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A NOTE ON PLANUDES' TRANSLATION OF BOETHIUS *CONSOLATIO* 3,6

The two lines of Euripides' Andromache that Philosophia quotes in book 3 of the Consolatio are intended to invoke the Platonic distinction between δόξα and ἐπιστήμη in the discussion of gloria. The theme of the first nine sections of book 3 is the relation of sensible images to intelligible realities, and gloria is associated with δόξα in order to suggest that glory is opinion in the Platonic sense that it is an unstable image of a stable reality, occupying an intermediate position between being and non-being. There are indications that Planudes recognised the allusion and that he attempted to reproduce it in his translation by assimilating these two senses of δόξα, 'glory' and 'opinion.'

Keywords: Boethius; Planudes; *gloria*; δόξα

At *Consolatio philosophiae* 3,6,1,¹ the personified *Philosophia* quotes two lines from Euripides' *Andromache* (319–320), in which Andromache, having sought refuge at the altar of Thetis, attacks Menelaus with an indictment of reputation:

ὦ δόξα δόξα, μῦριοισι δὴ βροτῶν
οὐδὲν γεγῶσι βίσιτον ὄγκωσας μέγαν.

This is the longest Greek passage in the *Consolatio* (including the letters Π and Θ embroidered on *Philosophia*'s dress there are eleven), and the only one from a Greek tragedy. Most of these Greek quotations are allusions, specifically the sort for which Pasquali argues: “The poet may not be aware of reminiscences, and he may hope that his imitations may escape his public's notice; but allusions do not produce the desired effect if the reader does not

¹ Book, section and line references are to the Latin text of MORESCHINI, CLAUDIO [ED.], 2000. *De consolatione philosophiae*. Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2000.

clearly remember the text to which they refer.”² This paper involves two points. The first concerns the specific allusion in Boethius’ quotation from Euripides. I argue that *Philosophia* speaks these lines in order to evoke the Platonic distinction between *δόξα* and *ἐπιστήμη*. Although *Philosophia* initially refers to Euripides as *tragicus* (3,6,1), she later calls him *Euripidis mei*.³ In the *Consolatio* Euripides, like Homer, is a philosophical poet, and so it is not strange for his words to carry Platonic connotations. Thus *gloria* is associated with *δόξα* in order to underscore its derivative nature. It is an unstable image of a stable reality, occupying an intermediate position between being and non-being.⁴ The second point involves the suggestion that Planudes in fact detected this allusion and conveyed it in his translation. While the only evidence is the interpretation implicit in his translation, I suggest that it is also possible to see the Platonic doctrine reflected in Planudes’ translation.

There is a particular rationale for focusing on this passage. As the manuscript tradition makes clear, the Greek quotations in Boethius’ *Consolatio philosophiae* were unintelligible to most readers and copyists in the Middle Ages.⁵ Even the anonymous ninth century commentator on the *Consolatio* (one of the few Latin commentators with any knowledge of Greek) could do little more than provide a word for word translation where the text had not been completely corrupted during transmission.⁶ There is certainly no indication that he recognizes the provenance of those quotations Boethius left unidentified. Even when the Greek lines of the *Consolatio* were glossed or translated in the margin, their original contexts would have been unknown to most Latins. However, when in Constantinople in the 13th century, Maximos Planudes produced a Greek translation of Boethius’ final

² PASQUALI, GIORGIO. 1968. *Pagine stravaganti di un filologo*. Florence, 275, quoted in CONTE, G. B. 1986. *The Rhetoric of Imitation*. Ithaca, 24–25.

³ *Cons.* 3,7,6, which contains a free translation of *Andr.* 420.

⁴ Cf. the Platonic notion of *δόξα* in *Meno* 97b ff. and *Republic* 476a–480a.

⁵ Cf. MORSECHINI’S app. crit. On the fate of these passages in the Latin West, see FRAKES, JEROLD C. 1986. „The Knowledge of Greek in the Early Middle Ages: The Commentaries on Boethius’ *Consolatio*.“ *Studi Medievali*, 27, 23–43. See also SHANZER, DANUTA R. 1983. „*Me Quoque Excellentior*: Boethius, *De Consolatione* 4.6.38.“ *The Classical Quarterly*, 33, 277–283, and SHANZER. 1986. „The Late Antique Tradition of Varro’s *ONOS LYRAS*.“ *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 272–285. The manuscripts of Planudes’ translation that I have consulted preserve the Greek nearly perfectly: Parisinus gr. 2095 is uncorrupted, and Parisinus, Coislin. gr. 84 contains *βίωτον*. The single ms. used by BÉTANT has this and two other errors in the quotation from *Andromache*. BÉTANT, ÉLIE A. [ED.]. 1871. *Boèce, De la consolation de la philosophie, Traduction grecque de Maxime Planude*. Geneva.

⁶ SILK, EDMUND T. 1935. *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii Consolationem philosophiae commentarius*. Italy: American Academy in Rome.

work, many of the allusions buried in the Greek of the *Consolatio* once again came alive.

The question arises: what reason is there to think that Boethius had an allusive purpose in using quotations from Greek authors, and what reason to think that Planudes read and translated this way? Indeed, scholars seem to agree that the Greek quotations are not used to construct the same sort of subtle allusions as are the references to Latin poets such as Virgil or Ovid. Even those disposed to generous readings of the Greek quotations find them somewhat prosaic.⁷ One reason for this is that most of these quotations are well known commonplaces from Homer. Boethius may well have selected them from *florilegia*, commentaries, or from the works of Aristotle and Plotinus. Thus, the Homeric quotations do not seem to have been intended to evoke their original contexts in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, but are instead used because of a general association with Platonism. However, I have argued elsewhere that the Homeric quotations constitute more than borrowed phrases.⁸ In fact, Boethius seems to divide Homeric poetry in a way similar to Proclus, who in his *Commentary on the Republic* divides poetry into three kinds, all of which are found in Homer: "one in which the soul is linked with the gods and lives 'not its own life but theirs'; one in which it functions by reason; and one in which it operates with imagination and irrational sensation and is filled with inferior realities. To these correspond three types of poetry: the inspired, the didactic and the imaginative."⁹

Boethius selects quotations from Homer and arranges them in the *Consolatio* in a way that reflects the schema of modes of cognition articulated in book 5,4,27: *sensus, imaginatio, ratio, and intellegentia*.¹⁰ The

⁷ Two important treatments of Boethius' use of five quotations from Homer are found in O'DALY, GERARD. *The Poetry of Boethius*. London: Duckworth, 1991, and LAMBERTON, ROBERT. *Homer the Theologian*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

⁸ See FOURNIER, MICHAEL. „Boethius and Homer.“ 2010. *The Downside Review*, 128, 183–204.

⁹ RUSSELL, D.A. 1981. *Criticism in Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 66–67. On Proclus's reading of Homer see SHEPPARD, ANNE D.R. 1980. *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; COULTER, JAMES A. 1976. *The Literary Microcosm*. Leiden: Brill, as well as LAMBERTON, D. 1992. „The Neoplatonists and the Spiritualization of Homer.“ In LAMBERTON, ROBERT and KEANEY, JOHN J. [EDS.] *Homer's Ancient Readers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, 115–133; KUISMA, OIVA. 1996. *Proclus' Defense of Homer*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

¹⁰ On the cognitive hierarchy as the structural principle of the *Consolatio*, see ELAINE SCARRY. 1994. „The External Referent: Cosmic Order; The Well-Rounded Sphere: Cognition and Metaphysical Structure in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.“ In

work presents an ascent from sensation in book 1, to imagination in book 2, followed by reason in books 3 and 4, and culminating in intellect in book 5. When their original contexts are examined, the Homeric quotations in books 1, 2, 4 and 5 easily map onto this structural schema in a way that suggests a division of Homeric poetry into mimetic (adapted to sense and imagination), noetic (adapted to reason) and inspired (adapted to the simplicity of intellect) kinds.

As far as the likelihood that Planudes not only read the *Consolatio* in such a way as to detect, but also translated it so as to reflect the allusion in the quotation from Euripides, it is important to consider Planudes' general approach to translating Latin authors. Gigante argues that his translation of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* is in fact an interpretation,¹¹ and Fisher emphasises the Planudean authorship to the point that she originally insisted upon calling his translation his *version* of the *Metamorphoses*.¹² In the case of the *Consolatio*, the decidedly non-literal character of Planudes' translation has often been noted.¹³ The particularly sensitive way that Planudes reads and interprets Boethius is brought to light by the approach he takes to a second allusion to Euripides in 3,7, a Latin paraphrase of *Andromache* 420. It was his practice to supply corrected texts,¹⁴ and of especial relevance to a consideration of his translations from Latin to Greek is the insertion of a quotation from his own text of Plato's *Phaedrus* into his translation of Cicero, where Cicero had translated the Greek into Latin. Thus, instead of translating

EAD. *Resisting Representation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, 143–180.

- 11 GIGANTE, MARCELLO. 1961. „Massimo Planude Interprete di Cicerone.“ *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di studi ciceroniani: Roma, aprile 1959*. Roma, 1961, 207–226.
- 12 FISHER, ELIZABETH A. 1990. *Planudes' Greek Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990. Fisher's dissertation is entitled *Planudes' Version of Ovid's Metamorphoses*, and she only abandoned this term for the title of the monograph after she was satisfied that translation studies had vindicated her initial objection to the use of 'translation' for a work that was a great deal more than a mechanical reproduction of Ovid in another language.
- 13 For a discussion of Planudes' translation and an overview of modern scholarship on it see PAPATHOMOPOULOS, MANOLIS [ED.]. 1999. *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Consolatione Philosophiae, traduction Greque de Maxime Planude*. Paris: Vrin. See also COLETTA, DANIELA. 1974. „Planude traduttore di Boezio.“ In BARBESI, LUIGI [ED.]. *Scritti in onore di Caterina Vassalini*. Verona: Fiorini, 1974, 157–164, and PERTUSI, AGOSTINO. 1951. „La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio.“ *Pragkarpeia Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, vol. 3, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*. Bruxelles, 1951, 301–322.
- 14 FRYDE, EDMUND. 2000. *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–c. 1360)*. Leiden: Brill, 144 ff.

Cicero's Latin back into Greek, he simply inserted the original.¹⁵ But when Planudes comes to a similar circumstance in Boethius, he does not substitute the original Euripidean line. As Nóra Fodor points out, Planudes was aware of the original, as is indicated by certain lexical choices in his translation, but he attempts to reproduce a play on words found in Boethius' paraphrased Latin that underscores the paradoxical sentiment of the line.¹⁶ Thus, in his translation Planudes acknowledges the Boethian twist on the Euripidean line.

If it is reasonable to think Planudes would pick up on an allusion in 3,6, what exactly is the allusion?¹⁷ The quotation, specifically the repeated term *δόξα*, is introduced in order to supply something missing in the range of meanings of the Latin term *gloria*.¹⁸ That is, Boethius wishes to say that *gloria* is *δόξα*, not only in the sense that both mean 'glory' or 'reputation,' but in the sense that *gloria* itself is mere *opinion*.¹⁹ Boethius turns to Euripides to evoke this sense of *δόξα*. As Meltzer has argued, in his *Helen* Euripides "exploits the tension inherent in the two primary meanings of *kleos*—a tension that already forms a crucial problem in Homeric poetics."²⁰ The two meanings, 'immortal fame' and 'rumor, report' are also bound together in *δόξα*, a term that appears thirty-eight times in the extant tragedies (not including fragments).²¹ Euripides uses it in the sense

¹⁵ BLAKE, WARREN E. 1933. „Maximus Planudes and Plato *Phaedrus* 245 C–246 A.“ *Classical Philology*, 28, 130; BLAKE, WARREN E. 1934. „Maximus Planudes' Text of the *Somnium Scipionis*.“ *Classical Philology*, 29, 20–29.

¹⁶ FODOR, NÓRA. 2004. *Die Übersetzungen Lateinischer Autoren durch M. Planudes*. Diss. Universität Heidelberg, 207–208. Boethius paraphrases *δυστυχῶν εὐδαιμονεῖ* as *infortunio...felicem*, the sense of which Planudes attempts to preserve with *δυστυχοῦντά... εὐτυχεῖν*.

¹⁷ GRUBER, JOACHIM. 1978. *Kommentar zu Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Berlin: De Gruyter and O'DONNELL, J. J. 1990. *Boethius: Consolatio Philosophiae*. Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College simply note the Euripidean provenance of the lines, and the quotation has attracted no attention from other commentators.

¹⁸ Cf. DREXLER, HANS. 1962. „Gloria.“ *Helikon*, 2, 3–36; DRURY, MARCEL. 1951. „De Gloria.“ *Revue des Études Latines*, 29, 82–84; SULLIVAN, FRANCIS A. 1941. „Cicero and Gloria.“ *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 72, 382–391.

¹⁹ Why else does Boethius turn to these lines of Euripides (which seem to have no significant *Nachleben* in ancient authors) when Latin literature is rich with condemnations of glory? Cf. LEEMAN, A. D. 1952. „Seneca and Posidonius: A Philosophical Commentary on Sen. *EP.* 102, 3–19.“ *Mnemosyne*, 5, 57–79.

²⁰ MELTZER, GARY S. 1994. „Where is the Glory of Troy?' *Kleos* in Euripides' *Helen*.“ *Classical Antiquity*, 13, 234–255.

²¹ ALLEN, JAMES —ITALIE, GABRIEL. 1954. *A Concordance to Euripides*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

of ‘renown’ or ‘reputation,’ but also with the senses of ‘seeming,’ ‘opinion,’ ‘semblance,’ and a variety of other related meanings. Essential to Andromache’s condemnation of Menelaus is the tension between the two meanings.²² Boethius would have been able to see the two senses at work in Andromache’s declamatory speech indicting δόξα. Planudes would have known the Euripidean notion of δόξα not only from the Byzantine Triad (where it occurs four times), but from the other six plays for which there were scholia, where it has both the sense of ‘reputation’ as well as ‘hope,’ ‘dream,’ ‘thinking,’ ‘semblance’ etc.²³

Boethius’ association of *gloria* with δόξα emphasizes the Platonic point made repeatedly in book 3. The same goods which were dismissed as false gifts of fickle fortune in book 2 are reconsidered in book 3 as *imagines*, images of true goods and thus as useful for revealing the true good. *Gloria* is not itself a good, but is an image of a real good, and thus instrumental in the Platonic movement of book 3. *Gloria* is an opinion in the sense that it stands to *claritas* and *celebritas* (Boethius’ terms for the reality of which *gloria* is an image) as opinion to true knowledge. Opinion is a belief, specifically a belief grounded in the apprehension of a sensible image, while knowledge is the apprehension of the intelligible reality.

If this is the allusion, what indication is there that Planudes recognised it? One difficulty is that Boethius appears simply to equate *gloria* and δόξα. There is a very long tradition of translating one by the other,²⁴ and in fact Planudes regularly translates *gloria* as δόξα with no suggestion of the sense of ‘opinion.’ It is in fact striking how consistently Planudes renders *gloria*

²² On this passage in *Andromache*, SEE ALLAN, WILLIAM. 2000. *The Andromache and Euripidean Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 136; HESK, JON. 2000. *Deception and Democracy in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 279; HYSLOP, A. R. F. 1900. *The Andromache of Euripides*. New York: MacMillan and Co., 82; LLOYD, MICHAEL [TRANS.]. 1994. *Andromache*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 124; STEVENS, P. T. [ED.] 1971. *Andromache*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 135–136; KOVACS, PAUL DAVID. 1980. *The Andromache of Euripides: An Interpretation*. California: Scholars Press, 29.

²³ Consider the range of meanings of δόξα in the plays of the Byzantine Triad: in *Hecuba*, δόξα is used with the senses of ‘opinion’ (117), ‘hope’ (370), and ‘reputation’ (489); in *Orestes* its sense is closer to ‘semblance’ (235).

²⁴ DEKKERS, DOM E. 1953. „*Les traductions grecques des écrits patristiques latins*.“ *Sacris Erudi* 5, 193–233; MOHRMANN, CHRISTINE. 1957. „Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church.“ *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11, 11–36; VERMEULEN, A. J. 1956. *The Semantic Development of Gloria in early-Christian Latin*. Nijmegen: Dekker and van de Vegt, 1956; MOHRMANN, CHRISTINE. 1954. „Note sur *doxa*.“ In *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung: Festschrift Albert Debrunner*. Bern: Francke, 1954, 321–328.

with *δόξα* in the *Consolatio* as well as in his translations of Cicero and Ovid.²⁵ It would appear that Planudes had no way to indicate this sense of *δόξα*, which he would have known from the Greek Fathers and Plato, even though he also translates *opinio*, *sententia* and *existimatio* with *δόξα*.

Despite these apparent difficulties, I argue that Planudes does successfully simulate the allusion constructed by Boethius. He does so by means of a conspicuous emphasis on *δόξα* and its cognates in his translation of *Consolatio* 3,6. The repetition urges the reader to meditate upon the alternate meaning of *δόξα*, opinion. I argue that Planudes reproduces the same allusive effect as Boethius through the increased frequency of *δόξα* and cognates in 3,6, changes to the Greek word order, and other lexical choices that are made in the translation. *Δόξα* and cognates appear throughout the *Consolatio*, but there are a few significant clusters.

Section	Occurrences of <i>δόξα</i> / cognates	Number of lines in section ²⁶
2,7	10	c. 80
3,2	9	c. 70
3,6	11	c. 25
3,9	9	c. 85
4,4	7	c. 130

Three sections which display a clustering of uses of *δόξα* and cognates (clustering which does not appear in the Latin text) are explicable in terms of their general subject matter. In *Consolatio* 2,7 Philosophia discusses *gloria* as one of the false goods of *fortuna*.²⁷ Sections 3,2 and 3,9 introduce and conclude the discussion of the apparent goods which are in fact images of true goods. Only section 4,4 has a comparable number of occurrences of *δόξα* and cognates, yet there is no obvious connection between the frequency and the subject of the section. However, it is worth noting that while the absolute number is high (7), the total number of lines in that section

²⁵ Cf. PAVANO, ANNAMARIA [ED.], 1992. *Maximus Planudes M. Tulli Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis in Graecum Translatum*. Rome: Grupo Editoriale Internazionale; PΑΡΑΘΗΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, ΜΑΝΟΛΙΣ [ED.], 2002. *Οβιδίου περί μεταμορφώσεων ὁ μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν ἐλλάδα Μάξιμος Μοναχός ὁ Πλανουδῆς*. Athens: The Academy of Athens.

²⁶ In order to make the quantitative comparison I use the marginal line numbering in the edition of M. PΑΡΑΘΗΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (1999).

²⁷ COOLIDGE, JOHN S. 1963. „Boethius and ‘That Last Infirmity of Noble Mind’.“ *Philological Quarterly*, 42, 176–182.

make the uses of δόξα less significant. In any case there is an extraordinary frequency of δόξα and cognates in 3,6, such as would have to be regarded as, at the very least, a serious case of inelegant repetition, unless there is some other reason for it.

In addition to this quantitative claim, there is the fact that Planudes has arranged three occurrences of δόξα and cognates in such a way that the two meanings are displayed side-by-side. The phrase *fit ut quem tu aestimas esse gloriosum proxima parte terrarum uideatur inglorius* (3,6,5) is reorganised in the Greek translation to bring together the words ἐνδοξεῖν δοκοῦντα ἄδοξον. The sense of ‘glory seeming inglorius,’ the suggestion that essential to *gloria* is the idea of ‘appearance,’ the subjective, an opinion, is reinforced in Planudes’ expression of the Boethian sentiment.

Planudes’ rendering of *uideatur* by δοκοῦντα is a lexical choice which seems innocuous, but is in fact significant. In 3,6 Boethius uses passive forms of *video* four times (*videtur* and *uideatur* are each used twice). Throughout his translation of the *Consolatio* Planudes varies the translation of passive forms of *video*. There are at least nine other verbs used in addition to δοκέω.²⁸ In this respect the *Consolatio* translation can be fruitfully compared with the translation of the *Metamorphoses*. While Planudes generally uses some form of δοκέω for passive forms of *video*, he uses the appropriate form of φαίνω six times in books 1–9. However, in books 10–15 Planudes goes on to use four other verbs six times, and φαίνω four more times. Thus, if we assume that he translated the books of the *Metamorphoses* in order, and that he translated the *Consolatio* after the *Metamorphoses* (as most scholars believe), then it appears that Planudes became increasingly interested in varying his translations, *except when he came to translate Consolatio* 3,6. There is no other instance of consecutive uses of *videor* that Planudes so diligently renders with some form of δοκέω. In every other case we see him varying the Greek word used to translate a form of *videor*.²⁹

In addition to the decision to translate all four instances of the passive of *video* by a form of δοκέω, there are two other lexical choices which are suggestive. Planudes renders *meritis* at 3,6,7 with ἐνδοκιμῆσεως and *splendidum* at 3,6,8 with ἐπίδοξον. Elsewhere in the translation Planudes renders

²⁸ Of the 143 instances of the verb *video* in the *Consolation*, 83 are in the passive voice. *Videtur* and *uideatur* are translated elsewhere as διαπρέπειν (2,5,25), φανεράς (3,10,28), καταφαίνεται (3,10,4), ἀναφαίνεται (3,11,13), and at 1,4,18 and 2,8,3 Planudes omits an equivalent for *videtur*.

²⁹ Scholars have noted the variation even in the rendering of technical, philosophical terms.

three other occurrences of *meritum* with three different words (*διάθεσις*, *ἀμοιβή*, and *ἐνέργημα*). The choice of *εὐδοκιμήσεως* certainly seems to suit the specific context, but taken with the decision to render *videor* exclusively by *δοκέω* it becomes notable. So too does the choice of *ἐπίδοξον* for *splendidum*, a connection that might not be without precedent, but is by no means standard.

Taken together, the frequency and arrangement of instances of *δόξα* and cognates in 3,6, as well as the lexical choices involved in rendering a variety of etymologically unrelated Latin terms by some form of *δόξα*, indicate that there is here something more than a case of inelegant repetition. In the context of the chapter, the book, and the work itself, the use of *δόξα* points to an attempt to evoke the alternate but related meaning, 'opinion,' and this because it is this meaning that Boethius wished to extend to the Latin term under consideration, *gloria*. The Boethian allusion works in virtue of the Euripidean context, a context well known to Planudes. The lack of attention paid by Medieval Latin readers of the *Consolatio* to its literary allusions is understandable. Even if they were not primarily interested in the grammatical and philosophical features of the work (as a school text the *Consolatio* was used as a source for Latin style as well as mined for philosophical doctrines), readers in the West had no access to the very sources necessary to interpret the work's carefully constructed allusions. However, the reluctance of contemporary scholars to read the Greek quotations as allusive in the same way as the less explicit recollections of Virgil or Ovid is not so understandable. The possibility of reading Boethius in this way is in fact presented by one of his medieval readers. Planudes' knowledge of Euripides made it possible for him to pick up on the rather clear allusion to the ambiguity in *δόξα* that Boethius wished to import into his analysis of *gloria*. From there it was only a matter of finding a way to transpose this allusion into his Greek translation.

