

Precepts for a Tranquil Life*

A new edition of the Ad neophytos de patientia [CPG 7707.32]

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SUMMARY – The present contribution offers not only an in-depth analysis of the manuscript tradition, but also a new edition of the so-called *Ad neophytos de patientia* [CPG 7707.32]. With an attribution to four different authors (Gregory of Nazianzus, Maximus the Confessor, Ps. Macarius / Symeon and Clemens of Alexandria) this text has enjoyed quite some attention in scholarly research, but the extant editions still left room for important improvement, both as concerns the stemma and as concerns the number of mss. collated. Moreover, for the first time also a further development of this text is edited, dubbed *Traditio Maximiana alterata* by us. It is preserved in a single manuscript now in Paris, but probably stems from 14th-century Thessalonica.

A text headed by the names of different authors is bound to attract scholarly attention, especially if those authors are amongst the most famous in patristic and Byzantine literature. Characteristic of this situation is the short text *Ad neophytos de patientia* [CPG 7707.32; henceforth *Add. 32*] with its attributions to Clemens of Alexandria, Ps. Macarius / Symeon, Maximus the Confessor and Gregory of Nazianzus. But although *Add. 32* was (re-)edited four times under the name of Clemens, once with an attribution to Maximus and once as written by Ps. Macarius / Symeon¹, and even though for each of these three authors at least at some point serious doubts were

* This article is an adapted and updated version of some chapters from my doctoral dissertation (Epifanovitch Revisited. [Pseudo-] Maximi Confessoris Opuscula varia: a critical edition with extensive notes on manuscript tradition and authenticity. Leuven 2001). We would like to express our gratitude towards Dr Basile Markesinis who shared valuable data with us from his as yet unpublished edition of some of Maximus' *Opuscula*.

In this article the abbreviation RGK refers to E. GAMILLSCHEG – D. HARLFINGER – H. HUNGER, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, I. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens; II. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik* III, 1-2 A-B-C). Wien 1981/1989; E. GAMILLSCHEG – D. HARLFINGER – P. ELEUTERI – H. HUNGER, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, III. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik* III, 3 A-B-C). Wien 1997.

Repertorium Nazianzenum 3, 5 or 6 refers to I. MOSSAY, Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus, 3. Codices Belgii, Bulgariae, Constantinopolis, Germaniae, Graeciae (Pars prior), Helvetiae, Hiberniae, Hollandiae, Poloniae, Russiarum, Scandinaviae, Ucrainae et codex vagus; I. MOSSAY – L. HOFFMANN, ... , 5. Codices Civitatis Vaticanae; I. MOSSAY – B. COULIE, ... , 6. Codices Aegypti, Bohemiae, Hispaniae, Italiae, Serbiae. Addenda et corrigenda (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* N.F. 2, 10 / 2, 12 / 2, 14). Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 1993 / 1996 / 1998.

¹ For a discussion of these editions, see chapter 2 below.

expressed about the correctness of their authorship, it was only when A. Guida edited the text in 1976 under the name of Gregory of Nazianzus that a more plausible candidate could be proposed and that *Add. 32* was submitted to a more thorough internal investigation ².

Notwithstanding the remarkably high number of earlier editions, a new edition of this text is fully justified: not only can four new mss. be added to the number collated by Guida, we are also convinced that Guida's stemma leaves room for improvement. As concerns an internal discussion of the text, however, we will yield the floor to Guida, not because we believe his arguments are flawless, but because it would considerably lengthen this already lengthy contribution. Finally, the notes left by the late R. Bracke revealed the existence of a further adaptation of this text, dubbed *Traditio Maximiana alterata* by us. It will be discussed and edited for the first time in chapter 5 of this article.

1 The manuscript tradition

We know of 12 different mss. containing *Add. 32* ³. We list them chronologically on the basis of the attribution:

Gregory of Nazianzus

- **Ld* *Lugdunensis Batavorum, B.U.L., BPG 91 (s. X), f. 4^v (fragm.)*
- Fb* *Florentinus, B.M.L., Conventi Soppressi 177 (s. X), f. 242^{r-v}*

Maximus the Confessor

- Ug* *Vaticanus graecus 504 (a. 1105), f. 151*
- Ui* *Vaticanus graecus 508 (s. XII–XIII), f. 235–236^v*
- **Ac* *Atheniensis, B.N. 225 (s. XIV), f. 208^v–210*
- Uh* *Vaticanus graecus 507 (a. 1344), f. 149^v–150^v*
- **Cb* *Atheniensis, Metochiou tou Panagiou Taphou 363 (a. 1596), f. 55^va–56^b*
- **Ua* *Vaticanus, Barberinianus graecus 587 (s. XVI–XVII), f. 160–161*

Ps. Macarius / Symeon

- Ad* *Atheniensis, B.N. 423 (s. XIII), f. 268–269*
- Um* *Vaticanus graecus 694 (s. XIII), f. 279–280^v*
- Ah* *Athous, Dionysiou 269 (s. XV), f. 62–64*
- Ah'* *Athous, Dionysiou 269 (s. XV), f. 40^v–41 (fragm.)*

Clemens of Alexandria

- Eb* *Escorialensis Y.III.19 [289] (ca. 1360), f. 246^v–248*

² Cf. A. GUIDA, Un nuovo testo di Gregorio Nazianzeno. *Prometheus 2* (1976) 193–226 (text: p. 222–226). He was not the first of course to have seen the text with an attribution to Gregory of Nazianzus (cf. p. 196–197 of Guida's article, with references to the famous studies by a.o. Sajdak, Sinko and Lefherz), but his article made the situation widely known.

³ The four mss. unknown to Guida are marked with an asterisk.

Since an analysis of the faults and variants will be shown to confirm the above division, we will use it to order our discussion of the manuscript tradition.

1.1 The Clemens tradition: Escorialensis Y.III.19 [289]

siglum: *Eb*

G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial II*. Madrid 1965, 169–172; J.H. DECLERCK, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et Dubia (CCSG 10)*. Turnhout – Leuven 1982, XC–XCI; G. BOTER, *The Encheiridion of Epictetus and its Three Christian Adaptations. Transmission and Critical Editions (Philosophia Antiqua 82)*. Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999, 200; G.-M. DE DURAND, *La tradition des œuvres de Marc le Moine. Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 29 (1999) 14.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 210 x 146 mm.; 1 col.; 27 l., but 35–42 l. on f. 248^v–260^v; at present III.260 f. according to the Greek numbering, I.260 f. (+ 144a, 148a) according to the Arabic numbers ⁴, but the present codex lost some folios at the end and the original codex probably already ended on f. 248; now 32 quires, but the original codex only had 31 ⁵. All quires are quaternions, save for the 8th (f. 59–68^v) and the 24th (f. 187–196^v), which are quinions.

Note: (f. 248) ἔτ(ους) ζ̄ω̄ξ̄η̄ μ̄η̄(νι) φε(βρουαρίω)

Hist.: The original part of the ms. was certainly copied by one and the same scribe ⁶ before or in February of the year 6868 A.M., i.e. 1360 A.D. ⁷, a date confirmed by the watermarks as identified by De Andrés ⁸. Its geographical origin is unclear, but Constantinople is a good candidate ⁹. In the

⁴ Both the Arabic and the Greek numbering were written in the upper right-hand corner. The latter is the older one. The Greek numbering starts on f. 3 in the Arabic numbering. The broad ornamental band on this folio, indeed, suggests that originally this was the first folio of the codex. At the end of the codex both numberings end with the same number, viz. the number 260. This is due to the fact that in the Arabic numbering two folios were overlooked (f. 144a and 148a). De Andrés is thus wrong in saying "f. III. 260 (+ 144a. 148a)". In our description of the codex we use the Arabic numbering, as this is also the one used by De Andrés.

⁵ The quire numbers were written on the recto of each quire's first folio in the middle of the upper margin and on the verso of each quire's last folio in the middle of the lower margin. They are, however, not always visible. The 31st quire was either a full quaternion of which the verso of the 4th folio and folios 5–8 were left blank, or was made of only four folios. The first possibility is the most probable.

⁶ We doubt, however, De Andrés' assertion that the additional part, i.e. from f. 248, l. 20 onwards, was written by three other hands. He evidently refers to the following parts: f. 248, l. 20 – 259^v, l. 24; f. 259^v, l. 25 – 260^v, l. 11; f. 260^v, l. 11–end. Our doubts concern the first of these three supposed scribes, and, more exactly, whether or not he should be identified with the scribe of the original part. Indeed, the differences between both, apparent at first sight, disappear almost completely upon closer examination and may have been caused by the use of another page layout. In any case, even if we have to do with two different scribes, they are certainly contemporary.

⁷ See the note on f. 248 quoted above.

⁸ These watermarks all date from the fifties of the 14th c.. The only exception is Briquet n. 7649 (*a.* 1378), which, however, is very similar to n. 7643 (*a.* 1357) – they are almost each other's mirror image – and De Andrés may have mixed the two up.

⁹ According to Boter the present ms. was partially copied from *Oxoniensis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Laudianus graecus 21*, which in its own turn was copied from *Parisinus graecus 858*, probably achieved about 1358 in the Movῆ

16th c. the codex is found as number 260 in the collection of the Archbishop of Tarragona, Antonio Augustín (1516–1587) ¹⁰, after whose death it was transferred to the Escorial together with most of that collection.

Contents: Declerck is correct in pointing at the "caractère spirituel et ascétique des textes". *Add.* 32, attributed here to Clemens of Alexandria (f. 246^v–248), is no exception. It is the last writing of the original codex and it is preceded by a collection of excerpts from several works by Mark the monk (f. 208^v–246^v), an analysis of which can be found in the catalogue.

Text of Add. 32: The texts in *Eb* should be treated with circumspection. At least for *Add.* 32 the scribe either was quite careless or did not hesitate to change the text whenever he thought it necessary. These are only the most striking examples:

1 (om. of και); 7/8 (νοῦν δεῖ for δὴ νοῦν προσήκει); 9 (ὄξυχολίας for νωχελίας); 39/40 (ἐπιπλείστον ἐν νυκτὶ ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἡμέρα for ἐν ἡμέρα, ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ); 40 (add. of σε before ἐπικρατεῖτω); 42 (om. of Πᾶσαν – διατέλει); 64/66 (ὅταν ὀλοψύχω προθέσει ποιῶμεν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς for ὡς – περιβαλῶν).

1.2 The Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition

Three mss. have to be discussed here. One of them presents *Add.* 32 partly twice.

1.2.1 Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis 423

siglum: *Ad*

I. and A.I. SAKKELION, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἀθῆναι 1892, 76–77; J. DARROUZÈS, Notes sur les homélies du Pseudo-Macaire. *Le Muséon* 67 (1954) 301–309; H. BERTHOLD, Makarios/Symeon, Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B) I (GCS). Berlin 1973, XXV–XXVI; R. STAATS, Makarios-Symeon Epistola Magna. Eine messalianische Mönchsregel und ihre Umschrift in Gregors von Nyssa „De instituto christiano“ (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge*, 134). Göttingen 1984, 47–48.

Cod.: Chartaceus ¹¹; 270 x 200 mm.; 1 col.; 35 l.; now 301 f.; all quires ¹² seem to be quaternions: 16 quaternions (f. 4 [¹³–139), originally a quaternion with 1 folio lost after f. 144 ¹⁴ (f. 140–146),

τῶν Ὁδηγῶν in Constantinople (see P. VAN DEUN, *Le Parisinus graecus 858*, daté du XIV^e siècle. Une collection de textes hétéroclite. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 27 [1996] 107–120).

¹⁰ Cf. C. GRAUX, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial*. Paris 1880, 280–306. For *Eb*, see p. 460.

¹¹ Bombycinus, according to the catalogue, but Darrouzès (p. 302) says he was unable "de déterminer si le papier est oriental ou occidental".

¹² The original quire numbers were written on the recto of each quire's first folio in the middle of the lower margin. They were repeated by a more recent hand in the upper right-hand corner on the same folio. However, a quire number is not always visible, at least not on the microfilm.

¹³ The first three folios contain a pinax written by a younger hand, which according to Darrouzès (p. 302) is of 15th-century Cypriot origin.

¹⁴ The last words on f. 144^v are ἐκδικήσεις τε, the first words on f. 145 are πάλιν ἀλλαγῶ (cf. the edition by BERTHOLD, Makarios/Symeon I, p. 226, l. 4 and p. 227, l. 17 respectively). On f. 140 in the middle of the lower margin the number ιζ' – not number 18 as stated by Darrouzès (p. 301) – can be distinguished, while the following

16 quaternions (f. 147–274), 7 folios with 9 folios lost after f. 281, i.e. the last folio of the quaternion and the complete following quaternion ¹⁵ (f. 275–281), 21 folios probably to be divided into 2 quaternions (f. 282–297) and 5 remaining folios of a quaternion (f. 298–302). The number of folios lost at the end cannot be determined. Thus, *Ad* originally had more than 308 f.

- Notes* ¹⁶:
- (f. 115) ... ἀφκδ̄ χ(ριστο)ῦ· μηνῑ ιουνίω̄ εἰς τὴν̄ ἰᾶ̄ ἡμέρᾱ σαββάτ(ω) | ὠ(ρα)̄ ἰᾶ̄ τῆς̄ ἡμέρας· ἐγένονεν̄ σισμ(ός) φοβερος̄ εἰς τὴν̄ νύσσον̄ κύπρ(ον)· καὶ ἐφοβήθη̄ πᾶς̄ ἄν(θρωπ)ος.
- (f. 182^v–183) βησσαρίων̄ μοναχός· καὶ ἀμαρτολός· 1842· δεκεμ|βρίου· 23· ὁ̄ καταγόμενος̄ ἐκ τῆς̄ πελωπονίσου | τῷ̄ Κατατῷ̄ μέρος̄ τῆς̄ ἐπάρχοῡ Καλαβρίτου | τῷ̄ ἐμῶν̄ ἔτωσ̄ ἡκωστῷ̄ ὅθεν̄ εἰς̄ ἐνθήμησιν̄ | γράφο̄ εἰς̄ τῷ̄ π (sic)
- (f. 238^v) τω̄ παρών̄ πατέρι(κ)ο(ν)· υπαρχη̄ της̄ παναγιας̄ τη̄ ζωοδῶχοῡ πηγῆς̄ της̄ ἐπόνομαζομένης̄ | λαν{κ}γο{βάρδας̄ ...} ὁ̄ {π.}ος̄ βουληθῆ̄ · νᾱ τω̄ ἀποξενόση̄ νᾱ ἐχη̄ την̄ παναγήαν̄ ατη|{...
- (f. 269) <ἐ>γὸ̄ παυλος̄ ἀναγνώστης̄ τᾱ ἐγραφᾱ τᾱ {κ}άτω̄ συγγράμματα·| ὁ̄ λόγος̄ τῆς̄ ἀληθείας̄ ὁ̄ κηρυσσόμενος̄ ὑπὸ̄ τῶν̄ πν(ευματ)ικῶν̄ κηρύκων.

Hist.: The origin of the ms. is not as easily established as could be hoped from the number of notes. The note on f. 269 seems promising, as its script resembles that of the sole scribe of the manuscript. However, the word κάτω only pertains to the second line of the note (ὁ λόγος – κηρύκων ¹⁷) and both the name Παῦλος and his title are too common to identify the man.

A possible solution might present itself through the connection with *Um*. Both mss. are not only quite similar as concerns their palaeographic features, which suggest an origin in the 13th c. ¹⁸. At least for the *Sermones* of Ps. Macarius / Symeon they also share the same ancestor. As such, Hermann Dörries' assumption that both mss. originated in the same place may be correct, but his identification of this place with Ivron is hardly more than a guess, if not incorrect ¹⁹.

In the first half of the 16th c. the ms. was found on Cyprus, where someone used it to record an earthquake, which startled the Cypriots on Saturday June 11th 1524, on the 11th hour ²⁰ (cf. the note on f. 115). One of the next steps in the history of the ms. is the monastery of the Ζωοδόχος Πηγή, also called Loggovarda, on Paros (cf. the note on f. 238^v). This note certainly postdates 1638, the year this monastery was founded. On December 23rd 1842 then a young monk

number is κ' on f. 155. However, apart from the one folio after f. 144 no other text is lost, so that it has to be assumed that already from the beginning there was no quire 18 or 19 in our manuscript.

¹⁵ On f. 259 the number λγ' is seen and on f. 282 the number λζ', which is also the last number seen in the codex.

¹⁶ The ms. has a lot of marginal notes. Most of them are not immediately useful to determine the history of the codex. They are discussed by Darrouzès. Here we transcribe only those that are useful.

¹⁷ This is the opening line of Macarius' *Sermo* 63. Cf. the edition by H. BERTHOLD, Makarios/Symeon, Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B) II (GCS). Berlin 1973, p. 207, l. 2.

¹⁸ For this dating, see Darrouzès' description. The catalogue, however, dates the ms. to the 14th c.

¹⁹ Cf. H. DÖRRIES, Symeon von Mesopotamien. Die Überlieferung der messalianischen „Makarios“-Schriften (*TU* 55, 1). Leipzig 1941, p. 395, footnote 2, but see our description of *Um*.

²⁰ The accuracy of the note suggests that it was written not only shortly after the event, but also in the place where it actually happened.

Bessarion, age 20, wrote a note on f. 182^v–183, but where he wrote it he does not reveal ²¹. Finally, the codex was donated to the Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη in Athens in the year 1891. The donor was Antonio Frabasile, an Italian-Greek writer who lived in Athens from 1875 onwards ²².

Contents: All the texts are numbered in the margin. The first 64 numbers were written by the scribe himself, while numbers 65–72 were probably added later.

1–64. Type I or collection B of the *Sermones* by Ps. MACARIUS / SYMEON [CPG 2410] (f. 1–275); 65. *Historia monachorum* [CPG 5620], chapters 1 and 16 (f. 275–281^v); 66. *ib.*, chapter 20, ending with the words κενῶσαι τὴν ὕλην ²³ (f. 281^v). As already said, 9 folios were lost after f. 281 ²⁴; 68. entitled Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν κασιανοῦ πρὸς λεόντιον ἐπίσκοπον, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκήτην πατέρων· περὶ διακρίσεως the second part of the Greek rendering ²⁵ of CASSIANUS, *De institutis coenobiorum* [CPL 513 and CPG 2266] (f. 282–291^v); 69. some excerpts ²⁶ from NILUS ANCYRANUS, *De voluntaria paupertate ad Magnam* [CPG 6048] (f. 291^v–294); 70. a collection of *Apophthegmata patrum* (f. 294–297^v); 71. SYMEON THEOLOGUS NOVUS, *Sermo* 25 (f. 297^v–301^v); 72. *id.*, the beginning of *Sermo* 30 (f. 301^v). The text breaks off with the words ἐπὶ ἀπαλῶν στρωμνῶν ἀνεκλίθη ²⁷.

Add. 32, numbered 62, is found on f. 268–269 as one of the sermons by Ps. Macarius / Symeon. Surprisingly the title says οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ²⁸.

Text of Add. 32: For faults and variants proper to *Ad* we can only refer to lines:

20 (διὰ for ὑπὸ), 29 (αὐτοῦ for σαυτοῦ [coincidentally also in *Fb*^a.^{corr.}]) and 49 (om. of καὶ).

²¹ With the words ὁ καταγόμενος – Καλαβρίτου he refers to his place of birth, somewhere in the lower half (cf. τῷ Κατατῶ μέρει, which should probably be read as τὸ κάτω μέρος) of the province of Καλάβρυτα on the Peloponnese.

²² On this man, see A. DE GUBERNATIS, *Dictionnaire international des écrivains du jour II*. Firenze 1890, 980 and more recently O. ZELLER – W. ZELLER, *Index Bio-Bibliographicus Notorum Hominum. Corpus Alphanumericum, I. Sectio Generalis*, 75. Osnabrück 1995, 333.

²³ See p. 119, l. 14 (ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. Édition critique du texte grec et traduction annotée* [*Subsidia Hagiographica* 53]. Bruxelles 1971). Our manuscript, of which the text sometimes differs rather considerably from the text in the edition, is not mentioned.

²⁴ These folios contained the end of chapter 20, maybe also some other chapters of the *Historia monachorum* and, more importantly, text number 67, which according to the pinax (f. 3) was entitled Βίος καὶ πολιτεία, τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν, Μάρκου τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν, τοῦ ἀσκήσαντος ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Θράκης, τῆς οὔσης ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἐνδοτάτων μερῶν τῆς εἰσόδου Αἰθιοπίας, ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Χετταίων. This seems to have been a biography of the 4th-century Libyan hermit Mark of Athens [BHG 1039–1041].

²⁵ Cf. Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν I. Athenai 1974⁴, 61–93 (especially 81–93).

²⁶ τοσαύτην – ὄλεθρον (PG 79, 981 A7 – B14) (f. 291^v–292); Οἱ μὲν – ἄξιοι (1005 A7 – C7) (f. 292^{r-v}); after the words καὶ μετ'ὀλίγα written by another hand, Τίς γὰρ – ἐλόμενον (1005 D14 – 1008 C7) (f. 292^v–293); entitled τοῦ αὐτοῦ, the fragments Ἐξήλθε – μετεμπλοκάς (1009 A2 – C14) (f. 293^{r-v}), Ἡ ποῖος – τὴν τελειότητα (1024 C1 – D1) (f. 293^v); Ἐγὼ – ἐκείνην (1025 A12 – 1028 A1) (f. 293^v–294).

²⁷ Cf. p. 196, l. 39 (ed. B. KRIVOCHÉINE, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien III* [SC 113]. Paris 1965).

²⁸ See chapter 3 of this article.

1.2.2 Athous, Dionysiou 269

siglum: *Ah/Ah'*

S.P. LAMPROS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων* I. Cambridge 1895, 391–392; BERTHOLD, *Makarios/Symeon I*, XXVIII–XXIX; P. VAN DEUN, *Maximi Confessoris Liber asceticus (CCSG 40)*. Leuven – Turnhout 2000, XXXVI–XXXVII.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 195 x 120 mm.; 1 col.; 29 l.; now 469 f. (+ f. 274a), but originally at least 476 f.²⁹

Note: (f. 329^v) τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον εἶναι διονυσάτικον καὶ εἰς (?) εἶ πινος | χέρια ἔχει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον μου νὰ τὸ δώσῃ | εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ διονυσίου

Hist.: The whole ms. was written by a 15th-century hand. Unfortunately, it is unclear where it was copied. The note on f. 329^v was written by what appears to be a 17th-century hand. It says that the ms. is the property of the monastery of Dionysiou and that after the death of the writer of the note it should be returned there, which is indeed what appears to have happened.

Contents: The ms. is mainly devoted to ascetic texts by authors such as Dorotheus of Gaza, Symeon the New Theologian and Barsanuphius. As in *Ad* and *Um*, *Add.* 32 is part of type I or collection B of the *Sermones* by Ps. MACARIUS / SYMEON (f. 1–141^v). Quite remarkable is the fact that first only lines 1–5 are found (f. 40^v–41) and only later the full text (f. 62–64). It is unclear what caused this situation.

Text of Add. 32: Both *Ah* and *Ah'* have readings of their own. For *Ah'* they are found on lines:

2 (σφοδρότητι for σφοδρότητα); 4 (ταραχώδη *ut videtur* for ταραχώδης) and 5 (φρονήμασιν for φρόνησιν)

For the part it has in common with *Ah'*, *Ah* is characterized by only one variant reading:

2 (σφοδρότατον for σφοδρότητα) and 4 (add. of καὶ after βραχὺς).

Since *Ah'* only has the first 5 lines of the text, it is clear that *Ah* cannot have been copied from it. Moreover, the aforementioned variant proper to *Ah* suggests that also the reverse situation is to be excluded. What remains, is the situation which is logically to be expected, viz. that for *Ah* and *Ah'* the same ancestor was used. We have called this ancestor σ^{**} and two faults show that it was copied only by *Ah* and *Ah'*, not by one of the other mss. of *Add.* 32:

3 (βεβαίως for βέβαιος); 5 (καὶ τῶν σκοτεινῶν νοερῶν for καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὄρων)³⁰

²⁹ This can be concluded on the basis of the quire numbers. They were written on the recto of each quire's first folio and on the verso of each quire's last folio, each time in the lower margin. The remains of a number β' are seen in the lower margin of f. 7, and as most quires in our ms. are quaternions, it seems likely that two folios are lost at the beginning. Two more folios are lost after f. 141, i.e. the last folio of the 18th quire and the first folio of the 19th quire. Quire 21 only has 7 folios, but no text is lost. Quire 31 is a ternion. On f. 409, i.e. the folio following the 52nd quire and the first folio of the part containing texts by Barsanuphius, a new quire numbering starts, of which the last number to be seen is η' on f. 463. In this last part of the ms. two folios are lost somewhere between f. 433 and 446, as well as an undeterminable number of folios at the end. In other words, our ms. had at least 476 folios.

As to the situation after l. 5, *Ah* is characterised by a remarkably long list of readings, part of which must have been introduced by *Ah* itself, while at least some must have been found already in σ^{**} . The following examples may suffice:

9, 10 (*bis*) and 26 (μήτε for μη δέ); 33 (add. of τὸν before ὕβριστήν); 40/41 (προσευχῶν for πρὸς θεὸν εὐχῶν); 46 (ἀνέσεως for ἀνέσει); 47 (add. of ὁ before κόρος); 50 (om. of τὰ); 59 (om. of καί¹); 65 (add. of σοι before γήρας); 66 (ὡσπερ for ὡσπερεῖ); 67 (τῆ ψυχῇ ισχυροῦς [sic] *ante correctionem* and ισχυροῦς τῆ ψυχῇ [sic] *post correctionem* for ισχυρὰν κατασκεύαζε τὴν ψυχὴν); 80 (δικαίσις for ἰδίσις) and, finally, the addition after ἀποκαθιστάς of Ps. Macarius / Symeon's *Logos* 14, 24³¹.

1.2.3 Vaticanus graecus 694

siglum: *Um*

R. DEVREESE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci III (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manu scripti recensiti)*. In *Bibliotheca Vaticana* 1950, 163–169; BERTHOLD, *Makarios/Symeon I*, p. XXI–XXV; R. STAATS, *Makarios-Symeon Epistola Magna. Eine messalianische Mönchsregel und ihre Umschrift in Gregors von Nyssa „De instituto christiano“ (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 134)*. Göttingen 1984, 46–47. Further bibliography: P. CANART – V. PERI, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana (StT 261)*. Città del Vaticano 1970, 468; M. BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968–1980) (StT 318–319)*. Città del Vaticano 1986, 842; M. CERESA, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1981–1985) (StT 342)*. Città del Vaticano 1991, 351.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 250 x 170 mm.; 1 col.; 26–34 l.; now III.327 f.; 42 quires³².

*Note*³³: (f. 327^v) ...} <π>εισθεῖς πατρὸς εὐλα | {...} Ἰὼβ μοναχοῦ | {...} <κ>αὶ προεστῶτος | {...} κ(αὶ) ὠμοχρῶ (?) μονῆς | {...} μυροβλύτου ταπεινός | {...} <Θ>εόκτιστος γέγραφε τάδε.

Hist.: Except for f. 1^r–1^v, l. 16 and f. 32–62^v, *Um* was copied by a certain Θεόκτιστος, who judging from the word ταπεινός was a monk and whose style of writing is characterised by P. Canart as "le prolongement, en plein XIII^e siècle, d'un style provincial influencé par le style ε"³⁴. He wrote the ms. on demand of Job, the προεστῶς (probably the abbot) of a monastery, which

³⁰ Moreover, the problems with the reading σφοδρότητα (l. 2) in both *Ah* and *Ah'* suggest a problem in their common ancestor.

³¹ See p. 168, l. 31 – 169, l. 17 (ed. BERTHOLD, *Makarios/Symeon I*).

³² For further details on the loss of folios and the disposition of the quires, see the description by Devreesse (p. 169). As we had only part of the microfilm at our disposal, we have not been able to check his information. The quire numbers are found on the recto of each quire's first folio in the upper right-hand corner and on the verso of each quire's last folio in the upper left-hand corner. Most quires are quaternions.

³³ Fairly recently the note on f. 327^v has been covered by a strap of paper, making it hard to read even for those who were able to study the codex itself. We present the note as transcribed by Devreesse (p. 169). P. Canart (cf. *Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e et le style palestino-chypriote «epsilon»*. *Scrittura e Civiltà* 5 [1981] 60–61, footnote 169) wants to read κῶ μοχρῶ instead of κ(αὶ) ὠμοχρῶ. But, as he himself admits, although κῶ might refer to the isle of Cos, this still does not explain the enigmatic μοχρῶ.

³⁴ Cf. p. 60–61, footnote 169 of the article mentioned in the foregoing footnote. On Theoctistus, see also RGK III, n. 228.

judging from the word *μυροβλύτου* was dedicated to Nicolaus or Demetrius. It has proved impossible to identify this monastery with certainty ³⁵, but, in any case, it rejects H. Dörries' hypothesis that our ms. originated in the Athonite monastery of Iviron ³⁶.

The presence of our ms. in the Vatican Library at quite an early date is evidenced by the handwriting of Giovanni Tortelli d'Arezzo on f. 1 ³⁷ and the admittedly vague description in the inventory made by Cosmas of Montserrat under Pope Nicolaus V (1447–1455) ³⁸.

Contents: The most part of the codex is devoted to type I or collection B of the *Sermones* by Ps. MACARIUS / SYMEON [CPG 2410] (f. 1–287^v). *Add.* 32 is in this ms. the 58th *sermo* (f. 279–280^v).

Text of Add. 32: *Um* only has 2 readings of its own, neither of them very decisive:

23 (ὑπόβαλε for ὑπόβαλλε); 27 (ὑποκρύπτου for ἀποκρύπτου)

1.2.4 Affiliations within the Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition

The list of decisive faults and variants which *Ad* and *Um* have in common is remarkably long. The following list is but a selection:

5 (om. of καὶ – ὄρων); 9 (νωχελῆς for νωχελίας and om. of ἀνάπλεως); 28/29 (δίωκε δὲ. τὸ [τῷ *Um*^{a. corr.}], πρεσβυτέρους ἴσα πατράσι τιμᾶν. ὡς θεράποντας θεοῦ for Ὑπείκε – θεοῦ); 43/45 (om. of τὴν – Χριστός); 52/53 (om. of ὁπότε – ἄγοι); 70 (εἰ δὲ νόσος εἴη ἐπικειμένη, μὴ βαρύνου· μὴ δ'εἴ τι ἄλλο σοι for εἴτε¹ – ἄλλο); 71 (τὸν νοῦν for τὸ νόημα); 72/81 (substitution of ἄτε – ἀποκαθιστάς by Ps. Macarius/Symeon's *Logos* B 14, 24 ³⁹).

From the number and type of variants it is quite obvious that the text was tampered with on purpose, not, however, by *Ad* or *Um*, because, as already said, each of them has (a small number

³⁵ Could this be the same monastery as the Δημήτριος τοῦ Μυροβλύτου monastery mentioned in the subscription of codex *Londinensis, Musaei Britannici, Add. 11838* of the year 1325/1326? In any case, the situation for that ms. is quite similar. The note on f. 269^v states that it was copied by a certain Constantinus Pastil on demand of Callinicus, hieromonk and archimandrite τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ ἱαματικοῦ, Δημητρίου τοῦ Μυροβλύτου (See in the first place A. TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain [Dumbarton Oaks Studies XVII]*. Washington D.C. 1980, 91–92 and plates 60 and 112d. For Constantinus Pastil, see RGK I, n. 226. For Callinicus, see PLP V, n. 10386). Unfortunately, also the location of that monastery is unknown.

³⁶ Cf. DÖRRIES, *Symeon von Mesopotamien*, p. 395, footnote 2. He refers to some similarities between the marginalia in our codex and those in a ms. which originated from Iviron, viz. *Mosquensis, GHM, graecus 319 [Vlad. 178]*.

³⁷ For Tortelli, we refer to our description of *Uh*.

³⁸ Cf. R. DEVRESSE, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V (StT 244)*. Città del Vaticano 1965, 25, n. 183. The first catalogue in which the codex can be identified with certainty is the one from the year 1518 (ed. M.L. SOSOWER – D.F. JACKSON – A. MANFREDI, *Index seu inventarium Bibliothecae Vaticanae Divi Leonis Pontificis Optimi. Anno 1518 c. Series Graeca [Studi e documenti sulla formazione della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 5; StT 427]*. Città del Vaticano 2006, 106, n. [827] 112).

³⁹ See p. 168, l. 31 – 169, l. 17 (ed. BERTHOLD, *Makarios/Symeon I*).

of) readings of its own, but by the ms. from which both were copied. We have called this lost ms. σ^* .

But also σ^* and σ^{**} , and thus all the mss. of the Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition have readings in common. Besides their attribution of the text to Macarius, we can refer to lines:

1 (add. of ἐν before λόγοις [coincidentally also in *Cb*] and ἐν for καὶ); 14 (ὑψαυχοῦν for ὑψαυχενοῦν); 15 (δέ σοι in *Ah* and δὲ for σοι in *Ad Um*, which suggests that the common ancestor of this tradition read δέ σοι); 17 (add. of κάτω before τετραμμένον); 18 (πάντα for ἅπαντα); 28 (om. of δι'αἰδῶ [⁴⁰]); 28/29 (δίωκε δὲ [. τὸ, add. *Ad Um*] πρεσβυτέρους ἴσα πατράσι τιμᾶν, ὡς θεράποντας θεοῦ for Ὑπείκε – θεοῦ); 37 (om. of τινί); 40 (μὴ οὖν for Μῆτε μὴν); 56 (om. of τε); 61 (add. of ἐκ before γῆς); 64 (ἐπὶ for ὡς); 65 (add. of τὴν before ψυχὴν); 69 (δ' for δὲ and add. of τι after πάνυ)

Moreover, either at the end of *Add. 32* or as a substitute for l. 72/81, all mss. of this tradition repeat Ps. Macarius / Symeon's *Logos B* 14, 24.

These readings together with the fact that both σ^* and σ^{**} were shown to have readings of their own, prove that σ^* and σ^{**} were copied independently from each other from the same manuscript, which we have called σ .

1.2.5 An Arabic translation

An Arabic translation of Ps. Macarius / Symeon's homilies is found in three Arabic mss. (from the 13th c., the 15th/16th c. and the year 1521 respectively) and in two late karshuni mss.⁴¹

Apparently, the translation of *Add. 32* is considerably longer than the Greek original. It was augmented by a warning addressed to a young monk "der verborgenen Größe und himmlischen Bestimmung eingedenk zu bleiben, unabgezogen den Blick auf das göttliche Licht zu heften, im Leben Christi zu wandeln und sich auf nichts zu verlassen, das nicht Bestand hat"⁴².

⁴⁰ See footnote 114.

⁴¹ They date from from the 18th c. and from 1803. For details, see W. STROTHMANN, Makarios/Symeon. Das arabische Sondergut (*Göttinger Orientforschungen*, I. *Syriaca* 11). Wiesbaden 1975, 5–6 and 9 (table).

⁴² Cf. DÖRRIES, Symeon von Mesopotamien, p. 291, where on the next page it is also said that there is no real coherence between the translation of *Add. 32* itself and the additional part.

1.3 The Maximus tradition ⁴³

The interrelations between the mss. of the Maximus tradition have been studied for a number of texts. This is quite fortunate as especially the first four mss. present remarkably little textual evidence, at least for *Add. 32*. In the following pages we present a synopsis of the relevant part of the contents of *Ug*, *Ac*, *Ui* and *Uh*, a description of the six mss. and the stemma.

1.3.1 A synopsis of the relevant parts of *Ug*, *Ac*, *Ui* and *Uh*

Text	<i>Ug</i>	<i>Ac</i>	<i>Ui</i>	<i>Uh</i>
1. <i>Add. 21</i>	f. 145 ^v a–b	f. 173–174 ^v	f. 194 ^v –196 ^v	f. 124–125
2. <i>Op. 25</i> ⁴⁴	f. 145 ^v b	f. 174 ^v –176	f. 196 ^v –198	f. 125–126
3. THEODORUS RAITHENUS, <i>Praeparatio</i> [CPG 7600] ⁴⁵	f. 145 ^v b–146 ^r a	f. 176 ^v –178	f. 198–199 ^v	f. 126 ^{r-v}
4. <i>Add. 19</i>	f. 146 ^r a–b	f. 178–179	f. 199 ^v –200 ^v	f. 126 ^v –127
5. <i>Add. 18</i>	f. 146 ^r b–146 ^v a	f. 179–180 ^v	f. 200 ^v –201 ^v	f. 127 ^v –128
6. <i>Op. 23a</i>	f. 146 ^v a	f. 180 ^v –181 ^v	f. 201 ^v –203	f. 128 ^{r-v}
7. EULOGIUS ALEXANDRINUS, <i>Dubitaciones orthodoxi</i> [CPG 6971], also known as <i>Op. 23b</i>	f. 146 ^v a–b	f. 181 ^v –182	f. 203 ^{r-v}	f. 128 ^v –129
8. <i>Op. 23c</i>	f. 146 ^v b	f. 182 ^{r-v}	f. 203 ^v –204	f. 129
9. <i>Op. 24</i>	f. 146 ^v b–147 ^r a	f. 182 ^v –183 ^v	f. 204–205	f. 129–130
10. <i>Add. 34</i>	f. 147 ^r a–b	f. 183 ^v –185	f. 205 ^v –206 ^v	f. 130–131

11. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν β' φύσεων ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἰ', ζητεῖ ὀπισθεν.

This reference is only found in *Ug* (f. 147^rb). Devreesse, in the catalogue description of this ms., believes *Op. 25* is referred to. However, *Op. 25* does not deal with the two natures of Christ, but with his two wills. There is a more likely solution. Higher back in *Ug* also *Op. 13* is found (f. 110^v), a text dealing with the two natures of Christ and consisting of 10 chapters. In other words, the scribe of an ancestor of *Ug* ⁴⁶ found the text of *Op. 13* in the ms. he was copying. He realised that he had already copied it and replaced it with a short reference. In *Ac Ui Uh* *Op. 13* is not found, which also made the reference superfluous.

12. Τοῦ ἁγίου Σωφρονίου

⁴³ For Maximus' writings, we use the following abbreviations: *Add.* (= *Additamenta e variis codicibus*; CPG 7707); *Amb.Ioh.* (= *Ambigua ad Iohannem*; CPG 7705.2); *Amb.Thom.* (= *Ambigua ad Thomam*; CPG 7705.1); *Car.* (= *Capita de caritate*; CPG 7693); *Div.Cap.* (= *Diversa Capita*; CPG 7715); *E.ps.59* (= *Expositio in Psalmum LIX*; CPG 7690); *Ep.* (= *Epistulae XLV*; CPG 7699); *Op.* (= *Opuscula theologica et polemica*; CPG 7697); *Q.D.* (= *Quaestiones et dubia*; CPG 7689); *Th.Oec.* (= *Capita theologica et oeconomica*; CPG 7694).

⁴⁴ Recently edited by P. VAN DEUN, *Les Capita X de duplici voluntate domini* attribués à Maxime le Confesseur (CPG 7697, 25). *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 60 (2008) 195–213.

⁴⁵ The text in *Ug Ac Ui Uh* covers p. 200, l. 24 (Τὸ μὲν τῆς οὐσίας ὄνομα) – 203, l. 25 (καὶ τῆς οὐσίας) in the edition by F. DIEKAMP, *Analecta patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik (OCA 117)*. Roma 1938 (*Ug* and *Ui* are also mentioned on p. 184–185).

⁴⁶ It cannot have been the scribe of *Ug* himself who substituted the text of *Op. 13* by a simple reference, as the fact that in *Ac Ui Uh* neither the text of *Op. 13* nor the reference is found in this place, is most easily explained if we assume that their scribes found only the reference in the ms. they were copying. Such a reference is more easily omitted than a complete text.

Again we only have the testimony of *Ug* for this (f. 147^b). The title is followed by the definition Φύσις, οὐσία καὶ μορφή ταυτὸν ἐστίν· ἄτομον, ὑπόστασις καὶ πρόσωπον ταυτὸν ἐστίν⁴⁷.

13. <i>Op.</i> 26a	f. 147 ^b	f. 185	f. 206 ^v –207	f. 131 ^{r-v}
14. <i>Op.</i> 26b ⁴⁸	f. 147 ^b	f. 185–186 ^v	f. 207–208 ^v	f. 131 ^v –132 ^v
15. <i>Op.</i> 27	f. 147 ^b –147 ^v b	f. 186 ^v –188 ^v	f. 208 ^v –210 ^v	f. 132 ^v –134

In *Ug* this is followed by a series of texts not found in *Ac Ui Uh*:

16. (*Ug*, f. 147^b) Ἐρώτησις· τίνες ἀρεταὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τίνες σώματος;

= Maximus Confessor, *Q.D.* I, 1 taken probably not from the *Q.D.* themselves, but from one of the three recensions of the *Florilegium Coislinianum*.

17. (*Ug*, f. 147^b) Ῥήματα γραφικά

= a collection of 22 aphorisms of ascetic and moral nature, partly taken from Maximus, partly from Evagrius.

18. (*Ug*, f. 147^b–148^ra) Κεφάλαια τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου

Introduced by the sentence Οἱ οὖν ἅγιοι τοῦ ἐσομένου τῶν ὄλων καταστοχασάμενοι πέρατος, which closely resembles Maximus' *Amb.Ioh.*, viz. PG 91, 1172 A1–2, the ms. contains *Amb.Ioh.*, viz. PG 91, 1172 A6–D8.

19–28. Ten texts relating to the <i>Concilium Ephesenum</i> ⁴⁹	f. 148 ^r a–150 ^b	f. 188 ^v –206 ^v	f. 210 ^v –232	f. 134–148
29. <i>Ep.</i> 8	f. 150 ^v b–151 ^r a	f. 206 ^v –208 ^v	f. 232–235	f. 148–149 ^v
30. <i>Add.</i> 32	f. 151 ^r a–b	f. 208 ^v –210	f. 235–236 ^v	f. 149 ^v –150 ^v

After *Add.* 32 the contents of the four mss. start to diverge more and more.

1.3.2 Vaticanus graecus 504

siglum: *Ug*

DEVRESSE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci III*, p. 338–349; C. LAGA – C. STEEL, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I (CCSG 7)*. Turnhout – Leuven 1980, LIX–LX; *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 5, p. 72; B. JANSSENS, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem (CCSG 48)*.

⁴⁷ The situation in *Ug* is referred to by C. VON SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Vie monastique et confession dogmatique (Théologie historique 20)*. Paris 1972, 110. In a context very similar to that in *Ug* this definition is also found in mss. *Parisinus graecus 11* (a. 1186), p. 300; *Florentinus, B.M.L., Plutei IX*, 8 (s. XI), f. 305, *Patmiacus graecus 205* (s. XII), f. 205^va and before the loss of some folios after the present f. 107 very likely also in *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus graecus 43* (s. XI–XII) (*Vaticanus graecus 197* was copied from this last ms. in the 16th c., unfortunately after the loss of folios in the *Ottobonianus*). In these mss., however, the title is longer than in *Ug*, viz. Τοῦ ἁγίου Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἐνώριον πάπα Ῥώμης. In *Parisinus graecus 854* (s. XIII), f. 131 the definition is again found in a very similar context – the title runs Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἐνώριον πάπα Ῥώμης, γραφέντων –, but with two extra definitions added: Οὐσία ἐστὶν πρῶτως τὸ καὶ κυρίως, πᾶν ὅτιπερ αὐθυπόστατον ὑπάρχει, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι and Οὐσία ἐστὶ τὸ δι' ὄλου ὑφεστός. The former is clearly related to Theodore of Rhaithu's *Praeparatio* [CPG 7600], p. 201, l. 13–15 (ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Analecta patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik [OCA 117]*. Roma 1938). The latter is the same as the third definition in the fragment from the Ps. Clementine *De providentia* as found in PG 91, 264B and in the edition by O. STÄHLIN – L. FRÜCHTEL† – U. TREU, *Clemens Alexandrinus, III. Stromata Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto – Eclogae prophetae – Quis dives salvetur – Fragmenta (GCS 17)*, Berlin 1970², 219.

⁴⁸ In these mss. there is no visible separation between *Op.* 26a and *Op.* 26b.

⁴⁹ Respectively: 1–3. CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Ep.* 45, 46 and 4 [CPG 5345, 5346 and 5304]; 4. IOHANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Ep. ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum de pace* [CPG 6310; cf. also CPG 5338]; 5–6. PAULUS EMESEUS, *Hom.* 1 and 2 *de nativitate Alexandriae habitae* [CPG 6365–6366]; 7–10. CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Hom.* 3, a fragment of *Hom.* 16 and *Ep.* 39 and 44 [CPG 5247, 5260, 5339 and 5344].

Turnhout – Leuven 2002, L–LII; F. RONCONI, *Nell'èργαστήριον di Ἰωάννης, monaco e presbitero: il Vat. gr. 504*, in: ID., *I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII (Testi, Studi, Strumenti 21)*. Spoleto 2007, 219–238 and tables XXXV–XXXVI. Further bibliography: CANART – PERI, *Sussidi bibliografici*, p. 440–441; BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia (1968–1980)*, p. 831–832; CERESA, *Bibliografia (1981–1985)*, p. 346; M. CERESA, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1986–1990) (StT 379)*. Città del Vaticano 1998, 433; M. CERESA, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1991–2000) (StT 426)*. Città del Vaticano 2005, 542.

Ug is a complex manuscript, with folios taken from elsewhere, complete texts written in the margin and possibly, but not certainly, different handwritings for *marginalia* and main text. Fortunately the part of relevance is quite consistent. We refer to the aforementioned descriptions of the manuscript, especially the one by F. Ronconi, and merely discuss the relevant data.

Cod.: Bombycinus⁵⁰, except for f. 1–4, 116–156 and 191–197 = membranaceous; 422 x 285 mm.; 1 col. (f. 15–76, 96^v–103, 116–117), 2 col. (f. 1–10^v, 13^v–14^v, 76–96, 103–115^v, 117^v–197^v), 3 col. (f. 11–13); 72 l., sometimes 63 l.; now IV.197 f.

Note: (f. 197, lower margin) + ἐγράφησαν ἐκ τῶν ξ̅̅ ἐρωτήσεων, κ̅̅ ἐρωτήσ(εις). αἰ | δὲ λοιπαὶ γραφήσονται τῆ τ(ο)ῦ θ(εο)ῦ βοηθεία ἐν ἐτέρω βι(βλίω). | ἐτελειώθ(η) δὲ ἡ παροῦ(σα) βί(βλος) ἐν τῷ ἔτει ρ̅̅χ̅̅ι̅̅ν̅̅ ἰνδι(κτιῶνος) ἰγ̅̅μη(νι) ἰουλίω | ἔκτη· γραφεῖσα χειρὶ ἰω(άννου) τοῦ εὐτελοῦς (μον)αχ(οῦ) κ(αὶ) πρε(σ)β(υτέρου) τ(ο)ῦ χαλ^{δρ} | ὑπὲρ οὗ εὐχεσθ(αι) οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες συγχω(ρηθῆναι αὐτῶ) | π̅̅αν εἶ τι ἡμαρτεν +⁵¹

Hist.: As already said, the part relevant to this edition, i.e. f. 144^vb–154^tb, was certainly copied by one and the same scribe, who also subscribed the ms. on f. 197. There it is said that the ms. was finished on July 6th 6613 A.M., i.e. 1105 A.D., the 13th year of the indiction by John, monk and priest τοῦ χαλ^{δρ}, which probably refers to the Athonite μονὴ Χάλδου⁵², also known as τοῦ Ἰουχαστοῦ or τῶν Ἰουχαστῶν⁵³. The present ms. was copied in a period when Chaldou was

⁵⁰ Cf. J. IRIGOIN, *Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin*. *Scripta* 4 (1950) 198–199.

⁵¹ For the text of this note, see also Devreesse's catalogue and Fl. EUANGELATOU-NOTARA, «Σημειώματα» ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204 (*Ἐθνικὸν καὶ Καποδιστριακὸν Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν, Φιλοσοφικὴ Σχολή. Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου* 47). Athinai 1982, 190.

⁵² This is the *communis opinio* at present. Cf. RGK III, n. 313 and E. LAMBERZ, *Die Handschriftenproduktion in den Athosklöstern bis 1453*, in: *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)* (ed. G. CAVALLLO, G. DE GREGORIO, M. MANIACI). Spoleto 1991, 45. The possibility brought forward by C. DE VOCHT, *L'«as de pique» hors d'Italie?*. *Byz* 51 (1981) 628–629 that it might be the abbreviation of a family name is probably to be rejected.

⁵³ In an act from the year 1012 concerning the awarding of some contested pieces of land, it is said: τα ἄνωθεν τοῦ μέρ(ους) τοῦ κυ(ρ) Νικολά(ου) (καὶ) [τ]ὰ ἄνωθ(εν) τοῦ μέρ(ους) του μ(ονα)χ(οῦ) Συμε(ών), ἔστ(ω)σαν τ(ῶν) Ἰουχαστῶν τ(ῶν) καθημ(έν)(ων) εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Χάλδ(ου), while another act from the year 1154 is entitled: Περὶ τῆς μεταλλαγῆς τῆς μονῆς Χάλδου ἧτοι τῶν Ἰουχαστῶν καὶ τινος τόπου τῶν Φιλοθεϊτῶν καλουμένου τοῦ Καλύκα ἀγρόν, τὸν ὅποιον τόπον οἱ Φιλοθεῖται ἔδωκαν τοῖς Λαυριώταις καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν μονὴν Χάλδου ἐν ἔτει, ιχξγ' (ed. P. LEMERLE – A. GUILLOU – N. SVORONOS – D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes de Lavra I [Archives de l'Atchos V]*. Paris 1970, respectively p. 147 [= document 17, l. 37–38] and p. 323 [= document 63]; for further places where Χάλδου is mentioned, see the index to this volume p. 439).

subject to the Athonite monastery of the Laura⁵⁴. An Athonite origin of our ms. is confirmed by the textual tradition of the texts it contains⁵⁵.

Until the early 16th c. the peregrinations of *Ug* remain completely in the dark. Then the ms. turns up in the Vatican, where Fabio Vigili makes a description of it⁵⁶ and Romolo Mammacino d'Arezzo († 1534 [⁵⁷]) marks it with the words 'B. Dionysij opera' (f. 1). The ms. has remained in the *Bibliotheca Vaticana* ever since.

Contents: see 1.3.1.

Text of Add. 32: The text of *Add. 32* in *Ug* is characterized by the following readings, of which only the first one is more or less decisive:

3 (om. of οὐχ'); 7/8 (δεῖ νοῦν for διη νοῦν); 63 (δεδεῖει, as an orthographical variant of δεδειει in *Ac Ui*, for δέδειθι); 71 (ἀνθίστει for ἀνθίστη).

1.3.3 Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis 225

siglum: *Ac*

I. and A.I. SAKKELION, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἀθήναι 1892, 42–43; P. VAN DEUN, Maximi Confessoris Opuscula exegetica duo (CCSG 23). Turnhout – Leuven 1991, XLIII–XLIV; B. MARKESINIS.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 250 x 160 mm.; 1 col.; 32–33 l.; 226.I f.; the first quire number⁵⁸ to be seen is β' on f. 76^v, the last one is ιη' on f. 203^v. Judging from these numbers the quires are all quaternions except for ζ', which only has 7 folios. Counting back from f. 76^v and presuming that all quires are quaternions, we can assume that quire α' started on f. 61, which is precisely the beginning of the *Myst.* of Maximus Confessor. Moreover, unlike all the other *opera* in the codex, both the start of the *D.P.* (f. 3) and that of the *Myst.* (f. 61) are crowned with an ornamental band⁵⁹.

⁵⁴ This was the situation between 1087 and 1154 (cf. p. 74 of the edition mentioned in the foregoing footnote). The later σκηπή τοῦ Μαγουλά is probably to be identified with Chaldu (cf. C. KTENAS, Ἄπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει ἱερὰ καθιδρύματα. Athens 1935, 97 and 627).

⁵⁵ We only give two examples: the *Q.Thal.* were copied from *Mosquensis*, *ΓΙΜ*, *graecus 151* [Vlad. 200] *ante correctionem*, of which we know that it originated in Vatopedi (see C. LAGA – C. STEEL, Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I [CCSG 7]. Turnhout – Leuven 1980, p. LX and LVI respectively); and Ps. Nonnus' scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orationes* IV and V were copied from *Athous*, *Ivion 27 post correctionem* (cf. J. NIMMO SMITH, Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii [Corpus Nazianzenum 2; CCSG 27]. Turnhout 1992, 18). Both our own conclusions and those that will be drawn by Markesinis in his edition confirm this geographical origin.

⁵⁶ Cf. DEVRESSE, *Le fonds grec*, 174, n. 307.

⁵⁷ Cf. J. BIGNAMI ODIER, *La bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (*StT* 272). Città del Vaticano 1973, in the index p. 431, which is based upon the old book by E. MÜNTZ, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVI^e siècle* (*Petite bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie* 3). Paris 1886, 11.

⁵⁸ The quire numbers are frequently hard to distinguish, but they are mostly written on the verso of a quire's last folio in the lower right-hand corner, sometimes (cf. f. 140 and f. 156) in the lower right-hand corner of the first folio's recto.

⁵⁹ At these points the scribe probably took another ms. as archetype. See D. HARLFINGER, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΑΤΟΜΩΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΩΝ*. Ein kodikologisch-kulturgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur

Notes: (f. 1) ἐκ τῶν τοῦ μετεώρου and more to the right ~~ἐπὶ 16~~ and under these two notes Ἄρ. 225 φυλ. 226

Hist.: Although a lot is written in the margins ⁶⁰, none of the notes gives any information about the early history of the codex. Though normally the ms. is assumed to be 15th c., we think Markesinis is correct in dating it to the 14th c. As to the place where the ms. was copied, there is no evidence. The note on f. 1 merely reveals that *Ac* is one of those ca 100 mss. which in 1882, after the annexation of Thessaly by Greece, were transferred from the Μονὴ τοῦ Μετεώρου, better known as the Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως, to the National Library in Athens ⁶¹.

Contents: see 1.3.1.

Text of Add. 32: There are no readings proper to this ms.

1.3.4 Vaticanus graecus 508

siglum: *Ui*

DEVRESSE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* III, 357–359; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, XXVII–XXVIII; B. MARKESINIS. Further bibliography: CANART – PERI, *Sussidi bibliografici*, p. 441; BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia* (1968–1980), p. 832; CERESA, *Bibliografia* (1991–2000), p. 542.

Cod.: Membranaceus; 265 x 203 mm.; 1 col.; 27 l., but 24 l. on f. 228–end (= quires 29–33); now f. 264; all 33 quires ⁶² are quaternions except for the 9th and 12th (f. 72–78 and f. 95–101), which only have 7 folios each, and the 24th (f. 190–195), which is a ternion. Folios 260–264 may be what remains of what was originally a quaternion. Folios 1–7 and f. 264^{a-b} do not take part in the numbering of the quires.

Notes ⁶³: (f. 7^v, upper margin) + ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τῆς μονῆς γαλησίου. | τῆς κειμένης ἔγγιστα τῆς ἐφεσίων +
(f. 8, upper margin) ἡ βίβλος αὕτη πέλη τοῦ γαλησίου +
(f. 211^v, upper margin) γεωργ(ιος) αναγνωστ(ης) καὶ κλη(ρι)κός τ(ῆ)ς αγιωτ(άτης) {...

Hist.: There are no notes in the ms. which identify the scribe, the place where or the time when the ms. was copied. However, quite a few things can be deduced. The one hand who worked on the ms. was characterized by Canart – Perria as belonging to the "style epsilon-nu" and dated to the

Klärung der Überlieferungsverhältnisse im Corpus Aristotelicum. Amsterdam 1971, 28–31 for the relationship between a new quire numbering and the use of a new ancestor.

⁶⁰ See e.g. f. 7^v, f. 41^v, f. 54, f. 57^v,...

⁶¹ Cf. J.-M. OLIVIER, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard (Corpus Christianorum)*. Turnhout 1995, 105.

⁶² The quire numbers are found on the recto of each quire's first folio in the upper right-hand corner and on the verso of each quire's last folio in the lower right-hand corner.

⁶³ We leave aside the note on f. 1^v, as no clear conclusions can be drawn from it concerning the history of our ms. It speaks of buying 2 icons and 4 mss. of Maximus Confessor with the money from the sale of one icon. For an edition and discussion of this note, see P. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana (StT 344)*. Città del Vaticano 1991, 223–224.

late 12th or early 13th c.⁶⁴ In the recent volume of facsimiles of Vatican mss. *Ui* is even dated to the second half of the 12th c., while it is suggested that the scribe might have worked in Constantinople⁶⁵. Although the exact reasons for the assumption of a Constantinopolitan origin are not mentioned and the present ms. will prove to be related to mss. with Athonite roots, three elements indeed point to Constantinople. In the first place, there is the fact that the technique used to bind the ms. is typical of Constantinople, the Peloponnese and the Greek islands⁶⁶. Moreover, the large letters and the broad margins suggest that the ms. was meant to be quite luxurious. Finally, there is the note on f. 211^v. As was discovered by Markesinis, the Γεώργιος mentioned there should probably be identified with George of Cyprus, the later Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory II (Patriarch between 1283 and 1289 [⁶⁷]). In other words, quite early in its history the ms. was already found in Constantinople.

The identification is also interesting as regards the iambic notes on f. 7^v and f. 8, which reveal that the ms. once belonged to one of the monasteries on Mount Galesios, north of Ephesos⁶⁸. Apparently Gregory took some interest in these monasteries⁶⁹, and it is quite tempting to hypothesize that he donated the ms. to one of the monasteries there.

From there the ms. must have travelled to Thessalonica, where in the year 1344 Δημήτριος

⁶⁴ P. CANART – L. PERRIA, Les écritures livresques des XI^e et XII^e siècles, in: *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale* (Berlino – Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983) (ed. D. HARLFINGER – G. PRATO – M. D'AGOSTINO – A. DODA) (*Biblioteca di Scrittura e Civiltà* III). Alessandria 1991, vol. I, 94–95 and vol. II, 60 (Tav. 8). Without giving further reasons, R. Bornert (cf. *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle* [*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* 9]. Paris 1966, 89, footnote 4) had already proposed the same date. Devreesse, however, in the catalogue, followed by F. Halkin (cf. *Manuscrits Galésiotés. Script* 15 [1961] 224), proposed a date in the 14th/15th c., while the codex was dated to the 14th c. by Schreiner (*o.c.* 223). The palaeographic parallel Schreiner refers to, viz. the hand of John Philagrius from the year 1361/1362 (cf. *RGK* I, n. 187) is not close enough to be of value.

⁶⁵ Cf. P. CANART – A. JACOB – S. LUCÀ – L. PERRIA, *Facsimili di codici greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, 1. *Tavole (Exempla scripturarum edita consilio et opera procuratorum Bibliothecae et tabularii Vaticani V)*. Città del Vaticano 1998, plate 58.

⁶⁶ Cf. B. VAN REGEMORTER, *La reliure des manuscrits grecs. Script* 8 (1954) 14.

⁶⁷ On the hand of George of Cyprus, see most recently J. NORET, Une orthographe relativement bien datée, celle de Georges de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople, in: *From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts* (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009) (ed. A. GIANNOULI – E. SCHIFFER) (*Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Denkschriften*, 431. Band). Wien 2011, 93–126.

⁶⁸ For the monasteries on Mount Galesios, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin II*. Paris 1975, 241–250. For a list of the mss. that were written in or were once owned by these monasteries, see O. VOLK, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Inauguraldissertation). München 1954, 150–158 (cf. p. 155 for the present manuscript).

⁶⁹ See JANIN, *o.c.*, p. 248–249. In 1286–1287 he addressed some letters to the monks of Mount Galesios (cf. V. LAURENT, *Le Patriarcat byzantin, Série I. Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, Vol. 1. Les Actes des Patriarches, Fasc. 4. Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309*. Paris 1971, 294–295, n. 1500) and he wrote a *vita* of Lazarus, founder of the monastic communities there [BHG 980].

Κανίσκης Καβάσιλας used it as an ancestor for *Uh*⁷⁰. After 1344 the ms. disappeared until shortly after 1455, when it was described by Cosmas of Montserrat as belonging to the Vatican Library⁷¹.

Contents: see 1.3.1.

Text of Add. 32: *Ui* is singled out only by the reading λυσσώδης for λυσσώδη (51).

1.3.5 Vaticanus graecus 507

siglum: *Uh*

DEVREESSE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci III*, p. 354–357; A. TURYN, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi (Codices e Vaticanis selecti 28)*. In *Civitate Vaticana* 1964, 143–146, Tab. 119 and Tab. 195c. Further bibliography: CANART – PERI, *Sussidi bibliografici*, p. 441; BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia* (1968–1980), p. 832; CERESA, *Bibliografia* (1991–2000), p. 542.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 300 x 230 mm.; 1 col.; 30 l.; now 427 f. (+ 1^{a-e}) divided into two parts: f. 1–223 and f. 224–427; 52 quaternions (f. 8–423), followed by a binion⁷². Folios 2–7 take no part in the quire numbering. They contain a pinax, which now starts only from ξ̄ᾱ Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πρεσβυτέρου ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκ τοῦ περὶ προνοίας (= f. 128^v), so that it has to be concluded that 1 or 2 folios are lost. F. 1–1^e were clearly added later⁷³.

Notes: (f. 7^v) + τοῦ νομοφύλακος. ἰω(άνν)ου διακόνου | τοῦ εὐγενικοῦ +

(f. 319^v) χειρῶν ἐμῶν πόνημα καθειργνυμ(έν)ω, δημήτρ(ι)ο(ς) εὐτελ(ής).| διάκονος κανίσκης, ὁ καὶ καβάσιλας ἔτους | .ζω^{οv} πεντηκοστοῦ δευτέρου μ(ην)ἰ ἰουλλ(ίω) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ἰβ'.⁷⁴

Hist.: The copying of our ms. was finished in July 6852 A.M., i.e. 1344 A.D., the 12th year of the indiction, by Δημήτριος Κανίσκης Καβάσιλας (cf. the note on f. 319^v). Demetrius spent his life in Thessalonica, where he successively held the posts of Diakon, Dikaiophylax, Megas Sakellarios and Oikonomos. At least from September 1343 onwards, however, he was held prisoner and apparently he was still in prison in July 1344, when he finished our ms. (cf. καθειργνυμένω in the note)⁷⁵.

The note on f. 7^v is equally important. It says that the codex was once owned by the deacon John

⁷⁰ See our description of *Uh*.

⁷¹ Cf. DEVREESSE, *Le fonds grec*, p. 25, n. 177: "Item unum volumen minoris forme de pergameno, copertum corio nigro antiquissimo, quod intitatur *Beati Maximi opera*".

⁷² The quire numbers were written on the recto of each quire's first folio in the lower right-hand corner and on the verso of each quire's last folio in the lower left-hand corner.

⁷³ Folios 1^{a-d} contain an 18th-century pinax written by Winckelmann (1717–1768). Folio 1^e was taken from a 10th-century codex.

⁷⁴ The first four words of this note form a dodecasyllabic verse.

⁷⁵ On Demetrius Cabasilas Canisces, see PLP V, n. 10085; S. KAPLANERES, *Drei große byzantinische Familien im Dienst der Megale Ekklesia (Diplomarbeit)*. Wien 1985, 112–115; H.-V. BEYER, *Demetrios Kabasilas, Freund und späterer Gegner des Gregoras*. *JÖB* 39 (1989) 140–144 and RGK III, n. 163. His identification with the correspondent of Nicephorus Gregoras, Nicephorus Chumnus and Michael Gabras proposed by PLP is debated.

Eugenicus ⁷⁶ (after 1394 – after 1454), the younger brother of Mark Eugenicus. Since he travelled a lot, he might have acquired the ms. virtually anywhere.

Already in the early second half of the 15th c. the codex was found in the Vatican Library ⁷⁷. At that time Iohannes Tortellius Aretinus (= Giovanni Tortelli d'Arezzo [ca. 1400–1466]) was librarian. In fact, he was the library's first librarian ever ⁷⁸. How the ms. entered the Vatican Library we do not know for sure, but it is possible that, like codex *Basiliensis*, *Bibliothecae Universitatis graecus E III 4* ⁷⁹, it was given to Tortelli by John Eugenicus at some time between 1435 and 1438, when Eugenicus taught Greek to Tortelli in Constantinople. If so, the ms. must have travelled to Italy in 1438 together with Tortelli.

Contents: see 1.3.1.

Text of Add. 32: Proper to *Uh* is only the addition of the article *ὁ* before *ἰέραξ* (l. 62). However, it also has the one fault proper to *Ui* and although this reading in itself can hardly be called decisive, it confirms the conclusions drawn for other texts, viz. that *Uh* was copied from *Ui* ⁸⁰.

1.3.6 Atheniensis, Metochiou tou Panagiou Taphou 363

siglum: *Cb*

A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη IV. Sankt-Peterburg 1899, 335–337; VAN DEUN, *Liber asceticus*, p. XXIX–XXXI; E. GIelen – P. VAN DEUN, The Metochion, Holy Sepulchre 363 Manuscript and an Unpublished Byzantine Opuscle on Predetermination, in: *Fate, Providence and Moral Responsibility in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought. Studies in Honour of Carlos Steel* (ed. P. D'HOINE – G. VAN RIEL). Leuven 2014, 395–417.

A *status quaestionis* on this ms. is presented in the article by Gielen and Van Deun. We can confine ourselves to the basics.

⁷⁶ On this man, see in the first place PLP III, n. 6189 and RGK II, n. 217 and III, n. 270 and the extensive bibliography found there.

⁷⁷ The ms. is mentioned in the list/description of the Greek mss. made by Cosmas of Montserrat. Cf. the edition by DEVRESSE, *Le fonds grec*, p. 25, n. 185.

⁷⁸ Giovanni Tortelli was appointed librarian in 1449 by Pope Nicolaus V (1447–1455). Cf. DEVRESSE, *Le fonds grec*, p. 9. On this man in general, see M.E. COSENZA, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, vol. 4. Boston (Mass.) 1962², 3436–3439; P. ELEUTERI – P. CANART, *Scrittura greca nell'umanesimo italiano (Documenti sulle arte del libro XVI)*. Milano 1991, 184–186 and PLP XII, n. 29196.

⁷⁹ See the note on f. 274^v of that manuscript. Cf. H. OMONT, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse: Bâle, Berne, Einsiedeln, Genève, St. Gall, Schaffhouse et Zürich. Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886) 417.

⁸⁰ See the texts and editions listed in footnote 87. Cf. also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXVIII and LXV, where it is said that certainly for *E.ps.59 Uh* is a copy from *Ui post correctionem*.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 205 x 128 mm.; 2 col.; variable number of lines; 141 f., but there are no folios with numbers 75–81, they were "replaced" by a number of originally blank folios; no quire numbers seen on the microfilm.

Notes: (f. 38) ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ γείτονος μεμετῆς τζελεμπῆ, εὔρεθέντι | ἐκεῖσε διὰ λύπην πολλήν. | Νοεμβρί(ω), θ^η. ἰν(δικτιῶνος), ἰ^ης, κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὸ ἔρ^{ον} ἔτος.

Hist.: The ms. was copied around November 9th 7105 A.M. (= 1596 A.D.) by the λογοθέτης Constantinus, also known as Alexander, son of the μέγας λογοθέτης Hierax. What happened to the ms. later on, e.g. when it was inserted in the library of the *Metochion Panagίου Taphou*, is unclear.

Contents: The ms. is a chaotic, eclectic miscellany, the description of which would surpass by far the boundaries of this article. We only concentrate upon a small part. After a collection of texts written by Hierax, the scribe's father (f. 1^va–46^ra), *Cb* contains *Add.* 28 (f. 46^ra–46^va); a text entitled Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν τῆς συκῆς ⁸¹ (f. 46^vb); Maximus' *Ep.* 6 (f. 46bis^ra–47^ra) and *L.A.* (47^ra–55^va); *Add.* 32 (f. 55^va–56b); a collection of fragments taken from Maximus' *Div.Cap.*, *Th.Oec.* and *Car.* (f. 56–61^v), the details of which are given by Van Deun. This series of Maximian texts ends with *Op.* 18 (f. 61^v).

Text of Add. 32: Witness the number of small mistakes, Alexander was not the most concentrated scribe. We refer e.g. to lines:

1 (add. of ἐν before λόγοις [coincidentally also in the Macarius tradition]); 20 (om. of καὶ); 21 (om. of ὄπως); 35 (ἀνάφερε πάντα for πάντα ἀνάφερε); 36 (om. of δὲ, which in the Maximus tradition is added after νόημα, and add. of τοῦ before Χριστοῦ); 44 (om. of σοι); 81 (add. of αὐτῶ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμῆ after ἀποκαθιστάς).

Nonetheless, on l. 16 he proposed a valuable correction, viz. the add. of αἰ before προσηγορία ⁸².

1.3.7 Vaticanus, Barberinianus graecus 587

siglum: *Ua*

S. DE RICCI, Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina. *Revue des Bibliothèques XVII* (1907) 124 ⁸³; JANSSENS, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, XLIX–L; B. MARKESINIS.

Cod.: Chartaceus; ? mm.; 1 col.; 30 l.; 250 + I f. (+ f. 95a); no quire indications visible on our microfilm.

⁸¹ This is the 36th question in Ps. ATHANASIOS ALEXANDRINUS, *Quaestiones in scripturam sanctam* [CPG 2260], but the version in our ms. most closely resembles the version in ANASTASIOS SINAITA, *Quaestiones et responsiones* [CPG 7746], *Qu.* 5, viz. PG 89, 365 D3 – 368 B6.

⁸² We have accepted this as the correct reading, but the fact that it is only found in *Cb* suggests that it is a conjecture, probably by the scribe of *Cb*.

⁸³ The information provided there is even less than summary: "587 = VI, 26. S. Maximi Ambigua, eiusdem epistola ad Iohannem Cyzicenum, eiusdem opuscula varia et epistolae, 250 ff."

Hist.: Despite the absence of a colophon, we are not completely in the dark about the history of this ms. *Ua* was dated to the 16th c. by P. Sherwood⁸⁴, a date which on palaeographical grounds was narrowed down by Markesinis to the second half of the 16th or the early 17th c. This means that in all probability the codex was copied in the Vatican Library. Indeed, as will be shown, our ms. was copied from *Ug*, which was already present in the Vatican Library in the first decade of the 16th c. In fact, some of the marginal variants written by the scribe are introduced by Latin words such as "seu" or "vel".

In the 17th c. the codex was part of the collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), whose family preserved the library virtually unaltered for more than two centuries. In 1902 it was transferred to the Vatican Library⁸⁵.

Contents: With the *Amb.Thom.*, the *Amb.Ioh.*, some *Opuscula* and a large number of *Ep.*, the ms. is devoted almost exclusively to Maximus the Confessor. *Add. 32* is found on f. 160–161, i.e. after the *Amb.Ioh.*

Text of Add. 32: *Ua* has every chance of having been copied from *Ug*. Not only does it have all the readings proper to *Ug*, although only one of those is more or less decisive, it also has the following extra faults and *variae lectiones*:

6 (om. of τῶν); 15 (om. of ἔστω); 22 (προσκέψω for προεσκέψω); 29 (κατέρχε for κάταρχε). Some orthographica point into the same direction, but are hardly decisive: 13 (ὑπεριφανίας for ὑπερηφανίας); 29 (νεωτέροις for νεωτέρους); 32/33 (ὑπερίφανον for ὑπερήφανον); 65 (καλλὸν for καλὸν); 75 (ἔλεει for Ἐλέει).

This same relationship between *Ug* and *Ua* has been established also for Maximus' *Ambigua ad Thomam*⁸⁶.

1.3.8 Affiliations within the Maximus tradition

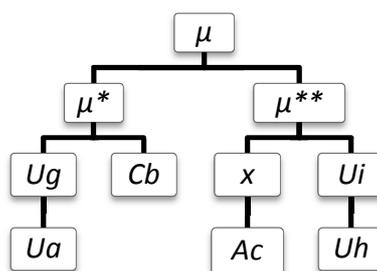
Because of the paucity of evidence for *Add. 32* we merely draw the stemma that has been built on the basis of the available evidence for the texts that belong to the same series⁸⁷. The faults and variants apparently introduced by μ , μ^* and μ^{**} are listed following the stemma:

⁸⁴ Cf. The Earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and his Refutation of Origenism (*Studia Anselmiana* XXXVI). Romae 1955, 2.

⁸⁵ Cf. V. CAPOCCI, Codices Barberiniani Graeci, Tomus I, Codices 1–163 (*Bybliothecae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti*). In *Bybliotheca Vaticana* 1958, VII.

⁸⁶ Cf. JANSSENS, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, CV–CVI.

⁸⁷ The assumption of μ has been proved necessary also for texts 4–10 and 13–15 of the synoptic table above (cf. our doctoral dissertation: *Epifanovitch Revisited*, 304–319), as well as for text 2 (cf. VAN DEUN, *Les Capita X*, p. 202–205). As concerns *Ac*, B. Markesinis kindly informed us that between *Ac* and μ^{**} there is no direct relationship. The existence of this intermediate ms. (x) cannot be proved on the basis of the evidence we have for *Add. 32*, nor does it



There is only one decisive fault which can be attributed to μ^* , viz. 59 ξίφους for ψύχους, and some three smaller faults and variants, which point into the same direction, but are also found in other branches of the stemma:

53 (ἀλλ' for ἀλλά [coincidentally also in *Fb*, *Eb*]); 60 (ἀλεξιτήρια for ἀλεξητήρια [coincidentally also in *Fb*, *Ah Ad Um*]); 70 (βαρύνου for βαρύνοι [coincidentally also in *Fb*, *Ad Um*])

The following faults and *variae lectiones* can be attributed to μ^{**} :

3 (ἀπρεπή for προπετή); 21 (ὑπερβάλοι for ὑπερβάλλοι); 31 (χλευαστικός for χλευαστής); 38 (ἡμέρας for ἡμέραν); 46 (εὐωχίας for εὐωχία [in *Ui* only *p. corr.*]); 54 (αἰροῦ for αἰροῦ); 76 (om. of ἐπ')

The hypothetical ms. μ , finally, is to be held responsible for the following peculiarities:

22 (μήποτε for μηδέν ποτε); 36 (add. of δὲ after νόημα [not in *Cb*]); 58 (παρέξει, διαρκῆ for παρέξει διαρκῆ [88]); 61 (om. of δὲ)

1.4 The Gregory of Nazianzus tradition

With two mss. dating from the 10th c., the Gregory of Nazianzus tradition can boast a venerable age.

1.4.1 Florentinus, B.M.L., Conventi Soppressi 177

siglum: *Fb*

E. Rostagno in E. ROSTAGNO – N. FESTA, *Indice dei codici greci laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini*. *SIFC* 1 (1893) 167; N. GERTZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz*, 2. *Die Gedichtgruppe I*. Paderborn 1986, 167; S. LUCÀ, *Scritture e libri della «scuola niliana»*, in: *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)* Vol. I (ed. G. CAVALLO – G. DE GREGORIO – M. MANIACI) (Biblioteca del «Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia» 5). Spoleto 1991, 376–377; V. SOMERS, *Histoire des collections complètes des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 48)*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1997, 542–549; *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 6, p. 135–138; X. LEQUEUX,

have implications for the reconstruction of the original text, but, just to be complete, we will incorporate it in the stemma.

⁸⁸ The position of the punctuation does make a difference in the meaning of the text.

Gregorii Presbyteri Vita Sancti Gregorii Theologi (*Corpus Nazianzenum* 11; CCSG 44). Turnhout – Leuven 2001, 53–54, n. 77; on the notes in this manuscript, see V. SOMERS, Quelques poèmes en l'honneur de S. Grégoire de Nazianze: édition critique, traduction et commentaire. *Byz* 69 (1999), p. 532 and 534–557.

Cod.: Membranaceus, except for f. A: chartaceus; 310 x 240 mm.; 2 col., but 4 in the case of Gregory's *carmina* on f. 3–18^v; ca. 43 – ca. 55 l.; A.IV–VII.249.I f. ⁸⁹; for the quire numbers we refer to the description in the *Repertorium Nazianzenum*.

Notes: (f. IV^v) a Latin note revealing that the ms. was once owned by Francesco da Castiglione.

The following versified notes ⁹⁰ are typical of a group of middle or late 10th-century South Italian mss. of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orationes* and are read besides in the present ms. also in *Ld* + the ms. from which it was taken *Florentinus*, *B.M.L.*, *Plutei VII*, 8, in *Londinensis*, *Musaei Britannici*, *Add. 18231* and in *Vaticanus graecus 2061 + 2061A*. Each time the name of the scribe was adapted, but the name of the κτήτωρ, viz. an unidentified Εὐστράτιος, is the same in all these mss. ⁹¹. Some of the notes are also found in *Patmiacus graecus 33*.

(f. 1^va) notes 7, 10 and 1, the second one mentioning the scribe on verse 1 as θεοφυλάκτω, the third one mentioning the scribe on verse 9 as ναζηραιον θευφυλακτων ⁹²

(f. 1^vb) notes 2 and 3, the latter one with the acrostic βίβλος ⁹³

(f. 2^ra) note 4 revealing the name of the κτήτωρ of the manuscript, Εὐστράτιος, in acrostic; note 5 mentioning the same name not only in acrostic, but also in "mesostic" and "telostic"; note 6 with Εὐστράτιος again in acrostic and the name of the scribe on verse 7 in the form θευφυλακτων ⁹⁴

(f. 249^vb) note 9 mentioning the name of the scribe in the form θευφυλακτω ναζηραιω ⁹⁵

Hist.: *Fb* is an example of what Th. Sinko called the M-family in the textual tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orationes* ⁹⁶. Several mss. of this group originate in Southern Italy. This is also the

⁸⁹ This has been the situation since 1992 (cf. *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 6, p. 135). Most of the folios have two numbers. For a comparison between both, see the description in *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 6, p. 137–138. Actually, the codex has only 248 folios.

⁹⁰ We speak of notes in general, although "note" 2 is made of three poems by Theodore of Stoudion (cf. poems 67, 72 and 66 respectively in the edition by P. SPECK, *Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar [Supplementa byzantina 1]*. Berlin 1968, 224, 227–228 and 222–223 respectively), while lines 1–3 of "note" 7 are verses by Georgius Pisida (L. STERNBACH, *Georgii Pisidae carmina inedita. WSt 13 [1891] 17*: the two verses of carmen X and verse 1 of carmen XI). Most of the other notes, however, were clearly designed to reveal the name of the scribe and/or the name of the κτήτωρ.

⁹¹ The name is only found in acrostic and is impossible to replace, contrary to the name of the scribe. Therefore, it must go back to the common ancestor of these mss.

⁹² Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 550–552, 555–556 and 534–539 respectively.

⁹³ Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 539–542 and 542–544 respectively.

⁹⁴ Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 544–545, 546–548 and 548–550 respectively.

⁹⁵ Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 553–555.

case for our manuscript. It was written by Theophylactus the Nazarene very likely in the middle or the second half of the 10th c. His style of writing is called "niliana" by S. Lucà ⁹⁷. An Italian origin, more exactly an origin in the region of Capua – Grottaferrata, can also be deduced from the typical way in which the ms. is decorated ⁹⁸.

In the 15th c. the ms. was owned by the Italian humanist Francesco da Castiglione (Franciscus Castilionensis; cf. the note on f. IV^v). He spent most of his life in Florence and died in 1484 ⁹⁹. After his death his mss. were donated to the *Badia Fiorentina*, where the present ms. was given number 25, later number 2594 ¹⁰⁰. There it was used by Zanobi Acciaiuoli (1461–1519) sometime between December 1498 and September 1500 ¹⁰¹. In 1809 the mss. of the *Badia* were conveyed to the *Biblioteca Laurenziana*.

Contents: For a full description of the contents we refer in the first place to the descriptions by Somers and in the *Repertorium Nazianzenum*. *Add.* 32 (f. 242^{r-v}) is preceded by some *Epistulae* by Gregory of Nazianzus, viz. 243, 41, 43 and 76, and is followed by the *Vita* or *Laudatio Gregorii Nazianzeni* by GREGORIUS PRESBYTER [CPG 7975; BHG 723] (f. 242^v–249^v).

Text of Add. 32: see chapter 1.4.3 below.

⁹⁶ Cf. Th. SINKO, *De traditione orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni, Pars prima (Meletemata Patristica II)*. Cracoviae 1917, 84. On Sinko's theory of two families M and N in the textual tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orationes*, see the study by SOMERS, *Histoire des collections*.

⁹⁷ Cf. LUCÀ, *Scuola niliana*, p. 373 and especially 376. See also S. LUCÀ, *Lo scriba e il committente dell'Addit. 28270 (ancora sullo stile «Rossanese»)*, in: *Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno V* (ed. A. ACCONCIA LONGO – S. LUCÀ – L. PERRIA) (*Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 47 [1993]), 165–225, especially 186–187.

⁹⁸ Cf. K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts: Addenda und Appendix (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 244. Band. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe IV, Band 2, Teil 2)*. Berlin, 1935 (= Wien, 1996), 87.

⁹⁹ On Francesco da Castiglione, see M.E. COSENZA, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, vol. 2. Boston (Mass.) 1962², 1483–1484; R. BLUM, *La biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli (StT 155)*. Città del Vaticano 1951, 22 and footnote 35 and the literature referred to there; ELEUTERI – CANART, *Scrittura*, p. 173–175 and RGK III, n. 601.

¹⁰⁰ On the library of this monastery, see R. BLUM, *La biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli (StT 155)*. Città del Vaticano 1951, 21 (n. 33) and 22.

¹⁰¹ On Acciaiuoli in general, see the article by M.C. VICARIO, *Zanobi Acciaiuoli e i Padri della Chiesa: autografi e traduzioni*, in: *Traduzioni patristiche nell'umanesimo. Atti del Convegno Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana. Firenze, 6–8 febbraio 1997* (ed. M. CORTESI – C. LEONARDI) (*Atti di Convegni* 4; *Millennio Medievale* 17), Firenze, 2000, 119–158 (for the present manuscript, see 128–129 and 132–133). See also ELEUTERI – CANART, *Scrittura*, p. 60–62.

1.4.2 Lugdunensis Batavorum, B.U.L., BPG 91

siglum: *Ld*

K.A. DE MEYÏER – E. HULSHOFF POL, *Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Graeci (Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti VIII)*. Leiden 1965, 182–183; *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 3, p. 185; SOMERS, *Histoire des collections*, p. 529–530.

Originally the folios of this ms. were part of *Florentinus*, *B.M.L.*, *Plutei VII*, 8. We did not have a microfilm of that manuscript, but the following descriptions can be referred to:

A.M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, varia continens opera graecorum patrum I*. Florentiae 1764, 211–216; SOMERS, *Histoire des collections*, p. 522–529; *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 6, p. 119–120; X. LEQUEUX, *Gregorii Presbyteri Vita Sancti Gregorii Theologi (Corpus Nazianzenum 11; CCSG 44)*. Turnhout – Leuven 2001, 52, n. 72.

Both mss. were taken together for the discussion of the notes in:

SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 531–532 and 534–557.

Cod.: Membranaceus; 300 x 225 mm.; 2 col.; 37 l.; 4 f., originally following f. 310 of the aforementioned *Florentinus*:

Notes: There are no notes in *Ld*, but in the *Florentinus* the following versified notes are found ¹⁰²:

(f. 158^fa) notes 9 and 10, the latter revealing the name of the scribe on verse 1 in the form νικολαου ¹⁰³

(f. 158^fb) note 3 with the acrostic βίβλος; note 4 revealing the name of the κτήτωρ of the manuscript, Εὐστράτιος, in acrostic; note 1 mentioning the name of the scribe on verse 9 in the form αζυγα νικολαου ¹⁰⁴

(f. 158^v) note 5 mentioning the name Εὐστράτιος in acrostic, "mesostic" and "telostic"; notes 2 and 11; note 6 with Εὐστράτιος again in acrostic and the name of the scribe on verse 7 in the form νικολαου ¹⁰⁵

Hist.: As already said, these folios were once part of *Florentinus*, *B.M.L.*, *Plutei VII*, 8. They were torn from that ms. probably by the Dutch priest Philippus Rulæus, who on his way back from Spain, made a detour to Rome and in April 1674 to Florence ¹⁰⁶. How and when these folios

¹⁰² See our description of *Fb* for more details on these notes.

¹⁰³ Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 553–555 and 555–556 respectively.

¹⁰⁴ Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 542–544, 544–545 and 534–539 respectively.

¹⁰⁵ Edited, discussed and translated by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 546–548, 539–542, 557 and 548–550 respectively.

¹⁰⁶ The *Florentinus* is not the only codex which suffered this kind of treatment by Philippus Rulæus. Also the present *codices Lugdunenses Batavorum*, *B.U.L.*, *BPG* 86A, 90, 94, 95 and possibly also 92 and 100 were torn by him from other mss. (see K.A. DE MEYÏER – E. HULSHOFF POL, *Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Graeci [Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti VIII]*. Leiden 1965, 176–178, 181–182, 184–185, 183–184 and 188 respectively). On Philippus Rulæus, see E. HULSHOFF POL, *Membra disiecta d'un manuscrit d'Anastase le Sinaïte contenant des fragments d'Hippolyte de Rome*. *Script* 6 (1952) 38.

entered the Leiden library is unknown, but they were inserted in the library's catalogue between 1866 and 1886¹⁰⁷.

For the earlier history of these four folios, we have to trace the history of the *Florentinus*. The codex was written by the monk Nicolaus¹⁰⁸ probably about the middle of the 10th c. or in the second half of that same century¹⁰⁹. Like that of Theophylactus, the scribe of *Fb*, Nicolaus' style of writing belongs to the so-called school of Nilus. Nicolaus is assumed to have worked in Rossano in Calabria¹¹⁰.

When and how the codex entered the *Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana* is unknown.

Contents: For a full description of the contents of both codex *Florentinus*, *B.M.L., Plutei VII, 8* and codex *Ld* we refer to the aforementioned descriptions. In *Ld Add. 32* is found on f. 4^v. Due to the loss of some folios the text already ends with ἀπὸ (l. 37).

Text of Add. 32: see chapter 1.4.3 below.

1.4.3 Affiliations within the Gregory tradition

Although *Fb* and *Ld* can only be compared for l. 1–37 of our text, both mss. are no doubt closely related. This is already suggested by what we know of their origin and it is confirmed by the faults and *variae lectiones* they have in common:

2 (om. of δὲ¹); 6 (twice οὐκ for οὐχ'); 8 (ἐπ' for ἐφ'); 12 (γένηται for φαίνεται); 13 (om. of τὰ); 14 (ἐξηρτημένην in *Fb* and ἐξηρτιμένην in *Ld* for ἐξηρμένην); 21 (ὑπερβάλλειν for ὑπερβάλλοι); 25 (μετρίζοντα for μερίζοντα); 30 (ἔσω for ἔσο); 32/33 (ὑβριστήν καὶ ὑπερήφανον for ὑπερήφανον καὶ ὑβριστήν)

Moreover, the differences between the texts in both mss. are very small and mostly orthographic, to the extent even that none of them excludes the possibility that *Fb* was copied from *Ld* or vice versa¹¹¹. However, because of the limited number of lines, the most transparent thing to do is to

¹⁰⁷ See E. HULSHOFF POL, *Membra disiecta d'un manuscrit d'Anastase le Sinaïte contenant des fragments d'Hippolyte de Rome*. *Script* 6 (1952) 36.

¹⁰⁸ In M. VOGEL – V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen Beiheft 33)*. Leipzig 1909 (Hildesheim 1966) 361 this scribe is mentioned as Νικόλαος ἄζυγος ἀριτήρ, which should be corrected into Νικόλαος ἄζυξ as the note speaks of ἄζυγα Νικόλαον ἀριτήρα (cf. note 1 on f. 158^b), ἀριτήρα being part of the standard poem into which the name of the scribe was inserted. On the use and meaning (probably "monk") of the word ἄζυξ and the synonymous ἄζυγος in subscriptions, see Ph. HOFFMANN, *Les manuscrits grecs datés du Mont Sinaï (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*. *Script* 38 (1984) 354.

¹⁰⁹ This is the date proposed by LUCÀ, *Scuola niliana*, p. 374 and by SOMERS, *Poèmes*, p. 530. Other dates which have been suggested are the 11th c. in the catalogue by BANDINI and the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th c. in *Repertorium Nazianzenum* 6, p. 119.

¹¹⁰ Cf. LUCÀ, *Scuola niliana*, p. 373–375.

¹¹¹ Cf. lines 2 (ἀπόφευε in *Ld* for ἀπόφευγε); 8 (ἡσυχοῦ in *Ld* for ἡσύχου); 10 (νοθῆς in *Fb* for νοθής); 14 (ἐξηρτημένην in *Fb*, but ἐξηρτιμένην in *Ld* for ἐξηρμένην); 22 (λαλήσεις in *Fb* for λαλήσης).

include both mss. in the critical apparatus, rather than to decide arbitrarily upon a dependency of one on the other ¹¹².

For the rest of the text we can only refer to *Fb*. Some of the faults and variants found on these remaining lines may be proper to that manuscript, but the situation for l. 1–37 suggests that, if *Ld* had preserved the full text, most of these faults and variants would have been found in both mss.:

49 + 61 (δ [sic] for δέ); 62 (ιερά και νεώς for ιέραξ νεοσσόν); 65 (add. of σόν before γήρας); 67 (κατάσκευε for κατασκεύαζε); 72 (ἐπὶ πόνοις for ἐπιπόνοις); 73 (σοφότερα for σοφώτερα τε); 81 (add. of παραγγεμάτων μετάφρασις. περὶ ὀρθοῦ βίου και ἀρετῶν after ἀποκαθιστάς)

1.5 Affiliations between the different traditions

1.5.1 $\beta = \sigma + Eb$

The Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition (σ) and the Clemens tradition (*Eb*) share quite a list of faults and *variae lectiones*. This is the full list:

5 (the different readings in *Eb* and *Ah Ah'* for και σκοτεινὸν ὄρων and the om. of these words in *Ad Um* may have been caused by problems in their common ancestor [¹¹³]); 5 (add. of μὲν after ἡττηθήσεται); 6 (om. of οὐχ¹⁺² and add. of δὲ after ἡττηθήσεται¹⁺²); 7 (αὐτοῖς [ἐαυτοῖς *Ah*] ἄρπαγμα for ἄρπαγμα αὐτοῖς); 16 (προσηγορία ... γλυκεῖα for γλυκεῖα ... προσηγορία); 20 (add. of τῶν παρόντων after ἀκοήν); 28 (μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο δι'αἰδῶ in *Eb* and μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο in *Ah Ad Um* ¹¹⁴ for ἀφίστασο δι'αἰδῶ ἕως μάθης); 46 (add. of τῆς before ψυχῆς); 49 (παρέη in *Eb* or παρείη in *Ah Ad Um* for παρῆ); 57 (om. of τοῦ); 62 (for ιερά και ναοὺς with various accentuations, see chapter 1.5.2 below); 62 (αὐτοῦ for ἐαυτοῦ [coincidentally also in *Cb*]); 69 (πιέζου [πιέζει *Ah*] for βιάζου)

Together with the faults and variants each has of its own, this proves their dependency on a common ancestor β .

Three passages, however, seem to contradict this conclusion. Each time *Ah* has the correct reading, while *Eb*, *Ad Um* share the same fault or variant:

¹¹² Their relationship for the other texts they have in common is by no means indicative. From the lists of variant readings in Gregory's *Orationes* 38, 21, 6 and 13 presented by V. Somers (cf. *Histoire des collections*, p. 200–204, 220–238, 254–269 and 279–282 respectively) it can be concluded that *Fb* and *Ld* were not copied from each other and it would appear that they are not even as close as brothers. However, for those *orationes* they are part of a larger family of mss. The fact that *Add.* 32 is found in only two of the mss. of that family is a very strong indication that for *Add.* 32 the relationship between *Fb* and *Ld* is different. The edition of the *Vita S. Gregorii Theologi* [BHG 723] (Cf. X. LEQUEUX, *Gregorii Presbyteri Vita Sancti Gregorii Theologi* [*Corpus Nazianzenum* 11; *CCSG* 44]. Turnhout – Leuven 2001) provides no further information, as only a small number of mss. was really taken into account and collated. *Fb* and *Ld* were not among them.

¹¹³ See chapter 2.2.2 for a discussion.

¹¹⁴ It would seem that in *Ah Ad Um* δι'αἰδῶ was contracted with the following word Ὑπεικε, resulting in the word δῶκε (cf. at l. 28/29 in the critical apparatus and chapter 2.2.2 in this article).

- 4 γενόμενος *Eb, Ad Um* – γινόμενος *Ah Ah'*
 9 om. of μὴν *Eb, Ad Um* – no omission in *Ah*
 47 om. of μεθιστὰς – κόρος *Eb, Ad Um* – no omission in *Ah*

The first one is negligible, but the other two, and especially the one on l. 47, are problematic. Unless of course we are dealing with a contaminated tradition, a first possibility is that σ^* was copied from σ *ante correctionem* and that σ^{**} was copied from σ *post correctionem*, but then one would expect to find more places where *Ah Ah'* differ from *Eb, Ad Um*. A second possibility is that μὴν and μεθιστὰς – κόρος were written between the lines or in the margin in β . They were omitted by *Eb* but copied again between the lines or in the margin of σ . Subsequently, σ^* omits them, while they are given their correct place again in σ^{**} .

1.5.2 $\alpha = \gamma + \beta$

The line of reasoning is the same as in the foregoing chapter. Both the common ancestor of the Gregory tradition (γ) and the common ancestor of both the Clemens tradition and the Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition (β) were shown to have faults and variants of their own (cf. chapters 1.4.3 and 1.5.1 respectively), but share the following faults and variants:

- 34 ἔργα καὶ λόγοι for λόγοι καὶ ἔργα: the latter seems the correct reading because of the word order λαλιᾶς τὲ καὶ πράξεως on l. 38
- 51 add. of τὴν before τροφήν and εὐσταθῶς for εὐσταθῆς ¹¹⁵
- 62 ἱερὰ καὶ νεῶς in *Fb* / ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς in *Eb* / ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς in *Ah* / ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς in *Ad Um* for ἱέραξ νεοσσὸν ¹¹⁶

Therefore, γ and β must go back to a common ancestor, which we will call α .

1.5.3 The earliest reconstructible ms. = $\alpha + \mu$

Now, what happens if α is compared with μ , the common ancestor of the Maximus tradition? On the one hand, the fact that both hypothetical mss. seem to have had readings of their own (cf. chapters 1.5.2 and 1.3.8 above) implies that one cannot have had the other as its ancestor. On the other hand, the fact that they both contained *Add. 32* necessitates the assumption of a common ancestor. This common ancestor is also the earliest reconstructible ms. of *Add. 32*, but certainly cannot be identified with the original. We refer to the following corrupt passages:

¹¹⁵ On this problem, see the following chapter.

¹¹⁶ The differences in orthography between *Fb, Eb, Ad Um* and *Ah* cannot hide the fact that all versions originate from one and the same fault made by one and the same manuscript, which we have called α . Like *Fb* this ms. probably read ἱερὰ καὶ νεῶς, as, more easily than the readings of *Eb, Ah Ad Um*, this can be explained as a minuscule fault.

2 δὲ² — There are three reasons to reject δὲ. To begin with, the fact that for l. 1 the textual tradition does not allow us to write ἐν λόγοις ... ἐν ἔργοις, suggests that ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐν γέλῳτι καὶ βαδίσματι relates to the following part and, thus, that the second δὲ on l. 2 is superfluous. Moreover, preserving δὲ, links ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐν γέλῳτι καὶ βαδίσματι with ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτήδευε (l. 1) instead of with σφοδρότητα – προπετῆ (l. 2/3), which disturbs not only the balance of the sentence¹¹⁷, but also the structure of the paragraph as a whole¹¹⁸. And finally, ὡσαύτως is more fit to introduce a real sentence than a mere addition.

5/6 οὐδὲ ἠττηθήσεται γαστριμαργία — The case is not as clear as the foregoing. Still we think there is good reason to reject these words as a later addition. We suspect that at some point οὐδὲ ἠττηθήσεται γαστριμαργία was added in the margin as some sort of example to specify τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν (6/7) and that it found its way into the text only later. There is the strange sequence of negations (οὐχ' ... οὐδὲ ... οὐχ' ... οὐχ') and cases (ἠττηθήσεται first rules a dative and then twice a genitive). Equally important is the fact that οὐδὲ ἠττηθήσεται γαστριμαργία is too concrete. It disturbs the universal validity so to speak of the paragraph. Finally, it is only later that γαστριμαργία is dealt with *in concreto* (cf. l. 51sq.).

16 αἰ — The correction does not need extensive justification, as αἰ is easily dropped after a word ending in α. It is a mere haplography of two identical syllables. The addition was also made by the scribe of *Cb*.

The last remark concerns a conjecture we did not accept. On l. 51 all editors until now chose to write ἴθι as in *Ad Um*, not ἴσθι as in the majority of the mss. The position of *Ad Um* in the stemma, however, suggests that ἴθι is nothing more than a fault or a conjecture of their common ancestor. Can ἴσθι be accepted? It is of course the *lectio difficilior*, but more important is the structure of the sentence. The present participle ἐπιφαίνων in this case clearly expresses a contemporaneity with the ruling predicate, ἴσθι εὐσταθῆς. Since contemporaneity is reciprocal and since the word γαστριμαργία makes it absolutely clear that ἐπιφαίνων refers to the time of eating, also the first part of the sentence should refer to that. It is while eating that one is γαστρίμαργος, not while walking to one's table. In fact, the whole further chapter makes a plea for *temperantia* during dinner, while the need for a steady pace has already been treated in general in the first paragraph of the text. The preposition ἐπί does not contradict this as the accusative it accompanies can express besides movement also duration and even, in patristic Greek, relation, "concerning". Nor

¹¹⁷ Linking ὡσαύτως – βαδίσματι with l. 1 results in the rhythmically strange structure of three *kommata* followed by one *komma*. Linking it with σφοδρότητα – προπετῆ (l. 2/3), however, makes the more elegant parallel structure of two times two equally long *kommata*.

¹¹⁸ The paragraph starts with "be calm" and ends with "do not be too calm". Schematically it can be represented like this:

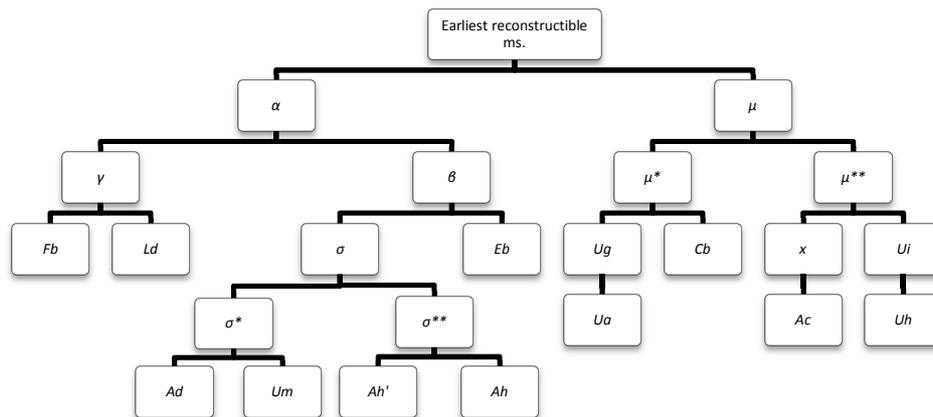
λόγοι:	ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτήδευε (l. 1) — μὴ νωθῆς ἔσο (l. 10)
ἔργα:	ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτήδευε (l. 1) — μὴ νωχελίας ἀνάπλεως ἔσο (l. 9/10)
βάδισμα:	σφοδρότητα ἀπόφευγε προπετῆ (l. 2/3) — μὴ ὄκνου πεπληρωμένος ἔσο (l. 10/11)

Now as concerns βάδισμα the words μὴ ὄκνου πεπληρωμένος ἔσο are clearly much more fitting as counterpart of the words σφοδρότητα ἀπόφευγε προπετῆ, than of ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτήδευε.

does the fact that on three occasions ἔσο is found ¹¹⁹ provide a counterargument. Gregory of Nazianzus for one uses both forms ¹²⁰.

The choice of ἴσθι naturally implies that we write εἰσταθής, not εἰσταθῶς.

1.6 The stemma



2 The previous editions

The attribution of our text to different authors has resulted in quite a large number of editions. All but one of these editions only collated those manuscript(s) in which the text was attributed to the author of their choice.

2.1 The editions of one tradition

There is one thing all these editions have in common: they are useless for the present edition. Indeed, since they each use only one tradition, the readings they choose and the conjectures they propose are only valid for that particular tradition. Most of the difficulties of one tradition, however, disappear by a collation of all traditions together. Thus, there is no need to deal with these editions *in extenso*, although it may be useful to present them.

¹¹⁹ Cf. l. 10, 30 and 52.

¹²⁰ We can refer for ἔσο e.g. to *Epistula* 17, 2 (p. 19, l. 1 in the edition by P. GALLAY, Gregor von Nazianz, Briefe [GCS]. Berlin 1969) and for ἴσθι e.g. to *Oratio* 40, 25 (393 A1 [p. 252] in the edition by C. MORESCHINI – P. GALLAY, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 38-41 [SC 358]. Paris 1990).

2.1.1 The Clemens editions by P.M. Barnard, O. Stählin, G.W. Butterworth and L. Früchtel: *Eb*

The *editio princeps* of the text is due to P.M. Barnard¹²¹, with the help of J. Armitage Robinson, J.B. Mayor and (already) O. Stählin. The text is found as the first "fragment" in the appendix to the edition of Clemens' *Quis dives salvetur*. The edition is based solely upon *Eb*, of which Barnard gives a short description. Admittedly, the mediocre quality of the text in *Eb* must have been a serious handicap, but Barnard did not establish the text and the critical apparatus as careful as he should have¹²².

The number of real or supposed faults of *Eb* revealed by Barnard's edition was the ideal breeding ground for quite some scholarly activity. In 1909 the 3rd volume of O. Stählin's edition of Clemens' *Opera omnia* appeared¹²³. As number 44 of Clemens' fragmentary writings also a reprint of Barnard's edition of our text was presented, now entitled Ὁ προτρεπτικός εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βεβαπτισμένους. Κλήμεντος παραγγέλματα¹²⁴ and taking into account the conjectures and emendations proposed by Paul Koetschau in his review of Barnard's edition¹²⁵, the ones proposed by Stählin himself and those by three of his collaborators, viz. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, J.B. Mayor and E. Schwartz. For the Loeb series, G.W. Butterworth merely reprinted Stählin's text and only a choice of the entries in the critical apparatus¹²⁶. L. Früchtel, finally, was responsible for the second and emended edition in 1970 of Stählin's edition, but due to his death it was Ursula Treu who published it with some extra notes by herself¹²⁷. Especially Treu's additional note on the different attributions of the text (p. XXXVIII) and her list of the most significant textual differences between the text in *Eb* and that in the Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition (p. 236–237 [¹²⁸]) are important, as for the first time in the *Klemensforschung* doubts were uttered about the attribution of the text to Clemens.

¹²¹ Cf. P.M. BARNARD, Clemens of Alexandria, *Quis dives salvetur* re-edited together with an Introduction on the Mss. of Clement's works (*Texts and Studies* V, 2). Cambridge 1897, 47–50.

¹²² We may suffice with the following examples: on l. 5/6 of our edition he changed γαστριμαργία as found in *Eb* into γαστριμαργίας, but without mentioning it in the critical apparatus; on l. 10 he thought *Eb* read ὄργα, while it correctly reads ἔργα, and conjectured ὄργα to be a corruption of ὄργας; on l. 51, finally, he mistakenly read ἀσταθῶς instead of εὐσταθῶς and "corrected" this into ἀπαθῶς.

¹²³ Cf. O. STÄHLIN, Clemens Alexandrinus, III. Stromata Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto – Eclogae propheticæ – Quis dives salvetur – Fragmente (*GCS* 17). Leipzig 1909. *Add.* 32 is fragment 44 (p. 221–223).

¹²⁴ For a discussion of this title, see chapter 3 below

¹²⁵ Cf. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 24 (1899) col. 15–18.

¹²⁶ Cf. G.W. BUTTERWORTH (ed.), Clement of Alexandria: The exhortation to the Greeks; The Rich Man's Salvation and the Fragment of an Address Entitled To the Newly Baptized (*The Loeb Classical Library*). London, 1919. The text with an English translation is found on p. 370–377, a short introduction on p. 368–369.

¹²⁷ Cf. STÄHLIN e.a., Clemens Alexandrinus III². The text in this second edition is identical to Stählin's original edition.

¹²⁸ As she states on p. XXXVIII (cf. STÄHLIN e.a., Clemens Alexandrinus III²), Treu was able to see Berthold's edition of the Macarius tradition before it was published.

2.1.2 The Maximus edition by Epifanovič: *Uh*

In his 1917 edition Epifanovič¹²⁹ presented the same text, but attributed to Maximus Confessor. He seems to have been unaware of the fact that the text had already been edited twice, viz. by Barnard and Stählin, under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus. The edition is quite remarkable in that Epifanovič tried to edit the text as a poem, or, as Guida states it, "(Epifanovič) si limita a pubblicare il testo, organizzandolo per altro secondo uno schema ritmico non ben chiarito, ma in qualche modo giustificato, ..., dalle caratteristiche stilistiche dell'opuscolo"¹³⁰.

Although he knew of the presence of our text in *Ug* and *Ui*¹³¹, the ms. on which he based his edition was *Uh*. Also Epifanovič was not careful enough. Several changes were made to the text of *Uh*, which were not mentioned in the critical apparatus. We may suffice with the following 4 examples:

Tit. 3 (τε for περι); Txt. 12 (ἴσον for ἱερόν); 72 (om. of θεῶ); 80 (παραγίνεται for παραγένηται)

2.1.3 The Macarius edition by H. Berthold: *Ah Ah' Ad Um*

In 1973 H. Berthold edited *Add.* 32 under the name of Ps. Macarius / Symeon as Logos B 62, i.e. as the 62nd text of the 64 which constitute "Sammlung I" of *Orationes* and *Epistulae* attributed to Ps. Macarius / Symeon¹³². Chronologically this was the last of the editions of one tradition, but it is the first to have collated more than one manuscript, viz. our mss. *Ad*, *Um* and *Ah*, which Berthold indicated with *sigla* b, B and Y respectively. Both the partial (*Ah'*) and the complete text (*Ah*) in the last ms. were collated.

In the introduction to this edition it is not clearly stated what the exact relationship between these three mss. is¹³³, but an investigation of the critical apparatus confirms our stemma. On p. XXXII Berthold dealt in short with the different other attributions generally known at that time, viz. the attributions to Clemens and to Maximus.

¹²⁹ Cf. S.L. ЕРІФАНОВІЧ, Матеріалы къ изученію жизни и твореній преп. Максима Исповѣника. Kiev 1917.

¹³⁰ Cf. GUIDA, Un nuovo testo, p. 194.

¹³¹ Cf. ЕРІФАНОВІЧ, Матеріалы, p. XIII.

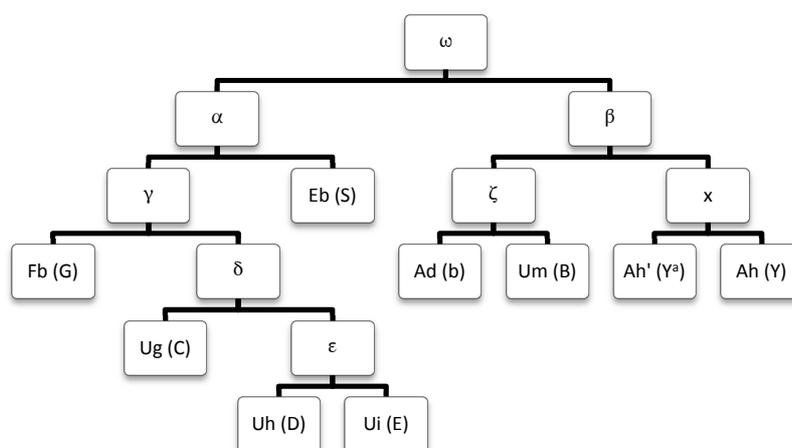
¹³² BERTHOLD, Makarios/Symeon I and II. Our text is found as Logos 62 in part II, on p. 204–206.

¹³³ It is said explicitly, however, that *Ad* and *Um* are closely related. Cf. BERTHOLD, Makarios/Symeon I, p. XXVI.

2.2 The edition by A. Guida

2.2.1 Guida's stemma

A. Guida's edition ¹³⁴ is the only one until now for which all four traditions were collated together. The mss. he collated himself are *Fb*, *Eb*, *Um* and *Ug* *Ui* *Uh*, while for the mss. *Ah* *Ah'* and *Ad* he used the edition by Berthold ¹³⁵. In other words, he is only four mss. short of the ones we know of: *Ld* for the Gregory tradition and *Ac* *Ua* *Cb* for the Maximus tradition. In comparison with the aforementioned editions of one tradition this is a big step forward. He built the following stemma, which differs considerably from ours ¹³⁶:



This stemma evidently had considerable consequences for the choices he made in establishing the "correct" text. In most of the cases Guida preferred the readings of the Clemens tradition and the Macarius tradition, while we prefer the Gregory tradition and the Maximus tradition. Leaving aside the conjectures we proposed ¹³⁷, the differences between his and our text are the following ¹³⁸:

Our edition	Guida's edition
1 λόγοις	[3] ἐν λόγοις < <i>Ah Ah' Ad Um, Cb</i>
1 καὶ ἔργοις	[3] ἐν ἔργοις < <i>Ah Ah' Ad Um</i>
3 διαμένει	[5] διαμενεῖ < <i>Ad Um</i>
5 ἡττηθήσεται	[7] ἡττηθήσεται μὲν < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
5/6 γαστριμαργία	[7] γαστριμαργίας < <i>Ah Ad Um</i>
6 οὐχ' ἡττηθήσεται (bis)	[7/8] ἡττηθήσεται δὲ (bis) < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
7 ἄρπαγμα αὐτοῖς	[8/9] αὐτοῖς ἄρπαγμα < <i>Eb, (Ah) Ad</i>

¹³⁴ Cf. GUIDA, *Un nuovo testo*, p. 193–226 (text: 222–226).

¹³⁵ Cf. GUIDA, *Un nuovo testo*, p. 219, footnote 93.

¹³⁶ Cf. GUIDA, *Un nuovo testo*, p. 219–221. The Greek *sigla* and the *sigla* between brackets are those used by Guida.

¹³⁷ See chapter 1.5.3.

¹³⁸ A siglum put between brackets indicates that this ms. is almost, but not entirely concordant with the rest of the mss. mentioned.

	<i>Um</i>
16 γλυκείαι <αί> προσηγορίαί	[17] προσηγορίαί γλυκείαι < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
20 ἀκοήν	[20/21] ἀκοήν τῶν παρόντων < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
28 ἀφίστασο δι'αἰδῶ ἕως μάθης	[27] μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο δι'αἰδῶ < <i>Eb</i>
34 λόγοι καὶ ἔργα	[34] ἔργα καὶ λόγοι < <i>Fb Ld, Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
46 ψυχῆς	[43] τῆς ψυχῆς < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
49 παρῆ	[47] παρείη < (<i>Eb</i>), <i>Ah Ad Um</i>
51 ἴσθι	[48] ἴθι < <i>Ad Um</i>
51 ἐπὶ τροφῆν	[48] ἐπὶ τὴν τροφήν < <i>Fb, Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
51 εὐσταθῆς	[48] εὐσταθῶς < <i>Fb, Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
52 ἐπιφαίνων	[49] ἐμφαίνων < <i>Ad Um</i>
57 τοῦ σώματος	[53] σώματος < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
62 ἱέραξ νεοσσὸν ἑαυτοῦ	[58] ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς αὐτοῦ < <i>Eb, Ah Ad Um</i>
65 ψυχὴν	[61] τὴν ψυχὴν < <i>Ah Ad Um</i>
65 τὸ δὲ γῆρας	[61] τὸ δὲ σὸν γῆρας < <i>Fb, (Ah)</i>
69 βιάζου	[65] πιέζου < <i>Eb, Ad Um</i>
70 βαρύνει	[66] βαρύνει < <i>Eb^{ut videtur}, Ac Ui</i>
70 ἄλλο	[66] ἄλλο τι < (<i>Eb, Ah</i>)
70 συμπίπτει	[66] συμπίπτει < <i>Eb, Ah Um^{a. corr. ut videtur}</i>
81 ἀποκαθιστάς	[75] ἀποκαθιστῶν < (<i>Eb</i>), <i>Ah</i>

Moreover, Guida considered the words οὐράνιός τε αἰεὶ σε φροντὶς ἀναγέτω πρὸς οὐρανὸν (l. 56 [52/53]) to be a part of the foregoing sentence. Finally, his change of αὐτοῦ into αὐτοῦ on l. 61 [57] and l. 77 [72] is, though grammatically correct, unnecessary, certainly in later Greek.

2.2.2 Final justification of our stemma against Guida's

Although the above pages should provide sufficiently strong arguments for the correctness of our stemma, it is certainly useful to take a final look at two points which may not have received enough attention as yet and which further strengthen our position against Guida's.

One of the main causes for the differences with Guida's stemma and text is the question whether on l. 62 [58] one should read ἱέραξ νεοσσὸν like we do or ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς like Guida does. If ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς can be shown to be incorrect, then Guida's stemma does not stand, as it would imply that the same quite decisive fault was made in each of the two branches he discerns.

In the first place, as concerns the frequency of the words, ἱέραξ νεοσσὸν is certainly the *lectio difficilior*. The change of ἱέραξ νεοσσὸν into ἱερά καὶ νεὼς (*Fb*) or into ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς (*Eb*)

Ad Um Ah) lies, also on palaeographical grounds, much more in the line of expectation than the reverse possibility.

Furthermore, the meaning of the sentence and the context favour the reading *ιέραξ νεοσσόν*, rather than *ιερὰ καὶ ναούς*. To begin with, we can refer to a little further in the same passage, where it is said that God will keep off (the negative effects of) old age by surrounding it with his godly power as if with *wings* (*πτέρυξι*, cf. l. 66 [61]). Clearly this is the same imagery as for *περιέπει καθάπερ ιέραξ νεοσσόν ἑαυτοῦ*. Moreover, the image is much stronger if it is said that God treats (*περιέπει*) the faithful in the same way as a hawk or a falcon treats its chick, than if it is said that God treats the faithful in the same way as he does with the holy places and objects devoted to him. Furthermore, the verb *περιέπειν* is much more common with living beings as its object than with things. And finally, in Deut. 32, 10–11 it is said:

καὶ (sc. ὁ θεός) διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς κόραν ὀφθαλμοῦ ὡς ἀετὸς σκεπάσαι νοσιάν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόησεν, διείς τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων αὐτοῦ.

A consequence of Guida's choice for *ιερὰ καὶ ναούς* and, thus, of his stemma is that he had to prefer the readings of the Clemens tradition together with the Ps. Macarius / Symeon tradition. The amount of faults and *lectiones singulares* in these traditions should have alarmed him, certainly since several of them are clearly degradations of the correct readings in the Gregory tradition and in the Maximus tradition. Besides in the title¹³⁹, on at least two other occasions the gradual progression of a corruption can be followed along the line of our stemma:

5 *καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὄρω* > καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὄρων *Eb* > καὶ τῶν σκοτεινῶν νοερῶν *Ah Ah'*, while in *Ad Um* it was omitted, maybe because the scribe of their common ancestor found it incomprehensible.

27/29 *μὴ δὲ ἀφίστασο δι'αἰδῶ ἕως μάθης. Ὑπέικε πρεσβυτέροις ἴσα πατράσι. Τίμα θεράποντας θεοῦ* > *μὴ δὲ μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο δι'αἰδῶ. ὑπέικου πρεσβυτέροις ἴσα πατράσιν. τίμα θεράποντας θεοῦ* *Eb*, where *ἕως* and *μάθης* seem to have switched places and were turned into *μαθήσεως* > *μὴ δὲ μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο. δίωκε δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ἴσα πατράσι τιμᾶν, ὡς θεράποντας θεοῦ* in *Ah* and *μὴ δὲ μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο. δίωκε δὲ. τὸ (τῶ *Um*^{a. corr.})*, *πρεσβυτέρους ἴσα πατράσι τιμᾶν. ὡς θεράποντας θεοῦ* in *Ad Um*, where it is tempting to consider *δίωκε* as a contraction of *δι'αἰδῶ* and *ὑπέικε* and to regard the accusative *πρεσβυτέρους*, the addition of *τὸ*, the infinitive *τιμᾶν* and the addition of *ὡς* as secondary attempts to make the text comprehensible again.

3 Now, whose advice is it?

Let us briefly rephrase some of the remarks already made by Guida. As he focussed primarily on the authorship he could go into much greater detail than we can.

The manuscripts present different titles. Yet, only the title shared by the Gregory tradition and the Maximus tradition can claim authenticity. It reads *ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν, μετάφρασις παραγγελημάτων περι*

¹³⁹ The title will be discussed in chapter 3 below.

ήσυχίας καὶ ἀρετῶν¹⁴⁰. Even more so than the stemma built by Guida, our stemma suggests that this title is the original one, as it is present in both branches of the textual tradition. Moreover, the title in the Clemens tradition, παραγγέλματα, is reminiscent of this title, as are probably the words περὶ ήσυχίας in *Ah Ah'* and τῶ ήσυχάζοντι in the pinax of *Ad*.

Apparently, *Add.* 32 is the result of two creative processes, that of the author, who wrote the original poem (ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν), and that of a metaphrast (μετάφρασις), who on the basis of that older poem created a prose text. That does explain the strange rhythmic style in which *Add.* 32 is written¹⁴¹ and which provoked Epifanovič to edit the text as if it were a poem. But it also implies that who we are looking for is not the author of *Add.* 32 itself, but the author of the poem of which *Add.* 32 is a metaphrasis. The rest of the title, παραγγέλματα περὶ ήσυχίας καὶ ἀρετῶν, correctly labels the original text as paraenetic and didactic.

But what about the attribution of the text? On the basis of the above characteristics it is quite safe to reject Clemens Alexandrinus, Maximus Confessor as well as Ps. Macarius / Symeon as possible authors of the original poem. None of them is, indeed, known to have written (paraenetic) poems. Still, for each of these three authors arguments have been brought forward in the past in favour of their authorship.

For Clemens, P.M. Barnard, who only knew the text under the title Παραγγέλματα, launched the idea that *Add.* 32 might be an *excerpt* from the lost text Ὁ προτρεπτικός εἰς ὑπομονήν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βεβαπτισμένους, mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea as one the writings of Clemens¹⁴². The hypothesis was accepted by Stählin, who even re-edited *Add.* 32 under that title and considered the title in *Eb*, viz. Κλήμεντος παραγγέλματα, as the undertitle¹⁴³. However, as Berthold rightly remarks¹⁴⁴, neither is there any real ground for this identification, nor can *Add.* 32 be considered as an excerpt.

For Maximus Confessor Epifanovič could still refer to the hymns found under the saint's name in the *Patrologia Graeca* [cf. *PG* 91, 1417–1424; *CPG* 7719], although at the same time he stated that there is no real proof for Maximus' authorship of *Add.* 32¹⁴⁵. But since S. Mercati has shown that these hymns are to be attributed to Maximus Margunius¹⁴⁶ and since W. Lackner

¹⁴⁰ At the end of the text *Fb* adds a different 'title': παραγγεμάτων μετάφρασις. περὶ ὀρθοῦ βίου καὶ ἀρετῶν.

¹⁴¹ Cf. GUIDA, *Un nuovo testo*, p. 217–218 and footnote 87, who believes that the original poem was written in iambic trimeters.

¹⁴² Cf. EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Historia ecclesiastica* [CPG 3495], VI, 13, 3 (p. 104 in the edition by BARDY, Eusèbe de Césarée). For Barnard's conjecture, see BARNARD, *Clemens of Alexandria*, p. 49–50.

¹⁴³ See STÄHLIN, *Clemens Alexandrinus III*, p. LX and p. 221, l. 10–12 (= STÄHLIN e.a., *Clemens Alexandrinus III*², p. XXIV and p. 221, l. 10–12).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. BERTHOLD, *Makarios/Symeon I*, p. XXXII.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. EPIFANOVIČ, *Ματεριάλυ*, p. XIII.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. S. MERCATI, *Massimo Margunio è l'autore degli inni anacreontici attribuiti a Massimo Confessore*, in: *Mélanges Bidez II (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales 2 [1934])*. Bruxelles 1934, 619–625.

unveiled the real origin of *Add. 33*¹⁴⁷, the evidence that Maximus ever wrote poetry has completely vanished.

Finally, in the Ps. Macarius / Symeon *Forschung* Dörries described *Add. 32* as a "Messalianerregel"¹⁴⁸. Messalianic, however, is only the last part of the text in the Ps. Macarius / Symeon mss. This part is not paralleled in the other branches of the textual tradition and is a mere repetition of Ps. Macarius / Symeon, Logos B 14, 24 (p. 168, l. 31 – 169, l. 17)¹⁴⁹.

Contrary to what is the case for the other possible authors, the characteristics as specified by the title of *Add. 32* fit Gregory of Nazianzus perfectly. He is the most famous poet of the patristic era. His poems are frequently called ἔπη¹⁵⁰ and many of them are of paraenetic and didactic contents. Moreover, they have had a considerable success amongst metaphrasts, paraphrasts¹⁵¹ and scholiasts and it is certainly not impossible that a metaphrasis or paraphrasis is preserved, while the original *carmen* is lost or not yet discovered or identified¹⁵². Finally, while Guida knew of only one ms. in which the text is attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, there is now a second witness to this situation. However, this is all circumstantial evidence, which can also be turned around: the more obvious the elements that point to Gregory, the less unlikely it is that this attribution is secondary. How could one not think of "l'auteur le plus cité, après la Bible, dans la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine"¹⁵³, when looking for the name of a poet?

¹⁴⁷ Cf. W. LACKNER, Ein angebliches Gedicht Maximos' des Bekenner. *Byz* 44 (1974) 195–196.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. DÖRRIES, Symeon von Mesopotamien, p. 288.

¹⁴⁹ Also the manuscript tradition shows doubts concerning the attribution. In *Ad* the author of the text is indeed indicated with the words οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. However, we are not convinced that this is a decisive argument. There is no trace whatsoever of this οὐ in the two other mss. of the Ps. Macarius / Symeon branch. The pinax of *Ad* refers to the text with a normal τοῦ αὐτοῦ and we have the impression – but that should be checked on the ms. itself – that this οὐ was written *altera manu*. In other words, it is certainly possible that the negation is nothing more than a hypothesis of some reader. In fact that would not be such a strange thing, for as Berthold rightly remarks, both stylistically and as concerns the subject *Add. 32* stands on its own in the Ps. Macarian corpus (Cf. BERTHOLD, Makarios/Symeon I, p. XXXII). If present-day scholars are able to see this, why not also earlier readers or scholars?

¹⁵⁰ Besides the example referred to by GUIDA, Un nuovo testo 199, see e.g. also the *Doctrina Patrum* 1, III and 40, XVI (p. 2, l. 9 and p. 302, l. 12 in the edition by F. DIEKAMP – B. PHANOURGAKIS – E. CHRYSOS, *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*. Münster 1981²).

¹⁵¹ Quite recently a number of editions of such paraphrases saw the light: D.M. SEARBY, A Paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianz' *Carmen De Virtute* 2.9 in an Uppsala MS. *OCP* 69 (2003) 341–353; M.G. MORONI, Nicobulo jr. al padre [carm. II,2,4]. Nicobulo sen. al figlio [carm. II,2,5] (*Poeti Cristiani* 6). Pisa 2006, 305–357; C. SIMELIDIS, Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: I.2.17; I.1.10, 19, 23: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary (*Hypommemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben* 177). Göttingen 2009, 75–88 and 247–264. We thank the peer reviewers of this article for drawing our attention to these publications.

¹⁵² Cf. GUIDA, Un nuovo testo, p. 198–199.

¹⁵³ See J. NORET, Grégoire de Nazianze, l'auteur le plus cité, après la Bible, dans la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine, in: II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981 (ed. J. MOSSAY) (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, N.F. 2. Reihe. *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz* 2. Band). Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 1983, 259–266. See also C. MANGO, New Religion, Old Culture, in: *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (ed. C. MANGO). Oxford 2002, 103.

An internal investigation of the text revealed a number of similarities (but also differences) with *Ep.* 2 of Basil of Caesarea ¹⁵⁴, a letter addressed to Gregory: according to Guida this letter then was been used by Gregory, who is well-known to have admired Basil as βίου καθηγητῆς καὶ δογμάτων διδάσκαλος, to write a poem of his own ¹⁵⁵. The hypothesis is certainly tempting. However, the similarities are not as close as to allow us to be certain about this dependency, and may have been caused by the rather high level of standardization typical ascetic and moral literature, a fact which Guida acknowledged himself ¹⁵⁶.

In short, although of the four authors mentioned in the manuscript tradition Gregory of Nazianzus certainly is the best candidate as author of the text of which *Add.* 32 is the μετάφρασις, the available evidence is not conclusive.

4 Ratio edendi

The critical edition of this text is made with as much respect for the manuscripts as can be justified on the basis of present-day scholarly standards. This has the following consequences:

- *punctuation*: the mss. have been double-checked for the position of the punctuation marks. As a result, every punctuation mark corresponds to a punctuation mark in the majority of the mss.
- *accentuation*: special attention has been payed to the accentuation in the mss., which, as is well-known, differs from the rules in school grammars. As such the reader will find τὲ καὶ (e.g. 33), μὴ δὲ (e.g. 30), νόσου τίς ἴασις (53) or ὥσπερ τις ἀνὴρ (68). Moreover, since the use of a gravis before 'weak punctuations' like a comma is quite common in mss. (and, as a matter of fact, quite justified), we decided to preserve also this feature ¹⁵⁷.
- *apostrophe*: except in fairly late mss., scribes rarely end a line with an apostrophe, and would rather write μεθ'ἡ-|μέραν than μεθ'|ἡμέραν. It is a clear indication for the close connection between the apostrophized word and the next word. Therefore, as in French or Italian, we never added a space (or a punctuation, for that matter) after an apostrophe.

¹⁵⁴ Ed. Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile Lettres, Tome I (Collection des Universités de France)*. Paris 1957, p. 5–13. See especially paragraph 6 (p. 11–13).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. GUIDA, *Un nuovo testo*, p. 200–212.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. GUIDA, *Un nuovo testo*, p. 204.

¹⁵⁷ See e.g. S. PANTEGHINI, *La prassi interpuntiva nel Cod. Vind. Hist. gr. 8 (Nicephorus Callisti Xanthopulus, Historia ecclesiastica): un tentativo di descrizione*, in: *From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009)* (ed. A. GIANNOULI – E. SCHIFFER) (*Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Denkschriften*, 431. Band). Wien 2011, 142: "Anzi, parrebbe in molti casi che la scelta dell'accento discenda da una percezione del grado d'indipendenza di un κῶλον all'interno della superiore gerarchia sintattica: si dipende da un verbo finito che si trova altrove – o nell'enunciato principale o nel κῶλον successivo –, o se è in relazione stretta con elementi che lo circondano, la μέση non determina quel grado di indipendenza che le consente di impedire la baritonesi."

Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου

Guida 222

ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν,

Μετάφρασις παραγγελμάτων, περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ ἀρετῶν.

Ἡσυχίαν μὲν λόγοις ἐπιτήδευε, ἡσυχίαν δὲ καὶ ἔργοις·
 ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐν γέλῳτι καὶ βαδίσματι, σφοδρότητα [δὲ] ἀπόφευγε
 προπετή. Οὕτως γὰρ ὁ νοῦς διαμένει βέβαιος, καὶ οὐχ' ὑπὸ τῆς
 σφοδρότητος ταραχώδης γινόμενος, ἀσθενῆς ἔσται καὶ βραχύς
 5 περὶ φρόνησιν καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὄρων, [οὐδὲ ἠττηθήσεται γαστρι-
 μαργία,] οὐχ' ἠττηθήσεται ἐπιζέοντος θυμοῦ, οὐχ' ἠττηθήσεται τῶν
 ἄλλων παθῶν, ἔτοιμον ἄρπαγμα αὐτοῖς προκείμενος· τὸν γὰρ δὴ
 νοῦν προσήκει τῶν παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν, ὑψηλὸν ἐφ' ἡσύχου θρόνου
 καθήμενον, ἀφορῶντα πρὸς θεόν. Μὴ δὲ μὴν νωχελίας ἀνάπλευς
 10 ἔσο περὶ ἔργα, μὴ δὲ νωθῆς ἐν λόγοις, μὴ δὲ ἐν βαδίσμασιν ὄκνου
 πεπληρωμένος, ἵνα σοι ῥυθμὸς ἀγαθὸς τὴν ἡσυχίαν κοσμοίη, καὶ
 θεοειδὲς τι καὶ ἱερὸν τὸ σχῆμα φαίνεται.

Φυλάττου δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τὰ σύμβολα, σχῆμα
 ὑψαυχενού, καὶ κεφαλὴν ἐξηρμένην, καὶ βῆμα ποδῶν ἀβρὸν καὶ
 15 μετέωρον. Ἦπιά σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἔστω τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ
 γλυκείαι <αἰ> προσηγορίαι, αἰδῶς δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὸ
 βλέμμα | τετραμμένον εἰς γῆν.

Guida 223

Λάλει δὲ περιεσκεμμένως ἅπαντα, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ χρήσι-
 μον ἀποδίδου, τῇ χρεῖα τῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ φθέγμα μετρῶν, ἄχρι
 20 δὴ καὶ ἐξάκουστον εἶη, καὶ μήτε διαφεύγοι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπὸ σμικρό-
 τητος, μήτε ὑπερβάλλοι μείζονι τῇ κραυγῇ. Φυλάττου δὲ ὅπως
 μηδὲν ποτε λαλήσης ὃ μὴ προεσκέψω καὶ προενόησας. Μὴ δὲ
 προχείρως καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου λόγων ὑπόβαλλε τοὺς
 σαυτοῦ· δεῖ γὰρ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν τὲ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, χρόνῳ
 25 μερίζοντα λόγον καὶ σιωπῆν.

Μάνθανε δὲ ἀσμένως, καὶ ἀφθόνως δίδασκε· μὴ δὲ ὑπὸ φθόνου ποτὲ σοφίαν ἀποκρύπτου πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους, μὴ δὲ ἀφίστασο δι' αἰδῶ ἕως μάθης. Ὑπείκει πρεσβυτέροις ἴσα πατράσι. Τίμα θεράποντας θεοῦ. Τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις σαυτοῦ, κάταρχε σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς. Μὴ δὲ ἐριστικός ἔσο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, μὴ δὲ χλευαστῆς κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ γελωτοποιός. Ψεῦδος τὲ καὶ δόλον καὶ ὕβριν, ἰσχυρῶς παραιτοῦ· σὺν εὐφημίᾳ δὲ φέρε καὶ τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ ὑβριστὴν, πράως τὲ καὶ μεγαλοψύχως.

Ἄνηρτήσθω δὲ σοι πάντα εἰς θεὸν, καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἔργα, καὶ πάντα ἀνάφερε | Χριστῷ τὰ σαυτοῦ, καὶ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ θεὸν τρέπε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸ νόημα ἐπέρειδε τῇ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει, ὡσπερ ἐν λιμένι τινί, τῷ θεῷ φωτὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἀναπαυόμενον ἀπὸ πάσης λαλιᾶς τὲ καὶ πράξεως. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἀνθρώποις κοινῶς τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρόνησιν, θεῷ δὲ πολλάκις μὲν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ ἐν νυκτί. Μήτε μὴν ὕπνος ἐπικρατεῖτω πολὺς τῶν πρὸς θεὸν εὐχῶν τὲ καὶ ὕμνων· θανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ μακρὸς ὕπνος ἐφάμιλλος. Πᾶσαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν ἢ λέγων διατέλει· μέτοχος δὲ αἰεὶ Χριστοῦ καθίστασο, τὴν θείαν αὐγὴν καταλάμπωντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Εὐφροσύνη τέ σοι διηνεκῆς καὶ ἄπαυστος, ἔστω Χριστός.

Guida 224

Μὴ δὲ λύε τὸν ψυχῆς τόνον ἐν εὐωχίᾳ καὶ πότων ἀνέσεσι, μεθιστὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τῇ διανοίᾳ τέρψεων, ὧν οὐδεὶς κόρος. Ἰκανὸν δὲ ἡγοῦ τῷ σώματι τὸ χρειῶδες, καὶ μὴ πρόσθεν ἐπείγου πρὸς τροφὰς, πρὶν ἢ καὶ δεῖπνου παρῆ καιρός. Ἄρτος δὲ ἔστω σοι τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ πόαι γῆς προσέστωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἐκ δένδρων ὠραῖα. Ἴσθι δὲ ἐπὶ τροφήν εὐσταθῆς καὶ μὴ λυσσώδη γαστριμαργίαν ἐπιφαίνων. Μὴ δὲ σαρκοβόρος, μὴ δὲ φίλοινος ἔσο, ὅποτε μὴ νόσου τίς ἴσῃς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἄγοι, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡδονῶν, τὰς ἐν λόγοις θείοις καὶ ὕμνοις εὐφροσύνας αἰροῦ, κὰν τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ σοι χορηγουμένη σοφία.

Οὐράνιός τε αἰεὶ σε φροντὶς ἀναγέτω πρὸς οὐρανὸν, καὶ

Guida 225

τάς πολλὰς περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀνίει μερίμνας, τε|θαρρηκῶς ἐλπίσι
 ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν, ὅτι σοι τὰ γε ἀναγκαῖα παρέξει διαρκή· τροφήν
 τε τὴν εἰς ζωὴν, καὶ κάλυμμα σώματος, καὶ χειμερινοῦ ψυχους
 60 ἀλεξητήρια. Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ βασιλέως γῆ τε ἅπασα καὶ ὅσα
 ἐκφύεται γῆς. Μέλει δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων ὑπερβαλ-
 λόντως, καὶ περιέπει καθάπερ ἰέραξ νεοσσὸν ἑαυτοῦ. Διὰ δὴ
 τοῦτο, μὴ δὲ νόσους ὑπερβαλλόντως δέδιθι, μὴ δὲ γήρως ἔφοδον
 χρόνῳ προσδοκωμένου. Παύσεται γὰρ καὶ νόσος ὡς τῷ σῶ δοκεῖ
 65 βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὅταν ἦ σοι πρὸς ψυχὴν τοῦτο καλὸν, τὸ δὲ γήρας
 ὡσπερὶ πτέρυξι, τῇ θεῖα σκεπάσει δυνάμει περιβαλὼν. Ταῦτα
 εἰδὼς, καὶ πρὸς νόσους ἰσχυρὰν κατασκεύαζε τὴν ψυχὴν, εὐθαρ-
 σῆς ὢν, ὡσπέρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐν σταδίοις, ἀγωνιστῆς ἄριστος, ἀτρέπτω
 τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς πόνους ὑφίσταται. Μὴ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης πάνυ βιάζου
 70 τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτε νόσος ἐπικειμένη βαρῦνοι, εἴτε ἄλλο συμπίπτει
 δυσχερὲς, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀνθίστη τοῖς πόνοις τὸ νόημα, χάριτας
 ἀνάγων θεῷ, καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἐπιπόνοις πράγμασιν, ἅτε δὴ
 σοφώτερά τε ἀνθρώπων φρονοῦντι, καὶ ἄπερ οὐ δυνατὸν οὐδὲ
 ῥάδιον ἀνθρώποις εὐρεῖν.

75 Ἐλέει δὲ κακουμένους, καὶ | τὴν παρὰ θεοῦ βοήθειαν
 ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις αἰτοῦ· ἐπινεύσει γὰρ αἰτοῦντι τῷ φίλῳ τὴν χάριν,
 καὶ τοῖς κακουμένοις ἐπικουρίαν παρέξει, τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν
 γνώριμον ἀνθρώποις καθιστάναι βουλόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν
 ἐλθόντες, ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀνίωσι, καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου μακαριότητος ἀπολαύ-
 80 σωσιν, ἐπειδὴν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς παραγένηται, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἰδίους
 ἀποκαθιστάς.

— *Sigla*

Fb Ld (usque ad ἀπὸ [l. 37]), *Eb, Ah Ah'* (usque ad νοερῶν [cf. app. crit. ad l. 5]) *Ad* (usque ad πράγμασιν [l. 72]) *Um* (usque ad πράγμασιν [l. 72]), *Ug Cb Ac Ui*

— *Apparatus criticus*

Tit. 1 Τοῦ – θεολόγου] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Greg. Naz.) *Ld*; κλίμεντος *Eb*; τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Mac.) *Ah Um*; οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Mac.) *Ad*^{in textu}; τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Mac.) *Ad*^{in pinace}; τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Max. Conf.) *Ug Cb Ac Ui*; *om. Ah'* 2/3 ἐκ – ἀρετῶν] παραγγέλματα *Eb*; λόγος νουθετικός περὶ ἡσυχίας *Ah*; περὶ ἡσυχίας *in margine inferiore et κδ' in margine sinistra Ah'*; *om. Ad*^{in textu}; ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον τῷ ἡσυχάζοντι ἐνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ὑποκειμέναις ἀρεταῖς *Ad*^{in pinace}; λόγος νῆ (ξβ̄ *in*

marginē) Um 2 ἐκ] μετάφρασις *praem. Cb 3* περὶ] καὶ *praem. Cb*

Txt. 1 λόγοις] ἐν *praem. Ah Ah' Ad Um, Cb* καὶ] ἐν *Ah Ah' Ad Um; om. Eb 2* δέ¹] *om. Fb Ld* γέλωτι] γλώττη *Eb* σφοδρότατον *Ah; σφοδρότητι Ah' δέ²] seclusi, cf. supra, caput 1.5.3* ἀπόφευε *Ld 3* ἀπρεπή *Ac Ui* διαμενεῖ *Ad Um* βεβαίως *Ah Ah' οὐχ'] οὐχὶ Ad Um; om. Ug 4* σφοτητος *Ah^{a. corr.}* ταραχῶδη *Ah' ut videtur* γενόμενος *Ld, Eb, Ad Um* βραχὺς] καὶ *add. Ah 5* φρονήμασιν *Ah' καὶ – ὄρων] καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὄρων Eb; καὶ τῶν σκοτεινῶν νοερῶν Ah Ah'; om. Ad Um 5/6* οὐδὲ – γαστριμαργία] *seclusi, cf. supra, caput 1.5.3 5* ἠττηθήσεται] μὲν *add. Eb, Ah Ad Um 5/6* γαστριμαργίας *Ah Ad Um 6* οὐχ¹⁺²] οὐκ *Fb Ld; om. Eb, Ah Ad Um* ἠττηθήσεται¹⁺²] δέ *add. Eb, Ah Ad Um* ἐπὶ ζέοντος *Fb, Ah Ad Um, Ac Ui 7* αὐτοῖς ἄρπαγμα *Eb, Ad Um; εἰαυτοῖς ἄρπαγμα (sic) Ah 7/8* δὴ νοῦν] νοῦν δεῖ *Eb; δεῖ νοῦν Ug 8* προσήκει] *om. Eb* ἐφ'] ἐπ' *Fb Ld; ἐπὶ Eb* θρόνον *Eb 9* Μὴ δέ] μὴ δὲν *Eb; μῆτε Ah* μὴν] *om. Eb, Ad Um* ὀξυχολίας *Eb; νωχελῆς Ad Um* ἀνάπλευς] ἀνάπλευς *Fb Ld, Eb; om. Ad Um 10* ἔσω *Fb^{a. corr.}* *Ld, Eb* μὴ δέ¹⁺²] μῆτε *Ah* νοθής *Fb; νωθός Eb ut videtur* βαδίσματι *Ah 11* σοι] σὺ *Ah* κοσμοῖ *Eb; κοσμεῖη Ah* καὶ] *supra l. add. Eb 12* θειῶδες *(sic) Eb* ἱερὸν] νοερὸν *Ah; οἶον νοερὸν Ad Um* τὸ] *supra l. add. Eb* φαίνηται] γένηται *Fb Ld 13* τὰ] *om. Fb Ld 14* ὑψαυχοῦν *Ah Ad Um* ἐξηρημένην *Fb; ἐξηρητιμένην Ld 15* σοι] δέ σοι *Ah; δέ Ad Um* ἀπατώντας *Eb; ἀπανώντας Ui^{a. corr.}* **16** γλυκεῖαι ... προσηγορία] προσηγορία ... γλυκεῖαι *Eb, Ah Ad Um* αἰ] *addidi cum Cb; om. cett.* αἰδῶ *Eb* δέ] *om. Ad Um* τὸ] *om. Eb 17* τετραμμένον] κάτω *praem. Ah Ad Um 18* περιεσκεμμένος *Ld* πάντα *Ah Ad Um 19* ἀπεδίδου *Eb* μέτρον *Eb 20* καὶ] *om. Cb* διαφεύγειν *Fb Ld, Ug Cb Ac Ui; διαφεύγων Eb* ἀκοήν] τῶν παρόντων *add. Eb, Ah Ad Um* ὑπὸ] *Um^{e. corr.}*; διὰ *Ad 21* ὑπερβάλλειν *Fb Ld; ὑποβάλλων Eb; ὑπερβάλλει Ah; ὑπερβάλοι Ac Ui* μεῖζων *Ah; μεῖζον Ad Um* ὅπως] *om. Cb 22* μηδὲν ποτὲ *Eb, Ah Ad Um; μήποτε Ug Cb Ac Ui* λαλήσεις *Fb, Ah^{ut videtur}* **23** καὶ] ἄκουε· ἀλλὰ μὴ δέ *Ad Um* τῶν] *om. Eb^{e. corr.}*; τὸν *Ah* τοῦ] *om. Ad Um* λόγον *Ah 24* αὐτοῦ *Eb; αὐτοῦς Ah; σεαυτοῦ Cb* ἀνὰ μέρος] ἀναμέρως *Fb Ld, Ah; ἓνα μέρος Eb* τὲ] *om. Eb* χρόνων *Eb 25* μετρίζοντα *Fb Ld 26* δέ¹] *om. Ah* μὴ δέ] μῆτε *Ah; μήποτε Ad Um 27* ὑποκρύπτου *Um* πρὸς] *om. Ad Um* ἐταίρους *Ah 28* ἀφίστασο – μάθη] μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο δι' αἰδῶ *Eb; μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο Ah Ad Um* αἰδῶ *Fb 28/29* Ὑπείκει – θεοῦ] δίωκε δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ἴσα πατρᾶσι τιμᾶν, ὡς θεράποντας θεοῦ *Ah; δίωκε δέ. τὸ (τῷ Um^{a. corr.})*, πρεσβυτέρους ἴσα πατρᾶσι τιμᾶν. ὡς θεράποντας θεοῦ *Ad Um 28* ὑπέικου *(sic) Eb 29* Τοῖς – σαυτοῦ] *om. Eb* αὐτοῦ *Fb^{a. corr.}*, *Ad; σαυτῷ Ah^{a. corr. ut videtur}* **30** ἔσω *Fb Ld 31* χλευαστικός *Ac Ui 32* ἰσχυρῶς] *bis scripsit Cb 32/33* ὑπερήφανον καὶ ὕβριστήν] ὕβριστήν καὶ ὑπερήφανον *Fb Ld 33* ὕβριστήν] τὸν *praem. Ah 33/34* πρᾶως – Ἄνηρηθῶ] πρᾶος τὲ καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἀνήρ. κείσθω *Eb 34* λόγοι καὶ ἔργα] ἔργα καὶ λόγοι *Fb Ld, Eb, Ah Ad Um 35* πάντα – καὶ] *om. Ad Um* πάντα ἀνάφερε] ἀνάφερε πάντα *Cb 36* ψυχὴν – ἐπέρειδε] ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ νόημα· ἐπερειδὲ *Eb* νόημα] δέ *add. Ug Ac Ui* Χριστοῦ] τοῦ *praem. Cb 37* τινὶ] *om. Ah Ad Um* ἀναπαυόμενος *Ad Um 38* ἡμέρας *Ac Ui* κοίνου *Eb; κινουῦ Ah 39/40* ἐν – νυκτὶ] ἐπιπλεῖστον ἐν νυκτὶ ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἡμέρα *Eb 39* ἡμέρῃ] ἡμέρῃ *Fb^{ut videtur}* **40** Μῆτε μὴν] μὴ γὰρ *Eb; μὴ οὖν Ah Ad Um* ἐπικρατεῖτω] σε *praem. Eb 40/41* πρὸς θεὸν εὐχῶν] προσευχῶν *Ah 42* Πᾶσαν – διατέλει] *om. Eb 43* δέ αἰεὶ Χριστοῦ] χριστοῦ αἰεὶ *Eb 43/45* τὴν – Χριστός] *om. Ad Um 44* τέ] γὰρ *Eb* σοι] *om. Cb 45* ἔστω] *a. σοι (l. 44) trsp. Eb* Χριστός] ὁ *praem. Eb 46* δέ] *om. Ad Um* τὸν] *a. τόνον trsp. Ah* ψυχῆς] τῆς *praem. Eb, Ah Ad Um* εὐωχίας *Ac Ui^{p. corr.}*; εὐωχίαι *Ui^{a. corr.}* ποτῶν *Eb* ἀνέσει *Eb; ἀνέσεως Ah 47* μεθιστάς – κόρος] *om. Eb, Ad Um* κόρος] ὁ *praem. Ah 49* καὶ] *om. Ad* δεῖπνον *Eb* πάρη *Fb; παρέη Eb; παρείη Ah Ad Um* δέ] δ *(sic) Fb, cf. l. 61 50* τὰ] *om. Ah 51* ἴθι *Ad Um, editores; cf. supra, caput 1.5.3* τροφήν] τὴν *praem. Fb, Eb, Ah Ad Um* εὐσταθῶς *Fb, Eb, Ah Ad Um* λυσώδης *Ui 52* ἐκφαίνων *Ah; ἐμφαίνων Ad Um* ἔσω *Fb, Eb^{p. corr.}* **52/53** ὁπότε – ἄγοι] *om. Ad Um 53* ἴασις ἐπὶ ταῦτα] ἴασιν ἐπιταύτην *Eb* ἄγει *Ah* ἄλλ' *Fb, Eb, Ug Cb 54* αἰροῦ *Fb^{ut videtur}*, *Ac Ui; ἐροῦ Eb* κᾶν] κᾶν *Fb; κᾶν Ah; καὶ Ad Um; κᾶν Cb; om. Eb 56* τε] *om. Ah Ad Um 57* τοῦ] *om. Eb, Ah Ad Um* ἀνίου *Eb; ἀνείη Ah; ἔα Ad Um* τεθαρσικῶς *Eb 58* σοι τὰ γε] σοὶ γε τὰ *Eb* παρέξει διαρκή·] παρέξει, διαρκή *Ug Cb Ac Ui 59* καὶ¹] *om. Ah* ψύχου *Um; ξίφους Ug Cb 60* ἀλεξιτήρια *Fb, Ah Ad Um, Ug Cb* δῆ] *om. Ad Um 61* γῆς] ἐκ *praem. Ah Ad Um; om. Eb* μέλλει *Ah Ad Um, Ug Cb Ac Ui; ὡς μέλη Eb^{ut videtur}* δέ] δ *(sic) Fb, cf. l. 49; om. Ug Cb Ac Ui* αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ *Eb 62* καὶ] *om. Eb* ἱέραξ νεοσσόν] ἱερά καὶ νεῶς *Fb; ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς Eb; ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς Ah; ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς Ad Um* αὐτοῦ *Eb, Ah Ad Um, Cb 63* ὑπερβαλλόντως] ὑπερβαλοῦσας *Eb; om. Ad Um* δέδιθι] *scripsi cum Cb; δεδίει Fb, Ac Ui; δέδιθι Eb; δέδοιε Ah; δέδιε Ad Um; δεδείει Ug 64* χρόνων *Ah^{ut videtur}* **64/66** ὡς – περιβαλῶν] ὅταν ὀλοψύχῳ προθέσει ποιῶμεν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολᾶς *Eb 64* ὡς] ἐπᾶν *Ah Ad Um* δοκῆ *Ad Um 65* ψυχὴν] τὴν

praem. Ah Ad Um 65/69 τὸ – ὑφίσταται] *om. Ad Um* 65 γήρας] σὸν *praem. Fb*; σοι *praem. Ah* 66 ὡςπερ] ὡςπερ *Ah* περιβάλλον *Ah* 67 ἰσχυρὰν – ψυχὴν] ἰσχυρὰν κατάσκευε τὴν ψυχὴν *Fb*; τῆ ψυχῆ ἰσχυροῦς (*sic*) *Ah*^{a. corr.}; ἰσχυροῦς τῆ ψυχῆ (*sic*) *Ah*^{p. corr.} 67/68 εὐθαρσῆς ὦν] εὐθάρρησον *Eb* 68 ἀγωνιστῆς] *om. Eb* 69 ὑφίστασθαι *Eb* δὲ] δ' *Ah Ad Um* πάνν] τι *add. Ah Ad Um* πιέζου *Eb, Ad Um*; πιέζει *Ah* 70 εἶτε – ἄλλο] εἰ δὲ νόσος εἶη ἐπικειμένη, μὴ βαρύνου· μὴ δ'εἴ τι ἄλλο σοι *Ad Um* νόσους *Ah* βαρύνου] *correx*i; βαρύνου *Fb, Ad Um, Ug Cb*; βαρύνει *Eb*^{ut videtur}, *Ac Ui* εἶτε²] ἦτοι *Ah* ἄλλο] ἀλλότι *Eb*; ἀλλότι (*sic*) *Ah* συμπίπτει *Eb, Ah Um*^{a. corr. ut videtur} 71 ἀλλοῦς *Ah*^{ut videtur} γενναίως (*sic*) *Eb* ἀνθίστα *Eb*; ἂν ἦς *Ah*; ἀνίστα *Ad Um*; ἀνθίστει *Ug* τοῖς πόνοις] *om. Ad Um* τὸ νόημα] τὸν νοῦν *Ad Um* 72 ἐπὶ πόνοις *Fb* 72/81 ἄτε – ἀποκαθιστάς] *om. Ad Um et add. Ps. Macarius / Symeon, Logos B 14, 24 (p. 168, l. 31 – 169, l. 17)* 73 σοφώτερα τε] σοφότερα *Fb* 74 ῥᾶον *Ah* 75 καλουμένοις *Eb* θεοῦ] τοῦ *praem. Eb* 76 ἐπ'] ἐπὶ *Ah*; *om. Ac Ui* 77 τὴν ... δύναμιν] τῆ ... δυνάμει *Eb* 78 βουλομένοις *Eb* 80 τὰ] *om. Eb* ἰδίους] δικαίοις *Ah* 81 ἀποκαθιστᾶν *Eb*; ἀποκαθιστῶν *Ah et add. Ps. Macarius / Symeon, Logos B 14, 24 (p. 168, l. 31 – 169, l. 17)*; παραγγεμάτων μετάφρασις. περὶ ὀρθοῦ βίου καὶ ἀρετῶν *add. Fb*; αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν *add. Cb*

5 The *Traditio Maximiana alterata*

In the notes left by the late Raphael Bracke we found some off-prints of f. 66^v–68 of *Parisinus graecus 2010*. They contain amongst others a version of *Add. 32*, which we judged too different to simply collate it with the other mss. of *Add. 32*. It is sufficient to consider the alternation of normal and bold print in our edition – printed in bold are those words not paralleled in *Add. 32* – in order to see that inserting the variants in the critical apparatus of *Add. 32* would have obscured and wronged the originality of the *Traditio Maximiana alterata*. But before we discuss this text, we have to devote some lines to the description of this ms. and its position in the stemma of *Add. 32*.

5.1 *Parisinus graecus 2010*

H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements II*. Paris 1888, 178–179; P.J. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis. A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of the Works of Basil of Caesarea I (Corpus Christianorum)*. Turnhout – Leuven 1993, 400.

Cod.: Chartaceus; 210 x 128 mm.; 1 col.; 30–38 l.; 100 f. but there are no folios numbered 73, 74 and 75. Moreover, since f. 1 is the first folio of quire 35, no less than 272 folios are lost, presuming of course that all lost quires were quaternions¹⁵⁸. The last quire number, viz. μδ', is seen on f. 79. Also at the end of the codex some folios are lost, but their exact number cannot be determined.

Hist.: *Pn* is generally dated to the 14th c. As to the place where the codex was copied, there are strong indications that at least part of *Pn* was copied from *Ui*, which was found in the region of

¹⁵⁸ This loss of folios is also confirmed by the numbering of the writings in the codex. The writing which presently holds the first place, viz. Plato's *Apology*, already has number κβ', which implies that the codex originally contained 21 other writings before the *Apology*.

Thessalonica in the middle of the 14th c.¹⁵⁹. Already in 1525 *Pn* was part of the collection of Niccolò Ridolfi. From that time onwards the ms. shares the fate of the rest of Ridolfi's mss.: Pietro Strozzi († 1558) – Catharina de Medicis († 1589) – Bibliothèque du Roy from 1599 onwards¹⁶⁰.

Contents: According to the description by Omont f. 66^v–68^v contain "SS. Maximi, Gregorii Nazianzeni et Gregorii Nysseni excerpta". We give a more detailed description of these folios, as also from other texts they contain more or less adapted versions:

1. f. 66^v, l. 10: start of the *Traditio Maximiana alterata*.
 2. Of f. 67^v paragraphs 1–3 and the first sentence of paragraph 4 were composed on the basis of some lines of Maximus' *Ep.* 5: compare the text in footnote with *PG* 91, 420 C3–13; 421 A3–5 and 421 A6 respectively¹⁶¹.
 3. From the second sentence of paragraph 4 onwards up to and including paragraph 6 of f. 67^v the basis is Ps. PLUTARCHUS' *Consolatio ad Apollonium*¹⁶².
 4. This is followed by a collection of *Epistulae* of Gregory of Nazianzus [CPG 3032] (f. 67^v–68^v), more exactly *Ep.* 93 (f. 67^v), 161 (f. 67^v), 230 (f. 67^v–68), 72 (f. 68), 92 (f. 68), 32 (f. 68^{r-v}), 73 (f. 68^v), 35 (f. 68^v) and 36 (f. 68^v).
- Despite the assertion by Omont there are no excerpts from Gregory of Nyssa.

¹⁵⁹ For this dependency, see chapter 5.2 below.

¹⁶⁰ On Ridolfi's library, see most recently the monumental work by D. MURATORE, *La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi I-II (Hellenica. Testi e Strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica)* 32). Alessandria 2009 (see the index in vol. I, p. 766 for *Pn*).

¹⁶¹ The words in bold are not found in Maximus' letter:

Εἰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀποδέχη λόγους, **διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπίδειξαι**· ἀποδοχή γὰρ λόγων ἐστὶ, ἢ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους (τοὺς λόγους) ἔργα *supra l. add. Pn*: τοὺς λόγους *is the reading of Maximus' letter, but ἔργα is obviously better in the new context*) τοῦ ἀποδεχομένου τοὺς λόγους διάθεσις. Οὐκοῦν τῆς περὶ τὸ λέγειν προτροπῆς, ἀρραβῶνά μοι πάρασχε πιστότατον, τὴν περὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα προθυμίαν.

Μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ νομιζομένων τερπνῶν τὴν ψυχὴν καταδήσωμεν. Παρέρχεται γὰρ, **καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα παρ' αὐτῷ τεθηλέναι διαρρεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ καρπῶν καὶ ἀνθῶν ἡρινῶν εὐπετέστερον**.

Μὴ κάλλει σώματος ἐναβρύνου, ἀλλ' ὥραν φιλοκάλει ψυχῆς, μὴ βρενθίου σώματος ῥώμη, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ψυχικοὺς νεύρωσον τόνους. Τὸ μὲν, γὰρ ἢ γήρα ἢ νόσφ καμὸν οἰχήσεται· οἱ δὲ, συνδιαωνίσουσι, τὸν ψυχικὸν ὡς χρυσοὶ κίονες ὑπερείδουσαι (*intellege χρυσαὶ κίονες ὑπερείδουσαι aut χρυσοὶ κίονες ὑπερείδοντες*) **θάλαμον**.

Φθορᾶς **ἐστι τὰ** ὄντα κατὰ φύσιν παραναλώματα.

¹⁶² It is an adaptation of 106 D9 – E9 (cf. p. 93–95 in the edition by J. HANI, *Plutarque, Consolation à Apollonios [Études et Commentaires LXXVIII]*. Paris 1972). The words in bold are not found in the source text:

Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν, εἰ τὸ τμητὸν τέμνηται, ἢ τὸ τηκτὸν τέτηκται, **καὶ** τὸ καυστὸν κέκαυσται, **καὶ** τὸ φθαρτὸν ἔφθαρται.

Τί τὸ ζῶν διαφέρει τοῦ τεθηνηκότος, καθότι τὸ ἐρηγορὸς τοῦ καθεύδοντος, καὶ τὸ νέον τοῦ γεγηρακότος, ἐπειδὴ τάδε μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνα ἐστίν, κάκεῖνα ἄλλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα, **ὄθεν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν ὕπνον τοῦ θανάτου ἀδελφὸν νομοίκασι**.

Ὅσπερ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ δύναται τις πλάττων ζῶα συγγεῖν, καὶ ἄλλιν πλάττειν καὶ συγγεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν παρ' ἐν ποιεῖν ἀδιαλείπτως, οὕτω καὶ ἡ φύσις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης, πάλαι μὲν τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἀνέσχευεν, εἴτα συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγέννησε τοὺς πατέρας, εἴτα ἡμᾶς, εἰτ' ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, καὶ ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ποταμὸς οὗτος ἐνδελεχῶς ῥέων οὐποτε **παύσεται**.

5.2 The *Traditio Maximiana alterata* and the stemma of *Add. 32*

Though undoubtedly based on *Add. 32*, the amount of conscious changes and additions is too large to call the *Traditio Maximiana alterata* a mere copy. It is a new text with its own characteristics and we have edited it as such. Still, we should try to position *Pn* in the stemma of *Add. 32*?

A first and important indication is the attribution of the text to Maximus: Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου παραινετικῶν. Moreover, it has some of the readings which were said to have been introduced by μ^{**} , the common ancestor of the Maximus mss. *Ac*, *Ui* and *Uh*. This is the case for – between square brackets we add the line numbers of *Add. 32* –:

- 3 [3] ἀπρεπῆ for προπετῆ
 30 [31] χλευαστικός for χλευαστής
 72 [76] πο ἐπ' or rather ἐπὶ before κακουμένοις ἄνθρωποις

On two other occasions the reading of *Pn* can be considered as an attempt to correct the reading of μ^{**} . This is particularly distinct on l. 38 [38], where the obviously incorrect μεθ' ἡμέρας of μ^{**} was corrected into μεθημέραν. However, also on l. 19 [21] this seems to be the case. There *Pn* reads ὑπερβάλλειν instead of ὑπερβάλοι as in μ^{**} . The infinitive ὑπερβάλλειν, which is characteristic of the Gregory tradition, is very likely an attempt by *Pn* to adapt ὑπερβάλοι to the preceding, but equally faulty infinitive διαφεύγειν, which is found in the whole of the Maximus tradition.

It is possible to be more specific still. In our description of *Pn* it was said that the paragraphs which immediately follow the *Traditio Maximiana alterata* are based on some lines from Maximus' *Ep. 5*. Of the mss. containing *Add. 32*, this same sequence of *Add. 32* – *Ep. 5* is only found in *Ui* and *Uh*, not however in *Ac*¹⁶³.

Also pointing to a relationship of *Pn* with *Ui* or *Uh*, rather than with *Ac*, is a passage which at first sight seems to contradict it. On l. 41 [46] the *Traditio Maximiana alterata* reads the correct εὐωχία, while μ^{**} appears to have read the plural, since the form εὐωχίαις is found in *Ac*, *Ui* and in *Uh*. In the last two mss., however, εὐωχίαις is only found *post correctionem*. The scribe of *Ui* first wrote εὐωχίαι, as if using a *iota adscriptum*, then added a small σ above the final ι. In *Uh*, which was copied from *Ui*, this situation was more or less preserved by writing εὐωχία|σ (sic). Now, it is tempting to interpret the singular εὐωχία in the *Traditio Maximiana alterata* as the result of the problems in *Ui* or *Uh*. And if that is true, the situation in *Ui*, more easily than that in *Uh*, may have caused the change of εὐωχίαις back into the correct εὐωχία: the interlineary σ is so small that it is easily overlooked.

¹⁶³ In *Ac Ep. 5* is found in a completely different part of the ms. (f. 128^v-130). In *Ug Ep. 5* is divided from *Add. 32* by two other texts, viz. *Op. 7* and *Op. 8*.

5.3 Some remarks on the *Traditio Maximiana alterata*

We really would have liked to know the identity of the scribe of *Pn*, for we are convinced that he is the same man who was responsible for the adaptation of *Add. 32*. Indeed, the small size of *Pn*, the casual way in which the texts are written and the frequent interlinear and marginal notes suggest that *Pn* is the personal notebook of the scribe himself, who must have been a man of education. He seems to have had a particular interest in the Platonic dialogues ¹⁶⁴ and was quite familiar with some *carmina* of Gregory of Nazianzus, of which he inserted two quotations in his adaptation of *Add. 32* ¹⁶⁵. Moreover, he seems to have known Philo Iudaeus' *Quod omnis probus liber sit*. This is indeed the conclusion if we compare paragraph 25 of that treatise ¹⁶⁶ with l. 56–60 of the *Traditio Maximiana alterata*. Philo writes:

ὄθεν οὐδὲ παντὶ τῷ προστάττοντι ὑπακούσεται, κἄν αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους καὶ τινας
φοβερωτάτας ἀπειλάς ἐπανατείνηται, νεανιευσάμενος δὲ ἀντικηρύξει·
ὄπτα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου
πίνων κελαινὸν αἶμα: πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω
γῆς εἴσιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ' ἄνεισ' ἔς οὐρανὸν,
πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ' ἀπαντήσαι λόγον.

Unfortunately the scribe did not leave his name in the ms. and our attempts to identify him on palaeographical grounds failed. If, however, our identification of *Ui* as the ancestor of *Pn* is correct, there is a considerable chance that the man lived in or near Thessalonica ¹⁶⁷.

A remarkable characteristic of the *Traditio Maximiana alterata*, although we are not sure what can be concluded from it, is that on two occasions an explicit reference to God or Christ is substituted either by the comparative κρείττων or by τὸ θεῖον. The former is used on l. 7 [9] (πρὸς τὸ κρείττον for πρὸς θεὸν) and on l. 35 [36] (τῆ δυνάμει τῆ κρείττονι for τῆ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει). For the latter we can refer to l. 30 [29] (τοῦ θείου θεράποντας for θεράποντας θεοῦ), while in two passages which do not have a real parallel in *Add. 32*, viz. on l. 53 and 64, τὸ θεῖον is found instead of ὁ θεός. Finally, there is the enigmatic passage on l. 5: καὶ οὐ κρείττων τῆς πονεράς δυάδος.

¹⁶⁴ At present the ms. contains the *Apologia Socratis*, the *Eutyphron*, the *Criton*, the *Axiochus* and the *Timaeus*.

¹⁶⁵ See the *Apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum* at l. 47 and l. 50 of our edition.

¹⁶⁶ See p. 7, l. 14 – 8, l. 4 in the edition by L. COHN – S. REITER, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt VI*. Berolini 1915.

¹⁶⁷)# A possible candidate we thought of is Δημήτριος Κανίσκης Καβάσιλας, who in 1344 used *Ui* to copy *Uh* (see our description of *Uh* for more details on this man). However, a comparison between Demetrius' hand and the hand who wrote *Pn* did not confirm this suspicion.

Traditio Maximiana alterata

Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου παραινετικῶν

Pn, f. 66^v

Προσηγεῖ
δέ τις
ἐπόμενος
τῇ πατρικῇ
μαγάδι

Ἡσυχίαν μὲν λόγοις ἐπιτήδευε, ἡσυχίαν δὲ καὶ ἔργοις·
ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐν γέλωτι καὶ βαδίσματι σφοδρότητα **περίφευγε**
ἀπρεπῆ. Οὕτως γὰρ ὁ νοῦς διαμένει βέβαιος, καὶ οὐχ' ὑπὸ
τραχυτήτος ταραχώδης γινόμενος, ἀσθενής πρὸς φρόνησιν καὶ
5 σκοτεινὸν ἔσται ὁρῶν, **†καὶ οὐ κρείττων τῆς πονηρᾶς δυάδος†**.

Προσῆκει τὸν νοῦν ἐπικρατεῖν τῶν παθῶν, ὑψηλὸν
ἐφ' ἡσύχου θρόνου καθήμενον, ἀφορῶντα πρὸς **τὸ κρεῖττον**. Μὴ
δὲ μὴν νωχελίας ἀνάπλεως ἔσο περι **τὰ ἔργα**, μὴ <δὲ> νωθῆς ἐν
λόγοις, μὴ δὲ ἐν βαδίσμασιν ὄκνου πεπληρωμένος.

10 Φυλάττου τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τὰ σύμβολα, σχῆμα ὑψαυχε-
νοῦν καὶ κεφαλὴν ἐξηρμένην καὶ βῆμα ποδῶν ἀβρὸν καὶ μετέωρον,
ἵνα σοι ῥυθμὸς ἀγαθὸς **τὸ βάδισμα** κοσμήσῃ, καὶ θεοειδές τι καὶ
ἱερὸν τὸ σχῆμα φαίνεται.

Ἦπιά σου πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἔστω τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ
15 γλυκεῖαι <αἰ> προσηγορίαι, αἰδῶς δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὸ
βλέμμα τετραμμένον εἰς γῆν. Λάλει δὲ περιεσκεμμένως ἅπαντα,
καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ χρήσιμον ἀποδίδου, τῇ χρεῖα τῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ
φθέγμα μετρῶν ἄχρι δὴ καὶ ἐξάκουστον εἶη καὶ μήτε διαφεύγοι
τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, μήτε ὑπερβάλλοι μείζονι τῇ κραυγῇ.

20 Μηδέποτε λαλήσης ὃ μὴ προεσκέψω, μὴ δὲ προχείρως καὶ
μεταξὺ τῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου λόγων ὑπόβαλε τοὺς σαυτοῦ· δεῖ γὰρ ἀνά
μέρος ἀκούειν τὲ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, χρόνῳ μερίζοντα λόγον καὶ
σιωπῆν.

Μάνθανε ἀσμένως, καὶ ἀφθόνως δίδασκε· μὴ δὲ ὑπὸ
25 **βασκανίας** σοφίαν ἀποκρύπτου, μὴ δὲ **πρὶν ἂν** μάθοις ἀφίστασο

δι'αἰδῶ· σαυτὸν γὰρ ζημιοῖς, πάθος βλαβερὸν διὰ πάθος ἄτιμον ὑπομένων.

“Υπεικε πρεσβυτέροις ἴσα πατράσι. Νεωτέροις δὲ κάταρχε σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς. Μὴ ἐριστικὸς ἔσο καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς φίλους, μὴ δὲ χλευαστικός τις καὶ γελωτοποιὸς. Τίμα τοῦ θεοῦ θεράπον-
30 τας. |

Ψεῦδος, δόλον, ὕβριν ἰσχυρῶς παραιτοῦ. Τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ ὑβριστὴν πράως τὲ καὶ μεγαλοψύχως **ὑφίστασο**. **Τὰ πάντα** δ'εἰς θεὸν ἀνηρτήσθω σοι, <οἱ> λόγοι καὶ τὰ πρακτέα.

Pn, f. 67

35 **Τὸν νοῦν** ἐπέρειδε τῇ δυνάμει **τῇ κρείττονι**, ὥσπερ ἐν ὄρμῳ τινὶ τῷ θεῷ φωτὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἀναπαυόμενον ἀπὸ πάσης λαλιᾶς τε καὶ πράξεως. Κοινοῦ μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ σαυτοῦ **βουλεύματα**, θεῷ δὲ **τὴν γνώσιν** μεθήμεραν τὲ καὶ νύκτωρ **μάλιστα**.

40 **Δὸς πόνοις** σαυτὸν εἰ μέλλεις πολυμαθῆς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν **ψυχὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι καλλίω** καὶ πολυειδῆ ἐν μαθήμασι. Μὴ δὲ λυε **τῆς** ψυχῆς τὸν τόνον, εὐωχία καὶ πότων ἀnéσεσι μεθιστὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τῇ διανοίᾳ τέρψεων.

Ἰκανὸν ἡγοῦ τῷ σώματι τὸ χρεῖῳδες καὶ μὴ πρόσθεν ἐπείγου πρὸς τροφὰς, πρηνὴ καὶ δεῖπνου παρῆ καιρὸς, **ἵνα σοι**
45 **εὐσταθὲς** καὶ μὴ λυσοῦδες τὸ ἦθος καθιστῆται.

Μὴ ἥττων οἴνου καὶ σαρκοβόρος ἔσο σαρκοτροφῶν – **παχεῖα γὰρ φησι καὶ πίων γαστήρ, λεπτὸν οὐ πέφυκε** τίκτειν νοῦν –, ἀλλ'ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡδονῶν τὰς ἐν λόγοις θείοις καὶ ὕμνοις εὐφροσύνας αἰροῦ.

50 **Θυμὲ βλέψον ἄνω, παρακελεύου** τῷ νῷ **καθὰ φησιν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος**, καὶ φροντὶς οὐράνιος ἀεὶ σε ἀναγέτω πρὸς οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὰς πολλὰς περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀνίει μερίμνας, **εὐέλπις ὢν** ὅτι σοι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα **τὸ θεῖον** παρέξει διαρκῆ· **αὐτοῦ** γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα καὶ

55 ὅσα γῆς φύεται, θάλαττα πᾶσα καὶ ὄσ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς νήχεται, ἀέρος
 χύσις καὶ ὅσα δι' αὐτοῦ πέτεται.

Εὐθαρσῆς τὸν νοῦν, στερρὸς τὴν γνώμην, μὴ παντὶ προ-
 στάγματι ὡς κτῆνος ἐπόμενος, οἴους τοὺς ἀστείους οἱ φιλόσοφοι
 δημιουργοῦσι καὶ παρακελεύονται τραγικῶς ἀποκρίνεσθαι·
 60 ὄπτα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου
 πίνων κελαινὸν αἶμα
 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Μὴ νόσους ὑπερβαλλόντως δέδιθι, μὴ δὲ γήρως ἔφοδον
 χρόνῳ προσδοκωμένου· ὡς γὰρ ἀετὸς νεοσσούς, οὕτω σε περιβα-
 λεί τὸ θεῖον καὶ περιθάλπει.

65 Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐννοῶν, γενναίαν καὶ ἄρρενα τὴν ψυχὴν παρα-
 σκεύαζε μηδενὶ εἴκων ἐναντιώματι.

Ὡσπὲρ τις ἐν σταδίοις ἀγωνιστῆς ἄριστος, ἀτρέστῳ γνώμῃ
 καὶ ἀτρέπτῳ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παραστήματι τοὺς ἐπενηνεγ-
 μένους κινδύνους ὑφίστασο, χάριτας ἀνάγων θεῶ κἂν μέσοις τοῖς
 70 ἐπιπόνοις πράγμασι, σοφώτερα φρονῶν καὶ λέγων παντὸς ἀνθρω-
 πίνου φρονήματός τε καὶ ῥήματος.

Αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ βοήθειαν κακουμένοις ἀνθρώποις, εἴπερ
 αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖν μὴ οἶός τε εἶ· ἐπινεύσει γὰρ αἰτοῦντι τοῖς
 πάσχουσι τὴν χάριν, τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν γνώριμον ἀνθρώποις
 75 καθιστάναι βουλόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐλθόντες, ἐπὶ θεὸν
 ἀνίωσι καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου μακαριότητος ἀπολαύσωσιν.

— *Apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum*

47 (παχεῖα ... καὶ – νοῦν) Greg. Naz., Carm. I, 2, 10, 589 (ed. C. CRIMI – M. KERTSCH, Gregorio Nazianzeno, Sulla virtù: carne giambico [I, 2, 10]. Introduzione, testo critico e traduzione. Commento. Appendici [*Poeti cristiani* I]. Pisa 1995, 156) — De locis parallelis et similibus, vide ibid., p. 302–303 50 (Θυμὲ βλέφρον ἄνω) Greg. Naz., Carm. II, 1, 81, 1 (PG 37, 1427) 53/55 (αὐτοῦ – πέτεται) cf. Gen. 1, 20–25 56/57 (μὴ παντὶ προστάγματι) cf. Philo Iud., Quod omnis probus liber sit 25 (ed. L. COHN – S. REITER, Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt VI. Berolini 1915, 7, l. 14) 59/60 Fragmentum ex Euripidis Syleo satyrico in Philone Iud., Quod omnis probus liber sit 25 (o.c., p. 8, l. 1–2). Cf. Eurip., Syl., fr. 687 (ed. A. NAUCK, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Hildesheim 1964, 575).

— *Apparatus criticus*

Tit. τοῦ] *supra l. add. Pn*

Txt. 5 καί² – δυάδος] *non liquet* 5 οὐ] *supra l. add. Pn* 7 ἐφ'] *correxi*; ἀφ' *Pn* 8 δέ¹] *addidi* 15 αἰ] *addidi ut in Add. 32, l. 16* 18 διαφεύγοι] *correxi*; διαφεύγειν *Pn* 19 ὑπερβάλλοι] *correxi*; ὑπερβάλλειν *Pn* 34 οἰ] *addidi* 65 οὖν] *supra l. add. Pn* 69 κάν] *κᾶν Pn^{a. corr. ut videtur}* 70 καὶ λέγων] *om. Pn^{a. corr.}, an legendum sit τε καὶ λέγων ?*