

BYZANZ  
UND DAS ABENDLAND VII.  
Studia  
Byzantino-Occidentalia



BYZANZ UND DAS ABENDLAND VII.  
STUDIA BYZANTINO-OCCIDENTALIA

# Antiquitas • Byzantium • Renascentia XLII.

Herausgegeben von

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Eötvös-József-Collegium  
2021

# **Byzanz und das Abendland VII. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia**

Herausgegeben von

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Budapest 2021

Der vorliegende Band konnte im Rahmen des Nationales Forschungs-, Entwicklungs- und Innovationsbüro – NKFIH-Forschungsprojekts „Társadalmi kontextus a szövegkritika tükrében: Bizáncon innen és túl“ (NN 124539) realisiert werden.



Verantwortlicher Herausgeber:  
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Anschrift: ELTE Eötvös-József-Collegium  
H-1118 Budapest, Ménesi út 11-13

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A nyomdai munkákat a CC Printing Szolgáltató Kft. végezte  
1118 Budapest, Rétköz u. 55. A/fsz. 2.  
Törvényes képviselő: Szendy Ilona

ISBN: 978-615-5897-43-6  
[https://doi.org/10.37584/BuA\\_7](https://doi.org/10.37584/BuA_7)  
ISSN: 2064-2369

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Péter Ekler

## Georgius Trapezuntius, Johannes Regiomontanus and the *Defensio Theonis* Second part\*

The present paper is closely related to our publication in the latest volume of the “Byzanz und das Abendland” series.<sup>1</sup> Georgius Trapezuntius, Johannes Regiomontanus and King Matthias take center stage once more, like they did in the previous publication. At that time, we were concerned with one of Georgius Trapezuntius’ texts, namely his commentary on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, and we published the dedication to King Matthias. We used the codex of Johannes Regiomontanus’ *Defensio Theonis* stored in St. Petersburg<sup>2</sup> when presenting the text, as that codex also contained Trapezuntius’ dedicatory letter addressed to King Matthias.

While our previous publication emphasized Trapezuntius’ commentary on *Almagest*, this time we shall focus on Regiomontanus’ aforementioned *Defensio Theonis*. The main figures of the present paper remain Trapezuntius, Regiomontanus and King Matthias. As our previous publication elaborated in detail on Trapezuntius’ text and mentioned *Defensio Theonis* as well, we shall address these matters only briefly here. The main point of the present paper shall be the codex containing *Defensio Theonis*, and the preface to *Defensio*.

Regiomontanus was the most prominent mathematician and astronomer of his time and we are commemorating the 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his stay in

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\* Michael Shank, Richard L. Kremer, John Monfasani and Endre Zsoldos provided me with scholarly advice throughout the writing of this piece, for which I owe them a great debt of gratitude.

<sup>1</sup> EKLER, P., Georgius Trapezuntius, Johannes Regiomontanus and the *Defensio Theonis*. In: JUHÁSZ, E. (ed.), *Byzanz und das Abendland VI. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*. Budapest 2019, 211–218.

<sup>2</sup> The St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, IV-1-935. The St. Petersburg codex was digitalized as part of an international academic project and published in 2010. The digitalized version is available at <https://regio.dartmouth.edu/index.html> (date accessed: 27 September 2020)

Hungary (1467–1471) in the 2017–2021 period. In the framework of the “Regiomontanus 550” anniversary, we are attempting to publish the forewords to the works written by Regiomontanus in Hungary (or closely related to his residence in Hungary).

Let us now summarize the most important pieces of information about Georgius Trapezuntius, Johannes Regiomontanus and the *Defensio Theonis*.

### Georgius Trapezuntius

Georgius Trapezuntius was one of the great Latin stylists of the fifteenth century. He wrote the most important rhetoric (*Rhetoricorum libri V*) of the fifteenth century, and his Logic (*Isagoge dialectica*) remained a bestseller into the mid-sixteenth century. Trapezuntius was one of the most consequential Greek émigrés to Renaissance Italy, and one of the greatest Byzantine teachers in Italy in the decades after Manuel Chrysoloras, the first major Byzantine teacher of the Renaissance. Trapezuntius translated a great amount of Greek patristic, philosophical, scientific, and literary texts.<sup>3</sup>

### Johannes Regiomontanus

Regiomontanus was born in 1436 as Johann Müller, his well-known Latin name (Regiomontanus) referring to his place of birth (Königsberg in Bayern, Germany). In 1450 he enrolled in university at Vienna, earning his magister degree in 1457. In Vienna, he made the acquaintance of the prominent mathematician and astronomer Georg von Peurbach (1423–1461). It was during his stay in Vienna that he encountered Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), too. The learned cardinal invited Peurbach and Regiomontanus to Italy and commissioned them to translate the *Almagest* of the famous ancient astronomer Ptolemy into Latin. It was in Italy, probably in 1462, that *Epitome Almagesti*, the extract based on Ptolemy’s work was completed. Regiomontanus arrived in Hungary in the summer of 1467. He resided in the court of Johannes de Zredna (János Vitéz, ca. 1408–1472), archbishop of Esztergom; he also taught at the university of Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg, Universitas Istropolitana).

<sup>3</sup> For George of Trebizond, see MONFASANI, J., *George of Trebizond. A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic*. Leiden 1976; MONFASANI, J., *Collectanea Trapezuntiana. Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*. New York 1984; EKLER P., Adalékok a korvínák történetéhez. Trapezuntius-kódexek, Trapezuntius-korvínák. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 123 (2007) 265–277.

He completed his *Tabulae directionum* in 1467 in Esztergom in collaboration with the Polish Marcin Bylica z Olkusza (1434?–1493?). This work contains tables for the calculation of planetary positions. Regiomontanus also came in contact with King Matthias Corvinus. By 1468, he was a resident of Buda and it was here that he completed the book he started in Italy, dedicating his *Tabula primi mobilis* to Matthias Corvinus; this was effectively a table of trigonometric functions. In the spring of 1471, he left Buda for Nürnberg. He died in Rome in 1476.<sup>4</sup>

### *Defensio Theonis*

An important element of *Defensio Theonis*, amongst others, is the defence of the late antique commentator on *Almagest*, Theon of Alexandria (ca. AD 335–405), as well as of Iacobus Cremonensis (1395/1413–1453/4) and Leo Iudaeus (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century). This is due to the fact that Trapezuntius attacked both Theon and Leo in his commentary. Regiomontanus also sought to prove that Trapezuntius plagiarized Theon.<sup>5</sup> Regiomontanus dedicated his *Defensio Theonis* to Matthias, but there is no evidence that it in fact reached King Matthias.<sup>6</sup> The German astronomer most possibly wrote the bulk of *Defensio Theonis* in Hungary. He finished the text in Nürnberg. The major part of the St. Petersburg codex originates from Regiomontanus himself.

The title (“Defence of Theon”) does not precisely cover the subject matter, as the text does not primarily focus on Theon. In giving it this title, Regiomontanus probably expressed the intentions of his patron, Cardinal Bessarion. The knowledgeable cardinal was angered by Trapezuntius’ attack on Theon in the commentary to *Almagest*. The manuscript predominantly features his handwriting, with his own corrections and comments. There are only a very few entries made by other people. As far as we know, the St. Petersburg manuscript is the only full copy of *Defensio Theonis*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> ZINNER, E., *Regiomontanus: His Life and Work*. Translated by Ezra BROWN. (Studies in the History and Philosophy of Mathematics 1) North-Holland – Amsterdam – New York – Oxford – Tokyo 1990, passim.

<sup>5</sup> MONFASANI 1976 (n. 3) 196.

<sup>6</sup> MONFASANI 1976 (n. 3) 196; MONFASANI 1984 (n. 3) 673–674.

<sup>7</sup> <http://regio.dartmouth.edu/about/about-manuscript.html> (date accessed: 27 September 2020);

<https://regio.dartmouth.edu/about/about-project.html> (date accessed: 27 September 2020); SHANK, M. H., Regiomontanus as a Physical Astronomer: Samplings from the Defence of Theon against George of Trebizond. *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 38 (2007) 325–349; SHANK,

## Preface to *Defensio Theonis*

We used the codex of Johannes Regiomontanus' *Defensio Theonis* stored in St. Petersburg<sup>8</sup> when presenting the text. The foreword is to be found not at the beginning, but on folios 37–39. The section has no title.

[fol. 37<sup>r</sup>]<sup>9</sup> Nuper quosdam offendi commentarios in magnam claudii ptolemēi<sup>10</sup> compositionem<sup>11</sup> inclito ac christianissimo pannoniarum regi Matthiē autore tra<sup>12</sup> Georgio trapezuntio inscriptos, quorum ingenti magnitudine subitaque novitate mirum in modum letabar, talis iamdiu cupiens<sup>13</sup> muneris, multo autem maximum legem<sup>14</sup> videndi desiderium<sup>15</sup> inierit<sup>16</sup> maiestas principis, cui opus ipsum<sup>17</sup> dedicatum erat<sup>18</sup>.

Non enim nisi elegantissimo quolibet atque optimo eum dono afficiendum rebar, qui cunctis animo corporeque propriis pollens ornamentis peregrina, si paulo humiliora sint, munera iuste despexerit. Sed ne auctoris quidem prolog<sup>19</sup> p̄refatio fervorem hunc meum imminuit, quippe ubi nobiles illos ptolemēi libros a gr̄ca in latinam linguam sese traduxisse, hęcque deinceps commentaria, quibus obrutos eos tenebris in lucem erueret, prodidisse insinuavit, vix proloquar, quantum speraverim doctrinam ptolemaicam arabicano quondam<sup>20</sup>

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M. H., Regiomontanus versus George of Trebizond on Planetary Order, Distances, and Orbs (*Almagest* 9.1). In: BURNETT, CH. – HASSE, D. N. – JUSTE, D. – VAN DALEN, B. (eds.), *Ptolemy's Science of the Stars in the Middle Ages (Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus – Studies)*. Brepols 2020, 305–386.

<sup>8</sup> The St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, IV-1-935. The digitalized version is available at <https://regio.dartmouth.edu/index.html> (date accessed: 27 September 2020)

<sup>9</sup> † (i. e. a cross, at the top of the folio)

<sup>10</sup> Claudius Ptolemy (c. 85–163 AD) was a Greek astronomer, mathematician and geographer.

<sup>11</sup> Ptolemy's work was originally entitled Μαθηματικὴ σύνταξις (“Mathematical Composition”) or Ἡ μεγίστη σύνταξις (“Greatest Composition”). The title *Almagest*, in use since the Middle Ages, derives from a distorted Arabic form of the Greek μεγίστη.

<sup>12</sup> He crossed the word out.

<sup>13</sup> He wrote “expectans” above the word.

<sup>14</sup> He crossed “legem” out.

<sup>15</sup> He wrote “ardorem” above the word.

<sup>16</sup> He crossed the word out and wrote “instinxit” in the margins.

<sup>17</sup> He crossed the word out and wrote “illud” above it.

<sup>18</sup> He wrote “dedicabatur” above the words, then crossed “dedicabatur” out.

<sup>19</sup> He crossed “prolog” out.

<sup>20</sup> He inserted “olim” after “arabicano” later, but crossed out “olim”, and wrote “quondam” in the margins.

scrabroque ~~leşam~~<sup>21</sup> interpretamento, iam nova et viciniore, quia gręcanica traductione ac insuper recentis expositoris et eiusdem gręci lucubratione sedula plerisque omnibus satius illucescere.

Neque enim memoria ~~lab~~<sup>22</sup> excidit, quantos mihi labores vetula ista traductio pepererit, non quidem in vulgatoribus quibusque<sup>23</sup> capiundis sentiis, sed iis p̄sertim, ubi controversia quepiam delituit, aut paulo crassior traditio apparuit, aut gebrica impugnatio lacessivit.

Ergo commentaria hęc nova aggrediens in ipso quasi vestibulo auxilium invenisse videor, ubi mox [fol. 37<sup>v</sup>] arabicę in ptolemęum animadversionis mentio fit, scilicet nescio quos arabes compositione proporcionum non [...] <sup>24</sup> intellecta a ptolemęo descivisse. Quamvis autem neque nomina reprehensorum neque rationes ullę, cur ita fecerint, sed quedam pene puerilia inchoamenta expositoris illic ~~apparuerint~~<sup>25</sup>, non tamen extemplo desistendum censui, recordatus huiuscemodi plerisque omnibus morem esse scriptoribus, ut subrudi quodam principio ad digniores sensim evadant precepiones.

Verum ubi paulo ulterius itum est, iam arabibus quidem venia conceditur propter iniquitatem traductionum, Theoni<sup>26</sup> autem gręco, quem illi sunt secuti, omne peccatum impingitur. Hic primum substiti repentina tanti viri calumnia percussus, celebri eius doctrina in mentem redeunte, dumque inter meditandum oculus iam subterrirus ~~passim~~<sup>27</sup> temere vagatur, forte in Theonem iterum atque Gebrum<sup>28</sup> pariter lacessitos incidit, quos una cum laudatoribus suis expositor iste novus stomachose parvifaciens animum usque adeo mihi incendit, ut quiescere nequierim, nisi quorsum tandem audaculus ~~iste~~<sup>29</sup> evadat, otius intelligam.

In cuius initiali doctrina etsi iam periculum feci, quia tamen ptolemęi veritatisque tutationem polliceri visus est, haudquaquam ab eo ~~destitu~~<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup> He crossed “leşam” out and wrote “suppressam” above the word. He wrote “suppressam” in the margins but crossed it out there.

<sup>22</sup> He crossed the word out.

<sup>23</sup> He inserted “quibusque” between the words later.

<sup>24</sup> Text crossed out.

<sup>25</sup> He crossed “apparuerint” out and wrote “occurrerent” above it.

<sup>26</sup> Theon of Alexandria (c. AD 335–c. 405) was a Greek scholar and mathematician. He wrote commentaries on works by Euclid and Ptolemy.

<sup>27</sup> He crossed “passim” out.

<sup>28</sup> Abu Muhammad Jabir ibn Aflah (Latin: Geber/Gebir; 1100–1150) was an Arab Muslim astronomer and mathematician from Seville.

<sup>29</sup> He crossed “iste” out.

<sup>30</sup> He crossed “destitu” (?) out.

deficerem, nisi ~~com~~<sup>31</sup> plusculis demum<sup>32</sup> interiectis eo insolentię proveheretur, ut rem vulgatissimam in ludisque puerorum exercitam porporcionum, scilicet subtractionem adeo intellectu arduam esse putaret, ut nemo adhuc certam huius rei viam rationemque dederit, eiusque rei ignorationem fuisse causam cur nonnulli in ptolemęum acerbius invecti ~~sim~~<sup>33</sup> [fol. 38<sup>r</sup>] fuerint.

Quod equidem etsi aliunde sciebam evenisse, non tamen dedignabar percurrere<sup>34</sup> novi ~~autoris~~<sup>35</sup> placita, quibus ipse tantum inesse momenti arbitratus est. Pudet profecto statim recensore quas illic ineptias offenderim, quamque exilis ne dicam nulla doctrinę species apparuerit.

Et hactenus quidem de introductoria pęcceptione. Ubi vero ad ipsa commentaria expositionemque ptolemaici codicis ventum est, deus bone, ~~quot~~<sup>36</sup> quantas ibi nugas, que deliramenta, quot in primariis etiam geometrię elementis importunus iste errores admisit.

Sed ~~ceptam~~ [...]<sup>37</sup> lectionem, quia frugi non erat, deferenti mihi patientiam suasit Theonis calumnia dudum inchoata, que cum propter ~~compositionem~~<sup>38</sup> figuram sectoris pęcipue orta esset, illuc properandum censui, ubi eius traditio celebratur ad duodecimum primi voluminis capitulum.

Hic primum videres, quanto fastu expositor iste ridiculus tumesceret demonstrationem talis figurę adhuc ignotę sua quidem ~~opin~~<sup>39</sup> sententia pollicitus Theonemque in ea re defecisse criminatus, Theonem denique primum erroribus suis confudisse omnia, et cum diversa usum descriptione tum compositione porporcionum non intellecta suspicionem attulisse, quod ptolemęus non demonstraverit. Ipsumque rursus Theonem difficiliori descriptione ac indemonstrabili usum esse, ac demum eius imitatu Tebith quendam seductum esse, qui librum de hac figura conscripsit non universaliter sed in quibusdam solummodo, ut iste ait, porporcionibus ptolemęi demonstrationes procedere clamitans, Gebrum insuper pęcmississe unum librum, ut excusaret se a figura sectoris, [fol. 38<sup>v</sup>] Quę quidem omnia unico

<sup>31</sup> He crossed “com” out.

<sup>32</sup> He later inserted “demum” between the two words.

<sup>33</sup> He crossed the word out.

<sup>34</sup> After “dedignabar” he inserts “percurrere” added to the margin later.

<sup>35</sup> He crossed “autoris” out, writing “sriptoris” above it.

<sup>36</sup> He crossed “quot” out.

<sup>37</sup> Word crossed out and unintelligible.

<sup>38</sup> He crossed the word out.

<sup>39</sup> He crossed the word out.

illi philosopho summo Theoni ~~perpera~~<sup>40</sup> tanquam aliorum duci indigne obiectitat.

Iam vero non satis erat priscos lacessisse, nisi etate etiam nostra mathematicarum scientem Iacobum cremonensem<sup>41</sup> non sine Nicolai quinti summi pontificis<sup>42</sup> iniuria nefanda provocaret, quippe dementiae utriusque, pro hominem impudentissimum, rabiem atque furorem improperat<sup>43</sup> criminatus, quod commentaria sui in carcerem detrusi surripere voluerint.

Sed ne hic quidem maledicentiae modus, quin iterum atque iterum Theonem Gebrumque ac universos recentiores sideralis scientiae studiosos totis pene commentariis fulminabundus insectatur, postremo autem proclum ~~sepe ac~~<sup>44</sup> diu ~~sepe~~que lacessitum omnesque platonicos nomen magis quam rem in philosophia habuisse cavillatur, nihil interim docens, nihil rite exponens sed pleraque omnia ptolemaei decreta invertens atque exterminans, quasi hoc precipuum sit professionis suae officium innocentes flagellare, erroribus suis cuncta miscere, ad summumque caelestem ac nobilissimam illam disciplinam tot tantisque ingeniis tantaque saeculorum serie conquistam frivolis atque perniciosis commentariis abolere.

Cum igitur tot tantosque viros et [...] ~~pre~~<sup>45</sup> ante omnes Theonem alexandrinum ~~pre~~<sup>46</sup> virum praestanti alias doctrina in mathematicis autem excellentissimum ac fidelem clarumque ptolemaei interpretem tam crebro quam inique provocaverit iste loquaculus, opere precium erat veritatem tutari eiusque sectatorem sincerum a calumnia maledici vindicare, ne lumen olim sideralis disciplinae futili commentatiuncula obtenebretur, neque lectores creduli festina commentarum inscriptione ac vano autoris pollicitamento seducti iacturam temporis faciant, si tali expositore ptolemaicum codicem se sperent intellecturos.

Igitur a figura sectoris, [fol. 39<sup>v</sup>] unde precipua sumitur calumniandi materies, principium fieri convenit, ut illic experto Theonis ingenio [...] ~~ign~~<sup>47</sup> ignorantiaque

<sup>40</sup> He crossed the word out.

<sup>41</sup> Iacobus Cremonensis (Iacopo da San Cassiano, ?–1453/1454) was an Italian humanist. At the court of Nicholas V, he was entrusted with revising the translation and commentary of the *Magna Compositio* (*Almagest*) done by George of Trebizond.

<sup>42</sup> Pope Nicholas V (Tommaso Parentucelli, 1397–1455) was head of the Catholic Church from 1447 until his death.

<sup>43</sup> He wrote “improbrat” above “improperat”.

<sup>44</sup> He crossed the words out.

<sup>45</sup> Unintelligible word crossed out.

<sup>46</sup> He crossed the word out.

<sup>47</sup> Unintelligible word crossed out.

expositoris indicata mox coniectari queat inanitas reliquę commentationis, quam clausulatim<sup>48</sup> membratim deinceps excerpemus verba autoris sui propria ad litteram reddituri, ut suoapte convictus testimonio ab iniuriis discat abstinere, siquando alieno indice peccata sua recognosc[?]t.<sup>49</sup>

### Summary and further perspectives

Regiomontanus' activity is closely related to the scientific legacy of the ancient scientist Ptolemy and his life is bound up with the life and work of Cardinal Bessarion. Regiomontanus' activity cannot be separated from that of his rival Trapezuntius and cannot be comprehended without the knowledge of Trapezuntius' work. In the present paper, we published the foreword to *Defensio Theonis*.

Regiomontanus worked on *Defensio Theonis* during his stay in Hungary, and a section addressed to King Matthias is also to be found therein. We intend to present the lines addressed to King Matthias in a forthcoming publication.

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<sup>48</sup> He underlined the word.

<sup>49</sup> He crossed the end of the word "recognosc[?]t" out and wrote "[recogno]verit" above it.



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<https://doi.org/10.1177/002182860703800305>

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# ANTIQUITAS • BYZANTIUM • RENASCENTIA

Herausgeber der Reihe:

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ISSN: 2064-2369

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