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*“Conversation in the Library offers a great opportunity to discuss the production and circulation of Greek manuscripts in Constantinople in the second half of the fifteenth century. Its very proposal and target audience give authors the chance of communicating their thoughts on this topic to a wider readership.”*

*José Maksimczuk*

Greek Manuscripts in the Ottoman Empire

Athens, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, 1067

A Philosophical Manuscript from Constantinople around 1460s

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, a large community of Greek speaking people remained in the city. That group ensured the circulation of Greek texts in the conquered metropolis. Scholars and learned men, such as Matthaios Kamariotes and Demetrios Angelos, just to name two among many others, copied Greek texts for their own use or that of their commissioners. Beyond the private sphere, the Greek intellectuals, who were part of Mehmed II’s Constantinopolitan court, also needed Greek books. A quota of them were produced in the scriptorium established by the Sultan himself, which functioned in the city at least since the early 1460s up to the late 1470s, gathering numerous proficient Greek calligraphers. The production and circulation of Greek manuscripts were vital not only for the preservation of knowledge but, equally important, of the cultural identity of the Byzantines who stayed in the city during the first decades of the Ottoman rule.<sup>1</sup>

The corpus of surviving Greek manuscripts seemingly or surely produced in Constantinople short after 1453 reflects the various interests of their target readership. They transmit literary, scientific, philosophical, historical, geographical, theological and political works composed between the Archaic period in Greek history up to the Byzantine time. In this chapter, one Greek manuscript produced in Constantinople during the Ottoman rule will be discussed in detail.

Athens, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, 1067 is a paper manuscript of 314 folios with a size of 29 x 20 cm. It transmits a collection of treatises known as the Organon, arguably the most influential corpus of texts on logic and scientific reasoning ever written. The collection opens with the *Isagoge* (fols 1r-13v), written by the Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry of Tyre in the third century of our era; six treatises by Aristotle follow: *Categories* (fols 14r-36v), *De interpretatione* (fols 37r-50r), *First Analytics* (fols 50v-129r), *Second Analytics* (fols 129v-178r), *Topics* (fols 178v-281v), and *Sophistical Refutations* (fols 281v-314v). In EBE 1067, the text of the Organon is accompanied by a set of exegetical notes written in the margins and between the lines of the folios, mostly with red ink. Titles and subtitles are also written in red (FIGURE 1). The watermarks in the paper suggest a dating around the 1460s.<sup>2</sup>

EBE 1067 was written by one single scribe, whom I identified as the philosopher Georgios Amiroutzes, formerly dubbed Anonymus 4b Harlfinger. The table below FIGURE 1 shows a few but telling coincidences in the script of the scribe of EBE 1067 and that of Amiroutzes’ as identified in the codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1289:<sup>3</sup>

1 For overviews of the production and circulation of Greek manuscripts in Constantinople after 1453, see, inter alia, Raby 1983; Orlandi 2019; Cassin and Cronier 2018; Budak 2024.

2 The most complete description of EBE 1067 is found in Moraux et al. 1976, 8-9 (Diether R. Reinsch).

3 For the nickname Anonymus 4b Harlfinger, see Harlfinger 1971, 418. The scribe was identified as Georgios Amiroutzes in Orlandi 2019 (with numerous further identifications of manuscripts written by him). The hand of Amiroutzes in EBE 1067 was identified by me in Maksimczuk and Orlandi 2025. For my table, I benefited from the peculiar traces in the script of Amiroutzes already isolated in Orlandi 2019. The script of Amiroutzes in Par. gr. 1289 was identified in Orlandi 2019. Further identifications of manuscripts written by Amiroutzes are in Budak 2024 and Maksimczuk and Orlandi 2025.



FIGURE 1: Athens, EBE, 1067, fol. 1r.  
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Amiroutzes is also responsible for the rubricae in the manuscript and most of the exegetical notes that comment on the complex core text, which are especially numerous on the folios containing the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, and *De interpretatione*. A second hand contemporary to Amiroutzes is detected in EBE 1067, fol. 1r. In the bottom margin of that folio, a scribe whom I identified as Georgios Scholarios – Patriarch Gennadios II (ca. 1400 – ca. 1472; in office as Patriarch between 1454 and 1456), wrote a diagram on the five terms discussed in Porphyry’s *Isagoge*: genus (γένος), species (εἶδος), difference (διαφορά), property (ἴδιον), and accident (συμβεβηκός) (FIGURE 2).<sup>4</sup> The identity of this second hand can be established on palaeographic bases. The following table offers a comparison of Scholarios’ script in Par. gr. 1289 and that of the second hand in EBE 1067:<sup>5</sup>



4 I identified Scholarios’ hand in Maksimczuk and Orlandi 2025. For Scholarios’ biography see Tinnefeld 2002 and Blanchet 2008.

5 The script of Scholarios in Par. gr. 1289 was identified in RGK II.

The palaeographic evidence can be complemented with content-related information. Remarkably, the content of the diagram written by Scholarios on EBE 1067, fol. 1r coincides with a passage of the long commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* authored by Georgios Scholarios himself in the mid-1430s.<sup>6</sup> Here, I offer a transcription of the diagram, in which I tried to reproduce its visual organization as written in EBE 1067. Some sections are not legible anymore, due to material damage in the lower outer margin of the folio.

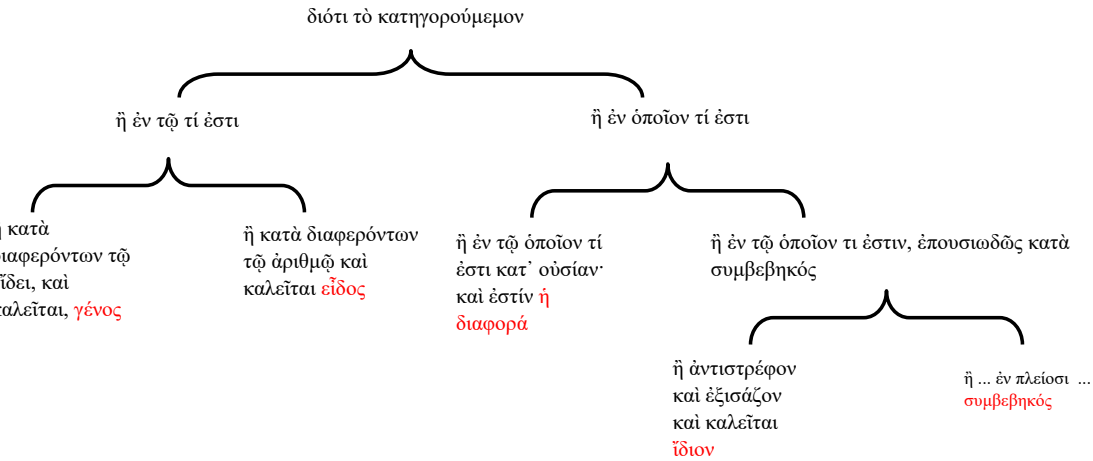


TABLE 1: Transcription of the diagram written by Georgios Scholarion on EBE 1067, fol. 1r.

Now, compare the content of the diagram with the text of Scholarios’ commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, as it was published by Jugie et al. 1936, 48, 32 – 49, 1:

Πᾶν τὸ κατηγορούμενον ἢ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορεῖται, ἢ ἐν τῷ ὅποιον τί ἐστίν· εἰ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστίν, ἢ κατὰ πλειόνων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ ἀριθμῷ, καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ εἶδος· ἢ κατὰ διαφερόντων τῷ εἶδει, καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ γένος. Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὅποιον τί ἐστίν, ἢ ἐν τῷ ὅποιον κατ’ οὐσίαν, ἢ ἐν τῷ ὅποιον κατὰ συμβεβηκός. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ ὅποιον τί ἐστὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν, ἐστὶν ἡ διαφορά.



FIGURE 2: Athens, EBE, 1067, fol. 1r (detail: lower margin).  
Diagram written by Georgios Scholarios, © National Library of Greece.

6 Edition in Jugie et al. 1936, 7-113.

Thus, it becomes apparent that Scholarios used his own commentary as the source for the diagram he wrote on EBE 1067, fol. 1r. Crucial to understand the way in which EBE 1067 was produced is the observation that the last words in each of the five bottom branches of the diagram (in red ink) were not written by Scholarios, but by Amiroutzes (cf. FIGURE 2), most probably while adding the rubricae and the exegetical notes in the margins and between the lines of the core text. Accordingly, the conclusion that imposes itself is that Amiroutzes and Scholarios cooperated in the production of EBE 1067. That these two men wrote a manuscript in tandem should not be surprising. They were included among the close Greek advisors of Sultan Mehmed II in the mid-1460s: Amiroutzes was reportedly the Sultan’s tutor on Greek philosophy, while Scholarios was his main reference regarding Orthodox Christian theology (and perhaps also one of his translators for Latin texts into Greek).<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, both cooperated in at least three other manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1289, 1292, and 1294. These codices contain theological treatises composed by Byzantine theologians from the fifteenth century, especially Georgios Scholarios (FIGURE 3).<sup>8</sup>



FIGURE 3: Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, grec 1289, fol. 180v. Lines 1-13, written by Georgios Amiroutzes; lines 14-27, written by Georgios Scholarios, © BnF.

7 The connection between Amiroutzes and Scholarios might date back to the late 1430s when both took part in the Council of Ferrara-Firenze. For Amiroutzes and Scholarios in Mehmed II’s court in the mid-1460s, see below.

8 Identification of Scholarios’ hand in RGK II; identification of Amiroutzes’ hand in Orlandi 2019.

As pointed out, the margins of the folios containing *Isagoge*, *Categories*, and *De interpretatione* host numerous short texts. Most of them are written in red ink and function as exegetical notes shedding light on the complex core content, i.e. the text of the Organon. Core content and exegetical paracontent are linked through symbols. A given symbol is found at the beginning of a note and again above the pericope of the core text the note in question explains. In terms of their contents, the exegetical notes in the margins of the folios of EBE 1067 quote from late antique commentaries on the Organon. I offer here the complete list of the notes commenting on the text of Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, while detailing the part of the core text they discuss, their incipit, and, whenever possible, the ultimate source.

- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 1 (παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει): ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς Κατηγορίαις...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 30, 10 – 31, 2
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 5 (τῶν ὀρισμῶν): ... γὰρ ἐκ γένους καὶ διαφορᾶς...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 36, 11-13
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 6 (ἀποδείξεως): τὰς γὰρ ἀποδείξεις ποιοῦμεν...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 36, 14-15
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 7 (ὥσπερ): illeg (ink faded in my digital reproduction)
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p.1, 8 (Τῶν μὲν βαθυτέρων): ἀπηλλάχθαι διὰ τούτου...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 38, 21
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 12 (χωριστὰ): ἡγουν εἴτε ἀσώματα ὄντα...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 42, 19-20
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 12 (τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς): ἡ ἀχώριστα ὡς τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς.  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 42, 20
- fol. 1r, on Isag., p. 1, 14 (λογικώτερον): ἐπεὶ ἔστι καὶ φυσικῶς...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 45, 8 ff.<sup>9</sup>
- fol. 2r, on Isag., p. 2, 18 (τὸ τοῦτο): τὸ οὗτος καὶ τὸ τοῦτο...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 63, 12-14
- fol. 2r, on Isag., p. 2, 27 (τῷ ἀριθμῷ): τοῖς ἐν ἐκάστῳ...
- fol. 2v, on Isag., p. 3, 20 (τῆς ἐννοίας): τουτέστι τοῦ ἐννοηματικοῦ γένους...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 69, 5-9
- fol. 4r, on Isag., p. 5, 17 (Ἀφορίζονται): ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπογράφουσι...
- fol. 4v, on Isag., p. 6, 6 (κείσθω): ὑποκείσθω φησὶν νῦν ἀρχὰς εἶναι...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 84, 2
- fol. 4v, on Isag., p. 6, 24 (Ἀποδομένου): ἐνταῦθα βούλεται προθεῖναι...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 88, 5-6
- fol. 5r, on Isag., p. 7, 8 (καθ’ ὧν): ἕτερον θεώρημα τοῦτο...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 89, 3-4
- fol. 5v, on Isag., p. 8, 7 (Περὶ διαφορᾶς): διαφορὰ ἐστὶ ἐτερότης...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 92, 3

9 In the case of this note, the ink has faded and it is not easy to read.

- fol. 6r, on Isag., p. 8, 16-17 (εἰδοποιῶ διαφορᾶ): Τουτέστι συμπληρωτικῇ...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 94, 5-8
- fol. 6v, on Isag., p. 10, 1 (πάλιν): οὐκ ἄλλαι οὔσαι καὶ ἄλλαι· ἀλλ’ αἱ αὐταὶ ...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 98, 22 - 99, 2
- fol. 7r, no symbol in core text: Τὸ μάλιστα ὅτι...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 100, 22 - 101, 4
- fol. 7r, on Isag., p. 11, 4 (ἀξιούσι): ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πορφύριος Πλατονικὸς ὦν...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 106, 4-7
- fol. 7r, on Isag., p. 11, 5 (καὶ οὕτως): ἀξίωμα γὰρ τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι τι ἐκ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ὄντος  
John Philoponus, In Gen. et Corr., p. 44, 4
- fol. 7v, on Isag., p. 11, 14 (ἐξ ὕλης): οὐκ κυρίως δέ...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 106, 20-21
- fol. 7v, on Isag., p. 11, 15 (ὁ κοινός): κοινὸς ὁ καθ’ ἕκαστα εἰδικός...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 107, 23
- fol. 7v, no symbol in core text: ὥσπερ κατ’ οὐσίαν οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 107, 12-21
- fol. 7v, on Isag., p. 12, 3 (καὶ ὁ τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι): ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸν ὀρισμὸν...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 108, 9-14
- fol. 7v, on Isag., p. 12, 4 (διαφορὰ ἀνθρώπου): οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ναυτίλ<λ>εσθαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος...  
Ammonius, In Isag., p. 108, 18-19
- fol. 8v, on Isag., p. 13, 20 (ἀλλὰ προηγουμένως): καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ...

The table above is relevant for different obvious reasons. Firstly, it clearly shows that the commentary on *Isagoge* composed by Ammonius Hermiae was the exegetical source preferred by Amiroutzes. Ammonius, active in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, was a Neoplatonist philosopher who wrote numerous commentaries on Aristotelian treatises. In EBE 1067, out of twenty-seven notes commenting on the text of *Isagoge*, twenty-two quote from Ammonius’ exegetical work.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, even a cursory glance at the table shows that most of the notes are written on fols 1 and 7, which transmit the introduction to the *Isagoge* and the beginning of the chapter on the difference (διαφορά), respectively. Was this distribution accidentally produced, or does it rather reflect the sections of the *Isagoge* in which Amiroutzes was most interested? Lastly, it is interesting to notice that one marginal note commenting on *Isagoge*, p. 11, 5 appears to ultimately proceed from John Philoponus’ commentary on Aristotle’s biological treatise *De corruptione et generatione*, in which Aristotle explores the causes how items come into being. John Philoponus was a Christian philosopher and scholar, pupil of Ammonius Hermiae, born in Alexandria in the late fifth century. The use of his commentary on the *De generatione et corruptione* is entirely pertinent for the context: at *Isagoge*, p. 11, 5-6 Porphyry advances the view that ‘nothing comes to be out of what is not’<sup>11</sup> (οὔτε ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τι γίνεται).

10 An edition of this treatise is in Busse 1891.

11 Translation from Barnes 2003.

Next to the exegetical notes, a different type of text is found in the margins of EBE 1067. They are more or less short pieces of core text that were initially forgotten by Amiroutzes and later recovered by the scribe himself or subsequent users that collated the manuscript. Contrary to the case of the exegetical notes, these texts were written in black ink. The exact place in the core text where they should have been positioned is indicated through symbols. In order to show that the marginal text is not paracontent but part of the core content, the keyword κείμενον (‘text’), which must be understood as opposite to ἐξήγησις (‘commentary’), was added in red ink or black ink. **FIGURE 4** shows the case of an omission in the middle of Aristotle’s *De interpretatione* ch. 6, later recovered in the lower margin of the folio by Georgios Amiroutzes.

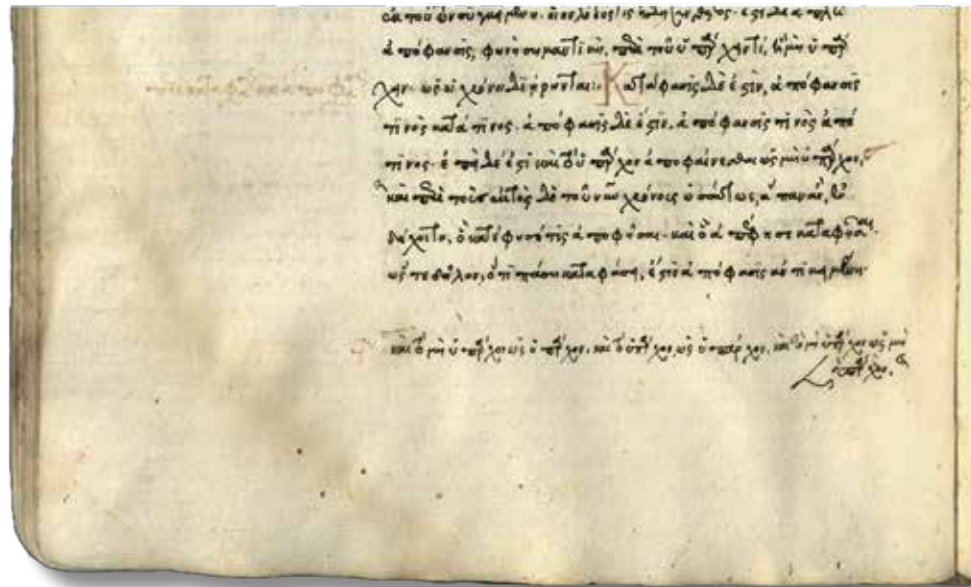


**FIGURE 4:** Athens, EBE, 1067, fol. 38v (detail).

The pericope καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχον ... ὡς μὴ ὑπάρχον was initially omitted by Amiroutzes in the core text and later supplied by himself in the lower margin, © National Library of Greece

In addition to marginal notes, Amiroutzes also wrote shorter notes between the lines of the core text. He wrote most of them in red ink to facilitate distinguishing them from the core text. The main function of the interlinear notes is to provide clarification for a given term or group of terms used in the core text. Let us exemplify this with *Categories* 1 a 20, where the core text reads: Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν καθ’ ὑποκειμένου τινὸς λέγεται (trsl.: Among the things that exist, some are said of one subject). Amiroutzes wrote two interlinear notes to clarify to which entities τὰ μὲν (‘some’) refer and in which sense Aristotle uses the term λέγεται (‘are said’) in the context, respectively. The note explaining τὰ μὲν reads ἥγουν ἡ καθόλου οὐσία (trsl.: Namely, the universal substance); the one explaining λέγεται reads ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖται (trsl.: It is used instead of ‘is imputed’).

Less often, the interlinear notes offer a variant reading compared to the one copied in the text of EBE 1067. For instance, at *Categories* 1 a 10-11, Amiroutzes wrote in the core text of EBE 1067 the following: ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποδιδῶ τίς τὸν ἐκάστου λόγον κτλ. (trsl.: If some provides the explanation of each etc.). Later he wrote, in red ink, τέρου above the ending of the word ἐκάστου, indicating that a possible, alternative reading would be ἐκατέρου (each of the two).

Let us come back to the two scribes who cooperated in the production of EBE 1067 in the 1460s: What does their cooperation mean for the provenance of the manuscript? Although many details of his life are still unclear, Georgios Amiroutzes is not a completely unknown figure and pieces of biographical information on him can be used to illuminate the history of EBE 1067. Known as ‘the philosopher’, Amiroutzes served as μέγας λογοθέτης and πρωτοβεστιάριος in the court of the Empire of Trebizond where he was born in the early fifteenth century. Amazed by his erudition, Mehmed II invited Amiroutzes to join his court in Constantinople in the early 1460s, after the conquest of Trebizond by the Ottomans in 1461. Amiroutzes enjoyed Mehmed II’s favour due to his knowledge of ancient Greek philosophy and maybe his family connections. Be that as it may, Amiroutzes quickly became a man of confidence for Mehmed II and most probably his tutor for Greek philosophy. Amiroutzes’ stay at the court of Mehmed II in Constantinople in the 1460s is testified by reliable witnesses: the historian Michael Kritoboulos and the Greek scholar and emigree Georgios Trapezountios. Recently, Luigi Orlandi also proved that Amiroutzes was one of the several scribes working at the Greek scriptorium established by Mehmed II in Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> The biography of the other scribe who produced EBE 1067, Georgios Scholarios, is much better known. For the period of interest, the 1460s, Scholarios appears to have resided at three different places: the Monastery of Vatopedi, on Mount Athos, in the early 1460s; Constantinople in 1462-1463 and again in 1464-1466/67; the Monastery of John Prodromos, on Mount Menecee from 1466/67 onwards. For the period he spent in Constantinople he must have been ‘invited’ by Mehmed II to fulfil some function, maybe that of translator of Latin texts into Greek.<sup>13</sup> Thus, it is tempting to assign the production of EBE 1067 to a time between 1462 and 1467, when both Amiroutzes and Scholarios were in Constantinople as part of Mehmed II’s court or entourage.

Palaeographical and philological study of other Organon manuscripts supply further evidence for the Constantinopolitan origin of EBE 1067. Among the more than 150 surviving Greek manuscripts of the logical treatises, I identified the script of Georgios Amiroutzes in one codex today housed at the National Library of France: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coisl. 327. This Coisl. 327 transmits the Organon in its entirety: *Isagoge* (fols 1r-13v), *Categories* (fols 14r-35r), *De interpretatione* (fols 36v-47r), *First Analytics* (fols 47v-131v), *Second Analytics* (fols 132r-166r), *Topics* (fols 166r-250v), *Sophistical Refutations* (fols 251r-275r). Coisl. 327 was written by a group of anonymous scribes, who can be datable, on palaeographic bases, to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>14</sup> This Coisl. 327 manuscript had an adventurous life. It passed through several scholarly hands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and is a primary example of a multilayered written artefact, namely, a manuscript whose material and content evolved over centuries due to changes introduced by different users.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned, one of the identified annotators of Coisl. 327 was Georgios Amiroutzes, who wrote some marginal notes and apparently rewrote the text of the Organon at some places where the original ink had faded (**FIGURE 5**). But Amiroutzes is not the only individual who had both EBE 1067 and Coisl. 327 in their hands. As Brigitte Mondrain showed, Georgios Scholarios also left written traces of his use of Coisl. 327 (**FIGURE 6**).<sup>16</sup> Important to know the whereabouts of Coisl. 327 during the early stages of its biography is the identification of further scribes who wrote down notes in this written artefact. Sophia Kotzabassi and

12 For Amiroutzes’ biography, see, among other sources, Janssens and Van Deun 2004; Monfassani 2011, esp. 5–12; Orlandi 2019; Kukjalko 2020, esp. 286–298; Budak 2024, esp. 374–379.

13 Blanchet 2008, 210–223.

14 Mondrain 2000, 21.

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

16 Maksimczuk and Orlandi 2025 (identification of Amiroutzes’ hand) and Mondrain 2000, 25 (identification of Scholarios’ script).

Brigitte Mondrain found the hand of the Monk Malachias, formerly known as *Anonymus Aristotelicus*, who collated long portions of the core text and added numerous notes commenting on it throughout the codex.<sup>17</sup> Mondrain also discovered the script of the polymath and teacher Neophytos Prodromenos, who in a colophon presented himself as the hieromonk Neophytos.<sup>18</sup> These two intellectuals, Malachias and Neophytos, were active in Constantinople in the fourteenth century.

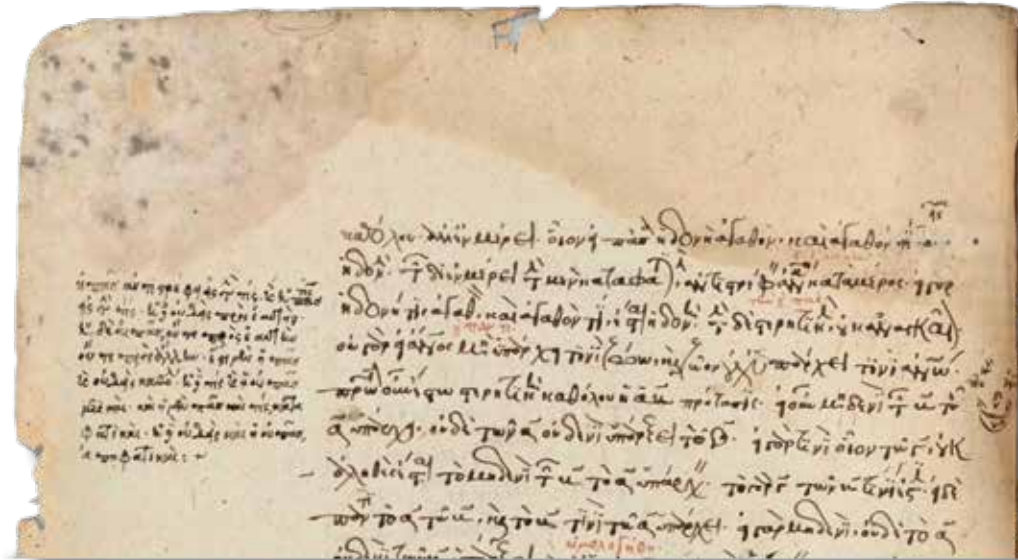


FIGURE 5: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coisl. 327, fol. 48v (detail). Marginal note written by Georgios Amiroutzes, © BnF.



FIGURE 6: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coisl. 327, fol. 36r (detail). Note in the lowest margin of the folio, written by Georgios Scholarios, © BnF.

17 Kotzabassi 1999, 13 n. 50; Mondrain 2000, 21. For the identity of the scribe, see Mondrain 2005, 23 and Martínez Manzano 2019.  
18 Mondrain 2000, 25.

I have collated long portions of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and Aristotle’s *First Analytics* in around 140 Greek manuscripts. The result of my text study indicates that EBE 1067 is a copy of Coisl. 327: the former reproduces all the important innovations and errors in the latter while adding some of its own. Even more tellingly, EBE 1067 offers in a visually clean text parts of the several layers of annotations and corrections that different individuals wrote in Coisl. 327 during decades.

The combination of the multiple layers of Coisl. 327 in EBE 1067 can be better assessed through the study of the paracontent in both manuscripts. As pointed out, Coisl. 327 offers several strata of annotations added by different users in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was the multilayered paracontent of Coisl. 327 that served as the model for the exegetical interlinear and marginal notes in EBE 1067. Let us illustrate this with the exegetical notes on EBE 1067, fol. 2r (FIGURE 7).



FIGURE 7: Athens, EBE, 1067, fol. 2r. Core and paracontent written by Georgios Amiroutzes around 1460s, ©National Library of Greece.

There, Amiroutzes wrote five exegetical texts which I will assign for the sake of the discussion letters a-e.

Outer margin of fol. 2r:

- a. τὸ οὗτος καὶ τὸ τοῦτο καλῶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι κατὰ τῶν μερικῶν ἤγαγον· ταῦτα γὰρ αἰθήσει ὑποπίπτουσι.
- b. τοῖς ἐν ἐκάστω αὐτῶν συμβεβηκόσιν· ἤγουν λευκότητι...<sup>19</sup>

Between the lines of the core text:

- c. ἤγουν τὰ μερικά· ὥς μὴ τεμνόμενα μήτε εἰς ὁμοειδῆ μήτε εἰς ἀνομοειδῆ
- d. ἤγουν τῇ συνδρομῇ τῶν συμβεβηκότων
- e. τῇ φύσει
- f. τὸ γελαστικὸν κατὰ μόνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἤγουν τῶν ἀτόμων

Five out of the six commenting notes are virtually identically found on Coisl. 327, fol. 1r. With an essential difference: in the Coisl. manuscript they were written at different moments by different individuals. An anonymous, fourteenth-century annotator wrote the parallels of notes b-d and f whereas Malachias wrote that of note a (FIGURE 8). The fact that all of them were copied in one-go by Georgios Amiroutzes in EBE 1067 is an unequivocal sign that he had Coisl. 327 in front of his eyes. Interestingly, note e, which is not found anymore on Coisl. 327, fol. 1r was most probably transmitted in the manuscript but it is illegible now due to physical damage (cf. line six from the bottom, above διαφέρουσι in the core text).

Connecting the codex EBE 1067 and the biographies of its producers, Georgios Amiroutzes and Georgios Scholarios, strongly suggests that the manuscript was written in Constantinople, soon after the Ottoman conquest, sometime between 1462 and 1466/67. The study of EBE 1067 and the identification of its direct model Coisl. 327 is important not only to better assess the production of Greek philosophical manuscripts in Constantinople during the early years of the Ottoman rule but also to refine our understanding of the relationship between Amiroutzes and Scholarios. So far, we knew that both men cooperated in transcribing theological treatises written by Scholarios in manuscripts preserved in the National Library of France (Par. gr. 1289, 1292, and 1294). The context in which EBE 1067 was created appears to be different. EBE 1067 is a product of Amiroutzes and Scholarios' engagement in the study and discussion of Aristotelian philosophy.

19 The last word I cannot read (the ink faded).



FIGURE 8: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coisl. 327, fol. 1r. Core text copied by an anonymous scribe in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries; notes in black ink written by an anonymous reader in the fourteenth century; note in red ink written by Malachias in the second half of the fourteenth century, © Bnf.

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