VISUALIZING NARRATIVE STRUCTURE IN THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY: *DIVISIO TEXTUS* REVISITED

By AYELET EVEN-EZRA

The early thirteenth century saw the rise of a new exegetical technique: divisio textus, *or text division. Commentators engaged in subtle structural analyses, parsing texts into increasingly smaller units, and at times represented these structures as complex tree diagrams. For a case study of this technique, this essay presents a previously unnoticed series of such marginal diagrams in MS Assisi, Bib. Com. 51 that depict the structure of the first three chapters of the* Book of Job. *Following the manner in which the author analyzes the narrative functions of character description, dialogues, and other aspects, the essay reconstructs the narratological principles embedded in these diagrams, and compares them with other divisions of Job by thirteenth century theologians. It sets the diagramming of* divisiones textus *in its the broader context of medieval horizontal tree diagrams and discusses the peculiar implications of the spatialization of biblical narrative. Appendices include full transcriptions, translations and auxiliary materials for comparison.*

There are practices and genres that command great popularity in a particular culture at a particular historical juncture but that ultimately fall out of fashion and into obscurity. What was deemed meaningful and illuminating by members of one cultural-historical milieu can come to be seen as boring, even meaningless, by members of others. Historical inquiry seeks out such discarded practices with the aim of recovering the keys to understanding their uniqueness and to discover through them something of the period that produced them. Somewhat paradoxically, devotion to the explication of such practices in the context of the historical past can surprise us with discoveries of resemblances to contemporary practices of our own.

Divisio textus is a rich example of just such a practice. Appearing in the thirteenth century, this scholastic mode of analyzing textual structure played an important role in the composition of philosophical and theological commentaries until its appeal faded as other academic approaches took its place, consigning it to obscurity up to modern times. This essay offers a fresh encounter with this practice, following Alastair Minnis's beautiful demonstration of the theoretically illuminating literary conceptions that still lie hidden in the scholastic commentary tradition in *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (1988).[1] Through a close analysis of previously unstudied marginal diagrams of *divisiones*, I will argue that, when applied to biblical stories, their authors engaged subtle notions regarding

[1] Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1988).

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narrative structure and textuality. I will also elucidate the implications of these peculiar diagrammatic representations for the medieval perception of narrative.

Scriptural Text Divisions in Their Medieval Context: an Overview

As historians such as Beryl Smalley and Gilbert Dahan gleaned from their analyses of medieval scriptural commentaries, the community of theologians that coalesced around the establishment of the universities and that flourished within them at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries developed a particular style of commentary dependent upon distinctive methods.[2] Hierarchical division was a general method according to which medieval scholastics organized all kinds of materials for scientific analysis. Working scientifically meant defining and dividing one's objects by their genus and difference, that is, by the group to which they belonged and by the property differentiating them from others within that group. All students trained in dialectics acquired, therefore, the mental habit of dividing and subdividing. Furthermore, they all became acquainted with a vertical tree figure representing such a hierarchy: a centuries-old diagram that since the thirteenth century was called "the tree of Porphyry."[3] A highly intense interest in hierarchy was evident in both natural philosophy and theology. It was therefore as natural as it was unique to subject philosophical and religious texts alike to this same all-encompassing preoccupation with hierarchies that swept the thirteenth century.

While earlier commentators occasionally provided a principal division into the parts of the texts they were explicating, the scholastic hierarchical, progressive division into smaller units was a radically new and different practice.[4] John F. Boyle's description of the *divisio* offers us a useful point of departure:

[2] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1964), chaps. 5–6; Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval xiie–xive siècle* (Paris, 2008), 108–20.

[3] Anemicke R. Verboon, "The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: An Organic Structure of Logic," in *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, ed. Pipa Salonius and Andrea Worm (Turnhout, 2014).

[4] It is assumed that the *divisio textus* was first introduced into the faculty of arts around the 1220s; Sten Ebbesen, "Medieval Latin Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 23 (London, 1993), 129–77, here 133–38. Alexander of Hales's Gloss on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (1220s) seems to be the first theological work in which a distinctive *divisio textus* is introduced. The first scriptural commentaries are likely those of the Dominican masters Hugh of St. Cher and Guerric of St. Quentin (1230s–1240s) on which see Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1944), 212–13 and Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 296–97, where she cites Vosté as suggesting that Hugh was the first theologian to introduce it. See also Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval xiie–xive siècle*, 271–76; idem, "Le schématisme dans l'exégèse médiévale," in *Qu'est-ce que nommer?*

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> Starting with the text as a whole, one articulates a principal theme in the light of which one divides and subdivides the text into increasingly smaller units, often down to the individual words. … [Consequently] each verse stands in an articulated relation not only with the whole but ultimately with every other part, division, and verse of the text.[5]

Text divisions thus became almost obligatory in commentaries on Aristotelian texts, on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (which functioned as the newly introduced textbook of the faculty of theology), and in commentaries on the Bible itself.

This sort of progressive analysis is remarkably similar to modern approaches to narrative like that suggested by Roland Barthes that were inspired by linguistic analyses of the single sentence.[6] Did medieval grammar similarly inspire textual analysis? From what we know of Latin curricula and the speculative grammar of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the answer is likely negative. Latin syntactical theory seems to have other emphases.[7] A more likely source, yet only to a limited degree, can be located in classical rhetoric. Rhetoric was widely applied by thirteenth-century theologians.[8] Examples include Thomas Chobham, who enriched his *Summa on the Art of Preaching* with insights and terminology drawn from rhetorical theory, and William of Auvergne, who did the same in his *Rhetorica divina* on prayer.[9] The *divisio textus* itself also assumes an ability, developed in the context of rhetorical studies, for recognizing and naming the functions of different parts of the text. Terms such as *narratio*, *redarguitio*, and perhaps *commendatio* as well, are present, as we shall see below, in our

L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scholastique, ed. Christian Heck (Turnhout, 2010), 31–40. For a concise article devoted to the issue, see John F. Boyle, "The Theological Character of the Scholastic 'Division of the Text' with Particular Reference to the Commentaries of St. Thomas Aquinas," in *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford, 2003), 276–83.

[5] Boyle, "Theological Character," 276.

[6] See the opening to the narratology suggested in Roland Barthes, "Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits," *Communications* 8 (1966): 1–27; idem, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," trans. L. Duisit, *New Literary History* 6 (1975): 237–72.

[7] Tony Hunt notes a general, continuous lack of interest in syntax through the tradition of teaching Latin, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1991), 17, 97. The principle of generating similar sentences by choosing one word out of a group, however, exists in Latin teaching at least since the dialogues of tenth-century Aelfric Bata, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Aelfric Bata*, ed. Scott Gwara and David Porter (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997).

[8] James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkley, 1974); Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, at 118–223; Rita Copeland, "The Ciceronian Rhetorical Tradition and Medieval Literary Theory," in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden, 2011), 239–66, esp. 259–63.

[9] Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, CCM 82 (Turnhout, 1988); William of Auvergne, *Rhetorica divina, seu ars oratoria eloquentiae divinae*, trans. Roland J. Teske, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 17 (Paris, 2013).

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diagrams, though perhaps less frequently than one would expect. Classical and medieval rhetorical theory emphasizes the general importance of organizing the orator's materials. The *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* even recommends the orator include a "division" as part of his speech (the third out of six) by means of which "we make clear what matters are agreed upon and what are contested, and announce what points we intend to take up."[10] It also recommends the use of enumeration, "when we tell by number how many points we are going to discuss."[11] The medieval commentator who makes a *divisio textus* may be viewed, therefore, as taking the position of the author, enumerating the parts of the primary text to be discussed. However, these divisions and enumerations are still only acts of parsing and naming. Ancient rhetorical theory did not encourage subdivision or structural analysis of the relations *between* these parts, something that lies at the heart of the *divisio*. Its method of grouping and regrouping resulting in an overall complex structure is uniquely medieval.

The question of textual structure is equally relevant to composition and analysis. And, indeed, the systematic theological works authored since the early years of the thirteenth century present in explicit fashion a similar structure to that produced through *divisio textus*.[12] Theologians and/or their disciples compiled voluminous *summae* with similar multileveled structures out of small units of debates over specific issues. They grouped and edited these issues into larger *quaestiones*, then into treatises and books. As they were engaged with these constructions, and as they wore hats of both commentators and authors, it seems likely that high-scholastic theologians believed ancient authors shared their own conceptions regarding the essential relation between doctrine and structure and that reconstructing the underlying structure of ancient texts would lead them to a deeper understanding of their meaning.[13]

Scholars of medieval biblical exegesis who have addressed the particularities of the university mode of commentary have devoted scant consideration to *divisio*

[10] Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, 1.3, trans. Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library 403 (Cambridge, MA, 1954), 8–9.

[11] Ibid. 1.10, ed. 30–31.

[12] For literature, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutic, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1981), 206–8. On the tree structure of the Breviari d'amori, see Francesca M. Nicholson, "Branches of Knowledge: The Purposes of Citation in the Breviari d'amor of Matfre Ermengaud," *Neophilologus* 91 (2007): 375–85, at 376.

[13] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 153: "One justification for such literary division and collection seems to have been that the intentions of the *auctores* were thereby clarified… . Exceptional scholars, like Nicholas Trevet and Thomas Waleys, could criticize a divisio textus which, in their opinion, obscured instead of clarified the *intentio auctoris*." On horizontal tree diagrams representing the structure of theological *quaestiones*, see Ayelet Even-Ezra, "Schemata as Maps and Editing Tools in 13th Century Scholasticism," *Manuscripta* 61 (2017): 21–71.

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textus, merely noting that it expresses subtle exegetical and doctrinal views. Many of its most promising aspects remain, however, understudied. This may be attributed to the responses of modern readers, who may feel, as Sten Ebbesen expresses it, that "the thirteenth century divisions of the text carry the art of boredom to its perfection."[14] Part of what makes these divisions difficult to swallow lies in their being purely verbal. Most scholars, especially those using modern editions, encounter text divisions in their verbal form, which often follows a pattern such as "the book has three parts … the first part divides into two … the first of these sections divides into three … , etc." written in the same successive lines in which the rest of the commentary is written. Verbal descriptions of complex structures are destined almost by their nature to be tedious and difficult to process cognitively. Yet university masters also represented such *divisiones* visually, by way of tree diagrams, a fact that remained largely unknown until now. These visual representations can facilitate deeper study and appreciation of the analytic potential of *divisiones* and shed new light on how medieval Schoolmen understood textuality.

Various examples of *divisio* diagrams can be found in the margins of manuscripts of Aristotle's works and of biblical commentaries, as well as of commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.[15] To the latter belongs one of the earliest and richest repositories of *divisio* diagrams, found in many manuscripts of Richard Fishacre's commentary, where they are called "ramified trees" (*arbores ramificatae*). Richard's *arbores* — indeed the entire genre of *divisiones sententiarum* — deserves a study of its own following the art of theological authorship and argumentation.[16] My current interest, however, is to investigate what happens when theologians applied this structural sensitivity together with its diagrammatic expression to *stories*. In doing so, I argue, Schoolmen engaged in an implicit narratology, the art of analyzing narrative structure, plotlines, and dialogues.

A general description will not suffice to substantiate this claim comprehensively or demonstrate this technique and the effectiveness of its visual

[14] Ebessen, "Medieval Latin Glosses" (n. 4 above), 135.

[15] On the rich tradition of commenting on the *Book of Sentences*, see especially Philipp W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's* Sentences (Peterborough, ON, 2007). Examples of marginal diagrams, unrelated to any complete commentary, can be seen in Assisi Bibliotheca Communale MS Assisi 101 (fols. 7v, 8v, 9v, 87r, 118r, etc.); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15323 (fols. 8r, 8v–9r, 10r, 12r, etc.). More than seventy diagrams representing text divisions for textbooks of logic feature in the margins of Vatican, lat. 996.

[16] R. James Long, "The Science of Theology according to Richard Fishacre: Edition of the Prologue to His Commentary on the Sentences," *Medieval Studies* 34 (1972): 71–98, here 98. The modern editors of the commentary replicated them as well and referred to their existence in manuscripts' descriptions. See R. James Long and Maura O'Carroll, *The Life and Works of Richard Fishacre OP: Prolegomena to the Edition of his Commentary on the "Sentences"* (Munich, 1999).

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representations, but diving into its rich mode of analysis will provide introductory familiarity. The following discussion thus addresses the biblical *divisio* and the narrative perception it conveys through a close inspection of an unedited series of such diagrams that I discovered in the lower margins of a late-thirteenth-century manuscript from the *Bibliotheca Communale* in Assisi. The series in question depicts the structure of the first three chapters of the Book of Job. I will closely examine the way its author analyzes narrative features such as events and dialogues compared with choices of his contemporaries. As noted above, purely verbal analysis of spatial structures is liable to obscure more than to elucidate. Accordingly, full transcriptions and translations of the diagrams — to the best of my knowledge the first of their kind to be edited — are appended.[17] Readers are heartily encouraged to consult them to this article frequently so as to experience the effect of visual representation firsthand. I have also included the biblical text, parsed and numbered to facilitate reading.

Delineating the Structure of Job: Anonymous Diagrams in Assisi Bib. Com. 51

The Schoolmen of the thirteenth century composed a significant number of commentaries on the Book of Job. Among them were the Dominican masters Roland of Cremona, Hugh of St. Cher, Guerric of St. Quentin, Thomas Aquinas, and Albert the Great, as well as the Franciscans William of Middleton, Peter of John Olivi, Matthew of Aquasparta, and Richard of Mediavilla.[18] The

[17] That is, *biblical divisiones*. In the editing project of Richard of Fishacre's commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, James Long prints *arbores* as well. Richard Fishacre, *In secundum librum Sententiarum*, 2 pts., ed. James Long (Munich, 2008, 2011).

[18] On the thirteenth century's revival of interest in sapiential literature, see Beryl Smalley, "Commentaries on the Sapiential Books," *Dominican Studies* 2 (1949): 318–55; eadem, "Some Latin Commentaries on the Sapiential Books in the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 25–26 (1950–1951): 103–28 continues her survey into the next decades, but like its precedent focuses on books other than Job. See also *A Cambridge Companion to Job in the Middle Ages*, ed. Franklin T. Harkins and Aaron Canty (Leiden, forthcoming). For modern editions, see *B. Alberti Magni O. Praed. Ratisbonensis episcopi Commentarii in Iob*, ed. Melchior Weiss (Freiburg, 1904); Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio super Iob ad litteram, cura et studio fratrum Praedicatorum*, Opera Omnia 26 (Rome, 1965). Hugh of St Cher's *Postilla* is available in several early modern prints. Alain Boureau has recently published Petrus Iohannis Olivi, *Postilla super Iob*, CCM 275 (Turnhout, 2015) and is planning to publish Richard de Mediavilla's *postilla* as well. Luc Ferrier is working on the edition of Roland of Cremona from BNF, lat. 405. The commentary in MS Naples, Bib. Naz. VII. A. 16 is usually attributed to Guerric of St. Quentin. Matthew of Aquasparta's commentary is in Assisi Bib. Com. 35. Paris, BNF, lat. 15566 (incipit "consumpta est caro eius a suppliciis …") is attributed by Friedrich Stegmüller to William of Middleton (*Repertorium biblicum Medii Aevi*, 7 vols., ed. Friedrich Stegmüller [Freiburg, 1954], 4:419, no. 36).

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most famous of these commentaries is Thomas Aquinas's *Literal Exposition*.[19] "One of Aquinas' more mature and polished commentaries,"[20] it presents a thorough discussion of providence and related matters and exemplifies the scholastic exegetes' new emphasis on the literal sense of scripture.[21] Although Thomas employed *divisio textus* in other commentaries, he did not propose an explicit one in this exposition. Boyle has suggested that since Thomas perceived the book of Job as "a give and take narrative argument" the literal interpretation of the text was not served by such a division.[22] Jaffe, in the introductory essay to his English translation, insisted that Thomas delineated a very clear structure, although "Thomas' reader is not made aware of this structure in advance." He proceeded therefore to fill this gap and provided one of his own.[23]

At least two late-thirteenth-century manuscripts of Aquinas's exposition also compensated for this lacuna. On the last page of the first, MS Florence, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* Plut. 20.18, dated to before 1280, someone added an unfinished draft of a verbal *divisio textus*.[24] The second manuscript is MS 51 of the ancient Franciscan *Bibliotheca communale* in Assisi, dated to the late thirteenth century.[25] This codex contains one of the earliest copies of Thomas's commentary, biblical commentaries and theological questions by Matthew of Aquasparta (fols. 121–202 are said to be his autograph of the commentary on the Apocalypse), commentaries by Jean of La Rochelle, as well as an anonymous, decapitated commentary on Job.[26] In the bottom margins of the first five folios of Thomas's exposition an anonymous hand has carefully drawn ten diagrams, depicting an unknown *divisio* of the first three chapters of the Book of Job, to which we shall now turn.

The diagrams in question branch horizontally to the right. Each unit or cluster of units of the biblical surface text is assigned a name or "title" and, usually, indicated by its opening words. In diagrams of this sort, the latter are usually underlined, but in these specific diagrams they may not appear at all, or they may appear *above* the title with no underlining. The units' titles can be a noun in the nominative case; a partial sentence to be completed with each of the alternative titles of the units of the next

[19] Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*.

[20] Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas* (London, 2003), 455. For an extensive bibliography up to the 1980s on Thomas's exposition of Job, see David J. A. Clines, *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 18b (Dallas, 1989), 1271–72.

[21] Smalley, *The Bible*, 281–92.

[22] Boyle, "Theological Character" (n. 4 above), 281.

[23] Martin Jaffe, *Thomas Aquinas: The Literal Exposition on Job; a Scriptural Commentary Concerning Providence*, trans. Anthony d'Amico (Atlanta, 1986), 16–17.

[24] F. 62v^{b}. See the Prolegomena to the critical edition of Thomas Aquinas's *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, page 4*, beginning with "vir erat etc. liber hic dividitur in partes duas. In prima enim ponitur quedam historia… . "

[25] Cesare Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad Sacrum conventum Assisiensem* (Assisi, 1981), 183; *Expositio super Iob ad littera*, Prolegomena 3*; 60*–61*.

[26] Ibid., 183–84.

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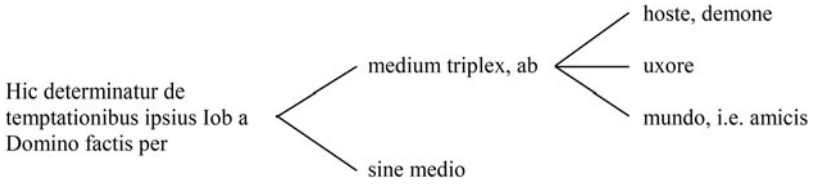

Figure 1: Partial transcription of diagram 2r.

level; or the completion of a partial sentence begun in the preceding level, always declined in the appropriate case. One can thus decode a syntactically correct, or approximately correct, sentence moving through the tree. The movement rightward, upward, and then downward in Figure 1, for instance, introduces the speeches of Job's friends in something approaching a sentence as follows: "Hic determinatur de temptationibus ipsius Iob a domino factis per / medium triplex, ab mundo, id est amicis" (This part is about the temptations of Job brought about by the Lord through / three intermediaries, [the third being] by the world, that is, his friends).

All in all (excluding the two diagrams in fol. 5, which analyze Job's speech and therefore do not belong to the narrative), eight diagrams describe the complete structure of the first two chapters, presenting the relations among a total of eighty leaves, a leaf being the smallest undivided textual portion. Combined in a large folio, these diagrams together would have made up one tree. Diagram 1r shows the primary division of the entire book. In its first two divisions, the bottom branches remain undeveloped, while the upper branch is explicated to its end. Diagram 2r departs from that second promised branch, and the diagrams in 3r, 4r, $4v^a$ and $4v^b$ develop the branches that remained open in 2r. The two last bottom branches of diagram 3r continue in 3v, while $4v^c$ completes $4v^b$, whose open branch itself continues in $5r^a$ and $5r^b$. Out of forty-five divisions and subdivisions of sections of all levels, the vast majority divide into two (53%) or three (29%) branches. Divisions into more than three parts (18%) are usually at the leaf level. This tendency to generalize and regroup a minimal number of units results in a high number of levels, enhancing the impression of the text as a highly complex entity.

The principles of parsing vary according to the matter. Some have a more formal nature, some are closer to the specific content. A pure formal division, for instance, appears in diagram $5r^a$, the first division being between the "title of the coming *narratio*" and "the *narratio*." Other principles of division follow common dichotomies like good vs. bad, a general group such as "goods" and its species (temporal vs. spiritual), or emotional phenomena such as mourning or sorrow and their various expressions. The sentences describing the death of Job's children are distributed into the elements composing an event: time, place, agent, etc. Significantly, parsing pays no regard to the actual surface length of the units or to formal division into chapters or verses. The first division treats almost the entire book in its first part, leaving a handful of verses to the second. The number of levels differs as

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well: the shortest unit is at five-level depth (diagram 1r, units 1–3), and the longest at fifteen-level depth (diagram 3v, units 52–55). Subdivisions may result in equal-length branches, mainly towards the end of the division, or in highly asymmetrical ones, such as a first, short branch then two much longer ones, or other combinations. While thematical symmetry is strengthened time and again by the frequent division into two, quantity and length were clearly not an issue for the art of narrative construction in medieval eyes.[27]

This set embeds numerous theological and structural choices. I cannot dwell here on each, but will focus on several points revealed in the first two diagrams. The first, showing the principal division of the book and the full explication of the first verses, will serve to demonstrate the subtlety and interpretative force of this technique and its diverse expressions with regard to coherence and the narrative role of a character's description; the second will examine the way dialogues and argumentative exposition are tackled in the frame of narrative analysis.

The narrative role of character description

Looking more closely at diagram 1r and Figure 2, we see that, unlike the ideal type described above, the surface — the opening words of the specific textual unit — is frequently missing. In three of its five occurrences, it is written *above* the title without the typical underlining. The diagram begins with a twofold division of the story: the multitude of Job's sufferings, which occupy almost the entire book, and the symmetrical plurality of his comforts as described in its final chapter. This division is identical to the one made by Matthew of Aquasparta, whose commentary reveals its source in Psalms: "secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tuae laetificaverunt animam meam" (Ps. 94:19) (in the multitude of my anxieties within me, Your comforts delight my soul). While the author of this diagram did not specify the precise words opening the second part, Matthew sets its beginning at 42:1.[28]

The first verses present the protagonist through his name, origin, virtues, and possessions. What is the function of this characterization in the overall structure? And why should prosperity be under the section of the story allegedly focusing on Job's sufferings or anxieties? Olivi, for example, chose to accord treatment of Job's

[27] These parsing principles greatly resemble modern methods of analyzing narratives and presentations of the resulted structures as trees. See Barthes, "Introduction" (n. 6 above); Jean M. Mandler and Nancy S. Johnson, "Remembrance of Things Parsed: Story Structure and Recall," *Cognitive Psychology* 9 (1977): 111–51; and William C. Mann and Sandra A. Thompson, "Rhetorical Structure Theory: Toward a Functional Theory of Text Organization," *Text* 8 (1988): 243–81.

[28] Assisi, Bib. Com. 35, 4v^{b}. Word order in the standard Vulgate is slightly different, "Dominus quoque conversus est ad pœnitentiam Job." BNF, lat. 15566, fol. 6r, uses a different verse for the principal division but also suggests as a second option this psalm verse.

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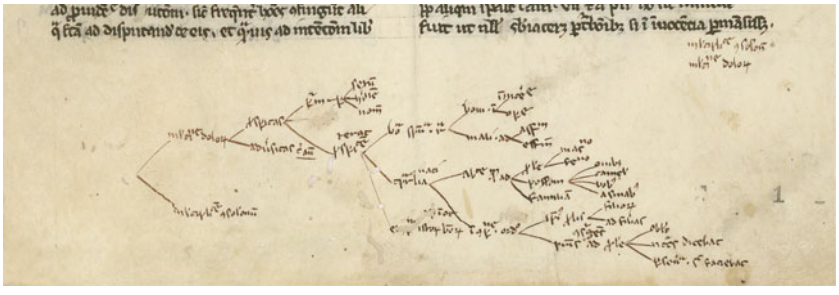

Figure 2: Assisi, Bib. Com. 51, fol. 1r. Foto di Giorgia Menghinella, Assisi – 2017 © Archivio fotografico del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi, Italia.

prosperity an independent place, dividing the story into three parts — initial prosperity followed by adversity and finally good fortune — thus suggesting a ternary form and emphasizing the chiastic relation of its opening and ending (ABA form).[29] Another contemporary Franciscan master, William of Middleton, understood all that precedes the devil's attack to be a description of Job's person as the person fit for the battle he will be subjected to presently, thus undermining the prosperity-adversity opposition altogether.[30] Matthew of Aquasparta, who similarly to our anonymous author splits the "sufferings" section into "prosperity" and "adversity," explains his division by slightly changing the section's general theme. The section, he argues, aims to demonstrate Job's personal perfection, which is revealed in times of both prosperity and misfortune. A similar principle guided Richard of Mediavilla. He also divided the book into two parts: persecution or perfection, and retribution. The first part presents not only Job's persecution, but also his perfection, which is demonstrated in times of prosperity and anxiety alike.[31] Our author, however, conceived the narrative role of the description of Job's prosperity differently: it forms a background or setting for his suffering, for, in order to understand Job's afflictions, one must first know his preceding prosperity.

[29] "Et sicut iam dictum est, diuiditur in tres partes. Primo enim agit de prima eius prosperitate; secundo de eius aduersitate infra primo capitulo *quadam autem die*; tertio de subsequenti et finali eius felicitate infra capitulo ultimo *postquam autem locutus est dominus*." Petrus Iohannis Olivi, *Postilla super Iob* (n. 18 above).

[30] BNF, lat. 15566 fol. 6r, 8v.

[31] "*Vir erat in terra Hus*. Liber iste totalis potest diuidi in duas partes. In prima agit de eius persecutione [read: perfectione]. In secunda de perfectionis remuneratione: infra ultimo *Dominvs qvoqve conversvs est ad penitentiam Iob et subditvr et addidit qvoqve Dominvs omnia*. Prima autem pars diuidi potest in duas, quia status perfectionis consistit in duobus, scilicet ut in tempore prosperitatis seruetur innocentia et tempore aduersitatis, patientia. Ideo primo agitur de perfectione eius quoad statum prosperitatis, in secundo quoad statum aduersitatis… ." I thank Alain Boureau for sharing the draft of his transcription of Richard's postilla with me.

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This raises the question of how Job's name and place of origin participate in prosperity or perfection. Thomas Aquinas, whose exposition appears above our diagram, could be understood in two ways. At first, he argues that the description of prosperity begins only after the person of Job and his virtue are presented. The author of the division attached to Thomas's exposition in MS Florence does precisely that (see appendices). Following Thomas, prosperity begins only after "person" and "virtue," with the words "natique sunt ei" (and [seven sons and three daughters] were born to him). But Thomas also writes that the author of Job intended to depict him in the most perfect way, so as not to make us suspect that his adversities were due to anything he had done. His being a *vir*, a man rather than a woman, a mature individual but not yet an old man, accords with this perfection.[32] In the same manner, he interprets Job's virtues as spiritual goods, and the following sentences as describing the temporal goods.[33]

The author of the Assisi diagram, however, found a middle way. He chose to see Job's name and origin as part of the "prosperity" section, but not a sheer *expression* of it, or as a kind of good. The name of the second branch of prosperity is "prosperity" as well, suggesting that he conceived the details in the first branch as a *preliminary* to the issue proper.[34] Virtues, however, were interpreted as a genuine part of the spiritual goods bestowed upon Job, as he divides this second category of "prosperity" into spiritual goods, temporal goods, and a third category, the script of which was unfortunately damaged.[35] The spiritual goods — that is, Job's virtues — are then further divided according to their relations to the good and the bad and then into even more specific subcategories emphasizing symmetrical relations to the smallest detail. *Divisio textus* is this wrestling with how to understand the true place of an author's description of his protagonist, the ways it serves the author's message, and the unfolding of the story, while considering different options suggested by other masters regarding the exact place of the first words within the fabric of the entire tale. This task required remarkable effort and subtlety and was facilitated by using diagrams, as I hope readers experience themselves as they struggle through my description. Readers are welcome to look further for the diverse ways by which even the section describing Job's possessions was structured differently by different commentators in the appendices.

[32] Aquinas, *Expositio*, 5, lines 10–11.

[33] Florence Medic. Laur. Plut. 20.18, fol. 62v; cf. Aquinas, *Expositio*, 5.

[34] The author seems to have drawn a second branch between *persona* and *prosperitas* and then erased it. Perhaps he intended at first to locate virtue there.

[35] The preceding branch ends precisely where the next diagram begins (1:5). Since superscript is frequently used here to represent the surface; since the letters "in or" at the end of the label are clearly legible; and since this letter cluster appears only once in this chapter, I am inclined to infer that this unit was supposed to be the one beginning with the words "cumque in orbem" (no. 17).

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Arguments, imbalance, dialogues, and repeated patterns

Diagram 2r develops the theme of adversity but then relegates it to the background, taking God's temptation of or attack on Job as this section's organizing principle. This choice in itself embodies interpretative force by refuting any possible designation of Satan as the initiator of the entire episode. All that follows is the story of God's temptation, which, the diagram tells us, is executed either through intermediaries — Satan, Job's wife, his friends — or directly, when God speaks to Job from out of the storm. These diverse events thus acquire a kind of equivalence, sharing the same role, although they differ in terms of narrative length. Job and his friends' disputation occupies more than thirty chapters, while Job's wife's temptation occupies less than two lines.

This quantitative asymmetry, as with that of the very first division in diagram 1r, stems partly from the book's peculiar combination of enveloping frame-story and lengthy theological discussion and might easily be solved if the discussion were entirely separated from the frame story. This is precisely what Thomas did, distinguishing as the very first step of his commentary the *disputatio* from the *ystoria*. The anonymous author of the *divisio* in the Florence codex followed him (see appendix E). Albert the Great set discussion apart as well. Taking "temptation" as the organizing principle for the entire book, he divided the book into three sections: 1) the attack or temptation itself, including the preceding state of prosperity; 2) the *disputatio* between Job and his friends regarding the *cause* of temptation; and 3) Job's state after his temptation.[36] Our author, however, takes the lengthy disputation to be a genuine part of God's indirect temptation and attack, one way among others to challenge Job's perfection.[37]

Here, as in other cases, medieval commentators distinguish between the occasion, condition, or setting for a principal event, on one hand, and the event itself, on the other, strengthening coherence within units where it is not always evident but also exacerbating imbalance. The function of some actions is to launch a response or event, which forms the true center of the episode. The analysis of Satan's attack imposes a series of such asymmetrical structures on the text, each of which has a clear center of gravity. The author first distinguishes the setting (Satan's request for permission to attack Job) from the actual attack (2r, 4th division); then, on a minor scale, he distinguishes between two preparative stages and the "attack itself" (diagram 3r, 1st division), then distinguishes another "attack itself" section, presenting the killing of Job's children. Narration of events,

[36] Albertus Magnus, *Commentarii in Iob* (n. 18 above), 17.

[37] Matthew divides Job's adversities into those inflicted by the devil and those by his friends, but leaves the wife out. Assisi, Bib. Com. 35, 8r[b].

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according to this anonymous commentator, is partly constructed of pairs in different levels of a preceding setting and the main, "actual" event it launches.[38]

Narrators often weave dialogues into their fabric. But the parsing and analysis of dialogical scenes can be challenging. One might focus on the actual stops interlocutors make while exchanging words, or one might address more general features of the conversation's dynamic. For instance, should "yes" and "I totally agree," when split by a remark of the second interlocutor, be taken as two units or as one expression of consent? The author of diagram 2r observes that the scene revolves around one principle act, obtaining permission.[39] Therefore, for the sake of analysis, Satan's submission of his request precedes God's granting it. This deep structure defies the chronology of both the surface level of the text and its story, where God appears earlier. Each character is treated with four units, distinguished by their function in the dialogical act rather than by the natural division created by the verbal exchange. The titles of each section draw the reader's attention to a hidden symmetry in the setting of the scene:

God	**Satan**
Presence	Presence
Reproach	Expressing his will to tempt
Praising Job	Accusing Job
Granting permission	Request of permission

Having shuffled the chronological sequence in this manner, our author also provides the readers with a key to reconstructing its original order. The number of dots at the end of each line (from one to eight) signifies their order of appearance in the biblical surface text: one dot for the first section, two dots for the following, etc. (see Figure 3).

The uniqueness of this choice becomes apparent when compared with Matthew of Aquasparta's very different approach to the same dialogical challenge. Matthew keeps the original order and coherence by focusing on *one* interlocutor and his personal drama: Satan. The heavenly scene precedes the diabolic attack by presenting Satan's hostility, which will be later executed. This presentation of hostility is divided into its "occasio" (occasion or trigger) and its "manifestation." God asks Satan from where he has come and after receiving Satan's answer teases him by asking whether he saw his servant Job. God thus creates

[38] For a similar understanding of narrative as constructed of settings and events, see Mandler and Johnson, "Remembrance" (n. 27 above); for a similar approach stressing imbalance between pairs of "nucleus" and "satellite," see Mann and Thompson, "Rhetorical Structure Theory" (n. 27 above).

[39] This observation too has an equivalent in modern conversational analysis, seeking to find infrastructures such as "offer — refusal," "compliment — acceptance," etc.

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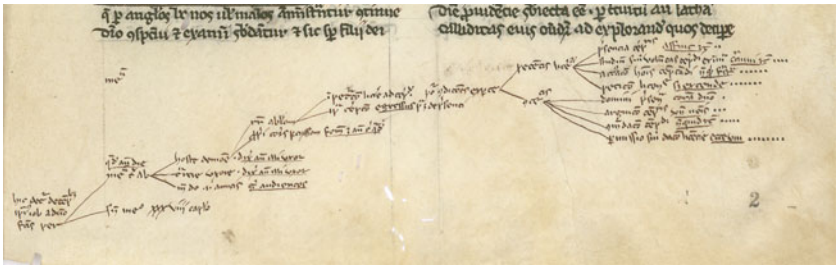

Figure 3: Assisi, Bib. Com. 51, fol. 2r. Foto di Giorgia Menghinella, Assisi – 2017 © Archivio fotografico del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi, Italia.

in several steps the context for Satan to manifest his hostility. This manifestation of diabolic hostility, according to Matthew, is the essence of the second part of the scene, which consists of Satan's reply, his request for permission to afflict Job, his reception of divine authorization to proceed, and his departure to his task.[40]

This last section reveals another structural challenge. Satan's withdrawal from the scene, can be conceived in two ways: as the end of this narrative unit or as a short opening for the next narrative unit. Matthew chose the first option, our author the second. In diagram 3r, Satan's departure and the designation of the period of time for his actions form two short units preceding the description of his attack, which occupies the largest part of the diagram. As in its other parts, structural analysis of the series of misfortunes endured by Job enables the reader to recognize both similarities and differences between accounts, just as it did in the graphical parsing of the dialogue between Satan and God. Although the trimming of the outer margin of the page has cut off the script, one can see that "vicinity" and "multiplicity," for instance, appear in the description of the loss of Job's oxen and she-asses, as well as his camels, but in a different order. Job's response and its praise close this final unit: a sensitive choice, for Job's mourning could well be interpreted as a response to the entirety of his losses, including his property, rather than for his children alone. Diagram 3v carefully analyzes his response in detail: three signs of his mourning; his approach to God in sign, deed, and word, etc.

Many classic stories repeat almost identically patterned scenes with slight variation: the youngest pig meets the wolf, then the older brother, then the oldest;

[40] "Prima habet duas. Primo enim premitat et explicat dyaboli iniquam ac perversam affectionem, et secunda illius prave affectionis executionem, ibi: *quadam autem die*. Circa explicandam eius personam et iniquam affectionem duo introducit… . Duplex autem fuit occasio, una fuit assistencia dyaboli inter angelos dei, secundo fuit excellens commendatio sancti viri … ," etc. Matthew keeps close track after the discursive steps of each of them. Assisi, Bib. Com. 35, fol. 8v^{b}–10v^{a}.

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Goldilocks finds a big/mid-sized/small chair/cup/bed, etc. In our story, Satan attacks twice, and the biblical author includes two almost identical celestial scenes before each attack. In both, a similarly phrased dialogue between God and Satan precedes the actions themselves: the first against Job's possessions and family, the second against his own body. The third branch of diagram 2r presents the division between the attacks and the dialogue of the first scene, but it is not duplicated for the second, identical, scene. The author just notes in 4r that the division is exactly the same. On the other hand, in 4v, there are diagrams that develop the two other indirect divine temptations — through Job's wife and through his friends — and painfully illustrate their structural difference. The brief wife's scene is not introduced with any remark, such as "his wife was there," while the temptation presented by his friends is preceded by an extensive preparatory description of their arrival, their expressions of sorrow, etc.

Conceiving Texts as Trees: The Meaning of the Diagrammatic Representation of Stories' *Divisio*

The *divisio* diagrams belong to a large family of horizontal tree diagrams with which theologians, philosophers, and jurists represented different kinds of relationships and that occupied the margins and sometimes entire folios of medieval manuscripts from the late twelfth century at the earliest through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of these were *distinctiones*, presenting conveniently organized lists of several spiritual meanings pertaining to an object or of the reasons why a certain metaphor is used. Others visualized the generation of Aristotelian syllogisms, while still others presented diverse kinds of lists.[41] All these diagrams, as I explain in detail elsewhere, are built as sentences with alternative parts.[42] This principle dictates their horizontal form and sharply distinguishes them from other trees, mostly vertical ones, such as divisions of sciences or the Porphyrian tree and appeared in the medieval diagrammatic tradition prior to the thirteenth century.[43]

[41] On *distinctiones*, see especially Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 41 (1974): 27–37. For a comprehensive account on horizontal tree diagrams in general, see Ayelet Even-Ezra, "Seeing the Forest beyond the Trees: A Preliminary Overview on a Scholastic Tree-visualisation Habit," in *The Visualisation of Knowledge in the Middle Ages*, ed. Adam S. Cohen, Marcia Kupfer, and Andrea Worm (forthcoming).

[42] Ibid. Another known case, apart from the sporadic *distinctiones*, is Robert Grosseteste's *Templum dei*, an example of which is discussed by Lesley J. Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page: Manuscripts of Theology up to 1274* (Notre Dame, 2001), 155–58.

[43] For a short account of horizontal tree diagrams in general and their proximity to sentences, see Manuel Lima, *The Book of Trees: Visualizing Branches of Knowledge* (Princeton, 2014), 97.

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In Richard Fishacre's diagrammatic *divisiones* of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, we find a unique and explicit comment on the advantage of using a tree diagram to represent the *divisio*: it allows one to distinguish each section (*singula*) clearly.[44] But the tree does much more than that, clarifying the *mutual relations* of these single parts and enabling a flexibility of perspective. It conveniently shows an overall structure and enables diverse "zoom-in" views, which are not dictated as in a verbal *divisio* where the author leads the reader by a single linear route.[45] Clearly exhibiting the parts and their relations, it facilitates reorganization. One can easily move a line, draw sketches, decide to group or to separate items, compare divisions, and in doing so modify interpretations and ideas.

Richard and others visualized their analyses of the *Sentences*; others visualized analyses of logical treatises. But the application of diagrams to narrative enhances the implication of the spatialization of *time*. Diagrams essentially illustrate the implicit spatial nature of narrative. Indeed, already the fundamental visual representation of a story in its written form — the page and the book — turns time into space.[46] Movement in time along this space is partially free. One's eye may browse back several pages to recall a forgotten piece of information, meditate on a particular sentence for a while, or take a glance at the end. At the same time it is limited. The graphic forest of script signs in successive lines makes it difficult to see quickly *where* to browse, thus favoring the dictated linear progression. It was in the twelfth and increasingly throughout the thirteenth centuries that different aids familiar to us today were invented to facilitate location of specific information in texts without reading all the way through, helping readers to navigate the textual space of page and codex. More and more texts and manuscripts were manufactured "for use" rather than for reading, and their layout was designed accordingly.[47] Even manuscripts of chronicles, which constituted *the* genre of linear time, were produced with indices and original visual subject signs, enabling one to create different paths of reading through a single text,

[44] Long, "Science of Theology" (n. 16 above), 98.

[45] Some diagrams, however, show only one singular trail, just as the purely verbal form does.

[46] On the implications of spatializing knowledge through diagrams, see Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Chicago, 1958; repr. 2004). On narrative, diagram, and space, see Christine Putzo, "The Implied Book and the Narrative Text: On a Blind Spot in Narratological Theory from a Media Studies Perspective," *Journal of Literary Theory* 6 (2012): 383–415; and eadem, "Narration und Diagrammatik: Eine Vorüberlegung und sieben Thesen," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 44 (2014): 77–92.

[47] Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 201–25.

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depending on whether one seeks information on bishops, for instance, or the history of secular emperors, or any other subject the narrative records.[48]

The diagrams analyzed here both build on and complicate this spatialization of time and the readerly freedom it entails. Observers who lay an eye on a diagram first see one object, a story that exists in a certain manner at a single moment. It is noteworthy that terms such as opening, beginning, or ending are entirely absent. Yet, as in a sculptural plan of a giant church portal or a complex picture, observers freely move in time from one detail to another. Indeed, two cases excluded, were we in possession of the full text of each unit and not just its opening words we could read the entire narrative top down. But the diagram's heart is the underlying structure and not the surface, which is frequently missing or improperly underlined. In fact, the diagram presupposes the mental or physical existence of the surface at hand so that one can now play with its spatial settings.

The *divisio* — both verbal and visual — prompts movement back and forth across the original narrative sequence in a series of leaps. The reader is pulled forward and backward in ever shorter intervals, from the opening chapter to the last, then back to the beginning again, then to the beginning of the second part of the first part, etc. While the diagram is based on the sentence and therefore is read mainly from left to right, as the unfolding of an idea, it enables readers to work their way back in the opposite direction, placing each detail in widening circles of context and meaning. They may also read vertically, creating thereby abstracts of the text that differ in their increasing resolution. Some diagrams afford more freedom, while others dictate navigation more rigidly. For instance, the reader who follows 2r is limited to a specific route, though she passes through junctures that post the names of other narrative avenues.

The assumption that the underlying structure is a tree seems, however, to support linearity from a different aspect. As adjacent units are grouped into larger ones, there is seemingly little room for links between non-sequential parts, which skip over their neighboring units. In the sequence that runs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, for instance, strong ties and common features are usually found between successive units such as 2–3 or 4–5–6, while a group holding just 2 and 5 is rare. There therefore are few opportunities to interpret something that appears in an earlier scene as a clue to be solved further on in the story or to a narrative that interlaces plotlines. Although such sequentiality is the typical case, scholastic commentators conceived less common *divisiones* whose branches interlace as well. One example is found in the anonymous *divisio* in the above-mentioned MS Florence Medic. Laur. Plut. 20.18, which closely reflects Aquinas's implicit divisions and is edited in both verbal and

[48] St. Alban's monastery was extremely innovative in this regard. On this, consult the beautiful online exposition of the British Library prepared by Joanna Frońska, "Writing and Picturing History: Historical Manuscripts from the Royal Collection" at https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourHistoryGen.asp.

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reconstructed diagrammatic form in Appendix E. Following Aquinas, it demonstrates Job's virtue, as well as his care for his and his family's moral purity in two non-sequential sections of the text: his description (4–7) and his later pious conduct (15–20).[49] Material prosperity (8–14), the third branch, lies between these two sections. In fact, Thomas's first division should result in a significantly non-sequential structure as well. The above-mentioned distinction between the historical-descriptive part of the book and the disputation over divine providence implies that the first part consists of the first three chapters *and* the last one, thus enveloping or framing the disputation.

I will round out this survey with consideration of the possible pedagogical functions and uses of these diagrams. There is no direct evidence that such diagrams were used in the classroom, but it is plausible that medieval teachers employed this new device, since it reflected the general understanding of their milieu regarding the best way to comprehend texts. Medieval diagrams have also often been interpreted as mnemonic devices, especially since Mary Carruthers's highly influential studies.[50] Classification and subordination, as well as graphical representation, were recommended by medieval authors as aids for memorization. *Divisio* diagrams could have been used, therefore, in order to memorize either the commentary or the biblical text itself. If so, this memorization involved a great deal of additional interpretation, very different from that required by images such as the figures contained in the anonymous *Ars memorandi* for the Gospels.[51] There is yet, however, no direct evidence for this function.

Considering the remarkable increase in search and reference tools during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have been well documented by Malcolm Parkes and Mary and Richard Rouse, one might argue that both the *divisio* and its tree diagram should be explained in this context.[52] Indeed, the thirteenth century saw the division of the Bible into chapters, sections, and, later, verses. Although vertical lists of contents and indices were already in use earlier, they certainly won unprecedented popularity at this time. Nevertheless, it is the very duplication of means that clarifies the great difference between these divisions and lists, on one hand, and the *divisio* and its diagrams, on the other hand. Indexing and numbering chapters and verses facilitates uniform naming, meaningless in itself, yet which allows one to locate and refer to a textual portion precisely without relating

[49] Cf. Aquinas, *Expositio*, 6, lines 126–39.

[50] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York, 1990).

[51] On these figures, see "Anonymous: A Method for Recollecting the Gospels," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski (Philadelphia, 2002), 255–93.

[52] Malcolm C. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 115–41, esp. 122–27.

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to its context. Similarly, a list of contents allows one to jump to the right page and ignore the rest. A vertical list of items does not represent internal relations or structure, or, if it does, it is only the simplest of possible structures. The *divisio*, however, as shown above, can ignore the formal division into chapters and verses altogether, even if it occasionally refers to them for its purposes.

Conclusion: Towards a Medieval Narratology

The *divisio textus* was an intriguing, uniquely medieval practice and micro-genre, which finds parallels only in strikingly similar modern analyses in literature, cognitive science, and computational linguistics. Embedded in what Minnis treated as the implicit medieval theory of authorship, discourse analysis did not form a specific branch of knowledge in the medieval world, whether as part of grammar or of rhetoric or any other discipline. Nor did medieval scholars produce a general theory. Although implicit, the study of the *divisio textus* and its diagrammatic expression demonstrates how subtle, sophisticated, and varied their perceptions of textual coherence and narrative structure were. The series of diagrams depicting the structure of the narrative opening the book of Job represents an illuminating example of this genre and of the narratological insights it conveys. It reveals to us the way the Schoolmen understood texts as carefully constructed and layered arrays of semantic elements, as well as the mechanisms they discovered that constitute the art of narration.

Comparison with other divisions of the same text has demonstrated the range of perceptions regarding the function of a character's description in relation to the main message, as well as the challenges that argumentative sections and dialogues pose to structural thought. Further studies into *divisiones* may be significantly enhanced by graphical reconstructions and may throw additional light on the practice. Such work may trace its historical development from its rise to its decline, identify tendencies of both individuals and of schools, inquire into resemblances to contemporary literary techniques, and contribute to the vast field of sermon studies and studies of medieval prose. All these, I hope, will further enhance our understanding of how medieval scholars perceived authors and texts and how visualization served them in discovering and expressing these understandings.

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Keywords: Commentary, Diagrams, *Divisio textus*, Job (Book of), Narrative, Narratology

Appendices

A. Parsed biblical text (Latin and English).
B. Transcriptions of diagrams 1r, 2r, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v^{a}, 4v^{b}, 4v^{c}, Assisi Bib. Com. 51.

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C. The same diagrams translated.
D. Reconstructed diagrams of the respective place and inner division of verse 1:1: Matthew of Aquasparta, Richard de Mediavilla, and Peter of John Olivi.
E. Transcription and reconstructed diagram of the division of the first chapter after Anonymous Florence, *Bibl. Med. Laurenz.* Plut. 20.18.

Appendix A: Latin and English surface text parsed and numbered. (Translation following English Standard Version)

1r

1) 1:1 Vir erat / There was a man
2) in terra Hus / in the land of Uz
3) nomine Job / whose name was Job
4) et erat vir ille simplex / and that man was blameless
5) et rectus / and upright
6) ac timens Deum / and one who feared God
7) et recedens a malo. / and shunned evil.
8) 1:2 Natique sunt ei septem filii / 1:2 And seven sons were born to him
9) et tres filiæ / and three daughters
10) 1:3 Et fuit possessio eius septem millia ovium / Also, his possessions were seven thousand sheep
11) et tria millia camelorum / three thousand camels
12) quingenta quoque iuga boum, / five hundred yoke of oxen,
13) et quingentæ asinæ, / five hundred female donkeys,
14) ac familia multa nimis: eratque vir ille magnus inter omnes orientales. / and a very large household, so that this man was the greatest of all the people of the East.
15) 1:4 Et ibant filii eius, et faciebant convivium per domos, unusquisque in die suo, / And his sons would go and feast in their houses, each on his appointed day,
16) et mittentes vocabant tres sorores suas, ut comederent et biberent cum eis. / and would send and invite their three sisters to eat and drink with them.
17) 1:5 Cumque in orbem transissent dies convivii, mittebat ad eos Job, et sanctificabat illos: / So it was, when the days of feasting had run their course, that Job would send and sanctify them:
18) consurgensque diluculo, offerebat holocausta pro singulis / and he would rise early in the morning and offer burnt offerings according to the number of them all

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19) Dicebat enim: Ne forte peccaverint filii mei, et benedixerint Deo in cordibus suis. / For Job said, "It may be that my sons have sinned and cursed God in their hearts."
20) Sic faciebat Job cunctis diebus. / Thus Job did regularly.

2r

21) 1:6 Quadam autem die, cum venissent filii Dei ut assisterent coram Domino, / Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the LORD,
22) affuit inter eos etiam Satan. 1:7 Cui dixit Dominus: / and Satan also came among them. 1:7 And the LORD said to Satan:
23) Unde venis? Qui respondens, ait: / "From where do you come?" So Satan answered the LORD and said:
24) Circuivi terram, et perambulavi eam. 1:8 Dixitque Dominus ad eum: / "From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking back and forth on it." 1:8 Then the LORD said to Satan:
25) Numquid considerasti servum meum Job, quod non sit ei similis in terra, homo simplex et rectus, ac timens Deum, et recedens a malo? 1:9 Cui respondens Satan, ait: / "Have you considered My servant Job, that there is none like him on the earth, a blameless and upright man, one who fears God and shuns evil?" 1:9 So Satan answered the LORD and said:
26) Numquid Job frustra timet Deum? 1:10 nonne tu vallasti eum, ac domum ejus, universamque substantiam per circuitum; operibus manuum eius benedixisti, et possessio eius crevit in terra? 1:11 / "Does Job fear God for nothing? 1:10 Have You not made a hedge around him, around his household, and around all that he has on every side? You have blessed the work of his hands, and his possessions have increased in the land,"
27) sed extende paululum manum tuam et tange cuncta quæ possidet, nisi in faciem benedixerit tibi. 1:12 Dixit ergo Dominus ad Satan: / But now, stretch out Your hand and touch all that he has, and he will surely curse You to Your face!" 1:12 And the LORD said to Satan:
28) Ecce universa quæ habet in manu tua sunt: tantum in eum ne extendas manum tuam. / "Behold, all that he has is in your power; only do not lay a hand on his person."

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3r (since part of this diagram is trimmed, I left sections 30–32 unspecified)

29) Egressusque est Satan a facie Domini. / So Satan went out from the presence of the LORD.
30) 1:13 Cum autem quadam die filii et filiæ eius comederent et biberent vinum in domo fratris sui primogeniti, 1:14 nuntius venit ad Job, qui diceret: / Now there was a day when his sons and daughters were eating and drinking wine in their oldest brother's house; 1:14 and a messenger came to Job and said:
31) Boves arabant, et asinæ pascebantur iuxta eos: 1:15 et irruerunt Sabæi, tuleruntque omnia, et pueros percusserunt gladio: et evasi ego solus, ut nuntiarem tibi. / "The oxen were plowing and the donkeys feeding beside them, 1:15 when the Sabeans raided them and took them away — indeed they have killed the servants with the edge of the sword; and I alone have escaped to tell you!"
32) *
33) *
34) *
35) 1:16 Cumque adhuc ille loqueretur, venit alter, et dixit: Ignis Dei cecidit e cælo, et tactas oves puerosque consumpsit: et effugi ego solus, ut nuntiarem tibi. / While he was still speaking, another also came and said, "The fire of God fell from heaven and burned up the sheep and the servants, and consumed them; and I alone have escaped to tell you!"
36) *
37) *
38) 1:17 Sed et illo adhuc loquente, venit alius, et dixit: / While he was still speaking, another also came and said:
39) Chaldæi fecerunt tres turmas, et invaserunt camelos, et tulerunt eos, necnon et pueros percusserunt gladio: et ego fugi solus, ut nuntiarem tibi. / "The Chaldeans formed three bands, raided the camels and took them away, yes, and killed the servants with the edge of the sword; and I alone have escaped to tell you!"
40) *
41) 1:18 Adhuc loquebatur ille, et ecce alius intravit, et dixit: Filiis tuis et filiabus vescentibus et bibentibus vinum / While he was still speaking, another also came and said, "Your sons and daughters were eating and drinking wine"
42) in domo fratris sui primogeniti, / in their oldest brother's house,
43) 1:19 repente ventus vehemens irruit / and suddenly a great wind came
44) a regione deserti, et / from across the wilderness, and

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45) concussit quatuor angulos domus: quæ / struck the four corners of the house,
46) corruens oppressit liberos tuos, et mortui sunt: et effugi ego solus, ut nuntiarem tibi. / and it fell on the young people, and they are dead; and I alone have escaped to tell you!"

3v

47) 1:20 Tunc surrexit Job, / Then Job arose,
48) et scidit vestimenta sua: / tore his robe
49) et tonso capite / and shaved his head
50) corruens in terram, / and he fell to the ground,
51) adoravit, / and worshiped,
52) 1:21 et dixit: Nudus egressus sum de utero matris meæ, / And he said: "Naked I came from my mother's womb"
53) et nudus revertar illuc. / And naked shall I return there.
54) Dominus dedit, / The LORD gave
55) Dominus abstulit; Sit nomen Domini benedictum. / and the LORD has taken away; Blessed be the name of the LORD."
56) 1:22 In omnibus his non peccavit Job labiis suis, / In all this Job did not sin
57) neque stultum quid contra Deum locutus est. / nor charge God with wrong.

4r

58) [2:1–6 Factum est autem, cum quadam die venissent filii Dei, et starent coram Domino … / Again there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the LORD …]
59) 2:7 Egressus igitur Satan a facie Domini, percussit Job ulcere pessimo, / So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils
60) a planta pedis usque ad verticem eius; / from the sole of his foot unto his crown;
61) 2:8 qui testa saniem radebat, / then Job took a piece of broken pottery and scraped himself with it
62) sedens in sterquilinio. / as he sat among the ashes.

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4v[a]

63) 2:9 Dixit autem illi uxor sua: Adhuc tu permanes in simplicitate tua? / Then his wife said to him, "Do you still hold fast to your integrity?"
64) Benedic Deo, et morere. / Curse God and die!"
65) 2:10 Qui ait ad illam: Quasi una de stultis mulieribus locuta es: / But he said to her, "You speak as one of the foolish women speaks"
66) si bona suscepimus de manu Dei, mala quare non suscipiamus? / Shall we indeed accept good from God, and shall we not accept adversity?"
67) In omnibus his non peccavit Job labiis suis. / In all this Job did not sin with his lips.

4v[b]

68) 2:11 Igitur audientes tres amici Job omne malum quod accidisset ei, / Now when Job's three friends heard of all this adversity that had come upon him,
69) venerunt singuli de loco suo, Eliphaz Themanites, et Baldad Suhites, et Sophar Naamathites. / each one came from his own place — Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite.
70) Condixerant enim ut pariter venientes visitarent eum, et consolarentur. / For they had made an appointment together to come and mourn with him, and to comfort him.
71) 2:12 Cumque elevassent procul oculos suos, non cognoverunt eum, et / And when they raised their eyes from afar, and did not recognize him, and

4v[c]

72) exclamantes, / they lifted their voices,
73) ploraverunt, / and wept,
74) scissisque vestibus / and each one tore his robe
75) sparserunt pulverem super caput suum in cælum. / and sprinkled dust on his head toward heaven.
76) 2:13 Et sederunt cum eo in terra septem diebus et septem noctibus: et / So they sat down with him on the ground seven days and seven nights, and
77) nemo loquebatur ei verbum: videbant enim dolorem esse vehementem. / no one spoke a word to him, for they saw that his grief was very great.
78) 3:1 Post hæc aperuit Job os suum, et maledixit diei suo … / After this Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth …
79) [Beginning of Chapter 38]
80) [Beginning of Chapter 42]

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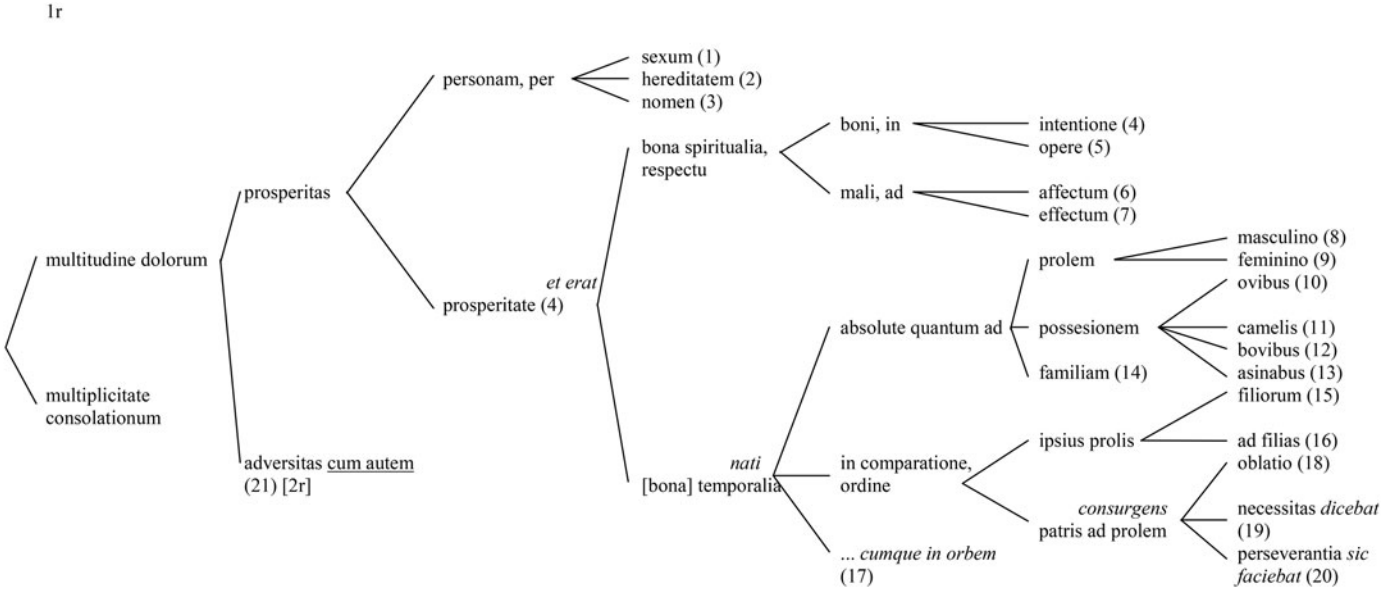
Appendix B: Latin transcription of diagrams 1r-4v



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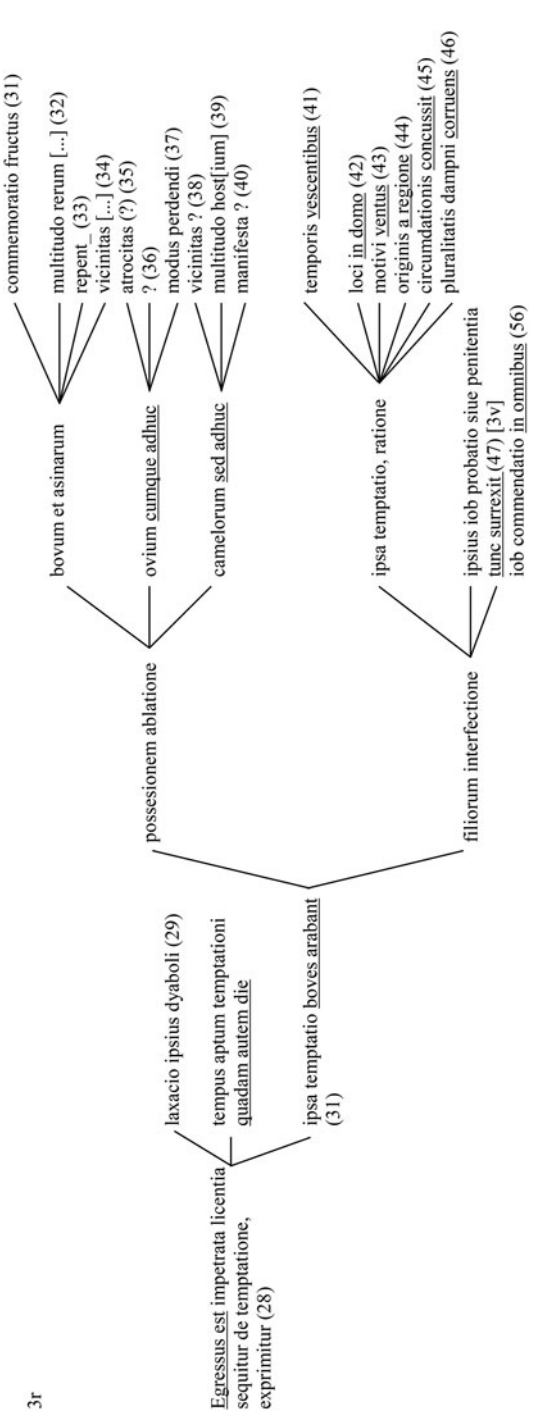
2r



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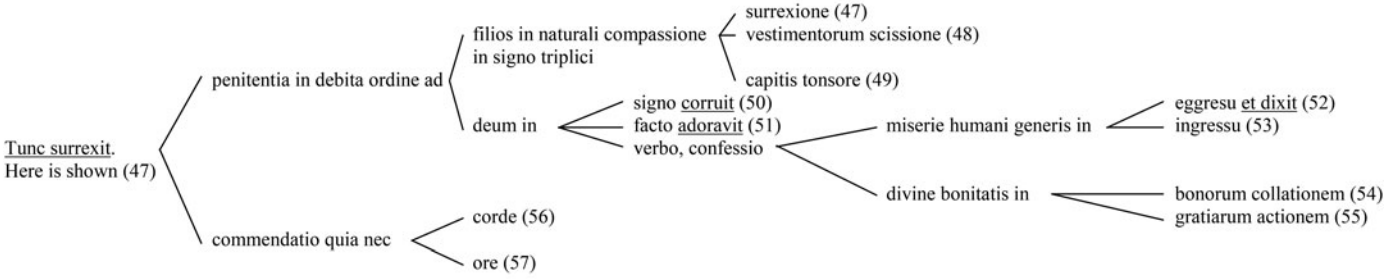
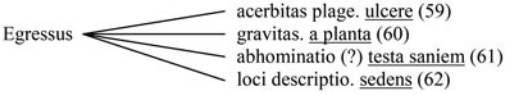
https://doi.org/10.1017/tdo.2017.8 Published online by Cambridge University Press

3v



4r

Quadam autem die. Hec pars dividitur sicut et illa quadam autem (58)



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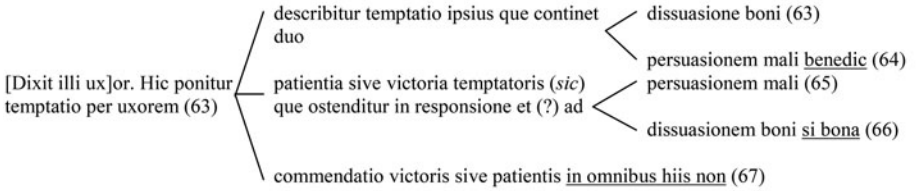
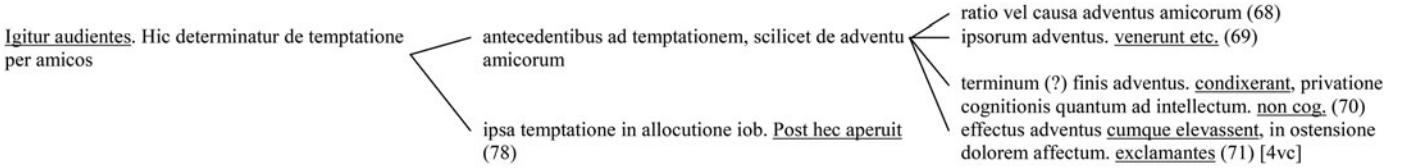
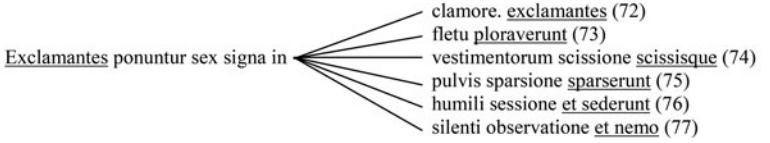
4v (a)



4v (b)



4v (c)



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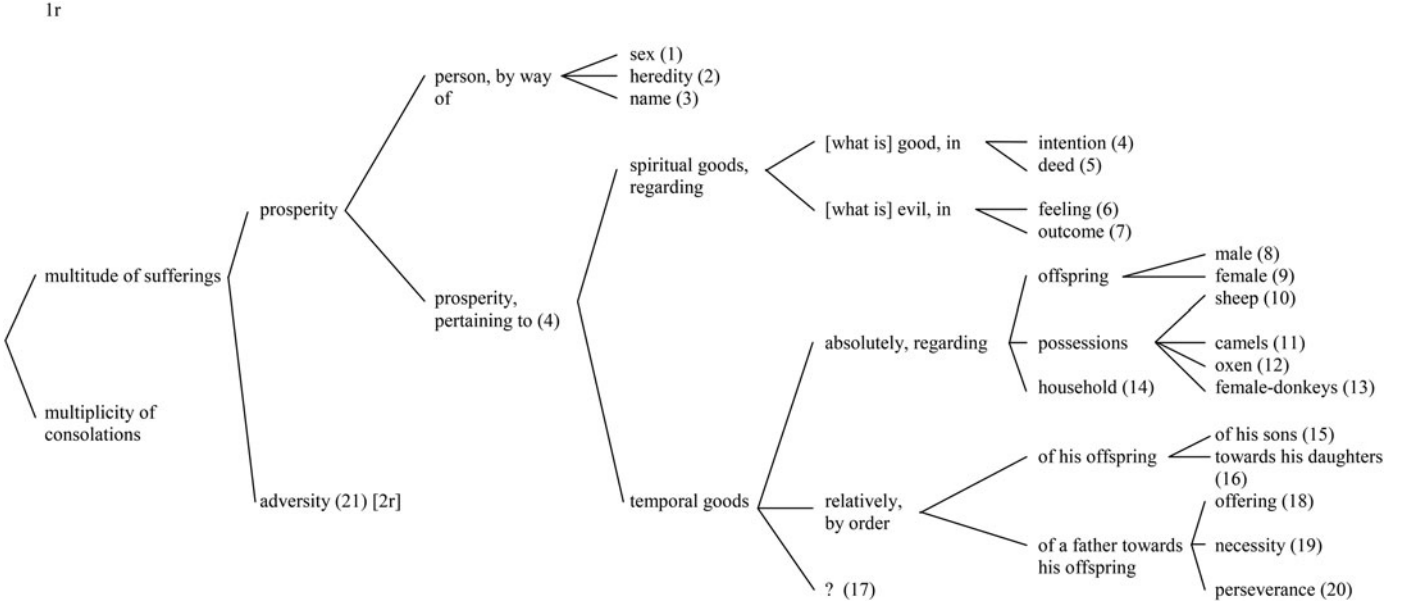
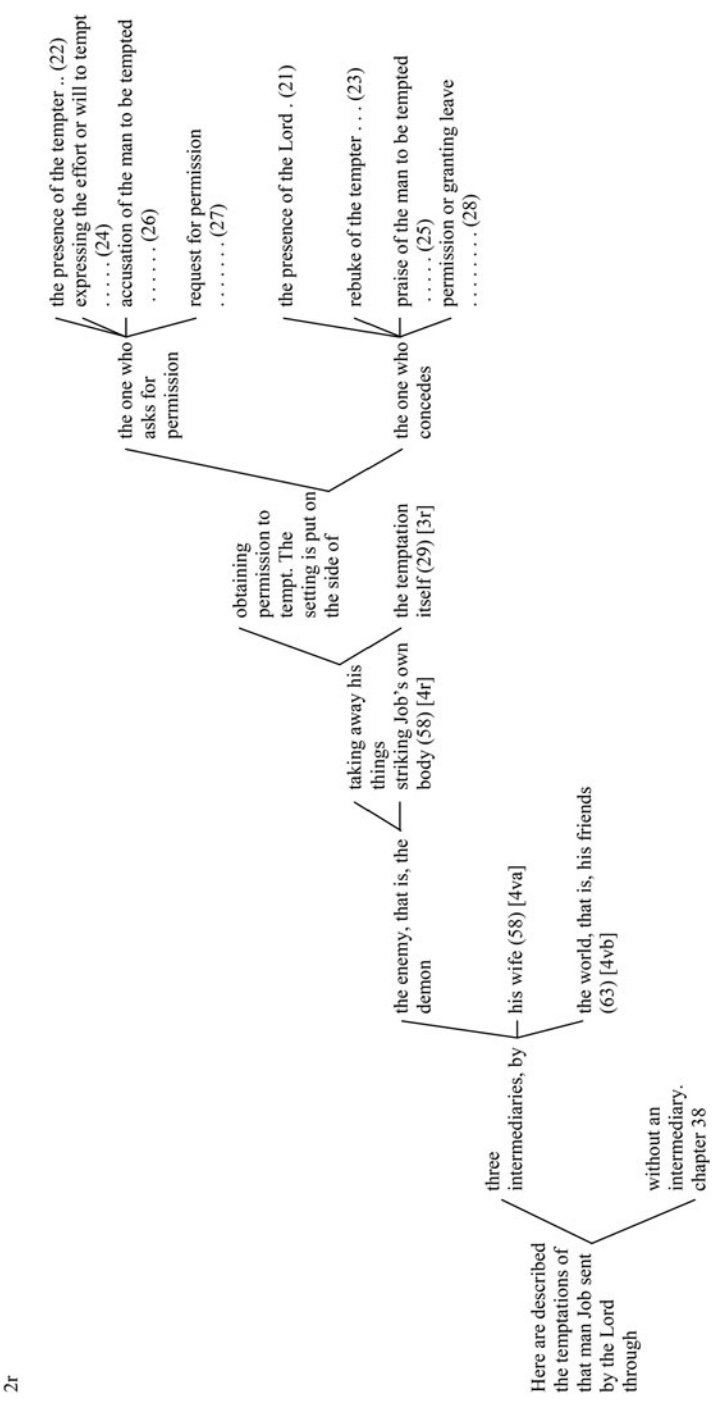
Appendix C: English translations of diagrams 1r-4v





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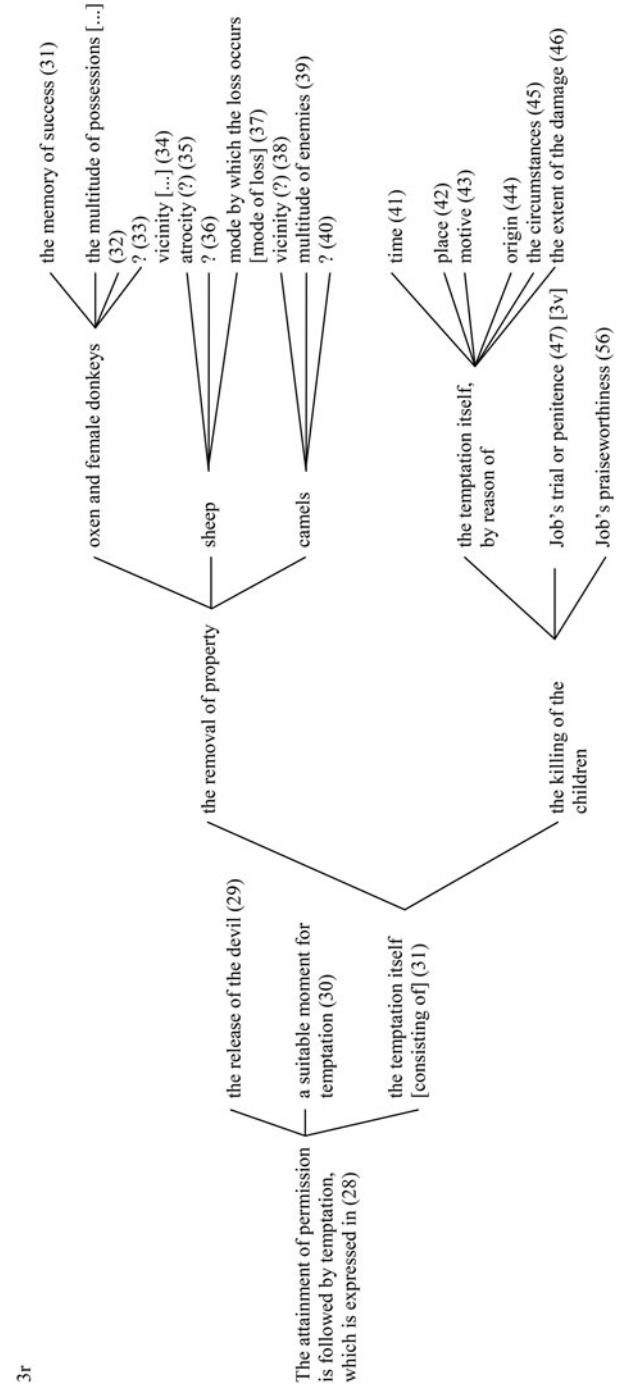
3r



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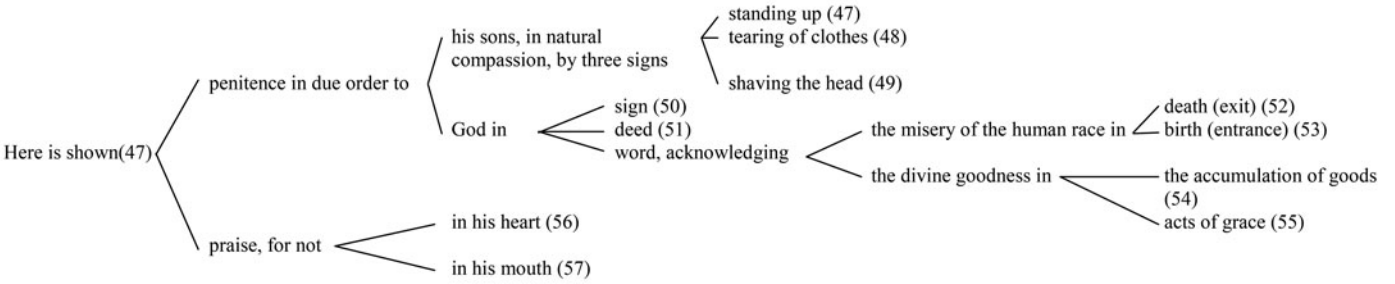
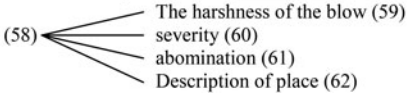
3v



4r

Quadam autem die. This part is divided like the one beginning thus: quadam autem



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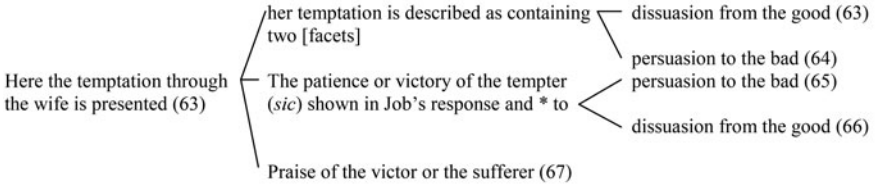
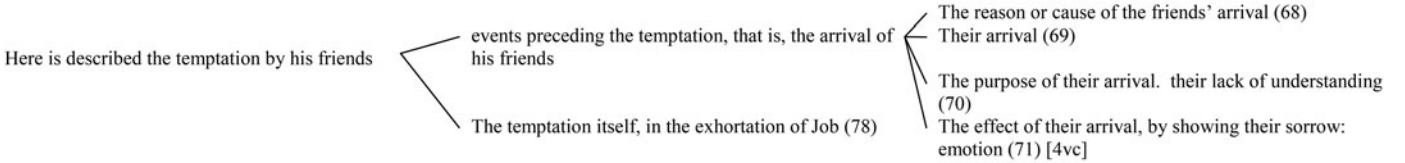
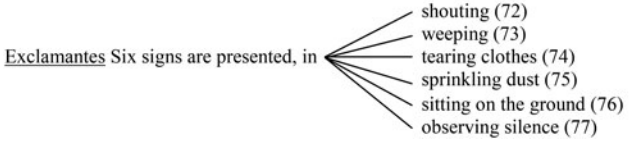
4v (a)



4v (b)



4v (c)



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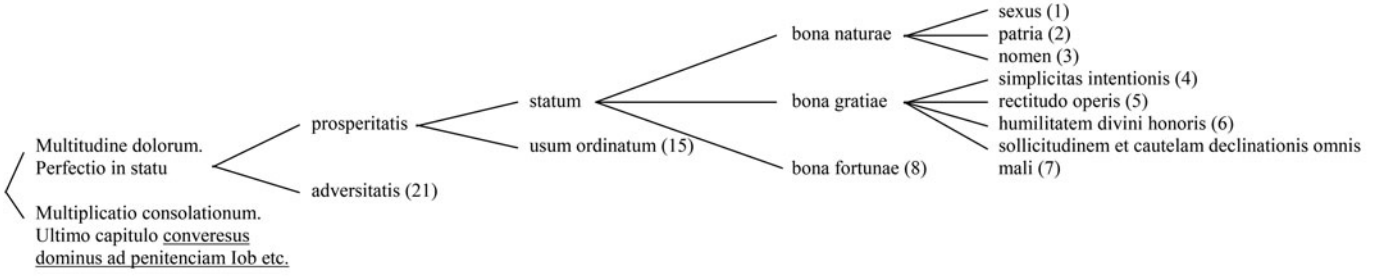
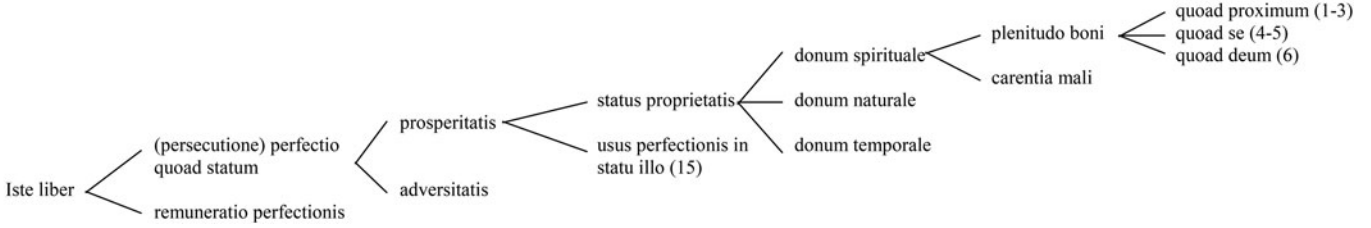
APPENDIX D: Reconstructed diagrams showing the respective place and interior division of verse 1:1 according to a) Matthew of Aquasparta, b) Richard de Mediavilla and c) Peter John Olivi

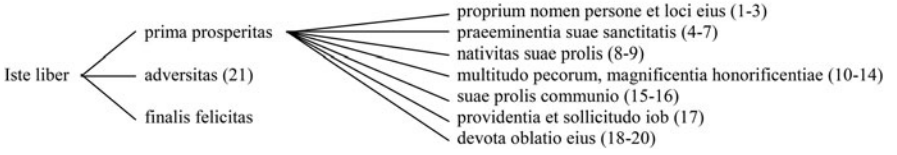
a) Matthew of Aquasparta, after Assisi Bib. Com. 35 fols. 3r-5r:



b) Richard de Mediavilla, after the critical edition by Alain Boureau:



c) Peter John Olivi, after Alain Boureau's edition



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Appendix E: Anonymous Firenze, Laurent. Plut. 20. 18, fol. 62v (partial transcription and diagrammatic reconstruction)

Vir erat etc. Liber hoc dividitur in partes duas. In prima enim ponitur quedam ystoria in qua recitatur afflictio cuiusdam viri iusti./ In secunda ponitur disputatio de providentia dei [..*illegible*] Circa primum ponitur tria. Primo describitur eius persona,/ secundo virtus,/ tercio prosperitas./ Persona dupliciter: quantum ad patriam et quantum ad nomen./ Virtus ostenditur primo quantum ad sollicitudinem quam habebat circa purificationem sue persone,/ secundo quantum ad sollicitudinem quam habet circa purificationem sue familie, ibi: cumque in orbem./ Circa primum duo: primo describitur virtus eius,/ secundo disciplina domus eius, ibi: et ibant./ Natique hic eius prosperitas; Quadam autem die eius adversitas./ Circa primum tria: primo arguitur eius prosperitas quantum ad fecunditatem prolis,/ secundo quantum ad multitudinem divitiarum,/ tercio quantum ad honorem vel famam, ibi: eratque vir./ Cumque in orbem et primo ostenditur eius sollicitudo circa purificationem sue domus,/ secundo eius sollicitudo circa continuacionem divini cultus ibi sic faciebat./ […]