grundlegend für das Binärsystem angesehen wird.<sup>7</sup> Strukturell erkennt er den Zusam-

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<sup>4</sup> Es wird dabei nicht zwischen dem Buchstaben „o“ und der Ziffer „0“ unterschieden.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. dazu J. Tropicke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik...*, op. cit., S. 3; M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, op. cit., S. 783.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. J. Smolík, „Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic a jeho dilo...“, op. cit., S. 6

<sup>7</sup> So wird Leibniz in: H. Wußing und W. Arnold (Hrsg.), *Biographien bedeutender Mathematiker. Eine Sammlung von Biographien*, Volk und Wissen, Berlin 1989<sup>4</sup>, S. 216, „als Wegbereiter [...] der Verwendung des binären Zahlensystems“ bezeichnet.

menhang mit der zweiwertigen Logik, ohne dies jedoch zu vertiefen.<sup>8</sup> Bemerkenswert ist dies, da auf dem Binärsystem u. a. die heutige Computer-Technologie fußt. Ferner weist er darauf hin, dass die Zweiteilung auch in der Musiktheorie bei der Teilung der Saitenlänge beim Monochord grundlegend sei. Zahlensymbolische Gesichtspunkte stehen für Caramuel Lobkowitz bei diesem Zahlensystem jedoch nicht im Vordergrund.

Anders ist dies bei seiner Darstellung des Dreiersystems (Articulus II, S. XLVIII–L). So beginnt das Kapitel mit folgenden Ausführungen:

Ternarium esse numerum perfectissimum mysterium Sanctissimae Trinitatis ostendit, in quâ tres Personæ sunt unum, non verò una: & unum est tres, & non tria. Hunc numerum adorarunt Aegyptii, ut Plotinus affirmat, quia primus omnium est, qui Principium Medium, & Finem habuit: unde prisci Theologi, quia principio, medio, & fine universa, constarent, TA TPIA ΠΑΝΤΑ dixerunt, & hunc numerum Divinum vocarunt, quibus adhaesit Maro, cum cecinit. *Numero Deus impari gaudet.*

Huc Angeli Coelestes pertinent: nam in Hierarchias dividuntur, hae in ternos subdividuntur choros: & qui suspicetur Choros per ternariam subdivisionem in classes, & ordines distribui, nihil asseret, quod S. Dionysio displiceat, aut obstet veteribus Ecclesiae Patribus.

Huc Entium creatorum pertinet multitudo, nam omnia ad Corporea, Spiritualia, & Supernaturalia reducuntur.

Huc etiam Cælorum dispositio: nam raptus est in Empyreum Apostolus, & se in tertium Coelum fuisse adsumptum enarrat: est ergo Coelum triplex; Aëreum, Aethereum, & Empyreum. (S. XLVIII)

Die Ausführungen über das Dreiersystem (Ternärsystem) beginnen also mit theologischen Reflexionen, die Dreiergliederungen betreffen. Diese wiederum leiten schließlich sogar hin zur Betrachtung des Welt-

<sup>8</sup> Dass Caramuel diesen Aspekt durchaus hätte dezidierter betrachten können, lässt sich aus seinen beachtlichen Beiträgen zur Logik schließen. Vgl. dazu P. Dvořák, *Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic*, OIKOYMENH, Prag 2006.

bildes (Dreiteilung des Himmels). Dabei beschränkt sich Caramuel Lobkowitz nicht auf die alleinige Betrachtung christlicher Traditionen, sondern bezieht auch andere kulturelle Elemente in seine Darstellung ein, nämlich die ägyptische Mythologie und die griechische Philosophie.

Im Zusammenhang mit seinen Darlegungen über das Dreiersystem verweist der Verfasser u. a. auf Marin Mersenne. (S. XLIX)

Das Vierersystem, das Caramuel Lobkowitz hernach behandelt, wird von ihm sehr ausführlich in kulturgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge eingebunden. Zunächst verweist er auf die Pythagoräer und die Lehre von den vier Elementen, denen weiterhin vier Qualitäten zugeordnet seien. Ebenfalls in den Bereich der Philosophie fällt die von ihm angeführte Teilung des Seienden in vier Aspekte (Substanz, Quantität, Qualität und Relation), die jeweils wiederum in vier Unteraspekte gegliedert sind. Weitere von Caramuel angeführte Fälle, in denen die Vierzahl eine besondere Rolle spielt, beziehen sich auf die Himmelsrichtungen sowie auf den 4-Jahres-Rhythmus der griechischen Olympiaden. (S. L)

Während diese Gesichtspunkte zur Bedeutung und Verwendung der Vierzahl aus der klassischen Antike stammen und somit traditionell zur Deutung von Zahlen gehören, sind die von Caramuel Lobkowitz danach angeführten ethnografischen Befunde innovativ: Hier greift er nämlich die Beschreibungen des Jesuitenpaters Antonius Ruiz de Montoya (1585–1652) über das Zählen indigener Völker in Südamerika auf, die dieser in seiner Schrift *Conquista espiritual* (Madrid 1640) dargelegt hatte.<sup>9</sup> Caramuel Lobkowitz erörtert die Ausführungen von Ruiz de Montoya, die wenig spezifisch sind, und dessen ethnologisch-theologischen Folgerungen durchaus kritisch und kommt zur Schlussfolgerung, dass die betreffenden Volksstämme nach einem Vierersystem zählten. Analoges schreibt er auch den Thrakern zu. (S. Lff.) In der Tat kennt auch die heutige Ethnomathematik in einigen Fällen

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<sup>9</sup> Näheres über Ruiz de Montoya vgl. L. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon. Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt*, Bonifacius-Druckerei, Paderborn 1934, col. 1231ff.

Belege für Viererzahlssysteme bei nord- und südamerikanischen Indiangersprachen.<sup>10</sup>

Im weiteren Verlaufe weist Caramuel noch auf Vierteilungen bei Maßen hin und verweist dazu auf die *Encyclopaedia* von Johannes Alsted (1588–1638), ferner auf die Rolle der Vierzahl in der Musiktheorie, wozu er Ricciolis *Almagestum novum* anführt.<sup>11</sup> (S. LII)

Recht kurz sind die Ausführungen von Caramuel zum quinären System, die noch nicht einmal eine ganze Seite umfassen. (S. LIII) Um die Relevanz der Basis fünf zu motivieren, unterscheidet er zwischen fünf Fingern, die zählen, und fünf, die gezählt werden. Neben dieser in gewisser Weise sophistischen Unterscheidung nennt er die Rolle der Fünfzahl bei den Ägyptern, wobei er sich auf Athanasius Kircher beruft, um schließlich noch die „quinta essentia“ im Zusammenhang mit den Peripatetikern zu erwähnen.

Noch weit kürzer fasst der Verfasser sich im Zusammenhang mit dem Sechssystem. Einschließlich der Potenztabelle nehmen seine Bemerkungen hier weniger als eine halbe Seite ein. An Auszeichnungsmerkmalen der Zahl Sechs nennt er nur zwei, was auf die geringe Bedeutung der Zahl für Caramuel Lobkowitz hindeutet: Bezeichnend ist, dass er das Kapitel mit der Bemerkung „Circulus suum radium sexies continet“ beginnt, die nur dann verständlich ist, wenn man in der Formel für den Kreisumfang  $C=2\pi r$  die sehr grobe Näherung von  $\pi$  durch 3 ansetzt. Außerdem nennt er die allgemein bekannte Eigenschaft der Zahl Sechs als erste vollkommene Zahl. (S. LIII) Die Dürftigkeit seiner Darstellung zur kultur- und geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Zahl Sechs korrespondiert damit, dass Caramuel ein Sechssystem für wenig brauchbar erachtet. (S. LIV)

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. M. P. Closs, „Native American Number Systems“, in: M. P. Closs (Hrsg.), *Native American Mathematics*, University of Texas Press, Austin 1997<sup>2</sup>, S. 3–43, speziell S. 24f.; M. S. Beeler, „Chumash Numerals“, in: M. P. Closs (Hrsg.), *Native American Mathematics*, op. cit., S. 109–128, speziell S. 112ff.

<sup>11</sup> Zur Musiktheorie bei Caramuel und zu seiner Rezeption von Riccioli beachte man den Beitrag von Daniele Sabaino in diesem Band.



Größere Relevanz, wohl insbesondere aus theologischer Sicht, weist Caramuel Lobkowitz hingegen der Zahl Sieben zu. Dementsprechend ausführlich stellt er dar, dass Pythagoras der Sieben göttlichen Charakter zugeschrieben habe. Die Argumente, die für die Bedeutung der Sieben angeführt wurden, dass sie nämlich in der ersten Dekade die erste Zahl sei, die weder eine andere in dieser Dekade halbiere noch von einer anderen halbiert werde, weist er allerdings als willkürlich zurück. Vielmehr nennt er andere Motive für die Bedeutsamkeit der Zahl, so beispielsweise die sieben Wandelsterne (im antiken Verständnis), zu denen wiederum sieben Begleiter zugehörig seien: „...isti quatuor Iovis Satellites, Saturni in aures, & circumpes ab Hugenio detectus.“ (S. LIV) Weiterhin finden die Siebentagewoche, der Einfluss des Mondes auf Krankheiten, Siebenjahreszyklen und vieles mehr Erwähnung. Zum Abschluss verweist Caramuel auf die Bibel und wertet damit die von Pythagoras der Zahl zugeschriebene transzendente Bedeutung christlich um:

Et quidem Septenarii hujus numeri sanctitatem, & honorem adauxit Daniel per annorum hebdomadas metiendo tempus, quod à suâ aetate ad adventum Domini nostri Iesu Christi restabat. (S. LV)

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Achtersystem führt Caramuel Lobkowitz für die Zahl Acht an, dass diese die erste Kubikzahl sei, und ferner, dass die Ägypter acht göttliche Wesen gehabt hätten. Weiterhin verweist er darauf, dass die Gnostiker der Zahl Acht Heiligkeit zugewiesen hätten,<sup>12</sup> wobei er unmittelbar danach die Argumente der Kirchenväter gegen die gnostische Lehre ausführlich darstellt, wohl um sich auch selbst von den Gnostikern zu distanzieren. (S. LV) Schließlich weist er noch auf einige Acht-Teilungen von Maßen und Gewichten hin und erwähnt die Oktave in der Musik. (S. LVI) Außer

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<sup>12</sup> Zur Rolle der Zahl Acht in der gnostischen Rezeption vgl. V. F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism. Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression*, Mineola, Dover 2000, S. 54ff.

der Angabe der Potenzen zur Basis acht tritt Mathematisches im betreffenden Kapitel nicht auf.

Das nächste Kapitel eröffnet Caramuel Lobkowitz mit der rhetorischen Frage, ob eine Arithmetik auf der Basis neun überhaupt möglich sein. Zur Antwort betont er, dass das dezimale System nicht mit zehn, sondern mit neun Ziffern operiere. In seiner Argumentation führt er an, dass die Null für nichts stehe und im dezimalen System die Neun den Abschluss einer Zähleinheit (Einer, Zehner, Hunderter) bilde, wozu er als Autorität auch auf Athanasius Kircher verweist. (S. LVI)

Er folgert daraus, dass die landläufige Arithmetik eigentlich Neuner-Arithmetik genannt werden müsse: „Dixi, Arithmetica communem, quâ hodie Mundus utitur, non Denariam, sed Novenariam esse, & hoc evidentem ostendo [...]“. (S. LVI) Er kommt zur Schlussfolgerung, dass auch alle anderen Zahlensysteme umbenannt werden müssten: „Interim, quia, si communis Arithmetica est Novenaria, Quaternaria erit Ternaria, Quinaria erit Quaternaria, &c.“ (S. LVI) Wohl nicht ohne Grund lässt er hier das Binärsystem unerwähnt, dass dann in Konsequenz zu einem Einersystem werden würde. Insgesamt enthalten diese Ausführungen kein entscheidendes Argument für die Beantwortung der Ausgangsfrage, sondern sie beziehen sich sämtlich auf das dezimale System.

Zum Abschluss des Kapitels finden sich dennoch einige wenige Bemerkungen zum Neunersystem. Hier erwähnt Caramuel, dass dieses nirgendwo Anwendung finde und selbst im kirchlichen Bereich, wo Neunergruppen von Gebeten oder Messen existierten, ein eigentliches Neunersystem nicht bekannt sei. (S. LVII)

Besonders ausführlich äußert sich der Verfasser naheliegenderweise zum dezimalen System. Nachdem er zunächst den Ursprung des dezimalen Systems in der Zehnzahl der Finger identifiziert hat, kommt Caramuel Lobkowitz noch einmal auf seine Ausführungen im vorangehenden Kapitel zurück, dass nämlich die dezimale Arithmetik eigentlich Neuner-Arithmetik heißen müsse. Diese Aussage hebt er nun unter Hinweis auf die Bibel wieder auf, indem er auf das Jo-

hannes-Evangelium, Kap. 20 (19–26), verweist, wo von acht Tagen der Woche gesprochen wird. Dementsprechend könne in Analogie trotz der Tatsache, dass es nur neun Einer gebe, auch die erste Periode des Zählens bis zehn ausgedehnt werden. (S. LVII) Durch diese Berufung auf die nicht anzweifelbare Autorität der Heiligen Schrift gelingt es ihm auf mehr oder minder elegante Weise, das von ihm zuvor aufgeworfene Problem zu lösen.

Ferner weist er noch auf ein interessantes Phänomen im Bereich der Zahlwortbildung bzw. in der Stufung des Zählens hin: Er betont, dass das Zählen bzw. die Bildung der Zahlwörter immer in drei Abstufungen erfolgt, nämlich in Einern, Zehnern und Hundertern. Die Tausender werden wieder als einzelne, als Zehntausender und Hunderttausender gezählt, Analoges gilt für die Millionen sowie höhere Zählseinheiten. Zwar legt Caramuel Lobkowitz dies lediglich für die lateinische Sprache dar, Vergleichbares gilt aber für viele andere Sprachen, in denen die Zahlwörter nach dem Zehnersystem gebildet sind.<sup>13</sup> Allerdings verweist er darauf, dass im Griechischen vier Abstufungen vorlägen, somit erst nach den Tausendern mit den Myriaden ein neuer Abschnitt beginne.<sup>14</sup> Autoren, die Caramuel Lobkowitz in diesem Teilkapitel erwähnt, sind u. a. Petrus Ramus, Plinius (d.Ä.) und wie so oft Athanasius Kircher. (S. LVIII–LIX)

Da die Arithmetik in der Regel mit dem Zehnersystem operiert, ist hier für Caramuel der geeignete Ort, kurz auf den Vorteil der (indisch-) arabischen Zifferschreibweise<sup>15</sup> gegenüber der römischen Zahlennotation einzugehen. Am Beispiel einer Addition einiger Zahlen wird der praktische Vorteil recht schnell offensichtlich.

Als vorletztes in der Reihe der Zahlensysteme stellt Caramuel das

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<sup>13</sup> Vgl. u. a. K. Menninger, *Zahlwort und Ziffer. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Zahl*, Bd. 1, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1979<sup>3</sup>, S. 153ff.

<sup>14</sup> Dazu *ibid.*, S. 59.

<sup>15</sup> Der Verfasser schreibt die Zifferschreibweise allein den Arabern zu: „Sed hodie habemus, cur gratias agamus Arabibus, à quibus recepimus siphras, quas vocamus *Algorismos*...“ (S. LVIII)

Zwölfersystem vor. Als Argument für die Bedeutsamkeit des Zwölfersystems führt er die große Anzahl der Teiler der Basis Zwölf an, was in der Astronomie schon früh als sehr praktisch erkannt worden sei:

*Astronomi Veteres totam in eo putabant consistere facilitatem, aut etiam felicitatem, si pro asse (pro toto) numerum sumerent, qui plurimas divisiones subiret. (S. LX)*

Diese Eigenschaft trifft sowohl auf das Zwölfer- wie auch auf das Sechzigersystem zu, so dass Caramuel Lobkowitz hier beide Systeme berücksichtigt. Unmittelbar nach dem Hinweis darauf, dass der Himmelskreis in zwölf Tierkreiszeichen geteilt sei, nennt er die Teilung des Kreises in 360 Grad und des einzelnen Grades in 60 Minuten. Danach stellt er die Teilbarkeit von 360, 60 und 12 tabellarisch gegenüber. Die Ausführungen über eine auf der Basis Zwölf fußende Arithmetik widmen sich danach kurz noch der Multiplikation.

Den Abschluss der Betrachtung unterschiedlicher Zahlensysteme bilden Bemerkungen über das Sechzigersystem. Zunächst behandelt er die Potenzen von 60 und erläutert, dass sich diese aus den Potenzen von 6 ermitteln ließen, indem man an jene in jeder höheren Potenz eine weitere Null anhängt. Er verweist auch darauf, dass die Arithmetik mit der Basis 60 höchst beschwerlich sei, wenn die (dann bis 60 reichenden) Einer nun jeweils eigene Namen besäßen („haec Arithmetica esset summè molesta, si singulae Vnitates haberent nomina simplicia“, S. LXI).

In einer angehängten Ergänzung („Nota“), die weit umfangreicher ist als die Ausführungen des Verfassers zum Sechzigersystem an sich, stellt er das Zehner- und das Sechzigersystem einander gegenüber und behandelt bei Letzterem insbesondere die Verwendung in den Alphonsinischen Tafeln und der Astronomie insgesamt. Zu den zahlreichen Astronomen, die Caramuel hier erwähnt, zählen u. a. Johannes Kepler und Tycho Brahe, wobei Letzterer weit größere Aufmerksamkeit erfährt.

Bemerkenswert ist hier, dass kultur- und geistesgeschichtliche oder auch religiöse Aspekte, die der Verfasser bei vielen anderen Zahlensystemen ausführlich behandelt, im Zusammenhang mit dem Zwölfer- und dem Sechzigersystem zunächst nahezu ausgeklammert bleiben.

Ursächlich hierfür wird die tatsächliche praktische Verwendung des Sechzigersystems in der Astronomie sein, die eine zusätzliche Motivation durch andere Gesichtspunkte obsolet macht, bzw. das Faktum, dass durch die Thematik der Astronomie in beiden Fällen Kulturgeschichtliches wie die antike Zeitrechnung eingebunden wird. Für das Zwölfersystem gibt Caramuel Lobkowitz in einem nachfolgenden Kapitel, das sich der Frage „Quaenam ex his Arithmetis admitti debeat?“ widmet, ferner noch einige Anwendungen aus dem Bereich der Maße an. (S. LXVf.)

In dem betreffenden Kapitel zieht er auch ein Fazit seines Überblicks über die verschiedenen Zahlensysteme. (S. LXVI) Hier betont er zunächst folgende drei Gesichtspunkte:

1. Unterschiedliche Zahlensysteme sind möglich und können nebeneinander stehen.
2. Die Arithmetik ist in allen Zahlensystemen analog.
3. Zahlen und Arithmetik sind nicht vorgegeben, sondern werden erst durch den Verstand konstituiert.

Den letzten Aspekt, den er bereits im Vorfeld der Darstellung der Zahlensysteme thematisiert hatte, erläutert er dann noch einmal ausführlich. Hernach stellt er weitere drei Gesichtspunkte (mit falscher Nummerierung) heraus, die man vereinfacht formuliert etwa so zusammenfassen kann:

4. Zählen hat eine praktische Ursache, aber die Entwicklung von Zahlensystemen ist ein geistiges Produkt (spekulativer Natur).
5. Arithmetik ist für den Menschen, besonders für den Christen, höchst notwendig.
6. Aufgabe für das folgende Werk ist es, die Arithmetik auf der Basis 10 darzustellen.

Der fünfte Punkt wird erläutert durch Beispiele, in denen die Relevanz der Arithmetik für den Alltag veranschaulicht wird; die christ-

liche Komponente betont er u. a. durch folgendes Zitat aus Lukas 14,28–31, das ebenfalls die Wichtigkeit des Rechnens zeigt:

Quis ex vobis volens turrim aedificare, non prius sedens computat sump-  
tus, qui necessarii sunt, si habeat ad perficiendum: ne postquam posuerit  
fundamentum, & non potuerit perficere, omnes, qui vident, incipiant il-  
ludere ei dicentes, Quia hic homo coepit aedificare, & non potuit consum-  
mare. Aut quis Rex iturus committere bellum adversus alium Regem, non  
sedens prius cogitat, si possit cum decem millibus occurrere ei, qui cum  
viginti millibus venit ad se? (S. LXVIII)

Der sechste und letzte Punkt bildet den Abschluss der Ausführungen über die verschiedenen Zahlensysteme. Das von Caramuel hier genannte Argument, dass das dezimale System das vorherrschende sei, entbindet ihn von der weiteren Berücksichtigung anderer Basen. Es sei bemerkt, dass eine solche auf Grund der bereits festgestellten Analogie der Arithmetik in den unterschiedlichen Zahlensystemen auch nicht notwendig ist.

### III. Die kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Zahlensysteme

Man könnte nun die Frage stellen, aus welchem Grund Caramuel Lobkowitz die unterschiedlichen Zahlensysteme überhaupt vorstellt, wenn er im Folgenden sich allein auf das dezimale System beschränkt. Handelt es dabei lediglich um ein gelehrtes Gedankenspiel oder besitzen die Ausführungen eine andere Bedeutung innerhalb seines Werkes?

Zur Beantwortung der Frage muss man berücksichtigen, dass die betreffenden Seiten Teil der *Meditatio prooemialis* sind. Der Titel dieser Einleitung, zu der noch weitere Teile gehören, zeigt bereits, dass der Verfasser hier bestrebt ist, allgemein über Arithmetik nachzudenken. In diesen Kontext ordnet sich die Darstellung über die Zahlensysteme

ein. Sie ist jedoch nicht allein losgelöste Reflexion, sondern sie soll zeigen, wie unterschiedliche Aspekte von Arithmetik, hier konkret die verschiedenen Zahlensysteme, in die Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte eingebunden sind.

Eingerahmt sind alle diese Ausführungen in philosophisches Nachdenken über das Wesen der Zahlen und die Bedeutung des Zählens als Erkenntnisleistung. Hierbei knüpft der Verfasser an die antike Philosophie an, vor allem an Aristoteles, nominell auch an Platon. Besonders wichtig ist Caramuel die Erkenntnis, dass Zahlen keine naturgegebene Entität darstellen, sondern durch den Geist konstituiert werden:

„Intellectus igitur, non reperit, sed facit Numeros.“ (S. XLIV) Das Zählen, die Feststellung von Anzahlen, stellt also eine Erkenntnisleistung dar, die nicht ein Wiedererkennen von Naturgegebenem ist.

Aus wissenschaftshistorischer Sicht muss ferner auf das damalige Verständnis von Mathematik im Sinne des Quadriviums (Arithmetik, Geometrie, Astronomie, Musiktheorie) hingewiesen werden. Hieraus resultiert, dass der Autor bei der Behandlung der verschiedenen Zahlensysteme nicht allein deren arithmetische Aspekte diskutiert, sondern auch ihre Relevanz für die anderen mathematischen Disziplinen berücksichtigt, so beispielsweise, wie man Zahlenverhältnisse geometrisch verstehen könne, welche Zahlensysteme in der Astronomie wichtig seien und welche Bedeutung Zahlenverhältnisse für die Musiktheorie haben. Zusammenhänge, die aus heutiger Perspektive lediglich als kulturgeschichtliches Umfeld gedeutet werden könnten, waren somit für Caramuel Lobkowitz selbstverständlich integraler Bestandteil der Mathematik. Verwies er auf Aspekte aus der Astronomie oder Musiktheorie, so blieb er dennoch im Bereich der Mathematik. Das Verständnis von Mathematik als philosophische Disziplin legitimierte ihn auch, sich philosophisch über Mathematisches zu äußern. Da Philosophie wiederum im historischen Wissenschaftskanon gemeinhin als „ancilla theologiae“ fungierte, Wissenschaft in der Regel auf die Theologie als höchste Disziplin orientiert war, ergibt sich so auch ein Bezug zur Theologie. Innerhalb eines theologisch orientierten

Weltbildes, das der Ordensmann Caramuel Lobkowitz unzweifelhaft besaß, war die Berücksichtigung theologischer Gesichtspunkte und Implikationen nahezu unumgänglich. So erscheinen philosophische und theologische Ausführungen zu einem Thema, das die Grundlage der Mathematik bildet, aber auch von höchster Alltagsrelevanz ist, folgerichtig, wenngleich die traditionell-theologische Weltanschauung im 17. Jahrhundert mehr und mehr durch die entstehenden Naturwissenschaften infrage gestellt wurde.

Beachtlich ist weiterhin, welch breites Spektrum von historischen und zeitgenössischen Autoritäten Caramuel Lobkowitz dabei zitiert. Dies zeugt von seiner interdisziplinären Bildung, so dass man ihn wohl mit Recht als Universalgelehrten bezeichnen kann. Zu jedem der von ihm vorgestellten Zahlensysteme gelingt es dem Autor, in unterschiedlichem Maße Bezüge zur Kulturgeschichte herzustellen. Dies gilt selbst in den vielen Fällen, in denen die betreffenden Systeme für die mathematische Anwendung und für das Alltagsleben keine Bedeutung besitzen, sondern ihre Betrachtung allein von theoretischem Wert ist. Kulturgeschichtliches findet im Übrigen auch in anderen Teilen seines Werkes immer wieder Beachtung.<sup>16</sup>

Wenngleich die Ausführungen über die Zahlen und Zahlensysteme nur einen verschwindend kleinen Bruchteil des umfangreichen Lebenswerkes von Caramuel Lobkowitz darstellen, zeigen doch bereits sie exemplarisch die scharfe Beobachtungsgabe des Verfassers, seine philosophisch feinsinnigen Argumente, aber auch seine Fähigkeit, über Grenzen hinaus zu denken. Letzteres gilt u. a. dann, wenn er Sprachliches zum Thema Zahlen berücksichtigt oder die aktuelle zeitgenössische Literatur, wie am Beispiel der ethnografischen Schriften von Ruiz de Montoya deutlich wird, einbindet.

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<sup>16</sup> Vgl. z. B. J. Smolik, „Jan Caramuel z Lobkovic a jeho dílo...“, op. cit., S. 7f.



#### IV. Fazit

Überblickt man Caramuel Lobkowitz' Ausführungen zu den Zahlensystemen, so kann man zusammenfassend folgende Feststellungen treffen:

Der hier untersuchte kleine Teil seines Werkes legt exemplarisch Zeugnis von Caramuels umfassender Bildung ab, die sich auch in seinen anderen Werken zeigt und die sich in seiner Korrespondenz widerspiegelt, die er mit zahlreichen bedeutenden Gelehrten seiner Zeit führte und in der er zu einem wesentlichen Teil Themen aus der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik behandelte.<sup>17</sup> Allein das Spektrum zeitgenössischer Autoren, die Caramuel Lobkowitz in seinem Werk berücksichtigt, ist klarer Beleg dessen.

Aus anachroner Perspektive allerdings ließe sich bemerken, dass Caramuel Lobkowitz in manchen Teilen seiner Darstellung der Spekulation weiten Raum einräumt, ohne diese immer kritisch zu reflektieren, vielmehr auf theologische Argumente aufbaut und diese teils durchaus sophistisch zur Fundierung seiner Darlegungen interpretiert. Grundsätzlich lassen auch seine Ausführungen zur Mathematik Caramuel Lobkowitz als theologisch denkenden Menschen erkennen, der an allen entscheidenden Stellen sich auf die Bibel oder kirchliche Autoritäten beruft, zu denen im weiteren Sinne für seine Zeit auch der Jesuit Athanasius Kircher zählen kann. In gewisser Weise knüpft er hiermit auch an seine *Mathesis audax* von 1644 an, in der er ebenfalls bereits Mathematisches in unkonventioneller Weise mit Theologischem und Metaphysischem verbunden hatte.<sup>18</sup>

Grundsätzlich jedoch erkennt man zwei wesentliche Konstituenten in seinen Ausführungen zu den Zahlensystemen, die in gewisser

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<sup>17</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, S. 5

<sup>18</sup> Dazu vgl. R. Ineichen, „Im Theologischen die mathematische Klarheit, im Mathematischen die theologische Sicherheit ... Überlegungen des Cisterciensers Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz zu den Glücksspielen“, *Cistercienser Chronik. Forum für Geschichte, Kunst, Literatur und Spiritualität des Mönchtums* 107, 2000, S. 177–191, sowie A. Serrai, *Phoenix Europae...*, op. cit., S. 100ff.

Weise konträr sind: Einerseits ist das Denken und die Argumentation von Caramuel traditionellen Mustern aus Antike und Mittelalter (insbesondere zur symbolischen Deutung von Zahlen) verbunden.<sup>19</sup> Andererseits enthalten die hier betrachteten Kapitel einige Aspekte, in denen der Verfasser seiner Zeit voraus ist und die in der Wissenschaft erst später intensiver wieder aufgegriffen wurden. Mathematisch ist dies der Fall beim Binärsystem, wissenschafts- und kulturgeschichtlich gilt dies für die Betrachtung ethnografischer Befunde zum Zählen, sprachwissenschaftlich betrifft dies die Behandlung der Systematik der Zahlwörter. Dieser Kontrast zwischen Verwurzelung im Traditionellen und wegweisenden, auch methodischen Neuerungen wird jedoch erst aus retrospektiver Sicht erkennbar. In jedem Falle werden Caramuels Ausführungen zum Zahlensystem dem im Titel *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* formulierten Anspruch des Werkes gerecht, indem sie Traditionelles und Innovatives miteinander vereinen.

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<sup>19</sup> Man vgl. beispielsweise nur das grundlegende Werk V. F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism...*, op. cit.

## Shaping a Musical Encyclopaedia: Caramuel's *Musica* and its Sources

Daniele Sabaino

During the last few decades, Caramuel's writings about music and music theory have increasingly attracted scholarly attention. The role of music in his encyclopaedic network of knowledge has been investigated, and the significance of his contribution in such fields as *scientia musicae* and acoustics is now definitively asserted among musicologists.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the musical/theoretical background of the same writings has not been considered enough yet. Which were the main sources of Caramuel's thought on music? Which kind of literature did he prefer on different topics – a “specialized” or an “encyclopaedic” one? Which relationships (if any) exist between the sources of Caramuel's writings on music and music theory and his other books (especially the “mathematical” ones)? In this paper, I will try to address these and other related questions and provide some answers on the grounds of Caramuel's main contribution on music, the eight-hundred-page manuscript “harmonic encyclopaedia” entitled – simply – *Musica*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Rasch, “Tuning and Temperament”, in: *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. T. Christensen, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002, pp. 193–222, esp. pp. 211–212.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is in Vigevano, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale, “Fondo Caramuel”. Critical edition in: D. Sabaino, *Un'enciclopedia musicale del secolo XVII: il manoscritto “Musica” di Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz dell'Archivio Capitolare di*

## 1. Caramuel's Printed Works on Music

Before examining any source, however, let us briefly summarize what Caramuel wrote about music and music theory and what was published during his life and under his control. This is not the trivial task that it may at first appear; indeed, there seems to be some confusion about how many different books (or booklets) on the matter were really completed by Caramuel, and about how many of them (let alone where and when) were effectively printed during the author's lifetime – so much confusion that in the most recent and (in the author's intention) most comprehensive survey of Caramuel's printed works, Alfredo Serrai even questions whether those books had actually ever existed.<sup>3</sup> As it is often the case with Caramuel, the confusion comes from afar; it stems from Caramuel himself, we might say: in fact, in his autobiographies (from the *Caramuelis ... Opera omnia quae sunt typis mandata* published within the *Praecursor logicus* in 1654 to the *Catalogos de los libros, que tiene impresos, o esta actualmente imprimiendo ... D. Juan Caramuel* attached at the end of the *Arquitectura civil* printed in Vigevano in 1679) he sometimes gave different titles and/or date of publication to what seems to be the same work, but some other times he assigned a broad and nonspecific title (such as *De musica*) and a random date of publication fluctuating between 1645 and 1647 to what then proved to be – at least editorially – different and separate works.<sup>4</sup>

Modern scholars normally tend to explain these distinctions either as Caramuel's inaccuracies or as compilers' mistakes that went unnoticed or that were disregarded as unimportant: but they are too

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*Vigevano. Introduzione ed edizione critica*, Tesi di Laurea in Musicologia, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale di Cremona, a. a. 1987–1988 (forthcoming in print).

<sup>3</sup> A. Serrai, *Phoenix Europae. Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz in prospettiva bibliografica*, Sylvestre Bonnard, Milan 2005, pp. 285–287.

<sup>4</sup> All Caramuel's autobiographies are reprinted in A. Serrai, *ibid.*, pp. 170–225; for music items, see pp. 200, 202, 211, 217, 221–222.

numerous and frequent to allow such simplistic explanations. At a general level, in my opinion, the discrepancies could be due to the fact that Caramuel did not always draw a sharp (if any) distinction between a Latin and a vernacular text that he considered one the translation of the other (no matter how the latter can be different from – or revised, augmented, updated, ... compared with – the former). At a more specific level, I suspect that, at least in one case, Caramuel dealt with two different prints on the same topic (“new music”, i.e. reading music with seven *notulae* instead of the six of the so-called “Guidonian solmization”) as they were one and the same print because one had had limited circulation within the Viennese monastery of Heiligenkreutz, while the other only reached a wider audience inside and outside Vienna.

Anyway – as I believe I have demonstrated elsewhere<sup>5</sup> –, there is sufficient evidence for stating with reasonable certainty that Caramuel wrote and printed three different booklets on music before devoting himself to his *summa musicae*, the musical encyclopaedia that he announced several times as forthcoming (for instance in the title-page of the *Mathesis biceps*, and again in the 1679 *Catalogo*) but that he never completed, leaving the manuscript still lacking the finishing touch at his death in 1682. (Since then, it has remained completely unknown till 1976, when Ivan Golub rediscovered books I-III and V-VII amid the Caramuelian manuscripts of the Archivio Capitolare in Vigevano; ten years later, the present writer completed the discovery seeking out and finding, in the same archive, books IV and VIII.)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See D. Sabaino, “*E con ciò verrebbe la Musica à recuperare l'antica perfeitione*. Ricercare a due soggetti sopra la Lamina XXXVII della quarta parte del terzo tomo dell'*Architectura civil* di Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz”, in: *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria* XCVIII, 1998, pp. 223–242.

<sup>6</sup> Account of the first discovery in: I. Golub, “Juraj Krizanić's *Asserta Musicalia* in Caramuel's Newly Discovered Autograph of *Musica*”, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* IX, 1978, pp. 218–276; of the second in: D. Sabaino, “*Musica universalis, univrsus musicalis*. Forme e contenuti della musica culmine e chiave universale delle scienze nel riscoperto finale del trattato

The three booklets are the following:

(1) *UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA, BI, Nova musica* (the one that in the aforementioned catalogues bears also the heading *Ars nova musicae*, recalling – probably unwittingly – the title of the foremost medieval treatise by Philippe de Vitry);

(2) *FER-D̄i-N̄,AN-DUS TER-T̄i-ŪS, sive Sanctae Crucis musicae errorem totius orbis terrarum corrigentis novi canones*, printed in Vienna by Matthaues Cosmerovius in 1647;

(3) *Arte Nueva de Musica*, written by Caramuel in the bishopric of Campagna and published in Rome by Fabio de Falco in 1669.

The first is by far the most problematic. Caramuel and his auto-bibliographies refer to it as “una tabella valde parva”, a single page printed by Cosmerovius in Vienna in 1645 or in 1646 or even in 1647 in a *quarto*-format. In *Musica*, Caramuel says also that he wrote *Ut, Re, Mi...* to persuade the Benedictine monks of Heilingenkreutz to adopt his new system of music-reading – therefore “for internal use”, so to speak. No copy of it is known to have survived; however, it is possible – and, in my opinion, rather probable – that the *Lamina XXVII* of the fourth part of the *Arquitectura civil* replays, word by word, its whole content (and maybe also its format).<sup>7</sup>

The second is an expanded version of the previous one, with the new and bizarre idea of equating the names of the seven notes with the seven syllables of the name and ordinal of the reigning emperor Ferdinand III. It includes a series of letters that Caramuel addressed to the abbot of Heilingenkreutz and other musicians of the Abbey to explain how the seven-note-based system of reading music operates, how much it improves the teaching of the art and why it should be adopted everywhere and without hesitation, and includes also their

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enciclopedia *Musica* di Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz”, in: *Musica in subtilitate scrutando. Contributi alla storia della teoria musicale*, eds. D. Sabaino, M. T. Rosa Barezani and R. Tibaldi, Libreria Musicale Italiana, Lucca 1994, pp. 311–370, esp. pp. 314–320.

<sup>7</sup> See D. Sabaino, “*E con ciò...*”, op. cit., pp. 229–233.

answers which (of course) praise the method. It is never mentioned as such in Caramuel's bibliographic catalogues, but two copies of it are listed in the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM);<sup>8</sup> the third copy with substantial manuscript additions and corrections in Caramuel's hand was found in the Archivio Capitolare in Vigevano, incorporated by Caramuel himself in the second book of *Musica*.

The third is a declared Spanish translation of *Ut, Re, Mi...*, again in *quarto*, preceded by a brief *Prologo* and followed by a lengthy, erudite advice *A los Maestros de Musica*. The little book (8 pages in all)<sup>9</sup> was reviewed and summarized in the *Giornale de Letterati* in November 1669,<sup>10</sup> so its content has always been known. However, all existing copies seemed to have been lost ever since, and only in 1976 two copies (one complete and one missing the last two pages) were re-discovered, spread among the folios of *Musica*. Both of them have different layers of manuscript corrections and additions and were surely intended to be used at the beginning of the second book of

<sup>8</sup> See RISM, ser. B, vol. VI, *Ecrits imprimés concernant la musique*, Henle, Munich 1971, t. I, p. 203. The two copies are in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, and in Rome, Biblioteca e Archivio Musicale dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia.

<sup>9</sup> Its full title is the following: "*Arte nueva de musica inventada año de DC por S. Gregorio el Grande, Monje de nuestro P. S. Benito, y despues Pontifice Maximo. Desconcertada año de M.XII por Guidon Aretino, Religioso de la misma Orden, y Musico excelente en su tiempo. Restituída a su primera perfeccion año de M.DCXX por Fr. Pedro de Ureña, Monje Cisterciense, Hijo de nuestro Real Monasterio de la Espina. Reducida a este breve Compendio año de M.DCXLIV por I. C. Religioso del mismo Monasterio. Es nueva en este siglo, por haber sido tanto tiempo ignorada: haze demonstracion, que toda la Doctrina de la Mano es superflua. Persuade, que es vana, y fingida la division del Canto en el de naturaleza, ♮ quadrato, y b mol; porque no hay sino un solo modo de cantar. Enseña a solmizar sin mutanzas, y concluye, que la Musica de Guidon Aretino, no es otra cosa, que un ingenioso y muy trabajado desacierto. Dedicase à nuestro R.<sup>mo</sup> P. Maestro F. Miguel de Fuentes, General de la Orden de Cister en España, Catredatico de Visperas de la Universidad de Salamanca, &c. Con licencia de los superiores. En Roma, por Fabio de Falco, año de M.DC.LXIX.*"

<sup>10</sup> *Giornale de Letterati dell'anno 1669*, in Roma, per Niccolò Angelo Tinassi, n. IX, Li 27 Novembre 1669, pp. 124-125.

the encyclopaedia, where Caramuel was to provide his readers with the basic rules of the “new solmization” in Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, Flemish and Czech.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Shaping *Musica*

All the writings we have discussed so far were works expressly “on music” – “professional books”, so to speak. However (as one can easily imagine), Caramuel touched on or dealt with music in several other books and from several other perspectives. Music can be considered a mathematical art, therefore we find some music paragraphs in the *Mathesis biceps* and in the *Arquitectura civil*; but music can also be viewed as a political or theological/moral metaphor and as pedagogical device, so that you can easily come across music subjects in books such as the *Encyclopaedia concionatoria* and the *Apparatus philosophicus* as well as the *Pandectes philosophicus* and the astonishing *Maria liber*. Moreover, during the entire seventeenth century, music was (still) considered both as a long-standing part of culture (i.e., as *ars et scientia* whose basic knowledge had to be grasped by any learned man and whose basic grammar, therefore, had to be included in any general handbook and large “thesaurus” – such as, for example, Johann Heinrich Alsted’s *Scientiarum omnium encyclopaedia*) and as an

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<sup>11</sup> The plan was pursued and the translations completed, as you can see in *Musica*, book II, under the headings *Hispano / Italo / Gallo / Belgae / Bohemo philomuso*. The French, Flemish and Czech versions, each exactly one-page long, correspond to the above-mentioned *Lamina* of the *Arquitectura civil*: in my opinion, therefore, they translate the very first 1645 *Nova musica*. The Italian version is a thorough translation of the 1669 *Arte nueva*. The Spanish version, together with the Latin *Scholia* arranged by Caramuel for *Musica*, is critically edited with made-to-measure textual markers in: D. Sabaino, “Una gran baraunda de claves, cantos, mutanzas, y quebraderos de cabezas. Un riscoperto testo di Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz sulla pratica e la liceità della solmizzazione ‘guidoniana’”, in: *Festschrift Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta*, ed. J. Stevenson, forthcoming.



image of the whole of culture and world (Robert Fludd, for instance, in his monumental *Utriusque cosmi historia*, entitled volume I, part 2: *De templo musicae in quo musica universalis tanquam in speculo conspicitur*; and Johann Kepler, in his famous *Harmonices mundi libri quinque*, described his astronomical achievements in terms of established *astronomia musica*). In Caramuel's times, in other words, music was a link in the *catena scientiarum* as well as a microcosm (which is something more than a metaphor) of the same chain.<sup>12</sup>

This is true in general, and it is also fully true for Caramuel's *oeuvre*. In *Musica*, of course, it becomes very peculiar: book after book, we go through mythological/historical reference (book I), music reading and chant (book II), grammar of polyphonic music (book III), temperament (book IV and V, where Caramuel explains and uses his greatest music-theoretical achievement, the logarithms in base 2), musical instruments (book VI), combinatorics applied to music (book VII), and finally astronomy and medicine musically illustrated (i.e. *musica mundana* and *musica humana*, book VIII and last).<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, analyzing the way *Musica* has been shaped up can have at least three possible meanings, each of which should be examined on its own:

(a) first and general, the manner in which the encyclopaedia has been developed as a coherent and well-structured *cursum musicum* within Caramuel's network of knowledge;

(b) second and genetic, the principles and methods according to which Caramuel reworked all his previous works on music and fitted

<sup>12</sup> An excellent guide to the different aspects of the topic is the "Introduzione" to *La musica nella rivoluzione scientifica del Seicento*, eds. P. Gozza, il. Mulino, Bologna 1989, pp. 9–66; a shorter sketch also in: P. Gouk, "The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution", in: *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, op. cit., pp. 223–245.

<sup>13</sup> For a brief summary of the content of each book, see D. Sabaino, "Caramuel Lobkowitz, Juan", in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, Zweite Edition, ed. L. Finscher, Bärenreiter – Metzler, Kassel – Stuttgart 2000, *Personenteil*, vol. IV, coll. 173–174.

their content (and frequently their very words) into the body of the new book;

(c) third and specific, “the sources” of the encyclopaedia in the standard sense of the word – that is, the authors and volumes that constitute the bibliographical background of Caramuel’s manuscript.

I have been forced to face the first meaning since my very first encounter with Caramuel and his *Musica*. It was the comparison between what the manuscript contained and what, in my opinion (an opinion founded on a close examination of other statements by Caramuel), should have contained that had me come back to the Archivio Capitolare, where I was lucky enough to find what I was looking for (because I was convinced it should be there). But I have already written on this subject as well as on the second:<sup>14</sup> so, in the remaining part of this paper I will spend a few words only on the works and people that Caramuel quotes or refers to in his musical *opus magnum*.

### 3. The Bibliographic Background of *Musica*

Caramuel – no need to say – was a very highly educated man, completely imbued with the typical baroque *curiositas* and well versed in all the classical languages and the scholastic disciplines. His constant care about the sole foundation of the network of knowledge was remarked even by his contemporaries: Nicolás Antonio, for example, described him as a man always longing for “studia dirigere ad scientiarum omnium promovendum circulum, artibus conciliare, et quasi maritare artes, naturae in omnibus respectum habere, nihilque a viro philosopho ac theologo alienum peregrinumve existimare”.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See A. Sabaino “*Musica universalis...*”, op. cit., pp. 314–320; and idem, “*Una gran baraunda...*”, op. cit.

<sup>15</sup> N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova sive Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD ad MDCLXXXIV florere notitia*, apud Joachimum de Ibarra, Matriti 1788,

*Musica*, of course, bears the traces of this mental habit. All along the manuscript, we find a lavish amount of direct and indirect quotations, passing references and allusions to other writers' works that displays not only how broad Caramuel's range of knowledge was, but also how abreast of the latest publications he always kept.

His purpose in quoting (or referring to) so many books and authors are clearly manifold. Sometimes he introduces a quotation to corroborate his own results with a different approach, and sometimes to start a topic afresh by criticizing others' opinions or methodologies. Sometimes quotations or references have no apparent reason but to show off his learning, and sometimes they are just a clever solution to avoid going personally into a boring or tiresome matter (it is surely not by chance that there are almost no quotations in the main stream of the *Liber metromusicus*, the newest and most original part in all *Musica*).

The over-a-thousand citations or mentions that we found in *Musica*, then, come from special – musicographical – sources as well as from a large and heterogeneous cluster of books: professional and amateur scientists; poets, prose-writers and philosophers from classical Antiquity, Middle-Ages, Renaissance and seventeenth-century, and theologians and erudites from all the ages of the *Respublica christiana*. Therefore, altogether they become much more than a sum of isolated reference works; they reveal a real “cultural world” – a world very useful to improving our understanding of Caramuel's personality and *oeuvre*. So, let us try to read them as such – of course from a musicological point of view, i.e. moving from the less up to the more specialized “music” literature.

However, before going on, it will be useful to remember that in every page (as the scholars of Caramuel's most professional activity, moral theology, know perfectly well) first-hand quotations coexist with second- and even third-hand references. Discriminating between the different situations is a duty of the modern scholars. Anyway, drawing

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vol. I, p. 667a. See also D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel: Probabilismo ed Enciclopedia*, La Nuova Italia, Florence 1975, p. 155.

any sort of conclusion only on the grounds of that discrimination can be risky and misleading: indeed, we should not forget that accumulation of authorities – including the authorities quoted by the authority who is being quoted – is of central importance in the probabilistic system,<sup>16</sup> which in turn is a pivotal point of Caramuel's *forma mentis*.

### 3.1 Non-music Writers

It is well known that Caramuel always felt and declared himself a theologian, and this conviction affected both the form and the content of most of his works. As to organization, structure and framework, *Musica* resembles moral theology treatises even more closely than other Caramuel's "mathematical" books. On a more substantial level, quotations from theology writers occur with relative frequency throughout the encyclopaedia; most of the times they are used to compare theological and musical issues – either on a theoretical or on a practical level –, but sometimes they lead to proper theological digressions, particularly in the field of moral theology (as we would expect from Caramuel). The most intriguing case is the ninth *scholion* to the version of the *Arte nueva de musica* inserted in the second book of *Musica*, where Caramuel gives a musical sense to the casuistic question "an peccet mortaliter, qui improbables sententias docet?" by declaring *theologically* "improbable" the "Guidonian" solmization: as his new system of music reading is far easier, the teacher who – consciously and voluntarily – continues teaching the old solmization impairs his pupils' musical ability and therefore *peccat mortaliter*.<sup>17</sup>

The list of Christian authors mentioned spans from the Fathers of the Church Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and John Chrysostom to post-Tridentine moralists such as Vázquez, Juan de Salas and Tomás

<sup>16</sup> See S. Burgio, *Teologia Barocca. Il probabilismo in Sicilia nell'epoca di Filippo IV*, Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale, Catania [1998], pp. 138-139.

<sup>17</sup> See D. Sabaino, "Una gran baraunda...", op. cit., Scholion i).

Sánchez, including a handful of medieval writers such as Ockham and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. Quotation from the Fathers are frequent, but usually more ornamental than substantial; only once Caramuel adopts Fathers' authority for a truly "musical" purpose: he makes use of Ambrose's *Hexameron* to solve an apparent Scriptural contradiction about the "consistency" of the sky that he encountered while explaining conditions and media of sound propagation.<sup>18</sup>

Ancient and modern ecclesiastical writers, of course, are not the only non-musical sources of *Musica*: another significant group of quotations come from Greek and Latin classical antiquity. However, Catullus, the epic Statius, Martial, Ovid, Apuleius, Cicero, the Greeks Epicurus and Diogenes Laertius sprout in the books of *Musica* mainly as exquisite but superfluous flowers; only Virgil – especially the Virgil of the *Eglogae* – is normally quoted because of his "musical" allusions, while the references to Epicurus' poetry are possibly due to the influence of Pierre Gassendi, one of Caramuel's oldest friends and correspondents, but also a well-known admirer and "christianizer" of the author of the *De rerum natura*.<sup>19</sup> On the contrary, more central to the musical core of *Musica* are some pages from the classical philosophers, above all Plato and Aristotle (both, clearly, subjected to the usual seventeenth-century catholic interpretation):<sup>20</sup> of the former, Caramuel remarks on the musical-political theories expressed in the eighth book of the *Republic*; of the latter, he quotes some extracts from the *Metaphysics*, *Politics*, *On Sophistical Refutations*, *On the Generation of Animals* and from the spurious *Musical Problems*.

Among modern authors, then, Caramuel's favours go to encyclopaedists, mathematicians and astronomers. The firsts will come at hand later, since Caramuel refers almost always to the musical section

<sup>18</sup> See *Musica*, lib. VIII, art. sectio II, ecthesis III; and D. Sabaino, "*Musica universalis...*", op. cit., pp. 354–355 (and footnote 114).

<sup>19</sup> See A. Lolordo, *Pierre Gassendi and the Birth of Early Modern Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006.

<sup>20</sup> See D. Pastine, *J. Caramuel...*, op. cit., pp. 177–180, 259–262.

of their sizable works. Most of the quoted mathematicians (and science writers in general) reached *Musica* by the way of the *Mathesis biceps*; in the *Liber logarithmicus*, Caramuel praises Neper, Briggs, Peter Crüçiger, Juan Pérez de Moya and Joseph Lange and acknowledges he is in debt to them all, but at the same time he always underlines how original and new his *logarithmi enharmonici* are.<sup>21</sup> Astronomers such as Tycho Brahe, Giovanni Battista Riccioli and Johann Kepler reveal their epistemological power on Caramuel's thoughts mainly in the last book of *Musica*, the eighth "*ASTRONOMICUS: An Planetis et Inerrantia Sydera in suis motibus et configurationibus musicas rationes observent?*" (which opens with a huge list of reference works, although not compiled personally by Caramuel, but entirely taken from Riccioli's *Almagestum novum*).<sup>22</sup>

Finally, two other significant features of *Musica* bibliographical background deserve at least a brief mention here. The first is Caramuel's preference for collections of apophthegms (such as those by Lucio Domizio Brusoni, Erasmus, Jeremie de Dryvere *alias* Thriverius, Johann Jacob Wecker, besides the *Placita philosophorum* by Plutarch) over truly historical works (the only non-classical history book quoted in *Musica* – even though “history book” is perhaps a too pretentious designation – is the *Theatrum historicum theoreticum-practicum, in quo quatuor monarchiae nova et artificiosa methodo describuntur* by the Hungarian Christianus Matthia,<sup>23</sup> from which Caramuel brings for-

<sup>21</sup> On the role of mathematics (and especially of logarithms) in Caramuel's musical thinking see P. Barbieri, “Il temperamento equabile nel periodo frescobaldiano”, in: *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, eds. S. Durante and D. Fabris, Olschki, Florence 1986, pp. 387-423; idem, “Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606-1682): Über die musikalischen Logarithmen und das Problem der musikalischen Temperatur”, *Musiktheorie*, II, 1987, pp. 145-178; D. Sabaino, “Il Rinascimento dopo il Rinascimento. *Musica scientia e scientia musicae* nella *Musica* di Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz”, in: *Musique et mathématique à la Renaissance*, ed. P. Vendrix, Centre d'Etude Supérieure de la Renaissance, Tours 2008, pp. 321-362.

<sup>22</sup> On Caramuel's *astronomia musica* see D. Sabaino, “*Musica universalis...*”, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> *Apud Lodovicum Elzevirium, Amstelodami 1648.*

ward the well-known episode of the pipe organ sent by the emperor Constantine V Copronym to King Pepin in 757).<sup>24</sup> The second is the tangible affection towards his mother-tongue poets (Bernardino de Rebolledo y Villamizar – “el conte de Rebolledo” –, Jerónimo Cáncer y Velasco, Luis de Góngora, ...) – affection that links *Musica* with the *Rhythmica*, the second volume of the *Primus calamus* where Caramuel anthologises and lavishly comments on a great deal of Spanish writers.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2 Music Writers

Music theory literature quoted in *Musica* covers almost all the course of music history, from the Greek musicography to seventeenth-century manuals for schoolboys as well as scientific and/or erudite dissertations. A cursory glance at them will made us aware of what Caramuel found useful for his purposes in each of them.

One of the main and most important sources of *Musica* is Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (together with the *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* and the *Arithmologia* by the same author).<sup>26</sup> Kircher's opin-

<sup>24</sup> See J. Caramuel, *Musica*, op. cit., lib. VI, pars I, art. I.

<sup>25</sup> See *Las ideas literarias de Caramuel*, ed. H. Hernández Nieto, Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, Barcelona 1992.

<sup>26</sup> *Athanasii Kircheri Fuldensis e Societate Jesu Presbyteri Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta. Qua universa sonorum doctrina, et philosophia, musicaeque tam theoricæ quam practicæ scientia, summa varietate traditur; admirandæ consoni et dissoni in mundo, adeoque universa natura vires effectusque, uti nova, ita peregrina variorum speciminum exhibitione ad singulares usus, tum in omnipoene facultate, tum potissimum in philologia, mathematica, physica, mechanica, medicina, politica, metaphysica, theologia, aperiuntur et demonstrantur. tomi duo, haeredes Francisci Corbelletti, Romae 1650; Athanasii Kircheri Fuldensis e Societate Jesu Presbyteri Ars magna lucis et umbrae in decem libros digesta. Quibus admirandæ lucis et umbrae in mundo, atque adeo universa natura, vires effectusque uti nova, ita varia novorum reconditorumque speciminum exhibitione, ad varios mortalium usus, panduntur, sumptibus Hermanni Scheus ex typographia Ludovici*

ions are normally held in high esteem by Caramuel; he disagrees fully and completely with him only about “Guidonian” solmization – not a problem for Kircher and, instead (as we have seen), the problem of music reading for Caramuel. Furthermore, Kircher’s *Musurgia* seems to be somehow a model also for the general structure of *Musica* and the ordering of some topics, as Caramuel himself honestly acknowledges at the beginning of the sixth book: “Caeterum inter paucos, qui rem perculluisse videntur, semper manebit Mersennum, et Kircherum sua laus... Hos frequenter citabimus, hos semper debito onore prosequemur...”<sup>27</sup>

Another major source of *Musica*, as we have just seen, is the Minim friar Marine Mersenne: however, unlike Kircher, it is not his most distinguished book on music, the *Harmonie universelle* (neither in the Latin translation *Harmonicorum libri XII*) that Caramuel makes use of, but a much more modest and abridged version of it: the *Harmoniae libri sex* published at the end of the *Cogitata physico-mathematica*.<sup>28</sup> From these books – but with more freedom of judgement and action as to Kircher’s *Musurgia* – Caramuel derives a few statements about sound propagation as well as various ideas about the building of many musical instruments.<sup>29</sup>

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Grignani, Romae 1646; *Athanasii Kircheri e Societate Jesu Arithmologiae sive De abditis numerorum mysteria quae origo, antiquitas, et fabrica numerorum exponitur; Abditae eorumdem proprietates demonstrantur. Fontes substitutionum in amuletorum fabrica aperiuntur. Denique post Cabalistarum, Arabum, Gnosticorum aliorumque magicas empietates detectas, vera et licita numerorum mystica significatio ostenditur*, Varesius, Romae 1655.

<sup>27</sup> J. Caramuel, *Musica*, op. cit., lib. VI, Prooemium.

<sup>28</sup> M. Mersenne, *Cogitata physico-mathematica in quibus naturae quam artis effectus admirandi certissimis demonstrationibus explicantur*, Antonius Bertier, Parisiis 1644. (The *Harmonie universelle* and the *Harmonicorum libri* were both published in Paris in 1636).

<sup>29</sup> See J. Caramuel, *Musica*, op. cit., lib. I, art. XI and lib. VI, passim. On Caramuel’s organology see P. Barbieri, “Cembali enarmonici ed organi negli scritti di Kircher. Con documenti inediti su Galeazzo Sabbatini”, in: *Enciclopedia in Roma barocca. Athanasius Kircher e il Museo del Collegio Romano tra Wunderkammer e museo scientifico*, eds. M. Casciato, M. G. Ianiello and M. Vitale, Marsilio,



Besides Kircher and Mersenne, other encyclopaedists are frequently referred to in *Musica*. Johann Heinrich Alsted and the twentieth book of his *Scientiarum omnium encyclopaedia* provide Caramuel's treatise especially with broad or philosophical information on music and music teaching.<sup>30</sup> Robert Fludd is often opposed to Kircher and Mersenne; however, his lack of originality leads Caramuel to use his *Templum musicae* to diversify sources, more than to obtain information otherwise unavailable.<sup>31</sup>

On the contrary, Johann Kepler's *Harmonices mundi* is always significant in all the length of *Musica*. It is quoted as much as (if not more than) Kircher's *Musurgia*, and in book VIII, art. I, section <II> it is even fully reviewed. Caramuel relies on Kepler's authority when presenting musical astronomy – or astronomical music – as well as when discussing the origins of music; in Kepler, he also finds support for his own proposals of reforming music reading.<sup>32</sup>

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Venice 1986, pp. 111–132; idem, “Gli ingegnosi cembali e ‘violiceembali’ inventati da Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz per Ferdinando III (ca. 1650): Notizie inedite dal manoscritto *Musica*”, in: *Le meraviglie del probabile – Juan Caramuel 1606–1682. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. P. Pissavino, Comune di Vigevano, Vigevano 1990, pp. 91–112.

<sup>30</sup> Ioan. Henrici Alstedii *Scientiarum omnium encyclopaedia*, Ioannes Antonius Huguëtan et Marcus Antonius Ravaud, Lugduni 1649 (second and updated edition of *Ioannis Henrici Alstedii Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta...*, Herbornae Nassoviorum 1630).

<sup>31</sup> *Utriusque cosmi, maioris scilicet et minoris, metaphysica atque technica historia in duo volumina secundum cosmi differentia divisa. Authore Roberto Fludd alias de Fluctibus, armigero et in medicina doctore Oxoniensi. Tomus primus de macrocosmi historia in duo tractatos divisa, quarum secundus de naturae simia, seu technica macrocosmi historia, in partes undecim divisa. Pars II: De templo musicae in quo musica universalis tanquam in speculo conspicitur, in libros septem divisa*, Joannes Theodorus de Bry (Hieronimus Gallus), Oppenheimii 1617.

<sup>32</sup> *Joannis Kepleri Harmonices mundi, libri quinque... Appendix habet comparatione huius operis cum harmonice Cl. Ptolomaei libro III cumque Robertis de Fluctibus dicti Flud medici Oxoniensi speculationibus harmonicis, operi de macrocosmo insertis*, Geodofredus Tampachius, Lincii Austriae 1619. On the relationship between Caramuel and Kircher see D. Sabaino, “*Musica universalis...*”, op. cit., pp. 340–345.

Astronomy is the field of knowledge that Caramuel shares also with the Ferrarese Jesuit Giovanni Battista Riccioli, who composed an *Almagestum novum*, a *Chronologia reformata* and a *Prosodia reformata*, all remembered in *Musica*.<sup>33</sup> As his works are particularly attentive to the writers of the Classic world, it is therefore very likely that many of the Greek extracts on music which are disseminated in the books of *Musica* come from him – although some of them could also come from the *Antiquae musicae auctores septem* published by Marcus Meibom with a remarkable Latin translation.<sup>34</sup> Whatever their provenance, anyway, it is noteworthy – and revealing of Caramuel’s attitudes and limitations – that those quotations aim above all to demonstrate that even the Greeks had a seven-based-note system of reading music: therefore, there are absolutely no reasons, neither historical nor antiquarian, why moderns should stick up for hexachordal solmization; an assumption false in itself, of course, but that proves once again (should we require further confirmation) how important the basic teaching of music has always been for Caramuel.

<sup>33</sup> *Almagestum novum astronomiam veterem novamque complectens. Observationibus aliorum, et propriis novisque theorematibus, problematibus, ac tabulis promotam. Auctore P. Ioanne Baptista Ricciolo Societatis Jesu Ferrariensis philosophiae, theologiae, et astronomiae professore, haeredes Victorii Benatii, Bononiae 1651; Prosodia reformata duobus tomis comprehensa quorum prior continet prosodiae rudimenta, prosodiam maiorem, poetarum versus plures quam vigintiquatuormille, & eorundem poetarum tempora, posterior autem continet indicem magnum vocabulorum quadragintamilium, & amplius, cum quantitate syllabarum, & numeris versuum eam confirmantium, deinde indicem syllabarum controversarum, postremo indicem aequivocorum diversae quantitatis. Auctore p. Io. Baptista Ricciolio Societatis Jesu, ex typographia haeredis Victorij Benatij, Bononiae 1655; Chronologiae reformatae et ad certas conclusiones redactae ... continens doctrinam temporum auctore r. p. Io. Baptista Ricciolio, ex typographia haeredis Dominici Barberij, Bononiae 1669 (it seems that Riccioli liked to reform, as he wrote also a *Geographia et hydrographia reformata* and an *Astronomia reformata*, printed in Bologna in 1661 and 1665 respectively).*

<sup>34</sup> *Antiquae musicae auctores septem (continens Aristoxeni, Euclidi, Nicomaci, Alypii, Gaudentii, Bacchii, Aristidis Quintiliani opera musicalia)*, apud Lodovicum Elzevirium, Amstelodami 1652. In the Archivio Capitolare in Vigevano is still kept a single folio of Greek-Latin quotations *peri mousikēs* in Caramuel’s hand with direct reference to this edition.

The last encyclopaedist we have to mention, then, is another Jesuit, father Gaspar Schott. The most recent author cited in *Musica* – his *Organum mathematicum libris IX explicatum* was printed posthumously in 1669<sup>35</sup> –, he is also the most questioned: and not without reason, in Caramuel's opinion, as he went so far as to write that “Voces musicae sunt sex supra recensitae: Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La quibus addunt aliqui Bi vel Si, sed sine necessitate” – a statement that provokes Caramuel's immediate reaction, this time fulminating Kircher too: “hic Magister et Discipulus nimis evidenter exorbitant.”<sup>36</sup>

Moving to more specific books – even though not yet written by “professional” music theorists –, we encounter Erycius Puteanus' *Musathena*, René Descartes' *Musicae compendium*, Juraj Krizanić's *Asserta musicalia nova* and Pierre Gassendi's *Manuductio ad theoriam musices*.<sup>37</sup> Caramuel refers to them (more to Cartesius' and Gassendi's than to Krizanić's and Puteanus', to tell the truth) when discussing chant and chant teaching as well as, more technically, when con-

<sup>35</sup> *Organum mathematicum libris IX explicatum a P. Gaspare Schotto e Societate Jesu. Quo per paucas et facillime parabiles tabellas intra cistulam ad modum organi pneumatici constructam reconditas, pleraeque mathematicae disciplinae modo novo ac facili tradunt ... opus postumum*, apud Ioannem Andream Enclterii et Wolfangi Jun haeredes, Herbipoli 1669. Most frequently, however, Caramuel refers to Schott's main and most famous treatise: *P. Gasparis Schotti Regiscuriani e Societate Jesu ... Cursus mathematicus sive Absoluta omnium mathematicarum encyclopaedia in libros XXVI digesta, eoque ordine disposita, ut quivis, vel mediocri ingenio praeditus, totam mathesis in primis fundamentis proprio Marte addiscere possit...*, apud Ioannem Godefridum Schoenwetterum, Herbipoli 1656.

<sup>36</sup> Schott's quotation from *Cursus mathematicus*, op. cit., lib. XXV, cap. 3, § 2, p. 520a in: J. Caramuel, *Musica*, op. cit., lib. II, *Novi canones*, can. IV, and *Epistola ad Erycium Puteanum*, art. II (emphasis added).

<sup>37</sup> *Erycii Puteani Musathena sive Notarum heptas ad harmonicae lectionis novum et facilem usum*, typis Wechellariis apud Claudium Marnicum et haeredes Ioan. Aubrii, Hanoniae 1602; *Renati Des-Cartes Musicae compendium*, typis Gusberti a Zill et Theodori ab Ackersdyck, Trajecti ab Rhenum 1650 (but Caramuel used the 1656 edition published in Amsterdam “apud Joannem Jansson ex Typographia Blaviana”); *Asserta musicalia nova prorsus omnia et a nullo antehac prodita. Academico congressu propugnanda a Georgio Crisano*, Angelum Bernabò dal Verme, Romae 1656; *Petri Gassendi Diniensis Ecclesiae praepositi et in Academia Parisiensi*

sidering the nature of musical consonance – an area where he accepts Descartes’ point of view about every possible interval but the fourth, “infelicissima consonantiarum omnium” according to Descartes, and (again) a perfect consonance at the end of Caramuel’s pun: “Ego autem assentior Cartesio dicenti Quartam infelicissimam esse Consonantiarum; quae enim infelicitas major, quàm esse suavem et perfectam, et amaram et imperfectam non à vulgo tantum, sed etiam a Viris doctis dici? Eam felicem reddes, si hac notâ emacules et inter perfectas Consonantias residere permittas.”<sup>38</sup>

Lastly, Caramuel draws also on a small group of music-theory books by professional musicians to deal with more specific topics. Glarean’s *Dodecachordon*<sup>39</sup> comes at hand for elucidating (polyphonic) modality (thus showing – not surprisingly – that Caramuel was among the “moderns” who favoured the twelve-mode system). Adam Gumpelzhaimer’s *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum*, a very successful manual for schoolboys,<sup>40</sup> is especially efficacious in presenting the state of the art at the beginning of the “grammatical” chapters of *Musica* because of its short and plain definitions on the basic element of music grammar and syntax; it was its characteristic bilingualism, moreover, that probably gave Caramuel the idea of having the three basic rules of “new solemnization” translated in six languages at the opening of the *Liber diatonicus*. Even more specific are the odds *De consonantiis seu Pro diatessaron libri duo* by Andreas

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*matheseos regii professoris Manuductio ad theoriam musices seu Partem speculativam musicae*, in: *Petri Gassendi Opera omnia*, Laurentius Anisson et J. B. Devenet, Lugduni 1658, tomus V, pp. 629–658.

<sup>38</sup> See J. Caramuel, *Musica*, op. cit., lib. III, art. III.

<sup>39</sup> *Glareani ΔΩΔΕΚΑΧΟΡΔΟΝ*, per Heinricum Petri, Basileae 1547.

<sup>40</sup> *Compendium musicae pro illius artis tironibus a M. Henrico Fabro latinè conscriptum, et à M. Christophoro Rid in vernaculum sermonem versum, nunc praeceptis et exemplis auctum. Studio et opera Adami Gumpelzhaimer, Valentinus Schonig, Ausburgii 1591.* (The manual is an enlargement of Heinrich Faber’s – *alias* Faber Stapulensis’ – *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus*, Braunschweig 1548; Caramuel owed the tenth edition, printed in 1646).

Papius *Gandiensis*<sup>41</sup> – whose aim their author has made clear since the title-page (and which is precisely the motive of Caramuel's appreciation) –, and finally the *Monochordum* by Michael Keller, which attracted Caramuel's attention for rather obvious reasons.<sup>42</sup>

(A complete survey of *Musica's* sources, together with theorists and music theory books should then mention, at least incidentally, some practical musicians and some printed compositions scattered over books III, VI and VII of the treatise. However, they are so scant in number and I have already scrutinized them elsewhere,<sup>43</sup> that I believe we need only to recall their names – Romano Micheli, Andrzej Chyliński and Giovanni Valentini “archimusus caesareus” – and then proceed to conclusion without further delay.)

#### 4. Conclusions

On the grounds of what we have said thus far, I think we can draw at least three different conclusions (not necessarily with/at the same level of certainty).

Firstly, as to the ideal readers that Caramuel had in mind while writing his treatise. Clearly, these were not practical musicians (pro-

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<sup>41</sup> Ex officina Christophori Plantini, Antverpiae 1581.

<sup>42</sup> See its full title: *Monochordi sive Tractatus de ratione harmoniae musicae, in quo certa mensura, numeris decisa, non solum concordantium sonorum vulgarij naturalis proportio, verum etiam omnibus semitoniorum tam consuetorum, quam quae arti excogitari possunt, ratio ad oculus quasi demonstratur. Brevi et perspicuo compendio elucubratus, et usui publico in lucem datum a Michaele Kellero, J. Schubart, Neissae 1636.*

<sup>43</sup> See D. Sabaino, “Pratica di musica tra speculazione teorica ed erudizione tecnica: competenza musicale generale e didattica della composizione nella *Musica* di Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz”, in: *Varietà d'armonia et d'affetto. Studi in onore di Giovanni Marzi*, ed. A. Delfino, Libreria Musicale Italiana, Lucca 1995, pp. 193–220, esp. pp. 214–216.

fessional composers, instrument players or – worse – singers), but learned people that, following an old tradition, he called *philomusi* (lovers of the Muses, i.e. lover of the arts in general, and particularly of the only art deriving its name from the Muses). They “nesciunt canere” but, this notwithstanding, are equally “boni musici”: not only because, as their medieval counterparts described in Guido Aretinus’ *Regulae rythmicae*, they “sciunt, quae componit musica”, but also because their *scientia* is *immediately* useful for the needs of the *practici*. A point, I believe, leading us to our.

Second conclusion, as to Caramuel’s actual interest on practical music matters. We have stressed enough the passionate, almost obsessive attention that Caramuel devotes to the teaching of music reading (i.e. to the first approach to the art), and we have also noted how scantily, on the contrary, he relies on “actual-sounding music”, as it were: references to existing musical composition (*any* musical composition, from *any* repertoire from chant to seventeenth-century monody and polyphony, with the sole exception of some canonic works, where “canonic” is another way of saying “combinatorial”) are totally absent from *Musica*. However, this does not mean that Caramuel was completely uninterested in “practical” musical matters. Like Mersenne (and unlike Kircher), for instance, he had a keen interest in the theoretical side of practical issues, so to speak; like Mersenne (and – again – unlike Kircher) he was thus able to make a substantial contribution in the field of temperament (then the problem-of-the-moment in musical acoustics because of its many technical and practical implications), being fully aware of the relevance of his contribution to the construction of musical instruments (and so to the performance of music) but, at the same time, being deeply convinced that *the meaning* of that contribution went well beyond any immediate and “practical” need.

In doing this – third and last conclusion – Caramuel refers to many sources, but relies effectively on a few. If we collect unquestionably firsthand quotations, we will soon realize that the majority come from the works of a handful of writers – in music matters, almost invariably nonprofessional, seventeenth-century authors.

To the best of my knowledge, referring to many sources but relying effectively on a few is precisely the same conclusion that we reach when examining Caramuel's volumes on moral theology. Thus, far from being a sign of disinterest or ill-information, this is a further evidence that for Caramuel the theological working method was *the* working method: not because he was unable to conceive that science and the arts differ from theology and (should) have their own objects and goals, of course, but because he was evidently convinced that the ultimate sense of science and the arts (including music) was beyond themselves – in other words, that their sense is (at least) of theological nature.<sup>44</sup>

In this way, the theologian Caramuel closes the circle of his large but always carefully-planned encyclopaedism. An encyclopaedism in which, as we have seen, music was both a link in the chain and a sort of map (at least by analogy) of the entire network of knowledge – a *clavis universalis*, it has been said. Indeed, the image of the key is particularly suited to the role of music in Caramuel's *oeuvre*: in the world conveyed by the last book of *Musica*, understanding of music is the key that unlocks understanding of the sky; understanding of the sky, in turn – according to Caramuel as well as to Kepler and other seventeenth-century scientists –, somehow (and this time not only by analogy) unlocks understanding of heaven. *Here* and now, waiting to be *there* someday – for sure, the ultimate goal and hope of all Caramuel's works and life.

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<sup>44</sup> See D. Sabaino, "Il Rinascimento dopo il Rinascimento", op. cit., § 4.





**The Narrative of the Architectural Orders  
in the Treatise *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua*<sup>1</sup>  
by Juan Caramuel**

María Elisa Navarro

*Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua* was published by Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz in Vigevano in 1678 as a continuation of the ideas presented in his previous work, *Mathesis biceps*,<sup>2</sup> which had been published eight years earlier. The dream of mathematics as a unifying language for the universe serves as the common thread tying these two works together, and in the specific case of the architectural treatise, mathematics played a reconciliatory role between architecture and theology.<sup>3</sup> *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua* was published as three large volumes, one dedicated exclusively to the illustrations that accompany the text (and that, according to the author, taking thirty-five years to com-

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<sup>1</sup> J. Caramuel, *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua, considerada y dibuxada en el Templo de Jerusalem ... promovida a suma perfeccion en el Templo y Palacio de San Lorenzo, cerca del Escorial que inventó el rey D. Philippe II*, C. Corrado, Vegeven 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova in omnibus, et singulis veterum, et recentiorum placita examinantur; interdum corriguntur, semper dilucidantur: et pleraque omnia mathemata reducuntur speculative et practice ad facillimos, et expeditissimos canones. Accedent alii tomi videlicet: Architectura recta ... Architectura obliqua ... Architectura militaris ... Musica ... Astronomia physica*, in officina episcopali, Campaniae 1670. Prostant Lugduni apud Laurentium Anisson.

<sup>3</sup> J. Fernández-Santos, "The Elusive Role of Perfection in Architecture: Caramuel's Raptus Geometricus Reconsidered", *Ad Limina* II, 2003, p. 376.

plete), and the other two to elaborating the author's theory. The first part of the treatise is dedicated to the Temple of Solomon and to the sciences and fields of knowledge that an architect must master; among these, the author enumerates arithmetic, logarithmic, mathematics, geometry and trigonometry. After this introductory section, the book is divided in two main parts: *Arquitectura recta* or straight architecture, and *Arquitectura oblicua* or oblique architecture. The part on straight architecture begins with some general considerations, which include the sacred origin of architecture, the debate about the authority of antiquity, and the orders of the columns, whose number, as we will see, Caramuel increases from the classical five to eleven. The section on "oblique architecture" presents Caramuel's innovative proposal for a new architecture which responds to the imperfection of the world. According to Caramuel, the traditional architecture of the orders assumes ideal situations where the ground is perfectly horizontal, but ignores those situations where the ground plane of a building is at an angle or where the floor plan is round or elliptical. Caramuel therefore proposes the need for an oblique architecture to respond to real conditions instead of simply assuming ideal ones. Caramuel recognizes the traditional role of the architect as having the capacity to reconcile the ideal and the real, and the fascinating ideas that he presented in the final part of the treatise is what has interested most of the recent scholars who have recognized the value of this work.

At first glance, what is most striking in the section on straight architecture, is the increase in the number of the orders from five to eleven. According to the definition that Caramuel presents in the treatise, "an order is a combination of different parts that are proportioned and that are put together as the parts of a whole body with gracefulness and beauty that please the eye".<sup>4</sup> His definition follows the classical

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<sup>4</sup> J. Caramuel, *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua*, op. cit., vol. II, pars II, art. II, p. 33: "...un compuesto de diferentes partes, que tienen Buena proporción entre sí: y unidas, lo hacen como los miembros, forman un cuerpo entero, en que haya bizarria y hermosura, que deleyte los ojos."

tradition of Vitruvius, however he explains that the Latin author only mentioned four orders: Tuscan, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian because they were the only ones that existed at the time, or the only ones that Vitruvius knew. He adds that if Vitruvius had taken notice of the ways columns were built in other places, he would have included them in his treatise. Caramuel describes the Composite as an order that appeared after Vitruvius and the Syrians, as an order that Vitruvius ignored and, according to Caramuel, that which was the origin of all good architecture. For Caramuel, there are eleven orders. To the five traditional orders: the Tuscan, Ionic, Doric, Corinthian and Composite, Caramuel adds six more: Syrian, Attic, Gothic, Mosaic, Atlantic and Paranympic. This number cannot be decreased or increased since the orders he describes are different from each other and therefore cannot be considered as variations of any other order. The characteristics of the orders are simplified in the introduction of *Arquitectura recta* in which he tells us that the first columns were the ones of the Temple of Solomon, unknown to Greeks and Romans; then he mentions the Tuscan columns that differ from the Doric in the use of flutes in the latter; then he presents the Ionic column which features volutes; then the Corinthian that uses Acanthus leaves; the Attic that has square columns; the Italian or Composite that mixes the other orders; the Gothic that embeds and mixes the columns and that follows rules different from the Greek or Roman; the Solomonic that has curved lines; the Atlantic that renders people or animals as the actual body of the columns; and the Paranympic that uses nymphs instead.

Contemporary analysis usually considers this increase in number as a radically anticlassical conception of the orders.<sup>5</sup> But a classical approach, such as the one we find in the architectural treatises of the Renaissance, even though in most of those treatises the orders are

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<sup>5</sup> See J. A. Ramírez, *Edificios y sueños (Ensayos sobre arquitectura y utopía)*, Universidades de Málaga y Salamanca, Málaga 1983.

limited to five, always pointed to the meaning of the different orders rather than to a reduction to a set of rules to be implemented. We can therefore understand Caramuel's approach as a classical one, since his intention was to dwell on what the orders meant. The eleven orders that Caramuel presented were different representations of the symbolic dimension of architecture that, according to him, was carried in the columns. The importance of the columns is to prevent the collapse of the heaven and earth. Architecture, then, is what separates heaven from earth, the divine from the human, the eternal from the mortal. The symbolic meaning of architecture, a reminder of the difference between mortals and God, is articulated by Caramuel in his eclectic selection of columns. This symbolic meaning and its representations in architecture is common to all cultures, but changes from place to place and over time in the same way language, diet and dress do. Caramuel recognized the cultural and temporal differences as different expressions of the same problem, implying both that the human condition is universal and that man has an identity conditioned to the particularities of his own time and place. Instead of dismissing other types of columns apart from the classical, he incorporated them into a unified discourse. The same idea is also emphasized by the idea that the material columns of architecture have a theological or spiritual equivalent. It is necessary to explain the use of Caramuel's language in order to understand how he made the connection between the material columns and the spiritual ones. In antique Spanish the word *cielo* - heaven - had a double meaning and was used to describe the celestial sphere as well as the roof of a building. Caramuel also described the republics and monarchies as political heavens, and the princes who supported them he called Atlantes. In the same way the patriarchs of the church were the columns and Atlantes of the Roman Church, and their descendants inherited this role. So a Column was both the spiritual support of the church or a republic, and the element that supports the roof in a building, and Caramuel saw a direct connection between both.

For Caramuel, the way we write the history of architecture must imitate the literary style of the Bible. He used the word *fabula* - fable

- to describe the appropriate style to be used when talking about architecture, however we must understand this term more as storytelling than as our modern definition of fable as a tale. Caramuel uses the example of the Biblical parables and explains that, if seen under the lens of reason, the accounts we find there are impossible, but they carry important lessons and the Divine truth. He also explained that it is a mistake to understand stories as deception. For Caramuel a fable or a story renders truth with charm and imagination to make it more accessible to the public. It is important to clarify that Caramuel did not have a modern understanding that would allow him to regard the Bible as a fable and to put architecture at the same level as Religion, but he was trying to incorporate architectural history into the Sacred History and found the telling of stories the appropriate way to do it. A similar intention can be found in the book when Caramuel is trying to incorporate the pagan myths into the history of the church by explaining that their myths used the same style of storytelling as the Bible and states that Greek and Roman mythology was based on Genesis, even going so far as to say that Moses was the same person as Apollo.

To integrate the eleven orders, Caramuel created an architectural genealogy starting from a sacred origin out of which architecture evolved. For him, the primary moment was when God, as the first architect, built the world as the first building. Although the origins of architecture are divine, Caramuel nevertheless insists that the works of God and the works of man be clearly distinguished. For Caramuel, man always imitates God in order to approach divine perfection even though he can never quite achieve it. Caramuel further claims that God transmitted his knowledge of architecture to man through divine revelation when God communicated to Ezekiel the principles upon which he must base the design for the temple of Solomon. Caramuel went back to the times of Solomon to find the origin of the orders, and he insists that the two columns at the entrance of the Temple are the basis of all good architecture. The columns of the temple constitute the Syrian or Israeli order, columns that, as we said before, were

unknown to Vitruvius, and hence the need to go to the Sacred Scriptures as the source where their proportions are explained. As we will explain later, history for Caramuel was Sacred history and the history of architecture is part of it.

Caramuel was not the first writer to mention the columns of the Temple; the reconstruction of the Temple by Juan Bautista Villalpando<sup>6</sup> was an important precedent in the attempt to reconcile the orders with the Bible. However Caramuel states that Villalpando was wrong when he determined the proportions of the columns and that his exegesis failed when he associated the ornamentation of the columns with the Composite order; instead Caramuel argues that the columns of the Temple were different from the classical styles since they were built before any of them, and the classical orders were derived from the Syrian columns. The Syrian columns were at the sides of the door of the Temple, were made out of bronze instead of stone and their capitals were adorned with white lilies, irises, roses and pomegranates. Caramuel explains the misunderstanding of Villalpando in regards of the proportion of these columns and concludes that they had a diameter of four cubits and a height of twenty, having a proportion of one to five. By stating that the proportion of the columns was five, he places it as the first of a series that continues with the Tuscan that has six, then the Doric that has seven, the Ionic with eight and then the Corinthian with nine. The importance of the proportion in the Syrian column reveals the intention that underlies the work of Caramuel: to place the origin of the orders in the temple of Solomon and to derive the classical orders from it as a way to incorporate history of architecture into Sacred History.

After having elevated the origin of architecture to the status of the sacred, Caramuel inserted the classical orders into the story. In order to do this, he did not follow their chronological order because he

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<sup>6</sup> J. B. Villalpando, *In Ezechielem explanations et apparatus urbi ac temple hierosolymitani*, Romae 1596, 1604.

wanted to present the evolution of architecture from the more primitive to its higher forms. Although the first type of columns to appear in Greece was the Doric, Caramuel began with the Tuscan which is the first order that appeared in Europe after Greek architecture arrived on the continent. It is important to emphasize and to note that his intention was to organize the history of architecture into a logical discourse, but it does not necessarily correspond to the actual chronological order of the various columns' appearance.

Following the classical relationship between the human body and the proportion of the orders, Caramuel associated the proportion with the characteristics of the people who build them. His descriptions are closer to storytelling than to the reduction of the orders into a system of classification as, although in the book we find the discussion about the right proportions of the orders, they were introduced as if presenting the characters of a story. The Tuscan order was like a peasant or a man of immense strength, the Doric was strong but gallant like a soldier, the Ionic order was more slender like a midwife, the Corinthian like a maiden more delicate and slender than the Ionic.

I think it is worth quoting Caramuel's description of the last two classical orders to get an idea of the richness of his language and to demonstrate the increasingly vivid imagination used in their depiction. Caramuel takes from the Vitruvian tradition the account of the orders as related to stories of the people and the places where they appeared, but Caramuel lets his imagination free rendering the description into a more detailed one giving us a perfect example of the style he preferred for architectural history:

Virgins are more delicate and slender than midwives, and because the women of Corinth were more free and lascivious than the Greek, the Corinthians wanted to have something in their city that preserved the idea of virginity, and assuming that a girl is nine of her feet tall, since they did not have virgins of flesh and bone they made maidens of marble, in which the proportions of the body of virgins are represented and these columns are usually called Corinthian. The ornamentation of a lady is not lascivious, even if excessive, if it does not lose its composure, and in the Corinthian

columns we all admire their gallantry and we do not find them even a bit shameless...<sup>7</sup>

...and because each nation preserves the costume of its country, they do not permit the ornaments of their columns to be changed. But because in big cities there are always women who live licentiously who constrain their feet in small shoes making their feet stay small, and because of the freedom in their occupation they do not have a specific attire and instead they take from the French, Italian, Tedesco, etc. what they find more beautiful. And it was necessary that there be columns in architecture that have a smaller base and were taller than the rest; columns that are licentiously adorned stealing from the others their best qualities, and are therefore the most beautiful ones.<sup>8</sup>

To the four columns that Vitruvius discusses in his treatise, Caramuel adds the Syrian order as a previous type of column and the Composite as a subsequent one; then he adds another order that he considered antique and that was mentioned by Vitruvius: the Attic column,

<sup>7</sup> J. Caramuel, *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua*, op. cit., vol. II, part II, art. II, pp. 34-35. "Las virgenes son mas delicadas, y espigadas que las matronas, y como las damas de Corinthio eran las mas libres y lascivas de Grecia, que huviese algo en aquella ciudad, en que se conservase la idea de la virginidad, suponiendo que nueve pies de los suyos las ninas suelen tener de alto, ya que no las tenian de carne y hueso, hicieron doncellas de marmol los lapidieros, digo columnas, en que se representase la simetria y proporcion, que tienen los cuerpos de las virgenes; y estas son las que se llaman Corinthias comunmente. No es lascivo el adorno de una dama, aunque sea grande, si carece de compostura: y en las columnas Corinthias todos alabamos y admiramos la gala, y no hallamos sombra de desvergüenza."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35. "Y porque cada nacion conserva el traje de su patria, no se permite que se alteren o muden los adornos, que a cada columna pertenece. Pero como en las ciudades grandes sinepre hay mujeres, que viven licenciosamente, y estas encierran sus pies en zapatillas breves, haciendo por fuerza, que no crezcan; y por la libertad de su oficio, no tienen habito determinado, sino que toman del Frances, Italiano, Tudesco, &c. lo que les parece mas hermoso; fue conveniente, que hubiese columnas en arquitectura, que con pie mas estrecho se engriesen y levantasen mas, que todas; columnas digo, que licenciosamente se adornasen y hurtandole a cada una lo que fuese mejor, fuesen mas hermosas, que todas."



notable for its use of square columns instead of round ones. Finishing the orders of antiquity, he mentions the Atlantic column, characterized by a column that does not represent the proportions of the body but, instead, human bodies are actually sculpted and used to support the load as well as to honor important people whose memory was honored in the buildings. After the antique orders we find the “modern” orders that Caramuel presented in his treatise as the continuation of some of the orders of the past. According to Caramuel, the Atlantic order had its modern equivalent in the “Paranymphic” order where the figures of the Graces or the goddesses of charm, beauty, nature, human creativity and fertility were represented. In the same way, the Syrian order had a “modern” equivalent and it is what Caramuel described as the Mosaic order, or, for us, the Solomonic column.

Having emphasized the importance of the Syrian column in the discourse of Caramuel it will also be necessary to look at the Mosaic column as the continuation of the Sacred order and the paradigm of good architecture. The Mosaic order corresponds to what we today call the Solomonic column, an order that stands apart from the rest because it does not have straight lines but twists in an upward motion describing a spiral. According to Caramuel, the columns of Solomon’s Temple were unknown to the Greeks because of its destruction, and they first appeared in Europe when the emperor Titus brought a ruin of the original temple to Rome. This order is presented in the treatise *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua* as the paradigm of sacred architecture and identified as the order of the Roman Church for being established by the descendants of Moses. In the brief description of this order, Caramuel explains its construction where a circle is divided by four lines touching its center, and the points where these lines meet the circle are extended outward, their projection constituting the defining curve. The importance of this construction lies in its symbolical content: the combination of straight line and curve represents the relation between human creation and God’s perfection. This symbolic meaning, common to all the columns, was materialized in the Mosaic column and placed at the top of the genealogy created by Caramuel.

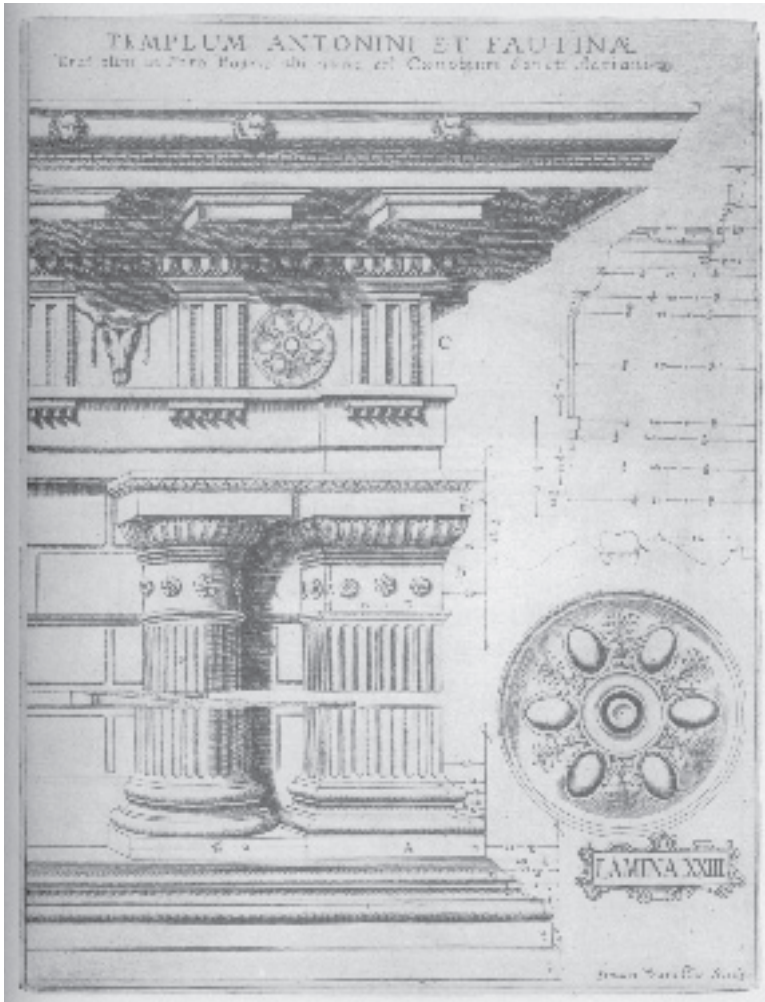
Caramuel concludes his description of the eleven orders and puts them together into what he calls “straight architecture”, where he presents small stories to explain each one of the orders although the coherence of the whole narrative is also articulated in his genealogy. There the Syrian column is the origin of the orders; the antique orders are arranged following Vitruvius, and then he presents the continuation of the antique orders in the modern ones. After the modern orders Caramuel stated the principles of “oblique architecture” as a continuation of his singular history of architecture. The past matters because it gave birth to the present. Caramuel reconciled past and present by situating the present at the tail end of a past which has unfolded genealogically, and this way of reconciling the past and the present is one of the most important legacies we can find in the treatise *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua*.



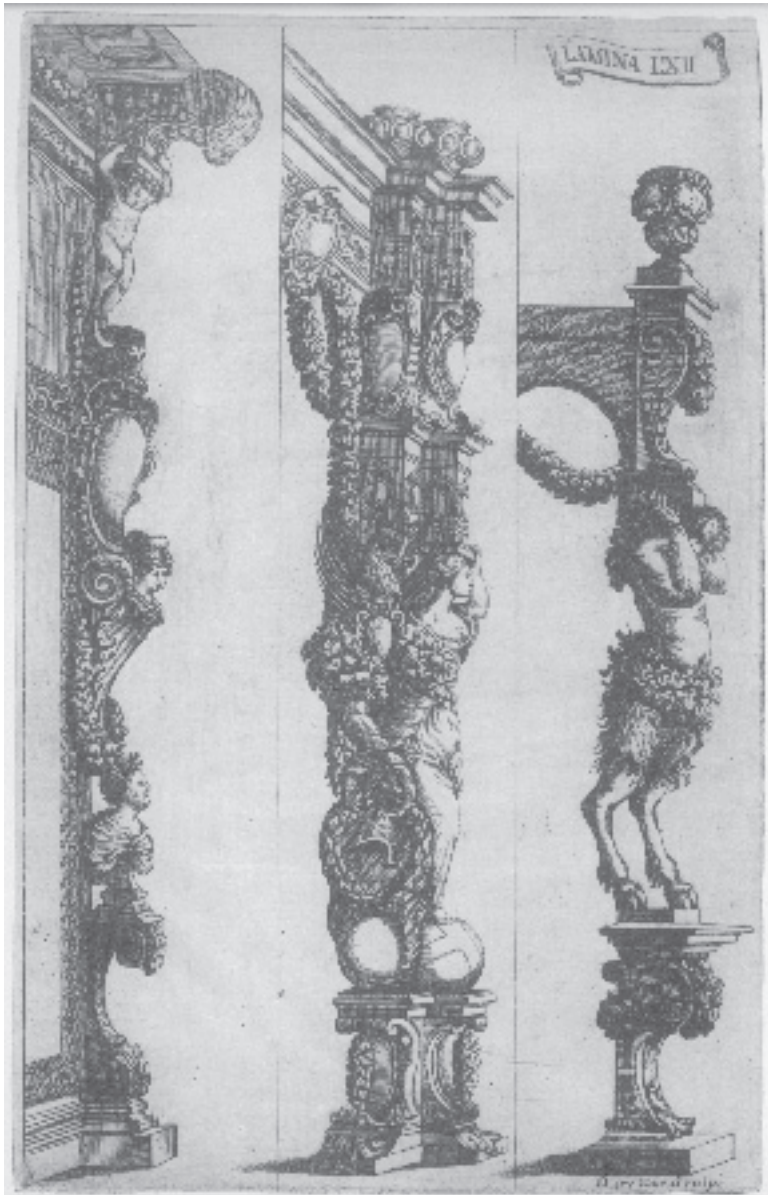
*The columns at the entrance of Solomons Temple. Vol. III, p. 151*



*The five classical orders. Vol. III, p. 153*

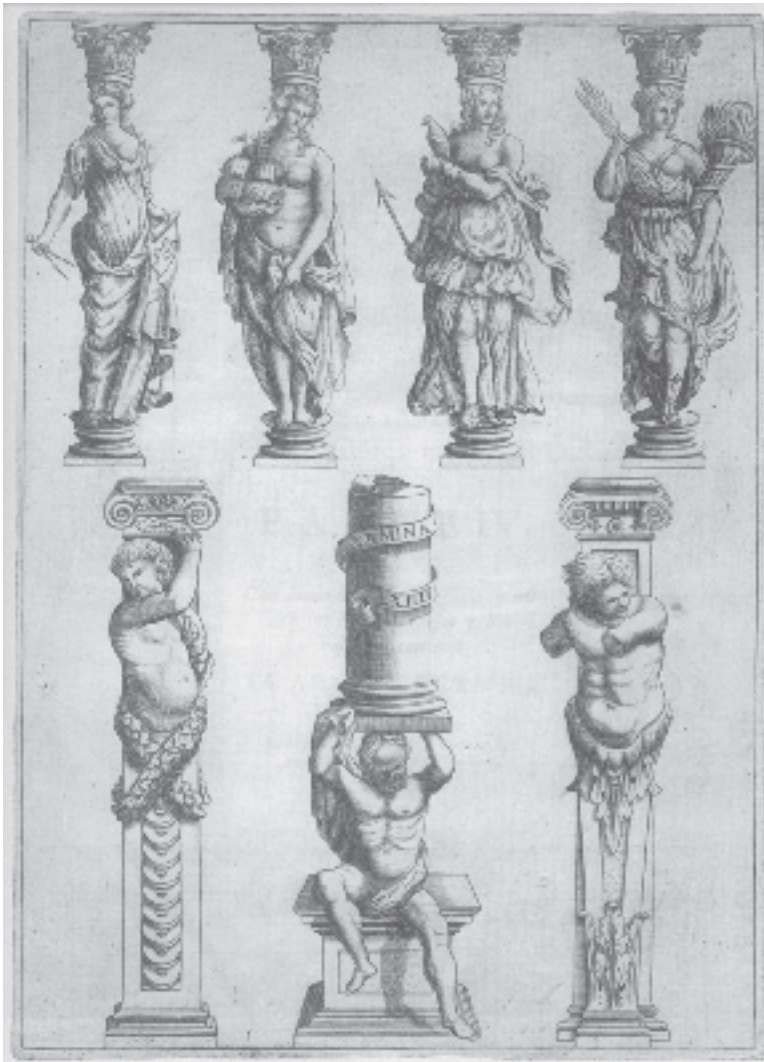


*The Attic column. Vol. III, p. 161*

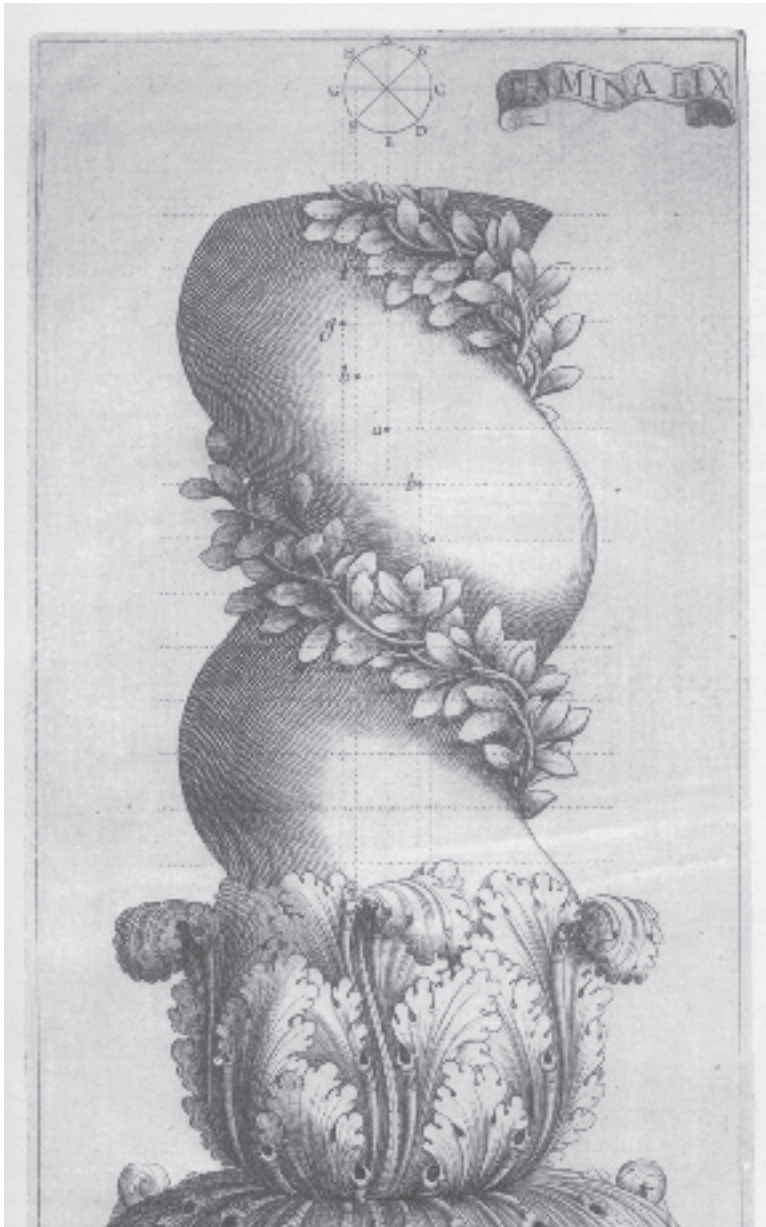


*The Atlantic column. Vol. III, p. 241*





*The Paranympic column. Vol. III, p. 245*



*The Mosayc column. Vol. III, p. 235*



**Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz as Theoretician  
and Practitioner of Architecture**  
***Caramuel in Prague:***  
***Between Theory and Practice***

Pavel Štěpánek

The Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady and St. Jerome, better known as *Emauzy* or *Na Slovanech*, was founded by Charles IV in 1347 in Prague as a monastery with Slavonic liturgical language (*Monasterium Slavorum S. Jeronimi*) and its own scriptorium (a scribal workshop). The name *Emauzy* first appears in documents from 17th century although it could reflect an older tradition; the name is connected to the fact that on the day of the dedication of a church, the evangel was read by two disciples.<sup>1</sup> Originally it was inhabited by 120 South-Slavonic and later Czech monks.

During the Hussite Wars the then abbot gave allegiance to both sides and thus the cloister was not completely destroyed. After abbot's death in 1426 the monastery was controlled by the Hussites "abbots" but without the presence of monks. The situation changed in 1593 when the new Catholic abbot, the composer Jan (John) Paminondas Horský, reconstructed and consecrated the church. Radical changes,

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<sup>1</sup> Based on tradition mentioned by J. F. Hammerschmied, *Prodromus gloriae Pragensesae*, Prague 1723, p. 319. This significant Czech historian, originally a chaplain from České Budějovice, who later became a canon and parish priest in the Týn Parish Church. He was also a seminary rector during 1698-1710.

however, did not occur until after the battle of Bílá Hora in 1635.<sup>2</sup> It was in that year that Ferdinand III gave the Emauzy Monastery to the Benedictines from Montserrat as a gesture of thanksgiving, and to fulfill a promise he had made to dedicate a monastery to the Black Madonna of Montserrat in the event of his victory over Swedes in the battle of Nordling on September 5, 1634.<sup>3</sup>

After this event the Emauzy monastery became an important mainstay of recatholization and Hispanization in Bohemia. For a long period the monastery was under the direction of a Spanish abbot, Peñalosa. He was succeeded by Jan (Juan) Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) whose life and work have been thoroughly studied and discussed from many different perspectives, particularly from philosophical points of view. Yet the discussion is far from over. He was born in Madrid on May 23, 1606, the son of Lorenzo Caramuel and of Fries. His father was a Dutch or Luxembourgian nobleman, supposedly of Spanish descent, who was active at the Spanish Court and perhaps also the Rudolphine Court in Prague. Kateřina (Catherine) was the daughter of Regina Lobkowitz, a descendant of the Lobkowitz family.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For more details, see P. Vlček, P. Sommer, D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, Prague 1997, pp. 561–565.

<sup>3</sup> Íñigo Vicente Rojo, *Relacion de Las Fundaciones del Priorato Imperial de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate de Viena, y de la Real Abadia de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate de Praga. Por el Padre...*, Mattheo Formica, En Viena de Austria 1636. See also: [http://www.sbg.ac.at/rom/people/prof/messner/viena\\_como\\_lugar.doc](http://www.sbg.ac.at/rom/people/prof/messner/viena_como_lugar.doc)

This work is indexed in Vienna Library under signature 41.F.34. It was translated into Latin by Veremundus Proche but the translation remained in a handwritten form. Íñigo Vicente Rojo, Veremundus Proche, *Relation foundationum caesarei Prioratus B. V. Mariae de Monte Serrato Viennae, et regiae Abbatiae eiusdem B. V. Mariae Montserratensis Pragae*. Proche himself wrote in Latin *Historia regii Monasterii ... fundati ab Augustissimo Carolo IV nunc ad beatissimam Verginem Mariam Monte Serrato Neo-Pragae vulgo Emaus, O. S. B. refundati Austustissimo ... Ferdinando III, Pragae 1738*, tom. I., section V.; Anselm María Albareda, “La Congregació benedictina de Montserrat a l’Àustria i a la Bohèmia (segles XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup>)”, *Analecta Montserratensia* V, 1922, Abadia de Montserrat 1924, pp. 11–280.

<sup>4</sup> See: *Ottův slovník naučný*, Prague 1900, vol. XVI, pp. 244–245, Entry phrase: “Jan z Lobkovic († 1590)”. See also *ibid.*, Prague 1892, vol. V, p. 138.

As a young man Caramuel entered the Monerans Cistercian monastery in Galicia and then moved to Flanders. He studied theology at the university in Salamanca where he was ordained as a priest, and in 1630 he was appointed Professor of Theology in Alcalá de Henares. He received a universal Ph.D. in 1638 in Louvain where he had also published his first pamphlet called *Steganographia, ars orthographica* (published in Brussels in 1636). In 1635, when French army threatened Louvain, Caramuel demonstrated his more practical abilities in the military service. He was subsequently appointed abbot in Ireland and in Melrose, Scotland. In 1642 he was appointed as suffragan bishop in Mentz where he contributed to the Catholic reformation. In 1645 King Philip IV appointed Caramuel as the Spanish Ambassador in Vienna. Caramuel was in fact, aside from his intensive academic research, quite politically active as well and closely followed political situation in his home country of Spain. Indeed, before the Portuguese uprising in 1639, as the anti-Spanish forces began to gain power, he wrote an anti-Portuguese pamphlet *Philippus Prudens, Caroli V Imperatoris filius Lusitaniae, Algarbiae, Indiae, Brasiliae rex legitimus demonstratus*. When John from Barganza became the king, Caramuel wrote a polemical pamphlet *Ioanne Bargantinus, Lusitaniae illegitimus rex demonstratus* (Lovanii 1642) against him, a deed that won him favor in the Spanish Court. In 1647, he was appointed the abbot of Emauzy by Ferdinand II, and later the chief vicar of the Prague Archdiocese as well as the bishop of Meissen, all in the same year. In 1658 Caramuel gave up his position as Bishop in Emauzy to be appointed bishop in a small town near Napoli called Campagna. He later became the bishop in Vigevano, near Milan, where he died in 1683.

Caramuel was a universal thinker, interested in moral philosophy, combinatorics, theories of artificial and natural languages (he spoke several languages - apart from the main European languages, he also spoke Arabic as well as Chinese, which he was improving during his time spent in Prague), Kabbalah (he refused to accept alchemy) as well as logic and political theory. While in Prague, during a heated debate over the possibility and morality of compromise to peace with

the enemies of the Catholic Church, Caramuel wrote a pamphlet called *Sacri Romani Imperii pax licita demonstrata*<sup>5</sup> in which he openly opposed Catholic radicals. This clearly angered Fabio Chigi, soon to become Pope Alexander VII, who later appointed Caramuel as the bishop of some rather insignificant location. At any case, his contribution was significant toward the Westphalian Peace Treaty and for the ending of the Thirty Years War.<sup>6</sup>

Caramuel was an outstanding theologian, an educated polyhistorian and the author of numerous books. Those about architecture in particular, such as *Arquitectura oblicua*,<sup>7</sup> were read all over the world. He also wrote several mathematical pamphlets that demonstrated an expertise in the fields of ballistics, military technology and codes. In this way he followed a family tradition, as his father, Lawrence, was a warlord as well as a mathematician, astrologer, and was keenly interested in the subject of artillery to which he contributed several inventions. When dealing with the universal overview of John, one shall not forget the field of music to which he contributed several theoretical treatises as well as participating in the reform of the Gregorian Chant.<sup>8</sup> His publishing activity is strikingly rich and diverse,

<sup>5</sup> *Sacri Romani Imperii pax licita demonstrata variis conciliis olim agitatae, nunc demum medullitus discussae et ad binos hypotheseos reductae, Prodromus et Syndromus*, Schoenwetter, Francofurti 1648.

<sup>6</sup> M. Šroněk, J. Hausenblasová, *Gloria et Miseria. 1618-1648. Praha v době třicetileté války*, Prague 1998, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> L. Hlaváček, “‘Architectura obliqua’ Jana Caramuela z Lobkovic”, *Umění XX-II*, 1974, no. 1, pp. 51-53. He talks about (p. 51) a half forgotten pamphlet but does not mention a Spanish written study by A. Florenso, “Juan Caramuel y su arquitectura oblicua”, in: *Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*, Congreso, Barcelona 1929, 1, pp. 105-121; J. Caramuel, *Arquitectura civil, recta y obliqua, considerada y dibuxada en el templo de Jerusalem, promovida a suma perfeccion en el templo y palacio de San Lorenço, cerca del Escorial*, National Library in Prague, sign. 11 A 952. As a commented facsimile in three volumes, this pamphlet was published by A. Bonet Correa – see Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Arquitectura civil, recta y obliqua*, Turner, Madrid 1984.

<sup>8</sup> M. Poštolka, the author of the entry in *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, The New Grove, London 1980 (1994), vol. 3. It includes the reference

even when taking into consideration sense of universalism common during the 17th century. Altogether, he wrote 53 pamphlets, eight in Spanish and the remainder in Latin, some of which consists of several volumes. He also wrote poetry. Caramuel was first and foremost a remarkably significant intellectual. It is largely thanks to him that the knowledge of Cartesian doctrines reached the Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas.<sup>9</sup>

Concerning his entire oeuvre, among the most praised works are the philosophical pamphlet *Philosophia naturalis* (1670), polemics entitled *Haplotes de restrictionibus mentalibus disputans* (1672), and another pamphlet *Dubia theologica a Tractatus de templo Salomonis*. In his book *Nova musica. Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, B* (1645), Caramuel is concerned with acoustics in the framework of mathematics and physics while in his pamphlets *De perpendicularum inconstantia* (1643)<sup>10</sup> and *Mathesis audax* (1642)<sup>11</sup> he provides answers to highly complex questions within the fields of physics, logic and theology. Other pamphlets deal mainly with physics and free fall or planetary orbits: *De novem sideribus circa Jovem visis* (1643), *Sublimium ingeniorum crux* (1642), *Coelestes metamorphoses* (1639). He had been preparing a four-volume course of mathematics but only the first two volumes entitled *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* were published. They were, in fact, to function as an encyclopedic overview of the mathematical sciences (published in Campagne in 1666 and 1667). As was pointed out by

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to A. Burda, *Hudební teorie barokního období v českých zemích*, Prague 1975. For more literature, see *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, dir. Marc Honegger, Paris 1993.

<sup>9</sup> I. Leal, *Libros y bibliotecas en Venezuela colonial (1633-1767)*, tom. II., serie Fuentes para la Historia Colonial de Venezuela, Caracas 1978.

<sup>10</sup> He dedicated his paper *Perpendicularum inconstantia examinata et falsa reperta* to Bernard Ignác Bořita from Martinice.

<sup>11</sup> As pointed out by Z. Kalista, *Pražské baroko. Výstava umění v Čechách 17.-18. století, 1600-1800*, Prague 1938, no. 121 (ed. Z. Kalista et al.). This book used to be stored (in its later edition) in the Emauz Monastery under the title: J. Caramuelis: *Mathesis nova iuniorum inventa cum veterum fundamentis conferens ... Mathematicum encyclopediam speculative et ... ad summam brevitem et facilitatem reducens*, Campaniae 1670.

P. Vopěnka, the mathematical works produced by Bishop Caramuel Lobkowitz, a notable adversary of Protestants, were valued by the well-known Protestant thinker Leibniz.<sup>12</sup>

With regards to philosophy, Caramuel, *the master of formal logic*,<sup>13</sup> tended to oppose the prevailing Thomism of the time, which would explain why he occasionally had problems with traditionally thinking theologians. His concepts were closer to the Jesuit theories of free will by Luis de Molina (Cuenca 1536–Madrid 1600). Almost since the moment Molina's pamphlet *Concordia* (1588) had been published, this theological system had its fervent supporters as well as bitter opponents (particularly Spanish Dominicans and Jansenists). Molina strongly opposed the doctrine of grace connected with St. Augustine, which was strongly supported by Jansenists. This consequently led to a conflict between Molina's supporters and the Thomists.<sup>14</sup>

Caramuel was famous for his baroque rhetoric. He was also very successful when dealing with philosophy, hermetic teaching and medicine. His contacts with leading Czech and foreign scientists such as Joannes Marcus Marci, Athanasius Kircher or René Descartes prove that, thanks to him, the Emauzy Monastery became a center of religious as well as intellectual life.

Caramuel was not only concerned with architectural theory, which found its frequent use in America,<sup>15</sup> but he himself was also able to

<sup>12</sup> P. Vopěnka, *Podivuhodný svět českého baroka*, Prague 1998, p. 207.

<sup>13</sup> I. Čornejová, *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo. Jezuité v Čechách*, Prague 1995, p. 113.

<sup>14</sup> Luis de Molina joined Jesuits in Alcalá de Henares 1553 and then he taught in Coimbra and Evora in Portugal. After his return to Cuenca in 1587, he published his theological courses in which he tried to connect the concept of free will with predestination and the need for grace, yet without denying the divine character of God's grace and his omnipotence. See S. Sousedík, *René Descartes a české baroko*, Prague 1996, p. 10. He characterizes his standpoint as "somehow moderate skeptical, Christian-oriented eclecticism".

<sup>15</sup> His term *libero arbitrio* represents the most recent evaluation of Molina – see M. Ocaña García, *Molina (1535–1600)*, Madrid 1995. See also: D. Julià, *Dictionnaire de la philosophie*, Larousse, Paris 1984, pp. 178–179; L. A. Ruiz, *Diccionario de sectas y herejías*, Buenos Aires 1977, p. 190. Molina is an author of the following

find practical applications for his knowledge. He became, for example, one of the key figures in the fortification of Prague against the looting Swedes. His account of these experiences, from his diary dated from June 26 to November 29, 1648, is preserved in the Vigevano Archive but is virtually unknown here in Prague.<sup>16</sup> He is also the author of a pamphlet *Arte militar*, originally written in Spanish and later also published in Prague (1648).

Nonetheless, Caramuel's most intriguing and inspiring thoughts tend to be those belonging to the field of architecture as he has become a forerunner and pioneer of modern theories. It can also be said that his views further clarify our perceptions and understanding of the architecture and urban planning of the time.<sup>17</sup> One of the most significant theoretical works in the field of architecture was his lengthy Spanish pamphlet entitled *Arquitectura civil, recta y obliqua, considerada y dibuxada en el templo de Jerusalem, promovida a suma perfeccion en el templo y palacio de S. Lorenzo, cerca del Escorial* (published in Vigevano in 1678), whose topicality has been pointed out some time ago by Ludvík Hlaváček.<sup>18</sup> It is largely through this work, having been published in facsimile editions abroad and having been thoroughly examined by Antonio Bonet<sup>19</sup> as well as other

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two important papers: *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis*, Lisboa 1588; *De justitia et jure*, Venetiis 1594. Do not mistake with the teachings of Miguel de Molinos (1628 Muniesa – 1696 Roma), a priest in Valencia (from 1652) and Rome (from 1663) and author of *Guía espiritual*, Romae 1675 (written in Spanish) for which he was arrested and imprisoned by the inquisition. See: *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg 1986, eds. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, vol. 7, p. 530.

<sup>16</sup> A. Bonet Correa, "Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz, polígrafo paradigmático del Barroco", in: *Figuras, modelos e imágenes en los tratadistas españoles*, Madrid 1993, pp. 191–235.

<sup>17</sup> J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989, p. 217, partially rewrites it.

<sup>18</sup> L. Hlaváček (note 6) in his analysis uses edition archived in UK sign. 11 A 952, 3 volumes.

<sup>19</sup> A. Bonet Correa, "Ildefonso Cerdá, el Padre Caramuel y el urbanismo hispanoamericano", *Revista de la Universidad Complutense XXVII*, 1979 (Ejemplar dedicado a: Urbanismo e historia urbana en España), p. 115.

researchers<sup>20</sup> that Caramuel widely influenced the interpretation of architectural development and style throughout many regions of the world. This is also a reason why he has recently become the newly rediscovered object of research of many theoreticians. His pamphlet, although based on 16th century tracts, particularly from Serlio, is quite innovative in its treatment of the deformation of shapes when perceived from distance. *Arquitectura obliqua*, which is proclaimed by the author as being his own invention, is a result of the strict distinction between real and perceived shapes. By and large, this highly significant publication of Caramuel's is undoubtedly a valuably insightful and inspiring font of today's understanding of the rules and methods of baroque architecture in Spain as well as in the other lands where Caramuel had been actively engaged.

In case of Emauzy, Caramuel executed only small alterations such as the repainting of the Gothic artwork in the ambit of the monastery. Yet, in 1654 he began the construction of the church of St. Cosmas and Damian which was (according to the inscription on the church's façade) later altered by Isidor de la Cruz:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> D. de Bernardi Ferrero, "Il conte Ivan Caramuel di Lobkowitz vescovo di Vigevano, architetto e teorico dell'architettura", *Palladio* XV, 1965, pp. 91-110; W. Oeschlin, "Osservazioni su Guarino Guarini e Juan Caramuel di Lobkowitz", in: *Guarino Guarini e l'internazionalità del barocco*, Torino 1970.

<sup>21</sup> This priest, who was considered here either as Italian or Spanish and whose name was often written in its Latin form as Isidor à Cruce (Isidor de la Cruz in Spanish), was most likely Portuguese (Isidor da Cruz). He also made significant alterations (unfortunately none of them were preserved) in the Church of St. Charles the Great on Charles square in Prague. See: K. Navrátil, *Paměti kostela Panny Marie na nebe vzaté a sv. Karla Velikého a bývalého královského kláštera řeholních kanovníků lateránských sv. Augustina na hoře Karlově v Novém Městě pražském*, Prague 1877. See also: J. Royt, *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, Prague 1999, pp. 93-96. Other testimonies about his activities (until now unknown and unpublished) can be found in the book by Isidor de Cruce, *Confesionales D. Isidorus a Cruce, Praga, apud S. Caroli Magni locum Abbas, et Latine et Lusitanice evulgabat*, Praga, apud Goergim Schypartz, anno MDCLI (1651). The only example of this book can be found in Prague. According to my own experience, no library in Portugal has this work at disposal. Foreword for his book *Confesionales* (written in Latin and Portuguese) was written by J. Caramuel.



This Temple of Our Lord, dedicated to the St. Martyrs Cosmas and Damian was founded by the Prince St. Wenceslas, guided by his Authentic Christian Love and his own peculiar vision, constructed for his own expenses in 40 days in the the Year of Our Lord 928. The Prince and Podiven from Vyšehrad went barefoot from (their residence at) Vyšehrad, they kept walking day and night to hear the Word of Our Lord, while saying Horas (Ours). Other devoted Christians such as St. Aldalbert and St. Procopius also assisted during this Divine service. For a considerable amount of time, this church had served to Our Lord, until it was destroyed and tuned into Wine press; now, thanks to a significant engagement of the parish priest and Prior of the Monastery of Our Lady Maria de Monte Serrato, Izydor de la Crux, who obtained permission from Jan Caramuel, the Abbot of the very same Monastery. Financed by the same Convent Monastery, the reconstruction began on June 6, in the Year of Our Lord 1657.

This writing in the Czech language and rewritten by J. F. Hammerschmied,<sup>22</sup> is very detailed but it is also quite ambiguous as to its author. Nonetheless, this specific and undoubtedly intriguing chapter of our Baroque Architecture will have to be further researched.

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<sup>22</sup> Abbreviated translation of the inscription in the Church of Cosmas and Damian. The inscription in Czech is, according to Hammerschmied, *Prodromus gloriae Praegensae*, op. cit.: “Tento chrám Boží z vroucné a srdečné pravé Lásky Křestianské/ kterouž měl k Pánu Bohu a Swatým Mučedníkům jeho Kozmovy a Damiánovy/ a hnut jsa z właštným Widěním S. Wáclav Kníže XII. Svau vlastní Rukau založil / na svůj Náklad wystawěl / a poswětiti dal; we 40. Dnech jest dokonán / Léta od Narození Božího 928. do něho bosýma Nohama w Zymě y w Létě s neywěrnějším Komorníkem swým Podivínem z Wyšehradu k Službám Božím Dnem y Nocy chodíval / Horas říkaje. Swatý Wojtěch / Swatý Prokop / y Jiní mnozi Křestiané nábožní w tom místě s welikém Náboženstwím Služby Boží wykonávali. Mnoho časůw w swé Celostí ten Kostel zustával / až potom nemírně z něho Lys udělali / nyní pak důkladným přičiněním Kníže Izydora de la Crux tohoto Kláštera Blahoslavené Panny Marye de Monte Serrato (od starodávna Slovanského) Presidenta / kterýž tomu od Opata téhož kláštera Jana Karamuele měl Powolení / Nákladem téhož Konwentu začal se stawěti / a obnowowati dne 6. Měsíce Czerwna / Léta Páně MDCLVII.” (1657) An influence of Caramuel on architecture is studied by D. Villaplana Zurita, “Influencia del tratado de Caramuel en la arquitectura de la colegiata de Xátiva”, *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* LXVI, 1985, núm. único, pp. 61-63, who presented how to use concrete illustrations in practice when constructing façade of the Collegiate Church in Játiva.

The simple building with its rectangular ground plan was somewhat different despite its relative simplicity – perhaps inspired by the sober walls of the neighboring majestic gothic church – it further accentuated the newly emerging baroque character of the Monastery and “created here a new viewing situation”. Caramuel ordered its remainders to be pulled down but, at the same time, he respected the original consecration of the Roman Church, severely damaged during the Hussite Wars. He was unable to finish this task as, in 1657, he was promoted to Bishop of Campagna and Satriano by the Pope Alexander VII and the church was not finished until two years after his departure. It was consecrated in September 1659 by another Spaniard in Bohemia, the Assistant Bishop Josef Corti (José Corte). It must be pointed out, however, that this exciting chapter of our baroque architecture will also undoubtedly need further research.

In his book about Marian devotion *Maria liber*, published in Prague in 1652<sup>23</sup> (together with many other books),<sup>24</sup> Jan Caramuel Lobkowitz chose an image of the Virgin of Montserrat for the title page. This is not surprising because she was *Mater domus* of Spanish Benedictines as indicated by the sculpture in the Chapel of St. Mary in Emauzy, a copy from the first half of the 17th century brought directly from Spain. Although it could have been altered at some point by the Beuron monks, the sculpture miraculously survived the bombing and today is installed on the altar inside the Chapel of Souls in the Church of St. Ignác (St. Ignatius) on Charles Square in Prague.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> J. Caramuel, *Maria liber*. It is available in libraries in Madrid (UPC), München (BSB), Napoli (BN) and Pamplona (BGN).

<sup>24</sup> *Anitius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boetius*, Pragae 1648 (available in Munich BSB); *Sanctus Benedictus Christiformis, sive S. Benedicti vita*, Pragae 1648; *Sanctus Benedictus Christiformis*, inventore et autore D. Joanne Caramuel; sculpebat Ioannes Christ. Smischeck, Pragae 1680. It is available in Madrid, BNE and BUC, Milano; *Encyclopedia concionatoria*, typis Academicis, Pragae 1652 (Munich, BSB); *De Ecclesiae Romanae hierarchia libri decem*, Pragae 1653 (Munich BSB – Roma, BAV).

<sup>25</sup> E. Poche, *Prahou krok za krokem*, Prague 1958, p. 146.

As archiepiscopal vicar, Caramuel belonged among the supporters of a strictly rigorous approach when it came to recatholization of the country; he was one of those who was willing and prepared to act as resolutely as possible. Caramuel's *strict spirit* influenced the first three reform edicts of 1649 and 1650. However, although neither the cardinal nor the Jesuits tended to agree with his severity and the Caesar had also thought that Caramuel had on occasion gone a bit too far, these tactics were moderated only after Leopold came into power.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, it must also be remembered that Caramuel contributed to the signing of the Westphalien Peace Treaty and, in 1670, he wrote a letter of intercession for the Prague Jews.

In forming conclusions about his intellectual and publishing activities, it is important to add that some aspects of Caramuel's thought have remained current and relevant and there has been a certain tendency to reevaluate his speculative thoughts<sup>27</sup> and the art of disputation.<sup>28</sup> According to J. Haubelt,<sup>29</sup> Caramuel attempted to reform scholastic logic by improving syllogistics, by the quantification of predicates, and by symbolic notation in propositional and relational logic. He speculatively developed the system of relational syllogistics and even tried to create an artificial scientific language with which he, along with other techniques, attempted to revive theology. He was also interested in Lullus' system and thus extended the list of Czech researchers or those thinkers living in Bohemia, who were keen on Raimundus Lullus, including Giordano Bruno and the Spanish Ambassador Guillermo de San Clemente (Caramuel must have been familiar with Clemente's writing from Prague).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> J. Kadlec, "Rekatolizace v Čechách", in: *Pražské arcibiskupství, 1344-1994*, Prague 1994, pp. 140, 142.

<sup>27</sup> *Antologie z dějin českého a slovenského filosofického myšlení do roku 1948*, Prague 1981 (p. 257: Juan Caramuel; p. 251: Jan Marek Marci from Kronland).

<sup>28</sup> See also: S. Sousedík, "Technika filosofické disputace v 17. století", *Filosofický časopis* 15, 1967, p. 132; S. Sousedík, *René Descartes a české baroko*, op. cit.

<sup>29</sup> J. Haubelt, *České osvícenství*, Prague 1986, p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> See *Ottův slovník naučný*, op. cit., vol. V, p. 139 (note).

Shortly before his death in Vigevano, Caramuel was able to publish a pamphlet entitled *Leptotatos* (1681) and to reform the urban planning of the city. Today, Caramuel enjoys a growing popularity and interest among philosophers,<sup>31</sup> art theoreticians and architects.<sup>32</sup>

Translation Petra Binková

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<sup>31</sup> S. Sousedík, “Jan Caramuel, opat emauzský”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 9, 1968, pp. 115–138; K. Berka, S. Sousedík, “K relační logice Jana Caramuela z Lobkovic”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historica et philosophica* 2, 1972, pp. 9–16; S. Sousedík, “Leibniz und Caramuels Leptotatos”, in: *Leibniz’s Auseinandersetzung mit Vorgängern und Zeitgenossen* (eds. I. Marchlewitz and A. Heinekamp), Stuttgart 1990, pp. 191–199; S. Sousedík, “Universal Language in the Work of John Caramuel”, *Acta Comeniana* 9 (33), 1991, pp. 149–158; S. Sousedík, *Filosofie v českých zemích mezi středověkem a osvícenstvím*, Prague 1997, pp. 185–210.

<sup>32</sup> *Historia de España*, vol. I, tomo XXVI, 1986, chap. VII, La renovación, pp. 209–213.

## Caramuel's "Theoscope" and the Vindication of Prudential Probabilism

Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas<sup>1</sup>

The telescope has been seldom considered in light of its across-the-board emblematic use in the seventeenth century. By the time Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa ursina* was published (1626–1630, fig. 1) the telescope had become an emblem for observational astronomy.<sup>2</sup> As soon as Galileo's debunking of Aristotelian cosmology was expanded, mostly on account of the phases of Venus, to the extent of undermining scriptural geocentrism, the Jesuits abandoned their neutrality. A clear sign of the changed attitude was Scheiner's *Oculus*, published at Innsbruck in 1619. The telescope in the lower right corner of the engraved frontispiece, projected skywards from the inside of a cavernous space, bore a legend that read "Mox vt superauero rupes". This ability to surmount obstacles was, however, balanced by the

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<sup>2</sup> W. B. Ashworth, "Divine Reflections and Profane Refractions: Images of a Scientific Impasse in Seventeenth-Century Italy", in: *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought*, University Park, London 1985, pp. 179–207, esp. p. 186.



Fig. 1. C. Scheiner, *Rosa ursina*, Bracciano 1626-1630, frontispiece: detail Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, UCM, shelfmark: FLL 19812

legend inside the cavern-like recess that received the telescopic rays, which read “Non integer intrat”. William B. Ashworth interprets the two legends as a reminder that observational astronomy cannot be taken to be a sufficient criterion for truth.<sup>3</sup> In the frontispiece of the

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

abovementioned *Rosa ursina* Scheiner further clarified the value he attached to the telescope. Disposed about the central, sun-like "rosa ursina", four sources of knowledge were ranked in unmistakable hierarchical order: *auctoritas divina*, *ratio*, *auctoritas profana*, and *sensus*.<sup>4</sup> The telescope was relegated to the lowest form of knowledge, to "sensus", quite obviously implying that observational astronomy should contradict neither scripture nor reason. The Jesuit was not so much deriding empirical astronomy (whose standards he had contributed to raise dramatically) as he was emphasising that telescopic observations were inescapably conditioned by optical refraction. Caramuel, like Scheiner, raised doubts about the reliability of Galileo's telescope. Not by chance the frontispiece of the Spaniard's lengthiest scientific treatise, the *Mathesis biceps*, was presided by an eagle-born, bicephalous allegory whose rear half stood for Praxis – denoted by a downward-facing telescope – in contradistinction to the forward-looking Speculatio (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup>

This polemical, anti-Galilean background permeated Giambattista Riccioli's *Almagestum novum* (1651). Like his correlative Scheiner, Riccioli held to the Tychonian model, almost universally embraced by the Society of Jesus in its efforts to reconcile scripture with observational astronomy.<sup>6</sup> In this brilliant title-page by the Bolognese Francesco Curti (1603–1670),<sup>7</sup> we find, significantly, an upright tel-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185–186.

<sup>5</sup> J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova... (=Mathesis B)*, Campaniae – Lugduni 1670. Caramuel's allegory reversed Comenius' well-known allegory of Prudence, which confronted the self-reflective mirror held by the right hand ("respicit") of a Janus-like maiden with the future-oriented telescope held by her left hand ("prospicit"). J. A. Komenský, *Orbis sensualium pictus*, London 1672, CX, pp. 224–225. Caramuel probably knew the first Nuremberg edition of 1658, which was in German and Latin, or any of the many subsequent editions (cfr. K. Pilz, *Die Ausgaben des Orbis sensualium pictus*, Nuremberg 1967).

<sup>6</sup> The phases of Venus gave the coup de grâce to the Ptolemaic system, forcing conservative astronomers to embrace Tycho Brahe's system.

<sup>7</sup> W. B. Ashworth describes Riccioli's frontispiece as "the high point in this iconographic war of the worlds" and as "one of the most brilliantly devised scientific





Fig. 2. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, *Campaniae - Lugduni* 1670, frontispiece: detail. Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, UCM, shelfmark: DER 4559

escape (fig. 3). The figure on the right, the many-eyed Argus, holds a telescope in a vertical position, enabling the eye on his knee to look up to the Sun.<sup>8</sup> In the preface of the *Almagestum novum* Riccioli stated, quoting quite purposefully Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa ursina*, that someone with as many eyes as Argus would be indeed necessary to derive blameless observations from the midday Sun. Quoting yet another Jesuit scientist, Athanasius Kircher, he reckoned that the causes behind unreliable observations could be identified as dependent both

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allegories of the century". W. B. Ashworth, "Divine Reflections and Profane Refractions...", op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> According to W. B. Ashworth, this was a subtle reminder of the Jesuit Christoph Scheiner's pioneering role in solar astronomy (*ibid.*, p. 189).



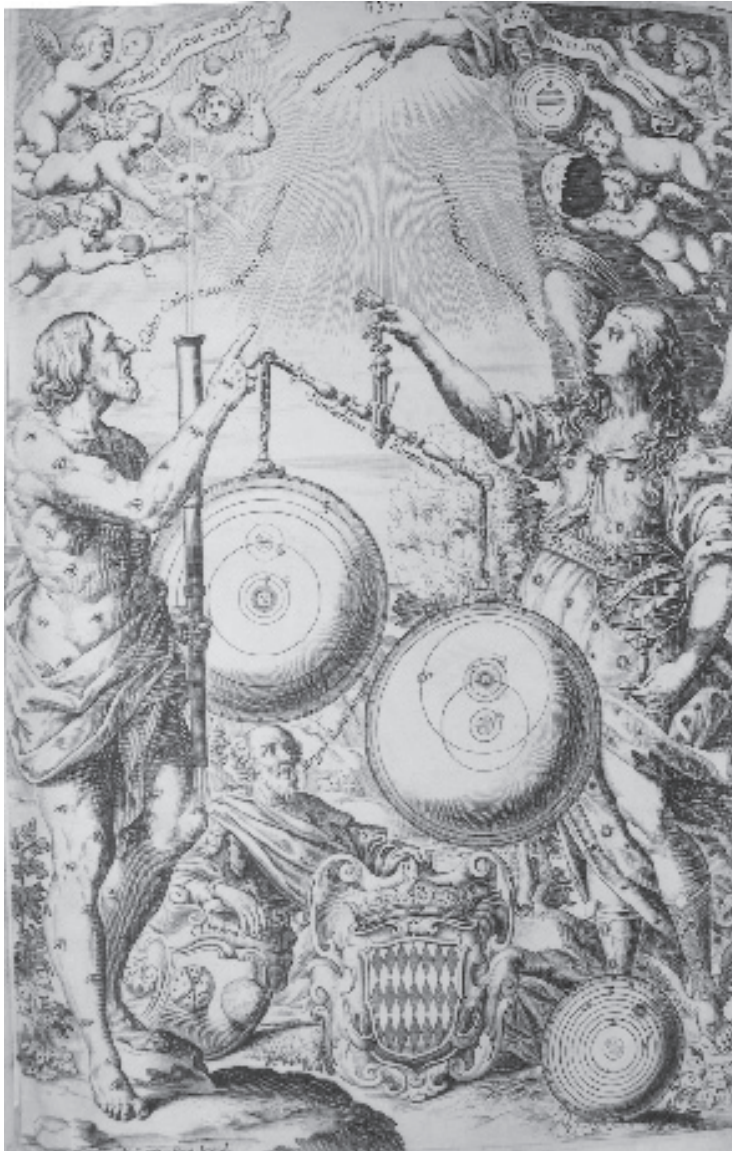


Fig. 3. G. Riccioli, *Almagestum novum*, Bononiae 1651, frontispiece  
Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, UCM, shelfmark: DER 15386

on the physiology of the eye and on the nature of the intervening medium. The dilation of the pupil and the refraction of light were, therefore, the principal causes for the oftentimes deceitful nature of astronomical observations.<sup>9</sup> Riccioli concluded against Galileo that pupil dilatation and light refraction dictated that observational astronomy could not eschew uncertainty, regardless of the telescope. He then quoted Kircher: “Et si omnis fallacia vitanda sit, Angelus esse debet, non homo.”<sup>10</sup> Analogous words (“non Te putares maiorem Angelo”)<sup>11</sup> were addressed by Caramuel to Descartes on the conflictive matter of innate ideas. The resistance was clearly directed at the very possibility of validating on purely epistemological grounds our cosmological bearings. A world conditioned by refraction was incompatible with the seemingly angelic gaze afforded by the telescope.

What could be arguably considered Juan Caramuel’s magnum opus, the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, went through various editions. No other work of Caramuel demanded such cumulative effort over no less than twenty-four years.<sup>12</sup> Certainly, in its final form, the Lyon edition of 1675–1676, it became a massive four-volume in-folio. The engraved title-page of the relatively modest first edition of 1652 is,

<sup>9</sup> G. Riccioli, *Almagestum nouum astronomiam veterem nouamque complectens obseruationibus aliorum et propriis nouisque theorematibus, problematibus, ac tabulis promotam...* (= *Almagestum*), Bolognae 1651, I, praefatio ad lectorem, p. XVII.

<sup>10</sup> Lib. II of *Magneticae philosophiae*, as quoted by *ibid.*, p. XVII.

<sup>11</sup> D. Pastine, “Caramuel contro Descartes: obbiezioni inedite alle Meditazioni”, in: *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 27, 1972, 2, pp. 177–221 (esp. pp. 200–201): “Et tamen tanta potest, aut potius est, ut multi contendant te carere omnino idea, quae tibi Te ipsum exhibeat; nam si semel cognosceres, non Te putares maiorem Angelo, cum Te, tametsi Angelico donatum ingenio (hoc si negavero, ero Tibi inuidus iniuriosus) esse Hominem deberes meminisse.”

<sup>12</sup> In: J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis quatuor libris comprehensa. Opus nouum & varium, nec solum theologis, iurisperitis, medicis, ac physicis, sed verè hominibus universis maximè necessarium* (= *Theologia B*), Lugduni 1675–1676, I, admonitio, Caramuel commented on the four editions of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*: Francofurti (1652), Roma (1656), Lugduni (1664), and Lugduni (1675–1676). The Rome edition of 1656 was published without relevant changes in Lyon the following year.



Fig. 4. J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, *Francofurti* 1652, frontispiece. Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial, shelfmark: 110-III-25

however, critical to our inquiry (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> The upper section depicted an angelic gathering presided by the Lamb, while the bottom area was taken up by an angel and an evangelist who gaze upon a circle labelled “idea virtutis”.<sup>14</sup> The circle itself was divided into three concentric rings. The second and the outermost rings each consisted of a twelve-pointed star. The twelve points of the first star spelled out six aspects of virtue, requiring that the reader connect the two halves of each word.<sup>15</sup> Each point of the outermost star lodged in turn one word.<sup>16</sup> Lastly, the central area was taken up by the word Prudentia, which was thus accorded a conspicuously pivotal position within the starry circle of virtue. As if to call attention to its unique role as centre of the omni-virtuous constellation, the prudential core was lit from above. In fact, the luminous rays shining upon prudence stemmed from a vertically positioned telescope held by a putto. This inverted telescope, reminiscent of the optical pyramid of vision, was intended to mediate the heavenly and the earthly realms. The title of the work (*CURSUS MORALIS / PHILOSOPHICUS THEOLOGICUS / siue / Theologia / moralis / fundamentalis*) was artfully positioned so that the two central words (“siue moralis”) might fall within the telescopic light funnel, which was to shine in turn upon Prudentia; the identification between Lux and Moralitas was, as it were, put under the spotlight.

Certainly, I would not rule out that Caramuel knew Riccioli’s *Almagestum novum* before he devised his 1652 title-page, especially so since both works were published within a year of each other.<sup>17</sup> At any rate,

<sup>13</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis, praeterintentionalis, decalogica, sacramentalis, canonica, regularis, civilis, militaris* (=Theologia A), Francofurti 1652.

<sup>14</sup> The evangelist may be identified as St John. Cfr. *ibid.*, Prooemium de sigillis et clavibus Theologiae moralis, pp. 44–48: “Vidi in dextera sedentis supra thronum Librum scriptum intus & foris, signatum sigillis septem.”

<sup>15</sup> Fortitoto [a misspelling of Fortitudo?], Temperantia, Liberalitas, Magnanimitas, Amicitia, and Consientia [sic].

<sup>16</sup> Spes, Recreatio, Munificentia, Animositas, Urbanitas, Benign[itas], Timore, Dolor, Parcitas, Humilitas, Siccitas, and Severitas.

<sup>17</sup> In later works, such as the *Mathesis B* Caramuel quoted Riccioli’s *Almagestum* profusely.

I would highlight that Caramuel, taking his cue from Jesuits sources, chose to impress an unprecedented eschatological reading upon the telescopic icon; his choice of an upside-down telescope, placed directly underneath the Apocalyptic Lamb, suggested the radical divide between temporality and eternity. Indeed, Caramuel's iconographic use of the telescope defeated most expectations. For one, the telescope was not used to behold a distant object, but as a means to filter supernatural light.<sup>18</sup> This heavenly light, once filtered through, entered the earthly domain so that prudence might be granted the limelight that was rightly hers. The telescope in Scheiner's and Riccioli's title-pages expressed, by implication, the limited certainty attainable in a world conditioned by "refracted" or "oblique" vision. Caramuel stepped up the inverted telescope's symbolism in order to address more fully the ethical implications of an "oblique" world, where we must rely on prudence for finding our way between the certainties of revelation and the uncertainties of human praxis.

Citing Aristotle's description of prudence as tending towards truth ("in verum tendere"),<sup>19</sup> Caramuel felt compelled to differentiate between "in verum tendere" and "certitudinaliter sentire".<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>18</sup> Caramuel must have known about Scheiner's "machina helioscopica", fitted for solar observations. Scheiner distinguished between the "telescopium" and the "helioscopium". The latter was a "Tubum è lentibus coloratis, Solis fulgore attemperando opportunis, adornatum". C. Scheiner, *Rosa ursina sive sol ex admirando facularum et macularum suarum...*, Bracciano 1626–1630, lib. II, c. XXXII, fol. 131<sup>v</sup>, § 20.

<sup>19</sup> Basing himself on Pierre Aubenque, who saw Aristotelian phronesis as a hermeneutics of human existence, Vincent Carraud makes clear that within it reflection and action could not be reduced to the modern dichotomy between means and ends (V. Carraud, "Morale par provision et probabilité", in: *Descartes et le Moyen Âge*, eds. J. Biard and R. Rashed, Paris 1997, pp. 259–279, esp. 268). For Aristotle there could be no episteme of human things, just as praxis could not be based on scientific knowledge on account of the ontological imperfection of the sublunar world (A. Pons, "Vico: de la prudence à la providence", in: *De la prudence des anciens comparée à celle des modernes: sémantique d'un concept, déplacement des problématiques*, ed. A. Tosel, Besançon 1995, pp. 149–167, esp. p. 152).

<sup>20</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia B*, op. cit., IV, Dialexis prooemialis, c. 1, p. 21.



former he associated with mathematicians, the latter with prudent men (*phronimos*).<sup>21</sup> The distinction operated within prudence's orientation to truth was meant to reflect that the utter impossibility of reaching the equivalent of mathematical certainty in ethical matters should not be taken to endorse a flight into inactivity.<sup>22</sup> Caramuel's insistence on the moment of practical judgement, was supported by, in Dino Pastine's words, an urge to dissolve in action his deep-rooted scepticism.<sup>23</sup> While there might be an element of personal voluntarism in Caramuel's impulse to undo the paralysing effects of philosophical doubt in the everyday,<sup>24</sup> a great deal was owed to the intense

<sup>21</sup> For Aristotle (*Nich. Ethics* VI, 2) *phronesis* was embodied in the singular existence of the *phronimos*.

<sup>22</sup> The very nature of this problem and its paroxistic proportions in early modernity stand as proof of the extent to which the Aristotelian concept of *phronesis* had become estranged. V. Carraud, *op. cit.*, p. 268, traces insightfully how in Thomas (*Summa theologiae* I.II.19.3.2) a "dictinction fâcheuse" was introduced between things "quae sunt ad finem" and the end itself. Aristotelian *phronesis* was always necessarily an unveiling of truth (*ἀληθεια*), that is, truth itself as practical - thus making it impossible to separate between practical certitude and truth. The hypothesis of an erroneous conscience rendered such a separation possible: "Nous sommes donc passés d'une première problématique où la conscience est le lieu dans lequel se manifeste un ordre moral objectif (les objets de la volonté bonne), à une seconde où elle continue d'obliger sans dévoiler aucune vérité. Bref, la *πραξις* caractéristique de la morale se trouve disjointe de l'*ἀληθεια*." (*Ibid.*, pp. 271-272) This "brèche ouverte" by the development of the concept of conscience will result in a widening hiatus between practical and speculative certitude. Suárez's essential thesis was that a true practical conscience could be speculatively false. The positive indifference of will, which was the principle of this disjunction, was common to Suárez and Descartes (*ibid.*, pp. 273-275). Descartes in turn sought an absolute certitude, which he found in the so-called "morale par provision", itself founded on the belief that a speculative suspension of the determination of goodness did not bar access to truth. The disjunction between objective theoretical certitude and the determination of moral choices thus radicalised, the very possibility of a specific practical reasoning in the Aristotelian sense was denied (*ibid.*, pp. 278-279).

<sup>23</sup> D. Pastine, *Juan Caramuel: probabilismo ed enciclopedia*, Florence 1975, pp. 416-417.

<sup>24</sup> J. Tully, "Governing Conduct", in: *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. Leites, Cambridge - Paris 1988, pp. 12-71, esp. p. 12, has described

cultivation of prudence at various levels of early modern society, both secular and ecclesiastic.<sup>25</sup>

In words that seem a perfect illustration of the title-page of the Frankfurt edition of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* (fig. 4), Caramuel wrote: "The Sun rises for Catholics once transported to paradise, since our lamp (Sun) is the Lamb, upon whom we shall gaze in heaven - the one we seek on earth by riddles, through the rays of Faith, those of the sciences having been refracted in their own manner."<sup>26</sup> In agreement with the allusion to Paul's mirror ("quem in terris in aenigmate per radios Fidei subobscurus"), the illumination we can hope for on earth lies somewhere between broad daylight and utter darkness. The former are "subobscurus", i.e. not incapable of providing substantial illumination; the latter, on the other hand, are "refractos" and hence lead away from true light. Between manifest falsity and manifest truth, we must settle for a mean "quod *Probabilitatem* appellamus". Until the seventh and last seal of John's Apocalypse be unsealed, the light of truth "nouum est, crepusculinum est, probabile & incertum est" and no learned man ought to disdain it under the name of novelty or probability. Such light grows as we march

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a new "mode of governance" linking together probabilistic and voluntaristic forms of knowledge with a range of techniques related to each other by a body of references to juridical practices. D. Westberg, *Right Practical Reason: Aristotle, Action, and Prudence in Aquinas*, Oxford 1994, p. 227, who (contrary to many) holds to the opinion that Thomas did not distort Aristotelian phronesis, decries the "truncated prudence" resulting from voluntarism.

<sup>25</sup> These were central preoccupations of early modernity as a whole and of the seventeenth century in particular. For Descartes, the so-called "morale par provision" was only a temporary shelter until the construction of a practical wisdom on a scientific basis (S. Menn, *Descartes and Augustine*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 34-35).

<sup>26</sup> J. Caramuel, *Apologema pro antiquissima et vniuersalissima doctrina de probabilitate contra nouam, singularem, improbabilemque D. Prosperi Fagnani opinionationem*, Lugduni 1663, epistola IV, obiectiones, p. 94: "Oritur Catholicis Sol ad Empyreum translatis: nam nobis lucerna (Sol) est Agnus, & in Coelo illum intuitiue videbimus, quem in terris in aenigmate per radios Fidei subobscurus, scientiarum suo modo refractos rimamur."

on. We are led by it to daylight, glimpses of which we may gain “per refractionem” before we reach our final mortal boundary.<sup>27</sup>

Seemingly, we may aspire “hinc et nunc” but to earthly reflections and refractions of the divine paradigm. The Jesuit Zacharias Traber, like Giambattista Riccioli before him, downgraded telescopic vision (“tubi fragilis”) and insisted on what had become a Jesuit staple since François d’Aguilon, namely the symbolic understanding of direct, refracted, and reflected vision, itself rooted in late mediaeval similes. The epilogue of Zacharias Traber’s *Nervus opticus* (1675) provided a terse summary:

After [our] mortal life comes to a long-awaited end, the shadowy reflections of our mirrors and the gloomy rays of our refractions lifted at once, in the partnership of the Blessed, without the aid of a fragile tube, glittering with the splendour of immense joy or with the light of glory, the Creator, the Author, and the Keeper of the works of immense Wisdom may be eternally contemplated face to face, without faintness or fastidiousness.<sup>28</sup>

To be sure, the presence in the frontispiece of Traber’s treatise of refracted and reflected rays labelled “Per Speculum” was an unmistakable allusion to 1 Cor 13,12. References to Paul’s specular metaphor also occurred at key points of Caramuel’s *Mathesis audax* (1644). In “thesis XXXVIII” Caramuel made an analogy between the insufficiency of the naked eye to ascertain “remotissima obiecta”, which had to be compensated for by means of the telescope, and the need for the human mind to rely on glorious light to contemplate God.<sup>29</sup> Later on,

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* Cfr. J. Caramuel, *Theologia A*, op. cit., p. 13: “Sed quia nec talpa sum, nec lynx, inter lucem & tenebras ab opinionum crepusculinâ traditione dependeo.”

<sup>28</sup> Z. Traber, *Nervus opticus sive Tractatus theoreticus, in tres libros opticam catoptricam dioptricam distributus...*, Vienna 1675, epilogus ad lectorem, p. 225.

<sup>29</sup> J. Caramuel, *Mathesis audax rationalem, naturalem, supernaturalem, divinamque sapientiam arithmetis, geometricis, catoptricis, staticis, dioptricis, astronomicis, musicis, chronicis, et architectonicis, fundamentis substruens exponensque...* (= *Mathesis A*), Lovanii 1644, thesis XXXVIII, pp. 157–158: “Remotissima obiecta non



the mention of Paul's mirror was even more forceful, using to a full advantage the Pauline metaphor:

There is no mirror that can perfectly represent an object. Convex mirrors reduce, flat ones reverse left and right, concave ones yield a topsy-turvy image – in such a way we see, like men in a created world, the uncreated and invisible perfections of God, as if in a mirror. We impress in our minds an image much smaller than the prototype; the world takes strength by the verdict of the convex mirror. When considering attentively how to proceed, we observe prior and posterior, major and minor trade places; for God is understood to love the end first and only after the lower means; we truly discern the means first and at length consider that towards which these have directed us. The Blessed, however, see God face to face, clearly and distinctly, and no longer in a mirror and imperfectly.<sup>30</sup>

Precisely because human vision could not escape its earth-bound condition, Caramuel stressed that God had provided men with binocular vision, both in terms of the body and the soul. Our soul should rely on the *oculus physicus* (or *authenticus*) and the *oculus opticus* (or *rationalis*). Caramuel's arguments resembled closely those of Scheiner and Riccioli: overreliance on the physical eye implied not only disregard for authority but also for reason, which had shown the eye to be deceitful.<sup>31</sup>

Caramuel pleaded for the need to strike a prudent balance between authority and novelty in all areas of human knowledge, including moral theology and cosmology.<sup>32</sup> To address the ramifications of the debates regarding the role of grace Caramuel envisioned a striking

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nudis oculis, sed armatis videntur. Parallela. Deus non nudâ mente, sed lumine glorioso armatâ & elevatâ videtur.”

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, thesis XLVIII, pp. 168–169.

<sup>31</sup> J. Caramuel, *Theologia A*, op. cit., Lectori divino, pp. 42–44.

<sup>32</sup> Defending Antonino Diana, Caramuel charged that Diana's foes “veracitatem enim imprudentiam appellant”. Diana's *ingenium*, argued Caramuel, rendered probable and safe several opinions that had been previously deemed objectionable. Indeed, “viae benigniores, saepe sunt tutiores & meliores”. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

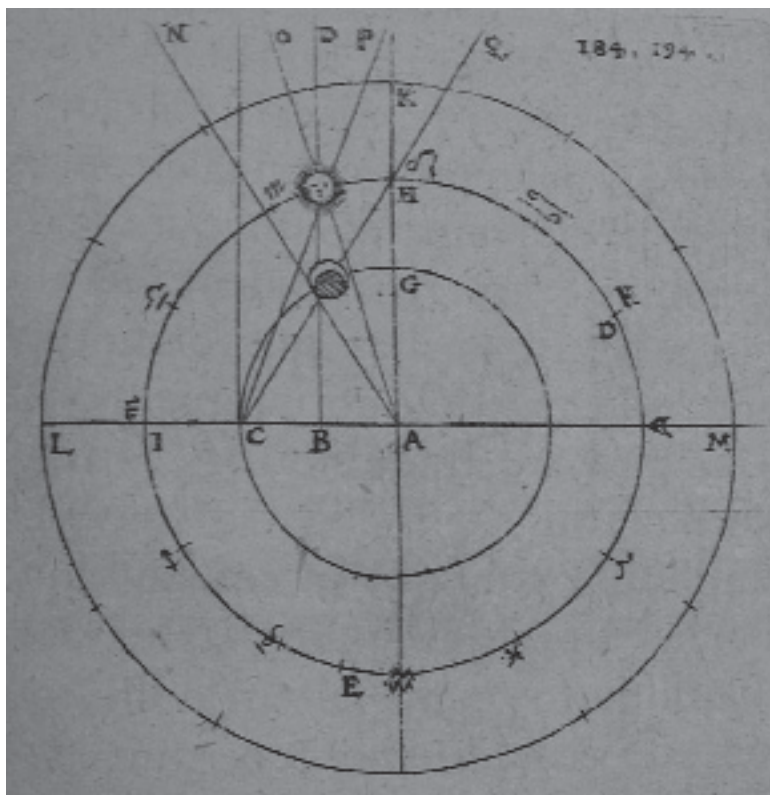


Fig. 5. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis audax*, Lovanii 1644, not numbered. Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, Madrid, shelfmark: 86(1)

diagram, where the “mystical Sun” stood for grace (“Sol gratiae symbolum”) and the “mystical Moon” represented nature (fig. 5).<sup>33</sup> He outlined as extremes Pelagianism (those who see the Moon but not

<sup>33</sup> First inserted in J. Caramuel, *Mathesis A*, op. cit., pp. 194–199, it was later reproduced in J. Caramuel, *Mathesis B*, op. cit., I, lám. XXXIII, fig. IV; and in *Arquitectura civil recta y obliqua...*, Vigevano 1678, III, part. II, lám. XLVII, fig. IV.

the Sun, i.e. nature but not grace) and the Manichaeism (who see only grace but forget nature). The position of the Pelagians, alongside "Caelestius & Julianus" was associated to vision from point B ("ex B") and that of the Manicheans, seconded by Luther and Calvin, to point D ("ex D").<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, vision from both B and D involved a perpendicular sightline that blocked the view of, alternatively, the Sun or the Moon. Two oblique views were likewise possible, defined as "ex C" and "ex A". The former, which Caramuel associated with "Cassianus, Massilienses & adsectae" allowed vision of both the Sun and the Moon. However, from this viewpoint the Moon (nature) would appear to lead and the Sun (grace) to follow. Lastly, the view from A, which stood for the earth within a geocentric scheme, was the only non-eccentric view.<sup>35</sup> From A, man would, conveniently equipped with a "theoscope",<sup>36</sup> i.e. instructed by the fathers and doctors of the

<sup>34</sup> The coincidence with Vico is worth remarking. L. Anceschi, *Del Barocco ed altre prove*, Florence 1953, p. 102, is right to call attention to Vico's reliance on Augustine in order to avoid the extremes represented by Calvinism and Pelagianism: "[Vico] si ritrovò poi in quel giusto mezzo della dottrina cattolica d'intorno alla materia della grazia, particolarmente con la lezione del Ricardo teologo sorbonico ... il quale ... fa veder la dottrina di S. Agostino posta in mezzo come a due estremi tra calvinisti e pelagiani." A similar description of the Lutheran and Calvinist denial of human freedom in: J. Caramuel, *Critica philosophica. Artium scholasticarum cursum exhibens. In tres partes digesta...*, Vigevano 1681, diss. VI, art. X, sect. V, parall. VI, II, p. 599, § 1261.

<sup>35</sup> The viewpoints B, C, and D are defined as "ex centro alieno" (J. Caramuel, *Mathesis A*, op. cit. pp. 194–199).

<sup>36</sup> In my interpretation, Caramuel concretised in the frontispiece of the *Theologia A* what he had already described in the *Mathesis A* as a "theoscope", namely a device that allows us to gaze upon truth conveniently instructed by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Moreover, I believe Caramuel's *Mathesis A* may have influenced Rheita's *Oculus Enoch*, where the Capuchin defended, as part of the so-called "theo-astronomia", what he termed a "telescopio mystico" fashioned by the love of God and neighbours and the hatred of the self (A. M. Schyrlaeus de Rheita, *Oculus Enoch et Eliae siue Radius sideromysticus...*, Antverpiae 1645, c. VII, anagoge II: De telescopio mystico, pp. 247–251). I would also describe as a "theoscope" the telescope that appears on engraving no. 17 of J. Caramuel, *Sanctus Benedictus Christiformis*, Pragae 1680 (fig. 6). The legend accompanying

Church, rightly see the Sun (grace) lead and the Moon (nature) follow. The consequences derived from this diagram by Caramuel were that in every worthy act we must look for both grace and nature, that grace should lead and nature follow but that – against the detractors of free will – nature does not of necessity follow grace.<sup>37</sup> While denying the possibility of attaining scientific certitude in ethical matters and supporting the “via media” represented by moral probabilism, Caramuel, as “audax mathematicus”, relied on cosmological similes. He interpreted his own defence of Tychonian geocentrism, which represented a “via media” between the Ptolemaic model and Copernicus’ heliocentrism (fig. 6),<sup>38</sup> as an analogue of his own conditional backing of Molina’s *scientia media*. Far from a staunch geocentrist, Caramuel reaffirmed in his “mystical” diagram the human bond to the earth as a true and legitimate centre (“verum & legitimum centrum”), perhaps as a reaction to the modern “multiscopic” ability to de-centre human dwelling in keeping with the new conception of vision introduced by artificial perspective.<sup>39</sup>

At the beginning of the seventh book of his *Dominicus* (1655) Caramuel inserted a remarkable engraving, drawn by Nikolaus van Hoy

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this engraving (“S. Benedictus in vnus solis atomo mundum integrum respicit”) stresses the supernatural intensity of St Benedict’s vision. Moreover, there appears a representation of the Transfiguration in such a way that Christ, flanked by Moses and Elijah, is located immediately above the telescope – all of which echoes precisely the relative locations of the Apocalyptic Lamb and the telescope on the frontispiece of *Theologia A*. A paraphrase of Mt 17,2 (“resplenduit facies Christi ut Sol, vestis ut nix”) calls attention to the resplendent face of the transfigured Christ thus reinforcing the eschatological reading.

<sup>37</sup> J. Caramuel pertinently mentions the 6th Session of the Council of Trent. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis A*, op. cit. pp. 199–200.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. note 36.

<sup>39</sup> K. Harries, “Descartes, Perspective, and the Angelic Eye”, *Yale French Studies* 49, 1973, pp. 28–42, esp. p. 29, found that the dread of the distorting power of perspective is at the centre of Cartesian doubt. In this sense, modern transcendental subjectivity is more post-Cartesian than Cartesian. Yet it would appear that Caramuel had grasped the potentially problematic nature of the Cartesian watershed.

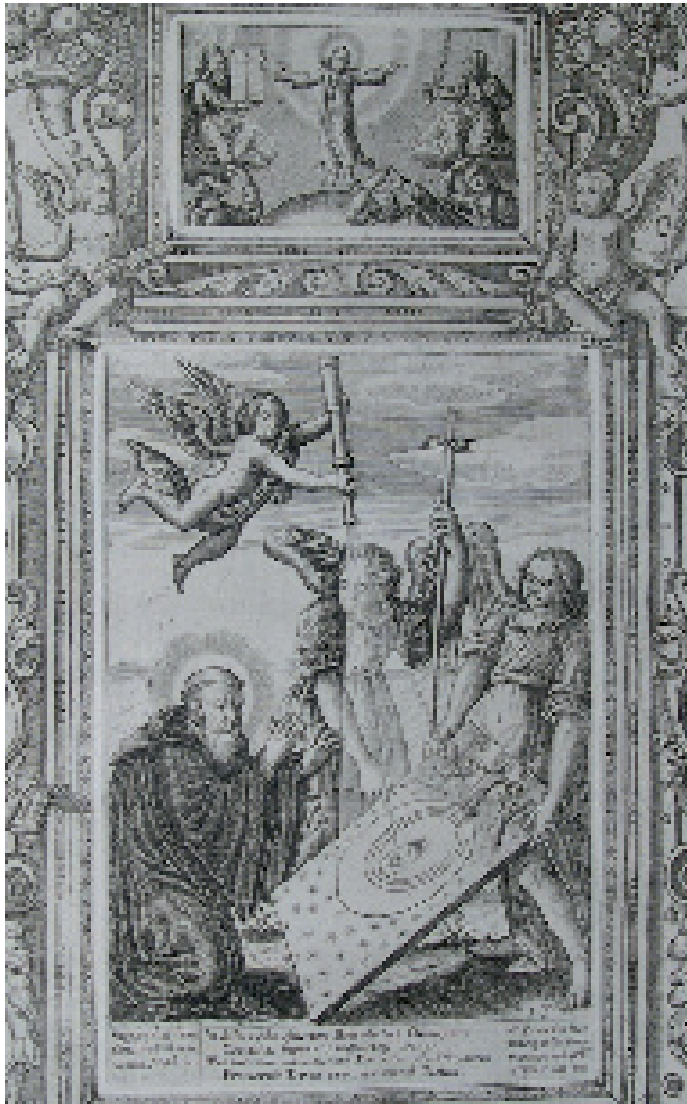


Fig. 6. J. Caramuel, *Sanctus Benedictus Christiformis*, Pragae 1680, no. 17, detail. Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, UCM, shelfmark: 37494

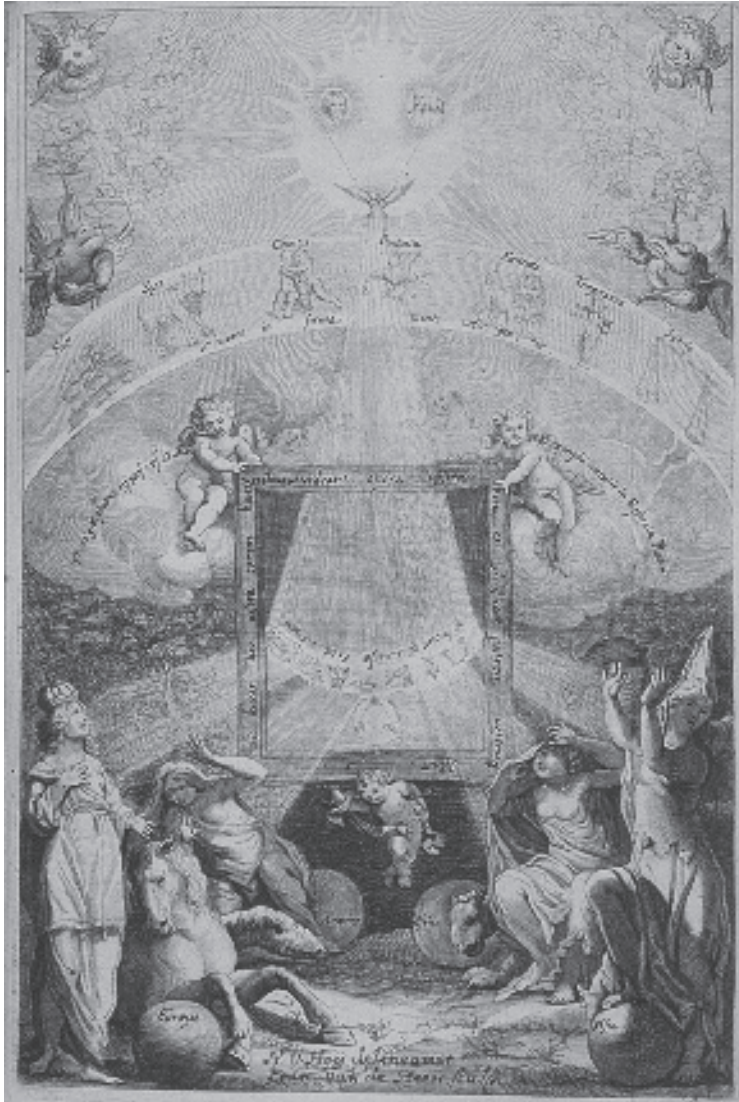


Fig. 7. J. Caramuel, Dominicus, *Pragae* 1655, lib. VII, ante p. 473  
 Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, UCM, shelfmark: FLL 7102

and incised by Franciscus van der Steen (fig. 7).<sup>40</sup> Caramuel must have given very precise instructions to both Flemish artists settled in Vienna. Five quotations from the Bible were placed strategically.<sup>41</sup> Under the rim of virtues and zodiacal signs, a quote from Genesis recalled the creation of the Sun and the Moon, in obvious reference to the divine origin of light.<sup>42</sup> On the frame around the mirror that gathered the light rays from above Caramuel placed a quote from the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the chosen mirror image for the quote from Genesis was a quote from Exodus that referred to the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>44</sup> In terms of structure, Van Hoy's image of 1655 was extremely close the title-page of the 1652 edition of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* (fig. 4). Significantly, the Latin names of the seven virtues (Fides - Spes - Charitas - Prudentia - Fortitudo - Temperantia - Justitia) appeared in a sequence that reserved for Prudence the central spot, under the cone of light issuing from the Trinity. In fact, in both engravings Prudence - one may say prudential probabilism - was vindicated as the only means by which men, as earthly beings,<sup>45</sup> may seek the heavenly paradigm. In the 1652 frontispiece Caramuel relied on the Apocalyptic Lamb<sup>46</sup> and the capitalisation of

<sup>40</sup> J. Caramuel, *Dominicus: hoc est, venerabilis P. Dominici à Jesu-Maria, Parthenii Ordinis Carmelit. Excalceat. Generalis, virtutes, labores, prodigia, ectases, et revelationes...*, Pragae 1655.

<sup>41</sup> I shall not discuss the two quotes next to the cherubs that hold up the mirror: "...ut sit exemplum virtutis in Ephrata" (Ruth 4,11) and "Inspice et fac secundum exemplar, quod tibi in monte monstratum est" (Exodus 25,40).

<sup>42</sup> "...ut luceant in firmamento caeli et illuminent terram. Et factum est ista." (Genesis 1,15) The words that were actually reproduced in the engraving have been italicized.

<sup>43</sup> "Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant vestra bona opera et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est." (Matthew 5,16)

<sup>44</sup> "Facies et lucernas septem et pones eas super candelabrum, ut luceant in locum ex adverso." (Exodus 25,37)

<sup>45</sup> Represented by the four continents (Europa - America - Africa - Asia) in the 1655 engraving.

<sup>46</sup> It must be recognised that Caramuel's intent was, to some extent, openly polemical. Among several preliminary letters at the beginning of *Theologia A*, Ca-



three out of four i's in his name (I. CARAMUELI LOBKOWITZI) to allude subtly to the Trinity. In 1655 the same message was delivered by the appearance of the tetramorphos and the now explicit presence of the Trinity within which, significantly, Christ appeared as the Lamb. Like his Jesuit friends, Caramuel reassessed the telescope according to an apologetic intent. In the 1652 title-page the upright telescope or "telescope", with its narrow end pointing to the earth symbolised both the ontological divide and the interdependence between eschatology and human history. According to a soteriological key, Biblical quotes sharing light as a theme were used three years later in the *Dominicus* etching to portend the supersedence of the Old Law (the upside-down reference to the Ark of the Covenant reflected in the mirror) by the New Law (the citation from the Sermon on the Mount inscribed on the frame of the mirror). In both cases, the association of Lux and Prudentia encapsulated Caramuel's probabilistic stance in moral theology.<sup>47</sup>

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ramuel inserted one to Antonino Diana (pp. 22–26), which was censured out in the Rome edition of 1656. Caramuel quoted the popular saying circulated by Diana's enemies to discredit him ("Dianam esse agnum Dei, qui abstulit peccata mundi") and set out to disprove them by showing Diana's genuine prudence and compassion, which indeed likened him to the Lamb: "Sic sentimus, & quia hac nos conducit Regularis hic agnus, dum philosophamur *generosè & clementer* sequimur Agnum (nimirum Dianam) quocunque ierit." (*Ibid.*, p. 24)

<sup>47</sup> The theme was later reinterpreted iconographically (cfr. frontispiece of the Rome 1656 corrected and revised edition of the *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*) in terms of Minerva/Wisdom and Mercury/Prudence.



**Prague Life  
and  
Intellectual Life**



## Caramuel et le siège de Prague en 1648

Olivier Chaline

A trois reprises, la guerre fait irruption dans la vie de Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz : en 1635 lorsque Louvain est assiégée par les Français et les Hollandais, quelques années plus tard quand les ennemis des Habsbourg menacent son abbaye de Disibodenberg dans le Palatinat et l'obligent à se réfugier dans la forteresse de Frankenthal puis enfin en 1648 à l'occasion du siège de la Vieille Ville et de la Nouvelle Ville de Prague par les Suédois.

Cela fait un an que Caramuel est arrivé à Prague, appelé par Bernhard Ignac de Martinic, le deuxième fils du grand burgrave du royaume. Bien que cistercien, il est devenu abbé du monastère bénédictin espagnol de Montserrat, plus connu à Prague sous le nom d'Emmaüs. C'est depuis ce monastère, peu éloigné de la forteresse de Vyšehrad, que Caramuel vit une nouvelle expérience guerrière : la prise par surprise des deux villes de Prague sur l'autre rive de la Vltava, Hradčany et Malá Strana, dans la nuit du 26 au 27 juillet 1648, la résistance inattendue des deux villes de rive droite qui tiennent jusqu'à l'annonce de la paix de Westphalie.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sur cet ultime épisode guerrier, la référence demeure V. Liva, *Obležení Prahy roku 1648*, Prague 1936. Sur le rôle du grand prieur de Malte Rodolphe Colloredo-Wallsee, voir T. Klinger, « Le siège de Prague par les Suédois en 1648 », *Études danubiennes*, t. XIV, 1, 1<sup>er</sup> semestre 1998, pp. 75–86. Le contexte militaire de la fin

Caramuel a pris une part importante à la défense de Prague, armant certains religieux, utilisant ses compétences mathématiques pour l'artillerie et le renforcement des fortifications.<sup>2</sup> Il a aussi tenu un diaire. Conservé aux Archives capitulaires de Vigevano, ce document a été largement publié par Julián Velarde dans sa biographie de Caramuel.<sup>3</sup> C'est un des plus remarquables témoignages directs, « à chaud » sur la défense de Prague.

### I. Le diaire d'un assiégé

Comme son titre l'indique très exactement, il s'agit d'un diaire de la défense de Prague. Caramuel n'y parle de rien d'autre. La narration commence le 26 juillet 1648 avec le raid suédois et la prise de Hradčany et Malá Strana. Elle dure jusqu'au 29 novembre, de manière ininterrompue. Ce diaire n'a pas d'existence antérieure, ni postérieure, à la différence de celui du collège jésuite de Saint-Clément,

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du conflit est retracé par E. Höfer, *Das Ende des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Cologne - Weimar - Vienne 1998, pp. 215-220. Cet ouvrage offre aussi une chronologie précise et commode. Enfin, le diaire de Caramuel peut être complété et éclairé par plusieurs textes publiés dans le t. VII des *Documenta Bohemica bellum tricennale illustrantia*, M. Toegel (éd.), Prague 1981, pp. 360-382.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Caramuel avait hérité de son père Laurent cette double inclination pour les mathématiques et la balistique. En 1642, soit six ans avant le siège de Prague, il note ainsi dans sa *Mathesis audax* : « Laurentius Caramuel, meus Parens amatisimus, et in Mathematicis Praeceptor, ante annos quinquaginta, Pragae in lucem emisit modum ingeniosissimum explodendi in plures et diversos scopos », p. 76, ce qui fait de lui un précurseur des modernes bombes à fragmentation. Je remercie J.-R. Armogathe de m'avoir signalé cette référence.

<sup>3</sup> Faute d'avoir eu accès directement au manuscrit de Caramuel présenté dans une vitrine de l'exposition tenue à Vigevano, j'ai dû me contenter pour préparer cette communication de la transcription - peut-être partielle - donnée par J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Oviedo 1989, pp. 217-240. Signalons que le texte tel qu'il est donné dans cet ouvrage ne comporte que peu d'indications sur la plus grande partie du mois d'août.

ou, dans un genre différent, de celui du cardinal Harrach.<sup>4</sup> Des circonstances exceptionnelles ont poussé Caramuel à le tenir. La paix marque la fin du diaire, alors même que les Suédois ne quittent pas la rive gauche de Prague avant septembre 1649.

Seuls les événements militaires sont rapportés. Caramuel ne nous dit presque rien de la vie de son monastère. Tout au plus parle-t-il d'un des frères. Il évoque brièvement les religieux qu'il a fait armer et leur participation active aux combats. Il ne s'attarde pas davantage sur les boulets qui tombent sur le monastère. Son activité comme abbé n'est pas l'objet du journal. On est ici très loin du diaire du cardinal Harrach étudié par Alessandro Catalano.<sup>5</sup> Il est parfois question de la messe, si des personnalités éminentes du siège sont venues l'entendre. Mais les fêtes religieuses sont absentes du récit. Par son unique objet : tenir jusqu'à l'arrivée des secours, le diaire rend compte de la préoccupation majeure des responsables de la défense de Prague. A cet égard, on peut le comparer à la *Relation* en italien de Don Florio Cremona, publiée aussi par Alessandro Catalano. Don Florio était aussi un religieux, barnabite devenu chanoine du Saint-Sépulcre, et il prit, comme Caramuel, une part active aux combats. Sa *Relation* parle essentiellement des événements militaires. Il y a pourtant une différence majeure : Don Florio a rédigé après coup une relation, reconstruisant un texte, peut-être à partir de notes prises au jour le jour. Caramuel a tenu un diaire qu'il ne semble pas avoir retravaillé. Comme tel, ce n'est pas un texte destiné à la publication, ni même sans doute à la lecture par quelqu'un d'autre, tant il est sec et concis.

<sup>4</sup> K. Beránek a édité les *Notata de proeliis cum Suecis ... in diario collegii Clementini anno 1648. contenta*, Prague 2002; et A. Catalano a publié la partie du diaire du cardinal Harrach concernant la période du siège et la *Relatione dell'attaco et assedio di Città nova di Praga et vecchia fatto dal Conte Palatino l'Anno 1648* de Don Florio Cremona, « Un episodio che non ha cambiato il corso della storia. L'assedio di Praga del 1648 in due testimonianze inedite », *eSamizdat*, 2004 (II) 1, pp. 151-173.

<sup>5</sup> Le siège de Prague est abordé par A. Catalano dans sa biographie du cardinal Harrach, *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa centrale (1620-1667)*, Rome 2005, pp. 379-383.

Un tel manuscrit occupe une place à part dans l'œuvre de Caramuel. Ce n'est pas un traité de théologie ou de philosophie et pas davantage un ouvrage de polémique historico-juridique. Aucun souci démonstratif. On ne trouvera ici ni notes ni citations. Toutefois Caramuel indique assez souvent qui lui a dit telle chose. Il lui arrive d'ajouter en marge de nouvelles informations, voire d'introduire un croquis (comme le 6 août, pour mieux décrire un secteur des défenses). En novembre, après la levée du siège, il dresse un rapide bilan des événements : bilan chiffré des pertes des uns et des autres, bilan des avantages retirés par tel ou tel auprès de l'empereur. Une ironie grinçante y est perceptible. La force du texte de Caramuel est d'être à la fois d'une grande concision et d'exprimer des sentiments de manière laconique. Le lecteur découvre ce qu'aurait pu être un Caramuel inspiré par Tacite.

La diaire est principalement écrit en espagnol. Il l'est parfois aussi en latin. Certaines journées ne sont racontées qu'en latin, ainsi les 25 et 26 octobre qui correspondent aux moments les plus durs du siège, lorsque les Suédois attaquèrent la porte du Gibet. Exceptionnellement, Caramuel utilise l'italien. Ses tournures sont elliptiques, parfois incompréhensibles à tout autre que lui. Les phrases sont juxtaposées, sans lien logique, comme autant de perceptions, d'informations, de jugements. La plupart des journées ne sont traitées qu'en quelques phrases, parfois une seule. Seules quelques unes ont droit à un plus long traitement : c'est le cas du 26 juillet, l'irruption des Suédois qui provoque la confusion. Il faut noter que les noms, de personnes comme de lieu, sont transcrits tels qu'ils sont compris et prononcés en espagnol : Puchheim devient ainsi Bouchan.

Caramuel relate trois types d'informations : d'abord, ce qu'il a fait lui-même ou constaté par lui-même. Il note parfois le moment de la journée, avec qui il était et où. Il ne cherche jamais à se mettre en valeur, ni non plus à décrire dans le détail la situation militaire. *Imperatoria brevitatis*. C'est « nous », bien plus souvent que « je » : les défenseurs. Il note ensuite ce qu'il a appris tout en indiquant l'origine de l'information : ainsi apparaissent quelques personnalités comme Colloredo,

Puchheim, Conti ou Marcus von Kronland. Par eux, il est mis au courant des informations trouvées sur des courriers ennemis capturés. Enfin Caramuel consigne les rumeurs qui circulent dans les Villes vieille et nouvelle comme celles qui arrivent de la partie de Prague occupée par les Suédois. Quelquefois, il livre ses propres jugements. C'est le cas à, au moins deux reprises, pour dire qu'il y a des traîtres dans la ville.

## II. La compréhension des événements

Le diaire, parce qu'il est tenu sans aucun recul, nous permet de savoir comment Caramuel est informé et comment il comprend ce qui se passe autour de lui. La confusion des premiers jours est nettement apparente. Il y a, à la fois, l'effet de surprise qui empêche les Pragois de réagir et l'absence d'effort suédois important pour franchir le Pont Charles. La défense de Prague est comme décapitée par la capture de la plupart des personnages importants. La conquête complète de Prague est empêchée par le pillage de la rive gauche de la Vltava. Personne n'a une vue d'ensemble de la situation. Le témoignage de Caramuel est très intéressant parce qu'il montre à la fois l'arrivée du grand prieur Colloredo échappé de Malá Strana et les initiatives dispersées pour tenter de reprendre l'initiative sur les Suédois occupés à piller.

Colloredo est celui sur qui repose la défense de Prague. Dès le 27 juillet, Caramuel lui rend visite. Plusieurs personnes, des jésuites comme le P. Arriaga et des soldats, proposent un coup de main pour reprendre pied de l'autre côté du pont à Malá Strana. Mais il faut faire vite. Colloredo ne réagit pas et laisse peut-être passer des occasions de re-saisir l'avantage sur les Suédois eux aussi en désordre. A plusieurs reprises tout au long du siège, Caramuel se montre critique envers Colloredo qu'il montre indécis ou inactif. Le grand prieur ne semble pas désireux de voir les étudiants prendre part aux combats. Il envoie même des soldats disperser des étudiants prêts à attaquer les sentinelles suédoises.

Le diaire fait clairement apparaître deux périodes de forte intensité des événements. Il y a d'une part les premiers jours après l'arrivée de l'ennemi avec à la fois, l'échec des Suédois à franchir la Vltava et l'impossibilité pour les Pragois à reprendre Hradčany et Malá Strana. La rivière devient la ligne de feu. L'attaque ennemie a été un demi échec et on s'installe dans ce qui n'est pas encore un siège à proprement parler. Les deux villes de rive droite ne sont pas complètement bloquées : ainsi arrivent les renforts de Puchheim dès le 27 juillet. La défense s'organise : Colloredo s'est ressaisi et la population est mobilisée, notamment les ecclésiastiques. Une fois passés ces premiers jours, il est clair que Prague ne tombera pas sans combats et qu'elle sera soumise à un bombardement.

Le siège proprement dit ne commence que début octobre, lorsque l'arrivée du palatin Charles Gustave permet l'investissement complet des deux villes. Le diaire montre comment les combats n'ont plus lieu autour du pont ou des îles, mais aux deux portes les plus exposées : du Gibet et des Chevaux, face aux collines à l'est de la ville. A partir du 13 octobre, la guerre des mines est commencée. La deuxième quinzaine d'octobre est celle des combats les plus acharnés. Aussi bien le diaire de Caramuel que la *Relation* de Don Florio rapportent ces événements.

Caramuel note à la fois des épisodes mineurs tout en gardant présent le destin collectif des assiégés. Ces différents éléments rendent son diaire très intéressant. Signalons d'abord des notations très brèves mais suggestives : « Esta noche no se vio luz en el palacio », écrit-il en date du 26 juillet. Il y a aussi des épisodes évocateurs sur la vie militaire : le soldat rebelle qui doit être exécuté et à qui il faut un confesseur (15 octobre), pas jésuite ... la femme emmenée de force par les soldats impériaux qui sans doute abusent d'elle (le 7 novembre) etc. Caramuel note aussi bien l'ardeur au combat des étudiants que l'engagement très réticent de certains nobles. Il rapporte aussi la participation active à la défense des juifs chargés aussi d'éteindre les incendies. Mais il ne cache pas la difficulté à trouver de l'argent. La question des secours qui doivent délivrer la ville est essentielle, surtout lorsque la chute de



Tabor survenue le 24 août isole davantage Prague. Deux attitudes sont bien relatées : d'une part l'attente de l'armée impériale dont on parle dès le 30 septembre, d'autre part les interrogations sur les conditions d'une capitulation. Il est clair que l'on a discuté chez les assiégés sur ce que pourraient être de « bons articles ». Le 31 octobre, après quatre assauts suédois repoussés à grand peine, Caramuel note à propos de la délivrance : « spes dulcis sed fallax ». Lorsque surgit enfin, le 3 novembre, l'avant garde impériale du colonel Unger, il se contente d'écrire cette phrase d'une émouvante brièveté : « empeçamos a créer que avia socorro ». L'abbé de Montserrat n'a pas combattu en vain.

### III. Caramuel combattant

Plus encore qu'à Louvain ou à Frankenthal, ses précédentes expériences guerrières, Caramuel a pris part aux combats. Cette fois, ce n'est plus un étudiant ou un religieux réfugié dans une forteresse. L'abbé de Montserrat est un des personnages importants de la défense. Le raid suédois a provoqué la capture de la plupart des autorités de la ville et du royaume. Echappent à la captivité Colloredo et aussi le comte Michna, ainsi que, pour le clergé, les jésuites du *Clementinum*, Don Florio Cremona et Caramuel. C'est eux qui, avec des officiers et les bourgmestres, prennent en main la défense des deux villes de rive droite. La participation de Caramuel a pris plusieurs aspects.

D'abord, la mobilisation des religieux. Dès le 27, Don Martin Paradis propose à Colloredo l'armement des ecclésiastiques. Seule une situation extrême peut justifier que des hommes d'Église prennent les armes et combattent. Dans le diaire, Caramuel ne discute pas les arguments pro et contra mais en vient directement à la participation des religieux à la défense. Il ne mentionne pas les refus ou les hésitations de certains - qu'on connaît par ailleurs. Le 2 août, il note à propos des jésuites : « Jesuitae authores belli dicti ad fortificationes ad operandum missi. » On sait leur rôle pour l'encadrement des étudiants et

l'organisation de la défense du débouché du pont. Mais il n'est jamais question pour autant du P. Plachý. Seuls trois jésuites sont signalés dans le diaire : les PP. Arriaga et Vratislav dès le récit de l'attaque suédoise, puis le P. Colocarus qui, le 9 novembre – après le siège donc – demande à Caramuel d'écrire « de armis religiosorum », ce qu'interdit le recteur des jésuites. En revanche, Don Florio est évoqué par Caramuel. Sa propre *Relation* permet de savoir que des religieux appelés par lui comme délégué du cardinal Harrach et conduits par le doyen de Brandeis, le recteur des jésuites et le prieur des carmes, ont pris place aux côtés des soldats. L'assaut suédois du 13 octobre contre les portes des chevaux et du gibet fut leur baptême du feu.

Caramuel joua un rôle notable dans le renforcement des fortifications. Les villes vieille et nouvelle étaient les parties les moins bien défendues de Prague. Leurs murailles étaient longues et anciennes. Elles étaient aussi faciles à bombarder depuis les collines à l'est de la ville. Mais la lenteur de l'investissement des deux villes par les Suédois permit aux Pragois de s'organiser. Dès le 6 août, Caramuel nous dit qu'il visite les fortifications, ce qu'il fait régulièrement ensuite, les 30 août, 8 et 14 septembre. A la date du 6 août, il inclut un croquis explicatif dans ses notes à propos d'une des sections du rempart qu'il va voir le soir avec Colloredo et d'autres officiers. A partir du début octobre, il ne fait pas qu'examiner les murailles et sans doute conseiller des travaux. Nul doute que son expérience pragoise n'ait contribué à nourrir ses écrits ultérieurs sur l'architecture et la fortification idéale.<sup>6</sup> Son diaire devient comme rythmé par les explosions de mines des assiégeants et

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<sup>6</sup> Dans le catalogue de 28 pages concluant la première édition de sa *Theologia moralis fundamentalis* parue à Francfort en 1652, Caramuel signale p. 5 un de ses ouvrages (dont il n'est pas certain qu'il ait été publié) : « Architectura militaris : agit in prima parte de fortalitiis et iis effossis tormenta, munitiones et milites addit ubi multa quae eisdem propugnandis aut etiam expugnandis servient. Et in secunda, longam mirabilemque obsidionem Pragensis Civitas, sine muro, sine milite, sine sulphure pyreo, sine tormentis bellicis prodigiose defensae, ad ei militaris penitiorum notitiam accurate recenset. » Je dois des remerciements renouvelés à J.-R. Armogathe pour cette indication.

des assiégés. Les murs largement ruinés de Prague sont complétés de tranchées et de retranchements avancés. Ils sont féroce­ment disputés.

Caramuel a enfin directement participé aux combats d'octobre. Du 6 au 28, les Suédois ont lancé quatre principaux assauts contre les murs orientaux de la ville. Caramuel reste discret sur sa participation personnelle. Mais les combats sont directement évoqués à partir du 13. Dans les phrases alors en latin, « nos » ne désigne pas seulement les défenseurs, mais spécifiquement les religieux qui, à la porte du gibet, remplacent les bourgeois en fuite et tiennent la position toute la nuit. Caramuel, d'après d'autres sources que son diaire, a agi comme officier d'artillerie, ce que l'on devine lorsqu'il rapporte l'assaut du 21. Eut-il l'occasion de mettre en œuvre le type de bombe inventé par son père ? Le récit des derniers jours est ponctué d'alarmes, d'assauts et de mines. La première personne du pluriel, cette fois en espagnol, désigne les artilleurs en action à la porte aux chevaux. La réalité de la guerre est évoquée sobrement mais fortement : le 4 novembre « Por la mañana fui a ver las ruinas. Los cadaberes. Las fortificaciones nuevas. Semiasi. Semivorati a canibus. Semi sepulti. Pridie sepelierant 80. jacebant quasi 30. hinc inde. » La veille, le même spectacle a frappé le rédacteur jésuite du diaire du collège. Sans doute fallait-il le regard de deux non professionnels de la guerre pour nous rapporter la vue d'un champ de bataille après les combats.

En conclusion, remarquons d'abord que la fin du siège ne signifie pas le départ des Suédois, mais le début de nouvelles relations avec eux, maintenant que la paix est officielle. Désormais vient le temps des récompenses et des prétentions. Un jour de novembre qui n'est pas précisé, Caramuel constate le subtil mélange d'ingratitude et de bienfaits de la cour impériale désormais sauvée des Suédois. Son ami Bartolomé de Paradis lui rapporte la remarque du prince de Lobkowitz à son propos : « Respondit etiam in pace episcopatos dari haereticis et non mihi catholico hispano optimus merito. » On ne peut mieux résumer à la fois la paix de Westphalie qui abandonne aux Suédois des évêchés d'Allemagne du Nord et la situation personnelle de Caramuel toujours en quête d'une position.



## Teaching of Philosophy and Theology in Prague at the Time of Caramuel's Stay and His Contacts with Prague Tertiary Institutions

Hedvika Kuchařová

If we read the annals of the Benedictine Monastery Emauzy (or Na Slovanech) in Prague from the 18th century, we can find biographies of its second abbot, Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz. All the texts are, as general outlines, to a certain extent, identical. They point out Caramuel's intellectual powers and his extraordinary erudition, pass over his activity in the monastery, and they are all a little confused in their description of his career in Prague. Veremundus Proche in *Leo Benedictino-Czechicus* (1724) writes about Caramuel twice: in one part devoted to abbots of the monastery Emauzy and in another part dedicated to Bohemian Benedictine bishops. Proche describes in detail Caramuel's literary work and mentions that the abbot did not die in his monastery but went away to Rome and was appointed as a bishop. It was probably due to an oversight that Proche recorded Caramuel as being appointed as abbot of Emauzy in 1650 and this erroneous date has been corrected to 1647.<sup>1</sup> *Collectarium variorum miscellaneorum*, which treats Caramuel's scientific career before his arrival in Prague, conjectures,

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<sup>1</sup> Veremundus Proche, *Leo Benedictino-Czechicus seu Monimenta tam praeterita, tam praesentia sacerrimi Ordinis sanctissimi patris nostri Benedicti in et per inclytum Regnum Bohemiae*, 1724, National archives in Prague (NA), Archives of the monastery Emauzy (next ŘA-B), Manuscript n. 11, f. 300v.

also incorrectly, that Caramuel was an auxiliary bishop of Prague (*ut aliqui sentient*), describes his being summoned to appear in Rome and recounts a story which occurred during his audience with the Pope, who claimed that nobody had ever spoken like Caramuel.<sup>2</sup> *Montis sancti culmen secundum* by Hieronymus Cechner contains another account of Caramuel's life which might offer an explanation as to how the conjecture that Caramuel was the auxiliary bishop of Prague had so persisted in the Monastery Emauzy: Caramuel had had the neighboring church of St. Cosmas and Damian restored, and the renovation was completed in 1657 (Cechner mentioned *abbate absente*), although the building was not consecrated until 1659 by the auxiliary bishop of Prague, Josef Corti.<sup>3</sup> In another manuscript Proche mentions the monastic studies in Emauzy in the time of Caramuel, the "Papal" story and Caramuel's life after he resigned from as abbot in Emauzy.<sup>4</sup>

The last of the above-mentioned manuscripts describes an appearance of Caramuel at the University of Prague as well. The abbot of Emauzy came to Carolinum in 1653 where a theological disputation was held under the chairmanship of Roderigo Arriaga. Without being recognized he took a seat among the participants of the disputation. When Arriaga asked Caramuel for his argument, Caramuel replied in such an extraordinary way that Arriaga cried out: "Aut es diabolus, aut Caramuel." The abbot answered: "Diabolus non sum, fac conse-

<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus Cechner, *Collectarium variorum miscellaneorum*. Pars prima, NA, ŘA-B, Manuscript n. 14, pp. 5–6; S. Sousedík, "Jan Caramuel, opat emauzský (1606–1682)", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae* IX, 1968, fasc. 2, pp. 115–138. Sousedík dates the events in 1654, the source of the monastery was written about 1656, also about the time of the pontificate Pope Alexander VII.

<sup>3</sup> Hieronymus Cechner, *Montis sancti culmen secundum continens montem Ser-ratum Hispanum, Viennensem et Pragensem*, NA, ŘA-B. Caramuel's plans to be appointed auxiliary bishop of Prague described by A. Catalano, "Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 44, 2002, pp. 339–392.

<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus Cechner, *Historia Emautina*, NA, ŘA-B, Manuscript n. 2, pp. 609–617.

quantiam,” and he left the auditorium. That this story could be true lies in its resemblance to another one of Caramuel’s tempestuous appearances at a disputation at the Archiepiscopal Seminary in Prague, as described in a contemporary source.

In 1653 Caramuel took part in the disputation in the Archiepiscopal Seminary under the chairmanship of the Cistercian Hilger Burghof. One of his statements was that plants are capable not only of vegetative existence, but also of a sensitive life which Caramuel defended quite passionately. In conclusion, he accused Burghof of having incorrect knowledge of St. Augustine’s work and threw the torn theses on the floor of the auditorium. The author of this account, a Premonstratensian of Strahov Monastery, seemed to take Burghof’s side, mentioning that one of the causes of Caramuel’s disagreement was the fact that, as an archiepiscopal officiant, he had supervised censorship and must have censored theological theses as well.<sup>5</sup>

These are anecdotal accounts of Caramuel’s stay in Prague but what was the reality? What kind of philosophical and theological studies did he actually find in Prague and what kind of relations did he establish there? In what manner did he support the theological studies in his Monastery Emauzy? What sort of relationship existed between the abbot and the monks of which the annals from 18th century are silent? In this paper we shall try to answer these questions.

Besides the University of Prague and the archiepiscopal seminary, there were other theological schools in the monasteries of Prague at the time of Caramuel’s arrival. Before the Thirty Years War, two universities existed in Prague – the old Carolina, transformed in a one-faculty (Faculty of Arts) university, and newer Jesuit colleges, which were promoted to university in 1616. After the defeat of the Bohemian Estates’ uprising, the situation of the Utraquistic Carolina was rather unstable. In 1622 its control was transferred to the Jesuits who made a plan for its reorganization. The plan restricted the rights of the

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<sup>5</sup> *Annals of the College Norbertinum*, Prague, Strahov Library, shelfmark DJ III 1, ff. 86r-86v.

Archbishop of Prague as great chancellor of the university and made other religious orders incapable of teaching at the Faculty of Arts or the Faculty of Theology. In 1627 the Archbishop of Prague, Adalbert Ernst Harrach, successfully pushed the prohibition of university graduations (except members of *Societas Jesu*) through at the Congregation *De propaganda fide*. Due to the escalation of this controversy, in 1638 the Emperor and the King of Bohemia, Ferdinand III, divided the university again into the high school of Jesuits administered by the order, and the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Law supervised by the emperor.

In the autumn 1631, the archbishop Harrach established an archiepiscopal seminary in Prague. The Saxon invasion of Bohemia, however, interrupted its studies and the seminary was not actually reopened until 1635. The abbot of Premonstratensian Monastery at Strahov, Caspar Questenberg, was the closest ally among Harrach's colleagues, and the superiors of some Cistercian monasteries in Bohemia were also found to be cooperative. The archbishop, however, in trying to fill the ranks of teachers in the seminary, found that neither the Premonstratensians nor the Cistercians could assist him as they likewise lacked a sufficient number of competent members. In 1629, Harrach invited Irish Franciscans who occupied various colleges in Catholic Europe, to teach at his seminary. At the end of 1638 the Pope Urban VIII awarded the archiepiscopal seminary all rights of a university, including the right to confer academic titles. The studies, however, were again interrupted the following year by the Thirty Years War.

At the beginning of 1640s the seminary's situation was getting worse. In 1641 the chapter of the Premonstratensians from the Bohemian and Moravian province of the Order was held, being the first chapter after the death of the abbot Questenberg. The participants of the chapter (except for the abbots of the monasteries of Strahov and Teplá) hesitated to support this project of the archiepiscopal seminary united with a college of the Order (the building of the college Norbertinum had just been finished). Those superiors, of the monas-



teries in Moravia in particular, had decidedly different plans for their monastic studies. Nevertheless, the controversy between the archbishop, the emperor and the Jesuits over the fate of the university was an incomparably greater threat.

In November 1641 the governor ordered soldiers to occupy the seminary, and the inhabitants of Bohemia were prohibited from studying there. The seminary should only exist as nonpublic school, intended only for future priests of the archdiocese of Prague and for members of religious orders, without the possibility of graduating.

The archbishop of Prague and his allies struggled to change this situation by means of the Congregation De propaganda fide and the Roman Curia. Upon the Emperor's decision, a commission was established where all sides of the controversy presented their plans for the future of the organization and the relationship between the old Carolina, the Jesuit colleges and the archiepiscopal seminary. Yet, as it was very difficult to arrive at a compromise solution, the negotiations soon reached a deadlock.<sup>6</sup>

After his arrival in Prague, Caramuel used the local tertiary institutions for his scientific work. When he visited the archiepiscopal seminary for the first time he was especially interested in its library.<sup>7</sup> We can only wonder if his scientific needs could be satisfied in Prague in this time of war. Even if the seminary library could have been restored to its original condition, its potential was further limited by the building's recent occupation by soldiers during the Saxon invasion.<sup>8</sup> The classical authors read by teachers and students of the highest levels

<sup>6</sup> From recent monographies: I. Čornejová, *Kapitoly z dějin pražské univerzity 1622–1754*, Prague 1992, pp. 9–26; A. Catalano, *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa centrale (1620–1667)*, Rome 2005, pp. 313–357.

<sup>7</sup> A. Catalano, “Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia”, op. cit., p. 345.

<sup>8</sup> We don't know any catalogues of the seminary library from 17th century. Its manuscripts are in possession of the Central Catholic Library, Prague, old prints of the Strahov Library.

of the grammar school were the most prevalent in the library of the Premonstratensian college Norbertinum, which contained about one thousand books.<sup>9</sup> The Irish Franciscans had established a library in their college in 1631 but the costs and availability of books in Prague made their acquisition difficult. Bohemian Catholic priests assisted them with some important works.<sup>10</sup> In 1622 the Jesuit library was connected to libraries of Carolina's colleges, but during the war its preservation deteriorated. The library's future, and subsequently, that of the university itself, remained uncertain.<sup>11</sup>

At first Caramuel took the office of abbot in the Monastery Emauzy. The Spanish Benedictines of Montserrat came to Prague in 1635 at the request of the Emperor Ferdinand III. As this foundation in 1635 was not economically sufficient for the monks it was revised in 1647. The Pope Urban VIII confirmed the first foundation in 1637 on condition that, although the first abbot was to be appointed by the emperor, subsequent abbots were chosen by the monks. The second foundation, accepted by the Pope in 1660,<sup>12</sup> reserved the right of patronage as well as the choice of its superior by the emperor. The emperor's claims to power conflicted heavily with the rule of the Order. It was Caramuel who was the of the monastery's abbot during this time of uncertainty.

Benedikt de Peñalosa was appointed the first abbot of the monastery Emauzy in 1636. At that time there were only six monks living in the monastery but in the next several years their numbers increased to around twenty to twenty-five. The assertion that the monastery's community was largely Spanish is not especially accurate as, by Caramu-

<sup>9</sup> Prague, Strahov Library, shelfmark DK III 32.

<sup>10</sup> Dean of Mělník Jan Václav Tlappa of Wainberg donated them letters of S. Hieronymus, archdean of Kutná Hora Matouš Černovský commentary of Petrus Tartaretus to Aristotle and to *Summulae* of Petrus Hispanus. See J. Pařez, H. Kuchařová, *Hyberní v Praze*, Prague 2001, pp. 109–112.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Tobolka, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna v Praze, její vznik a vývoj*, Prague 1959, pp. 31–41.

<sup>12</sup> NA, ŘA-B, charters n. 7, 11–13.

el's time we could find Germans, Austrians and Irish, as well as the occasional monk from the Bohemian lands living in the monastery.<sup>13</sup>

Caramuel's arrival in Prague in August 1647 was not very welcome at the Benedictine monastery. The monks were afraid of the emperor's manipulation with the choice of the monastic superior and the rule of the order. In the summer before Caramuel's arrival, the prior of Emauzy, Isidor de Cruce, sent Archbishop Harrach a letter with conditions for the new abbot. The community pointed out that Caramuel was a Cistercian and was unfamiliar with the rules and customs of the Spanish Benedictine Congregation. Caramuel's erudition, fame and intelligence, however, spoke in his favour. Archbishop Harrach refused to submit to the objections of the Benedictines and, in a pronouncement dated July 10, 1647, given on Don Florio Cremona and Basilius d'Aire, he confirmed the new abbot in Emauzy. It was taken for granted that the Benedictines would concede to the wishes of the emperor and the archbishop.<sup>14</sup>

Caramuel was very serious about his role from the beginning. In October 1647 he issued a statement about the life in the monastery. He did not forget the importance of the Benedictine rules and customs and he assured the monks of his respect for them. In December of 1647, at the feast of St. John the Evangelist, he preached a sermon about his "De philosophia rationali" to the monastery's philosophy students<sup>15</sup> and in 1648, a theological disputation was likewise held there.<sup>16</sup> After the war, in 1652, lectures in philosophy, and probably in theology as well, were presented regularly in Emauzy.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> NA, ŘA-B, Manuscript n. 34.

<sup>14</sup> NA, ŘA-B, box n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> J. Caramuel, *Encyclopaedia concionatoria*, Pragae 1652, p. 190. A connection with the monastery Emauzy and Caramuel's position in the community had sermon "De Domini nativitate et commendatariis abbatibus", too p. 207.

<sup>16</sup> A. Catalano, "Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606-1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia", op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>17</sup> Hieronymus Cechner, *Historia Emautina*, op. cit., p. 616.

As the archiepiscopal officiant (from 1650) Caramuel would almost certainly have had an influence on the studies in the archiepiscopal seminary although there are only sporadic references to it. In his *Encyclopedia concionatoria* we can find three interrelating sermons: “Philosophia vegetalis. De moralibus et supernaturalibus, quas docemur a floribus et eminerunt in mellifluo Bernardo” preached in the feast of Assumption of Our Lady, “Philosophia sensitiva. De virtutibus naturalibus et supernaturalibus, quas docemur a brutis et floruerunt in D. Bernardo” from the feast of St. Bernard of Clairvaux preached “in the presence of our students”, and “Philosophia humana. De substantia et potentiis animae rationalis”. Some references could point to the fact that the sermons were delivered in the presence of students from the Bohemian lands (a play on words with the name Žižka).<sup>18</sup>

A great part of Caramuel’s efforts was devoted to solving the organizational problems of the University of Prague and its relationship to the archiepiscopal seminary. He devised, together with Roderigo Ariaga, a plan of compromise that involved the cooperation of the university and the seminary, but this plan was never realized.<sup>19</sup> In the early 1650s he organized a larger cooperation of religious orders within the seminary. The Irish Franciscans had refused to capitulate to Harrach’s decision to constrain the teachers in the seminary according to his demands. As a result of this controversy, two experienced teachers, Bernardin Clancy and Bonaventura Bruodin, were forced to leave their college of the Irish Franciscans. Until 1659 they were to live in other monasteries, staying for a short time in Emauzy, and then for a longer period in the monastery of the Bohemian Franciscans.<sup>20</sup> Caramuel probably had a friendly relationship with Bernardin Clancy and valued his theological erudition: the Franciscan wrote good commentary (or imprimatur) to Caramuel’s works *Cursus moralis, philosophicus, theo-*

<sup>18</sup> J. Caramuel, *Encyclopaedia concionatoria*, op. cit., pp. 141–190.

<sup>19</sup> A. Catalano, “Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia”, op. cit., pp. 414–420.

<sup>20</sup> J. Pařez, H. Kuchařová, *Hyberni v Praze*, op. cit., pp. 74–77.

*logicus sive theologia fundamentalis moralis* and *De Ecclesiae Romanae hierarchia libri decem*.<sup>21</sup> Following the situation with Irish Franciscans, an agreement of cooperation with Caramuel and the Bohemian Cistercians was resolved, reorganizing the studies in the archiepiscopal seminary. It was signed by the Cistercian abbots (from Plasy, Zbraslav and Vyšší Brod) on October 8, 1652, and afterward by the abbot of Strahov, Crispin Fuk and the Benedictines. It is possible that Caramuel's tempestuous discourse at the disputation "about plants" at the archiepiscopal seminary was prompted by fears of the school's high standards being threatened during this tumultuous period.<sup>22</sup>

Caramuel's position in Prague had changed before the mid-1650s and the abbot of Emauzy began to consider the possibility of being appointed a bishop in Italy.<sup>23</sup> In January 1655 he left the monastery and, after the election of the Pope Alexander VII, set out on a journey to Rome. He appointed Isidor de Cruce as his deputy superior in Emauzy,<sup>24</sup> but the absence of the abbot had an adverse effect on the community. The tension among the monks (even a somewhat "nationalistic" friction arose, specifically between the Irish and the other community) and renewed rumblings that Caramuel had been appointed abbot by the emperor without regard for the first foundation, nor for the rule of the Spanish Benedictine Congregation, made the situation in the monastery worse.

<sup>21</sup> The first edition of *Cursus moralis* was published in Frankfort by Theobald Schoenwetter in 1654, the second edition under the title *Theologia fundamentalis moralis* in Lyon in 1657, Clanchy's censor is printed in the second edition, too. *De Ecclesiae Romanae hierarchia libri decem* was published in Prague by Urban Balthasar Goliasch in 1653.

<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the Irish Franciscans prevailed in the archbishop's seminary until 1692.

<sup>23</sup> About the complicated position of Caramuel writes A. Catalano, "Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606-1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia", op. cit., pp. 368-380; S. Sousedík, "Juan Caramuel, opat emauzský (1608-1682)", op. cit., pp. 130-135 (report *Idea gubernationis ecclesiae* he attributed of course to Jesuits).

<sup>24</sup> NA, Archives of archdiocese of Prague, box n. 2060.

In July 1657 Isidor de Cruce urged the Emperor Leopold I to appoint a new abbot. Leopold I notified Archbishop Harrach of this demand who conducted a visitation to the monastery within weeks. The conclusions of the visitation were less than satisfactory. The archbishop made various personnel changes but otherwise decided to wait until Caramuel's return. In the spring of 1658 Caramuel was back in the monastery but, although a part of community was loyal to its abbot, others (especially the Irish, according to Caramuel's letters to Harrach) were quite antagonistic towards him. He was forced leave the monastery again and to resign his post as abbot. Neither the monastic community nor the archbishop, however, could decisively confirm his resignation as, according to the second foundation, the Emperor and King of Bohemia, Leopold I, was his official patron. Because the Emperor kept silent about Caramuel's resignation, Harrach encouraged the abbot to remain in Emauzy for the good of the monastery.<sup>25</sup>

Subsequently, the Irish accused Caramuel of disobeying the vow of poverty and Harrach (probably to maintain stability in the community) approved the searching of Caramuel's personal properties. In the archiepiscopal commission, the future bishop of Hradec Králové Matouš Sobek of Bilenberk was present. Sobek was aware of awkwardness of the situation, and wrote in his report on the search with consideration: "Vidimus boni Caramuelis paupertatem maximam, nil ibi videre erat praeter manuscripta, libros aliquot, laminas cupreas, instrumenta aliqua mathematica, pixides characteribus pro impressione implantas, denique praeter dicta nil reperimus." The suspicion was found to have been completely unjustified and only served to embitter the last period of Caramuel's stay in Bohemia. He was released from the abbatial office in Emauzy in 1662.

To summarize Caramuel's activities and contributions to theological studies in Prague in the 1650s is not a simple task. It must be said

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, letters from April 1658.

that he played a significant role in the organization of the archiepiscopal seminary during the turbulent time of the controversies with the Irish Franciscans. In the relationship between the seminary and the university he was unable to realize what Harrach, Arriaga and he, himself, wished – that the Jesuits schools (the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology, Universitas Ferdinandea) and the old Carolina would be connected in 1654 as Universitas Carolo-Ferdinandea, while the seminary remained a nonpublic school. Although he was instrumental in the forming of theological studies in the Monastery Emauzy, his period as abbot should be evaluated somewhat warily. The eighteenth-century annalists of Emauzy were well aware of the ambiguity and could not keep silent about the fact that, although another prior with other abilities and skills might have been of some benefit to the formation of the monastery, they also understood that Caramuel's name, that of a scholar of extraordinary intellectual power, won considerable fame for the monastery.





## Juan Caramuel und Jan Marcus Marci

Josef Smolka

Unter vielen Freunden und Bekannten von Joannes Caramuel finden wir auch den Namen des Prager Arztes, Physikers und des vielseitigen Naturwissenschaftlers Joannes Marcus Marci (1595–1667).<sup>1</sup> Es waren einerseits mehrere Probleme der damaligen *Mathesis*, der mathematischen Disziplinen im breitesten Sinne, die die beiden Gelehrten verknüpften, andererseits mehrere gemeinsame Freunde – und unter ihnen besonders die Persönlichkeit des gelehrten Polyhistor aus dem jesuitischen Collegium Romanum, Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680).<sup>2</sup> Die beiden schätzten sich einander sehr hoch und so – ungeachtet gewisser Altersverschiedenheit, Caramuel war um 11 Jahre jünger

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<sup>1</sup> Die Grundleitern über J. M. Marci ist zusammengefaßt bei D. Ledrerová, „Biographie de Joannes Marcus Marci“, *Acta historiae rerum naturalium nec non technicarum*, Special Issue 3, 1967, S. 39 ff. Von den neueren Arbeiten führen wir an: Z. Servít, *Jan Marek Marci z Kronlandu*, Bratislava – Prag 1989; *Joannes Marcus Marci, a Seventeenth-Century Polymath* (Sammelbuch zum 400. Geburtstag), hrsg. P. Svobodný, Prag 1998; und zuletzt J. Smolka, M. Svatoš, „Paralipomena k biografii J. M. Marci (Paralipomena zur Biographie von J. M. Marci)“, mit den Beiträgen: „J. M. Marci, Physiker des Königreichs Böhmen (1628)“, „J. M. Marci als Apotheker (1634)“ und „Zeugnisse vom Leben und Tod des J. M. Marci“, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 48, 2003, 1–2, S. 21–79.

<sup>2</sup> Über Kircher vgl. J. Fletcher (Hrsg.), *Athanasius Kircher und seine Beziehungen zur gelehrten Europa seiner Zeit*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1988, wo weitere reiche Literatur zu finden ist.

– war ihre Freundschaft sehr tief und dauerte bis zum Marcis Ableben. Wir haben leider kein direktes Zeugnis darüber, wann sich die beiden Gelehrten kennengelernt haben, wann sie sich zum erstenmal begegneten, wie und unter welchen Bedingungen ihre Freundschaft entstanden ist. In den wenigen Dokumenten, die uns zur Verfügung stehen, teilt uns darüber weder Caramuel noch Marci faktisch fast nichts mit. Und so sind wir leider größtenteils zu Mutmassungen verurteilt.

Bevor sich die beiden Gelehrten persönlich kennengelernt haben, standen sie in einem regem Briefwechsel. Damit ist eine grundsätzliche Frage verbunden: Wann wurde dieser Briefwechsel überhaupt eröffnet? Meine bisherigen Vorstellungen hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten der spanische Autor, dessen Werk für die beste Biographie Caramuels<sup>3</sup> gehalten wird, gründlich durcheinandergemischt. Er schreibt, daß der erste Brief Caramuels an Marci, den wir kennen, mit dem Jahre 1636 datiert ist und daß seit dieser Zeit ihre intensive Korrespondenz läuft.<sup>4</sup> Er beruft sich dabei auf Nachlaß Caramuels in Vigevano<sup>5</sup>. So ein Brief – angeblich geographischen Inhalts, Caramuel sendet ihm dabei alle existierende Karten der Welt – der in der bisheigen Literatur völlig unbekant ist, wäre für die böhmische Geschichte der Wissenschaften von sehr großer Wichtigkeit. Er würde zu einem bedeutsamen Baustein für das immer noch zu leere Mosaik der Biographie Marcis. Nach der Lektüre dieser Stelle war ich völlig entzückt, es gab aber zwei Tatsachen, die mir verdächtig waren und meine Freude störten. Erstens, zu dieser Zeit, um das Jahr 1636, weiß man von keinen Verbindungen Marcis mit dem Ausland, das kommt erst später, in den 40er Jahren. Zweitens, zu dieser Zeit weiß man auch von keinen seinen geographischen Interessen. Die Existenz so eines Briefes riefen

<sup>3</sup> J. Velarde Lombrana, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Pentalfa, Oviedo 1989.

<sup>4</sup> „De 1636 data la primera carta, que conoscemos, de Caramuel a Marci ... A partir de ese ano Caramuel y Marci mantienen un intenso y prolongado comercio epistolar.“ *Ibid.*, S. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Kapitulararchiv Vigevano (weiter nur ACV), sec. III, carp. 8.

also diese zwei Hauptfragen hervor, die in Prag schwierig zu beantworten waren, und führten mich schließlich zu der Entscheidung das Archiv in Vigevano zu besuchen und die ganze Angelegenheit an Ort und Stelle zu lösen. In dem dortigen Kapitulararchiv wurde ich von den Mitarbeitern der Domkapitel und des Archivs, besonders von Don Paolo Bonato sehr freundlich angenommen, sowie auch von Professor Daniele Sabaino und dem Historiker und Sammler Cesare Sasso.<sup>6</sup> Alle haben mir sehr viel geholfen, alle haben den oben erwähnten Brief mit mir gesucht, aber leider vergeblich. Anlässlich unseres Symposiums hatte ich die Absicht, diese wichtige Frage zu klären. Es gelang aber nicht, und so sah ich mich schon gezwungen die ganze Sache abzulegen und der Forschung der weiteren Generation überlassen zu müssen. In dem Archiv liegt ein anderer – und in Vigevano der einzige – Caramuels Brief an Marci, und zwar von dem 7. Juli 1644, von dem noch die Rede sein wird. Ein Fragment davon hat vor zwei Jahren Stanislav Sousedík veröffentlicht.<sup>7</sup> Enttäuscht durch den Mißerfolg in der Suche nach dem Briefe vom Jahre 1636, habe ich als eine Entschädigung wenigstens den fehlenden Teil des „Sousedíks“-Briefes vom Jahre 1644 entdeckt.<sup>8</sup> Im letzten Moment

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<sup>6</sup> Bei dieser Gelegenheit danke ich ihnen allen noch einmal.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. S. Sousedík, „Nevyužitý pramen k problematice pronikání karteziánství do českých zemí v 17. století“ (Eine unausgenützte Quelle zur Problematik des Durchdringens der kartesianischen Lehre nach Böhmen in dem 17. Jahrhundert), *Studia Neoaristotelica* 1, 2004, 1–2, S. 185ff.

<sup>8</sup> Der fehlende Teil dieses Briefes wurde unter der falschen Bezeichnung als ein Brief Caramuels an Descartes aufbewahrt, vgl. ACV, p.t., busta 28.44. Diese Angelegenheit brachte uns aber weitere Komplikationen. Als wir diesen Brief Caramuels bei Descartes' beglaubigen wollten, mußten wir feststellen, daß es unter den Korrespondenten Descartes keinen Caramuel gab. Es gilt wenigstens von den folgenden Ausgaben: *Lettres de Mr. Descartes ... de la morale, physique, médecine et des mathématique*, Paris – Leiden 1657; *Lettres de Mr. Descartes ... de ses autres ouvrages*, Paris – Leiden 1659; *Renati Descartes Epistolae*, Amsterdam 1682–1683, 3 Bände; und besonders von der repräsentativen Ausgabe von Ch. Adam und P. Tannery, *Œuvres de Descartes*, Bd. III, V, X, Paris 1899–1908, die die Briefe aus den Jahren 1640–1650 enthalten.

kam D. Sabaino, der glücklicherweise im Besitz der elektronischen Adresse des Autors gewesen war, mit einem einfachen, aber, wie sich gezeigt hat, mit einem sehr effektiven Vorschlag: sich an J. Velarde Lombraña direkt zu wenden. Ich habe seine elektronische Adresse erhalten und habe ihm gleich nach meinem Rückkehr nach Prag geschrieben. Weiter nur kurz. Velarde Lombraña zeigte sich als ein ehrlicher Mann, in zwei Tagen hat er mir – einem für ihn ganz unbekanntem Mann – geantwortet und gestand, daß er einen schweren Irrtum begangen ist.<sup>9</sup> Mein ehemaliger Professor pflegte oft zu sagen: „Ein negatives Resultat ist bei der Forschung auch ein Resultat, das etwas wert ist.“

Zu dem ersten Kontakt zwischen Caramuel und Marci kam es also meinen Kenntnissen nach erst um acht Jahre später, im Jahre 1644. Der Briefwechsel war in diesem Jahr relativ sehr häufig, wie die folgende Übersicht zeigt:

						<i>Mathesis biceps</i>
						(Seite)
Marci	an Caramuel	Pragae	9. Januarii	1644	448–449	
Caramuel	an Marci	Spirae	20. Aprilis	1644	449–450	
Marci	an Caramuel	Pragae	8. Junii	1644	450–451	
Caramuel	an Marci	Spirae	26. Junii	1644	478–480	
Caramuel	an Marci	Spirae	7. Julii	1644	Arch.Cap.	
						Vigevano, p.t., b. 28.39–41
Caramuel	an Marci	Spirae	8. Augusti	1644	454–462	
Marci	an Caramuel	Pragae	27. Augusti	1644	462–468	
Caramuel	an Marci	Francan- daliae	10. Septembris	1644	469–473	
Marci	an Caramuel	Pragae	8. Octobris	1644	473–477	

<sup>9</sup> „...!es líneas de la página 53 ... son un error, un grave error, que creo haber cometido.“ Private e-mail-Mitteilung des Autors, Prof. J. Velarde Lombraña (Oviedo).

Ursprünglich hatten wir keine Absicht diese Tabelle eben hier zu veröffentlichen. Erst der Symposiumsbeitrag von J. Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, „Juan Caramuel’s Journey from Flanders to the Palatinate: A Travel Diary Presented to Fabio Chigi in 1644“, hat uns gezeigt, daß die Zeit- und Ortsangaben aus seiner Korrespondenz für die Rekonstruktion seines Wegs durch Deutschland von großer Wichtigkeit sein könnten.<sup>10</sup>

Bevor aber Caramuel einen Kontakt mit Joannes Marci hergestellt hatte, mußte er einen anderen Tschechen kennenlernen. Es war Graf Bernard Ignatz von Martinitz (1603–1685), ein hoher, dem Habsburger Hause sowie der katholischen Kirche ergebener Politiker,<sup>11</sup> außer-

<sup>10</sup> Dazu kommen noch zwei Angaben aus dem Briefwechsel Caramuels an P. Gasendi: ein Brief bezeichnet als „Spira, 8. Juli 1644“, und ein Brief ohne Ortsangabe datiert „10. September 1644“, in dem Caramuel um die Zusendung der Antwort auch nach Speyer bittet, vgl. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps vetus et nova*, Campaniae 1670, S. 1450, resp. S. 1455.

<sup>11</sup> B. I. Martinitz war Sohn des im Jahre 1618 defenestrierten Jaroslav Bořita Martinitz. Das bestimmte ihn natürlich zu der böhmischen politischen Elite: er wurde bald zum kaiserlichen Geheimrat, im Jahre 1638 zum Appellationsrat. Sein Stern stieg dann immer höher und höher, bis er im Jahre 1651 zum höchsten Prager Burggrafen und dem königlichen Statthalter geworden ist. Nach dem Kaiser (und gleichzeitig dem böhmischen König) stellte er bei uns die zweite höchste politische Persönlichkeit vor. Diese Position behielt er dann unglaublich lange, 34 Jahren, bis zum Jahre 1685, in dem er verstorben ist. Seine politische Tätigkeit war sehr reich und vielseitig, trotzdem wurde er aber schon während seines Lebens, und wird auch heute, nur sehr widerspüchlich, eher sogar negativ geschätzt. Eine satirische Schrift hat gegen Martinitz in der Form eines Epitaphs z. B. schon im Jahre 1672 aus den landespatriotischen Positionen der Jesuit Bohuslaus Balbin zusammengeschrieben. Die lateinische Handschrift hat vor kurzer Zeit entdeckt, übersetzt und unter dem Titel *Pamětní nápís – Trophaeum sepulchrale* (Praha – Pragae 1988) Josef Hejnic herausgegeben. Um eine objektive Schätzung seiner Persönlichkeit bemüht sich in den letzten Jahren Alessandro Catalano. Vgl. z. B. seinen achtungsgebietenden Band *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa centrale (1620–1667)*, Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, Rom 2005; oder seinen Referat an der Prager Konferenz „Jesuiten in den böhmischen Ländern“ (April 2006). Über seine reiche Stiftungstätigkeit erörterte vertraut J. Royt, *Obraz a kult v 17. a 18. století v Čechách* (Bild und Kult im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in Böhmen), Prag 2005.

dem aber ein allseitig gebildeter Mensch: in Prag und Passau studierte er Philosophie, in Ingolstadt Rechte und in Graz und Rom Theologie. In dem Zeitraum 1640–1665 stand er in einem regen Briefwechsel mit dem oben genannten A. Kircher.<sup>12</sup> Marci war mit Martinitz in den besten und engsten Beziehungen, er schrieb von ihm z. B., daß er ihm mehrere Wohltaten erwiesen hat.<sup>13</sup>

Früher wußte man nicht genau, wie Caramuel dieser hohen politischen Persönlichkeit begegnet ist. Man glaubte, daß sie sich wahrscheinlich an dem Kaiserhofe getroffen haben. Nachdem Caramuel zu Gunsten des spanischen Königs im Streit um Portugal wiederholt hervorgetreten war<sup>14</sup> und sein Vertrauen gewann, hat ihn nämlich Philipp IV. zum Gesandten bei dem Wiener Kaiserhofe ernannt. Und am Kaiserhofe – hat man geglaubt – habe er zuerst Bernard Ignatz von Martinitz kennengelernt. Erst vor kürzerer Zeit hat der italienische Forscher Alessandro Catalano, ein ausgezeichnete Kenner der böhmischen Geschichte, an eine Caramuels ältere Biographie<sup>15</sup> aufmerksam gemacht, der man entnehmen kann, daß den Wink einen Kontakt mit Caramuel aufzunehmen dem Grafen Martinitz schon vorher selbst Kaiser Ferdinand III. gegeben hat.<sup>16</sup> Dieser hatte wahr-

<sup>12</sup> Seine praktisch unbekannt, bisher nicht bearbeitete Korrespondenz ist im Archiv der Gregorianischen Universität in Rom, *Carteggio Kircher* (weiter nur APUG), aufbewahrt.

<sup>13</sup> „...ego cum multis beneficiis ab eo sim affectus.“ Marci an Kircher, 12. September 1640, APUG, Sign. 557, F. 127r.

<sup>14</sup> Dazu vgl. Caramuels Schriften *Philippus Prudens*, Antverpiae 1639; *Respuesta al manifesto del reyno de Portugal*, Anberes 1642; und *Ioannes Bargantinus, Lusitaniae illegitimus rex*, Lovanii 1642. Die stellten für die österreichischen Habsburger natürlich mehr als eine genügende Empfehlung dar.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Tadisi, *Memorie della vita di Monsignore Giovanni Caramuel di Lobkowitz, vescovo di Vigevano*, Venedig 1760.

<sup>16</sup> „...si puo credere alle parole del suo biographo settecentesco, gia nel 1642 Ferdinando III aveva chiesto al noto politico boemo Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz di fare da tramita con Caramuel.“ Vgl. A. Catalano, „Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1602–1682) e la riconquista delle coscienze in Boemia“, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 44, 2002, S. 341.

scheinlich die Absicht seine Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen auf dem Gebiete des Fortifikationsbaus auszunützen – die schwedische und türkische Gefahr war immer noch da. Es war übrigens das Gebiet, auf dem Caramuels Vater dem Kaiser Rudolph II. hervorragende Dienste geleistet hatte.

Martinitz hatte aber noch einen ganz persönlichen Grund, Caramuel auszusuchen. Er hat sich lebhaft für die Steganographie interessiert,<sup>17</sup> die Lehre von der geheimen Schrift. Zu gewisser Zeit war es auch Caramuels Vorliebe, der er eines von seinen ersten Büchern gewidmet hatte.<sup>18</sup> Trotzdem wandte sich Martinitz an Caramuel nicht selbst, er hat dazu eine Order seinem Schützling Marci gegeben.<sup>19</sup> Marci war gehorsam, hat einen Brief geschrieben und dadurch seinen Briefwechsel mit Caramuel am 9. Januar 1644 eröffnet.<sup>20</sup> Aus diesem ersten Brief – also wenigstens ersten von denen, die in Caramuels und Marcis Werken abgedruckt worden sind – geht hervor, daß es aber einen gewissen Kontakt zwischen Martinitz und Caramuel schon vorher gegeben hat. Caramuel hat in der *Mathesis biceps* seinen Brief an Martinitz vom 30. Juli 1643 veröffentlicht – geschrieben also ein halbes Jahr bevor. Es ist aber kein gewöhnlicher Brief, in der Tat ist es eine ganze Abhandlung, die Caramuel Martinitz, dessen Gunst er gewinnen wollte, gewidmet hat – als ob er seine nächste rasche Karriere

<sup>17</sup> Mit dieser Thematik befasst sich auch Martinitz' erster Brief an Kircher vom 17. März 1640, vgl. APUG, Sign. 556, F. 314.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. seine Schrift *Steganographiae, nec non claviculae Salomonis Germani, Ioannis Trithemii ... declaratio*, Coloniae 1636.

<sup>19</sup> Marci bestätigt es in seinem ersten Briefe an Caramuel vom 9. Januar 1644: „...excellentissimus comes de Martinitz D. D. Bernardus, appellationum praeses etc., cujus autem jussu hanc ad epistolam praesumpsi...“ Vgl. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 448.

<sup>20</sup> Die bis jetzt bekannte Korrespondenz der beiden Gelehrten existiert in der ursprünglichen, handschriftlichen Form nicht mehr. Dafür wurde sie schon im 17. Jahrhundert zweimal abgedruckt. Einmal in dem Caramuels monumentalen Werk *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova*, Campaniae 1670, zum zweitenmal in dem Marcis Buch *Othosophia seu philosophia impulsus universalis*, Pragae 1683, herausgegeben posthum von seinem Schüler J. J. W. Dobrzensky.

geahnt hätte. Diese Schrift wurde unter dem Titel *Perpendicularum inconstantia*<sup>21</sup> herausgegeben, es war eine der ersten naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften Caramuels.

Wir haben dieses Werk leider nirgends gefunden, nicht selbst in Vigevano. Es gehört offensichtlich zu den raresten Büchern dieser Zeit, und so blieb uns nichts anderes, als mit einem späteren Abdruck in der *Mathesis biceps* zu arbeiten. Diese Schrift befaßt sich mit der Pendelbewegung, bekämpft die Ansichten eines heute völlig vergessenen Physikers Calignoni, aber auch des verdienten Mersennes, und verteidigt den s.g. Isochronismus des Pendels. Das ist eine ganz besondere Eigenschaft des Pendels, daß die Schwingungen bei den kleineren Auslenkungen immer die gleiche Zeit benötigen. Die Entdeckung des Pendelisochnismus war relativ rezent – es ist gesetzmäßig, daß sie eben in der Epoche gemacht wurde, in der alle Arten der mechanischen Bewegung zum Objekt einer konzentrierten Forschung mehreren Gelehrten aus verschiedenen Ländern geworden sind. Sie wird dem Galilei zugeschrieben, der angeblich schon in dem Jahre 1596 während der Messe in dem Pisaner Dom die langsamen Schwingungen des s.g. ewigen Licht beobachtet hatte. Später, im Jahre 1638, hat er sich mit dieser Frage in seinen *Discorsi* befaßt. Aber auch Marci bestätigte im Jahre 1639<sup>22</sup> diese eigenartige Eigenschaft der Pendelbewegung, die in der weiteren Entwicklung zu der Zeitmessung ausgenützt wurde. Deswegen muß die Schrift Caramuels als ganz eindeutig progressiv bezeichnet werden.

Wenig später, im Jahre 1643, widmete Caramuel dem Martinitz noch eine andere Schrift, diesmal eine astronomische, man fühlt klar, wie er die Martinitz' Gunst um jeden Preis gewinnen wollte (dasselbe

<sup>21</sup> Der ganze Titel lautet *Perpendicularum inconstantia ab A. Calignono excogitata, a P. Gassendi bona fide tradita, et pulchro commentario exornata, examinata et falsa reperta*, Lovanii 1643.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Propositio XXIV. Und XXV. in der Schrift J. M. Marci, *De proportione motus seu regula sphygmica*, Pragae 1639, S. I 1v: „Perpendicularum ex quolibet puncto eiusdem circulo aequali tempore recurrit in suum stationem.“ Und weiter: „Excurus perpendiculi in eodem circulo a linea stationis sunt inter se aequales.“ S. I 3r.



bezieht sich aber auch an Kaiser Ferdinand III., dem er ein wenig später sein physikalisches Werk<sup>23</sup> vom Jahre 1644 und im Jahre 1652 ein Lehrbuch für seinen Sohn Ferdinand IV.<sup>24</sup> gewidmet hat). Auch diesmal ging es nur um eine kleinere Schrift, die sich mit der aktuellen Frage der Satelliten des Jupiters und auch anderer Planeten befaßte<sup>25</sup> und sich die Anzahl der bis damals bekannten Satelliten zu vergrößern bemühte: beim Jupiter an neun, bei Saturn an sechs und mehrere bei Mars. Es scheint, daß diese Schrift durch die Mitarbeit von Caramuel mit einem weniger bekannten Astronom Rheita<sup>26</sup> entstanden ist. Rheita machte die meisten Beobachtungen, Caramuel besorgte die Herausgabe, beteiligte sich aber auch an den Beobachtungen.<sup>27</sup>

Auch diese Angelegenheit hat ihre Vorgeschichte. Die ersten sozusagen „Planeten der Planeten“ hat Galilei im Jahre 1610 bei der ersten Anwendung des Fernrohrs zu den astronomischen Beobachtungen angemeldet, es waren die ersten vier Jupitersatelliten. Die gan-

<sup>23</sup> Es war eine physikalisch interessante Schrift *Sublimium ingeniorum crux iam tandem aliquando deposita*, Lovanii 1644, mit einem längeren Widmungsbrief, in dem Caramuel die Entwicklung der Astronomie in den letzten Jahrzehnten zusammengefasst hat.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. J. Caramuel, *Encyclopaedia concionatoria*, Pragae 1652. Dieses Buch hat neulich P. Bellardi in „Coserelle di Caramuel“, *Fascicolo 4*, 2001, ausführlich analysiert.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. *Novem stellae circa Iovem visae, circa Saturnum sex, circa Martem nonnullae*, Lovanii 1643. Wir finden diesen Titel in den Bibliographien der beiden Gelehrten. Auch dieses Büchlein gehört zu den seltsamsten Schriften dieser Zeit, auch diese haben wir nirgends gefunden (und Caramuel hat sie in seiner *Mathesis biceps* leider nicht abgedruckt).

<sup>26</sup> Antonius Maria Schyrllaues de Rheita (1597–1660), ein Kapuziner Mönch böhmischer Abstammung, anfangs der 40er Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts war er in Köln und Trier tätig.

<sup>27</sup> Caramuel bezeugt z. B. seine Beobachtung vom 2. November 1643 in einem Briefe an Kircher (Spira, 26. Juli 1644, vgl. auch R. Ceñal, unsere Anmerkung 32, S. 125), aber auch in einem Briefe an Marci (Spira, 7. Juli 1644), vgl. S. Sousedik, „Nevyužitý pramen...“, op. cit., S. 189. Caramuel hat damals angeblich besonders die bisher unbekanntenen Flecke am Jupiter beobachtet, analog den schon früher beobachteten Sonnen- und Mondflecken.

ze gelehrte Welt hat diese Entdeckung begrüßt,<sup>28</sup> ist dem Beispiel Galileis gefolgt, hat weiter beobachtet und sich bemüht stufenweise neue Planetensatelliten herauszufinden. Deswegen liegt auch diese Schrift Caramuels in einer fortschrittlichen Linie. Trotzdem nahmen sie die Zeitgenossen nur sehr ungefällig an,<sup>29</sup> sie glaubten, daß die weiteren Beobachtungen deren Richtigkeit nicht bestätigt haben (es scheint, daß später Caramuel diesen Ansichten erlegen ist: in der *Mathesis biceps* spricht er z. B. nur von vier Satelliten Jupiters und ohne sie beantwortet zu haben, stellt er nur schüchtern die Frage, ob sie doch nicht zahlreicher seien). Es ist natürlich sehr kompliziert zu bewerten, was für neue Planetensatelliten Rheita und Caramuel mit der damaligen technischen Ausstattung gesehen haben und was sie überhaupt sehen konnten, eines steht aber fest: Sie waren im Prinzip an einem richtigen Weg. Zum Vergleich: die heutige Astronomie registriert 63 Jupiter- und 34 Saturnsatelliten, dagegen nur zwei Marssatelliten.<sup>30</sup>

Caramuel hat diese astronomische Schrift natürlich seinem erwünschten Gönner Martinitz geschickt und dieser hat sie Marcus Marci zur Verfügung gestellt. Marci hat sie gleich durchgelesen, was er in seinem ersten Brief an Caramuel bestätigte. Er schätzte hoch besonders die Entdeckung der Flecken am Jupiter, am Mars und sogar

<sup>28</sup> Nur an der böhmischen Astronomie liegt eine historische, mit der galileischen Entdeckung verbundene Schande. Martin Horký, ein böhmischer Student tätig bei dem bologneser Astronom A. J. Magini, hat gegen die galileische Entdeckung eine Schrift: *Brevissima peregrinatio contra Nuncium sidereum*, Mutinae 1610, herausgegeben. Darüber mehr siehe J. Smolka, „Böhmen und die Annahme der Galileischen astronomischen Entdeckungen“, in: *Science and Technology in Rudolfinian Time*, Hrsg. J. Folta, Prag 1997, S. 41ff.; idem, „Martin Horký und seine Kalender“, *Miscellanea odd. rukopisů a starých tisků* 18, 2003–2004, 2005, S. 145ff.

<sup>29</sup> Zu den wichtigen Opponenten gehörte z. B. P. Gassendi, seine Korrespondenz mit ihm hat Caramuel in den astronomischen Kapiteln seiner *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 1450–1457, veröffentlicht. Eine ähnliche Rolle hat Gassendi auch gegenüber der hervorgehenden Schrift Caramuels *Perpendicularum inconstantia*, dort konstatiert es Caramuel sogar in dem Titel der Schrift.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. M. Rees, *Vesmír* (Weltall), Knížni klub, Prag 2006, S. 13, 188, resp. 163.

an den Fixsternen, die die Rotation zu beobachten ermöglichten.<sup>31</sup> Zum Schluß des Briefes forderte Marci ein Exemplar dieser Schrift, das er nach Rom senden wollte.<sup>32</sup> Wem, das hat Marci nicht gesagt, es ist aber zweifellos sein Freund A. Kircher, mit dem er in einer intensiven beiderseitigen Korrespondenz und Bücheraustausch stand. Dadurch hat Marci seinen römischen Freund auf Caramuel zum erstenmal aufmerksam gemacht, er machte es wiederholt auch in den weiteren Briefen. Bald danach ist ein Briefwechsel zwischen Caramuel und Kircher entstanden.<sup>33</sup>

Marci hat also das astronomische Büchlein, das durch die Mitarbeit von Caramuel mit Rheita entstanden ist, in seinem ersten Brief an Caramuel begrüßt, so einfach war es aber nicht. In dem Briefwechsel mit Kircher finden wir, daß es Marci so eindeutig überhaupt nicht gesehen hat. Er zweifelte besonders daran, daß das Fernrohr Rheitas<sup>34</sup> „die Objekte so viel vergrößern könnte, daß die Sterne so groß wie der Vollmond erschienen“ und weiter, daß man auf denselben die Flecke ähnlich den Mondflecken beobachten könne.<sup>35</sup> Nach einem halben Jahre kehrt er sich zu dieser Problematik zurück und berichtet, daß er im Besitz eines mächtigen Fernrohr sei und damit selbst den Jupiter vielmals sorgfältig beobachtete, nie hat er aber mehr als vier Satelliten

<sup>31</sup> „...desiderium meum majori ex parte perfecisti detegendo maculas, in Iove, Marte, stellisque fixis; quarum beneficio explorare liceat, an etiam circa corporis sui centrum moveantur, suosque satellites circumagant, quomodo planetos reliquos a Sole circumagi volunt.“ Marci an Caramuel, 9. Januar 1644, in: J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 448.

<sup>32</sup> „...quod Romam destinavi, jamque illius mittendi famam, et simul spem per literas accendi.“ *Ibid.*, S. 449.

<sup>33</sup> Diese Korrespondenz bearbeitete und veröffentlichte R. Ceñal, „Juan Caramuel, su epistolario con Atanasio Kircher, S.J.“, *Revista española de filosofía*, Madrid 1954, S. 101ff. Seinen ersten Brief hat Caramuel Spira, 26. Juli 1644 geschrieben, vgl. S. 122ff.

<sup>34</sup> Die Konstruktion dieses Fernrohrs beschrieb Rheita zum Schluss seines umfangreichen Werkes *Oculus Enoch et Eliae sive radius sidericomysticus*, Antverpiae 1645.

<sup>35</sup> Marci an Kircher, 26. Dezember 1643; APUG, Sign. 557, F. 105.

gesehen.<sup>36</sup> Wir sehen also, daß Marci die Schrift begrüßt hat – auch wenn er schon anfangs gewissermassen zweifelte – im Laufe von einigen Monaten hat er sie aber praktisch völlig abgelehnt.

Bis jetzt haben wir besonders von den astronomischen Problemen gesprochen, die waren aber keineswegs Hauptthema unserer Korrespondenz. Sehr oft wird z.B. die Bewegung der Erde und ihres Schwerpunktes besprochen. Marci wirft in seinem ersten Briefe die Frage auf, wie sich die Waage verhalten wird, wenn man sie in die Mitte der Gravitation anbringt,<sup>37</sup> und Caramuel entwickelt diese Erwägung weiter. Man debattiert über die Libration der Erde, analog der Mondlibration, man diskutiert darüber, in wie weit die Erdbewegung durch einen Stoß oder durch einen heftigen Wind beeinflusst werden kann, ob sich die Erde z.B. schneller bewegen könnte<sup>38</sup> oder ob sie sich neigen könnte, was es für die Höhe der Berge bedeuten würde. Caramuel berichtet z. B. von seinen Fallversuchen, die er in Mechelen von der Höhe von 200 Fuß veranstaltet und Galileis Experimente wiederholt hat.<sup>39</sup> Das alles sind Fragen, die sehr typisch für die postgalileische Epoche sind, in der sich die Grundlagen der physikalischen Dynamik entwickelt haben. Von dem Heliozentrismus, von Kopernik und Galilei, spricht man nicht zu viel, man fühlt sie aber klar so zu sagen hinter den Kulissen. *Nullibi natura sit absque motu*, nirgends

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<sup>36</sup> „Quod attinet Rheitae observationes, consentire illis multum dubito ... Observavi multoties Iovem cum suo comitatu: neque enim unquam plures, licet curiose inquirerem, supra illos 4 deprehendere potui. Utor vero tubo excellenti ... Suspendo itaque hic assensum meum quousque Reitae firmamenta audiam.“ Marci an Kircher, 9. Juli 1644, *ibid.*, F. 97. In ähnlichem Sinne schreibt Marci an Kircher noch später, vgl. *ibid.*, F. 113. Wir übersehen nicht, daß Marci seine Kritik ausschliesslich auf Rheita bezieht – zu Caramuel hatte er offensichtlich eine weit freundlichere Beziehung.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 448.

<sup>38</sup> „An terra ictu libero fortius moveretur?“ *ibid.*, S. 462.

<sup>39</sup> Mechelen, eine Stadt zwischen Brüssel und Antwerpen, die Residenz des belgischen Erzbischofs. In der Stadt befindet sich eine gotische Kathedrale des hl. Rombaut mit einem 97 Meter hohen Turm. Hier veranstaltete Caramuel offensichtlich seine Fallversuche.

gibt es die Natur ohne Bewegung, schreibt Marci.<sup>40</sup> Caramuel erwähnt den Gedanken Gilberts und Cabeos, daß die Erde ein großer Magnet sei, und Marci stimmt überein.<sup>41</sup> Caramuel führt dann diesen Gedanken weiter (nicht in der Korrespondenz, sondern später, im Texte der *Mathesis*) und schafft – man würde sagen – ein panmagnetisches System,<sup>42</sup> in dem alle Himmelskörper an ihren Bahnen durch die magnetische Kraft gehalten werden. Diesen Gedanken finden wir Caramuel auch anderswo.<sup>43</sup> Der Begriff der allgemeinen Gravitation fehlt noch, der kommt erst in einigen Jahrzehnten mit Newton.

Außerdem trifft man in dieser Korrespondenz die verschiedensten Fragen. Marci berichtet z. B. von einer erfolgreichen Quadratur des Kreises,<sup>44</sup> die vom arabischen Orient gekommen ist (hier gibt er eine Kirchers Nachricht weiter), Caramuel ist aber nicht beeindruckt. Dagegen stellt er seinem Freunde und Arzt eine ungewöhnliche Frage, was der Same eigentlich sei oder ob der Tod so unvermeidlich sei, daß ihn die Medizin keineswegs verhindern kann.<sup>45</sup> In dieser Verbindung ist interessant, daß Caramuel das erste Buch Marcis,<sup>46</sup> das biologisch und medizinisch orientiert war, nicht nur schon vorher gekannt hat, er besaß es auch. Der Orient interessierte die beiden Gelehrten, das

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 474.

<sup>41</sup> „Demum, quod asseris terram esse magnetem, non improbo.“ Marci an Caramuel, 8. Oktober 1644, *ibid.*, S. 477.

<sup>42</sup> „Est ergo Tellus magnes; est et Sol magnes; et sunt planetae, et sydera affixa, magnetes in suis circulis, et locis magnetica virtute librati.“ *Ibid.*, S. 478.

<sup>43</sup> An dieser Stelle verbreitet Caramuel die magnetischen Eigenschaften sogar an alle Körper, er beruft sich dabei auf den Jesuiten Eusebius Nieremberg (1595–1658), den er irrtümlicherweise für einen Heiligen hält: „Omnia corpora esse magnetica ostendit sanctus Eusebius Nierenbergius.“ J. Caramuel, *Sublimium ingeniorum crux*, Lovanii 1644, Epistola dedicatoria. Das alles ist gewissermaßen erstaunlich, da Nieremberg, sein spanischer Landsmann, in den Naturwissenschaften zu keinen Autoritäten gehörte.

<sup>44</sup> J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 450.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 478–480.

<sup>46</sup> J. M. Marci, *Idearum operatricium idea*, Pragae 1635. Caramuel nennt das Werk „de mixtione seminum“, *ibid.*, S. 449.

Interesse Marcis erwachte besonders sein Briefwechsel mit Kircher, und so kommt auch eine Frage vor, ob die Afrikaner und Asiaten Barbaren sind und ob sie eigene Gelehrte haben.

Die Korrespondenz war für die beiden Partner sehr anregend. Mit den Briefen haben sie sich auch die Bücher gesandt. Caramuel war aktiver, Marci hat ihm nur einen Band geschickt. Es war sein erstes physikalisches Werk, *De proportione motus*. Hier hat er z. B. den Stoß der Körper erfolgreich studiert,<sup>47</sup> weit besser als sein Zeitgenosse René Descartes. Caramuel schätzte diese Schrift sehr hoch, einerseits daß sie nach seinem Geschmack geschrieben ist, andererseits daß sie sich aus dem aristotelischen Joch befreit hat,<sup>48</sup> das heißt, daß sie auf einem experimentellen Grund aufgebaut ist.

Wir haben in die Briefe der beiden Gelehrten aus dem Jahre 1644 hereingesehen, sie benötigen aber natürlich ein weiteres Studium. In den folgenden Jahren war ihre Korrespondenz unvergleichbar schwächer, die Gründe dafür liegen auf der Hand: Caramuel ging nach Wien, wo er weit mehr beschäftigt gewesen war als vorher, hier befaßte sich überwiegend mit der Philosophie, mit der Theologie, aber auch mit der Musik, die Naturwissenschaften hat er vorübergehend verlassen. Im Jahre 1647 kam Caramuel nach Prag, wo er Marci endlich persönlich kennengelernt hat. Er beschrieb dieses Moment emphatisch in einem Brief an Kircher: „Ich habe Prag erreicht; und als ich im unseren Emmauskloster der kaiserlichen Aufträge Genüge getan habe, treffe ich meinen alten Freund Ioannes Marcus Marci, damit ich den Mensch sehe und höre, den ich mit Vergnügen und Nutzen gelesen

<sup>47</sup> Darüber mehr vgl. J. Smolka, „Joannes Marcus Marci. His Time, Life and Work“, *Acta historiae rerum naturalium nec non technicarum*, Special Issue 3, Prague 1967, S. 5 ff.

<sup>48</sup> „Multa sunt in illis optime examinata, fere omnia meis principiis, et experimentis respondentia ... Videtur enim, jam tandem oculos aperire Philosophia, cui hucusque catenas, et compedes subministrarunt Peripateticae resolutiones. Videtur jam, Philosophi, qui Aristotelis manucipia, intolerabile jugum excutere, et velle tandem aliquando adlucenti Veritati inservire, quae hucusque hypothesis ancillabatur.“ Caramuel an Marci, 20. April 1644, J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 449.

habe; er ist mir so teuer, wie Dir. Wie er schreibt! und spricht! wie er denkt! Er ist immer in der Bibliothek; andere verbringen die Stunden in der Suche nach einem Gewinn oder widmen sich den Musen, er sehnt sich aber nicht nach Gold, nur nach Wissen.“<sup>49</sup> Gibt es einen besseren Ausdruck einer ergebenen Freundschaft? Ihr Briefwechsel in den nächsten Jahren endete, da sie sich jetzt in Prag persönlich begegneten.

Die persönlichen Begegnungen in Prag waren für unsere Helden sicher bequemer und angenehmer als der langwierige Briefwechsel, den sie bis jetzt führten – nicht für uns: wir sind um ausführlichere Nachrichten beraubt, wie sich in den folgenden Jahren, in den Jahren des Aufenthalts Caramuels in Prag, ihre beiderseitigen Beziehungen entwickelten. Ein wichtiges Intermezzo hat sich darüberaber trotzdem erhalten.

Im Jahre 1648 hat Marci sein optisches Hauptwerk, das Buch *Thaumantias*<sup>50</sup> herausgegeben, in dem er die Entstehung des Regenbogens und der Spektralfarben studierte. Durch den Regenbogen, Symbol des Friedens, wollte er den jahrelang erwarteten Abschluß des dreißigjährigen Krieges festlich begehen. Vor kurzem haben wir gefunden, daß die Handschrift des Buches, wenigstens der Kern, irgendwann schon um die Mitte der dreißiger Jahren entstanden ist. Sein Korrespondent, A. Kircher, hat etwa im Jahre 1645 Mersenne an Marci aufmerksam gemacht. Der Pariser *Secretary of the Republic of Scientific Letters*, wie ihn A. C. Crombie treffend getauft hat, wollte Marci durch Kircher zur weiteren naturwissenschaftlichen Arbeit aufmuntern. Marci

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<sup>49</sup> „Pragam appuli; et vix Caesaris imperiis in nostro Emauntini coenobio satisfeci, cum Ioannem Marcum Marci, amicum veterem advenio, ut viderem, audiremque hominem, quem frequenter cum voluptate et fructu legeram; ideo mihi chariorem, quod etiam sit tibi charissimum. O quantus ille calamo! quantus labio! quantus ingenio! Semper in bibliotheca; horas, quas alii quaestui, musis dedicans, non auri, sed doctrinae cupidus.“ Caramuel an Kircher, 2. November 1647; APUG, Sign. 556, F. 232. Siehe auch R. Ceñal, „Epistolario“, op. cit., S. 134.

<sup>50</sup> J. M. Marci, *Thaumantias, liber de arcu coelesti deque colorum apparentium natura, ortu et causis*, Pragae 1648.

reagierte im Jahre 1646 folgendermassen: „Die Mahnung Mersennes und der anderen habe ich schon vorher gehant, jetzt bin ich völlig in meinem Regenbogen versunken, der vor mehr als zehn Jahren beiseite geworfen wurde“.<sup>51</sup> Das zeigt also, daß Marci seine optischen Studien schon um die Mitte der dreißiger Jahren angepackt hat.

Marci hat sich bevor mit einer ganz verschiedenen Problematik befaßt. Kurz vorher hat er sein erstes, neoplatonisch orientiertes Buch, *Idearum operatricium idea* (Prag 1635) herausgegeben. Die Schwierigkeiten mit dessen Herausgabe, die ihm die Prager Jesuiten vorbereiteten und derer ihn erst Kardinal Ernst von Harrach endgültig enthoben hat, führte ihn offensichtlich zu einer Entscheidung die philosophisch-ideologische „gefährliche“ medizinisch-biologische Problematik zu verlassen und sich der Physik zu widmen. Den Anlaß zum Studium der Optik gaben ihm wahrscheinlich die Beobachtungen und Experimente des Jesuiten Christoph Scheiners zur Bestimmung des scheinbaren Durchmessers der Himmelskörper.<sup>52</sup> Diejenige konnte man durch den Einsatz von Prismen deutlich verbessern<sup>53</sup> und die prismatischen Farben erhalten, denen sich Marci auch in weiterem widmete.

Bald danach trat in Böhmen noch ein Wissenschaftler auf, der an seinen Ordensbruder und schlesischen Landsmann Scheiner angeknüpft hat. Es war ein Balthasar Conrad,<sup>54</sup> der schon im Jahre 1639 sein erstes, und im Jahre 1646 zweites optisches Werk veröffentlich-

<sup>51</sup> „...praesensi hanc monitionem ... nunc totus sum in mea iride quae ultra decennium neglecta iacuit.“ Marci an Kircher, 29. Dezember 1646; APUG, Sign. 557, F. 128.

<sup>52</sup> Außerdem ist diese Thematik irgendwie in die Mode gekommen, vgl. M. Garber, „Chymical Wonder of Light: Marcus Marcis Seventeenth-Century Bohemian Optics“, *Early Science and Medicine* 10, 2005, 4, S. 479.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. G. Schuppener, *Jesuitische Mathematik in Prag in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (1556-1654)*, Universitätsverlag, Leipzig 2000, S. 159.

<sup>54</sup> Balthasar Conrad (1599-1660), geboren in der schlesischen Neiss, unterrichtete die mathematischen Gegenstände zuerst an der Universität zu Olmütz, seit dem Schuljahre 1641/42-1649/50 zu Prag, noch später wirkte er in Breslau. Zu seiner Bibliographie, vgl. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris 1891, Bd. II, Sp. 1371-1373. In den letzten Jahren seines Lebens bereitete er



te.<sup>55</sup> Seine beiden Schriften haben sich mit dem Regenbogen und spektralen Farben befaßt, die beiden wurden früher als die optische Schrift Marcis herausgegeben, waren aber einfacher und weit kleiner. In manchen Punkten verteidigten die beiden Gelehrten unterschiedliche Ansichten. Nach Conrad entstehen die Farben durch die Mischung des weissen Lichts mit dem Dunkel, nach Marci durch die Kondensation und Verdünnung des weissen Lichts – die Vorstellung Marcis war weniger traditionell, deswegen aber nicht weniger spekulativ und peripatetisch. Sehr wesentlich unterschieden sich die beiden auch in der Beantwortung der Frage, unter welchem Winkel der Regenbogen entstehen könne. Mußte die erste Frage nur spekulativ gelöst werden – anders ging es zu dieser Zeit nicht – handelte es sich in diesem Falle um eine viel konkretere Sache, die durch kein Philosophieren, sondern nur durch das Messen und durch die Berechnung gelöst werden konnte.

Im Jahre 1650 hat Conrad Marci ins Klementinum zu einer öffentlichen Bakkalaureus-Promotion herausgefordert. Ein Schüler von Conrad, ein Samuel Norbertus Chmelowetz, sollte hier am 30. Mai die Thesen seines Professors *An Iris sub eodem semper angulo videatur* verteidigen, wie es in dem Universitätsprotokoll eingetragen wurde.<sup>56</sup> Bei dieser festlichen Gelegenheit wollte Conrad offensichtlich die Ansichten seines Opponenten öffentlich widerlegen. Dazu ließ er große, angeblich splendid gemalte Standarten und Plakaten mit den geometrischen Figuren aufzeichnen, mit denen er Klementinum ausgeschmückt hat. Diese theatrale Vorstellung hat uns eben Caramuel in seiner *Mathesis biceps*, in einem Kapitel *De Iride seu Arcu*

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ein großes Kompendium der ganzen Optik vor, ist aber vorzeitig verstorben. Noch bevor wandte er sich an alle europäischen Gelehrten mit einer Aufforderung zur Mitarbeit an optischen Problemen, siehe C. Schott, *Technica curiosa*, Norimbergae 1664, S. 853–856.

<sup>55</sup> B. Conrad, *Propositiones physico-mathematicae de flamma Iridis*, Olomutii 1639; *Propositiones physico-mathematicae de natura Iridos, propriis experimentis elucidata*, Pragae 1646.

<sup>56</sup> Die Eintragung dieser Promotion veröffentlichte K. Beránek, *Mistrři, bakaláři a studenti pražské filozofické fakulty 1640–1654* (Magister, Bakkalaurei und Studenten der Prager philosophischen Fakultät 1640–1654), Prag 1998, S. 12.

*coelesti*, ausführlich beschrieben.<sup>57</sup> Caramuel war bei der Promotion völlig „amtlich“ anwesend, in der Funktion eines Generalvikars und Sekretärs des Kardinals, Fürsten von Harrach, des ehemaligen Kanzlers der Prager Universität. Als ein alter Freund von Marci konnte er nicht dulden, wie Conrad „durch“ die Worten seines Studenten den Doktor Marcus angriff“, mischte sich in die Debatte ein und zeigte, daß die geometrischen Abbildungen ganz falsch aufgezeichnet wurden. Dadurch hat er seinen Prager Freund endgültig verteidigt. Conrad mußte infolgedessen die Prager Universität verlassen und wurde in ein anderes Collegium versetzt, endet Caramuel mit Genugtuung seine Schilderung.<sup>58</sup> Diese Angabe objektivisiert auch eine andere Quelle: in dem Verzeichnis der Prager Professoren für das nächste Schuljahr 1650/51 findet man Conrad nicht mehr.<sup>59</sup>

Caramuel fügt seiner Schilderung noch eine Anmerkung zu: Marci hätte alles, was gedruckt, geschrieben und gesagt wurde, nach Rom geschickt, dem General des Jesuitenordens.<sup>60</sup> Auch diese Nachricht konnten wir andererseits bestätigen: in einem Brief an Kircher bittet Marci seinen Freund, damit er seine Streitigkeit mit Conrad entscheide. Dabei hegt er gegen Conrad aber keinen Haß und benimmt sich völlig großzügig. Jedenfalls will er nicht, damit Conrad irgendwie beschädigt sei, er nennt ihn sogar seinen Freund und er sei eventuell bereit alles zurückzunehmen.<sup>61</sup> Es ist offensichtlich, daß Marci an dieser Angelegenheit sehr viel gelegen ist: außer dem Generalprobst

<sup>57</sup> J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 1325–1326.

<sup>58</sup> „Prudentissimus senex (es war Rektor des Klementinischen Kollegiums, ein weniger bekannte Andreas du Buisson – J.S.) P. Conradum promovit, et ex Pragensi Universitate ad aliud collegium transmisit.“ *Ibid.*, S. 1326.

<sup>59</sup> K. Beránek, *Mistři...* (Magister...), op. cit., S. 10–11.

<sup>60</sup> Die Funktion des jesuitischen Generalprobst hat in den Jahren 1649–1651 Francesco Piccolomini (1582–1651) bekleidet. Als Mitglied des Collegiums Romanum hat er Kircher sicher gut gekannt – Marci konnte mit Recht darauf rechnen, daß er die ganze Sache mit dem Bruder Athanasius konsultieren wird.

<sup>61</sup> „Misi proxime Reverendissimo Patri Praeposito Generali libellum meum inscriptum Anatomia demonstrationis etc. Sed ut verum fateor invitus, aliis in hoc

des Jesuitenordens hat er sich mit der Bitte um eine Entscheidung noch an Caramuel gewandt. Das war bis jetzt nicht bekannt, es geht aber von einer Abschrift eines Briefs Caramuels an Conrad hervor, die wir in den letzten Wochen in dem Kapitulararchiv zu Vigevano gefunden haben.<sup>62</sup> Dieser relativ langer Brief (elf Folien, mit umfangreichen geometrischen Ausführungen) muß zuerst sorgfältig analysiert werden, aber schon jetzt kann man darüber mehreres sagen: Caramuels Ton gegenüber dem jesuitischen Vater Conrad ist einerseits freundlich, er entschuldigt sich bei ihm sogar, daß er von Marci urgiert wird; andererseits ist aber entscheidend genug. Caramuel wirft ihm seinen Angriff vor, der *invectivus vel visus*, nie gesehen, gewesen war, so daß Caramuel niemanden davon überzeugen konnte, daß sein Angriff Marci nicht beschädigt hätte.<sup>63</sup> Erstaunlich klingt auch die Fortsetzung Caramuels: entweder hast du das Buch gelesen, dann zitiere den Satz, den du bekämpfst, oder nicht, dann bist du mit einem dreistesten Edelmut begabt, wenn du ein Buch ver-

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gratificando (es ist ganz gut möglich, daß in diesem Fall zu seinem Ratgeber eben Caramuel geworden ist - J.S.), quia nimirum ipse Reverendus Conradus prior Romam dicebatur per literas confugisse (haben sie sich die beiden nach Rom gewandt, bedeutet das wahrscheinlich, daß es für so eine Entscheidung zu Prag keine höhere Autorität gab. Ob es aber gerade Kircher sein könnte, ist auch ein wenig fraglich - J.S.). Non dubito Vestrae Reverentiae illud scriptum communicatum: cui hanc appendicem adiungere volui. Dignabitur ergo iudicare, uter nostrum erraverit. Ecquidem paratus sum meos errores revocare. Una vero adlaboret, ne communis amicus Reverendus Pater Conradus ob haec aliquid molestiae patiatur; quod summopere dolerem.“ Marci an Kircher, 23. Juli 1650, APUG, F. 122. Es scheint, daß Kircher ein wenig weigerte, Marci mußte eine Antwort Kirchers in seinem nächsten Briefe reklamieren, siehe *ibid.*, F. 130.

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. ACV, p.t., busta 33.24. Dieses Dokument trägt kein Datum. Eine Archivs- anmerkung betitelt es als *Epistola incerti authoris ad Caramuelem de Iride*, was aber falsch ist. Der Brief ist sicher an Conrad geschrieben, er wird in dem Text sogar zweimal namentlich angesprochen - und im Gegenteil, sein Autor sollte sicher Caramuel sein, am Ende lesen wir „Scripsi Neo-Pragae apud Montem Serratum“, d.h. in dem Emauskloster, dessen Caramuel seit 1647 Abt wurde.

<sup>63</sup> „Illae demonstrationis tuae impetus, qui fuit invectivus vel visus, exceptus a vulgo academico tanto strepitu, ut nemini persuadere potuerim, illa demonstratione tua Magnificum Virum non tangere.“ *Ibid.*, F. 1.

urteilst, das du nicht gelesen hast.<sup>64</sup> Der *Foenix eruditorum* war also streng, aber korrekt, im ganzen sprach sein Brief zugunste von Marci.

Marci beantwortete den Angriff Conrads unmittelbar, noch im Jahre 1650, mit zwei kleineren Schriften. Die erste, die gleich nach der oben besprochenen Promotion erscheinen mußte – Caramuel erwähnt sie wenigstens in seinem Brief an Conrad – wurde *Anatomia demonstrationis*, die zweite *Dissertatio in propositiones physicomathematicas de natura Iridos*. Diejenige wurden diesmal, im Gegenteil zu den drei vorangehenden Schriften Marcis, nicht mehr *typis academicis* gedruckt, d.h. wurde nicht in der jesuitischen Druckerei im Klementinum gedruckt, sondern bei einem Prager altstädter, weniger bekannten Drucker Szyparz. Das Klementinische Kollegium hat die beiden Schriften Marcis offensichtlich abgelehnt, seit jetzt wurde er also aus der akademischen Druckerei ausgeschlossen, obwohl Caramuel in seiner Nachricht befriedigend – aber zu optimistisch – geschrieben hat, daß bei der Promotion alle Jesuiten gegen Conrad standen.<sup>65</sup> So einfach war es aber nicht. Diese „Kleinigkeit“, Ablehnung in der jesuitischen Druckerei (oder hat Marci selbst an ihre Dienste verzichtet?), führt uns zu einer weiteren Erwägung: wurde dieser Angriff Conrads zu seiner privaten, rein wissenschaftlich begründeten Angelegenheit, oder sind wir berechtigt ihn in einem breiteren geschichtlichen oder sogar politischen Kontext zu sehen? Zu dieser Zeit, in der Atmosphäre einer strengen Rekatholisierung, verlief in Prag ein langwieriger, aber heftiger Streit um den weiteren Charakter der Universität. Die Jesuiten wollten sie als ein Ganzes verwalten und folglich beherrschen, Marci gehörte im Gegenteil ganz eindeutig zu den überzeugten Vorkämpfern für die Aufrechthaltung des weltlichen Charakter der medizinischen

<sup>64</sup> „...debebis hoc dilemma dissolvere. Aut librum legisti aut non legisti: si non, animasissima es generositate praeditus, qui librum iilectum condemnas, et hoc publice. Si legisti, da obsecro Magnifico Doctoris verba, quae contineant sententiam quam impugnas.“ *Ibid.*, F. 1.

<sup>65</sup> „Patres Iesuittae sunt doctissimi, et illa die omnes contra P. Conradum, tanta est Veritatis fortitudo.“ J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 1325.

und juristischen Fakultäten. Das haben die Jesuiten gut gewußt und sehr mißfällig getragen. Davon zeugt z. B. folgende Tatsache: im Jahre 1652 hat Marci einen Vorschlag der neuen Statuten für die juristische und medizinische Universität vorgelegt, den der damalige Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät, der Jesuit Karl de Grobendonecque, gewaltig abwischen ließ.<sup>66</sup> Den Jesuiten würde sich in dieser Situation sehr gut treffen, wenn Marci an seinem wissenschaftlichen sowie gesellschaftlichen Prestige verlieren würde.<sup>67</sup> Dem hat Caramuel in dieser Conrad-Geschichte energisch entgegengetreten, Marci viel geholfen und dadurch seine tiefe Freundschaft noch einmal erwiesen.

Von den Beziehungen der beiden Gelehrten in den nächsten Jahren wissen wir fast nichts. Während des Caramuel-Symposiums 2006 zu Prag erschien jedoch etwas Neues – es ist ein bis jetzt unbekannter Brief von Marci an Caramuel geschrieben in Prag am 14. März 1657.<sup>68</sup> Caramuel hat schon vorher die Hoffnung auf das Bistum in Hradec Králové (Königgrätz) verloren und war zu dieser Zeit schon in Italien – wohin ihm aber Marci geschrieben hat, wissen wir leider

<sup>66</sup> Die Umstände dieser Angelegenheit beschrieb ausführlich K. Beránek, „Návrh statutu právnicko-lékařské university z roku 1652“ (Vorschlag der Statuten einer juristisch-medizinischen Fakultät vom Jahre 1652), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 35, 1995, 1–2, S. 42ff.

<sup>67</sup> Sehr symptomatisch für diese Situation ist eine Anmerkung aus dem Briefe Grobendonecques an Matthias ab Asselt vom 9. Dezember 1651: „Doctor Marcus non quiescit, sed semper aliquod molitur contra Academiam nostram Ferdinandeam, collato (uti videtur) studio et consilio cum Abbate Caramuele.“ Diese treffliche Stelle hat A. Catalano gefunden: vgl. *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa centrale (1620–1667)*, op. cit., S. 415. Sie bestätigt noch einmal die enge Fessel, die Caramuel und Marci verbindete.

<sup>68</sup> Den Wortlaut des Briefes hat Caramuel in einen Text eingeschaltet, mit dem er sich an den Bischof Joseph Ciantes wandte: vgl. *Summa divi Thomae Aquinatis Ordinis Praedicatorum contra gentiles quam Hebraice eloquitur Iosephus Ciantes Romanus episcopus Marsicensis ex eodem ordine assumptus*, Romae 1657, S. 43. Auf diese Tatsache und auf die in Prag nicht bestehende Quelle hat uns freundlicherweise Yossef Schwartz aus der Tel Aviver Universität aufmerksam gemacht, dem wir dafür unsere Dankbarkeit aussprechen wollen.

nicht. Jetzt schreibt Caramuel an den Merseburger Bischof Joseph Ciantes (†1670), der im Jahre 1654 die *Summa contra gentiles* des Thomas von Aquin im Hebräischen herausgegeben hat, und in seinen Brief vom 1. Mai 1657 schaltet er einen rezenten Brief Marcis ein. Unter anderem stellt er dem Bischof die Persönlichkeit von Marcus Marci vor. Er nennt alle seine Titel und wissenschaftliche Verdienste,<sup>69</sup> erinnert auch seine Kenntnisse der Oriental Sprachen, besonders des Hebräischen, Griechischen und Arabischen,<sup>70</sup> und dann führt er in extenso den Brief Marcis an. Marci entschuldigt am Anfang seine Abwesenheit<sup>71</sup> und kommt gleich zu dem Gedanken des Bischofs Ciantes über, die lateinische Schrift des *Contra gentiles* ins Hebräisches überzuführen (Caramuel hat ihm davon einige Blätter geschickt). Er findet die hebräische Sprache weit majestätisch und süßer als die lateinische, aber schlägt gleich vor, damit man diese Schrift auch ins Arabisches übersetze, die der ganzen Asien und Afrika offen stehe.<sup>72</sup> Der Brief

<sup>69</sup> „Eminet solus, velut inter astra Luna minora,“ (er ragt allein empor, wie der Mond über die kleineren Sterne), lobt ihn Caramuel übertreibend.

<sup>70</sup> „...in orientalibus linguis, ac praecipue Hebraea, et Graeca, et Arabica, versatissimus.“ In diesem Sinne ist diese Nachricht Caramuels (vgl. *ibid.*, S. 43) weit mehr nüchtern als diejenige des Marcis Schülers Dobrzensky, der in seinem *Elogium* an seinen Lehrer auch von dem Chaldäischen und Syrischen spricht (vgl. M. Svatoš, S. 69), was wir kaum bestätigen könnten. Nach seinem Rückkehr von Rom, in seinem Briefwechsel mit Kircher, erwähnt Marci anfangs 40er Jahre öfters seine Anfänge des Arabischen, in das er sich wörtlich verliebt hat: „...non levis flamma linguae arabicae in sensu demum addiscendae animo insedit.“ (Marci an Kircher, 5. Oktober 1641; APUG, Sign. 557, f. 65) Er bestellt bei Kircher die arabischen Bücher, am 10. Dezember 1642 (*ibid.*, f. 86) schreibt ihm sogar ein paar arabischer Worten (keineswegs aber, wie es Dobrzensky schildert, daß er schon in einigen Wochen einen Brief im Arabischen geschrieben hat, „...pauculas intra hebdomadas ... epistolam jam Arabicam scriberet“) – vgl. *ibid.*, Sign. 557, ff. 65, 69, 71, 82, 86, 92, 124, 127 und viele weitere – nirgends aber ein Wort von dem Chaldäischen oder Syrischen.

<sup>71</sup> Seine Worte „Abfui per plures menses, partim Vienna, partim Austria superiore“ stellen für die bisherige Marci-Forschung etwas völlig unbekanntes vor.

<sup>72</sup> „Videbatur enim mihi hic Thomas Hebraeus nescio quid dulcedinis maiestosae spirare prae illo Latino ... ut iam sub illis unius linguae angustiis solis Romani proprium, verum etiam reliquis gentibus commercio linguae sacrae esset commu-

Marci betrifft, scheint es, kein weiteres Thema, was in ihrer Korrespondenz nicht zu oft der Fall war. Caramuel fügt noch seinen Beifall mit dem Vorschlag Marcis zu und betont dem Bischof seinen Fleiß, Frömmigkeit und Kompetenz in den Orientalssprachen.

Dieser Brief, der weiter studiert sein muß, stellt in dem Mosaik der wissenschaftlichen Biographie von Marcis ein weiteres Steinchen, das bis jetzt leider zu einsam geblieben ist. Wir wissen nicht, was vorher geschehen ist, und auch nicht, was sich weiter entwickelt hat. Wir wissen jedoch, daß der Briefwechsel der beiden Freunden weiter verlief, Marci spricht ganz klar davon, daß er nach seinem Rückkehr einen Brief von Caramuel gefunden hat. Das gibt uns für die Zukunft eine gewisse Hoffnung noch weitere Quellen zu diesem Thema zu entdecken.

Eine Spur nach dem Briefwechsel der beiden Gelehrten finden wir noch in den 60er Jahren. Am 9. August 1664 schreibt Marci an Caramuel gemeinsam mit seinem alten Freund Kinner.<sup>73</sup> „Jam dudum siluere calami nostri,“ fängt Marci an – was zeigt, daß die vorangehende Korrespondenz nicht zu dicht war – und möchte die ehemaligen Verbindungen fortführen.<sup>74</sup> Die Antwort Caramuels ist datiert „Neapoli, 12. September 1664“. Sein gesellschaftliches Leben scheint nicht zu reich zu sein: „nulli scribo, paucis respondeo“ – den Prager Freunden hat er aber unmittelbar und umfassend geantwortet.<sup>75</sup> Am Anfang schildert er die Streitigkeiten in seinem Bistum, geht dann zu den Ansichtsverschiedenheiten zwischen den Mitgliedern verschie-

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ne, quandoquidem ex hac veluti symbolo in Arabicam, quae tota Asia et Africa latissime patet, facilis est transitus.“ Vgl. Ciantes, S. 45. Wir sehen, daß Marci den Einfluss des Arabischen unermesslich überschätzt, von den Sprachverhältnissen dieser Kontinente wußte man zu dieser Zeit aber nur sehr wenig.

<sup>73</sup> Gottfried Alois Kinner, Doktor der Philosophie, Theologie und des Rechts, ein alter Freund von Marci, Caramuel, aber auch Kircher, wurde zum Präzeptor des österreichischen Erzherzogs Karl Joseph, Bruder des Kaisers Leopold I. In die Geschichte der Wissenschaften hat er sich mit seinem Versuch um die Quadratur des Kreises und mit der Schrift *Elucidatio geometrica problematis austriaci*, Pragae 1654, eingeschrieben.

<sup>74</sup> Vgl. J. Caramuel, *Mathesis biceps*, op. cit., S. 711.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 711–714.

dener Orden über und als ein überzeugter Thomist faßt er zusammen: alle sollten die Dogmen des Thomas von Aquin anerkennen.<sup>76</sup> Im weiteren schickt er seinen Freunden zwei physikalische Probleme, die angeblich in Neapel gelöst werden – die beiden sind auf die Vergrößerung des Umfangs des frierenden oder geheizten Wassers zurückzuführen. Danach erinnert er sich an den Kardinal Harrach, an Prag und Emauskloster und erzählt eine Geschichte davon, wie ihm in Emaus ein Grabstein zersprang. Zum Schluß bedankt er sich für das Buch eines Marcis Schülers, verfaßt und herausgegeben in Italien,<sup>77</sup> und fügt zwei hydraulische Versuche bei (mehr von ihnen siehe den Beitrag von K. Mačák in diesem Bande).

Diese zwei letzten Briefe stellen eher eine nostalgische Reminiscenz an die verflossene Zeit als eine neue Welle der beiderseitigen Korrespondenz. Von derselben finden wir keine Spur mehr. Es hängt wahrscheinlich auch mit dem Gesundheitszustand Marcis zusammen. Zwei Jahre später schreibt sein Freund Kinner an Kircher, daß Marci fast alles vergessen hat.<sup>78</sup> Von Caramuel gilt es nicht. In seiner späteren *Mathesis biceps* – herausgegeben erst nach dem Ableben Marcis – hat er seinem Prager Freund durch eine große Menge von abgedruckten Briefen, Anmerkungen und immer positiven Erwähnungen ein unvergessliches Denkmal erbaut.

<sup>76</sup> „Sane optime facerent illi, si D. Thomae Dogmata esse vera constaret.“ *Ibid.*, S. 712.

<sup>77</sup> Es war Jakob Joannes Wenzel Dobrzensky (1623–1697), Prager Arzt, Chemiker und Naturforscher, mehr über ihn siehe W. R. Weitenberger, „Beiträge zur Literargeschichte Böhmens“, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, Bd. XIX, 1856, S. 144ff. Die Schrift, von der Caramuel spricht, ist zweifellos seine Erstlingsschrift *Nova et amoenior de admirando fontium genio philosophia*, Ferrariae 1657.

<sup>78</sup> „Dominus Marcus ... omnium rerum poene oblitus,“ schreibt Kinner am 5. Januar 1667 an Kircher; vgl. APUG, Sign. 562, F. 150. Außerdem hat Marci zu dieser Zeit schon sehr schlecht gesehen.



**Juan Caramuel's Journey from Flanders  
to the Palatinate:  
A Travel Diary Presented to Fabio Chigi in 1644**

Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas

The early stages of the complex relation established between Fabio Chigi (later Pope Alexander VII) and Juan Caramuel have been studied in detail.<sup>1</sup> However, one important element still unaccounted for is the travel account or “iter” presumably sent by the latter to the former.<sup>2</sup> The known reply by Chigi was apparently written in July or August 1644, providing a *terminus ante quem* for Caramuel’s “iter”, which was sent in all probability from Bad Kreuznach to Muenster. The Italian prelate was pleased: “Legam iter tuum, daboque me comitem eruditissimae consuetudinis.”<sup>3</sup> Although it escaped Ceysens’ attention, the 39-page long letter is kept with the rest of Chigi’s manuscripts at the Vatican Library.<sup>4</sup> Carefully penned in an elegant calligraphy by a northern European copyist presumably after an autograph draft, the address and farewell are in Caramuel’s own and

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<sup>1</sup> L. Ceysens, “Autour de Caramuel”, *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* 33, 1961, pp. 329–410.

<sup>2</sup> For the precise identification of historical characters or literary sources mentioned in the “iter”, the reader is referred to the editor’s notes accompanying the full transcription.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. Ceysens, “Autour de Caramuel”, op. cit., pp. 344 and 365.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. Chigi A.II.35 (= *Iter*).

unmistakable handwriting.<sup>5</sup> Minor corrections and additions prove that the author took the time to proofread the clean copy before posting it.<sup>6</sup> Chigi was ostensibly amused by the account of Caramuel's eventful journey begun at Louvain on 9 February and ending at Bad Kreuznach by 20 April 1644.<sup>7</sup>

Far from a conventional journey account, the "iter" was intended as a literary piece on its own right and not as a mere description of the Cistercian's travels. Not a single date, whether historical or contemporary, was specified. Yet the locations mentioned allow for a partial reconstruction of the itinerary. Aside from very select and short descriptions, little was said about the various towns, cities and landscapes that met Caramuel's eye. Indeed, it appears to be conceived as a series of "vagaries" or digressions, as a sequence of trains of thought woven by dint of literary artifice into a travel account. Fabio Chigi apparently understood the author's intent, at least at this superficial level, as a means to unburden his weary life at Muenster: "Erat enim nempe divagantis animi recreatio non vulgaris, dum caetera torpentem me in hoc tractatus otio, proh dolor, taedia mille, moeroreque conficiunt."<sup>8</sup> Yet, beyond the amusing anecdotes that enliven the account, the "iter" must not be read as a repository of biographical or historical facts and

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 1<sup>r</sup> and 20<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 18<sup>r</sup>, and 19<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Louvain - Brussels - Antwerp - Cologne - Andernach - Coblenz - Saint Goar - Bingen - Bad Kreuznach (cf. fig. 1). On 9 February 1644 (the day before Ash Wednesday) Caramuel left Louvain. He was in Antwerp on 26 February 1644. According to J. Velarde Lombraña, *Juan Caramuel. Vida y obra*, Oviedo 1989, p. 115, note 111, Caramuel wrote from Speyer to Marcus Marci on 20 April 1644 and to the Abbot of Santa Cruz on 22 May 1644. Since he wrote to Gassendi from Bad Kreuznach on 5 June 1644, it is indeed puzzling why Speyer should not be mentioned at all in the "iter". Furthermore, it would be incongruous for Caramuel - whose travel itinerary was quite definitely southwards - to have reached Speyer before Bad Kreuznach. Moreover, according to the letter to Johannes Blankenberg later published in his *Theologia regularis*, Lugduni 1665, II, epistola XXVI, p. 189, Caramuel was at Bad Kreuznach ("Cruciani") on 20 April 1644. I thank J. Smolka for pointing out these chronological inconsistencies.

<sup>8</sup> L. Ceysens, "Autour de Caramuel", op. cit., pp. 344 and 365.



Fig. 1: J. Blaeu, *Nuevo atlas o teatro del mundo*, Amstelodami 1659, *Archiepiscopatus Trevirensis*: detail  
Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, shelfmark: Gmg/178

opinions that unfold aimlessly. Rather, the long journey from Louvain to Bad Kreuznach provided Caramuel with a welcome excuse to craft a long letter – certainly among the longest he ever wrote and the most extensive among those addressed to Fabio Chigi – with two goals in mind. One we may describe as strategic, namely as a means of strengthening his ties with Chigi, then papal nuncio in Germany and Urban VIII’s plenipotentiary at Muenster. Ceysens would have no doubt put the onus on this aspect, harping on the high-flown praise that, in agreement with prevalent seventeenth-century conventions, Caramuel did not hesitate to heap on his mighty correspondent. Yet the content of the “*iter*” escaped entirely the conventions of curial fawning and, indeed, one may surmise a second and more legitimate intent. The structure of the letter, as a series of apparent divagations, was singularly adapted for self-representational purposes. Free from the dictates of the epistolary genre, Caramuel handpicked events and sights from his journey to present to the nuncio with pleasant and at times downright humorous reading while at the same time putting together a self-portrayal that, although sounding at times a self-vindictive note, was not always self-indulgent.

From a formal point of view, the perhaps most compelling aspect of the “*iter*” was its reliance on a series of images, which triggered long tirades or launched episodes. These images, as far as one can tell, were not made up and appear to respect both factual truth and the actual sequence of events. Surviving fragments of Caramuel’s diary prove that he was in the habit of quickly noting down whatever caught his attention, very likely in view of future use.<sup>9</sup> In the letter to Chigi, as said, descriptive material was reduced to a minimum and the chronology can be only guessed at indirectly by clues such as the presence of snow or, at a later point, the reference to Lent or to summer heat.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> J. Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “Juan de Caramuel’s Presence in Alexandrine Rome and Its Impact on His Architectural Theory”, *Annali di architettura* 17, 2005, pp. 137–165, esp. p. 142.

<sup>10</sup> *Iter*, fols. 6<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>rv</sup>, and 16<sup>rv</sup>.

Fifteen such “triggers” provide the underlying structure of the epistle. While some objects seen or events witnessed give rise to lengthy digressions, others are followed by more pointed comment. The first of the sequence is the quill Caramuel held in his hand as he set out to write, which remained ignorant of whether the result should turn out to be a satire or a historical piece. From this image Caramuel drew the inference that, indeed, such was the lot of men whose fate, in spite of freedom of action, lay in the hands of God “*tanquam calami*”. This first consideration permitted Caramuel to remind Chigi that he too was an instrument of the Almighty and that God put him in his exalted place so that he carry out His divine plan, not Chigi’s own. The ambiguity between satire and history was thus presented as inherent to all human endeavours. This in turn facilitated a biographical excursus in which Caramuel attempted to instil that he did not wish to become abbot of Dunes in spite of the insistence of friends such as Virgilio Malvezzi – and the mention of Malvezzi was all the more significant since he was one of Chigi’s dearest and most trusted friends.<sup>11</sup> He had pleaded with them that he needed time to tend to his scholarly pursuits and would therefore turn out to be an incurious abbot. The matter, Caramuel argued, was resolved to everyone’s best interest by his promotion to the Cistercian Abbey of Disibodenberg after Gaspar Jongelinckx’s resignation, where he could devote sufficient time to his studies without the burden of governing a large abbacy.<sup>12</sup> He added that he would have time there to carry on the sort of dialogue needed to convert Protestants, by which he meant weakening both their grounds for schism and their heterodox views. This mindset, and the recognition that he had been appointed to the abbacy of Disibodenberg by Philip IV of Spain, underwrites the forceful apologetic tone of several passages in the letter. It would be fair to object that Caramuel embel-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>. Cf. L. Ceyskens, “Autour de Caramuel”, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-342 and 357-360 (doc. 8) gives, on the basis of extant documents, a quite different account.

lished his recent past by suggesting that he had refused the abbotship of Dunes rather than referring to the bitter controversy that had in fact barred him from succeeding his mentor Bernard Campmans as abbot of Dunes.<sup>13</sup> He attributed to the consolidation of Jansenism in Louvain his defeat in the precedence controversy and remarked that his adversaries (J. Pontanus and M. Theige) had profited from his departure to win the case.<sup>14</sup> As he looked back to his Louvain years, Caramuel sounded an ironical note and, in reference to his unwarranted defeat, remarked that the high-profile acquired by the precedence quarrel resulted from the intervention of noted Jansenists who pulled the strings and set in motion his challenger Pontanus who “*carebat enim motu ab intrinseco*” and was unable to tell apart “*Brabantici Consilij decreta extra Brabantiam imbecillia*”.<sup>15</sup> The death of mentors and friends, such as Jan Wiggers, the Marquis of Aytona “*victoriis multis celebrem*”, and Bernard Campmans “*incomparabilis Vir*” and the rise and consolidation of Jansenism in Louvain to the extent that “*contra iura legesque cadere causâ debeat quivis illius doctrinam haeticam et interdictam asserat*” make plain that Caramuel’s acceptance of the abbacy of Disibodenberg was largely dictated by the realisation that he needed to extricate himself from an irrespirable milieu dominated by powerful enemies whose tentacles reached out to the Council of Brabant.<sup>16</sup> Picking up on his initial puzzlement as to whether his epistle would turn out to be satirical or historical, Caramuel emphasised “*verè nulla is descriptâ comœdia circumstantia, quæ ponderatione sit indigna*”.<sup>17</sup> The impression of the fleeting nature of human pursuits pervaded this biographical passage, which illustrated Caramuel’s recognition that his fate lay in God’s hands “*tanquam calami*”.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> According to Ceyskens, Caramuel could not rally enough votes to be even considered for the abbotship (*ibid.*, p. 341).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 334, 353–355 (doc. 5).

<sup>15</sup> *Ier.*, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

Doubtful as to whether to take the road to Cologne or Trier, Caramuel chose the former hoping to see the “inuisas, optimas tamen ciuitates” that lay on the way to Cologne.<sup>19</sup> In Brussels he met friends such as Jerónimo Nifo (fig. 2) and then set off to Antwerp, praised as “Belgij oculus, Germaniae inferioris delicias, multarum Regionum thesaurus”, where he encountered the fellow Cistercian Christopher Butkens.<sup>20</sup> On exiting the walls of Antwerp, Caramuel observed that a bridge he had just crossed incorporated “impolitos et uastos lapides” (rough-hewn and large stones) that were it not for the skilled arch-vaulting involved would fall to the ground.<sup>21</sup> The sight of this bridge afforded Caramuel a second image-trigger. Playing on the double meaning of “ars fornicatoria”, meaning both arch-vaulting and fornication, Caramuel likened the unpolished stones held up in the air by vaulting techniques to the legitimisation and exaltation of bastards, issued from the fornication of princes and grandees. The illegitimate offspring of the Count-Duke of Olivares or Don Juan of Austria, the son of Emperor Charles V by Barbara Blomberg, who was appointed Governor of the Spanish Low Countries in 1576 were compared by Caramuel to the coarse stones of the bridge, presumably the one servicing the Kipdorppoort. Rather than an all-out condemnation of illegitimate children, Caramuel intended to lay stress on the implicit legal double standard: “Puniendi sunt pauperes, si fornicentur, utpotè legirupiones et audaces: laudandi Reges, et qui eorumdem more, sciunt secundum leges fornicari.”<sup>22</sup> Shortly after, he witnessed a courier who, like Caramuel, had just passed through the city gate fall into the adjoining moat. An outer encrusted layer of dirt made the filled-in moat appear deceptively traversable. Yet under the wretch’s weight the crust collapsed, leaving him covered in mud up to his ears. From this third image Caramuel drew one interesting comparison: our reverence and

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>.



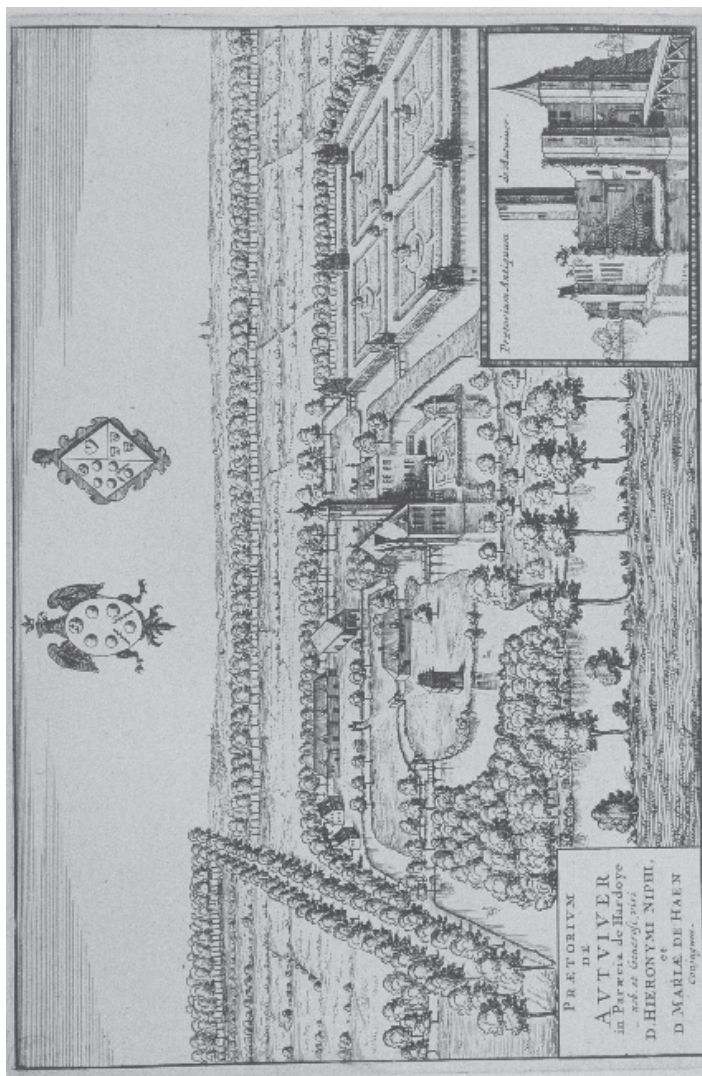


Fig. 2: A. Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata, Coloniae 1641, II, auctarium ad tomum primum, p. 64: residence of Jerónimo Nifo and Maria de Haen at Ardoois (Flanders)*. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, shelfmark: ER/1689



overreliance on the ancients leads us to stand confidently on flimsy and brittle ground, like a hardened mud coat concealing mire underneath. The need for a secure ground to stand on sponsored in turn a long excursus on recent Spanish history. The Duke of Lerma was presented as a commander who promoted “viros dignissimos” who, noted mockingly Caramuel, according to the principles of Durandus of Saint-Pourçain “voluerunt dependere ab humano illo deo in fieri et in esse, non verò in operari”.<sup>23</sup> Lerma’s creatures proved indeed heroic giants exacting justice and driving into exile the very man that had advanced them. The Count-Duke of Olivares, fearful of meeting a similar end, opted for the complete reversal of Lerma’s meritocracy and hence for the elevation of “pygmies” that would depend upon him in every action. Yet once fallen into disgrace, these midgets lacked the ability to defend their promoter. Neither Lerma’s nor Olivares’ way appeared sound. In fact, Caramuel advocated that one ought to march forward “non alieno, sed proprio pede”, unlike the common folk that waded through filth dragged along by the powerful.<sup>24</sup> Here, Caramuel veered off into a highly personal tangent, reclaiming his lapsed pristine integrity and regretting his closeness to the late Governor of the Low Countries, the “Cardinal Infante” Don Fernando. At this point a fourth image was introduced: snowfall proved slippery and its glow, as night fell in, blurred the contours of the road, which came to appear threatening. Nightfall, Caramuel added, stood for the transience of all things: “Omnia quæ initium, habitura sunt finem, aut violentum aut spontaneum, tametsi magna, tametsi publica: Scripta, Regna, Coronæ, autoritas, potestas, iurisdictio.”<sup>25</sup> Here the controversial author of the book *Philippus Prudens*, the resilient polemicist that had upheld Philip IV’s right to the Portuguese throne, did not hesitate to share with Chigi his belief that the Catalanian and Portuguese rebellions were intimately connected. Instructed by the ongoing

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>.

repression of the Catalanian rebels, the Portuguese struck first at the centre of power, eliminating swiftly Olivares' man in Lisbon, Miguel de Vasconcelos. Resorting to the image of excessive snowfall hiding the road and driving away travellers, and in reference to the Portuguese secession, Caramuel remarked that excessive snow or excessive radiance, or, for that matter, excessive faithfulness could turn out to be on occasion harmful, if they failed to alert of looming danger. Perhaps reflecting his own inner conflict, and his desire to disentangle himself from his years of service to the "Cardinal Infante", Caramuel dwelled meaningfully on the difficulties of finding one's own path by means of images that evoked a snowstorm: wandering men in an open field to whom the sight of the sky has been denied by dense fog, blowing wind, or snowflakes covering everything by dawn. A torch held by a peasant woman came to the rescue, offering our Cistercian in distress a fifth image trigger and a clear path to Cologne. If shortly before Caramuel had warned Chigi and himself about the dangers of trudging along a filthy and insecure path after someone else's footsteps, now he cautioned against being dazzled by foreign splendour: "Praecurrit Luciger et sequimur uniuersi dubios radios lampadis fugitiuæ."<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the matter proved complex and even the *contemptum mundi*, if tarnished by self-glorification, was to be held in low esteem. And Caramuel found no better example of flawed renunciations than Charles V's 1556 abdication.

On finally reaching Cologne Caramuel found out that his friend Gaspar Jongelinckx was away at Innsbruck. In Cologne Caramuel met with Chigi (who was about to leave for Muenster) very briefly but their exchange was, apparently, inspiring enough: "Multa paucis horis audiui quæ perenni cogitatione euoluo, doctior et melior."<sup>27</sup> Leaving Cologne behind, Caramuel joined soldiers, believing he would be safer in their midst. The ruined fortresses of the Rhine caught his eye as well as many deserted farms, reflecting on the fact that war had given

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 8<sup>r</sup>.

many peasants a chance to shake off the yoke of serfdom. The myths and fables associated to the Rhine fortresses irked Caramuel who criticised the widespread gullibility in the face of “decrepitos annales”.<sup>28</sup> He likewise lashed out, once more, at the blind faith displayed by many before pagan history, which was not, although comparatively more accurate, without plentiful lies and errors. The encounter with a deranged pastor in the vicinity of Andernach gave rise to a long and polemic exchange on the existence of witches and wizards. The pastor boasted that he had sent to prison several of them over the past week. Caramuel replied that he had acted unwisely in so doing for he may have contributed to condemn frail women instead of sorceresses. He insisted that the weak, when faced with the prospect of torture, behave like dogs that bark if teased by children who pretend to bark. Horrified of torture, the so-called “witches” would croak and utter whatever sound they were made to listen. Unable to withstand Caramuel’s dialectical superiority, the Pastor fled not without first accusing his challenger of being himself a sorcerer willing to condone witchcraft. Caramuel fired back and told him that, as pastor, it was his duty to rise in prudence and doctrine above all the parishioners under his care and not act in a reckless or uncivilised manner. He had imprisoned unfairly, convicted by means of flawed testimony, and sentenced to death helpless women. Indeed, Caramuel made the point that many a so-called “sorceress” was oftentimes no more than a delusional and delirious elderly woman prone to memory loss and weeping, and all the more likely to take responsibility for alien grievances – the sort of woman that could under pressure acknowledge dealings with the devil in spite of being utterly innocent. Moreover, Caramuel admitted that he considered remote the possibility that God would allow a sinful soul to commerce with the devil as punishment.

Reaching Coblenz, described as a beautiful city owing more to its privileged location than to its architecture, Caramuel found that the statue of Justice in its main square stood mutilated and headless and

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>.

wondered whether Justice herself should endure the violence of enemies. An unidentified fellow traveller (perhaps a thin disguise for Caramuel himself) proclaimed that Justice could not thrive in Coblenz because two rivers laden with riches – the Rhine and the Moselle – join there and “ubicumque diuitiæ confluunt Iustitia non potest seruari”.<sup>29</sup> The striking image of a decapitated Justice was then, quoting Nicolas Cleynaerts, applied to Rome, seen as the epitome of venality. Using an image that was to remain a staple of his more private reservations about the Roman Curia, Caramuel pressed that when “caput aegrotat, caetera membra dolent”.<sup>30</sup> He regretted that the capital of Christendom should be no different than Vienna, Madrid or Paris where weapons silenced words and the munificence of the mighty silenced virtue. Furthermore, he expressly stated that he wished no promotions (“promotiones non ambio”) in such a profligate city.<sup>31</sup>

The journey continued Rhine-wise to Andernach, Coblenz, Saint Goar, and Bingen before reaching its final destination: Bad Kreuznach. We have reviewed rapidly the first six episodes. Another nine, based on various experiences, followed suit: fleeing cattle seen on entering Saint Goar; a grotesque caricature of a Franciscan monk seen at the house of Lutheran hosts; the bacchanalian pledges of sailors in Saint Goar; the horrifying echo of bomb blasts heard on the way to Bingen; the so-called “tower of mice” standing on a small island located at the confluence of the Rhine and the Nahe; the pallor of the Jews of Bingen; the presence of reconnoitring soldiers from Lorraine; the story of a plundered, half-naked priest met after leaving Bingen; and the sharing of tithes between the Calvinist pastor and the Catholic priest at Bad Kreuznach. All nine episodes fulfilled instructional purposes and enabled Caramuel to ponder over the book of nature; the prejudicial use of heinous images to instil religious hatred in children; the ease with

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. J. Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “Juan de Caramuel’s Presence...”, *op. cit.*, p. 155 (doc. 5) and p. 161 (note 83).

<sup>31</sup> *Iter*, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>.

which voluntary offerings or ludicrous rituals were turned into binding law; the dangers of tampering with the truth by means of suspicion, presumption, or slander; the need to fear God whose wrath shall smite the iniquitous sooner or later, and who may rely on the weak to carry out his command; the unreliability of Jewish conversions; the need for rulers to forestall their enemies; or the Calvinist lack of reverence for sacred places. The unsympathetic if not downright harsh depiction of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Jews is to be considered in view of Caramuel's religious convictions and apologetic tone.<sup>32</sup> A widespread abuse against Jews, namely that their paleness was a reminder of their responsibility in shedding Christ's blood, was used by Caramuel to argue that perhaps the bodies of the Jews were more learned than their hardened souls for at least in their faded complexion they acknowledged Christ. More interesting was the long digression on the reasons why Jews convert to Lutheranism or Catholicism, which led Caramuel to state that "universæ ipsorum conversiones suspectæ".<sup>33</sup> Although he politically admitted it was not a matter for him to decide, he indirectly blamed the example set by the Pontiff's tolerance of Jews in Rome, which was invoked to condone their presence in many countries. Obviously, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain – although not mentioned – provided the counterexample.

<sup>32</sup> Which was certainly in keeping with Jesuit precedent. One may quote a significant excerpt from a letter by a Jesuit writing from Heidelberg on 10 February 1628, which circulated in print: "A otras muchas misiones, y empresas han ido por esta tierra los nuestros, entre las quales vna es Franquandel, aquel pestilencial, y antiguo nido de los Caluinistas, y Olandeses, adonde el Padre Gerardo Hanson, con otro compañero, que no se quien es, trabaja gloriosamente. Pienso le seguirá (segun dicen) la famosa Argentina, en la qual el ilustrissimo Cabildo Eclesiastico, en breue, tornará a recuperar su Iglesia, de que auia sido antes despojado por los hereges. En Heostadio, Crucenacio, Inladstad, Gemergen, Hygen, y otras ciudades, en que andan los nuestros, la Fè Catolica por su cuidado, y trabajo felizmente se aumenta." *Carta en que vn religioso de la Compañia de Iesus dà noticia a vn amigo suyo de la conuersion de las tierras del Palatinado a la Fè Catolica*, Madrid 1628. I have used the copy at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (shelfmarked VE/204/9).

<sup>33</sup> *Iter*, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>.

As if the initial doubt as to whether his account was to turn out satirical or historical gave Caramuel *carte blanche* to speak his mind, the “*iter*” provided an indirect means to question the foundations of human authority. As shown by the passages devoted to the Bingen Jewry, to the Lutheran hosts at Saint Goar, or to the Calvinists at Bad Kreuznach, Catholic dogma remained unquestioned. Yet we are certainly not dealing with a religious zealot so much as with a theologian and polemicist set on proselytising. As a conjectural reply in kind to a denigrating picture owned by Lutheran guests of a Franciscan monk – bedecked with every manner of demeaning paraphernalia, including donkey’s ears – Caramuel did not spare Luther, likened to a braying ass. Significantly, he decried the religious tolerance at Bad Kreuznach as a token of their indifference for supernatural matters. The same reproach was addressed to the Jews, disparaged as “atheists” eager for wealth but hardened in the face of the otherworldly.<sup>34</sup> Undoubtedly, the irenicism of many early modern travel accounts is missing and Caramuel’s “*iter*” falls in this respect within Jesuit reports of on-going evangelisation, which did not shy away from the charge of confession-ism.<sup>35</sup> Words were not minced in exposing the flaws of all-too-human-authorities, both secular and ecclesiastic, including the Cistercian Order itself. Caramuel could not refrain from being surprised that the Cistercian Johannes Blankenberg be both learned and an abbot for, using a rather vivid simile, the distilment resulting from twelve or

<sup>34</sup> Caramuel apparently used the term as a synonym for irreligiousness, and as such likened it to nepotism. Cf. *ibid.* Cf. J. Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “Juan de Caramuel’s Presence...”, *op. cit.*, p. 155 (doc. 5). See Y. Schwartz’s contribution to these proceedings.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. Stagl, “Ars Apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reisetmethodik von 1560 bis 1600”, in: *Reise und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. X. von Ertzdorff and D. Neukirch, Amsterdam – Atlanta 1992, pp. 141–189, esp. pp. 169–171. Early modern Spanish travellers, who were prone to raise objections on moral and religious grounds, were quick to marvel at the technical achievements and opulence of other nations, especially the Low Countries (J. Caro Baroja, *Una imagen del mundo perdida*, Santander 1979, pp. 73–75).

more Cistercian abbots “au bain-marie” would turn out to be a poor match for his Antwerp friend Butkens who, needless to say, was not deemed good enough by his correligionaries to be an abbot. Caramuel suspected that the pontifical toleration of Jews in Rome was connected to illicit interests: “Lynces Ministros habet [Pontifex], sed lucrum etiam et utilitas claudit oculos nonnunquam Lyncium.” The secular hierarchies were put to task to an ever greater extent. Defeating expectations of adamant Habsburgophilia, Caramuel criticised his late mentor the “Cardinal Infante” as a prince seduced into a debauched lifestyle by courtiers as much as an altogether incompetent strategist. Drawing a comparison between the vigilant and dutiful Francisco de Melo and his predecessor the Infante, Caramuel silenced the latter’s victories and the former’s resounding defeat at Rocroi, obviously intending to tip the scales in favour of the Portuguese nobleman. Yet something more fundamental was at stake, namely the inseparability of private and public conduct. The bigamy of Afonso III of Portugal or Charles IV of Lorraine was associated, according to Caramuel, to their political crimes, much as the Cistercian’s unwillingness to condone the legitimisation of royal offspring sired out of wedlock had to do with his conviction that the Decalogue should prevail always lest we end up with a “nouam architectonicam quam Vitruvius non vidit”, an unsound architecture on whose precepts the foundations of the State would sooner or later prove shaky.<sup>36</sup> The story of a priest swindled by a Lotharingian soldier was intended as a prologue to the long digression on how the mercenary Duke of Lorraine had seized from his Jesuit hosts at Molsheim their valuable tableware. Neither episode was anecdotal; both were intended as vivid illustrations of how “vis” often triumphed over its anagrammatic cognate “ius”.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Iter*, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. In his “Proemium de sigillis et clavibus Theologiae moralis” (*Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, Francofurti 1652, pp. 44–48), Caramuel linked Vitruvius to the “regula lignea” of Justice, which – unlike the “regula ferrea” of tyranny – applies strain on subjects only when necessary and lifts it at the earliest opportunity.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31–42 (“Omnibus viris doctis S.P.”), p. 35.

Few works by Caramuel showpiece like the “iter” a fundamental trait of his character, which we may define as an acute awareness of the distance between verisimilitude and truth.<sup>38</sup> In actual fact the echo of bomb blasts or artificial thunder (“tonitrua ficta”) was more daunting and, in the guise of fabricated accusations, more fearsome than the reverberation of actual thunder. As he abandoned the Low Countries after twelve busy years, Caramuel questioned his own biographical path under the species of an “iter” sent to Fabio Chigi. The references to ingenious bridges made up of unworthy stones, to deceptively sound footholds, to paths hidden under a blanket of snow, or to nightfall, are the telling signs of a journey within a journey. Rather than mere physical or temporal displacement, Caramuel sought to draw attention to the unavertable conflicts of travel *moraliter loquendo*.

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. the letter addressed to God in *ibid.*, pp. 9–14 (p. 11): “O humanæ doctrinæ fundamenta! sub dubiam lucem Hesperii, judicatur certissima; clarissima dum noctem obscuram mens agit: et si mane, cùm lucet veritatis Phosphorus, eadem quæsiero, non subsistunt. Fortè adfingemus rebus oculorum errores; nam si in spicillo utimur flavo, croceas esse nives dicemus. Fortè nostri hallucinantur oculi nimia claritate percussi; sed hoc ipsum ignoro; & quia neutrum evidenter cognosco, neutrum pronuncio. Et quia vellem reperire vel punctum, ubi securè pedem figam, illudque in Terris non reperio, *Ad te confugio, & supplex tua Numina posco.*”



## CARAMUELIS ITER GERMANICUM<sup>1</sup>

Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo D. D. Fabio Chisio Neritonensi Episcopo S. R. E. per Germaniam Legato S. P.<sup>2</sup> / Ecce in manu calamus, Vir Ill[ustrissi]me, et ipse nescit an scripturus sit historiam, an Satyram. Sic omnia humana. Instrumenta manûs Omnipotentis sumus; quid velimus facere noscimus, quid facturi nescimus: Liberi quidem, sed in manu D[omi]ni tanquam calami. < *Quocumque ad quoscumque finis Deus dirigit* > Ipse nostris actionibus suam ideam, non nostram representat; Vel in hoc Omnipotens quod quibuscumque mediis fines qualescumque assequatur. < *Illustriss. D. Chisius Vrbani VIII per tractum Rheni etc. Legatus et Plænipotentiarius tractandæ uniuersalis pacis* > Assumptus à Deo putabas, solum tuis imponi humeris Colonien-sis Principatus negotia; et tamen Te instrumento Deus utitur, non ut tuam mentem exprimat, sed ut suam: nimirum ut vniuersi dubis Christiani rem agat et nomine summi Capitis omnium membrorum tranquillam armoniam procures. Sed quia Monasterij etiam diuersa sunt hominum sensa, dum alios veteres historias euoluentes, alios ueteres Satyras reuocantes contemplor, nemini erit mirum quod inter historiae et Satyræ Idola dubius resumam calamus nescientes, utram sit expressurus. Excurram Louanio Crucinacum;<sup>3</sup> et obseruatione uerum

<sup>1</sup> The transcription reproduces the spelling and punctuation of the original letter (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Chigi A.II.35). Paragraphs are indicated by a slash (/) and folia by a double slash (//). Angle brackets and Italics (< *Italics* >) single out descriptions of content which appear on the margins of the text and are not to be read as part of the running text. Square brackets ([ ]) designate any letters or words inserted by the editor or whose reading is uncertain. Abbreviated “q” endings have been spelled out (“que”). The title is the editor’s responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Fabio Chigi (1599–1667), bishop of Nardò (1635), nuncio in Cologne (1639–1651) and envoy extraordinary to the conference of Muenster (1644–1648), which culminated with the Peace of Westphalia, ending the Thirty Years’ War. Secretary of State (1651–1655) of Innocent X, Chigi was created Cardinal on 19 February 1652 and elected pope on 7 April 1655 (Alexander VII). The salutation is in Caramuel’s own hand.

<sup>3</sup> Louvain (Belgium) and Bad Kreuznach (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

Visarum [redd... ..udentior]<sup>4</sup> sed melior. < *Caramuel recusat Abbatiam Dunensem* > Volebam impallescere chartis Louanij à curis extrinsecis Liber. Per sancta per profana Viros Max- // [fol. 1v] imos meorum Contemplationum Meccænates; et inter eos præcipuè prudentissimum et eloquentissimum Marchionem Maluezzium<sup>5</sup> multis titulis meum, adiuro, urgeo, interpello et ad Dunensio Mon[aste]rij Abbatiam<sup>6</sup> obitu incomparabilis Viri Bernardi Campmans<sup>7</sup> vacantem promouear. Insufficienciam suadeo, non persuadeo; et tamen meâ sententiâ fortissimè discurro. Monasterij Duniensis, inquam habenas moderans, Vel quotidie meis speculationibus quatuordecim horas impendam vel non. Si impendam, agent ex legem et libertinam vitam subditi, incuriam ego: si non, violentiam patiar, et ut scimus, nunquam feliciter succedunt quæ violenta. Præstat igitur esse diligentem, Theologiæ Professorem, quam negligentem et incurium Abbatem. Nihil tamen proficio; illi enim contrâ, illum locum, inquit, indigere doctrinâ; meque debere uel inuitum Martyrem agere, ut seruiam Regi et Ordini. Sed in dubio conflictu, cum me victurum vel uincendum crederem, neutrum obtinui. Dicta fuit hostilis Amicorum benignitas, victus et ego: vel fortè uerius utrique vicimus. Volebant illi, ne commoditate et diuitijs carerem; volebam ego, ne curis obrueror, et ne caducis rebus, occupatus ab stadio literario, abstraherer: sed utriusque partis

<sup>4</sup> Ink from the deletion of two lines on fol. 1v went through making virtually illegible what appears to be no more than four words. The last of these words may well be “prudentior”.

<sup>5</sup> Virgilio Malvezzi (1595–1654), Barone della Taranta e di Quadri, Marchese di Castel Guelfo. Caramuel must have known of Malvezzi’s profound and lasting friendship with Fabio Chigi, dating back to their youth. According to unpublished documents studied by Professor J. L. Colomer (CEEH, Madrid), Virgilio Malvezzi was in Flanders from 1641 to 1643. Moreover, Caramuel requested in writing Malvezzi’s support, asking him to raise the matter of his candidacy to the abbey of Dunes with Francisco de Melo (see note 80). I am indebted to J. L. Colomer for this information, which will be published in due course.

<sup>6</sup> Abbey of Dunes (or Te Duinen) at Bruges, Belgium.

<sup>7</sup> Bernard Campmans, 42nd Abbot of Dunes (1624), died on 26 December 1642, aged sixty-one.

votis adnuens, usus et nobis Deus ut faceret quod non cogitabamus. < *promouetur ad Disembergensem volens nolens, D. D. Gasparis Jongelini resignatione* > Ne rogitant; quidem indicitur, ut ad Disembergense Monasterium<sup>8</sup> D. D. Gasparis Longelini<sup>9</sup> natalibus et ingenio clari resignatione, vacans adueniam; et alto consilio satisfit duabus partibus contradictoria postulantibus // [fol. 2r]; nam et uotis Amicorum adnuitur, et mihi tempus expeditum relinquitur, non solum ut studere, sed ut utilius possim. Aperitur via tractandi cum Hereticis, schismaticas rationes eneruandi et heterodoxas sententias resellendi. Actus diuinitus plus quam desiderabam obtinui, tametsi non ubi nec qualiter putabam, sed ubi et qualiter Catholicus Hispaniarum Monarcha, in rebus politicis Prodeus,<sup>10</sup> non sine cælesti auspicio uoluit. / < *Mors amica* > Mors frequentius hostilis, excellentissimis hominibus amica fuit. Si antiquæ probationes placent; sublatus est Enoch<sup>11</sup> ne malitia mutaret intellectum ipsius, aut ne fictio deciperet animam illius. < *Enocho olim* > Sublatus cum fœlix ne superuieret infœlicitatj. Si iuniores; laudat Author operis imperfecti (paucis est Augustinus, multis iunior, imò et Heterodoxus) Iuliani Pelagiani parentes quod adierint cælos antequam filium deuium à veritate uiderent. < *et iam dudum Marchioni*

<sup>8</sup> A Benedictine foundation located between the Nahe and the Glan rivers in the vicinity of Odernheim am Glan and Bad Kreuznach, Disibodenberg became a Cistercian Abbey in 1259 and was subsequently secularised by the Reformation (1559) and seized by the Palatine Elector (1570). An interesting inventory of *Monasteriorum et aliorum bonorum ecclesiasticorum in Inferiori Palatinati sub Moguntina, Wormatiensi, Spirensi Diocæsibus fundationes redditus et occupationes* is found in BNM, ms. 432, fols. 102<sup>v</sup>-122<sup>v</sup>. On fols. 105<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>v</sup> we find a list of the meagre properties and revenues that corresponded to the Abbey of Disibodenberg in the seventeenth century.

<sup>9</sup> Gaspar Jongelinckx (1605-1669) was a monk of the Priory of the Holy Saviour (Antwerp) reputed for his erudite books on the history of the Cistercian Order. Philip IV, King of Spain, appointed him abbot of Disibodenberg, a position he later resigned in favour of Juan Caramuel, obtaining in exchange from the Archduchess Claudia of Austria-Styria the Abbey of Eusserthal (see notes 47 and 49).

<sup>10</sup> Philip IV (1606-1665), King of Spain (reigned 1621-1665).

<sup>11</sup> Hebrews 11,5-6.

*de Aytonâ;* > Marchionem de Aytona<sup>12</sup> victoriis multis celebrem felicem iudicauimus, quod deuixerit ante communes miserias Belgij et victam inexpugnabilem Schenkij arcem.<sup>13</sup> < *imò et Joanni Wiggerio. Jansenij errores acriter à multis Senatoribus defensi.* > Sed et Ioannem Wiggerium<sup>14</sup> Louaniensis Schola beatum credidit, quod diem ultimum clausurit antequam Iansenianus<sup>15</sup> error (præuisum hæreticum expressè censuit, censuramque typo euulgauit) publicè grassaretur: fœlix etiam et ego qui iudicium, non esse suâ iustitiâ dignum qui Janseniamus non esset, inclamantium rugitum audiui, affectum vidi, sublatus tamen antequam ictum paterer. < *post Caramuel cum primum Louanio excessit, in causâ Præcedentiæ à senatu Brabantiaë damnatur* > Post meum discessum de improbabilitate condemnatâ parti // [fol. 2v] veritatis liquida demonstratio; parti contrariæ adiudicata præcedentiæ possessio, equitas damnata ad expensas viro tam docto,<sup>16</sup> qui nequidem scit Brabantici Consilij decreta extra Brabantiam imbecillia. Sanè optimam comœdiam prudenter intermitteres, ut competitorem illum, meum per plateas discurrentem videres. Moribundum eundem aut mortuum crederes; carebat enim motu ab intrinseco extrinsecis consiliis actus; imò et pede potiùs quam mente discurrerat. Me tandem ipsum co-

<sup>12</sup> Francisco II de Moncada (1586–1635), 3rd Marquis of Aitona, 11th Count of Osona, Governor of the Spanish Low Countries (1633–1634). Caramuel corresponded with Aitona's son and successor Guillermo Raimundo VII (1618–1670), 4th Marquis of Aitona (cf. J. Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, "Juan de Caramuel's Presence...", op. cit., pp. 137–165, esp. p. 156, doc. 7).

<sup>13</sup> The Fortress of Schenkenschans was seized from the Dutch on 28 July 1635 by the Field Marshall Ottavio Piccolomini (1599–1666), 1st Duke of Amalfi.

<sup>14</sup> Jan Wiggers (1571–1639) occupied the royal chair of Scholastic theology in Louvain for which Caramuel was an unsuccessful candidate after Wiggers' death on 19 March 1639. His *Commentaria in totam D. Thomae Summam* were published posthumously (Lovanii 1641).

<sup>15</sup> Cornelius Jansen or Jansenius (1585–1638), Bishop of Ypres, author of the *Augustinus* (1640) and posthumous father of the Jansenist movement.

<sup>16</sup> Caramuel is probably referring to Jacopus Pontanus who hoped, like Caramuel, to succeed Jan Wiggers and who – alongside M. Theige – wished to precede Caramuel in academic sessions in spite of the fact that the Cistercian had been promoted to the doctorate in theology ahead of both.

nuenit, et ut ante sententiam voto suo satisfacerem urget importunè et audacter. Ego illi dulcia uerba. Sed ipse non iam uerba sed rem ipsam, et excurrerat sic. Brabanticum Concilium non habet vires in Germaniam, et siquidem certissimè condemnaberis, expedit ut antè incolatum, quod prætendo refundas. Ridebamus hominis, tametsi ad lauream promoti ignorantiam ut Senatores statim in consilium cogeret suadebamus addentes non uelle exactè debitis satisfacere, indebita prodigere non uelle; nec tamen scire apud quos scriptores reperisset, intuitu futuri debiti posse presentem solutionem exigi. Subiungebamus etiam moris esse ut condemnati luant quod minus possint, quò tardius possint, et si futura Consilij resolutio seuera uideretur, adhuc esse locum appellationi. Nostrâ morositate exardescibat ille, et erat lupo in lepidâ uiterum fabula. Verè nulla is descriptâ comœdiâ circumstantia, quæ ponderatione sit indigna. Commendanda venit Iansenij autoritas // [fol. 3r] apud viros christianos; siquidem tanta, ut contra iura legesque cadere causâ debeat quiuus illius doctrinam hæreticam et interdictam asserat. < *sed contra iura et leges*, > Magna etiam sapientia illius doctoris, qui leges pœnales aut ante sententiam aut extra territorium æstimari obligare. Sed quia indico resolutionem illam præscriptis Vniuersitatis moribus, decreto Alberti et Isabellæ Belgij Principum,<sup>17</sup> iuri utrique communis Pontificio et Cæsareo, nec non aliarum Prouintiarum legibus directè opponi, specialem libellum de præcedentiâ doctorum Louaniensium euulgabo,<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The Archduke Albrecht of Austria (1559–1621) and the Infanta Isabella of Spain (1566–1633), joint rulers of the Spanish Low Countries (1598–1621; Isabella, sole ruler 1621–1633).

<sup>18</sup> I am unaware of the existence of such a book, which would appear to be a short-lived project. In his *De DD. Cisterciensium & aliorum omnium Benedictinorum respectu DD. Aroasensium & reliquorum canonicorum regularium præcedentia libra*, Louanii 1644, sect. V, viii, pp. 76–80, Caramuel defended the criterion of antiquity as determining almost always precedence (underlining is my own): “*Abbas, Doctor, Consiliarius, & Concionator Regius, debet habere locum secundum qualitatem illam inter quos residet. Patet; quia in Generalibus Comitibus sola habetur ratio Abbatiarum, in Doctorem consessu, laureæ, in Consilio & Regio sacello promotionis. Vnde Petrus antiqui Monasterii Abbas & junior Doctor, Paulum ju-*

suasurus luce meridianâ esse clarius, quod seniores iunioribus debeant præponi; non iri auditum qui singularem viam aperiunt et præsumunt delirare contrarium. < *ut monstrabitur in libro edendo.* > / < *Deliberatur de ipsâ viâ in Germaniam.* > Vrget Superiorum auctoritas; itineri me præparo, et de uiâ ipsâ delibero; et an Treueris, an Colonia<sup>19</sup> debeam, examino. Periculosa utraque, hæc ab Hollandis percurritur, et illa à Gallis. Sed quia Galliam iam viderem, malui me Hollandorum inclementiæ committere à quibus, si infelix, diduci necessariò deberem, ut inuisas, optimas tamen ciuitates lustrarem. / < *Hieronymus Niffus.* > Media electionis soboles statim posita, et itineri initium. Bruxellam<sup>20</sup> venio; valedico amicis, et inter alios Hieronimo Niffo,<sup>21</sup> generoso militi optimo nobili. Vbi hujus memini si murmurare liceret, multa occurrebant quæ essent utilia; sed quia ille solus potest linguæ habenas contrahere qui aut // [fol. 3v] campos cingere, aut maria claudere, loquar liberrimè eum enim loquimur neminem cauemus in Germania. < *Augustinus Niffus,* > Hieronymis iste Augustini Niffi<sup>22</sup> philosophi Mœdicei nepos, vel stemmate ostendit maioris

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nioris Monasterii Antistitem & seniore[m] Doctorem, deberet in Generali Capitulo præcedere, sequi in gymnasio; in illo enim comparent quâ Abbates, & in hoc quâ Doctores...”

<sup>19</sup> Trier or Cologne, Germany.

<sup>20</sup> Brussels, Belgium.

<sup>21</sup> The Sergeant Major Jerónimo Nifo “Supremi in Flandria militum Tesserarii”, was the son of Ferdinando (or Fernando) Nifo, to whom Caramuel dedicated his *Seuera disputandi methodus*, Duaci 1644: “À D. Ferdinando Nipho, Magni Augustini Niphi Philosophi Medicæi Pronepote.” This book included a letter by Ferdinando Nifo, dated Brussels, 29 July 1643. Ferdinando and his son Jerónimo served, respectively, 37 and 47 years in the Spanish Army in Flanders. See the “consulta” presented on 20 June 1695 by Jerónimo’s grandson, Sebastián Nifo y Ruiz de Uribe (Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarías Provinciales, leg. 63).

<sup>22</sup> Agostino Nifo (c. 1473–1538/45), Italian philosopher and commentator. On Pope Leo X de’ Medici’s request, he defended the immortality of the soul against Pomponazzi and the Alexandrists. In return, the Pope granted him the right to call himself by the name Medici. His principal philosophical works are *De immortalitate animi*; *De intellectu et daemonibus*; *De infinitate primi motoris quaestio* and *Opuscula moralia et politica*.

Italis literas fieri quam Hispanis. < *et Leo X laudati.* > Leo X columnen familiæ Mœdiceæ, et iam tunc summis Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pontifex, se suosque ad summum honorem promoturum credidit, si virum illum doctum adscisceret et domo suâ donaret. < *Docti maioris fiunt apud Italos quam apud Hispanos.* > Magna ipsi contulit priuilegia; sed quia bonum est diffusiuum sui, non solum indulisit ut nobilis esset, sed etiam ut nobiles faceret. < *Antonius Sanderus* > Multa subiungerem; sed Antonius Sanderus<sup>23</sup> suæ Flandriæ illustratæ tomo altero uberius omnia. Nihil addam; sufficiat Italum Hispanis proposuisse, quem possint prudenter imitari: nec secundum reponam Patria enim mater, et filiis obmurmurare licet, non tamen limites pietatis excedere. Igitur, ut huic excursui finis ubi itineri initium festinemus. / < *Antuerpiæ laus* > Sed quo? Ad Belgij oculum, ad Germaniæ inferioris delictum, ad multarum Regionum thesaurum; nec clarius necessarium est loqui, quia omnes intelligunt, Antuerpiam.<sup>24</sup> Sed me miserum! Bruxellâ excessi, ne sæcularium principum desidiâ carperem; et Antuerpiam appello; ubi patriarcha ipse, qui a patientia celibem, esset impatiens. < *D. Christophorus Butkens S.<sup>ii</sup> Saluatoris Monasterij Antistes diligens Historiographus.* > Si Cisterciensis Ordo artem profiteretur Chymicam et ex suis duodecim aut plures quos recogito, Antistites in Balneo Mariæ<sup>25</sup> (Pharmacopeis notum est instrumentum; nec mirum // [fol. 4r] hujusmodi speculatione utar quando ab hujuscemodi scientiæ professoribus etiam dignitates dantur) imponeret, destillatione

<sup>23</sup> See A. Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata sive Descriptio comitatus per totum terrarum orbem celeberrimi*, Coloniae 1641, II, auctarium ad tomum primum, pp. 63–66. Moreover, on *ibid.*, I, lib. IV, cap. I, p. 253, Caramuel is listed among the remarkable writers of the Abbey of Dunes: “Admodum reverendus, ac eximius Dominus Caramuel Pobkowicz [sic], Religiosus B. Mariæ de Dunis, Ordinis Cisterciensis sacrae Theol. Doctor Lovaniensis, & Melrosensis Abbas, hoc anno typis divulgavit opus doctissimum, cui titulus præfigitur: Philippus Prudens Caroli quinti Imperatoris filius, Lusitaniæ, Algarbiæ, Indiæ, Brasiliæ legitimus Rex demonstratus. Idem jam prælo subjecit commentarios in regulam S. Benedicti eruditissimos.”

<sup>24</sup> Antwerp, Belgium.

<sup>25</sup> Balneum Mariæ: water bath, commonly referred to as the double boiler or bain-marie.

secundum artem factà non egrederetur unus Christophorus Butkens,<sup>26</sup> cui auctoritatem Brabantia Catholici Regis iura securitatem honorem Religio Cistertiensis debet, vir multis titulis magnis, Tipicis editis celebrer, et tamen non Abbas. < *An effectus debeat esse ignobilior suâ causâ?* > Forte primores Ordinis sunt doctores philosophi quam ego oportet inquirunt, effectum ignobiliorem esse causâ, sic tenet uniuersa peripateticorum officina; et si uerè uniuersi excusabiles. Vni et soli imposterum promoueantur indocti; qui enim benè suum Abecedarium callear, his amplissimis uiris ignobilior esse non potest. Sed redeo ad me Bruxella excessi, ne cogerer de matre Hispaniâ dura obloqui, aduenio Antuerpiam, et Matri (Cistertiam Religionem matrem cognosco, matrem veneror) iterum filius audax insulto. < *Si malum malefacta recensere, peius est illa facere.* > Taruisse oportuit, fateor; sed interim, si hæc dicere peccatum fuit, sanè non fuit uirtus illa facere quæ sine peccato dici non possint: sonent cornua, parentur equi, et siquidem uidentes malefacta benè loqui non possumus displicendi occasionem et ciuitatem tametsi illustrem relinquamus. / Tam iam muros egredior, pontem supero, et ut Lothi uxor retrospiciens conuertor in statuam salis.<sup>27</sup> < *Hispana fornicationis miracula.* > Non satisfaciam metamorphosi si explicem conceptum sine sale. Arcus pontis respicior,<sup>28</sup> et in ipsis impolitos et uastos lapides, qui omnino ruerent, // [fol. 4v] ni succollarentur arte fornicatoriâ.<sup>29</sup> Submergerentur quidem, si caderentis et tamen lapsuris similes sustinentur in aere, quia pons optimè

<sup>26</sup> The prior of the Cistercian Abbey du Sauueur at Antwerp, Christopher Butkens (1590–1650), was a reputed linguist and historian. His best known work is *Les trophées tant sacrés que profanes de la duché de Brabant* (Antverpiæ 1641).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Gen 19,26.

<sup>28</sup> In all likelihood Caramuel was referring to the Porta Kipdorpia (Kipdorppoort or Borgerhoutsepoort), which was serviced by an impressive bridge. Though he does not mention the other main city gate, the Porta Imperatoria (Keizerspoort or Mechelsepoort), he must have passed through it when, coming from Brussels, he arrived in Antwerp.

<sup>29</sup> An intended pun on the double meaning of “fornicatoria”, pertaining both to fornication and to arch-vaulting.



fornicatur hoc uerum; et si benè examinem, nimis uerum: < *Comitis-Ducis spurius filius, heri à pedibus, iam magnus factus.* > Et si uerum, quid mirum si famulus à pedibus cuius heri commissa sparta, equum pectere, vel si aura faueret et dignior crederetur, hominum laruis (comicos homunciones intelligo) ab instrumentis et supellectilibus transuehendis seruire, hodie sit in fortunæ fastigio tametsi impolitus et uastus contra expectationem uniuersorum positus. Sanè violenter sustinetur lapsuro similis, submergendus si ruat, et tamen in arcùs triumphantis Hispaniæ fastigio ponitur arte fornicatoriâ. Fornicationis filius dicitur; et quia duo erant in carne unâ datæ sortes, quæ in Comitem Ducem<sup>30</sup> ceciderunt. Ipse ne omninò moreretur illiberis, uoluit haberi certus dubiæ sobolis parens. < *Joannes Austriacus Regis spurius Belgij Prorex denominatus.* > De Austriaco Joanne<sup>31</sup> nihil dico, audio enim exstare apud Hispanos legem, omnes Regum qualescumque filios, non obstante fornicationis maculâ, legitimos esse declarantem; et sic discorro vel sapiens ille Alphonsus<sup>32</sup> talem legem tulit, uel non. < *An spurij Regum sint legitimi? Libr. de las partidas.*<sup>33</sup> > Si hoc ultimum; Austriacus Joannes arte fornicatoriâ a lapidicinâ excisus in arcus Belgici fastigio sistitur, ubi sine uolentiâ eminere non possit. Si illud primum, habemus nouam architectonicam quam Vitrubius non uidit. Dantur leges de fornicatione, et quidquid interdicit // [fol. 5r] dicat aut indicat decalogus, non potest uocari illegitimus, qui secundum legem est factus. Sed quia multum dixi, digitum ori admoueo. Claudio oculos, ne si per Europeas Regum genealogias discurram,

<sup>30</sup> Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel (1587–1645), 1st Duke of Sanlúcar la Mayor, 3rd Count of Olivares, prime minister (1621–1643).

<sup>31</sup> Don Juan of Austria (1547–1578), an illegitimate son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V by Barbara Blomberg, ruled the Spanish Low Countries (1576–1578) on behalf of his brother Philip II, King of Spain.

<sup>32</sup> Alfonso X (1221–1284), King of Castile and León (reigned 1252–1284).

<sup>33</sup> A Castilian statutory code completed c. 1265 under the aegis of King Alfonso X (see note 32) with the intent of establishing a uniform body of normative rules for the kingdom, it was originally called the *Libro de las leyes* but came to be known as the *Siete partidas* in the 14th century.

cogar videre spuriorum (est lapsus calami) legitimorum inauratorum numerosas myriades. Puniendi sunt pauperes, si fornicentur, utpotè legirupiones et audaces: laudandi Reges, et qui eorumdem more, sciunt secundum leges fornicari. < *Eques inauratus est nobilis factus non natus, adeòque Legitimus inauratus, qui non est legitimè natus, sed factus.* > Dantur fornicationes legibus respondentes; nam hæc ipsa, quæ hujus pontis lapides intorquet in arcum, in bona et legitima, nec vasta saxa succollaret, nec nobis uiam securam permetteret pergo ulterius, sequantur. / < *Ductor (Posta uulgò) in fortificationis fossam vix egressus è ciuitate Labitur.* > Sed quid uideo? In eum ipsum ductorem in luto usque ad aures submersum. Rideo et disco. Loricæ antiquæ fossæ terrâ mobili oppletæ, solis calore leuiter incrustate inuitauerunt miserum, ut uiam iniret ex quâ vis, mergere posset. Omnia antiqua sunt talia. < *De veterum scriptis censura.* > Laudentur veteres à fortitudine, dicantur habuisse ingenia robustissima, nam hodie ipsos leues pulueres tegunt. Iuniorum calore et splendore incrustari poterunt, non firmari; si illis uelis insistere, etsi plurimum sit dux, periculosè submergeris. / Sed pulchrum quod dux ipse cadat, et cecidisse uideatur; ubi enim ducis lapsus inuisus, deficit doctrina et ducatus. < *Nocet Lapsus Ducis inuisus uisus prodest, hunc enim et non illum caueas.* > Hispanus Cardinalis,<sup>34</sup> dux multos præiuit uiam periculosam. < *Dux de Lerma promouet dignissimos.* > Putabat se indignum // [fol. 5v] ducis nomine si talis non esset quem possint uniuersi sequi promouit viros dignissimos, qui putantes illa et maiora sibi omninò debere, creatorem non curarunt, et durandi<sup>35</sup> principiis insistentes uoluerunt dependere

<sup>34</sup> Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1552/1553–1625), 4th Marquis of Denia, 5th Count and (1599) 1st Duke of Lerma. Created a Cardinal on 26 March 1618. *Valido* or royal favourite from 1598 to 1618. After an inquiry ordered by King Philip IV in 1621, the cardinal was sentenced on 3 August 1624 to return to the Crown over a million *ducados*.

<sup>35</sup> Durandus de Saint-Pourçain, OP, “Doctor Resolutissimus” (c. 1275–1332/34), bishop of Le-Puy-en-Velay, French nominalist philosopher and theologian who taught that all actions proceed from God Who gives the power to act, but that there is no immediate influx of the Creator upon the actions of the creature.

ab humano illo deo in fieri et esse, non verò in operari. < *Creatura Durandi sententiâ dependerit à Deo in esse non uero in operari.* > Licet magni non potuerint esse nisi dependenter à duce, excusso iugo magna operati: gigantes fuerunt, qui creatori suo timorem incutientes, coegerunt ad Ecclesiam confugere, et donatum purpura ablegarunt ab aulâ, Valisoliti detinuerunt demonstrantes se fuisse dignos, qui in iudices eligerentur cum iustitiæ seruandæ causâ suum ipsum Creatorem exilio perpetuo condemnarunt.<sup>36</sup> < *Lermaus Dux sacerdos et Cardinalis factus, sed cur? obiit exul ubi? quare? à quibus?* > Cecidit Cardinalis dux; secutus Comes, ne concideret, mutauit uiam; prodest enim asseclis ducis lapsus si cognitus. < *Comes de Oliuarez* > Tragœdiam cautus homo respexerat, et sic discurrit: Hispani Orbis primores non uoluerunt in suis operationibus dependere à Creatore, quia tanti erant, ut semel creati ipso non indigerent; nocet igitur promouere gigantes, et ego ut Creatoris auctoritatem manuteneam, promouebo pygmæos. < *viros indignos promouet.* > Corruat igitur politica durandica<sup>37</sup> me gubernante creaturarum, non existentiae modò, sed sit operationes à meâ physicâ prædeterminatione dependebunt; si tales ut me indigeant in singulis resolutionibus. At ipse uiam quidem mutauit, non fortunam. Apertam à seniore // [fol. 6r] Duce declinauit ne caderet; sed etiam ipse, tametsi aliter cecidit. Et lapsurus qu[a]erebat uel unam creaturam à quâ defenderetur: sed quia supprimebatur à gigantibus, non potuit defendi à pygmæis. < *Qui Cardinali et Comiti ducibus succedet, admittet prouintiam difficilem.* > Prouideat sibi qui Catholici Regis beneuolentiâ debeat in officio succedere: duos duces habet quos sequi possit. Contrarias uias inierunt, et tamen miserrimè sunt lapsi. At quia inter contradictorias mediâ non datur, malit ex pegaso descendere, alterutram pedesentim et reptando transire, quam cum ducibus et precursoribus collabi. Me iudice cadente duce magnâ

<sup>36</sup> On Lerma's fall from royal favour in 1618 and subsequent exile, see A. Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 230-261.

<sup>37</sup> An intended philosophical joke (cf. note 35).

asseclæ prouidentiâ opus est. < *Ductore Lapsò ex equo descendit Caramuel cum ruina timetur, infima securiora.* > Descendi illicò; præstat enim humilis et priuata securitas periculo eminenti. Volui manibus tangere ubi pedem sisterem, rebus enim turbatis improuidè progrederis, nisi pedem firmare aut non firmare sit in tuâ manu. Sordidam illam viam (vix ulla in mundo munda) non alieno, sed proprio pede absolui, ne essem similis illis, qui per sordes ducuntur pede alieno. Iterum contra Principes? Fortè et ipsi ideò Dei imagines dicti, quod aliquod genus immensitates habeant; quocumque enim satyrica se inuertat oratio, semper Principes reperit, semper in Principes impingit. < *Cardinalis Infans à perditissimis famulis seductus* > Pauperes per sordes uadunt, ducuntur Principes, aut potius seducuntur; quoniam si Regis mei non fuisset Frater Cardinalis Infans,<sup>38</sup> illum liberè non solum per sordes ductum, sed seductum; aut pellicismos direrem sordes non esse. Omnia enim // [fol. 6v] illa obsequia, quibus pedagogus ipsius amicitiam lucratus, si benè examinentur, sunt sordes; et tales, quæ adhuc hodie pestiferum exhalarent fœtorem in pœnitentiâ publicâ, in mortis articulo fuissent correctæ. < *maculam publicâ morum conuersione sub mortem diluit.* > Seducantur maiores; ego enim tanquam ætate minor debeo restitui in integrum et permitti liberè cum meo lapsu pristino cautiore reddito ulterius properare. / Sed quorsum? Myruit nox; niues labuntur, et suo candore uiam et inuia confundunt, periculique timorem augent. Quid mirum, ingruat nox? Occidit Sol quia fuerat ortus; omnia enim denascentur quæ nata. Prudens occidere maluit, quam occidi. Hujus etiam sententiæ Austriacus ille qui Belgio præfuit. < *Omnia quæ orta, occident. Joannes Austriacus non sine ueneni suspicione in Belgio mortuus. Bentiuoglio.*<sup>39</sup> > Occidit ultrò, quia dicebatur occidendis; imò cædis instantis opinio sollicitauit obi-

<sup>38</sup> The so-called “Cardenal-Infante” Don Fernando (1609–1641), ruled the Spanish Low Countries (1634–1641) on behalf of his brother Philip IV. Created cardinal deacon in the consistory of 29 July 1619 by Pope Paul V.

<sup>39</sup> G. Bentivoglio, *Della guerra di Fiandra*, Venice 1637–1640, I, lib. x, p. 293: “E quindi nacque l’opinione si riceuuta, [che Don Giouanni d’Austria] mancasse di morte aiutata più tosto, che naturale.”

tum; abire enim præstitit, quam exspectare eum cui intererat officium Parcæ obire. Omnia quæ initium, habitura sunt finem, aut violentum aut spontaneum, tametsi magna, tametsi publica: Scripta, Regna, Coronæ, autoritas, potestas, iurisdictio, vel ne longius progrediar (longa enim via superest) testor Cataloniam, etsi infidam, testor vicissim Portugalliam etsi rebellem: illam deiectan, hanc occiduam. / Occidit Lusitania, quia Catalonia fuit deiecta;<sup>40</sup> maluit cadere quam præcipitari. < *Catalonia defecit quia passa, et ne pateretur Portugallia. mali ministri sæpè in causâ ut perdantur coronæ legitimè et tranquillè possessæ.* > Ignominias, latrocinia, imò et adulteria Catallonia perpessa // [fol. 7r] conquesta et inaudita, uniuersos illos sustulit à quibus audiri non potuit, et tandem cadauerum pondere oppressa deficit: cautior hæc et audentior, periculis alienis docta, antequam deiiceretur cecidit, et Vasconcellum à quo poterat prosterni, cecidit. < *Secretarius Vasconcellus Lusitaniæ rebellionis causa.*<sup>41</sup> > / Sed quia niues etiam impedimento, ipse etiam erant instructioni; sæpè erudiunt quæ impediunt, sæpè quæ nocent. < *Noli nimium iustus esse; est enim suspecta de iniquitate æquitas, si nimia.* > Niues, si nimia, tegunt viam, et peregrinos à semitis communibus abigunt; nocet igitur nimius candor, nimia fidelitas, non enim semper benè olet, qui benè semper olet; nec satis candidus, qui nimie candidus, nam et Dux de Medinâ Sidoniâ tunc minus fidelis uidebatur,<sup>42</sup> cum prouocabat Lusitanum ad duellum im-

<sup>40</sup> The Catalanian revolt or *Guerra dels Segadors* began in May 1640 in Girona and soon extended to Barcelona.

<sup>41</sup> Autograph marginal addition. Miguel de Vasconcelos e Brito (1590–1640) was in charge of carrying out Olivares' policies in Portugal. On 1st December 1640 the Portuguese rebels threw him out of a window of the Royal Palace in Lisbon.

<sup>42</sup> Gaspar Alonso Pérez de Guzmán y Sandoval (1602–1664), 9th Duke de Medina Sidonia, 12th Count of Niebla. His sister Luisa Maria Francisca de Guzmán married in 1632 the Duke João of Bragança, who led the Portuguese insurrection against Madrid and became in 1640 King João IV of the newly independent kingdom of Portugal. Caramuel is referring to an aborted conspiracy against Philip IV designed to sever Andalusia from Spain (1641). The leaders were Medina Sidonia and his cousin Francisco Manuel Silvestre de Guzmán y Zúñiga (1606–1648), 6th Marquis of Ayamonte.

possibile,<sup>43</sup> ut nimis fidelis uideretur. / Cæterum in campo aperto oberrans, si se cælum abneget; si alta caligo ingruat, si uenti procellosi spirent, si niuium uellera mane spatium occupens et horrorem adaugeant, quid ductor sit facturus exploro. < *Ductor face instructus, præcurrit.* > Rusticâ video cum donatum lampade; sæpè enim obscuritates politicas dilucidat beatus ille qui procul negotiis Phaetonti<sup>44</sup> similem admiror alienum luminare torquentem: sequimur enim multos, non quia illustres, sed quia alieni splendoris participes aut fures. < *Rustici aulicis sæpè cautiore.* > Præcurrit Luciger et sequimur uniuersi dubios radios lampadis fugitiuæ. O mundum, mundum! Tuos splendores sequor, non assequor; sunt enim fugitiui // [fol. 7v] et quia Lucigerum illum meum cum profectu insequer, existimo posse hominem ipsumet mundanum splendorem utiliter, si uelit, insequi: fugere putant qui ipsum contemnunt, ut maiores habeantur: sed et ipsi cum maximè fugiunt, non fugiunt. < *Ambitio potest ambitiosè contemni. Caroli V historia.* > Fortè Carolus V nunquam magis ambitioni studi ut, quam cum cessit Fratri Laurum, coronam filio: vir enim generosus solum honorem ambit, et si honorificentius sit contemnere honorem quam ambire, ratio occurrit quæ moueat ut quis ambiat ambitionis contemptum. At ego, ambitiosus aut non, ducem Lucigerum non sine scrupulo secutus, non omninò à superstitione liber Coloniam<sup>45</sup> appuli. < *Dæmon impotens.* > Fortè non omnia quæ Lucigero duce propè Coloniam fiunt, censenda sunt superstitiosa; vel fortè non omnia quæ superstitiosa creduntur, pendent à Luciferi ductu; quod ipse uel pauciora possit uel uelit, quam putamus Coloniam, inquam, appuli per medios hostes, per ultima discrimina, bono Deo auspice, sine discrimine, sine periculo; sed et ibi multa reperi, multa non

<sup>43</sup> In order to wash out the stain of treason, the Duke of Medina Sidonia challenged his brother-in-law King João IV to a duel at Valencia de Alcántara (Cáceres, Spain). After eighty days of embarrassing wait (from 1 October to 19 December 1641) the monarch did not show up.

<sup>44</sup> Phaëton, son of Helios.

<sup>45</sup> Cologne.

reperi; quæ quoniam Tibi fatis nota, uberiore relatione non indigent. / < *R.mus D. D. Gaspar Jongelinus.* > Quæsiui alterum me, R[everendis-]simum D[omi]num Gasparem Jongelinum,<sup>46</sup> sanguine illustrem, ingenio nobilem, quem libri editi celebrem reddunt per Europam: sed ipse aberat; negotia enim Eusserstalensis sui Mon[aste]rij<sup>47</sup> adhuc enim O[e]niponte in Tirolli<sup>48</sup> apud Serenissimam Archiducem Claudiam<sup>49</sup> // [fol. 8r] retinebant. Cujus eo uidetur controuersia respicere, ut discamus iura et merita ancillari uiolentiæ, et leges ensi famulari. < *et R.mus D. D. Joannes Blanchenbergius laudati.* > Sed de hoc alias, eximij enim et R[everendissi]mi D. D. Joannis Blanchenbergij<sup>50</sup> viri suauiissimi hospitio humanissimè exceptus non possum amara tractare. Est ipse Montis ueteris Abbas, Cisterciensis Ordinis Progeneralis, nec non Coloniensis Academiae Theologus doctor, multis titulis magnus, futurus major si meritis fortuna respondeat. Vbi hominem vidi, liquidò animaduerto omnes regulas generales pati suas exceptiones magno Europæ miraculo est Abbas, tametsi ad miraculum doctus. Fortè eiusdem promotio non pependit à Satrapis; vel forte non ubique isti disciplinarum hostes. Virum reperi magnis prærogatiuis præditum, et tuæ Ill[ustrissi]mæ dignitati addictissimus. / Es totâ ciuitate tametsi vastissimâ non capior; omnia licet magnifica displicent quamdiu ad Aulam tuam non conducor, manum tuam non exosculor. < *Illustrissimus D. Fabius Chisius qualis.* > Conuenire præsumat; frequentandi facultatem obtineo, et uoto excido. Omnis felicitas,

<sup>46</sup> See note 9.

<sup>47</sup> The Monastery of Uterina Vallis or Eusserthal (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany), founded in 1148 and secularised during the Reformation (1560).

<sup>48</sup> Innsbruck (Tyrol, Austria).

<sup>49</sup> Archduchess Claudia (1604-1648), Regent of Tyrol (1632-1646). The daughter of Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Christine of Lorraine, Claudia wed twice: in 1621 Federico Ubaldo della Rovere, Duke of Urbino and in 1626 Archduke Leopold V of Austria-Styria (brother of Emperor Leopold I).

<sup>50</sup> Joannes Blankenberg, doctor in theology, Cistercian Abbot of Altenberg (North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany) from 1643 to 1662 and Vicar-General of the Cistercian Order in Lower Germany.

si humana, breuis. Præstitisset potius humanitatem tuam non percepisse quam carere perceptâ. Multa paucis horis audiui quæ perenni cogitatione euoluo, doctior et melior. Collateronibus tuis inuidens Ethiopis Reginæ verba usurpo et inclamo, Beati sunt serui tui, non quidem omnes sed qui audiunt sapientiam tuam; non enim reliqui qui ebibendæ illius desiderio torquemur, quamdiu voti impotes, miseri et infælices. // [fol. 8v] < *inter Latrones summa securitas.* > Militibus Rheni<sup>51</sup> impetum superantibus securitatis causâ adsocior, nusquam enim homo à prædonibus tutior, quam inter ipsosmet prædones. < *Ad Rhenum multæ arces.* > Multa veterum arcium cadauera, multas castrorum parietinas, multas rusticas domos contextas hæderâ tectas hyssopo, substratas gramine, ab hominibus desertas uideo, cum vel Rhenum despicio, vel montium loricæ adiacentes contemplor. Martis uiolentiæ ædificia illa rustica tranquillitatem debent, quæ in pace dominis seruirent prodest igitur bellum mancipiis ut iugum excutiant, et liberentur uolenter qui legitimè nonseruire non possunt. Nulla arx in toto Rheni tractu, quæ non sit fabula iter agentium: hanc iudæus dicitur erexisse ut fraude Principem circumueniat; illam Cæsaribus seniorem, adhuc virginem et nondum virum passam: istas à duobus fratribus opulentiæ ostendandæ causâ structas, tandem miro interposito sibi mutuo interdictas, ne uel oculis communicatio cederet; alias ab alijs plurimis, et ut opinor, nondum natis. < *Dubiæ historiæ omnes ueteres.* > Tales sunt Regionum uniuersarum historiæ; aut fictionibus à veteribus scriptis, vel scripturis fictis à iunioribus uniuersæ fundantur. Idem in nostrâ Hispaniâ, idem in Galliâ et Belgio si ad decrepitos annales recurramus. Sed neque Itala gentilium historia, etsi multò accuratior, morbi huius expers. Prisci æui scriptoribus prebetur integer assensus, quod antiquitati videtur id pietas exigere vel erranti vel mentienti assensus cæcus et humilis debeatur. // [fol. 9r] Remittebant itineris laborem scioli comites de ruderibus illis antiquis pulchrè et eruditè disserentes. Andernacum<sup>52</sup> sub lucem dubiam in-

<sup>51</sup> The Rhine river.

<sup>52</sup> Andernach (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).



gressuris transnavigare necessarium homo dubiæ sortis adiunctus, credendus miles si careret breuiario, Apostolus ruralis si ense, latinè sciebat quantum mirus periti Ciceronis. < *Ciceronis mirus idiomatis latini nescia.* > Eum de fluuij profunditate disserem, ut altius videretur sapere incepit de sagis et dæmonis potestate barbarâ loquacitate delirare. Subaudio hilaris et ut ineptiendi uberiozem occasionem præberem, an sage an venefici dentur inquiri. < *An dentur sage? an actor sit irregularis?* > Ex lintræ vix appulsâ exsilit ille et per sacras illius loci arenas iurat inter Ciuitatem fluuiumque, interstitio damnato, hesternâ hebdomadâ octo pagi, cuius et ipse pastor, sagas et duos veneficos à se ipso missos et statim combustos. At ipsi ego, hoc inquam, irregularitatem tuam potius quam commercium dæmonis regulare videtur, ut opinor, adstruere. Tu enim sine irregularitate non potuisti mulierculas illas rigori sæculari committere, et tamen iudices potuerunt sagarum sententiâ condemnare mulierculas etiam non sagas. Torturam anus fragiles horrent, et quia canis à pueris impetitus quod fingatur latrare, verè latrat; sic se illæ veneficas et sagas croccitant, quia tales audiunt. < *An suspectus de veneficio, qui veneficia dari negat.* > Impatiens ille, ut suam causam defenderet ad breuiarium recurreret, sed rudis erat: ad ensem, sed nos multi adeoque quasi desperabundus ad pedes et ad uerba; fugax ait: Ne uti quam sagas excusaretis si non essetis sagi; sed ad illum // [fol. 9v] Pastor prima pagi persona præcellere prudentiâ et doctrinâ omnes paganos debet: si ergo ipse qui reliquis eruditior non nisi temerarius et barbarus, omnes auditores ipsius erunt necessariò rudiores iniustè igitur illæ accusatæ; iniustè traductæ, iniquis testibus conuictæ et tandem sine culpâ damnatæ; si ille sagus qui sagas excusat, fortè et ipsæ quod sagas excusarent sagæ adsertæ et igni condemnatæ sunt. Fugit ille, et nos risu et commiseratione exciti vestigia incendij vidimus, et utrum causa fuerit satis liquida, dubitauimus. Delirant anus cum maximè videntur sapere; somnant si quando non delirant; obliuiscuntur suarum operationum quotidie et alienas à se commissas lachrymantur; dicuntur propter veneficia intercepti et se putant veneficas mortis reas demoniaci comercij complices, tametsi simplices et innocentes. Sanè rem fatear, demonis autoritas

apud me parua; eum facere quæ communiter dicitur ante probationem non credam. Omnes illis qui ab aliquibus annis in tribunali Inquisitionis vacabantur venefici, hodie creduntur impostoris, et vix propter veneficia aliqui damnantur. Non ignoro Deum posse punire peccatricem animam demonis commercium permettendo, rarò id fecisse existimo, et omnes illos qui alta nomina, verba grandia, pacta expressa aut implicita frequentia esse asseuerant, adnumero circumforaneis. / < *Intratur Confluentiam pauperem ciuitatem ædificatam loco pulchro. Iustitia acephala.* > Huic viæ et opinioni insistens Confluentiam<sup>53</sup> ratione potius loci quam ædium, pulchram ciuitatem ingredior,<sup>54</sup> et in columna medium forum tenenti Iustitiæ // [fol. 10r] statuam acephalam et laceram uideo, et admirabundus, subiungo etiam ipsa Iustitia violentiam inimicorum passa! et mihi admirabundo unus ex socijs Confluentiæ inquit, non potest vigere Iustitia; in eam enim duo ditissimi fluuij (Mosella, Rhenus)<sup>55</sup> confluunt, et ubicumque diuitiæ confluunt Iustitia non potest seruari. < *An Roma iusta?* > O Roma, Roma! In te auris fluuij totius Orbis exonerant; si illud est uerum, ambigo utrum sis iusta. Sed quia in te asserente Clenardo<sup>56</sup> omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonos, acephalam tuam esse iustitiam, venales tuas gratias dicerem, ni timerem incurrere venalium etiam hominum indignationem. Quæ non, das gratis; illi enim solummodò tibi sunt grati, qui prodigè thesauros offundunt. Quas uerè dictum, cum caput ægrotat,

<sup>53</sup> Coblenz (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. J. Blaeu, *Geographiæ Blavianæ volumen tertium, quo Germania quæ est Europæ liber octauus, continetur*, Amstelodami 1662, p. 261: “Cæterum hic locus videtur à Natura ad voluptatem electus...”

<sup>55</sup> The Moselle and the Rhine rivers.

<sup>56</sup> Nicolas Cleynaerts (1493/94–1542), Belgian grammarian and traveller. Caramuel refers to a letter sent to François Hoyerius (dated Evora, 25 December 1536) where Cleynaerts quotes a distichon by Battista Spagnuoli Mantovano (1448–1516): “Viure qui sancte cupiti, discedite Roma. / Omnia cum liceant, not licet esse bonum.” *Correspondance de Nicolas Clénard*, ed. A. Roersch, Brussels 1940–1941, I, pp. 91–93. Caramuel must have consulted *Nic. Clenardi epistolarum libri duo*, Antverpiæ 1566, pp. 56–58.

cætera membra dolent. < *Vbique omnia venalia.* > Orbis Christiani caput es, et tibi assimilēs uniuersæ Metropoles (Cæsarea, Catholica, Christianissima) non iam arma non literas, non virtutem, sed liberalitatem magni faciunt et quia iter agentes liberales esse non possunt quin prodigalitatē notam incurrant, promotiones non ambio, nolo argentum oppluere, sed progredior, comites vniuersi sequantur. / < *S. Gower oppidum Rheno adiacens.* > Sancti Goberti oppidum,<sup>57</sup> præcipitia montium adiacentium superantes, tempestiuè ingredimur, et boues aliquot equis inmixtæ, bubulcos fugiunt et irrationali eloquentiâ nostrum patrociniū implorant. < *ejus incolæ sunt Lutherani.* > Erat quadragesimale tempus Lutherani incolæ et quæ apud suos à bipenni securæ esse // [fol. 10v] non poterant; profugiebant ad illos qui ab essu carnium abstinebant. O quoties irrationalia bruta homines admonent! < *Bruta sæpè nos docent.* > O quoties supra instinctum non sine diuinâ permissione idiomate inhumano loquuntur ut instruant homines qui induerunt inhumanitatem! Sed quia inderetur superstitioni proxima operationum hujuscemodi inspectio, ad hospitium diuerto, et ex merâ gratiâ impetro quod pisces præparet hospita Lutherana. < *Ornare cubicula ceruorum cornibus communis Germanorum mos.* > Ad aulam, ducor eximiis ceruorum cornibus exornatam, et irrideo; pauciora enim apud catholicos reperta, et tamen sacerdotes cælibes. Mensæ fortè ut uel semel imperio Pontificio obediret, qui præcipiendi negabat potestatem. < *Pictura pseudo-Franciscani in odium catholicæ Religionis expressa.* > Obuersum parietem respicimus, et in eo Mimum adpictum habitu Franciscano. Caput de more rasum, duram tonsoris manum expertum, adeòque infectum non paucis cicatricibus. Ne illis esset destitutus, Arcadis philomellæ,<sup>58</sup> quam Apuleius describit,<sup>59</sup> promissas aures temerario ausu ablatas audaci temeritate appinxerunt; thoracis nodos transtulerunt ad nasum, formarunt ma-

<sup>57</sup> Saint Goar (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

<sup>58</sup> In musical argot a “rossignol d’Arcadie” designates a braying ass.

<sup>59</sup> Caramuel is referring to Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass* (*Apulei Madaurensis Metamorphoseon*).

nūs sinistræ digitis ludicrum<sup>60</sup> perspicillum, et dexteram scypho illo armarunt, quo in circulos capaces distincto suo Philippo Martinus<sup>61</sup> non virgo virginem vinum propinabat. Nihil in monstro erat non sacrilegum, non ridiculum. Nos ille, asserit hospes hujusmodi facietis adsuetus, ad bibendum prouocat, esset ne // [fol. 11r] uestrum aliquis qui auderet cum Monacho de euacuandis scyphis decertare? Ego ipse etiam Monachus respondi, in bibendi arenâ tot victoriarum pugil, ut pro meo luxu tametsi optimum vinum habeas, debueris non iam cereuisiam, sed aquam puram et putam procurare. < *Hæretici Pingunt in nobis crimina quæ reprehendunt.* > Non sunt, quales à vobis depinguntur, Ecclesiæ Romanæ Religiosi, sed quia matrem odio intenso insequimini, in filiis fingitis piæ reprehendatis quia non reperitis reprehendenda. < *Doctrinam quam in lacte homo sugi, pertinacissimè defendit.* > His imaginibus vestras soboles à Catholicâ Ecclesia elongatis; quia dum inter ubera fluctuanti puello has picturas exponitis, speciem horroris inditis, odiumque in veram Religionem in ipso lacte propinatis. Sic etiam contra Hispaniam Hollandi. Sciunt viri politici teneram infantium ætatem, et ut odium imbibat, his aut aliis similibus suffibulis ornatum in poculis exprimunt ducem Albanum;<sup>62</sup> puellis lugentibus nomen eiusdem minitantur, quasi uel debeant lachrymas continere, vel ab Albano deorari. < *Lutherus qualis.* > Sed nos, ni prudentiores potiore iure omnes istas imò et magis exorbitantes phaleras, possemus adpingere vestro Luthero, viro transfugæ, Arcadi philomellæ<sup>63</sup> rudienti cum consortis aut ancillæ præsentiam subolfacit. Nonne etiam vestrâ ille sententiâ irreligiosus Apostata, et periurus solennis cui finis libido, media luxus; ita in conmessationibus expertus ut sciret ebrius alteram vitam transuolare? Sed quia et nostros

<sup>60</sup> This word was apparently misspelled as “ludricrum”.

<sup>61</sup> In all likelihood Caramuel referred to Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) and to his friend and associate Martin Luther (1483–1546).

<sup>62</sup> Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, 3rd Duke of Alba de Tormes (1507–1582), Governor of the Spanish Low Countries (1567–1673).

<sup>63</sup> See note 58.

nonnulli heterodoxi accesserant finis colloquis impositus et mensæ exurgimus et picturam illam indecentem proprius // [fol. 11v] observandam adimus; et cultri ictibus adhuc vulnera tam videmus, et discimus tantum esse Lutheranorum erga Romanos odium, ut uel ipsas orthodoxæ conuersationis parietinas, tametsi deformes et dirutas, impunè exstare non patiantur. Diutius contemplabundi mihi, ni strepitu ridentium vocati fenestras peteremus. Aderant in plateâ promiscui sexûs homines, qui adolescentis intercepti collum volebant æreo emulo claudere, succedentes plenos aquâ cacabos offundebant. Spectaculi nouitate permotus, quo omnia illa vergerent, rogo et quidam, qui iter illud frequentius triuerat, sic insit. | < *Illorum qui nauibus Rhenum superant, apud S. Goberti oppidum recreatio. Bacchanale eorumdem iuramentum.* > Moris est ueteris et præscripti, ut qui Rhenum adnauigant, hunc locum appulsuri conueniat, et iuramento per panem, per salem, per piper, per omnia sacra et profana, quæ sitim prouocant et vini Renani ebibendi appetitum et ambitionem augent, elicitò sincerè exponant, utrum pœnis oppidum id aduenerint, collum circulo fœderis æterni subiecerint, et vinum optimum omnibus sociis propinauerint.<sup>64</sup> < *Sententia lata ex iure bacchanali.* > Quis peierare diuina illa numina æbrietati prælata præsumit, si bacchanale rescitur sacrilegium, et ille etiam qui nunquam eo appulisse, aut non satisfecisse declarat, aut debet spontaneus legi subesse, aut inuitus verbis, aquâ, imò et pugnis aliquando compelli. Descendimus ut meliùs rem exploraremus; et Assessores causæ // [fol. 12r] tumultuariâ acclamatione electi, iuuenem de periurio accusatum, imò et conuictum, puluere et aquâ aspersum, tenui mulctâ, sufficienti tamen vniuersorum siti, damnauimus, monuimusque ne salis et piperis in posterum ebrias diuini-

<sup>64</sup> On the oath required from travellers arriving for the first time at Saint Goar: A. Joanne, *Itinéraire descriptif et historique des bords du Rhin, du Neckar et de la Moselle*, Paris 1855, pp. 373–374 and J. Blaeu, *Geographiæ Blavianæ...*, op. cit., p. 284: “Hodie certe illo oppido ad Rhenum nullum celebrius hac de causa, quod omnes novitii, qui Rhenum subvecti Francofurtum prima vice tendunt, sacris quibusdam sed ridiculis initiuntur, & ex Iudæis, ut tunc vocantur, Christiani fiant, abluti ordinarie vino, & torqui æneo colla indentes.”

tates temerario ausu præsumeret profanare. / < *An omnia antiqua vera? an omnia bona?* > Videmus et docemus, quanti fieri soleat præscripta antiquitas. Omnes circulum adpensum conspiciunt, morem inoletum uident; unde exordium sumpserit, aut cur debeat manuteneri nesciunt. O quot in mundo consuetudines similes! Videntur in ius transiuisse; et quæ per risum introductæ, factæ sunt leges. Multa Principibus indulsit subditorum pietas, multa concessit liberalitas, et illa in potestatem, hæc in tributum transiuerunt. Tantè igitur indebita aut præsteris aut indulseris, ne post medium venerabili præscriptionis fictione benefactorum pœnitere cogaris. < *Nulla ciuitas in quâ non dentur mores bono publico præiudiciales.* > Plura dicturus etiam; sed quia nulla est in totâ Europâ ciuitas quæ hodie ex obligatione non pendat, quæ incepit ex liberalitate, non moremur; audio enim aliquos mercatores sub protectione et armis nostris Bingham, in quâ dies crastina forensis, conduci orare. / < *Adsociantur nobis centeni aut plures mercatores.* > Egredimur, et in syluulâ latus Ciuitatis claudente centum et plures omnium ætatum et sexuum pedites nostri militis adsistentiam expectantes conspiciamus, audimusque; vix duos similes habitu armis aut linguâ, omnes timidos tametsi armatos. Præcedunt, et in singulis montium angulis bombardas denas aut duodenas explodunt, et Echo impatiens tonare per omnes val-//[fol. 12v] les adiacentes audita; maiori fragore et strepitu, quam procellosum cœlum solet. < *Præsumptio, suspicio, calumnia, obmurmuratio, accusatione perniciosior.* > Horribiliora quidem erant tonitrua ficta ueris, et cornua inflata augebant terrorem armorum dissonantijs immixta: et tunc didici suspiciones, calumnias, præsumptiones quæ sunt putæ accusationis species, magis esse timendas quam seuerissimam accusationem. < *Jupiter dicitur quasi Iuuans-Pater / Cælum à celando dictum quod omnia cælet* > Cum magis iratus est Iupiter, et iuuans pater; cum magis turbatum et procellosum cœlum est, suis fulminibus pauca peccata punit, suis tenebris plurima celati cum magis inimicus actor solum deponit probabilia, ne talioni subiaceat, et subticet quæ probare non potest: at calumniator, echo pura; inuisibilis, imperceptibilis; audibilis tamen; mendacia veritatibus mixta effutit, et quidquid audis detruncat, diuidit, et periculosè alteratum

obgannit eo audacter et liberè quo impunè. < *Diuisa ueritas sapissimè insolentißimum mendacium est.* > Plus mendacij in veritate excisâ quam in falsitate reperies. Milo Clodium<sup>65</sup> occidit sed defensionis causâ; Antonius Perezius Scobedum,<sup>66</sup> fortè ob salutem publicam; qui Milonem, Antonium, de homicidio accusat, si causam non aducit, cum veritatem intercidit, est mendax. / Progredimur et ephæmeris sociorum illa in primo pago liquidis armis suffulcitur prouocatura in duellum etiam internos inimicos. < *Mercatores qui nos accesserant inebriantur.* > Bibunt, ebibunt Tyronis Martis milites; currunt, transcurrunt, cadunt, surgunt, explodunt tam confusis motibus et numeris, ut seipsos timere deberent, ni carerent ratione quâ se illâ carere cognoscerent. < *æbrij fugiendi.* > Debuimus properare festini, illosque prædonæ clementiæ committere, ne nobis impræuisa illorum ebrietas // [fol. 13r] aliquod infortunium pareret: Post paucas horas Palatinatûs limites, murium Turrin et Bingham vidimus.<sup>67</sup> < *Turris murium quæ? ubi? cur sic dicta?* > Oxsurgit turris illa in insulâ mediocris mag-

<sup>65</sup> The Roman politician Publius Clodius Pulcher (c. 92–52 BC) is chiefly remembered for his feuds with Titus Annius Milo and Marcus Tullius Cicero. On 18 January 52 BC he was slain near Bovillae.

<sup>66</sup> Juan de Escobedo (1530–1578) was recommended in 1574 by Philip II's secretary Antonio Pérez (1540–1611) to the post of secretary of Don Juan of Austria (see note 31). Pérez had hoped that Escobedo would keep an eye on Don Juan but he became instead a fervent supporter of the Habsburg prince. Escobedo gathered evidence of Pérez's illicit dealings and covert support of Flemish rebels. Fearing charges of treason, Pérez had Escobedo murdered on 31 March 1578.

<sup>67</sup> The so-called “Binger Mäuseturm” stands on a small Rhine island in the vicinity of Bingen. The extant Neo-gothic tower replaced a ruined fourteenth-century watchtower. Legend had it that the ruthless Hatto I, archbishop of Mentz, was devoured in this very tower by vengeful mice sent by God. The illustrated travel diary of the Haarlem painter Vincent Laurensz van der Vinne (1628–1702), kept at the Gemeente-Archief (Haarlem) and dated 1652–1655, includes a drawing of the Bingen Tower of Mice that resembles very closely the one Caramuel saw barely a decade before. Cf. L. Widerkehr, “Au fil du Rhin: Invitation européenne autovoyage entre texte et image de 1570 à 1660”, in: *Art et littérature: le voyage entre texte et image*, ed. J.-L. Korzilius, Amsterdam – New York 2006, pp. 137–166, esp. p. 160, ill. 4.

nitudinis, quam format impulsa arena Naæ<sup>68</sup> impetu, dum se Rheno inmiscet, circumducta. Ibi asserunt comestum à muribus illius tractus antiquum Pontificem,<sup>69</sup> et utili historiôlâ aut fabulâ auaritiam reprehendunt. Fuit ut dicitur, iste prælatus argenti auidus, tritici diues; uegebatur regio annonæ caritate, ipseque exspoliabat subditos emptionis titulo pro granorum mensurâ summam argenti uim extorquens. < *Punitur cælitus auarus et crudelis Episcopus.* > Carentibus pecuniâ vassallis alimenta subministrare noluit, malens eos inædiâ et fame extingui, quam peregrinis magnos thesauros inuehentibus grana non uendere. < *Impenitentiam Deus, non tamen in æternum tolerat.* > Clamarunt illi ad cœlum, illudque quia tot habet oculos quot sydera, patiens Episcopi insolentiam viderat, clemens afflicti populi uocem exaudijt, et Antistitem impium murium dentibus condemnauit. Obediunt cælesti imperio imbellices bestiole, et quæ vel umbram felis heri horruerant, hodie gladios et enses non morantur. Aulam inuadunt legionatim, Aulico milli nocent, Aulæ dominum quærunt, inueniunt, oppetunt; fugientem persequuntur; et tam crudeliter, corrodunt, ut cogeretur de vitâ desperare. Rhenum tranat, insulam illum appellitur; turrin scandit; muresque læsæ diuinæ Maiestatis vindices, iam suprâ speciem generosi, se aquis commitunt forti et audaci instinctu, debilibus brachiolis remigant, latissimum fluuium exsuperant, tegunt insulam sæpim turrin subrigunt, et instar hederæ lapides quaqua- // [fol. 13v] uersum ambiunt. Fugiunt Episcopi damnati asseclæ, illeque desertus à Deo quem deseruerat, desertus ab hominibus quos scandalizauerat, murium multitudine oppressus miserrimè interiijt, suoque supplicio æternam instructionem reliquit, ne posterî tyrannos agant; debilibus enim instrumentis potest Deus Hercules subiugare. < *Ranis Ægyptij olim puniti.* > Ranis (debilia sunt et immunda animalcula)

<sup>68</sup> The Nahe river.

<sup>69</sup> Hatto I (c. 850–913), archbishop of Mentz (891–913). There is no sound historical basis for the legend of Hatto’s cruelty. Moreover, the “Mäuseturm” was erected centuries after Hatto’s demise. A. Joanne, *Itinéraire descriptif et historique...*, op. cit., Paris 1855, pp. 362–363.



olim duritiem Pharaonis Ægyptiorum Principis oppressit;<sup>70</sup> et hodie solet permittere magnarum Principum exorbitantias puniri à Reipublicæ fœcibus. < *Generosa Hispanorum autoritas à piscatoribus, vili hominum genere, depressa.* > Fortè peccata nostra in causâ ut Hispani plurium Mundorum domini, illi trium Victoriarum pugiles, frequentissimis triumphis assueti, hodie humilientur à paucis piscatoribus et braccatoribus; non enim alij sunt, si Stradæ credimus, qui cassas verterunt in Rempublicam et Hollandiam formarunt. < *Chaldæi visis Bethulianis inclamabant, Ecce mures egressi è cauernis. Judith. et tamen ab his muribus victi.* > Non nisi mures visi, qui Holoferno occiso Chaldæos fugarunt, eorumque spolia Bethuliam<sup>71</sup> inuexerunt. Nescio an minores bestioles Lusitaniæ Principes à Vasconsello<sup>72</sup> crediti et tamen ipse à plebe Principibus multò viliore crudeliter occisus est. Hæc omnia aperiunt Politicorum oculos, ne tyrannicæ potentiae confidant: ut enim deiiciat fortia Deus, sæpissimè assumit debilia. / < *Bingha pulchra non fortis decennio decies expoliata.* > Non est ualdè fortis Binghensis ciuitas,<sup>73</sup> multarum nationum trophæum, et hoc ultimo decennio decies intercepta, decies expoliata. < *Judæi quales? quanti sacra faciant, eorundem Synagoga descripta.* > Præter iudæos viginti, nullum heterodoxum tolerat; ibique primum iudæos vidimus sacra sua publicè operantur // [fol. 14r] sed ut opinor illa tanti facientes, quanti nos ipsos. Scholam curiositatis gratiâ aduenimus, particularis domûs cubiculum paruum et pauperrimè ornatum, paucis libris, eisque laceris instructum, non nisi per sordes et circumcisorum excrementa peruium; ut uel inde colligas eos firmiter tenere hinc ad Messiæ aduentum longum tempus distare; si enim quamprimum ad futurum crederent, purgarent procul dubio viam, ne per sordes transiret. / < *Sunt auari, timidi, melancholici.* > Gens est, ut ibi uidimus, Germanæ absimilis, tristis, auara, timida; pauperrimis vestibis utuntur etiam

<sup>70</sup> Exodus 7,26–8,11.

<sup>71</sup> Judith 15,1–11.

<sup>72</sup> See note 41.

<sup>73</sup> Bingen (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

mercatores ditissimi, ne cogantur Principi contribuere: fætor ipsos à corporis sudore, à vestium squalore proueniens reddit inaccesibiles: sed et color pallidus vniuersis communis illos à reliquis distinguit, ut hinc clarè colligas Christi sanguinem fuisse candidissimum, qui super ipsos et super filios ipsorum veniens ruborem abstulit, pallidos fecit. < *ex multis colligitur aperte quod Christi sanguis super ipsos et eorumdem filios ceciderit.* > Fortassè ipsis doctiora corpora quam animæ. Impalescunt illa et horrent intolerabile ipsarum contubernium, eum tamen illæ seipsas non horreant, nec Christi sanguinem deum inuocantem, nec ipsum Deum vocem ejus exaudientem timeant. Diuitiis inescati Atheorum similes. Deum fatentur linguâ non moribus; et tamen nemini sunt scandalo, tametsi pessimista enim vniuersis exosi, ut multis virtus videretur mala, si à iudæis culta. | < *septem spatio unius anni Francofurti conuersi et Lutherani facti.* > Eisdem in Germaniâ ad Christianos frequens transitus, non tamen frequens ad Catholicos. Hoc anno ipso Francofurti<sup>74</sup> enumerantur septem baptis- mali aquâ // [fol. 14v] loti, non tamen mundi facti: transierunt è iudaismo in hæresim, vitamque fortè in peius mutarunt: Lutherani enim tametsi minus mala sit fides, est conuersatio multò peior. Inter ipsos pater quidam et filius uterque sine Spiritu Sancto. Mysteriis nostris nunquam sincerè credunt, raroque perseverant; doctrina enim rabini- ca sensibus aptior impedit ne supernaturalia percipiant. < *sunt similes Hispanis Mauriscis, nunquam enim nostris mysterijs benè credunt.* > Vi- dentur Mauriscis nostris similes, qui stante Sanctæ Inquisitionis ri- gore habebant præcisè necessaria ne igni mandarentur. Imò et si benè examino vix iudæi unius conuersio potest credi sincera. < *Theologus Rabinus baptizatur Bruxellæ et in ueterem errorem relabitur.* > A paucis annis sub Isabellæ<sup>75</sup> Belgij Principis auspiciis iudaicæ theologiæ pro- fessor Bruxellas Amstelodamo venit, baptizatur, donaturque liberali stipendio sub onere quod sanctum idioma doceret. Egit Louanij pau- cis mensibus, conuersationemque Christianam pertæsus substraxit se

<sup>74</sup> Frankfort (Hesse, Germany).

<sup>75</sup> See note 17.

clanculò Amstelodamum rediit, ad pedes piæ Matris Synagogæ prouoluitur, cujus decreto aqua baptismalis abraditur, illoque pœnitentiis multis maceratus, tandem tandem in gratiam admittitur. < *Elegans adolescens Coloniae conuersa ad Christum, saga tamen.* > Coloniae pulchra inuenis vix septimum decimum annum compleuerat et præter vniuersorum opinionem christiana facta; et post aliquot menses combusta, quod saga diceretur; unde rei effectum videtur persuadere illam ad nostros transiuisse quod apud suos pessimè audiret et pœnas grauiore, timeret. < *Alius baptizatur propter lucrum.* > Sed et Francofurti conuersus alius quod Seniorum decreto repudiatae uxori deberet alimenta tribuere // [fol. 15r] à quo onere se liberium credebat si christianam religionem admitteret. Vnde uniuersæ ipsorum conuersiones suspectæ. Lucro insudant, negant Christum ut possint esse vsurarij, fassuri statim, si plus lucrari ex confessione possint. / < *An liceat Judæis libertatem permittere?* > Quærenti à multis cur inter christianos iudæi permitterentur, catholica semper responsio, quod etiam Romæ permittantur. Me iudice si Europæi Principes errant permitiendo iudæos, exemplo Pontificio poterunt excusari, nam si humiles sint, poterunt probabile dictaminem formare, et suas leges iuxta decreta Pontificia dirigere. At ipse Pontifex non excusabitur tam facilè, si huiuscemodi permissio iniqua. Lynces Ministros habet, sed lucrum et utilitas claudit oculos nonnunquam Lyncium: at si curiosè examinem, nec illud prout à iudæis exorbitans, nec ista magna. Ipse Princeps Ecclesiæ viderit, rem benè examinet: mihi enim nec consulendi authoritas, nec examinandi otium suppetit cum negotia urgeant in Crucinacum. / Equos famuli præparaturi adueniunt, dicuntque transiturum Lotharingum militem à mediâ leucâ; et quia excursiones uniuersi insolentes, expedire præuenire vel subsequi. < *An hostis præueniendus sit, an expectandus?* > Quæstio deliberaturis anceps visa, non enim videbatur, qui præcurrit; fælicior. Sed quidam è socijs reliquis diligentior, ut morosos excitaret animos, sic inquit. < *Infantis Cardinalis indoles* > Cardinalis Infans<sup>76</sup> blandæ indolis iuuenis viris perdi-

<sup>76</sup> See note 38.

tissimis septus bonus fuisset // [fol. 15v] et diligens si alios sortitus comites? Dianæ dies, Veneri noctes sacras habuit, atque Bellonæ incurius, tardus et imparatus castra inibat. < *infelicitas* > Hostes potentissimos subiit quorum triumphorum apud Namurcum, Thenas, Bredam, Atrebatum, Basæam,<sup>77</sup> et pluries alibi fidelis et oculatus testis fuit. Belgij habenas infælix rexit malo tempore. Vtra fuerit alterius origo, non examino: siue enim temporum malitia ab infælicitate regiminis, aut hæc ex illâ aborta, moribundam videbamus Brabantiam; Galliam Hollandiamque nostris infortunijs fælices. < *fuisse occisum à Mædicis Bruxellæ ab Helmontio,*<sup>78</sup> *Louanij à Plempio*<sup>79</sup> *et viris doctissimis publicè propugnatum.* > Laborabant capite Regiæ ditiones; Deusque sapientissimè usus Hispani medici insipientiâ ægrum caput abstulit, sanum reposuit. Ad meliorem uitam Infantem euocauit, præmisitque ut pœnitentiæ lachrymis obliteraret scandala, quæ iuuenili petulantia commiserat. < *D.D. Franciscus de Mello succedit.* > Ei uiam uniuersorum ingresso Comes Assumarius<sup>80</sup> succedit, et uiam ingreditur quam nullus antè. < *omnes delitias et distractiones abominatur, soli rei militari intentus.* > Dianæ venatorias delitias et uolucris Mercurij aucupia, fallacias Veneris, et uniuersas animi distractiones proscribit, soli Bellone intentus. Ei quia Antecessor tardus visus, diligens ad castra fortissimè munitus egreditur, quando alias ne quidem de præparandis impedimentis bellicis cogitatum. < *hostem præueniendo fuit uictor.* > Diligen-

<sup>77</sup> A string of defeats and setbacks of the “Cardinal Infante” are listed: Namur, Tirlémont, Breda (a strategic stronghold lost to the Dutch on 10 October 1637), Arras (surrendered on 9 August 1640), and La Bassée (lost in 1641).

<sup>78</sup> Jan Baptist van Helmont (1577–1644), Flemish chemist, physiologist and physician. Van Helmont settled in 1609 at Vilvoorde, near Brussels, where he occupied himself with chemical experiments and the practice of medicine until his death.

<sup>79</sup> Vopiscus Fortunatus Plem or Plempius (1601–1671), Dutch physician. On 8 February 1634 Plem was appointed dean of the Breugel College in Louvain. Two months later he became Regius Professor of Medicine at the Lily College. Plem was four times professor primarius of Louvain University.

<sup>80</sup> Francisco de Melo (1597–1651), 1st Count of Assumar (1630), Marquis of Tor de Laguna, Governor of the Spanish Low Countries (1641–1644). Remembered for the epoch-making Spanish defeat at Rocroi (1643).

tiæ fauit fortuna-Deus, Bassæam, Ancurtianam, aliasque celeberrimas victorias<sup>81</sup> habuit; quas hostis procul dubio, si Infanti similis procrastinaretur Assumarius. Ipse triumphauit victor quamdiu præuenit expeditiones inimicas. < *Sed et Suecorum Rex Gustavus eâdem arte.* > Triumphauit contra Polonum Suecus,<sup>82</sup> et postea contra Germaniam uniuersam, eâdem // [fol. 16r] arte. Nosque si eorumdem vestigijs insistentes præueniamus, triumphabimus, triumphabimur præuenti. Sparsus miles nunquam benè, colligitur, semper reliquiæ remanent quas vitare non possis. < *Præstat igitur, ne præueniaris, præuenire.* > Præcurramus igitur et antequam ipsi campos istos fatigent, excedamus. Placuit uniuersis consilium; inflantur cornua, cogimur, et cohortem quæ paucos despiciat, multos timeat, festinâ diligentia formamus. / < *Lotharingici milites prædones lepidi.* > Binghiâ egressis seminudus occurrit, et ut colligebatur coronâ clericus, pauper et miser assistentiam implorans, et uel inuitis suas miserias et infortunia narrans. Videbatur bonis instructus literis, et non incurius eloquentiæ. < *ab aliquibus uocati Lutherani.* > Ituro Crucinacum,<sup>83</sup> inquit, eques occurrit, ut existimo ex legione Lotaringicâ uel Lutheranâ. Me humanissimè salutans humeris meis condoluit, incusauit calorem Solis, diei æstum, pallium petijt ut in equo componeret. Recuso, et instat, se esse statûs ecclesiastici famulum addictissimum, debereque mihi volenti nolenti à pallio. Turbatus ego, peiora timens pallium concessi; et ipse cum summa urbanitate ualedicens aufugit. Vix centum passibus excesserat cum reuertentem uideo, et ut putabam, pallium restitutum: incepti iocum subridere, et recepturus illud, eum iterum loquentem audio. Se,

<sup>81</sup> Caramuel makes reference to De Melo's seizure of La Bassée from the French (13 May 1642) and his subsequent victory at Honnecourt (26 May 1642).

<sup>82</sup> The reference is to the Polish-Swedish War of 1625-1629, which pitched Gustav II Adolf of Sweden against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Gustav's landing in Prussia in May 1626 came as a surprise to Poles and Lithuanians. Despite his relatively small forces, Gustav Adolf, acting with the support of the Elector of Brandenburg, quickly captured all of the coastal towns, with the sole exception of Gdansk.

<sup>83</sup> Bad Kreuznach (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

inquit, esse conscientiae timidae, scrupulorum morbo laborare, debereque opera charitatis exercere, adeoque me in togâ portandâ adiuuare. Excusationes multiplico, nullae sufficiunt. Se natum inquit ecclesiasticorum seruitio, nec intermissurum mi- // [fol. 16v] nimam occasionem in quâ posset vel unius sacerdotis laborem subleuare. Togam tandem concessi impatiens et submurmurans; quem ipse urbanissimè accipiens ephippio apposuit, exhibitâque reuerentiâ superfluâ recessit. Vix iterum centum passus ungula quadrupedis præceps emensa, cum habenæ inuertuntur et iterum ad me recurritur. < *Latro ex asse heres.* > Se, inquit miles, rem alta mente cogitasse, et comperisse ex togâ et pallio meâ liberalitate sibi immerito et indigno concessit posse facere militarem vestem; at quia sartores pessimi homines sunt, nec sciunt alicui christiano seruire gratis, se omninò aliquibus pecunijs pro sartore indigere, se esse meum filium, adeoque futurum ex asse hæredem. Examinatis saccis totam pecuniam abstulit, et adhuc recessit malè contentus quod putaret illam non satisfacturam sarto. Cum vidi (addebat expoliatus sacerdos) superuenientium hominum multitudinem, quâ potui diligentia confugi, ne Lotaringus ille semicinctia et pedules requisiturus reuertatur. < *Sartores sunt Latrones domestici et Latrones sunt syluestres sartores.* > Risimus, condoluimus, imò et audiuius tragœdias similes ab huiusmodi militibus frequenter actas, eosque quia sartores sunt etiam latrones domestici. Velle non tam latrones esse quam syluestres sartores. Pauperi interim quo se tegetet, pallium concessimus, et admirabundi progressi, ut fugientes tandem adsequeremur ciuitatem // [fol. 17r] Tunc ex milite ad Principem<sup>84</sup> conuersa oratio. < *Dux Lotharingiae nunc ditior quam ante expulsiorem.* > Erant qui illi, erant qui condolorent isti, erant qui nostri. Sed quia uniuersi videbantur assectibus, potius quam rationibus regi, quæ ex prudentiorum iudicio videor collegisse subiungo. Ditior inquam est hodie expulsus Princeps, quam in patriâ esset, si omnia tranquilla. Varius et anceps; non Cæsar, non Catholici Regis, non Christianissimi rem agit; sed semper suam. Maximam auri vim ab his monarchis

<sup>84</sup> Charles IV (1604–1675), Duke of Lorraine (1624–1634, 1641 and 1659–1670).

pro militum stipendiis accepit, exorbitantes à rusticis contributiones extorquet; semper vagus et peregrinus ut depauperet plures; et tamen ne obolum quidem suo consignat militi. Thesauri ipsius spolijs multarum prouintiarum grauidi, sufficientes ut sint terrori et Austriaco et Borbonio. < *vix prodesse potest, nocere potest.* > Licet Magnis; quoniam ipse, tametsi parum prodesse soleat, potest multum nocere: cui, ne noceat conceditur, ut in inermes sæpiat, sanguinem rusticorum ebibat, nouisque spolijs auctus, ditior fiat et plus nocere possit. < *Duarum uxorum coniux.* > Qui duas habet vxores,<sup>85</sup> fortè etiam binos deos; timere enim deberet nostrum, ni ipsum sub alterius protectione offenderet. Deo fides, proximo debetur fidelitas, et inter proximos uxor proximior. Fortè ideò è costâ extracta, quod residere debeat apud cor. Qui igitur proximiori infidelis, cur non proximo, tametsi consanguineo? < *similis Afonsus Lusitanorum Regi.* > Afonsus Sancij Lusitaniorum Regis frater,<sup>86</sup> infidelis Methildi priori coniugu secundam superduxit;<sup>87</sup> et quia proximiori infidus, fuit et infidus proximo, nempè suo fratri, quem coronâ expoliauit, exulemque in inimicorum regna abegit. Magna fuerant bella inter Castellanos // [fol. 17v] Lusitanosque cæterum ubi Sancii frater (nempè Afonsus) fuit inimicus; indulisit Deus, ut inimicus (nempè Rex Castellæ)<sup>88</sup> esset frater. < *vbi fratres*

<sup>85</sup> Charles IV of Lorraine married in 1621 Nicole (1608–1657), daughter of Henri II, Duke of Lorraine. In 1635 Charles abandoned his wife but the Pope refused to annul their marriage. In defiance of Urban VIII he married on 9 April 1637 Béatrix de Cusance (1614–1663).

<sup>86</sup> Sancho II (1207–1248), King of Portugal (1223–1247), was removed from the throne and driven into exile by his younger brother Afonso III (1210–1279), King of Portugal (1247–1279).

<sup>87</sup> Afonso III married Mathilda II (c. 1202–1662), Countess of Boulogne in 1238 but divorced her in 1253 to marry Beatrix (1242–1303), an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso X, King of Castile. Caramuel took pains to refute in detail the possibility, raised by some historians, that Afonso III and Mathilda of Boulogne had surviving issue. J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens Caroli V Imperatoris filius Lusitanae, Algarbiae, Indiae, Brasiliae legitimus rex demonstratus*, Antverpiae 1639, pp. 28–37.

<sup>88</sup> Ferdinand III (1198/99–1252), King of Castile (1217–1252) and León (1230–1252). Caramuel is referring to Ferdinand III's support for Sancho II. Cf. J. Caramuel, *Philippus Prudens*, op. cit., pp. 25–28.

*agunt hostes, ibi hostes agent fratres.* > Timeo ne dies crastina nos doctiores reddat; et experiatur Austriacus tametsi proximus, se Sancium et ducem Lotharingiæ Afonsum: timeo quidem, et tamen quia credor potius temerarius quam timidus, latere existimo magnam causam timendi. Falkensteinensis Arx<sup>89</sup> à Gallis intercepta in causâ, ut dux inuocaretur. < *Lotharingiæ Dux an timendus? Franckenthallia Palatinatûs munitissima arx distat à Wormacia duabus Leucis.* > Wormatiam<sup>90</sup> venit socius et auxiliaris et tamen Franchenthallia<sup>91</sup> ellati pontes, milites, extraordinariâ diligentîâ lustrati, arma recognita; ita ut cautiones istæ externæ viderentur præcones insonantes ducem inuocari Amicum, timeri hostem. Faxit bellorum dominus ne unquam nos prudenter timuisse dicamur. / Sed et in priuatis furtis ipse lepidus et acutus, ita uexat ut recreet, ita uituperatur ut laudetur. < à *P.P. Jesuitis hospitio suscipitur Molsemij. opulentè et opiparè.* > Molsemium<sup>92</sup> uenerat, et incauta Iesuitarum vrbanitas illum hospitio excepit apparatu magnifico et opiparo. Acceptat vultu hilari amicorum obsequium, domum ingreditur, uniuersos et uniuersa laudat. Meridies instat, mensæ accumbit et oculis abacum et prætiosa loci supellectilia lustrat. Ille erat omni genere uasorum diues, quibus argentum solidam materiam, aurum attribuerat ornatum, hæc etiam peregrina et pretiosa. Benè inspectis et consideratis sic insit: gaudeo Ignatium etiam militem sic potuisse spolijs inimicorum ditescere, ut uobis argentia vasa comparauerit Imperatore tametsi Augusto digna. Dedecêre cre- // [fol. 18r] didero viros pauperes, et ut audire vultis, mendicantes, excedere superbiâ et pompâ non solum Christianos Principes, sed et Persas et Turcas quibus superbia in laude. < *Ingratus et cautè omnia subripit.* >

<sup>89</sup> Burg Falkenstein, Donnersberg (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

<sup>90</sup> Worms (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

<sup>91</sup> Frankenthal (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany).

<sup>92</sup> The Jesuits arrived in Molsheim (Alsace, France) in 1580, founding a College (1580), a Seminary (1613) and a University (1617). The impressive Church of Saint-Georges et de la Trinité (built 1615–1617) witnesses to the powerful presence of the Jesuits in this city, which became a centre of the Counter-Reformation in the Lower Alsace.



Mei decessores maximi fecere Iesuitas, ipsos maximi facio debitor affectus et obsequij, ne ingratus uidear, uolo uobis seruire à sanctitate, à reformatione morum, à virtutis studio, utilius quidem quam si à manu aut à pede: imò si ista omnia capiam, non potero non seruire à manu. Principum est statum ecclesiasticum ab uniuersis inimicis defendere, et sanctitatis impedimenta violentiã sæculari impedire hæc abaci opulenta maiestas, hæc argenti ponderosa profanitas, hæc auri superflua profusio contra paupertatis votum quo obstringimini, militare manifestum est. Periclitamini, domini Patres, periclitamini; fortissimò pugnat hoc, contra vestram paupertatem argentum: ne vincamini, indigetis milite auxiliari. Ecce ego miles militi, Lotharingus Cantabro Carolus<sup>93</sup> Ignatio succurram, et inimicos vestros, etiam domesticos (argentum et aurum intelligo) à toto territorio fugabo. Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant, dum verba huiusmodi Princeps ambitiosus offunderet: at quia aurei illi Patres sine auro subsistere non possunt, inceperunt ex tempore effugia quærere, ut paupertate illæsã hostilia metalla retinerent. Essemus procul dubio fælices (omnium nomine respondit Rector) si hæc ad nos pertinerent, et possemus quocumque titulo aut ratione offerre Vestræ Celsitudini, at omnia non uisi Argenteratensium<sup>94</sup> ciuium opulentorum, sunt comodo accepta ut digni- // [fol. 18v] tatem tuam secundum suam qualitatem exciperemus: pauperes enim sumus, et nostra domus indigna tanto Principe, ni Amicorum diuitijs adhoras aliquot concessis dignior efficeretur. Tunc illæ gratias summas Omnipotenti Deo, summam Vestræ Paternitati reuerentiam, tametsi insufficientes reddo, quod scrupulus qui in me manebat, tam fæluciter sedatus sit. Auri et argenti opulentam illam superfluitatem à vobis elongari debere certissimum esse supposui, in cuius usus conuerti deberet ambigebam; danda enim quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ Dei Deo. Si esset vestra, debuisset cedere ecclesiis pauperum; non enim tolerabile sub eo-

<sup>93</sup> The copyist wrote "Franciscus" but Caramuel spotted the mistake and changed it to the correct "Carolus".

<sup>94</sup> Strasbourg (Alsace, France).

dem Deo alios eleēmosynas prodigè offundere, alios rebus necessa-  
rijs carere. At quia ad Argentoratenses viros sæculares, hostes meos  
spectare affirmatur, iure belli mea est; hostilia enim spolia rapere licet  
militi, tametsi in ecclesia reperta. Duxerat; et mensâ assurgens ex  
abaco ad sarcinas uniuersa transfudit, et reclamantibus hospitibus  
aurea uerba profundens vasa argentea substraxit, discessitque multa  
indicia exhibens humanitatis inhumanæ. Manserum humanissimi Pat-  
res alienâ fælicitate miseri, doctiores tamen ne similia hominum mon-  
stra in consortium, ne dicam iis hospitium admittant. Diuitijs illis,  
si proprijs, carebunt, si alienis, debebunt satisfacere dum ille politicus  
pyrata per Europæ ocea- // [fol. 19r] num non tam per oras quam per  
ora æmulum traducit. / < *Crucinacum pulchra ciuitas, defenditur ab  
Hispanis.* > Vix excursui finem, cum et itineri. Crucinacum<sup>95</sup> adueni-  
mus, ubi præsidarios, Hispanos reperimus; fortes, urbanos, officio-  
sos. Illud Naa Fluuius<sup>96</sup> in duo distinguit emisphœria, quæ pulcher,  
longus, et solidus connectit pons. < *Habet libertatem conscientia.* >  
Ciues plures olim, sed hodie multi adhuc. Eiusdem ijsque optimis, le-  
gibus corpora regunt, nullis animas sunt enim in spiritualibus omninò  
ex leges: ut meritò mira uideatur tanta de rebus temporalibus cura, ubi  
nulla de æternis et supernaturalibus. < *In eâ Lutherani et Anabaptistæ  
pauci.* > Catholici, Caluinistæ, Lutherani, Anabaptistæ, Iudæique pa-  
cificè et tranquillè conuiuunt, tametsi Lutheranis et Anabaptistis (pau-  
ci ipsi) publicus cultus interdictus. Licet contraria uideantur sentire et  
profiteri, nec minimam inquam inter se ob religionem difficultatem  
passi, hanc enim uniuersi non curant. < *Summum templum Catholicis  
et Caluinianis commune.* > Summa Ecclesia ponti medio adiacet in flu-  
uij insulâ,<sup>97</sup> pulchro et commodo loco; communis Catholicis et Calui-  
nianis, quorum duobus etiam Pastoribus communes decimæ et hæc  
ipsamet communio in causâ, ut frequentes et lepidæ historiolæ Ro-

<sup>95</sup> See note 83.

<sup>96</sup> See note 68.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. J. Blaeu, *Geographiæ Blavianæ...*, op. cit., p. 274: "Ecclesia Cathedralis in insula sita est, quam Nahus fluv. efficit..."

manos recreent, uexent heterodoxos. Ne uniuersas omittam, unam dabo. / < *Decimarum diuisio.* > A paucis diebus quæstor præbuit Ecclesiæ computum Pastori utrique (Romano, Caluiniano) et expensis subtractis manserunt tritici mensuræ quinquaginta, vini Rhenani plaustra sex. Erat instituenda diuisio et Caluinius Prædicator mediam sibi // [fol. 19v] uniuersorum partem arrogans, computum putabat absolutum; Pastor tamem Catholicus, se legitimum Romanæ Ecclesiæ filium, alterum spurium, et Caluiniānam religionem non nisi meretricem obiicit; cumque secundum iura legitimo filio tota hæreditas et notho congrua alimentatio concedatur, se debere habere quadraginta mensuras, plaustra quinque, et Caluiniānum denas, unum. < *D. Petrus Zabala Gubernator Ciuitatis, vir optimus, strenuus miles.* > Conuenire non possunt, Superiorem appellant, optimum militem, optimum Christianum D. Petrum Zabalæum, natione Cantrabum, doctum melius ensem vibrare, quam iuris folia euoluere. Partes audit, distinctionem legitimi et spurij approbat, fructus integros filio adiudicat, notho alimenta; publicatur sententiā;<sup>98</sup> risu prudentes celebrant, læsi dente theonino carpunt; et tamen Supremus Palatinatūs Gubernator non sine risu in gratiam Catholicorum Regiā autoritate confirmat. / Vix sufficeres in hâc quæstione aut alijs responsurus, nemo enim Caluinius, qui non uelit theologus imò et doctus audire. Diebus festis concionatur non sine plausu quispiam textor, qui exceptâ Comite Rhenanâ<sup>99</sup> creditur omnium sapientissimus. Periodos Bibliorum, Lutheri industriā germanas factas, sententijs Caluiniānis inmiscet, ita ut in ipso suggestu videatur pannum texere multicolorem. < *Inter Theologiæ Professores Crucinaci Primis Rhenana Comitissa, et post eam unus textor.* > Eo deuenit Caluiniānæ Ecclesiæ theologia, ut præsideat fœmina, et textor sit primus à præside. Rhenanæ Comitiss

<sup>98</sup> The superfluous circumflex accent in “sententiā” has been crossed out by Caramuel.

<sup>99</sup> Marie Eleonore (1607–1675), daughter of the Elector Joachim Friedrich of Brandenburg, married in 1631 Ludwig Philipp (1602–1655), Palatine Count (Pfalzgraf bei Rhein) in Simmern-Kaiserslautern.

authoritas in difficultatibus theologicis tanta, ut cum textor à Franciscano theologo prouocaretur, ad eam ti- // [fol. 20r] midus et anceps confugerit, ipsaque causam ad se uocauerit et audacter responderit: quæ quia intelligere non possis, damnare nescias. Ludit in verbis paginæ garrula hæc mulier, et non solum germanicè, sed et latinè, imò et nonnunquam hæbraicè et græcè inter suos audet. Dum positiones ambiguas legit, prælegit; nec intelligit nec intelligitur; et tamen quia ualdè nobilis et ualdè loquax habetur maximi. / < *Aulæ Crucinacensis Possessionem recipio.* > Hujuscemodi rebus distractus uix aulæ propriæ recorderer. Reperio ipsam integram, quod mirum fuit hæc rerum tempestate; paucae enim aliæ in totâ ciuitate Regiâ realem possessionem suscepi, domum examinaui. < *Status Aulæ qualis?* > Sacellum transierat in stabulum, illudque occupabant eximiæ boues. Hæc sunt Caluinianæ Religionis miracula: inter sacra et immunda non distinguunt, quod ipsi immundi omninò sint, vel ipsis nulla munda vel sacra. Hic Regis et Ordinis autoritate detineor, qui libentius Coloniae Tuæ Dignitati subseruirem, et ingenij tui diuinitate alerer, curas tamen subleuo tuarum lectione literarum, singulæ enim magni animi indices, doctrinâ et eruditione magnâ plenæ. Oro ut frequentior sis, et quantum negotia publica et majora permiserint, tuis imperiis honores / Adictissimum tuum / Joannem Caramuel Lobkowitz, / Disenbergensem Melrosensimque Abbatem.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Autograph signature by Caramuel.

## Editorial Note

One of the major principles governing the editorial work on the present volume was the effort to unify the texts as much as possible, while respecting the idiosyncrasies of individual authors at the same time.

A number of changes concerned Latin titles, especially capital letters. This varied greatly among individual authors due to the use of various editions of primary works, specific features of different languages, etc. The orthography concerning capital letters was unified in accord with the standards of the publishing house.

In relation to quotations of Latin texts, few changes were implemented. The use of diphthongs varied greatly, sometimes being absent altogether. For this reason they are not used in titles and shorter Latin quotations. The only exceptions are more extensive texts (e.g. J. Fernández-Santos' *Juan Caramuel's Journey...*) where the use of diphthongs is homogeneous.

In bibliographical references, where the title is in Latin, place names are given in Latin as well. Where the title is in another language, the place name is given in the language of the contribution with the exception of minor places where no equivalents in other languages seem to exist.

The unification strategy was applied also in the orthography of Caramuel's name itself. The form used is the most common one, Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz. Other forms are used only when appearing in titles. It is to be hoped that this decision will be well received also by those authors who preferred other forms, e.g. those common in Czech.





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