

STUDI E TESTI

549

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**THE *CODEX PAGESIANUS* (BAV, PAGÈS 1)
AND THE EMERGENCE OF ARISTOTLE
IN THE MEDIEVAL WEST**

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CHAPTER I

THE CODEX PAGESIANUS AND THE EARLY TEXTUAL TRADITION OF BOETHIUS' FIRST *DE INTERPRETATIONE* COMMENTARY

Boethius' death in 524/5 brought a violent and untimely end to his project, formally articulated approximately a decade earlier, of translating, commenting on, and harmonizing all of the works of Plato and Aristotle.¹ To judge only from what has survived, in the period roughly between his consulship and imprisonment (510-23) he completed translations of the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, *De interpretatione*, *Prior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Fallacies*, and commentaries on the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, and *De interpretatione*.² Of the philosophical translators who preceded him, Marius Victorinus and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, both active in the 4th c., obviously stand out, although their accomplishments are virtually unknown, for of Victorinus' translations there survive only the passages of the *Isagoge* preserved by Boethius in his first commentary on the same, while Praetextatus translated Themistius' paraphrases of the two *Analytics* and may have made or motivated the Latin paraphrase of the *Categories* — apparently of Themistian origin as well — which Alcuin later misattributed to Augustine.³ After Boethius, the project of translating Aristotle into Latin

¹ The following study develops preliminary findings articulated in MAGEE, *Observations* (corrections to typographical errors, p. 15 [*In Perih. I* 49.20, 50.3]: *SEPARATUMQUE; COMPOSITISQUE*). Boethius' *De interpretatione* commentaries are cited according to the editions of C. MEISER (Leipzig 1877, 1880; remarks on the first at MAGEE, *Observations*, p. 13); his continuous translation is cited according to the traditional Bekker numbers or (and) L. MINIO-PALUELLO'S edition in *Arist. Lat.*, II.1 (Bruges – Paris 1965); Aristotle's *De interpretatione* is cited as from H. WEIDEMANN'S magisterial edition (Berlin – Boston 2014). JM wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Paolo VIAN (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) and Dr. Timoty LEONARDI (Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare, Vercelli), to Prof. Gyburg UHLMANN and Dr. Christian VOGEL (Freie Universität, Berlin), to Profs. George BOYS-STONES and Phillip HORKY (Durham University), for their generous support and responses to material developed in preparation for this study, and to Anthony FREDETTE, Roberto GRANIERI, and Francesco PICO (University of Toronto) for their editorial support.

² Cfr. MAGEE, *Composition*, pp. 10-23; *Boethius*, pp. 790-793; MAGEE-MARENBNON, *Appendix*, pp. 304-305; GRUBER, *Boethius*, pp. 26-44.

³ *Arist. Lat.*, I.1-7 (cfr. HADOT, *Victorinus*, pp. 367-380); Boeth., *In Perih. II* 3.7-4.3. The Ω -redaction of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* misattributes Boethius' translations of Aristotle

languished until James of Venice's *Posterior Analytics* (1128), which ushered in the golden age of John Sarracen, Robert Grosseteste, and William of Moerbeke. Hence the Carolingians, who through the agency of Hilduin, Eriugena, and Anastasius Bibliothecarius introduced the *Corpus Dionysiacum* to the Latin West, were confined to Boethius' translations and commentaries for their knowledge of Aristotle, and it was not until the reign of Otto III (983-1002) that systematic engagement with the Boethian translations gained significant momentum, as is perhaps illustrated most concretely by the macaronic versions of the *Categories* and *De interpretatione* that Notker the German compiled in St. Gall, freely interlacing his own Alemmanic dialect with Boethius' Latin.

The present investigation builds on preliminary conclusions reached in an earlier study⁴ and on the analysis of the *Codex Pagesianus* that follows, and seeks to shed light on developments that led to Aristotle's first appearance in the medieval West — more precisely, to his first moment of visibility, direct or indirect, in the manuscripts that have survived. It consists of three parts (cc. I-III). The first treats of the fate of the Boethian corpus, c. 550-785, from which almost no manuscript evidence survives (c. I). The second part focuses on eleven of the earliest extant manuscripts of his elementary *De interpretatione* commentary, including certain aspects of their *mise-en-page* that evidently harken back to the oldest stages of transmission (c. II). The manuscripts are⁵:

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| C | Paris, BnF, <i>lat.</i> 13956, 9 th c. |
| D | Paris, BnF, <i>lat.</i> 6288, 10 th -11 th c. |
| F | Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., <i>clm</i> 6374, 9 th c. |
| G | St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., 820, 9 th -10 th c. |
| H | Paris, BnF, <i>lat.</i> 6400F, 11 th -12 th c. |
| K | Kraków, Bibl. Jagiell., <i>Berol. Lat. Qu.</i> 687, 9 th c. |
| L | Philadelphia, Univ. of Penn., <i>Schoenb.</i> 101, 9 th /11 th cc. |
| M | Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., <i>clm</i> 14377, 10 th -11 th c. |
| O | Oxford, Bodl., <i>Laud. lat.</i> 49, 11 th c. |
| P | Paris, BnF, <i>lat.</i> 12960, 9 th c. |
| V | Vatican City, BAV, <i>Pagès</i> 1, c. 785 |

and Porphyry to Victorinus (2.3.18); cfr. COURCELLE, *Brouillon*, pp. 82-84 (94-96); PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, pp. 193-194.

⁴ MAGEE, *Observations*.

⁵ K has been newly introduced, and the following four sigla changed from those listed parenthetically: C (*Pa*); L (*Lo*); O (*Ox*); V (*R*). L is a composite and highly confused witness: (a) fols. 2-4 (*In Perih. I* 31.1-36.17, *Magna quidem ... species sunt*) date to the 11th c.; (b) fols. 5-44 (*In Perih. I* 36.17-111.20, *rectum est ... non contingent*), to the 9th c.; (c) fols. 45-53 (*In Perih. I* 160.15-225.14, *praedicari non ... series explicabit*), to the 11th c. Its changes of hand, block dislocations of text, and lacunae render the discernment of any pedigree difficult if not impossible.

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⁶ MAGEE,
Valenciennes,
p. 241; *Theodi*

⁷ Cfr. Boe

⁸ MAGEE,

⁹ CHADWIC

¹⁰ VITIELL

¹¹ Cfr. VII

¹² Cfr. CC

GIULIANI - PA

Finally, the third part consists of two passages newly edited from the manuscripts and supplemented by brief textual commentary (c. III).

The Lost Tradition

The path traveled by Boethius' writings and library during the second quarter of the 6th c. raises a number of questions of considerable importance. Manuscript subscriptions indicate that Boethius revised his own copies of *De arithmetica* and the commentary on Cicero's *Topics*, while other works make it clear that he also solicited revisions from Symmachus, John the Deacon, and Patricius.⁶ *De arithmetica* is of course an early work (c. 500-06), but the Cicero commentary (c. 520-23) indicates that Boethius continued to edit and revise despite the mounting pressures⁷ of the years leading into his period as Master of the Offices (522-23). Although the arrest and incarceration in Verona and then Pavia obviously put an end to Boethius' access to his library, the continued availability of some books cannot be ruled out *a priori*.⁸ Symmachus evidently revised the text of the *Consolatio* and may have cared for the library until his own death in 525/6, after which Rusticiana and other relations or friends such as Martius Novatus Renatus (on whom more below) presumably took over.⁹ In 527 Amalsuintha restored the confiscated estates of the Anicii in a desperate effort to foster goodwill between Romans and Ostrogoths,¹⁰ but any contemporary records that may have documented the events of 523-27 were so effectively buried that it is impossible to say precisely what became of Boethius' library and writings during those years.¹¹ Similarly, it is uncertain whether any of his works or portions of his library ever reached the university library established in Rome by Cassiodorus and Agapetus I in 535-36 or the Lateran library thereafter.¹²

The first unmistakable signs of survival date to the second half of the 6th c. Two of them are relatively uninformative, consisting of faint echoes of the *Consolatio* in Maximian's *Elegies* and an Uncial fragment of *De*

⁶ MAGEE, *Text*, p. 7, nt. 18 (the subscription, *conditor operis emendavi*, survives also in Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. 406, ff. 44v, 49v); [ed.] *De divisione*, p. xxi, nt. 19; VITIELLO, *Tracce*, p. 241; *Theodahad*, p. 86.

⁷ Cfr. Boeth., *In Cat.* 201B (with Cic., *Divin.* 2.1.1).

⁸ MAGEE, *Gorgias*, pp. 27-28; TRONCARELLI, *Fiamma*, p. 6 (and pp. 30-31).

⁹ CHADWICK, *Boethius*, pp. 254-257; TRONCARELLI, *Fiamma*, pp. 163-167.

¹⁰ VITIELLO, *Amalsuintha*, p. 86.

¹¹ Cfr. VITIELLO, *Accusarentur*, p. 352; TRONCARELLI, *Afterword*, pp. 528-533.

¹² Cfr. COURCELLE, *Writers*, pp. 334-335, 361-409; TRONCARELLI, *Vivarium*, pp. 7-15; GIULIANI - PAVOLINI, *Biblioteca*.

arithmetica now in Turin.¹³ Far more significant is the evidence provided by Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, the second book of which in its various redactions pinpoints to the Vivarium library copies of Boethius' translations of Nicomachus, Euclid, Aristotle, and Porphyry, his commentaries on Aristotle, Porphyry, and Cicero, and his *De hypotheticis syllogismis* and *De topicis differentiis*.¹⁴ From the evidence of the *Institutiones* in particular it is possible to trace the movement of Boethius' works to Constantinople, during the period of Cassiodorus' exile (c. 540-54), and then to Calabria, with his return. Given the unlikelihood that the corpus remained either fully intact or preserved in a unique copy during the decades immediately after Boethius' death, Constantinople cannot be assumed to have been its sole haven during the Gothic War (535-55),¹⁵ and there can be no certainty about the precise date or means of its conveyance to the East, but that Cassiodorus and Vivarium played a crucial role in the early history of its transmission in the West is beyond doubt.

Hermann Usener was the first to note (1877) that the second book of the *Institutiones* is transmitted in more than one recension. Research subsequently conducted by R.A.B. Mynors, Pierre Courcelle, and others revealed that passages of Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* were interpolated by Cassiodorus or (and) his disciples in what have come to be known as the Φ - and Δ -redactions of the *Institutiones*.¹⁶ Also interpolated in the Δ -recension was a fragment whose initial discovery by Alfred Holder in fact occasioned Usener's observation concerning the textual tradition. That fragment is the *Ordo generis Cassiodororum* or so-called *Anecdoton Holderi*, a genealogical review, excerpted from a letter addressed by Cassiodorus (c. 550-53) to Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus (cos. 504), which in certain details echoes a *Vita Boethii* that survives in some manuscripts of the *Consolatio*. The relationships between these different texts may be described as follows¹⁷:

¹³ GRUBER, *Boethius*, p. 98; VITIELLO, *Theodahad*, pp. 83-84; *Codd. Boeth.*, III.338 (*CLA*, IV.450); cfr. TRONCARELLI, *Fiamma*, pp. 1-6, on a possible remnant of Boethius' library (Verona Euclid, *CLA*, IV.501). A papyrus copy of the Cicero commentary is reported by Lupus of Ferrières (*Ep.* 53) to have been at Tours in the 9th c.; like the fragment of a papyrus codex of Avitus' homilies now preserved in Paris (*CLA*, V.573), it may have dated to the 6th c.

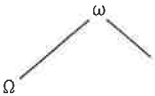
¹⁴ Cassiod., *Instit.* 2.3.18, 4.7, 6.3.

¹⁵ Cfr. TRONCARELLI, *Afterword*, pp. 538, 540.

¹⁶ COURCELLE, *Brouillon*, pp. 68-69 (80-81); PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, p. 195; cf. TRONCARELLI, *Vivarium*, pp. 11-21.

¹⁷ For the stemma of the *Institutiones*, see COURCELLE, *Brouillon*, p. 85 (97); cfr. GALONNIER, *Anecdoton*, pp. 10-14; PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, pp. 188-192. Editions: *Instit.* [ed. R.A.B. MYNORS, Oxford 1937; cfr. PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, p. 195]; *Top. diff.* [ed. D.Z. NIKITAS, Paris-

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The biographical review would have been one which Ferrière, c. 538-5. Material *differentiis* is a copy of Boethius' *Institutiones* which has been variously

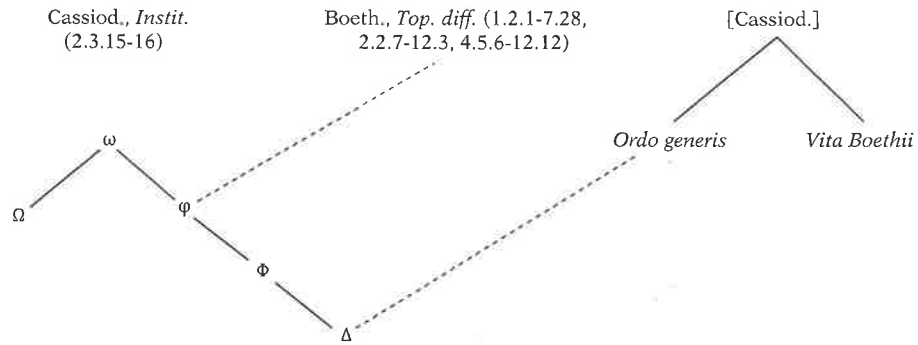
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Brussels 1990; TRONCARELLI (*Fiamma*, p. 43).

¹⁹ The Boethius' *Ordo generis* 9 reversal in order of notices (cfr. below).

²⁰ MAGEE,



The biographical notices for Symmachus and Boethius are chronologically ordered (Symmachus – Boethius) in the *Ordo generis*, as suits a genealogical review, but reversed (Boethius – Symmachus) in the *Vita Boethii*, as would have suited the prolegomena to an ancient edition of the *Consolatio*, one which Fabio Troncarelli has traced back to Cassiodorus (Constantinople, c. 538-54).¹⁸ Otherwise, they echo one another almost verbatim.¹⁹

Material that is closely related, and at points identical, to *De topicis differentiis* similarly found its way under separate titles into an ancient copy of Boethius' logico-rhetorical monographs, the index to which has been variously preserved by a number of the oldest surviving manuscripts²⁰:

Quae sint in hoc codice Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii v. c. et ill. excons. ord.:

- I. De differentiis topicis libri IIII
- II. De divisione
- III. Communis speculatio de rhetoricae cognatione
- IIII. Locorum rhetoricorum distinctio
- V. De multifaria praedicatione
- VI. Quomodo argumentorum vel unde colliguntur loci
- VII. Liber ante praedicamenta
- VIII. Introductio in categoricos syllogismos, libri II
- VIIII. De hypotheticis syllogismis libri III

Brussels 1990]; *Ordo generis* [ed. GALONNIER (*Ordo generis*, pp. 306-307)]; *Vita Boethii* [ed. TRONCARELLI (*Tradizioni*, pp. 12-14)].

¹⁸ TRONCARELLI, *Tradizioni*, pp. 1-106; *Cogitatio*, pp. 27-96; *Umanesimo*, pp. 88-97; *Fiamma*, p. 43.

¹⁹ The Boethius notice is omitted by three manuscripts of the *Vita Boethii* (12.1-7 T. = *Ordo generis* 9-14), and the Symmachus notice by two (13.13-17 T. = *Ordo generis* 5-8); the reversal in order and these block omissions are telling indications of the antiquity of the notices (cfr. below, nt. 39).

²⁰ MAGEE, *Text*, pp. 4-7; [ed.] *De divisione*, p. lix; cfr. STOPPACCI, *Silloge*, pp. 13-26.

Of particular interest are the four *Opuscula*, III-VI. Items III and IIII are extracts or sketches which are closely aligned with certain passages of the fourth book of *De topicis differentiis*, and VI is an overview of themes treated in the same work.²¹ The corpus of monographs appears first to have been assembled by a certain Martius Novatus Renatus, who commissioned a copy from a student of Priscian in Constantinople named Theodore, who in turn is known to have produced a copy of his master's *Institutiones grammaticae* in 526-(?)^{27,22} Evidence for Renatus' and Theodore's engagement with the Boethian corpus takes the form of subscriptions which were later drawn up by an anonymous corrector in the course of collating against the *Codex Renati*.²³ (On the identification of the corrector with a Vivarium copyist named Eusebius, see *infra* p. 130.) Mistakenly bound in with *De divisione* in the corrector's copy was a bifolio drawn from a copy of Boethius' revised *Topics* translation, which is otherwise lost. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello's reconstruction of the foliation of the manuscript for which the index above was originally produced indicates that the *Topics* fragment formed a part thereof,²⁴ and on the assumptions (a) that the fragment was not interpolated by either Renatus or Theodore and (b) that ancient correctors and editors should not be posited *praeter necessitatem*, responsibility for the binding error, along with a number of others evidently of the same origin, would appear to lie with the anonymous corrector, working (so I have surmised²⁵) at Vivarium in the second half of the 6th c. — a point which now appears to gain independent confirmation. We will return to this point presently.

In an important article Oronzo Pecere has maintained that the four *Opuscula* (III-VI), like the *Liber ante praedicamenta* (VII), are not in fact later extracts but authorial drafts of unfinished work that were preserved by Renatus and the corrector, his collaborator, in Ravenna, c. 527-37.²⁶ Now, if the *Opuscula* are indeed authorial sketches or draft notes rather than extracts later drawn from *De topicis differentiis* and, in the case of *De multifaria praedicatione* (V), another source Boethian or otherwise, then it obviously is unnecessary to connect them or the corrector with Vivarium: on this interpretation, the *De topicis differentiis* interpolations in the $\Phi\Delta$ -revisions of the *Institutiones* are simply an unrelated later development.

²¹ PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, pp. 174-176, 203-212; cfr. STOPPACCI, *Silloge*, p. 3, nt. 6.

²² ZETZEL, *Criticism*, pp. 219-222.

²³ MAGEE, *Text*, pp. 3-4; [ed.] *De divisione*, p. lviii; PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, p. 164.

²⁴ MINIO-PALUELLO, *Note*, p. 104 (364); [ed.] *Arist. Lat.*, V.1-3, p. xxxviii; MAGEE, *Text*, pp. 5-6, nt. 11; [ed.] *De divisione*, pp. lxiii-lxv.

²⁵ MAGEE, *Text*, p. 10; [ed.] *De divisione*, pp. lx-lxi.

²⁶ PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, pp. 175-176, 183-185.

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²⁷ *Gramm.*

²⁸ Cfr. TRO

²⁹ Cassiod.

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However, the lack of necessity does not amount *eo ipso* to an impossibility, and at least two questions appear worthy of further reflection in this connection: Why did Rhenanus and (or) the (hitherto unidentified) corrector place items III, IIII, and VI after *De divisione* (II) rather than before or after *De topicis differentiis* (I), and why did he (they) include item V among them at all? Strictly speaking, the decision between scenarios that presuppose either authorial sketches or later excerpts is not a disjunctive one, for if the *Opuscula* are remnants of the Boethian *Nachlass* that were preserved by Rhenanus and the corrector, as Pecere holds, their precise placement in the index and in the codex for which it was originally devised may nevertheless reflect changes subsequently effected at Vivarium. We will return to this point as well.

Priscian and Theodore stand at the centre of two networks of profoundly different cultural resonances. Priscian's dedication²⁷ of his three minor literary works to Symmachus is reflective of cultural, social, political, and indeed theological bonds that on a broader scale united Roman aristocrats from Ravenna to Constantinople. Rhenanus, a *vir clarissimus et spectabilis*, undoubtedly participated in the same network, and his efforts to preserve Boethius' works posthumously are most readily interpreted as the gesture of *pietas* performed by a kind of literary executor operating in an environment which was verging on, if not already embroiled in, a violent war that pitted Roman against Goth and Constantinople against Ravenna.²⁸ We may well imagine him organizing the remains of Boethius' library in Ravenna prior to the advent of war, perhaps even in coordination with Symmachus or other allies of the Anicii, but the only fact of which we can be certain is that he commissioned a copy of the logico-rhetorical monographs from Theodore in Constantinople. Cassiodorus, by contrast, was a latecomer to these developments, who before reaching Constantinople was ignorant even of the fact that Priscian wrote in Latin rather than Greek.²⁹ While in Constantinople, we may further imagine, he was suspiciously viewed by those with past allegiances to the Anicii as a collaborationist who had replaced Boethius as Master of the Offices and then gone on to hold the Prefecture up into the first years of the war. He too strove to preserve Boethius' works, of course, but his motives cannot have been the same as Rhenanus': they may have sprung from much darker feelings and memories. Theodore, a scribe (*antiquarius*) and palace official (*palatinus*) of some

²⁷ *Gramm. Lat.*, III, 405.

²⁸ Cfr. TRONCARELLI, *Costantinopoli*, p. 199; PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, p. 178.

²⁹ Cassiod., *Instit.* 2.1.1 (94.1-2 M.): *Attico / antico sermone* (ΔΦ, drawn to my attention by FT). Cfr. *De orthogr.* 12 (*Gramm. Lat.*, VII, 207.13-14): *Ex Prisciano grammatico, qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli doctor fuit.*

sort, was obviously acquainted with both Priscian and Renatus, but we cannot assume that he travelled in either of their social circles. There is no evidence to either confirm or refute personal contact with Cassiodorus; the details of his scribal profession are lacking, and assessments vary,³⁰ but it seems reasonable to assume that he produced Renatus' copy with particular care.

With the anonymous corrector (Eusebius) the trail goes cold, although the evidence he provides is indeed the most precious of all. He collated against the *Codex Renati* at a time when Theodore was still alive and functioning as a civil servant in Constantinople (*qui nunc palatinus est*), but in the absence of evidence explicitly connecting him with either Renatus (and Theodore) or Cassiodorus, we are left to weigh probabilities. As indicated above, the interpolated *Topics* fragment and precise location of the four *Opuscula* in the corpus of monographs suggest an environment which was lacking in the kind of care that might reasonably have been expected of Renatus and Theodore, which of course in itself does not amount to an argument in support of Cassiodorus and Vivarium. But the traces of *De topicis differentiis* that survive in both the *Opuscula* (III-VI) and the $\Phi\Delta$ -redactions of the *Institutiones* are unlikely to be coincidental or unrelated phenomena, and since the latter obviously go back to Vivarium, the evidence would appear on balance to indicate that the corrector worked there rather than in Ravenna.

The recent emergence of a Carolingian fragment of *De divisione* preserved in Vercelli has shed further light on these considerations.³¹ It consists of a folio containing the last section of Boethius' monograph, including the second half of the interpolated *Topics* fragment (122A36-B24), and the beginning of the first *Opusculum* listed in the ancient index (III).³² A collation of its contents reveals the following: shared descent from the common ancestor or archetype of the earliest complete manuscripts of *De divisione*³³; close kinship with the Fleury codex produced under the supervision of Abbo (c. 1000)³⁴; early indications of the contamination fully

³⁰ CAMERON, *Pagans*, pp. 433-434; PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, pp. 178-179; ZETZEL, *Critics*, pp. 200, 212.

³¹ MAGRINI, *Frammento; Codd. Boeth.*, III.391. The fragment probably dates to the late-8th-9th c. (vs. late-9th-10th c.) and bears unmistakable signs of Insular influence.

³² *De divis.* 889B-892A (*vel quando nisi ... diligenter expressimus*); *Comm. spec.*, PL, 64, 1217C (*Quanta sibimet ... de singulis*).

³³ *De divis.* 890B (46.14 M., *aequivocorum vel*).

³⁴ Orléans, Mediath., 267 + Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 1611; cfr. PECERE, *Cassiodoro*, pp. 152-168; STOPPACCI, *Silloge*, pp. 13-17.

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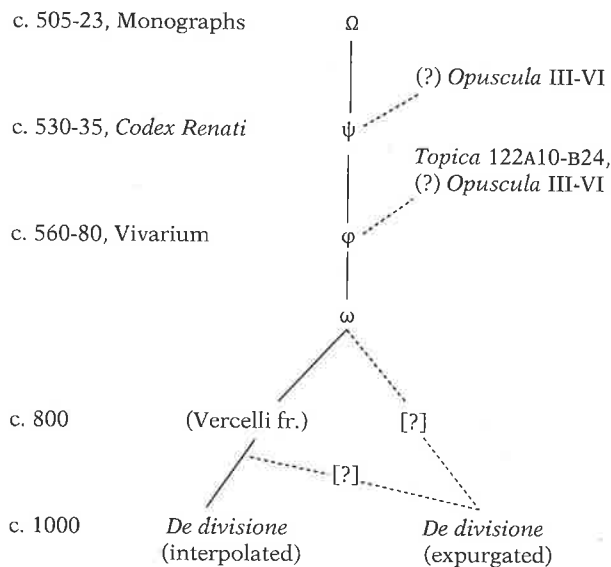
The Vercelli

³⁵ Shared read
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om = ACEFGQ; D (1
dicimus = AEFQ.

³⁶ Unique read
demonstrandum a
troiani; (4) ergti; (1
divimus; c (24) alii
ac; (11) possunt ?a
relinqui praem; (24
ac.

³⁷ MAGEE, [ed.

visible in the oldest complete copies³⁵; and otherwise unattested variants and errors which, although relatively trivial in themselves, indicate that the manuscript with which the fragment originated was not the direct or indirect ancestor of any of the oldest extant complete witnesses.³⁶ The fragment may be situated as follows in a revised version of the stemma originally designed to illustrate a provisional account of the earliest phases in the history of the transmission of *De divisione* (and other monographs)³⁷:



The Vercelli fragment furnishes unique evidence with which to bridge

³⁵ Shared readings: **889B** (44.2 M.) noscitur *Vercelli* = *CGK*; **c** (10) auditor *om*, *cfr. AQ*; **D** (21) artem] aut- = *AQ*; **890A** (46.2) cum *om* = *AK*; (9) multiplicatis = *E*; significationem = *ACEFGQ*; **B** (15) unius particulae *om* = *AFGKQ*; orationum + aut = *AFGKQ*; (18) similitio = *AG*; (22) sa. Ro. *tr* = *AE*; ut] vel *comp* = *Q*; **c** (24) singulis *ac* = *G*; (26) et² *om* = *C*; (27) ut *om* = *ACEFGQ*; **D** (48.12) est¹ di. *tr* = *GK*; (14) se partitionibus] separationem = *AEKQ*; (15) dicimus = *AEFQ*.

³⁶ Unique readings: **889C** (44.7 M.) Troianos^{1,2}] rohn- ... -acos *ac*; **D** (16) res + res; (17) demonstrandum *ac*; (21) ait] ut *ac*; **890A** (26) ut] aut *pc vid*; (46.1) Graecus² *vid*; Troiani + troiani; (4) ergti; (6) dicenda + et; (9) dicendum] est *praemittit ac*; **B** (18) factum *ac*; (21) divimus; **c** (24) aliis] illo *ac*; (48.3) est¹ *om ac*; **D** (6) Graecos] romanos *ac*; (10) ambiguitatem *ac*; (11) possunt ?*ac*; (13) geris; (14) tractatum *ac*; (15) fit *ac*; **891A** (17) dividim; (22) oportet] relinqui *praem*; (24) addi] ad *ac*; **892A** (28) disiuxit *ac*; distribuit] destruit *ac*; (50.2) different *ac*.

³⁷ *MAGEE*, [ed.] *De divisione*, p. lxxv.

the gap between Vivarium, c. 560-80, and Fleury and the other monastic centres that gave rise to the oldest surviving copies of *De divisione*, c. 1000-50, when the work was already divided between carriers that retained the *Topics* fragment and others that had been purged of it.³⁸ The fragment cannot, of course, answer a question which has been hinted at earlier, i.e., whether for *De divisione* and the corpus as a whole there were any other lines of descent reaching back to the later 6th c.

Two nodal points stand out in this matrix of interconnections: (a) *De topicis differentiis*, portions of which made their way into both the *Opuscula* included in the ancient corpus of Boethian monographs and the $\Phi\Delta$ -redactions of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*; (b) the biographical notices for Symmachus and Boethius, which by way of the *Ordo generis* in turn link the Δ -redaction of the *Institutiones* with a Cassiodorian edition of the *Consolatio*.³⁹ Together they form a basis for speculation about the possibility of a Vivarian *Boethii opera omnia* of some sort, although (it must be acknowledged) evidence of the sort under consideration here is lacking for the majority of Boethius' works. His shorter, introductory commentary on *De interpretatione*, the focus of our concern, is a case in point, in that the oldest manuscripts preserve no subscriptions or collation notes to link the early phases of its transmission with the logico-rhetorical monographs and no symptoms of later excerpting to link it with any redaction(s) of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. As to the latter, we of course have Cassiodorus' observation, recorded in the Ω -redaction, that there was a copy of the advanced commentary in six books (*sex libris*) in the Vivarium library; a reference in the $\Phi\Delta$ -recensions to a "double commentary" or possibly "two-book disputation" (*commenta duplicia, duplici disputatione*) indicates however that there was also a copy of the elementary one.⁴⁰ Otherwise, the oldest surviving manuscripts of the latter contain, as we will see, scattered but clear traces of an ancient edition whose layout recalls that which has been associated with Cassiodorus' edition of the *Consolatio*.

³⁸ The bifurcation at the bottom of the stemma has been modified in order to remove an unintended ambiguity detected by Pecere (*Cassiodoro*, p. 163). When the *Topics* fragment was first removed from the text of *De divisione* is uncertain, so that it is impossible to posit a precise or single point of bifurcation (cfr. MAGEE, *Text*, p. 36; [ed.] *De divisione*, p. lxxiii).

³⁹ Cfr. TRONCARELLI, *Costantinopoli*, pp. 191-192; and above, nt. 19.

⁴⁰ Cassiod., *Instit.* 2.3.11, 18.

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CHAPTER II

THE EXTANT TRADITION

After Vivarium a mist of obscurity descends upon Boethius' works, which begins to lift only in the later 8th c. For the 7th and 8th cc., indirect evidence in the form of echoes and citations assists modern efforts to retrace the trajectories cut by individual works, with *De arithmetica* pointing generally in the direction of Irish computistical and astronomical texts and the *Consolatio* tending to draw figures such as Aldhelm, Tatwin, and Bede into consideration. Of course, much disappeared along the way,¹ and one significant consequence of the losses for us today is the process of triangulation from highly fragmented evidence that is required in order to trace the passage of Boethius' works through place and time. Manuscripts of the *Consolatio* illustrate the point that, even where evidence of the sort furnished by manuscripts of the logico-rhetorical monographs is lacking, other paratextual evidence such as the *mise-en-page*, shifts between script types, scholia, and miniatures can nevertheless shed important light on the lost stages of transmission. The elementary *De interpretatione* commentary (hereafter *c*) is a case in point. For that its manuscripts descend from a common ancestor or archetype (hereafter ω) is evident from the numerous points at which they uniformly carry impossible readings²; and that the archetype displayed distinctive paratextual characteristics is made clear by the evidence to which we will turn in sections II.A-B.

Manuscript *V*, the *Codex Pagesianus*, has rightly been described as the oldest surviving collection of logical texts of the Middle Ages,³ and it may indeed represent our first direct sighting of *Aristotle* in the medieval West. As viewed in hindsight, however, it cannot rightfully be said to portend the long shadow that Aristotle was destined to cast over medieval philosophy, for the only Aristotelian work included in it is *De interpretatione*, and that only in the form of the lemmata and citations in *c*, which do not add up to a complete text of the treatise. As will be pointed out later in the present volume, the manuscript is in two parts. The contents of the first part form a

¹ MAGEE-MARENBNON, *Appendix*, pp. 308-310; GRUBER, *Boethius*, p. 24.

² Examples at *In Perih. I* 109.4 (below, III.B) and 117.2-3 (MAGEE, *Observations*, p. 22; *utrasque et simul id est [*] adfirmationem* in *K*).

³ Cfr. below, p. 54.

coherently arranged logical *syllogê* which both echoes the systematic order of study laid out by Boethius and other late-ancient commentators (*Isagoge* – *Categories* – *De interpretatione*)⁴ and foreshadows the medieval Old Logic, with however the Ps.-Augustinian *Categoriae decem* (*Paraphrasis themistiana*) and (?) Apuleian *Peri hermeneias* replacing their Aristotelian counterparts. The Kraków manuscript (*K*) arranges the same three works identically and, also like *V*,⁵ includes excerpts of Alcuin's *De dialectica*, whereas *C*, one of our two Corbie manuscripts (alongside *P*),⁶ omits the Porphyry and Ps.-Augustine but includes Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, which it situates between the (?) Apuleius and Boethius' commentary.

These three early manuscripts, *CKV*, are closely related to one another and share textual disturbances that reflect remote contact with some precursor of an interpolated branch of the tradition (*GHMO*, hereafter *φ*) which, as we will see (II.C), fills gaps between lemmata with passages excerpted from the continuous translation (hereafter *t*) or advanced commentary (hereafter *C*), if not both. Certain individual readings, moreover, point to collation and borrowing that must have occurred before the three manuscripts themselves were produced. At **16B18** (*In Perih. I* 61.2), for example, Boethius rendered τὰ δὲ τὸν περίξ with the Latin, *illa vero quae circa sunt*, which for *Ct* he revised to (*illa vero*) *quod complectitur*,⁷ a reading incorporated already by early correctors of *CK* (note especially *id est* and *vel*):

quae circa sunt] *CK* : *vel praem. M^{sl}* : (*id est*) *quod complectitur (C^{sl})HM* : + *vel quod complectitur K^{me}*.

Similarly, at **17B32-33** (*In Perih. I* 95.9-10) *CKV* have *pulcher* and *foedus*, Boethius' initial rendering of καλός and αἰσχρός; for *C⁸* and *t*, however, Boethius revised to *probus* and *turpis*, which an early corrector of *C* obtained through collation and inserted above the line, along with the phrase in which they occur (*et est homo ... non probus*). Conversely, the interpolated witnesses, *GHM*, intercalate, in the text proper, Boethius' initial rendering (full phrase) immediately after the revised one, thereby generating a kind of dittography. And, finally, the initial rendering similarly migrated from

⁴ Boeth., *In Isag. I* 12.17-15.4 B.; *In Cat.* 161C; Ammon., *In Isag.* 22.23-23.1 B.; *In Cat.* 14.24-15.2 B.; *In De Int.* 4.17-24 B.; Olympiod., *Proleg. in Cat.* 24.21-25.4 B.; cfr. Cassiod., *Instit.* 2.3.8-11.

⁵ MINIO-PALUELLO, [ed.] *Arist. Lat.*, II, p. xlii; below, p. 51.

⁶ GANZ, *Corbie*, pp. 64, 150; a third possibly in the fragment, Paris, BnF, lat. 12949 (MINIO-PALUELLO, [ed.] *Arist. Lat.*, II, pp. xxx, xlvi).

⁷ Experimentation with *quod complectitur* is in evidence at *In Perih. I* 61.19-25 (cfr. MAGEE, *Composition*, p. 16).

⁸ *In Perih. II* 169.26-170.5.

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II.A. Subject i

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⁹ *Arist. Lat.*,

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¹¹ *In Perih. I* crit. at 29.29, 47.

the elementary commentary (*c*) to the continuous translation (*t*), as now in Paris, BnF, *lat.* 12949 (9th c.) and others thereafter.⁹ The corrections and glossing in *CKV* reflect dynamic processes of change datable to the early 9th c.; similar disturbances embedded in their *uncorrected* texts additionally intimate, as we will see (III.C), even earlier strata of change.

From these observations we may infer an early phase of editorial activity in the course of which copies of *t* or (and) *C* were consulted for purposes of establishing a text of *De interpretatione* for *c*, and vice versa. The surmise comports with known evidence for the formation of the composite edition of Boethius' Latin *Categories*, three manuscripts of which date to the 9th c., well before the oldest extant witnesses of the continuous translation.¹⁰ We may further surmise that the Ps.-Augustinian and (?) Apuleian works were included in *KV* for reasons other than their mere availability. For the early correctors of *CK*, as we have seen, certainly had access to Boethius' continuous translation (included in *C*) or advanced commentary, if not both, and *V* commits certain errors which intimate related forms of contact as well; hence the *syllogê* represented by *KV* probably reflects a deliberate effort to introduce readers to Aristotle's notoriously difficult thought *through direct exposure only to the lemmata of Boethius' elementary commentary*, which after all is in large part an extended paraphrase intended for beginners. The combined evidence of the composite edition of the *Categories* and the earliest extant manuscripts of *c*, in other words, intimates a culture of scholarly engagement with the Aristotelian texts before 800, and indeed, probably before c. 785 (*V*).

The first signals of Aristotle's rebirth in the Latin West are nearly as fragmentary and indirect as are those associated with his death throes in the later 6th c. In an effort to connect the phases of death and rebirth we turn next to certain distinctive (para)textual features of the manuscripts. The evidence brought under consideration derives from the first book of Boethius' commentary, comprising *De interpretatione* 1-9 (16A1-19B4), and is of three types.

II.A. Subject Headings

The manuscripts assign titles or subject headings to what in modern editions figure as cc. 2-4 of *De interpretatione*. That is consistent with *Ct*, Ammonius' commentary,¹¹ and, more generally, with subject headings and

⁹ *Arist. Lat.*, II, *app. crit.* at 11.16 (note also at 13.17, 16.11).

¹⁰ *Arist. Lat.*, I.1-5, p. 44 (*Lg, Re, Vc*); cfr. ASZTALOS, *Transmitter*, pp. 371-372.

¹¹ *In Perih. II app. crit.* at 52.28, 65.29; *Arist. Lat.*, II, 6.4, 7.1, 20; Ammon., *In De Int.*, *app. crit.* at 29.29, 47.6, 58.4, 81.3 B.

titles preserved in certain manuscripts of *De divisione* and the *Consolatio*¹²; moreover, before cc. 10 and 14 (19B5, 23A27) some manuscripts of *t* echo the section divisions (κεφάλαια, τμήματα) adopted or devised by Ammonius for his commentary.¹³ Titles associated with the lemmata introducing cc. 2-4 appear as follows in our manuscripts of *c* (cfr. III for editorial conventions):

2. 16A19-20 (*In Perih. I* 45.30-46.2) DE NOMINE nomen ... separata BOETIUS CDKLPV | DE NOMINE (ARISTOTELES) nomen (C^c)FGM : INCIPIT DE NOMINE nomen H : DE DEFINITIONE nomen O | separata] F : + BOETIUS F^c

3. 16B6-7 (*In Perih. I* 55.21-22) verbum ... significat FV^{mg} : EXPLICIT DE NOMINE INCIPIT DE VERBO CKLPV : EXPLICIT DE NOMINE INCIPIT DE VERBO verbum est ... significationem tenens (61.26-62.1) L^c | verbum M : EXPLICIT DE NOMINE INCIPIT DE VERBO verbum C^cDH : HISTORIA INCIPIT DE VERBO verbum G : DE VERBO verbum O^{mg} | extra + DE VERBO M | significat] significativa est ... significationem tenens (61.28-62.1) H : + et est ... nota (16B7-8) M

4. 16B26-28 (*In Perih. I* 66.26-28) oratio ... adfirmatio CMV | DE ORATIONE (HISTORIA) oratio C^{c(mg)}DF(G)L^{mg}OP : [*****] oratio K : EXPLICIT DE VERBO INCIPIT DE ORATIONE oratio H | adfirmatio + BOETIUS C^c

Immediately before the first lemma of **c. 2** the archetype (*ω*) had the subject heading, *De nomine*, as attested by all but the patently confused *O*. To judge from *CDF^cKLPV*, it also supplied *Boetius* after the lemma to mark the transition from Aristotelian lemma to Boethian commentary; the four exceptions, *GHMO*, are interpolated witnesses (see further under II.C, below). Hence the archetype probably read as follows here: (...) *cursum intendit. DE NOMINE. Nomen ergo est vox significativa secundum placitum sine tempore, cuius nulla pars est significativa separata. BOETIUS. Omnis definitio* (etc.). We will turn to the question of majuscule and minuscule scripts presently.

Of primary interest at **c. 3** is the competition between subject heading and lemma. For prior to correction, *CKLPV* have a subject heading but no lemma, whereas *F* has a lemma but no subject heading, and *DGHMO* variously have both. Confusion abounds. The corrector of *L* reaches for a passage of commentary in a desperate effort to supply the missing lemma, and nearly the same commentary passage resurfaces as part of the lemma in *H*. *M*'s lemma is infiltrated by *De verbo* and supplemented by the directly

¹² MAGEE, *Text*, p. 11; TRONCARELLI, *Tradizioni*, pp. 1, 57-59.

¹³ *Arist. Lat.*, II, p. xliii (cfr. MAGEE, *Composition*, p. 24); Ammon, *In De Int.* 7.15-18, 86.26, 159.24, 214.8-9 (with *app. crit.* at 1), 251.9 (*app. crit.*) B.

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ensuing phrase of *De interpretatione*, anticipating a phenomenon to which we will return presently (II.C). *CV* begin without the lemma then move independently in the course of correction, for although both acquire the lemma, *V* apparently abandons the subject heading in the process. There is, as we will see, evidence to indicate *CV*'s shared descent from an exemplar (hereafter δ) which contained a number of double readings; here, as in many other passages, *C* eventually hits the mark in assessing the options offered by $\delta + \delta^c$, whereas *V* apparently reads them disjunctively, substituting one omission for another. Like *M*, *O* reduces the title to *De verbo*, while *G*'s distillation preserves the *incipit* also found in *CDHKLPV*. In all probability the subject heading in the archetype here took the form, *Explicit de nomine, incipit de verbo*, and was not supplemented by *Boetius* to indicate the transition from lemma to commentary. The archetype may well have omitted the lemma and then acquired it through a correction whose precise import was subject to misinterpretation. This possibility receives support from a number of passages in which confusion associated with the copying of lemmata had a disruptive effect on the directly related passages of commentary. Three cases will serve to illustrate the point. First, at *In Perih. I 48.6-7* Boethius wrote *haec (hoc in LO) autem propositis docet exemplis* to introduce the next lemma (16A21-22). The transitional phrase was evidently omitted then restored *after* the lemma owing to a correction that antedated (*C*)*DL*:

haec ... exemplis *FGOP* : om. *CHKL^cMV* : post *ferus* (16A22) tr. *C^cDL*

Words cited from the previous lemma at *In Perih. I 48.4-6* (*nomen ... secundum placitum ... sine tempore, cuius*, 16A19-20) may have been a contributing factor to the omission. For the manuscripts contain evidence to suggest that the archetype had citations, subject headings, and lemmata which, at least for Boethius' commentary on the first chapters of *De interpretatione*, were written in a majuscule script; and if the citation at *In Perih. I 48.4-6* was a case in point, then it would have been natural for scribes to leap inadvertently to the next lemma and so omit the transitional phrase. In *P*, we may note, both the transitional phrase and lemma are in Rustic Capitals, while *D* employs Capitals for the first half of the lemma and minuscules for the second; *F*, by contrast, has the whole of the lemma in Uncials (slightly hybridized), while *MV* have only the first two words (*in nomine*) in either Capitals (*M*) or Uncials (*V*). Again, at *In Perih. I 49.3* Boethius shifted from commentary to lemma (16A22-26) without providing a transitional phrase to alert readers to the change. *FGO*, however, import the formula, *dicit enim*, employed elsewhere in the commentary to mark

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approaching lemmata, and here too manuscripts waver between scripts, although without thereby disturbing the immediately surrounding portions of commentary: *FK* have the whole lemma in Uncials, while *P* has it in Capitals; *L* has the first third in Capitals, while *V* wavers between minuscules and a degraded form of Uncials. Finally, the lemma, **16B21-23** (*In Perih. I* 64.13-14), consists of two phrases, (a) *sed si est vel non est nondum significat* and (b) *neque enim 'esse' signum est rei vel 'non esse'*, which Boethius cites in full after ten lines of exegesis (*In Perih. I* 64.23-25). Patterns of oscillation between majuscules and minuscules are most pronounced in *DLP*:

	(a) <i>sed si ... nondum significat</i>	(b) <i>neque enim ... 'non esse'</i>
<i>Lemma</i>	<i>DL</i> minuscules; <i>P</i> Capitals	<i>DL</i> minuscules; <i>P</i> Capitals
<i>Citation</i>	<i>DLP</i> minuscules	<i>DLP</i> Capitals.

Related patterns are discernible also in certain other symptoms. Thus *K* mirrors *P* in *rubricating* the whole lemma but only citation-(b), *H* rubricates only lemma-(b), which *M* omits, and so on. These data suggest that in an early ancestor both the lemma and citation were written in a majuscule script which became variously altered in the course of repeated copying, and *M* illustrates an eventual *loss of text* stemming probably from growing confusion over what was finally to be counted as lemma or commentary (citation). Some such confusion would appear to underlie the omissions and dislocations in evidence at the beginning of c. 3.

As to c. 4, the phrase, *Explicit de verbo, incipit*, in *H* would appear, like the *Incipit* at c. 2, to be a case of hypercorrection, bringing the subject heading into formal alignment with the one at the head of c. 3. The corrections to *C* intimate another *duplex lectio* in δ , the parent of *CV*; and although *K*, their next of kin, sides with *V* in omitting the subject heading, the lacuna before *oratio* breeds suspicions about the exemplar (hereafter μ) from which both it and δ appear to descend. The subject heading here evidently took the form, *De oratione*, in the archetype. It may initially have been omitted from μ then reinstated through correction; evidence for an indicator (*Boetius*) of the transition from lemma to commentary is negligible. See further under III.A, below.

These passages are highly revealing. The three subject headings *De nomine*, *Explicit de nomine, incipit de verbo*, and *De oratione* would appear to date back to the archetype, which in this respect conformed with *Ct* and the Greek tradition as represented by certain manuscripts of Ammonius' commentary. Cassiodorus' reorganization (*Instit.* 2.3.11) of the six topics listed at *De interpretatione* 16A1-2 is almost certainly of interest here as well: (1) *de nomine*, (2) *de verbo*, (6) *de oratione*, (5) *de enuntiatione*, (4) *de*

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¹⁴ *Codd. E*

adfirmatione, (3) *de negatione*, *de contradictione*. Whether or not the subject headings reflect *Boethius'* intention remains an open question. The interplay of scripts suggests a hierarchy thereof in the archetype, perhaps in the manner of *Vat. lat.* 3363, an early manuscript of the *Consolatio* in which the titles are written in Rustic Capitals, the poetry in Uncials, and the prose sections in minuscules.¹⁴ By the last quarter of the 8th c. or earlier the three subject headings had become unstable due to collation and correction, leading to the fluidity of our oldest extant witnesses.

II.B. *The Framing of Lemmata and Citations*

As we have seen, the manuscripts preserve traces of signs or editorial aids for distinguishing between Aristotelian text, in the form of lemmata and citations, and Boethian commentary. In fact, different systems of demarcation are in play, most of which fade out in the third chapter of *De interpretatione*. For cc. 1-3 Boethius drew up twenty-three lemmata, which in the manuscripts are framed as follows:

16A1-2 (*In Perih. I* 35.4-6) primum ... oratio *HLMO* | primum *F* : INCIPIT HISTORIA primum *CP* : FINIT PRAEFATIO INCIPIT TEXTUS primum *D* : [***40***] primum *KV* : /// primum *G* | oratio] *C* : + EXPOSITIO *C^cDFP*

16A3-8 (*In Perih. I* 36.22-28) sunt ... eadem *DFGHMO* | HISTORIA sunt *C^{mg}P* | [*****] quorum ... eadem *litteris minutis, post capitaneas, exarata L* | eadem] *hae* (*cfr.* 40.28, II 39.33) *P* : + EXPOSITIO *CKV* : + EXPLICIUNT MODI LOCUTIONUM *L*

16A8-9 (*In Perih. I* 41.9-11) de his ... negotii] + BOETIUS *G^{mg}*

16A9-13 (*In Perih. I* 41.16-21) est autem ... veritasque *HMO* | est autem] *C* : ARISTOTELES *praem. C^c* | veritasque + BOETIUS (PRINCIPIUM) *C(D) FGK(LP^(mg))V*

16A13-16 (*In Perih. I* 43.15-18) nomina ... falsum est *HKMOV* | ARISTOTELES nomina *C* : PRINCIPIUM nomina *DL* : SEQUITUR nomina *G* | falsum est] *C* : + BOETIUS *C^cDFGL^{mg}P*

16A16-18 (*In Perih. I* 44.19-22) huius ... tempus] *C* : ARISTOTELES huius ... tempus BOETIUS *C^c* | PRINCIPIUM *praem. DL^{mg}* | + BOETHI HISTORIA *G^{mg}*

16A19-20 (*In Perih. I* 45.30-46.2) (*see under II.A, above*)

16A21-22 (*In Perih. I* 48.8-10) in nomine ... equus ferus] + BOETIUS *CFP^{mg}* : + HISTORIA *G^{mg}*

16A22-26 (*In Perih. I* 49.4-8) at vero ... ferus] *C* : ARISTOTELES at vero ... ferus BOETIUS *C^c* | nominibus] nomini BOETIUS *K^{comp}* | ferus + BOETIUS *D^{mg}FP^{mg}*

16A27-29 (*In Perih. I* 50.9-12) secundum ... nomen] ARISTOTELES secundum ...

¹⁴ *Codd. Boeth.*, III.547; TRONCARELLI, *Cogitatio*, p. 244, with pp. 61-62.

nomen BOETIUS C | + BOETIUS D^{mg}FP^{mg}

16A30-32 (*In Perih. I 51.20-23*) non homo ... infinitum HKMOV | non homo] C : ARISTOTELES praem. C^c : HISTORIA praem. G^{mg} | infinitum] L^c : + BOETIUS CDFLP

16A33-B1 (*In Perih. I 53.5-6*) Catonis ... nominis] C : ARISTOTELES Catonis ... nominis BOETIUS C^c | SEQUITUR (HISTORIA) praem. (G^{mg})P | + PRINCIPIUM D^{mg}

16B1-5 (*In Perih. I 54.11-16*) ratio ... mentitur CHKMOV : ARISTOTELES ratio ... mentitur BOETIUS C^c | HISTORIA ratio ?G^{mg} | mentitur + BOETIUS F : + PRINCIPIUM L : + PRINCIPIUM BOETIUS D^(mg)P

16B6-7 (*In Perih. I 55.21-22*) (*see under II.A, above*)

16B7-8 (*In Perih. I 56.14-15*) et est ... nota] + PRINCIPIUM DP

16B8-10 (*In Perih. I 57.3-5*) dico ... esse] C : ARISTOTELES dico ... esse BOETIUS C^c | HISTORIA praem. G^{mg} | esse + PRINCIPIUM DP : esse [...] F

16B10-11 (*In Perih. I 57.23-25*) et semper ... in subiecto CDFKMOV | HISTORIA et semper G^{mg} | in subiecto + BOETIUS C^c : + LEGE DILIGENTER DE SUBIECTO F^{mg}HLP

16B12-14 (*In Perih. I 59.4-7*) non currit... verbum] ARISTOTELES non currit ... verbum BOETIUS C | PRINCIPIUM praem. DL : HISTORIA praem. G^{mg}

16B15 (*In Perih. I 60.3-4*) quoniam ... non est] C : ARISTOTELES quoniam ... non est BOETIUS C^c | HISTORIA praem. G^{mg} | non est + PRINCIPIUM DL : non est [***15***] HM

16B16-18 (*In Perih. I 60.27-61.2*) similiter ... circa sunt] C : ARISTOTELES similiter ... circa sunt BOETIUS C^c | PRINCIPIUM praem. L | + HISTORIA G^{mg}

16B19-22 (*In Perih. I 62.5-8*) ipsa ... significat] ARISTOTELES ipsa ... significat BOETIUS C | III praem. ?F : HISTORIA praem. G^{mg}

16B21-23 (*In Perih. I 64.13-14*) sed si ... 'non esse'] C : ARISTOTELES sed si ... non esse BOETIUS C^c | HISTORIA praem. G^{mg}

16B23-25 (*In Perih. I 65.9-12*) nec si ... intellegere] C : ARISTOTELES nec si ... intellegere BOETIUS C^c | HISTORIA praem. G^{mg}

Moreover, six citations adduced in support of particular points of exegesis on cc. 1-2 are similarly framed:

In Perih. I 39.2-4 (16A5-6) et quemadmodum ... eadem voces FGHK^cMO | HISTORIA et quemadmodum ... eadem voces EXPOSITIO C^(mg)LP | TEXTUS et quemadmodum D | eadem voces + EXPOSITIO KV

In Perih. I 39.12-15 (16A6-8) quorum ... eadem DHMO | HISTORIA quorum ... eadem BOETIUS C^(mg)LP : HISTORIA ARISTOTELES quorum C^c | eadem + BOETIUS GKV : eadem // F

In Perih. I 40.7-9 (16A7-8) et quorum ... eadem] HISTORIA praem. C^{mg}LP :

HISTORIA A

In Perih. I 40.2
BOETIUS C^c

In Perih. I 42.25
praem. C^{c(mg)}

In Perih. I 52.3
ARISTOTEL
FG^cLO(P) | a

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following five :

1. (a) *lemm*
lemma, c
2. SEQUITUR
3. ARISTOTEL
4. (a) HISTOTEL
(BOETIUS)
5. (a) PRINCIPITUM
(BOETIUS)

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Textus (b) ap
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¹⁵ Ammon., I
II 68.24-69.22).

HISTORIA ARISTOTELES *praem.* C^c

In Perih. I 40.26-28 (16A6-8) quorum ... hae HMO | HISTORIA quorum ... hae BOETIUS C^(c)LP | hae + BOETIUS DFG^{mgKV}

In Perih. I 42.25-26 (16A12-13) circa ... falsitasque DFHMO | circa] C : HISTORIA *praem.* C^(mg) | falsitasque + BOETIUS CGKLPV

In Perih. I 52.31-53.1 (16A30-31) at vero ... appellari HKMV | at vero] CF^cGL^c : ARISTOTELES *praem.* C^c : SEQUITUR (VOCABULUM) *praem.* (D^(mg)) FG^cLO(P) | appellari + BOETIUS C

The combined evidence of these passages may be grouped under the following five headings for purposes of analysis:

1. (a) *lemma, citation* + LEGE DILIGENTER DE SUBIECTO; (b) TEXTUS + *lemma, citation*; (c) *lemma, citation* + EXPLICIUNT MODI LOCUTIONUM.
2. SEQUITUR (VOCABULUM) + *lemma, citation* (+ BOETIUS).
3. ARISTOTELES + *lemma, citation*.
4. (a) HISTORIA + *lemma, citation* (+ EXPOSITIO); (b) *lemma, citation* + (BOETII) HISTORIA.
5. (a) PRINCIPIUM + *lemma, citation*; (b) *lemma, citation* + PRINCIPIUM (BOETIUS PRINCEPS).

(1) is a heterogeneous collection variously attested by DF^cHLP. Under (a) appears the interpolated editorial note, *lege diligenter de subiecto*. LP write the lemma in Rustic Capitals, appending the interpolation, also in Capitals, as though it were a part thereof (16B10-11): ET SEMPER EORUM QUAE DE ALTERO DICUNTUR NOTA EST, UT EORUM QUAE DE SUBIECTO VEL IN SUBIECTO LEGE DILIGENTER DE SUBIECTO. In H, it is rubricated as though forming part of the lemma (which it fragments), whereas in F it is a marginal note written in an Insular minuscule. The phrase, ἡ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ (*vel in subiecto*), dates back at least to Porphyry¹⁵ but is rightly athetized by Minio-Paluello and Weidemann; the *lege diligenter* in F^cHLP is an editorial note affirming *de (subiecto)* over *in* evidently interpreted as a false variant (*vel*) or scholium. How these manuscripts acquired the note is uncertain, but it may be noted that H exhibits a number of similar points of interest, one of which we will come to presently (III.B). *Textus* (b) appears only in D, first as part of a longer phrase introducing 16A1-2, and then to announce a citation at *In Perih. I 39.2-4* (see further

¹⁵ Ammon., *In De int.* 50.7-14 B. Boethius regards *vel in subiecto* as authentic (*In Perih. II 68.24-69.22*).

[4], below). Finally, *expliciunt modi locutionum* (c) is restricted to *L* (16A3-8), where it brings Aristotle's remarks on written, spoken, and mental linguistic "modes" to a conclusion; it appears to be an editorial gloss. Neither (b) nor (c) furnishes evidence useful for filiation, and there is no reason to believe that either reaches far back beyond either *D* or *L*.

The *sequitur* under (2) poses another question of authenticity. It introduces the lemma, 16B7-8, in a way that led Meiser to misconstrue the latter as a citation (*In Perih. I* 56.14-15): (...) *esse non possit. sequitur: 'et est semper'* (etc.). Here *sequitur* is attested by all but *H* (expunged in *LV*) and written in majuscules by all but *GMO*. In fact, *KLPV* have both *sequitur* and the lemma in majuscules (*F* rubricates both), whereas *CD* have *sequitur* in majuscules but the lemma in minuscules; *DP*, moreover, append *principium* (in majuscules) to the lemma (see [5], below). It is certain that Boethius penned the transitional *sequitur*, which in the archetype (ω) appears to have been misinterpreted as part of the lemma and so copied in majuscules. Doubts concerning the relationship of *sequitur* to the lemma gradually set in, with the telling results that in *CD* the vestigial majuscules attached to *sequitur* rather than the lemma and that the interpolated witnesses, *GHMO*, eschewed majuscules and, in the case of *H*, actually rejected *sequitur*. At *In Perih. I* 52.30-31, by contrast, *sequitur* (*vocabulum*) introduces a citation (16A30-31) in a manner that patently betrays an editorial interpolation: (...) *quod ipse testatur dicens SEQUITUR 'at vero'* (etc.). Here *DLP* have the intrusive *sequitur* in majuscules but the citation itself in minuscules. The mobility of *sequitur* is perhaps best illustrated by its blunt intrusion, in *G*, upon the sentence leading to a citation at *In Perih. I* 42.25-26 (16A12-13): (...) *retinet significationem SEQUITUR docuit autem per hoc quod ait 'circa compositionem'* (etc.). This *sequitur* may have inhabited the margins of an earlier copy before migrating to the text proper in *G*, where it is abbreviated *S* (as also before 16A13-16); it evidently reflects a confused inference drawn from one of the traditional marginal indicators for lemmata and citations: *s ~ S(sequitur)*. Where *sequitur* interrupts Boethius' syntax it is obviously spurious, a Boethian usage misapplied by a later editor; the fluctuations in script suggest that at least some of the editorial confusion associated with this transitional formula originated at a relatively early point in the history of transmission. A number of the lemmata and citations introduced by *sequitur* or other transitional formulae are supplemented by *Boetius* (abbreviated *B*,¹⁶ with medial points and *titulus*) to mark the transition back to commentary.¹⁷ To judge from the support

¹⁶ Occasionally *BO*, *BB*.

¹⁷ See further under II.A, above.

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it receives from *CDFGKLPV* at **16A9-13** (*In Perih. I* 41.16-21) in particular, this use of *Boetius* is ancient and probably related to an interlocutor's sign (*B*) preserved in some manuscripts of the *Consolatio* (e.g., Kraków, Bibl. Jagiell., *Berol. Lat. Qu.* 939); although surviving in *G*, it is conspicuously absent from the other interpolated witnesses (*HMO*).

(3) The use of *Aristoteles* (abbreviated *A*, *ARIS*) as a transitional formula is unique to *C* (*C^c*), appearing first in connection with citations (*In Perih. I* **39.12-15**, **40.7-9**) and then with a lemma (**16A9-13**). The framing formula, *Aristoteles* (lemma, citation) *Boetius* (commentary), is stubbornly pursued by *C* from 16A9 on, after brief flirtation with *historia ... expositio* (see [4], below). It seems clear that *C* reflects an editorial attempt to rationalize or update what must have appeared an archaic framing formula, and the results recall certain early Carolingian attempts to replace older, arcane systems of signs for speakers in manuscripts of the comedies of Terence. That *C* experimented in the course of copying and correcting is evident from the vacillating pattern: *historia* (**16A1-8**); *historia Aristoteles* (*In Perih. I* **39.12-40.9** [16A6-8]); *Aristoteles* (**16A9ff.**); *historia* (*In Perih. I* **40.26-42.26** [16A6-13]); *Aristoteles* (*In Perih. I* **52.31-53.1** [16A30-31]). *Aristoteles* (... *Boetius*) appears to be an innovation devised at Corbie in the first half of the 9th c.

(4) Most noteworthy about the transitional formula, *historia* (abbreviated *HIS*), is the wedge it drives between the passages in which it introduces (a) lemmata or citations and those in which it introduces (b) commentary — in effect, between *philosophical* (Aristotle) and *exegetical* (Boethius) notions of "inquiry." Although the attestation for these chapters is restricted to *CGLP*, it should be noted that *historia* is also found in *D*, where (e.g.) it intrudes upon the approach to a paraphrase (*In Perih. I* **132.24** [19B22-24]): (...) *nominatur HISTORIA ergo nunc hoc dicit* (etc., as also in *P*). Some intriguing patterns of filiation are in play. For in *CLP* *historia* ushers in the first two lemmata and a series of citations (**16A1-8**; *In Perih. I* **39.2-42.26**), whereas *G* explicitly disambiguates in favor of commentary (*Boetii historia*) on first usage (**16A16-18**, **21-22**) but uses it to introduce lemmata from **16A30** on (an exception at **16B16-18**). In *LP* *historia* intrudes upon the approach to a citation at *In Perih. I* **38.25-26** (16A4): (...) *mentisque conceptio HISTORIA at vero quod addidit his, 'et ea quae'* (etc.); *D* inserts *textus* (see [1], above) at precisely the same point. This would appear to be another case of confused migration from margin to text at an earlier stage in the history of transmission. Insofar as the notion of "inquiry" is in principle equally applicable to Aristotle's philosophy and Boethius' explication thereof, the confusion experienced by scribes who encountered *historia* in the exemplars from which they copied is understandable; it seems reasonable to assume, however, that the originator of this transitional formula

intended it for either Aristotelian text or Boethian commentary but not both. Patristic usage, we may recall, includes good evidence for the use of *ιστορία* to indicate the literal or historical as opposed to more abstract and theoretical senses of Scripture (Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, q.v., C.3), an observation which may help to elucidate the sense of *historia* in play here. Among philosophical commentators of the later 5th and 6th cc. lemmatized commentary organized according to general analysis (*θεωρία*) supported by the explication of text (*λέξις*) was an accepted part of the landscape. As we will see below (II.C), however, Boethius' commentary begins with just such a mode of exegesis but gradually develops into a blended genre favoring philosophical paraphrase, which in its privileging of clarity and simplicity over problem-based analysis is particularly well suited to the needs of students who are approaching Aristotle's notoriously rebarbative and elliptical prose for the first time. It seems natural to surmise that *historia* was originally applied in consideration of the fact that Boethius' elementary commentary is essentially a "literal reading" or "narration" of Aristotle's text, not a higher-order exploration thereof as in the case of the advanced commentary; if correct (the evidence of the advanced commentary has yet to be assessed), this surmise would suggest that *historia* was meant to signal commentary rather than lemmata or citations. Although the scribal confusion alone is probably an indication of considerable antiquity, the origins of this use of *historia* remain obscure. Immediately after the first two lemmata (16A1-8) and an early citation (*In Perih. I 39.2-4*) the word, *expositio* (abbreviated *EXP*), is used to mark — for scribes, far more transparently than *historia* did — the transition from text to commentary. It is variously attested by *CDFKLPV* and is almost certainly of ancient origin. The abbreviation, *EXP*, we may note, appears in a 6th-c. manuscript of Vivarian origin (St. Petersburg, Nat. Bibl., Q.v.I., 6-10, f. 61r [*CLA*, XI.1614]), where it may stand for *expositio* misinterpreted as *explicit*; and an abbreviation of similar import, *INTERP(retatio)*, serves to mark legal glosses in a 6th-c. copy of the *Breviarium Alarici* (Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., *clm* 22501, f. 44r [*CLA*, IX.1324]).

(5) poses a similar interpretive challenge. To judge from two appositional formulations discussed immediately below, *princeps*¹⁸ would appear to be the resolution of the suspended form in which it most often occurs (*PRIN*¹⁹); and if so, then the transitional formula may originally have been intended to signal the notion of "author" or "master," i.e., the philosopher

¹⁸ Possibly *principalis* (substantive)? Cfr. *In Perih.* II 193.26-27 (*Peripatetici enim, quorum Aristoteles princeps est*).

¹⁹ Occasionally *PR*, *PRN*, also *PIRN* and *RIN* (*sic*).

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²⁰ MEISER, [I
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Aristotle rather than his commentator Boethius. Among the passages under consideration here the formula is confined to *DLP*, whose scribes evince pointed confusion in signaling both (a) Aristotelian text, when placing it before lemmata (16A13-18, B12-14, 16-18), and (b) Boethian commentary, when placing it after them (16A9-13, 33-B5, 7-10, 15), with two appositional formulations included among the latter (*Boetius princeps, princeps Boetius*, 16A9-13, B1-5). Independent evidence may however point to *principium* ("primary text, what gives rise to commentary") as the true resolution of *PRIN*. For in the margins of BAV, *Pal. lat.* 271 (fols. 116v, 173v, 177v), a 9th-c. copy of Cassiodorus' *Expositio in Psalmos*, there appear alongside certain editorial aids that are known to have originated with Cassiodorus: the abbreviations, *PR* and *PN*. They are written in a script that evokes a late-antique Uncial, and mark Biblical citations for which no author as such can have been intended; they additionally recall *PP*, a formula devised by Cassiodorus to insulate "protected" sacred text (*lex divina*) from contamination by surrounding commentary (*Instit.* 1.26.2). Hence if *PRIN* too is of Vivarian origin, then it almost certainly stands for *principium*, signaling (Aristotelian) text.

The framing formulae (*textus, sequitur*) and editorial insertions grouped under (1) and (2) appear to be of early medieval rather than late-antique origin. *C* evidently strikes out on its own in settling on *Aristoteles ... Boetius* (3) as the most readily intelligible framing formula. *Historia* and *principium* (4, 5) proved sources of confusion for scribes seeking to distinguish between lemmata and commentary (or citations); like *expositio* and *Boetius*, both would appear to be of ancient origin. Finally, we may recall legislation of 553 restricting the propagation of unauthorized interpretations of Scripture (*Nov.* 146 *prae*f.), and the pronounced tendency of our three latest — and interpolated — witnesses (*HMO*) to eschew framing formulae: a conservative impulse of the age of Justinian that undoubtedly favored the development of editorial aids such as *principium* and *historia*, on the one hand, and scholastic requirements of the medieval schools, on the other.

II.C. The Interpolated Tradition

We turn finally to the most distinctive trait of the textual tradition, the interpolated branch (ϕ), which was first detected by Meiser²⁰ and is represented by *GHMO*, as noted above. Roughly midway through *De interpretatione*, c. 7 Boethius abruptly shifts to a blended mode of commentary in

²⁰ MEISER, [ed.] *In Perih.* I, pp. viii-ix; cfr. MINIO-PALUELLO, [ed.] *Arist. Lat.*, II, pp. xlvi-1, lii-liii; MAGEE, *Observations*, pp. 18-25.

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which reduced lemmata²¹ are supplemented by embedded citations and paraphrases. The change takes place at *In Perih. I 93.3-25*:

7. **17B20** CONTRARIE VERO UNIVERSALEM ADFIRMATIONEM ET **21** UNIVERSALEM NEGATIONEM

93.5 Planissime omnes exsequitur dicitque contrarias **6** UNIVERSALEM ADFIRMATIONEM ET UNIVERSALEM NEGATIONEM. **7** has enim nos quoque supra descripsimus, hic vero **8** nunc easdem CONTRARIE demonstrat opponi. illud quoque **9** addidit, quod eas IMPOSSIBILE sit in eodem veras **10** aliquando cognosci. nam sicut contrariorum natura **11** in eodem non potest inveniri, neque enim uno eodemque **12** tempore aliquid nigrum est atque album, sic **13** quoque nec contrariae ut utraeque SIMUL SINT VERAЕ **14** fieri potest. quod autem adiecit, HIS VERO OPPOSITAS **15** CONTINGIT IN EODEM, particularem adfirmationem **16** et particularem negationem designat, particularis namque **17** adfirmatio universali negationi opposita est contradictorie, **18** particularis vero negatio universali adfirmationi. **19** contrariarum igitur oppositae possunt in **20** eodem verae aliquotiens inveniri, id est particularis **21** adfirmatio et particularis negatio verae ut sint in **22** aliquibus fieri potest, ut est 'QUIDAM HOMO ALBUS **23** EST', 'quidam homo albus non est': utraeque sunt **24** verae.

7. **17B26** QUaecumque igitur CONTRADICTIONES ...²²

Words and phrases (here capitalized) drawn from the non-lemmatized portion of Aristotle's text (*ut ... albus*, 17B21-26) have been here woven into the syntax of the commentary in a manner reminiscent of Themistius' philosophical paraphrases, some of which Boethius may well have known²³; Aristotle's *ipsissima verba* are flagged at two points (8-9, 14 = 17B23-24) but otherwise silently absorbed into the exegesis. Although the new mode of exposition undoubtedly reflects an effort to clarify Aristotle's notoriously obscure style, there is no obvious reason for its appearance at this point in the commentary; once underway, however, it moves more smoothly and rapidly than the *θεωρία και λέξις* mode with which Boethius began the commentary (*tota autem ratio sensus ... atque hoc est quod ait*, *In Perih. I 37.4-38.15*). It is as though we are here granted privileged access to Boethius' methodological reflection at the first moment of its occurrence to him, a

²¹ Scribes occasionally mistook citations for lemmata and interpolated or otherwise edited accordingly. The difference between the two is not always obvious. **18A23-25** (*In Perih. I 102.17-20*), for example, is introduced as a lemma (*hoc est enim quod ait*) but is in fact an embedded citation; hence, *id est ea quae dicit 'est tunica alba'* (18A20), an explanatory aside omitted by *GacHM*.

²² Critical apparatus (minus the readings of *K*) and comments in *MAGEE, Observations*, pp. 18-20.

²³ References to Themistius in *Top. diff. (pass.)* and at *In Cat. 162A* and *In Perih. II 4.2-3*.

possibility whichverts to fully lebefore effective**97.20**, 17B38).ical method iswhose lemmatimedieval editct or (and) C -which gave rition. Traces ofuse of *vel* to nextent of contr*H* explicitly re a glimpse intoParis, BnF, *lat*gressively exce*contraria susp* passages into :

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²⁴ There are *Perih. I 97.20*.

²⁵ The latter i (18A3-12, *si autem quando vera vel fa*

²⁶ See on III.I

²⁷ See above,

possibility which may receive support from the fact that he immediately reverts to fully lemmatized commentary (*In Perih. I 93.25-97.19*, 17B26-37) before effectively²⁴ settling on the blended mode of exposition (*In Perih. I 97.20*, 17B38). The most significant consequence of the change in exegetical method is that, on finding themselves confronted with a commentary whose lemmata accounted for only two thirds of Aristotle's treatise, some medieval editors or scribes restored the "lost" passages by excerpting from *t* or (and) *C* — a process reminiscent of, if not actually related to, that which gave rise to the composite edition of Boethius' *Categories* translation. Traces of their editorial handiwork are evident in details such as the use of *vel* to mark variant readings and of *usque* (sc., *ad*) to indicate the extent of contracted interpolations.²⁵ At one point the editor of (or behind) *H* explicitly remarks upon the extent of a particular interpolation.²⁶ And a glimpse into what appears to have been a related process is offered by Paris, BnF, lat. 12949, a 9th-c. fragment, possibly from Corbie,²⁷ which aggressively excerpts from the final pages of the commentary (*sic opinio ... contraria suspicari*, *In Perih. I 222.6-225.11*) in an effort to fit the selected passages into a single side (f. 81r).

Although it is both convenient and meaningful to speak in terms of interpolated (φ) and non-interpolated (hereafter ζ) branches of the tradition, two cautionary notes must be sounded. First, the ζ -witnesses (*CDFKLPV*) evince signs of collation and editorial intervention similar to those seen in the φ -witnesses (*GHMO*), at least five examples of which have been encountered above: *nomini Boetius* (abbrev., medial points, *titulus*) for *nominiibus* in *K* at **16A22-26** (*In Perih. I 49.4-8*; II.B); subject heading displaces lemma in *CKLPV*, commentary infiltrates lemma in *L^c* at **16B6-7** (*In Perih. I 55.21-22*; II.A); importation of *quod complectitur* in *C^{slKmg}* at **16B18** (*In Perih. I 61.2*), and of *probus ... turpis* in *C^c* at **17B32-33** (*In Perih. I 95.9-10*; II). Evidence for the type of scholarly activity that led to the φ -interpolations, in other words, is already present in the ζ -branch, and the contamination resulting from that activity has a disruptive effect on the line separating the two families. Second, the interpolation of passages from *t* (*C*) is not in fact restricted to commentary after *In Perih. I 93.3* (17B20), for at least four such interpolations appear earlier:

²⁴ There are occasional reversions to continuous lemmata and (or) citations after *In Perih. I 97.20*.

²⁵ The latter in *G* at *In Perih. I 93.4* (17B21-26, see MAGEE, *Observations*, p. 19) and 98.24 (18A3-12, *si autem aliud aliquid vel de alio idem, non opposita, sed erit ab ea diversa usque et quando vera vel falsa*). Cfr. MINIO-PALUELLO, [ed.] *Arist. Lat.*, II, p. lii.

²⁶ See on III.B, below.

²⁷ See above, ntt. 6, 9.