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## Maximus Planudes and Boethius' Byzantine Reception: Βίος Βοηθίου

*Maximus Planudes ve Boethius'un Bizans'a Bakışı: Boethius'un Hayatı*

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**Abstract:** Boethius was an influential figure in the medieval West; however, his reception is often overlooked in scholarship concerning the Byzantine East. In this paper, I investigate the Byzantine reception of Boethius as seen in Maximus Planudes' Βίος Βοηθίου (Life of Boethius). Maximus Planudes was the first Byzantine scholar to translate Boethius' *De Consolatio Philosophia* (The Consolation of Philosophy) into Greek, which he wrote in the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century, and the Βίος Βοηθίου prefaced his monumental Greek translation. In this paper, translator Sean Tandy and I provide the first-ever English translation of Planudes' Βίος Βοηθίου. Then, I will flesh out what facts about Boethius travelled to the late Byzantine world. I argue that Planudes portrays and emphasizes the Byzantine aspects of Boethius in his Βίος Βοηθίου, particularly concerning Church History. Finally, I also provide an updated summary and analysis of Planudes' manuscripts, which demonstrate the material reception of his work.

**Keywords:** Byzantine Empire, Maximus Planudes, Boethius, Church History, Holobolus, Consolation of Philosophy

**Öz:** Boethius Ortaçağ Batı'sında etkili bir kişi olmasına rağmen Doğu Bizans söz konusu olduğunda Boethius'un fikirleri Batılı alimlerce çoklukla ihmal edilmiştir. Bu makalede Boethius'un Bizans'a bakışı Maximus Planudes'un "Boethius'un Hayatı" isimli eserinde yansıtıldığı yönleriyle incelenmektedir. Maximus Planudes Boethius'un "Felsefe'nin Tesellisi" isimli eserini 14. yüzyılda Yunancaya çeviren ilk Bizanslı alimdir. Bu esere Planudes "Boethius'un Hayatı" isimli bir de önsöz eklemiştir. Bu makalede Planudes'un "Boethius'un Hayatı" isimli önsözünün ilk İngilizce tercümesi verilerek, Boethius hakkında Bizans alemine ulaşan bilgiler değerlendirilmekte ve Planudes'in Boethius'un Bizans ve özellikle kilise tarihi ile ilgili fikirlerini benimsediği görüşü savunulmaktadır. En sonda da Planudes'un eseri ile ilgili yapılan çalışmaların özet ve analizi yapılarak bu eserin literatürde nasıl görüldüğü sunulmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Bizans İmparatorluğu, Maximus Planudes, Boethius, Kilise Tarihi, Holobolus, Felsefe'nin Tesellisi

In the waning weeks of his life, Boethius wrote his famous *De consolatione Philosophiae*, where the consoling Philosophy helps Boethius deal with his unfortunate imprisonment. Although modern scholarship debates whether or not he was a Christian, and thus, a martyr, Boethius was celebrated in his *post-mortem* years as a Christian saint.<sup>1</sup> His reception was influential in the medieval period and his work circulated widely. Medieval Christians saw theological implications in his *consolatio* and the work stood as the only Aristotle that some would ever read in their lifetimes.<sup>2</sup> Others, such as Alfred the Great (d. 899), Notker Labeo (d.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Fraser Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay* (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1981), esp. chapter1 (pp.1-14) "A glance at the controversy on Boethius." Also see Reinhold F. Glei, Nicola Kaminski, and Franz Lebsanft, "Einleitung: Boethius Christianus?" in Reinhold Glei, Nicola Kaminski, and Franz Lebsanft, eds. *Boethius Christianus? Transformationen der Consolatio Philosophiae in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 1-17. Also, Danuta Shanzer, "The death of Boethius and the Consolation of Philosophy," *Hermes* 112 (1984): 352-366; William Bark, "The legend of Boethius' martyrdom," *Speculum* 21 (1946): 313.

<sup>2</sup> Monika Asztalos, "Boethius as a transmitter of Greek logic to the Latin West: the Categories," *Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993): 367-407, esp. 367f.



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1022), Jean de Meun (d. 1305), and Elizabeth I (d. 1603) wrote translations of the *De consolazione Philosophiae* in their respective vernacular languages.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, other important medieval figures, such as Aquinas (d. 1274), wrote commentaries and notes on Boethius' works.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, given the immense amount of literature concerning Boethius in the Middle Ages, it only makes sense that a comparative amount of modern scholarship on his reception also exists on the same topic, which for the most part is true.<sup>5</sup>

Kaylor and Phillips' 2012 work is the latest word on Boethian reception in the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> Here, as elsewhere in other works on the topic, the entries discuss Boethius' reception in the West in terms of translations, commentaries, and his influence on the intellectual culture. Few works focus on the eastern reception of Boethius, which is the primary focus of my essay.<sup>7</sup>

In this paper, I will demonstrate the eastern reception of Boethius as seen in Planudes' *Bíos Boηθίου*. I will set the stage by providing the first-ever English translation of Planudes' *Bíos Boηθίου*, (*The Life of Boethius*), which preceded his translation of Boethius' *consolatio* in most manuscript copies.<sup>8</sup> Second, I will provide an analysis of the information Planudes provides about Boethius to determine what details about the Magister Officiorum circulated in late Byzantium.<sup>9</sup> Third, I will discuss the known eastern reception of Planudes' Boethian texts as displayed in the manuscript tradition, which reflects the work's legacy. Overall, in the process of analyzing Boethius' Byzantine reception, I will argue that Planudes is emphasizing Boethius' importance to Byzantine history, which reflects the Eastern-centric propaganda of the Palaeologan Renaissance.<sup>10</sup>

### Maximus Planudes: his life, translation, and *scholia*

Planudes was born in Nikomedia around 1255.<sup>11</sup> He started his career as a manuscript copyist and scribe at the Imperial Palace in 1283.<sup>12</sup> Then, he took orders with Basilian monks and taught at the Chora monastery in Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> Planudes is well-known for his

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<sup>3</sup> Noel Harold Kaylor, *The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1992). Also see Howard Rollin Patch, *The Tradition of Boethius: A Study of His Importance in Medieval Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935), esp. 46-86. Also see V. L. Dedeck-Hery, "Le Boèce de Chaucer et les Manuscrits Français de la Consolatio de J. De Meun," *PMLA* 59.1 (1944): 18-25.

<sup>4</sup> Ralph McInerney, *Boethius and Aquinas* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> A. Pertusi, "La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio", *Παγκάρπεια, Melanges Gregoire III* (Bruxelles: Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves XI, 1951): 301-322.

<sup>6</sup> Noel Harold Kaylor and Philip Edward Phillips, ed. *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages* (Boston: Brill Companions to the Christian tradition, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Sean Tandy, "Review: A companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages," *Hortulus* 10.2 (2014): 75-77.

<sup>8</sup> Maximus Planudes (Μάξιμος Πλανούδης: d. 1305) wrote the first Greek translation of Boethius' *De consolazione Philosophiae*, which appeared in the thirteenth-century; he also provided his own accompanying *scholia*.

<sup>9</sup> Megas demonstrates that Planudes' *Bíos Boηθίου* is based on Cassiodorus' *Vita Boethii*, what modern scholars call Cassiodorus' compilation of references to Boethius' life – *Variae* I.10, I.45, & II.40. I will build upon Megas' discussion, showing the similarities and differences between the two historians.

<sup>10</sup> For the Palaeologan Renaissance, see Edmund Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261-c.1360)* (Boston: Brill, 2000).

<sup>11</sup> M. Papatomopoulos, I. Tsavari, and G. Rigotti, *Αγόυστινου περι Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἄπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος Ὁ Πλανούδης* (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1995) CXIII-CLVI. Also, see Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul, and Michael Grünbart, *Networks of learning: perspectives on scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200*. (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Fisher, "Planoudes, Maximus," in Alexander Kazhdan, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Fisher, "Planoudes, Maximus.," C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204- ca. 1310* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982), 55.



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translations of Latin authors into Byzantine Greek, such as Augustine, Ovid, Cicero, and Boethius;<sup>14</sup> he also provided scholia on several authors, such as Plutarch and Boethius.<sup>15</sup>

Planudes was one of the few eastern scholars who could work extensively in Latin and Greek in late Byzantium.<sup>16</sup> Although scholars are unsure about how Planudes learned Latin, one theory suggests that he gained fluency while studying with Manuel Holobolus;<sup>17</sup> this theory depends on the assumption that Holobolus was already translating some of Boethius' texts on logic, which is not a widely-accepted argument.<sup>18</sup> Another possible theory suggests that Planudes acquired his knowledge of Latin while as an ambassador in Venice; a third theory argues that he learned it from the first Franciscan house in Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> Regardless, Planudes' knowledge of Latin was a unique and exceptional gift.<sup>20</sup>

The majority of modern scholarship on Planudes has focused on his *Greek Anthology*, a collection of over 2,400 Greek epigrams and poems, and his translations of Cicero and Ovid, which influenced Greek Professors in the following years, such as Marcos Mousouros (Μάρκος Μουσουρός – d. 1517) at the University of Padua.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Planudes' grammar manual colored the writing style of Theodore of Gaza (Θεόδωρος Γαζής – d. 1475), Professor of Greek at the University of Ferrara.<sup>22</sup> Given all of these western connections, one can see how Planudes, for all his "uniqueness," was part of an international set of relationships that was typical of the period. These examples also provide a glimpse of Planudes' reception in terms of his grammar manual and anthology. I shall now discuss the reception of Boethius in the East as seen in Planudes' *Bíos Boηθίου*.<sup>23</sup>

### The Text: translation by Paul Brazinski and Sean Tandy

We will now provide a first-ever translation of Planudes' *Bíos Boηθίου* in English (TLG 4146.002). Then, I will extrapolate sections of the text to showcase Boethius' eastern reception.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Fisher, *Planudes' Greek Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 5ff.

<sup>15</sup> Fisher, "Planoudes, Maximus." Nigel Guy Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 241.

<sup>16</sup> Filippomaria Potani, "The world on a fingernail: an unknown Byzantine map, Planudes, and Ptolemy," *Traditio* 65 (2010): 177-200. Also see Joan Hussey, *Church & Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 68. Also, see Elizabeth Fisher, "Monks, Monasteries, and the Latin Language in Constantinople," in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, eds. Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nerva Necipoglu, (Istanbul: Vehbi Koc Foundation, 2010): 390-395.

<sup>17</sup> Pachymeres Georgius and Dimitrios Nikitas, *De differentiis topicis: και οί Βυζαντινές μεταφράσεις τών Μανουήλ Ολοβόλου και Προχόρου Κυδώνη* (Athens: Βυζαντινοί Φιλόσοφοι-Philosophi Byzantini 5, 1990).

<sup>18</sup> Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 231. Also, Robert Lee Wolff "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944): 213-237, esp. 213-4. Also, Louise Buenger Robert, "Rialto Businessmen and Constantinople, 1204-1261," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 43-48, esp. 48f. Elizabeth Fisher, "Planoudes, Holobolus, and the motivation for translation," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 43 (2002): 77-104.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 231; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977), 153-8; Michele Piccirillo, *La custodia di Terra Santa e l'Europa : i rapporti politici e l'attività culturale dei Francescani in Medio Oriente* (Roma: Il Veltro Editrice, 1983), 131.

<sup>20</sup> Fisher, "Monks, Monasteries, and the Latin Language in Constantinople," 390; Fisher, Planoudes, Maximus."

<sup>21</sup> Deno John Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 27; Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology: from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 15.

<sup>22</sup> Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West*, 75.

<sup>23</sup> Both are available in their critical edition form on the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) under Maximus Planudes (1) *Vita Boethii*, (2) *Scholia in Boethii de philosophiae consolatione* & (3) *Boethii de philosophiae consolatione in linguam graecam translati*. Also, see A. Megas, *Maximos Planudes. Boethii de philosophiae consolatione in linguam graecam translati* (Thessaloniki: Λατινο-ελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη, 1996).



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[1] Boethius the wise-man was from the Torquati house. He was experienced in the learning of both languages, I mean the learning of the Hellenes and that of the Latins.<sup>24</sup>

[2] Therefore he published many books interpreting Porphyry's *Introduction*, Aristotle's *Interpretations*, and others; and they say that he composed a treatise of his own *Different Topics*. He was also the best with the remaining disciplines.<sup>25</sup>

[3] And he seems to have composed the book under consideration when he was already an old man; for Theoderic, the king of the Goths, was behaving in a tyrannical manner in Rome and was purging the Roman state of all noble Roman citizens and those of worth. Some he killed, others he sentenced into exile. Because of this Theoderic banished and imprisoned Boethius, who was consul together with his sons, and was zealous for the freedom of the City<sup>26</sup> and was accused of being so by Theoderic. And in that place he composed the present book out of vexation and indignation concerning the fickleness of Fortune and the changeable position she holds. The literary form is dialogue. He introduces Philosophy who teaches and consoles him while he asks about the things about which he is in doubt.<sup>27</sup>

[4] It is said that he was born during the reign of Emperor Marcian. They say that he composed another book a theological one against Nestorius and Eutyches, in which he also makes mention of the Chalcedonian Council. And so from this it is clear that he is a Christian. Additionally he imitates Martianus, I do not mean the Emperor Marcian<sup>28</sup>, but another one, by writing partially in meter and partially in prose, therefore showing that he is acquainted with both. It is wonderfully evidenced in his meters, dogma, and poetical character. And also in his prose he is held in honor by many when using rhetoric and when using philosophy.<sup>29</sup>

[5] The book is titled *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, a patrician from the office of consul, Concerning the Consolation of Philosophy*. He divided this into five books.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Planudes, *Βίος Βοηθίου* I, “Βοήτιος ὁ σοφὸς ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Τορκουάτων οἰκίας, γέγονε δὲ ἐμπειρότατος τὴν παιδείαν κατ’ ἄμφω τὰς διαλέκτους, τὴν τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων φημι καὶ Λατίνων.”

<sup>25</sup> Planudes, *Βίος Βοηθίου* II, “Ὅθεν καὶ πλείστας βιβλούς ἐξέδωκεν ἐξηγησάμενος τὴν Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἑρμηνείας Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ ἕτερα, φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν Τοπικῶν ἴδιον βιβλίον συντάξασθαι• γέγονε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν μαθημάτων ἄριστος.”

<sup>26</sup> Sean Tandy, the co-translator observes that in the original Latin that Planudes is translating the word was almost certainly *urbs* which, when used alone like this, means *The City*, i.e. Rome.

<sup>27</sup> Planudes, *Βίος Βοηθίου* III, “Δοκεῖ δὲ τὴν παρούσαν βιβλίον ἤδη πρὸς γῆρας ἐλαύνων συνθετικῆν• Θεωδέρχως γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γότθων βασιλεὺς τυραννήσας ἐν Ρώμῃ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθελὼν πολιτείαν πάντας τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὄντας οὓς μὲν διεχρήσατο, οὓς δὲ ὑπερορία κατέκρινε• διὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Βοήτιον, ὑπάτον ἅμα τοῖς υἱέσι γενόμενον καὶ περὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερίαν σπεύδοντα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορηθέντα παρὰ Θεωδέρχῳ, καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ὑπερορίαν ἐπεμψε καὶ καθεῖρξεν, ἐνθα καὶ τὴν παρούσαν συνεγράψατο βιβλίον ἐξ ἀγανακτήσεως καὶ ἀναξιοπαθείας πρὸς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον καὶ εὐμετάβολον τὴν ἀφορμὴν σχοῦσαν. / Ὁ μὲν οὖν χαρακτήρ ἐστι διαλογικὸς• εἰσάγει δὲ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν παραμυθουμένην καὶ διδάσκουσαν αὐτὸν ἐρωτῶντα περὶ ὧν διηπόρει.”

<sup>28</sup> Sean Tandy, the co-translator observes that in Planudes' source the biographer makes note that Boethius copies Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (in that they both are prosimetrical compositions), and Planudes, probably not knowing the author to whom the biographer is referring, and noting that the name written in Greek would be the same as the Emperor's adds this note to distinguish the two men.

<sup>29</sup> Planudes, *Βίος Βοηθίου* IV, “Λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους γεγενῆσθαι Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως• φασὶ δὲ καὶ βιβλίον αὐτὸν ἑτέραν συνθεῖναι θεολογικὴν κατὰ Νεστορίου καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς, ἐνθα καὶ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου μέμνηται• ὡς ἐκ τούτου δῆλον εἶναι Χριστιανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι• ἐμμῆσατο δὲ Μαρκιανόν, οὐ τὸν βασιλέα λέγω, ἕτερον δὲ τινα, κατὰ μέρος ἐμμετρα καὶ καταλογάδην γράψας, δεικνὺς καὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἑαυτὸν διαπεφυκότα. Θαυμασίως δὲ ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐμμέτροις καὶ δόγμασι καὶ ἦθει ποιητικῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ λογοειδεῖ ὅτε μὲν ῥητορικῷ ὅτε δὲ φιλοσόφῳ χρώμενον καὶ διὰ πάντων εὐδοκιμοῦντα.”

<sup>30</sup> Planudes, *Βίος Βοηθίου* V, “Ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν οὖν ἡ βιβλίος «Ἀνιτίου Μαλλίου Σεβηρίνου Βοηθίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων τέλους τῶν πατρικίων Περὶ παραμυθίας τῆς Φιλοσοφίας», διαίρει δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς βιβλία πέντε.”



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## Textual Analysis

First, Planudes' *Bíos Boηθίου* is strikingly similar to Cassiodorus' *Vita Boethii*.<sup>31</sup> Megas demonstrates the similarities between Planudes' and Cassiodorus' *Vita Boethii* in his work.<sup>32</sup> For example, Planudes and Cassiodorus discuss how well-educated Boethius was. They both state that he knew Greek and Latin and that he translated several of Aristotle's works into Latin, often listing the exact authors and works in order, such as with music listing Pythagoras and Ptolemy. Planudes and Cassiodorus also provide very similar information regarding Boethius' dispute with Theoderic; both authors paint a picture of the most-learned Boethius, who was unjustly punished by the tyrannical Theoderic. The length and language are also similar. At this point, one might wonder if Planudes simply read Cassiodorus' comments on Boethius and recorded them in his brief preface; but this is not the case.

In terms of contradicting information, Planudes and Cassiodorus differ concerning Boethius' theological treatises. For starters, Cassiodorus is specific as to which theological treatises Boethius wrote stating, "[Boethius] wrote a book concerning the Holy Trinity and certain dogmatic chapters and a book against Nestorius."<sup>33</sup> Thus, scholars have speculated that Cassiodorus attests for Boethius' theological treatise on *De Trinitate, Utrum Pater et Filius, Quomodo substantiae, Contra Eutychem et Nestorium*, but not his final one on *De Fide Catholica*.<sup>34</sup> Here, Planudes only directly attests to Boethius' *Contra Eutychem et Nestorium*, or, as he writes it *κατὰ Νεστορίου καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς*. Notice that Planudes here includes Nestorius' name first. This titular alteration could be a result of several possibilities, such as the manuscript that Planudes was copying reversed the order or Planudes arranged the persons into chronological order.

Of the theological works Planudes references, he only accounts for topics relevant to Constantinople and the East, where he was writing. He directly mentions Nestorius, Eutyches, and the Council of Chalcedon in his *Bíos Boηθίου*. Although Nestorius and Eutyches were condemned for their Christological positions, both were prominent figures in Constantinople's Christian history – a former Constantinopolitan patriarch and monk respectively.<sup>35</sup> Planudes' reference to Boethius' contribution to the Council of Chalcedon would read better for his Byzantine audience, since the synod was an early declaration of Orthodoxy; once again, Planudes is highlighting Boethius' eastern importance to his Byzantine Greek audience in emphasizing his concern for recalling Byzantine history. Planudes' work is Byzantine-centric, fitting the trends of the Palaeologan Renaissance. Other works on Boethius' reception do this as well, superimposing a regional feel or agenda into his work and life. For example, the Alfred the Great translation substitutes Anglo-Saxon heroes for classical ones.<sup>36</sup> Planudes similarly showcases his agenda, as he boldly states, "ὥς ἐκ τούτου δῆλον εἶναι Χριστιανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι." Thus, Planudes makes it perfectly clear that Boethius was a Christian. Planudes' agenda to portray a Christian Boethius, one sympathetic to Constantinople, is also visible in

<sup>31</sup> Cassiodorus *Variae* proem.10-15 & *Variae* I.X & *Variae* II.XL.

<sup>32</sup> Megas, *Maximos Planudes. Boethii de philosophiae consolatione in linguam graecam translata*.

<sup>33</sup> Also, Cassiodorus *Variae* I.10 "Scipsit librum de Sancta Trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium."

<sup>34</sup> John Bradshaw, "The Opuscula sacra: Boethius and theology," in *Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marendon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 105.

<sup>35</sup> Ephesus 431, *Council Proceedings*; Chalcedon 451, *Council Proceedings*; Leo the Great, *Letter 28 "The Tome."* Also, see Justo Gonzalez, *The History of Christianity: the Early Church to the Dawn of the Reformation* (New York: HarperOne, 2010), 229-302.

<sup>36</sup> Paul E. Szarmach, "Boethius's Influence in Anglo-Saxon England: The Vernacular and the *De consolatione philosophiae*" in *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, eds. Noel Harold Kaylor and Philip Edward Phillips (Boston: Brill Companions to the Christian tradition, 2012): 221-254.



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the aftermath of the 1274 Second Council of Lyons.<sup>37</sup> But, in classic Planudes style, one must wonder if he omits or changes any details in this piece, which he does.

Planudes writes that Boethius was born during the reign of Emperor Marcian (r.450-457); unless Boethius' birth-year, 480 AD, was inaccurate in all western literature, Planudes clearly botches the chronology. In making this change, Planudes tactfully places Boethius' theological treatises more contemporaneously with Nestorius, who was referenced in the 431 and 449 councils, Eutyches, who was condemned in the 451 council, and the Council of Chalcedon itself in 451. Moreover, Planudes makes Boethius contemporaneous with Emperor Marcian, who convened the Council of Chalcedon. By giving Boethius an earlier birth-year, Planudes makes him a potential "primary source" concerning these major theological issues, or, at least gives him more credence as an early authority. The reason for Planudes' alteration is unclear; I suggest that he was most likely trying to promote and educate others of Boethius' importance for the East, not simply just providing a translation or explaining certain words.

One must remember that Maximus Planudes was not just a manuscript copyist; he was also an instructor, which past scholarship utilizes to explain his motivation for translating Boethius – to enrich the literary circles of his academic colleagues and provide a better picture of the Western mindset.<sup>38</sup> For example, Planudes taught at the Chora Monastery, where he tutored some important Byzantine figures such as Manuel Moschopoulos and George Lakapenos. As a copyist, he translated some monumental works into Byzantine Greek, such as Augustine's *City of God* and Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, which would help instruct these young readers. Beyond his academic instruction, he was also a guardian of souls, being the ἡγούμενος (hegoumenos), the monastery superior, at Mount Auxentios Monastery before he transferred to Akataleptos Monastery around 1301.<sup>39</sup>

In this case concerning Boethius, the fact that Planudes wrote accompanying scholia for his translation of Boethius' *De consolazione Philosophiae* further supports current scholarship that he wanted to instruct others on the Magister Officiorum's importance.<sup>40</sup> Scholia are meant to explain unclear passages, which Planudes offers for the entirety of Boethius' work. Had Planudes not provided scholia perhaps one could argue that he was simply translating an important work into Greek. But the fact that he provides scholia means he wanted people to understand the work and that he felt impelled to help.

### **Manuscript Tradition: distribution and scope**

Planudes' *Βίος Βοηθίου* provides a wealth of knowledge in terms of Boethian reception. Now, I will look at the physical distribution of Planudes' manuscript copies, which will show his post-thirteenth-century reception in the East. One must remember that this figure is a minimum count, since some manuscripts were lost or destroyed over time.<sup>41</sup> Megas tabulated

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<sup>37</sup> Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 230.

<sup>38</sup> Philip A. Stadter, "Planudes, Plutarch and Pace of Ferrara," *IMU 16* (1973) 159; Hans Georg Beck, "Besonderheiten der Literature der Palaologenzeit," *Art et societe a Byzance sous les Paleologues* (Venice 1971), 44; Fisher, "Planoudes, Holobolos, and translation," 100.

<sup>39</sup> Fisher, "Planoudes, Maximos."

<sup>40</sup> Philip A. Stadter, "Planudes, Plutarch and Pace of Ferrara," *IMU 16* (1973) 159; Hans Georg Beck, "Besonderheiten der Literature der Palaologenzeit," *Art et societe a Byzance sous les Paleologues* (Venice 1971), 44.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Weitzman, "The evolution of manuscript tradition," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* (1987): 287-308.



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32 manuscripts of Planudes' *De consolatione Philosophiae* in Greek in his 1996 book.<sup>42</sup> However, Papathomopoulos 1999 study lists 35.<sup>43</sup> I provide here a summary of these works:

	Current Location	MS Name	Century Copied
1	Athens	Athen.1062	16 <sup>th</sup> century
2	Athens	Μετοχ. Παν. Τάφου 465	14 <sup>th</sup> century
3	Vatican	Vatic. Gr. 328 (1004)	1416
4	Vatican	Vatic. Gr. 329 (1005)	n/a
5	Vatican	Vatic. Gr. 706 (766)	14 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> century
6	Vatican	Ottob. Gr. 322	16 <sup>th</sup> century
7	Vatican	Palat. Gr. 119	15 <sup>th</sup> century
8	Vatican	Regin. Gr. 117 (653)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
9	Vienna	Vindob. Philos. Gr. 172	+/- 1500
10	Vienna	Vindob. Philol. Gr. 251	1455
11	Bucharest	Bucur. Br. 394	15 <sup>th</sup> – 17 <sup>th</sup> century
12	El Escorial	Escor. Σ-III-11	15 <sup>th</sup> century
13	Krakow	Jag. 620 (FF V 4)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
14	Milan	Ambros. 536 (M 91 sup)	1440
15	Milan	Ambros. 638 (P 116 sup.)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
16	Moscow	Mosc. 442 (260/CCXL VII)	1610
17	Moscow	Mosc. 455 (326/CCCXIII)	15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup>
18	Naples	Napol. III. E. 16	14 <sup>th</sup> century
19	Paris	Gr. 1992	14 <sup>th</sup> century
20	Paris	Paris. Gr. 2094 (Colb. 5011)	14 <sup>th</sup> century

<sup>42</sup> Megas, *Maximos Planudes. Boethii de philosophiae consolatione in linguam graecam translate.*

<sup>43</sup> M. Papathomopoulos, *Αννιτίου Μαλλίου Σεβηρίνου Βοηθοῦ Βιβλος περὶ παραμυθίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας, μετέφρασε Μάξιμος μοναχὸς Ὁ Πλανούδης* (Athens: Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi . Βυζαντινοὶ Φιλόσοφοι-Philosophi Byzantini 9, 1999). Also, see Robert Sinkewicz, *Manuscript Listings for Authors of the Patristic and Byzantine Periods* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1992).



21	Paris	Paris. Gr. 2095 (Reg. 3128)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
22	Paris	Paris. Gr. 2096 (Reg. 3127)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
23	Paris	Paris. Gr. 2097 (Reg. 3129)	1484
24	Paris	Paris. Gr. 2571 (Colb. 1343)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
25	Paris	Paris. Suppl. Gr. 498	15 <sup>th</sup> century
26	Paris	Paris. Suppl. Gr. 541	15 <sup>th</sup> century
27	Paris	Paris. B.N. Coisl. Gr. 84 (145)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
28	Paris	Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1101	14 <sup>th</sup> century
29	Rome	Angel. 48 (C.3.12)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
30	Florence	Laur. 56.22	14 <sup>th</sup> century
31	Florence	Laur. 81.23	15 <sup>th</sup> century
32	Florence	Ricc. Gr. 50 (K.II.35)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
33*	Cambridge	Emmanuel College 1	15 <sup>th</sup> century
34*	Vatican	Vatic. Gr. 953	16 <sup>th</sup> century
35*	Sinai	Sinaiticus 563	17 <sup>th</sup> century

\*M. Papatamopoulos 1999.

Thus, we are given the following chronological breakdown:

**TABLE 1**

<b>Year</b>	<b>MSS count</b>
13 <sup>th</sup> century	1- Planudes' original treatise
14 <sup>th</sup> century	9
1416	1
1440	1
1455	1
1484	1
14 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> century	1
15 <sup>th</sup> century	14
15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup> century	1
+/- 1500	1
16 <sup>th</sup> century	3
1610	1
17 <sup>th</sup> century	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>



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The manuscript analysis shows a continuous copying culture of Planudes' translation of Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae*, and *Βίος Βοηθίου* preface, in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. His manuscript, or at least a copy of it, was re-written at least nine times in the fourteenth-century. Then, at least another eighteen copies were created in the fifteenth century. It is also interesting to see that Planudes' manuscript is copied twice in the seventeenth century, since these copies were created in the post-Byzantine, and thus post-printing press, periods.

Beyond the extant copies listed, there are also several "virtual copies" of Planudes' *Βίος Βοηθίου*, meaning that scholars can account for others in the historical record. Papatomopoulos' 1999 work demonstrates that at least another six manuscripts were lost, which puts our total figure to 41 manuscripts, both extant and "virtual".<sup>44</sup> Thus, on average, Planudes' manuscript was copied about ten times per century (14<sup>th</sup>- 17<sup>th</sup>) after its composition. This number is a significant figure in terms of Byzantine Manuscript copies. If Planudes meant to promote a "Byzantine Boethius" and teach about the Magister Officiorum, he succeeded as seen in how greatly his manuscript was copied.

### Conclusions

In this paper, I discussed the Byzantine reception of Boethius as seen in Maximus Planudes' *Βίος Βοηθίου*. Translator Sean Tandy and I provided a first-ever English translation of Planudes' *Βίος Βοηθίου*, which I fleshed out in my analysis. Although Planudes' and Cassidorus' accounts are similar, they have contradicting information as well. Planudes views Boethius through a Byzantine-centric lens, emphasizing the topics the Magister Officiorum wrote concerning Byzantine history. Planudes botches Boethius' chronology, which places the Magister Officiorum contemporaneously with Emperor Marcian, Nestorius, Eutyches, and the Council of Chalcedon. Given Planudes' role in Constantinople as a teacher, monastery superior, and the fact that he provided scholia for his translation of the *Consolatio* suggest that Maximus was not just trying to provide the East with a translation of Boethius' most famous work, but rather he was trying to promote Boethius and explain his importance. After my translation and textual analysis, I provided quantitative evidence concerning the literary reception of his *Βίος Βοηθίου*. Planudes' work was rather successful, as 41 Byzantine manuscript copies, both extant and "virtual", survive to date that cemented Boethius' Byzantine reception in the East.

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<sup>44</sup> Papatomopoulos, *Αντίτιον Μαλλίου Σεβηρίνου Βοηθοῦ Βίβλος περί παραμυθίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας, μετέφρασε Μάξιμος μοναχὸς Ὁ Πλανούδης*, 58.



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