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## The Textual Tradition of the Florilegium Hierosolymitanum (and its Relations with the Florilegium Coislinianum)\*

Abstract: This paper offers for the first time the recension of the now four known witnesses of the alphabetical compilation known as the Florilegium Hierosolymitanum (= Flor. Hier.): Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulchri 15 (11<sup>th</sup> c.), Atheniensis, Metochion Sancti Sepulchri 274 (14<sup>th</sup> c.), Atheniensis, EBE 2429 (14<sup>th</sup> c.) and Athonensis, Koutloumousiou 269 (15<sup>th</sup>). By means of a philological study, the author concludes that all of them witness to the same version of the anthology which is headed by the Hier. S. Sepulchri 15. On the basis of the identification of the Atheniensis, EBE 2429 as a 'fragmentary witness' of the Flor. Hier., the author argues that in its pristine form the anthology reached up to letter Ω and was originally transmitted in two volumes, of which only the first one (books A–E) is preserved in full today.

### INTRODUCTION

The monumental compilation known as the Florilegium Coislinianum (Flor. Coisl.) dates to sometime between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Its place of composition still remains unidentified, although some evidence points to Southern Italy<sup>1</sup>. The Flor. Coisl. is arranged alphabetically and divided into twenty three *στοιχεῖα*, each of which represents a letter of the alphabet and includes a certain number of chapters<sup>2</sup>. Each chapter in turn features in its title a key-word that starts with the letter assigned to the *στοιχεῖον* in which the chapter in question can be found. Thus, for instance, *στοιχεῖον Α* includes chapters such as *Περὶ δημιουργίας ἀγγέλων*, *Διατὶ τελευταῖος ὁ ἄνθρωπος* and *Περὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως*. Since 2008 the research team of the Leuven Institute for Early Christian and Byzantine Studies, led by P. Van Deun, has edited different sections of the Flor. Coisl. To date, *στοιχεῖα Α–Γ, Η–Θ, Ξ, Ρ* and *Ψ* have been published, while I am preparing the critical edition of *Δ–Ζ*.

The editors have proven that the Flor. Coisl. is available in three recensions. The first one (Flor. Coisl. I), which offers the most extensive version of the work, is attested only in the manuscript Parisinus, Coislinianus 294 (*s. XI–XII*) (**A**)<sup>3</sup>. The second recension (Flor. Coisl. II) transmits a slightly shorter version and has been preserved in two manuscripts from the tenth century, i.e. the Atheniensis, EBE 464 (**B**) and the Parisinus graecus 924 (**C**), and some younger witnesses. Lastly, the third recension (Flor. Coisl. III) represents the shortest and from a textual point of view least faithful version of

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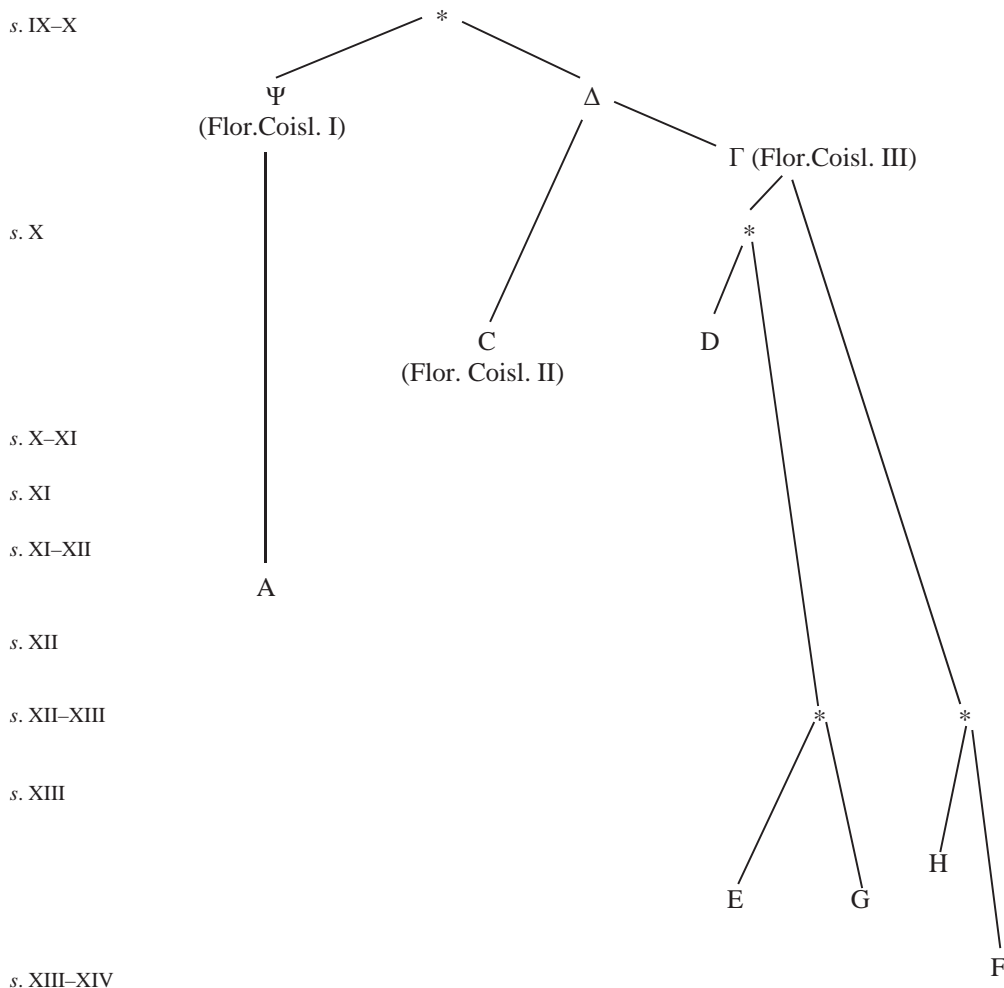
<sup>1</sup> As to the date of the Flor. Coisl., see T. FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum: A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction*. Leuven 2010, XXIV and R. CEULEMANS – I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – P. VAN DEUN, *La continuation de l'exploration du Florilegium Coislinianum: la Lettre Èta*. *Byz* 81 (2011) 90–92. With regard to the place of composition, see *ibidem* 92–93 and R. CEULEMANS – P. VAN DEUN – S. VAN PEE, *La vision des quatre bêtes, la Theotokos, les douze trônes et d'autres thèmes : La Lettre Θ du Florilège Coislin*. *Byz* 86 (2016) 101–102.

<sup>2</sup> Book Ω is absent from all the known witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. See FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha LXIX*. P. Van Deun and R. Ceulemans discuss the issue in an article that will appear in *Travaux et Mémoires: Réflexions sur la littérature anthologique de Constantin V à Constantin VII*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Richard named the whole compilation after this manuscript. See M. RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, in: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, fasc. 33–34. Paris 1962, 484 (reprinted in: M. RICHARD, *Opera minora*, I. Turnhout 1976, n° 1).

the anthology. Its five main manuscripts are: Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus Q 74 sup. (s. X) (**D**), Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca nationalis et universitatis gr. 12 (a. 1285–1286) (**E**), Atheniensis, EBE 329 (s. XIII–XIV) (**F**), Athonensis, Iviron 38 (a. 1281–1282) (**G**) and Vaticanus graecus 491 (s. XIII) (**H**).

The editors also demonstrated that the three recensions can be retraced to two branches: Flor. Coisl. II–III relate to the same hyparchetype (=  $\Delta$ ), whereas Flor. Coisl. I descends from a different branch (=  $\Psi$ )<sup>4</sup>. Accordingly, the *stemma* of the Flor. Coisl. would look as follows<sup>5</sup>:



<sup>4</sup> See (in chronological order) I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN, L'art de compiler à Byzance : la lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 78 (2008) 169; I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN, La lettre B du Florilège Coislin: editio princeps. *Byz* 80 (2010) 77; FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha CV–CXLIX; CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Èta 83; R. CEULEMANS – P. VAN DEUN – F. A. WILDENBOER, Questions sur les deux arbres du Paradis : la Lettre Ξ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 84 (2014) 52–56; CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Θ 93–99.

<sup>5</sup> I deliberately limit the *stemma* to the main witnesses. It relies on the one reconstructed by Fernández who identified manuscript **B** as an apograph of **C**, which is strongly supported by my collation of στοιχεῖα Δ–Z (see Book Alpha CXLIX). On the contrary, the editors of letters B–Γ thought that the two witnesses were brothers (see DE VOS *et alii*, La Lettre Γ 167 and La Lettre B 77). In the editions of the Flor. Coisl. H–Θ, Ξ and Ψ, the editors retained a *stemma* in which **B** and **C** descend from the same model, although they adopted a more cautious position (see CEULEMANS *et alii*, La Lettre Èta 80–81; J. MICHIELS – P. VAN DEUN, On the Topaz Island: Diodorus of Sicily and the Byzantine Florilegium Coislinianum. *Byz* 83 [2013] 287; CEULEMANS *et alii*, La Lettre Θ 95). In the edition of letter P the editors accepted the hypothesis that **B** is a copy of **C**: R. CEULEMANS – J. MAKSIMCZUK – P. VAN DEUN – C. GAZZINI, Sur la pureté du corps et de l'âme et sur l'épée flamboyante. La Lettre Rhô du Florilegium Coislinianum. *Byz* 87 (2017) 145–147. Fernández and I discuss the issue in full in a forthcoming article.

The textual tradition of the Flor. Coisl. is completed by a number of supplementary witnesses, most of which are later anthologies that transmit only some sections of the florilegium<sup>6</sup>. The most relevant among those supplementary witnesses is arguably the monumental, alphabetical compilation termed Florilegium Hierosolymitanum (Flor. Hier.)<sup>7</sup>. In its full form it must have transmitted long sections of στοιχεῖα A–Ψ of the Flor. Coisl. and its text is moreover significant for the reconstruction of the archetype, since it relates to Flor. Coisl. I<sup>8</sup>. Today two manuscripts of the Flor. Hier. are known: Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulcri 15 (s. XI)<sup>9</sup> (= **T**) and Atheniensis, EBE, Metochion Sancti Sepulcri 274 (s. XIV *ineuntis*) (= **Me**). Unfortunately, both of them transmit the work only up to στοιχεῖον E inclusive. A third witness only contains a small section: MS Athonensis, Koutloumousiou 269 (s. XV) (= **W**), already identified by Fernández while working on the critical edition of Flor. Coisl. A<sup>10</sup>.

The editors of Flor. Coisl. A–Γ included the testimony of **T**, and the role of manuscript **W** (which transmits only Flor. Coisl. A fr. 29)<sup>11</sup> was assessed by Fernández<sup>12</sup>. MS **Me**, by contrast, was unavailable when Flor. Coisl. A–Γ were edited.

Below, I present a thorough analysis of **Me**. Moreover, I identify a fourth witness of the Flor. Hier., to wit: MS Atheniensis, EBE 2429 (*aa.* 1330–1350) (= **Ath**)<sup>13</sup>. Building on this new evidence, I offer for the first time the *recensio* of all four known witnesses of the Jerusalem compilation<sup>14</sup>. First, a brief presentation of the Flor. Hier. is in order.

## 1. MAIN FEATURES OF THE FLOR. HIER.

### 1.1. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION

The Jerusalem compilation dates to sometime between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The inclusion of long sections of the Flor. Coisl. provides a *terminus post quem* (see note

<sup>6</sup> See FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha CXLIX; CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Èta 82–83; R. CEULEMANS – E. DE RIDDER – K. LEVRIE – P. VAN DEUN, Sur le mensonge, l'âme de l'homme et les faux prophètes: la Lettre Ψ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 83 (2013) 51–54; CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Ξ 50–51; CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Θ 96–99. For the important manuscript **R** from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, see the forthcoming article by R. CEULEMANS, Cosmological Questions Answered through Severian of Gabala in the Athonensis, *Lavras B* 43 (Eustratiadis 163), in: *Building the Kosmos. Greek Patristic and Byzantine Question and Answer Literature*, ed. B. Demulder – P. Van Deun. Turnhout.

<sup>7</sup> See K. HOLL, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus (TU 16)*. Leipzig 1897, 114–138, and RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs* 483–484.

<sup>8</sup> The original size of the Flor. Hier. is discussed below. As for its text, I follow Fernández's hypothesis which is based on *errores coniunctivi* found in both **A** and **T** (see below) but absent from the other manuscripts of the Flor. Coisl. (see Book Alpha CXXXIV–CXXXVIII). My own collation of Flor. Coisl. Δ–E yielded more evidence to sustain the hypothesis that **A** and **T** are brothers. While Fernández was working on the edition of Flor. Coisl. A, De Vos *et alii* reached a different conclusion in their edition of letters B–Γ, i.e. that **T** would witness to an independent branch of the Flor. Coisl. (see La lettre Γ 166 and La lettre B <sup>75</sup>). They nonetheless admitted that a thorough analysis of στοιχεῖον A might indeed prove that **A** and **T** descend from the same hyparchetype (La lettre B 79, n. 9).

<sup>9</sup> As for the date of **T**, see the manuscript description below.

<sup>10</sup> FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha CXLV–CXLVI.

<sup>11</sup> The Flor. Coisl. numbers all of its chapters (in Flor. Coisl. I, the numbering starts again in every στοιχεῖον, whereas in Flor. Coisl. II–III it continues throughout the compilation). By contrast, the individual excerpts of every chapter are not numbered. In this article, however, for the sake of clarity, I refer to the Flor. Coisl. excerpts by the number assigned to them in the respective critical edition. For excerpts from στοιχεῖα not yet edited, I quote the chapter number (= cap.) and the position within the chapter in question. Thus, for instance, Flor. Coisl. O cap. 7.1 refers to the first excerpt in the seventh chapter of letter O.

<sup>12</sup> See note 10.

<sup>13</sup> I confirm the hypothesis I formulated *apud* CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Θ 99.

<sup>14</sup> Studies of **Me** and **Ath** beyond the *recensio* are offered in two appendices that follow this article. The first records the Flor. Coisl. chapters transmitted in the *pinax* of **Me**; the second inventories the excerpts from the Flor. Hier. included in **Ath**.

1 above). The production of manuscript **T**, the oldest witness of the anthology, is the *terminus ante quem*; paleographical analysis suggests that this codex dates to the late 11<sup>th</sup>-c. (see the manuscript description below). The large fork presented above may be shrunk: as all the known witnesses of the Flor. Hier. somehow descend from **T** (as I will show), it is likely that this manuscript is (one of) the first exemplar(s) of the Jerusalem compilation. If this theory is correct, the date of compilation of the Flor. Hier. might cautiously be placed at some point between the middle and the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. No information allows us to identify where the Flor. Hier. was compiled<sup>15</sup>.

## 1.2. SIZE AND STRUCTURE

The most striking feature of the Flor. Hier. is its particular, complex arrangement. The work is divided into different στοιχεῖα that represent letters of the alphabet. Only the first five of them (A–E) are transmitted in the two main witnesses, manuscripts **T** and **Me**. However, since the *pinax* of **Me** covers in a detailed way letter A right down to Ω and since **Ath** includes some excerpts beyond letter E that, as I will argue, were copied from the Flor. Hier., one can postulate that in its pristine, full form the anthology covered the full alphabet. Consequently, the monumental Flor. Hier. was most likely transmitted in two volumes, of which the text of **T** and **Me** constituted the first<sup>16</sup>.

The particularity of the Flor. Hier. lies in the fact that every στοιχεῖον is divided into four books<sup>17</sup>: for each letter, the compiler delivered the text of four alphabetical anthologies: the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum (= book I of the Flor. Hier.)<sup>18</sup>, the first section of the Hiera according to the recension of Parisinus, Coisl. 276 (= book II)<sup>19</sup>, the Florilegium Thessalonicense (= book III)<sup>20</sup>, and the first recension of the Flor. Coisl. (= book IV)<sup>21</sup>. In the following, Flor. Hier. A<sup>I</sup> corresponds to the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum στοιχεῖον A; Flor. Hier. A<sup>II</sup> to the compilation of Parisinus, Coisl. 276 στοιχεῖον A, and so on.

Since the four florilegia recycled by the compiler of the Flor. Hier. are mutually related—especially those of books I–III, which are all recensions of a lost 7<sup>th</sup> c. monumental anthology known as Hiera<sup>22</sup>—, repetition lurked around the corner. The compiler tried to avoid such doublets by including duplicate chapters only once<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> See below, note 26.

<sup>16</sup> Parts of this *pinax* are transcribed in the first appendix below. If the hypothesis that the Jerusalem compilation was transmitted in two volumes is correct, as I think it is, both these volumes would have recorded a similar amount of text, since, according to the *pinax* of **Me**, the text of στοιχεῖα A–E is as copious as that of στοιχεῖα Z–Ω.

<sup>17</sup> According to the information recorded in the *pinax* of **Me**, some στοιχεῖα lacked one or more books. The reason is not difficult to imagine: either one or more of the exemplars consulted by the compiler of the Flor. Hier. were defective, or one of the four source anthologies overlaps, for that particular letter, with the other ones (because they are in fact related: see below). Examples are στοιχεῖον T (**Me**, f. 23<sup>r</sup>: τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου οὐδέν) and στοιχεῖον Ω (**Me**, f. 26<sup>r</sup>: βιβλίον δ' οὐδέν).

<sup>18</sup> See HOLL, *Die Sacra Parallela* 8–26, and 115–117; RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs* 480–481.

<sup>19</sup> See HOLL, *Die Sacra Parallela* 176–189, and 117–119; RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs* 477–478.

<sup>20</sup> RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs* 483.

<sup>21</sup> See above, note 8.

<sup>22</sup> For the main characteristics of the Hiera see RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs* 476–477, and A. ALEXAKIS, *Byzantine Florilegia*, in: *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, ed. K. Perry. West Sussex 2015, 19. For its date see J. DECLERCK, *Les Sacra Parallela nettement antérieurs à Jean Damascène. Retour à la datation de Michel Le Quien*. *Byz 85* (2015) 27–65. As for its relations with the anthologies transmitted in books I–III of the Flor. Hier. see notes 18–20, ALEXAKIS, *Byzantine Florilegia* 20, and DECLERCK, *Les Sacra Parallela* 33–34. The only recension of the Hiera that was edited is the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum. Its text is found under the title *Sacra Parallela* (= *Sacr. Par.*) in *PG* 95, 1040–1588 and *PG* 96, 9–441.

<sup>23</sup> See HOLL, *Die Sacra Parallela* 126–129, and RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs* 483–484. Compare with n. 17 above.

## 2. WITNESSES

2.1. MAIN MANUSCRIPTS<sup>24</sup>

Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulcri 15 (*s. XI exeuntis*)<sup>25</sup> (= **T**). Parchment. The volume consists of 345ff. written in two columns. The orthography is not always correct and the scribe employed abbreviations only for *nomina sacra* and usual words. There are no marginalia except for chapter numbering, attributions and the addition of words omitted in the text. Nothing is known about the history of **T** or the scribe who copied it<sup>26</sup>. The manuscript contains only the Flor. Hier. (στοιχεῖα A–E). The last excerpt recorded is Flor. Hier. E<sup>IV</sup> cap. 7.8 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17.8)<sup>27</sup> after which the scribe wrote τέλος τὸ Ε<sup>28</sup> τοῦ τετάρτου βιβλίου. The pages at the beginning of the manuscript, which would have contained a *pinax*, are missing<sup>29</sup>. Contrary to Richard's observation, **T** does not appear to end mutilated<sup>30</sup>. The Flor. Coisl. material is delivered in ff. 137<sup>r</sup>–168<sup>r</sup>, 189<sup>r</sup>–193<sup>v</sup>, 228<sup>r</sup>–232<sup>r</sup>, 261<sup>v</sup>–271<sup>v</sup> and 341<sup>v</sup>–345<sup>v</sup>. After f. 341, **T** misses some folios. This resulted in the loss of almost the whole chapter 2, the entire chapter 3 and part of chapter 4 of στοιχεῖον E<sup>IV</sup> (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 2.3–5, 8–9 and cap. 3.1–cap. 4.1). In turn, ff. 342–343 are misplaced: the correct order is 343–342.

Atheniensis, EBE, Metochion Sancti Sepulcri 274 (*s. XIV ineuntis*)<sup>31</sup> (= **Me**). Paper. The volume consists of 512 single-columned folios, and is in bad shape. At some points the text is illegible as the ink faded and the margins of many folios are torn. The handwriting is elegant and the scribe employed abbreviations only for *nomina sacra* and usual words. The text was copied with care and no orthographical errors are found. The marginalia are limited to chapter numbering and attributions which are written down in red. A note on the inner part of the front cover reads τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας which suggests that the volume belonged to the library of the monastery of Hagia Anastasia Pharmacolytria in Chalkidiki<sup>32</sup>. **Me** transmits only the Flor. Hier. (στοιχεῖα A–E). The Flor. Coisl. material is

<sup>24</sup> The information given in the present section relies mainly on the catalogues: manuscript **T** is described by A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, I. Petroupole 1891, 65–68. For **Me**, see ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, IV. Petroupole 1899, 252–253.

<sup>25</sup> As for the date of **T**, I follow ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη I 65, and E. SARGOLOGOS, Un traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: le florilège sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos. Thessalonique 1990, 92. The date proposed by those scholars was confirmed and complemented with paleographical remarks by one of the reviewers of the present article: decreasing Perlschrift and the zeta « à trompe » (see. P. CANART – L. PERRIA, Les écritures livresques des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles, in: Paleografia e codicologia greca I, ed. D. Harlfinger – G. Prato. Alessandria 1991, 66–116). The codex had been dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> c. by M. RICHARD, Florilèges spirituels grecs 483. The 10<sup>th</sup> c.-dating was accepted by recent scholarship, see J. DECLERCK, Les extraits des Sacra Parallela attribués à Jean Damascène, in: Titus Bostrensis. Contra Manichaeos Libri IV Graece et Syriace cum excerptis e Sacris Parallelis Iohanni Damasceno attributis (CCSG 82), ed. P.-H. Poirier – A. Roman – T. Schmidt – E. Créghneur – J. Declerck. Leuven – Turnhout 2013, CXXVII; DECLERCK, Les Sacra Parallela 34; FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha LXIV.

<sup>26</sup> One of the anonymous reviewers (see previous note) argued that **T** is of Oriental origin, probably Constantinopolitan. On the basis of this, the colleague cautiously suggested that an Oriental origin may be proposed for the Flor. Hier. too.

<sup>27</sup> In the three recensions, Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17 records ten excerpts. An analysis and diplomatic edition of these are found in J. MAKSMCZUK, Chapter E 17 of the Florilegium Coislilianum and Its Relationship with Earlier Iconodule Anthologies. *MEG* 16 (2016) 165–183.

<sup>28</sup> *Sic* whereas τοῦ ἔγγραφου would have been expected.

<sup>29</sup> See FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha LXVII.

<sup>30</sup> See RICHARD, Opera minora I, app. p. I.

<sup>31</sup> That **Me** most likely dates to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. was kindly suggested to me by I. Pérez Martín in a private communication (06/09/2016).

<sup>32</sup> The note was written by a hand different from both the one that copied the volume and the later one that added some pages at the beginning of the codex (see below). See A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἡ μονὴ Ἀναστασίας τῆς Φαρμακολυτρίας. *BZ* 10 (1901) 191–199, and DARROUZÈS, Les manuscrits du monastère Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria de Chalcidique. *REB* 12 (1954) 45–57. Unfortunately, D. Grosdidier de Matons could not include **Me** in her study on the bookbinding technique

transmitted on ff. 229<sup>r</sup>–273<sup>r</sup>, 301<sup>v</sup>–308<sup>r</sup>, 333<sup>v</sup>–340<sup>r</sup>, 401<sup>v</sup>–413<sup>v</sup> and 506<sup>v</sup>–512<sup>v</sup>. Folios 403 and 404 are misplaced one for the other. There is a *lacuna* between ff. 263 and 264: f. 263<sup>v</sup> ends with the words ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς αὐτοῦ τὰ δη[μιουργήματα] corresponding to Flor. Coisl. A fr. 67, 29–30 whereas f. 264<sup>r</sup> starts with κατὰ τὸν Γαβριήλ, which belongs to Flor. Coisl. A fr. 74, 16. Most likely, only one folio is missing here: **T** does not record Flor. Coisl. A fr. 68–72<sup>33</sup> and fr. 73 counts only 17 lines in Fernández's edition. **Me** misses another folio between ff. 511 and 512, resulting in the loss of a small part of Flor. Hier. E<sup>IV</sup> cap. 5 and almost all E<sup>IV</sup> cap. 6 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 14.5–6 and cap. 15.1). Finally, a third folio is today lost at the end of the manuscript, which contained a part of Flor. Hier. E<sup>IV</sup> cap. 7.7 and the whole of fr. 8 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17.7–8): the volume ends mutilated in the middle of Flor. Hier. E<sup>IV</sup> cap. 7.7 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17.7).

A few pages are also missing at the beginning of the manuscript. A hand from the 16<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>34</sup> filled this *lacuna* with some of the prologues to the Sacr. Par., i.e. the Florilegium Vaticanum<sup>35</sup>: an explanation of παραπομπαί, system of internal references typical of the Hiera<sup>36</sup> (cf. *PG* 95, 1044.34–55 = f. 1<sup>r</sup>), a prologue (cf. *PG* 95, 1040.3–33 = f. 1<sup>r-v</sup>) and the first ten titles of Flor. Hier. A<sup>I</sup> (f. 2<sup>v</sup>)<sup>37</sup>. As the explanation of the παραπομπαί begins *in medias res*, one must assume that at least one folio is missing at the very beginning of the volume.

A comprehensive *pinax* of the Flor. Hier., covering στοιχεῖα Α–Ω, is recorded on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>r</sup>. Folios 14 and 24–26 were added by the same copyist of ff. 1–2. Folios 2<sup>v</sup> and 26<sup>r</sup> appear to list the original contents of the Flor. Hier. στοιχεῖα Α<sup>I</sup>, Χ<sup>III-IV</sup>, Ψ<sup>I-IV</sup> and Ω<sup>I-IV</sup>, whereas the information on folios 24<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>r</sup> relies, according to Richard, on books Y, Φ and X of the Florilegium Laurentianum (= L<sup>c</sup>)<sup>38</sup>. In turn, ff. 14<sup>r</sup> and 26<sup>v</sup> transmit two other πρόλογοι of the Sacr. Par. (cf. *PG* 95, 1069.5–17). Lastly, ff. 14<sup>v</sup> and 25<sup>v</sup> were left blank.

## 2.2. FRAGMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS

Athonensis, Koutloumousiou 269 (*s.* XV) (= **W**)<sup>39</sup>. Paper. The volume consists of 168 single-columned folios. I was only able to consult ff. 141<sup>r</sup>–149<sup>v</sup> (on a digital reproduction), which are preserved

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employed in the Monastery of Hagia Anastasia as the manuscript proved inaccessible to her (see Recherches sur les reliures byzantines. I. L'atelier du monastère de Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria en Chalcidique. Thèse présentée à la IV<sup>e</sup> section de l'École pratique des Hautes Etudes. Paris 1984).

<sup>33</sup> These fragments are transmitted only in manuscripts **A** and **C** of the Flor. Coisl. under the chapter title Περί ἀγαθοεργίας καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀποδιδόναι κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ (see FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha 109–111). That title is not recorded in the *pinax* of **Me** either.

<sup>34</sup> This was first noticed by ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη IV 253, who believed (incorrectly) that this later hand wrote the whole *pinax* (see Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη IV 253). See also RICHARD, Opera minora I app. p. II. The folios in question together with ff. 14 and 24–26 were most likely added when **Me** and other books of the monastery of Hagia Anastasia Pharmacolytria in Chalkidiki were restored: see DARROUZÈS, Les manuscrits 45–55, and GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, Recherches sur les reliures byzantines passim. The hand that supplemented **Me** shares a number of features with that of the scribe who copied at least part of MS Parisinus gr. 1060 (ff. 2–126 and 171–207) in Hagia Anastasia in 1518 (see H. OMONT, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements, I. Paris 1886, 213; DARROUZÈS, Les manuscrits 50, and GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, Recherches sur les reliures byzantines 319).

<sup>35</sup> The prologues in question were most likely the original prologues of the Flor. Hier. The Florilegium Vaticanum is the first book of the Jerusalem compilation and it is possible that the compiler of the latter included its prologues in his work. The reason why they are recorded in folios written by a second hand is easy to guess: it is likely that the original first folios of **Me** were in bad shape and a 16<sup>th</sup>-c. scribe replaced them with copies made by himself. This could be also the case with ff. 14 and 26, see further below.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. P. ODORICO, La cultura della Συλλογή. *BZ* 83 (1990) 16–17, and DECLERCK, Les Sacra Parallela 29 n11.

<sup>37</sup> Folio 2<sup>r</sup> of **Me** was left blank.

<sup>38</sup> RICHARD, Opera minora I app. pp. I–II. For the Florilegium Laurentianum or L<sup>c</sup>, which is the name given by Holl, see HOLL, Die Sacra Parallela 139–159 and RICHARD, Florilèges spirituels grecs 495.

<sup>39</sup> My brief description of **W** relies on S. P. LAMBROS, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, I. Cambridge 1895, 307–308.

in bad shape. In those folios, **W** transmit Flor. Coisl. A fr. 29 and it exhibits all the particular readings of the Flor. Hier. version.

Atheniensis, EBE 2429 (*aa.* 1330–1350)<sup>40</sup> (= **Ath**). Paper. The codex consists of 327 single-columned folios of which I was only able to see ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>v</sup> (digital reproduction). The orthography is correct and the scribe employed abbreviations for *nomina sacra* and usual words. The first letter of the first word of excerpts, titles and attributions is written in red by the scribe of the manuscript<sup>41</sup>. There are no marginalia except for the attributions. Two illegible notes were copied on the bottom of ff. 12<sup>v</sup> and 14<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript resided for some time in the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Serres and, according to F. Spingou, the anonymous scribe most likely copied it for personal use<sup>42</sup>. The contents of **Ath** can be described as miscellaneous<sup>43</sup>. In the pinax of the whole codex (ff. 4<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>r</sup>), the section corresponding to the fragments of the Flor. Hier. bears the number  $\zeta'$  and is entitled Ἐκ τῶν παραλλήλων τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἐρωτήσεις διάφοροι, περὶ διαφόρων ὑποθέσεων (f. 4<sup>r</sup>). The excerpts from the Flor. Hier. are offered between ff. 8<sup>r</sup> and 15<sup>v</sup>. As shown in appendix two, **Ath** includes excerpts from Flor. Hier. B–Θ and O and retains the alphabetical order of its source. The first fragment corresponds to Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup>, cap. 5 (= Flor. Coisl. B, fr. 18); unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether or not this was indeed the first excerpt in the short compilation of **Ath** as some folios are missing between the end of the *pinax* (f. 7<sup>r</sup>) and the first text in the brief anthology (f. 8<sup>r</sup>). The last three fragments, those from H–Θ and O (ff. 13<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>), are thematically related: all of them deal with eternal life, a topic which may have been triggered by **Ath** 18, Περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου (= Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 3) (ff. 12<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>)<sup>44</sup>.

Having surveyed the manuscript evidence of the Flor. Hier. I argue in the following: 1) that **Me** is an apograph of **T**; 2) that **W** is most likely an apograph of **Me**; 3) that **Ath** is a partial copy of **T**; 4) that the copyist of **Ath** had access to sections of the Flor. Hier. that are lost today.

### 3. **Me**, APOGRAPH OF **T**

To my knowledge, the first hypothesis on the relationship between the two main witnesses of the Flor. Hier. was put forward by F. Petit while studying sections of the manuscripts different from those I am interested in. Although she was not able to undertake a thorough study of these two manuscripts, she was inclined to consider that “A [= **Me**] n’est qu’une copie directe de H [= **T**”<sup>45</sup>. In private communications, P. Van Deun, B. Markesinis and J. Declerck confirmed to me that they fully agree with Petit’s conclusion<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> See F. SPINGOU, Πῶς δεῖ εὐρίσκειν τὸ δακτύλιον: Byzantine Game or a Problem from Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci? Unpublished Notes from Codex Atheniensis EBE 2429. *Byz* 84 (2014) 359.

<sup>41</sup> However, the last three titles of the Flor. Hier. section (ff. 13<sup>v</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup> and 15<sup>v</sup>) are entirely written in red. See appendix II.

<sup>42</sup> See SPINGOU, Unpublished notes 359, and L. POLITIS with M. POLITIS, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (*Pragmateiai tes Akademias Athenon* 54). Athens 1991, 432.

<sup>43</sup> The full description by POLITIS, Κατάλογος 427–432, should be complemented with P. GÉHIN, Linos Polites, avec la collaboration de Maria L. Politè, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀρ. 1857–2500. *REB* 52 (1994) 336–339 (338 for the Coisl. section of **Ath**).

<sup>44</sup> For the numbering of the chapters in **Ath**, see the second appendix below.

<sup>45</sup> Philon d’Alexandrie, Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: fragmenta graeca, ed. F. PETIT (*Les œuvres de Philon d’Alexandrie* 33). Paris 1978, 24, n. 5.

<sup>46</sup> See J. R. ROYSE, Fragments of Philo’s Quaestiones, in: Nourished with Peace. Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel, ed. F. E. Greenspahn – E. Hilgert – B. L. Mack. Chicago – California 1984, 148, n. 29. T. FERNÁNDEZ, Byzantine Tears. A Pseudo-Chrysostomic Fragment on Weeping in the Florilegium Coisl. in: *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* Ed. P. Van Deun – C. Macé (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 212). Leuven 2011, 133, n. 31 reached the same conclusion while studying a pseudo-Chrysostomic excerpt transmitted in Flor. Coisl. Δ. By contrast, SARGOLOGOS, Un traité de vie spirituelle 88–89 and 92–93, used both **T** and **Me** in the critical edition of the Florilegium of Patmos without mentioning any link between the manuscripts.

The comparative study presented below, which confirms the hypothesis that **T** is the model of **Me**, is based on the sections of the Jerusalem anthology corresponding to Flor. Coisl. A–E. These sections were collated by myself, save for στοιχεῖα A–Γ in **T**, for which I relied on the already published critical editions of the Flor. Coisl.

### 3.1. **T** AND **ME** RELATED

Manuscripts **T** and **Me** share a number of readings that isolate them from the other witnesses of the Coisl. anthology. The following list records only a few of them:

- A fr. 22, 3–4: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἀπὸ μοναδικῆς ἐποίησεν οὐσίας Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me  
 B fr. 23, 12–13: καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν μεταλαμβάνοντων Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me  
 Γ fr. 5, 3: ὀλίστημα ἀπὸ ἐδάφους, ἢ ὀλίστημα ἀπὸ γλώσσης Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me  
 Δ cap. 7.1: τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ μὴ ἀξίου τοῦ ἐλεηθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ εὐχου καὶ μὴ προσέλθης μοι περὶ Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me  
 E cap. 14.1: ὧν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔτι κύριοι βουληθῶσιν αὐτῶ Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me

### 3.2. INDIVIDUAL READINGS OF **ME**

In addition, **Me** has a number of variants absent from both **T** and the rest of the witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. The list below is not exhaustive:

- A fr. 33, 15: τὴν ὑπόθεσιν T Flor. Coisl.] om. Me  
 A fr. 67, 7–8: ἀλλὰ διαπαντὸς ὑμᾶς T Flor. Coisl.] om. Me  
 B fr. 11, 6: ἐνώτιον ἐν ῥινὶ T Flor. Coisl.] ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν ἐν ῥινὶ Me  
 Γ fr. 18, 9: τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατρὶ T Flor. Coisl.] τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς πατρὶ Me  
 Δ cap. 10.2: ἀνθρώποις T Flor. Coisl.] om. Me  
 Δ cap. 14.1: τοῖς ἀνθρώποις T Flor. Coisl.] τοῖς δικαίοις ὁ διάβολος Me

Two readings in **Me** might furthermore have originated from particularities in **T**:

- A fr. 60, 61: ὑφ' ἧ μὲν Flor. Coisl.] ὑφ' ἡ μὲν (*sic*) T, ὑφ' ἡμῶν Me  
 B fr. 9, 16: κεχυμένως Flor. Coisl.] κεχυμ(εν)ός T, κεχηνός Me

The first case can be considered as a “progressive error” of the scribe of **Me** vis-à-vis **T**. In the second instance, the variant of **Me** is most likely due to the fact that the copyist did not see the ligature which represents -μεν- in **T** as it is indeed barely distinguishable (see **T** f. 190<sup>r</sup> col. A, l. 12).

### 3.3. AGREEMENT OF **ME** WITH THE ARCHETYPE/SOURCE AGAINST **T**

#### 3.3.1. Agreement of **Me** with the archetype of the Flor. Coisl. against **T**

In a few cases, **Me** sides with the other manuscripts of the Flor. Coisl. against **T**. However, they turn out to be of no value: most of them are minor alterations vis-à-vis **T**, such as the addition of an article or the change of case, tense or mood. The list presented here is not exhaustive:

- A fr. 16, 37–38: θεωρία γὰρ ἦν τὸ φυτὸν ὡς ἡ ἐμὴ θεωρία Me Flor. Coisl.] θεωρίαν γὰρ ἦν τὸ φυτὸν ὡς ἐμὴ θεωρία T  
 A fr. 41, 24: δεσπότης οἰκέτας Me Flor. Coisl.] δεσπότης οἰκέτας T  
 Γ fr. 5, 4: ποίησον τῷ στόματί σου θύραν καὶ μοχλὸν Me Flor. Coisl.] ποίησον τὸ στόμα τί σου θύραν καὶ μοχλὸν T (et A).



Other cases, even when easy to correct, deserve special attention. In most of the following examples, the scribe of **Me** proceeded in the same way: his model transmitted a word that did not make much sense and he replaced it with a term that fitted the context *and* was phonetically similar to the word of his model. In some of those cases, the copyist of **Me** managed to conjecture the reading of the archetype. The following list is not exhaustive, but it includes the most conspicuous examples:

a) A fr. 5, 10–14: περιφλεγέθοντας Me Flor. Coisl.] περιφλεγέθοντας T

Context: Εὐρήσεις γοῶν αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τροχούς πυρώδεις διαπλάττουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶα πεπυρωμένα καὶ ἄνδρας ὡς πῦρ ἐξαστράπτοντας καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς οὐρανίους οὐσίας<sup>47</sup> σωρὸς ἀνθράκων πυρὸς περιτιθεῖσαν καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀσχέτω ροίζῳ περιφλεγέθοντας = Ps.-Dion., De coelesti hierarchia, 15.2 (ed. G. HEIL – M. A. RITTER, De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 36; *Corpus Dionysiacum* 2]. Berlin 1991, 51.24–52.4).

b) Δ cap 8.2: πόροι Me Flor.Coisl.] σπόροι T

Context: Διαχέονται πῶς καὶ λύονται δι' ἡδονῆς οἱ τοῦ σώματος πόροι τῶν ἐκ τινος ἀκοῆς ἡδεΐας διαχεθέντων = Greg. Nyss., De opificio hominis, cap. 12 (*PG* 44, 160.20–22).

c) Δ cap 9: θρήνος Me Flor.Coisl.] θρῶνος (*sic*) T

Context: τοῦ τοιοῦτου, ἀσίγητος ὁ θρήνος, αἰδῖος ὁ στεναγμός, βρυγμός συνεχῆς, κλαυθμός ἀνωφελής = Ps.-Chrys. (ed. FERNÁNDEZ, *Byzantine Tears* 141.55–56).

d) Δ cap 10.1: ψιλῆς Me Flor.Coisl.] ψυχῆς T

Context: Τινὲς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ψιλῆς καὶ μόνης προφάσεως πλήθος δακρύων καταφέρουσι = Ps.-Athan., Quaest. ad Ant. duc., Qu. 80 (*PG* 28, 648.17–18).

e) Δ cap. 15 (*titulus*): ἐκδικητής Me Flor.Coisl.] ἀδικητής T

The reading occurs in the chapter title of Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 15: Κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον ἐχθρός ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκδικητής ὁ διάβολος. The scribe of **Me** could have corrected his model **T** on the basis of the biblical expression ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν (Ps. 8, 3), which indeed occurs in the two excerpts included in the chapter in question<sup>48</sup>. He was the *rubricator* too and most likely copied the title—in red and in the margin (f. 413<sup>r</sup>)—only after having copied the two excerpts cited in Δ cap. 15<sup>49</sup>. Thus, he could easily have realized that ἐκδικητής was more appropriate than ἀδικητής for the heading of that chapter.

f) E fr. 53, 15: χηρείαν Me Flor.Coisl. II] χρεΐαν A T (fr. deest in Flor. Coisl. III)

The reading in question forms part of a list where the word χηρείαν is much more appropriate than χρεΐαν. Compare: Καὶ προσενεκτέον ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἔρανον τῆς χρηστότητος, εἴτε διὰ χηρείαν χηρίζοιεν ταύτης, εἴτε δι' ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε ἀποξένωσιν πατρίδος κτλ. = Greg. Naz., De pauperum amore, 6 (*PG* 35, 864.42-43).

### 3.3.2. Agreement of **Me** with the source against **T** and the archetype of the Flor. Coisl.

In a few passages **Me** agrees with the source text against both **T** and the other witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. Like the previous ones, such cases are doubtless conjectures by the scribe of **Me**. The list below is not exhaustive:

<sup>47</sup> This is the reading of the witnesses of the Flor. Coisl.; **T** and **Me** have δυνάμεις.

<sup>48</sup> This was kindly pointed out to me by J. Declerck in a private communication (06/04/2015).

<sup>49</sup> This must, most likely, have been the way the scribe proceeded. See examples of *negligentia rubricatoris* in ff. 232<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 (<T>ῆν); 236<sup>r</sup>, l. 3 (<Π>ῶς); 272<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 (<A>λήθειαν).

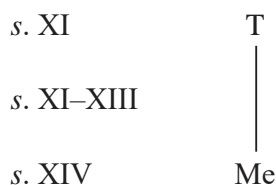
B fr. 29, 4: τὴν πλευρὰν νυχθεῖς T Flor. Coisl.] τὴν πλευρὰν νυγείς Me = Cyr. Hier., Catecheses ad illuminandos III 10 (ed. W. K REISCHL – J. RUPP, Cyrilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia, I. Munich 1848, 78.2 [reprint Hildesheim 1967]).

E cap. 14.3: ἐν σταθμῶ καὶ ζυγῶ T Flor. Coisl.] ἐν ζυγῶ καὶ σταθμῶ Me = Greg. Naz., De pauperum amore 5 (PG 35, 864.34-35).

### 3.4. PALEOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE<sup>50</sup>

In the bottom margin of **T**, f. 345<sup>v</sup>—the very end of the manuscript—one finds a note ἕως ᾧδε<sup>51</sup>, ἐγράφη. The handwriting and ductus are not those of the scribe of **T**, but exhibit undeniable points of resemblance with the hand of **Me**. The most striking are: 1) the alternation of the shape of ω in ἕως and ᾧδε—the first one consisting in two circles; the second featuring a flat bottom; 2) the acute accent combined with the rough breathing mark in ἕως; 3) the ligature of the letters δ-ε; 4) the majuscule γ (which the scribe of **Me** always writes in that way, regardless of its position in the word). In conclusion, the scribe of **Me** wrote down the note in question in his model **T**.

On the basis of the above analyses, the *stemma* of the relationship between **T** and **Me** looks as follows:



## 4. W, APOGRAPH OF **Me**

### 4.1. W AND FLOR. HIER. AGAINST THE FLOR. COISL. MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript **W** transmits only one excerpt from the Flor. Coisl., i.e. A fr. 29. In his critical edition, Fernández argued that **W** testifies to the Flor. Hier.<sup>52</sup>. The following list, which is not exhaustive, supports the assertion that **W** offers the version of the Flor. Hier.:

A fr. 29, 60–61: τὰ ἀναίσθητα Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me W

A fr. 29, 72: τὴν τῶν ἄλλων λίθων φύσιν Flor. Coisl.] τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν T Me W

A fr. 29, 93–93: τοιαῦτα δέ ἐστι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me W

A fr. 29, 131: κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον Flor. Coisl.] καταπειρημένων (*sic*) T Me W

A fr. 29, 137–138: σώματι, ὡς αἱ ἀρεταί, τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν μόνης μὴ προσδεομένης Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me W

<sup>50</sup> I warmly thank I. Pérez Martín, B. Markesinis and J. Declerck who kindly shared their views on the short note in **T** discussed in the present paragraph.

<sup>51</sup> *Sic*. Note that the scribe of **Me** has a tendency to write ᾧδε instead of ᾧδε (see for instance f. 13<sup>v</sup> l. 17, f. 257<sup>r</sup> ll. 22 and 26, f. 257<sup>v</sup> l. 2 and f. 337<sup>r</sup> l. 16). For the same spelling, see Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum vitae necnon Epistula universalior, ed. J. A. MUNITIZ (CCSG 13). Turnhout – Leuven 1984, L, and, Pseudo-Gregorii Agrigentini seu Pseudo-Gregorii Nysseni Commentarius in Ecclesiasten, ed. G. H. ETTLINGER – J. NORET (CCSG 56). Turnhout – Leuven 2007, L.

<sup>52</sup> See FERNÁNDEZ, Book Alpha CXLV–CXLVI.

4.2. **W** AND **ME** AGAINST **T**

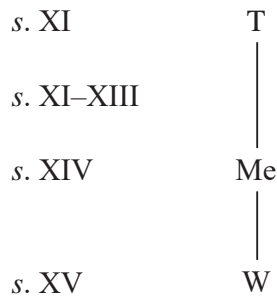
Not having access to **Me**, Fernández identified **W** as a possible descendant of **T**<sup>53</sup>. However, it more likely depends on **Me** since these two manuscripts share a number of readings against **T** and the witnesses of the Flor. Coisl., whereas the opposite never occurs. The list below is not exhaustive:

- A fr. 29, 51: αἰσθητῆς T Flor. Coisl.] αἰσθητῆ Me W  
 A fr. 29, 228: χρειᾶ T Flor. Coisl.] χρήσει Me W  
 A fr. 29, 252: μόνος οὗτος T Flor. Coisl.] οὗτος μόνος Me W  
 A fr. 29, 308–309: τοῦ γένους T Flor. Coisl.] τοῦ γένους γέγονεν Me W  
 A fr. 29, 352: αὐτὰ T Flor. Coisl.] ἑαυτὰ Me W

4.3. INDIVIDUAL READINGS OF **W**

While including all the particular variants and omissions of **Me**, **W** records some additional errors of its own. The list below presents only a selection of them:

- A fr. 29, 31: ἡ ἄνθρωπον T Me Flor. Coisl.] om. W  
 A fr. 29, 56: τῶν ὄντων T Me Flor. Coisl.] om. W  
 A fr. 29, 145: οὐκ ἔστιν T Me Flor. Coisl.] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν W  
 A fr. 29, 322: Ἀμαρτάνουσιν ὅσοι T Me Flor. Coisl.] Ἀμαρτάνουσιν γὰρ ὅσοι W  
 A fr. 29, 396: πάντα πρὸς T Me Flor. Coisl.] πάντων W  
 A fr. 29, 414–416: δι' ὄν – Ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύει T Me Flor. Coisl.] om. W  
 Accordingly, the *stemma* of the relation of **T**, **Me** and **W** looks as follows:

5. **Ath**, APOGRAPH OF **T**

As appendix II shows, ff. 8<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>v</sup> of **Ath** transmit a short anthology that includes 33 excerpts distributed over 22 chapters<sup>54</sup>. All of these fragments can be found with the same *incipit* and *desinit* in either the Flor. Coisl. or the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum. These are the first and the fourth books of the Flor. Hier. I argue that **Ath** 1–16 is a copy of **T** and that **Ath** 17–22 was taken from sections of the Flor. Hier. that are lost today<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the previous note.

<sup>54</sup> I use the numbers assigned in the appendix.

<sup>55</sup> One particular section of **Ath** was previously studied by editors of the Flor. Coisl. (**Ath** 21 = Flor. Coisl. Θ fr. 4), but only indirectly: they did not see the codex or any reproduction but relied on a second-hand transcription. See CEULEMANS *et alii*, La lettre Θ 98–99.

5.1 **ATH** 1-16, A COPY OF **T**5.1.1 **Ath**, **T** and **Me** against the Flor. Coisl.

A comparison of the witnesses of the Coislín anthology and **Ath** shows that the latter manuscript offers the same version of the Flor. Coisl. as do **T** and **Me**, which strongly suggests that its exemplar was a witness of the Flor. Hier. Compare<sup>56</sup>:

- Ath 8 (= Flor. Coisl. Γ fr. 8, 7): τούτου Flor. Coisl.] τοῦτο T Me Ath  
 Ath 9 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap 2.1): ἀνθρωπίνην – μὲν Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me Ath  
 Ath 14b (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.2): ἐφελκομένης Flor. Coisl.] ἐξελκομένης T Me Ath (*cum fonte*)  
 Ath 15 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1): τοιαῦται ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων Flor. Coisl.] ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων τοιαῦται T Me Ath  
 Ath 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): τῷ πεπλασμένῳ Flor. Coisl.] τὸ πεπλασμένον T Me Ath  
 Ath 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): φαινόμεθα Flor. Coisl.] γενόμεθα T Me Ath

5.1.2 **Ath** and **T** vs. **Me**

A comparative analysis of the excerpts shared by **T**, **Me** and **Ath** 1–16, reveals that the latter shares almost all the particular readings that **T** exhibits in the fragments in question. The list below includes the most relevant examples:

- Ath 12 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 5.1): δεξάμενον Me Flor. Coisl. I–II (*cum fonte*)] δεξάμενος T Ath (et A)  
 Ath 14b (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.2): ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Me Flor. Coisl. (*cum fonte*)] ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς T Ath  
 Ath 15 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1): ἐκ ψιλῆς Me Flor. Coisl. (*cum fonte*)] ἐκ ψυχῆς T Ath

In **Ath** 6b, a remarkable phenomenon is found: **T**<sup>p. corr.</sup> transmits ἐκ γὰρ ὑστερεῖν whereas the reading *a. corr.* was ἐν γὰρ ὑστερεῖν. However, the correction—most likely made by the scribe of **T** himself<sup>57</sup>—is not very clear, and at first glance the -κ from ἐκ indeed resembles a -ν (compare **T** f. 170<sup>r</sup> col. A, l. 4). **Me** has the better variant ἐκ, but **Ath** records ἐν. It is most likely that the scribe of **Ath** did not notice the correction in **T**.

5.1.3 **Ath** and **Me** vs. **T**

**Ath** and **Me** share only one reading absent from **T** and the other witnesses of the Flor. Coisl.; it is not significant. Compare:

Ath 8 (= Flor. Coisl. Γ fr. 8 [*titulus*]): Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ ἀποστόλου A C] Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εἰς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τοῦ ἀποστόλου T, Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ ἀποστόλου Me Ath, Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου *rell. codd.*

<sup>56</sup> I did not find any case where **Ath** agrees with the other witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. against **T** and **Me**, with the exception of **Ath** 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): αὐτὸ T Me A] αὐτὴν Ath Flor. Coisl. II–III (*cum fonte*). The scribe of **Ath** must have conjectured this reading.

<sup>57</sup> Note that in **T** corrections by a hand different from the one that copied the codex are almost non-existent. The only example I could find is in f. 319<sup>v</sup> col. A.

### 5.1.4 Individual readings of **Ath**

Manuscript **Ath** records a couple of individual readings, which are absent from the other witnesses of both the Flor. Hier. and the Flor. Coisl.:

- Ath 1 (= Flor. Coisl. B fr. 18, 5): καὶ Flor. Coisl. T Me] ἀλλ' Ath  
 Ath 9 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 2.1): ἀγγελικὴν δὲ Flor. Coisl. T Me] ἀγγελικὴν τε Ath  
 Ath 11 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 4 [*titulus*]): Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου Flor. Coisl. T Me] om. Ath  
 Ath 11 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 4.1): πάθη Flor. Coisl. T Me] τὰ πάθη Ath  
 Ath 15 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1): πολλή Flor. Coisl. T Me] πολὺ Ath  
 Ath 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): ἄν ἄτρεπτος ἦν Flor. Coisl. T Me] ἀνάτρεπτος ἄν εἶη  
 Ath<sup>e corr.</sup>

## 5.2. **ATH** 17–22

The above analyses show that **Ath** 1–16 include almost all the peculiar variants of **T** as well as a number of additional ones. This shows that those sections of the Athens manuscript most likely depend on **T**. The other chapters of **Ath**, i.e. 17–22, correspond to Florilegium Vaticanum auctum Z (cap. 2) and Flor. Coisl. Z (capp. 3.1-3 and 5.1), H (fr. 13), Θ (fr. 4) and O (cap. 7.1), which have not been preserved in **T** or **Me** (as neither continues beyond στοιχεῖον E). No witness of the Coisl. anthology can have been the source of **Ath** 18–22, since each of those manuscripts records particular variants absent from **Ath**. By contrast, the available evidence suggests that **Ath** 17–22 most likely relate to an exemplar of the Flor. Hier. that included at least parts of στοιχεῖα Z–Θ and O but that is lost today.

### 5.2.1. Textual affinity with **A** (i.e. Flor. Coisl. I)

MS **Ath** agrees with **A** against the other Flor. Coisl. manuscripts and the source texts in a couple of cases. The following list is not exhaustive.

- Ath 19 (= Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 5 [*titulus*]): γνωσθήση Flor. Coisl. II–III (*cum fonte*)] γνωσθήσεται<sup>58</sup>  
 A Ath  
 Ath 19 (= Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 5.1): μυστηρίου Flor. Coisl. III (*cum fonte*)] μυστικῶς A Ath,  
 μυστήριον Flor. Coisl. II  
 Ath 20 (= Flor. Coisl. H fr. 13, 5): Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Flor. Coisl. II–III (*cum fonte*)] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 καὶ A Ath

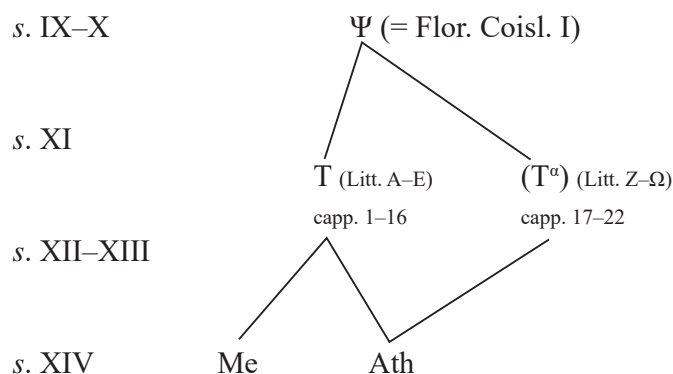
### 5.2.2. **Ath** and Flor. Coisl. II–III against **A**

I only found one reading that **Ath** shares with Flor. Coisl. II–III against **A** and the source text, but it is not significant:

- Ath 22 (= Flor. Coisl. O cap. 7.1): ἀποστασίαν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ A (*cum fonte*)] ἀποστασίαν Ἰουλιανοῦ Ath Flor. Coisl. II–III

<sup>58</sup> This was most probably the reading offered in the version of the Flor. Hier. as it stands in the *pinax* of **Me** (see the first appendix below).

The previous analyses show that the text of **Ath** 18–22 is closer to **A**, a witness of Flor. Coisl. I, than to the manuscripts of Flor. Coisl. II–III. This affinity and the fact that in that section **Ath** 17–22 keeps combining excerpts from both the Flor. Coisl. and the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum invite us to assume that **Ath** 17–22, just as **Ath** 1–16, were copied from an exemplar of the Flor. Hier. That exemplar most likely was the second, lost volume of the monumental anthology, which would have recorded στοιχεῖα Ζ–Ω ( $T^{\alpha}$ )<sup>59</sup>.



## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

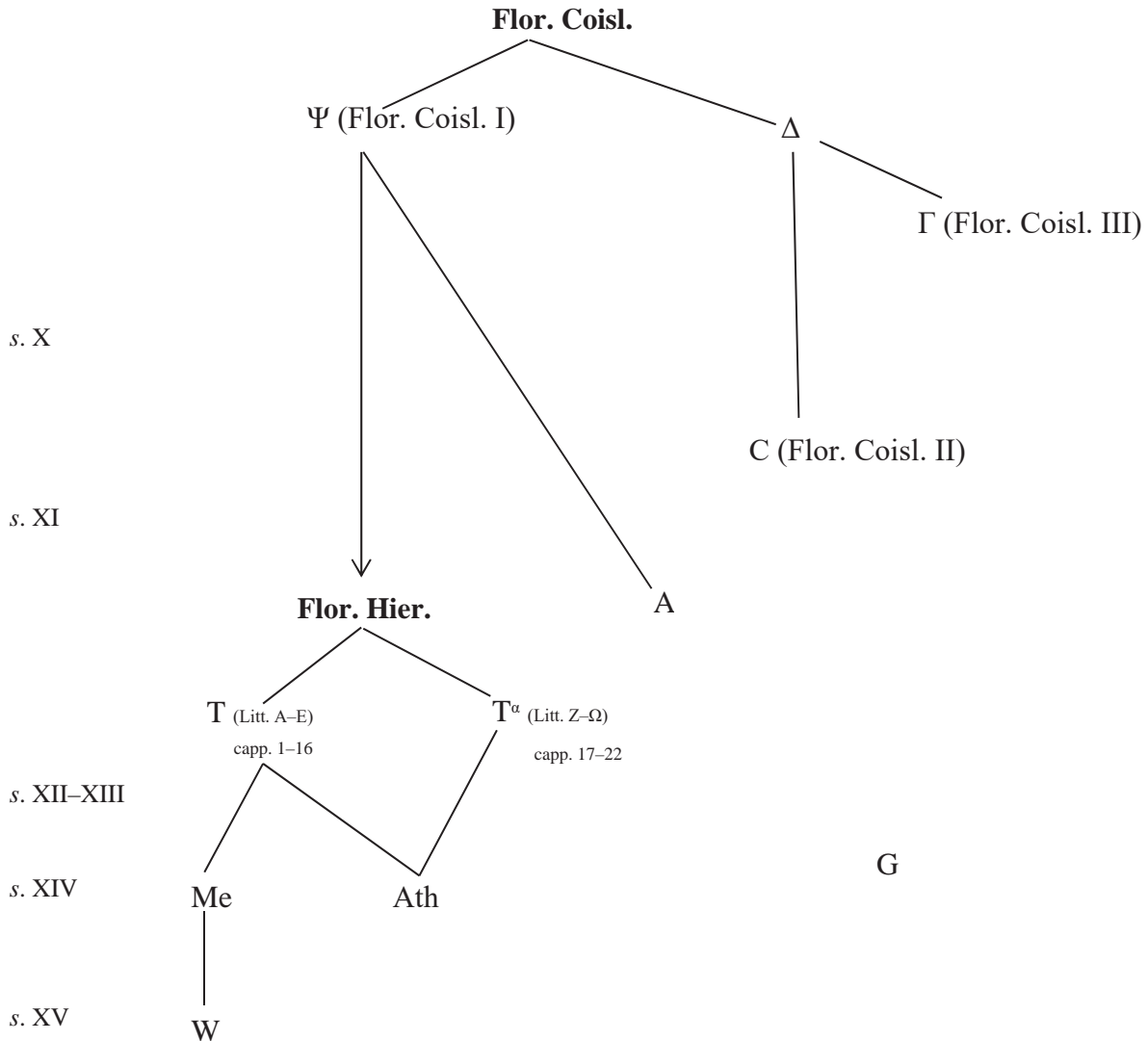
On the basis of a comparative analysis of the four witnesses of the Flor. Hier., I argued the following points:

1) manuscript **Me** is an apograph of **T**, but the scribe changed some readings vis-à-vis his model (sometimes matching those of the archetype). The handwriting of the note on the last folio of **T** most likely belonged to the copyist of **Me** which confirms that the latter is a direct copy of **T**; 2) manuscript **W** is an apograph of **Me** and not of **T**; 3) **Ath** 1–16 were copied from **T**; 4) **Ath** 17–22 can most likely be retraced to the second volume of the Flor. Hier. that is lost today ( $T^{\alpha}$ ). This hypothesis, if correct, strongly supports the idea that in its full form the Flor. Hier. reached up to letter Ω, a view suggested by the comprehensive *pinax* of **Me**.

Accordingly, the *stemma* of the Flor. Hier., incorporated within that of the Flor. Coisl., looks as follows:

<sup>59</sup> This assumption is corroborated by the fact that the chapter titles corresponding to **Ath** 17–22 can be found in the Flor. Hier.'s complete *pinax* recorded in **Me** (see the transcription in the first appendix). Those from **Ath** 18–19 are recorded as being part of the third book of στοιχείον Ζ, namely the Florilegium Thessalonicense, but this is due to either a mistake by the scribe of **Me** or a defect in his model (see f. 13<sup>v</sup> in the codex). J. Declerck pointed out to me that the third book of the Flor. Hier. is a witness of the second recension of the second book of the Hieria which lacked letter Ζ (private communication 02/10/2017).

s. IX–X



As this *stemma* shows, the identification of manuscript **Ath** as a fragmentary witness of the Flor. Hier. is relevant not only to fathom the textual tradition of the Jerusalem compilation, but also to reconstruct in a safer way the text of Flor. Coisl. I for some chapters of στοιχεῖα Z–Θ and O, for which so far, we only relied on the testimony of manuscript **A**.

#### Appendix I: Chapters of the Flor. Coisl. listed as Flor. Hier.<sup>iv</sup> in the *pinax* of **Me**

The *pinax* on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>r</sup> of **Me** delivers the contents of the four books of Flor. Hier. A–Ω. Here I transcribe the titles of the fourth book of each στοιχεῖον, *i.e.* the Flor. Coisl.

**Στοιχεῖον Α:** α' Περί δημιουργίας ἀγγέλων – <β'> Τίνας αἱ μορφωτικαὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων εἰκόνες; – γ' Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι ἀγγέλους φύλακας ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός – δ' Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι ἑννέα τάγματα εἰσὶν οἱ ἄγγελοι – ε' Περί τῶν ἀγγέλων ὧν ἐφιλοξένησεν Ἀβραάμ – ζ' Περί τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας καὶ πλάσεως – <ζ'> Διατί τελευταῖος ὁ ἄνθρωπος; – η' Διατί διπλοῦς ὁ ἄνθρωπος; – θ' Ὅτι ὀργανικὸν κατεσκευάσθη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ σχῆμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λόγου χρεῖαν – <ι'> Ὅτι ἐπιστημονικὸς τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γνώσεως ὁ ἄνθρωπος – <ι>α' Ὅτι αὐτεξούσιος ὁ ἄνθρωπος – <ι>β' Περί φύσεως ἀνθρώπου λόγος κεφαλαιώδης – <ιγ'> Περί τῆς ἐν παραδείσῳ διαγωγῆς τοῦ

Ἀδάμ – <ιδ'> Τί χρηλὴ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαποροῦντας, εἰ μετὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν παιδοποιία, πῶς ἂν ἐγένετο τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλήθη, εἰ ἀναμάρτητοι διέμειναν οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς; – <ιε'> Τί τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἶδος καὶ ὅτι αὐτοπροαιρέτως ἁμαρτάνομεν – <ιϚ'> Κατὰ πόσους τρόπους ἐξαμαρτάνει ὁ ἄνθρωπος; – <ιζ'> Περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐνθυμηθείσης καὶ μὴ τελεσθείσης – <ιη'> Ὅτι οὐ κατὰ ἀστρολογίαν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς – <ιθ'> Περὶ τοῦ ἀστέρος τοῦ ἀνατείλαντος ἐπὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως – <κ'> Περὶ ἀποταξαμένων καὶ πάλιν ἁμαρτανόντων – <κα'> Περὶ τῆς ἀστάτου τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καταστάσεως – <κβ'> Περὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐημερούντων καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένων, δικαίων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν – <κγ'> Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀπαθειῶν – <κδ'> Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν – <κε'> Τίνες ἀρεταὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τίνες σώματος; – <κς'> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος μᾶς ἀρετῆς, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπουσῶν (ἀπόντων *p. corr.*) – <κζ'> Περὶ ἀγάπης, καὶ πόσα τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἶδη; – <κ>η' Περὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως – <κθ'> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν; – <κι'> Περὶ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος – <λ'> Περὶ τῶν ἀκρίδων ὧν ἦσθιεν ὁ Βαπτιστής – <λα'> Περὶ τοῦ ἴσθι εὐνοῶν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σου – <λβ'> Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναθεματίζειν ἄνθρωπον πιστόν – <λγ'> Περὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ περὶ αἰρετικῶν, ὅτι δεῖ χωρίζεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν – <λδ'> Ποῖαι ἀρεταὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρέπουσι; – <λε'> Περὶ τοῦ ἄδου – <λς'<sup>60</sup>> Περὶ ὧν ἔσωσεν ἐν ἄδου Χριστὸς κατελθὼν – <λζ'> Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου – λη' Περὶ τῆς τριήμερου Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως – <λθ'> Περὶ τοῦ ηὐχόμενον ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἀνάθεμα εἶναι.

**Στοιχεῖον Β:** α' Τί ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου βλασφημία καὶ πῶς τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ βλασφημοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται οὔτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι; – <β'> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ δι' ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι; – <γ'> Περὶ βλέψεως ἐμπαθοῦς – <δ'> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἐμβλέψας γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι; – <ε'> Τί δήποτε τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν κόκκῳ σινάπεως (σινήπεως *p. corr.*) παρεικάζει ὁ κύριος; – <ς'> Τί δήποτε ζύμη τὴν αὐτὴν παρεικάζει βασιλείαν ὁ κύριος; – <ζ'> Διατί δεκαεννέα βασιλεύσαντας ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως Ἰεχονίου ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς δεκατέσσαρας ὀνομάζει; – <η'> Τί ἐστὶ βασιλεία οὐρανῶν; – <θ'> Τί ἐστὶ βασιλεία θεοῦ; – <ι'> Περὶ βρωμάτων – <ια'> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι τὰ βρώματα ἢ ψυχὴ ἀναλίσκει – <ιβ'> Τί τὸ ὅμοια ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῶ κεκρυμμένῳ; – ιγ' Περὶ βαπτίσματος.

**Στοιχεῖον Γ:** <α'> Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως – β' Περὶ τῶν πυρίνων γλωσσῶν – <γ'> Περὶ γλώττης καὶ γλωσσῶδους – <δ'> Ἀπόδειξις περὶ γενένης, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶν – <ε'> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι γνωρίζουσιν (γνωρίσουσιν *p. corr.*) ἀλλήλους ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δίκαιοι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ – <ς'> Περὶ μονογάμων καὶ διγάμων – <ζ'> Περὶ γάμου – <η'> Περὶ τιμῆς γονέων – <θ'> Περὶ γαστριμαργίας – <ι'> Φυσιολογία περὶ γέλωτος.

**Στοιχεῖον Δ:** α' Τί τὸ δρέπανόν ἐστὶν ὃ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας τεθέαται καὶ τί τὸ μέτρον τοῦ μήκουσ καὶ τοῦ πλάτους; – β' Περὶ διαφόρων δικαιοσυγῶν – γ' Πόσοι τρόποι δουλείας εἰσὶ; – δ' Τί τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβῆτω ἄραι, τί ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ; – ε' Τί τὰ δέρματα τῶν ἐρίφων ἄπερ Ἰακώβ περιθέμενος ἠνίξατο; – Ϛ' Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἀπέλθετε πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα; – ζ' Πῶς νοητέον πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη; – η' Περὶ δακρῶν φυσιολογία – θ' Ἔτι περὶ δακρῶν – ι' Περὶ διαφορᾶς δακρῶν – ια' Τί ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ποσαχῶς; – ιβ' Περὶ διαβόλου καὶ δαιμόνων – ιγ' Τίνος χάριν συνεχωρή<θη> πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; – ιδ' Κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκδικητῆς ὁ διάβολος;

**Στοιχεῖον Ε:** α' Πῶς νοητέον ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ ἐμφύσημα; – β' Περὶ εὐχῆς – γ' Περὶ προσευχῆς – δ' Τί διαφέρει εὐχὴ προσευχῆς; – ε' Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι καὶ ἐν καιρῷ ἐξόδου δεκτὴ ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη παρὰ τῷ θεῷ – Ϛ' Πῶς νοητέον τὸ προσέχετε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων; – ζ' Περὶ εἰκόνων προσκυνήσεως.

<sup>60</sup> Λζ' *cod.*



**Στοιχείον Ζ:** α' Ποσαχῶς ἐρμηνεύεται Ζοροβάβελ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν; (*lacuna*)<sup>61</sup>.

**Στοιχείον Η:** <α'> Περί τῆς τῶν νομίμων ἡμερῶν τιμῆς – <β'> Πῶς ἐστὶ σάββατον ὁ θεός; – γ' Περί τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς – <δ'> Περί ἐορτῶν – ε' Περί τῶν ἐννέα ἀνιάτων παθῶν τῆς τοῦ Ἡρώδου τελευτῆς – <ζ'> Απόδειξις ὅτι κατέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν – <η'> Ἐξέτασις ἐν τίνι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν νομιστέον – <θ'> Περί διαφορᾶς ἡλικιῶν – θ'<sup>62</sup> Περί ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός – <ι'> Πῶς νοητέον περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ;

**Στοιχείον Θ:** <α'> Απόδειξις ὅτι θεοτόκος κυρίως ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου λέγεται – <β'> Περί τοῦ μὴ θησαυρίζειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς – <γ'> Περί θανάτων αἰφνιδίων – δ' Περί θυμῶδους – <ε'> Περί τοῦ καθίσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνων. Τί δηλοῦσιν οἱ δώδεκα θρόνοι; – <ζ'> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἐσπερινή;

**Στοιχείον Ι:** <α'> Ἐπαπορητικὰ κεφάλαια κατὰ Ἰουδαίων – β' Περί ἱερέως, ὅτι ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἐτέροις ἁμαρτομένων ὑπόκεινται οἱ ἱερεῖς – <γ'> Ὅτι οὐ μόνον οἱ σπουδάζοντες εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀνάγκην ὑπομένοντες ἐν οἷς ἁμαρτάνουσι κολάζονται – <δ'> Ὅτι οἱ χειροτονοῦντες τοὺς ἀναξίους τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν ὑπεύθυνοι τιμωρίας, κὰν ἀγνοῶσι τοὺς χειροτονοῦμένους.

**Στοιχείον Κ:** <α'> Περί τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Πέτρου πρὸς τὸν Κορνήλιον – <β'> Περί τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ κατ' ὁμοίωσιν – <γ'> Πῶς ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐν τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ τούτων οὐκ ὄντων; – <δ'> Περί τοῦ μὴ κρίνειν – <ε'> Περί τῶν κεκοιμημένων – <ζ'> Περί τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ βρυγμοῦ τῶν ὀδόντων – <η'> Περί θεοῦ κριμάτων – θ' Περί κενοδοξίας – <ι'> Περί κυνοκεφάλων.

**Στοιχείον Λ:** <α'> Ἐρώτησις: Τίς ἡ λυχνία ἦν Ζαχαρίας ὁ προφήτης τεθέαται καὶ διατί χρυσοῦ; Καὶ τί τὸ λαμπαδίων τὸ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς; Τίνες οἱ ἐπτὰ λύχνοι; Καὶ τίνες αἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδες τῶν ἐπτὰ λύχνων; Καὶ τίνες αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι; Καὶ διατί ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ λαμπαδίου; – <β'> Απόδειξις περὶ τοῦ ληστοῦ, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον – <γ'> Περί λύπης – δ' Περί τῶν τεσσάρων τῆς λέπρας εἰδῶν – <ζ'> Περί τοῦ λίθου τοῦ τοπαζίου – ζ' Περί λόγου θεοῦ καὶ λόγου ἡμετέρου.

**Στοιχείον Μ:** <α'> Περί τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ – β' Περί μνησικακίας.

**Στοιχείον Ν:** α' Περί νηστείας.

**Στοιχείον Ξ:** <α'> Περί τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως.

**Στοιχείον Ο:** <α'> Περί οὐρανοῦ – β' Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν οὐρανοί, οὐδεὶς δὲ λέγει τόπον – <γ'> Ὅτι οὐ κυρτός, ἀλλὰ ὀμαλὸς ἄνωθεν ὁ οὐρανός – <δ'> Περί ὄρου ζωῆς – ε' Περί ὀργῆς θεοῦ καὶ πληγῆς – <ζ'> Τί ἐστὶν ὀργὴ θεοῦ; – ζ' Φιλοσοφία περὶ ὀνείρων – <η'> Τί σημαίνει τὸ λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς ὀρνίθια ζῶντα καθάρᾳ; – <θ'> Περί ὄρκου ἀποχῆς.

**Στοιχείον Π:** <α'> Ἀναστασίου πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας τῆς ἀνατολῆς Περί τῆς αὐτῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ Πάσχα – <β'> Περί τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ κολάζειν μέλλοντος τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς – <γ'> Απόδειξις περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου, ὅτι μείζων πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐστὶ – <δ'> Περί παρθενίας καὶ σωφροσύνης – ε' Περί πορνείας καὶ μοιχείας – ζ' Περί πλουσίων – <η'> Περί πτωχῶν καὶ πενήτων – <θ'> Περί περιάπτων.

**Στοιχείον Ρ:** <α'> Περί ρεύσεως σωματικῆς – β' Περί στρεφομένης ῥομφαίας.

**Στοιχείον Σ:** <α'> Περί σκανδάλων – β' Ὅτι κακὸν ἡ συνήθεια καὶ ὅτι δυσσεξάλειπτος χρόνῳ ἐπικρατήσασα – <γ'> Περί τοῦ σώματος – δ' Περί σεληνιαζομένων – <ε'> Περί τοῦ Σίμωνος – <ζ'><sup>63</sup> Περί σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους – <η'> Περί τῆς ξηρανθείσης συκῆς.

**Στοιχείον Τ:** <α'> Περί τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος – <β'> Περί τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ υἱοῦ<sup>64</sup> καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὰς βασιλίσσας ἐπιστολῆς – <γ'> Περί τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος – <δ'> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός; – <ε'> Περί τρυφητῶν καὶ σπαταλώντων.

<sup>61</sup> According to the *pinax*, Flor. Hier. Z<sup>III</sup>, consists of two chapters: α' Περί ζωῆς αἰωνίου and β' Περί τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσεται. In fact, both chapters are none other than Flor. Coisl. Z capp. 3 and 5 (see appendix II below). In all probability, some mistake occurred while copying and their correct place is among the chapter titles of Flor. Hier. Z<sup>IV</sup>. See note 59 above.

<sup>62</sup> η' *cod.*

<sup>63</sup> Ε' *cod.*

<sup>64</sup> Ut vid.

Στοιχεῖον Υ: *lacuna*.

Στοιχεῖον Φ: *lacuna*.

Στοιχεῖον Χ: <α'> Ὅσα περὶ Χριστοῦ γέγραπται, ὅτι θεὸς ὁ Χριστός – <β'> Μαρτυρίαι ἤτοι χρήσεις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὸ προσεῖληπται καὶ τὸ ἦνωται καὶ τὸ ἐνεδύσατο καὶ τὸ ἐφόρεσε καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ τὸ νοούμενον, παρὰ τῶν αὐ<τῶν> ἁγίων πατέρων εἴρηται – γ' Περὶ τῶν χερουβίμ – δ' Περὶ χαιρεκακίας.

Στοιχεῖον Ψ: α' Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ συκοφαντίας – β' Περὶ ψυχῆς – <γ'> Περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν.

Στοιχεῖον Ω: βιβλίον δ' οὐδέν.

## Appendix II: Excerpts from the Flor. Hier in Ath

What follows is a list of the chapter titles and excerpts from the compilation of Jerusalem included in Ath (ff. 8<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>). I cite the *incipit* and *desinit* of all these excerpts, and identify their source texts whenever it is possible. After every excerpt I indicate in which book of the Flor. Hier. it is found. Lastly, I identify parallels in the Flor. Coisl. and/or the printed version of the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum, namely the Sacr. Par.<sup>65</sup> (as it is relevant for the arguments developed above).

### 1. (...) <sup>66</sup> **δήποτε τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν κόκκῳ σινάπεως παρεικάζει ὁ κύριος;**

Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν ... ἀλλ' ἀκεραίαν σώζειν ὑπόστασιν.

Is. Pel., Ep. I, 199 (PG 78, 309.28–39)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup> cap. ε' (T f. 192<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 18 (104–105 DE Vos *et alii*)

### 2. **Τί δήποτε ζύμη τὴν αὐτὴν παρεικάζει βασιλείαν ὁ κύριος;**

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Διότι τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ... εἰς παλινοκίαν ἀνακαινίσει.

*Locum non inueni*, cf. Is. Pel., Ep. I, 201 (PG 78, 312.19–25)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup> cap. ζ' (T f. 192<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 19 (105 DE Vos *et alii*)

### 3. **Διατί ἰθ' βασιλεύσαντας ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως Ἰεχονίου ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἰθ' ὀνομάζει;**

Τοῦ Παμφίλου· Ἐπειδὴ οὐ διαδοχὰς λέγει ... ἀσεβῶς ζήσαντας ὑπερεῖδεν.

Ephr. Syr., Inter. ac. resp. (ed. K. G. PHRANTZOLES, Ὁσίου Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα, VI. Thessaloniki 1995, 238.1–3); cf. Eus. Caes., Quaest. ev. ad Steph. (ed. C. ZAMAGNI, Questions évangéliques [SC 523]. Paris 2008, Qu. XIII § 1–3)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup> cap. ζ' (T f. 192<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 20 (106 DE Vos *et alii*)

### 4. **Τί ἐστι βασιλεία οὐρανῶν;**

Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Δαμασκηνοῦ· Βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐστὶν ἀπάθεια ... ὡς οἱ πατέρες φασίν.

Evagr. Pont., Practicus (ed. A. GUILLAUMONT – C. GUILLAUMONT, Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou Le moine, II [SC 171]. Paris 1971, Prologue 2)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup> cap. η' (T f. 192<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 21 (107 DE Vos *et alii*)

### 5. **Τί ἐστι βασιλεία θεοῦ;**

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Βασιλεία θεοῦ ἐστὶ γνῶσις ... τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ.

Evagr. Pont., Practicus (Prologue 3 A. GUILLAUMONT – C. GUILLAUMONT)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup> cap. θ' (T f. 192<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 22 (107 DE Vos *et alii*)

<sup>65</sup> See above, note 22.

<sup>66</sup> *Illeg. cod.*

**6. Περὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν**

6a. Οὐ τῶν καθευδόντων ... τὰ τοιαῦτα ἠττώμενος.

Clem. Alex., *Quis dives salvetur* (ed. O. STÄHLIN – L. FRÜCHTEL – C. NARDI – P. DESCOURTIEUX, Clément d'Alexandrie, *Quel riche sera sauvé?* [SC 537]. Paris 2011, § 20, 3)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>I</sup> cap. α' (T f. 169<sup>v</sup>) = Sacr. Par. B cap. α' (PG 95, 1264.20–25; K. HOLL, *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela* (TU Neue Folge V 2). Leipzig 1899, fr. 312)

6b. Ἐκ τῆς κα' ἐπιστολῆς· Οὐκ ἔχει ἐπιθυμίαν ... πάντα ἔχειν τὸ μηδενός.

Clem. Alex., *Fragmenta* (ed. O. STÄHLIN – L. FRÜCHTEL† – U. TREU, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 3 [GCS 17<sup>2</sup>]. Berlin 1970<sup>2</sup>, fr. 46)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>I</sup> cap. α' (T ff. 169<sup>v</sup>–170<sup>r</sup>) = Sacr. Par. B cap. α' (PG 95, 1264.26–30; fr. 325 HOLL)

6c. Διδύμου· Βασιλείαν θεοῦ λεκτέον ... τεταγμένως βιούντων.

Orig., *Fragmenta in Euangelium Joannis* (in catenis) (ed. E. PREUSCHEN, *Origenes Werke*, 4 [GCS 10]. Leipzig 1903, 512.27–28)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>I</sup> cap. α' (T f. 170<sup>r</sup>) = Sacr. Par. B cap. α' (PG 95, 1264.30–31)

**7. Τί τὸ ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ;**

Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Θησαυρὸν τὴν θεότητα ... τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

*Locum non inueni*, cf. Ps.-Io. Chrys., *De non iud. prox.* (PG 60, 765.27–29)

Flor. Hier. B<sup>IV</sup> cap. ιβ' (T f. 193<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 25 (112 DE VOS *et alii*)

**8. Απόδειξις περὶ τῆς γεέννης, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶν**

Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῶν ἐρμηνειῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· Ὡ τῆς ἀνοίας, ὧ τῆς ἀλόγου ... τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν.

Io. Chrys., *In Ep. ad Rom.* (PG 60, 673.47–674.7)

Flor. Hier. Γ<sup>IV</sup> cap. δ' (T ff. 229<sup>v</sup>–230<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Γ fr. 8 (192–193 DE VOS *et alii*)

**9. Περὶ διαφορῶν δικαιοσυνῶν**

Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ· Τρεῖς δικαιοσύνας οἱ τὰ θεῖα σοφοί ... πάσχουν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων.

Max. Conf., *Quaest. et dub.* (ed. J. DECLERCK, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et dubia* [CCSG 10]. Turnhout – Leuven 1982, Qu. I, 11)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup>, cap. β' (T f. 265<sup>v</sup>–266<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 2.1

**10. Πόσοι τρόποι δουλείας εἰσὶν;**

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Τρεῖς τρόποι τῆς δουλείας εἰσὶν ... ὁ θεράπων σου τελεύτηκεν.

Io. Dam., *Comm. in Ep. Pauli* (PG 95, 441.5–11)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. γ' (T f. 267<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 3.2

**11. Τί τὸ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω ἄραι; Τί τὸ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ;**

Ὁ τῆς παρουσίας καταφρονήσας ... ὕψους ὑπάρχει κατάβασις.

Ps.-Caes., *Quaest. et resp.* (ed. R. RIEDINGER, *Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis* [GCS 58]. Berlin 1989, Qu. 216.24–27)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. δ' (T f. 267<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 4.1

**12. Τί τὰ δέρματα τῶν ἐρίφων ἄπερ Ἰακῶβ περιθέμενος ἠνοίξατο (sic pro ἠνίξατο);**

Ἰσιδώρου Πηλουσιώτου· Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρα ... ἐν αὐτῷ θανατώσαντα.

Is. Pel., *Epist.* 193 (PG 78, 305.35–38)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. ε' (T f. 267<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 5.1

**13. Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἀπέλθατε πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα;**

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ὁ δεῖνα Μάρκος ἐστὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ... ἠνίξαστο δὲ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια.

*Locum non inueni*

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. ζ´ (T f. 267<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 6

**14. Περὶ δακρῶν φυσιολογία**

14a. Κοσμᾶ Βεστήτορος· Ὅπου γὰρ δριμεῖα λύπη ... ἀναπέμποντες ἐκκενοῦσιν.

Cosm. Vest. (ed. T. FERNÁNDEZ, Cosmas Vestitor's Ascetic-Physiological Fragment. *BZ* 104 [2011] 639)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. η´ (T f. 268<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.1

14b. Γρηγορίου Νύσσης· Διαχέονται πῶς καὶ λύονται ... σταγῶν δάκρυον λέγεται.

Greg. Nyss., De op. hom. (PG 44, 160.20–31)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. η´ (T f. 268<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.2

**15. Περὶ διαφορᾶς δακρῶν**

Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας· Τινὲς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ψυχῆς ... ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη.

Ps.-Athan. Alex., Quaest. ad Ant. duc., Qu. 80 (PG 28, 648)

Flor. Hier. Δ<sup>IV</sup> cap. ι´ (T f. 270<sup>r</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1

**16. Πῶς νοητέον ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ ἐμφύσημα;**

16a. Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Πολλοὶ ἐνόμισαν ὅτι τὸ ἐμφύσημα ... καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἢ ἐνέργεια.

Sev. Gab., Quom. animam accer. Ad. (ed. H. SAVILE, Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὕρισκομένων, 5. Eton 1612, 649.41–44, 650.7–17)

Flor. Hier. E<sup>IV</sup> cap. α´ (T f. 341<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.1

16b. Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας· Τοιγαροῦν ἐμφύσημα θεῖον ... συμμόρφους ἡμᾶς ἀποδεικνύει θεοῦ.

Cyr. Alex., Thes. (PG 75, 584.50–585.9)

Flor. Hier. E<sup>IV</sup> cap. α´ (T f. 341<sup>v</sup>) = Flor. Coisl. E cap. 2.2

**17. Περὶ ζώων ἀλόγων τῶν φυσικῆ σοφία κεκοσμημένων**

17a. Τοῦ Θεολόγου· Τὸν χαμαιλέοντα πάσας ... μιᾶς τῆς λευκότητος.

Greg. Naz., Or. 4 (ed. J. BERNARDI, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 4-5 [SC 309]. Paris 1983, § 62.7–8)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>I</sup> cap. β´ (*vid. pinax in Me*) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (PG 95, 1581.47–48)

17b. Περὶ κύκνων· Τίς ὁ κύκνω συνοφαίνων ᾠδὴν ... μέλος τὸ σύριγμα.

Greg. Naz., Or. 28 (ed. P. GALLAY, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 27–31 [SC 250]. Paris 1978, § 24.15–17)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>I</sup> cap. β´ (*vid. pinax in Me*) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (PG 95, 1581.49–50)

17c. Περὶ ταῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Πόθεν ταῶς ὁ ἀλαζών ... σοβαροῦ τοῦ βαδίσματος.

Greg. Naz., Or. 28 (§ 24.18–24 GALLAY)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>I</sup> cap. β´ (*vid. pinax in Me*) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (PG 95, 1581.50–1584.2)

17d. Περὶ μελισσῶν καὶ ἀραχνῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Πόθεν μελίσσαις τε καὶ ἀράχλαις ... ἐξ ἀφανῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν.

Greg. Naz., Or. 28 (§ 25.4–13 GALLAY)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>I</sup> cap. β´ (*vid pinax in Me*) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (PG 95, 1584.3–10)

17e. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Τετῆρηνται οἱ τῶν χαμαιλέοντων σκύμνοι ... τίκτεσθαι τυφλοί.

*Locum non inueni*

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>I</sup>, cap. β' (*vid pinax in Me*) = Sacr. Par. Z, cap. β' (PG 95, 1584.11–12)

17f. Περὶ λεόντων· Κλήμεντος· Κοπτομένων τῶν λεοντείων ὀστέων ... τῶν νεοσσῶν τὸν ὄφιν.

Clem. Alex., Fragmenta (fr. 32 STÄHLIN – FRÜCHTEL† – TREU)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>I</sup>, cap. β' (*vid pinax in Me*) = Sacr. Par. Z, cap. β' (PG 95, 1584.13–17; fr. 310 HOLL)

### 18. Περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου

18a. Γρηγορίου θεολόγου· Μία ζωὴ τὸ πρὸς ζωὴν βλέπειν ... ἀπατηλὰ φάσματα.

Greg. Naz., Fun. or. in patrem (PG 35, 1041.14–17)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>III</sup>, cap. α' (*pro Flor. Hier.*<sup>IV</sup>)<sup>67</sup> = Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 3.1

18b. Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Ὅπερ γάρ ἐστιν ὄναρ ... ἐκεῖ τὸ διάφορον.

Io. Chrys., De Laz. (PG 48, 978.52–979.2)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>III</sup>, cap. α' (*pro Flor. Hier.*<sup>IV</sup>)<sup>68</sup> = Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 3.2

18c. Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ· Δύο ζωὰς ἐκ τῆς θείας ... τοῖς ἁγίοις ζωὴ αἰώνιος.

Andreas Caes., Comm. in Apocalypsin (ed. J. SCHMID, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen

Apokalypse-Textes, 1. Teil: Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia [*Münchener theologische Studien* 1]. Munich 1955, Or. 21, 62.20,5–6.7)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>III</sup>, cap. α' (*pro Flor. Hier.*<sup>IV</sup>)<sup>69</sup> = Flor. Coisl. Z, cap. 3.3

### 19. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσεται

Δύο ζῶα φησι τὰ τορευτὰ ... ἀποπληροῦσι τὰς λειτουργείας.

Cyr. Alex., In xii proph., In Abacuc, tom. II (ed. P. E. PUSEY, Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini In xii prophetas, 2. Oxford 1868, 121.23–122.10)

Flor. Hier. Z<sup>III</sup>, cap. β' (*pro Flor. Hier.*<sup>IV</sup>)<sup>70</sup> = Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 5.1

### 20. Περὶ διαφορᾶς ἡλικιῶν

Τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου· Ὁ κόσμος οὗτος αὐτὸς ... ἐκείνη τῷ ὄντι ζώντων.

Bas. Caes., Hom. in Ps., In Ps. 114.7 (PG 29, 492.41–493.28)

Flor. Hier. H<sup>V</sup>, cap. <η'><sup>71</sup> (*vid pinax in Me*) = Flor. Coisl. H fr. 13 (116–117 CEULEMANS *et alii*)

### 21. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου περὶ θανάτων αἰφνιδίων

Θάνατοι δὲ αἰφνιδίοι ἐπάγονται ... τῶν μερικῶν κολάσεων διοικούμενος.

Bas. Caes., Quod Deus non est auct. mal., 3 (PG 31, 333.20–30)

Flor. Hier. Θ<sup>IV</sup>, cap. <γ'><sup>72</sup> (*vid pinax in Me*) = Flor. Coisl. Θ fr. 4 (118 CEULEMANS *et alii*)

### 22. Περὶ ὄρου ζωῆς

Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας· Ὅρος τίς ἐστιν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ... εἰ τοῦτο σχολάσαι θέλεις.

Anast. Sin., Quaest. et Resp., Qu. 83 (PG 89, 713.16–52)

Flor. Hier. O<sup>IV</sup>, tit. <δ'><sup>73</sup> (*vid pinax in Me*) = Flor. Coisl. O cap. 7.1

<sup>67</sup> See above, notes 59 and 61.

<sup>68</sup> See above, notes 59 and 61.

<sup>69</sup> See above, notes 59 and 61.

<sup>70</sup> See above, notes 59 and 61.

<sup>71</sup> For the problems in the chapter numeration in the *pinax* of **Me**, see the transcription of the list of contents in appendix I.

<sup>72</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>73</sup> See note 71.

