

**THE LATIN TRADITION OF STUDYING PORPHYRY'S ISAGOGE,
CA 800-980 A WORKING CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS,
GLOSSSES AND DIAGRAMS**

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Résumé

L'Isagoge de Porphyre a été l'un des textes fondamentaux pour l'enseignement de la logique dans l'Occident latin. Cet article veut montrer son importance, à partir de l'étude des manuscrits, pour la période 800-980. L'introduction générale est suivie d'un catalogue des manuscrits qui transmettent l'Isagoge, ou bien l'un des commentaires de Boèce à l'Isagoge. Pour chaque manuscrit, sont indiqués la datation, le contenu général, les gloses et les diagrammes liés à l'Isagoge.

Abstract

Porphyry's Isagoge was one of the most fundamental texts for the study of logic throughout the whole Latin Middle Ages. In this article, I document its importance in the period from ca 800 to ca 980 by providing an assessment of manuscript evidence. After a general introduction, I list all existing Latin manuscripts transmitting either Porphyry's Isagoge or one of Boethius's commentaries on the Isagoge. For each manuscript, I note date, overall content, glosses and diagrams on Isagoge-related material.

Riassunto

L'Isagoge di Porfirio fu una delle opere fondamentali per lo studio della logica in ambito latino per l'intero medioevo. Questo articolo documenta l'importanza dell'opuscolo porfiriano nel periodo 800-980 ca attraverso uno studio dei testimoni manoscritti. Dopo un'introduzione di natura generale, si presenta un catalogo di tutti i manoscritti latini conservati che trasmettono l'Isagoge oppure uno dei due commenti di Boezio allo scritto porfiriano. Per ogni manoscritto si discutono la datazione, il contenuto generale, le glosse e i diagrammi legati all'Isagoge.

[Mots-clés : *Isagoge*, Porphyre, Boèce, commentaire, glose, diagramme, manuscrit, IX^e siècle, X^e siècle]

I codici non sono cose,
ma, più ancora degli stessi libri, uomini

(G. Billanovich)

Porphyry's *Introduction*, or *Isagoge*, was the only text of the late ancient curriculum to be studied throughout the whole Middle Ages¹. Though not as influential as the *Categories* (either in the form of pseudo-Augustine's *Categoriae Decem* or Aristotle's own *Categories*, in Boethius's Latin translation)², it was extremely important to logic in the Latin West in the 9th and 10th centuries³. The *Isagoge* (henceforth: *Isag.*) was read in Boethius's Latin translation of Porphyry's original Greek⁴. Also available to Latin readers in those centuries – though, it seems, to a lesser extent than the *Isag.* itself – was Boethius's

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(1) See Porphyry's *Isagoge et In Aristotelis Categoriae commentarium*, ed. A. BUSSE, Berlin 1887, p. 1-22; PORPHYRY, *Introduction*, translated, with a Commentary, by J. BARNES, Oxford 2003; and PORPHYRE, *Isagoge*, ed. and trans. A. DE LIBERA – A. SEGONDS, Paris 1998. For a discussion of whether *Isagoge* is an *Introduction* to Aristotle's *Categories* – as was assumed to be the case in the Latin tradition – or to logic as a whole, see R. CHIARADONNA, «What is Porphyry's *Isagoge*?», *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale*, 19 (2008), p. 1-30, with further bibliography.

(2) For the edition of *Categoriae Decem*, see *Anonymi Paraphrasis Themistianae*, in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 1-5, *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta*, ed. L. MINIO-PALUELLO, Bruges 1961 p. 133-175. Aristotle's *Categories* was available in Latin in the *editio composita* and in Boethius's genuine translation (both edited in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 1-5, p. 43-79 and p. 1-41 respectively): see L. MINIO-PALUELLO, «Praefatio», in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 1-5, p. x-xxii; ID., «The Genuine Text of Boethius' Translation of Aristotle's *Categories*», in ID., *Opuscula. The Latin Aristotle*, Amsterdam 1972, p. 1-27; ID., «The Text of the *Categoriae*: The Latin Tradition», in *ibid.*, p. 28-39; ID., «Note sull'Aristotele latino medievale. XV. Dalle "Categoriae Decem" pseudo-agostiniane (temistiane) al testo vulgato aristotelico boeziano», in *ibid.*, p. 448-458.

(3) See J. MARENBO, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre. Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1981, p. 12-29; ID., «The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100», in D. M. GABBAY – J. WOODS (ed.), *Handbook of the History of Logic*, vol. 2: *Mediaeval and Renaissance Logic*, Amsterdam 2008, p. 1-63; ID., «La logique en occident latin (ca. 780 – ca. 1150): le programme des études et ses enjeux», in J. BRUMBERG-CHAUMONT (ed.), «*Ad notitiam ignoti*». *L'«Organon» dans la «translatio studiorum» à l'époque d'Albert le Grand*, Turnhout 2013, p. 173-191. Marenbon documents the shift from a more predominantly Roman to a more predominantly Boethian curriculum of logic between the 9th and the 11th centuries.

(4) See, for the edition, *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, ed. L. MINIO-PALUELLO, Bruges-Paris 1966, p. 5-31. A previous Latin translation, by Marius Victorinus, is preserved in the lemmata of Boethius's *Isag.*: see especially P. HADOT, *Marius Victorinus. Recherches sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris 1971, p. 367-380; cf. L. ADAMO, «Boezio e Mario Vittorino traduttori e interpreti dell'«Isagoge» di Porfirio», *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 22 (1967), p. 141-164. Marius Victorinus's *De definitionibus*, in the section on philosophical definition, also mentions the five predicables of *Isagoge*: see, for the text, HADOT, *Marius Victorinus*, p. 331-362 (esp. p. 339) and, for analysis, *ibid.*, p. 163-178.

second, extensive, commentary on Porphyry's work (henceforth: *2Isag.*); and sparse evidence exists of the circulation of Boethius's first, shorter, commentary (*1Isag.*)⁵. In addition, a résumé of the *Isag.* was found in some widely available encyclopedic works: Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Cassiodore's *Institutiones*, and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*⁶.

Examples of the influence of the *Isagoge* in Latin texts written between the 8th and 10th centuries include a chapter on the five predicables, the *isagogae*⁷, in Alcuin's *De dialectica* (before 790?)⁸. In the middle of the 9th century, there are signs of its influence in the writings of Eriugena, although it is unclear whether that influence is direct⁹. Quotations from Boethius's *2Isag.* are found in the *Liber*

(5) Boethius's two commentaries are edited in *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta*, ed. S. BRANDT, Wien-Leipzig 1906 (CSEL 48); for their availability, see MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 17-18, and below; on Boethius as a commentator, see J. JOLIVET, «Quand Boèce aborde Porphyre», in A. GALONNIER (ed.), *Boèce ou la chaîne des savoirs. Actes du colloque international de la Fondation Singer-Polignac*, Louvain-Paris 2003, p. 229-240, and S. EBBESEN, «The Aristotelian Commentator», in J. MARENBNON (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, Cambridge 2009, p. 34-55.

(6) See MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, IV, § 344-348, ed. J. WILLIS, Leipzig 1983; CASSIODORUS, *Institutiones*, II, 3, ed. R. A. B. MYNORS, Oxford 1937, § 8, p. 112-113; ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologies. Book II*, ed. and trans. P. K. MARSHALL, Paris 1983, chap. XXV (*De Isagogis Porphyrii*); cf. C. ERISMANN, «Aristoteles Latinus: The Reception of Aristotle in the Latin World», in A. FALCON (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Aristotle in Antiquity*, Leiden-Boston 2016, p. 439-459.

(7) In the High Middle Ages, *isagog(a)e* is often used as a feminine plural term: see G. D'ONOFRIO, «Introduzione», in *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*, ed. G. D'ONOFRIO, Turnhout 1995 (CCM 120), p. VIII-X.

(8) See ALCUINUS, *De dialectica*, PL 101, 949B-976B, esp. 953B-954C; some excerpts are also edited in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 1-5, *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta*, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. 189-192, and a working edition of the section *De perihermeniiis* is to be found in C. H. KNEEPKENS, «Some Notes on Alcuin's *De perihermeniiis* with an Edition of the Text», in L. A. J. R. HOUWEN – A. A. MACDONALD (ed.), *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, Groningen 1998, p. 81-112, esp. p. 108-112. Yukio Iwakuma is currently working towards a critical edition of the whole text. For the sources of Alcuin's treatment of *isagogae* here – mainly Cassiodore's *Institutiones* and Isidore's *Etymologiae* –, see P. LEHMANN, «Cassiodorstudien», *Philologus* 74 (1917), p. 351-383, esp. p. 370-374; cf. J. MARENBNON, «Alcuin, the Council of Frankfurt and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy», in ID., *Aristotelian Logic, Platonism, and the Context of Early Medieval Philosophy in the West*, Aldershot-Burlington 2000, nr. IV, p. 607; E. RÄDLER-BOHN, «Re-dating Alcuin's *De dialectica*: or, did Alcuin teach at Lorsch?», *Anglo-Saxon England*, 45 (2016), p. 71-104, especially, on sources, p. 78 and p. 89 n. 82; and below, n. 47.

(9) See C. ERISMANN, «*Processio id est multiplicatio*. L'influence latine de l'ontologie de Porphyre: le cas de Jean Scot Érigène», *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 88 (2004), p. 401-460, to be compared with ID., *L'Homme commun. La genèse du réalisme ontologique durant le haut Moyen Âge*, Paris 2011, p. 193-292; for a different approach, see E. S. MAINOLDI, «*Artibus purgatur platonius oculus*. La ricezione di Porfirio in età carolingio-ottoniana e la tradizione erigeniana», *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale*, 24 (2013), p. 31-68 (also suggesting that a passage of the fifth book of *Periphyseon* may depend on *2Isag.*, I, 10). See additionally MARENBNON, «The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100», p. 29-30, and ID., «Eriugena, Aristotelian Logic and the Creation», in W. OTTEN – M. ALLEN (ed.), *Eriugena and Creation*, Turnhout 2014, p. 349-68, esp. p. 354-57, for an examination of what logical texts Eriugena knew; Eriugena's knowledge of the *Isagoge* is argued not to be certain.

de anima (c. 860) by Ratramnus of Corbie¹⁰; and familiarity with passages of *2Isag.* is evident in the letter of *L.* (possibly the Master of St Gall Liutbert, who became Archbishop of Mainz in 863) to *dominus I.* (possibly Master Iso of St Gall)¹¹. Israel the Grammarian (c. 900-970) is responsible for marginal glosses on the *Isagoge* in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12949, f. 45v-52v, drawing extensively on *1Isag.* and *2Isag.*¹². Slightly later on, the *Isagoge* features clearly in the teaching of Gerbert of Aurillac in Rheims in the second half of the 10th century, as recorded by Richer of St Remi¹³. Moreover, a passage of the *Isagoge* stating that ‘to use reason’ is predicated of ‘rational’ (and Boethius’s remarks on the passage) raised doubts that were debated in Magdeburg in 997 by a group of scholars and bishops including Gerbert himself – who was then prompted by Otto III to write his *De rationali et ratione uti* on the issue (winter 997-998)¹⁴. In turn, *1Isag.*, *2Isag.* and Gerbert’s *De rationali* inspired the section

(10) See RATRAMNUS CORBEIENSIS, *Liber de anima ad Odonem Bellovacensem*, ed. D. C. LAMBOT, Lille 1952, esp. p. 74-79; ERISMANN, *L’Homme commun*, p. 285-292; MARENBNON, «The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100», p. 26-27.

(11) See L. M. DE RIJK, «On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St. Gall from c. 850-c. 1000», *Vivarium*, 1 (1963), p. 35-86, especially p. 75-80, and J. MARENBNON, *Early Medieval Philosophy (480-1150)*, London-New York 1988, p. 77.

(12) Edited in C. BAEUMKER – B. S. VON WALTERSHAUSEN, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen des Angeblichen Jepa zur Isagoge des Porphyrius*, Münster 1924; the final verses, inc. «Scripturae finem sibi quaerunt hic ysagogae» are also found in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi, Tomus III*, Berlin 1896, p. 685; *Tomus V*, München 1979, p. 648. On Israel, see also C. JEUDY, «Israël le grammairien et la tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Remi d’Auxerre à l’*Ars minor* de Donat», *Studi Medievali*, 3ª Serie, 18 (1977), p. 185-248, and E. JEAUNEAU, «Pour le dossier d’Israël Scot», *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 52 (1985), p. 7-72. A connection between Israel and the court of Æthelstan, King of England, has been unearthed recently: see M. LAPIDGE, «Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England», in H. J. WESTRA (ed.), *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought. Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1992, p. 97-114; M. WOOD, «‘Stand Strong against the Monsters’: Kingship and Learning in the Empire of King Æthelstan», in P. WORMALD – J. L. NELSON (ed.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2007, p. 192-217, esp. p. 205-206; M. WOOD, «A Carolingian Scholar in the Court of King Æthelstan», in D. ROLLASON – C. LEYSER – H. WILLIAMS (ed.), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, Turnhout 2010, p. 135-162.

(13) Cf. RICHERIUS, *Historiarum libri III*, III, 46, ed. H. HOFFMANN, Hannover 2000 (MGHS 38), p. 193-194, referring to Victorinus’s translation and Boethius’s commenting on the text. On the basis of Richer’s testimony, John Marenbon includes a lost commentary by Gerbert (item *P1*), in his 1993 working catalogue of commentaries on the *Isagoge* (quoted *infra*, n. 17). See additionally: C. FROVA, «Trivio e Quadrivio a Reims: l’insegnamento di Gerberto d’Aurillac», *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio muratoriano* 85 (1974-1975), p. 53-87; R. RICHIÉ, «L’enseignement de Gerbert à Reims dans le contexte européen», in *Gerberto. Scienza, storia e mito. Atti del Gerberti Symposium* (Bobbio 25-27 luglio 1983), Bobbio 1985, p. 51-69, esp. p. 60; MARENBNON, «The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100», p. 40-41.

(14) See *Isagoge*, tr. BOETHII, *AL*, p. 22.9-12. Porphyry’s point is that ‘*ratione uti*’ is predicated of ‘*rationalis*’. But this prompts discussion, since the predicate ‘*ratione uti*’, which means to use reason in act, is less extensive than the subject ‘*rationalis*’ (not everything that is rational also uses reason in act): see BOETHIUS, *1Isag.*, II, 11, ed. BRANDT, p. 104.9 – 105.9; *2Isag.*, V, 3, ed. BRANDT, p. 293.18 – 294.21. Gerbert’s *De rationali* is edited in *Œuvres de Gerbert, pape sous le nom de Sylvestre II*, ed. A. OLLERIS, Clermont-Ferrand-Paris 1867, p. 297-310; an Italian translation has appeared: F. SIGISMONDI, *Gerberto d’Aurillac, il trattato De Rationali et Ratione Uti e la Logica del X secolo*, Roma 2007. See also

on *isagogae* of the *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum* (probably 1000-1030ca) in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 281¹⁵, a short version of which (depending on *2Isag.*) is also found in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Pal. lat. 2508, f. 12r-22v (from St Gall)¹⁶.

In 1993, John Marenbon documented the interest in Porphyry's *Isagoge* (among other texts) in the early middle ages, by publishing a list of all known glosses and commentaries on Aristotelian logical texts in the Latin tradition dating from c. 875 to 1150¹⁷. He catalogued glosses and commentaries on the *Isagoge*, *Categoriae Decem*, and Aristotle's *Categories* and *De interpretatione*. A 'gloss' is a text found in the margins, or between the lines, of a manuscript also transmitting the authoritative text¹⁸. A 'commentary' is a longer text devoted to analysing the authoritative text, which may or may not quote long portions of it; in the definition of James Zetzel, it is «a set of notes on a text constructed as continuous prose and presented separately from the text itself»¹⁹. A revised edition of Marenbon's whole catalogue, expanded to up to c. 1200, was published in 2000²⁰. In 2013, Marenbon again revised the catalogue for the section concerning *Categories*. However, the section on the *Isagoge* has not been updated since 2000²¹. Yet, important developments in this area have taken place. For

C. FROVA, «Gerberto *philosophus*: il *De rationali et ratione uti*», in *Gerberto. Scienza, storia e mito*, p. 351-377, and D. POIREL, «L'art de la logique. Le *De rationali et ratione uti* de Gerbert», in O. GUYOTJEANNIN – E. POULLE (ed.), *Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'An Mil*, Paris 1996, p. 312-320.

(15) This is P2(a) in Marenbon's catalogue (quoted *infra*, n. 17), and has been edited in *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*, ed. D'ONOFRIO, p. 1-81; two fragments (one on *rationalis/ratione uti*; the other corresponding to the first chapters of the *Excerpta*, compiled from *1Isag.*) are also found in Paris, BnF, lat. 8672, f. 88r-89r, following *1Isag.* (see also n. 25 below). A short passage discussing *rationalis/ratione uti* is also found in Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 267 (233) (see *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*, ed. D'ONOFRIO, p. xv, LXXVI-LXXXII, 139, and tavola XIII); Yukio Iwakuma has identified a note on the same topic in Paris, BnF, lat. 10444, f. 61v, and Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte, 1.8, f. 61v-62r.

(16) This is P2(b) in Marenbon's catalogue (quoted *infra*, n. 17), and has been edited in *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*, ed. D'ONOFRIO, p. 139-158; see also DE RIJK, «On the Curriculum», p. 57-64, and MARENBN, «The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100», p. 40.

(17) See J. MARENBN, «Medieval Latin Commentaries and Glosses on Aristotelian Logical Texts, Before c. 1150 AD», in C. BURNETT (ed.), *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions*, London 1993, p. 77-127.

(18) Glosses should be distinguished from corrections, that is, portions of the authoritative text itself written in the margins or in between lines. My use of 'gloss' covers both *scholia* (defined as «notes placed in the margins of a literary text, generally keyed to the text by proximity or by reference sign») and glosses (understood as «interlinear [notes], often no more than a single word») in J. ZETZEL, *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance. The Commentum Cornuti and the Early Scholia on Persius*, London 2005, p. 4.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(20) See MARENBN, *Aristotelian Logic*, nr. II (with supplement).

(21) See ID., «The Tradition of Studying the *Categories* in the Early Middle Ages (until c. 1200). A Revised Working Catalogue of Glosses, Commentaries and Treatises», in S. EBBESEN – J. MARENBN – P. THOM (ed.), *Aristotle's Categories in the Byzantine, Arabic and Latin Traditions*, Copenhagen 2013, p. 139-173. John Marenbon is currently updating the section of the catalogue concerning *Isagoge* commentaries (all written between the late 10th and the 12th century), in a forthcoming

instance, many images of relevant manuscripts are now available online (often in very high quality). Moreover, the dating of many manuscripts should be reconsidered following the publication of the complete catalogue of more than 7,500 surviving 9th-century manuscripts based on Bernhard Bischoff's legacy²². In addition, a number of relevant manuscripts have now been described not only in *Aristoteles Latinus* but also in *Codices Boethiani*²³. Finally, an important 9th-century manuscript, thought lost after WW2 and therefore not available to Lorenzo Minio-Paluello for *Aristoteles Latinus*, has since resurfaced in the so-called 'Berlinka collection' at Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków.

My aim in this paper is to take such developments into account, updating the section of Marenbon's catalogue concerning the *Isagoge* for the period c. 800-980. A number of observations and links between manuscripts emerge from such an analysis, which will be discussed in a further section: for instance, between St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Class.lat.F.v.7, f.1-40 and Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S.Eusebio, 138 (143), and between [Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Qu. 687 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7730. The starting point of the catalogue is the so-called *Codex Leidradi*, the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Isagoge* in the Latin tradition (dating to before 814). At the far end, Gerbert's teaching, his *De rationali et ratione uti*, and the *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum* around 1000, mark the beginning of a new phase in which *Isagoge* commentaries and independent treatises start to be written in addition to marginal and interlinear glosses²⁴. My focus is therefore entirely on 'marginal scholarship', as no commentaries on the *Isagoge* seem to have been produced in the Latin tradition before Gerbert's lost *P1*.

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(22) See B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Teil I: Aachen - Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998; Teil II: Laon - Paderborn, ed. B. EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden 2004; Teil III: Padua - Zwickau, ed. B. EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden 2014 (= BISCHOFF, *Katalog*). As editors indicate, Bischoff's work had reached different stages of redaction for different entries at the time of his death; accordingly, I follow editors in referring to the 'first version' of Bischoff's catalogue when appropriate.

(23) See G. LACOMBE, *Aristoteles Latinus: Codices. Pars Prior*, Roma 1939; *Pars Posterior*, Cambridge 1955; *Supplementa altera*, ed. L. MINIO-PALUELLO, Bruges-Paris 1961 (= *AL*); C. FLÜELER, « Einige Ergänzungen zum Aristoteles Latinus », *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*, 36 (1994), p. 116-117; and *Codices Boethiani. A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius*, t. I: Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, ed. M. T. GIBSON - L. SMITH, London 1995; t. II: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, ed. L. SMITH, London-Torino 2001; t. III: Italy and the Vatican City, ed. M. PASSALACQUA - L. SMITH, London 2001; t. IV: Portugal and Spain, ed. M. PASSALACQUA - L. SMITH, London-Torino 2009 (= *CB*).

(24) The clearest example is then the full-scale commentary *P3*, edited in Y. IWAKUMA, « Pseudo-Rabanus super Porphyrium (P3) », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 75 (2008), p. 43-196. For this and later material, see John Marenbon's forthcoming revised catalogue (referred to *supra*, n. 21).

While updating Marenbon's catalogue, I also aim to introduce a new perspective. This will be achieved in five ways.

(1) My list will include all 9th- and 10th-century manuscripts transmitting the *Isag.*, and not be restricted to glossed manuscripts alone (the difference will, of course, be noted)²⁵.

(2) I will also include manuscripts transmitting either *1Isag.* or *2Isag.*, for two reasons. On the one hand, Boethius's commentaries quote significant portions of the *Isagoge*, either in the translation by Marius Victorinus (*1Isag.*) or by Boethius himself (*2Isag.*) – so in a way, they are part of the transmission of the *Isagoge*²⁶. (Indeed, in at least one case, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1332, the *Isag.* and *2 Isag.* are combined on the same manuscript pages, despite significant problems of layout due to the substantial difference in length between the two)²⁷. On the other hand, Boethius's commentaries, too, are sometimes glossed – a fact that has received little attention so far. For instance, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206, f. 60r-71v, includes a text titled *Glossae de Isagogis*. This piece of writing, which is not at all easy to follow, appears to be a collection of glosses on *2Isag.*, written in long lines and with lemmata

(25) Manuscripts of the *Isag.*, *1Isag.* or *2Isag.* dated by scholarship to the « late 10th-century » or to « 10th-11th century » have not been listed. These include: Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 100, *Isag.*, dated to 10th-11th century in AL 472; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 29 (878), *Isag.*, dated to 10th-11th century in G. MEIER, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidlensis O. S. B. servantur*, Tomus I, Einsiedeln 1899, p. 20-22 (not in AL nor CB); Köln, Dombibliothek, 188, *2Isag.*, and Köln, Dombibliothek, 189, *1Isag.*, both from 10th-11th century according to AL 2092 and AL 2093 (cf. BRANDT, « Prolegomena », in CSEL 48, p. xxxviii, xlIII); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 139B, dated to 10th-11th century in CB II, N13 (cf. AL 2027); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6403, *1Isag.* and *2Isag.*, dated to ca 1000 in G. GLAUCHE, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising. Band 2*, Wiesbaden 2011, p. 192-194, and BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. xxxvii (cf. AL 1030); Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 267, and Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 1611 (once parts of the same manuscript in Fleury), *2Isag.* and *Isag.*, dated to the second half or end of the 10th century in Abbon de Fleury, *Questions grammaticales*, ed. A. GUERREAU-JALABERT, Paris 1982, p. 192, and to the 10th-11th century in AL 2055 e AL 2080 (cf. BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. xlvi-xlvii); Paris, BnF, lat. 7183, *2Isag.*, dated to 10th-11th century in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. xxi (cf. BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. xlvi); Paris, BnF, lat. 8672, *1Isag.*, dated to 10th-11th century in *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*, ed. D'ONOFRIO, p. xxxiv-xxxvi, and BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. xxxix (cf. AL 2070); see also items 17-18 below (Paris, BnF, lat. 6288 and Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1332) and, among doubtful manuscripts, Paris, BnF, lat. 12958. For the three related manuscripts København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 166 2°, 167 2°, and 168 2°, containing several logical texts (among which *Isag.* and *2Isag.*) and sometimes assigned to the 10th century (e.g. AL 396-397), a dating to the late 11th century has also been suggested (see P. LEHMANN, « Skandinavische Reise Früchte », *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 21 [1934], p. 165-176, especially p. 171-172); see also *Levende Ord & Lysende Billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*, I: *Essays*; II: *Katalog*, ed. E. PETERSEN, København 1999, especially S. EBBESEN, « Danskerne, videnskaben og bøgerne i middelalderen », in *Essays*, p. 119-126 (esp. p. 119-120) and *Katalog*, nr. 117; and CB II, Denmark nr. 7-9 (10th-11th century).

(26) Cf. BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. xiv-xxi, xxxv-xxxvi; *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, *Isagoge*, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. xii-xxvii.

(27) Boethius's translation of the *Isagoge* has around 5,200 words, *2Isag.* around 37,000.

embedded (with no distinguishing marking) in the text. A full copy of *2Isag.* with marginal and interlinear glosses is also found in MS Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338. At least some of the glosses in the Einsiedeln manuscript are also found in the Cambridge collection²⁸.

(3) Increased availability of images of manuscript now enables us to record information on a peculiar sort of gloss, almost entirely neglected to date: diagrams. My catalogue will thus include these sorts of ‘glosses’, too. Since these diagrams have not been studied at length before, they are discussed in a separate section below.

(4) As a fourth aspect of my catalogue, I will record, in as much detail as possible, which texts surround *Isag./1Isag./2Isag.* If the manuscript is composite, this will be noted, and only the ‘production unit’ in which *Isag./1Isag./2Isag.* is found will be described²⁹. This section of the catalogue shows clearly the shift, highlighted by John Marenbon, from a more predominantly Roman to a more predominantly Boethian curriculum of logic between the 8th and the 11th centuries³⁰.

(5) Finally, my catalogue will record as many online images of the manuscripts as possible or, alternatively, details of how I accessed the codex. Although this section will soon be superseded, the volume of images of manuscripts freely available online is impressive, as is the number of projects currently underway making new images available. It therefore seems important to include such information, too.

The catalogue is completed by select bibliography on the MS (for composite manuscripts, I have not indicated the literature, often extensive, on sections of the MS not relevant to the catalogue)³¹.

(28) For instance, compare Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338, p.6 and p.15 with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206, f.60v-61r. From f.68v onwards, *Glossae de Isagogis* – a more detailed study of which is needed – seem to go back to commenting the beginning of *2Isag.* and are additionally made up of several extracts from Augustine’s *De trinitate* and Ps.-Augustine’s *Dialogus quaestionum*; see also below, p..

(29) For the useful terminology of «production units», distinct from «usage units», I rely on E. KWAKKEL, «Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts», *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002), p. 12-19. A production unit is a quiry or «groups of quires that formed a material unity at the time of production» and that were therefore «copied ‘in one go’» (*ibid.*, p. 13). «Usage unit», by contrast, is «an abstract notion that refers to the manner in which a production unit was used: separately or bound together with other production units» (*ibid.*, p. 14).

(30) See e.g. L. MINIO-PALUELLO, «Nuovi impulsi allo studio della logica: la seconda fase della riscoperta di Aristotele e di Boezio», in *La scuola nell’Occidente Latino dell’Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1972, vol. II, p. 743-766, and MAREN BON, «La logique en occident latin (ca. 780 – ca. 1150)».

(31) I have not made specific research on lost manuscripts and manuscripts in old library catalogues yet to be identified. As a starting point in that direction, see G. BECKER, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn 1885. Of special interest for our topic is that, in the 10th-century catalogue of the abbey of Bobbio, one finds «libros Porphyrii II [...]» (nr. 392-393), and «et alterum de isagogis» (nr. 394) (*ibid.*, p. 69). See also J.-F. GENEST, «Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Bobbio», in GUYOTJEANNIN – POULLE (ed.), *Autour de Gerbert d’Aurillac*, p. 251-262 (nr. 403-404), and A. ZIRONI, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio. Crocevia di uomini, manoscritti e culture*, Spoleto 2004, p. 148.

DIAGRAMS ACCOMPANYING ISAG. AND 2ISAG. IN 9TH
AND 10TH-CENTURIES MANUSCRIPTS

Porphyry's *Isagoge* is well known as the source of inspiration of a famous diagram, the so-called 'Porphyrian tree', a visual representation of the genera and species in the category of substance (*substantia, corpus, animatum corpus, animal, rationale animal, homo*), and of the dividing differences for each genus (*corporeal/incorporea, animatum/inanimatum, sensibile/insensibile, rationale/irrationale, mortale/immortale*), sometimes with examples of individual men underneath *homo*³². Less well known is the fact that 'Porphyry's tree' was not initially part of the transmission of the *Isag.* in the Latin tradition. Instead, it is embedded into *2Isag.* (III, 4), which both describes its content and makes explicit reference to a *descriptio*. From the 9th and 10th centuries at least, Porphyry's tree expands from *2Isag.* into the margins of the *Isag.*, as documented by MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S. Eusebio, CXXXVIII, f. 3r, left margin, and, later on, by Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12949, f. 46bisr (an added later leaf, dating to the 10th- or 11th-century). However, a number of other diagrams are found in manuscripts of both *Isag.* and *2Isag.* I have identified at least five more³³. For ease of reference, I shall call them: 'ABCDE diagram', 'fishbone diagram', 'suspended triangle diagram', 'house diagram' and 'genealogical diagram'.

– Similarly to Porphyry's tree, the ABCDE diagram is also a '*descriptio*' originally embedded in *2Isag.* (V, 12), and subsequently also found among glosses to the *Isag.*³⁴. By means of the letters '*a*', '*b*', '*c*', '*d*' and '*e*', it visualises the twenty

(32) See BOETHIUS, *2Isag.*, III, 4, ed. BRANDT, p. 209 (also reproducing the diagram); embedded in *2Isag.*, Porphyry's tree is found in: Paris, BnF, lat. 13955, f. 22r; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 315, p. 53; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338, p. 102; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1332, f. 17r. For interesting research on the historical representations of Porphyry's tree, with a focus from the 13th century onwards, but some insights on earlier material too, see A. R. VERBOON, «Einen alten Baum verpflanzt man nicht: Die Metapher des Porphyrianischen Baums im Mittelalter», in I. REICHLÉ – S. SIEGEL – A. SPELTEN (ed.), *Visuelle Modelle*, München 2008, p. 251-268; EAD., *Lines of Thought. Diagrammatic Representation and the Scientific Texts of the Arts Faculty, 1200-1500*, PhD thesis, Leiden 2010, p. 35-88; EAD., «The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: An Organic Structure of Logic», in P. SALONIUS – A. WORM (ed.), *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, Turnhout 2014, p. 95-116. See also: U. ECO, «L'antiporfirio», in G. VATTIMO – P. A. ROVATTI (ed.), *Il pensiero debole*, Milano 1983, p. 52-80; ID., *Semiotica e filosofia del linguaggio*, Torino 1984, p. 91-106; ID., *Dall'albero al labirinto. Studi storici sul segno e l'interpretazione*, Milano 2007, p. 13-96; I. HACKING, «Trees of Logic, Trees of Porphyry», in J. L. HEILBRON (ed.), *Advancements of Learning: Essays in Honour of Paolo Rossi*, Firenze 2007, p. 221-263.

(33) I hope to discuss these diagrams in more detail in a separate publication, which will include images of the diagrams.

(34) See BOETHIUS, *2Isag.*, V, 12, ed. BRANDT, p. 320, also reproducing the diagram. The diagram is found in *2Isag.* in: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 315, p. 139; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338, p. 240; Paris, BnF, lat. 6288, f. 102rb; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1332, f. 40r; and in the later Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1240, f. 46v; Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 267, p. 51; Köln, Dombibliothek, 188, f. 104r, marg. sup. In Paris, BnF, lat. 13955 (*2Isag.*), there is no diagram but some blank space in the corresponding section, on f. 41v. The diagram is also found among Israel's glosses to the *Isag.* in Paris, BnF, lat. 12949, f. 51r, and in the margins of the *Isag.* in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Ph. 1 (HJ.IV. 16), f. 33r.

differences between the five predicables by means of five small diagrams, one next to the other. In each diagram, one of the five letters (written at the top) is separated from the other four, written below at the bottom of two separating branches³⁵.

– The fishbone diagram may – for ease of understanding – be described as a Porphyrian tree without differences³⁶. It is a vertical representation listing ‘*substantia*’, ‘*corpus*’, ‘*animatum corpus*’, ‘*animal*’, ‘<*animal*> *rationale*’, ‘*homo*’ and ‘*Socrates*’, each located under a couple of lateral branches springing from a main vertical line (but, contrary to Porphyry’s tree, with no differences indicated at the ends of branches). As Annemieke Verboon writes: «The plain enumeration of concepts one below the other, makes of this figure a table in which different concepts are organised hierarchically. The lines dividing the different concepts should be seen as struts or brackets. Regardless, these lines do not affect a division»³⁷.

– The suspended triangle diagram is found in several late 10th- and 11th-century manuscripts³⁸, but a gloss in the 9th-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7193, f. 18r reproduces its content without drawing the diagram fully. Very roughly, it could be described as a Porphyrian tree without genera (except for the most general genus). It is a vertical representation with ‘*substantia*’ at the very top; then four pairs of dividing differences, written in two columns, one underneath the other in four rows (*corporeum/incorporeum* [*animatum/inanimatum* in Köln], *sensibile/insensibile*, *rationale/irrationale*, *mortale/immortale*); and then, inside a triangle hanging from the figure above, the term ‘*homo*’ with either two or three examples of individual men (in Paris: *Cato*, *Cicero*; in Venice and BAV: *Cato*, *Plato*; in Köln: *Socrates*, *Plato*; in München: *Cato*, *Plato*, *Cicero*). In the description by Verboon: «At the top of the figure is written *substantia*, while below, in a table of four rows and two columns, are inscribed the four antithetic pairs of *animatum/inanimatum*, *sensibile/insensibile*, *rationale/irrationale*, *mortale/immortale*. These pairs are the ‘differences’ of the *genera*. The *genera* themselves are not inscribed in this figure. A triangle hanging below the figure mentions the names of Socrates and Plato, individuals among the species ‘man’»³⁹.

(35) This diagram is not recorded by VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*.

(36) See Paris, BnF, lat. 12949, f. 47r, and the later Köln, Dombibliothek, 191, f. 4r (11th-century); cf. VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*, p. 47-48.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 48.

(38) The diagram is found in Paris, BnF, n.a.l.1611, f. 58v; Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 497 (= 1811), f. 106vb (imperfectly drawn) and again f. 109vb; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1240, f. 6v; Köln, Dombibliothek, 191, f. 10v and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14516, f. 7r; cf. VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*, p. 49-50.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

– The shape of the house diagram is similar to the upper part of the suspended triangle diagram and it, too, contains two columns. However, the content is different: in the left column, one finds the name of a predicable, and in the right column, an example; as follows: *genus/animal; species/homo; differentia/rationale; proprium/risibile; accidens/album nigrum*⁴⁰. As Verboon comments: «The diagram consists of two columns with seven rows. The five *predicabilia* of *genus, species, differentia, proprium* and *accidens* are inscribed in the left column. In the adjoining column are five examples corresponding to these predicabilia: *animal, homo, rationale, risibile*, and finally *album, nigrum, sedere* for the *accidens*. The figure ends in the second to bottom row with the words *Ecce totum*: ‘that is all’ or ‘see all that’. The bottom row is empty. This figure thus enumerates the five predicates alongside five examples in the form of a table, which, due to its pointed upper row resembles a house»⁴¹.

– MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1332, f. 41 also hosts what may be called a ‘genealogical diagram’ – a vertical list ordering ‘*tritauus, adauus, abauus, proauus, auus, pater*’⁴².

Finally, yet another diagram seems to be found in the upper margin of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Ph. 1 (HJ.IV. 16), f. 33r. Unfortunately, part of this diagram, which seems different from all of the diagrams presented so far, has been cut out. The remaining diagram includes the letters *-sis* and seems to have been part of a circle encapsulating seven rows stemming from one and the same central point⁴³.

(40) This diagram is found only in Köln, Dombibliothek, 191, f. 2v (11th century). I believe that the diagram may be corrupt in this copy – in the row underneath the couple *accidens/album nigrum* one finds: ‘*sede/re*’ (another example of accident), written over both columns, and then in the following row «this is all» (*ecce/totum*), again occupying both columns. This seems to signal a mismatch between the way in which the diagram is drawn and its content.

(41) VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*, p. 46-47.

(42) A table of consanguinity is also found in the later MS Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Z. 497 (= 1811), f. 141v (though the *Isag.* is only found early on in the MS, at f. 106vb-113va, so the diagram may not be linked to it). Such diagrams are not recorded in VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*.

(43) A circle is also drawn in the right margin of Cambridge, 206, f. 54v (a different section of the *Isag.* to the one in which the Bamberg diagram is found) – but it is hard to say whether this is an incomplete diagram. Moreover, 2*Isag.* in Paris, BnF, lat. 6288 includes several simple schemata on f. 71v (‘an sit/quid sit/quale sit/cur sit’) (‘logica: inueniendi/iudicandi’), 72v (divisions of philosophy), 75v (the ten categories and the five predicables), 76r (including the word ‘diuidere’), 78v (dividing ‘demonstratio’), 80r (dividing ‘una res communis’).

A CATALOGUE OF SURVIVING MANUSCRIPTS, DATING TO THE 9TH
OR 10TH CENTURY, TRANSMITTING EITHER BOETHIUS'S TRANSLATION
OF PORPHYRY'S ISAGOGE, OR BOETHIUS'S FIRST OR SECOND ISAGOGE COMMENTARY

The list is arranged in chronological order, following the datings of Bischoff's catalogue.

1. *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pagès 1 (formerly: Roma, Archivio della Casa Generalizia dei Padri Maristi, sine num. [A.II. 1]; also known as 'Codex Leidradi')*

Date: before 814, in Lyon (see BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 5362). The manuscript belonged to Alcuin's associate Leidrad, bishop of Lyon between 798 and 814 (autograph inscription on f. 1v).

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: Isag. (f. 2r-11r).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: none.

Overall Content: There is a logical section (f. 2r-106r), followed by a shorter theological section comprising several texts, such as the *Dicta Albini de imagine dei* and the Nicene and Athanasian creeds (f. 106v-114v). For a fuller account of the theological section, see CB III, nr. 293; P. RADICIOTTI, «Romania e Germania a confronto: Un codice di Leidrat e le origini medievali della minuscola carolina», *Scripta*, 1 (2008), p. 121-144; and S. KEEFE, *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts*, Turnhout 2012, p. 335. The logical section consists of the *Isag.* (f. 2r-11r); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem* (f. 11r-28r); a short passage of BOETHIUS, *De institutione arithmetica*, I, 1, on *res quae sunt*: see ed. G. FRIEDLEIN, Leipzig 1867, p. 7.26-8.7 (f. 28r); ALCUINUS, *Versus ad Karolum regem Francorum*, presenting *Categoriae Decem* (f. 28r; edited in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 1-5, *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta*, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. LXXXVII); ALCUINUS, *De dialectica*, excerpts from chapters 12-14, inc. «Argumentum est rei dubiae adfirmatio», *expl.* «edictum est lex annua» (f. 28v-30r; f. 30v is blank; see RÄDLER-BOHN, «Re-dating Alcuin's *De dialectica*», p. 87-89); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias* (f. 31r-39r); BOETHIUS, *In Aristotelis De interpretatione editio prima* (f. 39r-106r). See, for comparison, the content of MSS [Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Qu. 687 (section II) and Paris, BnF, lat. 7730, f. 1-39.

Access: Direct inspection; high-quality images on: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pages.1

Select Bibliography: AL 2163; CB III, nr. 293; BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 5362. See also, in addition to Radiciotti and Keefe: L. DELISLE, «Notice sur un manuscrit de l'église de Lyon du temps de Charlemagne», in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, t. 35, Paris 1897, p. 831-842; E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Oxford 1947, IV, n. 417; B. BISCHOFF, «La vie intellectuelle», in *Charlemagne: Œuvre, Rayonnement et Survivances*, Aix-la-Chapelle 1965, p. 185-203, esp. p. 201-202 n. 363; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 451; B. BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, III, Stuttgart 1981, p. 122, 157 n. 41; MARENBOON, *From the Circle*, p. 17, 36, 42, 52-53, 158-161; MINIO-PALUELLO,

«Nuovi impulsi», p.747-748; C.MORESCHINI, «Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta del *De interpretatione* pseudoapuleiano», *Pan. Studi dell'Istituto di Filologia Latina*, 10 (1990), p.61-73, esp. p.64; *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera quae supersunt*, III: *De philosophia libri*, ed. C.MORESCHINI, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1991, p. XI; D. A. BULLOUGH, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester 1991, p.90, 218-219, 229; R.KLIBANSKY – F.REGEN, *Die Handschriften der philosophischen Werke des Apuleius. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, Göttingen 1993, p. 152-153 (nr. PH 28); A. WARD, «The Codex PAGESIANUS: Witness to Church Renewal», *The American Benedictine Review*, 44 (1993), p. 308-333; D. A. BULLOUGH, «Alcuin's Cultural Influence. The Evidence of the Manuscripts», in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, p.1-26, esp. p.18; *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Territoire français 735-987*, II: *Alcuin*, ed. M.-H. JULLIEN – F.PEERELMAN, Turnhout 1999, p. 131; MARENBOON, «Medieval Latin Commentaries», p. 78 n. 6; D. A. BULLOUGH, «Charlemagne's Court Library Revisited», *Early Medieval Europe*, 12 (2003), p. 339-363, esp. p. 357; ID., *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation*, Leiden-Boston 2004, p. 377 n.144, p.403 n.227; M.LEBECH – J.MCEVOY, «*De Dignitate conditionis humanae*: Translation, Commentary, and Reception History of the *Dicta Albini* (Ps.-Alcuin) and the *Dicta Candidi*», *Viator*, 40 (2009), p.1-34, especially p.9, 23; MARENBOON, «La logique en occident latin», p.177; RÄDLER-BOHN, «Re-dating Alcuin's *De dialectica*», p.83 n.55, p.86-90, 101-102.

2. Paris, BnF, lat. 7193, f. 17-34.

Date: according to Bischoff's catalogue, first version (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 4429), f. 17-34 date to the beginning the 9th century, and originate close to the court. This section of the manuscript was also dated to the 10th century (AL 605, and *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 1-5, *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta*, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XXXII); to the end of the 10th to the early 11th century (MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 453; Guerreau-Jalabert); and to the 11th century (Mostert). Once belonged to the Abbey of Fleury.

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: Isag. (f. 17ra-22ra).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: a few corrections to the *Isag.* On f. 18r, one gloss mentioning 'substantia', then underneath, in two columns: 'corporeum/incorporeum, animatum/inanimatum, sensibile/insensibile, animal rationale/irrationale, mortale/immortale'; underneath which is 'homo'; then 'cato et particulae'. This is the content of a suspended triangle diagram, but the diagram is not drawn fully (for the fully drawn diagram, see Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 1611, f. 58v; Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 497 (= 1811), f. 106vb and f. 109vb; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1240, f. 6v; Köln, Dombibliothek, 191, f. 10v and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14516, f. 7r; see above, p.).

Overall Content: Composite. F. 17-34 are one unit, containing the *Isag.*; ARISTOTELES, *Categoriae, editio composita*, with some interlinear glosses (f. 22ra-29va); and ARISTOTELES, *De interpretatione*, Boethius's translation (f. 29va-34rb).

Access: High-quality images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 605; BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 4429. See also: BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLVII; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 8, 453; ABBON DE FLEURY, *Questions grammaticales*, ed. GUERREAU-JALABERT, p. 193 (C11); É. PELLEGRIN, «La tradition des textes classiques à l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire», *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 14-15 (1984-1985), p. 155-167, esp. p. 160; M. MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury. A Provisional List of Manuscripts*, Hilversum 1989, p. 214, n. 1095.

3. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. CLXXII, f. 1-56

Date: according to BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 1678, first or second quarter of the 9th century, Southwest Germany. Holder (A. HOLDER, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, V: *Die Reichenauer Handschriften. Erster Band. Die Pergamenthandschriften*, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 403-406) distinguishes sections I (f. 1-56) and II (f. 57-79). Section I is mentioned in the catalogue, dating to 822, of the Abbey of Reichenau (edited in G. BECKER, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui. I: Catalogi saeculo XIII vetustiores. II: Catalogus catalogorum posterioris aetatis*, Bonn 1885, catalogue n. 6, p. 10, item nr. 338, and P. LEHMANN, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, I: Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, München 1918, p. 240-252 esp. p. 249.29).

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: Isag. (f. 16r-20v).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: none.

Overall Content: f. 1-56 are one unit (Ia, f. 1-15, and Ib, f. 16-56 in Holder's description), containing BEDA, *De temporum ratione*, incomplete (f. 1-14; cf. *Beda's Venerabilis Opera. VI: Opera didascalica 2*, ed. C. W. JONES, Turnhout 1977 [CCL 123B], from p. 509.412 to end); Isag. (f. 16r-20v); ARISTOTELES, *Categoriae*, ed. composita (f. 20v-28r); ARISTOTELES, *De interpretatione*, Boethius's translation (f. 28r-32r); f. 32v blank; *Saeculare Sybillinum, inc.* (within rubric) «Venientis irę magnę mundo stupor», *inc.* (as main text) «Omnibus profetando per singulas ciuitates», *expl.* «uerum ego» (f. 33r-36v; see B. BISCHOFF, «Die lateinischen Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen aus den *Oracula Sibyllina*», in ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, I, Stuttgart 1966, p. 150-171, and N. BROCCA, *Lattanzio, Agostino e la Sibylla maga. Ricerche sulla fortuna degli Oracula Sibyllina nell'Occidente Latino*, Roma 2011, p. 247-255); MALLIUS THEODORUS, *De metris*, ed. F. ROMANINI, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 2007 (f. 36v-41r); POMPEIUS, *Commentum Artis Donati*, ed. H. KEIL in *Grammatici Latini*, V, Leipzig 1923, p. 95-128.15, *rubr.* (f. 41r) «Incipit ars Pompei grammatici feliciter», *inc.* «Donatus scripsit artem duplem» (f. 41v-55v; for the other short fragments *de caesuris* that follow on f. 55v-56v, see MALLIUS THEODORUS, *De metris*, ed. ROMANINI, p. CXL-CXLI).

Access: High-quality images on <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/13434>.

Select Bibliography: AL 828; BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr.1678. In addition to Holder, see: A. VAN DE VYVER, « Les étapes du développement philosophique du Haut Moyen Âge », *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 8 (1929), p. 425-452, esp. p. 432; A. BECCARIA, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)*, Roma 1956, p. 217-218, nr. 57 (though mainly discussing section II of the manuscript); MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 35, 452; BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, I, p. 155; III, p. 90 n. 79; MINIO-PALUELLO, « Nuovi impulsi », p. 748; MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 16; J. AUTENRIETH, « Insulare Spuren in Handschriften aus dem Bodenseegebiet bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts », in G. SILAGI (ed.), *Paläographie 1981. Colloquium des Comité International de Paléographie*, München 1982, p. 145-157, esp. p. 152, 156 and image XIX; MALLIUS THEODORUS, *De metris*, ed. ROMANINI, p. CXL-CXLI; BROCCA, *Lattanzio, Agostino*, p. 247, 369, 372.

4. St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, *Class. lat. F.v. 7, f. 1-40*

Date: according to Bischoff, f. 1-40 date to the second third of the 9th century and were possibly written in Corbie (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 2300). Once belonged to the Abbey of Corbie.

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: *Isag.*, incomplete at the beginning due to missing folia; the text starts abruptly in chap. 3 *De differentia, inc.* « intentionem recipiunt et remissionem » (AL I, 6-7, p. 16.6) (f. 19ra-23rb).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: extensive both interlinear and marginal glossing up to chapter 5 (*De accidenti*), then absent. No diagrams.

Overall Content: Composite. F. 1-40 are one unit. Queries are now in the wrong order (f. 1-18 should follow f. 40); in the right order this section transmits: *Isag.*, incomplete at the beginning (f. 19ra-23rb); ARISTOTELES, *Categoriae, ed. composita*, with glosses (ff. 23rb-34va); Ps.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem*, with glosses (f. 34vb-40vb and f. 1ra-10rb); AUGUSTINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 10va-18ra); f. 18rb-v blank. Cf. Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S. Eusebio, CXXXVIII (143).

Access: Black/white images acquired from library.

Select Bibliography: AL 1698; BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 2300. See also: A. STAERK, *Les manuscrits latins du ve au XIII^e siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, I-II, Saint-Petersbourg 1910; I, p. 127-128 and image XVIII; II, image LV; VAN DE VYVER, « Les étapes », p. 438; O. DOBIAŠ-ROŽDESTVENSKAĀ, *Histoire de l'atelier graphique de Corbie de 651 à 830 reflétée dans les Corbeiensis* Leninopolitani, Leningrad 1934, p. 160-161; *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. LXXIX; G. BILLANOVICH, « Il Petrarca e i retori latini minori », *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5 (1962), p. 103-164, especially p. 106 n. 1; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 35, 452, 455-456; AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. B. D. JACKSON, Dordrecht 1975, p. 9, 19, 28, 77; M. PASSALACQUA, *I codici di Prisciano*, Roma 1978, p. 132, n. 298 (though mainly discussing f. 41-124); MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 16-17, 123, 132-134, 175, 177, 181, 183, 187, 189-93; JEAUNEAU, « Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot », p. 7, 45-46, 68; MARENBNON, « Medieval Latin Commentaries », p. 82-83, 99-100; ID., « Glosses and

Commentaries on the *Categories* and *De interpretatione* before Abelard», in ID., *Aristotelian Logic*, n. IX, p. 26, 29; I. GALYNINA – F. LACKNER – Á. OROSZ – D. WELTIN, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, XI, Wien 2010, p. 205.

5. Paris, BnF, lat. 13955

Date: according to Bischoff, mid-9th century or 3rd quarter of the 9th century, from Corbie (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 4948). Included in David Ganz's list of manuscripts in Corbie library before the end of the ninth century (D. GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen 1990, p. 124-158). Following Wesley Stevens, Bruce Eastwood (« Calcidius's Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* in Latin Astronomy of the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries », in L. NAUTA – A. VANDERJAGT [ed.], *Between Demonstration and Imagination. Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North*, Leiden 1999, p. 171-209, esp. p. 173 n. 6; also reprinted in B. EASTWOOD, *The Revival of Planetary Astronomy in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe*, Aldershot 2002) notes a link with a scribe who was also active in Fulda, and dates his hand by 840ca.; further indications in B. EASTWOOD, *Ordering the Heavens. Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Leiden 2007, p. 68 n. 73 and p. 314-315 n. 7. Dated to the 10th c. in AL 2074.

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: *2Isag.* (f. 5r-46v). This is the oldest surviving MS of *2Isag.*; cf. also Paris, BnF, lat. 12958 in 'rejected manuscripts' *infra*.

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: no glosses, but some corrections. Porphyrian tree (f. 22r, III, 4); no ABCDE diagrams, but two blank lines on f. 41v, after the words '*huiusmodi descriptio*' (V, 12). Blank space on f. 17 r-v (II, 5; possibly for a house diagram?); a few blank lines on f. 20r (III, 2; possibly for a fishbone diagram?); blank space on f. 30r-v (IV, 6, after the words: « ad cuius rei facilem cognitionem illa tertii libri specierum generumque dispositio transcribatur »; it would seem that Porphyry's tree in III, 4 had to be copied here again; cf. MS Paris, BnF, lat. 6288).

Overall Content: a major collection of texts dealing with the liberal arts, agriculture, land surveying, and medicine. For a detailed description, see L. TONEATTO, *Codices artis mensoriae. I manoscritti degli antichi opuscoli latini d'agrimensura (V-XIX sec.)*, I: *Tradizione diretta. Il Medioevo*, Spoleto 1994, p. 203-213, and the project Aratea-digital of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (https://aratea-digital.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/pages/%20show.html?document=Paris_lat_13955.xml). Among others, the manuscript include: excerpts from various authors including the rare IULIUS VICTOR, *Ars rhetorica* (for which see B. L. ULLMAN, « A List of Classical Manuscripts [in an Eighth-Century Codex] Perhaps From Corbie », *Scriptorium*, 8 [1954], p. 24-37, esp. p. 31), followed by a poem edited in GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 159-160 (f. 1r-2v); *2Isag.* (f. 5r-46v); MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, VIII (*De astronomia*), with glosses (f. 46v-53v), and excerpts from IX (*De musica*) (f. 53v-54r); *Excerptum de astrologia Arati, inc.*

« Duo sunt extremi uertices mundi », *expl.* « decurrit accipiens » (f. 54r-v, edited in A. DELL'ERA, *Una caeli descriptio d'età carolingia*, Quaderni della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Palermo, Palermo 1974, p.43-46, *cf.* p. 12-13, but without mentioning this MS); excerpts on planetary astronomy by Calcidius, Macrobius, and Pliny the Elder (f. 56r-60r, for which see EASTWOOD, « Calcidius's Commentary », p.172-178); BOETHIUS, *De institutione musica*, with glosses (f.60r-105v; on the glosses, see M. BERNHARD, « Glosses on Boethius' *De institutione musica* », in A. BARBERA [ed.], *Music Theory and its Sources. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame 1990, p. 136-149); PS.-BOETHIUS, *Geometria I* (f. 107r-123v; see on this M. FOLKERTS, « The Importance of the Pseudo-Boethian *Geometria* during the Middle Ages », in M. MASI [ed.], *Boethius and the Liberal Arts. A Collection of Essays*, Bern 1981, p. 187-209); COLUMELLA, *De re rustica*, excerpts (f. 131r-137r; see P.-P. CORSETTI, « Note sur les *excerpta* médiévaux de Columelle », 7 [1977], p. 109-132); a herbarium, *inc.* « *Bettonica* » (f. 137v-146r, edited in A. FERRACES RODRÍGUEZ, « El Herbario del manuscrito de París, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13955, f. 137v-146r. *Editio princeps* », *Myrtia. Revista de filología clásica*, 27 [2012], p. 197-257); a collection of medical receipts, *inc.* « *Vt pili e. n. r.* » (f. 146r-147v, edited in A. FERRACES RODRÍGUEZ, « El recetario *Ut pili euulsi non recrescant* [Paris, BnF, lat. 13955, f. 146r-147v]: extractos de Teodoro Prisciano y otras fuentes tardoantiguas en un manuscrito del s. IX », *Galenos*, 5 [2011], p. 71-90); MALLIUS THEODORUS, *De metris*, incomplete at the beginning, *inc.* « *Sunt igitur metrorum genera* » (ed. ROMANINI, p. 17.2) (f. 148r-150r); *Praecepta artis musicae Augustini, rubr.* « *Definitio musicae Fortunatiani* » (f. 158v-165v: on this epitome of Augustine's *De musica*, see ed. G. VECCHI, Bologna 1951, and M. JACOBSSON, « Introduction », in AUGUSTINUS, *De musica*, Berlin-Boston 2017, p. 42-43).

Access: Black/white images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 2074. In addition to Bischoff, Toneatto, and Aratea-digital, see also: BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. XLII; VECCHI, « Prolegomena », in AUGUSTINUS, *Praecepta artis musicae*, p. 10-11; ULLMAN, « A List », p. 31; BECCARIA, *I codici di medicina*, p. 176, nr. 39; C. LEONARDI, « I codici di Marziano Capella », *Aevum*, 33 (1959), p. 443-489, esp. p. 452 n. 31, 467 n. 128, 476 n. 193; 34 (1960), p. 1-99, 411-524, esp. p. 443-444 nr. 171; BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, I, p. 59; E. WICKERSHEIMER, *Les manuscrits latins de médecine du Haut Moyen Âge dans les bibliothèques de France*, Paris 1966, p. 128-129; M. FOLKERTS, « *Boethius* » *Geometrie II. Ein mathematisches Lehrbuch des Mittelalters*, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 36; CORSETTI, « Note sur les *excerpta* »; MARENBO, *From the Circle*, p. 18; FOLKERTS, « The Importance », p. 193; M. S. CELENTANO, « Il centro scrittoria di Corbie e l'« *Ars rhetorica* » di Giulio Vittore », *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 9 (1981), p. 133-138; B. MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, I-III, Paris 1982-1989, I, p. 353-354; II, p. 268; III/1, p. 88; GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 79, 94, 152-153, 159-160; BERNHARD, « Glosses », p. 136, 139-140, 143; G. BILLANOVICH, « Ancora dalla antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche », *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 36 (1993), p. 107-174, especially p. 117-118, 157; *Excerpta*

isagogarum et categoriarum, ed. D'ONOFRIO, p. XLVIII n.109; EASTWOOD, «Calcidius's Commentary», p. 172-178; A. FERRACES RODRÍGUEZ, *Estudios sobre textos latinos de fitoterapia entre la antigüedad tardía y la alta edad media*, Coruña 1999, p. 152-160; P. DEGNI – A. PERI, «Per un catalogo dei codici grammaticali altomedievali», in M. DE NONNO – P. DE PAOLIS – L. HOLTZ (ed.), *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, II, Cassino 2000, p. 719-745, p. 733; B. EASTWOOD – G. GRASSHOFF, *Planetary Diagrams for Roman Astronomy in Medieval Europe, ca. 800-1500*, Philadelphia 2004, p. 141, 153 (diagrams Cap34-35); R. BERGMANN – S. STRICKER, *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, Berlin-New York 2005, III, p. 1460-1462, nr. 767; EASTWOOD, *Ordering the Heavens*, p. 21, 68-72, 219, 314-324; MALLIUS THEODORUS, *De metris*, ed. ROMANINI, p. CXIV-CXVII; FERRACES RODRÍGUEZ, «El Herbario»; FERRACES RODRÍGUEZ, «El recetario»; D. JUSTE, *Les manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, Paris 2015, p. 206; JACOBSSON, «Introduction», p. 42-43.

6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Qu. 687 (II) (= Görres 67) [believed lost for several years after WW2; now in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska], f. 16-85

Date: According to Bischoff, f. 16-85 date to the 3rd quarter of the 9th century, from France (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 392). The whole manuscript once belonged to St-Rémi in Reims (see f. 1v-2r: 'Liber sancti [remigii: these words are erased, but supplied by Bischoff] studio Gifardi'; Gifardus is mentioned again on f. 85v; cf. J. DEVISSE, *Hincmar. Archevêque de Reims 845-882*, III, Genève 1976, p. 1479, 1493, 1504), and then to the Abbey of Trier. Section II was also dated to the early 9th century (Schillmann).

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: *Isag.* (f. 35va-39rb).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: no glosses, but several corrections both in between lines and in the margins. No diagrams.

Overall Content: Composite. There are two, originally independent, sections in the manuscript (see the overall description in F. SCHILLMANN, *Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Dritter Band: Die Görreshandschriften*, Berlin 1919, p. 64-66): I (f. 1-15) and II (f. 16-85). Section II contains: CONSULTUS FORTUNATIANUS, *Ars Rhetorica*, incomplete due to missing folia, *expl.* «ne consuescamus nobis ignoscere» (!) (see *Consulti Fortunatiani Ars Rhetorica*, ed. L. CALBOLI MONTEFUSCO, Bologna 1979, p. 157) (f. 16ra-29vb); AUGUSTINUS, *De rhetorica*, beginning missing due to missing folia, *inc.* «materiae, sed quasi cum quadam» (see *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. K. HALM, Leipzig 1863, p. 150) (f. 30ra, the right column of the folium has been cut away, with no text loss, and f. 30v is blank); AUGUSTINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 31ra-35rb); *Isag.* (f. 35va-39rb); ALCUINUS, *De dialectica*, excerpts from chapters 15-16, *inc.* «Topicorum idest localium argumentatio triplex», *expl.* «Socrates non disputant» (f. 39rb-40vb) and from chapters 12-14, *inc.* «Argumentum est rei

dubiae adfirmatio», *expl.* «edictum est lex annua» (f.40vb-41vb); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem* (f.41vb-51rb); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias* (f.51rb-54vb); BOETHIUS, *In Aristotelis De interpretatione editio prima* (f.54vb-85ra; the remaining of f.85r is blank; musical notation on f.85v). The content of Section II is exactly the same as that of f. 1-39 in Paris, BnF, lat. 7730; *cf.* also *Codex Leidradi*.

Access: Direct inspection, and images acquired from Library.

Select Bibliography: AL 2089. In addition to Bischoff, Devise and Schillmann, mentioned above, see also: BILLANOVICH, «Il Petrarca», p. 114, 147; AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. JACKSON, p. 8-9, 17, 35 n. 57 (MS lost at the time); R. KURZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, V/2, Wien 1979, p. 107; *Consulti Fortunatiani Ars Rhetorica*, ed. CALBOLI MONTEFUSCO, p. 33 (MS lost at the time); MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 20; III/2, p. 5; KLIBANSKY - REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 145 (nr. PH 13); I. KNOBLICH, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Maximin bei Trier bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Trier 1996, p. 29-31; *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Alcuin*, p. 131; I. SCHILLER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, X/2, Wien 2008, p. 132.

7. Paris, BnF, lat. 12957, f. 75-95

Date: According to Bischoff's catalogue, first version (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 4847), f. 75-95 date to the 3rd quarter of the 9th century, from Corbie.

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: *2Isag.*, incomplete. Book I and part of Book II, *expl.* «uniuersale est enim album», ed. BRANDT, p. 184.7, breaking off at the end of f. 82v (f. 75r-82v).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: none.

Overall Content: Composite. Bischoff considers f. 75-95 together (although f. 75r-82 are one unit). F. 83r-95v transmit (in a hand different to the hand writing f. 75-82) BOETHIUS, *In Topica Ciceronis*, incomplete, *inc.* «Eodem modo etiam in his quae affecta sunt» (PL 64, 1067D), *expl.* «sunt quae in definitione ponuntur» (PL 64, 1100A) (f. 83r-95r; 95v is blank).

Access: High-quality images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 2071. BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLVI; MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 18; GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 49, 159 and Plate 12; G. DI MARIA, «De Boethii Commentariis in Topica Ciceronis denuo edendis», *Sacris erudiri*, 38 (1998-1999), p. 289-315, esp. p. 315; MARENBNON, «La logique en occident latin», p. 179 n. 22.

8. Paris, BnF, lat. 7730

Date: Full 4th quarter of the 9th century, possibly from North-eastern France according to BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 4498. Also dated to the 9th-10th century, possibly from France (Billanovich; *cf.* AL 2068) and to the second half of the 9th century (Cinato).

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: *Isag.* (f. 19vb-24ra).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: several corrections and some very short glosses, both interlinear and marginal. No diagrams.

Overall Content: Up to f. 39, this MS has exactly the same content as MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Qu. 687 (section II); for a similar, though not identical, content *cf.* also *Codex Leidradi*. In more detail: CONSULTUS FORTUNATIANUS, *Ars Rhetorica* (f. 1ra-12ra); AUGUSTINUS, *De rhetorica* (f. 12ra-15rb); AUGUSTINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 15va-19vb); *Isag.* (f. 19vb-24ra); ALCUINUS, *De dialectica*, excerpts from chapters 15-16, *inc.* «Topicorum idest localium argumentatio triplex», *expl.* «Socrates non disputant» (f. 24ra-25vb) and from chapters 12-14, *inc.* «Argumentum est rei dubiae adfirmatio», *expl.*: «edictum est lex annua» (f. 25vb-26va); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem* (f. 26va-36ra); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias* (f. 36ra-39va); the rubric on f. 39va reads: «Perieremias Apulei expliciunt in quibus continentur cathgorici syllogismi. In Periermeneis Aristotelis commentarium Boeti [some space] Aristotelis», but Boethius's first commentary on *De interpretatione* is not copied: *cf.* *Codex Leidradi* and [Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Qu. 687 (section II); on f. 39va-b, FLACCUS REBIUS, *Vita Donati Grammatici* (edited in G. BRUGNOLI, «Questioni biografiche II. La "Vita Donati grammatici Parisina"», *Giornale italiano di filologia*, 41 [1989], p. 291-295). For the content from f. 40 onwards, see the detailed description by F. CINATO at <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc13420r>.

Access: High-quality images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 2068. See also: BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLVII; VAN DE VYVER, «Les étapes», p. 439; BILLANOVICH, «Il Petrarca», p. 112, 138 n. 2, 147; AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. JACKSON, p. 10, 17, 35 n. 57-58, 76, 125 n. 2; MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 24-25, 583; II, p. 205; F. TRONCARELLI, «Aristoteles Piscatorius. Note sulle Opere Teologiche di Boezio e sulla loro fortuna», *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988), p. 3-19, esp. p. 16; BRUGNOLI, «Questioni biografiche II»; MORESCHINI, «Ricerche», p. 63; *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera*, III, ed. MORESCHINI, p. XI; KLIBANSKY - REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 150 (nr. PH 24); *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Alcuin*, p. 131; KEEFE, *A Catalogue*, p. 318; DEGNI - PERI, «Per un catalogo», p. 732; MARENBOON, «La logique en occident latin», p. 178, 184.

9. *Leiden, Universiteitsbibl., Voss. Lat. F. 70 I, f. 1-66 + Orléans, Bibliothèque mun., 277 (233), p. 1-55, 62-77 + Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 1630, f. 14-16 (once parts of the same manuscript in Fleury)*

Date: The order of the MS once was: Leiden, f. 1-50; Orléans, p. 1-55; Paris, f. 14-16; Leiden, f. 51-66; [lacuna]; Orléans, p. 62-77; [lacuna]; see É. PELLEGRIN, «Membra disiecta Floriacensia», *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 117 (1959), p. 5-56, esp. p. 9-16. According to Bischoff, third quarter of the 9th century, or possibly 9th-10th century, with the exception of Leiden, f. 1-9 (early 11th century), Leiden, f. 25-34 (10th-11th century) and Orléans, p. 62-77 (10th

century) (see BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 2196; cf. also CB II, N18). Previously dated to the 10th cent. (Pellegrin, AL 437, Guerreau-Jalabert).

Isag./1Isag./2Isag. : Isag. (Orléans, p. 52a-55b; Paris, f. 14ra-va).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: very few corrections. No glosses nor diagrams.

Overall Content: In the 10th-11th century, the content included the following texts (sections dated by Bischoff to later than the 9th century within square brackets): [CICERO, *Topica* (Leiden, f. 1ra-5vb); ARISTOTELES, *De interpretatione*, Boethius's translation, with some glosses (Leiden, f. 5vb-9ra); a fragment from BOETHIUS, *De differentiis topicis, inc.* «Argumentorum omnium alia probabilia» (Leiden, f. 9ra-b); other short pieces on rhetorical *loci*, mainly from BOETHIUS'S *De differentiis topicis* (Leiden, f. 9va)]; a fragment from GRILLIUS, *Commentum in Ciceronis rhetorica* (Leiden, f. 10ra); BOETHIUS, *In Ciceronis Topica*, with glosses (Leiden, f. 10ra-44ra; [f. 25-34 written in the 10th-11th century according to Bischoff]); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem*, with some short interlinear glosses (Leiden, f. 44ra-50rb); BOETHIUS, *In Aristotelis De interpretatione editio prima*, with some glosses and diagrams (Leiden, f. 50rb-vb; Orléans, p. 1a-47a); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias*, with some glosses (Orléans, p. 47a-52a); *Isag.* (Orléans, p. 52a-55b; Paris, f. 14ra-va); a florilege from MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis, inc.* «Per(...)num perscrutator Plato» (Paris, f. 14va- 16vb and Leiden, f. 51rb; cf. I. CAIAZZO, «Abbon de Fleury et l'héritage platonicien», *Oriens-Occidens*, 6 [2004; re-edited in 2006], p. 11-41, esp. p. 40-41); CICERO, *De inventione* (Leiden, f. 51rb-66va; cf. PELLEGRIN, «Membra disiecta», p. 13); a florilege from MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia, rubr.* «Macrobius de pathis», incomplete due to missing folia (f. 66va-b; cf. PELLEGRIN, «Membra disiecta», p. 13, and CAIAZZO, «Abbon de Fleury», p. 40 n. 80); [ARISTOTELES, *Categoriae, editio composita* (Orléans, p. 62a-74b); ABBO FLORIANENSIS, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, incomplete due to missing folia (Orléans, p. 74b-77b; edited in ABBO VON FLEURY, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, ed. F. SCHUPP, Leiden 1997)].

Access: For Leiden: high-quality images on *Codices Vossiani Latini*; for Orléans: high-quality images on Aurelia; for Paris: black/white images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 148, AL 437 and AL 2081; CB II, N18, and database *Codices Vossiani Latini*. In addition, see: BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLVII; K. A. DE MEYER, *Codices Vossiani Latini, I: Codices in Folio*, Leiden 1973, p. 139-146; PELLEGRIN, «Membra disiecta», p. 9-16; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 453; MINIO-PALUELLO, «Nuovi impulsi», p. 755; ABBON DE FLEURY, *Questions grammaticales*, ed. GUERREAU-JALABERT, p. 161, 190-192 (C4-C6); MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 23, 199; III/1, p. 109; MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury*; MORESCHINI, «Ricerche», p. 63; *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera*, III, ed. MORESCHINI, p. XII; KLIBANSKY - REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 147-148 (nr. PH 20); ABBO VON FLEURY, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, ed. SCHUPP, p. XIX; P. SAENGER, *Space Between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford 1997, p. 155-156, 160, 388; MARENBO, «Medieval Latin Commentaries», p. 83, 101;

ID., «Glosses and Commentaries», p.27, 30, 43; M.-T. WIESER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, VIII/1, Wien 2000, p. 48, VIII/2, p. 267; CAIAZZO, «Abbon de Fleury et l'héritage platonicien»; É. PELLEGRIN – J.-P. BOUHOT, *Catalogue des manuscrits médiévaux de la Bibliothèque municipale d'Orléans*, Paris 2010.

10. *Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S. Eusebio, CXXXVIII (143)*

Date: first half of the 10th century, or possibly 9th-10th century, in Northern Italy, according to the first stage of Bischoff's catalogue (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 7004). In his introduction to Augustine's *De musica*, Jacobsson notes that the manuscript bears a colophon on f. 142r mentioning Charlemagne, and therefore speculates that «either the scribe has copied the colophon verbatim from an early 9th-century manuscript, or the manuscript in fact dates from the early 9th century»; but he agrees with Bischoff that the script «does not appear to be any older than the last third of the 9th century» and dates it to 9th/10th century (JACOBSSON, «Introduction», p. 11, 18-19), thus implying that the colophon has been copied from an older manuscript. In this respect, cf. the content connection with St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Class. lat. F.v. 7, f. 1-40 (see below and p.). The manuscript once belonged to Ariberto of Intimiano, archbishop of Milan between 1018 and 1045: on f. 143r, «Aribertus gratia dei in omnibus humilis presbiter» (see S. GAVINELLI, «Dal centro alla periferia: Ariberto e la cultura dei vescovi padani tra il X e l'XI secolo», in E. BIANCHI – M. B. WEATHERILL – M. R. TESSERA – M. BERETTA (ed.), *Ariberto da Intimiano. Fede, potere e cultura a Milano nel secolo XI*, Milano 2007, p. 221-239, esp. p. 229-230, with reproduction). Dated to the 9th century by MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 452, AL 1653, and CB III, 392.

Isag./IIsag./2Isag. : Isag. (f. 1va-6rb).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: a few corrections; interlinear and marginal glosses (f. 1v-2r); Porphyry's tree on f. 3r, left margin.

Overall Content: *Isag.*; ARISTOTELES, *Categoriae, ed. composita* (f. 6rb-15rb); ALCUINUS, *Versus ad Karolum regem Francorum* (f. 15rb); Ps.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae decem*, with some glosses (f. 15va-26vb); AUGUSTINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 27ra-32rb); f. 32v is blank; BOETHIUS, *De institutione arithmetica*, with glosses (f. 33ra-71vb); BEDA, *De natura rerum* (f. 72ra-99va); AUGUSTINUS, *De musica* (f. 100ra-142ra). Cf. St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Class. lat. F.v. 7, f. 1-40, and below, p.: for the section now available in the St Petersburg MS, and with the exception of Alcuin's *Versus ad Karolum regem Francorum* (not found in the St Petersburg MS), the Vercelli MS has the same collection of texts as the St Petersburg MS.

Access: Direct inspection, and digital images acquired from library.

Select Bibliography: AL 1653; CB III, 392. See additionally: A. SORBELLI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia. Opera fondata dal Prof. Giuseppe Mazzatinti*, XXXI, Firenze 1925, p. 111; BILLANOVICH, «Il Petrarca», p. 106 n. 1; M. OBERLEITNER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der*

Werke des heiligen Augustinus, I/2, Wien 1970, p. 373-374; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 16, 452, 455-456; C. W. JONES, « Introduction », in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, I: *Opera didascalica*, Turnhout 1975 (CCSL 123A), p. 174-186, esp. p. 183; AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. JACKSON, p. 11, 77; MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 16-17, 173; ID., « Medieval Latin Commentaries », p. 100; S. GAVINELLI, « Leone di Vercelli postillatore di codici », *Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche*, 75 (2001), p. 233-262, esp. p. 250-251; EAD., « Scheda IV. 6 », in F. CRIVELLO – C. SEGRE MONTEL (ed.), *Carlo Magno e le Alpi. Viaggio al centro del Medioevo*, Milano 2006, p. 118-119; EAD., « Modelli librari e formazione ideologica centralizzata », in *Carlo Magno e le Alpi. Atti del 18° Congresso internazionale di studio sull'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2007, p. 105-139; EAD., « Ariberto e la cultura », p. 229-230, 235; BEDE, « *On the Nature of Things* » and « *On Times* », trans. C. B. KENDALL – F. WALLIS, Liverpool 2010, p. 55; JACOBSSON, « Introduction », p. 11, 18-19.

11. *Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q. 2, f. 60 [and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C 219 (4)]*

Date: 9th-10th century (DE MEYIER, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, henceforth CVL, and CBII, N19), written in *littera hibernica-saxonica*. Likely to have been part of one MS together with Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C 219 (4) (see W. M. LINDSAY, *Early Welsh Script*, Oxford 1912, p. 22-23; H. GNEUSS, « A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100 », *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 [1980], p. 1-60 nr. 795; and H. GNEUSS – M. LAPIDGE, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Toronto 2014, p. 568 nr. 795).

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: *Isag.*, incomplete; the text goes from « restat igitur de proprio » (AL I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. 31.5) to the end (f. 60ra, 22 lines).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: a few interlinear glosses in hand of scribe. No diagrams.

Overall Content: The Leiden MS is composite, and the section containing the *Isag.* (Part 9 in CVL) only amounts to one folio (f. 60). It contains the end of the *Isag.* followed by a *Lorica*-prayer by a later hand on (f. 60ra-b; edited in M. W. HERREN, *The Hisperica Famina. II: Related Poems. A Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary*, Toronto 1987, p. 90-93; see also M. LAPIDGE – R. SHARPE, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature. 400-1200*, Dublin 1985, p. 328 nr. 1239); f. 60v is blank. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C 219 (4) contains Ps.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem*, with marginal and interlinear glosses (see MARENBNON, « Medieval Latin Commentaries », p. 100; ID., « The Tradition of Studying the *Categories* », p. 155).

Access: High-quality images on *Codices Vossiani Latini*; see also LINDSAY, *Early Welsh Script*, plate XIII. For Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C 219 (4), one high-quality image available on <http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/%20detail.aspx?ID=130147>

Select Bibliography: CB II, N19; CVL. In addition see: K. A. DE MEYER, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, II: *Codices in Quarto*, Leiden 1975, p. 6-12 nr. IX; LINDSAY, *Early Welsh Script*, p. 22-23; PELLEGRIN, «Membra disiecta», p. 51-53; H. GNEUSS, «A Preliminary List», nr. 795; LAPIDGE – SHARPE, *A Bibliography*, p. 328 nr. 1239; HERREN, *The Hisperica Famina*. II: *Related Poems*, p. 14-18, 90-93. For Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C219(4), see also AL2119; H. HAGEN, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)*, I, Bern 1874, p. 270-271; O. HOMBURGER, *Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern. Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, Bern 1962, p. 163-164; MARENBOON, «Medieval Latin Commentaries», p. 100; ID., «Glosses and Commentaries», p. 26; GNEUSS – LAPIDGE, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 568.

12. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206

Date: Although sometimes dated to the 9th century (CB I, 19 and KEEFE, *A Catalogue*, p. 225-226), this manuscript is not included in Bischoff's catalogue. It is dated to the 10th century in AL 2036 and to the first half of the 10th century, probably England, perhaps Canterbury, in M. BUDNY, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. An Illustrated Catalogue*, Kalamazoo 1997, I, p. 211-218; II, nr. XIII and 162-170.

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: *Isag.* (f. 49r-60r) and *Glossae de Isagogis* (f. 60r-71v, see below).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: some interlinear and marginal glosses to the *Isag.* (the longest *De accidenti*, f. 49r); an asymmetrical circle is drawn in the margin of f. 54v, possibly an incomplete diagram (see BUDNY, *Insular*, I, p. 217, and L. TERESI, «The Drawing on the Margin of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 206, f. 38r: an Intertextual Exemplification to Clarify the Text?», in P. LENDINARA – L. LAZZARI – M. A. D'ARONCO [ed.], *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, Turnhout 2007, p. 131-140, especially p. 139). The text *rubr.* «Glossae de Isagogis» (f. 60r-71v) is a collection of glosses on *2Isag.*, written in long lines, with, inserted into the main text, only short lemmata of the glossed text. Additional rubrics: «Liber tertius» (f. 64v); «incipit IV» (f. 66r); «liber V incipit» (f. 67r); «De speciebus» (f. 68r); «De uisibilibus rebus» (f. 69v); «Finit» (f. 71r), followed by blank space; the text on f. 71v comments on the *Isag.* (AL I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. 11.20), *inc.* «neque enim est commune unum»; *expl.* (ends abruptly at the end of the page) «diffinitio maculatur. Rursus». I could identify some of the glosses on *2Isag.* in MS Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338; from f. 68v onwards, several depend on Augustine's *De trinitate* and Ps.-Augustine's *Dialogus quaestionum*: see n. 28 above.

Overall Content: MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, IV (*De arte dialectica*), with glosses (f. 1r-23r; 23v is blank); ALCUINUS, *Versus ad Karolum regem Francorum*, presenting *Categoriae Decem*, with glosses (f. 24r); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem*, incomplete due to missing folia, with glosses, *expl.* «accipienda sunt» (AL I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. 154.22) (f. 24r-39v; on

the diagram on f. 38r, see TERESI, «The Drawing»); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias*, incomplete at the beginning due to missing folia, *inc.* «obnoxia quem uocat», with glosses (f. 40r-48v); *Isag.* (f. 49r-60r); *Glossae de isagogis* (f. 60r-71v); BOETHIUS, *Opuscula sacra*, I-V, with glosses (f. 72r-101r); ALCUINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 101r-119v); AUGUSTINUS, *De dialectica*, with some glosses (f. 120r-131v). Cf. the content of Paris, BnF, lat. 6288.

Access: High-quality images on Parker Library on the Web.

Select Bibliography and Webography: AL 2036; CB I, 19. In addition to the bibliography quoted above, see also: BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLVII; VAN DE VYVER, «Les étapes», p. 437, 439; LEONARDI, «I codici», (1959), p. 448 n. 17, 462 n. 104, 464 n. 116, 467 n. 126; (1960), p. 21-22 nr. 29; BILLANOVICH, «Il Petrarca», p. 106 n. 1; F. RÖMER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, II/2, Wien 1972, p. 51; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 450 n. 19; AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. JACKSON, p. 9, 11, 78; MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 17, 123-124, 127, 132, 134, 173, 178, 181, 183-192, 204; MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 21; TRONCARELLI, «Aristoteles Piscatorius», p. 16; KLIBANSKY - REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 142 (nr. PH6); *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Alcuin*, p. 131; MARENBNON, «Medieval Latin Commentaries», p. 79, 99-100; ID., «Glosses and Commentaries», p. 26, 28. Detailed bibliography and description at <https://parker.stanford.edu/%20parker/catalog/fv407hr1706>

13. Paris, BnF, lat. 12949

Date: a dating to the 9th century (e.g. in AL 621; cf. also KEEFE, *A Catalogue*, p. 324 and, for a dating to the 9th-10th century, VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*, p. 48) is rejected by Bischoff (see BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, III, p. 200, where no other dating is advanced); such dating is also incompatible with attributing some texts to Israel the Grammarian (whose name is mentioned in the MS both with Latin characters, and with the Greek spelling ICPA<HA>, sometimes mis-read as «Iepa» or «Jepa»), living c. 900-970 (see e.g. JEAUNEAU, «Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot», p. 15-16; LAPIDGE, «Israel the Grammarian», and n. 12 above). Marenbon (*From the Circle*, p. 181) dates the manuscript to the early 10th century; Jeudy to the mid-10th century («Israël le grammairien», p. 204); Jeauneau («Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot», p. 12) to the end of the 10th or early 11th century. Once in the library of St Germain-des-Près, nr. 1108.

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: *Isag.*, with extensive marginal and interlinear glosses and diagrams (f. 45v-52v).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: the glosses on the *Isag.*, drawing on *1Isag.* and *2Isag.* among other sources, are the work of Israel the Grammarian, or were at least copied by him. They were edited in BAEUMKER - VON WALTERSHAUSEN, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen des Angeblichen Jepa* (cf. also n. 12 above); they also mention 'lege periphyseon' (*ibid.*, p. 43, nr. 130). Diagrams: fishbone diagram (f. 47r); ABCDE diagram (f. 51r). A Porphyrian tree on a later,

inserted leaf (f. 46bisr); this leaf has been dated to the tenth or even eleventh century: cf. VERBOON, *Lines of Thought*, p. 54 n. 269.

Overall Content: A number of glossed texts and shorter pieces, including: ARISTOTELES, *De interpretatione*, Boethius's translation, with glosses on f. 1r (f. 1r-11v); AUGUSTINUS, *De dialectica*, with glosses (f. 12r-21v); three short pieces, *inc.* «Nonnulli differentiam» (f. 21v-22r, edited in JEAUNEAU, «Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot», p. 25-26 [nr. IV, § 5-7]); f. 22v and 23r blank; several short pieces (f. 23v-24r, some edited *ibid.*, p. 31-32; on f. 23bisr-v, verses explicitly attributed to Eriugena and a gloss depending on his teaching, for which see *ibid.*, p. 13-14, 30 [nr. VIII, § 3] and 63-64); ALCUINUS, *Versus ad Karolum regem Francorum*, presenting *Categoriae Decem*, with glosses (f. 24r); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem*, with glosses and diagrams (f. 24r-38r, cf. MARENBO, *From the Circle*, p. 121-123 and 173-206, also editing a selection of glosses); several short pieces and tables (f. 38r-43r), including one *rubr.* «De loco», *inc.* «Locuocabulo» (f. 38r-v, edited *ibid.*, p. 205-206, and JEAUNEAU, «Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot», p. 33-34 [nr. XII], cf. p. 70), one *rubr.* «De imagine et similitudine», *inc.* «Inter imaginem» (f. 38v, edited *ibid.*, p. 34-35 [nr. XIII], cf. p. 70), and one *rubr.* «Quid sit ceroma», *inc.* «Quaestiunculam mihi datam» (f. 38v-39r, cf. C. H. BEESON, «The Authorship of *Quid sit Ceroma*», in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, New York 1938, p. 1-7; P. CHIESA – L. CASTALDI [ed.], *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and Their Transmission. Te. Tra.*, III, Firenze 2008, p. 444-445); a treatise on the soul, *inc.* «Quaeri a quibusdam solet» (f. 43r-v, edited in JEAUNEAU, «Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot», p. 27-28 [nr. V, § 1], and cf. p. 19 and 46-54); Israel Grammaticus, a treatise on the Trinity, *inc.* «Sanctam trinitatem patrem» (f. 43v-44r; edited *ibid.*, p. 28-29 [nr. VI], and cf. p. 56-62); a short piece on the four cardinal virtues, *inc.* «Prudentia est bonarum» (f. 44r; edited *ibid.*, p. 29-30 [nr. VII], and cf. p. 62); a Greek alphabet (f. 44r; edited *ibid.*, p. 30-31 [nr. IX] and cf. p. 64-66); a short text *inc.* «De illustribus philosophis» (f. 44v; edited *ibid.*, p. 33 [nr. XI] and cf. p. 69); a text *inc.* «Quoniam gratia dei concedente in unum conuenistis» (f. 45r; V. COUSIN, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard*, Paris 1836, p. 623 describes it as: «Fragment anonyme d'un sermon sur la nécessité de la pénitence»); *Isag.* with glosses by Israel the Grammarian (f. 45v-52v); some fragments from Boethius's commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, *inc.* «Recte igitur dictum est habitum» (f. 52v); on an inserted piece of parchment, five lines from ARISTOTLE, *Categories*, Boethius's translation or *ed. composita*, chap. 2-3, *inc.* «Eorum quae sunt alia de subiecto dicuntur» (f. 52bisr; f. 52bisv is blank); BOETHIUS, *Opuscula sacra*, I-V, with glosses (f. 53r-70v); ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, II, chap. 27 *De perihermeniis* and chap. 28 *De syllogismis dialecticis* (f. 71r-72v); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias*, with few glosses (f. 72v-80r); BOETHIUS, *In Aristotelis De interpretatione editio prima*, with substantial text missing between f. 80v and 81r (f. 80v-81r); 81v blank. As shown by JEAUNEAU, «Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot», several of these writings are also found in St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, F.v. VI N 3. One gloss mentions Eriugena's *Periphyseon*; others are Eriugena-inspired; one gloss

mentions Heiric of Auxerre (see MARENBN, *From the Circle*, p. 121-123, 176-177, and JEAUNEAU, « Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot », p. 12-20).

Access: High-quality images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 621. See also: COUSIN, *Ouvrages inédits*, p. 618-24; C. S. BARACH, *Zur Geschichte des Nominalismus vor Roscellin*, Wien 1866, p. 6; B. HAURÉAU, *Histoire de la philosophie scolastique*, I, Paris 1872, p. 184-196; BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. XLVII; VAN DE VYVER, « Les étapes », p. 438; *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. LXXIX, LXXXII; BILLANOVICH, « Il Petrarca », p. 106 n. 1; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 451, 456; É. JEAUNEAU, « Les écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre au IX^e siècle », in *La scuola nell'Occidente latino dell'Alto Medioevo*, II, p. 495-522, esp. p. 513 (with a commentary by L. Minio-Paluello on this MS recorded on p. 558-560); AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. JACKSON, p. 19-21, 28, 35 n. 60, 41 n. 136, 78, 125 n. 2, 129 n. 2; JEUDY, « Israël le grammairien », p. 204-205; MARENBN, *From the Circle*, p. 17, 121-125, 129, 133-135, 173-177, 181, 183-196, 205-206; MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 25; JEAUNEAU, « Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot »; TRONCARELLI, « *Aristoteles Piscatorius* », p. 16; *Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne IX^e-XI^e siècles*, Catalogue d'Exposition, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Auxerre 1990, p. 58; MORESCHINI, « Ricerche », p. 63; *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera*, vol. III, ed. MORESCHINI, p. XI; M. GIBSON, « Boethius in the Tenth Century », *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24/25 (1989/90) [= W. BERSCHIN (ed.), *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1991], p. 117-124, esp. p. 119; KLIBANSKY - REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 151 (nr. PH 26); MARENBN, « Medieval Latin Commentaries », p. 80-82, 92, 99-101; MARENBN, « Glosses and Commentaries », p. 26-29; WOOD, « A Carolingian Scholar »; KEEFE, *A Catalogue*, p. 324.

14. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Ph. 1 (HJ.IV. 16)

Date: According to Bischoff, 10th century, from England or Bretagne (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, I, p. 54, rejecting a dating to the 9th century). Dated to the 9th-10th century in AL 2088.

Isag./IIsag./2Isag. : Isag. (f. 24r-35v).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: a few interlinear glosses; short marginal glosses on f. 25v, 27v, 30r-v (now all partially cut away). ABCDE diagram (now partially cut away) on f. 33r, upper margin, possibly with a second diagram (now partially cut away) in the shape of a circle around seven rows stemming from one and the same central point and including the letters *-sis*.

Overall Content: ALCUINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 1r-24r), followed by six verses *inc.* « Omnipotens Mesia soter », *expl.* « crimina dira mea » (edited in *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, 4,2.3. *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. K. STRECKER, Berlin 1923, p. 1067, nr. XXVII; *Isag.*; APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias* (f. 36r-46r); ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*, II, xxix-xxxi (f. 46r-51r); a brief division of the parts of philosophy, *inc.* « De divisione philosophiae eiusdem » (f. 51r; edited in B. BISCHOFF, « Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et*

littéraire du Moyen Âge, 25 [1958], p. 5-20, esp. p. 6 n. 2; see Y. IWAKUMA, «The Division of Philosophy and the Place of the Trivium from the 9th to the Mid-12th Centuries», in S. EBBESEN – R. L. FRIEDMAN [ed.], *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition*, Copenhagen 1999, p. 165-189, esp. p. 169-170). The manuscript includes several Greek terms, written in Greek letters.

Access: High-quality images on <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj40118380,T>

Select Bibliography: AL 2088. See also: VAN DE VYVER, «Les étapes», p. 439; BISCHOFF, «Eine verschollene Einteilung», p. 5; ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien*, I, p. 273; II, p. 257 n. 62, p. 267 n. 111; MORESCHINI, «Ricerche», p. 64; *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera*, III, ed. MORESCHINI, p. XII; KLIBANSKY – REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 140 (nr. PH 3); *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Alcuin*, p. 131; IWAKUMA, «The Division of Philosophy», p. 169-170, 186; MARENBNON, «La logique en occident latin», p. 178.

15. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 315

Date: second half of the 10th century (CB II, Swi43); 10th century (AL 2124). Written in Einsiedeln (see A. BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*, V, Genf 1943, p. 34-38).

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: *2Isag.*, incomplete due to missing folia, *expl.* «in specie dictum est ra-» (V, 23, ed. BRANDT, p. 345.8) (p. 2-170).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: very few interlinear glosses; some corrections. On p. 53 (added small leaf), a short passage on the division of philosophy, *inc.* «Philosophiae species tripertita est» (ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*, II, XXIV, 3-4), possibly a gloss. Porphyrian tree on p. 53, and ABCDE diagram on p. 139.

Overall Content: The whole MS amounts to p. 170, and it only transmits *2Isag.*

Access: High-quality images on E-codices.unifr.ch.

Select Bibliography: AL 2124; CB II, Swi43. In addition: MEIER, *Catalogus*, p. 286; BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*, V, p. 34-38, 183; MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 18; C. LOHR, *Aristotelica Helvetica. Catalogus codicum latinorum in bibliothecis Confederationis Helveticae asservatorum quibus versiones expositionesque operum Aristotelis continentur*, Freiburg 1994, p. 177.

16. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338, p. 1-271

Date: 10th century (AL 2125; CB II, Swi47), probably from Germany (CB).

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: *2Isag.* (p. 1bis-271).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: several interlinear and marginal glosses to *2Isag.* «in contemporary hands» (CB), some of which I could identify in the *Glossae de Isagogis* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206 (see footnote 28 above). Porphyry's tree on p. 102; ABCDE diagram on p. 240.

Overall Content: Composite. Section I (p. 1-271) is a unit, and only contains *2Isag.*

Access: Black/white images acquired from Hill Monastic Manuscript Library.

Select Bibliography: AL 2125; CB II, Swi47. See also: MEIER, *Catalogus*, p. 311-312; BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. XLII; BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*, V, p. 88; PASSALACQUA, *I codici di Prisciano*, p. 52-53 nr. 115 (though mainly dealing with p. 272-457 of the manuscript); MARENBOON, *From the Circle*, p. 18; MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 407 (mainly dealing with p. 412-457 of the manuscript); LOHR, *Aristotelica Helvetica*, p. 178.

17. Paris, BnF, lat. 6288

Date: according to Jean Dufour, the MS dates to the second half of the 10th century, possibly from the abbey of Moissac (see J. DUFOUR, « La composition de la bibliothèque de Moissac à la lumière d'un inventaire du XVII^e siècle nouvellement découvert », *Scriptorium*, 35 [1981], p. 175-226, esp. p. 193 n. 51; ID., « Manuscrits de Moissac antérieurs au milieu du XII^e siècle et nouvellement identifiés. Description codicologique et paléographique », *Scriptorium*, 36 [1982], p. 147-173, esp. p. 171-172). According to Bernard Bischoff (as reported by C. VECCE, « Pierantonio da Fossano a Poitiers: un mercante lombardo e le scoperte dei codici in Francia », *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 29 [1986], p. 183-206, especially p. 198-199), 10th century, from Western France (Poitiers?). Also dated to 10th-11th century (AL 544) and to the beginning of the 10th century (see LEONARDI, « I codici », (1960), p. 428-429 nr. 151).

Isag./IIsag./2Isag.: *2Isag.*, incomplete (f. 71ra-109rb): several folia are missing between 81vb, *expl.* « ueri similiter » (I, 12, ed. BRANDT, p. 168.12) and 82ra, *inc.* « generibus praedicantur » (III, 10, ed. BRANDT, p. 233.14-15); *Isag.* (f. 148rb-156vb).

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: some corrections and variant readings, no glosses. Schemata on f. 71v ('an sit / quid sit / quale sit / cur sit') ('logica: inueniendi/iudicandi'), 72v (divisions of philosophy); 75v (ten categories and the five redicables), 76r (hard to read, but including the word 'diuidere'), 78v (concerning 'demonstratio'), 80r (concerning 'una res communis'). Half a column blank on f. 87ra, probably for a Porphyrian tree, just after the words « ad cuius rei facilem cognitionem illa tercii libri specierum generumque dispositio transcribatur » (IV, 6, ed. BRANDT, p. 255.1-3): cf. MS Paris, BnF, lat. 13955. ABCDE diagram on f. 102rb.

Overall Content: ISIDORUS Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, II, chap. 22-26: *de dialectica, de differentia dialecticae et rhetoricae artis, de definitione philosophiae, de isagogis Porphyrii, de categoriis Aristotelis* (f. 1ra-3va); PS.-AUGUSTINUS, *Categoriae Decem* (f. 3va-18rb); BOETHIUS, *In Aristotelis De interpretatione editio prima* (f. 18rb-71ra); *2Isag.*, incomplete (f. 71ra-109rb); ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, II, chap. 28 (§ 23-26) and chap. 29-31, concerning *modi syllogismorum hypotheticorum, de divisione diffinitionum, de topicis, de oppositis* (f. 109rb-112va); ALCUINUS, *De dialectica* (f. 112va-126rb); ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, II, chap. 27-28 (§ 1-22), *expl.* « utiliter introducunt »: *de perihermeniis, de syllogismis dialecticis* (f. 126va-127vb); APULEIUS, *Peri Hermeneias* (f. 127vb-134rb); MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *De nuptiis Philologiae et*

Mercurii, IV (*De arte dialectica*), chap. 338-423, *expl.* «festinantis interuenit» (f. 134rb-148rb); *Isag.* (f. 148rb-156vb); notes by different hands on f. 157-158, including musical notation. Cf. the content of MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206.

Access: Black/white images on Gallica.

Select Bibliography: AL 544. See also: BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLV-XLVII; VAN DE VYVER, «Les étapes», p. 439; LEONARDI, «I codici», (1959), p. 448 n. 17, 467 n. 126; (1960), p. 428-429 nr. 151; MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, p. 450 n. 19; DUFOUR, «La composition», p. 193; DUFOUR, «Manuscrits de Moissac», p. 171-172; MUNK OLSEN, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, I, p. 23-24; VECCE, «Pierantonio da Fossano», p. 198-199, 203; MORESCHINI, «Ricerche», p. 63; KLIBANSKY - REGEN, *Die Handschriften*, p. 148-149 (nr. PH 21); *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Alcuin*, p. 131; IWAKUMA, «The Division of Philosophy», p. 186.

18. *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1332*

Date: second half of the 10th century (CB III, 480); also dated to the 10th century in AL 2188 (wrongly indicated as '1322'). According to D'ONOFRIO, «Introduzione», p. XLIX, the handwriting is proximate to the so-called «A-G writing», close to Abbo of Fleury and Gerbert of Aurillac (for which see *ibid.*, p. XLIII-XLVI); on f. 43v, there is an autograph gloss by Ademar of Chabannes, referring to the solar eclipse of 1033 (*ibid.*, p. XLIX-LIV).

Isag./1Isag./2Isag.: *Isag.* (f. 1v-40v) and *2Isag.* (f. 1v-45v), written together in two columns: *Isag.* in the outer column, *2Isag.* in the inner column. The text in the outer column is the *Isag.*, and not simply the lemmata of *2Isag.* (as for BRANDT, «Prolegomena», p. XLV). Lemmata are embedded in *2Isag.* in the inner column of the manuscript and, additionally, the *Isag.* in the outer column is not abridged, as sometimes happens in lemmata. Compare, for instance, f. 9v, where the whole text of the *Isag.* from «ascendentibus uero ad generalissima...» to «communis plures» is found, with f. 21v, where the same text is abridged in the lemma of *2Isag.* (cf. AL I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. 12.14-20; ed. BRANDT, p. 228.4-11); and f. 13r-v, where the whole text of the *Isag.* from «et faciunt aliud» to «remissionem suscipiens est» is found, with f. 26r, where the same text is abridged in the lemma of *2Isag.* «et faciunt aliud. aquilum autem» (cf. AL I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. 16.2-11; ed. BRANDT, p. 251.1-12). As these examples also make clear, the text of the *Isag.* in the outer column and the text of *2Isag.* in the inner column do not match.

Glosses and Diagrams on Isagoge-Related Content: No glosses, but some corrections to both the *Isag.* and *2Isag.* Porphyrian tree on f. 17r (possibly representing leaves); ABCDE diagram on f. 40r; on f. 41r, simple vertical scheme listing 'tritauus, adauus, abauus, proauus, auus, pater'.

Overall Content: *Isag.* and *2Isag.* only, 46 f. overall. F. 46 is blank, except for two schemata.

Access: Direct inspection, and high-quality images on DigiVatLib.

Select Bibliography: AL 2188; CB III, 480. See also BRANDT, « Prolegomena », in CSEL 48, p. XLV; *Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican. Réédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles*, Città del Vaticano, p. 30 nr. 457; D'ONOFRIO, « Introduzione », p. XLIX-LIII and Tav. X; R. LANDES, « The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern », *Speculum*, 75 (2000), p. 97-145, especially p. 138 n. 176. Mentioned in the project *Restoring Lost Songs: Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy* (by S. Barrett, <https://boethius.mus.cam.ac.uk/>) for a gloss on f. 34v, containing musical notation of verses from Boethius' *Consolatio*.

Doubtful Manuscripts:

– Paris, BnF, lat. 12958.

Containing *IIsag.* (f. 1r-19v) and *2Isag.*, incomplete (f. 20r-43v). Often dated to the 9th century or the late 9th-early 10th century (e.g. AL 2072; and MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 18 n. 13; '12598' is a missprint for '12958'), or 10th c. (BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. XLI). However, while dating other sections to the 9th century, Bernard Bischoff rejects f. 1-43 as 9th-century, and dates them to 10th/11th c.: see BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, III, p. 200 (cf. B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie der römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, dritte Auflage, Berlin 2004, p. 167 n. 102). In GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 79, David Ganz writes that, for the section on *2Isag.*, Paris, BnF, lat. 13955 is copied from Paris, BnF, lat. 12958. This claim, however, does not seem to be supported by Brandt's remarks on the tradition of *2Isag.*, although the two manuscripts ('G' and 'S', respectively) do belong to the same group of manuscripts (cf. BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. LIV-LVIII). Images are available on Gallica.

Rejected Manuscripts:

– Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 229.

A question as to whether this composite MS should be included in the list may arise from BRANDT, « Prolegomena », p. XLII (were it dated to the 10th c.), and AL 406, where the different sections are not sufficiently distinguished and the whole MS is dated to '10th-12th century' (see, however, the corrections in *Supplementa altera*, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, *ad AL 406*). F. 193-230, transmitting *Categoriae Decem*, have been dated to 9th/10th cent or early 10th century by Bischoff (cf. BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nr. 182), and were previously dated to the 10th century (cf. e.g. MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 178, 181)⁴⁴. The MS also transmits *IIsag.* (f. 1r-10v and 99r-114r), and the *Isag.*, incomplete (f. 114v-115v, with a Porphyrian tree on f. 115v), but these folia date to the 12th century (see *Aristoteles*

(44) On f. 193v, just before *Categoriae Decem*, there is a gloss (edited in MARENBNON, *From the Circle*, p. 203-204) mentioning Porphyry, and four diagrams similar to abridged Porphyrian trees, all starting from 'Ousia genus generalissimum'. Two then concern 'animal', one 'surculus' and one 'gemma'. These diagrams should be compared with the diagram dividing *ousia* in Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Z. 497 (= 1811), f. 126r.

Latinus, I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. xvii, xxi and *Supplementa altera*, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, ad AL 406). High-quality images are now available on BVMM.

– Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1240: this MS, not recorded by *Aristoteles Latinus*, *Codices Boethiani*, nor Bischoff's and Marenbon's catalogues, is mentioned in FLÜELER, « Einige Ergänzungen », p. 116. It transmits the *Isag.* (f. 1r-11v) with extensive interlinear and marginal glosses up to f. 6v, a 'horizontal' Porphyrian tree on f. 3r, and a house diagram on f. 6v. *2Isag.* follows (f. 12r-51r), with some corrections in the margins, a Porphyrian tree on f. 28v, and ABCDE diagram on f. 46v. Information based on direct inspection and images acquired from library. In his article Flüeler dates the MS to the 9th century, but Erik Kwakkel, who kindly provided his expert opinion, dates it to the 11th century, probably 1050-1100, distinguishing three hands in the main text (A: f. 1-11v; B: f. 12r-28v; C: 29r-end)⁴⁵.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

1. *Dating of Manuscripts and Transmission of Isag./1Isag./2Isag.*

As the catalogue shows, *Isag./1Isag./2Isag.* were not generally copied together between 800-980 (possibly because *1Isag.* and *2Isag.* already include large portions of the *Isag.*). Only Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206, contains both the *Isag.* and glosses on *2Isag.* (*Glossae de isagogis*); and two rather late MSS in our list – Paris, BnF, lat. 6288 and Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1332 – have both the *Isag.* and *2Isag.* (in the second case, written together in two columns).

Moreover, and not surprisingly, the *Isag.* was much more widely copied than *1Isag./2Isag.*, with a total of fourteen surviving manuscripts.

In turn, *2Isag.* seems to have been more popular than *1Isag.*, despite being significantly longer. The six extant copies of *2Isag.* are Paris, BnF, lat. 13955 and lat. 12957, both dating to the 9th century and from Corbie⁴⁶; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 315 and 338, both from dating to the 10th century, with the former at least copied in Einsiedeln; and, from the second half of the 10th century, Paris BnF, lat. 6288, possibly from Moissac, and Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1332.

Indeed, if Bischoff's new dating of Paris, BnF, lat. 12958 is accepted, there is no surviving copy of *1Isag.* dating to before the late 10th century. It is consequently even more important to identify any use of *1Isag.* prior to 980ca. *1Isag.* is used as a source in the glosses by Israel the Grammarian in Paris, BnF, lat. 12949, and, later on, in *De rationali et ratione uti* and *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*⁴⁷.

(45) In private communications, Kwakkel has highlighted the presence of angularity and some other Pregothish features, while the feet are still Caroline, as a basis for his dating.

(46) This information squares nicely with Ratramnus of Corbie's use of *2Isag.*

(47) See above, p. ##. LEHMANN, « Cassiodorstudien », p. 373 mentions a passage of *1Isag.* as a possible source for Alcuin's *De dialectica*, but the text – though dealing with the same topic – is not identical. L. WALLACH, « Alcuin on Sophistry », *Classical Philology*, 50 (1955), p. 259-261, esp. p. 259-

Major changes in scholars' dating of manuscripts warrant attention. As just mentioned, the section on *IIsag.* and *2Isag.* in Paris, BnF, lat. 12958 is now dated to much later than previously thought (according to Bernard Bischoff, to the 10th/11th century instead of 9th century). Two manuscripts are dated to earlier. Paris, BnF, lat. 7193, f. 17-34, is dated by Bischoff to the beginning of the 9th century (thus resulting in another 9th- or early 10th-century manuscript of the *Isag.* paired with the *editio composita* of Aristotle's *Categoriae*, in addition to those in Karlsruhe, St Petersburg, and Vercelli). Paris, BnF, lat. 13955, is dated by Bischoff to the mid- or 3rd quarter of the 9th century, and it is therefore the oldest manuscript of *2Isag.* according to the new dating.

2. Some Connections Between Manuscripts

The overall content of manuscripts in the original « production unit »⁴⁸ and textual analysis in critical editions allow us to identify, at least to some extent, connections between manuscripts. Three major links stand out :

– St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Class. lat. F.v. 7, f. 1-40 and Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S. Eusebio, CXXXVIII (143) transmit the same selection of texts, in the same order (*Isag.*; Aristotle's *Categoriae*, *editio composita*; Ps.-Augustine's *Categoriae Decem*; Augustine's *De dialectica*)⁴⁹. They emerge as depending on one and the same MS in Minio Paluello's stemmas for the editions of the *Isag.*⁵⁰, of Aristotle's *Categoriae*, *editio composita* (p₁)⁵¹, and of *Categoriae Decem* (t₂)⁵². In Jan Pinborg's hand edition of Augustine's *De dialectica*, they belong to the same group of eight manuscripts (Group II)⁵³.

260 mentions « Boethius's commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry » among sources for Alcuin's *De dialectica*, but without discussing the issue. See also RÄDLER-BOHN, « Re-dating Alcuin's *De dialectica* », p. 89 n. 82, where one even reads: « I personally do not think that [Alcuin's] *De dialectica* can be used to prove that Alcuin knew Boethius's translation of *Isagoge* ». As one anonymous reviewer of this article put it, it can at least be doubted that Alcuin was familiar with either the *Isag.* or either of Boethius's commentaries on it. For a possible influence of *IIsag.* on Eriugena, see ERISMANN, *L'Homme commun*, p. 234.

(48) See above, n. 29. Care is taken in reconstructing the original production unit including *Isag./IIsag./2Isag.* This may be very different from the form assumed in later usage units due, for instance, to disgregation, or binding in the wrong order or with different material; see for instance St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Class. lat. F.v. 7, f. 1-40 or MS Leiden Voss. Lat. F. 70 + Orléans 277 (233) + Paris n.a.l. 1630.

(49) With the exception of Alcuin's *Versus ad Karolum regem* before *Categoriae Decem*, only found in the Vercelli MS. The wrong order of quires in section 1 (f. 1-40) of the St Petersburg manuscript, and the fact that section 1 is now bound with a later section 2, is an example of how a later usage unity in St Petersburg may hide similarity in content of the production units of St Petersburg and Vercelli MSS.

(50) *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XXIII-XXIV (*Lg* and *Vc*). Together with Paris, BnF, lat. 12949 (*He*) Minio-Paluello links them to Corbie (« diuerso modo originem Corbeensem arguant »).

(51) *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. LXI; cf. p. LIV (« gemini »).

(52) *Ibid.*, p. XCIII and cf. p. XCI (« gemini »).

(53) AUGUSTINE, *De dialectica*, ed. PINBORG, trans. JACKSON, p. 77.

– Paris, BnF, lat. 7193, f. 17-34 and Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. CLXXII, f. 1-56 both transmit the *Isag.*, Aristotle's *Categoriae*, *editio composita*, and Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *De interpretatione*. In all three editions of these texts by Minio-Paluello, they emerge as depending on one and the same MS⁵⁴.

– [Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Q. 687 (II) and Paris, BnF, lat. 7730, f. 1-39 both transmit the same selection of texts, in the same order: Consultus Fortunatianus's *Ars Rhetorica*; Augustine's *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*; *Isag.*; excerpts from Alcuin's *De dialectica*; Ps.-Augustine's *Categoriae Decem*; Apuleius's *Peri Hermeneias*; and Boethius's first commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* (colophon only in Paris lat. 7730). Unfortunately, given that the Berlin manuscript was lost for several decades, the links among the two manuscripts have not been investigated in recent editions of these texts. In contrast, connections have been unearthed between Paris lat. 7730 and *Codex Leidradi*. They are linked in both Minio-Paluello's edition of the *Isag.* and of *Categoriae Decem*⁵⁵, and they belong to the same family of MSS in Moreschini's edition of Apuleius's *Peri hermeneias*⁵⁶. The links between Berlin Lat. Q. 687 (II) and both Paris 7730 and *Codex Leidradi* would therefore deserve to be explored further.

– Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206 and Paris, BnF, lat. 6288 also have (in different order) a rather similar collection of texts (which includes Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, IV; *Categoriae Decem*; Apuleius's *Peri Hermeneias*; Alcuin's *De dialectica* in addition to the *Isag.*). Importantly, the Cambridge MS transmits both the *Isag.* and glosses on *2Isag.* (*Glossae de isagogis*), while the Paris MS has both the *Isag.* and *2Isag.*

Turning to wider connections in content, the following MSS from the catalogue transmit Ps.-Augustine's *Categoriae Decem*: *Codex Leidradi*; St Petersburg, Class. lat. F.v. 7; Berlin Lat. Qu. 687 (II); Paris lat. 7730; Leiden Voss. lat. 70; Vercelli CXXXVIII (143); Bern C 219 (4); Cambridge CCC 206; Paris lat. 12949; Paris lat. 6288. With the exception of Bern and Cambridge, these MSS also transmit either Aristotle's *De interpretatione* (St Petersburg, Class. lat. F.v. 7 and Vercelli CXXXVIII [143]), or Boethius's first commentary on *De interpretatione* and Apuleius's *Peri hermeneias* (*Codex Leidradi*; Berlin Lat. Qu. 687 [II]; Paris lat. 7730; Leiden Voss. lat. 70; Paris lat. 12949; Paris lat. 6288).

(54) For the *Isag.*, see *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XXIII-XXIV (*Fu* and *Re*); cf. p. XXIII (« codici *Re* simillimus *Fu* »). For *Categoriae*, *editio composita*, where *Fu* and *Re* both depend on p', see *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. LXI; cf. p. LIV (« gemini »). For Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, see *Aristoteles Latinus* II, 1-2, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. LV; cf. p. XLVIII.

(55) See *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XXIV, and *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XCIII (t'), respectively.

(56) *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera*, vol. III, ed. MORESCHINI, p. X-XII.

The following four MSS transmit Aristotle's *Categoriae, editio composita*: Paris lat. 7193; Karlsruhe, Aug. perg. CLXXII; St Petersburg, Class. lat. F.v. 7; and Vercelli CXXXVIII (143)⁵⁷. Two of them (Paris lat. 7193; Karlsruhe, Aug. perg. CLXXII) also transmit Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, which is additionally to be found in Paris lat. 12949⁵⁸.

Among MSS in our catalogue, the following transmit Boethius's first commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*: *Codex Leidradi*; Berlin Lat. Qu. 687 (II); Paris lat. 7730 (colophon only); Leiden Voss. lat. 70-Orléans 277 (233); Paris lat. 12949; Paris lat. 6288. None of them appears to have been used by Karl Meiser in his edition⁵⁹. All manuscripts in this list also transmit Apuleius's *Peri hermeneias* and *Categoriae Decem*.

The following transmit Apuleius's *Peri hermeneias*: *Codex Leidradi*; Berlin Lat. Qu. 687 (II); Paris lat. 7730; Orléans 277 (233); Cambridge CCC 206; Paris lat. 12949; Bamberg Msc. Ph. 1 (HJ.IV. 16); Paris lat. 6288. Unfortunately, Berlin Lat. Qu. 687 (II), Cambridge CCC 206, and Paris lat. 6288 were not used by Moreschini. All the others (labelled M, D, O, V, B) belong to the first family of manuscripts in his edition⁶⁰.

The following transmit Augustine's *De dialectica*: St Petersburg, Class. lat. F.v. 7; Berlin Lat. Qu. 687 (II); Paris lat. 7730; Vercelli CXXXVIII (143); Cambridge CCC 206; and Paris lat. 12949.

Some of the connections mentioned above square with Minio-Paluello's analysis the tradition of the *Isag.*, where *Codex Leidradi* and Paris lat. 7730 belong to one branch of the tradition, *z* (together with Paris lat. 7193 and Karlsruhe, Aug. perg. CLXXII). In contrast, St Petersburg, Class. lat. F.v. 7, Vercelli CXXXVIII (143) and Paris lat. 12949 belong (with some contamination from *z*) to a different branch (*y*), whose archetype also probably transmitted *2Isag.*⁶¹.

3. *Glossed Manuscripts*

Drawing on the catalogue above, one obtains the following list of 9th-10th MSS with glosses or diagrams to the *Isag.*⁶²:

– St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Class. lat. F.v. 7 (glosses up to chapter 5);

(57) These four MSS all belong to the same group according to Minio-Paluello in *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XIII, LXI (all four depend on p₁). I have not included Orléans 277 (233) because *Categoriae, editio composita*, is only found in a later section.

(58) As mentioned above, Paris lat. 7193 and Karlsruhe Aug. perg. CLXXII are joint MSS in Minio-Paluello's stemma for the edition of Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, Boethius's translation. In contrast, Paris lat. 12949 depends on a different MS within the same overall branch (see p. LV). I have not included Leiden Voss. Lat. F. 70 because *De interpretatione* is only found in a later section.

(59) *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Commentarii In Librum Aristotelis ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ*, recensuit K. MEISER, Leipzig 1877-1880, Pars prior, p. VII-X.

(60) *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera*, vol. III, ed. MORESCHINI, p. X-XII.

(61) See *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6-7, ed. MINIO-PALUELLO, p. XXII-XXIV.

(62) Within square brackets, I mention MSS with only very few glosses.

- Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare S. Eusebio, CXXXVIII (143) (glosses on the beginning of the text, and a diagram)⁶³;
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206 (some glosses, and possibly an incomplete diagram);
- Paris, BnF, lat. 12949 (glosses and diagrams);
- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Ph. 1 (HJ.IV. 16) (some short glosses and a diagram, now partially cut away);
- [Paris, BnF, lat. 7193 : the text of a diagram];
- [Paris, BnF, lat. 7730 : a few very short glosses];
- [Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q. 2 : a few very short glosses].

With the exception of the glosses in Vercelli and Bamberg, all of the main set of glosses are mentioned in John Marenbon's catalogue⁶⁴. According to preliminary research by Yukio Iwakuma, they include: X glosses (Paris, lat. 12949), X+Y glosses (St Petersburg, Class. lat. F.v. 7), or non-standard glosses (Cambridge, CCC 206)⁶⁵.

Diagrams for *2Isag.* are, as we have seen, embedded in the text. There are glosses in:

- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 206 (*Glossae de isagogis* on *2Isag.*);
- Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 338 (glosses);
- [Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 315 : a few interlinear glosses];
- [Paris, BnF, lat. 6288 : several schemata].

(63) I plan to edit the 9th- or early 10th-century glosses on *Isagoge* in the Vercelli MS in a separate publication stemming from this same research project.

(64) See MARENBN, « Medieval Latin Commentaries », p. 99. Other additions to Marenbon's list are later glosses on *Isag.* in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1240 (f. 1r-11v) and Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1406 (f. IIv-10v). I am indebted to Yukio Iwakuma for this piece of information.

(65) Iwakuma's research has not yet been published and is briefly summarised in MARENBN, « Medieval Latin Commentaries », p. 99. The X-set of glosses is attested in Paris lat. 12949 and the later Köln, Dombibliothek, 191. The Y-set of glosses is attested in the later MSS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4621 and Clm 14516. Combinations of X and Y glosses are found in several later MSS: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 497 (=1811); Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 29; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Gadd. Plut. LXXXIX sup. 80; Paris, BnF, lat. 11129. It is best to regard this as a first starting point for further analysis.