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TRACES OF ANCIENT *RECLAMANTES* SURVIVING IN FURTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF  
ARISTOTLE'S *METAPHYSICS*

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TRACES OF ANCIENT *RECLAMANTES* SURVIVING IN FURTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF  
ARISTOTLE'S *METAPHYSICS*\*

In 1912 W. Jaeger pointed out that codex Laurentianus 87,12 (**A<sup>b</sup>**), a manuscript of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* partly dating from the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> preserves traces of the *reclamantes* used in antiquity to maintain the correct sequence of the papyrus rolls containing this work.<sup>2</sup> The view was reasserted in the preface to the edition of the *Metaphysics* published in 1957 where Jaeger wrote . . . in **A<sup>b</sup>** *in singulorum librorum fine saepius prima verba sequentis libri addita sunt, quo facilius legentibus transitus pararetur, quod aequum erat eo tempore fieri, quo libri Metaphysicorum nondum omnes uno codice continebantur, sed singulis voluminibus papyraceis circumferebantur . . . hoc in ceteris codicibus nostris non invenimus.*<sup>3</sup>

Surprisingly, however, an examination of codex Ambrosianus F 113 sup. (**M**) written in the fourteenth century and of cod. Vat. 115 (**V<sup>k</sup>**) partially assignable to the hand of the erudite Byzantine clergyman Gennadios II Scholarios (b. between 1400 and 1405 in Constantinople – d. 1472 or shortly afterwards near Serres, Macedonia<sup>4</sup>) has revealed that the statement quoted above is somewhat misleading. In not only the Florentine, but also the Vatican and the Milan manuscripts, the first two words of book Δ are in fact written at the end of book Γ.<sup>5</sup> Similarly at the end of book Η not only **A<sup>b</sup>**, but also **M** contains the first lines of Θ. On fol. 145<sup>v</sup> l. 1–4 of the Milan manuscript one can read, just as in **A<sup>b</sup>** on fol. 348<sup>v</sup> l. 1–4, the passage *περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρώτως ὄντος καὶ πρὸς ὃ αἱ ἄλλαι κατηγορίαι τοῦ ὄντος ἀναφέρονται εἴρηται περὶ τῆς οὐσίας* (1045 b 27–29). This passage recurs with only a slight variation at the beginning of the ninth book in **M** on fol. 146<sup>r</sup> l. 1–3 and in **A<sup>b</sup>** on fol. 348<sup>v</sup> l. 1–4.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed description of cod. Laur. 87, 12 see *Aristoteles Graecus* I, Berlin 1976, 302–4. The manuscript is mentioned around the year 1500 in the library catalogue of the Florentine convent San Marco which is currently preserved in the State Archives at Modena. See Berthold L. Ullmann and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco, Padua 1972, 255; cf. Eugenio Garin, *La biblioteca di San Marco*, Florence (2000), 57 and 117. Rpt. of *La biblioteca di S. Marco*. Appendice di documenti, from *La Chiesa e il convento San Marco di Firenze*, I, Florence 1989, 115 and 147.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Jaeger, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Berlin 1912, 181–82. On *reclamantes* found in papyri which are still extant see e.g. Jean Bingen, review of 'Aperçus de paléographie homérique. A propos des papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain' by W. Lameere, *Chronique d'Égypte* 36 (1961), 216–18. Cf. also S. West, *Reclamantes in Greek Papyri*, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 314–15 as well as M. Manfredi (ed.), *Papiri dell' Odissea*, Florence 1979, 33 and 46.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. *Metaph.*, ed. W. Jaeger, Oxford 1957, x. Traces of ancient *reclamantes* survive also in some manuscripts of the *Meteorologica*. Cf. e.g. Arist. *Mete.*, ed. Pierre Louis, Paris 1982, app. crit. ad B 9, 370 a 33 and Jean Irigoin, *Tradition et critique des textes grecs*, Paris 1997, 187.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* s.v. Σχολάριος, Γεώργιος Κουρτέσης and *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* s.v. Gennadios II Scholarios. The fols. 101<sup>r</sup> – 237<sup>v</sup> of **V<sup>k</sup>** are autographs of Scholarios.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the words *ἀρχὴ λέγεται* **A<sup>b</sup>** fol. 159<sup>r</sup>, l. 6–7, **V<sup>k</sup>** fol. 131<sup>r</sup>, l. 29 and **M** fol. 73<sup>r</sup>, l. 21.

<sup>6</sup> The only difference is that at the opening of book Θ both MSS correctly read *πᾶσαι* after the relative pronoun ὅ. **V<sup>k</sup>** does not transmit the entire text of the *Metaphysics*; this section is not available (cf. e.g. Iohannes Mercati and Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* I, Rome 1923, 142). The Florentine manuscript preserves the trace of a further *reclamans* on fol. 412<sup>v</sup>, at the end of book Iota; since the ancient *reclamantes* were of no use in codices, the absence of this catchline from **M** is by no means surprising.

As sample collations of over forty other codices of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* have shown, **M** and **V<sup>k</sup>** are independent.<sup>7</sup> Thanks to the work of Immanuel Bekker and Christian August Brandis, these manuscripts were already known to a certain extent in the scholarly world before the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The presence of *reclamantes* in **M** and **V<sup>k</sup>** confirms that the edition on papyrus rolls from which the Medicean codex **A<sup>b</sup>** derives has more than one surviving descendant.<sup>9</sup> This is significant not only for the history of the transmission of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, but also for the *constitutio textus*, especially since a manuscript belonging to a different tradition, whose characteristic readings are easily found elsewhere, served as the source of **A<sup>b</sup>** for the final books.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Their exemplars have since been lost, cf. D. Harlfinger, Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik, in Pierre Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote. Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, 22–23, 27. See also Silvio Bernardinello, *Eliminatio codicum della Metafisica di Aristotele*, Padua 1970, 122–26.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Aristotelis opera* ed. I. Bekker, Berlin 1831, v and C. A. Brandis, *Die Aristotelischen Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, Abh. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin. Hist.-phil. Kl. 1831, Berlin 1832, 82.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 29 against W. Jaeger's further assertion *recensio A<sup>b</sup> . . . aetate Byzantina a viris doctis sprete esse videtur, et ita in oblivionem lapsa est, ut uno codice A<sup>b</sup> servata sit* (Arist. *Metaph.*, ed. W. Jaeger, xii).

<sup>10</sup> The change of exemplar occurs at *Metaph.* Λ 7, 1073 a 1 οἶον, cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 31. In this context it should also be pointed out that no traces of ancient *reclamantes* survive in the rather heavily contaminated and damaged manuscript of the *Metaphysics* Taur. B VII 23 (C), which is a relative of **M**.