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NELL'OFFICINA DEL FILOLOGO

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## STUDI SUI TESTI E I LORO LETTORI

*Per Ivan Garofalo*

A CURA DI

TOMMASO RAIOLA E AMNERIS ROSELLI

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EXEGETICAL PRACTICES  
IN SOME MANUSCRIPTS  
OF ARISTOTLE'S *POSTERIOR ANALYTICS*:  
BETWEEN COMMENTARIES  
AND MARGINAL NOTES

STEFANO VALENTE

ABSTRACT · Manuscripts of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* can tell us a great deal about aspects of the exegetic dynamics in Byzantine scholarship. The investigation of the multi-layered exegesis they contain can contribute to our understanding of how Byzantine scholars approached the study of Aristotle's logical treatises. This paper will focus on some annotations on *Posterior Analytics*, bk. 1, ch. 3, which are preserved in manuscripts dating from the 12th to the 14th century. More specifically, it will analyse the different uses of some late antique and Byzantine commentaries such as those written by Philoponus and Leo Magentinos.

KEYWORDS · Aristotle; *Posterior Analytics*; *Organon*; Themistius; Philoponus; Leo Magentinos; commentary; *scholia*; marginal notes; manuscripts.

1. INTRODUCTION

THE study of Byzantine exegetical practices related to the works of Aristotle is quite a complex field of research. In this respect, the manuscripts transmitting the philosopher's logical treatises are a valuable source of information on how Byzantine scholars approached the study of the *Organon*. The multi-layered exegesis that many manuscripts contain often bears traces of scholarly activity performed over centuries by various scholars and in various cultural milieus. The investigation of the exegetic dynamics between the main text on the one hand and the apparatus of glosses, marginal notes and autonomous commentaries on the other hand can help to provide a better understanding of the philological work of medieval readers confronted with curricular texts such as those in the *Organon*.<sup>1</sup>

In order to sketch this topic, I intend to focus mainly on some manuscripts transmitting the commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* composed by the Byzantine scholar Leo Magentinos, who probably lived in the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> I will select some examples from ch. 3 of the first book. Given that Magentinos's commentary on the first book of *Posterior Analytics* has not been edited yet, I will provide a first

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<sup>1</sup> See ERISMANN 2017, with further bibliographic references. An overview on the reception of the *Posterior Analytics* in antiquity, late antiquity and Byzantine age is given by DE HAAS, LEUNISSEN, MARTIJN 2010, pp. IX-XV, with further bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> See Agiotis forthcoming for a discussion and further literature; BROCKMANN 2020, p. 220. See also BENAKIS 1988, pp. 7 f.

transcription of some passages in the text.<sup>1</sup> My aim is to show how medieval scholars used this commentary in a range of ways and how they approached the study of the Aristotelian text through it and by using other commentaries as well.

## 2. THE MULTI-LAYERED EXEGESIS IN THE MS. VATICANUS GR. 244

Leo Magentinos is the author of extensive commentaries on the six treatises of the *Organon* and on Porphyry's *Eisagoge*, the text usually preceding and introducing this collection. Most of his commentaries are still unedited as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The oldest manuscript transmitting the complete corpus of his commentaries is the ms. Vaticanus gr. 244 (12th century), which is probably the most important witness of Leo Magentinos's works.<sup>3</sup> In the words of Sten Ebbesen (1981, I, 314), this manuscript «offers a unique opportunity to study a Byzantine scholar at work».<sup>4</sup>

The Vaticanus itself is a complex manuscript. Ebbesen stressed the importance of the ruling, which structures each folio; in this way, the main Aristotelian text is set in the centre of the page and surrounded by a running commentary, while some blank space was left in the outer margins.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the spaces outside the main ruling lines are occupied by additions to the main commentary, written both by the main scribe at a later stage of production<sup>6</sup> and, afterwards, by other scholars as well.<sup>7</sup> Christian Brockmann (2020, pp. 220-222) was able to determine that the scribe used two different manuscripts to produce the Vaticanus, one for the main text by Aristotle and the other for the commentary by Leo Magentinos. This becomes clear if one considers that the manuscript source for the main text was the ms. Parisinus Coislinianus 330 (11th century), one of the *codices vetustissimi*. This codex

<sup>1</sup> For instance, BROCKMANN 2020, pp. 219-231 publishes the text of comments no. τξ' and τξα' concerning bk. 1, ch. 31. The commentary on bk. 2 was published by WALLIES 1909, pp. 334-440, but falsely attributed to Philoponus: see EBBESEN 2012, pp. 363 f.; EBBESEN 2015, p. 13, with note 4; BROCKMANN 2020, pp. 219-222; VALENTE 2021a, pp. 198-200; see also Goldin 2009, pp. 1-4. <sup>2</sup> See AGIOTIS 2021; VALENTE 2021b.

<sup>3</sup> On this manuscript, see Mercati's description in MERCATI, FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI 1923, pp. 313-317; HUNGER 1990-1991, pp. 33 f., e 1991, pp. 74 f.; KOTZABASSI 1999, p. 49; Agiotis forthcoming; BROCKMANN 2020, pp. 219-222. The manuscript can be consulted online in the digitised collections of the Vatican Library ([digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.244](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.244)).

<sup>4</sup> See EBBESEN 1981, I, pp. 314-316 (these and some other passages on the Vaticanus from Ebbesen's contribution have been silently taken over by BENAKIS 1988, pp. 7 f.).

<sup>5</sup> See EBBESEN 1981, I, p. 314: «a scribe [...] filled it [i.e., the paper of this manuscript] with all the works of the *Organon* and Leo the Magentine's commentaries. He often overstepped the ruling, but still considerable blank space was left in the margins. Blank pages were also left between the several books of the *Organon*. We cannot know if the scribe knew what the blank space should be used for, but it may have been the case». On the *mise en page* in Aristotelian manuscripts, see BIANCONI 2011; more generally, on the *mise en page* in Byzantine manuscripts and the interaction between text and commentary, see, e.g., MANIACI 2000, 2002, 2006, as well as CAVALLO 2006, SAUTEL 2006 and VIANÈS 2006, with further bibliographic references.

<sup>6</sup> See EBBESEN 1981, I, p. 314: «soon after the 'completion' of the codex, someone, and quite possibly the text scribe himself, began filling that space with extracts from other commentaries. We quite clearly have to do with a man who wanted to produce a new corpus of commentaries on the *Organon* and not with somebody who for his own use would like to supplement Leo's notes with sundry pieces of information from elsewhere». However, concerning his latter hypothesis, see below, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> BIANCONI 2008, pp. 351-354: 352 f. identified the scribe that supplemented further comments on *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* as belonging to the *milieu* of Isaac Argyros. I will not deal with the later additions made by this hand, though, since they do not occur in the chapter I have investigated here. For more details on this scribe, see BIANCONI 2011, pp. 405 f.

has only short glosses and comments in the margins, but it is not provided with a fully fledged commentary.<sup>1</sup> The scribe of the Vaticanus must have therefore used another manuscript as a source for copying the commentary. As Brockmann (2020, p. 222) remarks, Magentinos's commentaries «might perhaps have been arranged as marginal commentaries to the main texts for the first time in this manuscript, as they may have been presented as a continuous text in the source, and thus would have been numbered strictly by section only in the process of adding them to the *Vaticanus*».<sup>2</sup>

In fact, one characteristic of the commentaries in the Vaticanus is the progressive numbering of individual lemmas, which are cross-referenced to the main text.<sup>3</sup> After doing that, the same scribe intervened in the manuscript, using different inks to supplement the commentaries with excerpts taken from other treatises.<sup>4</sup> Ebbesen describes his activity in detail:

His strategies vary from case to case. A blank page at the beginning or end of a book could be used for extensive extracts from a non-Leonine commentary. When he has not got any blank page, he sometimes adds a new scholium in the margin and provides it with a sign to show which part of the text it comments on; sometimes he puts the extract between the lines of the *Organon* text. On other occasions he joints it to Leo's scholia, either as a simple addition, whether at the beginning, in the middle or at the end; or adapting one to the other, changing some phrase at the beginning or/and end of the extract and/or changing some phrase of Leo's at the point where the new materials are added. In some instances he makes minor changes in Leo's text, deleting a phrase and putting another in its place. It also happens that he just writes the new text above Leo's, the idea certainly being that one or the other should be deleted during a final revision of the text. However, the many instances in which he has not decided whether to adopt Leo's text or the "new" one bear witness that he never managed to finish the truly enormous work of interpolation and conflation that he had undertaken.

(EBBESSEN 1981, I, pp. 314 f.)

Ebbesen focused his study on the *Sophistical Refutations*. He exemplified the scholarly activity of the scribe of the Vaticanus by discussing a single comment on this treatise.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the exegesis on *Posterior Analytics* in the Vaticanus has received almost no scholarly attention so far.<sup>6</sup> In order to give some examples of how the main scribe of

<sup>1</sup> On this manuscript see DEVREESSE 1945, p. 315; AGIOTIS 2015, pp. 4 f. A reproduction of the manuscript is available online at *Gallica*: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525023022>. There is possibly some further palaeographic proof here that the scribe of the *Vaticanus* used the Coislinianus. In fact, Agiotis (*loc. cit.*) remarks that a later, anonymous scribe who wrote some marginal notes in the first four chapters of *De interpretatione* in the Coislinianus is «sehr ähnlich, wenn nicht identisch mit der Haupthand des Vat. gr. 244». BROCKMANN 2020, p. 221 confirms Agiotis's opinion and stresses that «the scholia on the first chapters of *Categorias* in the Coislinianus (foll. 17v sqq.) are also from an annotator who can most likely be identified with the scribe of Vat. 244». See also VALENTE 2018a, p. 114, with notes 6-10.

<sup>2</sup> Nikos Agiotis kindly confirms this hypothesis for what concerns the *Prior Analytics* in this manuscripts (e-mail, 22.11.2018). He mentions one passage among many taken from fol. 184r concerning comment, nos ξ' und ξα'.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, a similar practice can also be discovered in the ms. Laurentianus plut. 87, 12 which contains the *Metaphysics*: see DORANDI 2017, pp. 64 f., with further literature.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 88, notes 5 f.

<sup>5</sup> See EBBESSEN 1981, I, pp. 315 f. (fol. 618r, comment no. σμη').

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 88, note 1; BROCKMANN 2020, pp. 219-231; VALENTE 2018b, pp. 426 f., 432. More generally, see DE HAAS, LEUNISSEN, MARTIJN 2010, pp. xiv f.

the Vaticanus actually worked in this part of the manuscript, I will now discuss three comments from Magentinos's commentary on *Posterior Analytics*, bk. 1, ch. 3.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, Aristotle takes up the discussion he began in the previous one and deals with erroneous opinions concerning scientific knowledge, in particular «the view that knowledge is impossible because it involves an infinite regress, and the view that circular demonstration is satisfactory» (Ross 1949, p. 512).<sup>2</sup> The introductory sentence reads as follows:<sup>3</sup>

72b5-7 ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ δεῖν τὰ πρῶτα ἐπίστασθαι οὐ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη εἶναι, τοῖς δ' εἶναι μὲν, πάντων μέντοι ἀπόδειξις<sup>4</sup> εἶναι. ὣν οὐδέτερον οὐτ' ἀληθές οὐτ' ἀναγκαῖον.<sup>5</sup>

In the Vaticanus, we can find this sentence on fol. 308r.<sup>6</sup> In the main text above the line, the scribe wrote the numeral λβ' (l. 2) and repeated it before the relevant commentary in the upper margin, beginning at line 4 and ending on the next verso (fol. 308v, l. 3):<sup>7</sup>

- 1 λβ' "ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ δεῖν τὰ πρῶτα ἐπίστασθαι". ὀρισάμενος τί ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ ζητῆσαι εἰ ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις. ἀπορήσει δὲ τις, εἰ τεσσάρων ὄντων τῶν ζητούμενων (εἰ ἐστὶ, τί ἐστὶν, ὁποῖόν τι ἐστὶν καὶ διατί) καὶ τοῦ εἰ ἐστὶ προταττομένου τῶν ἄλλων, τίνος χάριν πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ τί ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, εἶτα ζητεῖ εἰ ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις. καὶ φαμεν ἐφ' ὅσων πραγμάτων ἀμυδρὰν γνῶσιν ἔχομεν τοῦ τί ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶγμα (καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸν ὀρισμὸν αὐτοῦ γινώσκωμεν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ σημαίνον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ τραγελάφου γινώσκωμεν τί σημαίνει ἡ λέξις αὕτη), ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων γοῦν ζητοῦμεν πρῶτον τὸ εἰ ἐστὶ, εἶτα τὸ τί ἐστὶν. ἐφ' ὅσων δὲ παντελῶς ἀγνοοῦμεν καὶ τὴν σημασίαν τοῦ προκειμένου, ἐπὶ τούτων ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πρότερον γνωρίσαι τί ἐστὶ τὸ ζητούμενον, εἴθ' οὕτως ζητῆσαι καὶ τὸ εἰ ἐστὶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀπόδειξις πάντῃ ἦν ἀγνοουμένη ἡμῖν, διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον εἰπὼν τί ἐστὶν αὕτη, νῦν ζητεῖ τὸ εἰ ἐστὶ καὶ φησὶν ὅτι τινὲς εἶπον μὴ εἶναι ὅλως ἀπόδειξιν, μήτε μὴ ἀποδεικτόν τι συλλογιζόμενοι ὑποθετικῶς, λαμβάνοντες ὅτι τὰ πράγματα ἄπειρά εἰσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀγνωστα. ἡ δὲ δεῖξις ἐστὶν αὕτη· εἰ ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ πρῶτα εἰδέναι δι' ἀποδείξεως· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀδύνατον εἰδέναι τὰ πρῶτα ἡγούσας προτάσεις δι' ἀποδείξεως· οὐκ ἄρα ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶ. δεικνύουσι δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὰ πρῶτα εἰδέναι δι' ἀποδείξεως οὕτως· εἰ πᾶσα ἀπόδειξις ἐκ προτάσεων γίνεται, τῶν δὲ προτάσεων ἐστὶ λαβεῖν ἀρχοειδέστερον καὶ πρῶτον, καὶ τούτων ἕτερον ἀρχοειδέστερον καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἕτερα, καὶ αἰετ' ἄπειρον προβαίνει ἢ πρόοδος τῶν ἀρχοειδέστερων προτάσεων· τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων

<sup>1</sup> I select here three out of ten comments by Magentinos referring to Arist. *APo.* 1, 3. In the Vaticanus, they are numbered from λβ' to μα'.

<sup>2</sup> On this chapter see Ross 1949, pp. 512-517; MIGNUCCI 1975, pp. 44-46; BARNES 1993, pp. 103-110; DETEL 1993, II, pp. 86-98; MIGNUCCI 2007, pp. 159-162, with further bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> I print the text of the *Posterior Analytics* as edited by Ross 1949 (= Ross 1964) here and below.

<sup>4</sup> Ross prints ἀπόδειξις of ms. d against ἀποδείξεις of mss. ABCn (see the following footnote).

<sup>5</sup> BARNES 1993, p. 4 f.: «Some people think that because you must understand the primitives there is no understanding at all; others that there is, but that there are demonstrations of everything. Neither of these views is either true or necessary». Note that Barnes's translation «there are demonstrations of everything» does not account for the Greek text as printed by Ross, since it reflects the text of the majority of codices (see previous footnote as well as BARNES 1975, p. 5, note 1).

<sup>6</sup> See the online reproduction: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.244/0651](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.244/0651).

<sup>7</sup> See the online reproduction: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.244/0651](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.244/0651). This transcription should not be regarded as a critical edition. The Byzantine accentuation and punctuation in it have been standardised for a better readability.

γνώσις οὐκ ἔστι· λοιπὸν ἄρα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὰς ληφθείσας εἰς ἀπόδειξιν προτάσεις 20  
 γνῶναι. καὶ εἰ ταύτας ἀγνοοῦμεν, πῶς ἀποδείξομεν;<sup>1</sup>

“ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀπόδειξις διὰ τὸ” λέγειν “δεῖν ἐπίστασθαι 25  
 δι’ ἀποδείξεως τὰ πρῶτα” ἤγουν τὰς προτάσεις. τισὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων δοκεῖ εἶναι  
 ἀπόδειξις πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πάντα εἶναι ἀποδεικτά, ὧν οὐδέτερον ἀληθές·  
 ψεύδονται γὰρ καὶ οἱ λέγοντες πάντα εἶναι ἀναπόδεικτα καὶ οἱ ἀποδεικτά, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’  
 ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι δι’ ἀποδείξεως εἰδέναι τὰς ληφθείσας προτάσεις ἐν τῇ ἀποδείξει· οἱ  
 μὲν γὰρ ὑποθέμενοι μὴ εἶναι ἕλως ἐπίστασθαι ἤγουν ἀπόδειξιν, οὗτοι ἀξιουῶσιν εἶναι  
 τὰ πράγματα ἄπειρα καὶ αἰ τῶν ληφθεισῶν προτάσεων ἔστι λαβεῖν ἀρχοειδέστερον  
 ἕτερον.<sup>2</sup>

2 εἰ<sup>2</sup>] an secludendum? | 4 πρῶτα] an πρῶτον?

This long comment represents Magentinos’s exegetic approach to the Aristotelian text quite well. First he introduces the chapter by contextualising it within the framework of the treatise (ll. 1-11); then he explains the core content of this passage (ll. 11-21), yet in an involute way. After a short commenting paraphrase (ll. 22-23), Magentinos rejects two opinions of «some philosophers» (ll. 23-29) and focuses on the following sentences in Aristotle’s treatise (*APo.* I, 3, 72b7-18). To understand this complex comment, however, it is also necessary to read the long explanation that Philoponus wrote on this passage (esp. in *APo.* I, 3, 72b4, pp. 42,7-44,12). A close com-

<sup>1</sup> In the Vaticanus, the scribe put the punctuation mark ‘:–’ in this point. He probably intended to separate two parts of the commentary on the very same lemma.

<sup>2</sup> Transl.: «Some people think that because you must understand the primitives»: after having defined what demonstration is, (Aristotle) now attempts to investigate if there is demonstration. Since there are four kinds of things that can be investigated (‘if something is’, ‘what it is’, ‘of what kind something is’ and ‘why something is’) and since the investigation on ‘if something is’ is put before the others, one will question the reason why he first accounts for the investigation of ‘what a demonstration is’, then he investigates ‘if there is demonstration’. And we say: in case of so many things in relation to which we have a vague knowledge of ‘what a thing is’ (and if we are not aware of its definition, we still do not ignore its meaning, such as in the case of goat-stag, we are aware of what this word means), in relation to such things, at any rate, we first investigate the ‘if it is’, then the ‘what it is’. In all the cases in which we completely ignore even the meaning of the matter at hand, it is necessary first to become familiar with what the subject of investigation is and then to investigate also the ‘if it is’ this way. Since we were completely unaware of the demonstration, for this reason he first said what this is, now he investigates the ‘if it is’. He also affirms that some said that there is no demonstration at all nor anything demonstrable by using a hypothetical syllogism and assuming that the things are infinite and therefore unknown. The proof is this: if there is a demonstration, it is necessary to know also the primitives through demonstration. However, it is impossible to know the primitives – i.e. the premises – through demonstration, hence there is no demonstration. They demonstrate that it is impossible to know the primitives through demonstration this way: if every demonstration comes about from premises, and if it is possible to assume something more basic and first than the premises, and something else more basic than these, and yet other ones prior to these, and if the progression of more basic premises always proceeds to the infinite, but there is no knowledge of infinite things, it is impossible to know the premises that are assumed for the demonstration. And if we ignore these, how will we be able to make a demonstration?

«Some people think that there is no understanding and demonstration» because they say that «one must understand the primitives» – i.e., the premises – «through demonstration». Some philosophers think that there is demonstration of all the things and that everything is demonstrable, but neither of the two opinions is true, since those who say that everything is indemonstrable and those who say that everything is demonstrable are equally mistaken. However, it is not even necessary to know the premises assumed in a demonstration through demonstration. In fact, those who suppose that there is no understanding at all, i.e. no demonstration, think that things are infinite and that it is always possible to assume something else more basic than the premises that have been assumed» (my own translation).

parison between the two passages reveals that Magentinos rephrased and shortened that given by Philoponus.

The scribe of the Vaticanus seems to have felt the same need for clarification. After having completed the copy, he revised the text of the commentary and expanded it by adding some supplementary notes. For the most part, these are taken from Philoponus's commentary, notably from the same passages Magentinos used for composing his own commentary. To this comment, after the word *ἀπόδειξις* in l. 2, the scribe added a symbol above the line. This reference mark should also have been repeated in the upper margin as well, but that is now damaged and the area with the symbol and some parts of the supplement is missing. The text of this supplement comes from the beginning of the quite elaborate explanation Philoponus gives of the Aristotelian sentence mentioned above (*in APo.* I, 3, 72b5, p. 42, 7-18):<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [...] δεῖ τὸν περὶ ἀποδείξεως διαλεγ[ό]μενον μὴ μόνον ὅσα συντείνει εἰς θεωρίαν αὐτῆς παραδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν τὰ ἐναντία διαταττομένων διελέγχειν. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἀρ[ιστοτέλ]ης εἰπὼν τί ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, ν[ῦν] προ]τίθεται τοὺς τὰ ἐναντία τῷ ὄρω τῆς ἀποδείξεως διαταττομένους διελέγχειν. εἰσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ τε μὴ εἶναι ὅλως ἀπόδειξιν ἀντικρυς λέγοντες, καὶ [οἱ π]άντα εἶναι ἀποδεικτὰ ὑποτιθέμενοι, ἀληθέστερον δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναιροῦντες τὴν ἀπόδειξιν δι' ὧν πάντα ἀποδεικτὰ εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὡς δηλωθήσεται ὕστερον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ δήπου ἢ μὴ εἶναι ὅλως ἀπόδειξιν ἢ πάντων εἶναι ἢ τινῶν μὲν εἶναι, τινῶν δ' οὐ. ἐλέγξας οὖν τοὺς τε λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι ὅλως ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τοὺς πάντα εἶναι ἀποδεικτὰ λέγοντας καὶ καταλιπὼν τὸ ἀληθές, τὸ τινῶν μὲν εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν, τινῶν δ' οὐ, ὕστερον δεῖξει τίνων μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, τίνων δ' οὐ.<sup>2</sup>

1 δεῖ] ἔδει Phlp. | 3 τί] τί ποτέ Phlp. | προτίθεται] πρ- καὶ Phlp. | 6 τὴν] cum Phlp. cod. V : om. Phlp. codd. rell. | 7 δηλωθήσεται ὕστερον] μαθησόμεθα Phlp. | μὴ] μὴδενός Phlp. | 8 δ'] δὲ Phlp. | 10 δ' (bis) δὲ Phlp.

Furthermore, there are a few shorter additions that also come from Philoponus's commentary:

1. After the word *τραγελάφου* (l. 7 of my transcription: above, p. 90), the scribe added ἢ τοῦ κενταύρου above the line. This supplement is possibly gathered from the same Philoponus's comment that Magentinos used for his own explanation (*in APo.* I, 3, 72b5, p. 43, 3-6): *ἐφ' ὧν μέντοι προφανές ἐστὶ τί ποτε σημαίνει τοῦνομα, ἐν τούτοις προτερεύσει ἢ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι ζήτησις, οἷον ἱπποκένταυρος· δῆλον*

<sup>1</sup> The parts of the text that are now missing because of material damage are in square brackets; the supplements are based on Philoponus's text. The variant readings with respect to the text edited by WALLIES 1909 are indicated in the apparatus after the text.

<sup>2</sup> Philoponus's passage from which the comment in the Vaticanus was taken has been translated by MCKIRAHAN 2008, p. 50: «A person discussing demonstration must not only teach everything that contributes to the study of it but also refute the [arguments] of those who maintain the contrary. This is why after saying precisely what demonstration is, Aristotle now here proposes to refute those who maintain the contrary of the definition of demonstration. These include both those who say outright that 'there is no' demonstration 'at all' and those who hypothesize that everything is demonstrable; but to speak more truly, these people too eliminate demonstration through the [arguments] in which they say that everything is demonstrable, as we will learn. For of course there must be demonstration either of nothing at all, or of everything, or of some things but not of others. So after refuting both those who say that there is no demonstration at all and those that say that everything is demonstrable, and leaving the truth, that there is demonstration of some things but not of others, he will later show of what there is demonstration and of what there is not».



- γάρ ἐστι τί ποτε εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ζῶον οἱ μῦθοι βούλονται.<sup>1</sup> Notably, the scribe simplified the text of his model preferring the form ‘centaur’ (κενταύρου) to the more difficult one «hippocentaur» (ἵπποκένταυρος); however, it cannot be ruled out that the manuscript of Philoponus at his disposal had the reading he adopted.
2. After τὸ εἰ ἔστι (l. 10 of my transcription, above p. 90), we can read the following words above the line: δ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ζητήσῃ τοῦ κενοῦ ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ. Once again, this supplement summarises another passage from the same Philoponean comment (in *APo.* I, 3, 72b5, p. 42, 22-26): φαμὲν οὖν ὅτι, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ Ζητήσῃ πρότερον τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ κενοῦ παραδέδωκε, τί ποτε εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἶτα οὕτως ἐζήτησε περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶτε ἔστι τοῦτο εἶτε μή, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἔννοιαν παραδοῦς τῆς ἀποδείξεως πρότερον οὕτως ἐζήτησεν εἶτε ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τῆς ἀποδείξεως τρόπος εἶτε μή.<sup>3</sup> As Wallies indicates in the apparatus referring to the phrase ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ ζητήσῃ, Philoponus is referring here to the discussion on the void in *Arist. Phys.* IV, 6-9.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the scribe of the Vaticanus found the phrase ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ in the copy of Philoponus he was using as a model, but he could also have identified the reference to the *Physics* by himself on the basis of his knowledge of Aristotle’s writings.
3. After αὕτη (l. 11 of my transcription, above p. 90), the scribe added *supra lineam* ὅτι συλλογισμὸς τοιοῦδε, which is taken from the very same comment as well (in *APo.* I, 3, 72b5, p. 43, 12-15): ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ σαφὴς οὐδὲ πάντῃ ἦν δῆλη ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἔννοια, εἰκότως πρῶτον διδάξας τί ποτε εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν ὑπονοοῦμεν, ὅτι συλλογισμὸν τοιοῦτον, οὕτως ἐζήτησεν εἶτε ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος συλλογισμὸς εἶτε μή.<sup>5</sup>

These supplements reveal the effort of this scholar to enhance Magentinos’s commentary by adding materials coming from at least another commentary. However, it remains to determine whether this scholar made use of Philoponus’s commentary for his supplements because he had a manuscript of this text at his disposal or he consciously selected it because he recognised the close affinity of Magentinos’s and Philoponus’s commentaries.

An answer to this question may come from another supplement made to a later comment by Magentinos in this chapter. Here I refer to two other comments which are devoted to the explanation of a passage occurring a few sentences after the aforementioned *incipit* of chapter 3, in which Aristotle states that not all scientific knowledge is demonstrative and that it is impossible to have scientific knowledge of the immediate propositions through demonstration (*APo.* I, 3, 72b18-22):<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the translation by MCKIRAHAN 2008, 51: «However, in cases where it is evident precisely what the word signifies, the investigation of the [question] ‘if it is’ will come first. For example, a centaur. For it is clear precisely what the myths intend such an animal to be». See also Phlp. in *APo.* I, 26, 86b35, p. 290, 18 f.: εἰ γὰρ μὴ γινώμεν ὅ τι σημαίνει ἵπποκένταυρος ἢ τραγέλαφος, οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦτου ἀπόφασιν γινώματι δυνάμεθα (transl. by M. Martijn in GOLDIN, MARTIJN 2012, p. 93: «for if we do not know what ‘hippocentaur’ or ‘goatstag’ mean, we will not be able to know the negation of this»). <sup>2</sup> Reading uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Transl. by MCKIRAHAN 2008, p. 50: «now we declare that just as in his investigation concerning the void he first teaches the notion of void – precisely what we understand the void to be – and then on that basis investigates whether or not it is, here too he first teaches the notion of demonstration and on that basis investigates whether there is or is not such a manner of demonstration».

<sup>4</sup> See also *ibidem*, p. 129, note 243.

<sup>5</sup> Transl. *ibidem*, at p. 51: «Now since the notion of demonstration was not clear or not altogether clear, it was reasonable for him first to teach precisely what we suppose demonstration to be – a deduction of such and such a kind – and on that basis he investigates whether there is or is not such a deduction».

<sup>6</sup> See MIGNUCCI 1975, pp. 46-48.

ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμεν οὔτε πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδεικτικὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἀμέσων ἀναπόδεικτον (καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον, φανερόν· εἰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη μὲν ἐπίστασθαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀπόδειξις, ἴσταται δὲ ποτε τὰ ἄμεσα, ταῦτ' ἀναπόδεικτα ἀνάγκη εἶναι).<sup>1</sup>

On fol. 309r,<sup>2</sup> the scribe of the Vaticanus placed the numerals λδ' and λε' in the main text above ἡμεῖς and ἴσταται respectively (72b18 and 72b22, that is ll. 8 and 12 in the Vatican manuscript). The comments in the margins read as follows:

1 λδ' "ἡμεῖς δὲ" λέγομεν ὅτι "οὐ πᾶσα ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἀποδεικτικὴ" ἡγουν δι' ἀποδείξεως γινώσκουσα τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα ἐπιστήμη ἢ γινώσκουσα τὰ πράγματα κρείττωνος ἢ κατὰ ἀπόδειξιν. γράφεται δὲ καὶ "οὔτε πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδεικτικὴν εἶναι" καὶ νοεῖται οὕτως· ὅτι οὐ πᾶσα γνῶσις δι' ἀποδείξεως ἡμῖν ἐπιγίνεται· ἢ γὰρ  
5 ἐπιστήμη "τῶν ἀμέσων" προτάσεων "ἀναπόδεικτός" ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείκνυται δι' ἐπιστήμης ἢ κρείττωνος ἢ κατὰ ἀπόδειξιν· ὥστε τινὰ μὲν εἰσιν ἀποδεικτά, ὡς αἱ ἔμμεσοι προτάσεις, τινὰ δὲ ἀναπόδεικτα, ὡς αἱ ἄμεσοι. καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι αἱ ἄμεσοι προτάσεις εἰσὶν ἀναπόδεικτοι, φανερόν.<sup>3</sup>

3 οὔτε] οὔτω a.c.

1 λε' "ἴσταται δὲ ποτε" εἰς "τὰ ἄμεσα,<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα" τὰ ἄμεσα "ἀναπόδεικτα εἶναι"· καὶ οὐ μόνον λέγομεν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην ἑτέραν τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς κρείττονα ταύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης λέγομεν εἶναι, ἐν ἣ τούς ὅρους γινώσκουμεν. ἀρχὴν δὲ νοεῖ τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν, ὅρους δὲ τὸν ὑποκείμενον καὶ κατηγορούμενον τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιωματίων. ὁ γοῦν νοῦς ὁ ἡμέτερος ἀπλαῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ ἄνευ ἀποδείξεως γινώσκει τούς ὅρους τῶν ἀμέσων προτάσεων ἡγουν τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιωματίων. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἢ ἐξήγησις ἐστὶν ἀρίστη. ἐξηγεῖται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ ἦσαν τινες, ὡς εἴπομεν,

<sup>1</sup> «We assert that not all understanding is demonstrative: rather, in the case of immediate items understanding is indemonstrable. And it is clear that this must be so; for if you must understand the items which are prior and from which the demonstration proceeds, and if things come to a stop at some point, then these immediates must be indemonstrable» (transl. BARNES 1993, p. 5). Concerning «immediates», see *ibidem*, p. 5, note 3 («placing a comma before rather than after τὰ ἄμεσα, with Schöne [immo Solmsen, see below]») and p. 107 («the ocr's punctuation gives: "and if the immediates stop at some points, these..." Punctuation before *ta amesa* gives the better sense»). I was unable to find the publication by the classical scholar Hermann Immanuel Schöne (1870-1941) to which Barnes refers. However, this is very likely a typo, since the change in punctuation was first suggested by SOLMSEN 1929, p. 104, note 2 (see MIGNUCCI 2007, p. 159). See also below, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> See the online reproduction: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.244/0653](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.244/0653).

<sup>3</sup> «'We' affirm that 'not all understanding is demonstrative', that is to say that it gains knowledge of the things through demonstration. But there is also another understanding which gains knowledge of the things in a more effective way than according to a demonstration. It is also written that 'not all understanding is demonstrable', and this is meant in this sense: that not every knowledge comes about for us through demonstration, since the understanding 'of immediate' premises is 'indemonstrable', but it is shown through (a form of) understanding which is more effective than the one gained according to a demonstration. Thus, some (propositions) are demonstrable, such as the intermediate premises, while others are indemonstrable, such as the immediate ones. And it is clear that the immediate propositions are indemonstrable» (my own translation).

<sup>4</sup> In the lemma, the preposition εἰς is probably part of Magentinos's interpretation of this Aristotelian passage. Furthermore, the lemma of this comment is slightly different to the main text, which reads: ἴσταται δὲ τὰ ἄμεσά ποτε, ταῦτα ἀναπόδεικτα ἀνάγκη εἶναι. Among the *codices vetustissimi*, the reading τὰ ἄμεσά ποτε only occurs in the ms. Par. Coisl. 330 (fol. 153r, ll. 6 f.) and in the ms. Vat. Barb. gr. 87 (fol. 126v, ll. 8 f.), while the other manuscripts read ποτε τὰ ἄμεσα. In the ms. Ambr. L 93 sup., fol. 193v, l. 17, we read τὰ<sup>ε</sup>μεσα, with ε added above the line by a later corrector. Concerning the punctuation of the Aristotelian passage, see also above, note 1.

τὰ πράγματα ἄπειρα λέγοντες καὶ μὴ καταλήγοντα εἰς ἀρχὴν τινα καὶ ὄρους, ἀναιρῶν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει ὅτι εἰσὶν ὄροι καὶ πέρατα τῶν πραγμάτων, τῶν μὲν αἰσθητῶν τὰ οὐράνια σώματα, ὡς περιορίζοντα καὶ περιέχοντα ταῦτα, τῶν δὲ οὐρανίων σωμάτων ὄροι εἰσὶν αἱ νοηταὶ οὐσίαι· τούτους δὲ ἀρχαὶ ὁ θεῖος νοῦς, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ θεοῦ νοὸς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐλλαμπόμενος γινώσκει τοὺς ὄρους τούτους, ἡγουν τὰ οὐράνια σώματα καὶ τὰς νοητὰς οὐσίας, ἀπλαῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.<sup>1</sup>

Both comments have close textual coincidences with Philoponus's ones (respectively in *APo.* pp. 45, 5-14 and 47, 24-48, 18). For the present investigation, the latter comment in the Vaticanus is of particular interest, since it was later expanded by further exegetical materials. The first two supplements concern the text in ll. 6 f. of my transcription: the first one immediately follows the sentence καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ ἐξήγησις ἐστὶν ἀρίστη and reads ἤτις καὶ φυσικωτέρα καὶ Θεμιστιωκῆ:– (*sic, ut videtur*), while the other one is appended to the following sentence (ἐξηγεῖται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οὕτως) and reads: κατὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον ὃς καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Φιλοπόνου ἦν. Just as in the case previously analysed, the source of these supplements is the same passage of Philoponus's commentary that Magentinos had rephrased (in *APo.* I, 3, 72b23, pp. 47, 24-48, 18):

ὁ μὲν φιλόσοφος τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ προκειμένου ῥητοῦ οὕτως ἀπέδωκεν, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐπιστήμης τὸν νοῦν εἰληφώς, οὐ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀλλὰ τὸν θεῖον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ὄρους δὲ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ θεῖα εἶδη, ὄρους δὲ αὐτὰ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ πέρατα εἶναι πάντων· ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος τε τὸ πλῆθος ἀρχεται καὶ εἰς μονάδα ἀναλύεται καὶ εἰσι τῶν μὲν, εἰ τύχοι, ἑκατοντάδων αἱ δεκάδες ὄροι καὶ τῶν χιλιάδων αἱ ἑκατοντάδες, πάντων δὲ κοινῶς ἡ μονάς, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄρους ἂν εἴποιμεν, τῶν μὲν αἰσθητῶν τὰ οὐράνια σώματα, ἐκείνων δὲ τὰς θείας οὐσίας καὶ πάντων κοινῶς τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν. τοῦτο δὲ λέγοι ἂν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιρῶντας τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῷ εἰς ἄπειρον ἵέναι, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀποδείξιν εἶναι λέγομεν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ εἰς ἄπειρον ἔκειν τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι τινα καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀποδείξεως, ἥτινι τοὺς ὄρους τῶν πραγμάτων γινώσκωμεν, ὅταν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐλλάμψεως τύχωμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν φιλόσοφος οὕτως. ἔοικε δὲ μάλλον φυσικώτερον καὶ προσφυῶς τῷ ῥητῷ ὁ Θεμιστιος ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν προκειμένων τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀποδείξεως εἶναι νοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον λέγων, ὄρους δὲ ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται τὰ ἀξιώματα, τουτέστι τὸν ὑποκείμενον καὶ τὸν κατηγορούμενον, οἷον ὅτι ἐπὶ παντὸς ἡ ἢ κατὰφασις ἡ ἢ ἀπόφασις. τοὺς οὖν ὄρους οὐ δι' ἀποδείξεως γινώσκωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἡ αἰσθησις ἀνευ ἀποδείξεως γινώσκει τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ κρεῖττον αὐτὰ γινώσκει ἤπερ δι' ἀποδείξεως ἂν ἐγίνωσκεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἀπλαῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τούτοις ἐπιβάλλων ἀναποδείκτως τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν αἰρεῖ, ἐξ ὧν συμπλέκει τὰ ἀξιώματα. λέγοι ἂν οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἵέναι τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις καὶ ἀρχὴ ἀποδείξεως ὁ νοῦς αὐτὸς ὁ ἐπιβάλλων τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ μὴ δεόμενος ἀποδείξεως, ἥς αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translation: «'Things come to a stop at some point' in 'the immediate things', and 'these' immediate things 'must be indemonstrable'. And we affirm not only that another understanding is more effective than this demonstrative one, but we also call principle of such understanding that one in which we gain knowledge of the definitions. Think of our intellect as principle, the subject and the predicate of common propositions as limits. Thus, our intellect knows the limits of immediate premises, that is, of common propositions, by means of simple intuition and without demonstration. And this is the best explanation. It is also explained this way: since there were some people, as we have said, who affirmed that things are infinite and do not end at any principle or limits, Aristotle confutes them and says that limits are also boundaries of things, the celestial bodies of the perceptible things, since they mark the boundaries and surround these things, the intelligible substances are limits of the celestial bodies. Principle of these things is the divine intelligence, and our human intelligence, illuminated by this divine intelligence, gains knowledge of these limits – i.e. the celestial bodies and the intelligible substances – by means of simple intuition» (my own translation).

<sup>2</sup> Translation by MCKIRAHAN 2008, 55: «the Philosopher gives the explanation of the present passage,

This passage indicates that the scribe of the Vaticanus got the reference to Themistius not by a direct use of his paraphrase (*in APo.* p. 9, 9 f.),<sup>1</sup> but rather by Philoponus's commentary. In particular, the part of Magentinos's comment which rephrases Philoponus's explanation is identified as the doctrine of «Ammonius, who was also the teacher of Philoponus» (κατὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον ὃς καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Φιλοπόνου ἦν). This phrase reminds one of the title of Philoponus's commentary in the ms. Marcianus gr. Z. 225 (*siglum U*):

Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως σχολικαὶ ἀποσημειώσεις ἐκ τῶν συνουσιῶν Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου μετὰ τινῶν ἰδίων ἐπιστασιῶν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῶν Ὑστέρων Ἀναλυτικῶν Ἀριστοτέλους

(Phlp. *in APo.* p. 1, 1-4).<sup>2</sup>

This note may therefore provide some decisive evidence that the scribe of the Vaticanus used a second manuscript containing Philoponus's commentary on *Posterior Analytics* to improve the exegesis in his own manuscript. The annotator may thus have used the title of Philoponus's commentary to identify the sources of Magentinos's commentary in the Vaticanus more precisely.

Furthermore, the same passage was also partially added at the end of Magentinos's comment (after ἐπιβολαῖς: l. 13 of my transcription), after an introductory sentence: πρόσθετος εἰ βούλει καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς εἰς ὑπόδειγμα τῶν περατούντων ὄρων καὶ τῶν περατουμένων, «if you like, also add the numbers to the examples of definitions, viz.

taking intelligence as the principle of knowledge, to be not our [intelligence] but the [intelligence] that is divine and above us, and the limits to be the intelligible and divine forms. They are called limits because they are the boundaries of all things. For as plurality begins from the unit and is resolved into the unit, and, for example, tens are limits of hundreds and hundreds [are limits] of thousands, but the unit is [the limit] of all universally, so also if we were to speak of the limits of things, the celestial bodies [are the limits] of perceptible things, the divine substances [are the limits] of them, and the first principle [is the limit] universally of all. He might be saying this against those who eliminate demonstration by an infinite regress, because we say that 'there is' 'not only' demonstration but that things do not proceed ad infinitum either, 'but' that 'there is' 'also' a 'principle' of demonstration by which we know 'the limits' of things when we get illumination from that source. That is what the Philosopher [says]. But Themistius seems to explain the thought of the present [words] more naturally and in a way that naturally fits the passage, saying that our intelligence is the principle of demonstration and the limits are the things of which the axioms are composed, i.e., the subject and the predicate, for example, 'in everything either the affirmation or the negation'. We do not know the limits through demonstration, but as perception knows perceptibles without demonstration and knows them more strongly than if it knew them through demonstration, so also intelligence, intuiting them with simple intuitions, grasps without demonstration the nature of the things it combines [to form] the axioms. So he might say that things must not proceed ad infinitum, but that there is indeed a principle of demonstration: that very intelligence that intuits things and does not need demonstration but is itself the principle of [demonstration]».

<sup>1</sup> WALLIES 1909, p. 48 identifies this passage in the apparatus *ad loc.* (see also MCKIRAHAN 2008, p. 130, note 264). Themistius's passage reads as follows (*in APo.* 9, 2-10): ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς τίθενται τὸ ἐπίστασθαι τοῦτο εἶναι μόνον τὸ δι' ἀποδείξεώς τι γινώσκειν [...], ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἐναργὲς τὸ πολλὰ τῆς δι' ἑτέρων πίστεως προσδεῖσθαι, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἦτρον ἐναργὲς τὸ πολλὰ εἶναι γνῶριμα δι' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιστητὰ τῶν δι' ἄλλων γινωσκομένων, αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως οὐκ ἂν εἶεν δήπουθεν ἀποδείξεις ἀλλὰ προτάσεις αὐτόθεν ἐναργεῖς τε καὶ ἀμεσοὶ ὧν τε ἀρχὴ πάλιν ὁ νοῦς, ὃ τοὺς ὄρους θηρεύομεν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται τὰ ἀξιώματα.

<sup>2</sup> Transl. by MCKIRAHAN 2008, p. 15: «John of Alexandria's lecture notes from the meetings of Ammonius, son of Hermeias, on the first [book] of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, together with some observations of his own».

boundaries that limit and are limited». This phrase seems to be an interpretation of Philoponus's words ὅρους δὲ αὐτὰ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ πέρατα εἶναι πάντων (p. 47, 26 f.). In fact, what follows is merely taken from the passage mentioned above (pp. 47, 27-48, 3):

ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος τε τὸ πλῆθος ἄρχεται καὶ εἰς μονάδα ἀναλύεται καὶ εἰσι τῶν μὲν 1  
 ἑκατοντάδων, εἰ τύχοι, αἱ δεκάδες ὅροι καὶ τῶν χιλιάδων αἱ ἑκατοντάδες, πάντων δὲ  
 κοινῶς ἡ μονάς, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅρους ἂν εἴποιμεν, τῶν μὲν αἰσθητῶν τὰ  
 οὐράνια σώματα, ἐκείνων δὲ τὰς νοητὰς οὐσίας καὶ πάντων κοινῶς τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν.<sup>1</sup>

2 ἑκατοντάδων εἰ τύχοι] cum ed. Aldina : εἰ τύχοι ἑκατοντάδων Phlp. codd. | 4 νοητὰς] θείας Phlp.

On this folio, there are two other supplements which do not concern Magentinos's commentary, but the main text of *Posterior Analytics*. The first one is quite short and refers to 72b15 οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι ὁμολογοῦσι: it is on the upper margin and taken from Philoponus (*in APo.* 46, 18-21), albeit with some changes.<sup>2</sup> The other one is quite long and occupies the rest of the upper margin as well as the left margin. It is cross-referenced to 72b18 φαμέν by a symbol (see above, p. 92) and is entirely from Philoponus (*in APo.* p. 47, 4-20):

ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν προειρημένων ὅτι ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις. αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ κατασκευάζειν μὴ 1  
 εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν εἰσῆγον ἀπόδειξιν· δι' ἀποδείξεως γὰρ ἔδειξαν μὴ εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν. εἰ  
 γὰρ ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις, φασίν, ἀνάγκη τὰ πρῶτα εἰδέναι δι' ἀποδείξεως· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ  
 ἐπόμενον ψεῦδος· καὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον ἄρα. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ ἀπόδειξις ἔστιν· ὥστε αὐτῷ  
 τῷ ἀνασκευάζειν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν κατασκευάσαν. λαβῶν οὖν τοῦτο παρ' 5  
 αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις, δείκνυσιν ὅτι ἀδύνατον πάντα δι' ἀποδείξεως εἰδέναι τοῦτον  
 τὸν τρόπον. εἰ γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ ἄκρα διὰ τινος μέσου ὅρου κατασκευάζομεν, ἀνάγκη δήπου, ἐν  
 οἷς μὴ ἐνδέχεται τινὰ μέσον ὅρον λαβεῖν ἀλλ' εἰς ἔσχατα ἄμεσα ἡ ὁδὸς καταντᾷ, ταῦτα  
 δὴ ἀναπόδεικτα εἶναι. ὥστε καὶ ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις διὰ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένα, καὶ οὐ  
 πάντων ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις διὰ τὸ μὴ πᾶσαν εἶναι πρότασιν ἕμμεσον, ἀλλ' εἶναι τινὰς καὶ 10  
 ἄμεσους προτάσεις, ὧν ἀπόδειξις μὲν οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τὸ ἄμεσους εἶναι αὐτάς, ἐπιστήμη  
 δὲ ἔστι διὰ τὸ αὐτόπιστον αὐτῶν καὶ κρεῖττον ἢ κατὰ ἀπόδειξιν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς  
 ἀπόληψιν ἔχειν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐλέγομεν διαφέρειν τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς  
 ἀποδείξεως τῷ ἐπι πλέον εἶναι τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀποδείξεως.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a translation of this passage, see above, pp. 95 f., note 2. Moreover, there is another short addition to the text of Magentinos's commentary, namely ὥσπερ τὰ ἄντα καὶ added *supra lineam* after περιορίζοντα καὶ (above p. 95, l. 10).

<sup>2</sup> The text reads as follows: οὗτοι, φησίν, "ὁμολογοῦσιν" εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ τῶν πρώτων δι' ἀποδείξεως (*cum cod. S et ed. Aldina* : -ων *codd.* RUV) προεγνωσμένων. κακῶς τῇ προσλήψει ταύτη χρωμένον, τῷ δι' ἀποδείξεως (κακῶς – δι' ἀποδείξεως *non habet* Phlp.) : τὰ δὲ πρῶτα μὴ διὰ τινων ἄλλων προτέρων κατασκευάσθαι (*ut vid.* : κατασκευάζεσθαι Phlp.), ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ εἶναι (εἶναι Phlp.) τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων τὰ πρῶτα (*cum ed. Aldina* : πρότερα *codd. vell.*) κατασκευάζοντα (*cum ed. Aldina* : -εσ *codd.* : κατασκευάζουσαν Wallies *in textu*) ὃν εἴπομεν τρόπον.

<sup>3</sup> Transl. by MCKIRAHAN 2008, pp. 54 f. : «from what he had previously said he obtains the result that there is demonstration. For the very proof that there is no demonstration has ended up in knowing [that there is] demonstration, for it was through demonstration that they proved that there is no demonstration. For, they say, if there is demonstration it is necessary to know the primary things through demonstration. But in fact, the consequent is false; therefore the antecedent [is false] too. But this very thing is a demonstration. And so by the very [act of] dismantling demonstration they establish demonstration. And so, having obtained from them the result that there is demonstration, he proves that it is impossible to know everything through demonstration in this way. For if we always establish the extremes through some

1 αὐτῶ] -ὁ Phlp. | τῶ] τὸ Phlp. | 2 εἰσῆγον ἀπόδειξιν] ἀπόδειξιν εἰς τὸ γνῶναι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν γέγονε Phlp. | 3 γὰρ ἔστι] γὰρ ἔστιν Phlp. | 8 τινὰ μέσον] μ- τ- Phlp. | εἰς ἔσχατα] ἐ- τινὰ Phlp. | 9 δὴ] cum Phlp. cod. V : non habent Phlp. codd. rell. | 10 πᾶσαν εἶναι] cum Phlp. cod. R : εἶναι πᾶσαν Phlp. codd. rell. | 12 εἶναι αὐτάς] αὐτάς εἶναι Phlp. | δέ ἔστι] δέ ἔστι Phlp. | αὐτόπιστον αὐτῶν] cum Phlp. cod. U : αὐτοπίστους αὐτάς εἶναι Phlp. codd. rell. | κρεῖττον] cum Phlp. codd. RV : κρείττω Phlp. codd. rell. | κατὰ κατ' Phlp. | 13 ἀπόληψιν] ὑπόληψιν Phlp. | διὰ τοῦτο] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Phlp.

To sum up, these examples illustrate the activity of a scholar involved in producing a codex of the *Organon* with a running commentary using two different manuscript sources and, afterwards, in extending the main commentary by using a third manuscript. As we have seen, the supplements were by no means mechanical: this scholar read the original text by Magentinos carefully as well as Philoponus's commentary, looking for the passages in the latter that could supplement or clarify the former. By doing this, he was also able to perform a sort of *Quellenforschung* by distinguishing different exegeses on the basis of a source at his disposal.<sup>1</sup>

As for *Posterior Analytics*, our scholar only supplemented Magentinos's commentary in the first chapters of bk 1.<sup>2</sup> He explained his decision to interrupt this activity in a note on fol. 302v stating that the blank space left on the folios would have been too narrow for his purpose.<sup>3</sup> This note backs up Ebbesen's hypothesis that this scholar never managed to supplement Magentinos's commentaries in the Vaticanus.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. SKETCHES FROM THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF MAGENTINOS'S COMMENTARY ON *POSTERIOR ANALYTICS*

Magentinos's commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* is also preserved in other manuscripts according to different typologies. They reveal the scholarly interest in this text to understand the Aristotelian treatise and its different uses. First of all, it is noteworthy to stress that the Vaticanus gr. 244 gave birth to a family

middle term, in cases where it is not possible to take any middle term but the procedure arrives at some ultimate things, which are immediate, of course 'these' 'must' 'be' 'indemonstrable'. And so in fact there is demonstration on account of what these people have said, and there is not demonstration of everything because not every premise is mediate, but there are some immediate premises too, of which there is no demonstration because they are immediate, but there is knowledge because they are self-guaranteeing and we have an understanding of them that is stronger than that which is due to demonstration. And this is why we said at the beginning that knowledge is different from demonstration, in that knowledge extends more widely than demonstration».

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to tell whether this scholar intended «to produce a new corpus of commentaries on the *Organon*», as Ebbesen assumed (see above, p. 88, note 6), since this practice may reveal an intensive study of Aristotle's text. If the latter is the case, this scholar read the *Analytica Posteriora* along with Magentinos's commentary and looked for further explanations in Philoponus's commentary as well. Whenever he found useful exegetic materials in Philoponus's commentary which were missing in the Vaticanus, he added them in his manuscript. The supplements to Magentinos's commentary cannot be labelled just as «sundry pieces of information from elsewhere» (EBBESEN 1981, I, 314), since they reveal a very careful reading of two different commentaries and the attentive selection of the pieces of information to be supplemented in the Vaticanus.

<sup>2</sup> The supplements end on fol. 319v with Phlp. in *APo.* I, 6, 75a14, pp. 92, 4-93, 1 (- συλλογισμὸν).

<sup>3</sup> See Mercati's transcription in MERCATI, FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI 1923, p. 316: ἐπιχειρήσας προστιθέναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν τμημασὶ τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς τὰ εὐρεθέντα εἰς σαφῆνειαν πλείονα, κατέλιπον τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῶν τετραδίων στενὸν οὐ συνεχώρησεν. Here, the word *τμήμα* seems to be interpreted as 'book' and not as 'section of a book', which is its usual meaning.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 88 f.

of codices, as Ebbesen and Kotzabassi have demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's text was copied from the Vat. gr. 244 along with commentary and supplements in a new manuscript, now lost, which served as a direct model for the mss. Vat. Reg. gr. 107 and Par. gr. 1972.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, another manuscript seems to be closely related to the Vaticanus as well. This is now divided into two volumes and preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris: the mss. Coisl. 167 and 170. The original manuscript was produced by a 14th-century scribe who just copied Magentinos's commentaries. Ebbesen maintains that the direct source should have been the Vat. gr. 244 itself, but without the additions. In contrast, Kotzabassi supposes they come from a common ancestor.<sup>3</sup> Anyway, the result represented by the two Coisliniani is a manuscript which may have looked like the one the scribe of the Vat. gr. 244 had used, if this was actually the form of the text as the author conceived it at first.<sup>4</sup> Leaving the question of the affiliations of these manuscripts unresolved for the moment, they reveal some further aspects of the complex mechanisms involved in the transmission of scholarly works like the Aristotelian commentaries.

#### 4. MAGENTINOS'S COMMENTARY ON *POSTERIOR ANALYTICS* IN THE MS. VAT. URB. GR. 35

Not only was Magentinos's commentary on *Posterior Analytics* transmitted as a whole, both as a marginal commentary and as an autonomous text, but further usages can also be discovered. Let us consider the famous ms. Vat. Urb. gr. 35, written around the year 900 by sub-deacon Gregorios and owned by Arethas of Caesarea.<sup>5</sup> All over the manuscript, a later scholar whose activity can be placed in the 12th/13th century on palaeographical grounds added several excerpts from different commentaries in the margins. Furthermore, he corrected the main text between the lines by collating a second codex of the *Organon*.<sup>6</sup> For the most part, the annotations and logical diagrams in the margins of *Posterior Analytics* are taken from the commentary by Leo Magentinos.<sup>7</sup> Concerning the comments on bk. 1, ch. 3 discussed above, the

<sup>1</sup> See EBBESEN 1981, I, 315 and III, 70-81; KOTZABASSI 1999, pp. 50-57. See also BROCKMANN 2020, pp. 220, 222 f.

<sup>2</sup> The Parisinus would later serve as *Vorlage* for the ms. Parisinus Coisl. 157.

<sup>3</sup> See EBBESEN 1981, III, 71 (stemma), pp. 74-76; KOTZABASSI 1999, pp. 50-53. On the basis of my collations, which are still only partial, it remains to be clarified whether the scribe of the Coisliniani used the Vaticanus directly or rather through an intermediate manuscript which has now been lost. Nikos Agiotis tends to support the latter hypothesis (e-mail, 22.11.2018). To give an example from *Posterior Analytics* bk. 1, ch. 3, let us consider the commentary no. λδ' on *APo.* I, 3, 72b18. In the Vaticanus, the comment shows no lemma, while the scribe of the Coislinianus supplemented it (*ἡμεῖς δὲ φημὲν οὐτε πᾶσαν*), probably from the main text of the Vaticanus itself. In l. 3, the scribe of the Vaticanus first wrote οὕτω, which he then corrected to οὕτε *in scribendo*, writing the spiritus lenis and the acute above *ypsilon* as well as *epsilon* above *omega*. The scribe of the Coislinianus (fol. 188v, l. 13) carefully reproduced the text of his *Vorlage*.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 89 and below, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> See FOLLIERI 1969, pp. 28 f. (no. 18), with further literature, and 1973-1974, pp. 196-204; AGIOTIS 2015, p. 3; VALENTE 2018a, p. 112, with further literature.

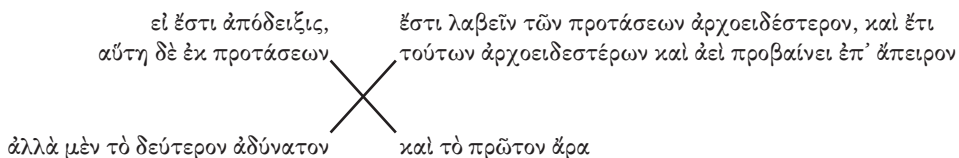
<sup>6</sup> See BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, EBBESEN 1982, pp. 48-50; VALENTE 2018a, p. 112. I will not discuss any further hands intervening in the Urbinas in the present investigation.

<sup>7</sup> See BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, EBBESEN 1982, pp. 52 f., 55-113 (edition of the annotations on *Sophistical Refutations*); BROCKMANN 2020, p. 222. See also BENAKIS 1988, p. 7.

scholar selected some passages he considered useful to explain Aristotle's text. He copied the following passages from comment no. λβ', for instance:<sup>1</sup>

- fol. 196v, l. 5, on 72b5 ἐπίστασθαι] s.l. δι' ἀποδείξεως (see above, p. 91, ll. 23 f.);
- fol. 196v, l. 8, on 72b7 οὗτ' ἀληθές] s.l. τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅλα μὴ εἶναι ἀποδεικτά and on 72b7 οὗτ' ἀναγκαῖον] s.l. τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς λέγοντας εἶναι πάντα ἀποδεικτά (see above, p. 91, ll. 26 f.).

What is rather more interesting here is the logical diagram on the margin of the same folio, which refers to *APo.* 72b7 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑποθέμενοι κτλ.:



The content of this diagram probably comes from the same comment no. λβ' in Magentinos's commentary (see above p. 90-91, ll. 14-21). However, further investigation is needed to clarify whether such diagrams were part of the visual apparatus of the *Vorlage*, that is, whether they were drawn by Magentinos himself or they stem from the 12th-century scholar who possessed the Urbinas and supplemented its exegetical apparatus. If the latter is the case, he would have chosen to draw some logical diagrams to visualise the content of Magentinos's exegesis in certain passages instead of copying the whole comments.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, this scribe only extracted a short explanation from comment no. λδ' on fol. 197r:<sup>3</sup> on 72b19 ἀποδεικτική, he wrote the following explanation above the line: ἦτοι δι' ἀποδείξεως γινώσκουσα τὰ πράγματα (see above, p. 94, from ll. 1 f.; fol. 197r, l. 3). On the other hand, he reproduced comment no. λε' almost in its entirety (pp. 94-95, ll. 2-13: οὐ μόνον – ἐπιβολαῖς, fol. 197r, upper margin).<sup>4</sup>

As far as the present investigation is concerned, these short remarks may suffice to show how a scholarly reader went about supplementing the exegetical apparatus of his own manuscript by adding excerpts from Magentinos's commentary selecting the passages he needed for his study of the *Posterior Analytics*.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, Leo Magentinos's commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* turns out to be a valuable source of information, not only concerning the scholarly activity on this Aristotelian treatise in the last centuries of the Byzantine age, but also

<sup>1</sup> See the online reproduction: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Urb.gr.35/0396](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.35/0396).

<sup>2</sup> On the figures relating to *Sophistical Refutations*, see BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, EBBESEN 1982, pp. 50-52 (esp. 52, section «Source of the figures»: «Since all commentators tend to use the same examples and such small differences of wording as may occur disappear when the example is summarized in a figure, it is often impossible to decide which commentary was the source of a particular figure. Moreover, the transmission of such figures is not linked with unbreakable bonds to the transmission of the scholia proper. In Urbinas 35 most of the figures appear to have been drawn before the scholia were entered»). On diagrams in Aristotle's manuscripts, see also CACOUIROS 2001, PRAPA 2012, RAMBOURG 2012.

<sup>3</sup> See the online reproduction: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Urb.gr.35/0397](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.35/0397).

<sup>4</sup> The only difference to the text of the Vaticanus is the presence of the verb φησί after οὐ μόνον.



when it comes to understanding some exegetical practices attested in the manuscript tradition. We do not know for certain whether this commentary was first copied in an autonomous manuscript, even if this does seem to be a plausible hypothesis.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the case, soon after its composition, it was copied in the margins of a newly produced manuscript of the *Organon*: the ms. Vaticanus gr. 244. The scholar who produced this manuscript intended it to be an indispensable tool for explaining the Aristotelian texts. Later on, the exegetical apparatus of this codex was partially augmented by inserting excerpts from Philoponus's commentary.

The expanded commentary of the Vaticanus subsequently gave birth to a family of manuscripts which accurately reproduced the Aristotelian treatises and the commentary on them. In turn, the mss. Parisini Coisl. 167 and 170 transmit Magentinos's commentary alone; in these codices, the marginal commentary of the Vaticanus gained the status of – or returned to be considered as – an 'autonomous' text.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, another scholar between the twelfth and thirteenth century used Magentinos's commentary to annotate the text of the treatises of the *Organon* in the *vetustissimus* ms. Vat. Urb. gr. 35: many excerpts from Magentinos's work were copied both between the lines and in the margins.<sup>3</sup> This scholar considered Magentinos's commentaries a valuable tool for enhancing his own understanding of the logical treatises by Aristotle.<sup>4</sup>

All in all, the use of different commentaries on *Posterior Analytics* and their interaction, which is attested by many manuscripts, are a vivid example of the exegetic dynamics found in late Byzantine scholarship, which may be also fruitful for the study of other scholarly traditions.\*

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> On the textual relationship between these manuscripts and the Vaticanus, see above, pp. 98 f., with note 3, p. 99. However, being a collection of the *Organon* commentaries by Magentinos, it should not have been read as an autonomous text, but in relation to the Aristotelian treatises.

<sup>3</sup> Further excerpts from Magentinos's commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* can be discovered in other manuscripts as well. This is the case for some *marginalia* by John Chortasmenos in the ms. 173 of the Princeton University Library, as well as for the fragments preserved in the Lovaniensis, copied by the same scholar: see AGIOTIS 2016, p. 438; VALENTE 2021a, with further literature. Some excerpts from Magentinos's commentary can also be found in the ms. Vat. gr. 1018: see KOTZABASSI 1999, pp. 49–53, with further bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> The complex textual tradition of Magentinos's commentary is currently being investigated in Hamburg by Christian Brockmann and myself.

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