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Article

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Abstract

This paper offers the first edition and English translation of a Byzantine introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*. The introduction is transmitted in two primary manuscript witnesses from the fifteenth century: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 59.17 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 87. They contain a corpus of scholia composed by Georgios Scholarios in the 1430s, or even early 1440s, and it is most likely that the introduction that precedes the corpus was also written by Scholarios. The paper examines the textual and manuscript sources on which Scholarios relied in composing the introduction.

Keywords

Aristotle's *Organon*, logic in Byzantium, Georgios Scholarios, philosophical manuscripts

1. Introduction: Georgios Scholarios as a teacher of logic

Georgios Scholarios (c.1400–c.1472), later patriarch of Constantinople under the name of Gennadios II,¹ began his teaching career in Constantinople, lecturing on poetry and rhetoric. As he states in the dedicatory letter addressed to the Despot Konstantinos Palaiologos, prefixed to his long commentary on the *Ars vetus*, Scholarios opened a philosophical school in the imperial capital, presumably in the late 1420s or early 1430s. This new phase in his career started with the teaching of logic, conceived as the gateway to the more advanced branches of philosophical inquiry.²

Scholarios' lessons focused primarily (though not exclusively) on the part of Aristotle's *Organon* known in the Western Middle Ages as the *Ars vetus*, i.e. Porphyry's *Isagoge* (hereafter, *Isag.*), Aristotle's *Categories* (hereafter, *Cat.*), and *De interpretatione* (hereafter, *De int.*).³ As a corollary of

¹ *PLP* 27304; for Scholarios' biography, see Tinnfeld 2002 and Blanchet 2008.

² In the letter to Konstantinos Palaiologos, Scholarios wrote: Ἡρξάμην δὲ ἀπὸ λογικῆς, ἥτις ὅποσον τε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν κτήσιν συμβάλλεται καὶ ὅπως, ταύτης ἀγνοουμένης ἢ μὴ γινωσκομένης ὡς δεῖ, ἀδύνατον ἦντινοῦν ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν καὶ ἔχειν καλῶς, ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς προλεγομένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι συντάγματι γένοιτ' ἂν δῆλον ('I started with the logic. From the things said as introduction in this work it would become clear how much it contributes to the other sciences and how it is impossible to acquire or have any science, if logic is ignored or not known as it should') (*OGS* VII, 4, 25–29). On Scholarios' philosophical school in the broader context of fifteenth-century Constantinople, see Fuchs 1926, 66–68 and 70–71.

³ *OGS* VII, 5, 13–20.

his teaching activity, Scholarios composed three extensive commentaries on *Isag.*, *Cat.*, and *De int.*, respectively.⁴ Together, these works occupy 348 pages in the modern edition and were passed down to us in six main manuscript witnesses.⁵ Four of these witnesses (numbers 1–4 in the list below) were produced within Scholarios' immediate circle, and two were copied (at least in part) by the same scribe: the so-called *Anonymus* 18 Harlfinger, an as yet unidentified copyist whose script resembles that of Scholarios himself and of his associate and student Matthaïos Kamariotes.⁶ What follows is a brief overview of the main witnesses to the commentaries.

1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2223. Paper, fols III, 215 (+ 88a, 146a). Autograph manuscript, copied around the fourth decade of the fifteenth century. Lilla 1985, 269–272; Balcoyannopoulou 2018a, 40*, 44*–47*.
2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 124. Paper, fols III, 244, mid-fifteenth century, written by an anonymous scribe in collaboration with Georgios Scholarios, who penned fols 40^r, l. 9 (φιλοσόφους)–40^v, l. 3 (ἀδιάκριτον) and 186^v, adding several marginal and interlinear corrections. Balcoyannopoulou 2018a, 41*–43* (with a new palaeographical assessment of the manuscript, which we follow while correcting some minor details), 62*–65*.
3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1941. Paper, fols II, 178. Composite manuscript consisting of two codicological units. Unit 1: fols 1–146, mid-fifteenth century, copied by *Anonymus* 18 Harlfinger (fols 3^v–8^v, 103^v were left blank). Scholarios corrected the text (see e.g. fols 16^r, 18^r, 36^r, 141^r) and added fol. 146^{rv}, copied in his own hand. Unit 2: fols 147–178, first half of the sixteenth century, copied by Ἰωάννης Σευῆρος Λακεδαιμόνιος (attribution in *RGK* II 241). Harlfinger 1971, 419; Balcoyannopoulou 2018a, 42*–43*, 70*–73*.
4. Modena, Biblioteca Estense universitaria, Ms α.T.9.13 (Puntoni 50). Paper, fols I, 306, I', mid-fifteenth century, written by four main scribes: A. fols 5^r, 6^r–9^v, 106^r–193^v; B. fols 10^r–105^v (= *Anonymus* 18 Harlfinger); C. fols 194^r–261^r; D. fols 262^r–265^r, 266^r–267^r, 268^r–303^v. A few additions by a later (possibly Western) hand are found on fols 5^v, 261^v, 265^v, 267^v. Puntoni 1896, 414–416; Harlfinger 1971, 419; <https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb0667680> (Giuseppe De Gregorio; accessed on 21 January 2026); Balcoyannopoulou 2018a, 43*–44* (with a different palaeographical assessment), 76*–88*.
5. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Mss Φ.I.15 (Andrés 193). Paper, fols IV, 214, mid-sixteenth century. The manuscript was copied by Nikolaos Mourmouris (*RGK* I 314bis, II 434, III 507) and Petros Karnabakas (*RGK* I 346, II 474, III 551), both active in Venice in the sixteenth century. de Andrés 1966, 22–23; Sosower 2004 *ad indicem*.

⁴These commentaries are traditionally dated to around 1433–1435 (*OGS* VII, 16*; Demetracopoulos 2018, 164). However, this dating is uncertain, and manuscript evidence points to a later date, closer to 1440. Compare the dating of the manuscripts containing the commentaries below.

⁵*OGS* VII, 1–348.

⁶On this anonymous scribe, see Harlfinger 1971, 419. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 235 should be added to the list of manuscripts transmitting works by Scholarios written by *Anonymus* 18 Harlfinger (attribution by Ciro Giacomelli). The anonymous scribe wrote most of the codex in collaboration with other scribes from the same milieu. For an overview of the manuscript, see the online description by Vinzenz Gottlieb published here: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/de/bpd/beschreibungen/bav_pal_gr_235.html (accessed on 21 January 2026). Pal. gr. 235 is not Scholarios' autograph, as argued by Demetracopoulos 2018, 166.

6. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 34. Paper, fols I, 498 (+ 457a), sixteenth century, written by a single, obviously Western hand. Capocci 1958, 36–37.

A further manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1777, copied by another of Scholarios' students and collaborators, Theodoros Agallianos, around 1442 according to the watermarks, is a particularly interesting witness to the commentaries.⁷ In Vatic. gr. 1777, long excerpts from Scholarios' commentaries on *Isag.*, *Cat.*, and *De int.* are intercalated with the text of the respective treatises, as well as with introductions, scholia, and other types of paracontent taken from late antique and Byzantine exegeses.⁸ To the list of witnesses already identified by previous scholarship, we now add a further manuscript: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 160 sup., which was copied by Theodoros Agallianos after 1450, again according to the watermarks.⁹ Ambros. A 160 sup. is an apograph of Vatic. gr. 1777 and contains only a few fragments of the commentaries prepared by Scholarios.¹⁰

As already well established in the existing literature, in composing his treatises on the *Ars vetus*, Scholarios was strongly influenced by the Latin exegetical tradition – so much so that Sten Ebbesen considered him to be a unique example of a Byzantine scholar capable of translating Latin scholastic logic into Greek, in an attempt to imitate ‘an Italian course of philosophy following via *Thomae*’.¹¹ In other words, Scholarios seems to be the first – and arguably the only – Byzantine author interested in updating the stiff and rather basic Greek logical doctrine of his time by engaging with its much more advanced Latin counterparts.¹² In the already mentioned letter to the despot Konstantinos Palaiologos, Scholarios explains how he structured his commentaries. They are divided into lessons (ἀναγνώσεις), each devoted to a specific portion of the Porphyrian and Aristotelian works. Each lesson starts with an introduction (προθεωρία), followed by broad analytical and interpretive discussions of the relevant pericopes. The lesson concludes with a set of investigations (ζητήματα) related to the pericope under study. As Scholarios himself pointed out, these investigations are organised according to a Latin pattern (πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ ζητήματα προχωροῦμεν τῷ λατινικῷ τρόπῳ), whereby arguments for and against a given problem are presented before a solution is reached.¹³ As noted by Sten Ebbesen and Jan Pinborg, both the overall structure of the treatises and the internal arrangement of the lessons are similar to those in the Latin tradition.¹⁴

⁷ The identification of Agallianos' hand in Vatic. gr. 1777 is in Harlfinger 1971, 408.

⁸ Maksimczuk 2023a, 47–49 (with an analysis of the paracontent for *Isag.* in Vatic. gr. 1777).

⁹ Identification in Harlfinger 1971, 408.

¹⁰ E.g., fols 40^r (= *OGS* VII, 111, 10–20) and 41^r (= *OGS* VII, 112, 30–36). For the relationship between Ambros. A 160 and Vatic. gr. 1777, see Maksimczuk 2026.

¹¹ Ebbesen 2008, 4.

¹² See the useful overview offered by Ebbesen 2008, 137–156.

¹³ *OGS*, VII, 5, 22–25.

¹⁴ Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981–1982, 264–265.

Another important way in which Latin exegetical treatises influenced Scholarios' work can be observed at the content level. In his letter to Konstantinos Palaiologos, Scholarios states that he studied several treatises composed by the Latin masters (οἱ τῶν Λατίνων διδάσκαλοι), who themselves were familiar with exegetical works by Greek, Arabic, and Persian authors; however, he does not (always) disclose the names of most of these Latin authorities.¹⁵ It has therefore fallen to modern scholarship to *discover* Scholarios' Latin sources, which he cited in Greek translations prepared either by himself or by others. The Latin works identified to date include Radulfus Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem* and *Quaestiones super Sophisticos Elenchos*;¹⁶ Thomas Aquinas' *Expositio in libri Peryermeneias* and *Summa theologiae*;¹⁷ Ps.-John Pagus' commentary on *Isag.* and *De int.*;¹⁸ Guillelmus Arnaldus' *Expositio in Artem Veterem*;¹⁹ and William of Ockham's *Summa totius logicae*.²⁰

Scholarios' decision to embrace the Western scholastic tradition does not imply a wholesale rejection of the usual Byzantine exegetical approach to Aristotelian logic, namely the habit of compiling excerpts taken from late-antique and early Byzantine commentaries. This approach never ceased to constitute the backbone of any Byzantine engagement with Aristotle, and its influence can be detected in Scholarios' works as well.²¹ As Katerina Ierodiakonou pointed out, Scholarios sought to produce a synthesis of the new Western wisdom and the more traditional Byzantine mode of interpretation, integrating newly translated texts alongside the familiar corpus of Greek commentators: Themistius (d. c.388 CE); Syrianus (d. c.437 CE); Ammonius (c.440–517/526 CE); and Simplicius (c.480–c.540 CE). Scholarios did not hesitate to draw on later authors, such as John Philoponus (active in the sixth century), a main representative of the Alexandrian school and the first truly Byzantine commentator on Aristotle. Scholarios also quotes much later Byzantine commentators, including Michael Psellos (eleventh and twelfth centuries) and Leo Magentenos (twelfth century).²²

The extensive and carefully structured commentaries on the *Ars vetus* published by Scholarios constitute our main source of knowledge about his teaching of logic; however, these conspicuous works are not the only witnesses to his engagement with logic in the early phase of his career. More recently, José Maksimczuk has brought to light a corpus of exegetical notes to *Isag.* and *Cat.*, connected to Scholarios' teaching activity in Constantinople before the 1450s and most probably compiled by Scholarios himself. The exemplar of the corpus has not yet been identified and may be

¹⁵ OGS VII, 3, 10–20.

¹⁶ Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981–1982.

¹⁷ For the *Expositio in libri Peryermeneias*, cf. Demetracopoulos 2010, 88–89 and the table in Balcoyiannopoulou 2018a, 129*–138*; for the *Summa theologiae*, see Maksimczuk 2024, 360–362.

¹⁸ For the commentary on *Isag.*, see Maksimczuk 2023b, 68 n. 5; for the commentary on *De int.*, see Balcoyiannopoulou 2018b, 106–107.

¹⁹ Balcoyiannopoulou 2018b, 107–109.

²⁰ Maksimczuk 2023b.

²¹ Ebbesen 2008, 142–147.

²² See Ierodiakonou 2011. For further examples of the use of late-antique commentaries in Scholarios' treatises on the *Ars vetus*, refer to Maksimczuk 2024, 357–360.

lost forever. Three apographs, however, survive: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 59.17, fols 161^r–181^v (c.1440–1445); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 87, fols 1^{rv}, 18^r–29^v, 35^r–57^r (c.1450); and Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, F VI 9, fols 2^{rv}, 25^r–39^v, 43^r–67^r (mid-sixteenth century). A comparison of the structure and contents of these manuscripts allows us to reconstruct the main features of the corpus:

1. it was compiled to accompany the text of *Isag.* and *Cat.*, in the form of introductions and marginal or interlinear notes;
2. it consists mainly in quotations from late-antique commentators (most prominently Ammonius and Philoponus);
3. it includes notes attributed to Georgios Scholarios;
4. it transmits notes quoting Greek translations of Latin scholastic works (Aquinas and Ockham).

Importantly, the dating of Laur. 59.17, the oldest known witness to the corpus, allows us to establish a *terminus ante quem* around the early 1440s.

Until recently, the link between the corpus and Scholarios rested primarily on philological and content-based evidence advanced by Maksimczuk. In addition to the presence of scholia explicitly attributed to Scholarios – most of which, however, are not found in his published commentaries on the *Ars vetus* – the corpus exhibits striking affinities with the content of those commentaries. Both the corpus and the commentaries cite the same Greek translations of Latin sources, often in excerpts featuring identical incipits and desinits. A similar scenario can be observed with quotations from late-antique Greek commentaries. In several instances, the corpus and Scholarios' commentaries reproduce the same passages with identical (or very similar) incipit and explicit and with identical variant readings.²³ The connection between the corpus and Scholarios can now be firmly established on historical and palaeographical grounds. As recently proven, Laur. 59.17, fols 161^r–181^v, the earliest and most authoritative witness to the corpus, was written by none other than Scholarios' close associate and student of philosophy, Ioannes, who corresponded extensively with him on Aristotelian logic and other subject matters in the mid-1430s.²⁴

The relationship between the corpus and the commentaries is not immediately evident. Philological considerations rule out the possibility that the corpus depends on Scholarios' commentaries, since the corpus preserves a better text of the quoted passages from the Greek and Latin works. A more plausible hypothesis is that Scholarios compiled the corpus in the margins and between the lines of his now-lost manuscript of *Isag.* and *Cat.*, initially as teaching material. He later drew on this material as a kind of commonplace book during the composition of the commentaries.²⁵ This dual

²³ Maksimczuk 2023b and Maksimczuk 2024.

²⁴ Giacomelli and Maksimczuk 2023 (with all the relevant literature). Since Dieter Harlfinger's seminal book on the transmission of Ps.-Aristotle's *On Indivisible Lines*, the scribe is known as *Anonymus 11* Harlfinger (Harlfinger 1971, 418). The student Ioannes was probably the historian Ioannes Kanaboutzes (*fl.* c.1430–1450; *PLP* 10871). See Giacomelli and Maksimczuk 2023, esp. 99–105, adducing substantial evidence in support of a hypothesis put forward by Thierry Ganchou in Blanchet 2008, 306 n. 149.

²⁵ This is the hypothesis put forward in Maksimczuk 2023b and Maksimczuk 2024.

use of the manuscript containing the corpus (i.e. as a teaching manuscript and as a repository of quotations) would explain why the student Ioannes produced an early copy of it, preserved today as Laur. 59.17, and why parallel quotations occur in both the corpus and Scholarios' commentaries.

As is evident from the above exposition, research on the corpus offers us unique access to Scholarios' personal notes on Aristotelian logic and a privileged vantage point from which to assess both his teaching practices and his appraisal of the late-antique Greek exegetical tradition on the *Organon*. In this paper, we present for the first time a critical edition and English translation of an important part of the corpus: the introductory text to Aristotle's *Cat.* (hereafter, *Intro.*). The edition and translation are accompanied by a study of the manuscript tradition of this portion of the corpus, an analysis of the sources and parallels of the *Intro.*, and a study of the manuscripts that may have served as Scholarios' ultimate 'material' sources.

2. The manuscript witnesses: short description and stemmatic relationships

As noted in the preceding paragraph, the *Intro.* and the corpus of scholia on *Isag.* and *Cat.* are preserved in three manuscript witnesses. Here, we offer a brief description of each, based primarily on existing literature.

1. Laur. 59.17. Paper, fols 184, first half of the fifteenth century. Composite manuscript comprising several codicological units, assembled by Ioannes, Scholarios' student. We distinguish six scribes: Ioannes copied fols 1^r–37^v, 74^r, 79^v, l. 10–93^r, 94^r–129^v, 132^r–137^r, 138^v–143^r, 157^v, l. 13–159^v, 161^r–183^v; hand B copied fols 38^r–50^r; hand C, identifiable with John Kaloeides, copied fols 50^v–53^v; hand D is responsible for fols 54^r–73^v; hand E copied fols 75^r–79^v, l. 9; hand F transcribed fols 147^r–157^v, l. 12. The content is various, including shorter poetical texts and prose (philosophy, history, rhetoric, grammar, and law). The student Ioannes wrote *Isag.* and *Cat.* on fols 161^r–181^v (watermarks of type Harlfinger *Ciseaux* 22, 1441 and 1443). He copied the *Intro.* on fol. 170^r (Fig. 1), immediately preceding *Cat.*, which starts on fol. 170^v. *Aristoteles Graecus*, 212–214 (Rainer Nickel), now accessible here: <https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb9560179> (accessed on 21 January 2026); Giacomelli and Maksimczuk 2023, 109–110 (with references to previous literature).
2. Barocc. 87. Paper, fols V, 356, mid-fifteenth century (fols III–94) and second half of the fifteenth century (fols 95–353). Composite manuscript consisting of three codicological units forming a complete edition of the *Organon*, assembled by the physician and scribe Demetrios Angelos. Unit 1: fols III–57, Porphyry's *Isag.*; Aristotle's *Cat.*, and several shorter introductory and explanatory texts. Most of this unit is attributable to Theodoros Laskaris, a physician living in Constantinople in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.²⁶ Several titles and a few notes were integrated by Demetrios Angelos and Andreas Donos, subsequent owners of

²⁶ For this scribe, see Stefec 2012, 133–136 with n. 167. The hand of Laskaris in Barocc. 87 was identified by Ciro Giacomelli. José Maksimczuk has identified another manuscript with logical content written by Laskaris: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2107, fols 3^r–10^v (*Anonymus Heiberg*).

the unit in the second half of the fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, respectively. Unit 2: fols 59–94, *De int.*; *First Analytics* I 1–7. It is likely that the core content of this unit was copied by Ioannes Eugenikos in the 1440s. Some annotations and corrections can be attributed to Theodoros Laskaris and Andreas Donos. Unit 3: fols 95–353, *First Analytics* I 8 ff.; *Second Analytics*; *Topics*; *Sophistical Refutations*. This unit was copied by Demetrios Angelos, who inserted several marginal and interlinear notes, as well as diagrams. As in the other units, Andreas Donos inserted several notes. The *Intro.* was written by Theodoros Laskaris and is found on fol. 1^{rv}, around 1450 (Fig. 2). Maksimczuk 2022, 322–326 (with all the references to previous literature).

3. Genuen. F VI 9. Paper, fols 105, XXII^r, mid-sixteenth century (1540–1550). The content of the manuscript is virtually identical to that of Barocc. 87, of which the Genuensis is an apograph. Genuen. F VI 9 includes, among other shorter philosophical works, Porphyry's *Isag.* followed by Aristotle's *Cat.*, *De int.*, and the first part of *First Analytics* (up to I 15, 34b41 *des. συμπεράσμα ἀναγκαῖον*). The entire manuscript was copied by a single scribe, whose script is very similar – and likely identical – to that of Andreas Donos (identification by us), owner of Barocc. 87. The *Intro.* is found on fols 2^{rv}. *Aristoteles Graecus*, 364–365 (Jürgen Wiesner), now accessible here: <https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb9372376> (with corrections; accessed on 21 January 2026); Maksimczuk 2022, 338.

Laur. 59.17 is the oldest witness to the *Intro.* It features a number of errors and inferior readings of the text of the *Intro.* that are absent from Barocc. 87 and Genuen. F VI 9, indicating that it cannot have been the model for the latter two manuscripts. See the following list:

συντέθεινται] συντέθειται Laur. 59.17
 δῆ] δὲ Laur. 59.17
 ὄντων] om. Laur. 59.17
 τοῦτο δὲ ὡς] τοῦτο ὡς Laur. 59.17
 κατὰ τοῦνομα μόνον τὴν κοινωνίαν] τὴν κατ' οὔνομα Laur. 59.17

Barocc. 87 and Genuen. F VI 9 share two mistakes:

Εἰς τὰς ἑκατομμύριας τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους] om. Barocc. 87 Genuen. F VI 9
 καταλείπεται] παραλείπεται Barocc. 87 Genuen. F VI 9

Genuen. F VI 9 yields errors not found in Barocc. 87, whereas the converse scenario, i.e. that Barocc. 87 transmits errors not found in Genuen. F VI 9, never occurs:

μετοχή] μετοχή Genuen. F VI 9
 ὑπόθεσιν] ἀλήθεσιν (sic acc.) Genuen. F VI 9

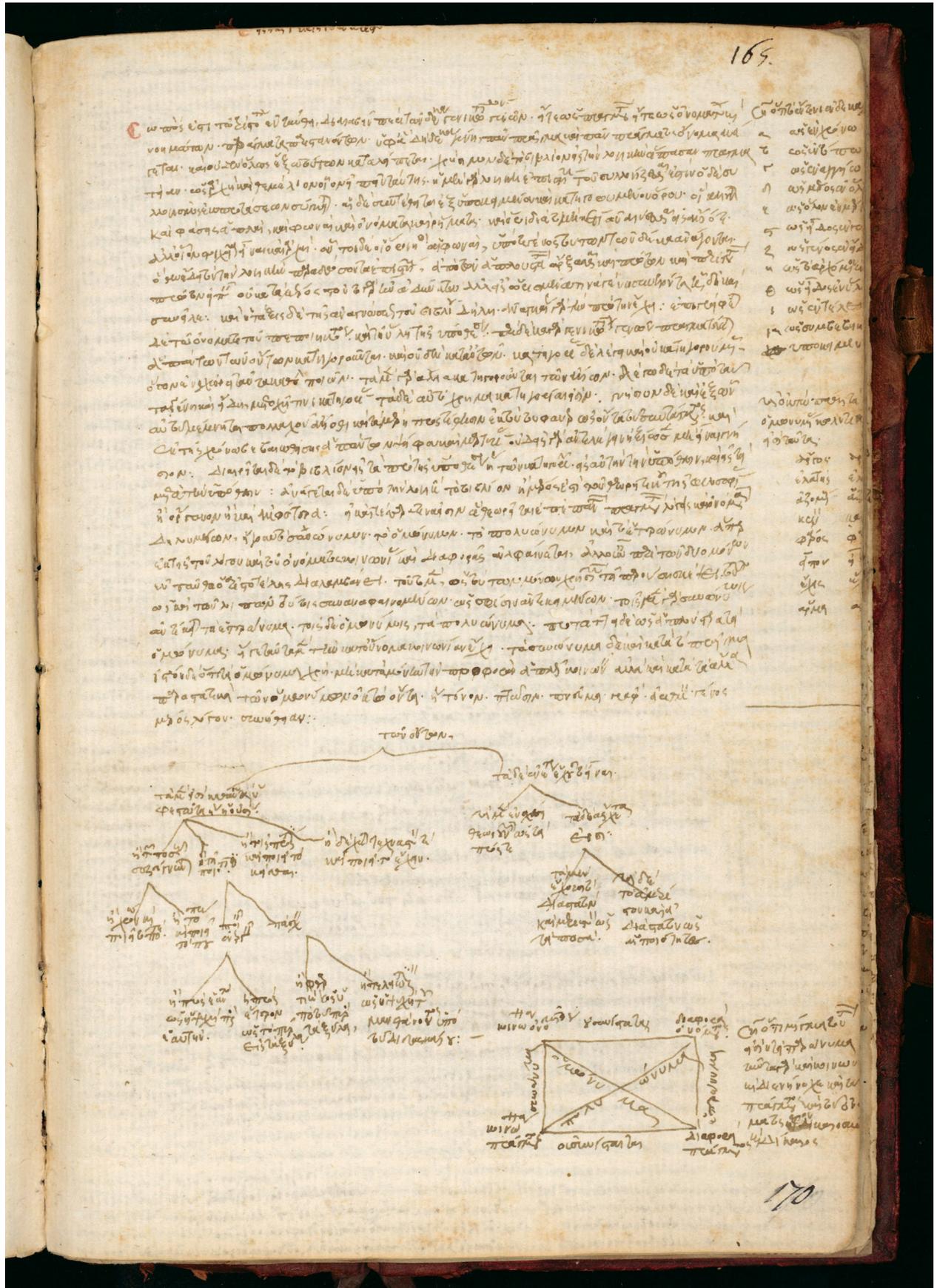


Fig. 1: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 59.17, fol. 170^r. Page containing the Intro.

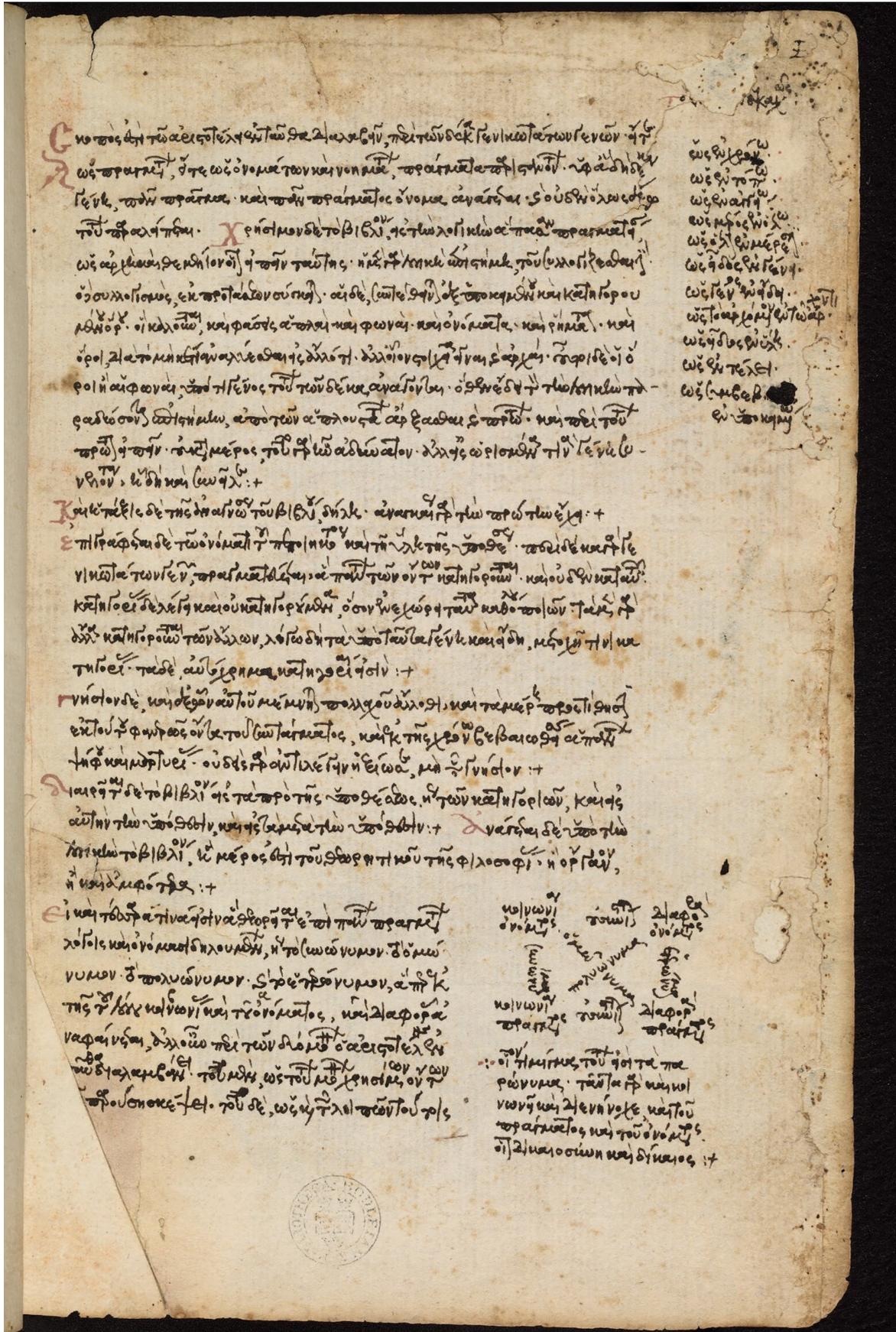


Fig. 2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 87, fol. 1r. Page containing the beginning of the Intro.

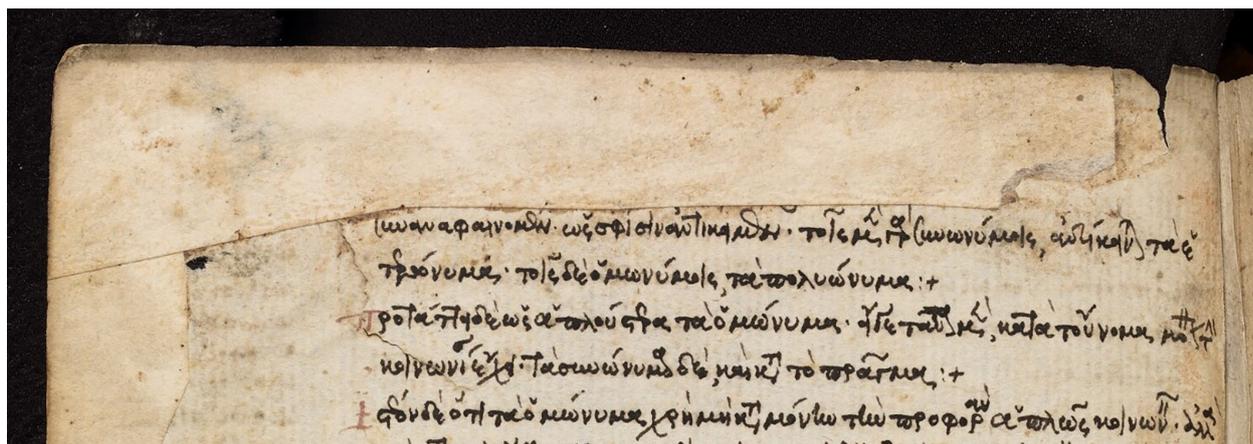


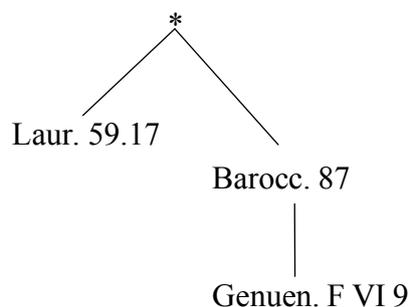
Fig. 3: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 87, fol. 1^v (detail: upper margin).

Most tellingly, a material peculiarity in Barocci. 87 accounts for a mistake in Genuen. F VI 9, which strongly suggests that the latter is a copy of the former:

τῶν λοιπῶν τούτοις συναφαινομένων] τῶν λοιπῶν τούτοις συναφαινομεν[.] Barocci. 87, τῶν λοιπῶν τούτοις συναφαινομεν Genuen. F VI 9

The word *συναφαινομεν* in Genuen. F VI 9 can be explained as an error triggered by the material conditions of Barocci. 87 at the time Genuen. F VI 9 was copied in the mid-sixteenth century. The upper and outer margins of fol. 1 in the Barocci manuscript were restored with pieces of what appears to be parchment, glued from the verso side of the folio. This intervention affected the content, since the material used for the restoration covered some of the accents and ligatures in the first line of the fol. 1^v (Fig. 3). In the case of the word *συναφαινομένων*, the added piece of parchment must have obscured the ligature for *-ων*, leaving the visible text as *συναφαινομεν* (without accents), which is virtually identical to the word transmitted in Genuen. F VI 9.

The results of the above discussion can be depicted through the following stemma, which concurs with the conclusions reached by previous scholarship:²⁷



²⁷ Duffy 1992, XIV–XV (for the link between Barocci. 87 and Genuen. F VI 9 regarding an introduction to Aristotelian logic); Maksimczuk 2024 (for the link between the three manuscripts regarding the corpus of scholia on *Cat.*). For further examples of particular errors in one or another manuscript, see our *Ratio edendi* (below, pp. 97–99).

3. Ratio edendi

The critical edition presented below distinguishes two units of contents within the *Intro.*: the core text and the paracontent. We consider core content the text copied in the middle of the folios of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87. The paracontent, by contrast, is the set of notes written around the core text, mainly to illustrate and expand upon the discussion it contains. In our edition, the core content comes first, followed by four items of paracontent, which we designate as a)–d).²⁸

The edited text aims to reconstruct the *Intro.* as it must have been transmitted in the lost model of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87, which we deem to be the exemplar of the corpus. Our text-critical approach can be summarized as follows. When Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87 agree, their shared reading is adopted. Where the two witnesses offer different variants, we make an ad hoc decision based on context, grammar, style, or similarity to a (possible) source text.²⁹ Some of our choices require explanation; others are self-evident.

3.1. Core content

Εἰς τὰς ἑκατὸν κατηγόριαι τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους

We reproduce the title as it appears in Laur. 59.17. Although the relevant portion of the folio has been partially trimmed, the text remains fairly easy to decipher. By contrast, Barocc. 87 transmits the *Intro.* without any title. It seems likely that its scribe, Theodoros Laskaris, initially intended to supply a rubricated title, together with rubricated initials at the beginning of certain sentences. These, however, were never executed. The *rubra* now visible in the text of the *Intro.* in Barocc. 87 were instead added several decades later by Demetrios Angelos (cf. Fig. 2). Since Angelos did not have access to the exemplar of Barocc. 87, he did not supply a title for the *Intro.*

ὅφ' ἂν δὴ δέκα γένη πάντων πρᾶγμα καὶ πάντων πράγματος ὄνομα ἀνάγεται καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔξω τούτων καταλείπεται

We adopt the variant of Laur. 59.17, whereas Barocc. 87 yields παραλείπεται ('leave aside', 'omit'). Besides the fact that καταλείπεται fits the syntax of the sentence more naturally, a close parallel can be found in Georgios Scholarios' *Disputationes Florentinae ad quaestionem religiosam*, where a formulation resembling the passage in the *Intro.* occurs: οὐδὲν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξω καταλείπεται τούτων (*OGS* I, 335, 11).³⁰

περὶ τῶν δύο μόνων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐνταῦθα διαλαμβάνει

We adopt the reading in Barocc. 87, whereas Laur. 59.17 reads ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης; however,

²⁸ Of course, these references are not present in the manuscripts; we introduce them to facilitate the discussion. For the concept of 'paracontent', we follow the definition proposed in Ciotti et al. 2018, 1. According to this publication, the paracontent is a set of visual signs present in a manuscript in addition to the core content. The main function is to provide data on the core content by structuring, explaining or documenting it.

²⁹ For a discussion on the textual and manuscript sources for the *Intro.*, see Sections 5 and 6 below.

³⁰ For this work and its authenticity, see Blanchet 2008, 58–60, 358–359, 490–493.

this choice is not without hesitation. It is possible that the scribe of Laur. 59.17 inverted the position of the subject and the adverb to construct a sentence in which the subject (ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης) stands immediately next to the verb (διαλαμβάνει).

3.2. *Paracontent*

a) A list of how something can be in something else

The first piece of paracontent accompanying the core text of the *Intro.* consists of a list outlining eleven ways in which something can be in something else (τὸ ἐν τινι ἑνδεκαχῶς). There are two differences between the texts of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87: (1) Laur. 59.17 introduces the title of the list (τὸ ἐν τινι ἑνδεκαχῶς) with the reference σημείωσαι ('nota bene'), abbreviated as σῆ; (2) Laur. 59.17 adds numbers (α–ια) at the beginning of each item in the list. Neither of these additions of Laur. 59.17 drastically affects our understanding of the content of the list. As we will see, this piece of paracontent depends directly on an *Organon* manuscript prepared by the Byzantine teacher and polymath Neophytos Prodromenos around the 1330s. In Prodromenos' manuscript, neither the sign σῆ nor the numbering of the individual items are present.³¹ We therefore print the text of Barocc. 87.

b) Square of oppositions with a note on paronyms

Only one difference is attested between the two main witnesses of the *Intro.* Laur. 59.17 starts the note accompanying the square with the words σῆ ὅτι τι μίγμα... τὰ παρώνυμα ('Note that the paronyms are a type of mixture...'), whereas Barocc. 87 reads Οἶόν τι μίγμα... τὰ παρώνυμα ('The paronyms are a sort of mixture...'). We print the version in Barocc. 87, as it seems to be a *lectio difficilior*. Furthermore, Ioannes, the scribe of Laur. 59.17, is more prone to changes than Theodoros Laskaris, the scribe of Barocc. 87, as can be observed from the analysis of other sections of the *Intro.* Lastly, the expression οἶόν τι μίγμα is replicated in Scholarios' treatises on the *Ars vetus* (*OGS* VII, 269, 24–25). This parallel provides further support for retaining οἶόν τι μίγμα.

c) List of false homonyms

There is a single difference between the texts of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87. Whereas Barocc. 87 reads εἶπον εἶπον φάρος φάρος, Laur. 59.17 inverts the order of these examples thus: φάρος φάρος εἶπον εἶπον. Our edition follows the text in Barocc. 87 because it reflects better the order of the required features of homonyms set out in the core text of the *Intro.*, where the feature ἀριθμόν ('number') precedes γένος ('gender').

d) Diagram 'Of the things that exist'

Three differences can be identified between the texts of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87:

τι] om. Barocc. 87

καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ] add. Laur. 59.17

καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ] add. Laur. 59.17

³¹ Cf. p. 126 below.

The text we print is based on text-critical considerations and on a study of the possible source of the diagram. The rationale behind our decisions is as follows. The adjective τεχναστόν alone, as transmitted in Barocc. 87, is syntactically problematic: δέχεται τεχναστόν κτλ. ('<substance> is able to receive made by art and craft', etc.). The presence of τι accompanying τεχναστόν is therefore necessary ('<substance> is able to receive something made by art and craft' etc.).

Laur. 59.17's readings καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ before χρόνῳ and τόπῳ, respectively, offer a more complete text than its counterpart in Barocc. 87, where those readings are absent. However, the simpler text in Barocc. 87 (χρόνῳ ποτέ and τόπῳ ποῦ) is also possible. We consider that Ioannes, the scribe of Laur. 59.17, deviated from his model by introducing καὶ ποιεῖ τό twice, following the text in other branches of the diagram (e.g. ἡ τοῖς πρὸς τι καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ κεῖσθαι). Our choice is further supported by a comparison with the possible ultimate source of the diagram, Ioannes Chortasmenos' *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic*, which offers a virtually identical diagram in which the branches featuring the words χρόνῳ and τόπῳ likewise lack καὶ ποιεῖ τό.³²

4. Edition and English translation

Conspectus siglorum

Laur = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 59.17, fol. 170^r

Barocc = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 87, fol. 1^{rv}

³² For Chortasmenos (1370–1436/37) and his *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic* as the source of the *Intro.*'s diagram, see below pp. 116–118.

Core content | *Greek text*

Εἰς τὰς ἰ' κατηγορίας τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους³³

[1] Σκοπός ἐστὶ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει ἐνταῦθα διαλαβεῖν περὶ τῶν δέκα γενικωτάτων γενῶν, εἴτε ὡς πραγμάτων εἴτε ὡς ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων πράγματα παριστανόντων· ὅφ' ἂ δὴ δέκα γένη πᾶν πρᾶγμα καὶ πᾶν πράγματος ὄνομα ἀνάγεται καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔξω τούτων καταλείπεται.³⁴

[2] Χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τὴν λογικὴν ἅπασαν πραγματείαν ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιον, οἷον εἰπεῖν, ταύτης· ἢ μὲν γὰρ λογικὴ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ συλλογίζεσθαι ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ συλλογισμὸς ἐκ προτάσεων σύγκειται· αἱ δὲ συντέθινται³⁵ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου καὶ κατηγορουμένου ὄρου, οἱ καλοῦνται καὶ φάσεις ἀπλαῖ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα – καὶ ὅροι διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ἀναλύεσθαι εἰς ἄλλο τι ἀλλ' οἷον στοιχεῖα εἶναι καὶ ἀρχαί· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ὅροι ἢ αἱ φωναὶ ὑπὸ τι γένος τούτων τῶν δέκα ἀνάγονται, ὅθεν ἔδει τὸν τὴν λογικὴν παραδώσοντα ἐπιστήμην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλουστάτων ἀρξασθαι καὶ πρώτων, καὶ περὶ τούτων πρώτον εἰπεῖν – οὐ κατὰ μέρος, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' εἰς ὀρισμένα τινὰ γένη συνελόντα, ἧ δὴ καὶ συνεῖλε.

[3] Καὶ ἡ τάξις δὲ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ βιβλίου δήλη· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ τὴν πρώτην ἔχει.

[4] Ἐπιγράφεται δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· περὶ δέκα γὰρ γενικωτάτων γενῶν πραγματεύεται, ἃ πάντων τῶν ὄντων κατηγοροῦνται καὶ οὐδὲν κατ' αὐτῶν. Κατηγορίας δὲ λέγει καὶ οὐ Κατηγορούμενα, ὅσον ἐνεχώρει, ταῦτα καθόλου ποιῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα κατηγοροῦνται τῶν ἄλλων, λέγω δὴ³⁶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταῦτα γένη καὶ εἶδη, μετοχῆ τινι κατηγορίας, τὰ δὲ αὐτόχρημα κατηγορίαι εἰσίν.

[5] Γνήσιον δέ, καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῦ μέμνηται πολλαχοῦ ἄλλοθι καὶ τὰ μέρη προστίθησιν ἐκ τούτου φανερώς ὄντα τοῦ συντάγματος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς χρόνῳ βεβαιωθείσης ἀπάντων ψήφου καὶ μαρτυρίας – οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν ἠξίωσε μὴ εἶναι γνήσιον.

[6] Διαιρεῖται δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τὰ πρὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἡγουν τῶν κατηγοριῶν, καὶ³⁷ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

[7] Ἀνάγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν λογικὴν τὸ βιβλίον· ἢ μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἢ ὄργανον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα.

³³ Εἰς τὰς ἰ' κατηγορίας τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους om. Barocc

³⁴ καταλείπεται Laur : παρα- Barocc

³⁵ συντέθινται Barocc : -θεται Laur

³⁶ δὴ Barocc : δὲ Laur

³⁷ καὶ om. Laur

Core content | *English translation*

On the Ten Categories of Aristotle

1. It is Aristotle's goal to discuss here the ten most general genera, either as things or as names and concepts presenting things. Every thing and every name of a thing is subsumed under these ten genera and there is altogether nothing left outside of these.

2. The book is useful for the entire logical discipline, as its beginning and, as it were, its foundation stone. For the logical science is concerned with syllogistic reasoning. Now, the syllogism is composed of propositions, and these, in turn, consist of an underlying and a predicated term, which are also called simple utterances, expressions, names, and phrases – and are called terms because they cannot be dissolved into something else, but they are like elements and principles. These terms or expressions are subsumed under a certain genus of these ten [genera]. For this reason, the teacher who wishes to transmit the logical science should start from the simplest and first elements and speak about them first – not in relation to each particular case, because this would be impossible, but by taking them together into some determined genera, in the way Aristotle himself did.

3. The position in the curriculum where this book should be read is also clear: by necessity it must occupy the first position.

4. The title includes the name of the author and the subject matter. For the book treats of the ten most general genera, which are predicated of all things that exist while nothing is predicated of them. He calls them *categories* and not *kategoroumena* [i.e. *predicated things*]. By this he made them universal as far as it was possible. All the other things – I mean the genera and species subsumed under these – are predicated of others due to a kind of category participation, but these are precisely categories.

5. It is authentic, on the one hand, because Aristotle refers to it in many other places and cites parts of it as clearly belonging to this treatise and, on the other hand, because of the judgement and testimony that has been upheld by all people over time. For nobody deemed to claim that it is not authentic.

6. The book is divided into the part before the subject matter, that is the categories, the subject matter itself and the part after the subject matter.

7. The book is subsumed under the study of logic. It is either a part of theoretical philosophy or a tool or both.

[8] Εἰ καὶ τέσσαρά τινά εἰσιν ἃ θεωρεῖται ἐπὶ πάντων πραγμάτων λόγοις καὶ ὀνόμασι δηλουμένων, ἤγουν τὸ συνώνυμον, τὸ ὁμώνυμον, τὸ πολυώνυμον καὶ τὸ ἑτερόνυμον, ἄπερ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος κοινωνίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀναφαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὖν περὶ τῶν δύο μόνων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐνταῦθα³⁸ διαλαμβάνει· τοῦτο μὲν ὡς τούτων μόνων χρησίμων ὄντων³⁹ τῆ⁴⁰ παρούση σκέψει, τοῦτο δὲ⁴¹ ὡς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τούτοις συναναφαινομένων,⁴² ὡς σφίσις ἀντικειμένων· τοῖς μὲν⁴³ γὰρ συνωνύμοις ἀντίκειται⁴⁴ τὰ ἑτερόνυμα, τοῖς δὲ ὁμωνύμοις τὰ πολυώνυμα.

[9] Προτάττει δὲ ὡς ἀπλούστερα τὰ ὁμώνυμα· εἶγε ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τοῦνομα μόνον τῆν⁴⁵ κοινωνίαν ἔχει, τὰ συνώνυμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

[10] Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὁμώνυμα χρῆ μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν προφορὰν⁴⁶ ἀπλῶς κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα παραστατικά τῶν ὁμωνύμων ὀκτῶ ὄντα· ἤγουν τόνον, πτώσιν, πνεῦμα, γραφήν, ἀριθμόν, γένος, μέρος λόγου, συνήθειαν.

Paracontent | Greek text

a) τὸ ἓν τινι ἑνδεκαχῶς

ἐν χρόνῳ

ἐν τόπῳ

ἐν ἀγγείῳ

ὡς μέρος ἐν ὅλῳ

ὡς ὅλον ἐν μέρεσιν

ὡς εἶδος ἐν γένει

ὡς γένος ἐν εἴδει

ὡς τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι

ὡς εἶδος ἐν ὕλῃ

ὡς ἐν τέλει

ὡς συμβεβηκὸς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ

³⁸ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης Laur

³⁹ ὄντων om. Laur

⁴⁰ τῆ periit in Barocc propter lacunam

⁴¹ δὲ om. Laur

⁴² συναναφαινομένων Laur : συναναφαινομεν[...] Barocc

⁴³ μὲν om. Laur^{a.corr.}

⁴⁴ ἀντίκειται Laur : -κείται Barocc

⁴⁵ κατὰ τοῦνομα μόνον τῆν Barocc : τῆν κατ' οὔνομα Laur

⁴⁶ πορφορὰν (sic) Laur^{a.corr.}

8. Even if there are four aspects that are considered in all things expressed by explanations and names, namely the synonym, the homonym, the polyonym, and the heteronym – a fact that becomes clearly apparent from the commonality of explanation and name and from their difference – Aristotle is certainly only discussing two of them here. He does this, on the one hand, because these are the only useful ones for the present treatise, and on the other, because the remaining ones will emerge together with these, since they are opposite to them. For heteronyms are opposite to synonyms, and polyonyms are opposite to homonyms.

9. He starts with the homonyms, as they are easier, if they indeed have their commonality only according to the name, while the synonyms have it also according to their essence.

10. You have to know that the homonyms must not merely coincide in pronunciation, but also in all other aspects, that are manifestly related to homonyms, which are eight in number, namely in accent, case, breathing, spelling, number, gender, part of speech, and usage.

Paracontent | *English translation*

a) Something can be in something else in eleven ways:

in time

in place

in a container

as a part in a whole

as a whole in its parts

as a species in a genus

as a genus in a species

as the <affairs> of the ruled in <the power or control of> the ruler

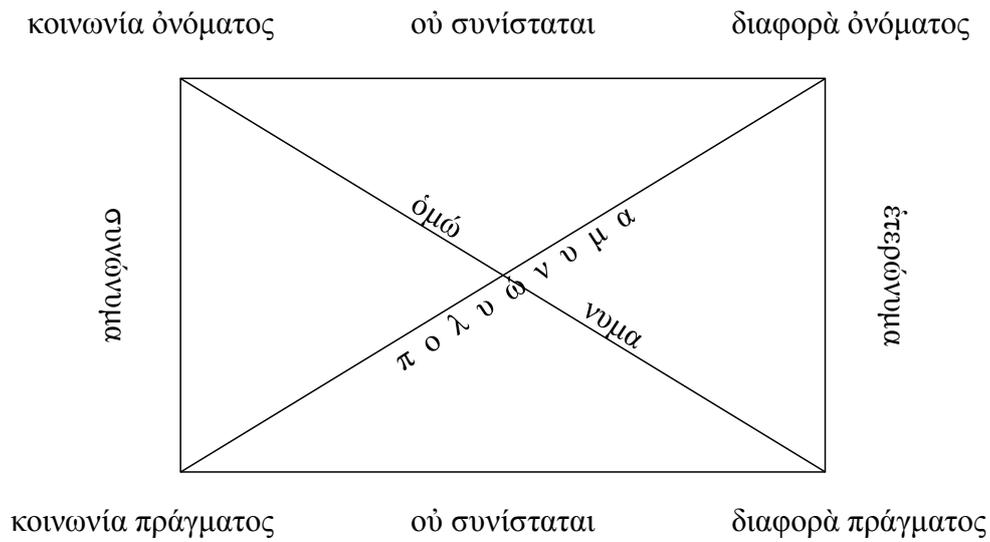
as form in matter

as in an end

as an accident in a subject⁴⁷

⁴⁷ As will be shown below, this piece of the paracontent of the *Intro.* derives from Ammonius, *in Cat.* (see below, p. 114). Our English translation follows, with minor modifications, Cohen and Matthews 1991, 36.

b)



+ Οἷόν¹ τι μίγμα τούτων εἰσὶ τὰ παρώνυμα· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ κοινωνεῖ καὶ διενήνοχε καὶ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· οἷον δικαιοσύνη καὶ δίκαιος

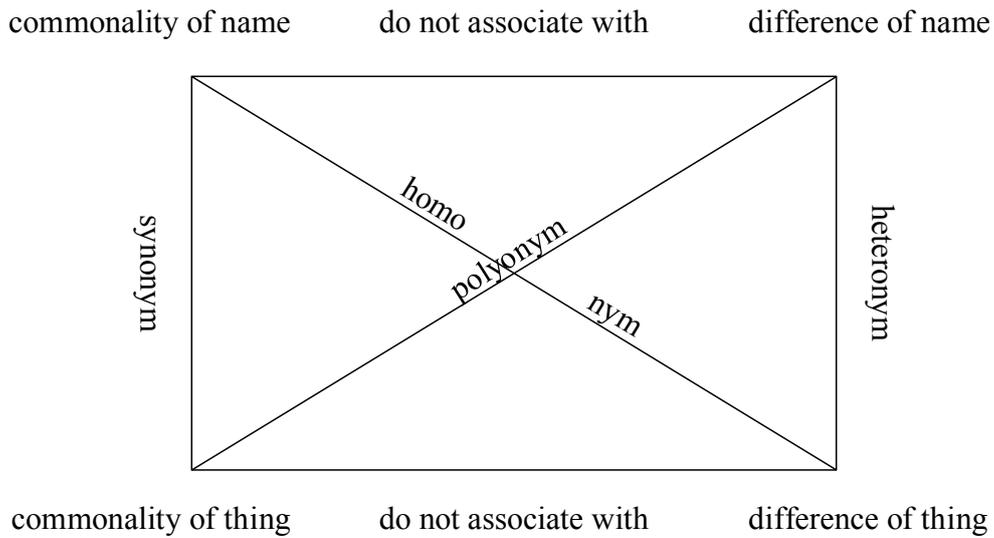
1. Οἷόν] σῆ ὅτι Laur

c)

ἄργος	ἀργός
ἐλατής	ἐλάτης
ἄζομένη	ἄζομένη
κενὸν	καινὸν
εἶπον	εἶπον
φάρος	φάρος ⁴⁸
ἔχεις	ἔχεις
ἄρμα	ἄρμα

⁴⁸ φάρος φάρος ante εἶπον εἶπον colloc. Laur

b)



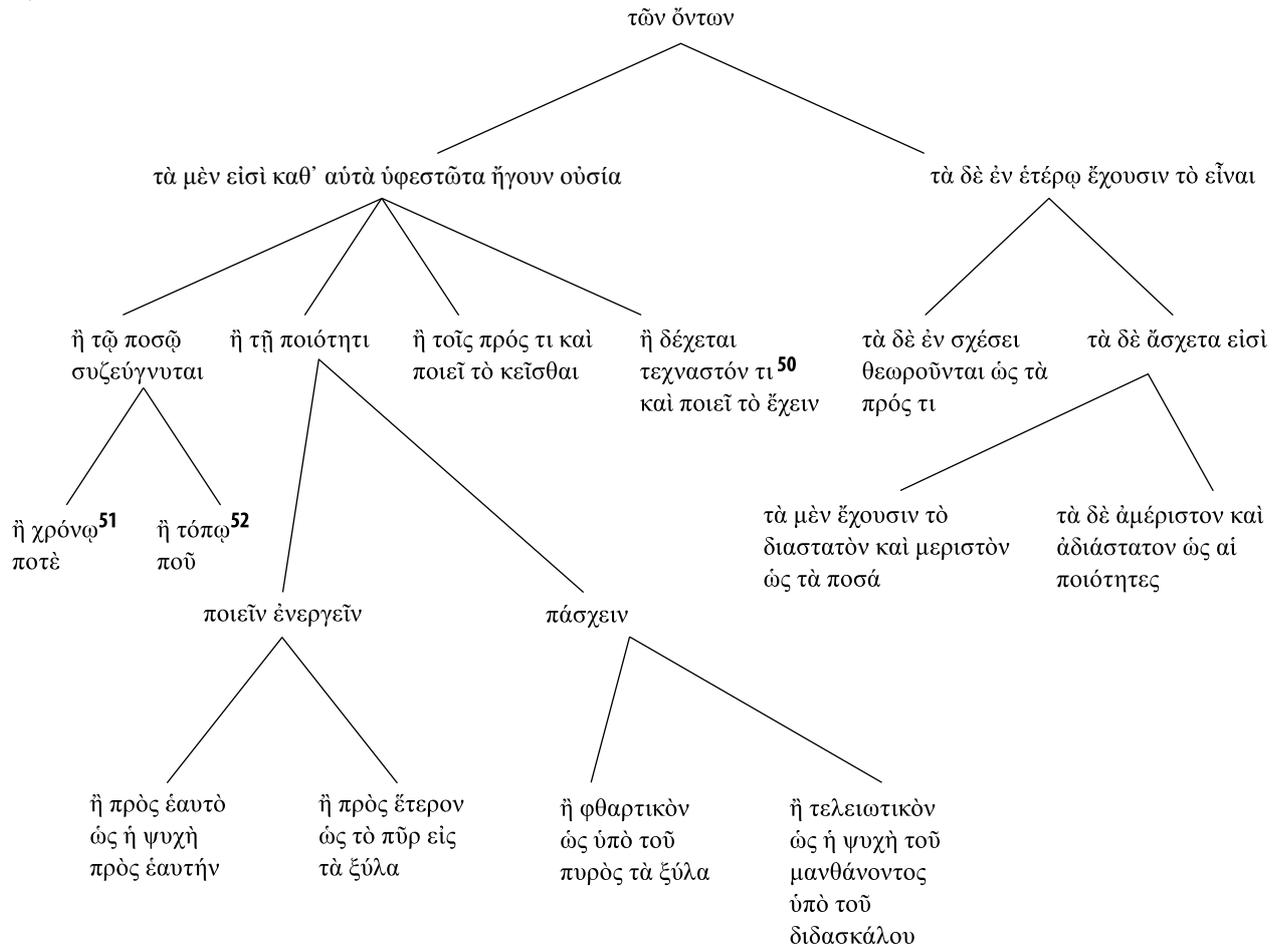
A sort of mixture of these are the paronyms. For they not only share but also differ in the thing and the name, for instance: justice and just

c)⁴⁹

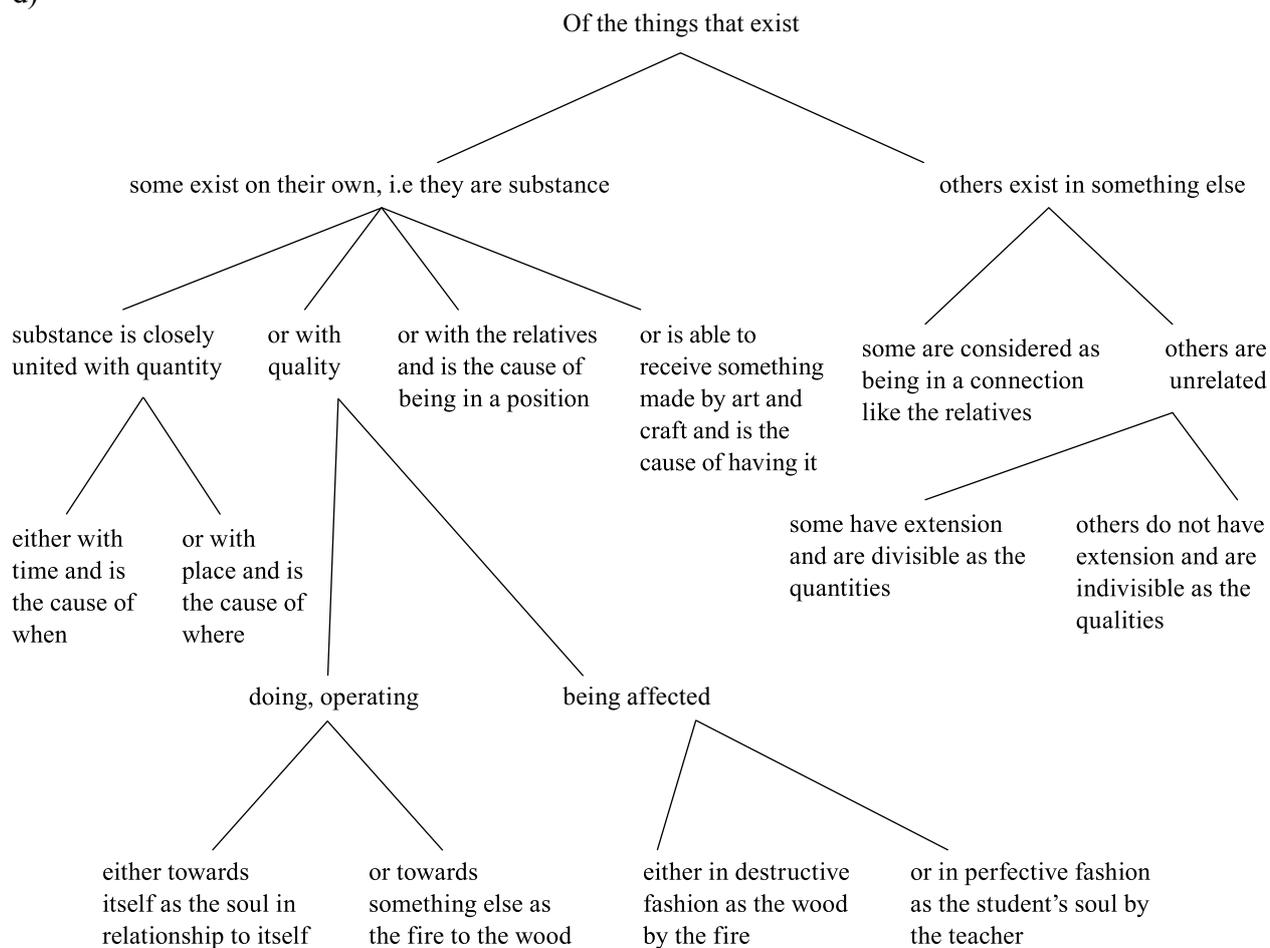
<i>árgos</i>	<i>argós</i>
<i>elatēs</i>	<i>elátēs</i>
<i>azoménē</i>	<i>hazoménē</i>
<i>kenón</i>	<i>kainón</i>
<i>eîpon</i>	<i>eîpon</i>
<i>pháros</i>	<i>pháros</i>
<i>écheis</i>	<i>écheis</i>
<i>hárma</i>	<i>hárma</i>

⁴⁹The list below offers a transcription (not a translation) of the Greek terms in the list of false synonyms.

d)

⁵⁰ τι] om. Barocc⁵¹ post χρόνον add. καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ Laur⁵² post τόπον add. καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ Laur

d)



5. Content, structure, and sources

Introductions and similar paracontents found in manuscripts of the *Organon* were not accorded the same respect normally reserved for the words of Aristotle and Porphyry. Thus, they were by default open to alteration, updating, and revision in the course of the copying process. Despite the fluidity typically observed in the transmission of such types of paracontent, Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87 preserve fairly similar versions of the *Intro.*, indicating that both scribes, the student Ioannes and Theodoros Laskaris, faithfully copied from their now-lost antigraph.⁵³ In the following, we discuss in more detail the internal structure of the *Intro.* and its ultimate sources and parallels, both in the core text and in the paracontent.

⁵³ As noted in the *ratio edendi* section, most of the voluntary changes were introduced by the scribe of Laur. 59.17 and do not drastically affect the content of the *Intro.*

5.1. The core content

The internal structure of the core text of the *Intro.*, which closely follows the canonical structure of the proems opening late-antique commentaries,⁵⁴ can be divided into ten thematic sections, broadly corresponding to the punctuation and visual organisation of the text in the manuscripts: (1) aim of *Cat.*; (2) utility; (3) place within the *Organon*; (4) reason for the title; (5) authenticity; (6) internal division; (7) part of the philosophy under which the *Cat.* is subsumed; (8) exclusion of a discussion on polyonyms and heteronyms; (9) priority of homonyms over synonyms; (10) characteristics of homonyms. The largest part of the *Intro.* (thematic sections 1–7) addresses the chapters to be investigated in each treatise of Aristotle, according to the prescription in the *prooimia* to John Philoponus, in *An. pr.* and Simplicius, in *Cat.*⁵⁵ In turn, sections 8–10 deal with the content already found in *Cat.* 1, i.e. the concepts of homonym, synonym, and paronym. A close comparison between the text of the *Intro.* and the late-antique commentaries on *Cat.* reveals strong parallels, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Thematic parallels between the *Intro.* and relevant late-antique commentaries.

Section in the <i>Intro.</i>	Ammon., in <i>Cat.</i>	Philopon., in <i>Cat.</i>	Elias, in <i>Cat.</i>	Simplicius, in <i>Cat.</i>	Olymp., in <i>Cat.</i>
1 (Objective)	8, 20–13, 2	12, 9–10	129, 6–131, 14	9, 4–13, 26	18, 21–22, 2
2 (Utility)	13, 3–6	12, 12–16	132, 5–18	13, 27–15, 12	22, 3–12
3 (Order)	13, 6–11	12, 28–33	132, 19–21	15, 12–25	24, 21–25, 4
4 (Title)	13, 12–19	12, 17–27	132, 22–133, 8	15, 26–18, 6	22, 13–37
5 (Authenticity)	13, 25–14, 2	12, 34–13, 5	133, 9–27	18, 7–21	22, 38–24, 20
6 (Division)	14, 3–5	13, 6–7	133, 28–134, 7	18, 22–20, 7	25, 5–7
7 (Part of the philosophy)	–	–	–	20, 8–12	14, 13–18, 12
8 (Exclusion of polyonyms and heteronyms)	16, 7–16	14, 17–15, 10	cf. 141, 24–34	19, 8; 23, 3–19	27, 21–32
9 (Homonyms precede synonyms)	16, 19–23	15, 11–12 (cf. 14, 11–14)	135, 6–9	21, 21–24, 5	28, 8–20
10 (The eighth περιστάτικα of homonyms)	–	–	140, 26–28	–	33, 8–35

⁵⁴ On the standardised structure of proems, see Mansfeld 1994.

⁵⁵ Philoponus, in *An. pr.*, 1, 5–10; Simplicius, in *Cat.*, 8, 12–13.

From the information gathered in Table 1, it transpires that Scholarios must have somehow drawn on late-antique commentaries to compose the *Intro.* However, since the *Intro.* does not slavishly reproduce the content in these older commentaries but instead offers what appears to be a rephrasing and condensation of parts of them, a more granular analysis is required to link its text to one or another specific commentary based on conceptual and lexical coincidences.

The *Intro.* opens with a discussion on the aim of *Cat.*, which it identifies as the examination of the ten categories either as things or words and concepts that represent things. Most of this section seems to be an abridgment and rephrasing of the main idea presented in Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 9, 17–18, according to which *Cat.* deals with words that signify things by means of concepts. Although this view is stated in other late-antique commentaries on *Cat.*, the lexical coincidences between Ammonius' treatise and the *Intro.* invites the assumption that Scholarios had Ammonius' text in mind – or, more likely, directly before him – when he wrote this part of the *Intro.*

Intro.

Σκοπός ἐστὶ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει ἐνταῦθα διαλαβεῖν περὶ τῶν δέκα γενικωτάτων γενῶν, εἴτε ὡς πραγμάτων εἴτε ὡς ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων πράγματα παριστανόντων.

Ammonius

Ἔστιν οὖν σκοπὸς ἐνταῦθα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ διαλαβεῖν περὶ φωνῶν σημαίνουσῶν πράγματα διὰ μέσων νοημάτων.⁵⁶

The second section, concerning the utility of *Cat.* (χρήσιμον), can be divided into three subsections, each of which finds close parallels in Ammonius, *in Cat.*: (1) *Cat.* offers the basis for the logic; (2) logic is about syllogisms, whose basic components are the 'terms' (ὄροι); (3) since the terms are infinite, they must be investigated in relation to the ten universals. The first subsection, which states that *Cat.* is the beginning and foundation of logic, resembles Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 13, 3–4.

Intro.

τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τὴν λογικὴν ἅπασαν πραγματείαν ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιον, οἷον εἰπεῖν, ταύτης.

Ammonius

ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ τῆς λογικῆς πραγματείας τὸ τῶν Κατηγορικῶν βιβλίον.⁵⁷

The second subsection, which explains that logic produces syllogisms, which, in turn, are composed of premises, which are themselves composed of terms, may be inspired by Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 11, 1–4.

⁵⁶ We quote the translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 17: 'The Philosopher's aim here, therefore, is to treat words that mean things through mediating concepts'.

⁵⁷ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 19: '(...) the book, the *Categories*, is the beginning of the study of logic (...)'.
.....

Intro.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ λογικὴ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ συλλογίζεσθαι ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ **συλλογισμὸς** ἐκ **προτάσεων** **σύγκειται**· αἱ δὲ **συντίθενται** ἐξ **ὑποκειμένου καὶ κατηγορουμένου** ὅρου, οἱ καλοῦνται καὶ φάσεις ἀπλαῖ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ **ὀνόματα** καὶ **ρήματα** – καὶ ὅροι διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ἀναλύεσθαι εἰς ἄλλο τι ἀλλ' οἷον στοιχεῖα εἶναι καὶ ἀρχαί.

Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 11 *vide apparatus criticum ad* II. 1–4

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ ἀπλῶς οὗτος **συλλογισμὸς** οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπλοῦν πρᾶγμα ἀλλὰ σύνθετον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα δηλοῖ, συλλογὴ γὰρ τίς ἐστι λόγων, δεῖ ἄρα πρῶτον μαθεῖν τὰ ἐξ ὧν **συντίθενται**, ταῦτα δὲ εἰσιν αἱ **προτάσεις**. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὗται **σύγκεινται** ἐξ **ὑποκειμένου καὶ κατηγορουμένου** καὶ ὑπόκειται μὲν τὰ **ὀνόματα** κατηγορεῖται δὲ τὰ **ρήματα**, ἐπισκεπτέον ἄρα καὶ περὶ τούτων.⁵⁸

The last subsection in this part of the *Intro.* explains that, in *Cat.*, Aristotle investigates the terms grouping them under one of the ten universal genera rather than one by one, since they are infinite. This remark also echoes concepts put forward in Ammonius, *in Cat.*, although the lexical parallels are far from telling:

Intro.

οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ὅροι ἢ αἱ φωναὶ ὑπὸ τι γένος τούτων τῶν δέκα ἀνάγονται, ὅθεν ἔδει τὸν τὴν λογικὴν παραδῶσόντα ἐπιστήμην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλουστάτων ἄρξασθαι καὶ πρώτων, καὶ περὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν – οὐ κατὰ μέρος, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' εἰς ὠρισμένα τινὰ γένη συνελόντα, ἧ δὴ καὶ συνεῖλε.

Ammonius

ἄρ' οὖν περὶ πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν διαλέγεται ἐν ταῖς Κατηγορίαις; οὐ δήπου· ἄπειροι γὰρ εἰσι, τὰ δ' ἄπειρα πρὸς ἐπιστήμην οὐ παραλαμβάνεται. ἀλλ' εἰς καθόλου τινὰς ἀνάγει φωνάς, οὐκ ἀορίστους δέ, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς δέκαδος ἀριθμῷ περικλεισμένας· ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας ἀνάγονται πᾶσαι αἱ φωναί, αἱ εἰσιν οὐσία ποσὸν ποιῶν κτλ.⁵⁹

The third section in the *Intro.* deals with the position of *Cat.* in the *Organon*. It is limited to a few words because section 2 had already set out the reasons why one should start the study (or teaching) of the *Organon* with *Cat.* From a lexical perspective, the short section 3 exhibits parallels with Philoponus, *in Cat.*

⁵⁸ Our translation: 'Since even this syllogism is not simply something simple but compounded, as its very name also indicates it, for it is a kind of collection of words, it is, thus, necessary first to learn the things from which the syllogisms are composed. These are the protases. However, since these in turn are composed of a subject and a predicate, and the nouns act as subjects while the verbs are predicated, one must therefore examine these as well'.

⁵⁹ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 19: 'Then are all words discussed in the *Categories*? I think not, for they are infinite <in number>, and infinite things do not lend themselves to science (*epistēmē*). But he reduces <them all> to certain universal words, not an indefinite <number>, but limited to the number ten. And all words are reduced to these, which are: substance, quality, quantity (...)'.

Intro.

Καὶ ἡ τάξις δὲ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ βιβλίου δῆλη· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ τὴν πρώτην ἔχει.

Philoponus

Ἡ δὲ τάξις τῆς ἀναγνώσεως δῆλη ἐκ τοῦ σκοποῦ κτλ.⁶⁰

The fourth section discusses various aspects related to the title of *Cat.* It can be divided into three subsections: (1) the content of the title, i.e., author's name and subject topic; (2) a discussion of the subject topic; (3) an alternative but unsuitable title, i.e. Κατηγορούμενα. The topics addressed in the second and third subsections are treated to varying degrees in the late-antique commentaries, although no strong lexical coincidences allow us to identify the ultimate source. The view that the title Κατηγορία indicates that the treatise focuses on the most general genera (περὶ δέκα γενικωτάτων γενῶν), which are predicated of all things but are themselves predicated of nothing, is also found in Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 13, 12–19; Philoponus, *in Cat.*, 12, 17–27; Simplicius, *in Cat.*, 17, 10–26; and Olympiodorus, *in Cat.*, 22, 15–22. In turn, alternative, unsuitable titles for *Cat.* are discussed in Elias, *in Cat.*, 132, 22–133, 8; Simplicius, *in Cat.*, 15, 26–17, 31; and Olympiodorus, *in Cat.*, 22, 22–37. However, none of the listed commentaries include a discussion of the title Κατηγορούμενα.

The fifth section concerns the authenticity of *Cat.* The *Intro.* advances two main arguments in support of the view that *Cat.* is a tract written by Aristotle: (1) Aristotle refers to and quotes parts of it in other treatises; (2) nobody has ever cast doubt on the authenticity of *Cat.* Both arguments have parallels in several late-antique commentaries, although the absence of striking lexical coincidences makes it difficult to identify an ultimate source for the *Intro.* See Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 13, 25–14, 1; Philoponus, *in Cat.*, 12, 34–13, 5; Simplicius, *in Cat.*, 18, 7–21; Elias, *in Cat.*, 133, 9–14.

The sixth section refers to the tripartite division of *Cat.*: things preceding the subject matter, the subject matter itself, and things following the subject matter. All the commentators mention the same division: Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 14, 3–4; Philoponus, *in Cat.*, 13, 6–7; Simplicius, *in Cat.*, 19, 9–20, 7; Elias, *in Cat.*, 133, 28–134, 1; Olympiodorus, *in Cat.*, 25, 5–7. The text of the *Intro.* is closer to that in Ammonius' commentary.

Intro.

Διαιρεῖται δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τὰ πρὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἡγουν τῶν κατηγοριῶν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

Ammonius

Διαιρεῖται δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τρία, εἰς τὰ πρὸ τῶν κατηγοριῶν, εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας αὐτάς, εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὰς κατηγορίας.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Translation by Sirkel, Tweedale and Harris 2015, 50: 'The order in which it is to be read is clear from the aim'.

⁶¹ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 20: 'The book is divided into three parts: one is that of the 'pre-categories', one the categories themselves, and one the 'post-categories'.

The seventh section in the *Intro.* argues that *Cat.* must be subsumed under logic. Furthermore, it states that logic is either part of theoretical philosophy (μέρος τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας) or an instrument (ὄργανον) of philosophy, or even both, i.e. a part and an instrument. This section has parallels in the commentary on *Cat.* by Olympiodorus. Furthermore, it echoes a discussion introduced by Ammonius and Philoponus in the prooimia to their respective commentaries on *First Analytics*. The discussion can be summarized thus: the Stoics believed that logic was a part of philosophy; the Peripatetics that it was an instrument; Plato argued that it was both a part of philosophy and an instrument of it.⁶² The text of the *Intro.* is much shorter than the relevant sections in the late-antique commentaries and no lexical parallels can be identified. Moreover, the *Intro.* differs from the late-antique commentaries as the *Intro.* presents logic as part of theoretical philosophy, whereas the commentaries regard it as part of philosophy without specifying whether it is theoretical or practical.

A thematic break is perceived after the seventh section. Sections 8–10 of the *Intro.* change gear and focus on concepts that Aristotle introduced at the beginning of *Cat.*: homonyms, synonyms, paronyms, and the related ones of heteronyms and polyonyms. Section 8 deals with what several commentators thought to be a major omission in Aristotle's treatment of the subject matter, namely the absence of any articulate discussion of heteronyms and polyonyms. The explanation put forward in the *Intro.* corresponds with that offered by Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 16, 7–16 (and adopted, with some minor conceptual differences, by Philoponus, *in Cat.*, 14, 26–15, 6). To wit, Aristotle decided to focus on synonyms and homonyms simply because they are the only lexical relations relevant to the discussion in *Cat.* Moreover, these already implicitly encompass heteronyms and polyonyms as contraries (synonyms are opposed to heteronyms while homonyms are opposed to polyonyms).

Intro.

Εἰ καὶ τέσσαρά τινά εἰσιν ἃ θεωρεῖται ἐπὶ πάντων πραγμάτων λόγοις καὶ ὀνόμασι δηλουμένων, ἤγουν τὸ συνώνυμον, τὸ ὁμώνυμον, τὸ πολυώνυμον καὶ τὸ ἑτερόνυμον, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος κοινωνίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀναφαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὖν **περὶ τῶν δύο μόνων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐνταῦθα** διαλαμβάνει· **τοῦτο** μὲν ὡς τούτων **μόνων χρησίμων ὄντων** τῇ παρουσίᾳ σκέπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τούτοις συναναφαινομένων, ὡς σφίσις **ἀντικειμένων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνωνύμοις ἀντίκειται τὰ ἑτερόνυμα, τοῖς δὲ ὁμωνύμοις τὰ πολυώνυμα.**

Ammonius

Ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων τοίνυν τούτων **περὶ τῶν δύο μόνων ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης** διαλέγεται, λέγω δὴ τῶν ὁμωνύμων καὶ τῶν συνωνύμων, ἐπεὶπερ **ταῦτα μόνον** αὐτῶ συμβάλλεται **χρήσιμα ὄντα** ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηγοριῶν διδασκαλίᾳ, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων δηλοῦται καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο ὡς **ἀντικείμενα** τούτοις· **ἀντίκειται γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ὁμωνύμοις τὰ πολυώνυμα,** εἴ γε ταῦτα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα κοινωνεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν λόγον διαφέρει, τὰ δὲ πολυώνυμα εἰρήκαμεν κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα διαφέρειν κατὰ δὲ τὸν λόγον κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις. **τοῖς δὲ συνωνύμοις ἀντίκειται τὰ ἑτερόνυμα·** καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα μὲν κοινωνεῖ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, ἐκεῖνα δὲ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα διαφέρει· ὥστε ὁ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα εἴσεται.⁶³

⁶² Olympiodorus, *in Cat.*, 14, 13–18, 12; Ammonius, *in An. pr.*, 8, 15–11, 21; Philoponus, *in An. pr.*, 6, 19–9, 20.

⁶³ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 23: 'Of these four, Aristotle here discusses only two – I mean homonyms and synonyms – since he takes only these to be useful in his doctrine of predication, and because from them the other two are obvious, since they are their opposites. For polyonyms are opposed to homonyms in that the latter have their name in common but differ in account, whereas polyonyms, as we said, differ in name but have their account in common. Moreover,

Section nine, dealing with the reason why the discussion of homonyms precedes that of synonyms, shows strong lexical parallels with the text of Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 16, 19–23, indicating that the latter is the ultimate source for that portion of the *Intro.*

Intro.

Προτάττει δὲ ὡς ἀπλούστερα τὰ ὁμώνυμα· εἶγε ταῦτα μὲν τὴν κατὰ τοῦνομα μόνον κοινωνίαν ἔχει, τὰ συνώνυμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Ammonius

προέταξε δὲ τὰ ὁμώνυμα τῶν συνωνύμων, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ὄν κατηγορεῖται ὁμωνύμως τῶν δέκα κατηγοριῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δεῖ τὰ ἀπλούστερα τῶν μὴ τοιούτων ἀεὶ προτάττεσθαι κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἔστι δὲ **τὰ ὁμώνυμα** τῶν συνωνύμων **ἀπλούστερα, εἶ γε ταῦτα μὲν τὴν κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον κοινωνίαν ἔχει, τὰ συνώνυμα** σὺν ταύτῃ **καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν λόγον.**⁶⁴

Section ten serves as an appendix to the preceding paragraph: here, the *Intro.* explains that homonyms should be considered such not only in relation to their utterance, but also in connection with eight other related elements (*παραστατικά*):⁶⁵ accent; desinence; breathing; spelling; number; gender; part of speech; and usage. The only close parallel for this section is Elias, *in Cat.*, 140, 26–27:

Intro.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι **τὰ ὁμώνυμα** χρὴ **μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν προφορὰν ἀπλῶς κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα** παραστατικά τῶν ὁμωνύμων ὀκτώ ὄντα· ἤγουν **τόνον, πτώσιν, πνεῦμα, γραφήν, ἀριθμόν, γένος, μέρος λόγου, συνήθειαν.**

Elias

Δεῖ δὲ **τὰ ὁμώνυμα μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν προφορὰν κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλα** περιστατικά, οἷον **τόνον πτώσιν πνεῦμα γένος ἀριθμόν γραφήν μέρος λόγου συνήθειαν.**⁶⁶

The observations above can be summarized thus: most of the *Intro.* appears to be composed on the basis of Ammonius, *in Cat.* (sections 1–2, 6, 8–9); one section may be based on Philoponus, *in Cat.* (section 3) and one on Elias, *in Cat.* (section 10); the main sources of sections 4–5 and 7 are not clear but they have conceptual parallels in several commentaries on *Cat.* and *First Analytics*, respectively. Table 2 reflects these conclusions.

heteronyms are opposed to synonyms. For the latter have both in common, while the former differ with respect to both. Therefore, one who knows these will thereby know their opposites as well'.

⁶⁴ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 23: 'He put homonyms before synonyms, not because being is predicated homonymously of the ten categories, but because in a course of study simpler things should always come before those that are not as simple. Now homonyms are simpler than synonyms, in that they have in common only their name, whereas synonyms have, along with that, their account in common'.

⁶⁵ For the dubious reading *παραστατικά* in the manuscripts of the *Intro.*, see below, p. 125.

⁶⁶ Our translation: 'It is necessary that homonyms not only coincide in pronunciation, but also in other circumstances, such as in accent, case, breathing, gender, number, spelling, part of speech, and usage'.

Table 2. Comparison of the sections in the *Intro.* and their respective possible ultimate sources.

<i>Intro.</i> section	Possible source
section 1	Ammonius
section 2	Ammonius
section 3	Philoponus
section 4	unclear
section 5	unclear
section 6	Ammonius
section 7	unclear
section 8	Ammonius
section 9	Ammonius
section 10	Elias

5.2. The paracontent

The paracontent to the *Intro.* consists of four items: (a) a list of the eleven ways in which something can be in something else; (b) a square showing the differences between homonyms, synonyms, polyonyms, and heteronyms (accompanied by a note on paronyms); (c) a list of ‘false’ homonyms; (d) a diagram describing how all existing things fall under one category or another.

The first item of paracontent is the list of the eleven ways in which one thing can be in another. It bears the title τὸ ἐν τινὶ ἐνδεκαχῶς and reworks Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 26, 32–27, 2:

Intro.

τὸ ἐν τινὶ ἐνδεκαχῶς· ἐν χρόνῳ, ἐν τόπῳ, ἐν ἀγγείῳ, ὡς μέρος ἐν ὅλῳ, ὡς ὅλον ἐν μέρεσιν, ὡς εἶδος ἐν γένει, ὡς γένος ἐν εἴδει, ὡς τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὡς εἶδος ἐν ὕλῃ, ὡς ἐν τέλει, ὡς συμβεβηκὸς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ.

Ammonius

λέγεται γὰρ τὸ ἐν τινὶ ἐνδεκαχῶς, ἐν χρόνῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὡς μέρος ἐν ὅλῳ ὡς ὅλον ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ὡς εἶδος ἐν γένει ὡς γένος ἐν εἴδει ὡς τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι ὡς εἶδος ἐν ὕλῃ ὡς ἐν τέλει ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ οἷον τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 36: ‘*In something* is said in eleven ways: in a time, in a place, in a container, as a part in the whole, as a whole in its parts, as a species in a genus, as a genus in a species, as the <affairs> of the ruled in <the power or control of> the ruler, as form in matter, as in an end, as in a subject, for example, an accident in a substance’. See also Ammonius, *in Cat.*, 29, 5–17, where the list is repeated and expanded with pertinent examples.

The list does not have a thematic counterpart in the core text of the *Intro.*; rather, it refers to a discussion already found in *Cat.* 1a24: ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δὲ λέγω ὃ ἐν τινὶ μὴ ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχον ἀδύνατον χωρὶς εἶναι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐστίν ('by in a subject I mean that which, being in something not as a part, cannot exist apart from that in which it is').

The second piece of paracontent is a diagram (a so-called 'square of opposition', a rather common figure in Aristotelian logical manuscripts)⁶⁸ including homonyms, synonyms, polyonyms, and heteronyms. Contrary to the previous case, this piece of paracontent clearly relates to the core text of the *Intro.*: section 8 discusses four types of lexical relationships between words. The square features a note on paronyms. None of the edited commentaries contains a square of this kind. As we will show below, squares opposing homonyms, synonyms, polyonyms, and heteronyms identical to the one in the *Intro.*, are found in some manuscripts containing Ammonius, in *Cat.* Thus, Ammonius' treatise could well be the source for the square, even if the square is absent from the printed edition of *in Cat.*⁶⁹

The third piece of paracontent relates to the final section of the *Intro.* It consists of a two-column list presenting cases of *false* homonyms. It includes examples illustrating the subject matter discussed in the tenth section of the core text of the *Intro.*, namely that similar or even identically written words can mean different things depending on accent, case, breathing, spelling, number, gender, part of speech, or usage, and therefore do not qualify as homonyms. Among the late-antique commentaries, the closest parallel to this list is found in Elias, in *Cat.*, 140, 28–141, 16, where seven of the eight examples in the list are attested. This does not come as a surprise since the list closely relates to the tenth section of the core text of the *Intro.*, which itself is based on Elias' commentary on *Cat.* (140, 26–28).

The terms listed warrant some further discussion. The first example illustrates a pair of false homonyms distinguished by accent: *árgos* is the mythical Argos, killed by Hermes, while *argós* means 'lazy', 'idle'. In the second instance, the difference in accent also corresponds to a difference in case and gender: one (*elátēs*) is male and a nominative, meaning 'rower', while the other (*elatēs*) is female and a genitive and it is the Greek name for the 'silver fir'. The third pair of false homonyms is the only one in the list not derived from Elias, but rather from Olympiodorus, in *Cat.*, 33, 21–27. It revolves around differences in breathing: *hazoméne*, written with the rough breathing, means 'reverent', whereas *azoméne*, with the lenis, means 'drought'. The terms *kenón* ('empty') and *kainón* ('new') sound exactly the same in the late-antique and Byzantine pronunciation, but their spelling differs. As for *eípon*, it can be interpreted both as the first-person singular or the third-person plural of the aorist of the verb λέγω ('to say'), thus differing in number. The word *pháros* can have three distinct meanings depending on gender: as feminine, it refers to the city of Pharos; as masculine, it means 'lighthouse'; and as neuter, it designates a large cloak or mantle. The word *écheis* can likewise be interpreted in two ways: as a noun ('vipers') or as a verb (second-person singular of the present indicative of ἔχω: 'he/she/it has'). Its meaning varies according to

⁶⁸ For a discussion of examples of the square of oppositions in the Hebrew manuscript tradition, see the contribution by Charles Manekin in this volume.

⁶⁹ See the discussion below on pp. 126–127.

the different part of the speech. The final example, *hárma*, shows the strong influence of the Latin language in the late-antique Hellenistic world, especially in matters of military tactics: in Latin, *árho* (more correctly *arma*) means ‘weapons’, while in Greek it refers to the chariot. Its meaning varies depending on the context or its usage.

The last piece of paracontent is a large diagram found at the end of the *Intro*. It is a complex *tree* offering a description of how all existing things fit into one of the ten categories. The diagram is not attested in any of the published commentaries; nevertheless, several of its sections clearly relate to content found in late-antique commentaries. According to the diagram, ‘substance’ (οὐσία) combined with ‘quantity’ (πόσος) and ‘time’ (χρόνος) yields ‘when’ (ποτέ); in turn, ‘when’ combined with ‘quantity’ and ‘place’ (τόπος) yields ‘where’ (ποῦ). Alternatively, ‘substance’ combined with ‘quality’ (ποιότης) gives rise to ‘having’ (ἔχειν) and ‘being affected’ (πάσχειν). These perspectives are paralleled in (and most probably depend on) Philoponus, *in Cat.*, 163, 18–24:

ἡ γὰρ οὐσία τῷ ποσῷ συμπλεκομένη ποιεῖ δύο κατηγορίας, τὴν τε ποτέ καὶ τὴν ποῦ· τῷ μὲν γὰρ χρόνῳ συμπλεκομένη ποιεῖ τὴν ποτέ (...) τῷ δὲ τόπῳ συμπλεκομένη ποιεῖ τὴν ποῦ (...). πάλιν ἡ οὐσία συμπλεκομένη τῷ ποιῷ ἑτέρας δύο ποιεῖ κατηγορίας, τὴν τε τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν.⁷⁰

As part of the same discussion, Philoponus states that ‘substance’ combined with ‘relatives’ (πρός τι) gives rise to ‘being in a position’ (τὸ κεῖσθαι): ἡ οὐσία τοῖς πρὸς τι συμπλεκομένη ποιεῖ τὸ κεῖσθαι (*in Cat.*, 164, 3).⁷¹ This is exactly the concept expressed in the diagram: <οὐσία συζεύγνυται> τοῖς πρὸς τι καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ κεῖσθαι. As pointed out, none of the late-antique commentaries include a diagram identical to the one in the *Intro*. Our exploration of additional exegetical literature on *Cat.* shows, however, that the diagram found at the end of the *Intro*. is virtually identical to that transmitted in manuscripts of Ioannes Chortasmenos, also known as Ignatios Metropolitite of Selymbria, *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic*, dating to the early fifteenth century.⁷² We were able to consult three manuscripts of Chortasmenos’ work in which the diagram in question is preserved: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3637, fol. 99^r (early fifteenth century);⁷³ Florence, Biblioteca

⁷⁰ We quote the translation by Share 2019, 99–100: ‘Substance combined with quantity produces two categories, [namely,] when and where. For combined with time it produces when (...). And combined with place it produces where (...). Again, substance combined with qualification produces two other categories, that of acting and that of being-affected (...).’

⁷¹ Translation by Share 2019, 100: ‘Again substance combined with relatives produces being-positioned’.

⁷² For Chortasmenos (*PLP* 30897; *RGK* I 191; II 252; III 315), refer, at least, to Hunger 1969, 32; Canart and Prato 1981; Acerbi and Bianconi 2020; Tempesta 2025. The *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic* remains unpublished (see Hunger 1969, Ebbesen 1981, 344–350; Acerbi and Bianconi 2020, esp. 257–258; Vogiatzi 2025, 97–99; also the online entry of the *CAGB* database <<https://cagb-digital.de/werke/cagb3119705?ref=cagb4319730+idno:Laur.%2071.16+diktyon:16618>>; accessed on 21 January 2026).

⁷³ The proposed dating depends on the watermarks. The folios containing Chortasmenos’ treatise, i.e. 83^r–134^r, were first attributed to *Anonymus* 6 Harlfinger (Harlfinger 1971, 418) and subsequently reattributed to Ioannes Chortasmenos in the online description of the manuscript of the *CAGB* project. In our opinion, however, the script of the scribe of Bonon. 3637, fols 83^r–134^r does not resemble that of Chortasmenos and these folios must have been written by another scribe. For the report on the watermarks and the scribe of Bonon. 3637, refer to *Aristoteles Graecus*, 66–69 and <<https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb1318057>> (accessed on 21 January 2026).

Table 3a. Transcription of Chortasmenos' diagram, based on the manuscripts Bonon. 3637, Laur. 71.16, and Matrit. 4553.

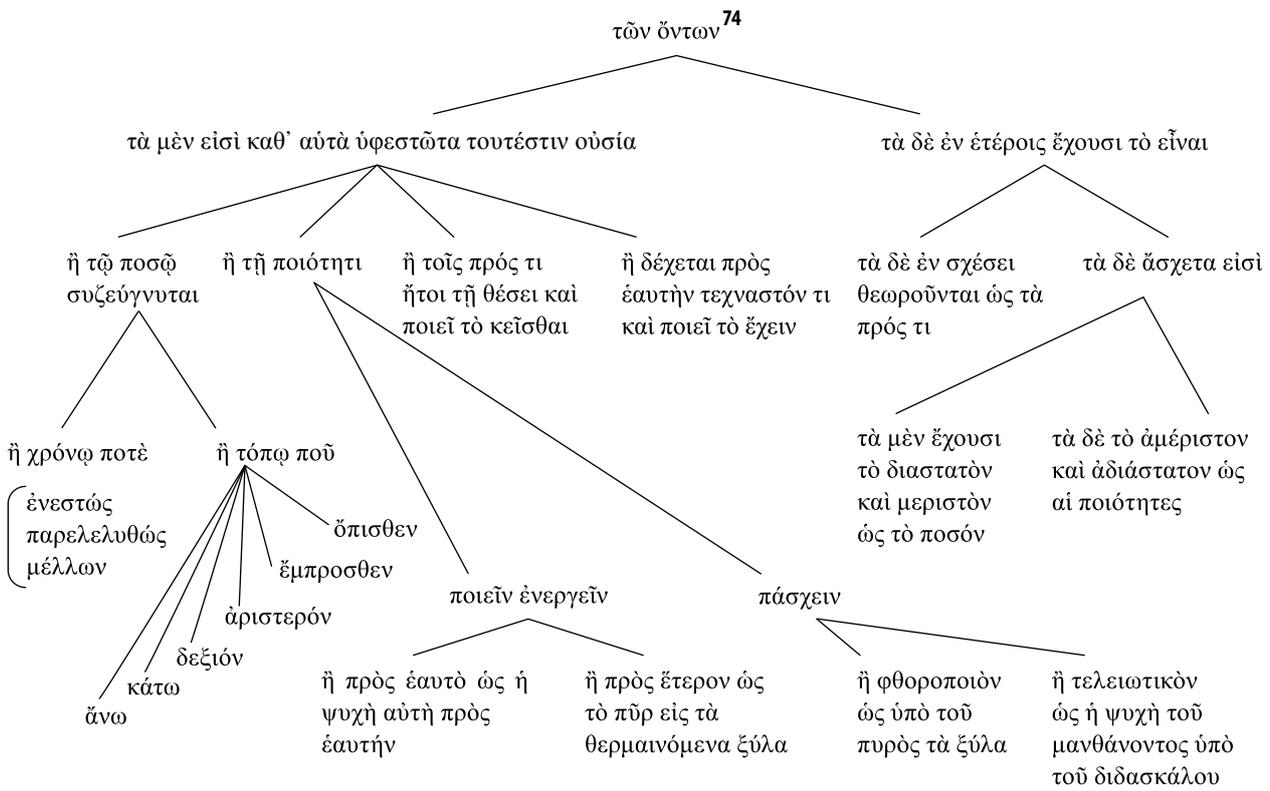
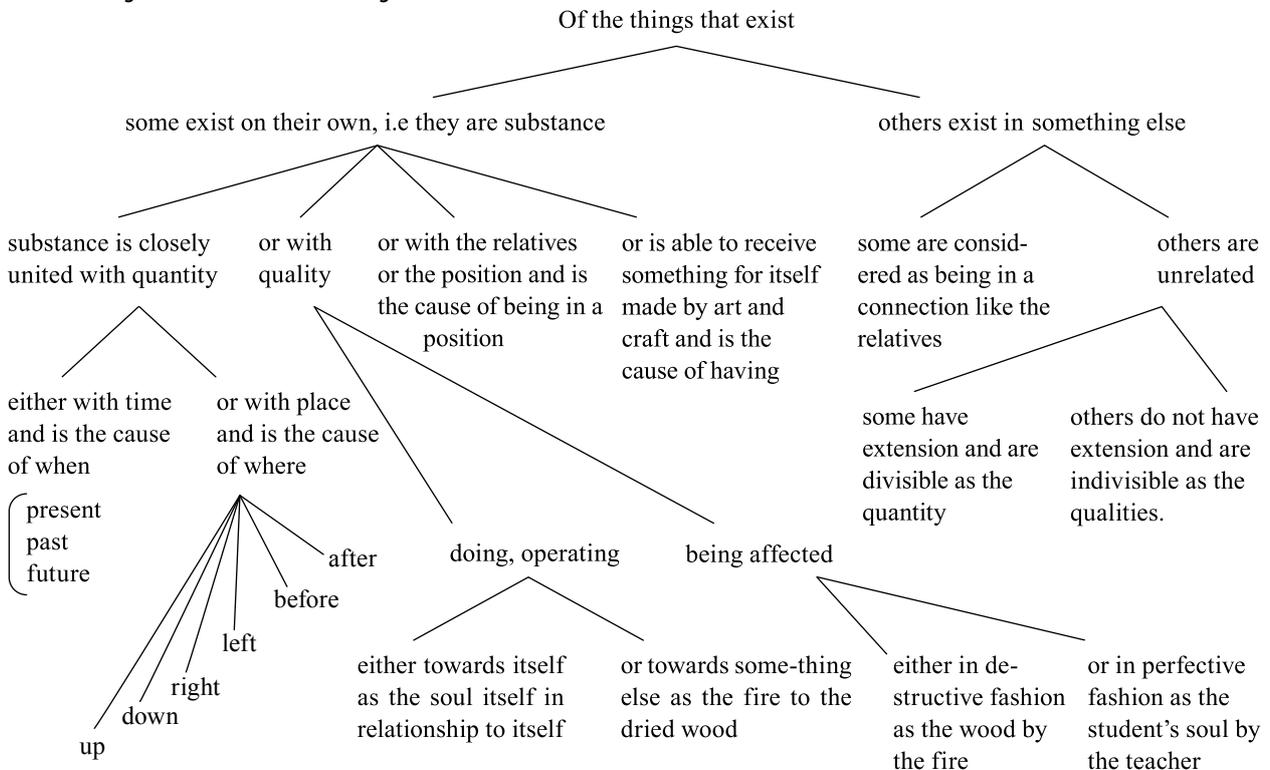


Table 3b. English translation of the diagram.



⁷⁴ In Matrit., we read: τῶν ὄντων] ἐκ τῆς διαίρεσις...: τῶν ὄντων · πῶς εἰσι δέκα κατηγορίαι καὶ οὔτε πλείους οὔτε ἐλάττους.

Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 71.16, fol. 15^r (first third of fifteenth century),⁷⁵ and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 4553, fol. 22^r (early fifteenth century).⁷⁶ We offer a transcription of the diagram, based on the three manuscript witnesses we were able to consult, followed by our English translation (Tables 3a and 3b, respectively).

A comparative analysis of the *Intro.*'s diagram and that transmitted as paracontent in Chortasmenos' work shows that the only important changes concern the *Intro.*'s omission of the specifications attached to the categories 'when' (ποτέ) and 'where' (ποῦ), which are present in Chortasmenos' *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic*. Other changes are less important: e.g., ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆ in Chortasmenos versus ἡ ψυχὴ in the *Intro.*; and εἰς τὰ θερμαινόμενα ξύλα in Chortasmenos versus εἰς τὰ ξύλα in the *Intro.* That the *Intro.* quotes Chortasmenos' work is hardly surprising, since Ioannes Chortasmenos was among the teachers of Georgios Scholarios. Moreover, Scholarios possessed (and most probably wrote) a manuscript containing Chortasmenos' *Commentary*, namely Laur. 71.16.⁷⁷

The *Intro.*'s paracontent bears a close relationship to the core text in terms of the employed sources, proving that Scholarios relied mostly on the same materials in composing both types of contents. Table 4 summarises the ultimate sources of the paracontent of the *Intro.*

Table 4. Comparison of the paracontent of the *Intro.* and its respective (possible) ultimate sources.

Paracontent	(Possible) source
(a)	Ammonius
(b)	Ammonius
(c)	Elias + Olympiodorus
(d)	Ioannes Chortasmenos

6. The *Intro.* and Scholarios' commentaries on the *Ars vetus* and manuscripts of the *Organon*

As the above analysis shows, the *Intro.* follows a structure and set of interpretations that had already become traditional in late-antique Greek commentaries. Thus, the scenario is quite

⁷⁵ The proposed dating is based on the watermarks reported in *Aristoteles Graecus*, 230–232 (Diether R. Reinsch and Jürgen Wiesner) and Cacouros 1994, 161–163 (see also the *CAGB* online description of the manuscript: <<https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb4319730>>; accessed on 21 January 2026). To date no name has been proposed for the scribe of fols 1^r–38^r, l. 28. We advance the possibility that it was Georgios Scholarios. The script corresponds to the identification of Scholarios' hand proposed by Julián Bértola and Nina Sietis in a forthcoming article. The issue is, however, rather thorny because we know nothing about Scholarios' script during the earliest phases of his career. That forthcoming publication will be essential for a reevaluation of the script on Laur. 71.16, fols 1^r–38^r, l. 28. Be that as it may, the link between Scholarios and Laur. 71.16 is certain: as shown by Michel Cacouros, Scholarios added some marginal notes in other portions of that codex (Cacouros 1994, esp. 166).

⁷⁶ As in the previous cases, the dating of the manuscript is based on its watermarks, as described in de Andrés 1987, 14–15.

⁷⁷ For Chortasmenos as teacher of Scholarios, see *OGS* III, 7, 18–22, with Blanchet 2008, 297, n. 92. See n. 75 and n. 96.

different from the one we observe in Scholarios' long commentaries on the *Ars vetus*, whose main (but not exclusive) conceptual and doctrinal sources are scholastic treatises written in Latin and translated into Greek by Scholarios himself or by others. As noted, Katerina Ierodiakonou and José Maksimczuk have shown that Scholarios also employed late-antique commentators in his treatises on the *Ars vetus* (especially those on the *Isag.* and *Cat.*) whenever appropriate.⁷⁸ According to Maksimczuk, for this strand of content, Scholarios may have relied on the now-lost model of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87, which he identifies as Scholarios' teaching manuscript and his working exemplar for the composition of the long commentaries on the *Isag.* and the *Cat.* The question here is whether traces of the *Intro.* can likewise be detected in the long commentary on *Cat.*, as is the case for some of the scholia and interlinear notes elsewhere in the exegetical corpus on *Cat.* An obvious starting point for such a comparison is the first lesson of Scholarios' commentary on *Cat.* (*OGS* VII, 114–119), which functions as a general introduction to the treatise.

A major difference between the first lesson and the *Intro.* is that the former proposes an investigation of the four causes (*αἴτια*) of the treatise, in accordance with a Latin scholastic pattern, whereas, as we have seen, the *Intro.* discusses seven features of *Cat.*⁷⁹ Although the first lesson and the *Intro.* appear conceptually quite distinct, striking coincidences can nevertheless be identified. The most important one concerns the authenticity of *Cat.* This topic is addressed in the fifth section of the *Intro.* and in the part of Scholarios' long commentary centred on the efficient cause (*τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον*) of *Cat.* As noted, the *Intro.* offers arguments in favour of the authenticity of *Cat.* that are already present in most of the late-antique commentaries; however, it deviates from them in terms of vocabulary. Notably, the text of the fifth section in the *Intro.* is lexically close to the text of Scholarios' commentary in which he discusses the efficient cause of *Cat.* Compare:

Intro.

Γνήσιον δέ, καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῦ μέμνηται πολλαχοῦ ἄλλοθι καὶ τὰ μέρη προστίθησιν ἐκ τούτου φανερώς ὄντα τοῦ συντάγματος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς χρόνῳ βεβαιωθείσης ἀπάντων ψήφου καὶ μαρτυρίας – οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν ἠξίωσε μὴ εἶναι γνήσιον.

OGS, VII, 119, 9–13

Ποιητικὸν δὲ αἴτιον τοῦδε τοῦ βιβλίου ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐστίν, καὶ γνήσιόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ· μέμνηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ πολλαχοῦ, καὶ μέρη τινὰ προστίθησιν ἐκ τούτου φανερώς ὄντα· καὶ ἄλλως τοῦτο δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς χρόνῳ βεβαιωθείσης ἀπάντων ψήφου καὶ μαρτυρίας· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν ἠξίωσε μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ γνήσιον.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Cf. n. 22.

⁷⁹ *OGS*, VII, 115, 14–17: ζητοῦμεν περὶ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου ἢ τοῦ μέρους τῆς λογικῆς τὰ τέσσαρα αἴτια, τὰ ἐπὶ πάσης πραγματείας ζητεῖσθαι ὀφείλοντα, τὸ τε ὑλικὸν δηλονότι καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ τελικὸν καὶ εἰδικόν ('We investigate the four causes of this book or part of logic, which ought to be investigated for every work, namely the material, the efficient, the final, and the formal causes'). For the pattern of investigating the *causa materialis*, *causa efficiens*, *causa finalis*, *causa formalis* of a given work, see, for instance, John Pagus, *Rationes super Praedicamenta Aristotelis*, lectio 1, prooemium, composed in the first half of the thirteenth century (Hansen 2012, 9–10).

⁸⁰ Our translation: 'The efficient cause of this book is Aristotle. It is authentic. For Aristotle refers to it in many other places and cites some parts of it as clearly belonging to this treatise. That it is authentic is clear in another way, because of the

6.1 A manuscript source

As it transpires from the above sections, the *Intro.* and the long commentary on *Cat.* appear to reflect different phases (or strands) of Scholarios' intellectual trajectory, as well as different compositional objectives and intended audiences. Whereas the long commentaries rely heavily on translations of Latin scholastic works and were written to be published, the *Intro.* and the corpus of scholia that follows it draw almost exclusively on late-antique commentaries on the *Organon* and were primarily composed for Scholarios' own use, and eventually for circulation within his closest circle of students and friends. We have already pointed out that Scholarios' lost exemplar of *Isag.* and *Cat.* passed through the hands of his student Ioannes, who made a copy of it, today preserved in Laur. 59.17. This historical evidence highlights that the manuscript was used in teaching contexts. Equally relevant for this conclusion is a sentence found in the middle of the *Intro.* At the end of section 2, Scholarios wrote: ὅθεν ἔδει τὸν τὴν λογικὴν παραδῶσοντα ἐπιστήμην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλουστάτων ἄρξασθαι καὶ πρώτων, καὶ περὶ τούτων πρώτον εἰπεῖν ('For this reason, the teacher who wishes to transmit the logical science should start from the simplest and first elements and speak about them first'). The *Intro.*'s explicit reference to how a teacher of logic (τὸν τὴν λογικὴν παραδῶσοντα ἐπιστήμην) should structure their teaching provides compelling evidence that this short text was intended to be read and used as an introduction to *Cat.* within a pedagogical context.

Reconstructing the context in which the *Intro.* was produced requires a study of its possible sources. Above, we have already analysed in some detail the commentaries on which Scholarios (may) have relied to compose the *Intro.* The question we address here is whether we can identify the 'material source(s)', so to speak – that is, the manuscript or manuscripts through which Scholarios accessed those treatises. The most straightforward approach is therefore to examine manuscripts containing commentaries on *Cat.*, which certainly passed through Scholarios' hands. To date, scholars have identified three such manuscripts:

- 1) Athens, Εθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ελλάδος, 1067 (mid 1460s; with a note by Scholarios on fol. 1^r)⁸¹
- 2) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 327 (end of the thirteenth century; notes by Scholarios, e.g. fols 36^r, 254^r, 267^r),⁸² Fig. 4a
- 3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1928 (1330s–1340s; notes by Scholarios on fols 136^r and 137^r),⁸³ Fig. 4b

judgement and testimony that has been upheld by all people over time. For nobody deemed it correct to hold the opposing view that it is not authentic'.

⁸¹ Identification by José Maksimczuk in Maksimczuk and Orlandi 2025b, 210. The dating is based on the watermarks in the manuscript (cf. *Aristoteles Graecus*, 9; and the *CAGB* online description: <<https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb7341847>>; accessed on 21 January 2026).

⁸² Identification in Mondrain 2000, 25. The dating is based on a palaeographic assessment of the scribes who wrote the manuscript.

⁸³ Scholarios' mentions himself in one of the notes (f. 136^r). See Mondrain 2000, 17 and the *CAGB* online description: <<https://cagb-digital.de/id/cagb3149492>>; accessed on 21 January 2026. The dating of the manuscript rests on an investigation

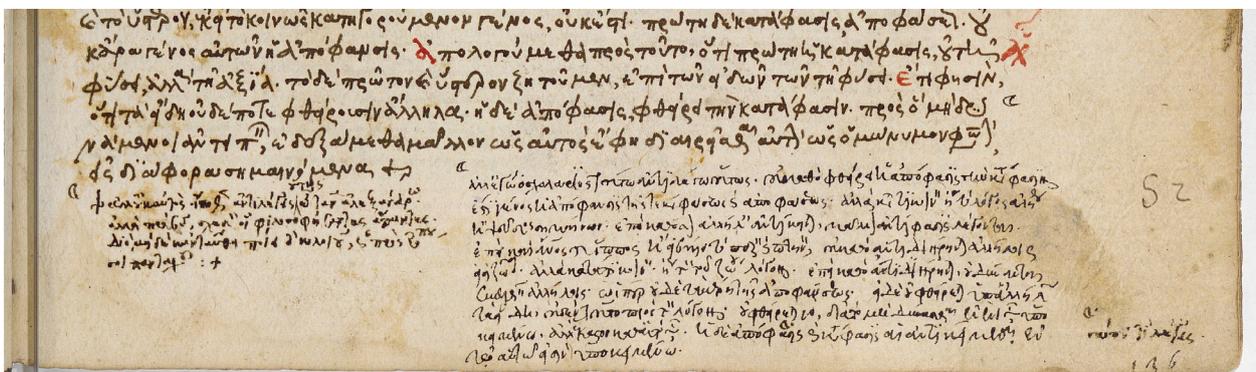
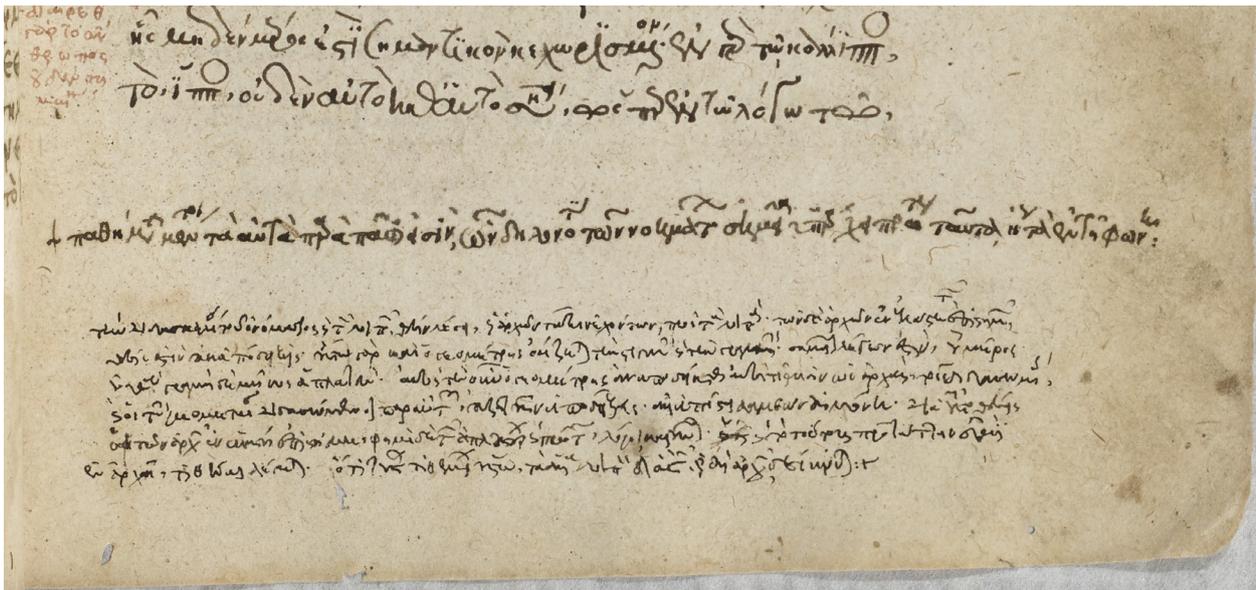


Fig. 4a (above): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coisl. 327, fol. 36^r (detail: lower margin). The folio was annotated by Georgios Scholarios in the 1460s. Fig. 4b (below): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1928, fol. 136^r (detail: lower margin). The folio was annotated by Georgios Scholarios (long note on the right), before the fall of Constantinople. In addition, Ioannes Argyropoulos added a reply to Scholarios' note (text on the left, next to the inner margin).

Chronological and content-related arguments rule out Coisl. 327 and its direct apograph EBE 1067 as possible manuscript sources for the *Intro*. First, Scholarios must have consulted them at a very advanced age, as suggested by the markedly trembling ductus of the notes he added to them.⁸⁴ The watermarks of EBE 1067 confirm this impression and offers a reliable temporal reference for Scholarios' notes in both manuscripts, i.e. the 1460s. It follows that Scholarios could only have gained access to EBE 1067 and Coisl. 327 on a date that postdates the composition of the *Intro*. by around twenty or twenty-five years. Even more decisively, neither Coisl. 327 nor EBE 1067 contain the commentaries on *Cat.* that we have identified as the ultimate sources of the *Intro*. More promising, by contrast, is the exploration of possible links between the *Intro*. and Paris. gr.

of the watermarks (cf. the *CAGB* entry). Adjacent to Scholarios' note on fol. 136^r (inner lower margin) *Ciro Giacomelli* identified a note written by the Byzantine teacher *Ioannes Argyropoulos* that is actually a response to Scholarios' remark.

⁸⁴The philological and historical link between these two manuscripts is discussed in *Maksimczuk and Orlandi 2025b*, 208–215.

1928. The Parisinus contains a few notes by Scholarios in a much steadier ductus compared to the notes in Coisl. 327 and EBE 1067 (cf. Figs 4a and 4b). Furthermore, Paris. gr. 1928 transmits long portions of late-antique and Byzantine commentaries on *Cat.* Lastly, José Maksimczuk has already pointed out textual links between the core and paracontent of Paris. gr. 1928, on the one hand, and those of Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87, on the other.⁸⁵

Paris. gr. 1928, c.1330s–1340s, is a paper manuscript written by the Byzantine polymath Neophytos Prodromenos (*PLP* 19254; *RGK* II 411; III 481) and his collaborator Matthaïos Chortazes (*RGK* II 367). This scholarly manuscript of the *Organon* contains *Isag.*, *Cat.*, and *De int.*, together with extensive exegetical paracontent in the form of introductions to those treatises, a life of Aristotle, exegetical marginal and interlinear notes, and diagrams authored by or attributed to late antique and Byzantine commentators (e.g., Ammonius, Philoponus, Photios, Michael Psellos, Leo Magentenos, Neophytos Prodromenos). Paris. gr. 1928 is the first tome of a multiple-volume *Organon* manuscript. The second tome, transmitting *First Analytics* with exegetical commentaries on this work, is preserved as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1846, and was written entirely by Neophytos Prodromenos.⁸⁶

Paris. gr. 1928 transmits *Cat.* on fols 71^v–131^r. The text of the treatise is written in the middle of the folios and is surrounded by exegetical notes, mainly from Ammonius' commentary. Paris. gr. 1928 is a multilayered written artefact and its impressive paracontent to *Cat.* is the result of successive production processes carried out by Prodromenos. After having written an initial set of introductions and interlinear and marginal notes, Prodromenos expanded the paracontent by (1) adding further notes in the blank spaces he had left in the outermost external portions of the folios and (2) correcting and reworking the text of the notes he had previously written (Fig. 5).⁸⁷ Three exegetical texts are prepended to *Cat.*: a life of Aristotle (fol. 66^rv);⁸⁸ a brief discussion on whether logic is a part or an instrument of philosophy (fol. 67^rv);⁸⁹ the prooimion to Ammonius, *in Cat.* (fols 67^v–71^r).⁹⁰

A close reading of the paracontent in Paris. gr. 1928 suggests that it could plausibly account for a substantial part of the *Intro.* As noted above, most of the *Intro.* appears ultimately to depend on Ammonius, *in Cat.* All the sections of that treatise that could have inspired Scholarios are found in Paris. gr. 1928. Table 5 offers a detailed comparison.

⁸⁵ Maksimczuk 2023b, 73 n. 15.

⁸⁶ Mondrain 2000, 13.

⁸⁷ For the concept of multilayered written artefact, see Maksimczuk et al. 2024.

⁸⁸ This life is a version of the so-called *Vita vulgata Aristotelis*, cf. Düring 1957, 120–139 (for Paris. gr. 1928, see p. 128).

⁸⁹ This text lacks any title in Paris. gr. 1928. It was printed by Adolf Busse as a supplement to the preface to Olympiodorus, *in Cat.* (pp. X–XII), under the heading *De arte logica disputatio*. Busse's text is based on two manuscripts, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 71.3 and 72.1, and the Aldine edition (Venice, 1503); for further information about the printed editions of this short text in the sixteenth-century, see Busse's preface to Olympiodorus, *in Cat.* (p. VII).

⁹⁰ *in Cat.*, 1, 1–15, 2.

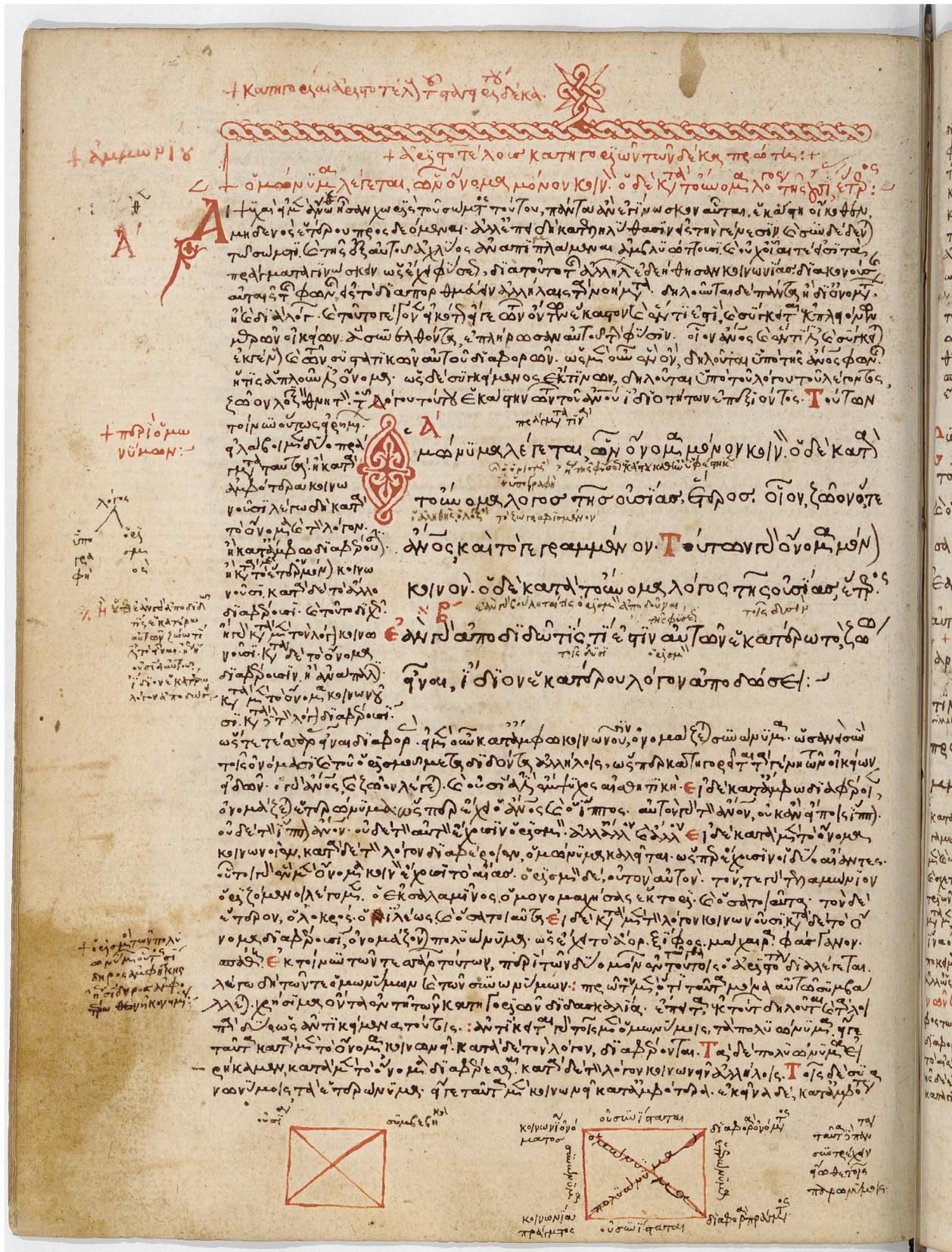


Fig. 5: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1928, fol. 71r. It contains the beginning of Aristotle's *Cat.*, surrounded by a dense corpus of exegetical paracontent that Neophytos Prodromenos expanded over years with further layers of notes.

Table 5. Comparison of sections of Ammonius, *in Cat.* quoted in the *Intro.* and transmitted in Paris. gr. 1928.

Section in the <i>Intro.</i>	Ammonius, <i>in Cat.</i>	Paris. gr. 1928
1 (Objective)	9, 17–18	fol. 69 ^v , ll. 25–26
2 (Utility)	13, 3–4; 11, 1–14 (app. crit.); 12, 1–5	fols 70 ^v , ll. 32–33; 70 ^r , ll. 20–25; 70 ^r , l. 47–70 ^v , l. 4
4 (Title)	13, 12–19	fols 70 ^v , l. 38–71 ^r , l. 2
5 (Authenticity)	13, 25–14, 2	fol. 71 ^r , 8–12
6 (Division)	14, 3–5	fol. 71 ^r , 12–13
8 (Exclusion of polyonyms and heteronyms)	16, 7–16	fols 71 ^v , 36–72 ^r , 1 (paracontent)
9 (Homonyms precede synonyms)	16, 19–23	fol. 72 ^r , 2–6 (paracontent)

The other three sections of the *Intro.*, i.e. 3 (position of *Cat.* in the *Organon*), 7 (logic and philosophy), and 10 (on the false homonyms), are not based on Ammonius, *in Cat.* but rather on other commentaries. As we will see below, two of the said sections of the *Intro.* also have parallels in Paris. gr. 1928.

As argued above, the seventh section of the *Intro.* reflects the content in Olympiodorus, *in Cat.*, 33, 8–35, as well as in the final part of the *prooimia* to the commentaries on the *First Analytics* by Ammonius and Philoponus, respectively. None of these works are contained in Paris. gr. 1928. Notably, Paris. gr. 1846, the second volume in the multiple-volume set produced by Prodromenos, contains the relevant part of Philoponus' *in An. pr.*, on fols 2^v, l. 36–4^r, l. 17. It is therefore tempting to hypothesise that Scholarios could have accessed Paris. gr. 1846 and read Philoponus' *in An. pr.* through this volume. Although no palaeographical evidence proves that Scholarios ever handled Paris. gr. 1846, this scenario cannot be excluded, since Paris. gr. 1928 and 1846 must still have circulated together at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This is strongly suggested by the fact that Ioannes Chortasmenos annotated both Paris. gr. 1928 and 1846 in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries.⁹¹ Yet, there is another, more plausible scenario, namely that Scholarios did not draw on Philoponus' *in An. pr.* for the content of the seventh section of the *Intro.*, but rather on an anonymous, derivative piece known by the title *De arte logica disputatio* (given by Adolf Busse) and found in some manuscripts as an introduction to *Cat.*⁹² The anonymous exegetical commentary discusses whether logic is a part or an instrument of philosophy and offers the same solutions as the *Intro.* to that thorny question: logic can be either a part of philosophy (according to the Stoics), an instrument (according to the Peripatetics), or both (according to Plato). Tellingly, Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 67^v transmits the *Disputatio*. There is, however, one important difference between the *Disputatio*

⁹¹ The hand of Chortasmenos in Paris. gr. 1928 was identified by Mondrain 2000, 16. His hand in Paris. gr. 1846 was identified in *RGK II*.

⁹² Cf. n. 89.

and the *Intro.* According to the *Intro.*, logic is a part of theoretical philosophy (μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας), whereas the *Disputatio* lacks this qualification.⁹³ Scholarios must therefore have derived this concept from somewhere else. Perusing the folios of Paris. gr. 1928, one finds a piece of content that could have informed Scholarios that logic was not merely part of philosophy but part of theoretical philosophy. It is a diagram written by Prodromenos on fol. 28^r (Fig. 6), which states that philosophy is divided into theoretical (εἰς θεωρητικόν) and practical parts (εἰς πρακτικόν). The theoretical part, in turn, is divided into a pragmatic (εἰς πραγματικόν) and a logic part (εἰς λογικόν).

The tenth section in the *Intro.* draws on Elias, *in Cat.*, 140, 26–27, albeit with substantial modifications when compared to the printed text in the *CAG* edition. Although most of the paracontent on *Cat.* in Paris. gr. 1928 derives from Ammonius, *in Cat.*, it is notable that the Parisinus also includes the relevant section of Elias, *in Cat.*, as one of the many later additions introduced by Neophytos in the outermost parts of the margins of the manuscript. The note that interests us here is written in the outer margins of fol. 72^{rv} and wrongly attributed to Philoponus by Prodromenos. The following table offers a comparison of the three texts: Elias as printed by Busse in the *CAG* edition, that of Paris. gr. 1928 copied by Neophytos, and the relevant part of the *Intro.*

Elias <i>CAG</i> edition	Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 72 ^r	<i>Intro.</i>
Δεῖ δὲ τὰ ὁμώνυμα μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν προφορὰν κοινωεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλα περιστατικά, οἷον τόνον πτῶσιν πνεῦμα γένος ἀριθμὸν γραφὴν μέρος λόγου συνήθειαν.	Ἰστέον ὅτι δεῖ τὰ ὁμώνυμα μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν προφορὰν κοινωεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα παραστατικά τῶν ὁμωνύμων, ὁκτῶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα· ἅτινά εἰσι, τόνος, πτῶσις, πνεῦμα, γραφή, ἀριθμός, γένος, μέρος λόγου, συνήθεια.	Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὁμώνυμα χρῆ μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν προφορὰν ἀπλῶς κοινωεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα παραστατικά τῶν ὁμωνύμων ὁκτῶ ὄντα· ἡγουν τόνον, πτῶσιν, πνεῦμα, γραφὴν, ἀριθμὸν, γένος, μέρος λόγου, συνήθειαν.

The texts of the *Intro.* and Paris. gr. 1928 offer several binding variants not found in the *CAG* edition, highlighting the existence of a strong link between the former texts:

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι *Intro.*, Ἰστέον ὅτι Paris. gr. 1928 : non hab. *CAG*
 παραστατικά τῶν ὁμωνύμων *Intro.* Paris. gr. 1928 : περιστατικά *CAG*
 ὁκτῶ ὄντα *Intro.*, ὁκτῶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα Paris. gr. 1928 : non hab. *CAG*
 γραφή, ἀριθμός, γένος Paris. gr. 1928., γραφὴν, ἀριθμὸν, γένος *Intro.* : γένος ἀριθμὸν γραφὴν *CAG*

The evidence presented above shows that the exegetical content in Paris. gr. 1928 may account for all the sections in the *Intro.*, except for section 3, which comes from John Philoponus' commentary

⁹³ A similar view is in Arethas, *Scholia in Porphyry's Isagoge*, 3 (Share 1994): Ἰστέον γὰρ ὅτι εἰς δύο τὰ γενικώτατα ἢ Ἀριστοτέλους διαιρεῖται φιλοσοφία, εἰς τε θεωρητικὸν καὶ πρακτικόν, ἐν δὲ τῶν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ μερῶν τὸ λογικόν ('One must know that the philosophy of Aristotle is divided into two most general genera, into the theoretical and the practical philosophy; logic belongs to the theoretical part').

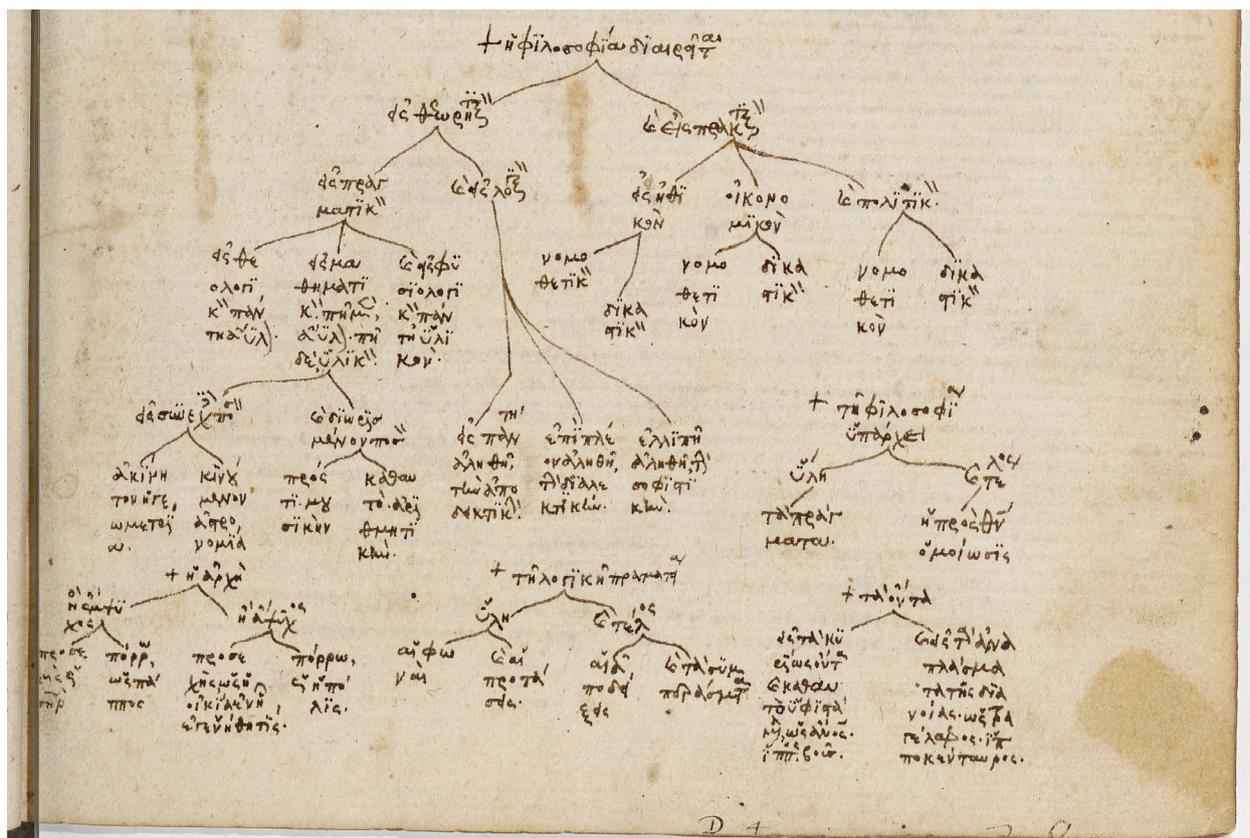


Fig. 6: Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, grec 1928, fol. 28^r (detail). It contains several diagrams. The largest one deals with the bipartite division of philosophy into theoretical and practical.

on *Cat.*, a work not transmitted in the Parisinus. Importantly, Paris. gr. 1928 can also be perceived as the possible source for most of the paracontent of the *Intro.*, namely the lists and diagrams that accompany its core text. We have distinguished four pieces of paracontent, three of which have counterparts in Paris. gr. 1928.

The text of Ammonius, in *Cat.*, 26, 32–27, 2, which is the ultimate source for the list of the eleven ways in which one thing can be in another (τὸ ἓν τι ἐνδεκαχῶς) and corresponds to the first piece of paracontent in the *Intro.*, is transmitted in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 76^r, ll. 2–5: Λέγεται γὰρ τὸ ἓν τι ἐνδεκαχῶς· ἐν χρόνῳ· ἐν τόπῳ· ἐν ἀγγείῳ· ὡς μέρος, ἐν ὄλῳ· ὡς ὅλον, ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν· ὡς εἶδος ἐν γένει· ὡς γένος ἐν εἶδει· ὡς τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι· ὡς εἶδος ἐν ὕλῃ· ὡς ἐν τέλει· ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ· οἷον τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ.⁹⁴

The square used in the *Intro.* to illustrate the characteristics of homonyms, synonyms, polyonyms, and heteronyms is attested in identical form in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 71^v. Significantly, Paris. gr. 1928 also offers a note on paronyms adjacent to the square; however, its content differs from that in the *Intro.* Tables 6a and 6b present, respectively, our transcription of the square as transmitted in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 71^v and its English translation.

⁹⁴ Translation by Cohen and Matthews 1991, 36: 'In something is said in eleven ways: in a time, in a place, in a container, as a part in the whole, as a whole in its parts, as a species in a genus, as a genus in a species, as the <affairs> of the ruled in <the power or control of> the ruler, as form in matter, as in an end, as in a subject, for example, an accident in a substance'.

Table 6a. Square of homonyms, synonyms, heteronyms, and polyonyms as it appears in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 71^v.

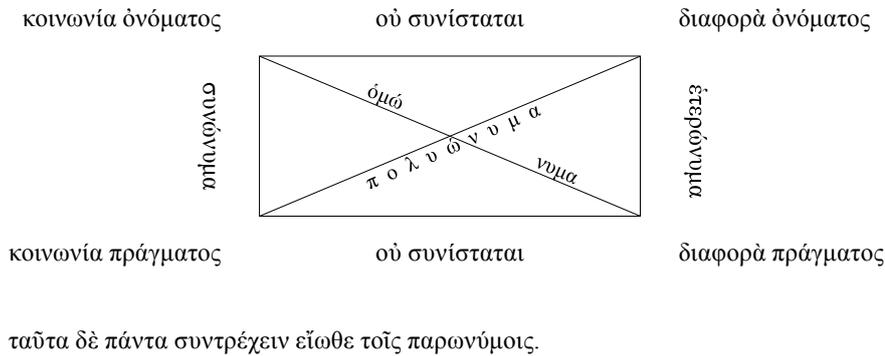
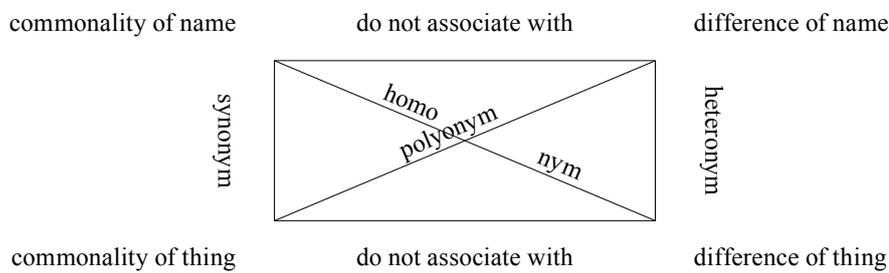


Table 6b. English translation of the square.



All these characteristics, however, usually concur in the paronyms.

The third piece of paracontent in the *Intro.* is a list of false homonyms that relates closely to the tenth section in the core content of the *Intro.* Both parts of the *Intro.* rely ultimately on Elias, in *Cat.*, 140, 26–141, 16. As noted, Paris. gr. 1928 contains the relevant passage from Elias in the outer margin of fol. 72^{rv}. In this manuscript, Neophytos copied the passage as running text (and not as a list); as a result, the Parisinus version remains closer to Elias’ commentary. Yet, Paris. gr. 1928 also exhibits some major differences compared to the commentary. Crucial for our discussion is the substitution of the example illustrating differences in spiritus. Whereas the *CAG* edition offers the case of οἶος and οἶος, Paris. gr. 1928 provides another example, namely, ἀζομένη and ἀζομένη, which comes from Olympiodorus, in *Cat.*, 33, 21–27.⁹⁵ As already pointed out, this telling deviation in Paris. gr. 1928 vis-à-vis the *CAG* text of Elias is paralleled in the list of false homonyms offered as paracontent in the *Intro.* This correspondence provides further evidence of a strong textual affinity between the texts in Paris. gr. 1928 and the *Intro.*

The final piece of paracontent in the *Intro.* consists of a diagram depicting how everything that exists is assigned to a specific category. This is the only part of the paracontent in the *Intro.* for

⁹⁵ The pertinent section is found in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 72^r and reads thus: Κατὰ δὲ πνεῦμα ὡς τὸ ἀζομένη ψιλόμενον γὰρ σημαίνει τὴν ξηρανομένην, δασυνόμενον δὲ τὴν ἐντρεπομένην ἢ τὴν σεαζομένην [sic pro σεβαζομένην] (‘According to the spirit, as the word *azoménē*; for when it is written or pronounced with the spirit lenis, it means ‘dried up’, when pronounced or written with the rough spirit, it means ‘ashamed’ or ‘afraid’”).

which no compelling parallel can be identified in Paris. gr. 1928. Nevertheless, there are some telling coincidences between some sections of the diagram of the *Intro.* and parts of a diagram found on fol. 17^r in Paris. gr. 1928. Compare just one example among many:

Intro.'s diagram (detail)

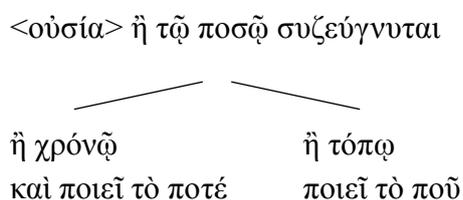
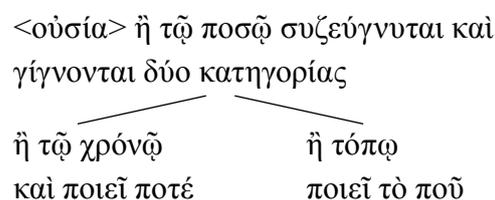


Diagram in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 17^r (detail)



In our opinion, the diagram in Paris. gr. 1928, fol. 17^r was not the direct model for the *Intro.*'s diagram. As argued above, Scholarios must have copied the diagram from a manuscript containing Chortasmenos, *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic*, which offers a diagram virtually identical to that in the *Intro.* We have not been able to identify with certainty the manuscript source from which Scholarios copied it. Laur. 71.16 appears to be an obvious candidate: as we proposed, fols 1^r–38^r, l. 28 in this manuscript could be Scholarios' autograph, produced in the early phases of his career, i.e. in the 1420s–1430s. Be that as it may, Scholarios must have owned Laur. 71.16, as he wrote some scholia and diagrams in the margins of other parts of that manuscript.⁹⁶ Fig. 7 shows the diagram of the things that exist as contained in Laur. 71.16.

In sum, Paris. gr. 1928, a manuscript annotated by Georgios Scholarios, contains most of the texts quoted (or substantially reworked) in the *Intro.* It is therefore tempting to identify it as the main 'material source' for the composition of the short introduction to *Cat.*, today preserved in Laur. 59.17 and Barocc. 87. Only two parts of the *Intro.* cannot be traced back to the contents transmitted in Paris. gr. 1928: section 3, which deals with the position of *Cat.* in the *Organon*, and the diagram illustrating the classification of existing things. The former appears to derive from Philoponus, *in Cat.*, 12, 28, a passage not attested in Paris. gr. 1928; the latter derives from Chortasmenos, *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic*, which Scholarios could have copied from Laur. 71.16, a manuscript that belonged to him and may be a partial autograph.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Cf. n. 75. As stated in that note, we look forward to new findings regarding Scholarios' early script, which may allow us to understand more about the identity of the scribe who wrote Laur. 71.16, fols 1^r–38^r, l. 28, whom we cautiously identify in this paper as Georgios Scholarios.

⁹⁷ When this paper was already at the proof stage, we gained access to the manuscript Bucarest, Biblioteca Academiei Române, Ms. gr. 1014. This manuscript is a witness to Chortasmenos' *Commentary*, (partially) written by Chortasmenos. Significantly, it includes folios copied or annotated by Georgios Scholarios.

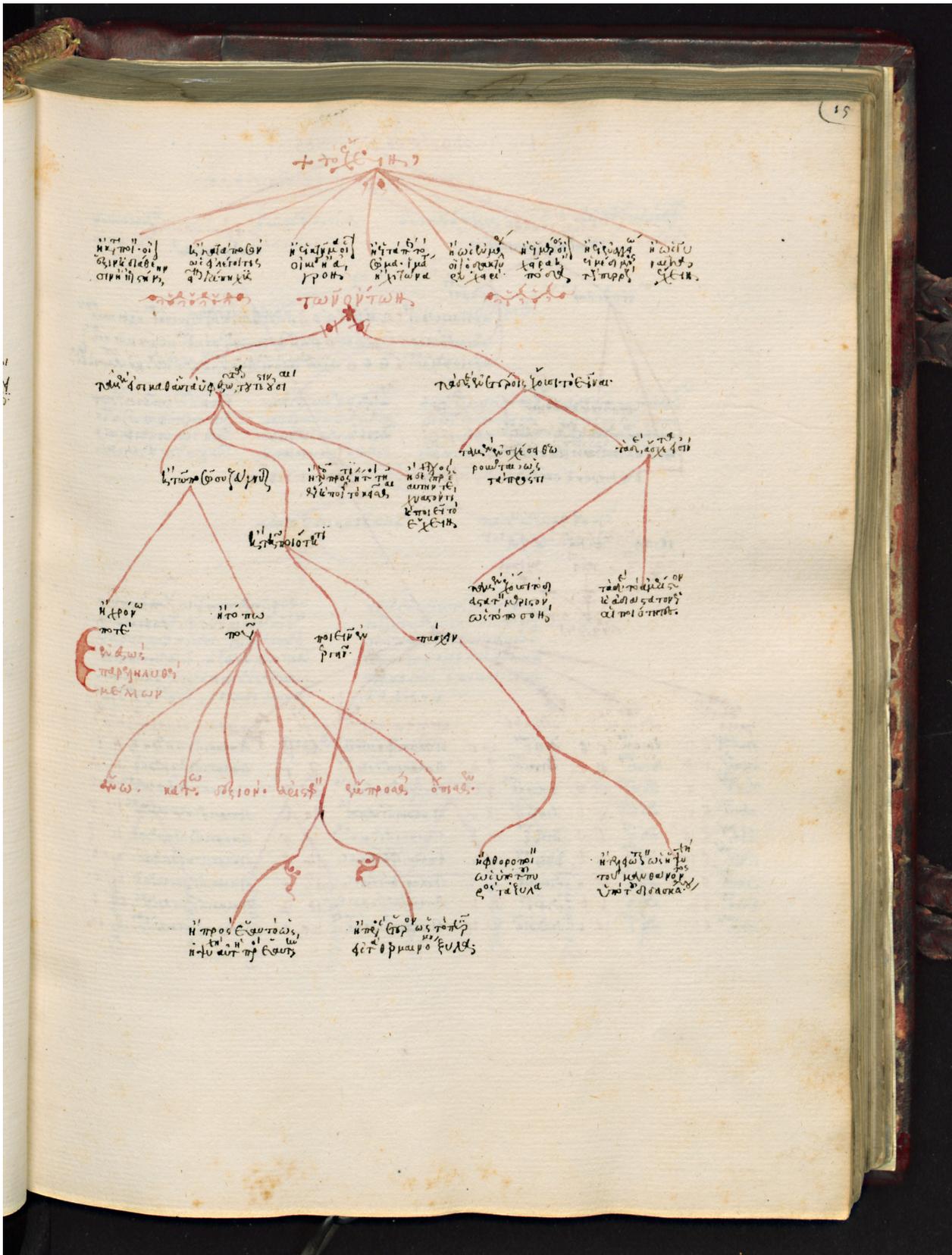


Fig. 7: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 71.16, fol. 15^r. It contains the diagram of existing things as paracontent of Ioannes Chortasmenos' *Commentary on Aristotelian Logic*. This part of the manuscript was most likely written by Georgios Scholarios.

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Bucarest, Biblioteca Academiei Române, Ms. gr. 1014 (diktyon 11088)

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Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 71.3 (diktyon 16605)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 71.16 (diktyon 16618)

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Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 124 (diktyon 64672)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 235 (diktyon 65967)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1777 (diktyon 68406)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2223 (diktyon 68854)

Abbreviations

Ammonius, *in Cat.* = *Ammonii in Aristotelis Categorias commentarius* (CAG, IV 4), ed. by Adolf Busse, Berlin: Reimer, 1895.

Ammonius, *in An. pr.* = *Ammonii in Aristotelis Analyticorum priorum librum I commentaria* (CAG, IV 6), ed. by Max Wallies, Berlin: Reimer, 1899.

Elias, *in Cat.* = *Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Categorias commentaria* (CAG, XVIII 1), ed. by Adolf Busse, Berlin: Reimer, 1900.

Aristoteles Graecus = Paul Moraux, Dieter Harlfinger, Diether R. Reinsch and Jürgen Wiesner, *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles. Erster Band. Alexandrien–London*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976.

CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*.

CAGB = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina* <<https://cagb-digital.de/index.html>>; accessed on 21 January 2026.

OGS = *Oeuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*, I–VIII, ed. by Louis Petit, Xénophon A. Sidéridès and Martin Jugie, Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1928–1936.

John Philoponus, *in Cat.* = *Philoponi (olim Ammonii) in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium* (CAG, XIII 1), ed. by Adolf Busse, Berlin: Reimer, 1898.

John Philoponus, *in An. pr.* = *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis Analytica priora commentaria* (CAG, XIII 2), ed. by Max Wallies, Berlin: Reimer, 1905.

Olympiodorus, *in Cat.* = *Olympiodori prolegomena et in Categorias commentarium* (CAG, XII 1), ed. by Adolf Busse, Berlin: Reimer, 1902.

PLP = Erich Trapp (ed.) [with the collaboration of Hans-Veit Beyer, Rainer Walther et al.], *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1996 [online edition by Erich Trapp and Christian Gastgeber, <<http://austriaca.at/>> (accessed on 21 January 2026)].

RGK I = Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger and Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600. 1. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens, A–C (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/1 A–C)*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981.

RGK II = Ernst Gamillscheg and Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600. 2. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs, A–C (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/2 A–C)*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989.

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Simplicius, *in Cat.* = *Simplicii in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium (CAG VIII)*, ed. By Karl Kalbfleisch, Berlin: Reimer, 1907.

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