

PETER ISÉPY^a

The *Vindobonensis philosophicus graecus* 100
Travelling between East and West or again:
“Nikolaos-Nektarios of Otranto, William of Moerbeke and
the ‘Collection philosophique’”*

with 2 plates

ABSTRACT: The present article aims to re-assess the “Casole hypothesis”, according to which, after the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, Nikolaos-Nektarios of Otranto (c. 1155/60–1235) brought the codices *Marcianus* gr. Z. 226, *Vindobonensis* phil. gr. 100 and several other manuscripts of the traditionally so-called “Collection philosophique” to his monastery of San Nicola di Casole, near Otranto in Apulia, where the codices were rediscovered a few decades later, in the mid-13th century, by the Dominican friar William of Moerbeke (d. 1286). This will be done in the light of recent research into the codex *Vindobonensis* and the *Parisinus* gr. 2575, another manuscript of the “Collection” and Moerbeke’s translation model for Simplicius. The *Parisinus* was kept in Constantinople in the 15th century—but is it true that it had never left Greece before? Moerbeke’s translations from 1266 onwards, and the journeys of the *Vindobonensis* between the East and the West in the 13th century, might suggest otherwise.

KEYWORDS: Nikolaos-Nektarios of Otranto; William of Moerbeke; “Collection philosophique”; *Vindobonensis* phil. gr. 100; *Parisinus* gr. 2575

In memoriam
Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem (1931–2018)
et Pieter De Leemans (1973–2019)

Hic [i. e. Nicolaus-Nectarius Hydruntinus] *sumptui minime parcens, quos per universam Graeciam invenire potuit librorum omnis generis bibliothecam in hoc coenobio congressit.*¹

^a Peter Isépy, Griechische Philologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 München, peter.isepy@lmu.de

* This article is the revised version of an essay that has been in preparation for publication for some time. It is dedicated to the memory of two luminaries of the *Aristoteles Latinus*, Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem and Pieter De Leemans, to whom the present author is very grateful. He would also like to thank Marwan Rashed, who, in his pioneering essay, “Nicolas d’Otrante, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la Collection philosophique” (*Studi Medievali* 43 [2002] 693–717), took the first and decisive step towards clarifying the relationship between Nicholas of Otranto, Wilhelm von Moerbeke, and the “Collection philosophique”. He is also indebted to Oliver Primavesi, Erich Lamberz, Christian Gastgeber, Albrecht Berger, Christina Prapa, Lutz Koch, Paraskevi Toma, Mai-Lan Boureau, and to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable advice, to Edward Mezger and Hugo Branley for their thoughtful correction of the English, to Samuel Kopp for proofreading, and, *dulcis in fundo*, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for its support. Many thanks are due to Lutz Koch, Jana Grusková and Katharina Kaska for their aid in providing special reproductions of f. 201^v and to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for permission to publish them in this article (07/08/2014). The new multispectral images were produced and enhanced by Simon Brenner (*Centre of Image and Material Analysis in Cultural Heritage* in Vienna – <http://hrsm.caa.tuwien.ac.at/>) in the framework of the SFHEA-project *Analysis and Conservation of Cultural Heritage – Modern Imaging and Material Analysis Methods for the Visualization, Documentation and Classification of Historical Written Material (Manuscripts)*, financed by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economy. The author and work abbreviations of the Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek Dictionary apply.

¹ “This man, having no regard for his expenses, built up a library in this monastery, consisting of books of every kind, which he was able to find throughout Greece.” Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *Liber de situ Iapygiae* 36,8,9, ed. D. DEFILIPPIS. Galatina 2005, 36 (author’s translation).

With these words, Antonio De Ferrariis (1444–1517) reports on the enthusiasm of Nikolaos-Nektarios of Otranto (~1155/60–1235)², a monk and from 1219, the abbot of the monastery San Nicola di Casole near Otranto in Apulia, to acquire every book he could find for the monastery's library. Nikolaos-Nektarios had been given enough opportunity to purchase codices in the east, having taken part in three missions to Greece as a member of legations *vested with the widest power*: 1205–7 as companion and interpreter of the pope's legate, Cardinal Benedict, to Constantinople; 1214–5 in the same position alongside the Cardinal Pelagius Galvani; and finally around 1223–4 (probably as envoy of Frederick II) to Nicaea³. Considering that Nikolaos-Nektarios came to Byzantium shortly after the plundering raid of the crusaders in 1204, when Byzantium was still smoking⁴, one cannot imagine a more auspicious moment for him to acquire some otherwise inaccessible codices⁵. Whichever books Nikolaos-Nektarios brought to the West⁶, he contributed his share to the deleterious state of the literary tradition in Byzantium with which scholars in the later *Palaeologue* era were faced. However, the history of one manuscript, the famous codex *Vindobonensis* phil. gr. 100, the *Aristoteles Vindobonensis* (J), shows that the 'farewell' from the Byzantine capital westwards did not always have to be final⁷. Two men played a crucial role in the *Vindobonensis*'s several journeys between east and west in the 13th century: Nikolaos-Nektarios and the Flemish Dominican, William of Moerbeke (~1215–1286), both supporters of the Church Union, translators of literature, and interpreters in Latin legations.

MOERBEKE AND THE "COLLECTION PHILOSOPHIQUE"

In his 2002 article "Nicolas d'Otrante, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la Collection philosophique"⁸, Marwan Rashed first pointed out a certain parallel between Nikolaos-Nektarios of Otranto and William of Moerbeke⁹: both clerics owned, for some time, the codex *Marcianus* gr. Z. 226, commentary

² On Nikolaos-Nektarios, see esp. J. M. HOECK – R. J. LOENERTZ, Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II. Ettal 1965, 25–29 and W. BLUM, Nikolaos-Nektarios, Abt von Casole. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 6 (1993) 859–860.

³ On the journeys of Nikolaos-Nektarios, see HOECK – LOENERTZ, Nikolaos-Nektarios 30–67.

⁴ M. RASHED, Nicolas d'Otrante, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la Collection philosophique. *Studi Medievali* 43 (2002) 693–717, 704f.

⁵ In view of a poem of John Grasso, addressed to his master Nikolaos and transmitted in codex Vaticanus gr. 1276, one may assume that Nikolaos' passion for collecting was not limited to books. In it, Grasso praises Nikolaos' enthusiasm and efforts to equip the Casole monastery with χρυσοτεύκτοις σκευῆσι τε καὶ βίβλοις (f. 32^v) – gold-wrought equipment and books. Furthermore, we know that during Nikolaos' second diplomatic mission, the Latin legation was showered with gifts when visiting the emperor Theodore Laskaris in Heraclea Pontica (HOECK – LOENERTZ, Nikolaos-Nektarios 61).

⁶ On the mysterious Casole library and Nikolaos-Nektarios's acquisitions, see in general A. PARLANGÈLI – O. PARLANGÈLI, Il monastero di S. Nicola di Casole, centro di cultura bizantina in Terra d'Otranto. *BollGrott* 5 (1951) 30–45, N. G. WILSON, The Libraries of the Byzantine World. *GRBS* 8 (1967) 53–80, 73–77, G. CAVALLO, La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria, in: *I Bizantini in Italia (Antica madre. Collana di studi sull'Italia antica)*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli. Milan 1982, 495–612, esp. 601–604, and G. CAVALLO, Libri greci e resistenza etnica in Terra d'Otranto, in: *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino*, Guida storica e critica, ed. G. Cavallo. Rome 1982, 162–170, 164–166. On the lending practices of the monastery's library, see H. OMONT, Le Typicon de Saint-Nicolas di Casole près d'Otrante, Notice du Ms. C. III, 17 de Turin. *RÉG* 3 (1890) 381–391, 389f.: on f. 3^v of the Turin manuscript, we find a list of books out on loan.

⁷ Generally, on the circulation of Aristotelian manuscripts between Greek East and Latin West, see the article by G. DE GREGORIO, Osservazioni ed ipotesi sulla circolazione del testo di Aristotele tra Occidente e Oriente, in: *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario in Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, ed. G. CAVALLO – G. DE GREGORIO – M. MANIACI. Spoleto 475–498 (6 pl.) in which, however, the *Vindobonensis* is only mentioned briefly (p. 497, n. 47). I am thankful to Dieter Harlfinger for pointing me to this study.

⁸ See n. 4 above.

⁹ On the person of William of Moerbeke, see M. GRABMANN, Guglielmo di Moerbeke O. P. il traduttore delle opere di Aristotele. (*Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 11, 20). Rome 1946, 30–62; A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Nuovi documenti su Guglielmo da Moerbeke, *OP. Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 52 (1982) 135–143; A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la cour pontificale, in: *Guillaume de Moerbeke, Recueil d'études à l'occasion du 700^e anniversaire de sa mort (1286)*, ed. J. BRAMS – W. VANHAMEL. Leuven 1989, 23–52; J. BRAMS, La riscoperta di Aristotele in occidente. Milano

by Simplicius on books V–VIII of Aristotle’s *Physics*, and, with several other Constantinopolitan codices from the second half of the 9th c., part of the traditionally so-called “Collection philosophique”¹⁰. While this manuscript helped William around 1270 to understanding the text of the *Ph.*¹¹, some 50 years earlier, Nikolaos-Nektarios of Casole had used the free space at the end of the same codex to enter a biography of Aristotle known as *Vita Hesychii*¹². The history of the aforementioned *Vindobonensis J* is connected from its beginnings with the “Collection” and especially with the *Marcianus*: Probably copied with some priority, the *Vindobonensis* was corrected and annotated by (one of) the skilled main scribe(s) of the “Collection”, who also provided the *Marcianus* with partly identical annotations and coordinated the contents of the two manuscripts by means of paragraph marks¹³. It is precisely this circumstance that has led to the *Vindobonensis*, which was first defined together with a *bifolium* in the Paris. gr. 1156 (ff. 13–14) as part of a “Collection aristotelicienne”¹⁴, being often mentioned as a more or less ‘regular’ component of the “Collection philosophique”¹⁵ in a broader sense¹⁶. Quite apart from the problems of denomination, it is quite striking, that not only the

2003, 105–130; M.-A. ARIS, s. v. Wilhelm von Moerbeke. *LexMA* (9) 175–176; L. MINIO-PALUELLO, s. v. Moerbeke, William of. *The Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 9 (2008) 434–440, and the chronological list of information on Moerbeke gained from translations and documents, with a bibliography of literature up to 1989, in W. VANHAMEL, *Biobibliographie de Guillaume de Moerbeke*. in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, *Guillaume de Moerbeke* 301–383, 309–318.

¹⁰ On this group of manuscripts, first called “collection philosophique” in J. LEROY, *La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin*, in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974), ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompain – J. Irigoien. Paris 1977, 27–41, 36 n. 57, and its research history, see the G. CAVALLO, *Stralci di storia di un Gruppo di manoscritti greci del secolo IX*, in: *Ingenio facilis: per Giovanni Orlandi* (1938–2007), ed. P. Chiesa – A. M. Fagnoni – R. E. Guglielmetti. Firenze 2007, 3–64, and the quoted literature, esp. T. W. ALLEN, *A Group of Ninth-Century Greek Manuscripts*. *The Journal of Philology* 21 (1892) 48–55; J. IRIGOEN, *L’Aristote de Vienne*. *JÖBG* 6 (1957) 5–10; J. IRIGOEN, *Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IX^e siècle)*. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 5 (1962) 287–302, 298f.; L. PERRIA, *Scrittura e ornamentazione nei codici della “collezione filosofica”*. *RSBN* 28 (1991) 45–111; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Un nuovo codice della “Collezione filosofica”, Il palinsesto Parisinus graecus 2575*. *Script* 55 (2001) 249–274; E. CRISCI, P. DEGNI, *La scrittura greca dall’antichità all’epoca della stampa, Una introduzione*. Rome 2011, 136f., and F. RONCONI, *La collection brisée. La face cachée de la “collection philosophique” : les milieux socioculturels*, in: *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international*, Paris, 5–6–7 juin 2008 organisé par le centre d’études byzantines de l’EHESS (*Dossiers byzantins* 11), éd. P. ODORICO. Paris 2012, 137–166, F. RONCONI, *La “collection philosophique”: un fantôme historique*. *Script* 67 (2013) 119–140, D. MARCOTTE, *La “collection philosophique”: historiographie et histoire des textes*. *Script* 68 (2014) 145–165, Ch. BROCKMANN, *Scribal annotation as evidence of learning in manuscripts from the First Byzantine Humanism: the “Philosophical Collection”*, in: *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field (Studies in Manuscript Cultures* 1), ed. J. B. Quenzer – D. Bondarev – J. U. Sobisch. Berlin 2014, 11–33, and the contributions in *La “collection philosophique” face à l’histoire. Péripéties et tradition*, ed. D. BIANCONI – F. RONCONI. Spoleto 2020.

¹¹ H. D. SAFFREY, *Nouvelles observations sur le manuscrit Parisinus graecus 1807*, in: *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition. Essays presented to John Whittaker*, ed. M. Joyal. Aldershot 1997, 293–307, 302, J. BRAMS, *Guillaume de Moerbeke et le Commentaire de Simplicius sur la Physique*, in: *Tradition et traduction, Les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au Moyen Âge latin, Hommage à Fernand Bossier*, éd. R. BEYERS. Leuven 1999, 265–279, J. BRAMS – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Physica Nova und Recensio Matritensis – Wilhelm von Moerbekes doppelte Revision der Physica Vetus*, in: *Aristotelische Erbe im Arabisch–Lateinisches Mittelalter (Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 18), ed. A. Zimmermann. Berlin – New York 1986, J. BRAMS, *La Recensio Matritensis de la Physique*, in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, *Guillaume de Moerbeke* 193–220.

¹² RASHED, *Nicolas d’Otrante* 696–703.

¹³ BRAMS, *Guillaume de Moerbeke 272f.*, C. LUNA, *Mise en page et transmission textuelle du commentaire de Syrianus sur la Métaphysique*, in: *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists. Proceedings of the Meeting of the European Science Foundation Network “Late Antiquity and Arabic Thought. Patterns in the constitution of European culture” held in Strasbourg, March 12–14, 2004*, ed. C. D’Ancona. Leiden 2007, 122–133, 129–131. In addition to that of the manuscripts of the “Collection” only the *Marcianus* 226 shows the script consistently on the line, as does the *Vindobonensis* (L. KOCH, *Beschreibung Vind. phil. gr. 100*. 2009 (available online, <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb5534818>> [24.12.2025], s. v. *Vind. Phil. gr. 100*).

¹⁴ IRIGOEN, *L’Aristote de Vienne* 9.

¹⁵ Despite all the sensible microscopic deconstruction of the collection as a homogeneous group from a palaeographic, codicological and content point of view (see RONCONI, *Fantôme historique* and *La collection brisée*), this historically unifying circumstance, which applies equally to manuscripts of the various proposed sub-groups of the “Collection”, seems to us to justify continuing to use the term “Collection philosophique” *faute de mieux*, in the traditionally wider sense, in the following. See also MARCOTTE, *La “collection philosophique”*, esp. 146 and 159.

¹⁶ See CAVALLO, *Stralci di storia* 7, and MARCOTTE, *La “collection philosophique”* 148f.

Marcianus and the *Vindobonensis*, but also a larger part of the “Collection” mysteriously disappeared for centuries after they were written¹⁷, yet in the mid-13th century at least six manuscripts (i.e. shelf marks) reappeared again in the hands of *a single person*: William of Moerbeke.

Apart from (i) the Marc. gr. Z. 226, Moerbeke was in possession of or at least had direct access to (ii) the Marc. gr. Z. 196 (Olympiodorus, Damascius)¹⁸, (iii) the Marc. gr. Z. 258 (Alexander of Aphrodisias)¹⁹, (iv) ff. 13–14 of the Paris. Suppl. gr. 1156 (Aristotle)²⁰, (v) the Vind. phil. gr. 100²¹, the main source for his translations of Aristotle’s writings²², and (vi) the Paris. gr. 2575 (*scriptio inferior*: Simplicius in *Cat.*, Ammonius in *Int.*)²³. Some scholars add to this list the Paris. gr. 1807 (Plato)²⁴.

Based on his identification of the handwriting of Nikolaos Nektarios in Marc. gr. Z. 226, Rashed pointed out that the manuscript must have been transported by Nektarios from Greece to southern Italy—probably with other codices from the collection—where Moerbeke must have found it a few

¹⁷ For the most part, these codices do not seem to have been copied for the first centuries of their existence (cf. CAVALLO, Stralci di storia 25–48). Therefore, L. G. WESTERINK, Das Rätsel des untergründigen Neuplatonismus, in: Philophrōnēma, Festschrift für Martin Sicherl zum 75. Geburtstag, Von Textkritik bis Humanismusforschung, ed. D. Harlfinger. Paderborn 1990, 106–123, 122–123, for instance assumes that the *Collection*, shortly after it was established, found its place in an imperial library. An exception is the *Parisinus* gr. 1807 (Plato, Tetralogies VIII and IX) provided that it was copied partly in the *Vaticanus* gr. 1 (cf. e.g. SAFFREY, Nouvelles observations 294–295, and CAVALLO, Stralci di storia 28–30). The claim of H. D. SAFFREY, Retour sur le *Parisinus graecus* 1807, le manuscrit A de Platon, in: The Libraries of the Neoplatonists, ed. C. D’Ancona. Leiden 2007, 3–28, 5–14, however, that the *Parisinus* left Constantinople in the 11th c. and was to be found in Armenia, seems to be disproved by I. TINTI, On the Chronology and Attribution of the Old Armenian Timaeus: a Status Quaestionis and New Perspectives. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 35 (2012) 219–282, 255–267 (“7. Saffrey and Codex A”).

¹⁸ Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1, *Metaphysica* lib. I–XIV, *Recensio et Translatio* Guillelmi de Moerbeka, Praefatio, ed. G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM. Leiden 1995, 318–325.

¹⁹ L. LABOWSKY, William of Moerbeke’s Manuscript of Alexander of Aphrodisias. *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961) 155–162.

²⁰ F. BERGER, Die Textgeschichte der *Historia Animalium* des Aristoteles. (*Serta Graeca, Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 21). Wiesbaden 2005, 182–186.

²¹ G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Untersuchungen zu Wilhelm von Moerbekes Metaphysikübersetzung*, in: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geistesgeschichte und ihren Quellen, ed. A. Zimmermann – G. Vuillemin-Diem. Berlin 1982, 102–208, 116–172 and P. ISÉPY, Zur mittelalterlichen Überlieferung von Aristoteles’ *De motu animalium* – Die Bedeutung der Übersetzung Wilhelms von Moerbeke und der Paraphrase Alberts des Großen für die griechische Texttradition (*Serta Graeca, Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 31). Wiesbaden 2016, 236–276 (PhD Thesis 2013). On the proximity of the *Vindobonensis* to the “Collection”, see esp. IRIGOIN, L’Aristote de Vienne 7–8, BRAMS, Guillaume de Moerbeke 272–273, KOCH, Beschreibung, and CAVALLO, Stralci di storia 12–19.

²² On the role of *Vindobonensis* as William’s *Vorlage* for all Aristotelian treatises contained therein, see in general Aristoteles Latinus X 2.1, *Meteorologica* 256–270, ISÉPY, Überlieferung 236–276 and the quoted literature. The manuscript contains today Aristotle’s *Physica* (ff. 1^r–55^v), *De Caelo* (ff. 56^r–86^r), *De generatione et corruptione* (ff. 86^v–102^r), *Meteorologica* (ff. 102^v–134^r), *Metaphysica* (ff. 138^r–201^v) and Theophrastus’ *Metaphysica* (ff. 134^v–137^v). For a description of the codex, see H. HUNGER, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil I: Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici. Wien 1961, 208–209, KOCH, Beschreibung and G. ROSSETTO, Il corpus dei trattati fisici aristotelici nel codice Vind. Phil. gr. 100: indagini filologiche, paleografiche, codicologiche. Tesi di Laurea in Filologia Greca, Università degli Studi di Padova, anno accademico 2013–2014, 7–75 (<https://www.academia.edu/12427807/_Il_corpus_dei_trattati_fisici_aristotelici_nel_codice_Vind._Phil._gr._100_indagini_filologiche_paleografiche_codicologiche_Master_Thesis_>; 24.12.2025]).

²³ F. ACERBI – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Un nouveau manuscrit de la “collection philosophique” utilisé par Guillaume de Moerbeke: Le Par. gr. 2575. *Przełqd Tomistyczny* XXI (2015) 219–288, 219–225.

²⁴ Cf. e.g. CAVALLO, Stralci di storia (cf. 10), 31, or ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Un nouveau manuscrit 221, based on SAFFREY, Nouvelles observations (n. 11), 303–304 and SAFFREY, Retour 3–28, 14 with n. 41. Saffrey points to a Latin note (*finis translationis*) on f. 128^r written by a hand of the 13th c. and accompanied by a pilcrow (¶; frz. *pied-de-mouche*, it. *piede di mosca*; also to be found on ff. 119^v, 121^r, 122^v, 124^r) which is, according to him, identical with the pilcrow signs in Moerbeke’s autograph, the Ottob. lat. 1850. However, the Latin note is certainly not typical for Moerbeke’s hand, the pilcrow signs—common in Latin manuscripts—are realised much more rigidly than in the *Ottobonianus*, and we know that another manuscript of the “Collection”, *Laurentianus* Plut. 28.27 (Manetho), also bears Latin notes from the 13th c., not apparently written by Moerbeke (see below n. 68).

decades later²⁵. This insight appeared to shed light on the place in which the other codices of the *Collection* might have been discovered by Moerbeke: It seems quite implausible to think that Moerbeke would have come across (and have been able to acquire) such a number of these special manuscripts in two or more distant places of the Mediterranean within a few years²⁶, and in no other manuscript of the collection used by Moerbeke do we find any clear indication of where the manuscript in question was kept around the time when Moerbeke found it. To locate the discovery of *all* his codices of the “Collection” in southern Italy seemed nevertheless impossible: Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem in her studies on the Vind. phil. gr. 100 had already come to the conclusion that the first contact between William and this manuscript must have occurred within the context of his stay in Greece around 1260²⁷. Therefore, Rashed deduced that the *Vindobonensis* had been separated from the other manuscripts of the “Collection” by the time William purchased it—according to Vuillemin-Diem—in the Greek East²⁸.

In the meantime, this contradiction has been resolved. As we have shown²⁹, Vuillemin-Diem’s conclusion that the *Vindobonensis* must have been discovered by Moerbeke during his stay *in the East* (in Nicaea³⁰) shortly *before* 1260 was based on an erroneous chronology of two secondary hands in the manuscript on f. 137. Conversely, the evidence suggests that William acquired the *Vindobonensis* in southern Italy *prior* to his journey to Greece in around 1260. Following this, he supplemented it with a few additional folia in the surroundings of Otranto upon his return from the East before 1267³¹. This opened the door for the acceptance of the most obvious scenario, the ‘Casole hypothesis’, which Rashed had to reject as unrealistic given the state of research on the *Vindobonensis* at the time. Once the only significant argument had been removed, in view of the presence of the *Marcianus* in the hands of Nikolaos-Nektarios, it had to be assumed, *nullo alio impediante*, that

²⁵ RASHED, Nicolas d’Otrante (n. 4), especially 704–706. Although Rashed suspected that William came into possession of his treasure in Messina, the history of the two parts of the *Vindobonensis* and Nikolaos-Nektarios’ passion for collecting books in and for his monastery’s library make such a diversion to Sicily unlikely (cf. now also CAVALLO, Stralci di storia [n. 10], 50–51). Rashed came to his supposition because, on the one hand, there is proof of contact between the translator, Bartholomew of Messina, and William. On the other hand, Nikolaos’ disciple, John Grasso, imperial notary, poet and philosopher, took part in the cultural life of this city (RASHED, Nicolas d’Otrante [n. 4], 703–704 and 713). On the person of John Grasso, see HOECK – LOENERTZ, Nikolaos-Nektarios (n. 2), 126–127, on William’s closeness to Bartholomew regarding their translation technique, L. MINIO-PALUELLO, Guglielmo di Moerbeke, Traduttore della *Poetica* di Aristotele (1278). *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 39 (1947) 1–17, 7–8 (Reprint: L. MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula*, The Latin Aristotle. Amsterdam 1972, 40–56, 46–47).

²⁶ See, however, CAVALLO, Stralci di storia [n. 10], 53: “[...] se più esemplari di essa [i.e. of the “Collection”] passarono tra le mani di Guglielmo di Moerbeke fu perché questi si dette a cercare da ogni parte manoscritti antichi per il suo *Aristoteles Latinus*, per così dire.” We must not forget that modern scholarship needed a century to ‘collect’ 17 codices of the *Collection*.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. *Aristoteles Latinus* X 2.1, Meteorologica 259–260, and G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, La liste des œuvres d’Hippocrate dans le *Vindobonensis* phil. gr. 100: un autographe de Guillaume de Moerbeke, in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, Guillaume de Moerbeke (n. 9), 135–184, 167.

²⁸ RASHED, Nicolas d’Otrante (n. 4), 713.

²⁹ ISÉPY, Überlieferung (n. 21), 258–266 and English summary: New Light on the History of Codex Vind. phil. gr. 100 and Its Role in the Transmission of the Corpus Aristotelicum, in: Proceedings of the World Congress “Aristotle 2400 Years” (May 23–28, 2016), ed. D. Sfendoni-Mentzou. Thessaloniki 2019, 580–587, 586.

³⁰ As Primavesi in *Aristoteles, De motu animalium*, Über die Bewegung der Lebewesen. Historisch-kritische Edition des griechischen Textes und philologische Einleitung von O. PRIMAVESI. Deutsche Übersetzung, philosophische Einleitung und erklärende Anmerkungen von K. CORCILIUS. Hamburg 2018, LXXXII, n. 196, points out, it seems not very convincing that a part of the precious “Collection”—if rescued by the fleeing Laskaris from the capital in 1204 and transported to Nicaea—would have relinquished to a Franco-Roman Dominican monk. From this point of view, Constantinople would be a more plausible place of discovery (cf. CAVALLO, Stralci di storia [n. 10], 52).

³¹ For the palaeographic evaluation of the relevant hands on folios 137 and 138 of the *Vindobonensis* and their cultural-historical and stemmatological classification, see, besides the literature cited in n. 29, now P. ISÉPY, Der Beitrag der Übersetzung Jakobs von Venedig zur Überlieferung der Aristotelischen *Metaphysik*. *Acta Antiqua* 64 (2024) 189–222, P. ISÉPY, Textkritisches und Paläographisches zur Überlieferung des *Corpus Aristotelicum* im Vind. phil. gr. 100 (J) und seiner verschollenen zweiten Hälfte, in: Die griechische Gelehrsamkeit in Süditalien: Manuskripte, Texte und Wissenstransfer im 10.–13. Jahrhundert, ed. Ch. Brockmann – A. Musino – S. Valente – E. Wöckener-Gade. Göttingen 2025, 11–48, 13–27.

Moerbeke found the *Marcianus*, the *Vindobonensis*, and other manuscripts of the “Collection philosophique” together in southern Italy, probably in the monastery of Casole.

However, the “Casole hypothesis” has even been positively confirmed by new findings published in 2011 by the prematurely deceased Pieter De Leemans († 2018)³² and, building on his excellent work, by the present author in 2013 / 2016³³ on Moerbeke’s lost Greek primary model in the case of his translation of Aristotle’s *De motu animalium* (*MA*).

In the following, we will first briefly recapitulate these arguments showing that the almost completely lost second half of the *Vindobonensis*, used by Moerbeke around AD 1260, amongst others, for his translation of Aristotle’s *Historia animalium* (*HA*) and the *MA*, was already present in the first half of the 13th century in Casole. We will then present recent findings on the contents of this mysterious second half of the codex, which was also used as a Greek model by Moerbeke in the case of the *De partibus animalium* (*PA*), and discuss whether the history of the *Parisinus* gr. 2575, another of Moerbeke’s famous codices from the “Collection”, contradicts the “Casole hypothesis”.

MOERBEKE’S MAIN MODEL FOR THE *MA* IN CASOLE

De Leemans was the first to study the two Latin textual witnesses of the medieval tradition of *MA*: Moerbeke’s Greek-Latin translation and the Latin paraphrase of Albertus Magnus (with the title *De principiis motus processivi*). He made not only an exemplary edition of the *Translatio Moerbekana* and a reconstruction of the *Translatio anonyma*, on which Albert’s paraphrase is based³⁴, but he also succeeded in clarifying the situation of the inner Latin tradition, in defining, as far as possible³⁵, the position of the lost Greek models, and in achieving pioneering new results for the Greek tradition³⁶. As far as it concerns the Greek models of the translations, De Leemans showed that William was using two manuscripts, **Γ1** and **Γ2**, that have not come down to us. Equally lost is the Greek source, **A**, of the *Translatio anonyma*, to which we have (limited) access only through Albert’s paraphrase.

Crucial to our purpose is De Leeman’s observation that the now lost Greek main model of William of Moerbeke’s translation of *MA*, **Γ1**, had a special relation to the anonymous translator’s Greek source **A**, and the closely related *Laurentianus* plut. 87.21 (**Z^a**), which was thought to have been copied at San Nicola di Casole, on the basis of the fact that it partially contains (ff. 59^v–64^v) the Greek-Latin *Tria syntagmata* of Nikolaos-Nektarios (composed 1220–1230)³⁷.

Based on De Leemans’s careful study and edition, and using full collations of the independent Greek manuscripts of *MA*³⁸, the present author in his study of 2013 / 2016 has succeeded in locating both the two models of William (**Γ1** / **Γ2**) and **A** in a complete *stemma codicum* of the independent Greek transmission³⁹. On that occasion, almost all of De Leemans’s results could be proven, and in

³² Aristoteles Latinus XVII 1.III, *De motu animalium*, *Fragmenta Translationis anonymae*, ed. P. DE LEEMANS. Brussels 2011 and Aristoteles Latinus XVII 2.II–III, *De Progressu animalium*, *De motu animalium*, *Translatio Guillelmi de Morbeka*, ed. P. DE LEEMANS. Brussels 2011.

³³ ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21), esp. 126–233.

³⁴ Aristoteles Latinus XVII 1.III, *De motu animalium* 1–42 and Aristoteles Latinus XVII 2.II–III, *De Progressu animalium*, *De motu animalium* 39–68.

³⁵ De Leemans had to be content with working with the most recent edition of the Greek text by M. C. Nussbaum, *Aristotle’s De motu animalium*, *Text with Translation, Commentary, and Interpretive Essays*. Princeton 21985 (1978), which does not take into account important textual witnesses and allows therefore only a limited view of the tradition. An exemplary historical-critical edition was made by Oliver Primavesi, published with an introduction to the transmission and textual criticism *Aristoteles, De motu animalium* (ed. PRIMAVESI) (n. 30) and with a detailed discussion on the edition history of the treatise in *Aristotle, De motu animalium. A new Critical Edition of the Greek Text by O. PRIMAVESI. With an English Translation by B. MORISON and an Introduction by Ch. RAPP and O. PRIMAVESI*. Oxford – New York 2023.

³⁶ Aristoteles Latinus XVII 1.III, *De motu animalium* IX–LXXXII and Aristoteles Latinus XVII 2.II–III, *De Progressu animalium*, *De motu animalium* XV–XXII, XXX–LXXIX, XC–CXV, CXXVIII–CXLIV, and CLXXXVIII–CCXXXV.

³⁷ Aristoteles Latinus XVII 1.III, *De motu animalium*, LXI–LXXIX.

³⁸ ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21), 7–8.

³⁹ ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21), 51–235.

some cases further clarification was possible. As far as the relation between Albert's paraphrase, the anonymous translation, its *Vorlage* **A** (Alb. → *Tr. anon.* → **A**) and the *Laurentianus* **Z^a** is concerned, it became clear that **A** must have been also the antigraphon of **Z^a**⁴⁰. Equally, it has been possible to prove that **Z^a** was actually written (at the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 14th century⁴¹) in the very monastery of San Nicola di Casole, especially since **Z^a** must be considered a *direct copy* of Nikolaos' autograph (*Palatinus* gr. 232)⁴², in the case of the *Tria syntagmata*.

The *Translatio anonyma* of the *MA* can also be considered closely tied to Casole, since Albert the Great came across his Latin copy of it in 1256–1257, *in campania iuxta Greciam*, i.e. on Italian territory close to Greece⁴³—information that fits remarkably well with the Terra d'Otranto and Casole, close to the Greek west coast⁴⁴. It is therefore not a far-fetched conclusion that codex **A**, the common ancestor of **Z^a** (13th/14th c.) and the *Translatio anonyma* (before 1256/1257), was present in the Casole monastery around the middle of the 13th century at the latest⁴⁵. **A** must have arrived in Apulia from the Greek east, perhaps by Nikolaos-Nektarios himself⁴⁶.

Now, the particularly close relationship between the two translation models, **Γ1** (Moerbeke) and **A** (Anonymus), in the transmission of *MA* is evidenced by several readings that are shared, throughout the whole tradition, only by William and Albert, but cannot have come into the more recent *Translatio Moerbekana* by direct 'Latin' influence from the older *Translatio anonyma*⁴⁷. It can be shown that the Greek codex **A** was already enriched by *variae lectiones* from **Γ1**, e.g. *supra lineam* or *in margine*, for *both* the anonymous Latin translator *and* the scribe of the Greek manuscript **Z^a** had the opportunity in several cases to choose from different readings, one of them originating from **Γ1**⁴⁸.

All this indicates that San Nicola di Casole came into contact, in the first half of the 13th century, not only with the *Marcianus* 226, but also with the lost codex **Γ1**, William's of Moerbeke model for his *MA* translation (1260). Can this be a coincidence?

⁴⁰ ISÉPY, Überlieferung (n. 21), 164–195.

⁴¹ See the correct palaeographic estimate already in D. HARLFINGER, Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift *Περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*. Amsterdam 1971, 149.

⁴² ISÉPY, Überlieferung (n. 21), 155–163 and the standard work on the *Syntagmata* HOECK – LOENERTZ, Nikolaos-Nektarios (n. 2), esp. 98–103 which needs to be corrected in this respect. Quite similar seems to us the script of the Paris. gr. 1370 (probably dated to 1296–97; cf. Ch. ASTRUC, Description of "Planches 77–78", in: *Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. I: XIII^e siècle, ed. Ch. Astruc et al. Paris 1989, 74–76, 75) as it appears on f. 143^r. However, Ch. ASTRUC, Une collection canonique d'Italie du Sud de la fin du XIII^e siècle (le Parisinus graecus 1370). *Revue d'histoire des textes* 16 (1986) 37–62, does not accept (p. 42–43) the localisation of the manuscript in the Terra d'Otranto suggested by A. JACOB, Les écritures de Terre d'Otrante, in: *La paléographie*, ed. Glénisson – Bompaire – Irigoien (n. 10) 269–281, 281 („Note de correction"), and A. JACOB, Culture grecque et manuscrits en terre d'Otrante, in: *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Salentini e del I Congresso Storico di Terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 22–25 ott. 1976), ed. P. F. Palumbo. Lecce 1980, 51–77, 73.

⁴³ On Albert's discovery of the *libellus Aristotelis De motibus animalium* "in Campania iuxta Greciam", see now the convincing interpretation of Oliver Primavesi in *Aristoteles, De motu animalium* (ed. PRIMAVESI) (n. 35), LXXVI–LXXIX as "das Territorium ganz nah bei Griechenland"; p. LXXVIII).

⁴⁴ ISÉPY, Überlieferung (n. 21), 128–130, 272 with n. 1105.

⁴⁵ HARLFINGER, Textgeschichte 146–157, has pointed out that this codex must have been in Casole sometime earlier. **Z^a** stands in the case of *De lineis insecabilibus* in almost the same relationship to the translation of this treatise by Robert Grosseteste (about 1245) as to the *Translatio anonyma* in the case of *MA*. The model of Grosseteste and the codex **Z^a**, according to Harlfinger, goes back (possibly indirectly) to a manuscript that came to Italy at any rate before 1245. It is without a doubt identical with codex **A** in the case of *MA* (cf. ISÉPY, Überlieferung [n. 21], 171 with n. 741 and 229–230). However, it seems to be impossible to identify the Anonymous (with Grosseteste) because our only source for the translation is Albert's paraphrase.

⁴⁶ HARLFINGER, Textgeschichte 149–150.

⁴⁷ *Aristoteles Latinus* XVII 1.III, *De motu animalium* LVIII–LXXXII and especially LXXIV–LXXIX and *Aristoteles Latinus* XVII 2.II–III, *De Progressu animalium*, *De motu animalium* CCVI–CCXI.

⁴⁸ ISÉPY, Überlieferung (n. 21) 221–229, esp. 223–224. See the case of 703^{a2} ἐν εἴναι ed. PRIMAVESI (n. 35), cf. *unum esse vel esse unum* Guillelmus, *Transl. anon. (unum...sit Albertus)* : μὲν εἶναι **Z^a** : εἶναι codd. The μὲν, only transmitted by **Z^a**, is without a doubt an error of the scribe of **Z^a** copying ἐν which was probably inserted secondarily in **A** e.g. *supra lineam*.

MOERBEKE AND THE LOST PART OF THE *VINDOBONENSIS*

It has often been mentioned that the *Vindobonensis* phil. gr. 100 (**J**), Moerbeke's most important translation-model⁴⁹, originally contained more Aristotelian writings than we find in the codex today⁵⁰. Proof of this lies in the ff. 13–14 of the miscellany manuscript Paris. suppl. gr. 1156 and in a note on f. 201^v in **J**. The Paris fragment covers the passage VI, 7–16 of Aristotle's *HA* and agrees with the *Vindobonensis* on the *mise en page*, the folio dimension, and the number of lines⁵¹. Though more recent research recognises slight differences between the writing of **J** and the Paris fragment⁵², and scholars initially identified the *bifolium* rather as a second volume of an 'Aristotelian collection' alongside **J**⁵³, an important observation made by Vuillemin-Diem has shown the original unity of the two *Aristotelica*: on the last original leaf in the actual Vienna manuscript that contains the end of the *Metaphysics*, f. 201^v, one finds a subsequently added diagram describing the first lines of the *HA* (see below, plate 1)⁵⁴! Given the extreme palaeographic and codicological similarity between the *Vindobonensis* and the *HA* fragment, this diagram clearly indicates that the *HA* must have begun on the next *recto*—most likely followed by other Aristotelian biological treatises⁵⁵.

Furthermore, Friederike Berger has shown in Moerbeke's time, the second half of the *Vindobonensis* was still intact; a comparison of the Paris fragment with Moerbeke's translation of the *HA* (1262–63) reveals that the fragment (in its complete form, as part of the second half of the present *Vindobonensis*) was used by Moerbeke as a Greek model⁵⁶. However, since the codex in its current state terminates undamaged with the end of the *Metaphysics* on f. 201^v, it must have been a matter of a deliberate division of the manuscript into two parts, as has been demonstrated in the case of other codices of the "Collection"⁵⁷. Since the introduction of the aforementioned diagram on the *HA* on f.

⁴⁹ For the contents of the manuscript, see n. 22.

⁵⁰ See, for instance M. C. NUSSBAUM, The Text of Aristotle's *De Motu Animalium*. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 80 (1976) 111–159, 116: "Though there is some evidence [...] that **J** once included the text of the biological works, this portion of the manuscript does not survive. For the *MA* we must rely on a number of later manuscripts of this family ...".

⁵¹ IRIGOIN, *L'Aristote* (n. 21), 8, and PERRIA, *Scrittura* (n. 10), 98–101. **J** and the Paris fragment show the ruling type 20C1 and 40/41 lines per page.

⁵² See PERRIA, *Scrittura* (n. 10), 100, and following her CATALDI PALAU, *Un nuovo codice* (n. 10), 253, as well as RONCONI, *Fantôme historique* (n. 10), 125–126, who speaks of two different scribes (VI and VII). Previously scholars spoke of one and the same hand, see e.g. F. H. FOBES, *Textual Problems in Aristotle's Meteorology*. *Classical Philology* 10 (1915) 188–214, 189, n. 1, IRIGOIN, *L'Aristote* (n. 21), 8, and D. HARLFINGER, *Einige Grundzüge der Aristoteles-Überlieferung*, in: *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger. Darmstadt 1980, 447–483, 456 (n. 53).

⁵³ HARLFINGER, *Einige Grundzüge* 456: „Die von ein und demselben Kopisten und sicher für ein und denselben Auftraggeber angefertigten *Vind. Phil. 100* und *Par. Suppl. 1156* mit jeweils verschiedener Schriftengemeinschaft ...“.

⁵⁴ VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Untersuchungen* (n. 21), 120, n. 22: "Ich glaube, daß diese Vorsicht nicht nötig ist [pointing to HARLFINGER, *Einige Grundzüge* 456 (see above); addition by the author]: es gibt nämlich eine Eintragung auf dem letzten Blatt verso des heute erhaltenen Teils der Wiener Handschrift, aus der man schließen kann, daß sich ursprünglich an die *Metaphysik*, mit der die Handschrift heute endet, die *Hist. An.* angeschlossen haben muß: Der Schreiber von **J** hat, wie auch bei den vorausgegangenen Schriften, die mit dem Ende der *Metaphysik* begonnene Seite freigelassen; auf deren unterem Teil befindet sich eine Notiz, die, nach Mitteilung von P. Moraux, auf das 11./12. Jh. zu datieren ist; sie stellt in einem diagrammförmigen Schema die ersten Sätze der *Hist. An.* einander gegenüber, was sich sicherlich auf den Text der ursprünglich folgenden Seite bezog, auf deren Rand für die auseinandergesogene graphische Darstellung nicht genug Platz war. Ursprünglich, und mindestens bis zum Zeitpunkt der Eintragung, hat also die Wiener Handschrift, anschließend an die physikalischen Traktate und die *Metaphysik*, auch die *Hist. An.* und möglicherweise die übrigen Tierbücher enthalten.“

⁵⁵ It seems unnecessary, and only superficially changes the argument of the article, to assume that the Paris fragment and the diagram on f. 201^v merely prove the existence of a second half of **J**, but that this second half did not necessarily contain the "Paris fragment", but could have consisted of (part of) another lost codex of the volume of the 'Aristotelian collection'. In an in-situ examination in May 2025, Samuel Kopp (Munich) also appears to have discovered traces of Moerbeke's hand on the Paris Fragment. He will shortly be discussing and publishing his findings.

⁵⁶ BERGER, *Die Textgeschichte der Historia Animalium* 182–186 and see ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21), 251, n. 1012.

⁵⁷ According to Procli *Diadochi in Platonis Rem publicam commentarii*, ed. G. KROLL, 2 vols. Leipzig 1899–1901, II, iv, the Laur. plut. 80.9 (165 ff.) and the Vat. gr. 2197 (c. 200 ff.) once made up one volume, which *ob ambitum [...] antiquitus in duo volumina divisus est*. J. WHITTAKER, *Parisinus graecus* 1962 and the *Writings of Albinus*. *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 320–354, pointed out that also the Paris. gr. 1962, which includes today only 175 ff., once contained further works that took up, in

201^v only made sense at a time when the *HA* began on the following page, we can be sure that at least when the note was drawn in the 11th or 12th century⁵⁸, the original codex had not yet been separated.

A *terminus ante quem* for the division, however, is given by an almost completely erased mysterious annotation by Moerbeke himself on the same folio (f. 201^v).

EXCURSUS: MOERBEKE'S ERASED NOTE ON F. 201^v OF THE VIND. PHIL. GR. 100

On a square of approximately 6 × 3,5 cm on the outer margin of the last original folio of the *Vindobonensis*, f. 201^v, slightly below the middle, we find an almost completely erased Latin note⁵⁹. It was Moerbeke himself⁶⁰ who entered here a list of some 13 lines. The note was erased at the latest before the Byzantine private annotations of 1447–1456⁶¹ were written, as they stand partly on top of Moerbeke's annotation. It has been argued that what we have before us is a list of Moerbeke's manuscripts, either with their contents and the prices he paid for them⁶², or, which is certainly incorrect, with folio-numbers⁶³.

In order to at least begin the process of solving this mystery, a transcription of the elements that appear to be legible is presented following (cf. plate 2)⁶⁴.

1.			
2.	possid<eo>(?) · 2		3·
3.	possid<deo> 20(?) <so>l		
4.			3(?)
5.			
6.			15·
7.	<de>narios		10(?)
8.	<denario(?)>s	sol· a	10·
9.	denarios	1· s	
10.	d·		s · 2(?)
11.	ri(?)	3· sol· l... ·	35 (?)
12.		26· sol· 5	
13.		s 3· sol	

1 fort. titulus | 2 an possid<(ent)ur>? | 8 fort. a<urei/-is/-os> | 11 post sol· fort. l<ibras>.

addition, 185–187 ff. See also B. MONDRAIN, La réutilisation de parchemin ancien dans les livres à Constantinople au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle: quelques exemples, de la “collection philosophique” aux folios palimpsestes du Parisinus gr. 1220, in: *Libri palimpsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio* (Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 2004), ed. S. Lucà. Roma (2008), 111–130, 114–115 with n. 7.

⁵⁸ Paul Moraux in VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Untersuchungen* (n. 21), 120, n. 22.

⁵⁹ The manuscript descriptions do not mention the note; I came across it during the examination of the codex in Vienna (05/11/2015, cf. ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21), 239, n. 944) and discussed the case by letter with the late Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem (19 and 20/03/2017). The note is mentioned by ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Un nouveau manuscrit* (n. 23), 225, n. 22, and also F. ACERBI – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *La transmission du savoir grec en Occident. Guillaume de Moerbeke, le Laur. Plut. 87.25 (Thémistius, in De an.) et la bibliothèque de Boniface VIII. Leuven 2019*, 157, n. 133. See below, n. 60.

⁶⁰ The readable remains of the script clearly show Moerbeke's hand as attested in the Latin elements of the “List of Hippocrates” on f. 137^v of the *Vindobonensis* and in his autograph, the *Ottobonianus* lat. 1850.

⁶¹ KOCH, *Beschreibung* (n. 21).

⁶² „Die Eintragung beginnt mit den Worten *possido* ... darunter eine Liste von ca. 12 Zeilen, auf denen jeweils ein Objekt angegeben ist und der Preis, den er dafür gezahlt hat (...6 sol' etc.). Natürlich sind das griechische Handschriften.“ Vuillemin-Diem in a private letter (20/03/2017). Similarly ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Un nouveau manuscrit* (n. 23), 225, n. 22: “Il y a encore une autre note, très importante si l'on pouvait la lire intégralement : il s'agit d'une inscription latine, sans aucun doute de la main de Moerbeke, qui se trouve au f. 201v du manuscrit, mais elle a été effacée. Elle commence par le mot *possido* et se poursuit sur une dizaine de lignes par un relevé d'objets et leurs prix (6. *sol<idi>* 3. *sol<idi>*). Ses objets sont très probablement des manuscrits grecs que Moerbeke avait achetés ; on n'a pu lire que le mot *fysicis* (?)” And now also ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM *La transmission du savoir* 157, n. 133.

⁶³ ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21), 239, n. 944.

⁶⁴ Further interpretation and an exhaustive numismatic-historical assessment must be left to experts (but see below n. 67). I am very thankful to Marco Cursi (Napoli), Christian Gastgeber (Vienna) and Julia Knödler (Halle) for their palaeographic observations on the erased note.

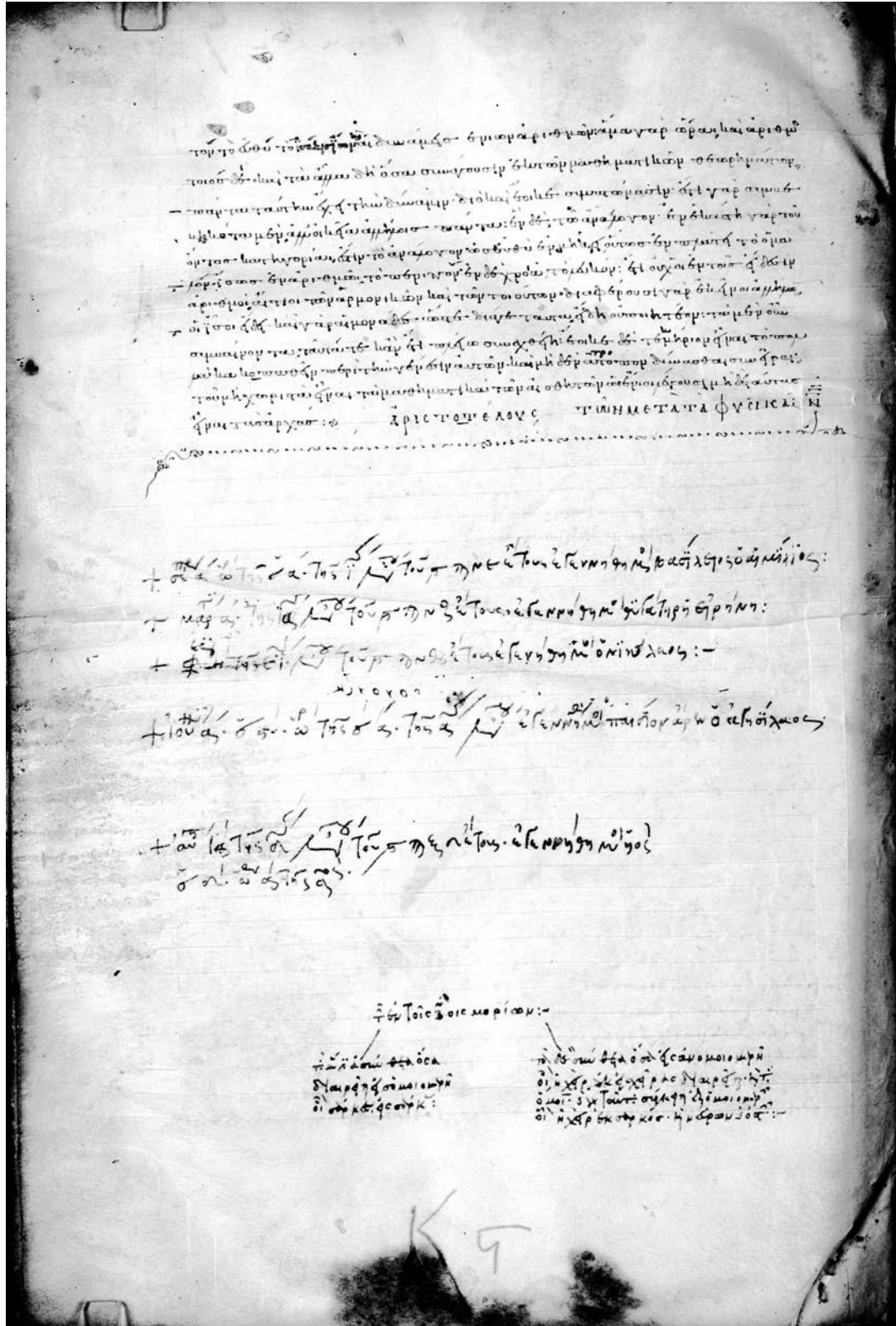


Plate 1: © Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 100 (J), f. 201^v the end of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (around 860); on the outer margin: erased annotation in the hand of William of Moerbeke; in the centre: private notes from the years 1446–1456; below: diagram, describing the beginning of the *Historia animalium* (11th/12th c.). The original size of the folio is c. 280 × 192 mm.

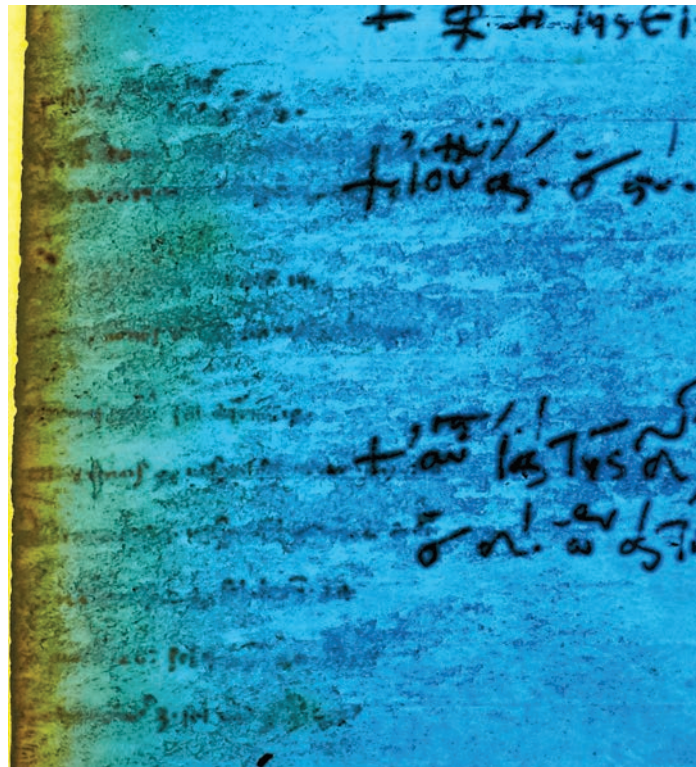
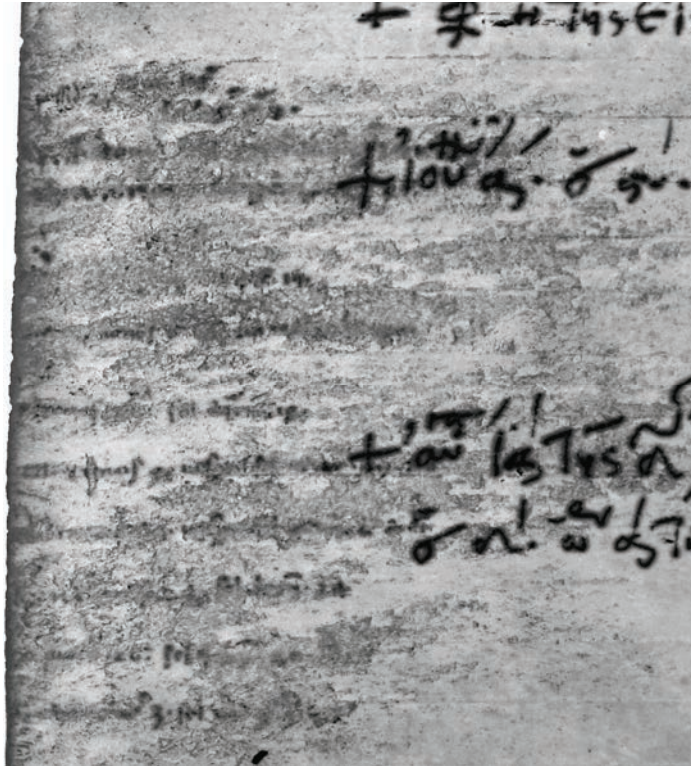


Plate 2: © Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 100 (J), f. 201^v
detail (at the middle outer margin) – enlarged (black and white / multispectral): Moerbeke's erased note.

Unfortunately, the Latin annotation can only be deciphered in a few places. What seems clear, however, is that recurring elements are the word *possid*<eo>⁶⁵ and the monetary units *denarius*⁶⁶ and (abbreviated) *solidus* (*sol.*)⁶⁷, each followed by an Arabic number⁶⁸ with intermediate punctuation. In addition to the numbers of *denarii* and *solidi*, a third number can sometimes be detected, and the *rasura* sometimes extends quite far towards the centre of the page. Bearing this in mind, and given that Moerbeke seems to be referring to the triple division of the silver currency—1 *libra* (pound) = 20 *solidi* (shillings) = 240 *denarii* (pennies)—, which, with certain variations, had been in general use in the Latin Middle Ages since Charlemagne⁶⁹, we can assume that the third currency, the *libra* (pound) or other (gold) coins commonly used in the Latin(-Byzantine?) Mediterranean area of the time, were also mentioned in this list⁷⁰.

In the light of the indication of ownership (*possid*<eo>), which is placed immediately before the sums of money, it appears that we are not dealing with the prices of manuscripts or other purchased objects, but rather with a list of sums, possibly Moerbeke's financial reserves at certain times.

The personal nature of the note makes it quite certain that this annotation was not written on a half empty page *in the middle*, but rather on *the last* page of the codex in question. In other words, the codex was already divided in Moerbeke's time, or he himself was responsible for its division⁷¹.

⁶⁵ Rather than *possido* – “I take into my possession” as ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Un nouveau manuscrit* (n. 23), 225, n. 22.

⁶⁶ I was kindly pointed to the reading <de>*narios* (l. 7) by Julia Knödler (letter from 10/07/2019). On the *denarius*, Roman silver coin, from the 8th century the standard currency of Western Europe (Ital. Denaro, Engl. “Penny”, German “Pfenning”), see P. BERGHAUS, s.v. “Denar”, in: *LexMa* 3 (1986) 694, W. R. DAY – M. MATZKE – A. SACCOCCI, *Medieval European Coinage*, 12 Italy (I) (Northern Italy). Cambridge 2016, XXVII, 734, and Ph. GRIERSON – L. TRAVIANI, *Medieval European Coinage*, 14 Italy (III) (South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia). Cambridge 1998, 459.

⁶⁷ On the *solidus*, the standard gold coin of the late Roman Empire, but generally a silver coin worth 12 *denarii* in medieval western Europe after the monetary reforms of Charlemagne, see e.g. P. BERGHAUS, s.v. “Solidus”, in: *LexMa* 7 (1995) 2034, D. KLOSE, s.v. *solidus*, in *DNP* online; <https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_dnp_e1116530> (14.06.2019), A.U. SOMMER, *Die Münzen des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 451–1453. Regensdorf 2010, 15–16, DAY – MATZKE – SACCOCCI, *Coinage* 747, and GRIERSON – TRAVIANI, *Coinage* 473.

⁶⁸ Generally, until the end of the 13th c. the usage of ‘Arabic’ figures in Latin manuscripts seems to be exceptional; cf. G. BATELLI, *Lezioni di Paleografia*. Città del Vaticano (1936)⁴1999, 202, B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*. Berlin (1979)⁴2009, 233–234, A. CAPPELLI, *Lexicon abbreviatarum*. Milano (1899)⁶1999, 422–428, and P. KUNITZSCH, *Zur Geschichte der ‚arabischen‘ Ziffern*. Vorgetragen in der Gesamtsitzung vom 10. Juni 2005. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 2005, 3. München 2005, 20–27 mit Tafel 2. It is noteworthy that Moerbeke applies them often, e.g. in the “List of Hippocrates” on f. 137^v of the *Vind. phil. gr.* 100 to indicate the book number and all over in the *Ottob. lat.* 1850 (see e.g. f. 64^v; [https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/228/328/64v; \[24.12.2025\]](https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/228/328/64v; [24.12.2025])). He uses the forms (4 = ۴, 5 = ۵; 7 = ۷; *Ottob.*, f. 64^v) common until the later 15th c. (BISCHOFF, *Paläographie* 234). In this context it seems to be useful to mention that also in the *Laur. Plut.* 28.27, manuscript of the *Collection*, a Latin hand from the 13th c. entered on f. 47^r the ‘Arabic’ figures (from the right to the left) adding eight verses on the significance and position of the numbers in the ‘arabic’ notation:

<i>Unum prima: secunda decem, dat tertia centum</i>	<i>Quarta dabit mille / milia quinta decem</i>
<i>Centum milia sexta dat <s>eptemque milia mille</i>	<i>mille dat octava millesies decies</i>
<i>Millesies nona tibi centum milia donat</i>	<i>millesies mille milia dat decima</i>
<i>Namque figura sequens quamuis signat decies plus</i>	<i>ipsa nocata [l. locata] loco quam significat pereunt.</i>

The indication of the *annus mundi* (VI C[s.l. VI VIII] X) and *annus Domini* (MCCCIII) added under the verses seems to be (pace A. M. BANDINIUS, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae*. Tomus secundus. Florentiae 1768, 53) from another hand.

⁶⁹ DAY – MATZKE – SACCOCCI, *Coinage* XXVII, 12, 734, 739–740, and 747.

⁷⁰ For general information on the coinage of southern Italy in the 13th century, see 10–11 and esp. 155–206. On the Byzantine coinage in the 13th century (esp. νόμισμα ὑπερπυρον [*nomisma hyperpyron*] – *perperum*, v. μανουηλάτον [*manuelaton*] – *manuellatus*, v. ἱστάμενον [*histamenon*] – *stamenon*) and the currencies in the Latin empire(s), see Ph. GRIERSON, s.v. “hyperperon” / “manuelaton” / “histamenon”, in: *ODB* 2 (1991) 936, 964–965, 1292, SOMMER, *Die Münzen* (n. 67), 15–16 and esp. 364–417, and Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coinage*. *Dumbarton Oaks* 1999, esp. 519–551.

⁷¹ The statement of ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *La transmission du savoir* (n. 59), 157, n. 133 “cette note [...] est inscrite sur la dernière feuille de codex actuel [...], ce qui indique que la deuxième partie du codex était déjà perdue au temps où Moerbeke l'utilisait” [italics by the author] goes too far. The note can only indicate that the codex was already *divided* into two parts when Moerbeke entered the list. On Acerbi's and Vuillemin-Diem's book, see the review of Concetta Luna in: *Studia graeco-arabica* 9 (2019) 326–341 to which my attention was drawn by Marwan Rashed.

However, it is irrelevant to our question to choose between these two scenarios: Research into the *HA* fragment mentioned above has established that Moerbeke used *both* parts of the original codex for his translations, regardless of whether the division had already taken place.

* * *

Since Moerbeke translated the *HA* on the basis of the second half of the manuscript, of which we only have the *bifolium* of the Paris fragment (VI, 7–16), there is no doubt that he would have used the same model for his translation of other writings that were to be found in this part of the codex. Against this background, can it be a coincidence that in the traditions of the *HA* and the *MA*, which are partly based on the same manuscripts, the stemmatic position of Moerbeke's (first) Greek model, i.e. the Paris fragment (*HA*)⁷² and $\Gamma 1$ (*MA*), is exactly the same, and even the position and number of the reconstructed *codices deperditi* in both traditions are congruent⁷³? The fact that Moerbeke had the second half of the original codex in his hands, together with such an exceptional stemmatic congruence between the two treatises, permits no other conclusion than that the *MA* was once as much a part of the second half of the present *Vindobonensis* as the *HA*.

Recent research even shows that the second half of the *Vindobonensis* also contained *De partibus animalium*: Here likewise, Wilhelm used two Greek manuscripts, now lost, for his translation, the first of which ($\Gamma 1$) is found again in a place comparable to the situation in the *HA* and *MA* traditions⁷⁴. Furthermore, in the case of the *Parva naturalia* (*PN*) at least for a part, *PN1* (*Sens.*, *Mem.*, *Somn. Vig.*, *Insomn.*, *Div. Somn.*), which is usually transmitted in the manuscripts after the *MA*, one can at least hypothesise that Moerbeke again used the second lost half of the *Vindobonensis*⁷⁵.

To summarise the previous discussion: If Moerbeke's first Greek model, $\Gamma 1$, can be identified by the *tertium comparationis*, the Paris fragment (*HA*), at least in the case of the *HA*, *MA* and *PA*, with the second half of the Codex *Vindobonensis* used by Moerbeke, one is obliged to claim that it was not some anonymous codex " $\Gamma 1$ " which, in the first half of the 13th century, had a direct contact (in the case of the *MA*) with a codex preserved in Casole (*A*), but the second lost half of the *Vindobonensis*.

Against this conclusion, however, Fabio Acerbi and the late Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem pointed a few years ago to Marwan Rashed's research on the tradition of *De generatione et corruptione* (*GC*)⁷⁶. Rashed had argued very convincingly that, in the case of *GC*, the model of the Vind. phil. gr. 100 (*J*), ζ , was most likely imported into southern Italy, and that there the *GC* was copied two times, in the *Leidensis* Voss. Q^o 3 (12th c.) and the *Parisinus* Suppl. gr. 643 (~1275–1300)⁷⁷. Therefore,

⁷² On the transmission of the *HA* and the position of the *Fragmentum Parisinum* (*W*), see BERGER, Textgeschichte 182–186.

⁷³ The *HA* is not richly transmitted compared with other Aristotelian treatises (see below). Only 31 manuscripts contain (at least parts of) the *HA* (cf. BERGER, Textgeschichte 59–65). Not least because of its length the *HA* is often transmitted (13 times) as the only work in a manuscript. In light of this, it is significant that from the remaining 18 witnesses the *HA* is transmitted together with the *MA* 9 times (*PA*: 11, *GA*: 11, *IA*: 8). The Greek tradition of the *HA* is constituted only of the γ -branch of the *MA* tradition and has no comparable α - or β -family (ISÉPY, Überlieferung [n. 21], 251–253 and Aristoteles, *De motu animalium* [ed. PRIMAVERSI] [n. 21], LXXIX–LXXXI.)

⁷⁴ ISÉPY, Textkritisches und Paläographisches (n. 21), 27–39.

⁷⁵ J. WINZENRIETH, *Les Parva naturalia d'Aristote*, Édition et interprétation, PhD Thesis. Sorbonne Université / LMU München, Paris 2023, 532–541, esp. 533 (<https://theses.hal.science/tel-04427265v1>; 11/02/2025). The localisation of the Greek models employed by Moerbeke is complicated, not least because his Latin text is only a revision of the older *Translatio Iacobi Veneti* (*Sens.*, *Mem.*) or of the *Translatio anonyma* (*Somn. Vig.*, *Insomn.*, *Div. Somn.*). On the necessary 'division' of the group of treatises known from the 13th century as the *Parva naturalia* in *PN1* and *PN2*, see M. RASHED, Agrégat de parties ou vinculum substantiale? Sur une hésitation conceptuelle et textuelle du corpus aristotélicien, in: *Aristote et le mouvement des animaux*. Dix études sur le *De motu animalium*, ed. A. LAKS – M. RASHED. Villeneuve d'Ascq 2007, 185–202, 191–195.

⁷⁶ ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, La transmission 157, n. 133.

⁷⁷ M. RASHED, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der aristotelischen Schrift *De generatione et corruptione*. (*Serta Graeca, Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 12). Wiesbaden 2001, 107–110.

according to Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem, the whole argument on the stemmatical relationship between $\Gamma 1$ and **A** in the case of the *MA* is more applicable to ζ , i.e., the *model* of the *Vindobonensis* in case of the *GC*, than to the *Vindobonensis* itself—whether in its entirety or restricted to its second part.

However, it is not possible to transfer Rashed’s cogent reconstruction of the textual history of a more remote scripture (*GC*) to the *MA* without further hypotheses. Two clarifications can be made in this regard.

(i) The *GC*, preserved by 67 manuscripts, appears to be transmitted mainly in a quartet, alongside the *Cael.*, the *Mete.*, and the *Ph.*⁷⁸. The *MA*, preserved by 47 manuscripts⁷⁹, is primarily transmitted alongside the *PN*, the *de An.*, and often also with the zoological works⁸⁰. These traditional groupings in the medieval manuscripts can be traced back to the catalogue of Aristotle’s works preserved with Ptolemaios ‘al Ġarīb’ (~300 AD)⁸¹, which gives the order: *Phys.*, *Cael.*, **GC**, *Mete.*, then *de An.*, *PN1* (= *Sens.*, *Mem.*, *Somn. Vig.*, *Insomn.*, *Div. Somn.*), **MA**, the zoological works, and *PN2* (= *Long.*, *Juv.*, *VM*, *Respir.*). This order is largely preserved in our Byzantine manuscripts, which understandably means that writings that are relatively far apart from each other are less likely to be contained in the same codices than writings that are close to each other. Cases where *GC* codices also contain the *MA* are mostly restricted to rather large and especially younger manuscripts, except for three independent witnesses: *Parisinus* gr. 1853, *Vaticanus* gr. 253 and 258⁸². Thus, it is no surprise that the *Vossianus* and *Parisinus Suppl.* appear to be brothers of the *Vindobonensis* with respect to the *Ph.*⁸³. The same relationship exists between the *Vossianus* and the *Vindobonensis* with regard to the *Cael.*⁸⁴, which is not transmitted in the *Parisinus Suppl.* However, the fact that neither manuscript transmits other Aristotelian treatises reflects, in a sense, the content of their common model, ζ : this *vetustissimus* contained the *Ph.*, *Cael.*, *GC*, and perhaps the *Mete.*, but most likely not the *PN*, the *MA*, or the zoological treatises. Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem’s suggestion cannot, therefore, be taken as an *equal* alternative, because it relies on the problematic additional hypothesis that the model of the *Vindobonensis* (**J**) in the case of the *GC* was the same as for the *MA*.

(ii) Rashed plausibly deduces for the *GC* that ζ , a model of a codex of the *Collection*, was imported to Southern Italy, on the grounds that one of the brother codices of the *Vindobonensis*, the *Parisinus Suppl.*, contains Greek translations of Latin scholastic and medical texts⁸⁵. However, in order to convincingly propose, also in the case of the *MA*, a possible identification of ζ (and not the second part of the *Vindobonensis*) with $\Gamma 1$, bearing in mind the latter’s link to Casole in the 13th c., one would certainly wish for the copies of ζ (*GC*), especially the later *Paris. Suppl.* (~1275–1300), to be written in a typically Southern Italian, or even better, Salentine style. However, neither the script(s) in the *Vossianus* nor in the *Parisinus* are clearly Italian, let alone Salentine⁸⁶.

⁷⁸ *Cael.*: 43, *Mete.*: 35, and *Phys.*: 32, cf. RASHED, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte* 17–32.

⁷⁹ Aristoteles, *De motu animalium* (ed. PRIMAVESI) (n. 35), XXIII–XXVIII.

⁸⁰ *PN*: 39, *An.*: 19, *IA*: 21, *PA*: 20, *GA*: 19; on the case of the *HA*, see above n. 72. I am grateful to Christina Prapa for providing me with her ample lists of the *MA*-manuscripts.

⁸¹ P. MORAUX, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d’Aristote*. Louvain 1951, 297.

⁸² In addition, to that there are 14 *descripti* in the *GC* tradition that also contain the *MA*.

⁸³ Thanks are due to Pieter Sjoerd Hasper for this kind information (private letters, 01 and 03/02/2020).

⁸⁴ M.-L. BOUREAU, *Aristote: Du ciel* III–IV, introduction générale, édition critique, traduction et commentaire, PhD Sorbonne Université Paris 2019, 132–135.

⁸⁵ M. RASHED, *De Cordoue à Byzance. Sur une « prothéorie » inédite de la Physique d’Aristote. Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* (1996) 215–262, 248–258.

⁸⁶ In the case of the *Vossianus* RASHED, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte* 108, invokes a certain similarity with the hand of Ioannikios (1st half of 12th c.) and, based on an estimate of Dieter Harlfinger, concludes that the *Vossianus* “könnte [...] zu ungefähr derselben Zeit in Süditalien geschrieben worden sein”. However, according to more recent studies (cf. P. DEGNI, *I manoscritti dello ‘scriptorium’ di Gioannicio. Segno e Testo* 6 (2008) 179–248, esp. 235–237), a localization of the Ioannikios atelier in Constantinople seems most plausible, a Southern Italian origin being excluded in any case (see also, D. BALDI, *Ioannikios e il Corpus Aristotelicum. Revue d’histoire des textes* (2011) 15–26, 17). The *Parisinus*, on the other hand, is certainly not copied in a typical Southern Italian style either (see also the doubts of P. CANART, *Manuscrits d’Aristote et*

In view of the existence of the Paris fragment, which has survived from the second half of the *Vindobonensis*, and the stemmatical identity of Moerbeke's Greek model, $\Gamma 1$, for the *MA*, which is handed down *several times by the same manuscripts*, with precisely the Paris fragment, why an identification of $\Gamma 1$ with *the model* of the *Vindobonensis* (**J**)—i.e., not its former second part—in the case of a treatise that *is not usually transmitted by the same manuscripts* (*GC*), should be brought into does not seem plausible in a supposedly more probable scenario.

It is therefore reasonable to maintain our conclusion that the history of the second part of the *Vindobonensis*, in addition to the *Marcianus* 226 imported to Terra d'Otranto by Nikolaos-Nektarios, constitutes a second firm point in *the first half* of the 13th century, which indicates the presence of the 'Moerbeke codices' of the "Collection philosophique" in Casole already at that time. This makes it all the more plausible that Moerbeke came across the actual *Vindobonensis* in the West, at Casole, and gives rise to the aforementioned 'Casole hypothesis': As long as there is no evidence to the contrary, there is reason to believe that all the codices of the "Collection" later in Moerbeke's hand came to Casole. In all probability, it was Nikolaos-Nektarios who, shortly after 1204, came across the "Collection" in Constantinople and, with the authority of the moment and *sumptui minime parcens*, brought at least a considerable part of it to his monastery in Apulia. It is also almost certain that Moerbeke, like his confrère Albert the Great⁸⁷, passed through this monastery several times a few decades later, since, in ancient and Byzantine times (unlike today), the most frequented waterway to Greece led through Otranto⁸⁸, two miles north of Casole. This explains not only the Otrantine addition of the beginning of the *Metaphysics*, Book α , on f. 138 during Moerbeke's return from Greece (before 1267)⁸⁹, but also the other elements probably of southern Italian origin in the *Vindobonensis*, such as the preliminary leaves of the codex, ff. III–IV⁹⁰, and the type of the *bifolium* foll. 137–138 secondarily inserted in the codex⁹¹.

At this point it seems appropriate to include in our discussion the results presented in 2015 by Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem on the relationship between Moerbeke and another manuscript of the "Collection", the *codex rescriptus Parisinus* gr. 2575.

de ses commentateurs sur papier occidental ancien, in: Aristoteles Werk und Wirkung. Paul Moraux gewidmet, zweiter Band: Kommentierung, Überlieferung, Nachleben, ed. J. Wiesner. Berlin 1987, 418–433, 425 regarding the assertion of D. HARLFINGER, Textgeschichte [n. 45], 61, n. 1), even though some of its texts, as observed correctly by Rashed, clearly point to *Magna Graecia*.

⁸⁷ See above ch. "Moerbeke's main model for the *MA* in Casole". That the two Dominicans would have informed each other about (the Aristotelian discoveries in) the library of Casole seems obvious. On the prompt exchange between Moerbeke, Albert, and Thomas Aquinas, see e.g., the case of Moerbeke's translations of the *Politics*: Ch. FLÜELER, *Rezeption und Interpretation der Aristotelischen Politica im späten Mittelalter*, Teil 1. Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1992, 15–27.

⁸⁸ V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Tra Occidente e Oriente, Otranto in epoca bizantina*, in: *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. H. Houben. Galatina 2007, 13–59, esp. 15–18) and above n. 44. For Moerbeke's affinity for the Greek of southern Italy, see ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* (n. 21) 271–272.

⁸⁹ On this subject, see the references cited in n. 29 and 31.

⁹⁰ E. CRISCI, *La maiuscola ogivale diritta. Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni*. *SeC* 9 (1985) 103–145, 143–144, has cautiously assigned the Gospel fragments in "maiuscola ogivale diritta", on the strength of its similarity to other examples, to the cultural area of southern Italy. Ch. GASTGEBER – J. GRUSKOVÁ, *Zur Wiederverwertung von Handschriften mit Bibeltexten am Beispiel griechischer Codices der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. *Biblos* 52 (2003) 59–74, 68, however, assume that the guard leaves were bound into the codex already in Constantinople. The script is to be dated according HUNGER, *Katalog* (n. 22), 209, GASTGEBER – GRUSKOVÁ, *Zur Wiederverwertung* 68, and KOCH, *Beschreibung* (n. 21) to the 9th, according to Georgios Makris (private letter, 17/09/2018), to the middle or second half of the 10th century.

⁹¹ According to MORAUX in VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *Untersuchungen* (n. 21), 168 the small size of the aforementioned *bifolium*, as well as the roughly executed holes in it, point to a southern Italian origin.

MOERBEKE AND THE PARIS. GR. 2575

Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem have conclusively shown⁹² that Moerbeke's translation of Simplicius' Commentary on the *Cat.*, completed *anno Christi 1266 mense martij*⁹³, was made on the basis of the *scriptio inferior* of the *Parisinus* gr. 2575⁹⁴. They claim that this occurred in the Greek East, for two reasons: firstly, after his trip to Greece around 1260, Moerbeke's presence in Italy, i.e. at the Apostolic See in Viterbo, is not attested until 1267, and second, the *scriptio superior* of the *Parisinus*, Manuel Moscopulos' *Schedographia*, was written in 1424 by Georgios Baiophoros, scribe of the monastery of Saint John Prodromos of Petra in Constantinople⁹⁵.

The question now is which of the following two alternatives is the more plausible one: (i) We assume, with Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem, that the (original) *Parisinus* never left the East, and that Moerbeke found it and used it there. Or: (ii) Since there is evidence that some of Moerbeke's manuscripts of the "Collection" must have been found by him in southern Italy, we assume that the (original) *Parisinus* was among them and later returned to Byzantium.

Although there does not seem to be a definitive answer to this question, it is immediately clear that the history of the *Parisinus* 2575 does not contradict the 'Casole hypothesis' (ii). Not only does it seem quite unlikely that Moerbeke found his "Collection" manuscripts in two different places in the Mediterranean within a few years. Furthermore, we have learned⁹⁶ that the present *Vindobonensis* returned to Greece twice in the 13th century: first, a little before 1260, during Moerbeke's first known voyage to the East, and then probably already in 1278, when William was appointed Bishop of Corinth, or some years later; around 1300, we find the *Vindobonensis* again in Constantinople⁹⁷.

Thus, if Moerbeke found his codices in the West, it is not difficult to see how the *Parisinus* could have also returned to the reconquered Byzantine capital.

Apart from that, it is unlikely that the *Parisinus* never left the East, as Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem claim⁹⁸. Their reconstruction implies that Moerbeke completed his translation of Simplicius' commentary in *Cat.* in March 1266 in the Greek East, and shortly afterwards left for Italy to translate Themistius' commentary on the *de An.*, which he finished in Viterbo on 22 November 1267⁹⁹. The relatively brief period of time does not *per se* pose a problem for the journey or for the amount of text to be translated¹⁰⁰. However, doubts arise when we consider the chronology of Moerbeke's translations between 1260 and 1271¹⁰¹.

Moerbeke completed the translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary in *Mete.* on 24 April and of Aristotle's *PA* on 23 December 1260 in the East. Based on their stylistic congruences with these two translations (1260) and Simplicius' commentary in *Cat.* (1266), other translations of

⁹² ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Un nouveau manuscrit (n. 23).

⁹³ On the date, see Simplicius, Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke, ed. A. PATIN, *Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum* V/1–2. Louvain, Paris 1971, 605. Cf. VANHAMEL, Biobibliographie (n. 9), 310.

⁹⁴ On the exact number and order of the folia containing Simplicius' *Commentary*, see CATALDI PALAU, Un nuovo codice (n. 10), 259.

⁹⁵ CATALDI PALAU, Un nuovo codice (n. 10), 249 and 256.

⁹⁶ See the literature quoted in n. 29 and 31.

⁹⁷ In the Italian middle period, i.e. from <1267 to >1278, a Salentine hand supplemented the beginning of Book α of the *Metaphysics* on f. 138. See esp. ISÉPY, Textkritisches und Paläographisches (n. 21), 14–27.

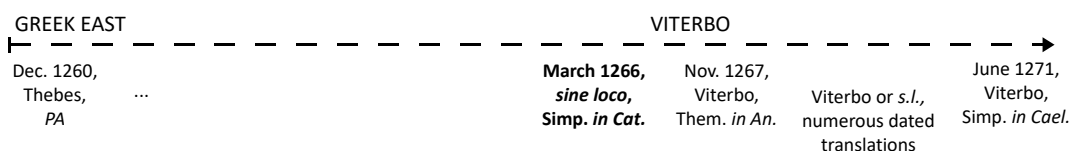
⁹⁸ ACERBI, VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Un nouveau manuscrit (n. 23), 261–263.

⁹⁹ The *explicit* with the mentioned date is to be found on f. 37^v of codex Toledo, Bibl. Capit. 47.12, cf. Themistius, Commentaire sur le Traité de l'âme d'Aristote. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke, Édition critique et étude sur l'utilisation du commentaire dans l'œuvre de Saint Thomas par G. VERBEKE (*Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum* 1). Leiden 1973, 281, 59 (app.).

¹⁰⁰ For example, Moerbeke was able to complete the translation of Ammonius' commentary in *Int.* (272 pages in the CAG-edition of A. BUSSE) in about four months (VANHAMEL, Biobibliographie [n. 9], 310).

¹⁰¹ VANHAMEL, Biobibliographie (n. 9), 309–314.

Moerbeke, have been ascribed to the period 1259–65¹⁰². Nevertheless, after December 1260, we do not have any *dated* translation or document of Moerbeke until the conclusion of his translation of Simplicius' commentary in March 1266. We also do not know exactly when Moerbeke returned to Italy before finishing the Themistius commentary in Viterbo in November 1267. In any case, after this he was occupied at the Apostolic See with the translation of commentaries on Aristotle and other authors (including the completion of the translation of Simplicius' commentary on *Cael.*), as well as revising his former translations until 15 June 1271¹⁰³. After that, Moerbeke seems to have focused on his ecclesiastical duties for a few years instead¹⁰⁴.



In the light of this admittedly incomplete, but nevertheless solid, chronology, the group of dated “grandes traductions”¹⁰⁵ from March 1266 to June 1271, flanked by undated translations and ‘silence’ after 1271, has been interpreted as “una serie *ininterrotta* di traduzioni”¹⁰⁶. Although it cannot be ruled out that Moerbeke only travelled to Italy after March 1266, the continuous series of dated translations, mostly of Aristotelian commentators, is best explained by a certain *stabilitas loci* of the translator at the papal court, already before November 1267. A further indication of Moerbeke’s earlier return from the East seems to be the fact that Thomas Aquinas uses the *Translatio Moerbekana* of *MA* (~1260) and of the *HA* (1262–63) in the *Summa contra gentiles*¹⁰⁷, the last book (IV) of which was written in the years in Orvieto 1264–65¹⁰⁸. If we know that Moerbeke himself returned to the papal court between 1260 and 1267, is it really necessary to assume that someone else took the translations to Italy¹⁰⁹?

The only argument for Simplicius’ commentary on the *Cat.* (1266) being translated in the East rather than in Italy can therefore be reduced to the fact that the *Parisinus 2575* was recycled and rewritten more than two centuries later (!) in the Prodromos monastery in Constantinople. However, in the light of the history of the *Vindobonensis*, this is not at all conclusive.

Thus, there is good reason to believe that the *Parisinus* left Greece for Italy at least once: (i) either only with Nikolaos-Nektarios¹¹⁰, (ii) only with Moerbeke after 1260 (which seems implausible), or (iii) twice, both with Nektarios *and* with Moerbeke.

¹⁰² These are at least (the first, partial versions or redactions of) Arist. *Cael.*, *GA*, *MA*, *Pol.* (*translatio imperfecta*; on an early dating around or even before 1260, see also FLÜELER, Rezeption [n. 87], 23), *IA*, *Metaph.*, *HA*, *Rh.*, *Pol.* (*translatio completa*); Alex. Aphr. in *Sens.* and *Fat.*; and Ptol. *Judic.* see F. BOSSIER, Méthode de traduction et problèmes de chronologie, in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, *Guillaume de Moerbeke* (n. 9), 257–294, 286–292.

¹⁰³ *Simpl. in Cat.* (March 1266), *Them. in An.* (Nov. 1267), *Procl. Elem. Theol.* (May 1268), *Ammon. in Int.* (Sept. 1268), *Phlp. in de An.* (Dec. 1268), seven treatises of Archim. with two commentaries of Eutoc. (Dec. 1269), *Hero Catoptrica* (Dec. 1269), *Simpl. in Cael.* (June 1271) (VANHAMEL, *Biobibliographie* [n. 9], 310–313). These translations would sometimes indicate their place of writing (Viterbo), sometimes not.

¹⁰⁴ VANHAMEL, *Biobibliographie* (n. 9), 313–314. For example, Moerbeke attended the Council of Lyon in 1274. The next surviving dated translation is Galen’s *De alimentis*, dated 22 October 1277.

¹⁰⁵ BOSSIER, Méthode 291 (“la période des grandes traductions *Simpl. In Cat.*, *Them. De an.* [...]”).

¹⁰⁶ BRAMS, *La riscoperta di Aristotele* (n. 9), 122 (italicisation by the author). See, also BOSSIER, Méthode 259 “la série des traductions achevées en 1266–1271 semble bel et bien garantie”.

¹⁰⁷ R.-A. GAUTHIER, *Saint Thomas d’Aquin, Somme contre les Gentils*. Introduction. Paris 1993, 84–88.

¹⁰⁸ GAUTHIER, *Saint Thomas* 108.

¹⁰⁹ According to Ch. FLÜELER, *Politischer Aristotelismus im Mittelalter. Vivarium* 40 (2002) 1–13, 2, the *Translatio completa* of the *Pol.*, dated shortly before the Simplicius commentary *in Cat.* (cf. BOSSIER Méthode 292) was already to be seen at the Pontifical court c. 1265.

¹¹⁰ If Moerbeke completed the translation of Simplicius’ commentary in the West in 1266, this does not mean that the *Parisinus* was with him in the East around 1260.

CONCLUSION: MOERBEKE AND THE RECYCLED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
“COLLECTION PHILOSOPHIQUE”

Whereas, as argued in the previous discussion, a considerable number of manuscripts of the “Collection” were still together before Moerbeke’s arrival, after his activity, some were to be found in the West and some in the East. The *Marciani* 196, 226, and 258 remained in Italy, where, two centuries later, they would enter the collection of Cardinal Bessarion¹¹¹, together with—whether connected with Moerbeke or not—the Paris. gr. 1807¹¹². Meanwhile, in the East, the two parts of the *Vindobonensis* were to be found as well as the (respective parts of the palimpsested) Paris. gr. 2575.

Emmanuel Miller’s (1812–1886) discovery of the only remains of *Vindobonensis*’ second part, the heavily marred *bifolium* ff. 13–14 in the Paris. Suppl. gr. 1156, supports the idea that this volume had its later history in the Greek East¹¹³. The codices Paris. Suppl. gr. 1155–1223, which entered the Bibliothèque National de France in 1897, contain more or less ample fragments or parts of manuscripts collected by Miller on his journeys¹¹⁴. Miller does not state explicitly where he came across the Aristotle fragment¹¹⁵. That he would have found and could have taken with him parchment

¹¹¹ It is still not clear how Bessarion came into the possession of his “Collectio” manuscripts, i.e. the three *Marciani* and other two codices, *Marciani* gr. Z. 236 and 246 (cf. WILSON, *The Libraries* [n. 6], 75–76, E. MIONI, *La formazione della biblioteca greca di Bessarione*, in: *Bessarione e l’Umanesimo*, ed. G. Fiaccadori. Napoli 1994, 229–240, 232, and C. GIACOMELLI, *Aristotele e i suoi commentatori nella biblioteca di Bessarione*, I manoscritti greci, in: *I libri di Bessarione*, Studi sui manoscritti del Cardinale a Venezia e in Europa, ed. A. Rigo – N. Zorzi. Turnhout 2021, 219–275, 260). Rashed’s findings regarding the Marc. 226 (see above) seemed for the first time to confirm the statement of Antonio De Ferrariis (cf. above n. 1) on the history of the Casole library according to whom *non parva pars Romam ad Bessarionem cardinalem deportata est et inde Venetias* (Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *Liber de situ Iapygiae* 8.8–9 [D. DEFILIPPIS (ed.). Galatina 2005, 36]). Since, however, the Marc. 226 is to be identified with an item in the two inventory lists of the pontifical library from 1295 (no. 421) and 1311 (no. 603), the route Casole–Bessarion cannot have been a direct one for this codex (cf. RASHED, *Nicolas d’Otrante* [n. 4], 705–708; on the library of Pope Boniface VIII and Moerbeke’s manuscripts, see ACERBI – VUILLEMIN-DIEM, *La transmission du savoir* [n. 59], 121–171). The same seems to be also true for the other *Marciani* in question in so far, as the *loci*, i.e. “shelf marks”, of these manuscripts in Bessarion’s private library (Marc. gr. Z. 196: no. 79; 236: 55; 246: 54; and 258: 69; cf. also L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion’s library and the Biblioteca Marciana: six early inventories*. Roma 1979) are not far off from the *locus* of the Marc. gr. Z. 226 (no. 59); so that it is at least not obvious that this manuscript entered Bessarion’s collection in an utterly different way than the others. We can only confirm the observation made by Nigel Wilson and Lotte Labowsky (WILSON, *The Libraries* [n. 6], 76, n. 52) that there do not seem to be any external signs that these manuscripts belonged to the Casole monastery.

¹¹² On the later destiny of the *Parisinus*, falling around 1350 in the hands of Francesco Petrarca, see SAFFREY, *Retour* (n. 17), 15–28. As far as we can see, the Laur. Plut. 28.27 (cf. n. 24 and 68) did not return to the East.

¹¹³ From a stemmatical point of view there is some evidence that readings of the second part of the *Vindobonensis* in the case of the *MA*, i.e. $\Gamma 1$, found their way into the translation of the *MA* by Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (1523) and into the *Iuntina* edition of the text published by Bernardo Giunta (1527). Therefore, at least a copy or collations from $\Gamma 1$ seem to have been present in the West until the 16th c. (cf. ISÉPY, *Überlieferung* [n. 21], 226–227, n. 891 and 893 and 275–276).

¹¹⁴ H. OMONT, *Catalogue de manuscrits grecs, latins, français et espagnols et des portulans*, Recueillis par feu E. Miller. Paris 1897.

¹¹⁵ In the codices Paris. Suppl. gr. 1155–1223 there is only one serious occurrence of Aristotle: the ff. 13–14 of the Paris. Suppl. gr. 1156 (apart from that, there are three lines paraphrasing the *HA*, 660^b17–21 written by a later hand on f. 63^r of the *Parisinus* suppl. gr. 1185; cf. Ch. ASTRUC – M.-L. CONCASTY, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, Troisième partie, Le supplément grec, Tome III, Nos 901–1371. Paris 1960, 354). E. MILLER, *Rapports à l’empereur sur une mission scientifique en Orient*. *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 2^e s. 2 (1865) 493–521, 506 (repr. in E. MILLER, *Le Mont Athos*, Vatopédi. L’île de Thasos. Paris 1889, 372–386) mentions Aristotle twice: (i) the entry no. 11 in the list of manuscripts discovered on Mount Athos speaks of various proverbs that also contain “des citations inconnues d’Aristote”. These proverbs can be identified with four paremiological compilations in the current Paris. Suppl. gr. 1164 (OMONT, *Catalogue XIII* with n. 1) which indeed name Aristotle in some places (edited in E. MILLER, *Mélanges de littérature grecque contenant un grand nombre de textes inédits*. Paris 1868, 341–384, 361 and 368f.). (ii) The second mention of Aristotle regards the findings that Miller made in the Serail of Constantinople in 1863 (on the history of occidental manuscripts of the Serail, Topkapı Sarayı, see generally S. GASELEE, *The Greek Manuscripts in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople*. Cambridge 1916 and A. DEISSMANN, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*. Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapı Serai in Istanbul. Berlin – Leipzig 1933): “Il ne s’agit plus là [...] d’évangiles, de livres liturgique [...] mais bien d’auteurs dont les noms réveillent des souvenirs et des espérances : Homère, Polybe, Aristote [...]” (MILLER, *Rapports* 496). However, since both Homer and Polybius can be found in the collection of the Old Serail today (the codices Seragl. G.I. 25, Polybius, and 2

fragments of pagan Greek texts from a library in Spain or Italy is highly improbable¹¹⁶. When presenting the findings of his expeditions to the Greek East (1863) to the public¹¹⁷, however, Miller speaks of fragments interesting for “philosophie, médecine, littérature, grammaire, etc.”¹¹⁸ and describes certain parchment fragments bound together in the Paris. Suppl. gr. 1156 as coming from Mount Athos¹¹⁹. He then describes two places that might serve as places of discovery for our *bifolium*. Regarding the fragments to be found in the hermitages on Mount Athos, Miller writes:

“On y trouve très souvent des manuscrits [...] dans un état déplorable de mutilation. Presque tous sont lacérés, incomplets. Les volumes en parchemin ont été les plus maltraités; ils ont servi à raccommoder des vitres ou à couvrir des pots de confitures.”¹²⁰ Mount Athos is therefore a most plausible origin for the inappropriately used parchment fragments amongst Miller’s findings. Miller also describes the meticulous work of the Turkish authorities in Constantinople, who, at the instigation of the French embassy, gathered for him in the Old Serail even marred fragments of Greek and Latin manuscripts: “[...] on m’a communiqué jusqu’à des feuilles de parchemin gâtées par l’humidité [...]”¹²¹. In view of its deplorable state¹²², it is at least not impossible that Miller came into the possession of the *Fragmentum Parisinum* in Constantinople.

The exact location of the fragment’s discovery is not of primary importance, as long as it is certain that it was found *in the East*¹²³. In general, it is striking that of the three volumes of Moerbeke’s “Collection” manuscripts that were kept in the East after the 13th century, only the *Vindobonensis* has survived. Its second half was reused for other purposes¹²⁴, and the Paris. gr. 2575 was palimpsested and rewritten in the 15th century in the Prodromos monastery in Constantinople, like the Paris. Suppl. gr. 921 (Proclus *in Pl. Ti.*), another manuscript of the “Collection”¹²⁵ (though not one connected with Moerbeke).

The travels of the Vind. phil. gr. 100 in the 13th century and the history of the two parts of the original codex make it clear that Nikolaos-Nektarios and William of Moerbeke played an ambivalent role in the history of the “Collection philosophique”. Although we still know little about the books purchased by Nikolaos-Nektarios and the size and the content of the library at Casole, it seems increasingly likely that Nikolaos brought codices to the West that are now known to have been

as well as 65, Homer; cf. DEISSMANN, *Forschungen* 42–43, 67–68, and 96), but not in Miller’s heritage, this mention of Aristotle very probably does not refer to our fragment either, but to the codices Seragl. G. I. 19 and 39, containing the *GC* and some of the zoological treatises and *PV* respectively (see the descriptions of P. MORAUX – D. R. REINSCH in P. MORAUX, *Aristoteles Graecus*. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles, 1. Bd., Alexandrien – London. Berlin 1976, 373–375 and 376–377).

¹¹⁶ On Miller’s stay and findings in the Escorial, cf. MILLER, *Rapports* 494, and OMONT–MILLER 71–72; as to the palimpsests with only ecclesiastical texts, especially in Italian libraries, see MILLER, *Rapports* 500.

¹¹⁷ MILLER, *Rapports* 493–521.

¹¹⁸ MILLER, *Rapports* 508.

¹¹⁹ Fragments of *Theodoros Anagnostes* and John of Aegeae (MILLER, *Rapports* 506, no. 3), to be identified with the ff. 26–27 and 28–29 of the Paris. Suppl. gr. 1156 (cf. MILLER, *Rapports* 506, no. 3, and OMONT, *Catalogue* 13–14, and ASTRUC, *CONCASTY*, *Catalogue* 320–321).

¹²⁰ MILLER, *Rapports* 501.

¹²¹ MILLER, *Rapports* 496.

¹²² IRIGOIN, *L’Aristote de Vienne* (n. 21), 8 speaks of an “état misérable”. One can get an idea of the bad condition of the *bifolium* on: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004869t/f26.image>> (24.12.2025).

¹²³ Also, because the connection between Mount Athos and the Petra monastery is well attested to by other manuscripts. At least the three Athos manuscripts, Dionys. 8 (Lambros 3542), Lavra K 39 and the Mosqu. Synod. gr. 153 (293 Vlad.), coming from Iviron, stem from the Petra monastery. Also, in the light of other manuscript transfers from the capital to Mount Athos (cf. on Kantakuzenos’ donation to the Lavra monastery e.g. E. LAMBERZ, *Beobachtungen zu den patristischen Corpora in der Schenkung des Johannes Kantakuzenos an das Kloster Vatopedi und ihren Vorlagen*, in: *Koinotaton Doron*: Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204–1461), ed. A. Berger – S. Mariev – G. Prinzing – A. Riehle. Berlin 2016, 87–100), it is quite possible that the second part of the *Vindobonensis* came to the Athos from Constantinople. Thanks are due to Erich Lamberz for his information on the Athos-manuscripts (private letter, 14/02/2020).

¹²⁴ If Moerbeke, in the case of the *MA*, came across his second Greek source (**Γ2**) in the West, it seems probable that also this manuscript returned to the East (cf. Aristoteles, *De motu animalium* [ed. PRIMAVESI] (n. 35), LXXXIVf.).

¹²⁵ MONDRAIN, *La réutilisation de parchemin* (n. 55), 112–113.

important for the transmission of ancient Greek literature. Nektarios was responsible for the fact that these manuscripts were not available in the libraries of Byzantium during the Palaeologue period. And even if, from the Byzantine point of view, Moerbeke's activity 'saved' at least some of the precious manuscripts 'lost' to Nektarios after 1204 and returned them to their place of origin, this 'homecoming' had rather negative consequences for the manuscripts themselves and for the textual tradition they represent. The manuscripts that remained in the West after Moerbeke's time seem to have met with a kinder fate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

QUOTED MANUSCRIPTS

- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1 (*Diktyon* 66632).
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 253 (*Diktyon* 66884).
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 258 (*Diktyon* 66889).
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1276 (*Diktyon* 67907).
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Ottobonianus* lat. 1850.
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Palatinus* gr. 232 (*Diktyon* 65964).
 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 28.27 (*Diktyon* 16208).
 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 87.21 (*Diktyon* 16838).
 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, G. İ. 19 (*Diktyon* 33965).
 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, G. İ. 39 (*Diktyon* 33985).
 Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Vossianus gr. Q° 3 (*Diktyon* 38110).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1370 (*Diktyon* 50982).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1807 (*Diktyon* 51433).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1853 (*Diktyon* 51479).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2575 (*Diktyon* 52207).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 643 (*Diktyon* 53378).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 1156 (*Diktyon* 53834).
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 1185 (*Diktyon* 53863).
 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 196 (*Diktyon* 69667).
 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 226 (*Diktyon* 69697).
 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 258 (*Diktyon* 69729).
 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, phil. gr. 100 (*Diktyon* 71214).

SOURCES

- Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *Liber de situ Iapygiae*, ed. D. DEFILIPPIS. Galatina 2005.
 Aristoteles, *De motu animalium*, Über die Bewegung der Lebewesen. Historisch-kritische Edition des griechischen Textes und philologische Einleitung von O. PRIMAVESI. Deutsche Übersetzung, philosophische Einleitung und erklärende Anmerkungen von K. CORCILIUS. Hamburg 2018.
 Aristotle, *De motu animalium*. A new Critical Edition of the Greek Text by O. PRIMAVESI. With an English Translation by B. MORISON and an Introduction by Ch. RAPP and O. PRIMAVESI. Oxford – New York 2023.
 Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1, *Metaphysica lib. I–XIV*, Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka, Praefatio, ed. G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM. Leiden 1995.
 Aristoteles Latinus XVII 1.III, *De motu animalium*, *Fragmenta Translationis anonymae*, ed. P. DE LEEMANS. Brussels 2011.
 Aristoteles Latinus XVII 2.II–III, *De Progressu animalium*, *De motu animalium*, *Translatio Guillelmi de Morbeka*, ed. P. DE LEEMANS. Brussels 2011.
 Procli *Diadochi in Platonis Rem publicam commentarii*, ed. G. KROLL, 2 vols. Leipzig 1899–1901.
 Simplicius, *Commentaire sur les Catégories d’Aristote*. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke, ed. A. PATTIN (*Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum* 5/1–2). Louvain – Paris 1971.
 Thémistius, *Commentaire sur le Traité de l’âme d’Aristote*. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke, Édition critique et étude sur l’utilisation du commentaire dans l’œuvre de Saint Thomas par G. VERBEKE (*Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum* 1). Leiden 1973.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- F. ACERBI – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, La transmission du savoir grec en Occident. Guillaume de Moerbeke, le Laur. Plut. 87.25 (Thémistius, in *De an.*) et la bibliothèque de Boniface VIII. Leuven 2019.
 F. ACERBI – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Un nouveau manuscrit de la “collection philosophique” utilisé par Guillaume de Moerbeke: Le Par. gr. 2575. *Przegląd Tomistyczny* XXI (2015) 219–288.
 T. W. ALLEN, A Group of Ninth-Century Greek Manuscripts. *The Journal of Philology* 21 (1892) 48–55.
 M.-A. ARIS, s. v. Wilhelm von Moerbeke. *LexMA* (9) 175–176.
 Ch. ASTRUC, Une collection canonique d’Italie du Sud de la fin du XIII^e siècle (le Parisinus graecus 1370). *Revue d’histoire des textes* 16 (1986) 37–62.

- Ch. ASTRUC, Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France, vol. I: XIII^e siècle. Paris 1989.
- Ch. ASTRUC – M.-L. CONCASTY, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, Troisième partie, Le supplément grec, Tome III, N^{os} 901–1371. Paris 1960.
- D. BALDI, Ioannikios e il *Corpus Aristotelicum*. *Revue d'histoire des textes* (2011) 15–26.
- A. M. BANDINIUS, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae. Tomus secundus*. Florentiae 1768.
- G. BATTELLI, *Lezioni di Paleografia*. Città del Vaticano (1936) ⁴1999.
- B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*. Berlin (1979) ⁴2009.
- F. BERGER, Die Textgeschichte der *Historia Animalium* des Aristoteles. (*Serta Graeca, Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 21). Wiesbaden 2005, 182–186.
- P. BERGHAUS, s.v. “Denar”. *LexMa* 3 (1986) 694.
- P. BERGHAUS, s.v. “Solidus”. *LexMa* 7 (1991) 2034.
- D. BIANCONI – F. RONCONI (eds.), La “collection philosophique” face à l’histoire. Péripéties et tradition. Spoleto 2020.
- W. BLUM, Nikolaos-Nekatrios, Abt von Casole. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 6 (1993) 859–860.
- F. BOSSIER, Méthode de traduction et problèmes de chronologie, in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, Guillaume de Moerbeke 257–294.
- M.-L. BOUREAU, Aristote: *Du ciel* III–IV, introduction générale, édition critique, traduction et commentaire, PhD Sorbonne Université Paris 2019, 132–135.
- J. BRAMS, La Recensio Matritensis de la *Physique*, in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, Guillaume de Moerbeke 193–220.
- J. BRAMS, Guillaume de Moerbeke et le Commentaire de Simplicius sur la Physique, in: Tradition et traduction, Les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au Moyen Âge latin, Hommage à Fernand Bossier, éd. R. BEYERS. Leuven 1999, 265–279.
- J. BRAMS, La riscoperta di Aristotele in occidente. Milano 2003.
- J. BRAMS – W. VANHAMEL (eds.), Guillaume de Moerbeke, Recueil d’études à l’occasion du 700^e anniversaire de sa mort (1286). Leuven 1989.
- J. BRAMS – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Physica Nova und Recensio Matritensis – Wilhelm von Moerbekes doppelte Revision der Physica Vetus, in: Aristotelische Erbe im Arabisch–Lateinischen Mittelalter (*Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 18), ed. A. Zimmermann. Berlin – New York 1986.
- Ch. BROCKMANN, Scribal annotation as evidence of learning in manuscripts from the First Byzantine Humanism: the “Philosophical Collection”, in: Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field (*Studies in Manuscript Cultures* 1), ed. J. B. Quenzer – D. Bondarev – J. U. Sobisch. Berlin 2014, 11–33.
- P. CANART, Manuscrits d’Aristote et de ses commentateurs sur papier occidental ancien, in: Aristoteles Werk und Wirkung. Paul Moraux gewidmet, zweiter Band: Kommentierung, Überlieferung, Nachleben, ed. J. Wiesner. Berlin 1987, 418–433.
- A. CAPPELLI, *Lexicon abbreviatorum*. Milano (1899) ⁶1999.
- A. CATALDI PALAU, Un nuovo codice della ‘Collezione filosofica’, Il palinsesto Parisinus graecus 2575. *Script* 55 (2001) 249–274.
- G. CAVALLO, La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria, in: I Bizantini in Italia (*Antica madre. Collana di studi sull’Italia antica*), ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli. Milan 1982, 495–612.
- G. CAVALLO, Libri greci e resistenza etnica in Terra d’Otranto, in: Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino, Guida storica e critica, ed. G. Cavallo. Rome 1982, 162–170.
- G. CAVALLO, Stralci di storia di un Gruppo di manoscritti greci del secolo IX, in: Ingenio facilis: per Giovanni Orlandi (1938–2007), ed. P. Chiesa – A. M. Fagnoni – R. E. Guglielmetti. Firenze 2007, 3–64.
- E. CRISCI, La maiuscola ogivale diritta. Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni. *SeC* 9 (1985) 103–145.
- E. CRISCI – P. DEGNI, La scrittura greca dall’antichità all’epoca della stampa, Una introduzione. Rome 2011.
- W. R. DAY – M. MATZKE – A. SACCOCCI, Medieval European Coinage, 12 Italy (I) (Northern Italy). Cambridge 2016.
- P. DEGNI, I manoscritti dello ‘scriptorium’ di Gioannicio. *SeT* 6 (2008) 179–248.
- G. DE GREGORIO, Osservazioni ed ipotesi sulla circolazione del testo di Aristotele tra Occidente e Oriente, in: Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario in Erice (18–25 settembre 1988), ed. G. Cavallo – G. De Gregorio – M. Maniaci. Spoleto 475–498 (6 pl.).
- A. DEISSMANN, Forschungen und Funde im Serai. Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai in Istanbul. Berlin – Leipzig 1933.
- Ch. FLÜELER, Rezeption und Interpretation der Aristotelischen *Politica* im späten Mittelalter, Teil 1. Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1992, 15–27.
- Ch. FLÜELER, Politischer Aristotelismus im Mittelalter. *Vivarium* 40 (2002) 1–13.
- F. H. FOBES, Textual Problems in Aristotle’s Meteorology. *Classical Philology* 10 (1915) 188–214.
- S. GASELEE, The Greek Manuscripts in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople. Cambridge 1916.
- Ch. GASTGEBER – J. GRUSKOVÁ, Zur Wiederverwertung von Handschriften mit Bibeltexten am Beispiel griechischer Codices der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. *Biblos* 52 (2003) 59–74.
- R.-A. GAUTHIER, Saint Thomas d’Aquin, Somme contre les Gentils. Introduction. Paris 1993.
- C. GIACOMELLI, Aristotele e i suoi commentatori nella biblioteca di Bessarione, I manoscritti greci, in: I libri di Bessarione, Studi sui manoscritti del Cardinale a Venezia e in Europa, ed. A. Rigo – N. Zorzi. Turnhout 2021, 219–275.

- M. GRABMANN, Guglielmo di Moerbeke O. P. il traduttore delle opere di Aristotele. (*Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 11, 20). Rome 1946, 30–62.
- Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coinage*. Dumbarton Oaks 1999.
- Ph. GRIERSON – L. TRAVIANI, *Medieval European Coinage, 14 Italy (III) (South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia)*. Cambridge 1998.
- D. HARLFINGER, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Peri atomon grammon*. Amsterdam 1971.
- D. HARLFINGER, Einige Grundzüge der Aristoteles-Überlieferung, in: *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger. Darmstadt 1980, 447–483.
- J. M. HOECK – R. J. LOENERTZ, Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II. Ettal 1965.
- J. IRIGOIN, L’Aristote de Vienne. *JÖBG* 6 (1957) 5–10.
- J. IRIGOIN, Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IX^e siècle). *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 5 (1962) 287–302.
- P. ISÉPY, Zur mittelalterlichen Überlieferung von Aristoteles’ *De motu animalium* – Die Bedeutung der Übersetzung Wilhelms von Moerbeke und der Paraphrase Alberts des Großen für die griechische Texttradition (*Serta Graeca, Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 31). Wiesbaden 2016, 236–276 (PhD Thesis 2013).
- P. ISÉPY, New Light on the History of Codex Vind. phil. gr. 100 and Its Role in the Transmission of the Corpus Aristotelicum, in: *Proceedings of the World Congress “Aristotle 2400 Years” (May 23–28, 2016)*, ed. D. Sfondoni-Mentzou. Thessaloniki 2019, 580–587.
- P. ISÉPY, Der Beitrag der Übersetzung Jakobs von Venedig zur Überlieferung der Aristotelischen *Metaphysik*, *Acta Antiqua* 64 (2024) 189–222.
- P. ISÉPY, Textkritisches und Paläographisches zur Überlieferung des *Corpus Aristotelicum* im Vind. phil. gr. 100 (J) und seiner verschollenen zweiten Hälfte, in: *Die griechische Gelehrsamkeit in Süditalien: Manuskripte, Texte und Wissenstransfer im 10.–13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ch. Brockmann – A. Musino – S. Valente – E. Wöckener-Gade. Göttingen 2025, 11–48.
- A. JACOB, Les écritures de Terre d’Otrante, in: *La paléographie*, ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompaigne – J. Irigoïn. Paris 1977, 269–281.
- A. JACOB, Culture grecque et manuscrits en terre d’Otrante, in: *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Salentini e del I Congresso Storico di Terra d’Otranto (Lecce, 22–25 ott. 1976)*, ed. P. F. Palumbo. Lecce 1980, 51–77.
- D. KLOSE, s. v. *solidus*, in *DNP* online; <https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_dnp_e1116530> (24.12.2025).
- L. KOCH, Beschreibung Vind. phil. gr. 100. 2009 (available online, <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb5534818>> [24.12.2025], s. v. Vind. Phil. gr. 100).
- P. KUNITZSCH, Zur Geschichte der ‚arabischen‘ Ziffern. Vorgetragen in der Gesamtsitzung vom 10. Juni 2005, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 2005, 3. München 2005.
- L. LABOWSKY, William of Moerbeke’s Manuscript of Alexander of Aphrodisias. *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961) 155–162.
- E. LAMBERZ, Beobachtungen zu den patristischen Corpora in der Schenkung des Johannes Kantakuzenos an das Kloster Vatopedi und ihren Vorlagen, in: *Koinotaton Doron: Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204–1461)*, ed. A. Berger – S. Mariev – G. Prinzing – A. Riehle. Berlin 2016, 87–100.
- L. LABOWSKY, Bessarion’s library and the Biblioteca Marciana: six early inventories. Roma 1979.
- J. LEROY, La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin, in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine (Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974)*, ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompaigne – J. Irigoïn. Paris 1977, 27–41.
- C. LUNA, Mise en page et transmission textuelle du commentaire de Syrianus sur la Métaphysique, in: *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists. Proceedings of the Meeting of the European Science Foundation Network “Late Antiquity and Arabic Thought. Patterns in the constitution of European culture” held in Strasbourg, March 12–14, 2004*, ed. C. D’Ancona. Leiden 2007, 121–134.
- C. LUNA, Review of: ACERBI – G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, La transmission. *Studia graeco-arabica* 9 (2019) 326–341.
- D. MARCOTTE, La “collection philosophique”: historiographie et histoire des textes. *Script* 68 (2014) 145–165.
- L. MINIO-PALUELLO, Guglielmo di Moerbeke, Traduttore della Poetica di Aristotele (1278). *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 39 (1947) 1–17 (Reprint: L. MINIO-PALUELLO, *Opuscula, The Latin Aristotle*. Amsterdam 1972, 40–56).
- E. MILLER, Mélanges de littérature grecque contenant un grand nombre de textes inédits. Paris 1868, 341–384.
- E. MILLER, Rapports à l’empereur sur une mission scientifique en Orient. *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 2^e s. 2 (1865) 493–521 (repr. in E. MILLER, *Le Mont Athos, Vatopédi. L’île de Thasos*. Paris 1889, 372–386).
- L. MINIO-PALUELLO, s. v. Moerbeke, William of. *The Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 9 (2008) 434–440.
- E. MIONI, La formazione della biblioteca greca di Bessarione, in: *Bessarione e l’Umanesimo*, ed. G. Fiaccadori. Napoli 1994.
- B. MONDRAIN, La réutilisation de parchemin ancien dans les livres à Constantinople au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle: quelques exemples, de la “collection philosophique” aux folios palimpsestes du Parisinus gr. 1220, in: *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio (Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 2004)*, ed. S. Lucà. Roma (2008), 111–130.
- P. MORAUX, Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d’Aristotele. Louvain 1951.
- P. MORAUX, *Aristoteles Graecus*. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles, 1. Bd., Alexandrien – London. Berlin 1976.
- H. OMONT, Le Typicon de Saint-Nicolas di Casole près d’Otrante, Notice du Ms. C. III, 17 de Turin. *RÉG* 3 (1890) 381–391.

- A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Nuovi documenti su Guglielmo da Moerbeke, *OP. Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 52 (1982) 135–143.
- A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la cour pontificale, in: Guillaume de *Moerbeke*, Recueil d'études à l'occasion du 700^e anniversaire de sa mort (1286), ed. J. Brams – W. Vanhamel. Leuven 1989, 23–52.
- A. PARLANGÈLI – O. PARLANGÈLI, Il monastero di S. Nicola di Casole, centro di cultura bizantina in Terra d'Otranto. *BollGrott* 5 (1951) 30–45.
- L. PERRIA, Scrittura e ornamentazione nei codici della “collezione filosofica”. *RSTN* 28 (1991) 45–111.
- M. RASHED, De Cordoue a Byzance. Sur une “prothéorie” inédite de la *Physique* d'Aristote. *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 6 (1996) 215–262.
- M. RASHED, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der aristotelischen Schrift *De generatione et corruptione* (*Serta Graeca, Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 12). Wiesbaden 2001.
- M. RASHED, Nicolas d'Otrante, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la Collection philosophique. *Studi Medievali* 43 (2002) 693–717.
- M. RASHED, Agrégat de parties ou vinculum substantiale? Sur une hésitation conceptuelle et textuelle du *corpus* aristotélicien, in: *Aristote et le mouvement des animaux. Dix études sur le De motu animalium*, ed. A. Laks – M. Rashed. Villeneuve d'Ascq 2007, 185–202, 191–195.
- F. RONCONI, La collection brisée. La face cachée de la “collection philosophique” : les milieux socioculturels, in: *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine, Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5–6–7 juin 2008 organisé par le centre d'études byzantines de l'EHESS (Dossiers byzantins* 11), ed. P. Odorico. Paris 2012, 137–166.
- F. RONCONI, La ‘collection philosophique’: un fantôme historique. *Script* 67 (2013) 119–140.
- G. ROSSETTO, Il *corpus* dei trattati fisici aristotelici nel codice Vind. Phil. gr. 100: indagini filologiche, paleografiche, codicologiche. Tesi di Laurea in Filologia Greca, Università degli Studi di Padova, anno accademico 2013–2014, 7–75 (https://www.academia.edu/12427807/_1_corpus_dei_trattati_fisici_aristotelici_nel_codice_Vind._Phil._gr._100_filologiche_paleografiche_codicologiche_Master_Thesis_; 24.12.2025]).
- H. D. SAFFREY, *Nouvelles observations* sur le manuscrit Parisinus graecus 1807, in: *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition. Essays presented to John Whittaker*, ed. M. Joyal. Aldershot 1997, 293–307.
- H. D. SAFFREY, Retour sur le *Parisinus graecus* 1807, le manuscrit A de Platon, in: *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, ed. C. D'ANCONA. Leiden 2007, 3–28.
- A.U. SOMMER, Die Münzen des Byzantinischen Reiches, 451–1453. Regenstauf 2010.
- I. TINTI, On the Chronology and Attribution of the Old Armenian Timaeus: a Status Quaestionis and New Perspectives. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 35 (2012) 219–282.
- W. VANHAMEL, Biobibliographie de Guillaume de Moerbeke. in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, Guillaume de Moerbeke 301–383
- V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, Tra Occidente e Oriente, Otranto in epoca bizantina, in: *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. H. Houben. Galatina 2007, 13–59.
- G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, Untersuchungen zu Wilhelm von Moerbekes Metaphysikübersetzung, in: *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geistesgeschichte und ihren Quellen*, ed. A. Zimmermann – G. Vuillemin-Diem. Berlin 1982, 102–208.
- G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, La liste des œuvres d'Hippocrate dans le Vindobonensis phil. gr. 100: un autographe de Guillaume de Moerbeke, in: BRAMS – VANHAMEL, Guillaume de Moerbeke 135–184.
- L. G. WESTERINK, Das Rätsel des untergründigen Neuplatonismus, in: *Philophonēma, Festschrift für Martin Sicherl zum 75. Geburtstag, Von Textkritik bis Humanismusforschung*, ed. D. Harlfinger. Paderborn 1990, 106–123.
- J. WHITTAKER, Parisinus graecus 1962 and the Writings of Albinus. *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 320–354.
- N. G. WILSON, *The Libraries of the Byzantine World*. *GRBS* 8 (1967) 53–80.
- J. WINZENRIETH, *Les Parva naturalia d'Aristote, Édition et interprétation*, PhD Thesis. Sorbonne Université / LMU München, Paris 2023, 532–541, esp. 533 (<https://theses.hal.science/tel-04427265v1>; 14.12.2025).

PLATES

Plate 1: © Wien, ÖNB, phil. gr. 100 (*Diktyon* 71214), f. 201v.

Plate 2: © Wien, ÖNB, phil. gr. 100 (*Diktyon* 71214), f. 201v, detail.