

KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN
Faculteit Letteren
Subfaculteit Taal- en Regiostudies
Onderzoekseenheid Griekse Studies



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Panoplia Dogmatike – a study on the antiheretical anthology of
Euthymios Zygadenos in the Post-Byzantine Period

(With history of the first publication in Greek in 1710 and an edition of
fragments with scholia on Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and
Gregory of Nazianzus from MS *Iviron Grec*. 281)

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door
Nadejda Miladinova
Promotor: Peter Van Deun
Promotor: István Perczel

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Author's declaration

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Leuven, 13 December, 2010

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List of Abbreviations

- BHellén Legrand, Émile. *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, vols. 1-5. Paris: Picard, 1894-1903; repr. Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963.
- BH Legrand, Émile. *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, vols 1-2. Paris: Garnier, 1918-1928; repr. Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963.
- BRV *Bibliografia românească veche*, 1508-1830, vols. 4. Eds. Ioan Dianu and Dan Simonescu. Bucharest: SOCEC, 1903-1944.
- PD *Panoplia Dogmatike*. Πανοπλία Δογματική Αλεξίου τοῦ βασιλέως Κομνηνοῦ. Tîrgoviște, 1710; repr. PG 130.
- PG J. P. Migne. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*. vols 161. Paris 1857-1866.
- RAS Romanian Academy of Science, Bucharest.

INTRODUCTION

The commission of the *Panoplia Dogmatike* (Dogmatic Armoury, henceforth: PD) is connected with perhaps the most famous trial against heresy in Byzantium, which was held against the leader of the Bogomil heresy at the beginning of the twelfth century. In connection with this trial Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) commissioned his best Constantinopolitan theologian, Euthymios Zygadenos,¹ to expose each important heresy in an anthology, beginning from early Christian times and concluding with the heretical movements of the twelfth century. In this way one of the authoritative dogmatic anthologies in Byzantium was created, which became the basis for the subsequent anthologies of Andronikos Kamateros² and Niketas Choniates.³

In modern scholarship the involvement of the Bogomils has overshadowed many aspects concerning the PD, but with the appearance of several studies witnessing the revival of interest in the great anthologies of Byzantium⁴ perhaps the hour of the PD has come

¹ The name of the theologian who compiled the PD is attested in several variations by the manuscript tradition – most commonly as Zygadenos or Zygabenos. This study will use the form Zygadenos, a variant which is not frequently used in Modern and Early Modern Times, but which was accepted by the editors of the first Greek edition in 1710. The only monograph to date dedicated to the life and works of this theologian also argues that Zygadenos is the correct version of the name. See Andreas Papavasileou, *Εὐθύμιος Ἰωάννης Ζυγαδηνός - Βίος, Συγγραφαί* (Leukosia: 1979), 16-21. (Henceforth: Papavasileou, *Εὐθύμιος Ζυγαδηνός*).

² At the moment of writing this thesis, the critical edition of Andronikos Kamateros' *Sacred Armoury* is under preparation by Alessandra Bucossi for the *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*.

³ Parts of Niketas Choniates' Treasury of Orthodoxy are published in: PG 139, col. 1101 - PG 140, col. 292; Ferdinandus Cavallera, "Le "Trésor de la Foi Orthodoxe" de Nicétas Acominatus Choniate," *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 5 (1913): 124-137; Jan Louis van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia Dogmatike des Niketas Choniates*, *Zetemata Byzantina* 3 (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1970); Luciano Bossina, "L'eresia dopo la Crociata. Niceta Coniata, i Latini e gli Azimi (Panoplia Dogmatica XXII)," *Padri greci e latini e confronto: (secoli XIII-XV): atti del convegno di studi della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL), Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze, 19-20 ottobre 2001*, ed. Mariarosa Cortesi (Florence: SISMEL, 2004), 153-205.

⁴ The Institute of Early Christian and Byzantine Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, under the supervision of professors Peter Van Deun and Caroline Macé, hosts a research project which aims to produce a critical edition of Byzantine encyclopaedias from different periods: *Florilegium Coislinianum* (Xth cent.); *De oeconomia Dei* of Nilus Doxapatres (XIIth cent.); *Synopsis variarum disciplinarum* of Joseph the Philosopher (XIVth cent.).

On the current state of the research questions concerning Byzantine dogmatic florilegia and systematization of doctrine see Antonio Rigo and Pavel Ermilov (eds.), *Byzantine Theologians: The Systematization of Their Own Doctrine and Their Perception of Foreign Doctrines*, Quaderni di "Nea Rhome" 3 (Roma: Università di Roma "Tor Vergata," 2009).

again.⁵ Be that as it may, in the present study I will present snapshots of the reception history of this book against heresy which continued to be read long after the twelfth century and was used in ways that went beyond the expectations of Emperor Alexios I and his theologians.

Accounts of the compilation of the anthology in the twelfth century

The circumstances around the compilation of the PD in the twelfth century are well known. They come from two sources – the account in *Alexias* of the Byzantine Princess Anna Komnene and the prologue of the PD itself.

The events which Princess Anna describes in the *Alexias*⁶ must have occurred between 1099 and 1114.⁷ According to Anna Komnene, the trial against the Bogomils was exceptional in many respects – it was personally initiated and supervised by Emperor Alexios I Komnenos; the accused heretics were followers of a little known dualistic movement, the Bogomils, who were quickly gaining popularity; the result of the trial was the decision to burn the Bogomil heretics at the Hippodrome of Constantinople, which was an unusual punishment in Byzantium. The PD was commissioned by Alexios I in connection with this trial.

Internal evidence on the PD comes from the prologue of the book.⁸ In this, Zygodenos praises the military and political achievements of Emperor Alexios. In his ability to devise military constructions, Alexius is compared to Archimedes. The emperor was equally zealous in the preservation of Orthodoxy and, for this very reason, he wished to

⁵ Another doctoral study to Zygodenos' *Panoplia* is prepared by Hisatsugu Kusabu at The University of Chicago. The article I could consult on his work is the following: Hisatsugu Kusabu, *Panoplia Syndrome and Comnenian Orthodoxy – Photios in the Dogmatike Panoplia*, Paper presented at the University of Chicago: Workshop on Late Antiquity and Byzantium, 2008, available on-line at http://cas.uchicago.edu/workshops/lantbyz/pdfs/LantByz_Wksp_KUSABU.pdf (web page last consulted in December, 2009).

⁶ Anna Comnena, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis 40, ed. Diether Roderich Reinsch (Berlin - New York: De Gruyter, 2001), 15, VIII, 1 – 15, IX, 1, 485-489 (Henceforth: Anna Comnena, *Alexias*).

⁷ Antonio Rigo, "Il processo del bogomilo Basilio (1099 ca.). Una riconsiderazione," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 58 (1992): 185 -211.

⁸ PG 130, 20 D-35 C.

prepare a compilation of the teachings of the Orthodox faith (συλλογὴ τῶν δογμάτων τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως) in order to stop the dissemination of the pernicious heresies which flourished at the time. In order to achieve this, Alexios I commissioned a group of experienced theologians and defenders of Orthodoxy to prepare an anthology with texts from the Patristic fathers.⁹ The emperor himself invented the name of the book – *Panoplia Dogmatike* which is a reference to the Pauline description of the whole armory of God -- πανοπλία τοῦ Θεοῦ -- (Eph. 6, 10-19) with which the Christians – as soldiers fighting on the spiritual battlefield – should equip themselves in order to wrestle *not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places*.¹⁰ Further on, Zygyadenos explains that the anthology is divided into two parts – a) presentation of the Orthodox teaching and b) refutation of the heresies. He states that the heresies are arranged chronologically – only the most important heresies are chosen from the past, which are compared to burning embers that might be kindled again; after them are presented the heresies of the present days, that is to say, the twelfth century. The last part of the prologue contains the first refutation — that of the Epicureans and their atomic theory. It is placed here, in the opening of the anthology, because it concerns a teaching before the beginning of Christianity. The two rhetorically ornamented accounts of the compilation of the PD situate

⁹ Καὶ δὴ τὰ δόγματα τῶν μακαρίων Πατέρων, καὶ προμάχων τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως διὰ τῶν τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ σοφῶν καὶ πολυπείρων ἀνδρῶν ἐκλεξάμενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἔμοι τὴν συνθήκην τούτων ἐπέτρεψε. PG 130, 24 A12-15.

¹⁰ Eph. 6, 12. Translation Standard American version.

the anthology in the milieu characteristic of the first decades of the Komnenian dynasty.¹¹ The project to compile the PD came about in relation to the enhanced role that Alexios I Komnenos chose to play in religious politics. During the reign of Alexios I, for the first time since the victory over iconoclasm, new heresies were added to the *Synodicon of Orthodoxy*.¹² Apart from the trial against the Bogomils, several other trials with wider repercussions took place in Constantinople – the trial against John Italos, the Neoplatonist philosopher and disciple of Michael Psellos in 1082;¹³ the process against Neilos and his disciples on the problem of divinization (1094/95); the trial against Theodore the deacon of Blachernai, who was accused of a kind of “Messalianism” (1095); and the trial in connection with Eustratios of Nicaea (1117).¹⁴ Anna Komnene states that one of the last achievements of Alexios occurred in 1114. In that year the emperor organized a military expedition to Philippopolis against the remnants of the Paulician heretics who had been transferred to Thrace by Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969-876). The expedition being completed successfully, Alexios had a discussion with the Paulicians and attempted to convert them to Orthodoxy.¹⁵

The creation of the PD was an event which also fitted into this religious policy. Two illuminated manuscripts of the PD, which were the official copies presented to Emperor Alexios I, are preserved until today are – Cod. Vat. Gr. 666 and Cod. Mosq. Syn. Gr. 387

¹¹ A thorough presentation of the PD describing the twelfth century context of the compilation and the subsequent episodes in the reception of the text was made by Antonio Rigo, “La «Panoplia Dogmatica» d’Euthymios Zygabenos: Savoir Encyclopédique et les Hérésies du Présent,” Paper presented at the XIXth Annual Theological Conference of St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University, Moscow 9-12 October, 2008. For the analysis of the political and religious situation in twelfth century Byzantium see Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Komnenoi, 1081-1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Ferdinand Chalandon, *Les Comnènes. Études sur l’Empire Byzantin aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Essai sur le règne d’Alexis Ier Comnène (1081-1118)* vol. 1 (Paris: 1900).

¹² Jean Gouillard, “Le Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie. Édition et Commentaire,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967).

¹³ See Lowell Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 26 (München: Institut für Byzantinistik, Neugriechische Philologie und Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, 1981).

¹⁴ Jean Gouillard, “Quatre Procès de Mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité.” *Revue des Études Byzantines* 36 (1978): 19-28, 52-56.

¹⁵ Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, XIV, 8.

(Vladimir 224).¹⁶ The initial three pages of these manuscripts are occupied with illuminations which depict the creation of the PD. Each illumination is accompanied by verses which are also available in vol. 130 of the *PG*.

The first illumination (Cod Vat. Gr. 666), presents a line of Church fathers. The inscriptions above the images indicate that these are: Dionysios the Areopagite, Athanasios, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Maximos the Confessor and John Damascene. Each of them holds a scroll with his own works and waits for his turn to present his work to the emperor. The next page depicts Emperor Alexios. He looks towards the Church Fathers and waits to receive their works. The third illumination (Cod. Vat. Gr. 666) depicts Christ enthroned. Emperor Alexios is standing beside Him. He offers a decorated copy of the PD to Christ, who accepts this present and blesses the emperor.

These solemn illustrations are directly related to the contents of the anthology – in each chapter the fragments of the Church Fathers are arranged chronologically and roughly correspond to the order depicted in the illustrations of the dedicatory copies.

It should be said, however, that in reality the contents of the anthology are more inconsistent than the clear arrangement presented in the illustrations.¹⁷ The organization of the chapters is not coherent. In each chapter there is a deviation from the chronological order of the fathers. For example, on many occasions the fragments of John Damascene precede the

¹⁶ Georgi Parpulov, “The Presentation Copies of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* (Moscow, Gos. Ist. Muz., Syn. gr. 387; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 666)” (paper presented at The Thirty-Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Rutgers the State University of New Jersey, US, October 16-19, 2008). For full bibliography see Sebastiano Gentile, *Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'occidente* (Venice: Centro Tibaldi, 1998), 192-196. See also Anthony Cutler, “Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/2 (1981): 783-784; Johannes Spatharakis, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 122-129; Maurizio Bonicatti, “Per una introduzione alla cultura mediobizantina di Costantinopoli,” *Rivista dell' Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte* 9 (1960): 207-265.

¹⁷ A detailed description of the chapters is available in Papavasileou, *Εὐθύμιος Ζυγαδηνός*, 80-119.

fragments of Maximos the Confessor; the chapters contain fragments from unnamed authors, introduced by the expressions *ἐκ διαφόρων Πατέρων*, *ἐτέρων Πατέρων* and *ἐτέρον*.

The anthology was copied in two volumes because it was too lengthy. The first volume contained the titles from 1-11, the second the rest of the anthology. Thematically, the anthology has two parts. The initial seven chapters give a summary presentation of the Orthodox teaching – that there is one God, about the Trinity, on the three hypostasies, on the incomprehensibility of God, on the divine names, on the divine creation and the incarnation.

The rest of the chapters are refutations of heresies. Sixteen heresies were chosen from the past: the first in this series of chapters is the refutation of Judaism, presented here as a Christian heresy; the second is against Simon the Magician, the alleged predecessor of all heresies, and against Mani, the predecessor of all dualistic heresies, and his sect of the Manichees. Then follow the refutations of the Sabellians, Arians, Pneumatomachoi, Latins, Apollinarians, Nestorians, Monophysites, Aphthartodocetes, Theopaschites, Agnoets, Origen, the Monothelites, and the Iconoclasts.

From these chapters the one Against the Latins has received most attention. Its text was transmitted under both the name of Patriarch Photios and that of Zygadenos; this problem of authorship was solved by Dvornik.¹⁸

The compilers of the anthology have chosen the most suitable texts for the refutation of each heresy – for this reason in some chapters they have included more Patristic and later authors.¹⁹ This is particularly valid for the last part of the PD, which contains chapters against the heresies coeval to the twelfth century – these chapters contain more recent works, including some by Euthymios Zygadenos himself.

¹⁸ Francis Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, tr. Edwin A. Quain (New York: Fordham University Press, 1966).

¹⁹ Leontios of Neapolis (*Against the Jews*); Athanasios Sinaites, Leontios of Byzantion (*Against the Monophysites*), Leontios of Byzantion (*Against the Aphthartodocetes*); Athanasios Sinaites (*Against the Theopaschites*); Patriarch Photios (*Against the Latins*); the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Patriarchs Germanos of Constantinople and Nikephoros of Constantinople, Theodore Studites (*Against the Iconoclasts*).

The chapter *Against the Armenians* treats the faith of the Armenians as a separate heresy, which is not included in the chapter *Against the Monophysites*. The chapter *Against the Paulicians* contains a work entitled *History of the Manichees*, that is to say Paulicians, allegedly written by Patriarch Photios. Including it in the PD, Euthymios added some material which is not in Photios and altered the organization of the work. Because the interventions by Zyghadenos are not considered entirely fortunate, his testimony was discarded as an independent source on the teachings of the Paulicians.²⁰

The second part of the chapter *Against the Paulicians* is an entry entitled *On the Cross, on the holy Baptism and on the Mystery of the Eucharist*. It is now published as a separate chapter in the PG 130 (cols. 1244-1274) and, as I will demonstrate in my study, it became crucial for the subsequent reception of the anthology in Early Modern times.

The next chapter is *Against the Messalians*, even if their heresy flourished in the fourth century. As Antonio Rigo has convincingly argued, the heresy was included among the coeval heresies because in Byzantium the Messalians were considered the predecessors of the Bogomils.²¹ The chapter *Against the Bogomils* has been the part of the PD which has received most attention, because it is the primary source for this medieval dualistic movement.²²

The chapter *Against the Saracenes* contains a prologue by Zyghadenos and two works – the first is descriptive, authored by the eighth-century author Georgios Amartolos²³; the

²⁰ The sources on the Paulician heresy and the contribution of Zyghadenos are thoroughly discussed by Nina Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy. A study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (The Hague- Paris: Mouton & Co., 1967), 26-79.

²¹ Antonio Rigo, "Messalianismo=Bogomilismo. Un' equazione dell' eresiologia medievale bizantina," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56 (1990): 53-82; Idem, "Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili: le accuse di messalianismo e bogomilismo rivolte agli esicasti ed il problema dei rapporti tra esicasmo e bogomilismo", *Orientalia Venetiana* 2 (Florence: 1989).

²² A synthesis on the research problems and abundant bibliography around the Bogomil heresy can be found in Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions From Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2000).

²³ PG 110, 864C-868A = PG 130, 1333 A-D; PG 110, 868B-869A = PG 130, 1353 B-D

second is a refutation of the Qur'an, authored by Bartholomew of Edessa (eighth century).²⁴ This was the first part of the PD, which was printed in the Greek original by the sixteenth-century German scholar, Friedrich Sylburg.²⁵ However, the same chapter was excluded from the first edition of the entire PD because the editors at that time, that is, in 1710 in Walachia, did not want to get into trouble with the Ottoman authorities.²⁶

The difficulty in fully presenting the contents of the PD comes from the fact that the anthology represented a part of the theological synthesis, a *summa*, achieved during the Komnenian period. In addition to this, in the context of the twelfth century, the anthology was not a single book but rather a volume in a series. Euthymios Zygadenos composed three other major works – *Commentaries to the Psalms*,²⁷ *Commentaries to the Gospels*,²⁸ and *Commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul*.²⁹ At the time of their compilation, all these

²⁴ K.-P. Todt (ed.), Bartholomaios von Edessa, *Confutatio Agareni*, Corpus Islamo-Christianum (CISC), Series Graeca 2 (Würzburg-Altenberge: Echter Verlag-Telos Verlag, 1988).

²⁵ Friedrich Sylburg (ed.), *Saracenica sive Moamethica: in quibus ismaeliticae seu moamethicae sectae praecipuorum dogmatum elenchus: ex Euthymii Zigabeni Panoplia Dogmatica* (Heidelberg: H. Commelini, 1595) (Henceforth: Friedrich Sylburg (ed.), *Saracenica sive moamethica*). For a detailed analysis see Antonio Rigo, "Saracenica di Friedrich Sylburg (1595). Una raccolta di opera bizantine contro l'Islam," *I padri sotto il Torchio: le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV--XVI ed. Mariarosa Cortesi* (Florence: Sismel, 2002), 289-310 (Henceforth: Mariarosa Cortesi (ed.), *I padri sotto il Torchio*). The same chapter was also used for information on the perceptions of Islam in the twelfth century by Asterios Argyriou: "Perception de l'Islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde byzantin grec," *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 25-69.

²⁶ Πανοπλία Δογματικῆ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ βασιλέως Κομνηνοῦ, περιέχουσα ἐν συνόψει τὰ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ θεοφόροις πατράσι συγγραφέντα, εἰς τάξιν δὲ καὶ διεσκεμμένην ἁρμονίαν παρὰ Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ζιγαδινοῦ τεθέντα (Tîrgoviște, 1710) (Henceforth: Πανοπλία, Tîrgoviște). This edition is described in Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1918), description 69.

²⁷ *Euthymii Monachi Zigaboni* (sic!) *commentationes in omnes Psalmos de graeco in latinum conversae* par R. A. Philippum Saulum Episcopum Brugnatensem (Verona: per Stephanum Nicolinum Sabiensem, & Fratres, 1530); the same text enriched with the notes of Christian Friedrich Matthäi, *Euthymii Zigabeni commentarius in quatuor Evangelia graece et latine. Textum graecum nunquam antea editum ad fidem duorum codicum diligenter recensuit et repetita versione latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionibus edidit Christ. Frid. Matthaei* (Lipsiae: 1792; reprint: Berlin and London: 1845); PG 128, cols. 73-1326.

²⁸ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentaria in sacrosancta quattuor Christi Evangelia ex Chrysostomi aliorumque ueterum scriptis magna ex parte collecta, Auctore quidem Euthymio Zigabono* (sic!), interprete uero Ioanne Hentenio Mechliniensi Hieronymiano. In hoc opere graphice admodum redactum est in compe[n]dium, quicquid ad Euangeliorum explanationem diffuse tractant Origenes, Basilus, Nazianzenus (sic), Chrysostomus, caeterique theologi Graeci (Leuven: Ex officina R. Rescii, 1544); PG 129 cols. 112-1502.

²⁹ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in XIV Epistolas S. Pauli et VII. Catholicas*, ed. Nikephoros Kalogeras (Athens: Perri, 1887).

works were part of one construction. However, from the later reception of this theological series, it is apparent that the *Panoplia* was the most successful part of the project.

Reception of the text

The PD continued to be read for centuries in the confines of the *Oikoumene* as a key source of Orthodox theology. Notwithstanding the fact that it only refuted those movements known in the twelfth century, the anthology was flexible enough to be used in different historical contexts later. It became very popular in Southeast Europe during the Middle Ages and continued to be read long after the Fall of Constantinople. Approximately 150 Greek manuscripts are extant, the latest of them dating from the eighteenth century. A Slavonic translation was made in the fourteenth century.³⁰ In early modern times in both East and West the PD was considered an authoritative book on heresies. A Latin translation was printed in Venice in 1555.³¹ One of the last episodes in the long history of this text is the Greek *editio princeps*, published in 1710 in Tîrgoviște, Walachia.

Volume 130 of the *PG* brought together and presented in a synchronic way these different episodes in the long history of this text. In addition, the *PG* is enriched with the notes of Christian Friedrich Matthäi, who visited Moscow in 1780 and noted the differences between the printed edition of Walachia and manuscripts available in Moscow.³² It also includes the notes of Friderich of Sylburg on the PD's chapter *Against the Saracenes*.³³

³⁰ Nina Gagova, "Edin veroiaten prevodacheski avtograf ot pŕvata chetŕrt na XIV vek (Oshte vednŕŕ za rannia slavianski prevod na "Dogmaticheskŕ vseorŕŕie" ot Evtimij Zigavin," *Palaeobulgarica* 15/1 (2001): 79-94

³¹ *Euthymii monachi Zigabeni Orthodoxŕ fidei dogmatica Panoplia Hucusque Latinis incognita et nunc primum per Petrum Franciscum Zinum Veronensem e Græco translata* (Venice: apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1555, reprints, London: 1556; Venice: apud Franciscum Rampazetum, 1575).

³² See above, note 27.

³³ Friedrich Sylburg (ed.), *Saracenica sive Moamethica*.

Aims of the present study

Instead of going immediately to the twelfth century, my point of departure is this latest edition of the PD in the *PG*. It remains the most easily available version of the text, so that whenever the PD is dealt with in modern scholarship the *PG* edition is used.³⁴

The investigation unfolds backwards in time, starting from the vantage point of the eighteenth-century Greek *editio princeps* and looking back to the original anthology commissioned by Emperor Alexios. I consider this a proper way to demonstrate that some of the concepts held about the PD today are the result of later interpretations. The heuristic value of such an approach is to be supported by the fact that the anthology – in every version in which it has appeared -- was flexible enough to be adapted for different contexts and in aid of different theological and political agendas.

Thus, the aims of the present study are to demonstrate how this authoritative book continued to be used after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, demonstrating both continuity and change, as a part of the Orthodox legacy in early modern Europe; to present a case study on the question of how the function of an important text may change throughout the ages; to argue that we should in some cases dissociate the texts that we are studying from the editions that we are using. Or, to put it in a nutshell, my aim is to show how the text of the PD remained living in the tradition that was using it.

Structure of the study

My original intention was to dedicate separate chapters to each major episode of the text transmission, presenting the three versions in which the text was transmitted – the Greek, the Slavonic and the Latin. However, since its compilation the anthology had differing success in these different traditions. This can be seen from the remaining versions of the text.

³⁴

Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica ad Alexium Comnenum*, PG 130.

The Greek version continued to circulate in manuscript form until the eighteenth century and the influence of the text was enhanced by the printed edition. To my knowledge, the Latin translation of the PD is known only from the printed editions and there are no attested manuscripts. On the contrary, the Slavonic PD was present only in a limited number of manuscripts, of which only three have survived.

In the process of the work it became clear that it would be superficial to put strict boundaries between the traditions in which the text has been preserved. In its final form the present study consists of two parts -- the first deals with the problems related to the Greek *editio princeps*; the second deals with a single manuscript that attests a version of the text which is most divergent from this *editio princeps*, because it contains *scholia*. My research on the circumstances behind the Greek *editio princeps* has shown that in the post-Byzantine era the Eastern and Western traditions of this text were inextricably linked. The only existing edition in Greek was created by a synthesis of the Orthodox and Catholic theological traditions.

This study also demonstrates that the publication of the PD in 1710 came as a part of what George Florovsky called the “pseudo-morphosis” of Orthodox theology in the Early Modern Period,³⁵ when Orthodox thinking was heavily influenced and infiltrated by external concepts. The major reason for the publication was the Eucharistic disputes of the seventeenth and of the beginning eighteenth century. The connection of the PD to these disputes is not obvious and, to the present day, has remained unexplored.

I discovered this connection when I was conducting research into the circumstances behind the *editio princeps* printed in Wallachia in 1710. This was an edition printed by the Orthodox after twenty years of effort. Because of the time that had elapsed from the initial idea to publish the PD until the final realization of the project, the names of the men who

³⁵ George Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology* (Belmont, Mass: Nordland Pub. Co., 1979).

actually stood behind the publication are not mentioned – these were the successive Orthodox Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Dositheos Notaras, and Khrysanthos Notaras. After the Orthodox lost the Protection of the Holy Places, these patriarchs supported the edition of a series of polemic books in answer to the missionary activities of Catholics and Protestants. The reason why they chose to publish in the principalities of Walachia and Moldova was because these lands were autonomous from the Ottoman authorities.

What was more important for my investigation were the reasons for the choice of publishing the PD and the intermezzo of twenty years before the book went into print. The immediate reason for the publication was an internal conflict among the Orthodox on the question of whether the term μετουσίωσις should be used to describe the mystery of the Eucharist. Some years before the *editio princeps* two Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century used a chapter of PD as an argument in this discussion. The chapter in question is entitled *On the Cross, on the holy Baptism and on the Mystery of the Eucharist*. However, this utilisation of the PD was not an original invention of theologians in the seventeenth century. Actually, it was an argument imported from the theologians of the Catholic Countereformation who had quoted the same chapter as a refutation of the Protestants.

Thus, the first section of this study traces the origins of this interpretation of the PD and shows that in fact the Latin translation of the PD published in Venice in 1555 indirectly inspired the Greek *editio princeps*. This is demonstrated by the references to the PD by Catholics and Protestants and the way these interpretations became incorporated in the Orthodox view on the anthology.

Further on, this part of the study attempts to establish which manuscripts were used for the Tîrgoviște edition and traces details on the people involved in the publication project from the point of view of a sociology of theological texts.

Part two of this dissertation deals with a single Athonite manuscript of the PD – Iviron 281. This manuscript proves to be a fourteenth-century recension of the PD which shows significant differences from the Tîrgoviște edition and the other PD manuscripts which I was able to consult. For this reason it deserves attention as a contribution to the transmission history of the anthology and to a future critical edition of the *Panoplia*.

MS Iviron 281 seems to be a kind of “edition” made by a man of letters from the Palaeologian period who created his version of the PD. Compared to the Tîrgoviște edition, the Iviron MS omits many of the Patristic texts, but adds *scholia* to the fragments of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and the orations of Gregory the Theologian (*Orationes* 28, 29, 30, 31, 38). The present study gives a sample of these *scholia*: it treats the fragments of Gregory of Nazianzos’ *De Theologia*, *Oratio* 30 and *In Theophania*, *Oratio* 38 as well as to the Pseudo-Dionysian fragments from *De divinis nominibus* and the *Fourth Letter*. As far as I can judge, this is an *editio princeps* of these *scholia* most of which I have identified as fragments coming from the *scholia* of Niketas Herakleensis and Elias Cretensis, two among the most prominent commentators of Gregory of Nazianzus.

The two parts of the dissertation represent two case studies on the transmission history of the PD – one from the early modern period and the other from the time of the Palaeologian dynasty. What unifies them is that they deal with the history of the text and will be a contribution to a future critical edition of the PD.

A Review of the Secondary Literature

Inventories of the PD manuscripts

This study is greatly facilitated by a monograph on Euthymios Zygadenos which was authored by Andreas Papavasileou.³⁶ Papavasileou provides a useful inventory list of the PD

³⁶ Andreas Papavasileou, Εὐθύμιος Ζυγαδηνός.

manuscripts found in different catalogues and deals with the context of the PD during the twelfth century. Papavasileiou's list is updated by information on many more manuscripts provided by the *Pinakes Project – Textes et Manuscrits Grecs*, managed by the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, Paris, and available online.³⁷ Papavasileiou also collected the studies on the PD which appeared before 1978.³⁸

Scholarly approaches

The scholarly approaches to the PD can be divided in two major trends: a) the PD was used for preparation of critical editions because the fragments in the anthology are testimonia of the indirect tradition of Patristic texts; b) it was used as a heresiology, providing information on the heretical movements described in it.

The PD was used in the preparation of critical editions. The text was used for this purpose by the editors of Gregory of Nyssa's *Oratio Catechetica*, which is quoted extensively in the PD.³⁹ The anthology was consulted for the critical edition of Maximus Confessor.⁴⁰ Also, it was used in the critical edition of the *Dissertatio adversus Iudaeos*,⁴¹ a treatise attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, now convincingly proven to have been authored by Metrophanes of Smyrna.⁴² An important variant reading of Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagite's *Fourth Letter*, found in the PD but attested in just a few manuscripts of the direct tradition,

³⁷

http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/rech_oeuvre/resultOeuvre/filter_auteur/5534/filter_oeuvre/12212 (web page last consulted on 15 August 2008).

³⁸ Leon Parmentier, "Note sur deux manuscrits d' Euthyme Zygadenos, conservés à la Bibliothèque de Patmos," *Mélanges Paul Fredericq, Hommage de la Société pour le progrès des études philologiques et historiques* (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1904), 21-27; Jakob Wickert, "Die Panoplia Dogmatica des Euthymios Zigabenos Untersuchung ihrer Anlage und Quellen, ihres Inhaltes und ihrer Bedeutung," *Oriens Christianus* (1907): 278-388; Bjarne Schartau, "Copenhagen, GKS 47,2o, a 13th Century Manuscript of Euthymios Zygadenos' Panoplia Dogmatica," *Classica et Medievalia (Francisco Blatt Septuagenario Dedicata)* (1973): 160-166.

³⁹ Gregory of Nyssa. *Oratio Catechetica, Opera dogmatica minora, pars IV*, ed., Ekkehard Mühlenberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

⁴⁰ Maximus Confessor, *Opuscula exegetica duo: Expositio in Psalmum LIX. Expositio orationis dominicae*, ed. Peter Van Deun, Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

⁴¹ *Anonymi Auctoris Theognosiae Dissertatio contra Iudaeos*, ed. Michiel Hostens, Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 14 (Leuven: University Press, 1986).

⁴² Peter Van Deun, "La chasse aux trésors: la découverte de plusieurs œuvres inconnues de Métrophane de Smyrne (IXe - Xe siècle)," *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 346-367.

was used for the establishment of this Letter's text together with the Syriac versions and other testimonies from the indirect tradition.⁴³

The PD quotes a large number of fragments from John Damascene's *Expositio de fide orthodoxa*. Before the twelfth century John Damascene was rarely quoted as an authority and copied. A recent study has demonstrated that it was through the PD that John Damascene officially entered the sphere of Orthodox dogmatic theology.⁴⁴

The PD was also used as testimony for the attribution of authorship of the Patristic authors – it was proven that the PD attests a case in which the work of Theodoret of Cyrhos' *De Sancta and Vivifica Trinitate* was transmitted under the name of Cyril of Alexandria as early as the twelfth century.⁴⁵

As was demonstrated above, the PD has been used as a primary source on heretical teachings. In this line the PD follows another ancient tradition – that of the polemical works against heresies in the tradition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*.⁴⁶

These scholarly approaches show two characteristics of the anthology itself – it is an anthology of Church Fathers and, at the same time, it remains a piece of polemics, a historical presentation of different heresies -- a heresiology. The existence of anthologies in Byzantium has stirred fruitful discussion over the usage of the term that best describes this Byzantine phenomenon, which lays emphasis not on creativity but on excerpting and copying. The most

⁴³ István Perczel, "The Christology of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite: The Fourth Letter in its Indirect and Direct Text Traditions", *Le Muséon* 117/3-4 (2004): 409-446.

⁴⁴ Vassa Conticello, "À L'origine de la dogmatique systématique byzantine: L'édition précise de la foi orthodoxe de Saint Jean Damascène," *Byzantine Theologians. The Systematization of Their Own Doctrine and Their Perception of Foreign Doctrines*, ed. Antonio Rigo and Pavel Ermilov, Quaderni di "Nea Rhome" 3 (Roma: Università di Roma "Tor Vergata", 2009), 3-17.

⁴⁵ István Pásztori-Kupán, "Fragments of Theodoret's *De sancta et vivifica trinitate* in Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica*," *Augustinianum* 2 (2002): 481-489.

⁴⁶ The matter is lucidly treated by Averil Cameron, "How to Read Heresiology," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33, 3 (2003): 471-492. For the edition of the *Panarion* see Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller, 3 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915-33). For translation into English see Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Panarion*, tr. Frank Williams, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1987; 2nd ed. 2008); see also the partial translation *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis*, tr. Philip Amidon, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

influential terms describing this specific phenomenon are *Byzantine encyclopedism*⁴⁷ and *la cultura della sylloge* or *culture du recueil*.⁴⁸ The attention which these terms have received is understandable -- what is at stake is to describe the way in which a culture, in this case Byzantine culture, created a systematization of knowledge and how it disseminated it.⁴⁹

Following this theoretical framework, the PD could be described as encyclopedic heresiology, or dogmatic anthology–heresiology. The present study will use the established term “anthology” and will not enter into a theoretical discussion since this remains peripheral to its main subject – which presents a third approach to the PD – from the point of view of reception history and text edition.

A review of the literature on the subjects treated in the first part of this study

The first part of the present study falls within the area of reception studies of the Greek Church Fathers. While the afterlife of the Patristic authors in the West has received considerable attention, this field remains incompletely explored for Eastern Europe and the countries which were part of the Byzantine Commonwealth.⁵⁰ To my knowledge, there has been no previous attempt to examine the reception history of the PD in the post-Byzantine

⁴⁷ The term “Byzantine encyclopedism” was used for the first time for tenth-century Byzantium but later was applied for a wider scope for Byzantine works with excerpting tendencies. It was coined out in two influential studies by Paul Lemerle, “L’encyclopédisme à Byzance à l’apogée de l’Empire, et particulièrement sous Constantin VII Porphyrogénète,” *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale* 9 (1966); Idem, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971). However, it remains controversial because “encyclopaedias” in the strict sense of the term did not exist in Byzantium. The Institute of Early Christian and Byzantine Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, under the direction of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun, is conducting a research project Byzantine encyclopedism, see note 4.

⁴⁸ This more flexible term is introduced by Paolo Odorico, “La cultura della “Sylloge”. 1. Il cosiddetto enciclopedia bizantino. 2. Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990): 1-21.

⁴⁹ For detailed presentations on the research of the great Byzantine anthologies see Ilse De Vos, Erika Gielen, Caroline Macé, Peter Van Deun, “L’art de compiler à Byzance. La lettre gamma du Florilège Coislin,” *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 159-223. Idem, “La Lettre B du Florilège Coislin: editio princeps,” *Byzantion* 80 (2010): 72-180. Peter Van Deun and Caroline Macé, “Editing and exploring Byzantine encyclopaedies,” *Byzantinoslavica* 67 (2009): 31-35.

⁵⁰ On the reception of the Church Fathers in the West see Mariarosa Cortesi (ed.), *Padri Greci e Latini a Confronto: (secoli XIII-XV): atti del Convegno di Studi della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL), Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze, 19-20 Ottobre 2001*, *Millennio Medievale* 51 (Florence: Sismel, 2004); Idem (ed.), *I padri sotto il Torchio*; Irena Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: from the Carolingians to the Maurists* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

Period, with the exception of two articles which dealt with the edition of the PD in Walachia.⁵¹ Because my aim is to showcase the changing landscape in Orthodox history through the particular case of the PD, I have used several invaluable studies on Orthodox theology and the Church during the post-Byzantine period⁵² as well as studies on the political aspects of the Byzantine legacy.⁵³

For an investigation with such a narrow focus, many of the details come from articles of historiographical schools in the Southeast European countries that were once part of the Byzantine Commonwealth – mainly Romania, Greece, Russia and Bulgaria. The majority of these studies focus on details which make them particularly important for tracing the history of the PD. Eucharistic issues played an important role in the transmission history of the PD. For this reason, the comprehensive overview provided by a recent publication on Eucharistic problems was quite important for my study.⁵⁴

A review of the literature on the subjects treated in the second part of the present study

⁵¹ Anasthasios Karathanassis, “ Ἡ Πανοπλία Δογματικὴ τοῦ Εὐθυμίου Ζιγαδηνοῦ στὴν τυπογραφία τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου (1710),” *Καιρὸς. Τόμος τιμητικὸς στὸν ομότιμο καθηγητὴ Δαμιανό Α. Δόικο, II; Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. Τμήμα Θεολογίας* 5 (1995): 81-92; M. M. Braniște, “Panoplia Dogmatică in Editie Princeps, Țirgoviște 1710,” *Mitropolia Olteniei* 10 (1958): 501-510.

⁵² Vassa Conticello and Carmello Giuseppe Conticello (eds.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821): die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (München: C. H. Beck, 1988) (henceforth Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*). For the history of the Orthodox Church see the classical study of Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: a Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

⁵³ On the continuation of the Byzantine political tradition in the Romanian principalities see Andrei Pippidi, *Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI-XVII* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1983 (Henceforth: Pippidi, *Tradiția politică bizantină*); Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, (Iași: Center for Romanian Studies, 2000 (first edition, 1935). (Henceforth: Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*. Historical overview of the period is presented in Apostolos Vakalopoulos, *Νέα Ελληνική Ιστορία (1204-1975)* (Thessaloniki: Sphakianakes 1979).

⁵⁴ István Perczel, Réka Forrai and György Geréby (eds.), *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy: Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006).

The second part of the present study examines a manuscript of the PD – Ivion 281 – a manuscript which was identified in the process of my work. It has remained unstudied until this time and there is no secondary literature on it, except the studies which deal with the scholiasts of Gregory of Nazianzus and which I have presented in this second part of the study.

The methodology which I have adopted aims at presenting a new approach for an anthology on which everything appeared to have been researched, especially in relation to the dualistic movements with the Bogomils who, for various reasons, have received a great deal of attention. In order to better present the book in its new setting, I have tried to use as many sources as possible – manuscripts, early printed books, private letters, and letters of the Orthodox patriarchs, original catalogues, and references to historical events. Naturally, the story will remain far from complete and every discovery of new material will be most welcome, as it was apparent from the beginning that some details would appear at later times. In order to provide more authenticity, I have allowed myself to quote extensively, especially when the actors of the story speak in first person singular, as is the case when the anthology itself introduces itself on the opening pages of the Tîrgoviște edition.

ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ

ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ,

Περίχρηστα ἐκτυώφει τὰ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ Θεοφόροις πατράσι
συγγραφότα, εἰς τάξιν δὲ καὶ διεσκιμυρῶν ἀρμονίαν παρὰ
Εὐθυμίου Μοναχῆ τοῦ Ζιγαδίου πεποιητα.

Ἐπὶ ἀνατροπῇ, καὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν δυσσεβειῶν δογμάτων τε καὶ
διδασμάτων τῶν ἀθέων Αἰρεσιάρχων, τῶν κακῶς κατὰ τῆς
ἱερᾶς αὐτῶν Θεολογίας λυττησάντων,

Ἀφιερωθεῖσα

Ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐσεβεστάτου, ὑψηλοτάτου, καὶ Θεοσεβῆς Αὐτοκράτου καὶ
ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου
Ἰωάννου Κωνσταντίνου Μπαρσαρμπα ~~Βασιλέως~~
Βασιλέως τοῦ Μπραγκοβάνου.

Τῷ Ἐκλαμπεστάτῳ καὶ Σοφωτάτῳ Τίμῳ αὐτοῦ
Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Στεφάνῳ Βασιλέω
τῷ Μπραγκοβάνῳ

Παρὰ τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου καὶ Λογιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Δρύζρας
Κυρίου Κυρίου Ἀθανασίου,
Οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἀγαλώμασι νυνὶ πρώτον τετύπωται

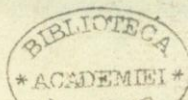
Παρὰ τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ, Λογιωτάτῳ, καὶ Θεοπερβλήτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ
Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Ἀιδίμῳ
Τῷ Ἰβηρίας.

Ἐπιμελὴς καὶ διορθῶσις Μητροφάνης Ἱερωμονάχου Γρηγορά
τοῦ ἐκ Δωδώνης.

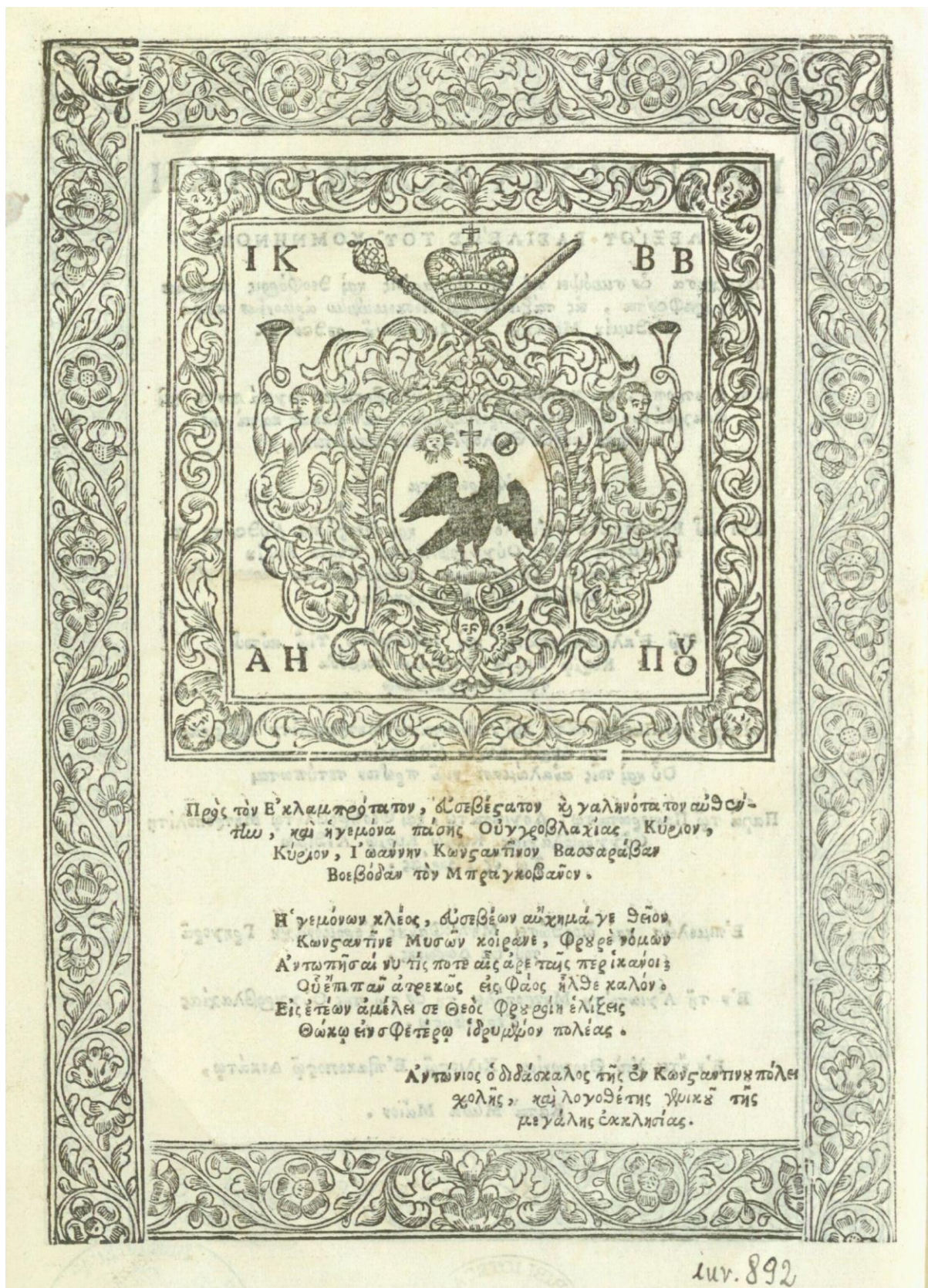
Ἐν τῇ Ἀγιοτάτῃ Μητροπόλει τῇ ἐν τῷ τῆς Οὐγγροβλαχίας
Τεργοβύζῳ.

Ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Θεογονίας Χιλιοσῷ Ἐπτακοσιοσῷ Δικατῷ,

Κατὰ Μῶν Μαῖον.



Title Page of the Tirgoviste Edition (Photo: courtesy to the Romanian Academy of Science)



(Photo: Courtesy to the Romanian Academy of Science)

THE PANOPLIA DOGMATIKE IN DEFENSE OF ORTHODOXY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

*Panoply I am most rightly called,
Because I am providing weapons sharper than the sword,
Capable of obtaining glorious trophies and worthy victories
For those whose impetus is against all heresies.
My father is the monk Zygadenos,
Who in simplicity explained the precise meaning of the Scriptures.
Hitherto I remained unknown in the darkness
As gold hidden deeply in the ground.
Athanasios, the Archbishop of Drystra, is printing me
At his own expense, for <spiritual> benefit.
Let, therefore, all of you pray for him that he may reach old age
And afterwards the heavenly abode.⁵⁵*

These verses from the beginning of the eighteenth century are written in a prosopopoea as uttered by the voice of the *Panoplia Dogmatike*. They come from the Tîrgoviște edition of the year 1710. In this chapter I will investigate the history of this edition.

The Tîrgoviște edition was not only the fruit of antiquarian interest but was deeply related to current affairs of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. With minor changes in the original content, the anthology of Alexios I Komnenos was once more employed in the fight against coeval religious opponents. This was possible only in a cultural milieu permeated by the language and the values of Byzantium.

The publication of the PD in Walachia as a genuine authority in the fight against heresy became possible because the Romanian Principalities shared the legacy of the Byzantine Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, as Obolensky has pointed out, consisted of

⁵⁵ PG 130, col. 17. All translations in this study, unless otherwise indicated, were made by me.

a group of nations that were politically autonomous but had strong and enduring connections with each other. Undoubtedly, the Orthodox Church formed the strongest bond among these people and continued as a binding element long after the fall of the empire.⁵⁶ Given this background, the PD offers the possibility of tracing the development of one of those flexible cultural nerves that made and sustained the Commonwealth.

However, to present the anthology in a new historical setting may well be more dangerous than it appears at first sight, because it is inevitably connected with the different context in which this Byzantine text appeared again. First and foremost, after the fall of Constantinople the Great Church was in a new, subordinate, position, without an emperor. In addition, the seventeenth century was a troubled time for the Orthodox Church⁵⁷ -- the period was marked by the controversies over the tradition and legacy of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris⁵⁸ and his Calvinist *Confession* from 1629; by the danger of uniatism in Transylvania, and by the troubled situation of the Russian Church after the reforms of Patriarch Nikon in Russia. The micro-focus on the PD edition shows how these major events necessitated, and were reflected in, the Tîrgoviște edition. As a point of departure, I intend to present the context in which the edition of the PD appeared and to find out how the Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century interpreted the anthology.

⁵⁶ Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982); Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, Pippidi, *Tradiția politică bizantină*.

⁵⁷ Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: a Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Timothy Richard Ware, *Eustratios Argenti. A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1964).

⁵⁸ Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople for the following periods: November 1620 – April 1623; September 1623 - October 1633; October 1633 -March 1635; March 1637-June 1638. Dates for the terms of office of Patriarch Lukaris, as well as other Eastern Patriarchs, are taken from Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 495-509. For a comprehensive bibliography on Patriarch Lukaris see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 219-135. Among the studies on Lukaris are those of George Hadjiantoniou, *Protestant Patriarch: the Life of Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638) Patriarch of Constantinople* (Richmond VA: Knox, 1961), and of Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, “Ο Κύριλλος Λούκαρις καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ προπαγάνδα τῆς Ῥώμης (1622-1638),” *Κρητολογία* 4 (1977): 49-56.

The PD attracted the attention of two leading Orthodox theologians of the time –the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos II Notaras (1669-1707) and Meletios Syrigos (1586-1643). Both Meletios and Dositheos attest that the anthology was read in connection with three important Church synods of the seventeenth century -- Jassy 1642, Jerusalem 1672 and Constantinople 1692 – which were all concerned with the discussion over the legacy of Lukaris. The way Meletios and Dositheos used the anthology suggests that the chapters of the PD from the twelfth century this time were read as a defense against the Calvinists, the Uniate Church of the Greek Catholics in Transylvania, the Roman Catholics, and the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. Above all, however, there was one direct reason for the publication. The Orthodox printing presses in Walachia and Moldova were competing with the printing activities of the Calvinists in Transylvania. Almost every Orthodox edition was an answer to the activities of their Calvinist opponents. Thus, the PD was used in a way perhaps far beyond the expectations of Alexios I and his theologians. The anthology gave the authentic voice of the Greek Church Fathers in an age when the Patristic legacy was already in use and under discussion both by Catholics and Protestants.

The abundant historical material on the people who stood behind the publication (the editor, the sponsor and other people involved) allows one to place the edition in its natural milieu. If the evidence provided by the testimonies of these witnesses also demonstrates that the edition came out of the rigorous religious fights at that time, a logical next move would be to search for traces of editorial alterations in the printed text. Such a task would be of critical importance, because the text from Tîrgoviște, reprinted in the *PG* with the notes of Christian Friedrich Matthäi, remains the only printed edition of the PD, used and quoted by scholars today. Finally, any study of the anthology in the Danubian Principalities would not be complete without the examination of the late MSS which co-existed with the printed text.

Historical context

The lost protection of the Holy Places by the Orthodox

The story of the first Greek edition of the PD should start much earlier than the actual publication with a landmark historical event – the last siege of Vienna -- which changed the balance of power between the Ottomans and Western Europe and also affected the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire. In 1689 the Orthodox lost the Protection of the Holy Places. On several occasions before this event King Louis XIV of France had supported missionary activities by the French Catholics in Jerusalem.⁵⁹ He intended to use the Holy City as a basis for a further extension of influence and the French Catholics demanded from the Ottoman authorities the right to protect the Holy Places. By that time the Ottoman Empire was successful in foreign policy and it could allow itself to give no heed to such demands. The siege of 1683 changed everything. The Ottoman army was severely defeated in Vienna and the next year the empire was threatened by the creation of the “Holy League” between Austria, Venice and Poland, which Russia joined two years later. Fearing that France would also take part in the new alliance, the Ottoman Empire conceded the protection over the Holy Places in Jerusalem to the French Catholics. This loss for the Orthodox happened during the office of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos, who spent the rest of his life in efforts to oppose the influence of the Catholics. Left without many possibilities for action, he produced a series of anti-Catholic editions. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, Patriarch Dositheos was directly involved in and inspired the edition of the PD in Walachia, although his name is not mentioned.

⁵⁹ For details on the historical context see Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: the Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). On the history of the Holy Places and Patriarchate of Jerusalem see Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία της Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων* (Jerusalem-Alexandria: Πατριαρχικό Τυπογραφείο, 1910).



Polemic editions in the Romanian Principalities

With the strong support of Patriarch Dositheos, Greek printing presses started to produce Orthodox editions of polemic character in Moldova (1682) and in Walachia (1690).⁶⁰ This was possible because at the turn of the eighteenth century the Romanian Principalities had already taken on an important role in the preservation of Orthodoxy. This position of the Principalities was due to the fact that they preserved their autonomy from the Ottoman

⁶⁰ The PD is described in BRV I, 160, 482-483. For this study I have consulted two copies of this edition – one in the Romanian Academy of Science in Bucharest, and another in the Gennadius Library, Athens.

The first books published with the support of Patriarch Dositheos appeared in Moldavia in 1682 and in Walachia in 1690. Maximos Peloponnesios, *Εγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ σχίσματος τῶν παπιστῶν. Συντεθέν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἱερομονάχου Μαξίμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου*. Bucharest, 1690. BHellén. II 635; Nektarios Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου πατριάρχου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλήμ κυρίου Νεκταρίου...περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα ἀντίρρησης*. Iași, 1682. BHellén. II 568. An edition of John of Damascus appeared in 1715 in Iași, the Principality of Moldavia. For a bibliography on the book-printing in the Principalities at the time see note 63.

Empire and became important centers of Orthodox culture.⁶¹ The patriarchs of Jerusalem frequently visited the Romanian Principalities,⁶² including Patriarchs Theophanes III (1606-1644), Paisios (1645-1660), Nektarios (1661-1669) and later Khrysanthos (1707-1731). “But of all the hierarchs the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1669-1707) loved Moldavia most,” as Oikonomides puts it.⁶³ Dositheos, the undisputed leader of Orthodoxy at that time, made Walachia and Moldavia the headquarters for his activities and the printing presses, which the patriarch supported, produced a small panoply of books⁶⁴ directed against Catholic and

⁶¹ Details on the historical context could be found in Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des roumains et de la romanité orientale* (Bucharest: 1937-1945; Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1993); George Castellan, *Histoire des Balkans (XIVe-XXe siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 1995).

⁶² In particular, for the relations between the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and the Romanian Principalities see Gregorescu, “Legăturile Țărilor Române cu Ierusalimul. Patriarhii Ierusalimului în Țările Române (veac XVII-XVIII),” *Studii Teologice* 8, 5-6 (1956): 349-362.

⁶³ Demetrios Oikonomides, “Τὰ ἐν Μολδαβία ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα (1642-1821),” *Αθηνά* 75 (1974-1975): 260-277. On the relations of Dositheos with the Romanian Principalities see also Athanasios Karathanassis, “Des grecs à la cour du Constantin Brâncoveanu, voevod de Valachie (1688-1714),” *Balkan Studies* 16/1 (1975): 56-69 (Henceforth: Athanasios Karathanassis, “Des grecs à la cour du Constantin Brâncoveanu”; Athanasios Karathanassis, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία (1670-1714)* (Thessaloniki: Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἴμου, 1972); Olga Cicanci, “Cărturari greci în Țările Române (sec. XVII-1750),” *Intelectuali din Balcani în România (sec. XVII-XIX)*, ed., Duțu, Alexandru (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1984), 15-58.

⁶⁴ For a general introduction to the background events and on Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem see: *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, L'âge de raison (1620-1750) Vol.9* ed. J.-M. Mayeur, (Paris: Desclée/Fayard, 1990), 512, 573-575, 586-587, 593, 595; for patriarch Dositheos see Klaus Peter Todt, “Dositheos II von Jerusalem” In: *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition II: (XIIIe-XIXe siècles)*, Corpus Christianorum, eds. Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello et Vassa Kontouma Conticello (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 659-720; Nikolai Kapterev, *Snosheniia ierusalimskago patriarcha Dosifeja s russkim pravitel'stvom (1669-1707)* (Moscow, 1891); Aurelio Palmieri, *Dositeo, patriarca greco di Gerusalemme. Contributo alla storia della teologia greco-ortodossa nel secolo XVII*, (Florence: Libreria editrice fiorentina, 1909); Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, “Δοσίθεος, πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων (1641-1707),” *Νέα Σιών* 5-6 (1907): 97-168; Timotheos Themeles, “Αἱ σύνοδοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων. Ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ πατριάρχου Δοσιθέου,” *Νέα Σιών* 19 (1924): 499-520; Iohannes Karmires, “Ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Δοσιθέου,” *Θεολογία* 19 (1948): 693-707; 20 (1949): 99-119, 245-279; Dumitru Stăniloae, “Viața și activitatea Patriarhului Dosofteiu al Ierusalimului și legăturile lui cu Țările Românești,” *Candela* 40 (1929); D. Apostolopoulos and P. Michaelares, “*Νομικὴ Συναγωγὴ τοῦ Δοσιθέου. Μία πηγὴ καὶ ἓνα τεκμήριο*,” *Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ερευνῶν* 35 (1987); Venance Grumel, “Le περί μεταθέσεων et le patriarche de Constantinople Dosithée,” *Études Byzantines*, 1(1943) 239-249; Petre Panaitescu, “Patriarhul Dositei al Ierusalimului și Mitropolitul Dosoftei al Moldovei, cu prilejul unei scrisori inedite,” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 64 (1946): 93-103; Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, “Jérémie Cacavela et ses relations avec les Principautés roumaines,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 3 (1965): 165-190; Boris Fonkič, “Ierusalimskij Patriarch Dosifej i ego rukopisi v Moskve,” *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 29 (1969): 275-299; Alexandru Elian, “Patriarhul Dositei și literatură patristică,” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 92 (1974); Aurel Jivi, “Opere Teologice Bizantine editate în Țările Române de către patriarhul Dositei al Ierusalimului,” *Studii Teologice* 37 (1975): 219-225; Antonis Fyrigos, “Per l’identificazione di alcune opere ignoti auctoris contenute nel Τόμος ἀγάπης di Dositeo, patriarca di Gerusalemme (e recupero di un opuscolo antilatino di Barlaam Calabro),” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 20-21 (1983-1984): 171-190.

Calvinist propaganda in Southeastern Europe.⁶⁵ These editions remain monuments to early printing in Romania and already anticipated the future edition of the PD.

Internal conflict among the Orthodox over the terms used for the Eucharist and the utilization of the patristic tradition

The publication of the PD was much more involved in current affairs than appears at the first sight. The Greek *editio princeps* was related to the major theological discussions among the Orthodox during the seventeenth century – a controversy over transubstantiation and over the words used to define the Eucharist. After 1457 Orthodox theologians became involved in a harsh discussion on the problem of transubstantiation and, in general, on that of the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. An analogous debate started in the West in the mid-eleventh century with the teaching of Berengar of Tours (ca. 999-1088), who denied the identity of the Eucharist with the physical body of Christ. He also proposed that the bread and wine were efficient signs of Christ's heavenly, spiritual body, which is what they signified, but were not substantially identical with it either. Finally, he made the efficacy of the presence of Christ's heavenly body dependent on the personal faith

⁶⁵ On this subject see: Dennis Deletant, "A Survey of the Romanian Presses and Printing in the Sixteenth Century," *Slavonic and East European Review* 53 (1975): 161-174; Dennis Deletant, "Romanian Presses and Printing in the Seventeenth Century II," *Slavonic and East European Review* 61/ 4 (1983): 481-511; Demetrios Oikonomides, "Τὰ ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα (1642-1821)," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 75 (1974-1975) 259-301; Demetrios Oikonomides, "Ἐκδόσεις ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ, Γεωργίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ (1680-1747)," *Ἐπετηρὴς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 1972-1973. Demetrios Oikonomides, "Τὰ ἐν Βλαχίᾳ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα καὶ αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὐτῶν (1690-1821)," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 76 (1976-1977): 59-102; Émile Turdeanu, "Le livre grec en Russie: l'apport des presses de Moldavie et de Valachie," *Revue des Études Slaves* 26 (1950): 69-87; Idem, "Les controverses des Jansénistes et la création de l'imprimerie grecque en Moldavie," *Études de Littérature Roumaine et d'Écrits Slaves et Grecs des Principautés Roumaines*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill:1985), 175-296. See also Elena Chiaburu, "Tipografia din Moldavia și Lumea Ortodoxă în Secolul al XVII-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Iași (AIIAI)* 37 (2000): 105-125. For details in the historical context Dan Simonescu "Le Monastère de Cetatzuia (Jassy), Foyer de l'Orient Orthodoxe," *Balkania* 6 (1943): 357-365.

of the recipients of the eucharistic elements.⁶⁶ While Berengar's theses were repeatedly condemned and the Catholic Church subsequently adopted the dogma of transubstantiation the problem of the real presence and of the more restrictive concept "transubstantiation" re-emerged once again during the Reformation. The decisions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) confirmed the dogma of transubstantiation, but this was rather a beginning of a new series of controversies than the final word on the matter. During this controversy both Catholics and Protestants turned to the ancient tradition of the Orthodox Church in order to find arguments for their claims. This process began perhaps in 1576, when Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos (May 1572- November 1579; August 1580- February 1584; April 1587-September 1595) had to answer the Protestants from Tübingen but left them disappointed in the prospect of union between the Orthodox and Protestants.⁶⁷

With the Calvinising Confession of Faith of Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos Lukaris the matter became an internal affair of the Orthodox Church. At the time when the idea to publish the PD crystallized, around 1690, there were two Orthodox parties. On theological grounds the two camps were divided over the problem of whether the term μετουσίωσις, a direct translation into Greek of the term transubstantiation, should be used for the mystery in the Eucharist.⁶⁸

Thus, the publication of the PD came amidst the controversy over the heritage of Kyrillos Lukaris during the seventeenth century. The two opponents in this conflict were

⁶⁶ See *Berengarii Turonensis De sacra coena adversus Lanfrancum liber posterior*, ed. A.F. et F.Th. Vischer, (Göttingen: Typis Dieterichianis, 1825; reprint: Hildesheim - New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975). See also Kurt Flasch, *Das philosophische Denken im Mittelalter: von Augustin zu Machiavelli* (Stuttgart: Reklam, 1988), 190. See also Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West* (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 97-102.

⁶⁷ The correspondence is published in Martin Crusius and Jakob Heerbrand, *Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium, et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae : quae utrique ab anno MDLXXVI. usque ad annum MDLXXXI. de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt. Graece et Latine* (Witebergae: Crato, 1584). I was not able to consult it.

⁶⁸ For a monograph on the topic with bibliography see Nikolaos Tzirakes, *Ἡ περὶ μετουσίωσεως (transsubstantiatio) εὐχαριστικὴ ἔρις* (Athens: Christinakes, 1977). More on the problem of transubstantiation in the first appendix of Podskalsky, "Ἡ εὐχαριστικὴ ἐρίδα τοῦ 17ου αἰῶνα," *Griechische Theologie*, 487-492.

expressing two different trends of the Orthodoxy of their time – on the one side was the zealous Patriarch Dositheos, who claimed to represent the conservative and pristine Orthodox tradition. On the other side was Ioannes Karyophylles⁶⁹ (circa 1600 - 1692), who had been educated in the West and was a disciple of Theophilos Korydalleus (1570-1646), one of the most prominent Orthodox philosophers of the period.⁷⁰ The conflict expanded over two generations of Orthodox theologians. It should be noted that Korydalleus was connected with the circle around Patriarch Lukaris and that Meletios Syrigos was an opponent of both of them. In the next generation the main protagonists were Karyophylles, a direct disciple of Korydalleus, and, on the other side, Patriarch Dositheos Notaras, an ardent admirer of Meletios Syrigos.

Patriarch Dositheos thought that the rejection of the term μετουσίωσις meant support for the Protestant view on the Eucharist. The opposing side, led by Ioannes Karyophylles, stated that the term μετουσίωσις was not used in the Patristic tradition and, thus, should be avoided as a term of foreign origin. Later I shall go into more detail concerning this discussion; the PD became a useful weapon in this internal battle because an entry in it (now part of chapter 25 in the PG) discussed the Eucharist. The evidence for this comes from the way the PD was interpreted by Orthodox theologians at that time.

⁶⁹ Périclès Zerlendi, “Ιωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλου Ἐφημερίδες,” *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 3 (1891): 275-315; Cléobule Tsourkas, *Germanos Locros, Archevêque de Nysse, et son Temps* (Thessaloniki: Institut d’Études Balkaniques, 1970), 29-35. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 241-243. This Karyophylles should not be confused with Ioannes Matthaios Karyophylles details on whose family can be found in Mihail-Dimitri Sturdza, *Grandes familles de Grèce, d’ Albanie et de Constantinople. Dictionnaire historique et généalogique* (Paris: chez l’auteur, 1999), 262.

⁷⁰ Kleoboulos Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l’enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. La vie et l’œuvre de Théophile Corydalée*, 1570-1646 (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967); Georges E. Voumvlinopoulos, *Bibliographie critique de la philosophie grecque depuis la chute de Constantinople à nos jours 1453-1953*, (Athens: 1966), 71-74; Theophilos Korydalleus, *Introduction à la logique / Théophile Corydalée*, eds. Athanase Papadopoulos, Cléobule Tsourkas, Constantin Noica (Bucharest: Association internationale d’études du sud-est européen. Comité National Roumain, 1970).

References to the PD in Anti-Calvinist treatises published from the printing presses in the Principalities

In fact, the influence of the PD can be found in several editions, but direct references to the PD are found in a book printed in Bucharest, two decades before the edition of the PD itself. It would not be far-fetched to suggest that this book provides evidence on the question of who actually inspired the edition of the PD and why it was printed in Walachia with the support of the ruling dynasty of the Brîncoveanu. This volume also demonstrates that the PD was published because of the Eucharistic discussions among the Orthodox.

In 1690 Patriarch Dositheos Notaras published, in one volume, two anti-Calvinist treatises.⁷¹ The first treatise was written by Meletios Syrigos in connection with the Synod of Jassy (1641) and was entitled *Κατὰ τῶν Καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων*. The second text was written by Dositheos himself and published under the title *Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*. This second text was nothing else but a third edition of the Confession of Faith adopted in 1672 by the Synod in Jerusalem, this time published with some significant additions. The edition of these treatises in 1690 was connected with an internal conflict among the Orthodox theologians over the Greek terms that should be used in the Eucharist.⁷²

In the second of two prologues to the *Ἐγχειρίδιον* Patriarch Dositheos states that he published this book in order to support the Orthodox population in Transylvania. But in the background stood another, equally important, reason. This reason was the conflict between Dositheos and Karyophylles on the so-called *Tetradion* (Quire) which contained the views of

⁷¹ Τοῦ μακαρίτου Μελετίου Συρίγου διδασκάλου τε καὶ πρωτοσυγγέλλου τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων, καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως, Αντίῳρσις. Καὶ Δοσιθέου Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας, BRV I, 90, 298-315; BH II, 632, 458-472.

⁷² For edition of the Orthodox confessions at the time see Joannes Karmiris (ed.), *Dogmatica et symbolica monumenta orthodoxae catholicae ecclesiae*, vols. 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968); see also Vasileios Tsakiris, *Printed Greek Confession Books from the Period of Ottoman Rule / Die gedruckten griechischen Beichtbücher zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

Karyophylles and which was condemned by the Synod in Constantinople in 1690, as Karyophylles kept on insisting that the term μετουσίωσις should be avoided because it was a later translation of the Latin term *transsubstantiatio*. Karyophylles gave preference to the established and ancient Greek terms like μεταβολή or μετάληψις.

It seems that Patriarch Dositheos did not understand the arguments of Karyophylles, partially because he was not well versed in Latin and the Western tradition. This undermined any possibility for a further dialogue and the two sides were not listening to each other. Patriarch Dositheos accused Karyophylles of being a Calvinist and of rejecting the real presence of the Lord in the Eucharist by rejecting the term μετουσίωσις. Karyophylles accused Dositheos of being a Latiniser and of supporting a term of foreign origin.

Both sides turned to the authority of the Patristic tradition. The argument of Karyophylles was based on the writings of the Church Fathers who never used the term μετουσίωσις. Amid the conflict Karyophylles stated:

Ἐγὼ δείχνω τὰ δικά μου ἀπὸ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας· αὐτὸς ἅς ἴδωμεν ἀπὸ ποῦ δεῖχνει τὰ δικά του. Ἡμεῖς δὲν ἔχομεν πίστιν Κορέσση καὶ Γενναδίου καὶ Συμεὼν καὶ Συρίγου, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ὅποῦ μᾶς τὴν ἐξήγησαν οἱ Θεοφόροι πατέρες καὶ διδάσκαλοι. Καὶ ἔχομεν τὰς παραγγελίας τους, νὰ μὴ τολμῶμεν νὰ μεταλλάξωμεν οὐδὲ λέξιν, οὐδὲ νοήμα.⁷³

I demonstrate my views from the Church Fathers. Let us see from where he [Dositheos] demonstrates his views. Our faith is not that of Koressios, Gennadios, Symeon and Syrigos, but the faith that the God-

⁷³ This quotation, along with several others, is based on secondary publications, because the primary sources were not accessible to me. In this case the text taken from the private correspondence of Karyophylles is quoted after Ioan Dură, *Ὁ Δοσίθεος Τερροσολύμων καὶ ἡ προσφορά αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς Ρουμανικὰς Χώρας* (Athens: s.n., 1977) (Henceforth, Ioan Dură, *Ὁ Δοσίθεος Τερροσολύμων*).

bearing Fathers and doctors have explained us. And they have commended us not to dare to change either any word or any concept.

The theologians whom Karyophylles mentions are Georgios Koressios (d. after 1659),⁷⁴ Gennadios Scholarios (1405-1472),⁷⁵ Symeon of Thessaloniki (d. 1419) and Meletios Syrigos. The objection against them was that they were more recent authors and, thus, less reliable than the Church Fathers. Apparently, Patriarch Dositheos had quoted all these authors in the discussion. This confirms the identification of Symeon with the hesychast author Symeon of Thessaloniki, because Dositheos also supported the *editio princeps* of his works⁷⁶ as he also supported the edition of Koressios. So here a situation is evident when contending groups among the Orthodox, who were referring to different authorities, also cared about publishing the works of these authorities.

It was at the time of this internal controversy over the terms used for the Eucharist that Patriarch Dositheos published the the double volume of 1690.⁷⁷ Here, one finds two important references to the PD – one by Meletios Syrigos and another written by Dositheos. Although published together, these references were written at different times. For this reason they are treated here separately.

⁷⁴ BH III, 255-272; Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 244-250. Platon Rodokanakis, *Δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Γεωργίου Κορεσσίου τοῦ Χίου* (Athens: s.n, 1872); Konstantinos Amantos, “Γεώργιος Κορέσιος,” *Ἀθηνᾶ* 46 (1935): 191-204. Koressios’ treatise in question is entitled: *Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*. It was incorporated by Patriarch Dositheos in *Τόμος καταλλαγῆς*.

⁷⁵ More on Scholarios, including a detailed bibliography see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 123-129; Θεόδωρος Ζήσης, *Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος. Βίος, Συγγράμματα, Διδασκαλία*, *Analecta Vlatadon* 30 (Thessaloniki: Πατρ. Ἰδρυμα Πατερ. Μελετῶν, 1980).

⁷⁶ Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Κατὰ αἰρέσεων καὶ περὶ τῆς μόνης ὁρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως. Τῶν τε ἱερῶν τελετῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάλογος* (Cetatzuia, 1683) BHellén. 578. BRV I, 81, pp. 273-275. For a modern edition of Symeon of Thessaloniki works see David Balfour, *Politico-historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)*, *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 13 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

⁷⁷ See above, note 71.

Meletios Syrigos refers to the PD: connection with transsubstantiation

In 1641, the Moldavian ruler Basile Lupu (1595-1661) convoked a Synod in Jassy. The aim of the Synod was to develop a unanimous position in the Orthodox Church against the advancing propaganda of Protestantism and to condemn the Calvinising tinges in the *Confession* of Lukaris. The first reference to the PD came in relation to this Synod and was authored by Meletios Syrigos,⁷⁸ a religious adviser to Basile Lupu and perhaps the most educated opponent of Kyrillos Lukaris. Syrigos participated in the Synod of Jassy as a representative of the Constantinopolitan patriarch and translated the famous Confession of Moghila⁷⁹ from Latin into Greek. Meletios refuted the Calvinist *Confession* of Lukaris article by article. Being among the most educated men of his time, it comes as no surprise that he knew and quoted the PD. However, he quoted a part of the anthology which has not received attention by modern scholars.

This reference is in connection to chapter 17 of Kyrillos, “in which is rejected the actual presence of the Lord and the transformation of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of the Lord.” Syrigos totally refuted Lukaris’ *Confession* using traditional argumentation divided in two sections – *Scripturae*, arguments from the Bible, and *Patres* -- arguments from the Patristic tradition. In this exposition, Syrigos showed his thorough knowledge of the authors of the Patristic heritage. However, he also used some sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which will be analyzed in detail in a separate chapter. The testimonies from the Church Fathers are grouped into generations, with each generation

⁷⁸ For the bibliography of Syrigos see Podskalsky, 271-278. On the writings of Syrigos in connection with the Synod of Jassy Constantin Erbiceanu, “Scriserea lui Meletie Sirig contra calvinilor și a lui Ciril Lucaris, compusă prin ordinul sinodului ținut la Iași 1642.” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 18 (1894-1895): 6-27; Aurelio Palmieri, “La Storia, la Data e il Valore Simbolico del Sinodo di Jassy (1642),” *Bessarione* 8 (1910-1911): 16-33.

⁷⁹ For details on the context see Alexandru Elian, “Contribuția Grecească la ‘Mărturisirea Ortodoxă,’” *Balkania* 5 (1946): 80-135. The connections of Peter Moghila to the Danubian Principalities are discussed in Matei Cazacu, “Pierre Mogyla (Petru Movilă) et la Roumanie: essai historique et bibliographique,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Special Issue, The Kiev Mohyla Academy, Commemorating the 350th anniversary of its funding* (1632) 13, 1\2 (1984): 188-221.

counted as lasting for one hundred years. Thus, the authors of the first generation included Ignatios of Antioch and Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite. The account finished with the fifteenth generation, represented by Meletios, patriarch of Jerusalem, Maximos Margounios (circa 1549-1602), and Gabriel of Philadelphia (1541-1616).⁸⁰

In the twelfth generation, that is to say, the twelfth-century, Syrigos referred to Zyghadenos and Salomon of Gaza. What follows is a quotation of the whole entry concerning the activities of the court theologian of Alexios Komnenos. Syrigos began his account with a quotation from the *Commentaria in sacrosancta quattuor Christi Evangelia*,⁸¹ another work by Zyghadenos.

Γενεὰ δυοκαιδεκάτη ἀπὸ τοὺς ας' ἕως ατ' χρόνους τῆς σωτηρίας

Ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοὺς χρόνους τούτους ἤκμασεν ἓνας κάποιος
Εὐθύμιος Ζυγαβηνός, ἄνθρωπος ἐλλογιμώτατος ὁ ὅποιος λέγει
τέτοιας λογῆς εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μαθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, εἰς τὸ κς·
κεφάλαιον. δὲν εἶπε ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ σημάδια τοῦ σώματός μου, καὶ
τοῦ αἵματός μου, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα εἶναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μου, καὶ μετ'
ὀλίγα· καθὼς ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐθέωσε τὴν σάρκα ὅπου ἐπῆρεν· ἂν
πρέπει νὰ λέγωμεν οὕτως ἐθέωσε. διατὶ δὲν τὴν ἔκαμε θεὸν κατὰ
φύσιν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀρρήτως εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ
ζωοποιόν του σῶμα.

καὶ εἰς Πανοπλίαν του, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ κα· δείχνει πλατύτερον ἀπὸ
τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας, ἡγουν τὸν Γρηγόριον Νύσσης, καὶ τὸν
Δαμασκηνὸν Ἰωάννην, τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, εἰς

⁸⁰ Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 188-206; Polychrones Enepekides, "Maximos Margunios an Deutsche und Italienische Humanisten," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 10 (1961): 93-145. For Gabriel of Philadelphia see Dimitris Apostolopoulos, *Gavriil Seviros, arcivescovo di Filadelfia a Venezia, e la sua epoca: atti della Giornata di studio dedicata alla memoria di Manussos Manussacas, Venezia, 26 settembre 2003* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2004).

⁸¹ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentaria in sacrosancta quattuor Christi Evangelia ex Chrysostomi aliorumque veterum scriptis magna ex parte collecta* (Paris: apud Joannem Roigny, 1544). Consulted at the Central University Library of KULeuven. Available in PG 129 cols. 112-1502.

σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ. διατὶ τότε ἤρχισε νὰ γροικᾶται καὶ εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀνατολῆς ἢ αἵρεσία τοῦ Βερεγκαρίου. ἡ ὁποία ἤρχισε μὲν νὰ γεννῆται εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τοὺς χιλίους πεννήντα χρόνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμὴ τότε βλαστάνουσα καὶ κλάδους εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους του, ἔπεμπεν ἕως καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὴν ὁσμὴν τοῦ θανάτου. καὶ ἡ ἀντίθετος ἐκείνου γλῶσσα καὶ παμμίαρος, ποτὲ ἔλεγε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ νὰ μὴν εἶναι εἰς τὴν εὐχαριστίαν. ἔξω καθὼς εἶναι τὸ σημαινόμενον εἰς τὸ σημεῖον του. καὶ ὁ εἰκονιζόμενος ζωντανὸς ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὴν ἄψυχόν του εἰκόνα καὶ ποτὲ πῶς νὰ εἶναι ἀληθῶς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος νὰ ἀπομείνουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τους φύσιν. ὥστε νὰ εἶναι καὶ ἄρτος καὶ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὁποῖαν ταύτην ὑστέραν γνώμην τὴν ἐδιαδέχθησαν οἱ ἀπὸ Λουτέρου ὀνομασθέντες, καὶ ἐκάμασιν τὴν ἰδίον τους δόγμα. καὶ ἕως τὴν σήμερον τὸ κρατοῦσι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὁποῦ ἦσαν εἰς τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους, ἐμεταχειρίζονταν, πλέον φανεραῖς λέξεσι, ὅταν ἐθέλασι νὰ φανερώσουσι τὸ μυστήριον. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ μεταγενέστεροι διὰ νὰ ἀνατρέπουσι τὰς ἀσεβεῖς γνώμας καὶ λέξεις τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἐκείνων.

The twelfth generation, from the year 1200 to the year 1300.

During this time flourished a certain Zygabenos, a most educated man, who says the following in his commentary on chapter 26 of the Gospel according to Matthew. "He did not say, these are the signs of my body and my blood, but "these are my body and blood." And a little further: 'Just as He above nature deified the flesh, which He took on (if it is right to say "deified," given that He did not make the flesh God according to nature), so also the other things pertaining to his life-giving body are also beyond words.

And also in the *Armoury*, in Chapter 21, he [Zygabenos] demonstrates extensively from the Holy Fathers, namely from Gregory of Nyssa and John Damascene, the transformation of the bread and the wine into the body and the blood of Christ, because it was at that time that the heresy of Berengar even started to be heard in the land of Greece and the Orient. By then, this heresy, which started in Italy beginning with the year 1050 of Christ, indeed grew its branches in the followers of Berengar and sent even to us its deadly smell. And his [that is, Berengar's] opposing and all-defiled tongue sometimes said that the Body of Christ is not present in the Eucharist, unless so as the signified is in its sign and a depicted living man is in his inanimate image, and sometimes he said that the body of the Lord is in truth in the Eucharist, but so that, nevertheless, the bread and the wine remain in their own natures, so that it is [at the same time] bread and the Body of Christ. This latter opinion was that which was inherited by those named after Luther and they made this teaching their own, maintaining it until today. Because of this, the Fathers who were living at that time used clearer expressions when they wanted to explain the sacrament and so also the later Fathers, in order to refute the impious opinions and words of those heretics.⁸²

Interestingly, what Syrigos presents here as Berengar's view on the Eucharist, is closer to the Orthodox tradition of *synousiosis*, that is, the real presence of the body and blood of the Lord in the Eucharist without the destruction or disappearance of the substance of the bread and wine.⁸³ In fact, it was Syrigos and Dositheos who supported the Western

⁸² The quotation follows the edition (BRV I, 90, p. 301) kept in the library of RAS, 134.

⁸³ See Edward Yarnold, "Transubstantiation," In: *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy: Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation*, eds. István Perczel, Réka Forrai and György Geréby (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006): 381-394. (Henceforth: Edward Yarnold, "Transubstantiation," *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy*.)

tradition of the transubstantiation. Be this as it may, at first sight this account adds one more heresy to those refuted by the PD, coeval in date to its compilation. The concept that a part of the PD may be related to the teachings of Berengar is a brilliant invention that matches the chronological frame and, thus, presents the PD as also refuting a heresy of the Western Church that was contemporary with the compilation, by Constantinopolitan theologians, of the anthology made for Emperor Alexios I. However, the early manuscripts of the PD which I was able to consult do not attest such a chapter, that is to say, the entry 25 in vol. 130 of PG entitled *Περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, καὶ περὶ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματος*, is not a separate entry in these manuscripts.⁸⁴ This might be a later development in the contents of the anthology or even an addition by the editors of the Tîrgoviște edition. In a later section of the present study I will treat the manuscripts used for the Tîrgoviște edition. Editorial alterations, or accepting variants different from the early manuscripts, were splitting the chapter against the Paulicians (chapter 24 in the earlier manuscripts and chapter 25 in the Tîrgoviște edition) and rearranging part of the Patristic material so that it formed a separate chapter (chapter 25. *On the Baptism, the Body and Blood of Christ and the Cross*, col. 1244 in the PG).

The account of Berengar seems to fit the chronological framework, but the Byzantine counterpart to which Syrigos is alluding is much more problematic. In fact he seems to refer to a later dogmatic controversy, during the time of Manuel I Komnenos,⁸⁵ in which Soterikhos Panteugenos Deacon of the Great Church in Constantinople and candidate for the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, presented a kind of sign theory, to a certain extent similar to

⁸⁴ I have consulted the following codices Vat. Gr. 666; Vat. Gr. 668; Vat. Palatin. 200; Patmos 103; Parisinus Gr. 1232 A.

⁸⁵ Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

that of Berengar, to explain the Eucharistic mystery.⁸⁶ Syrigos also relied on traditions coming from the Catholic theologians who presented the Protestants as successors of Berengar in order to show that they were offshoots of an old heresy.⁸⁷ In fact, he followed, rearranged and interpreted the ideas of the prominent theologians of the Catholic Reformation. Indeed for us the important conclusion is that the idea of Byzantine offshoots of Berengar's teachings being refuted by the PD already anticipates some characteristics of the future Tîrgoviște edition of the PD. These imaginary correlations established by Syrigos bring one closer to an understanding of the reasons why this anthology was published by Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century. Apparently, one of their main aims was to fight, through a similar effort, the contemporary Eastern "offshoots" of Berengar's and Panteugenos' heresy, namely, the views of Patriarch Lukaris, Korydalleus, and Karyophylles, which they believed to be derived from the post-Berengarian Western heresies of Luther and Calvin. Berengar himself was also often mentioned in other writings of Syrigos and other contemporary theologians.⁸⁸ This kind of "modernization" of the PD's contents was not restricted to its chapter on the Eucharist. Other sections refuting the views of the iconoclasts and those of the twelfth-century dualist heresies were also considered as appropriate for fighting against Calvinism infiltrating the Orthodox tradition. From all the Patristic texts included in the PD, Meletios is referring only to Gregory of Nyssa and John Damascene, both of whom, and especially the Damascene, had already been referred to by the Catholics in their fight with the Protestants.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ The teaching of Panteugenos was condemned at two Constantinopolitan synods held in 1156 and 1157. See John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), 40.

⁸⁷ For the historical and theological background of the Komnenian period after Alexios I see Evelyne Patlagean, "L'Église grecque de 1123 à 1204. Ouvertures et résistances," *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, ed. Jean Marie Mayeur, vol. 5 (Paris: Desclée Fayard, 1993), 329-347.

⁸⁸ Nikolaos Tzirakes, *Ἡ περὶ μετουσιώσεως (transsubstantiatio) εὐχαριστικὴ ἔρις* (Athens: Christinakes, 1977).

⁸⁹ This theme on the usage of John Damascene and the Greek Church Fathers in the Catholic Reformation deserves attention on its own. See Mariaros Cortesi (ed.), *I Padri sotto il torchio*.

An interpretation of the PD by Patriarch Dositheos

The second reference to the PD comes from the text of the Orthodox Confession of Patriarch Dositheos, prepared in 1672. This was the year when the restless patriarch organized a council in Jerusalem and ostentatiously commemorated the event with the renovation of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which had recently been taken from the Catholics. The council is known as the “Council of Jerusalem”, but it started in Bethlehem, in the Church of the Nativity. This synod is considered a major event in the ecclesiastic history and theology of the seventeenth century. The seventy-one bishops and clerics who gathered in Bethlehem and Jerusalem condemned the Confession of Lukaris. The council fathers also accepted the *Confession* of Dositheos. The same *Confession* was published for a third time in the *Tomos* of 1690.

In the internal conflict among the Orthodox over the term μετουσίωσις Patriarch Dositheos had to prove his views on the basis of the Patristic tradition. In this third edition of his Confession he elaborated the article about the ancient Orthodox tradition on the basis of the text on the same subject written by Meletios Syrigos referred to earlier in this chapter, which divides the Orthodox tradition in twelve hundred-year generations. In this edition Dositheos altered the text of the original Confession, augmenting it with more evidence from the Church Fathers. In this new elaboration he also made reference to Berengar and the PD. Here I provide the exact reference with a translation.⁹⁰

Κεφάλαιον β'

Ἐπειδὴ ἐμνήσθημεν τοῦ Βερεγγαρίου, χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς
βασιλείας Ἰσαακίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, περίπου τὰ ἀνὴ' ἔτη τῆς

⁹⁰ The Confession of Patriarch Dositheos has seen numerous editions, carefully presented together with the text by Joannis Karmiris. Ὁμολογία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Πίστεως τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Δοσιθέου (Athens: s.n., 1949). The latest edition of the text dates from 1983 (Ekdotikos Oikos Vas. Regopulou: Thessaloniki, 1983).

σωτηρίας, ἣν ὁ Βερεγγάριος οὗτος ἀρχιδιάκονος Ἰταλικῆς τινος ἐκκλησίας, ὃς ἀνανεῶν τὴν τῆς ἐπὶ Κοπρωνύμου εἰκονομαχικῆς συνόδου κατὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου βλασφημίαν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος εἰσὶ μόνον τύπος ψιλὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου. Καὶ γενομένης συνόδου μεγάλης τῶν δυτικῶν ἐπὶ Νικολάου πάπα Ῥώμης τοῦ δευτέρου, ἀνεθεμάτισαν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ δόγμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθ' ἑξῆς εἰς διαφόρους συνόδους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἔτει ασιε' εἰς ἀρχαῖον ναὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, Λατεράνο λεγόμενον, τὸ τοιοῦτον δόγμα διὰ πάσης ὥς εἰπεῖν τῆς δυτικῆς συνόδου ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἐπόμενοι τῇ Γραφῇ, τοῖς πατράσι καὶ τῇ οἰκουμενικῇ ἀγία ἐβδόμῃ συνόδῳ, εἰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀπάδοντα εἰπεῖν ἐκείνη ἡ σύνοδος.

Chapter two

Because we have mentioned Berengar, it should be known that during the reign of Isaak Komnenos, around the year 1058, this Berengar was an archdeacon of a certain church in Italy, who, renewing the blasphemy against the <Eucharistic> mystery of the Iconoclast Synod held under the Kopronymos, said that the bread and the wine are a mere sign of the Body and Blood of the Lord.⁹¹ And when at the time of Pope Nicholas II of Rome a great Synod of the westerners was convoked, they condemned Berengar and his teaching and later he was condemned by different synods and, especially in the year 1215 in the old church of Rome called Lateran, they anathematised this teaching, so to say, <through the authority> of the entire western Synod following the Scriptures, the Fathers and the holy Seventh

⁹¹

Dositheos refers here to the Council of Hiereia under Constantine V, held in 754.

Ecumenical Council, even if, in some other matters, the same Synod declared unbefitting things.⁹²

Κεφάλαιον γ'

Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἔτει α'πα', Βασίλειός τις, ἀρχηγὸς γενόμενος τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Βογομίλων, πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ βλασφημίαις, ἐπόμενος Ἐβιωναίοις, Μανιχαίοις καὶ Μεσσαλιανοῖς, ἐβλασφήμει καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ ἀγιότητα καὶ μεταβολήν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀλέξιος, σύνοδον ποιήσας τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, τὸ μὲν δόγμα ἀνεθεμάτισε, τὸν δὲ Βασίλειον κατέκαυσεν εἰς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον ζῶντα. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μυστηρίου ἐπέτρεψεν Εὐθυμίῳ τῷ Ζυγαβινῷ, ἵνα εἴπῃ τὰ πρόσφορα, ὅστις συνέγραψεν εἰς τὴν δογματικὴν του πανοπλίαν ὁλόκληρα τὰ περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου ῥητὰ Γρηγορίου Νύσσης καὶ τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, ἅτινα παρίστησι τὴν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ πραγματικὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου.

Chapter three

In the time of Alexios Komnenos, who was reigning in the year 1081, a certain Basil who was the leader of the heresy of the Bogomils, besides other blasphemies of his in which he followed the Ebionites, the Manichees and the Messalians, also blasphemed against the sacrament and the transformation of the <Eucharistic> mystery. However, Alexios, having convoked a Synod of the bishops and the senators,

⁹² Dositheos refers here to the Fourth Lateran Council, which, among others, adopted a resolution “against the Greeks,” so that, in this council some “unbefitting things” were declared. Though the Constitutions of the Council do not mention the name of Berengar and his heresy is not being condemned, indeed this was the first official council to adopt the dogma of the Transubstantiation. This move was not, as Dositheos holds, against Berengar’s followers, but against the Albigensians. See: Edward Yarnold, “Transubstantiation,” *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy*.

made this teaching condemned and also made Basil to be burnt alive in the Hippodrome. As for the sacrament, he commissioned Euthymios Zygabinos to say whatever <he would find> convenient, who compiled in his Dogmatic Armoury everything which Gregory of Nyssa and John Damascene had said about the Mystery, which show that in the sacrament there is a true transformation of the bread and wine into the true Body and Blood of the Lord.

Continuation of the internal conflict among the Orthodox.

Notwithstanding Dositheos' criticisms, Karyophylles did not change his position and kept on insisting that his arguments were based on the Patristic tradition. In a letter to Khrysanthos Notaras, nephew of Dositheos and future patriarch of Jerusalem,⁹³ Karyophylles firmly stands by his arguments.

Ἑσεῖς νεωτεροποιεῖτε, καὶ τὰ κεκριμένα πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀρίτος κινεῖτε, θέλοντες νὰ ματαιοπονήτε, νὰ συγγράφητε ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐκθέσεις πίστεως, ὥσάν νὰ ἔμεινεν ἡ Ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλησία εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας σας ἐνδεής, ἄπορος, καὶ ἀφίκετε τὰς λέξεις ὅπου ἐμεταχειρίσθησαν οἱ ἅγιοι διδάσκαλοι εἰς ἄμυδρὰν κατανόησιν περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας, ἀφοῦ ἐστάθη ἡ εὐσέβεια μέχρι τοῦδε καὶ διδάσκετε μετουσίωσιν, καὶ κάμνετε ἀπορίας πῶς γίνεται καὶ πῶς κατασκευάζεται. Καὶ ἀφίνοντας τὰ ὅσα λέγουν οἱ ἱεροὶ θεολόγοι, διὰ νὰ μὴ κάμνωμεν ἔρευναν εἰς τὰ κεκρυμμένα μυστήρια, ἐρευνᾶτε καὶ γράφετε. Ἵσως καὶ δὲν ἀναγινώσκετε, ἀμὴ καὶ δὲν ἀνεγνώσατε τὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου, “εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιζητεῖς πῶς

⁹³ Later on Khrysanthos Notaras became a key figure in the publication of the PD. A monograph on him is written by Penelope Stathe, *Χρύσανθος Νοταράς, Πατριάρχης Τεροσολύμων· πρόδρομος τοῦ Νεοελληνικοῦ διαφωτισμοῦ* (Athens: Syndesmos ton en Athēnais Megaloscholiton, 1999) (Henceforth: Penelope Stathe, *Χρύσανθος Νοταράς*).

γίνεται, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν γινώσκομεν". Λοιπὸν ἐσεῖς κινεῖτε καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖτε ὅπου ἐβαλθήκατε νὰ μάθετε πῶς γίνεται, καὶ δέχεσθε τὰς φλυαρίας ὅλας τῶν δυτικῶν εἰς τὸ ὑπερφυῆς τοῦτο μυστήριον μετὰ τῆς ἀλλοκότου λέξεως μετουσίωσις, ὅπου οὐδεὶς τῶν ἁγίων διδασκάλων τὴν ἀνέφερεν ὡς ἀνοίκειον εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου μυστηρίου.⁹⁴

You are introducing novelties, you reopen issues decided many years ago, wishing to do useless work, writing confessions and expositions of faith, as if the Eastern Church had remained in your days needy and helpless. You have abandoned the terms which the Holy Teachers used for a dim understanding concerning the mystery of the Holy Communion, from which the religion was established up the present day, you teach transubstantiation and are asking questions about how it happens and how it is made. Disregarding whatever the holy theologians had said about not to make inquiry into the hidden mysteries, you are inquiring and writing <about them>. Perhaps you are not reading, as indeed you have not read the words of the holy Damascene in <his chapter> about this Sacrament "but if you inquire in what way it happens, it is enough for you to hear that <it happens> through the Holy Spirit and we know nothing more."⁹⁵ However, now you are stirring up and innovating, because you have decided to learn how it happens, and you accept all the gossips of the Westerners on this supernatural mystery, together with the odd expression μετουσίωσις, which none of the Holy Teachers have mentioned,

⁹⁴ Quotation after Ioan Dură, *Ὁ Δοσίθεος Τερροσολύμων*, 140-141.

⁹⁵ John Damascene, *Expositio Fidei*, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 12, ed. Bonifatius Kotter (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 86, IV, 13, 194-195 (Henceforth: John Damascene, *Expositio Fidei*).

because it is inappropriate for <expressing> the transformation of this holy mystery.

The *Tetradion* of Karyophylles was condemned by the Synod in 1691. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy of the same year Patriarch Dositheos tore apart an exemplar of the *Tetradion*. Karyophylles was violently expelled from the Church and beaten by Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1641-1709), who was at that time *megas dragoumanos* (translator and foreign minister) of the Sublime Porte.⁹⁶

Karyophylles took refuge in the court of Constantine Brîncoveanu. In Bucharest Karyophylles had friendly connections with a group opposing Dositheos. This group included Anthimos the Iberian (1650-1715)⁹⁷ and Constantine Kantakouzenos (circa 1650-1716), uncle and initial supporter of Constantine Brîncoveanu who later competed with him. The former patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysios IV,⁹⁸ also belonged to the same circle.

On 22 September 1692 Karyophylles passed away in Bucharest. This did not prevent Dositheos from publishing a treatise against Karyophylles in which he ascribed the typical features of every heretic to his enemy. This book, published in Jassy in 1694, came out just two years after the death of Karyophylles.⁹⁹

Dositheos recalls the following episode of the trial:

⁹⁶ Among the basic studies on Mavrocordatos' family see Émile Legrand, *Généalogie des Maurocordato de Constantinople, rédigée d'après des document inédits* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1900); Alexandre Sturdza, *L'Europe Orientale et le rôle historique des Maurocordato (1660-1830)* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1913); Konstantinos Amantos, *Tà γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν 1566-1822* (Athens: Karabias, 1976); Konstantinos Demaras, "Alexandre Mavrocordato, Machiavel et Le Rochefoucauld," *La Grèce au Temps des Lumières* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1969); Nestor Camariano, *Alexandre Mavrocordato, le Grand Drogman. Son activité diplomatique, 1673-1709* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies 1970).

⁹⁷ Athimos the Iberian was a key figure for the book printing activities in the Principalities. A study on him together with a bibliography has been provided by Gabriel Ștrempel, *Antim Ivireanu* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 1997).

⁹⁸ Because of the internal struggles among the Orthodox parties, Dionysios IV was five times Patriarch of Constantinople (1671 November 8- 1673 August 14), (1676 July 29- 1679 July 29, in place until Aug 2), (1682 July 30 - 1684 March 10), (1686 March - 1687 October 12), (1693 August- 1694 April).

⁹⁹ *Εγχειρίδιον κατὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλη*. Iași, 1694. BHellén. III 661. BRV I, 97, p. 337-338. On Karyophylles and the Synod of 1691 see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 305-311.

Πάλιν λέγοντές του οἱ πιστοὶ “διατί δὲν πείθεσαι εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ δόξαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου διδάσκει περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν;” ὁ Καρυοφύλλης ἀπεκρίνετο· ἀνάθεμα τὸν ὅπου δὲν ὑποτάσσεται εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐννόει δὲ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν Σίμωνα, τὸν Βασιλείδην, τοὺς Γνωστικούς, τὸν Μαρκίωνα, τὸν Ἐβίωνα, τὸν Μανιχαῖον, τοὺς Μασσαλιάνους, τοὺς Βογομίλους, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου εἰς τὴν Βλαχέρνον τῶν Εἰκονομάχων σύνοδον, τὸν Βερεγκάριον, τὸν Καλβῖνον, τὸν Λούτερον, τὸν Λούκαριν, τὸν Κορυδαλέα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν του, καὶ τοὺς ὁπαδοὺς αὐτοῦ.¹⁰⁰

Once more the faithful asked him [Karyophylles]: “why don’t you believe in the teaching and the dogma of the Catholic Church, which teaches the whole truth on this Sacrament?” Karyophylles answered “Anathema to whoever is not obedient to the teaching of the Catholic Church.” However, by Catholic Church he meant Simon, Basileides, the Gnostics, Markion, Ebion, Mani, the Messalians, the Bogomils, the Synod of the Iconoclasts in Blachernae during the time of the Kopronymos, Berengar, Calvin, Luther, Lukaris, Korydalleus, himself and his companions.

Here, Patriarch Dositheos is presenting an established genealogy of all heretical movements which, invariably, begins with the legendary predecessor of every heresy, Simon Magus. He is providing the same imaginary correlations between Eastern and Western heretics which already noted in Syrigos’ text and mentioned earlier in this chapter. In order to clear the name of their friend, the group around Anthimos the Iberian published the

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BHellén. III 661, p. 35.

disputed *Tetradion* under the title Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τινῶν ἀποριῶν καὶ λύσεων in 1697.¹⁰¹

The idea to publish the PD arose around 1692 and was initiated by Patriarch Dositheos. Paradoxically, he thought that this anthology supported his own views. In reality, the PD supports Karyophylles because the Church Fathers quoted in the PD nowhere refer the term μετουσίωσις. Moreover, the quotation from John Damascene which Karyophylles used as an argument is present in the PD itself!

Σῶμά ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἡνωμένον θεότητι, τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου σῶμα, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀναληφθὲν¹⁰² ἐξ οὐρανῶν κατέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος μεταποιεῖται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα θεοῦ. Εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιζητεῖς, πῶς γίνεται, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἐαυτῷ ὁ κύριος σάρκα ὑπέστησατο· καὶ πλεον οὐδὲν γινώσκομεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀληθῆς καὶ ἐνεργῆς ἐστι καὶ παντοδύναμος, ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἀνεξερεύνητος.¹⁰³

The Body is truly united to the divinity, the Body from the Holy Virgin, not that this assumed body is taken from heavens but the very bread and the wine are transformed into God's Body and Blood. If you enquire how this happens, it is enough for you to know that it happens through the Holy Spirit, in the same way as the Lord has created flesh for Himself and in Himself from the holy Mother of God though the Holy Spirit. And we know nothing more, but that "the

¹⁰¹ BHellén. III 673.

¹⁰² τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀναληφθὲν in PD

¹⁰³ PG 130, col. 1269 B. The same text in the critical edition of Damascene's works - John Damascene, *Expositio Fidei*, ch. 86, IV, 13, line 96-101, pp. 194-195.

word of God is" true "and efficient" (Heb 4:1) and omnipotent, but the way it works is not possible to examine.

The conflict between Dositheos and Karyophylles over the patristic legacy attracted attention to the PD. For different reasons the edition itself came eighteen years later. In the year of the publication, that is, 1710, both opponents had already passed away and their enmity was soon forgotten. Thus, the edition of the PD became something different from the initial plans. When it was published it was much less a piece of polemics than a tribute by the next patriarch of Jerusalem, Chysanthos Notaras, to his predecessor, Dositheos. To understand this, one has to turn to Dositheos' failed plans to publish the PD in Russia.

PLANS FOR PUBLICATION IN RUSSIA WHICH NEVER CAME TRUE

One episode in the history of the Greek *editio princeps* of the PD happened in Russia. This episode confirms that the edition of the PD was an endeavor of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, even though their names are not directly mentioned in any part of the printed text from the year 1710. Even if the edition of the PD in Russia never came true, it still remained an important stage in the prehistory of the publication. In this section I will focus on details of the failed project to print the PD and on the manuscripts that were to be used for the edition. In order to do so, the viewpoint of my investigation will move from the Romanian Principalities to the Russian Empire, especially in the context of Patriarch Nikon's reforms and the changes under Peter the Great.¹⁰⁴ On Russian soil one can see two recurring patterns concerning the PD. The interest in the anthology surfaced again at the juncture between manuscript culture and printing. Yet again the PD was involved in the problem of the Byzantine legacy and the way it was accepted or rejected during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

After the visit of the Jeremiah II Tranos, patriarch of Constantinople, (patriarch for intermittent periods 1557-1559; 1580-1584; 1587-1595) to Moscow, the political connections between Russia and the Eastern Patriarchs became stronger.¹⁰⁵ The Eastern Orthodox patriarchs, clergy, and laymen often regarded the Russian tsars as the only powerful rulers that could take the place of the Byzantine emperor and restore the traditional balance in the Orthodox Church with both patriarch and emperor.

¹⁰⁴ Ekkehard Kraft, *Moskaus Griechisches Jahrhundert, Russisch-Griechische Beziehungen und Metabyzantinischer Einfluss 1619-1694* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995).

¹⁰⁵ Nikolai Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* (Sergiev Poasd, 1914; repr. The Hague: Mouton, 1968) (Henceforth: Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii*).

In the words of Kapterev “an especially great deal of advice on different occasions was given to the Russian government by a man who was among its most active and zealous agents – the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos, who unceasingly served the interests of Russia for more than thirty years.”¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Patriarch Dositheos kept intense contacts with Moscow; as his wide-ranging correspondence is partly preserved, one is able to form an image of these contacts. Among others, Dositheos’ correspondence includes a letter from the patriarch requesting Tsar Peter the Great to support the printing of a collection of Greek polemical manuscripts.¹⁰⁷ In 1692 Khrysanthos Notaras arrived in Moscow carrying eleven printed books as a present to the tsar together with eighteen Greek manuscripts to be printed in Russia. Among the selected MSS was also a fourteenth-century copy of the PD – currently held in Gosudarstvenyi Istoricheskij Muzej under the call number (GIM) 226.

Details concerning the whole plan of Dositheos have been carefully studied by Boris Fonkič, who consulted the manuscripts and documents available in Russia. The plan for the publication of the whole anti-polemic corpus was established by Patriarch Dositheos. It is preserved in an official document, prepared by the Russian foreign ministry, for the actual delivery of the manuscripts.¹⁰⁸ The list of the manuscripts to be printed provides the authentic background against which the edition of the PD should be viewed. Dositheos planned to publish an exhaustive collection of Byzantine and post-Byzantine authors committed to

¹⁰⁶ Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii*, 300. Kapterev has dedicated another study to the connections of Patriarch Dositheos with Moscow. Nikolai Kapterev, *Snoshenija ierusalimskago Patriarcha Dosifeja s Russkim Praviteľstvom (1669-1707)* (Moscow: 1891) (Henceforth: Kapterev, *Snoshenija ierusalimskago Patriarcha Dosifeja*) I have not been able to consult this study.

¹⁰⁷ The letter was published by Kapterev, *Snoshenija ierusalimskago patriarcha Dosifeja*, 104. The original of this letter had been quoted by Fonkič in the following way: Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Arhiv Drevnyih Actov, f. 52, op. 1, 7201 g., delo № 4, ll. 192-194.

For the attempt to establish printing press in Russia see Boris Fonkič, “Μία απόπειρα ἱδρύσεως ἑλληνικοῦ τυπογραφείου στὴ Μόσχα στὰ τέλη τοῦ 17ου αἰώνα,” In: *Το έντυπο ελληνικό βιβλίο 15ος-19ος αιώνας. Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου, Δελφοί 16-20 Μαΐου, 2001*, eds. Triantaphyllos Sklavenitis and Konstantinos Staikos (Athens: Kotinos, 2004), 195-204.

¹⁰⁸ The document is preserved only in Russian translation - Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Arhiv Drevnyih Actov, f. 52, op.1, 7201g., delo № 4, ll. 165-176. The document was first published in Nikolai Kapterev, *Snoshenija ierusalimskago patriarcha Dosifeja s russkim pravitel'stvom (1669-1707)* (Moscow: 1891), 100-104. The same document is published for a second time by Boris Fonkič, “Ierusalimskij patriarch Dosifej i ego rukopisi v Moskve,” *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 29 (1969): 290-294.

theological polemics. The comprehensiveness of the list shows that Dositheos planned to create a modern *Panoply* based on similar principles to the polemic anthologies of the Byzantine tradition. The PD was one of these anthologies and its inclusion shows that it was appreciated as an example coming from ancient times.

Initially, the request of Patriarch Dositheos was favorably accepted in Russia. On the 3 April 1693 the Russian authorities issued an order (*ukaz*) to establish a Greek printing press. Khrysanthos Notaras started to prepare the first manuscript for publication. This was a huge anti-Latin corpus (GIM 250), compiled from texts available in the Metochion in Constantinople with the rich library of the patriarchs of Jerusalem. From the marginal notes left by Khrysanthos and Dositheos on this MS, it is apparent that the first polemic book was supposed to contain excerpts refuting the Catholics. The list also shows that a small fragment of the PD was to be published as part of this larger collection. Apart from this, Patriarch Dositheos also wanted to see the whole PD published, as is evident from the list he prepared.¹⁰⁹

However, in 1694 Khrysanthos was summoned to Walachia. The Greek men of letters who were active in Russia, the Leikhoudes brothers – Ioannikios (1633-1717) and Sophronios (1652-1730)¹¹⁰ -- were supposed to take care of the publications, but their relations with Patriarch Dositheos were getting worse. In 1697 the Russian Patriarch Adrian (1690-1700) informed Dositheos that the newly established printing presses in Moscow were ready. However, the printing of these books never started.¹¹¹ In 1700 Patriarch Adrian passed away and Peter the Great did not nominate a successor to him, but designated Stefan Yavorskij (1658-1722) as the temporary head of the Russian Church.

¹⁰⁹ Details on all these MSS are provided in Boris Fonkič, “Ierusalimskij patriarch Dosifej i ego rukopisi v Moskve,” *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 29 (1969): 290-294.

¹¹⁰ Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 350-355.

¹¹¹ In fact, Demetrakopoulos has published some polemic works by Zacharias of Mytilene, Nikolaos of Methone, Eustratios of Nicea and Johannes Phurnes on the basis of some of the manuscripts which Patriarch Dositheos has sent to Russia. See Andronikos Demetrakopoulos, *Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1. Leipzig, 1866 (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965).

Apparently, the project to gain the support of Moscow failed because Russia was going in a different direction. It was not the *Dogmatica* but the *Arithmetica* (1703) by Leontij Filippovich Magnitskij which became one of the most famous books of the early Petrine age. The PD was present in Russia, but did not receive much attention. This case highlights the fact that the mere presence of manuscripts does not necessarily involve their having any influence.

Dositheos and Khrysanthos now had to find a new place for their printing project. After a long eighteen-year preparatory period the edition of the PD was realized in the Principality of Walachia. Patriarch Dositheos never saw the anthology go to print because he passed away three years before the publication. The new patriarch of Jerusalem, Khrysanthos Notaras, undoubtedly stood behind the final publication. Patriarch Khrysanthos seems to have supported the editions of the PD and the famous *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*¹¹² as tribute to his restless predecessor, Spiritual Father and close blood relative, Dositheos.

It can be seen from the list of manuscripts published by Fonkič that initially the PD was one of the last texts to be published in Moscow. Even so, it was finally chosen to be published in Romania. The movement of the PD upwards in the list has a logical explanation. The project of Russia was designed by Patriarch Dositheos, who made the first selection. The MS of the PD sent for publication to Russia – GIM 226 -- has the ownership mark of Khrysanthos Notaras. Becoming patriarch of Jerusalem himself, Khrysanthos made a further selection of the texts which he found most suitable and deserving to be published in the principalities. In this way the PD took priority. This adds a certain value to the anthology, being chosen to be published among the great number of Byzantine and post-Byzantine polemic works. It shows that it perfectly fitted the goals of the Orthodox to answer their

¹¹² This important book will be treated later in detail.

opponents at the time. The inherent flexibility that the contents provided was appreciated and could be used on a variety of occasions.

THE TÎRGOVIȘTE EDITION OF 1710

Princely patronage for the PD -- the Voievods of the Romanian Principalities as new defenders of Orthodoxy

When the patriarch of Jerusalem saw that the printing of their books in Russia would never happen, he turned again to the Romanian Principalities. Equally talented as theologian and historian, Dositheos elaborated on the influences of Byzantium on the tradition of rulership in the Romanian principalities. Indeed, the Byzantine influence on this tradition was visible on many levels – the annouement of the ruler, the titles which he used and the symbols of his power – the extent and importance of this influence, however, is still disputed among scholars.¹¹³

Patriarch Dositheos fully accepted the connection between the Byzantine tradition in rulership and the the Principalities. He fashioned the rulers of Walachia in the traditional role of the Emperor as a defender of Orthodoxy. Already in the *Tomos* of 1690,¹¹⁴ cited above, Dositheos presented the rulers of Walachia and Moldova as direct heirs of the Byzantine tradition in the battle against heresy. This account is important for understanding that the princes of the Principalities took the role of Byzantine emperors as commissioners of anti-

¹¹³ On the Byzantine political legacy in the Romanian Principalities see Andrei Pippidi, *Tradiția Politică Bizantină*; Idem, “L’ Homélie prononcée par Étienne Cantacuzène, prince de Valachie (1716),” In *L'Empereur hagiographe: Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine / textes réunis et présentés par Petre Guran; avec la collaboration de Bernard Flusin* (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2001), 281-293; Idem, *Byzantins, ottomans, roumains: Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006). For a comprehensive summary on the question see also Stelian Brezeanu, “L’idée impériale byzantine et les Principautés Roumaines aux XIVe-XVe siècles,” *Dopo le due cadute di Costantinopoli (1204, 1453): eredi ideologici di Bisanzio: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 4-5 dicembre 2006*, eds. Marina Koumanoudi and Chryssa Maltezou (Henceforth: *Dopo le due cadute di Costantinopoli*, eds. M. Koumanoudi and Ch. Maltezou) (Venezia: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2008), 173-199; Marie Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, “Influences byzantines sur l’idéologie politique des États Balkaniques médiévaux (XIIe-XVIIe s.).” In: *Dopo le due cadute di Costantinopoli*, eds. M. Koumanoudi and Ch. Maltezou), 185-199.

¹¹⁴ Meletios Syrigos and Dositheos Notaras, *Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων.... κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας*. Bhellén II 632.BRV I, 90, see note 71.

heretic books and the PD itself. What did the patriarch write in the solemn dedication of the volume to Constantine Brîncoveanu, ruler of Walachia, about the responsibilities of the Orthodox ruler?

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατόν - ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη¹¹⁵- ἐγένοντο ἐν μὲν τῷ πάλαι λαῷ ψευδοπροφηταί, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ εἰσέφερησαν [εἰσφέρησαν] ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρείσαξαν αἰρέσεις ἀπωλείας, τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι (cf. 2 Pt 2:1), καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξηκολούθησαν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀπωλείαις· καί γε δι' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας παρὰ πολλῶν ἐβλασφημήθη (cf. Rm 2:24). Ὁ ἔκδικος ὅμως τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας Θεὸς, διττὰ ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης ἀνέστησεν εἰς κατάλυσιν τῆς αἰρετικῆς ὁφρύος, τοὺς μὲν διδασκάλους τῆς ἐκκλησίας δηλονότι νὰ ἀποκορακίζωσι τὸ ψεῦδος μὲ ταῖς ἀγίαις συνόδοις καὶ μὲ τὰ συγγράμματά των, τοὺς δὲ ὀρθοδόξους ἀρχηγοὺς νὰ τὰ βεβαιώνουν. Ὅθεν οἱ εὐσεβέστατοι αὐτοκράτορες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἤθροισαν τὰς ἀγίας συνόδους, ἵνα διορίσωσι περὶ τῶν ἀναφυνέντων ἀμφισβητήσεων, ἐβεβαίωσαν δὲ τὰ διορισθέντα μὲ σάκραις, μὲ εἰδικτα, μὲ ἐπιστολάς, μὲ διαταγὰς καὶ μὲ ἄλλους ἀγῶνας. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, τὸ μίγμα τῶν αἰρέσεων, τὴν ἀσέβειαν λέγω τοῦ Καλυίνου, ἐθεάτρισε καὶ κατήσχυνεν ὁ μακαρίτης Βασίλειος βοεβόδας, σύνοδον ἀθροίσας εἰς Γιάσιον, καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὸν μακαρίτην Μελέτιον Συρίγον ἵνα συγγράψῃ τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον εἰς παντελεῖ ἐξουδένωσιν αὐτῆς. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐχρειάσθη εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν νῦν ἡ ἔκδοσις του διὰ ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας, ἔμεινεν ἔργον τῆς σῆς ἐκλαμπρότητος καὶ

¹¹⁵ Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 176A.

να τὸ φέρῃς εἰς φῶς, βάνωντάς το εἰς τύπον, καὶ να τὸ διαφεντεύῃς, παρέχων αὐτὸ δωρεὰν τῇ καθόλου ἐκκλησίᾳ.¹¹⁶

But since it is not possible that the evil should disappear, for it is necessary that there be always something opposite to the good, *so in the old people there were pseudo-prophets and also false teachers crept into the Church, who introduced pernicious heresies, disowning the very Master who bought them, reneguing the Lord who has redeemed them* and many followed their perdition. *In fact, because of them the way of truth was blasphemed by many.* However, God, who is the avenger of the just and of the truth, has provided two weapons of justice to dissolve the heretical pride: on the one hand, the doctors of the church, in order that they may eradicate the lie by the holy councils and their own writings; on the other hand, the Orthodox rulers in order to confirm all these. Hence, for this very reason the pious Emperors convoked the Holy Councils, in order to decide on the arising controversies, and they confirmed these decisions with imperial rescripts, with edicts, with letters, with orders and other efforts. In our times, the blessed Voevod Basile exposed and put to shame the mixed heresy, I mean Calvin's impiety, when he convoked a council in Jassy and commissioned the blessed Meletios Syrigos to write the present book for a final annihilation of this heresy. And given that now, for compelling reasons, the Church needed the publication of this work, it was incumbent upon your Illustriousness to bring it to light sending it to the press, and to sponsor it giving it as a present to the universal Church.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ BH I, p. 462.

¹¹⁷ BRV I, 90, p. 301.

The parallel with Alexios I Komnenos, who commissioned his theologian Zyghadenos to compile the PD as a final refutation of the Bogomil heresy, might appear plausible and yet farfetched had Dositheos not continued his address. Further, he claimed that Constantine Brîncoveanu's stand against heresy was a logical continuation of the deeds of his noble ancestors from the line of his mother -- the imperial families of the Komnenoi and the Kantakouzenoi.¹¹⁸ He mentions five rulers as predecessors of the ruler: Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), Johannes II Komnenos (1118-1143), Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), Johannes Kantakouzenos (1341-1376), Mathaios Kantakouzenos (1353-1355).

As founding father of the dynasty and forerunner of Constantine Brîncoveanu, Dositheos mentions none other than Emperor Alexios I, whom he says fought *par excellence* (διαφόρως) for the faith. He lists feats of his prowess in defense of the Orthodox faith. In this list, right after the well-known episode of Basil the Bogomil¹¹⁹ being burned in the hippodrome of Constantinople, Dositheos continues that Alexios I also:

Ἐπρόσταξεν Εὐθύμιον τὸν Ζυγαβηνὸν, καὶ συνέγραψεν κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων τὴν δογματικὴν πανοπλίαν, τὸ ὠραιότατον βιβλίον ὅπου νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Commissioned Euthymios Zyghadenos to compile the Dogmatic Armoury against each heresy, which is the most beautiful book that is there in the Church.¹²⁰

Patriarch Dositheos did not stop here but continued listing the subsequent rulers through whom Brîncoveanu claimed blood-relationship, summarizing their religious policy.

¹¹⁸ The relation between Brîncoveanu and the Komnenoi was made through Kantakouzenos, using the maternal line of the prince.

¹¹⁹ The account of Anna Komnene see in *Anna Comnena, Alexias*, 15, VIII, 1 – 15, IX, 1. 485-489.

¹²⁰ BRV I, 90, p. 302.

Clearly, the parallels between the Komnenoi and the voevods of the Danubian Principalities did not occur by chance.¹²¹ It was a general trend for these rulers to search for and emphasize their genealogical connections with the old aristocratic dynasties of Byzantium. The same quest was also reflected in the choice of Byzantine symbols in the coats of arms of the Walachian Principality at the time.¹²² Patriarch Dositheos adds another facet in the same direction when fashioning the ruler in the traditional role of Byzantine emperor as Champions of Orthodoxy. In two steps Patriarch Dositheos made a “brilliant invention” of a way to connect the family of the Kantakouzenoi,¹²³ from whom the Walachian ruler was descended, with the dynasty of the Komnenoi. The first step was in the year 1688, when the patriarch connected the ancestry of the ruler to John Kanthakouzenos, duke of Thrace “around 1225”. Two years later, in the above quoted preface to the edition of Meletios Syrigos, Dositheos connects the family of the Kantakouzenoi to the Komnenoi in order to legitimize the usurpation of John VI, but confusing his father with a man bearing the same name, who, five generations earlier, was married to a niece of Manuel I Komnenos.¹²⁴ Thus, we see that the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who commissioned the PD, came to be viewed as an ancestor of the family of the ruler Constantine Brîncoveanu.

¹²¹ For other examples of patronage of the rulers of the Romanian Principalities see Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains: Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIVe siècle à 1654*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 227 (Roma: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1986) (henceforth: Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*).

¹²² Andrei Pippidi, “L’ordre constantinien et les généalogies byzantines,” *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 3 (1997); Idem, “Fables, bagatelles et impertinences” Autour de certaines généalogies byzantines des XVIe – XVIIe siècles,” *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines* 1 (1979): 269-305; Dan Ionescu, “Șerban Cantacuzène et la restauration byzantine. Un idéal à travers ses images,” *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines* 1 (1979): 239-267; Idem, “Ideal and Representation. The Ideal of Restoration of the Byzantine Empire during the Reign of Șerban Cantacuzino, 1678-1688,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1974): 523-535.

¹²³ Donald Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460: a Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Washington (D.C.): Dumbarton Oaks center for Byzantine studies, 1968).

¹²⁴ For a detailed study see the works of Andrei Pippidi indicated above in note 122.

Patriarch Dositheos deliberately repeated one statement twice in the text. All those imperial predecessors of Brîncoveanu were commemorated in the Synodicon of Orthodoxy¹²⁵ because they acted not only with political but also with ecclesiastical power (αὐτοκράτορες, βασιλεῖς - ἀρχιερεῖς) in the footsteps of Constantine the Great.¹²⁶

Dositheos is also famous for his passionate, sometimes over-heated, defense of Orthodoxy. Thus, one might ask how far his testimony is valuable evidence for the PD or whether it was just an image created by the zealous patriarch who aimed to flatter the prince while pursuing his own agenda. Probably both answers are correct. Indeed, Dositheos would have uttered the same flattery to the rulers of Russia had they shown interest in publishing his Greek anti-heretic collection. On the other hand, Constantine Brîncoveanu did truly belong to the Kantakouzenoi family on his maternal side.

The previous rulers of the Principalities had already claimed Byzantine heritage. A telling case is the Moldavian ruler Basile Lupu, who was indeed presented as a defender of Orthodoxy at the Synod of Jassy and whose religious advisor was none other than Meletios Syrigos. Iorga concluded that Lupu “had reached and even superseded the Byzantine Emperors”.¹²⁷ Among the most telling examples is the letter of the representatives of the Synod of Jassy to Basile Lupu, in which the ruler was called “defender of the Church and true destroyer of heresies”.¹²⁸ In the quoted passage Patriarch Dositheos does not hesitate to

¹²⁵ For the text of the Synodikon of Orthodoxy see Jean Gouillard, “Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967): 1-316.

¹²⁶ Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πέντε οὗτοι αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον βασιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, καθ’ ὃν τρόπον ἡ ἐκκλησία ψάλλει περὶ τοῦ ἱσαποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου· καθότι μὲν Ἀλέξιος ἡγωνίσθη διαφόρως ὑπὲρ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. See BRV I, 90, p. 302. On the topic see Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre: Étude sur le “Césaropapisme” Byzantin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

¹²⁷ More on Basile Lupu also in Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium* (Iasi : Center for Romanian Studies, 2000): 163-164, 168-169; Dumitru Năstase, “L’ idée impériale dans les pays roumains et “Le crypto-empire chrétien” sous la domination ottomane. État et importance du problème,” *Σύμμεκτα* 4 (1982): 201-250.

¹²⁸ Ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὸ σύνθημα δέδωκεν ὁ Κύριος τοῦ εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ πρόμαχον καὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων γενναῖον καταλύτην, σὲ μόνον ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡγεμόνων ὡς εὐχρηστον αὐτῷ ἐκλεξάμενος. BRV I, 90, 313.

interpret events exactly in this light. He placed the commission of anti-heretical books among the duties of an Orthodox ruler, be he the Byzantine emperor Alexios I, the Moldavian ruler Basile Lupu, or Constantine Brîncoveanu, prince of Walachia.

The failure to publish the PD in Russia and the success in the Principalities is proof of an observation made by Dimitri Obolensky in *The Byzantine Commonwealth*. According to Obolensky, the idea that Russia was an heir of Byzantium was not dominant at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but rather the ideal of the country was to become “Second Kyevan Rus”.¹²⁹ The rulers of the Romanian principalities were those who claimed the Byzantine legacy. Thus, one “modernized” *Panoplia Dogmatike*, with its old chapters being read against new enemies, was prepared under the patronage of a “modern” ruler and defender of Orthodoxy.

The Title of the Edition

The Tîrgoviște edition of the PD¹³⁰ is carried out in the established tradition of book printing in the Romanian Principalities at the time. The title page is framed by a beautiful floral engraving.¹³¹ Here I present the title as it is attested in the copy kept nowadays in the Romanian Academy of Science. This copy of the PD seems to have preserved the original binding of black leather with a cross of gold on the front and floral decorations on both sides of the cover.

¹²⁹ Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982).

¹³⁰ The PD is described by Legrand in BH I, 69, pp. 95-96. I have consulted the copy at RAS, Bucharest, and the Gennadius Library, Athens. The description in the BH I has two minor omissions from the title page. The re-print in PG 130 renders the title correctly.

¹³¹ On the art of decoration in the Romanian Principalities and the technical accomplishment of the early prints see Anna Andreescu, *Arta Cărții: Cartea Românească în Secolele XVI-XVII: Ilustrație și Ornament în Cartea Veche Românească de la Vasile Lupu și până la Matei Basarab* (București: Editura Integral, 1997), Idem, *Arta Cărții: Cartea Românească veche 1508-1700* (București: Univers Enciclopedic, 2002).

ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ
ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΝΙΝΟΥ

Περιέχουσα ἐν συνόψει
τὰ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ θεοφόροις πατράσι συγγραφέντα, εἰς τάξιν δὲ καὶ
διεσκεμμένην
ἁρμονίαν παρὰ Εὐθυμίου Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ζιγαδινοῦ τεθέντα

Ἐπὶ ἀνατροπῇ καὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων δογμάτων τε καὶ
διδαγμάτων τῶν ἀθέων Αἵρεσιαρχῶν¹³², τῶν κακῶς¹³³ κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς αὐτῶν
Θεολογίας λυττησάντων,

Ἀφιερωθεῖσα

Ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐσεβεστάτου, Ὑψηλοτάτου, καὶ Θεοστέπτου Αὐθέντου καὶ
Ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου
Ἰωάννου Κωνσταντίνου Μπασσαράμπα
Βοεβόδα τοῦ Μπραγκοβάνου.

Τῷ ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ
Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Στεφάνῳ Βοεβόδα
τῷ Μπραγκοβάνῳ.

Παρὰ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Δρύστρας Κυρίου Κυρίου
Ἀθανασίου,
Οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασι νῦν πρῶτον τετύπεται.

Παρὰ τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ, Λογιωτάτῳ καὶ θεοπροβλήτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ
Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Ἀνθίμῳ
τῷ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας,

Ἐπιμελεία καὶ διορθώσει Μητροφάνους ἱερομονάχου Γρηγορᾶ τοῦ ἐκ Δωδώνης.

Ἐν τῇ Ἀγιωτάτῃ Μητροπόλει τῇ ἐν τῷ τῆς Οὐγγροβλαχίας Τεργοβύστῳ,

Ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Θεογονίας Χιλιοστῷ Ἑπτακοσιοστῷ Δεκάτῳ,
Κατὰ Μῆνα Μάιον.

¹³² τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων Αἵρεσιαρχῶν in BH I

¹³³ κακῶς] κακῶν in BH I

PANOPLIA DOGMATIKE
OF EMPEROR ALEXIOS KOMNENOS

Containing in a resume the writings of the blessed and God-bearing Fathers,
Put in order and reasoned harmony
By the monk Euthymios Zigadinos

For the refutation and destruction of the most impious doctrines and
Teachings of the ungodly heresiarchs, who have fought, in an evil manner,
Against the sacred theology of the Fathers,

Dedicated

To the Most Pious, Highest and God-crowned Ruler and
Prince of all Ungrovlachia Kyr Kyr
John Constantine Basarab
Brincoveanu Voivod

To his illustrious and most wise Son,
Kyr Kyr Stephan Brincoveanu
Voivod,

By the Most Holy and Most Erudite Metropolitan of Drystra
Kyr Kyr Athanasios
By whose expenses it has now been printed for the first time,

By the Most Holy, Most Erudite and God-chosen Metropolitan
Of Ungrovlachia Kyr Kyr Anthimos
From Georgia,

Under the cares and editing of Hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras
From Dodone.

In the Most Holy Metropolia that is in Tîrgoviște
of Ungrovlachia

In the year 1710 from the Birth of God¹³⁴
In the Month of May

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Θεογονία was originally a pagan expression for the genealogy of the Greek gods from each other, it is also the title of the famous mythological work of Hesiod. It was Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite who applied the term to the Son's eternal birth from the Father (cf. Pseudo-Dionysios, DN I, 5, p. 128, 10 [Suchla]; Ep IX, 1, 18 [Ritter]. Before him, Christian authors used the expression only with contempt. However, even after the "avantgarde" innovation of Pseudo-Dionysios, it still needed a long period of dogmatic and stylistic developments until the term could be used, as it was done here, for the Incarnation. This term used here, together with the Theaetetus citation of the previously cited letter of Dositheos (see our note 115), shows well the classicizing tendencies of those times.

It was a custom at that time that all books printed in Walachia pay homage to the ruler, Prince Constantine Brîncoveanu (1689-1714), and the Metropolitan of Walachia – Anthimos the Iberian (1650-1715).¹³⁵ The edition also mentions one of the sons of Brîncoveanu – Steven. Apparently, Athanasios, the metropolitan of Silistra, provided money for the publication. The man directly responsible for the quality of the published text is mentioned in the last place – Hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone.

The second page of the Tîrgoviște edition is occupied by the coat of arms of Constantine Brîncoveanu and a dedicatory poem to him.

Πρὸς τὸν ἐκλαμπρότατον, εὐσεβέστατον καὶ γαληνότατον αὐθέντην,
καὶ ἡγεμόνα πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κύριον Κύριον, Ἰωάννην
Κωνσταντῖνον Βασσαράβαν Βοεβόδαν τὸν Μπραγκοβᾶνον.

Ἡγεμόνων κλέος, εὐσεβέων αὐχημά γε θεῖον
Κωνσταντῖνε Μουσῶν κοίρανε, Φρουρὲ νόμων
Ἀντωπῆσαι νῦν τίς ποτε αἷς ἀρεταῖς περ ἱκανοῖ[ς],
Οὐ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀτρεκτῶς εἰς φάος ἦλθε καλὸν.
Εἰς ἐτέων ἀμέλει σε θεοὶ φρουροίη ἐλίξεις
θώκῳ εἶν [sic] σφετέρῳ ἰδρυμένον πολέας.
Ἀντώνιος ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει σχολῆς,
καὶ λογοθέτης γενικοῦ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας

The next pages are occupied by an address by Athanasios of Silistra to the ruler of Walachia, Constantine Brîncoveanu. Then follow other short contemporary verses of dedication written by people associated with the patriarchal school in Constantinople. As in a

¹³⁵

Anthimos was already mentioned in note 97.

dyptich, after these came the opening pages of the PD from the twelfth century with the original dedicatory verses and the address to Emperor Alexios Komnenos.¹³⁶

An investigation of the Tîrgoviște edition of the PD should start with the man who worked on the text as editor -- Hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone.

Metrophanes Gregoras – hieromonk, adventurer and editor

Metrophanes Gregoras was born in Dodone, northern Greece, somewhere around 1630.¹³⁷ He was a man of notable personality, mentioned in several accounts of his contemporaries. In analyzing these accounts, however, it should be noticed that there were at least two other Metrophanes living at this time in the Romanian Principalities. Metrophanes, the bishop of Buzau, was also a well-known editor, and Metrophanes of Nyssa, the confessor of Brîncoveanu who became Metropolitan of Ungrovlachia after the death of his predecessor, Anthimos the Iberian.¹³⁸

Demetrios Prokopios provided the following brief description which perfectly fits what one would expect from the editor of a monumental book like the PD.

Μητροφάνης Γρηγοῤῃς Δοδωναῖος ἱερομόναχος, ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος,
εἰδήμων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου, πεπαιδευμένος τὴν τε θύραθεν,
καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερὰν παιδείαν, ποιητῆς καὶ ἱεροκέρυξ·
ἀναγινώσκει καὶ μελετᾷ τὰς θείας γραφάς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων
τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερὰ συγγράμματα.

¹³⁶ Short description on Athanasius and the edition in Athanasios Karathanassis, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες Λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία* (1670-1714) (Thessaloniki: Ἴδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἴμου, 1972) (Henceforth: Karathanassis, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες Λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία*), 143-144.

¹³⁷ Most of the bibliographical references to Metrophanes were collected by G. P. Kournoutos, *Ἡ Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου εἰς τὴν Τυπογραφίαν τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου*, *Θεολογία* 24 (1953): 250-273 (Henceforth: Kournoutos, *Ἡ Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου*).

¹³⁸ Karathanassis, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες Λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία*.

Hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone, an erudite man, proficient in the Greek language, educated both in secular learning and in our sacred education, poet and preacher; he reads and studies the divine Scriptures and the holy writings of the Church Fathers.¹³⁹

A first-hand testimony comes also from the contemporary Greek historian Constantine Daponte, who recalled a meeting with Metrophanes, who was already old and burdened with years.

Όταν δεκαεπτὰ ἢ δεκαοκτῶ χρονῶν ὄντας εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐγώ, ὑπῆγα εἰς Βουκουρέστι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἑπτακοσίους τριάντα τὸν Ἰούλιον, ἀυθεντεύοντας ὁ Μιχάλβοδας Ρακοβίτζας ὁ Μπόγδανος, δέκα μῆνας ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὸ μεγάλο ζορπαλίκι τοῦ ζορμπάμπαση Πατρῶνα, ὁποῦ κατέβασε τὸν Σουλτὰν Ἀημέτ, καὶ ἀνέβασε τὸν Σουλτὰν Μαχμούτ· τότε ἐγνώρισα τὸν Μητροφάνη, τὸν ἐσυναναστρέφηκα, καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ μὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἦτον ἑκατὸν τεσσάρων χρονῶν, καὶ ἐπέρασε καιρὸς καὶ ἐτελειώθη.

When I was eighteen or nineteen years of age, I went to Bucharest in June 1730, when Mihail Racoviță Bogdan was a ruler, ten months after the great upheaval of Zorbabashi Patrona, who deposed Sultan Ahmed and imposed Sultan Mahmud; then I got to know Metrophanes, talked with him and he told me that he was hundred and four years; not a long time afterwards, he passed away.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Demetrios Prokopios, “Περὶ Λογίων Γραικῶν, Ἐπιτετμημένη Ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν Παρελθόντα Αἰῶνα Λογίων Γραικῶν καὶ περὶ τινων ἐν τῷ νῦν Αἰῶνι Ἀνθούντων,” In *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* vol. 3, ed. Constantinus Sathas (Venice:1872), 501-502. (repr. Hildesheim - New York: Georg Olms, 1972).

¹⁴⁰ Kaisarios Daponte, “Ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων,” *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* vol. 3, ed. Constantinus Sathas (repr. Hildesheim - New York: Georg Olms, 1972), 113-119. Daponte provides one letter, several poems and also list of the other works of Metrophanes. (Henceforth: Kaisarios Daponte, *Ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος*).

The upheaval in question is known as the uprising of Patrona Halil which deposed Ahmed III (1673-1736) and imposed Sultan Mahmud I (1696-1754).

Daponte also provided a list of the services to Saints, written by Metrophanes, several verses (including one on the dangerous charms of love), and a letter to Nikolaos Mavrokordatos,¹⁴¹ in which Metrophanes explained that due to sickness he had not been able to write verses in a book by Nikolaos.

Our editor not only reached a patriarchal age but also lived an adventurous life. Among the events in his life was a miracle that took place on the eve of the Feast of St Demetrios in 1687.¹⁴² In a first hand narrative, Metrophanes described that the Patriarch of Constantinople Jakobos (in what must have been his third term as Patriarch between 1687-1688) sent him on a mission to Macedonia together with some younger companions, in a turbulent time of power struggles in Constantinople. Suddenly awakened at midnight, Metrophanes and his companions were dragged to a prison and accused of being Austrian spies, aiming to betray the region to the Austrians. When the local judge saw the patriarchal seal, he refused to pass any judgment saying that there was not enough evidence. The accusers rushed into the neighbouring villages and gathered around fourteen people who were ready to give false testimony. Thus, in less than twenty-four hours Metrophanes found himself condemned to die. The future editor of the PD recalled this last night of his life:

Καὶ θερμότερον προσηυχόμεν, ταῖς τῶν δακρύων μου ῥοαῖς τὴν
γῆν καταβρέχων. ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν μεγίστων σου θαυμασίων, Χριστὲ, καὶ
τῆς ἀρρήτου σου δόξης καὶ παρουσίας σου, ἧς ἔλαχον παρὰ σοῦ οἱ
ἅγιοί σου καὶ ἐξαιρέτως ὁ πανεύδοξός σου μάρτυς Δημήτριος·
προσευχομένῳ οὖν καὶ ἀγωνιῶντι μοι, αὐτοῦ περὶ μέσας νύκτας

¹⁴¹ Kaisarios Daponte, *Ιστορικὸς κατάλογος*, 113-119.

¹⁴² Georgios Ioannou Zaviras, *Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν Θέατρον*, ed. Tasos Gritsopoulos (Athens: Hetaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1972), 441 (Henceforth: Zaviras, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*).

ἐφ' ἵππου κοκκίνου βαθυχρόου, ὁ θεῖος ἐφάνη Δημήτριος
στεφηφορῶν, ὁ μετὰ τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην ἐμὸς δεσπότης καὶ εἶπε
μου· “Μὴ φοβοῦ Μητρόφανες, ἰδοὺ σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ σοῦ
νεανίσκοις ὁ θεὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἁγίου
διέτεινα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὸν ἐναγκαλίσασθαι, ὁ δὲ ἄφαντος ἐγένετο.”

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And I started praying more warmly, watering the ground with the
floats of my tears. But o, your great miracles, Christ, and your
ineffable glory and advent, which your Saints have obtained from you,
and especially your most glorious martyr Demetrios! While I was
praying in agony, there, around midnight, appeared to me on a purple
horse, the crown-bearing divine Demetrios, my lord after our common
Lord, and said to me: “ Fear not, Metrophanes, for God has granted
life to you and to your young companions.” And as the Saint was
talking, I stretched my hands to embrace him, but he disappeared.

Later, Metrophanes recalls that a happy end followed – a certain man came, unlocked
the cell, and brought a horse; Metrophanes and his young companions were saved in the night
before the Feast of St. Demetrios. As a token of gratitude Metrophanes later wrote a service
to St. Demetrios.¹⁴⁴

This story is composed of common motifs and shows another facet of the reality of
contemporary life. Apparently, the editor was describing a vision of St. Demetrios as he had
seen him on an icon, riding a purple horse.¹⁴⁵ The allegations that he was a spy for Austria
can be explained by the war between the Ottoman Empire and Austria (1682-1699), with the
second siege of Vienna in 1683, and the final peace of Sremski Karlovci (Karlovit, Karlóca)

¹⁴³ Zaviras, *Νέα Ελλάς*, 441.

¹⁴⁴ Kaisarios Daponte, *Ιστορικὸς κατάλογος*, 113-119.

¹⁴⁵ On questions related with this problem see Gilbert Dagron, *Décrire et peindre: Essai sur le portrait iconique* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007).

in 1699. In the year in question – 1687 – the Ottomans lost Eger and the second battle of Mohacs to Austria. The internal problems of the empire mentioned in the account fit well with the chronology because in this year Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687) was deposed and Süleyman II (1687-1691) came to power. The mission on which Patriarch Jakobos sent Metrophanes to Macedonia remains enigmatic, however. The list of the patriarchs of Constantinople shows that Jakobos and Dionysios IV the Muslim replaced each other on the patriarchal throne three times.¹⁴⁶ Apparently there was a certain division and power struggle in Constantinople in which Metrophanes was involved, probably on the side of Jakobos.

As mentioned above in this chapter, when Karyophylles fled from Constantinople to Bucharest in 1692, his friend, the deposed Patriarch Dionysios IV, had already, in a similar way, escaped from his enemies in Constantinople. Being connected to Patriarch Jakobos, Metrophanes is not saying a word on who might have denounced him to the Ottoman authorities.¹⁴⁷

The important historical events of the time had repercussions on the life of Metrophanes and the abundant material, which also includes some interesting letters, contains material for a micro-history on the life in the Ottoman Empire as presented by this educated Greek monk. Such a task will not be attempted here, except for a few details.

A picture of Metrophanes is provided by Nikolaos Mavrokordatos (1670-1730), the Great Dragoman to the Sublime Porte (1697-1709) and the first Phanariot Hospodar of the

¹⁴⁶ Podskalsky provides the following chronology on the Patriarchs of Constantinople based on the Julian calendar. Jakobos (10th of August, 1679-30th of July, 1682; Dionysios IV Mouselimes (30th of July, 1682 – 10th of March, 1684); Parthenios IV (10th of March , 1684 – 20th of March, 1685); Jakobos (20th of March, 1685 – end of March, 1686); Dionysios IV Mouselimes (end of March, 1686 – 12th of October, 1687); Jakobos (12th of October, 1687- 3rd of March 1688). If the chronology of the text of Metrophanes is correct, then he must have been sent to Macedonia in the first days of the third appointment of Jakobos as Patriarch. Dates after Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 497-498.

¹⁴⁷ It is possible that records of the period might reveal more information on the events. For the moment, it was not possible for me to consult the letters to Patriarch Dositheos by Dionysios IV The Muslim which are published in: Ἐπιστολαί τοῦ Ἀδριανουπόλεως Νεοφύτου καὶ Λαρίσσης Διονυσίου ... πρὸς τὸν μακαριώτατον ἡμῶν αὐθέντην καὶ δεσπότην [Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem], In: Kleophas Koikulides, *Κατάλοιπα χειρογράφων Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης* (Jerusalem: 1899).

Romanian principalities (hospodar of Moldavia from 1711, of Walachia from 1715). Mavrokordatos knew Metrophanes personally and recalled meeting him in Istanbul. In the capital of the Ottoman Empire Metrophanes constantly drank wine, played table [the game] and gossiped amid a mist of tobacco smoke from his ever-lighted cigarette. Mavrokordatos even wrote a treatise “Against Tobacco”, which Metrophanes answered with a parallel work entitled “A Treatise in Defense of Tobacco”. Mavrokordatos replied with another treatise, “Against Tobacco.”¹⁴⁸

As a man of letters, Metrophanes had a library and MSS bear his name as their owner.¹⁴⁹ A MS preserves his *ex libris* -- appended to a text by Korydalleus – together with a brief historical note on his years of service to the Grand Vizier (the highest minister of the sultan) Köprülü Mustafa (son of Mehmed) (1689-1691).

Spending the last period of his life in Walachia, Metrophanes witnessed the tumultuous years which followed the execution of Constantine Brîncoveanu and his four sons by janissaries in Constantinople (1714). He wrote a short chronicle describing the downfall of Brîncoveanu and the rule of Stephanos Kantakouzenos (1714-1715) followed by the accession of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos (1715-1716).¹⁵⁰ The chronicle was dedicated to the next ruler and son of Nikolaos, Joannes Mavrokordatos (1716-1719).

Above all, however, Metrophanes is mostly known as an editor. For the period 1705-1715 (or 1721) he edited seven books in Walachia -- all of them in Greek -- differing in content, but all of an ecclesiastical character and in most cases with his own verses of

¹⁴⁸ Comprehensive information on the life of Metrophanes with all sources, including the accounts by Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, was collected by Demostene Russo, “Mitrofan Grigoraș Cronica Țării Românești (1714-1716),” *Revista Istorică Română* 4 (1934): 1-43; the same text was reprinted in Demostene Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române, Opere postume*, vol. 2, eds. Nestor Camariano, Ariadna Camariano, Constantin Giurescu (Bucharest: 1932), 409-462.

¹⁴⁹ Reference to this MS is provided in the excellent article on Metrophanes by Kournoutos, Ἡ Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου, 250-273. The MS with the *ex-libris* is described by Linos Politis, “Χειρόγραφα μοναστηριῶν Αἰγίου καὶ Καλαβρύτων,” *Ελληνικά* 11 (1939): 89. The second MS with Metrophanes’ *ex libris* is actually kept in Xeropotamou: Εὐδοκίμου Ξηροποταμηνοῦ, Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου (Thessaloniki, 1932), 81.

¹⁵⁰ See note 148.

dedication. As an editor, Metrophanes was in the printing team of Anthimos the Iberian, the greatest hero of book printing at that time, who made contributions reaching far beyond the confines of the Romanian Principalities. Undoubtedly, Metrophanes knew Anthimos personally and even wrote a service to St. Anthimos at his request.¹⁵¹ Anthimos quickly advanced in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and, because he did not wish to abandon book printing, moved his printing activities to the locations of his new appointments. Following the displacements of Anthimos,¹⁵² Metrophanes worked as an editor in Bucharest, Rîmnic, and Tîrgoviște. A close examination of the books which Metrophanes edited reflects the changes which happened around 1710, after the appointment of Anthimos as metropolitan of Ungrovlachia. The new metropolitan fought with the patriarch of Jerusalem, Khrysanthos Notaras, over the possession of the monasteries in the Principalities which were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁵³ Metrophanes took Khrysanthos' side and edited his last two books under the patronage of the patriarch of Jerusalem. A review of the books edited by Metrophanes can be of help in better understanding the edition of the PD and its context. These books will be presented here with short notes on the historical background and connection, if any, to the PD. Such a detailed approach, however, might yield a distorted view of Metrophanes and exaggerate his role in the Romanian Principalities. In order to be honest, it will be necessary to emphasize that as a man who was highly professional and precise in his work, he was one among the well educated experts who contributed to book printing at the time. His task was described as ἐπιμελεία καὶ διορθώσει – “under the care and editing”, implying that he was responsible both for the technical side and the quality of the editions.

¹⁵¹ Kaisarios Daponte, *Ιστορικὸς κατάλογος*), 113-119.

¹⁵² Anthimos the Iberian came to Walachia in 1689 or 1690. He was appointed a superior of Snagov Monastery. In 1705 he became bishop of Rîmnic, from 1708 until his death in 1715 he was Metropolitan of Walachia. The metropolitan city of Walachia was Tîrgoviște.

¹⁵³ The Romanian Principalities had close connections with Month Athos as well. On the topic see Petre Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*.

4.3.1 The Service to Saint Bessarion, Bucharest, 1705

The first book of Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone was published on the 2 April 1705 in Bucharest. It contained the *Service to Saint Bessarion*.¹⁵⁴ St. Bessarion, bishop of Larissa (circa 1490-1540), was a very important saint because of his miracles averting plague.¹⁵⁵ Not accidentally, the book had several reprints.¹⁵⁶ At first sight, a service to a saint cannot be connected in any way to the belligerent spirit of anti-heretic anthologies such as the PD. Nonetheless, the common editor of the volumes is not the only connection among these books. It is enough to read the epigram on page 26, dedicated by Metrophanes to St. Bessarion and probably referring to a case of *furta sacra*, theft of relics. The epigram for St. Bessarion reads as follows:

Μητροφάνους κατὰ τῶν ἱεροσύλων παπιστῶν.
Βησσαρίωνος δυσθέοις κλυτὸν δέμας
ληστής παπίσταις ἀμπεπώλει χρυσίου·
μένει δ' ἡ κρὰς εὐσεβείας τροφίμοις
τὸ στερρὸν ἡμῖν δογμάτων ἐκκλησίας
τῆς καθολικῆς θαυμάτων δι' ἀφθόνων
κυροῦσα πιστοῖς φιλεόρτοις τε σφόδρα.

<Poem> of Metrophanes against the sacrilegious Papists

A robber sold for gold to the godless Papists

the glorious body of Bessarion.

but his head remains here for those who are nourished on piety

¹⁵⁴ Ακολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βησσαρίωνος, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης τοῦ Θαυμαστοῦ (Bucharest: 1705) BRV 148 p.463.

¹⁵⁵ Radu Păun, “Reliques et pouvoir au XVIIIe siècle roumain. Le dossier de problème,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 1-4, 2001 (2002): 63-73. Also, Demetrios Sophianos, “Ὁ ἅγιος Βησσαρίων Μητροπολίτης Λαρίσης (1527-1540) καὶ κτίτορας τῆς Μονῆς Διονυσίου,” *Ἀνέκδοτα ἀγιολογικὰ καὶ ἄλλα κείμενα, μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ νέα Ἑλληνικὰ* 4 (1992): 196-204.

¹⁵⁶ Émile Legrand is referring to reprints from the years 1744, 1759, 1797 and 1800. See BRV I, 148.

confirming the strength of the doctrines
of the Universal Church through abundant miracles
to us the faithful, who celebrate the feasts of the saints.¹⁵⁷

4.3.2 Tomos Kharas, Rîmnic, 1705

In the same year, some six months later, the next editorial work of Methrophanes appeared from the printing press of Rîmnic, where Anthimos was bishop at that time. This is the *Tomos Kharas*,¹⁵⁸ which was intended to serve as an answer to the act of union with the Catholic Church by a portion of Romanian Orthodox clergy in Transylvania in 1700.¹⁵⁹ *Tomos Kharas* is one of the famous polemic editions of Patriarch Dositheos, coming in the same series and fulfilling the same polemic purpose as *Tomos Katallages*,¹⁶⁰ *Tomos Agapes*,¹⁶¹ and the *Orthodoxos Omologia*.¹⁶² In the *Tomos Kharas* Patriarch Dositheos wrote

¹⁵⁷ In fact, Metrophanes wrote two epigrams in the book – the one discussed here and the other addressed to Constantine Brîncoveanu. The both epigrams were reprinted in BH I, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵⁸ Dositheos Notaras, Τόμος χαρᾶς, ἐν ᾧ περιέχονται αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἡ Ἀγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος. Σημειώσεις τινὲς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἁγίαν Σύνοδον. Τὰ ἀντιῳρητικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ῥώμης, Νικολάου Ἱατροφιλοσόφου, Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα, Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινος ἑτέρου μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων. Rîmnic, 1705. BH I 37. repr. ed. Konstantinos Simiakes (Thessaloniki: Vas. Regopoulou, 1985.). Earlier editions described in BRV I, 149, 463-466; BH III, 37.

¹⁵⁹ The act was agreed upon by the Bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church and the Habsburg Imperial Court in Vienna on the other hand. See also Imre Révész, *La réforme et les roumains de Transylvanie / Études sur l'Europe Centre-orientale*; 10/ (Budapest: Sárkány, 1937); Roberto John Weston Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700: an Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 423-424; Keith Hitchins, "The idea of nation among the Romanians of Transylvania," *Nation and National ideology. Past, Present and Prospects. Proceedings of the international symposium held at the New Europe College, Bucharest April 6-7, 2001*, Bucharest, 2002. Soon after its publication *Tomos Kharas* was noticed by the Catholic theologians and in 1716 appeared a refutation of this volume authored by Aloysius Andruzzi and published in Rome. Aloysius Andruzzi, *Consensus tum Graecorum, tum Latinorum Patrum de processione Spiritus Sancti ex Filio, contra Dositheum Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum* (Rome: typis Sacrae Congregationis De Propaganda Fide, 1716). On several occasions Andruzzi refers to Epiphanius of Salamis but, as far as I could see, does not mention the PD.

¹⁶⁰ Dositheos Notaras, Τόμος καταλλαγῆς ἐν ᾧ περιέχονται συγγραφαὶ Ἀωνύμων τινῶν, καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ νομοφύλακος, καὶ Γεωργίου τοῦ Κορεσσίου, καὶ μακαρίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Μακροῦ, καὶ συνέλευσις ἐν τῇ Ἀγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ, καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἀγαλλιανοῦ, καὶ Ματθαίου τοῦ Βλαστάρεως, καὶ σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Ἀγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ., Iași, 1694. BHellén. III 658.

¹⁶¹ Dositheos Notaras, Τόμος ἀγάπης κατὰ Λατίνων, Bucarest, 1698. BHellén. III 681.

a detailed prologue on the relations between East and West during the time of Photios and yet another commentary on the same topic, inserted in the main body of the book (103-134).¹⁶³ This second commentary is a fragment of the most famous work authored by Dositheos *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*¹⁶⁴ -- a history of the Church from the early days of Christianity to the personal experience of Dositheos as patriarch of Jerusalem. Metrophanes was the editor of this famous book, too. That a fragment of the *History* was published in the *Tomos Kharas* suggests that in 1705 Metrophanes had already received the manuscript of this important book, which he published around ten years later.¹⁶⁵ *Tomos Kharas* testifies to a direct connection between Patriarch Dositheos and Metrophanes.

Being responsible for the publication of the *Tomos Kharas*, Metrophanes offered his humble contribution to the spiritual fight of the Orthodox with two short epigrams, addressed to Constantine Brîncoveanu and Patriarch Dositheos. Here, he ended his address to Constantine Brîncoveanu by drawing a comparison between the fight against heresy and the Lernean Hydra, the nine-headed monster which was killed by Heracles. Because it is not possible to treat in detail all the dedicatory verses written by Metrophanes, this epigram will be used as an illustration of this side of his editorial work. The epigram, placed under the coat-of-arms of Constantine Brîncoveanu, reads as follows:

Εἶπερ κοίρανον ἄνδρα πατὴρ μέλψαι μ' ἐποτρύνεις
Δός μοι δὴ αὐτῷ εἵκελον Ἥγεμόνα
Ἄλλον, καὶ γὰρ σοι τὸν δ' ἦρανον ἄνδρα ἀείσω.

¹⁶² Dositheos Notaras, Ὁρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς πιστέως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς καὶ εἰσαγωγικὴ ἔκθεσις περὶ τῶν τριῶν μεγίστων ἀρετῶν πίστεως, ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀγάπης, Snagov. 1699. BHellén. III 684.

¹⁶³ The title of this entry is Σημειώσεις Δοσιθέου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν σύνοδον, αἵτινες κεῖνται ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ βιβλίῳ τοῦ περὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων τεύχους.

¹⁶⁴ Dositheos Notaras, *Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων*. Bucharest, 1715. BH I 97, see pages 80-84 of the present study.

¹⁶⁵ The *Dodekabiblos* will be treated in detail later in this chapter.

Εἰ δὲ ἀμηχανεῖς. ἀλλὰ με θυμὸς ἄγει
 Στέψαι κράντορα τόνδε ἐπαίνοις ἔξοχον ᾧδε,
 Χαῖρ' ἀγάπη μ' ἀνδρῶν ἡγέτα τῶν ζαθέων,
 Καύχημ' Οὐγκροβλάχων πόλεων, μέγα φέρτατε πάντων,
 Ἦδιστε κλεινῆς ἔκγονε σωφροσύνης,
 Κωνσταντῖνε, Μέγιστε, Γαληνότατε, Μπασαράμπα.
 Ζωῆς ἐς πλείστους Ἡελίοιο κύκλους.
 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕδραν Ἡρακλεῖ ἐξεναρίζεις,
 Ἀλλὰ τυπογραφίῃ πατρίδα ὠραίσας,
 Αἶρεσιν Παππολατρῶν βλασφήμων ἐξαφανίζεις
 Βραγκοβάνε Μπασαράμπα, κλέος εὐσεβέων.¹⁶⁶

If you, o Father, urge me to celebrate a ruler,
 Give me another sovereign similar to him
 And I will celebrate that king
 However, if you are unable to do so, my passion leads me
 To crown this very outstanding sovereign with praises.
 Rejoice, my beloved, leader of the sacred people,
 Great pride of the cities in Ungrovlachia, bravest of all,
 You sweetest grandson of the famous virtue,
 Constantine the Great, Serenissimus, Basarab!
 May you live for many revolutions of the sun
 For you are not killing a Hydra with Herakles
 But having adorned your motherland with a press
 You are destroying the heresy of the blasphemous pope-worshippers,
 O Brîncoveanu, Basarab, glory of the pious.

¹⁶⁶ The text of this epigram is rendered after the edition available in Romanian Academy of Science, Bucharest – the volume is described in BRV I, 149, pp. 463-466.

My English translation cannot render the Classisising style of Metrophanes, which is quite characteristic of writers of the period. The metaphor of the many heresies in the many heads of the mythical Hydra was a preferred *locus communis*. The Walachian prince, Radu Brîncoveanu (1704), also employed it in a eulogy to Dositheos.¹⁶⁷ To the Classical imagery one might add the comparison of Meletios Syrigos in the aforementioned *Against Calvin*, where the man who could tackle all the heresies is compared with Lynkeos, the hero who helped the Argonauts in their search for the Golden Fleece.¹⁶⁸ Leaving aside any parallels reaching back to Byzantium, here it will suffice to understand the odd comparison which was employed with regard to the PD in 1710. In the prologue, written in a heavy and artificial Greek, Athanasios of Silistra compared the dogmatic *Panoply* of Alexios with the shield of Akhilleus, described in the *Iliad*.¹⁶⁹ This comparison was not successful because Athanasios was not precise when he said that Akhilleus received only a shield while Alexios was equipped with a whole armory. However, this parallel may also be revealing because it refers to the influence of the Homeric language in this period.

4.3.3 Biblos Eniavsios, 1709, Tîrgoviște

This was an essential edition to be read in the Church throughout the ecclesiastic year with the *Liturgies and Services*.¹⁷⁰ Naturally, a publication of the Church services in Greek should also be viewed as an answer to the printing activities of the Calvinists and their editions. It was initiated by Anthimos the Iberian, who also wrote the prologue to the book.

¹⁶⁷ Λογίδιον εἰς τὸ Κοσμοσωτήριον Πάθος τοῦ Θεανθρώπου Λόγου, BRV I, 145, 457-460.

¹⁶⁸ The volume of Syrigos is available in the Romanian Academy of Science from where the text is quoted. The same text was preprinted in BRV 90. In Greek mythology, Lynkeus was a king of Argos, succeeding Danaos.

¹⁶⁹ PG 130, 13-14.

¹⁷⁰ BRV I, 157, pp. 480-481; Picot, Anthime, 550. With the commentary of Picot “Cet énorme volume, supérieurement imprimé fait honneur à la Typographie de Tîrgoviște.” The book is wonderful, indeed, printed in black and red ink, with binding of brown leather, decorated with a medallion representing the Old Testament Trinity in gold and small flowers. The copy in the Romanian Academy of Science has the original book-locking still preserved on it.

Metrophanes left a colophon in the main body of the edition, where some blank space was left at the end of the *Pentekostarion*. As far as I know, this colophon has not been studied in the scholarly literature. It is an example of the fluctuation in the shift from manuscripts to printed text, because the editor has left a printed note fashioned similarly to the way a scribe would write his name at the end of a manuscript:

Τέλος, θεῷ δὲ δόξα τῷ τρισηλίῳ,
τῷ δόντι ἰσχὺν τῷ ταπεινῷ μου νοῷ,
Ὁρθῶς νοῆσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι ἅμα,
τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τάσδε τὰς θείας βίβλους.
Ὅσοι γε οὖν μοι ποιμένες κληῖρος θ' ἅπας,
Οἱ ἐντρυφῶντες τῶνδε τῶν βιβλίων ἴοις,
σύγγνωτε πάντες, εἴ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις
Ὅψις παρῆκεν ἥττον εὐθέος λόγου.
Ὁ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης πρόθυμος
θεράπων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
εὐτελὴς Μητροφάνης ὁ ἐκ Δωδώνης.

End and glory to the triple-sun God,
Who gave strength to my humble mind,
To understand correctly and to correct
These divine books of the Orthodox
All those shepherds and the entire clergy
Who would find delight in any one of these books
All of you, forgive me, if something in the books
My eyes have left in a form not conform to the right saying!
The prompt servant of your kindness,
the most humble among
the presbyters, Metrophanes of Dodone.

4.3.4 Service to Saint Catherine, Tîrgoviște, 1710

Published several months before the PD, this edition of the *Service to St. Catherine*¹⁷¹ again demonstrates that Metrophanes had a certain affiliation with the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The tradition of close contacts between the Romanian Principalities and the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai began in the sixteenth century and was strictly respected, especially by the Walachian princes. On the other hand, Dositheos, as patriarch of Jerusalem, also kept in contact with the the monastery of Mount Sinai. Thus, there were a number of reasons why this small and very elegant book was published exactly at this time and place. Only the ruler, Constantine Brîncoveanu, and Metropolitan Anthimos are mentioned as supporters of the edition. Again, the book contained dedicatory verses by Metrophanes to the voevod, the metropolitan, and St. Catherine.

Τέλος, θεῶ δὲ δόξα τῷ τρισηλίῳ,
ἔργα φικώδη ἔν τε πυρὶ καὶ γνώφῳ
πάλαι δρᾶσαντι ἐν Σιναίῳ τῷ ὄρει,
ἃ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας ὧν δεσπότης
ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπλήρωσεν, ὡς πῦρ ἐν βάτῳ
οἰκήσας ἀγνῆς Παρθένου ἐν νηδυί
καὶ εἷς προελθὼν Χριστὸς ἀρρήτῳ τρόπῳ,
ὃν προσκυνοῦντες τῇ ὑποστάσει ἕνα,
καθ' ἣν ἔνωσις ἡ ὑπὲρ φύσιν πέλει
τῶν φύσεων [ῶν ἡ μὲν] ἄκτιστος ἡ δ' ὑπὸ χρόνον,
θερμὴν δέησιν σὺν Σιναίου πατράσι
πάντες τελοῦμεν ὡς τύχουμεν τῆς ἄνω
τρυφῆς ἀλήκτου ταῖς λιταῖς τῆς Παρθένου
καὶ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐλογημένης
Αἰκατερίνης τῆς σοφῆς τ' ἀθληφόρου.

¹⁷¹

BRV I, 159, pp. 481-482; Picot, Anthime, 551. Available in the library of RAS.

ὁ τῶν ἱερομονάχων εὐτελῆς Μητροφάνης Γρηγοράς ὁ ἐκ Δωδώνης

End and glory to the triple-sun God,

who made terrifying signs in fire and darkness

once on the mountain of Sinai.

He, being the Lord of the Old and the New (Testaments)

Himself accomplished [these signs], dwelling,

as the fire in the bush, in the womb of the pure Virgin

and so the unique Christ was born in ineffable way,

whom we worship as one in His hypostasis,

in which consists the supernatural union

of the natures – one being uncreated and the other temporal

and - together with the fathers of Sinai – we all perform

a warm supplication that we may obtain the heavenly

and unceasing joy through the prayers of the Virgin

and His blessed Mother,

and of the wise Catherine, the champion of the faith.

The humble among hieromonks Metrophanes Gregoras from Dodone

4.3.5 Panoplia Dogmatike, Tîrgoviște, May, 1710

Seen in the context of the other books by Metrophanes, it becomes apparent that the PD was the last edition carried out in close collaboration with Anthimos the Iberian. In the summer of the same year there was a conflict between Anthimos and Khrysanthos Notaras, who had already been patriarch of Jerusalem for three years (that is, 1707-1710). Metrophanes, who was already affiliated to some degree with Jerusalem, seems to have taken Khrysanthos' side and from this moment onwards edited only books commissioned by the patriarch of Jerusalem. Just several months after the publication of the PD, Anthimos

appealed to the patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasios V (1709-1711), describing the conflict with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem over the possession of the monasteries in the Principalities. This, however, was a not the right move, because Patriarch Athanasios stood on the side of Khrysanthos Notaras. In a letter dated December, 1710, Anthimos the Iberian wrote the following to Athanasios:

Γελοῖον μέντοι, ἅτε παράνομον καὶ παρὰ κανόνας, τὸ λέγειν τινὰ ἔθος ἐπικρατεῖν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων μνημονεύεσθαι εἰς τὸ “ ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κύριε” ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ παροικίᾳ, πολὺ δὲ γελοιώτερον αὖθις τὸ λέγειν εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐν τῇ Οὐγκροβλαχίᾳ μοναστήρια ὑποκείμενα τῷ Ἱεροσολύμων ἢ ἐτέρῳ Πατριάρχῃ, χωρὶς τῶν Σταυροπηγιακῶν μοναστηρίων τῆς ὑμετέρας Παναγιότητος.... οὐ γὰρ ἑνὸς ἢ δύο ἢ τριῶν μόνον Μοναστηρίων ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πλείω εἴκοσιν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀφήρπασε, παρὰ ταῦτα δὲ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν χωρίων τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων χάριν ἐλέους, ἐν αἷς εἰσὶν ἡμέτεροι ἱερεῖς κοσμικοί, τὸ ἡμέτερον μνημόσυνον τελείως ἐκβαλὼν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον προσέταξε μνημονεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐν συνόψει μόνοι ἡμεῖς ὑπερελήφθημεν μὴ μνημονεύοντες τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ “ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κύριε”.¹⁷²

Indeed, it is ridiculous as well as unlawful and not according to the canons to say that a certain custom imposes the commemoration of Jerusalem in the prayer “Among the first remember, o Lord”¹⁷³ in the

¹⁷² Published after Αρχιμ. Καλλίνικος Δελικάνης, *Τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Ἀρχειοφυλακείου Σωζόμενα Ἐπίσημα Ἐκκλησιαστικά Ἐγγράφα, Βλαχικά καὶ Μολδοβικά* (s. n.: 1905). The letter is under the number 183, entitled – Οὐγκροβλαχίας Ἀνθίμου τῷ Οἰκουμενικῷ Πατριάρχῃ Ἀθανασίῳ Ε΄. Περὶ τῶν ἀξιώσεων τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἐν Οὐγκροβλαχίᾳ Μοναστηρίοις, 391-395.

¹⁷³ This is the prayer that priest says immediately after the epiclesis, in which it commemorates his own patriarch and bishop.

diaspora in another country; and it is even more ridiculous to say that in Ungrovlachia are to be found monasteries under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Jerusalem or any other Patriarch, except for the Stavropegic monasteries belonging to your most-holiness...for he [Khrysanthos Notaras] did not grab power over just one, or two or three, monasteries, but almost over twenty monasteries in our diocese. In addition to this, from the churches in the villages which were gracefully donated to him by our rulers, in which there are our secular priests, he completely banned our commemoration and ordered that only he may be commemorated and, to resume, only we are left as not commemorating his name in the prayer "Among the first remember, o Lord".

4.3.6 Syntagmation, Bucharest, 1715

The supporter of the edition of this book at this time was the next patriarch of Jerusalem, Khrysanthos. Metrophanes had dedicated verses to him and the new ruler of Walachia, Stephan Kantakouzenos (1714-1715).¹⁷⁴ The book is still used as a source for the organization of the Church.¹⁷⁵ It matches perfectly the interests of Khrysanthos in ecclesiastic administration and ceremony as well as in geography. It is a book of the ecclesiastical *offikia* and other dignitaries in the Greek Church, of the hierarchical order of the various dignitaries, and of the geographical jurisdiction of the four patriarchates and their respective metropolitans. The book provides a description of the organization of the Church during Byzantine times, with a chapter referring to the actual state at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Slavic names written in this book are rendered in the Cyrillic alphabet. Cyrillic

¹⁷⁴ BH I, 101, 125-127. BRV I, 178 499-500. Available in the library of RAS. The book was reprinted in 1778 in Venice. See BH II, 941, 293-294.

¹⁷⁵ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (London: Aldershot Variorum Reprints, 1990), 44.

is also present in the last book, the *Dodekabiblos*, which has its lengthy title also rendered in Slavic together with the Greek.

4.3.7 History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, or Dodekabiblos, 1715-1722

This history, known by its short title of *Dodekabiblos*, represents a monumental piece of work within the period as a whole.¹⁷⁶ It was written by Patriarch Dositheos and presented not only the history of Jerusalem but also the history of the Christian Church from Early Christian times until the time of Patriarch Dositheos. In the last part of the book, Dositheos presented a first-hand account of the troubled times during his own term as patriarch of Jerusalem. The edition of this huge work comprises a story in itself. The story was thoroughly outlined by Kournoutos.¹⁷⁷ Khrysanthos Notaras commissioned Metrophanes to carry out this posthumous edition of Patriarch Dositheos. At this time “poor Metrophanes”, as Kournoutos puts it, must have been around eighty-five years old. Both his poor health and the political changes in the Principalities prolonged the work on the edition for more than five years. Khrysanthos, excellently versed in the craft of book-printing, took an active part in the publication of this edition and kept up a correspondence with Metrophanes, part of which is still preserved, providing a moving insight into Metrophanes’ personality; partially paralyzed and bed-ridden, he continued his work under the aegis of the patriarch.

In this work Dositheos mentioned the PD again. Although heavily dependent on the account by Anna Komnene in the *Alexiad*, this reference still remains of interest for the reception of the PD.¹⁷⁸ In fact, it shows the twelfth century of the Komennian Dynasty through the eyes of an Orthodox theologian working at the turn of the eighteenth century.

¹⁷⁶ *Ιστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων*. Bucharest, 1715. BH I 97. Available in the library of RAS. The book was reprinted in Thessaloniki in 1983.

¹⁷⁷ Kournoutos, *Ἡ Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου*, 250-273.

¹⁷⁸ Because the passage is lengthy it cannot be quoted here. It can be found on pages 784-785 of the first edition.

Βίβλος Η', Παράγραφον Β'

Περὶ τῶν τὸ δόγμα καὶ τὴν προσθήκην μετὰ Φώτιον ἐλεγξάντων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς προσθήκης καὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου καὶ Μανουὴλ συγγραψάντων, καὶ τῶν Πανοπλίαν συνθεμένων.

Μετὰ τὸν Φώτιον ἤλεγξαν τὸ δόγμα καὶ τὴν προσθήκην Νικήτας ὁ Παφλαγὼν καὶ Σέργιος ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Πατριάρχης, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κηρουλλαρίου Σύνοδος, Πέτρος ὁ Πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας, Νικήτας ὁ Στηθατός, Λέων, Θεοφύλακτος, Ἀδριανὸς καὶ Γεννάδιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Βουλγαρίας, καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ Ψελλός. Ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν Κομνηνῶν Ἀλεξίου καὶ τοῦ ἐγγόνου αὐτοῦ Μανουὴλ ἄνδρες γεγόνασι σοφώτατοι ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ οἵτινες γενναίως συνέγραψαν κατὰ τε τῆς προσθήκης καὶ τοῦ δόγματος, καὶ δὴ καὶ διαλέξεις πεποιήκασιν μετὰ τινῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐλθόντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Καὶ συνέγραψε μὲν Εὐθύμιος ὁ Ζυγαβηνός, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Ἄννα ἡ Ἀλεξιάς καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ Ζυγαβηνοῦ Πανοπλία, περὶ ἧς διείληπται ἀνωτέρω, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ῥητέον, ὅτι ἡ Ἀλεξιάς μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τινὰ περὶ τῆς Αἰρέσεως τῶν Βογομίλων, τὴν τελεωτέραν ἱστορίαν τῆς Αἰρέσεως πέμπει τὸν ἀκροατὴν μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ζυγαβηνοῦ, καὶ λέγει “Παραπέμπω δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς τὸ οὕτω καλούμενον βιβλίον Δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν, ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς συντεθεισάν· καὶ γὰρ Μοναχόν τινα Ζυγαβηνὸν καλούμενον, γνωστὸν μὲν τῇ Δεσποίνῃ καὶ πρὸς μητρὸς ἐμῇ μάμμη, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου, γραμματικῆς δὲ εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα, καὶ ῥητορικῆς οὐκ ἀμελέτητον ὄντα, καὶ τὸ δόγμα ὡς οὐκ ἄλλός τις ἐπιστάμενον, τοῦτον ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ μεταπεμφάμενος, ἐπέταξεν ἀπάσας τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐκθέσθαι, ἐκάστην ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάστη τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἀνατροπὰς ἐγγράψασθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν Βογομίλων

τὴν αἵρεσιν, καθὼς ὁ ἀσεβὴς ἐκεῖνος Βασίλειος ὑφηγήσατο. Ταύτην τὴν βίβλον δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ ὠνόμασε, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὕτω προσαγορεύεται τὰ βιβλία¹⁷⁹ - βιβλίῳ δεκάτῳ πέμπτῳ. Λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τῶν παπιστῶν ἐν τῇ Πανοπλίᾳ ταῦτα, Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Ζυγαβηνοῦ κατὰ τῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης, ἥτοι Ἰταλῶν κεφάλαια δώδεκα, δηλοῦντα ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐκπορεύεται τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον ἐλθὼν ὁ ἐν Βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος Ἀλέξιος ὁ Κομνηνός, καὶ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν αἱρέσεων πλοκάς θεασάμενος, καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς προσθήκας καὶ ἐλλείψεις τῶν Ἰταλῶν, ἃς αἱρεσιωτῶν ἀγχίνους δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, μάλιστα καὶ τῆς πίστεως ζηλωτής, ὅς τῳ τότε καιρῷ μηχανήματι σοφὸν ἐτεχνάσατο, καὶ ἐφεῦρε καὶ τὸν αἱρεσιάρχην τῆς Βογομιλικῆς αἱρέσεως συνεκαλέσατο ἄνδρας ἀγίους τε καὶ σοφοὺς, τὸν Ζυγαβηνόν φημι, καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν καλούμενον Φουρνῆν, οἵτινες ἐκ πάντων τῶν θείων βιβλίων λόγους ἐρανισάμενοι κατὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων, καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν Ἰταλῶν διὰ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ ἁγίου Συμβόλου καὶ τὰ Ἄζυμα, τὴν δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν συνέταξαν. Τελευταῖος δὲ πάντων ὁ θαυμαστὸς Ζωναρᾶς μοναχὸς Ἰωάννης τοὺς θείους καὶ ἱεροὺς Κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἁγίων Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν σαφέστατα καὶ εὐσεβέστατα ἐξηγησάμενος, οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Πάπαν ὡς ὀρθόδοξον ὠνόμασε, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῳ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε τοὺς τὰ ὅρια τῶν πατέρων σαλεύοντας, καὶ ἀθέτησιν ποιοῦντας τῶν θείων Κανόνων.

Book Eight, Paragraph Two

¹⁷⁹

Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, XV, 9, 1.

About those who have refuted the dogma and the addition [of the *Filioque*] after Photios, and about those who have written against the addition and the dogma in the time of Alexios and Manuel, and about those who compiled the *Panoplia*

After Photios, Niketas the Paphlagonian, Sergios the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Synod of the time of Kerullarios,¹⁸⁰ Petros the Patriarch of Antioch, Niketas Sthetatos, Leo, Theophylaktos, Adrianos and Gennadios, archbishops of Bulgaria and Michael Psellos refuted the dogma and the addition. At the time of Alexios and his grandson Manuel from among the Komnenians, there were most wise men in the Eastern Church, who wrote against the addition and the dogma and also held disputations with some people who have come from Italy to Constantinople. And Euthymios Zygabenos compiled [the *Panoplia*] as testifies Anna, the author of the *Alexiad*, and the same *Panoplia* of Zygabenos, which I have discussed earlier. However, I should again say that Anna, having said some words about the heresy of the Bogomils directs the reader to learn a more elaborated history of the heresy from Zygabenos, saying: “And those who wish I will refer to the book entitled *Dogmatic Panoply*, which was compiled by my father's order. For there was a monk called Zygabenos, known to my mistress, my maternal grandmother, and to all the members of the priestly roll, who had pursued his grammatical studies very far, was not unversed in rhetoric, and was the best authority on ecclesiastical dogma; the Emperor sent for him and commissioned him to expound all the heresies, each separately, and to append to each the holy Fathers' refutations of it; and amongst them too the heresy of the Bogomils, exactly as that impious Basil had interpreted it. The

¹⁸⁰

Dositheos means the Permanent Synod of Michael Kerullarios.

Emperor named this book the *Dogmatic Panoply*, and that name the books have retained even to the present day,"¹⁸¹ in the fifteenth book. In the *Panoplia* are said the following against the Papists: "Of Euthymios Zygabenos Against those of the Old Rome, or Italians, demonstrating that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father alone and not also from the Son." Some years later, when Alexios Komnenos, the glorious among the emperors, ascended the throne, seeing the many branches of heresies and, particularly, the additions and omissions of the Italians, who are heretics, he convoked holy and wise men, I mean Zygabenos and John nicknamed Phournes, who compiled the *Dogmatike Panoplia*, gathering texts against heresies from all divine books, and also against the Italians because of the addition to the holy Creed and the unleavened bread (for Alexios was a clever man, and especially zealous for the faith, and he, at that time, by inventing a wise trick, discovered the leader of the Bogomil heresy). Last among these, the admirable Johannes Zonaras the Monk who most clearly and religiously commented the divine and sacred canons of the holy and glorious Apostles, of the seven holy Ecumenical Councils and of all our holy Fathers, in no place has called the Pope Orthodox, but rather subjected to anathema those who had removed the milestones set by the Fathers and despised the divine canons.

These accounts add an inside pn how the anthology was viewed by the people who stood behind the publication, but dealing with the editorial activities of Metrophanes also permits to see traces of the distribution of his books. A useful illustration in this direction is

¹⁸¹ Translation of Elizabeth A. S. Dawes from, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena being the history of the reign of her father, Alexius I, emperor of the Romans, 1081-1118 A.D.* (London: Kegan Paul, 1928), 415.

Cod BAR 1052.¹⁸² Dated to the eighteenth century (1725 on f. 2), this manuscript is a catalogue of the books designated for the personal use of Constantine Mavrokordatos (1711-1769).¹⁸³ Even though this inventory is not complete, it contains three books edited by Metrophanes -- *Tomos Kharas*, the *Syntagmation*, and *The History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*. By chance, the same editions show that Metrophanes was clearly affiliated with Dositheos and Khrysanthos, who supported these books as patriarchs of Jerusalem. The presence of these volumes in the library of Mavrokordatos shows that although apparently they were not of primary interest, nevertheless, they had to be in any good library collection.

Athanasios, Metropolitan of Drystra (Silistra) – sponsor of the edition and author of the Prologue

Athanasios, metropolitan of Silistra, is remembered mainly for his contribution to the PD. Being a metropolitan of a town with a Turkish garrison, he preferred to avoid any possible tension and spent much of his time at the court of Constantine Brîncoveanu.¹⁸⁴ The court of Brîncoveanu was an attractive centre for many other theologians and men of letters, coming to Walachia from various places.¹⁸⁵ In the year of the edition, Athanasios was in Istanbul. However, his own account of the PD is well preserved because he wrote the prologue of the edition of 1710. This prologue is an address to Stefan -- one of the sons of the Walachian ruler Constantine Brîncoveanu. Athanasios was careful not to fall into the diction of the original prologue from the twelfth century, which was also published in the same volume. To read this prologue was so difficult that the editors of the BRV left it without a Romanian translation. From a linguistic point of view the text is interesting as an example of

¹⁸² Nestor Camariano, *Catalogul Manuscriselor Grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 2 (București: Academia Română, 1940).

¹⁸³ The catalogue of the library of Mavrokordatos was published by Nicolae Iorga, "Pilda bunilor Domni din trecut," *Analele Acad. Rom.*, sct., ist. Serie II, vol. 37 (1914) 85-120.

¹⁸⁴ Drystra, is nowadays called Silistra, a port city of northeastern Bulgaria, lying on the southern side of the lower Danube at the country's border with Romania. It was founded by the Romans as a military center and in Antiquity had the name Durostorum.

¹⁸⁵ For details see Athanasios Karathanassis, *Des grecs à la cour du Constantin Brîncoveanu*.

an attempt to write in high-level Greek – paradoxically, this prologue contains more archaic features than the prologue of the twelfth century. Here, however, it is important because it presents some of the reasons for the publication as they were seen by the people who stood behind the edition.

Behind the heavily ornamented rethorics, Athanasios provides several points important for understanding the idea behind the edition.¹⁸⁶

A claim that the book was found as a hidden treasure.

Ἐλελήθει μέντοι γε τέως, καὶ ἐν ἀφανεῖ που κειμένη ἡγνοεῖτο παρ’ ἀξίαν ἢ οὕτω χρησίμη τε καὶ παγκάλῃ πραγματεία, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ὁ θησαυρὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀμεληθεῖσα τε καὶ παροραθεῖσα, καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπειλοῦσα καταφθορὰν, ἢ μή τις φθὰς τῆς τοῦ Πανδαμάτορος ἐξαρπάσειε ρύμης, καὶ ἀνασώσῃται τὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐξίτηλον γεγονυῖαν ἀρίστην Χριστιανῶν πᾶσι Πανοπλίαν.

Up to the present day this so useful and beautiful work, this treasure of the Church, being forgotten and laying in a hidden place, was unduly ignored I don’t know how, was neglected and overlooked, being threatened by complete annihilation, had not come somebody and snatched it from the way of the Destroyer of all things and saved again the almost extinct for all the Christians wonderfully useful Armoury.

A claim that it contains “the teaching of the saintly fathers of our Church.”

Τὴν δυνατὴν τέως κατεθέμην σπουδὴν ὅπως τύποις ἐκδοθὲν τουτὶ τὸ πολυωφελέστατον πόνημα, προῖκα τοῖς ὀρθοδοξίας τροφίμοις διαδοθῇ, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν μὲν καὶ ἀποτροπὴν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων λύμης, εἰς μνημόσυνον δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινότητος, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῆς

¹⁸⁶

The text of the prologue is taken from the edition of PG, vol 130.

Ἐκκλησίας πληρώματι ἢ παντευχία τῆς τῶν εὐαγῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς
Ἐκκλησίας Πατέρων διδασκαλίας χορηγηθῇ, ἵνα τοῖς αἰρουμένοις
ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας ῥαστώνῃ εἷη πρὸς τὴν
ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ βουλήματος, οἷον ἐξ ἱεροῦ τινος ταμείου τὰ κατὰ
πάσης αἰρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἀντίδοτα προφέρουσι, καὶ ἐξ ἐτοίμου
ἀποχρωμένοις πρὸς ἄμυναν. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν μυθικὴν Ἥφαιστου
Ἀχιλλεῖ πονηθεῖσαν ἀσπίδα, ἀλλ' οὐρανοχάλκευτον πανοπλίαν
κατὰ πάσης αἰρετικῆς κακονοίας ἢ προκειμένη βίβλος προτίθῃσι,
καὶ ἀήττητον ἀποφαίνει τὸν μετ' αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀντιθέων λήρων
στρατευόμενον.

I have made all possible effort that this most useful work, after being
printed, be distributed as a dowry to those nurtured on Orthodoxy; on
the one hand, for a protection from and the repulsion of the outrage of
heresies; on the other hand, in order that, for the remembrance of my
humbleness, to the general public of our universal Church be
transmitted the full armoury of the teaching of the saintly fathers of
our Church, in order that those who have assumed to oppose the
heterodox, may easily fulfill their will, drawing from it, as if taking
from a holy reserve, the antidotes against all the heretical myths, and
being able to use them ready-made for defending themselves. For the
present book does not offer something alike to the fabulous shield
made by Hephaistos for Akhilleus¹⁸⁷ but an armoury hammered in
heaven against all heretical evil thought and renders invincible those
who fight with it against the God-opposing madnesses.

A claim that that this is an imperial work well befitting the voevods, who are direct
descendents of the Kantakouzenoi

¹⁸⁷

T.W. Allen, *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931).

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ γὰρ σοὶ τῷ θερμῷ ζηλωτῇ καὶ προμάχῳ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας δογμάτων ταυτηνὶ φέρων προσφωνῶ τὴν δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν, ὅπως τεθωρακισμένος τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτι, ῥωμαλεώτερον ἀντιπαρατάτῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τὸ θεῖον ῥῆμα φέρων κατὰ τὴν σάλπιγγα τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, Παῦλὸν φημι τὸν μακάριον, ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν, καὶ ῥομφαίαν ἀμφήκη, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς λόγου διαχρώμενος πολεμίους, καὶ λαμπρὰ κατ' αὐτῶν ἰστῶν τρόπαια, ὥνπερ οὐ ῥέοντα καὶ χαμαίζηλα κομίσῃ τὰ ἄθλα, οὐδὲ δόξαν ῥᾶσ' ἀπανθοῦσαν καὶ ἐκλείπουσαν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ οὐτ' ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς θέαν ἐφικτὰ, οὐτ' ἀκοῇ χωρητὰ, καὶ λόγου παντὸς ὑπερπαίει δύναμιν, βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ μακαριότητα διαιωνίζουσιν, τὴν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς ἐκλελεγμένοις πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων. Οὐ μόνον δὲ διὰ ταῦτα προσήκειν ἔγνων σου τῇ ἐνδοξότητι τὸ δώρημα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι δὴ παρὰ πάντας αὐτῇ ὠκείωται, βασιλείον οὐσα κειμήλιον, σοὶ δ' οὐ μόνον τὰ τοῦ γένους ἐκ βασιλικῶν πηγῶν ἐπιρρέοντα ὁμολογεῖται, τὰ πρὸς μάμμης εἰς τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς Καντακουζηνοὺς ἀναγόμενα, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα βασιλικῆς εὐγενείας λαμπρότατα ἀποσώζει μαρτυρία, καὶ κηρύττει τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους συγγένειαν ἢ τῶν πράξεων ὁμοιότης.

Through all these I, offering this to you, an enthusiastic fighter for the teachings of the truth, am sounding the Dogmatike Panoplia, so that, from now onward, you, armored with the grace of the Spirit, would be strengthened to hold your ground against those who oppose the truth carrying, according to the trumpet of the Churches – I mean, according to the blessed Paul – the divine word as a weapon over all dagger or two-edged sword (Eph 6:14-17), and to destroy in it all the enemies of the pious teaching, thus erecting bright monuments of their defeat. In

this way you would gain not transient and earthly prizes, nor a glory that would vanish and fade away, but one that cannot be contemplated by the eyes, nor can be received by the ears, and that transcends the power of any speech (1Cor 2:9), namely the Kingdom of Heaven and eternal bliss, which are awaiting those who had been chosen before the ages.

The language which the authors at the time were using deserves further study for all the Classicising influences. However, for the investigation here it suffices to say that the prologue of the PD in 1710 clearly confirms the evidence from the previous testimonies concerning the anthology – that it was related to the Byzantine heritage and the fight against religious opponents.

The authors of the dedicatory epigrams – teachers of the Patriarchal School and a pilgrim to the Holy Places

Although most of the editorial work was carried out by Metrophanes Gregoras, the Greek edition of the PD was the result of the efforts of a group of people who each contributed according to their opportunities. All the Walachian editions of that time mention the ruler, Constantine Brîncoveanu, and Metropolitan Anthimos. Thus, based on the contents of the title page, it is not possible to conclude that they were directly involved. The mention of Constantine's son, Stephen, deserves further investigation, because this prince had literary interests and was himself the author of several printed books.¹⁸⁸

The edition's connection to Constantinople is provided by the authors of the dedicatory verses, two of whom were well-known teachers at the Patriarchal Academy in Phanar – Antonios (1685-1711) and Khourmouzios Byzantios (d. 1717). The third author of a

¹⁸⁸ The following books at least were authored by the Prince BRV I, 127, 419-421; BRV I, 128, 421-422; BRV I, 135, p. 441; BRV I, 142, 452-453.

dedicatory verse was a certain Georgios Hadzithanou from Larissa who had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Places.¹⁸⁹

Demetrios Prokopios left an account of both Antonios and Khourmouzos. Behind this account lies a family tragedy. These two men, natives of Constantinople, were brothers and premature death ended the promising career of each of them. Prokopios is concise in his account:

Ἀντώνιος Βυζάντιος, διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σχολῆς, ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, φιλόπονος, φιλομαθής, δαήμων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, πεπαιδευμένος τὴν τε θύραθεν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερὰν θεολογίαν· πολλῆς ἂν εἴη ὠφελείας πρόξενος τοῖς φιλολόγοις τῶν νέων τῇ προόδῳ τοῦ χρόνου, εἰ μὴ γε κομιδῇ νέος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο.

Χουρμούζιος Βυζάντιος, ἀντάδελφος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐκείνου ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ ἀπολειπόμενος· ἀπέπλευσε δὲ οὗτος καὶ εἰς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Παταβίᾳ σοφῶν πρὸς καιρὸν ἠκροάσατο, ἐχρημάτισε καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σχολῆς· καὶ εἴη ἂν οὐκ ἐλάττονος ὠφελείας πρόξενος τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς εἴγε μὴ ἄωρῳ θανάτῳ ἀπετμήθη τοῦ βίου.¹⁹⁰

Antonios Byzantios – teacher in the Constantinopolitan school, erudite, laborious and industrious, proficient in Greek language, educated in the secular learning as well as in our sacred theology, with the passing of the time he could have been useful for the youngsters pursuing philology, had he not passed away at a very young age.

¹⁸⁹ The dedicatory verses are re-printed in vol. 130 of PG, 17-20.

¹⁹⁰ Demetrios Prokopios, “Ἐπιτετμημένη Ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν Παρελθόντα Αἰῶνα Λογίων Γραϊκῶν καὶ περὶ τινῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν Αἰῶνι Ἀνθούτων,” In Konstantinos Sathas (ed.), *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 8 (Venice: 1892), 491.

Khourmuzios Byzantios – genuine brother of Antonios, and in none virtue or education left behind him, he sailed to Italy and, for a certain period of time, studied with the wise men in Padova. He also served as a teacher in the Constantinopolitan School. He also would have been no less useful for his students, if untimely death had not cut off his life.

For a long time Antonios Byzantios was considered to be an author from the twelfth century and a contemporary of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. This opinion was introduced by Nikephoros Kalogeras¹⁹¹ and was repeated many times until a detailed study appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century showing that Antonios lived at the turn of the seventeenth century, being known and mentioned by Dimitrie Cantemir, Zaviras, and Vendotis.¹⁹² In fact, the same Antonios Byzantios is a well-known author from the period. He translated from Latin *Chrestoetheia* – a manual of good manners which is subsequently attested in nineteen printed editions and around fifteen manuscripts.¹⁹³

The other three verses of dedication were written by two men of letters who are less known. Nonetheless, the data in the edition provide one more small detail concerning the milieu of the PD. These authors call themselves “the most humble among the Hierodeacons Ioannikios Hadzi” and “the most humble among the learned men Georgios Hadzithanou from

¹⁹¹ Nikephoros Kalogeras, Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου συγγραφέως τῆς ἱα' ἑκατονταετηρίδος Χρηστοθήεια ἥτοι τρόποι τοῦ ἑλληνοπρεπῶς φέρεσθαι ἐκδιδόμενοι χάριν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς νεολαίας μετὰ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν καθωμιλημένην παραφράσεως, ἀωπα. Cited after the study of Perikles Zerlentes, “Ἀντώνιος ὁ Βυζάντιος.” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1907): 241. (Henceforth Zerlentes, “Ἀντώνιος ὁ Βυζάντιος”).

¹⁹² The study that has changed the identification of Anthonios Byzantios is the aforementioned article of Perikles Zerlentes, “Ἀντώνιος ὁ Βυζάντιος,” 241- 253. While a student in the Patriarchal School of Constantinople Antonios had as a teacher in Latin Nikolaos Mavrokordatos. In the same article Zerlentes is giving this account written by Antonios:

„αψθ' ἔτει φερουαρίου ιγ', ἄρχισα τὴν λατινίδα παρὰ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ ἐρμηνεῖ τῆς κραταιᾶς βασιλείας, κυρίῳ Νικολᾶῳ Μανροκορδάτῳ, καὶ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Ἀντωνίου. Zerlentes, “Ἀντώνιος ὁ Βυζάντιος,” 247.

¹⁹³ This book is available at the Digital Library of Modern Greek Studies: <http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/> Last consulted on March, 2009.

Larissa”.¹⁹⁴ The title *hadzi*, added to the names of Orthodox Christians, was always used to indicate an individual who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. The honor which this title brought has not been forgotten even today and the addition of “hadzi” to the family name of a pilgrim is sometimes, although rarely, still used in some parts of the region.

Khrysanthos Notaras kept a correspondence with a wide range of people both from East and West.¹⁹⁵ It seems that three of the authors of the dedicatory verses to the PD also exchanged letters with Khrysanthos. For the year 1711 are attested three letters from Khourmouziou.¹⁹⁶ From his brother, Antonios, is preserved one letter, somehow dated from 1726 – this means, fifteen years after the death of Antonios - probably because the letter was included in an epistolary collection.¹⁹⁷ There is another single letter written by Georgios Hadzithanasiou.¹⁹⁸ It is probable that this man can be identified with Georgios Hadzithanou, the variation in the second name being explained by a usage of diminutive form. To my knowledge, these letters are not published and their content is still not known. The connection of Khrysanthos to Metrophanes had already been shown in their exchange of letters some of which were published by Kournoutos.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ PG 130, 17-18.

¹⁹⁵ The information on the correspondence of Patriarch Khrysanthos Notaras is taken from the book Penelope Stathe, *Χρύσανθος Νοταράς, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων*. The author of this study is mistaken when she claims that Mitrophanes Gregoras was a metropolitan of Ugrovlachia. For letters of Nikolaos Papadopoulos Komnenos to Khrysanthos see Vasiliki Bobou-Stamati, *Οἱ «ἐπιστολιμαίαις πραγματείες” του Νικολάου Παπαδοπούλου Κομνηνού προς τον Χρύσανθο Νοταρά* (Athens: EESMNED, 2000.)

¹⁹⁶ Penelope Stathe, *Χρύσανθος Νοταράς*, 260.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 263-264.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 292.

¹⁹⁹ Kournoutos, *Ἡ Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου*, 250-273.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EDITION OF 1710

Because the *editio princeps* of the PD appeared in the Principality of Walachia, the first logical move is to search for MS or MSS of the PD which are still kept in Romania. During Communist times MSS from different parts of Romania were brought to Bucharest. Thus, the Romanian Academy possesses the largest Greek collection. MSS are also kept in the Synodal Library and the National Library of Romania. As far as can be ascertained, the collections of the Romanian Academy of Science do not possess a complete MS which could have been used as a *textus receptus* for the edition. The question as to which MS or MSS was/were used as a basis for the edition of the PD becomes even more complicated after examining the period and seeing the mobility of the Orthodox theologians and, logically, the mobility of the texts. However, the evidence gathered suggests that manuscripts from three centers were involved in the process of the edition – Eastern manuscripts provided by the patriarchs of Jerusalem, manuscripts now kept in Russia, and manuscripts from Austria.

Manuscripts of the failed edition in Russia

Even if it is not clear which manuscripts were used for the edition in Walachia, the manuscript which was to be used for the publication in Russia is known and is still kept in the repositories there as GIM 226. Dating to the fourteenth century, this MS bears the ownership mark of Khrysanthos Notaras, who was sent to Moscow by Patriarch Dositheos in order to publish there a collection of Greek polemic manuscripts. In fact, GIM 226 was one of the manuscripts which Khrysanthos brought to Moscow.²⁰⁰

Had Khrysanthos started preparatory work on the PD, he would have found that Moscow already had at least three manuscripts of the PD – GIM 224, 225, and 227. These

²⁰⁰ Boris Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Kulturnye Sviazi*.

manuscripts were taken from Athos during Arsenij Sukhanov's Russian expedition for ancient Greek manuscripts, organized and supported by Patriarch Nikon, who needed the old Greek texts as a basis for the new translations and editions, which formed an important branch of his ecclesiastical reform.²⁰¹ Had the PD been printed in Russia, these three manuscripts together with the MS sent by Dositheos would have been used as the basis of the edition. Thus, one is faced with the odd situation of having an edition without traces of the manuscripts used in Walachia, and manuscripts without an actual publication in Russia.

However, the manuscripts of the PD in Russia became involved in the printed text of the PD which is used today. At the end of the eighteenth century these manuscripts were described by the German scholar Friedrich Christian Matthäi, who wrote two catalogues of the Greek MSS in Moscow.²⁰² Matthäi compared the manuscripts in Moscow with the Greek *editio princeps* of 1710 and included his notes in the edition of the *Commentaries to the Four Gospels* written by Zyghadenos.²⁰³ His comments on the MSS of the PD are well known because they are included in the preface of vol 130 of *PG*. Coming at the end of eighteenth century, Matthäi must have seen at least four manuscripts – the aforementioned three Athonite MSS taken by Sukhanov and the MS brought to Moscow by Khrysanthos Notaras. What he did not know was that these manuscripts were supposed to be the basis for the edition of the PD in Russia. In fact, his notes on the differences between these manuscripts and the Tîrgoviște edition give a picture of probably what the edition would have looked like if it had been produced in Russia. This puts the reprinted text in *PG* in an interesting situation. The *PG* edition includes the notes of Matthäi on the MSS from Russia. Thus, the

²⁰¹ Nikolai Kaptelev, *Patriarkh Nikon i ego protivniki v dele ispravlenija tserkovnykh obriadov: vremia patriarshestva Iosifa* Moscow (Universitetskij tipografii (M. Katkov), 1887; repr. Moscow: Indrik, 2003.)

²⁰² Christian Friedrich Matthäi, *Index codicorum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimae Synodi Ecclesie Orthodoxae Graeco-Rossicae* (Sankt-Peterburg:1780). Christian Friedrich Matthäi, *Accurata Codicum Graecorum Mss Bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimae Synodi Notitia et Recensio*, vol. 1- 2 (Lipsiae: 1805).

²⁰³ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in quattuor evangelia graecae et latinae/ Textum graecum...ad fidem duorum codicum...diligenter recensuit et repetita versione latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionis edidit Christ. Frid. Matthaei* (Berlin and London: Asher, 1845).

text in vol. 130 of *PG* becomes a kind of reconstruction, a model, of the first project for the publication of the PD. This, to a certain extent, brings the text in *PG* closer to the original intentions behind the publication.

5.1.1 Athonite manuscripts of the PD taken to Moscow by Arsenij Sukhanov

Historical material permits tracing further the way in which manuscripts of the PD became part of Russian library collections. In order to make a bridge to what has already been said about the edition in the Principalities, one may start with a particular episode concerning Meletios Syrigos, the leading Greek theologian of the time, whose name was connected with the history of the publication of the the PD in Walachia.

During the term of office of Patriarch Paisios of Constantinople (1654-1655), Patriarch Nikon, who was just beginning his reforms, sent a letter to the Constantinopolitan See.²⁰⁴ The letter contained questions concerning the diverging traditions among the Orthodox in terms of ritual and ecclesiastic books. Patriarch Nikon was interested in knowing which was the most correct among these variations and fluctuations in the Orthodox tradition. Patriarch Paisios passed the letter to his most educated theologian, Meletios Syrigos, who prepared the basis of an answer. Soon afterwards Patriarch Nikon began his controversial reforms in the church organization, ritual, and books.

In 1654 Patriarch Nikon organized a synod which took the decision to begin book reform.²⁰⁵ In 1653-1655 the patriarch sponsored an expedition to bring Greek manuscripts from Mount Athos.²⁰⁶ The mission to Greece was not official and the Ottoman authorities

²⁰⁴ For a introduction on the period and the reforms of Patriarch Nikon see John Meyendorff, *Russia, Ritual, and Reform: the Liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th Century* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St Vladimir's Press, 1991); Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford University Press, 1992).

²⁰⁵ Nikolay Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon i Tsar Aleksiei Mikhailovich* (Sergiev Posad, 1909-1912 (repr. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Spaso- Preobrazhenskogo Valaamskogo monastyri, 1996).

²⁰⁶ Sergey Belokurov, *Arsenij Sukhanov*, vols. 1-2 (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografia, 1891).

were not informed. Arsenij Sukhanov, the leader of the expedition, left Moscow, stayed for several days in Jassy and afterwards entered the Ottoman Empire. Sukhanov spent six months at the Holy Mountain. He visited different monasteries and noted the books he wanted to buy. His choice was dictated by the books which were needed in connection with Patriarch Nikon's reforms. Sukhanov also took an interest in books which once belonged to the libraries of reputed and learned men. He considered the books which had once belonged to the ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah (1522-1546) worth taking from the Stavronikita Monastery. For the same reason he took from the Iviron monastery most of the manuscripts and early printed books which contained the *ex libris* of Maximos Margounios, the Greek theologian and bishop of the island of Kythera, who had bequeathed his books to Iviron. The number of manuscripts gathered was about 490. On the way back, Suhanov made a discrete visit to Constantinople, stayed three months in Jassy, and finally arrived in Moscow.²⁰⁷

The books and manuscripts brought by Sukhanov fell on fertile ground in Russia. They were used as a basis for corrections and additions to books printed in Russia. Among those manuscripts were three copies of the the PD – GIM 224 , GIM 225, and GIM 227, which were examined in the study of Boris Fonkič on the Greek manuscripts in Russia.²⁰⁸

GIM 224 is a well-known twelfth-century copy which also contains illumination scenes with the Church Fathers and the emperor, who offers the PD to Christ.²⁰⁹ This MS is considered to be a copy close to the one presented to Emperor Alexios I -- Cod Vat Gr. 666. Understandably, when Sukhanov was examining the library of the Vatopedi Monastery, this richly illuminated manuscript attracted his attention and he took it, together with around sixty-four other MSS, from the same monastery.

²⁰⁷ Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Sviasi*.

²⁰⁸ Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Sviasi*. The latest description of these MSS -- Boris Fonkič and Fëdor Poliakov, *Grečeskie Rukopisi Moskovskoj Sinodalnoj Biblioteki* (Moscow: Synodale bibliotek, 1993).

²⁰⁹ A study on the illuminations of these MS is authored by Iohannes Spatharakis, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts* (Leiden: 1976), 122-129.

GIM 225 was taken from the Dionysiou Monastery along with thirty-four manuscripts and early printed books. Boris Fonkič identified thirty manuscripts which were taken from Dionysiou and are now kept in Russia. Fonkič notes that GIM 225 contained an ownership mark from the sixteenth century saying κτήμα μονῆς τοῦ κυρ Διονυσίου. The third MS is now kept under the number GIM 227.

Thus, three copies of the PD already available in Russia in the middle of seventeenth century were taken from the Dionysiou, Vatopedi and Iviron monasteries. Sources even make it possible to establish who gave permission for the copies of the PD, along with the other manuscripts, to be taken to Russia. The information comes from a contract of the representatives of Mount Athos with the Russian tsar to sell the Athonite books. The preserved document comes from the archives of Dionysiou Monastery and presents the agreement of the elders of Mount Athos to sell their manuscripts to the “tsar in Moscow”.²¹⁰ Further, they agreed to give a unanimous version of the bargain in case the Ottoman authorities were to start an inquiry on the connections between Mount Athos and Russia. All Athonite monks were supposed to justify the case by excusing it with the dire poverty of the monasteries and the need of the money which came from the book sale. The document ends with the signatures of the *hegoumenoi* and elders. Among them are the names of the representatives from Dionysiou and Vatopedi signed as follows:

προηγούμενος τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου Μάξιμος ἱερομόναχος με ὅλω μου τὸ μονασტύρι
στέργομεν τὰ ἄνοθεν [sic!]

²¹⁰ The text of the letter, nowadays kept in Moscow, is published by Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Sviazi*, 73-77. The agreement of the monks is formulated as follows: καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐδώκαμεν ἀπὸ πολλὴν μας ἐπτωχίαν. καὶ τὸ ἄλλον τὸ πῶς νὰ ἔχουν τὰ ἐπτωχὰ μοναστήρια νὰ πιγένουν νὰ τοὺς δίδῃ ἐλεημοσύνην νὰ πορεύονται οἱ πτωχολογία.

προηγούμενος Διονυσιάτης Κλήμης ἱερομόναχος με ὅλον μου τὸ μοναστήριον
στέργομεν τὰ ἄνοθεν [sic!].²¹¹

Once in Moscow, the MSS of the PD were not left unnoticed, especially the richly illuminated GIM 224. In 1658, Patriarch Nikon finally resigned from his position as patriarch. Upon leaving his post and retreating to the Voskresenskij Monastery, it was decided by imperial degree that some of the books would remain for use in the printing office. From around hundred and forty manuscripts they choose 47 and made an official inventory list, which is preserved in later copies.²¹² The manuscripts in this list are mentioned in a vague manner, but the same books, described in more detail, are listed in several later catalogues – of 1677, 1718, 1725, 1727, and also in the catalogues prepared by Christian Friedrich Matthäi, who spent the period between 1772 and 1784 in Russia. Fonkič undertook the task of comparing the manuscripts listed in these catalogues with the actual manuscripts, which are still extant in the repositories of Russia.

It was a common practice that the *spravchiks* (editors) in the Printing Office were given the right of personal use of the MSS from the typographic library. Among the famous editors in the Printing Office was Evfimij Chudovskij.²¹³ According to Fonkič, Evfimij never wrote his name on any MSS which he had used, but he left numerous notes which testified to his close reading and re-reading of some manuscripts. GIM 224 was among the MSS on which Evfimij left a number of notes, as Fonkič has demonstrated based on a codicological analysis.²¹⁴ Without seeing the manuscript it is impossible to conclude anything about the way this MS of the PD was used for correcting the newly printed books.

²¹¹ Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Sviasi*, 73.

²¹² Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Sviasi*, 73

²¹³ Evtimij of Chudov Monastery (d. 1705) was a monk and man of letters, disciple of Epiphaniij Slavinskij. He worked in the Printing Office between 1650-1690 and participated in the polemics against the Old Believers and with Solvestor Medvedev.

²¹⁴ Fonkič, *Grechesko-Russkie Sviasi*, 73

The manuscript which was brought for the publication of the PD by Khrysanthos Notaras is described by Papadopoulos Kerameus, who indicates that this text has the notes of Patriarch Dositheos.²¹⁵ Apparently these were not notes for the spiritual instruction of the Russian brethren, as stated in the catalogue, but Dositheos had started preparing the manuscript for publication.

Manuscripts from Vienna, used by Patriarch Khrysanthos for the editio princeps

The data provided by Fabricius do not permit an identification of which MSS were used by Patriarch Khrysanthos. The list of the manuscripts of the PD available in Vienna includes both early and late manuscripts.²¹⁶

Those dated between the twelfth and thirteenth century

theol. gr. 076 (1-201)

theol. gr. 193 (186v-209)

Those dated to the thirteenth century

theol. gr. 040 (203-251v)

Those dated to the fourteenth century Suppl. gr. 0911 (97v-199v, excerpta)

theol. gr. 270 (2-226, tabula libri (f.1)

Those dated to the sixteenth century

phil. gr. 303 (207-247)

²¹⁵ Athanasios Papadopoulos Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἢ τοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολυμῶν καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης (St. Petersburg, 1881-1915).

²¹⁶ This list is based on the information provided by the Pinakes Project. For the whole list see http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/rech_oeuvre/resultOeuvre/filter_auteur/5534/filter_oeuvre/12212 (Last consulted on 10.06.2009).

For detailed descriptions see Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten, Christian Hannick and Wolfgang Lackner, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, vol. 3, Codices theologici* (Vienna: Prachner, 1976-1992) (henceforth: Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften*).

Following the catalogue description of Hunger and Kresten, it is possible to suggest three MSS of the PD: theol. gr. 76²¹⁷ (12th century); theol. gr. 34²¹⁸ (16th century); theol. gr. 270²¹⁹ (14th century).

Editorial modifications in the Greek editio princeps of 1710

The PD does not have a critical edition yet. Two studies assess the quality of the texts in the PD. Without reaching preliminary conclusions, both of them suggest that the editors have not used the most representative texts and urge the preparation of a critical edition.²²⁰

Here, I will present general outline of the editorial alterations introduced in the Tîrgoviște edition. These alterations concerned two levels of the text – the division into chapters and the omission of some patristic fragments.

5.3.1 Division into chapters

As Matthäi observed, the Tîrgoviște edition was based on MS or MSS containing an abridged version of the PD which omitted the chapters *Against Agnoetas* and *Against Origen*.²²¹ According to Matthäi these small chapters were missing from a large number of the manuscripts he consulted. The chapter *Against the Saracens* was omitted *timore turcorum*.

Here, I can provide only preliminary notes on the main differences in the chapters of the PD manuscripts which I have consulted myself or information available in various

²¹⁷ Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 3/1, 136-137.

²¹⁸ Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 3/1, 64-65.

²¹⁹ Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 3/3, 237-239.

²²⁰ Leon Parmentier, "Note sur deux manuscrits d' Euthyme Zygadenos, conservés à la Bibliothèque de Patmos," *Mélanges Paul Frederiq, Hommage de la société pour le progrès des études philologiques et historiques* (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1904), 21-27. Bjarne Schartau. "Copenhagen, GKS 47,2o, a 13th Century Manuscript of Euthymios Zygadenos' *Panoplia Dogmatica*," *Classica et Mediaevalia (Francisco Blatt Suptagenario Dedicata)* (1973):160-166.

²²¹ Euthymius Zygadenos, *Commentarius in quatuor evangelia graece et latine/ Textum graecum...ad fidem duorum codicum...diligenter recensuit et repetita versione latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionis edidit Christ. Frid. Matthaei* (Berlin and London: Asher, 1845). This book is available in the Gennadius Library, the text concerning the PD is presented in the PG 130, 9-11.

catalogues. The edition of the PD has two chapters, which in the manuscript tradition sometimes appear as chapters and sometimes as subchapters – these are the entries against the Latins (chapter 13 in PG) and on the chapter *About the Cross, the Holy Baptism and about the Transformation of the Lord's Body and Blood* (chapter 25 in PG). Apparently these were the chapters which allowed the PD to be used as a real weapon in the fight against the Catholics and the Calvinists. It is also highly likely that the editors were aware of these fluctuations in the manuscript tradition and consciously chose to treat the entries in question as chapters. What follows is a brief presentation of the historical background behind these two chapters.

5.3.2 The chapter against the Latins

The edition of the PD has a separate chapter against the Latins, which apparently was intended to be used against the Catholics. In the background of the Tîrgoviște edition were: the disputes between the Catholics and Orthodox over the rights of protection of Holy Places, the Unia with the Catholic Church by a portion of the Orthodox in Transylvania, and the continuing missionary activities by Jesuits and Capuchins.

In the Tîrgoviște edition, reprinted in PG, this is a small chapter attributed to Patriarch Photios.²²² In the early Cod. Ethn. Bibl. 297 the chapter against the Latins (ff. 116 v.- 118 r.) is denoted as a subchapter or, more precisely, as an appendix.²²³ This is the way it was described both in the table of contents (f.185 r.) and the main text (ff. 228 verso - 230 recto).

In Cod. Vat. Gr. 668 the same part is again denoted as a subchapter. It is preceded by the twelfth chapter *Against the Pneumatomachoi* (f. 149v). The subchapter (*paratitlos*) of

²²² On the discussion whether this chapter is authored by Photios or by Zyghadenos see Andreas Papavasileou, Εὐθύμιος- Ἰωάννης Ζυγαδηνός, 131-147.

²²³ Cod. Ethn. Bibl. 297 described in Joannes Sakkelion, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (s.n.: Athens, 1892), 51. The term used is Παράτιτλος. The same term was used in the last section of the DA which contains the answers of Patriarch Photios to the Bulgarian King Boris-Michael.

Patriarch Photius occupies ff 190r-191r. Without a thorough study of the manuscript tradition, it is impossible to reach any conclusions, but this important alteration must have appeared much earlier than the Tîrgoviște edition. The evidence of the ‘moving chapter’ comes from the only known copy of the Slavonic translation of the PD, dated from the fourteenth century and kept in the Romanian Academy of Science as BAR MS Slav 296. The text against the Latins was marked there as a chapter (f. 116v). The translator of the text or another man of letters compared this Slavic translation with another Greek manuscript and noted some differences. For the item “Against the Latins” he left a marginal note stating that this chapter should be a subchapter.²²⁴

5.3.3 The entry On the cross, on the Holy Baptism and on the transformation of Lord’s flesh and blood (chapter 25 in PG)

As it was shown above, this part of the PD was the one quoted in the seventeenth century by the people who actually initiated the edition. In some manuscripts this entry is attested as a separate chapter. In most copies, however, the texts are indeed there, but as part of a larger chapter intended to refute the Paulician heresy. As noted above, this was exactly the entry quoted by Meletios Syrigos and Patrarch Dositheos. Undoubtedly this part was one of the major reasons for the publication. The same entry was much quoted by the theologians of the Catholic Reformation, as will be discussed below.

In the MSS which I was able to consult until this moment -- Vat. Gr. 668²²⁵, Cod. Patmiacus 103²²⁶, Parisinus Gr. 1232A²²⁷ and the above-mentioned Cod. Ethn. Bibl. 297 –

²²⁴ There is a reference to Petre Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele Slave din Biblioteca Academiei R. P. R* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959), 395-396; Nina Georgieva-Gagova, “Edin veroiaten prevodacheski avtograf ot parvata chetvart na XV vek “(A probable autograph of a translator from the first quarter of the fifteenth century), *Palaeobulgarica*, 25, 1, 2001.

²²⁵ For description see Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, 111.

²²⁶ Joannes Sakkelion, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens: Ek tou tupografeiou Alexandrou Papa Geōrgiou, 1890) 62.

²²⁷ Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements, Première Partie* (Paris: Leroux, 1886), 272.

this entry is incorporated in the chapter Against the Paulicians. However, it is not possible to conclude that this chapter was introduced by the editors in Tîrgoviște without consulting every manuscript.

5.3.4 Omission of fragments with Patristic texts in order to avoid any association with the legacy of Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris

This is a clear editorial alteration which is documented by Fabricius. According to him, Patriarch Khrysanthos omitted some Trinitarian texts in the initial fragments because these texts might have been interpreted as supporting the teachings of Kyrillos Lukaris, with whom Khrysanthos did not wish to be associated.²²⁸ As will be discussed later, Fabricius is in fact retelling the direct testimony of Patriarch Khrysanthos; thus, his account deserves serious attention because it attests the most conscious alterations in the text, which deserve a separate study in themselves. Fabricius also witnesses that Patriarch Khrysanthos used some unknown manuscripts of Eastern origin as well as manuscripts taken from Vienna.

²²⁸ Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. 8, book 5, chapter 7 (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1966), 331.

6 LATE MSS THAT COEXISTED WITH THE PRINTED VERSION. POPULARITY OF THE TEXT. IMPACT OF THE EDITION

It was a common phenomenon that printed texts coexisted with the manuscript version of the text. As already stated above, there are just several MSS nowadays kept in Romania. Although fragmented and late, these MSS also deserve attention. The best example is perhaps the latest copied MS of the PD, now kept in Bucharest under number BAR 1300. This MS is an anthology of anti-Islamic texts written in 1765. It refers directly to the printed edition.²²⁹ This MS includes the chapter “Against the Saracens” (ff. 56r – 67v) with the explanation that it was missing from the edition in 1710:

Ἦλεγχος σαφῆς τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας τῶν ἐξαιρέτων
αὐτῶν, ὅστις ἦν συνημμένος τῇ Δογματικῇ πανοπλίᾳ Εὐθυμίου τοῦ
Ζιγαβηνοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὐ συνετυπώθη αὐτῇ, διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν (οἷς
κρίμασιν οἶδε κύριος) κρατούντων ἡμῶν, ὧ φιλιαναγνώστα

Clear refutation of the Ismaelites and of the bubbling of those eminent among them, which [refutation] was incorporated in the Dogmatike Panoplia of Euthymios Zygadenos, but was not printed together with it, because of the fear of those who (for reasons God knows), o friendly reader, rule over us.

Moving beyond the confines of the Principalities, there is at least one more manuscript which was executed at the time when the Orthodox were already making moves

²²⁹ BAR 1300 is described in Mihail Caratașu, *Catalogul Manuscriselor Grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 3. (București: Ρουμανική Εταιρεία Νεοελληνικῶν Σπουδῶν, 2005), 313-315. The MS came into the collections of the Romanian Academy in 1952 and is of unknown provenance

The same MS BAR 1300 (f. 60 r) contains one more reference to the PD:

ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν ὁ Θεός, ἀπεδείξαμεν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν τίτλῳ, καὶ ζήτησον τὸ δέκατον ἑβδομον κεφάλαιον ἐν τῇ Δογματικῇ Πανοπλίᾳ.

However, this could be a much older note, copied from an earlier model and having nothing to do with the edition.

to publish the anthology. This is Codex Dionysiou 133, which, according to a note in the manuscript, was copied on 12 October 1696 by a certain Seraphim, hieromonk of Thasiou.²³⁰

This was also the time when some early manuscripts of the PD underwent transformations to fit the new theological agenda. An example of this is Cod. Gr. 2972, National library of Greece, dated from the twelfth century.²³¹ This manuscript was restored at the end of the seventeenth century. Its restorer, called Zaphiri, added a new colophon (f. 367v), mentioning the Metropolitan of Larissa and all Greece (πάσης Ἑλλάδος) and giving a date of 1692. By chance or not, this was exactly the time when the plan to prepare an edition of the PD had already crystallized and Khrysanthos Notaras was heading towards Moscow with a manuscript for the future edition. At the same time, somewhere in Northern Greece, this certain Zaphiri²³² considered it important to restore the old manuscript of the PD by adding an ornamented initial letter (f. 228v.) to the subchapter against the Latins, thus emphasizing the importance of this text. The corrections of Zaphiri show that the text was indeed still living and printing it was not just an artificial project of the patriarchs of Jerusalem. Probably other manuscripts of the PD also witnessed similar restorations.

The inventory of Andreas Papabasileiou lists the following MSS in the last two centuries of text transmission²³³ – from the seventeenth century Cod. Athous-Dionysiou 133 (3667), Cod. Athous Iviron 1333, Paris. Gr. 3097, Cod. Voss. Miscell., 4, Cod. Barberin. Gr. 74. Papabasileiou lists three other manuscripts dated from the eighteenth century – Cod. Athous Iviron 1323, Cod. Bibl. Civica Gambalunga (Rimini) 119, Cod. Bibliot. Corsinian. (Roma) 1104.

²³⁰ Lampros, Spiridon, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς Βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1895), 342.

²³¹ Described in the unpublished catalogues of the National Library of Greece by Sakkelion.

²³² I could not find any other information on him

²³³ Papavasileiou, Εὐθύμιος Ζυγαδηνός, 75-76.

Because it was not possible to consult all of these manuscripts, this aspect of the history remains open for further research. Nonetheless, one could suggest that in the latest manuscripts of the PD it became a matter of choice which part of the anthology should be copied and the chosen chapter easily became part of another (polemic) anthology. Thus, the Cod. Gr. 2972, from the National Library of Greece²³⁴ -- which belonged to the library of Constantine Mavrokordatos Balitza -- only contains the chapter against the Armenians (f. 509v- f. 517v).

Description of the PD fragment in BAR MS 587 (667)

In addition, MS BAR 587 (667) in Bucharest contains a fragment of the PD with only the chapters against the Armenians, Paulicians, Bogomils, and Saracens. This manuscript was described by Litzica²³⁵ although the fragment coming from the PD remained unidentified. It is dated to the eighteenth century. This manuscript is written by different hands and the fragment of the PD starts on a new quire. The fragment occupies ff. 108 r. – 114 r. and has some omissions compared to the text in *PG vol. 130*.

ff. 108 r.-114 r. Τίτλος κατὰ Ἀρμενίων

Inc: Μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνῃ ἀπορρήξαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

ff. 110 r. – compared to *PG*, the MSS omits the subtitle Περὶ τῶν Ἀζύμων, otherwise the content is the same as that of the edition.

f.114v. Τίτλος κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων Παυλικιανῶν ἐκ τῶν Φωτίου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως.

Inc: Σαμόσατα πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας.

²³⁴ See note 231.

²³⁵ Constantin Litzica, *Catalogul Manuscriselor Grecești* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 1909)266.

Coll. 1200- 1212 of *PG 130* are missing, that is the whole title Ὅτι οὐ δύο ἀρχαί, ἀλλ' εἷς δημιουργὸς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ

f.119 r. Ὅτι εἷς δημιουργὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς

Inc: Εἰ ὁ ἀγαθὸς μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν δημιουργεῖ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνοήτους, ὁ δὲ πονηρὸς....Desinit: Πῶς δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ συνεδριάζει τῷ πατρικῷ [*PG 130* colls. 1212-1216]

122r.-141v. the title of the chapter *Against the Bogomils* is the same and, collated with *PG*, all fragments of the chapter are present.

142r.-154r. Title *Against the Saracenes*. The chapter is mutilated, illegible at the beginning. Desinit: οὕτω σπέρματι ἐνευλογηθῆναι πάντα.

6.3 First reference to the published PD given by Fabricius in an account about the chaplain of the Swedish Embassy in Constantinople

The first reference to the Greek *editio princeps* happened three years after the publication. It is narrated by Fabricius and this account can be accepted without reservations. He confirms that it was finally Khrysanthos who printed the PD and who was apparently delighted with the edition so much so that in 1714 he presented it as a gift to the chaplain of the Swedish Embassy in Constantinople, Michael Eneman (1676-1714). Towards the end of his life Eneman returned to Europe as a professor of oriental languages at Uppsala University. Eneman recollected the meeting with the Orthodox Patriarch Khrysanthos in a private conversation with Fabricius. Thus, the information which Fabricius provides on the edition comes indirectly from Patriarch Khrysanthos himself!²³⁶

²³⁶

Already discussed in page 103 of this study.

6.4 Some well known owners of Greek manuscripts at the time

Another snapshot of the history of the PD can be reconstructed based on the information on the owners of manuscripts of the PD. Inevitably, this side of the story will remain open for additions. The anthology of Emperor Alexios I is listed in the libraries of at least two important figures in Orthodox theology in the post-Byzantine Period. In 1572 two manuscripts of the PD were listed in the catalogue of Metrophanes III, patriarch of Constantinople (1565-1572).²³⁷ The great Greek theologian of the seventeenth century, Maximos Margounios, also had a copy of the PD in his personal library. This copy is nowadays kept on Mount Athos (Cod. Ivion 284) and contains Margounios' *ex libris*.

Moving to the manuscripts of the PD in the West at that time, one notes the telling example of the copy kept in the College of St. Athanasios in Rome. This manuscript was in fact a donation of the Greek Karyophylles family, which wanted to ensure that their sons received an education in Rome. The Karyophyllides were a well-known family at the time, but should not be confused with the adversary of Patriarch Dositheos -- the philosopher Johannes Karyophylles.²³⁸

The manuscript in question contains a note, in Latin, that it had been in the possession of a certain "Georgios Carofillis". The data provided by Zacharias Tsirpanlis on the students of the Greek College in Rome permits suggesting that this Carofillis can be identified with the brother of John Matthew Karyophylles or with one of his relatives. Karyophylles entered the College of Saint Athanasios in 1583. His name in Latin was rendered as Giovanni Matteo Carofili or Careofilo. Tsirpanlis quotes a letter addressed by his father, Georgios, to Cardinal Sirletto with the request that his son be admitted to the College (Vat. Gr 1902). Some years

²³⁷ However, at least one of them could be referring to the *Panoplia* of Niketas Choniates. Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1980), 55. Émile Legrand, *Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas*, p. 210, lines 3-4.

²³⁸ See note 69.

later, in 1595, a younger brother of John Caryophilles was admitted in the college, too. The name of the boy was rendered as Niccolo Carofiglio or Carefilo. He must have been around sixteen years old.²³⁹

Naturally, the list of owners will remain open to further additions. For the moment, one more detail on ownership can be added for one of the latest manuscripts of the PD which was kept in the West and dates from about the time of the Tîrgoviște edition-- Cod. Rminensis Bibl. Comunalis 119. It was part of the rich library of Giuseppe Garampi, a renowned bibliophile and prefect of the Vatican Secret Archives from 1751 to 1772.²⁴⁰ For the printed edition of the PD, for the moment, the only clearly attested ownership I could find is that of the aforementioned Michael Eneman.

6.5 Old chapters against new enemies

Apparently, the PD was much appreciated because it could easily be used by the Orthodox in different contexts and the old chapters read against new enemies. Once the edition was printed in Walachia it became part of the milieu in the Principalities. In this milieu several parts of the anthology must have been particularly welcome. Although there is no direct evidence, some of the opponents of the Orthodox in the Principalities should be mentioned in order to provide the wider background against which the edition of the PD appeared. This brief account, however, does not aim to give a comprehensive overview on all the religious groups in the Principalities.

As noted above, in the seventeenth century the Manicheans, Paulicians, Messalians, Bogomils, and Iconoclasts were perceived as forerunners of the Protestants. Thus, the

²³⁹ For details see Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, *Tò Ellēnikò Kollēgion tēs Rōmēs kaì oi μαθητὲς του 1576-1700, Analecta Vlatadon* (Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1980), 289-292, 346.

²⁴⁰ Christa Samberger, *Catalogi Codicum Graecorum qui in Minoribus Bibliothecis Italicis Asservantur* (Lipsiae: Zentral-Antiquariat, 1968), 373.

chapters which refute them could be used effectively against these heresies, creating a strong motive for deciding to publish the PD. The chapter against the Latins was also a welcome text in the seventeenth century because of the dangers facing Orthodoxy from the Unia in Transylvania. Potentially, some of the other chapters could have been used against the “enemies” of Orthodoxy. The entry “Against the Armenians” might well have been read against the Armenians of the time, at least MS 604 (262) from the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences leads in this direction. It is an anti-heretical miscellany against the Armenians and Latins, dated from the sixteenth century.²⁴¹ The provenance of this MS may have been Moldova; in 1551 there was a persecution there against the Armenians which was never repeated. Over the next century, between the years 1683 and 1685, Armenians immigrated from Moldova to Transylvania because of war and not persecution. Approximately from the same period there are also data concerning a group of Paulicians living in the Romanian Principalities. During the Middle Ages the Byzantine Emperors settled these Paulicians in the region near the modern town of Plovdiv (Bulgaria). Over the course of time, some of them converted either to Catholicism or to Islam²⁴² and took a part in a revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1688. In the aftermath they emigrated to the Romanian Principalities. The chapter against the Jews also deserves attention, given that five years after the publication of the PD, what may be the first data concerning a pogrom against the Jews appeared, when in 1715 the prince of Wallachia, Stephen Kantakouzenos, ordered the Bucharest synagogue to be demolished.²⁴³ As stated earlier in this study, documented proof (MS BAR 1300) exists that the old chapters were read against new enemies. The

²⁴¹ MS BAR 604 (262).

²⁴² Dimităr Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Balgaria* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1969), 123-137; Iordan Ivanov, “Proizhod na Pavlikianite Spored Dva Balgarski Rakopisa,” *Journal of the Bulgarian Academy of Science* 24 (1922): 22-31; Milcho Iovkov, *Pavlikiani i Pavlikianski Selishta v Balgarskite Zemi XV-XVIII vek* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sveti Kliment Ochridski, 1991).

²⁴³ See the article by Andrei Pippidi, “The Pogrom that Never Happened”, available on-line http://web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pdf/02_pippidi.pdf (last consulted, October 2009).

Saracens were clearly identified with the Turks in a manuscript which was copied in the middle of the eighteenth century when the printed edition already existed.²⁴⁴

6.6 The Orthodox divided – attempts to write modern *Panopliae*, the example of the *Dogmatike Didaskalia*

As was already pointed out, the seventeenth century witnessed a strong division among the Orthodox. At the turn of the seventeenth century Patriarch Dositheos experienced growing influence; he secured high ecclesiastic positions for his followers and attempted to marginalize his opponents.²⁴⁵ As already said, the main point of disagreement was whether the term μετούσιωσις should be used for the Eucharist and whether and which of the works of the more recent Orthodox theologians had value in discussions of dogma. Thus, Patriarch Dositheos supported the editions of later authors such as Georgios Koressios, Georgios of Chios, Meletios Syrigos, and others. From the information on the people involved in the edition of the PD, it becomes clear that it was supported by the party of Dositheos.

This age of polemics with Catholics and Protestants and inner contradictions among the Orthodox themselves leaves one with the possibility of observing the attempts to create modern synthesis imitating to a certain extent the *Panoplia* against the heresies of modern times. One of them is the already mentioned work of Meletios Syigos. Instead of listing all the other polemical books published in the Principalities at the time I will give as an illustration of a modern *Panoplia* only one book, entitled *Dogmatike Didaskalia*, authored by Sebastos Kyminetes.

²⁴⁴ This manuscript is discussed here in the section on the MSS which coexisted with the printed edition. This is BAR 1300. See note 229.

²⁴⁵ See the notes on the political background by Ioan Dură, *Ὁ Δοσίθεος Τεροσολύμων*.

The *Dogmatike Didaskalia* (CRV 140) was published ten years before the PD -- in Walachia in the year 1700. Its author -- Sebastos Kyminetes²⁴⁶ -- was an alumnus of Padova, author of a tract in support of Palamite doctrines, director of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople; he died as professor in Bucharest. The volume itself is addressed to Patriarch Dositheos. The major questions in the book are again on the Eucharist and also on whether the Mother of God partook in original sin.²⁴⁷

6.7 Impact of the Greek printed edition of the PD

Having examined various aspects of the Greek *editio princeps* of the PD, what remains is to assess the impact of the publication. Apparently it was intended to be used as a weapon against coeval opponents, but to what extent was it successful? The edition came from the Orthodox leaders and most educated theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the whole story about the book in Walachia and Moldavia might leave the reader with the erroneous impression that the Romanian Principalities were inhabited by Greek Orthodox theologians who were supported by the pious local voevods, which was not the real situation in the Principalities. However it shows that the edition of the PD was carried out by the highest Orthodox elite and had limited impact. So far, I have not found a Romanian or coeval Slavonic translation of the PD. *Volens-nolens* the investigation comes to the question of the Greek presence in the Principalities. The edition was carried out in the period when the strong Greek influence in the Principalities was replaced by the actual rule of the Phanariots over Walachia and Moldavia, which started in 1711 and 1715, respectively. The micro-focus on just one edition helps one to see patterns of continuity and change in the Greek presence in the Principalities. With the change in the political situation books like the

²⁴⁶ Charitonas Karanasios, *Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes: (1632 - 1702); Biographie, Werkheurstik und die editio princeps der Exegese zu De virtute des Pseudo-Aristoteles* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001).

²⁴⁷ Sebastos Kymenites. Δογματική διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας (Bucharest, 1703) BH I 18.

PD lost their value, even among Greek-speaking people, while the Phanariots had varied interests which were more Western-oriented and were not focused exclusively on their Orthodox legacy. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the project went beyond the confines of the Principalities. The Patriarchs of Jerusalem had chosen to print an anthology that had universal appeal to the Orthodox, no matter where they lived. One could conclude that the whole project was very well thought out, but the situation for the Orthodox was changing too fast, so that soon afterwards the publication lost its relevance. A proof of this is the fact that the Greek edition of the PD has never been reprinted on Orthodox soil and the next time the text was published was the *PG* edition.

6.8 The Tîrgoviște edition - Intertwined with Western influence?

During the seventeenth century the PD re-emerged as an old, pure, and traditional Byzantine book. It was not only a weapon against heresy but also a scholarly book from which the heresies could be learnt. In an age when the leading Orthodox theologians were educated in the West, the anthology of Emperor Alexios had a special place. The edition came from the inspiration, and, as has been proved, the direct involvement of Patriarch Dositheos Notaras, who, accused by modern scholars of bigotry, defended his Orthodox see in the ways paved by the Byzantine tradition; one of these ways was *Panoplia Dogmatike*.

Even if at the time of the *editio princeps* the PD was regarded as a synthesis of the authentic Byzantine tradition, still it was a product of the time of the Great Church in Captivity. The most puzzling reference to the PD comes from the erudite Orthodox theologian Meletios Syrigos. He connected the compilation of the PD with Berengar's heresy, which started to spread in Italy in the twelfth century. Meletios quotes a chapter which does not exist as a separate entry in all PD manuscripts but only in some of them. Apparently, the reading of the PD offered by Meletios and quoted above was one of the reasons why

Dositheos appreciated the anthology so much. However, Berengar was not a part of the Byzantine theological legacy. Thus, one could ask how he had become associated with such a traditional Orthodox book as the PD. The bibliography gives the answer – Meletios Syrigos had graduated from Padova and was equally versed in the traditions of East and West. He used the reference to Berengar to connect the traditions of the Eastern and Western Churches. The picture he paints in his account is that the Churches of East and West are divided on several points but are united against common enemies -- the heretics.

Meletios was a true erudite and scholar. The question that remains is where he took this reference to Berengar from. The sources tell that as a student in Padova he became an adherent of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, the most renowned Catholic theologian of his time and opponent of Calvin. Meletios was described by his contemporaries with the expression *omnino Bellarmino spirat*.²⁴⁸ In fact Syrigos, unwillingly, was also part of what Father Florovsky called the Babylonian captivity of the Orthodox Church, when the Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century were so heavily influenced by the Western tradition that the Catholic traditions penetrated their writings at the expense of the Orthodox legacy.

Meletios was a man of such vast learning that it remains questionable whether he knew only the Greek manuscripts of the PD, or also the Latin edition, which must have been available to him in Italy. Probably he knew both versions and it is difficult to say to which one he is alluding to and whether the variations between the Latin and the Greek version really mattered to him or he accepted both equally.

The idea that the PD refuted Berengar and, consequently his descendants, the Protestants, apparently came from the West. As I will demonstrate, Catholic theologians became interested in the Latin translation of the PD exactly because it was read in the sixteenth century against the “new heretics,” that is, the Protestants. It seems that when the

²⁴⁸ George Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology* (Belmont, Mass: Nordland Pub. Co., 1979) (Henceforth: Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology*).

educated Meletios connected Berengar with the PD he was relying on a Western rather than any Byzantine tradition. The translation into Latin even seems to have been more successful than the Greek *editio princeps* because this translation went through three editions. The Greek publication of the PD was in fact an act of bringing the anthology home. Naturally, those involved in the first printed edition of the Greek text could not and did not know about the Western tradition of the anthology. It is a severe irony for the restless Patriarch Dositheos, who feared and hated the Jesuits, that a book which the Orthodox managed to publish after eighteen years of effort, had already been published in translation and was associated with the Synod of Trent. In addition, the prologue of the Latin translation contains a respectful mention of Pope Paul III, the pope who established the order of the Jesuits in 1540. In the next section of the study I will treat all these questions in detail and search for the Western interpretation of the *Panoplia* in early modern times as far as it seems to have influenced the publication of the anthology in Greek.

7 THE PD INTERPRETED BY THE THEOLOGIANS OF THE WEST IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

In the verse quoted at the beginning of the previous section,²⁴⁹ the Greek *Panoplia* by itself is taking pride of the fact that it has remained buried “as gold” and is printed for the first time in Tîrgoviște. The sponsor of the edition – Metropolitan Athanasios of Silistra -- also emphasized that this was the first publication of a hidden and long-forgotten treasure. It is known that during the seventeenth century most of the Orthodox mistrusted the Greek books printed by “the Schismatics” in the West. Thus, the emphasis on the fact that the PD appeared on Orthodox soil certainly had value in the eyes of the people behind the Greek edition. It was a book not contaminated by the heterodox. The reality was different and, in fact, the Latin version of the PD might well have inspired the Greek edition.²⁵⁰ In this chapter I will attempt to demonstrate this by examining the usage of the PD in the writings of Catholic theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in connection with the Eucharistic controversies. Many of these theologians read the PD in the Latin translation which was published for the first time in Venice in 1555, while others refer to the Greek text as well.

For the moment the detailed study on the circumstances around the translation into Latin is not a feasible task both in terms of time and the accessibility of sources. However, it is not possible to avoid this translation without providing a brief overview because it became involved in the history of the Greek edition which is the main focus here.

²⁴⁹ See page 21 of the present study.

²⁵⁰ For a summary of the whole problem of the connections between the Reform movement and the Medieval Dualists see the epilogue of Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Heaven: Yale University, 2000). Stoyanov gives also references to Protestant and Catholic authors discussing these connections. At this stage, I could not go in further detail. But future research should start from these early constructions made both by Catholics and Protestants.

7.3 Editions of the translation of the PD into Latin: Venice 1555, London 1556, Paris 1575

It was not coincidental that a translation of the PD into Latin appeared for the first time in the period between the second and third periods of the Council of Trent, with the thirteenth session being held on 11 October 1551, and issuing a decree on the sacrament of the Eucharist. The translation into Latin seems to have been prepared in connection with the council. The translation was made by the distinguished patristic scholar Pietro Francesco Zini and was supported by Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558), Aloisius Lippomano (1500-1559), and Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-1555), all of them prominent figures in the proceedings of and around the Council. A detailed investigation of the Latin translation should begin with the figure of the translator, Pietro Zini, on whom several important studies have been published.²⁵¹

For this investigation it suffices to say that the editors of the Migne edition of the PD omitted the original prologue of the Latin edition, written by Zini, and thus the connection to the Synod of Trent is less evident and remains largely unexplored. The possibility that Catholic theologians somehow employed the PD in arguments against some Protestant views becomes more evident with the two subsequent reprints of the text.— The first reprint²⁵² appeared in London in 1556 coinciding with the short reign of Queen Mary I (1553-1558); the second was published in Paris in 1575.

In the prologue to the Latin edition Francesco Zini states that with the permission of the librarian of the Vatican library, he has used a *vetustissimum exemplar* of the Greek original. Comparing the surviving inventories of the Vatican library at the time, one can

²⁵¹ Luciano Bossina, Enrico Valdo Maltese, “Dal ’500 al Migne. Prime Recerche su Pier Francesco Zini (1520-1580),” *I padri sotto il Torchio*, ed. Mariarosa Cortesi, 217-287; Ugo da Como, *Umanisti del secolo XVI. Pier Francesco Zini, suoi amici e congiunti nei ricordi di Lonato* (Bologna: s. n., 1928).

²⁵² A copy of this reprint is kept in the Gennadius Library in Athens. The binding is stamped with the coat of arms of Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney and abbot of Kinloss, who died in 1558. The reprint of the PD in London was made during his lifetime.

suggest that the manuscript in question should be identified with Cod. Vat. Gr. 666, which was already present among the library holdings in 1510 when, during the pontificate of Pope Julius II, Fabio Vigili de Spoleto prepared a catalogue of the manuscripts in the possession of the Holy See.²⁵³

7.4 The PD and the theologians of the Counter-Reformation

Apart from the editions of the translation into Latin, one finds a number of references to the PD among the writings of Catholic theologians. In fact, there seem to be more references to the *Panoplia* in the Western theological tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than on native Orthodox soil. Most of these references are connected with the question on the transubstantiation. The interpretation elaborated by the Catholic theologians penetrated and influenced the Orthodox interpretation of the anthology. This is one more example of the influence of Western theology on Orthodox theological thought during the seventeenth century.

However, one finds a variety of references to the PD which can be categorized in three main groups – (1) references to the PD by Catholics -- prominent Jesuit controversionists and also Baronius and Leo Allatius – (2) sparse references by Protestant authors and, finally, (3) a detailed account in connection with the Jansenist controversy. The latest period of the Jansenist controversy coincided with the initial phases of the preparation of the Tîrgoviște edition, although those interested in the *Panoplia* in the West and the East do not seem have been interested in each other's common enquiries. In what follows, I will

²⁵³ Robert Devreesse, *Le Fonds Grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des Origines à Paul V, Studi e Testi*, vol. 244 (Vatican: Città del Vaticano, 1965), 171. Cod Vat. Gr 666 is mentioned in the inventories afterwards like the list created by the librarian Zenobe Acciaoli in 1518 and that written by Jean Matal in 1545. For us most interesting from the inventories published by Devreesse is that prepared by Cardinals Cervini and Sirleto, prepared on 13th of November because Cervini is mentioned in the preface of the Latin translation of the PD as the librarian of the Vatican who procured the manuscript which was used for the translation. In his inventory we see four manuscripts of the PD – Cod. Vat. Gr. 666, Cod. Vat. Gr. 667, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1099 and yet another one which Devreesse was not able to identify but which is described as containing scholia on 8 chapters of the PD, authored by Theodore the Studite (Devreesse, *Le Fonds grec*, 452).

treat the references to the Eucharistic controversies among Catholic theologians and, in order to present a balanced view, will indicate the sparse references made to the PD by Protestant theologians.²⁵⁴

7.5 References by Catholic theologians connected to transubstantiation

The publication of the PD in Tîrgoviște was related to the Eucharistic disputes among the Orthodox and the terms used for the mystery of the Eucharist. The evidence that the Tîrgoviște edition came as a synthesis of the Catholic and Orthodox theological traditions comes from how the theologians of the Catholic reformation interpreted the PD. The PD was quoted by a series of prominent Jesuits and Catholic theologians – all of them referring to one and the same part of the PD – the reference to the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist (part of chapter 25 in the PG edition) and also the chapter on the Bogomils. Meletios Syrigos connected the creation of the PD with Berengar and the Eucharistic controversies precisely on the basis of the tradition created by these theologians.²⁵⁵ In analyzing the Catholic testimonies one finds even the direct model, which Meletios had read and used for the PD, had been authored by the Catholic Jesuit theologian and saint Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), who wrote a highly influential, comprehensive and often quoted polemical work -- *Disputationes De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*.²⁵⁶ After its compilation this book was

²⁵⁴ The texts which are quoted in this chapter were consulted at the Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation, available at KULeuven. The original spelling is preserved.

The references given by Allatius and Baronio are not related to the Eucharistic Controversy. Baronio provides a historical account of the reign of Alexios I and the compilation of the *Panoplia*: Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, Tomus XII* (1608), 163-164. Allatius is interested in the chapter against the Latins. Leo Allatius, Leonis Allatii, *De Ecclesiæ Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua Consensione Libri Tres*, lib. 2, cap. 10 (1684).

²⁵⁵ For the text of Meletios Syrigos and analysis see pages 33-38 of the present study.

²⁵⁶ Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index*, Studies in medieval and reformation thought 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Romeo de Maio, *Bellarmino e la Contrariforma*, Fonti e studi Baroniani 3 (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 1990).

widely read among the Orthodox and Meletios was no exception from this general trend; Kyrillos Lukaris himself read and wrote marginal notes in a volume of *De Controversiis*.²⁵⁷

However, the account of Bellarmino was not original either. It was a repetition of earlier sources and, in its turn, was later repeated by a series of prominent Jesuit theologians. This shows that the PD became a part, although a small one indeed, of the Patristic arsenal that the Catholics used in their argumentation against the Protestants. In relation to the Eucharist the Catholic authors refer mainly to one part of the PD, presented as chapter twenty-five in PG, where it bears the title “On the Cross, the Holy Baptism and the Transformation of the Lord’s Body and Blood.” In what follows I will present this part of the PD as it is attested in the PG and will then trace the occurrences and subsequent, reinterpretations of the same theme, starting from the account which Meletios used as a direct model for his words on the PD.

7.5.1 The patristic fragments in question

In the earlier Greek MSS of the PD this chapter was an integral part of the entry “Against Paulicians.” In the edition of PG it is a separate chapter but some Greek MSS attest this entry as a separate chapter, too. When this change actually happened can be established only after consulting all existing manuscripts. I do not know whether it was a separate chapter in the Latin translation by Zini (but in any case the chapters in his translation have subtitles). The texts which attracted the attention of Catholic theologians concern the last fragments -- from Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Damascene. However, in order to acquire a clearer view of the theological context, I give a short description of the whole entry.

Fragment 1: PG 130, 1244 C – 1248 D Τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ

²⁵⁷

Rozemond, Keetje, *Notes marginales de Cyrille Lucaris dans un Exemplaire du Grand Catéchisme de Bellarmin*, Kerkhistorische Studien vol. 11 (s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1963).

Inc. Ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστὶDesinit
«Ὅψεσθε», βοῶν, «τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμαμένην ἀπέναντι τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν [Joannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, vol. 2, Die Schriften des
Johannes von Damaskos, ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 84, 2].

Fragment 2: PG 130, 1248 D Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, τοῦ μεγάλου
Βασιλείου ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον τὸν Ἰκονίου τριάκοντα κεφαλαίων.

Inc. Πῶς οὖν γινόμεθα ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώματι.....Desinit ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος
παρουσίας [B. Pruche (ed.), *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 2nd edn. [Sources
chrétiennes 17 bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968] 15, 35- 16, 35.]

Fragment 3: PG 130 1259 D – 1252 B Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐκ τοῦ λόγου
τοῦ προτρεπτικοῦ εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα

Inc. Διττῶν δὲ ὄντων ἡμῶνDesinit ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς χορῆζω
φιλανθρωπίας) [Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sanctum Baptisma*, 8 1-25, PG 36, col. 368
A-C]

Fragment 4: PG 130, 1252 B -1253 C

Τοῦ Νύσσης ἐκ τοῦ κατηχητικοῦ λόγου περὶ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος

Inc. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μέρος τι τῶν μυστικῶν.... Desinit τὸ ἐπηγγελμένον οὐκ
ἀμφιβάλλοντες [Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica*, Opera Dogmatica Minora, Pars
IV, ed. Ekkehard Mühlenberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996)].

Fragment 5: PG 130, 1253 C -1260 D

Τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἔτι περὶ βαπτίσματος

Inc. Ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ ἐν βάπτισμα... Desinit καὶ θεοῦ λαὸς χρηματίζομεν
[Joannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, ed. P.B. Kotter, Die Schriften des Johannes von
Damaskos, vol. 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 82-83].

Fragment 6: PG 130, 1261 A – 1265 B

Περὶ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος, τοῦ Νύσσης
ἐκ τοῦ κατηχητικοῦ λόγου

Inc. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ δηλητήριον Desinit τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν. [Gregory
of Nyssa. *Oratio Catechetica*, Opera Dogmatica Minora, Pars IV, ed. Ekkehard Mühlenberg
(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 93 M, 93-98].

Fragment 7: PG 130, 1265 B

Περὶ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος, τοῦ
Δαμασκηνοῦ

Inc. Ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πανάγαθος καὶ ὑπεράγαθος ... Desinit. σύσσωμοι
Χριστοῦ χρηματίζοντες. [Joannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei* Die Schriften des
Johannes von Damaskos, vol. 2, ed. P.B. Kotter, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 86].

7.6 De controversiis of Roberto Bellarmino – the direct model for the text of Meletios Syrigos

The accounts of the Orthodox theologians contain the somewhat unexpected statement that the PD refutes the followers of Berengar, whose teaching had allegedly reached the confines of Byzantium in the twelfth century, when the anthology was compiled in Constantinople. This view is mentioned for the first time by Meletios Syrigos, who had read the works of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino.

Roberto Bellarmino referred to the PD in the second volume of his *De controversiis*, which contained his lectures on the sacraments and appeared in 1588. In it Bellarmino cited two hundred and fifty-nine ecclesiastical authors and a large number of ecclesiastical historians. Against this background the reference to the PD might appear not that important. Nonetheless, it is of some importance because this was exactly the reference to the PD which Meletios Syrigos had read and worked upon. Even if he reworked the text entirely the main points remain the same and leave no doubt that Syrigos had a volume of *De controversiis* in his hands while writing his treatise against the Confession of Lukaris. What follows is a transcription, translation, and discussion of the account by Bellarmino and the way Meletios Syrigos transformed it.

Roberto Bellarmino CAPUT XXXVII. Testimonia Patrum XII. aetatis Euthymii, & S. Bernardi.

In aetate XII. plurimi quoque de hac re apertissimè, & fusissimè scripserunt, ut Petrus Cluniacensis, Petrus Lombardus, Hugo, & Richardus de sancto Victore, Euthymios Zygadenos, S. Bernardus, & alii. Nobis autem satis erit duo testimonia ponere, unum S. Bernardi pro Latinis, alterum Euthymii pro Graecis.

S. BERNARDUS in vita S. Malachiae: *Fuit, inquit, quidam clericus, probabilis, ut fertur, vitae, sed fidei non ita: is sciolus in oculis suis praesumpsit dicere, in Eucharistia esse tantummodò Sacramentum, & non rem Sacramenti, id est, solam sanctificationem, & non corporis veritatem*²⁵⁸.

Haec ille. ubi subnectit insigne miraculum quo ille à B. Malachia coactus est, vel invitus veritatem tandem amplecti, & confitere.

²⁵⁸ Acta Sanctorum, 1.Nov. II Pars I, Dies 3, S. Malachias, episcopus Connerthensis in Hibernia, Col. 0161 B.

EUTHYMIOS in cap. 26. Matth. *Non dixit, inquit, Haec sunt signa corporis mei, & sanguinis mei, sed, Haec sunt corpus, & sanguis meus.* Et infra: *Quemadmodum supernaturaliter assumptam carnem deificavit, si ita loqui liceat; ita & haec ineffabiliter transmutat in ipsum vivificum corpus suum.* Vide etiam Panopliam eiusdem tit. 21. ubi ex Patribus Nysseno, & Damasceno fusè probat, transmutationem panis in carnem Domini.

Audet tamen Petrus Martyr testimonia ex Bernardo proferre in lib. contra Gardinetum, obiecto 252. 253. & 254. Scribit enim Bernardus serm. 33. in Cantica: *Habeo & ego Verbum, sed in carne; & mihi apponitur veritas, sed in Sacramento. Angelus ex adipe frumenti saginatur, & nudo satiatur grano. Me oportet interim quodam Sacramenti cortice esse contentum, carnis furfure, literae palea, velamine fidei.* Et infra: *At quantalibet sanè abundantia pinguescant istae; non pari omnino iucunditate sumitur cortex Sacramenti, & adeps frumenti: fides, & opes: memoria, & praesentia: aeternitas, et tempus: vultus, & speculum: imago Dei, & forma servi.* Idem quoque Bernardus in serm. de cena Domini, comparat Sacramenta annulo, & baculo, quibus tanquam signis confertur dignitas aliqua, vel possessio.

Haec illi proferunt, ex quibus nos multum omnino lucramur. Nam dubitari non potest de sententia S. Bernardi, tum ex testimonio à nobis paulò antè citato; & ex aliis plurimis, quae adferri possent; tum quia constat eum fuisse coniunctissimum Romanae sedi, quae multis Conciliis damnaverat haeresim Berengarii; necnon amicissimum Hugoni de S. Victore, & Petro Cluniacensi, qui ex professo scripserant de Sacramento contra haeresim paulò antè exortam;

Testimonies from the fathers of the twelfth century: Euthymios and St. Bernard

Also in the twelfth century many authors wrote on this matter in a most clear and exhaustive way, such as, for example, Peter of Cluny (Peter the Venerable), Peter Lombard, Hugh and Richard of St Victor, Euthymios Zygadenos, saint Bernard and others. For us, however, it would be enough to provide two testimonies – one by St. Bernard for the Latins, and another by Euthymios for the Greeks.

ST. BERNARD, in the Vita of St. Malachy said the following "There was a certain cleric, as they say, acceptable in his way of living but not in his faith: this man – a connoisseur in his own eyes – dared to say that in the Eucharist there is only the sacrament but not the reality of the Sacrament, that is, only the sanctification [operated by Christ's body] but not the true body. That is what the cleric said, and then he [Bernard] adds a great miracle, by which the cleric is forced by the blessed Malachy to embrace and confess the truth even against his own will.

EUTHYMIOS upon chapter 26 of Matthew says: "He did not say, these are the signs of my body and my blood, but "these are my body and blood." And a little further: 'Just as He deified the flesh, which He took on above nature, if it is right to say so, in the like manner He also indicibly transforms these [that is, the bread and wine] into his life-giving body. See also the *Panoplia* of the same author where in chapter 21 he demonstrates extensively from the fathers [Gregory of] Nyssa and Damascene the transformation of the bread into the body of the Lord.

Nonetheless, Peter Martyr dares to bring forward testimonies from Bernard in his book *Against Gardinetus*, under the entries 252, 253 and 254. For Bernard writes in Sermon 33 of his commentary on the

Song of Songs: *I too have the Word, but the Word made flesh; and the Truth is set before me, but in the sacrament. An angel is nourished with the richness of the wheat, is satiated with the pure grain; but in this life I have to be content with the husk, as it were, of the sacrament, with the bran of the flesh, with the chaff of the letter, with the veil of the faith. And a little further: But no matter how great the effusion of the Spirit that enriches these, the husk of the sacrament is not received with the same pleasure as the fat of the wheat, nor is faith the equivalent of vision, nor memory of presence, nor time of eternity, nor a face of its reflection, nor the image of God of a slave's condition.*²⁵⁹ The same Bernard again, in the sermon on the Supper of the Lord, compares the Sacraments with the ring and baculo, on which in their quality of signs is being introduced a certain dignity or possession.

They have given us these teachings of which we draw no little benefit. No doubt could be voiced about the view of St Bernard, partly because of the testimony which we quoted a bit earlier; and many other testimonies which could be taken from many other authorities, and partly, because it is well known that Bernard was most closely connected with the see of Rome, which had condemned the heresy of Berengar in many Councils and also because he had most friendly connections with Hugh of Saint Victor and Peter of Cluny, who have written *ex professo* on the Sacrament and against the heresy which had begun a little earlier.

The clear textual parallels leave no doubt that it was indeed the *De Controversiis* that served as a model for Meletios. The two accounts are connected, yet they are not the same. The line of the argumentation is the same and in some parts Meletios made a direct

²⁵⁹ St Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, 33, II. 3. English text by Br. Sean, a choir monk, from the internet, available at: <http://ia311243.us.archive.org/0/items/St.BernardOnTheSongOfSongs/StBernardOnTheSongOfSongsall.pdf>. The name of the translator is not indicated.

translation from Latin into Greek. Both texts present testimonies of Church fathers, mention Berengar, and, quote exactly the same part of the PD as the main evidence. However, the erudite Meletios entirely reworked the section on the twelfth century, consciously omitting any reference to Western authorities.

7.6.1 Similar references to the PD in the works of Roberto Bellarmino

The above-quoted lengthy paragraph is not the only place where Roberto Bellarmino quoted the PD. Sparse references glitter in the vast corpus of his writings. But most of these references, with some exceptions, treat the same passage and repeat the same idea. References to the PD appear *passim* in the first volume of *De Controversiis*. The first occurrence is related to the adoration of the cross, with its special position in worship being *partim inter reliquias, partim inter imagines*.

Fuit igitur haeresis inprimis Claudii Taurinensis, qui praeter ceteras imagines crucem Domini execrabatur, teste Iona lib. 1. vixit autem Claudius anno Domini DCCC. Idem eodem tempore in Oriente docebant Pauliciani, à quodam Paulo sic appellati, teste Euthymio in panoplia, part. 2. tit. 21.²⁶⁰

It is interesting to notice that in the opening pages of the second volume of the *De Controversiis*, which is perhaps the most important because it treats the Eucharistic questions, the PD is mentioned on two occasions as a source for the *antiqui errores de sacramentis*. In these pages Bellarmino refers again to the PD in connection with the heresy of the Paulicians, categorizing them among the heretics who reject all the sacraments.

Huc denique pertinent Pauliciani, qui teste Euthymio in 2. parte Panopliae, tit. 21. tollebant de medio omnem Sacramentorum materiam; aquam, vinum, panem, oleum, & solùm verbis quibusdam

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Roberto Bellarmino, *De Controversiis, Tomus Primus*, 1007-1008.

loco Sacramentorum utebantur: ut exempli gratia, Baptismum esse dicebant illa verba: *Ego sum aqua viva*.²⁶¹

To this [type of heretics] belonged the Paulicians who, according to the testimony of Euthymios in the second part of the *Panoply*, chapter 21, removed all the matters of the Sacraments - water, wine, bread, olive oil – and, instead of the sacraments, they only used some words: for example, they claimed that the Baptism consists in these words: *I am the living water*.

In the same passage Roberto Bellarmino also mentions the Bogomils and, on the basis of the testimony provided in the PD, categorises them among the heretics who do not follow the Eucharist but accept some of the other sacraments.

Alii Sacramentum Eucharistiae nullum esse dixerunt. Scribit enim Petrus Cluniacensis in lib. contra Petrobrusianos, unum ex erroribus Petrobrusianorum fuisse, corpus Christi ex pane semel tantum factum esse, ea videlicet nocte, qua Dominus traditus est: deinceps aut nec factum esse, nec fieri posse. Scribit etiam Euthymios in *Panoplia* parte 2. tit. 23. unum ex erroribus Bogomilum fuisse, Eucharistiam nihil esse aliud, quàm Pater noster.²⁶²

Others say that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is nothing. For, in his book against the Petrobrusians Peter of Cluny writes that one of the errors of the Petrobrusians was that they believed the body of Christ was only once made of bread, that is, in that night when the Lord was betrayed: this would not happen later nor could it happen. And also Euthymios wrote in the second part of the *Panoply*, title 23, that one of

²⁶¹ Roberto Bellarmino, *De Controversiis, Tomus Secundus*, 1-2.

²⁶² Roberto Bellarmino, *De Controversiis, Tomus Secundus*, 3-4.

the errors of the Bogomils was that they believed that the Eucharist was nothing else but the *Our Father*.

Further on Bellarmino refers one more time to the passage of Gregory of Nyssa on the Eucharist as it is presented in the *Panoplia*. Bellarmino seems to quote the passage directly from the Latin translation.

Idem Gregorius in oratione Catechetica, cap. 36. & 37. multa habet expressè de veritate huius Sacramenti, & citatur hic locus ab Euthymio in *Panoplia*, parte 2. tit. 21. & à Bessorione <sic> in lib. de verbis consecrationis. Inter alia dicit, & saepius repetit, corpus Christi immortale coniungi per Eucharistiam cum nostro mortali corpore, & illud sibi simile reddere, id est, efficere, ut gloriosum & immortale aliquando resurgat: *Quemadmodum, inquit, parum fermenti totam massam sibi similem reddit; sic & corpus illud, quod à Deo factum est immortale, in nostrum corpus ingrediens totum in se transfert, atque commutat. Nam, ut pestiferum cum salubri commistum, illud efficit perniciosum; sic & corpus immortale reddit totum illud, in quo susceptum est, naturae simile immortalis*. Et infra: *Fidelium corporibus coniungitur, ut ea coniunctione cum immortalis, homo etiam immortalitatis particeps fiat*. Haec ille.²⁶³

The same Gregory had said many things on the reality of this Sacrament in the Catechetical Oration, chapters 36 and 37. This part is also quoted by Euthymios in the *Panoply*, second part, title 21, and also by Bessarion in the book *On the words of the consecration*. Along with other things he said, and often repeated, that in Eucharst the immortal body of Christ is united to our mortal body and renders [our body] similar to itself, that is to say, it makes our body so that one day it

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Roberto Bellarmino, *De Controversiis, Tomus Secundus*, 610-611.

would rise as glorious and immortal: *For, in the manner that a little leaven assimilates to itself the whole lump (1 Cor. 6), so in like manner that body to which immortality has been given by God, when it is in ours, translates and transmutes the whole into itself. For as by the admixture of a poisonous liquid with a wholesome one the whole drouht is deprived of its deadly effect, so too the immortal Body, by being within that which receives it, changes the whole to its own nature. And further, blending Himself with the bodies of believers, to secure that, by this union with the immortal, man, too, may be a sharer in incorruption.*²⁶⁴ That is what he says.

There is one more somewhat similar reference.

Gregorius NYSSENUS in oratione Catechetica apud Euthymium in panoplia titulo 21. *Panis, inquit, statim per verbum in corpus mutatur, ut dictum est à Verbo, Hoc est corpus meum. Et suprà dixerat, panem verbo Dei sanctificatum, mutari in corpus Domini: non est autem verbum Dei, oratio illa Graecorum.*

Gregory of Nyssa said in the Catechetical Oration, included in the *Panoply* of Euthymios, title 21, that *the bread immediately transforms into body with the Word*, as it is said by the Word, *This is my body*. And further he said that the sanctified bread transforms into the body of Lord, but it is not the word of God, that Oration is from Greeks.

²⁶⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, The Great Catechism, 37, English Translation by Henry Wace in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, II/5, p. 163-164.

7.7 More Catholic References to the PD in connection with Eucharistic questions²⁶⁵

This overview of *De Controversiis* has shown that three parts of the PD received attention – the entries “On the Cross, Baptism and Transformation of the Lord’s Body and Blood,” “Against the Paulicians” and “Against the Bogomils.” The reference to the PD in relation to the Eucharistic controversies, however, does not exist solely in the writings of Roberto Bellarmino. The PD became part of the Jesuit theological argumentation. A series of Jesuit theologians quoted the same parts of the anthology. It is important to discover who introduced this interpretation because this might reveal the source of this reference, whether that was the Latin edition of the PD or a Greek manuscript. The shortest way to sift the references is to trace the references which certainly predate Bellarmino’s account – these are the accounts of Peter Canisius’ *Catechism*, the testimony of John Martiall (1534-1597), and the mention by Nicholas Harpsfield (1519-1575). Later interpretations are numerous and include Thomas Harding (1516-1572), Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598), the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, and the Flemish Jesuit and scholar Leonard Lessius (1554-1623).

John Martiall (1534-1597)

Undoubtedly, the first references to PD situate the edition of the book clearly in the religious controversies of the Elizabethan age.²⁶⁶ John Martiall, an English Catholic involved in these controversies, exiled to the continent, where he was active in Leuven and involved in establishing the Catholic College in Douai, has left what seems to be the first very brief mention of the PD. It is in the form of a short note mentioning chapter 19 of the PD in his

²⁶⁵ Please, note that footnotes 275, 280, 283, 286, 289, 291, 294, 299, 302 were written following the report comments of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun.

²⁶⁶ Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: a Survey of Printed Sources* (London: Scholar press, 1978).

work *A treatyse of the crosse*.²⁶⁷ This work was related to the controversy prompted by John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, but was also a response to Queen Elizabeth I's retention of a cross in her royal chapel. Martiall dedicated the work to Elizabeth. This reference undoubtedly quotes the PD published in Latin translation.²⁶⁸ The fact that the first references to the PD appear among the writings of English Catholics suggests that they were referring to the translation published in London in 1555.

Nicholas Harpsfield (1519–1575)

Nicholas Harpsfield left another early reference. In his book, *Dialogi contra summi pontificatus oppugnatores* (1566), Harpsfield presents the Calvinists as holding views close to the Bogomils.²⁶⁹ He also gives the earliest reference which I have found so far to chapter 21 of the PD and already employs it in connection with the Reformation leader of Switzerland, Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) and the internal disputes among the reformers

²⁶⁷ John Martiall, *A Treatyse of the Crosse Gathered out of the Scriptures, Councelles, and Auncient Fathers of the Primitive Church* (Antwerp: John Latius, 1564)eg

²⁶⁸ Let any man come that desireth to learne experience of these things, and of the very pomp of the devils, subtlety of divination, and strange sights by witchcraft: let him use the sign of the foolish cross (as they say) but only naming Christ, he shall see the devils to be put to flight by it, all divination cease, and all magic and witchcraft destroyed: Further S. Augustine sayeth. Quod faciebat in terris corporis Christi praesentia, hoc facit cum fidei invocatione nominis Christi, victoriosae crucis insignita memoria. Look what the presence of Christ did in earth, the same doth the memory of the victorious cross expressed in a sign, with the faithful invocation of the name of Christ. And as Euthymius writeth. Per virtutem Tit. 19. parte 2. panoplie. crucis demonum expelluntur catervae, & aegrotationes variae curantur, ea gratia & vir tute que semel in prototypo & primogenio fuit efficax, ad ipsius quoque crucis effigies, unae cum simili efficacia procedente. By the sign of the cross companies of devils are expelled, and diverse diseases healed. John Martiall, *A Treatyse of the Crosse Gathered out of the Scriptures, Councelles, and Auncient Fathers of the Primitive Church* (Antwerp: John Latius, 1564

²⁶⁹ Vides igitur tandem, quàm praeclaros historicos Magdeburgenses, quàm praeclarum theologum agat Calvinus, qui tam illustria Dei beneficia, illusiones ac praestigias Daemonum appellare non erubescunt. Quibus nihil iam ad summum pietatis istius gradum superesse videtur, nisi ut prophetarum Christi, & Apostolorum signa cum impiis Porphyrio, Iuliano, Ethnicis & Bogomilis haereticis reiiciant. Ita demum nobilem istam suam Theologiam absolverint. Bogomili illi apud Bulgaros ad tempora Alexii Graeci Imperatoris dicebant, Mosen à Satana illudum eduxis se populum ex Aegypto, editis per Satanam signis & portentis, à quo legem in monte Synai acceperat; per quam innumera populi millia perierint. Asserebant praeterea inter alias haereses, Daemones ad Sanctorum tumulos assidere, & portenta facere sub eorum persona, ut incautos fallant, & ad se adorandos pertrahant. Quae planè & Calvini tui oratio est. Cui id respondemus, quod Euthymius qui Alexii mandato Bogomilos confutavit. *Quomodo, inquit, beatorum Reliquiis inhaerent Daemones, qui eas reformidant, & virtute earum ab hominibus fugantur?* Calvini itaque ut per se atrox est hoc facinus, ita eo atrocius, quòd imperitis hominibus persuadere velit. In Nicholas Harpsfield, *Dialogi Sex Contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticae Vitae, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores, Et Pseudomartyres* (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1566), 406.

over the real presence in the Eucharist. The direct reference to the PD is in a very short footnote.²⁷⁰

Thomas Harding (1572-1516)

The next reference on the PD was made by Thomas Harding (1572-1516), English controversialist who shared some Protestant views but returned to Catholicism. On Elisabeth's accession Harding moved to Leuven, matriculating in the University there in 1563 and later becoming a professor in Douai. In exile he began to write the polemical works for which he is famous in relation with the so called "Jewel-Harding Controversy" and his works were published in Leuven and Antwerp.²⁷¹ On in *A Rejoinder to M. Jewel's Reply Against the Sacrifice of the Mass* (1566). This reference came in the dispute of the English Catholic, Harding, and the Anglican, Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury and champion of Protestantism. Harding, however, does not make it clear to which of Zygabenos' works he refers.²⁷²

Peter Canisius (1521-1597)

Peter Canisius referred to the PD in his *Antidotes Sacrae Scripturae* (1571). This reference is found among around twelve hundred quotations from the Church Fathers which

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Ab eo vero tempore totidem aut plures in solo Eucharistiae negocio, inter ipsos Zuinglianos ortae sunt huiusmodi contentiones. Inter quas nescio an non primas sibi praeripiat, & ingenii & Martyrii sui magnitudine Antonius Personus, Sacerdos Anglus: qui ea omnia Christi verba de corpore & sanguine suo, nihil eò, sed ad solas scripturas, quas à Christo accipere, & populo dividere debeamus, pertinere [note Euthymius Zigabenus in Panoplia tit. 21] constanter affirmavit. Quod videtur Antonius à veteribus illis haereticis Paulicianis sumsisse, quos Constantinopolitanus, patriarcha Photius coarguit. Qui ne panem quidem vel vinum Christum ad caenam adhibuisse asserunt. cum Antonio fortassis de palma contendet Coubrigius, qui non est veritus haec Christi verba: [Accipite & manducate, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur.] sic pervertere, Hoc est corpus meum, in quo populus circumvenietur & decipietur. Nicholas Harpsfield, Dialogi Sex Contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticae Vitae, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores, Et Pseudomartyres (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1566), 806.

²⁷¹

See Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, available online <http://www.oxforddnb.com> via KULeuven (Last consulted: September 2010).

²⁷²

Euthymius also a Father of the Greke Church, construed the same words of Christ in like sense, saying, Sicut Vetus Testamentum hostias & sanguinem habebat, ita sanè & Novum, Corpus videlicet & sanguinem Domini. Non dixit autem, haec sunt signa corporis mei, & sanguinis mei, sed haec sunt corpus meum, & sanguis meus. As the Old Testament had sacrifices and blood, even so truly hath the New Testament also to wit, the Body and Blood of our Lord. He said not, these be the signs of my body, and of my blood, but these be my Body, and my Blood. Thomas Harding, A rejoindre to M. Jewels replie against the sacrifice of the Masse. In which the doctrine of the answer to the xvii. article of his challenge is defended, and further proved, and al that his replie containeth against the sacrifice, is clearely confuted, and disproved. (Louvain: Apud Ioannem Foulherum, 1567), 68.

were included in Peter Canisius' Catechism which were later collected in the original by Peter Busaeus and appeared in four volumes under the title *Authoritates Sacrae Scripturae et Sanctorum Patrum*. In the preface, Busaeus, giving a reference to chapter 21 of the PD,²⁷³ recommends the PD among other anthologies as a book of general reference.²⁷⁴

Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598)

Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598), English Catholic controversialist,²⁷⁵ referred to the PD in his work *Speculum Parvitatit Haereticarum* (1580). It is known that he spent a long period of his life in exile in Leuven and read and used the *De Controversiis* of Bellarmino.

²⁷³ Gregorius Nyssenus in oratione catechetica de transmutatione Dominici corporis & sanguinis, teste Euthymio in Panoplia, titulo vigesimoprimum: Hic panis, ut ait Apostolus, per verbum DEI & orationem sanctificatur, non comeditur, eò progrediens, ut verbi corpus evadat, sed statim per verbum in corpus mutatur, ut dictum est, à verbo, quoniam, Hoc est corpus meum. Petrus Canisius, *Authoritatum sacrae scripturae* (Venice: Ex Bibliotheca Aldina 1571), 52.

²⁷⁴ St qui sunt eius generis authores alii in Catechismo citati, quorum scripta haud ità nota sunt, ea vel separatim impressa extant: vel in iis voluminibus inveniuntur, in quibus diversorum authorum scripta collecta sunt: cuius generis sunt octo tomi Aloysii Lipomani de Vitis Sanctorum, *Μικροπρεσβύτικον*, Antidotum contra diversas haereses, Panoplia Euthymii: vel deniquè locus ubi quaerenda sit autoritas, simul annotatus est. Petrus Canisius, *Authoritatum sacrae scripturae, et sanctorum patrum, quae in summa doctrinae Christianae doctoris Petri Canisii theologi Societatis Iesu citantur, & nunc primum ex ipsis fontibus fideliter collectae, ipsis catechismi verbis subscriptae sunt* (Venice: Ex Bibliotheca Aldina, 1571), 52.

²⁷⁵ This note is introduced following the report comments by Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. The description “controversiste catholique anglais” for Thomas Stapleton is found in *Dictionnaire de Biographie chrétienne et anti-chrétienne* vol 3, eds. François Marie Pérennès, François Xavier de Feller (Paris, Petit-Montrouge Migne, 1851), p. 1200. With expired copy rights, available in public domain <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:2G2267ftaw0J:www.archive.org/details/dictionnairedebi03pruoft+Dictionnaire+de+Biographie+cr%C3%A9tienne+et+anti-cr%C3%A9tienne.&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=be&source=www.google.be>. (For the pages use the numbering of the book, not of the PDF program, last consulted January 2011).

Stapleton himself makes two references to the PD – again to chapter 21²⁷⁶ and the Bogomils.²⁷⁷

Antonio Possevino (1534-1615)

Antonio Possevino (1534-1615), an Italian Jesuit and papal legate to various places, including Moscow, refers to the Latin translation of the PD. He quotes the chapter on Apollinaris of Laodicea, which is numbered 14 in the Tîrgoviște edition but 13 in the Latin

²⁷⁶ The PD is briefly mentioned together with other works. In order to illustrate the background to which the reference was made, I provide a citation of the whole passage on the Eucharist. “Istis ergo rite praeparatis, consecrationem tandem fieri & sacrificium consummari omnis Antiquitas clamat. *Panis*, inquit Iustinus, *vinum & aqua cum gratiarum actione consecrantur. Neque enim haec ut communem panem usitatamque potionem capimus, sed per preces sermonis quem à Domino accepimus consecratus hic cibus est: eumque carnem & sanguinem Iesu Christi esse accipimus.* Hanc mysticam eulogiam, benedictionem, & consecrationem constanter uno ore omnes patres, August. in Epistola 59. & contra Faustum lib. 20. cap. 13. Ambr. lib. 4. de sacramentis cap. 4. Cyrill. in Ioannem lib. 12. cap. 12. & in praefatione Ephesini Conc. Basilius in lib. de Spiritu S. cap. 27. Denique illis Christi verbis in ultima Cena pronuntiatis & super proposita elementa prolatis fieri consecrationem non minus conformiter S. Patres docent. Chrysost. disertissimè in hom. de proditiōe Iudae. *Hoc*, inquit, *verbo proposita consecrantur.* Irenaeus etiam lib. 5. *Quando factus panis & mixtus calix percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia.* Idem docet Iustinus & Ambros. in locis iam citatis. Quibus accedit Greg. Nyssenus apud Euthymium in *Panoplia* lib. 2. tit. 21. Et Eusebius Emyss hom. 5. de Paschate.” Thomas Stapleton, *Speculum pravitatis haereticae per orationes ad oculum demonstratae*. Paris: Sumptibus Foüet, Nicolai Buon, Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1620, p. 403. (First Edition: 1580).

²⁷⁷ Ad alia pergamus: neque enim immorari singulis licet. Astutia illa singularis, & veterum & nostrorum est, haereses ipsas suas multis & miris artibus dissimulare, tegere, occultare. De Arianis hoc notat diligenter Hilarius in lib. de Synodis, & eos hoc nomine *lucifugas* vocat Athanasius in Epistola ad Epictetum. De Sabellianis quoque idem notat Hilarius lib. 5. de Trinitate. In Ioanne Hierosolymitano Origenista notat hoc accuratè Hieronym. in Epistola ad Pammachium contra errores eius. Denique de Pelagianis multis in locis hoc observt Augustin. De peccat. mer. & remiss. lib. 3. cap. 3. & 13. In lib. de peccato originali cap. 15. & lib. 4. cap. 2. & 3. Idem de Massalianis Theodoretus haereticarum fabularum lib. 4. Ac de Bogomilorum principe Euthymius panopliae part. 2. tit. 23. Ac horum quidem haereticorum astutia qualis fuerit, explicatè commemoravimus in Controversiis nostris de principiis fidei doctrin. libr. 7. cap. 4. Thomas Stapleton, *Speculum pravitatis haereticae per orationes ad oculum demonstratae* (Paris: Sumptibus Foüet, Nicolai Buon, Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1620), 407 (First edition 1580).

one.²⁷⁸ In addition, he makes a second reference, again quoting the PD in connection with the works of Gregory of Nyssa.²⁷⁹

St. Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559 – 1619)

St. Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559 – 1619) was an Italian Capuchin, a doctor of the church, and one of the leading polemicists of the Counter-Reformation in Germany.²⁸⁰ He quotes the PD in his work *Lutheranismi hypotyposis: pars I: Hypotyposis Martini Lutheri*, again connecting the anthology with the Eucharistic controversies. This reference makes a

²⁷⁸ Ceterum, Epistolae Gregorii Nysseni contra Apollinarem meminit Synodus V. generalis collatione 6. fol. 530. & 542. edit. Colon. profertque illum locum. Qui Apollinaris dogmatibus usque ad illa verba neque praedicari. Deinde ex duobus diversis eiusdem adversus eundem Operibus multa citat Euthymios titu. 13. Panopliae. Alterum appellat Orationem ad Theophilum Alexandriae Pontificem, cuius loca ab eo prolata in hac Epistola reperiuntur: Alterum Orationem, qua confutat Apollinarii opiniones, ex quo item inter cetera locum unum exscribit, cuius sententia prope eadem est, quae fragmenti alterius ex duobus, quae in eo libro exhibetur. Accedit Ioannes Cyparissiotus, qui in expositione materiaria eorum, quae de Deo dicuntur. Decad. 6. cap. 6. adducit locum illum non procul ab initio huius epistolae. Non enim propterea quod in novissimis diebus, usque ad illa verba: oblatam esse visionem. Antonio Possevino, *Apparatus sacer ad scriptores Veteris, & Novi Testamenti* (Venice: Apud Societatem Venetam, 1603), 588.

²⁷⁹ Iam verò Fragmenta pleraque, & quidem de dogmatibus magni momenti, ex Nysseni Operibus, quae vel non extant, vel non habentur ad manu, collegit Euthymios in suae Panopliae prima parte, tit. 7. Quae Fragmenta, quoniam indicant varia Nysseni scripta, omnino hic praenotanda sunt, ut viri antiquae veritatis amantes, & eadem integra eruant, sicubi delitescent; & certè utantur istis interdum ad Divinam gloriam. Extant igitur sequentia, sed fusius quidem, quàm hoc in loco interseri debeant. Antonio Possevino, *Apparatus sacer ad scriptores Veteris, & Novi Testamenti* (Venice: Apud Societatem Venetam, 1603), 589.

²⁸⁰ This note is introduced following the thesis report comments of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. The short description of Lorenzo da Brindisi (in English St. Lawrence of Brindisi) is provided by *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (London : Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1974, 15th edition), p. 92.

The same sentence “a doctor of the church, and one of the leading polemicists of the Counter-Reformation in Germany” is used without reference to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in another recent encyclopaedia

Schadé, Johannes P., *Encyclopedia of World Religions* (Foreign Media Group, 2006. Available online at:

[http://books.google.be/books?id=XRkfKdho-](http://books.google.be/books?id=XRkfKdho-5cC&pg=PT527&lpg=PT527&dq=%E2%80%9Ca+doctor+of+the+church,+and+one+of+the+leading+polemicists+of+the+Counter-Reformation+in+Germany%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=CVRWjHFI4&sig=2VGUhSU9fMmpzaRLlxZ-5iGaXVI&hl=en&ei=0zFQTdOXCoPJhAe0jvyUDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[5cC&pg=PT527&lpg=PT527&dq=%E2%80%9Ca+doctor+of+the+church,+and+one+of+the+leading+polemicists+of+the+Counter-](http://books.google.be/books?id=XRkfKdho-5cC&pg=PT527&lpg=PT527&dq=%E2%80%9Ca+doctor+of+the+church,+and+one+of+the+leading+polemicists+of+the+Counter-Reformation+in+Germany%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=CVRWjHFI4&sig=2VGUhSU9fMmpzaRLlxZ-5iGaXVI&hl=en&ei=0zFQTdOXCoPJhAe0jvyUDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[Reformation+in+Germany%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=CVRWjHFI4&sig=2VGUhSU9fMmpzaRLlxZ-](http://books.google.be/books?id=XRkfKdho-5cC&pg=PT527&lpg=PT527&dq=%E2%80%9Ca+doctor+of+the+church,+and+one+of+the+leading+polemicists+of+the+Counter-Reformation+in+Germany%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=CVRWjHFI4&sig=2VGUhSU9fMmpzaRLlxZ-5iGaXVI&hl=en&ei=0zFQTdOXCoPJhAe0jvyUDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[5iGaXVI&hl=en&ei=0zFQTdOXCoPJhAe0jvyUDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CC](http://books.google.be/books?id=XRkfKdho-5cC&pg=PT527&lpg=PT527&dq=%E2%80%9Ca+doctor+of+the+church,+and+one+of+the+leading+polemicists+of+the+Counter-Reformation+in+Germany%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=CVRWjHFI4&sig=2VGUhSU9fMmpzaRLlxZ-5iGaXVI&hl=en&ei=0zFQTdOXCoPJhAe0jvyUDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[UQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.be/books?id=XRkfKdho-5cC&pg=PT527&lpg=PT527&dq=%E2%80%9Ca+doctor+of+the+church,+and+one+of+the+leading+polemicists+of+the+Counter-Reformation+in+Germany%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=CVRWjHFI4&sig=2VGUhSU9fMmpzaRLlxZ-5iGaXVI&hl=en&ei=0zFQTdOXCoPJhAe0jvyUDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Last consulted by me in January 2011.

clear connection between the heresy of Berengar and his followers, the Bogomils, and the Protestants.²⁸¹

Jakob Gretser (1562-1625)

The references to the PD continued in the seventeenth century with the Jesuit scholar Gretser (1562-1625), who refers to the chapter on the Bogomils, apparently having read both the Latin and Greek texts as well as the *Panoplia* of Niketas Choniates. His work is entitled: *Hortus S. Crucis accessit liber De more lavandi pedes peregrinorum* (1610).²⁸²

Leonard Lessius (1524-1623)

Leonard Lessius (1524-1623) was a Jesuit moral theologian and a pioneer in business ethics.²⁸³ In his work *De Antichristo et eius praecursoribus* (1611) he does not mention the

²⁸¹ Sic Lutherus multas alias putidissimas haereses antiquorum haereticorum in sui istius novi evangelismi cloacam congegessit; puta Berengarii, qui negavit in Sacramento Altaris, dum conficitur, transubstantiationem, asseruit que remanere post consecrationem substantiam panis; ex Bogomilis, qui teste Euthymio in *Panoplia*, part(e) 2, tit(ulo) 23, asserebant Baptismum christianum in aqua factum baptismum Ioannis esse; negat enim Lutherus Baptismum conferre gratiam, in primo Articulo, asserit que minime necessarium esse. Lorenzo da Brindisi, *Lutheranismi hypotyposis: pars I: Hypotyposis Martini Lutheri, San Laurentii a Brundusio Opera omnia* (Patavii: Typis seminarii, 1930), 447.

²⁸² Hic iterum nostros convenio Iconomachos. Num idem illis est in Crucem affectus? Num & ipsi φαιδρῶς ὑψῆσι τὸν σταυρὸν; Num haec sacrosanctae Crucis ὕψωσις, ipsorum sententiâ, adscribi potest, τῇ εὐσεβεῖ κρίσει; Nullo modo, nam ipsis hoc in articulo magis lubet esse *Bogomilianis*, quàm *Copronymianis*. Ita enim Nicetas Tom. 19. & Euthymius in *Panoplia* de Bogomilis. ἀτιμάζουσι τὸν θεῖον σταυρὸν, ὡς ἀναιρέτην τοῦ σωτῆρος. *Ignominiae officiunt divinam Crucem, ut Salvatoris interfetricem*. Subiungit Nicetas. Ὅν ἔδει μᾶλλον τιμᾶν, ὡς καθαιρέτην τοῦ διαβόλου. μετὰ γὰρ τότε θανατηφόρον ὄργανον χρηματίζων, ἔκτοτε ζωηφόρον ὄπλον ἐγένετο βασιλικώτατον δὲ, καὶ φοβερώτατον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀτε τῷ δεσποτικῷ αἵματι, καὶ ὕδατι καταραντισθὲν. *Quam magis venerari oportebat, tanquam peremptricem Diaboli: nam quae eousque mortiferum instrumentum audiebat, illa ex eo tempore vitalis armaturae evasit, quàm maximè regalis & hostibus terrificæ, quippe sanguine & aqua Domini irrigate*. Jakob Gretser, *Hortus S. crucis, accessit liber de more lavandi pedes peregrinorum et hospitum, cum paralipomenis pro libris de sacris peregrinationibus & processionibus, Omnia nunc primum in lucem edita*. Ingolstadt: Ex typographia Adami Sartorii, 1610, p. 40

²⁸³ This note is introduced following the thesis report comments by Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. I include that the sentence “was a Jesuit moral theologian and a pioneer in business ethics” can be found in Wikipedia but not in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leonardus_Lessius. In fact, “a pioneer in business ethics” is a cliché, currently in use and applied for various fields of economics, including book titles, e.g. O’Brien, D.P. and John R. Presley (eds.), *Pioneers of Modern Economics in Britain*, London : Macmillan, 1981.

In the case of Lessius, I have already given my description of him in the thesis draft as a “Flemish Jesuit and scholar.” I included it from the very beginning because Lessius was an important figure in Leuven, where I have worked on this part of the thesis. This description of mine has remained in the final version. Thus, in the case of Lessius there are two descriptions – my old description on p. 131 and the present description which was introduced on written recommendation by my supervisor of KULeuven who read and approved it. The thesis draft is available with my supervisor’s notes.

PD directly, but lists Bogomils together with Berengar and other heresies in connection with calculations over the coming of the Antichrist.²⁸⁴

Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556-1618)

Jacques Davy Du Perron was a French cardinal and author of *Le traité du saint sacrement de l'Eucharistie divisé en trois livres* (1622), where the PD is mentioned in a brief footnote to the chapter against the Armenians. Du Perron mentions the PD for a second time in connection with the Eucharistic disputes.²⁸⁵

Paul Laymann (1574-1635)

Paul Laymann (1574-1635), an Austrian Jesuit and important moralist, was a copious writer on philosophical, moral, and juridical subjects.²⁸⁶ He refers to the PD in his work *Theologiae moralis liber quintus. De sacramentis, et sacrificio novae legis* (1625). He

²⁸⁴ Dicet fortè (ut quidam alii haeretici dicunt) ad hos duos testes pertinere etiam ministros sectarum quae superioribus saeculis vigerunt, nempe Hussitarum, Wiclefistarum, Lollardorum, Begardorum, Fratricellorum, Albigensium, Bogomilum, Waldensium, Catharorum, Apostolicorum, Berengarianorum, Iconomachorum, Monothelitarum. Hae enim sunt praecipuae, quae à tempore Bonifacii exortae. Hae omnes à Babylone exierunt, & Antichristo restiterunt, iuxta sententiam Auctoris. Lessius, Leonardus, *De Antichristo et eius praecursoribus disputatio apologetica gemina: qua refutatur praefatio monitoria, falso, ut creditur, adscripta Magnae Britanniae Regi*. Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam & filios Io. Moreti, 1611, pp. 136-137.

²⁸⁵ Jacques Davy Du Perron, *Traité du saint sacrement de l'Eucharistie divisé en trois livres. Contenant la réfutation du livre du Sieur de Plessis Mornai contre la Messe, et d'autres adversaires de l'église*, tant par la comparaison des sacrements de la nouvelle loy avec ceux de l'ancienne, que par l'histoire de la creance universelle de ce Sacrement en toutes ses parties & par tous les siecles, selon les saints peres de l'Eglise & autres autheurs: Et par l'examen de toutes les liturgies, usage & pratiques de l'eglise touchant la consecration, transubstantiation, adoration, & autres ceremonies du Saint Sacrement de l'autel (Paris: Par Antoine Estiene, 1622).

²⁸⁶ This note is introduced following the report comments by Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. I include that the description of Paul Laymann as “Austrian Jesuit and important moralist” can be found in Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Laymann but not in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

The definition “Austrian Jesuit and important moralist” does not pertain to the substance of my thesis because his nationality and importance do not have any relevance for the research. The Catholic Encyclopedia contains lengthier article on Laymann which includes, *inter alia*, the information that he was “a copious writer on philosophical, moral, and juridical subjects.” This encyclopedia is available on public domain <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09095a.htm>. Last consulted in January 2011.

mentions Chapter 21 and the text of Gregory of Nyssa in the section the nature of the Eucharist.²⁸⁷

Denis Pétau, (1583-1652)

Being one among the most prominent French Jesuit theologians and erudite scholars of his time, Denis Petau mentions many parts of the PD in his famous *Theologica Dogmata* (1650); apparently he knew the anthology in detail.²⁸⁸

The references to PD in connection with the Eucharistic questions had a long tradition among Catholic theologians, beginning with the disputes between the English Catholics and the Anglicans and continuing the same interpretation, without many changes, in the following centuries. All the references presented here were intended against the Protestants. Thus, the next part of the study moves to the Protestant writings to search for how they responded.

7.8 The PD in the writings of the Protestant authors

Even if the Catholics used the PD as an argument for their Eucharistic views, the Protestants did not become interested in the PD. The sources show that the references to the *Panoplia* to a large extent remained unnoticed. Only the earliest reference to the PD emerged in a real discussion between the Catholics and the Anglicans – that is, the passage interpreted by both the Catholic Nicholas Harpsfield and the Anglican John Jewel. I could not find later traces of discussion. The Protestants showed little interest in the PD.

Johann Gerhard

Johann Gerhard (1582-1627) was a Lutheran church leader and theologian who wrote numerous works on exegetical, polemical, dogmatic, and practical theology.²⁸⁹ In

²⁸⁷ Paul Laymann, *Theologiae moralis liber quintus. De sacramentis et sacrificio novae legis* (Munich: Formis Nicolai Henrici, 1625), p.87

²⁸⁸ Denis Petau, *Theologicorum dogmatum tomus quartus. In quo de incarnatione Verbi agitur* (Paris: Sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy,...et Gabrielis Cramoisy, 1650).

Confessionis Catholicae Liber II he refers briefly to Zygabenus' interpretation of Matthew, chapter 28, in connection with the Eucharist.²⁹⁰

Abraham Calov

Abraham Calov (1612-1686) was one of the champions of Lutheran orthodoxy in the seventeenth century and professor of theology at Wittenberg. His chief dogmatic work, *Systema Locorum Theologicorum Tomus Primus* (1655), is considered the climax of Lutheran scholasticism.²⁹¹ In this work Calov provides a brief mention of the comment on Matt. 26 as interpreted by Zygabenus.²⁹²

John Owen

John Owen (1616-1683) was an English Church leader, theologian, and prolific author. In *a vindication of the animadversions of fiat lux* (1664) he mentions the burning of

²⁸⁹ This note is introduced following the thesis report comments of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. The description "was a Lutheran church leader and theologian" and "exegetical, polemical, dogmatic, and practical theology" for Gerhard is quoted after *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1910, vol. 11, pp. 767-768, which is out of copy rights and is available in online. <http://www.archive.org/details/EncyclopaediaBritannica1911HQDJVU> No author is indicated for the article on Gerhard because it is from the so called "unsigned articles" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Web page last consulted in January 2011.

²⁹⁰ Enallagen praesentis temporis pro instanti iamiam & proximè eventuro etiam h. l. agnoscunt Gregorius de Valentia lib. 1. de Missa cap. 4. pag. 686. Salmero tom. 1. proleg. 15. pag. 282. & tom. 9. pag. 203. Ioh. de la Haya Iesuit. in Triumpho verit. cap. 170. ex Euthymio Zigabeno in cap. 26. Matth. p. 259. Johann Gerhard, *Confessionis Catholicae Liber II, Specialis Pars Secunda* (Jena: Typis & Sumptibus Ernesti Steinmanni, 1636), 1195.

²⁹¹ This note is introduced following the thesis report comments of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. The data on Abraham Calov "was one of the champions of Lutheran orthodoxy in the seventeenth century and professor of theology at Wittenberg. His chief dogmatic work" is taken from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1910, vol. 5, p. 68, which is out of copyright and is available online. <http://www.archive.org/details/EncyclopaediaBritannica1911HQDJVU> The article on Calov is from the articles in Britannica which are unsigned by any author. Last consulted in January 2011.

²⁹² Quos tamen ex ipsis Pontificiis Bellarm: Baronius, Sixtus Serviens: & alii meritò reprobant. Non ergò suppetit ex primo seculo $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\eta\varsigma$ quaedam Theologica, extrà Scripturae S. Canonem. In Ignatii quidem Epistolis summa quaedam fidei repetitur, ad Magnesianos, sed per quam succinctè. Quod veròde Symbolo Apostolico ab Apostolis ipsis pro institutione Catechetica concinnato ex adulterino Clementis faetu Epistola ad Iacobum fratrem Domini, quam transtulit Ruffinus, nonnulli temerè affirmant, id abundè diluimus in hoc opere c. II. Q. XVII. In altero seculo offert sese Iustini expositio fidei, & liber contrà omnes haereses laudatus ab Honorio Augustodun. de Script. Ecclesiast. Sed multa sunt, quae illam $\epsilon\kappa\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ Iustino abrogent: quam verò, quia circà quintum & sextum seculum Leontio Hierosolym: & Euthymio Zigabeno laudata fuit, fortè seculo antea, conscriptam & subautoritate Iustini Ecclesiae venditatam nonnulli, iudicant. Abraham Calov, *Systema locorum theologicorum*, è sacrâ potissimùm scripturâ, & antiquitate, nec non adversariorum confessione, doctrinam, praxin, & controversiarum fidei cùm veterum, tùm imprimis recentiorum pertractationem luculentam exhibens. Tomus primus generalis de naturâ theologiae, religione, revelatione divinâ, scripturâ S. & articulis fidei in genere (Wittenberg: Sumptibus Andreae Hartmanni, 1655), 9.

Basil the Bogomil in connection with the repressive methods adopted by the Catholic Inquisition.²⁹³

Peter van Maastricht

Peter van Maastricht (1630-1706), a German-Dutch theologian, is best known for his *Theologia Theoretico-Practica* (first edition 1698), a comprehensive and influential work that was translated into Dutch.²⁹⁴ The reference he made to the PD coincided with the time when the Orthodox were already making efforts to publish the PD. Peter van Maastricht quotes the chapter against the Latins.²⁹⁵

The references to the PD among the Protestant authors which I have collected so far display limited interest in the *Panoplia*. These references appear sporadically. Each of them

²⁹³

It is the Principle of your Church, whereunto your Practise hath been suited, that those who dissent from you in things determined by your Church, being Heretics, if they continue so to do, after the application of the means for their reclaiming which you think meet to use, ought to be imprisoned, burned, or one way or other put to death. This you cannot deny to be your Principle, it being the very foundation of your Inquisition, the chief corner-stone in your present Ecclesiastical fabric, that couples and holds up the whole building together: And it hath been asserted in your practice for sundry Ages in most Nations of Europe: Your Councils, as that of Constance, have determined it, and practised accordingly, with John Huss, and Hierome: Your Doctors dispute for it, your Church lives upon it. That you are destitute of any colour from Antiquity in this your way, I have showed before: Bellarmine de Laic. cap. 22. could find no other Instances of it, but that of Priscillianus, which what entertainment it found in the Church of God, I have declared; with that of one Basilius out of Gregories Dialogues, Lib. 1. Cap. 4. whom he confesseth to have been a Magitian; and of Bogomitus in the dayes of Alexius Comnenus 1100 years after Christ, whose putting to death notwithstanding, was afterward censured and condemned in a Synod of more sober Persons than those who procured it. Instance of your avowing this Principle in your dealing with the Albigenses of old, the Inhabitants of Merindol and Chrabiers in France, with the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, formerly and of late; of your judiciary proceedings against multitudes of Persons of all sorts, conditions, ages, and sexes in this and most other Nations of Europe, you are not pleased with the mention of, I shall therefore pass them by. John Owen, *A vindication of the animadversions of fiat lux* (London: Henry Cripps, 1662), 119.

²⁹⁴ This note is introduced following the report comments of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. I include the following note concerning the phrases “a German- Dutch theologian,” “best known for his *Theologia Theoretico-Practica*”, “a comprehensive and influential work that was translated into Dutch.”

I could not find further reference on this author. It is possible that there are references on him in Dutch. The only information about Peter van Maastricht I could find is on the site of Theopedia http://www.theopedia.com/Peter_Van_Mastricht (last consulted in January 2011). The article there does not provide further bibliography. “A comprehensive and influential work” is a cliché and the fact that it was translated in Dutch does not have any relevance for the thesis.

²⁹⁵

In Oriente, causam Graecorum adversus Latinos, tutati sunt, comprimis Iohannes Zonaras, monachus, scriptor Annalium, ab orbe condito ad Alexium Comnenum, Euthymius Zigabenus monachus, scripsit Panopliam contra haereses, aliaque contra Latinos, Eustathius Archiepiscopus Thessalonicensis, vir doctus, commentatus est in Homerum & Dionysium Periegetem, huic coaevus fuit Iohannes Ttetzes, Scholiastes inclytus, Theodorus Balsamon, Patriarcha Antiochenus, expositione Canonum omnium notus. Peter van Maastricht, *Theoretico-Practica Theologia* (Utrecht: Ex officinâ Thomae Appels, 1699), 1030.

seems to be independent from the other accounts. Also, each reference is a result of erudition rather than an answer to the interpretations of the Eucharist which were elaborated by the Catholics. There is no direct answer to the accusations that the Protestants were heirs of the Bogomils; the PD was just a small part of all the Patristic authors and books discussed by Catholics and Protestants. Paradoxically, the Catholic interpretation of the Eucharistic question in the PD became interesting not for the Protestant but for the Orthodox. This is most evident in the latest references to the PD which were related to the Jansenist controversy.

8 THE JANSENIST CONTROVERSY AND THE PD

During the Jansenist Controversy, which shaped theological discussions in Western Europe in the second half the seventeenth century to a great extent, the Jansenists and their Calvinist opponents turned to the legacy of the Orthodox Church in search of arguments to support their views. The first contact on behalf of the Jansenists was made through the French ambassador in Sweden, M. de Pomponne, who requested information on the Orthodox view on transubstantiation from Nicolae Milescu (1636-1708), a Moldavian nobleman, writer, traveler, geographer, and diplomat.²⁹⁶ The Milescu's reply encouraged Jansenist theologians to enhance their contacts with the Greek Church. For this reason they approached Patriarch Dositheos, Patriarch Dionysios, and Panagiotis Nikousios, who initially took a favorable position. As a result of this short cooperation some Orthodox authors were quoted in the main work of the Jansenists, *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le livre du Sieur Claude, ministre de Charenton*.²⁹⁷ In addition, the acts of the Synod of Jerusalem, organized by Dositheos, and the *Refutation* of Meletios Syrigos were published in Paris. The cooperation between the patriarch of Jerusalem and the French Catholics quickly ended with the disputes over the protection of the Holy Places, which began in 1674.

Among the Greek fragments the Jansenists employed were some taken from the *Panoplia* of Emperor Alexios Komnenos.²⁹⁸ The most influential authors who quoted the PD were Antoine Arnauld and Eusèbe Renaudot. These authors were interested in the Eucharistic

²⁹⁶ Emile Turdeanu, "Les controverses des Jansénistes et la création de l'imprimerie grecque en Moldavie," *Études de Littérature Roumaine et d'Écrits Slaves et Grecs des Principautés Roumaines*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 175-296. (Henceforth Emile Turdeanu, "Les controverses des Jansénistes").

²⁹⁷ Antoine Arnauld, *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le livre du Sieur Claude, ministre de Charenton* (Paris: Chez Sigismund d'Arnay & Compagnie, 1781, first edition 1669).

²⁹⁸ Emile Turdeanu, "Les controverses des Jansénistes," 280-281.

Chapter of the anthology. Their references coincided with the moves by the Orthodox to publish the book.

Antoine Arnauld

Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694) was a leading intellectual of the Jansenist group of Port-Royal and one of the authors of the famous *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique*²⁹⁹ where he made the lengthiest reference to the PD.³⁰⁰ It contains a summary of everything which was said by earlier authors in connection with Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. Arnauld's reference can be found in appendix 3 of the present study since this is the most authoritative work of the Jansenist movement.

Eusèbe Renaudot

²⁹⁹ This note is introduced following the report comments of Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. It indicated that the phrase comes from Wikipedia, where the lengthy article on Arnauld is introduced by two sentences part of one of which contained the same wording (but in plural). Address quoted in this quote http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Gerhard <sic>

In fact, this is a cliché used for the Jansenist circle in Paris who are usually tagged as “the ideologists of the Jansenist group of Port-Royal.”

For example this wording can be found via googlebooks:

C. Albrecht Milton, James H. Barnett and Mason Griff (eds), *The sociology of art and literature. A reader* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1970). Available at http://books.google.be/books?id=24MYAAAAYAAJ&q=%22the+Jansenist+group+of+Port-Royal%22&dq=%22the+Jansenist+group+of+Port-Royal%22&hl=en&ei=V_NSTb3dFsqyhAePpaGqCQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDsQ6AEwAw

Second example

Peter Hobley Davison, Rolf Meyersohn, Edward Shils (eds.), *The Sociology of Literature*, (Somerset House, 1978). Available at: http://books.google.be/books?id=a5pkAAAAMAAJ&q=%22the+Jansenist+group+of+Port-Royal%22&dq=%22the+Jansenist+group+of+Port-Royal%22&hl=en&ei=V_NSTb3dFsqyhAePpaGqCQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CCwQ6AEwAA

An article dedicated to Antoine Arnauld can be found in Britannica 1910 vol 2, p 626-627. <http://www.archive.org/details/EncyclopaediaBritannica1911HQDJVU> Last consulted in January 2011.

³⁰⁰ Antoine Arnauld, *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le livre du Sieur Claude, ministre de Charenton* (Paris: Chez Sigismund d'Arnay & Compagnie, 1781, first edition 1669).

The fourth volume of *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique*³⁰¹ contains one more reference to the PD, this time by Eusèbe Renaudot (1646-1720), French theologian and Orientalist.³⁰² Renaudot discusses the volume of Patriarch Dositheos, published in 1672 in Paris, and the differences introduced by the patriarch in the second edition of the same book published in Bucharest (1690). Renaudot emphasizes that this is an edition sponsored by an Orthodox ruler, carried out by Greeks, and accepted without reservation in its natural milieu. Renaudot retells the account of Patriarch Dositheos in the PD in connection with Berengar, quoted in an earlier section of this study. His full account is provided in the Appendix.

Richard Simon (1638- 1712)

The last reference which will be given here on Eucharistic matters comes from the French biblical scholar Richard Simon.³⁰³ He shows scholarly interest in the works of Euthymius Zigabenus, quoting the Latin edition on the *Commentary on the Gospels* and expresses his disbelief that none of Zygabenos' works has a printed edition in Greek!

8.6 Conclusions

The connection between the PD and the heresy of Berengar which is attested in the writings of the Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century was apparently created under Western influence. The fact that the PD is the most serious source on the teaching of the Bogomils attracted the attention of the Catholic scholars to studying the anthology more closely and to tracing similarities between the teachings of the Bogomils and the Protestants.

³⁰¹ Eusèbe Renaudot, *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le livre du Sieur Claude, ministre de Charenton. tome quatrième* (Paris: Chez Sigismund d'Arnay & Compagnie, 1782).

³⁰² The description "Eusèbe Renaudot French theologian and orientalist" is found in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 23, 1911, p. 96. There, the article on Renaudot does not have indication for its author because it is from the so called "unsigned articles" in *Britannica*. The edition of *Britannica*, 1910-1911 is out of copy rights and is available in several public domains, e.g., <http://www.archive.org/details/EncyclopaediaBritannica1911HQDJVU> Last consulted in January 2011.

³⁰³ Richard Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam: Chez Reinier Leers, 1693), 409.

Among the Catholic authors who connected the PD with Berengar was Roberto Bellarmino, whose account influenced the Orthodox theologians. The connection of the PD with the heresy of Berengar, however, was not an original invention of Cardinal Bellarmino. Until now I have not found with certainty who the first Western author was to begin quoting the PD in connection with the Eucharist and the Berengarian movement. However, at least it is possible to suggest which text of the PD served as a basis for this reference. It must have been the Latin edition of the PD. The earliest references to the Latin translation of the PD originate from the discussions among the English Catholic theologian Harpsfield and his Anglican opponent, John Jewel, and also the account of John Martiall. This means that they might have been referring to the edition of the Latin translation, London 1556. Soon afterwards, it was the recusant community of English Catholics in Leuven who used the *Panoplia* with the testimonies of Harding and Stapleton. As was demonstrated, later the PD was referred to by theologians of the Counter-Reformation and later still, in relation to the Jansenist controversies.

The references to the PD in the Catholic tradition were created as an argument against the teachings of the Protestants. However, the PD did not become involved in a discussion between both sides because the Protestants did not show any substantial interest. Apparently, when the Orthodox theologians became interested in the anthology during the seventeenth century they were not aware of the reception history of the anthology in the West. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text which they prepared was a synthesis of the Orthodox and Catholic traditions. Even if on the surface both sides were openly hostile to each other, in fact they were using the same texts and, in the case of the anthology of Emperor Alexios I, the same interpretations.

9 THE RECENSION OF PANOPLIA DOGMATIKE IN THE ATHONITE MS IVIRON 281

The dogmatic anthology of Euthymius Zigabenus remained most popular in the Greek tradition. It was shown in the previous section of this study that the text was continuously copied until the eighteenth century, so that over 160 Greek manuscripts are still extant.

Against this background, a mutilated manuscript of the PD from the fourteenth century would not be of the greatest interest. Nonetheless, a study of such a text can show that every manuscript, even late and fragmentary, is interesting. The manuscript in question, Ivron 281, attests a version of the *Panoplia* which differs both from the printed edition and all MSS that I was able to consult. While many of the patristic fragments in the MS are missing, this Athonite MS contains *scholia*.

The existence of *scholia* which became attached to the Corpus of the PD attracted the attention of Friedrich Christian Matthäi as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Having consulted the copies of the PD in Russia, he speaks of a PD manuscript with many omissions of Patristic fragments but also additions *curiosius tractanda a futuro editore*.³⁰⁴ In this section of the dissertation I will treat another *curiosius tractandus* manuscript which contains *scholia*.

Ivion 281 is described in the catalogue of Lampros,³⁰⁵ where it is identified as a copy of the PD; it has not been studied in further detail until now. It deserves attention as a small contribution to the transmission history of the anthology. What follows is a description of this MS, a discussion of the provenance of the *scholia* and a presentation of a sample of these *scholia*, which, as far as I can judge, will be their *editio princeps*.

³⁰⁴ PG 130, 13. Also in: Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in quatuor evangelia graecae et latinae/Textum graecum...ad fidem duorum codicum...diligenter recensuit et repetita versione latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionis edidit Christ. Frid. Matthäi* (Berlin and London: Asher, 1845).

³⁰⁵ Spiridon Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους Ἑλληνικῶν Κωδίκων*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 70.

9.6 Description of Iviron 281

Lampros describes the manuscript as a mutilated “theological book of an unknown author which contains diverse views and excerpts from the Fathers.” After consulting the whole manuscript, I can provide the following description of the contents:

Incipit: ... [ἀϊδίους] αἰών τὸ συμπαραεκτεινόμενον ...τι χρονικὸν κίνημα καὶ διάστημα. [Greg. Naz., *In theophania* (Orat. 38), PG 36, 320]

Ἐκ τοῦ περὶ θεολογίας λόγου. Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φάναι δὲ ἀδύνατον· ὥς τις παρ’ Ἑλλησι θεολόγων ἐφιλοσόφισεν, οὐκ ἀτέχνως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν [Greg. Naz., *De theologia* {Orat. 28} 4, 1, f. 1r]

Chapter 5: Περὶ θεωνυμίας· τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου, ἐκ τοῦ λόγου περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων [f. 10r]

Chapter 6: Περὶ τῆς θείας δημιουργίας, τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου· ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ Χριστοῦ [f. 14r]

Chapter 7: Τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου· ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων [f. 24v]

Chapter 8: Κατὰ Ἑβραίων· Ἐκ τῆς λεγομένης εἶναι τοῦ Νύσσης βίβλου τῆς προσαγορευομένης Θεογνωσίας τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα πάντα συνελέγησαν κεφάλαια μέχρι τῶν Χρυσοστομικῶν. Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον τούτων τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐστίν [f. 51v]

Chapter 9: Κατὰ Σίμωνος τοῦ Σαμαρέως, καὶ Μαρκίωνος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πέρσου Μάνεντος, καὶ τῶν Μανιχαίων [f. 67v]

Chapter 10: Κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν τοῦ ἀγίου Κυρίλλου [f. 76v]

Chapter 11: Κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου [f. 77v]

Chapter 12: Κατὰ Πνευματομάχων, τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς

Ἀμφιλόχιον τοῦ Ἰκονίου περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κεφαλαίων· κεφάλαια θ' [f. 130r]

The end of the chapter is mutilated.

Desinit: αἱ μὲν πρῶται συζυγαὶ τοιαῦται καὶ οὕτως ἔχουσι, τίνα δέ, οὔτε ἐστίν, οὔτε λέγεται· πονηρόν, τὸ θεῖον· ἢ σφαῖρα τετράγωνος· τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνέστηκεν, οὐ σύνθετον ὁ ἄνθρωπος (Greg. Naz., *De spiritu sancto*{Orat. 31}, 23, 11-16)

The above data permit the identification of this anonymous fragment: it is from a version of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigad[b]enus. The Iviron fragment begins at PG 130, 157 A11 and ends at 837 B12. However, it does not contain the same text as the edited *Panoplia*. It contains both less and more. Many of the edited texts are missing in the fragment, while the text is different in many respects. The text edited by Metrophanes contains some variants compared to the Iviron fragment (or vice versa), but the main difference is that the edited text does not contain the scholia.

9.7 Codicological and palaeographic description

Lampros' catalogue indicates that the manuscript dates from the fourteenth century. There is no sound reason to contest this proposed dating; however, it could be extended to between the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The manuscript does not have watermarks and is written on bombicine paper.

The quires, indicated in the upper right margin, show that five quires are missing from the beginning of the MS (that is, 40 pages). The numbering is the following: stigma om. f. 8v; ζ f. 15v; η f. 23v; θ f. 31v; ι f. 39v; ια f. 47v; there is no numbering ιβ on page 55v, the

numbering of ιγ is on f. 63v.; the numberings from 15-18 are on f. 79v, f. 87v, f. 95v, f. 103v, the numberings of quires 21-25 are on ff. 127v and 159v.

The pages are 310 x 235 mm; the written text occupies 225 x 76 mm. Each folio has 29 lines, except for the folia that have only 28 lines because of the decorative stripes between two chapters.

Despite archaising tendencies, the script has the characteristics of the style that Herbert Hunger called “die Fettaugenmode,” and which clearly points to the indicated dating.³⁰⁶ All the pages are probably written by one hand. The punctuation consists only of superior dots, commas, and signs for the end of each paragraph. The paragraphs themselves are not separated by any spacing. The main text and the scholia that follow them are marked by marginal signs. In the main text, the word to which each scholion refers is indicated by a different sign. Only the scholia in the last part of the MS are numbered.

Written in a *Fettaugen style*, the letters vary in size – some are enlarged, while others remain small. Among the *Fettaugen* elements are letters with elongated tails – the chis, kappas and the xis. Although not systematically, the betas, rhos, and omegas have rounded bows; the ypsilons are regularly elongated as well. Because of the archaising tendencies, ligatures are little used – among the few are those of epsilon-xi (ex) and epsilon-rho. Καὶ is in most cases written fully. *Nomina sacra* are presented in abbreviations. The text is written neatly and the scribe made corrections several times. Decoration of modest quality consists of decorative stripes between two chapters finishing with human hand (f. 10r, f. 51v, f. 67v, f. 77v, f. 130r), a bird-like creature (f. 77v), or a simply decorated initial letter (f. 7r, f. 13v, f. 23v, f. 67v). Page 123v is left blank and several notes are written on it. The scribe has left a note on the upper part of the page that he has forgotten and omitted the blank page --

³⁰⁶ Herbert Hunger, “Archaisierende Minuskel und Gebrauchsschrift zur Blutezeit der Fettaugenmode,” in *La Paléographie Grecque et Byzantine*, ed. J. Glenisson and J. Bompaire (Paris: Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., 1977), 283-290.

ἐλαθάσθημεν καὶ ἐπαρεδιάβημεν τὸ καταβατὸν τοῦτον. At the bottom of the folio the same note of the scribe was copied by another hand.

The remaining two notes are not written by the main scribe. In presenting them, I keep the orthographical peculiarities of the scribe:

1) Χριστῷ φέρουσιν αἱ μαθηταὶ μύρων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτες εἰμῶν ὡς δόρων φέρω.

These are the στίχοι that precede the Synaxarium read in the morning service on the Sunday of the Myrophores (the second Sunday after Easter)

2) θεωρία γὰρ φησιν ἀχαλῆνωτος τάχα ἄν καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ὤσις·

This is a fragment from Gregory Nazianzen, *In Sancta Lumina*, PG 36, col. 334)

There are two other small notes which are not legible.

9.8 Omission of Patristic fragments

Compared to the text of Metrophanes, the major omissions of Patristic fragments in Iviron 281 are the following:

Chapter 6

f. 24 v. the last fragment in the chapter, authored by Maximus the Confessor is missing

Ὁ μὲν τοῦ ἀπλῶς εἶναι τρόπος (PG 130, 208 B)

Chapter 7

f. 27v. two fragments from Dionysios Areopagite missing

Ἦ δὲ τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος (PG 130, 209 C and D)

Ἀνανεύσω δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερτάτας...

f. 41r. missing fragment from Maximus the Confessor

Οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι (PG 130, 229 A – 232 A)

f. 42r. missing text from Maximus the Confessor

Ὡς δίκαιος ὁ Χριστός (PG 130, D 232)

f. 48v. fragment missing in PG 130, 248 C

unidentified author – Εἶπερ ὁ ἥλιος σῶμα φθαρθέν ὦν

Chapter 8

The chapter in the Ivron MS is copied as far as the fragment of Leontios of Cypros Δειξόν μοι, φησὶ, τὰ σημεῖα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας

The MS omits fragments that follow – PG 130, 296 A – 305 C

Chapter 9

f. 73v. missing fragment – PG 130, 320 B - 321 A

Κἂν γὰρ Μανιχαῖος ὑπεισέλθῃ λέγων

f. 75v. several lines, which in PG 130, 325 are published as a scholion, here in Ivron 281 are presented as *in corpore* text.

It can be observed that most of the omissions are made at the end of each chapter. It is only chapters 11 and 12 that change the order of the number of texts and make more omissions compared to the Tîrgoviște edition. However, the most significant differences between the Ivron 281 and the printed edition are the scholia. These scholia will be treated in the next part of the study.

9.9 Fragments with scholia

The scholia are attached only to the fragments of Gregory Nazianzen's Orations and Dionysios the Areopagite. Fragments with scholia occupy the following parts of the manuscript:

Scholia on fragments of Gregory Nazianzen

In Theophania, Orat. 38, : f. 14r- 22r; f. 26v.- 32v

De filio, Orat. 28: f. 1v – 6r

De filio, Orat. 29: f. 80r-91 r; f. 103v-118r

De filio, Orat. 30; f. 10v– 14 r; f. 100r -101 r; f. 120v-126r

De Spiritu Sanctu, Orat. 31: f. 154r– 165r

Scholia on fragments from Dionysios the Areopagite

De divinis nominibus f. 10r– 11v

Epistula IV f. 24v– 26v

De divinis nominibus f. 26v

I provide a sample which includes all the *scholia* to the fragments of the Areopagite (there are only seven) and a selection of the texts on Gregory Nazianzen -- the scholia to *Oratio 38 In Theophania* and *Oratio 30 De Filio*. The reason for my choice of these particular orations is that they represent the two types of Gregory's orations – *Oratio 38* was from the so-called ἀναγινωσκόμενοι λόγοι which were read aloud in the Church for religious purposes, while *Oratio 30* is from the theological orations which were read only as a text. In the complicated tradition of commentaries to Gregory's Orations³⁰⁷ the two types of orations were often treated differently by different commentators. Thus, in order to provide a comprehensive overview of the type of scholia, I have chosen one from ἀναγινωσκόμενοι λόγοι and one theological oration.

³⁰⁷

A comprehensive view on the commentators of Gregory Nazianzen can be found in Joannes Sajdak, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni. Accedit appendix de Pseudogregorianis et Gregorii Encomiis* (Meletemata Patristica, I), Cracovie, 1914; Joannes Sajdak, "Die Scholiasten der Reden des Gregor von Nazianz. Ein kurzgefasster Bericht über den jetzigen Stand der Forschung," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929-1930): 268-274. Friedhelm Lefherz, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz : Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten* (Bonn: s.n. 1958). For detailed studies on the different scholiasts see Jennifer Nimmo Smith, *A christian's guide to Greek culture: the pseudo-Nonnus Commentaries on Sermons 4, 5, 39 and 43 by Gregory of Nazianzus* (Liverpool: Liverpool university press, 2001); Thomas Schmidt, *Basilii Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII Commentarii*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 46, Corpus Nazianzenum 13 (Turnhout : Brepols, 2001); Thomas Schmidt, "Les Commentaires de Basile le Minime: Liste Révisée des Manuscrits et des Éditions," *Byzantion* 70 (2000): 55 -181; Panayotis Nicolopoulos and Justin Mossay, "Le codex Sinaiticus Graecus MI 25," *Byzantion*, 72 (2002): 475-480; Francesco Trisoglio, *Mentalità ed atteggiamenti degli scolasti di fronte agli scritti di S. Gregorio di Nazianzo*, in II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Actes du colloque international, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-28 août 1981, édités par J. Mossay (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. 2. Reihe: Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz) (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich, 1983), 187-251; J. Noret, "Les manuscrits sinaïtiques de Grégoire de Nazianze," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): 146-207; E. Norden, "Scholia in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationes inedita," *Hermes* 27 (1892): 606-642; E. Norden, "Unedirte (sic) Scholien zu den Reden Gregors von Nazianz," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 36 (1893): 441-447; Vittorio Puntoni, "Scolii alle orazioni di Gregorio Nazianzeno," *Studi di Filologia greca*, 1, E. Piccolomini (Torino, 1886), 133-180; 207-246.

9.10 Sources of the scholia

The scholia to Dionysios the Areopagite

The scholia in Ivron 281 attached to Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite are not identical with the scholia traditionally appended to *Corpus Dionysiacum*.³⁰⁸ These scholia do not seem to add any new interpretation and merely retell the text but still have a value of their own. One scholion contains a large fragment of St. Maximus' *Ambigua ad Thomam*.³⁰⁹

The scholia to the fragments of Gregory the Theologian

In Ivron 281, the scholia to Oratio 38 *In Theophania* are appended to this part of the oration, which is identical with another oration of Gregory – that is *In Sanctum Pascha* (Oratio 45). Part of the scholia in Ivron 281 have not yielded identification until this moment. However, a considerable number of them are based on (or share a common source with) the scholia to Oratio 45, *In Sanctum Pascha*, authored by Niketas Herakleensis, a twelfth-century scholar, teacher in the patriarchal school of Constantinople.³¹⁰ The scholia of Niketas to the orations of Gregory the Theologian are partially edited (CPG 3027). In the printed version the scholia to Oratio 45 are available only in the Latin translation of Billius, which is re-printed in volume 127 of PG.³¹¹ As a basis for comparison I have used a fourteenth-century MS of Niketas – Cod. Pii Gr. 5. The comparison shows that Ivron 281 does not contain the whole commentary of Niketas but a selection of passages. Some of these passages are re-worked. In the cases when the scholia differ much from the text of Niketas, I

³⁰⁸ PG 4, 30-432; Paul Rorem and John Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian corpus : annotating the Areopagite* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

³⁰⁹ Bart Janssens (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 48 (Turnhout : Brepols, 2002).

³¹⁰ Peter Van Deun, "Nicetas d'Héraclée, Commentaire sur l'Evangile de s. Matthieu: Édition Critique du Chapitre 4," *Byzantion* 71:2 (2001): 517-551; Bram Roosen, "The Works of Nicetas Heracleensis ó τοῦ Σεργίου," *Byzantion*, 69:1 (1999): 119-144.

³¹¹ Diui Gregorii Nazianzeni ... *Opera omnia, quae quidem extant, noua translatione donata / una cum doctissimis Nicetae Serronij commentariis in sedecim panegyricas orationes ... Adiunctum ... Nonni opusculum ... Quae omnia nunc primum latina facta sunt, Iacobi Billii Prunaei ... diligentia & labore* (Parisiis: apud Sebastianum Nivellium, 1569).

have provided both texts. Apparently, the scholia also incorporated parts of a Byzantine dictionary to the works of Gregory of Nazianzus.³¹² The fragments the *Oratio* 30, which are being treated here, are not *propria* either. The scholia contain several sentences which are also found in the scholia of Elias Cretensis available in the very fragmented edition of this author in PG. However, on the basis of further evidence it can be affirmed that for the major part of this scholia the author is indeed Elias Cretensis.

Finally, a remark should be made on the combination of the manuscript of the PD and the commentators of Gregory the Theologian. The main compiler of the PD, Euthymios Zyghadenos, was a specialist on Gregory the Theologian and compiled his own scholia on the orations not read in the church using the scholia of the tenth century author Elias Cretensis (CPG 3028). The manuscript which attests to this version is kept in Paris, where I intend to go and examine the traces of this version.

Author and importance of the scholia

The scholia which I present in this edition are not *propria* in the strict sense. They represent a re-working which was made by a (to this moment) anonymous person, who made his own version. This anonymous man was far from being a great theologian, but was a man with strong faith and zeal. His version has the immediacy of displaying personal interests. For example, he liked different metaphors on the union of the two natures in Christ and for this reason he copied several scholia on this question – the natures in Christ likened to a blazing sword, to a soldier with full armour, to the mixture of wine and water. Furthermore, he was interested in the mixture of different elements, also in the nature of the angels, and Melchisedek.

This anonymous scholiast was not consistent in his paraphrasing technique. He copied literally the passages which he liked most (several of the passages from Niketas Heracleensis

³¹² Dionysios Kalamaki, *Λεξικά τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου μετὰ γενικῆς θεωρήσεως τῆς πατερικῆς λεξικογραφίας* (Athens: Typografeion Emm. Papadaki, 1992).

and Maximus Confessor) while in many other cases he retold his source or omitted parts. Many of the scholia to Oratio 30 include only Biblical quotations. There are two possibilities for these scholia – the quotations are taken from earlier scholia or these Biblical passages were included by the anonymous scholiast himself. This can be either proved or disproved when more studies appear on the scholia to Oratio 30.

Although not highly original, the scholia which he has composed have a certain value of their own and deserve attention. They demonstrate that it is worthwhile to do more research on the scholiasts of Gregory the Theologian.

In conclusion, the data suggests that Ivron 281 attests another recension of the *Panoplia* which was compiled on the basis of several manuscripts. In this case Ivron 281 is “an edition” by a copyist and man of letters who has prepared it on the basis of several sources during the Palaeologian Period. With the limited data coming from the manuscript itself and the fact that many of the scholiasts to Gregory Nazianzen remain unedited, any preliminary conclusions about the milieu and circumstances that necessitated this MS remain open for further research, which can be carried out if similar manuscripts of the PD come to light or one finds the missing parts of Ivron 281. At this stage the only thing which could be said about the author of this version is: *quem sit ad auctorem referendus libellus non dixerim; divinabit alius.*

9.11 On the principles of the edition.

The MS has been damaged by moisture and several portions of the text could not be read. The scholia are presented together with the text of Gregory the Theologian. The edition of the scholia follows the MS as close as possible but introduces modern punctuation as far as the scholia to Gregory are concerned. Given that punctuation and sentence structure is an unsolved question to date in the case of the Dionysian Corpus, for the Dionysian texts and

scholia I have kept the punctuation (indicating pauses in reading, not punctuation in the modern sense) of the manuscript. The bold type indicates the passages of Nazianzen's text which were repeated in the scholia. On several occasions I have provided the text of Niketas Heracleensis as it is attested in MS Pii II 5 Gr. in order to show the paraphrasing technique of the anonymous scholiast.

The critical edition of the Areopagite³¹³ made it possible to include in an earlier study³¹⁴ an apparatus which gave insight into the relation between the Dionysian fragments in the PD, and Iviron 281 in particular, and the text as it is transmitted in the direct tradition.

³¹³ Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite. *De Divinis Nominibus: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, vol. 1. *Corpus Dionysiacum*, ed. Beate Regina Suchla, Patristische Texte und Studien. Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1990.

³¹⁴ Nadejda Miladinova, "Pseudo-Dyonisian Fragments in the Athomite forilegium Iviron 281," MA thesis defended at the Departement of Medieval Studies at the Central European University. Budapest: 2004.

| Τίτλος στ' περὶ τῆς θείας δημιουργίας· τοῦ 14'
 μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου· ἐκ τοῦ λόγου
 τοῦ εἰς τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ Χριστοῦ

κεῖμενον

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ Ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων, ἃ καὶ τοῖς 5
 σεραφίμ συγκαλύπτεται, καὶ δοξάζεται τρισὶν
 ἁγιασμοῖς, εἰς μίαν συνιούσι κυριότητα καὶ
 θεότητα· ὁ καὶ ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν
 πεφίλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα.

σχόλιον 10

Οὕτω μοι θεολόγηται, καθὼς ἀποδέδωκα· ἅγια δὲ
 ἁγίων, ἢ ἁγία τριάς, ἥτις καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς
 παρεστῶσι κύκλῳ σεραφίμ συγκαλύπτεται,
 τουτέστιν ἀποκρύπτεται, μὴ δυναμένοις ἀτενίζειν 15
 διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἐξαστραπτούσης

1 *Panoplia*, Titulus VI, PG 130 col. 197 A 5-9 Οὕτω...
 ὑψηλότατα Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 8, 20-24, PG 36,
 320 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 628 D- 629 A, *Pnpl.*,
 PG 130 , 197 A)

11 θεολόγηται] sic I

11-20 Οὕτω... θεότητα] Nik. Serr. P, f. 21v.: Οὕτω φησὶν
 ἐκβεβλημένης τῆς ἰουδαϊκῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς
 πολυθεΐας εἰσάγεται ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς μιᾶς οὐσίας τρία πρόσωπα,
 τὰ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἢ κατὰ περιοχὴν ἅγια ἁγίων
 ὀνομαζόμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ, ὡς ἀθέατα· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
 παλαιᾷ σκηνῇ, ἣν Μωσῆς ἐπήξατο, τὸ ἐνδοξότατον αὐτῆς
 μέρος, τὸ λεγόμενον ἅγια ἁγίων, καταπετάσματι
 ἐκαλύπτετο καὶ ἀπεκαλύπτετο· οὕπω (οὕπω cod. P) καὶ τῆς
 μιᾶς θεότητος τὰ τρία πρόσωπα τῇ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπηδῶση
 ἀστραπῇ τῆς λαμπρότητος, οἷον εἶ τινα καταπετάσματι
 καλύπτοντα καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς θεωροῦνται τοῖς ἐξαπτερύγοις
 σεραφίμ ἀλλ' ὡς φησιν ὁ μεγαλόφρων Ἡσαΐας (sic) ταῖς μὲν
 δυσὶ πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν συγκαλύπτουσι· ταῖς δυσὶ
 δὲ τοῖς πόδας· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς δυσὶν ἵπτανται καὶ κρᾶζουσιν
 ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος, δοξάζοντα τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα
 τρισὶν ἁγιασμοῖς, συναγομένοις εἰς μίαν κυριότητα· ἐν γὰρ
 τῷ (correxī, τὸ cod. P) λέγειν ἐκ τρίτου τὸ ἅγιος τὰς τρεῖς
 ὑποστάσεις σημαίνουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιλέγειν ἅπαξ τὸ Κύριος
 τὴν μίαν δηλοῦσι θεότητα, καθὰ καὶ Αθανασίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ
 πεφίλοσόφηται.

5-7 Οὕτω... ἁγιασμοῖς cf. Is. 6, 2-3

λαμπρότητος· **δοξάζεται** δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμνεῖται·
κράζουσι τρισάκις μέν, τὸ ἅγιον, ἅπαξ δέ, τὸ
Κύριος, ὡς δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τοῦ τριπτοῦ μέν
ἁγιασμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ὑποστάσεων, διὰ τῆς
μῆκος δὲ κυριότητος τὴν μίαν θεότητα.

20

κείμενον

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἤρκει τῇ ἀγαθότητι τοῦτο, τὸ
κινεῖσθαι μόνον τῇ ἑαυτῆς θεωρίᾳ.

σχόλιον

Οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ πρῶτοι φιλόσοφοι τρία μόνον τῇ 25
θείᾳ φύσει προσῆψαν ὀνόματα - ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἕν,
καὶ Θεός -, τὰλλα πάντα καταδεέστερα κρίνοντες·
καὶ ἀγαθὸν μέν, ὅτι ἅγαν θεομεν ἐπ' αὐτό, τῆς
ἀγαθότητος μεταλαβεῖν ἐφιέμενοι· ἕν δὲ, ὡς
συναγωγὸν τῶν θεόντων· Θεὸς δέ, ὡς πανταχοῦ 30
θέων, καὶ πάντα τῆς οἰκείας πληρῶν δυνάμεως.
Ὅταν μὲν οὖν οἱ θεολογοῦντες τὸ πανταχοῦ
παρεῖναι τὸν δημιουργὸν δεῖξαι θέλωσι, τὸ Θεὸς
ὄνομα λαμβάνουσιν· ὅταν δὲ τὴν συναγωγὸν
αὐτοῦ δύναμιν παριστάνωσι, τὸ ἕν ἐπιφέρουσιν· 35
ὅταν δὲ τὴν εὐεργετικὴν δύναμιν· | 14^v
.....κρινέμενου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀποφαίνονται
αὐτοῦ ἀγαθύνειν καὶ εὐεργετεῖν πάντα ὡς πρῶτον
αἴτιον· οὐχ ἕξις οὖν ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ
συμβεβηκὸς ἐπινοηθεῖ, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ 40
φύσιν ἄτρεπτος· τοῖς ἄλλοις δέ, κατὰ προαίρεσιν
ἐκ ῥαστώνης πολλάκις ἀπολλυμένη· ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ
φύσιν οὖν ἀρετῆς τὸ θεῖον ὠνόμασε· **κινεῖσθαι** δὲ
εἶπεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ **τῇ ἑαυτῆς θεωρίᾳ**· κατὰ 45
γὰρ τὴν παρὰ φιλοσόφοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς κίνησιν,
ἀκίνητον τὸ θεῖον· οὔτε γὰρ γίνεται, ἀεὶ ὄν· οὔτε

22–23 Ἐπεὶ... θεωρίᾳ Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 9, 1-2, PG 36, 320 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 628 D- 629 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 B1 – B2) **25–52** Οἱ... σύννευσιν cf. Michael Psellus, *Theologica*, Opusculum 89, 35-75
30–31 Θεὸς... θέων cf. Etymologicum Gudianum, p. 259, 14-15; Athanasius, *Quaestiones Aliae*, PG, col. 773; Jo. Damascenus, *Expositio Fidei*, 9, line 14 et alii auctores

45 ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξ ἀρχῆ I

φθείρεται, ἄδιδον ὄν· οὔτε μειοῦται, ἄτρεπτον ὄν· οὔτε ἀλλοιοῦται, ἄποιον ὄν· οὔτε μεταβαίνει τοπικῶς, οὐδενὸς ὄντος κενοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ πληρώσεως· λοιπὸν οὖν ἐνταῦθα **κίνησιν** ἐκάλεσε 50
 θείου τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἐπιστροφὴν τε καὶ σύννευσιν, καὶ οἶον εἰπεῖν, ἔλλαμψιν τῆς τριάδος μόνης, **ἑαυτὴν θεωρούσης**· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἤρκει· καὶ τὸ ἔδει θεοπρεπῶς ἐρμηνευτέον, οὐχ ὥς ἐνδεοῦς ὄντος ἔτι τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλον τῆς 55
 χρηστότητος παριστῶντος τοῦ τοιούτου τῶν λόγων σχήματος, καὶ δεικνύντος τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ὥς ἀναγκαίαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ εὐεργετήσαντος ἀγαθότητα.

κείμενον 60

Ἀλλ' ἔδει χεθῆναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁδεῦσαι, ὥς πλείονα εἶναι τὰ εὐεργετούμενα.

σχόλιον

Χεθῆναι διὰ τὸν ἄπειρον πλοῦτον τῆς ἀγαθότητος· οὐ τὴν ἀγαθότητα δὲ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ **τὸ ἀγαθόν**· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθότης κατὰ φύσιν ἀκίνητός ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ· **ἀγαθόν** δὲ νῦν ἡ εὐεργεσία ἡγουν τὸ γενέσθαι καὶ ἄλλους κοινωνοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλλάμψεως· εἰς ἐπίτασιν δὲ τῆς χύσεως ἐπήγαγε τὰ **καὶ ὁδεῦσαι**, ὅπως μὴ ἄτακτον χύσιν 70
 οἰηθεῖ τις· ἐπεὶ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ ὁδεῦειν ἔχεται· πρῶται γὰρ τάξεις καὶ δεύτεραι, καὶ καθεξῆς ἐδημιουργήθησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ | τὸ χεθῆναι καὶ τὸ 15'
 ὁδεῦσαι δαψίλεια τ ἀλλήλως προσέθηκε, τὸ **πλείονα** ἐστὶ δὲ ἀλλ' ἀπόλυτον· ἀντὶ τοῦ, 75
 πολλά.

κείμενον

47–52 οὔτε...σύννευσιν Nik. Serr., P, f. 22 r **61–62** Ἀλλ... εὐεργετούμενα Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 9, 2-3, PG 36, 320 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 629 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 B2- B4)

56 παριστῶντος] παριστῶντι | **67** εὐεργεσία] εὐεργσί |
69 ἐλλάμψεως] ἐλάμψεως |

Τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἄκρας ἦν ἀγαθότητος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοεῖ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ οὐρανίους.

σχόλιον

Ὁ πατὴρ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν· οὐχ' ὡς δι' ὀργάνου λειτουργικοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς διὰ φυσικῆς καὶ ἐνυποστάτου δυνάμεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ διὰ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ προερχομένου φωτὸς φωτίζον, οὐχ' ὡς δι' ὀργάνου ὑπουργικοῦ τοῦτο δρᾷ, ἀλλ' ὡς διὰ φυσικῆς δυνάμεως.

Τὰς αἰτίας πρότερον τῆς δημιουργίας εἰπών, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἦλθεν· ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῆς· τάξεως γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον· ἀλλ' αἰ μὲν οἱ λόγοι τῶν δημιουργημάτων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ὁμοῦ πάντα πάντοτε γινώσκοντι. Τότε δ' ἐνενόησε τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις παραγαγεῖν αὐτάς, ὅτε ἦδει πρέπον· τὸ δὲ καὶ οὐρανίους προσέθηκε, δηλῶν ἔνθα τὴν διατριβὴν ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἔτι καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄγγελος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπίγειος. Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τῷ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματι, ποτὲ μὲν καθολικῶς χρώμενοι, πάσας τὰς ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις σημαίνομεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν, ποτὲ δὲ μερικῶς, ἐν τάγμα, τὸ ἀγγελικόν.

κείμενον

Καὶ τὸ ἐννόημα ἔργον ἦν, Λόγῳ συμπληρούμενον, καὶ Πνεύματι τελειούμενον. Καὶ οὕτως ὑπέστησαν λαμπρότητες δεύτεραι, λειτουργοὶ τῆς πρώτης λαμπρότητος.

σχόλιον

78-79 Τοῦτο...οὐρανίους Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 9, 3-5, PG 36, 320 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 629 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 B 4-B 5) **81-86** Ὁ...δυνάμεως cf. Jo. Damascenus., *Expositio*, 160-165; Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De sancta trinitate*, PG 77, 1137 **101-104** Καὶ...λαμπρότητος Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 9, PG 36, 320 C-D (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 629 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 B 6- B10)

Μωσῆς μὲν τοῖς παχυτέροις Ἑβραίοις
 διαλεγόμενος, παχύτερον εἶρηκε· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός·
 γενηθήτω τάδε καὶ τάδε, καὶ ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ
 Θεολόγος πρὸς τοὺς συνετωτέρους ἐκείνων
 110
 χριστιανούς τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος, οὐχ οὕτως,
 ἀλλὰ λεπτότερον, ὅτι ἐνενόησε, **καὶ τὸ ἐννόημα,**
ἔργον ἦν· | κα..... συνεπλήρωσε δὲ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ
 15^v
 λόγος.... καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· μία γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
 τρισὶ καὶ...βούλησις καὶ δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια·
 οἶμαι δέ, τὸ δαυιτικὸν ἐνταῦθα μετέλαβε, τὸ τῷ
 115
 λόγῳ υἱοῦ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν· καὶ τῷ
 πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις
 αὐτῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ῥητὸν ἐμφαίνει τὴν
 συμπληρωτικὴν τῶν τριῶν προσώπων
 δημιουργίαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν δι' ἕτερον λέγομεν
 120
 δημιουργόν, ἀλλ' ὡς λόγον, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ
 δύναμιν. Οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι **δεύτεραι μὲν λαμπρότητες**
 πρὸ...πρώτην ἦτοι τὴν θεότητα· **λαμπρότητες** δέ,
 τῷ ἐκεῖθεν ἀνγάζεσθαι κατὰ μέθεξιν· **πρώτη** δὲ
λαμπρότης, ὅτι καὶ πρώτη φωτεινὴ φύσις, ὡς
 125
 προλαβὼν εἶρηκε.

κείμενον

Εἴτε νοερὰ πνεύματα, εἴτε πῦρ οἶον ἄϋλον καὶ
 ἀσώματον, εἴτε τινα φύσιν ἄλλην, ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω
 130
 τῶν εἰρημένων, ταύτας ὑποληπτέον. Βούλομαι μὲν
 εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀκινήτους πρὸς τὸ κακόν, καὶ μόνην
 ἐχούσας τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ κίνησιν, ἅτε περὶ Θεὸν
 οὔσας, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐκ Θεοῦ λαμπομένας· τὰ γὰρ
 ἐνταῦθα, δευτέρας ἐλλάμψεως. Πείθει δέ με, μὴ
 ἀκινήτους, ἀλλὰ δυσκινήτους, καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν
 135
 ταύτας, καὶ λέγειν, ὁ διὰ τὴν λαμπρότητα
 Ἐωσφόρος, σκότος διὰ τὴν ἔπαρσιν καὶ γενόμενος,
 καὶ λεγόμενος, αἶ τε ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀποστατικάι

124–126 πρώτη...εἶρηκε cf. Greg. Naz. *In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 364, B 11-15 **128–140** Εἴτε...πρόξενοι Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 9, 7- 18, PG 36, 320 D – 321 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 629 B, *Pnpl.* PG 130, 197 B10 – C 5)

115 ἐνταῦθα] ἐν ταῦτα | **120** δημιουργίαν] δημίαν |

107–108 καὶ...ἐγένετο cf. Gen. 1-31 **115–118** Ps. 32, 6
121–122 σοφίαν...δύναμιν cf. I Cor. 1, 24 **137** Ἐωσφόρος cf. Is. 14, 12-15

δυνάμεις, δημιουργοὶ τῆς κακίας τῇ τοῦ καλοῦ
φυγῇ καὶ ἡμῖν πρόξενοι. 140

σχόλιον

Ἀπὸ τοῦ δαυϊτικοῦ ῥητοῦ κἀνταῦθα ἡ ἔννοια· ὁ ποιῶν
γὰρ φησι τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς
λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον. Καὶ νοεῖ μὲν πρὸς 145
ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἥτοι τῶν ἀνέμων· τὸ
δὲ οἶον, εἰκαστικὸν καὶ διερμηνευτικόν, καθάπερ
ἄρα καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπεξηγητικὸν τὸ ἀσώματον· τὰ 145
πρῶτα δ' ἐκ Θεοῦ λαμπομένας, διὰ τὸ ἄμεσον· | τὰ 16^r
γὰρ ἐνταῦθα, δευτέρας ἐλλάμψεως, διὰ τὸ ἔμμεσον·
<διὰ> γὰρ μέσων τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐλλάμπονται οἱ 150
ἄνθρωποι. Ἐωσφόρος δὲ ὁ σατανᾶς· εἴληπται δὲ ἀπὸ
τῆς βίβλου Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος ὧδε· πῶς
ἔπесας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὁ ἔωσφόρος· οὕτως μὲν οὖν
ἐκλήθη διὰ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ἐλλάμψεως, διὰ τὴν 155
ἔπαρσιν δέ, στερηθεὶς αὐτῆς, σκότος γέγονεν ἐκ
προαιρέσεως, κενωθείς τοῦ φωτίζοντος αὐτὸν φωτός·
καὶ οὐ γέγονε τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγεται
σκοτίαν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης
προσηγόρευσε· καὶ ἡ σκοτία γὰρ φησιν, αὐτὸ οὐ 160
κατέλαβε. Δημιουργοὶ δὲ τῆς κακίας, οὐχ'
ὑπόστασιν αὐτῇ δόντες κατὰ τὸν μανιχαϊκὸν λῆρον,
ἀλλ' ὥς πρῶτοι ταῦτα ἐνεργήσαντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ
κατεχρήσαντο τῷ τῆς δημιουργίας ὀνόματι,
σκεψάμενος μὴ καὶ ἡ κακία νομισθεῖ τις ὑφεστῶσα,
τεθεράπευκε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, προσεπαγαγὼν ὅτι τῇ 165
τοῦ καλοῦ φυγῇ, μονονουχὶ λέγων, ὥς ἡ κακία
στέρησις ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς, καθάπερ καὶ σκότος ἐστὶν ἡ
τοῦ φωτός ὑποχώρησις. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταύτην
ἐνήργησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτὴν προεξένησαν, ὥς
ἀντικείμενοι τῷ Θεῷ· τῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἤρκει, καθὼς 170
εἴρηται, τὸ κινεῖσθαι μόνον τὴν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὴν ἔχυσαν· ὥστε ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἦν ἄκρας
ἀγαθότητος, τοῦτο δέ, ἄκρας πονηρίας.

145 ἀντιδιαστολὴν... αἰσθητῶν cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6, 70, 7, 31 167–168 σκότος... ὑποχώρησις Greg. Naz., *Ad Iulianum*, PG 35, 1060, l. 38. 170–172 τῷ²... ἔχυσαν cf. Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 9, 1–2, PG 36, 320 C 8–9 (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 5, PG 36, 629 A 8–9)

142–144 Ps. 103, 4 152–153 Is. 14, 12 159–160 Jo. 1, 5

ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου

κείμενον

175

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ νοητὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
ὑπέστη κόσμος.

σχόλιον

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τάξιν καὶ
ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἐννοήματι διὰ ταῦτα δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ "διὰ
τοῦτο" κατὰ τοὺς ἀπτικίζοντας, τῆς εὐκρινείας δὲ
τὸ σχῆμα, συμπληρωτικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ
ἀνακεφαλαιωτικὸν τῶν εἰρημένων.

180

κείμενον

Ὡς ἐμὲ γοῦν περὶ τούτων φιλοσοφῆσαι.

185

σχόλιον

| Ἑλλειπτικὸν τοῦτο εἶκος εἰ δυνατόν· μετρίου δὲ
ἥθους καὶ πολιτικοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ τό, "εἴτε τόδε,
εἴτε τόδε," καὶ ὅσα ἐνδοιαστικά.

16^v

κείμενον

190

Μικρῷ λόγῳ τὰ μεγάλα σταθμώμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ
πρῶτα καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, δεύτερον ἐννοεῖ κόσμον
ὕλικόν καὶ ὁρώμενον.

σχόλιον

Μετροῦντα· μετρεῖν γὰρ λέγομεν καὶ τὸ ἐξετάζειν
καὶ διαγινώσκειν τῷ λόγῳ.

195

176–177 Οὕτω... κόσμος Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 1-2, PG 36, 321 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 C 8 – C 9) **185** Ὡς... φιλοσοφῆσαι Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 1-2, PG 36, 321 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 C 9) **191–193** Μικρῷ... ὁρώμενον Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 2-4, PG 36, 321 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 197 C 10 – C 12)

κείμενον

Καὶ οὗτός ἐστι τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ σύστημά τε καὶ σύγκριμα.

σχόλιον

200

Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ κόσμου λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ὑπογράφων, φησί· κόσμος ἐστὶ **σύστημα** ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων· καὶ **σύστημα** μὲν, ὡς ἐκ τούτων συμπληρωμένος· ὁ Θεολόγος δὲ προσέθηκεν ὅτι καὶ **σύγκριμα** διὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἰδίους ἔχοντα τόπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμιγνύμενα· συγκρίνω γὰρ λέγεται καὶ τὸ μίγνυμι, καθάπερ καὶ διακρίνω τὸ διῖστώ.

205

κείμενον

210

Ἐπαινετὸν μὲν τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον εὐφυΐας, ἀξιεπαινετώτερον δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀπάντων εὐαρμοστίας καὶ συμφωνίας.

σχόλιον

198–199 Καὶ...σύγκριμα Greg.Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 5-6, PG 36, 321 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130 col. 197 C 12 – C 13) **201–208** Ἀριστοτέλης... ἐπιμιγνύμενα cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 23v. **202–204** κόσμος... φύσεων Aristotle, *De Mundo*, ed. Bekker page 391b, 9 **211–213** Ἐπαινετὸν... συμφωνίας Greg.Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 6-8, PG 36, 321 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 C, *Pnpl.* PG 130, 197 D 1- D 3)

Φυσιολογίας τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀψάμενος ἐπιπλέκει 215
τούτοις κεφαλαιῶδες ἐγκώμιον, ὅτι καὶ κατὰ
φύσιν ἔχει καλῶς καὶ κατὰ σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς
ἕτερον. Καὶ διὰ μὲν **τῆς εὐαρμοστίας** ἔδειξεν ὡς
οὐκ ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοις ἔχουσι, διὰ δὲ **τῆς**
συμφωνίας, ὡς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐναντίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ 220
οἰκείως μάλιστα· ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς λύρας ἀρμονία
ἐστὶν ἐκ διαφόρων μὲν χορδῶν, συμφωνοῦσα δὲ
ὅμως εἰς ἑνὸς μέλους ἀπαρτισμόν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου, διάφορα μὲν τὰ εἶδη,
σύμφωνα δὲ πρὸς **τὴν** τούτου **συμπλήρωσιν**· 225
πάντα γὰρ αὐτῷ κατάλληλον εἰσάγουσι χρεῖαν·
καὶ διακέκριται μὲν ταῖς τοπικαῖς θέσεσι καὶ
φύσεσιν ὡς τὰ | στοιχεῖα, συγκρίνονται δὲ ταῖς 17^ρ
οἰκειώσεσι καὶ σχέσεσιν.

κείμενον 230

Ἄλλου πρὸς ἄλλό τι καλῶς ἔχοντος, καὶ πάντων
πρὸς ἅπαντα, εἰς ἑνὸς κόσμου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα

215–229 Φυσιολογίας...σχέσεσιν cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 23v. -24r.
231–234 Ἄλλου...ὦν Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 8-11,
PG 36, 321 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 C, *Pnpl.*,
PG 130 , 197 D 3 – D 6)

222 συμφωνοῦσα] συμφωνοῦσαν I

215–229 Φυσιολογίας...σχέσεσιν] Nik. Serr. P, f. 23v. -
24r.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν ἐπαινούμενον ἢ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν
ἐπαινεῖται φύσιν, ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἕτεραν σχέσιν, καὶ ὁ
Θεολόγος ἐπαινῶν τὸν κόσμον, πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ ἐγκωμίου
ἐγκοσμίου φύσιν κεφαλαιωδῶς περιέλαβεν εἰπὼν ὅτι
ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐπαινετόν ἐστι
καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἕτερον εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς
εὐαρμοστείας, ἔδειξεν δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐναντίως ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλοις
τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, διὰ δὲ τῆς συμφωνίας, ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ
ἐναντίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκείως μάλιστα· συνάπτονται γὰρ πρὸς
ἄλληλα, καὶ κοινωνοῦσι πῶς ἡπίως· ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς λύρας ἐκ
διαφόρων μὲν ἐστὶ χορδῶν ἢ ἀρμονία, συμφωνουσῶν δὲ
ὅμως εἰς ἑνὸς μέλους ἀπαρτισμόν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ
κόσμου, διάφορα μὲν τὰ εἶδη, σύμφωνα δὲ πρὸς τὴν τούτου
συμπλήρωσιν· πάντα γὰρ αὐτῷ κατάλληλον εἰσάγουσι
χρεῖαν, καὶ διακέκριται μὲν ταῖς τοπικαῖς θέσεσι ὡς τὰ
στοιχεῖα συκέκριται δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς σχέσεσιν ἄλλου πρὸς
ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἔχοντος· τῆς μὲν γῆς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ κοινὸν γὰρ
ἀμφοῖν τὸ βαρὺ καὶ ψυχρὸν.

δείξη, μὴ μόνον οἰκείαν ἑαυτῷ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πάντη ξένην ὑποστήσασθαι δυνατὸς ὢν.

σχόλιον

235

Τῆς μὲν γῆς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τῆς ἐγγύτητος τοῦ
τόπου, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα τοῦ βάρους καὶ τῇ φιλίας
τῆς οἰκειότητος· διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῆς
ψυχρότητος. Τοῦ ὕδατος δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τῇ
ἐγγύτητι τοῦ τόπου, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα τοῦ
διαφανοῦς, καὶ τῇ φιλίας τῆς οἰκειότητος, διὰ τὴν
συγγένειαν τῆς ὑγρότητος. Τοῦ δὲ ἀέρος πρὸς τὸ
πῦρ, διὰ τε τὴν ἐγγύτητα τῆς κουφότητος καὶ τὴν
οἰκειότητα τῆς θερμότητος. Πῦρ δὲ νῦν λέγομεν
τὸν αἰθέρα.

240

245

κείμενον

Οἰκεῖται μὲν γὰρ θεότητος, αἱ νοεραὶ φύσεις, καὶ νῶ
μόνῳ ληπταί· ξένον τὲ παντάπασιν, ὅσαι ὑπὸ τὴν
αἴσθησιν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἔτι πορρωτέρω, ὅσαι
παντελῶς ἀψυχοὶ καὶ ἀκίνητοι.

250

σχόλιον

Νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς λέγεται· νόες δὲ ἄγγελοι
κατὰ μέθεξιν· οἱ καὶ ἄυλοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀσώματοι, καὶ

236–245 Τῆς...αἰθέρα Nik. Serr. P, f. 23v. -24r.
247–250 Οἰκεῖται...ἀκίνητοι Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10,
8-11, PG 36, 321 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 6, PG 36, 629 C,
Pnpl. PG 130, 197 D 6 – D 10)

249 αὐτῶν] αὐτῷ I

236–245 Τῆς...αἰθέρα] Nik. Serr. P, f. 24r.: Τῆς μὲν γῆς πρὸς τὸ
ὕδωρ - κοινὸν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τὸ βαρὺ καὶ ψυχρόν -, τοῦ δὲ
ὕδατος πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα, διαφανὲς γὰρ καὶ ὑγρόν τὸ ὕδωρ,
ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἀήρ -, τοῦ δὲ ἀέρος πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, εἴτουν πρὸς τὸν
αἰθέρα· θερμὰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα καὶ κοῦφα, καὶ
πάντα δὲ τελοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν,
καὶ αὐτὰ δήπου δοκοῦντα ἐναντιώτατα. Τὸ γὰρ καὶ πάντων
πρὸς ἅπαντα, οὕτως νοήσεις, καθὼς ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ οὐ μόνον τὸ
ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ γεῶδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀερῶδες, ἤδη
δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ὑγρῷ πάντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς
ὁμοίως εὐρήσεις, καὶ καθ' ἐν οὖν ἕκαστον καὶ ἄλλου πρὸς
ἄλλο καλῶς ἔχοντος.

ἀνείδεοι· ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν δὲ καλεῖ πάντα τὰ
ἄλογα ζῶα, ἃ καὶ ξένα πάντα Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ 255
μηδεμίαν ἔχειν Θεῷ ἐμφέρειαν· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν
λόγον τῆς κτίσεως καὶ προνοίας οὐκ ἀπεξένωνται
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Οἰκεία δὲ Θεοῦ ἡ λογικὴ φύσις καὶ νῶ μόνῳ
ληπτῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντῃ πορρωτάτῳ κειμένην τὴν 260
ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν δηλαδὴ πίπτουσιν καὶ μάλιστα
ὅτι ἄψυχος· πάντα μὲν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἀγαθότητος μετέχει, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα κατὰ τὸ
εἶναι μόνον, τὰ δὲ ζῶα κατὰ τὸ εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ
ζωῆς μετέχειν, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ 265
κατὰ τὸ λόγικόν, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἔτι μᾶλλον
οἰκειότερος ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς καὶ νοητὸς καὶ νῶ
μόνῳ ληπτός.

κεῖμενον

Νοῦς μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ αἴσθησις, οὕτως ἀπ’ 270
ἀλλήλων διακριθέντα, τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων ἐντὸς
εἰστήκεισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ Λόγου
μεγαλεῖον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔφερον, σιγῶντες ἐπαινέται
τῆς μεγαλουργίας, καὶ διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες. Οὐπω
δὲ ἦν κρᾶμα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, οὐδέ τις μίξις τῶν 275
ἐναντίων, σοφίας μείζονος γνῶρισμα, καὶ τῆς περὶ
τὰς φύσεις πολυτελείας· οὐδὲ ὁ πᾶς πλοῦτος τῆς
ἀγαθότητος | <γνῶριμος. Τοῦτο> δὴ βουλευθεὶς ὁ 17^v
τεχνίτης ἐπιδείξασθαι Λόγος, καὶ ζῶον ἐν ἐξ
280 ἀμφοτέρων.

σχόλιον

259–268 Οἰκεία...ληπτός Nik. Serr. P, f. 24v. 270–280 Νοῦς...
ἀμφοτέρων Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 11, 1-9, PG 36, 321
C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 629 D – 632 A, *Pnpl.* PG
130, 200 A 1 – A 11)

273–274 σιγῶντες...κήρυκες cf. Ps. 18, 4-5

Νοῦν ἐνταῦθα τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον καλεῖ, καὶ
 αἰσθησιν τὸν αἰσθητόν· καὶ φησὶν ὅτι
 ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διακριθέντες οἱ δύο οὗτοι κόσμοι,
 285 τουτέστιν ἰδιοτρόπως γεγονότες καὶ ἀμιγῶς, τῶν
 ἰδίων ὅρων ἐντὸς ἦσαν· ἔμεινε γὰρ ὁ νοητὸς
 κόσμος ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου ὅρου, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 εἶναι νοητὸν μόνον· καὶ αὖ πάλιν ὁ αἰσθητὸς ἐπὶ
 290 τῆς οἰκείας ἔμεινε φύσεως, μόνον ὧν αἰσθητός·
 ἔφερον δὲ καὶ ἐδείκνυνον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἑκάτερος τὸ
 μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς ἀγαθότητος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
 τοῦ παραγαγόντος αὐτοῦ Λόγου καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ διὰ
 τῆς κατασκευῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τάξεως
 295 ἀφθόγγους φωναῖς τὸν δημιουργὸν ἐμεγάλυνον
 κατὰ τὸ οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ
 τὸ ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ Σολομῶντος· ἐκ γὰρ μεγέθους καὶ
 καλλονῆς κτισμάτων, ἀναλόγως ὁ γενεσιουργὸς
 αὐτῶν θεωρεῖται. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ δύο κόσμοι
 300 καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἦσαν κεχωρισμένοι καὶ
 περιγεγραμμένοι, οὕτω δὲ ἦν κράμα ἐξ
 ἀμφοτέρων, οὐδὲ τις μίξις τῶν ἐναντίων·
 ἐναντία γὰρ νοῦς καὶ αἰσθησις, ὑλικὸν καὶ ἄϋλον.
 Εἴρηται δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ μὲν κράμα διὰ τὸ παρ' ὅλον
 τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίον ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι τὴν

282–313 Νοῦν...ἀγαθότητος Nik. Serr. P, f. 24r.-24v.

292 αὐτοῦ] αὐτοὺς I

282–308 Νοῦν...σίτος] cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 175r.: Νοῦν μὲν
 ὠνόμασεν ὁ Θεολόγος τὸν νοητὸν διάκοσμον, ἡγουν τοὺς
 ἀγγέλους· αἰσθησιν δέ, τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον κόσμον· καὶ
 φησὶν, ὅτι ὁ νοητὸς καὶ αἰσθητὸς ἐν μὲν τῷ δημιουργικῷ νῷ
 ἅμα ἦσαν· ὅτε δὲ παρήχθησαν, τότε καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
 διεκρίθησαν· τουτέστι κεχωρισμένως ἐδημιουργήθη καὶ
 ἀμιγῶς ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἴσταντο ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων·
 τουτέστι τὰ νοητὰ, νοητὰ μόνον ἦσαν καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ
 αἰσθητὰ, καὶ οὐκ ἐμίγνυντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ σιωπηρῶς
 ἐκήρυττον διὰ τοῦ κάλλους ἑαυτῶν καὶ μεγέθους, τὴν
 δύναμιν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Οὕτω δὲ ἦν κράμα,
 οὐδὲ μίξις τῶν ἐναντίων, ἡγουν τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ
 κόσμου, ἕως οὗ ἐδημιουργήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ ψυχῆς νοερᾶς
 καὶ γῆϊνου σώματος. Λέγει δὲ κράμα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἵνα
 μάθωμεν, ὅτι ἡ ἡμετέρα ψυχὴ ὡς οἶνος ὕδατι ὅλῳ
 ἀνακιρνᾶται τῷ σώματι· μίξις δὲ, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ θανάτου
 χωρίζεται· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ μίγνύμενα, ὡς κριθὴ καὶ σίτος·
 δημιουργεῖ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ὕλης.

295 Ps. 18, 2 296–298 Sap. 13, 5

ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος· ἡ δὲ **μίξις**, διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ
θανάτῳ χωρισμόν· τὰ γὰρ κιρνώμενα ἀχώριστα,
ὡς ὕδωρ καὶ οἶνος, τὰ δὲ μιγνύμενα χωριστά, ὡς
κριθὴ καὶ σῖτος. Αὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτο **τὸ** μιγῆναι τὰ
ἐναντία **γνώρισμα** ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι | **μείζονος** 18'
τοῦ Θεοῦ **σοφίας**, καὶ ἀπόδειξις το <ὕ δὲ> νασθαι 310
αὐτὸν καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ ποικίλας φύ<σεις>
δημιουργεῖν, καὶ φανέρωσις **τῆς πλουσίας** αὐτοῦ
ἀγαθότητος.

κείμενον

Ἀοράτου τέ λέγω καὶ ὁρατῆς φύσεως, δημιουργεῖ 315
τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῆς ὕλης λαβὼν τὸ
σῶμα ἤδη προϋποστάσης.

σχόλιον

Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
κατασκευῆς κυρίως ἡ δημιουργία λέγεται· 320
εἰργάσθη γὰρ οὗτος εἰς δῆμον καὶ πλῆθος γένους·
αὐξάνεσθε γὰρ φησι, καὶ πληθύνεσθε· δῆμος δέ
ἐστι πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τοῦ δεδημᾶσθαι καὶ
ὑποτετάχθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
κτισμάτων τοῦτο κατάχρησις. 325

κείμενον

Παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πνοὴν ἐνθεῖς.

σχόλιον

315–317 Ἀοράτου... προϋποστάσης Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*,
Orat. 38, 11, 9-11, PG 36, 321 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7,
PG 36, 632 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 A 11 – A 12) **327** Παρ... ἐνθεῖς
Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 11, 11-12, PG 36, 321 D (*In*
Sanctum Pascha, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 A
14)

308 κριθῇ] κριθῆς I

322 Gen. 1, 28

Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐσίας, ὥς τινες εἶπεν
ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ σῶμα μὲν ἐξ ὑποκειμένης
ύλης ἔλαβε - προϋπέστη γὰρ αὕτη - τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν
ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ὑπέστησε τηνικαῦτα, διὰ τοῦτο
παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἴρηται, τουτέστι παρὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος.

330

κείμενον

335

Ὡς νοερὰν ψυχὴν.

σχόλιον

Δείκνυται ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς **ψυχῆς** πολυώνυμον·
καλεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος τῆς μωσαϊκῆς γραφῆς
καὶ **πνοὴν** καὶ **ψυχὴν** καὶ **εἰκόνα Θεοῦ**· καὶ **πνοὴν**
μὲν, ὥς τὸ καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
πνοὴν ζωῆς· **ψυχὴν** δέ, ὥς τὸ καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ
ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· εἰκόνα δὲ Θεοῦ, ὥς τὸ
καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ
ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· **νοερὰν** δὲ προσέθηκε, διὰ τὴν
αἰσθητὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων.

340

345

336 Ὡς... ψυχὴν Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 12PG 36,
321 D (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 A, *Pnpl.*, PG
130, 200 A 14) **338-346** Δείκνυται... ζώων cf. Nik. Serr. P, f.
24v.-25r.

332 τηνικαῦτα] τινικαῦτα I **336** Ὡς] ὁ I

329-334 Οὐκ... ὄντος] Nik. Serr. P, f. 24v.-25r. Τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐκ
γῆς διαπλάσας τῆς ἤδη προϋποστάσης παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ
πνοὴν ἐνθείς, οὐχὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐσίας δηλοῖ, ὥς τινες
εἶπεν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργικῆς
δυνάμεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ὑλης ἔλαβε· τὴν
δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπ' οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ὑπέστησε.
338-346 Δείκνυται... ζώων] Nik. Serr. P, f. 25r. Πολυώνυμος δὲ
ἡ ψυχὴ· λέγεται γὰρ πνοή, ὥς τὸ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον
αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ψυχὴ ὥς τὸ καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς
ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· καὶ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, ὥς τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ
ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα, τὸ νοερὸν καὶ τὸ
αὐτεξούσιον, τὸ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κατὰ τὸ
δυνατὸν ὁμοίωσιν· νοερὰν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Θεολόγος εἶπε
πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς τῶν ἀλόγων ψυχῆς, ἥτις
αἰσθητή(αἰσθητῆς cod. P) ἐστίν.

336 νοερὰν ψυχὴν cf. Gen. 2, 7 **341-342** Gen. 2, 7
342-343 Gen. 2, 7 **344-345** Gen. 1, 27

κείμενον

Καὶ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ οἶδεν ὁ λόγος.

σχόλιον

Εἰκὼν καὶ ἐμφέρεια **Θεοῦ** ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν Θεολόγον 350
Γρηγόριον | ὁ νοῦς τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς, οἷος ἦν ὁ 18^v
τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ὁπηνίκα ὠνοματοθέτει τοῖς ἀλόγοις
ζώοις ὡς ὑπηκόοις, προφητικῶς, ὡς εἶχον φύσεως,
πάντα καλῶν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀόριστον· πῶς
γὰρ φησιν ὁ νοῦς, καὶ περιγραφτὸς καὶ ἀόριστος 355
ἐν ἡμῖν μένων καὶ πάντα ἐφοδεύων τάχει φορᾶς
καὶ ῥεύσεως· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν, πῇ μὲν ἔοικε, πῇ δ'
ἀπέοικε τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, καὶ ὁ νοῦς, ἥ μὲν ἐστὶν
ἀόριστος, ἔοικεν, ἥ δὲ ἐστὶ περιγραφτὸς, ἀπέοικε.
Κατὰ μέντοι τὸν Χρυσόστομον Ἰωάννην **εἰκὼν** 360
Θεοῦ καθ' ἣν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπλάσθη, τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ
βασιλικόν· πρόσκειται γὰρ εὐθὺς ὅτι καὶ
ἀρχέτωσαν· ἄρχει μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θεός, ἄρχει δὲ καὶ ὁ
ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντων ἀοράτων καὶ
οράτων, ὁ δὲ μόνων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. Μόνος τοίνυν ὁ 365
ἄνθρωπος **εἰκὼν Θεοῦ** κατὰ τὸ ἀρχικὸν ὡς
δεδήλωται· τὸ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, τινὲς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ
σημαίνειν εἰρήκασι - ταυτὸν γὰρ εἰκὼν καὶ
ὁμοίωμα -, τινὲς δὲ **καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν** ἀντὶ τοῦ,
καὶ ὁμοιώσεως δύναμιν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἐν 370
τῷ δύνασθαι ὁμοιοῦσθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς ἀρετάς.

κείμενον

Οἷόν τινα κόσμον δεύτερον, ἐν μικρῷ μέγαν, ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς ἴστησιν.

348 Καὶ... λόγος Greg. Naz., In *Theophania*, Orat. 38, 10, 12-13, PG 36, 321 D (In *Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 A) **373-374** Οἷόν... ἴστησιν Greg. Naz., In *Theophania*, Orat. 38, 11, 13-14, PG 36, 324 A (In *Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 A 14- B 1)

364 ἀοράτων] ὠράτων I

348 εἰκόνα Θεοῦ Gen. 2, 7 **351** ἀνθρώπου... ὁ² cf. Gen. 2, 7
352-353 ὁπηνίκα... ὑπηκόοις cf. Gen. 2, 19-20 **352-353** Gen. 1, 27
352 εἰκόνα Θεοῦ cf. Gen. 1, 26-27 **360-361** εἰκὼν Θεοῦ 1, 27
364-365 ὁ... γῆς cf. Col. 1, 16

σχόλιον

375

Τῶν ἐγκοσμίων τὰ μὲν εἰσὶ παντελῶς ἄψυχα, ὡς
τὰ στοιχεῖα, καὶ χρυσός, καὶ ἄργυρος, καὶ χαλκός,
καὶ σίδηρος, καὶ λίθος, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ ἐγγὺς
ἐμψυχώσεως, ἅπερ εἰσὶ τὰ φυτά· τὰ δὲ ἔμψυχα
μὲν, ἄλογα δέ· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔμψυχα καὶ λογικά. Καὶ 380
γεγόνασι πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἄψυχα, εἶτα καθεξῆς τὰ
ἀπαριθμηθέντα, προβαίνουσης τῆς δημιουργίας
ἐπὶ τὸ τελειότερον· διὸ τελευταῖος ὁ ἄνθρωπος
γεγονώς, κεκοινώνηκε τοῖς μὲν ἀψύχοις κατὰ τὸ
σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων 385
κράσιν, τοῖς δὲ φυτοῖς, κατὰ | τὰ τε ταῦτα, κατὰ
τὴν θρεπτικὴν καὶ αὐξητικὴν καὶ σπερματικὴν
δύναμιν· τοῖς δὲ ἀλόγοις, κ<ατὰ τὰ> εἰρημένα
πάντα, καὶ προσέτι κατὰ τὴν οἶον φέγγος καὶ τὴν
καθ' ὁρμὴν κίνησιν καὶ τὴν ὄρεξιν λέγεται κατὰ 390
θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. Καθ' ὁρμὴν δὲ κίνησις, τὸ,
ἀπὸ εἰς τόπον μεταβατικόν, καὶ τὸ κινητικὸν ὅλου
τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τὸ φωνητικόν τε καὶ
ἀναπνευστικόν. Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν καὶ **κόσμος** ὁ
ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ὅλοις τοῖς ἐγκοσμίοις κοινωνῶν καὶ 395
πάντων μετέχων· **μέγας** δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς
λόγῳ τετιμημένης ψυχῆς, καθ' ὃ κοινωνεῖ καὶ τῇ
νοερᾷ τῶν ἀγγέλων φύσει.

Ἄλλο εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

σχόλιον

400

Κόσμος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς χαρακτηρᾶς τινὰς ἔχων
τῶν δύο κόσμων. Τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος
συνέστηκεν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μὲν, οἶον τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐκ
γῆς δέ, τῶν ποδῶν, ἐκ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ δέ, τῶν ἄλλων
ποικίλων μερῶν καὶ μορίων· καὶ ὅτι κεκόσμηται 405
τοῖς εἵδεσι τούτων, καὶ ὅτι συγκεκόμεσται ἐκ
τούτων· τοσούτοις γὰρ τρόποις ὁ κόσμος
ἡτυμολόγηται. Τοῦ νοητοῦ δέ, διὰ τὰς νοερὰς
δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τούτων τάξιν, καὶ τὸ

383–394 ὁ... ἀναπνευστικόν cf. Jo. Damascenus, *Expositio Fidei*,
26, l. 71-77 et 79-80

390 λέγεται] λέγετε I 391 θυμὸν] μὸν I 395 ἐγκοσμίοις]
ἐγκωμίοις I 402 κόσμων] κοσμῶν I

ἄσώματον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνείδεον. Τὸ δὲ **οἶον** 410
 προσέθηκεν, ὡς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 εἰκαστικῶς οὕτω προσαγορεύσας· **ἄλλον** δέ, ὡς
 παρὰ τοὺς δύο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μόνον ὁράτος, ὁ δὲ
 μόνον ὁρατός, οὗτος δὲ μικτός ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· ἢ **ἄλλον**
 παρὰ τὸν δεύτερον τοῦτον τὸν αἰσθητόν· **Ἐν** 415
μικρῷ δὲ **μέγαν**, ὡς ἐν **μικρῷ** τῷ σώματι, **μέγαν**
 τὴν ψυχὴν, διὰ τὸ ταύτης ἀξίωμα· ἢ ἐν **μικρῷ** τῷ
 κόσμῳ διὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν, **μέγαν** διὰ τὸν λόγον·
 νοερᾶς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐδὲ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος
 ἀντάξιός· τοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ θεολογίας λόγῳ, 420
μικρὸν κόσμον ἐκάλεσε | ... τῆς ἔχειν καὶ 19^v
 ἀναλογίας πρὸς τὸν **μέγαν** μένω. **Ἰστησι** δέ,
 ἀντὶ τοῦ τίθησιν εἰς δίαιταν...ὡς τῶν ἀντιγράφων
 ἔχουσιν, **οἶόν τινα κόσμον** τὸν ἀέριον· ἄμεινον δέ,
 τὸ, **ἄλλον**· εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ **δεύτερος** πρὸς τὸν 425
 αἰσθητόν ἐν ᾧ διατρίβειν ἐτάχθη· ἄνω γὰρ καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τούτους ὁ νοητός.

κείμενον

Ἄγγελον ἄλλον, προσκυνητὴν μικτόν, ἐπόπτην 430
 τῆς ὁρατῆς κτίσεως, μύστην τῆς νοουμένης,
 βασιλέα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, βασιλευόμενον ἄνωθεν,
 ἐπίγειον καὶ οὐράνιον, πρόσκαιρον καὶ ἀθάνατον,
 ὁρατὸν καὶ νοούμενον, μέσον μεγέθους καὶ
 ταπεινότητος· τὸν αὐτόν, πνεῦμα καὶ σάρκα· 435
 πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χάριν, σάρκα διὰ τὴν ἔπαρσιν, τὸ
 μέν, ἵνα μένη καὶ δοξάζῃ τὸν εὐεργέτην· τὸ δέ, ἵνα
 πάσχη, καὶ πάσχων ὑπομιμνήσκηται καὶ
 παιδεύηται τῷ μεγέθει φιλοτιμούμενος.

σχόλιον

Ὡς διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ κατασκευῆς, ἀγγέλλοντα τὴν 440
 τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς λειτουργὸν καὶ
 αὐτόν - ἵνα γὰρ φησι **μένη καὶ δοξάζῃ τὸν**

429–438 Ἄγγελον...μεγέθει φιλοτιμούμενος Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 11, 14-22, PG 36, 324 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 A- B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 B 1-10)

434 καὶ σάρκα·] in marg. τὴν τιμὴν I

440–441 | Corr. 1, 24

εὐεργέτην - προσκυνητὴν δὲ μικτὸν ἤτοι
 σύνθετον, ὥς καὶ πνεύματι προσκυνοῦντα καὶ
 σώματι· οἶμαι δὲ τὸ προσκυνητὴν 445
 ἐφερμηνευτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἀγγέλου· ἀγγελικὴ γὰρ
 ὑπηρεσία τὸ προσκυνεῖν· διὸ καὶ μικτὸν αὐτὸν
 εἶπεν, ὥς οὐράνιον μὲν διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐπίγειον δὲ
 διὰ τὸ σῶμα· οἱ γὰρ ἄγγελοι ἀπλοῖ καὶ ἀσύνθετοι.

κείμενον 450

Ζῶον ἐνταῦθα οἰκονομούμενον, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ
 μεθιστάμενον.

σχόλιον

Πρὸς τὴν ἀθάνατον διαγωγὴν, πρὸς τὸν αἰώνιον
 βίον· εἰ δέ τις εἶποι «πῶς οὖν μήπω σφαλεῖς ὁ 455
 Ἀδὰμ τοιοῦτος ἐπλάσθη, ζῶον ἐνταῦθα
 οἰκονομούμενον, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μεθιστάμενον·
 οὐπω γὰρ τὸν θάνατον κατεκρίθη» λέγομεν ὅτι
 προεγίνωσκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ παρακοήν, καὶ
 τὸν δι' αὐτῆς ἰθάνατον, εἰ καὶ μέσον ἀθανασίας 20'
 καὶ θνητότητος τοῦτον ἐδημιούργησε.

κείμενον

Καὶ πέρας τοῦ μυστηρίου τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν νεύσει
 θεοούμενον. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμοὶ φέρει τὸ μέτριον
 φέγγος τῆς ἀληθείας. 465

σχόλιον

Μυστήριον ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε κατὰ τὸν παρόντα
 βίον οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν μέλλοντα
 μετὰστασιν ὑποληπτέον διὰ τὸ δυσερμηνευτον·

451–452 Ζῶον... μεθιστάμενον Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 11, 22-23, PG 36, 324 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 B 10-12) **454–461** Πρὸς... ἐδημιούργησε Nik. Serr. P, f. 25v. **463–465** Καὶ... ἀληθείας Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 11, 23-25, PG 36, 324 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7, PG 36, 632 B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 B 12-14)

446 ἐφερμηνευτικὸν] ἐφερμηνευτοκὸν I | ἀγγέλου] ἄγγελον
 I

τέλος γὰρ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πραγματείας καὶ τοῦ 470
πολιτεύματος ἔπαθλον, εἶγε πρὸς Θεὸν ὁ
πολιτευόμενος δι' ἀρετῶν οἰκειώσεως
ἀπονεύσειεν, ἢ ἐκεῖ θέωσις· διατοῦτο γὰρ
δοκιμάζεσθαι συνεχωρήθη κατὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον,
καὶ πολυτρόπως πειράζεσθαι, ἵν' εἴη τούτῳ πόνων 475
ἀμοιβὴ μᾶλλον ἢ θέωσις· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρὸς Θεὸν
νεῦσις τῆς ἐνταῦθα φιλοπονίας ἔργον, ἢ δὲ θέωσις
τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος βραβεῖον.

κείμενον

Λαμπρότητα Θεοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ παθεῖν, ἀξίαν τοῦ 480
καὶ συνδήσαντος, καὶ λύσαντος, καὶ αὐθις
συνδήσοντος ὑψηλότερον.

σχόλιον

Ἰδεῖν μὲν διὰ μυσταγωγίας τῶν ἀπορρήτων 485
λόγων τῆς θείας φύσεως, περὶ ἧς διδαχθήσονται
πάντως οἱ κατὰ Θεὸν ἐνταῦθα ζήσαντες παρὰ τοῦ
δεσπότη Χριστοῦ, ἀποκαλύπτοντος, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις
ὁ Θεολόγος εἶρηκε, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ἃ νῦν
μετρίως παρέδειξε· παθεῖν δέ, διὰ τὸ
λαμπρυνθῆναι τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴν ἐνεργεῖ τις τῇ 490
φύσει συγκατασπαρεῖσαν ἐργαζόμενος, τὴν
λαμπρότητα δὲ καὶ θέωσιν πάσχει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος Θεοῦ.

κείμενον

Τοῦτον ἔθετο μὲν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν 495
ὁ παράδεισος οὗτος, τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ τιμήσας, ἵν' ἡ

477–478 ἢ... βραβεῖον Nik. Serr. P, f. 25v.

480–482 Λαμπρότητα... ὑψηλότερον Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*,
Orat. 38, 11, 25-27, PG 36, 324 A (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 7,
PG 36, 632 B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 B 14 - C 2) 486–489 οἱ...
παρέδειξε cf. Greg. Naz., *In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 24, PG 36,
656 A 495–500 Τοῦτον... τελεωτέρων Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*,
Orat. 38, 12, 1-5, PG 36, 324 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG
36, 632 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 C 14 - D 4)

495 ἔθετο] ἔθεντο I

495 Τοῦτον... παραδείσῳ cf. Gen. 2, 8-15

τοῦ ἐλομένου τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὐχ' ἦττον ἢ τοῦ
 παρασχόντος τὰ σπέρματα, φυτῶν ἀθανάτων
 γεωργόν, θείων ἐννοιῶν ἴσως, τῶν τε
 ἀπλουστέρων καὶ τῶν τελεωτέρων. 500

σχόλιον

|.....ἀναγωγὴν· εἰκὸς γὰρ διπλοῦν ὑπάρχοντα 20^ν
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸ μὲν τι αἰσθητόν, τὸ δέ τι νοητόν,
 διπλοῦν ἔχειν καὶ τὸ ἐνδιαιτητήριον ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
 αἰσθητὸς παράδεισος, δηλὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μωσαϊκῆς 505
 γραφῆς· νοητὸς δὲ λέγοιτ' ἂν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς
 καθαρότης καὶ λαμπρότης, ἥς φυτὰ αἱ **θεῖαι**
ἐννοιαί, περὶ ὧν ῥηθήσεται, ὧν αἱ μὲν
ἀτελέστεραι, αἱ δὲ **τελεώτεραι**· καὶ τῶν φυτῶν
 γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα, τὰ δὲ ἰσχυρότερα· 510
 γεωργεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐκελεύσθη τὸν αἰσθητὸν
 παράδεισον, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν νοητόν, διὰ τοῦ
 ἐννοεῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ πῶς ἐδημιουργήθη, καὶ διατί
 καὶ πῶς τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ νοητόν, καὶ
 τίνες αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τίνες αἱ τοῦ 515
 σώματος, καὶ οἷαν καὶ ὅσην διαφορὰν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ
 ἄλογα ζῶα, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀλλ' αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ
ἀπλούστεραι τῶν **θείων ἐννοιῶν**· αἱ **τελεώτεραι**
 δέ, τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυνάμεων, καὶ
 τίς ἡ τάξις αὐτῶν, καὶ τίς ἡ ἐνέργεια, καὶ τίς ἡ 520
 προκοπή, καὶ τίς ἡ τελείωσις, καὶ ὅπως οἱ μὲν
 μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἦττον φωτίζονται, καὶ τὰ
 παραπλήσια· φυτῶν δὲ **ἀθανάτων** εἶπε διὰ τὸ
 ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου
 πεφυτευμένον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν παρῆχεν ἀθανασίαν, 525
 εἰ μὴ ἀθάνατον ἦν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας
 μανθάνομεν· **θείας** δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας **ἐννοίας** εἶπεν,
 ὥς εἰς Θεὸν φερούσας καὶ Θεοῦ ἐχομένας· τὸ δὲ
 ἴσως ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὥς ὑπολαμβάνω".

κείμενον 530

502–510 εἰκὸς... ἰσχυρότερα Nik. Serr. P, f. 26r.

504 ἐνδιαιτητήριον] ἐνδιαιτήριον I

498–499 φυτῶν... γεωργόν cf. Gen. 2, 15 524 ξύλον...
 παραδείσου Gen. 2, 9

Γυμνὸν τῇ ἀπλότητι καὶ ζωῇ τῇ ἀτέχνῳ, καὶ δίχα παντὸς ἐπικαλύμματος καὶ προβλήματος. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἔπρεπεν εἶναι τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.

σχόλιον

Τριχῶς ἐξηγεῖται τὴν **γυμνότητα κατὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα** [τῶν τρόπων· ὕστερον γὰρ ἡ διπλασία καὶ[κατὰ] τὴν ἄτεχνον ζωὴν· ὕστερον γὰρ αἱ τέχναι, κατὰ τὸ ἀναμφίαστον καὶ ἄστεγον· ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ ἄμφια καὶ στέγαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικαλύπτουσι καὶ περιστέλλουσι τὸ σῶμα, αἱ δὲ προβάλλονται κατὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀέρος ἐπιγινομένων, καὶ κατὰ θηρίων καὶ πολέμων.

535
21'

540

κείμενον

Καὶ δίδωσι νόμον, ὅλην τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ. Ὁ δὲ νόμος ἦν ἐντολή, ὧν τὸ μεταληπτέον αὐτῷ φυτῶν, καὶ οὐ μὴ προσαπτέον.

545

σχόλιον

Ὑπόθεσιν τῇ **αὐτεξουσιότητι**, ἵνα ἐπὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀρετὴ φανείη τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητος.

531–533 Γυμνὸν... ἀρχῆς Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12, 5-8, PG 36, 324 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36, 632 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 D 4-7) **535–542** Τριχῶς... πολέμων cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 26v.-27r. **544–546** Καὶ... προσαπτέον Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12, 8-10, PG 36, 324 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36, 632 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 D 7-9) **548–549** Ὑπόθεσιν... αὐτεξουσιότητος Nik. Serr. P, f. 26v.

535–542 Τριχῶς... πολέμων] Nik. Serr. P, f. 26r.: Καὶ τὸ γυμνὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τριχῶς ἐξηγεῖται. Γυμνὸς γὰρ ἦν φησὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα τοῦ τρόπου - οὐπω γὰρ ἡ διπλὴ ἐπετηδεύθη καὶ πονηρία -, γυμνὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄτεχνον ζωὴν - μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ τέχναι εὐρέθησαν -, γυμνὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀναμφίαστον καὶ ἄστεγον· ὕστερον γὰρ ἄμφια καὶ στέγαι ἐπενοήθησαν· διαφέρει δὲ ἐπικάλυμμα προβλήματος, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπικάλυμμα χάριν σκέπης ἐπινενόηται, ὡς τὰ ἱμάτια· τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα χάριν φυλακῆς, ὡς τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἀμυντήρια ὄργανα.

531 Γυμνὸν cf. Gen. 2, 25 **544–546** Ὁ... προσαπτέον cf. Gen. 2, 16-17

κείμενον

550

Τὸ δὲ ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς γνώσεως, οὔτε φυτευθὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κακῶς, οὔτε ἀπαγορευθὲν φθονερῶς.

σχόλιον

Γνώσεως καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ· φαγὼν γὰρ καὶ αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἰδίας γυμνώσεως, ἔγνω ὅτι καλὸν μὲν ἢ φυλακὴ τῆς ἐντολῆς, πονηρὸν δὲ ἢ παρὰβασις· δύο δὲ γνώσεις λέγομεν, τὴν τε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἣν καὶ διακριτικὴν καλοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἣν καὶ πρακτικὴν ὀνομάζομεν. Τὴν μὲν οὖν διακριτικὴν γνώσιν εἶχεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ καὶ πρὸ τῆς γεύσεως - αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ στοχαστικῶς ἐπέθηκε τὰ ὀνόματα -, τὴν δὲ πρακτικὴν γευσάμενος προσεκτήσατο.

κείμενον

565

Μὴ πεμπέτωσαν ἐκεῖ τὰς γλώσσας οἱ θεομάχοι, μὴ δὲ τὸν ὄφιν μιμείσθωσαν· ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν εὐκαίρως μεταλαμβανόμενον - θεωρία γὰρ ἦν τὸ φυτόν, ὡς ἢ ἐμὴ θεωρία, ἥς μόνοις ἐπιβαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς τὴν ἔξιν τελεωτέροις -, οὐ καλὸν δέ, τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἔφεσιν λιχνοτέροις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τροφὴ τελεία λυσιτελεῖς τοῖς ἀπαλοῖς ἔτι καὶ δεομένοις γάλακτος.

|σχόλιον21^v

551–552 Τὸ... φθονερῶς Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12, 10-11, PG 36, 324 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36, 632 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 D 9-11) **554–564** Γνώσεως... προσεκτήσατο Nik. Serr. P, f. 26v. **566–573** Μὴ... γάλακτος Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12, 12-18, PG 36, 324 B-C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36, 632 C – 633 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 200 D 11 – 201 A 4)

554 Γνώσεως... πονηροῦ cf. Gen 2, 9 **554–555** φαγὼν... γυμνώσεως cf. Gen 3, 7 **561–563** αὐτὸς... ὀνόματα cf. Gen. 2, 19-23 **567** μὴ... μιμείσθωσαν cf. Gen. 3, 1-6 **572–573** οὐδὲ... γάλακτος cf. I Cor. 3, 2, I Petr. 2, 2

....οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν θεοστυγῇ λέγει Πορφύριον ἐλήρουν 575
 γάρ, ..κακῶς ἐφυτεύθη τὸ φυτὸν ἐκεῖνο, μέλλον
 προξενῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θάνατον· ἢ [ἐάν] καλῶς
 πάντως φθονερῶς ἀπηγορεύθη, κωλύοντος τοῦ
 ἀπαγορεύοντος τὴν γνώσιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ
 μωρὸν εἶναι αὐτὸν βουλομένου· **μὴ πεμπέτωσαν** 580
 οὖν φησιν ἐπὶ τὸ φυτὸν **τὰς γλώσσας**, μὴ δὲ
μιμείσθωσαν τὸν ὄφιν, ὅτι κακεῖνος φθόνον
 ἕτερον τότε τῷ Θεῷ προσῆψεν, ἀπαγορεύσαντι
 τοῦ τοιοῦδε ξύλου τὴν βρῶσιν· οὐ θανάτῳ γάρ
 φησιν ἀποθανεῖσθε· ἡδὲ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἐν ἡ 585
ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ'αὐτοῦ, διανοιχθήσονται ὑμῶν οἱ
 ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί· γινώσκοντες καλὸν
 καὶ πονηρόν· λυεῖ δὲ τὸ διλήμματον **τῶν θεομάχων**
 τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ φυτῷ πειρωμένων - ἐνὶ γοῦν

575–580 οἱ...βουλομένου cf. Porphyrius, *Gegen die Christen*, p. 67; Severianus Gabal., *De Mundi Creatione*, Orat VI, PG 56, 487.
575–607 οἱ...θείας Nik. Serr. P, f. 27v.-28r.

586 ἡμέρᾳ] ἡμέραν I **587** ἔσεσθε] ἔσεσθαι I **589** -] πειρωμένων I

575–606 οἱ...λιχνεύόμενοι] Nik. Serr. P, f. 27v.-28r.: Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ τὸν θεοστυγῇ Πορφύριον πειρῶνται ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γνώσεως, ἐνὶ γοῦν ἀμαρτήματι τὸν Θεὸν ὑποβαλεῖν· φασὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ διλήμματον σχῆμα, ὅτι τὸ φυτὸν ἐκεῖνο ἢ κακῶς ἐφυτεύθη, προξενεῖν μέλλον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θάνατον, ἢ, ἐὰν καλῶς ἐφυτεύθη, πάντως φθονερῶς ἀπηγορεύθη, φθονοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς γνώσεως καὶ μωροὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι βουλομένου. Λύων οὖν ὁ Θεολόγος τὴν τοιαύτην ἀντίθεσιν, μὴ πεμπέτωσαν φησὶν οἱ θεομάχοι τὰς γλώσσας ἐπὶ τὸ φυτὸν, μὴδὲ τὸν ὄφιν μιμείσθωσαν, ἐπειδὴ κακεῖνος φθονεῖν ἔφη τὸν Θεὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς θεώσεως· οὔτε γὰρ κακῶς ἐφυτεύθη τὸ φυτόν, οὔτε διὰ φθόνον ἀπηγορεύθη, ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν ἦν τῇ φύσει - εἶδε γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησε καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν -, τῇ χρήσει δὲ καὶ καλὸν ἦν καὶ οὐ καλόν· καλὸν μὲν ἐν προσήκοντι καιρῷ μεταλαμβαμβανόμενον, οὐ καλὸν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ οἰκείου καιροῦ. Ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ θεωρῶ καὶ κατανοῶ, ἔννοια ἦν τελεωτέρα τὸ φυτὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ γνώσις ὑψηλοτέρα, ἥς μόνοις ἐπιβαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἔξιν, ὃ φησὶν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἔχουσι πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ· οὐ καλὸν δὲ τοῖς ἔτι νηπίοις καὶ ἀτελέσιν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ στερεὰ τροφή τοῖς βρέφεσι θραύει γὰρ τοὺς ἀρτιφείς ὀδόντας καὶ ζημιοῖ.

584–588 Gen. 3, 4-5

ἀμαρτήματι τὸν Θεὸν ὑποβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι 590
καλὸν μὲν ἦν τὸ φυτὸν τῇ φύσει, τῇ χρήσει δὲ καὶ
καλὸν καὶ **οὐ καλόν**· καὶ **καλὸν** μὲν ἐν καιρῷ τῷ
 προσήκοντι **μεταλαμβανόμενον**, **οὐ καλὸν** δὲ
 πρὸ τοῦ οἰκείου καιροῦ· ἀλληγορεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο,
 καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυτῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ 595
 φησὶν ὅτι ὡς ἐγὼ **τέως Θεωρῶ**, τουτέστιν ἐννοῶ,
 ἐννοία ἦν θεία καὶ κεῖνος· αἰνίττεται δὲ τὴν περὶ τῆς
 ὑπερφυοῦς φύσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, τίς ἂν εἴη καὶ πόθεν·
 ἥτις **θεωρία** τοῖς μὲν ἀγυμνάστοις ἐπισφαλὴς ἐστὶ
 - **θεωρία** γὰρ φησὶν ἀχαλίνωτος, τάχα ἂν καὶ κατὰ 600
 κρημνῶν ὥσειε - τοῖς δὲ διὰ πρακτικῆς τε καὶ
 θεωρητικῆς ἤδη γεγυμνασμένοις, καὶ εἰς ἕξιν
 ἐπιστήμης γνώσεως ἀναβεβηκόσι, μεταληπτὴ καὶ
 ἐδώδιμος· **ἀπλούστεροι** δὲ εἰσιν οἱ πόρρω μὲν ἔτι
 ὄντες τῆς θεωρητικῆς, ἐφίε|μενοι δὲ ταύτης καὶ 22^ρ
 περὶ αὐτὴν λιχνευόμενοι.

| Ἔτι περὶ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως, τοῦ μεγάλου 26^ν
 Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὰ
 γενέθλια τοῦ Χριστοῦ

κείμενον 610

Ἐπεὶ δὲ φθόνῳ διαβόλου.

σχόλιον

Φθόνῳ δὲ **διαβόλου** τῷ διὰ τὴν τοσαύτην τιμὴν·
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι πληροῦν ἔμελλεν ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν
 τοῦ ἀποστάτου τάξιν. 615

κείμενον

600–601 θεωρία... ὥσειε Greg. Naz. Orat. 39, *In Sancta Lumina*,
 8, PG 36, 334 A **607–609** Ἔτι... Χριστοῦ *Pnpl.*, subtitulus, PG
 130, D 9-2, **611** Ἐπεὶ... διαβόλου Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat.
 38, 12, 18-19, PG 36, 324 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36,
 633 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 209 D 13) **613–617** τὴν... γυναικὸς cf.
 Nik. Serr. P, f. 28r.

613–615 Φθόνῳ... τάξιν] Nik. Serr. P, f. 28r.: Ἐπ' ἀφθαρσία μὲν
 ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησε· φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος
 εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθε· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Σολομῶν ἐφθόνησε γὰρ
 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τὴν τοσαύτην τιμὴν· ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι
 πληροῦν ἔμελλεν ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστάτου τάξιν.

Καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπηρεία, ἣν τε ἔπαθεν ὡς ἀπαλωτέρα, καὶ ἣν προσήγαγεν ὡς πιθανωτέρα· φεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀσθενείας· ἐμὴ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ προπάτορος· τῆς μὲν ἐντολῆς ἐπελάθετο τῆς 620
δοθείσης καὶ ἡττήθη τῆς πικρᾶς γεύσεως.

|σχόλιον

27'

Δι' ἐνὸς λόγου δύο παρέστησεν ἐννοίας· τὸ γὰρ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπηρεία δύναται μὲν καὶ τὸ κατὰ γυναικός, δύναται δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ γυναικός. Ὁ μὲν 625
γὰρ ὄφης, δόξας ὀρθὰ συμβουλεύειν, ἠπάτησεν ὡς μαλακωτέραν τὴν γυναῖκα· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ δόξασα μὴ ψεύδεσθαι διὰ τὴν σχέσιν, ὅτι καὶ μόνη βοηθὸς τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δέδοτο, ῥᾶον ἔπεισε τοῦτον, καὶ οὕτως ἀπατηθεῖσα μὲν ἐπηρεάσθη, πείσασα 630
δὲ ἐπηρέασεν. Οὐ λογισμῷ δὲ χρώμενος ὁ ὄφης τοῦτο πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ κινούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος εἰς αὐτὸν δαίμονος· ἐπηρεασθῆναι δὲ λέγων τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, κουφίζει διὰ 635
τούτου τὸ πολὺ τῆς τούτων κατηγορίας.

κείμενον

Ὁμοῦ δὲ τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλου καὶ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν κακίαν ἐξόριστος γίνεται, καὶ τοὺς δερματίνους ἀμφιέννυται χιτῶνας, ἴσως τὴν 640
παχυτέραν σάρκα καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον.

σχόλιον

Καὶ ἥς εἶχε πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησίας· κακίαν δὲ καλεῖ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ὡς ἀντικειμένην τῇ ἀρετῇ· ἐξόριστος δέ, ὅτι ἐξέβαλε φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ

617–621 Καὶ... γεύσεως Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12, 19–23, PG 36, 324 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36, 633 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 209 D 13– 212 A 2)) **623–635** Δι'...κατηγορίας cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 28v. **637–640** Ὁμοῦ...ἀντίτυπον Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12, 22–26 PG 36, 324 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8, PG 36, 633 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, A 2–6) **642–650** Καὶ...σταυροῦ Nik. Serr. P, f. 29r.

620–621 cf. Gen. 3, 6 **637–638** τοῦ¹...γίνεται cf. Gen. 2, 9; 3, 23–24 **638–639** καὶ²...χιτῶνας cf. Gen. 3, 21 **644–646** ἐξέβαλε...παραδείσου Gen. 3, 24

καὶ κατώκισεν ἀπέναντι τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ 645
 παραδείσου· τὸ μὲν οὖν ξύλον τῆς γνώσεως ἄθλον
 ἦν καὶ γυμνασία τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητος· τὸ δὲ ξύλον
 τῆς ζωῆς, φυτὸν μὲν εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, ἔχειν δὲ
 δύναμιν δωρητικὴν ἀθανασίας· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἔστι
 καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σταυροῦ. 650

κείμενον

Καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκει τὴν ἰδίαν αἰσχύνην
 καὶ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ κρύπτεται. Κερδαίνει μέντοι
 κἀνταῦθα τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸ διακοπῆναι τὴν 655
 ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον ᾗ τὸ κακόν. Καὶ
 γίνεται φιλανθρωπία ἢ τιμωρία. Οὕτω γὰρ
 πείθομαι κολάζειν Θεόν. Πολλοῖς δὲ παιδευθεῖς
 πρότερον, ἀντὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὧν ἡ
 τῆς κακίας ῥίζα ἐβλάστησε κατὰ διαφόρους αἰτίας
 καὶ χρόνους. 660

|σχόλιον

27^v

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ γνώσεως ἦν τὸ ξύλον, πρῶτον τὴν
 ἑαυτῶν ἔγνωσαν γύμνωσιν ἥτις ἦν αἰσχύνῃ· εἴτα
 συνῆκαν, ὅτι καλὸν μὲν ἢ φυλακὴ τῆς ἐντολῆς,
 πονηρὸν δὲ ἢ παράβασις· εἴτα φησὶν, ἐκρύβησαν 665
 ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
 ἁμαρτίας, εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν παράδεισον
 ἀπασχολοῦντες τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος
 ὀφθαλμούς, οὐκ ἠσθάνοντο τῆς γυμνώσεως· μετὰ
 δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἐπιστραφέντων αὐτοῖς τοῖς 670
 ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὁ τοῦ συνειδότος ἔργον, τοῖς μὲν τοῦ
 σώματος, εἶδον τὴν γύμνωσιν, τοῖς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς,
 εἶδον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν. Αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἦν ἡ
 τῶν παιδογόνων μορίων, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αἰδοῖα
 κέκληνται, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ περιζώματα φησὶν ἐκ 675

652–660 Καὶ... χρόνους Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 12 -13, 26-3, PG 36, 324 C-325 A; *In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 8-9, PG 36, 633 A -B, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, A 6-14] **662–682** Ἐπεὶ... καλύπτουσιν Nik. Serr. P, f. 30r.

652 τοῦτο] τοῦτον | **657** Θεόν] Θεῶ | **672** τοῖς] τῆς |

652–653 Καὶ... κρύπτεται cf. Gen. 3, 7-8 **657** Πολλοῖς... παιδευθεῖς cf. Hebr. 12, 6 **665–666** ἐκρύβησαν... Θεοῦ cf. Gen 3, 8 **675–676** ἐκ... ἔρραψαν cf. Gen. 3, 7

φύλλων συκῆς ἔρραψαν· πλατὺ γὰρ καὶ στερορὸν
 τὸ τοιοῦτον φύλλον. **Ἡ αἰσχύνη** δὲ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα,
 ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν πρώτη κίνησις περὶ
 ταῦτα γέγονεν· ὀξύτατον γὰρ τὸ περὶ ταῦτα
 πάθος· καὶ τὰ νήπια γὰρ πῆξεως ἀρχὴν τοῦ νοῦ
 λαμβάνοντα, αἰσχύνονται ταῦτα καὶ παντοίως
 καλύπτουσιν. Ἀπὸ παρωχημένου δὲ
 μετεσχημάτισεν εἰς ἐνεστῶτα τὸν λόγον, ὅτι
 γίνεται καὶ **ἀμφιέννυται**, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, τοῦτο μὲν,
 ποικίλλων τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑφήν, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ
 πάθος τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς ἐνιείς, ὡς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 δοκοῦντος ὑπ' ὅψιν ἄγειν τὰ | γεγενημένα· τῷ
 Ἀδὰμ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀνατίθουσιν....τω καὶ στερορότερῳ
 τῆς γυναικός.

κείμενον

Λόγω, νόμω, προφήταις, εὐεργεσίαις, ἀπειλαῖς,
 πληγαῖς, ὕδασι, ἐμπρησμοῖς, πολέμοις, νίκαις,
 ἥτταις, σημείοις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, σημείοις ἐξ ἀέρος, ἐκ
 γῆς, ἐκ θαλάττης, ἀνδρῶν, πόλεων, ἐθνῶν
 ἀνελπίστοις μεταβολαῖς, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκτριβῆναι τὴν
 κακίαν τὸ σπουδαζόμενον ἦν. Τέλος ἰσχυροτέρου
 δεῖται φαρμάκου ἐπὶ δεινότεροις τοῖς
 ἀρρωστήμασιν, ἀλληλοφονίαις, μοιχείαις,
 ἐπιορκίαις, ἀνδρομανίαις, τὸ πάντων ἔσχατον τῶν
 κακῶν καὶ πρῶτον, εἰδωλολατρεῖαις, καὶ τῇ
 μεταθέσει τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πεπονηκότος ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα. Ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ
 μείζονος ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βοηθήματος, μείζονος καὶ
 τυγχάνει· τὸ δὲ ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ὁ
 προαιώνιος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀπερίληπτος, ὁ
 ἀσώματος, ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή.

σχόλιον

Λόγω μὲν, τῷ δι' ὁμιλίας· αὐτῷ τὲ γὰρ τῷ
 πρωτοπλάστῃ καὶ πολλοῖς τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ

691–706 Λόγω νόμω...ἀρχή Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 3-16, PG 36, 325 A-B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 B-C, *Phyl.*, PG 130, 212 A 14 - B 13) **708–770** Λόγω... χαλεπώτερον cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 30r. – 30v.

700–702 καὶ²...κτίσματα cf. Rom. 1, 25

διαλεχθεῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἰστόρηται, τοὺς μὲν ἐλέγχων, 710
 τοῖς δὲ τὸ πρακτέον ὑποτιθέμενος. **Νόμῳ** δέ, τῷ
 γραπτῷ τῷ διὰ Μωσέως, **προφήταις** δέ, τοῖς διὰ
 προφητῶν παραγγέλμασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ προφήται
 φυλλάττουσι μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ θεῖα 715
 προστάγματα, προεμήνου **εὐεργεσίας** ἐκ Θεοῦ,
 παρατρεπομένοις δέ, κατήγγελλον **ἀπειλὰς** -
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἔργον προφήτου -, καὶ ἄμφω τέθηκεν· ἡ
εὐεργεσίαις μὲν ταῖς παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν 28^v
 εὐτυχίαις, ἐν τε λύσει πολυορκίας |...<καὶ ἐ>ν 720
 καθαιρέσει ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἐν ἀπαλλαγῇ λιμοῦ καὶ
 τοιούτων ἄλλων, ἃ πολλάκις ἐπὶ πολλῶν
 γεγονέναι μεμαθήκαμεν· **ἀπειλαῖς** δὲ καὶ
πληγαῖς, ὅτι πρῶτον ἠπεῖλει τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν ὁ
 Θεὸς καὶ διεμαρτύρετο, εἶτα μεμενηκόσιν 725
 ἀδιορθώτοις, ἐπῆγε τὰς **πληγὰς**. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ
 παιδεῖαι πολυειδεῖς· ἀθρόας ταύτας εἰπών,
 ἀνέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιά· καὶ **ὑδασι** μὲν λέγει
 τοῖς κατακλυσμοῦ· **ἐμπρησμοῖς** δέ, τοῖς Σοδόμων·
πολέμοις δέ, τοῖς δι' ὅλων καὶ δι' ὅλου μέχρι τῆς 730
 ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ· νίκαις δὲ καὶ ἡ **ἥτταις**, αἷς
 τε κατώρθουν πολεμοῦντες, καὶ αἷς ἐσφάλλοντο,
σημείοις δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καθάπερ ἐπὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ
 Ναυῆ, τοῦ ἡλίου μὴ μόνον στάντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἀναποδίσαντος καὶ οὕτω πάλιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ 735
 πορείαν ἀναλαβόντος· ἐξ **ἀέρος** δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν
 Αἰγυπτιακῶν πληγῶν, λέγω δέ, τῆς κυνομυίας καὶ
 τῆς χαλάζης καὶ τοῦ ψηλαφητοῦ σκοτόους, καὶ τοῦ
 ἐν ἡμέρα μὲν στύλη τῆς νεφέλης, ἐν δὲ νυκτὶ
 στύλη πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων· ἐκ **γῆς** δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ 740
 τῶν μεταστραφέντων εἰς αἷμα ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν
 βατράχων καὶ τῶν σκνιφῶν καὶ τῶν φλυκτίδων
 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τεραστίων· ἐκ **θαλάττης** δέ, ὡς
 ἐπὶ τῆς διαστάσεως τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς, ἣν ὁ ἰσραηλίτης
 λαὸς ἀβρόχως ἐπέζευσεν. Ὅρα ὅπως ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ 745
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐτήρησε τὴν τάξιν -, μετὰ

732–735 σημείοις... ἀναλαβόντος cf. Ιοσ. 10, 12-14 **736** τῆς
 κυνομυίας cf. Ex. 8, 20-27 **737** τῆς χαλάζης cf. Ex. 9, 22-34
 τοῦ¹... σκοτόους cf. Ex. 10, 21-24 **737–739** καὶ²... ὁμοίων cf. Ex. 13,
 21-22; 14, 24 **739–740** ἐπὶ... ποταμῶν cf. Ex. 7, 17-21
740–741 τῶν βατράχων cf. Ex. 8, 1-11 **741** τῶν σκνιφῶν cf. Ex. 8,
 12-15 | τῶν φλυκτίδων cf. Ex. 8-12 **743–744** ἐπὶ... ἐπέζευσεν cf.
 Ex. 14, 15-31

τὸν οὐρανὸν γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ -, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς
θαλάττης θαῦμα μετὰ τὰς ἄλλας
ἐτέρα<ς>.....μάστιγας, ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν... | τὴν 29^r
ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις
γεν<ομένας> παραδοξοποιῖας. Περὶ **μεταβολῶν** δὲ 750
προθέμενος εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδικωτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ
κοινότερα πρόεισιν· **ἀνδρῶν** μὲν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ
Σαμψὼν καὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ
τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων, πῇ μὲν
εὐδοκιμησάντων, πῇ δὲ ἀτυχησάντων· **πόλεων** δὲ, 755
ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐτέρων, αἱ
μέχρι πολλοῦ δοξασθεῖσαι, τέλεον ἡρημώθησαν
ὑστερον· **ἐθνῶν** δέ, καθάπερ τὴν μὲν τῶν Μήδων
βασιλείαν, ἢ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων κατέστρεψε, τὴν δὲ
τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἢ τῶν Περσῶν, κάκείνην ἢ τῶν 760
Μακεδόνων καὶ ταύτην, ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
Δεινότεροις δὲ εἶπεν **ἀρρωστήμασιν**, οὐχ' ὡς μὴ
οὔσι πρότερον καὶ γεγονόσι δυσμεταχειρίστοις·
εἶτα **τὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας** ἐξήπλωσεν **ὄνομα**,
αὐξάνων τὴν ἀλογίαν τοῦ τοιούτου σεβάσματος· 765
ἔσχατον μὲν οὖν **τῶν κακῶν**, ὡς τελευταῖον -
μετὰ γὰρ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις
Σερροῦχ, ἀπογόνου Νῶε, εἰδωλολατρεῖν οἱ τότε
ἄνθρωποι ἤρξαντο -, **πρῶτον** δέ, ὡς χειρόν καὶ 770
χαλεπώτερον.

κεείμενον

Τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φῶς, ἢ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς
ἀθανασίας, τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, ἢ μὴ
κινουμένη σφραγίς, ἢ ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν.

772-774 Τὸ ... εἰκὼν Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 16-18,
PG 36, 324 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 C)

746 ἐπὶ] ἐπεὶ | **757** δοξασθεῖσαι] δοξασθείσαι |
763 δυσμεταχειρίστοις] δυσμετοχειρίστοις |

752-753 τοῦ Σαμψὼν cf. Jud. 13-16 **753** τοῦ Δαυὶδ cf. II Reg. 12, 1
- 3, 25 | τοῦ Σολομῶντος cf. III Reg. 11, 1-13 **754** τοῦ
Ναβουχοδονόσορ cf. Dan. 1, 1 - 4, 37 **768** Σερροῦχ cf. Gen. 11,
20-23; Par. I, 1, 26; Lc. 3, 35 **772** ἐκ... φῶς cf. Jo. 8, 12 | ἢ... ζωῆς
cf. Ps. 35, 10; Jo. 1-4; Jo. 4, 14; Apoc. 21, 6 **773** τὸ... ἀρχετύπου
cf. Hebr. 1, 3 **773-774** ἢ... σφραγίς cf. Jo. 6, 27 **774** ἢ... εἰκὼν
cf. Col. 1, 15; II Cor. 4, 4

σχόλιον

775

Αὐτὸς γάρ φησιν ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Πηγὴ δὲ τῆς ζωῆς, ὅτι πάλιν αὐτὸς φησιν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· πηγὴ δέ, διὰ τὸ ἀένναον, **ζωῆς** δέ, οὐ τῆς προσκαίρου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἰδίου· τούτου γάρ ἕνεκεν ἡ προσθήκη | **τῆς ἀθανασίας**. **Ἐκμαγεῖον** δὲ νῦν τὸ ἐκτύπωμα, παρὰ τὸ ἐκμάσσειν καὶ οἶον ἀνιμᾶσθαι τὸν τύπον τῆς μορφῆς· μορφή δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ἢ φύσις, τουτέστιν ὁ αὐτοφυῆς τῷ πνεύματι. **Μὴ κινουμένη** δὲ **σφραγίς**, τὸ ἀπαραποίητον ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ πρωτοτύπου πάλιν, καὶ **ἀπαράλλακτος** δὲ **εἰκὼν**, ὁμοίως τοῦ πρωτοτύπου. Τὰ τρία γὰρ ταυτὶ κῶλα τὸ ὁμοούσιον Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ βούλονται δηλοῦν, διό καὶ καθεξῆς ἑκκείναι, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ μὲν **ἐκμαγεῖου ἢ σφραγίς** σαφηνιστική, ταύτης δὲ πάλιν ἡ εἰκὼν.

780

29^v

785

790

κεῖμενον

Ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὄρος καὶ Λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εἰκόνα χωρεῖ καὶ σάρκα φορεῖ διὰ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ψυχῇ νοερά διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν μίγνυται, τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνακαθαίρων.

795

σχόλιον

Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα χωρεῖ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰκὼν μὲν ἔστι Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ

800

782–783 Ἐκμαγεῖον... ἐκμάσσειν cf. Etymologicum Gudianum, p. 445, 7; cf. Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* II, p. 192, 26; cf. Hesychius Lexicogr., *Lexicon*, Alphabetica littera epsilon entry 1511; cf. Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetica littera epsilon 491. **795–798** Ὁ... ἀνακαθαίρων Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 18–21, PG 36, 325 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 C, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212 B 13 - C 2, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212 B 13 - C 2)

779 ζωῆς] ζωὴ I

776–777 Jo. 8, 12 **778–779** Jo. 14, 6 **795** ἐπὶ... εἰκόνα cf. Gen. 1, 26–27; 2, 7; 9, 6

πρόσωπον τῆς θεότητος ὁ Υἱός, εἰκὼν ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν **εἰκὼν ἀπαράλλακτος** τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ ἄνθρωπος δὲ ὀλίγην ἔχει πρὸς θεὸν τὴν ἐμφέρειαν. **Χωρεῖ** δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρμαῖ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ· **εἰκόνα** δὲ θεοῦ νῦν, οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοήσομεν, ὡς ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πᾶν· καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς γὰρ Ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐδήλωσεν, εἰπὼν *Καὶ ὁ Λόγος, σὰρξ ἐγένετο*. **Εἶτα** μερίζει τὸν προσληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον εἰς σάρκα καὶ ψυχὴν· καὶ **σάρκα** μὲν **φορεῖ διὰ τὴν σάρκα**, ἵνα τῇ προσληφθείσῃ σαρκὶ τὴν ἀμαρτήσασαν σάρκα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἀποκαθάρῃ· **ψυχῇ** δὲ **μίγνυται**, ἵνα πάλιν τῇ ψυχῇ | τῆς προσληφθείσης σαρκὸς ἀποσμήξῃ· ὁ καὶ προῖων ἐδήλωσεν, εἰπὼν **τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνακαθαίρων**. Σκόπει δὲ πῶς ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς **φορεῖ** εἴρηκεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς **μίγνυται**· καὶ γὰρ μίγνυται μὲν ἀμέσως ἢ θεότης τῇ ψυχῇ, διὰ τὴν τῆς εἰκόνης οἰκειώσιν, ἢ δὲ σὰρξ ἔξω περιτέθειται τῇ ψυχῇ, δίκην περιβλήματος, καὶ μέσον μὲν θεότητος καὶ σαρκὸς ἢ ψυχῆς, μέσον δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ θεότητος οὐδέν. **Διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν μὲν ψυχὴν** εἶπεν, οἰκειούμενος τὰ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως.

κείμενον

Καὶ πάντα γίνεται πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἄνθρωπος, κυηθεὶς μὲν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σάρκα προκαθαρθείσης τῷ Πνεύματι - ἔδει γὰρ καὶ γέννησιν τιμηθῆναι -, προελθὼν δὲ Θεὸς μετὰ τῆς προσλήψεως.

σχόλιον

Κατὰ πάντα τέλειος ἄνθρωπος· ἡ ἀμαρτία γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως· πῶς δέ; **πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας** μόνης· καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύλληψις καὶ ἡ γέννησις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄσπορος, ἡ δὲ

826–830 Καὶ... προσλήψεως Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 21-26, PG 36, 325 B (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 D, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212 C 2-7)

826 γίνεται... ἀμαρτίας cf. Hebr. 4, 15 **827–828** κυηθεὶς... Πνεύματι cf. Lc. 1, 35

ἄφθορος, μὴ φθείρασθαι τὰς σφραγίδας τῆς παρθενίας, ὅτι καὶ ἡ διὰ σποράς σύλληψις καὶ ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον γέννησις, τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἰσὶ, καθά φησι Δαυΐδ· Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις συνελήφθην καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐκίσσησέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, κινήθεις ἔγνω Ἀδὰμ· Εὖαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκε τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἁμαρτία, αἰτία τῆς συλλήψεως, ἡ δὲ σύλληψις, τῆς γεννήσεως, καὶ οὕτως ἄμφω ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἦτοι παρανομίαν.

κείμενον

Ἐν ἐκ δύο τῶν ἐναντίων, σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος |, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐθέωσε, τὸ δὲ ἐθεώθη.

σχόλιον

Ἐν πρόσωπον, ἦτοι μία ὑπόστασις· οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκώλυε καὶ «εἷς» εἰπεῖν· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ κακεῖνα ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τάττεται. **Σάρκα** μὲν οὖν λέγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον συνεκδοχικῶς· δηλὸν γὰρ, ὅτι σάρκα ἐμψυχωμένην· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖρονος μέρους ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάζεται, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, ὡς προεῖρηται. **Πνεῦμα** δὲ τὸν Θεόν· Πνεῦμα γὰρ φησιν ὁ Θεός. Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου γενόμενος ὁ Θεολόγος, καὶ οἷον εἰς ἐκπληξιν ἐμπεσὼν, ἀναφωνεῖ μετὰ θαύματος.

κείμενον

Ὡ τῆς καινῆς μίξεως, ὡ τῆς παραδόξου κράσεως.

σχόλιον

847–848 Ἐν ... ἐθεώθη Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 26-27, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 D, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, C 7-8) **854–856** ἀπὸ ... κρείττονος cf. Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 39-40, PG 36, 325 C 14-15 (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 636, 12-14) **861** Ὡ ... κράσεως Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 27-28, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 D, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, C 8-9)

839–840 Ps. 50, 7 **841–842** Gen. 4, 1 **857** Jo. 4, 24

Ὡ τῆς καινῆς μίξεως· ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ λέγεται μίξις
 μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν διαιρουμένων καὶ ἀσυγχύτων, οἷον
 σίτου καὶ κριθῆς, κράσις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδιαιρέτων καὶ 865
 συγχεομένων, οἷον οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, οὐκ ἔχων ἐπὶ
 τῆς συνδρομῆς τῶν δύο φύσεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ
 μῖξιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν - ἅπαξ γὰρ συνελθοῦσαι,
 ἀδιαίρετοι μεμενήκασιν -, ἢ κράσιν - ἀσύγχυτοι
 γὰρ τετήρηται καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς σώζονται - καὶ τὴν 870
 μίξιν καὶ τὴν κράσιν ἀναγκαίως παρέλαβε μετὰ
 προδιορισμοῦ καὶ ταύτην κάκεινην· τὴν μὲν γὰρ
 εἶπε καινήν, τὴν δὲ παράδοξον, ὅτι καὶ ὑπερφύως
 ἀμφοτέρω· καὶ γὰρ ἡ μίξις ἐνταῦθα τὸ μὲν
 ἀσύγχυτον ἔχει, τὸ δὲ διαιρετὸν οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ἡ 875
 κράσις δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀδιαίρετον ἔχει, τὸ δὲ
 συγκεχυμένον οὐκ ἔχει.

κεῖμενον

Ὁ ὢν γίνεται καὶ ὁ ἄκτιστος κτίζεται.

σχόλιον

Ὁ ὢν Θεὸς γίνεται ἄνθρωπος· ἢ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν
 ἐνταῦθα μετείληπται ῥητόν, τὸ αἰ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ
 ἐγένετο. Κατὰ διαφόρους δὲ τρόπους τὸ ὄν γίνεται
 | Καθ' ἓνα μὲν, ὅταν τῆς προϋπαρχούσης οὐσίας 31'
 διαφθαρείσης, ἕτερον ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται, καθ' ὃ 885
 λέγομεν τὸ ὦν ὄρνιν γεγονέναι· φθαρείσης γὰρ
 τῆς τοῦ ὡοῦ, καθ' ὃ ἦν ὦν, ὑπάρξεως, τὸ ὄρνειον
 εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράγεται· κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ
 σημανόμενον, καὶ τὸ γάλα γίνεται τυρός, καὶ ὁ
 πηλός, ὄστρακον, καὶ ἡ ψάμμος, ὕελος. Κατὰ 890
 δεύτερον δὲ τρόπον, ὅταν τῆς προϋπαρχούσης
 οὐσίας σωζομένης ἀτρέπτως, προσγένηται τι κατὰ
 συμβεβηκός, καθ' ὃ φαμὲν ἐκ χαλκοῦ τὸν
 ἀνδριάντα γεγενῆσθαι· σωζομένης γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας
 τοῦ χαλκοῦ, προέγονε μόρφωσις καὶ 895
 σχηματισμός· κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σημανόμενον, καὶ

879 Ὁ...κτίζεται Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 28-29, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 633 D - 636 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212 C 9-10) 881-921 Ὁ...κτίσμα cf. Nik. Serr. P, f.

879 Ex. 3, 14 882-883 Jo. 1, 14

τὸν ἄνθρωπον δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον λέγομεν. Τρίτος
 δὲ τρόπος, ὅταν τῆς προκειμένης οὐσίας μενούσης
 ἀβλαβοῦς, ἄλλη προσληφθῇ οὐσία, καθ' ὃ φαμέν
 ὥπλισμένον γεγονέναι τὸν στρατηγόν· ὅπερ γὰρ 900
 ἦν κατ' οὐσίαν μείνας, προσέλαβεν ὅπλα. Οὔτε
 οὖν κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον τρόπον ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ
 ἐγένετο - οὐ γὰρ διαφθαρείσης τῆς
 προϋπαρχούσης οὐσίας, ἕτερόν τι γέγονεν ἐξ
 αὐτῆς· ἔμεινε γὰρ ὅπερ ἦν ὁ Λόγος -, οὔτε κατὰ 905
 τὸν δεύτερον - οὐ γὰρ ἡ προσγενομένη σὰρξ
 συμβεβηκός, ἀλλ' οὐσία -, λοιπὸν οὖν κατὰ τὸν
 τρίτον τρόπον δεῖ νοεῖν τὸ ῥητόν· δίκην γὰρ
 στρατηγοῦ, τὴν σάρκα περιθέμενος, τὸν πολέμιον
 τῆς ἡμετέρας κατεπολέμησε φύσεως. Δοκεῖ δὲ 910
 ἀναπόδοτον, τὸ προελθὼν δὲ Θεὸς μετὰ τῆς
 προσλήψεως· τὸ γὰρ ὃ ὦν γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, εἰ
 καὶ ἀποδόσεως ἔχουσι τάξιν, ἀλλὰ γε | τοῦ 31^v
 θαύματός εἰσιν ἐξηγήσεις. Ἔστι τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο
 τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου λόγου, συνεξομοιωθέντος τῷ περὶ 915
 τὴν ψυχὴν πάθει τῆς ἐκπληκτικῆς ἐκστάσεως καὶ
 παραφορᾶς. Ὁ ὦν δὲ γίνεται, ὁ ἄκτιστος
 κτίζεται, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῷ τρόπῳ λέγεται τῆς
 οἰκειώσεως ἢ ἀντιδόσεως· τὰς γὰρ τοῦ κτίσματος ὁ
 κτίστης οἰκειοῦται φωνάς, ὥσπερ πάλιν καὶ τὰς 920
 τοῦ κτίστου, τὸ κτίσμα. Ἐξαίσιον δέ τι
 κατανενοήκαμεν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τῆς τοῦ
 διδασκάλου σοφίας ἄξιον· ἄνω μὲν γὰρ, ἐνθα περὶ
 τῆς ἀπλῆς τοῦ Λόγου θεότητος ἐφιλοσόφει,
 ἀπλοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ τοῖς νοήμασιν, οἷον ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ 925
 Λόγος, ὁ προαιώνιος, ὁ ἀόρατος, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς,
 κάτω δέ, ἐνθα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνθέσεως
 διαλέγεται, συντίθησι τοῖς ὀνόμασι ῥήματα, οἷον ὁ
 ὦν γίνεται, καὶ ὁ ἄκτιστος κτίζεται, καὶ ὁ 930
 ἀχώρητος χωρεῖται· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ συνθέσεως ὁ Θεὸς κρείττων τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν λόγοις ταύτης
 συνθήκης, τὸ ὄνομα κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῦ ῥήματος.

κείμενον

Ὁ ἀχώρητος χωρεῖται, διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς νοερᾶς, 935
μεσιτευούσης θεότητι καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι.

σχόλιον

Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, εἰ καὶ θαυμαστά, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ
πρόσληψιν· ὁ γὰρ ἦν μείνας, ὁ οὐκ ἦν προσέλαβε.
Τὸ δὲ τὸν ἀχώρητον χωρηθῆναι, τοῦτο καὶ 940
ἄπορον καὶ ἀπόρρητον, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον
εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι δι' ὑπερβολὴν δυνάμεως. Λέγει δὲ καὶ
τὸν τρόπον τῆς χωρήσεως, ὅτι διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς
νοερᾶς· ἔξω μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ἔνδον δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ,
ἐνδοτέρω δὲ ἡ θεότης, ἀπεριγράπτως καὶ ὑπὲρ | 32'
ἐννοίαν, ὥστε μέση ἔκειτο ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς θεότητος
καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς· οἰκεία γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ Θεῷ, καὶ διὰ
τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ διὰ τὸ νοερὸν· διὰ μέσης μέντοι
τῆς ψυχῆς ἦν ὡς καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ θεότης.
Προσέθηκε δὲ τὴν παχύτητα πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς 950
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀφάτου συγκαταβάσεως, ὅπως
ένωθῆναι τῇ ὕλῃ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν οὐκ
ἀπηξίωσεν.

935–936 Ὁ...παχύτητι Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13,
29-30, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 636 A,
Pnpl., PG 130, 212, C 10-12) **938–953** Τὰ...ἀπηξίωσεν cf. Nik.
Serr. P, f. 33v. **939** ὁ¹...προσέλαβε Greg. Naz. Orat, 29, 13

943 διὰ μέσης] διαμέσης | **948** διὰ μέσης] διαμέσης |

938–953 Τὰ...ἀπηξίωσεν] Nik. Serr. P, f. 33v.-34r.: Τὸ μὲν οὖν
τὸν ὄντα γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν ἄκτιστον κτίζεσθαι, εἰ καὶ
θαυμαστά, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐ κατὰ μεταβολήν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
πρόσληψιν· ὁ γὰρ ἦν μείνας, ὁ οὐκ ἦν προσέλαβε. Τὸ δὲ τὸν
ἀχώρητον χωρηθῆναι, τοῦτο καὶ ἄπορον καὶ ἀπόρρητον, καὶ
οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι δι' ὑπερβολὴν δυνάμεως τοῦτο
γέγονε καὶ κατάρθωται· λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς
χωρήσεως· φησὶ ἐμεσίτευσεν τῇ θεότητι καὶ τῇ σαρκὸς
παχύτητι, τουτέστι διὰ μέσης τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ Θεὸς σαρκὶ
συνεπλάκη· οἰκειωτέρα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ Θεῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα,
καὶ διὰ τὸ νοερὸν, διότι καὶ ἡ θέωσις πρώτη αὐτῇ (πρώτη
αὐτῇ cod.P) ὡς ἄλλω μετεδόθη, δι' αὐτῆς δὲ καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ - οὐ
γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τὸ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνωθῆναι, μὴ μεταλαβεῖν
τῶν ἀντημάτων τῆς θεότητος -, ὥστε μέση ἔκειτο ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς
θεότητος καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἦν ὡς καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ
θεότης. Τὴν δὲ παχύτητα προσέθηκε πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς
ἀφάτου τοῦ Θεοῦ συγκαταβάσεως, ὅπως ἐνωθῆναι τῇ ὕλῃ
διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε.

κείμενον

Καὶ ὁ πλουτίζων πτωχεύει· πτωχεύει γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν
σάρκα, ἵν' ἐγὼ πλουτήσω τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα. Καὶ
ὁ πλήρης κενοῦται· κενοῦται γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης
ἐπὶ μικρόν, ἵν' ἐγὼ τῆς ἐκείνου μεταλάβω
πληρώσεως.

955

σχόλιον

960

Ὁ πλουτίζων ἄλλους, αὐτὸς πτωχεύει. Πλοῦτον
δὲ καὶ πτωχείαν, οὐκ ἐν χρήματι λέγει, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
τὴν φύσιν· ἐπήγαγε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν σάρκα· ἡ μὲν
γὰρ σὰρξ πτωχεία ἐστίν, ὡς δεομένη πολλῶν εἰς
σύστασιν, ἡ θεότης δὲ πλοῦτος, ὡς ἀνεκδοῦ
παντάπασι, ὁ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐδήλωσε
τρανότερον.

965

κείμενον

Τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς ἀγαθότητος; Τί τὸ περὶ ἐμὲ
τοῦτο μυστήριον;

970

σχόλιον

955–959 Καὶ...πληρώσεως Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 30-34, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 636 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, C 12 - D 2) **961–967** Ὁ...τρανότερον Nik. Serr. P, f. **963–965** ἡ...ὡς Nik. Serr. P, f. 178v **969–970** Τίς... μυστήριον Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 34-35, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 636 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, D 2-3)

961–967 Ὁ...τρανότερον] cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 34v.: Καὶ ὁ πλουτίζων ἄλλους, πτωχεύει, οὐκ ἐν χρήματι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμὴν σάρκα· πτωχεία μὲν γὰρ ἡ σὰρξ, ὡς δεομένη πολλῶν εἰς σύστασιν, ἡ θεότης δὲ πλοῦτος, ὡς ἀνεκδοῦ παντάπασι. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς ἔλαβεν ὁ ἅγιος ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ γέγραπται· γινώσκετε τὴν χάριν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὢν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε (II Cor. 8, 9).

955 πλουτίζων cf. Rom. 10, 12; II Cor. 8, 9 **957** ὁ πλήρης cf. Col. 2, 9 | κενοῦται¹ cf. Phil. 2, 7

Πλουῖτος μὲν ἢ δαψίλεια. **Μυστήριον** δέ, πᾶν ἀπόρρητον, ὃ χρὴ τὸν μνούμενον τηρεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. Τὸ αὐτὸ δέ, καλεῖ καὶ **πλουῖτον ἀγαθότητος** καὶ **μυστήριον**, ὃ μέλλει ἐρεῖν, ἡγουν τὸ μεταλαμβάνον τῆς ἐμῆς σαρκός. 975

κείμενον

Μετέλαβον τῆς εἰκόνας, καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξα· μεταλαμβάνει τῆς ἐμῆς σαρκός, ἵνα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα σώσῃ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀθανατίσῃ. Δευτέραν κοινωνεῖ κοινωνίαν, πολὺ τῆς προτέρας παραδοξοτέραν, ὅσῳ τότε μὲν τοῦ κρείττονος μετέδωκε, νῦν δὲ | μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ χείρονος. 980 32^v

σχόλιον

Ἐκοινώνησα τῷ Θεῷ τῆς εἰκόνας, περὶ ἧς διαφόρως εἴρηται, καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξα ταύτην ἀπαραχάρακτον, ἀλλ' ἀμαρτήσας ἔφθειρα τὸν τύπον αὐτῆς. **Κοινωνεῖ** δὲ αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ τῆς σαρκός, ἡγουν τῆς ἐμψυχωμένης, ἵνα τὸ ἐμὸν ὑστέρημα ἀναπληρώσας, σῶαν τὴν τηρήσῃ τὴν εἰκόνα, δηλαδή τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀξίωμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀθανατίσῃ, διὰ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναστάσεως. Δεῖξαι δὲ βουλόμενος ὅτι τὴν κοινωνίαν καλεῖ **μετάληψιν**, ἐπιφέρει ὅσῳ τότε μὲν τοῦ **κρείττονος** μετέδωκε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· **κρείττον** μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, τὸ μεταδοθὲν ἀρχικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον ἀξίωμα, **χείρον** δὲ πρὸς τὴν θεότητα, ἢ μεταληφθεῖσα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις. 985 990 995

978–983 Μετέλαβον... χείρονος Greg. Naz., *In Theophania*, Orat. 38, 13, 35–40, PG 36, 325 C (*In Sanctum Pascha*, Orat. 45, 9, PG 36, 636 A, *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 212, D 3–9) **986–987** καὶ... ἀπαραχάρακτον cf. Jo. Damascenus, *Expositio Fidei*, 88, line 15

996 τὸ μεταδοθὲν] ὁ μεταδοθεὶς |

978 Μετέλαβον... εἰκόνας cf. Gen. 1, 26–27; 2, 7; 9, 6

| Ἐτι περὶ Θεωνυμίας, τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ
Θεολόγου, ἐκ τοῦ Β' λόγου τῶν περὶ Υἱοῦ. 10^v
1000

κείμενον

| Τὸ θεῖον, ἀκατανόμαστον καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν 11^r
οὐχὶ λογισμοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑβραίων οἱ
σοφώτατοι καὶ οἱ παλαιότατοι ὅσον εἰκάζειν
ἔδοσαν. 1005

σχόλιον

Ὄνομα κύριον οὐκ ἔχον. Καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν
οὐχὶ λογισμοὶ μόνον· συλλογιζόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι οὗ ἡ
φύσις ἀνεγνώστου, τούτου πάντως οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἐστὶ
κύριον, δηλωτικὸν τῆς τούτου φύσεως. 1010

κείμενον

Οἱ γὰρ χαρακτηρῶσιν ἰδίους τὸ θεῖον τιμήσαντες,
καὶ οὐδὲ γράμμασιν ἀνασχόμενοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς
ἄλλο τι γράφεσθαι τῶν μετὰ θεόν, ὡς δέον.

σχόλιον

Τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ «ὁ ὢν», οὐκ ἔγραφον
διὰ τῶν συνήθων γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ χαρακτηρῶσιν
ἰδίους, ἃ ἐκάλουν τετράγραμμα, οἷς οὐκ
ἠενείχοντο γράφειν αὐτὸν τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἄλλο
τι τῶν ὅσα μετὰ Θεόν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν Θεόν, ἥτοι 1020
τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄνομα, τὸ «ὁ ὢν», ὡς δέον τὸ θεῖον
ἀκοινωνήτον εἶναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις, ἡγουν πρὸς
τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μὴ γράφεσθαι τοῖς
αὐτοῖς γράμμασι, τουτέστιν εἰς τοῦτο.

κείμενον

999–1000 Ἐτι... Υἱοῦ *Pnpl.*, subtitulus, PG 130, 193 A 7-9
1002–1005 Τὸ... ἔδοσαν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 17, 1-4
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 A 10-12) 1012–1014 Οἱ... δέον Greg. Naz.,
De Filio, Orat. 30, 17, 4-6 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 A 12-15)

1018 ἐκάλουν τετράγραμμα] ἐκάλουν τε γράμματα |
1020 τῶν] τὸν | 1021 τὸ τοῦ] τοῦ τοῦ |

Ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι καὶ μέχρι τούτου τὸ θεῖον τοῖς ἡμετέροις, πότε ἂν δέξαιντο, λυομένη φωνῇ δηλοῦσθαι τὴν ἄλυτον φύσιν καὶ ἰδιάζουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀέρα τίς ἔπνευσεν ὅλον πώποτε, οὔτε οὐσίαν παντελῶς Θεοῦ ἢ νοῦς κεχώρηκεν, ἢ φωνῇ περιέλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σκιογραφοῦντες τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, ἀμυδράν τινα καὶ ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλου φαντασίαν συλλέγομεν.

1030

σχόλιον

1035

Λυομένη εἰς συλλαβάς καὶ στοιχεῖα, ἢ εἰς ἀέρα σκεδαννυμένη· **ἄλυτος** δὲ **φύσις**, ὡς ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀσύνθετος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἄλυτοί εἰσι, προσέθηκεν ὅτι **καὶ ἰδιάζουσα· ἄλυτος** γάρ, ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄλυτον φύσιν, | μηδαμῇ **μηδαμῶς** ὦν, ἀλλ' ἰδιοτρόπως, ἀγέννητος καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγέννητον.

11^v

κείμενον

Λόγος δέ, ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὡς πρὸς νοῦν λόγος, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἀπαθές τῆς γεννήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συναφές καὶ τὸ ἐξαγγελτικόν.

1045

σχόλιον

Ἐπεὶ καὶ **νοῦς ὁ Πατήρ** λέγεται παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ· *Τίς ἔγνω νοῦν υἱοῦ*, ἦτοι τοῦ Υἱοῦ; Τινὲς δὲ καὶ ὁ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς νενοήκασιν.

1050

κείμενον

1026–1034 Ἀκοινώνητον... συλλέγομεν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 17, 6-13 (*Phpl.*, PG 130, 192 A 15 - B 8)
1037–1040 ἄλυτος... φύσιν cf. Elias Cret., PG 36, 320 A
1044–1047 Λόγος... ἐξαγγελτικόν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 5-7 (*Phpl.*, PG 130, 193 B 12 - C 1)

1030 ἡ²] ἡ I

1050 Rom. 11, 34; I Cor. 2, 16 (Is. 40, 13) **1051** I Cor. 2, 16

Τάχα δ' ἂν εἴποι τις, ὅτι καὶ ὥς ὅρος πρὸς τὸ
 1055 ὀριζόμενον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται λόγος· ὁ γὰρ
 νενοηκώς φησι τὸν Υἱόν - τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ, ὁ
 ἑωρακώς - νενόηκε τὸν Πατέρα· καὶ σύντομος
 ἀπόδειξις καὶ ῥαδία τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς φύσεως, ὁ
 Υἱός· γέννημα γὰρ ἅπαν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος,
 1060 σιωπῶν λόγος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐνυπάρχειν τοῖς
 οὔσι λέγοι τις, οὐχ' ἁμαρτήσεται τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ
 ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ λόγῳ συνέστηκε; Σοφία δέ, ὥς ἐπιστήμη
 θείων τὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων - πῶς γὰρ
 οἶόν τε τὸν πεπονηκότα, τοὺς λόγους ἀγνοεῖν ὧν
 1065 πεποίκε; - δύνάμεις δέ, ὥς συντηρητικὸς τῶν
 γενομένων καὶ τὴν τοῦ συνέχεσθαι ταῦτα
 χορηγῶν δύναμιν· ἀλήθεια δέ, ὥς ἓν, οὐ πολλὰ τῇ
 φύσει.

σχόλιον

Ὁ γὰρ ὅρος δηλοῖ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου
 1070 πράγματος.

κείμενον

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθές, ἓν, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, πολυσχιδές·
 καὶ ὥς καθαρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς σφραγίς, καὶ χαρακτὴρ
 1075 ἀψεудέστατος.

σχόλιον

1054–1068 Τάχα... φύσει Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 7-20
 (Pnpl., PG 130, 193 C 1 - 14) **1062–1063** ὥς... πραγμάτων
 Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, IX, 125, 2; Clemens
 Alex., *Paedag.*, II, II, 25, 3, 1 et VII, XII, 70, 5, 3; Caesariensis,
Ennaratio in prophetan Isaia, 5, 156, p. 123, 30; Jo. Damascenus,
Sacra Parallela, PG 96, 360 D 3-4; Ὅροι καὶ ὑπογραφαὶ (ed.
 Furrer-Pilliod) p. 183, 16. **1070–1071** Ὁ... πράγματος cf. David
 Phil., Proleg. (p. 12, 4-5) **1073–1075** Τὸ... ἀψεудέστατος Greg.
 Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 20-22 (Pnpl., PG 130, 193 C 14 - D 1)

1074 καὶ^{1]} πολυσχεδές I

1056–1057 ὁ... Πατέρα cf. Jo. 14, 9 **1062** Σοφία cf. I Cor. 1, 24
1065 δύνάμεις cf. I Cor. 1, 24 **1067** ἀλήθεια cf. Jo. 14, 16
1075 ἀψεудέστατος cf. Hebr. 1, 3

Ὁ Σωκράτης, ἄνθρωπος· ἰδοὺ τὸ «ἄνθρωπος»,
ἀλήθεια καὶ ἔν. Εἰ δ'εἴποις «ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ
 ἄνθρωπος», **ψεῦδος** καὶ **πολυσχιδές**· τὸ γὰρ «οὐκ
 ἄνθρωπος», εἰς πολλὰ μερίζεται, εἰς βοῦν, ἵππον,
 κύνα, καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν εἰς ὅσα δηλοῦσιν
 ἄνθρωπον.

1080

κείμενον

Εἰκὼν δέ, ὡς ὁμοούσιον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν,
 ἀλλ'οὐκ ἐκ τούτου Πατήρ. Αὕτη γὰρ εἰκόνος
 φύσις, **μίμημα** εἶναι τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, καὶ οὐ
 λέγεται· πλὴν ὅτι | καὶ πλεῖον ἐνταῦθα.

1085

12'

σχόλιον

Εἰκόνα νῦν, οὐ <τὴν μιμητικ>ήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φυσικὴν
 λέγει, οἷα ἦν ὁ Σήθ, εἰκὼν κληθεὶς τοῦ Ἀδάμ· ἡ
 μιμητικὴ γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοούσιος. Τὸ δὲ **μίμημα** εἶναι
 τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, τῆς μιμητικῆς εἰκόνος ἴδιον·
 ἔλαβε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης τὸ ἴδιον εἰς παράστασιν τοῦ
 ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν· τὸ γὰρ **μίμημα** ἔκ τινος μίμημα.

1090

κείμενον

1095

Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀκίνητος κινουμένου, ἐνταῦθα δέ,
 ζῶντος καὶ ζῶσα, καὶ πλεῖον ἔχουσα τὸ
 ἀπαράλλακτον, ἢ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὁ Σήθ, καὶ τοῦ
 γεννῶντος παντός, τὸ γεννώμενον· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ
 τῶν ἀπλῶν φύσις, μὴ τῷ μὲν εὐοικέναι, τῷ δὲ
 ἀπειοικέναι, ἀλλ'ὅλον ὅλου τύπον εἶναι, καὶ
 ταυτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφομοίωμα. Φῶς δέ, ὡς
 λαμπρότης ψυχῶν καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ

1100

1084–1087 Εἰκὼν... ἐνταῦθα Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 22-25 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 193 D 1-5) **1096–1105** Ἐκεῖ... ἐνθεος Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 25-33 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 193 D 5 - 196 A3)

1096 ἀκίνητος] in marg. alia manu: σχόλιον ἄμψυχος ἐμψύχῳ

1101 τύπον] in marg. alia manu: σχόλιον εἰκόνα

1084 Εἰκὼν cf. II Cor. 4, 4; Col. 1, 15 **1090** ὁ... Ἀδάμ cf. Gen. 5, 3

καθαιρομένων· εἰ γὰρ σκότος ἢ ἄγνοια καὶ ἡ
ἀμαρτία, φῶς ἂν εἴη ἢ γνῶσις καὶ βίος ὁ ἔνθεος. 1105

κείμενον

Ζωὴ δὲ ὅτι φῶς, καὶ πάσης λογικῆς φύσεως
σύστασις καὶ οὐσίωσις.

σχόλιον

Τοῖς ζῶσι γὰρ ἀνεῖται τὸ φῶς, καὶ τῶν ζώντων 1110
ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἀπόλαυσις· καὶ ἄλλως δέ· φῶς μὲν ἢ
ἔλλαμψις καὶ γνῶσις, αὕτη δὲ τροφή καὶ ζωὴ τῶν
νοερῶν φύσεων καὶ τῶν λογικῶν ψυχῶν.

κείμενον

Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν, καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἔσμεν. Κατὰ 1115
τὴν διπλὴν τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος δύναμιν, καὶ πνοὴν
ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφυσώμενοι πάντες καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον,
ὅσοι χωρητικοί, καὶ τοσοῦτον, καθόσον ἂν τὸ
στόμα τῆς διανοίας ἀνοίξωμεν. Δικαιοσύνη δέ, ὅτι 1120
τοῦ πρὸς ἀξίαν διαιρέτης, καὶ διαιτῶν δικαίως τοῖς
ὑπὸ νόμον καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ χάριν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι,
ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν, τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν τὸ κρεῖττον κατὰ τοῦ χειρόνος, ὥς
μὴ τὸ χειρόν ἐπανίστασθαι τῷ βελτίονι.

|Καὶ οὗτος ἄριστος ἡμῖν θεολόγος, οὐχ' ὅς εὔρε τὸ 12^v
πᾶν - οὐ γὰρ δέχεται τὸ πᾶν ὁ δεσμός -, ἀλλ' ὅς ἐάν
ἄλλου φαντασθῇ πλέον, καὶ πλεῖον ἐν ἑαυτῷ
συναγάγῃ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἵνδαλμα ἢ
ἀποσκίασμα, ἢ ὅτι καὶ ὀνομάσομεν.

σχόλιον 1130

1107–1108 Ζωὴ...οὐσίωσις Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20,
33-34 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 A 3-4) **1115–1124** Ἐν...βελτίονι Greg.
Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, l. 34-43 *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 A 4-14)
1125–1129 Καὶ...ὀνομάσομεν Greg. Naz., *De filio*, Orat. 30, 17,
13-16 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 B 8-12

1105 φῶς cf. Jo. 8, 12 **1107** Ζωὴ cf. Jo. 11, 25 et 14, 6 **1115** Act.
17, 28 **1119** Δικαιοσύνη cf. I Cor. 1, 30

Ἡ σάρξ· αὕτη γὰρ δεσμός τῆς ψυχῆς.

κείμενον

Ὅσον δ' οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἡμῖν ἐφικτῶν, ὁ μὲν ὢν καὶ ὁ
 Θεός, μᾶλλον πως τῆς οὐσίας ὀνόματα· καὶ
 τούτων μᾶλλον ὁ ὢν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τῷ Μωϋσῇ 1135
 χρηματίζων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν
 ἀπαιτούμενος, ἢ τίς ποτε εἴη, τοῦτο προσεῖπεν
 ἑαυτόν, ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέ με τῷ λαῷ κελεύσας
 εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ κυριότεραν ταύτην
 εὐρίσκομεν. 1140

σχόλιον

Τὸ πῶς πρόσκειται, διὰ τὸ δηλοῦν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν,
 ἡγουν τὸ εἶναι τὸν Θεόν, οὐ μὴν δὲ τὸ τί ἐστι.

κείμενον

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέειν ἢ αἰθεῖν 1145
 ἡτυμολόγηται τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα κομψοῖς, διὰ τὸ
 ἀεικίνητον καὶ δαπανητικὸν τῶν μοχθηρῶν ἕξεων·
 καὶ γὰρ πῦρ καταναλίσκον ἐντεῦθεν λέγεται.

κείμενον

Ἀλλ' οὖν τῶν πρὸς τι λεγομένων ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ 1150
 ἄφετος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ "Κύριος" φωνή, ὄνομα εἶναι
 Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ λεγομένη· Ἐγὼ γὰρ φησι Κύριος ὁ

1131 Ἡ... ψυχῆς cf. Epiph., Panarion, II, p. 439, 8
1133–1140 Ὅσον... εὐρίσκομεν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30,
 18, 1-7 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 C 1-7) **1145–1146** Ἡ... ἡτυμολόγηται
 cf. Etymologicum Gudianum, p. 259, 14-15; Athanasius,
Quaestiones Aliae, PG, col. 773; Jo. Damascenus, *Expositio Fidei*, 9,
 line 14 et alii auctores **1145–1148** Ἡ... λέγεται Greg. Naz., *De*
Filio, Orat. 30, 18, 7-10 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 C 7-11)
1150–1154 Ἀλλ' οὖν... αὐτῷ Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 18,
 7-14 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 C 11 - D 2)

1146 κομψοῖς] in marg. σχ(όλιον) τεχνικοῖς I

1135–1139 ὅτι... εἰπεῖν cf. Ex. 3, 14 **1148** Deut. 4, 24 et 9, 3
1152–1153 Ἐγὼ... ὄνομα¹ Is. 42, 8; cf. Ex. 20, 5; 3, 15

Θεός σου· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν ὄνομα· καὶ ὕριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

σχόλιον

1155

Θεός γὰρ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Θεός τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδε, καὶ τὸ Κύριος ὁμοίως.

κείμενον

Ἡμεῖς δὲ φύσιν ἐπιζητοῦμεν, ἢ τὸ εἶναι καθ' ἑαυτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῳ συνδεδεμένον· τὸ δὲ ὦν, ἴδιον ὄντως Θεοῦ καὶ ὅλον, μήτε τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, μήτε τῷ μετ' αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἢ ἔσται περατούμενον ἢ περικοπτόμενον. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων προσηγοριῶν, αἱ μὲν τῆς ἐξουσίας εἰσὶ προφανῶς, αἱ δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας, καὶ ταύτης διττῆς, τῆς μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ σῶμα, τῆς δὲ ἐν σώματι. Οἶον· ὁ μὲν παντοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης, ἢ τῶν | αἰώνων, ἢ τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, ἢ τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ ὁ ὕριος, ἢ Σαβαώθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν στρατειῶν, ἢ τῶν δυνάμεων, ἢ τῶν κυριευόντων, ταῦτα μὲν σαφῶς τῆς ἐξουσίας· ὁ δὲ Θεός, ἢ τοῦ σώζειν, ἢ ἐκδικησέων, ἢ εἰρήνης, ἢ δικαιοσύνης, ἢ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ ἢ Ἰακώβ, καὶ παντὸς Ἰσραήλ, τοῦ πνευματικοῦ καὶ ὁρώντος Θεόν.

κείμενον

1175

1159–1174 Ἡμεῖς... Θεόν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 18, 14 -19, 12 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 192 C 2 - 193 A 7)

1159 ἐπιζητοῦμεν] in marg. δι' ὀνόματος Ι

1153–1154 Ex. 15, 3, Ps. 67, 5, Jm. 10, 16; 28, 19; 40, 2
1156–1157 Θεός¹... ὁμοίως cf. Ex. 3, 15, 16 etc **1167** ὁ... δόξης Ps. 23, 7 - 10 | τῶν¹... αἰώνων Tob. 13, 7, 11, I Tim. 1, 17
1167–1168 τῶν²... ἀγαπητοῦ Ps. 67, 13 **1168** τῶν βασιλευόντων I Tim. 6, 15 **1168–1169** ὁ... Σαβαώθ Is. 6, 3 etc., Rom. 9, 29
1169–1170 τῶν δυνάμεων III Reg. 18, 15; IV Reg. 3, 14 et 19; Ps. 23, 10 et 45, 8 **1170** τῶν κυριευόντων I Tim. 6, 15 **1171** τοῦ σώζειν Ps. 67, 21 **1172** ἐκδικησέων Ps. 93, 1 | εἰρήνης Rom. 15, 33 et 16, 20; II Cor. 13, 11; Phil. 4, 9 etc | δικαιοσύνης Ps. 4, 2 et 8, 26; Mal. 2, 17 **1172–1173** Ἀβραάμ... Ἰακώβ Ex. 3, 6 et 15 etc
1173–1174 παντὸς... Θεόν cf. Gen. 32, 30

Ταῦτα δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας.

σχόλιον

Παρέλκοντο δὲ κατὰ αὐτικούς. (sic)

κείμενον

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τρισὶ τούτοις διοικούμεθα, δέει τε 1180
τιμωρίας, καὶ σωτηρίας ἐλπίδι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δόξης,
καὶ ἀσκήσει τῶν ἀρετῶν.

Ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα, τὸ μὲν τῶν ἐκδικήσεων ὄνομα 1185
οἰκονομεῖ τὸν φόβον, τὸ δὲ τῶν σωτηριῶν τὴν
ἐλπίδα, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν ἀσκήσιν, ἵνα, ὡς τὸν
Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρων, ὁ τούτων τί κατορθῶν,
μᾶλλον ἐπείγεται πρὸς τὸ τέλειον καὶ τὴν ἐξ
ἀρετῶν οἰκείωσιν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι κοινὰ
θεότητος τὰ ὀνόματα, ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀνάρχου,
Πατῆρ, τοῦ δὲ ἀνάρχως γεννηθέντος, Υἱός, τοῦ δὲ 1190
ἀγεννήτως προελθόντος ἢ προϊόντος, τὸ Πνεῦμα
τὸ ἅγιον. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Υἱοῦ κλήσεις ἔλθωμεν,
ὅπερ ὠρμήθη λέγειν ὁ λόγος.

κείμενον

Δοκεῖ γάρ μοι λέγεσθαι Υἱὸς μὲν, ὅτι ταῦτόν ἐστι 1195
τῷ Πατρὶ κατ' οὐσίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον, ἀλλὰ
κἀκεῖθεν, *μονογενῆς* δέ, οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἐκ μόνου
καὶ μόνον.

σχόλιον

Μόνος Υἱός, χωρὶς ἀδελφῶν, ἐκ **μόνου** Πατρός, 1200
χωρὶς μητρός, καὶ **μόνον** τοῦτο, ἡγουν ἅπαξ,
μηδενὸς ἐτέρου τοιαύτην ὑπαρξιν ἔχοντος

1176 Ταῦτα...οἰκονομίας Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 19, 12
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 193 A 7) **1180–1193** Ἐπειδὴ...λόγος Greg. Naz.,
De Filio, Orat. 30, 19, 12-25 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 193 A 7 - B 5)
1195–1198 Δοκεῖ...μόνον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 1-4
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 193 B 8-11)

1180 διοικούμεθα] in marg. σχόλιον οἰκονομούμεθα I
1183 τῶν ἐκδικήσεων] Ps. 93, 1

1185–1186 τὸν...φέρων cf. I Cor. 6, 20 **1197** μονογενῆς Jo. 1, 18

γεννήσεως· ἡ **μόνος Υἱός**, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ Πατήρ, ἐκ **μόνου** Πατρός, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ Υἱοῦ· τὸ δὲ **καὶ μόνον**, ὡς εἴρηται.

1205

κείμενον

Ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μονοτρόπως, οὐχ' ὡς τὰ σώματα.

σχόλιον

Ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀχρόνως· Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Πατήρ ἀγέννητος λέγεται, οὐχ ὡς μήπω γενόμενος, οὐδ' ὡς | μηδαμῇ μὴ γὰρ ἐν μέν, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ζωτικόν, ἥτοι τὸ δημιουργικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς - ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ φησιν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν -, ὅπερ ἅπαξ εἰς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐμφυσηθέν, ἐνεργεῖ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντας· δεύτερον δέ, ὅπερ ἐνεφύσησε τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις· ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ φησι, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· *λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*.

1210

12a'

1215

κείμενον

Ἀγιασμός δέ, ὡς καθαρότης, ἵνα χωρῇται τὸ καθαρὸν καθαρότητι. Ἀπολύτρωσις δέ, ὡς ἐλευθερῶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατεχομένους, καὶ λύτρον ἑαυτὸν ἀντιδιδούς ἡμῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης καθάρσιον. Ἀνάστασις δέ, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς ἀπανιστάς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν ἐπανάγων νενεκρωμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι κοινὰ τοῦ τε ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἃ δὲ ἰδίως ἡμέτερα.

1220

1225

σχόλιον

1207 Ἀλλ' ...σώματα Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 4 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 193 B 11-12) **1220-1228** Ἀγιασμός... ἡμέτερα Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 20, 43-21, 2

1221 καθαρότητι] in marg. σχ. τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

1213-1214 Gen. 2, 7 **1217-1218** ἐνεφύσησε²... ἅγιον Jo. 20, 22
1220 Ἀγιασμός I Cor. 1, 30 **1221** Ἀπολύτρωσις Ibid.
1223 λύτρον Mt. 20, 28; Mc. 10, 45 **1224** Ἀνάστασις Jo. 11, 25
1226 νενεκρωμένους... ἁμαρτίας cf. Gen. 2, 17

Τοῦ τε ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπου. 1230

κείμενον

Καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν προσλήψεως ἄνθρωπος μέν, οὐχ ἵνα χωρηθῇ μόνον διὰ σώματος σώμασιν, ἄλλως οὐκ ἂν χωρηθεῖς διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄληπτον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἀγιάσῃ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ ζύμη γενόμενος τῷ παντὶ φυράματι, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνώσας τὸ κατακριθὲν ὅλον λύση τοῦ κατακριμάτος, πάντα ὑπὲρ πάντων γενόμενος, ὅσα ἡμεῖς πλὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας· σῶμα, ψυχὴ, νοῦς. 1235 1240

σχόλιον

Γνωρισθῇ, ὁμιλήσῃ, παραδεχθῇ.

κείμενον

Δι' ὅσων ὁ θάνατος· τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τούτων, ὁ ἄνθρωπος, Θεὸς ὁρώμενος, διὰ τὸ νοούμενον, νιὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ διὰ τὴν παρθένον, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο, τοῦ μὲν ὡς προπάτορος, τῆς δὲ ὡς μητρός. 1245

σχόλιον

Διὰ τούτων γὰρ γίνεται, χωρίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν· οὔτε γὰρ σῶμα μόνον θνήσκει - | ἄψυχον γὰρ -, οὔτε μὴν ψυχὴ, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ὁ θάνατος, διαίρεσις τούτων ὧν. 1250 13^r

κείμενον

1233–1240 Καὶ...νοῦς Greg. Naz., *Oratio* 30, 21, 2-9 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 B 13 - C 7) **1244–1248** Δι' ὅσων...μητρός Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, *Orat.* 30, 21, 9-12 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 C 7-11)

1233 ἄνθρωπος Jo. 9, 11 **1237** ζύμη...φυράματι cf. I Cor. 5, 6 et Gal. 5, 9 **1238–1239** ὅλον...κατακριμάτος cf. Rom. 5, 16; cf. *ibid.* 5, 18; cf. *ibid.* 8, 1 **1239–1240** πάντα...ἁμαρτίας cf. II Cor. 5, 21 et I Petr. 2, 21-22 **1245–1246** Mt. 9, 6; Jo. 5, 27

Νόμω.

1255

σχόλιον

Ὅτι ἐκ γυναικός.

κείμενον

Καὶ οὐ νόμω γεννήσεως· κρίσις γὰρ αὕτη τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, οὐκ ἐνεργεία κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους χριστοὺς ἀγιάζουσα, παρουσία δὲ ὅλου τοῦ κρίοντος· ἥς ἔργον ἄνθρωπον ἀκοῦσαι τὸ κρίον, καὶ ποιῆσαι θεὸν τὸ κρίομενον. Ὅδός δέ, ὡς δι' ἑαυτοῦ φέρων ἡμᾶς. Χριστὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν θεότητα. Θύρα δὲ ὡς εἰσαγωγεύς.

1260

1265

κείμενον

Ποιμὴν δέ, ὡς εἰς τόπον χλόης κατασκηνῶν, καὶ ἐκτρέφων ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁδηγῶν, καὶ προπολεμῶν κατὰ τῶν θηρίων· τὸ πλανώμενον ἐπιστρέφων, τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἐπανάγων, τὸ συντετριμμένον καταδεσμῶν, τὸ ἰσχυρὸν φυλάσσων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖθεν μάνδραν συνάγων λόγοις ποιμαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης· πρόβατον δέ, ὡς σφάγιον· ἄμνός δέ, ὡς τέλειον.

1270

σχόλιον

1275

1255 Νόμω Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 21, 12 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 C 11) **1259–1265** Καὶ...εἰσαγωγεύς Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 21, 12-18 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 C 12 - D 3) **1267–1274** Ποιμὴν...τέλειον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 21, 18-19, 24-25 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 D 3-10)

1259 νόμω γεννήσεως] in marg. σχ. ὅτι ἐκ τῆς παρθένου

1257 Ὅτι...γυναικός cf. Gal. 4, 4 **1260–1261** κατὰ...χριστοὺς cf. Ex. 30, 30 **1263** Ὅδός Jo. 14, 6 **1264** Χριστὸς Mt. 1, 16 θεότητα Jo. 10, 9 **1267** Ποιμὴν Jo. 10, 11 | εἰς...κατασκηνῶν cf. Ps. 22, 2 **1268** ἐκτρέφων...ἀναπαύσεως cf. *ibid.* **1268–1269** ἐντεῦθεν ὁδηγῶν Jo. 10, 4 **1269–1270** τὸ...ἐπιστρέφων cf. Ezech. 34, 16 **1270–1271** τὸ...ἐπανάγων cf. *ibid.* **1271** τὸ¹...καταδεσμῶν cf. *ibid.* **1271–1272** τὸ²...φυλάσσων cf. *ibid.* **1272–1273** καὶ...συνάγων cf. Is. 43, 11 (?) **1273** ἐπιστήμης Is. 53, 7 **1274** σφάγιον· *ibid.* | ἄμνός Is. 53, 7; Jo. 1, 29; 1-36 | τέλειον Ex. 12, 5

Τόπος μὲν οὖν **χλόης** ἡ ἐκκλησία, χλόη δὲ οἱ πιστοὶ, ἀνθοῦντες κατ'ἀρετήν, ἥ καὶ ἡ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστις, νεάζουσα πάντοτε· ἡ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς **χόρτος** ἐγήρασε καὶ ἀπεξηράνθη· ἡ **χλόην** λέγει τὰ εὐσεβῆ δόγματα, τρέφοντα ψυχὴν καὶ πιαίνοντα. **Ὑδωρ** δὲ **ἀναπαύσεως**, τὰ ζωηρὰ λόγια τῆς θείας γραφῆς, οὐ ποτίζοντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφοντα τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας αὐτῆς, καὶ δηλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ **ὑδωρ ἀναπαύσεως** ὀνομασθῆναι· ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων οὗτος ἀναπαύσεται· λέγεται δὲ **ὑδωρ ἀναπαύσεως** καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὡς καθαῖρον τὸν ρύπον, καὶ ἀποφορτίζον τὸ ἐπίπονον βάρος τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

1280

1285

κείμενον

Ἀρχιερεὺς δέ, ὡς προαγωγεύς.

1290

σχόλιον

Τοῦ Ἀποστόλου· Ὅπου πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ, **ἀρχιερεὺς** γενόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. | Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μελχισεδέκ, βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ συναντήσας τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτόν, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτας ἀπὸ πάντων ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ, πρῶτα μὲν ἐρμηνευόμενος βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης, ἔπειτα δὲ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, ὃ ἐστι βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν, μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτας Ἀβραάμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινιῶν ὁ πατριάρχης. Ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, ἡ δὲ ἱστορία κεῖται ἐν βίβλῳ Γενέσεως.

13^v

1295

1300

1305

1276–1279 Τόπος...ἀπεξηράνθη Euth. Zygad., Comment. in Ps. (PG 128, 292 C 10-14) **1280–1281** τὰ...πιαίνοντα cf. Elias Cret., PG 36, 823 A **1290** Ἀρχιερεὺς...προαγωγεύς Greg. Naz., De Filio, Orat. 30, 21, 25-26 (Pnpl., PG 130, 196 D 10-11)

1276 Ps. 22, 2 **1281** Ps. 22, 2 **1283** πεινῶντας...διψῶντας Cf. Mt. 5, 6 **1284** Ps. 22, 2 **1290** Hebr. 2, 17; 5, 10; 6, 20 προαγωγεύς cf. Hebr. 8, 3 **1292–1303** Ὅπου...πατριάρχης Hebr. 6, 20 - 7, 4 **1304–1305** ἐν...Γενέσεως cf. Gen. 14, 17-24

κείμενον

Μελχισεδέκ δέ, ὡς ἀμήτωρ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀπάτωρ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς· καὶ ὡς ἀγενεαλόγητος, τὸ ἄνω - τὴν γὰρ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ φησι, τίς διηγήσεται - καὶ ὡς βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ - εἰρήνη δὲ τοῦτο - καὶ ὡς βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης. 1310

σχόλιον

Ἀμήτωρ μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω γέννησιν, **ἀπάτωρ** δὲ κατὰ τὴν κάτω. **Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μελχισεδέκ, ἀμήτωρ καὶ ἀπάτωρ** καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, 1315 οὐ τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ σιγῇ τοῦ ἱστορήσαντος τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, οὕτω τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομήσαντος, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τῇ φύσει διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν εἰκὼν, <οὗτος δὲ> ἀλήθεια. Χρὴ μέντοι γινώσκειν ὅτι ἡ εἰκὼν ποτὲ μὲν προτερεῦει, 1320 ποτὲ δὲ ὑστερίζει· καὶ προτερεῦει μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν συμβόλων, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν νομικῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ, ὑστερίζει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταλαμβανομένων ἀπὸ πρωτοτύπου, ὡς ὁ γραπτὸς Παῦλος, εἰκὼν τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ τὰ 1325 τοιαῦτα.

κείμενον

1307–1311 Μελχισεδέκ...δικαιοσύνης Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, *Orat.* 30, 21, 26-30 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 D 10 - 197 A 2)
1313–1326 Ἀμήτωρ...τοιαῦτα cf. Nik. Serr. P., f. 166r

1319 εἰκὼν οὗτος] hic quoddam cecidisse videtur, οὗτος δὲ addendum censeo; διατοῦτο γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν εἰκὼν καὶ ἀλήθεια I

1313–1314 Ἀμήτωρ...κάτω] cf. Nik. Serr. P, f. 166r: ὦν γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀμήτωρ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω καὶ πρώτην γένεσιν (sic), γέγονε καὶ ἀπάτωρ κατὰ τὴν κάτω καὶ δευτέραν.

1307 Μελχισεδέκ Hebr. 6, 20; 7, 1 s. | **ἀμήτωρ** Hebr. 7, 3
1308 ἀπάτωρ ibid. | ἀγενεαλόγητος ibid. **1309** τὴν... διηγήσεται Is. 53, 8 **1310** βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ Gen. 14, 18; Hebr. 7, 1 | εἰρήνη Hebr. 7, 2 **1311** βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης ibid.

Καὶ ὥς ἀποδεκατῶν πατριάρχας, κατὰ τῶν
πονηρῶν δυνάμεων ἀριστεύοντας.

σχόλιον

1330

Ἐφηρμήνευσε τοῦτο διὰ τῆς προσθήκης· ἦτοι δῶρα,
τὴν εὐαρέστησιν· | ἡ **πατριάρχας** μὲν νοήσεις τοὺς
ἐξάρχους καὶ τῶν πιστῶν, **δεκάτας** δὲ τοὺς
δι' αὐτῶν προσαγομένους τῷ Χριστῷ· καὶ πάντες
γὰρ οἱ τούτοις μαθητευόμενοι σώζονται.

14^τ

1335

| Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγου τῶν περὶ υἱοῦ

100^τ

κείμενον

Εἰ μὲν οὖν **μεῖζον** μὲν ἐλέγετο, μὴ **ἴσον** δέ, **τάχα** ἂν
ἦν τι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ ἀμφότερα σαφῶς
εὐρίσκομεν, τί φήσουσιν οἱ γεννάδαι; Τί τὸ ἰσχυρὸν
αὐτοῖς; Πῶς συμβήσεται τὰ ἀσύμβατα; Τὸ γὰρ
αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως **μεῖζον** καὶ **ἴσον** εἶναι τῶν
ἀδυνάτων· ἡ δὴλον ὅτι τὸ **μεῖζον** μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς
αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ **ἴσον** τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ
πολλῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης ὁμολογοῦμεν ἡμεῖς. **Τάχα**
δ' ἂν εἴποι τις ἄλλος τῷ ἡμετέρῳ λόγῳ
προσφιλονεικῶν, μὴ ἔλαττον εἶναι τὸ ἐκ τοιαύτης
αἰτίας εἶναι τοῦ ἀναιτίου· τῆς τε γὰρ τοῦ ἀνάρχου
δόξης μετέχοι ἂν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάρχου, καὶ
πρόσεστιν ἡ γέννησις, πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτον, τοῖς γε
νοῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ οὕτω σεβάσμιον.

1340

1345

1350

σχόλιον

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ **μεῖζον** μὲν ἐλέγετο,
τὸ **ἴσον** δὲ μὴ ἐλέγετο, **τάχα** ἂν ἦν τι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς
εἰς ἀπολογίαν. Νῦν δὲ ἀμφότερα εὐρίσκομεν παρὰ
τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ· ὁ Πατὴρ μου γὰρ φησι **μεῖζων** μου

1355

1328–1329 Καὶ... ἀριστεύοντας Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 21,
30-31 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 196 D 10 - 197 A 2-4) **1339–1352** Εἰ...
σεβάσμιον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 7, 2-13, *Pnpl.* PG 130,
581 B-C

1328 ἀποδεκατῶν] ἀπὸ δεκατῶν I

1331 προσθήκης cf. Hebr. 7, 9 **1339** μεῖζον Jo. 14, 28 | ἴσον Jo.
10, 30 **1357–1358** ὁ... ἐστὶ Jo. 14, 28

ἐστί, καὶ πάλιν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ μου ἐν ἔσμεν. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τὸ μείζον ὡς αἰτίῳ μόνον αὐτῷ διδόμεν, 1360 ἄλλος δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ ἀναιτίου εἶναι φησί, τὸ ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλῳ τοῦτο πρόσσεστι τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ ἀναίτιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλαττον καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ ἐκ τοιούτου αἰτίου εἶναι.

κείμενον 1365

| Τὸ γὰρ δὴ λέγειν, <ὅτι τοῦ> κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον νοουμένου μείζον, ἀληθὲς μὲν, οὐ μέγα δέ. Τί γὰρ τὸ θαυμαστόν, εἰ μείζων ἀνθρώπου Θεός; Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς τὸ μείζον κομπάζοντας. Θεὸς δὲ λέγοιτ' ἂν οὐ τοῦ Λόγου, 1370 τοῦ ὀρωμένου δέ - πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ κυρίως Θεοῦ Θεός - ὥσπερ καὶ Πατήρ, οὐ τοῦ ὀρωμένου, τοῦ Λόγου δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν διπλοῦς.

σχόλιον

Ὅτι τοῦ κατὰ τὸ πρόσλημμα νοουμένου Υἱοῦ μείζον λέγεται τὸ μείζον. 1375

κείμενον

Ὡστε τὸ μὲν κυρίως ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ οὐ κυρίως, ἐναντίως ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει· ἡμῶν γὰρ κυρίως μὲν Θεός, οὐ κυρίως δὲ Πατήρ. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ ποιεῖ 1380 τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς τὴν πλάνην, ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπίζηξις, ἐπαλλαττομένων τῶν ὀνομάτων διὰ τὴν σύγκρασιν.

σχόλιον

1366–1373 Τὸ...διπλοῦς Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 7, 14-8, 4

1378–1383 Ὡστε...σύγκρασιν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 8, 4-8

1366 λέγειν] post hoc verbum ὅτι τοῦ conieci

1358 ἐγὼ...ἔσμεν Jo. 10, 30 **1370–1373** Θεὸς...δέ cf. Jo. 10, 30

Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φάσκοντος εὐαγγελικοῦ ῥητοῦ· 1385
 ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου καὶ Πατέρα ὑμῶν
 καὶ Θεὸν μου καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῶν, οἱ Εὐνομιανοὶ
 ἐλάττωσιν τῷ Υἱῷ προσήπτον, μεθ' ἡμῶν τῶν
 κτισμάτων καὶ τοῦτον τάττοντες, ὡς ἐπίσης ἡμῖν
 ἔχοντα καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Θεόν, τὸν Πατέρα. Πρὸς 1390
 οὓς ἀντιβαίνων ὁ Θεολόγος φησὶν ὅτι τῶν δύο
 τούτων ὀνομάτων “τοῦ τε Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Θεός,”
 ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τῶν φύσεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς τε
 ἀοράτου καὶ τῆς ὁρωμένης, **τὸ μὲν κυρίως** λέγοιτο
 ἄν, **τὸ δὲ οὐ κυρίως**· ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῆς ἀοράτου, τὸ 1395
 μὲν Πατὴρ, **κυρίως**, τὸ δὲ Θεός, **οὐ κυρίως**, τὸ ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῆς ὁρωμένης, τὸ μὲν Θεός **κυρίως**, Πατὴρ δὲ
οὐ κυρίως. Εἶτα πρὸς τὴν ἀόρατον ἀπιδὼν, περὶ ἧς
 ὁ σύμπας ἄγών, εἴρηκεν ὅτι ἐναντίως ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῶν
 ἔχει, δηλονότι λέγοιτο ἂν τὰ δηλωθέντα ὀνόματα. 1400
 Τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ, φησί, τοῖς **αἵρετικοῖς τὴν πλάνην**,
 ἢ κατὰ τῆς μιᾶς συνθέτου ὑποστάσεως τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ ἐπιφορὰ τῶν δύο τούτων ὀνομάτων, **τοῦ**
τε Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Θεός· ἀλλάττονται γὰρ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς φύσεσι καὶ ἄλλην 1405
 ἄλλως προσάπτονται διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν.

κείμενον

Σημεῖον δέ.

σχόλιον

| **Σημεῖον** δὲ τοῦ οὕτως ἔχειν, ὃ ἐρῶ..... 101'

κείμενον

Ἦνίκα αἱ φύσεις διῴστανται ταῖς ἐπινοίαις,
 συνδιαιρεῖται καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Παύλου λέγοντος
 ἄκουσον· *Ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ*
Χριστοῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τῆς δόξης. 1415

1412–1415 Ἦνίκα ...δόξης Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 8, 9-11

1396 τὸ²...1398 κυρίως] *coniec*i; ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῆς ἀοράτου, τὸ
 μὲν Πατὴρ κυρίως, τὸ δὲ Θεός οὐ κυρίως· τὸ δὲ Πατὴρ οὐ
 κυρίως | **1399** σύμπας] σύμπαν |

1386–1387 Jo. 20, 17 **1414–1415** Eph. 1, 17

σχόλιον

Αδύνατον γὰρ ἄλλως διασπῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν.

κείμενον

Χριστοῦ μέν, Θεός, τῆς δὲ δόξης, Πατήρ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ 1420
τὸ συναμφοτέρων ἓν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ φύσει, τῇ δὲ
συνόδῳ τούτων. Τί ἂν γένοιτο γνωριμότερον.

σχόλιον

Τῆς θείας καὶ ἀπροσίτου φύσεως; 1425
| Τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγου τῶν περὶ 120^ν
Υἱοῦ.

κείμενον

Δεύτερον δέ, τί τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀμάχων;
δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι τοῦδε. 1430

σχόλιον

Τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν
ἄχρις ἃν οὗ θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς
πόδας αὐτοῦ. 1435

κείμενον

Καὶ ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ δεχθῆναι ἄχρι χρόνων
ἀποκαταστάσεως.

1420–1422 Χριστοῦ... γνωριμότερον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 8, 12-14 **1429–1430** Δεύτερον... τοῦδε Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 1-2 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 A 14 - B1) **1437–1438** Καὶ... ἀποκαταστάσεως Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 3 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 1-2)

1430 I Cor. 15, 25 **1432–1434** Cor. I, 15, 25 **1437–1438** ὑπ'... ἀποκαταστάσεως cf. Act. 3, 21

σχόλιον

1440

Ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν Πράξεων λέγει Πέτρος· ὃν δεῖ
οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων
ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων.

κείμενον

Καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδραν ἔχειν, ἕως τῆς τῶν
ἐχθρῶν ἐπικρατήσεως. Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο δέ, τί; λῆξαι
τῆς βασιλείας, ἢ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀπωσθῆναι; τίνας
παύσοντος, ἢ δι' ἣν τινα τὴν αἰτίαν; ὡς τολμηρὸς
ἐξηγητῆς σύ.

1445

σχόλιον

1450

Τοῦ Δαυὶδ· ἄθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς
ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

κείμενον

Καὶ λίαν ἀβασίλευτος.

σχόλιον

1455

| Ὡς ἐκβάλλων τῆς βασιλείας τὸν Υἱόν.

121^τ**κείμενον**

Καὶ μὴν ἀκούεις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ μὴ εἶναι
πέρας.

σχόλιον

1460

1445–1449 Καὶ...σύ Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 3-7 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 2-7) **1454** Καὶ...ἀβασίλευτος Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 7 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 7) **1458–1459** Καὶ...πέρας Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 7-8 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 7-8)

1441–1443 Acta, 3, 21 **1445–1446** Καὶ...ἐπικρατήσεως cf. Ps. 109, 1 **1451–1452** Κάθου...σου² Ps 109, 1 **1458–1459** τῆς...πέρας cf. Lc. 1, 33

Τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριήλ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

κείμενον

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο πάσχεις παρὰ τὸ μὴ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸ ἕως οὐ πάντως ἀντιδιαφεῖται τῷ μέλλοντι.

1465

σχόλιον

Οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης· οὐκ αἰ ἀντιδιαστέλλεται.

κείμενον

Ἀλλὰ τὸ μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε τίθησι, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀναίνεται. Ἡ πῶς νοήσεις, ἵνα μὴ τᾶλλα λέγω, τὸ Ἔσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος; Ἄρ' ὥς μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔσομένου; καὶ τίς ὁ λόγος.

1470

σχόλιον

Τοῦτο Εὐαγγελικόν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· ὅρα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ "εἰμι" δύναμιν ἔχει τοῦ ἔσομαι.

1475

κείμενον

Οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὸ μὴ διαφεῖν τὰ σημανόμενα· βασιλεύειν γὰρ λέγεται, καθ' ἐν μὲν, ὥς παντοκράτωρ, καὶ θελόντων καὶ μὴ βασιλεύς.

1480

σχόλιον

1464–1465 ... μέλλοντι Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 8-10 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 8-10) **1469–1473** Ἀλλὰ...λόγος Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 10-14 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 10-15) **1479–1482** Οὐ...βασιλεύς Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 15-17 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 B 15 - C 3)

1461–1462 Lc. 1, 33 **1471–1472** Ἔσομαι...αἰῶνος cf. Mt. 28, 20 **1475–1476** Mt. 28, 20 **1481–1482** παντοκράτωρ...βασιλεύς cf. Macc. 1, 25, Mal. 1, 14; Jer. 28, 57

Τοῦτο δηλαδή πάσχεις καὶ παρὰ τόδε.

κείμενον

1485

Καθ' ἕτερον δέ, ὡς ἐνεργῶν τὴν ὑποταγήν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν τιθεὶς ἡμᾶς, ἐκόντας δεχομένους τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι. Τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐκείνης νοουμένης βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται πέρας. Τῆς δευτέρας δέ, τί; τὸ λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ σωζομένους. Τί γὰρ δεῖ τὴν ὑποταγήν ἐνεργεῖν, ὑποτεταγμένων, μεθ' ἣν ἀνίσταται κρίνων τὴν γῆν, καὶ διαιρῶν τὸ σωζόμενον καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον;

1490

σχόλιον

1495

Τοῦ Δαυὶδ· Ἀνάστα, ὁ Θεός, κρίνον τὴν γῆν· ἀνάστασιν μὲν ἐνταῦθα λέγοντες τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κρίνειν, γῆν δὲ τοὺς τὰ γεώδη φρονήσαντας, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν οὐρανίων προκρίναντας.

κείμενον

1500

Μεθ' ἣν ἴσταται Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν, τῶν σωζομένων | διακρίνων> καὶ διαστέλλων, τίνος ἕκαστος τιμῆς καὶ μονῆς ἄξιος.

121^v

σχόλιον

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ὁ Θεὸς ἔσθῃ ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοὺς διακρίνει· Θεοὺς δὲ λέγει τοὺς σωζομένους, ὡς ὁμοιωθέντας Θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ.

1505

1486–1494 Καθ'...ἀπολλύμενον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 17-24 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 C 3-10) **1501–1503** Μεθ'...ἄξιος Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 4, 24-26 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 C 10-13)

1486 τὴν ὑποταγήν] in marg. σχ. τουτέστι διὰ τοῦ Εὐγγελίου

1488–1489 Τῆς...πέρας cf. Lc. 1, 33 **1492–1493** ἀνίσταται...γῆν cf. Ps. 81, 8 **1493–1494** διαιρῶν...ἀπολλύμενον cf. Mt. 25, 32 **1496** Ps. 81, 8 **1501** ἴσταται...θεῶν cf. Ps. 81, 1 **1502–1503** τίνος...ἄξιος cf. Jo. 14, 2 **1505–1506** Ps. 81, 1

κείμενον

Τούτῳ σύναπτε καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν, ἣν ὑποτάσσεις
τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν. Τί λέγεις, ὡς νῦν οὐχ'
ὑποτεταγμένον; δεῖται δὲ ὅλως ὑποταγῆναι θεῷ,
Θεὸς ὢν; Ὡς περὶ ληστοῦ τινὸς ἢ ἀντιθέου, ποιῇ
τὸν λόγον. Ἀλλ' οὕτως σκόπει. 1510

σχόλιον

1515

Φησὶν ὁ μέγας Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος· ὅταν δὲ
ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς
ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

κείμενον

Ὅτι ὥσπερ κατάρα ἤκουσε δι' ἐμέ, ὁ τὴν ἐμὴν
λύων κατάραν, καὶ ἁμαρτία, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν
τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ Ἀδὰμ ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γίνεται
νέος, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ἀνυπότακτον ἑαυτοῦ
ποιεῖται. 1520

σχόλιον

1525

Κατάρα, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατάρματος· ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεολόγος,
ἐκ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου μετέλαβε τοῦτο, λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ
Χριστὸς γέγονεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὁ δὲ
Ἀπόστολος ἐκ τοῦ Δευτερονομίου, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται
ὅτι ἐπικατάρματος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου· 1530
τοὺς γὰρ πάνδεινά τινα πλημμελήσαντος, καὶ
ἀξιούς κατάρας, οἱ παλαιοὶ τῷ σταυρῷ ἀνήρουν·
Ἁμαρτία δὲ ἤκουσεν, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
Παύλου λέγοντος· τὸν γὰρ μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν· **ἀντὶ τοῦ**, ὡς 1535
ἁμαρτωλὸν ἀφῆκεν ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ Πατὴρ δηλονότι.

1510–1514 Τούτῳ ...σκόπει Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5, 1-4
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 D 1-5) **1520–1524** Ὅτι... ποιεῖται Greg.
Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5, 5-8 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 D 5-9)

1510 τὴν ὑποταγὴν] in marg. σχ. τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑποταγῆς λόγῳ

1516–1518 Cor. I 15, 28 **1520** κατάρα Gal. 3, 13 **1521** ἁμαρτία
II Cor. 5, 21 **1521–1522** Jo. 1, 29 **1522–1523** καὶ... νέος cf. I
Cor., 15, 45 **1526** Κατάρα Gal. 3, 13 **1527–1528** ὁ... κατάρα cf.
Ep. Pauli Gal. 3, 13 **1530** Deut. 27, 26 **1534–1535** II Cor. 5, 21

κείμενον

Ὡς κεφαλὴ τοῦ παντός σώματος· ἕως μὲν οὖν
ἀνυπότακτος ἐγὼ καὶ στασιώδης, τῇ τε ἀρνήσει
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν, [ἀνυπότακτος τὸ κατ’ 122’
ἐμὲ καὶ Χριστὸς λέγεται.

σχόλιον

Τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου· καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ
τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

κείμενον

1545

Ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, —ὑποταγήσεται
δὲ καὶ τῇ ἐπιγνώσει καὶ τῇ μεταποιήσει, —τότε καὶ
αὐτὸς τὴν ὑποταγὴν πεπλήρωκεν, προσάγων ἐμὲ
τὸν σεσωσμένον.

σχόλιον

1550

Ἀλλασσομένης τῆς κτίσεως· τότε γὰρ
πληροφορηθέντες, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑποταγήσονται,
ὅσοι μὴ διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τοῦτον ἐπέγνωσαν.

κείμενον

Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ ὑποταγὴ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν 1555
λόγον, ἡ τοῦ πατρικοῦ θελήματος πλήρωσις.
ὑποτάσσει δὲ καὶ Υἱὸς Πατρί, καὶ Υἱῷ Πατὴρ, ὁ μὲν
ἐνεργῶν, ὁ δὲ εὐδοκῶν, ὁ καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν.

σχόλιον

1538–1541 Ὡς...λέγεται Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5, 8-11
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 578 D 9 - 580 A 2) **1546–1549** Ὅταν...
σεσωσμένον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5, 11-14 Orat. 30, 6
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580 A 2-5) **1555–1558** Τοῦτο...εἶπομεν Greg.
Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5, 14-17 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580 A 5-9)

1548 ὑποταγὴν πεπλήρωκεν] in marg. σχ. ἡγουν ὑπετάγη τῷ
Πατρί

1538 Ὡς...σώματος cf. I Cor. 15, 45 **1543–1544** Coloss. 1, 18
1546 I Cor. 15, 28

Πατρικὸν θέλημα, τὸ ὑποτάξαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ 1560
προσαγαγεῖν αὐτόν δηλόνوتي **σεσωσμένον.**

κείμενον

Καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον ὁ ὑποτάξας Θεῶ
παρίστησιν, ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος τὸ ἡμέτερον.
Τοιοῦτον εἶναι μοι φαίνεται καὶ τὸ Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός 1565
μου, πρόσχες μοι, ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; οὐ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐγκαταλέλειπται, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός, ἢ ὑπὸ
τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος, ὃ δοκεῖ τισιν, ὡς ἂν
φοβουμένης τὸ πάθος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
συστελλομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσχοντος. Τίς γὰρ, ἢ 1570
γεννηθῆναι κάτω τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν
ἀνελθεῖν, ἠνάγκασεν;

σχόλιον

Καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ διὰ τοῦ
Πατρὸς ὑποτεταγμένον τῷ Υἱῷ, ὁ ὑποτάξας Υἱός, 1575
τῷ Πατρὶ παρίστησιν, ἑαυτοῦ ὑποταγὴν
ποιούμενος τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑποταγὴν, καὶ
οἰκειούμενος αὐτήν, τῷ λέγεσθαι ὑποταγήσεσθαι
τῷ Πατρί· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑποταγησόμεθα.

κείμενον 1580

| Ἐν ἑαυτῷ δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, τυποῖ τὸ ἡμέτερον. 122^ν
Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἤμεν οἱ ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι καὶ
παρεωραμένοι πρότερον, εἴτα νῦν προσειλημμένοι
καὶ σεσωσμένοι τοῖς τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς πάθεσιν· ὥσπερ
καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πλημμελὲς 1585
οἰκειούμενος, τὰ ἐξῆς διὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ φησίν,

1563–1572 Καὶ... ἠνάγκασεν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5,
17-26 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580 A 9 - B 2) **1581–1588** Ἐν...
ἀναφέρεται Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 5, 26-32 (*Pnpl.*, PG
130, 580 B 2-9)

1569 φοβουμένης] φοβουμένοις | **1574** τοῦ] ὑποτεταγμένον
a. corr. |

1563–1564 Καὶ... παρίστησιν cf. I Cor. 15, 28 **1565–1566** Ps. 21,
2 **1578–1579** ὑποταγήσεσθαι... Πατρὶ cf. I Cor. 15, 28
1582–1583 Ἡμεῖς... πρότερον cf. Is. 53, 6

ἐπειδὴ προδήλως εἰς Χριστὸν ὁ εἰκοστός πρῶτος
ψαλμὸς ἀναφέρεται.

σχόλιον

Καὶ μὴν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ, περὶ 1590
ἀφροσύνης κεῖται καὶ πλημμελείας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ
ἐξηκοστῷ ὀγδόῳ· ὁ Θεός, σὺ ἐγνωνς τὴν ἀφροσύνην
μου· καὶ αἱ πλημμέλειαί μου ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐκ
ἀπεκρύβησαν· ἀλλὰ τὸ ὥσπερ παραδειγματικῶς
τεθέν, εἰς ἐκείνον ἡμᾶς τὸν ψαλμὸν παραπέμπει, 1595
ὥσπερ φησὶ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ψαλμῷ, τὴν ἀφροσύνην
ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πλημμελὲς οἰκειούμενος, τὰ ἐξῆς
τῶν ῥητῶν τούτων κείμενα, διὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ
ἐκείνου δίδεισιν· εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι προσώπῳ ἡμῶν
εἴρηκεν ὁ Χριστός, τό, ἵνατί ἐγκατέλιπες με, 1600
προσεπήγαγε καὶ παραδείγμα, τὰ ῥητὰ τοῦ
δηλωθέντος ἐξηκοστοῦ ὀγδοοῦ ψαλμοῦ, ἃ
κἀκεῖνα, προσώπῳ ἡμῶν ἐρρήθησαν· τὸ δὲ ἐπειδὴ
προδήλως εἰς Χριστὸν ὁ εἰκοστός πρῶτος
ψαλμὸς ἀναφέρεται, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀφροσύνην 1605
καὶ τὸ πλημμελές, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐγκατάλειψιν
εἴρηται.

κείμενον

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἔχεται θεωρίας καὶ τὸ μαθεῖν αὐτὸν 1610
τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν.

σχόλιον

Τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου· αἵπερ ὧν νίος, ἔμαθεν
ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε τὴν ὑπακοήν.

κείμενον

1609–1610 Τῆς... ἔπαθεν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 1-2
(*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, B 13-14)

1593 αἱ] *supra lin.*

1592–1594 Ps 68, 6 **1600** Ps. 21, 2 **1609–1610** τὸ... ἔπαθεν cf.
Hebr. 5, 8 **1612–1613** Hebr. 5, 8

Ἡ τε κραυγή, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα, καὶ τὸ ἱκετεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ εἰσακουσθῆναι, καὶ τὸ εὐλαβέες. 1615

σχόλιον

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου |, μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσενέγκας καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας. 123'

κεείμενον

Ἄ δραματουργεῖται καὶ πλέκεται θαυμασίως ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. 1625

σχόλιον

Σχηματίζεται, πλάττεται· θαυμασίως δέ, διὰ τὸ προσφυές· ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνθ' ἡμῶν.

κεείμενον

Ὡς μὲν γὰρ Λόγος, οὔτε ὑπήκοος ἦν, οὔτε ἀνήκοος· τῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χειρὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν δευτέρων, τὸ μὲν τῶν εὐγνωμονεστέρων, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀξίων κολάσεως. Ὡς δὲ δούλου μορφῇ, συγκαταβαίνει τοῖς ὁμοδόλοις καὶ δούλοις. 1630

σχόλιον

1635

1615–1616 Ἡ... εὐλαβέες Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 2-3 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, B 14 - C 1) **1624–1625** Ἀ... ἡμῶν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 4 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 1-2) **1630–1634** Ὡς... δούλοις Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 5-8 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 2-6)

1630 Λόγος] in marg. σχ. ὡς Θεὸς **1633** κολάσεως] κολάσεων a. corr I | δούλου μορφῇ] in marg. σχ. ὡς ἄνθρωπος φύσει γενόμενος·

1615–1616 Ἡ... εὐλαβέες cf. Hebr. 5, 7 **1618–1622** Hebr. 5, 7 **1633** δούλου μορφῇ Philip. 2, 7

Συνεξομοιοῦται, συνταπεινοῦται **τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις** μέν, πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ· **δούλοις** δέ, πρὸς τὴν θεότητα.

κείμενον

Καὶ μορφοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον.

1640

σχόλιον

Σχηματίζεται, ὑποδύεται τὴν μὴ προσήκουσαν τῇ αὐτοῦ θεότητι ὑποταγὴν· τὸ γὰρ ἔμαθεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνήργησεν.

κείμενον

1645

Ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐμὲ φέρων μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν.

σχόλιον

Ὅλην ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ θεότητι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν φέρων, μετὰ τῶν ἀδιαβλήτων αὐτῆς παθῶν καὶ ἰδιωμάτων καὶ λόγων, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως **ἐμὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν**.

1650

κείμενον

Ἴν' ἐν ἑαυτῷ δαπανήσῃ τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς κηρὸν πῦρ, ἢ ὡς ἀτμίδα γῆς ἥλιος, καὶ γὰρ μεταλάβω τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν σύγκρασιν.

1655

σχόλιον

Τῆς καθαρότητος· τῆς ἀπαθείας, τῆς θεώσεως. Ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὡς εἴρηται.

κείμενον

1640 Καὶ...ἀλλότριον Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 9 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 7) **1646** Ὅλον...ἐμῶν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 9-10 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 7-8) **1653-1655** Ἴν'...σύγκρασιν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 10-12 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 7-10)

1643 ἔμαθεν cf. Ep. Hebr. 5, 8

Διατοῦτο ἔργῳ τιμᾶ τὴν ὑπακοήν, καὶ πειρᾶται ταύτης ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν. 1660

σχόλιον

Ἐνεργεῖ ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ παθητὴν φύσιν προσλαβεῖν· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γενόμενος, ἐνήργησε τὴν ὑπακοήν. 1665

κείμενον

Οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸν ἢ διάθεσις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων χωρήσαιμεν· ἔργον γὰρ ἀπόδειξις διαθέσεως.

σχόλιον 1670

|Τὸ διατεθῆναι αὐτόν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἀπλῶς· 124' ἀλλ' ἔδει καὶ τῆς δι' ἔργων ὑπακοῆς.

κείμενον

Οὐ χεῖρον δὲ ἴσως κάκεῖνο ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅτι δοκιμάζει τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπακοήν. 1675

σχόλιον

Ἐπάγει καὶ δευτέραν ἐξήγησιν, ὅτι καὶ ὡς Θεὸς ἀκριβοῖ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ὀφειλομένην ὑπακοήν, ὁπόσῃν ἡμᾶς εἰσάγειν χρή, ὥστ' ἔχειν εἰδέναι, μὴ μόνον ἀπλῇ γνώσει τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πάθεσι, τουτέστιν, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ πρόσλημμα πέπονθε, καὶ πόσον μὲν ἀπαιτούμεθα, ὡς δυνάμενοι, πόσον δὲ συγχωρούμεθα, ὡς ἀσθενεῖς, κατὰ τοῦτο ταττομένης καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας μετὰ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς λογίζεσθαι καὶ ταύτην πάθος· οὐ μόνον γὰρ λέγοιτ' ἂν πάθος ἢ ἐπήρεια τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀσθένεια τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· καὶ οὕτως 1680 1685

1660–1661 Διατοῦτο... παθεῖν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 12-13 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 10-12) **1667–1669** Οὐ... διαθέσεως Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 13-15 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 12-14) **1674–1675** Οὐ... ὑπακοήν Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 16-17 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, C 14 - D 1)

ἀπό τε τῆς ἐπηρείας, ἀπό τε τῆς φυσικῆς
 ἀσθενείας διαγνώσκει, πόσον μὲν εἰς ὑπακοὴν 1690
 Θεοῦ ἀπαιτούμεθα, πόσον δέ, διὰ ταῦτα
 συγχωρούμεθα, ἵνα μηδεὶς κρινόμενος ἔχοι
 λέγειν, ὅτι εἰ ἐπεπείρατο τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως,
 οὐχ οὕτως ἂν ἅπ.τει παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὑπακοήν·
 εἶτα ὑπεραπολογεῖται τοῦ πάθους, ὅτι ἀναγκαίως 1695
 πάσχομεν.

κείμενον

Καὶ πάντα μετρεῖ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πάθεσι, τέχνη
 φιλανθρωπίας, ὥστε ἔχειν εἰδέναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τὰ
 ἡμέτερα, καὶ πόσον μὲν ἀπαιτούμεθα, πόσον δὲ 1700
 συγχωρούμεθα, | λογιζομένης μετὰ τοῦ πάσχειν
 καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ φῶς ἐδιώχθη διὰ τὸ
 πρόβλημα, φαῖνον ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἄλλης σκοτίας, τοῦ πονηροῦ λέγω καὶ τοῦ
 πειραστοῦ, τὸ σκότος πόσον, ὡς ἀσθενέστερον. 1705

σχόλιον

Εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός, ὡς ἄνθρωπος πέπονθε,
 πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς. Εἴληπται δὲ ἡ ἔννοια ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου· γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ
 σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβε. Φῶς 1710
 μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τὴν θεότητα.
 Σκοτίαν δέ, μίαν μὲν τὸν βίον διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
 παθῶν ζόφον καὶ τὴν πλάνην, ἑτέραν δὲ τὸν
 διάβολον, ὡς ἀντικείμενον τῷ δηλωθέντι φωτί, καὶ
 ὅτι σκότος διὰ τὴν ἔπαρσιν γέγονέ τε καὶ λέγεται· 1715
 σκότος δὲ τρίτον καλεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὴν
 παχύτητα καὶ τὴν ἐπιπρόσθησιν τῆς σαρκός·
 κατέδραμε γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ διάβολος,

1697–1702 ...τῆς Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 17-24 (*Pnpl.*,
 PG 130, 580, C 1-5) **1711–1713** θεότητα...τὴν cf. Elias Cret.,
 PG 36, 817 A **1716–1717** σκότος...καὶ cf. Elias Cret., PG 36, 817
 A

1695 εἶτα] ὑπερ ἀπολογεῖται | **1698** Καὶ] in marg. σχ.
 διαγινώσκει

1702–1703 γὰρ...τῇ cf. Jo. 1, 5 **1703–1704** τούτῳ...ἄλλης cf. Lc.
 22, 53 **1704** καὶ τοῦ Mt. 4, 3 **1705** πειραστοῦ...σκότος cf. Eph.
 5, 8 **1709–1710** Jo. 1, 5

πειράζων αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὸ πρόβλημα
τῆς σαρκός, ἡγουν διὰ τὸ ὁρώμενον· εἰ γὰρ τὸ φῶς 1720
ἐδιώχθη φησί, τουτέστιν ἐπειράσθη, τὸ σκότος
πόσον ἄρα πειρασθήσεται, οἷα καὶ ἀσθενέστερον,
λέγω δὴ, ὁ τυχὼν ἄνθρωπος.

κείμενον

Καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἐκείνου διαφυγόντος 1725
παντάπασιν, ἡμεῖς ποσῶς καὶ καταληφθείμεν;
μείζον γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ διωχθῆναι, ἢ περ ἡμῖν τὸ
καταληφθῆναι, παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς ταῦτα
λογιζομένοις. Ἔτι δὲ προσθήσω τοῖς εἰρημένοις
ἐκεῖνο, ἐνθυμηθεῖς, τὸ Ἐν ᾧ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς 1730
πειρασθεῖς, δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι,
σαφῶς πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν φέρον ἔννοιαν.

σχόλιον

| Οὐκ ἔστι φησί **θαυμαστόν** εἰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ 125'
πα.....τος τὸν ἐχθρόν· εἴπουν κατὰ μηδὲν 1735
ἡττηθέντος ... καὶ μερικῶς καταληφθείμεν·
ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ἀπρόσιτος, ἡμεῖς δὲ
χοῦς βαρὺς, ὥστε πρόσεστιν ἐκείνῳ **μείζον** εἰς
θαῦμα τὸ ὅπως **διωχθῆναι** τοιούτῳ ὄντι, ἢ ἡμῖν
τὸ καταληφθῆναι ὡς εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν 1740
ἀσθένειαν.

Εἰς τὸ, ἔσται δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν· ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ λόγου

κείμενον

1745

Ἔσται δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

σχόλιον

1723–1731 δὴ... πειραζομένοις Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6,
24-30 (*Pnpl.*, PG 130, 580, D 5-9) **1736–1737** ... καὶ cf. Elias Cret.,
PG 36, 817 A **1743–1745** ἐν... Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6,
31 *Pnpl.*, PG 130, 581 A 1-2)

1729–1730 Hebr. 2, 18 **1743–1745** ἐν... cf. I Cor. 15, 28
1746–1748 I Cor. 15, 28

Καὶ τοῦτο Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου εἰπόντος· ἵνα ἡ
 ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, ἐξελάβανον δὲ καὶ
 τοῦτο - κακούργως οἱ αἵρετικοὶ κἀντεῦθεν 1750
 ἡλάττουν τὸν Υἱὸν λέγοντες, ὅτι μόνος ὁ Πατὴρ
 ἔσται τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεολόγος καὶ
 τοῦτο σαφῶς ἐπιλύεται, ὅτι Θεὸν ἐνταῦθα μὴ
 μόνον τὸν Πατέρα νοήσης, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸν ἐν τρισὶ
 προσώποις θεωρούμενον· οὐ μόνον γὰρ φησιν ὁ 1755
 Πατὴρ ἔσται τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν· ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν
 ἀναλυομένου τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Ἀνάλυσιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα
 λέγει τὴν οἶον ἀνάχυσιν καὶ ἀνάκρισιν, ὃ τῆς
Σαβελλιανῆς ἐστὶ ληρωδίας δόγμα· καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκεῖνοι τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰς τὸν Πατέρα 1760
 συνείρουν, ὀνόματα μόνον τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγοντες
 ἀνούσια, τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα.

κείμενον

Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως· οὐχ' ὁ Πατὴρ,
 πάντως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναλυθέντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὥσπερ 1765
 εἰς πυρὰν μεγάλην λαμπάδος πρὸς καιρὸν
 ἀποσπασθείσης, εἶτα συναφθείσης, —μηδὲ γὰρ
 Σαβέλλιοι τῷ ῥητῷ τούτῳ παραφθειρέσθωσαν,
 —ἀλλ' ὅλος Θεός, ὅταν μηκέτι πολλὰ ὤμεν,
 ὥσπερ νῦν, τοῖς κινήμασι καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν, | 125^v
 οὐδὲν ὅλως Θεοῦ, ἢ ὀλίγον, ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς
 φέροντες, ἀλλ' ὅλοι θεοειδεῖς, ὅλου Θεοῦ
 χωρητικοὶ καὶ μόνου. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τελείωσις, πρὸς
 ἣν σπεύδομεν· τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Παῦλος
 αὐτός· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα περὶ Θεοῦ φησὶν ἀορίστως, 1775
 ἀλλαχοῦ σαφῶς περιορίζει Χριστῷ λέγων· Ὅπου
 οὐκ ἔνι Ἑλλήν, οὐδὲ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ
 ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος·
 ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός.

σχόλιον

1780

Εἶπουν τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως, ὅτε αἱ ψυχαὶ
 ἀποκαθίστανται εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα. Τότε γὰρ,

1760–1777 Πατέρα... ἔνι Greg. Naz., *De Filio*, Orat. 30, 6, 26-28
 (Pnpl., PG 130, 581 A 2 - B 3)

1760–1761 Πατέρα... τοῦ cf. Act. 3, 21 **1774–1777** τεκμηριοῖ...
 ἔνι Col. 3, 11; cf. Gal. 3, 28

τῶν μὲν δαιμόνων παυθέντων, τῶν δὲ παθῶν
 σχολασάντων, τῆς δὲ ἁμαρτίας ἀργησάσης, οὐκέτι
 εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθησόμεθα, καθάπερ νῦν, **τοῖς** 1785
κινήμασι τῆς ψυχῆς, ἡγουν ταῖς διαφόροις
 γνώμαις καὶ **τοῖς** ποικίλοις **πάθεσιν**, οὐδὲν ὅλως
Θεοῦ, ἢ **ὀλίγον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φέροντες**. Νῦν γὰρ εἰς
 πολλὰ μεριζόμενοι, ἢ οὐδὲ μίαν περὶ Θεοῦ
 θεωρίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φέρομεν διὰ τὴν ζόφωσιν τοῦ 1790
 νοός, ἢ μικρὰν τινα φαντασίαν· **τότε** δὲ, **ὅλοι**
θεοειδεῖς, ὃ ἐστὶ θεῖοι, ἐσόμεθα καὶ ὅλης τῆς
 θεότητος **χωρητικοί**, μυσταγωγούμενοι τὰ περὶ
 τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ἐκδηλότερον, ὥς ἢ τοῦ
 ἀψευδοῦς ὑπόσχεσις, καὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ὥς μηδὲν 1795
 ἕτερον δυνάμενοι βλέπειν, ἢ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ
 οὕτως ἔσται ὁ Θεὸς ἀντὶ πάντων λόγων καὶ ἔργων
 καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις. Ὅτι δὲ Θεὸν
 ὅλην ἐνταῦθα τὴν θεότητα χρὴ νοεῖν τεκμηριοῖ
 μάλιστα Παῦλος, ἡγουν τεκμαίρεσθαι δίδωσι 1800
 πληροφορεῖ· ὁ γὰρ νῦν **ἀορίστως** περὶ Θεοῦ φησὶ,
 δηλαδή τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν | 126'
 ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ, μόνῳ τῷ Χριστῷ τοῦτο ἀφορρίζει
 καθαρῶς ἐν οἷς φησιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τῆνικαῦτα
 διαφορὰ γένους ἢ τύχης, 1805
 ἢ τινος τοιούτου, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ
 Χριστός. **Παραφθειρέσθωσαν** δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ
 παρεισπεσέτωσαν ἐπὶ φθορᾷ τῶν ἀκροωμένων.

[Τίτλος ε' Περί θεωνυμίας· τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου, ἐκ
τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων 10^ρ
1810

Τοῦτο οὖν εἰδότες οἱ θεολόγοι, καὶ ὡς ἀνώνυμον
αὐτὸν ὕμνοῦσι, καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ὀνόματος.
Ἀνώνυμον μὲν, ὡς ὅταν φασὶ τὴν θεαρχίαν αὐτὴν,
ἐν μιᾷ τῶν μυστικῶν τῆς συμβολικῆς θεοφανείας
ὁράσεων, ἐπιπληξαι τῷ φήσαντι, τί τὸ ὄνομά σου· 1815
καὶ ὥσ- | περ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης θεωνυμικῆς 10^ν
γνώσεως ἀπάγουσαν, φάναι· καὶ ἵνα τί ἐρωτᾷς τὸ
ὄνομά μου· καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ θαυμαστόν· ἢ οὐχὶ τοῦτο
ὄντως ἐστὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ὄνομα· τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν
ὄνομα· τὸ ἀνώνυμον· τὸ παντὸς ὑπεριδρυμένον 1820
ὀνόματος· ὀνομαζομένον, εἴτε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ,
εἴτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι; Πολυώνυμον δέ, ὡς ὅταν
αὐθις αὐτὴν εἰσάγωσι φάσκουσιν· ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὢν· ἢ
ζωή· τὸ φῶς· ὁ θεός· ἢ ἀλήθεια· καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ τὸν
πάντων αἷτιον οἱ θεοσόφοι πολυνύμως ἐκ 1825
πάντων τῶν αἰτιατῶν ὕμνωσιν, ὡς ἀγαθόν· ὡς
καλόν· ὡς σοφόν· ὡς ἀγαπητόν· ὡς θεὸν θεῶν· ὡς
κύριον κυρίων· ὡς ἅγιον ἁγίων· ὡς αἰώνιον· ὡς
ὄντα καὶ ὡς αἰώνων αἷτιον· ὡς ζωῆς χορηγόν· ὡς

1811–1843 Τοῦτο...ὄντων Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nomin.*, I 6
Suchla p. 118, 2-119, 9

1816 αὐτὸν...πάσης] αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης; ἀπὸ πάσης αὐτὸν:
Suchla, sine variante. **1817** φάναι...1818 θαυμαστόν] φάναι·
καὶ ... θαυμαστόν - recte; Suchla: φάναι καὶ « Ἴνα τί ἐρωτᾷς
τὸ ὄνομά μου »; καί· Τοῦτο « ἐστὶ θαυμαστόν ». - falso; cf.
Jud. 13, 18; **1818** ἢ] ἢ falso; ἢ Suchla recte; **1825** θεοσόφοι]
Suchla: θεόσοφοι

1815 τί...σου cf. Gen. 32, 30; cf. Jud. 13, 17 **1817–1818** καὶ...
θαυμαστόν cf. Gen. 32, 30; Jud. 13, 18 **1819** τὸ...ὄνομα cf. Ps. 8,
2; Jud. 13, 18 **1819–1820** τὸ...ὄνομα cf. Phil. 2, 9
1820–1822 τὸ... μέλλοντι vide Eph. 1, 21 **1823** ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὢν vide
Ex. 3, 14 **1823–1824** ἢ ζωὴ Jo. 11, 25; 14, 6 **1824** τὸ φῶς Jo. 8, 12
ὁ θεός vide Gen. 28, 13 | ἢ ἀλήθεια vide Jo. 14, 6 **1825** θεοσόφοι
1826 ἀγαθόν cf. Mt. 19, 17; Lc. 18, 19 **1827** καλόν cf. Cant. 1, 16
σοφόν cf. Job 9, 4; Rom. 16, 27 | ἀγαπητόν Is. 5, 1 | θεὸν θεῶν Ps.
49, 1; 135, 2 **1828** κύριον κυρίων Deut. 10, 17; Ps. 135, 3; Apoc. 17,
14; 19, 16 | ἅγιον ἁγίων vide Dan. 9, 24; Is. 6, 3 | αἰώνιον vide Bar.
4, 8; cf. Is. 40, 28; Bar. 4, 10 **1829** ὄντα cf. Ex. 3, 14 | αἰώνων αἷτιον
cf. Eccl. 3, 11-14; Hebr. 1, 2 | ζωῆς χορηγόν cf. Gen. 2, 7; Job 10, 12;
Jo. 10, 10; Act. 17, 25

σοφίαν· ὡς νοῦν· ὡς λόγον· ὡς γνώστην· ὡς 1830
 προέχοντα πάντας τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀπάσης
 γνώσεως· ὡς δύναμιν· ὡς δυνάστην· ὡς βασιλέα
 τῶν βασιλευόντων· ὡς παλαιὸν ἡμερῶν· ὡς ἀγήρω
 καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· ὡς σωτηρίαν· ὡς δικαιοσύνην·
 ὡς ἁγιασμόν· ὡς ἀπολύτρωσιν· ὡς ἐν μεγέθει 1835
 πάντων ὑπερέχοντα· καὶ ὡς ἐν αὐρᾷ λεπτῇ, καὶ γε·
 καὶ ἐν νοῖς αὐτὸν εἶναι φασί, καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς· καὶ ἐν
 σώμασι· καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· καὶ ἅμα ἐν
 ταυτῷ τὸν αὐτόν, ἐγκόσμιον ὑπερκόσμιον·
 περικόσμιον ὑπερουράνιον· ὑπερούσιον, ἥλιον· 1840
 ἀστέρα· πῦρ· ὕδωρ· πνεῦμα· δρόσον· νεφέλην·
 αὐτό, λίθον· καὶ πέτραν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καὶ
 οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὄντων.

σχόλιον

1835 ὡς³...μεγέθει] Suchla: ὡς μεγέθει **1838** καὶ²...γῆς]
 Suchla: καὶ ἐν γῇ sine variante **1839** ἐγκόσμιον...1840
 ὑπερούσιον] Suchla: ἐγκόσμιον,
 περικόσμιον, ὑπερκόσμιον, ὑπερουράνιον sine variante
1842 αὐτό λίθον] Suchla: αὐτόλιθον

1830 σοφίαν vide. Prov. 8, 1; cf. I Cor. 1, 30 | νοῦν vide Is. 40, 30;
 Rom. 11, 34; I Cor. 2, 16 | λόγον cf. Jo. 1, 1 | γνώστην cf. Num. 16,
 5; Mt. 7, 23; Jo. 10, 14; II Tim. 2, 19 **1831-1832** προέχοντα ...
 γνώσεως cf. Rom. 11, 33; Col. 2, 3 **1832** δύναμιν vide I Cor. 1, 24;
 cf. II Cor. 12, 9; Apoc. 19, 1 | δυνάστην cf. Ps 88, 28; Jo. 18, 37, I
 Cor. 10, 13; Apoc. 1, 5 **1832-1833** βασιλέα...βασιλευόντων I Tim
 6, 15; Apoc. 17, 14; 19, 16 **1833** παλαιὸν ἡμερῶν Dan. 7, 9
 ἀγήρω cf. Ps. 102 (101), 25, 28 **1834** ἀναλλοίωτον cf. Jac. 1, 17
 σωτηρίαν vide Ex 15, 2; Is. 52, 10 | δικαιοσύνην vide Jer. 23, 5; cf. I
 Cor 1, 30 **1835** ἁγιασμόν cf. I Cor. 1, 30 | ἀπολύτρωσιν cf. Is. 40,
 5; 52, 9; Mt. 1, 21; Lc. 2, 30; I Cor 1, 30 **1835-1836** ἐν μεγέθει
 πάντων ὑπερέχοντα cf. Ps 85, 8-10; Ps. 146, 5 **1836** ἐν αὐρᾷ λεπτῇ
 III Reg. 19, 12 **1837** ἐν νοῖς cf. Eph. 3, 4 | ἐν ψυχαῖς cf. Sap. 7, 27
1837-1838 ἐν σώμασι cf. Cor. I 6, 19-20 **1838** ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ
 γῆς cf. Mat. 28, 18; Eph. 3, 15 **1838-1839** ἐν ταυτῷ τὸν αὐτόν cf.
 Ps. 103, 28; I Cor. 12, 6 **1839** ἐγκόσμιον cf. Jo. 1, 10 | ὑπερκόσμιον
 cf. Is. 66, 22 **1840** περικόσμιον cf. Sirach 43, 12 | ὑπερουράνιον cf.
 Ps. 112, 4 | ἥλιον cf. Mal. 3, 20 **1841** ἀστέρα cf. Apoc. 22, 16 | πῦρ
 vide. Deut. 4, 24; Mal. 3, 2 | ὕδωρ vide Apoc. 22, 17; cf. Jo. 7, 38
 πνεῦμα vide. Apoc. 22, 17; Jo. 4, 24 | δρόσον cf. Hos. 6, 4; 14, 6
 νεφέλην cf. Ex. 13, 21; Hos. 6, 4 **1842** λίθον cf. Ps. 117, 22
 πέτραν vide Ex. 17, 6; Num. 20, 8; 20, 11; cf. Ps. 80, 17; I Cor. 10, 4
 πάντα τὰ ὄντα cf. Sirach 43, 27; I Cor 15, 28

- Οὗ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἀνεννόητος, τούτου πάντως οὐδὲ ὄνομα κύριον εὐρεθήσεται· δηλωτικὸν γὰρ φύσεως, τὸ κύριον ὄνομα. 1845
- 24^v | Τίτλος ζ' τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου περὶ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἐκ τοῦ α' κεφαλαίου τοῦ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων. 1850
- 25^f | Φιλάνθρωπον διαφερόντως ἡ θεαρχία· ὅτι τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ὀλικῶς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ὑποστάσεων ἐκοινώνησεν· ἀνακαλουμένη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἀνατιθεῖσα τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐσχατιάν· ἐξ ἧς ἀφθέγκτως ὁ ἀπλοῦς Ἰησοῦς συνετέθη· καὶ παράτασιν εἴληφε χρονικὴν, ὁ αἰδῖος· καὶ εἴσω τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐγγεγόνει φύσεως, ὁ πάσης, τῆς κατὰ φύσιν πᾶσαν τάξεως, ὑπερουσίως ἐκβεβηκώς· μετὰ τῆς ἀμεταβόλου καὶ ἀσυγχύτου τῶν οἰκείων ἰδρύσεως. 1855
1860
- Ἐκ τοῦ β' κεφαλαίου τοῦ περὶ ἡνωμένης καὶ διακεκριμένης θεολογίας.
- Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάσης θεολογίας ἐκφανέστατον· ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦ θεοπλαστία, καὶ ἄρρητός ἐστι λόγῳ παντί· καὶ ἄγνωστος νῶ παντί· καὶ αὐτῶ τῶ πρωτίστῳ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ἀγγέλων· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνδρικῶς αὐτὸν οὐσιωθῆναι, μυστικῶς παρελήφμεν· ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ ὅπως ἐκ παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων, ἐτέρῳ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν διεπλάττετο θεσμῶ καὶ ὅπως ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ 1865
1870

1851–1860 Φιλάνθρωπον... ἰδρύσεως Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nomin.*, I 4 Suchla p. 113, 6-12 **1863–1874** Ἀλλὰ... φυσιολογίας Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nomin.*, II 9, Suchla p. 133, 5-12

1845 ἀνεννόητος] emendavi; ἀνενόητος in codice

1851 Φιλάνθρωπον] sic in codice e textu Areopagitico

1853 ἑαυτῆς] in codice; Suchla: αὐτῆς sine variante

1855 ἀφθέγκτως] cum permultis codicibus; Suchla: ἀρρότῳ

1858 κατὰ... τάξεως] Suchla: κατὰ πᾶσαν φύσιν

τάξεως sine variante

1870 διεπλάττετο θεσμῶ] Suchla: θεσμῶ διεπλάττετο sine variante

1865–1866 ἄγνωστος... ἀγγέλων cf. Tob. 12, 15

1870–1872 ὅπως... οὐσίαν cf. Mt. 14, 25-34; Mc. 6, 48-51; Jo. 6, 19-21

σωματικὸν ὄγκον ἔχουσι· καὶ ὕλης βάρος,
ἐπεπορεύετο τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ ἄστατον οὐσίαν· καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦ
φυσιολογίας.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Γάϊον θεραπευτὴν 1875
ἐπιστολῆς.

κείμενον

25^v Πῶς φης Ἰησοῦς ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα, πᾶσι μὲν
ἐστὶν οὐσιωδῶς καὶ συντεταγμένος· οὐ γὰρ ὡς 1880
αἴτιος ἀνθρώπων, λέγεται ἄνθρωπος· ἀλλ' ὡς
αὐτὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅλην, ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ὢν.
Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπικῶς
ἀφορίζομεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος μόνον, | <οὐδὲ
ὑ>περούσιος ἢ ἄνθρωπος μόνον· ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος 1885
ἀληθῶς· ὁ διαφερόντως φιλάνθρωπος.

σχόλιον

Τουτέστιν οὐχ ὡς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀρίζομεθα·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεός, ὥσπερ
καὶ οὐ Θεὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

κείμενον 1890

Ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς
ἀνθρώπων οὐσίας ὁ ὑπερούσιος οὐσιωμένος.

1878–1885 Πῶς... φιλάνθρωπος Ps. Dion. Areop., *Epistula 4*,
Ritter p. 160, 1-8 **1887–1889** Τουτέστιν... ἄνθρωπος cf.
Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, PG 91, col. 1048 B-
C, Janssens, I. 32-34: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος μόνον, ὅτι καὶ θεὸς ὁ
αὐτός, οὐδὲ ὑπερούσιος μόνον, ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός,
εἴπερ μὴ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, μήτε γυμνὸς ὑπάρχει θεός.
1891–1892 Ὑπὲρ... οὐσιωμένος Ps. Dion. Areop., *Epistula 4*,
Ritter p. 160, 8-9

1878 πᾶσι... **1879** συντεταγμένος] Ritter: πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις
οὐσιωδῶς συντεταγμένος, recte **1880** ἀνθρώπων λέγεται]
Ritter: ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθάδε λέγεται **1884** ἢ ἄνθρωπος] ἢ
ἄνθρωπος recte; Ritter: εἰ ἄνθρωπος falso | ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος]
Ritter: ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος sine variante
1891 κατ' ἀνθρώπους] Ritter: κατὰ ἀνθρώπους

σχόλιον

Ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους μὲν οὐσιωμένος, ὅτι ἐκ παρθένου. Κατὰ ἀνθρώπους δέ, ὅτι ἐκ γυναικός. 1895
 Ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐσίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὴν σάρκα κατήγαγεν· οὔτε ἐκ γῆς ἑτεροφυῇ τινὰ σάρκα παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἑαυτῷ περιέθετο· οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐνηνθρώπησεν. 1900

κείμενον

Ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον, ὑπερουσιότητος ὑπερπλήρης, ὁ αἰὶ ὑπερούσιος· ἀμέλει τῇ ταύτης περιουσία, καὶ εἰς οὐσίαν ἀληθῶς ἐλθὼν· ὑπερουσίως οὐσιώθη· καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνήργει τὰ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ 1905
 δηλοῖ παρθένος ὑπερφυῶς κύουσα· καὶ ὕδωρ ἄστατον, ὑλικῶν καὶ γεηρῶν ποδῶν, ἀνέχον βάρος· καὶ μὴ ὑπεῖκον· ἀλλ' ὑπερφυεῖ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸ ἀδιάχυτον συνιστάμενον· τί ἂν τις τὰ πολλά, πάμπολλα ὄντα, διέλθοι· δι' ὧν ὁ θεῖος 1910
 ὁρῶν, ὑπὲρ νοῦν γινώσκεται, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καταφασκόμενα, δύνανται ὑπεροχικῆς ἀποφάσεως ἔχοντα· καὶ γάρ, ἵνα συνελόντες εἴπωμεν, οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἄνθρωπος· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων 1915
 ἐπέκεινα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος γεγονώς.

σχόλιον

26^f Ὅτι ὑπερούσιος καὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη ὑπερούσιος, ὡς ἐκ παρθένου· | καὶ ἄνευ 1920
 σπέρματος· καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ θεότης αὐ<τως> ὑπὲρ νοῦν καὶ λόγον· νοουμένη γὰρ τό ἄγνωστον ἔχει· καὶ λεγομένη, τὸ ἄρρητον· ὁ κατὰ φύσιν· καὶ ὑπὲρ

1902–1917 Ἔστι... γεγονώς Ps. Dion. Areop., *Epistula* 4, Ritter p. 160, 9- 161, 7

1909 τὰ πολλά] falso; Ritter: τὰ λοιπά sine variante

1919 καὶ αὕτη] id est: καὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης

1921 αὐ<τως> ὑπὲρ] finis verbi paene illegibilis est

1906 παρθένος... κύουσα cf. Lc. 1, 26-38; 2, 1-14; ; Mt. 1, 18-25

1906–1908 ὕδωρ... βάρος Mt. 14, 25-34; Mc. 6, 48-51; Jo. 6, 19-21

φύσιν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσιώθη, γινώσκομέν τε καὶ λέγομεν· πῶς δὲ ἐκ παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων ἐτέρῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν θεσμῶ, οὔτε οἶδαμεν, οὔτε λέγομεν.

1925

κείμενον

Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ κατὰ θεὸν τὰ θεῖα δράσας οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· ἀλλὰ ἀνδρωθέντος Θεοῦ, καινὴν τινα τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν, ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος.

1930

σχόλιον

Ὁ Χριστὸς, οὔτε κατὰ θεὸν ἔδρασε τὰ θεῖα, οὔτε κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· οὔτε γὰρ θεϊκῶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρωπικῶς, οὔτε ἀνθρωπικῶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεκῶς διὰ τὴν ἀχώριστον καὶ ἀσύγχυτον ἔνωσιν· ἀνδρωθέντος γὰρ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος Θεοῦ, καινὴ τις ἡ θεανδρική ἐνέργεια ἐγένετο· καινὴ μὲν, ὅτι μήτε θεϊκῶς τὰ θεῖα, μήτε ἀνθρωπικῶς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐνηργεῖτο, θεανδρικῶς δὲ ἡ θεία ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνη· ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῦ πυρακτωθέντος ξίφους, τὸ τμητικὸν γέγονε καυστικὸν καὶ τὸ καυστικὸν· τμιτικὸν, ἡνώθη γὰρ, καθάπερ τῷ σιδήρῳ τὸ πῦρ, οὕτω καὶ τῷ τοῦ σιδήρου τμητικῷ, τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικὸν· καὶ γέγονε καυστικὸς μὲν ὁ σίδηρος, ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, τμητικὸν δὲ τὸ πῦρ, ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν σίδηρον, οὐδετέρων δὲ τροπὴν πέπονθε, τῇ καθ' ἔνωσιν πρὸς θάτερον ἀντιδόσει, ἀλλ' ἐκότερον· κἂν τῇ τοῦ συγκειμένου καθ' ἔνωσιν ιδιότητι· μεμένηκε <ἐκ>|τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκειᾶς οἰκειότητος ἀνέκπτωπον, οὕτω κἂν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως, θεότης

1935

1940

1945

1950

1955

26^v

1930–1933 Καὶ... πεπολιτευμένος Ps. Dion. Areop., *Epistula* 4, Ritter p. 161, 7-10 **1944–1959** ὥσπερ... διακεκριμένην Max. Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam* V, Janssens p. 33, 273-284

1930 οὐ²... 1931 ἀνθρώπινα] Ritter: οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια κατὰ ἄνθρωπον

1932 ἀνδρωθέντος] Ritter: ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος

1946 τμιτικὸν] e iotacismo

καὶ ἀνθρωπότης ἠνώθησαν καθ' ὑπόστασιν, μηδ' ἑτέρας ἐκστάσης τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν· μήτε μὴν ἄσχετον αὐτὴν κεκτημένης μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν· μὴ δὲ τῆς συγκειμένης διακεκριμένην.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν θεολογικῶν στοιχειώσεων τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱεροθέου 1960

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἕως φύσεως ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας ἐλήλυθε· καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐσιώθη· καὶ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑπέρθεος ἐχρημάτισεν· ἴλεω δὲ εἶη πρὸς ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ νοῦν καὶ λόγον ὑμνούμενα, κἂν τούτοις ἔχει 1965 τὸ ὑπερφυῆς καὶ ὑπερούσιον, οὐ μόνον ἢ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσυγχύτως κεκοινώνηκε· μηδὲν πεπονθὼς εἰς τὸ ὑπερπλήρες αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῆς ἀφθέγκτου κενώσεως, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὸ πάντων καινῶν καινότατον, ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἡμῶν, 1970 ὑπερφυῆς ἦν, ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπερούσιος· πάντα τὰ ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ὑπερέχων.

1962–1972 Ἐπεὶ... ὑπερέχων Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nomin.*, II 10., Suchla p. 135, 2-9

1962 Ἐπεὶ δὲ] Suchla: ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας] cum nonnullis codicibus; Suchla: ὑπὲρ φιλανθρωπίας **1965** κἂν τούτοις] falso; Suchla: κἂν τούτοις recte

10 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis deals with the *Panoplia Dogmatike*, the patristic anthology which was compiled under the guidance of Euthymios Zygadenus by the best court theologians in Constantinople at a personal request of Emperor Alexios Komnenos in order to be used as a source on Orthodox theology and as a weapon with arguments against each important heresy. In the subsequent centuries the anthology was copied in a significant number of Greek manuscripts. Becoming a basis for similar anthologies, the text was also translated into Slavonic and Latin.

Despite the fact that the *Panoplia* is well known to scholars dealing with Byzantium, it has remained largely unexplored because of its length and monumental tradition, but also because of the view which for a long time regarded Byzantine anthologies as merely mechanical compilations. This view has already been moderated by discussions on the Byzantine phenomenon of excerpting and repeating (*l'encyclopédisme, la cultura della sylloge*) and by the editions of the great anthologies of Byzantium which clearly show their value.

Until now, the studies on the *Panoplia* have followed two main approaches – on the subject of heresiology it was employed as a source of information on contemporary heresies, and, as a Patristic anthology, it was used as a testimony for the indirect tradition of ancient texts. My thesis has taken another possible direction – that of a reception history which combines elements from the traditional approaches in order to present an integrated view of the development of the *Panoplia* over a period of time.

The thesis gave snapshots on the anthology in two different periods – on the first printed Greek edition and on a single Greek manuscript from the Palaeologian period which differs most from the text as we know it today. These two sections, each dedicated to a different period and introduced by different methodology, are unified as prolegomena to a

possible critical edition of the *Panoplia*. They could be an impetus for similar studies on the reception history of Patristic and Byzantine texts in the period after the Fall of Constantinople in the countries of Eastern Europe. This field is well studied for Western Europe but has not received attention in the countries which once were part of the Byzantine Commonwealth.

The point of departure for the investigation was the Greek printed text of the *Panoplia* which is available only in one edition, published in the year 1710 in Tîrgoviște (Wallachia) and re-printed in volume 130 of the *Patrologia Graeca*. In the re-print in the *Patrologia* the text is enriched with the additional texts published by Friedrich Sylburg, and with the notes of the German scholar Friedrich Matthäi, who visited Russia in 1780 and consulted manuscripts there. Edited in this way, this text is used and quoted by the scholars today as testimony for the text of the *Panoplia* as it was compiled at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The first section of this study traces the publication history of the Greek *editio princeps*. It presents the anthology of Emperor Alexios Komnenos in the new context in which it re-appeared in the eighteenth century, attempting to provide a view on the period from the vantage point of one single edition. My aim was to trace the reasons for the publication and to give an example of how the function of this important text changed through the centuries. Thus, by putting together the details of the publication, it became clear how the major events necessitated and influenced the first Greek printed edition of this famous book.

The Early Modern Period was the time when, facing the influence of Catholics and Protestants, the Orthodox had to present their teachings in order to defend their theology and to outline their dogmatic differences from their opponents. For this reason they elaborated new Confessions and published key books from their past. Among these books the *Panoplia Dogmatike* had a special place because it was an ancient source for Orthodox theology and a powerful symbol of Orthodox identity, tradition, and unceasing spiritual battles.

Nonetheless, the publication history of the *Panoplia* epitomized characteristic trends for the period -- it was a product of what Father George Florovsky called “pseudomorphosis” of the Orthodox Church at a time when Orthodox teaching was heavily influenced by foreign concepts. The direct impetus for the edition of the *Panoplia* came from outside the Orthodox lands. In fact, the book came as an echo of discussions which had begun in Western Europe and the interpretation which it received was a combination of the Catholic and Orthodox theological traditions. In the West the interest in this anthology was mainly related to the Eucharistic controversies between Catholics and Protestants. Orthodox theologians educated in the West introduced the interpretations related to the Eucharist on native Orthodox soil. This, however, did not change the traditional view on the anthology but rather enriched it with one more aspect -- indirectly introducing a chapter against the Protestants. The publication itself happened against the background of the Jansenist controversy, during which the theologians of the Port Royal were arguing with the Calvinists and both sides turned to the Orthodox Church for arguments. To a certain extent, the history of the *Panoplia* in the early modern period is a history of the relations between the Orthodox and their main Christian opponents – the Catholics and the Protestants. Even if on the surface they were openly hostile to each other, they often used the same texts and, in the case of the anthology of Emperor Alexios I, they agreed on an astonishing number of points in their interpretations.

Inevitably, the situation of this *editio princeps* was different from the time of the original compilation, when the anthology was part of the new religious policy introduced with the establishment of the Komnenian Dynasty. In this religious policy the role of the emperor was to be a guardian of the monumental Orthodox tradition. Thus, one of the achievements of the twelfth-century theologians was the creation of a theological synthesis of the existing tradition. At the personal behest of the emperor, the *Panoplia* itself was compiled exclusively from texts of the Church Fathers. In addition to this, in the context of the twelfth

century, the anthology was not a single book but rather a volume in a series. Euthymios Zygadenos composed three other major works – *Commentaries to the Psalms*, *Commentaries to the Gospels*, and *Commentaries to the Epistles of Saint Paul*. At the time of their compilation, all these works were part of one construction. However, from the later reception of this theological series, it is apparent that the *Panoplia* was the most successful part of the project.

In contrast to the original composition of the *Panoplia*, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the situation was entirely changed. First and foremost, the Great Church was in a new subordinate position with an unstable Orthodox patriarchate in Constantinople and without a Christian emperor. For the Orthodox the century was marked by significant events – the reforms of Patriarch Nikon in Russia and the Confession of Faith, tinged with Calvinist views, which was published in 1629 under the name of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris. The publication of this Confession opened wide debates and necessitated the convocation of three important councils of the Orthodox Church at the time – those of Constantinople (1638), Jassy (1642), and Jerusalem (1672).

In the present research into the reception history of the *Panoplia*, the first important task I set for myself was to discover who actually stood behind the publication. My research has shown that those who actually initiated the publication are not directly mentioned anywhere in the edition of the Greek *Panoplia*. These were two patriarchs of Jerusalem, Dositheos and Khrysanthos Notaras, his nephew and successor to the patriarchal throne. The initiator of this edition was Patriarch Dositheos, who became the undisputed leader of the Orthodox after he was elected patriarch of Jerusalem at the age of 28. His involvement in the edition provided a wide context and value for the edition of the *Panoplia* because there was hardly any important event for the Orthodox Church in which Dositheos did not have an

active engagement. Several events in particular are important for reconstructing the background of the *Panoplia*.

One of these events happened in 1669, when the Jansenists, looking for support for their views from the teachings of the Orthodox on the Eucharist, approached the representative Orthodox leaders of the time – Patriarch Dositheos himself, Patriarch of Constantinople Dionysios, and the translator (dragoman) of the Ottoman Sultan Panagiotis Nikousios. The result of this collaboration was that the third volume of *La perpétuité de la foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie* by Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole contained a detailed view of the Orthodox teaching on the Eucharist clearly against the Calvinists. Among the numerous other testimonies from the Greek Church Fathers, *La perpétuité* contained a reference to the *Panoplia* in relation to the Eucharist.

Another important event concerned the relations between the Catholics and the Orthodox. In 1672 the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire paid a visit to the Holy Places in Jerusalem. The result of this was that for various political reasons the protection of the Holy Places was taken from the Orthodox and given into the care of the French Franciscans. This cut off any further collaboration of the Orthodox with the Catholics, although, for a moment, the two parties appear to have fought together against the teaching of the Calvinists. It also diminished the hope that the Orthodox could print their books in Western Europe with Catholic support. For this reason, Patriarch Dositheos finally chose to establish a Greek printing press in lands autonomous from the Ottoman Empire – the Principalities of Moldovia and Wallachia. This is the explanation for why the *Panoplia* was published in Tîrgoviște, the Metropolitan town of Ungrovlachia.

The first attested evidence of the intentions of Patriarch Dositheos to publish the *Panoplia* comes from 1690. In that year he sent Khrysanthos an order to arrange for the publication of a polemical collection of books in Moscow, among them one manuscript of the

Panoplia (GIM 225). None of the books was printed because such a project did not fit into the political vision of Peter the Great.

On the other side, this first move of Dositheos to publish the *Panoplia* coincided with the escalation of an internal conflict (between 1689 and 1691) in the Orthodox church over the Eucharistic mystery. This was a repercussion from the coeval debates in Western Europe. On Orthodox soil the conflict acquired a local dimension and consisted of debates over the proper usage of terms for the Eucharist. One of the parties insisted that the new term μετουσίωσις should be avoided as a foreign concept and a literal translation of the Latin *transsubstantiatio* and, instead, the established terms such as μεταβολή, μεταποίησης, μεταρρύθμισις, μεταστοιχείωσις should be used, all of which were attested in the tradition of the Orthodox church. The main representative of that view at the time was the philosopher and theologian John Matthew Karyophylles, who was engaged in bitter personal enmity with Patriarch Dositheos. The main argument of the patriarch and his supporters was that the rejection of the word μετουσίωσις meant, in fact, a rejection of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, thus raising fears that this was actually Calvinism infiltrating the Orthodox tradition. At certain points the arguments of the circle around Karyophylles seem to have been closer to the traditional views, including the Orthodox tradition of συνουσίωσις – the real presence of the body and blood of the Lord in the Eucharist, without the destruction or disappearance of the substance of the bread and the wine. Nonetheless, the opponents of Karyophylles, led by Dositheos, condemned his views as heretical at a Synod of Constantinople, convoked for this purpose in 1691.

Although Patriarch Dositheos praised the anthology as the “most beautiful book which was to exist in the church,” there was a specific entry in the anthology which was of interest to the Orthodox theologians proving the involvement of the edition in the Eucharistic

debates. The entry in question is now published in PG 130 as the separate chapter 25 *On the Baptism, the Body and Blood of Christ and the Cross*, col. 1244 in the PG).

The relation between the Eucharistic controversies and the publication of the *Panoplia* becomes clear from the writings of one of the most erudite Orthodox theologians of the time, Meletios Syrigos. In 1638 the patriarch of Constantinople, Kyrillos Kontaris, ordered him to write a refutation of the Confession of Kyrillos Lukaris. The resulting book acquired undisputed authority, it was published by Dositheos in 1690, partially translated for *La perpétuité*, also translated into Russian, often referred to and quoted. In this volume, the section with the evidence from *auctores* gives an intriguing reference to Euthymios Zyghadenos. According to the interpretation of Syrigos, the *Panoplia* was created as a result of the fight against Berengar of Tours whose teaching, according to Meletios, had reached Byzantium in the twelfth century. Syrigos quotes a section of the *Panoplia* which has not received attention in the modern scholarship – this is an entry from Chapter 25 which is entitled. *Περὶ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος* – it contains two texts on the Eucharist – one from Gregory of Nyssa and the other from John Damascene's *Expositio fidei*.

The period of the seventeenth century is often referred to as the Age of Confessions. When the Great Church was approached by Catholics and Protestants enquiring about the Orthodox dogma on the disputed questions, it was necessary that the Orthodox also elaborate their Confession of Faith, with the first Orthodox Confession of time being prepared by the metropolitan of Kiev Peter Moghila (1633-1647). The present study has shown that the *Panoplia* of Emperor Alexios found a place in the next important Orthodox Confession, written by Patriarch Dositheos himself and approved by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. In the third edition of this Confession, published in Bucharest in 1690 (the first and the second being published in Amsterdam, 1670, and also in Leipzig. Dositheos simply took and

reworked the aforementioned work of Syrigos, including the interpretation which connected the creation of the *Panoplia* with Berengar. Because of the importance of the Confession, the text has seen numerous editions ever since, thus establishing the connection of the *Panoplia* with Berengar and repeating it numerous times.

Further, the present investigation succeeded in establishing the direct source of the erudite Meletos Syrigos for the notion that the *Panoplia* was connected with Berengar. This was *De controversiis*, one of the most thorough and popular refutations of the Protestants, authored by the Catholic cardinal and polemicist Roberto Bellarmino. A comparison of the two texts has made their relationship apparent and beyond any doubt, but it also demonstrated the process in which the Orthodox Syrigos re-worked the text, adding details of his own and excluding all references to the Western tradition.

However, the connection of the *Panoplia* with the Eucharistic controversy in the West had deeper roots. The evidence for this comes, once again, from the account of the anthology relating it to Berengar. In fact, Roberto Bellarmino did not invent this connection and his text is not original either. The reference he gave was based on a tradition of around a hundred and forty years in which a series of Catholic theologians had included the *Panoplia* as a small argument in the refutation of the Protestants. The same account was briefly mentioned in the polemical treatises of theologians like Possevino, Tomas Stapleton, Peter Canisius, and others. The present study has not been able to establish the identity of the person who introduced this interpretation. I have limited myself to listing all the references I found because this story went too far away from the Greek *editio princeps*. However, the earliest references gathered show the direction for further research – the Latin translation of *Panoplia* which was published in 1555 in Venice and coincided with the Synod of Trent. The Catholic Cardinal Reginald Pole, an active participant in this Synod, is mentioned in the preface as a patron of this translation into Latin. I have not been able to establish how much Pole actually

contributed to the edition. Still, it is known that in the next year – 1556 – the second edition of the Latin translation of the *Panoplia* appeared. This coincided with the time when Cardinal Pole, the last heir to the house of the Plantagenets, returned to England after the enthronement of Queen Mary and the country's temporary return to Catholicism. The first references to the *Panoplia* come from the milieu of the English Catholics, many of whom had formed a recusant community in Leuven. In particular, the references are related to the discussions between the English Catholic theologian Harpsfield and his Anglican opponent John Jewel and also follow accounts by John Martiall and Thomas Harding. However, I felt that this track of investigation was going too far afield; thus, for the moment, it suffices to say that the Latin translation had an intriguing history of its own. Apparently, the *editio princeps* in Greek, which was made around a hundred and sixty years later, was indirectly influenced by this Latin translation. A further path of research in this direction should include details on the publication history of the Latin translation of the anthology.

Nonetheless, when the Orthodox theologians decided to publish the *Panoplia*, they considered it a pristine, authentic Byzantine text which was not contaminated by an edition prepared in the West. They described it as their hidden golden treasure. It is an irony of fate that, in fact, they were publishing their *Panoplia* on the basis of Greek manuscripts but within the framework of an interpretation elaborated in the West.

Further, the publication history has given me the opportunity to present the anthology in the context of a sociology of theological texts by presenting the people and the places involved in the edition. Once again, a vivid picture of the period appeared behind the details, with a characteristic mobility of people, texts, and ideas. To a different extent the history of the edition became connected with three leading cities of the Ottoman Empire – Konstantiniye (Constantinople, later Istanbul), Jerusalem, and Adrianopolis; it also included a small frontier town on the bank of Danube, Silistra, and the autonomous territories of the

Romanian Principalities. The geographical framework of the edition reached as far as Vienna and Moscow.

The people who participated in the edition also presented a colorful view of different origins and social standings. The initiators of the edition were two patriarchs of Jerusalem – Dositheos and Khrysanthos -- who originally came from Corinth, from the noble family of the Notaras. The editor – Hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras -- was an adventurous monk from Northern Greece who had a long life full of adventure, suffering, and even miracles, which happened in Macedonia on the eve of St. Demetrios' day. The sponsor of the edition was a certain Athanasios, a metropolitan of Silistra. The authors of the dedicatory verses included a pilgrim to the Holy Places and two brothers, both of whom were teachers at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople and one of whom had completed his studies in Padua.

The search for the actual manuscripts which were used for the edition has not yielded any definitive results. The difficulty of finding these is understandable taking into account the stages before the edition and the many people involved. The most likely location of these manuscripts would be present-day Romania because the edition was made on its territory. During the Communist regime, the larger manuscript collections in Romania were taken and deposited at the Library of the Romanian Academy of Science. The Greek manuscripts of this collection are catalogued (Litzica, 1900; Camariano, 1940; Caratasu 2004). According to these catalogues, there is no complete copy of the PD which could have been used for the edition. My work in the archives of the Academy in Bucharest confirmed these results.

The only secure information on the manuscripts of the edition is that Khrysanthos used manuscripts from Vienna which had the original verses and the table of contents. Following the catalogue description of Hunger and Kresten, it is possible to suggest three manuscripts: Theol. Gr. 76 (twelfth century); Theol. Gr. 34 (sixteenth century); Theol. Gr. 270 (fourteenth century). The copy of the *Panoplia* which was to be published in Russia is

still deposited in the manuscript collection of Moscow (GIM 226) and contains the handwritten notes of Dositheos.

Testimony that the edition was not an artificial project of the patriarchs of Jerusalem is the fact that it coexisted with manuscripts of the anthology – at the time of the publication the *Panoplia* was still copied in manuscripts or, in other cases, older manuscripts were restored. The latest manuscripts date after the edition, with the interesting example of manuscript RAS 1300, which is an anti-Islamic collection directly referring to the chapter against the Saracens and explaining that the entry is missing from the edition because the editors were afraid of the Turks.

Nonetheless, examining the impact of the project, it can be said that it was carefully thought out but it did not gain the popularity which was expected from it. No second edition was issued or a translation made into a modern language. The reason for this was that the *Panoplia* was a book of high literary style, the reading of which required a sound education and erudition. The anthology was published as a part of a polemical series, which, apart from the numerous more recent authors, included also the publication of John Damascene's *Expositio fidei* (1715). But there was another publication which perhaps most fully reached the aims and the expectations of its initiators -- the treatise *Against Heresies* by Symeon of Thessaloniki, an author with simpler language and composition influenced by the *Panoplia*. This treatise was commonly referred to and, in translation, in Russia became a kind of school book on heresies. In the early modern period the Latin translation of the *Panoplia* was more successful, with three reprints and numerous references to it. Nonetheless, the edition of the Greek *Panoplia* had a special place of its own because for the Orthodox it was a symbol of their identity, tradition, and fight against religious opponents.

The reliance on the existing edition of the *Panoplia* has led modern scholars to overlook important aspects of the anthology which are not discernible on the basis of the

Tîrgoviște edition. For this reason the second part of my study has treated a single manuscript – Ivron 281 -- which attests the anthology in a version that is divergent from the edition and the manuscripts consulted during this study. It raised questions concerning the existence of later recensions of the *Panoplia* and the annotation of the corpus with *scholia*.

When Friedrich Matthäi compared the Tîrgoviște edition with the manuscripts in Moscow he made intriguing observations on a copy of the *Panoplia* in which many of the edited texts were missing while it contained additional texts *quae curiosius tractanda sunt a futuro editore*. The present catalogue description of the Moscow manuscripts does not provide more detailed information concerning changes in the contents and annotation. In addition, among the other manuscripts of the *Panoplia* the catalogues do not indicate copies corresponding to Matthäi's description.

Ivron 281 itself was not known as a copy of the *Panoplia* and was identified in the process of my work. The only description of this manuscript is provided by Lampros, who classified the manuscript as an unknown anonymous fragment from the fourteenth century. There is no sound reason to contest the proposed dating, with the addition that it was probably copied in the first decades of the century. The manuscript is anonymous and mutilated, without any watermarks. The only scribal note indicates, in allusion to a text of the Synaxarion, that the book was an offering to Christ, like the oil which the Myrophoroi presented on the morning after the Resurrection. With this limited data many of the questions it poses will be answered only when the missing parts are found or a manuscript with similar contents is discovered.

Nonetheless, Ivron 281 deserves attention because it opens doors for future research. Compared to the printed edition, in Ivron 281 many of the patristic fragments are missing, while the manuscript contains *scholia* to the fragments excerpted from Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Gregory of Nazianzus. These *scholia* are not *propria* in a strict sense, but

represent a re-working of already existing *scholia*. Apparently, Ivron 281 (or its original) was a kind of medieval edition of the *Panoplia*, created for own purposes

There are only five *scholia* to fragments of the Areopagite, previously unpublished. The immediate source of most of the last one is Maximus Confessor's *Ambigua ad Thomam* (P.G. 91, B1 - C5). A definitive influence of the same *Ambigua ad Thomam* of Maximus can also be recognized from the second to the fourth *scholia*. These *scholia* do not introduce any new interpretation of the text of the Areopagite, but have their own value as an individual reworking. It is clear that the text of the *scholia* is independent of the mistakes or variant readings contained in the commented version of the text in the *Panoplia*; thus they are not based on the text of the *Panoplia* but on a different source. The rest of the *scholia* are on texts from Gregory of Nazianzus. He is one of the authors who has the most fragments included in the *Panoplia*, but in the Ivron manuscript only five of the orations are annotated -- *Orationes Theologicae* 28, 29, 30, 31, and *In Theophania* Oratio 38. In the tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus' commentaries, the orations which were read during the liturgical service, the ἀναγινωσκόμενοι λόγοι, and those which were used for personal reading were often annotated by different authors. For this reason I have decided to present a sample of both types of orations in my *editio princeps* – that is, Oratio 38 for the ἀναγινωσκόμενοι - *In Theophania* and Oratio 30 *De Filio* for the μὴ ἀναγινωσκόμενοι.

In Ivron 281, the *scholia* to Oratio 38 *In Theophania* are appended to the part of the oration which is identical to another oration of Gregory – *In Sanctum Pascha*, Oratio 45. Several of these texts have not yielded identification until this moment. However, considerable number of them are based on (or share a common source with) the *scholia* to Oratio 45, *In Sanctum Pascha*, authored by Niketas of Herakleia, a twelfth-century scholar and teacher in the patriarchal school of Constantinople. The comparison shows that Ivron 281 does not contain the whole commentary of Niketas but only a selection of passages.

Some of these passages are reworked. Apparently, the scholia also incorporated parts of a Byzantine dictionary to the works of Gregory of Nazianzus.

From the Theological Orations I have chosen to publish the scholia to *Oratio* 30. The major source of these scholia is Elias of Crete. One small fragment was identified as identical with a *Commentary on the Psalms* by Zigadenus; apparently other small fragments were taken from a collection with definitions.

In the process of the work I have transcribed in about 100 pages the rest of the scholia of Gregory of Nazianzus. They were not included in this dissertation but will be treated in a further study as they seem to give a direction to the authoritative commentator of Nazianzus' theological orations - the tenth-century theologian Elias of Crete.

Described briefly, the characteristics the scholia to these texts are the following: *Oratio* 28 (13 pages of text and scholia) contains scholia on references to the Bible, on the mixture of the elements, and Aristotle's teaching on species. One scholion comments on apophatic and kathaphatic theology; *Oratio* 29 (60 pages of text and scholia) attests the most interesting scholia, the text of which is related to Elias of Crete; *Oratio* 31 (30 pages of text and *scholia*) – contains the most fragmented scholia among all the orations.

The scholiasts of Gregory of Nazianzus represent a field which clearly requires more study. Such studies would make it possible to identify the collection from which the *scholia* in Ivron 281 are taken and to better understand the sources that were used and the reasons behind the selection.

However, even in this fragmented and mutilated form, these scholia still have value in themselves. They give a glimpse of what an anonymous religious man considered important to select – his section included scholia pertaining to Biblical quotations, scholia containing expressive metaphors which presented theological questions in a clear and simple way (like different metaphors for the union of the two natures in Christ), explanations of words, of

certain philosophical concepts (some sources on Aristotle), scholia explaining cosmological topics, such as the measurement of time and the creation of the human being. They all have the immediacy of displaying personal interest, which makes them a special case of the reception history of the *Panoplia*.

Even after finishing this thesis, research on the *Panoplia* is far from being completed. My study took a novel approach and presented two snapshots of the anthology which opened doors for further research. A complete history of the *Panoplia* should also integrate the translations into Latin and Slavonic. Until then, many of the secrets of Euthymios Zygadenos' *Panoplia Dogmatike* will still remain as "hidden as gold."

APPENDIX 1: EDITION OF THE ORIGINAL PROLOGUE BY FRANCESCO ZINI TO THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE PD

(I am thankful to professor Jan Papy (KULeuven) and to Dr. Cristian Gaspar (CEU, Budapest) for consulting me on the texts in Latin)

Euthymii Monachi Zigabeni
Orthodoxae fidei Dogmatica Panoplia
Hucusque Latinis incognita et nunc primum
Per Petrum Franciscum Zinum Veronensem e Graeco translata

Vis edoceri, quomodo contra haereses sit disserendum? Lege hunc librum priscorum patrum doctrinis conspicuum.

Cum indice praecipuarum locupletissimo, PARISIIS, Apud Franciscum Bartolomei Honorati
In via D. Iacobi, Sub scuto Veneti
M.D. LVI

Optimo atque eruditissimo Veronae pontifici A. Aloisio Lipomano P. Franciscus Zinus S. D.

Summa Dei benignitas est et singularis erga genus humanorum atque incredibilis amor, Aloisi, Pontifex optime ac sapientissime, qui nos felices essemus, mera benignitate adductus e nihilo procreavit. Et quia felices esse non poteramus, nisi eo frueremur, nec frui, nisi illum amaremus, nec eum amare, qui nobis incognitus esset, et cui nos esse charos non intelligeremus, omnia facit, ut se nobis et amabilissimum et nostri amantissimum indicaret. Si quis enim tum universam mundi fabricam, tum singulas eius partes contempletur, ex magnitudine, ordine et concinnitate infinitam ipsius potentiam, sapientiamque facile perspiciet. Si quis consideret, in hoc ipso universitatis veluti amplissimo quodam theatro, nullum esse animal, quod eius pulchritudinem cognoscat, praeter hominem, nullum, quod maiorem ex rebus omnibus utilitatem voluptatemque percipiat, adeo, ut omnia illius causa facta fuisse videantur, immensam conditoris in nos benevolentiam animadvertet. Iam si quis divinum in homine fabricando artificium spectet et corpus eius eo consilio, ut animo serviat, apte formatum, et animum sic affectum inveniet, ut miro quodam tum veri intelligendi, tum pulchri et boni adipiscendi studio cupiditateque teneatur. Ex quo perspicuum sit, nec hominem nisi in Deo, qui ipsa et veritas, et pulchritudo, et bonitas est, posse beatum conquirere, nec Deo esse felicitate hominis optatius qui quam. Nihil autem est, quod felicitatem nobis queat adimere, nisi amorem in Deum adimat, qui sane amor non nisi sublata cognitione Dei amitti potest, aut eripi. Itaque perpetuus Dei, atque hominum hostis Diabolus

totis semper viribus contendit, ut cognitionem hanc in animis nostris imminueret, vel funditus everteret. Everti principio tota non poterat. Recens enim mentibus impressa penitus insederat. Quam ob rem operam dedit callidus adversarius, ut illam imminueret, et paulatim labefactaret. Quod sibi successurum speravit, si posset primis parentibus persuadere, Deum non benevolentia, sed invidia impulsum prohibuisse, ne arboris illius, qua boni, malique scientia continebatur, fructibus uescerentur. Quod enim illis interdictum fuerat, ut Deum cognoscerent cognitumque diligerent, atque felices essent, ipse persuasit, idcirco fuisse vetitum, ne Diis similes beatique forent. Qua fallacia decepti, ex amoenissimo illo deliciarum loco in has miseras detrusi sunt et ignorantiae tenebris circumfusi tantum divini amoris, quantum Dei cognitionis ob peccatum sibi detraxerant, amiserunt. Hic vero magis adhuc incautos et insidiis expositos, Deique formidine plenissimos adortus occasionem arripuit, qua nos diversis rationibus impugnaret. Fingens enim calamitates nostras omnes ex inani Deo metu pendere nostras omnes ex inani Dei metu pendere, quo dies noctesque discruciamur eo nos praecipites impellere conatus est, ut nullum esse crederemus Deum. Verum quia paucis id poterat persuaderi, divina illa imagine mentibus humanis insita, quae tametsi propter peccatum infecta, non tamen prorsus erat extincta, repugnante faciliorem illam aggressus est viam, ut pro uno veroque Deo multos et falsos et hominum cupiditatibus obsequentes introduceret. Quae quidem fraus sic illi e sententia cessit, ut totum propemodum orbem invaderet et gentem etiam, quam sibi Deus unam ex omnibus delegerat, corrumpere et inquinaret. Verum cum versatissimus hostis speraret omnia, quae optaverat, perfecisse, nec homines posse perfectam amplius veri Dei cognitionem assequi tum vero clementissimus hominem procreator manuum suarum opus miseratus audacissimi adversarii dolos detexit, vim comminui et dominatum evertit. Misit enim filium suum, qui tenebris ignorantiae discussis disperses veritatis lumine mundum illustret. Hic hominibus persuasit, Deum non eorum commodis invidere, sed nihil magis cupere, quam ut essent in perpetuum felicissimi. Sic enim homines dilexisse, ut se filium unicum daret, qui morte sua genus humanum vindicaret in libertatem, ut omnes, qui sibi fidem haberent, vitam assequerentur beatissimam ac sempiternam. Hac autem vitam in eo sitam esse, ut ipsum vetum Deum cognoscerent, et se, qui ab eo missus esset, Iesum Christum, ad quam veritatis cognitionem velle omnes homines pervenire. Sic igitur inimici serpentis caput collisum, afflictum et contritum est, nec tamen destitit membra, quibus perniciosum virus infuderat, circumvolvere et novas repugnandi artes excogitare. Primum enim coepit a se deficientes et Imperatoris Christi militia sequentes per impios principes et crudeles tyrannos interficere. Sed cum animadverteret, quo plures trucidandos curabat, eo magis Christianorum militum numerum

augeri et confirmari, ad alias fraudes et dolos sibi confugiendum existimavit. Desperans enim tantas, tamque coniunctas opes externis posse viribus perfringi, sciensque nullum esse tam amplum....regnum, quod non domesticis inimiciis et simultatibus tandem ruat et concidet, nihil intentatum reliquit, ut inter eos discordia atque dissidium excitaret. Quamobrem varios homines ambitiosos et arrogantes impulit, qui simulatione pietatis novas et falsas opiniones defendentes quasi venena quaedam in veritatis polculo commiscerent. Verum Ecclesiae suae non defuit benignissimus Deus. Quemadmodum enim nec per malos philosophos, nec per tyrannos unquam permiserat totam sui cognitionem deleri, ita nec eam perverti a pertinacibus rerum novarum inventoribus et Haereticis passus est, sed magnos semper illis viros opposuit, qui disputationibus scriptisque suis tanquam gladiis et propugnaculis adversarios confodientes et repellentes, veram in Ecclesia doctrinam pietatemque retinuerunt ac defenderunt. Hi Christianae Reip[ublicae] magnopere quidem omnes profuere, sed precipue tamen Euthymius Monachus Zigabenus, qui Alexii Imperatoris iussu non unam aut alteram, aut paucas haereses, ut reliqui, sed omnes, quae superioribus temporibus ad suam aetatem usque debacchatae fuerunt, aut certe plurimas, atque praecipuas insectatus, rationem edocuit qua possent omnes labefactari atque convelli. Omnia enim armorum genera, quibus Christianae veritatis propugnatores diversis temporibus adversarios prostraverunt, et veritatem ipsam tutati sunt, congregavit et pulcherrimum quodam veluti armamentarium constituit, et adornavit, in quo et pacis tempore magna cum voluptate licet intueri, quo genere armorum qui hostes devicti sint, et bellis ingruentibus tela ad novos hostes superandos depromere. Quo quidem in munere operae pretium est, molestiam et prudentiam hominis admirari, qui, ut ex aliis ipsius scriptis facile potest intelligi, cum esset doctissimus, et marte suo posset argumentum hoc pertractare, tamen ut arrogantiam fugeret, et operi suo plus autoritatis conciliaret, magisque legentibus prodesset, nec frustra librorum numerorum, qui iam, ut aetate etiam hac nostra fieri cernimus, nimio plus excreverat, adaugeret, nihil fere de suo promens, omnia ex probatissimis scriptoribus diligentis apiculae in morem mirabili iudicio collegit, et excellenti ordine collocavit. Etenim cum Ecclesiae Dei, veraeque pietatis cognitio vel ab externis hostibus impugnetur, vel ab inimicis intimis, qui ab ipsa Ecclesia defecerunt. Externi autem sint tum reliqui populi, quos sacri scriptores antiqui, vel Graecos, vel Gentes, vel Ethnicos; novi autem minus quidem latine, sed aperte tamen et commode rem exprimentes, Paganos, aut Gentiles appellant, tum ipsi Iudaei. Intimi vero inimici sunt homines seditiosi, qui vel gloriae, vel quaestus cupiditate ducti *a nobis* quidem, ut Ioannes Apostolus scribit, *prodierunt, sed non erant ex nobis, si enim e Christi grege fuissent, in eo utique permansissent* (cf. Jo. 2, 19). Quaedam sunt in omnibus adversariis communia,

quaedam singulorum praecipua contra tela. Quidam enim a nobis in omnibus fere dissentiunt, quidam videntur nobiscum vel paucis vel multis in rebus convenire. Quare ne saepius idem esset repetendum, et confuse et sine ordine cum periculo dimicandum, vir prudentissimus sibi faciendum putavit, ut primum adversus eos qui nulla prope in re nobiscum consentiunt, arma nobis subministraret, in iis duntaxat rebus, quae sunt ipsorum propriae. Itaque principio contra Graecos nos instituit, quorum id erat proprium, aut vel nullum esse Deum dicerent, vel plures Deos asserent, ita tamen, ut multi nullam illis esse mundi curam affirmarent. Paucissimis verbis istos confutat, licet enim numero plures sint, quam reliqui omnes adversarii et a nobis maxime discrepent, inermes tamen quomodo sunt, facileque vel superantur, vel cedunt, vel sese veritatis luce perspecta nobis adiungunt. Deinde nos docet, qua ratione Iudaeorum agmen, hostium genus obstinatissimum, propriis ipsorum armis profligetur et concidatur. Postremo diligentissime nos adversus intimos hostes et Christianae militiae desertores armat et munit. Quod quidem agmen et copiarum numero et armorum genere et pugnandi ratione est instructissimum. Numero quidem, quoniam tanquam ergastula solventes undique cogunt auxilia. Armorum genere, pugnandique ratione, quia cum a nobis desciverint, et armis, et dimicandi rationibus utuntur iisdem, quibus nos utimur, nempe testimoniis scripturarum. Itaque periculosa admodum cum istis esset decertatio, nisi et ipsi inter se dissiderent et ipsa arma, quae in manibus nostris sunt validissima et acutissima, in manibus eorum virtute Spiritus spoliatis plumbea quodammodo, obtusaque evaderunt, atque inutilia. Adversus hos igitur fere omnes, a quibus periculum gravius impendebat, quique fortiores et paratiores videbantur, arma nobis ita comparavit, ut nos tamen prius nostraque communiret. Facile enim est, veritate bene perspecta et cognita quodvis mendacium confutare. Itaque septem titulis, sic enim huius operis partes appellat, primum ostendit Deum esse unum tribus distinctum personis. Deinde communia quaedam de Deo tradit. Tum, quia maxime Dei cognitio est, ut sciamus, naturam eius a nobis perfecte cognosci non posse demonstrat, illam esse incomprehensam. Post de nominibus illius disputat. His enim fere continetur quicquid de Deo vel possumus, vel nobis expedit intelligere. Ad haec, quia gloria ipsius in eius operibus appareret clarissima, de opificio Dei, seu de rerum universitatis procreatione loquitur. Deinde quoniam nihil est, quod infinitam illius erga nos benevolentiam magis indicet, quam quod filium suum in mundum misit, ut homo factus homines Deos efficeret, de divina humanae carnis assumptione disserit. Atque his quidem titulis nihil meo quidem iudicio nihil praeclarius, nihil eruditius, nihil divinius, iucundius, utilius legi potest. Constitutis autem iis, quae ad veram pietatem, religionemque pertinent, illius reliquos adversarios et oppugnatores expugnandi convincendique rationes docet, primumque Iudaeos

aggreditur. Quibus uno titulo propriis ipsorum armis confossis ad Haereticos proflogandos et convincendos arma sumministrat. Tribus ergo postremis titulis Simonem Samarensem, et Marcionem Ponticum et Manentem Persam et Manichaeos et Sabellium et Arrium et Eunomium superat, fugit, caedit, ac delet. Haec priore volumine complexus est Euthymius, altero (duo enim illum constat scripssisse) quid doceat, quoniam ad manus meas non pervenit, non habeo dicere. Verisimile tamen est, ipsum eodem ordine reliquas haereses, quae post Euthymium sunt consecutae, eadem ratione, qua Euthymius usus est, si tantum nobis et vitae et virtutis Deus suppeditabit persequemur. Labores autem hos nostros, Aloisi, Pontifex Optime et Eruditissime, dicamus tibi, non quod ex his speremus nos ad laudes tuas quicquam addituros. Nam id plane ineptum esset. Quid enim nomine illustrius tuo? Cuius et tam multa extant scripta, ut mirum sit, tibi ad agendum temporis spatium ullum superfuisse. Et tales ac tantae res gestae sunt ut multis scribendi materiam praeuisse videare. Et ea in tam egregia eruditione et tam praeclaris virtutibus modestia, benignitas, comitas, ut nihil cogitari possit humanius. Nam ut conciones et reliqua monumenta tua praeteream, quis libros illos, quibus sanctorum vitas ex optimis quibusque scriptoribus tum Graecis et Latinis incredibili labore, diligentia et sumptu colligendas curasti et ingentia illa volumina, quae in sacros Veteris Testamenti libros conscripsisti, speret se vel semel posse perlegere? Quis tanta praeditus est eloquentia, ut quae vel in Lusitania, vel in Germania, missus eo Legatus a Paulo III. Pont. Max. vel postea Tridenti Legatus item in Concilio a Iulio III. Pont. Max. constitutus praeclare gessisti, ea se dicendo, scribendove posse putet explicare? Magna quidem fuit duorum sapientissimorum Pontificum opinio de virtute tua, magna expectatio, sed studio, diligentia, integritate magna utriusque de te opinionem expectationemque superasti. Quid commemorem ea, quae vel Bergomi olim gessisti, vel Veronae nunc Episcopus agis? Praeclare miseris istis temporibus cum illis populis videtur agi, quorum pastores praesentia sua proprios greges gubernant et regunt. Beata videtur illa civitas, quae pastoris sui vel exemplo, vel oratione, vel scriptis instituitur. Nam ut aliqua ab uno eodemque haec omnia habeat, tam magnum ac rarum est, ut id homines vix optare aut sperare iam audeant. Quae tamen omnia cumulate patria mea (quo quidem ego singulari Dei Opt. Max. beneficio vehementissime laetor atque incredibile gaudio triumpho) abs te nunc accipit, cuius et vitae sanctissimae exemplo tanquam saluberrimo nutritur cibo et eloquentissimo ex ore veluti e vivo et limpidissimo, atque uberrimo fonte doctrinae coelestis nectar bibit et scriptis doctissimis quasi fluentis quibusdam perennibus instructa nunquam sitis molestias extimescet. Has tam multas et magnas animi tui pulcherrimi dotes gratiores efficit insignis liberalitas, qua cum gregem tuum universum, tum inopes et egenos in primis assidue complectaris. Has exornat et illustrat

amabilis in omnes comitas et mansuetudo illa singularis, qua te adeo summis geris, adeo de te modeste sentis, ut facile appareat, te tam egregiis virtutibus nihil extolli, sed eas omnes Deo acceptas referre et divinum in omnibus illis munus agnoscere. Non igitur, quod te ullis adminiculis ad gloriam, ad quam, licet eam nihil cures, rectissima tamen contendis virtutum via, putarem indigere, sed ut animum meum tui studiosissimum et amantissimum, quod mihi semper in optatis fuit, aliquo pacto declararem, monumenta haec nomini tuo consecravi. Quanquam ea quoque de causa tibi potissimum debentur, quod me ad hanc provinciam suscipiendam hortatus es, et Verona exemplari misso multum adiuvisti. Licet enim Illustriss[imus] et Reverend[issimus] Marcellus Ceruinus Cardinalis, qua est in studiosos omnes singulari humanitate, ex Bibliotheca Vaticana mihi vetustum exemplar accommodarit, quod multo libentius fecit, cum intelligeret, me causa tua cupere illud e Graeco in Latinum convertere, tuum tamen mihi multum attulit adiumenti. Accesit huc et Illustris et Reverendi Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, cuius liberalitate studia mea foventur et sustentantur, voluntas, qui cum audisset ex me, te mihi mandasse, ut Dogmaticam hanc Orthodoxae fidei Panopliam ipsi, ut eximio Ecclesiae Catholicae defensori consecrarem, licet animi tui studium et benevolentiam libenter agnosceret, et complecteretur, noluit tamen, ut consilium mutarem, iussitque ut nomine tuo, qui tanquam unus e strenuis illis Machabaeis eodem tempore Dei Ecclesiam, et exemplo orationeque communis atque confirmas et scriptis atque industria tua defendis adversus eos qui extremis istis temporibus, ab ea defecerunt, ornata in lucem, et manus hominum prodiret. Huiusce viri nec auctoritati scio me posse non obtemperare, cum illi debeam omnia, persuasumque habeam, nihil ab eo mihi praecipi, quod non sit aequissimum atque honestissimum, et tale de virtute tua testimonium tanti te facturum existimo, ut vel ob id sperem munus hoc nostrum tibi fore gratissimum.

Vale. Romae. XIII. Cal. Aprilis. M.D.LIII.

[Lugduni, excudebat Iacobus Faure]

APPENDIX 2: PD IN THE JANSSENIST CONTROVERSY – AN ACCOUNT BY ANTOINE ARNAULD

The text is rendered after Antoine Arnauld, *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le livre du Sieur Claude, ministre de Charenton. Tome premier* (Paris: Chez Sigismund d'Arnay & Compagnie, 1781). First Edition: 1669.

Chapitre XII

Septième Preuve de la Créance de l'Eglise Grecque, Tirée D'Euthymius Zigabenus.

Je rapporte au douzième siècle Euthymius Zigabenus, Religieux Grec, encore qu'il ait passé la plus grande partie de sa vie dans l'onzième, parce qu'il a survécu l'Emperenr Alexis Comnene, qui ne mourut que l'an 1118. Il fut connu particulièrement de cet Empereur, & ce fut par son ordre qu'il dressa sa Panoplie, qui n'est autre chose qu'un recueil des passages des Pères opposés aux principales hérésies, dont il rapporte les dogmes au commencement de chaque titre.

Cet Auteur nous fournit de deux sortes de preuves sur notre sujet: les unes négatives, les autres positives.

La preuve négative est, que, parlant dans sa Panoplie des principales hérésies, il ne fait aucune mention de la doctrine de la Transubstantiation; & cependant s'il l'avait prise pour une erreur, il aurait dû la marquer comme la plus dangereuse de toutes; puisqu'il ne pouvait ignorer qu'elle était suivie de tout l'Occident. L'on ne peut pas dire que cet Auteur ait eu dessein d'épargner les Latins, puisqu'on trouve encore dans la Bibliotheque du Roi le manuscrit de l'un de ses ouvrages, où il les attaque expressément. Le titre en est comme nous avons déjà dit: *Euthymii Monachi Zigabeni adversus Romae veteris cives, capita duodecim*,

demonstrantia non ex Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum. C'est la seule opinion qu'il leur reproche.

La preuve positive est tirée d'un passage que M. Claude allègue contre la Transubstantiation. Mais pour le faire fervir à ce dessein, il n'en cite qu'une partie, & il retranche tout le reste. *Les Grecs, dit-il, disent [note] bien que le pain & le vin sont changés au corps & au sang du Seigneur: mais ils disent aussi des choses qui témoignent que c'est un changement non de substance, mais d'efficace & de vertu; comme ce que dit Euthymius, qu'il ne faut pas regarder à la nature des choses qui sont proposées, mais à leur vertu.*

C'est tout ce qu'en cite M. Claude. Mais pour détruire les vaines conséquences qu'il en tire, il n'y a qu'à rapporter le passage tout entier, comme il est dans le commentaire d'Euthymius sur S. Matthieu Chapitre LXIV. *Comme l'Ancien Testament, dit-il, a eu des hosties & du sang, le Nouveau en a aussi, qui sont le corps & le sang du Seigneur. Il n'a pas dit, ces choses sont les signes de mon corps & de mon sang; mais il a dit, ces choses sont mon corps & mon sang. Il ne faut donc pas considérer la nature des choses qui sont mises sur l'Autel, mais leur vertu. Car de même que le Verbe déifie (s'il est permis d'user de ce mot) la chair à laquelle il s'est uni d'une manière surnaturelle, de même il change, par une opération ineffable, le pain & le vin en son corps même, qui est une source de vie, & en son précieux sang, & en la vertu de l'un & de l'autre. Or il y a quelque rapport du pain au corps, & du vin au sang: car le pain & le corps sont d'une matière terrestre, & le vin & le sang sont d'une matière chaude & subtile comme l'air. Et comme le pain fortifie, de même le corps de Jésus-Christ fortifie aussi, en sanctifiant & l'âme & le corps: & comme le vin donne de la joie, le sang de Jésus-Christ a le même effet, & nous est de plus un puissant secours. Que si tous tant que nous sommes de fideles, nous participons au même corps & au même sang, la participation de ce mystère nous unit tous ensemble; nous sommes tous en Jésus-Christ & Jésus-Christ est en tous, selon que Jésus Christ même le dit: Celui qui mange ma chair &*

boit mon sang, demeure en moi, & moi en lui. Le Verbe s'est uni à la chair par l'Incarnation, & cette chair nous est unie lorsque nous participons à ce Sacrement.

1°. Euthymius ruine & exclut en même temps, par ce passage, ces deux clefs célèbres, dont les Ministres se servent pour éluder tous les passages des Pères. Il exclut la *clef de figure*, en remarquant que Jésus-Christ n'a pas dit: *Ces choses sont les signes de mon corps & de mon sang; mais qu'il a dit: Ces choses sont mon corps & mon sang.* Et il nous donne lieu d'exclure la *clef de vertu* par le même raisonnement; puisque Jésus-Christ n'a pas dit non plus: *Ceci est la vertu de mon corps; mais qu'il a dit: Ceci est mon corps.* La propriété des paroles à laquelle Euthymius s'attache, bannit également & la figure & la vertu séparée du corps de Jésus-Christ, & elle ne peut exclure l'une qu'en excluant l'autre.

2°. Euthymius, en concluant que le pain & le vin ne sont pas les signes du corps & du sang, parce que Jésus-Christ n'a pas dit: *Ceci est la figure de mon corps* &c, fait voir qu'il n'a pas pris dans les paroles de l'Institution le mot *est*, dans le sens de *significat*; c'est-à-dire, qu'il ne les a pas prises dans un sens de figure. Donc il les a prises dans un sens de réalité, & il a cru que les choses dont Jésus-Christ a dit: *Ceci est mon corps, ceci est mon sang*, étaient réellement son corps & son sang.

3°. Mais cette solution des Ministres, que par le corps de Jésus-Christ il faut entendre la vertu du corps, & non le corps même, est encore plus clairement détruite par ces paroles d'Euthymius, qui assure, *que Jésus-Christ change le pain & le vin en son corps même, qui donne la vie; en son précieux sang, & en la force ou la grace de l'un & de l'autre: & in gratiam ipsorum.* Car afin qu'on ne pût pas séparer cette force & cette grace du corps même de Jésus-Christ, & qu'on ne pût pas dire, comme fait M. Claude, qu'il entend un changement de vertu, & non de substance, Euthymius a pris soin d'unir expressément la substance & la vertu, en disant que Jésus-Christ change le pain & le vin en son corps & en son sang, & *in gratiam ipsorum*; c'est-à-dire, & en la vertu de l'un & de l'autre.

Il est étrange que les Ministres nous veuillent persuader que des gens, sans avoir perdu l'esprit, pour faire entendre que Jésus-Christ communique au pain la vertu de son corps, aient choisi cette bizarre expression, *Jésus-Christ change le pain en son corps même*. Il est étrange qu'ils prétendent, que les Pères aient supposé qu'ils seraient entendus, en parlant un langage si contraire au sens commun; & enfin il est bien étrange, qu'ils veuillent que le commun du monde ait été assez subtil pour deviner un sens si étrangement éloigné des paroles, & si peu autorisé par des expressions semblables. Mais au moins devraient-ils mettre quelque borne à cette licence, avec laquelle ils disposent & des paroles des uns, & de l'intelligence des autres: car certainement il vaudrait mieux qu'ils déclarassent une fois pour toutes, que les passages signifient tout ce qu'ils veulent qu'ils signifient, & qu'il ne faut juger du sens des Auteurs que par leurs caprices, que de donner aux paroles d'Euthymius, le sens auquel il les faut prendre pour les rendre conformes à leur sentiment.

Euthymius dit, que Jésus-Christ change d'une manière ineffable *le pain en son corps même*. Cela signifie, dit M. Claude, *qu'il le change, non en son corps, mais en la vertu de son corps*. Euthymius dit, *qu'il change le vin en son sang même*. Cela signifie, dit M. Claude, *qu'il le change, non en son sang, mais en la vertu de son sang*. Euthymius ajoute, qu'il les change en la vertu de l'un & de l'autre: *in gratiam ipsorum*. Cette addition a incommodé M. Claude, & il a trouvé bon de n'en point parler. Mais en l'y ajoutant, parce qu'elle y est en effet, l'expression d'Euthymius toute entière, expliquée au sens des Calvinistes, sera, *que Jésus-Christ change le pain en la vertu du corps, & le vin en la vertu du sang, & en la vertu de l'un & de l'autre*. Qui a jamais oui parler d'une pareille folie, de joindre ensemble le terme métaphorique, & l'explication du terme métaphorique, comme deux choses distinctes & séparées? Dira-t-on, par exemple, que la pierre était Jésus-Christ, & le signe de Jésus-Christ? Que l'arche était l'Eglise, & la figure de l'Eglise? Que l'Agneau Paschal était Jésus-Christ & l'image de Jésus-Christ? Que la colère change les hommes en bêtes, & en la fureur des bêtes?

Qui ne voit que la nature de notre esprit répugne manifestement à ces expressions; puisque l'on ne se sert de termes métaphoriques, que parce qu'on veut éviter en cet endroit les termes propres comme trop faibles? Et ainsi l'esprit, dans cette disposition, n'a garde de joindre à l'heure même, à ce terme métaphorique, le terme simple qu'il a évité, & encore dans un arrangement qui le fait regarder par nécessité, comme quelque chose de séparé du terme métaphorique.

Ce passage d'Euthymius pourrait fournir plusieurs autres réflexions; mais quelles qu'elles soient, elles ne sauraient être si claires que l'idée que le passage donne, de lui-même & par la simple lecture: & c'est pourquoi M. Claude s'est bien donné de garde de le rapporter tout entier.

Il suffit donc de demander à Mrs. les Religieuses, s'il y a de l'apparence qu'un homme, pour instruire un autre de leur opinion, voulût emprunter les paroles d'Euthymius? S'ils voudraient eux-mêmes s'en servir: si la manière dont ils conçoivent leur sentiment les a jamais portés à de semblables expressions, s'il leur est jamais arrivé de dire à quelqu'un, que Jésus-Christ nous donnait, non la figure de son corps, mais son corps, parce qu'il n'avait pas dit: *Ceci est la figure de mon corps*; mais *Ceci est mon corps*: s'il leur est arrivé de dire, qu'il change le pain & le vin *en son corps même, en son sang même, & en la vertu de l'un & de l'autre*: s'il leur est arrivé de dire, que comme *le Verbe est uni à la chair, ainsi cette chair nous est unie par la participation de l'Eucharistie*? C'est par-là qu'ils doivent juger si ce passage est propre à prouver ou à détruire la Transubstantiation.

Mais que veut donc dire Euthymius, lorsqu'il dit: *Oportet autem non ad naturam eorum quae proponuntur aspicere, sed ad virtutem eorum*? C'est une chose admirable, que des personnes si fertiles en solutions, & qui se contentent si facilement de celles qu'ils inventent, n'en veuillent pas voir une si aisée! M. Claude n'avait qu'à consulter Aubertin, & il aurait appris de ce Ministre, que le mot de nature est souvent pris pour l'amas des accidents

qui forment l'apparence extérieure: & cela supposé, il n'y a nulle difficulté dans ce passage; puisqu'Euthymius ne voudra dire autre chose, sinon, qu'il ne faut pas avoir égard à ce que ces choses paraissent, mais à leur vertu; c'est-à-dire, comme nous l'avons montré dans l'examen du passage de Théophylacte, *à leur vérité intérieure, à ce qu'elles sont dans la vérité*. Il voudra dire ce que Paschase a exprimé quand il a dit, *que [note] la vertu des choses était plus considérable que l'apparence: potior virtus rerum quam species; & que celui qui donne à toutes choses la vertu de leur nature, a donné à ce Sacrement d'être le corps & le sang de Jésus-Christ*. De sorte que, selon cet Auteur, la vertu du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie est d'être le sang de Jésus-Christ.

Euthymius ne veut donc pas que l'on s'arrête à l'apparence, qui ne nous donnerait pas sujet de concevoir une grande idée de ce mystère: il veut qu'on en considère la vertu; mais une vertu qui vient de son essence, & de l'opération ineffable de Jésus-Christ, qui y change le pain en son corps même plein de vertu & d'efficace, comme Euthymius le dit ensuite. Voilà la vertu qu'il veut qu'on y considère; vertu jointe au corps, & non séparée du corps.

Mais sans avoir même recours à cette solution autorisée par Aubertin, on peut encore prendre ces paroles dans un sens plus simple, qui est, de dire que la nature qu'Euthymius ne veut pas qu'on regarde, n'est pas la nature présente de ces dons, mais la nature passée; c'est-à-dire, qu'il enseigne qu'il ne faut pas considérer ce que ces dons étaient lorsqu'ils ont été présentés, mais ce qu'ils ont été faits. Car la nature subsistant encore selon l'apparence, on a raison de nous avertir de ne la regarder plus, parce qu'elle n'est plus en effet, & que, comme dit S. Ambroise, *ce n'est plus ce que la nature a formé, mais ce que la bénédiction a consacré*; & qu'ainsi il ne faut plus avoir égard à leur première nature, qui est changée, mais à la vertu dont ces choses sont remplies, par l'opération qui les a changées au corps & au sang de Jésus-Christ. C'est l'avertissement qu'Euthymius nous donne, premièrement en abrégé, en disant qu'il ne faut pas avoir égard à la nature des dons présentés, mais à leur vertu; & ensuite

plus au long, lorsqu'il nous enseigne, que *comme Jésus-Christ a déifié la chair qu'il a unie à sa divinité, de même il change les dons, par une opération ineffable, au corps même & au sang même de Jésus-Christ, & en la vertu de l'un & de l'autre.*

Ce passage d'Euthymius, tiré de son commentaire sur S. Matthieu, est ordinairement allégué par les Auteurs qui traitent des controverses: mais il me semble qu'on ne fait pas ordinairement assez de réflexion sur ce que l'on voit dans la Panoplie du même Auteur, au titre des *Pauliciens*.

C'était une espece d'hérétiques qui avaient renouvelé une partie des erreurs des Manichéens, & qui y en avaient ajouté quelques autres; & surtout ils avaient une hérésie fort bizarre sur le fait de l'Eucharistie; car ils disaient que Jésus-Christ, en instituant ce mystère, n'avait point distribué de pain & de vin à ses Disciples, & que ces paroles, *Prenez & mangez*, ne s'entendent que de ces paroles mêmes, qu'il proposait à ses disciples comme leur pain & leur nourriture. Et par une suite de ce principe ils disaient, que communier n'était autre chose que méditer les paroles de Jésus-Christ, & s'en nourrir.

Cette hérésie détruisait nettement la présence réelle & la Transubstantiation; de sorte que si Messieurs les Ministres sont tant en peine de trouver des exemples parmi les Grecs, de personnes qui aient combattu cette doctrine, on ne désavouera pas qu'ils n'en puissent trouver parmi ces détestables hérétiques.

Euthymius donc, après avoir représenté leur erreur, entreprend ensuite de la réfuter; & il le fait à son ordinaire, en choisissant les passages des Pères qu'il a cru les plus propres pour instruire les fideles de la vérité de ce mystère, & de la foi de l'Eglise Catholique. Ce choix est extrêmement considérable pour découvrir son véritable sentiment: car ayant à choisir dans toute la Tradition, & n'étant lié par aucune loi, le sens commun fait voir qu'il a choisi sans doute les passages les plus précis, les plus clairs, les plus dogmatiques, les plus propres pour donner une connaissance nette du mystère, selon l'idée qu'il en avait & que l'on en avait de

son temps; & qu'il est sans apparence que pour représenter la foi de l'Eglise, il ait fait choix au contraire des passages les plus obscurs, les moins dogmatiques, les plus hyperboliques qui se trouvent dans les Auteurs Ecclésiastiques. En effet, qui aurait prié Aubertin ou M. Claude de nous citer les lieux qu'ils croient les plus propres pour nous instruire de leur doctrine, ils ne manqueraient jamais de nous alléguer le passage de Facundus, quelques lieux de S. Augustin, & le célèbre passage de Tertullien. Et s'ils étaient obligés d'en citer des Grecs, ils nous allégueraient quelque passage obscur de Clément Alexandrin, ou d'Origene, ou le passage des Dialogues de Théodoret: mais ils se donneraient bien de garde de nous renvoyer à la Catéchèse de S. Grégoire de Nysse, ou au Chapitre XIV. du quatrième livre de S. Jean de Damas. Ce seraient les derniers lieux qu'ils allégueraient sur ce sujet-là; & encore ils ne les citeraient jamais qu'en objections, puisque, pour les réduire à leur sens, ils ont besoin de mille machines, & qu'il faut donner une infinité de contorsions à l'esprit, afin de les rendre susceptibles des solutions qu'ils y apportent.

Mais les sentiments d'Euthymius ont si peu de rapport avec ceux de ces Messieurs, que les deux passages de toute l'Antiquité qui expriment le plus nettement la présence réelle & la Transubstantiation au sens des Catholiques, & qui sont les plus hyperboliques, les plus faux & les plus trompeurs au sens des Ministres, sont justement ceux qu'Euthymius choisit pour représenter la foi de l'Eglise Grecque.

Si l'on veut donc savoir quelle était la doctrine de ce savant Religieux sur l'Eucharistie, & quelle était celle de l'Eglise Grecque de son temps, il n'y a qu'à voir celle qui est contenue dans ces deux passages, pris littéralement & dogmatiquement: car c'est en cette manière qu'il les produit.

Il croyait avec S. Grégoire de Nysse, que le corps de Jésus-Christ entrait en nous par le moyen du boire & du manger: que nos corps étaient joints avec ce corps immortel: que ce corps étant un, était distribué tous les jours à une infinité de personnes; que chacun le recevait

tout entier, & qu'il demeurait tout entier en soi. Il croyait que le pain sanctifié était changé par la parole de Dieu au corps du Verbe-Dieu, & qu'il devenait tout d'un coup le corps du Verbe, étant changé par cette parole: Ceci est mon corps. Il croyait que, par une dispensation de grace, Jésus-Christ se donne à tous les fideles par sa chair; afin que l'union avec cette chair immortelle les rende participants de son immortalité.

Il croyait de même, comme il est dit dans le passage de S. Jean Damascene, que si l'on demande comment le pain est fait le corps de Jésus-Christ, & le vin son sang, il n'y avait rien à répondre, sinon, que le S. Esprit descendait & opérait des choses qui surpassaient la raison & l'intelligence des hommes: que ce corps joint à la divinité, était le corps même qui était né de Marie: que comme le pain & le vin que l'on mange & que l'on boit, sont changés au corps & au sang de celui qui les mange & qui les boit, & ne deviennent pas un autre corps que celui qui était auparavant, de même le pain & le vin mêlé d'eau, sont changés par l'invocation & l'avènement du S. Esprit, au corps & au sang de Jésus-Christ, & ne font pas deux corps, mais un même corps: que le pain & le vin ne sont pas la figure du corps du Seigneur, mais son corps même uni à la divinité.

Ce sont-là les expressions qu'Euthymius a jugé les plus propres, les plus précises & les plus littérales, pour marquer la doctrine de l'Eglise; & il ne faut que le choix même de ces passages, pour convaincre toutes les personnes raisonnables, que la foi de la présence réelle & de la Transubstantiation, n'était pas moins établie dans l'Eglise Grecque que dans l'Eglise Latine.

On peut ajouter que ce choix n'est point particulier à Euthymius, & qu'Aubertin même reconnoît, que les Grecs ont formé leurs sentiments sur S. Jean de Damas & sur S. Grégoire de Nysse. Et en effet, il n'y a qu'à lire les traités des nouveaux Grecs, pour y reconnoître qu'ils se conforment entièrement au sentiment & aux expressions de ces deux Pères. Et c'est ce qui fait voir avec combien de raison on a remarqué dans le traité *de la Perpétuité*, que l'opinion

des Calvinistes est fondée sur certains passages écartés & inconnus au commun du monde, & qui n'ont rien contribué à former la créance des peuples; & que la foi des Catholiques est tirée, au contraire, des passages sur lesquels l'Eglise a réglé ses sentiments, & qu'elle a regardés comme contenant précisément & littéralement ce qu'il faut croire de l'Eucharistie. D'où il s'ensuit manifestement, qu'il ne faut pas expliquer les passages des Catholiques par ces passages écartés; par un lieu de Facundus, par une lettre de S. Augustin, par un endroit des Dialogues de Théodoret; mais que s'étant instruit de la foi de l'Eglise, dans les lieux des Pères qu'elle a toujours regardés comme les plus propres pour la faire connoître, il faut se servir de la lumière que l'on y trouve, pour y réduire les passages plus obscurs; c'est-à-dire en un mot, que la raison nous oblige à regarder les passages des Catholiques comme des preuves & des regles de la foi, & ceux dont les Calvinistes abusent, comme des difficultés à éclaircir, & que l'on peut même négliger, puisqu'il n'est pas nécessaire pour croire un mystère, que l'on n'y trouve aucune difficulté.

APPENDIX 3: PD IN THE JANSSENIST CONTROVERSY – AN ACCOUNT BY RENAUDOT, EUSÈBE

Author: Renaudot, Eusèbe

Title: *La perpétuité de la foi...tome quatrième.*

Collection Title: *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le livre du Sieur Claude, ministre de Charenton.*

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CHAPITRE VI. COMPARAISON DES DÉCRETS DU SYNODE DE JÉRUSALEM, COMME ILS PARURENT EN 1672, & DE LA NOUVELLE FORME DANS LAQUELLE DOSITHÉE LES FIT IMPRIMER EN 1690.

Comme l'*Enchiridion* de Dosithée, & la plupart des livres que les Grecs ont imprimés depuis environ trente ans sont fort rares, il ne sera pas inutile de donner une plus grande connaissance de l'ouvrage de ce Patriarche, qui mériterait d'être imprimé de nouveau, avec les additions qu'il y a faites. La rareté de ce livre & de divers autres semblables, ne vient pas seulement du peu de commerce qu'on a en Walaquie & en Moldavie, mais d'une raison particulière que nous avons apprise par des Lettres des Grecs de Venise. C'est que la plupart de ces Livres ont été imprimés par les soins & par la libéralité des Vayvodes; & entr'autres l'*Enchiridion* de Dosithée avec la Réfutation de la Confession de Cyrille Lucar par Melece Syrigus, fut imprimé aux dépens du Vayvode de Walaquie Jean Constantin Basaraba, à Buchorest, comme il est marqué à la fin du Livre. Ce Prince, par un exemple de zele pour sa Religion, & d'une magnificence digne de plus grands qu'il n'était, ordonna que tous les exemplaires seraient distribués aux Grecs *gratis*; & afin que ceux qui les auraient ne pussent les vendre, il obtint des Evêques & de Dosithée Patriarche de Jérusalem qu'ils publieraient une Sentence d'excommunication contre les Grecs qui vendraient ces livres.

On peut encore faire une remarque qui donne une nouvelle autorité à ces impressions; & c'est que celui qui gouvernait l'Imprimerie de Buchorest était Métrophane, ci-devant Evêque de *Chusion*, & que celui qui fit l'impression fut un autres Grec nommé Michel Macri, de Joannina, Notaire de la grande Église. C'est donc l'ouvrage de deux fameux Grecs, qui sont Melece Syrigus, considéré comme un des plus grands Théologiens du dernier siecel, & un Patriarche de Jérusalem aussi fameux qu'a été Dosithée: imprimé chez un Grec & par un Grec, sous les ordres, aux dépends & dans le pays d'un Prince faisant profession de la Religion Grecque. Ce ne sont pas là des impressions de Geneve, à la tête desquelles on fait parler un Imprimeur qui n'avait rien à perdre, pour débiter des faussetés pareilles à celles que contient la Préface de la Confession de Cyrille, Ce sont des Grecs constiués en dignité dans leur Église, qui recommandent l'ouvrage de Syrigus contre cet Apostat, comme étant très orthodoxe & très utile pour confondre les Luthériens & les Calvinistes, qui le dédie à un Prince de la Religion Grecque, & qui le font imprimer par des Grecs & pour les Grecs. On ne dira pas que la Cour de Rome ait eu part à ces ouvrages, puisqu'elle condamne une partie de ce qu'ils contiennent touchant les points qui regardent le schisme de l'Église Grecque, & qu'il est sorti des mêmes impressions un livre aussi violent contre la Primauté du Pape, que celui de Nectarius.

Dosithée avait donné à son ouvrage en 1672, le titre de *Bouclier de la foi orthodoxe*: dans l'édition de Buchorest il l'a ainsi intitulé. *Manuel pour réfuter l'extravagance des Calvinistes, qui calomnient la sainte Église Catholique & Apostolique d'Orient, lui attribuant qu'elle a sur Dieu & sur les Mystères de la Religion leurs mauvaises opinions, appuyant ce qu'ils avancent sur les Chapitres attribués à Cyrille Lucar: composé par Dosithée Patirche de la sainte ville de Jérusalem en 1672.* Le titre courant dans tout le livre est, *contre les Calvinistes & les Luthériens.*

La Préface & le Discours préliminaire ne sont point changés. Dans le Chapitre I au commencement Dosithée a fait deux changements considérables. Le premier en ce qu'il a ajouté ces paroles. *Nous ne promettons pas de dire avec certitude présentement, de quelle conscience était Cyrille, c'est-à-dire, ce qu'il pensait en sa conscience.* Le second changement est, qu'au lieu que dans le Synode il avait dit que Cyrille avait été élevé au Patriarchat de Constantinople d'un commun consentement de tout le Clergé, il a mis ὅπωςδήποτε, *de quelque manière que ce fût.* Ces deux changements font connoître que Dosithée à l'occasion des louanges outrées que les Calvinistes avaient données à ce malheureux, ayant examiné plus sérieusement la matière, avait reconnu que ceux qui avaient justifié Cyrille à cause du désaveu de sa Confession réitéré plusieurs fois avec serment, & parce qu'on lui avait vu pratiquer tout le contraire de ce qu'elle contenait, ou qui pouvaient s'être laissé persuader que Cyrille de Berroée, par intérêt ou par passion, avait poussé le zèle trop loin en faisant prononcer anathème contre lui, avaient été trompés. Il a donc mieux aimé suivre Melece Syrigus, qui en a parlé de la même manière. laissant la chose au jugement de Dieu. Il paroît aussi qu'il reconnut que son élection au Patriarchat de Constantinople n'avait pas été fort canonique, puisqu'il a retranché ce qui pouvait le faire croire.

Il ajoute aux extraits des Homélies de Cyrille contre le Chapitre du culte des Saints, un passage tiré d'un Sermon sur S. Demetrius. Il a aussi changé le titre du premier extrait contre le Chapitre XVI, & il a mis ces paroles. *Que le Baptême efface le péché originel absolument, & non pas Iii seulement des prédestinés.* On ne remarque aucun autre changement dans ces extraits.

On en trouve un fort considérable dans le Chapitre IV, car il est omis entièrement avec toutes les citations contre les Iconomaques, qui sont seulement indiquées; en sorte que le Chapitre IV est celui qui faisait le cinquième dans le Synode de Jersusalem. Il est inutile d'en deviner

les raisons; mais ce retranchement ne change rien à toute l'économie de l'ouvrage. Il poursuit jusqu'à l'endroit de la page 150 de l'édition de Paris, qui en fait la dernière ligne, & il retranche une partie de ce qui suit. Il insère à la place une digression touchant l'opposition que firent les Grecs dans le Concile de Florence à l'addition au Symbole, pour montrer qu'il n'étoit pas permis, même aux Conciles Oecuméniques, de rien ajouter aux expositions de la foi. particulièrement sur la Sainte Trinité; ce qui fait voir qu'il ne perdait pas la moindre occasion d'attaquer les Latins: mais que cela ne l'avait pas empêché d'écrire contre les ennemis de l'Église, & de défendre la foi sur l'Eucharistie. Puis il reprend ce qui est à la page 153, & il ajoute à l'exemple de S. Basile, qui se justifia contre ses calomniateurs, celui de Denys d'Alexandrie, après quoi il continue de même que dans l'imprimé, ce qui y est marqué touchant l'ambition & l'avarice de Cyrille, les maux & les dépenses qu'il causa à l'Église; le soupçon que produisit sa liaison avec l'Ambassadeur de Hollande, duquel il se servit pour parvenir à ses fins; & que non seulement il ne doit pas être regardé comme un Martyr, n'ayant pas souffert la mort pour le nom de Jésus-Christ, mais comme un malheureux qui n'a aucune part avec lui. Dosithée avait mis dans le premier Ecrit, qu'il avait usurpé trois fois le Siège de Constantinople, après la première élection qui paroissait légitime: dans l'Edition il a mis *six fois*, ce qui est plus conforme à la vérité, comme on a fait voir par la liste des Patriarches que nous avons insérée ci-dessus.

Après cela on trouve les Actes du Synode tenu sous Cyrille de Berroée: puis de ceux de Jassi & de Constantinople sous Parthenius le Vieux, qui sont insérés en entier avec les signatures: & Pépilogue qui les suit finit à la troisième ligne de la page 217, l'Auteur ajoutant seulement que le Synode de Jassi avait particulièrement combattu contre les Calvinistes, en dressant la *Confession Orthodoxe*. Mais il a retranché ce qui suit dans le manuscrit & dans l'impression de Paris, où il rend raison pourquoi le premier Synode anthématisa la personne de Cyrille, & qu'au second on se contenta de condamner sa doctrine. En effet, cela était inutile, & une

partie de ce que contenait cet article se trouvait ailleurs. Ces Actes des deux Synodes ont dû faire le Chapitre V, mais on ne l'a pas marqué, & celui qui suit est le sixième.

Dosithée a retranché la seconde période, qui commençait par l'adresse qu'il faisait de l'Exposition de la Foi qui suit, & telle qu'il la devait faire en parlant à la tête de son Synode; mais qui n'était plus nécessaire pour un ouvrage comme l'*Enchiridion*. Pour les Chapitres opposés à ceux de Cyrille, il ne se trouve aucune différence qui mérite d'être remarquée, entre ce qui fut proposé & approuvé au Synode de Jérusalem, & cette dernière édition, si ce n'est dans le dix-septième qui concerne l'Eucharistie, qu'il a tellement augmenté, que les additions font presque la moitié de tout l'ouvrage. Or ce n'a pas été pour se rétracter de ce qu'il avait publié en 1672, ni pour s'expliquer dans un sens qui eût le moindre rapport aux idées que M. Claude attribue à ses Grecs non latinisés: c'est pour s'expliquer d'une manière si nette & si claire, qu'il n'y a point de commentaire qui soit capable de l'obscurcir. Comme l'*Enchiridion* est fort rare, & qu'il ne servirait de rien d'indiquer l'endroit où l'Auteur s'explique sur la Transsubstantiation d'une manière plus étendue qu'il n'avait fait dans le premier ouvrage, nous rapporterons cet endroit, que chacun pourra comparer avec ce qui se trouve dans l'édition grecque & latine de 1676. Voici les paroles de Dosithée.

Par le mot de Μετουσίωσις, ou Transsubstantiation, nous ne croyons pas qu'on fasse entendre clairement la manière selon laquelle le pain & le vin sont changés au corps & au sang du Seigneur; car cela est incompréhensible & impossible à tout autre qu'à Dieu, & fait voir en même temps l'ignorance & l'impiété de ceux qui calomnient l'Église Catholique d'avoir cette pensée: mais elle croit que le pain & le vin après la consécration sont faits véritablement, réellement & substantiellement, le pain le véritable corps du Seigneur, & le vin son véritable sang. Cela ne doit pas s'entendre comme s'il y était figurément, par manière de type; représentativement, par manière d'image; ni spirituellement, ainsi qu'on appelle

spirituels les Sacrements de l'ancien Testament, qui n'étaient que des types & des ombres, & qui étaient principalement appelés Sacrements, en ce qu'ils signifiaient ceux du Nouveau Testament, qui étaient la vérité. Car lorsque les anciens mangeaient la manne, & qu'ils buvaient l'eau de la pierre qui les suivait, ils mangeaient & buvaient le corps & le sang du Seigneur, mais en figure; & nous le buvons & le mangeons véritablement. Ils n'avaient pas les choses qui étaient, mais qui devaient être, & nous avons celles qui sont: elles étaient absentes pour eux, & elles nous sont présentes: elles étaient significatives à leur égard, & pour nous elles existent véritablement. Ce n'est point non plus par une grace qui surpasse celle dont sont remplis les autres Sacrements; ni par la ⁱⁱⁱ 2 communication & par la présence de la seule divinité du Fils unique, selon ce que quelques Pères ont dit en parlant du divin Baptême: ni par une véritable & certaine présence de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ que la seule foi produit, comme Calvin a eu l'impiété d'avancer; puisqu'une telle présence n'est ni véritable, ni certaine, mais fantastique, & une pure imagination, n'étant ni substantielle ni réelle: ni par une espece de composition, en sorte que le corps du Seigneur étant infini, parce qu'il a été uni à la divinité du Fils unique, soit uni pareillement au pain proposé de l'Eucharistie, & que le pain par metonymie soit corps, & le vin sang, & non par le changement, comme veut le furieux Luther; ni qu'aucun accident du pain & du vin soit changé en quelque accident du corps & du sang de Jésus-Christ par quelque changement ou altération. Mais le pain est fait véritablement, réellement & substantiellement le véritable corps du Seigneur, & le vin son véritable sang (a).

Dosithée continue en ces termes. *Il est clair que comme l'Église Catholique a tiré de l'Ecriture le terme de Consubstantiel & l'Union hypostatique, & d'autres dogmes conformes à la Religion, & nécessaires, qui sont contenus dans les sept Synodes Oecuméniques, de même elle en a tiré le mot de Transsubstantiation dans les temps auxquels on en avait besoin pour détruire l'hérésie de Bérenger, & des autres Hérétiques qui ont paru avant & après lui, qui*

ont blasphémé contre ce Sacrement, & qui ont détourné le sens des paroles de Notre Seigneur, & des Saints Pères interpretes de la Sainte Ecriture, & la décision du septième Synode Oecuménique touchant le Sacrement, par de fausses interprétations, suivant l'ancienne coutume des Hérétiques. Ainsi ce mot n'est point une invention des Latins, ni d'un de leurs Conciles, comme prétendent les Luthériens & les Calvinistes, croyant tromper par une telle sottise quelques Orthodoxes: mais c'est une définition de l'Église Catholique pour renverser les hérésies contre ce Sacrement. Ce que disent aussi ces Hérétiques dont il a été parlé, que nous avons été trompés par les Papistes, car c'est ainsi qu'ils appellent les Occidentaux, pour embrasser touchant la sainte Eucharistie, le dogme signifié par le mot de Transsubstantiation, est un mensonge. Car le septième Concile que nous suivons en tout touchant le très saint Sacrement, & les Pères d'Orient l'ont confirmé (b); c'est-à-dire, qu'ils ont établi la doctrine signifiée par ce mot.

Ensuite il partage son discours en plusieurs sections, suivant lesquelles il rapporte un grand nombre de passages de Pères, & d'autres Ecrivains Ecclésiastiques, qui marquent une prodigieuse lecture, & qui peuvent faire voir aux Calvinistes que les Grecs ne sont pas si ignorants que le prétendait M. Claude, qui certainement n'aurait pas connu plusieurs Auteurs cités par ce Patriarche, car Aubertin n'en avait pas fait mention.

La première section commence par cette remarque, que presque du temps des Apôtres il y eut des hérétiques, comme les disciples de Simon & de Saturnin, qui, selon le témoignage de S. Ignace dans l'Epître à ceux de Smyrne rapporté par Théodoret, eurent des opinions erronées sur le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie: mais qu'elles finirent bientôt, & qu'au septième Concile Oecuménique il fut décidé contre les Iconomaques, que c'était une hérésie de dire que l'Eucharistie était le type, l'image, le signe ou le sumbole du corps & du sang de Jésus-Christ. Il rapporte les paroles dites en cette assemblée par Epiphane Diacre, *que jamais ni Jésus-*

Christ, ni les Apôtres, ni les Pères, n'ont dit que le sacrifice non sanglant offert par le Prêtre fût une image, mais le véritable corps & le sang de Jésus- Christ. Il confirme cette vérité par des passages de S. Jean Damascene, d'Elie de Crete dans son Commentaire sur l'Apologie de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, de Théodore Graptus en son Traité de la foi infaillible des Chrétiens, de s. Jean Chrysostôme, Homélie XXVI sur S. Matthieu, d'Origene sur le même Évangile, de Théodoret Dialogue II, d'Anastase d'Antioche contre les Gaïanites, de Samonas de Gaze, de Pierre de Sicile contre les Manichéens, de Nicolas Cabasilas, Livre IV de la vie en Jésus-Christ, de Théophane de Nicée Livre IV. contre les Juifs Chapitre XIX, de Jean Patriarche d'Antioche contre les Azymes, de S. Denys & de S. Mxime son Interprete. Enfin il fait voir qu'il n'y a aucune contradiction, en ce que quelques Pères ont appelé *Antitypes* les sacrés Mystères, & que d'autres ont dit qu'ils ne l'étaient pas, parce qu'ils prenaient ce mot en différents sens.

Dans la seconde section, il dit que Bérenger avait avancé que le pain & le vin étaient un simple type ou figure du corps & du sang de Jésus- Christ: qu'il fut condamné par le Pape Nicolas II, dans un nombreux Synode, & en plusieurs autres, particulièrement dans celui de Latran en 1215, & que le Synode général en prononçant anathême contre cette hérésie, fit une décision conforme à l'Ecriture, aux Pères, & au septième Concile, quoiqu'en d'autres articles il ne lui ait pas été conforme. C'était-là une occasion de déclamer contre les Latins, si les Grecs avaient cru qu'ils eussent introduit un nouveau dogme, en établissant celui de la Transsubstantiation, les Calvinistes prétendant qu'il a commencé au Concile de Latran. Mais au contraire Dosithée loue l'Église Latine d'avoir condamné ce qu'ils veulent faire passer pour la créance de toute l'Antiquité, & il prétend qu'en cela elle a suivi ce que l'Église Grecque avait décidé dans le septième Concile.

Dans la section troisième, il prouve l'horreur qu'elle a toujours eue de cette hérésie, par la punition rigoureuse que fit l'Empereur Alexis Commene en 1081, de Basile, Chef de la Secte des Bogomiles, qui niaient le changement dans le Mystère de l'Eucharistie, & qu'il fit brûle vif dans l'Hippodrome,, après avoir fait condamner ses erreurs dans une assemblée Synodale d'Ecclésiastiques & de Sénateurs: & qu'à cette occasion, il ordonna à Euthymius Zygabenus d'insérer dans sa Panoplie les témoignages de S. Grégoire de Nysse & de S. Jean Damascene, qui établissent le changement réel du pain & du vin au corps & au sang de Jésus-Christ.

Dans la section quatrième, il parle de la dispute qui arriva sous l'Empereur Manuel Comnene, à l'occasion d'un Diacre nommé Basile, qui avait dit dans un sermon que *le Fils de Dieu avait été la victime, & qu'il avait reçu le sacrifice avec le Père (c)*: & qui fut accusé d'hérésie comme introduisant deux hypostases ou personnes en Jésus-Christ. Que Soterichus Panteugenus élu Patriarche d'Antioche, Eustathe Métropolitain de Dyrrachium, & d'autres qui attaquèrent cette proposition furent excommuniés dans un Synode tenu en 1056. Sur quoi il cite Cinnamus Livre IV. Nicetas Choniates, la Chronique en vers d'Euphraïm: puis il rapporte la décision de ce Synode, & les anathêmes prononcés *contre ceux qui nient que Jésus-Christ est le Sacrificateur & le Sacrifice; & le troisième est contre ceux qui disent que le Sacrifice qui est offert tous les jours par les Ministres sacrés, selon que notre Sauveur & le Seigneur de toutes choses l'a ordonné, renouvelle dans l'imagination & par manière d'image celui qui a été offert sur la croix par notre Sauveur de son corps & de son sang, pour la délivrance & l'expiation du genre humain, mais qu'il n'est pas le même (d)*. Il rapporte ensuite divers passages pour confirmer cette doctrine, entr'autres de Nicolas de Méthone contre Soterichus, d'Etienne μέγας δρουγγάριος contre le même; de s. Athanase, de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, de S. Cyrille de Jérusalem εἰς ὑπαπάντην, de S. Grégoire de Nysse, Homélie sur la Pâque, de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie contre Théodoret, & de sa Lettre aux Empereurs, de Cabasilas Livre I, de la vie en Jésus-Christ, & Chapitre XLV de son Exposition de la Liturgie; Nicolas de

Méthone contre les Azymes; de Théophane discours huitième contre les Juifs; d'Oecumenius sur le cinquième Chapitre aux Hébreux; de Siméon de Thessalonique, en son Dialogue contre les hérésies; & de la Confession de Germain Patriarche de Constantinople, qui vivait peu après.

Il parle dans la Section V de Sicidites Religieux, qui fut, dit-il, Chef d'une hérésie, disant que dans le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie, le corps de Jésus-Christ n'était pas incorruptible comme après sa Passion & sa résurrection, mais corruptible. Il rapporte ce que dit Nicetas, que ceux qui étaient dans les bons sentiments lui prouvaient par S. Jean Chrysostôme, S. Grégoire de Nysse, S. Cyrille & Eutychius Patriarche de Constantinople sous Justinien, que dans le Sacrement le corps de Jésus-Christ était incorruptible, étant celui qui après la résurrection était impassible, & non pas celui qui était passible avant la Passion: & quiconque reçoit une partie du pain eucharistique, reçoit Jésus-Christ entier. L'Empereur Alexis Comnene fit assembler un Synode en 1199, qui condamna Sicidites. Dosithée rapporte divers passages sur ce sujet de la Chronique en vers d'Euphraïm, de Michel Glycas au Moine Joannicius, de S. Cyrille de Jérusalem, de S. Ephrem, de la Lettre de Pierre Patriarche d'Antioche, de Nicolas de Méthone, d'Isidore Pelusiot & de Siméon de Thessalonique, pour prouver *que ce qui est dans le Sacrement, c'est-à-dire, le corps & le sang du Sauveur, sont incorruptibles (e)*.

La Section sixième regarde une question assez extraordinaire: quelques Prêtres vers l'an 1440, en distribuant la Communion, disaient *recevez le S. Esprit*, & d'autres les accusèrent comme des blasphémateurs. Cependant Marc d'Ephese entreprit de les justifier; ce qu'il fait par un raisonnement qui consiste principalement, en ce que le corps que nous recevons dans la Communion étant uni à la divinité, *en participant au corps & au sang du Seigneur, nous participons aussi au S. Esprit, la divinité des deux personnes étant inséparable. (f)* Il prouve très-certainement le dogme de la présence réelle, & c'est l'usage qu'en a fait Dosithée; mais il

ne justifiait pas ces Prêtres d'une nouveauté inconnue à toutes les Églises, & qui n'avait aucun fondement dans la discipline grecque.

La septième section, qui est plus étendue que toutes les autres, a pour Préface ce qui a été rapporté ci-dessus touchant le commencement des hérésies de Luther & de Calvin, & comme elles furent combattues par Jérémie Patriarche de Constantinople & Melece d'Alexandrie. Ensuite Dosithée rapporte un grand nombre de passages de Pères, & d'Auteurs ecclésiastiques sous ce titre général. *Exposition d'autres témoignages tirés de quelques anciens Pères, & de plusieurs Ecrivains ecclésiastiques orthodoxes, qui prouvent la présence réelle & substantielle du Sauveur dans l'adorable Sacrement, par le changement substantiel du pain & du vin, au propre corps précieux & au sang du Sauveur, ce qui est la Transsubstantiation dans le Sacrement (g).*

Dosithée distribue ces passages sous différents titres d'autant de mots employés par les Ecrivains ecclésiastiques anciens & modernes, pour signifier le changement qui se fait dans le Mystère de l'Eucharistie: & il fait voir que tous reviennent à un même sens, qui est celui du changement véritable, réel & substantiel, & qui est par une conséquence nécessaire celui de la Transsubstantiation. Ces mots sont μετέχω, τρώω, πίνω, σιτοῦμαι, μεταλαμβάνω, κοινωνῶ, ἀγιάζω, ἱεουργῶ, ἀποφαίνομαι, γίνομαι, ἀναδέικνυμι, τελῶ, χαρίζομαι, παράδίδωμι, λατρεύεται, μεταποιεῖται, μεταβάλλεται, μεταστοιχειοῦται, μετασκευάζειν, κατασκευάζειν, μεταρρυθμίζειν, ἄλλοιοῦσθαι, μετουσιοῦσθαι. Sous chacun de ces titres, il rapporte les passages de presque tous les anciens Pères Grecs; même sur l'adoration de l'Eucharistie, ceux de S. Ambroise & de S. Augustin. Il cite aussi plusieurs auteurs plus récents, dont quelques-uns ne sont pas imprimés, ce qui fait voir le soin avec lequel il avait étudié cette matière. On trouve cités entr'autres Nicetas d'Iconie contre les Azymes, Cabasilas, Siméon de Thessalonique, S. Nil l'ancien, les Réponses de Photius à Amphilochius, Nicéphore

Patriarche de Constantinople contre les Iconomaques, Proclus, Nicolas de Méthone contre Soterichus, & contre les Azymes, Jean de Jérusalem, Matthieu le Religieux, Pierre d'Antioche, Siméon de Jérusalem, Théodore Curopalate, Méthodius de Constantinople, & divers anonymes contre les Latins, Glycas, Nicéas, Théodore Graptus, Michel Coniates, Soterichus Panteugenus, les Liturgies & l'Euchologe.

Sur le mot de *Transsubstantiation*, il rapporte le Discours de Gennadius, que Melece Syrigus a inséré à la fin de sa Réfutation de la Confession de Cyrille Lucar, & qui a été imprimé depuis peu avec la grande Homélie du même Auteur: & par cette raison il ne se trouve pas dans la traduction en grec vulgaire de cet ouvrage, quoiqu'il soit dans le manuscrit copié sur l'original qu'avait Panaiotti; parce que les deux ouvrages ayant été imprimés en même temps & pour être reliés ensemble, Dosithée n'a peut-être pas cru qu'il fallût le mettre deux fois. Il a joint divers passages des Pères pour prouver que dans les Mystères de la Religion, il ne faut pas chercher comment une chose se fait, mais la croire humblement lorsque la foi nous l'enseigne: & qu'il suffit de savoir que ce changement se fait surnaturellement & par l'avénement du S. Esprit. Il finit par un extrait de la Lettre de Melece d'Alexandrie à Edouard Barton, que nous avons rapporté ci-dessus.

La dix-huitième Section est pour marquer que la Confession de Cyrille, qui parut en 1633, & qui dans le dix-septième Chapitre expliquait le Mystère de l'Eucharistie selon l'opinion de Calvin, avait été condamnée en un Synode tenu l'an 1638, & à Jassi en 1642, que Melece Syrigus & George Coressius la réfutèrent, anathématisant par-tout Luther & Calvin & leurs Sectateurs, & expliquant clairement que l'Église Catholique enseigne de toute antiquité, touchant le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie.

Le reste est conforme à ce qu'il publia dans la Synode de Jérusalem, excepté qu'il n'a pas rapporté les signatures, & qu'il a changé ce qui regardait le dix-huitième article de Cyrille

touchant l'état des âmes après leur mort; ayant marqué à la marge, qu'il s'était trompé en quelques endroits dans la réfutation de cet article, & que pour cela il l'avait corrigée. Mais comme cela ne regarde pas la matière que nous traitons, nous n'en parlerons pas présentement. Chacun peut aisément comprendre que ce seul ouvrage de Dosithée détruit entièrement tout ce que M. Claude, M. Smith, & ceux qui les ont copiés, ont avancé touchant la créance des Grecs sur l'Eucharistie. Ce n'est pas un Gergan, ni des vagabonds, comme ces prétendus Archevêques de Tibériade & de Samos, qui donnent en secret des témoignages informes: c'est un des quatre Patriarches Grecs, qui ayant publiquement déclaré la foi de son Église dans un Synode nombreux, confirme au bout de dix-huit ans ce qu'il avait publié alors, & qui, au lieu de se rétracter, ajoute à son premier ouvrage un très grand nombre de nouvelles preuves: qui condamne expressément les Calvinistes & les Luthériens: qui cite tous les passages des Pères dans le même sens que les Catholiques les entendent: qui se sert avec éloge des témoignages des Grecs modernes, que M. Claude veut faire passer pour latinisés: qui cite les Synodes que ce Ministre traite de pièces supposées: enfin qui fait imprimer, au vu & au su de toute l'Église Grecque, dans un pays où elle est publiquement professée, un ouvrage qui est reçu avec une approbation générale, sans que depuis vingt ans il ait essuyé la moindre contradiction. On peut juger que puisque Dosithée eu l'attention d'y faire quelques changements dans des choses indifférentes, il en aurait fait de même dans les articles essentiels, s'ils ne s'étaient pas trouvés conformes à la doctrine de son Église sur l'Eucharistie. Il l'a encore plus nettement confirmée dans son Traité contre Caryophylle, imprimé quelques années après l'*Enchiridion*, & par la déclaration publique qu'il fit contre les Grecs qui envoyaient leurs enfants au College d'Oxford.

APPENDIX 4: TRANSLATION OF THE PSEUDO-DIONYSIAN FRAGMENTS AND THE SCHOLIA IN MS IVIRON 281

Title 5, On the divine naming, of the Areopagite

From the treatise On the Divine Names

[DN I,6] Knowing this, the theologians praise him as one who is without any name, and also from of all the names. As being nameless, on the one hand, when they say that the Principle-of-divinity in one of the mystical visions of symbolic theophany reproached the man who asked “What is your name?” and when He, leading that man away from any possible knowledge according to the divine names, said “And why are you asking for my name, when it is a wonderful name?” (Jud 13:17-18)³¹⁵ Now is this not the “wonderful name” (Ps 8:2), the “one beyond all names” (Phil 2:9), the nameless name, which is established “above all names” named “either in this age or in that to come” (Eph 1:21)?³¹⁶ As the one with many names, on the other hand, when they introduce the Principle-of-divinity saying “I am the Being, the life, the light, God, the truth,” (Gen 28:13, Jn 8:12, 14:6) and when the same divinely wise men in many names celebrate the Cause of everything from all its effects – as good, as beautiful, as wise, as lovely, as God of gods, as Lord of lords, as the Holy of holies, as eternal, as being and as the cause of the ages, as the giver of life, as wisdom, as mind, as word, as the one who knows, as having in advance all the treasures of every knowledge, as power, as powerful, as King of kings, as the Ancient of Days, as ageless, as unchangeable, as salvation, as justice, as sanctification, as redemption, as in greatness exceeding everything and also as the one in the gentle breeze. Moreover, they also say that he is in the minds and in the souls and in the bodies, in the heavens and on the earth, at the same time remaining in himself; in the world and above the world, around the world and above the heavens,

³¹⁵ As Jud 13:17-18 is being rendered here is a variant or, rather, a paraphrase of the Septuagint text. This is clearly rendered by the punctuation of the manuscripts, which indicates that the text belongs together. Beate R. Suchla's punctuation in her edition is erroneous.

³¹⁶ On this passage and its Evagrian source see István Perczel, “« Théologiens » et « magiciens » dans le *Corpus Dionysien*,” in: *Adamantius: Newsletter of the Italian Research Group “Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition”*, vol. 7 (2001), 54-75. here 57.

supersubstantial, sun, star, fire, water, spirit, dew, cloud, that-which-is-the-stone, rock, every being and nothing from among these beings.³¹⁷

Scholion

For the one whose nature is unthinkable no proper name can be found, given that the proper name indicates the nature.

Title 6, of the Areopagite, On the divine incarnation

From the first chapter of the treatise On the Divine Names

The Principle-of-divinity is especially man-loving, because in one of its hypostases it truly and completely took share in all that belongs to us, calling back to itself and elevating the humanity, of which ineffably the simple Jesus became composite, and the one who is eternal took a temporal extension, and the one who supersubstantially transcends all order according to all nature appeared within our nature, with the unchanged and unconfused establishment of his own characteristics.

From the second chapter of the Areopagite

But also the most evident subject of theology – the divine formation of Jesus according to us – is ineffable to all word and unknowable to all mind, even to the very first among the most venerable angels. And that he was substantiated as a man, this we have received in secret transmission, but we do not know how, according to a law other than the natural, he was formed from virginal blood and how he walked on the humid and unstable substance without moistening his feet having corporeal volume and the weight of matter; and all the rest that pertain to Jesus! supernatural physiology.

IV Letter 25v –26v

of the same [Dionysius], from his letter to the monk Gaius

How do you say that Jesus, the one Who is beyond all things, is substantially ranked together with all men? For He is not called here man as the Cause of men, but as being precisely what means to be truly

³¹⁷ For the scriptural passages cited here see the apparatus of the edition of the text on p. 224-225.

man in the entire substance. However, we do not define Jesus in a human way. For He is neither only man, nor only supersubstantial (as far as He is a man), but truly man is the exceedingly manloving one.³¹⁸

Scholion

This means that we do not determine him as mere man, for he is not only man, but also God, just as he is not only God, but also man.³¹⁹

Text

The Supersubstantial substantiated above men and according to men, from the substance of men.³²⁰

Scholion

He is substantiated above men, because from a virgin, but according to men because from a woman; from the substance of men because not from another substance; for neither had he brought the flesh down from heaven, nor did he take on himself an earthly flesh of a nature other than human, nor did he become man [only] in appearance.

Text

This notwithstanding, the one Who is always supersubstantial remains more-than-full of supersubstantiality. Moreover, when because of the abundance of the latter He has also truly come to substance, He was substantiated above substance and performed the human deeds above man. This is shown by the Virgin who supranaturally gives birth and by the unstable water that bears the weight of the material and earthly feet, and does not yield, but through a supernatural power is coagulated to a non-liquid state. many³²¹ Why would one enumerate the rest, which are indeed many? Through which the one who sees in a divine

³¹⁸ On this translation and its philological justification see István Perczel, “The Christology of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: The *Fourth Letter* in its Indirect and Direct Text Traditions,” *Le Muséon* 117/3-4 (2004): 409-446, especially 426 and 442.

³¹⁹ Cf. Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, PG 91, col. 1048 B-C Janssens, l. 32-34: “Neither is he only man, because he is also God, nor is he only supersubstantial, because he is also man, given that he is neither a mere man, nor naked God.” (tr. I. Perczel, *ibid.* 434).

³²⁰ Tr. I. Perczel, *ibid.* 442-443.

³²¹ Clearly, this variant is due to a scribal error, writing τὰ πολλὰ instead of τὰ λοιπά.

manner will know above intellect that even those things that are predicated about the manlovingness of Jesus in fact have the sense of transcendent negation. For to say it shortly, He was not even man, not as if He were no man, but from men and beyond men and above man He has truly become man.³²²

Scholion

That even this [that is, the substantiation of Jesus] is supersubstantial and according to the divinity. Supersubstantial as being from a virgin and without [the] seed [of a man] and, just like the divinity, <in the same way> it is above mind and word. For even when conceived, it preserves unknowability, and when said, ineffability. The one who is according to nature, is also above nature. We know and say that he was substantiated from human nature [?] but neither do we know nor do we say how this occurred from virginal blood according to a law other than [that of] the human nature.

Text

And for the rest, he performed the divine deeds not as God, nor the human deeds as man, but being God man-ified, he exerted for us a kind of new god-manly activity.

Scholion

Christ neither performed the divine deeds as God, nor the human deeds as man. For [he performed them] not only divinely but also humanly and not only humanly but also divinely because of the indivisible and inconfusable union. For by means of the man-ification of God, that is, by the inhumanation of God, a kind of new god-manly activity came into existence. It is new, because neither did he divinely operate the divine deeds, nor humanly the human deeds, but in a god-manly manner, as it [the activity] is simultaneously divine and human. Just as the cutting capacity of a brazing sword has become its burning capacity and its burning capacity has become its cutting capacity – for just as the fire has become united with the iron, so also the burning capacity of the fire has become united with the cutting capacity of the iron, so that the iron become burning because of the union with the fire and the fire become cutting because of the union with the iron and neither of the two suffer any alteration

³²²

Tr. I. Perczel, *ibid.* 443.

because of the exchange between each other in the union, but each of the two, even while in the union sharing in the property of the other element, remain without falling out from its own natural property – so also even in the mystery of the divine inhumanation, divinity and humanity has become united according to the hypostasis, without any of the two abandoning, because of the union, its natural operation, although without keeping it unrelated to the other element, or separated from it.

26.v (DN, II, 10)

Of the same [Dionysius] from the Elements of Theology of the holy Hierotheus

Since because of man-lovingness he descended even as far as nature and was truly substantiated and the One who is more-than-divine was called a man – let those things that we celebrate above mind and word be merciful! – even in these [earthly] things he possesses supernaturality and supersubstantiality – not only because he communicated to us unchangeably³²³ and unconfusedly, without any damage to his more-than-fullness before [to be corrected to “because of”] the ineffable self-emptying [kenosis], but also – which is the greatest novelty among all novelties – he was supernatural even in our natural conditions and supersubstantial in the substantial characteristics, in a transcendent manner possessing above us all that belongs to us.

³²³ This translation presupposes the emendation of an error in the text, due to iotacism

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