# An annotated edition of the

# *Refutation of the Errors of the Latins*

# by Matthaios Blastares

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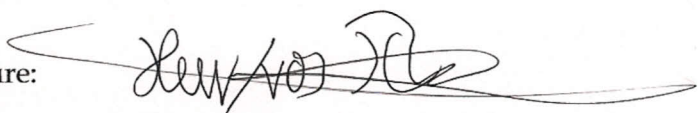
**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**
**at the University of London**
**(Royal Holloway and Bedford New College)**

**June 2011**

Candidate's declaration:

I confirm that this PhD thesis is entirely my own work. All sources and quotations have been acknowledged. The main works consulted are listed in the bibliography.

Candidate's signature: 

Date: 15 August 2011

*To my grandmother Marigo Lazarinou*

*and my teacher Julian Chrysostomides*

In memoriam

## Abstract

The present thesis is an annotated edition of the *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* by the Byzantine scholar, canonist and theologian Matthaios Blastares († *c.*1350). The thesis comprises an **Introduction** and an **edition** of the text.

The **Introduction** is divided into two **Parts** (**I-II**). **Part I** gives biographical information on the author and his work in the wider context of the dialogue between the Byzantine and Latin theologians in this period. This is followed by an examination of the evidence concerning the circumstances of the composition of the treatise, an analysis of its structure and content together with a commentary on the arguments put forward by Blastares to refute the most important points of divergence between the two sides, concerning doctrinal and ecclesiastical issues as well as liturgical practices, and finally an evaluation of the treatise.

**Part II** is devoted to the manuscript tradition. The treatise is transmitted in twenty-four manuscripts (MSS) dated between the fourteenth and seventeenth century. Our edition is based on eleven of the earlier MSS containing the entire treatise. These codices, together with the partial editions of chapter [**38**.66-**60**] by Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς* (Jassi, 1694), pp. 441-456, and chapter [**49**] by Leo Allatius, *In Roberti Creyghtoni apparatum, versionem & notas ad historiam concilii Florentini scriptam a Silvestro Syropulo de unione inter Graecos & Latinos, exercitationes, pars prima* (Rome, 1665), pp. 331-332, are described and studied from the codicological and palaeographical point of view, before their relation is established and a reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* is proposed. The edition of the text of the complete treatise is accompanied by an *apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum*, and an *apparatus criticus*, preceded by a brief note on the conventions adopted in the present edition and a list of abbreviations and signs used in the *apparatus criticus*.

The thesis closes with full bibliography, an Appendix and facsimiles of selected folios of the MSS used in our edition.

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## Acknowledgments

Ὡς ἡδὺς ὁ ἄρτος τοῖς πεινῶσιν,
καὶ τοῖς πλέουσιν ὁ εὔδιος λιμήν,
οὕτω τοῖς γράφουσιν ὁ ὕστατος στίχος.

*Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Holy Cross,* cod. 55, f. 153 (AD 927)

While writing, or rather typing, the final pages of the present thesis I came to realise that I share the same feeling with the monk Paul who more than ten centuries ago (on Saturday, 14th April, 7th hour, *anno mundi* 6425, 15th indiction) wrote the verses cited above in his colophon the moment he completed the copying of his codex containing ascetic works, adding his signature (in cryptogram). It is a feeling of satisfaction, joy and relief when such a long and laborious task has been fulfilled, to the best of one's ability. A demanding task that needs patience and persistence, discipline, long hours of work, and above all faith and love. The completion of this kind of work, as indeed of any work, offers the author a good opportunity to reflect. What prompted me to embark on this long journey was my desire to acquire a better understanding of the Byzantine thought-world, particularly the reasons (historical, political, ecclesiastical, theological, and psychological) that separated, and still separate, the limbs of the mystical body of Christ. For this reason I chose to study a fourteenth-century anti-Latin text composed by the Byzantine canonist Matthaios Blastares, an anti-unionist. In the process I realized that essentially little progress has been made in terms of attitudes between the two sides, especially the extreme ones, over the centuries. I only hope that more effort is placed by both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians and churchmen, together with representatives of other Christian denominations, to bridge the gap in a spirit of understanding and reconciliation. This is a difficult task that presupposes a true dialogue on the essential points of divergence, showing mutual respect of each other's tradition. Indeed, it might not be possible to witness the visible true union of the Church, at least in the foreseeable future, but there is always hope that this union is being brought about in the invisible spiritual world of the Church of Christ, increasingly winning over hearts and minds among the various communions in Eastern and Western Christendom. The present thesis is a small contribution towards this direction, in the sense that, though clearly polemical in tone, Blastares' *Refutation of the Errors of the Latins* enables us to look at the realities, possibilities and hopes for true union through the eyes of a Byzantine theologian writing in a critical period, characterised by both external and internal divisions.

This study would not have been completed without the help, encouragement and support of my co-supervisors, the late Julian Chrysostomides and Dr Charalambos

Dendrinos, and my advisor Dr Anne Sheppard. When I first met Julian in September 2003 in Athens, I was impressed by her erudition, but above all her simplicity, kindness, warmth and humility. Since then she became an unfailing source of inspiration as an affectionate teacher, a true scholar and a dear friend. Her passing away in October 2008 left all of her students with a feeling of deep pain for her irreplaceable loss.

During my MA studies at RHUL Hellenic Institute (2003-4) I had the opportunity to learn much about the Byzantine World. Above all I learned how scholarship enables us to acquire a deep and intimate understanding of history and society, how a historian should hold an objective and balanced view of the object of his study at the same time allowing himself to empathize with the people, the protagonists of history. I learned how important it is for a scholar to be able to observe the *minutiae* in the sources, to read between the lines, to exercise scrupulous examination and cross-examination, and finally place these details in the wider historical, intellectual and cultural context. And how important it is to be able to read texts directly from the manuscript, which gives such independence in our research. The hard and painstaking work involved in the study of Greek manuscripts (MSS) can only be commensurated by the joy of the actual process — and, of course, any discoveries. I am indebted to Julian and Charalambos for guiding me with patience in the exciting world of Byzantine texts and Greek Palaeography.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support I have received towards my studies from the World Council of Churches (Postgraduate Scholarship 2005-6), RHUL History Department (Departmental Studentship 2006-8), RHUL Hellenic Institute (Julian Chrysostomides Memorial Bursary and George of Cyprus Bursaries, 2006-10) and last, but not least, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece (Postgraduate Scholarship 2007-10). I would also like to thank the University of London, Dover Fund and RHUL History Department for research grants towards the purchase of microfilms of Greek MSS.

Grateful thanks are also due to the staff of the following libraries, where most of my research was carried out: the Warburg Institute, Institute of Historical Research and Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, the British Library and King's College Library in London, the University Library at Cambridge, the National Library of Greece, the Library of the Theological School of the University of Athens, the Centre for History and Palaeography of the National Bank of Greece (ΙΠΑ/MIET) in Athens, and the Library of the Holy Monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos. Particular thanks are due to Dr Maria Politi, Dr Maria Litina and Mr Thanasis Zachos of ΙΠΑ/MIET for their readiness to help.

Microfilms and printed and digital facsimiles of the MSS consulted in the present thesis were kindly provided by the University Library, Cambridge, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Synodal Library in Moscow, the Library of the Holy Monastery of St John the Theologian, the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessalonike, and the National Library of Greece in Athens.

I would also like to express my warm thanks to Dr Joseph A. Munitiz, S.J., Mrs Eirene Harvalia Crook, Dr John A. Demetracopoulos, Dr David Gwynn, Dr Christos Kremmydas, and particularly Dr Andreas Meitanis and Dr Christos Triantafyllopoulos, for their encouragement, expert advice, constructive criticisms and valuable suggestions. Mrs Penelope Mullens and Mrs Marie-Christine Ockenden, Administrator and Research & Postgraduate Administrator, respectively, at RHUL History Department were always most kind and helpful. Among my friends and fellow-students I am particularly indebted to Mr Metin Berke, Dr Laura Franco, Miss Christina Kakkoura, Mr Alexandros Katsiaras, Miss Stavroula Kiritsi, Mr Vangelis Koutalis, Dr Sebastian Moro-Tornese, Dr Fevronia Nousia, Miss Anastasia Panoui, Mr Vasos Pasiourtides, Miss Foteini Sergi, Miss Anja Smetschka and Dr Christopher Wright for their great support and encouragement. I would also like to thank Miss Karen Macias and Miss Tracy Smith for their kindness and generosity. To Miss Maria Venetidou I owe particular thanks, for being a constant and unfailing source of support. During the last two years she has been offering me her friendship, affection and invaluable help in all aspects. I would like to express my profound gratitude to her.

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to His Eminence Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Syros, Tenos, Keas and Melos, His Eminence Kallinikos Metropolitan of Paronaxia, and Reverend Basilios Chavatzas for their spiritual and moral support. The late Metropolitan Ambrose of Paronaxia († 2008) was most supportive, particularly in the first stages of my research.

To my parents Alexandros and Foteini, my sister Miss Maria Palaiologou and my uncle Mr Charalambos Lazarinos, I owe my deepest gratitude for their love, encouragement and generous support throughout my studies in Britain, and above all for their faith in me. Without their help this thesis would have not been possible.

Finally, my late grandmother, Marigo Lazarinou (†2009), was a pillar of support, the personification of integrity, honesty and humanity throughout my life, as was Julian Chrysostomides (†2008) during my postgraduate studies. It is to their loving memory that this thesis is dedicated.

Englefield Green, 1 June 2011

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AB | Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων |
| *AB* | *Analecta Bollandiana* |
| *ACO* | *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*; eds., E. Schwartz, tom. I: *Concilium universale Ephesinum* (5 vols), tom. II: *Concilium universale Chalcedonense* (6 vols) (Berlin, 1914-1940); R. Riedinger, Series 2, vol. II: *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium* (3 vols) (Berlin, 1990-1995) |
| *AFP* | *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* |
| AOC | Archives de l'Orient Chrétien |
| *B* | *Byzantion* |
| ΒΕΠΕΣ | Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων |
| *BF* | *Byzantinische Forschungen* |
| BHG | F. Halkin ed., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 3 vols (Brussels, 1957[3]) |
| BKM | Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται |
| *BMGS* | *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* |
| *BZ* | *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* |
| CCSG | Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca |
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina |
| CFHB | Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae |
| *COGD* | G. Alberigo et al. eds., *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta. Editio Critica*, vol. I : *The Oecumenical Councils from Nicaea I to Nicaea II (325-787)* (Turnhout, 2006) |
| CPG | M. Geerard ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols CCSG (Turnhout, 1970-1987) & Supplement, eds. M. Geerard & J. Noret (Turnhout, 1998) |
| CPL | E. Dekker & A. Gaar eds., *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, CCSL (Steenbrugis, 1995) |
| CSHB | Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae |
| CMG | Corpus Medicorum Greacorum |

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| Demetrakopoulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς* | A.K. Demetrakopoulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, ἤτοι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν γραψάντων κατὰ Λατίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν* (Leipzig, 1872; phot. repr., Athens, 1968) |
| Dositheos, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς* | Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem ed., *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς* (Jassi, 1694) |
| *DOP* | *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* |
| *EA* | *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* |
| *ΕΕΒΣ* | *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* |
| *EO* | *Échos d'Orient* |
| *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History* | M. Hinterberger & Ch. Schabel eds., *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History, 1204-1500*, Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales, Bibliotheca, 11 (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 2011) |
| *ΘΗΕ* | *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 12 vols (Athens, 1962-68) |
| *JÖB* | *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* |
| Kelly, *Creeds* | J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950) |
| Kelly, *Doctrines* | J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London, 1977[5]; repr. 1993) |
| Kelly, *Popes* | J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford-New York, 1986) |
| Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists* | T.M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Illinois, 2000) |
| Mansi | J.D. Mansi ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, cont. I.B. Martin and L. Petit, 53 vols (Florence-Venice, 1759-1928; repr. Graz, 1960-1961) |
| MST | Mediaeval Sources in Translation |
| *OCP* | *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* |
| *ODB* | A.P. Kazhdan et al. eds. , *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York-Oxford, 1991) |
| *ODCh* | F.L. Cross & E.A. Livingstone eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (Oxford, 1997) |

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| Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium* | A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: the filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)* (rev. edn., Crestwood, New York, 1997) |
| PG | J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeco-latina*, 161 vols (Paris, 1857-1866) |
| PL | J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1855) |
| *PLP* | E. Trapp et al., eds. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 1-12 (Vienna, 1976-1990) |
| PO | Patrologia Orientalis |
| *Porphyrogenita* | Dendrinos, Ch. et al., eds., *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot, 2003) |
| PTS | Patristische Texte und Studien |
| Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα* | G. A. Rhalles & M. Potles eds., *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων Πατέρων*, 6 vols (Athens, 1852-1859) |
| *REB* | *Revue des Études Byzantines* |
| *Regestes* | *Les regestes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, vol. I: *Les actes des patriarches*; V. Grumel, fasc. 1: *Les regestes de 381 à 715* (Paris, 1932); J. Darrouzès, fasc. 6: *Les regestes de 1377 à 1410* (Paris, 1979) |
| *Repertorium*, I-III | E. Gamillscheg with D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger et al., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600,* vol. I (A-C): *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*; vol. II (A-C): *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*; vol. III (A-C): *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (Vienna, 1981, 1989, 1997) |
| *RSBN* | *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellinici* |
| SC | Sources chrétiennes |
| *SP* | *Studia Patristica* |
| ST | Studi e Testi |
| *SVQ* | *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* |

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| Theodoroudes, *Ἡ ἐκπόρευσις* | G.P. Theodoroudes, *Ἡ Ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ τοὺς Συγγραφεῖς τοῦ ΙΓ΄ αἰῶνος* (Thessalonike, 1990) |
| *TM* | *Travaux et Mémoires* |
| Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* | *St Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae. Latin text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*; C. Velecky, vol. 6: *The Trinity (Ia. 27-32)* (London-New York, 1965); T.C. O'Brien, vol. 7: *Father, Son and Holy Gost (Ia. 33-43)* (London-New York, 1976) |
| Variorum | Variorum Reprints, London |
| *VVr* | *Vizantijskij Vremennik* |
| Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum* | I. Zepos & P. Zepos eds., *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, 8 vols (Athens, 1931; repr. Darmstadt, 1962) |

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# Introduction

## Part I: The author and the treatise

### The author

The last decades of the thirteenth century found the Byzantine Empire in a critical state.[1] Following the re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261 and the restoration of the Empire by Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282), the Byzantine Church and society was bitterly divided. Michael's policy aimed at union with Rome in return for military help, desperately needed for the defence of the Empire in the face of the Turkish threat and western aspirations for the restoration of the Latin kingdoms in Romania.[2] The feeble union of the Greek and Latin Churches masterminded by the Emperor and the Pope, proclaimed at the Second Council of Lyons (1274), did not survive, since it was forced upon the Byzantine people and clergy and thus failed to earn their support.[3] The experience of almost six decades of Latin occupation following the capture and plunder of the city of Constantinople by the army of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, and the repeated attempts by the papacy to convert the Orthodox people to Roman Catholicism, had created suspicion and resentment towards the Latins, a feeling that could not be easily overcome.[4]

On the death of Michael VIII his successor Andronikos II (1282-1328) reversed his predecessor's unionist policy. In this he had the support of the majority of the Byzantines, including the lower clergy and members of the monastic community, which were virtually identified with the anti-unionist party. The period that followed

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[1] See D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge, 1993²; repr. 1994).

[2] See D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Michael VIII Palaeologus and the Union of Lyons', *Harvard Theological Review* 46 (1953), 79-89; idem, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).

[3] See D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274', *Studies in Church History* VII (1971), 113-146, and recently the contributions by A. Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the Rise of the Papacy: Points for Reflection', and by T.M. Kolbaba, 'Repercussions of the Second Council of Lyon (1274): Theological Polemic and the Boundaries of Orthodoxy', in *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, pp. 19-42 and 43-68, respectively.

[4] The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) issued a canon prohibiting Byzantines to purify the altars following their use each time by the Latin clergy, and re-baptizing their children after their baptism in the Latin rite: eds. J. Alberigo et al., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (Bologna, 1973³), pp. 235-236. See L. Bréhier, 'Attempts at Reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 594 ff.

was characterised by a continuation of political and ecclesiastical turmoil, marked by the civil war, the Zealot revolt in Thessalonike and the hesychast controversy.[5]

In this climate the theological dialogue between the Greek and Latin Churches continued to dominate the scene as did the political motives in the background. The main obstacle for the union was the fact that the papacy demanded submission of the Greek Church prior to sending financial and military help, while the Byzantines asked for the convening of an Ecumenical Council, where the main doctrinal, ecclesiastical and liturgical points of divergence would be openly and freely discussed on equal terms.[6] As part of this dialogue a large number of treatises by both Byzantine and Latin theologians were composed. Their polemical tone reflects the general attitude, characterized by a defensive approach rather than sincere desire for discussion and reconciliation.[7] The present edition of the *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* by the Byzantine scholar, canonist and theologian Matthaios Blastares († *c.*1350) sheds further light on this particular area.

Not much is known about Matthaios' life, apart from the fact that he was born sometime in the last decade of the thirteenth century, possibly in Thessalonike, a major centre of intellectual life in the Empire, where he must have received his education.[8] His teacher was Isaac, founder of the famous Monastery of Perivleptos in Thessalonike.[9] At some stage Matthaios was tonsured, ordained priest and presbyter. He spent part of his life on Mount Athos and he died sometime before 1350.[10] Evidence in letters written to him by Gregory Akindynos and Joseph Kalothetos shows that at

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[5] See A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*; J. Barker, 'Late Byzantine Thessalonike. A Second City's Challenges and Responses', *DOP* 57 (2003), 5-33.

[6] See J. Boojamra, 'The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the Fourteenth Century', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 80 (1987), 59-76.

[7] See J. Meyendorff, 'Theology in the Thirteenth Century. Methodological Contrasts', in *Καθηγήτρια: essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), pp. 395-407; and more recently A. Papadakis, 'The problem of Religious Union and its Literature', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 38 (2006), 287-302.

[8] On Thessalonike in the Palaeologan period see A.-M. Talbot ed., *Symposium on Late Byzantine Thessalonike*, *DOP* 57 (2003); on the intellectual life in the city see F. Tinnefeld, 'Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike', *DOP* 57 (2003), 153-172.

[9] G.I. Theocharides, 'Ο Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρις καὶ ἡ Μονὴ τοῦ κῦρ-Ἰσαὰκ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ', *B* 40 (1970), 442-450.

[10] See *PLP* 2808; P. Paschos, *Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης καὶ τὸ ὑμνογραφικὸν ἔργον του*, Institute for Balkan Studies, 183 (Thessalonike, 1978), pp. 61-76; P.D. Viscuso, *A Byzantine Theology of Marriage: The 'Syntagma kata stoicheion' of Matthew Blastares* (Unpublished PhD thesis, the Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1988), pp. 6-37.

some stage Blastares ceased to support the anti-hesychasts and sided with the leader of the hesychast movement Gregory Palamas.[11]

Blastares was a prolific writer. He is best known for his *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον* (*Syntagma*), an alphabetical handbook of canon law based on commentaries by the famous twelfth-century canonists Theodore Balsamon (†1195) and John Zonaras (†1160).[12] Blastares' handbook is the most extensive and complete of its kind in the Palaeologan period, incorporating also secular law useful to the clergy. It enjoyed great popularity in the Byzantine and Slavic world, also in the Post-Byzantine period.[13] Blastares also produced synopses of canons by Byzantine authors —including those by Patriarch John IV Nesteutes (582-595),[14] Patriarch Nikephoros I (806-815),[15] Nicetas of Herakleia (1030-1100)[16], and John of Kitros (fl. end 13th c.)[17]—, and compiled a list of Latin legal terms,[18] and lists of ecclesiastical and imperial *offikia* (in political verse) accompanied by an epilogue.[19] Apart from his contribution to canon law, he produced a compilation of notes on rhetoric[20] and possibly a paraphrasis of the *Ladder* of John Climax in vernacular Greek,[21] and composed a number of liturgical hymns[22] and other works, including a short discourse on boiled wheat used in the Church,[23] a treatise

[11] Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 65-69.

[12] Blastares, *Syntagma*, eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1859), pp. 1-518. Selected passages of Matthaios' *Syntagma* were translated by P.D. Viscuso, *Sexuality, Marriage and Celibacy in Byzantine Law: Selections from a Fourtheenth-Century Encyclopedia of Canon law and Theology. The Alphabetical Collection of Matthew Blastares* (Brookline, MA, 2008), pp. 59-183.

[13] For a list of major Slavic translations of Matthaios' works see Viscuso, *Sexuality*, p. 44. See also P. Rodopoulos, 'Τὸ Σύνταγμα τοῦ Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη καὶ ἡ ἐπίδρασή του στὸν Σλαβικὸ Κόσμο', in *Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη – Παλαιολόγειος Ἐποχὴ* (Thessalonike, 1987), pp. 227-235; M. Merlino, *The Post-Byzantine Legal Tradition in Theory and Practice* (MA thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2004), especially, pp. 56-77, accessible at *http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0002537.pdf*.

[14] Ed. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 4, pp. 432-445.

[15] Ed. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 4, pp. 427-431.

[16] Ed. A. Pavlov, 'Kanonischeskije otvetj Nikitj mitropolita Iraklijskago (XI-XII veka) v ich pervonachal'nom vide i v pozdnejshej pererabotke Matfeja Vlastarja (XIV v.)', *VVr* 2 (1895), 160-176.

[17] Eds. A. Pavlov, 'Komu prinadlezhat kanoničeskije otvety, avtorom kotorich schitalsja Ioann episkop Kitrskij (XIII veka)?', *VVr* 1 (1894), 493-502; Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 5, pp. 403-420. Cf. J. Darrouzès, 'Les réponses canoniques de Jean de Kitros', *REB* 31 (1973), 319-334.

[18] Ed. E. Kaluźniacki, 'Λέξεις Λατινικαὶ in einer älteren bulgarisch-slovenischen Uebersetzung', *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 14 (1892), pp. 86-88.

[19] Ed. J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices* (Paris 1966), pp. 311-325.

[20] Unedited; see Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 115-117.

[21] Unedited; see Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 117-120.

[22] Ed. P. Paschos, 'Ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμνογραφικὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη', *Θεολογία*, vol. 51 (1980), pp. 108-145, 300-332, 462-489, 748-78; *Θεολογία*, vol. 52 (1981), 100-140, 255-285, 430-463; cf. idem, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 133-281.

[23] Unedited; see Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 99-101.

*Against the Jews* (Books I-V),[24] and works in defence of the Palamite views, including the *Dialogue with Barlaam*[25] and possibly a short discourse against Barlaam and Akindynos.[26] His major theological works are the *Refutation of the errors of the Latins*[27] and the epistolary discourse *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* addressed to Guy de Lusignan.[28]

General information on Blastares appears in encyclopaedias and dictionaries.[29] Among modern studies the most important is that by P. Paschos.[30] In this volume Paschos gives a biographical sketch of Blastares together with an edition of his hymns, preceded by a full inventory of Matthaios' published and unpublished works, accompanied by a summary of these texts and information on editions and manuscripts (which Paschos either examined or traced in published catalogues). More recently, Blastares' comments on sexuality, marriage and celibacy in his *Syntagma* were studied by Patrick D. Viscuso.[31] Subsequently, P. Paschos published a critical edition of Blastares' discourse *On the Divine Essence* or *On the Divine Light*, which sheds more light on Matthaios' views on the Palamite doctrine on the distinction between God's

[24] Partly unedited; see Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 84-87.

[25] Ed. P. Uspenskij, *Istorija Athona* III, *Athon Monaseskij* II (St Petersburg, 1892), pp. 821-825; see Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 104-106.

[26] Unedited; see Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 106-107.

[27] Edited below, pp. 269-462.

[28] Ed. Arsenij, Archimandrite, *Pis'mo Matfeja Vlastarja, ieromonacha Solunskago i pisatelja XIV věka, k princu Kirpskomu, Gju de Luzin'janu s obličeniem Latinskago nepravolmyslija* (Moscow, 1891), pp. 1-86.

[29] Including: A. Demetracopoulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλὰς* (Leipzig, 1872), pp. 70-71; L. Petit, 'Blastarès Matthieu', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1923), vol. 2, cols. 916-917; R. Janin, 'Blastarès (Matthieu)', *Dictionnaire d' Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1937), pp. 160-161; V. Grumel, 'Blastares Matthieu', *Catholicisme*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), pp. 84-85; S.G. Mercati, 'Blastares Matteo', *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Vatican City, 1949), vol. 2, col. 1717; H.G. Beck, 'Blastares, Mathaeus', *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1957), vol. 1, col. 1319; A. Ehrhard, 'Blastares, Matthaios', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 2, (Freiburg, 1958), p. 392; R. Janin, Matthaios Blastares, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1962), vol. 7, p. 173; J. Herman, 'Blastarès (Matthieu)', *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, vol. 2, pp. 920-925; P. Chrestou, 'Βλάσταρις Ματθαῖος', *ΘΗΕ* vol. 3 (Athens, 1963), cols. 928-930; W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg & O. Prinz, *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Alterums und des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1982), French trans. by J.D. Berger and J. Billen with introduction by J. Fontaine, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 131-132 and A. Kazhdan, 'Blastares, Matthew' *ODB* vol. 1, p. 295.

[30] Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, esp. pp. 37-129.

[31] Viscuso, *Sexuality*, based on his PhD thesis, *Byzantine Theology*, and his subsequent articles: 'A late Byzantine Theology of Cannon Law', *The Greek Othrhodox Theological Review* 34 (1989), 203-19; 'The Formation of Marriage in Late Byzantium', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 35 (1991), 309-25; 'Purity and Sexual Defilement in Late Byzantine Theology', *OCP* 57 (1991), 399-408; 'Menstruation: A Problem in Late Byzantine Cannon Law', *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*, n.s. 4 (1999), 116-125.

essence and energy.[32] More recently, Ioannis Polemis demonstrated that Blastares' discourse was a response to Gregory Akindynos' objections to Gregory Palamas' theories.[33]

The present study aims to contribute to a better understanding of Matthaios' theological thought through the edition and analysis of his lengthy *Refutation of the errors of the Latins*, the major part of which remains hitherto unpublished. Only the last chapters (**38**-**44.7**, **46**-**60**) are included in the collection of anti-Latin treatises edited by Dositheus Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς* (Jassi, 1694), pp. 441-56, while chapter [**49**] was edited by Leo Allatius, *In Roberti Creyghtoni apparatum, versionem & notas ad historiam concilii Florentini scriptam a Silvestro Syropulo de unione inter Graecos & Latinos, exercitationes, pars prima* (Rome, 1665), pp. 331-332. The present thesis includes the edition of the complete text, examines the circumstances of the composition of the treatise, analyses its structure and content, explores Blastares' argumentation in the light of earlier and contemporary Orthodox theological views and offers an evaluation of the treatise.

[32] P. Paschos 'Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης Περὶ τῆς Θείας Χάριτος ἢ Περὶ τοῦ Θείου Φωτός', in *Ἀντίδωρον τῷ Μητροπολίτῃ Μεσσηνίας Χρυσοστόμῳ Θέμελη*, vol. 2 (Kalamata, 2006), pp. 291-326. Cf. J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Palamas Transformed. Palamite Interpretations of the Distinction between God's 'Essence' and 'Energies' in Late Byzantium', in *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, pp. 280-282, esp. p. 282 n. 52.

[33] I. Polemis, 'Notes on two texts dealing with the Palamite controversy', *Realia Byzantina* (2009), 207-209.

## The *Refutation of the Errors of the Latins*

The text of the *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* in all MSS examined in the present edition is preceded by a short Preface [**1**], stating the aims and reasons for the composition of the treatise, namely to defend the doctrine in response to heretical teachings concerning doctrinal and other points, following the tradition of the Fathers and the Ecumenical Councils. Blastares does not mention the specific circumstances of the composition of his treatise, nor does he name any specific person/s to which this treatise is addressed. What is clear, however, is that this work was composed against both the Latins[34] and the Latinophiles.[35]

The method Blastares adopts in defending the Orthodox position is by presenting the Latin views on specific points, as crystallised in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, and then refuting them, usually point-by-point, through a series of scriptural and patristic citations, and through counter arguments and syllogisms based either on his own interpretation of these citations, or that of other theologians. Throughout the *Refutation* Matthaios cites numerous passages from the Old and the New Testament, Greek and early Latin Fathers (in Greek translation), including Gregory Thaumatourgos (*c.*213-*c.*270), John Chrysostom (349-*c.*407), Athanasios (295-373) and Cyril of Alexandria (412-444), Basil of Caesarea (333-379), Gregory of Nyssa (*c.*335-after 394), Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389), Pope Sylvester (314-335), Jerome (*c.*347-420), Augustine (354-430), Pope Damasus I (366-384), Ps.-Dionysios Areopagite (*c.*5th c.), Maximos the Confessor (*c.*580-662), John of Damascus (*c.*650-*c.*750), and Patriarch Photius (858-67, 877-86). Blastares is not always accurate in attributing works to certain patristic authors,[36] but this was not unusual in this period.[37] Nor does he always

[34] Cf. for example the phrases in Blastares, *Refutation of the Errors of the Latins* (henceforth: *Refutation*): ἡ λατινικὴ *ὀφρὺς* [**1**.16]; ὁ Ἰταλὸς ἀθετῶν [**22**.9]; τὸ νόθον καὶ ἐξάγιστον τῶν λατινικῶν μυσαττομένης δογμάτων [**49**.16-15]; Πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Ἰταλόν [**58**.6].

[35] Cf. *Refutation*: ὁ τῆς λατινικῆς κακοδοξίας μεταποιούμενος [**6**.40]; οἱ τὸ λατινικὸν ἐν αἰδοῖ τῇ μεγίστῃ μὴ αἰδούμενοι τίθεσθαι φρόνημα [**9**.1-2].

[36] For example, Matthaios attributes works by Maximos the Confessor and Ps.-Athanasios to Cyril of Alexandria [**2**.83-86, **6**.17-23], and by Athanasios of Alexandria to Basil of Caesarea [**53**.5-19]. Following the tradition, Blastares attributes Apollinarius of Laodikeia (or Didymus the Blind), *Adversus Eunomium*, Book V, to Basil of Caesarea [**4**.23-26].

[37] See Ch. Sabbatos, 'Ἀναφορὲς κατὰ τὸν ΙΓ' αἰῶνα στὸ Βυζάντιο γιὰ ἀλλοιώσεις ἔργων καὶ χωρίων τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Νύσσης', *Θεολογία* 66.1 (1995), 112-126.

acknowledge his debts to contemporary or earlier Byzantine authors.[38] In addition, Matthaios, himself a scholar of canon law, extensively quotes canons and conciliar acts, which he includes also in his *Syntagma*, and cites passages from works by the eminent canonist Theodore Balsamon. These quotations are usually short, though occasionally can be more extensive.[39]

The main body of the *Refutation* comprises sixty chapters [**1**-**60**], covering the main theological, ecclesiastical and liturgical issues of divergence between the two Churches. Blastares begins by discussing the most important theological issue, the *filioque* doctrine [**2-22**], concerning the hypostatic procession of the Holy Spirit, from the Father alone according to the Greek theologians, or from the Father and the Son according to the Latin doctors. This is followed by a discussion on the *azymes* (unleavened bread) used in the Eucharist by the Latins, and the *enzymos artos* (leavened bread) used by the Greeks [**23-37**]. The third section deals with a number of liturgical customs and practices, including fasting and baptism [**38-43**], while the fourth section discusses canonical issues [**44-59**]. Both these sections comprise extensive passages from Matthaios' *Syntagma*, quoted *verbatim*. The fourth section starts with a synoptic account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils [**44**] and a short appended theorem concerning calculations on the number 2000 with reference to theological symbolism and other connotations, including the number of the Fathers of the Ecumenical Councils [**45**]. What follows is a section which we could describe as a guide concerning relations between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic, Nestorian and Armenian Christians [**46-59**]. The treatise closes with an epilogue [**60**]. These themes are analysed separately below.[40]

[38] See below, pp. 47-52, 102-105, 109-111.

[39] References to patristic works, earlier and contemporary Byzantine theological texts (including other works by Blastares), Greek translations of Latin Fathers and references to Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* which are either cited (often without naming the author and/or the work) or alluded to by Blastares in support of his arguments in his *Refutation*, are included in the *apparatus fontium* et *locorum parallelorum* accompanying the edition of the text, below, pp. 269-462. However, Scriptural and patristic citations in the *Refutation* used by earlier and contemporary authors in ways which do not resemble Blastares' interpretation or argumentation in the *Refutation* are not included in the *apparatus*, as this might be misleading rather that helpful to the reader, in the sense that it would not identify with certainty Blastares' sources; see below, pp. 248-249.

[40] All translations of passages from Blastares treatise or other works are mine, unless otherwise stated.

## Preface [1]

Matthaios takes as a point of departure the 'current' (ἄρτι) condemnation of 'heretical doctrines' by the Church, alluding to the Council of Blachernae (1285), in which the Patriarch John Bekkos (*c.*1225-1297) was excommunicated on account of his adherence to the Latin doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit and his support for Emperor Michael VIII's unionist policy.[41] Though this is not explicitly stated by Matthaios in the Preface [**1**], further down in the treatise [**5.1**] he mentions the Council which condemned the heresy that shook the Church 'during almost our own generation, for eight years in all' [**5.1**.6-11]. This is confirmed by the heading of this section in codex *Monacensis gr*. 256 (under siglum **G**) (dated 1450/1), f. 174r, entitled 'The Synod against Bekkos'.[42] The reason for this crisis, the author says, is the attempt by the Latins to subvert 'the chief doctrines and customs of the Church' by introducing changes in the Creed and rejecting the holy canons [**1**.15-34]. The treatise, Matthaios stresses, aims at protecting those who are simple-minded (ἀφελεστέρων) from falling into heresy. For this reason, he continues, he 'studied to some extent writings of the God-inspired Fathers' and cited a selection of passages, especially with reference to the procession of the Holy Spirit, which he presents in accordance to their interpretation [**1**.34-47]. Matthaios closes his Preface by criticizing the 'word-chasers and babblers' (θυρολέκται καὶ σπερμολόγοι), who oppose the teachings of the Fathers, 'deliberate and express opinions on the rest of the ecclesiastical laws and customs', which have been ratified by the 'protectors of Orthodoxy' under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and attempt 'to overturn almost everything that characterizes a true Christian' (τὸν ἀληθῆ … χαρακτηρίζειν χριστιανόν) [**1**.47-56]. The strong tone in the Preface is indicative of Blastares' attitude towards his unnamed addressees.

[41] On this Council, see Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*.

[42] **5.1**.Tit. 'ἡ κ(α)τὰ τοῦ βέκου σύνοδος'; see below, p. 292 and Plate 30.

## The procession of the Holy Spirit [2-22]

### *The Monarchy of the Father* [2-3]

Following his short Preface, Matthaios proceeds with presenting the Orthodox position regarding the focal doctrinal point of divergence between the two Churches, the addition by the Latins of the *filioque* clause to the Creed [**2**]. He begins by defending the Orthodox doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone on the basis of patristic citations from Athanasius of Alexandria (and Ps.-Athanasius), which explicitly state that the Spirit proceeds (*ἐκπορεύεται … ἐκπεπόρευται … ἐκπόρευμα ὂν … ἐκπορευτῶς*) from the Father (in the sense that it emanates hypostatically from the Father), that *It is of the Son's own* (*τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἴδιον ὅν*) and *It is always in the hands* (*ἀεί ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ*) *of the Father Who sends it forth* (*πέμποντος*) *and of the Son Who brings It forth* (*φέροντος*) [**2**.1-19].[43] With reference to the well-known dictum by (Ps.-) Basil of Caesarea,[44] *what is common between the Father and the Son is common also to the Spirit*, which emphasizes the consubstantiality of the three Persons, Matthaios puts forward the following argument to refute the Latin doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son: if the procession is not a unique hypostatic property of the Father but is shared by the Father and the Son within their common essence/nature, then the Spirit who shares the same essence/nature would also share the procession. If so, the Spirit would project another Person, and the projected Person would project yet another Person, and so forth, *ad infinitum,* which goes counter to the doctrine of the monarchy of the Father —namely that the Father is the only source in the Godhead—, thus leading to polytheism [**2**.22-32].

Matthaios continues citing a number of passages from Basil of Caesarea, placing emphasis on the latter's view that '*the Son is not in communion* (*μηδεμίαν ἔχειν … κοινωνίαν*) *either with the Father or the Holy Spirit in terms of personal properties* (*κατὰ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων*), which stresses the distinction of the three Persons through

[43] Following Ph. Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West* (London, 1959), p. 63 n. 1, with reference to the third Person in the Holy Trinity, I have employed the neuter as in the Greek word *Πνεῦμα*.

[44] In reality either Didymus the Blind or, most probably, Apollinarius of Laodikeia, according to F.X. Risch, *Pseudo-Basilius: Adversus Eunomium IV- V. Einleitung, Ubersetzung und Kommentar,* Supplement to Vigiliae Christianae, XVI (Leiden, 1992); and Th. Böhm, 'Basil of Caesarea, Adversus Eunomium I-III and Ps.Basil, Adversus Eunomium IV-V', *SP* 37 (2001), 20-26.

their unique hypostatic properties. On this basis Matthaios refutes the Latin doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son as emanating from one principle (μίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρόοδον καὶ ἐκπόρευσιν) rather than from two separate principles —as taught by Thomas Aquinas[45] and declared at the Second Council of Lyons[46]— for, according to Matthaios, this introduces the coalescence (συναλοιφὴν) of the hypostases of the Father and the Son [**2**.51-58].

Matthaios supports his position by citing further passages, this time not only from Greek Fathers (Gregory of Nazianzus, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximos the Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa) but also from Pope Sylvester and Augustine (in Greek translation by an as yet unidentified translator), all of whom explicitly state that the projected Spirit exists from the unbegotten Father through procession (*ἐκπορευόμενον … ἐκπορευτῶς*) while the begotten Son exists from the unbegotten Father through generation (*γεννηθέντος … γεννητῶς*) [**2**.59-98]. Finally, Matthaios cites a passage from the opening speech address to the Fourth Ecumenical Council confirming the divinity of the Spirit (*à propos* of the condemnation of the Arian teachings concerning the Son and the Spirit) and decreeing once more that the Spirit proceeds from the Father [**3**].

***The Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son* [4-5.1]**

Blastares' introduction to the Orthodox teachings concerning the distinction of the hypostatic properties of the consubstantial Persons with reference to the procession of the Holy Spirit [**2-3**] is followed by a section devoted to the interpretation by Latin theologians of Scriptural and further patristic sayings in defence of the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit [**4**]. Matthaios first examines sayings concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father *through the Son*, which are found in works by Gregory of Nyssa (and not Gregory Thaumatourgos as Matthaios wrongly states), Ps.-Athanasius, Athanasius of Alexandria and Basil of Caesarea, all of which state that the Spirit *has Its being* (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον), *emanates* (προοδικῶς ὂν), or

[45] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 1a. 36, 4.

[46] Concilium Lugdunense II, *Constitutio II, De summa Trinitate et de fide catholica*, 1: 'Fideli ac devota professione fatemur, quod Spiritus Sanctus aeternaliter ex Patre et Filio, non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno principio, non duabus spirationibus, sed unica spiratione procedit', ed. G. Alberigo et al., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (Bologna, 1991), p. 314.9-11.

*proceeds* (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) from the Father, while It *shines forth* (ἐκλάμπει), is *manifested* (πεφηνός), *made known* (γνωρίζων), *granted* (χορηγούμενον), *eternally sent forth* (ἀϊδίως ἐκπεμφθέντος), *sent forth* (πεμπόμενον, ἀποστέλλεται), and *given* (διδόμενον, δίδοται) *through* the Son (*διὰ* τοῦ Υἱοῦ). Blastares also cites Gregory of Nyssa who describes the consubstantiality of the Persons in the Trinity by means of allusion to the sun, the source of the ray and the light [**4**.49-56] (which he also uses further down [**5.**33-41]). Interestingly, Matthaios uses Athanasios' *dictum* (*Ad Serapionem*, I, 20) with reference to the single divine energy[47] (Blastares uses this term a number of times in his treatise, without mentioning the debate on this between Palamas and Barlaam the Calabrian)[48]:

> *The Spirit, Which is given and sent forth by the Son, is one and not many … for, since there is a single living Logos, there ought to be a single perfect and complete (μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη) sanctifying, illuminating and living energy (τὴν ἁγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν καὶ ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν) and gift of His [i.e., of the Logos], which is said to proceed from the Father, because it shines forth, is sent forth and is given by the Logos Who is confessed from the Father* [**4**.16-22].

Matthaios closes this passage making special reference to Gregory of Nyssa's *dictum*:

> *While we confess the invariable character of the nature, we do not deny the difference in respect of cause, and that which is caused, by which alone we apprehend that one Person is distinguished from another; by our belief, that is, that one is the Cause and another is of the Cause; and again in that which is of the Cause we recognize another distinction. For one is directly from the first Cause (τὸ μὲν … προσεχῶς ἐκ πρώτου), and another through that which is directly from the first Cause (τὸ δέ, διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου)* [**4**.57-63].[49]

This passage, according to Blastares, describes the modes of being of the uncaused Father and the caused Son and Spirit: the Son exists directly (προσεχῶς) from the Father (the first Cause), while the Spirit exists *through* the Person which exists directly

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[47] On the use of Athanasius's *dictum* by Byzantine theologians in this period, see D. Makarov, 'The Holy Spirit as Life and Energy. The Treatment of Athanasius *Ad Serapionem* I, 20-21 in the Late Thirteenth Century and its Implications for the Hesychast Controversy' *B* 80 (2010), 197-246.

[48] Cf. *Refutation* [**5**.64-67], [**8**.54-74], [**9**.33-59], [**15**-**16**.31-45], and [**37**].

[49] Gregory of Nyssa, *On 'not three Gods' to Ablabius*, trans. by W. Moore and H.A. Wilson, *Gregory of Nyssa Dogmatic Treatises*, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series*, eds. P. Schaff and H. Wace, vol. 5 (New York, 1917), p. 336.

from the first Cause (the Father), that is the Son. Matthaios supports his interpretation by presenting Cyril of Alexandria's citations concerning the procession (*ἐκπορεύεται*) of the Spirit from the Father, Its being granted to the creation (*χορηγεῖται τῇ κτίσει*), and Its pouring forth naturally *through the Son* (*δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον φυσικῶς*) [**4.1**.1-5], repeating Cyril's statement that the Spirit is of the Son's own (ἴδιον),[50] at the same time stressing the consubstantiality of the three Persons [**4.1**.6-14].

Discussing the interpretation of the dictum *the Spirit through the Son*, Matthaios criticizes the Latin theologians for failing to correctly interpret the Greek Fathers, who make a clear distinction between the *hypostatic emanation*, *being*, *existence* or *procession* of the Spirit *from* the Father on the one hand and the *manifestation, granting, sending forth* etc. of the Spirit to man and the creation *through* the Son on the other [**5**]. As a result, Matthaios states, the Latins 'claim that the Father is the cause of the hypostasis of the Spirit in no other way than through the Son. Hence, they teach that the Son is a concurrent cause (συναίτιον), together with the Father, of the procession of the Spirit'. In this section Blastares expounds on the interpretation of the different terms used in patristic works to denote, according to the Orthodox theologians, the eternal hypostatic emanation of the Spirit on the one hand and the temporal manifestation of the Spirit on the other:

> However, it is clear from the sayings we presented above, that no one among the famous theologians ever thought of saying that the Spirit has Its being (ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν) through the Son, but <they say> that <the Spirit> proceeds (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) from the Father, while <the terms> *beyond time, shines forth*, *exists*, is *manifested*, is *revealed*, *emanates*, *becomes known*, is *given* (προαιωνίως, ἐκλάμπειν, ὑπάρχειν, φανεροῦσθαι, πεφηνέναι, προϊέναι, γνωρίζεσθαι, δίδοσθαι) and all the rest present simply <Its> manifestation (φανέρωσιν) through the Son and not <Its> existence (οὐχ ὕπαρξιν) [**5**.4-11].

At this point Blastares introduces in his argument the Aristotelian category of πρός τι, namely things which exist 'with relation to something', with reference to Gregory of

[50] On this see A. Louth, 'The Use of the Term *ἴδιος* in Alexandrian Theology from Alexander to Cyril', *SP* XIX (1989), 198-202.

Nyssa's aforementioned *dictum* [**4**.57-63], in an attempt to explain the relations of the three Persons in the Trinity in terms of causation:

> Because the theologians state that <the Father> is Father and projector (Πατὴρ ... καὶ προβολεύς), <the Son> is Son and Word (Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος), and <the Spirit> is Spirit and projection (Πνεῦμα καὶ πρόβλημα), these very names are said to be 'with relation to something' (τῶν πρός τι); and those who are 'with relation to something' necessarily contribute to each other (συνεισφέρειν ἄλληλα) in the same way that they seize to exist together (ὥς γε δὴ καὶ συναναιρεῖν); the Son, in so far as He is Son, <Gregory of Nyssa> said 'the Son *directly from the first Cause*' inasmuch as <the Son> is immediately introduced together (ἀμέσως … συνεισαγόμενον) with the Father; insofar as <the Son> is Word, He is perceived (συνεπινοούμενον) at once as possessing (εὐθὺς κεκτημένον) the Spirit, <Gregory of Nyssa> states *through Him* (*δι' αὐτοῦ*) and *together with Him* (*μετ' αὐτοῦ*) as he said elsewhere; and <the Spirit> is also perceived along with <the Son> (ἅμα αὐτῷ), and this in terms of procession (ἐκπορευτῶς) just as <the Son is perceived> in terms of generation, declaring to have Its being (τὴν ὕπαρξιν αὐχοῦν) *from the first Cause* [i.e., the Father] indeed directly (προσεχῶς), and this on account of the necessity governing those things which exist 'with relation to something' (τῶν πρός τι), these names, I suppose, changing (τῶν ὀνομάτων … μεταπεσόντων δήπουθεν) [from 'Father' and 'Spirit'] into 'the projector' (τὸν προβολέα) and 'the projection' (τὸ πρόβλημα), as the theologian teaches, for *He* [i.e., the Father] *is the begetter and the projector, while between the other two <Persons>, the one* [i.e., Son] *is the begotten* (*γέννημα*) *and the other* [i.e., Spirit] *is the projection* (*πρόβλημα*) [**5.**20-33].

In other words, the names Father/begetter/projector, Son/begotten and Spirit/projection refer to, and define, the relation of the three hypostases in terms of causation. Blastares continues to analyse further his argument in the light of the distinction between the eternal emanation of the Spirit and Its temporal manifestation:

> Therefore, where <Gregory of Nyssa> stated *from the first Cause* with reference to the Son and the Spirit, he renders the meaning of the cause, that is along with the particular way of existence (ὑπάρξεως) of each one of the two, even though this is not clearly stated due to the limitations of the expression. Where, on the other hand, he and other theologians state *the Spirit through the Son* (*διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ το Πνεῦμα*) this refers to the shining forth (ἔκλαμψιν) and manifestation

(φανέρωσιν) and all similar things which are said for *the Spirit through the Son*, and not as having Its existence and being (ὑφεστάναι καὶ τὸ εἶναι) through the Son – God forbid such an absurd and erroneous thought! [**5.**33-41].

In order to describe the way that the Spirit emanates hypostatically *through* (and not *from*) the Son, Blastares uses once more the simile of the sun, the light and the ray (cf. above [**4**.16-22]):

> Therefore, the life-giving (ζωαρχικὸν) and supranatural (ὑπερούσιον) Spirit, *proceeds from the Father* ineffably (ἀρρήτως), according to the Saviour's dictum [i.e., John 15:26], from Whom [i.e., the Father] It has the existence and cause of Its hypostasis (τὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τῆς ὑποστάσεως), at the same time with the begetting of the Son beyond time and comprehension (ἀχρόνως καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν). However, It emanates (πρόεισι) both naturally and beyond time (φυσικῶς τε καὶ προαιωνίως) through the Son, exactly as the light through the ray. For none of these two was brought into existence from the other towards substantification (πρὸς οὐσίωσιν ὕπαρξις), but they are the source and the cause of being, since both of them enrich the sun, which is their natural principle. We use examples from the sensible world and not from the images of those below [i.e., compound created beings], daring to perceive what is incomprehensible (ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν), but enjoying only very little of what we can contemplate in order to acquire a faint understanding of the invisible [**5.**41-52].

On the same lines Matthaios cites similar passages containing allusions to the sun, its ray and light with reference to the three hypostases, to stress both their consubstantiality and their personal distinction, by citing once more Gregory of Nyssa [**5**.55-58] and, more importantly, Ps.-John Chrysostom [**5**.65-69], who explicitly states that the term *sending* and similar ones with reference to the Spirit do not refer to the *divinity of the Spirit*, *for the divinity is not sent*, *but these are names which denote the energy* [**5**.64-67]. It is clear, therefore, Matthaios argues, that the phrase the *Spirit through the Son* is stated by the Fathers not to introduce division between the Son and the Spirit but rather to stress the fact that the two Persons are *inseparable and undivided* (ἀχώριστον, καὶ ἀδιάστατον), nor to attribute the procession of the Spirit also to the Son by using the preposition *through* (διὰ) instead of *from* (ἐκ), thus depriving the Father from *being the only cause and the only source of the divinity* (Ps.-Dionysius the

Areopagite, *On the Divine Names*). The preposition *through* is used instead of *from* in the Scripture, Matthaios continues, solely with reference to the creation, denoting the principal and creating cause, as in the case of Athanasius of Alexandria's distinction between the phrase *I created man through God* instead of *from God* [**5**.71-89].

Matthaios closes this section by summarising the Orthodox views:

> If one understands the *through the Son* (*διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*) to be interchangeable with the *from the Son* (*ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*) with reference to the procession of the Holy Spirit, how is it possible not to condemn himself, by placing the all-accomplishing power of the Holy Spirit among the created beings? Therefore, whenever the <preposition> *through* is used by the holy Fathers, an orthodox mind should properly perceive that the Spirit proceeds *only from the Father* as He is Its cause — for the way It has Its being (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν) [i.e., through procession], clearly points to the one [i.e. the Father] from Whom It has Its being (ὕπαρξις)—, while at the same time It comes forth, is manifested, given (προέρχεσθαι καὶ πεφηνέναι καὶ δίδοσθαι) and all similar terms mentioned above, *through the Son* [**5**.89-97].

What follows is a brief section where Matthaios expresses his strong criticism of the interchangeable use of the phrases *through the Son* and *from the Son* by the Latins in their attempt to prove that the Spirit has its being (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν) from the Father and the Son, despite the different use of these prepositions by the Fathers with reference to the Son and the Spirit, as mentioned above [**5.1**]. What makes this section of particular importance is Matthaios' reference to the Synod of Blachernae (1285) against Patriarch John Bekkos (see above, p. 22), which, according to Blastares, succeeded in saving the Church from 'sinking … with the Orthodox faith acting as a secure anchor'.[51] This period of turmoil, Blastares continues, was followed by peace (γαλήνη) in what concerns the Orthodox doctrines (ὀρθῶν δογμάτων), through 'the common and irrefutable decree' (κοινόν ἀξίωμα … καὶ ἀναντίρρητον) of the Council, that 'the Holy Spirit has the cause of Its existence (ὑπάρξεως) solely (μόνως) from the Father, though sometimes it occurred to the doctors of theology (τοῖς ἐπὶ θεολογίᾳ βεβοημένοις) to also state that It exists or It proceeds (ὑπάρχειν ἢ ἐκπορεύεσθαι) through the Son'.

[51] *Refutation* [**5.1.**10-11]: … καταδύσαι δέ, οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένετο, τῆς ἱερᾶς τῆς πίστεως ἀσφαλῶς ἐχομένην ἀγκύρας.

***The Spirit proceeds from the Father alone* [6]**

In order to substantiate the doctrine of the 'monarchy' of the Father, Matthaios cites a number of well-known passages from Ps.-Dionysius, Ps.-Basil, Ps.-Athanasius (under the name of Cyril of Alexandria) and John of Damascus where the term μόνος ('only', 'solely') is used with reference to the hypostatic emanation of the Son and the Spirit from the Father alone [**6**.1-23]. Blastares further supports the Orthodox position by citing also Latin Fathers. He starts with Augustine:

> Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Αὐγουστῖνος, ἐν βιβλίῳ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος· *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κυρίως ἐκπορεύεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός*. Καὶ μετά τινα *ὁ Πατὴρ μόνος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ἄλλου· διατοῦτο μόνος προσαγορεύεται ἀγέννητος· ὁ Υἱὸς δέ, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγέννηται· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς κυρίως ἐκπορεύεται* [**6**.23-28].
>
> Saint Augustine, in the fifteenth book on the Holy Trinity <states>, *the Holy Spirit principally proceeds from the Father*. And further down, *the Father alone is not from another, and therefore He alone is called unbegotten, while the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father principally*.

Augustine's complete text is given below (the phrases which correspond to those cited in translation by Blastares are underlined):

| **Augustine, *De Trinitate*** | **Trans. by P. Schaff** |
|---|---|
| [XV. xvii.29] Et tamen non frustra in hac trinitate non dicitur verbum dei nisi filius, nec donum dei nisi spiritus sanctus, nec de quo genitum est verbum et de quo procedit principaliter spiritus sanctus nisi deus pater. Ideo autem addidi, principaliter, quia et de filio spiritus sanctus procedere reperitur.[52] | And yet it is not to no purpose that in this Trinity the Son and none other is called the Word of God, and the Holy Spirit and none other the Gift of God, and God the Father alone is He from whom the Word is born, and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds. And therefore I have added the word principally, because we find that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son also.[54] |
| [XV. xxvi.47] Pater enim solus non est de alio, ideo solus appellatur ingenitus non | For the Father alone is not from another, and therefore He alone is called unbegotten, not |

[52] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XV, xvii. 29, eds. W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie, *Aurelii Augustini, De Trinitate libri XV*, vol. II, CCSL 50A (Turnhout, 1968), p. 503.54-58.

[54] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, trans. by A.W. Haddan and W.G.D. Shedd, *St Augustin, On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises*, in *Select Library*, Ser. I, vol. 3 (New York, 1956), p. 216.

quidem in scripturis, sed in consuetudine disputantium, et de re tanta sermonem qualem valuerint proferentium. Filius autem de patre natus est, et spiritus sanctus de patre principaliter, et ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit.[53]

indeed in the Scriptures, but in the usage of disputants, who employ such language as they can on so great a subject. And the Son is begotten from the Father; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father principally, the Father giving the procession without any interval of time, yet in common from both [i.e., Father and Son].[55]

It is clear that the (underlined) phrases concerning the procession of the Spirit from the Father used by Blastares were isolated by omitting the rest of the original text, thus placing them out of their context. In this way Augustine's expressed view on the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son is distorted and used in defence of the Orthodox position. The question is raised whether Blastares was responsible for this. So far there is no evidence to suggest that Matthaios knew Latin, in which case he might have translated and manipulated these passages himself. The possibility that Blastares selectively used Maximos Planoudes' (*c.*1255-1305)[56] translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate* should be ruled out, as it not only differs in the rendering of the original Latin text in both cases (translating *principaliter* as *ἀρχοειδῶς* and *ἀρχικῶς*, respectively, and not *κυρίως* as in the Blastares version) but it also renders the full text without any omissions:

**Augustine, *De Trinitate***

[XV. xvii.29] Et tamen non frustra in hac trinitate non dicitur verbum dei nisi filius, nec donum dei nisi spiritus sanctus, nec de quo genitum est verbum et de quo procedit principaliter spiritus sanctus nisi deus pater. Ideo autem addidi, principaliter, quia et de filio spiritus sanctus procedere reperitur.[57]

**Trans. by Maximos Planoudes**

Καὶ μέντοι οὐ μάτην ἐν τῇδε τῇ Τριάδι οὐ λέγεται λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ δῶρον Θεοῦ εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐδὲ ἐξ οὗ ἐγεννήθει ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐκπορεύεται ἀρχοειδῶς τὸ Πνεύμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς Πατήρ. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ προστέθεικα, ἀρχοειδῶς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ [τοῦ Θεοῦ] τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εὑρίσκεται ἐκπορευόμενον.[58]

[53] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XV, xxvi. 47, pp. 528.110-529.115.

[55] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, trans. Haddan and Shedd, p. 225.

[56] On Planoudes see C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Nicosia, 1982), p. 42.

[57] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XV, xvii. 29, p. 503.54-58.

[58] Eds. M. Papathomopoulos, I. Tsavari & G. Rigotti, *Αὐγουστίνου, Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1995), ιζ′, 29, p. 933.59-64.

[XV. xxvi.47] Pater enim solus non est de alio, ideo solus appellatur ingenitus non quidem in scripturis, sed in consuetudine disputantium, et de re tanta sermonem qualem valuerint proferentium. Filius autem de patre natus est, et spiritus sanctus de patre principaliter, et ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit.[59]

Ὁ Πατὴρ γὰρ μόνος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ἑτέρου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μόνος ἀγέννητος προσηγόρευται, οὔκουν ἐν ταῖς Γραφαῖς ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τῶν διαλεγομένων καὶ περὶ τηλικούτου πράγματος λόγον ὁποῖον ἂν δύναιντο προσφερόντων. Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐγεννήθη, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀρχικῶς, καὶ αὐτοῦ δίχα τινὸς διαστήματος χρόνου <διδόντος>, κοινῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πρόεισιν.[60]

The only other Byzantine author who, to the best of our knowledge, refers to these two Augustinian passages is Barlaam the Calabrian (*c*.1290-1348). In his *Syntagma* (45), he renders the original *principaliter* with *κυρίως* καὶ *ἰδίως*, instead of Planoudes' *ἀρχοειδῶς* and *ἀρχικῶς*:

> Καὶ ὁ ἅγιος δὲ Αὐγουστῖνος, ἐν βίβλῳ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ *Περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον *κυρίως* καὶ *ἰδίως* φησὶν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεσθαι.[61]

It is possible that Barlaam's versions of these two terms were borrowed from a hitherto unknown translation of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, Book I, Distinction XII, where he comments on Augustine's aforementioned dictum:

**Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I, XII, II (40)**

**2. Quod Augustinus dicit spiritum sanctum principaliter procedere a Patre.** Augustinus tamen in XV libro *De Trinitate* dicit quod Spiritus Sanctus principaliter procedit de Patre. «Non frustra, inquit, in hac Trinitate non dicitur Verbum Dei nisi Filius, nec Donum Dei nisi Spiritus Sanctus, nec de quo genitum est Verbum, et de quo procedit principaliter Spiritus Sanctus, nisi Deus Pater». Ecce audisti quia Spiritus Sanctus principaliter procedit a Patre.

**Trans. by G. Silano**

**2. That Augustine says that the Holy Spirit proceedes principally from the Father.** Nevertheless Augustine in *On the Trinity*, book 15, says that the Holy Spirit proceeds principally from the Father: 'but is not without reason that in this Trinity none but the Son is called the Word of God and none but the Holy Spirit [is called] Gift of God, and none but God the Father alone is the one from whom the Word is generated and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds'. See how you have heard that the Holy Spirit principally proceeds

[59] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XV, xxvi. 47, pp. 528.110-529.115.

[60] Eds. Papathomopoulos et al., *Αὐγουστίνου, Περί Τριαδος*, κστ', 47, p. 981.113-119.

[61] Barlaam the Calabrian, *Syntagma* 45, ed. A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro opere contro i latini*, ST 348 (Vatican City, 1998), p. 664. See also A. Fyrigos, 'Quando Barlaam Calabro conobbe il Concilio di Lione II (1274)?', *RSBN* 17-19 (1980-82), 253-254, n. 23.

from the Father.

**3. Ex quo sensu dixerit principaliter a Patre.** Sed ne te hoc turbaret, ipse continuo ex quo sensu dixerit, aperit subdens: «Ideo addidi 'principaliter', quia et de Filio Spiritus Sanctus procedere reperitur; sed hoc quoque illi Pater dedit: non iam existenti et nondum habenti, sed quidquid unigento Verbo dedit, gignendo dedit. Sic ergo eum genuit, ut etiam de illo Donum commune procederet, et Spiritus Sanctus spirtus esset amborum». Ecce exposuit ipsemet quomodo Spiritus Sanctus principaliter procedat a Patre: non quia prius vel magis procedat a Patre quam a Filio, sed quia cum procedat a Filio, hoc ipsum habet Filius a Patre.[62]

**3. In what sense he said that the Holy Spirit proceeds principally from the Father.** But lest this should trouble you, he immediately makes clear in what sense he said this adding: "I added 'principally', for this reason: because we find that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son: but this too the Father gave to the Son, not as to one who already existed, and did not yet have this. But whatever he gave to the only-begotten Word, he gave it in the begetting. He so generated him that the common Gift should also proceed from him, and the Holy Spirit should be the spirit of both." —See how he himself explained how the Holy Spirit proceeds principally from the Father: not because he proceeds earlier or to a greater extent from the Father than from the Son, but that, as he proceeds from the Son, this too the Son has from the Father.[63]

Next Blastares cites Ps.-Jerome's *Letter 16, To Damasus* (*Explanatio fidei ad Damasum*)[64] — in reality Ps.-Jerome's *Letter 17, To Cyril*—[65], *à propos* of the term *ἰδίως*, used also by Barlaam, with reference to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father:

> Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Ἱερώνυμος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δάμασον ἐπιστολῇ, τὸ ἅγιον ἐκτιθέμενος σύμβολον, <u>πιστεύομεν</u> φησὶ <u>καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἰδίως</u> [**6**.28-31].
>
> Jerome: <u>*Credimus*</u> in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, omnium visibilium et invisibilium Creatorem: et in unum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium ejus, natum de substantia Dei Patris, quod Graece dicitur ὁμοούσιον, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, natum, non factum, sicut haeretici dicunt: per quem omnia visibilia, et invisibilia facta sunt, jam in coelis quam in terra: qui propter nos homines et nostram salutem incarnatus, homo factus, passus, resurrexit tertia die, ascendit in coelos, venturus inde judicare vivos

[62] Eds. P.P. Golegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas, *Magistri Petri Lombardi, Parisiensis Episcopi, Sententiae in IV Libris distinctae*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum IV (Grottaferrata, 1971), pp. 118-119.

[63] Trans. G. Silano, *Peter Lombard, The Sentences. Book 1: the Mystery of the Trinity*, MST 42 (Toronto, 2007), pp. 66-67.

[64] CPL 633; PL 30, col. 181D-182A.

[65] CPL 633; cf. CPL 1746, *Commentarius alter in Symbolum Nicaenum siue potius Tomum Damasi papae*.

et mortuos: *et in Spiritum sanctum, qui de Patre processit proprie* (PL 30, col. 182.13-25).

Once more Blastares cites an isolated passage concerning the procession of the Spirit from the Father omitting the rest of the text. It is perhaps not coincidental that Jerome's saying is contained in the same work by Peter Lombard mentioned above (*Sententiae*, Book I, Dist. XII, ch. II, § 4), immediately following his commentary on Augustine's *dictum* involving the term *principaliter* with reference to the procession of the Spirit from the Father:

| **Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I, XII. II (40)** | **Trans. by G. Silano** |
|---|---|
| **4. Ex eodem sensu dicitur Spiritus Sanctus proprie procedere a Patre.** Ex eodem sensu etiam dicitur proprie procedere de Patre. Unde Hieronymus in *Expositione catholicae fidei Nicaenique Symboli* ait: «Credimus in Spiritum Sanctum, qui de Patre procedit proprie». Item: «Spiritum Sanctum verum Deum invenimus in Scriptura, et de Patre proprie esse». Et item: «De Patre Filius, et Spiritus proprie et vere de Patre procedit». Ecce aperte dicit Spiritum Sanctum proprie esse de Patre et proprie procedere a Patre. —Quod non ita est intelligendum, tanquam prius vel plenius a Patre procedat quam a Filio, sed quia hoc habet Pater a se, non ab alio, ut de ipso sit et procedat Spiritus Sanctus; Filius autem non a se, sed a Patre hoc habet, ut de ipso sit et procedat Spiritus Sanctus.[66] | **4. In the same sense, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed properly from the Father.** In the same sense the Spirit is also said to proceed properly from the Father. Hence Jerome, in the *Exposition of the Catholic Faith* and the Nicene Creed, says: "We believe in the Holy Spirit, who properly proceeds from the Father." Also: "We find in Scripture that the Holy Spirit is True God and properly from the Father." And also: "The Son proceeds from the Father, and the Holy Spirit properly and truly from the Father." See how he plainly says that the Holy Spirit properly is from the Father and properly proceeds from the Father. —But this is not to be understood, as if the Holy Spirit proceeded earlier or more fully from the Father than from the Son, but in the sense that the Father has this from himself and not from another, namely that the Holy Spirit be and proceed; but the Son has this not from himself, but from the Father, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from him.[67] |

It is not implausible, therefore, that Blastares, or indeed his source/s, knew Lombard's work in translation.[68]

[66] *Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, pp. 118-19.

[67] Trans. Silano, *Peter Lombard*, p. 67.

[68] No such translation has yet been discovered: cf. the list of Latin Fathers translated in Greek by Byzantine authors in J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Latin Philosophical Works translated into Greek', in *The*

Blastares then proceeds with a citation concerning the procession of the Spirit from the Father alone, which he attributes to a work *On the Holy Trinity* by an unspecified 'St Neilus' (ὁ … ἐν ἁγίοις Νεῖλος):

> *... ἡ ἁγία φησὶ καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, τὸν μὲν Πατέρα δογματίζει ἀγέννητον· τὸν Υἱὸν γεννητὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός· τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκπορευτὸν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ.* Καὶ μετά τινα· *εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκ μόνου πρόεισι τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐ γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς* [**6**.32-37].
>
> *The holy and catholic Church holds as a doctrine that the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten from the Father and that the Holy Spirit is projected from the Father alone, but not also from the Son.* And further down, *For if also the Holy Spirit comes forth from the Father alone,* <this is> *not by generation but by projection.*

So far, the author of this passage has not been identified. It is not found in the extant published works of St Neilos of Sinai (fl. *c.*400) or St Neilos of Rossano (*c.*905-1005). Neilos Kavasilas (†1363), a contemporary of Blastares, should also be ruled out as he was never officially canonised[69] and in addition he ante-dates the only Byzantine author that quotes this passage *verbatim*, namely Michael Psellos (*c.*1018-1096) in his *Omnifaria doctrina* (10), where he cites (without mentioning the source) a more extensive section of this text (in combination with John of Damascus, *Exposition of the faith*, Book 8), concerning the hypostatic attributes which define 'ways of being' in the Godhead and do not express 'difference in essence, or rank' among the hypostases.[70]

Blastares concludes this section by citing a number of passages from John of Damascus's *Exposition of the faith* to further support the view that the Spirit proceeds

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*Cambridge History of Medeval Philosophy*, eds. R. Pasnau and Ch. van Dyke, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 822-826.

[69] Though Sylvester Syropoulos, refers to Neilos as 'Saint' with relation to the latter's treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*: ed. V. Laurent, *Les «Mémoires» du grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos, sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)*, Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores, ser. B, 9 (Rome, 1971), III, 10, p. 170.16 with n. 4; IV, 21, p. 318.1.

[70] Ed. L.G. Westerink, *Michael Psellus, De omnifaria doctrina* (Nijmegen, 1948), § 10.2-11, pp. 20-21*: Ἡ ἁγία καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία τὸν μὲν πατέρα δογματίζει ἀγέννητον, τὸν υἱὸν γεννητὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκπορευτὸν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ.* ὀνομάζει δὲ τὸν υἱὸν λόγον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀπαύγασμα διὰ τὸ ἄνευ συνδιασμοῦ ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀρρεύστως καὶ ἀχωρίστως γεγεννῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρός· υἱὸν δὲ καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως διὰ τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἐνυπόστατον καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι πλὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας· μονογενῆ δέ, ὅτι μόνος ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγεννήθη. *εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρός ἐκπορεύεται, ἀλλ' οὐ γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς (my italics).*

(ἐκπορευόμενον), in the sense of the eternal emanation of Its being, only from the Father, the projector of the revealing Spirit (προβολέα … τοῦ ἐκφαντορικοῦ Πνεύματος), the only cause in the Trinity (μόνον αἴτιον ἐν τῇ Τριάδι), while It is communicated to, and partaken of, by all creation (μεταδιδόμενον καὶ μεταλαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως) through the Son (δι' Υἱοῦ).[71] Once more Matthaios uses the simile of the ray/Son through Whom the source of light, namely the sun/Father, imparts the radiance/Spirit [**6**.79-83], his argumentation thus coming full circle.

***The Spirit is from the Son* [7]**

Matthaios then moves on to explain in what way one should interpret patristic sayings stating that '*the Spirit* is *from the Son*' (τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ). These sayings, he maintains, do not refer to the hypostatic emanation of the Spirit but they stress that the Spirit is not a created being but consubstantial with the Father and the Son [**7**]. Using solely passages from Ps.-Athanasius, *Symbolum 'quiqumque'* (a section of which in reality belongs to Marcellus of Ankyra), *Questiones aliae* and *Syntagma ad quondam politicum*, Matthaios concludes:

> The statement that *the projection* is *of the Father* (*ἐκπόρευμα εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς*) and that the Holy *Spirit is of the Son*, are made because they are equivocal (καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν). For if the procession is stated in the Holy Scripture with reference to the substantiation (οὐσιώσεως) of the Spirit *par excellence* (ταμάλιστα), this does not refer simply to the procession but <to the procession> from the Father. Because, the name *Father* alone manifests the generative principle (γόνιμον ἀρχὴν) and cause (αἰτίαν) of the divinity, insofar it is called the *originating source of the Godhead* (*πηγαία θεότης*), while the <phrase> *from the Son* (*ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*), is not found to declare the existence (ὕπαρξιν), but the sending forth (πρόεσιν), manifestation (ἔκφανσιν), shining forth (ἔκλαμψιν), and all aforementioned words. For these reasons the Holy Spirit alone truly proceeds from the one and only Father (ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ … τοῦ μόνου Πατρὸς) [**7**.29-38].

[71] See Ch. Sabbatos, 'Συζητήσεις στὸ ΙΓ' αἰῶνα γιὰ τὴν γνησιότητα τῆς φράσης τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ «καὶ προβολεὺς διὰ λόγου τοῦ ἐκφαντορικοῦ Πνεύματος', *Θεολογία* 68 (1997), 197-211.

### *Cyril of Alexandria's dictum that* the Spirit exists from the Son essentially [8]

One of the arguments put forward by the Latins in defence of the *filioque* was the explicit statement by Cyril of Alexandria that the Holy Spirit *exists* (*ὑπάρχειν*) from the Son *essentially* (*οὐσιωδῶς*) [**8**]. Blastares analyses this dictum in the light of Cyril's opposition against the teachings of Nestorius, namely that the Son is a created being:

> [Cyril] proclaimed our Lord Jesus Christ as true God and that the congenital and consubstantial (συμφυὲς … καὶ ὁμοούσιον) Spirit *is not different* from <the Son's> hypostasis (*οὐκ ἀλλότριόν* ἐστι τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ), in other words, that it is entirely correct to declare as a doctrine and to state that it is from the Son that the Holy Spirit exists *essentially* (ὑπάρχει *οὐσιωδῶς*), namely the <Spirit> given (διδόμενον) to men by <the Son>, the <Spirit> which comes forth (προσὸν) from <the Son> naturally (φύσει) and not according to participation (οὐ κατὰ μέθεξιν), for <Cyril> said that <the Spirit> exists (ὑπάρχειν) from the Son not because he wanted to appear to refer to the hypostatic substantiation (καθ' ὑπόστασιν οὐσίωσιν) of the Holy Spirit but to the pouring forth (πρόχυσιν) and communication (μετάδοσιν) <of the Spirit> to men from the Son (ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ) [**8.**33-42].

Matthaios further supports this interpretation of Cyril's dictum by citing a passage from the latter's refutation of Theodoretus of Cyrus' view. According to Cyril *to believe that the Spirit has Its being* (*τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον*) *as from the Son, or through the Son* (*ὡς ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ἢ δι' Υἱοῦ*) should be rejected. Moreover Cyril explicitly states, Matthaios continues, that the Spirit *is not different (οὐκ ἀλλότριον) from the Son; and for this reason we say that It is given to men from Him* (ἐξ αὐτοῦ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λέγομεν δίδοσθαι). Therefore, Blastares remarks,

> To say, according to Saint Cyril, that *the Spirit exists essentially* (*ὑπάρχειν οὐσιωδῶς*) *from the Son* is holy and harmless. For it is one thing to say that the Holy Spirit has its being (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν) from the Son —which none of the Saints either now or in the past has dared to state, since this is clearly alien to Christ's tradition— and another thing to simply say that <the Holy Spirit> exists from the Son according to essence (κατ' οὐσίαν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν). Because the former [i.e., τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν] belongs only to the Father, while the latter [i.e., κατ' οὐσίαν … ὑπάρχειν] <belongs> equally to the three hypostases. For, to state that

> something is from the essence of another is stated to signify nothing else than the consubstantiality alone. In the same way we say that John is from the essence of Peter and Paul and the rest of human beings, not because he had all <human beings> as parents and causes of his existence (ὑπάρξεως), but because he is of the same essence and nature. It is in this sense, therefore, that the holy Fathers stated that the Spirit is from the essence of the Son and not in terms of causation. For, *to cause* and *to be caused*, and *unbegotten*, *begotten* and *projected* do not signify the essence but the hypostasis. For these <names> are *related* to the essence but they *are not* essence, in the same way that *to come forth*, *pour forth,* and *emanate essentially* (οὐσιωδῶς) through the Son or from the Son, or equally from the Father and the Son, signify the holy grace granted and the energy of the all-Holy Spirit and not Its existence (ὑπάρξεως) [**8**.54-74].

In other words, Blastares makes a subtle distinction between the phrase *the Spirit exists essentially* (*ὑπάρχειν οὐσιωδῶς*) (alternatively, *the Spirit exists according to essence:* κατ' οὐσίαν … ὑπάρχειν) and *the Spirit has Its being* (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν) with reference to the Son. For Blastares the first phrase and its alternative refers to the consubstantiality of all hypostases, while the second refers to the eternal hypostatic procession of the Spirit from the Father alone.

It is in this way, Blastares concludes, that we should understand the verses attributed to John of Damascus, sung at Matins, invoking the Son, *Send Your mercy on us, the Spirit that communicates goodness, Which comes forth from the Father through You,*[72] namely that the gift of the Spirit 'is given naturally (φυσικῶς) and essentially (οὐσιωδῶς), in juxtaposition to those people who communicate Its gift to others not naturally (οὐ φυσικῶς), as is the case with the Apostles who *placed their hands* on those who believed *and received Holy Spirit* (Acts 8:17), which they had in terms of participation and as a gift (κατὰ μέθεξιν καὶ δωρεάν), for, *freely you received, freely give'* (Matthew 10:8).

[72] *Παρακλητική, ἦχος γ΄, Κυριακὴ πρωί, ᾠδὴ θ΄, Κανὼν ἄλλος Σταυροαναστάσιμος*, ed. S. Zervos, *Παρακλητική, ἤτοι ὀκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη* (Venice, 1858), p. 102: Ἔθου ἡμῖν ἀκαταίσχυντον πρέσβυν, τὴν σέ Τεκοῦσαν Χριστέ· ταύταις ταῖς ἐντεύξεσιν, ἵλεον νέμοις ἡμῖν, Πνεῦμα μεταδοτικὸν ἀγαθότητος, *ἐκ Πατρὸς διὰ σοῦ προερχόμενον (my italics).*

***Why in certain cases Saints expressed unorthodox views in the past*** **[9-10]**

In response to Latin arguments in support of the double procession of the Holy Spirit based on patristic sayings of undoubted authenticity, Matthaios explains why in some cases the Fathers felt compelled to state their views less accurately [**9**]. He uses the example of Gregory Thaumaturgus' saying, *the Father and the Son are two in thought, but one in hypostasis*, presented to 'a certain Gelianos who was afraid about pagan polytheism'. This saying, Matthaios stresses, was cited by Basil, who never questioned Gregory's orthodoxy:

> Basil the Great, wisely correcting what appeared to be an absurdity and showing the aim of the saint, stated the following: *The men who congratulate themselves on the subtlety of their intelligence could not perceive that this is said not in reference to dogmatic opinion but in controversy with Gelianos. That in his endeavour to convince the heathen, he deemed it needless to be nice about the words he employed; he judged it wiser sometimes to make concessions to the character of the subject who was being persuaded, so as not to run counter to the opportunity given him* [**9**.24-31].[73]

Employing terms which appear in Damascene's *Exposition of the faith* Blastares sums up Basil's view:

> …what is common to the Holy Trinity is *considered as a fact* (*πράγματι θεωρεῖται*), namely the one *divinity* (θεότης), *nature* (φύσις), *authority* (*ἐξουσία*), *power* (*δύναμις*), *will* (*θέλησις*) and *energy* (*ἐνέργεια*), while the *division* of the hypostases is conceived *only* as a simple *afterthought* (*ἐπινοίᾳ μόνῃ* νοεῖται ψιλῇ).[74] They [i.e., the holy Fathers] do not dare to conceive a personal description, or a separation in terms of space, or anything else which belongs to the delimiting attributes (ἀφοριστικῶν ἰδιοτήτων), except fatherhood (πατρότητος), sonship (υἱότητος) and procession (ἐκπορεύσεως), on account of their exceeding and supranatural division and their union, the contrary of which is considered to be related to the

[73] Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 210, § 5, my trans. based on that by B. Jackson, *St Basil, Letters and Selected Works*, in *Select Library*, vol. 8 (New York, 1895), pp. 250-251.

[74] On the use of the term *ἐπίνοια* in patristic texts, see J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Οἱ πηγὲς τοῦ περιεχομένου καὶ τῆς χρήσης τοῦ ὅρου *ἐπίνοια* στὸ *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου Ι* τοῦ Βασιλείου Καισαρείας: Στωϊκοὶ καὶ Πλωτῖνος', *Βυζαντινά* 20 (1999), 7-42; idem, 'Glossogony or Epistemology? Eunomius of Cyzicus' and Basil of Caesarea's Stoic concept of ἐπίνοια and its misrepresentation by Gregory of Nyssa', in *Gregory of Nyssa: Contra Eunomium II. An English Version with Supporting Studies. Proceedings of the 10th International Colloquium of Gregory of Nyssa (Olomouc, September 15-18, 2004)*, eds. L Karfiková, S. Douglass and J. Zachhuber (Leiden-Boston, 2007), pp. 387-397.

> created beings. For, what is common to them is understood as an afterthought (ἐπινοίᾳ) —for example, the abstract perception of angels (ἡ ἀγγελότης τυχόν) or the abstract humanity (ἡ ἀνθρωπότης) or anything similar—, while the division of the hypostases is perceived as a fact (πράγματι διαγινώσκεται), <i.e. the hypostasis> of <the Archangel> Michael, <that> of <Archangel> Gabriel, and <that> of Peter and <that> of Paul, and similarly the rest of the natures [**9**.33-46].

Gregory Thaumaturgus, Matthaios remarks, put his statement in this way because his aim and priorities were different in terms of his audience, or because he simply followed an old tradition which did not differentiate between nature/essence and hypostasis:

> The Saint, therefore, spoke in this way either [a] because he did not want to expound the argument concerning the holy Trinity clearly, since the weakness of the listener could not reach the higher truths of the doctrine, I think because of his apostolic zeal which becomes the highest priority for all in order to win everyone over; or [b] because he followed an ancient tradition (νόμῳ ἀρχαίῳ) he called the nature 'hypostasis' —for 'hypostasis' is found to have a double meaning, sometimes referring simply to existence (τὴν ἁπλῶς ὕπαρξιν), since in terms of what they signify essence and hypostasis are identical, hence many of the holy Fathers called natures 'hypostases', while sometimes <referring> to the existence which has its own hypostasis (ἰδιοϋπόστατον ὕπαρξιν), which consists of essence and accidental attributes (τὴν ἐξ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότων συνισταμένην), and differs in number and is <placed> under the species we call 'individual' (ἄτομον)—; or [c] because he manifested (δηλῶσας) that which contains (περιέχον) from its content (περιεχομένου), for we say 'exist' (ὑφεστάναι) rather than '<be placed> under nature' (ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν) [**9**.46-59].

Blastares proceeds with discussing the reasons Church Fathers in their zealous effort to understand and define more accurately the Trinitarian Godhead and/or to oppose heretical teachings, in some cases expressed views which are in disagreement even with the doctrine itself [**10**]. Blastares begins with Sabellius[75], who 'introduced the coalescence (συναλοιφὴν) and confusion (σύγχυσιν) of the tri-hypostatic divinity, teaching … <that there is> one hypostasis with three names, sometimes the same

[75] On Sabellius and his teachings see 'Sabellianism', in *ODCh*, p. 1434.

appearing as Father, sometimes as Son and sometimes as Holy Spirit' [**10**.1-5]. Sabellius' teaching that there is one Person in the Holy Trinity, Matthaios continues, was refuted at the time by Dionysius of Alexandria, who in his own attempt to defend orthodoxy introduced in turn the very principles of the Anomoean heresy, since he did not state that 'the Son is of a different *hypostasis*, but that He is of a different *nature* than that of the Father' [**10**.19-23]. Dionysius' erroneous statement, was noticed and refuted by Basil of Caesarea, Blastares says:

> For asking his brother Gregory bishop of Nyssa's opinion about the writings of Dionysius of Alexandria, <Basil> said, 'we *do not accept everything that this man wrote, but there are certain statements that we reject*, *for it is he who* has almost planted *the seed* of the voice of *Anomoeus* which has currently come out in public'. For by fighting Sabellius the Libyan, not only did <Dionysius> state that the Son is of another hypostasis but also of another nature, while he degraded the all-holy Spirit entirely to a created being, it seems to me, not because the man [i.e., Dionysius] was wicked. However, even though this remained unnoticed by the great Dionysius, we should guard ourselves against making the same mistake [**10**.25-35].

Next, Blastares mentions Apollinarius of Laodikeia, who in his effort to stress Christ's divinity (in opposition to Arian teachings) held the view 'that the incarnate God Logos is without mind and soul', in other words without a rational soul, 'but He assumed only flesh', which goes contrary to the doctrine.[76] In addition, Apollinarius taught that 'one should not call the Lord *God-bearing* man but *flesh-bearing God*' (*οὐ* δεῖν ἔλεγε *θεοφόρον* τὸν κυριακὸν *ἀποκαλεῖν ἄνθρωπον*, *ἀλλὰ θεὸν σαρκοφόρον*), terms which were used by his opponent Gregory of Nazianzus in his *Second Epistle to Cledonius*, condemning those who consider that they 'should worship not a *God-bearing man* but a *flesh-bearing God* (*μὴ ἄνθρωπον θεοφόρον*, *ἀλλὰ Θεόν σαρκοφόρον*) [**10**.54-55].[77] Moreover, Blastares continues, Basil of Caesarea in his homily *On the Nativity of Christ*, responding to those who call Christ's body *heavenly* (*οὐράνιον*) used the terms *God-bearing* (*θεοφόρον*) and *Christ-bearing* (*χριστοφόρον*): *If the Christ-bearing flesh was not ordained to be assumed of the lump of Adam, what need was there of the holy Virgin?* [**10**.60-

[76] On Apollinarius of Laodikeia see 'Apollinarius and Apollinarianism', in *ODCh*, p. 86.

[77] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Second Epistle to Cledonius*, my trans. based on that by Ch.G. Browne and J.E. Swallow, *St Gregory Nazianzen, Select Oration and Letters*, in *Select Library*, vol. 7 (New York, 1894), p. 444.

62].[78] Again Gregory of Nyssa in his *Thirty-Second Catechetical Oration* (*Thirty-third Oration* according to Blastares) employed the term *God-bearing man* (*θεοφόρος … ἄνθρωπος*): *For since from no other source than from our own nature came this God-bearing man, who in the resurrection was raised up together with that of the Godhead* [**10**.63-65].[79] Since Nestorius used such terms in his heretical teachings, Matthaios remarks, these were abandoned or even condemned by the Church, despite the fact that they were used by the Church Fathers. John of Damascus refuting Nestorius' views on the nature of the Virgin condemned those who call or perceive Christ as *God-bearing (θεοφόρον)* and accepted the term *incarnate God* (*θεὸν σεσαρκωμένον*) [**10**.76-79].[80] Blastares then links the use by Nestorius of the terms *theophoros* and *Christophoros* with those of *Theotokos* and *Christotokos* with reference to the Virgin. On the basis of the Fathers' view that Christ has two natures, Nestorius taught that Christ's human and divine natures are divided (διῃρημένας), each of the two maintaining its own hypostasis (ἰδιοϋποστάτους), and that the Lord was simply a man (ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον) united to the Son of God in terms of relation (ἑνωθέντα κατὰ σχέσιν τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ). As a result, Nestorius refused to call the Virgin *Theotokos* ('bearer of God') and invented the term *Christotokos* ('bearer of Christ'). Cyril of Alexandria, Blastares continues, refuted in turn Nestorius' teachings stating that 'there is one nature incarnate in God the Logos (μίαν φύσιν … ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην), both uniting in an excellent way and <at the same time> distinguishing the one person and the two natures in the Lord (καλῶς ἅμφω καὶ ἑνώσας, καὶ διελών, τό τε ἓν πρόσωπον, καὶ τὰς δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου φύσεις)' [**10**.94-96]. Subsequently, this incited Eutyches and Dioscorus to heresy, for 'they taught that the two natures in Christ were mixed in one after their union; and as a result of this not even the divinity itself was liberated from the passions of the flesh' [**10**.99-102]. Therefore, these heretics, Matthaios states, either 'join and confuse the two natures of the God-man Logos (θεανθρώπου Λόγου) in one, or introduce division and polyarchy in the monarchy of the supraessential Trinity' [**10**.104-106]. It is clear that the heretics twist (στρεβλοῦν) the sayings of the Fathers and choose what they want among their writings in order to serve their own teachings

[78] Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 261, § 2, my trans. based on that by Jackson, *St Basil*, p. 300.

[79] Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Oration* § 32, trans. by Moore and Wilson, *Gregory of Nyssa Dogmatic Treatises*, in *Select Library*, vol. 5, p. 499.

[80] John of Damascus, *Exposition of the faith*, my trans. based on that by S.D.F. Salmond, *John of Damascus*, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, in *Select Library*, vol. 9, p. 56.

which go contrary to the doctrine. It is evil (ἡ κακία) that incites this, Blastares exclaims, 'evil which does not have its own face (ἴδιον γὰρ οὐ πέφυκε πρόσωπον ἔχειν), for otherwise, man could recognize and avoid it. Removing itself secretly from truth it assumes various masks (προσωπεῖα) and outwitting through sophistries it drags down those who are not careful in its nets'. The same stands for the Armenians, who using John Chrysostom's statement against the heresy of *Hydroparastatae* (who use only water in the holy Communion), namely that *the Lord's cup is from the fruit of the vine, and the vine bears wine and not water*, do not mix water with wine in the holy Communion but use only wine, which opposes the orthodox liturgical practice. Addressing his unnamed opponents, Blastares concludes:

> We consider the sayings of the saints remarkable and certainly no less those of the blessed Cyril and those <sayings> which simply occur in the rest of his writings. If you, however, listen to these reasonably, even if you do not wish to, you stumble upon these sayings and these become the pretext of offence to you. But certainly we will not cross them out as if supposedly they are not orthodox, as we are aware of the danger this would create, nor do we expel those who spoke forth these <sayings> from the chorus of the saints, but we shall honour them as saints as this is just and right, and in addition we shall always consider them leaders and teachers of orthodoxy and of every good; and paying attention to the correctness of their mind, led by the holy Spirit, we shall not disregard their sayings, because it is not absolutely necessary, as I showed above, that we should observe what is reverend in the Fathers through all <their sayings> [**10**.134-148].

Blastares closes this section stressing that great Latin Fathers, such as Augustine and Jerome, whom the Latin theologians use in support of their own teachings, had lapsed in certain cases into unorthodox views which were first refuted by Patriarch Photius. Similarly, other Fathers, including Dionysius of Alexandria, Methodius of Patara, Pantenus, Clement of Alexandria, Pierius, Pamphilus, Theognostus, Irenaeus of Lyons and Papias of Hierapolis 'wrote certain things which were beyond what is proper'. Those sayings which are doubtful (ἀμφιβαλλόμεναι … χρήσεις), Blastares states, 'should remain in the same place where these are written (ἐν τόποις ἐν οἷς ἐγράφησαν), with the supreme authority of the Symbol of the Faith acting as the judge in any tribunal, so that we do not find ourselves in a position in which we confess

different things concerning the Church in the face of God, while we affirm that these render (συνιστάναι) other things' [**10**.165-169].

***Scriptural citations concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit misinterpreted by the Latins*** **[11-13]**

In the next three sections Blastares refutes the Latin interpretation of the most important scriptural citations put forward by Latin theologians in support of the *filioque*, focusing on the terms *sending* (ἀποστολήν), *receiving* (λῆψιν), *granting* (δόσιν) and *breathing* (ἐμφυσήματι) of the Spirit from the Son, as well as Paul's dictum, *God sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts* (Galatians 4:6). Blastares begins with three important passages from the Gospel of John: (a) *When the Paraclete comes, Whom I shall send to you* (15:26) —surprisingly enough, omitting the subsequent clauses of the same saying (*from the Father, the Spirit of truth Which proceeds from the Father*) which explicitly state that the Father is the projector of the Spirit—; (b) *He will receive from Me and will declare It to you* (16:14-15); and (c) *He breathed on them and said 'Receive the Holy Spirit'* (20:22). According to Blastares' interpretation, these sayings and similar ones 'manifest relation and familiarity and do not indicate procession' (σχέσεως εἰσὶν ἐμφαντικὰ καὶ οἰκειότητος, οὐκ ἐκπορεύσεως δηλωτικά), showing 'the unison (ἡ συμφυΐα) and the equal honour (τὸ ὁμότιμον) of the three hypostases' [**11**.9-11].

> For not everything that one sends (πέμπει) has its being (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχει) from him, which no one in his right mind would say. But if we concede that the Spirit has Its being (τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν) from the Son on account of Its being sent forth (πέμπεσθαι) from Him, it will no less be proven that the Spirit exists as cause (αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν) of the Son for the following reason. Because the Spirit sends forth (πέμπει) the Son, as in the <saying>, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because It has anointed me and has sent me (ἀπέσταλκέ με) to preach the gospel to the poor* (Isaiah 61:1; cf. Luke 4:18), and again, *the Lord, and his Spirit, has sent me (ἀπέσταλκέ με)* (Isaiah 48:16). Therefore, if we turn what concerns sending on its head (τὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἀντιστρέφει), this is no less true, according to you, also for what concerns the cause and the existence (καὶ τὰ τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως) [**11**.11-20].

The phrase *He* [i.e., the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth] *will take of mine* (John 16:14: *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται*) was used by the Lord, Blastares continues, in order to define that the Holy Spirit is not superior to the Son, but that They both share the same allotment (κλήρου), fullness (πλήρωμα), knowledge, (γνώσεως) and common will (κοινοῦ θελήματος). In order to clarify His saying Christ added, *everything that the Father has is mine* (John 16:15) and therefore because 'what belongs to the Father belongs to Me' (ἐμὰ τὰ πατρικά); this is the reason why Christ stated, *Therefore I said that He* [i.e., the Paraclete] *will take of Mine* (*ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται*) *and declare It to you*. If He had said 'from Me' (ἐξ ἐμοῦ <*λήψεται*>) this would easily lead to error, Blastares argues. For to take something from someone as a result of any kind of need is different from what is being projected in order to be substantiated (τὸ πρὸς οὐσίωσιν ἐκπορεύεσθαι). In fact, certain people (Τινὲς), Blastares continues (without specifying names), have interpreted the expression *of Mine* (*ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ*) to mean 'of My Father' *(*ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πατρός). This interpretation appears also in the treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* by Eustratios of Nicaea (11th-12th c.),[81] whom Blastares seems to have consulted not only on this specific point.[82]

Finally, by saying *Receive the Holy Spirit* (John 20:22), Matthaios continues, Christ gave (ἐδεδώκει) one of the *gifts* (χαρισμάτων) of the Spirit, namely the authority to loose and bind (cf. Matthew 16:18-19, 18:18). For it is usual in the Scripture that the *gifts* are called *spirits* (πνεύματα), also to show that the *offerings* (δωρεάς) are common in the Trinity. Moreover, since Pentecost had not yet arrived when Christ breathed the Holy Spirit into the Apostles (John 20:22), it follows that the Holy Spirit did not descend to the Apostles *in essence*, so to speak (οὐσιωδῶς, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι), at that time. For it was on the fortieth day after His resurrection that Christ promised that they would receive the power from above (cf. Acts 1:8) when the Holy Spirit would clearly fly down to them (ἐναργῶς καταπταμένου τοῦ Πνεύματος), that is during the Pentecost (cf. Acts

[81] Eustratios of Nicaea, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (Orat. 1), ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1866; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), p. 64.3-11: οὐκ εἶπεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα οὕτως ἑαυτὸν ἀρχὴν δείξῃ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ*· τί δέ ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ; *ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πατρός*, ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς πηγῆς, ἐξ ἧς κἀγὼ γεννητῶς ἐξενήνεγμαι. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἑρμηνεύων ἐπάγει. Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμά ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν· τουτέστιν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μὲν λαμβάνει ὡς ἐξ αἰτίας κοινῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς, πλὴν οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἐμοῦ τὰ λαμβανόμενα, ἀλλ' οἰκεῖα ἐμοῦ (my italics).

[82] See *apparatus fontium* in *Refutation*, [**2**.38-48]; [**6**.1-8, 68-83]; [**11**.3-10, 24-30]; [13.1-8]; [**24.3**.17-19].

2:3). Thus, Blastares rejects the Latin view that these important scriptural sayings refer to the procession of the hypostasis of the Spirit, for according to the orthodox interpretation these refer to the gifts of the Spirit which are common to all Persons in the Trinity.

**[12]** Similarly, Paul's dictum *the Spirit of His Son* (Galatians 4:6), Blastares states, should be understood as declaring their common nature (ὁμοφυΐα), 'For what is said to belong to someone, does not mean that it is also generated or projected by him' [**12**.1-3]. Though it is true that all Saints state *the Father of the Son*, yet we should not for this reason turn the generation topsy turvy (namely, that the Son generates the Father). By the same token, though it is said *the Spirit of wisdom* and the Spirit *of understanding* (Isaiah 11:2), yet the Holy Spirit does not emanate from Its gifts. The fact that we do not say 'the Son of the Spirit' is because the Spirit should not be considered Father on account of the relation introduced concerning *things <which exist> with relation to something* (διὰ τὴν ἐπεισαγομένην σχέσιν τῶν *πρός τι*). Since, therefore, this applies to any word which can declare the unconfused attributes of the supraessential hypostases (τὴν δυναμένην ταῖς ὑπερουσίοις ὑποστάσεσι, τὸ ἀσύγχυτον καλῶς τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τηρῆσαι) —including Paul's dictum, *and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God* (Ephesians 6:17)— there is no reason why we should not say *the Spirit of the Son* (Galatians 4:6), even though the Spirit does not have Its existence from Him (μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχῃ).

**[13]** Closing his refutation of the Latin interpretation of scriptural citations with reference to the Son and the Spirit in support of the *filioque*, Blastares focuses on John the Baptist's description of the scene of Jesus' baptism: *I saw the Spirit descending like a dove from heaven, and It remained on Him* (John 1:32: *τεθέαμαι τὸ Πνεῦμα, καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν*). If you do not state, Blastares argues addressing his anonymous disputant, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς … μόνου) and hence you accept that It proceeds also from the Son, in this way you shall destroy the one Christ by dividing Him into two, as Nestorius did, in order that you say, *from the Son of God* (cf. John 1:32) *the Spirit descending* (cf. John 1:32) *upon the Son of Man* (John 1:52). 'The fact that the Spirit which

proceeds from the Father remains in, and rests on, the Son (ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ μένειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι), Blastares concludes, 'teaches the mystery of the incarnation'.

### *The use by the Latins of 'Love' as a name proper to the Holy Spirit with relation to the* filioque *doctrine* [14-15]

Blastares then moves his discussion to the Latin teaching of the generation of the Son perceived as the act of thought and the procession of the Holy Spirit as the act of will within the 'intellectual nature' of God **[14]**. These views Matthaios refutes not by presenting counter arguments based on philosophical reasoning, but stressing the Orthodox principle that there are limits in man's pursuit of the divine truths, especially concerning the modes of existence of the divine hypostases. As pointed out by Ioannes Polemis, Blastares's refutation is based on similar arguments put forward before him by the almost contemporary scholar, teacher and theologian Manuel Moschopoulos (1265-1316) in his anti-Latin treatise *On the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, sections of which Matthaios quotes, often *verbatim*.[83] The following table illustrates the way and extent to which Blastares used Moschopoulos' text and arguments, to which he added, and to some extent cited, well-known passages from Gregory of Nazianzus's homilies *On the Son* and *On the Holy Spirit* and Ps.-Chrysostom's *On the Holy Trinity*, concerning man's innate inability to precisely comprehend the way the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit take place in the Godhead:

| **Manuel Moschopoulos**<br>Ed. R.J.H. Smith, pp. 1.1-2.3, 2.14-3.2 | **Matthaios Blastares**<br>*Refutation*, § **14.**6-32 |
|---|---|
| Τὸν μὲν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ Ἰταλοὶ νοητικῶς φασι γεννᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον θελητικῶς ἐκπορεύεσθαι· προεπινοεῖται δέ φασι νόησις θελήσεως· εἰ γὰρ *ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονὼς* ἄνθρωπος νόησις ἔχει καὶ θέλησιν, καὶ τὴν μὲν προτέραν, τὴν δὲ | Ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρας τῶν πρώην ἀτοπωτέρας ἐννοίας ἐξάγονται· καὶ φασί, νοητικῶς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, θελητικῶς ἐκπορεύεσθαι· προεπινοεῖται δὲ νόησις θελήσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονότος ἀνθρώπου. |

[83] See Manuel Moschopoulos, *De generatione filii et prossesione spiritus sancti*, 1, eds. I. Polemis, 'An unpublished anti-Latin treatise of Manuel Moschopoulos', *JÖB* 46 (1996), pp. 255-261; R.J.H. Smith, *An unedited theological discourse against the Latins by Manuel Moschopoulos: Introduction, critical text, translation and notes* (Unpublished MA dissertation, King's College London, 1997), pp. 1-14.

θέλησιν δευτέραν, καὶ διαταῦτα *κατ' εἰκόνα* λέγεται τοῦ *Θεοῦ*, καὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον πάντως, ὁ Θεός, νόησιν ἔχει καὶ θέλησιν, τὴν νόησιν προεπινοουμένην τῆς θελήσεως. Ἐπεὶ οὖν προεπινοεῖταί φασιν ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησις, ἅτε νοητικῶς γινομένη, ἴσος δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ θέλημα ἔχων αὐτῷ, θελητικῶς δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἄρα καὶ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται.

Εἰσι δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπλάσματα διανοίας· οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις ἢ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ λέγονται ποτὲ οἱ τρόποι οὗτοι τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως· καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀπηγορεύετο ἰδίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων, τὸ ζητεῖν τὸν τρόπον τῆς θείας γεννήσεως καὶ ἐκπορεύσεως, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχεν αἰτίαν ὁ τρόπος λεγόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐζητεῖτο μόνον εἰ ὀρθῶς λέγεται.

Νῦν δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τοῦτο ἀπαγορεύεται. Βασιλείου· «ἀλλὰ Πατὴρ ἦν καὶ Υἱὸς ἐγεννήθη μὴ εἴπης πότε, ἀλλὰ παράδραμε τὸ ἐπερώτημα· μὴ ἐπερωτήσης πῶς· ἀδύνατος γὰρ ἡ ἀπόκρισις».

Ἔροιτο δ'ἄν τις ὦ τινὲς ἄλλως κακούργως ἠρώτων, 'θέλων ἐγεννησεν ὁ Πατὴρ τὸν Υἱὸν ἢ μὴ θέλων'; Εἰ μὲν μὴ θέλων, τετυράννυται, εἰ δὲ θέλων, θελητικῶς ἄρα καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται, καὶ οὐ προεπινοεῖται νόησις θελήσεως, εἴ γε ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησις ἡ νόησις ἐστὶ τοῦ Πατρός, αὕτη δὲ μὴ θέλοντος τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐκ ἂν εἴη· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλως δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων λέγειν την θέλησιν.

Εἰ τοίνυν ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προεπινοεῖται γέννησις, ἅτε νοητικῶς γινομένη, ἡ δέ γε τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις, κατὰ τρόπον ἐστὶ θελήσεως, καὶ οἷον θέλησις, ἴσος δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ θέλημα ἔχων αὐτῷ, ὧν ἡ θέλησις μία, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις μία.

Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα, προφανῶς διανοίας ἀναπλάσματα κακοδαίμονος. Ποῖα γὰρ γραφή, ποῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον παρὸ παρελάβομεν, ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν;
Ἤ τίς τῶν θεωρητικῶν τε καὶ θεολόγων καὶ διαβατικώτατον νοῦν ἐσχηκότων, ἢ πολυπραγμονέστατον, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθε θράσους καὶ ἀπονοίας, ὥστε καὶ τρόπους ἀνιχνεύειν γεννήσεως, ἢ ἐκπορεύσεως; Ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸ πάσης ἄλλης θεολογίας, πᾶς τις αὐτῶν, ἄρρητον πάντῃ καὶ ἀνεπινόητον, τὸν τρόπον τῆς γεννήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως ἀνεκήρυξε, καὶ *σιωπῇ τιμᾶσθαι* ταῦτα ἐπέταξε, *μέγα* καὶ *τὸ* ὅλως *μαθεῖν* οἰόμενος, *ὅτι* τὸ μὲν, *γεγέννηται*, τὸ δ' ἐκπεπόρευεται, *τὸ* γὰρ *πῶς*, *οὐδὲ ἀγγέλοις ἐννοεῖν* δέδοται· ἢ πῶς οἷόν τε τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν μετρεῖν, τῇ μεταβατικῶς νοήσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ λήθῃ συνεζευγμένη φύσει· θέλησιν γὰρ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν, ἢ κατὰ τρόπον νοεῖσθαι θελήσεως, οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀνεδίδαξεν.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οἶμαι τοῦτο διενήνοχε τοῦ αἱρετικοῦ ἐκείνου προβλήματος, *ὅτι θέλων ἐγέννησεν ὁ Πατήρ, ἢ μὴ θέλων*, ὅπερ ὁ ἀκριβὴς πάσης θεολογίας γνώμων, ὡς λῆρον σαφῆ διαπαίζει, καὶ ὡς μὴ δὲ αὐραίς τισιν ἱστάμενον διελέγχει.

**Manuel Moschopoulos**
**Trans. R.J.H. Smith**, pp. 15-16.

The Italians say that the Son of God is generated by thought, while the Spirit proceeds by will; and thought is conceived as proceeding will, they say, for if man, who was made *in the image of God*, possesses thought and will, thought first, will second, and for this reason is said to be *in the image of God*, surely God, in every way the archetype, possesses both thought and will, His thought being conceived as preceding will. Since, therefore, the generation of the Son is thought to come first, they say, inasmuch as it takes place in thought, and the Son is equal to the Father and has the same will as Him, and the Holy Spirit proceeds by will, therefore <the Spirit> proceeds from the Father and the Son.

These are fabrications of imagination. For neither in the Holy Gospels nor in the Apostle are the ways by which the generation and procession take place ever mentioned.

Even if this had not been explicitly forbidden by the saints, namely to inquire as to the way the generation and procession <takes place>, there would be no reason to mention that way, but it should only be inquired whether it was stated correctly. But as a matter of fact, this is strictly forbidden. For Basil <said>: *But we do not say when there was Father and <when> the Son was generated, but pass by this question; do not ask how, for an answer is impossible*. …

… Then one would ask what some others

**Matthaios Blastares,** *Refutation,* § **14.**6-32

Such things they put forward also with reference to another concept more absurd than the previous ones. They say that the Son of God is generated by thought, while the Holy Spirit proceeds by will. Thought is conceived as preceding will, as in the case of the man who became *in the image of God*.

If, therefore, the generation of the Son is thought to come first, inasmuch as it takes place in thought, while the procession of the Holy Spirit is in the way of will, as if it were will, and the Son is equal to the Father and has the same will as Him, since both have one will, then <it follows> that the procession of the Holy Spirit is one.

These are clearly fabrications of an evil and demonic imagination. For, which Scripture, which Gospel other than the one we have received, taught these things? Or who among the theorists and theologians and those who possess a penetrating or meddlesome mind, had reached such audacity and madness to investigate the ways by which the generation or the procession take place? But before all other theological argument, each and every one of them, declared that the way the generation and the procession takes place is entirely ineffable and incomprehensible, and commanded that these should *be honoured in silence*, for the fact that we have learned that the one person is generated while the other is projected they considered a great thing, while the way these take place is not allowed *even for the angels to perceive*. Or how is it possible for our nature, which is mixed with ignorance and oblivion, to measure what is beyond nature? For, no one ever taught us now or in the past that will is procession or that <the procession> is perceived in the way of will. But this does not differ at all from that

wickedly asked in a different way: 'Did the Father generate the Son willingly or not?' If unwillingly, then He was under duress, but if willingly, then the Son was generated by the will, and thought is not <to be> conceived as preceding will — if indeed the generation of the Son is the thought of the Father. While if the <generation> were of an unwilling Father, it would not take place. In any case it does not seem safe to me to speak of will with reference to such things.

heretical question, "Did the Father generate <the Son> willingly or not?", which the accurate canon of all theology laughs at as being clear nonsense and refutes as it cannot stand up even in front of a breeze.

The perception of the generation of the Son (the Word) as the act of thought and of the procession of the Holy Spirit (Love) as that of will, within the 'intellectual nature' of God, was expressed by Thomas Aquinas, to whom neither Moschopoulos nor Blastares refers by name.[84] The use of 'Love' as a name proper to the Holy Spirit is an argument Thomas employs when he discusses the relations among the Persons in the Trinity, especially the procession of the Holy Spirit, a theme which Matthaios briefly presents **[15]**:

> But they put forward another argument which is no less absurd. That the Spirit is called 'Love', and that this is Its <name> proper (ἰδιαίτατον); and at any rate, the love of the lover is energy; in the same way, therefore, that the Father offers the love, in the same way it is offered by the Son, Who has the same nature with Him; *ergo*, the Father and the Son project the Spirit [15.1-5].

Thomas expounds on this subject in his *Summa theologiae* (Ia. 37, 1-2).[85] In summary, Love (*Amor*), perceived as the union of the divine will with the divine good, is an act that takes place in God's essence and, therefore, is shared by the three consubstantial Persons in the Trinity. 'Love' is a term perceived in the act of loving but does not

[84] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia. 27, 5, ed. C. Velecky, *St Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae. Latin text and English translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*, vol. 6: The Trinity (Ia. 27-32), (London-New York, 1965), pp. 18-21: Sed contra est quod in Deo non sunt nisi duo procedentes, scilicet filius et spiritus sanctus. Ergo sunt ibi tantum duae processiones. Respondeo dicendum quod processiones in divinis accipi non possunt nisi secundum actiones quae in agente manent. Huiusmodi autem actiones in natura intellectuali et divina non sunt nisi duae, scilicet intelligere et velle. Nam sentire, quod etiam videtur esse operatio in sentiente, est extra naturam intellectualem, neque totaliter est remotum a genere actionum quae sunt ad extra; nam sentire perficitur per actionem sensibilis in sensum. Relinquitur igitur quod nulla alia processio possit esse in Deo, nisi verbi et amoris.

[85] Ed. T.C. O'Brien, vol. 7: *Father, Son and Holy Gost (Ia. 33-43)* (London-New York, 1976), pp. 252-258 (summary on p. 253, on which this paragraph is based).

describe the act of loving. What 'Love' describes is the inner term within the divine act of love. 'Love', taken as the term immanent in this act of love, is a name proper to the Holy Spirit, in the sense that the Holy Spirit is the Love which proceeds from the Father and the Son loving. The Holy Spirit is a term which that Love breathe forth or 'actively aspirates', an act which characterizes the Father and the Son in their being one principle of the Holy Spirit (Ia. 36, 4). In other words, the Love of the Father and the Son, as 'Love proceeding' (Ia. 27, 3) from the Father and the Son (Ia. 36, 2), as an inner term of their spiration and not as an act, is the third Person in the Trinity, Which is spirated, namely the Holy Spirit (Ia. 36, 1-2). The Holy Spirit, as the expression or term of the divine Love between the Father and the Son, is their bond (Ia. 37, 1-3), for the Father and the Son love by the Holy Spirit (Ia. 37, 2).

Matthaios responds by presenting scriptural and patristic citations in which the word 'Love' is attributed to the Trinity and not particularly to the Holy Spirit, namely 1 John 4:8 and 16: *God is Love*; Gregory of Nazianzus, *De pauperum amore*: *God is called love*, and *He is pleased to be called with this name above all <others>*; and 2 Corinthians 13:13, where Paul 'after stating *the love of God and Father*, added *and the communion of the Spirit* while by "the love" he did not describe the Spirit, since the love of the Father, which according to <the rule of> periphrasis indicates the Father, is other than that of the Spirit'. Apart from this evidence, Matthaios continues, the use of 'Love' as a name proper to the Holy Spirit is less absurd than to argue that 'the divine procession resembles will … since this is conceived only in terms of simple relation and *per accidens* (κατὰ συμβεβηκός), but not in terms of essence and hypostasis'. This is more erroneous, he continues, than simply stating that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, for there is no accidental attribute in God's essence, nor is 'Love' a name that indicates the divine essence.[86]

The question is raised whether Matthaios used Moschopoulos' text or another source in this section. For apart from the short passages in the latter text and Ps.-Chrysostom's saying therein cited by Blastares *verbatim*, and the paraphrased statement that the Latin teaching on the *filioque* based on the use of 'Love' as a proper name for the third Person in the Trinity has not been handed down in the Gospels,

[86] *Refutation* [**15**.1-25].

Matthaios did not use Moschopoulos' additional argumentation to refute Thomas' teaching on this specific point.[87] It is possible, therefore, that the two authors share a common Greek or Latin source,[88] for otherwise Matthaios would have referred to the additional, and stronger, arguments Moschopoulos had put forward. The possibility, however, that Matthaios made a selective use of Moschopoulos' text and argumentation, which reflect different emphasis and approach, cannot be ruled out.

***The unconfused hypostatic properties of the three Persons in the Trinity and the Monarchy of the Father*** **[16-18]**

Blastares then moves on to refute the Latin argument in support of the *filioque* on the basis of the saying *I and My Father are one* (John 10:30), stressing the consubstantiality of the two unconfused hypostases, by citing *verbatim* passages from the *Tomos* of Blachernae **[16]**:

> *They maintain that the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit not by virtue of the hypostasis but by virtue of the nature. The result is that they necessarily proclaim the Son as cause of the Spirit. At the same time, they fail to see the absurdity that results from this. For it is necessary first, that the Spirit be the cause of someone, as it is said, since it has the same nature as the Father. Secondly, the number of the cause increases, since as many hypostases as share in nature must, likewise, share in causality. Thirdly, the common essence and nature is transformed into the cause of the hypostasis, which all logic — and, along with this, nature itself — prohibits.*[89] *For the common essence and nature is not the cause of the hypostasis; nor does this common essence ever generate or project that which is undivided; on the other hand, the essence which is accompanied by individual characteristics does, and this, according to the great Maximus, denotes the hypostasis. But also, according to the great Basil, because he too defines the hypostasis as that which describes and brings to mind what in each thing is common, and which cannot be described by means of individual characteristics which appear in it. Because of this, the indivisible essence always projects*

[87] Manuel Moschopoulos, *De generatione filii et prossesione spiritus sancti*, ed. Smith, pp. 2.4-13, 3.2-4.2.

[88] Cf. Barlaam the Calabrian, *Tractatus A*, IV, 6 and 11-12, *Tractatus B*, V, 29, *Legatus* ed. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro*, pp. 558.41-49, 584.93-586.107, 410.373-375, 476.157-163, respectively.

[89] George of Cyprus, *Tomos* of the Council of Blachernae, PG 142, cols. 241.54-242.8; trans. based on Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium,* Appendix I, § 8, p. 221.

*something indivisible ... the essence of the Father and the Son, however, is one, and is not, on the whole, indivisible* [**16**.10-31].[90]

Blastares continues by focusing on the Orthodox doctrine of the unconfused personal properties (or attributes) of the three hypostases: *unbegotten* (ἀγέννητον), *begotten/generated* (γεννητόν) and *projected* (ἐκπορευτόν). 'The *essence*, the *nature*, the *power*, the *energy*, the *will*, the *divinity* and similar ones', Blastares states, 'are common to the three supraessential hypostases, while the *unbegotten*, *begotten* and *projected* are personal properties. If, therefore, the procession is personal property, as in the case of the *unbegotten* and *generated*, then the all-Holy Spirit will be found to possess two personal properties: one, the procession from the Father, and a second one, the <procession> from the Son. And the Son would be distinguished from the Father through a single <property>', namely generation, 'while <the Spirit> through two <properties>', that is projection from the Father and projection from the Son [**16**.31-45]. This, however, goes counter to all doctrine, Matthaios stresses, because in such a case the Spirit would be inferior to the Son. In addition, since the Spirit, which is equally without beginning (συνάναρχον) as the Father and the Son, would proceed from the Son, it would follow that the Son is begotten, whereas the Spirit would be equally both begotten (together with the Son) and projected (from the Son). To project, Blastares continues, is a personal property of the Father alone. If this property was shared also by the Son, then the personal property of the Son, that is to be begotten, should be equally shared by the Father. 'Hence, the unbegotten Father becomes begotten', which again transgresses the fundamental doctrine of the uncreated hypostasis of the Father. By stating that the Spirit refers to two principles (Πρὸς οὖν δύο ἀρχὰς ἀναγομένου τοῦ Πνεύματος), one contravenes the doctrine of the 'monarchy' (μοναρχίας) of the Father, introducing 'polyarchy' (πολυαρχία) [**16**.45-47]. It should be noted that at this point Blastares does not link 'polyarchy' with polytheism, which he does further down [**18**.35-42].

Matthaios then puts forward the following syllogism concerning the simplicity of the divine nature. If the Son does not depart (οὐκ ἐξίσταται) from the simplicity of the

[90] George of Cyprus, *Tomos*, col. 241.22-34; trans. based on Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium,* Appendix I, § 6, p. 221.

Father, and if the Spirit refers (ἀναφορὰν ἔχει) to two causes (αἴτια), then the Spirit should be double (διπλοῦν) and composite (σύνθετον), for nothing which is properly simple (κυρίως ἁπλοῦν) (i.e., simple in the proper sense of the word) comes from two causes (ἐκ δυοῖν). For in such a case, the Trinity would not be simple and of equal honour (ἁπλοῦν καὶ ὁμότιμον). If, however, one were to say that the Spirit is simple, which is true, but that it proceeds from both the Father and the Son, this might lead one to think that the Father and the Son are one Person, thus confusing the two hypostases, as Sabellius taught. Blastares proceeds by reiterating a passage in the *Tomos* (which was used also by George Metochites) stressing that the 'monarchy' of the Father, in terms of causation in the Trinity, is one of the fundamental principles of the Orthodox Church, which refutes the Latin teaching of the double procession of the Holy Spirit [**16**.48-62].[91] Moreover, Matthaios argues, if the procession of the Spirit from the Father is perfect (ἐντελής), it follows that the procession of the Spirit from the Son is superfluous (περιττή). What is not shared by the three Persons, belongs only to one Person. Thus, the projection is not shared by the three Persons, and therefore it belongs to one Person. If one were to put forward as a counter-argument that the two hypostases (Son and Spirit) share the Father's causation, this shows a difference, namely the difference in emanation (τὸ τῆς προόδου διάφορον). For if the Son shared the same projection (τὴν αὐτὴν προβολὴν) with the Father, then *projection* would be their common attribute (κοινὴ τούτοις ἡ τῆς προβολῆς ἰδιότης). But if the Son had the opposite projection (τὴν ἐναντίαν) to that of the Father, the one would destroy the other (φθείρει ταύτην ἐκείνη), for the opposites destroy each other. Since *the Father is greater* (John 14:28) than the Son, in terms of causation, Blastares argues, then it is the Father that would be held responsible (προβαλεῖται) for this projection rather than the Son. This difference in causation (διαφορὰ τῶν αἰτιῶν), would inevitably lead one to perceive different natures (διαφορὰν … φύσεων) in the divine Persons, 'which is not far from the Arian frenzy' (Ἀρείου λύσσης) [**16**.63-74]. For this reason, Blastares remarks, in order to be in accordance with the Orthodox faith it is not enough to state that the Holy Spirit is uncreated, as is the Father and the Son, but one must abstain from coming into communion with those who hold opposite beliefs, which in fact were

[91] George of Cyprus, *Tomos*, cols. 240.57-241.4; see Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium,* Appendix I, § 5, p. 220.

taught in the past by heretics, such as Nestorius, Eutyches and Dioscorus, Severus and Zooras (of Antioch), Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul of Samossata and Honorius **[17].**

Blastares then refutes the Latin argumentation concerning the double procession of the Holy Spirit **[18]**. To state that there are two causes or two principles in the Trinity (i.e., the Father and the Son) is contrary to all doctrine. When the Scripture refers to the Son and Logos in particular as the principle (ἀρχὴ) (Psalms 109:3, 101:26; Isaiah 9:5; Proverbs 8:22; John 1:3), this should be understood with reference to His being the principle and creative cause in the creation (τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ ποιητικὸν τῆς κτίσεως αἴτιον). If, the *begotten* and *projected* are personal attributes indicating the hypostatic difference of the Son and the Spirit respectively, while the cause refers to Him (i.e., the Father) from Whom they emanate and, as the Latins believe, the Son shares the procession of the Spirit with the Father, Matthaios states, then it would follow that the Son should also share in being cause of the Spirit. This view, however, goes counter to the Orthodox doctrine, as it results in necessarily introducing two causes, which leads into two principles, which in turn leads to polytheism. Similarly, it is false, Blastares argues, to state that the Son is begotten from the Father and that the Spirit proceeds from the Father without accepting that the Father is the cause, and then to believe that the Spirit should proceed also from the Son without accepting that the Son is Its cause. In other words, it all comes down to the doctrine of the 'monarchy' of the Father (περὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν), which the Latins refuse to accept. This section closes with Blastares affirming the agreement among the Saints in what concerns the doctrine in general, and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone in particular, a doctrine sealed by the Fathers of the First and Second Ecumenical Councils who declared the Creed and confirmed by the subsequent Ecumenical Councils until the Seventh Council (787).

***The Councils prohibit any addition to the Creed*** **[19-20]**

The section that follows is directly linked with the previous one. Matthaios, a trained canonist, cites a number of canons of Ecumenical Councils together with passages from Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, as well as from Isidore of Pelousion, forbidding any addition or alteration to the Creed and placing heavy penalties on those who

disobey this [**19**]. The next section [**20**] is devoted to the Fourth Council of Constantinople (869-870), which Matthaios does not include in the list of the Ecumenical Councils either in the previous sections [**18**-**19**] or in the section with their Synoptic Accounts further down [**44**]. Blastares praises Patriarch Photius not only for not remaining silent when the *filioque* clause was introduced in the Creed and refuting this doctrine by 'composing on this occasion a treatise [i.e *Mystagogy*] which did not lack wisdom and force, in what concerns logical counter-propositions and demonstrations', but also because he 'convened a council of more than three hundred archpriests, at the order of the orthodox Emperor [Basil I]' in the presence of representatives of the three other Patriarchates (Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem). The Council openly exposed the Pope (Nicholas I, 858-867),[92] who subsequently 'rejected the novelty of the faith' and affirmed his acceptance of the Creed as proclaimed at the Second Ecumenical Council and of the canons of the subsequent Ecumenical Councils. On account of the pope's affirmation, Blastares says, the Council did not excommunicate him.[93] Matthaios then cites a long passage from the Sixth Act of the Fourth Council of Constantinople (879), which confirms the decrees and penalties of the previous Ecumenical Councils should anyone dare to add or remove anything from the Creed. According to the Acts of the Council, Blastares states, 'the ambassadors of the pope alone confessed once more the holy Symbol without alteration, and subjected to anathema anyone who adds or removes, or will add or will remove'. Therefore, since the present Latins do not follow the confession of their predecessors, it follows that they, too, are subject to this penalty. Blastares criticizes 'the audacity and madness' (θράσους καὶ ἀπονοίας) of contemporary Latins who wish to attract people to their own doctrine [**21**]. He makes specific reference to the Letter sent to Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, 'who as all know was intending to impose the Latin doctrine at the time', by Pope Gregory X (1271-1276),[94] 'who having supposedly spoken on theological matters up to some point, then blasphemed against the Holy Spirit, and unashamedly put forth such a voice from the evil treasure of his heart: *If you confess the said faith, we are ready to accept you*' — a strong remark! Blastares

[92] On Pope Nicholas I, see J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford-N. York, 1988²), pp. 107-109.

[93] See F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 91-131; T.M. Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century* (Kalamazoo, 2008), pp. 49-54.

[94] On Pope Gregory X, see Kelly, *Popes,* pp. 197-198.

concludes by stressing that the unity of the Church is based on the acceptance of a single doctrine, as Paul said, *One Lord, one faith, one baptism* (Ephesians 4:5), cited within a short passage of Basil of Caesarea (*Letter* 226), which further emphasizes the need for the faith to remain unadulterated.

***Civil law and the Saints on the condemnation of heretics* [22]**

Civil law, Matthaios continues, defines a heretic as the one who even slightly diverges from the orthodox faith (ὁ μικρὸν ἐκκλίνων τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, αἱρετικός ἐστιν ὡς ὁ πολιτικὸς ὁρίζεται νόμος) citing *verbatim* a passage from Balsamon's *Nomocanon*, which he had already used in his *Syntagma*, with reference to *Epanagoge* (53, 4) and *Basilica* (1, 1, § 18) [**22**]. Those who do not concur with the common canon of the Church clearly hold heretical views, preferring whatever they may choose among the common and universal doctrines. Those who subvert the Gospel and do not observe the definitions of the faith would not escape a writ for holding a heretical opinion. It is clear that those people, including 'the Italian' who disobeys the Symbol of the Faith (τὸν ὅρον τῆς πίστεως ὁ Ἰταλὸς ἀθετῶν), Matthaios remarks, deserve excommunication as holding outright heretical views (ὡς ἄντικρυς αἱρετίζοντας). Using long passages from John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* and *On the Holy Pentecost*, Blastares stresses that the Fathers condemn any alteration whatsoever to the doctrine. 'No one in his right mind', Matthaios exclaims, 'would be content with being in communion with the Latins, when the very foundation <of the faith> is at risk of being overturned' or include the Pope among 'the orthodox arch-shepherds of Christ' (τοῖς εὐσεβέσι φήσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρχιποίμεσιν). Such a view would inevitably bring about the condemnation of its agent and the penalty it deserves. Blastares closes this section by reiterating the basis on which the Christian faith is founded, namely that 'there is one cause of the divinely-originated hypostases (ἓν … τὸ αἴτιον τῶν θεαρχικῶν … ὑποστάσεων), as all Saints hold and teach as a doctrine in accordance with the saying of the Gospel, *For no other foundation can anyone lay than that which is laid <which is Jesus Christ>* (1 Corinthians 3:11), indeed not even if this is *an angel from heaven* (Galatians 1:8)'. 'Enough about these', Blastares exclaims. 'What one could say in order to check them insofar as their destructive and erroneous opinion on the existence of the Holy Spirit is concerned, has *almost* (σχεδόν) been said!'

This closing remark is important, for it draws to the reader's attention that the author intends to re-visit this subject, which he does, very briefly though, in the conclusion [**60**], thus providing us with a clue concerning the composition of the various sections of the *Refutation*.[95]

## On the *azymes* [23-37]

### *On the use of* azymes *by the Latins in the Eucharist with relation to the celebration of Easter* [23]

Blastares then moves on to refute the Latin custom of the use of *azymes*, namely unleavened bread, in the Eucharist in juxtaposition with the use of leavened bread (*enzymos artos*) by the Orthodox, largely with reference to the date and other details concerning the celebration of the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter [**23**-**37**].[96] This section seems to be the most original part of the *Refutation*. For this reason we shall present its author's views as close as possible to the original text.

Matthaios starts with the symbolism of the leaven (ζύμη) in the Old and New Testament. In a long section, which serves as a preamble to the more 'technical' discussion of the *azymes*, he associates philosophical and theological concepts concerning the creation of the world and man with the symbolism of leaven [**23**]. He takes as a point of departure the creation of the universe (τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ παντός) and the appearance of the holy mysteries or rites (τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀργίων) in the Old Testament in a symbolic way (συμβολικῶς) and more clearly in the New Testament when these were received by the faithful through initiation (μυήσεις). This material and visible world, Matthaios says, comes into existence in nothing more than the perception of God (οὐδενὶ πλέον, ἢ ἐν νοήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ) — a world which would be lifeless, senseless and no better than a dead body if it were not for the consent and

[95] See below, pp. 107-108.

[96] On the use of *Azymes* and a discussion on the controversy between the two sides, see J.H. Erickson, 'Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054', *SVQ* 14/3 (1970), 155-176; M.H. Smith, *And Taking Bread… Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris, 1978); J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology, Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, repr. 1983²), pp. 95-96; Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, pp. 37-39, 190. On the debate over azymes in Latin theological circles in this period, see Ch. Schabel, 'The Quarrel over Unleavened Bread in Western Theology, 1234-1439', in *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, pp. 85-127.

affinity of the One Who truly exists (πρός γε τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος νεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκείωσιν). In this material world, Blastares continues, some beings were created and made not from an underlying matter (οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένης … ὕλης) (i.e., incorporeal beings, e.g., angels) and others from an underlying matter (ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης) (i.e., corporeal beings, e.g., man) through the divine Logos [**23**.1-19]. Since there is much difference between the nature of the created world and the nature of its Creator, Matthaios goes on, in His providence 'God the best artificer' (ἀριστοτέχνης Θεός) made the whole visible creation depend on Him and desire Him. In this way the beings which were created (τὰ γεγενημένα) —the former of which (those *not from an underlying matter*; i.e., the incorporeal beings) were provided with the means of their being (τοῦ εἶναι) while the latter ones (those *from an underlying matter*; i.e., the corporeal beings) with the means of living (τοῦ ζῆν)— were to have sufficient permanence thereafter, since God selected from each nature as much as was proper, bringing together their powers and qualities in one and the same (εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγών), placing under them as if were a kind of dough (ὥς τι φύραμα ὑποθέμενος) of a distinct nature which pours forth in abundance (πολύχουν τῇ φύσει καὶ διακεκριμένον), implanting in it the rational and intellectual soul (τὴν λογικὴν ψυχήν τε καὶ νοεράν) as if a kind of leaven which unites, joins and moves all (ὡσανεί τινα ζύμην ἑνωτικὴν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ συνεκτικὴν καὶ κινητικήν) [**23**.20-30].

In this way, having joined the two natures (incorporeal and corporeal), which are diametrically opposed to each other, God completed one living being, that is man, with the intellectual soul (τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς) mixed up, through ineffable natural bonds, with the thick and visible matter (ὕλῃ τῇ παχυτάτῃ καὶ ὁρωμένῃ), as if in a mixture of leaven (ὡς ἐν φυράματι ζύμης). For what reason? This was because the intellectual soul, Matthaios replies, would undertake to sing hymns to God (ἡ νοερὰ ψυχὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμνῳδίας ἐπιλάβηται), from Whom it received the abundant and lavish graces, marvelling at His magnificence and supernatural and infinite powers. This is the only thing that He Who has no need by nature (ὁ τῇ φύσει … ἀνενδεής) needs from us and for our sake (πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν … δεῖται), namely that at this point the whole world is joined with the intellectual soul, inasmuch as He would use a tongue in this

soul (ὅσα καὶ γλώττῃ χρώμενος ταύτῃ), through which the world would be able to praise and glorify the One Who gave the gift of the soul's existence [**23**.30-41].

Blastares then proceeds with interpreting the symbolism of Moses' priestly attire, which the Prophet used to wear when he entered the sanctuary in order to give prayers and perform sacrifices, thus entering the whole world in himself through the holy vestments he covered himself with (alluding to *Exodus* 28): the robe of the ephod imitates the air (μίμημα … ἀέρος … ὁ ποδήρης χιτών), the water is symbolised by the hems (ὕδατος … οἱ ῥοΐσκοι), the earth by the pomegranate (γῆς τὸ ἄνθινον), the fire by the scarlet (πυρὸς τὸ κόκκινον), the heaven by the shoulder strap (οὐρανοῦ, ἡ τῆς ἐπωμίδος κατασκευή) on which the two onyx stones symbolise its two hemispheres (ἐφ' ἧς οἱ δύο περιφερεῖς σμάραγδοι, τῶν τούτου ἡμισφαιρίων σύμβολα), while the twelve stones on the breast stand for the zodiac cycle (τοῦ δὲ ζωοφόρου κύκλου, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων δώδεκα λίθοι). Finally, the breastplate (τὸ λογεῖον) symbolises the Logos Who brings together and rules the universe (τοῦ … συνέχοντος καὶ διοικοῦντος Λόγου τὰ σύμπαντα) [**23**.41-51].

It is the Logos, Matthaios stresses, Who, as if He were a kind of leaven joined with a dough which carries many riddles (ὡς ἄν τις ζύμη, πολυσχεδεῖ ἑνωθεῖσα φυράματι), unites and brings together all in concordance, communion, unanimity and union, lifting up towards the apprehension of Him Who is greater, from Whom men have been granted their existence (τὸ εἶναι) and their preservation (τὸ διαμένειν) [**23**.52-56].

However, Matthaios continues, man's happiness (or bliss) (εὐδαιμονίαν) lasted only for a short while. For not bearing the great honour of free will (τῇ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου ἐλευθερίᾳ), which enters along with the nature of reason (ὃ δὴ τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ συνεισέρχεται φύσει), man took no heed to the Lord's commandments and made a treaty with the devil, exchanging the light for darkness, the truth for error. Since man did not respect the natural law (i.e., to praise and glorify God), which the creative Logos appointed as our implacable judge and guide for what ought to be done, from then on the leaven of the Logos which was implanted in us was diverted from the natural and vital power, and turned into an acid and corrupting humour, from which all destructive passions flow enslaving the powers of the soul. The devil easily

overtook us by ordering us to follow not the narrow and difficult path of prudence and justice but instead the easy path of licentiousness and lawlessness [**23**.56-73].

Once evil prevailed, Blastares continues, there was no other way left to God in order to cure fallen mankind, that is, a way proper for human nature which is logical and endowed with free will —for to force one to return towards the better path is proper only to a nature which is illogical and unreasonable—, than *giving the Law in order to help* (Isaiah 8:20). In this way, the Hebrews received some faint reflections of piety, together with their long enslavement by the Pharaoh and the Egyptians, from which they were delivered, through extraordinary powers, by Moses who above all knew God. By resuming the old freedom of mankind while at the same time mixing things which are beyond human senses with the changes that happen in our life, which however are perceived through our senses, Moses taught ways of symbolic rites which can be understood even by infants who have not reached the age of the Spirit, veiled in various ways, thus guarding the mystery of Christ. For this symbol was sufficient to set those who chose to lead a good life, free from the devil and abrogate the old evil for them [**23**.73-97].

From then on the Hebrews were taught to celebrate Easter (Πάσχα) —which according to Josephus, Blastares remarks, means 'Pass over' (ὃ δηλοῖ διάβασιν, ἢ ὑπερβασίαν)— on the fourteenth day of the first month in the evening (Leviticus 23:5-6). This rite prescribed the sacrifice of a one-year-old lamb whose blood, anointed on the barks of trees (ταῖς φλοιαῖς), which symbolise the senses, averts the devil who is used to destroying the first movements of the soul through the imaginations of things opportune. The flesh of the lamb, which is seen in flames by those who are about to consume it, manifests the warmth and inflamed desire of these people for virtue. For unless the appeal against the evil was complete, Blastares states, and the darkness of sin prevented it, the brilliance of virtue would not have shone forth [**23**.97-107].

Moses the lawgiver commanded that on the day after the celebration of Easter it should be allowed to eat unleavened bread (Numbers 28:16-17). This was not prescribed before. Thus, Moses simply kept away from the Egyptian and godless dough, while by raising above the ancient root of evil those who have an uplifted and

not entirely worthless mind, Matthaios says, he removed the disgrace of the old, acid and killing leaven, with which the devil, the *venomous dragon* (ἰοβόλος δράκων) entrapped the first man, Adam, thus imparting it to human nature. It was forbidden to partake of this leaven not only for seven days —what an advantage it would be to renounce the mean acts in such a short time!, Blastares exclaims— but throughout the course of our life, seven days a week, thus allowing time to be easily calculated [**23**.107-120].

Both these laws taught us in a symbolic way. The consumption of the lamb implied the enlightenment of the benevolent Spirit which is born in our souls —for in this way we become *partakers of the divine nature* as Peter says (2 Peter 1:4)—, while the provision of leaven prepares us to do better actions and enables us to refuse the awkwardness of the worst passions, so that we do not appear unworthy of the gift, having led a life in error and carelessness. In other words, the first way kindles the *theoretical* part (*τὸ θεωρητικὸν*) of the soul and the second stimulates its *practical* part (*τὸ πρακτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς*) [**23**.120-129].[97]

However, though we were educated through the Law, Matthaios remarks, we did not change, and despite the fact that we were led by the prophecies we were not recalled to the knowledge of truth. Because of our abundant ingratitude everything was in danger to be delivered to corruption and human beings would clearly be dissolved by the poison of the ancient leaven, since all limbs, especially the more crucial limbs of the soul, would be destroyed. When God in His love for mankind saw that we rejected the education of the Law and that we neglected the instruction of the prophets, He did not launch thunderbolts, neither did He set the land apart, nor did He let the waters loose (alluding to the Flood), as He used to punish those who were impious before, but in His abundant benevolence He won over our abundant ingratitude. For the only-begotten Son of God seeing that our nature was suffering much from impiety and that it was entirely overtaken by madness caused by the evil passion —which was not yet in need of cure in order to be re-fashioned—, without separating from the paternal bosom and with the consent of His consubstantial Father and the co-operation of the

[97] Cf. Philoponus, *Commmentary on Aristotle's On the Soul,* p. 520.

connatural Spirit, He comes to live amongst us without changing (ἀτρέπτως), not by moving to another place, but by His incarnation in our midst [**23**.129-147].

Therefore, contrary to what had happened before, namely that the greater being (God) trusts (πιστεύει) the worst of the material beings (man), in order for the world not to become topsy-turvy, the disorder concerning the change of the created beings plunders what is natural in them (i.e., to praise and glorify God), He joins the change of nature of those beings which belong to the worse part —once they are entirely purified (ἀπειλικρινημένα κατάκρας) from the evil opinion, thus returning to their previous condition—, with His own greater nature according to hypostasis. Thus, speaking to us as God and Man (θεανδρικῶς), He, Who is inaccessible in His nature, made the evil leaven withdraw and alter gradually, at the same time freely introducing what concerns the better hope (τὰ … τῆς κρείττονος ἐλπίδος) [**23**.147-155].

***Leavened bread is appropriate for those who receive the graces of God*** **[24-24.3]**

As part of his 'theoretical' discussion over leaven and unleavened bread, Blastares introduces a section in which he expounds on the recipients of God's gifts, dividing them into three groups which correspond to three parts or periods in which time is divided [**24**]. Christ presided (πρυτανεύων ἦν) over three major groups in terms of time, so that no one belonging to each of these groups would be left without a share of the common gift which is beyond understanding (τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν … δωρεᾶς). Thus, in His love for mankind (φιλανθρώπως), Christ did not deny this gift to some while granting it to others, but he extended it equally to those who are still living (τοῖς ἔτι περιοῦσι), to those who have departed (τοῖς ἤδη ἀπογενομένοις καὶ οἰχομένοις) and who are numerous, and to those who will succeed us (τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις ἡμῖν), directly granting to each group respectively, change for the better (τὴν εἰς τὰ κρείττω μεταβολήν), freedom (τὴν ἐλευθερίαν), and regeneration to immortality (τὴν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν … ἀναγέννησιν).

Among those who are still living and those who conversed with Christ, some of them He took care of through the best of acts, and not through the observance of the Law (which does not differ in those who have good judgement), instead He showed them another shorter way which leads to God and is no less followed by those who elevate

themselves towards philosophy, which led us to fall into error in the past [**24.1**]. He reformed the souls of those who are evil, including tax farmers, thieves, burglars and prostitutes, for the better through advice and admonitions, thus reviving the old characters which nature originally implanted and saved them from evil, proclaiming them workers of the perfect virtue (τελεωτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐργάτας). Through those few people whom He reformed Christ changed completely the whole world (πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀθρόως μετέβαλε) and, exactly as the dough is the nature of leaven (ἡ τῆς ζύμης φύσις), He proved that the leaven which looked as if it diverted and was in error in the past (ἐξεστηκόσι καὶ παραπαίουσιν ἐοικυῖαν), is prudent and decent (σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν ἀπέδειξεν).

Nonetheless, Blastares points out, paradoxically Christ used the devil as a servant for the sake of our own reform. This leads to an examination of how divine goodness (ἀγαθόν), wisdom (σοφόν), righteousness (δίκαιον) and might (δυνατὸν) are manifest through the incarnation of the Logos [**24.1.1**]. God's goodness is manifest since He consented for His own creature to be saved, for He could not bear seeing it insulted and utterly destroyed [**24.1.1.1**]. God's wisdom is shown by the fact that when He found man in raging madness against His own image, He took the trouble to save him using the evil of the devil as was necessary, just as doctors use the serpent to cure diseases. As is stated (by Symeon of Mesopotamia), *evil co-operates with good through forechoice which is not good (τὸ κακόν, συνεργεῖ τῷ ἀγαθῷ προαιρέσει οὐ καλῇ).* For this reason Christ did not remove the devil so that the contest would show forth those who are best (the Saints) and become the models of bravery. Even though he prevented the devil's violent attack through the guardian angels, nevertheless he allowed the anguish of our thoughts [**24.1.1.2**]. Christ also preserved the word of righteousness not by granting freedom in a tyrannical way to those who voluntarily know how to obey (καθυπείξαντας) the demons, or by allowing a man who was defeated in the past to fight against the devil instead of another man, but *because by man came death, by Man also came the resurrection of the dead* (1 Corinthians 15:21), in order that, since the devil overthrew us in his hope to become God, he would be tempted by the obstacle of the flesh (σαρκὸς … προβλήματι) [**24.1.1.3**]. The proof of Christ's natural might is that he moves forcefully to fulfil the cure, while those who are worthy do not suffer anything

from the treatment, though He *Who takes away the sin of the world* (John 1:29) took up our sins and carried the illness; at that stage He was seeing the present time (ἐνεστὼς … τοῦ χρόνου) [**24.1.1.4**]. The souls of the Saints who had long departed were receiving freedom, vindicated through the right of the One [i.e., Christ] Who was against him [i.e., the devil] who acted tyrannically, exactly as when the souls of the Saints were condemned in the past (παρεληλυθότι) through the trespass of one [i.e., Adam] (cf. Romans 5:18). In the same way those who were born and died in the past were benefited [**24.2**]. Christ did not refuse to help those who came after Him but He gave himself as a gift to us at that time through the holy baptism which regenerates us to immortality, by bequeathing the ageless and truly blessed life, and by offering his life-giving flesh as food to those who approach him and drink his holy blood. By uniting and mixing with these holy gifts as if it were a dough in a leaven which is put to good use (ὡς δή τι φύραμα εὐχρήστῳ ζύμῃ), we, who prior to this are scattered and dispersed into various glories and imaginations, are transformed (μεταστοιχειούμεθα) into the Lord's glory and splendour, for He said, *Whoever eats My flesh and drinks My blood has eternal life* (John 6:54). This exposed the affection a mother feels for her children, for the mother holds her nipple to her child as the milk comes out naturally, while Christ does not spare his own flesh at all in order to come into communion with us. For humankind needed leaven in order for it to be re-modelled, and the rejection of this leaven introduces the denial of the incarnation of the Logos. Besides, the Lord shows that He calls Himself thus: *The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman*, that is the soul of each faithful, *took and hid in three measures of meal* (Matthew 13:33), which represent the three powers of the soul (τῆς ψυχῆς τρεῖς δυνάμεις), which need to be fermented and transformed in order to become more divine (ζυμοῦσθαι καὶ μεταποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ θειότερον), through God the Logos, Who has settled Himself in us, if indeed we know that he dwells in our hearts, *unless indeed* we *are disqualified* (2 Corinthians 13:5). The Logos leads on *till it was all leavened* (Matthew 13:33), namely the whole inner formation of the soul. For the kingdom of God was called metaphorically *leaven* and *seed*, Because it has vital, moving and growing power, as well as similar generating power (ζωτικὴν … δύναμιν, κινητικὴν καὶ αὐξητικήν, καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου γεννητικήν), just as dough without leaven lacks these qualities [**24.3**].

***Old and New Testament sayings concerning leavened bread with relation to Christ's sacrifice*** **[25-25.2]**

Returning to the discussion of the symbolism of leaven in the Old Testament, Blastares offers an interpretation of a number of Scriptural sayings which link the Old with the New Testament [**25**]. Moses, who saw God, Blastares says, had depicted in advance (προζωγραφῶν) the sacrifice of our Lord for the sake of the common freedom of men in the end of time, by ordering the sacrifice of a lamb on the fourteenth day of the first month when the sun sets. This also hinted at the descent of the *Sun of justice* (i.e., Christ) to the treasuries of Hades (εἰς Ἅιδου ταμεῖα). This Moses called Passover (Πάσχα) prohibiting the consumption of unleavened bread on the day after, as he says in Leviticus (23:5-6), *On the fourteenth day of the first month at twilight is the Lord's Passover, and on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread to the Lord*, and in Numbers (28:16-17), *On the fourteenth day of the first month is the Passover of the Lord, and on the fifteenth day of this month is the feast; unleavened bread shall be eaten for seven days.*

Christ is symbolised also in Isaiah (53:7), where it is said that *He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before its shearers is silent, so He opened not His mouth* [**25.1**]. Similarly, when John the Baptist saw the One Who was long expected he said, *Behold! The Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world* (John 1:29). Nowhere, Blastares stresses, was the unleavened bread perceived by the interpreters of the Spirit as the symbol of the incarnation of the Lord, because the leavened bread was mixed without being confused in the womb of the Virgin and was fed as a lamb in her womb. Thus, Blastares concludes, our argument (ὁ λόγος) demonstrated how necessary it was even in the Old Testament to prescribe the use of leavened bread in the sacrament of Eucharist (ἀναγκαίαν … τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐνζύμου θυσίας, τοῦ … μυστηρίου ἱερουργίαν) as a symbol of the mystery which was hidden from us for centuries. For the same reason, Matthaios continues, Paul said *our Passover, Christ was sacrificed for us* (1 Corinthians 5:7) [**25.2**]. What the Law declared with the lamb, was fulfilled by the grace in Christ. It is entirely inappropriate, Blastares finally points out, to speak of sacrifice and slaughter in relation to lifeless and dead bodies, as in fact the *azymes* are by nature.

***On Paul's sayings concerning leaven* [26]**

The Latins claim, Blastares continues, that Paul prescribes and commands that leaven should not be mixed with the dough (1 Corinthians 5:6-7).[98] This argument, Matthaios argues, is based on a wrong interpretation of Paul's saying. For the Apostle used the image of leaven metaphorically (τροπικῶς) in an excellent way, as a method of moral teaching, inviting each one of us to do better actions, at the same time advising us to keep away from the worse actions. By asking the Corinthians, *Do you not know that a little leaven leavens the whole dough?* Paul checked a person who had unlawful sexual relations (with his step-mother; cf. 1 Corinthians 5:1). In the same way that this *little leaven* which is hidden in the large dough is not destroyed but changes it no less towards its own (evil or poisonous) habituation (πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἕξιν), Blastares remarks, we are also infected by evil when we associate ourselves with such a person, at the same time turning the powers of our soul to the disposition of the evil. Insisting on this metaphor (τῇ μεταφορᾷ), Paul states *purge out the old leaven,* that is the swarm of the passions, which besiege the condition of the soul and were introduced by the original sin (ἡ πάλαι παράβασις). Paul did not say 'purify' (καθάρατε), Blastares continues, but explicitly used the word *purge* (ἐκκαθάρατε), so that no shadow or trace of this *little leaven* remains —for the faithful should be set free from all evil and genuinely inspect their soul, in order to remove all impure thoughts—, *so that you may be a new dough, since you truly are unleavened* (1 Corinthians 5:7). By *new dough* Paul means, according to Blastares, those purified in body and soul through the commandments of the life in Christ (τῆς κατὰ Χριστόν … πολιτείας). As fas as Paul's dictum *our Passover, Christ was sacrificed for us* (1 Corinthians 5:7) is concerned, Blastares continues, John Chrysostom (in his *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*) explains it in a way that supports rather the orthodox interpretation: *He did not say 'died', but preferred 'sacrificed' which is more familiar in this context. Therefore you should not ask about such azymes, because you do not have such a lamb; for since truth has come, there is no room for symbols.* Using the allegory (ἀλληγορούμενον) of this example, Blastares states, Paul did not say 'Therefore let us keep the feast, with new unleavened bread made of wheat and water'. He said, *Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, nor with the leaven of*

[98] With reference to Paul's *dictum* Anselm of Canterbury, in his *Letter to Bishop Walram of Naumberg on the Sacrifice of Unleavened and Leavened Bread*, stresses the symbolic superiority of the unleavened bread without condemning the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist by the Greeks: *Epistola de sacrificio azimi et fermentati*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1946), pp. 223-232; trans. by J. Hopkins & H. Richardson, *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Anslem of Canterbury* (Minneapolis, 2000), pp. 515-522. A similar approach is followed by Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III, 74, 4. See Ch. Schabel, 'The Quarrel over Unleavened Bread in Western Theology, 1234-1439', in *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History,* pp. 98-100, 110-111.

*malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth* (1 Corinthians 5:8), meaning the pure life (καθαρᾶς … πολιτείας) and correct faith (ὀρθῆς πίστεως). By using the word *feast* Paul encourages the faithful to celebrate not only during certain periods but throughout their life, indicating without any exaggeration the abundance of graces bestowed on us. In addition, Matthaios states, by attending this feast in an honourable way proper to excellent acts, what wears the defiled attire of sin is clothed with that which is joyous by nature and polished by virtue, thus removing the sullen and gloomy attire of sin.

***Evidence concerning the use of leaven by Christ in the Last Supper* [27-30]**

No less, Blastares continues, from the specific time during when the Lord dined together with the disciples celebrating the greatest of feasts it is clear that He did not share unleavened bread with them then [**27**]. The first man, Adam, was created by the hand of God on the sixth day of the first month, when daylight prevailed over the light of night, for it was full moon at that time [**27.1**]. It was proper for man, whose name means 'light',[99] to receive his being when all were full of light, while on the seventh day everything that was created for him acted as satellites around him with proper order. The only thing that was needed then in order to be honoured was the blessing of God. The seventh day was given the name of rest (i.e., Sabbath), since nothing new happened on that day. The Creator of all considering it a bad thing should such a work of His own hands, that is man, be overtaken by incurable passions and so harmed — omitting what happened in between— He deemed it worthy, insofar as man's salvation is concerned, to do nothing less than use the best device, since His wisdom which is beyond every mind knew that it was the appropriate time. Observing for a year, it happened that during the week in which Easter was prescribed in the Old Law all elements of the first creation —the equinox, the sixth day and the luminosity of the full moon— as if by some kind of mutual agreement came together, for these do not always coincide. These used to be (εἰώθει) in this way. At that moment, Christ handed Himself to those who wanted to hasten onward His death. For He was the steward of his own arrangements. For this reason, He said, *Father the time has come* (John 17:1), so

[99] See LSJ, *sv* φώς and *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*, ed. F.W. Sturz (Leipzig, 1818; repr. 1973), p. 560; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogi (*Lib. 1), PG 8, col. 284.16-17.

that the re-creation (ἀνάπλασις) of man occurs at the same time when the first creation (πλάσις) of man took place, that the perfection of the true Easter (ἀληθινοῦ Πάσχα) would bloom in the symbolism of that of the Old Law (τοῦ νομικοῦ), and the originator of the evil side and the injury of the whole of humankind (i.e., the devil) should be cured by the wound of His side. This enabled us to enter the paternal home (i.e., Paradise) at the same time when we were expelled from it, since He Who first broke through (τοιχορύχου) opened its gates in no time. Then a cycle was accomplished, which should not be ignored by the ordinary people, namely the twenty-third cycle of the sun and the tenth cycle of the moon, in the year five thousand five hundred and thirty-nine (i.e., when Christ was in his thirtieth year of age, if one calculates the creation of the world according to the established Byzantine era: 5508-9).

The Jewish Passover was about to be celebrated on Friday evening, as is clear from the saying, *But they themselves did not go into the Praetorium, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover* (John 18:28) [**27.2**]. If therefore, Blastares points out, the time for eating *azymes* had not yet come when the Last Supper was taking place —for it was in that very day when the Jews celebrated their feast that the Lord visited Hades chasing and plundering its elements—, then when did He share the *azymes* with his disciples? For, according to David, *He has ascended* the cross *on high*, and *has led captive* for our salvation, *the captivity* which is guarded under the earth (Psalms 67 [68]:19) — quite extraordinary (ὃ καὶ παράδοξον)! Similarly, John Chrysostom (in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*), interpreting the same saying (John 18:28), states that *The Lord handed down His own Easter the day before, keeping His own sacrifice on a Friday, when the Old Easter was taking place*. Blastares continues with Matthew 'the most excellent among the Evangelists' (Ὁ γοῦν ἄριστος τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν Ματθαῖος), an expression that stresses the authority of the Evangelist concerning the explicit statement about the azymes. Matthew stated, *Now on the first day of the Feast of the Unleavened Bread* (Matthew 26:17) [**27.3**]. By this he means, Blastares remarks, the day before the *azymes* which coincided with Thursday, the same day which John calls *before the Feast of the Passover* (John 13:1). This is the same day on which, after the Last Supper, the extraordinary mystery of the basin took place, when Christ washed his disciples' feet (cf. John 13:5-11). Matthew the Evangelist also states that the disciples approached

Jesus and asked *where* did He want them to prepare *the Easter*; and when they received His reply and prepared it, it was already evening, when the moon was in its thirteenth cycle, and *He sat down with his* disciples (Matthew 26:20).

There are some people, Blastares goes on, who speculate —for the Evangelist Matthew is not explicit on this— that Christ and His disciples sat down to eat before the Jewish Passover, as prescribed by the Law, and after this Jesus sat down with His principal disciples (οἱ ἄκροι τῶν μαθητῶν) (namely the twelve Apostles), initiating them into the great mysteries through the sensible symbols of the holy Supper [**28**]. This is not far from impossible, Blastares says. For, had Christ been caught celebrating Easter before the specific time prescribed by the Jewish Law, He would have been accused of the ultimate crime (παρανομίας … τῆς ἐσχάτης) on the grounds that He transgressed the Law. In such a case, it would be impossible for Him to act as symbol of the truth which has come down to us and of the irrational lamb which delivered us from irrationality by introducing instead a sacrificial offering. Therefore, the Jewish Passover had not yet arrived at that time in order for Christ and the disciples to eat (the lamb), as He must have done in the past following the Jewish custom, so that He would not appear to transgress also the rest of the commandments of the Law, thus showing that He is opposing God (ἀντίθεος). If indeed He had already eaten (ἐβεβρώκει) the Jewish Passover (lamb) which acts as a symbol (τὸ τυπικόν) while He was standing (ὄρθιος), before he (sat to) eat celebrating the true Easter (πρό γε τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ), which the Jewish custom does not permit, nevertheless this was not that Jewish Passover which had decayed in the course of time (τὸ χρόνῳ παλαιωθὲν ἐκεῖνο). For Christ said, *Do this* new one (τὸ καινὸν) (with reference to the New Covenant) *in remembrance of Me* (Luke 22:19-20, 1 Corinthians 11:24-25). On this saying John Chrysostom comments as follows: *Do you see how He removes and keeps away the Jewish <customs>? For this reason He said 'Do this', so that He would lead <us> away. For if this <act> grants forgiveness of sins, the other* [i.e., the Jewish Passover] *is redundant* (περιττὸν) [**28.1**]. Then, according to Matthew the Evangelist (26:26), *He took the bread, blessed and broke it, and gave it to the disciples and said, 'Take, eat; this is My body'* [**28.2**]. At this point Christ calls his own body *bread* (ἄρτον) but not 'unleavened' (οὐκ ἄζυμον), since bread is life-giving (ζωτικὸν) and stimulating motion (κινητικόν), and it can introduce sufficient natural warmth to

those who come close to it. Using a word-play which is full of symbolism, Blastares remarks that properly speaking Christ would be said to be *bread* (ἄρτος) as He is *complete* (ἄρτιος), for He is not lacking anything. It would also be said that not only does He lift up (αἴρειν) but He also brings up (πρὸς τὰ ἄνω φέρειν) with reference to the dough and the salt, as He has the warmth and the ability to elevate (τὴν ἔπαρσιν ἔχων). The *azymes*, on the other hand, are not different from a lifeless stone and brick stuck to the earth by the natural motion downwards (διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν πρὸς τὰ κάτω φοράν) (gravity). Christ also said, *this is my body, the new covenant.* By stating *new*, Blastares continues, referring to the New Covenant that makes us spiritual, He expelled the Old Covenant, for as Paul said, *now what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away* (Hebrews 8:13). Also John the Evangelist, wanting to show more clearly that this bread was leavened (ἔνζυμον εἶναι τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον), stated, *Now before the Feast of the Passover* (John 13:1), the *supper being ended* (13:2), *having dipped the piece of bread* (*ψωμίον*) *He gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the piece of bread* (*ψωμίον*), *Satan entered him* (13:27) [**28.3**]. John used *ψωμίον*, Blastares remarked, not in order to show contempt (καταφρονῶν) for the body of the Lord but to mock the shamelessness of the traitor Judas. For those who are nurtured along with evil and approach the mysteries more recklessly (ἰταμώτερον) deserve nothing else than that (οὐδέν τι πλέον ἀπώνανται). The more one rages therefore and breathe forth like mad, against the devil (τοῦ ἐχθροῦ), Blastares continues, the more forcefully fever inflames and reduces the bodies which are impure (μὴ καθαρὰ) and in need of good (or useful) food (τροφῇ κεχρημένα χρηστῇ); just as the sun, which is pleasing to all when it shines forth, removes even the moderate light of dawn once we close our eyes. In other words, one should be pure and receive good and useful food and should keep his/her eyes open to look at the true Light.

Following the Evangelists Paul called the divine gift *bread* and not something else (ἄρτον καὶ οὐκ ἄλλό τι). In his First Epistle to the Corinthians (10:16) he said, *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* [**28.4**]. In the same way, therefore, that this body was united with Christ, we unite with Him through this bread (διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου); and what Christ did not suffer on the cross —for *not one of His bones shall be broken* (John 19:36; cf. Exodus 12:10, 46; Psalms 33 [34]:21; Numbers

9:12)— He suffers and endures for our sake during the offering of the *prosphora* of the Eucharist (ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς) by being broken into pieces (διακλώμενος) so that He falls upon all (ἵνα πάντας ἐμπλήση). What is communicated is different from the one to whom it is communicated. But Christ removed even this small difference when He said, *For we, though many, are one bread and one body* (1 Corinthians 10:17). He did not say 'many bodies' (Οὐχὶ πολλά) but *one body* of Christ, for since the nature of our own flesh was mortified as a result of the (original) sin, the Lord re-introduced another leaven (ἑτέραν ἐπεισήγαγε ζύμην), that is His own flesh, which is of the same nature as our own but free from sin and full of life so that by being fed by it and putting aside the previous dead leaven we mix ourselves with the living and immortal one through this table (i.e., altar) (διὰ τῆς τραπέζης … ταύτης). Paul also states, *For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you* (1 Corinthians 11:23). Though Paul was not present at that time in order for him to have precise knowledge, Blastares points out, this table had nothing more than our own present divine table (i.e., altar). For *the Lord on the same night in which He was betrayed took bread; and when He had given thanks, He broke it and said, "Take, eat; this is My body which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of Me."* (1 Corinthians 11:23-24). *Do this,* He said, namely what is full of grace and truth and not that which was prescribed by the Jewish Law in a symbolic way. In fact, he called the divine gift *bread* not once but a number of times. Therefore, Blastares stresses, there is agreement among the Evangelists and the Apostles on this. Had the Saviour shared unleavened bread with his disciples during the Last Supper, what prevented the Apostles from saying that He took unleavened bread in accordance with the Old Law, He broke it, and handed it to the disciples? But this is impossible. For since they had precise knowledge (Ἀκριβῶς γὰρ εἰδότες), so that the leaven was not removed when they were partaking of the divine supper, they used leavened bread without fear (ζυμίταις ἄρτοις, ἀδεῶς πάντες ἐκέχρηντο), and they said that the Lord gave to His disciples bread (ἄρτον), as if it were perfect and complete (ἄρτιον), mixed with salt and leaven; and this was the Lord's own body, for this bread is simply changed through a certain ineffable and divine power in this very body of the Lord, even though to our eyes this is (simply) bread as a result of our own weakness (ἀσθένειαν). For, we would not bear to touch raw flesh covered by red blood!

John Chrysostom, Blastares argues, in his *Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel* states that the archpriests of their own accord delayed (ἐθελοντὰς ὑπερθέσθαι) the celebration of Passover and preferred to break the Law which they prepared (ἐξήρτυον) for the death of the Lord, since the occasion did not permit either of the two (i.e., to delay the celebration or to break the Law). The reason for their decision is that *they were boiling with anger against Him, for Christ would have not transgressed the Law concerning the Passover, while they, who dared to do anything, trampled on numberless laws* [**29**]. Though Chrysostom severely and justly criticized them, Blastares continues, nevertheless the Saint failed to examine at that point another possibility (ἐξώσθη τοῦ πιθανοῦ). He himself is the witness of this. For in his *Commentary on John's Gospel*, drawing more precise attention to the Evangelist's account (ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιστήσας τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸν νοῦν), he stated that the Lord handed to us our own Easter *a day earlier*, *keeping his own sacrifice for Friday, when the old Easter was taking place*, so that he would not lead the Jews to break the Law also on these grounds. For John the Evangelist states (18:28) that, *They led Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment* —having arrested Christ in the middle of the night, they first dragged Him down to Caiaphas' house and therefore led Him to the hall of judgment early next morning— *and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled*, so that they would participate in the celebration of the Passover (John 18:28). Further down the Evangelist says, *The Jews therefore, so that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day* (i.e., Saturday), *because it was the preparation* (i.e., Friday), *for that Sabbath day* (i.e., Saturday) *was a high day* (John 19:31), given that Saturday coincided with the feast of the Jewish Passover. This proves, according to Blastares, that Christ celebrated Easter on Friday, for even if the archpriests intended to delay the celebration, which they consider the most important of all, this would have been impossible out of fear for the reaction of the people (τῷ φόβῳ κρουομένοις τοῦ δήμου), for this would seriously threaten them, since it would be both useless and senseless. Similarly, Blastares continues, certain people think that the archpriests were misled (πεπλανῆσθαι) and delayed (ὑπερτεθῆναι) the celebration. But even a child would not ignore the fact that it was the fourteenth <night> of the moon, which is diametrically opposed to the sun [**30**].

***Canon law prohibiting the use of* azymes [31-34]**

Matthaios then turns to canon law to refute the Latin use of *azymes* [**31**]. He points out the 70th Apostolic canon and the 11th canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680), both of which prohibit priests and laymen to receive and consume Jewish *azymes* (*τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄζυμα*) on the penalty of deposition and excommunication, respectively. If the Latins state that they do not receive the *azymes* in accordance with the Jewish custom but in doing so they offer these, this is not an agreeable answer (εὐπρόσωπος … ἀπολογία). For one who receives the *azymes* from himself is not different from one who receives them from another person, for in both cases one honours the Jewish customs thus causing a scandal and creating suspicion, in the same way that a person who circumcises himself not because he follows the custom of those who use circumcision would object, on the grounds that he does not hold their beliefs, since by transgressing the law in such a way, he would be led to transgress the ultimate law. The Latins (Οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς … οἰκήτορες Ῥώμης), Blastares continues, as if they did not consider it enough to blaspheme against the Holy Spirit unless they introduce innovations in the doctrine of the divine incarnation of the Lord, are not afraid of performing the awesome mysteries of Christ through unleavened bread, so that they complete their impiety and boldness. Now, some people consider that the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the liturgy is not a difference concerning faith. However, Blastares stresses, since the doctrine of the *azymes* originates from an erroneous teaching (οὐκ ἐξ ὑγιοῦς ὥρμηται τὸ τοῦ ἀζύμου δόγμα διδασκαλίας) it brings the greatest damage to the soul and danger to the ultimate goal (περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον), namely our salvation.

Apart from the fact that one who partakes of *azymes* in the liturgy is open to suspicion of holding the Jewish beliefs, about whom Paul says *whosoever of you are justified by the law, you are fallen from grace* (Galatians 5:4), this action asserts communion with three heresies, namely those of Arius, of the Akephaloi and of Apollinarius [**32**]. Arius degraded the creator of all creation, the Son and Logos of God, to a created being.[100] For this reason he taught such nonsense (ἐφλυάρει), namely that the man of the end of

[100] On Arius and his teachings see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London, 1977[5]; repr. 1993), pp. 226-231; 'Arius' and 'Arianism', in *ODCh*, pp.104, 99-100. See now L. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: an Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 15-20, 105-121.

time who was received by God the Logos for the salvation of the world (τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων, διὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίαν προσληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ) has no soul (ψυχῆς ἀμοιρεῖν), for the divinity was sufficient to fulfil (ἀποπληροῦν) the energies of the soul (τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργείας). Arius attached the passions of the flesh to the divinity, on the grounds that what concerns the one who moves the body concerns also the one who suffers. For this reason, those who accept Arius' views offer the body of the Lord unleavened (ἄζυμον), considering the divine incarnation imperfect (ἀτελῆ τὴν θείαν λογιζόμενοι σάρκωσιν). Secondly, Apollinarius falls into the same trap, foolishly teaching (ἀνοηταίνων, ἐδογμάτιζεν) that God the Logos received an animate but not sensible man, claiming that this man does not possess an intellectual soul (νοερὰν ψυχήν) but that of, say, a horse or an ox or any other senseless being (ἢ ἄλλου τῶν ἀνοήτων).[101] By removing the most important element of man, that is his mind (νοῦς), Apollinarius showed that what remains is an animal (κτῆνος τὸ λειπόμενον ἀπεδείκνυ); and an animal is not a human being. Finally, the followers of the heresy of the Akephaloi,[102] popular among the Armenians (ᾗ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων προσανέχουσι γένος), by mixing and confusing the two natures of Christ into one, and by teaching that the divinity is subject to suffering (τὴν θεότητα παθητὴν), thought that they need to perform the Divine Liturgy accordingly. For the bread we receive for sacrifice instead of Christ's flesh they call 'body of the divinity' and not 'body of Christ' (οὐ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ θεότητος λέγουσι σῶμα) [**33**].[103] In short, they are heretics. But those who have received the pure light of orthodoxy (τὴν καθαρὰν τῆς εὐσεβείας αἴγλην) and believe in the correct doctrine (ὑγιῶς δογματίζοντες) of the mystery of the incarnation stand apart from those who use *azymes* and from the heretics who invented them, considering communion with them to be communion with all heresy! If, therefore, we believe that the Saviour ascended in both sensible and animate flesh (ἔννουν τὲ καὶ ἔμψυχον σάρκα), considering His theandric hypostasis (τὴν αὐτοῦ θεανδρικὴν

[101] On Apollinarius see above, p. 41, n. 76.

[102] The name 'Akephaloi' (headless) was given to the strict Monophysites who refused to accept the head, i.e., the Patriarch, of Alexandria Peter Mongus, following Zeno's *Henotikon* (482). On Zeno's *Henotikon* see in general: W.T. Townsend, 'The Henotikon Schism and the Roman Church', *The Journal of Religion*, 16.1 (1936), 78-86; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J.M. Hussey (Oxford, 1956; 2007[9]), pp. 64-65; T.E. Gregory, 'Henotikon', *ODB* vol. 2, p. 913.

[103] On the Armenians see Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, pp. 37-38.

θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπόστασιν), that is His divinity and humanity, united in two perfect natures without confusion (ἀσυγχύτως ἡνωμέναις), then the offering must have both leaven and salt (ζύμην ἔχειν καὶ ἅλας). Otherwise, we justify these heresies. For, these two elements represent (ἐξεικονίζουσιν) the nature of the intellectual soul (τὴν τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς φύσιν): leaven (ζύμη) is a symbol of the nature that grows, moves and generates what is similar, while salt is simply a representation of the mind. For, as those who use salt as a preservative prevent corruption and putrefaction, naturally diminishing the porous, in the same way the power of the mind (ἡ τοῦ νοῦ δύναμις), being the emperor (αὐτοκράτωρ οὖσα) (in the sense of absolute ruler or master) of the irrational parts of the soul mastering the pleasures associated with these parts, does not allow us to behave in an incontinent and uncontrolled way, but confines, checks and intensifies, imposing law and order, and knows how to provide the limit of natural motion (ὅρον τῆς φυσικῆς εἰδέναι παρασκευάζει κινήσεως), in other words control over our bodily movements.

Also the Jacobites, Blastares says, who are the most shameful of all heretics, anoint the bread they offer in the Eucharist with oil and sprinkle salt over it on the grounds that it is said, *God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness* (Psalms 44 [45]:8; Hebrews 1:9), and *every offering, you shall season with salt* (Leviticus 2:13) [**34**].[104] We should not join the Jacobites, Blastares exclaims, nor should we accept this ancient custom and abominable doctrine! For if we offer different sacrifices at different times the mystery of our faith is in vain. But, if for no other reason, respecting the order of the righteous Melchizedek, they ought to abolish their vain objection, for he is a symbol of Christ and prescribed the order of our own sacraments (μυστηρίων), for as it is said, *You are a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek* (Psalms 109 [110]:4).

### *On the use of leavened bread by the Orthodox in the Eucharist* **[35]**

It is utterly thoughtless and absurd, Blastares remarks, that the four Churches, which are united in terms of custom rather than divided in terms of place, use one law concerning the holy liturgy (ἑνὶ νόμῳ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χρωμένων μυσταγωγίαν), which Christ instituted (in the Last Supper), the Apostles taught and the chorus of two

[104] On the Jacobites and their practices, see 'Jacobites', in *ODCh*, p. 856.

thousand Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical Councils confirmed, ratified by all five Patriarchs (πέντε ψῆφος πατριαρχῶν ἐπεκύρου), while only Old Rome innovated afterwards (μόνην ὕστερον τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην νεωτερίσαι), exchanging what is living (i.e., leavened bread) for what is dead (τὰ νεκρά, τῶν ζώντων ἀλλάξασθαι) (i.e., unleavened bread), what is true, symbolic, perfect and life-giving for what causes death and is imperfect [**35**]. For nowhere is this new and recent product of heresies to be found in the entire Gospel (ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εὕρηται λόγῳ), or in the Apostolic canons, or in the tradition of the Saints. For the Lord's brother James, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the great Fathers Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom, who handed down to us the holy liturgy in writing (ἐγγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότες ἱερουργίαν), prescribed that this should be performed with leavened bread (δι' ἐνζύμου ἄρτου τελεῖν ἐκδεδώκασι), and they left this to the Churches which they were ordained to lead as pastors. For this reason, John Chrysostom (in reality Pseudo-Chrysostom, *On the Resurrection of the Lord*), philosophizing (φιλοσοφῶν) on the Old and New Testament, aware that the ancient things have passed away, said '*old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new*' (2 Corinthians 5:17), *as the saying goes; there is the letter, here is the Spirit; there is the Ark, here is the Virgin; there is the rod of Aaron, here is the Cross; there is the lamb, here is Christ; there is the azymes, here is the bread (ἐκεῖ τὰ ἄζυμα, ὧδε ὁ ἄρτος*). In addition, when the Popes Agapitus (535-536)[105] and Vigilius (537-555)[106] visited Constantinople (τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων), these holy and orthodox men performed the holy liturgy according to our own custom (τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἔθει), particularly when Agapetus ordained the holy Menas —information which is repeated further down (ὡς ῥηθήσεται) ([**44.5**]).[107] This shows that there was no difference or division among the Saints in what concerns the sacramental bread, for both performed the sacraments in the same way.

### *On the use of azymes by the Latins in the Eucharist* **[36-37]**

Many years after these events, Blastares continues, this heresy was introduced to the Latins from the Vandals (πρὸς τῶν Οὐανδάλων), who are presently called Nemitzioi

[105] On Pope Agapitus, see Kelly, *Popes,* pp. 58-59.

[106] On Pope Vigilius, see Kelly, *Popes,* pp. 60-62.

[107] Cf. John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum,* 14, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri xviii*, CSHB, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1897), pp. 166-168. See below, p. 107.

(τῶν νῦν Νεμιτζίων λεγομένων) [**36**].[108] For, when this nation conquered Rome, since their king (ῥηγὸς) was of the Arian heresy, all Romans, so to speak, received this disease unwillingly (τὴν λώβην ταύτην καὶ ἄκοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰσεδέξαντο). In short, if our Saviour's theandric life on earth, Matthaios says, granted to us two things —namely the holy baptism in order to cleanse the image and partaking in the life-giving mysteries in order to participate in sanctification, on the basis of which the believer is distinguished from the unbeliever— then, if the baptism is incomplete, the person who is baptised does not differ from a pagan (Ἑλλήνων), as the (unspecified) holy canons decree,[109] and therefore there is no need also for us to cast a vote condemning those who limp so obviously insofar as both these sacraments are concerned.

According to another argument put forward by the Latins in support of the use of *azymes* in the Eucharist, Blastares says, the Saviour conceived his human body without seed (ἄνευ σπορᾶς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἑαυτῷ τὸ πρόσλημμα ὑπεστήσατο), and therefore leaven should be removed as it is analogous to the seed (λόγον σπορᾶς ἐπέχουσαν) [**37**]. This argument is contained in an untitled unpublished short text on the *azymes* by an anonymous author, preserved in the twelfth-century codices *Patmos* 103, ff. 157v-158, and *Vat. Palat. gr.* 200, ff. 180r-v.[110] According to this text, this argument was put forward by 'a certain cardinal' (Inc. Εἶπε δέ τις ποτὲ καρδινάλιος ὅτι οὐκ ἁγιοτάτως μεταλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἀζύμων, ἀλλ'ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς ἀσπόρως ἐτέχθη ἐκ τῆς πανάγνου Παρθένου τούτου ἕνεκα τὸ ἄζυμον ποιοῦμεν). Blastares responds by stressing quite the opposite. The *azymes*, he says, is a symbol not of the birth of the Lord from the Virgin but of his salvific passion, the life-giving Cross, His burial for three days, His rising from the dead and of the strange way (ξένῳ τρόπῳ) in which he prevailed over the devil (namely the sacrament of the Eucharist), for as Paul says, *as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death till he come* (1 Corinthians 11:26). Most people may think that this response is a digression, Blastares remarks. However, it ought to be said, he continues, for the sake of those who take

[108] Blastares seems to be the only Byzantine author who identifies the Nemitzioi with the Vandals. See references in *apparatus fontium* to [**36**].

[109] So far we have been unable to trace these canons.

[110] I would like to thank Mr Metin Berke (Queen's University Belfast), for drawing my attention to this text and for sending me his edition of it.

precautions in order to strengthen their own safeguard against heresy. For these people are unaware that by denying by oath (ἐξομνύμενοι) that these very salvific sufferings of the Lord's flesh operated upon the flesh which was planted seedlessly in this way (ἐπὶ τὴν οὕτως ἀσπόρως παγεῖσαν σάρκα τὰ σωτήρια ταυτὶ ἐνεργηθῆναι παθήματα) at the same time they simply reject the incarnation of the Lord. For, if indeed the Saviour was like us (ἡμῖν ὡμοίωται) apart from sin, since He shared the whole of our own nature without Himself considering that His holy flesh should be without seed (ἄνευ σπορᾶς), since by nature it was pure and did not accept sin —for insofar as it possessed sin and followed the original sin, He did not allow (οὐ προσήκατο) this passionate sowing of the seed (τὴν ἐμπαθῆ … σποράν) which is slavish (δούλην), happens at night (νυκτερινήν) and is thrown down <like a seed> through filthy desires (πόθοις ῥυπαροῖς καταβαλλομένην) (i.e., the human act of procreation)—,[111] since the creative Logos Who lies in the essence (ὁ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἐγκείμενος δημιουργικὸς Λόγος) possessed so much power to turn into energy (ὅσην … δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἔσχεν), even He did not decline (παρητήσατο) this (i.e., that he would be conceived through seed) [**37**.1-24].

Blastares developed further his counter-argument concerning the incarnation of the Logos using selectively sections of a passage from John of Damascus's *Exposition of the faith* (repeated in his *Homily on the Nativity*), without however acknowledging the source: *The Logos of God Himself*, He Who through principles (λόγοις) gives existence, power and energy to all, directly *overshadowing* the Virgin, existed *as if He* were *a divine seed* (*οἱονεί, θεῖος ὑπῆρξε σπόρος*) and operated on the seed (τῷ σπέρματι) on what pertains to the natural principle[112] (τὰ τοῦ ἐγκειμένου φυσικοῦ λόγου), *not by generating but by creating* (*οὐ σπερματικῶς, ἀλλὰ δημιουργικῶς*), and *He put together in Him from the* all-*pure blood* of the Virgin *an animate flesh* (*σάρκα ἐμψυχωμένην*), *Himself having acted as hypostasis to the flesh through his logical and intellectual soul* (*ψυχῇ λογικῇ τε καὶ νοερᾷ*). *For the Logos of God does not unite with its own pre-existence* (*Οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτῇ προϋποστάσει ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἥνωται Λόγος*),[113] *but at the same time is both flesh and*

[111] See Viscuso, *Sexuality,* pp. 19-28.

[112] Alternative translation suggested by Dr Anne Sheppard: '... existed *as if He* were *a divine seed* and operated by means of the seed what pertains to the natural principle.'

[113] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologia*, Ia 23; cf. Greek translation by George Scholarios, *Epitome of Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae,* Ia 23, ed. M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X.A. Siderides, *Oeuvres complètes de*

*flesh of the Logos of God* (*ἀλλ' ἅμα σάρξ, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σάρξ*), *animate, logical and intellectual* (*ἔμψυχος … λογική τε καὶ νοερά*) [**37**.24-33].

*For this reason*, Blastares continues quoting Damascene, *we do not speak of a man who was deified* (*ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεωθέντα*) *but of a God who became man* (*Θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*) — a passage cited also by Nicetas Stethatos. For the generation of human beings is generated by corruption (ἐφ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ἡ γένεσις, τὴν φθορὰν ἔσχε γένεσιν) and it is through corruption that the seed is dropped (καὶ διὰ φθορᾶς τῆς γονῆς καταβαλλομένης) so that the subject is moulded (πλάττεται μὲν τὸ ὑποκείμενον) through the energy of the seed (τῇ τῆς γονῆς ἐνεργείᾳ). For a created essence is unable to create a body. Therefore, the power of the creative Logos (Ἡ μέντοι δύναμις τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ Λόγου) establishes and moulds the subject (πήγνυσι καὶ πλάττει τὸ ὑποκείμενον). For all generation is naturally provided by a certain incorporeal power. Therefore, the conception of the divinely hypostatic flesh of the Lord did not allow the sinful sowing of the seed, so that it is not performed according to the law of the transgression (ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ τελεσθείη τῆς παραβάσεως) (i.e., through the act of sexual intercourse associated with original sin and hence subject to corruption). This divinely hypostatic flesh of the Lord, however, did not lack anything in terms of the achievement of its formation. For by visiting the Virgin the Holy Spirit made her womb fertile, while the Lord Himself, as if He created the flesh and formed the image of man for Himself, first outlined (ἐσκίασεν) and then shaped accordingly (οὕτως ἐμόρφωσεν) not the small additions which the bodily shape consists of, but a complete unit (ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἓν τελειωθέντος), as indeed we have learned from the Holy Scripture that the first Adam was created, and in this way His body received growth in size (i.e., the growth of the foetus). For this reason, to perform what pertains to the seed (i.e., by using leavened bread in the Eucharist) is proven to be not unreasonable (οὐδὲν ἄτοπον), while to introduce this flesh entirely soulless and incomplete (Ἄψυχον δὲ

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*Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1931), pp. 360.34-361.5: Ὅθεν ἰδίως ἡ λογικὴ κτίσις, δεκτικὴ οὖσα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἄγεται εἰς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πεμπομένη, ἧς δὴ πομπῆς ὁ λόγος ἐν αὐτῷ προϋφίσταται, ὡς καὶ ὁ λόγος τῆς εἰς τὸ τέλος τάξεως πάντων, ὅ φαμεν πρόνοιαν. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἐσομένου λόγος, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ποιητοῦ διανοίᾳ ὑπάρχων, *προϋπόστασίς τίς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος*· ὅθεν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ὁδηγίας τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως προορισμὸς ὀνομάζεται· ὁρίζειν γάρ, τὸ τὸν ὅρον ἐφ' ὃν δεῖ ἀχθῆναι προϋποτιθέναι, καὶ οὕτως ὁ προορισμὸς προνοίας μέρος ἐφ' ὃν δεῖ ἀχθῆναι προϋποτιθέναι, καὶ οὕτως ὁ προορισμὸς προνοίας μέρος ἐστίν (my italics).

ὅλως καὶ ἀτελῆ) through the liturgy of the *azymes* (διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀζύμου ἱερουργίας) is not legitimate for those who choose to follow orthodoxy [**37**.34-55].

Hence, those of us who have reached perfection by the grace of God, Blastares, reaffirms, will not choose the *azymes* which are incomplete in both respects (i.e., soulless and incomplete). But, should one find it difficult to understand this explanation, Blastares remarks, implicitly admitting the complexity and obscurity of his last piece of argumentation, he should refute the arguments of the opponents on the basis of the common arguments and doctrines mentioned earlier. Having expounded on these issues, Matthaios concludes, there are some more points of divergence, no less important than the previous ones that need to be addressed [**37**.55-69].

## On certain other Latin customs [38-43]

### *The Latin custom of celibacy among all clergy* [38]

Once he completes his refutation of the Latin liturgical practice of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Blastares proceeds with criticizing other Latin customs, including that of deacons and priests being encouraged to divorce their wives once they are ordained. Blastares bases his arguments on Canon law, borrowing almost *verbatim* passages from his own *Syntagma* [**38**].[114] This Latin custom, he says, goes counter to the 26th Apostolic Canon, the 6th Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680), and the 16th Canon of the Council of Carthage (419), which allow married deacons and priests to live with their wives in holy matrimony, provided that they were married prior to their ordination; otherwise they are not allowed to marry. Moreover, the 5th Apostolic Canon stipulates the penalty of excommunication (ἀφορίζει) for the deacon, presbyter or bishop who divorces his wife, that is, until he receives her back; otherwise, if he insists, then he should be deposed (καθαιρεῖ). The 12th Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Blastares continues, stipulates that only the archpriests should divorce their lawful wives prior to their ordination, in this way

[114] See *apparatus criticus* [**38**]; see also C. Pitsakis, 'Les mariages mixtes dans la tradition juridique de l'Église grecque: de l'intransigeance canonique aux pratiques modernes', *Etudes balkaniques* (2003), 107-145

showing respect for the dignity (εὔσχημον) of the Church of God. Similarly, the 13th Canon of the same Council, decrees 'on purpose' *à propos* of this Latin custom (ἐξεπίτηδες ὑπὲρ τούτου) that married deacons and presbyters should live with their wives even after their ordination and that he who would go against this should be deposed. In addition, the 50th Apostolic Canon stipulates that as for those who refrain from marriage, wine and eating meat not because they practice asceticism and self-control but as if this is something abominable (βδελυκτῶν), in case they are clergymen they should be deposed and if they are laymen they should be excommunicated 'for blaspheming and slandering God's creation'. Again, the 1st Canon of the Council of Gangra (*c*.340) anathematizes those who consider lawful marriage as 'unclean' (ἀκάθαρτον), while the 4th Canon of the same Council condemns the one who makes a distinction (διακρινομένῳ) when he is about to receive holy Communion from a married priest. Paraphrasing the 10th Canon of the same Council, which anathematizes those who lead a virgin life and look down upon and criticise married people, Blastares added the word 'supposedly' with reference to the former (τὸν παρθενίαν *δῆθεν* μετιόντα). [115] This interpolation may imply Matthaios' reluctance to attribute this sort of behaviour to a 'true' monk. Blastares closes this section by quoting Paul: *A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife; let deacons be the husbands of one wife* (1 Timothy 3:2; 3:12) and *in latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits, having their own conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry* (1 Timothy 4:1-3) *appoint presbyters in every city as I commanded you, if a man is blameless, the husband of one wife* (Titus 1:5-6). Nowhere, Blastares reaffirms, does Paul command that a priest should refrain from his wife, for even though the life of a monk is more honourable (ἡ παρθενία τιμιωτέρα), nevertheless marriage is not dishonourable (οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀτίμοις), 'for it is through marriage that the human race multiplies and remains immortal so to speak, resisting the destruction of death, always replacing its flowing out (τὸ ἐκρέον)'.

[115] This canon is not included in Blastares' *Syntagma.*

*The Latin customs of fasting* **[39]**

The next Latin custom criticized by Blastares concerns fasting on Saturday, despite the explicit prohibition in the 66th Apostolic Canon for clergymen and laymen to fast on Sundays and Saturdays (except holy Saturday) on the penalty of deposition and excommunication, respectively. In addition, the 55th Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council repeats this canon, and moreover prescribes that one should not fast even on Saturdays in Lent. These canons, Blastares states, were decreed in order to correct (διορθώσασθαι) the Latins, who nevertheless ignored these commandments, thus continuing fasting on Saturdays adding a further novelty, namely transferring the breaking of fast (κατάλυσιν) of Saturday to Wednesday and Friday, while they moved the fasting on those days to Saturday. Even though the 56th Canon of the same Council, checking the Armenian custom, stipulates that on Saturdays and Sundays of Lent one should abstain from eating cheese and eggs, the Latins, both laymen and monks who supposedly are sick (οἱ ἀσθενῶς δῆθεν τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντες), consume even meat. Moreover, Blastares continues, in their holy services which they perform each day of the forty-day fasting period, and by consuming meat on the first week of the same fasting period, and prior to this during the Tyrophagos, the Latins do not fast. In contrast, the 49th Canon of the Council of Laodicea prohibits the offering of bread, namely to perform a complete service, except on Saturday and Sunday. Also the 52nd Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council stipulates that the liturgy of the presanctified is performed during the rest days of Lent, while on Saturday and Sunday, as well as on the feast of the Annunciation, a complete liturgy is performed, for on those days it is not prohibited to fast, as 'these customs are filled with great mysteries, covered by silence and honoured for the benefit of those who happen to partake of them, so that the knowledge of the doctrines does not become negligible through habit to the many'.

These customs, Matthaios stresses, should not be moved or overturned (οὐ δεῖ ταῦτα μετατιθέναι ἢ ἀνατρέπειν), presenting as his witnesses Basil of Caesarea, who warns those who wish to ignore the unwritten customs of the doctrines (*τὰ ἄγραφα ἔθη* τῶν δογμάτων), and the 69th Apostolic Canon which condemns those who do not fast during Lent, on Wednesdays or Fridays. Blastares closes this section by raising the following question: 'Once the complete liturgy is performed, during the third hour of

the day as usual, how is it possible to maintain fasting, which is reckoned until the ninth hour of the day, since we interrupt this during the time of the liturgy?'.

### *Latin women entering the sanctuary* **[40]**

Blastares then moves on to Latin customs which are recorded in other *Lists of Errors of the Latins* circulating in this period, making use of the same or similar arguments. He starts by criticizing the Latin custom which, according to his unnamed sources, allows women to enter the sanctuary 'without fear' (ἀδεῶς) and 'stand around the holy altar shamelessly (ἀνερυθριάστῳ προσώπῳ) while the priest is performing the service (ἱερουργοῦντος τοῦ ἱερέως), and laymen are seated on the altar while the priests are standing.[116] This contravenes the 69th Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Blastares states, which prohibits the entrance of any laity to the sanctuary, except the Emperor when he wants to offer gifts to God, 'according to the ancient tradition' (κατὰ ἀρχαίαν παράδοσιν).[117] Similarly, the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea stipulates than only priests (μόνοις … τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς) are allowed to enter the sanctuary and receive Holy Communion there. Finally, the 44th Canon of the same Council entirely forbids women from entering the sanctuary.[118]

### *The Latin rite of Holy Communion and baptism* **[41-42]**

Blastares then moves to criticize two more Latin customs reported to him, both of which are mentioned in the *Lists of Errors of the Latins*. First, 'they say' (φασὶ), that during the Eucharist only one among the Latin priests performing the sacrament receives Holy Communion, and then kisses the rest of the priests. This, Blastares remarks, is unacceptable for this kiss cannot possibly replace the actual receiving of the Holy Communion, since Christ Himself said, *Take, eat; this is my body* (Matthew 26:26)

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[116] See Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, pp. 58-61.

[117] On the entrance of the emperor in sanctuary see Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* (Lib. 1.1-92), ed. A. Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1935), pp. 10-12, 59; cf. J. Majeska, 'The Emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington D.C., 1997, repr. 2004), pp. 1-11.

[118] Cf. Anonymous, *Synopsis of testimonies from the Scripture and the holy canons against the Latin heresies and errors*, 27, eds. V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)*, AOC 16 (Paris, 1976), p. 570.

and not "He who eats should kiss the rest"! [**41**].[119] Secondly, 'as some say' (ὥς τινες λέγουσι), the Latins baptise by submerging the faithful only once and anoint the baptized with saliva instead of holy myrrh.[120] 'There is nothing common on these points between us and them', Blastares exclaims concluding this section, 'for concerning opinions on the divinity they stand diametrically opposed to us' [**42**].

### *On the history of the Schism* [43]

The next section is a brief account of the historical circumstances that brought about the gradual breach between Rome and Constantinople. This account is based on John Zonaras' *History*, Book 15, whom Blastares does not name [**43**]. The title in the MSS. states 'When they [i.e., the Latins] started limping in matters concerning orthodoxy' (Πότε ἤρξατο τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, χωλεύειν παρ' αὐτοῖς).[121] The fact that this section is introduced rather abruptly (Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτου) shows that this short text must have been composed independently.[122] Blastares states that the Orthodox doctrines and holy canons were observed in Rome as long as it was 'subject to pay tribute to the sceptre of the Romans … Once it came under another authority it started limping' (χωλεύειν). First, under Justinian I (πρώτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ) (527-565) when 'the Franks, who belong to the German nation, invaded Italy and became its enemy'. Secondly, in the reign of Leo III the Isaurian (ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου) (717-741) the then Pope Gregory II (715-731),[123] who checked the Emperor concerning his attack on the holy images, attempted a revolt by not paying the tribute due to the Emperor, so that he would not be forced to communicate with him and his heretical protectors in the Church of Constantinople. Thus, Pope Gregory concluded peace with the Franks. Thirdly, during the reigns of Constantine VI (780-97) and Irene (797-802), Pope Leo III (795-816),[124] a noble man, who succeeded Pope Hadrian I (772-795),[125] received the Franks in Rome and crowned their King, Charles (800-814), proclaiming him Emperor

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[119] See Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, pp. 54-55.

[120] See Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, pp. 43-44. On the re-baptism of Latins by Greeks and of Greeks by Latins see Y.P. Avvakumov, 'The Controversy over the Baptismal Formula under Pope Gregory IX', in *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, pp. 69-84.

[121] Codex **G** adds the date ͵Ϛϡ͠σϡ͠μϡ͠ (AM 6640 = AD 1132); see below, Plate 33. This date, however, is not related with the events described in this section.

[122] See below, pp. 107-108.

[123] On Pope Gregory II, see Kelly, *Popes*, pp. 86-87.

[124] On Pope Leo III, see Kelly, *Popes*, pp. 97-98.

[125] On Pope Hadrian I, see Kelly, *Popes*, pp. 96-97.

of the Romans (ῥῆγα Κάρουλον ταινιώσας, βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνηγόρευσε), exchanging him for them (i.e., the Byzantine Emperors) wherefore he pursued those who attempted to blind him (ἀνθ' ὧν μετήει τοὺς ἐκτυφλῶσαι τοῦτον ἐπιχειρήσαντας).[126] Thus, Blastares continues, the Franks conquered the whole of Italy. It was from then onwards that certain men, who did not hold absolutely correct views on matters concerning the doctrine, managed to steal (παρεισφθαρέντες) the papal throne and refused to communicate the Gospel according to them (τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγέλιον), namely the profession of faith, to the rest of the Patriarchs, contrary to what their predecessors used to do, thinking that their own way comes to nothing, since they have erred and adulterated to a great extent their customs and doctrine, and persuaded the Church to rely on the Romans. The events of 1054 are mentioned by Blastares separately below [**49**].

## The Seven Ecumenical Councils [44-44.7]

The next section of the treatise contains a Synoptic Account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils. In general, the Synoptic Accounts form part of Byzantine ecclesiastical catechetical texts contained in a variety of MSS. and served mainly teaching purposes.[127] As such, they are brief and structured in such a way that they can be easily memorised. A preliminary study of the use and transmission of several versions of Synoptic Accounts of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, has shown that they formed part of a general policy of instruction, which was both widespread and deliberate.[128] This policy formed the basis of Byzantine conciliar theory, in terms of the accepted theological doctrines and ecclesiastical canons. Of particular interest is the special place reserved in these texts for the Seventh Council (787), which for the Orthodox Church was, and still remains, the last of its kind, namely Ecumenical. The particular importance of this Council is reflected by the extensive re-working of its synoptic text,

[126] On this incident in Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, see *apparatus fontium* to [**43**.18-19].

[127] See J.A. Munitiz, 'Catechetical Teaching-aids in Byzantium', in *Kathegetria: Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), pp. 69-83 (with bibliography).

[128] See J.A. Munitiz, 'Synoptic Greek Accounts', *REB* 32 (1974), 147-186, at p. 177; idem, 'Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils', *REB* 36 (1978), 193-218; idem, 'Catechetical Teaching-aids in Byzantium', esp. pp. 71-75.

in comparison to the rest, which retained more or less the same pattern and phraseology, with minor changes in the information they give.[129]

The section on the Synoptic Accounts in Blastares' *Refutation* [**44.1-7**] seems to have originally been composed as an independent section under the title *On the holy Fathers who shone forth in the Seven Ecumenical Councils* (*Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ Οἰκουμενικάς Συνόδοις διαλαμψάντων ἁγίων πατέρων*) as this appears in most extant MSS. we have examined.[130] A collation of the Synoptic Accounts in Blastares' *Refutation* and his *Syntagma* shows that Matthaios borrowed most of the material from his *Syntagma*. It should be pointed out that Blastares' Synoptic Accounts in both the treatise and the *Syntagma* bear many similarities with the Synoptic Accounts attributed to Patriarch Photius, and to a lesser extent with the Synoptic Accounts transmitted in *Par. gr*. 3041, ff. 131r-133r (see below, Appendix).

As in other similar texts of the same genre, Blastares' Synoptic Accounts contain the basic information one would need to know with regard to each Council, presented in brief and in a way that would be easily memorised. The structure of the account of each council in Blastares' text is almost identical. The information provided is limited to the essentials: names of the Emperors who convened the Synod; the place and the date; the number of the Fathers that took part; the names of the heads of the Five Patriarchates who were present, or those of their representatives; the names of the heretical leaders and their doctrines condemned by the Council, followed by the Orthodox definition of the doctrine, and other minor details, such as biographical details on Fathers and heresiarchs.

The information given by Matthaios in his Synoptic Account in the *Refutation* (and the *Syntagma*) is not always accurate. In fact, his dates are entirely inaccurate (information in the *Refutation* appears in **bold** characters):[131]

[129] See Munitiz, 'Synoptic Greek Accounts', p. 177.

[130] See *apparatus criticus* [**44.1-7**].

[131] For dates in the Dionysian, Byzantine and Alexandrine chronological systems, see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), pp. 240 ff.

| Council | Dionysian era | *Refutation* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| First | 325 | | **318** |
| Second | 381 | 318 + **52** | 370 |
| Third | 431 | 370 + **41** | 411 |
| Fourth | 451 | 411 + **30** | 441 |
| Fifth | 553 | 441 + **102** | 543 |
| Sixth | 680-1 | 543 + **149** | 692 |
| Seventh | 788 | 692 + **120** | 812 |

However, the calculation of the dates of the Councils on the basis of the year of the reign of the Emperor seems to have been more successful (information in the *Refutation* appears in **bold** characters and correct dates and numbers are placed in *italics*):

| Council | Dionysian era | *Refutation* | Intervals | Fathers | Date based on the year of the Emperor's reign | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | 325 | **318** | — | ***318*** | — | | | |
| Second | 381 | 370 | **52** | ***150*** | Theodosius I | 379-95 | **2nd** | *381* |
| Third | 431 | 411 | **41** | ***200*** | Theodosius II | 408-50 | **13rd** | 412 |
| Fourth | 451 | 441 | **30** | ***630*** | Marcian | 450-57 | **1st** | *451* |
| Fifth | 553 | 543 | **102** | ***165*** | Justinian I | 527-65 | **18th** | 545 |
| Sixth | 680-1 | 692 | **149** | ***170*** | Constantine IV | 668-85 | **13th** | *681* |
| Seventh | 788 | 812 | **120** | ***367*** | Constantine VI | 780-97 | **8th** | *788* |

A collation of the interval dates between successive Councils in the *Refutation* with those in other published Synoptic Accounts, shows some similarities:

| Intervals | *Refutation* | Paris Ms. | Neilos | Adespoton | Photios |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | - | - | - | - | - |
| Second | 52 | 52 | 54 | 50 | - |
| Third | 41 | 41 | 41 | 28 and 3 months | - |
| Fourth | 30 | 30 | 30 | - | - |
| Fifth | 102 | 102 | 102 | 68 | - |
| Sixth | 149 | 149 | 102 | 163 | - |
| Seventh | 149 | 120 | 109 | - | - |

The language and prose style and syntax used in the Synoptic Accounts in the *Refutation* is simple and unadorned, similar to that of other synoptic texts, reflecting Matthaios' intention to provide a comprehensive summary of a text easy to understand and memorise. The repetition of identical or similar phrases in the account of each Council, usually the introductory paragraphs giving basic information concerning the specific Council, is part of this technique, as are pairs of words expressing *antithesis*, such as ἄνουν - ἔννουν [**44.2**.22]; ἀναβεβήκει - καταβιβάζοντα [**44.1**.21-22]; the repetition of ἱερῶν φροντισμάτων - ἱερὸν … φροντιστήριον [**44.2**.1-

2]; and rhetorical emphasis: δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις [**44.7**.19]; καθαρὸς ἤδη τὸ καθαρὸν [**44.2**.9].

In the case of numbers included in the text the mnemonic technique is used extensively. The year of the First Council (318) is identical with the number of the Fathers who participated (318). The first digit of number 50 links the interval of 52 years between the First and Second Councils and the number of the Fathers in the Second Council (150). Similarly, the repetition of the digit 3 in both the number of the Third Council and that of the year of the emperor's reign ('three plus ten'), and the digit 2 in both the number of the Fathers (200) of the Third Council and the number of the previous Second Council, serve as mnemonics. In the same way, the digit 3 links the interval years between the Third and the Fourth Council (30), the number of the Council (Third), the number of Fathers who participated ('thirty plus six hundred' and part of the number of the Fathers present at the Fourth Council (630). Finally, the number 100 links the number of Fathers ('seventy plus a hundred') and the interval years between the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils ('fifty plus a hundred minus one'). As a considerable number of these Synoptic Accounts remain still unedited,[132] a complete picture of the different versions and the manuscript tradition *vis-à-vis* Mathhaios' Synoptic Accounts remains to be explored.[133]

## Theorem on the number 2,000 [45]

The Synoptic Accounts of the Seven Ecumenical Councils in the treatise close with the exposition by Blastares of a theorem on the number 2,000, with reference to the total number of the Fathers who took part in these Councils (i.e., 318 + 150 + 200 + 630 + 165

[132] In the list provided by Munitiz, 'Synoptic Greek Accounts', should now be added *Athens, National Library, Metochiou Panagiou Taphou MS.* 204, ff. 108r-207v: see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 4 (St Petersburg, 1899, repr. Brussels, 1963), pp. 176-183 and *Franzoniana Biblioteca, Genova, Urbanus graecus* 32, ff. 53-61: see Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Franzoniana (Genova)*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1996.), pp. 150-157.

[133] Cf. K. Palaiologos, *An Unpublished Byzantine Synoptic Account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils* (Unpublished MA dissertation, The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2004), which comprises an annotated edition and translation of a Synoptic Account contained in *Par. gr.* 3041, ff. 131r-133r.

+ 170 + 367 = 2,000).[134] Matthaios explores the theological symbolism of the number 2,000 in the wider context of numerology. He begins by referring to the symbolism of the number 7 with relation to the equal number of the Councils. Philo of Alexandria (20 BC-50 AD), whom Blastares mentions by name [**45**.7-9], wrote extensively on the symbolism of numbers in his treatise *Περὶ Ἀριθμῶν* or *Ἀριθμητικά*,[135] but he pre-dates the Ecumenical Councils. So far Blastares' source remains unknown,[136] though it is possible that this association may be an original idea of his own. He then moves on to theorise on number 4. The number 2,000, he says, by virtue of its being a *περισσάρτιος* number (that is uneven when divided by some power of two)[137] can be divided in a descending scale only four times (κατὰ βάθος τέσσαρας τομὰς ἐπιδέχεται μόνας), which gives the odd number 125 (i.e., 2,000 : 2 = 1,000 : 2 = 500 : 2 = 250 : 2 = 125). This number (125) cannot be divided according to the rules of arithmetic, 'as if it is a kind of unbroken foundation' (ὥσπέρ τις θεμέλιος ἀρραγής). Blastares then links this last statement with Paul's sayings *and we take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ* (2 Corinthians 10:5), *for no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ* (1 Corinthians 3:11), *for by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things were created by him and for him* (Colossians 1:16). The *cosmos* created by God, Blastares argues, which consists of four elements, and by extension the *microcosm* we have inside our body (ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν μικρὸς τοῦ σώματος) since it corresponds to the greater one (σύστοιχος ὢν τῷ μείζονι), depends on its being created (γεγενῆσθαι) and maintained (διαμένειν) by the creative cause of the Son of God. Indeed, it is impossible for human nature to find God, inasmuch as this is attainable, Blastares continues, unless one divides his body by reducing it as much as possible (ὅσον οἷόν τε λεπτύνας διέλοι), and at the same time standing apart from all creation he places

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[134] Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, p. 95 n. 2, erroneously associated Blastares' *Theorem on the number 2,000* [**45**] with the reference to his account of *The events of 1054* [**49**], which was first edited by Leo Allatius (= Leone Allaci), *In Roberti Creygtoni apparatum, versionem & notas ad historiam concilii Florentini scriptam a Silvestro Syropulo de unione inter Graecos & Latinos, exercitationes, pars prima* (Rome, 1665), pp. 331-332. Cf. below, p. 95, n. 141.

[135] Philo of Alexandria, *On Numbers*, ed. K. Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandreia* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1931), pp. 19-75.

[136] Cf. Joseph Bryennios, *First Oration on the End of the World* (*Περὶ Συντελείας*), ed. E. Boulgares, *Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὑρεθέντα*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1768; Thessalonike, 1991[2]), pp. 158-171, at pp. 159-167, who expounds on the symbolism of this number without, however, associating it with the Seven Ecumenical Councils.

[137] See LSJ, *sv* περισσάρτιος.

himself outside all perceptible things. Similarly, if one divides the *four* of the five Aristotelian cognitive powers of the soul (τῶν πέντε γνωστικῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων), namely *perception*, *imagination*, *opinion* and *intellect* (αἴσθησιν … φαντασίαν, δόξαν, καὶ διάνοιαν)[138] and wears them as if these were garments (ὥσπέρ τινα ἐσθήματα περιδύσας ἑαυτόν), through various syllogisms he would reject *opinion,* which results from the imagination of things (τὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φαντασίας). But one should keep the simplicity of our faith through the simple and artless mind (Ἁπλῷ … καὶ ἀπεριέργῳ νῷ). For man cannot reach (ἐπιτύχοι) God, Who is simple, indivisible and formless (ἁπλοῦ καὶ ἀτμήτου καὶ ἀσχηματίστου). As Paul said, *but their thinking became futile* and *although they claimed to be wise, they became fools* (Romans 1:21-22). The great uncircumscribed One (ἀπερίληπτος) is covered by multiple screens (πολλοῖς παραπετάσμασι) because of the concealment (κρύφιον) of His divinity. We ought to set those sceens apart and cast a glance into the *sancta sanctorum* (εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων παρακύπτειν), *where Christ is* (Colossians 3:1). It is true, Blastares goes on, that there is also another way that one could find God, that is through the four (Platonic) virtues (courage, justice, temperance and wisdom).

Now, since the undivided number (125) is προμήκης, that is, it is made up of two unequal factors[139] (i.e., 5 x 25 = 125), and allows expansion from the first *dekas* (10) to the third *dekas* (30), this manifests that the One <Person> of the Holy Trinity Who is preached as being true God (i.e., the Son), did not have His beginning from Mary, as the atheists believe, Blastares says, but He extends *ad infinitum* in both beginning and end. The one element of this infinite length is called *without beginning* (ἄναρχον) and *impassable* (ἀνέκβατον), the other is called *endless* (ἀτελεύτητον) and *immortal* (ἀθάνατον), while the two elements together (συναμφότερον) are called *eternal* (αἰώνιον). Those who are skilful in this kind of syllogisms, Blastares continues, should not define that a number multiplied by the same number of times equals a number multiplied by a larger number (ἰσάκις ἴσον μειζονάκις), but a number multiplied by the same number of times equals a number that multiplies *ad infinitum* (ἀλλ' ἰσάκις ἴσον ἀπειράκις). Even if one were to use another method, namely a cube multiplied by

[138] Aristotle, *De Anima*, 428a-b. See also references to other authors, from whom Blastares may have borrowed this expression, in the *apparatus fontium* below [**45**.26-29].

[139] See LSJ, *sv* προμήκης, II. 2.

its own side, on account of its solid, stable and permanent qualities, as is the case for all cubic bodies, because the cube above all other bodies has continuous angles, it symbolises the *cornerstone* (Ephesians 2:20; cf. 1 Peter 2:6), the One Who joined and holds together what was separate. The circular sphere is another shape which starts and ends with itself. This shape, which combines a circle and a sphere —two of the most remarkable and valuable shapes according to Plato (cf. *Timaeus*, 33b-c)— is very rarely found among numbers. For not only it bears the plane surface of the circle, but also the solidity of the sphere, once the circle is multiplied for the first five times. Besides, the circular sphere by nature reinstates in every way all shapes which are perceived around it steadfast (ἑδραῖον ἀποκαθίστασθαι) and firm (πάγιον). It is also stated that the Lord is named *circle* (κύκλος ὁ Κύριος ὠνόμασται), in the sense that He is equal and identical to Himself, and that He revives the circle of virtues This last point, Blastares says, was mentioned also in another work by another author whom he does not name (actually Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration on the Holy Easter*).

Matthaios then turns to the number 5. This is the only number, Matthaios states, that the *περισσάρτιος* number 2,000 is multiplied by, to give all these shapes, because this number (5) has a remarkable and unique quality, namely if mixed and multiplied by all odd numbers (περιττοῖς πᾶσιν ἀριθμοῖς), also called male numbers (τοῖς καὶ ἄρρεσι λεγομένοις), it ends up at itself (εἰς ἑαυτὸν αὖθις εὑρίσκεται καταλήγων), without altering at all or separating itself from its own nature. For 3 x 5 and 5 x 5, and 9 x 5, always equal 15, 25 and 45, respectively, while the number 5 remains entirely unchanged. This indeed is a unique quality, Blastares reaffirms. For this reason it is possible to perceive the solid and masculine nature (τὸ κατὰ φύσιν στερρὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον) of this number, which when mixed with other male (ἄρρεσιν) numbers is shown even more masculine (ἀρρενικώτερος δείκνυται). This is a clear depiction (σαφὲς ἀπεικόνισμα), Blastares states, of the divine nature, which is entirely immutable (εἰσάπαν ἀναλλοιώτου) and joined with us in an unconfused and unchangeable way in His hypostasis, which is beyond human comprehension.

Blastares closes his theorem with an acrobatic syllogism: (a) the Pythagoreans called the odd number *male* on account of its being continuous and indivisible, as according to them the monad remains undivided, while they called the even number *female* on

account of its being easily divided and divisible; (b) the number 2,000 has only one male (125) and four female numbers (2,000, 1,000, 500 and 250); (c) from the union of these male and female numbers in order to bring life (εἰς ζωήν) we should accept that the ones who produce life (the male) visit (the female) in accordance with nature (κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιδημεῖ); (d) Paul, speaking of the man and the woman, said 'in a philosophical way' (φιλοσοφῶν) that *this is a profound mystery; I am talking about Christ and the Church* (Ephesians 5:32); (e) the male is Christ our Bridegroom, as he has nothing female or non-masculine in Him and he is indivisible; (f) the female gender is represented by the four Churches, since that of Old Rome was rejected beforehand, as she disagreed with the rest in spirit; (g) then it follows that Christ the Bridegroom by uniting with them regenerates the believers to eternal life through baptism!

## On the relation between the Orthodox and the Latins and other heretics [46-59]

### *The Latins have transgressed the orthodox doctrine and tradition* [46-48]

Blastares then resumes his attack against the Latins on the grounds that they have transgressed and neglected what the Fathers 'defined and decreed under the Holy Spirit concerning the <Christian> faith and mode of life', which carries the penalty of excommunication [**46**]. For it is clear from what has been said so far, Matthaios reaffirms, that 'the holy Catholic Church' condemns those who act in this way. In addition, he continues, this is confirmed by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), which anathematizes those who reject (*ἀθετεῖ*) all written and unwritten tradition of the Church (*πᾶσαν παράδοσιν ἐκκλησιαστικήν, ἔγγραφόν τε καὶ ἄγραφον*). Similarly, both the 1st Canon of the same Council and the 2nd Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-81) decree that 'he who dares to counterfeit, overturn or reject (*παραχαράττειν, ἢ ἀνατρέπειν, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τολμῶν*) any of the holy Canons, is anathematised and removed from 'the Christian lists' (*τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ καταλόγου*). The same verdict is placed, in the *Tome of the Union* (920), Matthaios says, *those who show contempt* (*τοῖς ἐν καταφρονήσει τιθεμένοις*) *towards the blessed and holy canons of our blessed Fathers, which support the Church and adorn the entire Christian world, leading them to piety* (*εὐλάβειαν*). Finally, the *Synodikon*, read in the churches on the first Sunday of Lent (Sunday of Orthodoxy), states that *all that is introduced as novelties and*

*are practised, or will be practised, which fall outside the ecclesiastical tradition and the decrees of the Fathers, should be placed under anathema*.[140] Similarly, in the *Catechetical Oration* for the Armenians who enter the holy and Catholic Church (τῶν προσερχομένων Ἀρμενίων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν) it is stated, Blastares says, that those *who do not place in the* prosphora *ferment and salt* or *consume meat during the week of Tyrophagos* should be anathematised. Finally, the 18th Canon of the Council of Gangra (*c*.340) condemns those monks (*τῶν ἀσκουμένων*) who do not follow fasting as preserved and prescribed by the Church to all (*εἰς τὸ κοινόν*).

Blastares then raises a hypothetical question: 'If one were to object, saying "It would not be fair for those who deliver all heresies to anathema to be punished with anathema", this would be unconvincing [**47**]. For the Manicheans and all other heterodox (σύμπαντες ἑτερόδοξοι) condemn all those who do not share their beliefs, on the grounds that the latter hold heretical beliefs, for each of these groups demands the greatest honour for their own heresy, as if they prevail among all others, considering the rest as erroneous and useless (ἀλυσιτελεῖς). 'But the catholic (i.e., universal) Church (ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία)', Blastares states, 'is not so ignorant as to accept in this way only those who return from a heresy, unless they renounce by oath <and> by name (ὀνομαστὶ ἐξομόσαιντο) the customs and the doctrines of their own heresies'.

'If again', Blastares continues, 'someone might say that Basil the Great thinks worthy for communion those who accept only the Creed of Nicaea and affirm that the Holy Spirit is uncreated, while he [i.e., Basil] did not say much about the other things' [**48**], this was because Saint Basil wanted if possible to draw everybody to the confession of the faith prescribed as doctrine by the saints who preceded him in order to 'assuage' (σβέσαι) the Arian heresy of his times. 'Should they join us', Matthaios proposes, 'the Italian <nation> (τὸ ἰταλικόν) will be duly honoured … and we will not need to put forward more arguments against them, for the simple confession of faith would suffice', namely the Creed, 'together with the renunciation of the blasphemy against it

[140] *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, ed. J. Guillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire', *TM* 2 (1967), 53.

and abiding by the holy canons'. Any other *apologia* would be superfluous and entirely unreasonable, he concludes.

### *The events of 1054* **[49]**

The next short section [**49**],[141] which is connected (without any cross reference) with section [**43**] concerning the history of the Schism, focuses on the events of 1054.[142] Blastares refers to Patriarch Michael I (1043-1058) 'the so-called Kerularios' and the 'Ecumenical Council he convened' (the Synod he summoned on 20 July 1054),[143] which 'unanimously cut the [Latins] off from the Catholic Church' (καὶ ψήφῳ τούτους κοινῇ, τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεμε). This Council, Matthaios states, took place 'in the presence of the Emperor Constantine <IX> Monomachos (1042-1055), the Patriarch of Antioch <Peter>, and moreover the <Archbishops> of Bulgaria and of Cyprus', among others. The Patriarchs of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, who were not in Constantinople at the time, approved of the Council's decisions, Blastares goes on justifying its Ecumenical status, and removed themselves from communion with the Pope, 'as things testify' (ὡς αὐτὰ δήπου μαρτυρεῖ τὰ πράγματα), since 'even now (εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν) none of the four Churches come into communion with the Pope, since they loathe the spurious and abominable <element> in the Latin doctrines'.

### *Canons and patristic sayings prohibiting the communion between Orthodox and heretics* **[50-54]**

Blastares resumes his anti-heretical list in the section that follows. Concerning the Armenians, he states, these have amalgamated a number of heresies in their doctrines, including the teachings of Eutyches and Dioscorus and other monophysites, together with those of the Aphthartodoketae, who believed that Christ's flesh was incorruptible

[141] The whole passage [**49**] was edited and translated into Latin by Leo Allatius, *In Roberti Creygtoni*, pp. 331-332. Cf. above, p. 89, n. 134.

[142] On the 'Schism' of 1054 see: A. Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054* (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 2004); E. Chrysos, '1054: Schism?', in *Christianità d'Occidente e Christianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI), 24-30 aprile 2003*, Settimane di Studio dell Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, LI (Spoleto, 2004), pp. 547-571.

[143] On this Synod see : V. Grumel, *Les regestes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, vol. I: *Les actes des patriarches*; fasc. 3: *Les regestes de 1043 à 1206* (Paris, 1947), no. 869, pp. 7-8; PG 120, cols. 736-748.

also before His Passion (ἄφθαρτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους),[144] and of the Theopaschites who maintained that the Divinity is subject to Passion (παθητὴν τὴν θεότητα) [145] [**50**]. These heresies were condemned by the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) and were confirmed through letters by Pope Leo II (682-683), 'the famous defender of orthodoxy' (ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας περιφανὴς πρόμαχος).[146] Moreover Blastares reports rumours (ὡς λόγος φέρεται καὶ πιστεύεται) that the Armenian priests do not begin the holy liturgy unless they anathematize Pope Leo! The Latins, therefore, who are in communion with these heretics, should also be condemned. Blastares concludes by citing the 15th Canon 'of the so-called First and Second Council' (τῆς λεγομένης πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας συνόδου) and the 31st Apostolic Canon: *We obey, therefore, the sacred and holy canons, which command that we should not come into communion, and <bring> before a synodal examination, those archpriests who publicly preach spurious doctrines*. Similarly, Basil of Caesarea in his *Letter to Urbicius*, recommends that his addressee should not come into communion with heretics, *knowing that to neglect this removes* our *freedom towards Christ* (*εἰδότας ὅτι, τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἀδιαφορεῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ παρρησίαν, ἡμᾶς ἀφαιρεῖται*) [**51**], while John Chrysostom in his treatise *On the False teachers*, borrowing from 2 John 9, states: '*Whoever transgresses and does not abide by the teaching of Christ does not have God'; and he, who thinks that he is a friend of these people, becomes an enemy of God. All you who associate with heretics hear the painful verdict, that you are enemies of God. For he who is amicably disposed towards the enemies of the King, cannot be friend to the King*.

The principle of *οἰκονομία* (in the sense of 'leniency', 'tolerance' or 'dispensation')[147] should not be applied in matters of doctrine, Blastares insists [**52**]. To support this view he draws from a large body of patristic sayings prohibiting any compromise in doctrinal issues, including excerpts from John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximos the Confessor (from the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council), Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and finally the Old Testament (1 Kings 15:22: *to obey is better than sacrifice*). The majority of these sayings are cited *verbatim* in the Patriarch of Constantinople Joseph I's (1268-1275) *Apologia*, of which Matthaios made extensive use,

[144] See 'Aphthartodocetae', in *ODCh*, p. 82.

[145] See 'Theopaschites', in *ODCh*, pp. 1605-1606.

[146] On Pope Leo II, see Kelly, *Popes*, pp. 78-79.

[147] On the principle of *oikonomia* in Byzantine ecclesiastical literature see Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 88-90.

as we shall see also further down in his treatise. In all these sayings, Blastares stressed, it is clear that the end does not justify the means (ὁ σκοπὸς γὰρ ἑκασταχοῦ κρίνεται πάσης πράξεως, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀστεῖα δοκεῖ). This uncompromising stance, Blastares continues, should apply to all heterodox, whom the Saints —including John the Evangelist (2 John 1:9-11), Paul (Romans 16:17), Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom—, forbid from coming into communion, fearing that 'instead of communion they would open a door to all heresies' [**53**].

Insofar as the hostile attitude of the Latins towards the Orthodox is concerned, also 'on account of pure reason' (ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου), apparently referring to Western scholastic thought, Blastares describes it as arrogant, insolent, unreasonable and intimidating [**54**]. He recommends that this should be endured, following Basil's advice on similar circumstances, considering also the divine rewards for those who confess the true faith.

***Guidelines concerning relations between Orthodox and other Christians*** **[55-59]**

What follows is an almost *verbatim* citation of the response to questions concerning the Latins raised by the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria Mark III (1180-1209), which he received from the Standing Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the patriarchate of George II Xiphilinos (1192-1199) (τῆς ἐρωτήσεως … *Μάρκου τοῦ πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ συνοδικῆς ἀποκρίσεως, ἐπὶ τῆς πατριαρχίας τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Γεωργίου τοῦ Ξιφιλίνου*)[148] and the reign of 'Romanus Diogenes' (Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Διογένους, τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα τηνικαῦτα διέποντος), the latter being a gross mistake as Romanus IV reigned between 1068 and 1071 [**55**]. On the question whether Latin prisoners should be offered Holy Communion [**55.1**], the response was that they should first renounce the *azymes* and the consumption of strangled animals (*πνικτοφαγία*), which are also Jewish customs.[149] The Apostle Peter rejects these practices (Apostolic Canon 7.20), Blastares states, and 'teaches that we should eat meat as if it were vegetable (*ὡς λάχανα τὰ κρέα ἐσθίειν*), that is without soul and without blood (*ἄψυχα δηλαδὴ καὶ ἄναιμα*), for blood is equivalent to the soul.

[148] Ed. Grumel, R*egestes*, no. 1184, pp. 184-86.
[149] On *pniktophagia* see Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists,* pp. 35-37.

Secondly, they should abstain from eating meat during the week of Tyrophagos. Thirdly, they should give confession to our own hieromonks who are of the same race (*ἐξομολογησάσθωσαν καὶ ἱερομονάχοις πιστοῖς καὶ ὁμογενέσιν ἡμῖν*). Above all they ought to give an oath to preserve the inheritance of the Symbol of the Faith unaltered (*τὴν παρακαταθήκην φυλάττειν τοῦ ἁγίου συμβόλου ἀπαραποίητον*), as it was decreed by the First and the Second Ecumenical Councils, and confirmed by the subsequent Councils. 'Then let them enjoy holy communion'.

On whether the Church accepts mixed marriages, Blastares insists that 'it is prohibited for Christians to have any relation or association with heretics whatsoever' (Καθόλου … ἀπηγόρευται), placing heavy penalties for those who disregard this. He then cites the 72nd canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-81) which prohibits Orthodox men from marrying heretical women and Orthodox women from marrying heretical men, and stipulates that such marriages should be annulled and dissolved, which is repeated by the 10th canon of the Council of Laodicea (325/381), and the 31st and 14th Canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) [**55.2**].[150] Those among the Orthodox who believe that because of our common faith mixed marriages and blood relations this should be possible, Blastares remarks, are totally mistaken and dismissed by the Church, which 'almost prohibits them to enter the holy narthex' (οὕς ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σχεδὸν ἀπείργει προθύρων). The same applies to all heretics, including the Armenians, the monotheletes and the Nestorians. In support of this, Blastares once more quotes *verbatim* a passage from the response to a similar question raised by Patriarch Mark III [**55.3**]. In case a Latin is seen to enter an Orthodox church during a service and pray or chant with us, or even perform the holy liturgy, Blastares points out, one should not be deceived by the appearance of communion (τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ὄψεως ἠπατημένος) and think that there are no real differences between the two faiths, as there are differences between 'the wild-olive tree and the olive tree, the poppy and the rose, the wheat and the weed' but these can be mixed [**56**]. For a faithful is not characterised equally, Blastares states, by his stance in the church and his confession. For in the same way that there are many differences and various natural qualities in a body, there is vast difference (πλείστην … διαφοράν) among the

[150] See Pitsakis, 'Les mariages', pp. 107-145.

doctrines in our souls. For it is *with the heart that one believes unto righteousness* the real mystery of our orthodoxy (τὸ γνήσιον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον), *and with the mouth* that *confession is made unto salvation* (Romans 10:10). If according to the prophet Samuel (16:7), Blastares continues, *man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart*, it is the least difficult for us to seek the invisible movements of the heart (τὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀφανῆ κινήματα) from oral speech (ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγου). In this way we are able to distinguish the one who is held in equal honour with us, from the one who is different (τὸν ὁμότιμον διακρίνειν τοῦ διαφόρου). For the stream of speech (λόγου) that flows out from the heart becomes proof of the source from which it flows out. At the same time this speech (λόγος) which is most excellent (κάλλιστα ἔχων) was handed by the Fathers to us, who have received the mystery of the incarnation of God the *Logos* (τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου) through the baptism and we have believed, while some have fallen into error, namely those we call heretics (οὓς καὶ αἱρετικοὺς φαμέν), who should be distinguished from those who are named faithless and atheists (τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ πάντῃ ἀθέων τῇ προσωνυμίᾳ ταύτῃ διείργοντες). We should not pray with these people, Blastares insists, nor should we distribute them any of our holy offerings (ἁγιασμάτων), but as they are deserters (τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας) they should be considered as the utmost enemies (ἐχθίστους) and be expelled from the churches (ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξωθεῖν). To oppose their charge (ἐλάσει) by waging senseless war (μάχας ἀνοήτους) would be hard and cruel and least fitting for the souls, *the moderation* of which should *be known unto all men* (Philippians 4:4), as Paul affirmed. Therefore, the fact that it is permissible for heterodox to enter the Orthodox churches should not deceive those who are more simple-minded among the Orthodox people (τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους τῶν πιστῶν, ἢ παχυτέρους). This specific problem, Blastares concluded, was overlooked (παρεωραμένον) by the Fathers in the past, as it did not much harm the faithful in terms of their orthodoxy (ὡς οὐ πάνυ τι τοὺς πιστούς, τά γε εἰς εὐσέβειαν λυμαινόμενον).

The same applies to the Jacobites, Nestorians and Armenians, Blastares affirms, who enter an Orthodox church and wish to receive Holy Communion from an Orthodox priest [**57**]. Citing again a passage from the Synodal response to Patriarch Mark III, Blastares stresses that these heretics are not prohibited from entering an Orthodox

church but only from receiving Holy Communion. Similarly, the priest's blessing *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all* (2 Corinthians 13:13), during the holy liturgy is not addressed 'to the Italian or any other heretic' (Πρὸς … τὸν Ἰταλόν, ἢ πρὸς οἱονδηποτοῦν ἑτέρας ἐξημμένον αἱρέσεως), for they are not worthy of receiving this grace [**58**]. Having said enough about these matters, Matthaios concludes, we should follow Paul's advice and *withdraw from every brother who walks disorderly* (2 Thessalonians 3:6) for *evil company corrupts good habits* (1 Corinthians 15:33), and keep away from the Latins, for their doctrines, practices and customs have been condemned by the Ecumenical Councils and the Saints, who acted as physicians providing most useful remedies (φαρμάκοις πάνυ χρησιμωτάτοις) not only for the present but also for the future diseases (τά τ' ὄντα τὰ τ' εἰσέπειτα, τῶν νοσημάτων) [**59**].

## Epilogue [60]

Despite the polemical tone throughout his *Refutation* Matthaios chose to close his treatise showing a slightly milder disposition towards his disputants, expressing his hope that they would return to the true faith, on certain conditions:

> May, therefore, these men come to their senses (ἀνανῆψε) even at this late stage and become aware of their trespasses, leaving aside all pretexts, and join the Catholic and Apostolic Church in spirit (συνελθεῖν τῷ φρονήματι), being purely initiated in orthodoxy (μυηθῆναι καθαρῶς τὴν εὐσέβειαν) and learn afresh (ἀναμαθεῖν) that each Person of the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, in so far as nature is concerned, in an ineffable proportion (ἀφράστῳ λόγῳ) is joined together <with each of the other two> without intermission (ἀδιαστάτως συνάπτονται), while according to the principle of the hypostasis (κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ὑποστάσεως λόγον) they preserve unchangeable the property of their character (ἀμετάβλητον φυλάττουσι τὸ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἰδίωμα), and that the distinction of the hypostases does not permit confusion <of their hypostatic properties>, nor does the union of the natures (τὸ ἡνωμένον τῶν φύσεων) accept separation (μερισμόν) or unnatural division (διαίρεσιν ἔκφυλον). Therefore, the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the eternal and unbegotten Father. We do not inquire endlessly into how this is acted (οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦμεν, τὸ πῶς),

but we accept the boundaries (or definitions: ὅρους) set forth to us by the theologians and the blessed men. This is what the Lord taught, the Apostles proclaimed, the Fathers maintained, and the martyrs confirmed. May our Lord give *the knowledge of truth* (1 Timothy 2:4; 2 Timothy 2:25, 3:7, etc.) to these people and to all. For even if the disposition (διάθεσις) of those who hold the correct belief (τῶν ὀρθῶς φρονούντων) in the Holy Spirit is irritated on account of such reasons (τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀργιζομένη), nevertheless it does not put away compassion for those who are of the same nature (τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται).

## Conclusions

In the light of the examination of the structure and content of Blastares' *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* above it is clear that this work was composed as a comprehensive anti-Latin theological manual for use by Orthodox theologians, especially clergymen, some of whom were in contact with Latin clergy and laity. For it concentrates on the most important doctrinal and liturgical points of dispute between the two Churches, namely the *filioque* doctrine and the Latin use of *azymes* in the Eucharist, also discussing divergent practices in fasting, baptism and marriage, giving guidelines on the relations Orthodox people should have, or should not have, with other non-Orthodox Christians, according to the canons and the tradition of the Church.

Taking as a point of departure the 'recent' condemnation of 'heretical doctrines' by the Church, a reference to the Council of Blachernae (1285), Matthaios states in his Preface the aim of his work, namely to protect 'those who are simple-minded' from falling into heresy. He then presents the main questions under discussion —the *filioque* doctrine and various liturgical practices and other customs— and explains the means of his refuting the Latin views, namely of the Orthodox interpretation of scriptural and patristic citations and Church canons.

In terms of methodology, Matthaios follows the standard rules of a refutation.[151] He first states the point to be refuted, before he presents the Latin view and argumentation. Usually taking as a point of departure sayings mainly of Greek but also some early Latin Fathers with relation to the specific point under discussion, he proceeds to refute the Latin arguments point-by-point through syllogisms. Matthaios' argumentation is usually simple and straightforward, though in some cases he displays remarkable skill in constructing complex arguments, an indication that his treatise was addressed to readers possessing similar knowledge and training in rhetoric and philosophical reasoning. This is best reflected in the section following the Synoptic Accounts of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, where Matthaios exhibits his mathematical knowledge in combination with numerology, by constructing his

[151] See in general A.J. Sopko, 'Patristic methodology in late Byzantium', in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, eds. R. Beaton & Ch. Roueché (Variorum; London, 1993), pp. 158-168.

elaborate theorem based on the number 2,000 [**45**]. Despite his use of the syllogistic method in refuting the Latin views, Matthaios draws attention to the limits of philosophical reasoning in theological subjects, stressing Gregory of Nazianzus' similar advice concerning man's pursuit of divine truths with reference to the modes of existence of the divine hypostases [**14**], directly criticizing Scholasticism [**54**].

In composing his treatise Matthaios made extensive use of works by previous Byzantine scholars and theologians. The discussion and arguments he put forward in the last section of the *Refutation*, referring to the relations between Orthodox Christians and other Christian denominations, including the Latins, the Armenians, the Jacobites, the Nestorians and the Manicheans [**46-59**], is mainly based on his own *Syntagma*, drawing also on works by the eminent canonists Balsamon and Zonaras. Particularly in the section concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit [**2**-**22**] Blastares quotes, often *verbatim*, long or short Scriptural and patristic quotations used by George of Cyprus in the *Tomos* of the Council of Blachernae (1285) and his treatise *On the procession of the Holy Spirit* (composed after his abdication from the patriarchal throne in June 1289); sections of the Patriarch of Constantinople Joseph I's (1268-75 and 1282-83) *Response* to Michael VIII's propositions in favour of the Latin Church (dated June 1273); and sections of Manuel Moschopoulos' treatise *On the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, without however acknowledging his sources. Moschopoulos' work was used by Blastares particularly with reference to Thomas Aquinas' teachings on the Holy Spirit, without mentioning Thomas by name. It should be noted that certain citations and arguments in Blastares' *Refutation*, especially concerning the distinction between the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father and the temporal manifestation of the Spirit through or from the Son, were used prior to George of Cyprus and Moschopoulos (1265-1316) also in The *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* attributed to Patriarch Photios,[152] and later on by Eustratios of Nicaea (*c*.1050-*c*.1120), John Phournes (fl. 1110), Patriarch Nikolaos IV Mouzalon (1147-1151), Nikolaos of Methone († *c*.1165), Nicephoros Blemmydes (1197-1272) in his first treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, the Ecumenical Patriarch Germanos II (1222?-1240) and

[152] Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics*, pp. 141-184, convincingly argued that this text, at least as it exists today, was falsely attributed to Photios.

Maximos Planoudes (*c.*1255-1305).[153] In general, it seems that a good number of Scriptural and patristic citations which formed the basis of Blastares' *Refutation* are part-and-parcel of similar anti-Latin treatises by earlier and contemporary authors.[154] It should be stressed, however, that these citations were not always used or interpreted in the same way by Blastares as part of his argumentation.

The length of the section devoted to the refutation of the Latin doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit [**2-22**] and the extensive and analytical discussion of this question (which occupies almost one third of the whole treatise) are indicative of the significance Matthaios placed on this subject, as indeed all theologians involved in this discussion did, both before and after him. Blastares' use of quotations and/or arguments from early Latin Fathers (Augustine, Jerome, Pope Damasus and Pope Sylvester, whom he names) in support of the Orthodox position, as well as Thomas Aquinas, whose teachings he refutes (without however naming him), shows a degree of familiarity with Latin theological thought. It is impossible to say at this stage whether Matthaios himself had read and translated Latin theological texts or wheter he simply took these quotations from Greek translations either of complete texts or of passages cited by other Byzantine theologians (as he did in the case of Moschopoulos' discussion of Aquinas' teachings on the Holy Spirit mentioned above), or indeed from patristic and other *florilegia*. Augustine's and Jerome's citations on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father [**6**.23-31], as we have already pointed out (pp. 32-34), show that Blastares, or his source/s, must have had knowledge of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* either in the original Latin or in Greek translation. So far a Greek translation of either part or the whole of the *Sententiae* has not been discovered, that is, if it ever existed.[155] We know, however, that Greek translations of sections of Latin theological works, including those by Thomas Aquinas, were produced by the Dominican friars Bartholomew and Simon of Constantinople in Pera in this period,[156] though it is to be

[153] Theodoroudes, *Ἡ ἐκπόρευσις*, esp. pp. 49-156.

[154] See *Refutation,* Nicetas Stethatos: [**25**.9-15], [**26.**11-17], [**28.2**. 5-10], [**28.4**.2-4, 8-10, 20-21], [**29**.23-24], [**31**.4-7], [**37**.24-35], [**38**.14-17, 24-32], [**39**.8-11, 39-42], [**45**.26-29]; Eustratios of Nicaea: [**2**.38-48], [**6**.1-8, 68-83], [**11**.3-10, 24-30], [**13**.1-8], [**24.2**.17-19], cf. also p. 44, nn. 75-76; Nikephoros Blemmydes: [**2**.43-45, 78-82], [**4**.14-22, 35-39, 39-47, 49-56, 56-63], [**4.1**. 6-9, 11-14], [**5.**57-58], [**8.**13-14, 76-77].

[155] See above, pp. 32-34 and n. 68.

[156] See R.-J. Loenertz, 'Les établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople', *Échos d'Orient* 34 (1935), 332-349; repr. in idem, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, Storia e Letteratura, Racolta di Studi e Testi, 118 (Rome, 1970), pp. 209-226; idem, 'Autour du traité de fr. Barthélemy de Constantinople contre les Grecs',

examined whether Peter Lombard was among the authors they translated. Simon was not unknown to Blastares. In fact, he composed a separate epistolary discourse *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* addressed to Guy de Lusignan in response to Simon's teachings as expressed in the latter's two letters to Emperor Andronikos III and Joseph the Philosopher, respectively.[157]

Matthaios' refutation of the use of *azymes* by the Latins in the Eucharist [**23-37**] shows greater originality than any other part of the treatise. In this section Matthaios goes to great pains and length to show that this custom is considered heretical by the Orthodox theologians not only because it goes counter to the Gospels, the canons and the tradition of the Church, but more importantly because it fails to represent the true meaning of the sacrifice of the Saviour. At this point Matthaios makes extensive use of symbolic language, using images from the Old and New Testament to stress the unity of the created world. His example of Moses who used to wear his priestly attire, which carried symbols of the created world, when he entered the sanctuary, thus uniting himself with the world in order to give praise to God, as a parallel to the Logos who as a kind of leaven joins Himself with the dough (the created world) thus lifting the creation towards God, is powerful and to the best of our knowledge original. In addition, Blastares shows familiarity with Platonic and Aristotelian teachings on the soul, which he uses in constructing and elaborating complex syllogisms in his attempt to interpret Scriptural quotations with reference to leavened bread as a symbol of Christ. So far we have been unable to trace Blastares' sources for this particular sub-section of the *Refutation* [**23**.41-51], unless it represents his own contribution. In general, Blastares' views and arguments on the *azymes* in the *Refutation* are based to some extent on earlier treatises on this subject, notably by John of Damascus and Leo of Ochrid (†1056), as well as by Athanasius of Alexandria, Nicetas Stethatos (*c*.1005-1090) and Peter of Antioch (*c*.995-1056). The general impression is that this section stands on its own in terms of style and creativity.

It is in the same section on *azymes* and in the subsequent ones [**38-42**], discussing a number of other Latin customs and practices —including prohibition of clerical

*AFP* 6 (1936), 361-371; and recently C. Delacroix-Besnier, 'Les Prêcheurs, du dialogue à la polémique (XIII$^{e}$-XIV$^{e}$ siècle)', in *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, pp. 151-167. See also below, pp. 110-111.

[157] See below, pp. 110-111.

marriage, fasting, the presence of women in the sanctuary, the offer of a kiss to con-celebrant priests instead of offering the Holy Communion, and baptism— that Blastares exhibits his knowledge and training as a canonist, quoting numerous canons from both local and ecumenical Councils. At first sight it seems surprising that Blastares does not refer at all in his *Refutation* to the Latin claims of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome —in terms of supremacy in the organisation of the Church and not of spiritual pre-eminence, which is accepted by the Eastern Churches—, for this was considered an important point of dispute in this period.[158] The explanation for this is contained in Blastares' *Syntagma*. In the section concerning the ecclesiastical order of the five Patriarchates[159] he refers to imperial legislation and decrees of ecumenical councils which prescribe the primacy of the Church of Rome and its bishop over the other Patriarchates and incumbents.[160] Though Blastares' intention here is not to assert papal primacy *per se* but rather to strengthen the authority of the Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople over the episcopal hierarchy by emphasising the granting to the Church of Constantinople of privileges equal to those of the Church of Rome (Fourth Ecumenical Council, Canon 28), nevertheless it would be clearly inconsistent to argue against papal primacy in his *Refutation*. It seems that his defence of papal primacy in the *Syntagma* also served specific purposes, namely to respond to the Archbishop of Ochrid who claimed judicial rights in dioceses in the Balkans equal to those of the Church of Rome (on the basis of Justinian's *Novel* 131, by which he gave these rights to the Archbishop of Justiniana Prima, his own birthplace), and moreover the papal prerogative of crowning and anointing the emperor.[161] It is for the same reason that Blastares goes as far as to include in the *Syntagma* a separate section with an

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[158] See, for example, Patriarch Joseph's comments in his *Apologia*, eds. Laurent and Darrouzès, *Dossier*, pp. 199-277.

[159] Blastares, *Syntagma* ε', ed. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6, p. 260-262.

[160] On this see F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, trans. E.A. Quain (New York, 1966); Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 90, 97-101; J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198-1400* (N. Brunswick, NJ, 1979); Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West*, pp. 73-107; J. Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XII[e] siècle sur la primauté romaine', *REB* 23 (1965), 42-88; Maximus, Metropolitan of Sardes, *Τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, AB, 52 (Thessalonike, 1989); T.M. Kolbaba, 'Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy, Introduction, Edition, and Translation', *REB* 53 (1995), 41-155; Ch. Sabbatos, 'Ἐκκλησιολογικὰ θέματα στὸ θεολογικὸ διάλογο Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὸν ΙΓ' αἰῶνα', *Θεολογία* 68 (1998), 489-503; and A. Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the Rise of the Papacy: Points for Reflection' *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, pp. 21-29.

[161] See D.G. Angelov, 'The Donation of Constantine and the Church in Late Byzantium', in *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, ed. D.G. Angelov, Studies in Medieval Culture, XLIX (Kalamazoo, 2009), pp. 91-157.

abridged Greek version of the *Donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester*, which he considers genuine and legally valid.[162]

Given the relative independence of the various sections of the treatise —especially the one on the *azymes* [**23-37**] as mentioned above, as well as the Synoptic Accounts of the Seven Ecumenical Councils [**44**][163] and the theorem on the number 2,000 [**45**]—, the question arises whether Matthaios composed the treatise from the very beginning as a single work or whether he wrote each section separately and subsequently put all of them together at some stage, adding a preface and an epilogue in order to form a complete work.

The fact that the aforementioned sections [**23-37**, **44** and **45**] as well as that on the Procession of the Holy Spirit [**2-22**] are transmitted individually, or are even omitted, in certain MSS,[164] point to the latter hypothesis.[165] In the end of chapter [**22**] Matthaios remarks that what one could say to refute the Latin doctrine concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit 'has almost (σχεδόν) been said' [**22**], indicating his intention to re-visit this subject later without giving specific reference (to the conclusion [**60**]), while in chapter [**35**] he informs the reader that a particular incident (the ordination of the Patriarch of Constantinople Menas by Pope Agapetus) 'will be repeated further down' (ὡς ῥηθήσεται [**35**.30]), similarly without specifying the precise section (the Synoptic Account of the Fifth Ecumenical Council [**44.5**.13-14]). This evidence would suggest that at the time Matthaios was composing chapters [**22**] and [**35**] either he was following a plan of the treatise in which chapter [**44**] and the conclusion [**60**] were included, or he had already completed chapter [**44**] or the conclusion [**60**] independently and simply added cross references. In addition, at least two extant sixteenth-century codices, *Par. gr.* 1218 and *Athen. Metochion Panagiou Taphou* 204 (which were not used in our edition), containing sections [**37**.66**-44**] and [**46-60**], give a

[162] For the uses of the *Donation of Constantine* by Byzantine authors in the Palaeologan period, see D.G. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 374-384.

[163] To which no mention is made in the section related to the decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils [**18**.66-73 and **19**].

[164] Codex *Monacensis graecus* 256, although it contains the title *the theorem on the number 2,000* [**45**] located at the lower margin of f. 220v, completely omits this chapter. The 15th-century *Athos, Iveron* 668 (Lambros 4788), contains only the chapters *On the azymes* [**23-60**] while the 16th-century *Athens, Bibl. Nat.* 2092, preserves chapters [**1-22**.60].

[165] This seems to be followed by Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, pp. 87-95, who listed the various sections separately, as if they were separate works.

shorter title for Blastares' *Refutation*, stating that it contains 'parts of the second book of Blastares against the Latins' (*Ἐκ τοῦ β′ βιβλίου τοῦ Βλαστάρεως μέρη κατὰ Λατίνων*).[166] This information is repeated by Dositheos in his printed edition (under siglum **J** in our edition), which was based on the aforementioned Paris and Athens MSS. This 'second book' could refer either to the *Refutation*, in the sense that the *Syntagma* (which was composed earlier) was Blastares' 'first book', or most probably to the *Refutation*, Book II, that is the chapters containing the sections on the Latin customs [**37**.66-**43**] (in reality **38**, as the closing sentence of **37**.66-69, could serve as an introduction to **38**), the Synoptic accounts of the Seven Ecumenical Councils [**44**] (omitting the theorem on the number 2,000 [**45**]), and the relations between Orthodox and other Christian denominations [**46-59**].[167]

This internal evidence cannot confirm at this stage either supposition concerning the composition of the various sections of Matthaios' *Refutation*. A study of the reception of the treatise by Blastares' contemporary and later authors perhaps might shed light on this question. This, however, falls beyond the scope of the present thesis. Whatever the case, the treatise does possess a degree of unity in terms of purpose, in the sense that what Blastares aimed at was to produce a compendium, along the lines of his own *Syntagma*, which would enable an Orthodox theologian, clergyman or layman, to familiarise himself with the main points of divergence between the two traditions, in terms of doctrine, liturgical practices and other customs (though excluding the issue of papal primacy related to the organisation of the Church for the reasons mentioned above), at the same time providing counter-arguments in defence of the Orthodox views against the Latin teachings. This is the true value of this work.

Apart from its theological importance, this text enables us to look into the character and personality of its author. Often repetitive and clearly polemical in his tone, Matthaios occasionally shows originality and depth in his thought, even a playful attitude, especially when he puts forward his complex mathematical calculations. Firm in his conviction that solely the Orthodox Church maintains pure and unadulterated the Christian faith as handed down by Christ, the Apostles and the Fathers, he is not

[166] See below, Plate 27.
[167] See below, p. 167.

prepared to compromise his beliefs, applying the principle of *οἰκονομία* [**52**] in order to bridge the gap between the two sides. If indeed Blastares was originally a sympathiser with the anti-hesychasts, as the letters of Akindynos and Kalothetos would suggest,[168] through his *Refutation* as well as his epistolary discourse *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, his *Dialogue with Barlaam the Calabrian* and his short discourse *On the Divine Essence* or *On the Divine Light* (the latter two works composed in response to Barlaam and Akindynos' anti-Palamite views) Matthaios proved himself a staunch Orthodox beyond any doubt or suspicion. It is this image of Blastares as defender of Orthodoxy that prevailed in the decades and centuries that followed, as reflected in the miniature in the sixteenth-century codex *Athos, Vatopedi* 483, f. 2, depicting Matthaios offering his *Syntagma* to Christ Who blesses him (Plate 54). The halo surrounding Matthaios' face is a testimony of the saintly status he enjoyed in the eyes of his people.

## Date and circumstances of the composition of the *Refutation*

The date of the composition of the *Refutation* must be placed sometime between 1335 and 1341. The first date is supported both by palaeographical and textual evidence. Paschos proposed the year 1335 (date of the completion of Matthaios' *Syntagma*)[169] as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the treatise.[170] The evidence is given by Blastares himself in his *Syntagma*, where he states that he will not expound on the issue of the unleavened bread as 'this is not the proper time'.[171] Evidently, Matthaios had not yet composed the section on the *azymes*, which forms an integral part of the *Refutation*. This date (1335) is confirmed by the subscription in the sixteenth-century codex **W** (f. 299r), which states that the *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* was composed by Matthaios soon after the completion of his *Syntagma* 'in the year 6743 (*anno mundi*)',

[168] See above, pp. 16-17 with n. 11.

[169] See I.P. Medvedev, 'La Date du *Syntagma* de Mathieu Blastares', *B* 50 (1980), 338-339; C.G. Pitsakis, 'De Nouveau sur la date du Syntagma de Matthieu Blastarès', *B* 51 (1981), 638-639.

[170] See Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, p. 89 with n. 1.

[171] Ed. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6, ι', 4.25-31, p. 309: Ὅτι γε μὴν οὐδὲ εἰς νοῦν τοῖς θείοις ἐπῆλθε Πατράσι τὸ δι' ἄζυμον ἑορτάζειν ἡμᾶς, δῆλον ... καὶ τ'ἄλλα, ἃ κατὰ μέρος διεξιέναι οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ.

that is 1335 AD.[172] Evidence in codex **M** indicates that Blastares' *Refutation* must have been completed by January 1342, date of completion of the copying of this MS.[173]

Additional evidence, however, indicates that the *Refutation* must have been completed even earlier. In his aforementioned epistolary discourse *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* addressed to Guy de Lusignan Matthaios explicitly refers to his own *Refutation of the Errors of the Latins* which he had already published.[174] At the end of his epistolary discourse Blastares added a small section with additional concise arguments concerning the *azymes* and certain Latin customs (fasting, celibacy and shaving of the beard by Latin priests) which he had not incorporated in his *Refutation*.[175] More importantly, in his epistolary discourse Matthaios states that he composed this work in response to Latin arguments in defence of the *filioque* put forward by the Dominican friar Simon of Constantinople.[176] The composition of Matthaios' epistolary discourse should be placed sometime after 15 June 1341, date of Emperor Andronikos III's death,[177] which coincides with the end of Guy's rule as governor of Serres (*c.*1340-1341), and before Guy was crowned first King of Armenian Cilicia in October 1342, for in the text he is simply addressed as 'Sire Guy de Lusignan … the most beloved uncle of the most Orthodox emperor,'[178] namely John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354) to whom

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[172] **W**, f. 299 in marg.: Ματθαίου ἱερο(μον)άχ(ου) τοῦ τοὺς καν(όν)(ας) τῶν ἁγί(ων) ἀπο(στόλων) κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) π(ατέ)ρων, ἐν προχείρω κ(α)τ' α(λφά)β(ητον) | συντάξαντος, ἔλεγχοι κ(α)τ(ὰ) λατίν(ων)· ἐν ἔτει γεγονότες ,ϛωμγ'. See below, Plate 46.

[173] **M,** f. 391: ἐτελειώθ(η), μην(ὶ) ἰαννουαρίω ἰν(δικτιῶνος) δεκάτ(ης): ἐν ἔτει ,ϛω' πεντηκοστω. See below, Plate 41.

[174] Blastares, *Epistolary Discourse*, ed. Arsenij, Archimandrite, *Pis'mo,* p. 81.16-30. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως μόνης ἦν ὁ λόγος ἅπας τῷ Σίμωνι, ὡς τἄλλα ἐν παρέργῳ τούτῳ τιθέμεθα, τὰ τῶν ἐθῶν τε φημὶ καὶ ἱερῶν νόμων, ἐν οἷς οἱ Λατίνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαμέτρου φρονοῦσι τὲ καὶ διΐστανται, οὐδ' ἡμῖν πλὴν ἐκείνης τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐμέλησεν, *ὅτι γε καὶ ἱκανῶς ἐν ἑτέρῳ συγγράμματι περὶ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰρήκαμεν*. Λέγω δὴ τῆς ἐνζύμου ἱερουργίας … (my italics).

[175] Blastares, *Epistolary Discourse*, pp. 83-86.

[176] Blastares, *Epistolary Discourse*, pp. 80.32-81.2: Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ἐνταῦθα μοι κείσθω ἀπολογίας, ὅπερ ὧν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις, ἃς ἐπέδωκάς μοι περιφανέστατε, διετείνετο ἐπιστολαῖς, ὧν τὴν μὲν τῷ ἀοιδίμῳ βασιλεῖ Ἀνδρονίκῳ, τὴν δὲ τῷ πάντα ὁσίῳ Ἰωσὴφ ἐκείνῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ.' Cf. ibid., p. 1.14-16: '… διττὰς ἔχον ἐπιστολάς τινος τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ διενεγκόντων …'; the text in codices **D** f. 92r.9-11 and **O** f.1r.6-8, which were not consulted by Arsenij, explicitly identify Simon as the author of the letters: διττὰς ἔχον ἐπιστολάς τῶν τινος ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ διενεγκόντων, φρὰ σίμωνος τὸ ἐπώνυμον.

[177] See right above: '… τῷ *ἀοιδίμῳ* βασιλεῖ Ἀνδρονίκῳ' (… to Andronikos the Emperor *of blessed memory*). On the date of the Emperor's death, see *PLP* 21437.

[178] Blastares, *Epistolary Discourse*, p. 1.1-3: 'Τῷ περιποθήτῳ θείῳ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως σὶρ Γγῆ ντὲ Λουζινιάῳ …'.

Guy was related through his first marriage with a Kantakouzene.[179] The fact that Blastares makes no mention in his treatise of the Zealot revolt in 1342/3 that shook his native city of Thessalonike for nearly a decade would seem to support this hypothesis, though it must be said that his references to historical events in the *Refutation* are limited to those directly related to the Church, namely the 'Schism' of 1054 and the Council of Blachernae (1285).

The close relation between Matthaios' *Refutation* and the epistolary discourse *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* provides the background of the circumstances of the composition of the treatise. As stated above (pp. 47-52), Matthaios cited, often *verbatim*, selected passages from Manuel Moschopoulos' treatise *On the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Spirit* without acknowledging his source. At this stage it is difficult to tell whether Blastares copied or read some of these passages from Moschopoulos' treatise or whether both authors shared the same Greek or Latin source. According to *Vat. gr.* 1111 which preserves Moschopoulos' text, this was written after a discussion the author had with a Latin. Polemis suggested that Moschopoulos composed this treatise in response to the activities of the Dominican friars in Constantinople, among whom were Bartholomew and Simon, who had been responsible for producing not only their own treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in Greek, but also abridged translations of Latin thomistic texts into Greek.[180] The fact that the composition of Matthaios' epistolary discourse was instigated by Simon's letters to Andronikos III and Joseph the Philosopher, would suggest also that the *Refutation* may have been composed as a reaction to the proselytizing activities of the Dominican friars and the conversion of Byzantines to the Roman Catholic faith.

[179] On Guy de Lusignan see *PLP* 92566; Paschos, *Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης*, p. 95 with n. 4. See also B. Nerantze-Barmaze, 'Συργὴς Ντελενουζίας, Ἄρχων Σερρῶν, 1341-1342', *Βυζαντινά* 10 (1980), 193-202.

[180] Polemis, 'An unpublished', p. 253 with nn. 14-15. The unpublished letters of Simon are to be found in *Vat. gr.* 1104, *Vat. Barber. gr.* 405, *Sinait.* 1706, and *Vallicellianus* 159 (LIII), cited by A. Dondaine, '"Contra Graecos". Premiers écrits polémiques des Dominicains en Orient', *AFP* 21 (1951), 405-406. Cf. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1621, p. 415. See also above, pp. 104-105 with n. 156.

## Part II: The manuscript tradition

So far the autograph of Blastares' *Refutation* has not been traced, if it has survived. The text is preserved, wholly or partly, in at least twenty-four MSS, dated or datable between the fourteenth and seventeenth century.[181] Given the length of the treatise (194 pages of printed text), the large number of extant MSS and the fact that several of them were inaccessible to me, I have selected to study eleven among the earlier codices containing the entire text (**A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **G**, **L**, **M**, **O**, **V**, **W** and **Z**). A description of these eleven MSS and the Dositheos (**J**) and Allatius (**T**) partial edition is presented below, followed by a palaeographical and textual examination of the text, in order to establish their relation. Among the earlier ones of these eleven codices, containing the entire text, which are dated or datable between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most important, in terms of errors and variant readings, are the following: *Mosquensis, Synodicus graecus* 149 (327/CL) (= **M**), *Cambridge, University Library, Ms. gr.* Dd.II.51(83) (= **C**), *Athos, Vatopedi* 480 (= **V**), *Oxoniensis, Bodleianus Baroccianus Seldenianus* 44 (Arch. Seld. B.49) (= **O**), *Monacensis graecus* 256 (= **G**), *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 256, (= **L**). Codices **A**, **C** and **D** were examined *in situ* and therefore they are described in greater detail, in contrast to **G**, **M** and **O**, which were studied through microfilm of the entire codices and thus their description is less detailed. In the case of **B**, **L**, **V, W** and **Z** we studied only the folios containing Blastares' *Refutation* through printed facsimiles. For this reason, in our descriptions of **B**, **V** and **Z**, which were briefly described in the past without adding references to *incipts* and *desinits* of the other items contained therein,

[181] In chronological order: **14th century**: *Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 149 (327/CL), ff. 215-255 (AD 1342); *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci, Selden.* 44 (Arch. Seld. B. 49), ff. 54 -99; and *Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 480, ff. 189-223 and *MS.* 481, ff. 257-302v. **15th century**: *Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), ff. 202-233v (AD 1417-1426); *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Palatinus graecus* 256, ff. 333v-377v (AD 1449); *Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256 (*c.* 1450/51) ff. 165-230; *Athens, National Library, MS.* 142, ff. 82-195; *Paris, National Library, MS. graecus* 1361, ff. 168-205; *Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428, ff. 236-289v; and *Athos, Iveron, MS.* 668 (Lambros 4788), ff. 290v-333 containing chapters [**23**-**60**] (concerning the *azymes*). **16th century**: *Paris, National Library, MS. graecus* 1218 (*c.*1547), ff. 239-254v, containing chapters [**37**.66-**60**]; *Athens, Metochion Panagiou Taphou, MS.* 204, ff. 234-260 (AD 1598), containing also chapters [**37**.66-**60**] possible the copy used for the Dositheos edition; *Athos, Vatopedi, MS.* 481, ff. 1-46v; *Iveron, MS.* 678 (Lambros 4798), ff. 299-363v; *Iveron, MS.* 697 (Lambros 4817), item 6; *Iveron, MS.* 710 (Lambros 4830), ff. 1-53; *Trebizond, Phrontisterion graecus, MS.* 33, ff. 26v-62; *Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 367 (242/CCLIV), ff. 1-60; and *Meteora, Monastery of Barlaam MS.* 175, ff. 231-253. **17th century:** *Athens, National Library, MS.* 2092, pp. 455-471, containing chapters [**1**-**22**.60]; *Cambridge, Trinity College MS.* 0.10.33 (1485), ff. 125-129; *Meteora, Monastery of the Metamorphosis, MS.* 375, ff. 49-113; *Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 70 (249/LXXI), ff. 274-282 and *MS.* 421 (253/CCCXCV), ff. 213-270.

we have been unable to add editions. In **L** and **W**, however, which were more fully described by scholars, including *incipts* and *desinits*, we have added the editions.

## Description of the manuscripts

**A** ***Athens, National Library, MS.* 142** (examined *in situ*).[182]

15th century; paper; 150x110 mm.; ff. 234; (blank ff. 81v, 195v, 196v), 1(16-19) (Plates 1-6)

**Contents:** This miscellaneous codex contains theological, spiritual and canonical works by **John Chrysostom**, **Matthaios Blastares**, **Gennadios Archbishop of Bulgaria**, **Damascenus Studites** and **anonymous** authors.

1. (ff. 1-80) ***Chapters* <10-22> *from St John's Book of Revelation***, *Κεφάλαια ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου.* cod. Inc. Καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάλιν λαλοῦσαν μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσα …, des. … ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

2. (f. 80v) <**Michael Psellus?**>, **Excerpt from *Poems* (Poem 54),** Inc. illeg. …, des. … δέκα χόρδας ἐκεῖνοι· οὕτω καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος· ἔχει δυνάμεις δέκα. Cf. ed. L.G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart, 1992), § 54.132-139.

3. (f. 81r.1-16) **Ps.-Athanasius**, **Excerpts from *Questions and answers to Antiochus* (Quest. 8).** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου πρὸς Ἀντίοχον.* cod. Inc. Ἰστέον δε… ὥς φησιν ὁ πολὺς τὰ θεία Διονύσιος …, des. … καὶ θεηγόρων ἀνδρῶν. Cf. PG 28, col. 604.

4. (ff. 82-195) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins,*** *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

5. (f. 196) **John Chrysostom, Excerpt from *Oration 23, On St Matthew's Gospel,*** *Ἐκ τοῦ κγ' λόγου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, τοῦ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.* cod. Inc. Ἀκουέτωσαν

[182] For a description of the codex see I. & A. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens 1892), p. 24.

οἱ πᾶσιν ἀναιδῶς συμπλεκόμενοι ..., des. ... οὐκέτι χώραν ἔχουσιν οἱ τύποι. Ed. PG 57, cols. 301-312

6. (ff. 197-199) **Gennadios Archbishop of Bulgaria, Excerpt from *Syntagma, To those who say that the simple commemoration of the Pope is not at all harmful*,** *Ἐκ τοῦ συντάγματος Γενναδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι τὸ τοῦ πάπα ψιλὸν μνημόσυνον οὐδέν τι ἄρα βλάπτει.* cod. Inc. Εἰ λόγου παντὸς προηγεῖται ἔννοια πάντως ἂν καὶ τῆς νῦν διαβεβοημένης ..., des. ... ἔκρυψαν γὰρ ὁδὸν εὐθεῖαν· καὶ ἀνομίαν ἐποίησαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ. Unedited.

7. (ff. 199v-205v) ***Synodal decision of the Orthodox Patriarchs Philotheos of Alexandria, Dorotheos of Antioch and Ioakeim of Jerusalem on the Council of Florence (1439) and on those ordained by Latinophrones***, *Συνοδικὴ διάγνωσις καὶ ἀπόφασις τῶν ἁγιωτάτων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τριῶν Πατριαρχῶν, Φιλοθέου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δωροθέου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰωακεὶμ Ἱεροσολύμων, περί τε τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ γενομένης Ὀγδόης Συνόδου καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Λατινοφρόνων χειροτονειθέντων.* cod. Inc. Χρὴ δὲ οὐδὲ γενείου τρίχας διαφθείρειν,..., des. ... συνοδικῶς ὑπογραφεῖσα ἰδιοχείρως ἐν μηνὶ ἀπριλλίου τοῦ ,ϚΠνα′ ἔτους ἰνδικτιώνος Ϛ′. Ed. I. & A. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens 1892), pp. 25-28.

8. (ff. 206-229v) <**Symeon Seth**>**, *Chapters on food, namely on the attributes of various fruits, animals and birds***, *Κεφάλαια περὶ βρωμάτων, ἤτοι περὶ τῆς ἰδιότητος τῶν διαφόρων καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καῖ ὀπωρῶν καὶ βρωτῶν καὶ ζῴων τετραπόδων τε καὶ πτηνῶν.* cod. Inc. Τὰ ἀμύγδαλα, σύμμετρα ἐστι τῇ θερμότητι καὶ τρόφιμα ἱκανῶς ..., des. ... πρὸς ἰοβόλων δείγματα, καὶ τῶν ἐκ νόσου ἀναβιβαζομένων τροφὴν οἱ πολὺ ὠφέλιμοι. Ed. B. Langkavel, *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 20.17-120.23.

9. (f. 230) <**Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria**>, ***Questions and Answers* (23-24),** *Ἐρώτησις: Ἆρα γνώσονται οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει;* cod. Inc. Ὅτιπερ περ πάντα τὰ ἐκ φθορὰς ἐπὶ συμβάντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις σώμασι ..., des. ... οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Ed. PG 28, cols. 612-613.

10.(f. 230v.1-12) <**John Damascenus**>, **Excerpt from *Expositio fidei*, *On sitting at the right hand***, *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας.* cod. Inc. Ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς κεκάθηκεν..., des. ...ὑπὸ πάσης κτίσεως. Ed. PG 94, col. 1104.25-34.

11.(f. 230v.12-25) <**John Damascenus**>, ***Sacra parallela*, 25 (On the devil)**, Ἐρώτησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις. cod. Inc. Πόθεν πονηρὸς ὁ διάβολος ..., des. ... ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀναχώρησις· τὸν δὲ οἰκεῖον ἐτήρησεν ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν παραμονῆ. Ed. PG 95, cols. 1408.48-1409.2.

12. (ff. 231-233v) **Damascenus Studites**, ***Beneficial Verses,*** *Στίχοι ὠφέλιμοι πονηθέντες παρὰ φιλοσόφου Δαμασκηνοῦ*. cod. Inc. Ἂν τὲ καὶ μέγαν ἢ μικρὸν τὸ οἷον δώσει ..., des. ... ζητεί οὶς ψυχικὴν ὠφέλειαν εὑρήσθαι. Unidentified.

**Script and ink:** The entire codex, along with the titles and the numerous marginal notes, was copied by no less than seven different fifteenth-sixteenth century hands. The main text was copied in dark brown ink, which in the course of time has faded into green-brown. Red ink was used for the titles, chapter numbers, major and minor initials, marginal quotation marks, vignettes and marginal notes. The complete *Refutation* of Blastares was copied by hand **A**, ff. 82-195 (see Plate 1). A number of marginal scholia and notes have been added in this section by a later, sixteenth-seventeenth-century hand (**B**) (see Plate 5). Hand **C** copied ff. 1-73v.9 and ff. 206-226. It seems that hand **D** continued from f. 72v.10 to the end of the section of St John's *Book of Revelation*, f. 80. **D** appears to be a more fluent scholarly hand using a variety of abbreviations. This hand seems to be similar with the one (**E**) that copied the titles in the first part of St John's *Book of Revelation* in terms of ligatures and abbreviations. Another hand (**F**), employing a thicker dictus, copied f. 80v, the text in the upper left hand part of which has faded (Plate 2). Hand **G** copied f. 81r (Plate 3), and the excerpt from John Chrysostom, *On St Matthew's Gospel* on f. 196. Hand **H** copied ff. 197-205v.

**Notes:** On f. 1, upper margin, the current shelf number of the MS appears followed by the total number of folios: 'αρ<ιθμός> 142, φ<ύλλα> 233'. The subscription 'αρ<ιθμός> 87' in the same folio, possibly reffering to an old number of the MS, is crossed out. The note 'βιβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα' suggests that this MS was originally part of the Library of the Monastery of St Sabbas in Palestine, before it was moved to the National Library of Athens, the cyclical stamp of which appears in the lower margin of

f. 2. On f. 80 a hand similar, if not identical, to the previous hand (f. 2) added the name 'Γρηγόριος Φωτεινός', which may belong to a subsequent owner of the MS. On f. 234 a note describes this MS as a 'small miscellaneous book': 'τὸ τοιοῦτον βιβλιαρίδιον περιέ-|χει διάφορα κεφάλαια' (see Plate 4). On f. 81r, lines 17-21, there is a note related to the excerpt from Question 8 of Ps.-Athanasius, *Questions and answers to Antiochus*, by an anonymous scribe, which writes: 'Ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ απλῶς γέγραφα, ἀλλ ἀπο μακρὰς συνηθείας | λαβώντες λέγειν, δὶς τὸ ἀλληλούϊα· καὶ μὴ μή λεγε συνήθείας | ἀλλα τὴν κακὶν συνήθειαν ἐκκοπτέσθω, καὶ στίχοις τοῖς γεγρα-|μμένοις· ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψη Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου ὄπισθεν | ἐν κεφαλαίῳ νζ' γέγραπται.'

**Binding:** The codex preserves its original Byzantine binding with dark brown leather over wooden boards with remainings of fastening straps.[183]

**B** ***Athos, Vatopedi, MS.* 481** (examined through printed facsimiles).[184]

14th century; paper; 280x190 mm.; ff. 306; 2 (29-30) (Plates 7-11)

**Contents:** This codex contains **Matthaios Blastares'** ***Syntagma*** and ***Refutation,*** an ***Oath taken by an Archpriest during his ordination, Tables calculating the Easter date, etc.***

1. (ff. 1-256v) **Matthaios <Blastares>,** ***Syntagma***, *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον τῶν ἐμπεριειλημμένων ἁπασῶν ὑποθέσεων τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θείοις κανόσι πονηθὲν ἅμα τε καὶ συντεθὲν τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ἐλαχίστῳ*. cod. Inc. Τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων χρῆμα κανόνων …, des. … τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδου, εἰκοστὸν δεύτερον κὰι εἰκοστὸν τρίτον. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1859), pp. 1-518.
2. (ff. 257-302v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins***, *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ... , des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

[183] See below, Plate 4.

[184] For a brief description of the MS. see S. Eustratiades & Deacon Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1924), p. 98. See also above, pp. 112-113.

3. (ff. 302v-303v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Oath taken by an Archpriest during his ordination***, *Ὅρκος γιγνομένου ἀρχιερέως.* cod. Inc. Ἱερομόναχος ἐλέῳ καὶ χάριτι Θεοῦ ὑποψήφιος τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ προέταξα ... , des. ... τῶν μελλόντων ἀξιωθείην ἀγαθῶν μη(νί) (?) ἀμήν. Unidentified.

4. (ff. 304-306) <**Anonymous**>, ***Tables calculating the Easter date etc.***, *Πίνακες περὶ εὑρέσεως τοῦ Πάσχα καὶ λοιπῶν.*

**Script:** ff. 257-302v containing Matthaios' *Refutation of the errors of the Latins*, seems to have been copied by a single, clear and calligraphic hand (**A**) datable to the fourteenth-century (Plate 7). Another, less disciplined but more fluent, scholarly hand (**B**), copied ff. 302v col. b, to 303v (Plates 9-10). The section with the tables on the calculation of the Easter date seems to have been copied by hand (**A**) (Plate 11).

## C *Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83) (examined *in situ*).[185]

1417-1426 AD; paper; mm.240x170; ff. <I>+I-VII+ff. 233+VIII-X (blank ff. Iv, IIv-VIv, VIIv, 153v, VIII, X, IX); 1(31) (Plates 12-22)

**Contents:** Miscellany of legal texts, including works by **Konstantinos Harmenopoulos** *Hexabiblos, Agrarian Law, Epitome of Canon Law, On the Orthodox Faith, On heresies*; **Patriarch Philotheus,** *Refutation of anathemata;* **Peter the Deacon,** *Questions and Answers*; **Georgios Phobenos,** *Greek-Latin dictionary of legal terms, On the prenuptial gift of hypobolon;* **Theodosios Zygomalas,** *Admonitions to judges* and **Matthaios Blastares'** *Refutation.*

1. (f. I) <**Theodosios Zygomalas**>, <***Admonitions to judges***>, <α΄> Τὸ τῆς δίκης πᾶς ἐννοῶν, πρὸ τῆς δίκης, λόγοις δικαστὰ, μὴ προσληφθεῖς τὴν φρένα· πῶς γὰρ πέφυνε τῶν νόμων ἡ λαμπρότης, τοὺς τὴν δίκην κλέπτοντας ἐνδίκως φλέγον. <β'> Φρικτὸν τὸ κρίνειν, καὶ δίκας διαλύειν· δῶρα γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι Θεὸς κελεύει· κρίσιν δὲ κρίνειν, δικαίως καὶ εὐθέτως (*post corr.*) ὅπως, τοῦ κριτοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἐφορῶντος, κρίσιν δικαίαν, τοῖς κριταῖς ἀνταμείψη. <γ'> Ἂν ὁ κριτής οἶδας με,

[185] For a description of the codex, see C. Hardwick, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge,* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1856; repr. Munich, 1980), pp. 65-68.

τὸν κρίναντά σε, καὶ παραβλέψης τὴν κρίσιν ἐν τῇ κρίσει, κατακρινῶ σε τῇ τελευταία κρίσει· ἂν δ', ἐξάγης μου τήν κρίσιν ὥσπερ θέμις, κρίνων δικαίως οὐ πρὸς χάριν τὴν κρίσιν, εὕροις με φιλάνθρωπον κριτὴν ἐν κρίσει. <δ'> Χρὴ τὸν ὀρθῶς κρίνειν μέλλοντα, μὴ ὅλον ἐπάγεσθαι τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀκοὴν ταμιεύειν εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοῖς μὴ παρα[δοῦ?]σιν.

2. (ff. 1-2v) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***Hexabiblos or Handbook of Laws*****,** *Κριτῶν ἡ προκατάστασις· ἣ περὶ δικαιοσύνης· Γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὕτη, παρὰ τοῦτο βιβλίον συντεθεικότος* cod. Inc. Ὁ κρίνειν λαχὼν καὶ κριτὴς εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι …, des. … τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐλευθερίαν δούλην παραπεποιημένων κρίσεων ἀπειργάσατο. Ed. K. Pitsakis, *Κωνσταντίνου Ἁρμενόπουλου Πρόχειρον Νόμων ἢ Ἑξάβιβλος* (Athens, 1971; repr. 2006), pp. 3-6.

3. (ff. 2v-146) **Konstantinos Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos or Handbook of Laws*****,** *Πρόχειρον νόμων, τὸ λεγόμενον ἡ ἑξάβιβλος, συναθροισθὲν κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ κατ' ἐπιτομήν οὕτω συντεθὲν, παρὰ τοῦ πανσεβάστου νομοφύλακος τοῦ καὶ κριτοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἁρμενοπούλου.* cod. Inc. Τὸ βιβλίο νόμων πάλαι πεποίηται ... des. ... τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων κεκωλυμένων. Ed. Pitsakis, *Ἑξάβιβλος*, pp. 7-386.

4. (ff. 147r-v) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***The*** <***Spurious***> ***Donation of Constantine***, *Θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου περὶ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης.* cod. Inc. Θεσπίζομεν πᾶσι τοῖς σατράπαις ... des. ... πατέρα ἡμῶν πάπαν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχοις. Ed. G. E. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli Manuele legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig, 1851), pp. 820-822.

5. (f. 147v) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***Three Synodal Tomes*****,** cod. Inc. Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, τόμος ἐξεφωνήθη ... des. ... τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας στύλον, τὸν βασιλέα θεῖον Ἀνδρόνικον. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli*, p. 822.

6. (ff. 148r-v) **Patriarch Philotheus, *Refutation of anathemata*****,** *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου πατριάρχου Φιλοθέου, ἀνατροπὴ τῶν ἀναγραμμένων ἀναθεματισμῶν.* cod. Inc. Ὁ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς …, des. … καθὰ δὴ καὶ φθάσαντες εἴπομεν. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli*, pp. 822-826.

7. (ff. 149-153) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***Agrarian Law***, *Νόμοι γεωργικοὶ κατ᾽ ἐκλογὴν, βιβλίου τοῦ τῆς θείας λέξεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως περὶ γεωργῶν.* cod. Inc. Χρὴ τὸν γεωργὸν ..., des. ... τοῦτο ἄδειαν ἐχέτωσαν. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli*, pp. 830-850.

8. (ff. 154-180v) **Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**, ***Epitome of Canon Law***, *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων, γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὕτη, παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πανσεβαστοῦ σεβαστοῦ νομοφύλακος καὶ κριτοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης κυρίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἁρμενοπούλου. Προθεωρία.* cod. Inc. Τῶν κανόνων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ..., des. ... πρὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας εἶεν κατεγνωσμέναι. Ed. PG 150, cols. 45.1-68.32.

9. (ff. 181r-v) <**Konstantinos**> **Harmenopoulos**, ***On the Orthodox Faith***, *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἁρμενόπουλου, περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου.* cod. Inc. Πιστεύειν δεῖ τὸν οὕτως χριστιανὸν ..., des. ... τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κόλασιν ἀτελεύτητον. Ed. PG 150, cols. 29.11-32.36.

10. (ff. 181v-184v) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***On heresies***, *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, περὶ ὧν οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς αἱρετικοὶ ἐδόξασαν.* cod. Inc. Οἱ περὶ Ἄρειον, κτίσμα τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντες ... des. ... κατὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων τούτων διαφοράν. Ed. PG 150, cols. 20.1-29.6.

11. (f. 185r) <**Anonymous**>, ***The* offikia *of the Palace***, *Τὰ ὀφφίκια τοῦ παλατίου.* cod. Inc. α᾽ Ὁ δεσπότης, β᾽ ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ..., des. ... Ϛα᾽ ὁ δρουγάριος στόλου, Ϛβ᾽ καὶ κόμης. Cf. ed. J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices* (Paris 1966), pp. 133-138.

12. (f. 185v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the* offikia *of the Palace***, Inc. Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ χρυσοκόκκινα σκιάδια φοροῦσιν …, des. … τὰ δὲ κόκκινα, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκολούθου, μέχρι τέλους. ed. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices* (Paris 1966), pp. 132.6-13.

13. (f. 185v) <**Anonymous**>, ***The* offikia *of the Great Church***, *Τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ὀφφίκια*, cod. Inc. α᾽ ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος, β᾽ ὁ μέγας σακελλάριος ..., des. ... λα᾽ καὶ ὁ πριμμικήριος τῶν πατριαρχικῶν νοταρίων. Ed. J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les* ὀφφίκια *de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 563-564.

14. (ff. 185v-186) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 16,** *Ἡ γεγονυῖα διατύπωσις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ ὅπως ἐξέχουσι τάξεως οἱ θρόνοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῷ Πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.* cod. Inc. α′ ἡ Καισάρεια, β′ ἡ Ἔφεσος ..., des. ... λη′ τὰ Φάρσαλα, λθ′ τὰ Μάτραχα. Ed. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), pp. 388.1-389.122 (our codex under siglum B).

15. (f. 186) <**Anonymous**>**, *Order of precedence of the holy Patriarchs*, Notitia 4,** *Τάξις προκαθεδρίας τῶν ὁσίων πατριάρχων.* cod. Inc. α′ ὁ Ῥώμης, β′ ὁ Κωνσταντινου-πόλεως ..., des. ... ε′ ὁ Αἰλίας, ἤτοι Ἱεροσολύμων. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, p. 248.1-5.

16. (ff. 186-187) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 17,** *Ἡ γενομένη ἔκθεσις τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῇ βασιλίδι Κωνσταντινούπολει μητροπόλεων, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυρίου Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ δευτέρου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου.* cod. Inc. α′ ἡ Καισάρεια, β′ ἡ Ἔφεσος ..., des. ... ρια′ ἡ Ἀντιόχεια, ριβ′ ἡ Ἀχυράους. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, pp. 393-401 (our codex under siglum V).

17. (ff. 187-189v) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 10,** *Τάξις προκαθεδρίας τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τελούντων μητροπολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπ′ αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπων, + τῷ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας.* cod. Inc. α′ ὁ Νύσσης, β′ ὁ Καμουλιανῶν ..., des. ... κα′ ὁ Κοδάκων, κγ′ ὁ Συνήδων. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, pp. 309-337.756 (our codex under siglum $c^{20}$).

18. (ff. 189v-190) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 17,** cod. Inc. τῷ Κιέβῳ τῆς Ῥωσίας ὑπόκεινται ἐπισκοπαὶ αὗται ..., des. ... ιθ′ τὸ Σμολένσκον. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, p. 403.136-155.

19. (ff. 190v-191v) **Peter the Deacon, *Questions and Answers*,** *Ἐρωτήματα ἅπερ ἔλυσεν ὁ τιμιώτατος χαρτοφύλαξ κύριος Πέτρος καὶ διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἔτει ,ςχ′.* cod. Inc. Ἐρώτησις. Εἰς πόσον καιρὸν ὀφείλει βαπτίζεται τὸ παιδίον ..., des. ... ὁ Θεὸς, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 5 (Athens, 1855), pp. 369-373.

20. (f. 191v) ***Epanagoge*, *The office of the Patriarch*,** *Περὶ πατριάρχου.* cod. Inc. πατριάρχης ἐστὶν, εἰκὼν ζῶσαν θεοῦ καὶ ἔμψυχος ..., des. ... τῶν δογμάτων,

λαλεῖν ἐνώπιον βασιλέως καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι. Eds. I. & P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1931; repr. Darmstadt, 1962), *Epanagoge* II, § 3, pp. 242-243.

21. (f. 192) **Georgios Phobenos,** <***Greek-Latin dictionary of legal terms***>, *Τοῦ δικαιοφύλακος Θεσσαλονίκης κυρίου Γεώργιου τοῦ Φοβηνοῦ.* cod. Inc. Ἡ τοῦ κάσσου σημασία ῥωμαϊστὶ, ἀποτυχίαν δηλοῖ ..., des. … νῦν οὐ κρατεῖ, οὔτε μὴν ἀπαιτεῖται. Cf. Z. von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (Berlin, 1892), p. 97 n. 254.[186]

22. (f. 192) <**Georgios Phobenos**>**,** ***On the prenuptial gift of hypobolon,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑποβόλου.* cod. Inc. Τὸ ὑπόβολον, ὃ καὶ προγαμιαῖα καλεῖται δωρεὰ …, des. ... τῇ δὲ θηλεία, μετὰ τὸν ιβ′ ἐνιαυτὸν. Cf. Z. von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, p. 97 n. 254.

23. (f. 192v) <**Theodosios Zygomalas**>**,** ***The present state of the*** **offikia,** *Ὡς ἔχουσι νῦν τὰ ὀφφίκια.* cod. Inc. ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος, ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης ..., des. ... ὁ πριμικύριος τῶν ταβουλαρίων. Unedited. Cf. Darrouzès, *Recherches*, pp. 563-564.

24. (ff. 193r-v) ***Prochiron Auctum, On prohibited marriages and degrees of kinship,*** *Περὶ κεκωλυμένων γάμων, καὶ περὶ συγγενείας καὶ βαθμῶν.* cod. Inc. Ἡ συγγένεια ὄνομά ἐστι γενικὸν ... des. ... αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν συνάπτονται. Ed. P. Zepos, *Prochiron Auctum, Jus Graecoromanum,* vol. 7 (Athens, 1931), § 8.1-31, pp. 60-64.

25. (ff. 193v-196v) ***Procheiron Auctum***. Inc. Ἄπιστος ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα ὀρθόδοξον οὐ ζεύγνυται … des. ... ὁ γάμος κεκώλυται, ς′ γὰρ ἐστι βαθμοῦ ὁ Παυλος καὶ ἡ Βαρβάρα. Ed. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum,* vol. 7, § 8.32-92, 98-102, pp. 64-73, 79-80.

26. (ff. 196-201) <**Anonymous**>**,** ***Latin-Greek dictionary of legal terms***, *Λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἑφερμηνεῦον τὰς ῥωμαϊκὰς λέξεις τὰς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κειμένας*. cod. Inc. Ἄδετ· ἔχει, ἀδπραεντίουμ· παρά τινι ..., des. ... ὡς σούπεκτον· ὡς ὕποπτον. Unidentified.

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[186] This work is preserved also in *Athens, National Library, Metochion Panagiou Taphou* cod. 25. f. 2v. See Constantinides, *Higher Education,* p. 127 with n. 81, citing Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη,* vol. 4, p. 37.

27. (f. 201) **<Anonymous>, *Maxims of the Seven Sages*,** *Τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν τὰ ἀποφθέγματα.* Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλλον· θυμοῦ κράτει: Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος· πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον: Χίλων Λακεδαιμόνιος· γνῶθι σαυτὸν: Πιττακὸς Μιτυληναῖον· μηδὲν ἄγαν: Σόλων Ἀθηναῖος· τέλος ὅραν: Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς· οἱ πλείστοι κακοὶ: Θαλὴς ὁ Μιλήσιος· ἐγγύη παρὰ δ' ἄτα:+

28. (ff. 201r-v) **Excerpts from *Ecloga Basilicorum,*** Inc. Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡ προκάταρξις ἀμείβει τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀγωγῶν ..., des. ... ἐκ τῆς εἰρημένης παραγραφῆς. Cf. L. Burgmann ed., *Ecloga Basilicorum*, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, 15 (Frankfurt, 1988), B.2.3.164, p. 149.5ff.

29. (f. 201v) **<Konstantinos Harmenopoulos>, *Primum de Mensuris*,** Inc. Ὅτι ὁ δάκτυλος πρῶτός ἐστιν ..., des. ... ριβ' ἀποτελοῦσιν ἁπλᾶς οὐργίας. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli,* pp. 238-240.

30. (ff. 202-233v) **Matthaios <Blastares>, *Refutation of the errors of the Latins*,** *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

**Scribes: C** belongs to a group of juridical MSS copied by Stephanos of Medeia[187] sometime between 1417 and 1426, as is attested by their watermarks.[188] Apart from Stephanos, who copied the major part of the codex (ff. 1-191v, 202-233v), introducing interlinear corrections and additions to the text, another anonymous hand (A) copied ff. 192, 193-201v. Theodosios Zygomalas copied ff. I, IIv, 192v, VIIIv, IXv and added marginal notes throughout the codex. The most important autograph note, where he mentions his name, is contained on f. 167r lower right hand and bottom margin (see below, **subscriptions**).[189] Another autograph of Zygomalas is the *Tybigensis Mb 30*.[190] A

[187] *PLP* 26779; M. Vogel & V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909; repr. Hildesheim, 1966), pp. 403-404, 405; *Repertorium*, I, no. 366; II, no. 503; III, no. 584, with bibliography. See also A. Cataldi Palau, 'I colleghi di Giorgio Baiophoros: Stefano di Medea, Giorgio Crisococca, Leon Atrapes', in *Actes du VIe Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque. Drama, 21-27 Septembre 2003*, eds. B. Atsalos & N. Tsironis, vol. I (= *Βιβλιοαμφιάστης*, Annexe I) (Athens, 2008), pp. 191-224, repr. in A. Cataldi Palau, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, vol. I (Spoleto, 2008), art. 14, pp. 303-344 (with Plates I-VI), at pp. 305-316 (with a full list of MSS copied by Stefanos, pp. 303-304, n. 6).

[188] Cataldi Palau,'I colleghi', p. 313 with n. 37.

[189] See Hardwick, *A Catalogue*, p. 68.

fourth, anonymous, hand (B) added a short table of contents and notes in Latin concerning the various authors contained in the codex (f. VIIr).

**Numbering:** double numbering by later hands (almost identical) in Indian numerals on the upper right hand and lower right hand margins.

**Decoration:** titles are introduced by simple decorative vignettes, consisting of a plain curvilinear running pattern of a twisted cord, its two ends bearing non-symmetrical palmettes, or of a running pattern of a crenated line containing V-shaped signs which fill its curves with a trifoliate leaf on either end (ff. 1, 82, ,105, 141v, 147, 149, 154, 156, 202), and in a number of cases appear in a cross like shape (ff. 100, 119, 121v, 139, 140, 141, 181v, 193).

**Subscriptions:** A large initial letter E with the note 'Harmenopoulos' written on the pastedown leaf, and the shelfmark of the codex 'Dd-2-51' (together with the *ex libris* of Cambridge University Library) on f. <Iv>, were added by hand B, which must belong to a librarian. The same hand added on f. <I> the following note in English: 'see a letter on this manuscript by Pericles G. Zerlentis (1921) in Ms. Add. 2588'. This letter concerns the translation of the colophon on f. 233r (see below **colophon**). Theodosios Zygomalas copied on f. II a cyclical drawing indicating the winds;[191] on f. XIIIv a list of various goods in vernacular Greek; on f. 167 the following marginal note concerning the legal term *ἐγγύη* (surety), [192] describing his own bitter experience from a surety he offered at the request of Patriarch Ieremias (1572-9):

> Περὶ ἐγγύης. Ση(μείωσαι) Οὐκ οἶδας τὶ λέγεις· ἡ ἐγγύη κάκιστον, κἂν καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλιστον γένηται: «ἐγγύη φεῦγε· πάρα γὰρ ἄττα»· ἐγώ γὰρ ὁ πρωτονοτάριος Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς, ἐγγύην δούς ἀξιώσει τοῦ Π(ατ)ριαρχου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου κυροῦ Ἱερεμίου, οὐ μόνον ἐζημιώθην πολλὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν ζωήν μου ἐκινδύνευσα, ἀσθενήσ(ας) ὑπὸ λύπης πολύ, καὶ ὅλως οὔτε κἂν διὰ λόγου παρηγορήθην αὐτῶ. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μ(ὲν) μ(ε)τ(ὰ) τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν γλυκίσματα

[190] S. Perentides, 'Οι θεματοεπιστολαί του Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά και η μετάβαση από την βυζαντινή στην πρώιμη νεοελληνική παράδοση', in S. Perentides & I. Steris eds., *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς, Πατριαρχείο – Θεσμοί – Χειρόγραφα* (Athens, 2009), 305-340.

[191] See below, Plate 22.

[192] See below, Plate 19.

μ(ε)τ(ὰ) ἀπαλαραίας (?) εἰπεῖν ἣν ἔχων, καὶ εὐφραινόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ χολώκακκα μ(ε)τ(ὰ) πολλῆς πονηρί(ας).

Finally on f. IXv,[193] Zygomalas added the draft of what seems to be the introductory section of a model letter addressed by a Greek person in need to potentates, professors, teachers and scholars of Greek and Latin in Germany, urging them to support him in the present difficult circumstances faced by the Orthodox people:

Τοῖς περιφανεστάτοις καὶ ὑψηλοτάτοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἄρχουσι, σοφωτάτοις καὶ λογιωτάτοις ἀρχιδιδασκάλοις καὶ διδασκάλοις, σπουδαίοις τὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμοσιν, ἑλληνικῶν καὶ λατινικῶν γραμμάτων, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Γερμανία, καὶ ἁπανταχοῦ, προκόπτειν τῶ εὐαγγελίῳ Χ(ριστ)ῶ : ~ + Κοινὴν οἶδε τὴν ζημίαν ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸς καὶ πολέμιος τῶ ἡμετέρω γένει ἀεὶ συμβάλλειν καὶ ἐνεργεῖν καὶ μετέρχεσθαι, καὶ πᾶσι τὸν πάντα ἐπιχειρεῖν οἶδε κίνδυνον καὶ ταῦτα πιστοῖς, οἷς ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἐν θλίψει εἶναι ἀεὶ καὶ εὑρίσκεσθαι· τοῖς μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐμπαθῶν καὶ γενικῶν λογισμῶν· τοῖς δὲ, καὶ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὀργάνων ὄντων κολαστικῶν, ἐπεγείρειν οἶδε τὰ χείρονα ἵν' ἡ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὀρθόδοξος πίστις, διὰ τῶν θλίψεων τούτων καὶ ἐπηρειῶν, ὡς χρυσὸς ἐν χωνευτηρίω δοκιμασθεῖσα, λαμπροτέρα καὶ ἐπιφανεστέρα ἐπιδειχθῆ· ἥτις τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτ[ι] καὶ πολεμουμένη νικᾶ, ὡς ῥόδον ἐν μέσω ἀκανθῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν, εὐοδιάζει καὶ φαίνεται· τούτων τῶν ἐπηρειῶν, καὶ ὁ δ(εῖνα) οὐκ ἄμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλ' αἰχμαλωτίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν δ(εινάντων) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ.

**Colophon**: autograph colophon of Theodosios Zygomalas on f. 233r (lower part),[194] stating that he 'wrote these' (presumably his notes and colophons) on 1 October 1600 (AM 7109) 'in the memory' of a certain Iohannes Borreēl: + Θεοδόσιος δικαιοφύλαξ τοῦ Π(ατ)ριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, | ὁ Ζυγομαλᾶς, μνήμης ἕνεκα τῶ κυρίω σπουδαιωτ(ά)τ(ῳ) Ἰω(ά)ν(ν)η Βωρρεήλ : ~ | ἔγραψα ἐν τῇ μεγ(ά)λ(η) πόλ(ει) Κωνσταντίνου ταῦτα | $\alpha^{\omega}$, $\chi^{\omega}$, μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρ(ίῳ) $\alpha^{\eta}$ : ~ | ἀπὸ δὲ τ(ῆς) σὺστάσεως τοῦ παντός, | κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν ἀληθῆ γνώμην ἡμῶν, | $7109^{ον}$ ἔτος +

**Provenance:** f. <Iv> contains the *ex libris* of Cambridge University Library. No date of entry is mentioned in the catalogue. As the autograph colophon on f. 233r indicates, the codex was owned in 1600 by the philologist, scribe and *dikaiophylax* of the Ecumenical

[193] See below, Plate 18.

[194] See below, Plate 17. On Zygomalas' hand see *Repertorium,* I, no. 120; II, no. 159; III, no. 202.

Patriarchate Theodosios Zygomalas (*c.*1544-1607?) a friend and correspondent of Martin Crusius.[195] The Iohannes Borreēl mentioned in the colophon may be identified with the Dutch Orientalist and ambassador to the court of King James I, Sir Johannes Boreel (1577-1629), once possessor of the famous majuscule Greek New Testament *Codex Boreelianus* (F) (presently in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek).

**D** ***Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428** (examined *in situ*).[196]

15th century; paper; 220x140 mm.; ff. 484; 1(24-30) (Plates 23-26)

**Contents:** Synodal decisions and theological treatises by **Neilos Kabasilas** against the teachings of **Barlaam the Calabrian**, **Gregorios Akindynos** and **Nikephoros Gregoras**, **Barlaam**'s treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, **Matthaios Blastares**, *Letter to Guy de Lusignan* concerning the same subject, the *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* and the *Five Orations against the Jews*, followed by **Babrius** (or **Gabrius**), *Verses to Aesop's fables*, **Michael Psellos,** *Didaskaleia* and *Synopsis on the Holy Trinity*, and **Ps.-Epiphanios**, *Account of the addition of the* filioque *clause to the Creed by the Latin theologians.*

1. (ff. 2-15) **Synodal Tome against the teachings of Barlaam the Calabrian (August 1341)**, *Ὁ κατὰ τοῦ Καλαβροῦ Βαρλαὰμ συντεθεὶς συνοδικὸς Τόμος, ὡς ἀποδειχθέντος κακοδόξου καὶ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους Πατέρας καὶ φρονοῦντος καὶ δογματίζοντος· συγκαθημένου καὶ συναποφαινομένου τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῇ θείᾳ καὶ ἱερᾷ Συνόδῳ, τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου καὶ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπόφασιν ἐξενηνεγμένην παρουσίᾳ βασιλικῇ, τὸν δὲ Τόμον μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐκτεθέντα, ἐπειδὴ ἐφεξῆς μιᾷ ἑβδομάδι ἔζησε, νοσῶν γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ὑπογραφέντα κατὰ μῆνα Αὔγουστον τῆς θ' ἰνδικτ. τοῦ ,Ϛωμθ' ἔτους.* cod. Inc.

[195] On Zygomalas see É. Legrand, *Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas* (Paris, 1889); A. Turyn, *De Ælii Aristidis codice varsoviensi atque de Andrea Taranowski et Theodosio Zygomala* (Crakow, 1929); and S. Perentidis, *Théodose Zygomalas et sa Paraphrase de la* Synopsis minor (Athens, 1994).

[196] The codex was briefly described by I. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens 1890), pp. 189-195 and A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro, opere contro i Latini*, ST 347 (Vatican City, 1998), p. 42.

Ἐπαινετὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ εἰπὼν τὴν ταπείνωσιν …, des. … τῷ ἀσεβεῖ Ἀκινδύνῳ μαθητεύσας. Ed. PG 151, cols. 679-692.

2. (ff. 15v-40) **Neophytos Prodromenos**, ***Response to Barlaam and Akindynos concerning the distinction of the divine essence and energy***, *Νεοφύτου Προδρομινοῦ μοναχοῦ πρόχειρος ἀντιλογία πρὸς τὸν Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνον, ὅτι ἄλλο οὐσία, καὶ ἄλλο ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς ἐπὶ παντὸς πράγματος, εἰ καὶ ἅμα τὸ εἶναι ἔχουσιν.* cod. Inc. Καὶ περὶ μὲν οὐσίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς θείας ἐνεργείας πειρωμένῳ μοι λέγειν … des. … παραβάτης αὐθαίρετος, τῶν οἰκείων νόμων γενόμενος. Ed. B. Kalogeropoulou-Metallinou, *Ὁ μοναχὸς Νεόφυτος Προδρομηνὸς καὶ τὸ θεολογικὸ τοῦ ἔργο* (Athens 1996), pp. 337-385.

3. (ff. 40v-41) **Nikephoros Gregoras**, ***Confession***, *Τοῦ Ἀκινδυνιανοῦ δυστυχοῦς Γρηγορᾶ φιλοσόφου συνεσκιασμένη, και ἐπίκρυπτος, καὶ ὕφαλος ὁμολογία, ἣν ἀπέστειλε τῇ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία, ἔτι ζῶντος, ὥστε συγχωρηθῆναι τοῦ ἀφορισμοῦ. Ἡ δὲ τὸν ἐν ταύτη νοῦν ἐξερευνήσασα καὶ ἰδοῦσα ὡς τῆς πρώτης αὖθις αἱρέσεως ἔχεται, τούτω ὅλως οὐ συνεχώρησε* cod. Inc. Δέχομαι καὶ στέργω πᾶσαν ἁγίαν θεόπνευστον γραφὴν …, des. … οἶδε γὰρ ἡ σὴ κεφαλὴ ἡ ταπάντα. Unedited; cf. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Roman History*, ed. I. Bekker and L. Schopen, *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, CSHB, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1855), pp. 137.24 ff.

4. (f. 41v) **Neilos Kabasilas**, ***Response to Nikephoros Gregoras***, *Τοῦ πανιερωτάτου Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα, ὡς ἐκπροσώπου τῆς ἱερᾶς Συνόδου, πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον Γρηγορᾶν ἀντίγραμμα.* cod. Inc. Ὁμολογῷ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας …, des. … τῶν τὰς θείας ἑρμηνευσάντων γραφὰς. Ed. P.T. Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas et son traité sur le saint-Esprit, Introduction, édition critique, traduction et notes* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Strasbourg-II, 1998), p. 698.

5. (ff. 44-88r.6) **Neilos Damylas**, ***Letter to Maximos <Chrysoberges>,*** *Τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῷ σοφωτάτῳ τε καὶ λογιωτάτῳ κυρῷ Μαξίμῳ τῷ ἀπὸ Γραικῶν Ἰταλῷ, ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς Νεῖλος.* cod. Inc. Εἰρήνην ἣν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Μονογενὴς παῖς τοῖς ἐκείνω πεπιστευκόσιν ἐχαρίσατο …, des. … κἂν μὴδὲν ᾖ κεκτημένος. Ed. Arsenius, Bishop of Kirillov, *Nila Damily ieromonakha kritskago otvet*

*grekolatinaninu monakhu Maksimu na ego pis'mo v zascitu latinkikh novostej v vere* (Novgorod, 1895), cited by M.M. Nikolidakes, *Νεῖλος Δαμιλὰς* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Ioannina, 1981), p. 83.

6. (f. 88r.7-12) <**Neilos Damylas**>, ***Excerpts from the same homily,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμιλίας* cod. Inc. Εἴδετε τοὺς πόνους …, des. … διδάσκαλος οὗτος ἔστηκεν. Ed. Arsenius, *Nila Damily*.

7. (f. 88r.13-18) <**Neilos Damylas**>, ***Excerpts from the same homily,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμιλίας* cod. Inc. Μὴ ἁπλῶς παραδράμης …, des. … τῶν ἐδεσμάτων τὰς ποικιλίας. Ed. Arsenius, *Nila Damily*.

8. (ff. 89-188) **Barlaam the Calabrian**, ***On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*** **(*Tractatus B*, II-VI; *Tractatus A*, I, *Syntagma, Dialogues*),** *Βαρλαὰμ μοναχοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου,* Λόγοι ιη'. cod. Inc. Λόγος κατὰ τῶν ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἶλκε τὸ γένος, ἀπὸ Ἰταλῶν … des. … ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμὴν. Ed. A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro, opere contro i Latini,* ST 348 (Vatican City, 1998), pp. 246-612 (Our codex under siglum Π).[197]

9. (ff. 192-235v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Letter to Guy de Lusignan on the Procession of the Holy Spirit***, *Τῷ περιποθήτῳ θείῳ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως, Συργῆν Τελεζινιάω, ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαῖος.* cod. Inc. Πειρωμένω σε πολλάκις πεῖσαι …, des. … ἑαυτῷ δόξαν τοῦ λογίζεσθαι μνώμενον. Ed. Archimandrite Arsenij, *Pis'mo Matfeja Vlastarja, ieromonacha Solunskago i pisatelja XIV věka, k princu Kirpskomu, Gju de Luzin'janu s obličeniem Latinskago nepravolmyslija* (Moscow, 1891), pp. 1-86.

10. (ff. 236-289v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins***, *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων. θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

11. (ff. 291-405v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Five Orations against the Jews***, *Ματθαῖος εἴργει τῶν Ἰουδαίων θράσος, ὥσπερ χαλινοῖς πέντε φιμώσας λόγοις, ὅστις δὲ τούτων τὴν ἐπίρρητον πλάνην, πλάνην ἀτεχνῶς ἐξελέγξει τῷ λόγῳ ἄρδην ἁπάσης*

[197] For the order of the three works in the codex see A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro, opere contro i Latini,* ST 347 (Vatican City, 1998), pp. 42, 132-133.

*συγκαθεῖλεν αἱρέσεις, μήτηρ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ θεία τίνων ἔρις. Τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαίου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους λόγος πρῶτος.* cod. Inc. Ὅτι τρισυπόστατον καὶ ἡ Παλαιὰ τὸν Θεὸν κηρύττει Γραφή…, des. ... μετασκευάζεσθαι καὶ χωρεῖν τῷ θυμῷ. Unpublished.

12. (ff. 406-411) **Ignatius the deacon, *Tetrasticha* (Ps.-Babrius, or Ps-Gabrius, *Verses to Aesop's fables*),** *Γαβρίου Ἕλληνος τετράστιχα εἰς τοὺς μύθους τοῦ Αἰσώπου.* cod. Inc. Ἀνδρὸς ποσὶ πατεῖτο πέτρινος λέων …, des. … χρυσὸν ὡς λαβεῖν θέλων. Eds. O. Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1897), pp. 264-283; Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 191-193.

13. (ff. 413-465v) **Michael Psellos, *De omnifaria doctrina*,** *Τοῦ πανσόφου κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ψελλοῦ, διδασκαλία παντοδαπὴς καὶ πάντη ἀναγκαιοτάτη ἐν ἑκατὸν ἐννενήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τέσσαρσι κεφαλαίοις διαιρουμένη. Ἔκθεσις τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως.* cod. Inc. α' Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα τὴν πάντων ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν …, des. … ἐξήνεγκε καὶ ἀπωχέτευσεν. ϱϚγ'. Ὁ Πατὴρ, Υἱὸς, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον … τρεῖς μονάδες καὶ ἔστι μίαν οὐσία, μία δύναμις, μία θεότης. Ed. L. G. Westerink, *Michael Psellus, De omnifaria doctrina* (Nijmegen, 1948), pp. 17-95.[198]

14. (ff. 466-480v) <**Excerpts from Ps.-Athanasios of Alexandria, *Syntagma ad quendam politicum*, and John Chrysostom, *Letter 7* (to Olympias)**>, *Σύνοψις σαφὴς καὶ σύντομος διάγνωση τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι.* cod. Inc. Ὀφείλομεν πιστεύειν ὡς ἐβαπτίσθημεν, ἐβαπτίσθημεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς … des. … ὅτι οὐ δακρύεις , ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ εὐθυμία διάγεις. cf. Ed. PG 28, cols. 1401D-1403A; A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Lettres à Olympias*, SC 13bis (Paris, 1968²), pp. 132-156.

15. (ff. 481-482v) **Ps.-Epiphanios Patriarch of Constantinople**, ***Account of the addition of the* filioque *clause to the Creed by the Latin theologians*,** *Ἐπιφανίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, περὶ τοῦ πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ διεβλήθησαν οἱ λατίνοι τῶν πρωτείων καὶ τῶν διπτύχων αὐτῶν.* cod. Inc. Ἦν ὁ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ συνόδῳ Ἁδριανὸς πάπας Ῥώμης, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Λέων …, des. … καὶ ἀναθεμάτισε τοὺς Λατίνους ἀναφανδὸν ὡς αἱρετικοὺς. Ed. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 193-195.

[198] The last chapter (ϱϚγ') is not included in Westerink's edition.

**Scribe**: The text of the *Refutation* ff. 236-289v, has been copied by two anonymous scribes, hand **A** (Plate 23) and hand **B** (Plate 24). Ff. 89-188 were copied by George Baiophoros, a fellow-scribe of Stephanos of Medeia (see Plate 25).[199]

**G** ***Munich, National Library, MS. graecus*** **256** (examined through microfilm).[200]

*c.*1450/51 AD; paper; 210x225 mm.; ff. I-XII+496; (ff. Iv, XII, 51v, 105v, 125v, 240v-240βr, 308-309, 341v, 401r-402v,436v, 488v, 496 blank); 1 (21-31) (Plates 27-34)

**Contents:** a miscellaneous codex containing theological, religious, spiritual and hymnographical works, mainly concerning the schism, by various anti-Latin authors, notably by **Mark Eugenikos**.

1. (ff. 1-37v) **Gennadios Archbishop of Bulgaria**, ***Compilation of Old and New Testament sayings which prove the errors of the Latin faith,*** *Σύνταγμα Γενναδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας ἐκ διαφόρων χρήσεων ἀναντιρρήτων τῆς θείας Γραφῆς τῆς τε Παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς Νέας ἀνατρέπον καὶ καταβάλλον τὴν λατινικὴν δόξαν.* cod. Inc. Οἱ περὶ Θεοῦ λόγοι οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ..., des. ... εὐαγγελίζεται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Unedited. See A.K. Demetrakopoulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, ἤτοι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν γραψάντων κατὰ Λατίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν* (Leipzig, 1872; phot. repr. Athens, 1968), p. 68.

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[199] See *PLP* 2043 (Βαϊοφόρος Γεώργιος), cf. *PLP* 26779 (Στέφανος Metropolitan of Medeia) *Repertorium* I, no. 55, II, no. 74, III, no. 90. On this scribe see also E. Gamillscheg, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung byzantinischer Schulbücher', *JÖB* 26 (1977), 211-230; Ch. Dendrinos, *An annotated critical edition* (editio princeps*) of Emperor manuel II Palaeologus' treatise* On the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway College, University of London, 1996), p. li; A. Cataldi Palau, 'Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto di Giorgio Baiophoros', in *Libri palinsesti graeci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Monte Porzio Catone (Villa Mondragone, Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata. Atti del Convegno internazionale 21-24 aprile 2004*, ed. S. Lucà (Rome, 2008), pp. 263-277, repr. in Cataldi Palau, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, vol. I, art. 13, pp. 281-301, esp. pp. 290-291 (with Plates I-II); eadem, 'I colleghi', pp. 191-224, repr. in Cataldi Palau, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, vol. I, art. 14, pp. 303-344 (with Plates I-VI), at pp. 303-305; see also above, p. 122 with n. 187; A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro, opere contro i Latini*, ST 347 (Vatican City, 1998), p. 42.

[200] For a description of the codex see I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, vol. IV (Munich, 1806), pp. 70-90.

2. (ff. 37v-39) **Pope John VIII,** ***Epistle to Patriarch of Constantinople Photius,*** *Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰωάννου πρὸς Φώτιον πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος, δοῦλος τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ.* cod. Inc. Φωτίῳ τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ καὶ καθολικῷ ἀδελφῷ πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ..., des. ... καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπολήψεται· ἔρρωσο ἐν κυρίῳ αἰδεσιμώτατε, καὶ καθολικὲ ἀδελφὲ. ed. Mansi, vol. 17 (Florence-, 1759; repr. Graz, 1960), cols. 524D-525E.

3. (ff. 39r-v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the mother of Christ***, *Περὶ τῆς Παναγίας, ὅπως γέγονε καὶ διὰ τί.* cod. Inc. Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ φρικτὴν ἀνάστασιν ..., des. ... ὡς Υἱὸς αὐτῆς, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσει, εἰς οὐρανοὺς μεταβέβηκεν. Unidentified.

4. (ff. 39v-42) **Mark Eugenikos,** ***Letter to George the presbyter,*** *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, πρὸς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον πρεσβύτερον κύριον Γεώργιον.* cod. Inc. Ἐντιμότατε πρεσβύτερε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ ποθεινότατε ἀδελφὲ, ..., des. ... πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀναισχυντίας ἔγραψα. Ed. L. Petit, *Marci Eugenici Metropolitae Ephesi opera anti-unionistica* (Rome, 1977) (Epist. 2), pp. 162-175.

5. (ff. 42r-v) **Mark Eugenikos,** ***Verses on Saint Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonike.*** *Στιχηρὰ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν Παλαμᾶ, ποίημα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, ἦχος δ' ὁ ἐξ ὑψίστου κληθείς.* cod. Inc. Ὁ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἡγιασμένος ..., des. ... ἧς τυχεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς πρέσβευε. Ed. M. Pilavakis, *Ὀρθόδοξος Τύπος* 580 (1983), 3.[201]

6. (ff. 42v-44v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Demonstration of the Latin schism from the Greek Church on the basis of canonical decrees***, *Ἀπόδειξις ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κανονικὴ, πῶς οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν Γραικῶν ἀπερράγησαν, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐξέπεσον παραδόσεως.* cod. Inc. Οὐδὲν οὕτως μεῖζον δεινὸν καὶ ἐσχάτης πενίας καθέστηκε, καὶ λοιμοῦ ψυχοφθόρου ..., des. ... ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Unidentified.

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[201] Cf. M. Pilavakis, *Markos Eugenikos's* First Antirrhetic against Manuel Calecas's *About the Essence and Energy. Editio princeps with Introduction and Commentary* (Unpublished PhD thesis, King's College, University of London, 1988), p. 75 (no. 23).

7. (ff. 44v-49v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the cause and circumstances of the Latin schism from the Orthodox Church***, *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων πάλιν αἰτίας, ὁπότε ἀπέστησαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων καὶ πότε.* cod. Inc. Κατὰ ποῖον καιρὸν καὶ πότε, καὶ παρατίνων αἱρεσιωτῶν, οἱ Ἰταλοὶ ..., des. ... τὰ ὅρια τῶν πατέρων σαλεύοντας, καὶ ἀθέτησιν ποιοῦντες τῶν θείων κανόνων. Ed. J. Hergenröther, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia* (Ratisbon, 1869; repr. 1969), pp. 163-171.

8. (ff. 49v-50v) **Mark Eugenikos, *Syllogistic Chapters against the Latins*,** *Τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ συλλογιστικὰ κεφάλαια κατὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν λατίνων.* cod. Inc. Εἰ ᾧ συνάπτεται Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς ..., des. ... πνευματομάχοις, ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ φράσαντες. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 60-107.

9. (ff. 52-61v) ***Excerpts from the Acts of the Eighth Ecumenical Council***, *Ἐκ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῆς ἁγίας οἰκουμενικῆς η' συνόδου ἔχει δὲ οὕτως.* cod. Inc. Βασιλεύοντες οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι βασιλεῖς, Βασίλειος Λέων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ..., des. ... δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμὴν. Ed. Mansi, vol. 17, cols. 373A-521A.

10. (ff. 61v-65v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Admonition to spiritual brethren***, *Νουθεσία τινὸς θεοφόρου ἁγίου πνευματικοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ πρὸς πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ τέκνον, ἐπιστολή.* cod. Inc. Ἐπειδήπερ διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλθὼν εἰς συναίσθησιν πάντων ..., des. ... καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμὴν. Unidentified.

11. (ff. 65v-67) **John Chrysostom, *On how Adam received a soul*,** *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Ἐκ τοῦ, πῶς ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτε ἐπλάσθει.* cod. Inc. Πολλοὶ ἐνόμισαν ὅτι τὸ ἐμφύσημα, αὐτὸ ἦν ψυχὴ, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ μετεδόθη ..., des. ... τὸν Πατέραν μὲν δημιουργοῦντα, τὴν γήινην εἰκόνα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὴν οὐράνιον. Ed. H. Savile, *Chrysostomi Opera*, (Eton, 1612) vol. 5, pp. 649.41-651.4.[202]

12. (ff. 67-70v) <**Joseph Bryennios**>, ***Seventy-seven Chapters* (Ch. 47), *Which are the causes of human sorrows***, *Τίνες αἱ αἰτίαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λυπηρῶν.* cod. Inc. Εἰ τὶς

[202] Cf. R.E. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, vol. II, *Codices Germaniae*, Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 14 (Paris, 1968), p. 59; J.A de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudo-chrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965), p. 219.

τὰς ἐπαγομένας ἡμῖν ἐκ Θεοῦ παιδείας ὁρῶν ἐξίσταται ἀπορῶν ..., des. ... οὕτω καὶ Κύριος παιδεύει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. Ed. E. Boulgares, *Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ Παραλειπόμενα*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1768; Thessalonike, 1991²), pp. 129-132.

13. (ff. 70v-84v) <**Constantine Stilbes, former Bishop of Kyzikos Cyril**>, ***The grievances of the Latin Church concerning doctrinal and Scriptural points***, *Τὰ αἰτιάματα τῆς λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅσα περὶ δόγματα καὶ γραφὰς καὶ τοιαῦτα.* cod. Inc. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγουσιν ἐκπορεύεσθαι ..., des. ... τὴν ἀσέλγειαν, μόνοι δὲ οἱ Καλαυροὶ, ἀνέκαθέν εἰσιν ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί. Ed. J. Darrouzès, 'Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins', *REB* 21 (1963), pp. 61-91 (our codex under siglum B).

14. (ff. 85-87v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Account of the addition of the* filioque *clause to the Creed by the Latin theologians,*** *Ἐπιφανίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, περὶ τοῦ πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ ἐχώρίσθησαν ἡμῶν οἱ λατῖνοι καὶ ἐξεβλήθησαν τῶν πρωτείων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν διπτύχων.* cod. Inc. Ἦν ὁ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ συνόδῳ. Ἀδριανὸς πάπας Ῥώμης καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Λέων, Βενέδικτος ..., des. ... Μιχαὴλ Κηρουλάριος, ὃς καὶ ἀναθεμάτισε τοὺς Λατίνους ἀναφανδὸν ὡς αἱρετικούς. Ed. Hergenröther, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium*, pp. vi, 154-163 (our codex under siglum A).

15. (ff. 87v-105) <**Basil of Ochrid**>, **Metropolitan of Thessalonike,** ***Dialogue with a Latin on the Holy Spirit.*** *Διάλεξις μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης γενομένη πρός τινα Ἰταλὸν, περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιχείρημα α'* cod. Inc. Ἐκ τῆς διαλέξως τῆς κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου..., des. ... καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορευτὸν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός. Ed. J. Schmidt, *Des Basilius aus Achrida, Erzbischofs von Thessalonich, bisher unedierte Dialoge: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Schismas* (Munich, 1901), pp. 34-51 (our codex under siglum M'').

16. (ff. 106-118v) <**Markos Eugenikos**>**, Excerpt from the *speech at the Council of Ferrara-Florence*, VII (XXIII),** *Μηνὶ Μαρτίω ιζ', ἡμέρα γ', συνέλευσις ζ', ὁ Ἐφέσου.* cod. Inc. Ἡ ἡμετέρα πίστις οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ..., des. ... εἰ διὰ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων αὐτὰ ἀπεδείκνυμεν. Ed. J. Gill, *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum*

*Concilii Florentini necnon descriptionis cuiusdam eiusdam*, Pars II. Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores, Ser. B, Pars II, vol. 5, facs. 2 (Rome, 1953), pp. 364.1-387.22.

17. (ff. 118v-122v) **Mark Eugenikos, *On the Union of the Churches*,** *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου, κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ.* cod. Inc. Ἐγὼ διὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν καὶ τὴν χρείαν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας ..., des. ... τὴν γεγενημένην ἕνωσιν οὐ παρεδεξάμην. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 135-141.

18. (ff. 122v-127) **Mark Eugenikos, *Confession of the Orthodox faith*,** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου, κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἐκτεθεῖσα ἐν Φλορεντίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Λατίνους γενομένην σύνοδον.* cod. Inc. Ἐγὼ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς εὐσεβέσι ..., des. ... ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερόμενος, τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 127-134.

19. (ff. 127v-133v) <**Mark Eugenikos**>, ***On the prayer of epiklēsis*,** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐχ, ὡς νομίζουσιν οἱ τὰ πλεῖστα καινοτόμοι Λατῖνοι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μυσταγωγίᾳ τελειοῦσι τὰ θεῖα δῶρα, τὰ δεσποτικὰ ῥήματα παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λεγόμενα, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς εὐχῆς δύναμις μετὰ ταῦτα, καθὼς ἡ ἡμετέρα ὀρθόδοξος ἐκκλησία δοξάζει.* cod. Inc. Ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ..., des. ... καὶ τῆς εἰς βάθους πωρώσεως. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 118-126.

20. (ff. 133v-135v) <**Mark Eugenikos**>**, *Letter to George Scholarios*,** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον Γεώργιον τὸν Σκολάριν.* cod. Inc. Ἐνδοξότατε, σοφώτατε, λογιώτατε, καὶ ἐμοὶ ποθεινότατε ἀδελφὲ ..., des. ... ἀνιαροῦ συναντήματος. Ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου καὶ πάσης Ἀσίας Μάρκος. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici* (Epist. 1), pp. 152-156.

21. (ff. 136-143) <**Mark Eugenikos**>**, *Questions and Answers*,** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λύσεις πρός τινα ἀπορήσαντα τὰς παρούσας ἀπορίας. Ἐρώτησις, ποίου σχήματός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς.* cod. Inc. Ὁ Θεὸς σχήμα οὐκ ἔχει, οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον ..., des. ... τὴν αἰώνιον καταδίκην εἰς τὰς ἀπεράντους κολάσεις. Ed. M. Pilavakis, *Ὀρθόδοξος Τύπος* 575, 586 (1983); Μέγας Ἀθανάσιος 10 (1983) Question XVII; *Ὀρθόδοξος Τύπος* 616 (1984); 634 (1985).[203]

[203] Cf. Pilavakis, *Markos Eugenikos's* First Antirrhetic, pp. 114-116 (no. 73).

22. (ff. 143r-v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Selection and comparison among poets, orators, philosophers and theologians by dozens***, *Ἐκλογὴ καὶ συγκρίσεις ποιητῶν, ῥητόρων, φιλοσόφων καὶ θεολόγων κατὰ δωδεκάδας.* cod. Inc. Ὅμηρος, Πίνδαρος, Ἡσίοδος, Θεόκριτος, Διονύσιος ..., des. ... καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς. Unidentified.

23. (ff. 143v-146v) **Hieromonk Theophanes of Monobyzos, *Letter to Emperor John VIII Palaiologos*,** *Τῷ θειωτάτῳ καὶ εὐλαβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ, ὁ εὐτελὴς καὶ ἐλάχιστος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Θεοφάνης ὁ ἐν τῷ βουνῷ τῆς Μονοβύζου τῷ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἴμβρῳ.* cod. Inc. Ἀπολειφθείη οὔ τις ἂν οἶμαι τῶν ἁπάντων κράτιστε καὶ θειότατε βασιλεῦ ..., des. ... ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς ἐθέλων εἶναι χριστιανὸς ὀρθόδοξος. Unedited; cf. Demetrakopoulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, pp. 105-107.

24. (ff. 146v-155) <**Hieromonk Theophanes of Monobyzos**>, ***Compendium*,** *Σύνταγμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ* cod. Inc. Τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ ἀληθῆ πίστιν, ἣν παραλαβόντες ..., des. ... τὸ πρόζυμον, ὄσφρησις, τὸ πῦρ, ἀκοὴ, τὸ ἅλας, γεῦσις, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀφὴ. Unedited. cf. Demetrakopoulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, pp. 105-107.

25. (ff. 155v-156) **Hieromonk Theophanes of Monobyzos, *Letter to Mark Eugenikos*,** *Ταῦτα γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἐφέσου ἐπέμφθησαν παρὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κυρίου Θεοφάνους τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἴμβρῳ ἐν τῷ βουνῷ τῆς Μονοβύζου ὄντος τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ Ἐφέσου τότε ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἵνα προσκομίση τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ οὕτω φανῶσιν ὀρθὰ τὰ γραφέντα, ἃ καὶ δεξάμενος ὁ ἅγιος οὐ μόνον ἐπαίνεσεν αὐτὰ ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀντέγραψε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα.* cod. Inc. Τιμιώτατε ἐν ἱερομονάχοις, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ποθεινότατε καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατε ..., des. ... εὐχῶν δυσωπούμενος, αἵτινες εἴησαν ἀεὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 172-174.

26. (ff. 156v-162) **Maximus <the Confessor>, *Letter to Marinos presbyter in Cyprus*,** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς κύριον Μαρῖνον πρεσβύτερον Κύπρου.* cod. Inc. Νόμων θείων κατὰ Θεὸν εὐθυνούμενος ..., des. ... καὶ οὐδὲν νῦν ἔτι λήγει συνανιπτάμενον. Ed. PG 91, cols. 133-137.

27. (ff. 162r-163) <**Emperor John V**>, ***Imperial decree prescribing imperial privileges in ecclesiatical matters***, *Τὰ κακῶς τυπωθέντα, καὶ στερχθέντα, κεφάλαια.* cod. Inc.

Ψηφισθέντων τρίων τινῶν εἰς μίαν μητροπόλιν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ..., des. ... εἰς τὰς ψήφους τινὰ, φίλον μὴ ὄντα τοῦ βασιλέως. Ed. V. Laurent, 'Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380-1382', *REB* 13 (1955), 15.10-16.60.

28. (ff. 163v-164) **Gregory of Nyssa, Excerpt from the *De oratione dominica (Orat.* 3),** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης, Θεολογία.* cod. Inc. Μία κατὰ ἀκόλουθον ἀποδέδεικται, τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἡ φύσις ..., des. ... καὶ εἰς ἑτεροφυῆ τμήματα, μὴ διακόπτεσθαι. Ed. F. Oehler, *Gregor's Bischof's von Nyssa Abhandlung von der Erschaffung des Menschen und fünf Reden auf das Gebet* (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 262.19-265.25.

29. (ff. 164r-v) **Basil <of Caesarea>, *Letter to Gregory of Nyssa (Epist.* 38),** *Τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ. Τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, τῷ ἁγίῳ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Νύσσης.* cod. Inc. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ ἅγιο Πνεῦμα ..., des. ... ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις, τὸ ἰδιάζον ἑκάστω, σημεῖον ἐστὶ. Ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1957) *(Epist.* 38*),* pp. 84-89, § 4.22-5.63.

30. (ff. 164v-165) **<Anonymous>, *The first Canon of the Seventh Ecumenical Council,*** *Τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ζ' συνόδου, κανὼν α'*. cod. Inc. Ἀσπασίως τοὺς θείους κανόνας, ἐνστερνιζόμεθα ..., des. ... Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, διαρρήδην βοᾶ. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, p. 556.14-29.

31. (ff. 165-230) **Matthaios <Blastares>, *Refutation of the errors of the Latins,*** *Τοῦ κυροῦ Ματθαίου τοῦ Βλάσταρη.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν, ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

32. (ff. 230v-231r) **<Anonymous>, *Views unacceptable by the Orthodox Church*,** *Ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω, ὡς φοβερὰ ὄντα καὶ ταῦτα.* cod. Inc. Ἐὰν ὅλως μνημονεύσης πάπαν τὸν ἀζυμήτην, τὸ ἔνζυμόν σου ὅ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν προσέφερες .., des. ... τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ εἶναι ἔχει, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προσωπικὴν ἐκπορευομένην ὑπόστασιν. Unidentified.

33. (ff. 231v-240) **Peter Patriarch of Antioch, *Letter to the Archbishop Bradensis on the unleavened bread,*** *Ἐπιστολὴ Πέτρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας*

*διαλαμβάνουσα περὶ ἀζύμων.* cod. Inc. Τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ, ἰσαγγέλῳ δεσπότῃ μου ..., des. ... ἁγίαις ἱεροτελείαις, μνείαν ποιούμενος, ἀμήν. PG 120, cols. 756A-781B.

34. (ff. 240v-246v) **Michael I Kerularios Patriarch of Constantinople, *Epistle to Patriarch of Antioch Peter,*** *Ἐπιστολὴ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κυρουλαρίου πεμφθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν μακαριώτατον πατριάρχην Ἀντιοχείας Πέτρον.* cod. Inc. Πρὸ καιροῦ τινὸς ἀναμαθόντες παρὰ τῶν ..., des. ... εὐχομένην ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. PG 120, cols. 784A-796A.

35. (ff. 247-255v) **Peter Patriarch of Antioch, *Epistle to the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael I* <Kerularios>,** *Ἐπιστολὴ Πέτρου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου θεουπόλεως μεγάλης Ἀντιοχείας ἀντιγραφείσα πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Μιχαήλ.* cod. Inc. Ὅσα ἐπονηρεύσατο ὁ ἐχθρὸς ..., des. ... ὡς ἔφθην εἰπὼν τὸ περιφρονούμενον. PG 120, cols. 796A-816A.

36. (ff. 256-264v) **<Ps.-Athanasius>, *Questions and Answers*,** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἐρωτοαποκρίσεις, λόγος πάνυ ὀφέλιμος περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* cod. Inc. Τί ἐστι Θεὸς, Θεός ἐστιν οὐσία νοερὰ ..., des. ... ὅπως εὕρω ἔλεος κἀγω παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως. Ed. PG 28, cols. 773-796 (with a different ending).

37. (ff. 265-279) **Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory II, *Tomos*,** *Γρηγορίου Κυπρίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.* cod. Inc. Ἔσχε μὲν ἡ ἐπισυμβάσα πρὸ μικροῦ ταραχή τε καὶ ζάλη τῇ ἐκκλησία ..., des. ... τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐνδίκως ἀπορραπίζομεν καὶ ἀποτρεπόμεθα. Ed. PG 142, cols. 233-246 (with an additional paragraph).

38. (ff. 279v-280v) **<Mark Eugenikos>, *Letter to Theophanes the hieromonk,*** *Τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ δεσπότῃ καὶ ἀδελφῷ κυρῷ Θεοφάνῃ.* cod. Inc. Ὁσιώτατε ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς ..., des. ... ἀπὸ Θεοῦ εὐλογία. Ὁ Ἐφέσου Μάρκος, Ἰουνίου ιζ'. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici* (Epist. 5), pp. 172-174.

39. (ff. 281-287) **Mark Eugenikos, *Circular letter to the Orthodox Churches*,** *Τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν νήσων ὀρθοδόξοις χριστιανοῖς, Μάρκος ἐπίσκοπος*

*τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.* cod. Inc. Οἱ τὴν κακὴν ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωσίαν ..., des. ... ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 141-151.

40. (ff. 287-290) <**Mark Eugenikos**>, ***Latin* or *On the addition of the* filioque *clause to the Creed,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Λατῖνος ἢ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ προσθήκης.* cod. Inc. Θαυμάζω πῶς ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖτε περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ προσθήκης ..., des. ... καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς παραδοῦναι. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 107-113.

41. (ff. 290-303v) <**Mark Eugenikos**>, ***Syllogistic chapters in response to the Latins***, *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Συλλογιστικὰ κεφάλαια πρὸς Λατίνους.* cod. Inc. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον ..., des. ... καὶ μάτην οἱ Λατίνοι τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς φεύγουσιν. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici*, pp. 60-107.

42. (ff. 304r-305v) <**Mark Eugenikos**>, ***On the prayer 'Jesus Christ Son of God have mercy upon me'***, *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Περὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων τῇ θείᾳ εὐχῇ ῥημάτων ἤγουν τοῦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με.* cod. Inc. Ὅση μὲν ἡ τῆς εὐχῆς δύναμις, καὶ οἷα δωρεῖται τοῖς κεχρημένοις ..., des. ... γενομένοις, καὶ Θεῷ πλησιάσασιν. Ed. E. Bulović, 'Ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάρκου Ἐφέσου', *Κληρονομία* 7 (1975), 345-351.

43. (f. 305v) <**Gregory of Nyssa**>, ***On the making of man***, *Ἐν τῇ ἐξαημέρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ κβ', οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ, πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας εἰ καλόν τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἡ ἀνάστασις, τί οὐχὶ ἤδη γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ χρόνων τισὶ περιόδοις ἐλπίζεται, περὶ τὰ μέσα.* cod. Inc. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ πατριάρχαι ..., des. ... ἵνα μὴ φησὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσιν. PG 44, col. 208.16-22.

44. (ff. 305v-306) <**John**> **Chrysostom, Excerpt from *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Orat. 9)*,** *Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς.* cod. Inc. Εἶδες πονηροὺς εὐπραγοῦντας ..., des. ... τότε ἕκαστος ἀπολήψεται. PG 60, col. 473.37-44.

45. (ff. 306r-v) <**John Chrysostom**>**, Excerpt from *In Genesim (Orat. 3)*,** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.* cod. Inc. Ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συντελείας ..., des. ... οὐδέπω ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀγαθά. PG 54, cols. 613.62-615.4.

46. (ff. 306v-307v) **Cyril of Alexandria, Excerpt from *Commentary on St Luke's Gospel, (Orat. 49),*** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νθ' κεφαλαίου, τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου.* cod. Inc. Πύθοιτο δ' ἄν τις, ἄρα γὲ κατὰ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἱστορίαν ..., des. ... δεινῇ καὶ ἀφύκτῳ περιπεσοῦνται δίκη. Ed. PG 72, cols. 821-825.

47. (ff. 310-336) **John Chrysostom, *Oration on the Holy Spirit,*** *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὁμιλία περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ Πνεύματος* cod. Inc. Χθὲς ἡμῖν ᾧ φιλόχριστοι ..., des. ... καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Ed. PG 52, cols. 813-826.[204]

48. (ff. 336-337v) **Mark Eugenikos, *Apologia,*** *Ἀπολογία τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου, κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, ῥηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτοῦ, αὐτοσχεδίως.* cod. Inc. Βούλομαι πλατύτερον τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην εἰπεῖν ..., des. ... διόρθωσιν καὶ εἰρήνην τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici,* pp. 176-181.

49. (ff. 337v-339v) <**Mark Eugenikos**>, ***Letter to George Scholarios,*** *Πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν Σχολάριον.* cod. Inc. Εἰσί τινες ὕλαι παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, εἰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ..., des. ... ὡς ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διόρθωσιν. Ed. S.P. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1912, repr. 1972), pp. 36-39.

50. (ff. 339v-341) <**George Scholarios**>, ***Response to Mark Eugenikos***, *Ἀπόκρισις τοῦ Σχολαρίου.* cod. Inc. Ἐγὼ δέσποτά μου ἅγιε, πρῶτον μὲν ..., des. ... πρὸς Θεὸν εὐπαρρησιάστοις ἐντεύξεσιν. Ed. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 1, pp. 40-41.

51. (ff. 342-401v) **John Eugenikos**, ***Antirrhettic of the Decree of the Council of Ferrara-Florence,*** *Τοῦ τῇ Θεοῦ χάριτι εὐσεβοῦς νομοφύλακος Ἰωάννου διακόνου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, ἀντιρρητικὸς τοῦ βλασφήμου καὶ ψευδοῦς ὅρου, τοῦ ἐν Φλορεντίᾳ συντεθέντος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Λατίνους σύνοδον.* cod. Inc. Τὸ μὲν πάντας ἀνθρώπους πραότητι διαφερόντως νενικηκότα ..., des. ... ἕνα Θεὸν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀμήν. Ed. E. Rossidou-Koutsou, *John*

[204] Cf. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci,* p. 59.

*Eugenikos' Antirrhetic of the decree of the Council of Ferrara–Florence: an annotated critical edition* (Nicosia, 2006), pp. 3-153.

52. (ff. 403-436) **Theophylact of Bulgaria, *Exegesis on the twelve morning Gospels,*** *Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας κυροῦ Θεοφυλάκτου, ἐξήγησις τῶν ἕνδεκα ἑωθινῶν εὐαγγελίων. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖου.* cod. Inc. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνω, οἱ ἕνδεκα μαθηταὶ ..., des. ... καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. Ed. PG 123, col. 481.38-488.2.

53. (ff. 437-441v) ***Synodal Act decreed under Patriarch Photius***, *Πράξις γενομένη συνοδικῶς ἐπὶ Φωτίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, πράξις ς'.* cod. Inc. Προκαθεσθέντων τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέως, Βασιλείου, Λέοντος ..., des. ... καὶ ἐπευφήμησαν πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων. Ed. Mansi, vol. 17, cols. 512B-520B.

54. (ff. 442-444.6) <**Photius Patriarch of Constantinople**>, ***On the various schisms in the Church***, *Ποσάκις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσχίσθησαν καὶ ἐπὶ ποίων καιρῶν.* cod. Inc. Ἐπὶ Γρατιανοῦ βασιλέως ..., des. ... ἐπιζητεῖ διδάσκαλον ἄλλον εἰ μή προφανῶς μέμηνε. Ed. A.S. Pavlov, *Kriticheskie opiti po istorii drevneyshey greko-russkoy polemiki protiv latinyan* (St Petersburg, 1878), pp. 132.7-134.31 (with a different ending).

55. (ff. 444.7-472.21) ***Patristic Florilegium on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*** (including excerpts from Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus;* Gregory of Nazianus *De pace 1* (Orat. 6), and *De spiritu sancto* (Orat. 31); Maximus the Confessor; John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei*; Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* (Liber 5); Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate;* Photius Patriarch of Constantinople, *De spiritu sancti mystagogiae***.** Unedited.

56. (ff. 472.22-476) <**Anonymous**, ***Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit***>, Inc. Τί δὲ κεκίνηκεν Ἰταλοὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος βλασφημίαν ..., des. ... καὶ τίς ἐπιζητεῖ διδάσκαλον ἄλλον, εἰ μὴ προφανῶς μέμηνεν. Ed. Dositheos, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 422-431.

57. (ff. 476v-477v) **Mark Eugenikos, *Syllogistic Chapters*,** *Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς καὶ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ συλλογιστικὰ κεφάλαια.* cod. Inc. Εἰ ᾧ συνάπτεται Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς τούτῳ ..., des. ... τοῖς νέοις

τούτοις πνευματομάχοις ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ φράσαντες. Ed. L. Petit, *Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence*, II, *Oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d' Ephèse*, Patrologia Orientalis 17, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1923), IX, cols. 230-277.

58. (ff. 478-488) ***Response of the clergy of Constantinople against the decrees of the Council of Ferrara-Florence addressed to the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos***, *Συναχθέντες οἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εὑρισκόμενοι ἀρχιερεῖς καθηγούμενοι καὶ πνευματικοὶ ταύτην ἐξέθηκαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἀπολογίαν.* cod. Inc. Ἐπεὶ εὐρίσθημεν παρὰ τῆς κραταιᾶς καὶ ἁγίας βασιλείας σου ..., des. ... τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀρκοῦσα ἴσως παρεχόμενα τὴν πληροφορίαν. Ed. Dositheos, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 422-431.

59. (f. 489) **Maximus the Confessor, *On the two Natures of Christ,*** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου περὶ τῶν δύο φύσεων του Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὅτι Ἄρειος μὲν καὶ Νεστόριος τόν τε τῆς θεολογίας καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας λόγον διαιροῦσι, Σαβέλλιος δὲ καὶ Εὐτυχὴς ἀπεναντίας τούτων συγχέουσι.* cod. Inc. Ἄρειος τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογεῖ ..., des. ... διαφορὰν διὰ τὸ ἀσύγχυτον πρεσβεύει. Ed. Dositheos, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, p. 432.

60. (ff. 489-495v) **Theodore Agallianos, *Dialogue against the Latin teachings,*** *Ἀμαρτωλοῦ διακόνου καὶ ἱερομνήμονος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου τῶν Γραικῶν ἐκκλησίας Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἀγαλλιανοῦ. Ὅτι πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ δόγματικὰ κεφάλαια σύμφωνα ὄντα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἁγίοις, ἀντιπαρεξεταζομένη ἡ τῶν Λατίνων δόξα οὐχ εὑρίσκεται σύμφωνος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παντοίᾳ αἱρέσει σύμφωνος καὶ ἔξω τῶν ὀρθῶν τῆς εὐσεβίας δογμάτων.* cod. Inc. Καὶ ὁ Λατίνος τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογῶν καὶ τὴν μονάδα οὐκ ἀρνούμενος ..., des. ... πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀμήν. Ed. Dositheos, *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 432-439.

**Subscriptions:** Table of contents in Latin appear on the front paste-down leaf together with the inscription 'Cod. graece 256'. On f. I the stamp of the *Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis* is imprinted. The printed entry from the catalogue of I. Hardt, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae,* vol. IV (Munich, 1806), pp. 70-90 with corrections is pasted on ff. II-Xiv. F. XIIv contains a table of contents in Greek.

**Collation**: 63 gatherings of 8 folios each. The majority of the gatherings bear double numbering, namely the original Greek numeral on the bottom margin accompanied by an Indian numeral added by a later hand next to the original numbering: f. 1r-v, 1x4 (ff. 2r-9v), 2x3 (ff. 10r-15v), <3>x5 (ff. 16r-24v), 4x4 (ff. 25r-32v) <ζ'> 6x4 (ff. 33r-40v), 7x4 (ff. 41r-48v), 8x4 (ff. 49r-56v), 9x4 (ff. 57r-65v), 10x3 (ff. 66r-71v), <11>x4 (ff. 72r-78v), 12x3 (ff. 79-84v), α' 13x4 (ff. 85-92v), <β'> 14x4 (ff. 93r-100v), γ' 15x4 (ff. 101r-108v), δ' <16>x4 (ff. 109r-117v), <ε'> 17x3 (ff. 118r-123v), <ς'> 18x3 (ff. 124r-128v + one fol. missing), ζ' 19x4 (ff. 129r-136v), <η'> 20x4 (ff. 137r-144v), <θ'> 21x4 (ff. 145r-152v) <ι'> <22>x4 (ff. 153r-160v), <ια'> 23x4 (ff. 161r-168v), ιβ' 24x5 (ff. 169r-177v + one fol. missing), ιγ' 25x4 (ff. 178r-185v), <ιδ'> 26x4 (ff. 186r-193v), ιε' 27x4 (ff. 194r-201v), ις' 28x4 (ff. 202r-209v), ιζ' 29x4 (ff. 210r-217v), ιη' 30x4 (ff. 218r-224v + one fol. missing), ιθ' 31x4 (ff. 225r-232v), κ' 32x4 (ff. 233r-240v), κα' 33x4 (ff. 240$^{\beta}$r- 245v + one fol. missing), κβ' 34x4 (ff. 246r-254v; the signature κβ' appears on f. 247r, while the number 34 appears on 246r), κγ' 35x5 (ff. 255r-264v), κδ' 36x4 (ff. 265r-272v), κε' 37x4 (ff. 273r-280v), κς' 38x2 (ff. 281r-284v), κζ' 39x5 (ff. 285r-294v), κη' 40x4 (ff. 295r-302v), κθ' 41x4 (ff. 303r-309v + one fol. missing), λ' 42x5 (ff. 310r-319v), λα' 43x4 (ff. 320r-327v), λβ' 44x6 (ff. 328r-339v), λγ' 45x1 (ff. 340r-341v), <λδ'> 46x4 (ff. 342r-349v), <λε'> 47x4 (ff. 350r-357v), <λς'> 48x4 (ff. 358r-365v), <λζ'> 49x4 (ff. 366r-373v), <λ>η' 50x4 (ff. 374r-381v), <λθ'> 51x4 (ff. 382r-389v), <μ'> 52x4 (ff. 390r-397v), <μα'> 53x3 (ff. 398r-402v + one fol. missing), <μβ'> 54x4 (ff. 403r-412v), ϱ' 55x4 (ff. 413r-420v), 56x4 (ff. 421r-428v), δ' 57x4 (ff. 429r-436v), α' 58x4 (ff. 437r-444v), β' 59x4 (ff. 445r-452v), γ' 60x4 (ff. 453r- 461v and f. 454 missing), δ' 61x4 (ff. 462r-469v), ε' 62x4 (ff. 470r-477v), ς' 63x6 (ff. 478r-488v + one fol. missing), ζ' 64x4 (ff. 489r-496r). On the basis of the watermarks, the codex is dated to *c.*1450/1.[205]

**Scribes**: four different as yet unidentified hands (A-D) have contributed to the copying of the codex: Hand A: ff. 1r-84v, 102v.6-303v.7, 305v.9-307v, 310r-341r, 342r-436r; Hand B: ff. 85r-102v.5; Hand C: ff. 303v.8-305v.8; Hand D: ff. 437r-495v.[206]

[205] See Rossidou-Koutsou, *John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic*, p. lxvii with n. 184.
[206] See Rossidou-Koutsou, *John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic*, p. lxvii.

**L** ***Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Palatinus graecus* 256** (examined through microfilm).[207]

AD 1449; paper; ff. 391; (blank 142v) 1 (30) (Plates 37-39)

**Contents:**

1. (ff. 9-109) **Arrian**, ***Anabasis Alexandri***, Book I, *Ἀρειανοῦ, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναβάσεως, βιβλίον πρῶτον.* cod. Inc. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου …, des. … αὐτὸς ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐς τήνδε ξυγγραφὴν. Ed. G. Wirth, *Flavii Arriani Alexandri Anabasis* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1967) pp. 1-390.

2. (ff. 109v-119v) **<Ammonius> of Hermias**, ***Preface to Porphyry's* Introduction**, *<Ἀμμωνίου> Ἑρμείου φιλοσόφου προθεωρία, εἰς τὴν εἰσαγωγὴν Πορφυρίου τοῦ Φοίνικος.* cod. Inc. Ἠλέοντας [*leg.* Μέλλοντας] ἡμᾶς ἄρχεσθαι φιλοσόφων λόγων, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μαθεῖν …, des. … οὐ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλ' ὄργανον ὡς ἐν ἑτέρῳ δείξωμεν. Ed. A. Busse, *Ammonius in Porphyrii isagogen sive quinque voces*, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.3 (Berlin, 1891), pp. 1-23.

3. (ff. 120-130) **Aristotle, *On the World***, *Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ παντὸς κόσμου, πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλέα.* cod. Inc. Πολλάκις μὲν ἔμοι γε, θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον ὄντως χρῆμα ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε ..., des. … καὶ εὐδαίμων ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μέτοχος εἴη. Ed. W.L. Lorimer, *Aristotelis qui fertur libellus de mundo* (Paris, 1933), pp. 47-103 (391a1-401b29).

4. (ff. 130v-287v) **Konstantinos Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos or Handbook of Laws*,** *Πρόχειρον νόμων, τὸ λεγόμενον ἡ ἑξάβιβλος, συναθροισθὲν κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ κατ' ἐπιτομὴν οὕτω συντεθὲν, παρὰ τοῦ πανσεβάστου νομοφύλακος τοῦ καὶ κριτοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἁρμενοπούλου. Κριτῶν προκατάστασις, ἢ περὶ δικαιοσύνης.* cod. Inc. Ὁ κρίνειν λαχὼν, καὶ κριτὴς εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι εἴ γε βούλοιτο τὴν καλὴν ..., des. ... δίχα τῶν προσῶπων δηλονότι τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων κεκωλυμένων. Ed. Pitsakis, *Ἑξάβιβλος*, pp. 3-386.

[207] The MS. was described by I.B. Pitra & H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1885), pp. 139-141.

5. (ff. 288r-v) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***The*** <***Spurious***> ***Donation of Constantine***, *Θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου περὶ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης* cod. Inc. Θεσπίζομεν πᾶσι τοῖς σατράπαις ..., des. ... πρὸς πατέρα ἡμῶν πάπαν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχους. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli*, pp. 820-822.

6. (f. 288v) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***Three Synodal Tomes,*** Inc. Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, τόμος ἐξεφωνήθη, συμπράξαντος ..., des. ... εἰς τὸ ἐξῶσαι τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας στύλον, τὸν βασιλέα θεῖον Ἀνδρόνικον. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli,* p. 822.

7. (ff. 289-290) **Patriarch Philotheos, *Refutation of Anathemata,*** *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου πατριάρχου κυροῦ Φιλοθέου, ἀνατροπὴ, τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἀναθεματισμῶν.* cod. Inc. Ὁ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς σεβαστὲ νομοφύλαξ, καὶ καθολικὲ κριτὰ Ἀρμενόπουλε …, des. … ἀνέργητον καὶ ἄπρακτον ἔχουσι, καθὰ δὴ καὶ φθάσαντες εἴπομεν. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli*, pp. 822-826.

8. (ff. 290-294) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***Agrarian Law,*** *Νόμοι γεωργικοὶ κατ' ἐκλογὴν, βιβλίου τοῦ τῆς θείας λέξεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ γεωργῶν.* cod. Inc. Χρὴ τὸν γεωργὸν, ἐργαζόμενον τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρὸν ..., des. ... ἵνα διέρχηται τὸ ὕδωρ δι' αὐτῶν, τοῦτο ἄδειαν ἐχέτωσαν. Ed. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli*, pp. 830-850.

9. (ff. 294-324) **Konstantinos Harmenopoulos, *Epitome of Canon Law,*** *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων· γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὕτη, παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πανσεβαστοῦ σεβαστοῦ νομοφύλακος καὶ κριτοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀρμενοπούλου. Προθεωρία.* cod. Inc. Τῶν κανόνων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ..., des. ... εἰ μήπου καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας εἶεν κατεγνωσμέναι. Τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων. Ed. PG 150, cols. 45.1-68.32.

10. (ff. 324v-325) <**Konstantinos**> **Harmenopoulos, *On the Orthodox Faith,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀρμενόπουλου, περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου*. cod. Inc. Πιστεύειν δεῖ τὸν οὕτως χριστιανὸν. ὡς αἱ ἅγιαι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν ..., des. ... καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κόλασιν ἀτελεύτητον. Ed. PG 150, cols. 29.11-32.36.

11. (ff. 325-328) <**Konstantinos Harmenopoulos**>, ***On heresies,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Περὶ ὧν οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς αἱρετικοὶ ἐδόξασαν*. cod. Inc. Οἱ περὶ Ἄρειον, κτίσμα τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ

Θεοῦ λέγοντες ..., des. ... κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχημάτων τούτων διαφορὰν. Ed. PG 150, cols. 20.1-29.6.

12. (ff. 328r-v) <**Anonymous**>, ***The* offikia *of the Palace***, *Τὰ ὀφφίκια τοῦ παλατίου.* cod. Inc. *α*′ Ὁ δεσπότης, *β*′ ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ..., des. ... Ϛα′ ὁ δρουγάριος στόλου, Ϛβ′ καὶ κόμης. Cf. Ed. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, pp. 133-138.

13. (f. 328v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the* offikia *of the Palace***, Inc. Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ χρυσοκόκκινα σκιάδια φοροῦσιν …, des. … τὰ δὲ κόκκινα, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκολούθου, μέχρι τέλους. ed. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos,* pp. 132.6-13.

14. (f. 328v-329) <**Anonymous**>, ***The* offikia *of the Great Church***, *Τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ὀφφίκια*, cod. Inc. *α*′ ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος, *β*′ ὁ μέγας σακελλάριος ..., des. ... *λα*′ καὶ ὁ πριμμικήριος τῶν πατριαρχικῶν νοταρίων. Ed. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les* ὀφφίκια *de l'église byzantine*, pp. 563-564.

15. (ff. 329r-v) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 16**, *Ἡ γεγονυῖα διατύπωσις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ ὅπως ἐξέχουσι τάξεως οἱ θρόνοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῷ Πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.* cod. Inc. *α*′ ἡ Καισάρεια, *β*′ ἡ Ἔφεσος, *γ*′ ἡ Ἡράκλεια ..., des. ... *λη*′ τὰ Φάρσαλα, *λθ*′ τὰ Μάτραχα. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, pp. 388-389 (our codex under siglum S).

16. (ff. 329v-330v) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 17,** *Ἡ γενομένη ἔκθεσις τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῇ βασιλίδι Κωνσταντινουπόλει μητροπόλεων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ δευτέρου τῶν Παλαιολόγων.* cod. Inc. *α*′ ἡ Καισάρεια, *β*′ ἡ Ἔφεσος, *γ*′ ἡ Ἡράκλεια ..., des. ... *ιθ*′ τὸ Σμολένσκον. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, pp. 393-403 (our codex under siglum S).

17. (ff. 330v-333v) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 10,** cod. Inc. *Τάξις προκαθεδρίας τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τελούντων μητροπολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπων Α' τῷ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας.* cod. Inc. *α*′ ὁ Νύσσης ..., des. ... κα′ ὁ Κοδάκων, κγ′ ὁ Συνήδων. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, pp. 309-337 (our codex under siglum c[15]).

18. (ff. 333v-377v) **Matthaios <Blastares>, *Refutation of the errors of the Latins*,** *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

19. (ff. 377v-379v) **Excerpt from the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* concerning Barlaam and Akindynos and their followers.** *Ἐκ τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ κατὰ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου,* cod. Inc. Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνῳ· καὶ τοῖς ὁπαδοῖς καὶ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, τοῖς φρονοῦσι καὶ λέγουσι, τὸ λάμψαν …, des. … καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. Ed. J. Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie, édition et commentaire', *TM* 2 (1967), lines 572-682.

20. (ff. 379v-382) **Nicholas Kabasilas, *On the sacred vestments*,** *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κὺρ Νικολάου τοῦ Καβάσιλα εἰς τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολήν.* cod. Inc. Ἡ μὲν τοῦ διακόνου στολὴ, χειρίδας ἔχει· διάκονος γὰρ …, des. … μὴ τῆς θείας μετάσχοντες εὐχαριστίας. Ed. R. Bornert, 'Nicolas Cabasilas. Explication des ornements sacrés: explication des rites de la divine liturgie', in S. Salaville ed. (with revisions by R. Bornert and P. Périchon, *Nicolas Cabasilas. Explication de la divine liturgie,* SC 4bis (Paris, 1967²), pp. 363-381 (our codex under siglum V).

21. (ff. 382-383) **Peter the Deacon and Chartophylax of the Great Church, *Questions and Answers*,** *Ἐρωτήματα ἅπερ ἔλυσεν ὁ τιμιώτατος χαρτοφύλαξ κύριος Πέτρος καὶ διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἔτει ,ϛχ'* (AD 1092). cod. Inc. Ἐρώτησις. Εἰς πόσον καιρὸν ὀφείλει βαπτίζεται τὸ παιδίον ..., des. ... ὁ Θεὸς, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 5, pp. 369-373.

31. (f. 383r-v) ***Epanagoge*, *The office of the Patriarch*,** *Περὶ πατριάρχου.* cod. Inc. πατριάρχης ἐστὶν, εἰκὼν ζῶσα θεοῦ καὶ ἔμψυχος ..., des. ... τῶν δογμάτων, λαλεῖν ἐνώπιον βασιλέως καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι. Eds. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2, *Epanagoge* II, § 3, pp. 242-243.

22. (ff. 383v-389v) ***Prochiron Auctum, On prohibited marriages and degrees of kinship*,** *Περὶ κεκωλυμένων γάμων, καὶ περὶ συγγενείας καὶ βαθμῶν.* cod. Inc. Ἡ συγγένεια ὄνομά ἐστι γενικὸν· ..., des. ... ὁ γάμος κεκώλυται, Ϛ' γάρ ἐστι βαθμοῦ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ἡ Βαρβάρα. Ed. Zepos, *Prochiron Auctum, Jus Graecoromanum* 7, § 8.1-102, pp. 60-80.

**Scribe:** the entire codex was copied by Nikolaos Melachrinos,[208] who added his colophon on f. 389v: δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοι· ἐπληρώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον, Αὐγούστου κγ′ ἰνδίκτ(ιώνος) ιδ′ τοῦ ,ϹΠνζ′ ἔτους. | + εἰ μὲν χυρὶ γράψασα, σίπεται τάφῳ· εἰ δὲ γραφι μένοι, εἰς χρόνους ἀπέραντους + | + νικόλαος, βεστιαριτ(ης) μελαχρινὸς, ὁ γραμματικὸς· ἀμὴν· ἀμὴν· ἀμὴν + (Plate 39).

**M** ***Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.*** **149 (327/CL)** (examined through microfilm.[209]

AD 1342; Parchment; 180x120 mm.; ff. 393 (f. 255v blank); 1 (32-33) (Plates 40-42)

**Contents:** Collection of canonical and theological works by **Matthaios Blastares**, **Nicetas of Herakleia**, **Nikephoros of Constantinople**, **Cyril of Alexandria**.

1. (ff. 1r-v) ***Nomocanon, The <Spurious> Donation of Constantine***, *Τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Σίλβεστον πάπα Ῥώμης θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ ἰσαποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου.* cod. Inc. Δέον ἐκρίναμεν μετὰ πάντων τῶν σατραπῶν ἡμῶν …, des. … ὅλα τὰ προγεγραμμένα καλῶς, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα φυλλάτεσθαι. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 1 (Athens, 1952), pp. 145-48.
2. (ff. 2-15v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Syntagma,*** *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐμπεριειλημμένων ἁπασῶν ὑποθέσεων τοῖς ἱεροις καὶ θείοις κανόσι, πονηθέν τε ἅμα καὶ συντεθὲν τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ἐλαχίστῳ Ματθαίῳ. Προθεωρία.* cod. Inc. Τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων χρῆμα κανόνων …, des. … τοῦ παρόντος συντάγματος, ὡς ἐν πινάκι γραφῆναι. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 6, pp. 1-30.
3. (ff. 15v-20) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Chapter list of the Syntagma,*** *Ματθαῖος οἰκτρὸς, ἀρετῆς πάσης ξένος, Ὁ πίναξ τῶν κεφαλαίων.* cod. Inc. Περὶ τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως, Περὶ τῶν ἀρνησαμένων ..., des. … τίνας δεῖ ὡράριον φορεῖν. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 6, pp. 31-45.

[208] See *Repertorium,* I, no. 313; II, no. 433; III, no. 504.

[209] See Archimandrite Vladimir, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie rukopisei Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj (Patriaršej) biblioteki*, vol. I: *Rokopisi grečeskie* (Moscow, 1894), pp. 476-479.

4. (ff. 20-21v) <**Matthaios Blastares**>, ***On the Orthodox Faith***, *Περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως.* cod. Inc. Τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν τίνυν ὑποθέσεις κανόνων κατὰ στοιχεῖον …, des. … ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὰ εἰρημένα δοξάζων, αἱρετικός ἐστιν. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6, pp. 46-49.

5. (ff. 21v-200) <**Matthaios Blastares**>, ***Syntagma,*** *Ἀρχὴ τοῦ α′ στοιχείου. Περὶ τὸν ἀρνησαμένων τὴν ἀμώμητον ταυτηνὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστην, καὶ ὅπως τοὺς μεταμελομένους τούτων προσίεσθαι δεῖ.* cod. Inc. Ἐπικαιρότατον δ′ ἄν εἴη μετὰ τοῦτο διέξιέναι ὅπως …, des. … τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδου, εἰκοστὸν δεύτερον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τρίτον. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6, pp. 49-518.

6. (ff. 200v-204v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Synopsis of the Canons of <the Patriarch of Constantinople> John <IV> Nesteutes***, *Ἐκ τοῦ κανονικοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ νηστευτοῦ, ἤμειψε ταυτὶ πρὸς σύνοψιν Ματθαῖος.* cod. Inc. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν νηστευτὴν θεῖον Ἰωάννην … des. … τοῦτο πάντως παρεχωρήθη. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1854), pp. 432-445.

7. (ff. 204v-205) **Nicetas Metropolitan of Herakleia**, ***Responses to Questions by a certain Bishop Constantine***, *Νικήτα τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἡρακλείας ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς τίνα Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπίσκοπον, περὶ ὧν ἠρωτήθη.* cod. Inc. Ἡ μὲν ἀκρίβεια, τοὺς δίγαμους οὐκ εἴωθε στεφανοῦν …, des. … τὸ τοῦ διακόνου ἔργον ποιῆσαι, ἔξον οὐδενί. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 5, pp. 441-442.

8. (ff. 205v-206v) **Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople,** ***Ecclesiastical Canons,*** *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Νικηφόρου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ, κανόνες ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν αὐτοῦ συντάξεων, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἁγίων πατέρων.* cod. Inc. Ἐὰν κατὰ ἄγνοιαν πλυθῇ ἀντιμίνσιον οὐκ ἀποτίθεται …, des. … πλείονα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐφέλκεται. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 4, pp. 427-431.

9. (ff. 206v-211v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Excerpts from John Bishop of Kitros' Responses to Kabasilas Bishop of Dyrrachion***, *Ἐκ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Κίτρους, πρὸς τὸν ἱερώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Δυρραχίου τὸν Καβάσιλαν, Ματθαῖος ἔγνω ταυτὶ συντεταχέναι.* cod. Inc. Τὰ ἀντιμνίσια τῆς ἁγιαστικῆς μετασχόντα δυνάμεως …, des. … τοῦ παρόντος λέγειν καιροῦ. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 5, pp. 413-420.

10. (ff. 211v-212) ***The* offikia *of the Great Church,*** *Τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκλλησίας ὀφφίκια.* cod. Inc. Ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος, ὁ μέγας σακελλάριος …, des. … καὶ ὁ πριμμικήριος τῶν πατριαρχικῶν νοταρίων. Ed. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les* ὀφφίκια *de l'église byzantine*, pp. 563-564.

11. (ff. 212r-v) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 16,** *Ἡ γεγοννία διατύπωσις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὅπως ἔχουσι, τάξεως οἱ θρόνοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῷ πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.* cod. Inc. ἡ Καισάρεια, ἡ Ἔφεσος …, des. … τὰ Μάτραχα. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, pp. 388-389.

12. (f. 212v) ***Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Notitia 10,** Inc. ὁ Κίτρους, ὁ Βερροίας …, des. … ὁ Βαρδαριώτων ἤτοι Τούρκων. Ed. Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, col. b, pp. 316-317.

13. (ff. 212v-213) <**Matthaios Blastares**>, ***Greek translation of Latin terms***, *Λατινικαὶ λέξεις.* cod. Inc. Ἀδ<ν>ούμιον, κατ' ὄνομα διέρχεσθαι …, des. … ἀγωγὴ κατὰ κλεπτῶν εἰς τὸ διπλοῦν. Ed. E. Kaluźniacki, 'Λέξεις Λατινικαὶ in einer älteren bulgarisch-slovenischen Uebersetzung', *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 14 (1892), 86-88.

14. (ff. 213-214v) **Cyril of Alexandria**, ***Twelve Chapters against Nestorius***, *ιβ' κεφάλαια ἃ συνέταξεν ὁ ἅγιος Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Νεστορίου.* cod. Inc. Εἴ τις ὁμολογεῖ Θεὸν εἶναι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὸν Ἐμμανουήλ …, des. … ζωὴ καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὡς ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ed. J.M. Duffy and J. Parker, *The Synodicon Vetus,* CFHB 15 (Washington, D.C, 1979), § 83, pp. 174-175.

15. (ff. 215-255) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins*,** *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

16. (ff. 256-336v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Five Orations against the Jews***, *Ματθαῖος εἴργει τῶν Ἰουδαίων θράσος, ὥσπερ χαλινοῖς πέντε φιμώσας λόγοις, ὅστις δὲ τούτων τὴν ἐπίρρητον πλάνην, πλάνην ἀτεχνῶς ἐξελέγξει τῷ λόγῳ ἄρδην ἁπάσης συγκαθεῖλεν αἱρέσεις, μήτηρ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ θεία τίνων ἔρις. Τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν*

*ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαίου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους λόγος πρῶτος.* cod. Inc. Ὅτι τρισυπόστατον καὶ ἡ Παλαιὰ τὸν Θεὸν κηρύττει Γραφή…, des. ... μετασκευάζεσθαι καὶ χωρεῖν τῷ θυμῷ. Unpublished.

17. (ff. 337-340) <**Anonymous**>, ***Canons of the Apostoles***, *Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.* cod. Inc. Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν …, des. … πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων. Cf. Rhalles & Potles, eds., *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 2 (Athens, 1852), pp. 1-420.

18. (ff. 340-377v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Canons of the First Ecumenical Council,*** *Κανόνες τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς πρώτης συνόδου.* cod. Inc. Εἴ τις ἐν νόσῳ ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ἐχειρουργήθη ἢ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων …, des. … ἵνα ἢ κυρωθῇ, ἢ διορθωθῇ ἡ γνώμη αὐτοῦ. Cf. Rhalles & Potles, eds., *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 2, pp. 114-420.

19. (ff. 377v-381) <**Anonymous**>, ***Prohibition of marriage between kins of the seventh decree related by blood,*** *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ γίνεσθαι γάμον ἑβδόμου βαθμοῦ ἐξ αἵματος.* cod. Inc. Ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου Ἀλεξίου …, des. … πρὸς Λέοντα τὸν θεοφιλέστατον μητροπολίτην Ἀθηνῶν καὶ σύγκελλον. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 5, pp. 36-37.

20. (ff. 381v-391) **Matthaios** <**Blastares**>, ***Benedictions***, *Μακαρισμοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς τοῦ Θωμᾶ, μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἁγίων Πάντων. Τῇ ἑβδομάδι τοῦ Θωμᾶ μακαρισμοὶ ὧν ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς. Ματθαῖος ὑμνεῖ σὴν ἀνάστασιν Λόγε, μοναχὸς. ὁ εἱρμὸς ἦχος α'. Πρὸς διὰ βρώσεως ἐξήγαγε τοῦ παραδείσου ὁ ἐχθρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ διὰ σταυροῦ δὲ τὸν ληστὴν. ἀντεισήγαγε Χριστὸς εἰς αὐτὸν. Μνήσθητί μου κράζοντα, ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλεία σου.* cod. Inc. Μεγαλύνω τὸ μυστήριον τῆς σῆς σεπτῆς οἰκονομίας …, des. … καὶ ἐκ θανάτου μικροῦ ἀφῖχθαι εἰς τὸν μέγιστον. Ed. P. Paschos, 'Ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμνογραφικὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη', *Θεολογία,* vol. 51 (1980), pp. 462-489, 748-781 (our codex under siglum Σ).

21. (ff. 391v-392v) **Anastasius Patriarch of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria,** ***Short Exposition of the Orthodox faith,*** *Ἀναστασίου πατριάρχου θεουπόλεως καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἔκθεσις σύντομος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως.* cod. Inc.

Ποίας θρησκείας εἶ ἄνθρωπε …, des. … κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἤτοι τὰ πρόσωπα. Unidentified.[210]

22. (ff. 392v-393) <**Nicholas Metropolitan of Athens**>, ***That the Emperor does not have the authority to appoint bishops,*** *Ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ἀμείβειν τοὺς θρόνους.* cod. Inc. Τοῦ μητροπολίτου ἐκείνου τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, κυροῦ Νικολάου τοῦ Ἁγιοθεοδωρήτου τιμηθέντος προστάξει βασιλικῇ …, des. ... σφραγίδα πιστωθεῖσα. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 5, pp. 274-275.

**Subscriptions:** f. 391: ἐτελειώθ(η), μην(ὶ) ἰαννουαρίῳ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) δεκάτ(ης): ἐν ἔτει ,Ϛω′ πεντηκοστω (AM 6850 = AD 1342), and *Ex scriptus anno 1342.*

**Collation**: 51 gatherings of 8 folios each. All gatherings bear double numbering, namely the original Greek numeral on the bottom margin accompanied by an Indian numeral added by a later hand next to the original numbering: <I> 1x1 (ff. 1r-v); α′ 1x5 (ff. 2r-10v); β′ 2x4 (ff. 11r-17v); γ′ 3x4 (ff. 18r-25v); δ′ 4x4 (ff. 26r-33v); ε′ 5x4 (ff. 34r-41v); Ϛ′ 6x4 (ff. 42r-49v); ζ′ 7x4 (ff. 50r-57v); η′ 8x4 (ff. 58r-65v); θ′ 9x3 (ff. 66r-73v); ι′ 10x4 (ff. 74r-82v; the cataloguer numbered f. 77 as number 78); ια′ 11x4 (ff. 83-90v); ιβ′ 12x4 (ff. 91-98v); ιγ′ 13x4 (ff. 99r-106v); ιδ′ 14x4 (ff. 107r-114v); ιε′ 15x4 (ff. 115r-122v); ιϚ′ 16x3 (ff. 123r-130v); ιζ′ 17x3 (ff. 131r-138v); ιη′ 18x4 (ff. 139r-146v); ιθ′ 19x4 (ff. 147r-154v); κ′ 20x4 (ff. 155r-162v); κα′ 21x4 (ff. 163r-168v); κβ′ 22x4 (ff. 169r-176v); κγ′ 23x5 (ff. 177r-184v); κδ′ 24x4 (ff. 185r-192v); κε′ 25x4 (ff. 193r-200v); κϚ′ 26x4 (ff. 201r-208v); κζ′ 27x3 (ff. 209r-214v); κη′ 28x4 (ff. 215r-222v); κθ′ 29x4 (ff. 223r-230v); λ′ 30x4 (ff. 231r-238v); λα′ 31x4 (ff. 239r-246v); λβ′ 32x4 (ff. 247r-254v); λγ′ 33x4 (ff. 255r- 262v); λδ′ 34x4 (ff. 263r-270v); λε′ 35x5 (ff. 271r-278v); λϚ′ 36x4 (ff. 279r-286v); λζ′ 37x4 (ff. 287r-294v); λη′ 38x2 (ff. 295r-302v); λθ′ 39x5 (ff. 303r-310v); μ′ 40x4 (ff. 311r-318v); μα′ 41x4 (ff. 319r-326v); μβ′ 42x5 (ff. 327r-334v); μγ′ 43x4 (ff. 335r-342v); μδ′ 44x6 (ff. 343r-350v); με′ 45x1 (ff. 351r-358v); μϚ′ 46x4 (ff. 359r-366v); μζ′ 47x4 (ff. 367r-374v); μη′ 48x4 (ff. 375r-382v); μθ′ 49x4 (ff. 383r-390v); ν′ 50x3 (ff. 391r-393v).

**Scribes**: At least 2 different, so far unidentified, hands have contributed to the copying of the codex. Hand A copied the major part of the codex including the section of

[210] This work is also preserved in *Athos, Laura* Θ 220 (Eustratiades 1082), ff. 742-747: see S. Eustratiades & Deacon Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1925), p. 106.

Blastares' *Refutation* on ff. 215-255 and Hand B, copied the text of *the Spurious Donation of Constantine* in ff. 1r-v, and the text from Nicholas Metropolitan of Athens, *That the Emperor does not have the authority to appoint bishops,* on ff. 392v-393.

## O *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci, Selden.* 44 (Arch. Seld. B.49) (examined through microfilm).[211]

14th century; parchment; mm.225x160; ff.<I-III>+<IV-V>+1-53+<VI-VII>+54-197+<VIII-X> (ff. 53v, V-VIv, 99v,196-197 blank.); 1 (30-32) (Plate 43)

**Contents: Matthaios Blastares**

1. (ff. 1-20v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Letter to Guy de Lusignan on the Procession of the Holy Spirit***, *Τῶ περιποθήτω θείω τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως, Συργῆν Τελεζινιάω, ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαῖος.* cod. Inc. Πειρωμένω σε πολλάκις πεῖσαι ..., des. … περιπλείονος ἑαυτῶ δόξαν τοῦ λογίζεσθαι μνώμενον. Ed. Archimandrite Arsenij, *Pis'mo Matfeja Vlastarja,* pp. 1-86.

2. (ff. 21-27) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***On boiled wheat used in the Church***, *Τί βούλεται ὁ ἐφθὸς προτιθέμενος, σῖτος ἔν τε τοῖς μνημοσύναις τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἱεραῖς τελεταῖς· τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαίου.* cod. Inc. Ἡ θεοειδὴς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἱεραρχία, τὴν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ὑπερκειμένην δύναμην ..., des. ... ἡ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας παραπολὺ θεωρίας, ἀλλ' οὖν τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκ ἐλάττω δυνάμεως. Unedited.

3. (ff. 27v-33) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Hymns for Stichera,*** *Στιχηρὰ ψαλλόμενα ἐν τῶ ἑσπερινῶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς τοῦ Θωμᾶ μέχρι τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων, ὧν ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς.* cod. Inc. Ματθαῖος ὑμνεῖ σὴν ἀνάστασιν Λόγε· καὶ τῶ καθεξῆς τὴν χάριν ..., des. ... δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ, οἱ ἐναρετήσαντες, πάντες ἐβάδισαν. Ed. Paschos, 'Ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμνογραφικὰ' *Θεολογία* 51 (1980), 303-332, (our codex under siglum O).

4. (ff. 33v-53v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Benedictions***, *Μακαρισμοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς τοῦ Θωμᾶ μεχρὶ τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων, τῆ ἐβδομάδι τοῦ Θωμᾶ μακαρισμοὶ, ὧν ἡ*

[211] See H.O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues,* vol. I: *Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1853; repr. with corrections, 1969), p. 606.

*ἀκροστιχὶς.* cod. Inc. Ματθαῖος ὑμνεῖ σὴν ἀνάστασιν Λόγε· μοναχὸς ..., des. ... μὴ πεισθέντα τὸν Ἀδάμ. Ed. Paschos, 'Ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμνογραφικὰ' *Θεολογία* 51 (1980), 462-489, 748-781; *Θεολογία* 52 (1981), 100-140, 255-269, (our codex under siglum O).

5. (ff. 54-99v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins,*** *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

6. (ff. 100-195) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Five Orations against the Jews***, *Ματθαῖος εἴργει τῶν Ἰουδαίων θράσος, ὥσπερ χαλινοῖς πέντε φιμώσας λόγοις, ὅστις δὲ τούτων τὴν ἐπίρρητον πλάνην, πλάνην ἀτεχνῶς ἐξελέγξει τῷ λόγῳ ἄρδην ἁπάσης συγκαθεῖλεν αἱρέσεις, μήτηρ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ θεία τίνων ἔρις. Τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαίου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους λόγος πρῶτος.* cod. Inc. Ὅτι τρισυπόστατον καὶ ἡ Παλαιὰ τὸν Θεὸν κηρύττει Γραφή…, des. ... μετασκευάζεσθαι καὶ χωρεῖν τῷ θυμῷ. Unpublished.

**Subscriptions:** pastedown leaf: 'Ms. Arch. Seld. B. 49' ; fol III: 'ἄρξου χεὶρ μου – ῥόδον ἀωτήσας'. Another hand added 'Ms. Arch.B.49. Seld. (3379)'.

**V** ***Athos, Vatopedi MS.*** **480** (only ff. 189-223 examined, through printed facsimiles).[212]

14th century; paper; 310x210 mm.; ff. 319; 1 (36) (Plate 44)

**Contents:** the codex contains mainly works by **Matthaios Blastares,** *Syntagma, Refutation of the errors of the Latins, Five Orations against the Jews* and other short works by anonymous authors.

1. (ff.1-188v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Syntagma***, *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον τῶν ἐμπεριειλημμένων ἁπασῶν ὑποθέσεων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θείοις κανόσι πονηθέν τε ἅμα καὶ συντεθὲν τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ἐλαχίστῳ Ματθαίῳ.* Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 6, pp. 49-518.

[212] See Eustratiades & Arcadios, *Catalogue*, pp. 97-98. See also above, pp. 112-113.

2. (ff. 189-223) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins,*** *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

3. (ff. 224-298v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Five Orations against the Jews***, *Τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Ματθαίου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους λόγοι πέντε.* Unedited.

4. (f. 299) **<Anonymous>**, ***Letter of a bishop to a monk who asks for guidance concerning the monastic life,*** *Ἐπιστολὴ προεστῶτος πρὸς γέροντα τέλειον καὶ διακριτικὸν ζητοῦντα περὶ δηλώσεως καὶ λύσεως ζητημάτων ἀναγκαίων εἰς ἀγωγὴν μοναχῶν καὶ κατάστασιν.*

5. (ff. 299v- 307v) **<Anonymous>**, ***Synopsis and response on enquiries***, *Εὐσύνοπτος εἴδησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις περὶ τῶν ἐρωτηθέντων ὑποθέσεων.*

6. (ff. 308-318v) **<Anonymous>**, ***Order of the holy Liturgy***, *Διάταξις τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ διακονικά.*

## W *Athos, Iveron MS.* 678 (Lambros 4798) (examined through microfilm).[213]

16th century; paper; 240x170mm; ff. 446; 1 (25) (Plates 36, 45-47)

**Contents:** Miscellaneous codex comprising **hagiographical, spiritual, theological,** and **canonical texts**.

1. (ff. 1-119) **<Anonymous>, *Life of St Pachomios,*** *Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ μεγάλου Παχωμίου.* cod. Inc. Οὐ νῦν καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα, πρόκεισται ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸς ..., des. … ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεί· καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Unidentified.

2. (ff. 119v-161) **<Leontius of Neapolis>, *Life of St Symeon the holy Fool***, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν, Συμεὼν τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν Σαλοῦ.* cod. Inc. Οἱ τὸ διδασκαλικὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλοις σπεύδοντες μεταδιώκειν ἀξίωμα …, des. … καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. *BHG* 1677; eds. A.-J.

[213] For a description of the codex see S. Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1900), pp. 198-199.

Festugière and L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre,* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 95 (Paris, 1974), pp. 55-104.

3. (ff. 161v-194v) <**Symeon Metaphrastes**>, ***Passio of St Artemius,*** *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀρτεμίου.* cod. Inc. Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν …, des. … μεγαλοσύνη τὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. *BHG* 172; ed. PG 115, cols. 1160-1212.

4. (ff. 194v-220) <**Symeon Metaphrastes**>, ***Passio of St Arethas and his companions***, *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀρέθα, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀθλησάντων ἁγίων μαρτύρων καὶ ἱστορία τῶν κατὰ χώρας τότε πραχθέντων.* cod. Inc. Ἔτος μὲν ἤδη πέμπτον ἐνειστήκει τῷ εὐσεβεῖ Ἰουστίνῳ …, des. … ὧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ κράτος· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. *BHG* 167; ed. PG 115, cols. 1249-1289.

5. (ff. 220-246v) <**Symeon Metaphrastes**>, ***Passio of St Eustathios, his wife Theopiste and his children Agapios and Theopistos.*** *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Εὐσταθίου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Θεοπίστης, καὶ τῶν δύο τέκνων αὐτοῦ, Ἀγαπίου καὶ Θεοπίστου.* cod. Inc. Τραϊανοῦ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα διέποντος, καὶ τῆς εἰδωλικῆς λύσσης ..., des. ... μεγαλοσύνη τὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. *BHG* 642; ed. G. Van Hooff, 'Acta Sancti Menae Martyris Aegypti', *AB* 3 (1884), 66-112.

6. (ff. 246v-258v) **Basil of Caesarea, *Oration on Baptism,*** *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν, Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας τοῦ μεγάλου, Ὁμιλία προτρεπτικὴ εἰς τὸ Βάπτισμα.* cod. Inc. Ὁ μὲν σοφὸς Σολομὼν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων …, des. … σὺν τὸ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμῆν. Ed. PG 31, cols. 424-441.

7. (ff. 258v-264v) **Athanasios of Alexandria, *Oration on those who wish to be saved,*** *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου, πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, λόγος διὰ κεφαλαίων, πρὸς τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποταξαμένοις καὶ θέλουσι σωθῆναι.* cod. Inc. Ἀγαπητοὶ· φροντίσωμεν τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ὅτι ὁ

καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος …, des. … ᾧ ἡ δὸξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ed. PG 28, cols. 1409.13-1420.43.

8. (ff. 264v-272v) **John of Damascus, *Oration on those who practice monastic life,*** *Τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, λόγος ψυχοφελὴς καὶ θαυμάσιος, τοὺς τῇ ἀσκητικῇ μετερχομένους πολιτείᾳ.* cod. Inc. Ἰστέον ὅτι, διπλοῖς ἐστιν ὁ ἀνθρωπος …, des. … καὶ τὸ πᾶν, σκότος, ὅπερ ἐστιν ὁ σατανᾶς. Ed. PG 95, cols. 85-97.

9. (ff. 272v-288) **Anastasios of Sinai, *On Psalm 6 and fasting***, *Ἀναστασίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους, ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα εἰς τὸν ἕκτον ψαλμὸν, εἰς τὴν παρείσδυσιν τῶν νηστειῶν.* cod. Inc. Πρέπουσαν τῇ τῶν νηστειῶν ἀρχῇ, εἰλικρινοῦς μετανοίας ὑπόθεσιν …, des. … νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Ed. PG 89, cols. 1077-1144.

10. (ff. 288v-291) <**Anonymous**>, ***Narration***, *Διήγησις διαλαμβάνουσα ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἄνευ προτροπῆς τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἀρχιερέως, ἀναδέχεσθαι λογισμοὺς καὶ τὴν κατὰ πνεῦμα πατρότητα ἐνεργεῖν.* cod. Inc. Μεγίστη τίς ἡ περὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος τοῦ θεανθρώπου Χριστοῦ, κηδεμονικὴ πρόνοια …, des. … ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας, ἀμήν. *BGH* 1322zd. Unedited.

11. (ff. 291v-292) **John, Archbishop of Thessalonike**, ***On the Dormition***, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, λόγος εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν, ἤτοι ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν μετάστασιν, τῆς ὑπεραγίας, δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.* cod. Inc. Τῇ θαυμαστῇ καὶ ὑπερένδοξῳ, καὶ ὄντως μεγάλη τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου δεσποίνῃ …, des. … νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. Ed. M. Jugie, 'Homélies Mariales Byzantines', PO 19 (Paris, 1925), 257-284.

12. (ff. 292-297v) **Makarios, *Beneficial teaching,*** *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μακαρίου τοῦ μεγάλου, διδασκαλία ὠφέλιμος.* cod. Inc. Διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἡσαΐας· ὅτι καθεζομένου μου ποτὲ πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου …, des. … καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὁ γέρων, ἐπένθει διηνεκῶς τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ παιδός. Unidentified.

13. (ff. 298-298v) **Theodosios (alias Theophilos), *Confessional Prayer***, *Εὐχὴ ἐξομολογητικῇ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἐκ πολλῶν ἐρανισθεῖσα καὶ συντεθεῖσα, ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοφίλου· ἣν ὀφείλει λέγειν*

*πάντοτε, πᾶς ὁ κατ' ἐμὲ ἁμαρτήσας, καὶ ποθῶν συγχωρήσεως τεύξασθαι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνοημάτων, καὶ παραβάσεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συνθηκῶν· ἐξαιρέτως δὲ, ἐν τῇ τῶν θείων μεταλήψει μυστηρίων.* cod. Inc. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἀνάξιον …, des. … ἐν ἐπιβουλαῖς· ἐν συκοφαντείαις· ἐν συμβουλίαις πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν. Unidentified.

14. (ff. 299-362v), **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins,*** *Ἔλεγχοι ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.

15. (ff. 363-365v) **Mark Eugenikos,** ***Confession of the Orthodox faith,*** *Ὁμολογία πίστεως, τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν, Μάρκου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐφέσου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, καὶ νέου θεολόγου, τοῦ ἀνατρέψαντος τὴν ἄθεσμον ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ σύνοδον.* cod. Inc. Ἐγὼ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς εὐσεβέσιν …, des. … πάντων τῶν αἱρετικῶν, οἵτινες κἂν εἶεν, μέχρι τελευταίας μου ἀναπνοῆς. (with different ending). Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici,* pp. 127-134.

16. (ff. 366-372v) **<Anonymous>,** ***Scriptural, patristic testimonies and conciliar decrees against the heretics,*** *Μαρτυρίαι θεῖαι καὶ ὅροι κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἐκτεθεῖσαι, παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, συνόδων τὲ ἱερῶν, καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων. Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.* cod. Inc. Φεύγετε τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἀκαθάρτων αἱρετικῶν· καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίας …, des. … καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται, κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων κανόνας. Unidentified.

17. (ff. 372v-376v) **<Anonymous>,** ***Additional testimonies prohibiting communion with the heretics,*** *Ἔτι γραφικαὶ μαρτυρίαι, περὶ τοῦ μὴ συγκοινωνεῖν τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς. Ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων.* cod. Inc. Ὅτι βεβηλοῦσι τὰ ἅγια οἱ αἱρετικοὶ καὶ ἐναγεῖς, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν ἐν ἐκκλησία προσιέναι …, des. … οὕτω φησὶ, ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἔστι προσθῆναι· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφελεῖν. Cf. eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 2, pp. 1-112.

18. (ff. 376v-383) **Mark Eugenikos,** ***Circular letter to the Orthodox churches,*** *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου, ὀρθοδοξωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς καὶ τῶν νήσων, εὑρισκομένοις χριστιανοῖς, Μάρκος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐφέσου μητροπόλεως ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.* cod. Inc. Οἱ τὴν κακὴν ἡμᾶς

αἰχμαλωσίαν, αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βαβυλῶνα τῶν λατινικῶν …, des. … πᾶσαν δόξαν, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησιν, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici,* pp. 141-151.

19. (ff. 383v-387) **Mark Eugenikos, *Confession of the Orthodox faith,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενίκου, ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, ἐγγράφως ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ ἡνίκα ἐτράπη εἰς τὸ Λατινικὸν ἡ ἄθεσμος σύνοδος.* cod. Inc. Ἐγὼ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς εὐσεβέσι …, des. … ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιφερόμενος, τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici,* pp. 127-134.

20. (ff. 387-389v) ***Synodal decision of the Patriarchs, Philotheos, Dorotheos and Ioakeim on the decree of the Council of Florence,*** *Συνοδικὴ διάγνωσις καὶ ἀπόφασις· τῶν ἁγιωτάτων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τριῶν πατριαρχῶν, Φιλοθέου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δωροθέου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰωακείμ Ἱεροσολύμων, περί τε τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ γενομένης συνόδου, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν λατινοφρόνων χειροτονηθέντων.* cod. Inc. Ἐπειδὴ ἦκε καὶ ὁ πανιερώτατος μητροπολίτης ἐνταῦθα, τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως …, des. … ἰδιοχείρως, ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ τοῦ ,ՀՊνα′ ἔτους, ν′ Հ′. Eds. G. Hofmann, Th. O'Shaughnessy and I. Simon, *Orientalium documenta minora*, Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores, Ser. A, vol. III, fasc. 3 (Rome, 1953), no. 45, pp. 69-72.

21. (ff. 389v-393) ***The decree of the Ecumenical Council convened to refute the Council of Florence****, Ὅρος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, ἥτις ἐπὶ ἀνατροπῇ συνέστη τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ.* cod. Inc. Ἡ ἁγία αὕτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ συνόδος ἡ ἐπὶ νεύσει καὶ χάριτι θεία …, des. … Θεόδουλος, τὰ ἄνωθεν βεβαι(ὼν) ὁρίσαν ὑπέγραφ(ει). Eds. Hofmann, O'Shaughnessy and Simon, *Orientalium documenta minora*, Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores, Ser. A, vol. III, fasc. 3 no. 45, pp. 68-72.

22. (ff. 393-396) <**Symeon of Trebizond**>, ***Service for those who return to the Orthodox faith from the Latin heresies****, Ἀκολουθία τυπωθεῖσα ὑπ'αὐτῆς τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου, εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν λατινικῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπιστρέφοντας τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ τὲ καὶ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.* cod. Inc. Ἐτυπώθει δ′ αὕτη, ἐν ἔτει ,ՀՊՀβ′ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει …, des. … ἐπεδόθη τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ed. M. I.

Gedeon, *Κανονικαὶ διατάξεις: Ἐπιστολαί, λύσεις, θεσπίσματα τῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου μέχρι Διονυσίου τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀδριανουπόλεως*, vol. 2 (Constantinople, 1889), pp. 65-69.

23. (ff. 396-413) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the reason of the Latin schism from the Greek Church,*** *Κατὰ ποῖον καιρὸν καὶ πότε, καὶ παρὰ τίνων αἱρεσιωτῶν οἱ Ἰταλοὶ ἐδιδάχθησαν, καὶ ἄζυμα θύειν*, cod. Inc. Ἐν τῇ ζ' ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ σύνόδῳ, βασιλεύοντος Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Εἰρήνης …, des. … βασιλικοῦ κλήρου, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι, σὺν τοῖς νοταρίοις. Ed. Hergenröther, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium*, pp. 163-171.

24. (ff. 413v-424) ***Letter to Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos by the Athonite monks,*** *Ἐπιστολῇ ἀποσταλεῖσα παρὰ τῶν Ἁγιορειτῶν πάντων, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον, ὁμολογητικὴ.* cod. Inc. Κράτιστε· θεόσεπτε· θεομεγάλυντε, ἅγιε ἡμῶν δέσποτα …, des. … ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τηρήσομεν· χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἀμήν. Eds. V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)*, AOC 16 (Paris, 1976), pp. 377-403 (our codex under siglum A).

25. (ff. 424-427) ***Narration on the execution of the twenty-six Martyrs of Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos,*** *Διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁσίων πατέρων, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθῳ, ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ βασιλέως τοῦ λατινόφρονος καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ Λατίνων καὶ λατινοφρόνων.* cod. Inc. Μιχαὴλ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Παλαιολόγων, τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν σκῆπτρον διέποντος …, des. … νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Unidentified.

26. (ff. 427-428) **Neilos** <**Kabasilas? of Ankyra** or **Damylas**> , *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν, Νείλου.* cod. Inc. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καταλήψομαι ὧδε· τοῦ λόγου δὲ, τῷ τέλει ἐγγίζοντος, τὸν μέγαν …, des. … σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Unidentified.

27. (ff. 428-430) **Photius Patriarch of Constantinople,** ***On the primacy of the throne of Rome,*** *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Φωτίου πατριάρχου, ὡς ἡ Ῥώμη οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτος θρόνος καὶ πάντων ὑπερέχων.* cod. Inc. Φησὶν ὁ Λατίνος, σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησία …, des. … ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, τοῦ σοφοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως. Cf. ed. M. Gordillo, 'Photius et

Primatus Romanus, num Photius habendus sit auctor opusculi Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς ἡ Ῥώμη θρόνος πρῶτος?' *OCP* 6 (1940), 11.20-17.28.

28. (ff. 430r-v) **Mark Eugenikos, *Testament,*** *Διαθήκη τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ.* cod. Inc. Βούλομαι πλατύτερον τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην εἰπεῖν …, des. … καὶ εἰρήνην τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ. Ed. Petit, *Marci Eugenici,* pp. 176-181.

29. (ff. 431r-v) <**Mark Eugenikos**>, ***Analogies between sins and punishments,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἀναλογίαι τῶν ἀπειλουμένων κολάσεων πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.* cod. Inc. Σκότος ἐστὶ βαθὺ, καὶ ἐξώτερον· τοῖς τὸ ἔνδον ἀγαπήσασι σκότος τῆς ἀγνωσίας …, des. … ἁμαρτίας, καὶ τῆς θείας ἑαυτὴν χωρήσασα. Unidentified.

30. (ff. 431v-435v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On laymen who accepted heretical teachings and those who are in communion with them,*** *Περὶ τῶν ὑπογραψάντων κοσμικῶν ἐν τῇ αἱρέσει καὶ κοινωνούντων, εἰ χρὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις κοσμικοῖς, συνεσθίειν ἢ ἐπισκόποις ἢ μοναχοῖς ἢ ἱερεῦσι.* cod. Inc. Ἡ ἀδιαφορία, τῶν κακῶν τὸ αἴτιον, ἀναμέσον γὰρ καθαροῦ καὶ βεβήλου …, des. … εὐθυδρομούντων εἰς κατάρτησιν μίαν. Eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* vol. 4, pp. 431ζ-431ε.

31. (ff. 435v-437) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the empire of the Christians,*** *Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν χριστιανῶν.* cod. Inc. Ἡ βασιλεία τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἥτις καὶ βασιλεία Ῥωμαίων ἦν …, des. … τῷ χριστιανῷ, καὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς πόλεως, ἔτος ,ⷭ,ⷯ,ⷪξα′ (AD 1453). Unidentified.

32. (ff. 437-441v) **Neilos <Kabasilas>**, ***Brief response to the Latins,*** *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Νείλου, Ἀπάντησις σαφῆς τε καὶ σύντομος πρὸς Λατίνους.* cod. Inc. Τῶν ἐν τῇ θεολογία δογμάτων, τὰ μέν εἰσι ῥητῶς κείμενα …, des. … πόθεν ἔξουσι λατῖνοι, τὰ τοιαῦτα πιστὰ δεικνύναι. Ed. Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas,* pp. 208-213.

33. (ff. 441v-446v) **Theodosios (alias Theophilos), *Exposition of faith,*** *Ἔκθεσις πίστεως τοῦ εὐτελοῦς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοφίλου.* cod. Inc. Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς …, des. … ὁμολογῶν καὶ γράψας, οἰκεία χειρὶ καὶ γνώμη, ἤδη βεβαιῶν, ὑπογράφω. Unidentified.

**Z** ***Athos, Vatopedi MS.*** **484** (only ff. 1-46v examined through printed facsimiles).[214]

16th century; paper; 210x140; mm.; ff. 295; 1 (35, 48-49) (Plates 42-43)

**Contents: Miscellaneous** texts

1. (ff. 1- 46v) **Matthaios <Blastares>**, ***Refutation of the errors of the Latins,*** *Ἔλεγχος ὥδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου.* cod. Inc. Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ..., des. ... τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Ed. below, pp. 269-462.
2. (ff. 51-58v) **Neilos Kabasilas,** ***Against the Italians,*** *Νείλου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Καβάσιλα κατὰ Ἰταλῶν πρόχειρον.* Ed. Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas,* pp. 208-213 (our codex under siglum B).
3. (ff. 59-61) **Nicholas Kabasilas,** ***On the sacred vestments,*** *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κὺρ Νικολάου τοῦ Καβάσιλα εἰς τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολήν.* Cf. ed. Bornert, 'Nicolas Cabasilas. Explication des ornements sacrés', pp. 363-381.
4. (ff. 61v-63) **Peter the deacon,** ***Answers to Questions,*** *Ἐρωτήματα ἅπερ ἔλυσεν ὁ τιμιώτατος Χαρτοφύλαξ κὺρ Πέτρος καὶ διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἔτει ,Ϛχ'* (AD 1192). Cf. eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 5, pp. 369-373.
5. (ff. 63v-65) **<Konstantinos> Harmenopoulos,** ***Epitome of Canon Law,*** *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων ὑπὸ Ἁρμενοπούλου.* Cf. PG 150, cols. 45.1-68.32.
6. (f. 65v) **<Konstantinos Harmenopoulos>**, ***On the Orthodox Faith,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου*. Cf. PG 150, cols. 29.11-32.36.
7. (ff. 66-68v) **<Konstantinos Harmenopoulos>**, ***On heresies,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Περὶ ὧν κατὰ καιροὺς αἱρετικοὶ ἐδόξασαν*. Cf. PG 150, cols. 20.1-29.6.
8. (ff. 69-74) **<Patriarch of Constantinople> John <IV> the Faster**, ***On confession,*** *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου διαφοραὶ περὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων κρύφια ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τῶν τούτους ἀναδεχομένων.*

[214] For a brief description of the codex see Eustratiades & Arcadios, *Catalogue*, p. 99. See above, pp. 112-113.

9. (f. 74v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Letter to a spiritual father,*** *Ἐνταλτήριον γράμμα εἰς πνευματικὸν πατέρα.*

10. (ff. 75-82v) **Symeon of Thessalonike, *Exposition on the testimonies on the Creed,*** *Ἔκθεσις ἀναγκαιοτάτη Συμεὼν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου συμβόλου ῥήσεων ὅθεν συνελέγησαν καὶ κατὰ τίνων αὗται συγκείμεναί εἰσι.* Ed. PG 155, cols. 804-817.

11. (ff. 83-106v) **Hieromonk and Synkelos Ioasaph, *On the hymn "Joyous light",*** *Ἰωάσαφ ἱερομονάχου καὶ μεγάλου συγγέλου ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἐξ αἰτήσεως τοῦ ἐν μοναχοῖς Ἀνατολίου πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἡ ἐν τέλει ἐπιστολή.*

12. (ff. 107-121v) **Anastasios of Sinai, *Questions and Answers,*** *Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου πυνθανομένου εἰ ἔχει ὅρον ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ οὔ.*

13. (ff. 122r-v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Genealogy of James the brother of Christ,*** *Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου γενεαλογία.*

14. (ff. 123-138v) **John Chrysostom**, ***Orations on priesthood,*** *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγοι περὶ ἱερωσύνης.*

15. (ff. 139-150v) <**John Chrysostom**>, ***On Lazarus and Joseph,*** *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Λάζαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ.*

16. (ff. 151-152) <**Anonymous**>, ***Brief Interpretation on the Lord's prayer,*** *Ἑρμηνεία σύντομος εἰς τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν.*

17. (ff. 152v-154v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On the Church, the priests and the holy liturgy,*** *Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἱερέων καὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας.*

18. (ff. 155-157v) <**Anonymous**>, ***On confessors,*** *Περὶ πνευματικῶν τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων ἐνταλτήριον ἐν τῷ συναξαρίῳ γεγραμμένον.*

19. (ff. 158-168v) <**Anonymous**>, ***untitled Oration,*** *Λόγος (ανεπίγραφος)*

20. (ff. 169-170v) **Gregory of Sinai, *On How to pray,*** *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου πῶς δεῖ ἐνεργεῖν τὴν προσευχήν.*

21. (ff. 171-179v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Letter to hieromonk Joseph,*** *Ἐπιστολὴ ἀδήλου τῷ ἱερομονάχῳ Ἰωσήφ.*

22. (ff. 180-183v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Oration on the Annunciation,*** *Λόγος εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμὸν.*

23. (ff. 184-197v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Oration on thePalm Sunday,*** *Λόγος εἰς τὰ Βάια.*

24. (ff. 198-210) <**Anonymous**>, ***Oration on the Epiphany***, *Λόγος εἰς τὰ Φῶτα.*

25. (ff. 210v-211v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Prayer to a deaceased***, *Συγχωρητικὸν εἰς τεθνηκότα.*

26. (ff. 212-219v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Apologia of a Christian against the Jews***, *Ἀπολογία χριστιανοῦ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων.*

27. (ff. 220-227v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Chapters from various interpreters on Genesis***, *Κεφάλαια ἐκ διαφόρων ἑρμηνευτῶν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως.*

28. (ff. 228-234v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Interpretation of the eleventh morning Gospel***, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς το ια′ ἑωθινὸν εὐαγγέλιον.*

29. (ff. 235-239) <**Anonymous**>, ***Oration on the Second Sunday of Lent***, *Λόγος εἰς τὴν β′ Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν.*

30. (ff. 239v-241) **John Chrysostom**, ***On Repentance***, *Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μετανοοῦντα μὴ μόνον ἐν τῇ πράξει μετανοεῖν καὶ ἀφίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ.*

31. (ff. 241v-242v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Which are the Books of the Old Testament***, *Πόσα εἰσὶ τὰ βιβλία τῆς Π. Διαθήκης.*

32. (ff. 243-247v) **Gregory of Nazianzus, *Quatrains***, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου τετράστιχα.*

33. (ff. 248-250v) ***Maxims and excerpts from Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and others***, *Γνῶμαι καὶ παρεμβολαὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ ἑτέρων.*

34. (ff. 251-253v) **Michael the Synkelos**, ***Confession of the Orthodox faith***, *Μιχαὴλ συγκέλου Ἱεροσολύμων λίβελλος ἤγουν ὁμολογία περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν πίστεως.*

35. (ff. 254r-v) **Justinian the philosopher and martyr**, ***Confession of faith***, *Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος, ὁμολογία πίστεως.*

36. (ff. 255-260) **Maximus the Confessor, *In what way the Bible is called 'man'*,** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ ἄνθρωπος λέγεται ἡ ἁγία Γραφή.*

37. (ff. 260v-262v) **Andrew of Crete, *Excerpts from the Oration on the departed*,** *Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης ἐκ τοῦ εἰς κοιμηθέντας.*

38. (ff. 263-276v) **John Chrysostom, *untitled Oration*,** *Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου λόγος.*

39. (ff. 277v-283v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Response to those who are about to receive the letter of the patriarch in order to be ordained***, *Ἀπολογητικὸς πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀποκομίσαι τὸ μήνυμα τοῦ πατριάρχου εἰς τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης διακόνημα.*

40. (ff. 284-286v) <**Anonymous**>, ***Conquest of Rome by Emperor Constantine I*,** *Κατάληψις τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.*

41. (ff. 287-294v) **Kerameus Bishop of Tauromenia, *Oration on the Trasfiguration***, *Κεραμέως ἐπισκόπου Ταυρομενίας λόγος εἰς τὴν Μεταμόρφωσιν.*

**Script:** Blastares' *Refutation* has been copied by two, so far unidentified hands. Hand A copied ff. 1-44, and hand B copied ff. 44v-46v.

## J Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem ed., *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*[215]

Jassi, 1694; pp. <i-xxiv>+521 (Plates 50-51)

**Contents:**

1. (pp. <iii-vi>) **Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Preface addressed to the former Patriarch of Constantinople Dionysios***. *Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ παναγιωτάτῳ τε καὶ θειοτάτῳ δεσπότῃ καὶ Πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρώην Κυρίῳ Διονυσίῳ, Δοσίθεος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ Πατριάρχης τῆς Ἁγίας Πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.* Inc. Ἡ ποιμαντικὴ τάξις καὶ ἀξία …, des … καὶ δόξα ἀΐδιος ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἀπ' ἀϊδίους αἰῶνας ἀμὴν.

[215] I have examined the copy preserved in the British Library under shelfmark 870.k.5.

2. (pp. <vii-x>) **Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem,** ***Introduction,*** *Δοσίθεος ἐλέῳ θεοῦ Πατριάρχης τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως, πόλεως Ἱεροσολύμων παντὶ τῷ χριστονύμῳ πληρώματι ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.* Inc. ἡγούμεθα ἀδελφοὶ μηδέτῳ ὑμῶν ἀφανὲς εἶναι, ἕκαστον τῶν Πατριαρχῶν ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων …, des … καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας ἀμὴν. Ἐν ἔτει τῷ σωτηρίῳ ,αχϚδ′ (AD 1694): μηνὶ Ὀκτωμβρίῳ.

3. (pp. <xi-xxvi>) ***Table of contents,*** *Πίναξ κεφαλαιώδης.*

4. (pp. 1-205) <**Makarios of Ankyra,** ***Against the Errors of the Latins***>, *Τὸ τοῦ λόγου σὺν Θεῷ προοίμιον, περὶ τοῦ δεῖξαι ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα παριστῶσι καὶ Κανόνες καὶ νόμοι. καὶ πάσα θεία καὶ πατρικὴ γραφὴ, τὰ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πάντη ἔχει τὸ ἀσύστατον.* Inc. Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ δίχα …, des … τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐπιτιμῶνται οἱ παραβαίνοντες. New edition by Ch. Triantafyllopoulos, *An annotated critical edition of the treatise* Against the Errors of the Latins *by Makarios, Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405)*, 2 vols (Unpubished PhD thesis, The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2009), vol. II, pp. 1-401.

5. (pp. 206-273) **John Eugenikos,** ***Antirrhetic of the decree of the Council of Ferrara-Florence,*** *Τοῦ τῇ θεοῦ χάριτι εὐσεβοῦς νομοφύλακος Ἰωάννου Διακόνου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ λόγος ἀντιῤῥητικὸς τοῦ βλασφήμου καὶ ψευδοῦς ὅρου τοῦ ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ, συνταχθέντος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Λατίνους Σύνοδον, ἐκδοθεὶς δὲ ἱερομονάχῳ τινὶ καλουμένῳ Ἰωακεὶμ: μεταγραφεὶς ἐκ διαφόρων πρωτοτύπων διορθωθείς τε καὶ διαιρεθεὶς εἰς κεφάλαια καὶ τμήματα, παρὰ Δοσιθέου Πατριά<ρ>χου Ἱεροσολύμων.* Inc. Τὸν μὲν πάντας ἀνθρώπους πραότητι διαφερόντως νενικηκότα Δαβὶδ …, des … τὸν Πατέρα και τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον Ἀμὴν. New edition by Rossidou-Koutsou, *John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic,* pp. 3-153.

6. (pp. 276-410) <**George**> **Koressios,** <***Handbook on the Procession of the Holy Spirit***>**,** *Τοῦ μακαρίτου Γεωργίου Κορεσσίου τοῦ Χίου ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. διορθωθὲν ἐν πολλοῖς, καὶ διαιρεθὲν εἰς κεφάλαια καὶ τμήματα παρὰ Δοσιθέου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων.* Inc. Ἐχεμένοις ἡμῖν τῆς προόδου περὶ τοῦ θείου …, des … ταῦτα διάφορα ὄντα οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶ στερήσεις.

7. (pp. 412-420) **Makarios Makres,** ***Ten chapters on the Procession of the Holy Spirit***, *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κὺρ Μακαρίου τοῦ κατὰ κόσμον Μακρὴ. Πρὸς Λατίνους. Ὅτι τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεσθαι οὔτε ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ καινοτομία, τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως. Διῄρηται δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐν ι′ κεφαλαίοις.* Inc. Τὰ θεῖα τῶν Χριστιανῶν δόγματα, καὶ ἡ πίστις οὐκ ἀπ′ ἀνθρώπων …, des. … οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη κοινὸν αὐτοῖς, καὶ λατίνους. New edition by A. Argyriou, *Μακαρίου τοῦ Μακρῆ συγγράμματα*, BKM, 25 (Thessalonike, 1996), pp. 49-63.

8. (pp. 422-431) **<*Response of the clergy of Constantinople against the decrees of the Council of Ferrara-Florence addressed to the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos*>.** *Συναχθέντες οἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εὑρισκόμενοι ἀρχιερεῖς καθηγούμενοι καὶ πνευματικοὶ ταύτην ἐξέθηκαν πρὸς τὸν Βασιλέα τὴν Ἀπολογίαν.* Inc. Ἐπεὶ ὡρίσθημεν παρὰ τῆς κραταιᾶς καὶ ἁγίας βασιλείας σου ..., des. … τοῖς δὲ ἀγαπῶσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀρκοῦσαν ἴσως παρεχόμεθα τὴν πληροφορίαν.

9. (pp. 432-439) **Maximus the Confessor and Theodore Agallianos, <Dogmatic Chapters>.** *Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου περὶ τῶν δύο φύσεων τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅτι Ἄρειος καὶ Νεστόριος τόν τε τῆς θεολογίας, καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας λόγον διαίρεσι, Σαβέλλιος δὲ καὶ Εὐτυχὴς ἀπεναντίας τούτων συγχέουσι. Καὶ Θεοδώρου Διακόνου τοῦ Ἀγαλλιανοῦ καὶ Ἱερομνήμονος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας συλλογὴ ἐκ τῶν Ἁγίων ὅτι πρὸς τὰ δογματικὰ κεφάλαια σύμφωνα ὄντα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἁγίοις ἀντιπαρεξεταζομένη τῶν Λατίνων ἡ δόξα οὐχ εὑρισκεται σύμφωνος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παντοίᾳ αἱρέσει σύμφωνος καὶ ἔξω τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας.* Inc. Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου. Ἄρειος τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογεῖ …, des. … πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ἀμὴν.

10. (pp. 439-441) **<Anonymous>**, ***Section of a treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit***>, *Μέρος ἔκτινος λόγου κατὰ Λατίνων περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ λείπει.* Inc. Τι δὲ κεκίνηκεν Ἰταλοὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ..., des. ... ἐπιζητεῖ διδάσκαλον ἄλλον, εἰ μὴ προφανῶς μέμηνεν.

11.(pp. 441-456) <**Matthaios**> **Blastares,** <***Refutation of the errors of the Latins***>, *Ἐκ τοῦ β′ βιβλίου τοῦ Βλαστάρεως μέρη κατὰ Λατίνων.* Inc. Ἀλλά γε τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτῶν νεανιεύμασιν, οὕτως ἐπ′ ἔσχατα …, des … τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀργιζομενὴ τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς οἶκτον οὐκ ἀποτίθεται. Re-edited below, pp. 401-462.

12.(pp. 457-521) ***The Acts of the Council held in St Sophia <in Constantinople, 1450>,*** *Σύνοδος ὑστάτη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπιτελεσθείσα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ, μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ λατινοφρόνου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου τοῦ ἀπατηθέτος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐπὶ βοηθείᾳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς συμφρονήσαντος τῷ ὀρθοδόξῳ δόδματι (leg. δόγματι), ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Βασιλέως.* Inc. Συνεληλυθότες οἱ τρεῖς πατριαρχαι …, des … φέροντος κακείνου ὡς ὀργάνου πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν.

**Subscriptions:** in pp. 456 and 521 it is stated that the volume was printed in Jassi of Moldavia, in February 1694, by Demetrios Padouras and at the expense of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem: ἐτυπώθει ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐν Γιασίῳ τῆς Μολδοβίας ἀναλώμασι τοῦ ἁγίου Τάφου, ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ ,αχϚδ: κατὰ μῆνα φευρουάριον (February 1694); p. 521: ἐτυπώθει παρὰ Δημητρίου Παδοῦρα ἐν Γιασίῳ τῆς Μολδοβίας, ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ ,αχϚδ: κατὰ μῆνα Φευρουάριον (February 1694).

## T Leo Allatius (= Leone Allaci), *In Roberti Creyghtoni apparatum, versionem & notas ad historiam concilii Florentini scriptam a Silvestro Syropulo de unione inter Graecos & Latinos, exercitationes, pars prima*[216]

Rome, 1665; pp. <i-xxvi>+736; 4º (Plates 52-53)

(pp. 331-332) **Matthaios** <**Blastares**>, <***Refutation of the errors of the Latins***>, Excerpt from Chapter [**49**].

[216] I have examined the copy preserved in the British Library under shelfmark 1570/3445.

## Palaeographical and textual examination

Of the eleven manuscripts examined, ten codices (**A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **L**, **M**, **O V, W** and **Z**) contain Blastares' entire *Refutation of the errors of the Latins*, while **G** omits chapter **45** concerning the theorem on the number 2000. The fact that this chapter is also omitted in the partial edition of Dositheos (**J**) which contains only the last chapters of the text (§ **37.**66-**44.7**, § **46-60**), suggests a close link between **G** and **J**. The text in **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **L**, **M**, **O**, **V**, **W**, and **Z**, is preceded by the title: *Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου* (*Refutation of the deception of the Latins, by the humble wretched Matthaios the priest and monk*) (the ink in **Z** has faded in the course of time).[217] **J** gives a shorter title, specifying that it contains 'sections of the second book of Blastares against the Latins' (*Ἐκ τοῦ β' βιβλίου τοῦ Βλαστάρεως μέρη κατὰ Λατίνων*), without specifying whether this 'book' refers to the *Refutation* (the first being the *Syntagma*) or Book II of the *Refutation*.[218] **G** omits the title of the work, giving only the name of the author: *τοῦ κυροῦ Ματθαίου τοῦ Βλάσταρη*.[219]

The text in all MSS was copied continuously. Only **B** contains pages or sections which were left blank, ff. 264v (Plate 8), 277v, 285βv, as the ink from the recto folios penetrated the paper making it difficult to write, though in the case of ff. 257v and 273βv for no apparent reason.[220] The text is divided into unnumbered chapters introduced by an enlarged initial letter. Chapter titles, usually in different colour of ink (red or light brown, difficult to distinguish from the microfilms) preceded by various reference marks which link the titles with the text, appear in the margins, with the exception of **A** where the titles were incorporated in the text.

The script in all MSS is minuscule mixed with majuscule letterforms. The hands in **A**, **B**, **G**, **M**, **O**, **V** are disciplined and calligraphic, while **C** (Stephanos of Medeia), seems

[217] See below, Plates 1, 7, 12, 23, 31, 37, 40, 43-45, 48.

[218] See below, Plate 50; cf. above, pp. 107-108.

[219] See below, Plate 27.

[220] In codex **A**, there are at least two cases in the section of the *Refutation* in which folios are missing. These folios most probably fell apart or removed from the codex before a later hand added the Indian numbering of the folios, since the numbering appears to be continuous. The first case, possibly with two folios missing, is between ff. 159v and 160r, which must have contained sections **37.**23-**38.**3 of the *Refutation*, while in the second case, between ff. 173v and 174r, one folio is missing, which must have contained section **45.**6-31 of the *Refutation*.

to be a scholarly, confident hand, less interested in the aesthetic appearance of the text. **L** (Nikolaos Melachrinos) and **Z** are more dynamic hands, while **D** and **W**, are calligraphic but not so disciplined. The scribes in **G**, **V** and **L** have the tendency to extended the tails of letters in the margins mainly in ( ) *lambda* and ( ) double *lambda*. In addition **B** extends the tails of the abbreviated form of και ( ), and **D** follows the same pattern for και ( ) and εκ ( ).

The scribes in all MSS made extensive use of ligatures, abbreviations, contracted *nomina sacra* and suspended proper names. Also Dositheos' edition, following the convention in early printed books, employed abbreviated type sorts, mainly in word endings. Contracted or suspended names in the MSS. are accompanied by a wavy dash placed on the top. The same symbol was also employed over the propositions εκ and δια (with accents and breathings omitted) to distinguish their use as terms in relation to the emanation of the divine hypostases. **D** and **O** used the symbol for σελήνη ( ), and **D** for ἥλιος ( ), in contrast to the rest of the MSS which give the full words. Greek numbers are extensively used in all MSS replacing ordinal words (for example, β′ for δεύτερον, ϱ′ for ἑκατόν, ιε′ for πεντεκαιδεκάτη, νβ′ τῆς ϛ′ for πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἕκτης, οβ′ for ἑβδομηκοστὸς δεύτερος, etc.).[221]

Mute *iota* is omitted by the scribes, with a few exceptions in **C**, **O**, **V** and **Z**, and in particular **M** where it was more extensively introduced in its subscript form, while in the Dositheos edition *iota* subscript is regularly used. The indefinite pronouns τὶς and τὶ and of the particle τὲ are accentuated by all scribes, following standard Byzantine convention.[222] Double accents over μὲν and δὲ as well as ἐπεὶ and ἂν for rhetorical emphasis appear in very few cases in **B**, **G**, **V** and **W**.[223] The medieval practice of placing double dot (*diplē stigmē*) over *iota* and *upsilon* without denoting a real distinction of sounds, was also used by all scribes. Apostrophe was used frequently in all MSS. to mark the elision of a vowel. In **W** the scribe has the tendency to incorrectly

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[221] See below, pp. 206-210.

[222] See below, pp. 182-183. On this convention, see J. Noret, 'Quand donc rendrons-nous à quantité d'indéfinis, prétendument enclitiques, l'accent qui leur revient?' *B* 57 (1987), 191-195; idem, 'L'accentuation de τε en grec byzantin', *B* 68 (1988), 516-518.

[223] See below, p. 183. On this convention, see K. Oikonomakos, 'Ἀγαθὸν τὸ διτονεῖν?', *B* 75 (2005), 295-309.

opt for ἐξ' αὐτοῦ instead of ἐξ αὐτοῦ.[224] *Hyphen* was used in a number of cases to indicate joining of words and syllables in **C**, **M**, **O**, **L** and **W.**

The punctuation system followed by the scribes in order to distinguish various degrees of pause, is not identical. **C**, **M**, **O**, **V** and **W** used a similar system of progressive pauses, including a lower point ( **.** ), middle point ( · ), middle comma ( ˏ ), comma ( , ) and upper point ( ˙ ). The large number of these punctuation signs, which follow standard Byzantine conventions,[225] often obfuscate the understanding of the text though facilitate the speaker. This shows that the text in these five codices was copied most probably with the intention of delivering it aloud. In contrast, **J** used a more limited number of signs and a simpler punctuation system, employing upper ( · ) and lower point ( **.** ), and lower comma ( , ), which indicates that the text in this codex was copied to be read in silence rather than to be delivered aloud. End of paragraph is marked with a combination of a colon ( **:** ) in **A**, **B**, **O** and **Z**; a colon followed by a middle point ( **:·** ) in **D, G**, **L**, **M**, **V** and **W**; a colon and a wavy dash ( **:~** ), frequently used as a full-stop, in **C**, **V** and **M**; and a colon with a cross ( **:+** ) in **L**. The sign of interrogation ( **;** ) is placed at the end of indirect or hypothetical questions.[226]

To indicate Scriptural and patristic citations in the text, **A**, **D**, **G**, **M**, **O**, **V** and **W** placed the sign of *haplē* ( › ) in the left hand margin, while **B** and **L** followed the same convention; **L** places this sign ( › ) either on the left or right hand margin and **B** uses both signs ( › or ‹ ), either on the left or right hand sides of the text. The symbol of *diplē* ( » ) in the left hand margin was used in **Z**, while **C** used both symbols ( › and » ) in the same margin to mark Scriptural and patristic citations. A large number of notes is used by all scribes to mark passages from Greek and Latin Fathers, giving the name of each Father in the margin, either in full or abbreviated form. In some cases **B** and **G** placed these notes vertically in the margin.

Various methods were also employed by the scribes or corrective hands to mark corrections or draw the reader's attention to important passages. The indicator in the

[224] See below, p. 189.

[225] See J. Noret, 'Notes de ponctuation et accentuation byzantines', *B* 65 (1995), 69-88.

[226] On this convention see C.B. Randolph, 'The Sign of Interrogation in Greek Minuscule Manuscripts', *Classical Philology* V (1910), 309-319.

form of a hand pointing, not unusual in medieval MSS., was used in **A** both by the scribe who copied the text and by a later hand.[227] In **G** the same indicator marks Dositheos' point of departure in his edition, which seems to confirm the close relation between **G** and **J**.[228] The abbreviated form for ση(μείωσαι) ( ), signifying the importance of the passage, is extensively used in all MSS examined. Corrections introduced in all MSS by the scribe or corrector/s, mostly referring to errors due to confusion of sounds,[229] superimposed letters and words,[230] show an attempt to preserve the aesthetic appearance of the text. In cases where this was not possible, words and phrases (**C**, **D**, **L**, **V**, **W**, **Z**), even several lines of text (**G**), were simply crossed out;[231] **C**, **W** and **Z** also employed the conventional method of deletion by encircling the erroneous element or passage with dots.[232] Superscribed Greek numbers (α′ and β′) were used by **B**, **C**, **G** and **Z** to mark transposition of words in the text.[233] **C** used the abbreviated form of the word γρ(άφε) ( ), to instruct the reader of the correct word order in a phrase.[234]

[227] See below, Plate 6.
[228] See below, Plate 34.
[229] See below, p. 196.
[230] See below, pp. 200-201.
[231] See below, p. 199 and Plates 13, 31-32.
[232] See below, p. 199 and Plates 20, 35-36.
[233] See below, pp. 201-202 and Plate 14.
[234] See below, p. 202 and Plate 16.

## A. List of Errors

### 1. Errors due to confusion of sounds

### i. Itacisms

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** ἐπιμένει for ἐπιμένη **[53.17] ;** πατρόφυλον for πατρόφιλον **[52.38]**

**A** against **BCDGLMOVW** ἀσύγχητον for ἀσύγχυτον **[12.11]**

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** Οἰ δὲ for Εἰ δὲ **[31.5] ;** κλίσει for κλήσει **[26.40] ;** χωρεῖον for χωρίον **[6.69]**

**A** against **BCDLMOVWZ** εἴπης for εἴποις **[7.1] ;** παραλειπεῖν for παραλιπεῖν **[4.1]**

**A** against **BDGLOWZ** γνώσει for γνώση **[6.61]**

**A** against **BDGOWZ** ἠνοίξατο for ἠνίξατο **[9.33]**

**A** against **CDGLMOVWZ** ἀνομίων for ἀνομοίων **[2.33] ;** χωρίσαι for χωρῆσαι **[1.17]**

**A** against **CDMOVW** καταλίγων for καταλήγων **[45.72]**

**A** against **CGLMVW** ὑποπτύσσων for ὑποπτήσσων **[21.16]**

**ACGLMW** against **BDOVZ** τοιχορύχου for τοιχωρύχου **[27.1.28]**

**ADW** against **BCGLMOZ** ἤδη for ἤδει **[24.1.1.3.2]**

**AG** against **BCLMOVWZ** αἱρεῖτο for αἱροῖτο **[22.3]**

**AGJ** against **CDLMOVZ** οὐχὶ for οὐχ οἱ **[39.30]**

**AGL** against **BCDMOVWZ** ἑαυτοῖς for ἑαυτῆς **[10.126]**

**AL** against **BCDGMOVWZ** ἐνεστὸς for ἐνεστὼς **[24.1.1.4.5] ;** κτήσιν for κτίσιν **[2.38] ;**

**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** διενινοχέναι for διενηνοχέναι **[56.8] ;** ὁμηγήρεως for ὁμηγύρεως **[38.9] ;** φειλονεικήσαντας for φιλονεικήσαντας **[44.5.31]**

**B** against **ACDGJMOVWZ** ἠγαποιμένου for ἠγαπημένου **[51.11]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἀνεπιρέαστον for ἀνεπηρέαστον **[18.76]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἀκούσις for ἀκούσης **[5.65] ;** δηλούσις for δηλούσης **[15.16] ;** ἔκτησέ με for ἔκτισέ με **[18.32] ;** ἐμφυσίματι for ἐμφυσήματι **[11.2] ;** ἐπιούσις for ἐπιούσης **[27.2.6] ;** ἐπίσις for ἐπίσης **[16.40] ;** ἐπίσις for ἐπίσης **[2.53] ;** ἐπιτήδιον for ἐπιτήδειον **[27.1.15] ;** ἐπιτηρίσας for ἐπιτηρήσας **[27.1.15] ;** λύμιν for λύμην **[3.4] ;** προφήτις for προφήτης **[18.28] ;** ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς **[34.10]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVZ** ἀμηρήσαιεν for ἀμοιρήσαιεν **[24.3]**

**B** against **ACDGMOVW** οἰκότος for εἰκότος **[16.2]**

**B** against **ACDMOVWZ** ἑνωθείσις for ἑνωθείσης **[45.82]**

**B** against **ACGLWZ** εὐθεινούμενοι for εὐθυνούμενοι **[44.1.17]**

**B** against **ACGVZ** συναληφή for συναλοιφὴ **[16.54]**

**B** against **ACLMOVWZ** ἐστήν for ἐστὶν **[45.90]**

**B** against **CDGJLMOVWZ** ἀπολιπόμενα for ἀπολειπόμενα **[37.69]**

**B** against **CDGLMOVWZ** χωρῖσαι for χωρῆσαι **[1. 17]**

**B** against **CDGLMOVZ** πηλουσιώτις for πηλουσιώτης **[19.53]**

**BDGMOVW** against **ACLZ** παραλύοι for παραλύει **[46.33] ;** πατριαρχείας for πατριαρχίας **[55.3]**

**BDM** against **ACLOVZ** μετερρύθμησε for μετερρύθμισε **[24.1.13]**

**BDMO** against **ACGLVZ** φλιαῖς for φλοιαῖς **[23.101]**

**BDMOVGW** against **ACLZ** συνεργία for συνεργεία **[23.145]**

**BDMOVW** against **ACGLZ** ἡμῖν for ὑμῖν **[10.139]**

**BDO** against **ACJLMV** φιλονικείας for φιλονεικίας **[48.21]**

**BDOL** against **CGMVWZ** δεδημιουργεῖσθαι for δεδημιουργῆσθαι **[37.50]**

**BDOV** against **ACGLMWZ** ἁλῶντα for ἁλόντα **[27.1.12] ;** ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς **[26.14]**

**BGJW** against **ACDLMOVZ** καινοτομεῖται for καινοτομῆται **[52.6]**

**BGV** against **ACDLMOWZ** φρενοβλαβίας for φρενοβλαβείας **[32.5]**

**BJOV** against **ACDGLMWZ** μεταχειρίσεως for μεταχειρήσεως **[38.33]**

**BOZ** against **ACDGLMVW** δηλιτηρίω for δηλητηρίω **[23.134]**

**BWZ** against **ACDGLMOV** λέγει for λέγη **[5.68]**

**BZ** against **ACDGLMOV** δωρυφορεῖν for δορυφορεῖν **[27.1.7]**

**C** against **ABDGLMOVWZ** ἔργων for ἔργον **[27.1.11]**

**CGLZ** against **BCDMOVW** πάνυ τοι for πάνυ τι **[37.59]**

**CL** against **BDGMOVWZ** προϋποστάση for προϋποστάσει **[37.32]**

**D** against **ABCDGLMOVW** μετρῆν for μετρεῖν **[5.50]**

**D** against **ABCGJLMOVWZ** ἐκήρωσαν for ἐκύρωσαν **[44.6.20] ;** κηρίως for κυρίως **[44.3.23] ;** χωρήζηται for χωρίζηται **[52.18]**

**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** εὕρησκον for εὕρισκον **[10.112]**

**D** against **ABCGMOVL** ἀντιπίπτην for ἀντιπίπτειν **[8.5]**

**D** against **ABCLMOVW** προμήκις for προμήκης **[45.40]**

**D** against **ABCMOVGLWZ** δῆσθαι for δεῖσθαι **[36.11]**

**D** against **ACGLMOVWZ** φθείρη for φθείρει **[16.71]**

**D** against **BCGLMOVWZ** ἀποδιέσθω for ἀποδυέσθω **[37.63]**

**DLMO** against **AGVWZ** ἀλλὰ ζημίταις for ἀλλὰ ζυμίταις **[28.4.42]**

**DMOW** against **ACGLVZ** ἠνήχετο for ἠνείχετο **[10.87]**

**DMW** against **ABCGLOVZ** πλήρης for πλήρεις **[21.16]**

**DO** against **ACGLMOVWZ** ἠπόρη for ἠπόρει **[23.76]**

**DOW** against **ABCGLMVZ** κατηχιτικοῦ for κατηχητικοῦ **[10.63]**

**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** ἀνέγκλυτος for ἀνέγκλητος **[38.51] ;** δεῖ for δὴ **[50.17] ;** οἰσαρίθμους for ἰσαρίθμους **[44.1.5] ;** ὀνομαστεὶ for ὀνομαστὶ **[47.11]**

**G** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** κατηλεγμένοις for κατειλεγμένοις **[38.11]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** διδασκαλείας for διδασκαλίας **[20.36] ;** εἰ for οἱ **[29.22] ;** ἐμπλήσει for ἐμπλήση **[28.4.8] ;** ἐφ' οἷς for ἐφ' ἧς **[23.49] ;** κοινουμένοις for κινουμένοις **[20.7] ;** μετημήφθη for μετημείφθη **[23.67] ;** προσθῆναι for προσθεῖναι **[19.54] ;** ταμείας for ταμίας **[27.1.21] ;** ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν **[23.66]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVZ** μετερύθμησε for μετερρύθμισε **[24.1.9]** προκατηλειμμένους for προκατειλημμένους **[23.86]**

**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** εἴπεις for εἴποις **[7.1]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** μετείη for μετήει **[43.18]**
**GJW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** Θεοδωρήτου for Θεοδωρίτου **[44.7.15]**
**GLWZ** against **ABCDJMOV** ἐπίσακτα for ἐπείσακτα **[56.10]**
**GW** against **ACLOVZ** μετερύθμησε for μετερρύθμισε **[24.1.13]**
**GWZ** against **ABCDLMOV** δοκεῖ for δοκῆ **[31.21]**
**GWZ** against **ABCODVL** ἐπανθήσει for ἐπανθήση **[27.1.25]**
**GZ** against **ABCDLMOVW** αὐγάσιε for αὐγάσειε **[23.107]**
**GZ** against **ACJLMV** φιλονικίας for φιλονεικίας **[48.21]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** εἴονται for οἴονται **[50.6] ;** ζείτει for ζήτει **[38.30] ;** ἢ for εἰ **[49.11] ;** κιρουλάριος for κηρουλάριος **[49.5] ;** ξυφιλίνου for ξιφιλίνου **[55.3] ;** παραχωρήσης for παραχωρήσεις **[55.3.7] ;** ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν **[54.34] ; J** against **CDMV** μιδεμιᾶς for μηδεμιᾶς **[49.15]**
**JW** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἐπικεχείρικε μὲν γὰρ for ἐπικεχείρηκε μὲν γὰρ **[39.15]**
**L** against **ABCDGJMOVWZ** ἀγώνησαι for ἀγώνισαι **[52.14] ;** Ἀντιοχίας for Ἀντιοχείας **[44.3.8] ;** ἠγαπιμένου for ἠγαπημένου **[51.11] ;** τοῖς for τῆς **[38.8]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVW** ἐπιδεδημικὸς for ἐπιδεδημηκὸς **[11.36] ;** ἔχει for ἔχῃ **[12.14]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἀμφεῖν for ἀμφοῖν **[4.1.8] ;** δεικνεὶς for δεικνὺς **[22.14]** ἡμῖν for ὑμῖν **[5.68] ;** κυρύττουσι κηρύττουσι **[4.2] ;** προσθῆναι for προσθεῖναι **[19.38] ;** φύσης for φύσεις **[10.100] ;** φύσης for φύσεις **[10.104]**
**L** against **ABCGJMVWZ** ὠφεληθείσονται for ὠφεληθήσονται **[53.19]**
**L** against **ABCGMOVWZ** ὑποστάσης for ὑποστάσεις **[16.17]**
**L** against **BCDGMOVWZ** οἱ for εἰ **[37.64]**
**L** against **BCDMOVWZ** βούλοι for βούλει **[45.26]**
**LW** against **ABCDGMOVZ** θεοδωρήτου for θεοδωρίτου **[8.45]**
**OV** against **ACDGJLMWZ** αὐτοῖς for αὐτῆς **[50.20]**
**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** ἐλοιδόρουν for ἐληρώδουν **[44.5.32]**
**VZ** against **ABCGLMOW** συναλειφομένων for συναλοιφομένων **[6.67]**
**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** ἐγγύους for ἐγγείους **[54.5] ;** ἐπεψηφήσαντο for ἐπεψηφίσαντο **[49.13] ;** ἐσπίσατο for ἐσπείσατο **[43.14] ;** κατηχιτικῶ for κατηχητικῶ **[46.26] ;** νομήσας for νομίσας **[49.5] ;** ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν **[58.5]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** διαψηλὲς for διαψιλὲς **[26.41] ;** ἐπισάγειν for ἐπεισάγειν **[19.42] ;** ἐπισάγειν for ἐπεισάγειν **[20.43] ;** καθηρικότας for καθηρηκότας **[17.14] ;** πολυορκούντων for πολιορκούντων **[26.18] ;** τὸν ὅλον for τῶν ὅλων **[27.1.10]**
**W** against **ABCDGMOVZ** ἐπισήγαγε for ἐπεισήγαγε **[26.20]**
**W** against **ABCDLMOV** ὠλιγόρισε for ὠλιγώρησε **[23.59]**
**W** against **ABCDLMOVZ** μετερρύθμησε for μετερρύθμισε **[24.1.9] ;** προκατειλημένους for προκατειλημμένους **[23.86]**
**W** against **ABDGOZ** αὐξιτικὴν for αὐξητικὴν **[24.3.27]**
**W** against **ACGLVZ** φλυαῖς for φλοιαῖς **[23.101]**
**W** against **ACJLMV** φιλονεικείας for φιλονεικίας **[48.21]**
**WZ** against **ABCDGJLMOV** δοκεῖ for δοκῆ **[51.13]**
**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** ἀντιοχίας for ἀντιοχείας **[49.9] ;** ἀπηρημέναις for ἀπειρημέναις **[55.2.34] ;** διέξησι for διέξεισι **[39.12] ;** διήληπται for

διείληπται **[55.3.12] ;** ἐπὶ for ἐπεὶ **[55.3.9] ;** μεμεινήκασιν for μεμενήκασιν **[39.17] ;** ὀρθὼς for ὀρθὸς **[52.6] ;** προκεκρῆσθαι for προκεκρίσθαι **[52.1] ;** φρόνιμα for φρόνημα **[53.12]**

**Z** against **ABCDGJMOVW** εἴποιμοι for εἴποιμι **[56.11]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἐλλειπῶς for ἐλλιπῶς **[28.2.6]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** ἀναβλίζοντος for ἀναβλύζοντος **[24.3.13] ;** αὐτοῖς for αὐτῆς **[27.1.28] ;** γόνυμον for γόνιμον **[7.34] ;** διήληπται for διείληπται **[20.25] ;** δῖνος for δεῖνος **[8.62] ;** εἴδωμεν for ἴδωμεν **[1.45] ;** εἴδωμεν for ἴδωμεν **[31.1] ;** ἐμηχανίσατο for ἐμηχανήσατο **[7.28] ;** ἐπειρείας ἐπηρείας **[9.19] ;** εὐσεβῆ for εὐσεβεῖ **[10.41] ;** ἡ for οἱ **[28.4.26] ;** Ἡ δὲ for Οἱ δὲ **[32.22] ;** κινωνοίαν for κοινωνίαν **[23.53] ;** νομισθοῖεν for νομισθεῖεν **[16.53] ;** συνειδεῖν for συνιδεῖν **[9.28] ;** τῆς for τοῖς **[24.3.1] ;** τοι for τι **[24.3.23] ;** ὑπολείποιτο for ὑπολίποιτο **[31.21]**

**Z** against **ABCDLMOV** ὠλειγώρησε for ὠλιγώρησε **[23.59]**

**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** δανιζόμενος for δανειζόμενος **[51.11] ;** πάντι for πάντη **[50.4] ;** δεδειότας for δεδιότας **[20.43]**

**Z** against **ABCGLMVW** προσλειφθέντα for προσληφθέντα **[32.10]**

**Z** against **ABDLMOVW** ἐξηλεγμένων for ἐξειλεγμένων **[28.4.27]**

**Z** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἀνεπειραίαστον for ἀνεπηρέαστον **[18.76]**

**Z** against **ACDJMOVW** ὀδεινηρὰν for ὀδυνηρὰν **[51.14[**

### ii. Confusion of ε and αι

**A** against **BCDLMOVWZ** σφέρας for σφαίρας **[45.59]**

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVZ** στέλλεσθε for στέλλεσθαι **[59.3]**

**ALW** against **BCDVOG** τῆ ὑστερέα for τῆ ὑστεραία **[23.107]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἀνακταίον for ἀνακτέον **[23.7]**

**D** against **ABCGJLMOVWZ** εἰ δαί for εἰ δέ **[47.1]**

**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** ἀφαιλῶν for ἀφελὼν **[19.28] ;** ἐφεστηκαίναι for ἐφεστηκέναι **[28.7]**

**D** against **BCLMOVWZ** αἰσθήματα for ἐσθήματα **[45.28]**

**DGZ** against **ABCLMOVW** ἀναίδην for ἀνέδην **[21.15]**

**DO** against **ABCGLMVWZ** ὁμολογήσεται for ὁμολογήσετε **[21.10]**

**GLWZ** against **ABCDMOV** ἀναίδην for ἀνέδην **[8.7]**

**GW** against **ABCDLMOV** ἀναίδην (et sscr. ε for ἀνέδην **Z)** for ἀνέδην **[10.89]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** καινοφωνίας for κενοφωνίας **[53.39]**

**L** against **ABCDGJMOVWZ** σφαιτέραν for σφετέραν **[47.6]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἀρχέαν for ἀρχαίαν **[23.112] ;** λυμένεται for λυμαίνεται **[22.15]**

**L** against **ABCGJMOVWZ** διατηρήσεται for διατηρήσετε **[53.19]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἀνταιρεῖ for ἀντερεῖ **[20.39] ;** μέτερε for μέταιρε **[19.47] ;** σάρκαις for σάρκες **[23.103]**

**W** against **ABCDGMOVZ** δικαιοῦσθαι for δικαιοῦσθε **[32.3]**

**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** σφαιτέρας for σφετέρας **[47.11]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** καὶ καυτηριασμένοι for κεκαυτηριασμένοι **[38.49] ;** καινὸν for κενὸν **[43.24]**
**Z** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἀνεπειραίαστον for ἀνεπηρέαστον **[18.76]**
**Z** against **ACGJLMVW** ναβουθὲ for ναβουθαὶ **[52.22]**

### iii. Confusion of o and ω

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** διωγένους for διογένους **[55.4]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ἰδιάζων for ἰδιάζον **[2.50] ;** ἱεροσύνης for ἱερωσύνης **[19.8]**
**A** against **BCDLMOVWZ** αὐτῶν for αὐτὸν **[45.80]**
**A** against **CGLMVWZ** διαφυγὼν for διαφυγὸν **[2.73]**
**ACLZ** against **BDGMOVW** μεῖζον for μείζων **[11.21]**
**AGJLZ** against **BCDMOVW** κρεῖσσον for κρείσσων **[52.33]**
**AL** against **BCDMOVWZ** χολεύοντας for χωλεύοντας **[36.13]**
**AW** against **CDGLMOVZ** πηλουσιότης for πηλουσιώτης **[19.53]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** ἐπονυμίαν for ἐπωνυμίαν **[49.4] ;** κανώνα for κανόνα **[55.2.18]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** εἰσεκόμασεν for εἰσεκώμασεν **[36.2] ;** ἰδιάζων for ἰδιάζον **[2.46] ;** ὅλως for ὅλος **[29.11] ;** ὀνόμασται for ὠνόμασται **[24.3.26]**
**B** against **ACDGMOVWZ** ὑμνοδίας for ὑμνωδίας **[23.35]**
**B** against **ACGJLMOVWZ** χορὶς for χωρὶς **[46.30]**
**B** against **CDGLMOVWZ** μέντη for μέντοι **[37.38]**
**BDOW** against **ACGLMVZ** ἀθετήσωμεν for ἀθετήσομεν **[10.146]**
**BG** against **ACDLMOVWZ** οὑτωσὶ for οὑτοσὶ **[23.13]**
**BGLZ** against **ACDMOVW** ὄντως for ὄντος **[36.4]**
**BGW** against **ACDLMOVZ** νοήσομεν for νοήσωμεν **[5.57]**
**BW** against **ACDGLMOVZ** ἐξοστρακίσωμεν for ἐξοστρακίσομεν **[10.142]**
**D** against **ABCGJLMOVWZ** χοροῦντας for χωροῦντας **[39.5]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVW** δεδιώτας for δεδιότας **[20.43]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** αὐτῶν for αὐτὸν **[6.62] ;** μόνως for μόνος **[6.27] ;** περιέχων for περιέχον **[9.58]**
**D** against **BCGLMOVWZ** δημιουργικὸς for δημιουργικῶς **[37.29]**
**D** for **ABCMOVWZ** πρακτέον πρακτέων **[23.65]**
**DLZ** against **ABCGMOVW** μόνος for μόνως **[7.38]**
**DMOW** against **ABCGVZ** προσκολλόμενα for προσκολλώμενα **[28.2.9]**
**DO** against **ABCGJMVWZ** ὀφεληθήσονται for ὠφεληθήσονται **[53.19]**
**DO** against **ABCGLMVWZ** γεγονὸς for γεγονὼς **[5.15]**
**DOV** against **ACGMWZ** ἀπόνανται for ἀπώνανται **[28.3.8]**
**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** τιμόμενα for τιμώμενα **[39.49]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἀγόνων for ἀγώνων **[24.1.1.2.7] ;** ἀπογενώμενοι for ἀπογενόμενοι **[24.2.5] ;** δογματικός for δογματικῶς **[9.27] ;** ἐυγνομόνως for ἐυγνωμόνως **[30.5] ;** μέσον for μέσων **[29.19] ;** ὁπωσονοῦν for ὁποσονοῦν **[19.59] ;** σοφοτέρους for σοφωτέρους **[19.57] ;** τρεφώμενοι for τρεφόμενοι

**[28.4.14] ;** τῶ for τὸ **[24.1.1.3] ;** τῶ for τὸ **[44.2.15] ;** φυλάττωμεν for φυλάττομεν **[19.25] ;** φυσικὸς for φυσικῶς **[5.71]**

**G** against **ABCDLOV** συνωμολογήσωμεν for συνομολογήσομεν **[8.47]**

**G** against **ABCDLVZ** γεννητῶς for γεννητὸς **[7.4]**

**G** against **ACLMVZ** καθ' ὠμονυμίαν for καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν **[7.31]**

**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** ἐπελθὼν for ἐπελθὸν **[37.45]**

**G** against **BCDLMOVZ** γεννητῶς for γεννητὸς **[7.5]**

**G** against**ABCDLMOV** ὠλιγόρησε for ὠλιγώρησε **[23.59]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἐχόμεθα for ἐχώμεθα **[59.3] ;** οὗτος for οὕτως **[49.18] ;** τῶν for τὸν **[44.2.6]**

**GJLZ** against **ABCDMOVW** κρεωφαγεῖν for κρεοφαγεῖν **[39.36]**

**GJW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** θήσωμεν for θήσομεν **[40.1]**

**GL** against **ABCDMOVW** μόνος for μόνως **[2.48]**

**GW** against **ABCDLMOV** ἀτοποτέρας for ἀτοπωτέρας **[14.7]**

**GW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** εὐαγγελίζονται for εὐαγγελίζωνται **[22.55]**

**GZ** against**ABCDLMOVW** τούτω for τοῦτο **[28.1.2]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** ἀφωρίζεσθαι for ἀφορίζεσθαι **[55.2.18] ;** παράδωσιν for παράδοσιν **[40.10] ;** πογωνάτου for πωγωνάτου **[44.6.7] ;** τῶν for τὸν **[44.3.11]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVZW** ἠλλωτρίωσεν for ἠλλοτρίωσεν **[38.9]**

**J** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** τὸ for τῶ **[54.9]**

**J** against**ABCDGLMOVW** ἀνομολόγηται for ἀνωμολόγηται **[55.2.23]**

**JW** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἀντιπράττομεν for ἀντιπράττωμεν **[52.27] ;** ἀντιταττόμεθα for ἀντιταττώμεθα **[52.26]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVW** παραδώσει for παραδόσει **[20.42-43]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἀξιώχρεω for ἀξιόχρεω **[5.1.17] ;** βεβρωκὸς for βεβρωκὼς **[28.13] ;** ἐμπεφυκὼς for ἐμπεφυκὸς **[8.24] ;** μέσο for μέσω **[23.140] ;** σοφότατοι for σοφώτατοι **[7.9]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVZ** πραιτόριον for πραιτώριον **[27.2.3]**

**L** against **ABCDMOVWZ** ἴσως for ἴσος **[45.63]**

**L** against **ABCGVZ** προσκωλλώμενα for προσκολλώμενα **[28.2.9]**

**LZ** against **ACDGMOVW** εἰκότως for εἰκότος **[16.2]**

**M** against **ABCDGLOVWZ** ἔχον for ἔχων **[28.2.6]**

**M** against **ABCDLOV** συνωμολογήσομεν for συνομολογήσομεν **[8.47]**

**O** against **ABCDLMVWZ** θρόνων for θρόνον **[20.3]**

**OVW** against **ABCDGJLMZ** κρεοφαγίας for κρεωφαγίας **[55.1.7]**

**V** against **ABCDGLMOWZ** τὸν χρόνον for τῶν χρόνων **[32.9]**

**V** against **ACDGLMOZ** ἐναπομώρξατο for ἐναπωμόρξατο **[23.115]**

**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** κληροσαμένους for κληρωσαμένους **[44.7.12] ;** ὁρισμένου for ὡρισμένου **[38.32] ;** τῶ for τὸ **[49.20]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἀπορρίψωμεν for ἀπορρίψομεν **[8.50] ;** δόσωμεν for δώσομεν **[11.14] ;** κληροσαμένων for κληρωσαμένων **[5.6] ;** ὀνόμασεν for ὠνόμασεν **[25.7] ;** τὸ for τῶ **[24.2.2]**

**W** against **ABCDLMOV** ὠλιγόρισε for ὠλιγώρησε **[23.59]**

**W** against **ABCDLMOVZ** οἰκειώτερον for οἰκειότερον **[26.31]**
**W** against **ABCDLOV** συνομολογήσωμεν for συνομολογήσομεν **[8.47]**
**WZ** against **ABCDGLMOV** τρανώτερον for τρανότερον **[23.11]**
**WZ** against **ABCDLMOV** κατοπτεύσωμεν for κατοπτεύσομεν **[45.4]**
**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** αὐτῶν for αὐτὸν **[43.9] ;** εἰδωλωλατρούντων for εἰδωλολατρούντων **[54.31] ;** εἰδωλωμανούντων for εἰδωλομανούντων **[54.25] ;** ἐνεκολπόσατο for ἐνεκολπώσατο **[58.16] ;** ἐξομώσαιντο for ἐξομόσαιντο **[55.3.11] ;** μεταδιδώναι for μεταδιδόναι **[57.2] ;** οἵων for οἷον **[39.33] ;** πειθόμεθα for πειθώμεθα **[51.1] ;** τῶν for τὸν **[44.2.16] ;** χαλεποτέρα for χαλεπωτέρα **[52.23]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἑαυτὸ for ἑαυτῶ **[16.4] ;** μεταπίπτων for μεταπίπτον **[10.8]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** ἀγαπόντος for ἀγαπῶντος **[15.3] ;** γνόμας for γνώμας **[7.28] ;** διωρύξαντός for διορύξαντός **[27.1.29] ;** εἰκότως for εἰκότος **[28.6] ;** ἐφαρμώσας for ἐφαρμόσας **[7.24] ;** ἔχων for ἔχον **[18.79] ;** μόνον for μόνων **[54.8] ;** μόνως for μόνος **[6.58] ;** ὁδὸν for ὁδῶν **[18.33] ;** προϊὼν for προϊὸν **[4.1.13] ;** προσκώματα for προσκόμματα **[10.152] ;** συγγενόμενον for συγγενώμενον **[16.40] ;** ὡρισθεῖσαν for ὁρισθεῖσαν **[19.6]**
**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** συνόδον for συνόδων **[45.8]**
**Z** against **ABCDMOVW** ὑφορόμενοι for ὑφορώμενοι **[10.141]**
**Z** against **ACDGLMOVW** Ὀνόριον for Ὀνώριον **[17.11]**
**Z** against **BCDGLMOVW** τὸ τηνικαῦτα for τ<u>ωτ</u>ηνικαῦτα **[10.156]**
**Z** against **CDMOVW** εἶχετο τότε for εἶχετω τότε **[7.16]**

### iv. Single for double consonants

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** ἔνομον for ἔννομον **[39.47]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** συγγράμασι for συγγράμμασι **[2.2]**
**ABCDGLMOVW** against **JZ** Σάβα for Σάββα **[44.7.11]**
**ABCDLMOV** against **GWZ** νύσης for νύσσης **[5.13]**
**AG** against **BCDLMOVWZ** ἀπόλυται for ἀπόλλυται **[26.13]**
**AZ** against **BCDGLMOVW** συγγράμασιν for συγγράμμασιν **[5.76]**
**B** against **CDGLMOVWZ** ἐλέλειπται for ἐλλέλειπται **[37.44]**
**BCDLMOV** against **AGWZ** νύσης for νύσσης **[2.86] ;** νύσης for νύσσης **[4.33]**
**BD** against **ACGLMOVWZ** ἀλοιοῦσθαι for ἀλλοιοῦσθαι **[21.18]**
**BDGO** against **ACLMZ** γεγένηται for γεγέννηται **[2.97]**
**BDLMOWZ** against **ACGJV** ἐπαγγέληται for ἐπαγγέλληται **[53.16]**
**BGW** against **ACDJLMOVZ** σφαλομένους for σφαλλομένους **[39.16]**
**BGW** against **ACDLMOVZ** γενηθέντος for γεννηθέντος **[2.85]**
**BO** against **ACDGLMVWZ** ἔμελε for ἔμελλε **[24.1.2]**
**BW** against **ACGLMZ** παραρυῶσι for παραρρυῶσι **[10.117]**
**BZ** against **ACDLMOVW** ἄρεσι for ἄρρεσι **[45.70]**
**BZ** against **CGLMVW** ὑποπτήσων for ὑποπτήσσων **[21.16]**
**DLW** against **ABCGJMOVZ** σφαλομένοις for σφαλλομένοις **[56.27]**

**G** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἀναγένησιν for ἀναγέννησιν **[24.8]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἀντιρητικῶν for ἀντιρρητικῶν **[4.23] ;** ἀπαράλακτον for ἀπαράλλακτον **[4.57] ;** ἀπαραλάκτως for ἀπαραλλάκτως **[20.37] ;** ἀπήλακτο for ἀπήλλακτο **[1.2] ;** γένημα for γέννημα **[35.11] ;** ἐγράφως for ἐγγράφως **[35.17]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVZ** μετερύθμησε for μετερρύθμισε **[24.1.9]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** προσλήματος for προσλήμματος **[44.3.13]**

**GW** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** ἀγενήτου for ἀγεννήτου **[60.10] ;** γενᾶται for γεννᾶται **[60.11]**

**GW** against **ABCDLMOV** γενητοῦ for γεννητοῦ **[2.72]**

**GW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** ἀγένητος for ἀγέννητος [**4.40] ;** ἀγενήτου for ἀγεννήτου **[2.72] ;** ἀγενήτω for ἀγεννήτω **[6.18] ;** γεγένηται for γεγέννηται **[2.13] ;** γενητὸν for γεννητὸν **[2.64] ;** γενητὸν for γεννητὸν **[2.71] ;** γενᾶται for γεννᾶται **[2.88] ;** γενητῶς for γεννητῶς **[4.50] ;**

**GW** against **ACLOVZ** μετερύθμησε for μετερρύθμισε **[24.1.13]**

**GZ** against **ABCDJLMOVW** παρερυηκότων for παρερρυηκότων **[44.7.2]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVW** ἔλαμψις for ἔλλαμψις **[6.79]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἀλότριος for ἀλλότριος **[2.79] ;** ἀποστέλεται for ἀποστέλλεται **[5.66]**

**V** against **ABCDGMOLW** ἀγελότης for ἀγγελότης **[9.43]**

**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** στέλεσθαι for στέλλεσθαι **[59.3]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOV** γεγένηται for γεγέννηται **[14.24] ;** γενᾶσθαι γεννᾶσθαι **[14.8] ;** γένησις for γέννησις **[14.11] ;** ἐγένησεν for ἐγέννησεν **[14.30]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἀγένητον for ἀγέννητον **[16.33] ;** ἀγένητον for ἀγέννητον **[16.34] ;** ἀγένητον for ἀγέννητον **[2.64] ;** ἀγένητον for ἀγέννητον **[6.33] ;** ἀγένητον for ἀγέννητον **[8.68] ;** ἀγένητος for ἀγέννητος **[16.45] ;** ἀγενήτου for ἀγεννήτου **[2.45] ;** ἀγενήτου for ἀγεννήτου **[4.10] ;** γενᾶ for γεννᾶ **[16.29] ;** γενᾶ for γεννᾶ **[6.10] ;** γενᾶ for γεννᾶ **[6.9] ;** γενᾶν for γεννᾶν **[16.7] ;** γενᾶσθαι for γεννᾶσθαι **[18.36] ;** γενᾶσθαι for γεννᾶσθαι **[18.44] ;** γενηθέντα for γεννηθέντα **[2.92] ;** γενηθέντι for γεννηθέντι **[6.19] ;** γενηθέντος for γεννηθέντος **[4.11] ;** γενηθὲν for γεννηθὲν **[6.10] ;** γένημα for γέννημα **[5.33] ;** γένησιν for γέννησιν **[18.62] ;** γενητὸν for γεννητὸν **[16.33] ;** γενητὸν for γεννητὸν **[16.41] ;** γενητὸν for γεννητὸν **[6.33] ;** γενητὸν for γεννητὸν **[8.69] ;** γενητοῦ for γεννητοῦ **[4.54] ;** γενήτωρ for γεννήτωρ **[5.32] ;** γενητῶς for γεννητῶς **[2.19] ;** γενητῶς for γεννητῶς **[2.36] ;** γενητῶς for γεννητῶς **[6.20] ;** γενητῶς for γεννητῶς **[6.63]**

**W** against **ABCDGMOVZ** ἐξ ἀγενήτου for ἐξ ἀγεννήτου [**4.49]**

**W** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** μυσατομένης for μυσαττομένης **[49.17]**

**W** against **ABCDLMOVZ** προκατειλημένους for προκατειλημμένους **[23.86]**

**W** against **ABCDLVZ** γενητός for γεννητὸς **[7.4]**

**W** against **ABCGLMVZ** ἀλλ' εξ' ἀγενήτου for ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγεννήτου **[5.57]**

**W** against **ACGLMOVZ** γενητός for γεννητὸς **[16.45]**

**W** against **BCDLMOVZ** γεννητὸς for γενητός **[7.5]**

**W** against **BGLMOVZ** γενητικὴν for γεννητικὴν **[2.25]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** γένησις for γέννησις **[16.34] ;** γενητῶς for γεννητῶς **[6.36]**

**WZ** against **ABCDGLMOV** γεγένηται for γεγέννηται **[6.27]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** δυσέβεια for δυσσέβεια **[2.32] ;** κόκινον for κόκκινον **[23.48]**

## v. Double for single consonants

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ἡμελημμένως for ἡμελημένως **[23.127]**

**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** καταλλόγου for καταλόγου **[46.15] ;** παραπολλέσθαι for παραπολέσθαι **[54.4]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** γεγγραμένων for γεγραμμένων **[19.41] ;** μάλλιστα for μάλιστα **[35.29] ;** παρίττω for παρίτω **[22.9] ;** πολλὺς for πολὺς **[4.1.1]**

**BG** against **ACDLMOVWZ** προβαλλεῖται for προβαλεῖται **[16.73]**

**BGJZ** against **ACDLMOVW** μέλλον for μέλον **[46.5]**

**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** διακεκριμμένον for διακεκριμένον **[23.28]**

**D** against **ABCGLMOW** συναλλοιφομένων for συναλοιφομένων **[6.67]**

**DO** against **ABCGLMVWZ** ὑπερρουσίου for ὑπερουσίου **[6.4]**

**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** ἐξαπατάττω for ἐξαπατάτω **[56.36]**

**G** against **ACDJLMOVWZ** πολλὺ for πολὺ **[43.25]**

**GZ** against **ABCDJLMOVW** ὑπερβαλλέσθαι for ὑπερβαλέσθαι **[54.23]**

**GZ** against **ABCDLMOVW** Ἀλλόγιστον for Ἀλόγιστον **[35.1] ;** ἐννάτου for ἐνάτου **[27.1.32]**

**M** against **ABCDGJLOVWZ** μαννιχαῖοι for μανιχαῖοι **[47.3]**

**M** against **ABCDGLOVWZ** γεγεννημένα for γεγενημένα **[23.25]**

**MW** against **BCDLOVZ** γεγεννῆσθαι for γεγενῆσθαι **[45.22]**

**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** ἀποστερῶν for ἀποστερῶν **[38.30]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** κελλεστῖνος for κελεστῖνος **[19.26]**

**W** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** κατηλλεγμένοις for κατειλεγμένοις **[38.11]**

**Z** against **ABCDGMOVW** ἀλλῶν for ἁλῶν **[28.2.7]**

**Z** against **CDLMOVW** ἐκρύὲν for ἐκρυὲν **[23.68]**

## vi. Confusion of double consonants

**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** ἐγγείμενος for ἐγκείμενος **[37.23]**

## 2. Errors in accentuation

### i. Faulty accents

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** Αὐγουστίνος for Αὐγουστῖνος **[6.23] ;** πράξις for πρᾶξις **[32.3]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVZ** Μαξιμίνον for Μαξιμῖνον **[2.76]**
**ABCDGLMOZ** against **VW** κήρυξ for κῆρυξ **[1.40]**
**ABCDGMOZ** against **LVW** κήρυξ for κῆρυξ **[2.1]**
**ABDGZ** against **MOVW** κρηπίδος for κρηπῖδος **[22.59]**
**ABDLOW** against **CGMVZ** θαρρὼν for θαρρῶν **[7.39]**
**ABG** against **CDMOVW** κἄν for κὰν **[25.1.11]**
**ABM** against **CDGLOVWZ** πλευρὰς for πλευρᾶς **[24.3.5]**
**ACLW** against **BDGMOV** πράξαι for πρᾶξαι **[7.29]**
**ADGWZ** against **BCJLMOV** βαθεῖα for βαθεία **[44.1.6]**
**AG** against **BCDLMOVW** Κὰν for Κὰν **[4.1.11]**
**AG** against **BCDLMOVWZ** Κὰν for Κὰν **[4.1.9]**
**AGL** against **BCDJMOVWZ** αἱρετικὴ for αἱρετικῆ **[55.2.10]**
**AGLVZ** against **CDMOW** φάναι for φᾶναι **[18.21]**
**AGLZ** against **BCDMOVW** φῆσαι for φήσαι **[22.60]**
**ALZ** against **BCDGMOVW** φάναι for φᾶναι **[21.15]**
**AW** against **BCDGLMOVZ** γυμνὴ for γυμνῆ **[21.15] ;** τροφὴ for τροφῆ **[28.3.9]**
**AZ** against **BCDGJLMOVW** ἀκτίσι for ἀκτῖσι **[53.33]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** μὴ δή τὸ for μὴ δὴ τὸ **[56.34] ;** τοῦτοις for τούτοις **[55.2.29]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOWZ** τῆ διδαχὴ for τῆ διδαχῆ **[51.12]**
**B** against **ACDGJMOVWZ** εἵλκε for εἷλκε **[44.1.20]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἀρχῆ for ἀρχὴ **[18.16] ;** ἀφορμᾶς for ἀφορμὰς **[23.24] ;** τῆ καθαρὰ for τῆ καθαρᾶ **[1.2] ;** ψιλὴ for ψιλῆ **[15.19] ;** ὢν for ὦν **[32.2]**
**B** against **ACDGMOVWZ** νεύσιν for νεῦσιν **[23.17]**
**B** against **CDGLMOVWZ** χωρῖσαι for χωρῆσαι **[1. 17]**
**BCOV** against **ADGLMWZ** τἄλλα for τ' ἄλλα **[10.162]**
**BDLOZ** against **ACGMVW** ἀκαρεῖ for ἀκαρεὶ **[27.1.28]**
**BDMOV** against **ACGLWZ** ἕν for ἓν **[4.18]**
**BDMOVWZ** against **ACGL** ὦ δέ for ὦ δέ **[4.30]**
**BDO** against **ACGLMVWZ** ὅν for ὃν **[2.7]**
**BDOW** against **ACMGLVZ** ὥραι for ὧραι **[23.75]**
**BG** against **ACDOVLZ** ᾗ for ᾖ **[19.38]**
**BL** against **ACDGJMOVWZ** λατίνοι for λατῖνοι **[50.18]**
**BLZ** against **ACDMOVW** ἶσον for ἴσον **[45.49]**
**BW** against **ACDGLMOVZ** καθολικῆ for καθολικὴ **[23.2]**
**BZ** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἰακωβίται for ἰακωβῖται **[34.1] ;** πλατείαν for πλατεῖαν **[23.72]**
**BZ** against **ADGLMOVW** Φαραῶ for Φαραὼ **[23.86]**

**C** against **ABDGLMOVWZ** ἑνοὶ for ἑνοῖ **[23.152]**
**CDL** against **ABGMOVWZ** ῥᾶβδος for ῥάβδος **[35.25]**
**CDMOV** against **ABGLWZ** τἄλλα for τ᾽ ἄλλα **[5.10]**
**CGLW** against **ABMODVZ** δεικνῦναι for δεικνύναι **[16.28]**
**CJOV** against **ABDGLT** τἄλλα for τ᾽ ἄλλα **[49.20]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVW** φᾶναι for φάναι **[13.1]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** αὐτῶν for αὐτὸν **[6.62] ;** ἐκεῖνας for ἐκείνας **[8.31] ;** καθοράται for καθορᾶται **[5.53] ;** κατευμεγεθὼν for κατευμεγεθῶν **[10.92] ;** ὃ μὴ for ὃ μὴ **[7.28]**
**D** against **BCMOV** νοερᾶ for νοερά **[37.33]**
**DGMOVW** against **ABCLZ** φᾶναι for φάναι **[6.6]**
**DGMOZ** against **ABCLVW** λύσαι for λῦσαι **[29.3]**
**DGW** against **ABCLMOVZ** καθολικῆ for καθολικὴ **[6.32]**
**DZ** against **ABCLMOVW** σατανὰς for σατανᾶς **[28.3.4]**
**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** οὗτοι for οὗτοι **[39.7] ;** πάσαν for πᾶσαν **[46.12]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἀρχαῖαν for ἀρχαίαν **[34.5] ;** ἐκείνο for ἐκεῖνο **[28.18] ;** ἐκείνον for ἐκεῖνον **[32.20] ;** ἐπιστολὴ for ἐπιστολῆ **[4.16] ;** κύρος for κῦρος **[20.22] ;** σπουδὴς for σπουδῆς **[1.36-37] ;** υἱὸς ἐστὶ for υἱός ἐστι **[2.97] ;** φᾶναι for φάναι **[33.3] ;** φώς for φῶς **[27.1.5]**
**G** against **ABCDLOVWZ** ἐπιστολὴ for ἐπιστολῆ **[4.57]**
**G** against **ABCDLOWZ** τῆ θεία γραφὴ for τῆ θεία γραφῆ **[5.85]**
**G** against **ABCLMOVW** σατανάς for σατανᾶς **[28.3.4]**
**G** against **ACDLMOVWZ** μηδεῖς for μηδεὶς **[21.21]**
**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** κτιστῆ for κτιστὴ **[37.37]**
**GJW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** μιγνῦναι for μιγνύναι **[55.2.14]**
**GL** against **ABCDJMOWZ** ἀναδοχὴ for ἀναδοχῆ **[55.3.3]**
**GLZ** against **ABCDJMOVW** οἷαν for οἵαν **[55.1.10]**
**GW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** καταδῦντος for καταδύντος **[25.5] ;** λογικὴ for λογικῆ **[23.76]**
**GW** against **ACDLMOV** διπλὴν for διπλῆν **[9.51]**
**GWZ** against **ABCDLMOV** παρασκευῆ for παρασκευὴ **[29.23]**
**GZ** against **ABCDLMOVW** ἀκτίνα for ἀκτῖνα **[5.57] ;** ἓν for ἕν **[9.24] ;** ὑποθράττον ὑποθρᾶττον **[28.4.37]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** ἀναμεμῖχθαι for ἀναμεμίχθαι **[52.43] ;** ἀστεία for ἀστεῖα **[52.52] ;** ὃτι for ὅτι **[51.8]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOWZ** πάσαν for πᾶσαν **[54.28]**
**L** against **ABCDGJMOVWZ** ῥῶμην for ῥώμην **[44.7.10]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἀνείλεν for ἀνεῖλεν **[28.4.9] ;** ἄρα for ἄρα **[27.1.8] ;** βαθείαν for βαθεῖαν **[18.78] ;** γλώτταν for γλῶτταν **[22.10] ;** διερευνάσθαι for διερευνᾶσθαι **[26.23] ;** εἰπῶν for εἰπὼν **[28.2.11] ;** μὶα for μιᾶ **[16.37] ;** πρῶτου for πρώτου **[5.29] ;** ὑπερφύεις for ὑπερφυεῖς **[23.37]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVZ** εἶ for εἴ **[29.25]**
**L** against **ABCOW** χιτῶν for χιτών **[23.47]**
**L** against **BCDGMOVW** ἐστῖ ἐπιβαίνουσαν for ἐστι συμβαίνουσαν **[25.1.1]**

**L** against **BCO** προϊῶν for προϊών **[22.54]**
**MG** against **ABCDJLOVWZ** ῥείθρον for ῥεῖθρον **[56.23]**
**MW** against **CJOV** τἆλλα for τἄλλα **[49.20]**
**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** μὲν τοι for μέντοι **[50.16]**
**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** διώκται for διῶκται **[54.31] ;** τούτο for τοῦτο **[56.3]**
**W** against **ABCDGJMOVZ** μερῖδος for μερίδος **[50.20]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἀλλ' ἆρα for ἀλλ' ἄρα **[13.4]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἐπωμῖδος for ἐπωμίδος **[23.48] ;** κοινὴ for κοινῆ **[9.16]**
**W** against **ABCDLMOV** οἰκουμενικῆ for οἰκουμενικὴ **[19.1]**
**W** against **ABCGJDMOVZ** διδαχὴ for διδαχῆ **[53.27]**
**W** against **ABCODGLVZ** θρασεῖα for θρασεία **[18.2]**
**WZ** against **ABCDGJLMOV** παλαιᾶ for παλαιὰ **[55.1.2]**
**WZ** against **ABCDGLMOV** κράσιν for κρᾶσιν **[23.53]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** γλῶττας for γλώττης **[22.57] ;** οὖσαν for οὖσαν **[9.57] ;** Πῦρρον for Πύρρον **[17.11] ;** σώμα for σῶμα **[28.2.2] ;** χαρακτήρας for χαρακτῆρας **[24.1.10]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** σώμα for σῶμα **[28.2.10]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLOVW** γραφῆ for γραφὴ **[5.63]**
**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** ἀμείψαι for ἀμεῖψαι **[19.46]**
**Z** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἥτταν for ἧτταν **[24.1.1.3.5]**
**Z** against **ACDGLMOW** ταῦτας for ταύτας **[3.11]**
**Z** against **ACDLMOVW** ἶσον for ἴσον **[45.48]**

### ii. Acute for grave accent (enclitics)

**ABDGLMOV** against **CW** τίς for τὶς **[22.69]**
**ABDGLMOVW** against **C** τί for τὶ **[19.20]**
**ABDGLMOVWZ** against **C** τί for τὶ **[22.28] ;** τίς for τὶς **[31.10]**
**ABDGLMOVZ** against **CW** τίς for τὶς **[31.12] ;** τίς for τὶς **[56.1]**
**ABDGLMOZ** against **CW** τίς for τὶς **48.1]**
**ABDGMOVW** against **CJL** τίς for τὶς **[55.2.16]**
**ABDGMOVWZ** against **CJ** τίς for τὶς **[55.2.24]**
**ABDGMOWZ** against **CL** τίς for τὶς **[21.13]**
**ABDGOVWZ** against **CLM** τίς for τὶς **[52.2]**
**ABDMOVG** against **CLZW** τί for τὶ **[19.41]**
**ABDMOVLZW** against **C** τί for τὶ **[19.38]**
**ABDMOVWZ** against **CG** τίς for τὶς **[19.27]**
**ABGJDMOVZ** against **CLW** τίς for τὶς **[58.1]**
**ADGLMOV** against **CJWZ** τίς for τὶς **[49.18]**
**BDGL** against **ACMOVWZ** τίς for τὶς **[10.60]**
**BDGLMOVW** against **CZ** τίς for τὶς **[22.6]**
**BDGLW** against **ACMOVZ** τί for τὶ **[19.34]**
**BDGLWZ** against **ACMOV** τί for τὶ **[55.2.12]**
**BDGMOV** against **ACLW** Tί for Tὶ **[6.14]**

**BDGMOV** against **CWZ** τίς for τὶς **[11.11]**
**BDGMOVW** against **ACLZ** τί for τὶ **[19.25]**
**BDGMOVZ** against **ACJLW** τίς for τὶς **[39.39]**
**CMW** against **AGLZ** ἀναθεματισμόν, φησιν for ἀναθεματισμὸν, φησὶν **[8.20]**
**CMW** against **BDO** ἀναθεματισμόν, φησιν for ἀναθεματισμὸν, φησίν **[8.20]**
**CMW** against **V** ἀναθεματισμόν, φησιν for ἀναθεματισμόν, φησίν **[8.20]**
**DLMOVWZ** against **C** τίς for τὶς **[45.23]**
**JV** against **CW** τις for τὶς **[48.1]**
**L** against **ABCDGJMOVWZ** οἶὸν τε for οἷόν τε **[48.5]**

### iii. Double accents

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** δίκήν for δίκην **[46.6]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ἡσαΐὰς for ἡσαΐας **[18.31] ;** ἱκάνὴ for ἱκανὴ **[32.11]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** μεγίστὴν for μεγίστην **[29.26] ;** μετὰξὺ for μεταξὺ **[5.77] ;** ὑπόστάσεων for ὑποστάσεων **[18.14]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVZ** φερώνύμως for φερωνύμως **[44.5.2]**
**B** against **ACDMOVWZ** σὺμφωνοῦσιν for συμφωνοῦσιν **[52.24]**
**B** against **AGVWZ** ἀλλὰ ζημίταῖς for ἀλλὰ ζυμίταις **[28.4.42]**
**BLZ** against **ACDGJMOVW** τοῦτέστι for τουτέστι **[53.44]**
**BZ** against **ACDGJLMOVW** μὴδενὸς for μηδενὸς **[56.29]**
**C** against **ABDGJLMOVWZ** σφάττόμενα for σφαττόμενα **[55.1.5]**
**C** against **ABDGLMOVWZ** ἀπενάντίας for ἀπεναντίας **[10.21] ;** ῥώμής for ῥώμης **[21.7]**
**C** against **ABDLMOVW** ἐξειλέγμένων for ἐξειλεγμένων **[28.4.27]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** δέξασθαῖ for δέξασθαι **[21.11]**
**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** χρηματίσὰς for χρηματίσας **[37.31]**
**L** against **ABCDMOVWZ** καὶνοτομοῦντες for καινοτομοῦντες **[22.14]**
**O** against **ABCDGJLMVWZ** ἀμηγέπὴ for ἀμηγέπη **[55.2.25] ;** πρεσβύτέρου for πρεσβυτέρου **[44.1.20] ;** συναπείρξεὶς for συναπείρξεις **[55.3.9]**
**OZ** against **ABCDGLV** τὸ πάσχά for τὸ πάσχα **[27.3.6]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** διωρύξαντός for διορύξαντός **[27.1.29]**

### iv. Accents on wrong syllable

**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** παρεκβατικώτερα for παρεκβατικωτέρα **[37.11]**
**G** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** μυσαττόμενης for μυσαττομένης **[49.17]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVW** ταῦτα ἐστὶν for ταῦτά ἐστιν **[6.8]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** μητροπόλιν for μητρόπολιν **[44.7.4]**
**J** against **BCDLMOVWZ** ἔδεικνυ for ἐδείκνυ **[44.2.3]**
**JW** against **ACDGLMOVZ** φερώνυμος for φερωνύμως **[44.5.2]**
**L** against **BCDGMOVWZ** ῥαστᾶ for ῥᾶστα **[37.57]**
**V** against **ABCDGLMWZ** ἐστίν for ἔστιν **[5.75]**

**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** παρέστι for πάρεστι **[45.77]**

### v. Omission of accents

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** πρυτανευων for πρυτανεύων **[24.1] ;** φημι for φημὶ **[18.37]**
**A** against **BCDMOVWZ** μη όντων for μὴ ὄντων **[5.88-89]**
**A** against **CWZ** τις for τὶς **[11.11]**
**AB** against **CDGJLMOVWZ** κατα σάρκα for κατὰ σάρκα **[55.3.10]**
**ABCDGLMOVW** against **JZ** φησιν for φησὶν **[39.40]**
**ABCDGLMOVW** against **Z** ἐστιν for ἐστὶν **[15.2] ;** φησιν for φησὶν **[24.3.23]**
**ABCDLMOVW** against **GZ** φημι for φημὶ **[24.1.7] ;** φησι for φησὶ **[31.5] ;** φησιν for φησὶν **[32.2]**
**ABCDLMOVW** against **Z** εἰσιν for εἰσὶν **[45.6]**
**ABCLMOVWZ** against **DG** φησιν for φησὶν **[22.23]**
**ACDGJLMOVWZ** against **B** πάνυ τι for πάνυ τὶ **[56.37]**
**ACDGLMOWZ** against **B** φημι for φημὶ **[23.1]**
**ACDLMOVW** against **BGZ** φησι for φησὶ **[19.23]**
**ACDLMOVW** against **Z** φησιν for φησὶν **[45.37]**
**ACDLMOVWZ** against **B** τινι for τινὶ **[45.76]**
**ACDLMOVWZ** against **BG** φημι for φημὶ **[37.21]**
**ACDLMOVWZ** against **G** φησι for φησὶ **[28.4.23]**
**ACDLMOW** against **BGJVZ** φησιν for φησὶν **[53.42]**
**ACGLMOVW** against **BDZ** φησι for φησὶ **[11.22]**
**ACLMOVWZ** against **BDGJ** φησι for φησὶ **[38.24]**
**ACLMVW** against **GZ** φησιν for φησὶν **[4.14]**
**ACMOLW** against **BDGVZ** φησι for φησὶ **[4.24]**
**AG** against **BCDJLMOVWZ** κατα προφορὰν for κατὰ προφορὰν **[56.20]**
**AG** against **BCDLMOVWZ** κἀν for κἂν **[2.2]**
**AL** against **BCDGMOVWZ** ὣς τε for ὥστε **[11.19]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** ἐδογματισεν for ἐδογμάτισεν **[44.3.18] ;** προς for πρὸς **[55.2.1]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** δια for διὰ **[5.46] ;** δια βραχέων for διὰ βραχέων **[26.46] ;** λυσσα for λύσσα **[10.24] ;** μετα πολλῆς for μετὰ πολλῆς **[53.45] ;** ὸν for ὃν **[2.23] ;** οὺ for οὗ **[28.4.8] ;** προς for πρὸς **[22.21] ;** προς σαφήνειαν for πρὸς σαφήνειαν **[26.5]**
**B** against **ACDGMOVWZ** γαρ for γὰρ **[7.37] ;** πλαστιγγας for πλάστιγγας **[10.7]**
**B** against **ACGJLMOVWZ** φησι for φησὶ **[46.30]**
**B** against **DOW** μὴ δε μίαν for μὴ δὲ μίαν **[2.49]**
**BCDGMOVW** against **AL** ταῦτα τοι for ταῦτά τοι **[14.6]**
**BCDGMOVW** against **Z** ἐστι συμβαίνουσαν for ἐστὶν ἐπιβαίνουσαν **[25.1.1]**
**BCDLMOVW** against **AGJZ** εἰσιν for εἰσὶν **[44.6.24]**
**BCDLMOVW** against **Z** ἐστι for ἐστὶ **[45.17]**
**BCDMOV** against **AGLWZ** ποτε for ποτὲ **[5.6]**

**BCDMOW** against **G** φησι for φησὶν **[25.2.2]**
**BDMOVW** against **ACLZ** ταῦτα τοι for ταῦτά τοι **[50.8]**
**BDO** against **ACGLMVWZ** προς for πρὸς **[8.14]**
**BJ** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἀποστασίαν τε for ἀποστασίαν τὲ **[43.10]**
**BL** against **G** προ ἐκτεθείσαις for πρὸ ἐκτεθείσαις **[7.21]**
**BWZ** against **CDGMOV** τε for τὲ **[23.22]**
**BZ** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἐπι σφαγὴν for ἐπὶ σφαγὴν **[25.1.2-3]**
**BZ** against **CDLMOVW** οἷον τε for οἷόν τε **[45.23]**
**C** against **ABDGLMOVWZ** ὡσπέρ τι for ὥσπέρ τι **[18.78]**
**CDGLMOVW** against **ABZ** φημι for φημὶ **[26.26]**
**CDGMOVW** against **B** ἡντινα οῦν for ἥντινα οῦν **[22.27]**
**CDMOVW** against **ABG** κὰν for κἄν **[25.1.11]**
**CGW** against **ABDLMOVZ** φησιν for φησὶν **[27.2.12]**
**CO** against **LMVZ** την τήμερον for τηντήμερον **[21.1-2]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** όθεν for ὅθεν **[3.3] ;** παλιν for πάλιν **[4.1.11] ;** προς for πρὸς **[33.17] ;** ὑπερ ἔνοιαν for ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν **[5.50]**
**D** against **ABCMOVGLWZ** βαραθρον for βάραθρον **[6.41]**
**D** against **ACLMOVWZ** ἐστιν for ἐστὶν **[45.90]**
**D** against **CMOV** τω τοτε for τωτότε **[27.1.29-30]**
**DGZ** against **ABCLMOVW** ἐπι λεπτότητι for ἐπὶ λεπτότητι **[9.28]**
**DL** against **AG** μερικὰς τινας for μερικὰς τινὰς **[1.44]**
**DLO** against **ABCGMVWZ** νῦν εἰσιν for νῦν εἰσὶν **[22.20]**
**DLZ** against **ABCGMOVW** οἵας τε for οἵας τὲ **[1.54]**
**DLZ** against **ABCGOVW** ἀπο for ἀπὸ **[6.22]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVW** γαρ for γὰρ **[9.42]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἐστιν for ἐστὶν **[28.4.4] ;** μη for μὴ **[55.2.28] ;** προς for πρὸς **[28.4.2] ;** του for τοῦ **[27.1.28]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVZ** προς for πρὸς **[26.2]**
**G** against **JMVW** ὀκτω καὶ δέκατος for ὀκτωκαιδέκατος **[46.29]**
**GL** against **ABCDJMOVWZ** προ ἡμῶν for πρὸ ἡμῶν **[55.2.32]**
**GW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** κατα for κατὰ **[29.1]**
**GZ** against **ABCDLMOVW** δια δὴ for διὰ δὴ **[18.33] ;** προ τοῦ for πρὸ τοῦ **[28.14]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** κατα for κατὰ **[44.1.2]**
**JZ** against **ABCDGLMOVW** δογμάτων τε for δογμάτων τὲ **[43.5]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVW** ψυχη for ψυχὴ **[24.3.19]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** διδασκει for διδάσκει **[6.56] ;** ἐπι for ἐπὶ **[52.36] ;** ματθαιον for ματθαῖον **[29.1] ;** οὐτω for οὐ τῶ **[26.12]**
**LV** against **ABCDGMOWZ** καθ’ ὄντινα οῦν for καθ’ ὁντιναοῦν **[19.21]**
**LZ** against **ABCDGMOVW** προ μιᾶς for πρὸ μιᾶς **[27.2.12]**
**M** against **ABCDGLOVWZ** μὴ δε for μὴ δὲ **[6.39]**
**MOV** against **ABCDGLZW** το παντελὲς for τὸ παντελὲς **[44.5.28]**
**MW** against **ABCODVLZ** γάρ δη λογιζομένοις for γὰρ δὴ λογιζομένοις **[54.24]**
**O** against **ABCDGJLMVWZ** οίασουν for οίασοῦν **[53.22]**
**O** against **ABJVZ** φησι for φησὶ **[51.11]**

**V** against **ABCDGLMOWZ** μη for μὴ **[26.4]**
**V** against **ABDGMOWZ** τις for τίς **[21.13]**
**V** against **BCDMOGLWZ** ὡς γε for ὥς γε **[37.50]**
**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** ἀλλα for ἀλλὰ **[52.36] ;** περηφανης for περιφανὴς **[50.10]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἀληθη for ἀληθῆ **[1.53] ;** γαρ for γὰρ **[23.116] ;** μη for μὴ **[1.34]**
**W** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** ὡς οἱόν τε for ὡς οἷόν τε **[59.13]**
**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** κατα for κατὰ **[44.7.10]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** εἰσι for εἰσὶ **[8.73] ;** ἐστι for ἐστὶ **[18.6]**
**Z** against **ABCDMOLW** αὐτὸς φησι for αὐτός φησι **[52.10]**
**Z** against **ABDGLMOV** τις for τίς **[22.69]**
**Z** against **ACGLOV** ἐστιν for ἐστὶν **[7.5]**
**Z** against **BCDGLMOVW** τε for τὲ **[37.61]**
**Z** against **CJL** τις for τὶς **[55.2.16]**

## 3. Errors in breathings

### i. Faulty breathings

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ὃν for ὃν **[24.1.1.2.1]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** οὐδ' ὁπητιοῦν for οὐδ' ὀπητιοῦν **[18.58]**
**AB** against **CDGJLMOVWZ** ἵδρυτο for ἵδρυτο **[44.5.17]**
**AB** against **CDGLMOVWZ** αἰρέσεως for αἱρέσεως **[32.23]**
**ABCGLMVWZ** against **DJO** ἁρμένιοι for ἀρμένιοι **[50.1]**
**ABCO** against **DLMVWZ** ὁκτώ for ὀκτὼ **[19.12-13]**
**ABGJ** against **CDLMOVWZ** ὧ for ὦ **[48.4]**
**ACGJLMVW** against **BOZ** ἁρμενίοις for ἀρμενίοις **[57.4]**
**ACGJLMVWZ** against **BDO** ἁρμενίων for ἀρμενίων **[39.27]**
**ACGLMOVWZ** against **BD** ἁρμενίων for ἀρμενίων **[32.23]**
**ACGLMVWZ** against **BDJO** ἁρμένιον for ἀρμένιον **[55.3.Tit.] ;** ἁρμενίων for ἀρμενίων **[49.21] ;** ἁρμενίων for ἀρμενίων **[50.13] ;** ἁρμενίων for ἀρμενίων **[46.26]**
**ACGLMWZ** against **BDOV** ἁρμενίων for ἀρμενίων **[10.132]**
**ACLMO** against **BDVW** ὧδε for ὧδε **[Tit.]**
**ACLMWZ** against **BDOV** ἥρτηται for ἤρτηται **[2.39]**
**AL** against **BCDGMOVWZ** ἀλοίη for ἁλοίη **[5.91]**
**AZ** against **BCDGJLMOVW** ἠνωμένον for ἡνωμένον **[60.9]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** οἱέσθω for οἰέσθω **[52.4] ;** ὅροις for ὅροις **[52.27]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** ἦτταν for ἥτταν **[24.1.1.3.5] ;** Ὀνώριον for Ὀνώριον **[17.11]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** αἴρεσιν for αἵρεσιν **[9.13] ;** ἄπερ for ἅπερ **[1.2] ;** ἠγούμεθα for ἡγούμεθα **[20.29] ;** ἤδη for ἤδη **[55.2.21] ;** ἤκιστα for ἥκιστα

**[24.3.13] ;** ἡλευθερῶσθαι for ἠλευθερῶσθαι **[10.102] ;** ἦν for ἦν **[25.5] ;** ἤττη for ἥττη **[24.1.1.3.3] ;** ἦττον for ἧττον **[11.20] ;** ἦττον for ἧττον **[17.8] ;** ὅθεν for ὅθεν **[1.16] ;** ὃν for ὃν **[17.3] ;** ὃν for ὃν **[2.15] ;** ὅ, τε for ὅ, τε **[18.43] ;** οὺ for οὗ **[28.4.8] ;** οὕτω for οὕτω **[17.13] ;** οὕτω for οὕτω **[20.26]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVZ** αὗται for αὗται **[8.75]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOWZ** ἐν ἅλλοις for ἐν ἄλλοις **[4.8] ;** ᾗ for ᾗ **[32.23]**

**B** against **ACDLMOVW** ἴσον for ἴσον **[45.48]**

**B** against **ACDLMOVWZ** οὐχ ἧττον for οὐχ ἧττον **[18.49]**

**B** against **CDGLMOVWZ** ὡς ἅν τινες for ὡς ἄντινες **[8.3-4]**

**BDLOW** against **ACMV** ἐστιωμένοις for ἑστιωμένοις **[28.4.19]**

**BDMOVW** against **ACGLZ** ὧδε…ὧδε for ὧδε… ὧδε **[35.24-26]**

**BDOL** against **ACGJMVWZ** ἡσεβημένων for ἠσεβημένων **[60.1]**

**BG** against **ACDOVLZ** ἢ for ᾗ **[19.38]**

**BG** against **DMOVW** ἕνατον for ἔνατον **[8.20]**

**BGL** against **ACDJMOVW** ὁδυνηρὰν for ὀδυνηρὰν **[51.14]**

**BGL** against **ACDMOVWZ** ἐστίας for ἑστίας **[27.1.27]**

**BL** against **ACDGMOVWZ** ἢ for ᾗ **[27.1.9]**

**BLZ** against **ACDMOVW** ἶσον for ἴσον **[45.49]**

**BO** against **ACDGJLMVWZ** οἶδα for οἶδα **[52.35]**

**BW** against **ACDGLMOVZ** ὦ γε for ὧ γε **[23.118-119]**

**BZ** against **ACDLMOVW** ἀλλ᾽ ἔν τι for ἀλλ᾽ ἕν τι **[5.50] ;** ἐδραῖον for ἑδραῖον **[45.60]**

**C** against **ABDGLMOVWZ** ἴδιον for ἴδιον **[4.1.6]**

**CGLVWZ** against **ABDJMO** ἁρμένιοι for ἀρμένιοι **[55.3.6]**

**CGLZ** against **BDJMOVW** ἅττα for ἄττα **[37.68]**

**CM** against **ABDGLOVWZ** ἕδεσθε for ἔδεσθε **[25.15]**

**CMVW** against **ABDGLOZ** εἵλετο for εἷλετο **[7.29]**

**D** against **ABCGJLMOVWZ** ἠδέως for ἡδέως **[44.5.8]**

**DO** against **ABCGLMVWZ** οἶμαι for οἶμαι **[4.1]**

**DLOV** against **ACMWZ** ἀλοίη ἂν for ἁλοίη ἂν **[17.13]**

**DZ** against **ABCGLMOVW** ἀλλ᾽ ἑνοῦσα for ἀλλ᾽ ἐνοῦσα **[18.29]**

**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** ἄρπαγμα for ἅρπαγμα **[44.2.19] ;** ἑλάσει for ἐλάσει **[56.31] ;** οἰ ἕσθωμε οἰέσθωμε **[52.34]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἄμα for ἅμα **[20.13] ;** ἅτομον for ἄτομον **[16.30] ;** ἐκάστη for ἑκάστη **[5.19] ;** ἕκπτωσις for ἔκπτωσις **[19.39] ;** ἔξιν for ἕξιν **[26.14] ;** εὐρύχωρον for εὐρύχωρον **[23.72] ;** οἶμαι for οἶμαι **[36.11] ;** ὥμου for ὤμου **[18.31]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἔξει for ἕξει **[53.40]**

**GL** against **ABCDMOVWZ** ἔξειν for ἕξειν **[23.24] ;** ἐξῆς for ἑξῆς **[6.37]**

**GL** against **ABDMOVWZ** ἐξῆς for ἑξῆς **[18.22]**

**GLZ** against **ABCDMOVW** ὅψις for ὄψις **[8.1]**

**GO** against **ABCMVWZ** οἶνον for οἶνον **[10.131]**

**GZ** against **ABCDLMOVW** ἐξῆς for ἑξῆς **[5.59]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** ἄλλοις for ἄλλοις **[41.4]**

**L** against **ABCDGJMOVWZ** ἦσαν for ἦσαν **[43.7] ;** ἴσταται for ἵσταται **[55.3.15]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVW** ἀλῶν for ἁλῶν **[28.2.7] ;** ἦκον for ἧκον **[21.1]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἕνα for ἕνα **[2.89] ;** ἐπτὰ for ἑπτὰ **[1.14] ;** ἤκιστα for ἥκιστα **[21.16] ;** ἱερὰ for ἱερὰ **[27.2.2] ;** ἴστασθαι for ἵστασθαι **[2.52]**
**L** against **ACDGMOVWZ** ἀλοῖεν for ἁλοῖεν **[2.56]**
**L** against **ACDMOVWZ** ᾗ for ᾗ **[45.37]**
**LV** against **ABCDGMOWZ** καθ' ὄντινα οὖν for καθ' ὁντιναοῦν **[19.21]**
**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** οἷα for οἷα **[39.44]**
**VW** against **ABCDGLMOZ** ὀζᾶν for ὀζᾶν **[22.40]**
**VZ** against **BDMOW** ἑξῆς for ἐξ ἧς **[45.12]**
**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** ἰθύναντες for ἰθύναντες **[44.5.23]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἑῶμεν for ἐῶμεν **[5.53]**
**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** ἐδραῖον for ἑδραῖον **[45.51]**
**Z** against **ACDLMOVW** ἶσον for ἴσον **[45.48]**

## ii. Omission of breathings

**A** against **BCDMOVWZ** μη όντων for μὴ ὄντων **[5.88-89]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** ηγεῖται for ἡγεῖται **[38.40]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** εσθι for ἐστι **[12.12]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** κατ' αυτοὺς for κατ' αὐτοὺς **[35.19]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVZ** ταναντία for τἀναντία **[7.26]**
**BCDMOV** against **ALWZ** ἐξ οῦ for ἐξ οὗ **[45.77]**
**BGO** against **ACDLMVWZ** εᾶ for ἐᾶ **[33.20]**
**C** against **ABDGLMOVWZ** ήνωσε for ἥνωσε **[5.19]**
**C** against **ABDMOVWZ** εξῆς for ἑξῆς **[18.22]**
**CG** against **ABDLMOVZ** αυτὸς for αὐτὸς **[24.1.13]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** ιουδαῖοι for ἰουδαῖοι **[27.2.6]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVZ** απαντικρὺ for ἀπαντικρὺ **[1.48]**
**D** against **ABCGLMVZ** ἀλλ εξ ἀγεννήτου for ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγεννήτου **[5.57]**
**DO** against **ABCGLMVWZ** κακεῖσε for κἀκεῖσε **[7.11]**
**G** against **ABCDJLMOVW** ἕλξαι ει for ἕλξαι εἰ **[48.5]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** [ε]ι γοῦν for εἰ γοῦν **[37.16]**
**G** against **ABCDMOVWZ** ἐν αιδοῖ for ἐν αἰδοῖ **[9.1]**
**G** against **ACDLMOVWZ** οι for οἱ **[27.3.6]**
**G** against **ACLVWZ** ὑπὲρ έννοιαν for ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν **[5.45]**
**G** against **BCDMOVWZ** μὴ όντων for μὴ ὄντων **[5.88-89]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOV** ευθὺς for εὐθὺς **[24.8]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOV** οὐκ ανάγκην for οὐκ ἀνάγκη **[5.55]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** ἐν ημῖν for ἐν ἡμῖν **[1.42]**

### iii. Omission of the elision apostrophe

**A** against **BCDLMOWZ** ἐπ ἀναιρέσει for ἐπ᾽ ἀναιρέσει **[10.80]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOV** ἵν ἐκ for ἵν᾽ ἐκ **[13.5]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἄρ οὐχὶ for ἄρ᾽ οὐχὶ **[10.37-38]**
**B** against **ACDLMOVWZ** ἵν ἐκείνου for ἵν᾽ ἐκείνου **[28.1.3]**
**BG** against **CLMVWZ** ὑπ οὐρανὸν for ὑπ᾽ οὐρανὸν **[1.28-29]**
**C** against **ABDLJMOVWZ** καθ ὑποβαλεῖν for καθυποβαλεῖν **[50.16]**
**D** against **ABCGLMVZ** ἀλλ εξ ἀγεννήτου for ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀγεννήτου **[5.57]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** μετ αὐτοῦ for μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ **[4.42]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOW** ὑφ ἥλιον for ὑφ᾽ ἥλιον **[35.16]**
**G** against **AD** ἐφ ὧ for ἐφ᾽ ὧ **[23.112]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἀλλ ἐπείπερ for ἀλλ᾽ ἐπείπερ **[31.22]**
**L** against **CDWZ** ὑφ ἓν for ὑφ᾽ ἓν **[37.49]**
**L** against **GW** οὐχ υστερίζον for οὐχ᾽ ὑστερίζον **[4.44]**
**MW** against **BCDOVLZ** καθ ὅσον for καθόσον **[45.25]**
**O** against **ABCGLMVZ** ἀλλ ἐξ ἀγεννήτου for ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀγεννήτου **[5.57]**
**V** against **ABCDGLMOWZ** καθ ὑπέβαλεν for καθυπέβαλεν **[18.69]**
**W** against **BCDLMOVZ** ἀλλ οὐ for ἀλλ᾽ οὐ **[28.17]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** καθ ὅσον for καθόσον **[2.70]**

### iv. Redundant use of apostrophe

**DW** against **ABCGLMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[8.19]**
**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** ἐξ᾽ ὁμόσαιντο for ἐξομόσαιντο **[47.11]**
**GW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[16.41]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἐξ' ἄλλης for ἐξ ἄλλης **[6.15]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἐξ' ἄλλου for ἐξ ἄλλου **[6.26]**
**LW** against **BCDGMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ ὧν for ἐξ ὧν **[37.62]**
**OW** against **ABCDGLMVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[18.27-28]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[18.63]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[2.19] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[2.75] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[6.10] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[6.11] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[6.13] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[8.23]** ; ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[8.38] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[8.52-53] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ² **[2.19] ;** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[11.2] ;** ἐξ᾽ ἐμοῦ for ἐξ ἐμοῦ **[11.27] ;** ἐξ᾽ οὗ for ἐξ οὗ **[2.18] ;** ὥσπερ᾽ ἂν for ὥσπερ ἂν **[31.12]**
**W** against **ABCDGMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[19.50]**
**W** against **ABCGLMVZ** ἀλλ᾽ εξ᾽ ἀγενήτου for ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀγεννήτου **[5.57]**
**W** against **ABDCGLMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ ὧν for ἐξ ὧν **[10.23]**
**W** against **ABDGLMOV** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[12.13-14]**
**W** against **ABDGLMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[4.40]**
**W** against **ABDGLOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[5.88]**
**W** against **ACDGLMOVZ** ἐξ᾽ αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[2.89]**

### v. Redundant accents

**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** ἄνθ' ὧν for ἀνθ' ὧν **[44.6.16]**
**BG** against **ACDLMOVWZ** φησὶ for φησι **[5.26]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVW** τὲ καὶ for τε καὶ **[5.45]**
**G** against **ABCDMOVWZ** καὶ νὴν for καινὴν **[28.2.11]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** οΐ for οἱ **[28.9]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** φησὶ for φησι **[28.2.1]**
**Z** against **BCDMOVW** εἰ τὸ σοῦτον for εἰ τοσοῦτον **[27.1.11]**

### vi. Redundant breathings

**ABG** against **CDLMOVW** ἐκρύὲν for ἐκρυὲν **[23.68]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** προΰπαρξιν for προϋπαρξιν **[44.5.32]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἐὰτέον for ἐατέον **[18.55]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** μετοὐσίαν for μετουσίαν **[36.8]**
**GZ** against **ABCDJLMOVW** προς ῥήσεως for προσρήσεως **[49.20]**
**J** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ἐῤῥῶσθαι for ἐρρῶσθαι **[38.24]**
**L** against **ABCDGJMOVWZ** ἐπἀνθήσειν for ἐπανθήσειν **[54.16] ;** ῥῶμης for ῥώμης **[44.6.10] ;** ὦ τἄν for ὦ τὰν **[56.11]**
**W** against **ABCGLMOVZ** ἀπἀντικρὺ for ἀπαντικρὺ **[1.48]**
**Z** against **ABCDGMOVW** ἀπεὐθύνατο for ἀπευθύνοντα **[53.44]**

### 4. Other errors due to *lapsus calami*

**A** δημοσΐα for δημοσία **[51.3]**
**B** αἴρετικῶν for αἱρετικῶν **[1.1] ;** γᾶρ for γὰρ **[52.51] ;** καὶ om. et scr. ἀ **[44.5.29] ;** ἰο ἰουδαῖοι for ἰουδαῖοι **[27.2.6]**
**G** οὐδὲ τέρω for οὐδ' ἑτέρω **[5.46]**
**L** εἴρηται κε for εἶρηκε (?) **[10.32] ;** ἱεροουργούντων for ἱερουργούντων **[40.6]**
**O** πρεσβύτέρου for πρεσβυτέρου **[44.1.20]**
**V** ὀρθοδοξύας for ὀρθοδοξίας **[44.5.2] ;** πρεσβεύὲιν for πρεσβεύειν **[32.14]**
**Z** ἀνονήτους for ἀνοήτους **[56.32] ;** ἀπολικῆς for ἀποστολικῆς **[11.7]**

### 5. Wrong separations of compound words

**AGW** against **BCDJOVLZ** ἐκ ῥέον for ἐκρέον **[38.56]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVW** παρ ἣν μεν for παρῆν μὲν **[49.7-8]**
**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** τῆνι καῦτα for τηνικαῦτα **[49.12]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** δι ἐλέγχει for διελέγχει **[14.32] ;** κατὰ πταμένου for καταπταμένου **[11.39] ;** μετὰ διδούς for μεταδιδοὺς **[28.4.19] ;** ἐπὶ λάμπων

for ἐπιλάμπων **[28.3.12] ;** ἐπὶ φέρει for ἐπιφέρει **[15.14] ;** περὶ κόψας for περικόψας **[22.17]**

**B** against **ACGLMVZ** μὴ δε μίαν for μηδεμίαν **[2.49]**

**B** against **ADGJLMOVWZ** κατὰ λαβὼν for καταλαβὼν **[44.5.3]**

**BDO** against **ACGLMVW** καθυπόστασιν for καθ' ὑπόστασιν **[23.152]**

**BGLZ** against **ACMOVW** καταμέθεξιν for κατὰ μέθεξιν **[8.39]**

**BL** against **ACDGJMOVWZ** πολλὰ πλασίονα for πολλαπλασίονα **[54.36]**

**BL** against **ACDGMOVWZ** κατὰ φρονῶν for καταφρονῶν **[28.3.5] ;** τοῦ τέστιν for τουτέστιν **[24.3.24]**

**DW** against **ABCGLMOVZ** ἐξ ἀπάτην for ἐξαπάτην **[10.53]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἐξ εὑρὼν for ἐξευρὼν **[8.42, 10.89] ;** κἂν τεῦθεν for κἀντεῦθεν **[16.9] ;** πρό εἰσι for πρόεισι **[10.6]**

**G** against **ABDMOVWZ** περὶ ὑβριζόμενόν τε for περιυβριζόμενόν τε **[24.1.1.1.2]**

**G** against **ACDMOVWZ** πρὸ ἐκτεθείσαις for προεκτεθείσαις **[7.21]**

**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** κἂν ταῦθα for κἀνταῦθα **[37.52]**

**G** against **BCDMOVW** ἐν ὑβρίζουσι for ἐνυβρίζουσι **[8.7]**

**GWZ** against **ABCDJLMOV** ἐν οἰκήσω for ἐνοικήσω **[58.13]**

**GZ** against **ABCDJLMOVW** ὑπὲρ ἀστράπτων for ὑπεραστράπτων **[44.2.15]**

**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἂν ἐπιδέκτους for ἀνεπιδέκτους **[23.126] ;** προς ἐπήνεσαν for προσεπήνεσαν **[49.13]**

**L** against **ABDMOVWZ** περι ὑβριζόμενόν τε for περιυβριζόμενόν τε **[24.1.1.1.2]**

**M** against **BCDJOVLZ** ἐκ ῥεον for ἐκρέον **[38.56]**

**MW** against **ABCDLOVZ** ἐξ εὑρόντων for ἐξευρόντων **[33.6]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἐν ἀνθρωπήσαντα for ἐνανθρωπήσαντα **[10.48]**

**W** against **ABCDLMOVZ** ἐξ ἀπέστειλεν for ἐξαπέστειλεν **[11.8]**

**W** against **ACDGLMOZ** ἐν ἀπομώρξατο for ἐναπωμόρξατο **[23.115]**

**WZ** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἐν οἰκείτω for ἐνοικείτω **[1.43]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** παρὰ δοῦναι for παραδοῦναι **[29.15]**

**Z** against **ABCGLMOVW** ὑπὲρ κόσμιον for ὑπερκόσμιον **[7.10]**

**Z** against **ACDGLMOVW** μετὰ διδοὺς for μεταδιδοὺς **[28.4.20]**

## 6. Wrong joining of words

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** ἐξεκείνων for ἐξ ἐκείνων **[41.3]**

**A** against **CDGLMOVWZ** ὡσάντινες for ὡς ἄν τινες **[8.3-4]**

**ABDG** against **CLMOVWZ** καταφύσιν for κατὰ φύσιν **[8.19]**

**ACL** against **BDGMOVWZ** κατουδὲν for κατ' οὐδὲν **[23.142]**

**ACMOWZ** against **DLV** οὐχήκιστα οὐχ ἥκιστα for **[10.135]**

**ADG** against **BCLMOVWZ** ἐπανατροπῆ for ἐπ' ἀνατροπῆ **[1.53]**

**ADO** against **BCGLMVWZ** ὑπουρανὸν for ὑπ' οὐρανὸν **[1.28-29]**

**AG** against **BCDLMOVWZ** ἐξέργων for ἐξ ἔργων **[10.51] ;**

**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** καταυτὸ for κατ' αὐτὸ **[48.14] ;** οὐκαλόγιστος for οὐκ ἀλόγιστος **[52.47]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** προημῶν for πρὸ ἡμῶν **[35.13]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVZ** οὐχότι for οὐχ ὅτι **[8.64]**
**B** against **ACDLMOVWZ** ἐνουσία for ἐν οὐσία **[15.20]**
**B** against **CDGLMOVZ** μετὰ δοῦναι for μεταδοῦναι **[28.4.44]**
**BCDOV** against **AGLMWZ** ὑπερλίαν for ὑπὲρ λίαν **[28.4.33]**
**BDGMO** against **ACLVWZ** κατουσίαν for κατ᾽ οὐσίαν **[2.83]**
**BDGMOW** against **ACLVZ** οὐδ᾽ ἐπολίγον for οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον **[4.5]**
**BDLMOVW** against **ACZ** καθυπόστασιν for καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν **[45.81]**
**BDMO** against **ACGLVWZ** κατουσίαν for κατ᾽ οὐσίαν **[2.84]**
**BDMO** against **ACLVWZ** ὑπερέννοιαν for ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν **[5.45]**
**BDVOW** against **ACGLMZ** καθυπόστασιν for καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν **[8.39]**
**BG** against **ACDLMOVZ** προσβουλῆς for πρὸς βουλῆς **[29.26]**
**BGLWZ** against **ACDJMOV** προσυνοδικῆς for πρὸ συνοδικῆς **[51.2]**
**BGOV** against **CDWZ** ὑφὲν for ὑφ᾽ ἓν **[37.49]**
**BGOW** against **ACDLMVZ** παροῦ for παρ᾽ οὗ **[23.55]**
**BL** against **ACDGMOVWZ** κατασυμβεβηκὸς for κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς **[15.19-20]**
**BZ** against **ACDLMOVW** καταφύσιν for κατὰ φύσιν **[45.77]**
**BZ** against **ADCGLMOVW** προύπάρχει for προϋπάρχει **[2.12]**
**C** against **ABDGLMOVZ** ἐξαυτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[4.40]**
**CDMV** against **AGLWZ** ἐσαεὶ for ἐς ἀεὶ **[10.143]**
**CM** against **ABDGLOVZ** ἐξαυτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[5.88]**
**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** Ἀλλόμως for Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως **[10.1] ;** συναυτῶ for σὺν αὐτῶ **[2.42]**
**D** against **ABCLMOVZ** οὐχετέρωθεν for οὐχ ἑτέρωθεν **[6.13-14]**
**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** καθυπόστασιν for καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν **[44.3.17] ;** ὑπερφύσιν for ὑπὲρ φύσιν **[44.3.22]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVW** Αἱ δ᾽ ἀπαιῶνος for Αἱ δὲ ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος **[24.2.1] ;** ὑπαρχὴν for ὑπ᾽ ἀρχὴν **[43.4]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἐπανθρώπου for ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου **[22.34] ;** οὐκανοίγει for οὐκ ἀνοίγει **[25.1.4]**
**G** against **BCDLMOWZ** ἐπαναιρέσει for ἐπ᾽ ἀναιρέσει **[10.80]**
**GVZ** against **ABCDJLMOW** κατασχέσιν for κατὰ σχέσιν **[44.3.14]**
**GZ** against **BCDJLMOVW** ἐπέσχατα for ἐπ᾽ ἔσχατα **[37.67]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** εὐμάλα for εὖ μάλα **[44.4.12]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** κατασχέσιν for κατὰ σχέσιν **[10.85] ;** καταυτὸν for κατ᾽ αὐτὸν **[16.23]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVZ** ἐξαυτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[19.50]**
**L** against **ABCGMOVWZ** οὐκαλλότριον for οὐκ ἀλλότριον **[4.1.12]**
**MV** against **ABCDOLWZ** Οὐχήκιστα for Οὐχ ἥκιστα **[27.1]**
**VZ** against **ABCDMOL** οὐχήκιστα for οὐχ ἥκιστα **[24.1.5]**
**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** διάσκησιν for δι᾽ ἄσκησιν **[38.34]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOV** πρὸς πταίετε for προσπταίετε **[10.138]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** κατ᾽ ἐξαίρετον for κατεξαίρετον **[18.23] ;** καταδιάμετρον for κατὰ διάμετρον **[10.23]**

## 7. Erroneous words

**AD** against **BCLMOVWZ** ἐφ᾽ ὧ for ἐφῶ **[23.112]**
**AD** against **G** ἐφ᾽ ὧ for ἐφ ὧ **[23.112]**
**ADGMO** against **BCVLWZ** καταλλήλων for κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων **[10.115]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** εσθι for ἐστι **[12.12]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἐνθέντοι for ἔνθέν τοι **[17.6] ;**
**B** against **CDLMOVZ** οὐχοὶ for οὐχ οἱ **[39.30]**
**BDGLZ** against **CMOVW** διαφθορᾶς for διὰ φθορᾶς **[37.36]**
**BDZ** against **ACGLMOVW** πῶς for πως **[2.14]**
**BGLZ** against **ACDMOVW** ἐξουσίας for ἐξ οὐσίας **[9.55]**
**CL** against **BDMOW** ἐξῆς for ἐξ ἧς **[45.12]**
**GMOV** against **ABCDLWZ** διαμάχης for διὰ μάχης **[8.28]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐστοσοῦτον for **[59.1]**
**M** against **ABCDGLOVWZ** ὑφῆς for ὑφ᾽ ἧς **[18.75]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ὡσάν τινας for ὡς ἄν τινας **[1.27]**
**W** against **ABCDLMOVZ** ἐξαιρέσεως for ἐξ αἱρέσεως **[47.10]**
**W** against **ACDGLMOVZ** τ᾽ ἀναντία for τἀναντία **[7.26]**
**WZ** against **ABCDGJLMOV** ἐξ ὑβρίζοντας for ἐξυβρίζοντας **[59.7]**
**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** ἀπὸ χρήσει for ἀποχρήσει **[48.10] ;** ὑπὲρ νεφὴς for ὑπερνεφὴς **[54.14]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** ἐξυποκειμένης for ἐξ ὑποκειμένης **[23.17-18] ;** ἐξυποκειμένης for ἐξ ὑποκειμένης **[23.18] ;**
**Z** against **ACGJLMZ** θύραν ἀντικοινωνίας for θύραν ἀντὶ κοινωνίας **[53.24]**

## 8. Omission of letters

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** περιστάντες for περιϊστάντες **[39.55]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** ἄλό τι for ἄλλό τι **[28.4.1]**
**G** ‹κ›αὶ **[29.22]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVWZ** ἁμαρτῶν for ἁμαρτιῶν **[28.1.4]**
**M** against **ABCDGJLOVWZ** σώμτος for σώματος **[39.31]**
**M** against **ABCDGLOVWZ** ἐχροῦ for ἐχθροῦ **[28.3.8]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἀλ᾽ ίππου for ἀλλ᾽ ἵππου **[32.19] ;** κατεπεῖ for κατεπεῖγον **[9.8]**
**Z** ‹ό› **[31.2] ;** ‹Ὁ› **[31.4]**

## 9. Redundant use or omission of the euphonic –ν and –ς

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ὑμνεῖ for ὑμνεῖν **[23.40] ;** φησὶν for φησὶ **[26.17]**
**A** against **BCDLMOVWZ** φησιν for φησι **[1.39]**
**ACGJLZ** against **BDMOVW** θρυλλοῦσι for θρυλλοῦσιν **[54.6]**
**ACLZ** against **BDMOVW** τοῦτο for τοῦτον **[45.48]**

**AG** against **BCDLMOVWZ** φησὶν for φησί **[23.124]**
**ALZ** against **BCDMOW** φησιν for φησι **[25.2.2]**
**ALZ** against **BDGMOVW** ὑπάρχειν for ὑπάρχει **[8.55]**
**AZ** against **BCDGLMOVW** γνώμην for γνώμη **[10.40]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** ὑποστάσεσιν for ὑποστάσεσι **[12.10]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** φησὶν for φησι **[27.3.5]**
**B** against **ACDLMOVZ** φησὶ for φησιν **[28.4.6]**
**B** against **CGLMVZ** δυνατήν for δυνατὴ **[37.38]**
**BDMOVW** against **ACGLZ** προνενοηκόσιν for προνενοηκόσι **[37.12]**
**BDMOW** against **ACGLVZ** φησὶ for φησὶν **[4.7]**
**BDO** against **ACGJLMVZ** πατράσιν for πατράσι **[55.3.17]**
**BDO** against **GZ** φησὶ for φησὶν **[4.14]**
**BV** against **ACGLMWZ** φασὶν for φασὶ **[5.1.4]**
**C** against **ABGVMWZ** τρισὶ for τρισὶν **[16.64]**
**CGL** against **ABJVZ** φησὶν for φησὶ **[51.11]**
**D** against **ACLMOVWZ** φησὶ for φησὶν **[26.30]**
**DO** against **ACGLMWZ** φασίν for φασὶ **[5.1.4]**
**G** against **BCDMOW** φησὶν for φησι **[25.2.2]**
**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** *ἀγαθὴν* for *ἀγαθὴ* **[52.51] ;** *παραπέμπουσι* for *παραπέμπουσιν* **[44.1.23]**
**GJL** against **ACDMOVWZ** συμφωνούσι for συμφωνοῦσιν **[52.24]**
**GJLZ** against **ABCDMOVW** εἰρήνην for εἰρήνη **[52.17]**
**GJV** against **ABCDLMOW** *αἱρέσεσιν* *αἱρέσεσι* **[53.25]**
**GL** against **ACDMOVWZ** ἐστιν for ἐστι **[7.4]**
**GVW** against **ABCDLMOZ** ὑποστάσεσιν for ὑποστάσεσι **[8.61]**
**J** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** καθυπέβαλε for καθυπέβαλεν **[44.7.20]**
**L** against **ABCDGMOVW** φασιν for φασὶ **[14.7]**
**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** *ἀσίᾳ* for *ἀσίαν* **[44.3.2]**
**L** against **ABCDVWZ** φησὶν for φησὶ **[45.89]**
**L** against **ACDGMOVWZ** φησὶν for φησὶ **[27.3.1]**
**LZ** against **ABCDGMOVW** οὐδὲ for οὐδὲν **[4.31]**
**LZ** against **ABCDGMOVW** προζύμη for προζύμην **[46.28]**
**MW** against **ABCDGJLOVZ** εἰσίωσιν for εἰσίωσι **[50.14]**
**MW** against **ABJVZ** φησίν for φησὶ **[51.11]**
**T** against A**BCDGJLMOVWZ** κεκρίκασιν for κεκρίκασι **[49.18]**
**V** against **ABCDMOLW** αὐτός φησιν for αὐτός φησι **[52.10]**
**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἐκδεδώκασιν for ἐκδεδώκασι **[35.18] ;** προσκομίζουσι for προσκομίζουσιν **[34.2]**
**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** *παρθενία* for *παρθενίαν* **[38.43] ;** *σάββασιν* for *σάββασι* **[39.14] ;** *σάββασιν* for *σάββασι* **[39.22]**
**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** *λώβη* for *λώβην* **[23.5] ;** *περιτίθησι* for *περιτίθησιν* **[10.125] ;** φησὶν for φησὶ **[4.1.8]**
**Z** against **ABCDGMOVW** ἕκτη for ἕκτην **[27.1.18]**
**Z** against **ABCGMOVL** ἀντιπίπτει for ἀντιπίπτειν **[8.5]**

**Z** against **ACGLV** οὐτωσὶν for οὐτωσὶ **[11.4]**
**Z** against **BCDGMOVW** ἐστὶν ἐπιβαίνουσαν for ἐστι συμβαίνουσαν **[25.1.1]**

## 10. Dittography

**C** post τοῖς scr. et del. εἰσέπειτα προμηθείας εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναγεννᾶσθαι **[24.3.1]**
**D** post Κυρίῳ scr. καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρα τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων τῷ Κυρίῳ **[25.11]**
**G** post υἱοῦ scr. Καὶ μετά τινα εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ μόνου πρόεισι τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ **[6.35] ;** διὰ τοῦ *τοῦ* προσεχῶς **[4.62]**
**L** post καινοτομοῦντες scr. τούτοις δὲ μικρόν τι καινοτομοῦντες **[22.24] ;** post πατήρ² scr. καὶ μόνη πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ **[16.61] ;** post ἁπλοῦν scr. et del. ἐκ δυσῖν **[16.50] ;** post τοίνυν scr. et del. αὐτὰ κρατύνων ἐγνωρίζετο **[44.2.17]**
**O** post λόγος scr. et del. ἀλλ' ἑαυτῇ προϋποστάσει, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἥνωται λόγος **[37.32] ;** post πνεύματος scr. et del. φιλεῖ-πνεύματος **[5.64]**
**W** post παραπέμπει scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) παραπέμπει **[38.40] ;** post πατρὸς scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς **[13.7] ;** post τοῦ scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) τοῦ **[4.48] ;** τε καὶ *καὶ* for τε καὶ **[6.52-53]**

## 11. *Homoioteleuton*

**A** ἐκφύγοι-ὃς οὐκ ἂν om. **[22.6-7]**
**B** τῆς γονῆς-οὐ μὴν om. **[37.36-37]**

## 12. Different punctuation

**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** ἐλάχομεν, for ἐλάχομεν; **[10.39]**
**AL** against **BCDGMOVWZ** σκαιότητος for σκαιότητος; **[10.80]**
**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** μετέστη; for μετέστη **[10.39]**

## B. Errors Corrected

### Words corrected from erroneous types

### 1. due to confusion of sounds

**A** ἰδιάζον from ἰδιάζων **[2.46] ;** ὑμᾶς from ὑμῶν **[58.12]**

**AZ** κατατέμνον from κατατέμνων **[52.5]**

**B** ἄλλην from ἄλλϊν **[4.61] ;** ἀπειρήκει from ἀπηρήκει **[23.116] ;** ἐκτησάμην from ἐκτϊσάμην **[5.86] ;** λελήθασι from λελύθασι **[37.12] ;** ὁρώμενος from ὡρώμενος **[44.6] ;** πραιτώριον from πραιτόριον **[27.2.3] ;** ταμίας from ταμείας **[27.1.21] ;** τρεῖς from τρις **[6.17] ;** φθείρει from φθείρη **[16.71]**

**BV** ἀπεσείσαντο from ἀπεσίσαντο **[3.5]**

**C** ἔχων from ἔχον **[11.13]**

**D** αἱρεῖτο from αἱροῖτο **[22.3] ;** γινομένη from γενομένη **[14.11] ;** ἐδεδόκει et sscr. ω for ἐδεδώκει **[11.32] ;** ἐπιτίμια from ἐπιτήμια **[55.2.9] ;** φρονοῦμεν οἱ from φρονουμενοὶ **[20.26]**

**G** δεῖ from δη **[37.2] ;** διαφυγὸν from διαφυγὼν **2.73] ;** ἡ[2] from οἱ **[9.43] ;** καινὰ from κενὰ **[35.23] ;** ὁδῶν from ὁδὸν **[18.33]**

**GZ** καθῆσθαι from καθεῖσθαι **[40.4]**

**L** ἀγωνιστικῶς from ἀγονιστικῶς **[9.27] ;** ἐρομένω from ἐρωμένω **[10.25] ;** ἡ μὲν from ε‹ἰ› μὲν **[23.121] ;** θεραπείας from θεραπίας **[24.1.1.4.3] ;** λάβετε from λάβεται **[28.2.2] ;** μέσο et sscr. ω for μέσω **[23.140] ;** πνικτοφαγία from πνικτωφαγία **[55.1.2] ;** πρακτέων from πρακτέον **[23.65] ;** συνέχοντος from συνέχωντος **[23.51] ;** συνόδων from σύνοδον **[45.8] ;** τιμωρήσασθαι from τιμωρείσασθαι **[54.5] ;** τὸν from τῶν **[55.2.16] ;** τοῖς from τὴν **[10.42] ;** τοῦτο from τοῦτω **[8.66] ;** τρόπος from τρόπως **[35.32]**

**W** ἀνομοίων from ἀνομείων **[2.33] ;** ἀντεισαχθέντος from ἀντισαχθέντος **[28.13] ;** ἀντιρρόποις from ἀντοιρρόποις **[1.34] ;** αὐτοὶ from αὐτὴ **[27.2.3] ;** αὐτῶν from αὐτὸν **[43.16] ;** γεγενῆσθαι from γεγενῆσθε **[18.27] ;** ἐπιμένη from ἐπιμένει **[53.17] ;** ἐτύθη from ἐτίθη **[26.31] ;** εὐσεβείας from εὐσεβίας **[50.10] ;** ἤδει from ἤδη **[27.1.14] ;** ἠμοίρει from ἠμείρει **[23.121] ;** κατοπτεύσωμεν from κατοπτεύσομεν **[45.4] ;** μόνον from μόνων **[23.77] ;** προσεχῶς[2] from πρώσεχῶς **[4.62] ;** τοιοῦτον from τοιοῦτων **[55.2.7] ;** ὑπερεκπίπτον from ὑπερεκπίπτων **[10.7]**

**Z** ἀνωμολόγηται from ἀνωμολόγειται **[55.2.22] ;** αὐτῶν from αὐτὸν **[49.23] ;** διενηνοχέναι from διενηνοχαίναι **[56.8] ;** δ’ ὅμως from δ’ ὥμως **[10.43] ;** ἐβεβαίωσε from ἐβαιβαίωσε **[35.5] ;** ἐκκηρύττουσιν from ἐκκυρύττουσιν **[47.8] ;** κατεπαιρόμενον from καταιπαιρόμενον **[38.44] ;** μόνον from μόνων **[47.9] ;** ὁ τὸν from ὁ τῶν vel τῇ **[23.113] ;** πλίνθου from πλείνθου **[28.2.9] ;** τοῦτο from τούτω **[56.3] ;** τῶ from τὸ **[60.3]**

## 2. Double consonants

**B** γεννᾶται from γενᾶται **[2.88]**
**D** γεγενῆσθαι from γεγεννῆσθαι **[45.22]**
**L** δυσσεβείας from δυσεβείας **[50.19] ;** ἐλλάμψεως from ἐλάμψεως **[6.80]**
**Z** ἔλλαμψις from ἔλαμψις **[6.79]**

## 3. Double consonants *altera manus*

**D** ἀλλότριος from ἀλότριος **[2.79] ;** μονογενὴς from μογενὴς **[4.41]**
**V** γεγέννηται from γεγένηται **[2.97]**

## 4. Accents and breathings

**AB** δεῖ from δὴ **[24.3.20]**
**B** ἀκτῖνα from ἀκτίνα **[5.57] ;** ἁλοῖεν from ἁλοίεν **[2.56] ;** ἅπερ from ἄπερ **[55.3.11] ;** ἅτε from ἄτε **[5.53] ;** διπλῆν from διπλὴν **[9.51] ;** ἐν ἅλλοις from ἐν ἄλλοις **[4.8] ;** ἕξει from ἔξει **[53.40] ;** ἑορτήν from ἑορτὴν **[29.27] ;** ἡμῖν from ἡμὶν **[21.14] ;** πατρός from πατρὸς **[6.25] ;** πᾶσα from πασῆ **[5.55] ;** ταῦτας from ταύτας **[3.11] ;** τὴν αἰτίαν from τὸ αἰτίαν **[5.34] ;** ὑπερβασίαν from ὑπέρ βασίαν **[23.99] ;** χωρῖσαι from χωρίσαι **[1.17]**
**C** ἄψυχός τε from ἄψυχὸς τε **[23.15] ;** θησαυρόν τινα from θησαυρὸν τινα **[5.72] ;** κρηπίδος from κρηπῖδος **[22.59] ;** πνεύματος from πνεὺματος **[4.11] ;** τοπρῶτον from τὸ πρῶτον **[18.67]**
**D** ἃ λόγοις from ἀλόγοις **[18.9] ;** ἐκπορεύσεως from ἐκπόρευσεως **[3.7] ;** ἐλέγχοις from ἔλέγχοις **[3.3] ;** ἐνέργειαν from ἐνεργείαν **[5.67] ;** ἰδιάζον from ἴδιάζον **[2.50] ;** καλῆ from καλή **[24.1.1.2.6] ;** ὀργώσης from ὁργώσης **[23.73] ;** οὔτε[2] from οὐ τὲ **[15.22] ;** παῖδας from παίδας **[23.85] ;** παραλιπῆν from παριλιπῆν **[4.1] ;** περί τε from περὶ τε **[1.46] ;** συνιστάντες from συνιστᾶντες **[23.6] ;** σωτῆρι from σωτηρὶ **[4.3] ;** το όλον from τὸ όλον **[23.128] ;** τοῦτον from τούτον **[45.48] ;** τούτοις from τοῦτοις **[55.1.1] ;** υίόν from υἱὸν **[7.18] ;** φρενῶν from φρενών **[9.28]**
**DZ** καταβολῆ from καταβολὴ **[23.10]**
**G** ἀκτῖσι from ἀκτίσι **[53.33] ;** ἁλοί ἂν from ἀλοί ἂν **[17.13] ;** ἀφιεὶς from ἀφιεῖς **[17.13] ;** γάρ from γὰρ **[10.40] ;** γραφὴ from γραφῆ **[14.16] ;** ἐπιπλεῖον from ἐπιπλείον **[53.39] ;** ἣν from ἢν **[35.3] ;** ἥρτηται from ἤρτηται **[2.39] ;** οὔ from οὖ **[24.3] ;** ἱεροσολυμων from ἰεροσολύμων **[44.3.7]**
**L** ἄλογον from ἄλόγον **[48.18] ;** αὐτὸν from αὐτόν **[10.84] ;** αὐτοὶ from αὔτοι **[10.35] ;** βουληθείημεν from βουληθείη μὲν **[37.65] ;** γάρ from γὰρ **[16.20] ;** διαφορὰν from διὰ φορὰν **[16.73] ;** δογματίζοντες from δόγματίζοντες **[33.5] ;** ἐκλογῆς from ἐκλόγης **[2.61] ;** ἐνεγκὼν from ἐνεγκῶν **[23.57] ;** ἑνώσας from ἐνώσας **[23.31] ;** ἡγησαμένους from ἡγήσαμένους **[44.2] ;** ἢ τετίμητο from ἦ τὲ τίμητο **[23.58] ;** ἣν from ἢν **[39.34] ;** ἰθύνειν from ἱθύνειν

**[49.4]** ; καρπώσασθαι from καρπῶσασθαι **[48.20]** ; κελεύοντος from κέλεύοντος **[40.7]** ; λάθοιμεν from λάθοιμὲν **[39.54]** ; μελχισεδὲκ from μελχισεδέκ **[34.11]** ; μερικὰς τινας from μερικάς τινας **[1.44]** ; μεταστοιχειούμεθα from μεταστοιχείούμεθα **[24.3.8]** ; μηδὲν from μὴ δὲν **[46.5]** ; μηδὲν from μὴ δὲν **[27.1.4]** ; μῆκος from μήκος **[45.44]** ; ὀνομάσας from ὀνόμάσας **[28.4.25]** ; πρίν τι from πρὶν τι **[4.42]** ; προσθήκη from πρὸς θήκη **[19.63]** ; τῆ δολερᾶ from τὴ δολερᾶ **[10.131-132]** ; τοιγαροῦν from τοι γὰρ οῦν **[23.84]** ; τοῦτο from τούτο **[25.7]** ; ὑμνωδίας from ὕμνωδίας **[23.35]** ; ὑπερνεφὴς from ὑπὲρ νεφὴς **[54.14]**

**O** ἔστιν from ἐστίν **[5.75]** ; φᾶναι from φάναι **[18.21]**

**V** λῦσαι from λύσαι **[29.3]** ; οὐκέτι from οὐκ ἔτι **[26.33]** ; ὡσανεί τινα from ὡσανεὶ τινα **[23.28]**

**W** ἀσπαζέσθω from ἀσπάζέσθω **[41.7]** ; αὐξιτικὴν from αὐξιτικήν **[24.3.27]** ; ἐκεῖνοι from ἐκείνοι **[29.7]** ; ἠνύετο from ἡνύετο **[27.1.30]** ; ἱκανὴ from ἱκανῆ **[32.11]** ; καθολικὴ from καθολικῆ **[46.9]** ; λογική from λογικῆ **[37.33]** ; μαρτυρία from μάρτυρια **[7.17]** ; νοερὰ from νοερᾶ **[37.33]** ; συνεχέσι from συνέχεσι **[45.51]** ; συχνοὺς from συχνοῦς **[50.24]** ; σχεδὸν from σχεδόν **[55.2.32]** ; σχεδόν ἐστιν from σχεδὸν ἐστιν **[22.71]** ; τομήν from τομὴν **[10.18]**

**Z** ἁλισθήσεται from ἀλισθήσεται **[34.4]** ; ἅπαν from ἄπαν **[6.69]** ; ἁπασῶν from ἀπασῶν **[33.7]** ; ἁπλῆ from ἁπλὴ **[48.10]** ; ἀπόστολος from ἁπόστολος **[45.33]** ; ἁρμονίας from ἀρμονίας **[28.4.34]** ; ἑλλήνων from ἐλλήνων **[16.6]** ; ἐμά from ἐμὰ **[11.25]** ; ἐν ὅλω from ἐν ὅλω **[35.11]** ; καθαιρείσθω from καθαιρεῖσθω **[31.5]** ; καθολικὴ from καθολικῆ **[47.8]** ; κομιδῆ from κομιδὴ **[35.1]** ; λύσαι from λῦσαι **[29.3]** ; μηδὲν from μὴ δὲν **[43.21]** ; μονογενοῦς from μονογενοὺς **[4.30]** ; πραχθησόμενα from πραχθήσομενα **[46.25]** ; συντεταχὼς from συντεταχῶς **[20.8]**

## 5. Word endings

**B** ἀλήθειαν from ἀήθειαν **[54.19]** ; προσαναχρωσθέντα from προσαναχθέντα **[23.62]**

**C** νοήσει from νοούση **[14.26]**

**D** ἀληθινῆς from ἀληθείας (?) **[1.31]**

**G** μόνου from μόνη (?) **[9.36]** ; ξένω from ξένον **[37.7]**

**L** αἱρετιζόντων from αἱρετικόν **[55.3.13]** ; ἀκαρεῖ from ἀκρεῖ **[27.1.28]** ; ἀνέλαβε from ἀνέβαλε **[24.1.1.4.3]** ; μὴ from μὲν **[34.7]** ; μόνου from μόνον **[7.5]** ; οἴνω from οἴκω **[10.133]** ; πέμψω from πέμψωμεν **[5.68]** ; ταύτη τοι from ταύτη σοι **[10.85-86]** ; τούτων from τούταις (?) **[29.10]** ; φωτίζων from φαωτίζων (?) **[25.5]**

**M** θρυλλοῦσιν from θρυλλώσιν **[54.6]** ; χαρακτῆρας from χαρακτῆραν **[24.1.10]**

**W** ἀρειανικῆς from ἀρεινικῆς **[36.4]** ; αὐτὸν from αὐτοῖς **[43.18]** ; ἰουδαϊκῶν from ἰουδαϊων **[28.1.2]** ; νενομοθέτηκε from νενομοθέτηκεν **[35.4]** ; οἱ from ὁς **[31.1]** ; τοῦ from τοὺς **[31.4]** ; τοὺς from τὸν **[52.41]** ; φάγωσι from φάγωσιν **[27.2.4]** ; φησι from φησιν **[27.3.5]**

**Z** ἀπειλοῦν from ἀπειλοῦντος **[29.28] ;** εἰσερχομένοις from εἰσερχομένους **[57.3] ;** ἐστι from ἐστιν **[24.3.17] ;** μόνου from μόνος **[39.10] ;** τὰς from τὴς **[32.11] ;** χερσὶ from χερσὶν **[2.15]**

## 6. Crossed out and replaced words

**C** παραδέχεται scr. et eras. et sup. lin. scr. ἐκπορεύεται **[60.12]**

**V** ante Ἡ μέντοι scr. συνόδου, τετάρτης et del. τετάρτης et scr. ἕκτης **[19.9]**

## 7. Crossed out words

**C** post μέγας scr. et del. βασιλείου **[9.33] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ in marg. scr. et del. βασιλείου **[18.53] ;** post ἐστιωμένοις scr. et del. ἐσθι **[23.104] ;** ante Καὶ τὸ scr. et del. in marg. τὸ σοφὸν **[24.1.1.1.1] ;** post τοίνυν scr. et del. ἠγνόηται **[30.5] ;** post γὰρ scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) **[44.4.1] ;** post δίκη scr. et del. ἀνθ' ὧν στέφανον καὶ πολυχρόνιον **[44.6.16] ;** post εἴκοσι καὶ scr. et del. ἐννέα et sscr. ἑκατὸν **[44.7.2] ;** post ἐπανθήσειν scr. et del. στεφάνους **[54.16] ;** post συμβαίνει scr. et del. ὥσπερ **[52.28] ;**

**D** post τυραννοῦντος scr. et del. μέλ **[24.2.2] ;** post ἱεροῦ scr. et del. πάσχα **[28.5] ;** post τὴν scr. et del. ἁμα (ex ἁμαρτίας) **[28.4.13] ;** post ἱερατείας scr. et del. ἱερατείας **[44.1.11] ;** post ἔχει scr. et del. τῶ εἶναι **[45.22]**

**G** post ἐν scr. et del. ὡς (?) **[23.32] ;** post ἀναγέννησιν scr. et del. τὸ ἐνεστὸς **[24.8] ;** ‹κατασείε›-|σθαι-κατατομήν scr. et del. **[52.29-30] ;** Ὁ δέ-πᾶσαν εἰρήνην scr. et cnc. **[52.30-35]**

**L** post μετὰ τοῦ scr. et del. πρω for πρῶτου **[5.34] ;** post πέμψω scr. et del. μεν for πέμψωμεν **[5.68] ;** post καὶ τοῦ scr. et del. ἁγίου **[7.30] ;** ante υἱὸς scr. et del. λόγος **[18.39] ;** post αὐτοῦ scr. et del. πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς **[21.9] ;** ἱερουργίαν from ἱερῶν del. ῶν et scr. ουργίαν for ἱερουργίαν **[23.3] ;** post τῶ scr. et del. τελ for τελλείω (?) **[23.61] ;** post αἱ δὲ scr. et del. τέσσαρ **[23.103] ;** post γεννητικήν scr. et del. καὶ αὐξητικήν **[24.3.27] ;** post ἔτι scr. et del. ἡμ per ἡμετέραν **[24.1.4] ;** post τὸ scr. et del. ἅγιον **[27.2.1] ;** post προστεταγμένον scr. et del. λει for λειτουργία **[39.44] ;** post πασκασῖνος scr. et del. ἱεροσολύμων **[44.4.7] ;** post καὶ scr. et del. τοῖς **[49.19] ;** post οἵ γε scr. et del. μοι παραδείγμασι τῆς θείας γρα[φῆς] **[55.2.3] ;** post διαλύεσθαι scr. et del. τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸ ἀ[θεσμον] **[55.2.14]**

**V** post πολλοῖς scr. et del. καὶ **[26.30]**

**W** post διακρίνεσθαι τὸ scr. et del. αἴτιον **[4.59] ;** post πρῶτον scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) διελ for διελθὼν **[23.113] ;** post ἐν τῶ scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) ἐν τῶ **[52.39]**

**Z** post Πνεύματος scr. et del. τὸ δε **[5.90]**

## 8. Words written above the line

**A** μὴ **[18.77] ;** ὁ τοῦ **[1.42]**
**B** αὐτὴν **[39.62] ;** δὲ **[2.81] ;** δὲ **[4.56] ;** ἥ **[55.1.10] ;** καὶ² **[9.57] ;** καὶ² **[28.4.31] ;** καὶ **[38.20] ;** τῆ **[1.9] ;** τῆ **[37.37] ;** τήν **[16.69] ;** τῆς **[26.16] ;** τὸ **[46.3] ;** τῶν **[16.5]**
**C** ἁγίας **[18.51] ;** θεῖος **[6.76] ;** οὐκ **[44.3.9] ;** τῶν **[30.6] ;** ὥσπερ **[52.28] ;**
**D** καὶ² **[44.6.8] ;** τοὺς **[44.1]**
**G** ἂν **[22.69] ;** ἐστιν **[8.65] ;** μὲν **[10.134] ;** σφόδρα **[10.162]**
**GW** τε **[44.2.6]**
**L** διὰ **[1.36] ;** οἱ **[24.2.5] ;** τὸ **[56.17]**
**M** καὶ **[28.4.31]**
**V** τὴν **[24.3.11]**
**W** καὶ **[27.2.3] ;** οἱ **[28.4] ;** τὰ **[55.2.54] ;** τὴν **[55.1.7] ;** τῶ **[4.39] ;** υἱοῦ **[18.37]**
**Z** αἱ **[10.165] ;** γὰρ **[23.56] ;** γὰρ **[23.77] ;** γὰρ **[4.62] ;** γε **[19.4] ;** γε **[27.1.31] ;** γε **[55.2.30] ;** δὲ **[39.10] ;** δὲ οὐ **[2.71] ;** διὰ **[18.60] ;** θεοῦ **[58.3] ;** μὲν **[44.5.21] ;** μὴ **[53.8] ;** ὁ **[52.6] ;** τὴν **[48.7] ;** τῆς **[10.124] ;** τοῦ **[10.94] ;** τοῦ **[18.62] ;** τῶ **[44.5.2] ;** τῶ **[53.37] ;** τὸ **[8.68] ;** τῶν **[21.18] ;** τῶν **[23.91]**

## 9. Other superscribed corrections

**A** ἔκφασιν et sscr. ν for ἔκφανσιν [**7.36] ;** κονοῦ et sscr. ι for κοινοῦ **[22.36] ;** ὁμουσιότητος et sscr. ο per ὁμουσιότητος **[2.80] ;** ὁρμόμενον et sscr. ώ for ὁρμώμενον **[44.3.9] ;** ὑμνεῖ et sscr. ν for ὑμνεῖν **[23.40]**
**B** ἀκρίβιαν et sscr. ει for ἀκρίβειαν **[43.22] ;** γεγγραμένων et sscr. μ for γεγγραμμένων **[19.41] ;** ἐνάκις et ν sscr. for ἐννάκις **[45.73] ;** εἰπόντος et sscr. τως for εἰπόντως **[21.20] ;** περισάρτιος et sscr σ. for περισσάρτιος **[45.11] ;** πόνηρος et sscr. παμ for παμπόνηρος **[23.69] ;** συμπλέσθαι et κε sscr. for συμπλέκεσθαι **[55.2.15] ;** συνεῖγε et σῆ sscr. for συνεισῆγε **[23.45]**
**C** δηλώσας et sscr. ου for δηλούσας **[9.58] ;** ἔλαβε et sscr. εἴληφε **[27.1.9] ;** ἐνεστὼς et sscr. ο per ἐνεστὸς **[24.1.1.4.5] ;** ἔργων et sscr. ο for ἔργον **[27.1.11] ;** εὐεργέτηντο et sscr. ηρ per εὐηργέτηντο **[24.2.6] ;** καλεῖται et sscr. θεολογεῖται **[5.20] ;** ὅ et τι sscr. for ὅτι **[23.9] ;** πάλιν et sscr. αὖθις **[25.1] ;** πάση et sscr. μεγίστη **[9.1] ;** περίβολος et sscr. πρό for πρόβολος **[7.12] ;** προσηγόρευσεν et sscr. κ for προσηγόρευκεν **[9.51] ;** συνεσπειραμένης et sscr. πτυγμένης for συνεπτυγμένης **[5.16] ;** τῆς et sscr. οῖς per τοῖς **[24.1.3] ;** τὸ et sscr. ν for τὸν **[28.7] ;** τούτων et sscr. οις for τούτοις **[18.45] ;** τρισὶ et sscr. ν for τρισὶν **[16.64] ;** ὑπάρχει et sscr. ν for ὑπάρχειν **[8.55] ;** ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ et sscr. ἐξ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[12.13-14] ;** φησι et ν sscr. for φησιν **[25.2.2]**
**D** ἀκέρου et sscr. αι for ἀκαίρου **[48.21] ;** ἀναχέσασθαι et sscr. μα for ἀναμαχέσασθαι **[24.1.1.3.4] ;** τὸ et sscr ν. for τὸν **[16.22] ;** χοροῦντας et sscr. ω for χωροῦντας **[39.5]**
**G** ἀπόλυται et sscr. λ for ἀπόλλυται **[26.13] ;** ἐνιαύσιαι et sscr. ον for ἐνιαύσιον **[23.100] ;** ἐχθρος et sscr. ῶς for ἐχθρῶς **[10.41]**

**L** ἄλλο et sscr. τριον for ἀλλότριον **[8.17] ;** ἀναγενᾶ et sscr. ν for ἀναγεννᾶ **[45.96] ;** ἐδώκει et sscr. δε for ἐδεδώκει **[11.32] ;** ἔνομον et ν sscr. for ἔννομον **[39.47] ;** θείω et ν sscr. for θείων **[26.6] ;** μοθετῶν et νο sscr. for νομοθετῶν **[23.108] ;** συβεβήκει et sscr. μ for συμβεβήκει **[18.7]**

**LW** ἐφαμίλως et λ sscr. for ἐφαμίλλως **[55.2.5]**

**O** post ὥς sscr. τι **[23.27]**

**V** τοῦτο et sscr. ν for τοῦτον **[45.48]**

**W** διαιρῦντα et sscr. ο for διαιροῦντα **[6.48] ;** δικαιοῦσθαι et sscr. ε for δικαιοῦσθε **[32.3] ;** εἰ et sscr. ς for εἰς **[36.5] ;** ἐπιχειρίσαντας et sscr η for ἐπιχειρήσαντας **[43.19] ;** μεγαλοφωτάτου et sscr. νο for μεγαλοφωνοτάτου **[25.1.2] ;** μέτερε et sscr. αι for μέταιρε **[19.47] ;** παραγγέλουσιν et sscr. λ for παραγγέλλουσιν **[53.2] ;** πορνευόντος et πε sscr. for πεπορνευκότος **[26.10] ;** σίεσθαι et προ sscr. for προσίεσθαι **[26.3] ;** τὸν et sscr. ῶ for τῶν **[21.18] ;** τούτοι et sscr. σ fortούτοις **[11.32]**

**Z** ἀγαπόντος et sscr. ῶ for ἀγαπῶντος **[15.3] ;** ἀληθείας et sscr. ἐκκλησίας **[2.52] ;** ἀναίδην et sscr. ε forἀνέδην **[21.15] ;** αὐτὴν et sscr. ῆ for αὐτῆ **[10.124] ;** ἀφαιροῦν et sscr. τα forἀφαιροῦντα **[20.38] ;** γαμικὸς et sscr. ῶς for γαμικῶς **[55.3.1] ;** γλῶττας et sscr. ης for γλώττης **[22.57] ;** δυσεβείας et sscr. σ for δυσσεβείας **[50.19] ;** θήλεος et sscr. ω for θήλεως **[45.92] ;** ἑαυτὸ et sscr. ῶ for ἑαυτῶ **[16.4] ;** ἐγκεχειρισμένοι et sscr. γ for ἐγκεγχειρισμένοι **[55.6] ;** ἐλειπῶς et sscr. λ for ἐλλειπῶς **[28.2.6] ;** ἑορτάζουσι et sscr. ει for ἑορτάζει **[55.1.2] ;** ἐπανθήσει et sscr. η for ἐπανθήση **[27.1.25] ;** εἰδωμανούντων et λω sscr. for εἰδωλωμανούντων **[54.25] ;** εἰρήνη et ν sscr. for εἰρήνην **[52.16] ;** εισάγουσαν et sscr. ἐπ for ἐπεισάγουσαν **[20.5] ;** λόγος et sscr. νόμος **[22.2] ;** λώβη et sscr. ν for λώβην **[23.5] ;** ἰουδαῖοι et sscr. ος for ἰουδαῖος **[55.1.2] ;** κόκινον et κ sscr. for κόκκινον **[23.48] ;** χριστιανικὴν et sscr. ἐκκλησίαν **[46.20] ;** ὠντινων οῦν et sscr. ό et νοῦν for ὁντινοῦν **[26.9]**

## 10. Superscribed α′ and β′ to denote transposition of words

**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν for ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας **[57.3]**

**C** against **ABDGJLMOVWZ** κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς for αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν **[56.29]**

**C** against **ABDGLMOVW** ἐκεῖνο πνεύσασαν τοῦ καιροῦ for ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ πνεύσασαν **[48.7]**

**C** against **ABDGLMOWZ** ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἕλλησι for ἕλλησι καὶ ἰουδαίοις **[22.49]**

**C** against **ABDLMOVWZ** διὰ σπουδῆς κρατύνειν τιθεμένων for κρατύνειν διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένων **[1.36-37]**

**C** against **ADGLMOVWZ** αὐτίκα ὁ μέγας for ὁ μέγας αὐτίκα **[8.50-51]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** τὰς αὐτῶν φωνὰς for τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν **[10.146]**

**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** ὁρῶν ἐνίους for ἐνίους ὁρῴη **[56.1]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** δείπνου ἦσαν for ἦσαν δείπνου **[28.4.41-42] ;** δεῖπνος ἐτελεῖτο for ἐτελεῖτο δεῖπνος **[27.2.5] ;** ἐντελὴς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος for τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐντελὴς **[16.63] ;** ἐπαγόμενος ἀθανάσιον for

ἀθανάσιον ἐπαγόμενος **[44.1.15] ;** Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτὸς for καὶ αὐτὸς Ῥώμης **[19.30] ;** τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔχειν for ἔχειν τῆς ὑπάρξεως **[5.1.15]**

**Z** against **ABCDGMOVW** παραδόσει οὐ συμβαίνοντα for οὐ συμβαίνοντα παραδόσει **[20.42-43]**

**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος ἁγία for καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία σύνοδος **[19.1]**

**Z** against **BCDGLMOVW** πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσιν for ἐκπόρευσιν πνεύματος **[20.20]**

**Z** against **BCDLMOVW** συνόδοις οἰκουμενικαῖς for οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις **[45.6]**

## 11. Words or letters in rasuram

**A** τὰ **[46.23] ;** *ταύτην* **[37.10] ;** τέμνειν **[44.3.11]**

**B** ἀφορῶντας **[54.16] ;** ἐπιδιατάττεσθε **[22.29] ;** ἰουδαϊκῶν **[28.1.2] ;** νεστο*ρίω* **[8.29] ;** πρεσβυτέρου in ras. et ρ sscr. **[38.42] ;** *πρὸς* **[23.1] ;** τοιαύτη **[38.42] ;** post ἂν [.] ras. 1 lit. **[37.66]**

**C** *ἔχοντα* **[44.3.21] ;** *λόγον* **[60.7]**

**G** ἀμαθῶς **[23.7] ;** κενοφωνίας ras. et ω sscr. **[53.39] ;** τὸ **[5.46] ;** post ὁ τῶν [….] ras. 4 litt. **[35.4] ;** post καὶ τὰ [……..] ras. 8 litt. **[53.45]**

**L** ἄ[....]θεσμον in ras. 3-4 litt. **[55.2.14] ;** ἀγωνιστ[..]ὰς in ras. 2 litt. **[54.19] ;** ἐγκεχειρισμένοι **[55.6] ;** ἐκκλησίαις **[35.19] ;** ἵσταται **[55.2.52] ;** καὶ[2] **[33.22] ;** *παραβαίνοντας* **[55.2.18] ;** *παραβαίνοντας* **[55.2.18] ;** πλάστιγγας **[10.7] ;** post ἐγὼ [….] ras. 3-4 litt. **[54.33] ;** post μέλλοντας […] ras. 3 litt. **[54.16] ;** post τῆς ras. [..] 2 litt. **[32.4]**

**M** *γε ὁμοίως* **[5.38] ;** post κοινωνοὶ […] ras. 2-3 litt. **[23.123]**

**O** ἀνενδεὴς **[23.39] ;** *πράγματος* **[18.6] ;** σκιαγραφία **[27.1.24] ;** στοχαζόμενοι **[28.1]**

**V** διακοσίους **[44.3.3] ;** *δίκας* **[44.3.10] ;** *δύο* **[44.3.11] ;** τέμνειν **[44.3.11] ;** ὑπερβολῆς **[29.11] ;** ante [.....] ὅσα ras. 7-8 litt.

**W** δεύτερον in ras. et in scr. marg. ερ **[16.16] ;** δυναστεύουσαν **[49.2] ;** ἡμεῖς **[19.25] ;** ἱερῶν in ras. et ῶ sscr. **[48.15] ;** φιλικῶς **[51.16] ;** post αὕτη […] ras. 3-4 litt. **[31.9]**

**Z** ἀληθείας *ἁμάρτοις* **[45.39] ;** *ἐκ* **[6.73] ;** *ἑνὶ ἑκάστω* **[1.44] ;** *ἐν ὑμῖν* **[1.43] ;** *κελεύοντος* **[59.4] ;** μερικάς *τινας* **[1.44] ;** *ναούς* **[56.2] ;** *πίστεως* **[1.32] ;** τὸ ἅγιον **[7.7] ;** *τοῦ χριστοῦ* **[1.42-43] ;** τρίτην **[45.41] ;** *τῷ ὀνόματι* **[52.39]**

## 12. Corrections given in the margin

**C** ante ὁμιλητὴς sign. et in marg. scr. γρ(άφε) ὁμιλητὴς τοῦ μεγάλου παύλου γενόμενος **[28.4.32]**

**D** post τε in marg. scr. ἓν **[10.95]**

**G** συναγόμενον et in marg. scr. συνεισαγόμενον **[5.25] ;** in marg. τὸ φῶς **[5.46] ;** in marg. ἐστιν **[8.65] ;** μὲν et in marg. scr. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν **[10.134] ;** συγγραφὰς from γραφὰς et in marg. scr. συγγραφὰς **[10.157] ;** ῥάβδος et in marg. scr. γράφε ῥαύδος **[35.25]**

**L** οἱ et scr. in marg. scr. εἰ **[37.64]**

**W** ἢ πνευματομάχοι et in marg. scr.ἴσως οἱ **[10.156]**

**W** δεύτερον in ras. et in marg. scr. ερ **[16.16]**

**Z** οὐρανοῦ sign. sscr. et in marg. scr. εἶμαι vel. οἶμαι (?) τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὠφείλει γράφεσθαι **[27.1.5] ;** ἐπικεχείρη γὰρ et sscr. κεν et μὲν for ἐπικεχείρηκε μὲν γὰρ et in marg. scr. ἐπικεχείρηκεν μὲν γὰρ **[39.15]**

## 13. Part of the text written in the margin

**B** ἀριθμητικὸν-ἀριθμοῦ scr. in marg. **[45.1-3] ;** [τεκοῦ]σαν ἀει scr. in marg. **[44.3.22] ;**

**BDVLZ** ἐρώτησις scr. in marg. **[55.3.Tit]**

**D** τὸ δὲ-πρώτου deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[4.62] ;** post τε sign. sscr. et scr. in marg. ἓν **[10.95] ;** τῆς κακίας deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[23.110] ;** ἔχουσιν-ἀπόστολος deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[26.33-34] ;** ante θυμῶ sign. et δικαίω deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[29.9]**

**GLV** ἀπόκρισις scr. in marg. **[55.3.1]**

**GLZ** ἀπόκρισις scr. in marg. **[55.1.1]**

**GV** ὅτι-πατέρες scr. in marg. **[45.1-3]**

**M** τοῦ scr. in marg. **[44.1.15]**

**O** τῆς κακίας-πλευρᾶς deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[27.1.25] ;** τῶν ἀπίστων-προσωνυμία deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[56.28]**

**V** κινητικὴν-γεννητικὴν deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[24.3.26-27] ;** φησιν scr. in marg. **[25.2.2] ;** ὅτε καὶ-Πάσχα deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[27.2.13]**

**Z** τὴν φωνήν εἰδ' ὡς ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ἢ δι' Υἱοῦ deest in textu et scr. in marg. **[8.49] ;** ἐκκλησίας-βασίλειος scr. in marg. **[18.51]**

## 14. Other errors corrected

**A** οὐανδάλων from οὐανδήλων **[36.1] ;** πέμ̱ψαντες cor. **[44.1.11]**

**B** ἀσεβείας from ἀπ[έβαλλε] **[23.142] ;** μέτρου from αμέτρου **[37.66]**

**C** ἑαυτῆ from αὐτῆ **[10.125]**

**D** διατοῦτο from διὰ τοῦτο **[2.96] ;** μετὰ πεσώντων from μετὰ πεσὸν **[5.31] ;** μὴ δὴ τὸ from μὴ δὲ τὸ **[56.34] ;** ὑπερκόσμιον from ὑπὲρ κόσμιον **[7.10] ;** φωτὸς from φως τὸ et acc. eras. φῶς τὸ vel φῶς τ(ὸς) **[4.55]**

**G** ἀναμέρος from ἀνὰ μέρος **[4.1.7] ;** διετήρησαν from διετράνευσαν **[60.15] ;** συγγραφὰς from γραφὰς **[10.157] ;** συνεισαγόμενον from συναγόμενον **[5.25] ;** χρυσοῦς et sscr. σ (?)**[51.10]**

**L** γεννηθέντος from γεννηθέντα **[4.11] ;** ἐκ from δε **[17.9] ;** ἔκφρων post ἔκ scr. et del. φθε vel φω et deinde sscr. φρων **[10.46] ;** ἐναργῶς from ἐναρχῶς **[7.2] ;** ἐπινοία from ἐπ′ εννοία **[5.58] ;** ἡμῶν from ἡμερῶν **[39.62] ;** λῆρος from κλῆρος **[10.68] ;** ποιητὸς from πεοιητος (?) **[7.5]**

**O** ἵνα μὲν from ἕνα μὲν **[39.21]**

**V** ἀλοίη ἂν from ἁλοίη κἂν **[17.13]**

**W** ἀναπεφωνήκασιν from προαναπεφώνηκασιν **[59.10] ;** διορθούμενος from διορούμενος **[9.25] ;** ἐκέλευσε et σ cnc. (incl. in punctis) for ἐκέλευε **[23.108] ;** οἰκει[ώσεως] (incl. in punctis) et sscr. ότητος for οἰκειότητος **[11.9] ;** ὀνομάζομεν from ὀνο<u>νο</u>μάζομεν (*νο* incl. in punctis) **[6.75] ;** φύσει from καὶ (?) **[23.76] ;** χρηματιζούσης from χρηματίζης **[11.4]**

**Z** ἀνθρώπινον from ἀνθρώπιον **[6.11] ;** δήπου from που **[23.138] ;** <u>ἐ</u>πίσης from <u>α</u> **[33.6] ;** ἐπισίτισις from ἐπὶ πίστει **[23.124] ;** οὐδεμίαν from οὐ δὲ μίαν **[2.46] ;** τούτων from τῶν **[56.31] ;** post χεῖρας scr. et cnc. (incl. in punctis) αὐτῶν **[8.80]**

## 15. Erasures

**C** post ἐκ τοῦ eras. 3 litt. **[4.15] ;** post τις scr. et eras. ἂν εἴ τϊς **[18.7] ;** μέλον from μέλλον et *λ* eras. **[46.5]**

## 16. Lacunae

**A** μετα[….]δοίη lac. 3-4 litt. **[49.20]**

**B** δόμν[ος] lac. **[44.5.23]**

**BZ** post Πνεῦμα […..] lac. 5-6 litt. **[17.2]**

**G** βωμο|[….]λόχοι lac. 4 litt. **[8.4]**

**L** [καὶ δ]ὴ lac. **[44.1.7] ;** σεμνυνό[μεν]ος lac. **[44.1.7]**

**M** [ύ]πουργικῶς lac. **[8.18] ;** φρον[..]ούντων lac. 2-3 litt. **[47.5]**

**V** ἀποστολ[.]ῆς lac. 1 lit. **[11.19] ;** post πολυσχεδεῖ […] lac. 2-3 litt. **[23.52] ;** post ἔτι [.....] lac. 7-8 litt. **[24.1.1] ;** τῇ δι[..]δαχῇ lac. 1-2 litt. **[51.12]**

**W** λα[…]λοῦντες lac. 2-3 litt. **[19.49] ;** τυ[....]χὸν lac. 3-4 litt. **[22.56]**

**Z** δι[.]πλῆν lac. 1 lit. **[9.51] ;** post πολεμίων […] lac. 3-4 litt. **[52.42]**

## 17. Illegibile letters or words

**M** σελήν[ης] **[30.4]**

**W** τ[υ]πικὸν **[28.16]**

**Z** Ἔλεγχος-μονοτροπου **[Tit.] ;** [Ἑ]ρμηνεύων **[8.20] ;** μά[ρ]τυς **[29.12] ;** [νόμοις] **[1.34] ;** [ὀ]φθησόμενον **[8.16] ;** π[ρὸς] **[28.2.9] ;** συμβε[..]βήκει **[18.7]**

## 18. Significant corrections concerning the words θεός, πατήρ, υἱός and πνεῦμα

**C** πατρὸς et sscr. πνεύματος **[5.4]**

## 19. Signum

**A** post ὠνόμασεν sign. in marg. **[25.7] ;** ante μηδαμῶς sign. in marg. **[27.3] ;** ante πλησιφαὴς sign. in marg. **[27.1.3] ;** ante Ὅτι δὲ sign. in marg. **[27.2.1] ;** ante Ὁ γὰρ sign. **[38.9]**

**B** ante Ἐκτὸς sign. **[32.1] ;** ante Ὅτι sign. **[53.1] ;** post προφητείαν sign. in marg. **[25.1.2] ;** ante Ἀλλ' οἱ sign. in marg. **B [14.1]**

**BCDM** ante Τριῶν sign. **[24.1]**

**BD** ante Εἰσὶ sign. **[28.1]**

**BDV** ante Ἀλόγιστον sign. **[35.1]**

**BW** ante Ἀλλὰ sign. **[41.1]**

**C** ante ὁμιλητὴς sign. **[28.4.32] ;** ante πολλοῖς sign. **[36.1]**

**D** post τε sign. sscr. et scr. in marg. ἓν **[10.95] ;** post ἀθέου sign. **[23.110] ;** ante Καὶ τὸ sign. **[24.1.1.1.1] ;** ante Ἐπεί τοι sign. **[24.3.16] ;** ante Ὁ γοῦν sign. in marg. **[27.3.1] ;** ante Εἰ δὲ sign. **[42.1] ;** ante Εἰ δέ sign. **[47.1] ;** ante οἵ γε sign. sup. τἄλλα **[49.20] ;** ante Εἰ δὲ sign. in marg. **[54.1] ;** ante Εἰ δέ sign. **[56.1]**

**G** post οὐκ ἰατρείας sign. sscr. **[23.143] ;** ante ἀλλά γε sign. in marg. **[37.66]**

**L** πνικτοφαγία sign. sscr. **[55.1.2]**

**M** ante Ἀλλὰ sign. in marg. **[15.1] ;** ante Ὁπότε sign. in marg. **[26.1]**

**MV** ante οἵ γε sign. **[49.20]**

**O** post πλευρᾶς sign. **[27.1.25] ;** post φαμὲν sign. **[56.28]**

**V** post τιμήν sign. sscr. **[10.90] ;** post δύναμιν sign. **[24.3.26] ;** post παρασκευῇ sign. **[27.2.13] ;** post χωροῦσι sign. **[39.33]**

**W** post γενόμενοί τε sign. **[24.2.5] ;** ante Τὸν γὰρ sign. **[33.1] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ sign. **[37.1] ;** ante Τοὺς sign. **[38.1] ;** ante Ποῦ δὲ sign. **[40.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν sign. **[44.1] ;** ante Πειθώμεθα sign. **[51.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' εἰ sign. in marg. **[55.1] ;** ante Καθόλου sign. in marg. **[55.2.1]**

## 20. Words or letters underlined

**B** εἰρή(νης) for εἰρήνης **[52.25] ;** εἰρή(νης) for εἰρήνης **[52.42] ;** εἰρή(νης) for εἰρήνης **[52.45]**

**L** Καὶ δὴ-τὰ ἐκείνων underlined **[37.63-64] ;** Τοὺς χειροτονουμένους-ῆ μὴν underlined **[38.1-2]**

## C. Readings (the correct forms are given first)

### 1. Different forms of the same word

**ABCDGJLMOVW** against **Z** δευτέρα for β′ **[55.1.11] ;** δεύτερον for β′ **[44.2.25] ;** διακοσίους for σ′ **[44.3.3] ;** ἑβδομήκοντα for ο′ **[44.6.4] ;** ἑκατὸν for ϱ′ **[44.2.4] ;** ἑκατὸν for ϱ′ **[44.5.18] ;** ἑκατὸν for ϱ′ **[44.5.20] ;** ἑκατὸν for ϱ′ **[44.6.4] ;** ἐξακοσίους for χ′ **[44.4.4] ;** ἑξήκοντα for ξ′ **[44.5.18] ;** ἐξήκοντα for ξ′ **[44.7.6] ;** καθ′ ὅσων for καθόσων **[39.33] ;** ὅσαπερ for ὅσά περ **[44.6] ;** πέντε for ε′ **[44.5.17] ;** πεντήκοντα for ν′ **[44.6.2] ;** πεντήκοτα for ν′ **[44.2.3] ;** πεντήκοτα for ν′ **[44.2.4] ;** πρώτη for α′ **[44.1.1] ;** πρώτω for α′ **[44.4.2] ;** τριακοσίων for τ′ **[44.7.6] ;** τρισκαιδεκάτω for ιγ′ **[44.6.6] ;**

**ABCDGJLMOVZ** against **W** ἐξαπάτην for ἐξ ἀπάτην **[55.2.27] ;** πρῶτην for α′ **[46.22]**

**ABCDGJMOVW** against **LZ** ἑκατὸν for ϱ′ **[44.6.2]**

**ABCDGJMOVWZ** against **L** σπούδασον σεαυτὸν for σπούδασόν σε αυτὸν **[53.36-37]**

**ABCDGLMOVW** against **Z** δισχιλίων for ,β **[35.5] ;** ἑβδομηκοστὸς for ο′ **[31.2] ;** καθόσον for καθ ὅσον **[2.70] ;** κοινά φησι for κοινὰ φησὶ **[2.21] ;** πέμπτη for ε′ **[27.3.3] ;** πεντακισχιλιοστῶ πεντακοσιοστῶ for ,εφ′ **[27.1.32-33] ;** πρώτη for α′ **[27.1.23] ;** πρώτη for α′ **[27.3.1] ;** πρώτη for α′ **[28.4.2] ;** πρώτης for α′ **[20.21] ;** πρώτης for α′ **[27.1.17] ;** πρώτω for α′ **[25.9] ;** ταῦτ′ εἴη for ταῦτα εἴη **[31.10] ;** ταυτόν ἐστιν for ταυτὸν ἐστὶν **[9.53] ;** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη for ιδ′ **[25.10] ;** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη for ιδ′ **[25.4] ;** τριακοστοῦ for λ′ **[27.1.32] ;** τρίτη for γ′ **[18.71] ;** τρίτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς for γ′ καὶ κ′ **[27.1.31] ;** ὡς ἄν for ὡσάν **[24.1.1.2] ;** ὡσανεί τινα for ὡσανεὶ τινὰ **[23.28] ;** ὥστέ ποτε for ὥστε ποτὲ **[4.45]**

**ABCDGLMOVZ** against **W** εἰσαῦθις for εἰς αὖθις **[10.43] ;** εἰσέπειτα for εἰς ἔπειτα **[23.25] ;** καταρχὰς for κατ′ ἀρχὰς **[18.23] ;**

**ABCDGLMOW** against **Z** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη for ιδ′ **[30.4]**

**ABCDGLMOWZ** against **V** ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας for ὑπεράπαντας **[23.88]**

**ABCDGLOV** against **WZ** πρώτη for α′ **[38.45]**

**ABCDGLOV** against **M** ἀπό τινος for ἀπὸ τινὸς **[11.28]**

**ABCDGLOVWZ** against **M** παρὰ τοῦτο for παρατοῦτο **[20.30] ;**

**ABCDGLOVZ** against **MW** δόξαν τὲ for δόξαν τε **[24.3.9]**

**ABCDGMOVW** against **L** ἕκτην for στ′ **[27.1.18]**

**ABCDGMOVW** against **LZ** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[8.52] ;** δώδεκα for ιβ′ **[23.50] ;** πέντε for ε′ **[35.6] ;** υἱοῦ τέ φημι for υἱοῦ τε φημὶ **[18.17]**

**ABCDGMOVWZ** against **L** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[16.28, 22.48] ;** εὖ φρονούντων for εὐφρονούντων **[22.58] ;** παραχρῆμα for παρὰ χρῆμα **[22.41] ;**

**ABCDGMOWZ** against **V** διά τοι διά τοὶ **[20.1]**

**ABCDJLMOV** against **GWZ** ἀνὰ μέρος for ἀναμέρος **[44.3.13] ;**

**ABCDJLMOVWZ** against **G** εἴτουν for εἴτ′ οὖν **[39.41] ;** ἐπ′ αὐτῆ for ἐπαυτῆ **[55.2]**

**ABCDJLMOVWZ** against **GT** τανῦν for τὰ νῦν **[49.20]**

**ABCDJLMOVZ** against **GW** οὐκέτι for οὐκ ἔτι **[43.11]**

**ABCDJMOVZ** against **GLW** μετενδύεσθαι for μετ᾽ ἐνδύεσθαι **[44.5.33]**

**ABCDLMO** against **GWZ** αὐτὸς τὲ for αὐτός τε **[44.1.14]**

**ABCDLMO** against **V** αὐτὸς τὲ for αὐτὸς τέ **[44.1.14]**

**ABCDLMOV** against **GWZ** εἰσέτι for εἰς ἔτι **[18.74] ;** προαναπεφωνήκασιν for πρὸ ἀναπεφωνήκασιν **[59.10]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **G** ἀντηχμαλώτευσε for ἀντ᾽ ἠχμαλώτισε **[27.2.9] ;** αὔραίς τισιν for αὔραις τισὶν **[14.32] ;** ἕκτω καὶ εἰκοστῶ for ἕκτω καὶ κ᾽ **[4.34] ;** οὐδ᾽ for οὐδὲ **[10.70] ;** προσκυνηταί φησι for προσκυνηταὶ φησὶ **[6.17]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **GZ** ἑβδόμη for ζ᾽ **[18.73] ;** ἕκτη for στ᾽ **[18.73] ;** ἕκτη for στ᾽ **[19.10] ;** ἕκτω καὶ τριακοστῶ for ἕκτω καὶ λ᾽ **[4.35] ;** πέμπτη for ε᾽ **[18.72] ;** τετάρτη for δ᾽ **[18.72]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **Z** δευτέρα for β᾽ **[19.1] ;** ἐξ αἰτίας for ἐξαιτίας **[4.61] ;** προσκυνηταί φησι for προσκυνηταὶ φησι **[6.17] ;** πρώτη for α᾽ **[45.59] ;** πρώτης for α᾽ **[45.41] ;** ταῦτά ἐστιν for ταῦτα ἔστιν **[6.8]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **G** αὐτός φησι for αὐτὸς φησὶ **[22.28] ;** γεννητική ποτε for γεννητικὴ ποτὲ **[16.21] ;** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[28.1.3] ;** ἑβδόμη for ζ᾽ **[19.22] ;** ἕκτη for στ᾽ **[20.24] ;** ἐξ οὗ for ἐξοῦ **[23.67] ;** ἐξομνύμενοι for ἐξ᾽ ὀμνύμενοι **[37.13] ;** κἀνταῦθα for κἂν ταῦθα **[24.1.1.3] ;** καθυπέβαλεν for καθ᾽ ὑπέβαλεν **[44.7.19] ;** καθυπέβαλον for καθ᾽ ὑπέβαλον **[20.39] ;** καθυπείξαντας for καθ᾽ ὑπείξαντας **[24.1.1.3.3] ;** καθυποβαλόντας for καθ᾽ ὑποβαλόντας **[17.14] ;** παρ᾽ ἅπαντα for παράπαντα **[26.39] ;** προεζωγράφει for πρὸ ἐζωγράφει **[34.10] ;** σχεδόν ἐστιν for σχεδὸν ἐστὶν **[22.71] ;**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **GJ** ἀποστήσονταί τινες for ἀποστήσονται τινὲς **[38.48] ;** ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν for ἡνίκα ἂν **[50.14] ;** ἡντινοῦν for ἥντινα οῦν **[48.19] ;** καταγέλαστόν ἐστι for καταγέλαστον ἐστὶ **[52.40]**

**ABCDLMOVZ** against **G** μεθ᾽ ὅσου for μεθόσου **[6.46]**

**ABCDLMOW** against **VZ** ὑφ᾽ ἥλιον for ὑφήλιον **[35.16]**

**ABCDLMOWZ** against **GJV** οὐδ᾽ ἕτερος for οὐδέτερος **[44.1.9]**

**ABCDLMOZ** against **V** μὴ δ᾽ ἂν for μηδ᾽ ἂν **[27.1.12-13]**

**ABCDMOLW** against **GJ** αὐτός φησι for αὐτὸς φησὶ **[52.10]**

**ABCDMOLW** against **GZ** ἅπέρ εἰσιν for ἅπερ εἰσὶν **[24.3.19-20]**

**ABCDMOLW** against **V** ἅπέρ εἰσιν for ἅπερ εἰσίν **[24.3.19-20]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **GL** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[12.4]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **GLZ** δευτέρας for β᾽ **[20.21] ;** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[6.26]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **GZ** υἱόν φησι for υἱὸν φησὶ **[4.35]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **L** υἱὸν φησι for υἱόν φησι **[4.35]**

**ABCDMOVWZ** against **GL** ἐπ᾽ ἀναιρέσει for ἐπαναιρέσει **[10.89] ;** καθυπαχθέντας for καθ᾽ ὑπαχθέντας **[17.12]**

**ABCGJLMOVWZ** against **D** εὐστάθιός τε for εὐστάθιος τὲ **[44.1.16] ;** ὡς ἂν for ὡσὰν **[54.7]**

**ABCGLMOVWZ** against **D** ὡς ἄν τις for ὡσάν τις **[10.73] ;** ὡς ἄν τις for ὡσάν τις **[3.8] ;** ἑώλους for ἑώλως **[1.24]**

**ABCGMOWZ** against **DJLV** οὐ δὲ μία for οὐδεμία **[44.6.21]**
**ABCLMOVWZ** against **DG** παρ᾽ ἅπαντα for παράπαντα **[23.118]**
**ABCO** against **DLMVW** τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὁκτώ for τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ **[19.12-13]**
**ABCO** against **G** τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὁκτώ for τιη᾽ **[19.12-13]**
**ABCO** against **Z** τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὁκτώ for τι᾽ καὶ ὀκτὼ **[19.12-13]**
**ABCODVW** against **GLMZ** ἐξ ἀνάγκης for ἐξανάγκης **[18.40]**
**ABDLJMOVWZ** against **G** καθυποβαλεῖν for καθ᾽ ὑποβαλεῖν **[50.16]**
**ABDMOV** against **CGJLWZ** τετάρτης for δ᾽ **[44.5.20]**
**ABDMOVW** against **CG** ἐνδέκατος for ια᾽ **[31.5]**
**ABDMOVW** against **CGJLZ** ἑβδόμη for ζ᾽ **[44.7.1]**
**ACDGJLMOVWZ** against **B** μὴ δὲν **[43.21] ;** μηδὲν for μὴ δὲν **[46.5] ;** πρῶτος for α᾽ **[46.14] ;** τοιγαροῦν for τοιγὰρ οὖν **[44.7.16]**
**ACDGJLMVW** against **Z** ἑκατὸν for ρ᾽ **[44.7.2]**
**ACDGJMOVWZ** against **BL** μηδὲν for μὴ δὲν **[55.2.29] ;**
**ACDGJMOVWZ** against **L** οὐδὲν δὲ for οὐδέν δε **[39.33]**
**ACDGLMOVW** against **BZ** κατὰ μικρὸν for καταμικρὸν **[15.7]**
**ACDGLMOVWZ** against **B** ἐπειδὴ for ἐπεὶ δὴ **[28.4.10] ;** μηδὲν for μὴ δὲν **[27.1.4]**
**ACDGLMVW** against **BO** μηδέπω for μὴ δέ πω **[11.35]**
**ACDGLOZ** against **BMVW** ὅ τε for ὅ,τε **[35.27]**
**ACDGMOVWZ** against **BL** μηδὲν for μὴ δὲν **[31.20]**
**ACDGMOWZ** against **B** μηδεὶς for μὴ δεὶς **[31.5]**
**ACDJLMOV** against **BGWZ** οὐκέτι for οὐκ ἔτι **[38.14]**
**ACDLMOV** against **BGWZ** οὐκέτι for οὐκ ἔτι **[26.33]**
**ACDLMOVW** against **BG** ἐστιν for ἐστὶν **[15.23]**
**ACDLMOVW** against **Z** ἐστιν for ἔστιν **[15.23]**
**ACDLMOVWZ** against **BG** ἐκλάβοι τις for ἐκλάβοι τίς **[5.90]**
**ACDLMVZ** against **BGOW** οὐδεμία for οὐδὲ μία **[35.31]**
**ACDMOV** against **BGLWZ** ἀνὰ μέσον for ἀναμέσον **[25.10]**
**ACDMOVWZ** against **B** ἐστι for ἐστὶ **[7.4]**
**ACGJLMW** against **BDOVZ** τριάκοντα for λ᾽ **[44.4.1]**
**ACGJLMW** against **Z** ὀκτωκαιδεκάτω for ιη᾽ **[44.5.19]**
**ACGJLMWZ** against **BDOV** κρατύνεσθαι φησὶ for κρατύνεσθαί φησι **[52.25]**
**ACGLMVW** against **BDO** εἰκοστῶ καὶ δευτέρω for κ᾽ καὶ β᾽ **[4.33] ;**
**ACGLMVW** against **Z** εἰκοστῶ καὶ δευτέρω for εἰκοστῶ καὶ β᾽ **[4.33]**
**ACGLMVWZ** against **BDO** τὲ for τε **[20.17]**
**ACGLMVZ** against **DOW** μηδεμίαν for μὴ δὲ μίαν **[2.49]**
**ACGLMWZ** against **BDOV** προσθεῖναί τι for προσθεῖναι τί **[22.31]**
**ACGLZ** against **BDMOV** πατρί τε for πατρὶ τὲ **[17.2]**
**ACGLZ** against **BDMOVW** ὅτι for ὅ, τι **[23.9]**
**ACLMVZ** against **BDGOW** οὐδεμία for οὐδὲ μία **[5.47] ;** οὐδεμίαν for οὐ δὲ μίαν **[2.46]**
**ACLMVZ** against **BDO** καθ᾽ ἕνα for καθένα **[18.66]**
**ACLZ** against **BDMOVW** οὐδετέρω for οὐδ᾽ ἑτέρω **[5.46]**
**ACLZ** against **DMOVW** θ᾽ for ἔνατον **[8.20]**

**ACMGJLVW** against **BDOZ** τριάκοντα for λ′ **[44.4.4]**
**ADGJLW** against **BCMOVZ** τεσσαράκοντα for μ′ **[44.3.1]**
**ADGJW** against **CLMOZ** πέμπτης for ε′ **[44.5.14]**
**ADOVWZ** against **CGLM** δισχίλιοι for ,β **[45.Tit.]**
**AGJLMOVWZ** against **B** διαστροφὴν for διὰ στροφὴν **[49.2]**
**BCDGLMOVW** against **AZ** πρώτω for α′ **[25.13]**
**BCDGLMOVW** against **Z** πεντεκαιδεκάτη for ιε′ **[25.11]**
**BCDGLMOVWZ** against **A** κατὰ πάντα for καταπάντα **[37.16] ;** τοῦτό ἐστι for τοῦτο ἐστί **[28.2.10]**
**BCDGLMOWZ** against **AV** μὴ δ′ ἂν for μηδ′ ἂν **[30.6]**
**BCDGMOVW** against **AJLZ** πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας for α′ καὶ β′ **[51.4]**
**BCDGMOVW** against **AJLZ** τετάρτης for δ′ **[50.9]**
**BCDGMOVWZ** against **AL** πιστεύηται for πιστεύεται **[2.76]**
**BCDGMOVZ** against **LW** τρίτω for γ′ **[2.20]**
**BCDJLMOVW** against **AGZ** εἰσέτι for εἰς ἔτι **[49.16]**
**BCDJMOVW** against **G** οἰκουμενικήν τινες for οἰκουμενικὴν τινὲς **[52.27-28]**
**BCDLMOVW** against **AGJZ** δέκατος for ι′ **[55.2.19]**
**BCDLMOVW** against **AGZ** τοῦτό ἐστι for τοῦτο ἐστὶ **[28.4.22]**
**BCDLMOVW** against **Z** τέσσαρας τίς for τέσσαράς τις **[45.27]**
**BCDLMOVWZ** against **AG** φησιν for φησὶν **[6.9] ;** ὡς ἄν for ὡσάν **[10.14]**
**BCDMO** against **AGLVWZ** τἄλλα for τ′ ἄλλα **[6.59]**
**BCDMOV** against **ALW** ἐπεὶ δ′ for ἐπεί δ′ **[43.4]**
**BCDMOV** against **G** ἐπεί δ′ for ἐπεὶ δ′ **[43.4]**
**BCDMOVW** against **ALZ** θαυμαστήν τινα for θαυμαστὴν τινὰ **[45.68]**
**BCMOVW** against **AG** μερικάς τινας for μερικὰς τινὰς **[1.44]**
**BDGJMOVW** against **ACLZ** δευτέρα for β′ **[44.2.1]**
**BDGJMOVW** against **ACLZ** τετάρτη for δ′ **[44.4.2]**
**BDGLMOVWZ** against **A** θησαυρόν τινα for θησαυρὸν τινὰ **[5.72]**
**BDGMOVW** against **ACJLZ** πέμπτης for ε′ **[44.5.21]**
**BDGMOVW** against **ACLZ** δευτέρω for β′ **[2.63] ;** κατ′ for κατὰ **[2.20];** τετάρτω for δ′ **[4.23]**
**BDMO** against **ACGLVWZ** τετάρτης for δ′ **[3.1]**
**BDMOVW** against **ACGJLZ** ἕκτη for στ′ **[44.6.1]**
**BDMOVW** against **ACGLZ** ἑβδομηκοστὸς δεύτερος for οβ′ **[55.2.9]**
**BMOVWZ** against **ACDGJL** δέκατος for ι′ **[38.43]**
**BMOVWZ** against **ACDGL** ἕκτης for στ′ **[31.5]**
**CDGLMVZ** against **A** μηδεμίαν for μὴ δε μίαν **[26.41]**
**CDGLMVZ** against **BOW** μηδεμίαν for μὴ δὲ μίαν **[26.41]**
**CDGLMZW** against **BOV** μεθ′ ἡμέραν for μεθημέραν **[27.1.2]**
**CDGMOVW** against **AL** ἡντιναοῦν for ἡντινοῦν **[22.27]**
**CDJMOV** against **ABGLWZ** πρῶτος for α′ **[38.39]**
**CDMV** against **ABGLOW** μηδεμιᾶς for μὴ δὲ μιᾶς **[49.15]**
**CLMOW** against **ABVZ** δισχίλια for ,β **[45.Tit.]**
**CLMW** against **AGZ** μικρὸν τὶ for μικρόν τι **[19.51]**

**CLMW** against **BDOV** μικρὸν τὶ for μικρὸν τί **[19.51]**
**DGJMVWZ** against **ABCLO** ἕκτης for στ′ **[55.2.10]**
**DMOVW** against **ABCGJLZ** τεσσαρακοστὸς ἕνατος for μθ′ **[39.39-40]**
**DMOVW** against **ACGJLZ** ἐνάτης for θ′ **[39.62]**
**JMVW** against **ABCDGLOZ** ἕκτης for στ′ **[55.3.4]**
**JMVW** against **ABCDLOZ** ὀκτωκαιδέκατος for ιη′ **[46.29]**
**M** against **ABCDGJLOVWZ** τετάρτης for δ′ **[55.2.21]**
**MGVW** against **ABCDJLOZ** ἐκκαιδέκατος for ιστ′ **[38.11]**
**MOV** against **ABCDGJLZW** τεσσαρακοστοῦ τετάρτου for μδ′ **[40.12-13]**
**MOV** against **ABCGJLZ** πέμπτος for ε′ **[38.14]**
**MV** against **ABCDGJLOWZ** τριακοστὸς πρῶτος for λα′ **[55.2.20]**
**MV** against **ABCDGJLOZ** πεντηκοστὸν ἕκτον for νστ′ **[39.26]**
**MV** against **ABCDGLZ** πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἕκτης for νβ′ τῆς στ′ **[39.42-43]**
**MV** against **ABCGJL** πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς ἕκτης for νε′ τῆς στ′ **[39.11]**
**MV** against **DO** πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς ἕκτης for πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς στ′ **[39.11]**
**MV** against **JW** πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἕκτης for νβ′ τῆς ἕκτης **[39.43]**
**MV** against **O** πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἕκτης for πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς στ′ **[39.43]**
**MV** against **W** πεντηκοστὸν ἕκτον for ν′ ἕκτον **[39.26]**
**MV** against **W** πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς ἕκτης for νε′ τῆς ἕκτης **[39.11]**
**MVW** against **A** ἕκτης δεύτερος for στ′ δεύτερος **[46.14]**
**MVW** against **ABCDGJLOZ** ἑξηκοστὸς ἕνατος for ξθ′ **[39.56]**
**MVW** against **ABCDGJLOZ** τέταρτος for δ′ **[38.41]**
**MVW** against **ABCDGJLOZ** τριακοστὸς πρῶτος for λα′ **[51.5]**
**MVW** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** ἑξηκοστοῦ ἕκτου for ξστ′ **[39.7]**
**MVW** against **ABCDGLO** τριακοστῶ τρίτω for λγ′ **[10.62]**
**MVW** against **ABCDGLOZ** εἰκοστὸς ἕκτος for κστ′ **[38.10] ;** πεντεκαιδεκάτω for ιε′ **[6.24] ;** πεντηκοστὸς πρῶτος for να′ **[38.33]**
**MVW** against **ACDGJLOZ** τρισκαιδέκατος for ιγ′ **[38.21]**
**MVW** against **ACDGLZ** ἕκτος τῆς ἕκτης for στ′ τῆς στ′ **[38.10]**
**MVW** against **ACDGLZ** ἐξηκοστοῦ ἐνάτου τῆς ἕκτης for ξθ′ τῆς στ′ **[40.6]**
**MVW** against **ACGJLZ** δωδέκατος τῆς ἕκτης for ιβ′ τῆς στ′ **[38.17-18]**
**MVW** against **BCDGLOZ** ἕκτης δεύτερος for στ′ β′ **[46.14]**
**MVW** against **BDO** δωδέκατος τῆς ἕκτης for δωδέκατος τῆς στ′ **[38.17-18]**
**MVW** against **BJO** ἐξηκοστοῦ ἐνάτου τῆς ἕκτης for ξθ′ τῆς ἕκτης **[40.6]**
**MVW** against **BO** ἕκτος τῆς ἕκτης for ἕκτος τῆς στ′ **[38.10]**
**MVW** against **J** ἕκτης δεύτερος for ἕκτης β′ **[46.14] ;** ἕκτος τῆς ἕκτης for στ′ τῆς ἕκτης **[38.10]**
**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** ἐννακαιδεκάτου for ιθ′ **[40.10] ;** πεντεκαιδέκατος for ιε′ **[51.4] ;** τεσσαρακαιδέκατος for ιδ′ **[55.2.20]**
**V** against **ABCDGLMOWZ** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη for ιδ′ **[25.13] ;** πεντεκαιδεκάτη for ιε′ **[25.14]**

### i. compound words

**BCDGLMOVW** against **A** τ<u>ωτ</u>ηνικαῦτα for τῶ τηνικαῦτα **[10.156]**
**CDLMOV** against **ABGZW** τοόλον for τὸ ὅλον **[23.128]**
**CDMOWZ** against **AV** τ<u>οσ</u>ύνολον for τοσύνολον **[37.17]**
**CDMOWZ** against **B** τ<u>οσ</u>ύνολον for τὸ σύνολο **[37.17]**
**CDMOWZ** against **G** τ<u>οσ</u>ύνολον for τὸ σύνολον **[37.17]**
**CDMOWZ** against **L** τ<u>οσ</u>ύνολον for τ<u>ὸ σ</u>ύνολον **[37.17]**
**CMOV** against **ABGLW** τωτότε for τῶ τότε **[27.1.29-30]**
**LMVZ** against **ADGW** τη<u>ντ</u>ήμερον for τὴν τήμερον **[21.1-2]**

### ii. joining of words used adverbially

**ABDGLOWZ** against **CMV** ἀναμέρος for ἀνὰ μέρος **[4.1.7]**
**ACGLMZ** against **BDJOVW** περιπλείστου for περὶ πλείστου **[55.2.25]**
**ACGLZW** against **BDMOV** προτοῦ for πρὸ τοῦ **[23.151]**
**ACLMOVWZ** against **BDGJ** ἀπαρχῆς for ἀπ' ἀρχῆς **[54.9]**
**ACLZ** against **BDGJMOVW** περιπλείστου for περὶ πλείστου **[58.8]**
**ACMOVWZ** against **BGL** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[2.96]**
**AM** against **BCDGLOVWZ** παρατοῦτο for παρὰ τοῦτο **[16.30]**
**BCDLMOVW** against **AGZ** κατάκρας for κατ' ἄκρας **[7.24]**
**BCDOWZ** against **AGLMV** περιπλείστου for περὶ πλείστου **[8.11]**
**BCGJMOV** against **ADLWZ** ἐπιπλεῖον for ἐπὶ πλεῖον **[53.39]**
**BDGOVZ** against **ACLMW** διαμέσου for διὰ μέσου **[4.42]**
**BDOW** against **ACLMVZ** καθομωνυμίαν for καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν **[7.31]**
**BZ** against **CDGLMOVW** καταμικρὸν for κατὰ μικρὸν **[37.48]**
**CDLMOZ** against **ABGVW** ἐξαρχῆς for ἐξ ἀρχῆς **[24.1.10]**
**CDMOVW** against **ABGLZ** τοπαράπαν for τὸ παράπαν **[4.32]**
**CDMOVWZ** against **ABGL** τοπρῶτον for τὸ πρῶτον **[18.67]**
**CMVW** against **ABDGJLZ** τ<u>απ</u>ρῶτα for τὰ πρῶτα **[44.5.21]**
**DLZ** against **CGMOVW** καταμέρος κατὰ for μέρος **[37.65]**
**O** against **ABDGJLZ** ταπρῶτα for τὰ πρῶτα **[44.5.21]**

## 2. Different forms or spelling of proper names

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** Πατρόφυλον for Πατρόφιλον **[52.38]**
**ABCDLMOV** against **GWZ** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[5.13]**
**ABCDLMOV** against **W** ὁ Λίβυς for ὁ Λίβης **[10.1]**
**AL** against **BCDGMOVWZ** Νύσαν for Νύσσαν **[23.80]**
**B** against **ACDGLMOVW** Ὀνώριον for Ὀνώριον **[17.11]**
**BCDGLMOVZ** against **AJW** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[44.2.12]**
**BCDGLMOVZ** against **W** Μαξιμῖνον for Μάξιμον **[2.94]**

**BCDLMOV** against **AGWZ** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[2.86] ;** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[4.33] ;** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[5.55] ;** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[10.62]**

**BCDLMOVWZ** against **AG** Μελίτιον for Μελέτιον **[4.13]**

**BCDLO** against **AGMVWZ** Νύσης for Νύσσης **[10.26]**

**BO** against **ACDGJLMVWZ** Ἰσαύρου for Ἰσαύρου **[43.8]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** Λουκίνσιος for Λουκίσιος **[44.4.7]**

**GJW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** Θεοδωρήτου for Θεοδωρίτου **[44.7.15]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** Κιρουλάριος for Κηρουλάριος **[49.5] ;** Οὐρβέκιον for Οὐρβίκιον **[51.6]**

**JZ** against **ABCDGLMOVW** Σάββα for Σάβα **[44.7.11]**

**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** Τίτον for Τῖτον **[38.50]**

**W** against **ABCDGJLMOVZ** Ἀνθύμου for Ἀνθίμου **[44.5.5]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** Κελλεστῖνος for Κελεστῖνος **[19.26]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** Πῦρρον for Πύρρον **[17.11]**

**Z** against **ACDGLMOVW** Ὀνόριον for Ὀνώριον **[17.11]**

**Z** against **ACGJLMVW** Ναβουθὲ for Ναβουθαὶ **[52.22]**

## 3. Different readings

**ACDGLMOVW** against **B** τοσόνδε for τὸ σόν **[6.41]**

**ABCDGJLMOV** against **Z** τε for ὁ τῆς **[44.6.7]**

**ABCDGJLMOVW** against **Z** ἀντεπῆγε for ἀνεπῆγε **[44.5.9] ;** δὲ for γὰρ **[58.16] ;** διαμάχης for μάχης **[54.1] ;** διέλυσε for ἐκώλυσε **[55.2.36] ;** ἐγγυτέρω for ἐγγυτέροι **[55.6] ;** ἐκκλησίαν for χριστιανικὴν **[46.20] ;** ἐλκύσειαν for ἐλκέσειαν **[46.7] ;** ἐξεπίτηδες for ἐξεπέτηδες **[38.22] ;** ἐξηγήσει for ἐξήγει **[52.16] ;** ἑορτάζει for ἑορτάζουσι **[55.1.2] ;** ἐπαναστραφήτω for ἐπιστραφήτω **[58.12] ;** ἰουδαῖος for ἰουδαῖοι **[55.1.2] ;** ἥττονος for ἥττηνος **[44.2] ;** κοινὸς for κοινωνὸς **[42.3] ;** λαοδικεία for λαοδικείας **[40.11] ;** λατινικὸν for ἑλατικὸν **[55.2.22] ;** μίαν for ἡμεϊσείαν **[55.3.14] ;** μὲν, καὶ τὰ for μέν τοι καὶ **[46.10] ;** οἰκίαν for κοινωνίαν **[53.29] ;** ὅτι for ὅς **[44.5.6] ;** Ὅτι for Ἔτι **[53.1] ;** οὐδὲ for οὐ **[55.2.15] ;** οὕτω for οὕτως **[46.1] ;** προαχθῆναι for προσαχθῆναι **[38.13] ;** ταύτης for αὐτῆς **[46.14] ;** ὑποικουροῦντος for ὑποκουροῦντος **[46.33] ;** ὑπάρχοντας for ὑπάρχοντα **[58.9]**

**ABCDGJLMOVWZ** against **T** αὐτὰ for αὐτὼ **[49.14] ;** ἀσέβειαν for ἀκρίβειαν **[49.18] ;** ἔθει for ἔθεσι **[49.19] ;** κοινῇ for κοινῷ **[49.7] ;** οὕτω for οὕτως **[49.17] ;** φίλην for φιλία **[49.23]**

**ABCDGJLMOVZ** against **W** ἀλλά γε for ἀλλ' ἄγε **[39.29] ;** δῆθεν for δῆ **[38.43] ;** ἡμῖν for ἡμῶν **[42.3] ;** λόγου for λόγους **[44.3] ;** προβάλλονται for περιβάλλονται **[54.33]**

**ABCDGJLMOW** against **Z** ἀναγινωσκομένω for ἀναγινωσμένω **[46.23]**

**ABCDGJLMOWZ** against **V** ἑαυτῆ for αὕτη **[44.5.17] ;** καιροῦ for καιρῷ **[54.21] ;** περιΐστασθαι for περιΐστασθα **[40.3]**

**ABCDGJLOVZ** against **MW** κακῶς for κακοὺς **[52.20]**

**ABCDGJMOVW** against **L** εἴποιμι for εἴπουμι **[56.11] ;** τῶ κλήρω for τῶν κλήρω **[38.11]**

**ABCDGJMOVW** against **LZ** ἐλέγξωμεν for λέγξωμεν **[39.3] ;** μόνω for μονὸν **[41.4] ;** οὔτε for οὕτως **[47.7] ;** τοῦ for τῶν **[44.6.11]**

**ABCDGJMOVW** against **Z** ἐγκεχειρισμένοι for ἐγκεγχειρισμένοι **[55.6] ;** τῶ κλήρω for τῶν κλήρων **[38.11]**

**ABCDGJMOVWZ** against **J** κωνσταντίνου for κωνσταντινουπόλεως **[44.5.14]**

**ABCDGJMOVWZ** against **L** ἀναθέματι for ἀναθέσματι **[44.1.23] ;** ἐξάγιστον for ἀξάγιστον **[49.16] ;** εὐτυχῆ for εὐχῆ **[44.4.14] ;** μόνοις for μόνος **[40.11] ;** νεῖμαι for εἶμαι **[54.10] ;** νηστεύουσι for νηστεύοντες **[39.23] ;** ὀργιζομένη for ὀριζομένη **[60.18] ;** οὗτοι for οὗται **[54.17] ;** προφήτη for προφήτε **[52.49] ;** στόματι for καρδία **[56.18] ;** συγχύσει for συγχύει **[60.9] ;** συμπλέκεσθαι for συνάπτεσθαι **[55.2.15] ;** τούτων for ταύτων **[44.6.22]**

**ABCDGJMOVZ** against **L** μερίδος for μερίδων **[50.20]**

**ABCDGLMOV** against **WZ** ἀνακάει for ἀνακαίει **[28.3.10] ;** ἔκλαμψιν for ἔλλαμψιν **[7.37] ;** ἐνοικείτω for ἐν οἰκείτω **[1.43]**

**ABCDGLMOV** against **Z** οὐκ ἀνάγκη for οὐκ ανάγκην **[5.55] ;** ὀρθοδόξου for ὀρθῆς **[22.1] ;** τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁμοφυῶν for τῶν ὁμοφυῶν αὐτοῦ **[18.63]**

**ABCDGLMOVW** against **J** ταύτας for ταύταις **[40.2]**

**ABCDGLMOVW** against **Z** ἀνέσχε for ἀνίσχε **[1.28] ;** ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα for ἀλλ᾽ ὅρα **[37.10] ;** ἀνθρώπου for οὐρανοῦ **[27.1.5] ;** ἀποδεῖν for ἀποδέον **[18.42] ;** ἀφαιροῦντα for ἀφαιροῦν **[20.38] ;** ἀφώρισται for ἀφορίζεται **[36.9] ;** βαπτισάμενος for βαπτιζόμενος **[36.10] ;** γὰρ for δὲ **[28.2.5] ;** γὰρ for δὲ **[35.31] ;** γὰρ for μὲν **[8.70] ;** γεγραμμένοις for γεγραμμένον **[10.111] ;** γινομένου for γενομένου **[9.49] ;** γοῦν for γὰρ **[1.17] ;** δ᾽ ἐκείνων for δε᾽ ἐκείνων **[18.55] ;** δηλαδὴ for δὴ **[18.12] ;** δηλοῖ for δηλοῦσι **[5.62] ;** Διάτοι for Αιάτοι **[35.21] ;** διακρατοῦσι for κρατοῦσι **[33.17] ;** ἐκείνους for ἐκείνο **[28.3] ;** ἐκκλησίας for ἀληθείας **[2.52] ;** ἐκ σοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[2.92] ;** ἐκ σοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[2.93] ;** εἰσοικισθέντος for οἰκισθέντος **[24.3.21] ;** ἐμφέρονται for ἐπιφέρονται **[10.45] ;** ἐν ἅγιοις for ἅγιος **[6.31] ;** ἐννοεῖν for ἐννοῆσαι **[4.5] ;** ἐξέλθοι for ἔλθοι **[22.30] ;** ἐπεισάγουσαν for εισάγουσαν **[20.5] ;** ἐπιγενομένη for ἐπιγινομένη **[18.29] ;** ἐπιλαβομένου for ἐπιλαμβανομένου **[8.47] ;** ἑσπέρα for ἡμέρα **[27.2.1] ;** ἐστι for ἔστι **[6.4] ;** ἔσχε for ἔχει **[5.43] ;** εὐαγγελιστοῦ for θεολόγου **[10.164] ;** εὐσεβείας for ἐκκλησίας **[21.2] ;** ἔφη for φησὶν **[2.91] ;** ἐχομένην for ἐχομένης **[5.1.11] ;** ἡ for εἰ **[7.35] ;** ἡμῶν for ἡμᾶς **[23.38] ;** ἡντινοῦν for ὡντινων οῦν **[26.9] ;** ἢ σὺν for ἴσην **[10.76] ;** θαυμασίους for θαυμασίας **[10.134] ;** ἴδωμεν for εἴδωμεν **[1.45] ;** καθόσον for καθ ὅσον **[2.70] ;** κεκίνητο for κεκίνηται **[35.31] ;** κελεύοντα for λέγοντα **[26.3] ;** κενόν τε for κενόν τι **[4.42] ;** κτίσεως for φύσεως **[18.22] ;** λώβην for λύμην **[23.113] ;** μεταδίδοσθαι for δίδοσθαι **[6.77] ;** μεταποιεῖσθαι for μεταποιοῦσθαι **[24.3.21] ;** μὲν for τὴν **[23.109] ;** μόνον for μόνω **[23.77] ;** μόνος for μόνως **[6.57] ;** μόνου for μόνον **[8.23] ;** νόμος for λόγος **[22.2] ;** ὃ for ὅτι **[10.158] ;** οὐ δεῖν for οὐδὲν **[10.49] ;** οὐ τὸ for οὕτω **[6.14] ;** οἱ τοιοῦτοι for οὗτοι **[19.55] ;** περὶ for ὑπὲρ **[4.53] ;** περιγίνεσθαι for περιγίνεται **[18.48] ;**

περιουσίας for περι οὐσίας **[9.12]** ; πικροῦ for ψυχροῦ **[23.95]** ; προεκτεθέντα for προτεθέντα **[19.18]** ; προσλαμβάνεσθαι for προλαμβάνεσθαι **[10.62]** ; προστιθέντας for προτιθέντας **[19.25]** ; σποράν for σάρκα **[37.21]** ; συμβαίνουσαν for συνέβησαν **[24.1.6]** ; συνέλθωμεν for συνήλθωμεν **[34.4]** ; σωτῆρι for σωτηρὶ **[4.3]** ; ταύτας for ταύτην **[40.2]** ; τιμῶν for τελῶν **[31.12]** ; τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ for τὸν δεῖπνον τὸν **[27.3.4]** ; τοῦ for τῶ **[55.2.26]** ; τοῦ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπου for τὸν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπον **[5.95]** ; ὑπαλλάττειν for ἐναλλάττειν **[19.7]** ; ὑπαναχωρεῖν for ἐπαναχωρεῖν **[23.154]** ; ὑπάρχεις for ὑπάρχει **[2.91]** ; ὑπερτεθῆναι for ὑπερτιθέναι **[30.3]** ; ὑπορυττούσης for ὑποκηρυττούσης **[23.75]** ; φασί for φησί **[37.1]** ; φύσει for φύσιν **[8.38]** ; χρήσεις for ῥήσεις **[1.45]** ; ὥστέ ποτε for ὥστε ποτὲ **[4.45]**

**ABCDGLMOVWZ** against **J** ἀποταξάσθωσαν for ἀποταξάτωσαν **[55.1.1]** ; ἀποφηναμένου for ἀποφαινομένου **[38.27]** ; ἄρα for ἅμα **[54.4]** ; αὐτοὶ for αὐτὸν **[49.14]** ; γεωργίου for πατριάρχου **[55.3]** ; εἰκοστὸς for ἕκτος ια′ **[38.10]** ; ἐμελέτησεν for μελετήσαντα **[43.10]** ; ἑξηκοστοῦ ἕκτου for κστ′ **[39.7-8]** ; ἔσθ′ ὅπη for ἔσθ′ ὅτε **[39.2]** ; ἐφ′ ὧν for ἀφ′ ὧν **[58.2]** ; ἐφίστασο for ἀφίστασο **[53.46]** ; ἢ πρὸς for ὁ πρὸς **[49.18]** ; ἡγησαμένους for ἡγουμένους **[44.2]** ; πάντα for πάντων **[46.4]** ; παρηγγύησε for παρεγγύησε **[56.34]** ; πεντηκοστὸς for πρῶτος μγ′ **[38.33]** ; περὶ for ἐπὶ **[49.3]** ; ποιούμενος for ποιούμενοι **[55.2.30]** ; συνηγείρετο for συνεγείρετο **[44.2.4]** ; τέμνε for τέμνων **[53.45]** ; τετράδα for τετράδην **[39.24-25]** ; τῶν for καὶ **[40.5]** ; ὑπερηφανεύοιτο for ὑπερηφανεύοι **[46.31]** ; φάγετε for φέγετε **[41.7]** ; χαλεπωτέρων for χαλεπωτέρας **[55.3.16]**

**ABCDGLMOVZ** against **W** ἀλλά γε for ἀλλ′ ἄγε **[18.22]** ; ἀλλά γε for ἀλλ′ ἄγε **[37.15]** ; ἀλλά γε for ἀλλ′ ἄγε **[5.17]** ; ἄλλως for ἄλλον **[19.62]** ; ἀπειλοῦν for ἀπειλοῦντος **[29.28]** ; ἀπέσχετο for ἐπέσχετο **[10.127]** ; αἰτιῶν for αἰτίων **[16.73]** ; δεῖ for δὴ **[24.3.20]** ; δεῖν for δεῖ **[10.54]** ; δευτέρα for δευτευτέρα **[18.69]** ; δεύτερος for δεύτερον **[23.75]** ; διὰ τοῦ ἐνζύμου for δι′ ἐνζύμου **[31.21-22]** ; εἰσφέρειν for ἐκφέρειν **[7.28]** ; ἐνίσταιτο for ἐνίστατο **[31.14]** ; ἐξούλης for ἐξούλην **[10.39]** ; ἐπανάγειν for ἐπάγειν **[23.79]** ; ἐπηρτημένους for ἐπηρμένους **[21.16]** ; ἐστερεῶσθαι for στερεῶσθαι **[18.21]** ; ἔτι δεομένην for ἐπιδεομένην **[23.143-44]** ; θηρᾶσθαι for θηράσαι **[8.6]** ; κοινωνίαν for κοινωνίας **[33.7]** ; μακρὸν for μακρὰν **[6.37]** ; νόμου for κόσμου **[23.136]** ; ποιεῖ for ποιεῖσθαι **[23.126]** ; προσίεσθαι for σίεσθαι **[26.3]** ; συνανατρέπων for ἀνατρέπων **[22.62]** ; τοῦ τε for τοῦ δὲ **[4.11]** ; τοσοῦτος for τόσος **[22.34]** ; τῶν ὅλων for τὸν ὅλον **[27.1.10]** ; ὡς ἄν τινας for ὡσάντινας **[1.27]**

**ABCDGLMOW** against **V** ἐκπεπόρευεται for ἐκπόρευεται **[14.24]**

**ABCDGLMOWZ** against **JV** ῥητὰ for ῥήματα **[53.41]**

**ABCDGLMOWZ** against **V** ἄτοπον for πρόσωπον **[18.7]** ; ἐξωθείσθω for ἐκτεθείσθω **[19.19]** ; ἐπῆλθεν for ὑπῆλθεν **[5.1.16]** ; ἡμερῶν for μερῶν **[22.14]** ; μέντοι for μὲν τοί **[24.1.1]** ; πατριαρχικὸν for πατριαρχὸν **[20.2]** ; πᾶσαν for πᾶσων **[54.28]** ; τῶν χρόνων for τὸν χρόνον **[32.9]**

**ABCDGLMWZ** against **V** ἔστιν for ἐστίν **[5.75]**

**ABCDGLO** against **Z** λγ′ for γ′ **[10.62]**

**ABCDGLOVWZ** against **M** αὐτεξουσίου for αὐτεξουσία **[23.58] ;** ἐξεπίτηδες for ἐξεπίδες **[26.29] ;** ὡς for ὥς **[1.38]**

**ABCDGLOVZ** against **MW** οἱ πνευματομάχοι for ἢ πνευματομάχοι **[10.156]**

**ABCDGLOWZ** against **V** παλαιᾶ for παλαιᾶς **[26.37]**

**ABCDGLV** against **MW** τὸ πάσχα for τῶ πάσχα **[27.3.6]**

**ABCDGMOV** against **LZ** ἂν τὸν for αὐτὸν **[5.83]**

**ABCDGMOVW** against **JLZ** ἐκείναις for ἐκείνοις **[39.25]**

**ABCDGMOVW** against **L** ἀνατεθειμένοι for ἀνατεθεμένοι **[20.15] ;** ἀπευθύνοντα for ἀπευθύνατο **[53.44] ;** δῆτα for δῆ **[32.13] ;** συμβεβήκει for συβεβήκει **[18.7] ;** τουτουὶ for τοῦτου **[23.8]**

**ABCDGMOVW** against **LZ** ἄλογον for ἄλλην **[37.10] ;** ἀνεσώσατο for ἀνεστήσατο **[24.1.1.1.3] ;** ἀπειλικρινημένα for ἀπειλικρημένα **[23.150] ;** ἐνιέντα for ἀνιέντα **[8.18] ;** ἢ for καὶ **[8.36] ;** κτίσιν for κτίσμα **[10.33] ;** λόγον for λόγου **[37.3] ;** μεγάλου for ἁγίου **[28.4.32] ;** παναγίου for ἁγίου **[19.57] ;** παριστᾶσαν for παριστῶσαν **[16.26] ;** περιτέμνων for περιτέμνειν **[31.12] ;** προΐσχονται for προΐσχοντο **[23.7]**

**ABCDGMOVW** against **Z** ἀνατεθειμένοι for ἀνατιθεμένοι **[20.15] ;** ἀπευθύνοντα for ἀπεὐθύνατο **[53.44] ;** δῆτα for δὴ **[32.13] ;** τουτουὶ for τούτου **[23.8]**

**ABCDGMOVWZ** against **J** προσεπήνεσαν for προσεπαίνεσαν **[49.13]**

**ABCDGMOVWZ** against **L** ἀπαντῶν for παντῶν **[6.53] ;** ἀπομαχόμενος for ἀπεχόμενος **[10.60] ;** αὐτοὶ for αἰ τοὶ **[18.38] ;** δείπνου for δείπνον **[28.5] ;** δια for δι **[5.82] ;** δυσσεβείαις for δυσσεβείας **[17.12] ;** εἴτε for εἶπε **[31.10] ;** ἕλληνα πείθων for ἕλλην ἀπείθων **[9.29] ;** ἓν for ἐν **[2.87] ;** ἐπανατεινόμενα for ἐπανακτεινόμενα **[19.61] ;** ἐπεστράφημεν for ἐπιστράφημεν **[23.130] ;** ἐπέτρεψεν for ἐπέστρεψεν **[24.1.1.3.5] ;** Ἦν for ἦν vel ἰῶ for ἴω(άννης) vel κ(υρίο)υ sscr. ᾽ν **[9.31] ;** ἴδια for ἰδία **[16.33] ;** κόσμου for κόσμω **[27.1.6] ;** κυκεῶνα for κεκυῶνα **[1.16] ;** λέξεως for λήξεως **[5.78] ;** λίθοι for λίθους **[23.50] ;** μέγα for μεγάλα **[5.6] ;** μιᾶ for μὶα **[16.37] ;** μία for μετὰ **[19.36] ;** νομοθετῶν for μοθετῶν **[23.108] ;** ὁμογενοῦς for ὁμονογενοῦς **[22.32] ;** οὐ τῶ for οὐτω **[26.12] ;** οὔπω for οὔτω **[8.16] ;** οὐσιωδῶς for οὐσιωδῶσι **[8.78] ;** οὔτε for οὔτω **[15.22] ;** οὐτοσὶ for οὐτησὶ **[21.15] ;** πάπαν for πᾶσαν **[49.14] ;** παραιτούμενοι for παραιτούμενος **[28.10] ;** ποτήριον for πρότερον **[10.131] ;** συναιροῦντας for σϋναιροστας vel συναιρ(οῦν)τας **[10.105] ;** σώφρονι for σύφρονι **[8.33] ;** τὸ for τὸν **[8.19] ;** τῶν τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ **[23.59] ;** ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν **[5.68] ;** ὑπερφυεῖς for ὑπερφύεις **[23.37] ;** φύσιν for φήσιν **[7.10] ;** ὥς γε εἶχε for ὥσχε **[23.151]**

**ABCDGMOVZ** against **L** δικαιοῦσθε for δικαιοῦση **[32.3] ;** ἐξ ἀγεννήτου for ἐξαγενήτου **[4.49] ;** ἐπεισήγαγε for ἐπεισήγεγε **[26.20]**

**ABCDGMOW** against **LZ** δικαζούσης for δικαζούσας **[8.9]**

**ABCDGMOW** against **Z** θεὸν for ἄνθρωπον **[10.55]**

**ABCDGMOWZ** against **L** ἀπεσείσαντο for ἀπεπείσαντο **[3.5] ;** διά τοι for διὰ τι **[20.1]**

**ABCDGMOZ** against **L** ἐπινοία for ἐπϊνιοία **[4.50]**

**ABCDJLMOVW** against **Z** ἕλξαι εἰ for ἕλξας **[48.5]**

**ABCDJLMOVWZ** against **G** ἀρχιερατικοὺς for ἀρχιαρατικοὺς **[44.5.23] ;** συνόδου for συνόδω **[39.40]**

**ABCDJLMOVZ** against **G** ὡς οἷόν τε for ὡς όντε **[59.13]**

**ABCDLMOV** against **GWZ** αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν **[28.3.8]**

**ABCDLMOV** against **J** προαναπεφωνήκασιν for ἀναπεφωνήκασιν **[59.10]**

**ABCDLMOV** against **W** Ἔλεγχος for Ἔλεγχοι **[Tit.]**

**ABCDLMOV** against **Z** Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς δραξάμενος for Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβους δραξάμενος **[10.1] ;** φημὶ for φησὶ **[26.28]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **B** ἐξ αἰτίας for ἐξ αιτίου **[4.61]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **G** γὰρ for δὲ **[11.16] ;** γινομένη for γενομένη **[14.11] ;** ἕκτω καὶ εἰκοστῶ for ἕκτω καὶ κ′ **[4.34] ;** ἔσθ′ ὅπη λέλεκται for λέγεται ἔσθ′ ὅπη **[12.9-10]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **GJ** δανειζόμενος for δανεισάμενος **[51.11] ;** πάντη for πάνυ **[50.4]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **GJZ** ἐκτέμη for ἐκτέμνη **[52.19] ;** ὅσων for ὅσω **[54.20]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **GZ** ἕκτω καὶ τριακοστῶ for ἕκτω καὶ λ′ **[4.35] ;** ἱερόμαρτυς for ἱερομάρτυς **[10.12] ;** οὐδὲ for οὐ **[7.5] ;** οὐδὲ for οὐ **[7.6] ;** συμβεβηκότων for συμβεβηκότος **[9.56] ;** τοῦτο for τούτω **[28.1.2]**

**ABCDLMOVW** against **Z** Αἱ δὲ ἀπ′ αἰῶνος for Οἱ δὲ ἀπ′ αἰῶνος **[24.2.1] ;** γὰρ for οὖν **[11.16] ;** ἐξ αἰτίας for ἐξαιτίας **[4.61] ;** ἐπεί δ′ ὑπ′ ἀρχὴν for ἐπεὶ δ′ ὑπερ ἀρχὴν **[43.4] ;** εὐδιαίρετον for ἀδιαίρετον **[45.85]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **AZ** ὑπάγει εὐθύνη for ἐπάγει εὐθύνη **[38.43]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **G** αἰτίους for αἰτίας **[18.14] ;** ἀπέδειξεν for ἀνέδειξεν **[24.1.16] ;** ἄρνησιν for ἄρσιν **[24.3.16] ;** ἀρχιεπίσκοπος for ἐπίσκοπος **[35.15] ;** αὐτῶν for αὐτόν **[23.1] ;** αὐχοῦν for αὐχῶν **[5.29] ;** δεῖ for χρὴ **[18.65] ;** δέ ἐστιν for δὲ, ἐστὶν **[4.32] ;** δήπου for δῆθεν **[31.14] ;** διαφύγοιεν for διαφύγοιμεν **[48.20] ;** ἐγίνετο for ἐγένετο **[27.2.14] ;** Εἰ for Οἱ **[16.51] ;** εἶναι for εἶπε **[10.131] ;** ἐκβαλλόμενος for ἐκβαλλομένους **[50.22] ;** ἐκπορευόμενον for αὐτοῦ **[2.44] ;** ἐνιαύσιον for ἐνιαύσιαι **[23.100] ;** ἐξ οὗ for ἐκ σοῦ **[18.38] ;** ἐπειδὴ for ἐπεὶ **[26.32] ;** ἐπιδίδωσι for δίδωσι **[27.1.20] ;** ἑτέρων for ἑτέρου **[31.10] ;** ἡμῖν for ὑμῖν **[23.66] ;** θεολογῆσαι for θεολογήσας **[7.40] ;** θεωρητέον for διαληπτέον **[27.5] ;** κατάλυσον for κατάλυσιν **[6.50] ;** κατεβίβαζε for μετεβίβαζε **[32.8] ;** κὰν for ἐν **[29.17] ;** κύριος for θεός **[11.18] ;** μηδὲν for μὴ δὲν **[17.4] ;** παναγίου for ἁγίου **[5.77] ;** παναγίου for ἁγίου **[8.73] ;** παράβασις for παρατήρησις **[22.42] ;** πεπονθέναί τι for πεπονθέν αἵ τϊ **[24.1.1.4.2] ;** περὶ for πρὸς **[9.22] ;** πλειόνων γε for γε πλείων **[48.9] ;** πλουτεῖ for πλουτεῖν **[5.48] ;** πν(εύματο)ς for π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς **[23.145] ;** ποριζόμενα for ποριζόμεθα **[23.24] ;** προσθεὶς for προστιθεὶς **[19.28] ;** πρωίτερον for πρωιαίτερον **[29.20] ;** οὐανδάλων for οὐανδήλων **[36.1] ;** οἷς for οἷο **[10.107] ;** οὗτος for οὕτω **[23.52] ;** οὐχ ἡ for οὐχὶ **[7.33] ;** ὅσιον for ἄξιον **[10.70] ;** Ὅτι for Ἔτι **[27.2.1] ;** τήμερον for σήμερον **[28.4.19] ;** τίθησιν for βάλει **[46.27] ;** τονοῖ τὸ νοῖ **[33.22] ;** τοῦτο for οὕτω **[9.26] ;** τοῦτο for τούτω **[22.63] ;** τῶν γε for τῶν τε **[23.134] ;** φρονοῦσιν for φρονοῦμεν **[26.30] ;** χείρονα for χείρω **[22.19]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **GJ** ἀφράστω for ἀτρέπτω **[60.6] ;** βεβαίως for βεβαίαν **[54.8] ;** διαλέγεται for διαλέγετο **[44.5.5] ;** δίκη for καταδίκη **[44.6.16] ;** διορθούμενον for διορθούμενοι **[39.27] ;** ἔθεσί τε for ἤθεσί τε **[43.25] ;** ἐρωτήσεων for ὑποθέσεων **[55.2.35] ;** καθυπέβαλον for ὑπέβαλον **[44.6.16] ;** κἀνταῦθα for ἐνταῦθα **[54.27] ;** κοινωνῶν for κοινωνεῖν **[53.15] ;** οὐχ for οὐχ′ **[48.18] ;** πανταχόθεν for πάντοθεν **[53.47] ;** πάντη for πάνυ **[56.28] ;** περιττὸν for περισσὸν **[53.47] ;** πλάσαντι for κυρίω **[40.9] ;** προβαλλομένη for προτεινομένη **[44.7.8] ;** σιάλω for σιέλω **[42.2] ;** τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας for τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα **[54.15] ;** χριστιανοῦ for χριστιανῶν **[54.26] ;** ὡς for εἰς **[56.24]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **J** διαφύγοιεν for φύγοιμεν **[48.20] ;** ἐκβαλλόμενος for ἐκβαλλομένοις **[50.22] ;** κατὰ for ἐν **[44.3.2] ;** τίθησιν for βάλλει **[46.27]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** against **L** ἀναντίρρητον for ἀναντίρρητας **[5.1.14]**

**ABCDLMOVZ** against **G** δὲ for γὰρ **[22.66] ;** οἰκειότερον for οἰκειοτέρως **[26.31] ;** τῆς for τὴν **[10.90]**

**ABCDLMOVZ** against **GJ** ἐξ αἱρέσεως for ἐξ αἱρέσεων **[47.10]**

**ABCDLMOVZ** against **GW** οὐχ ὡς for οὐχ′ ὡς **[23.147] ;** Τοῦ δὴ for Τοῦ δὲ **[2.48]**

**ABCDLMOVZ** against **W** μεθ′ ὅσου for μεθ′ ὅσον **[6.46] ;** συνεισαγόμενον for συναγόμενον **[5.25]**

**ABCDLMOW** against **GVZ** σαφῶς for σαφές **[4.26]**

**ABCDLMOW** against **Z** αἱρέσεσι for αἵρεσιν **[53.25]**

**ABCDLMOWZ** against **V** διαμένοντος for διαμείνοντος **[45.75]**

**ABCDLOV** against **Z** ἔφη· συνομολογήσομεν for ὁμολογήσομεν ἔφη **[8.47]**

**ABCDLOVZ** against **G** ἐξευρόντων for εὑρόντων **[33.6]**

**ABCDLOVZ** against **GMW** ἀλλήλοις for ἀλλήλους **[10.116] ;** πάντων for πάντα **[8.22]**

**ABCDMOV** against **GLWZ** ἐδυνήθησαν for ἠδυνήθησαν **[9.28]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **G** κἀν for κἂν **[27.1.24]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **GLZ** προφέρονται for προσφέρονται **[8.75] ;** ἡμῖν for ἡμῶν **[21.14]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **L** ὑφορώμενοι for ὑφορώμενον **[10.141]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **LZ** κἀν for καὶ **[27.1.24]**

**ABCDMOVW** against **Z** μόνως for μόνοις **[2.48]**

**ABCDMOVWZ** against **G** βλάσφημον γλῶτταν κεκινηκόσιν for βλάσφημον δόξαν κεκινηκόσιν **[22.26]**

**ABCDMOVWZ** against **GJL** προσκειμένων for προκειμένων **[55.2.23]**

**ABCDMOVWZ** against **GL** συναναιρεῖν for συναιρεῖν **[5.23]**

**ABCDMOVWZ** against **L** βλάσφημον γλῶτταν κεκινηκόσιν for βλάσφημίαν καὶ μίαν γλῶτταν κεκινηκόσιν **[22.26] ;** ἐν αἰδοῖ for ἐν αἰδῶ **[9.1] ;** ἦρχθαι for ἦρχεσθαι **[45.43] ;** καινὴν for καὶ νῦν **[28.2.11] ;** μενούσης for μὲν οὔσης **[45.84] ;** ὄντως ὄντος for οὕτως ὄντος **[23.17]**

**ABCDMOVZ** against **GW** οὐχ for οὐχ′ **[4.44]**

**ABCDOLWZ** against **G** Οὐχ for Οὐχ′ **[27.1]**

**ABCGDLMOVWZ** against **J** διετήρησαν for ἐτήρησαν **[60.15]**

**ABCGJDMOVZ** against **L** διδαχῆ for διαδοχῆ **[53.27]**

**ABCGJLMOVW** against **D** ἀπεδείκνυ for ἐπεδείκνυ **[44.6.5]**

**ABCGJLMOVWZ** against **D** αὐτοὺς for αὐτοὶς **[42.3] ;** μεθίενται for μεθύονται **[53.20] ;** ὅτι for ὅτε **[54.11]**

**ABCGJMOVWZ** against **D** διατηρήσετε for διατηρήσητε **[53.19]**

**ABCGLMOVW** against **D** ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ for ἀντὶ τοῦ τό τοῦ **[5.90] ;** νεστόριον for νεστορίου **[13.5] ;** τοιόνδε fortοιόντε **[9.43]**

**ABCGLMOVW** against **Z** ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ for ἀντὶ τοῦ **[5.90] ;** κεντοῦντας for κινοῦντας **[23.80]**

**ABCGLMOVWZ** against **D** ἀξιώσας for ἀπαξιώσας **[27.1.13] ;** αὐτὸν for αὐτῶν **[6.62] ;** διακεκριμένης for διακεκριμένη **[6.3] ;** δίδωσι for δίδωσιν **[5.34] ;** διεξιούσης for δεξιούσης **[22.57] ;** δόγματα for δόγμα **[20.42] ;** ἐθεᾶτο for ἐᾶτο **[24.1.1.4.5] ;** ἐξετάσας for ἐξετάσαις **[29.12] ;** ἠγαπηκότος for ἀγαπηκότος **[28.4.34] ;** θρόνου for θρόνω **[10.47] ;** ὁμοουσίου for ὁμοσίου **[23.145] ;** πάγαις for παγίδαις **[32.16] ;** παραπληξίας for παρὰ πληξίας **[2.51] ;** σὺν αὐτῶ for συναυτῶ **[2.42] ;** στύφοντες for στύφον **[33.18] ;** τὸν for τὸ **[16.22] ;** ὡς ἄν τις for ὡσάν τις **[3.8] ;** ὥσπερ ἂν for ὥσπερ γὰρ **[18.7]**

**ABCGLMOVZ** against **D** φρονοῦντες for φρονιοῦντες **[2.3]**

**ABCGLMOVZ** against **W** φρονοῦντες for φρονοῦν **[2.3]**

**ABCGLMVW** against **DO** προσληφθέντα for προσληφέντα **[32.10] ;** ὡς for ὠ **[14.31]**

**ABCGLMVWZ** against **DO** κοινωνοὶ for κοινωνίας **[23.123]**

**ABCGMOVW** against **D** ψόφον for ψόγον **[46.5]**

**ABCGMOVW** against **J** ψόφον for ψῆφον **[46.5]**

**ABCGMOVW** against **LZ** ψόφον for ψόφου **[46.5]**

**ABCGMOVWZ** against **D** οὐκ ἀλλότριον for οὐκαλότριος **[4.1.12]**

**ABCGMOVWZ** against **L** οὐκ ἀλλότριον for οὐκαλλότριον **[4.1.12]**

**ABCGOVW** against **M** ἀπὸ for ὑπὸ **[6.22]**

**ABCLMOVW** against **D** κἀν for κἄν **[18.64]**

**ABCLMOVW** against **GZ** κἀν for κἂν **[18.64]**

**ABCLMOVWZ** against **DG** ἐκέλευε for ἐκέλευσε **[23.108] ;** ἔχει for ἔχη **[10.26] ;** μὴ δ′ for μηδ′ **[22.27] ;** προΐσχεσθαι for προΐχεσθαι **[18.66]**

**ABCLMOVWZ** against **DGJ** εἰ for εἰς **[46.5]**

**ABCMOVGLZ** against **DW** εἰ for εἰς **[36.5]**

**ABCMVWZ** against **L** οἶνον for οἷον **[10.131]**

**ABCOV** against **GMW** ἔχων (post corr. ex ἔχον **C**) for ἔχον **[11.13]**

**ABDGLMOVW** against **ACZ** τοῖς for τῆς **[24.1.3]**

**ABDGLMOVW** against **J** ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ πνεύσασαν for ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν **[48.7]**

**ABDGLMOVWZ** against **C** αὖθις for πάλιν **[25.1] ;** εἴληφε for ἔλαβε **[27.1.9] ;** μεγίστη for πάση **[9.1] ;** πνεύματος for πατρὸς **[5.4] ;** τούτοις for τούτων **[18.45]**

**ABDGLMOVZ** against **C** ἐξ αὐτοῦ for ἐξαυτοῦ **[4.40]**

**ABDGMOV** against **ACLZ** εὐηργέτηντο for εὐεργέτηντο **[24.2.6]**

**ABDGMOVW** against **C** προσηγόρευκεν for προσηγόρευσεν **[9.51]**
**ABDGMOVW** against **L** προσηγόρευκεν for προσηγόρευμεν **[9.51]**
**ABDLMOVW** against **G** ἐξειλεγμένων for ἐκλελεγμένων **[28.4.27]**
**ABDMOVW** against **LZ** ἐνδέκατος for α′ **[31.5]**
**ABDMOVWZ** against **C** τὸν for τὸ **[28.7]**
**ABGLZ** against **CDMOVW** τὸ παράπαν for τοπαράπαν **[4.32]**
**ACDGJLMOVW** against **B** τοῦ for τὸν **[44.7.9]**
**ACDGJLMOVWZ** against **B** αὐτὰ for αὐτῶ **[39.5]** ἀειπάρθενον for πάρθένον **[44.3.23] ;** γὰρ for γε μὲν **[46.11] ;** θυσιαστηρίω for φυσιαστηρίω **[40.5] ;** κανονικῆς for κοινωνίας **[55.3.8] ;** οὐ παρὼν for σϋμπαρὼν **[44.5.26] ;** πειθομένους for πειθομένω **[54.3] ;** προσιεμένης for προσιέμενοι **[49.16]**
**ACDGJLMOWZ** against **BV** ἔτει for ἔτους **[44.5.19]**
**ACDGJLMWZ** against **B** αὐτῆς for αὐτῶν **[50.20]**
**ACDGJMOVW** against **B** τελείου for τελείαν **[46.33]**
**ACDGJMOVW** against **BLZ** φόνος for φθόνος **[52.46]**
**ACDGJMOVW** against **L** τελείου for τελεί **[46.33]**
**ACDGJMOVW** against **Z** τελείου for τῶ τέλει **[46.33]**
**ACDGLMOV** against **W** δορυφορεῖν for δοροφορεῖν **[27.1.7]**
**ACDGLMOVW** against **B** βιωτός for βρωτός **[21.3] ;** ἐκείνοις for ἐκείνος **[10.42] ;** τοσόνδε for τὸ σόν **[6.41]**
**ACDGLMOVW** against **BZ** πως for που **[4.30]**
**ACDGLMOVW** against **Z** τοσόνδε for τόσον **[6.41]**
**ACDGLMOVWZ** against **B** ἀλλοτριοῖ for ἀλλότριοι **[19.8] ;** ἀλόγου for λόγου **[28.12] ;** ἀπομεμένηκε for ἀπομεμόνηκε **[8.22] ;** ἀριθμοῦ for ἀριθμῶ **[3.10] ;** ἀρχὴν for ἀρχικὴν **[5.48] ;** αὐγῆς for αὐτῆς **[28.3.12] ;** δὲ τῆ for τῆ τῆ **[4.15] ;** δεῖ for δὴ **[37.2] ;** διαμάχην for διὰ μάχην **[6.49] ;** διαστροφῆς for διατροφῆς **[10.9] ;** διδοὺς for δίδωσιν **[31.11] ;** δογματίζοντες for δογματίζοντος **[2.56] ;** ἐκ for ἐν **[26.34] ;** ἓν ἂν for ἐὰν **[16.53] ;** ἐπελθεῖν for απελθεῖν **[6.70] ;** ἐπισχεῖν for ἐπιχεῖν **[10.53] ;** ἐπιφυομένην for ἐπιφυομένων **[10.13] ;** ἑτέρωθι for ἐστερεώθι **[18.22] ;** ζωοφόρου for ζωηφόρου **[23.50] ;** ζωῆς for ζῶσαν **[28.4.13] ;** ἢ for οἳ **[19.58] ;** ἡμῖν for ἡμᾶς **[24.3.14] ;** ἣν βλασφημίαν for ἣν καὶ λασφημίαν **[22.26-27] ;** καὶ τοῦ for τῶ υἱῶ, τοῦ δὲ **[8.47] ;** καθαπερεὶ for καθάπερ **[10.83] ;** καταχέας for κατεχέας **[10.48] ;** κεκοινωνηκέναι for κεκοινωκέναι **[27.4] ;** μηδενὶ for μὴ δενὶ **[19.5] ;** ὃν for ὃν **[4.15] ;** Ὁ δὲ for καὶ ὁ **[2.76] ;** ὅτι for κέτι **[28.4.24] ;** παρανομίας for παρανομία **[31.14] ;** πρίν τι for πρίν τε **[4.42] ;** προοδικῶς for προδικῶς **[4.15] ;** προφητείαις for προφητείας **[23.130] ;** συνεισῆγε for συνεῖγε **[23.45] ;** τι for τις **[34.7] ;** τοιγαροῦν for τοίνυν οὖν **[10.81] ;** τοῦτο for τοῦ **[15.2] ;** τυπικὸν for τοπικὸν **[28.16] ;** τῶ for τὰ **[54.9] ;** υἱοῦ² for οὗ **[7.8] ;** φημὶ for φησὶ **[10.150] ;** φῶτα for ταῦτα **[6.7] ;** φύσεως for φυσικῶς **[28.2.4]**
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**ACDGLMOW** against **Z** τὸν υἱὸν for τὸν υἱὸν δὲ **[6.33]**

**ACDGLMOWZ** against **B** ἔφη for εἶπε ἔφη **[8.16] ;** τῶν ἐκείνοις λόγων for τοῖς ἐκείνοις λόγων **[1.48]**

**ACDGLMOWZ** against **BV** ἀποκρίσεως for ὑποκρίσεως **[4.13] ;** ἐπεδείκνυ for ὑπεδείκνυ **[24.1.5]**

**ACDGLMOWZ** against **V** ἔφη for εἶπε **[8.16] ;** τῶν ἐκείνοις λόγων for τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις **[1.48]**

**ACDGLMOZ** against **B** ἐναπωμόρξατο for ἀπωμόρξατο **[23.115]**

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**ACDGMOVW** against **BLZ** ἀποτιθέμενοι for ἀποθέμενοι **[28.4.14] ;** ἑνὶ for ἐνὶ **[1.44]**

**ACDGMOVWZ** against **B** παριστῶσι for παριστᾶσι **[7.22]**

**ACDGMOVWZ** against **BL** μηδὲν for μὴ δὲν **[22.22]**

**ACDGMOVWZ** against **L** φησιν for φυσίν **[5.69]**

**ACDGMOWZ** against **L** μηδεὶς for μηδὲς **[31.5]**

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**ACDLMOVW** against **G** ἀλλ᾽ ἕν τι for ἀλλ᾽ ἕν τοι **[5.50]**

**ACDLMOVWZ** against **B** διαστρέφειν for διατρέφειν **[10.121] ;** ἐξ αἰτίου for ἐκ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίου **[4.60] ;** ἡγνισμένους for ἡγνισμένας **[26.26] ;** κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς for τ᾽ αὐτοὺς **[45.84] ;** κρύφιον for ἀπόκρύφιον **[45.36] ;** μηδεὶς for μὴ δεὶς **[21.21] ;** μονάδος for μοναδικῆς **[45.84] ;** πόνηρος for παμπόνηρος **[23.69] ;** χρηστοῦ for χρόνου **[44.4.3] ;**

**ACDLMOVWZ** against **BG** Ἡ δὲ for Ὁ δὲ **[10.55]**

**ACDLMOVWZ** against **G** διαστρέφειν for περιστρέφειν **[10.121] ;** ἐξ αἰτίου for ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου **[4.60] ;** ἵν᾽ ἐκείνου for ἵνα ἐκεῖνο **[28.1.3] ;** παμπόνηρος for πανώλεθρος **[23.69] ;** πνεῦμα for παρὰ **[11.3] ;** οὐχ for οὐχ᾽ **[18.49]**

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**ACDLMOWZ** against **BGV** αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶ **[8.36]**

**ACDMOVW** against **BGLZ** ἐξ οὐσίας for ἐξουσίας **[9.55]**

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**ACDMOVZ** against **BGLW** οὐχ for οὐχ᾽ **[10.131]**

**ACDMOVZ** against **BGW** οὐχ for οὐχ᾽ **[10.69]**

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**ACGJLMW** against **BDVO** ὀκτωκαιδεκάτω for ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου **[44.5.19]**

**ACGJLMZ** against **BDOV** θύραν ἀντὶ κοινωνίας for θύραν τὲ κοινωνίας **[53.24]**

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**ACGLMVW** against **Z** εἰκοστῶ καὶ δευτέρω for εἰκοστῶ καὶ β′ **[4.33]**

**ACGLMVZ** against **B** μηδεμίαν for μὴ δε μίαν **[2.49]**

**ACGLMVZ** against **DO** παραρρυῶσι for παρρυῶσι **[10.117]**

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**ACGLMWZ** against **BDOV** ἀλόγου for ἀλόγων **[33.19] ;** ἁλόντα for ἁλῶντα **[27.1.12] ;** ἀπωλείας for ἀσεβείας **[9.7] ;** γεγαννωμένον for γεγανωμένον **[26.45] ;** ἐπεδίδου for μετεδίδου **[28.4.39] ;** ἡμᾶς for ὑμᾶς **[26.14] ;** μόνον for μένον **[5.71]**

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**ACGMWZ** against **B** ἀπώνανται for ἀπόναντο **[28.3.8]**

**ACGMWZ** against **L** ἀπώνανται for ἀπώνμανται **[28.3.8]**

**ACL** against **BDGMOVW** νοήσει for νοούση **[14.26]**

**ACL** against **BDGMOVWZ** λόγον for λόγω **[32.18]**

**ACL** against **BDGMV** ἦλθε for ἧκε **[14.19]**

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**ACLMVZ** against **GJ** γυναικὶ for γαμετῇ **[55.2.11]**

**ACLMW** against **BDGOVZ** διὰ μέσου for διαμέσου **[4.42]**

**ACLMZ** against **BDOVGW** παρ᾽ αὐτῶν for παρ᾽ αὐτῆς **[19.22]**

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**ACLVWZ** against **BDMO** ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν for ὑπερέννοιαν **[5.45]**

**ACLVZ** against **BDGMOW** οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον for οὐδ᾽ ἐπολίγον **[4.5]**

**ACLW** against **Z** Τὶ for Εἴ **[6.14]**

**ACLWZ** against **BDGJMOV** δὲ for δὴ **[39.60]**

**ACLZ** against **BDGJMOVW** κωνσταντινουπόλεως for κωνσταντίνου **[44.3.9]**

**ACLZ** against **BDGMOVW** γε for τε **[17.9] ;** γλώττη for γλώσση **[18.2] ;** εὑράμενος for εὑρόμενος **[10.82] ;** ἐκεῖνο for κἀκεῖνο **[26.14] ;** ἤγουν for ἢ **[18.32] ;** οὐδὲ for οὐ **[28.17] ;** πνεῦματος οὐσίας for πνεῦματος ὑποστάσεως **[5.2] ;** προϊσχομένους for προϊσχομένας **[18.12] ;** προσιεμένοις for προσιεμένους **[24.3.5] ;** χώραν for τάξιν **[24.1.1.2.8]**

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**ACLZ** against **BDGMOVW** γέγονε for γένοιτο **[23.105]**

**ACLZ** against **BDMOVW** οὐδετέρω for οὐδ᾽ ἑτέρω **[5.46]**

**ACLZ** against **J** παραλύει for καταλύει **[46.33]**

**ACLZ** against **V** παλαιοὺς for πολλὰς **[26.5]**

**ACMOVWZ** against **BGL** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο **[2.96]**

**ACMOWZ** against **BG** οὐχ for οὐχ᾽ **[10.135]**

**ACMV** against **G** ἑστιωμένοις for ἐσθιωμένοις **[28.4.19]**

**ACMV** against **Z** ἑστιωμένοις for ἐσθιομένοις **[28.4.19]**

**ACMWZ** against **B** ἁλοίη ἂν for ἁλοί κἂν **[17.13]**

**ADCGLMOVW** against **BZ** προϋπάρχει for προύπάρχει **[2.12]**

**ADGLMOVWZ** against **C** θεολογεῖται for καλεῖται **[5.20]**

**ADGMOW** against **BCV** αὐτῆ for ἑαυτῆ (post cor. ex αὐτῆ **C**) **[10.125]**

**AGVWZ** against **C** ἀλλὰ ζυμίταις for ἀλλ' ἀζημίταις **[28.4.42]**

**BCDGJLMOVW** against **Z** ἀφέξεσθαι for εἰς δέξεσθαι **[38.2-3]**

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**BCDGJLMOW** against **A** ἀπήτουν for ἀπήτους **[44.3.10]**

**BCDGJMOVW** against **ALT** καθ' αὐτὸν for καθ' ἑαυτὸν **[49.5]**

**BCDGJMOVW** against **ALTZ** ἔτι τὲ for ἔτι δὲ **[49.9]**

**BCDGJMOVW** against **ALZ** κωνσταντίνου for κωνσταντινουπόλεως **[44.5.11]**

**BCDGJMOVW** against **Z** καθ' αὐτὸν for καθ ἑαυτὸν **[49.5]**

**BCDGJMOVWZ** against **AL** τῆ for τὴν **[48.23]**

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**BCDGLMOVWZ** against **AJ** ὀνομάζονται for ὀνομάζεται **[50.12]**

**BCDGLMOVZ** against **A** μεγαλοφωνοτάτου for μεγαλοφωντάτου **[25.1.2]**

**BCDGLMOVZ** against **W** μεγαλοφωνοτάτου for μεγαλοφωτάτου **[25.1.2]** ; πρὸς for παρὰ **[37.63]**

**BCDGLMOVZW** against **A** ἄχρις for ἕως **[37.9]** ; ἐπειγομένης for ἐπιγομένης **[23.98]**

**BCDGLMOWZ** against **AV** βλάστην for βλάβην **[9.10]**

**BCDGLOVZ** against **AMW** προσφωνηματικῶ for προσφωνητικῶ **[3.1]**

**BCDGMOVW** against **A** ἐστι συμβαίνουσαν for ἐπισυμβαίνουσαν **[25.1.1]**

**BCDGMOVW** against **ALZ** ἀσπασαμένοις for ἀσπαζομένοις **[10.43] ;** δηλώσας for δηλούσας **[9.58] ;** εὐσεβεῖ for ἀσεβεῖ **[18.11] ;** παναγίου for ἁγίου **[22.26] ;** τοῦ for τῆς **[31.23]**

**BCDGMOVWZ** against **A** μόνου for μόνον **[7.5] ;** πρώτου ἐπινοία for προσώπου ἐπινοία **[5.58]**

**BCDGMOVZ** against **AL** ποῦ for τοῦ **[16.46]**

**BCDLMOVW** against **A** εἰκοσιπέντε for δεκαπέντε **[45.73] ;** ἐν τόποις ἐν for ἐνόποις ἐν **[10.166] ;** λε′ for κε′ **[45.74] ;** τῶ καὶ for τῶ κατὰ **[8.26]**

**BCDLMOVW** against **AG** Κἀν for Κἂν **[4.1.11]**

**BCDLMOVW** against **Z** δὴ for δὶς **[45.19] ;** εἰκοσιπέντε for πέντε **[45.73] ;** θεῖοι for ἅγιοι **[45.6] ;** Κἀν for Καὶ **[4.1.11] ;** λε′ for ιε′, τὰ κε′ **[45.74] ;** μόνας for μόνον **[45.12]**

**BCDLMOVWZ** against **A** γίγνοιτο for γένοιτο **[23.41] ;** ἐδείκνυ for ἐδείκνυε **[44.2.3] ;** εἴποις for εἴπης **[7.1] ;** Οἶμαι δὲ, μήποτε for Οἶμαι δήποτε **[45.1]**

**BCDLMOVWZ** against **AG** ἄλλου for ἄλλη **[15.16] ;** Κἀν for Κἂν **[4.1.9]**

**BCDLMOVWZ** against **G** εἴποις for εἴπεις **[7.1] ;** ἐκφαίνει...ἐκφαίνει for ἐμφαίνει...ἐμφαίνει **[6.10-11]**

**BCDLMOVZ** against **A** ἀλλ′ οὐ τὸ for ἀλλ′ οὐ τῶ **[28.17]**

**BCDLMOVZ** against **W** ἀπεριέργων for περιέργων **[45.31]**

**BCDMOGV** against **A** αὖ for αὖθις **[4.49]**

**BCDMOV** against **J** ἐπεί δ′ ὑπ′ ἀρχὴν for ἐπεὶ δ′ ἀπαρχὴν **[43.4]**

**BCDMOVW** against **AGL** εἰ τοσοῦτον for εἰς τοσοῦτον **[27.1.11]**

**BCDMOVW** against **ALZ** ἐν² for καὶ **[6.18] ;** ἐνυβρίζουσι for ὑβρίζουσι **[8.7]**

**BCDMOVW** against **G** ἐν² for καὶ ἐν **[6.18]**

**BCDMOVZG** against **A** τρίτω for αὐτοῦ **[2.20]**

**BCDMOW** against **AGLVZ** φασι for φησι **[24.2.4]**

**BCDVOG** against **Z** τῆ ὑστεραία for τῆ στερεᾶ **[23.107]**

**BCGLMOVWZ** against **D** ἔκφανσιν for ἔκφασιν **[7.36] ;** παραλιπεῖν for παραλιπῆν **[4.1]**

**BCGLMVWZ** against **ADO** ὑπ′ οὐρανὸν for ὑπουρανὸν **[1.28-29]**

**BCLMOVWZ** against **ADG** ἐπ′ ἀνατροπῆ for ἐπανατροπῆ **[1.53]**

**BCLMOW** against **ADGVZ** ἐκ πρώτου for ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου **[4.62]**

**BCVLWZ** against **ADGMO** κατ′ ἀλλήλων for καταλλήλων **[10.115]**

**BDCGLOVZ** against **M** νοερᾶ for νοερᾷ vel νοερα(ν) **[37.31]**

**BDGJMOVW** against **ACLZ** μεταλαμβάνειν for λαμβάνειν **[38.42] ;** ὀρθῶν for ὀρθοδόξων **[43.5]**

**BDGLMOVWZ** against **AC** εἰς for επὶ **[29.18]**

**BDGMOVW** against **ACL** ἐζυμώθη for ζυμώθη **[24.3.24]**

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**BDGMOVW** against **Z** ἐζυμώθη for ζυμωθῆ **[24.3.24]**

**BDGMOVWZ** against **ACL** Ἑρμείαν for ἑρμηνείαν **[4.1.4]**

**BDGMOVWZ** against **J** ἦ μὴν for γε μὴν **[38.2]**

**BDMOVW** against **J** ἑβδομηκοστὸς δεύτερος for δεύτερος **[55.2.9]**

**BGLW** against **ACDMOVZ** οὐχ’ for οὐχ **[10.21]**
**BGW** against **ACDLMOVZ** οὐχ’ for οὐχ **[10.58]**
**BOZ** against **D** ἀρμενίοις for ἀρμενίοι **[57.4]**
**CDGLMOVWZ** against **A** διαγράφειν for διαγράφων **[10.79] ;** ἐλαύνεται for ἀπελαύνεται **[44.7.18]**
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**CDGLMZW** against **O** μεθ’ ἡμέραν for μεθ’ ἡμέρας **[27.1.2]**
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**CDMOVW** against **LZ** κὰν for καὶ **[25.1.11] ;** καταλήγων for καταλέγον **[45.71]**
**CGLMVW** against **O** ὑποπτήσσων for ὑποπήσσων **[21.16]**
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**CLMWZ** against **ABDGOV** ὑποθέσεως for ὑποστάσεως **[6.15]**
**CMOVW** against **BDGLZ** διὰ φθορᾶς for διαφθορᾶς **[37.36]**
**CMV** against **ABDGLOWZ** ἀνὰ μέρος for ἀναμέρος **[4.1.7]**
**DMOW** against **ACGL** συνεσπειραμένης for συνεπτυγμένης **[5.16]**
**DMOW** against **B** συνεσπειραμένης for συνεσπειραμένος **[5.16]**
**DMOW** against **V** συνεσπειραμένης for συνεσπειραμένως **[5.16]**
**DMOW** against **Z** συνεσπειραμένης for συνεπτυγμένως **[5.16]**
**GJ** against **ACLZ** ταύτητοι for ταῦτά τοι **[50.8]**
**GMVWZ** against **DO** διεξιὼν for δεξιών **[10.72]**

## 4. Different word order

**A** against **BCDGJLMOVWZ** ῥώμης ἐπρεσβεύοντο for ἐπρεσβεύοντο ῥώμης **[43.2-3]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVW** πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσιν for ἐκπόρευσιν πνεύματος **[20.20]**
**A** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ κοινὸν for κοινὸν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ **[2.22] ;** τὸ βαθύτατον τῆς θεολογίας for φρέαρ τῆς θεολογίας τὸ βαθύτατον φρέαρ **[2.62]**
**A** against **BCDJLMOVWZ** δογμάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας for τῆς εὐσεβείας δογμάτων **[59.7-8]**
**A** against **BCDLMOVWZ** ἐστὶν φησὶν ὁ υἱὸς for φησὶν ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς **[2.95]**

**A** against **BCGJDMOVW** ἀναγνώστας ἔτι τελοῦσι καὶ ψάλτας for ἀναγνώστας ἔτι καὶ ψάλτας τελοῦσι **[38.12]**

**ACLZ** against **BDGJMOVW** καθῆσθαι τῶ θυσιαστηρίω for τῶ θυσιαστηρίω καθῆσθαι **[40.4-5]**

**ACLZ** against **BDGJMOVW** φησὶ κατὰ πόλιν for κατὰ πόλιν φησὶ **[38.50]**

**ACLZ** against **BDGMOVW** κἀκεῖνοι τὴν θείαν ἐπετέλουν for τὴν θείαν ἐπετέλουν κἀκεῖνοι **[35.29]**

**ACLZ** against **BDMOVW** μόνον φέρει for φέρει μόνον **[45.58]**

**ACVLW** against **BDMO** λόγω τῆς δ′ γέγραπται συνόδου for λόγω τῆς τετάρτης γέγραπται συνόδου **[3.1-2]**

**AGJ** against **BCDLMOVWZ** κανόνος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων for τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων κανόνος **[39.8]**

**AJ** against **BCDGLMOVWZ** πρῶτος ἀπορραπίζει Πέτρος for Πέτρος ἀπορραπίζει πρῶτος **[55.1.3]**

**AL** against **BCDGMOVZ** ὑπῆρχεν ἐυπρόσωπος for ἐυπρόσωπος ὑπῆρχε **[11.27]**

**ALZ** against **BCDGJMOVW** τὴν διοσκόρου καὶ εὐτυχοῦς for τὴν εὐτυχοῦς καὶ διοσκόρου **[50.1]**

**ALZ** against **BCDGMOV** αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν for ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς **[17.2]**

**ALZ** against **BCDGMOVW** βασιλεία γὰρ for γὰρ βασιλεία **[24.3.25] ;** εἰς ἄμφω ἑλκύσης τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν for εἰς ἄμφω τὸν πατέρα ἑλκύσης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν **[7.18] ;** παραίτησιν ἔχειν for ἔχειν παραίτησιν **[22.27]**

**ALZ** against **BCDJMOVW** καλείτωσάν τινες οἰκουμενικὴν for καλείτωσαν οἰκουμενικήν τινες **[52.27-28]**

**ALZ** against **CDGJMOVW** πῶς ἂν τὰ τῆς νηστείας for πῶς τὰ τῆς νηστείας ἂν **[39.61]**

**ALZ** against **CDGOVW** τῆ ἥττη πάλαι for πάλαι τῆ ἥττη **[24.1.1.3.3]**

**AZ** against **BCDGMOVW** καὶ τούτους μερίτας εἶναι for μερίτας εἶναι καὶ τούτους **[22.7-8]**

**B** against **ACDGJLMOVWZ** αὕτη σύνοδος for σύνοδος αὕτη **[39.16]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOVWZ** δόγματα μιαρὰ for μιαρὰ δόγματα **[44.5.28] ;** πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται for ἐκπορεύεται πνεῦμα **[2.88]**

**B** against **ACDGLMOWZ** μόνην τὴν πρεσβυτέραν νεωτερίσαι ὕστερον ῥώμην for μόνην ὕστερον τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ῥώμην νεωτερίσαι **[35.7-8]**

**B** against **ACDLMOVW** πάσχα ἐκείνους ἑστῶτας φαγεῖν for ἐκείνους ἑστῶτας πάσχα φαγεῖν **[28.3]**

**B** against **ADVGLMOWZ** αὐτίκα ὁ μέγας for ὁ μέγας αὐτίκα **[8.50-51]**

**BDGJMOVWZ** against **ACL** ἐλθέτω ἐπ′ αὐτὴν for ἐπ′ αὐτὴν ἐλθέτω **[58.11]**

**BDOV** against **ACGLMWZ** μέγας ἔφη for ἔφη μέγας **[18.34]**

**BGV** against **ACDLMOWZ** ἐξεῖλες εὐαγγελίων for εὐαγγελίων ἐξεῖλες **[2.69]**

**BV** against **ACDGJLMOWZ** τῆς θεολογίας δογμάτων for δογμάτων τῆς θεολογίας **[53.26]**

**BV** against **ACDGLMOWZ** ἐκείνων φωνὰς for φωνὰς ἐκείνων **[10.151]**

**C** against **ABDGMOVW** ὁμιλητὴς γεγονὼς τοῦ μεγάλου παύλου for ὁμιλητὴς τοῦ μεγάλου παύλου γενόμενος **[28.4.32]**

**D** against **ABCGLMOV** ἡ πρώτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία for ἡ πρώτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ **[44.1.1]**

**D** against **ABCGLMOVWZ** τελετῆ συμπεριληφθῆναι for συμπεριληφθῆναι τελετῆ **[30.7]**

**DOV** against **ABCGLMWZ** πνεῦμα ἅγιον for ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[16.3]**

**G** against **ABCDJLMOVWZ** οὐχ' for οὐχ **[55.2.34]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOV** ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος for καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία σύνοδος **[19.1] ;** δραξάμενος ὁ Σαβέλλιος for Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς δραξάμενος **[10.1] ;** χρείας χάριν for χάριν χρείας **[11.28-29]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVW** ἀμεῖψαι τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἐκεῖσε for τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐγκειμένων ἀμεῖψαι **[19.46] ;** θεολογίας ἄλλης for ἄλλης θεολογίας **[14.20-21] ;** τετόλμηκεν εἰπεῖν for εἰπεῖν τετόλμηκεν **[8.57-58] ;** τῆς δ' συνόδου λόγω γέγραπται for λόγω τῆς τετάρτης γέγραπται συνόδου **[3.1-2]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν καὶ ἐνέργειαν for ἐνέργειαν, αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεὰν **[4.20] ;** γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ δίδοσθαι for δίδοσθαι, καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι **[5.61] ;** δεῖ θυσίας for θυσίας δεῖ **[34.6] ;** δικαστὴν αὐτῶ for αὐτῶ δικαστὴν **[23.64-65] ;** ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δὲ, ἐκπορευτὸν δηλαδὴ for ἐκπορευτὸν δὲ, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δηλαδὴ **[7.15] ;** ἦν αὐτοῖς for αὐτοῖς ἦν **[29.26] ;** καλῶς ἐπταπλασίως for ἐπταπλασίως καλῶς **[1.21] ;** κατιοῦσαν ὁμολογίαν ἄνωθεν for ἄνωθεν κατιοῦσαν ὁμολογίαν **[20.34] ;** οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον for παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι **[22.66-57] ;** οὐχ' for οὐχ **[6.14] ;** Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου for Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου **[2.9] ;** τοιοῦτον ἔχεις for ἔχεις τοιοῦτον **[26.32]**

**G** against **ABCDLMOVZ** τὸ πᾶν ἀνατρέπωσιν for ἀνατρέπωσι τὸ πᾶν **[22.55]**

**G** against **ABCDLMVWZ** ἰθύνων θρόνον for θρόνον ἰθύνων **[20.3]**

**G** against **ABCDMOVWZ** ὄντως ὄντος for ὄντος ὄντως **[23.17]**

**G** against **ACDLMOVW** ἐκείνους πάσχα ἑστῶτας φαγεῖν for ἐκείνους ἑστῶτας πάσχα φαγεῖν **[28.3]**

**G** against **ACDLMOVWZ** οὐχ' for οὐχ **[5.11]**

**G** against **ACLMVZ** τοὺς ἁγίους καθ' ἕνα for καθ' ἕνα τοὺς ἁγίους **[18.66]**

**G** against **BCDLMOVWZ** φησὶν ὁ υἱὸς ἐστὶν for φησὶν ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς **[2.95]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVW** ἱερὸν ὥσπερ for ὥσπερ ἱερὸν **[44.5.16]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** εὐθύνη ὑπάγει for ὑπάγει εὐθύνη **[38.43]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν for ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν **[44.4.17]**

**GJ** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** ἀνιέρους ἐπιτολμᾶν ἱερέας for ἱερέας ἀνιέρως ἐπιτολμᾶν **[41.1] ;** ἀπόβλητος, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀδόκιμον for ἀδόκιμος, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπόβλητον **[39.38-39] ;** ἔχειν ἀεὶ for ἀεὶ ἔχειν **[59.13] ;** ἔχουσι δόξης περὶ τὸ θεῖον for περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔχουσι δόξης **[47.4-5] ;** οὐ φέρει τὴν διδαχὴν for τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει **[53.28] ;** πίστεως ὑπάρχοντας for ὑπάρχοντας πίστεως **[58.9-10] ;** τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον for τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[48.3] ;** ὥρας τῆς ἡμερινῆς for ἡμερινῆς ὥρας **[39.62]**

**GJ** against **ABCODVLZ** γὰρ λογιζομένοις δὴ for γὰρ δὴ λογιζομένοις **[54.24]**

**GV** against **ABCDLMOW** τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα for τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ **[6.34]**

**GV** against **ABCDLMOWZ** ὁ δὲ υἱὸς for ὁ υἱὸς δὲ **[6.27]**

**GW** against **ABCDJLMOVZ** οὐχ′ for οὐχ **[54.36]**

**GW** against **ABCDLMOVZ** οὐχ′ for οὐχ **[7.14-15]**

**GW** against **ABCDMOL** οὐχ′ for οὐχ **[24.1.5]**

**GW** against **ABCLMOVZ** οὐχ′ for οὐχ **[6.13-14]**

**GZ** against **BCDLMOVW** καὶ τῶ for τῶ καὶ **[8.26]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVW** ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀθανάσιον for καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος ἀθανάσιον **[44.1.15]**

**J** against **ABCDGLMOVWZ** ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ζ′ for ἑβδόμη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία **[46.12] ;** ἐάσαντας χαίρειν for χαίρειν ἐάσαντας **[60.2] ;** εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ for ἱεροῦ εἰσιέναι **[40.8] ;** θείων πατέρων χορὸς for πατέρων θεῖος χορὸς **[38.7] ;** οἰκειότητα ταύτην for ταύτην οἰκειότητα **[55.3.5] ;** τετράδην καὶ παρασκευήν μετενηνόχασι for τετράδα μετενηνόχασι καὶ παρασκευήν **[39.24-25]**

**J** against **ABCDLMOVWZ** γε πλειόνων for πλειόνων γε **[48.9] ;** ἐκείνοις κοινωνεῖν for κοινωνῶν ἐκείνοις **[53.15]**

**J** against **ABCGLMOV** ἡ ἁγία πρώτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ for ἡ πρώτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ **[44.1.1]**

**L** against **BCDGMOVW** μερίτας εἶναι καὶ τούτους for καὶ τούτους τοὺς μερίτας εἶναι **[22.7-8]**

**LZ** against **BCDGMOVW** ταῦτα γε for γε ταῦτα **[27.1.19-20]**

**LZ** against **BCGJDMOVW** ἀναγνώστας ἔπιτελοῦσι καὶ ψάλτας for ἀναγνώστας ἔτι καὶ ψάλτας τελοῦσι **[38.12]**

**V** against **ABCDGJLMOWZ** ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀπωλείας for ἀπωλείας καὶ ἀσεβείας **[53.7-8]**

**V** against **ABCDLMOW** καὶ τοῖς for τοῖς καὶ **[45.70]**

**V** against **ACDGLMOWZ** μόνην τὴν ὕστερον πρεσβυτέραν ῥώμην νεωτερίσαι for μόνην ὕστερον τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ῥώμην νεωτερίσαι **[35.7-8]**

**V** against **BCDGJLMOWZ** μακεδόνιον διωσάμενοι for διωσάμενοι μακεδόνιον **[44.2.18]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** οὐχ′ οἷός τε for οὐχ οἷός τε **[5.1.10] ;** οὐχ′ ὡς for οὐχ ὡς **[6.9]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ποιεῖτέ φησι for φησι ποιεῖτε **[28.4.23]**

**W** against **ABCDGLMOVZ** ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία φησὶ for ἐστι φησὶν ἡ βασιλεία **[24.3.17]**

**W** against **ACDGLMOVZ** οὐχ′ ὅτι for οὐχ ὅτι **[8.64]**

**W** against **CDLMOVZ** οὐχ′ οἱ for οὐχ οἱ **[39.30]**

**Z** against **ABCDGJLMOVW** ἀνὴρ μὲν, βαθεῖα for ἀνὴρ, βαθεία μὲν **[44.1.6] ;** ἄνθρωπον ψιλὸν for ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον **[44.3.12] ;** βασίλειος ἐπιστέλλων for ἐπιστέλλων βασίλειος **[53.4] ;** γάμον τῆ τοῦ κυρίου παρουσία for τῆ τοῦ κυρίου παρουσία γάμον **[38.26] ;** ὁμοῦ θεὸν for θεὸν ὁμοῦ **[44.3.20] ;** τὸ κλέος μέγα for μέγα τὸ κλέος **[44.4.9] ;** ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας for τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν **[39.60-61]**

**Z** against **ABCDGJMOVW** τὸ αἷμα τῆ ψυχῆ for τῆ ψυχῆ τὸ αἷμα **[55.1.6]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOV** ἀναγέννησιν εὐθὺς for εὐθὺς ἀναγέννησιν **[24.8]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** ἁγίων ἑξῆς for ἑξῆς ἁγίων **[20.22] ;** διεστηκότα ἀπείρως for ἀπείρως διεστηκότα **[5.54] ;** διονύσιος παρίτω μοι for παρίτω μοι διονύσιος **[6.1-2] ;** δογματίσασα ἐκπορεύεσθαι for ἐκπορεύεσθαι δογματίσασα **[18.71] ;** εἰ μὴ ὁ for εἰ ὁ μὴ **[22.2] ;** ἐκπορεύεται κυρίως for κυρίως ἐκπορεύεται **[6.25] ;** ἐξηγήσει ὕστερον for ὕστερον ἐξηγήσει **[29.13] ;** ἐπισημαινόμενος τοῦτο for τοῦτο ἐπισημαινόμενος **[28.2] ;** ἐχόμενοι ἀλλήλων for ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι **[28.4.34-35] ;** ἔφησε δι' αὐτοῦ for δι' αὐτοῦ ἔφησε **[18.27] ;** καὶ μὴ for μὴ καὶ **[18.8] ;** κοινωνίας τῶν λατίνων for τῶν λατίνων κοινωνίας **[22.58] ;** λέγειν προάγονται for προάγονται λέγειν **[18.4] ;** λέγων κεφαλαίω for κεφαλαίω λέγων **[6.3] ;** λελέχθαι τὰς θείας for τὰς θείας λελέχθαι **[19.56] ;** μὴ προσίεσθαι λέγοντα for κελεύοντα μὴ προσίεσθαι **[26.3] ;** ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος for ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὴς λόγος **[8.21] ;** πνεῦμα ἅγιον for ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[8.81] ;** τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα for τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον **[4.8] ;** τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὁρῶν for ὁρῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν **[10.12-13] ;** τοῦ Υἱοῦ τῶ αἰτίω for τῶ αἰτίω τοῦ Υἱοῦ **[16.72] ;** τολμῶντες μετρεῖν for μετρεῖν τολμῶντες **[5.50] ;** τύπος ἦν τοῦ χριστοῦ for τοῦ χριστοῦ τύπος ἦν **[34.9] ;** συνεισέρχεται τῆ τοῦ λογικοῦ for τῆ τοῦ λογικοῦ συνεισέρχεται **[23.58-59] ;** ὡς τῶν τὰ for ὡς τὰ τῶν **[23.91]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOVW** πάσχα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ βεβρωκὼς for βεβρωκὼς πάσχα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ (τοῦ om. G) καιροῦ **[28.13-14]**

**Z** against **ABCDGLMOW** κόλπων αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐκστὰς for μὴ ἐκστὰς κόλπων **[23.144]**

**Z** against **ABCDLMOVW** λόγω τῆς δ' συνόδου γέγραπται for λόγω τῆς τετάρτης γέγραπται συνόδου **[3.1-2]**

**Z** against **ACDGMOVW** μηδὲν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας for τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μηδὲν **[17.7]**

**Z** against **AGW** μέγας νύσσης for νύσσης μέγας **[5.55]**

**Z** against **BCDGLMOVW** λόγος ἥνωται for ἥνωται λόγος **[37.32]**

**Z** against **BV** τὸν υἱὸν δὲ for τὸν δε υἱὸν **[6.33]**

## 5. Additions (except chapter titles incorporated in the text in A, B, G and Z)

**A** post δυσσέβεια scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.32] ;** ante δι' υἱοῦ scr. καὶ **[4.1.11] ;** post καὶ scr. τῆς **[10.22] ;** post ἐκκλησίαν scr. τῆς **[10.155] ;** post ἡμᾶς scr. καὶ **[26.14] ;** ante ἀπόστολοι scr. οἱ **[35.4] ;** post πνευματικῆς scr. οὐκ **[45.11] ;** ante πολλοῖς scr. σημείωσαι· πόθεν ἤρξαντο οἱ λατίνοι τὰ ἄζυμα **[36.1] ;** post βεβήλωσιν scr. ποῦ **[40.1]**

**ACLZ** post ἐπὶ scr. τοῦ **[10.99] ;** post χριστιανὸς scr. καὶ **[55.2.26]**

**ALZ** post γὰρ scr. καὶ **[44.4.1] ;** post μὴ scr. δὲ **[45.72]**

**B** ante ἀνήρηνται scr. ἄθλον **[1.30] ;** υἱῶ scr. καὶ **[2.22] ;** post ἐξ οὗ scr. περ **[2.88] ;** post Υἱοῦ scr. ἀλλὰ ποιητικῶς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγονῶς ὡς λέγουσιν **[4.15] ;** post πρώτου scr. ὥς τε καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς, ἀναμφίβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ μεσιτείας, καὶ ἑαὐτῶ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς

τὸν πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης. **[4.63] ;** post οὐσιωδῶς scr. καὶ **[5.71] ;** post κτιστὸν scr. οὐ γεννητὸν **[7.7] ;** post πατρὸς scr. ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς χερσὶ τοῦ πέμποντος πατρὸς **[7.8] ;** post βλάσφημον scr. τοῦτο **[8.50] ;** post Υἱοῦ scr. ἤτοι τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ **[8.56] ;** post κωλύων scr. ὁ **[12.13] ;** ante φύσεως scr. τῆς **[23.151] ;** ante ἀριθμὸν scr. τὸν **[45.11] ;** post ῥηθησόμενα scr. Ἡ γὰρ δ′ καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἐπιβεβαῖοι μὲν τὸ ἁγίον σύμβολον, ἀναθέματι δὲ δίδωσι τοὺς ἢ προσθεῖναι τί τούτῳ τολμήσαντας ἢ ἀφελεῖν μίαν γοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συλλαβήν **[46.11] ;** post ἡμᾶς scr. in textu Ὅτι καὶ πόλεμος εὐαγὴς, καὶ εἰρήνης πάσης ἀσπόνδου μάχης ἀργαλιώτερον, ὅταν τις πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τῆς προνοίας ὑλακτοῦντας εἰρηνεύῃ· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῷ βίῳ ἀχρείους σπένδεται **[52.44]**

**BDMOVW** post ἁγίων scr. πατέρων **[35.13]**

**BDO** post γὰρ scr. καὶ **[28.4.31]**

**BDOV** post μυστήριον scr. τὸ γὰρ ἅπαξ τῷ βαπτιστῇ θεαθέν (θεαθὲν **DV**), τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος φανέρωσις γέγονεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦνποτε (ἦν ποτέ **BV**) χωρίς πνεύματος ὁ υἱός. **[13.8] ;** post αὐτῇ scr. τῇ **[23.9] ;** post ὅταν scr. τὸ εἰρηνεύειν **[52.32]**

**BDV** post οὕτω scr. περιφανῶς τῷ μέρει τῆς σφῶν ἀπονοίας, τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου **[22.58]**

**BOVZ** post ἐπὶ scr. τῆς **[45.18]**

**BV** ante υἱοῦ scr. τοῦ **[7.19] ;** post οὐσίας scr. εἶναι **[8.63]**

**BZ** ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.65]**

**D** post καὶ πρώτος scr. διονυσίου **[6.1] ;** post Δαμασκηνοῦ scr. καὶ **[8.76] ;** post Εἰ δὲ scr. καὶ **[16.51]**

**G** post εἰδέναι scr. ἡμᾶς **[1.43] ;** post πνεύματος scr. λόγῳ **[2.66] ;** ante φύσεως scr. θείας **[4.57] ;** post πρώτου scr. ὥς τε καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς, ἀναμφίβολον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς μεσιτείας, καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης. **[4.63] ;** ante περὶ scr. τῷ **[6.24] ;** post ἀπόστολος scr. οὗτος, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ **[6.76] ;** ante πατρὸς scr. τοῦ **[7.19] ;** post μὲν scr. γὰρ **[8.50] ;** post γίνονται scr. πρόφασις **[10.139] ;** ante τόποις scr. τοῖς **[10.166] ;** post υἱοῦ scr. πέμπεσθαι **[11.3] ;** post ἑτέρας scr. ἐννοίας **[14.6] ;** post Πνεῦμα scr. τὸ ἅγιον **[18.70] ;** post προορισθέντα scr. ὅρον **[19.21] ;** post διαπρεψάντων scr. ἁγίων **[19.15] ;** post ἐπεισάγειν scr. τῖ **[19.42] ;** post καὶ scr. τὸ **[22.14] ;** post συνανακραθείσης scr. τῇ **[23.33] ;** post οἰκονομίας scr. μυστήριον, καὶ **[24.1.1.3] ;** post προζωγραφῶν scr. τὴν **[25.3] ;** post ἄρτος scr. μὴ ζήτει τοίνῦν ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἄζῦμα· ἐπεὶ, μὴ δὲ ἀμνὸν τοιοῦτον ἔχεις **[35.26] ;** ante ῥώμης scr. παλαιᾶς ῥώμης **[35.28] ;** post εἴ τις scr. ἐστὶν **[38.51] ;** post Ταῦτα scr. δὲ **[55.2.19] ;** post μάρτυρες scr. ὁμολόγησαν καὶ **[60.15]**

**GJ** post γλώττης scr. καὶ ψυχῆς **[44.7.18] ;** post τῶν scr. θείων καὶ **[46.19] ;** ante κατὰ scr. καὶ **[52.14] ;** post διὰ τοῦ scr. ὀνόματος τοῦ **[53.34] ;** post καὶ scr. τοὺς **[53.35] ;** ante οἰκία scr. ἡ **[58.12]**

**GJZ** post μὲν scr. οἱ **[46.1] ;** ante προφήτη scr. τῷ **[52.49]**

**GV** ante πατρὸς scr. τοῦ **[2.65]**

**GWZ** ante ἀπολογία scr. ἡ **[31.9]**

**J** post τοὺς scr. γὰρ **[38.1] ;** post κατάδυσιν scr. ὡς **[42.1] ;** post δεύτερὸν scr. δὲ **[44.2.25] ;** post σπούδασον scr. φησὶ **[53.36-37] ;** post προβάτῳ scr. τῶν **[55.2.15] ;** post κωλύσεις scr. γοῦν **[55.3.7] ;** post μάρτυρες scr. ὡμολόγησαν καὶ **[60.15]**

**L** post χαῦνον scr. κρατοῦσα **[33.21] ;** post πολεμίων scr. πρὸς **[52.42] ;** ante θεῖοι scr. θέσι vel. θειοι **[35.27] ;** post μερίδι scr. συμπλέκεσθαι **[55.2.15]**

**LZ** post ἐπ' ἀνατροπῆ scr. τῇ **[1.53] ;** post εἰ scr. καὶ **[8.74] ;** post ὡς scr. καὶ **[52.8]**

**V** post πατέρα scr. καὶ **[6.71] ;** ante κακὸν scr. τὸ **[10.8] ;** post ἀγαλλιάσεως scr. παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου **[34.3]**

**W** post συνόδου scr. κανὼν **[38.18] ;** post τοιαύτη scr. δὲ **[38.42]**

**Z** ante λέγοντα scr. τὸν **[2.18] ;** ante τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ scr. καὶ **[6.34] ;** post Πνεῦμα scr. καὶ **[5.75] ;** post αὖθις scr. ἡ **[5.1.12] ;** post ἐλάμβανον scr. τῶ **[8.81] ;** post ἀλάστωρ scr. λέγειν **[10.87] ;** post εὐθύτητι scr. καρδίας ἢ **[10.110] ;** post σύνθετον scr. τοῦτο **[16.49] ;** post μὴν scr.τὸν **[16.55] ;** post ὂν scr. ταυτὸν **[17.3] ;** post αὐτοῖς scr. καὶ **[17.3] ;** post γλώττη scr. τοὺς **[18.2] ;** post φρονούντων scr. ἂν **[18.10] ;** ante δεῖν scr. οῦ **[18.46] ;** post ἀφαιρεῖν scr. τὶ **[19.20] ;** post ἁγίων scr. καὶ πανεφήμων **[19.12] ;** post αὐτοῦ scr. τοῦ **[23.3] ;** post ἀνάστασις scr. τῶν **[24.1.1.3.6] ;** post πάντως scr. ἡ **[24.1.1.3.6] ;** post πλευρᾶς scr. αὐτοῦ **[24.3.5] ;** post μαθηταῖς scr. αὐτοῦ **[28.2.2] ;** post ἄλλου scr. τινὸς **[32.19] ;** post ἐμελέτησεν scr. καὶ **[43.10] ;** post δή scr. καὶ **[44.4.7] ;** post ἱερεῦσι scr. τοῦ **[44.7.8] ;** post κοσμοῦντες scr. καὶ **[46.21] ;** post τοὺς scr. τῇ **[48.2] ;** post γὰρ scr. καὶ **[51.3]**

## 6. Omission of words

**A** ἂν **[10.103] ;** βεβοημένων **[9.7] ;** γε **[27.1.19] ;** γὰρ **[16.47] ;** ἐκπορεύσεως **[3.7] ;** ἐν **[6.19] ;** θεῖος **[6.76] ;** καὶ² **[9.57] ;** κηρύξαι **[5.79] ;** μὲν **[54.31] ;** ὁμοίας **[44.6.19] ;** πάντως **[24.1.1.3.6] ;** πρὸς **[24.1.5] ;** τῇ **[14.4] ;** τὴν **[22.13] ;** τῆς **[6.65] ;** τοῦ **[23.44] ;** φησὶ **[4.1.10] ;** φρονεῖν **[32.1]**

**AB** οἱ **[55.3.6]**

**ABDGOVZ** δὲ **[4.22]**

**ABLVWZ** τὸ **[24.3.24]**

**ACGLMWZ** παραινῶν **[26.9] ;** πέτρα **[10.138]**

**ACL** τε **[14.17]**

**ACLZ** ἀτεχνῶς **[10.137] ;** ἂν **[2.23] ;** αὐτοὶ **[8.82] ;** γε **[52.10] ;** γὰρ **[29.24] ;** γὰρ **[5.33] ;** ἐκ **[8.59] ;** κυρίως **[2.89] ;** μὴ **[29.16] ;** οἱ **[27.2.6] ;** τὸ ἅγιον **[8.57] ;** τούτου **[25.15] ;**

**AD** οὖν **[22.47]**

**ADGZ** γὰρ **[55.5]**

**AG** που **[23.124]**

**AL** ὅτι **[11.26] ;** τὲ **[23.22]**

**ALZ** γε **[2.25] ;** ἔθει τοῦ **[9.31] ;** πάντα **[45.67]**

**AZ** καὶ **[38.30]**

**B** ἂν **[5.93]** ; ἄρτου **[28.4.5]** ; αὐτῆς **[38.21]** ; γὰρ **[8.45]** ; δεῖ **[53.41]** ; δογμάτων **[50.3]** ; δόξαν **[45.29]** ; εἰ **[10.17]** ; ἡμῶν **[20.34]** ; θεωρητέον **[45.11]** ; ἱερῶν **[44.7.6]** ; ἴσους **[10.116]** ; καὶ **[2.41]** ; καὶ **[23.109]** ; λατίνοις **[55.1.Tit.]** ; μὲν **[44.5.21]** ; μόνον **[31.17]** ; ὁ **[52.19]** ; οἱ **[27.3.6]** ; πολὺ **[43.25]** ; ταῦτα **[5.67]** ; τε **[24.2.5]** ; τὴν **[10.42]** ; τὴν **[52.32]** ; τῆς **[10.26]** ; τῆς **[47.11]** ; τοῦ **[44.5.25]** ; φησὶ **[27.3.1]** ; φησι **[28.4.23]** ; χρῆναι **[52.45]** ; ὥραν **[39.61]**

**BD** καὶ **[24.3.4]**

**BDGJMOW** καὶ **[44.6.14]**

**BDGMOV** ἐκ **[16.52]**

**BDGMOVW** αἴτιοι **[10.139]**

**BDOV** ἔστω **[46.34]** ; κανὼν **[38.34]**

**BW** τοῦ **[54.11]**

**CMW** δὲ **[6.28]**

**D** ἄρτου **[35.18]** ; τὴν **[6.66]** ; δὲ **[20.2]** ; τῶ **[4.39]**

**DO** ἀπόκρισις **[55.1.1]** ; ἐρώτησις **[55.1.Tit.]** ; τῆς **[39.26]** ; τοῦ **[44.1.15]**

**DZ** τοῦτο **[16.49]**

**G** ἁγίοις **[5.92]** ; ἅγιον **[4.1.12]** ; αὐτῆς **[8.65]** ; γε **[24.1.12]** ; δ′ **[1.30]** ; δ′ **[18.38]** ; δὲ **[6.73]** ; δευτέρα **[19.1]** ; δήπου **[8.9]** ; ἑαυτῶ **[37.2]** ; εἶναι **[7.14]** ; ἐννοίας **[14.7]** ; ἡμῖν **[35.17]** ; Θεοῦ **[24.3.22]** ; καὶ **[2.89]** ; καὶ **[4.43]** ; καὶ **[10.116]** ; καὶ **[18.45]** ; καὶ **[20.15]** ; καὶ **[26.20]** ; καινοτομοῦντες **[22.14]** ; κατὰ **[44.3.2]** ; λογισμούς **[2.61]** ; μικροῦ **[10.72]** ; οὐ **[28.17]** ; οὖν **[31.10]** ; οὖν **[5.1.11]** ; παθῶν **[23.126]** ; παρὰ **[24.1.1.3.4]** ; πως **[23.123]** ; τὰ **[22.10]** ; τε **[33.11]** ; τί **[19.38]** ; τὸ **[24.1.1.2.5]** ; τοῦ **[4.37]** ; τοῦ **[8.71]** ; τοῦ **[10.80]** ; τοῦ **[28.13-14]** ; τριῶν **[11.11]** ; τῶ **[19.38]** ; τῶν **[7.26]** ; ὑμᾶς **[1.44]** ; ὑποστάσεων **[2.57]** ; φημὶ **[26.28]** ; φησι **[1.39]** ; ὥστε **[26.36]**

**GJ** αὐτῶν **[43.16]** ; γὰρ **[52.6]** ; γὰρ **[53.12]** ; εἶναι **[44.3.18]** ; ὅμως **[60.18]** ; ῥώμης **[44.7.12]** ; τῆ **[39.12]** ; τῆς **[44.2.6]** ; τοῖς **[43.13]** ; τὸν **[44.2.5]** ; τὴν **[44.6.17]** ; τῶν **[50.6]** ; τῶν **[55.2.34]**

**GJLZ** γε **[55.3.16]**

**GJW** τῶν **[44.2.22]**

**GOV** καὶ **[6.71]**

**GW** γὰρ **[7.2]**

**GZ** τὸ **[4.1.13]** ; γὰρ **[28.4.17]**

**J** ἁγίας **[39.44]** ; ἁγίων **[38.33]** ; ἅμα **[41.2]** ; γὰρ **[48.15]** ; δηλαδὴ **[58.9]** ; ἐν **[58.13]** ; ἐνταυθοῖ **[50.23]** ; θεῖοι **[44.4.12]** ; καὶ **[38.38]** ; καὶ **[54.11]** ; καὶ **[54.9]** ; περικειμένων **[54.25]** ; πνεύμασι **[38.48]** ; τὴν **[39.52]** ; τὶς **[56.1]** ; τοῦ **[55.1]**

**JZ** δὲ **[40.10]**

**L** ἡ **[24.3.15]** ; καὶ **[43.15]** ; καὶ **[23.54]** ; μὲν **[44.1.20]** ; μαθηταῖς **[27.2.8]** ; νόησον **[7.19]** ; νοῦς **[7.25]** ; ὁ **[28.4.20]** ; τὴν **[4.36]** ; τὸ **[55.1.8]** ; τοῦ **[13.5]** ; ὡς² **[10.4]**

**LT** τὴν **[49.5]**

**LWZ** αὖ **[4.49]**

**LZ** ἐκεῖθεν **[8.45]** ; ἕνα **[44.4.16]** ; μέγας **[2.86]** ; μὴ **[26.32]** ; ὁ² **[53.31]** ; οὕτω **[27.1.19]** ; πᾶν **[11.11]**

**T** πρὸς **[49.23]**

**V** ἀναγινωσκομένω **[46.23] ;** κανόνων **[39.33] ;** Τῆ **[38.42]**

**W** αὐτοῖς **[17.3] ;** γὰρ **[24.3.17] ;** δὲ **[11.31] ;** δὲ **[22.66] ;** εἰς **[24.7] ;** ἰδεῖν **[28.3.12] ;** ἰδὼν **[25.1.5] ;** ἵστασθαι **[9.59] ;** καὶ **[16.17] ;** καὶ **[18.19] ;** καὶ **[23.66] ;** καὶ **[25.1.5] ;** λόγος **[9.32] ;** μὲν **[37.20] ;** μὲν **[53.15] ;** όνείδη **[8.2] ;** οὖν **[20.30] ;** παρὰ **[38.55] ;** πατέρων **[18.67] ;** τε **[20.35] ;** τίθεσθαι **[9.2] ;** φησιν **[28.4.6]**

**Z** ἁγίου **[5.92] ;** ἂν **[6.37] ;** αὐτῆ **[10.125] ;** αὐτῆ **[10.125] ;** αὐτοῦ **[2.8] ;** αὐτοῖς **[21.3] ;** γε **[1.50] ;** γε **[26.8] ;** γὰρ **[25.2.2] ;** δὲ **[26.32] ;** δὲ **[54.32] ;** δὲ **[55.3.8] ;** δὲ **[9.55] ;** δέ **[26.39] ;** διὰ **[45.38] ;** εἶναι **[28.4.44] ;** εἰς **[23.92] ;** ἐκ **[44.1.19] ;** ἐν² **[10.166] ;** ἐναντία **[22.54] ;** ἐστιν **[6.79] ;** καὶ **[22.38] ;** καὶ **[23.98] ;** καὶ **[24.1.1.4] ;** καὶ **[25.2.4] ;** καὶ **[45.70] ;** καὶ **[45.74] ;** καθόλου **[18.55] ;** μὲν **[49.7-8] ;** μὴ **[18.44] ;** μὴν **[19.20] ;** ἡμῖν **[33.1] ;** ἦν **[27.1.21] ;** ἰδίως **[6.31] ;** οἱ **[22.50] ;** ὁ **[55.2.24] ;** προσάπτειν **[32.12] ;** πρὸς **[7.41] ;** σοφὸν **[24.1.1.5] ;** συμβόλοις **[28.5] ;** σφόδρα **[10.162] ;** τὲ **[32.24] ;** τε **[44.2.10] ;** τε **[5.45] ;** τε **19.11] ;** τί **[19.20] ;** τίς **[10.17] ;** τὴν **[25.1.1] ;** τὸν **[45.2] ;** τοῦ **[29.13] ;** τοῦ **[37.54] ;** τοῦ **[44.7.12] ;** τοῦ **[5.60] ;** τοῦτο **[28.15] ;** τῶ **[27.1.29-30] ;** τῶ **[37.28] ;** τῶν **[44.7.4] ;** φέρε **[1.37] ;** φησι **[10.76] ;** φρονήματι **[5.1.1] ;** φωνήν **[21.9] ;** ὡς **[28.4.34] ;** ὡς **[5.87]**

## 7. Omission of phrases

**A** ἐκφαίνει-αὐτοῦ **[6.10-11] ;** τῶ ἐκπορευομένω-Πατρὸς **[6.20] ;** ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ-ονομάζομεν **[6.74-75] ;** ἀλλὰ γεννητὸς **[7.5] ;** κατὰ-ἐκπόρευσις **[14.12-14] ;** ἀνὰ-μηνὸς **[25.10-11] ;** τὲ καὶ συγχέοντας **[44.4.15-16]**

**ACL** καὶ λήθη **[14.26]**

**ACLZ** ἀσεβείας ἕνεκα **[44.4.18] ;** Εἴ τις ἐσθίει-ἀνάθεμα **[46.28-29]**

**AL** καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς **[58.8]**

**AZ** ὥσπερ-παραπτώματι **[24.2.3-4]**

**B** τῆς εὐσεβείας **[1.19] ;** ἀεί-πατρὸς **[2.15-16] ;** ἐξ αὐτοῦ **[2.89] ;** ἀντὶ-ἐμοῦ **[11.30] ;** ὅτι μὴ-ἥψατο **[22.41-42] ;** χρόνου τοῖς **[28.4.37] ;** ἐνεχειρίζετο-ἐνανθρωπήσεως **[44.1.3-4] ;** ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς **[44.5.7] ;** ἰησοῦν χριστὸν **[44.6.17-18] ;** ὅτι-πατέρες **[45.1-3] ;** ἢ φησιν **[45.37] ;** καὶ ἱεροὶ **[55.2.3] ;** καὶ ἀποστολικῆς **[60.3]**

**BD** τὸ δὲ στυγνὸν-ἀποτιθέμενον **[26.45-46]**

**BL** ἀλλ'-συγκαταβάσει **[23.146]**

**BW** ἤτοι τῆ-ἀζύμων **[27.3.2]**

**D** ἅτε-διεστηκότα **[5.53-54] ;** καὶ ταῦτα **[15.6] ;** τῶν ἁγίων **[45.11] ;** ἥκιστα-εὐχῆς **[58.7-8]**

**DZ** τῆς κακίας **[23.110]**

**G** Ἔλεγχος-μονοτροπου **[Tit.] ;** ὀρθῶς-ἐφρόνουν **[2.5] ;** ἐπ' εὐσεβεία **[35.28] ;** καὶ τοῦ **[37.32-33] ;**

**GW** ὁ τοῦ **[1.42]**

**GZ** περὶ-δείπνου **[27.Tit]**

**L** τὴν ἔκλαμψιν-πνεῦμα **[5.37-39] ;** καὶ-δηλωτικά **[11.9-10] ;** ἔχει-ὕπαρξιν **[11.12-14] ;** υἱοῦ-πηγὴ **[16.60-61] ;** τοῦ προκειμένου **[45.66] ;** αἱρέσεσιν-εἰρημένων **[55.2.34-35]**

**LZ** τῆς ἐμῆς-θελήματος **[11.23-24]**

**V** ὁ ἀπόστολος **[45.33]**

**W** τὸ τῆς-τέμενος **[10.86] ;** καὶ οἰχομένοις-ἐπιγενομένοις **[24.4-5] ;** πρὸς βουλῆς **[29.26] ;** ἅμα καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σὰρξ **[37.32-33]**

**Z** τὲ-δογμάτων **[1.18-19] ;** καὶ γεννητοῦ **[2.72] ;** ἕκτω καὶ εἰκοστῶ **[4.34] ;** πράξαι ποτὲ **[7.29] ;** καὶ ταύτη **[7.39] ;** ἐκ δυοῖν-ἁπλοῦν **[16.50-51] ;** τῶ πατρὶ **[16.55] ;** τοῦ υἱοῦ **[18.62-63] ;** εἶναι καὶ **[23.55] ;** τοῦ νόμου **[23.115-116] ;** τὸ κρεῖττον **[23.147] ;** τὸ πάσχα **[27.2.5] ;** καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων **[33.5-6] ;** γε καὶ-θηρᾶν **[56.20-21] ;** τὸν παρ'-κηρυττόμενον **[45.42-43]**

## 8. Cases in which a passage or part of a passage was replaced by a smaller phrase

**B** δὲ καὶ om. et scr. υἱοῦ **[16.29]**

**B** δὲ νόησις om. et scr. γέννησις **[14.9]**

**Z** ὅπερ-Υἱοῦ om. et scr. εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἔχειν τὴν ὑπαρξιν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔχειν **[11.12-14]**

## 9. Marginal notes by the main scribe

**A** ante Ὅ γε in marg. γρηγορίου νύσσης **[4.33] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ὅμως in marg. σημείωσαι **[10.1] ;** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[52.34] ;** ante Τιμοθέω in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[53.36] ;** post τωτηνικαῦτα in marg. σημείωσαι **[10.156]**

**ABCDGLMOVW** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.13] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ καὶ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.16] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. κυρίλλου **[2.76] ;** ante Ὁ θαυματουργὸς in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ **[4.5] ;** ante Ἐν δὲ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.15] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. βασιλείου **[4.22-23] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. κυρίλλου **[4.1.1] ;** ante Κἀν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.1.9] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. αὐγουστίνου **[6.23] ;** ante Ὁ ἅγιος in marg. ἱερωνύμου **[6.28] ;** ante Οὗτος in marg. περὶ νεστορίου **[10.80] ;** ante Τοῦτο in marg. περὶ εὐτυχοῦς καὶ διοσκόρου **[10.96] ;** ante Τῆς δ' in marg. τὸ δυνατὸν **[24.1.1.4.1] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. ἰσιδώρου **[19.53]**

**ABCDGLMOVWZ** post αὐτὸν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.8] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. αὐγουστῖνου **[2.93] ;** ante ἐν γὰρ in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[22.11] ;** ante Τὸν δὲ in marg. τὸ δίκαιον **[24.1.1.3.1] ;** ante Αἱ δὲ in marg. τὸ παρεληλυθὸς **[24.2.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ in marg. περὶ τοῦ θυομένου ἀμνοῦ **[25.1] ;** ante Ἡ μέντοι in marg. περὶ τῆς ζ' συνόδου **[44.7.1]**

**ABCDGLMOVZ** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.53] ;** ante Ἡ δὲ in marg. βασιλείου **[10.55] ;** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[19.39]**

**ABCDGLMOW** ante Ἡ μέντοι in marg. συνόδου στ' **[19.9] ;** ante Ἄρειος in marg. ἄρειος **[32.5]**

**ABCDGLMOWZ** ante Ἡ δὲ in marg. συ(νόδου) ζ′ **[19.22] ;** ante Ταύταις scr. in marg. ἀπολινάριος **[32.16] ;** ante Μὴ ἐξέστω scr. in marg. συνόδου στ′ κανὼν οβ′ **[55.2.10]**

**ABCDGLMWZ** ante Ἰουστινιανοῦ in marg. περὶ τῆς ε′ συνόδου **[44.5.1]**

**ABCDGMOVW** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. βασιλείου **[6.8]**

**ABCDGMOWZ** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. κυρίλλου **[6.16]**

**ABCDLMOV** ante Ὁ γὰρ in marg. τοῦ νύσης **[5.13] ;** ante Φησὶ in marg. γρηγορίου νύσης **[5.54] ;** ante Ὁ γὰρ scr. in marg. τοῦ χρυσοστόμου **[10.128] ;** ante Καὶ μετάτινα in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[22.20]**

**ABCDLMOVW** post Θεοῦ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.37] ;** ante Καὶ πάλιν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.74] ;** ante Οὕτω in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.26] ;** ante Καὶ αὖ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.49] ;** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.1.5] ;** ante Ὁ γοῦν in marg περὶ ἀπολιναρίου **[10.46] ;** ante Ἀποχρῶν in marg. φωτίου **[10.153] ;** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[19.51] ;** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[22.28] ;** ante Καὶ μετάτινα in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[22.48] ;** ante Ὅτι δὲ in marg. καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον (πραιτόριον BL) ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν **[27.2.1]**

**ABCDLMOVWZ** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. σιλβέστρου **[2.90] ;** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.10] ;** ante Ὁ θαυματουργὸς in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ **[9.20] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. ἰακωβῖται (ἰακωβίται **BZ**) ὅπως θύουσιν **[34.1]**

**ABCDLMOVZ** ante Τί δὲ in marg. ἰωαννου τοῦ θεολόγου **[53.25]**

**ABCDLMVW** ante Ὅρα in marg. περὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ πάπα **[21.1]**

**ABCDLOV** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.1.3]**

**ABCDLOWZ** ante Ἤ γε μὴν in marg. περὶ τῆς στ′ συνόδου **[44.6.1]**

**ABCDLVWZ** ante Ἀλλὰ scr. in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[51.9]**

**ABCDMOVLW** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. τὸ μέλλον **[24.3.1]**

**ABCDMOVLWZ** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. in marg. βασιλείου **[51.6]**

**ABCDMOVW** ante Πρὸς δὲ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.29] ;** ante Ἐὰν in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[5.65] ;** ante Καὶ μετά in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[6.25] ;** ante Καὶ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[6.35] ;** ante Ταύταις in marg. τὶ δηλοῖ, τὸ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγειν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[5.1]**

**ABCDMOVWZ** ante Ἐν δὲ in marg. τῆς δ′ συνόδου **[3.1]**

**ABCDMOVZ** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[19.37]**

**ABCGLMOVWZ** ante Ὁ τῆς in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου **[10.51]**

**ABCGLMVWZ** ante Ταῦτα in marg. λαοδικείας κανὼν ι′ καὶ λα′ σύνοδος δ′ ιδ′ **[55.2.19]**

**ABCGLVWZ** ante Ἐν δὲ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.56]**

**ABCL** ante Κἀν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.1.11]**

**ABCLDMOVW** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. κυρίλλου **[19.42]**

**ABCLMOVWZ** ante Κύριλλος in marg. κυρίλλου **[52.24] ;** ante Ὁ δέ in marg. μαξίμου **[52.30]**

**ABCLVWZ** ante Καὶ προϊών in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[22.54]**

**ABCMOVLWZ** ante Καὶ ὁ in marg. θεολόγου **[52.32-33]**

**ABDCGLW** ante Ἡ δ′ αὖ in marg. περὶ τῆς γ′ συνόδου **[44.3.1]**

**ABDCLMOVW** ante Καὶ πάλιν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.39]**

**ABMVW** ante φησὶ in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[52.6]**

**ABOVZ** ante πρὸς γὰρ in marg. βασιλείου **[53.4]**

**ABV** ante Χρῆ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[6.70]**

**AC** ante Ὅ γε in marg. συνόδου στ′ ιβ′ **[38.17]**

**ACDGLMOV** ante Ὁ μέγας in marg. ἀθανασίου **[7.2]**

**ACDGLMOVW** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. νείλου **[6.31] ;** ante Ἐρομένω in marg. βασιλείου **[10.25] ;** Ὅπως in marg. συλλογισμοὶ **[15.23] ;** ante φησὶ scr. in marg. βασιλείου **[18.50] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. δαμάσου **[19.30] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. βασιλείου **[19.34]**

**ACDGLMOVZW** ante Ἡ δέ scr. in marg. τὸ σοφὸν **[24.1.1.2.1]**

**ACDGLMOWZ** ante Ἀυτίκα in marg. συνόδου β′ **[19.1] ;** ante Ἡ δέ in marg. συνόδου γ′ **[19.4]**

**ACDGLMWZ** ante Ἡ δέ γε in marg. περὶ τῆς β′ συνόδου **[44.2.1]**

**ACDGMOV** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. κελεστίνου **[19.26]**

**ACDGMOVW** ante Καὶ τὸ in marg. τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ **[10.72]**

**ACDGMOVWZ** ante Ἐξηγούμενος in marg. τοῦ χρυσοστόμου **[53.40]**

**ACDLMOV** ante Καὶ πάλιν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[7.7]**

**ACDLMOVW** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.65] ;** ante ἐπιλαμβάνονται in marg. κυρίλλου **[8.12] ;** ante Ἑρμηνεύων in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[8.20] ;** ante Ἐπεὶ in marg. περὶ νεστορίου **[10.68]**

**ACDLMOVWZ** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.82] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. ἀθανασίου **[4.12]**

**ACDLMOVZ** ante Τὸ περιφανὲς in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου **[2.61] ;** ante Καὶ ἐν in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[4.8]**

**ACDLMOW** ante Κἀκεῖνος in marg. τί ἐστιν ὑπόστασις **[16.24]**

**ACDLMVW** ante Καὶ μετ′ ὀλίγα in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[22.37]**

**ACDMOV** ante Γρηγόριος in marg. τοῦ νύσης **[10.62] ;** ante διά τοι in marg. περὶ τοῦ φωτίου **[20.1]**

**ACDMOVW** ante Οὗτος in marg. ἰωάννου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ **[6.53]**

**ACGL** ante Καὶ μέντοι in marg. τὸ ἐνεστὸς **[24.1.1]**

**ACGLMOVW** ante Καὶ γὰρ scr. in marg. περὶ τῆς α′ συνόδου **[44.1.1]**

**ACGLMOVWZ** ante Εἰ τοίνυν in marg. τίνες λέγονται αἱρετικοὶ **[22.1] ;** ante Καὶ τὸ in marg. τὸ ἀγαθὸν **[24.1.1.1.1]**

**ACGLMOW** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. περὶ τῆς δ′ συνόδου **[44.4.1]**

**ACGMOVWZ** ante Ἐδιώχθησαν in marg. βασιλείου **[54.30]**

**ACL** post ἐπανακάμπτειν scr. in marg. παροιμία **[23.80] ;** ante Οἱ δὲ in marg. ἀκέφαλοι, ἁρμένιοι **[32.22]**

**ACLMOVWZ** ante Ὅ γε δὴ in marg. βασιλείου **[52.36]**

**ACLZ** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. ἀποστόλων ε′ **[38.14] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. ἀποστόλων να′ **[38.33] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. Γάγγρα α′ **[38.39]**

**ACW** ante Παῦλος δὲ in marg. παύλου **[53.31]**

**ADVL** περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου in marg. **[27.Tit]**

**AG** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. γρηγορίου νύσσης **[2.86] ;** ante Γρηγόριος in marg. γρηγορίου νύσσης **[10.62] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν in marg. ὅτι καὶ οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες, τὸ ἀζυμοθυτεῖν ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀποστολικὸς κανὼν ο' **[31.1]**

**AGL** περὶ τοῦ ἀζύμου in marg. **[23.Tit.] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. σύνοδος στ' ια' **[31.4] ;** ante Ὅτι γὰρ scr. in marg. ση(μείω)σαι W **[46.7] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. βασιλείου **[2.20]**

**AO** ante Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[53.13]**

**AW** ante Φησὶ in marg. γρηγορίου νύσσης **[5.54] ;** post καὶ πρώτος in marg. διονυσίου **[6.1]**

**B** ante Ὁ μέγας in marg. ῥήσεις τῶν ἁγίων, αἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· **[2.1] ;** post πάντως in marg. σημείωσαι τά τε ἐπίνοια καὶ πράγματα θεωρούμενα ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος **[9.33] ;** post αἰτιατὸν in marg. ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμὲν τῇ φύσει· οὐ τῇ υποστάσει **[16.5] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ in marg. βασιλείου **[18.53] ;** post Καὶ γὰρ scr. τῶ δεκάτω ἔτει τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου κωνσταντίνου βασιλείας **[44.1.1] ;** ante Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα in marg. βασίλειος **[53.13]**

**BCDGLMOVW** ante Ὁ μέγας in marg. ἀθανασίου **[2.1] ;** ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ὅτι δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσάγουσιν ἐξανάγκης (ἐξ ἀνάγκης **W**) οἱ λέγοντες καὶ (οἱ-καὶ om. **G**) ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα **[18.1] ;** ante Καὶ τὸ in marg. ὅπως εδείχθη τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν· τὸ σοφὸν· τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν **[24.1.1.1.1] ;** ante Τῇ μὲν in marg. περὶ τοῦ πάσχα **[27.1.1] ;** ante ὁ δὲ scr. in marg. καὶ (καὶ om. **G**) βάψας τὸ ψωμίον ὁ ἰησοῦς δίδωσι (δέδωκε **G**) τῶ ἰούδα **[28.3.1] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας διὰ τὴν ἄσπορον τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ γέννησιν δεῖ προσφέρειν ἄζυμον **[37.1] ;** ante Ἀλόγιστον in marg. ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες τὴν δι' ἐνζύμου ἱερουργίαν παραδεδώκασιν **[35.1] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ καὶ in marg. πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος κοινωνίας ἠξίου τοὺς μόνον ἄκτιστον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμολογοῦντας **[48.1]**

**BCDGMOV** ante Φέρε δὴ in marg. ὅτι καὶ ἀθέσμως νηστεύουσι καὶ καταλύουσιν **[39.1]**

**BCDGMOVW** ante Ἀλλ' ὅμως in marg. περὶ τοῦ Σαβελλίου **[10.1] ;** ante Τοὺς in marg. ὅπως παραβαίνουσι τοὺς κανόνας, χωρίζεσθαι προτρέποντες τοὺς χειροτονουμένους τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν **[38.1]**

**BCDGMOVWZ** ante Καθόλου in marg. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γάμους ποιεῖν μετὰ τῶν λατίνων in marg. **[55.2.1]**

**BCDLMOVW** ante Ἐν δὲ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[10.58] ;** ante Ἐι δέ in marg. ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰς εὐσέβειαν μόνον, τὸ λέγειν ἄκτιστον τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[17.1] ;** ante Προβάλλονται in marg. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθη ὁ παράκλητος ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, λάβετε ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμὲ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέ με **[11.1] ;** ante Τριῶν in marg. περὶ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν **[24.1] ;** post προφητείαν in marg. ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη **[25.1.2] ;** ante Ἀλογίστως in marg. ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πάσχα οἱ ἰουδαῖοι τότε ἐπλανήθησαν **[30.1] ;** ante Ταύτην in marg. ὅπως ἐξέκοψε τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς λατίνους ὁ πατριάρχης μιχαήλ ὁ κηρουλάριος

**[49.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' εἰ in marg. τίνα δεῖ ἀποτάσσεσθαι τοὺς λατίνους, προσερχομένους τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησία **[55.1] ;** ante Εἰ δέ in marg. ὅτι εἰ καὶ συγχωροῦνται οἱ λατῖνοι εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους εἰσέρχεσθαι ναοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν συνάξεων ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοὺς χρὴ λογίζεσθαι **[56.1] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος **[59.1]**

**BCDLMV** ante ἡ μὲν in marg. τίνων εἰσὶ σύμβολα ἡ ζύμη καὶ οἱ ἄλες **[33.14]**

**BCDLMW** ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ὅτι οὐ μετάθεσις τότε τοῦ νομικοῦ γέγονε πάσχα **[29.1]**

**BCDLVW** ante Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν in marg. περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις διαλαμψάντων ἁγιῶν πατέρων **[44.1]**

**BCDMOVL** ante Διάτοι in marg. τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χριστός **[25.2.1]**

**BCDMOVW** ante Ἀλλὰ γὰρ in marg. περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου ἀλεξανδρείας **[10.5] ;** ante Εἰ δέ in marg. πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι ἄξιον ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τοὺς λατίνους διότι αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἀναθεματίζουσιν **[47.1]**

**BCDMOVZW** ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ὅτι λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς μίαν βαπτίζειν κατάδυσιν **[42.1]**

**BCDMVW** ante Ἐκτὸς in marg. ὅτι τρισὶν αἱρέσεσι περιπίπτουσιν οἱ ἄζυμα θύοντες **[32.1]**

**BCDMOVL** ante Ὅ γε in marg. γρηγορίου νύσης **[4.33]**

**BCGLMOVW** ante Ὅ γε in marg. βασιλείου **[9.25] ;** ante Ποῦ δὲ in marg. πῶς δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσέρχονται θυσιαστήριον παρὰ κανόνας **[40.1]**

**BCGMOVW** ante Ἀυτίκα in marg. ὅτι τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπονται, οἱ τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ προστιθέντες τί ἢ ἀφαιροῦντες **[19.1]**

**BCLMOVWZ** ante Πειθώμεθα in marg. ὅτι δεῖ τῆς τῶν λατίνων κοινωνίας ἀπέχεσθαι **[51.1]**

**BCLMOVWZ** ante Ὅτι in marg. ὅτι οὐ χρῆ κοινωνεῖν ὅλως τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις **[53.1]**

**BCMOV** ante καὶ πρώτος in marg. διονυσίου τοῦ ἀρεοπαγίτου **[6.1]**

**BCMOVW** ante Καὶ πρῶτος in marg. τίνες οἱ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντες ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον **[6.1] ;** ante Λαβὼν in marg. καὶ λαβών τὸν ἄρτον ἔκλασε **[28.2.1]**

**BCMOVWZ** ante Μὴ τοίνυν in marg. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προκρίνειν τὴν εἰρὴνην ὅ τε κινδυνεύει τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας **[52.1]**

**BCMOW** περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου **[27.Tit]**

**BDCGLMVW** ante Ἐπεί τοι in marg. ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανών, ζύμη ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ (γυνῆ B) ἔκρυψεν εἰς **[24.3.16]**

**BDGMOVW** ante Ἀλλ' οἱ in marg. ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νόησις ἢ θέλησις **[14.1]**

**BDGMOW** ante Οἱ δὲ in marg. ἀκέφαλοι **[32.22]**

**BDLMOVW** post δυσσέβεια in marg. βασιλείου **[2.32]**

**BDMOVW** ante Ναί φησιν in marg. περὶ τῶν ῥήσεων· αἳ λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[7.1] ;** ante Καὶ μέντοι in marg. τὸ ἐνεστὼς **[24.1.1]**

**BDOV** post ἀριθμοῦ scr. in marg. σύνοδος α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ στ′ ζ′ | τιη′ ρν′ σ′ χλ′ ρξε′ ρο′ τξζ′ ,β **[45.Tit.]**

**BDOVL** ante Ὡς γὰρ in marg. ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς κατὰ τὸν φώτιον συνόδου **[20.24]**

**BL** ante ἐπιλαμβάνονται in marg. ὅσων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου κυρίλλου οἱ λατίνοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται **[8.12]**

**BMVWZ** ante Χρὴ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[52.10]**

**BOV** ante Ἡ δέ γε scr. in textu περὶ τῆς β′ συνόδου **[44.2.1]**

**BV** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. ἑρμηνεία τοῦ λέγοντος ῥητοῦ τὸ δὲ, διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου. **[4.1.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν in marg. ὅτι καὶ οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες, τὸ ἀζυμοθυτεῖν ἀπαγορεύειν **[31.1]** ante Ἀλλὰ scr. in textu περὶ τῆς δ′ συνόδου **[44.4.1]**

**BVW** ante Ἐν δὲ in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[52.15]**

**C** ante Οὐ δέον in marg. διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[4.1] ;** ante ἐνεφύσησε in marg. ἐνεφύσησε **[6.77] ;** ante ὡς τῆς in marg. σημείωσαι **[18.68] ;** ante μίμημα in marg. ἐξήγησις τῆς ἱερουργίας **[23.46] ;** post κοινωνίαν in marg. περὶ τῶν **[23.53] ;** ante ὁ μέν in marg. ο′ **[31.2] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. στ′ ια′ **[31.4] ;** ante πολλοῖς in marg. σημείωσαι πόθεν ἤρξαντο οἱ λατίνοι τὰ ἄζυμα **[36.1] ;** post ἐσκίασεν scr. in marg. τὶ σημαίνει τὸ ἐσκίασεν **[37.47] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. σημείωσαι περὶ τῆς προηγ[ιασμένης] **[39.42] ;** ante Ὅτι δισχίλιοι in marg. ,β οἱ ἐν ταῖς ζ′ συνόδοις **[45.Tit.]**

**CDGLMOVW** ante Ὁ μέγας in marg. ῥήσεις τῶν ἁγίων, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· **[2.1] ;** ante Ὁ γοῦν in marg. τῇ δὲ πρώτη (α′ W) τῶν ἀζύμων προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ (προσῆλθον-μαθηταὶ om. **G**) **[27.3.1] ;** ante Καὶ οὕτω in marg. ὅτι ὡς δυσσεβεῖς τοῦς λατίνους ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶ ἀναθέματι δίδωσιν **[46.1]**

**CDGLMOVWZ** ante Οἱ γοῦν in marg. περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρμενίων αἱρέσεως **[50.1]**

**CDGLMOW** ante Εἰ γὰρ scr. in marg. πρὸς τοὺς προβαλομένους, τὸ ἐγώ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμὲν **[16.1]**

**CDGLMVW** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. ὅτι ἐν τῆ ἁγία μεταλήψει ὁ εἷς τῶν ἱερουργούντων μεταλαβών, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπάζεται **[41.1]**

**CDGMVW** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. ὅτι οὐ λέγεται τὸ πνεῦμα ἰδίως ἀγάπη· **[15.1]**

**CDLMOV** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. γρηγορίου νύσης **[2.86] ;** post μετάτινα in marg. ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὅ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν **[28.4.16]**

**CDLMOVW** ante Ἐπεὶ in marg. ὅπως οἱ ἅγιοι πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας παρεσύρησαν **[9.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ὅμως in marg. ὅθεν ἔσχον οἱ αἱρετικοὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν οἰκείον αἱρέσεων **[10.1] ;** Ὁ δὲ scr. in marg. τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα θεοῦ **[12.1] ;** post προσδοκώμενον scr. in marg. ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων **[25.1.6]**

**CDLMOVWZ** ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ὅτι εἰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπειλοῦσιν οἱ λατῖνοι ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου οὐ χρὴ δεδιέναι **[54.1] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ μὴ in marg. ὅτι

οὐ πρὸς τοὺς λατίνους διαβαίνει τὸ, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ **[58.1]**

**CDLMOWZ** Ὅτι-ἀριθμοῦ Tit. in marg. **[45.1-3]**

**CDM** ante Ἡμεῖς scr. in marg. τοῦ ἀποστόλου **[59.3]**

**CDMOVLW** ante Ὁπότε in marg. μικρὰ ζύμη, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ· ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην· **[26.1]**

**CDMOVW** ante Ἐκεῖνο in marg. τεθέαμαι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ καταβαῖνον **[13.1]** ; ante Μέχρι in marg. πότε ἤρξατο τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας χωλεύειν παρ' αὐτοῖς **[43.1]**

**CG** post ἅγιον in marg. σημείωσαι **[5.1.15]**

**CGMW** ante διά τοι in marg. ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς κατὰ τὸν φώτιον (φωτίου **G**) συνόδου **[20.1]**

**CL** ante Ναί φησιν in marg. περὶ τῶν ῥήσεων, αἳ λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον **[7.1]** ; ante Τῶν ἱερέων in marg. συνόδου στ' ιγ' **[38.20]** ; ante Ταύτην in marg. δ' **[38.41]** ; ante Τῇ τοιαύτῃ in marg. ι' **[38.42]**

**CLMOVW** post ἐκεῖνο in marg. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν **[28.1.1]**

**CLZ** ante Ὁ γὰρ in marg. ἀποστόλων κστ' καρθαγένη ιστ' **[38.9]**

**CM** κατὰ λατίνων **[Tit.]**

**CMOVW** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. ὅσων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου κυρίλλου οἱ λατίνοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται **[8.1]**

**D** ante Ποῦ δὲ in marg. καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσέρχονται θυσιαστήριον παρὰ κανόνας **[40.1]** ; ante Καὶ ὁ in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου **[52.32]**

**DG** ante εἰ γὰρ in marg. βασιλείου **[21.17]**

**DGLMOVW** ante Εἰσὶ in marg. ὅτι οὐ καλῶς στοχάζονται οἵτινες οἴονται πρῶτον τὸ νομικὸν τελέσαι πάσχα τὸν κύριον **[28.1]**

**DGMOW** ante Τούτοις in marg. ὁ ἄρτος ὃν κλῶμεν οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐστιν; **[28.4.1]**

**DMOVW** ante Οὐ δέον in marg. αἱ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα **[4.1]**

**DMV** ante οἵ γε. in marg. ὅτι κοινωνούσι τοῖς ἁρμενίοις οἱ λατίνοι **[49.20]**

**G** χριστὲ ἤγου et τοῦ κυροῦ ματθαῖου τοῦ βλάσταρη **[Tit.]** ; ante ἐπεὶ in marg. πέτρος **[1.40]** ; ante ἀλλὰ in marg. παῦλος **[1.42]** ; μετὰ et σὺν in marg. μετὰ et σὺν **[2.42]** ; ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. σίλβεστρος ῥώμης **[2.90]** ; ante Οὐ δέον in marg. αἱ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγουσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον **[4.1]** ; ante Ὅ γε in marg. νύσσης **[4.33]** ; ante φύσεως in marg. βλέπε τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ παρόντως ῥητοῦ, ἔμπροσθεν ἀντικρὺ, εἰς τὸ ἕτερον φύλλον κάτωθεν **[4.57]** ; ante Καὶ ἵνα in marg. βλέπε τὴν ἐξήγησιν μέχρι τέλους **[5.11]** ; ante Καὶ ἵνα in marg. ὅρα τὴν ἐξήγησιν **[5.11]** ; ante Ὁ γὰρ in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ νύσσης **[5.13]** ; ante ἡ γὰρ in marg. δια et εκ **[5.84]** ; ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ἰωάννου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ **[6.39]** ; ante Τῶ in marg. ἡ κατὰ τοῦ βέκου σύνοδος **[5.1.1]** ; ante ταῦτα in marg. σημείωσαι **[5.61]** ; ante ἐπεὶ in marg. σημείωσαι **[5.83]** ; ante Ναί φησιν in marg. περὶ τῶν ῥήσεων· αἳ λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα **[7.1]** ; ante ἄλλο in marg. σημείωσαι **[8.56]** ; ante Φυσικῶς in marg. ἰωάννου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ **[8.78]** ; ante ἡ γὰρ scr. in marg.

σημείωσαι **[9.51] ;** ante Καὶ τὸ in marg. ἰωαννου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ **[10.72] ;** post ὑποστάσεων scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[11.11] ;** ante Ὁ θεὸς in marg. Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου **[15.11] ;** ante Κἀκεῖνος in marg. ὅρος ὑποστάσεως **[16.24] ;** ante οὕτως in marg. συνόδου α′ **[18.66] ;** post τρίτη in marg. γ′ **[18.71] ;** post τετάρτη in marg. δ′ **[18.72] ;** post πέμπτη in marg. ε′ **[18.72] ;** post ἕκτη in marg. στ′ **[18.73] ;** post ἑβδόμη in marg. ζ′ **[18.73] ;** post ἀνεπηρέαστον in marg. σημείωσαι **[18.76] ;** ante διά τοι in marg. ἐν ἔτ(ει) στῷ τῷ οῷ **[20.1] ;** ante Εἴ τις in marg. ὅρος **[20.29-30] ;** ante εἰ τοίνυν in marg. περὶ τοῦ μηνύματος τοῦ πάπα **[21.10] ;** ante Οὐ μὴν scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[24.1.1.2] ;** post πλειόνων in marg. ἢ τπθ′ **[20.11] ;** post αὐγάσιε in marg. αὐγάσιε **[23.107] ;** post παραιτούμενοι in marg. σημείωσαι **[28.10] ;** ante οὐτοῦ in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[28.3.4] ;** ante ἐπειδὴ in marg. σημείωσαι **[28.4.10] ;** ante εἰ τοίνυν in marg. σημείωσαι **[28.4.36] ;** ante ἐκεῖ scr. in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[35.23] ;** ante ὅτε in marg. σημείωσαι **[35.29] ;** post λόγον in marg. λόγους vel. λόγϊς **[37.3] ;** ante τελεσθῆναι scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[37.53] ;** ante φησὶ in marg. [β]ασιλείου **[39.52] ;** ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ἔτι λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς μίαν βαπτίζειν κατάδυσιν **[42.1] ;** ante Μέχρι in marg. πότε ἤρξατο τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας χωλεύειν παρ′ αὐτοῖς et ἐν τώ ,στσμ′ **[43.1]**

**GL** ante διά τοι in marg. περὶ φωτίου **[20.1]**

**GMV** ante Ἤ γε μὴν scr. in textu περὶ τῆς στ′ συνόδου **[44.6.1]**

**GW** ante Γέγραπται scr. in marg. ἀπόκρισις **[57.4]**

**J** ante ἀλλά γε Tit. Ἐκ τοῦ β′ βιβλίου τοῦ βλαστάρεως μέρη κατὰ λατίνων **[37.66] ;** ante Ἀλλ′ ἴδωμεν Tit. περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς διαλαμψάντων ἁγιῶν πατέρων **[44.1] ;** ante Ἡ δέ γε Tit. σύνοδος δευτέρα **[44.2.1] ;** ante Ἡ δ′ αὖ Tit. σύνοδος τρίτη **[44.3.1] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ Tit. σύνοδος δ′ **44.4.1] ;** ante Ἰουστινιανοῦ Tit. σύνοδος ε′ **[44.5.1] ;** ante Ἤ γε μὴν Tit. σύνοδος στ′ **[44.6.1] ;** ante Ἡ μέντοι Tit. σύνοδος ζ′ **[44.7.1] ;** ante Εἰ δὲ Tit. ὅτι εἰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπειλοῦσιν εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου οὐ χρὴ δεδιέναι **[54.1] ;** ante Ἐπερωτήσαντος Tit. ἐρώτησις **[57.1] ;** ante Γέγραπται Tit. ἀπόκρισις **[57.4]**

**L** post βλάστημα in marg. ἰωάννου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ **[6.44] ;** ante Ταῦτα scr. in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[22.57] ;** ante Ἀλλ′ ἴδωμεν in marg. ἀποστόλων ο′ **[31.1] ;** ante Τὸ δὲ ὅλον in marg. σημείωσαι πόθεν ἤρξαντο οἱ λατίνοι τὰ ἄζυμα **[36.5] ;** ante Ὅ γε in marg. συνόδου στ′ **[38.17] ;** ante ἀπειρημένης in marg. ὅτι ἀθέσμως νηστεύουσι καὶ καταλύουσι **[39.6] ; L** ante αὖθις in marg. ἁρμένιοι **[39.26] ;** ante Μέχρι in marg. πότε τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἤρξατο χωλεύειν παρ′ αὐταῖς **[43.1] ;** ante Εἰ δὲ in marg. ὅτι λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς μίαν βαπτίζειν κατάδυσιν et ψεῦδος οἱ τοῦτο λέγοντες λέγουσιν ἄντικρυς **[42.1] ;** ante Ὅτι δισχίλιοι scr. in marg. κατὰ λατίνων καὶ περὶ τοῦ ,β τὸν ἀριθμὸν **[45.Tit.] ;** ante Ὅτι in marg. ἀλλ′ οἱ λατῖνοι οὐκ εἰσί τοπαράπαν ἑτερόδοξοι **[53.1]**

**LVW** ἐρώτησις in marg. **[55.1.Tit.]**

**LW** ante Γρηγόριος in marg. τοῦ νύσσης **[10.62]**

**M** ante Καὶ προϊών in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[22.54]**

**MOV** ante Ἡ δ' αὖ in textu περὶ τῆς τρίτης συνόδου **[44.3.1]**

**V** ante Τὶ δέ in marg. τίνες οἱ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντες ἐκπορεύεσθαι τό πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον **[6.14] ;** ante Καὶ αὖθις in marg. χρυσοστόμου **[22.28] ;** post ὀκτωκαίδεκα scr. καὶ τρια **[44.1.1] ;** ante Ἰουστινιανοῦ scr. in textu περὶ τῆς πέμπτης συνόδου **[44.5.1]**

**VZ** ante Παῦλος δὲ in marg. τοῦ ἀποστόλου **[53.31]**

**W** ἰησοῦ προηγοῦ et λόγος ιγ' **[Tit.] ;** Ματθαίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πατέρων, ἐν προχείρω κατὰ αλφάβητον συντάξαντος, ἔλεγχοι κατὰ λατίνων· ἐν ἔτει γεγονότες ,ϛωμγ' **[Tit.] ;** ante Τὸ περιφανὲς in marg. γρηγορίου **[2.61] ;** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. γρηγορίου **[2.86] ;** ante Ὅ γε in marg. τοῦ νύσσης **[4.33] ;** ante Ὁ γὰρ in marg. τοῦ νύσσης **[5.13] ;** ὅρα scr. in marg. **[17.1-7] ;** ante Ἀλλὰ in marg. κελεστῖνου **[19.26] ;** ante πρὸς γοῦν in marg. σημείωσαι **[21.4] ;** ante Εἰ τοίνυν in marg. σημείωσαι in marg. **[22.1] ;** ante μηδὲν in marg. ὅρα **[22.22] ;** post γενόμενοί τε in marg. καὶ ἀπογενόμενοι **[24.2.5] ;** in marg. ὅρα **[32.5-11] ;** ante διάτοι scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[32.14] ;** ante Τὸν γὰρ in marg. τίνων εἰσὶ σύμβολα ἡ ζύμη καὶ οἱ ἄλες **[33.1] ;** ante ἀλλ' ἄρα in marg. σημείωσαι et sup. ὡραῖον **[37.10] ;** ante ἔμψυχος in marg. σημείωσαι **[37.33] ;** ante εἰ οὖν scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[48.8] ;** ante εἰ τοίνυν in marg. σημείωσαι **[49.17] ;** ante Πειθώμεθα in marg. σημείωσαι **[51.1] ;** ante Μὴ τοίνυν in marg. σημείωσαι **[52.1] ;** ante Ὅτι in marg. σημείωσαι **[53.1] ;** ante τὸ γὰρ in marg. σημείωσαι **[56.22] ;** ante Ἐπερωτήσαντος in marg. ἐρώτησις **[57.1] ;** ante Γένοιτο δὲ scr. in marg. ἐπίλογος **[60.1] ;**

**Z** ante Ὁ δὲ in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ νύσσης **[2.86] ;** ante Ὅ γε in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ νύσσης **[4.33] ;** ante εὐαγγελιστοῦ in marg. ἰωάννου εὐαγγελιστοῦ **[10.164] ;** ante ἡ δὲ in marg. τί ἐστιν ὑπόστασις **[16.22] ;** post μακεδόνος in marg. τὰ τῆς βασιλείας **[20.3] ;** ante ὅτι ὁ in marg. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν **[28.4.20] ;** ante Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν in marg. κανὼν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ο' **[31.1]**

## 10. Notes by other hands

**A** ante Οὐ δέον alt. man. scr. in marg. τὴν ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ δοκούντων **[4.1] ;** post δυσσέβεια alt. man. scr. in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ **[2.32] ;** ante ὅσιόν τε alt. man. scr. in marg. παρισίαν ἐχόν πρός τι **[8.55] ;** ante διά τοι alt. man. scr. in marg. ὅτι μὲν οἱ λατίνοι ἀναθέματι καθ' ὑπεβλήθησαν ἀνάγνωσον τὸν παρόντα λόγον· **[20.1] ;** ante πρὸς γοῦν alt. man. scr. in marg. σημείωσαι· ὁ μιχαὴλ οὗτος, πρῶτος ὑπάρχει τῶν παλαιολόγων· ὃς τὴν κωνσταντινούπολη λύσατο ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τῶν λατίνων, ἐλθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς· οὗτος λατινίσας, τὸ ἅγιον ὄρ‹ε›ι ἡφάνησεν τῆς λαύρας μόνον μεινασειν (vel. μεινήσειν pro μηνύσειν) ἐπεὶ ἀκοινώνισε τῇ δόξη αὐτοῦ **[21.4] ;** ante οὐ μὴν alt. man. scr. in marg. σύνοδος τριακοσίων πατέρων **[20.11] ;** ante πολλοῖς alt. man. scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[36.1] ;** ante Ἀλλ' εἰ alt. man. scr. in marg.

ἑφη ἀλεξανδρείας **[55.1] ;** ante Καθόλου alt. man. scr. in marg. ὁρᾶται, οἱ συναλλαγματα μετά [vel μή ?] τῶν λατίνων ποιοῦντες **[55.2.1]**

**AG** ante Εἰ δὲ alt. man. scr. in marg. σημείωσαι **[54.1]**

**C** post ἅγιον alt. man. scr. in marg. ἐντέλοι μαρτυρίου **[5.1.15] ;** ante Καὶ μακρὸν alt. man. scr. in marg. ὁταν τάς πατέρων φωνάς τελειώσωμεν **[6.37] ;** ante ἢ γὰρ alt. man. scr. in marg. σημείωσαι ἐν τέλει **[19.55] ;** ante Τῆ μὲν alt. man. scr. in marg. περὶ τοῦ πάσχα **[27.1.1] ;** ante ὁ γὰρ alt. man. scr. in marg. ἰακωβῖται ὅπως θύουσι **[35.14] ;** post ἱερουργίαν alt. man. scr. in marg. πάντες οἱ θείοι πατέρες τὴν δι ἐνζύμου **[35.18]**

**D** ante Τὸ περιφανὲς alt. man. scr. in marg. γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου **[2.61]**

**G** ante Ἀυτίκα alt. man. scr. in marg. συνόδου β′ **[19.1] ;** post οὐκ ἰατρείας alt. man. scr. in marg. οὐκ ἰατρείας **[23.143]**

**L** post μονοτρόπου alt. man. scr. in marg. φεῦ σοι οἰκτρὲ ματθαῖε· σύ δήπου ὁ πλανώμενος εἶ **[Tit.] ;** ὑγιᾶ underlined in textu et alt. man. scr. in marg. ὑγιᾶ **[1.11] ;** post ἐκπορεύειν alt. man. scr. in marg. ἔοικας μὴ ἐπαΐειν τὸ παράπαν τοὺς τῆς θεολογίας κανόνας διὸ δη καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγον περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα χωλαίνεις **[2.22] ;** post θεότητος alt. man. scr. in marg. ἄντικρυς ἔοικας ψευδῆ λέγων· τοῦ θείου Βασιλείου φάσκοντος ἀδιαφόρως ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας δείν χρῆσθαι ταῖς προθέσεσι ταύταις **[5.84] ;** ante καὶ ἴδιον alt. man. scr. in marg. ὦ πόσας λήμμας οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀλλά καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς ψυχής πολύ μᾶλλον ἔχεις ὑπ′ ἀμαθίας **[8.23] ;** ante ἀπειρημένης alt. man scr. in marg. ψευδῆ ἄντικρυς λέγεις **[39.6] ;** ante Καθόλου alt. man. scr. in marg. ἀλλ′ οὐδείς λατίνους οἰκτρέ ματθαῖε αἱρετικοὺς ἀπεκάλεσεν εὖ φρονῶν **[55.2.1] ;** ante Εἰκός ἐστι alt. man. scr. in marg. οὐχ ἑρᾶς ὅπως μιγνύεις τὰ ἄμικτα· ποῖα σύνοδος τοῦτ′ εἰρήκεν οὕτως, ἤτοι τοπικὴ ἢ οἰκουμενικὴ **[55.3.Tit.] ;** ante Εἰ δέ alt. man. scr. in marg. φεῦ τῆς ἀμαθίας σοι οἰκτρὲ ματθαῖε **[56.1] ;** ante Ἐπερωτήσαντος et alt. man. scr. in marg. οὐ συνιέναι ἔχεις ὅσον ἐστὶν διάφορον μεταξύ ἰακωβιτῶν νεστοριανῶν τε καὶ ἁρμενίων, καὶ λατίνων· ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ αἱ σύνοδοι πᾶσαν πλὴν α′ καὶ β′ αἱρετικούς ἀπεκάλεσαν καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων μοίρας ἀπέσπασαν· λατίνους δ′ οὔ· ἀλλ′ ὀρθοδόξους καὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν δογμάτων ἀντιποιουμένους· ἀπέδειξαν γε πᾶσαι αἱ σύνοδοι **[57.1]**

**O** ante Ἄρτι alt. man. scr. in marg. ὁλοκλήρος **[Tit.] ;** post ὅθεν alt. man. scr. in marg. ποας σϋγκείμενον ἐκ πολλῶ το νῶν, καὶ τῆν ραχην ἐμποιούσα τῆ φύση **[1.16] ;** post ἀξιώσας alt. man. scr. in marg. ἡ ἀμφῖ καὶ ἡ περὶ, τὸ αὐτὸν σημαίνει **[27.1.13]**

## Relation of the manuscripts

As mentioned above (p. 112), so far Blastares' autograph (***α***) of the treatise has not been found, if it has survived. The palaeographical and textual examination of the treatise in the eleven extant MSS we have examined (**A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **G**, **L**, **M**, **O V, W,** and **Z**), the Dositheos (**J**) and Allatius edition (**T**) show that these are related as follows.[235]

**M** and **C** represent the best transmissions of the *Refutation*. They contain very similar text, though they do share a number of differences (including different and variant readings and word order). It seems, therefore, that **M** is linked with **C** through an intermediary tradition (β). Of these two codices, **M**, copied in 1342, possibly during the author's lifetime or shortly after his death, should be considered the principal MS., as it contains fewer errors in comparison to **C**, which has a number of not so important mistakes (mainly due to confusion of sounds, accents and breathings). In addition, **C**, copied sometime between 1417 and 1426, contains indicators (i.e., Greek numerals) suggesting different word order and, more importantly, a small number of alternative, synonymous words placed above the line.[236] The majority of these indicators and superscribed words, which in **C** appear in the same hand that copied the text, have been adopted by a number of witnesses (**L** and **A**, and to a lesser extent **G** and **Z**), with variations. This shows that the copyist of **C**, Stephanos of Medeia, consulted at least two traditions. First he copied the text from tradition β, which is represented by the text without the alternative words and phrases, and then added the latter words, phrases and indicators of different word order from **M**.

**O** and **V** (both datable to the 14th c.) are closely related with **M**, following the same variant readings and word order, though they also share a few differences between themselves and with **M**. Therefore, **O** and **V** seem to be related with **M** through an intermediary tradition (γ). **B** also datable to the 14th c., which contains a large number of errors (mostly spelling mistakes and omissions), is closely linked with **O**, **V** and **M**, and to a lesser extent with **G**. The fact that it shares more similarities with **O** and **V**

[235] Cf. *stemma codicum* below, p. 246.
[236] See above, pp. 200-201.

rather than with **M**, suggests that it is linked with these two transmissions through an intermediary tradition (**δ**).

Manuscripts **B** and **G** contain part of a short section of Basil of Caesarea's *Letter to Ablabios* [**4**.63] which is not transmitted in any of the other nine extant codices (Dositheos, too, did not include this chapter in his edition). This section is not part of Blastares' argument but simply the continuation of Basil's passage. Moreover, this additional section is not identical in **B** and **G**. **G** contains a single word not present in **B** (μονογενοῦς), and **B** contains three words not present in **G** (ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ). This shows, that **B** and **G** are linked indirectly.

The 15th-century codex **A** transmits almost the same text as **C** except for a few differences, mainly spelling mistakes in **A.** Therefore **A** and **C** are directly linked. Manuscript **L** (copied in 1449), bears a number of errors and corrections, but also shares the same omissions and additions with **C**. Therefore, **L** is linked with **C** through an intermediary tradition (**ζ**). Also **G** (*c.*1450-51), which contains a number of minor errors, mostly due to confusion of sounds, as well as in accents and breathings, is linked with **C** through an intermediary transmission (**η**), and indirectly linked with **B**, as mentioned above. **D** (15th c.), which has some minor spelling errors, once more mainly due to confusion of sounds, is directly linked with **O** through a considerable number of readings.

Of the two sixteenth-century codices (**Z** and **W**), **Z** shares a large number of readings with **C**, and a number of omissions, additions and spelling mistakes with **L**. Therefore, **Z** is related with **C** and **L** through an intermediary tradition (**ζ**). **W**, bearing a number of errors and corrections, is linked with **M**, with whom it shares a number of readings and similarities in word order, through an intermediary tradition (**ε**).

**J**, Dositheos' partial edition of the treatise (**37.**66-**44.7**, **46-60**), is closely related to **G**. We know that for his edition of the anti-Latin treatises in the *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, Dositheos consulted cod. *Athens, Metochion Panagiou Taphou* 204 (**P**) (which I have examined but not used in the present edition), copied in 1598 and originally housed in the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople before it was transferred to the

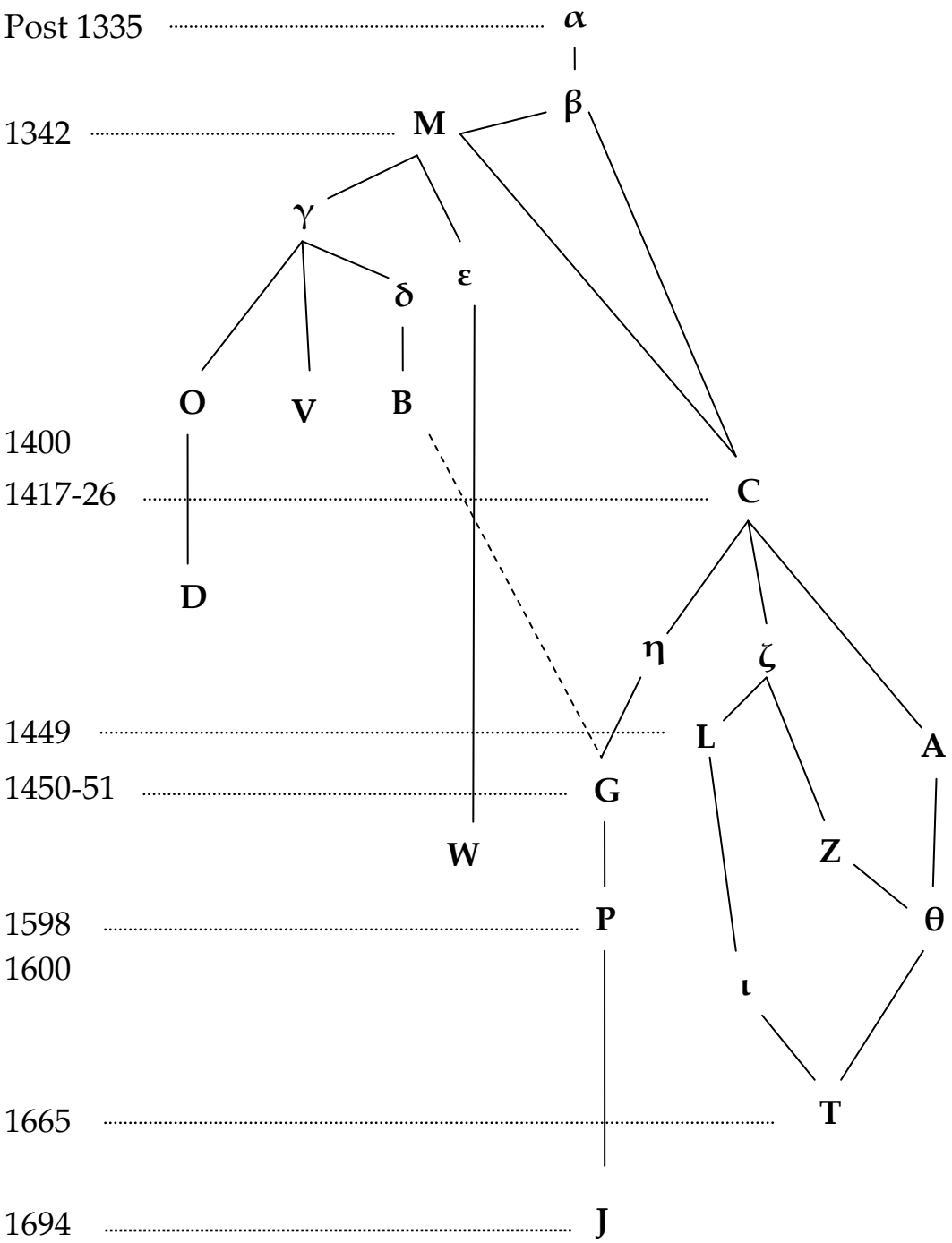
National Library of Athens.[237] The link between the three transmissions (**J**, **G** and **P**) is confirmed by the fact that **G** and **P** omit chapter **45** of the treatise (the theorem on the number 2,000) which is not directly relevant to the treatise, as does Dositheos in his edition (**J**). It seems that **P** is an apograph of **G**.

Allatius edition (**T**), containing chapter **49**, is linked through a variant with **A**, **L** and **Z** (ἔτι δὲ, lin. 9), while it shares a common omission with **L** (τὴν, lin. 5). However, **T** has unique readings (ἀκρίβειαν for ἀσέβειαν, lin. 18; φιλία for φίλην, lin. 23; ἔθεσι for ἔθει, lin. 19) not found in any other of the MSS examined, which indicates that **T** is linked with **A** and **Z** through an intermediary transmission (**θ**), and with **L** through another tradition (**ι**).

On the basis of these observations the relation of the MSS can be reconstructed in the following *stemma codicum*:

[237] See Rossidou-Koutsou, *John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic*, pp. lxx-lxxi.

## *Stemma codicum*



# Edition

## Matthaios Blastares, *Refutation of the Errors of the Latins*

## The present edition

The present edition of Matthaios Blastares' *Refutation of the errors of the Latins* is based on the principal MS. **M**, though occasionally readings from **C** and **V** have been preferred. The punctuation system is based on **M**, to demonstrate the medieval practices,[238] though occasionally further intervention (including dashes) was considered necessary to enhance the clarity of the text, especially in very long sentences. Scriptural, patristic and classical citations as well as proverbial expressions and words used as terms in the text appear in *italicized* characters. Scriptural quotations within patristic citations are enclosed in Greek quotation marks « ». Quotations from Blastares' *Syntagma* have been <u>underlined</u>.

The medieval convention of accentuating the indefinite pronouns *τίς* and τί, and the accentuated particle *τέ* has been preserved. Similarly, the conventional forms of *μὴ δ' / μὴ δὲ* for *μηδ' / μηδὲ*, and of joined words used as adverbial expressions (e.g., *διατοῦτο*), have been preserved. However, following modern conventions, acute accent has replaced the grave on oxytones followed by a punctuation sign and mute *iota*, largely omitted by the scribes, has been tacitly introduced in our edition in its subscript form.

Each chapter and subchapter, accompanied by a number in square brackets (e.g., [**1**], [**2.2**], etc.), appears (with a few exceptions) on a fresh page, with the heading in **bold** characters.

Finally, the *apparatus* is divided into two sections:

**(a.)** *apparatus fontium,* subdivided into two sub-sections:

(i) with references to the main sources of Blastares' *Refutation* used tacitly in the text, including his *Syntagma* (*Synt.*); Nicephoros Blemmydes, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (*Process. Spir. Sanc.*); the *Tomos* of the Council of Blachernae (*Tomus*); George of Cyprus, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (*Process. Spir. Sanc.*); Manuel Moschopoulos, *On the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Spirit*

[238] See above, p. 169, with n. 225.

(*Generat.*); Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* (*Sum. theol*.); various texts concerning the Council of Lyon edited by Laurent and Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)*; and Blastares' *Epistolary Discourse on the Procession of the Holy Spirit addressed to Guy de Lusignan* (*Epist*.) which is based on the *Refutation.*

(ii) other sources, including proverbs and classical, Scriptural and patristic citations. References to Scriptural and patristic citations quoted *verbatim* by previous or contemporary authors but bearing no resemblance to Blastares's interpretation or argumentation are not included in this section, in order to avoid creating confusion.

Similarly, sources cited solely in the *apparatus fontium* (below, pp. 252-263) are not cited in the full Bibliography (below, pp. 464-489) to avoid duplication.

**(b.)** negative *apparatus criticus* recording all variant readings, emendations, corrections, additions, omissions, erasures, deletions, lacunae, marginal glosses and signs appearing in the MSS.

## *Sigla codicum*

**A** *Athens, National Library MS* 142, ff. 82-195 (saec. XV)

**B** *Athos, Vatopedi MS* 481, ff. 257-302v (saec. XIV)

**C** *Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), ff. 202-233v (AD 1417-1426)

**D** *Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428, ff. 236-289v (saec. XV)

**G** *Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, ff. 165-230 (*c.*1450/51)

**J** *Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem* ed. *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 441-456 (Jassi, 1694)

**L** *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Palatinus graecus* 256, ff. 333v-377v (AD 1449)

**M** *Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 149 (327/CL), ff. 215-255 (AD 1342)

**O** *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci, Selden.* 44 (Arch. Seld. B.49), ff. 54-99 (saec. XIV)

**T** Leo Allatius, *In Roberti Creyghtoni* (Rome, 1665)

**V** *Athos, Vatopedi MS* 480, ff. 189-223v (saec. XIV)

**W** *Athos, Iveron MS* 678 (Lambros 4798), ff. 299-363v (saec. XVI)

**Z** *Athos, Vatopedi MS* 484, ff. 1-46v (saec. XVI)

## *Signa typographica*

‖ lineolae derectae in textu transcribendo finis codicis foliis simulque initium foliis insequentis significantur.

( ) uncis lunatis in appar. littera vel litterae per contractionem aut suspensionem in codice omissae significantur.

[ ] uncis quadratis in appar. lacunae includuntur.

< > uncis angulatis suppleta ab editore includuntur.

## *Abbreviationes*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| al. | alii, alibi | ed. | edidit, editio | om. | omissit, -erunt |
| ante cor. | ante correctionem | eds. | ediderunt, | p. | pagina |
| cnc. | cancellavit | | editiones | pp. | paginae |
| *appar.* | apparatus | eras. | erasit | post cor. | post correctionem |
| ca. | circa | f. | folium | punc. | punctis |
| cap. | capitulum | ff. | folia | ras. | rasura, -am |
| capp. | capitula | *ibid.* | ibidem | scr. | scripsit, -erunt |
| cf. | confer | illeg. | illegibilis | sign. | signum |
| col. | columna | in marg. | in margine | sscr. | superscripsit, -tum |
| cols. | columnae | inf. | infra | sup. | supra |
| cod. | codex | lac. | lacuna | tit. | titulus |
| codd. | codices | laps. cal. | lapsus calami | vid. | vide |
| del. | delevit | *op. cit.* | opere citato | | |

## *Sigla sacrae Scripturae*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Act. | Actus Apostolorum | Mal. | Malachias |
| Col. | ad Colossenses Epistula | Marc. | Evangelium secundum Marcum |
| 1 Cor. | I ad Corinthios Epistula | Matth. | Evangelium secundum Matthaeum |
| 2 Cor. | II ad Corinthios Epistula | Num. | Numeri |
| Eph. | ad Ephesios Epistula | 1 Petr. | I Petri Epistula |
| Exod. | Exodus | 2 Petr. | II Petri Epistula |
| Gal. | ad Galatas Epistula | Prov. | Proverbia |
| Gen. | Genesis | Phil. | ad Philippenses Epistula |
| Iac**.** | Iacobi Epistula | Ps. | Psalmorum liber |
| Ier. | Ieremias | 1 Regn. | I Regnorum liber (I Samuel) |
| Ioh. | Evangelium secundum Iohannem | Rom. | ad Romanos Epistula |
| 1 Ioh. | I Iohannis Epistula | Sir. | Siracides |
| 2 Ioh. | II Iohannis Epistula | 2 Thes. | II ad Thessalonicenses Epistula |
| Is. | Isaias | 1 Tim. | I ad Timotheum Epistula |
| Iudc. | Iudicum | 2 Tim. | II ad Timotheum Epistula |
| Lev. | Leviticus | Tit. | ad Titum Epistula |
| Luc. | Evangelium secundum Lucam | | |

## Abbreviations used in the *apparatus fontium*

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| Asterius Antioch., *Comm. Psalm.* | Asterius Antiochenus, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, CPG 2815, ed. M. Richard, *Asterii sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt,* Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. suppl. 16 (Oslo, 1956), (Orat. 2), pp. 4-13; (Orat. 29), pp. 228-239 |
| Amphil. Icon., *Natal. Dom.* | Amphilochius Iconiensis, *In natalitia domini* (Orat. 1), ed. C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera*. (Turnhout, 1978), pp. 5-9 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *De azymis* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *De azymis*, CPG 2237, PG 26, cols. 1328-1332 |
| Athan. Alex., *Contra Arian.* | Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Orationes tres contra Arianos* (Orat. 2), CPG 2093, PG 26, cols. 146-322 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Contra Latinos* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Sermo contra latinos,* CPG 2263, PG 28, cols. 824-832 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Dial. Maced.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Dialogi duo contra Macedonianos* (Dial. 1), CPG 2285, PG 28, cols. 1292-1329 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Epist. Castor.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Epistolae ad Castorem* (Epist. 2), CPG 2266, PG 28, cols. 877-905 |
| Athan. Alex., *Epist. monach.* | Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Epistula ad monachos*, CPG 2108, PG 26, cols. 1185-1188 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Epist. Serap.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Epistulae quattuor ad Serapionem* (Epist. 1), CPG 2094, PG 26, cols. 530-608 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Quaest.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Quaestiones aliae* (Quest. IV), CPG 2261, PG 28, cols. 775-796 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Refut.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Refutatio hypocriseos Meletii et Eusebii*, CPG 2242, PG 28, cols. 85-88 |
| Athan. Alex., *Sent. Dionys.* | Athanasius Alexandrinus, *De sententia Dionysii*, CPG 2121, ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke,* vol. 2.2 (Berlin, 1936), pp. 46-67 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Sermo Annunt.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae,* CPG 2268, PG 28, cols. 917-940 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Symb.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Symbolum "quicumque"*, CPG 2295, PG 28, cols. 1581-1592 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Synt.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Syntagma ad quendam politicum*, CPG 2286, PG 28, cols. 1396-1408 |
| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Testim.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Testimonia e scriptura (de communi essentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti)*, CPG 2240, PG 28, cols. 29-80 |

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| Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Trinit.* | Ps.-Athanasius Alexandrinus, *De trinitate*, CPG 2296, PG 28, cols. 1604-1605 |
| August. Hipp., *Trinit.* | Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Trinitate*, Lib. XV, eds. W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie, *Aurelii Augustini, De Trinitate libri XV*, vol. II, CCSL 50A (Turnhout, 1968), pp. 460-535 |
| Barl. Calab., *Contra Latinos* | Barlaam Calabrius, *Contra Latinos (Tractatus B)* (Orat. 3), ed. A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro opere contro i Latini,* vol. 2, ST 348 (Vatican City, 1998), pp. 246-465 |
| Basil. Caes., *Adv. Eunom.,* II | Basilius Caesariensis, *Adversus Eunomium,* Liber II, CPG 2571, PG 29, cols. 573-652 |
| Basil. Caes., *Contra Sabell., Arium et Anom.* | Basilius Caesariensis, *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos,* CPG 2869, PG 31, cols. 600-617 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 9 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 9, CPG 2900, ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1957), pp. 37-40 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 38 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 38, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 1, pp. 81-92 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 52 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 52, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 1, pp. 133-137 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 210 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 210, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1961), pp. 189-197 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 226 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 226, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 3 (Paris, 1966), pp. 23-29 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 250 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 250, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 3, pp. 87-89 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 257 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 257, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 3, pp. 98-100 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 261 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 261, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 3, pp. 115-119 |
| Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 262 | Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula* 262, ed. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres,* vol. 3, pp. 119-120 |
| Basil. Caes., *Fide* | Basilius Caesariensis, *De fide,* CPG 2886, PG 31, cols. 676-692 |
| Ps.-Basil. Caes., *Generat.* | Ps.-Basilius Caesariensis, *In sanctam Christi generationem*, CPG 2913, PG 31, cols. 1457-1476 |
| Basil. Caes., *Jejun.* | Basilius Caesariensis, *De jejunio* (Orat. 2), CPG 2846, PG 31, cols. 185-197 |

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| Basil. Caes., *Spir. Sanc.* | Basilius Caesariensis, *De spiritu sancto*, CPG 2839, ed. B. Pruche, Basile de Césarée. *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, SC 17bis. (Paris, 1968), pp. 250-530 |
| *Can. Apost.* | *Canones Apostolorum,* eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1852), pp. 1-112 |
| Celestinus, *Epist. Nestor.* | Celestinus I Papa, *Caelestini epistula ad Nestorium, Concilium Ephesenum* (431), ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO*, tom. I: *Concilium universale Ephesinum*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 77-83 |
| *Conc. Carthag.* (419) | *Concilium Carthaginiense* (419), eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1853), pp. 286-624 |
| *Conc. Chalced.* (451) | *Concilium Chalcedonense* (451), eds. *COGD*, pp. 133-151; Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, pp. 216-291 |
| *Conc. Chalced.* (451), *Λόγος Προσφωνητικός* | *Concilium Chalcedonense* (451), *Λόγος Προσφωνητικός*, ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO,* tom. II: *Concilium universale Chalcedonense,* vol. 1.3 (Berlin, 1933), pp. 110-116 |
| *Conc. CP Tertium* (680-1), *Const. imp. diualis sacra* | *Constantini IV imperatoris diualis sacra ad synodum Romae, Concilium Constantinopolitanum Tertium* (680-1), ed. R. Riedinger, *ACO*, Series 2, tom. II: *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 856-866 |
| *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692) | *Concilium Constantinopolitanum Trullanum* (692), eds. *COGD*, pp. 219-293; Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, pp. 295-554 |
| *Conc. CP* (861) | *Concilium Constantinopolitanum* (861), eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, pp. 648-704 |
| *Conc. CP* (879), Act. VI | *Concilium Constantinopolitanum* (879), ed. J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* vol. 17.1 (Florence-, 1759 repr. Graz, 1960), pp. 512-521 |
| *Conc. Ephes.* (431) | *Concilium Ephesenum* (431), eds. *COGD,* pp. 83-118; Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, pp. 192-215 |
| *Conc. Gangr.* (*c.*340) | *Concilium Gangrense* (*c.*340), eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1853), pp. 96-121 |
| *Conc. Laodic.* (325/381) | *Concilium Laodicense* (325/381), eds. Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 3, pp. 171-226 |
| *Conc. Nicaen. II* (787) | *Concilium Nicaenum Secundum* (787), eds. *COGD,* pp. 309-344; Rhalles & Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, pp. 555-646 |
| *Conc. Nicaen. II* (787), Act. VII | *Concilium Nicaenum Secundum* (787), ed. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* vol. 13, cols. 414-418 |

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| *Conc. Nymph.* (1234) | *Concilium Nymphaeum* (1233), ed. A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, ‘Ἀνέκδοτος Συνοδικὸς Ὅρος θεσπισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Νυμφαίῳ συγκροτηθείσης Συνόδου ἐν τῷ 1233 ἔτει’, *EA* 3, (1882), pp. 72-74 |
| Const. VII Porph., *De Cerim.* | Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae,* Liber II, ed. J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, vol. 1 CSHB, (Bonn, 1829), pp. 516-807 |
| Clem. Alex., *Paed.* | Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogi*, PG 8, cols. 247-684 |
| Clem. Alex., *Stromata* | Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata,* eds. L. Früchtel, O. Stählin & U. Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 52 (Berlin, 1985), Liber II, pp. 113-194; Liber III, pp. 195-247 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Adorat.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, Lib. XVII, CPG 5200, PG 68, cols. 1061-1125 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Comm. Ioh.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarii in Iohannem*, CPG 5208, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium,* 3 vols (Oxford, 1872), Lib. IV, vol. 1, pp. 485-646; Lib. V, vol. 1, p. 647-vol. 2, p. 90; Lib. IX, vol. 2, pp. 337-488; Lib. XII, vol. 3, pp. 43-171 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Comm. Luc.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarii in Lucam* (in catenis), CPG 5207, PG 72, cols. 685-724 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Contra Jul.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Contra Julianum* (Liber I), CPG 5233, eds. P. Burguière & P. Évieux, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Contre Julien,* SC 322 (Paris, 1985), pp. 100-207 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Epist. Attic.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Epistula ad Atticum Patriarcha Constantinopolitani* apud Nicephorum Callistum Xanthopulum, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Liber XIV, PG 146, § 27, cols. 1056-1273 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Epist. Pasch.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Epistulae paschales sive Homiliae paschales* (Hom. 9), CPG 5240, PG 77, cols. 577-605 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Epist. Ioh.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Epistola ad Iohannem Antiochenum de pace, Concilium Ephesenum* (431), ed. Schwartz, *ACO*, vol. 1.1.4, (Berlin, 1927), pp. 14-20 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Expl.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Explanatio XII capitulorum* (Expl. 9), *Concilium Ephesenum* (431), ed. Schwartz, *ACO*, 1.1.5, p. 23 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Incarn.* | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De incarnatione unigeniti*, CPG 5227, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Deux dialogues christologiques,* SC 97 (Paris, 1964), pp. 188-300 |
| Ps.-Cyrill. Alex., *Sanc. Trinit.* | Ps.-Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De sancta trinitate,* CPG 5432, PG 77, cols. 1120-1173 |

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| Cyrill. Alex., *Trinit.* (Dialog. 2) | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I-VII* (Dialog. 2), CPG 5216, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Dialogues sur la Trinité*, vol. 3, SC 246 (Paris, 1978), pp. 222-354 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Trinit.* (Dialog. 6) | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi I-VII* (Dialog. 6), ed. de Durand, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, vol. 3, pp. 10-138 |
| Cyrill. Alex., *Trinit.* (Dialog. 7) | Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De sancta trinitate Dialogi I-VII* (Dialog. 7), ed. de Durand, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie,* vol. 3, pp. 140-226 |
| Cyrill. Hierosol., *Catech.* | Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Catech. 16), ed. PG 33, cols. 917-964 |
| Damasus, *Conf. fidei* | Damasus I Papa, *Confessio fidei* (Epist. 4), PL 13, col. 362.10-12 |
| Epictetus, *Dissert. Arrian.* | Epictetus, *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* (Liber 1), ed. H. Schenkl, *Epicteti dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* (Leipzig, 1916; repr. 1965), pp. 3-99 |
| Eust. Nic., *Cont. Latin. et Azym.* | Eustratius Nicaenus, *Contra latinos et azymis,* ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1866; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 100-127 |
| Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* | Eustratius Nicaenus, *Prossesione spiritus sancti,* ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1 (Orat. 1), pp. 47-71; (Orat. 2), pp. 71-84 |
| Ps.-Dionys. Areop., *Divin. nom.* | Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus*, CPG 6602, ed. B.R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, PTS 33 (Berlin, 1990), pp. 122-137 |
| Didym. Alex., *Adv. Eunom.* | Didymus Alexandrinus, *Adversus Eunomium* (Ps.-Basilius Caesariensis, *Adversus Eunomium*, Liber V), CPG 2571, eds. PG 29, cols. 709-773; *Δίδυμος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς* (μέρος Β′), C.G. Bonis, *ΒΕΠΕΣ* 44 (Athens, 1972), pp. 238-261 |
| Euseb. *Hist.* | Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, (Liber V), ed. E. Grapin, *Eusèbe histoire ecclésiastique livres v-viii* (Paris, 1911), pp. 2-143 |
| Flav. Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* | Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae,* ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1887) Liber II, pp. 82-156; vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1885), Liber IX, pp. 227-279 |
| Georg. Cedr., *Comp. hist.,* | Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum,* ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope ab Immanuele Bekkero suppletus et emendatus,* vol. 1, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), pp. 3-802 |
| Georg. Metoch., *Hist. dogmat.* | Georgius Metochites, *Historiae dogmaticae* (Liber II), ed. J. Cozza, *Novae patrum bibliothecae,* vol. 8 (Rome, 1871), pp. 179-227 |

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| Georg. Schol., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* | Georgius (Gennadius) Scholarius, *Tractatus de processu spiritus sancti,* eds. M. Jugie, L. Petit, et X.A. Sideridès, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1929), (Tract. I), pp. 218-262; (Tract. II), pp. 269-457; (Tract. III), 458-495 |
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## *Index Capitulorum*

### Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου


[**1**] <Προοίμιον>

[**2**] Ῥήσεις τῶν ἁγίων, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

[**3**] Τῆς τετάρτης συνόδου.

[**4**] Αἱ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

[**4.1**] Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ λέγοντος ῥητοῦ *τὸ δέ, διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*.

[**5**] Τί δηλοῖ, τὸ *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* λέγειν *τὸ Πνεῦμα*.

[**5.1**] Ἡ κατὰ τοῦ Βέκκου σύνοδος.

[**6**] Τίνες οἱ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγοντες, ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

[**7**] Περὶ τῶν ῥήσεων, αἵ λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

[**8**] Ὅσων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου, οἱ Λατῖνοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται.

[**9**] Ὅπως οἱ ἅγιοι πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας παρεσύρησαν.

[**10**] Ὅθεν ἔσχον οἱ αἱρετικοί, τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν οἰκείων αἱρέσεων.

[**11**] *Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος· ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται· ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς το Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέ με*.

[**12**] *Τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ*.

[**13**] *Τεθέαμαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καταβαῖνον*.

[**14**] Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νόησις ἢ θέλησις.

[**15**] Ὅτι οὐ λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα ἰδίως ἀγάπη.

[**16**] Πρὸς τοὺς προβαλλομένους τό, *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν*.

[**17**] Ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰς εὐσέβειαν μόνον τὸ λέγειν ἄκτιστον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

[**18**] Ὅτι δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσάγουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα.

[**19**] Ὅτι τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπονται, οἱ τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ προστιθέντες τί, ἢ ἀφαιροῦντες.

[**20**] Ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς κατὰ τὸν Φώτιον συνόδου.

[**21**] Περὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ πάπα.

[**22**] Τίνες λέγονται αἱρετικοί.

[**23**] Περὶ τοῦ ἀζύμου.

[**24**] Περὶ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων, ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν.

[**24.1**] Τὸ ἐνεστός.

[**24.1.1**] Ὅπως ἐδείχθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ σοφόν, τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ δυνα-τόν.

[**24.1.1.1**] Τὸ ἀγαθόν.

[**24.1.1.2**] Τὸ σοφόν.

[**24.1.1.3**] Τὸ δίκαιον.

[**24.1.1.4**] Τὸ δυνατόν.

[**24.2**] Τὸ παρεληλυθός.

[**24.3**] Τὸ μέλλον.

[**25**] Περὶ τοῦ θυομένου ἀμνοῦ.

[**25.1**] *Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθει, ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

[**25.2**] *Τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστὸς.*

[**26**] *Μικρὰ ζύμη, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ· ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην.*

[**27**] Περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου.

[**27.1**] Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα.

[**27.2**] *Καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν.*

[**27.3**] *Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταί.*

[**28**] Ὅτι οὐ καλῶς στοχάζονται οἵτινες οἴονται πρῶτον τὸ νομικὸν τελέσαι Πάσχα τὸν Κύριον.

[**28.1**] *Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*.

[**28.2**] *Καὶ λαβὼν* τὸν *ἄρτον ἔκλασε*.

[**28.3**] Καὶ *βάψας τὸ ψωμίον* ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *δίδωσι* τῷ *Ἰούδᾳ*.

[**28.4**] Ὁ *ἄρτος ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;*

[**29**] Ὅτι οὐ μετάθεσις τότε τοῦ νομικοῦ γέγονε Πάσχα.

[**30**] Ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Πάσχα, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τότε ἐπλανήθησαν.

[**31**] Ὅτι καὶ οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες, τὸ ἀζυμοθετεῖν ἀπαγορεύειν.

[**32**] Ὅτι τρισὶν αἱρέσεσιν περιπίπτουσιν, οἱ ἄζυμα θύοντες.

[**33**] Τίνων εἰσὶ σύμβολα, ἡ ζύμη καὶ οἱ ἅλες.

[**34**] Ἰακωβῖται ὅπως θύουσιν.

[**35**] Ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες τὴν δι' ἐνζύμου ἱερουργίαν παραδεδώκασιν.

[**36**] Πόθεν ἤρξατο οἱ Λατίνοι τὰ ἄζυμα.

[**37**] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας, διὰ τὴν ἄσπορον τοῦ Κυρίου γέννησιν, δεῖ προσφέρειν ἄζυμον.

[**38**] Ὅπως παραβαίνουσι τούς κανόνες, χωρίζεσθαι προτρέποντες τοὺς χειροτονουμένους, τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν.

[**39**] Ὅτι ἀθέσμως νηστεύουσι καὶ καταλύουσιν.

[**40**] Πῶς δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσέρχονται θυσιαστήριον, παρὰ κανόνας.

[**41**] Ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἱερουργούντων μεταλαβών, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπάζεται.

[**42**] Ὅτι λέγουσιν αὐτούς, εἰς μίαν βαπτίζειν κατάδυσιν.

[**43**] Πότε ἤρξατο τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, χωλεύειν παρ' αὐτοῖς.

[**44**] Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις διαλαμψάντων ἁγίων πατέρων.

[**44.1**] Περὶ τῆς πρώτης συνόδου.

[**44.2**] Περὶ τῆς δευτέρας συνόδου.

[**44.3**] Περὶ τῆς τρίτης συνόδου.

[**44.4**] Περὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνόδου.

[**44.5**] Περὶ τῆς πέμπτης συνόδου.

[**44.6**] Περὶ τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου.

[**44.7**] Περὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης συνόδου.

[**45**] Ὅτι δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰσίν, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ συνόδοις ἀγωνισάμενοι θεῖοι πατέρες. Ἀριθμητικὸν θεώρημα, τοῦ δισχίλια ἀριθμοῦ.

[**46**] Ὅτι ὡς δυσσεβεῖς τοὺς Λατίνους, ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ ἀναθέματι δίδωσιν.

[**47**] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι ἄξιον ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους, διότι, πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἀναθεματίζουσιν.

[**48**] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος κοινωνίας ἠξίου, μόνον ἄκτιστον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμολογούντας.

[**49**] Ὅπως ἐξέκοψε τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς Λατίνους ὁ πατριάρχης Μιχαὴλ Κηρουλάριος.

[**50**] Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων αἱρέσεως.

[**51**] Ὅτι δεῖ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων κοινωνίας ἀπέχεσθαι.

[**52**] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προκρίνειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ὅτε κινδυνεύει τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας.

[**53**] Ὅτι οὐ χρῆ κοινωνεῖν ὅλως τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις.

[**54**] Ὅτι εἰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπειλοῦσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι, ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, οὐ χρῆ δεδιέναι.

[**55**] Τίνα δεῖ ἀποτάσεσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους, προσερχομένους τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

[**55.1**] *Ἐρώτησις· Ὀφείλομεν μεταδιδόναι τῶν ἁγιασμάτων τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις λατίνοις, ἢ οὔ;*

[**55.2**] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γάμους ποιεῖν μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων.

[**55.3**] *Ἐρώτησις· Εἰκός ἐστι ποιῆσαι Φράγγον σύντεκνον, ἢ Ἀρμένιον, ἢ μονοθελήτην, ἢ Νεστοριανόν;*

[**56**] Ὅτι εἰ καὶ συγχωροῦνται οἱ Λατίνοι εἰς τοὺς ἡμέτερους εἰσέρχεσθαι ναοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν συνάξεων, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο, κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοὺς χρὴ λογίζεσθαι.

[**57**] Ἐρώτησις· <Ὀφείλομεν μεταδιδόναι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, τοῖς κατὰ τύχην εἰς τὰς ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας εἰσερχομένοις Ἰακωβίταις, Νεστοριανοῖς, Ἀρμενίοις· ἢ οὔ;>

[**58**] Ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους διαβαίνει τό, *ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

[**59**] *Στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος.*

[**60**] Ἐπίλογος.

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# Ἔλεγχος ὧδε τῆς πλάνης τῶν Λατίνων, θύτου παρ' οἰκτροῦ Ματθαίου μονοτρόπου

## [1] <Προοίμιον>

Ἄρτι μὲν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν δογμάτων ἀχλύος ἀπήλλακτο, ἅπερ ὁ τοῦ σκότους προστάτης τῇ καθαρᾷ ταύτης χώρᾳ ζιζανίων δίκην κακούργως ἐνέβαλε, μετὰ τὴν τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης εἰδωλομανίας κατάλυσιν, ἡ δ' ἀνεπιθόλωτος αἰθρία τῆς εὐσεβείας, τῷ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐπηύγασε γένει· σύμπαντες γὰρ οἱ μηδενὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν δεύτεροι θεοφόροι πατέρες, μὴ δὲ τοῦ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ζήλου, τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἀνεχόμενοι, ἐν ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις, κατὰ διαφόρους αἰτίας καὶ χρόνους, εἰς ταὐτὸ συνιόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώττης τῇ τοῦ Παναγίου ἐμπνεύσει Πνεύματος, λαμπρὰν ἀφῆκαν φωνήν, οἵαν εἶναι δεῖ, τὴν ἀμώμητον καὶ ὑγιᾶ τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστιν, μήτε προσθήκης ἐπιδεᾶ, μήτε μὴν ὑφαίρεσιν προσιεμένην· ἔδει γὰρ τὰς ἰσαρίθμους τῶν ἑπτὰ χαρισμάτων τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῖς

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**[1] 13-14.** ἑπτὰ-πνεύμασιν] cf. Is. 11:2

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**Tit.** Ἔλεγχοι W — ὧδε BDVW — scr. κατὰ λατίνων in marg. CM — scr. Ματθαίου ἱερο(μον)άχ(ου) τοῦ τοὺς καν(όν)(ας) τῶν ἁγί(ων) ἀπο(στόλων) κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) π(ατέ)ρων, ἐν προχείρω κ(α)τ' α(λφά)β(ητον) | συντάξαντος, ἔλεγχοι κ(α)τ(ὰ) λατίν(ων)· ἐν ἔτει γεγονότες ,Ϛωμγ' in marg. W — scr. ἰ(ησο)ῦ προηγοῦ et λόγ(ος) ιγ' in marg. W — post μονοτρόπου alt. man. scr. φεῦ σοι οἰκτρὲ ματθαῖε· σύ δήπου ὁ πλανώμ(εν)ος εἶ in marg. L — ante Ἄρτι alt. man. scr. ὁλόκληρος in marg. O — scr. χ(ριστ)ὲ ἤγου et τοῦ κυροῦ ματθ(αίου) τοῦ βλάσταρη in marg. G — Ἔλεγχος-μονοτρόπου deest G: illeg. Z

**[1] 1.** αἱ-|ρετικῶν laps. cal. B — **2.** ἀπήλακτο G — ἅπερ B — καθαρὰ B — **9.** ταὐτὸ corr.: ταυτὸ codd. — τῇ] sscr. B — **11.** ὑγιᾶ] in textu et alt. man. scr. ὑγιᾶ in marg. L

ἑπτὰ τῆς κακίας πνεύμασιν ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ τὴν ταύτης ῥύμην ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἀπώσασθαι. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως καὶ ὅθεν, κυκεῶνα δυσσεβῶν ἐκπιοῦσα δογμάτων, ἡ λατινικὴ ὀφρὺς ἡμῖν ἐπεφύη. Εἰς ἀνατροπὴν γοῦν ἑλομένη χωρῆσαι, τῶν καιριωτέρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων τὲ καὶ ἐθῶν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συμβόλου τῶν ὀρθῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας δογμάτων κατεξανίσταται, ὅπερ ὁ τῶν ἁγίων σύμπας χορός, ὡς ἀργύριον ἑπταπλασίως καλῶς δοκιμάσαντες καὶ διακωδωνίσαντες, στήλην ὥσπερ ἑπτὰ τροπαίοις ἀνέστηκυῖαν, τῷ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐνίδρυσαν πανσόφως πληρώματι. Κἀντεῦθεν, ἀθετεῖ μὲν τὰς τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὰς αἰδῶ πᾶσαν ἀποθεμένη, ἑώλους δὲ τίθησι μέρει τῷ ἑαυτῆς, τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, *μέχρις αἵματος* ἀγῶνας καὶ ἀντικαταστάσεις, μὴ δὲ τοὺς σφετέρους δυσωπουμένη κήρυκας, οὓς ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία ὡς ἄν τινας φωστῆρας ἀνέσχε, τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζήλῳ πυρωθέντας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἡλίου δίκην, δαψιλεῖ τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐγάσαντας. Δεύτερον δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνήρηνται, τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων
M 215v ἀθέτησιν, οὓς οἱ πατέρες μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθινῆς βε-‖βαίωσιν

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**16.** ὀφρὺς] cf. Eurip., *Cyclops* 167 sed hic in sensu 'superbiam dimittere' — **25.** μέχρις αἵματος] Heb. 12:4

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**14.** ἑπτὰ L — **16.** ὄθ(εν) B — post ὅθεν alt. man. scr. πο(ας) σὺγκείμ(ε)ν(ον) ἐκ πολλῶ το νῶν, κ(αὶ) τ(ῆν) ραχ(ην) ἐμποιούσα τῆ φύση in marg. O — κεκυῶνα L — **17.** γοῦν] γὰρ Z — χωρίσαι A: χωρῖσαι post cor. (ex χωρίσαι) B — **18-19.** τὲ-δογμάτων] om. Z — **19.** τῆς εὐσεβείας] om. B — **21.** καλ(ῶς) ἑπταπλασίως G — **24.** ἑώλως D — **27.** ὡσάν τινας W — **28.** ἀνίσχε Z — **28-29.** ὑπ οὐ(ρα)νὸν BG: ὑπου(ρα)νὸν ADO — **30.** δ'] om. G — ἀνήρηνται] ἄθλον ἀνήρηνται B — **31.** ἀληθινῆς] post cor. (ex ἀληθείας?) D

πίστεως, ἐν ἁγίῳ ἐξέθεντο Πνεύματι, φραγμοῦ δίκην τὴν ἡμῶν περιγράφοντας δίαιταν, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπίστων ἐπιμιξίας, τοῖς ἀντιρρόποις νόμοις ἀποτειχίζοντας. Ἵν' οὖν μὴ τοῖς σφῶν λόγοις ἔνιοι τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ὥσι παρασυρόμενοι, ἐκφαυλιζόντων μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν δυσσέβειαν κρατύνειν διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένων, φέρε κατὰ τὸ δεσποτικὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπίταγμα, τὰς τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων γραφάς, ὡς οἷόν τε μετρίως διερευνησάμενοι —*ἐν αὐταῖς* γάρ φησι, *δοκεῖτε ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν*, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πέτρος ὁ μέγας τῆς ἀληθείας κῆρυξ διακελεύεται, ἑτοίμους εἶναι *πρὸς ἀπολογίαν, παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ἡμᾶς λόγον, περὶ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐλπίδος*, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος, *ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐνοικείτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως* πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι, πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι— καὶ μερικάς τινας τῶν ἁγίων χρήσεις ἐρανισάμενοι, καὶ τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ἐνθέμενοι, ἴδωμεν περί τε τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως, ὅπως μὲν ἐκεῖνοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες ἀξιοῦσι καὶ δογματίζουσιν. Οἱ δὲ νῦν θηρολέκται καὶ σπερμολόγοι, ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν ἐκείνοις λόγων

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**39-40**. αὐταῖς-ἔχειν] Ioh. 5:39 — **41-42**. πρὸς-ἐλπίδος] 1 Petr. 3:15 — **42-43.** ὁ λόγος- πλουσίως] Col. 3:16

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**32.** *πίστεως* in ras. Z — **34.** ἀντιρρόποις] post cor. (ex ἀντοιρρόποις) W — νόμοις illeg. Z — μη W — **36.** διὰ sscr. L — σπουδὴς G — **36-37.** διὰ σπουδῆς κρατύνειν τιθεμένων per sscr. β′, α′ et γ′ C — **37.** φέρε] om. Z — **38.** ὥς M — **39.** φησι] om. G: φησιν A — **40.** ante ἐπεὶ scr. *πέτρος* in marg. G — κήρυξ ABCDGLMOZ — **42.** ημῖν Z — ante ἀλλὰ scr. παῦλος in marg. G — ὁ] sscr. A — ὁ τοῦ] om. GW — **42-43.** *τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ* in ras. Z — **43.** ἐν οἰκείτω WZ — *ἐν ὑμῖν* in ras. Z — post εἰδέναι scr. ἡμᾶς G — **44.** ὑμᾶς] om. G — ἐνὶ BLZ — *ἑνὶ ἑκάστω* in ras. Z — μερικάς τινας] μερικὰς τινὰς AG: μερικὰς τινας D: post cor. (ex μερικάς τινας) L: μερικ*άς τινας* in ras. Z — **45.** χρήσεις] ῥήσεις Z — εἴδωμεν Z — **46.** περί τε] post cor. (ex περὶ τε) D — **48.** ἀπ ἀντικρὺ W: *απαντικρὺ* D — τῶν ἐκείνοις λόγων] τοῖς ἐκείνοις λόγων B: τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις V

ἱστάμενοι, διανοοῦνται καὶ ἀποφαίνονται, περί τε τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόμων γε καὶ ἐθῶν, ὅπως οἱ μὲν τῆς εὐσεβείας προστάται θείῳ κινούμενοι Πνεύματι, τυπώσαντες ἐκδεδώκασι, καὶ ἀκινήτως ἔχειν τεθεσπίκασιν. Οὗτοι δέ, ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ἐγνώκασιν, ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ πάντων σχεδόν, ἃ τὸν ἀληθῆ πέφυκε χαρακτηρίζειν χριστιανόν, οἵας τὲ τοὺς οὕτως ἀθλίως φρονοῦντας μερίδος κληρονομεῖν ἀποφαίνονται, οἱ γνήσιοι τοῦ Πνεύματος μύσται καὶ ὑποφῆται.

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**50.** γε] om. Z — **53.** ἐπανατροπῆ ADG — post ἐπ' ἀνατροπῆ scr. τῆ LZ — ἀληθη W — **54.** οἵας τε DLZ

**[2] Ῥήσεις τῶν ἁγίων, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.**

Ὁ μέγας τοιγαροῦν τῆς ἀληθείας κῆρυξ Ἀθανάσιος, καὶ ἐν ἅπασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι, κἀν τῇ πρὸς Σεραπίωνα δὲ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπιστολῇ, *οὔκουν* φησὶ καλῶς *φρονοῦντες περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καλῶς φρονοῦσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἐφρόνουν ὀρθῶς περὶ τοῦ Λόγου, ἐφρόνουν ἂν ὑγιῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, «ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται», καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἴδιον ὄν, παρ' αὐτοῦ* μεταδίδοται *τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν*. Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ λόγῳ· *τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου,*
M 216r *προϋπάρχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ* ‖ *τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἄλλοι· τοῦ δὲ Ἀδάμ, οὐ προϋπάρχει ἄλλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός· Πατρὸς δὲ καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐδὲν προϋπάρχει· ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς γεγέννηται, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπεπόρευται*. Καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ οὕτω πως ἀρχομένῳ, Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν· *Τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐκπόρευμα ὂν τοῦ Πατρός, ἀεί ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ*

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**[2] 8-13.** Ἐν δὲ-ἐκπεπόρευται] cf. *Epist.*, p. 14.3-9 — **14-16.** Πιστεύομεν-Υἱοῦ] cf. *Epist.*, p. 11.14-19

**[2] 3-8.** οὔκουν φησὶ καλῶς φρονοῦντες-αὐτόν] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Epist. Serap.*, col. 533.21-28: 'Οὐκοῦν, *κακῶς* φρονοῦντες-αὐτόν' — **6.** ὃ-ἐκπορεύεται] Ioh. 15:26 — **9-13.** τῶν μὲν-ἐκπεπόρευται] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Dial. Maced.*, col. 1304.36-41 — **14-16.** Τὸ δὲ-φέροντος] vide infra § 7.7-9; cf. Athan. Alex., *Sent. Dionys.*, § 17, 20-21, p. 58

**[2] Tit.** in textu A — post ἁγίων add. αἱ B — **1.** scr. ἀθανασ(ίου) in marg. BCDGLMOVW — κήρυξ ABCDGMOZ — **2.** συγγράμασι A — κἂν AG — τῇ] τῆς A — **3.** φρονιοῦντες D: φρονοῦν W — **5.** ὀρθῶς-ἐφρόνουν] om. G — **7.** ὄν BDO — **8.** post αὐτὸν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDGLMOVWZ — αὐτοῦ] om. Z — **9.** Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου G — **10.** πρὸς αὐτῶν A — **12.** προύπάρχει BZ — **13.** γεγένηται GW — ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — **14.** πῶς BDZ — **15.** ὂν B — χερσὶ] post cor. (ex χερσὶν) Z — **15-16.** ἀεί-πατρὸς] om. B

*πέμποντος* Πατρός, *καὶ τοῦ φέροντος* Υἱοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λόγῳ· Θεός ἐστιν *ἡ πάντων ἀρχή, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον λέγοντα, «εἷς Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα»· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ἐξ αὐτοῦ, γεννητῶς, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευτῶς.* Ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος, ἐν τῷ κατ' Εὐνομίου ἀντιρρητικῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ, *τὰ κοινά* φησι *τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, ταῦτα κοινὰ* καὶ *τῷ Πνεύματι*. Εἰ τοίνυν κοινὸν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν, οἷα τῆς φύσεως ὄν, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ὑποστατικῆς ἰδιότητος γνώρισμα, ὅτι μὴ δὲ τὴν ἁπλῶς οὐσίαν καὶ κοινὴν ἀτόμου ἴσμεν πεφυκυῖαν γεννητικήν, οὐδέ γε προβλητικήν, τὴν δὲ μετ' ἰδιωμάτων περιγραφομένην κατὰ τοὺς θείους πατέρας, ἔσται τὸ ἐκπορεύειν τοῦτο, κοινὸν καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, ὁμοούσιον ἐκείνοις παντάπασι πεφυκότι, καὶ ἐκπορεύσει ἕτερόν τι καὶ τοῦτο, κἀκεῖνο, ἄλλο· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἄπειρον, ἄχρις ἂν εἰς πολυθεΐαν αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ὑμνουμένης παρ' ἡμῖν μοναρχίας, οἱ ταύτῃ φρονοῦντες ἐκκυλισθῶσιν· οὕτως εἰς ἔσχατον ὅρον κακίας, ἡ τούτων ἀτεχνῶς ἐληλάκει δυσσέβεια. Καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Ἀνομοίων, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, *Μάχεται ἰουδαϊσμὸς ἑλληνισμῷ· Κυρίως, ὁ*

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**32-37.** Καὶ ἐν-Θεοῦ] cf. *Epist.*, pp. 43.28-44.5

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**17.** εἷς-πάντα] 1 Cor. 8:6 — **17-19.** ἡ πάντων-ἐκπορευτῶς] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Testim.*, cols. 72.49-73.1 — **21-22.** τὰ κοινά-Πνεύματι] Didym. Alex., *Adv. Eunom.*, PG, col. 712.2-3; Bonis, p. 238.7-8 — **33.** Μάχεται-ἑλληνισμῶ] Basil. Caes., *Contra Sabell., Arium et Anom.*, col. 600.24 — **33-37.** Κυρίως-Θεοῦ] loc. cit., col. 616.34-38

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**16.** ante Ἀλλὰ καὶ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — **17.** ἀρχὴ ACGVZ — **18.** ante λέγοντα add. τὸν Z — ἐξ' οὗ W — **19.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ (bis) W — γενητῶς W — **20.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ACDGLMOVW — κατὰ ACLZ — τρίτω] γ' LW: αὐτοῦ A — **21.** κοινὰ φησὶ Z — **22.** Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ Υ(ἱ)ῷ κοινὸν A — post Υἱῷ add. καὶ B — post ἐκπορεύειν alt. man. scr. ἔοικας μὴ ἐπαΐειν τὸ παράπαν τοὺς τῆς θεολογί(ας) κανόνας διὸ δη κ(αὶ) οὐκ ὀλίγον περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα χωλαίνεις in marg. L — **23.** ὂν B — ἂν] om. ACLZ — **25.** γενητικὴν W — γε] om. ALZ — **32.** δυσέβεια Z — post δυσσέβεια scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλ(είου) in textu G: scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. BDLMOVW: scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in textu et deinde alt. man. scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. A — **33.** ἀνομοίων] post cor. (ex ἀνομεί(ων)) W: ἀνομίων A

*Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Υἱός, παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Υἱός, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα, ἀρρήτως ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γρηγόριον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστολῇ· *ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσα ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία πηγάζει, τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν ἤρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμβάνεται, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτίας, ἐξημμένον ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται· τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἰδιότητος σημεῖον ἔχει, τὸ μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς*
M 216v ‖ *ὑφεστάναι· ὁ δὲ Υἱός, ὁ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα, δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίζων, μόνος μονογενῶς, ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωτὸς ἐκλάμψας, οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων, τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ἢ πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις σημείοις μόνως γνωρίζεται.* Τοῦ δὴ μεγάλου τούτου πατρὸς σαφῶς θεολογοῦντος καὶ δογματίζοντος, μηδεμίαν ἔχειν τὸν Υἱὸν *κοινωνίαν, κατὰ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ἢ πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, πόσης ἂν εἴη παραπληξίας,

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**34-37.** ὁ Υἱός-Θεοῦ] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 278.8-11 — **38-48.** ἐπειδὴ-γνωρίζεται] loc. cit., col. 286.7-20 et col. 296.17-31 — **43-45.** ὁ δὲ-γνωρίζων] cf. *Epist.*, p. 34.21-27; cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), col. 541.38-43

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**38-48.** ἐπειδὴ-γνωρίζεται] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 38, § 4.22-35, p. 84-85; cf. Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), p. 69.6-19 — **49-51.** μηδεμίαν-ἅγιον] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 38, § 4.32-33, p. 85

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**36.** γενητῶς W — **37.** post Θεοῦ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW: in textu G — **38.** κτήσιν AL — **39.** ἤρτηται] post cor. (ex ἤρτηται) G: ἤρτηται BDOV — **41.** καὶ] om. B — **42.** μετὰ … σὺν scr. in marg. G — συναυτῶ D — **44.** ἐκπορευόμενον] αὐτοῦ G — **45.** ἀγενήτου W — **46.** οὐδεμίαν] post cor. (ex οὐδὲ μίαν) Z: οὐδὲ μίαν BDGOW — ἰδιάζον] post cor. (ex ἰδιάζων) A: ἰδιάζων B — **48.** μόνος GL: μόνοις Z — δὴ] δὲ GW — **49.** μηδεμίαν] μὴ δὲ μίαν DOW: μὴ δε μίαν B — **50.** ἰδιάζον] post cor. (ex ἴδιάζον) D: ἰδιάζων A — **51.** παρὰ πληξίας D

ἀπεναντίας ἵστασθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπίσης ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχειν διϊσχυριζομένους, κοινωνεῖν ὑποστατικῶς τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι; Ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀλοῖεν οὕτω δογματίζοντες, συναλοιφὴν εἰσάγοντες τῶν ὑπερουσίων ὑποστάσεων ἀμφοῖν, εἰς μίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρόοδον καὶ ἐκπόρευσιν; Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πατέρων αὖθις μαρτυρίας ἐπανιτέον· ἄμεινον γὰρ ταῖς ἐκείνων πρῶτον ψήφοις ὀχυρωθῆναι, εἶτα τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπαγαγεῖν σὺν Θεῷ βοηθῷ, λογισμούς. Τὸ περιφανὲς *σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς*, τῆς θεολογίας τὸ βαθύτατον φρέαρ, ὁ μέγας φημὶ Γρηγόριος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Εἰρηνικῷ, *διατοῦτο* φησὶν *ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅρων ἱστάμενοι, τὸ ἀγέννητον εἰσάγομεν, καὶ τὸ γεννητόν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ὥς που φησὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος*. Καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· *ποῦ γὰρ θήσεις τὸ ἐκπορευτὸν εἰπέ μοι, μέσον ἀναφανὲν τῆς σῆς διαιρέσεως, καὶ παρὰ κρείσσονος, ἢ κατὰ σὲ θεολόγου τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰσαγόμενον, εἰ μὴ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνην τῶν σῶν εὐαγγελίων ἐξεῖλες διὰ τὴν τρίτην σου διαθήκην,*

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**61.** σκεῦος-ἐκλογῆς] Act. 9:15 — **62.** τὸ βαθύτατον φρέαρ, … Γρηγόριος] cf. Neoph. Encleis., *Παν. βίβλος*, § 14.232-233, p. 311 — **63-65.** διὰ τοῦτο-Λόγος] Greg. Naz., *De filio*, 3 § 2.22-24, p. 132 — **66-74.** ποῦ γὰρ-ἰσχυρότερος] Greg. Naz., *Spir. Sanc*., 5 § 8.5-13, pp. 230, 232

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**52.** ἵστασθαι L — ἐκκλησίας] ἀληθείας et scr. ἐκκλησίας sup. lin. Z — **53.** ἐπίσις B — **56.** ἁλοῖεν] post cor. (ex ἁλοί(εν)) B: ἀλοῖεν L — δογματίζοντ(ος) B — **57.** ὑποστάσεων] om. G — **61.** λογισμούς] om. G — ante περιφανὲς scr. γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου in textu BG: in marg. ACDLMOVZ: alt. man. scr. γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου in marg. D: γρηγορ(ίου) in marg. W — ἐκλογῆς] post cor. (ex ἐκλόγης) L — **62.** τὸ βαθύτατον τῆς θεολογίας φρέαρ A — **63.** δευτέρῳ] β′ ACLZ — **64.** ἀγένητον W — γενητὸν GW — **65.** πατρὸς] τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς GV — ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in textu BZ: in marg. ACDLMOVW — **66.** post πνεύματος add. λόγω G — **69.** ἐξεῖλες εὐαγγελίων BGV

70 *«τὸ Πνεῦμα» τὸ ἅγιον «ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται»· ὃ καθόσον μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπορεύεται, οὐ κτίσμα· καθόσον δὲ οὐ γεννητόν, οὐχ Υἱός· καθόσον δὲ ἀγεννήτου καὶ γεννητοῦ μέσον, Θεός· καὶ οὕτω σου τὰς τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἄρκυς διαφυγόν, Θεὸς ἀναπέφηνε, τῶν σῶν διαιρέσεων ἰσχυρότερος.* Καὶ *πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· ἡμῖν εἷς Θεός, ὅτι*
75 *μία θεότης, καὶ πρὸς ἓν τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, κἂν τρία πιστεύηται.* Ὁ δὲ πολὺς τὴν σοφίαν Κύριλλος, ἐν τῇ τοῦ κατὰ
M 217r Λουκᾶν ‖ εὐαγγελίου ἐξηγήσει· *«εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ»· δάκτυλον Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον φησίν· ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ δάκτυλος ἀπήρτηται τῆς χειρός, οὐκ ἀλλότριος ὢν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ*
80 *φυσικῶς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τῷ τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος λόγῳ, συνῆπται μὲν πρὸς ἕνωσιν τῷ Υἱῷ, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ δὲ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται.* Καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀγωνιστικῷ λόγῳ· καὶ *γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὥσπερ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν*
85 *ἐστίν, ὡς μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐσιωδῶς γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον.* Ὁ δὲ Νύσσης μέγας Γρηγόριος, ἐν τῷ

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**76-86.** Ὁ δὲ-ἐκπορευόμενον] cf. *Epist.*, pp. 18.14-32; 31.19-26; 31.36-32.8 et 35.8-15 — **78-82.** δάκτυλον-ἐκπορεύεται] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), col. 548.34-38

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**70.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-ἐκπορεύεται] Ioh. 15:26 — **74-76.** ἡμῖν-πιστεύηται] Greg. Naz., *Spir. Sanc.*, 5 § 14.2-3, p. 244 — **77.** εἰ-Θεοῦ] Luc. 11:20 — **78-82.** δάκτυλον-ἐκπορεύεται] Cyrill. Alex., *Comm. Luc.*, § 11, col. 704.13, 14, 17-21 — **83-86.** γὰρ-ἐκπορευόμενον] non Cyrill. Alex. sed Maxim. Conf., *Quaest.*, § 63.167-170, p. 155

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**70.** καθ ὅσον Z — **71.** δὲ οὐ] sscr. οὐ Z — γενητὸν GW — **72.** ἀγενήτου GW — καὶ γεννητοῦ] om. Z — γενητοῦ GW — **73.** διαφυγόν] post cor. (ex διαφυγὼν) G: διαφυγὼν A — **74.** ante Καὶ πάλιν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW: in textu Z — **75.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **76.** πιστεύεται AL — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. κυρίλλ(ου) in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — Ὁ δὲ] καὶ ὁ B — **79.** ἀλλότριος] post cor. (ex ἀλότριος) alt. man. D: ἀλότριος L — **80.** ὁμουσιότητος et sscr. ο (per ὁμοουσιότητος) A — **81.** (δὲ) sscr. B — **82.** ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ACDLMOVWZ: in textu G — **83.** κατουσίαν BDGMO — **84.** κατουσίαν BDMO — **85.** γενηθέντος BGW — **86.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. γρηγορίου νύσσης in marg AG: γρηγορίου τοῦ νύσσης in marg Z: γρηγορίου νύσης in marg CDLMOV: γρηγορ(ίου) in marg W — νύσης BCDLMOV — μέγας] om. LZ

περὶ θεωνυμίας λόγῳ· *ἓν γὰρ πρόσωπον, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ Πατρός, ἐξ οὗ ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται Πνεῦμα· διὸ δὴ κυρίως, καὶ τὸν ἕνα αἴτιον μετὰ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν, ἕνα Θεὸν*
90 *φαμὲν τεθαρρηκότως*. Ὁ δὲ Ῥώμης ἅγιος Σίλβεστρος, ἐν τῇ κατὰ τοῦ γόητος ἐκείνου εὐχῇ, οὕτως ἐπιθειάσας, ἔφη· *εἷς ὑπάρχεις Θεὸς ἀληθινός, Πατήρ, ἀληθινὸν Υἱὸν ἔχων, ἐκ σοῦ γεννηθέντα, ἀληθινὸν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ σοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον*. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Αὐγουστῖνος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μαξιμῖνον ἐπιστολῇ, *ἐκ Πατρὸς*
95 φησὶν *ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱός, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μέν, γεννητῶς, τοῦτο δέ, ἐκπορευτῶς· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος, Υἱός ἐστι τοῦ Πατρός, ἐξ οὗ γεγέννηται, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι Πνεῦμα Πατρός, ἐξ οὗ ἐκπορεύεται*.

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**87-90.** ἓν-τεθαρρηκότως] Greg. Nyss., *Graec.*, p. 25.4-8 — **91-93.** εἷς-ἐκπορευόμενον] locum non inveni; cf. Joseph Bryen. *Serm.* 19, p. 312 — **94-98.** ἐκ Πατρὸς-ἐκπορεύεται] locum non inveni

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**87.** ἐν L — **88.** ἐξ οὗ περ B — γεννᾶται] post cor. (ex γενᾶται) B: γενᾶται GW — πν(εῦμ)α ἐκπορεύεται B — **89.** κυρίως] om. ACLZ — καὶ] om. G — ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — ἐξ] om. B — ἕνα L — **90.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. σιλβέστρου in marg. ABCDLMOVWZ: in marg. σίλβεστρος ῥώμης G — **91.** ἔφη] φησὶν Z — ὑπάρχει Z — **92.** ἐκ σοῦ] ἐξ αὐτοῦ Z — γενηθέντα W — **93.** ἐκ σοῦ] ἐξ αὐτοῦ Z — ante Ἀλλὰ scr. αὐγουστῖνου in marg. codd. — **94.** μαξιμίνον A: μάξιμον W — **95.** ἐστὶν φησὶν ὁ υἱὸς A: φη(σὶν) ὁ υἱὸς ἐστὶν G — **96.** διατοῦτο ACMOVWZ: post cor. (ex διὰ τοῦτο) D — **97.** υἱὸς ἐστὶ G — γεγέννηται] post cor. (ex γεγένηται et alt. man subscr. ν) V: γεγένηται BDGO

**[3] Τῆς τετάρτης συνόδου.**

Ἐν δὲ τῷ προσφωνηματικῷ λόγῳ τῆς τετάρτης γέγραπται Συνόδου, *οἱ τῆς Ἀρείου σπορᾶς, τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ στενωθέντες ἐλέγχοις, ἐπὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὴν βλασφημίαν μετήνεγκαν· ὅθεν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερασπίζοντες τὴν αὐτῶν λύμην, ταῖς ἀντιμηχαναῖς ἀπεσείσαντο· Κύριον αὐτὸ καὶ Θεόν, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἔχον τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν, κατὰ τὴν τῆς πίστεως διάνοιαν ἀποφαίνοντες*. Καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως ἁπλῆ τῶν θείων πατέρων, ὡς ἄν τις φαίη παράδοσις, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὀλίγων τουτωνὶ ῥήσεων δείκνυται· ἀπειροκαλίας γάρ, ἁπάσας ἐθέλειν ἀπαριθμεῖν καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείττους οὔσας σαφῶς, ἐφάμιλλον καὶ ταύτας παρεχομένας καὶ τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν.

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**[3] 2-6.** οἱ τῆς-ἀποφαίνοντες] *Conc. Chalced.* (451), *Λόγος Προσφωνητικός*, § 20, p. 111.22-27

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**[3] Tit.** scr. τῆς δ′ συνόδου in textu L: in marg. ABCDMOVWZ — **1.** προσφωνητικῶ AMW — τετάρτης] δ′ ACGLVWZ — **1-2.** τῆς δ′ συνόδου λόγω γέγραπται G: λόγω τῆς δ′ συνόδου γέγραπται Z — **3.** ἐλέγχοις] post cor. (ex ἔλέγχοις) D — ὁθεν D — **4.** λύ-|μ(ιν) B — **5.** ἀπεσείσαντο] post cor. (ex ἀπεσίσαντο) BV: ἀπεπείσαντο L — **7.** ἐκπορεύσεως] post cor. (ex ἐκπόρευσεως) D: om. A — **8.** ὡσάν τις D — **10.** ἀριθμῶ B — **11.** ταῦτας post cor. (ex ταύτας) B: ταῦτας Z: ταῦτα V

**[4] Αἱ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.**

Οὐ δέον δὲ κἀκείνας οἶμαι παραλιπεῖν, ὅσαι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα κηρύττουσι, καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς οἷόν τε λαβὴν τῶν δυσσεβῶν, ὑπὸ Θεῷ φάναι Σωτῆρι καὶ βοηθῷ
M 217v διαλύσασθαι· σοφοὶ γὰρ ἐγένοντο τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, ‖ τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἐννοεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον τούτοις ἐμέλησεν. Ὁ θαυματουργὸς καὶ μέγας Γρηγόριος, τὴν ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ πίστιν ἐκτιθέμενος, *ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον* φησίν, *ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. Καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· *τέλειον δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ Θεοῦ, δι' Υἱοῦ χορηγούμενον εἰς τοὺς υἱοθετουμένους*. Καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις· *ἀγεννήτου μὲν ὄντος τοῦ Πατρός, γεννηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός· τοῦ τε Πνεύματος, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ ἀϊδίως ἐκπεμφθέντος*. Ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, ἐν τῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τῶν περὶ Μελίτιον, *ἀδύνατον ἦν* φησιν *ἐν τῇ τῆς Τριάδος δόξῃ τὸ Πνεῦμα δοξάζεσθαι,*

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**[4] 12.** δι' Υἱοῦ ἀϊδίως] Greg. Cypr., *Tomus*, col. 240.31-32 — **14-15.** ἀδύνατον-Υἱοῦ] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), col. 549.57-59

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**[4] 7-8.** ἓν-ἀνθρώποις] Greg. Nyss., *Vita Greg.*, col. 912.56-58 — **8-10.** τέλειον-υἱοθετουμένους] Greg. Thaum. apud Georg. Schol., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Tract. II), p. 355.33-34 — **10-12.** ἀγεννήτου-ἐκπεμφθέντος] loc. cit. p. 291.12-14 — **14-15.** ἀδύνατον-Υἱοῦ] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Refut.*, col. 88.40-42

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**[4] Tit.** scr. αἱ (illeg. ? C) διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγουσαι τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α (τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον G) in textu G: in marg. CDGMOVW: alt. man. scr. τὴν ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ δοκούντ(ων) in marg. A — **1.** ante Οὐ δέον sign. W — οἶμαι DO — παραλειπεῖν A: παραλιπῆν post cor. (ex παριλιπῆν) D — **2.** κυρύττουσι L — **3.** σωτῆρι] post cor. ex σ(ωτη)ρὶ D: σ(ωτη)ρὶ Z — **5.** ἐννοεῖν] ἐννοῆσαι Z — οὐδ' ἐπολίγον BDGMOW — ante Ὁ θαυματουργὸς scr. γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ in marg. ABCDGLMOVW: in textu G — **7.** φησὶν ACGLVZ: φη(σὶ) BDO: φησὶ MW — **8.** ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ACDLMOVZ: in textu G — ἐν ἅλλοις post cor. (ex ἐν ἄλλοις) B — **9.** τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α Z — **10.** ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW — ἀγενήτου W — **11.** γεννηθέντος] post cor. (ex γεννηθέντα) L: γενηθέντος W — τοῦ τε] τοῦ δὲ W — πνεύματος] post cor. (ex πν(εὐματο)ς) C — **12.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. ἀθανασ(ίου) in marg. ACDLMOVWZ: scr. τοῦ μεγάλου ἀθανασ(ίου) in textu G — **13.** ἀποκρίσεως] ὑποκρίσεως BV — Μελίτιον] Μελέτιον AG — **14.** φησὶν GZ: φησὶ BD: φη(σὶ) O

*μὴ προοδικῶς ὂν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' Υἱοῦ.* Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Σεραπίωνα ἐπιστολῇ, *τὸ Πνεῦμα* φησὶ *παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἕν ἐστι καὶ οὐ πολλά·* καὶ *οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἕν, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα· ἑνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ ζῶντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη, τὴν ἁγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν* καὶ *ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν, αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεάν· ἥτις ἐκ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένου, ἐκλάμπει δὲ καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ δίδοται.* Ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Ἀντιρρητικῶν λόγῳ, *τὸ μὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ* φησι *τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι, τρανῶς ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, λέγων, ὅτι «τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν», καὶ τὸ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι, σαφῶς πεποίηκεν, Υἱοῦ ὀνομάσας αὐτό.* Οὕτω δὲ ἀπεφήνατο καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκτεθέντι ἄρτι ῥητῷ, τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γρηγόριον ἐπιστολῆς· *ὁ δὲ Υἱός, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα, δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίζων.* Πρὸς δὲ τὰς Κανονικὰς ἐπιστέλλων, ὧδέ πως φησίν· *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ μονογενοῦς πρότερον* τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· *οὐδὲν γὰρ μέσον Υἱοῦ καὶ Πατρός·*

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**16-22.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-δίδοται] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 288.14-23; cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc*. (Orat. 1), col. 540.24-32 — **22-26.** Ὁ δὲ-αὐτό] cf. *Epist.*, p. 43.23-28

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**16-22.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-δίδοται] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Epist. Serap.*, col. 577.37-580.9 — **23-26.** τὸ μὲν-αὐτό] non Bas. Caes. sed Didym. Alex., *Adv. Eunom.*, PG, col. 733.11-15; Bonis, p. 247.11-14 — **25.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-ἐλάβομεν] 1 Cor. 2:12 — **26** Υἱοῦ-αὐτὸ] cf. Gal. 4:6 — **28-29.** ὁ δὲ-γνωρίζων] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 38, § 4.29-31, p. 85 — **30-32.** ἀλλ' οὐδὲ-παράπαν] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 52, § 4.14-16, p. 137

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**15.** προοδικῶς] προδικῶς B — ὂν B — post ἐκ τοῦ eras. (3 litt.) C — post Υἱοῦ add. ἀλλὰ ποιητικῶς ἐκ θ(εο)ῦ γεγον(ῶς) ὡς λέγουσιν B — ante Ἐν δὲ scr. in marg. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ABCMDGLOVW — δὲ τῇ ACDGLMOVWZ: τῇ τῇ B — **16.** ἐπιστολῇ G — **18.** ἕν BDMOV — **20.** αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν καὶ ἐνέργειαν G — λέγεται] λέγεσθαι A — **22.** δὲ] om. ABDGOVZ — **22-23.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. in textu Z βασιλ(είου) scr. in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — **23.** τετάρτῳ] δ′ ACLZ — ἀντιρητικῶν G — **24.** φησὶ BDGVZ — **26.** σαφῶς] σαφές GVZ — ante Οὕτω scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW — **29.** ante Πρὸς δὲ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDMOVW — **30.** ὧ δέ BDMOVWZ — πως] που BZ — μονογενοῦς] post cor. (ex μονογενοὺς) Z — **31.** οὐδὲν] οὐδὲ LZ

εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν ἐκ Θεοῦ, διὰ Χριστοῦ δέ ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἔστι τὸ παράπαν. Ὅ γε μὴν Γρηγόριος Νύσσης, ἐν εἰκοστῷ καὶ δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν κατ' Εὐνομίου Ἀντιρρητικῶν, καὶ ἐν ἕκτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ, καὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ, *πρὸς τὸν Υἱόν* φησι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τῇ *κατὰ τὸ ἄκτιστον συναφείᾳ συναπτόμενον, καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἔχειν, ἀφίσταται πάλιν ἐν*
M 218r *τῷ ἰδιάζοντι, ἐν τῷ μήτε μονογενῶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς* ‖ *ὑποστῆναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ δι' αὐτοῦ πεφηνέναι.* Καὶ πάλιν· *Πατὴρ μὲν ἄναρχος καὶ ἀγέννητος, καὶ ἀεὶ Πατὴρ νοεῖται· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς ἀδιαστάτως, ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός, τῷ Πατρὶ συνεπινοεῖται· δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι κενόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον διὰ μέσου παρεμπεσεῖν νόημα, εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα συνημμένως καταλαμβάνεται· οὐχ' ὑστερίζον κατὰ τὴν ὕπαρξιν μετὰ τὸν Υἱόν, ὥστέ ποτε καὶ τὸν Μονογενῆ, δίχα τοῦ Πνεύματος νοηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον τοῦ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ μονογενές ἐστι φῶς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς ἐκλάμψαν, οὔτε διαστήματι, οὔτε φύσεως ἑτερότητι τοῦ Πατρός, ἢ τοῦ*

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**35-39.** τῇ-πεφηνέναι] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 296.34-38; cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc*. (Orat. 1), cols. 544.57-545.5 — **39-47.** Πατὴρ-ἐκλάμψαν] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 292.7-17; cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc*. (Orat. 1), col. 541.25-36 — **45-49.** ἀλλ' ἐκ-ἀποτέμνεται] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 296.39-44 — **47-49**. ἐκλάμψαν-ἀποτέμνεται] loc. cit., col. 285.30-31

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**35-39.** πρὸς τὸν-πεφηνέναι] Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eunom.*, § 280, pp. 102.25-103.4 — **39-49.** Πατὴρ-ἀποτέμνεται] loc. cit., § 26, p. 378.1-11

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**32.** δὲ, ἐστὶν G — τοπαράπαν CDMOVW — **33.** ante Ὅ γε scr. γρηγορίου νύσης in marg. BCDLMOV: γρηγορίου νύσσης in marg. A: γρηγορίου τοῦ νύσσης in marg. Z: νύσσ(ης) in marg. G: τοῦ νύσσ(ης) in marg. W — νύσης BCDLMOV — εἰκοστῶ καὶ δευτέρω] εἰκοστῶ καὶ β′ Z: κ′ καὶ β′ BDO — **34.** ἕκτω καὶ εἰκοστῶ] ἕκτω καὶ κ′ G: om. Z — **35.** ἕκτω καὶ τριακοστῶ] ἕκτω καὶ λ′ GZ — υἱὸν φησι L: υἱὸν φησὶ GZ — **36.** τὴν] om. L — **37.** τοῦ] om. G — **39.** τῶ] sscr. W: om. D — ante Καὶ πάλιν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABDCLMOVW — **40.** ἀγένητος GW — ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W: ἐξαυτοῦ C — **41.** μονογενὴς] post cor. (ex μογενὴς et alt. man. scr. sup. lin. νο) D — **42.** μεταὐτοῦ G — πρίν τι] post cor. (ex πρὶν τι) L: πρίν τε B — κενόν τε] κενόν τι Z — διαμέσου BDGOVZ — **43.** καὶ] om. G — **44.** οὐχ' ὑστερίζον GW: οὐχυστερίζον L — **45.** ὥστε ποτὲ Z — **48.** post τοῦ scr. et cnc. (incl. in punc.) τοῦ W

*Μονογενοῦς ἀποτέμνεται.* Καὶ αὖ πάλιν· *ἐξ ἀγεννήτου ἡλίου, ἄλλον ἥλιον νοοῦμεν, ὁμοῦ τῇ τοῦ πρώτου ἐπινοίᾳ, γεννητῶς αὐτῷ συνεκλάμποντα, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα, κάλλει, δυνάμει, λαμπηδόνι, μεγέθει, φαιδρότητι, καὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον θεωρουμένοις.* Καὶ αὖθις· *ἕτερον τοιοῦτον φῶς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, οὐ χρονικῷ τινι διαστήματι τοῦ γεννητοῦ φωτὸς ἀποτεμνόμενον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκλάμπον, τὴν δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αἰτίαν ἔχον ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου φωτός.* Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀβλάβιον ἐπιστολῇ, *τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦντες* φησί, *τὴν κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα· ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλαμβάνομεν· τῷ τὸ μέν, αἴτιον πιστεύειν εἶναι· τὸ δέ, ἐξ αἰτίου· καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίας ὄντος, πάλιν ἄλλην διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν· τὸ μέν, γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ πρώτου· τὸ δέ, διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου.*

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**49-53.** ἐξ ἀγεννήτου-θεωρουμένοις] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.,* col. 285.24-29 — **49-56.** ἐξ ἀγεννήτου-φωτός] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 2), col. 581.26-36 — **57-63.** τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον-πρώτου] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.,* col. 279.7-14; cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), col. 537.50-53; suum (Orat. 2), col. 580.50-58

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**49-56.** ἐξ ἀγεννήτου-φωτός] Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eunom.,* § 36, p. 533.4-12 — **57-63.** τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον-πρώτου] Greg. Nyss., *Ablab.,* pp. 55.24-56.6

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**49.** ante Καὶ αὖ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW — αὖ] om. LWZ: αὖθις A — ἐξ ἀγενήτου W: ἐξα-|γενήτου L — **50.** ἐπϊνιοία L — γενητῶς GW — **53.** περὶ] ὑπὲρ Z — ante Καὶ αὖθις scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDGLMOVZ — **54.** γενητοῦ W — **55.** φωτὸς] φως τὸ et acc. eras. φῶς τὸ vel φῶς τ(ὸς) D — **56.** ante Ἐν δὲ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCGLVWZ — (δὲ) sscr. B — **57.** ἐπιστολὴ G — ἀπαράλακτον G — ante φύσεως add. θεί(ας) G — ante φύσεως scr. βλέπε τ(ὴν) | ἐξήγησιν | τοῦ παρόντ(ως) ῥη-|τοῦ, ἔμπρο-|σθεν ἀντι-|κρὴ, εἰς τὸ | ἕτερ(ον) φύλλ(ον) | κάτωθ(εν): in marg. G — **59.** post διακρίνεσθαι τὸ scr. et del. αἴτιον W — **60-61.** ἐξ αἰτίου] ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου G: ἐκ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίου B — **61.** ἐξ αἰτίας] ἐξαιτίας Z: ἐξ αιτίου B — ἄλλην] post cor. (ex ἄλλϊν) B — **62.** γὰρ] sscr. Z — ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ADGVZ — διὰ τοῦ τοῦ προσεχῶς G — προσεχῶς²] post cor. (ex πρώσεχῶς) W — τὸ δὲ-πρώτου] om. in textu et scr. in marg. D — **63.** post πρώτου scr. ὥς τε καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς, ἀναμφίβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ μένειν· (ἐπὶ-μένειν om. G) καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ (υἱοῦ om. et add. μονογενοῦς G) μεσιτείας, καὶ ἑαυτῷ (ἑαὐτῷ B) τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης in textu BG

**[4.1] Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ λέγοντος ῥητοῦ *τὸ δέ, διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου.***

Ὁ δὲ πολὺς τὴν σοφίαν Κύριλλος, ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀντιρρητικῷ, ἀρρήτως μέν φησι *τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται· διὰ* δὲ τοῦ *Υἱοῦ, χορηγεῖται τῇ κτίσει.* Καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν συντάγματι, *ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσερεῖς, τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός, δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον φυσικῶς*. Καὶ αὖθις πυνθανόμενος, ‖ *τίνος ἴδιον εἶναι φαμὲν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; πότερον δὴ μόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ἢ γοῦν καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ; ἢ καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος; Ἑκατέρου* φησί, *καὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς ἓν ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ, διὰ τὴν* M 218v *ταυτότητα τῆς οὐσίας*. ‖ Κἀν τοῖς εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἐξηγητικοῖς Ἰωάννην, *εἰ καὶ πρόεισιν ἐκ Πατρὸς* φησὶ *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ' ἔρχεται δι' Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἴδιον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ*. Κἀν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάλιν, *ἀραρότως* φησὶ *πιστεύομεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁμοούσιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προϊὸν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός.*

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**[4.1] 2-3.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-ἐκπορεύεται] Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* col. 276.48-49 — **6-9.** τίνος-οὐσίας] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc*. (Orat. 1), col. 537.53-56 — **11-14.** ἀραρότως-Πατρός] cf. suum, *Process. Spir. Sanc*. (Orat. 2), col. 573.13-14

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**[4.1] 2-3.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-ἐκπορεύεται] cf. Cyrill. Alex., *Contra Jul.*, § 27.14-16, p. 160 — **3.** διὰ-κτίσει] loc. cit., § 49.18-19, p. 206 — **4-5.** ἅγιον-φυσικῶς] Cyrill. Alex., *Trinit.* (Dialog. 2), § 423, pp. 238.4-240.6 — **6-9.** τίνος-οὐσίας] Cyrill. Alex., *Trinit.* (Dialog. 6), § 592, p. 24.13-16 — **10-11.** εἰ καὶ-αὐτῷ] Cyrill. Alex., *Comm. Ioh.*, Lib. IX, § 1, p. 487.24-26 — **11-14.** ἀραρότως-Πατρός] loc. cit., Lib. XII, § 1, p. 131.27-29

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**[4.1] Tit.** scr. ἑρμηνεία τοῦ λέγοντος ῥητοῦ τὸ δὲ, διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου in marg. BV — **1.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. κυρίλλου in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — πολὺς] πολλὺς B — **3.** ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLOV — **4.** ἑρμείαν] ἑρμηνείαν ACL — **5.** ante Καὶ αὖθις scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW: in textu Z — **6.** ἴδιον C — **7.** ἀνὰ μέρος] ἀναμέρος ABDLOWZ: post cor. (ex ἀνὰ μέρος) G — **8.** φησὶ ABCDGLMOVW: φησὶν Z — ἀμφεῖν L — **9.** post οὐσίας scr. τὶ δηλοῖ τὸ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγειν τὸ πν(εῦμ)α in textu G — ante Κἀν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) scr. in marg. ABCDGLMOVW: in textu G: — Κἀν AG — **10.** φησὶ] om. A — **11.** δι' υἱοῦ] κ(αὶ) δι' υἱοῦ A — ante Κἀν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCL — Κἀν AG: Καὶ Z — παλιν D — **12.** οὐκαλλότριον L: οὐκαλότριος D — ἅγιον] om. G — **13.** αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶ A — προϊὼν Z — τὸ] om. GZ

**[5] Τί δηλοῖ, τὸ *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγειν τὸ Πνεῦμα*.**

Ταύταις τοίνυν ὡς δοκοῦσιν ἐπερειδόμενοι ταῖς φωναῖς, μὴ ἄλλως τὸν Πατέρα αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως ἰσχυρίζονται, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ἐξ οὗ καὶ συναίτιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν δογματίζουσι τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. Καίτοι γε δῆλον, ἐξ ὧν προσεχῶς ἐκτεθείκαμεν ῥήσεων, ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θεολογίᾳ μέγα κληρωσαμένων ὄνομα, ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ποτέ, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μὲν ἐκπορεύεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, προαιωνίως ἐκλάμπειν, ὑπάρχειν, φανεροῦσθαι, πεφηνέναι, προϊέναι, γνωρίζεσθαι, δίδοσθαι, τ' ἄλλα, ὅσα φανέρωσιν ἁπλῶς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ παρίστησιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπαρξιν. Καὶ ἵνα τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀπηριθμημένων ἄρτι παρῶμεν, τὴν συνεπτυγμένην μάλιστα τοῦ Νύσσης θεολογίαν, ὡς οἷόν τε θεωρητέον· ὁ γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκεῖνος ὀξυδερκέστατος ὀφθαλμός, ὁ τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐκ ἄλλως λαλῶν, ἢ πλήρης τοῦ Πνεύματος γεγονώς, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα συνεσπειραμένης ἐνταῦθα, οὕτω δόξαν αὐτῷ, διαφόρους συνῆψεν

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**[5] Tit.** διὰ-Πνεῦμα] cf. Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 12b.48, p. 36; suum, *Trinit.*, § 2, col. 12.30

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**[5] Tit.** scr. τὶ δηλοῖ, τὸ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγειν τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α in marg. ABCDMOVW — **2.** πν(εῦματο)ς οὐσίας ACLZ — **4.** πνεύματος] π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς et sscr. πν(εύματο)ς C — **6.** μεγάλα L — κληροσαμένων W — ποτε BCDMOV: ποτὲ AGLWZ — **10.** τἄλλα CDMOV — ante ὅσα ras. (7-8 litt.) V — **11.** ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὕπαρξῖν G: ἀλλ' οὐχύπαρξῖν B — ante Καὶ ἵνα scr. ὅρα τ(ὴν) | ἐξήγησ(ιν) et βλέπ(ε) τ(ὴν) ἐξήγησιν μέχρι τέλ(ους) in marg. G — **13.** νύσης ABCDLMOV — **13.** ante Ὁ γὰρ scr. τοῦ νύσης in marg. ABCDLMOV: τοῦ νύσσης in marg. W: γρηγορ(ίου) τοῦ νῦσσης in marg. G — **15.** γεγονὸς DO — **16.** συνεσπειραμένης et sscr. πτυγμ(ένης) per συνεπτυγμένης C: συνεπτυγμένης AGL: συνεπτυγμένως Z: συνεσπειραμένως V: συνεσπειραμένος B

ἐννοίας εἰς μίαν θεολογίας ἐξαγγελίαν, ἀλλά γε καὶ οὕτω τὰς ὑπερουσίους τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ὑποστάσεις, καλῶς πάνυ καὶ ἥνωσε καὶ διέκρινε, καὶ τὸ κατάλληλον ἑκάστῃ, παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐβράβευσεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μέν, Πατὴρ θεολογεῖται καὶ προβολεύς, ὁ δέ, Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος, τὸ δέ, Πνεῦμα καὶ πρόβλημα, ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, τῶν *πρός τι* λέγεται εἶναι, τὰ δὲ *πρός τι*, ἀνάγκην ἔχει συνεισφέρειν ἄλληλα, ὥς γε δὴ καὶ συναναιρεῖν, τὸν Υἱόν, ἢ μὲν Υἱὸν *προσεχῶς* ἔφησεν *ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*, ἀμέσως ἅτε συνεισαγόμενον τῷ Πατρί, ἢ δὲ Λόγον, συνεπινοούμενον εὐθὺς κεκτημένον τὸ Πνεῦμα, *δι' αὐτοῦ* φησι *καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ* ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ καταλαμβάνεται καὶ τοῦτο ἐκπορευτῶς, ὥσπερ δὴ κατὰ γέννησιν ἐκεῖνος, τὴν ὕπαρξιν αὐχοῦν *ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*, *προσεχῶς* μέντοι γε, καὶ αὐτὸ διὰ τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἀνάγκην τῶν *πρός τι*, τῶν ὀνομάτων, εἰς τὸν
M 219r προβολέα μεταπεσόντων δήπουθεν καὶ τὸ ‖ πρόβλημα, ὡς ἡ θεολόγος διδάσκει φωνή· *ὅτι ὁ μέν, γεννήτωρ καὶ προβολεύς· τῶν δέ, τὸ μέν, γέννημα, τὸ δέ, πρόβλημα*. Οἷς μὲν γάρ, *ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*, τὸν Υἱὸν ἔφησε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὴν αἰτίαν νοεῖν δίδωσι, μετὰ τοῦ

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**22** et **30.** πρός τι] cf. Arist., *Categoriae,* vii.6a37-8b24 — **24.** προσεχῶς-πρώτου] Greg. Nyss., *Ablab.,* p. 56.5 — **26.** δι'-μετ' αὐτοῦ] vide supra § **4**.41-42 — **29.** ἐκ-προσεχῶς] vide supra § **4**.62 — **32-33.** ὅτι-πρόβλημα] Greg. Naz., *De filio,* 3 § 2.13-15, p. 130; cf. Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Trinit.,* col. 1605.11-13 — **33.** ἐκ-πρώτου] vide supra § **4**.62-63

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**17.** ἀλλά γε] ἀλλ' ἄγε W — **19.** ἥνωσε C — ἑκάστη G — **20.** θεολογεῖται] καλεῖται et sscr. θεολογεῖται C — **23.** συναναιρεῖν] συναιρεῖν GL — **25.** συνεισαγόμενον] post cor. (ex συναγόμενον) et scr. σϋνεισαγόμ(ενον) in marg. G: συναγόμενον W — **26.** φησὶ BG — **29.** αὐχῶν G — πρῶτου L — **31.** μεταπεσόντων] μετὰ πεσώντων post cor. ex (μετὰ πεσὸν) D — **32.** γενήτωρ W — **33.** γένημα W — γὰρ] om. ACLZ — **34.** τὴν αἰτίαν] τ(ὴν) αἰτί(αν) post cor. (ex τὸ αἰτί(αν)) B — δίδωσι] δίδωσ(ιν) D — post μετὰ τοῦ scr. et del. πρω per πρῶτου L

τρόπου δηλαδὴ τῆς οἰκείας ἑκατέρων ὑπάρξεως, εἰ καὶ μὴ διαρρήδην προσκεῖσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς λέξεσιν, ἡ στενοχωρία τῆς φράσεως συνεχώρησεν· οἷς δέ, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὴν ἔκλαμψιν καὶ φανέρωσιν, καὶ ὅσα γε ὁμοίως τοιαῦτα διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγεται, παρ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς θεολόγοις, οὐ τὸ ὑφεστάναι καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἔχειν δι' Υἱοῦ· ἄπαγε τῆς ἀτόπου ταύτης ἐννοίας καὶ σφαλερᾶς! Τὸ τοίνυν ζωαρχικὸν Πνεῦμα καὶ ὑπερούσιον, *ἐκπορεύεται* μὲν ἐκ *τοῦ Πατρὸς* ἀρρήτως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνήν, ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ἅμα τῷ τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτὸν γεννηθῆναι ἀχρόνως καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν· πρόεισι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φυσικῶς τε καὶ προαιωνίως, καθάπερ διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος τὸ φῶς· τούτων γὰρ *οὐδετέρῳ παρὰ θατέρου* πέφυκεν οὐδεμία πρὸς οὐσίωσιν ὕπαρξις, *ἀλλὰ* πηγὴν καὶ αἰτίαν τοῦ εἶναι, ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν φυσικὴν πλουτεῖ καὶ ἄμφω ταῦτα τὸν ἥλιον. Αἰσθητοῖς δὲ παραδείγμασι χρώμεθα, οὐ ταῖς εἰκόσι τῶν κάτω, μετρεῖν τολμῶντες τὰ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν, ἀλλ' ἕν τι τῶν ἐν τούτοις θεωρουμένων ἀπολαβόντες πρὸς ἀμυδρὰν τῶν ἀοράτων κατάληψιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ *τὰ ἀόρατα* τοῦ Θεοῦ, *τοῖς ποιήμασι*

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**41-43.** Τὸ τοίνυν-αἰτίαν] cf. Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 290.31-34 — **46-49.** καθάπερ-ἥλιον] cf. *Epist.*, p. 34.18-21

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**37-39.** διὰ-Πνεῦμα] vide supra § **4**.Tit. — **42-43.** ἐκπορεύεται-Πατρὸς] cf. Ioh. 15:26 — **42-43.** οὐδετέρῳ παρὰ θατέρου] cf. Phot., *Epist.*, p. 130.197; Ioh. Beccum, *Pace*, p. 451.11 — **52-53.** τὰ ἀόρατα-καθορᾶται] Rom. 1:20

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**36.** προκεῖσθαι A — **37.** φράσεως] φύσεως A — **37-39.** τὴν ἔκλαμψιν-πνεῦμα] om. L — **38.** *γε ὁμοίως* in ras. M — **43.** ἔσχε] ἔχει Z — **45.** ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν G: ὑπερέννοιαν BDMO — τε] om. Z — τὲ καὶ G — **46.** δια B — τὸ ras. G — scr. in marg. τὸ φ(ῶς) G — οὐδὲ τέρω G: οὐδ' ἑτέρω BDMOVW — **47.** οὐδὲ μία BDGOW — **48.** ἀρχὴν] ἀρχικ(ὴν) B — πλουτεῖν G — **50.** μετρῆν τολμῶντες D: τολμῶντες μετρεῖν Z — ὑπερ ἔνοιαν D — ἀλλ' ἕν τοι G: ἀλλ' ἔν τι BZ

*νοούμενα καθορᾶται* κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τὰ λοιπὰ χαίρειν ἐῶμεν, ἅτε τῆς ἀκηράτου φύσεως ἐκείνης, ἀπείρως διεστηκότα· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Νύσσης μέγας Γρηγόριος, *οὐκ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τῇ εἰκόνι δουλεύοντας, δοῦναι τοῖς συκοφάνταις λαβὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος, ἀτονίᾳ· οὐχὶ ἀκτῖνα ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου νοήσομεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγεννήτου ἡλίου, ἄλλον ἥλιον* τὸν Υἱόν, *ὁμοῦ τῇ τοῦ πρώτου ἐπινοίᾳ*, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἀνωτέρω προείρηται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ φανεροῦσθαι λέγεται διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐκλάμπειν, καὶ πεφηνέναι, καὶ ἥκειν, καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ δίδοσθαι οἷς ἄξιον. Ταῦτα δὲ τὴν δωρεάν, οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν δηλοῖ τοῦ Πνεύματος· φιλεῖ γὰρ ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ θεία γραφή, Πνεῦμα ὁμωνύμως, καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καλεῖν, καὶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος. Καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς δείκνυσιν ὁ θεῖος
M 219v Χρυσόστομος, *ἐὰν ἀκούσης λέγων, ἀποστελῶ ὑμῖν ‖ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μὴ τὴν θεότητα ἐκλάβῃς· θεότης γάρ, οὐκ ἀποστέλλεται· ὀνόματα γάρ εἰσι ταῦτα, τὴν ἐνέργειαν σημαίνοντα*. Καὶ μετ'

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**57-58.** οὐχὶ-ἐπινοίᾳ] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc*. (Orat. 2), col. 581.25-27 — **64-70.** Καὶ τοῦτο-λόγῳ] cf. *Epist.*, p. 13.15-28;

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**55-58.** οὐκ-ἐπινοίᾳ] Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eunom.*, § 533, p. 172.15-19 — **59.** προείρηται] vide supra § **4.**49-56 — **65-67.** ἐὰν-σημαίνοντα] Ps.-Ioh. Chrys., *Spir. Sanc.*, § 10, col. 825.56-60; cf. Barl. Calab., *Contra Latinos*, § 12.169-171, p. 318; Macar. Macr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, 6 § 95-98, p. 52; Georg. Schol., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Tract. II), p. 313.33-35

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**53.** καθοράται D — ἐῶμεν W — ἅτε] post cor. (ex. ἄτε) B — **53-54.** ἅτε-διεστηκότα] om. D — **54.** διεστηκότα ἀπείρως Z — ante Φησὶ scr. γρηγορ(ίου) νύσης in marg. ABCDLMOV: γρηγορ(ίου) νύσσης in marg. AW — **55.** νύσης μέγας BCDLMOV: νύσσης μέγας AGW: μέγ(ας) νύσσης Z — οὐκ ανάγκην Z — πᾶσα] post cor. ex. πασῃ B — **57.** ἀκτῖνα] post cor. ex. ἀκτίνα B: ἀκτίνα GZ — νοήσωμεν BGW — **57.** ἀλλ ἐξ ἀγεννήτου O: ἀλλ εξ ἀγεννήτου D: ἀλλ' εξ' ἀγενήτου W — **58.** πρώτου ἐπινοία] προσώπου ἐπινοία A — ἐπινοία] post cor. (ex ἐπ' εννοία) L — **59.** ἑξῆς GZ — **60.** τοῦ] om. Z — **61.** δίδοσθαι, καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι G — ante ταῦτα scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — **62.** δηλοῖ] δηλοῦσι Z — **63.** γραφὴ ABCDGLOVW: γραφῆ Z — **64.** post πνεύματος scr. et del. φιλεῖ γὰρ ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ θεία γραφὴ, πν(εῦμ)α ὁμωνύ-|μως, καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καλεῖν, κ(αὶ) τὴν χάριν τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς dittography O — **65.** ante Ἐὰν scr. χρ(υσοστόμου) in marg. ABCDMOVW: in textu G — ἀκούσ(ις) B — **66.** ἀποστέλεται L — **67.** ταῦτα] om. B — ἐνέργειαν] post cor. (ex ἐνεργείαν) D

ὀλίγα· *ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ, «πέμψω ὑμῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα» τὸ ἅγιον, τὴν δωρεὰν λέγει τοῦ Πνεύματος*. Ταῦτα δέ φησιν ἡ πολύστομος σάλπιγξ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος λόγῳ. Φυσικῶς γὰρ καὶ οὐσιωδῶς, προαιωνίως ὁ Υἱός, μόνον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ὁμοούσιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀμέλει θησαυρόν τινα ζῶντα καὶ ἔμφυτον τοῦτο πλουτῶν, ἀφθόνως τοῖς πιστοῖς τὰς ποικίλας τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς αὐτῷ χάριτας δίδωσι. Ταύτῃ τοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἔστιν οἷς τῶν πατέρων, καὶ παρ' οἷς αὐτῶν συγγράμμασιν εἴρηται, οὔτε διάστασίν τινα, καὶ περιγραφὴν μεταξὺ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος εἰσενεγκεῖν τῆς λέξεως ταυτησὶ βουλομένης —τὸ συνημμένον δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀχώριστον, καὶ ἀδιάστατον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ παναγίου κηρύξαι Πνεύματος—, οὔτε αὖθις αἰτίαν καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ προσάπτειν τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως, ὡς καὶ συναίτιον τῷ Πατρὶ τῆς τούτου ὑπάρξεως τὸν Υἱὸν ἀποφῆναι ξένῳ μεταλήψεως τρόπῳ τῆς *διὰ* ἐκληφθείσης ἀντὶ τῆς *ἐκ*, ἐπεὶ ἀφῃρεῖτο ἂν τὸν Πατέρα, τὸ *μόνον αἴτιον εἶναι καὶ μόνην πηγὴν τῆς θεότητος*· ἡ γὰρ *διὰ* ἀντὶ τῆς *ἐκ* παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ, ἐπὶ τῆς δημιουργίας μόνης λαμβάνεται,

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**80-89.** οὔτε-πεποίηκεν] cf. *Epist.*, p. 33.13-33

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**67-68.** ὅταν οὖν-Πνεύματος] Ps.-Ioh. Chrys., *Spir. Sanc.*, col. 826.22-27 — **68.** πέμψω-Πνεῦμα] Ioh. 15:26 — **83-84.** τὸ μόνον-θεότητος] vide infra § **6**.3

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**68.** λέγει BWZ — post πέμψω scr. et del. μεν per πέμψωμεν L — ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν L — **69.** φη(σιν) DOG: φησι B: φυσίν L — **71.** φυσικὸς G — post οὐσιωδῶς scr. κ(αὶ) B — μόνον] μένον BDOV — **72.** θησαυρόν τινα] post cor. (ex θησαυρὸν τινα) C: θησαυρὸν τινὰ A — **75.** post Πνεῦμα scr. καὶ Z — ἔστιν] post cor. (ex ἐστίν) O: ἐστίν V — **76.** συγγράμασιν AZ — **77.** μετὰξὺ B — παναγίου] ἁγίου G — **78.** λέξεως] λήξεως L — **79.** κηρύξαι] om. A — **82.** δια] δι L — **83.** ante ἐπεὶ scr. in marg. ση(μείωσαι) G — ἐπεὶ bis acc. W — ἂν τὸν] αὐτὸν LZ — **84.** post θεότητος alt. man. scr. ἄντικρϋς ἔοικας | ψευδῆ λέγων· τοῦ | θείου βασιλείου | φάσκοντος ἀδια-|φόρως ἐπὶ τῆς θεο-|λογ(ίας) δείν χρῆσθαι | ταῖς προθέσεσι ταύταις: in marg. L — ante ἡ γὰρ scr. δια et εκ in marg. G — **85.** τῇ θεία γραφὴ G

τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ ποιητικὸν σημαίνουσα αἴτιον, ὡς τὸ *ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, ἀντὶ τοῦ *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*· καὶ ὡς τό, *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*, ἀντὶ τοῦ *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Υἱός, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τὸ *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, ἀντὶ τοῦ *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* ἐκλάβοι τις, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰς κτίσμα τιθεὶς ἀλοίη τὴν τελειωτικὴν τῶν ὅλων τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δύναμιν; Οὕτως οὖν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν, εὐσεβεῖ διανοίᾳ, τῆς *διὰ ἔσθ'* ὅτε λεχθείσης, ὡς ἂν ἅμα μέν, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς αἰτίου, τὸ Πνεῦμα καλῶς ἐκπορεύεσθαι νοηθείη, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχει —τοῦ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπου ἐκεῖσε καλῶς φέροντος ὅθεν καὶ ἡ ὕπαρξις—, ἅμα δέ, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ προέρχεσθαι καὶ πεφηνέναι καὶ δίδοσθαι, καὶ ὅσα προείρηται.

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**86-87.** ἐκτησάμην-Θεοῦ] Athan. Alex., *Contra Arian.*, col. 156.18

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**86.** ἐκτησάμην] post cor. (ex ἐκτϊσάμην) B — **87.** ὡς] om. Z — **88.** ἐξαυτοῦ CM: ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **88-89.** μη όντων A: μὴ | όντ(ων) G — **90.** post Πνεύματος scr. et del. τὸ δε Z — ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ] ἀντὶ τοῦ τό τοῦ D: ἀντὶ τοῦ Z — ἐκλάβοι τίς BG — **91.** ἀλοίη AL — **92.** ἁγίου] om. Z — ἁγίοις] om. G — **93.** ἂν] om. B — **95.** τὸν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπον Z

**[5.1] Ἡ κατὰ τοῦ Βέκκου σύνοδος.**

Τῷ δέ γε δυσσεβεῖ καὶ γαύρῳ τῶν Λατίνων φρονήματι, πρόφασιν
M 220r τῆς λέξεως τῆσδε παρασχούσης κακίας οἱ τῶν ὀρθῶν ‖ δογμάτων ὑπερασπίζοντες, τὸ ὑφορμοῦν ἄτοπον διωσάμενοι, οὕτως ἀριδήλως φασί, τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγειν ἀποτολμῶντας, ὡς βλασφήμους ἡγούμεθα καὶ δυσσεβεῖς· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῶν εὐσεβῶν σύμπας ἀπεφήνατο σύλλογος, ἡνίκα τὴν μυρίαν ἐκείνην ὁ πονηρὸς κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπήγειρε λαίλαπα, ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας σχεδὸν γενεᾶς, ἐφ' ὅλοις χρόνοις ὀκτώ, καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτῇ τὸν ἔσχατον περιέστησε· καταδύσαι δέ, οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένετο, τῆς ἱερᾶς τῆς πίστεως ἀσφαλῶς ἐχομένην ἀγκύρας. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ γαλήνη αὖθις τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων βαθεῖα, καλὸν αὐτῇ ἐπεγέλασεν· ὅτι γὰρ κοινὸν ἀξίωμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπὶ θεολογίᾳ βεβοημένοις καὶ ἀναντίρρητον, τὸ μόνως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν ἢ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθεν ἐνίοτε, αὐτοὶ τῆς αὐτῶν διανοίας ἀξιόχρεω καὶ μάλα γενήσονται μάρτυρες, δι' ὧν αὖθις ὑποθήσομεν, θεσπεσίων αὐτῶν ῥήσεων.

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**[5.1] 6-7.** Ἡ-σύνοδος] scil. Concilium Blachernae (1285)

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**[5.1] Tit.** scr. ἡ κ(α)τὰ τοῦ βέκου σύνοδος in marg. G — φρονήματι] om. Z — **4.** φασὶ ACGLMWZ: φασίν DO: φασὶν BV — **10.** οὐχ' οἷός τε W — **11.** ἐχομένης Z — οὖν] om. G — **12.** post αὖθις add. ἡ Z — **14.** ἀναντίρρητας L — **15.** ἔχειν τῆς ὑπάρξεως per sscr. β' et α' Z — post ἅγιον scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. CG: alt. man. scr. ἐντέλοι μαρτυρίου in marg. C — **16** ἐπῆλθεν] ὑπῆλθεν V — **17.** ἀξιώχρεω L

**[6] Τίνες οἱ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγοντες, ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.**

Καὶ πρῶτος ὁ τὰ θεῖα παντὸς μᾶλλον βροντήσας, παρίτω μοι Διονύσιος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου ἐπώνυμος, ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡνωμένης καὶ διακεκριμένης θεολογίας κεφαλαίῳ λέγων· *μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος, ὁ Πατήρ*. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· *ὅτι μέν ἐστι πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τῆς θεογόνου θεότητος· εἰ οὕτω χρὴ φάναι βλαστοὶ θεόφυτοι, καὶ οἷον ἄνθη, καὶ ὑπερούσια φῶτα, πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων παρειλήφαμεν· ὅπως δὲ ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὔτε εἰπεῖν, οὔτε ἐννοῆσαι δυνατόν*. Ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς κατ' Εὐνομίου, *γεννᾷ* φησιν *ὁ Θεός, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· γεννᾷ δὲ ἀληθῶς· καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐκφαίνει λόγον οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον· ἐκφαίνει δὲ λόγον ἀληθῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκπέμπει Πνεῦμα διὰ στόματος, οὐχ οἷον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ στόμα Θεοῦ σωματικῶς· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐχ*

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**[6] 1-8.** Καὶ πρῶτος-δυνατόν] cf. *Epist.*, p. 40.13-32 — **3-7.** μόνη-φῶτα] cf. Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, col. 277.41-45 — **8-14** Ὁ δὲ-ἑτέρωθεν] cf. *Epist.*, p. 24.15-21 — **8-16.** Ὁ δὲ- Πατρός] cf. *Epist.*, p. 43.4-12 — **11-16** καὶ-Πατρός] cf. *Epist.*, p. 43.4-12

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**[6] 1-8.** Καὶ πρῶτος-δυνατόν] cf. Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), pp. 66.17-67.1 — **3-4.** μόνη-Πατήρ] Ps.-Dionys. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 2 § 5, p. 128.11-12 — **4-8.** ὅτι-δυνατόν] loc. cit., 2 § 7, p. 132.1-4 — **9-14.** γεννᾷ-ἑτέρωθεν] non Bas. Caes. sed Didym. Alex., *Adv. Eunom.*, PG, col. 736.17-23; Bonis, p. 248.3-7

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**[6] Tit.** scr. τίνες οἱ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ π(ατρ)(ὸ)ς λέγοντες ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον (τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α D) in textu AD : in marg. BCMOVW — **1.** ante Καὶ πρώτος scr. διονυσίου τοῦ ἀρεοπαγίτου in marg. BCMOV: in textu G — post Καὶ πρώτος scr. διονυσ(ίου) in marg. AW: in textu D — **1-2.** διονύσιος παρίτω μοι Z — **3.** διακεκριμένη D — λέγων κεφαλαίω Z — **4.** ὑπερρουσίου DO — ἔστι Z — **6.** φᾶναι DGMOVW — **7.** φῶτα] ταῦτα B — **8.** ταῦτα ἐστὶν G: ταῦτα ἔστιν Z — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ABCDGMOVW: in textu Z — **9.** γενᾶ W — φησὶν AG — οὐχ' ὡς W — **10.** γενᾶ W — γενηθὲν W — ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **10-11.** ἐκφαίνει...ἐκφαίνει] ἐμφαίνει...ἐμφαίνει G — ἐκφαίνει-αὐτοῦ] om. A — **11.** ἀνθρώπινον] post cor. (ex ἀνθρώπιον) Z — ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **13.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **13-14.** οὐχετέρωθεν D: οὐχ' ἑτέρωθεν GW

*ἑτέρωθεν*. Τὶ δέ σοι δοκεῖ σημαίνειν τὸ *οὐχ ἑτέρωθεν;* ἆρ' οὐ τὸ μὴ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ὑποστάσεως εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἢ ἐκ μόνης τῆς τοῦ Πατρός; Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λόγῳ, *αἱ προσκυνηταί* φησι *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, γινώσκονται καὶ πιστεύονται· ἐν Πατρὶ ἀνάρχῳ, ἀναιτίῳ, ἀγεννήτῳ, ἐν Υἱῷ*
M 220v *μονογενεῖ γεννηθέντι ἀρρήτως* ‖ *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὐ γεννητῶς, καθάπερ ὁ Υἱός, ἵνα μὴ δύο Υἱοὶ ἐν τῇ Τριάδι, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευομένῳ καθάπερ εἴρηται ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς ἀπὸ στόματος· πεφηνότι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις*. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Αὐγουστῖνος, ἐν βιβλίῳ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος· *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κυρίως ἐκπορεύεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός*. Καὶ μετά τινα· *ὁ Πατὴρ μόνος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ἄλλου· διατοῦτο μόνος προσαγορεύεται ἀγέννητος· ὁ Υἱὸς δέ, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγέννηται· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς κυρίως ἐκπορεύεται*. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Ἱερώνυμος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δάμασον ἐπιστολῇ, τὸ ἅγιον ἐκτιθέμενος σύμβολον,

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**16-23.** Ὁ δὲ-ἁγίοις] cf. *Epist.*, p. 24.30-25.1

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**14.** οὐχ ἑτέρωθεν] non Bas. Caes. sed Didym. Alex., *Adv. Eunom.*, PG, col. 736.22-23; Bonis, p. 248.7 — **17-23.** αἱ-ἁγίοις] non Cyrill. Alex., sed Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Contra Latinos*, col. 825.39-52 — **24-25.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-Πατρός] August. Hipp., *Trinit.*, xvii.29: '…procedit principaliter Spiritus sanctus nisi Deus Pater' p. 503.53-54 — **25-28.** ὁ Πατὴρ-ἐκπορεύεται] August. Hipp., *Trinit.*, xxvi.47: 'Pater enim solus non est de alio, ideo solus appellatur ingenitus … Filius autem de Patre natus est: et Spiritus sanctus de Patre principaliter, et ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit', pp. 528.110-529.115 — **23-31.** Ὁ δὲ-ἰδίως] cf. Sylv. Syrop., *Resip.*, p. 396.62-67

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**14.** ante Τὶ δέ scr. τίνες οἱ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς λέγοντες ἐκπορεύεσθαι τό πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον: in marg. V — Τί BDGMOV: Εἴ Z — οὐχ' ἑτέρωθεν G — οὐ τὸ] οὕτω Z — **15.** ἐξ' ἄλλης L — ὑποθέσεως] ὑποστάσεως ABDGOV — **16.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. κυρίλλ(ου) in marg. ABCDGMOWZ — **17.** προσκυνηταὶ φησὶ G: προσκυνηταὶ φησι Z — τρεῖς] post cor. (ex τρις) B — **18.** ἀγενήτω GW — ἐν²] κ(αὶ) ALZ: καὶ ἐν G — **19.** γενηθέντι W — ἐν] om. A — **20.** τῷ-Πατρὸς] om. A — γενητῶς W — **22.** ἀπο DLZ: ὑπὸ M — **23.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. in textu Z αὐγουστί(νου) scr. in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — Αὐγουστίνος A — **24.** πεντεκαιδεκάτω] ιε′ ABCDGLOZ — ante περὶ add. τῷ G: — **25.** ἐκπορεύεται κυρίως Z — ante Καὶ μετά scr. in textu G: τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) scr. in marg. ABCDMOVW: — **26.** ἐξ' ἄλλου L — διὰ τοῦτο GLZ — μόνως D — **27.** ἀγένητος GW — ὁ δὲ υἱὸς GV — γεγένηται WZ — **28.** ante Ὁ ἅγιος scr. in textu Z ἱερωνύμου scr. in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — δὲ] om. CMW

πιστεύομεν φησὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἰδίως. Ὁ δὲ ἐν ἁγίοις Νεῖλος, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λόγῳ, ἡ ἁγία φησὶ καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, τὸν μὲν Πατέρα δογματίζει ἀγέννητον· τὸν Υἱὸν γεννητὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός· τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκπορευτὸν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καὶ μετά τινα· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκ μόνου πρόεισι τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐ γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς. Καὶ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη πάντων συλλέγειν ἑξῆς τὰς φωνάς, αἳ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, ἐναργῶς κηρύττουσιν ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τελέως φρονεῖς ἀνήκεστα ὁ τῆς λατινικῆς κακοδοξίας μεταποιούμενος, μὴ δὲ καθάπαξ εἰς τοσόνδε βάραθρον ἀπολισθήσας κακίας, ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἠγάπησας, οὐδὲ σαυτὸν ἀνιμήσασθαι, ἢ γοῦν τοῖς *χεῖρα* βοηθὸν *ἐπορέγουσι* προτεῖναι τὴν δεξιάν. Ὅρα μοι τῆς Δαμασκοῦ τὸ περιφανὲς βλάστημα, τὸν θεῖον Ἰωάννην φημί, οἷα τῶν καλλίστων πάντων ἡγεμόνα, καὶ διαιτητὴν ἀκριβέστατον, τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων γενόμενον, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀμφιβολίαν μεθ' ὅσου περιαιροῦντα τοῦ κρείττονος, τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις

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**43-50.** Ὅρα-κατάλυσον] cf. *Epist.*, pp. 57.27-58.1

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**30-31.** πιστεύομεν-ἰδίως] Hieronym., *Ad Cyril.*: 'Credimus ... in Spiritum sanctum, qui de Patre procedit proprie', col. 182.13-25 — **32-35.** ἡ ἁγία-Υἱοῦ] locum non inveni; cf. Mich. Psell., *Omnif.*, § 10.2-4, pp. 20-21 — **35-37.** εἰ γὰρ-ἐκπορευτῶς] locum non inveni; cf. Mich. Psell., *Omnif.*, § 10.9-11, p. 21 — **42-43.** χεῖρα … ἐπορέγουσι] cf. Homerum, *Ilias*, 1.351, 15.371, 22.37, 24. 506; *Odyssea*, 9.527, 12.257, 17.366

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**31.** ἰδίως] om. Z — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. νείλου in marg. ACDGLMOVW — ἐν ἁγίοις] ἅγιος Z — **32.** καθολικῆ DGW — **33.** ἀγένητον W — τὸν δε υἱὸν BV: τὸν υἱὸν δὲ Z — γενητὸν W — **34.** τὸ (δὲ) πν(εῦμ)α GV: καὶ τὸ πν(εῦ)μα δὲ Z — **35.** post υἱοῦ scr. Καὶ μετά τινα: εἰ γ(ὰρ) κ(αὶ) τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγ(ιον) ἐκ μόνου πρόεισϊ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κ(αὶ) ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ: dittography G — ante Καὶ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDMOVW — **36.** γενητῶς W — **37.** ante Καὶ μακρὸν alt. man. scr. ὁταν τάς π(ατέ)ρων φωνάς τελειώσωμ(εν) in marg. C — μακρὸν] μακρὰν W — ἂν] om. Z — ἐξῆς GL — **39.** ante Εἰ δὲ scr. ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ in marg.G — μὴ δε M — **41.** τοσόν] τὸ σόν B: τόσον Z — δε] om. BZ — βαραθρον D — **44.** post βλάστημα scr. ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ in marg. L — **46.** μεθ' ὅσου] μεθόσου G: μεθ' ὅσον W — **47.** τῶν ἐν τὸν ἐν A

πατέρων, παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ διαιροῦντα καὶ συμβιβάζοντα. Καὶ παῦσον ὀψὲ γοῦν τὴν κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς διαμάχην καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἔνστασιν, καὶ τὴν ἐρεσχελίαν κατάλυσον· ἃ γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διενείμαντο, ταῦτα μόνος συλλήβδην, εἶπε καὶ ἐξηγήσατο, ἄριστα πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιθέτους στρεφόμενός τε καὶ ἁπαντῶν. Οὗτος τοίνυν καὶ *προβολέα* φησὶ *τοῦ ἐκφαντορικοῦ Πνεύματος* τὸν Πατέρα, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ *μόνον αἴτιον* ἐν τῇ
M 221r ‖ Τριάδι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κεφαλαίῳ διδάσκει. Καίτοι εἰ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγίνωσκεν, οὐκ ἂν διὰ τῆς *μόνος* φωνῆς, ἀφῃρεῖτο ταύτην τὰς λοιπὰς ὑποστάσεις· συμβαίνειν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ταῦτα οὐ δύναται. Ἐῶ τ' ἄλλα τοῦ θείου τούτου πατρός· εἰ γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίῳ προσεσχηκέναι τὸν νοῦν ἐθελήσειας, γνώσῃ σαφῶς, τὴν περὶ ταῦτα εὐθύτητα. Εὑρήσεις γὰρ αὐτόν, νῦν μὲν *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὐ γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς* λέγοντα· νῦν δὲ, *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ μεταδιδόμενον, καὶ μεταλαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως*· νῦν δέ, *Θεὸν ἕνα*

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**50-65.** ἃ γὰρ-κτίσεως] *Epist.*, p. 58.1-32 — **65-83.** νῦν δέ-Πνεύματος] *Epist.*, pp. 58.32-59.31

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**53-54.** προβολέα-αἴτιον] Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 12b.44, p. 36 — **57.** μόνος] vide supra § **6**.34 — **62-63.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-ἐκπορευτῶς] Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 8.114-115, p. 23 — **64-65.** ἐκ τοῦ-κτίσεως] loc. cit., § 8.182-183, p. 26 — **65-68.** Θεὸν-συναίρεσιν] loc. cit., § 8.260-262, p. 29

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**48.** διαιρῡντα sscr. ο W — **49.** διὰ μάχην B — **50.** κατάλυσιν G — **52-53.** τε καὶ] τε καὶ | καὶ W — **53.** ἁπαντῶν] παντ(ῶν) L — ante Οὗτος scr. ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ in marg. ACDMOVW — **56.** διδασκει L — **57.** μόνως Z — **58.** ταύτης A — **59.** τἄλλα BCDMO — **61.** γνώση BDGLOWZ: γνώσει A — **62.** αὐτῶν D — **63.** γενητῶς W — **65.** τῆς] om. A

τὴν Τριάδα, εἰς ἓν αἴτιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἀναφερομένων, οὐ συντιθεμένων, οὐδὲ συναλοιφομένων, κατὰ τὴν Σαβελλίου συναίρεσιν. Πρὸς τῷ τέλει δὲ τοῦ κεφαλαίου, τὸ πᾶν συνελόντα καὶ οὕτως ἀποφηνάμενον, καλὸν δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἅπαν ὡς ἔχει λέξεως ἐπελθεῖν· χρὴ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸν Πατέρα, οὐ λέγομεν ἔκ τινος· λέγομεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ Υἱοῦ Πατέρα· τὸν Υἱόν, οὐ λέγομεν αἴτιον, οὐδὲ Πατέρα· λέγομεν δὲ αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρός· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγομεν, καὶ Πνεῦμα Πατρὸς ὀνομάζομεν· ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν· «Πνεῦμα» δὲ «Υἱοῦ» ὀνομάζομεν· «εἴ τις» γὰρ «Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει» φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφανερῶσθαι, καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι ἡμῖν ὁμολογοῦμεν· «ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ καὶ εἶπε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον». Ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου μέν, ἥ τε ἀκτὶς καὶ ἡ ἔλλαμψις —αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πηγὴ τῆς τε ἀκτῖνος καὶ τῆς ἐλλάμψεως—, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀκτῖνος, ἡ ἔλλαμψις ἡμῖν μεταδίδοται, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ φωτίζουσα ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετεχομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν· τὸν δὲ Υἱόν, οὔτε τοῦ Πνεύματος λέγομεν, οὔτε μὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

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**68-83.** Πρὸς τῷ-Πνεύματος] cf. Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), p. 70.15-31 — **70-83.** χρὴ-Πνεύματος] Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 8.286-297, pp. 30-31 — **75.** Πνεῦμα-Υἱοῦ] cf. Gal. 4:6 — **75-76.** εἴ-ἔχει] Rom. 8:9 — **77-78.** ἐνεφύσησε-ἅγιον] Ioh. 20:22

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**66.** τὴν] om. D — **67.** συναλλοιφομ(έν)ων D: συναλειφομένων VZ — **69.** χωρεῖον A — ἅπαν] post cor. (ex ἄπαν) Z — **70.** απελθεῖν B — ante χρῆ scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. ABV: in textu Z — **71.** καὶ] om. GOV — post πατέρα scr. (καὶ) V — **73.** δὲ] om. G — ἐκ in ras. Z — **74.** πν(εῦμ)α π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς] πν(εῦμ)α υἱοῦ A — **74-75.** ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ-ονομάζομεν] om. A — **75.** ὀνομάζομεν] post cor. (ex ὀνο*νο*μάζομεν) νο cnc. (incl. in punc.) W — **76.** θεῖος] sscr. C: om. A — post ἀπόστολος add. οὗτος, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ· G — **77.** μεταδίδοσθαι] δίδοσθαι Z — ante ἐνεφύσησε scr. ἐνεφύσησε in marg. C — **79.** ἔλλαμψις] post cor. (ex ἔλαμψις et sscr. λ) Z: ἔλαμψις L — ἐστιν] om. Z — **80.** ἐλλάμψεως] post cor. (ex ἐλάμψεως et sscr. λ) L

**[7] Περὶ τῶν ῥήσεων, αἳ λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.**

«Ναί» φησιν, «ἀλλ' ἐχέτω ταύτῃ τὰ τῆς διά. Τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ τῶν ἐναργῶς λεγόντων τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ; Ὁ μέγας γὰρ Ἀθανάσιος, ἐν τῇ ἐκθέσει τῆς πίστεως, *ὁ Πατήρ* φησιν, *ἀπ' οὐδενός ἐστι ποιητός, οὔτε κτιστός, οὔτε γεννητός· ὁ Υἱός, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐστίν, οὐ ποιητός, οὐδὲ κτιστός, ἀλλὰ γεννητός· τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητόν, οὐδὲ*
M 221v *κτιστόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν*. Καὶ πάλιν· ‖ *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκπόρευμα ὂν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ φέροντος Υἱοῦ, δι' Υἱοῦ ἐπλήρωσε τὰ πάντα*». Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ὦ σοφώτατοι πρὸς τοὺς κατάγειν εἰς κτίσμα τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον φύσιν πειρωμένους τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀντιστήσας τὸν λόγον, ὁ περιφανὴς οὑτοσὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας πρόβολος, καὶ ὁμοούσιον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ δεῖξαι θέλων τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐ κτιστῆς φύσεως, *ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς* μὲν εἶπεν εἶναι τοῦτο *καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* —ἤτοι τῆς οὐσίας ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐχ

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**[7] 3-7.** ὁ Πατήρ-ἐκπορευτόν] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Symb.*, col. 1587.21-27 — **5-7.** τὸ-ἐκπορευτόν] cf. *Synodicon Ioh. Beccum*, p. 583.11-13 — **7-9.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-πάντα] Athan. Alex. apud Marcel. Ancyr., *Exp. fidei*, § 4.6, p. 56; cf. *Synodicon Ioh. Beccum*, p. 583.10-11 — **13-14.** ἀπὸ-Υἱοῦ] vide supra § **7**.4-5

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**[7] Tit.** scr. in textu A: περὶ τῶν ῥήσεων· αἳ λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγ(ιον) (τὸ ἅγιον) om. G (τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α BDMOVW) scr. in marg. BCGDLMOVW — **1.** ante Ναί φησιν sign. in marg. C — εἴπης A: εἴπεις G — **2.** ἐναργῶς] post cor. (ex ἐναρχῶς) L — ante Ὁ μέγας scr. ἀθανασ(ίου) in marg. ACDGLMOV — γὰρ] om. GW — **4.** ἐστὶ B: ἐστῖν GL — γεννητός] γενητός W: γεννητῶς G — **5.** μόνου] post cor. (ex μόνον) L: μόνον A — ἐστὶν ACGLOV: ἐστιν Z — ποιητὸς] post cor. (ex πεοιητος?) L — οὐδὲ] οὐ GZ — γεννητ(ῶς) G: γενητός W — ἀλλὰ γεννητὸς] om. A — **6.** οὐδὲ] οὐ GZ — **7.** post κτιστὸν add. οὐ γεννητὸν B — ἐκπορευτὸν ACGLMZ — ante Καὶ πάλιν scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ACDLMOV — *τὸ ἅγιον* in ras. Z — **8.** post πατρὸς add. ἀεὶ ἐν τ(οῖς) χερσὶ τοῦ πέμποντος π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς B — Υἱοῦ²] οὗ B — **9.** σοφότατοι L — **10.** ὑπερκόσμιον] post cor. (ex ὑπὲρ κόσμιον) D: ὑπὲρ κόσμιον Z — φύσιν] φήσιν L — **12.** πρόβολος] περίβολος et sscr. πρό (per πρόβολος) C — **14.** εἶναι] om. G — **14-15.** οὐχ' ἑτεροούσιον GW

ἑτεροούσιον— ἐκπορευτὸν δέ, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δηλαδή· οὐ γὰρ περὶ τούτου ζυγομαχεῖν εἶχέ τῳ τότε ἀνάγκην, ἅτε τῇ κοινῇ τῶν πιστῶν ἀρκεσθεὶς ὑπολήψει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀληθεῖ μαρτυρίᾳ, μὴ δὴ τὸ ἐκπορευτὸν εἰς ἄμφω τὸν Πατέρα ἑλκύσης καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, διὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιον νόησον, καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ποιητόν, ἢ κτιστόν. Τό γε μὴν *ἐκπορευτόν*, τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ σύναψον· οὕτῳ γὰρ ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις ἡμῖν τοῦ ἁγίου ῥήσεσιν, αἳ τὸν πατρικὸν καὶ ὑγιαίνοντα νοῦν σαφῶς παριστῶσι, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ τοῦδε πραγματείᾳ, διεσπαρμέναις, καὶ ταύτην καλῶς ἐφαρμόσας, ἴδοις ἂν κατάκρας ἐκείναις τῇ διανοίᾳ συμβαίνουσαν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὁ πολυόμματος νοῦς ἐκεῖνος, ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιλέλησται, ὡς τἀναντία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν γράφειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ φερόμενος ἀγνοεῖν, ἢ ἑκών, γνώμας ἐναντιωτάτας ἀλογίστως εἰσφέρειν ἐμηχανήσατο. Ὃ μὴ δ' ἂν εἷς νοῦ καὶ φρενῶν κύριος ὤν, εἵλετο πράξαι ποτέ. Τὸ δὲ *ἐκπόρευμα* εἶναι *τοῦ Πατρὸς* εἰπεῖν, *καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν αὐτῷ εἴρηται· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ταμάλιστα ἡ ἐκπόρευσις ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐσιώσεως ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ

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**20.** ἐκπορευτόν] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Quaest.*, col. 777.31; vide supra § **7**.7 — **30.** ἐκπόρευμα-Υἱοῦ] Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Synt.*, col. 1404.17; vide supra § **7**.8

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**15.** ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δὲ, ἐκπορευτ(ὸν) δηλαδὴ G — **16.** εἶχε τω τότε CDMOVW: εἶχε το τότε Z: εἶχε τῶ τότε ABGL — **17.** σωτῆρος] π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς A — μαρτυρία] post cor. (ex μάρτυρια) W — **18.** εἰς ἄμφω ἑλκύσης τὸν π(ατέ)ρα καὶ τὸν υί(ὸν) ALZ — υἱόν] post cor. (ex υἱὸν) D: υἱὸν ACGLMVWZ — **19.** post ἀπὸ add. τοῦ G — post καὶ add. τοῦ BV — νόησον] om. L — **21.** προ ἐκτεθείσαις BL: πρὸ ἐκτεθείσαις G — **22.** παριστῶσιν L παριστᾶσι B — **24.** ἐφαρμώσας Z — κατ' ἄκρας AGZ — **25.** νοῦς] om. L — **26.** ταναντία B: τ' ἀναντία W — τῶν] om. G — **28.** γνόμας Z — εἰσφέρειν] ἐκφέρειν W — ἐμηχανίσατο Z — **28-29.** ὃ μὴ D — **29.** εἵλετο ABDGLOZ — πρᾶξαι BDGMOV — πράξαι ποτὲ] om. Z — ποτὲ CDGL — **30.** post καὶ τοῦ scr. et del. ἁγί(ου) L — **31.** καθομωνυμίαν BDOW: καθ' ὡμονυμί(αν) G

λέγεται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ ἁπλῶς ἐκπόρευσις, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός· τὸ γὰρ *Πατὴρ* ὄνομα καὶ μόνον, τὴν γόνιμον ἀρχὴν δηλοῖ καὶ αἰτίαν θεότητος καθὸ καὶ *πηγαία θεότης* λέγεται· ἡ δέ γε *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, οὐχ ὕπαρξιν εὕρηται δηλοῦν, *ἀλλὰ* πρόεσιν, καὶ ἔκφανσιν, καὶ ἔκλαμψιν, καὶ ὅσα εἴρηται· οἷα γὰρ μόνον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ μόνως ἀληθῶς ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ μόνου Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται. Καὶ ταύτῃ θαρρῶν ὁ μέγας τῇ ἐννοίᾳ, καὶ τῷ πολλάκις ἤδη τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Πνεύματος αἰτίαν θεολογῆσαι, ὅτι
M 222r ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἕτερα ἐπείγεσθαι, κἀκεῖσε τὸν ‖ νοῦν ἔχειν, οὕτως ἁπλῶς εἴρηκεν, οὐδὲν μελῆσαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐνθάδε διαστολῆς.

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**35.** πηγαία θεότης] vide supra § **6**.4-5 — **35.** ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ] vide supra § **6**.74

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**33.** οὐχ ἡ] οὐχὶ G — **34.** γόνϋμον Z — **35.** ἡ] εἰ Z — **36.** ἔκφανσιν] post cor. (ex ἔκφασιν et sscr. ν) A: ἔκφασιν D — **37.** ἔκλαμψιν] ἔλλαμψιν WZ — γαρ B — **38.** μόνος DLZ — **39.** καὶ ταύτη] om. Z — θαρρὼν ABDLOW — **40.** θεολογήσας G — **41.** πρὸς] om. Z — κακεῖσε DO

**[8] Ὅσων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου, οἱ Λατῖνοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται.**

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ *ὄψις πόρνης ἐγένετό σοι* φησίν, ἀπηναισχύντησας πρὸς πάντας. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὀνείδη, τοῖς σεμνῶς βεβιωκόσι προστρίβονται, καὶ οὗτοι τὰς τῶν ἁγίων φωνὰς ὑποσύροντες, ὡς ἄν τινες ἱερόσυλοι, μᾶλλον δὲ βωμολόχοι, οἷα τοῖς ὀρθοῖς δόγμασιν ἀντιπίπτειν ἐμμελετῶντες ἀεί, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῆς σφετέρας πλάνης θηρᾶσθαι κακούργως τὰς ἀφορμάς, εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνυβρίζουσι τοὺς ἁγίους ἀνέδην· ὁ γὰρ ἑτέροις τὰς αἰτίας προσάπτων τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑγιᾶ πίστιν καινοτομίας, τὰς αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, ἀληθείας δικαζούσης, ὕβρεις ἐπ' ἐκείνους δήπου μεθίστησι. Καὶ πρόσκειται τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας πάσης ὕβρεως μᾶλλον, τῶν περιπλείστου ποιουμένων τὸ εὐσεβεῖν, καθαπτόμενον· ἐπιλαμβάνονται γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Κυρίλλου ἔστιν ὧν συγγραμμάτων, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν λεγόντων *οὐσιωδῶς*· φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς βασιλέα Θεοδόσιον περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως προσφωνητικῷ· *τὸν*

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**[8] 13-14.** τὸ Πνεῦμα-οὐσιωδῶς] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), col. 536.32-33

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**[8] 1.** ὄψις-σοι] Ier. 3:3 — **14.** οὐσιωδῶς**]** vide infra § **8**.24 — **15-20.** τὸν-αὐτοῦ] Cyrill. Alex., *Incarn.*, § 706, p. 274.1-6

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**[8] Tit.** scr. ὅσων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) κυρίλλ(ου) οἱ λατίνοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται in marg. CMOVW: in textu D — ὅψις GLZ — **2.** ὀνείδη] om. W — **3-4.** ὡς ἄν τινες B: ὡσάντινες A — **4.** βωμο|(….)λόχοι lac. (4 litt.) G — **5.** ἀντιπίπτην D: ἀντιπίπτει Z — **6.** θηράσαι W — **7.** ἐν ὑβρίζουσι G: ὑβρίζουσι ALZ — ἀναίδην GLWZ — **9.** δικαζούσας LZ — δήπου] om. G — **11.** περὶ πλείστου AGLMV — **12.** ante ἐπιλαμβάνονται scr. ὅσων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) κυρίλλ(ου) οἱ λατίνοι ἐπιλαμβάνοντ(αι) scr. in marg. BL: in textu A: scr. κυρίλλ(ου) in marg. ACDLMOVW — **14.** προς BDO

*ἄνδρα τὸν ὅσον οὔπω παρεσόμενον καὶ ὀφθησόμενον, αὐτὸν ἔφη βαπτίζειν ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις ἐνιέντα Πνεῦμα δουλοπρεπῶς καὶ ὑπουργικῶς· ἀλλ' ὡς Θεὸν κατὰ φύσιν μετ' ἐξουσίας τῆς ἀνωτάτω, τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ.* Ἑρμηνεύων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔνατον ἀναθεματισμόν, φησίν· *ἄνθρωπος γεγονὼς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ἀπομεμένηκε, καὶ οὕτω Θεὸς πάντων, ὑπάρχων, ὅσα καὶ ὁ Πατήρ, δίχα μόνου τοῦ εἶναι Πατήρ· καὶ ἴδιον ἔχων τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐσιωδῶς ἐμπεφυκὸς αὐτῷ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.* Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω κατὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἵσταται ἀπονοίας, ὡς αἱ ὑπερφυεῖς αὗται τοῦ ἁγίου ῥήσεις, καὶ τὰ πλήρη σοφίας δόγματα. Δῆλον δέ, τῷ καὶ μικρὸν ἐπιστήσαντι· ὁ γὰρ τῶν ὀρθῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων μέγας ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀκράδαντος πρόβολος, διὰ μάχης ἦκων τῷ δυσσεβεῖ Νεστορίῳ, ἀκολάστῳ γλώττῃ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγοντι, καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ δυνάμει τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς ἐκείνας ποιοῦντα τερατουργίας, οὐκ εἶχεν ἄλλως τὴν τοῦ βδελυροῦ ἐκείνου παραπληξίαν, σώφρονι λογισμῷ, λῆρον ἀπελέγξαι σαφῆ· τὸν δὲ

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**20-24.** Ἑρμηνεύων-Πνεῦμα] cf. *Epist.*, pp. 48.33-49.7

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**21-24.** ἄνθρωπος-Πνεῦμα] Cyrill. Alex., *Expl.*, p. 23.20-22

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**16.** οὔπω] οὕτω L — ὀφθησόμ(εν)ον illeg. Z — ἔφη] εἶπε V: εἶπε ἔφη B — **17.** ἀλλότριον] post cor. (ex ἄλλο et sscr. τριον) L — **18.** ἐνιέντα] ἀνιέντα LZ — ὑπουργικῶς lac. M — **19.** καταφύσιν ABDG — τὸ] τὸν L — ἐξ' αὐτοῦ DW — **20.** ante Ἑρμηνεύων scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ACDLMOVW — Ἑρμηνεύων illeg. Z — ἔνατον] θ′ ACLZ: ἕνατον BG — **21.** ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὴς λόγος Z — **22.** ἀπομεμόνηκε B — πάντων] πάντα GMW — **23.** μόνου] μόνον Z — ante καὶ ἴδιον scr. alt. man. ὦ πόσας λήμμας οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀλλά καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς ψυχής πολύ μᾶλλον ἔχεις ὑπ' ἀμαθί(ας): in marg. L — ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **24.** ἐμπεφυκὼς L — **26.** τῶ καὶ] καὶ τῶ GZ: τῶ κατὰ A — **28.** διαμάχης GMOV — **29.** νεστο*ρίω* in ras. B — **31.** ἐκεῖνας D — **33.** σώφρονι] σύφρονι L

M 222v *Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, Θεὸν* εἶναι ‖ ἀληθῆ ἀποφήνασθαι, καὶ ὡς *οὐκ ἀλλότριόν* ἐστι τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ τὸ συμφυὲς αὐτοῦ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον, ἢ οὕτως ὀρθῶς πάνυ δογματίσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχει *οὐσιωδῶς* τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, *ἐξ αὐτοῦ* δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διδόμενον, τὸ φύσει προσὸν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ κατὰ μέθεξιν· οὐ γὰρ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν οὐσίωσιν ἐμφῆναι βουλόμενος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρόχυσιν καὶ μετάδοσιν. Ἄξιον τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντος Πνεύματος ἐξευρὼν μηχάνημα τοῦ ἀνάστατον θέσθαι τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας ὀχύρωμα, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Λατίνων τοῦτο εἰπών, ἔκτοπον καὶ σφαλερὰν διάνοιαν. Καὶ δῆλον ἐκεῖθεν· τοῦ γὰρ μακαρίου Θεοδωρήτου, διαφορὰν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκότος, καὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς λέξεως ἐπιλαβομένου καὶ εἰπόντος, *εἰ μὲν ὡς ὁμοφυὲς καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἔφη, συνομολογήσομεν, καὶ ὡς εὐσεβῆ δεξόμεθα τὴν φωνήν, εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ἢ δι' Υἱοῦ, τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, ὡς βλάσφημον καὶ δυσσεβὲς ἀπορρίψομεν*. Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν ὁ μέγας αὐτίκα Κύριλλος, τρανῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι·

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**45-50.** Καὶ δῆλον-ἀπορρίψομεν] cf. *Epist.*, p. 49.7-17 — **50-54.** Ὁμολογεῖ-ἐμφαίνων] cf. *Epist.*, p. 49.23-31

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**34-38**. Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, Θεὸν … οὐκ ἀλλότριόν … οὐσιωδῶς … ἐξ αὐτοῦ] cf. Cyrill. Alex., *Trinit.* (Dialog. 7), § 648, p. 192.23-25; cf. supra § **8**.17, 23-24, 29-30 — **47-50.** εἰ-ἀπορρίψομεν] Theod. Cyr., *Impugn.*, p. 134.10-12

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**36.** αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ BGV — **36.** ἢ] καὶ LZ — **38.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — φύσει] φύσιν Z — **39.** καταμέθεξιν BGLZ — καθυπόστασιν ODVBW — **42.** ἐξ εὑρὼν G — **45.** ἐκεῖθεν] om. LZ — γὰρ] om. B — θεοδωρίτου ABCDGMOVZ — **47.** ἐπιλαβομένου] ἐπιλαμβανομένου Z — καὶ τοῦ] τῷ υἱῷ, τοῦ δὲ B — συνωμολογήσομεν M: συνωμολογήσωμεν G: συνομολογήσωμεν W — ὁμολογήσομεν ἔφη Z — **49.** τὴν φωνὴν εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ἢ δι' Υἱοῦ] om. in textu et scr. in marg. Z — **50.** post βλάσφημον add. τοῦτο B — ἀπορρίψωμεν W — post μὲν add. γὰρ G — **50-51.** ὁ μέγας αὐτίκα] αὐτίκα ὁ μέγας B: αὐτίκα ὁ μέγας per sscr. β' et α' C

εἶναι δὲ προσεπάγει καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ *οὐκ ἀλλότριον*· καὶ διατοῦτο ἐξ αὐτοῦ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λέγομεν δίδοσθαι, τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐμφαίνων. Ὥστε τὸ λέγειν κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Κύριλλον, *τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν οὐσιωδῶς*, ὅσιόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀκίνδυνον· ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον —ὅπερ οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν τῶν τις ἁγίων εἰπεῖν τετόλμηκεν οὐδαμοῦ, τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σαφῶς ὂν ἀλλότριον παραδόσεως— καὶ ἄλλο τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν ἁπλῶς· τὸ μὲν γάρ, μόνῳ πρόσεστι τῷ Πατρί, τὸ δέ, καὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ὁμοῦ ὑποστάσεσι· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι τόδε τοῦ δεῖνος, κατ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαινόμενον λέγεται, ἢ κατὰ μόνην τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα· ὡς καὶ Ἰωάννην φαμέν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ὅτι πάντας ἔσχε τοκέας, καὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αἰτίους, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῶν ἐστιν οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως. Κατὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ σημαινόμενον οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες, τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔφησαν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐ μὴν κατὰ λόγον αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ αἴτιον, καὶ τὸ αἰτιατόν, καὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον, καὶ
M 223r τὸ γεννητὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευτόν, ‖ οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ὑποστάσεως

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**52.** οὐκ ἀλλότριον] vide supra § **8**.35 — **55.** οὐσιωδῶς] vide supra § **8**.24; **8**.37

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**52.** διὰ τοῦτο LZ — **52-53.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **55.** ὑπάρχειν] post cor. (ex ὑπάρχει et sscr. ν) C: ὑπάρχει BDGMOVW — ante ὅσιόν τε alt. man. scr. *παρισίαν ἐχόν πρός τι* in marg. A — **56.** ante ἄλλο scr. in marg. ση(μείωσαι) G — post Υἱοῦ add. ἤτοι τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ B — **57.** τὸ ἅγιον] om. ACLZ — **57-58.** τετόλμηκεν εἰπεῖν G — **59.** ἐκ] om. ACLZ — **60.** τῶ ABCDGLMOVW: τῷ Z — **61.** ὑποστάσεσιν GVW — τό²] τόν BDGMOVW — **62.** δῖνος Z — **63.** post οὐσίας add. εἶναι BV — **64.** οὐχ' ὅτι W: οὐχότι B — **65.** αὐτῆς] om. G — ἐστιν] sscr. et scr. in marg. G: ἐστίν B: ἐστὶν Z — **66.** τοῦτο] post cor. (ex τοῦτω) L — **68.** τὸ sscr. Z — ἀγένητον W — **69.** γενητὸν W

δηλωτικά· περὶ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν, οὐ ταῦτα οὐσία· ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ προϊέναι, καὶ προχεῖσθαι, καὶ προέρχεσθαι οὐσιωδῶς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἢ ἐπίσης ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, τῆς χορηγουμένης θείας χάριτος καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος εἰσὶ δηλωτικά, οὐ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ. Καὶ μάλιστα, εἰ μετὰ αἰτίας τινὸς αἱ λέξεις αὗται προφέρονται, ἤγουν τισί, καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦδε, ὡς ἔχει καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ θείου Ἰωάννου, *ἵλεων νέμοις ἡμῖν· Πνεῦμα μεταδοτικὸν ἀγαθότητος, ἐκ Πατρὸς διὰ σοῦ προερχόμενον*. Φυσικῶς δὲ εἴρηται καὶ οὐσιωδῶς, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν οὐ φυσικῶς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτοῦ μεταδιδόντων ἑτέροις, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων· *ἐπετίθεσαν γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστεύσαντας, καὶ ἐλάμβανον Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*· ὅπερ εἶχον αὐτοὶ κατὰ μέθεξιν καὶ δωρεάν· *δωρεὰν γάρ* φησιν *ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε*.

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**74-77.** Καὶ μάλιστα-προερχόμενον] cf. *Epist.,* p. 20. 17-26 — **76-77.** ἵλεων-προερχόμενον] cf. Niceph. Blem., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), col. 557.32-33 — **82.** δωρεὰν-δότε] cf. *Epist.,* p. 19.31-32

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**76-77.** ἵλεων-προερχόμενον] cf. Ioh. Damasc., *Παρακλητική*, ἦχος γ′, ᾠδὴ θ′, κανὼν Σταυροαναστάσιμος, p. 102 — **80-81.** ἐπετίθεσαν-ἅγιον] Act. 8:17 — **82.** δωρεὰν-δότε] Matth. 10:8

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**70.** γὰρ] μὲν Z — **71.** τοῦ] om. G — **73.** παναγίου] ἁγίου G — εἰσι Z — **74.** post εἰ add. καὶ LZ — **75.** αὗται B — προφέρονται] προσφέρονται GLZ — **76.** post Δαμασκηνοῦ add. κ(αὶ) D — **78.** ante Φυσικῶς scr. ἰω(άννου) τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ in marg. G — οὐσιωδῶσι L — **80.** post χεῖρας scr. et cnc. (incl. in punc.) αὐτ(ῶν) Z — **81.** post ἐλάμβανον add. τῶ Z — ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α Z — **82.** αὐτοὶ] om. ACLZ

**[9] Ὅπως οἱ ἅγιοι πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας παρεσύρησαν.**

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τὸ λατινικὸν ἐν αἰδοῖ τῇ μεγίστῃ μὴ αἰδούμενοι τίθεσθαι φρόνημα, καί τινας ἄλλους τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων οὕτως εὑρεῖν ἐκδεδωκότας προβάλλονται, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως, ἵστωσαν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ τοιοῦτοι, μακρὰν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποβεβουκολημένους. Ἀπαιδεύτως γὰρ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀκούοντες, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν εἰς μυρίους ἐμπίπτοντες *κρημνοὺς ἀπωλείας*. Τῶν γὰρ ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ βεβοημένων πατέρων ἔνιοι, ὅσα καὶ οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἄριστοι, πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῶν νοσημάτων ἐκθύμως ἱστάμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος ἀναφυομένην τῆς αἱρέσεως βλάστην αὐταῖς ῥίζαις ἐξελεῖν μηχανώμενοι, πρόνοιαν οὐκ ἔσχον, εἴ τι που καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας περαιτέρω τοῖς ἑαυτῶν λόγοις ἐντάξειαν, ἐκ περιουσίας τὴν κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου μόνην κινουμένην αἵρεσιν περιελεῖν, σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ χρησάμενοι. Ἀλλ' οὐ νόμος ἐκκλησίας τὸ σπάνιον, οὐδὲ τὰ ἑνός που τυχὸν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τί γράψαντος, τῶν δέ γε πλειόνων πατέρων, ἵνα μὴ λέγω συμπάντων

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**[9] 6-7.** κρημνοὺς ἀπωλείας] Phot., *Hom.*, p. 176.13

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**[9] Tit.** ὅπως οἱ ἅγιοι πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας παρεσύρησαν scr. in marg. CDLMOVW: in textu A — **1.** ἐν αἰδῶ L: ἐναιδοῖ G — μεγίστῃ] πάσῃ et sscr. μεγίστῃ C — **2.** τίθεσθαι] om. W — **7.** ἀπωλείας] ἀσεβείας BDOV — βεβοημένων] om. A — **8.** κατεπεῖγον] κατεπεῖ W — **10.** βλάστην] βλάβην AV — **12.** περιουσίας] περι οὐσίας Z — μόνην] μονὴν B — **13.** αἵρεσιν B

καὶ κοινῇ συμφωνησάντων, ἐλευθέρᾳ καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ γλώττῃ νικᾶν προσήκει τὰ δόγματα. Τῆς μέντοι γε περὶ τὸ ὀρθὸν τοῦ λόγου ταυτησὶ τῶν πατέρων —πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι εὐπρεπῶς;— ἐκπτώσεως, ἢ περιπετείας, ἢ ἐπηρείας, τὰς ἀποδείξεις παρασχεῖν, οὐ πολλοῦ πόνου. Ὁ θαυματουργὸς καὶ μέγας Γρηγόριος, ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀληθινῶν δογμάτων χρησμούς, ἄνωθεν κατενεχθέντας αὐτῷ δεξάμενος ‖ ἐναργῶς, πρός τινα Γελιανὸν περὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πολυθεΐαν ἐπτοημένον, τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκτιθέμενος πίστεως, τὸν *Πατέρα* εἶπε καὶ τὸν *Υἱόν*, *ἐπινοίᾳ μὲν εἶναι δύο, ὑποστάσει δὲ ἕν*. Ὅ γε μὴν μέγας Βασίλειος, τὴν φαινομένην σοφῶς διορθούμενος ἀτοπίαν, καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου σκοπὸν δεικνύς, *τοῦτο* φησίν *οὐ δογματικῶς εἴρηται τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγωνιστικῶς· καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν συνιδεῖν, οἱ ἐπὶ λεπτότητι φρενῶν ἑαυτοὺς μακαρίζοντες*, ὅτι *τὸν Ἕλληνα πείθων, οὐχ ἡγεῖτο χρῆναι ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τὰ ῥήματα· ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ὅπῃ καὶ συνδιδόναι τῷ ἔθει τοῦ ἐναγομένου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀντιτείνῃ πρὸς τὰ καίρια*. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀκριβὴς λόγος καὶ μάλα τῷδε προσήκων τῷ δόγματι, ὃν ὁ μέγας ᾐνίξατο Βασίλειος, οὗτος γε πάντως, ὅτι τὰ *μὲν κοινὰ* τῆς

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**24.** Πατέρα-ἕν] Greg. Thaum., *De fide*, § 5.10-11, p. 195 — **26-29.** τοῦτο-μακαρίζοντες] loc. cit., § 5.11-14, p. 195 — **29-31.** τὸν-καίρια] loc. cit., § 5.16-19, p. 195 — **33-34.** μὲν-θεωρεῖται] cf. Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 8.240, p. 28

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**16.** κοινὴ W — **17.** Τῆς] Τοὺς A — **19.** ἐπειρείας Z — **20.** ante Ὁ θαυματουργὸς scr. γρηγ(ο)ρ(ίου) τοῦ θαυματ(ουρ)γ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVWZ — **22.** περὶ] πρὸς G — **24.** ἓν GZ — **25.** ante Ὅ γε scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. BCGLMOVW — διορθούμενος] post cor. (ex διορούμενος) W — **26.** τοῦτο] οὕτω G — **27.** δογματ(ικός) G — ἀγωνιστικῶς] post cor. (ex ἀγονιστικῶς) L — **28.** ἠδυνήθησαν GLWZ — συνειδεῖν Z — ἐπι λεπτότητι DGZ — φρενῶν] post cor. (ex φρενών) D — **29.** ἕλληνα πείθων] ἕλλην ἀπείθων L — **31.** ἔθει τοῦ] om. ALZ — Ἦν] ἦν vel ἰῶ per ἴω(άννης) vel κ(υρίο)υ sscr. ᾽ν L — **32.** λόγος] om. W — **33.** post μέγας scr. et del. βασιλ(είου) C — ᾐνίξατο BDGOWZ: ᾐνοίξατο A — post πάντως scr. ση(μείωσαι) τά τε ἐπίνοια κ(αὶ) πράγματα θεωρούμ(εν)α ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) ἁγί(ας) τριάδ(ος) in marg. B

ἁγίας Τριάδος, *πράγματι θεωρεῖται* —ἡ μία δηλαδὴ θεότης, καὶ φύσις, καὶ *ἐξουσία*, καὶ *δύναμις*, καὶ *θέλησις*, καὶ *ἐνέργεια*—, ἡ δέ γε τῶν ὑποστάσεων *διαίρεσις*, *ἐπινοίᾳ μόνῃ* νοεῖται ψιλῇ· οὐ προσωπικὴν τολμῶσι περιγραφὴν ἐννοῆσαι, οὐδέ γε *τοπικὴν διάστασιν*, οὔτέ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἀφοριστικῶν ἰδιοτήτων, πλὴν πατρότητος καὶ υἱότητος καὶ ἐκπορεύσεως, διὰ τὸ ὑπερφυὲς ὁμοίως καὶ ὑπερούσιον τῆς τε διαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς συναφείας, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν κτισμάτων ἐναντίως πέφυκε θεωρεῖσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν αὐτῶν, ἐπινοίᾳ καταλαμβάνεται —οἷον, ἡ ἀγγελότης τυχόν, ἢ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, ἢ ἄλλό τι τοιόνδε—, *ἡ* δὲ *τῶν ὑποστάσεων διαίρεσις*, *πράγματι* διαγινώσκεται, τοῦ τε Μιχαὴλ καὶ τοῦ Γαβριήλ, καὶ *Πέτρου* καὶ *Παύλου*, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοίως φύσεων. Ὁ τοίνυν ἅγιος, ἢ παρὰ τὸ μὴ βεβουλῆσθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λόγον καθαρῶς ἀναπτύξαι, τῆς ἀσθενείας τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μὴ προσιεμένης, τῶν δογμάτων τέως τὰ τελεώτερα, οὕτως εἴρηκεν, ἀποστολικῷ οἶμαι ζήλῳ, τοῦ τοῖς πᾶσι γινομένου τὰ πάντα, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας κερδάνῃ, ἢ νόμῳ ἀρχαίῳ, τὴν φύσιν ὑπόστασιν, προσηγόρευκεν —ἡ γὰρ ὑπόστασις, διπλῆν εὕρηται τὴν

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**35-38.** ἐξουσία-διάστασιν] cf. Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 8.244-253, pp. 28-29 — **43-45.** ἡ δὲ-Παύλου] cf. loc. cit., § 8.224-228, p. 28 — **46.** Ὁ τοίνυν ἅγιος] scil. Greg. Thaum., cf. supra § **9**.20

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**36.** μόνῃ] μόνου post cor. (ex μόνῃ?) G — **42.** γαρ G — **43.** ἀγελότης V — τοιόνδε] τοιόντε D — ἡ[2]] post cor. (ex οἱ) G — **49.** — γινομένου] γενομένου Z — **51.** προσηγόρευσεν et sscr. κ (per προσηγόρευκεν) C: προσηγόρευμεν L — ante ἡ γὰρ scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — διπλῆν] post cor. (ex διπλ(ὴν)) B: διπλὴν GW: δι(.)πλῆν lac. (1 lit.) Z

σημασίαν ἔχειν, ποτὲ μὲν δηλοῦσα τὴν ἁπλῶς ὕπαρξιν, καθὸ σημαινόμενον ταὐτόν ἐστιν οὐσία καὶ ὑπόστασις, ὅθεν καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων, ὑποστάσεις αἱ φύσεις ἐκλήθησαν, ποτὲ δέ, τὴν ἰδιοϋπόστατον ὕπαρξιν, τὴν ἐξ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότων συνισταμένην, καὶ ἀριθμῷ διαφέρουσαν, καὶ
M 224r οὖσαν ὑπὸ τὸ εἶδος, ‖ ἣν δὴ καὶ ἄτομον φαμέν—, ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιεχομένου, δηλῶσας τὸ περιέχον, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ τὸ ὑφεστάναι, ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν ἵστασθαι λέγεται.

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**54-59.** πολλοῖς-λέγεται] cf. Cyrill. Hierosol., *Catech.*, § 24, col. 953.8-14: ‘ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν ἵστασθαι λέγεται. εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, εἷς κύριος ὁ μονογενὴς αὐτοῦ υἱός, ἓν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁ παράκλητος. καὶ αὔταρκες ἡμῖν ταῦτα εἰδέναι, φύσιν δὲ ἢ ὑπόστασιν μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. εἰ γὰρ ἦν γεγραμμένον, ἐλέγομεν· ὃ οὐ γέγραπται, μὴ τολμήσωμεν. αὔταρκες ἡμῖν εἰδέναι πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὅτι ἔστι πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.’

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**53.** ταυτὸν ἐστὶν Z — **55.** δὲ] om. Z — ἐξουσίας BGLZ — **56.** συμβεβηκότος GZ — **57.** οὖσαν Z — καὶ²] om. A: sscr. B — **58.** δηλώσας] sscr. ου (per δηλούσας) C: δηλούσας ALZ — περιέχων D — ἐπεὶ bis acc. W — **59.** ἵστασθαι om. W

**[10] Ὅθεν ἔσχον οἱ αἱρετικοί, τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν οἰκείων αἱρέσεων.**

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορμῆς ἀλόγου Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς δραξάμενος, συναλοιφὴν εἰσῆγε καὶ σύγχυσιν τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος, μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος δογματίζων τριώνυμον· τὸν αὐτόν, νῦν μέν, ὡς Πατέρα φαινόμενον, νῦν δέ, ὡς Υἱόν, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ ὡς ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅρα μοι τὸ θερμὸν τοῦ ζήλου καὶ ἀκάθεκτον, οἷ κακοῦ πρόεισι· τὴν γὰρ τῆς μεσότητος στάθμην ὑπερεκπίπτον, ἑτεροκλινεῖς ποιεῖται τὰς πλάστιγγας, πρὸς κακόν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων μεταπίπτον ἰσόρροπον, φυτοῦ διαστροφῆς τρόπον, ἐπὶ θάτερα πολὺ μετακλινομένου. Ὁ γοῦν πολὺς τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ζῆλον, μηδενὶ τοῦ ἴσου παραχωρῶν, ὁ τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας θρόνον κοσμήσας, ἱερόμαρτυς καὶ μέγας Διονύσιος, ἐν γειτόνων οὖσαν τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὁρῶν ταυτηνί, καὶ καταβραχὺ ταῖς τῶν κουφοτέρων ἐπιφυομένην ψυχαῖς, ἀντέστησεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ τῆς πλάνης φορᾷ, ὡς ἄν γε δήπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας προβεβλημένος, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἐπινοῶν διορθώσεως,

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**[10] Tit.** scr. ὅθεν ἔσχον οἱ αἱρετικοὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν οἰκείον αἱρέσεων in marg. CDLMOVW: in textu A — **1.** ante Ἀλλ' ὅμως scr. περὶ τοῦ Σαβελλίου in marg. BCDGMOVW: ση(μείωσαι) in marg. A — Ἀλλόμως D — Λίβυς] Λίβους Z: Λίβης W: om. G — δραξάμενος ὁ Σαβέλλιος G — **4.** ὡς²] om. L — **5.** ante Ἀλλὰ γὰρ scr. περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου ἀλεξανδρείας in marg. BCDMOVW — **6.** πρόεισι] πρό εἰσι G — **7.** ὑπερεκπίπτον] post cor. (ex ὑπερεκπίπτων) W — πλαστιγγας B — πλά-|στιγγας in ras. L — **8.** post πρὸς add. τὸ V — μεταπίπτων Z — **9.** διαστροφῆς] διατροφῆς B — **10.** ἀρετὴν ABDLMOWZ — **12.** ἱερομάρτυς GZ — **12-13.** ὁρῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν Z — **13.** ἐπιφυομένων B — **14.** ὡσάν AG

τέλος, ἰσχυροτέρας δεηθεὶς ἰατρείας, ταὐτὸν πέπονθεν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν τις, τοῖς σεσηπόσι τοῦ σώματος μέρεσι, βαθυτέραν τοῦ δέοντος ἐπενεγκὼν τὴν τομήν, μὴ δὲ τῆς ὑγιῶς ἐχούσης σαρκὸς ἀπόσχοιτο. Τῷ γὰρ δυσσεβεῖ Σαβελλίῳ, ἓν πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ὡς ἤδη μοι εἴρηται λέγοντι, οὗτος ἀπεναντίας ἐκείνῳ φερόμενος, οὐχ ὅπως ἄλλης ὑποστάσεως ἀντεπῆγεν εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλης φύσεως, ἢ ὁ Πατήρ. Ἐξ ὧν αὖθις λόγων, ἡ κατὰ διάμετρον ταύτης δὴ τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἀρείου λύσσα, μεγάλας ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμάς. Μάρτυς μοι καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα συμβεβηκότων, ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος· ἐρομένῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γρηγορίῳ, τῷ τῆς Νύσσης προέδρῳ, ὅπως ἔχει γνώμης περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας, *οὐ πάντα* φησὶ τὰ *τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου* δεχόμεθα, *ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἃ καὶ* τέλεον *παραγραφόμεθα· τῆς γὰρ* νῦν πολιτευομένης *Ἀνομοίου* φωνῆς, *αὐτός ἐστι* σχεδόν, *ὁ τὰ σπέρματα* καταβαλών. Ἐκτόπως γὰρ μαχόμενος Σαβελλίῳ τῷ Λίβυι, οὐ μόνον ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρας φύσεως εἴρηκε τὸν Υἱόν· τὸ δὲ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ παντελῶς εἰς κτίσιν κατήγαγεν, οἶμαι δέ, οὐκ ἐκ ‖ κακουργίας

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**25-26.** ἐρομένῳ-προέδρῳ] non ad Greg. Nyss. sed ad Maxim. Philosophum — **27-30.** οὐ *πάντα*-καταβαλών] cf. Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 9, § 2.3-7, p. 38

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**17.** εἰ] om. B — ἰᾳτρῶν L — τίς L: om. Z — **18.** τομήν] post cor. (ex τομὴν) W: τομὴν ADLZ — **20.** ἤδη] εἴδη A — **21.** ἀπενάντίας C — οὐχ' ὅπως BGLW — **22.** post καὶ add. τῆς A — **23.** ἐξ' ὧν W — καταδιάμετρον Z — **24.** λυσσα B — **25.** ante ἐρομένῳ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ACDGLMOVW — ἐρομένῳ] post cor. (ex ἐρωμένω) L — **26.** τῆς] om. B — νύσης BCDLO — ἔχει] ἔχη DG — **29.** ἀνομοίου] ὁμοίου A — **32.** εἴρηται κε per εἴρηκε (?) L — **33.** κτίσιν] κτίσμα LZ

ὁ ἄνθρωπος· πλὴν εἰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτο διέλαθε Διονύσιον, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε φυλακτέον, τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ σφάλματος. Αὐτοὶ δέ, τί σοι δοκοῦσιν οὗτοι, οἱ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβεῖς εὔθυνοι, ἡ διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐναρμόνιον ᾄδουσα τρίφθογγος λύρα; Ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ὑπερσόφως αὐτοῖς δογματισθέντων, ἔστιν ἃ πρὸς τὸ καταφρονεῖσθαι μετέστη καὶ τὴν *ἐξούλης δίκην* αὐτοῖς ἐλάχομεν; Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· εἰσὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ τούτων φωναί, γνώμῃ μὲν εὐσεβεῖ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τηνικαῦτα τούτοις ἐξευρημέναι. Ὅτι δὲ ἄρα τοῖς τὴν ἐναντίαν μὲν ἐκείνοις, ὁμότιμον δ' ὅμως ἀσπασαμένοις εἰσαῦθις δυσσέβειαν, κακῶς ἐξελήφθησαν, πάντῃ σεσίγηνται, εἰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας προτιθεμένων συγγραμμάτων, οἷς ἐμφέρονται, ἀκίνητοι παντάπασι μεμενήκεσαν. Ὁ γοῦν βδελυρὸς καὶ ἔκφρων Ἀπολινάριος, ὁ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Συρίᾳ Λαοδικείας θρόνου, πολλὴν καταχέας ὕβριν, νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμοιρεῖν, τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα Θεὸν Λόγον δογματίζων, σάρκα δὲ μόνην ἀνειληφέναι, *οὐ* δεῖν ἔλεγε *θεοφόρον* τὸν κυριακὸν ἀποκαλεῖν *ἄνθρωπον*, ἀλλὰ *Θεὸν σαρκοφόρον*. Ὁ τῆς θεολογίας τοίνυν ἐξ ἔργων ἐπώνυμος, τὴν

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**37.** τρίφθογγος λύρα] cf. Neoph. Encleis., *Παν. βίβλος,* § 14.218-219, p. 310 — **39.** ἐξούλης δίκην] Demosth., *In Midiam,* 91.5 — **49-51.** οὐ-σαρκοφόρον] cf. Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Sermo Annunt.*, col. 932.54-55; Greg. Naz., *Epist.* 102, § 18.6-7, p. 80; vide infra § **10**.54-55

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**35.** αὐτοὶ] post cor. (ex αὗτοι) L — **37-38.** ἆρ οὐχὶ B — **39.** μετέστη; G — ἐξούλης] ἐξούλην W — ἐλάχομεν, A — **40.** γάρ] post cor. ex γὰρ G: γὰρ Z — γνώμην AZ — **41.** εὐσεβῆ Z — ἐχθρῶς] ἐχθρος et sscr. (ῶς) G — **42.** τοῖς] post cor. (ex τὴν) L — τὴν] om. B — ἐκείνοις] ἐκείνος B — **43.** δ' ὅμως] post cor. (ex δ' ὥμως) Z — ἀσπαζομένοις ALZ — εἰς ‖ αὖθις W — **45.** ἐπιφέρονται Z — **46.** ante Ὁ γοῦν scr. πε(ρὶ) ἀπολιναρίου in marg. ABCDLMOVW: in textu Z: — ἔκφρων] post ἔκ scr. et del. φθε vel φω et deinde sscr. φρων L — **47.** θρόνω D — **48.** κατεχέας B — ἐν ἀν(θρωπ)ήσαντα W — **49.** οὐ δεῖν] οὐδὲν Z — **51.** ante Ὁ τῆς scr. γρηγ(ο)ρί(ου) τοῦ θεολόγου in marg. ABCGLMOVWZ — ἐξέργων AG

ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ χωρῶν, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Κληδόνιον ἐπιστολαῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐξαπάτην ἐπισχεῖν βουληθείς, πολλὴν ἀλογίαν καταγινώσκει τῶν οἰομένων *δεῖν προσκυνεῖν, μὴ ἄνθρωπον θεοφόρον, ἀλλὰ Θεόν σαρκοφόρον*. Ἡ δὲ Βασίλειος τῆς ἐκκλησίας στολή, ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν λόγῳ, *ἔδει* φησὶ *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὴν θεοφόρον ἐκείνην συστήσασθαι σάρκα*. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ὅπως θεοφόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χριστοφόρον ὠνόμασε· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οὐράνιον τὸ Χριστοῦ σῶμα λέγοντας, ἀπομαχόμενος, *τίς δὲ χρεία τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου* φησίν, *εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ φυράματος τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἔμελλεν ἡ χριστοφόρος σάρξ προσλαμβάνεσθαι;* Γρηγόριος δὲ ὁ Νύσσης, ἐν τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ κεφαλαίῳ, τοῦ κατηχητικοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου, *ἐπειδήπερ* φησίν, *οὐκ ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως, ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, συνεπαρθεὶς τῇ θεότητι*. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξελάβετο τὰς φωνὰς ταύτας, κατὰ τῶν ὀρθῶν περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου δογμάτων, τὸ μετ' ἐκείνους ἀναφυὲν τῆς ἀσεβείας
M 225r βλάστημα, ὁ λῆρος Νεστόριος, ‖ τοσοῦτον ἀπεβλήθησαν παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὸ ἀδοκίμως ἔχειν κατεψηφίσθησαν, ὅσον, οὐχ ὅτι

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**54-55**. δεῖν-σαρκοφόρον] Greg. Naz., *Epist.* 102, § 18.6-7, p. 80 — **56-57.** ἔδει-σάρκα] Ps.-Basil. Caes., *Generat.*, col. 1464.27-28 — **60-62.** τὶς-προσλαμβάνεσθαι] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 261, § 2.13-15, p. 117 — **63-65.** οὐκ-θεότητι] Greg. Nyss., *Catech.*, § 32, pp. 116.9-117.1

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**53.** ἐξ ἀπάτην DW — ἐπισχεῖν] ἐπιχεῖν B — **54.** δεῖν] δεῖ W — **55.** Θεόν] ἄν(θρωπ)ον Z — ante Ἡ δὲ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg.ABCDGLMOVZ — Ἡ δὲ] Ὁ δὲ BG — **58.** ante Ἐν δὲ scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. BCDLMOVW: in textu Z — οὐχ' ὅπως BGW — **60.** ἀπεχόμενος L — **62.** προλαμβάνεσθαι Z — νύσης BCDLMOV — ante Γρηγόριος scr. γρηγορ(ίου) νύσσ(ης) in textu Z: scr. in marg. AG: scr. τοῦ νύσης in marg. ACDMOV: scr. τοῦ νύσσης in marg. LW — τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ] λγ' ABCDGLO: γ' Z — **63.** κατηχιτικοῦ ODW — **66.** ante Ἐπεὶ scr. περὶ νεστορίου in textu Z: scr. in marg. ACDLMOVW — **68.** λῆρος] post cor. (ex κλῆρος) L — **69.** οὐχ' ὅτι BGW

γλώττῃ ταύτας προΐεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μήν, οὐδ' ἐννοεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅσιον εἶναι δεῖν ἔκρινε. Καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἔγγιστα· ὅ τε μέγας Κύριλλος, ἐν ἅπασι μικροῦ τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις περὶ τούτου διεξιών, καὶ τὸ τῆς Δαμασκοῦ κάλλιστον θρέμμα ὁ θεῖος Ἰωάννης, σφραγὶς ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι τῶν θεολόγων γενόμενος, τῷ, πολλοστὸς μέν, ἀπ' ἐκείνων εἶναι τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ δὲ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν γνώμῃ, εὐθὺς μετ' ἐκείνους, ἢ σὺν ἐκείνοις· ὁ θεομισὴς γάρ φησι *Νεστόριος, τὸν ἐκ Παρθένου τεχθέντα, θεοφόρον εἰπεῖν ἐφρυάξατο· ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ γένοιτο θεοφόρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ἢ ὅλως ἐννοῆσαι· ἀλλὰ Θεὸν σεσαρκωμένον*. Ἆρ' οὖν οὔ σοι δοκεῖ, τὰς τῶν πατέρων διαγράφειν φωνάς, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρωπολάτρου σκαιότητος; Οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ὁ χριστομάχος Νεστόριος, ὕλην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας, τὰς εἰρημένας τῶν διαληφθέντων πατέρων ῥήσεις εὑρόμενος, δύο φύσεις διῃρημένας καὶ ἰδιοϋποστάτους ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καθαπερεὶ ὀνειροπολῶν, ἐδογμάτιζε. Παρὸ καὶ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν ἀπεφλυάρει, ἑνωθέντα δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ταύτῃ τοι, οὐδὲ Θεοτόκον, τὸ τῆς θεότητος περιούσιον τέμενος, τὴν ἁγίαν Παρθένον λέγειν, ὧ τῆς μανίας, ὁ ἀλάστωρ ἠνείχετο, ἀλλὰ

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**76-79.** Νεστόριος-σεσαρκωμένον] Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 56.54-56, p. 135

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**70.** οὐδὲ G — ὅσιον] ἄξϊον G — **72.** μικροῦ] om. G — δεξιών DO — ante καὶ τὸ scr. ἰω(ανν)ου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ in marg. G: in textu Z: scr. τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ in marg. ACDGMOVW — **73.** σφραγίς V — ὡσάν τις D — **75.** δὲ] δὲ᾽ G — **76.** ἢ σὺν] ἴσην Z — φησι] om. Z — **79.** οὔ σοι] εἴ σοι A — διαγράφων A: διὰ γράφειν B — **80.** ἐπ ἀναιρέσει A: ἐπαναιρέσει G — τοῦ] om. G — σκαιότητος;] σκαιότητος: AL — ante Οὗτος scr. πε(ρὶ) νεστορίου in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — **81.** τοιγαροῦν] τοίνυν οὖν B — **82.** εὑράμενος ACLZ — **83.** καθαπερεὶ] καθάπερ B — **84.** αὐτὸν] post cor. (ex αὐτόν) L — **85.** κατασχέσιν L — **85-86.** ταύτητοι] post cor. (ex ταύτησοι) L — **86.** τὸ τῆς-τέμενος] om. W — **87.** post ἀλάστωρ scr. λέγειν Z — ἠνήχετο DMOW: ἠν εἴχετο B

Χριστοτόκον ἀνέδην ὠνόμαζε, κλῆσιν ἐξευρών, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς
90 *θεοτόκου* φωνῆς, καὶ ἀτιμία, τῆς πᾶσαν κάτω τιθείσης τιμήν. Τούτῳ τοίνυν προσβαλὼν ὁ πολὺς τὸν λόγον, καὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τῶν ἄλλων κατευμεγεθῶν, ὁ μέγας φημὶ Κύριλλος ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω διείληπται, καὶ μόνος, ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις, ὀρθοῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀντισχών, *μίαν φύσιν* ἐδογμάτισεν ἐπὶ *τοῦ Θεοῦ*
95 *Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην*, καλῶς ἄμφω καὶ ἑνώσας, καὶ διελών, τό τε ἓν πρόσωπον, καὶ τὰς δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου φύσεις. Τοῦτο δ' αὖ πάλιν, πρὸς ἀσέβειαν ἐπῆρε τὸν δυστυχῆ Εὐτυχῆ, πρὸς δέ, καὶ τὸν ὁμόφρονα τούτῳ Διόσκορον, ὃς πολὺν τὸν τῆς ἀσεβείας ἰόν, τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐναπηρεύξατο θρόνῳ· τὰς γὰρ δύο ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ
100 φύσεις οἱ κακίᾳ πάντας ἀπολιπόντες οὗτοι, εἰς μίαν συγκραθῆναι μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν ἐδογμάτιζον, ὡς συμβαίνειν ἐντεῦθεν, μὴ δ' αὐτὴν τὴν θεότητα, τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθημάτων ἠλευθερῶσθαι. Τίνας οὖν ἂν εἴη δίκαιος ὁ πολὺς τὴν σοφίαν Κύριλλος, δι' ὀργῆς
M 225v ποιήσασθαι ‖ μᾶλλον, τοὺς τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦ θεανθρώπου Λόγου,
105 εἰς μίαν συναιροῦντας τὲ καὶ συγχέοντας, ἢ τοὺς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ καὶ τῆς ὑπερουσίου Τριάδος, διαίρεσιν καὶ πολυαρχίαν εἰσάγοντας;

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**92-93.** ὡς καὶ-διείληπται] vide supra § **10**.71-72 — **94-95.** μίαν-σεσαρκωμένην] cf. Ps.-Cyrill. Alex., *Sanc. Trinit.*, § 19, col. 1160.13-24

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**89.** ἀναίδην GW: ἀναίδην et sscr. ε (per ἀνέδην) Z — ἐξ εὑρὼν G — ἐπαναιρέσει GL — **90.** τῆς] τ(ὴν) G — post τιμήν sign. sscr. V — **92.** κατευμεγεθὼν D — **94.** ἀντισχὼν ACDGMVWZ — τοῦ] sscr. Z — **95.** διελὼν ACDGLMWZ — τό τε] τότε ACGLZ — post τε sign. sscr. et scr. ἓν in marg. D — **96.** ante Τοῦτο scr. περὶ εὐτυχοῦς καὶ διοσκόρου in marg. ABCDGLMOVW: in textu Z — **97.** ἐπῆρε] ἀπῆρε A — **99.** post ἐπὶ add. τοῦ ACLZ — **100.** φύσεις] φύσης L — **102.** ἠλευθερῶσθαι B — **103.** ἂν] om. A — **104.** φύσεις] φύσης L — **105.** συναιροῦντας] συναιροστας vel συναιρ(οῦν)τας L

Καὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους γε συνιδεῖν ἔδει, οἷς ἀντιταττόμενος, οὕτω δεῖν ἔγνω τοῖς λόγοις χρήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστηρίκτους, τὰς τοῦ ἁγίου ῥήσεις στρεβλοῦν, *πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν*, Πέτρος ἂν εἶπεν ὁ μέγας· εἰ γὰρ εὐθύτητι γνώμης προσεῖχον τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, σχολῇ γ' ἂν ἦ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον *πρὸς ἑαυτὸν* εὕρισκον *στασιάζοντα*, ἐγγνωμένην ἐσχηκότα τὴν ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς συγγράμμασι, συμβαίνουσαν τῇ κοινῇ πίστει ὁμολογίαν ἢ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωρίμους, κατ' ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις κεχωρηκότας· τοὺς γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσους, μὴ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἴσους εἶναι, τίς ἂν εἴποι φρενὸς ὢν ὑγιοῦς; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρόνοιαν ἔσχον, μήποτε παραρρυῶσι, τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐκτοπισθέντες παρὰ τὸ μὴ *περισσοτέρως προσέχειν τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσι* κατὰ τὸ λόγιον. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἡ κακία μὴ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου διὰ πάντων ἐνδείκνυσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁπόση δύναμις διαστρέφειν, κἀκεῖθεν εὐπροσώπους πορίζεσθαι τὰς λαβάς· ἴδιον γὰρ οὐ πέφυκε πρόσωπον ἔχειν. Ἦ γὰρ ἂν πάντες αὐτὴν ἐξετρέποντο, ὡς ἔχει φύσεως φαινομένην, φύσει πεφυκότες ἐχθραίνειν αὐτῇ. Ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποσυλῶσα, διάφορα

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**109-110.** πρὸς-ἀπώλειαν] 2 Petr. 3:16 — **111-112.** πρὸς ἑαυτὸν … στασιάζοντα] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Perfect.*, p. 180.5-6; Phot., *Bibl.*, § 11b.17-18, p. 34 — **118-119.** περισσοτέρως-ἀκουσθεῖσι] Heb. 2:1

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**107.** οἷς] οἵο G — **110.** post εὐθύτητι add. καρδί(ας) ἢ Z — **111.** γεγραμμένον Z — **112.** εὕρησκον D — **115.** καταλλήλων ADGMO — **116.** καὶ] om. G — ἀλλήλοις ἀλλήλους GMW — ἴσους] om. B — **117.** παραρρυῶσι] post cor. (ex παρρυῶσι) V: παρρυῶσι DO: παραρυῶσι BW — **119.** μὴ τὰ] μετὰ A — **121.** διαστρέφειν] διατρέφειν B: περιστρέφειν G — **124.** αὐτὴν et sscr. ῆ (per αὐτῆ) Z — τῆς] sscr. Z

περιτίθησιν αὐτῇ προσωπεῖα καὶ ταύτῃ κατασοφιζομένῃ, τοὺς μὴ προσέχοντας, τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀρκύων ἐντὸς ὑποσύρει. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ τῶν χρυσίου λαμπροτέρων λόγων τοῦ θείου πατρὸς ἀπέσχετο Χρυσοστόμου· ὁ γὰρ μέγας ἐκεῖνος τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστήρ, τὴν τῶν Ὑδροπαραστατῶν αἵρεσιν, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξοστρακίσαι βουλόμενος, *ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος* εἶπε *τῆς ἀμπέλου, τὸ κυριακὸν εἶναι ποτήριον· τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον, οἶνον οὐχ' ὕδωρ γεννᾶν.* Ὅπερ τῇ δολερᾷ καὶ κακούργῳ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀρμενίων, πρόφασις ὑπῆρξε τοῦ μὴ καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ οἴνῳ παρακιρνᾶν, ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀναιμάκτῳ τελουμένῃ θυσίᾳ. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καὶ θαυμασίους τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ῥήσεις ἡγούμεθα, καὶ πάντων οὐχ ἥκιστα, τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν ἀτεχνῶς συμβαινούσας· εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τούτων
M 226[r] ‖ εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούειν, προσπταίετε ταῖς φωναῖς, καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου ὑμῖν αἴτιοι αὗται γίνονται. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε, οὐ διαγραψόμεθα ταύτας, ὡς δῆθεν εὐσεβῶς οὐκ ἐχούσας, τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑφορώμενοι κίνδυνον, οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰρηκότας ἐξοστρακίσομεν τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἁγίους

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**130-131.** ἐκ τοῦ-γεννᾶν] Ioh. Chrys., *Matth.* (Hom. 82), § 1, col. 740.10-12; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 297.2-3

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**125.**: περιτίθησι Z — αὐτῇ] om. Z: ἑαυτῇ BV — αὐτῇ] ἑαυτῇ post cor. (ex αὐτῇ) C — **126.** ἑαυτῆς] ἑαυτοῖς AGL — **127.** ἀπέσχετο] ἐπέσχετο W — **11.** ante Ὁ γὰρ scr. τοῦ χρυσοστόμου in marg. ABCDLMOV — **131.** εἶναι] εἶπε G — ποτήριον] πρότερον L — οἶνον] οἴνον (?) GO: οἷον L — οὐχ' ὕδωρ BGLW — **131-132.** τῇ δολερᾷ] post cor. (ex τὴ δολερᾷ) L — **132.** ἁρμενίων ACGLMWZ — **133.** οἴνῳ] post cor. (ex οἴκω) L — **134.** μὲν] sscr. et scr. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν in marg. G — θαυμασί(ας) Z — **135.** οὐχ' ἥκιστα BG: οὐχήκιστα DLV — **137.** ἀτεχνῶς] om. ACLZ — **138.** πρὸς πταίετε Z — πέτρα] om. ACGLMWZ — **139.** ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν BDMOVW — αἴτιοι] om. BDGMOVW — post γίνονται add. πρόφασις G — **141.** ὑφορώμενοι] ὑφορόμενοι Z: ὑφορώμενον L — **142.** ἐξοστρακίσωμεν BW

καθὰ θέμις τιμῶντες ἐσόμεθα, καὶ προσέξομεν ἐς ἀεὶ ὡς εὐσεβείας καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἡγεμόσι καὶ διδασκάλοις, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς αὐτῶν διανοίας ὁρῶντες, τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ὁδηγούμενοι, οὐδὲ τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν ἀθετήσομεν. Ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ὡς ἀνωτέρω μοι δέδεικται, διὰ πάντων τοῖς πατράσι φυλάσσοντες τὸ σεβάσμιον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτε καὶ ἑτέρους πατέρας οἱ Λατῖνοι προβάλλονται πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶν γράψαντας, Αὐγουστῖνον φημὶ καὶ Ἱερώνυμον καὶ ἑτέρους, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκείνων συλλέγειν, καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς τυφλώττουσι σκῶλα καὶ προσκόμματα λύειν καὶ διαρθροῦν. Ἀποχρῶν δὲ τούτοις, ἔστω ἀπόλογος, ὃν ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέξει ὁ σοφὸς ἐποιήσατο Φώτιος, ὁ καὶ πρῶτος φωράσας τὸ δυσσεβὲς αὐτῶν φρόνημα, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τωτηνικαῦτα ἰθύνων, ὡς ἢ νενοθεύκασιν, οἱ πνευματομάχοι τὰς τούτων συγγραφάς, ἢ καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωποι τῆς ἀκριβείας παρεσύρησαν, ὃ πολλοὶ πεπόνθασι τῶν πατέρων ἔν τισιν, ὡς ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας Διονύσιος, καὶ Μεθόδιος ὁ Πατάρων, καὶ Πάντενος, καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεύς, καὶ Πιέριος, καὶ Πάμφιλος, καὶ

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**143.** ἐς ἀεὶ] ἐσαεὶ CDMV: ἐσαεί BO — **146.** τὰς αὐτῶν φωνὰς per sscr. β′ et α′ G — ἀθετήσωμεν BDOW — **150.** φημὶ] φη(σὶ) B — **151.** ἐκείνων φωνὰς BV — **152.** προσκώματα Z — **153.** ante Ἀποχρῶν scr. φωτ(ίου) in marg. ABCDLMOVW — **155.** post ἐκκλησίαν add. τ(ῆς) A — **156.** τῶ τηνικαῦτα A: τὸ τηνικαῦτα Z — post τωτηνικαῦτα scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. A — νενοθεύμασιν A — ἢ πνευματομάχοι MW: et scr. ἴσως οἱ in marg. W — **157.** συγγραφὰς ACDLMWZ: post cor. (ex γραφ(ὰς)) et scr. συγγραφ(ὰς) in marg. G — **158.** ὃ] ὅτι Z — **160.** στρωματεὺς ACGLZ

Θεόγνωστος, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὁ Λουγδούνων· τινὰς γὰρ αὐτῶν ῥήσεις, οὐκ ἐδεξάμεθα, καίτοι τ' ἄλλα σφόδρα θαυμάσαντες· ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν, περὶ Παπίου τοῦ Ἱεραπόλεως, ὃς μαθητὴς ἦν Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, καὶ ἑτέρων, οἳ παρὰ τὸ πρέπον τινὰ
165 συνεγράψαντο. Ἔστωσαν τοίνυν αἱ ἀμφιβαλλόμεναι τῶν ἁγίων χρήσεις, ἐν τόποις ἐν οἷς ἐγράφησαν, καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, ἐχέτω κατὰ παντὸς δικαστηρίου, τὸ κῦρος, ἵνα μὴ εὑρεθῶμεν καὶ αὐτοί, ἄλλα μὲν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ὁμολογοῦντες, ἕτερα δέ, διϊσχυριζόμενοι συνιστάναι.

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**162.** τἄλλα BCOV — σφόδρα] sscr. G: om. Z — **164.** εὐαγγελιστοῦ] θεολόγου et scr. ἰω(άννου) εὐαγγελιστοῦ in marg. Z — **165.** αἱ] sscr. Z — **166.** χρήσεις] ῥήσεις AZ — ἐν τόποις ἐν] ἐνόποις ἐν A: ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐν G — ἐν²] om. Z

**[11]** ***Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος· ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται· ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς το Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμὲ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέ με.***

Προβάλλονται πολλάκις, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀποστολήν, καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λῆψιν, καὶ δόσιν τῷ ἐμφυσήματι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι *Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ*. Ἐκεῖνα τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς καὶ
M 226v δεσποτικῆς θεολογίας χρηματιζούσης οὐτωσί· ‖ *ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν*· καὶ αὖθις· *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν*· καὶ *ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*· τοῦτο τῆς ἀποστολικῆς μεγαλονοίας, φάσκοντος, *ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν*. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, σχέσεως εἰσὶν ἐμφαντικὰ καὶ οἰκειότητος, οὐκ ἐκπορεύσεως δηλωτικά· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἡ συμφυΐα δείκνυται, καὶ τὸ ὁμότιμον τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων· οὐ γὰρ πᾶν ὃ πέμπει τίς, ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχει, ὅπερ οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι, καθεστηκὸς ἔχων τὸ λογιζόμενον. Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπεσθαι δώσομεν,

**ABCDGLMOVWZ** (1-26)

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**[11] 8-11.** ἐξαπέστειλεν-ὑποστάσεων] cf. *Epist.*, p. 31.31-36

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**[11] Tit.** Ὅταν-Παράκλητος] Ioh. 15:26 — ἐκ-λήψεται] Ioh. 16:14 — ἐνεφύσησε-αὐτοῖς] Ioh. 20:22 — ἐξαπέστειλεν-αὐτοῦ] Gal. 4:6 — Πνεῦμα-με] Luc. 4:18 — **3.** Πνεῦμα-Υἱοῦ] Gal. 4:6 — **3-10.** Ἐκεῖνα-δηλωτικά] cf. Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), pp. 61.24-62.4; 63.14-17 — **4-5.** ὅταν δὲ-ὑμῖν] Ioh. 15:26 — **5-6.** ἐκ τοῦ-ὑμῖν] Ioh. 16:14 — **6-7.** καὶ ἐνεφύσησε-ἅγιον] Ioh. 20:22 — **8-9.** ἐξαπέστειλεν-ἡμῶν] Gal. 4:6

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**[11] Tit.** scr. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθη ὁ παράκλητος: ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται: ἐνεφύσησε κ(αὶ) λέγει αὐτοῖς λάβετε: ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τοῦ υ(ἱ)οῦ αὐτ(οῦ): πν(εῦμ)α κ(υρίο)υ ἐπ' ἐμὲ· οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέ με: in marg. BCDLMOVW — **2.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — ἐμφυσίματι B — **3.** πνεῦμα] παρὰ G — post υἱοῦ add. πέμπεσθαι G — **4.** χρηματιζούσης] post cor. (ex χρηματίζης) W — οὐτωσὶ ACGLV: οὐτωσὶν Z — **7.** ἀποστολικῆς] ἀπολικῆς Z — **8.** ἐξ ἀπέστειλεν W — **9.** οἰκειότητος] οἰκειώσεως (incl. in punc.) et sscr. ότητος per οἰκειότητος W — **9-10.** καὶ-δηλωτικά] om. L — **11.** τριῶν] om. G — post ὑποστάσεων scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — πᾶν] om. LZ — **12.** τὶς CWZ: τις A — **12-14.** ἔχει-ὕπαρξιν] om. L — ὅπερ-Υἱοῦ] om. et add. εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἔχειν τὴν ὑπαρξιν τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον ἔχειν Z — **13.** ἔχων] post cor. (ex ἔχον) C: ἔχον GMW — **14.** δόσωμεν W

οὐχ ἧττον δειχθήσεται, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ παρὰ τοῦτο· πέμπει γὰρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸν Υἱόν, ὡς ἐν τῷ, *Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέ με, εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέ με*· καὶ αὖθις· *Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ*. Ὥστε εἰ τὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἀντιστρέφει, οὐδὲν ἧττον καθ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὰ τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως. Τὸ δὲ *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται*, ἵνα μὴ μείζων αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα νομίσωσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, μεγάλα περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος, *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ* φησι *λήψεται* κλήρου, τοῦ ἐμοῦ πληρώματος, τῆς ἐμῆς γνώσεως, τοῦ κοινοῦ θελήματος. Καὶ σαφηνίζων τὸν λόγον ἐπήνεγκε· *πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐμά ἐστι*· καὶ ἐπειδήπερ ἐμὰ τὰ πατρικά, διατοῦτο *εἶπον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν*. Εἰ δὲ καὶ «ἐξ ἐμοῦ» ἦν εἰρηκώς, οὐδ' οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν εὐπρόσωπος τῇ πλάνῃ λαβή· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἀπό τινος οἱασοῦν χρείας χάριν, καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐσίωσιν ἐκπορεύεσθαι, εἰς ταὐτὸ τῇ διανοίᾳ συνάγεται. Τινὲς δὲ τὸ *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ*, ἀντὶ «τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πατρός», ἡρμηνεύκασι. *Λάβετε* δὲ *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον* εἰπών, ἓν τῶν τοῦ Πνεύματος χαρισμάτων τούτοις ἐδεδώκει, τὴν τοῦ λύειν φημὶ καὶ

**ABCDGLMOVWZ** (1-27)

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**32-33.** τοῦ λύειν-ἐξουσίαν] cf. *Epist.*, p. 4.3-4

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**17-18.** Πνεῦμα-ἀπέσταλκέ με] Is. 61:1 cf. Luc. 4:18 — **18-19.** Κύριος-αὐτοῦ] Is. 48:16 — **20-21** et **22-23.** ἐκ-λήψεται] Ioh. 16:14 — **24-25.** πάντα-ἐστι] Ioh. 16:15 — **24-30.** Καὶ σαφηνίζων-συνάγεται] cf. Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 1), p. 64.1-11 — **26.** εἶπον -ὑμῖν] Ioh. 16:14 — **31.** Λάβετε-ἅγιον] Ioh. 20:22 — **32-33.** τοῦ-ἐξουσίαν] cf. Matth. 16: 19, 18:18

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**16.** γὰρ] δὲ G: οὖν Z — **18.** κύριος] θ(εό)ς G — **19.** ὥστε] ὡς τε AL — ἀποστολ(.)ῆς lac. V — **20.** ἧττον B — **21.** μεῖζον ACLZ — **22.** μεγάλα] μεγάλου A — φησὶ BDZ — **23-24.** τῆς ἐμῆς-θελήματος] om. LZ — **25.** ἐμά] post cor. (ex ἐμὰ) Z: ἐμὰ W — ἐμὰ²] ἐμά A — **26.** ὅτι] om. AL — **27.** ἐξ' ἐμοῦ W — εὐπρόσωπος ὑπῆρχε AL — **28.** λαβὴ ACGL — ἀπὸ τινὸς M — **28-29.** χάριν χρεί(ας) G — **30.** ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ] om. B — **31.** δὲ] om. W — **32.** τούτοις] τούτοι et sscr. σ (per τούτοις) W — ἐδεδόκει et sscr. ω (per ἐδεδώκει) D: ἐδώκει et δε sscr. (per ἐδεδώκει) L

δεσμεῖν ἐξουσίαν· πνεύματα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τῇ γραφῇ καλεῖν φίλον, καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ κοινὰς εἶναι τῇ Τριάδι τὰς δωρεάς. Ἄλλως τε, καὶ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς μηδέπω ἐφεστηκυΐας, οὐδὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐσιωδῶς ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπιδεδημηκὸς ἦν· εἰς τεσσαρακοστὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν
M 227r ἐπήγγελται τούτοις, τὴν ἐξ ὕψους *λήψεσθαι* ‖ *δύναμιν*, ἐναργῶς καταπταμένου τοῦ Πνεύματος.

**ABCDGLMOVWZ** (1-27)

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**37-38.** εἰς τεσσαρακοστὴν-τούτοις] cf. Act. 1:3-4 — **38.** λήψεσθαι δύναμιν] Act. 1:8 — **38-39.** ἐναργῶς-Πνεύματος] cf. Act. 2:3

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**35.** μὴ δέ πω BO — **36.** ἐπιδεδημικὸς L — **39.** κατὰ πταμένου B

**[12]** ***Τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ.***

Ὁ δὲ μέγας Παῦλος, *τὸ Πνεῦμα* εἰπὼν *τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*, τὴν ὁμοφυΐαν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὗτος ἐδήλωσεν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον εἶναί τινος, ἤδη καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται, ἢ προβέβληται. Καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ γὰρ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, παρὰ πᾶσι τεθεολόγηται, ἀλλ' οὐ διατοῦτο καὶ γέννησιν αὐτῷ ἀναστρέψομεν. Καὶ *Πνεῦμα σοφίας* λέγεται, καὶ Πνεῦμα *συνέσεως*, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν χαρισμάτων αὐτοῦ, τὸ πανάγιον πρόεισι Πνεῦμα. Οὐκ εἴρηται δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵνα μὴ νομισθῇ τὸ Πνεῦμα Πατήρ, διὰ τὴν ἐπεισαγομένην σχέσιν τῶν *πρός τι*. Ἐπεί τοι γε καὶ τοῦτο καθ' ἑτέραν προσηγορίαν ἔσθ' ὅπῃ λέλεκται, τὴν δυναμένην ταῖς ὑπερουσίοις ὑποστάσεσι, τὸ ἀσύγχυτον καλῶς τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τηρῆσαι —φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόστολος, *καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ*—, *Πνεῦμα δὲ* λέγεσθαι *τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων λόγος, κἂν μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχῃ.

**ABCDGLMOVW**

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**[12] 3-9** Καὶ ὁ-πρός τι] cf. *Epist.*, p. 32.8-21

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**[12] Tit.** Τὴν-Θεοῦ] Eph. 6:17 — **1.** τὸ-αὐτοῦ] Gal. 4:6 — **5-6.** Πνεῦμα-συνέσεως] Exod. 31:3, 35:31; Is. 11:2 — **9.** πρός τι] vide supra § **5**.22 — **12** καὶ τὴν-Θεοῦ] Eph. 6:17 — **13.** Πνεῦμα-Υἱοῦ] Gal. 4:6

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**[12] Tit.** scr. τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα θ(εο)ῦ: in marg. CDLMOVW — **4.** διὰ τοῦτο GL — **9-10.** λέγεται ἔσθ' ὅπη G — **10.** ὑπερουσίαις ABL — ὑποστάσεσιν B — **11.** ἀσύγχητον A — **12.** ἐστι] εσθι B — **13.** post κωλύων add. ὁ B — **13-14.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W: ὑπ' αὐτοῦ et sscr. ἐξ (per ἐξ αὐτοῦ) C — **14.** ἔχει L

**[13]** ***Τεθέαμαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καταβαῖνον.***

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πῶς νοεῖς, τὸ βαπτιζομένου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, φάναι τὸν Ἰωάννην, ὅτι *τεθέαμαι τὸ Πνεῦμα, καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν*· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς φαίης μόνου προβεβλῆσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ἁλώσῃ τὸν ἕνα Χριστόν, διαιρῶν εἰς δύο κατὰ Νεστόριον, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἴπῃς καταβαῖνον τὸ Πνεῦμα, *ἐπὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ μένειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι, τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας διδάσκει μυστήριον.

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**[13] 1-7.** Ἐκεῖνο-ἀνθρώπου] cf. *Epist.*, p. 30.27-36 — **7-8.** Ἀλλὰ-μυστήριον] cf. *Epist.*, p. 30.18-20

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**[13] Tit.** Τεθέαμαι-καταβαῖνον] Ioh. 1:32 — **1-8.** Ἐκεῖνο-μυστήριον**]** cf. Eust. Nic., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Orat. 2), pp. 77.16-78.3 — **2-3.** ὅτι-αὐτὸν] Ioh. 1:32 — **6.** καταβαῖνον τὸ Πνεῦμα] cf. Ioh. 1:32 — ἐπὶ-ἀνθρώπου] Ioh. 1:52 — **7-8.** τὸ ἐκ-ἀναπαύεσθαι] cf. Epictetus, *Dissert. Arrian.*, § 14.4.12, p. 50; Georg. Schol., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Tract. III), p. 476.14-15

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**[13] Tit.** scr. τεθέαμαι τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καταβαῖνον: in marg. CDMOVW — **1.** φᾶναι D — **4.** ἀλλ' ἄρα W — **5.** νεστορ(ίου) D — ἵν ἐκ B — τοῦ] om. L — **7.** post πατρὸς scr. et cnc. (incl. in punc.) ἐκ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς W — **8.** post μυστήριον add. τὸ γὰρ ἅπαξ τῷ βαπτιστῇ θεαθέν, τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος φανέρωσις γέγονεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦνποτε (ἦν ποτέ BV) χωρίς πνεύματος ὁ υἱός BDOV

**[14] Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νόησις ἢ θέλησις.**

Ἀλλ' οἱ τὴν *βασιλικὴν καὶ λείαν ὁδὸν* ῥᾳδίως βαίνειν μὴ ἀνεχόμενοι, εἰς ἀνοδίας πάντως ἐκτρέπονται καὶ κρημνούς, καὶ τόπους οὓς οὐκ ἐπισκοπεῖ Κύριος. Ὡς δὲ, καὶ οὗτοι, περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, οἷα παραφρονοῦντες καὶ παραπαίοντες ἀτεχνῶς, τῇ καὶ τῇ φέρονται, τὴν μόνην καὶ ἁπλανῆ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδόν, *αὐθεκάστῳ γνώμῃ* καταλιπόντες ἐρρῶσθαι. Ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρας τῶν πρώην ἀτοπωτέρας ἐννοίας ἐξάγονται· καὶ *φασί, νοητικῶς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, θελητικῶς ἐκπορεύεσθαι· προεπινοεῖται δὲ νόησις θελήσεως*, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ *κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ* γεγονότος ἀνθρώπου. Εἰ τοίνυν *ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προεπινοεῖται γέννησις, ἅτε νοητικῶς γινομένη*, ἡ δέ γε τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις, κατὰ τρόπον ἐστὶ θελήσεως, καὶ οἷον θέλησις, *ἴσος δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ θέλημα ἔχων αὐτῷ*, ὧν ἡ θέλησις μία, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις μία. *Εἰσὶ*
M 227v *δὲ ταῦτα*, προφανῶς *διανοίας ἀνα-‖πλάσματα* κακοδαίμονος. Ποῖα

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**[14] 7-15.** φασί-ἀναπλάσματα] Man. Mosch., *Generat.*, eds. Polemis p. 255.1-3, 6-8 et 10; Smith, p. 1.1-3, 8-10 et 12 — **15-17.** Ποῖα-ἐδίδαξεν] cf. loc. cit., eds. Polemis, p. 255.10-12; Smith, p. 1.12-14

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**[14] 1.** βασιλικὴν-ὁδὸν] cf. Orig., *Psalm.*, p. 258.15-17; Greg. Nyss., *Vita Mosis*, § 72.4, p. 100 — **5-6.** αὐθεκάστῳ γνώμῃ] cf. Lazar. monach., *Epist.* 1, p. 544.5

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**[14] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς νόησις ἢ θέλησις: in marg. BDGMOVW — **1.** ante Ἀλλ' οἱ sign. in marg. B — **4.** τῇ] om. A — **6.** ταῦτα τοι BCDGMOVW — post ἑτέρας add. ἐννοί(ας) G — **7.** ἐννοίας] om. G — ἀτοποτέρας GW — φασῖν L — **8.** γενᾶσθαι W — **9.** δὲ νόησις] om. et add. γέννησις B — **11.** γένησις W — γινομένη] post cor. (ex γενομένη) D: γενομένη G — **12-14.** κατὰ-ἐκπόρευσις] om. A

γὰρ γραφή, ποῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον παρὸ παρελάβομεν, ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν; Ἢ τίς τῶν θεωρητικῶν τε καὶ θεολόγων καὶ διαβατικώτατον νοῦν ἐσχηκότων, ἢ πολυπραγμονέστατον, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθε θράσους καὶ ἀπονοίας, ὥστε καὶ τρόπους ἀνιχνεύειν γεννήσεως, ἢ ἐκπορεύσεως; Ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸ πάσης ἄλλης θεολογίας, πᾶς τις αὐτῶν, ἄρρητον πάντῃ καὶ ἀνεπινόητον, τὸν τρόπον τῆς γεννήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως ἀνεκήρυξε, καὶ *σιωπῇ τιμᾶσθαι* ταῦτα ἐπέταξε, *μέγα* καὶ *τὸ* ὅλως *μαθεῖν* οἰόμενος, *ὅτι* τὸ μὲν, *γεγέννηται*, τὸ δ' ἐκπεπόρευται, *τὸ γὰρ πῶς*, *οὐδὲ ἀγγέλοις ἐννοεῖν* δέδοται· ἢ πῶς οἷόν τε τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν μετρεῖν, τῇ μεταβατικῶς νοήσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ λήθῃ συνεζευγμένη φύσει; Θέλησιν γὰρ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν, ἢ κατὰ τρόπον νοεῖσθαι θελήσεως, οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀνεδίδαξεν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οἶμαι τοῦτο διενήνοχε τοῦ αἱρετικοῦ ἐκείνου προβλήματος, *ὅτι θέλων ἐγέννησεν ὁ Πατήρ, ἢ μὴ θέλων*, ὅπερ ὁ ἀκριβὴς πάσης θεολογίας γνώμων, ὡς λῆρον σαφῆ διαπαίζει, καὶ ὡς μὴ δὲ αὔραίς τισιν ἱστάμενον διελέγχει.

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**30-31.** ὅτι-μὴ θέλων] Man. Mosch., *Generat.*, eds. Polemis, p. 256.27-28; Smith, p. 2.14-15

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**23.** σιωπῇ τιμᾶσθαι] cf. Ps.-Basil. Caes., *Generat.*, col. 1457.31-34 — **23-25.** σιωπῇ-ἐννοεῖν] Greg. Naz., *De filio*, 3 § 8.20-26, p. 140 : … Θεοῦ γέννησις, σιωπῇ τιμάσθω· μέγα σοι τὸ μαθεῖν, ὅτι γεγέννηται· τὸ δὲ πῶς, οὐδὲ ἀγγέλοις ἐννοεῖν, μὴ ὅτι γέ σοι νοεῖν συγχωρήσομεν· βούλει παραστήσω τὸ πῶς; ὡς οἶδεν ὁ γεννήσας Πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς Υἱός· τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα νέφει κρύπτεται, τὴν σὴν διαφεῦγον ἀμβλυωπίαν. — cf. Greg. Naz., *Spir. Sanc.*, 5 § 8.14-20, p. 232 : … εἰπὲ σὺ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν τοῦ Πατρός, κἀγὼ τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ φυσιολογήσω, καὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ παραπληκτίσομεν ἄμφω εἰς Θεοῦ μυστήρια παρακύπτοντες· καὶ ταῦτα τίνες; οἱ μηδὲ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν εἰδέναι δυνάμενοι, μηδὲ ψάμμον θαλασσῶν, καὶ σταγόνας ὑετοῦ, καὶ ἡμέρας αἰῶνος ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι, μὴ ὅτι γε Θεοῦ βάθεσιν ἐμβατεύειν, καὶ λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς οὕτως ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον φύσεως. — **30-31.** ὅτι-μὴ θέλων] Ps.-Ioh. Chrys., *Trinit.*, § 3, col. 1093.58-63

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**16.** γραφή] post cor. (ex γραφῆ) G: γραφὴ ACDLMVW — **17.** τε] om. ACL — **19.** ἦλθε] ἦκε BDGMV: ἧκε OW — **20-21.** θεολογίας ἄλλης G — **24.** γεγένηται W — ἐκπόρευεται V — **26.** νοήσει] post cor. (ex νοούση) C: νοούση BDGMOVW — καὶ λήθη] om. ACL — **30.** ἐγένησεν W — **31.** ὡς] ὠ DO — **32.** αὔραις τισὶν G — δι ἐλέγχει B

**[15] Ὅτι οὐ λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα ἰδίως ἀγάπη.**

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον *λέγουσι* τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς ἀτοπίαν οὐκ ἔλαττον. *Ἀγάπη τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγεται, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἰδιαίτατον· ἐνέργεια δὲ πάντως ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ ἀγαπῶντος*, ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πατὴρ τὴν ἀγάπην προτείνει, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, τῆς αὐτῆς ὢν αὐτῷ φύσεως· *ὁ Πατὴρ ἄρα καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἐκπορεύει τὸ Πνεῦμα.* Ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἐκ κοιλίας φωνούντων καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ οὐ τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, δῆλον, οἷς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ἐμέλησε· τὸν *Θεὸν* γὰρ *ἀγάπην* ἐκάλεσεν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς, καὶ ταύτην κοινῇ τῇ Τριάδι τὴν κλῆσιν ἀπένειμε, καὶ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ τῷ Πνεύματι. Πρὸς δέ, καὶ ὁ παντὸς μᾶλλον κατ' ἴχνος τῆς αὐτοῦ θεολογίας βαδίσας Γρηγόριος, *ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς* εἶπεν *ἀγάπη καλεῖται·* καὶ τῇ *προσωνυμία* ταύτῃ, *πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων χαίρει καλούμενος·* καὶ ὁ μέγας Παῦλος, μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν, *ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς*, τὴν *κοινωνίαν* ἐπιφέρει *τοῦ Πνεύματος*, καὶ οὐχὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τὸ Πνεῦμα περιέγραψεν, ἄλλης οὔσης τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Πατρός, κατὰ περίφρασιν τὸν Πατέρα δηλούσης, καὶ ἄλλου τοῦ

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**[15] 1-5.** λέγουσι-Πνεῦμα] cf. Thomas Aquin., *Sum. theol*. Ia. 37, 1-2; Man. Mosch., *Generat.*, eds. Polemis, p. 257.54-58; Smith, p. 4.7-10

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**8.** Θεὸν-ἀγάπην] 1 Joh 4:8 — υἱὸς-βροντῆς] scil. Iohannes Evagelista; cf. Marc. 3:17 — **11-12.** ὁ Θεὸς-καλεῖται] Greg. Naz., *Paup.*, § 2, col. 860.28 — **11-13.** ὁ Θεὸς … προσωνυμία-καλούμενος] Greg. Naz., *Pace* 1, § 12, col. 737.33-35 — **13-14.** ἡ ἀγάπη-Πνεύματος] 2 Cor. 13:14

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**[15] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ λέγεται τὸ πν(εῦμ)α ἰδίως ἀγάπη: in marg. CDGMVW: scr. in textu A — **1.** ante Ἀλλὰ sign. scr. in marg. M — **2.** τοῦτο] τοῦ B — ἐστὶν Z — **3.** ἀγαπόντος et sscr. ῶ (per ἀγαπῶντος) Z: — **6.** καὶ ταῦτα] om. D — **7.** καταμικρὸν BZ — **11.** ante Ὁ θ(ε)ὸς scr. Γρηγορ(ίου) τοῦ θεολόγ(ου) in marg. G — **14.** ἐπὶ φέρει B — **16.** δηλούσ(ις) B — ἄλλου] ἄλλη AG

Πνεύματος. Εἰ καὶ μὴ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, ἀτοπώτερον δὲ τὸ θελήσει λέγειν ἐοικέναι τὴν θείαν ἐκπόρευσιν, ἢ ἀγάπην τὸ ἅγιον ‖
M 227r Πνεῦμα προσαγορεύειν, ὡς ἐν σχέσει μόνῃ, νοεῖσθαι ψιλῇ καὶ
20 κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑποστάσει, καὶ πολλῷ δυσσεβέστερον, ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγειν ἁπλῶς ἐκπορεύεσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ συμβέβηκέ τι τῇ θείᾳ οὐσίᾳ, οὔτε δηλωτικὸν αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὄνομα. Ὅπως γε μὴν καὶ συλλογιστικῶς οἱ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρόφιμοι τούτοις συμπλέκονται, οὐ δέον παραλιπεῖν συνελόντας
25 εἰς δύναμιν.

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**19.** ψιλὴ B — **20.** κατασυμβεβηκὸς BL — **20.** ἐν οὐσία] ἐνουσία B — **22.** οὔτε] οὕτω L — οὔτε²] post cor. (ex οὐ τὲ) D — **23.** ἐστὶν BG: ἔστιν Z — ante Ὅπως scr. in marg. συλλογισμοὶ ACDGLMOVW

**[16] Πρὸς τοὺς προβαλλομένους τὸ, *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν*.**

Εἰ γὰρ ὅτι ὁμοούσιος ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρί, καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεσθαι, πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην, οἱ τοῦ εἰκότος ἀσυλλόγιστοι συλλογίζονται, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὁμοούσιον αὐτοῖς πιστευόμενον, ἢ ἕτερον ὁμοούσιον ἑαυτῷ προΐεσθαι Πνεῦμα· καὶ λοιπὸν, αἴτιον ἔσται ἅμα καὶ αἰτιατόν —ὃ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων μυθολογίας τερατωδέστερον—, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀντιστρόφως τὸν Υἱὸν γεννᾶν· ὁμοτίμως γὰρ ἄμφω προήγαγεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ προβολεύς, ἵνα μὴ οὐχ ὁμοδύναμον τιθέμενον τοῖς προβάλλουσι, τὸ ἔλαττον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπενέγκηται. Κἀντεῦθεν ἡ Μακεδονίου *λύσσα παρρησιάσηται· εἰ γὰρ τὸν Πατέρα αἴτιον* εἶναι φασὶ *τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως·* κἀκ *τούτου καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, αἴτιον τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀποφαίνονται. Οὐ συνορῶσιν ὅσον τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἑπόμενον ἄτοπον· δεῖ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα, αἴτιον τινὸς εἶναι* ὡς εἴρηται, *τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Πατρὶ τῆς φύσεως δεχόμενον λόγον. Δεύτερον δέ, καὶ εἰς πλῆθος* ἀνάγκη *προχωρεῖν τὰς αἰτίας· ὅσαι γὰρ τῆς φύσεως μετέχουσιν ὑποστάσεις, καὶ τῆς αἰτίας*

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**[16] 10-13.** τὸν Πατέρα-ἀποφαίνονται] Greg. Cypr., *Tomus*, col. 241.54-58 — **13-20.** Οὐ συνορῶσιν-φύσις] loc. cit., col. 241.59-242.8

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**[16] Tit.** ἐγὼ-ἐσμεν] Ioh. 10:30

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**[16] Tit.** scr. πρὸς τοὺς προβαλομένους, τὸ ἐγώ καὶ ὁ π(ατὴ)ρ ἕν ἐσμὲν in marg. CDGLMOW — **2.** εἰκότως LZ: οἰκότος B — **3.** πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον DOV — **4.** ἑαυτὸ et sscr. ῶ (per ἑαυτῶ) Z — **5.** post αἰτιατὸν scr. in marg. ἐγὼ κ(αὶ) ὁ πατ(ὴρ) ἕν ἐσμ(ὲν) τῇ φύσει· οὐ τῇ υποστάσει B — τῶν] sscr. B — **6.** ἑλλήνων] post cor. (ex ἐλλήνων) Z — **7.** γενᾶν W — **9.** κἀντεῦθεν] κἂν τεῦθεν G — **16.** δεύτερον in ras. et scr. in marg. ερ W — **17.** ὑποστάσης L — καὶ] om. W

μεθέξουσι. Καὶ τρίτον, τὴν κοινὴν οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν, ὑποστάσεως αἰτίαν εἶναι, ὅπερ, ἅπας ἀπηγόρευσε λόγος, καὶ αὐτή γε μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἡ φύσις· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ κοινὴ οὐσία καὶ φύσις, ὑποστάσεως αἰτία, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ γεννητική ποτε, οὐδὲ προβλητικὴ τῶν ἀτόμων πέφυκεν αὕτη. Ἡ δὲ μετ' ἰδιωμάτων οὐσία, ἥτις σαφῶς κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Μάξιμον, αὐτὴν δηλοῖ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον· κἀκεῖνος γὰρ ὑπόστασιν ὁρίζεται εἶναι, τὴν τὸ κοινόν τε καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον, ἐν τῷ τινὶ πράγματι διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ἰδιωμάτων παριστᾶσαν καὶ περιγράφουσαν· αὕτη γὰρ φησι τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἡ φύσις, ἐν τῇ τῆς οὐσίας ταυτότητι, δεικνύναι τὴν ἑτερότητα· διατοῦτο καὶ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ἄτομον, ἀεὶ
M 227v προβάλλεται ἄτομον, ἢ γεννᾶ ‖ ὁμοούσιον ἑαυτῷ· Πατρὸς δὲ καὶ Υἱοῦ, εἰ καὶ οὐσία μία· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ἓν ἄτομον τὰ ἀμφότερα. Κοινὰ τῶν ὑπερουσίων τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἡ οὐσία, ἡ φύσις, ἡ δύναμις, ἡ ἐνέργεια, ἡ βούλησις, ἡ θεότης καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἴδια δέ, τὸ ἀγέννητον, τὸ γεννητόν, καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευτόν· εἰ οὖν ἰδιότης ἡ ἐκπόρευσις, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἡ γέννησις, εὑρεθήσεται τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα δύο κεκτημένον ἰδιότητας· μίαν μέν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπόρευσιν· δευτέραν δέ, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ·

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**20-26.** οὐ γάρ-περιγράφουσαν] Greg. Cypr., *Tomus,* col. 241.22-30 — **28-29.** διατοῦτο-ἄτομον] loc. cit., col. 241.30-32 — **29-30.** Πατρὸς-μία] loc. cit., col. 241.33-34

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**22-23.** Ἡ δὲ-ὑπόστασιν] cf. Maxim. Conf., *Epist.* col. 436.2-11 — **26-28.** αὕτη-ἑτερότητα] Basil. Caes., *Adv. Eunom.,* II, col. 637.33-34 — **28-30.** cf. Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 55.19, p. 131

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**20.** γάρ] post cor. (ex γὰρ) L — **21.** ἐπεὶ bis. acc. W — **22.** ante ἡ δὲ scr. τί ἐστιν ὑπόστασις in marg. Z — τὸν] τὸ et ν sscr. (per τὸν) D — **23.** καταυτὸν L — **24.** ante Κἀκεῖνος scr. τί ἐστιν ὑπόστασις in marg. ACDLMOW: scr. ὅρος ὑποστάσεως in marg. G — **26.** παριστῶσαν LZ — **28.** δεικνῦναι CGLW — διὰ τοῦτο L — **29.** γενᾶ W — δὲ καὶ om. et add. υἱοῦ B — **30.** παρατοῦτο AM — ἄτομον G — **33.** ἰδία L — ἀγένητον W — γενητὸν W — **34.** ἀγένητον W — γένησις W

καὶ ὁ μὲν Υἱός, μιᾷ διασταλήσεται τοῦ Πατρός, τοῦτο δέ, δυσί· κἀντεῦθεν, ἔλαττον ἔσται τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Εἰ δὲ συνάναρχον ὑμνεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα, Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, ἐκπορεύει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται ὁ Υἱός, ἐπίσης ἂν εἴη τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ συγγενώμενον τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ὥστε καὶ γεννητὸν ἔσται καὶ ἐκπορευτὸν, οὗ τί ἂν φωραθείη πρὸς ἀσέβειαν χαλεπώτερον! Ὅπερ δὲ ἴδιον μόνῳ τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ προβάλεσθαι, εἰ κοινὸν ἔσται καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, πάντως ἂν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, κοινὸν εἴη καὶ τῷ Πατρί· καὶ λοιπὸν ὁ ἀγέννητος Πατήρ, ἔσται καὶ γεννητός. Πρὸς οὖν δύο ἀρχὰς ἀναγομένου τοῦ Πνεύματος, ποῦ τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ πολυΰμνητον; Πολυαρχία γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, ἑλληνικὴ παρεισδύεται. Εἰ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τῆς πατρικῆς ἁπλότητος οὐκ ἐξίσταται, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα πρὸς δύο τὰ αἴτια τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, διπλοῦν ἂν εἴη τοῦτο καὶ σύνθετον· οὐδὲν γὰρ κυρίως ἁπλοῦν ἐκ δυοῖν. Καὶ ποῦ τὸ τῆς Τριάδος ἁπλοῦν καὶ ὁμότιμον; Εἰ δὲ ἁπλοῦν τὸ Πνεῦμα φήσαιεν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἔστιν, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται, ἓν ἂν οὗτοι νομισθεῖεν πρόσωπον, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σαβελλίου εἰσαχθήσεται συναλοιφή· ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ, *τὸ διττὸν τῆς αἰτίας συνάγεται*, οὕτως δὲ, *τὸ ἑνιαῖον μέν, τόν γε μὴν Υἱόν, τῷ Πατρὶ*

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**54-56.** τὸ διττὸν-λόγον] Greg. Cypr., *Tomus*, col. 240.54-56

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**37.** μὶα L — **40.** ἐπίσ(ις) B — συγγενόμενον Z — **41.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ GW — γενητὸν W — **45.** ἀγένητος W — γενητός W — **46.** ποῦ] τοῦ AL — **47.** γὰρ] om. A — **49.** τοῦτο] om. DZ — **50.** post σύνθετον scr. τοῦτο Z — post ἁπλοῦν scr. et del. ἐκ δυσῖν dittography L — **50-51.** ἐκ δυοῖν-ἁπλοῦν] om. Z — **51.** Εἰ] Οἱ G — post Εἰ δὲ add. καὶ D — **52.** ἐκ] om. BDGMOV — **53.** ἓν ἂν] ἑὰν B — νομισθοῖεν Z — **54.** συναληφή B — **55.** post μὴν add. τὸν Z — τῷ πατρὶ] om. Z

κατ᾽ αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον, ἀνάγκη συνάπτεσθαι· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἄμφω, *πάσης βλασφημίας ἐπέκεινα· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Τριάδι, ἑτέρα τίς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρός, ὑπόστασις, ἐξ ἧς ἂν εἴη τοῖς ὁμοουσίοις ὕπαρξις καὶ οὐσίωσις· κατά τε τὴν κοινὴν τῆς* 60 *ἐκκλησίας δόξαν, καὶ τοὺς εἰπόντας ἁγίους, ῥίζα καὶ πηγή, Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ὁ Πατήρ*· καὶ *μόνη πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος, ὁ Πατήρ*· καὶ *μόνος αἴτιος* ὁ Πατήρ. Εἴπερ δὲ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐντελής, περιττὴ ἄρα ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Ὃ δὲ μὴ
M 229r ἔστι ‖ κοινὸν τοῖς τρισίν, ἑνός ἐστι μόνου. Τὸ δὲ τῆς προβολῆς, οὐκ 65 ἔστι κοινὸν τοῖς τρισίν· ἑνός ἐστιν ἄρα μόνου· καὶ μάταιος ὁ λόγος τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων, καὶ μή μοι τὸ αἰτιατὸν ἀνθυπενέγκης, ταῖς δυσὶ τῶν θεαρχικῶν ἀφιερούμενον ὑποστάσεων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, διάφορον δείκνυσι, τὸ τῆς προόδου διάφορον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προβολήν, ὁ Υἱὸς ἔχει τῷ Πατρὶ, κοινὴ τούτοις ἡ τῆς 70 προβολῆς ἰδιότης. Εἰ δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν, πῶς οὐ φθείρει ταύτην ἐκείνη; Φθαρτικὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐναντία. *Μείζων* δὲ ὢν *ὁ Πατὴρ* τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, μᾶλλον προβαλεῖται, ἢ ὁ Υἱός· καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν αἰτιῶν, διαφορὰν δογματίσει φύσεων, ὃ τῆς Ἀρείου λύσσης, οὐ πόρρω.

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**57-62.** *πάσης-αἴτιος*] Greg. Cypr., *Tomus*, col. 240.57-241.4; cf. Georg. Metoch., *Hist. dogmat.*, § 39, pp. 204.37-205.4 — **60-61.** *ῥίζα-Πατήρ*] cf. Greg. Cypr., *Process. Spir. Sanc.*, cols. 272.3-4 et 278.7 — **61.** *μόνη-θεότητος*] loc. cit., col. 271.44-45

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**71.** *Μείζων-Πατὴρ*] Ioh. 14:28

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**60-61.** υἱοῦ-πηγὴ] om. L — **61.** post πατήρ² scr. καὶ μόνη πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ dittography L — **63.** ἐντελὴς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — **64.** τρισὶν] τρισὶ et sup. scr. ν (per τρισὶν) C — **69.** προόδου] τριάδος A — τ(ήν) sscr. B — **71.** φθείρει] post cor. (ex φθείρη) B: φθείρη D — **72.** τοῦ Υἱοῦ τῷ αἰτίῳ Z — **73.** προβαλλεῖται BG — αἰτίων W — διαφορὰν] post cor. (ex διὰ φορὰν) L

**[17] Ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰς εὐσέβειαν μόνον τὸ λέγειν ἄκτιστον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.**

Εἰ δέ τις ἀποχρῶσαν εἶναι παραίτησιν ἀξιοῖ, τὸ ἄκτιστον ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Πατρί τε καὶ Υἱῷ συνταττόμενον, ὡς ὂν τῇ φύσει αὐτοῖς ὁμοούσιον, ἀποστρέφεσθαι δέ, τοὺς μὴ οὕτως αἱρουμένους φρονεῖν, ὡς μηδὲν ἀσεβείας ἐλλείποντας, καὶ ἱκανὸν εἶναι τοῦτο τεκμήριον οἴεται, τοῦ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν ὑγιοῦς, ἔνθέν τοι καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἔχειν οὐ παραιτεῖται, ὡς τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μηδὲν ἐντεῦθεν παραβλαπτόμενον, δίκαιος ἂν εἴη, οὐδὲν ἧττον εἰς κοινωνίαν προσίεσθαι, τόν γε Νεστόριον καὶ Εὐτυχῆ καὶ Διόσκορον, τὰ ἐκ διαμέτρου κακά, καὶ ὁμότιμα τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ἔτι δὲ Σεβῆρον τὲ καὶ Ζωόραν, οὐ μήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σέργιον, Πύρρον, Παῦλον, Ὀνώριον, καὶ τοὺς ταῖς δυσσεβείαις τούτων ἀλόγως καθυπαχθέντας. Οὕτω δὲ κρίσεως ἔχων, ἁλοίη ἂν αἰτίας οὐκ ἀφιείς, τοὺς πάσαις ψήφοις ἐκείνους καθηρηκότας, καὶ καθυποβαλόντας τῷ ἀναθέματι.

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**[17] Tit.** ante Ἐι δέ scr. ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰς εὐσέβειαν μόνον, τὸ λέγειν ἄκτιστον τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α in marg. BCDLMOVW: in textu A — **1-7.** scr. ὅρα in marg. W — **2.** αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν ALZ — post Πνεῦμα lac. (5-6 litt.) BZ — **3.** ὂν] ὃν B — post ὂν add. ταυτὸν Z — αὐτοῖς] om. W — post αὐτοῖς add. καὶ Z — **4.** μὴ δὲν G — **6.** ἐνθέντοι B — **7.** μηδὲν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας Z: τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μὴ δὲν BL — **8.** ἧττον B — **9.** γε] τε BDGMOVW — ἐκ] post cor. (ex δε) L — **11.** Πῦρρον Z — Ὀνόριον Z: Ὀνώριον B — **12.** δυσσεβείας L — καθ' ὑπαχθέντας GL — οὕτω B — **13.** ἁλοίη ἂν DLO: ἁλοίη ἄν post cor. (ex ἁλοίη κἂν) V: ἁλοί κἂν B: ἁλοί ἂν post cor. (ex ἁλοί ἂν) G — ἀφιεὶς] post cor. (ex ἀφιεῖς) G — **14.** καθηρϊκότας W — καθ' ὑποβαλόντας G

**[18] Ὅτι δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσάγουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα.**

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο αἴτια, ἢ ἀρχὰς δύο, ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κηρύττειν, θρασείᾳ γλώττῃ τολμῶντας, ἀσεβείας διώκουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοί γε οὗτοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἰδίᾳ ἔθει λέγειν προάγονται, λελήθασιν ἑαυτοὺς γραφόμενοι, ἀγνοίας ἔχεσθαι πάθει, καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς δήπουθεν τοὺς νόμους τῆς φύσεως. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε, οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἄτοπον· ταὐτὸ γὰρ συμβεβήκει τούτοις ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον λέγων, μὴ καὶ ζῷον εἶναι αὐτὸν διατείνοιτο· οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστον πρᾶγμα ἡ πονηρία, καὶ ἃ λόγοις ἀρνεῖται, ἔργοις ἐπιψηφίζεται. Ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, τῶν ταύτῃ φρονούντων μᾶλλον ἂν δεξαίμεθα τοὺς δύο ἀρχὰς εὐσεβεῖ διανοίᾳ τῇ σεπτῇ ‖
M 229v Τριάδι ἐπιφημίζοντας, διάφορον δηλαδὴ προϊσχομένους τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεωρίας, ἢ τοὺς δογματίζοντας, τῶν τριῶν τῆς θεαρχίας ὑποστάσεων, τὰς δύο, αἰτίους τῆς μιᾶς εἶναι, εἴτ' οὖν ὁμοτίμους, εἴτ' οὖν διαφόρους, καὶ μή τινα τὸ διττὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς

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**[18] 9.** ἀσυλλόγιστον-πονηρία] cf. Menander, *Fragmenta*, 768.1; Greg. Naz., *Contra Julian.*, col. 568.3-4; Niceph. Cal. Xanth., *Historia,* col. 428.59-60

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**[18] Tit.** ante Εἰ δὲ scr. ὅτι δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσάγουσιν ἐξανάγκης (ἐξ ἀνάγκης W) οἱ λέγοντες καὶ (καὶ om. G) ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πν(εῦμ)α: in marg. BCDGLMOVW: in textu A — **2.** θρασεῖα W — γλώσση BDGMOVW — post γλώττῃ add. τοὺς Z — **4.** προάγονται λέγειν Z — **6.** ἐστι Z — πράγματος in ras. O — **7.** ἄτοπον] πρόσωπον V — συβεβήκει et sscr. μ (per συμβεβήκει) L: συμβε(..)βήκει illeg. Z — ἂν] γὰρ D — post τις scr. et eras. ἂν εἴ τϊς G — **8.** μὴ καὶ] καὶ μὴ Z — **9.** ἃ λόγοις] post cor. (ex ἀλόγοις) D — **10.** post φρονούντων add. ἂν Z — **11.** τοὺς] τὰς A — εὐσεβεῖ] ἀσεβεῖ ALZ — **12.** δηλαδὴ] δὴ Z — προϊσχομένους] προϊσχομένας BDGMOVW — **14.** ὑπόστάσεων B — αἰτίους] αἰτίας G

ἄλλον τρόπον λεγόμενον, ξενιζέτω· *ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πατήρ, ὡς τῶν ὑπερουσίων αἴτιος φώτων*, Υἱοῦ τέ φημι καὶ Πνεύματος· ἀρχὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἅτε τῶν γεγονότων δημιουργός· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστι τὸ *ἀρχικὸν* καὶ ποιητικὸν τῆς κτίσεως *αἴτιον*. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι τὸ δημιουργικὸν ὁ Προφήτης ψάλλων ἀπένειμε, τῷ, *φᾶναι· τῷ λόγῳ Κυρίου τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐστερεῶσθαι* καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἀλλά γε τὸν Υἱὸν ἑτέρωθι, δημιουργὸν τῆς κτίσεως κατεξαίρετον ἀνυμνεῖ, καὶ *σὺ καταρχὰς* εἰπὼν *Κύριε τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας· καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί·* καὶ ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ ἔννοια τοῦ ψαλμοῦ, καὶ ὁ μέγας ὕστερον Παῦλος, *πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν* εἰρῆσθαι τοῦτο παρίστησιν, ὥς γε δὴ καὶ τῶν θεολόγων ἕτερος, *πάντα* ἔφησε *δι' αὐτοῦ* γεγενῆσθαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ «ἐξ αὐτοῦ»· ταύτῃ τοι καὶ ὁ προφήτης αὖθις φησὶ *μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχή*, τουτέστιν ἐν σοί· οὐκ ἔξωθεν ἐπιγενομένη· ἀλλ' ἑνοῦσα τῇ φύσει τῆς θεότητός σου· ταύτην τὴν φυσικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας προσμαρτυρῶν τῷ Υἱῷ, ἔφη· *οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ*· καὶ ὁ Παροιμιαστὴς· *Κύριος ἔκτισέ με*· —ἤγουν ἐκτήσατο με— *ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ.* Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα, καὶ ὁ

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**19.** ἀρχικὸν… αἴτιον] Greg. Cypr., *Tomus*, col. 242.19

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**16-17.** ἀρχὴ-φώτων] cf. Iac. 1:17; Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Epist. Castor.*, col. 905.5; Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 88.48, p. 204 — **21.** φᾶναι-ἐστερεῶσθαι] Ps. 32:6 — **23-24.** σὺ-οὐρανοί] Ps. 101:26 — **26.** πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν] Heb. 1:8 — **27.** πάντα-δι' αὐτοῦ] Ioh. 1:3 — **28.** μετὰ-ἀρχή] Ps. 109:3 — **31-32.** οὗ ἡ-αὐτοῦ] Is. 9:5 — **32-33.** Κύριος-αὐτοῦ] Prov. 8:22

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**16.** ἀρχῆ B — **19.** καὶ] om. W — **21.** φᾶναι] post cor. (ex φάναι) O: φάναι AGLVZ — στερεῶσθαι W — **22.** ἑξῆς GL: εξ(ῆς) C — ἀλλά γε] ἀλλ' ἄγε W — ἑτέρωθι] ἐστερεώθι B — κτίσεως] φύσεως Z — **23.** κατ' ἐξαίρετον Z — κατ' ἀρχὰς W — **27.** δι' αὐτοῦ ἔφησε Z — γεγενῆσθαι] post cor. (ex γεγενῆσθε) W — **27-28.** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ OW — **28.** προφήτϊς B — **29.** ἐπιγενομένη] ἐπιγινομένη Z — ἀλλ' ἑνοῦσα DZ — **31.** ἡσαΐὰς A — ὥμου G — **32.** ἔκτησέ με B — ἤγουν] ἢ BDGMOVW — ἐκτίσατό με BGZ — **33.** ὁδῶν] post cor. (ex ὁδὸν) G: ὁδὸν Z — διὰ δὴ] δια δὴ GZ

θεολόγος ἔφη μέγας Γρηγόριος, *ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή· καὶ αὖθις· ἄναρχον, καὶ ἀρχή, καὶ τὸ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἷς Θεός*. Εἰ γοῦν τὸ γεννᾶσθαι καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τῆς ὑποστατικῆς μὲν διαφορᾶς ἑκατέρων τυγχάνουσιν ἴδια, Υἱοῦ φημὶ καὶ Πνεύματος, ἡ δ' αἰτία πρὸς τὸν ἐξ οὗ ἀναφέρεται, ὡς δ' ἂν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, κοινωνεῖ τῷ Πατρὶ ὁ Υἱός, τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως, κοινωνήσει ἄρα καὶ τοῦ αἴτιος εἶναι τοῦ Πνεύματος· καὶ δύο ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ συναγόμενον αἴτια, εἰς ἀρχὰς δύο ἀνηνεγμένα ὥσπερ εἴρηται· ὃ μὴ δὲ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀποδεῖν οἶμαι πολυθεΐας. Ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἂν εἴη ψευδόμενος, ὅτε τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννᾶσθαι λέγων καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, αἴτιον δὲ τὸν Πατέρα μὴ εἶναι τούτοις διατεινόμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ
M 230$^{r}$ δεῖν ἔχειν ‖ τὸ Πνεῦμα οἰόμενος, τῆς δὲ τούτου αἰτίας, στέρεσθαι τὸν Υἱόν. Τοιγάρτοι καὶ θεσμοῖς φύσεως, τὸ βλασφημεῖν αὐτοῖς περιγίνεσθαι ἀποδέδεικται, καὶ τὸ τῇ προσθήκῃ λυμαίνεσθαι, τὸ τῆς θεότητος περὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν σεβάσμιον, οὐχ ἧττον εἰς βλασφημίας λόγον, τῷ εὐσεβῶς κρίνειν ἐπισταμένῳ· φησὶ γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας βάσις ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, *ἡ περὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἁγίας*

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**34.** ἡ ἐκ-ἀρχή] Greg. Naz., *Pasch.*, § 9, col. 633.36; suum, *Theoph.*, § 13, col. 325.20 — **35.** ἄναρχον-Θεός] Greg. Naz., *Supr.*, § 15, col. 476.10-11 — **51-53.** ἡ περὶ-ἄρνησις] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 52, § 4.16-18, p. 137

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**34.** μέγας ἔφη BDOV — **36.** γενᾶσθαι W — **37.** ἑκατέρων] ἑτέρων A — υἱοῦ] sscr. W — φημι A — **38.** ἐξ οὗ] ἐκ σοῦ G — ἀναφέρεται] ἀναφέροται A — δ'] om. G — αὐτοὶ] αἱ τοὶ L — **39.** ante υἱὸς scr. et del. λόγος L — **40.** ἐξανάγκης GLMZ — **42.** ἀποδεῖν] ἀποδέον Z — **43.** ὅ, τε] ὅ, τε B — **44.** γενᾶσθαι W — μὴ] om. Z — **45.** τούτοις] τούτων et sscr. add. οις (per τούτοις) C — καὶ] om. G — **46.** ante δεῖν scr. οῦ Z — **48.** περιγίνεσθαι] περιγίνεται Z — **49.** οὐχ ἧττον B: οὐχ' ἧττον G — **50.** ante φησὶ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ACDGLMOVW — **51.** ἐκκλησίας-βασίλειος deest in textu et scr. in marg. Z — ἁγίας] sscr. C

*Τριάδος καινοτομία, αὐτῆς τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀθέτησιν ἔχει· καὶ ὅλης ἐστὶ τῆς πίστεως ἄρνησις*. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν πατέρων ἐννοίας, καὶ τῶν θεσπισμάτων αὖθις ἐπανιτέον τὰ ἀξιώματα, καὶ τῶν μὲν φωνῶν τὸν ἔρανον ἐατέον· τοῖς δ' ἐκείνων καθόλου συγγράμμασι, τὸν νοῦν προσεκτέον, τοὺς εὐσεβεῖν αἱρουμένους· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων, οὐδ' ὁπητιοῦν διηνέχθησαν, οὐδὲ περὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, χώραν διαφωνίας δεδώκασιν. Ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑνὸς ἐμπνεόμενοι Πνεύματος ὡς λύρα ὄντως, ἐναρμόνιον διὰ πάντων καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἔντονον ᾄδουσα, τὴν τούτου ἐκπόρευσιν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνήν, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, μόνῳ προσεῖναι τῷ Πατρί, ὡς αἰτίῳ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁμοφυῶν ὑποστάσεων, σαφῶς ἐμελῴδησαν· *ἵνα κἀν τούτῳ θεϊκὸν ἔχωσι τὸ μοναδικόν*, ὡς ἡ θεολόγος ἔφη Γρηγορίου φωνή. Μᾶλλον δέ, τί δεῖ καθ' ἕνα τοὺς ἁγίους προϊσχεσθαι; Οὕτως ἡ τῶν περιωνύμων πατέρων ἐν Νικαίᾳ τοπρῶτον οἰκουμενικὴ καὶ θεία ἐδογμάτισε σύνοδος, καὶ τοὺς μὴ οὕτω φρονοῦντας, ὡς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑβριστάς, τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλεν. Οὕτως ἡ δευτέρα

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**64-65.** ἵνα-μοναδικόν] Greg. Naz., *Heron.*, § 16, col. 1221.9-10 — **66-73.** Οὕτως-ἑβδόμη] cf. infra § **44.1-7**

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**53.** ante Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. B: scr. et del. βασιλ(είου) C — **55.** ἐατέον B — δε' ἐκείνων Z — καθόλου] om. Z — **58.** οὐδ' ὁπητιοῦν A — **60.** διὰ] sscr. Z — **62.** τοῦ] sscr. Z — γένησιν W — **62-63.** τοῦ υἱοῦ] om. Z — **63.** τῶν ὁμοφυῶν αὐτοῦ Z: τῶν ἐξ' αὐτοῦ ὁμοφυῶν W — **64.** κἄν D: κἀν GZ — **65.** δεῖ] χρὴ G — **66.** καθένα τοὺς ἁγίους BDO: τοὺς ἁγίους καθ' ἕνα G — προϊχεσθαι DG — ante οὕτως scr. συνόδ(ου) α' in marg. G — **67.** πατέρων] om. W — τοπρῶτον] post cor. (ex τὸ πρῶτον) C: τὸ πρῶτον ABGL — **68.** ante ὡς τῆς scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. C — **69.** καθ ὑπέβαλεν V — δευτέρα] δευτευτέρα W

τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἐθέσπισε, τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐκπορεύεσθαι δογματίσασα. Διεδέξατο ταύτην ἡ τρίτη, ἐβεβαίωσεν ἡ τετάρτη, σύμψηφος ἡ πέμπτη κατέστη, συνεκήρυξεν ἡ ἕκτη, ἐπεσφράγισε λαμπροῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν ἡ ἑβδόμη. Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, μὴ περιφανῶς παρρησιαζομένην εἰσέτι νῦν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ὑφ' ἧς φρουρούμενοι, ταύτην φρουρεῖν ἀνεπηρέαστον, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ θεολογοῦσι καὶ δογματίζουσι, καὶ τοῖς μὴ οὕτω φρονοῦσι, βαθεῖαν ἐπενηνόχασι καὶ καιρίαν τομήν, ὥσπέρ τι μέλος ἀνιάτως ἔχον, τῆς
M 230v καθολικῆς ‖ ἐκκλησίας, ἀφειδῶς τούτους ἐκτέμνοντες.

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**64-65.** ἵνα-μοναδικόν] Greg. Naz., *Heron.*, § 16, col. 1221.9-10

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**70.** post Πνεῦμα add. τὸ ἅγι(ον) G — **71.** δογματίσασα ἐκπορεύεσθαι Z — τρίτη] γ′ Z — post τρίτη scr. γ′ in marg. G — **72.** τετάρτη] δ′ GZ — post τετάρτη scr. δ′ in marg. G — πέμπτη] ε′ GZ — post πέμπτη scr. ε′ in marg. G — **73.** ἕκτη] στ′ GZ — post scr. στ′ in marg. G — ἑβδόμη] ζ′ GZ — post scr. ζ′ in marg. G — **74.** εἰσέτι] εἰς ἔτι GWZ — **75.** εὐσέβειαν] ἀσέβειαν A — ὑφ' ἧς] ὑφῆς M — **76.** ἀνεπιρέαστον B: ἀνεπειραίαστον Z — post ἀνεπηρέαστον scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — **77.** μὴ] sscr. A — **78.** βαθείαν L — ὥσπέρ τι C — **79.** ἔχον] ἔχων Z

**[19] Ὅτι τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπονται, οἱ τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ προστιθέντες τί, ἢ ἀφαιροῦντες.**

Αὐτίκα γὰρ ἡ δευτέρα καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία Σύνοδος, προὔργου νενομοθέτηκε, μὴ ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν πίστιν, πρὸς τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα τριακοσίων θεοφόρων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ. Ἡ δέ γε τρίτη, ἐν ἑβδόμῳ κανόνι, *ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προφέρειν* διωρίσατο, *ἢ συγγράφειν, ἢ συντιθέναι, παρὰ τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐπὶ Νίκαιαν ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι συναχθέντων· τοὺς* γὰρ ταύτην ὑπαλλάττειν *ἀποτολμῶντας*, εἰ μὲν ἱερωμένοι εἶεν, τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀλλοτριοῖ, λαϊκοὺς δέ, τοῦ ἀναθέματος ἀξιοῖ. Ἡ μέντοι *ἁγία* καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ κανόνι, *ὁρίζομεν* φησὶν, *ἀκαινοτόμητόν τε καὶ ἀπαράτρωτον φυλάττειν τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν ἡμῖν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων τῶν εἰς Νίκαιαν συνελθόντων*, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων συνόδων, *καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ διαπρεψάντων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ γεγόνασι φωστῆρες ἐν*

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**[19] 4-9.** ἑτέραν-ἀποτολμῶντας] *Conc. Ephes.* (431), canon 7, *COGD*, p. 108.1025-1031; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 200.20-24 — **10-14.** ὁρίζομεν-συνελθόντων] *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 1, *COGD*, pp. 224.229-225.237; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 302.7-11 — **14-16.** καὶ πάντων-ἐπέχοντες] loc. cit., *COGD*, p. 228.376-380; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 305.10-12

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**[19] Tit.** scr. ὅτι τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπονται, οἱ τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ προστιθέντες τί ἢ ἀφαιροῦντες in marg. BCGMOVW: in textu A: scr. συνόδου, δευτέρας in textu V: scr. συ(νόδου) β′ in marg. ACDGLMOWZ: alt. man. scr. συ(νόδου) β′ in marg. G — **1.** δευτέρα] β′ Z: om. G — οἰκουμενικῆ W — ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος G: καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος ἁγία per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — προύργου BOVWZ — **4.** τῶν] τῆς A — ante Ἡ δέ scr. συνόδ(ου) τρίτ(ης) in textu V: scr. συ(νόδου) γ′ in marg. ACDGLMOWZ — γε] sscr. Z — **5.** μὴ δενὶ B — **6.** ὡρισθεῖσαν Z — **7.** ὑπαλλάττειν] ἐναλλάττειν Z — **8.** ἱεροσύνης A — ἀλλότριοι B — **9.** ante Ἡ μέντοι scr. συνόδου, τετάρτης et del. τετάρτης et scr. ἕκτης V: scr. συ(νόδου) στ′ in marg. ABCDGLMOW — **10.** ἕκτη] στ′ GZ — **11.** τε] om. Z — **12.** post ἁγίων add. καὶ πανεφήμων Z — **12-13.** τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ] τιη′ G: τι′ καὶ ὀκτὼ Z — **13.** ὀκτώ ABCO — **15.** post διαπρεψάντων add. ἁγίων G

κόσμῳ, λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες. Εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἁπάντων μὴ τὰ προειρημένα τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγματα, κρατεῖ καὶ ἀσπάζεται, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα κατὰ τὸν προεκτεθέντα ὅρον ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ καταλόγου ἀλλότριος, ἐξωθείσθω· ἡμεῖς γάρ, οὔτε προστιθέναι τί, οὔτε μὴν ἀφαιρεῖν, κατὰ τὸν προορισθέντα παντελῶς διεγνώκαμεν, ἢ καθ' ὁντιναοῦν δεδυνήμεθα λόγον. Ἡ δὲ ἑβδόμη σύνοδος, ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκτεθέντι ὅρῳ, ἡμεῖς φησι, τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ θεσμοθεσίᾳ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπακολουθοῦμεν· ἡμεῖς τοὺς θεσμοὺς τῶν πατέρων φυλάττομεν· ἡμεῖς τοὺς προστιθέντας τὶ ἢ ἀφαιροῦντας ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀναθεματίζομεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Κελεστῖνος πάπας Ῥώμης φησί, τίς πώποτε οὐκ ἄξιος τοῦ ἀναθεματισμοῦ ἐκρίθη, ἢ ἀφελὼν τί, ἢ προσθεὶς τῇ πίστει; Τὰ γὰρ μεστῶς καὶ φανερῶς παραδοθέντα ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, οὔτε προσθήκην, οὔτε μείωσιν ἐπιδέχεται. Ὁ δὲ Δάμασος πάπας καὶ αὐτὸς Ῥώμης, πρὸς Παυλῖνον γράφων Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπον, εἴ τις μὴ εἴποι φησὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως, ὡς καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ Θεοῦ Θεόν, Λόγον,

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**16-22.** Εἰ δέ-λόγον] *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 1, *COGD,* p. 228.391-401; *Σύνταγμα,* p. 305.18-27 — **23-26.** ἡμεῖς-ἀναθεματίζομεν] *Conc. Nicaen. II* (787), Act. VII, col. 416.7-10; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 151.27-29 — **27-30.** τίς-ἐπιδέχεται] Celestinus, *Epist. Nestor.,* p. 79.22-24; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 151.15-17 — **31-34.** εἴ τις-ἔστω] Damasus, *Conf. fidei*: 'si quis non dixerit Spiritum Sanctum de Patre esse vere ac proprie, sicut Filium, de divina substantia et Deum verum, anathema sit'. col. 362.10-12; cf. Sylv. Syrop., *Resip.*, p. 396.67-69

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**18.** προεκτεθέντα] προτεθέντα Z — **19.** ἐξωθείσθω] ἐκτεθείσθω V — **20.** τί] om. Z — μὴν] om. Z — post ἀφαιρεῖν add. τὶ Z — **21.** post προορισθέντα add. ὅρον G — καθ' ὅντινα οὖν V: καθ' ὄντινα οὖν L — **22.** ante Ἡ δὲ scr. συνόδ(ου) ἑβδόμης in textu V: scr. συ(νόδου) ζ′ in marg. ABCDGLMOWZ — ἑβδόμη] ζ′ G — παρ' αὐτῶν] παρ' αὐτῆς BDOVGW — **23.** φησὶ BGZ — **25.** φυλάττωμεν G — ἡμεῖς in ras. W — προστιθέντας] προτιθέντας Z — **26.** ante Ἀλλὰ scr. κελεστίν(ου) in marg. ACDGMOV: scr. κελεστῖν(ου) in marg. W — κελλεστῖνος W — **27.** φησὶ bis acc. B — **28.** ἀφαιλῶν D — προσθεὶς] προστιθεὶς G — **30.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. δαμάσου in marg. ACDGLMOVW — Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτὸς per sscr. α′ et β′ Z

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*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* Ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος ‖ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν; *Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλας δεῖ πίστεις συγγράφειν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλοιοῦσθαι, ψευδὴς ἡ ἀπόφασις τοῦ εἰπόντος, «εἷς Κύριος· μία πίστις· ἓν βάπτισμα».* Καὶ αὖθις· *χρὴ γὰρ ἀπαράβατον μένειν, τὴν ἐν τῷ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι δεδομένην παράδοσιν· ἢ προσθεῖναί τι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, ζωῆς ἐστιν ἀϊδίου, προδήλως ἔκπτωσις.* Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀσκητικαῖς αὐτοῦ διατυπώσεσι, *φανερὰ δὲ ἔκπτωσις, πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.* Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Κύριλλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ συνόδῳ, *κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον σαλεύεσθαι παρά τινων ἀνεχόμεθα* φησί, *τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν πίστιν, ἥγουν τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων· οὔτε μὴν ἐπιτρέπομεν ἑαυτοῖς, ἢ ἑτέροις, ἢ λέξιν τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐγκειμένων ἀμεῖψαι, ἢ μίαν γοῦν παραβῆναι συλλαβήν, μεμνημένοι τοῦ λέγοντος, «μὴ μέταιρε ὅρια αἰώνια, ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες σου»· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοὶ οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, ὃ ἐκπορεύεται μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἔστι δὲ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον.* Καὶ αὖθις· *ὁ γὰρ μικρόν τί, ἢ μέγα τῶν θείων ἀθετῶν,*

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**34-37.** Εἰ γὰρ-βάπτισμα] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 226, § 3.22-25, p. 27; cf. infra § **21**.17-20 — **36-37.** εἷς-βάπτισμα] Eph. 4:5 — **38-39.** προσθεῖναι-ἔκπτωσις] Basil. Caes., *Spir. Sanc.*, § 12,28.21-22, 26-27, p. 346 — **40-42.** φανερὰ-γεγραμμένων] Basil. Caes., *Fide,* col. 680.9-11 — **43-51.** κατ' οὐδένα-λόγον] Cyrill. Alex., *Epist. Ioh.,* p. 19.20-26 — **47-48.** μὴ-σου] Prov. 22:28 — **51-53.** ὁ γὰρ-συνηρίθμηται] Cyrill. Alex. apud Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 155.3-5

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**34.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ACDGLMOVW — **36.** μία] μετὰ L — **37.** ante Καὶ αὖθις scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. ABCDMOVZ — **38.** τῶ] om. G — ἦ] ἢ BG — προσθῆναι L — τὶ] om. G — **39.** ἔκπτωσις G — ante Καὶ ἐν scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. ABCDGLMOVZ — **41.** γεγγραμένων et μ sscr. (per γεγγραμμένων) B — **42.** ἐπισάγειν W — post ἐπεισάγειν add. τῖ G — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. τοῦ ἁγίου κυρίλλου in textu Z: scr. κυρίλλ(ου) in marg. ABCLDMOVW — **46.** ἀμεῖψαι τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἐκεῖσε G — ἀμείψαι Z — **47.** μέταιρε] post cor. (ex μέτερε et sscr. αι) W: — **49.** λα(…)λοῦντες lac. (2-3 litt.) W — **50.** ἐξαυτοῦ L: ἐξ' αὐτοῦ W — **51.** ante Καὶ αὖθις scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. ABCDLMOVW: in textu GZ

*ὅλον ἀθετεῖ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς καθάπαξ τοῦτον παραβαίνουσι συνηρίθμηται*. Ὁ δὲ Πηλουσιώτης ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος, περὶ τῶν ἀφελεῖν ἢ προσθεῖναι τολμώντων τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις λογίοις, ἓν ἐκ τῶν δύο φησὶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι νοσοῦσιν· *ἢ γὰρ οὐ πεπιστεύκασιν, ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τὰς θείας λελέχθαι γραφάς, καὶ εἰσὶν ἄπιστοι, ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦνται, σοφωτέρους τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ τί, ἄλλο, ἢ δαιμονῶσιν;* Καὶ οὕτω μὲν οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες τῶν διαστρέφειν καὶ ὁποσονοῦν τὰ τῆς πίστεως πειρωμένων καταψηφίζονται· οὗτοι δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦκον παραπληξίας, ὥστε τοὺς θείους μὲν τῶν πατέρων θεσμούς, καὶ τὰ ἐπανατεινόμενα τοῖς παραβάταις δεινότατα, ψόφον ἄλλως ἡγεῖσθαι, τὴν πίστιν δὲ μὴ πεφρικέναι, τῇ περὶ τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον προσθήκῃ, ἀτεχνῶς τιθέναι ἀνάστατον. Τίς ἆρα νοῦ καὶ φρενὸς ὑγιῶς ἔχων ἄνθρωπος, τῆς τούτων οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίη σκαιότητος!

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**55-58.** ἢ γὰρ-δαιμονῶσιν] cf. Euseb. *Hist.*, § 28.18, p. 142.13-16

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**53.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. ἰσιδ(ώρου) τοῦ πηλουσιώτου in textu Z: scr. ἰσιδ(ώ)ρ(ου) in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — πηλουσϊώτϊς B: πηλουσιότης AW — **54.** προσθῆναι G — **55.** οἱ τοιοῦτοι] οὗτοι Z — ante ἢ γὰρ scr. alt. man. ση(μείωσαι) ἐν τέλει in marg. C — **56.** λελέχθαι τὰς θείας Z — **57.** σοφοτέρους G — παναγίου] ἁγίου LZ — **58.** ἢ] οἳ B — **59.** ὁπωσονοῦν G — **61.** ἐπανακτεινόμενα L — **62.** ἄλλως] ἄλλον W — **63.** προσθήκῃ] post cor. (ex πρὸς θήκῃ) L

**[20] Ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς κατὰ τὸν Φώτιον συνόδου.**

Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ Φώτιος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ λόγου μὲν καὶ σοφίας ἥκων εἰς τὸ ἀκρότατον, τὸν πατριαρχικὸν δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἰθύνων, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, τὰ τῆς βασιλείας
M 231v σκῆπτρα διέποντος, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φωράσας Ῥω-‖μαίων, τὰ καινὰ ταυτὶ καὶ νόθα τηνικαῦτα ἐπεισάγουσαν δόγματα, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον περὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τολμῶσαν τῇ προσθήκῃ μεταποιεῖν, σιωπὴν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρτι κινουμένοις ἀτόποις, οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν. Ταύτῃ τοι καὶ λόγον συντεταχώς, οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντα σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως, τῆς περὶ τὰς λογικὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ ἀποδείξεις, τὸ δυσσεβὲς αὐτῶν ἐστηλίτευσε φρόνημα. Οὐ μήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύνοδον συγκροτήσας, πλειόνων ἢ τριακοσίων ἀρχιερέων, τῇ κελεύσει τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως, τῇ δὲ συνόδῳ παρῆσαν, καὶ οἱ τὴν γνώμην ἅμα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ καίρια τῶν δογμάτων φρόνημα, τῶν τριῶν ἑτέρων ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνατεθειμένοι, καὶ ἀπαγγελοῦντες, οἷος ἦν τὸν πάπαν ἐκκήρυκτον θέσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ὡς δ' οὗτος ἔγνω φωραθείς,

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**[20] Tit.** κατὰ τὸν Φώτιον συνόδου] Concilium CP (879) — **8.** λόγον] scil. Phot., *Mystag.*

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**[20] Tit.** scr. ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τ(ῆς) κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὸν) φώτιον (φωτί(ου) G) συνόδου: in marg. CGMW: in textu A: scr. ἐν ἔτ(ει) στῳ τῳ οῳ in marg. G: scr. πε(ρὶ) τοῦ φωτ(ίου) in marg. ACDMOV: in textu Z: scr. περὶ φωτί(ου) GL — **1.** ante διά τοι scr. alt. man. ὅτι μ(ὲν) οἱ λατίνοι ἀναθέματι καθ' ὑπεβλήθησ(αν) ἀνάγνωσ(ον) τὸν παρόντα λόγον· in marg. A — διά τοὶ V: διὰ τϊ L — **2.** πατριαρχικὸν] πατριαρχὸν V — δὲ] om. D — κωνσταντινουπόλεως] κωνσταντίνου BDMOVW — **3.** θρόνων ἰθύνων O: ἰθύνων θρόνον G — post μακεδόνος scr. τὰ τῆς βασιλείας in marg. Z — **5.** ἐπεισάγουσαν] εισάγουσαν et ἐπ sscr. (per ἐπεισάγουσαν) Z — **8.** κοινουμένοις G — **9.** συντεταχὼς] post cor. (ex συντεταχῶς) Z — **11.** ante οὐ μὴν alt. man. scr. σύνοδος τριακοσί(ων) π(ατέρων) in marg. A — **12.** post πλειόνων scr. ἢ τπθ′ in marg. G — **13.** ἅμα G — **15.** ἀνατεθεμένοι L: ἀνατιθεμένοι Z — καὶ] om. G

καὶ τὴν ἀποκήρυξιν δείσας, παλινῳδίαν τὲ ἦσε, καὶ διαπρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον, τήν τε καινοτομίαν ἠρνεῖτο τῆς πίστεως, καὶ μὴ ἄλλως φρονεῖν ὡμολόγει καὶ ἰσχυρίζετο, περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκπόρευσιν Πνεύματος, ἢ ὡς τὸ παρὰ τῆς πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου ἐκτεθὲν ἱερὸν σύμβολον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἑξῆς ἁγίων συνόδων τὸ κῦρος δεξάμενον, δογματίζει καὶ βούλεται. Οἷς ἀρεσθέντες ἡ σύνοδος, τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐξέωσαν· ὡς γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ πράξει τῆς τοιαύτης συνόδου διείληπται, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συμβόλου, κοινῇ πάντες *οὕτω φρονοῦμεν* οἱ πατέρες ἐβόησαν· *οὕτω πιστεύομεν· εἰς ταύτην ἐβαπτίσθημεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ βαθμοῦ ἠξιώμεθα· τοὺς* δὲ *ἑτέρως παρὰ ταῦτα φρονοῦντας*, ὡς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡγούμεθα. *Εἴ τις* οὖν *παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν σύμβολον, τολμήσει ἕτερον ἀναγράψασθαι*, ἢ προσθεῖναι, ἢ ἀφελεῖν, ἢ ὅρον ὀνομάσαι ἀποθρασυνθείη, κατάκριτος καὶ πάσης χριστιανικῆς ὁμολογίας ἀλλότριος· τὸ γὰρ ἀφελεῖν ἢ προσθεῖναι, ἀτελῆ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, μέχρι σήμερον ἄνωθεν κατιοῦσαν ὁμολογίαν ἡμῶν

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**26-36.** οὕτω-καταγινώσκει] *Conc. CP* (879), Act. VI, cols. 516.46-517.8; cf. Georg. Schol., *Process. Spir. Sanc.* (Tract. I), p. 232.24-32

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**20.** πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσιν A: πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσιν per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — **21.** πρώτης] α′ Z — δευτέρας] β′ GLZ — **22.** ἁγίων ἑξῆς Z — κύρος G — **24.** ante Ὡς γὰρ scr. ἐκ τῶν πρακτικ(ῶν) τ(ῆς) κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὸν φώτ(ιον) συνόδου: in marg. BDLOV — ἕκτῃ] στ′ G — **25.** διήληπται Z — **26.** οὕτω B — φρονοῦμεν οἱ] post cor. (ex φρονουμενοὶ) D — **29.** ἡγούμεθα B — **29-30.** ante Εἴ τις scr. ὅρος in marg. G — **30.** οὖν] om. W — παρατοῦτο M — **34.** κατιοῦσαν ὁμολογίαν ἄνωθεν G — ἡμῶν] om. B

δείκνυσι, καὶ τῆς τε ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίας καταγινώσκει. Ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πάπα πρέσβεις, τὸ ἱερὸν σύμβολον ἀπαραλλάκτως ἀνωμολόγησαν, καὶ τὸν προστιθέντα ἢ ἀφαιροῦντα, ἢ ἀφαιρήσοντα, ἢ προσθήσοντα, τῷ ἀναθέματι ‖ καθυπέβαλον. Οὗ δὴ καὶ τίς ἀντερεῖ, μὴ οὐχὶ κληρονόμους εἶναι τοὺς μὴ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ταύτην, εἰς τέλος διατηρήσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ, τῇ προσθήκῃ λυμαινομένους, καὶ καινά τινα δόγματα τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐ συμβαίνοντα παραδόσει, ἐπεισάγειν οὐ δεδιότας;

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**35.** τε] om. W — **36.** διδασκαλεί(ας) G — **37.** ἀπαραλάκτως G — **38.** ἀφαιροῦντα] ἀφαιροῦν et sscr. τα (per ἀφαιροῦντα) Z — **39.** καθ' ὑπέβαλον G — ἀνταιρεῖ W — **42.** δόγματα] δόγμα D — **42-43.** παραδόσει οὐ συμβαίνοντα per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — **43.** παραδώσει L — ἐπισάγειν W — δεδιώτας D: δεδειότας Z

**[21] Περὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ πάπα.**

Ὅρα γὰρ εἰς ὅσον ἦκον θράσους καὶ ἀπονοίας, καὶ οἷα την τήμερον, κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας νεανιεύονται, ἐν ἕξει τοῦ κακοῦ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ γεγενημένοι· *οὐ γὰρ βιωτός* ἐστιν αὐτοῖς *ὁ βίος*, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τῆς σφῶν κακίας μετάσχοιεν. Πρὸς γοῦν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκεῖνον Μιχαὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον, τῷ *λατινικῷ* μελετῶντα ἤδη προστεθῆναι φρονήματι ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσασιν, ἐπιστολὴν ὁ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης πρόεδρος πέπομφεν, ἐν ᾗ θεολογήσας δῆθεν μέχρι τινός, εἶτα καὶ βλασφημήσας εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τοιάνδέ τινα ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φωνήν, οὐκ ἠδέσθη προέσθαι· *εἰ* τοίνυν *ὁμολογήσετε τὴν εἰρημένην πίστιν, ἑτοίμως ἔχομεν δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς*. Ὦ φρενὸς ἄκρατα μεθυούσης τὴν ἀσέβειαν! Ὦ γλώττης ἀπεναντίας ἱσταμένης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ πᾶν αἱρετικόν, ἀναστομούσης φρόνημα! Ἔστι γὰρ ἄλλη τὶς πίστις ὀρθῶς ἔχουσα, ἢ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν κηρυττομένη; Οὕτως ἀνέδην καὶ *γυμνῇ* φᾶναι *τῇ κεφαλῇ*, ὁ πάντα τολμηρὸς οὑτοσὶ καὶ

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**[21] 3.** οὐ-βίος] Soph., *Oedipus Col.*, 1692 (bis); Plato, *Apologia Socratis*, 38a5-6; Gorgias, *Fragmenta*, 11a128 — **10-11.** εἰ τοίνυν-ὑμᾶς] cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia*, p. 263.6-7 — **15.** γυμνῇ-κεφαλῇ] Plato, *Phaedrus* 243b6; Lucianus, *Anacharsis*, § 16.25

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**[21] Tit.** scr. περὶ τ(ῆς) ἐπιστολ(ῆς) τοῦ *πάπα*: in marg. ABCDLMVW — **1.** ἦκον L — **1-2.** τηντήμερον] την τήμερον CO: τὴν τήμερον ADGW: τὴν σήμερον B — **2.** εὐσεβείας] ἐκκλησίας Z — **3.** βιωτός] βρωτός B — ἐστὶν B — αὐτοῖς] om. Z — **4.** ante πρὸς γοῦν scr. alt. man. ση(μείωσαι) ὁ μιχαὴλ οὗτος, πρῶτος ὑπάρχει τῶν παλαιολόγων· ὃς τὴν κωνστ(αντινούπολη) ἐλύσατο ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τῶν λατίνων, ἐλθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς· οὗτος λατινίσας, τὸ ἅγι(ον) ὅρ‹ε›ι ἡφάνησ(εν) τ(ῆς) λαύρ(ας) μον(ής) μεινάσ(ειν) (vel. μεινήσ(ειν) pro μηνύσειν) ἐπεὶ ἐκοινώνισε τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ in marg. A: scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. W — **7.** ῥώμης C — **9.** post αὐτοῦ scr. et del. πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς L — φωνήν] om. Z — **10.** ante εἰ τοίνυν scr. περὶ τοῦ μηνύμ(α)τ(ος) τοῦ *πάπα* in marg. G — ὁμολογήσετ(αι) DO — **11.** δέξασθαῖ G — **13.** τις V — **14.** ἡμῖν] post cor. (ex ἡμ(ὶν)) B: ἡμῶν GLZ — **15.** ἀναίδην DG: ἀναίδην et sscr. ε (per ἀνέδην) Z — γυμνὴ AW — φάναι ALZ — οὑτοσὶ] οὑτησὶ L

τοὺς ἐπηρτημένους κινδύνους ἥκιστα ὑποπτήσσων, τὰς πλήρεις ἀσεβείας φωνὰς ἐκπτύειν οὐ παρητήσατο. *Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλας δεῖ πίστεις συγγράφειν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλοιοῦσθαι,* κατὰ τὸν θεοφόρον καὶ μέγαν Βασίλειον, *ψευδὴς ἡ ἀπόφασις τοῦ εἰπόντος, «εἷς Κύριος· μία πίστις· ἓν βάπτισμα». Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις.*

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**17-21.** ἄλλοτε-λόγοις] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 226, p. 27, § 3.22-26; cf. supra § **19**.34-37 — **20.** εἷς-βάπτισμα] Eph. 4:5

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**16.** ἐπηρτημένους] ἐπηρμένους W — ἥκιστα L — ὑποπτύσσων A: ὑποπήσσων O: ὑποπτήσων BZ — πλήρης DMW — **17.** ante εἰ γὰρ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. DG — **18.** τῶν] sscr. Z: τὸν et sscr. ῶ (per τῶν) W — ἀλοιοῦσθαι BD — **20.** εἰπόντως post cor. (ex εἰπόντος et sscr. τ(ως)) B — **21.** μηδεῖς G: μὴ δεὶς B

**[22] Τίνες λέγονται αἱρετικοί.**

Εἰ τοίνυν *ὁ μικρὸν ἐκκλίνων τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, αἱρετικός ἐστιν* ὡς ὁ πολιτικὸς ὁρίζεται νόμος, εἰ ὁ μὴ τῷ κοινῷ κανόνι τῆς ἐκκλησίας στοιχῶν σαφῶς αἱρετίζει, ὃ ἂν αἱροῖτο τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθολικῶν δογμάτων ἐν προτιμήσει τιθέμενος, εἰ ὁ ἀνατρέπων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τοῖς ὅροις μὴ ἐμμένων τῆς πίστεως, κακοδοξίας οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοι γραφήν, τίς *οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀσυλλόγιστος*, ὃς οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσειε, μερίτας εἶναι καὶ τούτους τοῦ ἀναθέματος, ὡς ἄντικρυς αἱρετίζοντας; Ὅτι δὲ ἀνα-
M 232$^{v}$ ‖τρέπει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὸν ὅρον τῆς πίστεως ὁ Ἰταλὸς ἀθετῶν, παρίτω μοι ὁ ψυχὴν καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ τὰ πάντα χρυσοῦς, τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐπιψηφιζόμενος· ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ ὁμιλίᾳ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῆς, *καὶ μήν, μίαν* φησὶν *εἰσῆγον, ἢ δευτέραν ἐντολήν, τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς· καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμερῶν μόνον καινοτομοῦντες· ἀλλὰ δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν παραποιηθέν, τὸ ὅλον λυμαίνεται*, εἶπε· *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀνατρέπεσθαι· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς νομίσμασιν, ὁ*

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**[22] 1-2.** ὁ μικρὸν-ἐστιν] *Synt.*, α', § 2, p. 74.22-23

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**[22] 1-2.** ὁ μικρὸν-νόμος] Theod. Balsam., *Nomocanon* (resp. 35), p. 476: Αἱρετικός, φησίν, ἐστί, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ὑπόκειται νόμοις, ὁ μικρὸν γοῦν ἐκκλίνων τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia*, p. 143.15 — **2.** ὁ πολιτικὸς-νόμος] cf. *Epanagoge Aucta* 53, 4, : αἱρετικὸς δέ ἐστι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ὑπόκειται νόμοις ὁ μικρὸν γοῦν ἐκκλίνων τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως; *Basilica* (liber 1), 1, § 18.4-6: αἱρετικὸς δὲ πᾶς ὃς καὶ μικρῷ ὑποδείγματι παρὰ τὸ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμα ἢ τῆς εὐθείας ἐφάνη τραπείς. — **6-7.** οὕτως-ἀσυλλόγιστος] Flav. Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, Lib. 9, § 255, p. 320.4-6 — **12-20.** καὶ μήν-ἀρχῆς] Ioh. Chrys., *Gal.*, § 6, col. 622.29-38

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**[22] Tit.** scr. τίνες λέγονται αἱρετικοὶ in marg. ACGLMOVWZ — **1.** ante Εἰ τοίνυν scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. W — ὀρθοδόξου] ὀρθῆς Z — αἱρετικὸς L — **2.** νόμος] λόγος et sscr. add. νόμος Z — εἰ μὴ ὁ Z — **3.** αἱρεῖτο AG: αἱρεῖτο post cor. (ex αἱροῖτο) D — **6-7.** ἐκφύγοι-ὃς οὐκ ἂν] om. *homoioteleuton* A — **7-8.** καὶ τούτους μερίτας εἶναι AZ: καὶ τούτους τοὺς μερίτ(ας) εἶναι L — **10.** παρίττω B — γλώτταν L — τὰ] om. G — **11.** ante ἐν γὰρ scr. χρ(υσοστόμ)ου in marg. ABCDGLMOVWZ — **13.** τὴν] om. A — **14.** ἡμερῶν] μερῶν V — καινοτομοῦντες] om. G: καὶνοτομοῦντες L — δεικνεὶς L — post καὶ add. τὸ G — **15.** λυμένεται L

*μικρόν τι τοῦ χαρακτῆρος περικόψας, ὅλον τὸ νόμισμα κίβδηλον εἰργάσατο, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως, τὸ γοῦν βραχύτατον ἀνατρέψας, τῷ παντὶ λυμαίνεται, ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα προϊὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς.* Καὶ μετά τινα, *ποῦ νῦν εἰσὶν οἱ φιλονεικίας ἡμᾶς κρίνοντες, ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς διαστάσεως, καὶ λέγοντες, μηδὲν εἶναι μέσον ἡμῶν* τε *κἀκείνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ φιλαρχίας τὴν διαφορὰν γίνεσθαι; Ἀκουέτωσαν τί φησιν ὁ Παῦλος· ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀνέτρεψαν, οἱ μικρόν τι καινοτομοῦντες. Τούτοις δὲ μικρὸν οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ πλημμελούμενον, κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος, βλάσφημον γλῶτταν κεκινηκόσιν, ἣν βλασφημίαν, καὶ μὴ δ' ἡντιναοῦν ἔχειν παραίτησιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπεφήνατο.* Καὶ αὖθις, ὁ αὐτός φησι, *τί τοῖς τοῦ Δεσπότου ῥήμασιν, ὑμεῖς ἐπιδιατάττεσθε; Ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, εἰ καί τις ποτὲ ἐπιχειρήσειεν, ἢ εἰς τοσαύτην ἐξέλθοι τόλμαν, ὥστε προσθεῖναί τι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμμασιν, ἢ ἀφελεῖν, τοῦ ὁμογενοῦς ἡμῖν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως κοινωνοῦντος, τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑφίσταται δίκην, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τιμωρίας ἐξελέσθαι δύναται; Εἰ τοίνυν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου τοσοῦτος ὁ κίνδυνος,*

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**20-25.** ποῦ νῦν-οὐκ] Ioh. Chrys., *Gal.*, § 6, col. 622.39-45 — **28-37.** τί τοῖς-ἐπιχειροῦσι] Ioh. Chrys., *Pentec.*, § 2, col. 465.45-56

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**17.** περὶ κόψας B — **19.** χείρονα] χείρω G — **20.** ante Καὶ μετάτινα scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOV — νῦν εἰσιν DLO — **21.** προς B — ante μηδὲν scr. ὅρα in marg. W — μὴ δὲν BL — **23.** φησὶν DG — **24.** post καινοτομοῦντες scr. τούτοις δὲ μικρόν τι καινοτομοῦντες dittography L — **26.** παναγίου] ἁγίου ALZ — βλάσφημον δόξαν κεκινηκόσιν G: βλάσφημίαν καὶ μίαν γλῶτταν κεκινηκόσιν L — **26-27.** ἣν βλασφημίαν] ἣν κ(αὶ) λασφημίαν B — **27.** μηδ' DG — ἡντινοῦν AL: ὁντινοῦν Z: ἥντινα οὖν B — παραίτησιν ἔχειν ALZ — **28.** ante Καὶ αὖθις scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCDLMOVW: scr. χρ(υσοστόμ)ου in marg. V — αὐτὸς φησὶ G — **29.** ἐπιδιατάττεσθε] in ras. B — **30.** ἐξέλθοι] ἔλθοι Z — **31.** προσθεῖναι τί BDOV — **32.** ὁμογενοῦς] ὁμονογενοῦς L — **34.** ἐπαν(θρώπ)ου G — τοσοῦτος] τόσος W

35 *ποία γένοιτ᾽ ἂν συγγνώμη, τοῖς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἐπιδεικνυμένοις, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰρημένα παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειροῦσι;* Καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα, τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον· *οὐκ ἤκουσας, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ ἐν Σαββάτῳ ξύλα τίς συλλέξας, καὶ μίαν ἐντολὴν παραβάς, καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μεγίστην, ἐσχάτην ἔδωκε*
40 *δίκην; Καὶ Ὀζᾶν τὴν κιβωτὸν μέλλουσαν περιτρέπεσθαι, στηρίξας, παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανεν, ὅτι μὴ προσηκούσης αὐτῷ διακονίας*
M 233r *ἥψατο;* ‖ *Εἶτα Σαββάτου μὲν παράβασις, καὶ τὸ τῆς κιβωτοῦ καταπιπτούσης μόνον ἅψασθαι, εἰς τοσαύτην ἤγαγε τὸν Θεὸν ἀγανάκτησιν, ὡς μὴ δὲ βραχείας τυχεῖν συγγνώμης τοὺς ταῦτα*
45 *τολμήσαντας· ὁ δὲ δόγματα φρικτὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα λυμηνάμενος, ἀπολογίας τεύξεται καὶ συγγνώμης; Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ἐστί, τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μικρῶν ἀγανακτεῖν.* Καὶ μετά τινα· *διατοῦτο καταγέλαστοι γεγόναμεν καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις, εἰς μυρία*
50 *τῆς ἐκκλησίας σχιζομένης· εἰ γὰρ οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποπηδᾶν τῶν θείων θεσμῶν ἐπιχειροῦντες, καὶ μικρόν τι παρακινεῖν, τῆς προσηκούσης ἐτύγχανον ἐπιτιμήσεως, οὐκ ἂν ὁ*

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**37-48.** οὐκ-ἀγανακτεῖν] Ioh. Chrys., *Gal.*, § 6, col. 622.46-623.4 — **48-54.** διατοῦτο-κατέλαβε] loc. cit., col. 623.19-25

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**36.** κοινοῦ] κονοῦ et sscr. ι (per κοινοῦ) A — **37.** ante Καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ACDLMVW — **38.** καὶ] om. Z — **40.** ὀζᾶν VW — **41.** παρὰ χρῆμα L — **41-42.** ὅτι μὴ-ἥψατο] om. B — **42.** παράβασις] παρατήρησϊς G — **47.** οὖν] om. AD — **48.** ante Καὶ μετάτινα scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg.ABCDLMOVW — διὰ τοῦτο L — **49.** ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἕλλησι per sscr. β′ et α′ C — **50.** οἱ] om. Z

παρὼν ἐτέχθη λοιμός· οὐκ ἂν ὁ τοσοῦτος χειμών, τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατέλαβε. Καὶ προϊών, οὐκ εἶπε φησίν, ἐὰν ἐναντία καταγγέλλωσιν, ἢ ἀνατρέπωσι τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζωνται, παρὸ εὐηγγελισάμεθα· κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινήσωσιν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν. Ταῦτα τῆς χρυσῆς γλώττης διεξιούσης, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς οἶμαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων, ἢ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων κοινωνίας ἀνάσχοιτο, οὕτω κρηπῖδος κινδυνευούσης ἀνατετράφθαι, ἢ τὸν τούτοις καθηγεμόνα, ἐνάριθμον τοῖς εὐσεβέσι φήσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρχιποίμεσιν· ὁ γὰρ τούτοις τιθέμενος, πάσαις ψήφοις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κατάκριτος, ὡς συνανατρέπων τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ οἷς τοὺς ἀθετοῦντας τοῦτο προσίεται, ἐσχάτην ἑαυτῷ προμνώμενος δίκην καὶ ἀπαραίτητον· ἓν γὰρ τὸ αἴτιον τῶν θεαρχικῶν ὁμολογοῦμεν ὑποστάσεων, ὡς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνὴν φρονοῦσι καὶ δογματίζουσι, *θεμέλιον δὲ ἄλλον παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι*· οὔκουν, οὐδ' εἰ ἄγγελός ἐστιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυκα. *Ἀλλὰ τούτων μέν, ἅλις*· ἃ γὰρ ἂν ἔχοι τὶς εἰπεῖν, οἰόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐπισχήσειν, τῆς περὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὀλεθρίου δόξης καὶ σφαλερᾶς, τοσαῦτα σχεδόν ἐστιν.

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**54-56.** οὐκ εἶπε-ἔστωσαν] Ioh. Chrys., *Gal.*, § 7, col. 624.22-26 — **66-67.** θεμέλιον-θεῖναι] 1 Cor. 3:11 — **67.** ἄγγελος-οὐρανοῦ] Gal. 1:8 — **68.** Ἀλλὰ-ἅλις] Plato, *Politicus,* 287a6; cf. Clem. Alex., *Stromata* Lib. II, § 22.136.6.24 p. 188; ibid., Lib. III, § 21.2.11, p. 205; Ioh. Chrys., *Iohan.* (Hom. 2), § 3, col. 33.23-24; Cyrill. Alex., *Comm. Ioh.*, Lib. V, § 5, p. 55.22; suum, *Epist. Pasch.,* col. 600.41

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**54.** ante Καὶ προϊών scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. ABCLVWZ: scr. χρ(υσοστόμ)ου in marg. M — προϊῶν L — ἐναντία] om. Z — **55.** τὸ πᾶν ἀνατρέπωσιν G — εὐαγγελίζονται GW — **56.** τυ[....]χὸν lac. (3-4 litt.) W — **57.** ante Ταῦτα scr. in τ(οῦ) αὐτοῦ marg. L — γλῶττας sscr. ης et acc. cor. (per γλώττης) Z — διεξιούσης] δεξιούσης D — **58.** εὐφρονούντων L — κοινωνίας τῶν λατίνων Z — post οὕτω scr. περιφανῶς τῶ μέρει τῆς σφῶν ἀπονοίας, τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου BDV — **59.** κρηπίδος ABDGZ: post cor. (ex κρηπῖδος) C — **60.** φῆσαι AGLZ — **62.** συνανατρέπων]ἀνατρέπων W — **63.** τοῦτο] τούτω G — **66.** δὲ] om. W: γ(ὰρ) G — **66-67.** οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον G — **69.** ἂν] sscr. G — τις Z — **71.** σχεδόν ἐστιν] post cor. (ex σχεδὸν ἐστιν) W: σχεδὸν ἐστὶν G

**[23] Περὶ τοῦ ἀζύμου.**

Ἑξῆς δ' ἂν εἴη θεωρητέον, τὰ τῆς τελουμένης πρὸς αὐτῶν φημι τῶν Λατίνων ἀζύμου θυσίας· ὅπως μὲν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἱερουργίαν ἄνωθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ μυηθεῖσα κηρύκων καὶ ἀποστόλων, εἰς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου,
M 233v καλῶς φρονοῦσα ‖ διατετήρηκεν· ὅθεν δ' οὗτοι τὴν λώβην εἰσεδέξαντο ταύτην, καὶ τίνα ἃ συνιστάντες, τὸ δεῖν ἄζυμα θύειν, ἀμαθῶς πάνυ προΐσχονται. Ἀνακτέον δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦ μεγάλου τουτουΐ μυστηρίου, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ παντός· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀργίων, εὐθὺς αὐτῇ τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῇ, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔσχε καὶ τὰ προοίμια. Ὡς συμβολικῶς μὲν τῇ Παλαιᾷ ὑπεγράφετο, τρανότερον δὲ οἱ τῆς χάριτος, τὰς τούτων μυήσεις ἐδέξαντο, οὐχ' ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ προκείμενον, τὸ ἀληθὲς τῷ λόγῳ προσμαρτυρεῖ. Παράγεται μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ὁ ὑλικὸς οὑτοσὶ καὶ ὁρώμενος κόσμος, οὐδενὶ πλέον, ἢ ἐν νοήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ χρησαμένου, ἄψυχός τε καὶ τῆς οἱασοῦν αἰσθήσεως ἔρημος, νεκρῶν σωμάτων, οὐδὲν ἄμεινον διακείμενος, πρός γε τὴν τοῦ

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**[23] Tit.** πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἀζύμου:· in textu BCDMOVWZ: scr. πε(ρὶ) τοῦ ἀζύμου in marg. AGL — **1.** *πρὸς*] in ras. B — αὐτῶν] αὐτόν G — φημί V: φημὶ B — **2.** καθολικῆ BW — **3.** post αὐτοῦ add. τοῦ Z — ἱερουργίαν] post cor. (ex ἱερῶν) del. ῶν et scr. ουργίαν (per ἱερουργίαν) L — **5.** λώβην] λώβη et sscr. ν per λώβην Z — **6.** συνιστάντες] post cor. (ex συνιστᾶντες) D — **7.** ἀμαθ(ῶς)] in ras. G — προΐσχοντο LZ — ἀνακταίον B — **8.** τουτουὶ] τοῦτου L: τούτου Z — **9.** ὅ, τι] ὅ et τι sscr. (per ὅτι) C: ὅτι AGLZ — post αὐτῇ add. τῇ BDOV — **10.** καταβολῇ] post cor. (ex καταβολὴ) DZ — **11.** τρανώτερον WZ — **13.** οὑτωσὶ BG — **15.** ἄψυχός τε] post cor. (ex ἄψυχὸς τε) C

*ὄντως ὄντος* νεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκείωσιν· καὶ τούτου, τὰ μέν, *οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένης*, *τὰ δ' ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης*, τῷ θείῳ Λόγῳ δεδημιούργητο καὶ πεποίητο, οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τῷ μέσῳ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει, τὸ ἀπεξενωμένον κεκτημένου, πρὸς τὸν πεποιηκότα· ὅ γε δὴ *ἀριστοτέχνης* Θεός, πρόνοιαν ἐσχηκώς, τὸ σύμπαν τόδε τῆς ὁρατῆς κτίσεως, αὐτῷ τὲ προσανέχειν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν τείνειν ἔφεσιν —οὕτω γάρ, τὰ μέν, τὰς τοῦ εἶναι, τὰ δέ, *τὰς τοῦ ζῆν ἀφορμὰς* ποριζόμενα—, ἀποχρῶσαν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν τὰ γεγενημένα, τὴν εἰσέπειτα διαμονήν, ἀφ' ἑκάστης τῶν φύσεων, ὅσον ἦν καθῆκον ἐρανισάμενος, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν δυνάμεις τὲ καὶ ποιότητας, εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγών, καὶ ὥς τι φύραμα ὑποθέμενος, πολύχουν τῇ φύσει καὶ διακεκριμένον, ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ, ὡσανεί τινα ζύμην ἑνωτικὴν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ συνεκτικὴν καὶ κινητικήν, τὴν λογικὴν ψυχήν τε καὶ νοεράν. Καὶ οὕτως ἄμφω τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐκ διαμέτρου διεστηκυῖας φύσεις ἑνώσας, ἓν ἀποτετέλεκε ζῷον, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐν φυράματι ζύμης, δεσμοῖς φύσεως ἀρρήτοις συνανακραθείσης ὕλῃ τῇ παχυτάτῃ καὶ ὁρωμένῃ. Ἵνα τί γένηται, καὶ τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποβησόμενον; Ὅπως

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**17.** ὄντως ὄντος] cf. Arist., *Ethica Eudemia* 1238a19-20 — **17-18.** οὐκ ἐξ-ὕλης] cf. Arist., *Physics* 193a29 et 225a3-6 — **21.** ἀριστοτέχνης] cf. Pind., *Fragmenta* 57 — **24.** τὰς-ἀφορμὰς] Greg. Nyss., *Instit.*, p. 52.23

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**17.** οὕτως ὄντος L: ὄντος ὄντως G — νεύσ(ιν) B — **17-18.** ἐξυποκειμένης Z — **18.** ἐξυποκειμένης Z — **20.** ἀπεξενωμένον] ἀπεξ ἐνωμένον B — **22.** τὲ] om. AL: τε BWZ — **24.** ἀφορμᾶς B — ποριζόμενα] ποριζόμεθα G — = ἔξειν GL — **25.** γεγεννημένα M — εἰς ἔπειτα W — **27.** ὥς τι] sscr. τ(ι) O — **28.** διακεκριμμένον D — ὡσανεί τινα] post cor. (ex ὡσανεὶ τινα) V: ὡσανεὶ τινὰ Z — **31.** ἑνώσας] post cor. (ex ἐνώσας) L — **32.** post ἐν scr. et del. ὡς (?) G — **33.** post συνανακραθείσης add. τῇ G

ἡνίκα ἂν ἡ νοερὰ ψυχὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμνῳδίας ἐπιλάβηται, παρ' οὗ τὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ ἀταμιεύτους ἐδέξατο χάριτας, ἐν θαύματι ποιουμένη τὰ τούτου μεγαλεῖα, καὶ τὰς ὑπερφυεῖς καὶ ἀπείρους
M 234r δυνάμεις, οὗ μόνου ‖ πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὁ τῇ φύσει δεῖται ἀνενδεής, τηνικαῦτα συνημμένος εἴη καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῇ, ὅσα καὶ γλώττῃ χρώμενος ταύτῃ, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ὑμνεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν οἷός τε γίγνοιτο, τὸν τὸ εἶναι ταύτῃ δεδωρημένον. Μαρτυρεῖ μου τοῖς λόγοις δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ὁ νομοθετῶν ἐπιφανέστατος Μωυσῆς, ἐν τῇ συμβολικῇ καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἱερέως στολῇ· διακεκόσμητο γὰρ οὗτος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεόπτου νομοθεσίαν. Καὶ εἰσιών, τὰς ἱλαστηρίους εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελέσων, συνεισῆγε πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἑαυτῷ, δι' ὧν περιέκειτο ἱερῶν ἐνδυμάτων· μίμημα γὰρ ἀέρος μέν, ὁ ποδήρης χιτών, ὕδατος δέ, οἱ ῥοϊσκοι, γῆς τὸ ἄνθινον, πυρὸς τὸ κόκκινον, οὐρανοῦ, ἡ τῆς ἐπωμίδος κατασκευή, ἐφ' ἧς οἱ δύο περιφερεῖς σμάραγδοι, τῶν τούτου ἡμισφαιρίων σύμβολα, τοῦ δὲ ζωοφόρου κύκλου, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων δώδεκα λίθοι, τοῦ δὲ συνέχοντος καὶ διοικοῦντος Λόγου τὰ σύμπαντα, τὸ λογεῖον. Οὗτος γάρ, ὡς ἄν τις ζύμη, *πολυσχεδεῖ* ἑνωθεῖσα φυράματι, εἰς

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**41-51.** Μαρτυρεῖ-λογεῖον] cf. Exod. 28:1ff — **43-51.** συμβολικῇ-λογεῖον] cf. Ps.-Macar./Symeon, *Sermones* (Hom. 11), 5 § 2.1-12 p. 150; Georg. Cedr., *Comp. hist.,* pp. 138.22-139.5; Theoph. Achrid., *Epist.,* p. 173.2-5 — **52.** πολυσχεδεῖ] Theod. Cyr., *Trinit.,* col. 1148.23

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**35.** ὑμνωδίας] post cor. (ex ὕμνωδίας) L: ὑμνοδίας B — **37.** ὑπερφύεις L — **38.** ἡμῶν] ἡμᾶς Z — **39.** ἀνενδεὴς in ras. O — **40.** ὑμνεῖν] ὑμνεῖ et ν sscr. A — **41.** γίγνοιτο] γένοιτο A — **44.** τοῦ] om. A — **45.** συνεισῆγε] συνεῖγε et σῆ sscr. (per συνεισῆγε) B — **46.** ante μίμημα scr. ἐξήγησις τ(ῆς) ἱερουργίας in marg. C — **47.** χιτῶν L — **48.** κόκκινον] κόκινον et κ sscr. (per κόκκινον) Z — ἐπωμῖδος W: — ἐφ' ἧς] ἐφ' οἷς G — **50.** ζωοφόρου] ζωηφόρου B — δώδεκα] ιβ′ LZ — λίθοι] λίθους L — **51.** συνέχοντος] post cor. (ex συνέχωντος) L — **52.** οὗτος] οὕτω G — post πολυσχεδεῖ lac. (2-3 litt.) V

ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν, καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην, καὶ κρᾶσιν, τὸ πᾶν ἑνοποιεῖ καὶ συνέχει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος κατανόησιν ἀνατείνει, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ διαμένειν αὐτοῖς, κεχορήγηται. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ βραχὺς ἦν ὁ μετρῶν χρόνος ταυτηνὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. Μὴ ἐνεγκὼν γοῦν τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ὑπερβάλλον, ᾗ τετίμητο τῇ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου ἐλευθερίᾳ, ὃ δὴ τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ συνεισέρχεται φύσει, ὠλιγώρησε μὲν τῶν τοῦ Δεσπότου καὶ Κηδεμόνος ἐπιταγμάτων, ἐσπείσατο δὲ τῷ δολίῳ καὶ ἀλάστορι δράκοντι, οὗ τὸν ἰὸν ἄκρατον ἐκπιών, τῷ λείῳ προσαναχρωσθέντα τῆς ἡδονῆς, τοῦ φωτὸς μέν, τὸ σκότος, τῆς ἀληθείας δὲ τὴν πλάνην ἠλλάξατο. Μὴ δὲ τὸν φυσικὸν αἰδεσθεὶς νόμον, ὃν ὁ δημιουργὸς Λόγος ἀπαραίτητον ἐπέστησεν αὐτῷ δικαστήν, καὶ τῶν πρακτέων ὑφηγητήν, ἐντεῦθεν τῆς φυσικῆς ἐκείνης ἐκτραπεῖσα καὶ ζωτικῆς, ἡ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ Λόγου ζύμη, δυνάμεως, εἰς ὀξώδη καὶ διεφθορότα μετημείφθη χυμόν· ἐξ οὗ πᾶν ὀλέθριον ἐκρυὲν πάθος, τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἠνδραποδίσατο. Ῥᾷστα δὲ ὁ παμπόνηρος δαίμων ἡμῶν κεκράτηκε, τῷ μὴ τὴν ὄρθιον καὶ στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην τῆς σωφροσύνης

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**60-61.** τῷ δολίῳ-δράκοντι] cf. Amphil. Icon., *Natal. Dom.,* 126-128, p. 8 — **62-63.** τοῦ φωτὸς-σκότος] cf. Ioh. 3:19; 2 Cor. 6:14

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**53.** κοινωνίαν] κινωνοί(αν) Z — post κοινωνίαν scr. περὶ τῶν in marg.C — κράσιν WZ — **54.** καὶ] om. L — **55.** παροῦ BGOW — εἶναι καὶ] om. Z — **56.** γ(ὰρ)] sscr. Z — **57.** ἐνεγκὼν] post cor. (ex ἐνεγκῶν) L — **58.** ᾗ τετίμητο] post cor. (ex ᾗ τὲ τίμητο) L — αὐτεξουσίου] αὐτεξουσία M — **58-59.** συνεισέρχεται τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ Z — **59.** ὠλιγόρησε G: ὠλειγώρησε Z: ὠλιγόρισε W — τῶν τοῦ] τοῦ τοῦ L — **61.** post τῷ scr. et del. τελ per τελλείω (?) L — **62.** προσαναχρωσθέντα] post cor. (ex προσαναχθέντα) B — **64-65.** δικαστὴν αὐτῷ G — **65.** πρακτέων] post cor. (ex πρακτέον) L: πρακτέον D — **66.** καὶ] om. W — ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν G — **67.** μετημήφθη G — ἐξοῦ G — **68.** ἐκ̣ρυὲν ABG: ἐκ̣ρυὲν Z — παμπόνηρος] πόνηρος et sscr. παμ (per παμπόνηρος) B: πανώλεθρος G

καὶ δικαιοσύνης βαίνειν προστάξαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρανῆ καὶ κατάντη
M 234v ‖ καὶ πλατεῖαν καὶ εὐρύχωρον, τῆς ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀσελγείας, καὶ
πάσης ἄλλης παρανομίας, ἀμέλει. Καὶ τῆς κακίας ὀργώσης, καὶ
τοῦ μὲν φυσικοῦ περιγινομένης νόμου, τῷ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
γένει, βάραθρον ἀπωλείας ὅσαι ὧραι ὑποροττούσης, δεύτερος τῷ
θείῳ ἰατρείας, οὐκ ἠπόρει τρόπος, λογικῇ φύσει καὶ αὐτεξουσίῳ
προσήκων —*τιμωρῶ* γὰρ μόνον *χειρί*—, ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἄγχοντα
καὶ στίζοντα ἐπιστρέφειν, καὶ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὰς ἀμείνους τῶν ὁδῶν
ἐπανάγειν, ἀλόγῳ μᾶλλον, καὶ οὐ λογικῇ φύσει προσῆκε· τὰ γὰρ
*ἔρημα λογισμοῦ*, κεντοῦντας *πρὸς τὴν νύσσαν* ἐπανακάμπτειν, ἡ
παροιμία φησίν. Εἰ καὶ πατάσσει βιαζόμενος ἔσθ’ ὅτε, καὶ τῆς
ἰδίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὁ Θεὸς φύσεως, ταύτῃ
τοι καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ, τὸν ἐν γράμμασι νόμον, εἰς συμμαχίαν
ἐκπέμπει· ὡς γέγραπται, *νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοήθειαν*. Τοιγαροῦν καὶ
τοὺς τῶν Ἑβραίων *παῖδας* ἀμυδραῖς τισιν ἐμφάσεσιν εὐσεβείας
προκατειλημμένους, ὁμοῦ μέν, τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης τοῦ Φαραὼ καὶ
τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δουλείας, ἐξαισίοις δυνάμεσιν, ὁ μαρτυρηθεὶς
ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ἐγνῶσθαι Θεῷ Μωσῆς ἀπαλλάττων ἦν, καὶ πρὸς

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**84.** νόμον-βοήθειαν] cf. *Synt.*, χ', § 28, p. 513.20

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**77.** τιμωρῶ … χειρί] Soph., *Oedipus Tyr.* 107, 140 — **80.** ἔρημα λογισμοῦ] Ioh. Chrys., *Coloss.*, § 3, col. 335.17 — πρὸς-ἐπανακάμπτειν] cf. Theoph. Simoc., *Hist.*, 5.11.1-2, p. 208; Theod. Sync., *Hom. Av.*, p. 75.39 — **84.** νόμον-βοήθειαν] Is. 8:20

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**72.** πλατείαν BZ — εὐρύχωρον G — **73.** ὀργώσης] post cor. (ex ὁργώσης) D — **75.** ὥραι BDOW — ὑποροττούσης] ὑποκηρυττούσης Z — δεύτερος] δεύτερον W — **76.** ἠπόρει] ἠπόρη DO: ἠπόρητο B — λογικῇ GW — φύσει] post cor. (ex κ(αὶ)) W — αὐτεξουσίῳ] αὐτεξουσία A — **77.** γὰρ] sscr. Z — μόνον] post cor. (ex μόνων) W: μόνω Z — **79.** ἐπανάγειν] ἐπάγειν W — **80.** κεντοῦντας] κινοῦντας Z — νύσσαν AL — post ἐπανακάμπτειν scr. παροιμ(ία) in marg. ACL — **84.** τοιγαροῦν] post cor. (ex τοι γὰρ οὖν) L — **85.** παῖδας] post cor. (ex παίδας) D — **86.** προκατη-|λειμμένους G: προκατειλημένους W — Φαραῶ BZ — **88.** ὑπεράπαντας V

τὴν προτέραν τοῦ γένους ἐπανάγων ἐλευθερίαν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ταῖς
90 αἰσθητῶς συμπιπτούσαις τοῦ βίου μεταβολαῖς, τὰ ὑπὲρ αἴσθησιν
ἐγκαταμιγνύς, τρόπους συμβολικῶν ἐδίδασκε τελετῶν, ὡς τὰ τῶν
νηπίων εἰσέτι φρονοῦντας, καὶ μήπω εἰς ἡλικίαν τὴν τοῦ
Πνεύματος παραγγείλαντας, ποικιλίᾳ παραπετασμάτων, τὸ κατὰ
Χριστὸν ἀποταμιεύων μυστήριον· ἀποχρῶν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ τύπος,
95 τοῖς μὴ φαύλως αἱρουμένοις βιῶναι, τὴν τοῦ πικροῦ τῶν ψυχῶν
διώκτου ἀπαλλαγήν, καὶ τὴν τῆς παλαιᾶς κακίας ἀναίρεσιν
παρασχεῖν. Ἐνθέν τοι καὶ τὸ Πάσχα τελεῖν ἐδιδάσκοντο, πρὸς
ἑσπέραν ἤδη ἐπειγομένης τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης τοῦ πρώτου
μηνός, ὃ δηλοῖ διάβασιν, ἢ ὑπερβασίαν, κατὰ τὸν Ἑβραῖον
100 Ἰώσηπον. Τὰ δὲ τῆς τελετῆς ταύτης ἦν, πρόβατον ἐνιαύσιον θύειν,
οὗ τὸ αἷμα, ταῖς φλοιαῖς χριόμενον, δηλαδὴ τῶν αἰσθήσεων,
ἀποσοβεῖ τὸν ὀλοθρεύειν εἰωθότα, τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πρῶτα κινήματα,
τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν ἐπικαίρων πραγμάτων· αἱ δὲ σάρκες, πυρὶ τοῖς
ἐστιωμένοις ὀπτώμεναι, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν δήπου θερμὸν καὶ
M 235r 105 διάπυρον αὐτῶν κατεμήνυον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔκκλισις τελέως γέ-‖νοιτο
τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σκότου τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀποφυγή, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῆς

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**97-100.** Πάσχα-Ἰώσηπον] cf. Flav. Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. 2, § 312-313, pp. 148.25-149.7

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**91.** ὡς τὰ τῶν] ὡς τ(ῶν) τὰ sscr. τ(ῶν) Z — **92.** εἰς] om. Z — **95.** πικροῦ] ψυχροῦ Z — **98.** ἐπιγομένης A — καὶ] om. Z — **99.** ὑπερβασίαν] post cor. (ex ὑπέρ βασίαν) B — **100.** ἐνιαύσιον] ἐνιαύσιαι et sscr. ον (per ἐνιαύσιον) G — **101.** φλιαῖς BDMO: φλυαῖς W — **103.** post αἱ δὲ scr. et del. τέσσαρ L — σάρκαις W — **104.** post ἐστιωμένοις scr. et del. ἐσθι C — **105.** γένοιτο] γέγονε ACLZ

ἀρετῆς αὐγάσειε λαμπηδών. Τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ γε μήν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων οὔπω πρότερον τυπωθεῖσαν, ὁ νομοθετῶν ἐκέλευε προσίεσθαι ἐδωδήν. Ἀπείργων μὲν ἀτεχνῶς, καὶ τοῦ ἐγγύθεν αἰγυπτιακοῦ καὶ ἀθέου τῆς κακίας φυράματος, τῶν δ' ἀνηνεγμένων καὶ μὴ πάντῃ χαμερπῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῆς κακίας ῥίζαν ἀνάγων, ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ὀξώδους καὶ νεκροποιοῦ ζύμης τὴν λώβην, περιελεῖν· ἣν ὁ τὸν πρῶτον ὑπελθὼν ἄνθρωπον ἰοβόλος δράκων, τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐναπωμόρξατο, ἧς οὐκ εἰς ἡμέραν μόνον ἑβδόμην κατὰ τὸ τοῦ νόμου πρόχειρον ἀπειρήκει τὴν μετουσίαν —ποία γὰρ ὄνησις γένοιτ' ἄν, ἐν οὕτω βραχυτάτῳ καιρῷ, ταῖς φαύλαις τῶν πράξεων ἀποτάττεσθαι;— ἀλλὰ παρ' ἅπαντα, τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δίαυλον, ᾧ γε δὴ συμπροϊοῦσα ἡ ἑβδομάς, ῥᾷστα τοῦτον μετρεῖσθαι δίδωσιν. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων τρόπων νομοθεσία, τυπικῆς οὐκ ἠμοίρει διδασκαλίας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἀμνοῦ βρῶσις, τὸν ἐγγινόμενον τῇ ψυχῇ φωτισμὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπηνίττετο —οὕτω γάρ πως *θείας* γινόμεθα *κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*, Πέτρος φησί που ὁ μέγας—, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀζύμων ἐπισίτισις, πρὸς τὰς

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**123.** θείας-φύσεως] 2 Petr. 1:4

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**107.** αὐγάσιε GZ: scr. αὐγάσ(ιε) in marg. G — τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ] τῇ ὑστερέα ALW: τῇ στερεᾶ Z — **108.** οὔπω] οὕτω A — νομοθετῶν] μοθετῶν et νο sscr. (per νομοθετῶν) L — ἐκέλευε] ἐκέλευσε DG: ἐκέλευσε et σ cnc. (incl. in punc.) (per ἐκέλευε) W — **109.** μὲν] τὴν Z — καὶ] om. B — **110.** τῆς κακίας] om. Z — post ἀθέου sign. et τῆς κακίας deest in textu et scr. in marg. D — **112.** ἀρχαίαν] ἀρχέαν L — ἐφ ᾧ G: ἐφῷ BCLMOVWZ — **113.** λώβην] λύμην Z — ὁ τὸν] post cor. (ex. ὁ τῶν vel τῇ) Z — post πρῶτον scr. et cnc. (incl. in punc.) διελ (per διελθὼν) W — **115.** ἐναπομώρξατο V: ἀπωμόρξατο B: ἐν ἀπομώρξατο W — **115-116.** τοῦ νόμου] om. Z — **116.** ἀπειρήκει] post cor. (ex ἀπηρήκει) B — γαρ W — **118.** παράπαντα DG — **118-119.** ᾧ γε BW — **121.** ἠμοίρει] post cor. (ex ἠμείρει) W — ἡ μὲν] post cor. (ex ε‹ί› μὲν) L — **123.** ὑπενίττετο A — πως] om. G — post κοινωνοὶ ras. (2-3 litt.) M: κοινωνί(ας) OD — **124.** φησὶν AG — που] om. AG — ἐπισίτισις] post cor. (ex ἐπὶ πίστεϊ) Z

ἀμείνους ἡμᾶς ἐπαλείφει τῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰσχίστων ποιεῖ παθῶν, ἀνεπιδέκτους σκαιότητος, ὅπως μὴ ἀνάξιοι, τῆς δωρεᾶς ὀφθείημεν, πλημμελῶς καὶ ἠμεληµένως βεβιωκότες· καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ τρόπῳ, *τὸ θεωρητικὸν* ἀνάπτει, τῷ δευτέρῳ δέ, *τὸ πρακτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς* ἀνίστησιν. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ νόμῳ παιδευθέντες, οὐκ ἐπεστράφημεν, καὶ προφητείαις ὁδηγηθέντες, οὐκ ἀνεκλήθημεν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν —ἐκινδύνευε μέντοι τῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀγνωμοσύνης περιουσίᾳ, φθορᾷ τὰ πάντα δοθῆναι, καὶ λυθῆναι σαφῶς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, τῷ τῆς ἀρχαίας ζύμης δηλητηρίῳ, ἁπάντων τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν γε δὴ καιριωτέρων διεφθαρμένων μελῶν—, ὡς εἶδεν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου παιδείαν ἡμᾶς ἀπειρηκότας, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ὁδηγίαν ὀκλάσαντας, οὐ σκηπτοὺς κατήνεγκεν, οὐ τὴν ξηρὰν διέστησεν, οὐ τὴν ὑγρὰν ἐπαφῆκεν, οἷς δήπου πρώην ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀγαθότητος περιουσίᾳ, τὸ
M 235v περιὸν τῆς ‖ ἡμῶν ἀγνωμοσύνης, πολλῷ τῷ μέσῳ νενίκηκεν. Ὁ γοῦν μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Παῖς, τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν πόρρω ἀσεβείας ἐληλακυῖαν, ἰδών, καὶ δεινῷ πάθει κατ' οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντι

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**128-129.** τὸ θεωρητικὸν … τῆς ψυχῆς] cf. Ioh. Philop., *Arist.*, § 4, p. 520.25-26 — **141.** μονογενὴς-Παῖς] cf. Ioh. Chrys., *Genes.*, § 3, col. 72.5-6

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**126.** ποιεῖ] ποιεῖσθαι W — **126.** παθῶν] om. G — ἀνεπιδέκτους] ἀν ἐπιδέκτους L — **127.** ἠμελημμένως A — **128.** το ὅλον CLMOV: post cor. (ex τὸ ὅλον) D — **130.** ἐπιστράφημεν L — προφητείας B — **134.** δηλιτηρίω BOZ — τῶν γε] τῶν τε G — **136.** νόμου] κόσμου W — **138.** δήπου] post cor. (ex που) Z — **140.** μέσω] μέσο et sscr. ω (per μέσω) L — **142.** ἀσεβείας] post cor. (ex ἀπ(έβαλλε)) B — **142.** κατουδὲν ACL

παραπληξίας ἁλοῦσαν, καὶ ἀναπλάσεως οὐκ ἰατρείας ἔτι δεομένην, τῶν πατρικῶν μὴ ἐκστὰς κόλπων, *εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου Πατρός, καὶ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ* ὁμοφυοῦς *Πνεύματος*, οὐ τόπων μεταβάσει, ἀλλ' οἰκονομίας συγκαταβάσει, ἡμῖν ἀτρέπτως ἐπιδημεῖ. Καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄρα πρότερον, τὸ κρεῖττον ταῖς χείροσι τῶν ὑλῶν πιστεύει, ἵνα μὴ τὰ *ἄνω* αὖθις γένηται *κάτω*, τῆς ἀμφὶ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν κτιστῶν ἀταξίας, τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ληϊζομένης, τὰ τῆς χείρονος μέντοι μερίδος, ἀπειλικρινημένα κατάκρας τῆς κατὰ γνώμην κακίας ὥς γε εἶχε προτοῦ, φύσεως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τροπῆς κρείττονι φύσει, ἑνοῖ καθ' ὑπόστασιν. Καὶ θεανδρικῶς ἡμῖν ὁμιλήσας ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀπρόσιτος, τὰ μὲν τῆς πονηρᾶς ζύμης, ὑπαναχωρεῖν ἐποίει καὶ ὑπεξίστασθαι, τά γε μὴν τῆς κρείττονος ἐλπίδος, μετ' ἐλευθερίας εἰσάγεσθαι.

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**144-145.** εὐδοκίᾳ-Πνεύματος] Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 2.20-21, p. 9 — **148.** ἄνω-κάτω] Plutarch., *Apophthegmata Laconica*, 216b8; cf. Ioh. Chrys., *Act. Apost.*, § 4, col. 169.5-6

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**143.** οὐκ ἰατρείας sign. sup. et scr. alt. man. οὐκ ἰατρεί(ας) in marg. G — **143-144.** ἔτι δεομένην] ἐπιδεομένην W — **144.** μὴ ἐκστάς κόλπων V: κόλπων αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐκστὰς Z — **145.** ὁμοουσίου] ὁμοσίου D — συνεργείᾳ ACLZ — πνεύματος] π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς G — **146.** ἀλλ'-συγκαταβάσει] om. BL — **147.** οὐχ ὡς] οὐχ' ὡς GW — τὸ κρεῖττον] om. Z — **149.** κτιστῶν] κτισμάτων A — **150.** ἀπειλικρινημένα] ἀπειλικρημένα LZ — **151.** ὥς γε εἶχε] ὥσχε L — προτοῦ] πρὸ τοῦ BDMOV — ante φύσεως scr. τῆς B — **152.** ἑνοῖ C — καθυπόστασιν BDO — **154.** ὑπαναχωρεῖν] ἐπαναχωρεῖν Z

**[24] Περὶ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων, ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν.**

Τριῶν μὲν οὖν τῶν μεγίστων ἕνεκα ταυτὶ πρυτανεύων ἦν, ὡς ἂν μηδένες τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν τριῶν τοῦ χρόνου μερῶν, τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν ἀμοιρήσαιεν δωρεᾶς· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς μέν, τοῖς δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι περιοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἤδη ἀπογενομένοις καὶ οἰχομένοις παρὰ τοὺς πλείους, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις ἡμῖν, φιλανθρώπως τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἐξέτεινε, τοῖς μέν, τὴν εἰς τὰ κρείττω μεταβολήν, τοῖς δὲ, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τοῖς δέ, τὴν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν εὐθὺς ἀναγέννησιν παρασχόμενος.

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**[24] Tit.** scr. περὶ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν scr. in marg. BCDLMOVW: in textu A — **1.** ante Τριῶν sign. BCDM — πρυτανευων A — **3.** ἀμηρήσαιεν B: ἀμοιρήσαι W — οὔ BDOVWZ: οὖ post cor. (ex οὔ) G — **4-5.** καὶ οἰχομένοις-ἐπιγενομένοις] om. W — **7.** εἰς om. W — **8.** ευθὺς W — εὐθὺς ἀναγένησιν G: ἀναγέννησιν εὐθὺς Z — post ἀναγέννησιν scr. et del. τὸ ἐνεστὸς G

**[24.1] Τὸ ἐνεστός.**

Καὶ μέντοι τῶν ἔτι περιόντων καὶ διωμιληκότων αὐτῷ, οἷς μὲν τῶν καλλίστων ἔμελλε δήπου πράξεων, οὐ τὴν διὰ τῆς τοῦ νόμου ἐπιτηρήσεως, οὐδὲν ἀπεοικυῖαν τοῖς φρονήσεως ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσιν ἔτι, ἑτέραν γε μὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἄγουσαν ἐπεδείκνυ, οὐχ' ἥκιστα τοῖς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀνηνεγμένοις συμβαίνουσαν, ἧς πάλαι διημαρτηκότες, τῷ πλάνῳ τῆς κακίας περιπεπτώκαμεν. Τῶν δὲ πονηρίᾳ συνεζηκότων, τελωνῶν φημι καὶ ληστῶν, καὶ τοιχορύχων, καὶ πόρνων, εἰσηγήσεσί τε καὶ παραινέσεσι, πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον τὰς ψυχὰς μετερρύθμισε, τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀνανεούμενος χαρακτῆρας, οὓς ἐξαρχῆς ἡ φύσις
M 236r ἐνέθηκε, καὶ τοῦ βαράθρου ‖ τῆς κακίας ἀνιμησάμενος, τῆς τελεωτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐργάτας, ἀνέφηνε. Καὶ δι' ἐκείνων γε τῶν ὀλίγων οὓς αὐτὸς μετερρύθμισε, πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀθρόως μετέβαλε. Καθάπερ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ζύμης φύσις, τὸ φύραμα, καὶ τὴν πάλαι ἐξεστηκόσι καὶ παραπαίουσιν ἐοικυῖαν, σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν ἀπέδειξεν.

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**[24.1] Tit.** scr. τὸ ἐνεστὸς in marg. ACGL: scr. τὸ ἐνεστὼς in marg. BDMOVW — μέντοι] μὲν τοί V — post ἔτι lac. (7-8 litt.) V — **2.** ἔμελε BO — **3.** τοῖς] τῆς et sscr. οἷς (per τοῖς) C: τῆς AZ — **4.** post ἔτι scr. et del. ἡμ (per ἡμετέραν) L — **5.** ἐπεδείκνυ] ὑπεδείκνυ BV — οὐχ' ἥκιστα GW: οὐχήκιστα VZ — πρὸς] om. A — **6.** συμβαίνουσαν] συνέβησαν Z — **7.** φημὶ GZ — **9.** μετερύθμησε G: μετερρύθμησε W — **10.** χαρακτῆρας] post cor. (ex χαρακτῆραν) M: χαρακτήρας Z — ἐξ ἀρχῆς ABGVW — **12.** γε] om. G — **13.** μετερρύθμησε BDM: μετερύθμησε GW — **16.** ἀπέδειξεν] ἀνέδειξεν G

**[24.1.1] Ὅπως ἐδείχθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ σοφόν, τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ δυνατόν.**

Οὐ μήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ καθαιρέτῃ τοῦ πλάσματος, δεξιῷ διακόνῳ ὡς ἄν τις φαίη πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν ἀνάπλασιν, παραδόξως ἐχρήσατο. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀνταῦθα θεωρητέον τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Λόγου μετὰ τοῦ θαύματος χάριεν, ὅπως τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφόν, δίκαιόν τε καὶ δυνατὸν δείκνυται.

**[24.1.1.1] Τὸ ἀγαθόν.**

Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀγαθότητος, ὅτι μὴ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἠνέσχετο παριδεῖν πλάσμα, περιϋβριζόμενόν τε καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, συγκαταβάσει δὲ ἀπείρῳ χρησάμενος, ἀνεσώσατο.

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**[24.1.1] 1.** ante Οὐ μὴν scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — **2.** ὡς ἄν ABCDGLMOVW: ὡσάν Z — **3.** κἂν ταῦθα G — τὸ] τῷ G — post οἰκονομίας scr. μυστήριον· καὶ G — **4.** καὶ] om. Z — **5.** σοφὸν] om. Z

**[24.1.1.1] Tit.** scr. τὸ ἀγαθὸν in marg. ACGLMOVWZ: scr. et del. τὸ σοφὸν in marg. C — **1.** ante Καὶ τὸ sign. D: scr. ὅπως εδείχθη τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν· τὸ σοφὸν· τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν: in marg. BCDGLMOVW — **2.** περι ὑβριζόμενόν τε L: περὶ ὑβριζόμενόν τε G — **3.** ἀνεσώσατο] ἀνεστήσατο LZ

**[24.1.1.2] Τὸ σοφόν.**

Ἡ δέ γε *σοφία*, ὅτι ὃν κατὰ τῆς οἰκείας εἰκόνος εὗρε λυττήσαντα, διὰ τούτου τὴν σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ γένει ἐπραγματεύσατο, εἰς δέον τῇ ἐκείνου πονηρίᾳ χρησάμενος, καθάπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ ταῖς ἐχίδναις εἰς νοσημάτων ἀπαλλαγήν. Περὶ οὗ καί τινι τῶν θεοφόρων εἴρηται, ὅτι *τὸ κακόν, συνεργεῖ τῷ ἀγαθῷ προαιρέσει οὐ καλῇ*. Ταύτῃ τοι, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εἰσέτι νῦν ἦρεν ἐκ μέσου, ὑπόθεσιν ἀγώνων καὶ παλαισμάτων προκείμενον, ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες, εἰς ἀντιπάλου χώραν ἀποκληρώσαντα, ἵνα δείξῃ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἡ πάλη, γενομένους ἀνδραγαθίας ἀρχέτυπα, εἰ καὶ τὴν βιαίαν ἐκείνου διακωλύσας προσβολὴν τῇ τῶν ἀγγέλων φρουρᾷ, τὴν διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν συνεχώρησεν ἀγωνίαν.

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**[24.1.1.2] 1.** σοφία] cf. 1 Cor. 1:24; vide infra § **27.1**.15 — οἰκείας-εἰκόνος] cf. Gen. 1:26 — **5-6.** τὸ κακόν-καλῇ] Ps.-Macar./Symeon, *Sermones*, (Hom. 2), § 7.7-8, p. 19

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**[24.1.1.2] Tit.** scr. τὸ σοφὸν in marg. ACDGLMOVZW — **1.** ὃν A — **5.** τὸ] om. G — **6.** καλῇ] post cor. (ex καλή) D — **7.** ἀγόνων G — **8.** χώραν] τάξιν BDGMOVW

**[24.1.1.3] Τὸ δίκαιον.**

Τὸν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου διεσώσατο λόγον, μὴ τυραννικῶς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χαρισάμενος, οὓς ἐθελοντὰς ᾔδει τοῖς δαίμοσι καθυπείξαντας. Οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν ἀνθρώπου πάλαι τῇ ἥττῃ περιπεπτωκότος, ἑτέρῳ παρὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὴν ἦτταν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἀλλ' *ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος* κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, *καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου πάντως ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ ἐλπίδι θεότητος ἡμᾶς κατεπάλαισε, σαρκὸς δελεασθείη προβλήματι.

**[24.1.1.4] Τὸ δυνατόν.**

Τῆς δ' αὖ γε κατὰ φύσιν ἰσχύος τεκμήριον, τὸ μὴ ἀδυνάτως σχεῖν, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἰατρείας ἐκπλήρωσιν, μὴ δὲ πεπονθέναί τι τῶν θεραπείας ἀξίων, εἰ καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν, *ὁ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αἴρων τοῦ κόσμου*, καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν τὸ τηνικαῦτα ‖ ἐνεστὼς ἐθεᾶτο τοῦ χρόνου. M 236v

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**[24.1.1.3] 5-6.** ἐπειδὴ-νεκρῶν] 1 Cor. 15:21

**[24.1.1.4] 4.** ὁ τὴν-κόσμου] Ioh. 1:29

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**[24.1.1.3] Tit.** scr. τὸ δίκαιον in marg. ABCDGLMOVWZ — **2.** ᾔδει] ἤδη ADW — **3.** καθ' ὑπείξαντας G — τῇ ἥττῃ πάλαι ALZ — ἤττῃ B — **4.** παρὰ] om. G — ἀναμαχέσασθαι] post cor. (ex ἀναχέσασθαι et sscr. μα) D — **5.** ἦτταν B: ἥτταν Z — ἐπέτρεψεν] ἐπέστρεψεν L — **6.** πάντως] om. A — post πάντως scr. ἡ Z — post ἀνάστασις scr. τῶν Z

**[24.1.1.4] Tit.** scr. τὸ δυνατὸν in marg. ABCDGLMOVW — **2.** πεπονθέναί τι] πεπονθέν αἴ τϊ G — **3.** θεραπείας] post cor. (ex θεραπίας) L — ἀνέλαβε] post cor. (ex ἀνέβαλε) L — **5.** ἐνεστὸς AL: ἐνεστὼς et sscr. ο (per ἐνεστὸς) C — ἐθεᾶτο] ἐᾶτο D

**[24.2] Τὸ παρεληλυθός.**

Αἱ δὲ ἀπ' αἰῶνος τοῦ βίου ἀποφοιτήσασαι τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαί, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλάμβανον, τῷ *τοῦ ἑνὸς* κατὰ τοῦ τυραννοῦντος δικαιωθεῖσαι *δικαιώματι*, ὥσπερ ἄρα καὶ τῷ *τοῦ ἑνὸς* πάλαι κατεκρίθησαν *παραπτώματι*· ὥς που τὰ ἱερά φασι λόγια οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι γενόμενοί τε καὶ ἀπογενόμενοι εὐηργέτηντο.

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**[24.2] 2-4.** τοῦ ἑνὸς-παραπτώματι] cf. Rom. 5:18

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**[24.2] Tit.** scr. τὸ παρεληλυθὸς in marg. ABCDGLMOVWZ — **1.** Αἱ δὲ ἀπ' αἰῶνος] Αἱ δ' ἀπαιῶνος G: Οἱ δὲ ἀπ' αἰῶνος Z — **2.** τῷ] τὸ W — post τυραννοῦντος scr. et del. μέλ D — **3-4.** ὥσπερ-παραπτώματι] om. AZ — **4.** φασι] φησι AGLV: φησὶ Z — **5.** οἱ] sscr. L — post γενόμενοί τε sign. et scr. κ(αὶ) ἀπογενόμ(εν)οι in marg. W — τε] om. B — ἀπογενώμενοι G — **6.** εὐεργέτηντο et sscr. ηρ (per εὐηργέτηντο) C: εὐεργέτηντο ALZ

**[24.3] Τὸ μέλλον.**

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰσέπειτα προμηθείας ἐφθόνησε, πάντα νοῦν κάτω τιθείσης. Κεχάρισται γοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν τότε εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναγεννᾶσθαι διὰ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος, καὶ τῆς ἀγήρω καὶ μακαρίας ὄντως κληρονομεῖν ζωῆς, καὶ εἰς τροφὴν τὴν ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ σάρκα προσιεμένοις, καὶ πόσιν τὸ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς ῥυὲν αἷμα τίμιον. Οἷς ἑνούμενοί τε καὶ ἀνακιρνάμενοι, ὡς δή τι φύραμα εὐχρήστῳ ζύμῃ, εἰς ποικίλας πρότερον δόξας καὶ φαντασίας σκεδαννύμενοι καὶ διαχεόμενοι, μεταστοιχειούμεθα εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς θεότητος δόξαν τὲ καὶ λαμπρότητα ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, *ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. Τοῦτο καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ τικτόμενα στοργὴν τῶν μητέρων ἀπήλεγξεν· αἱ μέν, γὰρ τὴν θηλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπορέγουσι, φυσικῶς τοῦ γάλακτος ἀναβλύζοντος, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων σαρκῶν, ἥκιστα κοινωνῶν ἡμῖν φείδεται· ζύμης γὰρ ἐδέησε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ εἰς ἀνάπλασιν γένει, καὶ ἡ τῆς ζύμης ταύτης ἀθέτησις, τῆς τοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσεως ἄντικρυς εἰσάγει τὴν ἄρνησιν. Ἐπεί τοι γε καὶ ὁ Κύριος,

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**[24.3] 9-10.** ὁ τρώγων-αἰώνιον] Ioh. 6:54

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**[24.3] Tit.** scr. τὸ μέλλον in marg. ABCDMOVLW — **1.** τοῖς] τῆς Z — post τοῖς scr. et del. εἰσέπειτα προμηθεί(ας) εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναγεννᾶσθαι dittography C — ἐφθόνησε] ἡμέλησε A — **4.** καὶ] om. BD — **5.** προσιεμένους BDGMOVW — πλευρὰς ABM — post πλευρᾶς scr. αὐτοῦ Z — **8.** μεταστοιχειούμεθα] post cor. (ex μεταστοιχείούμεθα) L — **9.** δόξαν τε MW — **11.** τ(ὴν)] sscr. V — **13.** ἀναβλίζοντος Z — δὲ] bis acc. W — ἥκιστα B — **14.** ἡμῖν] ἡμᾶς B — **15.** ἡ] om. L — **16.** ἄντικρὺς M — ἄρσιν] ἄρσιν G — ante Ἐπεί τοι sign. D: et scr. ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐ(ραν)ών ζύμη ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ (γυνῆ B) ἔκρυψεν εἰς:· in marg. BDCGLMVW

οὕτως ἑαυτὸν καλῶν δείκνυται· *ὁμοία γάρ ἐστι* φησὶν *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ζύμῃ, ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνή*, ἡ ἑκάστου τῶν πιστευόντων ψυχὴ δηλαδή, *ἔκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία*, ἅπέρ εἰσιν αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς τρεῖς δυνάμεις· ἃς δεῖ ζυμοῦσθαι καὶ μεταποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ θειότερον, ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰσοικισθέντος εἰς ἡμᾶς Θεοῦ Λόγου, εἴπερ ἐγνώκαμεν αὐτὸν οἰκοῦντα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, *εἰ μή τι ἄρα ἀδόκιμοι* ἐσμέν, ᾗ φησιν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος. Ἐπάγει δή, *ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη τὸ ὅλον*, τουτέστιν ἅπασα ἡ ἔνδον τῆς ψυχῆς διάπλασις· ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ζύμη τροπικῶς καὶ σπόρος ὠνόμασται, διὰ τὸ ζωτικὴν ἔχειν ταῦτα δύναμιν, κινητικὴν καὶ αὐξητικήν, καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου γεννητικήν, ὥσπερ δήπουθεν τὸ ζύμης ἄμοιρον φύραμα, καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ποιοτήτων ἐστέρηται.

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**17-19.** ὁμοία-τρία] Matth. 13.33; cf. Leonem Achr., *Epist. de azym.,* col. 837.41-43; Eust. Nic., *Cont. Latin. et Azym.,* p. 120.26-29 — **22-23.** εἰ-ἀδόκιμοι] 2 Cor. 13:5 — **23-24.** ἕως-ὅλον] Matth. 13:33; cf. Cyrill. Alex., *Adorat.*, col. 1100.12-13; suum, *Comm. Ioh.,* Lib. IV, § 2, p. 535.13-15

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**17.** γὰρ] om. W — ἐστι] post cor. (ex ἐστιν) Z — ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία φησὶ W — **18.** πιστευόντων] πιστευσάντων A — **19.** ψυχη L — ἅπερ εἰσίν V: ἅπερ εἰσὶν GZ — **20.** δεῖ] post cor. (ex δὴ) AB: δὴ W — μεταποιεῖσθαι] μεταποιοῦσθαι Z — **21.** εἰσοικισθέντος] οἰκισθέντος Z — Θεοῦ] om. G — **22.** τι] τοι Z — **22-23.** ἄρα ἀδόκιμοι] ἄρα δόκιμοι A — **23.** φησὶν Z — δὴ] δὲ ALZ — **24.** ἐζυμώθη] ζυμώθη ACL: ζυμωθῆ Z — τὸ] om. ABLVWZ — τοῦ τέστ(ιν) BL — **25.** βασιλεία γὰρ ALZ — ὀνόμασται B — **26.** post δύναμιν sign. et κινητικὴν καὶ αὐξητικὴν, καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου γεννητικὴν· om. in textu et scr. in marg. V — αὐξιτικὴν post cor. (ex αὐξιτικήν) W — **27.** post γεννητικήν scr. et del. κ(αὶ) αὐξητικήν L

**[25] Περὶ τοῦ θυομένου ἀμνοῦ.**

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Παλαιᾶς αὖθις ἐπανιτέον σκιαγραφίαν. Ὁ γοῦν
M 237r θεόπτης ‖ Μωσῆς, τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν αἰώνων ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερίας προζωγραφῶν τοῦ Κυρίου σφαγήν, ἀμνὸν καταθύειν ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἡλίου, ὃς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην τοῦ πρώτου φωτίζων ἦν ἡμέραν μηνός, ὑπὸ γῆν καταδύντος ἤδη· ὃ δὴ καὶ τὴν εἰς *Ἅιδου ταμεῖα* κάθοδον τοῦ τῆς *δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου* ἠνίττετο, καὶ τοῦτο Πάσχα ὠνόμασεν, οὐ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἐδωδήν —πόθεν;— τῆς γὰρ ὑστεραίας, τούτοις ἐξῆν κεχρῆσθαι, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τοῦ Λευϊτικοῦ, *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ, ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνός· ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν, Πάσχα τῷ Κυρίῳ· καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων τῷ Κυρίῳ*. Καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀριθμῶν· *ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, Πάσχα τῷ Κυρίῳ· καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, ἑορτὴ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἄζυμα ἔδεσθε*.

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**[25] 6.** Ἅιδου ταμεῖα] cf. Asterium Antioch., *Comm. Psalm.,* (Orat. 2), § 19, p. 12.17 — δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου] Mal. 3:20 — **9-12.** ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ-Κυρίῳ] Lev. 23:5-6 — **9-15.** ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ-ἔδεσθε] cf. Ps.-Athan. Alex., *De azymis* col. 1332.7-9; Ps.-Ioh. Damasc., *Azym.,* § 3, col. 396.15-19; Nicet. Steth., *Armen. et Latin.,* p. 147.3-15 — **12-15.** ἐν τῷ μηνὶ-ἔδεσθε] Num. 28:16-17

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**[25] Tit.** scr. περὶ τοῦ θυομένου ἀμνοῦ·· in marg. ABCDGLMOVWZ — **1.** αὖθις] πάλιν et sscr. αὖθις C — **3.** post προζωγραφῶν scr. τ(ὴν) G — **4.** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ] ιδ′ Z: — **5.** φωτίζων] post cor. (ex. φαωτίζων?) L — ἦν B — καταδῦντος GW — **7.** τοῦτο] post cor. (ex τούτο) L — ὀνόμασεν W — post ὠνόμασεν sign. in marg. A — **9.** πρώτῳ] α′ Z — **10.** τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ] ιδ′ Z — ἀναμέσον BGLWZ — **10-11.** ἀνὰ-μηνὸς] om. A — **11.** πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ] ιε′ Z — post Κυρίῳ scr. καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων τῷ Κυρίῳ dittography D — **13.** πρώτῳ] α′ AZ — τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ] ιδ′ ABCDGLMOWZ — **14.** πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ] ιε′ ABCDGLMOWZ — **15.** τούτου] om. ACLZ — ἔδεσθε CM

**[25.1]** ***Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.***

Ἰδεῖν ἐστι συμβαίνουσαν τῷ ῥηθέντι ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τύπῳ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου Ἡσαΐου προφητείαν, *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη λέγοντος, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*· ὃν ὁ μέγας ὕστερον ἰδὼν Ἰωάννης, καὶ δεικνὺς τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πάλαι προσδοκώμενον, *ἴδε* φησὶν *ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου*. Οὐδαμοῦ δέ γε τὸ ἄζυμον εἰς τύπον τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐλήφθη σαρκώσεως παρὰ τοῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποφήταις, τοῦ ζυμωθέντος ἀσυγχύτως ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς Πανάγνου, καὶ ὡς ἀμνοῦ βοσκηθέντος ἐν τῇ ταύτης νηδύι. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίαν ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν, οἷα κἀν τῇ Παλαιᾷ, προχαραττομένην τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐνζύμου θυσίας, τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων κεκρυμμένου καθ' ἡμᾶς μυστηρίου ἱερουργίαν.

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**[25.1] Tit.** Ὡς-ἤχθη] Is. 53:7 — ἴδε-Θεοῦ] Ioh. 1:29 — **2-4.** ὡς πρόβατον-αὐτοῦ] Is. 53:7 — **6-7.** ἴδε-κόσμου] Ioh. 1:29

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**[25.1] Tit.** scr. ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη:· in marg. BCDLMOVW — **1.** ἐστι συμβαίνουσαν] ἐπισυμβαίνουσαν A: ἐστῑ ἐπιβαίνουσαν L: ἐστὶν ἐπιβαίνουσαν Z — τὴν] om. Z — **2.** μεγαλοφωντάτου A: μεγαλοφωτάτου et sscr. νο (per μεγαλοφωνοτάτου) W — post προφητείαν sign. in marg. B — **2-3.** ἐπι σφαγὴν BZ — **4.** οὐκ ἀνοίγει] οὐκανοίγει G — **5.** ἰδὼν] om. W — καὶ] om. W — **6.** post προσδοκώμενον scr. ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ὁ αἴρων:· in marg. CDLMOVW — **11.** ] κἄν ABG: καὶ LZ

**[25.2]** ***Τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστὸς.***

Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, *τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός* φησι· ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐν τῷ ἀμνῷ προεμήνυε, τοῦτο ἡ χάρις ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐκπεπλήρωκε. Θυσία δὲ καὶ σφαγὴ ἐπὶ ἀψύχων καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων, ἥκιστά γε ἁρμόττει λέγεσθαι, οἷα δὴ καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα φύσεως ἔχουσιν.

**[26]** ***Μικρὰ ζύμη, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ· ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην.***

Ὁπότε μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόστολον, οὕτω νομοθετεῖν ἰσχυρίζονται, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους γράφοντα πρώτῃ, καὶ ζύμην τῷ φυράματι κελεύοντα μὴ προσίεσθαι, μειρακιῶδες ἂν εἴη καὶ φρενὸς ἀπειροκάλου διερμηνεύειν πειρᾶσθαι, τὰ μὴ δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς διαφεύγοντα. Μικρά γε μὴν ἄττα πρὸς σαφήνειαν τῶν
M 237v θείων ῥημάτων λεκτέον. Ὁ γάρ τοι θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, τρο-‖πικῶς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἠθικῆς μεθοδεύων διδασκαλίας, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς

**ABCDGLMOVWZ**

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**[25.2] Tit**. et **2.** τὸ Πάσχα-Χριστὸς] 1 Cor. 5:7

**[26] Tit**. Μικρὰ- ζύμην] 1 Cor. 5:6-7

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**[25.2] Tit.** scr. τὸ *πάσχα* ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χ(ριστό)ς:· in marg. BCDLMOV — **2.** φησι et ν sscr. per φησιν C: φησιν ALZ: scr. φησιν in marg. V: φησὶν G — γὰρ] om. Z — **4.** καὶ] om. Z

**[26] Tit.** scr. μικρὰ ζύμη, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ· ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην:· in marg. CDMOVLW — **1.** ante Ὁπότε sign. in marg. M — **2.** προς G — **3.** κελεύοντα μὴ προσίεσθαι] μὴ προσίεσθαι λέγοντα Z — προσίεσθαι] σίεσθαι et προ sscr. (per προσίεσθαι) W — **4.** μη V — **5.** παλαιοὺς] πολλοὺς BDGMOW: πολλὰς V — προς σαφήνειαν B — **6.** θείων] post cor. (ex. θείω et sscr. ν) L

ἀμείνους τῶν πράξεων ἑκάστους παρακαλῶν, τῶν χειρόνων δέ γε καὶ ἡντινοῦν παραινῶν μὴ προσίεσθαι, ἄριστα τῇ τῆς ζύμης εἰκόνι ἐχρήσατο. Τῆς γοῦν τοῦ πεπορνευκότος ἐκείνου ἐπιμιξίας, τοὺς Κορινθίους ἀπάγων, *οὐκ οἴδατε* φησίν, *ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη, ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ;* Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη καὶ βραχεῖα οὖσα, οὐ τῷ πολλῷ φυράματι κρυπτομένη ἀπόλλυται, οὐχ ἧττον γε μὴν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἕξιν ἐκεῖνο δήπου μεθίστησιν, οὕτως ἄρα καὶ ἡ κακία ἡμᾶς προσαναχρωννῦσα, ἐκεῖνον τῇ κοινωνίᾳ προσιεμένους, οὐχ οἷά τε μὴ καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς μεταθεῖναι διάθεσιν. Ἐπιμένων τοιγαροῦν τῇ μεταφορᾷ, *ἐκκαθάρατε* φησὶ *τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην*, τὸν ἑσμὸν δηλαδὴ τῶν πολιορκούντων παθῶν τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἡ πάλαι παράβασις ἐπεισήγαγε. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε «καθάρατε», ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀκριβείας *ἐκκαθάρατε*, ὥστε μὴ δὲ σκιὰν μὴ δὲ λείψανον αὐτῆς ὑπολείπεσθαι —πάσης γὰρ πονηρίας ἀπηλλάχθαι δεῖ τὸν πιστόν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γνησίως διερευνᾶσθαι, ὥστε πάντα λογισμὸν ἐκβάλλειν ἀκάθαρτον—, *ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα καθὼς ἐστὲ ἄζυμοι*, φύραμα νέον καλῶν, τοὺς διὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τῆς κατὰ Χριστόν

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**10.** τοῦ πεπορνευκότος-ἐπιμιξίας] cf. 1 Cor. 5:1 — **11-12.** οὐκ-ζυμοῖ] ] 1 Cor. 5:6 — **11- 17.** οὐκ οἴδατε-διάθεσιν] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.,* p. 327.7-16 — **13-14.** πρὸς-ἕξιν] Ioh. Chrys., *Matth.* (Hom. 46), col. 478.39-40 — **17-18.** ἐκκαθάρατε-ζύμην] 1 Cor. 5:7 — **17-27.** ἐκκαθάρατε-Χριστός] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.,* pp. 327.21-328.4 — **21.** ἐκκαθάρατε] 1 Cor. 5:7 — **24.** ἵνα-ἄζυμοι] 1 Cor. 5:7

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**8.** γε] om. Z — **9.** ἡντινοῦν] ὡντινων οὖν et sscr. ὁ et νοῦν (per ὁντινοῦν) Z — παραινῶν] om. ACGLMWZ — **10.** πεπορνευκότος] post cor. (ex πορνευόντος et πε sscr.) W — **12.** οὐ τῷ] οὐτω L — **13.** ἀπόλλυται] ἀπόλυται A: ἀπόλυται et sscr. λ (per ἀπόλλυται) G — **14.** ἕξιν G — ἐκεῖνο] κἀκεῖνο BDGMOVW — ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς BDOV — post ἡμᾶς add. κ(αὶ) A — **16.** τ(ῆς)] sscr. B — **17.** φησὶν A — **18.** πολυορκούντων W — **20.** ἐπεισήγαγε] ἐπεισή-|γεγε L: ἐπισήγαγε W — καὶ] om. G — **21.** ὥστε] ὡς γε A — **23.** διερευνάσθαι L

φημι πολιτείας, καὶ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἡγνισμένους. *Καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός*. Ἐξηγούμενος δὲ τουτὶ τὸ ῥητόν, ὁ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων ὠκεανός, ὁ θεῖος φημὶ Χρυσόστομος, ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες τοῖς ἑτέρως, ἢ ὡς ἡμεῖς φρονοῦσιν ἀπομαχόμενος, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ταῦτα φησίν· *οὐκ εἶπεν ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλ' οἰκειότερον τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐτύθη· μὴ ζήτει τοίνυν ἄζυμα τοιαῦτα, ἐπειδὴ μὴ δὲ ἀμνὸν ἔχεις τοιοῦτον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦλθεν ἡ ἀλήθεια, οὐκέτι χώραν ἔχουσιν οἱ τύποι.* Ὁ μέντοι Ἀπόστολος, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείγματος δεικνὺς ἀλληγορούμενον πολλοῦ γε εἰπεῖν ἐδέησεν, «ὥστε ἑορτάζομεν ἐν ἀζύμῳ νέῳ φυράματι ἀλεύρου καὶ ὕδατος»· ἀλλ' *ὥστε ἑορτάζομεν, μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας*, καθαρᾶς δηλονότι πολιτείας καὶ ὀρθῆς πίστεως, καὶ οὐχ' ἡμερῶν περιόδοις, παρ' ἅπαντα δέ γε τὸν βίον, ἑορτάζειν προτρέπεται τὸν πιστὸν τῇ κλήσει τῆς ἑορτῆς, μηδεμίαν ἐμφήνας ὑπερβολὴν παραδέχεσθαι ‖ τὸ διαψιλὲς τῶν κεχορηγημένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν. Προσέτι, καὶ τὸ δεῖν τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς, τῷ πρέποντι μετιέναι τῶν ἀρίστων πράξεων, κόσμῳ, τὴν ὑπαρὰν

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**26-27.** Καὶ γὰρ-Χριστός] 1 Cor. 5:7 — **31-32.** οὐκ εἶπεν-τοιοῦτον] Ioh. Chrys., *I Cor.*, § 4, col. 126.28-31 — **33.** ἐπειδὴ-τύποι] loc. cit., col. 126.18-19 — **36-38.** ὥστε-ἀληθείας] 1 Cor. 5:8 — **36-39.** ὥστε-πίστεως] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, p. 328.4-8

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**26.** φημὶ ABZ — ἡγνισμένους] ἡγνισμένας B — **28.** φημὶ] om. G: φησὶ Z — **29.** ἐξεπίτηδες] ἐξεπίδες M — **30.** φρονοῦσιν] φρονοῦμεν G — post πολλοῖς scr. et del. καὶ V — φησ(ίν) B: φησὶ D — **31.** οἰκειότερον] οἰκειώτερον W: οἰκειοτέρως G — ἐτύθη] post cor. (ex ἐτΐθη) W — **32.** ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ G — μὴ] om. LZ — δὲ] om. Z — τοιοῦτ(ον) ‖ ἔχεις G — **33.** οὐκέτι] post cor. (ex οὐκ ἔτι) V: οὐκ ἔτι BGWZ — **33-34.** ἔχουσιν οἱ τύποι· ὁ μέντοι ἀπόστολος add. in marg. D — **34.** ἐκ] ἐν B — **36.** ὥστε] om. G — **37.** παλαιᾷ] παλαιᾶς V — **39.** παράπαντα G — δέ] om. Z — **40.** κλήσει] κλίσει A — **41.** μηδεμίαν] μὴ δὲ μίαν BOW: μὴ δε μίαν A — διαψιλὲς] διαψηλὲς W

τῆς ἁμαρτίας, περιδυόμενον στολήν, καὶ τὸ μὲν φύσει φαιδρὸν καὶ γεγαννωμένον τῆς ἀρετῆς περιτιθέμενον, τὸ δὲ στυγνὸν καὶ κατηφές, τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀποτιθέμενον. Ταῦτα διὰ βραχέων ἡμῖν εἴρηται, τὸν σκοπὸν εἰς δύναμιν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου διεξεληλυθόσιν.

**[27] Περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου.**

Οὐχ ἥκιστα μέντοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καιροῦ καθ' ὃν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θεωρημάτων ὁ Κύριος συνεδείπνει τοῖς μαθηταῖς, δῆλον ἂν γένοιτο, μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀζύμου τηνικαῦτα τοῖς ἐν τέλει κεκοινωνηκέναι τῶν μαθητῶν. Ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν αὖθις καὶ τὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου θεωρητέον.

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**45.** γεγανωμένον BDOV — **45-46.** τὸ δὲ-ἀποτιθέμενον] om. BD — **46.** δια βραχέων B

**[27] Tit.** πε(ρὶ) τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου in textu BCMOW: in marg. ADVL: om. GZ — **1.** Οὐχ' ἥκιστα G: Οὐχήκιστα MV — **3.** ante μηδαμῶς sign. in marg. A — **4.** κεκοινωνηκέναι] κεκοινωκέναι B — **5.** θεωρητέον] διαληπτέον G

**[27.1] Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα.**

Τῇ μὲν ἕκτῃ τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος, χειρὶ Θεοῦ διεπλάττετο, ἡνίκα τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν φῶς, πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπάρχεται τῆς νυκτός, πλησιφαὴς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς σελήνης κύκλος ἐτύγχανεν ὤν, μηδὲν ἐλλείπων λαμπρότητος· ἔδει γάρ, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνοντος, οὗ φῶς ἐστι τὸ ἐπώνυμον, φωτὸς εἶναι τὰ πάντα πλήρη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος κόσμου δορυφορεῖν, τὸν δι' ὃν ταῦτα προδεδημιούργητο τῇ δέ γε ἑβδόμῃ. Ἀποχρῶν ἦν ἄρα εἰς εὐδοξίαν, τὸ εὐλογηθῆναι μόνον παρὰ Θεοῦ. Ἡ δὴ καὶ προσωνυμίαν εἴληφε τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν, μηδενὸς ἐν αὐτῇ καινοῦ γεγονότος. Ὁ δὴ τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργός, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔργον τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν ζημιωθείη τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀνηκέστοις ἁλόντα πάθεσιν —ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παρῶ—, μὴ δ' ἂν ἑτέρῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ προσήκειν ἀξιώσας, ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐκείνου σωτηρίαν, μηχανῇ τῇ καλλίστῃ χρήσασθαι, καθ' ὃν ᾔδει καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον, ἡ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσα τούτου *σοφία*, ἐπιτηρήσας ἐνιαυτόν, ἐν ᾧ δήπου συνέβαινε τῇ κατὰ τὸ νομικὸν ἑβδομάδι

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**4-5.** τοῦ-ἐπώνυμον] cf. Clem. Alex., *Paed.* (Lib. I), § 6, col. 284.16-17 — **15.** σοφία] cf. 1 Cor. 1:24; vide supra § **24.1.1.2.**1

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**[27.1] Tit.** scr. πε(ρὶ) τοῦ *πάσχα* in marg. BCDGLMOVW: in textu A: et alt. man. scr. in marg. C — **2.** μεθ' ἡμέραν] μεθημέραν BOV: μεθ' ἡμέρας O — **3.** ante πλησιφαὴς sign. in marg. A — **4.** ὤν BDOV — μηδὲν] post cor. (ex μὴ δὲν) L: μὴ δὲν B — **5.** ἀνθρώπου] οὐ(ραν)οῦ sscr. sign. et scr. in marg. εἶμαι (vel. οἶμαι?) τοῦ ἀν(θρώπ)ου ὠφείλει γράφεσθαι Z — φῶς G — **6.** κόσμου] κόσμω L — **7.** δωρυφορεῖν BZ: δοροφορεῖν W — **8.** ἄρα L — **9.** ἢ BL — εἴληφε] ἔλαβε et sscr. εἴληφε C — **10.** τῶν ὅλων] τὸν ὅλον W — **11.** εἰ τοσοῦτον] εἰς τοσοῦτον AGL: εἰ τὸ σοῦτον Z — ἔργον] ἔργων et sscr. o per ἔργον C — **12.** ἁλῶντα BDOV — **12-13.** μὴ δ' ἂν] μηδ' ἂν V: μηδ' ἂν bis acc. GW — **13.** ἀξιώσας] ἀπαξιώσας D — post ἀξιώσας alt. man. scr. ἡ ἀμφὶ κ(αὶ) ἡ περὶ, τὸ αὐτὸν σημαίν(ει) in marg. O — **14.** ᾔδει] post cor. (ex ᾔδη) W — **15.** ἐπιτήδιον B — ἐπιτηρίσας B

Πάσχα, ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς πρώτης δημιουργίας *ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος* συνδραμεῖν αὖθις, τὴν ἰσημερίαν, τὴν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἕκτην, καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης πλησιφαές· οὐ γὰρ ἐκάστοτε συμπίπτειν. Οὕτω γε ταῦτα εἰώθει. Τηνικαῦτα δή, ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τοῖς τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ἐπισπεύδουσιν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ταμίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκονομουμένων. Διατοῦτο καὶ εἶπε, *Πάτερ ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα*· ἵν' ἐν ᾗ γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πλάσις, ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἡ ἀνάπλασις γένηται, κἀν τῇ σκιαγραφίᾳ τοῦ νομικοῦ, ἡ τοῦ
M 238v ἀληθινοῦ Πάσχα τελείωσις ‖ ἐπανθήσῃ, καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς κακίας ἀρχή, καὶ τοῦ ὅλου γένους πληγή, τῷ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἰαθῇ τραύματι. Καὶ ᾗ ὥρα τῆς πατρικῆς ἑστίας ἐξώσθημεν, αὖθις αὐτῆς ἐπιβῶμεν, τοῦ τοιχορύχου τὰς πύλας αὐτῆς ἐν ἀκαρεὶ τοῦ χρόνου εὐσεβῶς διορύξαντός τε πρώτου καὶ ὑπανοίξαντος. Κύκλος δὲ τῳτότε ἠνύετο, ἵνα μὴ δὲ τοῦτο ᾖ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀγνοούμενον, τῷ μὲν ἡλίῳ, τρίτος καὶ εἰκοστός, τῇ δέ γε σελήνῃ, δέκατος, ἔτους ἐνισταμένου, ἐνάτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ, πρὸς τῷ πεντακισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ.

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**22.** Πάτερ-ὥρα] Ioh. 17:1

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**17.** πρώτης] α′ Z — **18.** ἕκτην] ἕκτη Z: στ′ L — **19.** οὕτω] om. LZ — γε] om. A — **19-20.** γε ταῦτα] ταῦτα γε LZ — **20.** ἐπιδίδωσι] δίδωσι G — **21.** ἦν] om. Z — ταμίας] post cor. (ex ταμείας) B: ταμεί(ας) G — **23.** πρώτη] α′ Z — **24.** κἀν] κἂν G: καὶ LZ — σκιαγραφίᾳ in ras. O — **25.** ἐπανθήσῃ] ἐπανθήσει et sscr. η per ἐπανθήση Z: ἐπανθήσει GW — post πλευρᾶς sign. et om. in textu τ(ῆς) κακί(ας) ἀρχὴ. κ(αὶ) τοῦ ὅλου γέν(ους) πληγὴ τῶ τῆς πλευρᾶς scr. in marg. O — **27.** ἑστίας BGL — **28.** του G — τοιχωρύχου BDOVZ — αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς Z — ἀκαρεὶ] ἀκαρεῖ BDOZ: post cor. (ex ἐν ἀκρεῖ) L — **29.** διορύξαντός] διωρύξαντός Z — **30.** τῳτότε] τω τοτε D: τῶ τότε ABGLW: τότε Z — ἠνύετο] post cor. (ex ἡνύετο) W — **31.** τρίτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς] γ′ καὶ κ′ Z — γε] sscr. Z — (σελήνη) DO — **32.** ἐννάτου GZ — τριακοστοῦ] λ′ Z — **33.** πεντακισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ] ,εφ′ Z

**[27.2]** ***Καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν.***

Ὅτι δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Πάσχα τῇ τῆς Παρασκευῆς ἑσπέρᾳ τελεῖσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἱερὰ γράφουσιν εὐαγγέλια δῆλον, ὅτι *καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ Πάσχα*. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ τῶν ἀζύμων οὔπω ἐφειστήκει καιρός, ἡνίκα ὁ μυστικὸς ἐτελεῖτο δεῖπνος —ὅτε γὰρ τὴν ἐκείνων ἑορτὴν ἦγον τῆς ἐπιούσης οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὁ Κύριος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἅιδου ἐπιχωριάζων ἦν, κατατρέχων ταῦτα καὶ ληιζόμενος—, πότε τοῦ ἀζύμου τοῖς μαθηταῖς κεκοινώνηκεν; Ὅτε γὰρ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην *εἰς* τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ *ὕψος* ἀναβεβήκει, σωτηρίως ἀντηχμαλώτευσε, τὴν ὑπὸ γῆν φρουρουμένην *αἰχμαλωσίαν*· ὃ καὶ παράδοξον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Χρυσόστομος τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν τοῦτο ῥητὸν ἐξηγούμενος, *πρὸ μιᾶς* φησὶν *ἡμέρας ὁ Κύριος τὸ Πάσχα τὸ οἰκεῖον παρέδωκε, τηρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν τῇ Παρασκευῇ ὅτε καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγίνετο Πάσχα*.

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**[27.2] Tit.** Καὶ αὐτοὶ-μιανθῶσιν] Ioh. 18:28; cf. Ps.-Athan. Alex., *De azymis,* col. 1329.41-43 — **3-4.** καὶ-Πάσχα] Ioh. 18:28 — **9.** εἰς- ἀντηχμαλώτευσε] cf. Ps. 67:19 — **12-14.** πρὸ-Πάσχα] Ioh. Chrys., *Iohan.* (Hom. 83), § 3, col. 452.3-4

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**[27.2] Tit.** scr. καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον (πραιτόριον BL) ἵνα μὴ in marg. BCDLMOVW — **1.** ante Ὅτι δὲ sign. in marg. A — Ὅτι] Ἔτι G — post τὸ scr. et del. ἅγιον L — ἑσπέρα] ἡμέρα Z — **2.** ἱερὰ L — **3.** κ(αὶ)] sscr. W — αὐτοὶ] post cor. (ex αὐτὴ) W — πραιτώριον] post cor. (ex πραιτόριον) B: πραιτόριον L — **4.** φάγωσι] post cor. (ex φάγωσιν et ν eras.) W — **5.** δεῖπνος ἐτελεῖτο per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — **6.** ἐπιούσις B — οἱ] om. ACLZ — ιουδαῖοι D — ὶο ἰουδαῖοι laps. cal. B — ἅδου ABCDGLMOVW: ᾅδου Z — **8.** μαθηταῖς] om. L — **9.** ἀντηχμαλώτευσε] ἀντ' ἠχμαλώτισε G — **12.** προ μιᾶς LZ — φησιν ABDLMOVZ — **5.** τὸ πάσχα] om. Z — **13.** post παρασκευῇ sign. et om. in textu ὅτε καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγίνετο Πάσχα scr. in marg. V — **14.** ἐγίνετο] ἐγένετο G

**[27.3]** ***Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταί.***

Ὁ γοῦν ἄριστος τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν Ματθαῖος, *τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ* φησὶ *τῶν ἀζύμων*, ἤτοι τῇ πρὸ τῶν ἀζύμων, ἥτις ἦν ἡ τῆς ἑβδομάδος Πέμπτη, ἣν δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Πάσχα* καλεῖ, ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ τοῦ νιπτῆρος ὑπερφυὲς ἐτελεῖτο μυστήριον. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ματθαῖος, προσίασιν *οἱ μαθηταί* φησι *τῷ Ἰησοῦ*, πυνθανόμενοι, *ποῦ* ἂν βούλοιτο, *τὸ Πάσχά* οἱ ἑτοιμάσαι· καὶ λαβόντων τὸ σύνθημα καὶ ἑτοιμασάντων, παρῆν ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς, καθ' ἣν εἶχεν ἡ σελήνη τρισκαιδεκάτην, καὶ ἀνέκειτο μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν.

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**[27.3] Tit.** Τῇ δὲ-μαθηταί] Matth. 26:17 — **1-2.**τῇ δὲ-ἀζύμων] Matth. 26:17 — **1-6.** τῇ δὲ-ἑτοιμάσαι] cf. Leonem Achr., *Epist. de azym.*, col. 836.17-19 — **3.** πρὸ-Πάσχα] Ioh. 13:1 — **5-6.** οἱ μαθηταί-Πάσχά] Matth. 26:17

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**[27.3] Tit.** scr. τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ (α′ W) τῶν ἀζύμων προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ (προσῆλθον-μαθηταὶ] om. G) in marg. CDGLMOVW — **1.** ante Ὁ γοῦν sign. in marg. D — πρώτῃ] α′ Z — φησὶ] om. B: φησὶν L — **2.** ἤτοι-ἀζύμων] om. BW — **3.** Πέμπτη] ε′ Z — **4.** τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ] τὸν δεῖπνον τὸν Z — **5.** φησι] post cor. (ex φησιν) W: φησ(ὶν) B — **6.** τὸ πάσχα] τῶ πάσχα MW: τὸ πάσχά OZ — οἱ] om. B: οι G — **8.** (σελήνη) D

**[28] Ὅτι οὐ καλῶς στοχάζονται οἵτινες οἴονται πρῶτον τὸ νομικὸν τελέσαι Πάσχα τὸν Κύριον.**

Εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἳ στοχαζόμενοι φασίν —οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔσθ' ὅπῃ τοῦτο ἐπισημαινόμενος δείκνυται—, πρῶτον τὸ νομικὸν ἐκείνους ἑστῶτας Πάσχα φαγεῖν —τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε—, μετὰ δέ γε τοῦτο, καθῆστο μὲν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καθῆντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄκροι τῶν μαθητῶν, τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ δείπνου συμβόλοις, τὰ μεγάλα μυούμενοι. Τοῦτο δέ, οὐχ οἷόν τε, μὴ τοῦ εἰκότος γε
M 239r διαπίπτειν λόγου· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ‖ πρὶν ἢ τὸν νενομισμένον ἐφεστηκέναι καιρόν, τὸ Πάσχα τελέσας ὁ Χριστὸς πεφώρατο, οὐ παρανομίας ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης αὐτὸν ἐγράψαντο οἱ καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ κατ' αὐτοῦ συνείρειν μὴ παραιτούμενοι; Τί γὰρ ἔδει τύπου, τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλθούσης; Τί δὲ τῆς σκιᾶς, τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδεδημηκότων; Τί δὲ ἀλόγου ἀμνοῦ, τοῦ τῆς ἀλογίας ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξαντος ἱερείου ἀντεισαχθέντος; Ὥστε οὐκ ἔφθη τὸ νομικὸν βεβρωκὼς Πάσχα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ, εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ χρόνοις, ὡς ἔθος τοῦτο πληρῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἂν καὶ

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**[28] 13-16.** Ὥστε-ἀντίθεος] cf. Leonem Achr., *Epist. de azym.*, col. 836.10-14

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**[28] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ καλῶς στοχάζονται οἵτινες οἴονται πρῶτον τὸ νομικὸν τελέσαι πάσχα τὸν κ(ύριο)ν in marg. DGLMOVW: in textu A — **1.** ante Εἰσὶ sign. BD — στοχαζόμενοι in ras. O — **2.** ἐπισημαινόμενος τοῦτο Z — **3.** ἐκείνους] ἐκείνο Z: — πάσχα ἐκείνους ἑστῶτας φαγεῖν B: ἐκείνους πάσχα ἑστῶτας φαγεῖν G — **4.** οἱ] sscr. W — **5.** post ἱεροῦ scr. et del. πάσχα D — δείπνου] δείπνον L — συμβόλοις] om. Z — **6.** εἰκότως Z — **7.** τὸν] τὸ et sscr. ν (per τὸν) C — ἐφεστηκαίναι D — **9.** οἵ L — **10.** παραιτούμενοι] παραιτούμενος L — post παραιτούμενοι scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — **12.** ἀλόγου] λόγου B — **13.** ἀντεισαχθέντος] post cor. (ex ἀντισαχθέντος) W — βεβρωκὸς L — **13-14.** πάσχα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ βεβρωκὼς Z — **14.** τοῦ] om. G — **15.** προ τοῦ GZ — τοῦτο] om. Z

τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ νόμου ἐπιτηρήσεις, τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀντίθεος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ τυπικόν, πρό γε τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, ὄρθιος ἐβεβρώκει, ὅπερ οὐδὲ δίδωσι τὸ εἰκός, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ χρόνῳ παλαιωθὲν ἐκεῖνο.

**[28.1]** ***Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.***

*Τοῦτο* δὲ εἶπε τὸ καινὸν, *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ποιεῖτε ἀνάμνησιν*. Καὶ φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἐπὶ τοῦτο Χρυσόστομος· *εἶδες πῶς ἐξάγει τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν καὶ ἀφίστησι; Διατοῦτο εἶπε, «τοῦτο ποιεῖτε», ἵν' ἐκείνου ἀπαγάγῃ· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐργάζεται, περιττὸν ἐκεῖνο λοιπόν*.

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**[28.1] Tit.** Τοῦτο-ἀνάμνησιν] Luc. 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24 — **1-3.** Τοῦτο-ἀφίστησι] Ioh. Chrys., *Matth.* (Hom. 82), § 1, col. 739.2-3 — **3-4.** Διατοῦτο-λοιπόν] loc. cit., § 1, col. 739.25-27 — **3.** τοῦτο ποιεῖτε] Luc. 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24

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**17.** τυπικόν] τοπικὸν B — τυπικόν illeg. W — **18.** οὐδὲ] οὐ BDGMOVW — ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ]ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ A: ἀλλ οὐ τῷ W: ἀλλὰ τῷ G — ἐκείνο G

**[28.1] Tit.** scr. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμήν ἀνάμνησιν in marg. CLMOVW — **2.** τοῦτο] τούτω GZ — ἰουδαϊκῶν in ras. B: ἰουδαϊκῶν post cor. (ex ἰουδαϊων) W — **3.** διὰ τοῦτο G — ἵν ἐκείνου B: ἵνα ἐκεῖνο G — **4.** ἁμαρτιῶν] ἁμαρτῶν L

**[28.2]** ***Καὶ λαβὼν*** **τὸν** ***ἄρτον ἔκλασε.***

*Λαβὼν* γάρ φησι τὸν *ἄρτον* καὶ *εὐχαριστήσας, ἔκλασε· καὶ ἔδωκε τοῖς* μαθηταῖς *λέγων*, «*λάβετε, φάγετε*», *τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου*. Ἄρτον τοίνυν, οὐκ ἄζυμον τὸ οἰκεῖον σῶμα καλεῖ, ὡς ζωτικὸν καὶ κινητικόν, καὶ θέρμην ἐνιέναι φύσεως ἱκανῶς ἔχον, οἷς ἂν προσγένοιτο· ἄρτος γὰρ κυρίως ἂν λέγοιτο, ὁ ἄρτιος, καὶ μὴ ἐλλιπῶς ἔχων, ὃς καὶ παρὰ τὸ αἴρειν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω φέρειν λεχθείη ἄν, πρός γε τῆς ζύμης καὶ τῶν ἁλῶν, τὴν θερμότητα, καὶ τὴν ἔπαρσιν ἔχων. Τὰ δέ γε ἄζυμα, οὐδὲν διενήνοχεν, ἀψύχου λίθου καὶ πλίνθου, τῇ γῇ προσκολλώμενα, διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν πρὸς τὰ κάτω φοράν. Καὶ αὖθις, *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου* τὸ τῆς *καινῆς διαθήκης*. Καινὴν εἰπών, τὴν πνευματικοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐργαζομένην, τὴν παλαιὰν πάντως ἐκβέβληκε· *τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον, ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ*, κατὰ τὴν ψῆφον εἰπεῖν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου.

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**[28.2] Tit.** Καὶ-ἔκλασε] Luc. 22:19 — **1.** Λαβὼν-ἔκλασε] cf. Ps.-Ioh. Damasc., Azym., § 3, col. 393. 49 — **1-2.** Λαβὼν-μου] Luc. 22:19 — **2.** *λάβετε φάγετε*] Matth. 26:26 — **5-10.** ἄρτος-φοράν] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.,* p. 324.11-15; suum, *Armen. et Latin.,* p. 142.2-5; Leonem Achr., *Epist. de azym.,* col. 837.18-24; Ps.-Ioh. Damasc., Azym., § 1, 389.24-28 — **10.** τοῦτό-μου] Matth. 26:26, Marc. 14:22, Luc. 22:19, — **10-11.**καινῆς-διαθήκης] cf. Luc. 22:20, 1 Cor. 11:25 — **12-13.** τὸ δὲ-ἀφανισμοῦ] Heb. 8:13

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**[28.2] Tit.** scr. καὶ λαβών τὸν ἄρτον ἔκλασε in marg. BCMOVW — **1.** φησὶ Z — **2.** post μαθηταῖς scr. αὐτοῦ Z — *λάβετε*] post cor. (ex *λάβεται*) L — σώμα Z — **4.** φύσεως] φυσικῶς B — **5.** γὰρ] δὲ Z — **6.** ἐλλιπῶς] ἐλειπῶς et *λ* sscr. (per ἐλλειπῶς) Z — ἔχον M — **7.** ἄν BDMOV — ἁλῶν] ἀλῶν L: ἁλλῶν Z — **9.** πλίνθου] post cor. (ex πλείνθου) Z — προσκολλόμενα DMOW: προσκωλλώμενα L — *πρὸς*] illeg. Z — **10.** τοῦτο ἐστί A — σώμα Z — **11.** καινὴν] καὶ νῦν L: καὶ ν(ὴν) G — εἰπῶν L

**[28.3] Καὶ *βάψας τὸ ψωμίον* ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *δίδωσι* τῷ *Ἰούδᾳ*.**

Ὁ δὲ τῆς βροντῆς υἱός, ἐναργέστερον δεῖξαι βουληθείς, ἔνζυμον εἶναι τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον, *πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Πάσχα* φησί, τοῦ *δείπνου* γεγονότος, *βάψας τὸ ψωμίον* ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *δίδωσι* τῷ *Ἰούδᾳ*, *καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψωμίον, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς*, οὐ τοῦ σώματος καταφρονῶν τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας καταγελῶν τοῦ προδότου· οἱ γὰρ πονηρίαις ἐντεθραμμένοι, καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἰταμώτερον προσιόντες, οὐδέν τι πλέον ἀπώνανται. Μανικώτερον τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ λυσσῶντος ἄρα
M 239v καὶ πνέοντος, ‖ καὶ τὰ μὴ καθαρὰ γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων, καί γε τροφῇ κεχρημένα χρηστῇ, σφοδρότερον ὁ πυρετὸς ἀνακάει καὶ δαπανᾷ, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμβλυωττούσας τῶν ὄψεων, ὁ πᾶσιν ἡδὺς ἰδεῖν ἥλιος ἐπιλάμπων, καὶ τῆς μετρίας αὐγῆς ἀφαιρεῖται.

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**[28.3] Tit.** Καὶ-Ἰούδᾳ] Ioh. 13:26 — **1-4.** Ὁ δὲ-σατανᾶς] cf. Ps.-Athan. Alex., *De azymis* col. 1329.3-9 — **2.** πρὸ-Πάσχα] Ioh. 13:1 — **3.** βάψας-Ἰούδᾳ] Ioh. 13:26 — **4.** καὶ-σατανᾶς] Ioh. 13:27

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**[28.3] Tit.** scr. (καὶ om. G) βάψας τὸ ψωμίον ὁ ἰ(ησοῦ)ς δίδωσι (δέδωκε G) τῶ ἰούδα in marg. BCDGLMOVW — **4.** σατανὰς DZ: σατανάς G — ante οὐτοῦ scr. χρ(υσοστόμ)ου in marg. G — **5.** κατὰ φρονῶν BL — **8.** ἀπώνανται] ἀπώνμανται L: ἀπόνανται DOV: ἀπόναντο B — ἐχθροῦ] ἐχροῦ M — αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν GWZ — **9.** τροφὴ AW — **10.** ἀνακαίει WZ — **11.** ἡδὺς] bis acc. V — **12.** ἰδεῖν] om. W — ἐπὶ λάμπων B — αὐγῆς] αὐτῆς B

**[28.4]** ***Ὁ ἄρτος ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;***

Τούτοις καὶ ὁ μέγας Παῦλος ἑπόμενος, ἄρτον καὶ οὐκ ἄλλό τι τὸ θεῖον ἐπωνόμασε δῶρον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτῃ, ὁ *ἄρτος* φησὶν ὃν κλῶμεν, *οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;* Ὡς γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖνο ἥνωται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου ἑνούμεθα· καὶ ὅπερ οὐ πέπονθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, *ὀστοῦν* γάρ φησιν *οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ*, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς *πάσχει* δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀνέχεται διακλώμενος, ἵνα *πάντας* ἐμπλήσῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κοινωνοῦν ἕτερόν ἐστιν οὗ κοινωνεῖ, καὶ τὴν μικρὰν οὖσαν διαφορὰν ἀνεῖλεν, εἰπών, *ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα ἐσμὲν οἱ πολλοί.* Οὐχὶ πολλά, ἀλλ' *ἓν σῶμα* Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας σαρκὸς φύσις τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ νενέκρωτο, ἑτέραν ἐπεισήγαγε ζύμην, τὴν αὐτοῦ σάρκα ὁ Κύριος, φύσει μὲν οὖσαν τὴν αὐτήν, ἁμαρτίας γε μὴν ἀπηλλαγμένην, καὶ ζωῆς γέμουσαν, ἵνα τρεφόμενοι, καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἀποτιθέμενοι τὴν νεκράν, εἰς τὴν ζῶσαν καὶ ἀθάνατον διὰ τῆς τραπέζης ἀνακιρνώμεθα ταύτης.

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**[28.4] Tit.** ἄρτος-ἔστιν] 1 Cor. 10:16 — **2-4.** ὁ ἄρτος-ἐστὶν] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.,* p. 329.10-11 — **3-4.** ἄρτος-ἐστὶν] 1 Cor. 10:16 — **6.** ὀστοῦν-αὐτοῦ] Ioh. 19:36 — **8-10.** ὁ Ἐπεὶ-πολλοί] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.,* p. 329.11-13 — **9-10.** ὅτι-πολλοί] 1 Cor. 10:17

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**[28.4] Tit.** scr. ὁ ἄρτος ὃν κλῶμεν οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐστιν; in marg. DGMOW — **1.** ἄλλό τι] ἄλό τι B — **2.** προς G — πρώτῃ] *α'* Z — **4.** ἐστιν G — οὕτω] οὕτως A — **5.** ἄρτου] om. B — **6.** φησιν] om. W: φησὶ B — **8.** ἐμπλήσει G — οὐ B — **9.** ἀνείλεν L — **10.** ante ἐπειδὴ scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ δὴ B — **13.** post τὴν scr. et del. ἁμα (ex ἁμαρτίας) D — ζωῆς] ζῶσαν B — **14.** τρεφώμενοι G — ἀποτιθέμενοι] ἀποθέμενοι BLZ

Καὶ μετά τινα, *ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν·* εἰ γὰρ καὶ μήπω τότε παρῆν, τῷ γε εἰδέναι, μηδὲν πλέον ἔχειν ἐκείνην, τῆς ἡμῖν προτιθεμένης θείας τραπέζης, ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τήμερον ἐφίσταται Κύριος τοῖς ἑστιωμένοις μεταδιδούς, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἔφη παρειληφέναι· *ὅτι ὁ Κύριος τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο, ἔλαβεν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε* καὶ εἶπε, *λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν· τοῦτο* γάρ φησι *ποιεῖτε*, τὸ πλῆρες χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, μὴ τὸ νομικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ σκιῶδες. Καὶ μὴ ὅτι γε ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἄρτον τὸ θεῖον ὀνομάσας δείκνυται δῶρον. Ἆρ' οὖν οὕτω μὲν οἱ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἀποστόλων χοροῦ τῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένων οὕτως εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὁμοφωνησάτην, τοῦ καιροῦ τε πέρι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀμφοῖν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ δοθέντος πνευματικοῦ ἄρτου, οἱ δὲ τῶν κορυφαίων ὁμιληταὶ γεγονότες, οὐκ ἐφάμιλλα τούτοις, καὶ τοῖς κλεινοῖς αὐτῶν καθηγηταῖς συνεγράψαντο; Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεῖος Λουκᾶς ὁμιλητὴς τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου γενόμενος, ὥσπερ ἄρα
M 240r καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος ‖ Μάρκος, Πέτρου τοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπερλίαν

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**16-17.** ἐγὼ-ὑμῖν] 1 Cor. 11:23; cf. Leonem Achr., *Epist. de azym.*, col. 840.14-16 — **20-21.** ὅτι-ἔκλασε] 1 Cor. 11:23-24 — **20-23.** ὅτι-ἀνάμνησιν] cf. Leonem Achr., *Epist. de azym.*, col. 840.14-18; Nicet. Steth., *Armen. et Latin.*, p. 144.13-17 — **21-22.** λάβετε-μου] Matth. 26:26 — **22-23.** τοῦτο-ἀνάμνησιν] Luc. 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24 — **24.** τοῦτο-ποιεῖτε] Luc. 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24

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**16.** post μετάτινα scr. ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ, ὅ κ(αὶ) παρέδωκα ὑμῖν in marg. CDLMOV — **17.** γὰρ] om. GZ — **19.** τήμερον] σήμερον G — ἑστιωμένοις BDLOW: ἐσθιωμένοις G: ἐσθιομένοις Z — μετὰ διδοὺς Z: μετὰ διδούς B — **20.** ante ὅτι ὁ scr. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν in marg. Z — ὁ] om. L — **22.** τοῦτό ἐστι BCDLMOVW — **23.** ποιεῖτέ φησι W — φησι] om. B: φησὶ G — **24.** ὅτι] κέτι B — **25.** ὀνομάσας] post cor. (ex ὀνόμάσας) L — **26.** οἱ] ἡ Z — **27.** ἐξειλεγμένων] ἐξειλέγμένων C: ἐξηλεγμένων Z: ἐκλελεγμέν(ων) G — **28.** πέρι] περὶ BDLZ — **31.** (καὶ)] sscr. M — post γὰρ add. καὶ DO: sscr. B — **32.** ὁμιλητὴς γεγονὼς τοῦ μεγάλου παύλου sign. et scr. γρ(άφε) ὁμιλητὴς τοῦ μεγάλ(ου) παύλου γενόμ(εν)ος in marg. C — post μεγάλου add. ἁγίου LZ — **33.** ὑπὲρ λίαν AGLMWZ

ἠγαπηκότος, ὡς ἐν λύρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἁρμονίας ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπῃ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν διηνέχθησαν. Εἰ τοίνυν ἀζύμου κεκοινωνήκει κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Σωτήρ, τί τὸ ὑποθρᾶττον ἦν, μὴ οὑτωσί πως κοινῇ τοὺς ἀποστόλους εἰπεῖν, «καὶ λαβὼν τὸ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἄζυμον, ἔκλασε, καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπεδίδου». Οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν. Ἀκριβῶς γὰρ εἰδότες, μήπω τὴν τῆς ζύμης ἄρσιν γεγενημένην, ὅτε τοῦ θείου μεταλαγχάνοντες ἦσαν δείπνου, ἀλλὰ ζυμίταις ἄρτοις, ἀδεῶς πάντες ἐκέχρηντο, ἄρτον εἶπον, ὡς ἂν αὐτοτελῆ τε καὶ ἄρτιον, ἁλσὶ καὶ ζύμῃ πεφυραμένον τὸν Κύριον τοῖς μαθηταῖς μεταδοῦναι, καὶ τοῦτο, τὸ οἰκεῖον εἶναι σῶμα εἰπεῖν· μεταποιεῖται γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς, ἀρρήτῳ δή τινι καὶ θείᾳ δυνάμει εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀσθένειαν δήπου περικειμένοις, ὡς ἄρτος ἔτι καθορᾶται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠνεσχόμεθα, σαρκῶν ὠμῶν ἅπτεσθαι, ἔτι φοινισσομένων τῷ αἵματι.

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**34.** ἀγαπηκότος D — ὡς] om. Z — ἁρμονίας] post cor. (ex ἀρμονίας) Z — **34-35.** ἐχόμενοι ἀλλήλων Z — **36.** ante εἰ τοίνυν scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — **37.** χρόνου τοῖς] om. B — ὑποθράττον GZ — **39.** ἐπεδίδου] μετεδίδου BDOV — **41-42.** δείπνου ἦσαν per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — **42.** ἀλλὰ ζημίταις DLMO: ἀλλὰ ζημίταῖς B: ἀλλ' ἀζημίταις C — **44.** μεταδοῦναι] μετὰ δοῦναι B: μεταδιδόναι A — εἶναι] om. Z

**[29] Ὅτι οὐ μετάθεσις τότε τοῦ νομικοῦ γέγονε Πάσχα.**

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Χρυσόστομος ἐν τῇ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐξηγήσει εὐαγγελίου, ἐθελοντὰς ὑπερθέσθαι φησὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτήν, καὶ τὸν νόμον λῦσαι, προτετιμηκότας ὃν ἐξήρτυον κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον, τοῦ καιροῦ μὴ συγχωροῦντος ἀμφότερα —*σφόδρα γὰρ ἔζεον* κατ' *αὐτοῦ τῷ θυμῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ Χριστὸς παρέβη* φησὶ *τὸν* περὶ *τοῦ Πάσχα* νόμον, *οἱ* δὲ *πάντα τολμῶντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ μυρίους καταπατοῦντες νόμους*—, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ὁ ἅγιος οἶμαι καταδρομὴν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ θυμῷ ἐπαφείς, καὶ μυρίαις ὕβρεσι τούτους πλύνας, καὶ πάντα τὰ χείριστα ταῖς τούτων ἀνατιθεὶς κεφαλαῖς, καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὅλος γενόμενος, τὸ πρᾶγμα δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ ἐξετάσας, ἐξώσθη τοῦ πιθανοῦ. Καὶ μάρτυς αὐτὸς οὗτος. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ὕστερον ἐξηγήσει εὐαγγελίου, ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιστήσας τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸν νοῦν, *πρὸ μιᾶς* ἔφη τὸν Κύριον ἡμέρας, τὸ οἰκεῖον παραδοῦναι Πάσχα, *τηροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν τῇ Παρασκευῇ, ὅτε τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγίνετο Πάσχα*, ὥστε μὴ τοὺς ἀθλίους

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**[29] 5-7.** σφόδρα-νόμους] Ioh. Chrys., *Matth.* (Hom. 84), § 2, col. 754.16-19 — **14-16.** πρὸ μιᾶς-Πάσχα] Ioh. Chrys., *Iohan.* (Hom. 83), § 3, col. 452.3-4

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**[29] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ μετάθεσις τότε τοῦ νομικοῦ γέγονε πάσχα in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDLMW — **1.** κατα GW — ματθαιον L — **3.** λῦσαι] post cor. (ex λύσαι) V: λύσαι DGMO: λύσαι post cor. (ex λῦσαι) Z — **7.** ἐκεῖνοι] post cor. (ex ἐκείνοι) W — **9.** ante θυμῷ sign. et δικαίῳ om. in textu et scr. in marg. D — **10.** τούτων] post cor. (ex τούταις?) L — **11.** ὑπερβολῆς in ras. V — ὅλως B — **12.** ἐξετάσαις D — μά[ρ]τυς illeg. Z — **13.** τοῦ] om. Z — ἐξηγήσει ὕστερον Z — **15.** παραδοῦναι] παρὰ δοῦναι Z — **16.** μὴ] om. ACLZ

ἐκείνους, κἀν τούτῳ παρηνομηκέναι. *Ἄγουσι* γάρ φησιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς *τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον* —μέσων γὰρ νυκτῶν αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενοι, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα πρῶτον καθείλκυσαν καταγώγιον, εἶθ' οὕτω πρωΐτερον, εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον *ἄγουσι*—, καὶ αὐτοὶ *οὐκ εἰσῆλθον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσι*, μέλλοντες τοῦ
M 240v Πάσχα ‖ μεθέξειν. Καὶ μετά τινα· *οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἵνα μὴ μείνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ Σαββάτῳ, ἐπεὶ Παρασκευῆ ἦν· ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαββάτου* —συμβεβήκει γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Σαββάτου, καὶ ἡ τοῦ νομικοῦ τελετὴ Πάσχα—, οὐ γὰρ ἄν, εἴ γε καὶ πρὸς βουλῆς αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἐξῆν ὑπερθέσθαι, τὴν μεγίστην αὐτοῖς νομιζομένην ἁπασῶν ἑορτήν, τῷ φόβῳ κρουομένοις τοῦ δήμου, δεινὸν ἀπειλοῦν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τούτου περίεργον καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν εὐχερές.

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**17-21.** Ἄγουσι-μιανθῶσι] Ioh 18:28 — **22-24.** οἱ-Σαββάτου] Ioh. 19:31 — **23-24.** ἐπεὶ-Σαββάτου] cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, p. 330.6-7 — **23-25.** ἐπεὶ-Πάσχα] cf. Ps.-Athan. Alex., *De azymis* col. 1329.14-20

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**17.** κἀν] ἐν G — **18.** εἰς] επὶ AC — **19.** μέσον G — **20.** πρωίτερον] πρωιαίτερον G — **22.** [κ]αὶ deest G — οἱ] εἰ G — **23.** παρασκευῆ GWZ — **24.** γὰρ] om. ACLZ — **25.** εἴ L — **26.** πρὸς βουλῆς] προσβουλῆς BG — βουλῆς] om. W — ἦν αὐτοῖς G — μεγίστ(ην) B — **27.** ἑορτήν] post cor. (ex ἑορτὴν) B — **28.** ἀπειλοῦν] post cor. (ex ἀπειλοῦντος) Z: ἀπειλοῦντος W

**[30] Ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Πάσχα, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τότε ἐπλανήθησαν.**

Ἀλογίστως δέ μοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ οἴεσθαί τινας περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Πάσχα, τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς πεπλανῆσθαι καὶ οὕτως ὑπερτεθῆναι τὴν ἑορτήν· οὐ γὰρ καὶ παισὶ δήπου ἡ τῆς σελήνης ἠγνόητο τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη, ἀφεστηκυΐας τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ διάμετρον. Ἐναργῶς τοίνυν δέδεικται τοῖς εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσι, μὴ δ' ἂν ἓν τῶν τοῦ νομικοῦ τύπου ἐθῶν ἐν τῇ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας συμπεριληφθῆναι τελετῇ.

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**[30] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πάσχα οἱ ἰουδαῖοι τότε ἐπλανήθησαν in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDLMOVW — **3.** ὑπερτιθέναι Z — **4.** σελήνης] (σελήνης) D: σελήν*ης* illeg. M — τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη] ιδ′ Z — ἡλίου] (ἡλίου) D — **5.** post τοίνυν scr. et del. ἠγνόηται C — ἐυγνομόνως G — **6.** μὴ δ′ ἂν] μηδ′ ἂν AV — τῶν] sscr. C — **7.** τελετῇ συμπεριληφθῆναι D

**[31] Ὅτι καὶ οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες, τὸ ἀζυμοθετεῖν ἀπαγορεύειν.**

Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν ὅπως καὶ οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων, κρίσεως ἔχουσιν. Ὁ μέν ἑβδομηκοστὸς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, τῶν δεχομένων τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄζυμα, τοὺς μὲν ἱεράσθαι λαχόντας, καθαιρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφορισμῷ ὑποβάλλει. Ὁ δὲ ἐνδέκατος τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, *μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν ἱερατικῷ φησι κατειλεγμένων τάγματι, ἢ λαϊκὸς, τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄζυμα ἐσθιέτω· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' ὁ μέν, καθαιρείσθω, ὁ δέ, ἀφοριζέσθω*. Εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸς Ἰουδαίων ταῦτα φασὶ δέχεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ποιοῦντες προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐπρόσωπος αὕτη ἀπολογία· οὐδὲν γὰρ διοίσει, εἴτ' οὖν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τίς, εἴτε παρ' ἑτέρων ταῦτ' εἴη λαμβάνων, σκανδάλου διδοὺς ἀφορμὴν καὶ ὑπόνοιαν, ὡς τὰς Ἰουδαϊκὰς τιμῶν τελετάς. Ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ περιτέμνων τὶς ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τῶν χρωμένων τῷ ἔθει τούτῳ περιτεμνόμενος, ἐνίσταιτο, μὴ τὰ ἐκείνων δήπου φρονῶν —παρανομίας γάρ, ταύτῃ ποιῶν—, ἑάλω ἂν τῆς ἐσχάτης. Οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς τοίνυν οἰκήτορες Ῥώμης, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἀποχρῶν ἡγησάμενοι, βλάσφημον γλῶτταν

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**[31] 2-4.** Ὁ μέν-ὑποβάλλει] cf. *Synt.*, ι', § 4, pp. 308.24-309.1 — **4-7.** Ὁ δὲ-ἀφοριζέσθω] cf. *Synt.*, ι', § 4, p. 310.4-8

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**[31] 2-4.** Ὁ μέν-ὑποβάλλει] cf. *Can. Apost.*, canon 70, p. 90.10-14 — **4-7.** Ὁ δὲ-ἀφοριζέσθω] *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 11, *COGD*, p. 237.746-755; *Σύνταγμα*, pp. 328.27-329.4; cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, pp. 328.16-20; 333.20-334.2 — **5-7.** μηδεὶς-ἐσθιέτω] cf. Ps.-Ioh. Damasc., *Azym.*, § 3, col. 396.43-45

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**[31] Tit.** scr. ὅτι κ(αὶ) οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες, τὸ ἀζυμοθυτ(εῖν) ἀπαγορεύειν: in marg. BV — **1.** ante Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν scr. ἀποστολ(ικὸς) καν(ὼν) ο' in marg. AG: scr. ἀποστ(όλων) ο' in marg. L: scr. καν(ὼν) τ(ῶν) ἁγί(ων) ἀποστ(όλων) ο' in marg. Z — εἴδωμεν Z — οἱ] post cor. (ex ὁς) W — **2.** ὁ] deest Z — ante ὁ μέν scro' . in marg. C — ἑβδομηκοστὸς] ο' Z — **4.** τοῦ] post cor. (ex τοὺς) W — Ὁ] deest Z — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. σύνοδ(ος) στ' ια' in marg. AGL: scr. στ' ια' in marg. C — **5.** ἐνδέκατος] ια' CG: α' LZ — ἕκτης] στ' ACDGL — μηδεὶς] μὴ δεὶς B: μηδὲς L — φησὶ GZ — **7.** καθαιρείσθω] post cor. (ex καθαιρεῖσθω) Z — Εἰ] Οἱ A — **9.** post αὕτη ras. (3-4 litt.) W — ante ἀπολογία scr. ἡ GWZ — **10.** οὖν] om. G — εἴτε] εἶπε L — ἑτέρων] ἑτέρου G — ταῦτ' εἴη] ταῦτα ǀ εἴη Z — **11.** διδοὺς] δίδωσιν B — **12.** τιμῶν] τελ(ῶν) Z — ὥσπερ' ἂν W — περιτέμνων] περιτέμνειν LZ — **14.** ἐνίστατο W — δήπου] δῆθεν G — παρανομία B

κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου μόνον κινεῖν Πνεύματος, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον τοῦ Κυρίου οἰκονομίαν αὐτοῖς καινοτομηθείη, δι' ἀζύμου τὰ φρικτὰ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια, ἱερουργεῖν οὐ πεφρίκασιν, ἵν' εἴη πάντα τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀσεβῆ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀτόλμητον αὐτοῖς ὑπολίποιτο· κἂν γὰρ μὴ δοκῇ τισι πίστεως εἶναι διαφορά, ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἐνζύμου καὶ ἀζύμου ἱερουργία, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ οὐκ ἐξ ὑγιοῦς ὥρμηται τὸ τοῦ ἀζύμου δόγμα διδασκαλίας, μεγίστην φέρει τῇ
M 241r ψυχῇ τὴν ζη-‖μίαν, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ κίνδυνος.

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**17.** μόνον] om. B — **20.** μηδὲν] μὴ δὲν BL — **21.** ὑπολείποιτο Z — δοκεῖ GWZ — **21-22.** δι' ἐνζύμου Z — **22.** ἀλλ ἐπείπερ L — **23.** ὥρμηται] ὥρμητο A — τοῦ] τῆς ALZ

**[32] Ὅτι τρισὶν αἱρέσεσιν περιπίπτουσιν, οἱ ἄζυμα θύοντες.**

Ἐκτὸς γὰρ τοῦ διδόναι ὑπόνοιαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων φρονεῖν, τοὺς ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῇ τελετῇ, περὶ ὧν φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, *οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσετε*, τριῶν αἱρέσεων ἡ πρᾶξις κατηγορεῖ κοινωνίαν· τῆς Ἀρείου παραπληξίας, τῆς τῶν Ἀκεφάλων φρενοβλαβείας, καὶ Ἀπολιναρίου τῆς ἀλογίας. Ἄρειος μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τῆς κτίσεως ἁπάσης δημιουργὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Λόγον —ὦ τῆς ἐξαγίστου καὶ μιαρᾶς γλώττης ἐκείνης καὶ διανοίας!— εἰς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα κατεβίβαζε, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων, διὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίαν προσληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ, ψυχῆς ἀμοιρεῖν ἐφλυάρει· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ θεότης, τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποπληροῦν. Τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πάθη προσάπτειν ἐντεῦθεν μηχανώμενος τῇ θεότητι, οἷα τοῦ κινοῦντος τὸ σῶμα, τούτου δῆτα καὶ πάσχοντος, διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκείνου πρεσβεύειν μὴ αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἄζυμον τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προσκομίζουσι σῶμα, ἀτελῆ τὴν θείαν λογιζόμενοι σάρκωσιν. Ταύταις ταῖς πάγαις ἁλοὺς καὶ

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**[32] 5.** Ἀκεφάλων] cf. *Synt.*, α′, § 2, p. 65.1

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**[32] 2-3**. οἵτινες-ἐξεπέσετε] Gal. 5:4

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**[32] Tit.** scr. ὅτι τρισὶν αἱρέσεσι περιπίπτουσιν οἱ ἄζυμα θύοντες in marg. BCDMVW — **1.** ante Ἐκτὸς sign. B — φρονεῖν] om. A — **2.** ὧν B — φησὶν GZ — **3.** δικαιοῦσθε] δικαιοῦσθαι et sscr. ε (per δικαιοῦσθε) W: δικαιοῦση L — πράξις A — **4.** post τῆς ras. (2 litt.) L — **5.** φρενοβλαβίας BGV — ante Ἄρειος scr. ἄρειος in marg. ABCDGLMOW — **5-11.** scr. ὅρα in marg. W — **8.** κατεβίβαζε] μετεβίβαζε G — **9.** τὸν χρόνον V — **10.** προσλειφθέντα Z — **11.** ἱκανὴ] post cor. (ex ἱκανῆ) W: ἱκάνὴ A — τὰς] post cor. (ex τῆς) Z — **12.** προσάπτειν] om. Z — **13.** δῆτα] δῆ L: δὴ Z — **14.** ante διάτοι scr. σημ(είωσ)αι in marg. W — πρεσβεύειν laps. cal. V — **16.** ante Ταύταις scr. ἀπολινάριος in marg. ABCDGLMOWZ — πάγαις] παγίδαις D

Ἀπολινάριος, ἔμψυχον μέν, οὐ μὴν ἔννουν τὸν προσληφθέντα τῷ Θεῷ Λόγον, φανερῶς ἀνοηταίνων, ἐδογμάτιζεν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ νοερὰν ψυχήν, ἀλλ' ἵππου τυχὸν ἢ βοός, ἢ ἄλλου τῶν ἀνοήτων, ἐκεῖνον ἔχειν ἰσχυριζόμενος. Καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον ἀφαιρῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς, κτῆνος τὸ λειπόμενον ἀπεδείκνυ. Τὸ δὲ κτῆνος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος. Οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀκεφάλων αἱρέσεως, ᾗ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων προσανέχουσι γένος, τὰς δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου φύσεις, εἰς μίαν ἀνακιρνῶντες τὲ καὶ συγχέοντες, καὶ τὴν θεότητα παθητὴν εἶναι διατεινόμενοι, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν θείαν τελεῖν ἱερουργίαν δεῖν εἶναι ἐνόμισαν.

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**18.** λόγον] λόγω BDGMOVWZ — **19.** ἀλλ' ἵππου] ἀλ' ἱ-|ππου W — post ἄλλου scr. τινὸς Z — **20.** ἐκείνον G — **22.** ante Οἱ δὲ scr. ἀκέφαλοι in marg. ABCDGLMOW: scr. ἁρμένιοι in marg. ACL — Οἱ] Ἡ Z — **23.** αἱρέσεως AB — ᾗ B — ἁρμενίων ACGLMOVWZ — **24.** τὲ] om. Z

**[33] Τίνων εἰσὶ σύμβολα, ἡ ζύμη καὶ οἱ ἄλες.**

Τὸν γὰρ εἰς θυσίαν λαμβανόμενον ἡμῖν ἄρτον ἀντὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ θεότητος λέγουσι σῶμα. Καὶ συνελόντι φάναι, παῖδας αἱρετικῶν ἴσμεν ὡς ἐπίπαν τούτοις χρωμένους. Οἱ δὲ τὴν καθαρὰν τῆς εὐσεβείας αἴγλην δεξάμενοι, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον ὑγιῶς δογματίζοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ τῶν ἐξευρόντων ταῦτα αἱρετικῶν, ἐπίσης ἀποδιΐστανται, κοινωνίαν ἁπασῶν αἱρέσεων, τὴν κοινωνίαν τούτων, ἡγούμενοι. Εἰ τοίνυν πιστεύομεν, ἔννουν τὲ καὶ ἔμψυχον σάρκα τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀνειληφέναι, ὡς ἐν δυσὶ τελείαις ταῖς φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως ἡνωμέναις, τὴν αὐτοῦ θεανδρικὴν θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπόστασιν —θεότητί τε λέγω καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι—, δεῖ καὶ ζύμην
M 241v ἔχειν καὶ ἅλας τὸ προσ-‖φερόμενον, ἵνα μὴ πρόφασιν ταῖς ῥηθείσαις δῶμεν αἱρέσεσι. Ταῦτα γάρ, τὴν τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς φύσιν ἐξεικονίζουσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ζύμη, τῆς αὐξητικῆς καὶ κινητικῆς καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου γεννητικῆς φύσεως σύμβολον, οἱ δέ γε ἅλες, ἀτεχνῶς τοῦ νοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα. Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ἁλισθέντα

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**[33] Tit.** scr. τίνων εἰσὶ σύμβολα ἡ ζύμη καὶ οἱ ἅλες in marg. W — **1.** ante Τὸν γὰρ sign. W — ἡμῖν] om. Z — **3.** φᾶναι G — **5.** δογματίζοντες] post cor. (ex δόγματίζοντες) L — **5-6.** καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων] om. Z — **6.** ἐξευρόντων] ἐξ εὑρόντων MW: εὑρόντων G — ἐπίσης post cor. (ex α) Z — **7.** κοινωνίαν] κοινωνίας W — ἁπασῶν] post cor. (ex ἀπασῶν) Z — **11.** θεότητί τε] θεότητι G — **14.** ἐξ εἰκονίζουσιν GW — ante ἡ μὲν scr. τίνων εἰσὶ σύμβολα ἡ ζύμη καὶ οἱ ἅλες in marg. BCDLMV

συνέχουσι καὶ διακρατοῦσι, καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν καὶ σῆψιν διαρρεῖν οὐκ ἀφιᾶσι, τὸ χαῦνον αὐτῶν φυσικῶς στύφοντες, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ νοῦ δύναμις αὐτοκράτωρ οὖσα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλόγου μερῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦσα ἡδονῶν, ἀκρατῶς καὶ ἀνέτως οὐκ ἐᾶ φέρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ χαῦνον αὐτῶν, συνέχει καὶ ἀναστέλλει καὶ τονοῖ, καὶ νόμῳ καὶ τάξει βαίνειν, καὶ ὅρον τῆς φυσικῆς εἰδέναι παρασκευάζει κινήσεως.

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**19.** νοῦ-αὐτοκράτωρ] cf. Phil. Jud., *Leg. Allegor.*, § 198-199, p.157. 9-12

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**17.** διακρατοῦσι] κρατοῦσι Z — προς D — **18.** στύφοντες] στύφον D — **19.** ἀλόγου] ἀλόγων BDOV — **20.** εᾶ BGO — **21.** post χαῦνον scr. κρατοῦσα L — **22.** τονοῖ] τὸ νοῖ G — *καὶ*²] in ras. L

**[34] Ἰακωβῖται ὅπως θύουσιν.**

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰακωβῖται, οἱ τῶν αἱρετικῶν αἴσχιστοι, τὸν ἄρτον ὃν προσκομίζουσιν, ἐλαίῳ πρότερον χρίουσι, καὶ ἁλσὶν ἐπιπάττουσι, διά γε τό, *ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεός σου, ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως*, καὶ τό, *πᾶσα θυσία, ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται*. Τί οὖν; Συνέλθωμεν καὶ τούτοις, καὶ μὴ τὸ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀπεστραμμένον συνήθειαν βδελυξώμεθα δόγμα; Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλας θυσίας δεῖ προσφέρειν, μάταιον ἄρα τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως μυστήριον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μή τι ἄλλο, τὴν γοῦν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν Μελχισεδὲκ αἰδεσθέντας, τὴν ματαίαν ἔνστασιν ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς καταλελυκέναι, ὃς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τύπος ἦν, καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μυστηρίων προεζωγράφει, ὡς γέγραπται, *σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ*.

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**[34] 3.** ἔχρισέ-ἀγαλλιάσεως] Ps. 44:8, Heb. 1:9 — **4.** πᾶσα-ἁλισθήσεται] Lev. 2:13 — **11.** σὺ ἱερεὺς-Μελχισεδέκ] Ps. 109:4

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**[34] Tit.** scr. ἰακωβῖται (ἰακωβίται BZ) ὅπως θύουσιν in marg. ABCDLMOVWZ: scr. ὅπ(ως) θύουσϊν ἰακωβῖτ(αι) in marg. G — **1.** ἰακωβίται BZ — **2.** προσκομίζουσι W — **3.** post ἀγαλλιάσεως add. παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου V — **4.** ἁλισθήσεται] post cor. (ex ἀλισθήσεται) Z — συνήλθωμεν Z — **5.** ἀρχαῖαν G — **6.** δεῖ θυσίας G — **7.** μὴ post cor. (ex μὲν) L — τι] τῖς B — **9.** τύπος ἦν τοῦ χριστοῦ Z — **10.** ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς B — προὸ ἐζωγράφει G — **11.** Μελχισεδέκ] μελχισεδὲκ post cor. (ex μελχισεδέκ) L

**[35] Ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες τὴν δι' ἐνζύμου ἱερουργίαν παραδεδώκασιν.**

Ἀλόγιστον μέντοι κομιδῇ καὶ φρενὸς ἔξω καθεστηκυῖας, τῶν τεσσάρων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ἡνωμένων τῷ τρόπῳ πλέον, ἢ τῷ τόπῳ διϊσταμένων, ἑνὶ νόμῳ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χρωμένων μυσταγωγίαν, ἣν Χριστὸς νενομοθέτηκε, καὶ ἀπόστολοι ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ ὁ τῶν
5 δισχιλίων πατέρων χορὸς ἐβεβαίωσε, τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικαῖς ἠγωνισμένων συνόδοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ πέντε ψῆφος πατριαρχῶν ἐπεκύρου, μόνην ὕστερον τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην νεωτερίσαι, καὶ τὰ νεκρά, τῶν ζώντων ἀλλάξασθαι, καὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν, τὰ σκιώδη, καὶ τῶν τελείων καὶ ζωοποιῶν, τὰ
10 νεκροῦντα καὶ ἀτελῆ. Οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ τὸ νέον τοῦτο καὶ πρόσφατον τὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων γέννημα, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εὕρηται λόγῳ. Οὐ μήν, οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων οἵδε νομοθεσία, οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων παράδοσις· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀδελφὸς ὁ μέγας Ἰάκωβος, ὁ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας, πρῶτος τὸν θρόνον
M 242r 15 κοσμήσας, καὶ ὁ τῆς Καισαρέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ‖ μέγας Βασίλειος,

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**[35] Tit.** scr. ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεῖοι π(ατέ)ρες τὴν δι' ἐνζύμου ἱερουργίαν παραδεδώκασιν in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDGLMOVW — **1.** ante Ἀλόγιστον sign. BDV — Ἀλλόγιστον GZ — κομιδῇ] post cor. (ex κομιδὴ) Z — **3.** ἣν] post cor. (ex ἣν) G — **4.** νενομοθέτηκε] post cor. (ex νενομοθέτηκεν) W — ante ἀπόστολοι add. οἱ A — post ὁ τῶν ras. (4 litt.) G — **5.** δισχιλίων] ,β Z — ἐβεβαίωσε] post cor. (ex ἐβαιβαίωσε) Z — **6.** πέντε] ε′ LZ — **7-8.** μόνην τὴν ὕστερον πρεσβυτέραν ῥώμην νεωτερίσαι V: μόνην τὴν πρεσβυτέραν νεωτερίσαι ὕστερον ῥώμην B — **11.** γένημα G — ἐν ὅλῳ] post cor. (ex ἐν ὅλω) Z — **13.** προημῶν B — ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων παράδοσις BDMOVW — ante ὁ γὰρ alt. man. scr. [ἰακω]βῖται | [ὅπως] θύουσι in marg. C — **15.** ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] ἐπίσκοπος G

οὗ τὸ κλέος πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμε τὴν ὑφ' ἥλιον, πρὸς δέ, καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν στόμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότες ἱερουργίαν, δι' ἐνζύμου ἄρτου τελεῖν ἐκδεδώκασι, καὶ ταῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησίαις, ἔνθα τὴν ποιμαντικὴν ἐνεχειρίσθησαν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷά τινα κλῆρον ἄνωθεν ἠγμένον, κατέλιπον. Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς Νέας, φιλοσοφῶν ὁ θεῖος Χρυσόστομος, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινὰ κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, ἐκεῖ τὸ γράμμα φησὶν, ᾧδε τὸ Πνεῦμα· *ἐκεῖ ἡ κιβωτός, ᾧδε ἡ Παρθένος· ἐκεῖ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρών, ᾧδε ὁ σταυρός·* ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀμνός, ᾧδε ὁ Χριστός· *ἐκεῖ τὰ ἄζυμα, ᾧδε ὁ ἄρτος.* Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα παρῆσαν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων οἱ θεῖοι ἐκεῖνοι ἄνδρες, ὅ τε Ἀγαπητὸς καὶ Βιγίλλιος, οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ περιφανεῖς πρόεδροι, τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἔθει, κἀκεῖνοι τὴν θείαν ἐπετέλουν μυσταγωγίαν, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν κεχειροτόνηκε Μηνᾶν, ὁ Ἀγαπητὸς ὡς ῥηθήσεται. Διαφορὰ γὰρ καὶ στάσις, οὐδεμία τοῖς ἁγίοις κεκίνητο ἄρτου διαφορᾶς πέρι· ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τρόπος τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπράττετο.

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**24-26.** ἐκεῖ-ἄρτος] Ps.-Ioh. Chrys., *Resurr.*, 46-49, p. 95 — **30.** ὡς ῥηθήσεται] cf. infra § **44.5**.13-14

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**16.** ὑφ ἥλιον G: ὑφήλιον VZ — **17.** ἐγράφως G — ἡμῖν] om. G — **18.** post ἱερουργίαν alt. man. scr. πάντες οἱ θεῖοι | [πατέρε]ς τὴν δι ἐνζύ-| [μου] in marg. C — ἄρτου] om. D — ἐκδεδώκασιν W — **19.** κατ' | αυτοὺς B — ἐκκλησίαις in ras. L — **21.** Διά τοι] Αιά τοι Z — **23.** καινὰ] post cor. (ex κενὰ) G — ante ἐκεῖ scr. χρ(υσοστόμ)ου in marg. G — **24-26.** ᾧδε…ᾧδε BDMOVW — **25.** ῥᾶβδος CDL: ῥάβδος et scr. γρ(άφε) ῥαύδος in marg. G — **26.** post ἄρτος scr. μὴ ζήτει τοίνϋν ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἄζϋμα· ἐπεὶ, μὴ δὲ ἀμν(ὸν) τοιοῦτ(ον) ἔχεις in textu G — **27.** ante θεῖοι scr. θέσι (vel. Θειοι) L — ὅ τε] ὅ,τε BMVW — **28.** post τῆς add. παλαιᾶς G — ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ] om. G — **29.** τὴν θείαν ἐπετέλουν κἀκεῖνοι BDGMOVW — ante ὅτε scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — μάλλιστα B — **31.** γὰρ] δὲ Z — οὐδὲ μία BGOW — κεκίνηται Z — **32.** τρόπος] post cor. (ex τρόπως) L

**[36] Πόθεν ἤρξατο οἱ Λατῖνοι τὰ ἄζυμα.**

Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὕστερον χρόνοις, πρὸς τῶν Οὐανδάλων τῶν νῦν Νεμιτζίων λεγομένων, ἡ νόσος τοῖς Λατίνοις εἰσεκώμασεν αὕτη· τῆς γὰρ Ῥώμης πολέμου νόμῳ τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἑαλωκυΐας, καὶ τοῦ ῥηγὸς αὐτῶν, τῆς ἀρειανικῆς ὄντος αἱρέσεως, τὴν λώβην ταύτην καὶ ἄκοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰσεδέξαντο. Τὸ δὲ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, εἰ δύο ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος θεανδρικὴ κεχάρισται πολιτεία, τὸ θεῖον πρὸς τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος ἔκπλυσιν βάπτισμα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ζωοποιῶν μέθεξιν μυστηρίων, εἰς ἁγιασμοῦ μετουσίαν, οἷς ὁ πιστός, τῶν ἀπίστων ἀφώρισται, ἐλλιπῶς δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἔχοντος, τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲν ὁ βαπτισάμενος διενήνοχεν, ὡς οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες διαγορεύουσιν, οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρας οἶμαι καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖσθαι ψήφου πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, προφανῶς οὕτω χωλεύοντας.

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**[36] 2.** Νεμιτζίων] cf. Const. VII Porph., *De Cerim.*, § 48, p. 689.6; Ioh. Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, § 20, p. 727.14; Mich. Attal., *Hist.*, pp. 147.1, 221.6 — **11**. οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες διαγορεύουσιν] locum non inveni

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**[36] Tit.** scr. ση(μείωσ)αι: πόθεν ἤρξαντο οἱ λατῖνοι τὰ ἄζυμα in textu A: scr. in marg. et sign. C — **1.** ante πολλοῖς alt. man. scr. in marg. ση(μείωσ)αι: A — οὐανδάλων] post cor. (ex οὐανδήλων) A: οὐανδήλων G — **2.** εἰσεκόμασεν B — **4.** ἀρειανικῆς] post cor. (ex ἀρεινικῆς) W — ὄντως BGLZ — **5.** ante Τὸ δὲ ὅλον scr. ση(μείωσ)αι: πόθεν ἤρξαντο οἱ λατῖνοι τὰ ἄζυμα in marg. L — εἰ] εἰς D: εἰ et sscr. ς (per εἰς) W — **8.** μετοὐσίαν G — **9.** ἀφώρισται] ἀφορίζεται Z — **10.** βαπτισάμενος] βαπτιζόμενος Z — **12.** οἶμαι G — δῆσθαι D — **13.** χολεύοντας AL

**[37] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας, διὰ τὴν ἄσπορον τοῦ Κυρίου γέννησιν, δεῖ προσφέρειν ἄζυμον.**

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο φασί τινες αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ἄνευ σποράς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἑαυτῷ τὸ πρόσλημμα ὑπεστήσατο, καὶ δεῖ τῶν προσφερομένων, τὴν ζύμην ἐξαίρεσθαι, λόγον σποράς ἐπέχουσαν. Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο φαμέν, ὅτι πρῶτον μέν, οὐ τῆς ἐκ Παρθένου τοῦ Κυρίου γεννήσεως ταυτὶ σύμβολα, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωτηρίων αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, τῆς τριημέρου ταφῆς, τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγέρσεως, καὶ οἷς τὸν διάβολον, ξένῳ τρόπῳ κατηγωνίσατο· *ὁσάκις γὰρ*
M 242v *ἂν ‖ ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ* φησὶν ὁ Ἀπόστολος. Ἀλλ’ ἄρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλογον ταύτην πρότασιν, εἰ καὶ παρεκβατικωτέρα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἴσως δόξειεν ἡ ἀπάντησις, ῥητέον ὅμως, εἰς δύναμιν τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προνενοηκόσι· λελήθασι γὰρ ἑαυτούς, οὐ μόνον ἐντεῦθεν ἐξομνύμενοι, ἐπὶ τὴν οὕτως ἀσπόρως παγεῖσαν σάρκα τὰ σωτήρια ταυτὶ ἐνεργηθῆναι παθήματα, ἀλλά γε καὶ ἄρνησιν ἀτεχνῶς τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου

**A** (**1-23**), **BCDGLMOVWZ**

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**[37] 1-3.** Ἀλλὰ-ἐπέχουσαν] cf. Anonymous, *De azymis*, codd. *Patm.* 103, ff. 157v-158, *Vat. Palat. gr.* 200, ff. 180r-v: Inc. Εἶπε δέ τις ποτὲ καρδινάλιος ὅτι οὐκ ἁγιοτάτως μεταλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἀζύμων, ἀλλ’ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς ἀσπόρως ἐτέχθη ἐκ τῆς πανάγνου Παρθένου τούτου ἕνεκα τὸ ἄζυμον ποιοῦμεν … — **7-9.** ὁσάκις-ἔλθῃ] 1 Cor. 11:26

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**[37] Tit.** scr. πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας διὰ τὴν ἄσπορον τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ γέννησιν δεῖ προσφέρειν ἄζυμον (ἄζυμα G) in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDGLMOVW — **1.** ante Ἀλλὰ sign. W — φασί] φησί Z — **2.** ἑαυτῷ] om. G — δεῖ] post cor. (ex δη) G: δὴ B — **3.** λόγον] λόγου LZ — post λόγον scr. in marg. λόγ(ους) vel. λόγ(ϊς) G — **7.** ξένῳ] post cor. (ex ξένον) G — **9.** ἄχρις] ἕως A — **10.** ante ἀλλ’ ἄρα scr. ση(μείωσ)αι et sup. ὡρ(αῖ)ον in marg. W — ἀλλ’ ἄρα] ἀλλ’ ὅρα Z — ἄλογον] ἄλλην LZ — ταύτην in ras. A — **11.** παρεκβατικώτερα B — **12.** προνενοηκόσιν BDMOVW — λελήθασι] post cor. (ex λελύθασι) B — **13.** ἐξ’ ὀμνύμενοι G — **15.** ἀλλά γε] ἀλλ’ ἄγε W

σαρκώσεως παρεισάγοντες. Εἰ γοῦν κατὰ πάντα ὁ Σωτὴρ πλὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῖν ὡμοίωται, τῆς οἰκείας μὴ ἐκστὰς τὸ σύνολον φύσεως, οὐδὲ ἄνευ σποράς, τὸ φύσει ἁγνὸν ἐχούσης καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀνεπίδεκτον, τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκείνου σάρκα παγῆναι οἴεσθαι δεῖ —ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ἦν διημαρτημένον, καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἐχόμενον παραβάσεως, οὐ προσήκατο· τὴν ἐμπαθῆ φημι σποράν, καὶ *δούλην καὶ νυκτερινήν*, καὶ πόθοις ῥυπαροῖς καταβαλλομένην—, ὅσην γε μήν, ὁ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἐγκείμενος δημιουργικὸς Λόγος δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἔσχεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς παρητήσατο. *Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος*, ὁ πᾶσι λόγοις τὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν παρεχόμενος, ἀμέσως τῇ Παρθένῳ *ἐπισκιάσας*, *οἱονεί*, *θεῖος* ὑπῆρξε *σπόρος*, καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἐνήργησε τὰ τοῦ ἐγκειμένου φυσικοῦ λόγου τῷ σπέρματι, *οὐ σπερματικῶς*, *ἀλλὰ δημιουργικῶς*, *καὶ συνέπηξεν ἑαυτῷ*, *ἐκ τῶν πανάγνων* τῆς Παρθένου *αἱμάτων*, *σάρκα ἐμψυχωμένην*, *ψυχῇ λογικῇ τε καὶ νοερᾷ αὐτὸς χρηματίσας ὑπόστασις τῇ σαρκί*. *Οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτῇ προϋποστάσει ὁ* τοῦ *Θεοῦ* ἥνωται *λόγος*, *ἀλλ' ἅμα σάρξ*, *ἅμα* καὶ τοῦ *Θεοῦ Λόγου σάρξ*, *ἔμψυχος* ὡς εἴρηται *λογική τε καὶ νοερά*.

**A** (**1-23**), **BCDGLMOVWZ**

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**22.** δούλην καὶ νυκτερινήν] Greg. Naz., *Bapt.*, 2 § col. 360.31-32; cf. Ioh. Climac., *Scala parad.*, 15 § col. 835.50-51 — **24-35.** Αὐτὸς-ἐνανθρωπήσαντα] cf. Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. fidei*, § 46.25-34, p. 110; suum, *Nativ.*, p. 326, § 2.15-29; Nicet. Steth., *Orat.*, § 42.8-43.2, p. 206

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**16.** παρεισάγουσιν A — [ε]ι γοῦν G — καταπάντα A — **17.** τὸ σύνολον] τοσύνολον CDMOWZ: τὸσύνολον L: το σύνολον AV: τὸ σύνολο B — **20.** μὲν] om. W — **21.** φημὶ BG — σποράν] σάρκα Z — **23.** ὅσην] ὅσον B — ἐγγείμενος G — **27.** τὰ] τῶ Z — **28.** τῶ] om. Z — **29.** δημιουργικὸς D — **31.** νοερᾷ] νοερᾷ vel νοερα(ν) M — χρηματίσὰς G — **32.** προϋποστάσει in ras. W: προϋποστάση CL — λόγος ἥνωται Z — post λόγος scr. et del. ἀλλ' ἑαυτῇ προϋποστάσει, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἥνωται λόγος dittography O — **32-33.** ἅμα καὶ-σάρξ om. W — καὶ τοῦ om. G — **33.** ante ἔμψυχος scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. W — λογική] post cor. (ex. λογικῆ) W — νοερά] post cor. (ex. νοερᾶ) W: νοερᾶ D

Παρό, *οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεωθέντα λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*· ἐφ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ἡ γένεσις, τὴν φθορὰν ἔσχε γένεσιν, καὶ διὰ φθορᾶς τῆς γονῆς καταβαλλομένης, πλάττεται μὲν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, οὐ μὴν τῇ τῆς γονῆς ἐνεργείᾳ· κτιστὴ γὰρ οὐσία, σῶμα δημιουργῆσαι, οὐ δυνατή. Ἡ μέντοι δύναμις τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ Λόγου, πήγνυσι καὶ πλάττει τὸ ὑποκείμενον· πᾶσα γὰρ γένεσις, ἐξ ἀσωμάτου τινὸς χορηγεῖσθαι πέφυκε δυνάμεως. Τὸ τοίνυν ἡμαρτημένον ὡς εἴρηται τῆς σπορᾶς, ἡ τῆς θεοϋποστάτου σαρκὸς σύλληψις, οὐ προσήκατο, ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ τελεσθείη τῆς παραβάσεως. Εἰς δὲ τὸ κατορθωθῆναι τὴν ταύτης διάπλασιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐλλέλειπται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐπελθὸν τῇ Παρθένῳ, γόνιμον τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς ἀπειργάσατο,
M 243r αὐτὸς δ' ‖ ἂν ὁ Κύριος, ἑαυτῷ τὴν σάρκα δημιουργῶν, καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαπλάττων, πρῶτον μὲν, ἐσκίασεν, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐμόρφωσεν, οὐ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν προσθήκαις ἀπαρτιζομένου τοῦ σωματικοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἓν τελειωθέντος, ὥς γε δὴ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀδὰμ δεδημιουργῆσθαι παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν κατὰ μέγεθος

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**41.** ὡς εἴρηται] vide supra § **37.**19-24

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**36.** διαφθορᾶς BDGLZ — **36-37.** τῆς γονῆς-οὐ μὴν] om. dittography B — **37.** τῇ] sscr. B — κτιστὴ G — **38.** δυνατήν B — μέντη B — **44.** ἐλέλειπται B — **45.** ἐπελθὼν G — **47.** post ἐσκίασεν scr. τὶ σημαίνει τὸ ἐσκίασεν in marg. C — **48.** καταμικρὸν BZ — **49.** ὑφ' ἕν M: ὑφ ἓν L: ὑφὲν BGOV — **50.** ὥς γε V — δεδημιουργεῖσθαι BDOL

λαμβάνοντος αὔξησιν. Ὥστε κἀνταῦθα τὰ τοῦ σπέρματος τελεσθῆναι ὡς ἔφην, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἀποφαίνεσθαι. Ἄψυχον δὲ ὅλως καὶ ἀτελῆ τὴν σάρκα εἰσάγειν ἐκείνην, διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀζύμου ἱερουργίας, οὐ θεμιτὸν τοῖς εὐσεβεῖν αἱρουμένοις. Διά τοι τοῦτο οἱ τελειωθέντες τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἀτελὲς ἄζυμον, οὐ προσησόμεθα. Εἰ δέ τις ταύτην, οὐ ῥᾷστα προσίεται τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ὡς λεπτοτέραν τὲ καὶ γλαφυροτέραν, καὶ ἧς ἐθάδες, οὐ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστοι, ἀληθῆ δὲ πλέον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ἔχουσαν, ἢ ἀσυνήθη, ἐκ δέ γε τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθωμιλημένων, ἀξιωμάτων τὲ καὶ δογμάτων οἴεται δεῖν, τοὺς μὴ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦντας ἐπιστομίζειν, ἐξ ὧν ἄνωθεν ἔφημεν, ἱκανῶς ὀχυρωθείς, πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀποδυέσθω. Καὶ δὴ πολὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἄλλην παρανομίαν φιλότιμον, ὥστε καὶ εἰ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα βουληθείημεν κατὰ μέρος ἐπεξιέναι, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἂν μέτρου τὸν λόγον ἐκτὸς ἀποτείναιμεν. Ἀλλά γε τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτῶν νεανιεύμασιν οὕτως ἐπ' ἔσχατα δυσσεβείας ἰοῦσι, καὶ ἕτερα προσθετέον ἄττα, μικρὸν ἢ οὐδέν, εἰς λόγον κακοδοξίας τῶν φθασάντων ἀπολειπόμενα.

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**52.** ὥστε] ὥσπερ Z — κἂν ταῦθα G — **53.** ante τελεσθῆναι scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. G — **54.** τοῦ] om. Z — **57.** ῥαστᾶ L — **58.** γλαφυλοτέραν BDO — **59.** πάνυ τοι CGLZ: πάνυ τι BCDMOVW — **61.** τε Z — **62.** ἐξ' ὧν LW — **63.** ἀποδϊέσθω D — **63-64.** Καὶ δὴ-τὰ ἐκείνων] *underlined* L — **63.** πρὸς] παρὰ W — **64.** εἰ] οἱ et scr. εἰ in marg. L — **65.** βουληθείημεν] post cor. (ex βουληθείη μὲν) L — καταμέρος DLZ — **66.** post ἂν ras. (1 lit.) B — μέτρου] post cor. (ex αμέτρου) B — ante ἀλλά γε sign. in marg. G: Ἐκ τοῦ β′ βιβλίου τοῦ βλαστάρεως μέρη κ(α)τ(ὰ) λατίνων Tit.J — ἀλλά γε] ἀλλ' ἄγε W — **67.** ἐπέσχατα GZ — **68.** ἅττα CGLZ — **69.** ἀπολιπόμενα B

**[38] Ὅπως παραβαίνουσι τούς κανόνες, χωρίζεσθαι προτρέποντες τοὺς χειροτονουμένους, τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν.**

Τοὺς χειροτονουμένους ἱερέας καὶ διακόνους ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκάζουσιν, ἢ μὴν τελέως μετά γε τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν νομίμως συζευχθεισῶν αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν, μήτε κοινῇ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, μήτε ἰδίᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, οὓς τό πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων γλώττης ἐχρησμοδότησε, καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν ἐπεσφράγισεν. Ὁ δ' αὖ τῶν πατέρων θεῖος χορός, τοὺς αὐθεκάστῳ γνώμῃ τὰ τούτων μὴ προσιεμένους θεσπίσματα, τῆς τῶν πιστῶν ἀφειδῶς ἠλλοτρίωσεν ὁμηγύρεως. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων εἰκοστὸς ἕκτος κανών, καὶ ὁ ἕκτος τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Καρθαργένῃ ἐκκαιδέκατος, τοῖς τῷ κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένοις, εἰς ἀναγνώστας ἔτι καὶ ψάλτας τελοῦσι, συγχωροῦσι νομίμως γαμεῖν, μετὰ δέ γε τὸ εἰς βαθμὸν προαχθῆναι, ὑποδιακόνου, ἢ διακόνου,

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**[38] 1-3.** Τοὺς χειροτονουμένους-γυναικῶν] cf. *Synt.*, γ', § 2, p. 152.2-6 — **9-14.** Ὁ γὰρ-οὐκέτι] cf. *Synt.*, γ', § 2, p. 151.21-26

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**[38] 1-3.** Τοὺς χειροτονουμένους-γυναικῶν] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 13, *COGD*, p. 239.792-808; *Σύνταγμα*, pp. 333.21-30 — **9-14.** Ὁ γὰρ-οὐκέτι] cf. *Can. Apost.*, canon 26, p. 33.15-16; *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 6, *COGD*, p. 234.624-639; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 318.8-17; *Conc. Carthag.* (419), canon 16, p. 342.2-7

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**[38] Tit.** scr. ὅπως παραβαίνουσι τοὺς κανόνας, χωρίζεσθαι προτρέποντες τοὺς χειροτονουμένους τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν in marg. BCDMOVGW — **1.** ante Τοὺς sign. W — post Τοὺς scr. γὰρ J — **1-2.** Τοὺς χειροτονουμένους-ἢ μὴν] *underlined* L — **2.** ἢ μὴν] γε μὴν J — **2.** ἀφέξεσθαι] εἰς δέξεσθαι Z — **7.** θείων πατέρων χορὸς J — **8.** τῆς] τοῖς L — **9.** ἠλλωτρίωσεν J — ὁμηγήρεως B — ante Ὁ γὰρ sign. et scr. ὅπως παραβαίνουσι τοὺς κανόνας, χωρίζεσθαι προτρέποντες τοὺς χειροτονουμένους τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν in textu A: scr. in marg. ἀπο(στόλων) κστ' καρθ(αγένη) ιστ' CLZ — **10.** εἰκοστὸς ἕκτος] κστ' ABCDGLOZ: ια' J — ἕκτος τῆς ἕκτης] ἕκτος τῆς στ' BO: στ' τῆς ἕκτης J: στ' τῆς στ' ACDGLZ — **11.** ἐκκαιδέκατος] ιστ' ABCDJLOZ — τῷ κλήρῳ] τῶν κλήρω L: τῶν κλήρων Z — κατηλεγμένοις G: κατη-|λλεγμένοις W — **12.** ἀναγνώστας ἔτι τελοῦσι καὶ ψάλτας A: ἀναγνώστας ἔπιτελοῦσι καὶ ψάλτας LZ — **13.** προαχθῆναι] προσαχθῆναι Z

ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, οὐκέτι. Ὁ δὲ πέμπτος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ
15 τὸν προφάσει εὐλαβείας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβάλλοντα,
M 243v ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, ἀφορίζει, ‖ μέχρις ἂν
αὖθις προσλάβηται· ἐπιμένοντα δέ, καθαιρεῖ. Ὅ γε μὴν δωδέκατος
τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, μόνους τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἀπεῖρξε, τὴν πρὸ τῆς
χειροτονίας νόμιμον ἔχειν γυναῖκα, τὸ εὔσχημον ἐντεῦθεν τῆς τοῦ
20 Θεοῦ προμηθούμενος ἐκκλησίας. Τῶν ἱερέων δὲ πέρι καὶ
διακόνων, ὁ τρισκαιδέκατος τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου κανών,
ἐξεπίτηδες ὑπὲρ τούτου τῆς τῶν Λατίνων καθαπτόμενος
ἐκκλησίας, καὶ φανερῶς ἀνατρέπων τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις κρατῆσαν
τοιοῦτον ἔθος, *ἡμεῖς* φησι καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν, *ἐρρῶσθαι*
25 *τὰ συνοικέσια βουλόμεθα*, τῶν ἀξίως τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἠξιωμένων,
ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν, τὸν εὐλογηθέντα *τῇ* τοῦ Κυρίου *παρουσίᾳ γάμον*
*ὑβρίζοντες*· πρὸς δέ, καὶ ἀποφηναμένου, *«ἃ ὁ Θεὸς συνέζευξεν,*
*ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω»*, καὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος, *«τίμιον εἶναι*
*τὸν γάμον»* ἐπιστέλλει, *«καὶ τὴν κοίτην ἀμίαντον»*, καὶ πάλιν
30 *«δέδεσαι γυναικί; μὴ ζήτει λύσιν»*. Ὁ τοίνυν *ἀποστερῶν διάκονον,*

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**14-17.** Ὁ δὲ-καθαιρεῖ] cf. *Synt.*, γ′, § 16, pp. 185.27-186.4 — **17-20.** Ὅ γε-ἐκκλησίας] cf. *Synt.*, γ′, § 17, p. 189.20-23 — **20-33.** Τῶν ἱερέων-μεταχειρήσεως] cf. *Synt.*, γ′, § 2, p. 152.2-18

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**14-17.** Ὁ δὲ-καθαιρεῖ] *Can. Apost.*, canon 5, p. 7.14-16; cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, p. 338.17-20 — **17-20.** Ὅ γε-ἐκκλησίας] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 12, *COGD*, p. 238.769-771; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 330.21-25 — **24-32.** ἡμεῖς-καθαιρείσθω] *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 13, *COGD*, pp. 239.797-802, 239.816-823, 240.845-848; *Σύνταγμα*, pp. 333.24-27, 334.5-10, 334.24-26; cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, pp. 339.23-340.14 — **28-29**. ἃ-χωριζέτω] Heb. 13:4 — **29-30**. τίμιον-λύσιν] 1 Cor. 7:27

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**14.** οὐκ ἔτι BGWZ — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. ἀπο(στόλων) ε′ in marg. ACLZ — πέμπτος] ε′ ABCGJLZ — **17.** ante Ὅ γε scr. συν(όδου) στ′ ιβ′ in marg. AC: scr. συν(όδου) στ′ in marg. L — **17-18.** δωδέκατος τῆς ἕκτης] δωδέκατος τῆς στ′ BDO: ιβ′ τῆς στ′ ACGJLZ — **18.** post συνόδου scr. κανὼν W — **20.** ante Τῶν ἱερέων scr. συν(όδου) στ′ ιγ′ in marg. CL — καὶ] sscr. B — **21.** τρισκαιδέκατος] ιγ′ ACDGJLOZ — αὐτῆς] om. B — **22.** ἐξεπέτηδες Z — **24.** φησὶ BDGJ — ἐῤῥῶσθαι J: ἱερῶσθαι A: — **26.** γάμον τῇ τοῦ κυρίου παρουσία Z — **27.** ἀποφαινομένου J — **29.** καὶ] om. AZ — **30.** ζείτει J — ἀποστερρῶν V

ἢ πρεσβύτερον, τῆς πρὸς τὴν νόμιμον γυναῖκα συναφείας, καθαιρείσθω, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὡρισμένου καιροῦ, τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μεταχειρήσεως. Ὁ δὲ πεντηκοστὸς πρῶτος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων κανών, τοὺς μὴ δι' ἄσκησιν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν, ἀλλ' ὡς βδελυκτῶν ἀπεχομένους γάμου, καὶ οἴνου καὶ κρεῶν, κληρικοὺς μέν, καθαιρεῖ, λαϊκοὺς δέ, ἀφορίζει, ὡς βλασφημοῦντας καὶ διαβάλλοντας τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργίαν· πάντα γὰρ καλὰ λίαν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτος τῆς ἐν Γάγγρᾳ συνόδου, τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπει, ὃς ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι τὸν νόμιμον γάμον ἡγεῖται. Ταύτην καὶ ὁ τέταρτος τὴν δίκην ἐπανατείνεται, τῷ διακρινομένῳ μεταλαμβάνειν, παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος. Τῇ τοιαύτῃ καὶ ὁ δέκατος ὑπάγει εὐθύνῃ, καὶ τὸν παρθενίαν δῆθεν μετιόντα, καὶ τῶν γαμούντων κατεπαιρόμενον, καὶ κατακρίνοντα τούτους. Καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτῃ, δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, μιᾶς γυναικός ἄνδρα· διάκονοι ἔστωσαν, μιᾶς γυναικός ἄνδρες. Καὶ αὖθις, ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς,

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**33-39.** Ὁ δὲ-ἄνθρωπον] cf. *Synt.*, γ', § 9, p. 165.3-8 — **39-40.** Ὁ δὲ- ἡγεῖται] cf. *Synt.*, β', § 9, p. 141.28-29 — **41-42.** Ταύτην-γεγαμηκότος] cf. *Synt.*, β', § 9, p. 142.7-9

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**33-39.** Ὁ δὲ-ἄνθρωπον] cf. *Can. Apost.*, canon 51, p. 67.13-19 — **39-40.** Ὁ δὲ-ἡγεῖται] *Conc. Gangr.* (*c.*340), canon 1, p. 100.8-11 — **41-42.** Ταύτην-γεγαμηκότος] *Conc. Gangr.* (*c.*340), canon 4, p. 103.24-26 — **43**. ὁ δέκατος] cf. *Conc. Gangr.* (*c.*340), canon 10, p. 106.25-27 — **45-46.** δεῖ τὸν-ἄνδρα] 1 Tim. 3:2 — **46-47.** διάκονοι-ἄνδρες] 1 Tim. 3:12 — **47-49.** ἐν-γαμεῖν] 1 Tim. 4:1-3

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**32.** ὁρισμένου W — **33.** μεταχειρίσεως BJOV — ante Ὁ δὲ scr. ἀπο(στόλων) να' in marg. ACLZ — πεντηκοστὸς πρῶτος] να' ABCDGLOZ: μγ' J — ἁγίων] om. J — **34.** κανών] om. BDOV — διάσκησιν Z — **38.** καὶ] om. J — **39.** πρῶτος] α' ABGLWZ — ante Ὁ δὲ Γάγγρ(α) α' in marg. ACLZ — **40.** post παραπέμπει scr. et cnc. (incl. in punc.) παραπέμπει dittography W — ηγεῖται B — **41.** ante Ταύτην scr. δ' in marg. CL — τέταρτος] δ' ABCDGJLOZ — **42.** μεταλαμβάνειν] λαμβάνειν ACLZ — πρεσβυτέρου in ras. et sscr. ρ B — ante Τῇ τοιαύτῃ scr. ι' in marg. CL — Τῇ] om. V — τοιαύτῃ in ras. B — post τοιαύτῃ scr. δὲ W — **43.** δέκατος] ι' ACDGJL — ὑπάγει] ἐπάγει AZ — εὐθύνη ὑπάγει GJ — παρθενία Z — δῆθεν] δῆ W — **44.** κατεπαιρόμενον] post cor. (ex καταιπαιρόμενον) Z — **45.** πρώτῃ] α' WZ

ἀποστήσονταί τινες τῆς πίστεως, προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνης, κεκαυτηριασμένοι τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, κωλύοντες γαμεῖν. Πρὸς δὲ Τίτον γράφων, κατάστησον κατὰ πόλιν φησὶ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην· εἴ τις ἀνέγκλητος, μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ. Οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῆς συνοικούσης ἀπείργεσθαι τὸν ἱερωμένον διακελεύεται· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ παρθενία τιμιωτέρα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
M 244r ἀτίμοις ‖ ὁ γάμος, δι' οὗ τὸ γένος αὔξεται καὶ ἀθάνατον ὡσπερεὶ διαμένει, ἀνθισταμένου τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾷ, ἀεὶ τὸ ἐκρέον ἀναπληροῦντος ἐκείνου.

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**50-51.** κατάστησον-ἀνήρ] Tit. 1:5-6

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**48.** ἀποστήσονται τινὲς GJ — πνεύμασι] om. J — **49.** κεκαυτηριασμένοι] καὶ καυτηριασμένοι Z — **50.** Τίτον V — φησὶ κατὰ πόλιν ACLZ — **51.** post εἴ τις add. ἐστὶν G — ἀνέγκλυτος G — **55.** παρὰ] om. W — **56.** ἐκρέον] ἐκ ῥεον M: ἐκ ῥέον AGW

**[39] Ὅτι ἀθέσμως νηστεύουσι καὶ καταλύουσιν.**

Φέρε δὴ καὶ νηστεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἀθέσμως, καὶ αὖθις ἀνιεμένους ἔσθ' ὅπη καὶ καταλύοντας, καὶ παρανομοῦντας ἑκατέρωθεν, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων, ἐλέγξωμεν, οἷα μὴ κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν ἀνεχομένους παρανομεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὰ καίρια, καὶ τὰς τῶν κανόνων νομοθεσίας. Ἀπειρημένης τῆς ἐν Σαββάτῳ νηστείας, οὗτοι τηνικαῦτα μᾶλλον νηστεύουσι, καίτοι τοῦ ἑξηκοστοῦ ἕκτου τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων κανόνος, σαφῶς οὐτωσὶ λέγοντος, *εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθείη τὴν Κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων, ἢ τὸ Σάββατον, πλὴν ἑνὸς μόνου, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἀφοριζέσθω.* Ὁ δὲ πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, τὸν ἀποστολικὸν τουτονὶ κανόνα διέξεισι, καὶ τοῖς *ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων* ἐπισκήπτει τοῦτον μὴ παραβαίνειν, μὴ δὲ *νηστεύειν τοῖς Σάββασι τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς*. Εἰ καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν τὰ τοῦ κανόνος αὐτοῖς ἐλογίσθησαν —ἐπικεχείρηκε μὲν γάρ, ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος αὕτη, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο σφαλλομένους ἤδη διορθώσασθαι

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**[39] 6-11.** Ἀπειρημένης-ἀφοριζέσθω] cf. *Synt.*, κ', § 37, p. 346.19-21 — **11-14.** Ὁ δὲ-Τεσσαρακοστῆς] cf. *Synt.*, κ', § 37, p. 347.2-6

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**[39] 8-11.** εἴ τις-ἀφοριζέσθω] *Can. Apost.*, canon 66, p. 84.12-14; cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, p. 336.7-9 — **11-14.** Ὁ δὲ-Τεσσαρακοστῆς] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 55, *COGD*, p. 267.1815-1828; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 434.16-23

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**[39] Tit.** scr. ὅτι καὶ ἀθέσμως νηστεύουσι καὶ καταλύουσιν (οἱ λατίνοι A) in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDGMOV — **2.** ἔσθ' ὅπη] ἔσθ' ὅτε J — **3.** ἐλέγξωμεν] λέγξωμεν LZ — **5.** χωροῦντας] χοροῦντας et sscr. ω (per χωροῦντας) D — αὐτὰ] αὐτῶ B — **6.** ante ἀπειρημένης scr. in marg. Tit. ὅτι ἀθέσμως νηστεύουσι καὶ καταλύουσι L: alt. man scr. in marg. ψευδῆ ἄντικρυς λέγεις L — ἀπειρημένης] πειρημένης DZ — **7.** οὗτοι G — **7-8.** ἑξηκοστοῦ ἕκτου] ξστ' ABCDGLOZ: κστ' J — **8.** κανόνος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων AGJ — **10.** μόνου] post cor. (ex μόνος) Z — δὲ] sscr. Z — **11.** πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς ἕκτης] πεντηκοστὸς πέμπτος, τῆς στ' DO: νε' τῆς ἕκτης W: νε' τῆς στ' ABCGJL — **12.** διέξησι Z — τῇ] om. GJ — **14.** σάββασιν Z — **15.** ἐπικεχείρηκε μὲν γὰρ] post cor. (ex ἐπικεχείρη γὰρ et sscr. κεν et μὲν) Z: scr. ἐπικεχείρηκ(εν) μὲν γὰρ in marg. Z: ἐπικεχείρικε μὲν γὰρ JW — **16.** αὕτη σύνοδος B — σφαλομένους BGW

τοὺς Λατίνους, ἀλλ' ἀδιόρθωτοι μεμενήκασιν, ὡς ἀλαζόνες τὲ καὶ αὐθέκαστοι—, μήτε τῶν ἀποστολικῶν κανόνων, μήτε τούτου ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, καὶ μήτε τὴν καθαίρεσιν οἱ ἱερᾶσθαι νομίζοντες εὐλαβούμενοι, μήθ' οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸν ἀφορισμόν. Μᾶλλον γε μὴν τοσοῦτον γεγόνασι χείρους, ὥσθ' ἵνα μέν, τούσδε φανῶσι διαγράφοντες τοὺς κανόνας, ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ χρόνου Σάββασι, παρανόμως νηστεύουσι, καὶ προστιθέντες τῇ παρανομίᾳ, τὴν μὲν τοῦ Σαββάτου κατάλυσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν Τετράδα μετενηνόχασι καὶ Παρασκευήν, τὴν δ' ἐν ἐκείναις νηστείαν, ἐπὶ τὸ Σάββατον· ἵνα δὲ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἕκτον αὖθις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀθετήσωσι συνόδου, τὴν τῶν Ἀρμενίων διορθούμενον πλάνην, καὶ κελεύοντα, *ἐν τοῖς Σάββασι καὶ Κυριακαῖς τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς τυροῦ καὶ ὠῶν* ἀπέχεσθαι, οὗτοι, μὴ ὅτι τούτων, ἀλλά γε καὶ κρεῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ταύταις ἅπτονται ταῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ οὐχ οἱ τοῦ δήμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν οἱ ἀσθενῶς δῆθεν τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντες, ἔργον ὡσανεὶ ποιούμενοι, πάντα νόμον ἱερὸν ἐκ περιουσίας, τιθέναι ἀνάστατον. Οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον, καθ' ὅσων χωροῦσι κανόνων, κἀκ τῆς τελείας αὐτῶν ἱερουργίας διαλαβεῖν, ἣν ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ τελοῦσι τῶν ‖

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**17-25.** ἀλλ'-Σάββατον] cf. *Synt.*, τ', § 5, p. 457.3-10 — **25-33.** ἵνα δὲ-ἀνάστατον] cf. *Synt.*, τ', § 5, p. 457.12-25

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**22-25.** ἐν τοῖς-Σάββατον] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 55, *COGD*, p. 267.1816-1828; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 434.16-23 — **27-28.** ἐν τοῖς-ὠῶν] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 56, *COGD*, pp. 267.1833-268.1848; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 436.2-11

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**17.** μεμεινήκασιν Z — **21.** ἵνα μὲν] post cor. (ex ἕνα μὲν) O — **22.** σάββασι σάββασιν Z — **23.** νηστεύοντες L — **24-25.** τετράδην καὶ παρασκευήν μετενηνόχασι J — **25.** ἐκείνοις JLZ — **26.** πεντηκοστὸν ἕκτον] ν' ἕκτον W: νστ' ABCDGJLOZ — ante αὖθις scr. ἁρμένιοι in marg. L — τῆς] om. DO — **27.** ἁρμενίων ACGJLMVWZ — διορθούμενοι GJ — **29.** ἀλλά γε] ἀλλ' ἄγε W — **30.** οὐχ οἱ] οὐχ' οἱ W: οὐχοὶ B: οὐχὶ AGJ — **31.** σώματος] σώμτος M — **33.** οὐδέν δε L: ὐδέν δὲ B — οἷων Z — καθόσων Z — post χωροῦσι sign. V — κανόνων] om. V — **34.** ἣν] post cor. (ex ἧν) L

M 244v ἡμερῶν τῆς τεσσαρακονθημέρου νηστείας, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῦ κρεοφαγεῖν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς αὐτῆς νηστείας ἑβδομάδι, καὶ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης τυροφάγῳ, πᾶσαν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἱερὰν νηστείαν βεβηλοῦντες καὶ ἀτιμάζοντες· *οὗ γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἀδόκιμος, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπόβλητον*, ἔφη τὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων σοφῶν. Ὁ γέ τοι τεσσαρακοστὸς ἔνατος τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδου κανών, *οὐ δεῖ φησιν ἐν τῇ Τεσσαρακοστῇ, ἄρτον προσφέρειν*, εἴτουν τελείαν ἱεροτελεστίαν ποιεῖν, *εἰ μὴ ἐν Σαββάτῳ καὶ Κυριακῇ μόνον*. Ὁ δὲ πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, *ἐν* μὲν ταῖς *ἄλλαις τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέραις*, οἷα πενθεῖν προστεταγμένον, τὴν *τῶν προηγιασμένων λειτουργίαν* κελεύει τελεῖσθαι, ἐν δέ γε τοῖς *Σάββασι* καὶ ταῖς *Κυριακαῖς* αὐτῆς, *καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρᾳ*, ἐπείπερ ἐν ταύταις νηστεύειν οὐκ ἔννομον, καὶ τελείαν γίνεσθαι λειτουργίαν θεσπίζει, μεγάλων γὰρ μυστηρίων, τὰ ἔθη ταῦτα πεπλήρωται, τῇ σιωπῇ καλυπτόμενα καὶ τιμώμενα πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων λυσιτελές, ἵνα μὴ τῇ συνηθείᾳ εὐκαταφρόνητος ἡ τῶν δογμάτων γνῶσις τοῖς πολλοῖς γίγνοιτο. Καὶ οὐ δεῖ ταῦτα μετατιθέναι ἢ ἀνατρέπειν· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ μέγας

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**39-42.** Ὁ γέ-μόνον] cf. *Synt.*, τ′, § 5, p. 460.7-9 — **42-48.** Ὁ δὲ-θεσπίζει] cf. *Synt.*, τ′, § 5, pp. 457.29-458.1

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**39-42.** οὐ δεῖ-μόνον] *Conc. Laodic.* (325/381), canon 49, p. 216.18-19; cf. Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, p. 336.22-23 — **43-47.** ἐν μὲν-ἡμέρᾳ] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 52, *COGD*, p. 265.1756-1761; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 427.5-8; Nicet. Steth., *Dial. de azym.*, p. 337.3-5 — **38-39.** οὗ γὰρ-ἀπόβλητον] Basil. Caes., *Jejun.*, col. 192.1-2

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**36.** κρεωφαγεῖν GJLZ — **38-39.** ἀπόβλητος, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀδόκιμον GJ — **39-40.** τεσσαρακοστὸς ἔνατος] μθ′ ABCGJLZ — **40.** συνόδω G — φησὶν JZ — **41.** εἴτουν] εἴτ′ οὖν G — **42.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. σημ(είωσαι) | περὶ τ(ῆς) προηγ[ιασμένης] in marg. C — **42-43.** πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἕκτης] πεντηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς στ′ O: νβ′ τῆς ἕκτης JW: νβ′ τῆς στ′ ABCDGLZ — **44.** ἁγίας] om. J — οἷα V — post προστεταγμένον scr. et del. λει (per λειτουργία) L — **47.** ἔννομον] ἔνομον et ν sscr. (per ἔννομον) L: ἔνομον A — **49.** τιμόμενα G — **52.** ante φησὶ scr. [β]ασιλ(είου) in marg. G

Βασίλειος, *εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα ἔθη* τῶν δογμάτων, *ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λάθοιμεν ἄν, εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιϊστάντες τὸ κήρυγμα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δόγματα, σιωπᾶται, τὰ δὲ κηρύγματα, δημοσιεύεται*. Ὁ δὲ ἑξηκοστὸς ἔνατος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων κανών, τοὺς μὴ νηστεύοντας *τὴν ἁγίαν Τεσσαρακοστήν, ἢ Τετράδα ἢ Παρασκευήν, σωματικῆς ἀσθενείας ἐκτός, ἱερωμένους μὲν ὄντας, καθαιρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ,* ἀφορίζει. Τελείας δὲ λειτουργίας γινομένης, κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν ὡς σύνηθες, *πῶς τὰ τῆς νηστείας ἂν τηρηθείη*, ἥτις ἄχρι τῆς ἐνάτης ἡμερινῆς ὥρας λογίζεται, λυόντων ἡμῶν αὐτήν, ἐν τῷ τῆς λειτουργίας καιρῷ;

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**56-60.** Ὁ δὲ-ἀφορίζει] cf. *Synt.*, ν', § 4, pp. 397.19-398.4

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**56-60.** Ὁ δὲ-ἀφορίζει] cf. *Can. Apost.*, canon 69, p. 88.12-16 — **53-56.** εἰ γὰρ-δημοσιεύεται] Basil. Caes., *Spir. Sanc.*, § 27.66.7-10, 56-57, pp. 480, 484

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**54.** τὴν] om. J — λάθοιμεν] post cor. (ex λάθοι-|μὲν) L — **55.** περιστάντες A — **56.** ἑξηκοστὸς ἔνατος] ξθ′ ABCDGJLOZ — **58.** παρα(σκευὴν) G — **60.** δὲ] δὴ BDGJMOV — **60-61.** ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας Z — **61.** ὥραν] om. B — πῶς ἂν τὰ τῆς νηστείας ALZ — **62.** ἐνάτης] θ′ ACGJLZ — ἡμερινῆς ὥρας] ὥρας τῆς ἡμερινῆς GJ — ἡμῶν] post cor. (ex ἡμερῶν) L — αὐτήν] sscr. B

**[40] Πῶς δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσέρχονται θυσιαστήριον, παρὰ κανόνας.**

Ποῦ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων θυσιαστηρίων βεβήλωσιν θήσομεν, ὡς καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐφεῖσθαι βαίνειν ἀδεῶς ἐπ' αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτας περιΐστασθαι τράπεζαν ἀνερυθριάστῳ προσώπῳ, ἱερουργοῦντος τοῦ ἱερέως, λαϊκοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καθῆσθαι, οὐ φρίττουσιν, ἱσταμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱερουργούντων! Καίτοι τοῦ μὲν ἐξηκοστοῦ ἑνάτου τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου κανόνος, *μὴ ἐξεῖναι* κελεύοντος *τινὶ τῶν* τοῦ λαοῦ ἐντὸς ἱεροῦ *εἰσιέναι θυσιαστηρίου, μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰργομένου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἡνίκα*
M 245r *ἂν βουληθείη* ‖ *προσαγαγεῖν δῶρα τῷ πλάσαντι, κατὰ ἀρχαίαν παράδοσιν*. Τοῦ δὲ ἐννεακαιδεκάτου τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, *μόνοις ἐξεῖναι λέγοντος τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσιέναι θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν*. Τοῦ δὲ τεσσαρακοστοῦ τετάρτου, τὰς *γυναῖκας* καθόλου ἀπείργοντος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσιέναι *θυσιαστήριον*.

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**[40] 6-10.** Καίτοι-παράδοσιν] cf. *Synt.*, β′, § 6, pp. 123.24-124.6 — **10-12.** Τοῦ δὲ-κοινωνεῖν] cf. *Synt.*, ε′, § 35, p. 299.21-26 — **12-14.** Τοῦ δὲ-θυσιαστήριον] cf. *Synt.*, γ′, § 22, pp. 196.31-197.3

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**[40] 6-10.** Καίτοι-παράδοσιν] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 69, *COGD*, p. 275.2086-2095; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 466.2-6 — **10-12.** Τοῦ δὲ-κοινωνεῖν] *Conc. Laodic.* (325/381), canon 19, p. 188.7-8 — **12-14.** Τοῦ δὲ-θυσιαστήριον] cf. *Conc. Laodic.* (325/381), canon 44, p. 212.2-3

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**[40] Tit.** scr. (πῶς δὲ om. D) καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εἰσέρχονται θυσιαστήριον παρὰ κανόνας in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDGLMOVW — **1.** ante Ποῦ δὲ sign. W — Ποῦ] Τοῦ AW — post βεβήλωσιν add. ποῦ A — θήσωμεν GJW — **2.** ταύτας] ταύταις J: ταύτην Z — **3.** περιΐστασθαι] περιΐστασθα V — **4.** θυσιαστηρίῳ] φυσιαστηρίω B — **4-5.** καθῆσθαι τῶ θυσιαστηρίω ACLZ — **5.** καθῆσθαι] post cor. (ex καθεῖσθαι) GZ — τῶν] (καὶ) J — **6.** ἱεροουργούντων L — ἐξηκοστοῦ ἑνάτου τῆς ἕκτης] ξθ′ τῆς ἕκτης BJO: ξθ′ τῆς στ′ ACDGLZ — **7.** κελεύοντος] post cor. (ex κέλεύοντος) L — **8.** εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ J — **9.** πλάσαντι] κ(υρί)ω G: κυρίω J — **10.** παράδωσιν J — δὲ] om. JZ — ἐννεακαιδεκάτου] ιθ′ ABCDGJLMOWZ: ἐννακαιδεκάτου V — **11.** λαοδικεί(ας) Z — μόνοις] μόνος L — **12-13.** τεσσαρακοστοῦ τετάρτου] μδ′ ABCDGJLZW

**[41] Ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἱερουργούντων μεταλαβών, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπάζεται.**

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο φασὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἱερέας ἀνιέρως ἐπιτολμᾶν· τὴν γὰρ θείαν οὗτοι, λειτουργίαν ἅμα τελοῦντες, οὐ πάντες ἐπίσης τῶν θείων δώρων μεταλαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' εἷς ἐξ ἐκείνων ταῦτα φαγών, ἀσπασμῷ μόνῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφοσιοῦται τὴν μέθεξιν· ὅ μοι δοκεῖ μυθικῆς τερατολογίας ἄντικρυς γέμειν, τὸ οἴεσθαι δύνασθαι ταὐτὸ τῇ μεταλήψει τὸν ἀσπασμόν· *λάβετε* γάρ φησιν ὁ Δεσπότης *φάγετε*· οὐ μὴν «ὁ φαγών, ἀσπαζέσθω τοὺς ἄλλους».

**[42] Ὅτι λέγουσιν αὐτούς, εἰς μίαν βαπτίζειν κατάδυσιν.**

Εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς μίαν κατάδυσιν ἀληθῶς βαπτίζουσιν ὥς τινες λέγουσι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ θείου μύρου σιάλῳ τὸν βαπτιζόμενον ἐπιχρίουσιν, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν κοινὸς ἔτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγος, ἐκ διαμέτρου τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἱσταμένους.

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**[42] 1-4.** Εἰ δὲ-ἱσταμένους] cf. *Synt.*, *α'*, § 2, p. 67.16-20

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**[41] 6-7.** *λάβετε-φάγετε*] Matth. 26:26 — **[42] 1-2.** τινες λέγουσι] cf. supra, p. 67

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**[41] Tit.** scr. ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἁγ(ία) μεταλήψει ὁ εἷς τῶν ἱερουργούντων μεταλαβών, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπάζεται in textu A: scr. in marg. CDGLMVW — **1.** ante Ἀλλὰ sign. BW — ἀνιέρους ἐπιτολμᾶν ἱερέας GJ — **2.** ἅμα] om. J — **3.** ἐξεκείνων A — **4.** μόνῳ] μονὸν LZ — ἄλλοις J — **7.** φάγετε] φέγετε J — ἀσπαζέσθω] post cor. (ex ἀσπάζέσθω) W: ἀσπαζέτω A

**[42] Tit.** scr. ὅτι (ἔτι G) λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς μίαν βαπτίζειν κατάδυσιν in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDLMOVZW — **1.** ante Εἰ δὲ sign. D: scr. ψεῦδος οἱ τοῦτο λέγοντες *λέγουσιν* ἄντικρυς in marg. L — post κατάδυσιν scr. ὡς J — **2.** σιάλῳ] σιέλω GJ — **3.** ἡμῖν] ἡμῶν W — κοινὸς] κοινωνὸς Z — αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς D

**[43] Πότε ἤρξατο τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, χωλεύειν παρ' αὐτοῖς.**

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτου, τὰ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως δόγματα, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων θεσμοὶ πρὸς τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἐπρεσβεύοντο Ῥώμης, μέχρις οὗ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκήπτροις ὑποτελὴς φόρου καὶ αὕτη οὖσα ἐτύγχανεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπ' ἀρχὴν ἑτέραν ἐγεγόνει, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων τὲ καὶ κανόνων χωλεύειν ἤρξατο παρ' αὐτῇ, *ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρώτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπῆλθον οἱ Φράγγοι, τοῦ ἔθνους ὄντες τῶν Γερμανῶν, καὶ ἦσαν* ταύτῃ *πολέμιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου, ὁ τότε πάπας Γρηγόριος,* τῆς *κακοδοξίας* αὐτὸν βδελυξάμενος, κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων τηνικαῦτα λυττήσαντα, *ἀποστασίαν* τὲ ἐμελέτησεν, οὐκέτι *δασμοφορεῖν* τῷ δυσσεβεῖ ἀνασχόμενος, μὴ ἄρα ἐκβιασθείη κοινωνεῖν τὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ δυσσεβεστέροις προστάταις *τῆς ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, καὶ οὕτω *τοῖς Φράγγοις ἐσπείσατο· ἐπὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Εἰρήνης, ὁ πάπας Λέων*, ὃς μετὰ τὸν ἁγιώτατον Ἀδριανὸν κεχειροτόνητο, ἀνὴρ καὶ οὗτος τίμιος, *καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς εἰσεδέξατο*, καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν

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**[43] 6-20.** ἐπὶ μὲν-κατεκυρίευσαν**]** cf. Ioh. Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, § 13, pp. 299.3-300.2

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**[43] Tit.** scr. πότε ἤρξατο τὰ τῆς εὐσεβεί(ας) χωλεύειν παρ' αὐτοῖς in marg. CDGMOVW: scr. πότε τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἤρξατο χωλεύειν παρ' αὐταῖς in textu A: scr. in marg. L: add. ἐν τῷ ,Ϛῳσῳμῳ G — **2-3.** ῥώμης ἐπρεσβεύοντο A — **4.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπ' ἀρχὴν] ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπερ ἀρχὴν Z: ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπαρχ(ὴν) G: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπαρχὴν J — **5.** ὀρθῶν] ὀρθοδόξων ACLZ — δογμάτων τε JZ — **7.** ἦσαν L — **8.** ἰσαύρου BO — **9.** αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν Z — **10.** ἀποστασίαν τε BJ — ἐμελέτησεν] μελετήσαντα J — post ἐμελέτησεν scr. καὶ Z — **11.** οὐκέτι] οὐκ ἔτι GW — **13.** τοῖς] om. GJ — **14.** ἐσπίσατο W — **15.** καὶ] om. L — **16.** αὐτῶν] om. GJ: post cor. (ex αὐτὸν) W

ῥῆγα Κάρουλον ταινιώσας, βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνηγόρευσε, τούτοις ἀμειβόμενος αὐτόν, ἀνθ' ὧν μετήει τοὺς ἐκτυφλῶσαι τοῦτον ἐπιχειρήσαντας. Καὶ οὕτω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἁπάσης οἱ Φράγγοι κατεκυρίευσαν. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἔνιοι παρεισφθαρέντες, *μηδὲν ὑγιές*, ὅσα γε εἰς δογμάτων φρονοῦντες ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγέλιον, τοῖς τῶν
M 245v ἑτέρων προέδροις ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπ' εὐ-‖σεβείᾳ διενεγκόντες, κοινοῦσθαι μὴ ἀνεχόμενοι, μή πως εἰς κενὸν ὁ δρόμος αὐτοῖς εἴη, ἔθεσί τε καὶ δόγμασι, πολὺ τὸ νόθον καὶ σφαλερὸν ἔχουσι, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ῥωμαίων προσανέχειν ἀνέπεισαν.

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**18-19.** ἀνθ' ὧν-ἐπιχειρήσαντας] cf. Theoph. Conf., *Chron.*, p. 732.12-20 — **21.** μηδὲν ὑγιές] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 242e5

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**18.** αὐτόν] post cor. (ex αὐτοῖς) W — μετήει] μετείη GJ — **19.** ἐπιχειρήσαντας] post cor. (ex ἐπιχειρίσαντας et sscr. η) W — **21.** μηδὲν] post cor. (ex μὴ δὲν) Z: μὴ δὲν B — **22.** ἀκρίβειαν] post cor. (ex ἀκρίβιαν et sscr. ει) B — **24.** κενὸν] καινὸν Z — **25.** ἔθεσί τε] ἤθεσί τε GJ — πολὺ] om. B: πολλὺ G

**[44] Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις διαλαμψάντων ἁγίων πατέρων.**

Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικῶν ἡγησαμένους συνόδων, ὧν τὰ δόγματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἥττονος οὗτοι ἀξιοῦν ἐδοκίμασαν λόγου, εἰ μὴ διὰ πάντων ὥσπερ ἀστέρες ἐξέλαμπον, οὐχ ἧττον διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητα, ἢ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν, οὐχ ἓν ἔθνος τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ πυρσεύσαντες, ἀλλ' ὅσαπερ ἀτεχνῶς ὁ ὁρώμενος ἥλιος.

**[44.1] Περὶ τῆς πρώτης συνόδου.**

Καὶ γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ τριακοσίων θεοφόρων πατέρων, ἐν μὲν τῇ κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Νικαίᾳ, τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσιν, θεόθεν ἐνεχειρίζετο, μετὰ χρόνους ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, ἄντικρυς τοῖς θείοις ἰσαρίθμους πατράσιν. Ὧν προὔχοντες ἦσαν, Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου λαχὼν ἰθύνειν τὸν θρόνον, ἀνήρ, βαθεῖα μὲν

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**[44.1] 1-23.** Καὶ γὰρ-παραπέμπουσιν] cf. *Synt.*, proem., § 6.1-23, p. 11.8-30

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**[44.1] 1-23.** ἡ πρώτη-παραπέμπουσιν] cf. Phot., *Epist. Michael.,* pp. 375-377

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**[44] Tit.** scr. περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ (ζ′ W) οἰκουμενικαῖς (οἰκουμενικαῖς om. A) συνόδοις διαλαμψάντων ἁγιῶν πατέρων in textu AG: scr. in marg. BCDLVW: περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς διαλαμψάντων ἁγιῶν πατέρων J — **1.** τοὺς] sscr. D — **2.** ἡγησαμένους] post cor. (ex ἡγήσαμένους) L: ἡγουμένους J — ἥττηνος Z — **3.** λόγους W — **6.** ὅσάπερ Z — ὁρώμενος] post cor. (ex ὡρώμενος) B

**[44.1] Tit.** scr. περὶ τῆς α′ συνόδου in marg. ACGLMOVW — **1.** post Καὶ γὰρ scr. τῶ δεκάτω ἔτει τ(ῆς) τοῦ μεγάλου κων(σταντίν)ου βασιλ(είας) B — πρώτη] α′ Z: — ἡ πρώτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία D: ἡ ἁγία πρώτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ J — post ὀκτωκαίδεκα scr. κ(αὶ) τρια V — **2.** κατα J — **3-4.** ἐνεχειρίζετο-ἐνανθρωπήσεως] om. B — **5.** ἰσαρίθμους] οἰσαρίθμους G — προὔχοντες] προύχοντες BDMOVWZ — **6.** βαθεῖα ADGWZ — ἀνὴρ μὲν, βαθεῖα Z

πολιᾷ, παραπλησίῳ δὲ φρονήματι σεμνυνόμενος. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Σίλβεστρος καὶ Ἰούλιος, τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπίσημοί τε καὶ περιβόητοι πρόεδροι. Αὐτῶν μέν, οὐδ' ἕτερος παραγεγονώς, Βίτωνα δὲ καὶ Βικέντιον, ἑκάτερος ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἱερατείας χρόνον, τῇ κοινῇ πέμψαντες παρεσομένους συνόδῳ, ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴν τιμῶντας, καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀξίωμα παραγγείλαντας —ὁ μέντοι Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς τὲ παρῆν, ἱεροῖς ἐνδιαπρέπων κατορθώμασι, συναγωνιστὴν καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος Ἀθανάσιον, ὃς τότε τοῦ τάγματος ἡγεῖτο τῶν διακόνων, Εὐστάθιός τε Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων Μακάριος, πολλαῖς ἰδέαις ἀρετῶν εὐθυνούμενοι—, οἳ δὴ τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῶν τριῶν τῆς θεαρχικῆς φύσεως ὑποστάσεων, τοῖς πᾶσι κηρύξαντες, τὸν δυσσεβῆ Ἄρειον, ὃς ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν εἵλκε τὸ γένος, εἰς πρεσβυτέρου δὲ τῆς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας ἀναβεβήκει βαθμόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Λόγον —ὢ τολμηρᾶς γλώττης!— εἰς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα καταβιβάζοντα, αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασι, τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπουσιν.

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**[44.1] 1-23.** Καὶ γὰρ-παραπέμπουσιν] cf. *Synt.*, proem., § 6.1-23, p. 11.8-30

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**7.** σεμνυνόμενος lac. L — καὶ δὴ lac. L — **8.** ἐπίσκοποί τε A — **9.** οὐδ' ἕτερος] οὐδέτερος GJV — **11.** post ἱερατείας scr. et del. ἱερατείας D — πέμψαντες cor. A — **14.** αὐτὸς τέ V: αὐτός τε GJWZ — **15.** καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος ἀθανάσιον] ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀθανάσιον J: καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀθανάσιον ἐπαγόμενος per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — τοῦ] om. DO: scr. in marg. M — **16.** εὐστάθιος τὲ D — **17.** εὐθυνόμενοι J: εὐθενούμενοι DMOV: εὐθεινούμενοι B — **19.** ἐκ] om. Z — **20.** μὲν] om. L — εἵλκε B — πρεσβύ-|τέρου laps. cal. O — **23.** ἀναθέματι] ἀναθέσματι L — παραπέμπουσι GJ

**[44.2] Περὶ τῆς δευτέρας συνόδου.**

Ἡ δέ γε δευτέρα σύνοδος, χρόνοις ὑστερίζουσα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν φροντισμάτων, τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐδείκνυ φροντιστήριον, εἰς πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς συνηγείρετο, πίστεως ἀτεχνῶς ἐναστράπτοντας καθαρότητι, ἐξάρχους ἔχουσα, Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ
M 246r τὸν ἀξιάγαστον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ‖ Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Νεκτάριον, ὃς ἄρτι τῆς τῶν κατηχουμένων ἀγέλης ἀφορισθείς, καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ, τὸν τοῦ βίου ῥύπον ἀποπλυνάμενος, καθαρὸς ἤδη τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἀξίωμα περιβάλλεται καὶ ἅμα τῆς τε βασιλευούσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τῆς συνόδου ἔξαρχος ἐχρημάτιζε. Μεθ' ὧν Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ Νύσσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐξ ἔργων ἐπώνυμος, ὡς εἴ τις ἥλιος ἀστέρας, τῷ κάλλει τῶν λόγων, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγωνίσμασι, πάντας ὑπεραστράπτων. Οἷς οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ὁ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης Δάμασος ὁ τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ζῆλον, οὐδενὸς δεύτερος,

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**[44.2] 1-25.** Ἡ δέ-βασιλεῖ] cf. *Synt*., proem., § 11, pp. 17.21-18.18

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**[44.2] Tit.** scr. περὶ τ(ῆς) β′ συνόδου in textu BOV: scr. in marg. ACMDGLWZ: scr. σύνοδος δευτέρα J — δευτέρα] β′ ACLZ — **2.** πεντήκοτα] ν′ Z — **3.** ἔδεικνυ J: ἐδείκνυε A — πεντήκοτα] ν′ Z — ἑκατὸν] ρ′ Z — **4.** συνεγείρετο J — **5.** τὸν] om. GJ — **6.** τῆς] om. GJ — τε] sscr. GW — τὸν] τῶν GJ — **10.** τε] om. Z — **12.** νύσης BCDGLMOVZ — **15.** ὑπὲρ ἀστράπτων GZ — τὸ] τῷ G — **16.** τὸν] τῶν Z

τὰ αὐτὰ κρατύνων ἐγνωρίζετο. Ὁ ἱερὸς τοίνυν οὗτος χορός, τὸν πνευματομάχον διωσάμενοι Μακεδόνιον, ὃς τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἅρπαγμα πάλαι πεποίητο, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀναθέματι καταδικάσαντες, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμοούσιον, καὶ ὁμότιμον, Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, ὡς Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐδογμάτισαν. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνουν Ἀπολινάριον καταψηφισάμενοι, ἔννουν καὶ ἔμψυχον ἀνειληφέναι σάρκα τὸν Κύριον, ἐπεψήφισαν. Τὸ μέντοι κράτος τῆς βασιλείας, ὁ μέγας τηνικαῦτα περιεζωσμένος ἦν Θεοδόσιος· ἔτος δεύτερον ἦν τῆς βασιλείας τῷ βασιλεῖ.

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**17.** post τοίνυν scr. et del. αὐτὰ κρατύνων ἐγνωρίζετο· dittography L — **18.** πν(ευμα)τομάχον διωσάμενος μακεδόνιον A: πν(ευμα)τομάχον μακεδόνιον διωσάμενοι V — **19.** ἅρπαγμα G — **20.** καταδικάσαντος A — **22.** τῶν] om. GJW — **25.** δεύτερον] β′ Z — post δεύτερὸν scr. δὲ J

**[44.3] Περὶ τῆς τρίτης συνόδου.**

Ἡ δ' αὖ τρίτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἑνὸς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν παρεληλυθότων, ἐν μὲν τῇ κατὰ Ἀσίαν, συνεκροτήθη Ἐφέσῳ, εἰς διακοσίους δὲ ἐπληθύνετο, ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου. Ἐν οἷς ἡγεμόνες ἐγνωρίζοντο, ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας περιώνυμος ἐν πατράσι Κύριλλος, ὃς καὶ τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπλήρου καὶ τὸν θρόνον, Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ ὁ πρόεδρος τῆς Ἐφεσίων Μέμνων. Οἵτινες τὸν ἐναγῆ Νεστόριον ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μὲν ὁρμώμενον, τὸν δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐγκεχειρισμένον, δίκας τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπῄτουν. Ἀνθ' ὧν τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, εἰς δύο Υἱοὺς τέμνειν οὐ πεφρικώς, τὸν μέν, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου χωρίς, τὸν δέ, Θεὸν ἀνὰ μέρος, καὶ γυμνὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος, ὁ ἀνόητος ἔπλαττεν, ἑνωθέντα δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν ἐκείνῳ. Καὶ ὥσπερ τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν ἀπεστέρει τῆς θεότητος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν κυρίως Θεοτόκον, τῆς Θεοτόκου κλήσεως. Ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν θείων πατέρων

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**[44.3] 1-24.** Ἡ δ' αὖ-ἀξιώσασα] cf. *Synt.,* proem., § 12, pp. 19.8-20.2

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**[44.3] Tit.** scr. περὶ τῆς τρίτ(ης) συνόδου in textu MOV: scr. περὶ τῆς γ′ συνόδου in marg. ABDCGLW: scr. σύνοδος τρίτη J — τεσσαράκοντα] μ′ BCMOVZ — **2.** κατὰ] om. G: ἐν J — ἀσίᾳ J — **3.** διακοσίους] σ′ Z: διακοσίους in ras. V — **4.** τρισκαιδεκάτῳ] ιγ′ codd. — **7.** Ἱεροσολυμων] post cor. (ex ἱεροσολύμων) G — **8.** Ἀντιοχίας L — **9.** ὁρμώμενον] post cor. (ex ὁρμόμενον) et ώ sscr. A — Κωνσταντινουπόλεως] κωνσταντίνου BDGJMOVW — οὐκ] sscr. C — **10.** δίκας in ras. V — ἀπῄτουν Z: ἀπήτους A — **11.** τὸν] τ(ῶν) J — δύο in ras. V — τέμνειν in ras. A: τέμνειν in ras. V — **12.** ἄνθρωπον ψιλὸν Z — **13.** προσλήματος GJ — ἀναμέρος GWZ — **14.** κατασχέσιν GVZ

σύνοδος, σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι, τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγον λαμπρῶς ἐδογμάτισεν, ἕνα τὲ εἶναι Υἱὸν μετὰ τοῦ προσλήμματος, ἐν δυσὶ μὲν φύσεσι, μιᾷ δὲ γνωριζόμενον
M 246v 20 ὑποστάσει, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ‖ Θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, τὸ τέλειον ἔχοντα, ἐκ περιουσίας περιγενόμενον τῆς συγχύσεως, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀσπόρως καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τεκοῦσαν ἀειπάρθενον Κόρην, ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως, ἀπεφήνατο Θεοτόκον, τὸν ληρώδη Νεστόριον, τοῦ ἀναθέματος ἀξιώσασα.

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**17.** καθυπόστασιν G — **18.** ἐδογματισεν B — εἶναι] om. GJ — **20.** ὁμοῦ θεὸν Z — **21.** *ἔχοντα* in ras. C — **22.** ὑπερφύσιν G — **22-23.** *τεκοῦσαν ἀει* scr. in marg. B — **23.** κυρίως] κηρίως D

**[44.4] Περὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνόδου.**

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὶν χρόνους ἐξήκειν τριάκοντα, ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ τετάρτη σύνοδος, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ χρηστοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν περιώνυμον πόλιν τῆς Βιθυνίας ἠθροίζετο Χαλκηδόνα, εἰς τριάκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξετείνετο. Ἧς λογάδες ἐγνωρίζοντο, Ἀνατόλιος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Μάξιμος Ἀντιοχείας, Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ δὴ Πασκασῖνος τὲ καὶ Λουκίσιος ἐπίσκοποι σὺν Βονιφατίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντες Λέοντος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, οὗ μέγα τὸ κλέος, καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῆλος. Ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀποστόλοις οἰκείοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θαυμασίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ἐπεκύρου τὰ τῆς συνόδου, ἣν καὶ στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες εὖ μάλα προσηγορεύκασιν. Οὗτοι δὴ σύμπαντες, τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐτυχῆ, καὶ τὸν προασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ Διόσκορον Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς μίαν φύσιν ἀνακιρνῶντας τὲ καὶ συγχέοντας, τὸν ἐν δυσὶ φύσεσι γνωριζόμενον ἕνα Χριστὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεόν, φεύγοντας δῆθεν τὴν Νεστορίου διαίρεσιν, ἀσεβείας ἕνεκα, τῷ ἀναθέματι κατεδίκασαν.

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**[44.4] 1-18.** Ἀλλὰ γὰρ-κατεδίκασαν] *Synt.*, proem., § 14, pp. 20.27-21.15

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**[44.4] Tit.** scr. περὶ τῆς δ′ συνόδου in textu BV: scr. in marg. ACGLMOW: scr. σύνοδος δ′ J — post γὰρ scr. καὶ ALZ: scr. καὶ et cnc. (incl. in punc.) C — τριάκοντα] λ′ BDOVZ — **2.** οἰκουμενικὴ] post cor. (ex οἰκουμενική) Z — τετάρτη] δ′ ACLZ — πρώτῳ] α′ Z — **3.** χρηστοῦ] φιλοχρήστου GJ: χρόνου B — **4.** τριάκοντα] λ′ BDOZ — ἑξακοσίους] χ′ Z — **7.** post δή scr. καὶ Z — post Πασκασῖνος scr. et del. ἱεροσολύμων L — λουκίνσιος GJ — **9.** τὸ κλέος μέγα Z — **12.** θεῖοι] om. J — εὐμάλα J — **14.** Εὐτυχῆ] εὐχῆ L — **15-16.** τὲ καὶ συγχέοντας] om. A — **16.** ἕνα] om. LZ — **17.** καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν GJ — **18.** ἀσεβείας ἕνεκα] om. ACLZ

**[44.5] Περὶ τῆς πέμπτης συνόδου.**

Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα διέποντος, ὁ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στύλος, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φερωνύμως *Ἀγαπητὸς πάπας Ῥώμης, καταλαβὼν τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ τῷ* βασιλεῖ *ἐντυχών, πρῶτον* μὲν, τὰ *περὶ* τῆς ὀρθοδόξου *πίστεως* διαλέγεται, εἶθ' οὕτω *τὴν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς νέας Ῥώμης Ἀνθίμου ἀναγωγὴν, ὑπ' αἰτίαν πεποίητο, ὅτι τῆς Σεβήρου κακοδοξίας μετέχων ἦν*. Τοῦ γε μὴν βασιλέως εἰ μὴ σιγῴη, τὰ δεινότατα ἐπανατεινομένου, *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἡδέως ἂν δέξασθαι* τούτου γε ἕνεκα *πάντα* κίνδυνον *ἀντεπῆγε, καὶ μακάριος εἶναι, εἴ γε τοιούτου τέλους ἀξιωθείη. Ἠδέσθη* τὴν παρρησίαν *ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ὁ Ἄνθιμος τοῦ θρόνου τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἐκβέβλητο, ἔτος ἓν* τούτου κατορχησάμενος. Γνώμη δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, τῆς συνόδου τὲ πάσης, ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ Ἀγαπητὸς, Μηνᾶν τὸν ἁγιώτατον, ἀρχιερέα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου χειροτονεῖ. Ὃς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἐξῆρχε συνόδου, τοῦ Ἀγαπητοῦ μάλιστα τῆς εὐαγοῦς
M 247r ὑ-‖παρξαμένου ταυτησὶ πράξεως. Καὶ τέμενος μὲν ὥσπερ ἱερὸν

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**[44.5] 16-34.** Καὶ τέμενος-ἐδογμάτιζον] cf. *Synt.*, proem., § 15, pp. 21.25-22.12

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**[44.5] 2-12.** ὁ τῆς-κατορχησάμενος] cf. Ioh. Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, § 8, pp. 166.2-167.6 — **13-14.** ὁ θεῖος-χειροτονεῖ] cf. supra § **37.**29-30

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**[44.5] Tit.** scr. περὶ τ(ῆς) ε′ (πέμπτης V) συνόδου in textu OV: scr. in marg. ABCDGLMWZ: scr. σύνοδος ε′ J — **2.** ὀρθοδοξύας laps. cal. V — τῶ] sscr. Z — φερωνύμως] φερώ-|νύμως B: φερώνυμος JW — **3.** κατὰ λαβὼν B — **5.** διαλέγετο GJ — ἀνθύμου W — **6.** ὅτι] ὅς Z — **7.** ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς] om. B — **8.** ἠδέως D — **9.** ἀντεπῆγε] ἀνεπῆγε Z — **11.** κωνσταντινουπόλεως ALZ — **14.** κωνσταντινουπόλεως J — πέμπτης] ε′ CLMOZ — **16.** ἱερὸν ὥσπερ GJ

ἡ σύνοδος ἑαυτῇ, τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἵδρυτο, πέντε δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρων πατέρων συνδρομῇ ἐκρατύνετο, ἔτει μὲν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας, δύο δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπό γε τῆς τετάρτης ἐκμετρουμένων συνόδου. Ἀτὰρ ἡγεμόνες καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς πέμπτης ἐδείκνυντο, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν Μηνᾶς, εἶτα Εὐτύχιος, ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῆς βασιλευούσης τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς ἰθύναντες οἴακας, Ἀπολινάριος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δόμνος Ἀντιοχείας, πρὸς δέ, καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Εὐάγριος, Εὐστοχίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες. Ὁ δέ γε Ῥώμης Βιγίλλιος, παρὼν μὲν τηνικαῦτα τῇ πόλει, οὐ παρὼν δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ, τὴν κοινὴν τῶν πατέρων πίστιν, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπεκύρου λιβέλλῳ. Οὗτοι τοίνυν, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἕτερα μιαρὰ δόγματα εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξεθέρισαν. Πρὸς δέ, καὶ ἀναθέματι, τοὺς περὶ Ὠριγένην κατεδίκασαν, Διδύμους τὲ καὶ Εὐαγρίους, τοὺς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν μυθολογίαν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ φιλονεικήσαντας παρεισενεγκεῖν· προϋπαρξιν γὰρ ἐληρώδουν ψυχῶν, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τὴν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν μετενδύεσθαι, καὶ τέλος εἶναι τῆς ἀτελευτήτου κολάσεως ἐδογμάτιζον.

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**17.** ἑαυτῇ] αὕτη V — ἵδρυτο AB — πέντε] ε′ Z — **18.** ἑξήκοντα] ξ′ Z — ἑκατὸν] ρ′ Z — **19.** ἔτει] ἔτους VB — ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ] ιη′ Z: ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου BDOV — **20.** ἑκατὸν ABCDGJLMOVW: ρ′ Z — τετάρτης] δ′ CGJLWZ — **21.** πέμπτης] ε′ ACJLZ — ταπρῶτα CMVW: ταπρῶτα O — μὲν] om. B: sscr. Z — **23.** ἀρχιερατικοὺς] ἀρχιαρατικοὺς G — ἰθύναντες W — δόμνος lac. B — **25.** τοῦ] om. B — **26.** οὐ παρὼν] σὺμπαρὼν B — **27.** οὐχ ἥκιστα ABCDGJLMOVW: οὐχήκιστα Z — **28.** δόγματα μιαρὰ B — τοπαντελὲς MOV — **29.** καὶ] om. et scr. ἀ laps. cal. B — **31.** φειλονεικήσαντας B — **32.** προΰπαρξιν B — ἐλοιδόρουν V — **33.** μετ′ ἐνδύεσθαι GLW

**[44.6] Περὶ τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου.**

Ἥ γε μὴν ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος, χρόνοις ἑνὸς δεόντος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, κατόπιν τῆς προγεγονυῖας ἐλθοῦσα, τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ αὕτη πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐπήξατο θέατρον, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἀποδυομένους σχοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, λαμπρῶς νικῶσαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀπεδείκνυ, ἔτει τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ λεγομένου Πωγωνάτου. Ταύτης ἀρχηγοὶ ἐγνωρίζοντο, Γεώργιός τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Γεώργιος, πρεσβύτεροι ἅμα Ἰωάννῃ διακόνῳ, τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Πέτρος μοναχὸς ἐξεπλήρου τὸν τόπον, Γεώργιος δὲ μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος, τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων. Οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς περὶ Σέργιον, Πύρρον, Παῦλον, Πέτρον, τοὺς δυσσεβῶς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προεδρεύσαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ὀνώριον Ῥώμης, Κύρον Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μακάριον Ἀντιοχείας, Θεόδωρον τῆς Φαράν, Στέφανον καὶ Πολυχρόνιον, τῇ τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλον δίκῃ. Ἀνθ' ὧν ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν

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**[44.6] 1-25.** Ἥ γε-δοκῶσιν] cf. *Synt.,* proem., § 16, pp. 22.14-23.9

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**[44.6] Tit.** scr. περὶ τ(ῆς) στ′ συνόδου in textu GMV: scr. in marg. ABCDLOWZ: scr. σύνοδος στ′ J — ἕκτη] στ′ ACGJLZ — **2.** πεντήκοντα] ν′ Z — ἑκατὸν] ρ′ LZ — **4.** ἑβδομήκοντα] ο′ Z — ἑκατὸν] ρ′ Z — **5.** ἀπεδείκνυ] ἐπεδείκνυ D — **6.** τρισκαιδεκάτῳ] ιγ′ Z — **7.** πογωνάτου J — τε] ὁ τῆς Z — **8.** καὶ²]sscr. D — **10.** ῥῶμης L — **11.** τοῦ] τῶν LZ — **14.** καὶ] om. BDGJMOW — ὀνώριον codd. — **16.** καθυπέβαλον] ὑπέβαλον GJ — δίκῃ] καταδίκη GJ — post δίκῃ scr. et del. ἀνθ' ὧν στέφανον (καὶ) πολυχρόνιον C — ἄνθ' ὧν B

ἐνέργειαν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐδογμάτιζον ἔχειν. Οἱ δὲ τῆς συνόδου, δύο θελήματα
M 247v φυσικά, καὶ δύο ἐνεργείας ‖ ὁμοίας ἔχειν μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀπεφήναντο καὶ ἐκύρωσαν, οὐκ ἐν διαιρέσει προσώπων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ μία φύσις τῶν δύο ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ φύσεων, ἀθέλητος ἦν ἢ ἀνενέργητος, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τούτων ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀναιρουμένων —τῆς ἐνεργείας λέγω καὶ τῆς θελήσεως—, καὶ αἱ φύσεις ὧν εἰσιν ἰδιώματα, συναναιρεῖσθαι δοκῶσιν.

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**17.** τὴν] om. GJ — **17-18.** Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν] om. B — **19.** ὁμοίας] om. A — **20.** ἐκήρωσαν D — **21.** οὐδὲ μία] οὐδεμία DJLV — **22.** τούτων] ταύτων L — **24.** εἰσὶν AGJZ

**[44.7] Περὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης συνόδου.**

Ἡ μέντοι ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἑβδόμη σύνοδος, χρόνων μὲν παρερρυηκότων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὀγδόου δὲ ἱσταμένου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Εἰρήνης, Νίκαιαν τὴν τῶν Βιθυνῶν μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων δικαστήριον πάλαι γεγονυῖαν, καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς εὐσεβείας κριτήριον ἔδειξεν, ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν πλήθει πλατυνομένη, ταξιάρχας δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς φάλαγγος προβαλλομένη, Ταράσιόν τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὸν ἐν ἱερεῦσι Θεοῦ περιβόητον, καὶ δὴ καὶ Πέτρον τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων ἡγούμενον τάγματος τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας, καὶ Πέτρον ἄλλον πρεσβύτερον, ἡγούμενον τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα μονῆς, τὸν τόπον Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης κληρωσαμένους, Ἰωάννην τὲ καὶ Θωμᾶν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ καλὸν ἐν ἀσκηταῖς λάμποντας τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς πατριαρχῶν τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντας, λέγω δή, Ἀπολιναρίου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Θεοδωρήτου Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἠλία Ἱεροσολύμων. Αὕτη τοιγαροῦν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, τοὺς εἰδώλα τὰς προσκυνητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας —ὦ μιαρᾶς γλώττης!— ἀποκαλοῦντας, δι' ὧν εἰδώλων ἐλαύνεται πλάνη, κοινῇ ψήφῳ, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλεν.

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**[44.7] 1-20.** Ἡ μέντοι-καθυπέβαλεν] *Synt.*, proem., § 18, pp. 24.21-25.10

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**[44.7] Tit.** scr. περὶ τ(ῆς) ζ′ συνόδου in marg. ABCDGLMOVWZ: scr. σύνοδος ζ′ J — ἑβδόμη] ζ′ CGJLZ — **2.** παρερυηκότων GZ — post εἴκοσι καὶ scr. et del. ἐννέα et sscr. ἑκατ(ὸν) C — ἑκατόν] ρ′ Z — **4.** τῶν] om. Z — μητροπόλιν J — **6.** ἑξήκοντα] ξ′ Z — τριακοσίων] τ′ Z — ἱερῶν] om. B — **8.** προβαλλομένη] προτεινομένη GJ — post ἱερεῦσι scr. τοῦ Z — **9.** τοῦ] τὸν B — **10.** κατα Z — ῥῶ-|μην L — **11.** σάββα JZ — **12.** τοῦ] om. Z — Ῥώμης] om. GJ — κληροσαμένους W — **15.** θεοδωρίτου ABCDLMOVZ — **16.** τοιγὰρ οὖν B — **18.** post γλώττης scr. κ(αὶ) ψυχῆς GJ — ἐλαύνεται] ἀπελαύνεται A — **20.** καθ' ὑπέβαλεν G: καθυπέβαλε J

**[45] Ὅτι δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰσίν, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ συνόδοις ἀγωνισάμενοι θεῖοι πατέρες. Ἀριθμητικὸν θεώρημα, τοῦ δισχίλια ἀριθμοῦ.**

Οἶμαι δέ, μή ποτε πνευματικῆς ἀμοιρεῖν θεωρίας, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐν ταῖς εἰρημέναις συνόδοις διαλαμψάντων ἁγίων· εἰ γὰρ μὴ μόνον τὴν πρόχειρον ποσότητα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκφεύγουσαν, ἐπιμελῶς ποιότητα κατοπτεύσομεν, θαυμασίων λόγων εὑρήσομεν θεωρήματα. Δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰσιν, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις ἐξετασθέντες θεῖοι πατέρες, ὡς πάντες ῥᾷστα καταλαβεῖν δύναιντ' ἂν ἀκριβῶς. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἰσαρίθμου τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων ἑβδόμης, πολλοῖς ἤδη πεφιλοσόφηται, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Ἑβραίῳ Φίλωνι. Καὶ περιττὸν ἂν
M 248r εἴη περὶ ‖ ταύτης καὶ ἡμᾶς ἄρτι διεξιέναι. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν δισχίλια θεωρητέον ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἁγίων, οὗτος περισσάρτιος ὤν, κατὰ βάθος τέσσαρας τομὰς ἐπιδέχεται μόνας, ἐξ ἧς δὲ ὥσπέρ τις θεμέλιος ἀρραγής, ὁ περιττὸς ἀριθμὸς ἀπαντᾷ, ὁ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε δηλαδή, ἄτμητος ὢν κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμητικοὺς καὶ

**A** (**1-6, 31-96**), **BCDG** (**Tit.**), **LMOVWZ**

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**[45] Tit.** scr. Ὅτι δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰσίν, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ συνόδοις ἀγωνισάμενοι θεῖοι πατέρες· ἀριθμητικὸν θεώρημα, τοῦ δισχίλια (,β BVZ) ἀριθμοῦ in textu ACDLMOWZ: scr. in marg. G: scr. κατὰ λατίν(ων) κ(αὶ) περὶ τοῦ ,β τὸν ἀριθμὸν in marg. L — **1.** ante Οἶμαι δὲ scr. σύνοδ(ος) α′/τιη′ <+> β′/ρν′ <+> γ′/σ′ <+> δ′/χλ′ <+> ε′/ρξε′ <+> Ϛ′/ρο′ <+> ζ′/τξζ′ <=> ,β in marg. BDOV: scr. ,β οἱ ἐν ταῖς ζ′ συνόδοις C — **1.** δέ] om. A — μήποτε] δήποτε A — post πνευματικῆς scr. οὐκ A — **2.** τὸν] om. Z — **4.** κατοπτεύσομεν] κατοπτεύσωμεν Z: post cor. (ex κατοπτεύσομεν) W — **6.** εἰσὶν Z — συνόδοις οἰκουμενικαῖς per sscr. α′ et β′ Z — θεῖοι] ἅγιοι Z — **7.** δύναιτ' ἂν BZ — **8.** συνόδων] post cor. (ex σύνοδον) L: συνόδον Z — **11.** θεωρητέον] om. B — ante ἀριθμὸν scr. τὸν B — τῶν ἁγίων] om. D — περισσάρτιος] post cor. (ex περισάρτιος) et sscr. σ B — **12.** μόνας] μόνον Z — ἐξ ἧς] ἐξῆς CL: ἑξῆς VZ

ἀδιαίρετος. Περὶ οὗ καλῶς μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, *ὁ πᾶν νόημα εἰς Χριστὸν αἰχμαλωτίζειν κελεύων, θεμέλιον δέ, οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι, παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὅς ἐστι Χριστός, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται.* Ὁ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων συγκείμενος οὑτοσὶ κόσμος, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν μικρὸς τοῦ σώματος, σύστοιχος ὢν τῷ μείζονι, τῆς δημιουργικῆς αἰτίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξημμένον ἔχει καὶ τὸ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τὸ διαμένειν. Καὶ δή, εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα τίς, ὅσον οἷόν τε λεπτύνας διέλοι, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν διασχὼν ἅπασαν, πάντων ἐκτὸς γένοιτο, ὅσα ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν, Θεὸν εὑρεῖν καθόσον ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώπινῃ φύσει, οὐχ οἷόν τε. Εἰ βούλει δέ, τῶν πέντε γνωστικῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων, εἰ μὴ τὰς τέσσαρας τὶς διελών, καὶ ὥσπέρ τινα ἐσθήματα περιδύσας ἑαυτόν —αἴσθησιν, φημί, φαντασίαν, δόξαν, καὶ διάνοιαν—, τὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φαντασίας, ἀπορρίψειε διὰ ποικιλίας συλλογισμῶν, δόξαν. Ἁπλῷ δὲ καὶ ἀπεριέργῳ νῷ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν κρατήσειε τῆς πίστεως. Οὐκ ἂν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχοι τοῦ ἁπλοῦ καὶ ἀτμήτου καὶ ἀσχηματίστου·

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**15-16.** ὁ πᾶν-κελεύων] 2 Cor. 10:5 — **16-17.** θεμέλιον-Χριστός] 1 Cor. 3:11 — **17-19.** ὅτι-ἔκτισται] Col. 1:16 — **26-29.** τῶν πέντε-διάνοιαν] cf. Arist. *De anima,* 428a-b; *Physica,* 254a; Hermias, *Plat. Phed.,* p. 19.23-24; Mich. Psell., *Omnif.* § 94.1-11, p. 54; Nicet. Steth., *Orat.,* § 37.1-12, p. 100

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**17.** ἐστὶ Z — **18.** post ἐπὶ scr. τῆς BOVZ — **19.** δὴ] δὶς Z — **22.** post ἔχει scr. et del. τῶ εἶναι D — γεγενῆσθαι] post cor. (ex γεγεν-|νῆσθαι) D: γεγεννῆσθαι MW — **23.** οἷον τε BZ — **25.** καθ ὅσον MW — **26.** βούλοι L — **27.** τέσσαράς τις Z — **28.** ἐσθήματα] αἰσθήματα D — **29.** δόξαν] om. B — **31.** ἀπεριέργῳ] περιέργω W

*ἐπλανήθησαν* γάρ φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος *ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν· φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ, ἐμωράνθησαν*. Κεῖται γὰρ μέγας ὁ ἀπερίληπτος, πολλοῖς παραπετάσμασι καλυπτόμενος, διὰ τὸ κρύφιον τῆς θεότητος, ἃ δεῖ διαιρεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰς τὰ *ἅγια* τῶν *ἁγίων* παρακύπτειν, ὅπου ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ᾗ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀπόστολος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς τετρακτύος τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἄλλον τρόπον τὸν Θεὸν εὑρίσκεσθαι εἴποις, οὐκ ἂν τῆς ἀληθείας ἁμάρτοις. Προμήκης δὲ ὤν, ὁ ἄτμητος ἀριθμὸς οὑτοσί, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης εἰς τὴν τρίτην δεκάδα τὴν ἔκτασιν ἐπιδεχόμενος, δηλοῖ τό, τὸν ἕνα δήπου τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς οἷα Θεὸν ἀληθῆ κηρυττόμενον, μὴ ἐκ Μαρίας ἦρχθαι, ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀθέων ὑπόληψις, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄπειρον μῆκος ἐκτείνεσθαι, κατά τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος. Ὡς τὸ μέν, τοῦ ἀπείρου μήκους αὐτοῦ, ἄναρχον ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ ἀνέκβατον, τὸ δέ, M 248v ‖ ἀτελεύτητον καὶ ἀθάνατον, πάντως δὲ τὸ συναμφότερον αἰώνιον. Ὥστε καὶ οὐ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὺς τοῦτον ὁριστέον, ἰσάκις ἴσον μειζονάκις, ἀλλ' ἰσάκις ἴσον ἀπειράκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κῦβος ἂν ἑτέρᾳ ῥηθείῃ μεθόδῳ, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πλευρᾷ πολυπλασιαζόμενος, διὰ τὸ

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**33-34.** ἐπλανήθησαν-ἐμωράνθησαν] Rom. 1:22 — **36-37.** ἅγια-ἁγίων] Heb. 9:3 — **38.** τετρακτύος-ἀρετῶν] Synes., *Epist.*, p. 725.47

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**33.** ὁ ἀπόστολος] om. V — ἀπόστολος] post cor. (ex ἀπόστολος) Z — **36.** κρύφιον] ἀπόκρύφιον B — **37.** ἦ L — φησὶν Z — ἦ φησιν] om. B — **38.** διὰ] om. Z — **39.** ἀληθείας ἁμάρτοις in ras. Z — **40.** προμήκις D — **41.** πρώτης] α′ Z — τρί[την] in ras. Z — **42-43.** τὸν παρ'-κηρυττόμενον] om. Z — **43.** ἦρχθαι] ἦρχε-|σθαι L — **44.** μῆκος] post cor. (ex μήκος) L — **48.** τοῦτον] post cor. (ex τούτον) D: post cor. (ex τοῦτο et sscr. ν) V: τοῦτο ACLZ — ἴσον B: ἶσον Z — **49.** ἴσον ἴσον BLZ

ἕδραῖον καὶ σταθηρὸν καὶ μόνιμον· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ κυβοειδῆ σώματα. Οὐ μήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ παντὸς μᾶλλον σχήματος, συνεχέσι γωνίαις τὸν κῦβον ἔχεσθαι, εἰς τύπον τοῦ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάψαντός τε καὶ συνέχοντος *ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου*. Ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλος εὕρηται καὶ σφαιρικός, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχόμενος, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαθιστάμενος, τὰ ἐξαίρετα ταυτὶ καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν σχημάτων ὡς ὁ Πλάτωνος λόγος, καὶ σπανίως ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς εὑρισκόμενα· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἐπίπεδον μόνον φέρει τοῦ κύκλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σφαίρας τὸ στερεόν, τῇ πρώτῃ αὖθις πεντάδι πολυπλασιαζομένου τοῦ κύκλου. Πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἕδραῖον πανταχῇ καὶ πάγιον ἀποκαθίστασθαι πέφυκε πάντα, τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρούμενα σχήματα. Ὅτι δὲ κύκλος ὁ Κύριος ὠνόμασται, ὡς ἴσος ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὅμοιος, καὶ ὡς τὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν κύκλον ζωογονῶν, εἴρηταί τε καὶ ἐνεθυμήθην ὡς ἑτέρῳ προείρηται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερόν τι θεωρητέον ἐνταῦθα θαυμάσιον οἷον· τῷ πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμῷ μόνῳ καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρῳ, πολυπλασιαζομένου τοῦ προκειμένου περισσαρτίου, τὰ ῥηθέντα πάντα εὕρηται σχήματα, οὐκ ἀλόγως οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ πέντε θαυμαστήν τινα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

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**54.** ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου] Eph. 2:20; cf. 1 Petr. 2:6; Is. 28:16 — **57.** Πλάτωνος λόγος] cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 33b-c — **62-64.** Ὅτι-ἐνεθυμήθην] cf. Greg. Naz., *Pasch.*, § 13, col. 641.14-16

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**51.** ἐδραῖον Z — **53.** συνεχέσι] post cor. (ex συνέχεσι) W — **58.** φέρει μόνον BDMOVW — **59.** σφέρας A — πρώτῃ] α′ Z — **60.** ἐδραῖον BZ — **63.** ἴσος] ἴσως L — **66.** τοῦ προκειμένου] om. L — **67.** πάντα] om. ALZ — **68.** θαυμαστὴν τινὰ ALZ

ἐξαίρετον κέκτηται ἰδιότητα· τοῖς γὰρ περιττοῖς πᾶσιν ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς καὶ ἄρρεσι λεγομένοις, μιγνύμενος καὶ πολυπλασιαζόμενος, εἰς ἑαυτὸν αὖθις εὑρίσκεται καταλήγων, μὴ ἀλλοιούμενος ὅλως, μὴ τῆς οἰκείας ἐξιστάμενος φύσεως· τρὶς γὰρ τὰ πέντε, καὶ πεντάκις τὰ πέντε, καὶ ἐννάκις τὰ πέντε εἰπών, τὰ εἰκοσιπέντε συνάξεις πάντως, καὶ τὰ τριάκοντα πέντε, καὶ τὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε, ἀλωβήτου καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου φύσει τοῦ πέντε διαμένοντος, ὅπερ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινι ἀριθμῷ, οὐκ ἂν εὕροις, οὐδ' ἂν πολλὰ κάμης. Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν στερρὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον μαθεῖν πάρεστι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἐπιμιγνύμενος, ἀρρενικώτερος δείκνυται. Ἦι γάρ, οὐ τῆς θείας φύσεως σαφὲς ἀπεικόνισμα, τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρούμενον, τῆς εἰσάπαν ἀναλλοιώτου, καὶ ἀσυγχύτως ἡμῖν καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἀτρέπτως ὑπὲρ νοῦν
M 249r ἑνωθείσης; Ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ οἱ Πυ-‖θαγόρειοι, ἄρρενα μὲν τὸν περιττὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον, διὰ τὸ συνεχὲς δήπου καὶ ἄτμητον, τῆς μονάδος κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀδιαιρέτου μενούσης, τὸν δὲ ἄρτιον, θῆλυν, διὰ τὸ εὔτμητον καὶ εὐδιαίρετον, ἔχει δὲ ὁ δισχίλια ἀριθμός, ἕνα μόνον ἄρρενα καὶ θηλυκοὺς τέσσαρας. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνελεύσεως

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**70.** καὶ τοῖς V — καὶ] om. Z — ἄρεσι BZ — **71.** καταλίγων A: καταλέγον LZ — **72.** post μὴ add. δὲ ALZ — **73.** ἐννάκις] ἐνάκις et ν sscr. B — εἰκοσιπέντε] δεκαπέντε A: πέντε Z — **74.** καὶ] om. Z — τριάκοντα πέντε] λε′ BCDLMOVW: κε′ A: ιε′, τὰ κε′ Z — **74-75.** τεσσαράκοντα πέντε] με′ codd. — **75.** διαμείνοντος V — **76.** τινὶ B — **77.** ἐξ οὗ BCDMOV — καταφύσιν BZ — παρέστι Z — **80.** αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν A — **81.** καθυπόστασιν BDLMOVW — **82.** ἑνωθείσις B: ἑνωθίσαν L — ἐπειδὴ περ L — **84.** μονάδος] μοναδικῆς B — κατ' αὐτοὺς] τ' αὐτοὺς B — μενούσης] μὲν οὔσης L — **85.** εὐδιαίρετον] ἀδιαίρετον Z

τοῖν γενοῖν ἀμφοτέροιν εἰς ζωήν, τὰ τὴν ζωὴν πεφυκότα δέχεσθαι, κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιδημεῖ, φιλοσοφῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀπόστολος, περί τε τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τῆς γυναικός, φησί, *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο, μέγα ἐστὶν· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, εἴη ἂν ἄρρην, ὁ νυμφίος ἡμῶν Χριστός, ὡς μηδὲν θῆλυ, μὴ δὲ ἄνανδρον ἔχων, καὶ ὡς τομὴν μὴ ἐπιδεχόμενος, τοῦ δὲ θήλεος γένους, τὰς τέσσαρας ἐκκλησίας εὖ μάλα νοήσεις, τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἀποβληθείσης, ὡς ταῖς λοιπαῖς μὴ συμφωνούσης τῷ φρονήματι, αἷς ὁ νυμφίος Χριστὸς ἑνούμενος, εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἀναγεννᾷ τοὺς πιστεύοντας.

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**89-90.** τὸ μυστήριον-ἐκκλησίαν] Eph. 5:32

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**89.** φησὶν L — **90.** ἐστιν D: ἐστήν B — **92.** θήλεος et sscr. ω per θήλεως Z — **96.** ἀναγεννᾶ] post cor. (ex ἀναγενᾶ et scr. ν) L

**[46] Ὅτι ὡς δυσσεβεῖς τοὺς Λατίνους, ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ ἀναθέματι δίδωσιν.**

Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἔνθεοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ καὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δογματίσαντες καὶ τυπώσαντες, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ περιὸν τῆς μανίας τῶν πάντα νεανικῶν τουτωνί, ὥστε τὰ τῶν πατέρων θεσπίσματα, ψόφον κενὸν ἡγουμένοις, μηδὲν εἶναι μέλον, εἰ τὴν ἐπανατεινομένην δίκην τοῦ ἀναθέματος, τοῖς παραβαίνουσι ταῦτα, ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν ἐλκύσειαν κεφαλαῖς. Ὅτι γὰρ ὡς δυσσέβειαν τοῦς Λατίνους νοσοῦντας, διὰ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἁπάντων ἀθέτησιν, ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπει, ἱκανῶς μέν, καὶ τὰ φθάσαντα μαρτυρεῖ. Οὐχ ἧττον γε μὴν δείξει καὶ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα. Ἡ γὰρ ἑβδόμη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία σύνοδος, εἴ τις φησὶ πᾶσαν παράδοσιν ἐκκλησιαστικήν, ἔγγραφόν τε καὶ ἄγραφον ἀθετεῖ, ἀνάθεμα. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ταύτης κανών, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἕκτης δεύτερος, ἔστω φησὶν ἀνάθεμα, καὶ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ, καταλόγου ἀλλότριος, ὁ

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**[46] 14-17.** Ὁ δὲ-κανόνων] cf. *Synt.*, κ′., § 5, p. 315.24-29

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**[46] 12-14.** εἴ τις-ἀνάθεμα] cf. *Conc. Nicaen. II* (787), *Definitio fidei*, p. 313.145-149; Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 151.29-30 — **14.** πρῶτος-κανών] cf. *Conc. Nicaen. II* (787), canon 1, pp. 318.280-319.286; *Σύνταγμα*, p. 556.22-26 — ἕκτης δεύτερος] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 2, *COGD,* p. 231.488-500; *Σύνταγμα,* pp. 309.30-310.7 — **15.** ἀνάθεμα-ἀλλότριος] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 1, *COGD,* p. 228.395-400; *Σύνταγμα,* p. 305.21-24

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**[46] Tit.** scr. ὅτι ὡς δυσσεβεῖς τοῦς λατίνους ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ ἀναθέματι δίδωσιν in textu A: scr. in marg. CDGLMOVW — οὕτω] οὕτως Z — post μὲν add. οἱ GJZ — **3.** τὸ] sscr. B — **4.** πάντα] πάντων J — **5.** ψόφον] ψόφου LZ: ψόγον D: ψῆφον J — μηδὲν] post cor. (ex μὴ δὲν) L: μὴ δὲν B — μέλον] μέλλον BGJZ: post cor. (ex μέλλον eras.) C — εἰ] εἰς DGJ — **6.** δίκήν laps. cal. A — **7.** ἐλκέσειαν Z — ante Ὅτι γὰρ scr. ση(μείω)σαι in marg. W — **9.** καθολικὴ] post cor. (ex καθολικῆ) W — **10.** μὲν, καὶ τὰ] μέν τοι καὶ Z — **11.** post ῥηθησόμενα add. Ἡ γὰρ δ′ καὶ οἰκουμεν(ικ)ὴ σύ(νοδος), ἐπιβεβαῖοι μὲν τὸ ἁγ(ίον) σύμβολον, ἀναθέματι (δὲ) δίδωσι τοὺς ἢ προσθεῖναι τί τούτω τολμήσαντας ἢ ἀφελεῖν μίαν γοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συλλαβήν B — γὰρ] γε μ(ὲν) B — **12.** ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ζ′ J — πάσαν G — **14.** πρῶτος] α′ B — ταύτης] αὐτῆς Z — ἕκτης δεύτερος] στ′ δεύτερος A: ἕκτης β′ J: στ′ β′ BCDGLOZ — **15.** καταλλόγου B

παραχαράττειν, ἢ ἀνατρέπειν, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τολμῶν, οἱονδήτινα τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τόμῳ τῆς ἑνώσεως, ταῦτα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις διείληπται· τοῖς ἐν καταφρονήσει τιθεμένοις, τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ θείους κανόνας τῶν μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, οἳ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερείδουσι, καὶ ὅλην τὴν χριστιανικὴν πολιτείαν κοσμοῦντες, πρὸς θείαν ὁδηγοῦσιν εὐλάβειαν, ἀνάθεμα. Καὶ ἐν τῷ Συνοδικῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν ἀναγινωσκομένῳ, *ἅπαντα τὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, καινοτομηθέντα καὶ*
M 249v *πραχθέντα, ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο πραχθησόμενα, ἀνάθεμα.* ‖ Καὶ ἐν τῷ κατηχητικῷ τῶν προσερχομένων Ἀρμενίων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *εἴ τις οὐ* τίθησιν *εἰς τὴν προσφορὰν προζύμην καὶ ἅλας, ἀνάθεμα· εἴ τις ἐσθίει κρέα κατὰ τὴν τυροφάγον ἑβδομάδα, ἀνάθεμα.* Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ὀκτωκαιδέκατος κανὼν τῆς ἐν Γάγγρᾳ συνόδου, *εἴ τις τῶν ἀσκουμένων* φησί, *χωρὶς ἀνάγκης σωματικῆς ὑπερηφανεύοιτο, καὶ τὰς παραδεδομένας νηστείας εἰς τὸ κοινόν, καὶ φυλαττομένας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, παραλύει, ὑποικουροῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ τελείου λογισμοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

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**17-21.** Ἡ γὰρ-ἀνάθεμα] cf. *Synt.*, κ′, § 5, p. 316.20-24 — **29-34.** Ἀλλὰ-ἔστω] cf. *Synt.*, ν′, § 4, p. 309.2-5

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**16-17.** παραχαράττειν-κανόνων] cf. *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 2, *COGD*, p. 231.488-496; *Σύνταγμα*, pp. 309.30-310.5 — **18-21.** τοῖς ἐν-ἀνάθεμα] *Tomos unionis* (920-21), p. 233.26-28 — **23-25.** ἅπαντα-ἀνάθεμα] *Synodicon Orth.*, p. 53.117-119; cf. *Tomos unionis* (920-21), p. 233.16-18 — **27-28.** εἴ τις-ἀνάθεμα] col. 1261.5-7 — **28-29.** εἴ τις-ἀνάθεμα] Isaacius, *Armenii*, cols. 1260.59-1261.1 — **29-34.** Ἀλλὰ-ἔστω] cf. *Conc. Gangr.* (*c.*340), canon 18, p. 114.27-28

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**19.** post τῶν scr. θεί(ων) καὶ GJ — **20.** ἐκκλησίαν] χριστιανικ(ὴν) et sscr. ἐκκλησί(αν) Z — **21.** post κοσμοῦντες add. καὶ Z — **22.** πρῶτην] *α′* W — **23.** ἀναγινωσκομένῳ] om. V: ἀναγινωσμένω Z — τὰ in ras. A — **25.** πραχθησόμενα] post cor. (ex πραχθήσομενα) Z — **26.** κατηχιτικῶ W — ἀρμενίων ACGLMVWZ — **27.** τίθησιν] βάλει G: βάλλει J — **28.** προζύμη LZ — **28-29.** Εἴ τις ἐσθίει-ἀνάθεμα] om. ACLZ — **29.** ὀκτωκαιδέκατος] ὀκτωκαὶ δέκατος G: ιη′ ABCDLOZ — **30.** φησί D: φησι B — χωρὶς] χορὶς B — **31.** ὑπερηφανεύοι J — **33.** παραλύοι BDGMOVW: καταλύει J — ὑποκουροῦντος Z — τελείου] τελείαν B: τελεί L: τῶ τέλει Z — **34.** ἔστω] om. BDOV

**[47] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι ἄξιον ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους, διότι, πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἀναθεματίζουσιν.**

Εἰ δέ τις ἐνίσταιτο λέγων, «Οὐκ ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι δίκαιοι τιμᾶσθαι τοῦ ἀναθέματος, οἱ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν διδόντες τῷ ἀναθέματι», οὐ ταύτῃ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ τοιοῦτος αἱρήσειν ἡμᾶς. Οἱ γοῦν Μανιχαῖοι καὶ σύμπαντες ἑτερόδοξοι, τῶν ἄλλως ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔχουσι δόξης, ὡς δυσσεβῶς φρονούντων, καταψηφίζονται· τὴν γὰρ σφετέραν αἵρεσιν ἕκαστοι, ὡς ἂν τὰ πρεσβεῖα κατὰ πασῶν φέρουσαν, τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἀξιοῦσι, τὰς δὲ λοιπάς, οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν οἴονται, καὶ ὡς ἀλυσιτελεῖς ἐκκηρύττουσιν. Ἀλλ' ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, οὐχ οὕτως ἀμαθῶς ἔχουσα τυγχάνει, ὥστε ταύτῃ μόνον προσίεσθαι τοὺς ἐξ αἱρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας, εἰ μή που καὶ τὰ ἔθη καὶ τὰ δόγματα τῆς σφετέρας αἱρέσεως, ὀνομαστὶ ἐξομόσαιντο.

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**[47] Tit.** scr. πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι ἄξιον ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τοὺς λατίνους διότι αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἀναθεματίζουσιν in textu AL: scr. in marg. BCDMOVW — **1.** ante Εἰ δέ sign. D — εἰ δέ] εἰ δαί D — **3.** μαννιχαῖοι M — **4-5.** ἔχουσι δόξης περὶ τὸ θεῖον GJ — **5.** φρον[..]ούντων lac. (2-3 litt.) M — **6.** σφαιτέραν L — **7.** οὔτε] οὕτως LZ — **8.** ἐκκηρύττουσιν] post cor. (ex ἐκκϋρύττουσιν) Z — καθολικὴ] post cor. ex καθολικῆ Z — **9.** μόνον] post cor. (ex μόνων) Z — **10.** ἐξ αἱρέσεως] ἐξαιρέσεως W: ἐξ αἱρέσεων GJ — **11.** τῆς] om. B — σφαιτέρας Z — ὀνομαστεὶ G — ἐξ' ὀμόσαιντο G

**[48] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος κοινωνίας ἠξίου, μόνον ἄκτιστον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμολογούντας.**

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο εἴποι τὶς ἄν, ὡς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος κοινωνίας ἠξίου, τοὺς τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν κυρωθείσῃ μόνον ἐμμένοντας πίστει, καὶ ἄκτιστον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πρεσβεύοντας, τῶν δ' ἄλλων, οὐ πολὺν πεποίητο λόγον. Ἀλλὰ κἀκείνῳ, ᾧ τὰ ἐπιόντα σὺ ῥᾳδίως φθεγγόμενος διὰ σπουδῆς ἦν, πάντας ἕλξαι εἰ οἷόν τε, πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ἣν ὁ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἁγίων χορός, δογματίσας ἦν, καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ πνεύσασαν αἵρεσιν σβέσαι, εἰ οὖν τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν τετάχθαι, πολλοῦ τιμᾶται καὶ τὸ ἰταλικόν, οὐδ' ἡμεῖς πλειόνων γε πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεησόμεθα λόγων· ἀποχρήσει γὰρ ἡ ἁπλῆ τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογία, τοῦ συντετμημένου καὶ συντετελεσμένου λόγου, ὃν ἐποίησε *Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου φωνὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων συνόδων, καὶ σύμβολον εὐσεβείας καλῶς ὀνομάσας, ὡς κοινὸν πᾶσι προὔθηκε πρόγραμμα· ἔτι γε μήν, καὶ ἡ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ βλασφημίας ἀναίρεσις, πρὸς δέ, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων τήρησις· τὸ γὰρ

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**10-11.** συντετμημένου-γῆς] Is. 10:23; cf. Rom. 9:28

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**[48] Tit.** scr. πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος κοινωνίας ἠξίου τοὺς μόνον ἄκτιστον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμολογοῦντας in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDGLMOVW — **1.** τίς ABDGLMOZ: τις VJ — **2.** τῇ κατὰ] κατα Z — **3.** τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον GJ — **4.** κἀκείνω Z — ᾧ ABGJ — **5.** ἕλξαι ει G: ἕλξας Z — οἷόν τε L — **7.** τὴν] sscr. Z — ἐκεῖνο πνεύσασαν τοῦ καιροῦ per sscr. β′ et α′ C: ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν J — **8.** ante εἰ οὖν scr. ση(μείωσαι) in marg. W — **9.** γε πλείων G: γε πλειόνων J — **10.** ἀποχρήσει] ἀπὸ χρήσει Z — ἁπλῆ] post cor. (ex ἁπλὴ) Z — **12.** ἡμῶν] ἡμᾶς A — **13.** προύθηκε BDOV — **14.** κατ' αὐτὸ] κ(α)ταυ-|τὸ B — **15.** ἱερῶν in ras. et ῶ sscr. W — γὰρ] om. J

αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, κἀκεῖνο καὶ
M 250r τούτους ἐχρησμοδότησεν, ὥστε ‖ περιττὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ δεινῶς
ἄλογον, πρὸς τοιαύτας καταφεύγειν ἀπολογίας, ἀφ' ὧν, οὐχ ὅτι
γε ἡντινοῦν ‖ ὄνησιν, μέγιστον μέντοι βλάβος ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἂν
διαφύγοιεν, μὴ οὐχὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ καρπώσασθαι, παρὸν τῆς
ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας ἀφεμένους, τοῖς τῶν πατέρων μᾶλλον
προσέχειν δόγμασι, δι' ὧν καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία
βραβεύεται, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὁ βίος, οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁμολογεῖ τῇ τῶν
δογμάτων ὀρθότητι.

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**18.** ἄλογον] post cor. (ex ἄλόγον) L — οὐχ' ὅτι GJ — **19.** ἡντινοῦν] ἥντινα οὖν GJ — **20.** διαφύγοιμεν G: φύγοιμεν J — καρπώσασθαι] post cor. (ex καρπῶσασθαι) L — **21.** ἀκαίρου] ἀκέρου et sscr. αι (per ἀκαίρου) D — φιλονικείας BDO: φιλονικί(ας) GZ: φιλονεικεί(ας) W — **23.** τῇ] τὴν AL

**[49] Ὅπως ἐξέκοψε τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς Λατίνους ὁ πατριάρχης Μιχαὴλ Κηρουλάριος.**

Ταύτην τοίνυν ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων καὶ κανόνων διαστροφήν, περὶ τὸ λατινικὸν οὕτω δυναστεύουσαν γένος, λίαν ἐπισφαλῶς περὶ τὰ μέγιστα διακείμενον, ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἰθύνειν λαχών, Μιχαὴλ ὁ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Κηρουλάριος, καὶ κρεῖσσον ἢ καθ' αὐτὸν νομίσας, τὸ στῆσαι τὴν τῆς κακίας τούτων φοράν, οἰκουμενικὴν ἤθροισε σύνοδον, καὶ ψήφῳ τούτους κοινῇ, τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεμε. Παρῆν μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Μονομάχος, παρῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀντιοχείας, ἔτι τὲ καὶ ὁ Βουλγαρίας, καὶ ὁ Κύπρου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅσον ἐλλογιμώτερον καὶ σοφώτερον. Ὁ μέντοι Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, εἰ καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τηνικαῦτα οὐκ ἦσαν ἐπιχωριάζοντες, τὰ πραχθέντα δ' ὅμως, καὶ προσεπήνεσαν καὶ ἐπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνίας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πάπαν ἀπώσαντο, ὡς αὐτὰ δήπου μαρτυρεῖ τὰ πράγματα, μηδεμιᾶς τῶν τεσσάρων ἐκκλησιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν

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**[49] Tit.** scr. ὅπως ἐξέκοψε τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς λατίνους ὁ π(ατρ)ιάρχης μιχαήλ ὁ κηρουλάριος in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDLMOVW — **2.** διαστροφήν] διὰ στροφὴν B — δυναστεύουσαν in ras. W — **3.** περὶ] ἐπὶ J — **4.** ἰθύνειν] post cor. (ex ἰθύνειν) L — ἐπο-|νυμίαν B — **5.** κιρουλάριος J — καθ' αὐτὸν] καθ' ἑαυτὸν ALT: καθ ἑαυτὸν Z — νομήσας W — τὴν om. LT — **7.** κοινῇ] κοινῷ T — **7-8.** παρῆν μὲν] παρ ἦν μ(εν) B: παρῆν Z — **9.** ἀντιοχί(ας) Z — ἔτι τὲ] ἔτι δὲ ALTZ — **11.** εἰ] ἢ J — **12.** τηνικαῦτα] τῆνι καῦτα B — **13.** προσεπήνεσαν] προς ἐ-|πήνεσαν L: προσεπαίνεσαν J — ἐπεψηφήσαντο W — **14.** αὐτοὶ] αὐτὸν J — πάπαν] πᾶσαν L — αὐτὰ] αὐτὼ T — **15.** μηδεμιᾶς] μὴ δὲ μιᾶς ABGLOW: μιδεμιᾶς J

εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τὸν πάπαν προσιεμένης, τὸ νόθον καὶ ἐξάγιστον τῶν λατινικῶν μυσαττομένης δογμάτων. Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτω δρᾶσαι οἱ τότε πατέρες κεκρίκασι, τίς οὕτως, ἢ πρὸς ἀσέβειαν εὔκολος, ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἔξω λογισμῶν, ὅστις ἂν τούτοις, καὶ τῆς ἐν ἔθει προσρήσεως, ἀδεῶς τανῦν μεταδοίη; Οἵ γε δὴ, ἵνα τἄλλα παρῶ, τὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων γένος, αὐταῖς ἀσεβείαις καὶ πονηροῖς δόγμασι προσδεξάμενοι, τὴν ἕνωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἠσπάσαντο, τὴν φίλην καὶ μόνην ὑποταγήν, πρὸς αὐτῶν κομιζόμενοι.

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**16.** εἰσέτι] εἰς ἔτι AGZ — προσιέμενοι B — ἐξάγιστον] ἀξάγιστον L — **17.** μυσατομένης W: μυσαττόμενης G — ante εἰ τοίνυν scr. ση(μείωσ)αι in marg. W — οὕτω] οὕτως T — **18.** κεκρίκασιν T — οὕτως] οὗτος GJ — ἢ πρὸς] ὁ πρὸς J — ἀσέβειαν] ἀκρίβειαν T — **19.** post καὶ scr. et del. τοῖς L — ἔθει] ἔθεσι T — **20.** προσρήσεως GZ — τανῦν] τὰ νῦν GT — μετα[….]δοίη lac. (3-4 litt.) A — ante οἵ γε sign. D: sup. τἄλλα sign. MV: et scr. ὅτι κοινωνούσι τοῖς ἁρμενίοις οἱ λατίνοι in marg. DMV — τ᾽ ἄλλα ABDGLT: τἄλλα MW — τὸ] τῷ W — **21.** ἁρμενίων ACGLMVWZ — **23.** φίλην] φιλία T — πρὸς om. T — αὐτῶν] post cor. (ex αὐτὸν) Z

**[50] Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων αἱρέσεως.**

Οἱ γοῦν Ἀρμένιοι, τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Διοσκόρου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μονοφυσιτῶν, κακοδοξίαν εἰσδεξάμενοι, προσθήκαις ἀσεβῶν δογμάτων ἐπηύξησαν, καὶ περιφανεστέραν εἰργάσαντο, ἐναντία καὶ καταγέλαστα ὡς πάντῃ μωραίνοντες πρεσβεύοντες δόγματα. Καὶ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου, ἄφθαρτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους οἴονται, καὶ παθητὴν τὴν θεότητα, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν νοσοῦντες μανίαν, καί γε τῶν Θεοπασχητῶν,
M 250v τὴν παράνοιαν. Ταῦτά τοι ‖ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς τετάρτης συνόδου, ὑπεβλήθησαν πάλαι τῷ ἀναθέματι, ἣν καὶ Λέων ὁ πάπας ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας περιφανὴς πρόμαχος, γράμμασιν ἐβεβαίωσεν, ἃ δὴ καὶ ὀρθοδοξίας στήλη πρὸς τῶν πιστῶν ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζονται. Ὅθεν ὡς λόγος φέρεται καὶ πιστεύεται· πιστοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπαγγείλαντες, νόμον εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄλυτον, ἡνίκ' ἂν εἰσίωσι τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπιτελέσοντες, μὴ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἅπτεσθαι ταύτης, πρὶν ἂν τὸν ἅγιον πάπαν Λέοντα, τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυποβαλεῖν. Παρ' αὐτὸ μέντοι γε τοῦτο

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**[50] 8-9.** Ταῦτά-ἀναθέματι] cf. *Conc. Chalced.* (451), *Definitio fidei*, pp. 136.360-137.392

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**[50] Tit.** scr. περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁρμενίων αἱρέσεως in marg. CDGLMOVWZ: scr. περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁρμενίων αἱρέσεως καὶ ὅτι κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς ἁρμενίοις οἱ λατίνοι in textu A — ἁρμένιοι ABCGLMVWZ — τὴν διοσκόρου καὶ εὐτυχοῦς ALZ — **3.** δογμάτων] om. B — **4.** πάντη] πάνυ GJ: πάντι Z — **6.** οἴονται] εἴονται J — τῶν] om. GJ — **8.** ταῦτά τοι] ταῦτατοι BDMOVW: ταύτητοι GJ — **9.** τετάρτης] δ′ AJLZ — **10.** εὐσεβείας] post cor. [ex εὐσεβί(ας)] W — περηφανης W — **11.** ἅ δὴ L — **12.** ὀνομάζονται] ὀνομάζεται AJ — **13.** ἁρμενίων ACGLMVWZ — **14.** ἡνίκα ἂν GJ — εἰσίωσιν MW — **16.** καθ ὑποβαλεῖν C: καθ′ ὑποβαλεῖν G — μέντοι] μὲν τοι V

μόνον, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς ἀποβλήτους, καὶ τοῦ ἀναθέματος ἀξίους κριθέντας, εἰς κοινωνίαν μετὰ τῆς σφετέρας οἱ Λατῖνοι προσελάβοντο δυσσεβείας, ἐρρίφθων καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἀποβε-
20 βλήσθων, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνοις ἀξιούσθων μερίδος· ὁ γὰρ αἱρούμενος κοινωνεῖν τῷ ἀκοινωνήτῳ, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐκείνῳ δίδωσι δίκην, τῆς τῶν πιστῶν κοινωνίας πρὸς τῶν θείων ἐκβαλλόμενος νόμων, οὓς ἀριθμεῖν ἐνταυθοῖ καθ' ἕνα περίεργον ἂν εἴη, καὶ τῷ, συχνοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τῷ πᾶσι σχεδὸν δήλους.

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**17.** δὴ] δεῖ G — **18.** λατίνοι BL — **19.** δυσσεβείας] post cor. (ex δυσεβείας) L: post cor. (ex δυσεβείας et sscr. σ) Z — **20.** αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς OV: αὐτ(ῶν) B — μερίδος] μερίδων L: μερῖδος W — **22.** ἐκβαλλομέν(ους) G: ἐκβαλλομένοις J — **23.** ἐνταυθοῖ] om. J — **24.** συχνοὺς] post cor. (ex συχνοῦς) W

**[51] Ὅτι δεῖ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων κοινωνίας ἀπέχεσθαι.**

Πειθώμεθα τοίνυν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θείοις κανόσιν, ἀφίστασθαι τῆς κοινωνίας κελεύουσι, καὶ *πρὸ συνοδικῆς διαγνώσεως, τῶν* δόγματα νόθα, *δημοσίᾳ κηρυττόντων* ἀρχιερέων· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ πεντεκαιδέκατος τῆς λεγομένης πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας συνόδου κανών, βούλεται, πρὸς δέ, καὶ ὁ τριακοστὸς πρῶτος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. Ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Οὐρβίκιον ἐπιστολῇ, τῆς πρὸς *αἱρετικοὺς* ἡμᾶς παντάπασιν *ἀπέχεσθαι κοινωνίας* παρεγγυᾶται, *εἰδότας ὅτι, τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἀδιαφορεῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ παρρησίαν*, ἡμᾶς *ἀφαιρεῖται*. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς, ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ψευδοδιδασκάλων πραγματείᾳ, τὴν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου φωνὴν δανειζόμενος, ταῦτα φησί· *πᾶς ὁ παραβαίνων καὶ μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει·* καὶ *ὃς ἂν δοκῇ φίλος, αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἐχθρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καθίσταται· ἀκούσατε πάντες οἱ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς συνεσθίοντες, ὀδυνηρὰν ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐχθροὶ ἐστέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φιλικῶς διακείμενος, δύναται φίλος εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως.*

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**[51] 1-6.** Πειθώμεθα-ἀποστόλων] cf. *Synt.*, σ′, § 12, pp. 452.23-453.2; et ibid., σ′, § 12, pp. 450.23-451.3

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**[51] 1-5** Πειθώμεθα-κανών] *Conc. CP* (861), canon 15, cf. *Σύνταγμα*, pp. 692.24-693.21 — **5-6.** ὁ τριακοστὸς-ἀποστόλων] cf. *Can. Apost.*, canon 31, p. 39.21-28 — **7-9.** αἱρετικοὺς-ἀφαιρεῖται] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 262, § 2.20-22, p. 120 — **11-16.** πᾶς ὁ-βασιλέως] Ps.-Ioh. Chrys., *Pseudoproph.*, § 4, col. 557.63-558.3

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**[51] Tit.** scr. ὅτι δεῖ τῆς τῶν λατίνων κοινωνίας ἀπέχεσθαι in textu A: scr. in marg. BCLMOVWZ: — **1.** ante Πειθώμεθα sign. et scr. ση(μείωσ)αι in marg. W — πειθόμεθα Z — **2.** πρὸ συνοδικῆς] προσυνοδικῆς BGLWZ — **3.** δημοσΐα laps. cal. A — post γὰρ scr. κ(αὶ) Z — **4.** πεντεκαιδέκατος] ιε′ ABCDGJLMOWZ — πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας] α′ καὶ β′ AJLZ — **5.** τριακοστὸς πρῶτος] λα′ ABCDGJLOZ — **6.** ante Ὁ δὲ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ACDMOVBLWZ — οὐρβέκιον J — **8.** ὅτι J — **9.** ante Ἀλλὰ scr. χρυ(σοστόμου) in marg. ABCDLVWZ — **10.** χρυσοῦς et sscr. σ (?) G — **11.** ἠγαποιμένου B: ἠγαπιμένου L — δανειζόμενος] δανιζόμενος Z: δανεισάμενος GJ — φη(σι) O: φησὶν CGL: φησίν MW — **12.** τῇ διδαχὴ B: τῇ δι[..]δαχῇ lac. (1-2 litt.) V — **13.** δοκεῖ WZ — **14.** ὁδυνηρὰν BGL: ὀδεινηρὰν Z — **16.** φιλικῶς in ras. W

**[52] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προκρίνειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ὅτε κινδυνεύει τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας.**

Μὴ τοίνυν ὡς τὴν εἰρήνην ἔδει προκεκρίσθαι τῆς διαστάσεως προτεινέτω τίς, καὶ μάλιστα ἡνίκα πρόξενος ἡμῖν αὕτη, τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἔχθρας γίνεται. Μὴ δὲ οἰκονομεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἀεὶ, τῶν
M 251r ἀναγκαίων εἶναι οἰέσθω· οὐ γὰρ ἀλήθεια, ἀλλὰ ‖ πλάσμα τοῦτο
5 οἰκονομίας, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατατέμνον καὶ λυμαινόμενον. Μέχρι γὰρ τούτου τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ὁ ὀρθὸς ἀνέχεται λόγος, μέχρις ἂν οὐδὲν καινοτομῆται τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεῖος Χρυσόστομος, οἰκονομητέον, ἔνθα οὐ παρανομητέον· ὡς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παρεχώρησεν ἐπισκόποις, τὴν ἔνδον τοῦ
10 θυσιαστηρίου μετάληψιν. Χρὴ μέντοι γε αὖθις ὁ αὐτός φησι, *μὴ σχέσιν, μὴ φιλίαν, μὴ εἰρήνην, μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν κοινόν, μετὰ τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἔχειν*. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱερέας καὶ λαϊκούς, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας προσήκει φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ παραβατῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν λέγουσαν γραφήν, «*ἕως θανάτου ἀγώνισαι*
15 *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ σοῦ*». Ἐν δὲ

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**[52] 10-12.** μὴ-ἔχειν] cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia*, p. 175.1-2 — **14-15.** ἕως-σοῦ] Sir. 4:28

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**[52] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προκρίνειν τὴν εἰρὴνην ὅ τε κινδυνεύει τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας in textu A: scr. in marg. BCMOVWZ: scr. ση(μείωσ)αι in marg. W — προκεκρῆσθαι Z — **4.** οἰέσθω B — **5.** κατατέμνον] post cor. (ex. κατατέμνων) AZ — **6.** γὰρ] om. GJ — ὁ] sscr. Z — ὀρθὼς Z — **7.** ἂν] bis acc. G — καινοτομεῖται BGJW — ante φησὶ scr. χρυ(σοστόμου) in marg. ABMVW — **8.** post ὡς scr. καὶ LZ — **10.** ante Χρὴ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. BMVWZ — γε] om. ACLZ — φησιν V — **14.** ante κατὰ scr. καὶ GJ — ἀγώνησαι L — **15.** ante Ἐν δὲ scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. BVW

τῇ ἐξηγήσει τοῦ, «*οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*», *τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα εἰρήνη* φησὶν, *ὅταν τὸ νενοσηκὸς ἀποτέμνηται, ὅταν τὸ στασιάζον, χωρίζηται. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἰατρός, οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν διασώζει σῶμα, ὅταν τό ἀνιάτως ἔχον ἐκτέμῃ, καὶ ὁ στρατηγός, ὅταν τοὺς κακῶς ὁμονοοῦντας, εἰς στάσιν ἀγάγῃ. Οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου γέγονεν ἐκείνου, οὕτω καὶ Παῦλος τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ συμφωνοῦντας, διεῖλεν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ναβουθαὶ πολέμου παντὸς ἡ συμφωνία τότε ἐκείνη χαλεπωτέρα γέγονεν· οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ ὁμόνοια καλόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ λησταὶ, συμφωνοῦσιν*. Κύριλλος δὲ ὁ μέγας, *τότε κρατύνεσθαι* φησὶ *τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα, ὅταν μὴ ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων γνώμαις ἀντιταττώμεθα, μὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀντιπράττωμεν ὅροις· μὴ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καλείτωσαν οἰκουμενικὴν τινες εἰρήνην, ὅτε συμβαίνει ἐκ βάθρων ὥσπερ κατασείεσθαι τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμούς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατατομήν. Ὁ δέ γε σοφὸς Μάξιμος, καλὸν τὸ «εἰρηνεύειν πρὸς πάντας», ἀλλ' ὁμονοοῦντας πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν· κρεῖττον δὲ πολεμεῖν, ὅταν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ κακῷ συμφωνίαν ἐργάζηται.* Καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος· *κρείσσων ἐπαινετὸς πόλεμος, εἰρήνης*

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**16.** οὐκ-γῆς] Matth. 10:34 — **16-24.** τοῦτο-συμφωνοῦσιν] Ioh. Chrys., *Matth.* (Hom. 35), § 1, col. 405.13-24 — **25-27.** τότε-ὅροις] Cyrill. Alex., *Epist. Attic.* col. 1148.18-22; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 291.2-4 — **30-31.** εἰρηνεύειν-πάντας] Rom. 12:18 — **30-32.** καλὸν-ἐργάζηται] cf. *Conc. CP Tertium* (680-1), *Const. imp. diualis sacra,* p. 856.22-23 — **33-34.** κρείσσων-Θεοῦ] Greg. Naz., *Apolog.*, § 82, col. 488.34-35

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**16.** ἐξηγήσει] ἐξήγει Z — εἰρήνην] post cor. (ex εἰρήνη et sscr. ν) Z — **17.** εἰρήνην GJLZ — **18.** χωρήζηται D — **19.** ἐκτέμη] ἐκτέμνη GJZ — ὁ] om. B — **20.** κακῶς] κακοὺς MW — **22.** Ναβουθὲ Z — **23.** χαλεποτέρα Z — **24.** συμφωνούσι GJL: σὺμφωνοῦσιν laps. cal. B — ante Κύριλλος scr. κυρίλλ(ου) in marg. ABCLMOVWZ — **25.** κρατύνεσθαί φησι BDOV — εἰρή(νης) B — **26.** ἀντιταττόμεθα JW — **27.** ἀντιπράττομεν JW — ὅροις B — **27-28.** καλείτωσάν τινες οἰκουμενικὴν ALZ — **28.** τινὲς G — post συμβαίνει scr. et del. ὥσπερ C — ὥσπερ] sscr. C — **29-30.** ‹κατασείε›-ǀσθαι κατατομήν] scr. et del. G — **30.** ante Ὁ δέ scr. μαξίμ(ου) in marg. ABCLMOVWZ — **30-35.** Ὁ δέ-πᾶσαν εἰρήνην] scr. et cnc. G — **32.** post ὅταν add. τὸ εἰρηνεύειν BDOV — τὴν] om. B — **32-33.** ante Καὶ ὁ scr. θεολόγ(ου) in marg. ABCMOVLWZ: scr. γρηγορ(ίου) τοῦ θεολόγ(ου) in marg. D — **33.** κρεῖσσον AGJLZ

*χωριζούσης Θεοῦ*. Καὶ αὖθις, *μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με λέγειν, ὅτι πᾶσαν εἰρήνην ἀγαπητέον· οἶδα γὰρ ὥσπερ διάστασιν τινὰ βελτίστην, οὕτω καὶ βλαβερωτάτην ὁμόνοιαν· ἀλλὰ τήν γε καλήν, καὶ ἐπὶ καλῷ, καὶ Θεῷ συνάπτουσαν*. Ὁ γε δὴ μέγας Βασίλειος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πατρόφιλον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπιστολῇ, *τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης* φησὶ *καλόν, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς εἰρήνης περιγράφεται μόνον, καταγέλαστόν ἐστι· τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἐκλεγομένους, τούτοις μόνον μεταδιδόναι τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν· εἰ δὲ* ‖ *ἡ πρὸς τοὺς βλαβεροὺς συμφωνία, ἐν εἰρήνης προσχήματι, τὰ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς προσδεχομένους ἐργάζεται. Σκόπει τίνες εἰσὶν, οἷς ἀναμεμίχθαι ἐκβιαζόμεθα, οἳ τὸ ἄδικον μῖσος ἐμίσησαν ἡμᾶς*. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι χρῆναι οἰομένους, τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, καὶ μὴ ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι καὶ φόνος ἔσθ' ὅτε κρειττων ὤφθη μακροθυμίας, παρὰ Θεῷ, καὶ θυμὸς οὐκ ἀλόγιστος, ἐπιεικείας σφαλερωτάτης, καὶ πορνεία, σωφροσύνης ἐν τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντι, περιεγένετο. Καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ προφήτῃ, καθαρῷ τῷ νῷ, τὰς θείας ἐμφάσεις εἰσδεχομένῳ. Καὶ *ἀκοὴ ὑπὲρ θυσίαν ἀγαθὴ* ὁ μέγας ἔφη Σαμουήλ· ὁ σκοπὸς γὰρ ἑκασταχοῦ κρίνεται πάσης πράξεως, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀστεῖα δοκεῖ.

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**34-37.** μηδεὶς-συνάπτουσαν] Greg. Naz., *Pace* 1, col. 748.17-20 — **38-44.** τὸ τῆς-ἡμᾶς] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 250, § 1.10-13, 14-17, p. 88 — **46-49.** ὅτι καὶ-περιεγένετο] locum non inveni; cf. Num. 25:7-13; 1 Regn. 15:9 sq., 33, et 20:27-28; Iudc. 11:34-39 — **50-51.** ἀκοὴ-ἀγαθὴ] 1 Regn. 15:22

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**34**. ante Καὶ αὖθις scr. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in marg. A — οἰέσθω με] οἱ ἔσθωμε G — **35.** οἶδα BO — **36.** ἀλλα W — ἐπι L — **37.** ante Ὁ γε δὴ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ACLMOVWZ — **38.** πατρόφυλον A — **39.** post ἐν τῷ scr. et cnc. (incl. in punc.) ἐν τῷ W — *τῷ ὀνό*ματι in ras. Z — **40.** καταγέλαστον ἐστὶ GJ — **41.** τοὺς] post cor. (ex τὸν) W — **42.** εἰρ̲ή(νης) B — post πολεμίων scr. πρὸς L: et lac. (3-4 litt.) Z — **43.** ἀναμεμῖχθαι J — **44.** post ἡμᾶς add. Ὅτι καὶ πόλεμος εὐαγ(ὴς)· κ(αὶ) εἰρ̲ή(νης) πάσ(ης) ǀ ἀσπόνδου μάχης ἀργαλϊώτερον· ǀ ὅταν τ(ις) πρ(ὸς) τοὺς κ(α)τ(ὰ) τῆς προνοί(ας) ǀ ὑλακτοῦντας εἰρηνεύη· κ(αὶ) πρ(ὸς) ǀ τοὺς τῶ βίω ἀχρεί(ους) σπένδεται B — **45.** χρῆναι] om. B — εἰρ̲ή(νης) B — **46.** φόνος] φθόνος BLZ — **47.** οὐκαλόγιστος B — **49.** ante προφήτῃ scr. τῶ GJZ — προφήτῃ] προφήτε L — **51.** ἀγαθ(ὴν) GJ — γᾶρ laps. cal. B — **52.** ἀστεία J

**[53] Ὅτι οὐ χρῆ κοινωνεῖν ὅλως τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις.**

Ὅτι γε μὴν οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες, τὴν *μέχρις αἵματος* ἡμῖν παραγγέλουσιν ἔνστασιν, ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ χραίνεσθαι τῇ τῶν βλασφήμων κοινωνίᾳ, δῆλον ἂν ἐκ τούτων αὖθις ἡμῖν γένοιτο. Πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς μονάζοντας ὁ μέγας ἐπιστέλλων Βασίλειος, *ὅταν γάρ τινες* φησὶν, *ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ πιστοὺς θεωρήσωσι, μετ' αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας καὶ συνευχομένους, ὑπονοήσαντες ἀδιάφορον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐμπεσοῦνται εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας* καὶ *ἀσεβείας βόρβορον. Ἵν' οὖν μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, θελήσατε ἀγαπητοί, τοὺς μὲν φανερῶς φρονοῦντας τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας, ἀποστρέφεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ νομιζομένους τὰ* τοῦ *Ἀρείου μὲν μὴ φρονεῖν, κοινωνοῦντας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀσεβούντων,* παραφυλάττεσθαι· *καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ὧν τὸ φρόνημα ἀποστρεφόμεθα, τούτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας προσήκει φεύγειν. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· εἰ δέ τις προσποιεῖται μὲν ὁμολογεῖν* τὴν *πίστιν, φαίνεται δὲ κοινωνῶν ἐκείνοις, τὸν τοιοῦτον, προτρέψατε* μὲν *ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης συνηθείας· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐπαγγέλληται, ἔχετε τὸν*

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**[53] 1.** μέχρις αἵματος] Heb. 12:4 — **5-19.** ὅταν-ὠφεληθήσονται] non Basil. Caes. sed Athan. Alex., *Epist. monach.*, col. 1188.13-31; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia*, p. 179.7-18

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**[53] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ χρῆ κοινωνεῖν ὅλως τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις in textu A: scr. in marg. BCLMOVWZ: et scr. ἀλλ' οἱ λατῖνοι οὐκ εἰσί τοπαράπαν ἑτερόδοξοι L — **1.** ante Ὅτι sign. B: scr. ση(μείωσ)αι in marg. W — Ὅτι] Ἔτι Z — **2.** παραγγέλλουσιν] post cor. (ex παραγγέλουσιν et sscr. λ) W — **4.** ante πρὸς γὰρ scr. βασιλ(είου) in marg. ABOVZ — βασίλειος ἐπιστέλλων Z — **7-8.** ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀπωλείας V — **8.** μὴ] sscr. Z — **12.** γὰρ] om. GJ — φρόνιμα Z — **13.** ante Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. AO: scr. Βασίλειος in marg. B — **15.** κοινωνεῖν ἐκείνοις G: ἐκείνοις κοινωνεῖν J — μὲν] om. W — **16.** ἐπαγγέληται BDLMOWZ

*τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀδελφὸν· ἐὰν δὲ φιλονείκως ἐπιμένῃ, τὸν τοιοῦτον παραιτεῖσθε· οὕτω γὰρ διατελοῦντες, καθαρὰν τὴν πίστην διατηρήσετε· κἀκεῖνοι βλέποντες ὑμᾶς ὠφεληθήσονται.* Εἰ δὲ τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας μόνον ἑτεροδόξοις, εἰ καὶ τῆς ὑγιοῦς οὐ μεθίενται δόξης, οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, εὐθυνῶν ἄνευ προσίεσθαι. Πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, καὶ τῆς οἱασοῦν ἀξιοῦν κοινωνίας, τοὺς περὶ τὰ καίρια τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων ἐληλεγμένους ἐσφάλθαι, θύραν ἀντὶ κοινωνίας πάσαις
M 252r ἀνεωγότας ‖ αἱρέσεσι; Τί δὲ ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς, καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων τῆς θεολογίας μυσταγωγός, *πᾶς ὁ παραβαίνων* φησί, *καὶ μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει· καὶ εἴ τις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔρχεται, καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει, μὴ λαμβάνετε αὐτὸν εἰς οἰκίαν· καὶ χαίρειν αὐτῷ μὴ λέγετε· ὁ γὰρ λέγων αὐτῷ χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς.* Παῦλος δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὁ τὸ ἀνέσπερον τῆς ἀληθείας φῶς, τῷ τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμῳ συνεξαπλώσας, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἀκτῖσι περιλαβών, ἐπιστέλλων Ῥωμαίοις, *παρακαλῶ, ὑμᾶς* φάσκει *διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας*

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**26-30.** πᾶς ὁ-πονηροῖς] 2 Ioh. 1:9-11 — **33-36.** παρακαλῶ-αὐτῶν] Rom. 16:17

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**17.** ἐπιμένῃ] post cor. (ex ἐπιμένει) W: ἐπιμένει A — **19.** διατηρήσητε D: διατηρήσεται L — ὠφεληθείσονται L: ὀφεληθήσονται DO — **20.** με-|θύονται D — **22.** οἱασουν O — **24.** θύραν ἀντικοινωνί(ας) Z: θύραν τὲ κοινωνίας BDOV — **25.** αἱρέσεσιν GJV: αἵρεσιν Z — ante Τί δὲ scr. ἰω(αννου) τοῦ θεολόγου in marg. ABCDLMOVZ — **26.** τῆς θεολογίας δογμάτων BV — **27.** διδαχὴ W: διαδοχῇ L — **28.** οὐ φέρει τὴν διδαχὴν GJ — **29.** οἰκίαν] κοινωνί(αν) Z — **31.** ante Παῦλος δὲ scr. παύλ(ου) in marg. ACW: τοῦ ἀπο(στόλ)ου VZ — ὁ[2]] om. LZ — **33.** ἀκτῖσι] post cor. (ex ἀκτίσι) G: ἀκτίσι AZ — **34.** post διὰ τοῦ scr. ὀνόματος τοῦ GJ

καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα ποιοῦντας, παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν παρελάβετε, ἐκκλίνατε ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν. Τιμοθέῳ δὲ γράφων τῷ θείῳ, σπούδασον σεαυτόν, δόκιμον παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐργάτην ἀνεπαίσχυντον, ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· τὰς δὲ βεβήλους κενοφωνίας περιΐστασο· ἐπιπλεῖον γὰρ προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν, ὡς γάγγραινα νομὴν ἕξει. Ἐξηγούμενος δὲ ταὐτὶ τὰ ῥητὰ ὁ ἱερὸς Χρυσόστομος, πάντα ὑφίστασθαι δεῖ φησίν, ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀποσπῶσι πάντοθεν αὐτὸν καὶ παρέλκουσι· πολλὰ ἔχει ἐπιφυόμενα· οὐκ εἶπεν ἀπευθύνοντα, ἀλλ᾽ ὀρθοτομοῦντα, τουτέστι, τέμνε τὰ νόθα· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σφοδρότητος ἐφίστασο καὶ ἔκκοπτε, καθάπερ ἐπὶ ἱμάντος τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος, πανταχόθεν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔκκοπτε.

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**36-40.** σπούδασον-ἕξει] 2 Tim. 2:15-17 — **41-48.** πάντα-ἔκκοπτε] Ioh. Chrys., *II Timoth.*, § 2, col. 626.45-53

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**35.** post καὶ scr. τοὺς G — **36.** ante Τιμοθέω scr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ in marg. A — **36-37.** σπούδασόν σεαυτὸν L: σπούδασον φησὶ σεαυτὸν J — **37.** τῷ] sscr. Z — **39.** καινοφωνίας J — κενοφωνίας ras. et ω sscr. G — ἐπιπλεῖον] post cor. (ex ἐπιπλείον) G: ἐπὶ πλεῖον ADLWZ — **40.** ἕξει] post cor. (ex ἔξει) B: ἔξει GJ — ante Ἐξηγούμενος scr. τοῦ χρυ(σοστόμ)ου in marg. ACDGMOVWZ — **41.** ταυτὶ ABCDGJMOVWZ — ῥητὰ] ῥήματα JV — δεῖ] om. B — **42.** φησιν ACDLMOW — **44.** ἀπευθύνατο L: ἀπεὐθύνατο Z — τοῦτέστι BLZ — **45.** τέμνε] τέμνων J — post καὶ τὰ ras. (8 litt.) G — μετα πολλῆς B — **46.** ἐφίστασο] ἀφίστασο J — **47.** πάντοθεν GJ — περισσὸν GJ

**[54] Ὅτι εἰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπειλοῦσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι, ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, οὐ χρὴ δεδιέναι.**

Εἰ δὲ καὶ πολέμου καὶ διαμάχης πρὸς ἡμᾶς μέμνηνται, ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐπανατείνονται —ὡς μὴ πειθομένους ταῖς σφῶν δυσσεβείαις, καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπολέσθαι, μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος, οὐχ ὡς ἄρα πρότερον, τιμωρήσασθαι—, καὶ φόβους ἐγγείους, ἢ καὶ θαλαττίους θρυλλοῦσιν, καὶ εἰς ἔσχατα γῆς ἀπάξειν, καὶ ἀποκρύψειν τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἀπειλάς, ὡς ἂν μὴ πιστεύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐπιστατεῖν τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι βεβαίως εἶναι τούτων μόνων τὴν γῆν ἀπαρχῆς, ἢ καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, τὸ πᾶν διανείμασθαι, καὶ τῷ μὲν, ἐκστῆναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κληρουχίαν νεῖμαι τὴν γῆν, καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς τὸν Θεὸν εἰδέναι, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ *ἐπὶ ταῖς νεφέλαις* καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις θρόνου μετεποιήσαντο, ὡς ὁ πάλαι
M 252v ἀδόμενος. Ταῦτα γὰρ ‖ *ἡ ὀφρὺς* καὶ τὸ αὔθαδες ἦθος, καὶ ὁ ὑπερνεφὴς λογισμὸς καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑποτίθησιν. Οὐ γεγηθέναι μᾶλλον ἢ κατεπτηχέναι προσήκει τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, εἰς τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ

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**[54] 11-12.** ἐπὶ-νεφέλαις] cf. Ps. 67:35-36; Asterium Antioch., *Comm. Psalm.* (Orat. 29), § 8, p. 231.25-28 — **13.** ἡ ὀφρὺς] cf. supra § **1.**16

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**[54] Tit.** scr. ὅτι εἰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπειλοῦσιν οἱ λατῖνοι ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου οὐ χρὴ δεδιέναι [δεδοιέναι A] in textu AG: scr. in marg. ACDLMOVWZ: scr. ὅτι εἰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπειλοῦσιν εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου οὐ χρὴ δεδιέναι J — **1.** ante Εἰ δὲ sign. in marg. D: alt. man. scr. σημ(είωσαι) in marg. AG — διαμάχης] μάχης Z — **3.** πειθομένους] πειθομένω B — **4.** παραπολλέσθαι B — ἄρα] ἄμα J — **5.** τιμωρήσασθαι] post cor. (ex τιμωρείσασθαι) L — ἐγγύους W — **6.** θρυλλοῦσιν] post cor. (ex θρυλλώσιν) M: θρυλλοῦσι ACGJLZ — **7.** ὡς ἂν] ὡσὰν D — **8.** βεβαίως] βεβαίαν GJ — μόνον Z — **9.** ἀπ' ἀρχῆς BDGJ — καὶ] om. J — τῷ] τὸ J: τὰ B — **10.** νεῖμαι] εἶμαι L — **11.** καὶ] om. J — ὅτι] ὅτε D — τοῦ] om. BW — **14.** ὑπερνεφὴς] post cor. (ex ὑπὲρ νεφὴς) L: ὑπὲρ νεφὴς Z — **15.** τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας] τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα GJ

τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπανθήσειν ἡμῖν ἀφορῶντας στεφάνους, κἂν πάντων οὗτοι γένωνται τῶν πώποτε μανέντων ἀπανθρωπότατοι. Οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἀπειλὴν εἰς φόβον τρέψαντας, ἐκπλαγῆναι δεῖ τὴν ἀήθειαν τῶν ἀπειλουμένων, τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνιστάς, ἀλλ' εἰς προθυμίαν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καταχρήσασθαι, καὶ ἠσθῆναι ὅσων κρείττους ἐν τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντι γενήσονται, νομίσαντας ὥσπερ ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Θεοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλλίστων εὐψυχίαν ἐνδείξασθαι, καὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἀπειλὰς ταῖς τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀνδραγαθίαις. Μὴ γὰρ δὴ λογιζομένοις, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς εἰδωλομανούντων, τῶν ὄνομα μέντοι περικειμένων χριστιανοῦ πάσχουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐχὶ μαρτυρικοὶ πλέκονται στέφανοι, ὑπερθετέον τὴν ἄθλησιν. Ἀποχρῶν γὰρ κἀνταῦθα ὁ τῶν ἀθλούντων ἀλείπτης καὶ νομοθέτης ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, πᾶσαν ἀμφιβολίαν περιελεῖν, ἐν τῇ πρὸς μονάζοντας οὕτω γράφων ἐπιστολῇ· *ἐδιώχθησαν γὰρ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν εἰδωλολατρούντων· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀναφανέντες διῶκται, μισοῦσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι· εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀπάτην, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προβάλλονται ὄνομα· διόπερ ἐγὼ πέπεισμαι, μείζονα*

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**30-38.** ἐδιώχθησαν-ἀντιμισθίαν] Basil. Caes., *Epist.* 257, § 1.13-14, 17-19, 23-24, 27-30, pp. 98-99

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**16.** post μέλλοντας ras. (3 litt.) L — ἐπἀνθήσειν L — post ἐπανθήσειν scr. et del. στεφάνους C — ἀφορῶντας in ras. B — **17.** οὗτοι] οὗται L — **19.** ἀήθειαν] ἀλήθειαν GJV: post cor. (ex ἀήθειαν) B — ἀγωνιστ[..]ὰς ras. (2 litt.) L — **20.** ὅσων] ὅσω GJZ — **21.** καιροῦ] καιρῶ V — **23.** ὑπερβαλλέσθαι GZ — **24.** γὰρ λογιζομένοις δὴ GJ — **25.** εἰδωλομανούντων] εἰδωμανούντων et λω sscr. (per εἰδωλωμανούντων) Z — περικειμένων] om. J — **26.** χριστιανοῦ] χριστιανῶν GJ — **27.** κἀνταῦθα] ἐνταῦθα GJ — **28.** πάσαν J: πᾶσ(ων) V — **30.** ante ἐδιώχθησαν scr. βασιλ(είου) in textu D: scr. in marg. ACGMOVWZ — **31.** εἰδωλωλατρούντων Z — διώκται W — μὲν] om. A — **32.** δὲ] om. Z — **33.** προβάλλονται] περιβάλλονται W — post ἐγὼ ras. (3-4 litt.) L

*ἡμῖν, ἢ τοῖς τότε μαρτυροῦσι, παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου κριτοῦ μισθὸν*
35 *ἀποκεῖσθαι.* Εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, *αἱ παρὰ τῶν λαῶν τιμαί, καὶ ἡμῖν οὐχ ὑπάρξουσι, τότε μᾶλλον εἰκός, πολλαπλασίονα ἡμῖν ἀποκεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας πόνων τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν.*

**[55] Τίνα δεῖ ἀποτάσεσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους, προσερχομένους τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.**

Ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἀκούσωμεν *Μάρκου τοῦ πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ συνοδικῆς ἀποκρίσεως, ἐπὶ τῆς πατριαρχίας τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Γεωργίου τοῦ Ξιφιλίνου*, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Διογένους, τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα τηνικαῦτα διέποντος,
5 σαφέστερον γὰρ ἂν γνοίημεν, ὅπως εἶχον γνώμης περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου, καὶ οἱ ἐγγυτέρω ἡμῶν, τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγκεχειρισμένοι φροντίδας.

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**[55] 1-2.** Μάρκου-Ἀλεξανδρείας] Marcus III Patriarcha Alexandriae (1180-1209) — **1-3** et **[55.1] 1-12.** Μάρκου-Ξιφιλίνου] *Respons.* 23, p. 180; cf. *Resp. synod.*, pp. 184-86; Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 281.20-22

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**34.** ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν J — **36.** οὐχ' ὑπάρξουσι GW — πολλὰ πλασίονα BL

**[55] Tit.** scr. τίνα δεῖ ἀποτάσσεσθαι τοὺς λατίνους, προσερχομένους τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ in textu A: scr. in marg. BCDLMOVWZ: alt. man. scr. έφη ἀλεξ(ανδρεί)ας in marg. A — **1.** ante Ἀλλ' εἰ sign. in marg. W — τοῦ] om. J — **2.** ἐπαυτῇ G — **3.** πατριαρχείας BDGMOVW — γεωργίου] πατριάρχου J — ξυφιλίνου J — **4.** διωγένους A — **5.** γὰρ] om. ADGZ — **6.** ἐγγυτέροι Z — ἐγκεχειρισμένοι] ἐγκεχειρισμένοι et sscr. γ per ἐγκεγχειρισμένοι Z: ἐγκεχειρισμένοι in ras. L

**[55.1]** ***Ἐρώτησις· Ὀφείλομεν μεταδιδόναι τῶν ἁγιασμάτων τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις λατίνοις, ἢ οὔ;***

**Ἀπόκρισις**· *Πρότερον ἀποταξάσθωσαν τοῖς ἀζύμοις, ἐν τούτοις γὰρ καὶ Ἰουδαῖος ἑορτάζει, καὶ τῇ πνικτοφαγίᾳ, παλαιὰ γὰρ καὶ*
M 253r *τοῦτο ἁμαρτία, ἣν Πέτρος ἀπορρα-‖πίζει πρῶτος ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων, διδάσκων ὡς λάχανα τὰ κρέα ἐσθίειν, ἄψυχα δηλαδὴ καὶ ἄναιμα· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ σφαττόμενα, ὥσπερ τὰ πνιγόμενα ἔναιμα· ἀνάλογον γὰρ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ αἷμα. Ἀποσχέσθωσαν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν τυροφάγον ἑβδομάδα κρεωφαγίας, ἐξομολογησάσθωσαν καὶ ἱερομονάχοις πιστοῖς καὶ ὁμογενέσιν ἡμῖν. Πρὸ πάντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὁμνύτωσαν τὴν παρακαταθήκην φυλάττειν τοῦ ἁγίου συμβόλου ἀπαραποίητον, οἵαν, ἥ τε πρώτη σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ καθεξῆς ἐκδεδώκασι. Καὶ τότε τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας, ἀπολαυέτωσαν.*

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**[55.1] Tit.-12.** Ἐρώτησις-ἀπολαυέτωσαν] *Respons.* 23, p. 180; cf. *Resp. synod.*, pp. 184-86; Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 281.23-33

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**[55.1] Tit.** scr. ἐρώτησις in marg. LVW: om. DO — λατίνοις] om. B — **1.** scr. ἀπόκρισις in marg. GLZ: om. DO — ἀποταξάτωσαν J — τούτοις] post cor. (ex τοῦτοις) D — **2.** ἰουδαῖος] ἰουδαῖοι et sscr. ος (per ἰουδαῖος) Z — ἑορτάζει] ἑορτάζουσι et sscr. ει (per ἑορτάζει) Z — πνικτοφαγία] post cor. (ex πνικτωφαγία) et sign. sscr. L — παλαιᾶ WZ — **3.** πρῶτος ἀπορραπίζει Πέτρος AJ — **5.** σφάττόμενα C — **6.** τὸ αἷμα τῇ ψυχῇ Z — τὸ] om. L — αἷμα L — **7.** τὴν] sscr. W — κρεοφαγίας OVW — **9.** φυλάσσειν A — **10.** οἵαν GLZ — ἥ] sscr. B — **11.** δευτέρα] β′ Z

**[55.2] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γάμους ποιεῖν μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων.**

Καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς σχέσις καὶ κοινωνία, χριστιανοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, ὡς πολλοῖς ἤδη μοι παραδείγμασι τῆς θείας γραφῆς δέδεικται. Οἵ γε μὴν θεῖοι καὶ ἱεροὶ κανόνες, ἐκ περιουσίας κωλύουσι, καὶ νόμῳ γάμου, τοὺς ἡμετέρους συνάπτεσθαι, τοῖς μὴ ἐφαμίλλως ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας πρεσβεύουσι δόγματα. Οὐ μήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν συνάφειαν κελεύουσι διασπᾶν, τῶν ὅσοι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄθεσμον φθάσαντες ἦσαν ὑμέναιον, δεινότατα ἐπισείοντες, τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις τὰ ἐπιτίμια. Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ἑβδομηκοστὸς δεύτερος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου κανών, <u>μὴ ἐξέστω ὀρθόδοξον ἄνδρα, αἱρετικῇ συνάπτεσθαι γυναικί, μήτε μὴν αἱρετικῷ ἀνδρί, γυναῖκα ὀρθόδοξον συζεύγνυσθαι· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ φανείη τὶ τοιοῦτον ὑπό τινος τῶν ἁπάντων γενόμενον, ἄκυρον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸ ἄθεσμον διαλύεσθαι συνοικέσιον· οὐ γὰρ χρὴ τὰ ἄμικτα μιγνύναι, οὐδὲ τῷ προβάτῳ, λύκον συμπλέκεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μερίδι,</u>

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**[55.2] 10-17.** μὴ ἐξέστω-ἀφοριζέσθω] *Synt.*, γ′, § 12, p. 174.2-9

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**[55.2] 10-17.** μὴ ἐξέστω-ἀφοριζέσθω] *Conc. CP Trullanum* (692), canon 72, *COGD,* p. 276.2126-2137; *Σύνταγμα,* p. 471.12-19

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**[55.2] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γάμους ποιεῖν μετὰ τῶν λατίνων in marg. BCDGMOVWZ: in textu A: alt. man. scr. ὁρᾶται, οἱ συναλλ(α)γμ(α)τα μ(ε)τ(ά) [vel μή?] τῶν λατίν(ων) ποιοῦντες in marg. A: alt. man. scr. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδείς λατίνους | οἰκτρέ ματθαῖε | αἱρετικοὺς ἀπεκά-|λεσεν εὖ φρονῶν in marg. L — **1.** ante Καθόλου sign. in marg. W — προς B — **3.** post οἵ γε scr. et del. μοι παραδείγμασι τῆς θεί(ας) γρα(φῆς) L — καὶ ἱεροὶ] om. B — **5.** ἐφαμίλλως] post cor. (ex ἐφαμίλως et sscr. λ) LW — **7.** τοιοῦτον] post cor. (ex τοιοῦτων) W — **9.** ἐπιτίμια] post cor. (ex ἐπιτήμια) D — ἑβδομηκοστὸς δεύτερος] οβ′ ACGLZ: δεύτερος J — **10.** ἕκτης] στ′ ABCLO — ante Μὴ ἐξέστω scr. συ(νόδου) στ′ καν(ὼν) οβ′ in marg. ABCDGLMVWZ — αἱρετικὴ AGL — **11.** γυναικί] γαμετῇ GJ — **14.** ἄ(....)θεσμον in ras. (3-4 litt.) L — post διαλύεσθαι scr. et del. τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸ ἀ(θεσμον) L — μιγνῦναι GJW — **15.** οὐδὲ] δὲ Z — post προβάτῳ scr. τῶν J — συμπλέκεσθαι] post cor. (ex συμπλέσθαι et sscr. κε) B: συνάπτεσθαι L — post μερίδι scr. συμπλέκεσθαι L

τὸν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κλῆρον. Εἰ δὲ παραβαίη τὶς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁρισθέντα, ἀφοριζέσθω. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν λύσιν τοῦ ἀθεμίτου γάμου, καὶ ἀφορίζεσθαι τοὺς τὸν κανόνα παραβαίνοντας ἡ σύνοδος ἀξιοῖ. Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ δέκατος κανὼν τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδου, δίεισι· πρὸς δέ, καὶ ὁ τριακοστὸς πρῶτος, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὁ τεσσαρακαιδέκατος τῆς τετάρτης συνόδου. Ἐπεὶ δέ γε πολλοῖς ἤδη μαρτυρίοις χρησαμένῳ οὐδὲν ἀποδέον τὸ λατινικὸν ἀνωμολόγηται γένος, τῶν ἀνηκέστοις προσκειμένων αἱρέσεσι, καὶ τὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγματα φανερῶς ἀθετούντων, τίς ὁ μὴ τὸ δοκεῖν ἀμηγέπῃ θηρώμενος, ἀλλ' εἶναι περιπλείστου ταῖς ἀληθείαις
M 253v χριστιανός, μὴ ‖ δὲ τὸ σεμνὸν μόνον τοῦ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας διώκων ὀνόματος, πρὸς ἐξαπάτην τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ἢ εὐηθεστέρων, οἴεται δεῖν, εἰ καὶ καθ' αἷμα τούτοις προσῆκε, μὴ πολλῷ τῷ μέσῳ τούτων ἀποδιΐστασθαι, πρὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιούμενος, μὴ ὅτι γε καὶ γάμους μετ' αὐτῶν συναλλάττειν, καὶ κηδεστὰς ἔχειν αἱρεῖσθαι, οὕς ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σχεδὸν ἀπείργει προθύρων; Ὅτι γε μήν, καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν τῆς

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**17-18.** Μετὰ-ἀξιοῖ] *Synt.*, γ', § 12, p. 174.13-15 — **19.** δέκατος-Λαοδικείᾳ] cf. *Synt.*, γ', § 12, p. 173.28-30 — **20.** τριακοστὸς πρῶτος] cf. *Synt.*, γ', § 12, p. 175.5-14 — **20-21.** τεσσαρακαιδέκατος-τετάρτης] cf. *Synt.*, γ', § 12, p. 173.5-24

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**19.** δέκατος-Λαοδικείᾳ] cf. *Conc. Laodic.* (325/381), canon 10, p. 180.23-25 — **20.** τριακοστὸς πρῶτος] cf. *Conc. Laodic.* (325/381), canon 31, p. 198.11-13 — **20-21.** τεσσαρακαιδέκατος-τετάρτης] cf. *Conc. Chalced.* (451), canon 14, *COGD,* p. 144.646-667; *Σύνταγμα,* pp. 254.18-255.2

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**16.** τὸν] post cor. (ex τῶν) L — τις Z — **18.** ἀφωρίζεσθαι J — κανώνα B — *παραβαίνοντας* in ras. L — **19.** ante Ταῦτα scr. λαοδι(κείας) καν(ὼν) ι' κ(αὶ) λα' σύ(νοδος) δ' ιδ' in marg. ABCGLMVWZ — post Ταῦτα scr. (δὲ) G — δέκατος] ι' AGJZ — **20.** τριακοστὸς πρῶτος] λα' ABCDGJLOWZ — τεσσαρακαιδέκατος] ιδ' ABCDGJLMOWZ — **21.** τετάρτης] δ' ABCDGJLOVWZ — ἤδη B — **22.** λατινικὸν] ἑλατικὸν Z — ἀνωμολόγηται] post cor. (ex ἀνωμολόγειται) Z: ἀνομολόγηται J — **23.** προσκειμένων] προκειμένων GJL — **24.** τὶς] τί L — ὁ] om. Z — **25.** ἀμηγέπὴ laps. cal. O — περὶ πλείστου BDJOVW — **26.** post χριστιανὸς scr. καὶ ACLZ — τοῦ] τῶ Z — **27.** ἐξ ἀπάτην W — **28.** μη G — **29.** τοῦτοις B — μηδὲν] μὴ δὲν BL — **30.** ποιούμενος] ποιούμενοι J — γε] sscr. Z — **32.** σχεδὸν] post cor. (ex σχεδόν) W — πρὸ ἡμῶν] προήμῶν GL

ἐκκλησίας τρόφιμοι, καὶ τὴν λατινικὴν συγγένειαν ἀπηγόρευον, οὐχ ἧττον, ἢ τῶν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις ἄλλαις ἐπτοημένων αἱρέσεσιν, ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω μοι, εἰρημένων ἐρωτήσεων, καὶ ὅπως ἡ σύνοδος ταύτας διέλυσε, καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον γενήσεται.

**[55.3]** ***Ἐρώτησις· Εἰκός ἐστι ποιῆσαι Φράγγον σύντεκνον, ἢ Ἀρμένιον, ἢ μονοθελήτην, ἢ Νεστοριανόν;***

**Ἀπόκρισις**· *Τὸ αἱρετικοῖς συνεύχεσθαι, ἢ συνεσθίειν, ἢ γαμικῶς συνάπτεσθαι, παρὰ τῶν θείων κανόνων, κεκώλυται. Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν παίδων ἀναδοχῇ, συντρέχει καὶ τὸ συνεύχεσθαι καὶ τὸ οἰκειοῦσθαι, καὶ φασὶν οἱ πατέρες τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, τὴν κατὰ Πνεῦμα ταύτην οἰκειότητα, τῆς τῶν σωμάτων συναφείας μείζονα, αἱρετικοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, καὶ οἱ μονοθελῆται, καὶ οἱ Νεστοριανοί, κωλύσεις ἀναγκαίως, καὶ οὐ παραχωρήσεις. Μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὲ λόγου, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κανονικῆς ἀκριβείας, συναπείρξεις καὶ τὴν λατινικὴν συντεκνίαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς*

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**[55.3] Tit.-12.** Ἐρώτησις-διείληπται] *Respons.* 44, pp. 186-187; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 283.1-11

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**34.** οὐχ' ἧττον G — τῶν] om. GJ — ἀπηρημέναις Z — **34-35.** αἱρέσεσιν-εἰρημένων] om. L **35.** ἐρωτήσεων] ὑποθέσε(ων) GJ — **36.** διέλυσε] ἐκώλυσε Z

**[55.3] Tit.** scr. ἐρώτ(ησις) in marg. BDVLZ — ante Εἰκός ἐστι alt. man. scr. οὐχ ἑρᾶς ὅ-|πως μιγνύεις | τὰ ἄμικτα· | ποῖα σύνο-|δος τοῦτ' εἰρήκεν οὕτως, | ἤτοι τοπικὴ ἢ οἰκου-|μενικὴ in marg. L — ἀρμένιον ACGLMVWZ — **1.** ἀπόκρισις scr. in marg. GLV — γαμικῶς] post cor. (ex γαμικὸς et sscr. ῶς) Z — **3.** ἀναδοχὴ GL — **4.** ἕκτης] στ' ABCDGLOZ — **5.** οἰκειότητα ταύτην J — **6.** οἱ] om. AB — ἀρμένιοι CGLVWZ — **7.** post κωλύσεις scr. γοῦν J — παραχωρήσης J — **8.** δὲ] om. Z — κανονικῆς] κοινωνίας B — **9.** συναπείρξεὶς O — ἐπεὶ] ἐπὶ Z

*εὐχαῖς συγκοινωνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, οὔτε ἐν τῇ κατὰ σάρκα συναφείᾳ συνιστῶμεν γάμους, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐξομόσαιντο, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ κανόνι διείληπται.* Οὐ δὴ περιφρονητέον, τοὺς τῆς συγγενείας τῶν αἱρετιζόντων ἀπάγοντας ἡμᾶς θείους χρησμούς· οὐ γὰρ περὶ μίαν ἐντολὴν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ὀλιγωρίας, ἡ παράβασις ἵσταται. Περὶ αὐτὸ μέντοι τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὴν εὐσέβειαν φημί, ὁ κίνδυνος. Πλείονος δέ γε λόγου καὶ χαλεπωτέρων τιμωριῶν τοῖς πατράσι κέκριται ἄξια τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἁπτόμενα πλημμελήματα.

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**10.** κατα σάρκα AB — **11.** ἐξομώσαιντο Z — ἅπερ] post cor. (ex ἄπερ) B — **12.** διήληπται Z — **13.** αἱρετιζόντων] post cor. (ex αἱρετικόν) L — **14.** μίαν] ἡμεϊσεί(αν) Z — **15.** ἵσταται in ras. L — **16.** γε] om. GJLZ — χαλεπωτέρας J — **17.** πατράσιν BDO — τὰ] sscr. W

**[56] Ὅτι εἰ καὶ συγχωροῦνται οἱ Λατίνοι εἰς τοὺς ἡμέτερους εἰσέρχεσθαι ναοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν συνάξεων, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο, κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοὺς χρὴ λογίζεσθαι.**

Εἰ δέ που καὶ τῶν Λατίνων ἐνίους ὁρῴη τίς, ἐπὶ τοὺς θείους εἰσιόντας ναούς, σὺν ἡμῖν τὲ ἱσταμένους εὐχομένοις ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ψάλλουσιν, ἢ καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τελοῦσι μυσταγωγίαν, καὶ τοῦτο πλάνον ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ, μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν οἴεσθαι, ὃ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡμᾶς τῶν Λατίνων διΐστησιν, ὁ τοιοῦτος τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ὄψεως ἠπατημένος, τάχα ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις γεγραμμένους ἀνθρώπους, οὐδὲν τῶν ζώντων καὶ κινουμένων ἰσχυρίσαιτο
M 254r διενηνοχέναι, ἢ τὴν ἀγριέλαιον, τῆς ἐλαίας, ‖ καὶ τῆς ἀνεμώνης, τὸ ῥόδον, καὶ τοῦ σίτου, τὸ ζιζάνιον. Ὅτι τοῖς καλλίστοις μὲν ἰδεῖν, καλλίστοις δὲ χρήσασθαι, τὰ νόθα ταυτὶ καὶ ἐπείσακτα, ὡς ἐπίπαν εἰώθει μίγνυσθαι. «Ἀλλ' ὦ τὰν» εἴποιμι ἂν πρὸς αὐτόν, «οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ, τῆς περὶ τοὺς θείους ναοὺς στάσεως, τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ὁμολογίας, ὁ πιστὸς χαρακτηρίζεσθαι πέφυκεν»· ὥσπερ γὰρ

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**[56] Tit.** scr. ὅτι εἰ καὶ συγχωροῦνται οἱ λατῖνοι εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους εἰσέρχεσθαι ναοὺς ἐν τῶ καιρῶ τῶν συνάξεων (τῆς συνάξεως A) ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοὺς χρὴ λογίζεσθαι: in marg. BCDLMOVWZ: in textu A: alt. man. scr. φεῦ τῆς ἀμαθί(ας) σοι ׀ οἰκτρὲ ματθαῖε in marg. L — **1.** ante Εἰ δέ sign. D — ἐνίους ὁρῴη] ὁρ(ῶν) ἐνίους per sscr. β′ et α′ Z — ὁρῶν AGLWZ: ὁρώ(ην) B ὀρῶντες J — τίς] om. J — **2.** *ναούς* in ras. Z — **3.** τοῦτο] post cor. (ex τούτω) Z: τούτο W — **8.** διενηνοχέναι] post cor. (ex διενηνοχαίναι) Z: διενινοχέναι B — ἀνεμώνης] codd. ἀνεμόνης — **10.** ἐπίσακτα GLWZ — **11.** ὦ τἄν L — εἴποιμοι Z: εἴπουμι L

σωμάτων πολλαὶ διαφοραί, καὶ ποικίλαι τῶν φύσεων αἱ ποιότητες, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς δογμάτων, πλείστην ἴσμεν διαφοράν. Ἀλλά γε τὸ γνήσιον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, *καρδία* μὲν κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, *πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην*, *στόματι δὲ ὁμολογείται εἰς σωτηρίαν*. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Σαμουήλ, *ἄνθρωπος* εἴρηται *εἰς πρόσωπον ὄψεται*, *Θεὸς δὲ εἰς καρδίαν*, ἀλλά γε καὶ ἡμῖν, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγου τὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀφανῆ κινήματα θηρᾶν ἥκιστα χαλεπόν. Καὶ οὕτω τὸν ὁμότιμον διακρίνειν τοῦ διαφόρου· τὸ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας προχεόμενον ἔξω ῥεῖθρον τοῦ λόγου, τῆς πηγῆς ὅθεν ῥεῖ, τεκμήριον γίνεται. Καὶ ἅμα λόγος οὗτος ἄνωθεν ἐκ πατέρων ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀμφιγμένος καὶ κάλλιστα ἔχων, τοῖς τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου οἰκονομίας, δεξαμένοις διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ πιστεύσασιν, ἔν τισι δὲ σφαλλομένοις, οὓς καὶ αἱρετικοὺς φαμέν, τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ πάντῃ ἀθέων τῇ προσωνυμίᾳ ταύτῃ διείργοντες, μὴ εὐχῶν αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἁγιασμάτων μεταδιδόναι, ὡς ἐχθίστους μέντοι τῶν

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**17-18.** καρδία-σωτηρίαν] Rom. 10:10 — **19-20.** ἄνθρωπος-καρδίαν] 1 Regn. 16:7

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**16.** διαφοράν] διαφθοράν B — **17.** τὸ] sscr. L — **18.** στόματι] καρδία L — **20.** κατα προφορὰν AG — **20-21.** γε καὶ-θηρᾶν] om. Z — **22.** ante τὸ γὰρ scr. ση(μείωσ)αι in marg. W — **23.** ῥείθρον MG — **24.** ὡς] εἰς GJ — **27.** σφαλομένοις DLW — **28.** post φαμὲν sign. et τῶν ἀπίστων-προσωνυμία deest in textu et scr. in marg. O — πάντη] πάνυ GJ — **29.** κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς sscr. per β′ et α′ C — μὴδενὸς BZ

ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξωθεῖν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἐλάσει, μάχας ἀνοήτους ἐγείρειν, *σκληρὸν* εἶναι *καὶ ἀπηνές, καὶ ἥκιστά γε* ψυχαῖς ἁρμόττειν, *ὧν τὸ ἐπιεικές, γνωσθῆναι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις* ὁ Ἀπόστολος παρηγγύησε. Μὴ δὴ τὸ εἰς τοὺς θείους εἰσιέναι ναοὺς
35 ἔστιν οὓς τῶν ἑτεροδόξων, τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους τῶν πιστῶν, ἢ παχυτέρους ἐξαπατάτω. Πάλαι τοῖς πατράσι παρεωραμένον, ὡς οὐ πάνυ τι τοὺς πιστούς, τά γε εἰς εὐσέβειαν λυμαινόμενον. Καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα γὰρ συνήθειαν, τὰ φθάσαντα μαρτυρεῖ.

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**32-33.** σκληρὸν-ἐπιεικές] cf. Paul. Aegin. *Epit. medic.*, § 64 p. 28.16 — **33.** τὸ ἐπιεικές-ἀνθρώποις] Phil. 4:5

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**31.** τούτων] post cor. (ex τῶν) Z — ἐλάσει G — **32.** ἀνοήτους] ἀνονή-|τους laps. cal. Z — **34.** παρεγγύησε J — μὴ δὴ τὸ] post cor. (ex μὴ δὲ τὸ) D: μὴ δή τὸ B — **36.** ἐξαπατάττω G — **37.** πάνυ τὶ B

**[57] Ἐρώτησις· <Ὀφείλομεν μεταδιδόναι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, τοῖς κατὰ τύχην εἰς τὰς ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας εἰσερχομένοις Ἰακωβίταις, Νεστοριανοῖς, Ἀρμενίοις· ἢ οὔ;>**

Ἐπερωτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ ἄνωθεν δηλωθέντος μοι πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, «*Ὀφείλομεν μεταδιδόναι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, τοῖς κατὰ τύχην* εἰς τὰς *ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας εἰσερχομένοις Ἰακωβίταις, Νεστοριανοῖς, Ἀρμενίοις· ἢ οὔ;*», ἡ σύνοδος ἀπεκρίνατο. «*Γέγραπται, μὴ ῥίπτειν τὰ ἅγια τοῖς κυσί, μὴ δὲ τοὺς μαργαρίτας, τοῖς χοίροις. Ἐχόμενα δὲ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ταύτης*
M 254v φωνῆς, *καὶ οἱ κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων* ‖ *Πατέρων διακελεύονται, μὴ ἄλλως δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐξ αἱρέσεων ἐρχομένους, εἰ μὴ ἀρνήσαιντο πρότερον, ἃ κακῶς παρέλαβον, καὶ χρισθεῖεν τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ, τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσθητήρια*». Ὥστε, οὐ τὴν εἰς τοὺς θείους ναοὺς εἴσοδον τῶν κακοδόξων, ἡ σύνοδος ἀπηγόρευσε· μόνα δέ, τὰ προλεχθέντα κεκώλυκεν.

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**[57] Tit.** <Ὀφείλομεν-ἢ οὔ>] vide infra § **57**.2-4 — **2-4.** Ὀφείλομεν-ἢ οὔ] *Respons.* 24, pp. 180-181; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 283.17-19 — **5-10.** Γέγραπται-αἰσθητήρια] *Respons.* 24, pp. 180-181; cf. Joseph Patr. CP, *Apologia,* p. 283.19-23 — **5-6.** μὴ ῥίπτειν-χοίροις] cf. Matth. 7:6; Ps.-Ioh. Chrys., *Cruc.*, col. 817.39-41

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**[57] Tit.** scr. ἐρώ(τησις) in marg. W: in textu G: tit. J: alt. man. scr. οὐ συνιέναι ἔχεις | ὅσον ἐστὶν διάφορον | μεταξύ ἰακωβιτῶν νε-|στοριανῶν τε κ(αὶ) ἁρμενί(ων), | κ(αὶ) λατίνων· ἐκείνους | μὲν γὰρ αἱ σύνοδοι πᾶ-|σαν πλὴν α′ κ(αὶ) β′ αἱ-|ρετικούς ἀπεκάλε-|σαν κ(αὶ) τῆς τῶν ὀρ-|θοδόξων μοίρας | ἀπέσπασαν· λατί-|νους δ′ οὔ· ἀλλ′ ὁρ-|θοδόξους κ(αὶ) τῶν | ἀληθινῶν δογ-|μάτων ἀντιποι-|ουμένους· ἀπέδειξαν γε πᾶσαι αἱ | σύνοδοι in marg. L — **2.** μεταδιδώναι Z — **3.** ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν per sscr. β′ et α′ B — εἰσερχομένοι] post cor. (ex εἰσερχομένους) Z — **4.** ἁρμενίοις ACGJLMVW: ἀρμενίοι D — ante Γέγραπται scr. ἀπόκρι(σις) in marg. GW: tit. J

**[58] Ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους διαβαίνει τό, *ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.***

Ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ τοῦτο τὶς θαυμαζέτω εἰ ἐπὶ Λατίνων ἔσθ' ὅτε, ἢ αἱρετικῶν ἐφ' ὧν δήποτε, τό, ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ *εὐχόμεθα*, καὶ τό, *ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ* καὶ Πατρός, *καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, εἴη *μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν*, ὅπερ Κορινθίοις ἐπιστέλλων, ὁ μέγας Παῦλος ἐπηύξατο. Πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Ἰταλόν, ἢ πρὸς οἱονδηποτοῦν ἑτέρας ἐξημμένον αἱρέσεως, τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἥκιστα διαβαίνει, πρὸς μέντοι τοὺς τῆς εὐλογίας ἀξίους καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς, τοὺς τὰ ἡμέτερα περὶ πλείστου δηλαδὴ ποιουμένους, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπάρχοντας πίστεως. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῖς θείοις μαθηταῖς εἴρηκεν, *ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ οἰκία ἀξία, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν, ἐλθέτω ἐπ' αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἀξία, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπαναστραφήτω*. Οἰκία δ' ἂν εἴη ἐνταῦθα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος, ἡ ἑκάστου ψυχή —κατὰ τό, *ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω*—, ἥτις ἀξία μὲν οὖσα, πιστὴ δηλαδή, καὶ τῇ αἴγλῃ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀστράπτουσα, τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐνεκολπώσατο· *τῷ ὁμοίῳ* γάρ φησι, *τὸ ὅμοιον*· ἀναξίας δὲ οὔσης, πρὸς τοὺς πέμψαντας αὖθις ἡ χάρις ἐπάνεισιν.

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**[58] Tit.** ἡ χάρις-Χριστοῦ] 2 Cor. 13:13 — **2.** εὐχόμεθα] 2 Cor. 13:9 — **3-5.** ἡ χάρις - ἡμῶν] 2 Cor. 13:13 — **10-12.** ἐὰν-ἐπαναστραφήτω] Matth. 10:13 — **13-14.** ἐνοικήσω-ἐμπεριπατήσω] 2 Cor. 6:16 — **16.** τῷ-ὅμοιον] cf. Arist., *De anima*, 405b15

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**[58] Tit.** scr. ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τοὺς λατίνους διαβαίνει τὸ, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν ἰ(ησο)ῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ in marg. CDLMOVWZ: in textu A — **2.** ἐφ' ὧν] ἀφ' ὧν J — **3.** Θεοῦ] sscr. Z — **5.** ὑμῶν W — ἐπεύξατο BDJMOVZ — **7-8.** ἥκιστα-εὐχῆς] om. D — **8.** καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς] om. AL — περιπλείστου ACLZ — **9.** δηλαδὴ] om. J — ὑπάρχοντα πίστεως Z: πίστεως ὑπάρχοντας GJ — **11.** ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐλθέτω ACL — **12.** ὑμᾶς] post cor. (ex ὑμ(ῶν)) A — ἐπαναστραφήτω] ἐπιστραφήτω Z — ante οἰκία scr. ἡ GJ — ἂν] bis acc. G — **13.** ἐν οἰκήσω GWZ — ἐν] om. J — **16.** ἐνεκολπόσατο Z — δὲ] γὰρ Z

**[59] *Στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος.***

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον, ἵνα μὴ περιττότεροι δόξωμεν εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος· καὶ πλείω γάρ μοι τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐχώμεθα παραινέσεως, *στέλλεσθαι* κελεύοντος, ἤτοι χωρίζεσθαι *ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ, ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος*, ἐπεὶ καὶ *φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστά, ὁμιλίαι κακαί*. Εἰ τοίνυν τοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐκτρέπεσθαι δεῖ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς προφανῶς ἀτακτοῦντας καὶ ἐξυβρίζοντας, εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀρθῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας δογμάτων εὐγένειαν, ἐπεί τοι γε καὶ αἱ πρώην ἅγιαι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ σύνοδοι, ὡς ἤδη μοι εἴρηται, τὴν τούτων προαναπεφωνήκασιν ‖ ἀποκήρυξιν, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς σύμπας *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* τῶν ἁγίων χορός· οὐ γὰρ τὸ παρὸν μόνον κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον οἱ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῖς θείοις κανόσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξοστρακίζουσιν, ὡς οἷόν τε, τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς προμηθούμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν ἰατρῶν, φαρμάκοις πάνυ χρησιμωτάτοις, τά τ' ὄντα τὰ τ' εἰσέπειτα, τῶν νοσημάτων ἀπορραπίζοντες. ‖

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**[59] Tit.** et **3-5** Στέλλεσθαι-περιπατοῦντος] 2 Thes. 3:6 — **5.** φθείρουσιν-κακαί] 1 Cor. 15:33

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**[59] Tit.** scr. στέλλεσθαι (στέλλεσθε A) ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος in marg. BCDLMOVWZ: in textu A — **1.** ἐστοσοῦτον] εἰς τοσοῦτον J — **3.** ante Ἡμεῖς scr. τοῦ ἀποστ(ό)λ(ου) in marg. CMD — ἐχόμεθα GJ — στέλλεσθε A: στέλεσθαι W — **4.** κελεύοντος in ras. Z — **5.** ἐπεὶ] bis acc. W — **7.** ἐξ ὑβρίζοντας WZ — **7-8.** δογμάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας A — **10.** πρὸ ἀναπεφωνήκασιν GZ: post cor. (ex προαναπεφώνηκασιν) W: ἀναπεφωνήκασιν J — **13.** ὡς οἷόν τε W: ὡς όντε G — ἔχειν ἀεὶ GJ — **16.** ἀπορρατίζοντες A

M 255r **[60] Ἐπίλογος.**

Γένοιτο δέ, ὀψὲ γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἀνανῆψε, καὶ τῶν ἠσεβημένων ἀναλαβεῖν αἴσθησιν, πᾶσαν σκῆψιν χαίρειν ἐάσαντας καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, συνελθεῖν τῷ φρονήματι, καὶ μυηθῆναι καθαρῶς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ἀναμαθεῖν, ὡς ἕκαστον τῶν προσώπων τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωαρχικῆς Τριάδος, τῇ φύσει μέν, ἀφράστῳ λόγῳ, ἀδιαστάτως συνάπτονται, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ὑποστάσεως λόγον, ἀμετάβλητον φυλάττουσι τὸ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἰδίωμα· καὶ οὔτε ἡ τῶν ὑποστάσεων διάκρισις χώραν δίδωσι τῇ συγχύσει, οὔτε τὸ ἡνωμένον τῶν φύσεων μερισμόν, ἢ διαίρεσιν ἔκφυλον, παραδέχεται. Ἐκ τοίνυν τοῦ ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀγεννήτου Πατρός, ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται. Καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦμεν, τὸ πῶς· ἀλλὰ στέργομεν τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἡμῖν ὅρους ὑπὸ τῶν θεολόγων καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν. Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, ἐδίδαξεν· οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἐκήρυξαν· πατέρες, διετήρησαν· καὶ μάρτυρες, ἐβεβαίωσαν. Δοίη δὲ καὶ τούτοις καὶ πᾶσιν ὁ Κύριος, τὴν τῆς *ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν*· ἡ γὰρ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τῶν ὀρθῶς φρονούντων διάθεσις, καίπερ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀργιζομένη, τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς ὅμως οἶκτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται.

**ABCDGJLMOVWZ**

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**[60] 16.** ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν] 1 Tim. 2:4; 2 Tim. 2:25; 2 Tim. 3:7; Tit. 1:1; Heb. 10:26

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**[60] Tit.** scr. ἐπίλογος in marg. W — **1.** ἠσεβημένων BDOL — **2.** ἐάσαντας χαίρειν J — **3.** καὶ ἀποστολικῆς] om. B — τῶ] post cor. (ex τὸ) Z — **6.** ἀφράστω] ἀτρέπτω GJ — **7.** *λόγον* in ras. C — **9.** συγχύσει] συγχύει L — ἠνωμένον AZ — **10.** ἀγενήτου GW — **11.** γενᾶται GW — ἐκπορεύεται] scr. et eras. παραδέχεται et sup. lin. scr. ἐκπορεύεται C — **15.** διετήρησαν] post cor. (ex διετράνευσ(αν)) G: ἐτήρησαν J — post μάρτυρες scr. ὁμολόγησ(αν) καὶ G: ὡμολόγησαν καὶ J — **18.** ὀργιζομένη] ὀριζομένη L — ὅμως] om. GJ — post ἀποτίθεται scr. δόξα τῶ θ(ε)ῶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶν(ας) ἀμήν. G — post ἀποτίθεται scr. χ(ριστ)ὲ δίδου πόνεον τι τεήν πολῦολβον ἀρρωγὴν D — post ἀποτίθεται scr. ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμὴν J

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# APPENDIX

**Photios**, pp. 375-376

**Ἡ πρώτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Νικαίᾳ συνεκροτήθη, ὀκτὼ δὲ καὶ δέκα καὶ τριακοσίων θείων ἀρχιερέων ὁμήγυρις τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσιν ἐνεχειρίζετο. Ὧν ἦσαν προέχοντες Ἀλέξανδρός τε, ὁ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον λαχὼν διευθύνειν, ἀνὴρ βαθείᾳ μὲν πολιᾷ, παραπλησίῳ δὲ φρονήματι σεμνυνόμενος,** ... καὶ **Σίλβεστρος, καὶ Ἰούλιος, τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσημοί τε καὶ διαβόητοι πρόεδροι· αὐτῶν μὲν οὐδέτερος παραγεγονὼς, Βίτωνα δὲ καὶ Βικέντιον, ἑκάτερος ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον τῆς ἀρχιερατείας χρόνον, τῇ κοινῇ παρεῖναι συνελεύσει** προβαλλόμενοι, **ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴν τιμῶντας, καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ἀξίωμα παραγγέλλοντας·** … **Ὁ μέντοι Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτός τε παρῆν, ἱεροῖς ἐνδιαπρέπων κατορθώμασιν· ἦγε δὲ συναγωνιστὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀθανάσιον, ὃς τότε μὲν τοῦ τάγματος τῶν διακόνων ἡγεῖτο,** μετ'οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ θρόνου κατέστη διάδοχος· ναὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ κλεινὸς

*Par. gr.* **3041**, f. 131r

**Ἡ πρώτη καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία Σύνοδος τῶν τιη' θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἐν τῇ κατὰ Βιθυνίαν συνεκροτήθη Νικαίᾳ,** ἔτει δεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου, **μετὰ χρόνους τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῖς θείοις ἄντικρυς ἰσαρίθμους Πατράσιν,** ὀκτωκαίδεκα δηλαδὴ πρὸς τοίς τριακοσίοις· **ἐξῆρχον δὲ, Σίλβεστρος καὶ Ἰούλιος, τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης περιφανεῖς πρόεδροι· αὐτῶν μὲν οὐδέτερος παραγεγονώς, Βίτωνα δὲ καὶ Βικέντιον ἑκάτερος ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἱερατείας χρόνον, τῇ κοινῇ πέμψαντες παρεσομένους Συνόδῳ, Ἀλέξανδρός τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,** καὶ **Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδρείας, συναγωνιστὴν καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος Ἀθανάσιον, ὃς τηνικαῦτα τοῦ τάγματος ἡγεῖτο τῶν διακόνων, Εὐστάθιος Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων Μακάριος,** σὺν τούτοις, **Παφνούτιος, καὶ Σπυρίδων, Ἰάκωβός τε καὶ Μάξιμος·** συνῆλθον δὲ, κατὰ **Ἀρείου** τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς, **ὃς ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἕλκων τὸ γένος καὶ εἰς πρεσβυτέρου τῆς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας βαθμὸν ἀναβεβηκώς, τὸν**

*Syntagma*, p. 11

Λοιπὸν, **ἡ πρώτη καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἁγία Σύνοδος τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἐν τῇ κατὰ Βιθυνίαν συνεκροτήθη Νικαίᾳ,** ἔτει δεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, **μετὰ χρόνους τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως** εἰς οὐρανούς τε ἀναλήψεως **τοῖς θείοις ἄντικρυς ἰσαρίθμους Πατράσιν,** ὀκτωκαίδεκα δηλαδὴ πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις, ὧν **ἐξῆρχον Σίλβεστρος καὶ Ἰούλιος, τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης περιφανεῖς πρόεδροι, αὐτῶν μὲν οὐδέτερος παραγεγονὼς, Βίτωνα δὲ καὶ Βικέντιον ἑκάτερος ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἱερατείας χρόνον, τῇ κοινῇ πέμψαντες παρεσομένους Συνόδῳ· Ἀλέξανδρός τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδρείας, συναγωνιστὴν καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος Ἀθανάσιον, ὃς τηνικαῦτα τοῦ τάγματος ἡγεῖτο τῶν διακόνων· Εὐστάθιος Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων Μακάριος·** συνῆλθον δὲ κατὰ **Ἀρείου** τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς, ὃς **ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρέας ἕλκων τὸ γένος, καὶ εἰς πρεσβυτέρου τῆς ἐκεῖ Ἐκκλησίας βαθμὸν ἀναβεβηκὼς, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ**

*Refutation* **[44.1]**

Καὶ γὰρ **ἡ πρώτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ τριακοσίων θεοφόρων πατέρων, ἐν μὲν τῇ κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Νικαίᾳ, τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσιν, θεόθεν ἐνεχειρίζετο, μετὰ χρόνους ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, ἄντικρυς τοῖς θείοις ἰσαρίθμους πατράσιν. Ὧν προὔχοντες ἦσαν, Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου λαχὼν ἰθύνειν τὸν θρόνον, ἀνήρ, βαθεῖα μὲν πολιᾷ, παραπλησίῳ δὲ φρονήματι σεμνυνόμενος. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Σίλβεστρος καὶ Ἰούλιος, τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπίσημοί τε καὶ περιβόητοι πρόεδροι. Αὐτῶν μέν, οὐδ' ἕτερος παραγεγονώς, Βίτωνα δὲ καὶ Βικέντιον, ἑκάτερος ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἱερατείας χρόνον, τῇ κοινῇ πέμψαντες παρεσομένους συνόδῳ, ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴν τιμῶντας, καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀξίωμα παραγγείλαντας —ὁ μέντοι Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς τὲ παρῆν, ἱεροῖς ἐν διαπρέπων κατορθώμασι, συναγωνιστὴν καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος Ἀθανάσιον, ὃς τότε τοῦ τάγματος ἡγεῖτο τῶν διακόνων, Εὐστάθιός τε Ἀντιοχείας,**

**Εὐστάθιος** συμπαρῆν, τῆς **Ἀντιοχέων** ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἐγκαλλώπισμα, ... **καὶ ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων Μακάριος, πολλαῖς ἰδέαις ἀρετῶν ἐνευθηνούμενος·** ἄλλοι τε πλεῖστοι ἀποστολικοῖς χαρίσμασι καὶ μαρτυρικοῖς παθήμασι διαλάμποντες, ὧν **Παφνούτιος, καὶ Σπυρίδων, Ἰάκωβός τε, καὶ Μάξιμος,** ἀγαθοὺ καὶ θαυμασίου συστήματος ἀγαθοὶ καὶ θαυμάσιοι πρωτοστάσται ἐγνωρίζοντο· ... **Ἀρειόν** τινα νεωτεροποιὸν δυσσεβείας δίκας εἰσπραττομένοι, καὶ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν και θεῖον κρατύνοντες κήρυγμα. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ δείλαιος **ἔλκων μὲν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου·** εἰς κλῆρον δὲ καταλέγεις **τῆς ἐκεῖσε ἐκκλησίας**, καῖ εἰς **πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν ἀνελθὼν**, ... **τὸν γὰρ Υἱὸν καὶ Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὦ τολμηρᾶς** ἐκείνης καὶ **γλώττης** καὶ διανοίας, **εἰς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα κατεβίβαζεν** ...

**Photios**, pp. 377-378

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ δευτέρα Σύνοδος τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν φροντισμάτων τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν ἱερὸν ἐδείκνυ φροντιστήριον· εἰς πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς συνηγείρετο, ἐξάρχους ἔχουσα Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν ἀξιοθαύμαστον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων,** τοὺς ἱεραρχικοὺς

***Par. gr.* 3041**, ff. 131r-v

**Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ** νεύσει θείᾳ, συνελήλυθε **Σύνοδος**, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας **Θεοδοσίου** τοῦ μεγάλου, χρόνοις ὑστερίζουσα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πρώτης δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα. Αὕτη τοίνυν, **τὴν μὲν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐδείκνυ φροντιστήριον**, **εἰς πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς συνηγείρετο, ἐξάρχους ἔχουσα Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν ἀξιοθαύμαστον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων,** τοὺς ἱεραρχικοὺς

***Syntagma*, pp. 17-18**

Μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ **ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν**, νεύσει θείᾳ, **συνελήλυθε Σύνοδος,** τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου **Θεοδοσίου**, χρόνοις ὑστερίζουσα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πρώτης δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα· αὕτη τοίνυν, **τὴν μὲν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐδείκνυε φροντιστήριον· εἰς πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς συνηγείρετο, ἐξάρχους ἔχουσα Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν ἀξιοθαύμαστον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων,** τοὺς ἱεραρχικοὺς

***Refutation* [44.2]**

**Ἡ δέ γε δευτέρα σύνοδος,** χρόνοις ὑστερίζουσα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, **τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν φροντισμάτων, τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐδείκνυ φροντιστήριον, εἰς πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς συνηγείρετο,** πίστεως ἀτεχνῶς ἐναστράπτοντας καθαρότητι, **ἐξάρχους ἔχουσα, Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν ἀξιάγαστον**

θρόνους ἰθύνοντας· **καὶ δὴ καὶ Νεκτάριον, ὃς ἄρτι τῆς τῶν κατηχουμένων ἀγέλης ἀφορισθεὶς, καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ τὸν τοῦ βίου ῥύπον ἀποπλυνάμενος, καθαρὸς ἤδη, τὸ καθαρώτατον τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἀξίωμα περιβάλλεται,** ψήφῳ μὲν κοινῇ τῆς Συνόδου, χειροθεσίᾳ δὲ τῶν προκρίτων· **καὶ ἅμα τε τῆς βασιλευούσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τῆς Συνόδου ἐχρημάτιζε ἔξαρχος· μεθ' ὃν Γρηγόριος, ὅ,τε τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ Νύσσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐξ ἔργων ἐπώνυμος·** οἷς, **οὐ πολὺς χρόνος, καὶ Δάμασος, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης, τὰ αὐτὰ κρατύνων ἐγνωρίζετο,** σύμφωνος τοῖς προλαβοῦσι καθιστάμενος. **Οὗτος δὴ οὖν ὁ ἱερο**φάντης **χορὸς Μακεδόνιόν τινα, τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἅρπαγμα πάλαι ποιησάμενον**, ὅτι τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν ἐδυσφήμει Πνεῦμα, εὐθύνας ἐδικαίου δοῦναι· … τὸ δὲ πανάγιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν Πνεῦμα, ἅτε δὴ ὁμοφυές τε καὶ ὁμοούσιον, ἰσοσθενές τε καὶ παντοδύναμον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι καὶ συνδοξολογεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὰς πατρικὰς τε καὶ θεολογικὰς φωνὰς, ἀνεκήρυξαν, ἐκθερίσαντες τέλεον καὶ εἴ τι τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς σπορᾶς ζιζάνιον ὑπεφύετο. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἡνίας ὁ μέγας ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλης εὐφημίας **Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν ἀξιάγαστον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Νεκτάριον, ὃς ἄρτι τῆς τῶν κατηχουμένων ἀγέλης ἀφορισθεὶς, καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ τὸν τοῦ βίου ῥύπον ἀποπλυνάμενος, καθαρὸς ἤδη τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἀξίωμα περιβάλλεται, καὶ ἅμα, τῆς τε βασιλευούσης ἐπίσκοπος καὶ τῆς Συνόδου ἔξαρχος ἐχρημάτιζε· μεθ' ὧν Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ Νύσσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐξ ἔργων ἐπώνυμος,** τὸν θρόνον μὲν ἔτι διέπων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, στάσεως δὲ τινὸς γενομένης, προθυμότερον ἢ ληψόμενοι, τοῦ θρόνου τοῖς βουλομένοις παραχωρήσας, ὃς καὶ τῷ συντακτηρίῳ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καταπλήξας τὴν Σύνοδον, ‖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα Ναζιανζὸν ἐπάνεισι, καὶ ἣν ἐκ πολλοῦ ὤδινεν ἡσυχίας ἀσπάζεται. **Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὁ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης Δάμασος, τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ Συνόδῳ κρατύνων ἐδείκνυτο. Ὁ οὖν ἱερὸς οὗτος χορός,** τὸν πνευματομάχον διωσάμενοι **Μακεδόνιον**, **ὃς τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἅρπαγμα πάλαι πεποίητο,** καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀναθέματι καταδικάσαντες, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁμότιμον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ὡς Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐδογμάτισαν. Ἔτι τε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνουν Ἀπολινάριον **ἐξάρχους ἔχουσα Τιμόθεόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν ἀξιάγαστον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Νεκτάριον, ὃς ἄρτι τῆς τῶν κατηχουμένων ἀγέλης ἀφορισθεὶς, καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ τὸν τοῦ βίου ῥύπον ἀποπλυνάμενος, καθαρὸς ἤδη τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἀξίωμα περιβάλλεται· καὶ ἅμα τῆς τε βασιλευούσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τῆς Συνόδου ἔξαρχος ἐχρημάτιζε· μεθ' ὧν Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ Νύσσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐξ ἔργων ἐπώνυμος,** τὸν θρόνον μὲν ἔτι διέπων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, στάσεως δὲ γενομένης, προθυμότερον ἢ οἱ ληψόμενοι, τοῦ θρόνου τοῖς βουλομένοις παραχωρήσας, ὃς καὶ τῷ συντακτηρίῳ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καταπλήξας τὴν Σύνοδον, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα Ναζιανζὸν ἐπάνεισι, καὶ ἣν ἐκ πολλοῦ ὤδινεν ἡσυχίαν ἀσπάζεται· **οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὁ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης Δάμασος, τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ Συνόδῳ κρατύνων ἐδείκνυτο**. **Ὁ οὖν ἱερὸς οὗτος χορὸς** τὸν πνευματομάχον διωσάμενοι **Μακεδόνιον**, **ὃς τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἅρπαγμα πάλαι πεποίητο**, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀναθέματι καταδικάσαντες, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμότιμον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ὡς Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐδογμάτισαν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνουν Ἀπολινάριον **τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ‖ Μελέτιον, Κύριλλόν τε τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Νεκτάριον, ὃς ἄρτι τῆς τῶν κατηχουμένων ἀγέλης ἀφορισθεὶς, καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ, τὸν τοῦ βίου ῥύπον ἀποπλυνάμενος, καθαρὸς ἤδη τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἀξίωμα περιβάλλεται καὶ ἅμα τῆς τε βασιλευούσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τῆς συνόδου ἔξαρχος ἐχρημάτιζε. Μεθ' ὧν Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ Νύσσης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐξ ἔργων ἐπώνυμος,** ὡς εἴ τις ἥλιος ἀστέρας, τῷ κάλλει τῶν λόγων, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγωνίσμασι, πάντας ὑπεραστράπτων. **Οἷς οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ὁ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης Δάμασος** ὁ τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ζῆλον, οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, **τὰ αὐτὰ κρατύνων ἐγνωρίζετο. Ὁ ἱερὸς τοίνυν οὗτος χορός**, τὸν πνευματομάχον διωσάμενοι **Μακεδόνιον**, **ὃς τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἅρπαγμα πάλαι πεποίητο,** καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀναθέματι καταδικάσαντες, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμοούσιον, καὶ ὁμότιμον, Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, ὡς Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐδογμάτισαν. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνουν Ἀπολινάριον καταψηφισάμενοι, ἔννουν καὶ ἔμψυχον ἀνειληφέναι σάρκα τὸν Κύριον, ἐπεψήφισαν. Τὸ μέντοι κράτος τῆς βασιλείας, ὁ μέγας τηνικαῦτα περιεζωσμένος ἦν **Θεοδόσιος**, ἔτος

ἄξιος περιεζώννυτο **Θεοδόσιος**, πρόμαχος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας γνωριζόμενος. Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις μὲν καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος.

καταψηφισάμενοι, ἔννουν καὶ ἔμψυχον ἀνειληφέναι σάρκα τὸν Κύριον ἐπεψήφισαν. Κανόνας δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκδεδώκασιν ἑπτά.

καταψηφισάμενοι, ἔννουν καὶ ἔμψυχον ἀνειληφέναι σάρκα τὸν Κύριον ἐπεψήφισαν· φέρει καὶ τούτων τὸ παρὸν Σύνταγμα οὓς καὶ μόνους ἐκδεδώκασι κανόνας ἑπτά.

δεύτερον ἦν τῆς βασιλείας τῷ βασιλεῖ.

**Photios**, pp. 378-380

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ τρίτη Σύνοδος ἐν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἔφεσον συνεκροτήθη, εἰς διακοσίους δὲ ἐπληθύνετο. Ἐν οἷς ἡγεμόνες ἐγνωρίζοντο Κύριλλός τε ὁ ἐν πατράσι περιώνυμος,** ὃς δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίας πλούτον τῆς **Ἀλεξάνδρου** μεγαλοπόλεως, ἰθύνων **τὸν θρόνον**, **καὶ τοῦ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου** τὴν καθέδραν **ἀνεπλήρου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον·** μεθ' ὧν καὶ **Μέμνων ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίων** ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεπιστευμένος τοὺς οἴακας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ τῶν **Ἱεροσολύμων Ἰουβενάλιος· οἵτινες** σὺν παντὶ τῷ τῆς Συνόδου πληρώματι **τὸν** δυσσεβῆ **Νεστόριον,** ὧν ἠσέβει, **δίκας** εἰσεπράττοντο· **ὃς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιόχου**, τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντῃ, **ὁρμώμενος**, **τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐνεκεχείρηστο·** ἀλλ' ὅγε ταλαίπωρος οὗτος, ἐκ τῶν Διοδώρου καὶ Θεοδώρου θολερῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐκροφήσας ναμάτων, καὶ εἰς φρενῶν μέθην ἐμπεσών, ἀπηχεῖς καὶ ἐκτόπους φωνὰς, ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ ποιμνίου, πολλῶν ἀκοαῖς ἀναπηρεύξατο· Χριστὸν γὰρ, τὸν

***Par. gr.* 3041**, f. 131v

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ τρίτη Σύνοδος,** τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ νέου **Θεοδοσίου συνεκροτήθη, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀσίαν Ἐφέσῳ, εἰς διακοσίους πληθυνομένη,** ἑνὸς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας μέχρι ταύτης ἐκμετρηθέντων· **ἐν ᾗ ἡγεμόνες ἐγνωρίζοντο ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας περιώνυμος ἐν πατράσι Κύριλλος, καὶ** ὁ **τοῦ τῆς** πρεσβυτέρας **Ῥώμης τὸ πρόσωπον πληρῶν καὶ τὸν θρόνον Κελεστῖνος**, **Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων**, καὶ **ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίων** πρόεδρος **Μέμνων**. **Οἵτινες, τὸν** ἐναγῆ **Νεστόριον**, **ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας** μὲν **ὁρμώμενον**, **τὸν δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου θρόνον οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐγκεχειρισμένον, δίκας** τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπήτουν· ἀνθ' ὧν **τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς δύο υἱοὺς τέμνειν οὐ πεφρικὼς**, **τὸν μὲν, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου χωρίς, τὸν δέ, Θεὸν ἀνὰ μέρος, καὶ γυμνὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος, ὁ ἀνόητος ἔπλαττεν·** ἑνωθέντα δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν ἐκείνῳ. Καὶ ὥσπερ τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν

***Syntagma***, pp. 19-20

Ἦγε μὴν **ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ τρίτη Σύνοδος,** ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ νέου **Θεοδοσίου**, **ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀσίαν συνεκροτήθη Ἐφέσῳ, εἰς διακοσίους πληθυνομένη**, ἑνὸς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας μέχρι ταύτης ἐκμετρηθέντων· **ἐν οἷς ἡγεμόνες ἐγνωρίζοντο ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας περιώνυμος ἐν Πατράσι Κύριλλος**, καὶ **τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πληρῶν καὶ τὸν θρόνον,** Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ **ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πρόεδρος Μέμνων· οἵτινες, τὸν** ἐναγῆ **Νεστόριον ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας** μὲν **ὁρμώμενον, τὸν δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου θρόνον οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐγκεχειρισμένον,** δίκας τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπήτουν, ἀνθ' ὧν **τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς δύο υἱοὺς τέμνειν οὐ πεφρικὼς, τὸν μὲν, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ προσλαβόντος λόγου χωρὶς, τὸν δὲ, Θεὸν ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ γυμνὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος ὁ ἀνόητος ἔπλαττεν,** ἑνωθέντα δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ ὥσπερ τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν

***Refutation* [44.3]**

**Ἡ** δ' αὖ **τρίτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος**, ἑνὸς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν παρεληλυθότων, **ἐν μὲν τῇ κατὰ Ἀσίαν, συνεκροτήθη Ἐφέσῳ, εἰς διακοσίους δὲ ἐπληθύνετο**, ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ νέου **Θεοδοσίου**. **Ἐν οἷς ἡγεμόνες ἐγνωρίζοντο, ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας περιώνυμος ἐν πατράσι Κύριλλος**, ὃς **καὶ τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπλήρου καὶ τὸν θρόνον**, **Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων**, καὶ **ὁ πρόεδρος τῆς Ἐφεσίων Μέμνων**. **Οἵτινες τὸν** ἐναγῆ **Νεστόριον ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας** μὲν **ὁρμώμενον**, **τὸν δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐγκεχειρισμένον**, **δίκας** τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπήτουν. Ἀνθ' ὧν **τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, εἰς δύο Υἱοὺς τέμνειν οὐ πεφρικώς, τὸν μέν, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου χωρίς, τὸν δέ, Θεὸν ἀνὰ μέρος, καὶ γυμνὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος, ὁ ἀνόητος ἔπλαττεν,** ἑνωθέντα δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν ἐκείνῳ. Καὶ ὥσπερ τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν

ἕναν Θεοῦ Υἱὸν, τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν … εἷς ἐκ δύο ἐχρημάτισε τῶν ἐναντίων, Θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ ἄνθρωπος, εἷς Χριστὸς, εἷς Υἱὸς … ἓν πρόσωπον, μία ὑπόστασις· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἕνα **Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς δύο τέμνειν** καὶ διαιρεῖν **ὑποστάσεις** ὁ τρισάθλιος ἐκεῖνος **οὐ πεφρικὼς**, **τὸν μὲν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου, κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ἔπλαττε· τὸν δὲ Θεὸν ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ γυμνὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος**· ὥσπερ δεδοικὼς **ὁ ἀνόητος** … τὴν πανάχραντον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀειπάρθενον μητέρα **κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνευφημεῖσθαι Θεοτόκον** παραδεδώκασιν· … Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν καὶ αὕτη [Σύνοδος] τὸ τέλος ἔσχηκεν, ἡνίκα τὸν νέον **Θεοδόσιον** ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ πολιτεία γαληνοῖς ἑώρα ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν πατρῴαν καὶ βασίλειον ἀρχὴν ἐκ τριγονίας διανύοντα.

ἀπεστέρει τῆς θεότητος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν **κυρίως Θεοτόκον**, τῆς Θεοτόκου κλήσεως. Ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν θείων Πατέρων Σύνοδος, σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγον λαμπρῶς ἐδογμάτισεν, ἕνα τε Υἱὸν μετὰ τοῦ προσλήμματος ἐν δυσὶ μὲν φύσεσι, μιᾷ δὲ γνωριζόμενον ὑποστάσει, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τὸ τέλειον ἔχοντα, ἐκ περιουσίας περιγενόμενον τῆς συγχύσεως. Τὴν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀσπόρως καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τεκοῦσαν ἀειπάρθενον Κόρην, **ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως ἀπεφήνατο Θεοτόκον**, τὸν ληρώδη Νεστόριον, αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασι, τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμψασα. Συντάττουσι δὲ καὶ οἵ δε κανόνας ὀκτώ.

ἀπεστέρει τῆς θεότητος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν **κυρίως θεοτόκον**, τῆς θεοτόκου κλήσεως· ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν θείων Πατέρων Σύνοδος, σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγον λαμπρῶς ἐδογμάτισε, ἕνα τε εἶναι Υἱὸν μετὰ τοῦ προσλήμματος, ἐν δυσὶ μὲν φύσεσι, μιᾷ δὲ γνωριζόμενον ὑποστάσει· ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τὸ τέλειον ἔχοντα, ἐκ περιουσίας περιγενόμενον τῆς συγχύσεως· τὴν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀσπόρως καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τεκοῦσαν ἀειπάρθενον κόρην, **ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως ἀπεφήνατο Θεοτόκον,** τὸν ληρώδη Νεστόριον, αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασι, τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμψασα· συντάττουσι δὲ καὶ οἵ δε κανόνας ὀκτώ.

ἀπεστέρει τῆς θεότητος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν **κυρίως Θεοτόκον**, τῆς Θεοτόκου κλήσεως. Ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν θείων πατέρων σύνοδος, σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι, τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγον λαμπρῶς ἐδογμάτισεν, ἕνα τὲ εἶναι Υἱὸν μετὰ τοῦ προσλήμματος, ἐν δυσὶ μὲν φύσεσι, μιᾷ δὲ γνωριζόμενον ὑποστάσει, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ‖ Θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, τὸ τέλειον ἔχοντα, ἐκ περιουσίας περιγενόμενον τῆς συγχύσεως, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀσπόρως καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τεκοῦσαν ἀειπάρθενον Κόρην, **ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως, ἀπεφήνατο Θεοτόκον,** τὸν ληρώδη Νεστόριον, τοῦ ἀναθέματος ἀξιώσασα.

**Photios**, pp. 380-381

***Par. gr.* 3041**, ff. 131v-132r

***Syntagma***, pp. 20-21

***Refutation* [44.4]**

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ τετάρτη Σύνοδος,** τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσι εὐσεβέστατον **Μαρκιανὸν** συμπαρόντα καὶ συμπνέοντα ἔχουσα, τῶν ἀληθινῶν μὲν δογμάτων ἀκροατήριον ἀφιέρου τὴν **Χαλκηδόνα, πόλιν Βιθυνίας** οὖσαν ἐπίσημον, **ἐν τριάκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑξακοσίοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξετείνετο· ἧς**

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ τετάρτη Σύνοδος**, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας **Μαρκιανοῦ** τοῦ χρηστοῦ, ἐν τῇ περιωνύμῳ **πόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας** ἠθροίζετο **Χαλκηδόνι**, πρὶν χρόνους ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἐξήκειν τριάκοντα, **εἰς τριάκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξετείνετο.** Λογάδες δὲ αὐτῆς

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὶν χρόνους ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἐξήκειν τριάκοντα. **ἡ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ τετάρτη Σύνοδος**, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας **Μαρκιανοῦ** τοῦ χρηστοῦ ἐν τῇ περιωνύμῳ **πόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας** ἠθροίζετο **Χαλκηδόνι**, **εἰς τριάκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξετείνετο**· **ἧς λογάδες**

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὶν χρόνους ἐξήκειν τριάκοντα, **ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ τετάρτη σύνοδος,** τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας **Μαρκιανοῦ** τοῦ χρηστοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν περιώνυμον **πόλιν τῆς Βιθυνίας** ἠθροίζετο **Χαλκηδόνα, εἰς τριάκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξετείνετο. Ἧς λογάδες ἐγνωρίζοντο, Ἀνατόλιος**

**λογάδες ἐχρημάτιζον Ἀνατόλιός** τε ὁ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως τοὺς ἱερατικοὺς θεσμοὺς ἐγκεχειρισμένος, **καὶ δὴ Πασχασῖνός τε καὶ Λουκίνσιος, ἐπισκοπικῷ διαπρέποντες ἀξιώματι, σὺν Βονιφατίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντες Λέοντος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα Ῥώμης, οὗ κλέος μέγα, καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῆλος· μεθ' ὧν Μάξιμός τε ὁ Ἀντιοχείας,** καὶ **ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων Ἰουβενάλιος· οἵτινες τὸν Εὐτυχῆ** τε τὸν δυστυχῆ **καὶ τὸν προασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ** καὶ ἀλαζόνα **Διόσκορον**, **τὸν** ποτὲ **Ἀλεξανδρείας**, δυσσεβημάτων εἰσπράξεις ἀπήτησαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὴν ἐκ διαμέτρου Νεστορίῳ πλάνην οἰκειωσάμενοι εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐκείνῳ ἐξέπεσαν ἀθλιότητα· **τὸν** γὰρ **ἕνα Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν** ἐκ θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος **γνωριζόμενον**, καὶ ἐν ταύταις **ταῖς δυσὶ** προσκυνούμενον **φύσεσιν**, **εἰς μίαν** τολμηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως **ἀνεκίρνων καὶ συνέχεον φύσιν** …

**Photios**, pp. 382-383

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ πέμπτη Σύνοδος, τέμενος μὲν αὐτῇ ἱερὸν ἡ Κωνσταντίνου μεγαλόπολις ἀφιέρωτο· πέντε δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρων Πατέρων** παρουσίᾳ καὶ **συνδρομῇ ἐκρατύνετο· ὧν ἡγοῦντο** καὶ

ἐγνωρίζοντο, **Ἀνατόλιος** Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Μάξιμος Ἀντιοχείας, **Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ δὴ, Πασχασῖνος τε καὶ Λουκίνσιος ἐπίσκοποι σὺν Βονιφατίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντες Λέοντος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, οὗ μέγα τὸ κλέος, καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῆλος,** ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀποστόλοις οἰκείοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θαυμασίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ἐπεκύρου τὴν Σύνοδον, ἣν καὶ στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας οἱ Πατέρες προσηγο‖ρεύκασιν. **Οἵτινες τὸν** ἀρχιμανδρίτην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως **Εὐτυχῆ, καὶ τὸν προασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ Διόσκορον Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς μίαν φύσιν ἀνακιρνῶντας τε καὶ συγχέοντας τὸν** ἐν **δυσὶ φύσεσι γνωριζόμενον ἕνα Χριστὸν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν** καὶ Θεόν, φεύγοντας δῆθεν τὴν τοῦ Νεστορίου διαίρεσιν, ἀσεβείας ἕνεκα, τῷ ἀναθέματι κατεδί-κασαν. Κανόνας δὲ καὶ οὗτοι δωροῦνται τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, τριάκοντα.

*Par. gr.* **3041**, f. 132r

**Τῇ δέ ἁγίᾳ γε καὶ Οἰκουμενικῇ πέμπτῃ Συνόδῳ,** κανόνων οὐδαμῶς ἐμέλησεν, ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυποβαλεῖν, **Νεστόριον**, Θεόδωρον, καὶ Διόδωρον τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς περὶ **Ὠριγένην, Διδύμους τε καὶ Εὐαγρίους τοὺς τὴν**

**ἐγνωρίζοντο Ἀνατόλιος** Κωνσταντινουπόλεως**, Μάξιμος Ἀντιοχείας, Ἰουβενάλιος Ἱεροσολύμων· καὶ δὴ, Πασχασῖνός τε καὶ Λουκίνσιος ἐπίσκοποι, σὺν Βονιφατίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντες Λέοντος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, οὗ μέγα τὸ κλέος, καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῆλος·** ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀποστόλοις οἰκείοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θαυμασίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ἐπεκύρου τὰ τῆς Συνόδου, ἣν καὶ στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας οἱ Πατέρες προσηγορεύκασιν· **οἵτινες τὸν** ἀρχιμανδρίτην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως **Εὐτυχῆ, καὶ τὸν προασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ Διόσκορον Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς μίαν φύσιν ἀνακιρνώντάς τε καὶ συγχέοντας τὸν ἐν δυσὶ φύσεσι γνωριζόμενον ἕνα Χριστὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν,** φεύγοντας δῆθεν τὴν τοῦ Νεστορίου διαίρεσιν, ἀσεβείας ἕνεκα, τῷ ἀναθέματι κατεδίκασαν· κανόνας οὗτοι δωροῦνται τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τριάκοντα.

*Syntagma*, pp. 21-22

**Τῇ δέ γε πέμπτῃ καὶ Οἰκουμενικῇ Συνόδῳ**, κανὼν οὐδοτιοῦν ἐμέλησεν, ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυποβαλεῖν τοὺς περὶ **Ὠριγένην, Διδύμους τε καὶ Εὐαγρίους, τοὺς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μυθολογίαν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ**

*Refutation* **[44.5]**

**Ἰουστινιανοῦ** δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα διέποντος, ὁ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στύλος, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φερωνύμως Ἀγαπητὸς πάπας Ῥώμης, καταλαβὼν τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐντυχών, πρῶτον μὲν, τὰ περὶ τῆς

προέλαμπον **Μηνᾶς μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἶτα** δὲ καὶ **Εὐτύχιος, τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλίδος ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς πηδαλιουχήσαντες οἴακας·** καὶ **Βιγίλιος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης** τὴν ἱερὰν λαχὼν ἐφορείαν, **παρὼν μὲν τῇ πόλει, οὐ παρὼν δὲ τῇ Συνόδῳ·** ὅς εἰ καὶ μὴ πρόθυμος εἰς τὴν συνδρομὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁμηγύρεως κατέστη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔλαττον **ὅμως τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Πατέρων πίστιν ἐπεκύρου λιβέλλῳ**. Σὺν οἷς **Ἀπολλινάριός τε ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Δόμνος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας, τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ ἀξιώματι κεκοσμημένοι· καὶ δὴ καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Εὐάγριος, Εὐστοχίου, τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀρχιερέως ἀναπληροῦντες·** τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ **Ἰουστινιανὸς** ὁ κράτιστος ἐν βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς τὰς φροντίδας ἐνεχειρίζετο, καὶ τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ συνεφώνει φρονήματι. Αὕτη τοιγαροῦν ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος Νεστορίου πάλιν **τὰ μιαρὰ** παραφυόμενα **δόγματα** εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξεθέρισεν, ... Ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατεδίκασε καὶ ἀναθεμάτισεν **Ὠριγένην, Δίδυμον, Εὐάγριον,** παλαιὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἀρρωστήματα, ἄνδρας **τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μυθολογίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεισενεγκεῖν φιλονεικήσαντας. Προϋπάρχειν** τε γὰρ οὗτοι **τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων ἐληρῴδουν, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τὴν αὐτὴν μετενδύεσθαι·** δόγμα μιαρὸν καὶ κατάπτυστον, καὶ **Ἑλληνικὴν μυθολογίαν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ φιλονικήσαντας παρεισενεγκεῖν· προϋπάρξιν γὰρ ἐληρῴδουν τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τὴν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν μετενδύσασθαι, καὶ τέλος εἶναι τῆς ἀτελευτήτου κολάσεως.** Ἤθροιστο δὲ, τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας **Ἰουστινιανοῦ** τοῦ μεγάλου, ὑστερίζουσα τῆς πρὸς αὐτῆς τετάρτης, χρόνους δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. **Καὶ τέμενος μὲν ὥσπερ ἱερὸν ἑαυτῇ τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἵδρυτο, πέντε δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρων Πατέρων συνδρομῇ ἐκρατύνετο· ὧν ἡγοῦντο, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν, Μηνᾶς, εἶτα Εὐτύχιος, ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς τῆς βασιλευούσης ἰθύνοντες οἴακας, Ἀπολινάριος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δόμνος Ἀντιοχείας, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Εὐάγριος, τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες Εὐστοχίου, τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων· ὁ** δέ γε **Ῥώμης Βιγίλλιος, παρὼν μὲν τηνικαῦτα τῇ πόλει, οὐ παρὼν δὲ τῇ Συνόδῳ, τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Πατέρων πίστιν λιβέλλῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεκύρου.** **φιλονεικήσαντας παρεισενεγκεῖν· προϋπάρξιν γὰρ ἐληρῴδουν ψυχῶν, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τὴν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν μετεν-δύεσθαι, καὶ τέλος εἶναι τῆς ἀτελευτήτου κολάσεως·** ἤθροιστο δὲ τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας **Ἰουστινιανοῦ** τοῦ μεγάλου, ὑστερίζουσα τῆς πρὸς αὐτῆς τετάρτης χρόνοις δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν· **καὶ τέμενος μὲν ὥσπερ ἱερὸν ἑαυτῇ τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἵδρυτο, πέντε δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρων Πατέρων συνδρομῇ ἐκρατύνετο· ὧν ἡγοῦντο τὰ πρῶτα μὲν Μηνᾶς, εἶτα Εὐτύχιος, ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς τῆς βασιλευούσης ἰθύνοντες οἴακας, Ἀπολινάριος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δόμνος Ἀντιοχείας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Δίδυμος, καὶ Εὐάγριος, Εὐστοχίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες· ὁ δέ γε Ῥώμης Βιγίλιος, παρὼν μὲν τηνικαῦτα τῇ πόλει, οὐ παρὼν δὲ τῇ Συνόδῳ, τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Πατέρων πίστιν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπεκύρου λιβέλλῳ.** ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως διαλέγεται, ... Γνώμῃ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, τῆς συνόδου τὲ πάσης, ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ Ἀγαπητὸς, Μηνᾶν τὸν ἁγιώτατον, ἀρχιερέα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου χειροτονεῖ. Ὃς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἐξῆρχε συνόδου, τοῦ Ἀγαπητοῦ μάλιστα τῆς εὐαγοῦς ὑ-‖παρξαμένου ταυτησὶ πράξεως. **Καὶ τέμενος** μὲν ὥσπερ **ἱερὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἑαυτῇ, τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἵδρυτο, πέντε δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρων πατέρων συνδρομῇ ἐκρατύνετο,** ἔτει μὲν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας, δύο δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπό γε τῆς τετάρτης ἐκμετρουμένων συνόδου. Ἀτὰρ ἡγεμόνες καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς πέμπτης ἐδείκνυντο, **τὰ πρῶτα μὲν Μηνᾶς, εἶτα Εὐτύχιος, ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῆς βασιλευούσης τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς ἰθύναντες οἴακας, Ἀπολινάριος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δόμνος Ἀντιοχείας, πρὸς δέ, καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Εὐάγριος, Εὐστοχίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες. Ὁ δέ γε Ῥώμης Βιγίλλιος, παρὼν μὲν τηνικαῦτα τῇ πόλει, οὐ παρὼν δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ, τὴν κοινὴν τῶν πατέρων πίστιν, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπεκύρου λιβέλλῳ.** Οὗτοι τοίνυν, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἕτερα **μιαρὰ δόγματα** εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξεθέρισαν. Πρὸς δέ, καὶ ἀναθέματι, τοὺς περὶ **Ὠριγένην κατεδίκασαν, Διδύμους τὲ**

μόνων ὡς ἀληθως ἐκείνων τῶν ψυχῶν ἄξιον. **Καὶ τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀτελευτήτου κολάσεως ἐψηφίζοντο,** ἄλλη τοῦτο παράκλησις πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἀπώλειαν. ...

**Photios**, pp. 383-385

**Ἥ δε ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι μὲν τῶν πόλεων** καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν μυστικῶν τῆς ἀληθείας θεαμάτων **ἱερὸν ἐπήγνυτο θέατρον· ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόροις ἀνδράσι τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑποδυομένη, λαμπρῶς νικῶσαν ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ταύτης ἀρχηγοὶ** καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προνομεύειν ἐκρίνοντο ἄξιοι, **Γεώργιός τε, ᾧ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως** ὁ ἀρχιερατικὸς θεσμὸς ὑπῆρχεν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, καὶ **Θεόδωρος, καὶ Γεώργιος, ἐν πρεσβυτέρων ἀξιώματι κατειλεγμένοι, ἅμα διακόνῳ Ἰωάννῃ, οἳ ἀντὶ Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης,** εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐξάρχων τάξιν ἠριθμοῦντο, καὶ τοῦ **τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγαλοπόλεως θρόνου Πέτρος μοναχὸς τὸν τόπον ἀνεπλήρου·** μεθ' ὧν καὶ **Γεώργιος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος εἰς τὸν βαθμὸν τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων** παρήγγελλε

***Par. gr.* 3041**, ff. 131v-132r

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ **τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ Οἰκουμενικῇ ἕκτῃ Συνόδῳ** προὔργου εἶναι νενόμισται κανόνας συγγράφειν, ἑτέροις ἐχούσῃ τὸν νοῦν. Ἥτις χρόνοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἑνὸς δέοντος, κατόπιν ἐλθοῦσα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς, **τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ αὕτη πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐπήξατο θέατρον· ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρους ἄνδρας ἀποδυσαμένους πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα σχοῦσα, λαμπρῶς νικῶσαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀπεδείκνυ,** ἔτει τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας **Κωνσταντίνου** τοῦ λεγομένου Πωγωνάτου. **Ταύτης ἀρχηγοὶ** ἐγνωρίζοντο, **Γεώργιός τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Γεώργιος πρεσβύτεροι ἅμα Ἰωάννῃ διακόνῳ, τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα Ῥώμης· τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Πέτρος μοναχὸς ἐξεπλήρου τὸν τόπον, Γεώργιος δὲ** ἱερομόναχος, **τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων· οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς περὶ Σέργιον, Πύρρον, Παῦλον, Πέτρον, τοὺς**

***Syntagma*,** pp. 22-23

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ **τῇ** κυρίως **ἕκτῃ** προὔργου εἶναι νενόμισται κανόνας συγγράφειν, ἑτέροις ἐχούσῃ τὸν νοῦν· ἥτις χρόνοις ἑνὸς δέοντος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν κατόπιν τῆς προγεγονυίας ἐλθοῦσα, **τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ αὕτη πόλιν ἱερὸν ἐπήξατο θέατρον· ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν θεοφόρους ἄνδρας ἀποδυσαμένους σχοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, λαμπρῶς νικῶσαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπεδείκνυ** ἔτει τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας **Κωνσταντίνου** τοῦ λεγομένου Πωγωνάτου· **ταύτης ἀρχηγοὶ** ἐγνωρίζοντο **Γεώργιός τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Γεώργιος πρεσβύτεροι, ἅμα Ἰωάννῃ διακόνῳ τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα Ῥώμης· τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας Πέτρος μοναχὸς ἐξεπλήρου τὸν τόπον· Γεώργιος δὲ μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος, τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων· οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς περὶ Σέργιον, Πύρρον, Παῦλον, Πέτρον, τοὺς**

***Refutation* [44.6]**

**Ἥ γε μὴν ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος,** χρόνοις ἑνὸς δεόντος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, κατόπιν τῆς προγεγονυίας ἐλθοῦσα, **τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ αὕτη πόλιν, ἱερὸν ἐπήξατο θέατρον, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἀποδυομένους σχοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, λαμπρῶς νικῶσαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀπεδείκνυ,** ἔτει τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας **Κωνσταντίνου** τοῦ λεγομένου Πωγωνάτου. **Ταύτης ἀρχηγοὶ** ἐγνωρίζοντο, **Γεώργιός τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Γεώργιος, πρεσβύτεροι ἅμα Ἰωάννῃ διακόνῳ, τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Πέτρος μοναχὸς ἐξεπλήρου τὸν τόπον, Γεώργιος δὲ μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος, τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων. Οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς περὶ Σέργιον, Πύρρον, Παῦλον, Πέτρον, τοὺς δυσσεβῶς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως**

καθέδρας· **οὗτοι δὴ, σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς καὶ ἁγίοις πατράσι, Σέργιον, Πύρρον, Παῦλον, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατάρξαντας**, καὶ **Ὀνώριον τὸν Ῥώμης, Κῦρόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν τῆς Φαρὰν,** τὴν ἀλληλόπλοκον τοῦ ψεύδους σειρὰν διαρρήξαντας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ **Μακάριον τὸν Ἀντιοχείας**, ἅμα **Στεφάνῳ** τῆς αἱρέσεως μαθητῇ, σὺν γέροντί τινι ἀθλίῳ τοὔνομα **Πολυχρονίῳ** ἐπιπλακέντας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δυσσεβείας ὑπερμαχεῖν μελετήσαντας, ὑπὸ δικαίαν καταδίκην ἐποιήσαντο, **ὅτι μίαν θέλησιν καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ,** τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἐκ δύο πεφυκότος φύσεων, δυσσεβεῖ καὶ ἀλόγῳ φρονήματι ἐτόλμησαν **ἀποφήνασθαι**. ... **Δύο δὲ θελήσεις φυσικὰς, καὶ δύο ἐνεργείας** ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων ἱερολογήσας ὁ σύλλογος, ... **Κωνσταντῖνος** δὲ τινικαῦτα, ὁ ἀπόγονος Ἡρακλείου, τὸν προγονικὸν τῆς βασιλείας κλῆρον ἐχρημάτιζεν ἀναδεδεγμένος, ...

**δυσσεβῶς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προεδρεύσαντας,** ἔτι δὲ **καὶ Ὀνώριον Ῥώμης, Κύρον Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μακάριον Ἀντιοχείας, Θεόδωρον τῆς Φαρὰν, Στέφανον καὶ Πολυχρόνιον, τῇ τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλον δίκῃ·** ἀνθ' ὧν **ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν** καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν, **τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐδογμάτιζον ἔχειν·** οἱ δὲ τῆς Συνόδου, **δύο θελήματα φυσικὰ καὶ δύο ἐνεργείας** ὁμοίας ἔχειν μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀπεφήναντο καὶ ἐκύρωσαν, οὐκ ἐν διαιρέσει προσώπων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδεμία φύσις ‖ τῶν δύο ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ φύσεων ἀθέλητος ἦν ἢ ἀνενέργητος, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τούτων ἑκάστου φύσεως ἀναιρουμένων, τῆς ἐνεργείας λέγω καὶ τῆς θελήσεως, καὶ αἱ φύσεις, ὧν αὗται ἰδιώματά εἰσι, συναναιρεῖσθαι δοκῶσιν.

**δυσσεβῶς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προεδρεύσαντας,** ἔτι δὲ **καὶ Ὀνώριον Ῥώμης, Κῦρον Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μακάριον Ἀντιοχείας, Θεόδωρον τῆς Φαρὰν, Στέφανον καὶ Πολυχρόνιον, τῇ τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλον δίκῃ·** ἀνθ' ὧν **ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν** καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν **τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐδογμάτιζον ἔχειν·** οἱ δὲ τῆς Συνόδου, **δύο θελήματα φυσικὰ, καὶ δύο ἐνεργείας** ὁμοίως ἔχειν μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀπεφήναντο καὶ ἐκύρωσαν, οὐκ ἐν διαιρέσει προσώπων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδεμία φύσις τῶν δύο ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ φύσεων ἀθέλητος ἦν, ἢ ἀνενέργητος· ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τούτων ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀναιρουμένων, τῆς ἐνεργείας, λέγω, καὶ τῆς θελήσεως, καὶ αἱ φύσεις, ὧν αὗταί εἰσιν ἰδιώματα, συναναιρεῖσθαι δοκῶσιν.

**προεδρεύσαντας**, ἔτι δὲ **καὶ Ὀνώριον Ῥώμης, Κύρον Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μακάριον Ἀντιοχείας, Θεόδωρον τῆς Φαράν, Στέφανον καὶ Πολυχρόνιον, τῇ τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλον δίκῃ**. Ἀνθ' ὧν **ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν**, καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν **τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐδογμάτιζον ἔχειν**. Οἱ δὲ τῆς συνόδου, **δύο θελήματα φυσικά, καὶ δύο ἐνεργείας** ‖ ὁμοίας ἔχειν μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀπεφήναντο καὶ ἐκύρωσαν, οὐκ ἐν διαιρέσει προσώπων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ μία φύσις τῶν δύο ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ φύσεων, ἀθέλητος ἦν ἢ ἀνενέργητος, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τούτων ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀναιρουμένων —τῆς ἐνεργείας λέγω καὶ τῆς θελήσεως—, καὶ αἱ φύσεις ὧν εἰσιν ἰδιώματα, συναναιρεῖσθαι δοκῶσιν.

**Photios**, pp. 385-388

***Par. gr.* 3041**, f. 132r

***Syntagma***, pp. 24-25

***Refutation* [44.7]**

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἑβδόμη Σύνοδος, Νίκαιαν μὲν τῶν Βιθυνῶν μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, καὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων δικαστήριον**

**Ἡ δὲ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἑβδόμη Σύνοδος, Νίκαιαν μὲν καὶ αὕτη τὴν τῶν Βιθυνῶν μητρόπολιν** ὥς γε καὶ ἡ πρώτη, κριτήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας δείκνυσι,

Χρόνων δὲ παρερρυηκότων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, ὀγδόου δὲ ἱσταμένου τοῦ **Κωνσταντίνου** τῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ **Εἰρήνης**, **Νίκαιαν μὲν τὴν**

**Ἡ μέντοι ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἑβδόμη σύνοδος,** χρόνων μὲν παρερρυηκότων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὀγδόου δὲ ἱσταμένου τοῦ **Κωνσταντίνου** τῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ τῆς

**πάλαι γεγονυῖαν**, καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς εὐσεβείας κριτήριον ἔδειξεν, **ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ πλήθει πλατυνομένη, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πρωτοστάτας τῆς ἱερᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ μεγάλης φάλαγγος προβαλλομένη, Ταράσιόν τε τὸν ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι Θεοῦ περιβόητον** ... καὶ δὴ καὶ **Πέτρον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον πρωτοπρεσβύτερον τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας· καὶ Πέτρον ἄλλον, πρεσβύτερον καὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε μονῆς ἡγούμενον τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα, οἳ τῆς** ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας **διεκληροῦντο τὸν τόπον, Ἀδριανοῦ** τότε τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν κοσμοῦντος ἀξίωμα· ἅμα δὲ τούτοις **Ἰωάννην καὶ Θωμᾶν**, ἄνδρας μοναδικῇ πολιτείᾳ περιωνύμους, καὶ ἱερατικῇ τιμῇ **διαλάμποντας** ... **λέγω δὴ Ἀπολλιναρίου τε, καὶ Θεοδωρήτου, καὶ Ἠλία ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς Ἱεροσολύμων,** ἱεροπρεπῶς τε καὶ πανσόφως **προειστήκεισαν**. Τότε **Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Εἰρήνη**, ὀρθοδοξίας στεφάνῳ κοσμούμενοι, καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς πορφυρίδα ἐστολίζοντο. ... ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ διακρίνασα σύνοδος, **δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλε·**

χρόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν παρερρυηκότων, μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην, ὀγδόου τε ἱσταμένου τῇ βασιλείᾳ, τοῦ **Κωνσταντίνου** καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς **Εἰρήνης**, **εἰς ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς ἐπληθύνετο, ταξιάρχας τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης φάλαγγος προβαλλομένη, Ταράσιον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν ἐν ἱερεῦσι Θεοῦ περιβόητον, Πέτρον τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων τάγματος πρῶτον, καὶ ἕτερον Πέτρον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα μονῆς, τὸν τόπον Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Πάπα Ῥώμης κληρωσαμένων, Ἰωάννην τὲ καὶ Θωμᾶν πρεσβυτέρους** καὶ ἐν ἀσκηταῖς **λάμποντας, τῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς πατριαρχῶν τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντας, λέγω δὴ Ἀπολιναρίου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Θεοδωρήτου Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἠλία Ἱεροσολύμων.** Αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος, τοὺς εἰδωλα τὰς προσκυνητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας, ὢ μιαρᾶς γλώττης ἀποκαλοῦντας, δι' ὧν, εἰδώλων πλάνη διώκεται, κοινῇ ψήφῳ, **δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοῦ ἀναθέματος ὑποβάλλουσι**, καὶ κανόνας δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πιστῶν ὠφέλειαν συντιθέασιν· ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ ἐννενηκοστοῦ ἕκτου, τηνικαῦτα διϊππεύοντος ἔτους.

**τῶν Βιθυνῶν μητρόπολιν** κριτήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ **ἡ ἑβδόμη Σύνοδος** δείκνυσιν, ὥς γε δὴ καὶ ἡ πρώτη Σύνοδος πάλαι. **Εἰς ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἱεροὺς ἐπληθύνετο, ταξιάρχας τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης φάλαγγος προβαλλομένη Ταράσιον Κων-σταντινουπόλεως, τὸν ἐν ἱερεῦσι Θεοῦ περιβόητον, Πέτρον τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων τάγματος πρῶτον, καὶ ἕτερον Πέτρον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα μονῆς, τὸν τόπον Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Πάπα Ῥώμης κληρωσαμένους, Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Θωμᾶν πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ καλὸν ἐν ἀσκηταῖς λάμποντας, τῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς πατριαρχῶν τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντας, λέγω δὴ, Ἀπολιναρίου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Θεοδωρήτου Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἠλία Ἱεροσολύμων.** Αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος, τοὺς εἴδωλα τὰς προσκυνητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας, ὢ μιαρᾶς γλώττης, ἀποκαλοῦντας, δι' ὧν εἰδώλων πλάνη διώκεται, κοινῇ ψήφῳ, **δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοῦ ἀναθέματος ὑποβάλλουσι**· καὶ κανόνας δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πιστῶν ὠφέλειαν συντιθέασιν, ἑξάκις χιλιοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ ἐννενηκοστοῦ ἕκτου τηνι-καῦτα διϊππεύοντος ἔτους.

μητρὸς αὐτοῦ **Εἰρήνης**, **Νίκαιαν τὴν τῶν Βιθυνῶν μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων δικαστήριον πάλαι γεγονυῖαν, καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς εὐσεβείας κριτήριον ἔδειξεν, ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν πλήθει πλατυνομένη, ταξιάρχας δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς φάλαγγος προβαλλομένη, Ταράσιόν τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὸν ἐν ἱερεῦσι Θεοῦ περιβόητον,** καὶ δὴ **καὶ Πέτρον τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων ἡγούμενον τάγματος τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας, καὶ Πέτρον ἄλλον πρεσβύτερον, ἡγούμενον τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα μονῆς, τὸν τόπον Ἀνδριανοῦ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης κληρωσαμένους, Ἰωάννην τὲ καὶ Θωμᾶν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ καλὸν ἐν ἀσκηταῖς λάμποντας τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς πατριαρχῶν τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντας, λέγω δὴ, Ἀπολιναρίου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Θεοδωρήτου Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἠλία Ἱεροσολύμων.** Αὕτη τοιγαροῦν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, τοὺς εἴδωλα τὰς προσκυνητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας —ὢ μιαρᾶς γλώττης!— ἀποκαλοῦντας, δι' ὧν εἰδώλων ἐλαύνεται πλάνη, κοινῇ ψήφῳ, **δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοῦ ἀναθέματος καθυπέβαλεν**.

# Plates

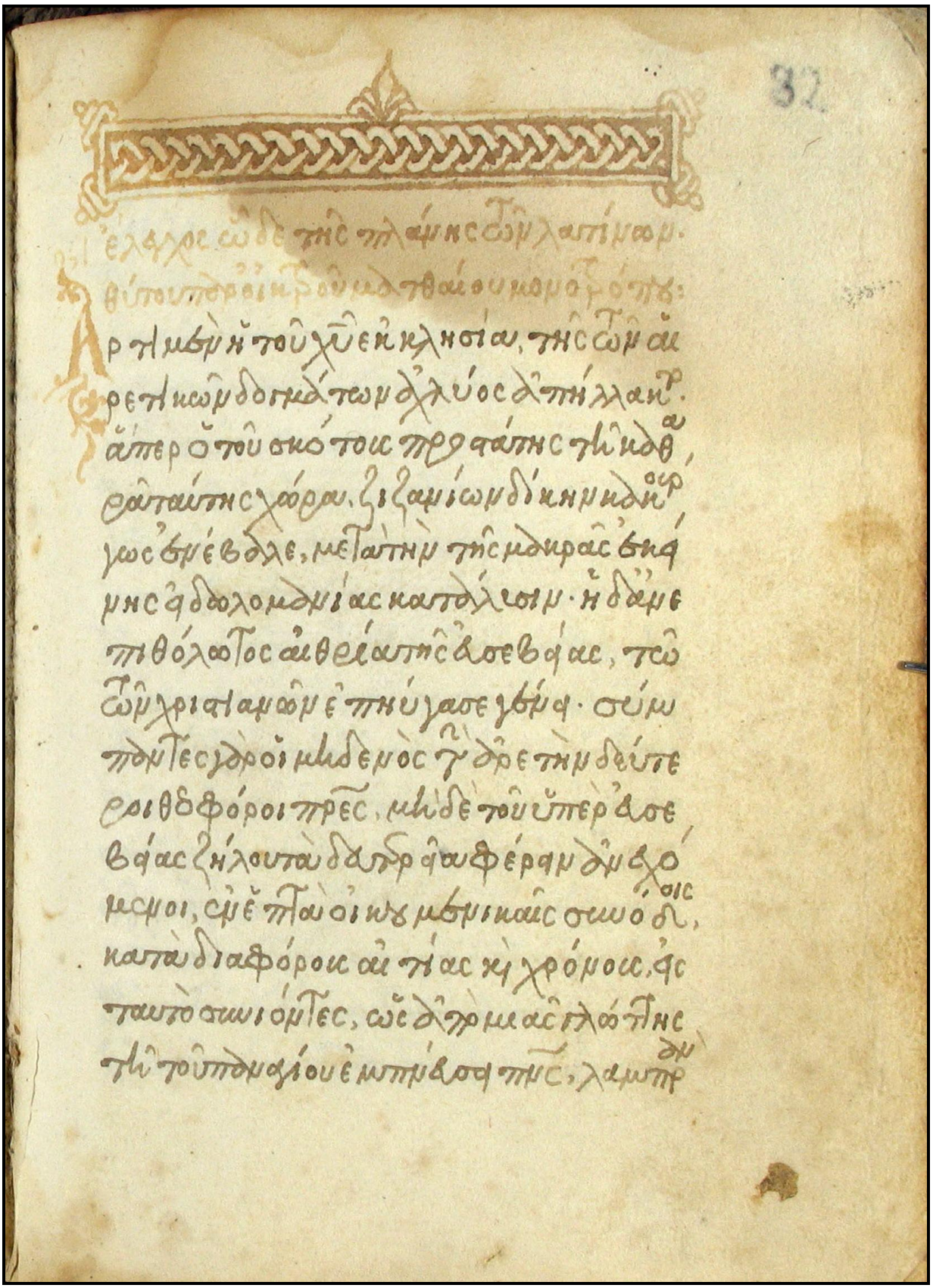


**PLATE 1**

*Athens, National Library MS.* 142, f. 82r (15th century), Hand **A**

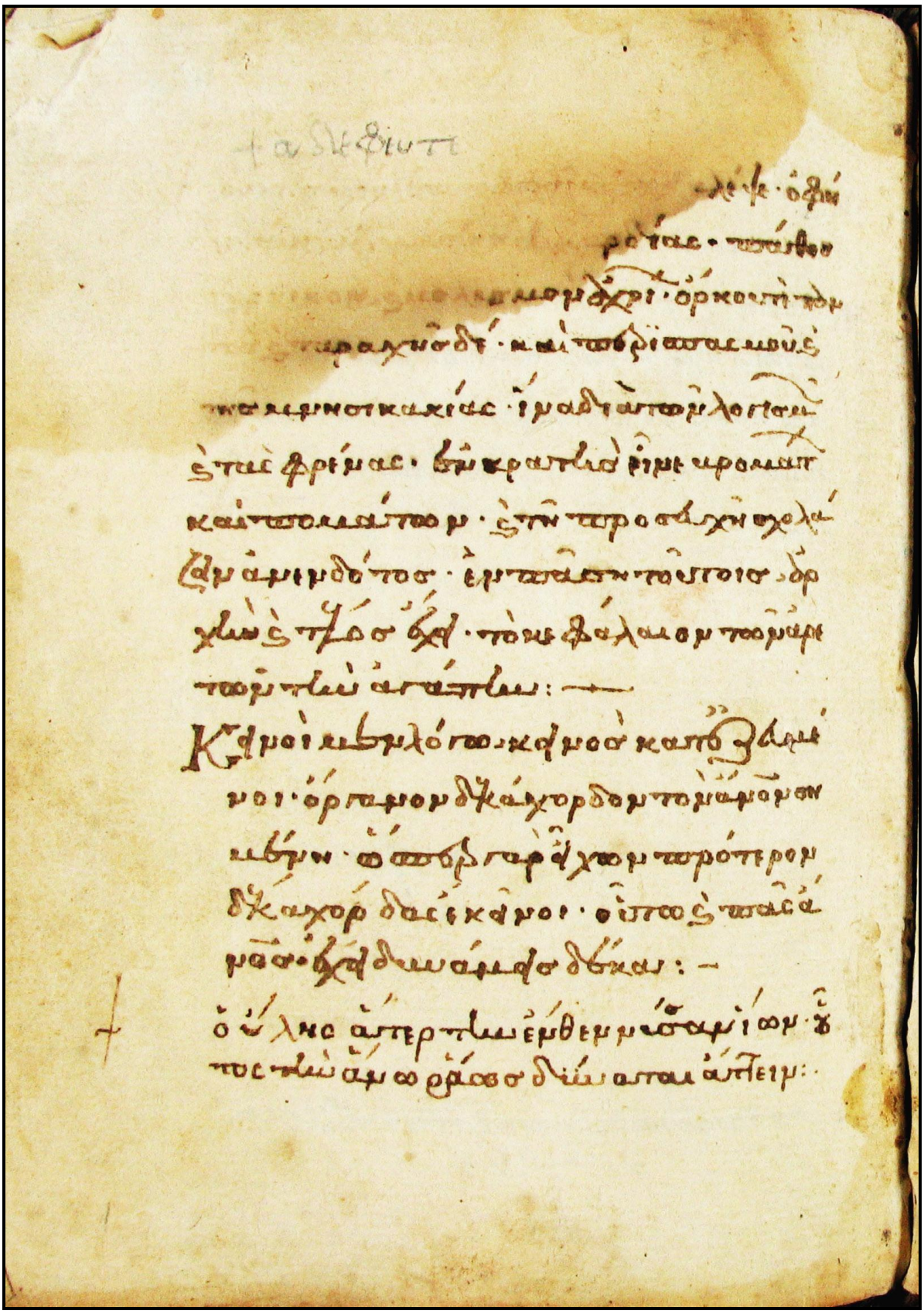


**PLATE 2**

*Athens, National Library MS.* 142, f. 80v, Hand **F**

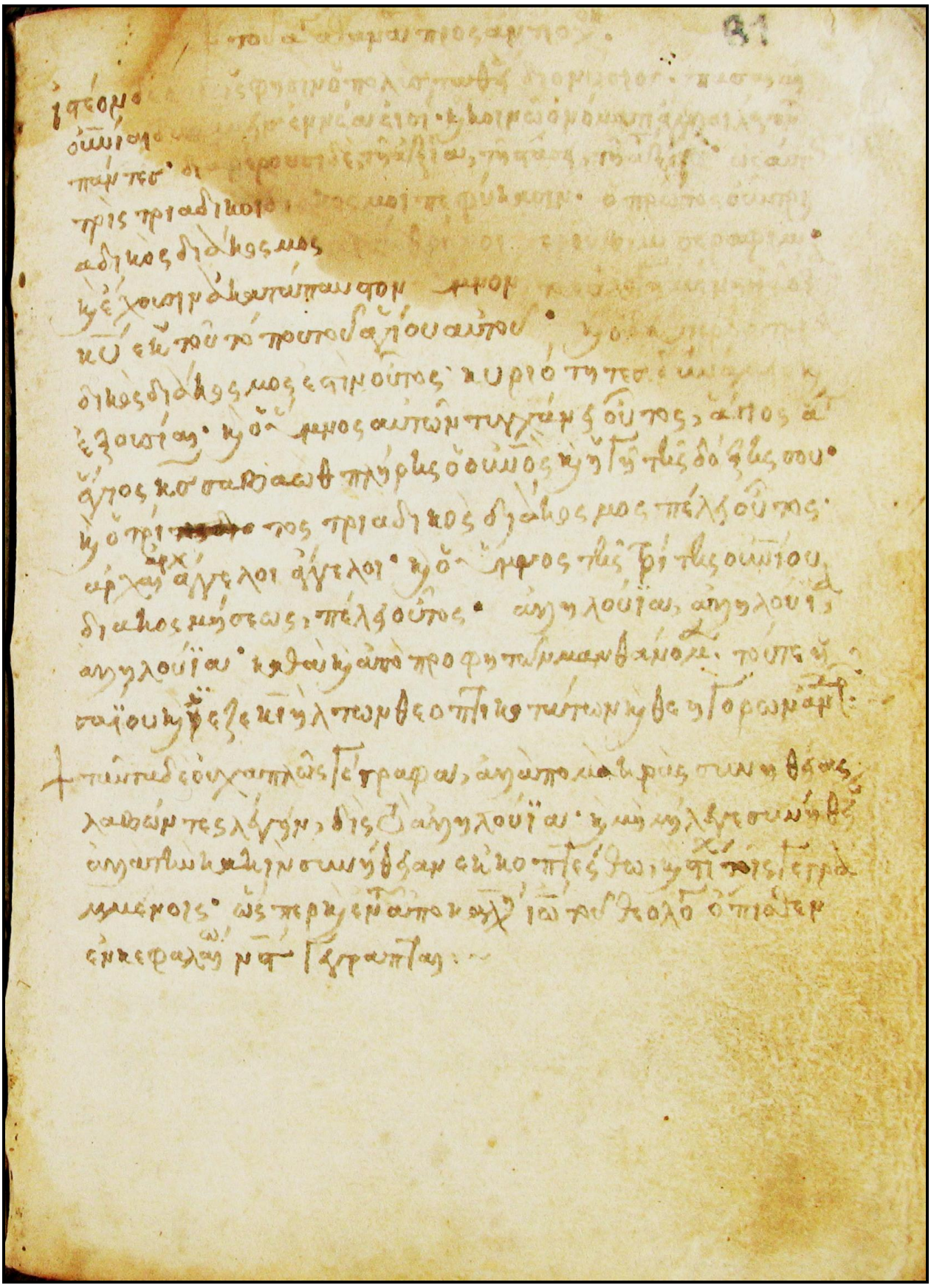


**PLATE 3**

*Athens, National Library MS.* 142, f. 81r, Hand **G**

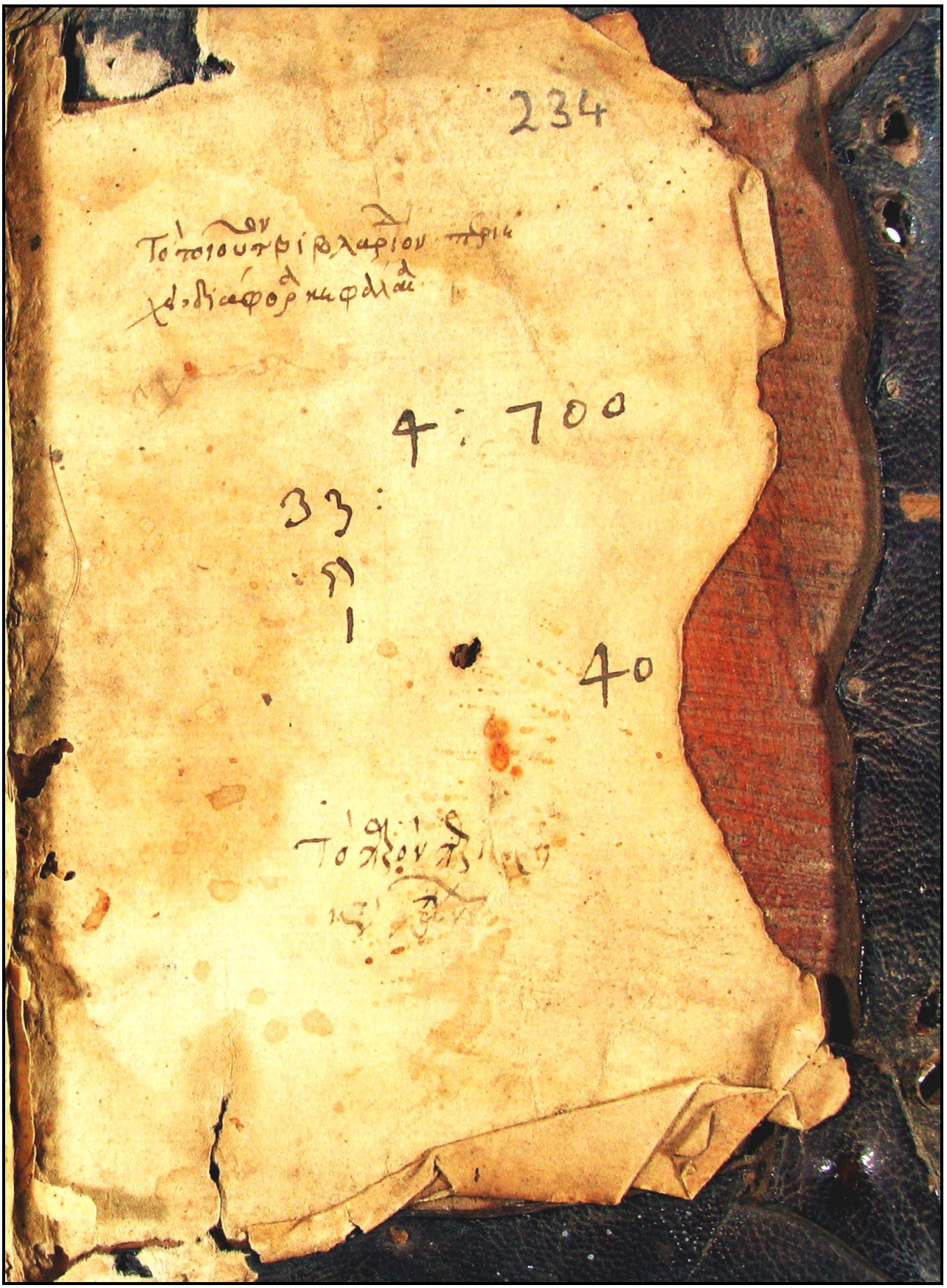
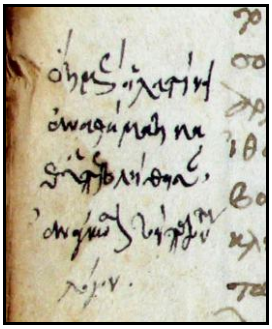
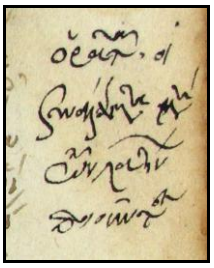



**PLATE 4**

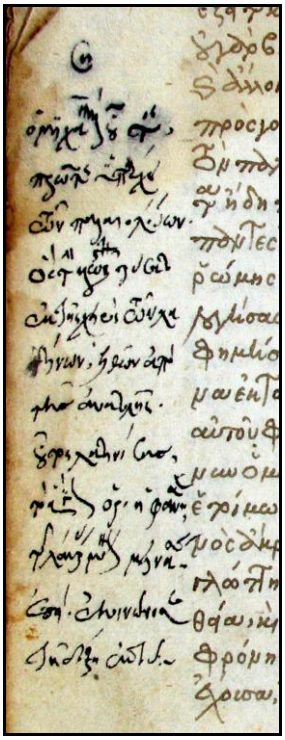
*Athens, National Library MS.* 142, f. 234r



f. 128r



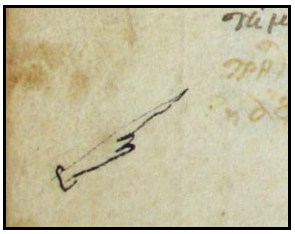
f. 189r



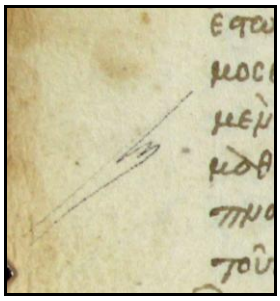
f. 130r

**PLATE 5**

*Athens, National Library MS.* 142, ff. 128r, 189r and 130r, (marginal notes, Hand **B**)



f. 125r



f. 149

**PLATE 6**

*Athens, National Library MS.* 142, ff. 125r and 149r, (marginal indicators, Hand **B**)

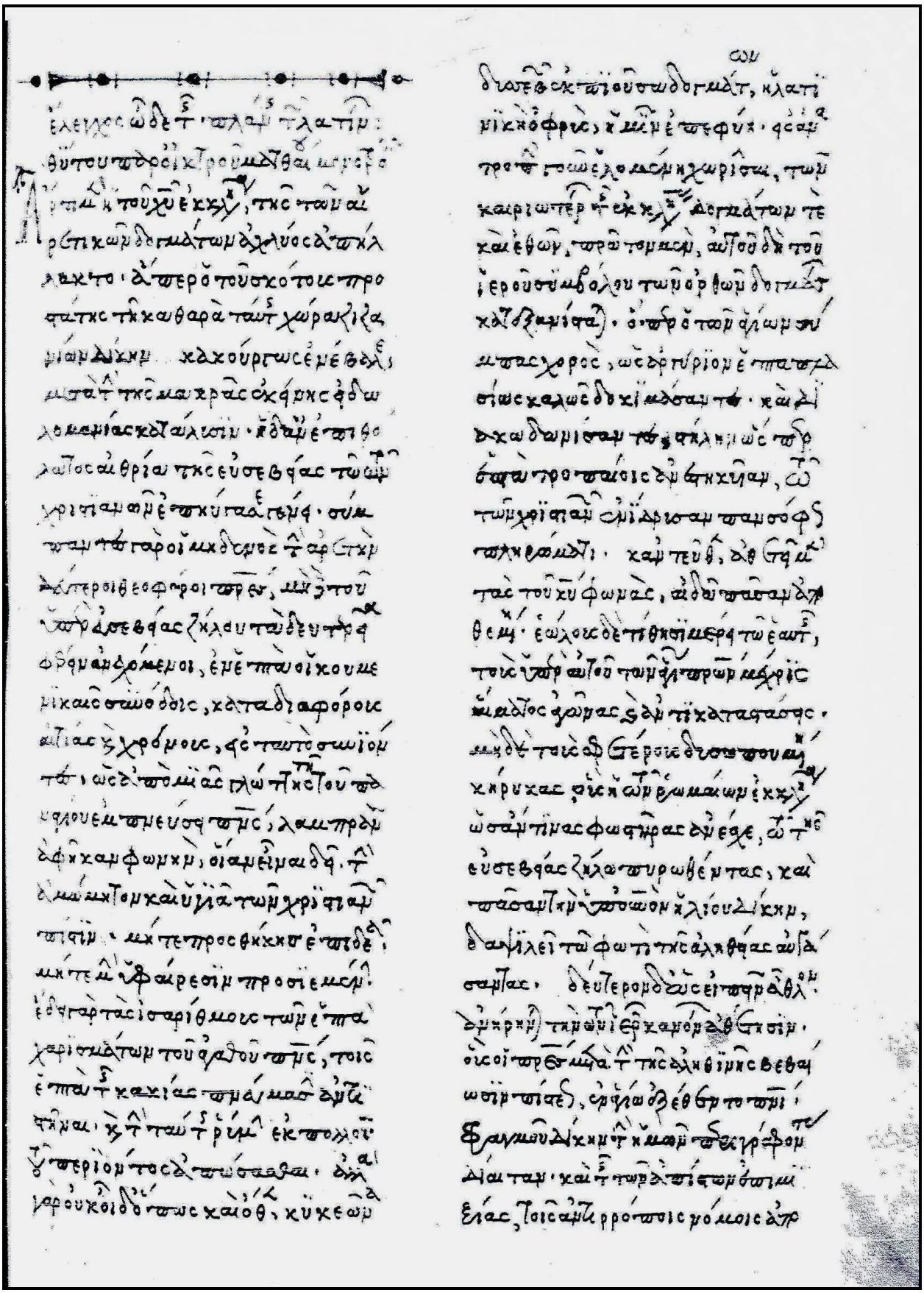


**PLATE 7**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 481, f. 257r (14th century), Hand **A**

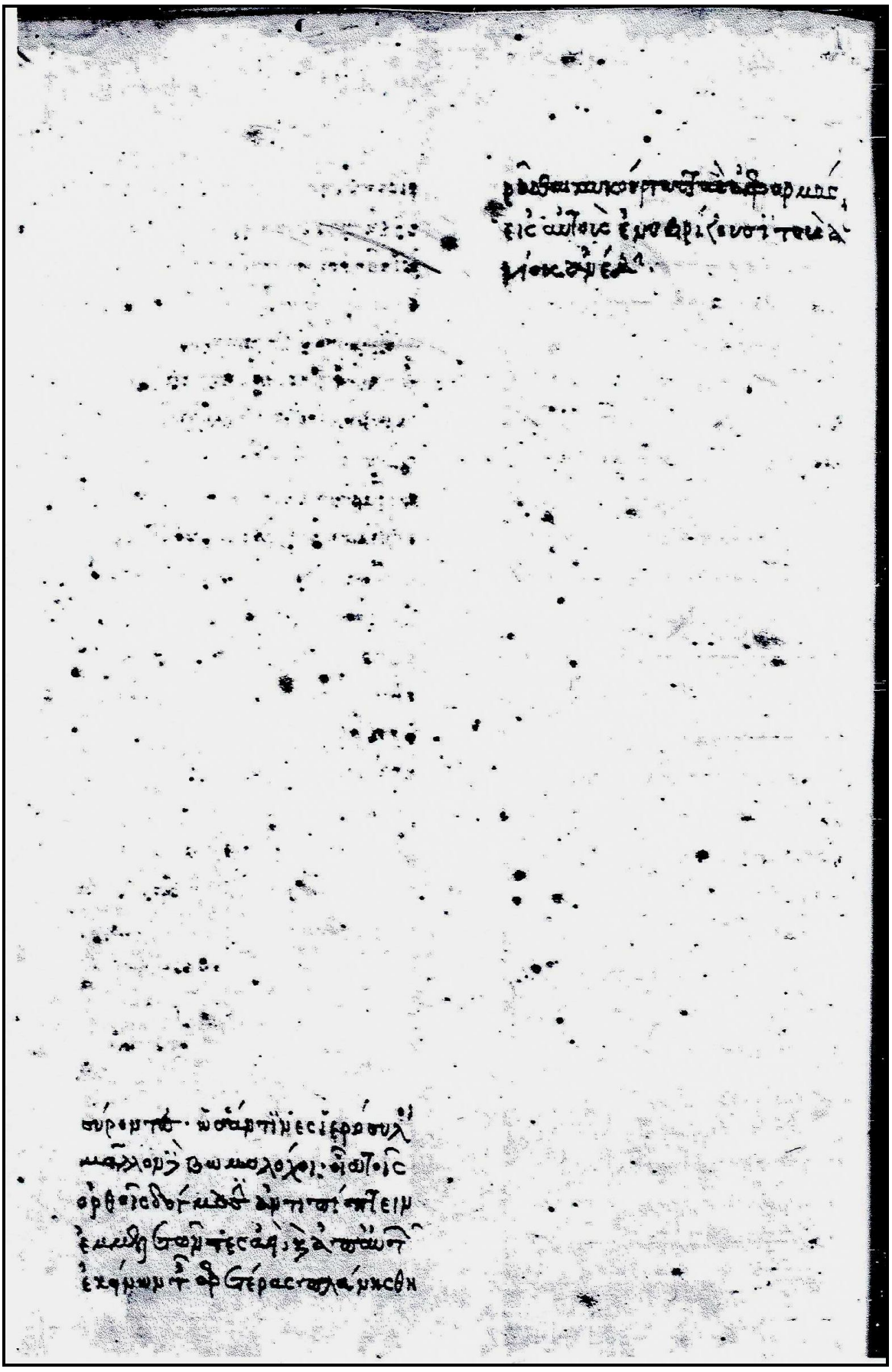


**PLATE 8**
*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 481, f. 264v, Hand **A**

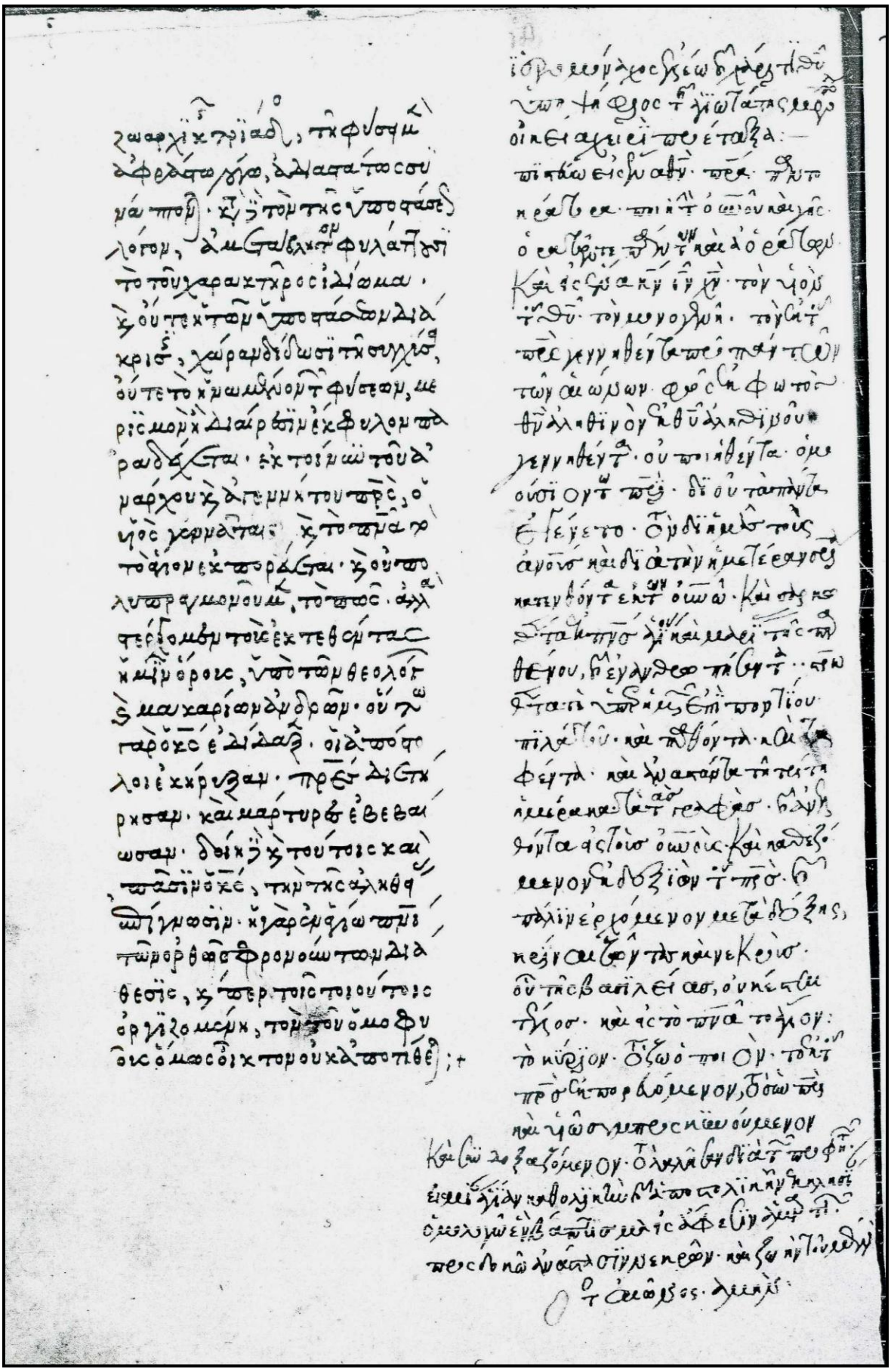


**PLATE 9**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 481, f. 302v, Hands **A** and **B**

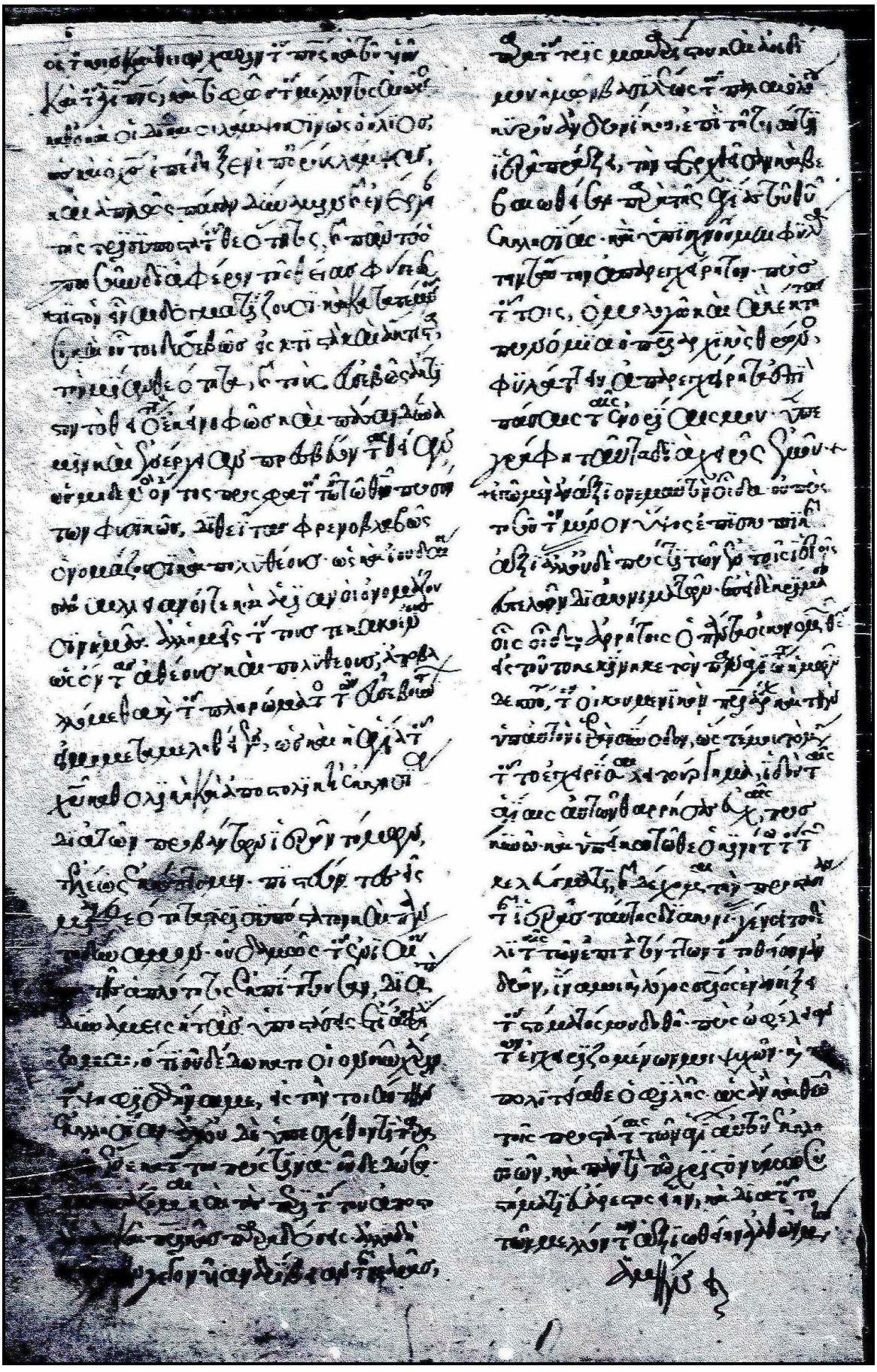


**PLATE 10**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 481, f. 303v, Hand **B**

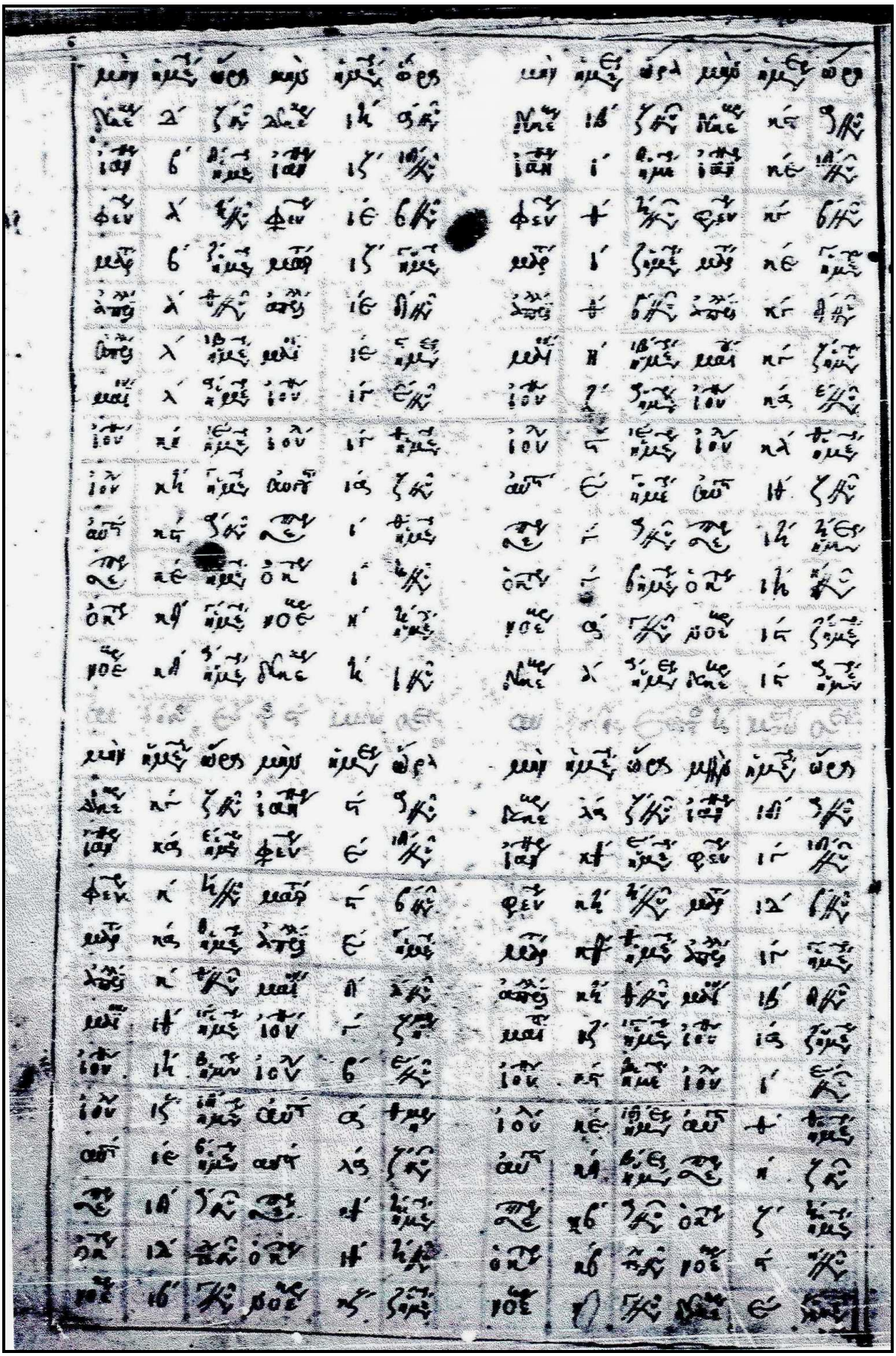


**PLATE 11**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 481, f. 304v, Hand **A**

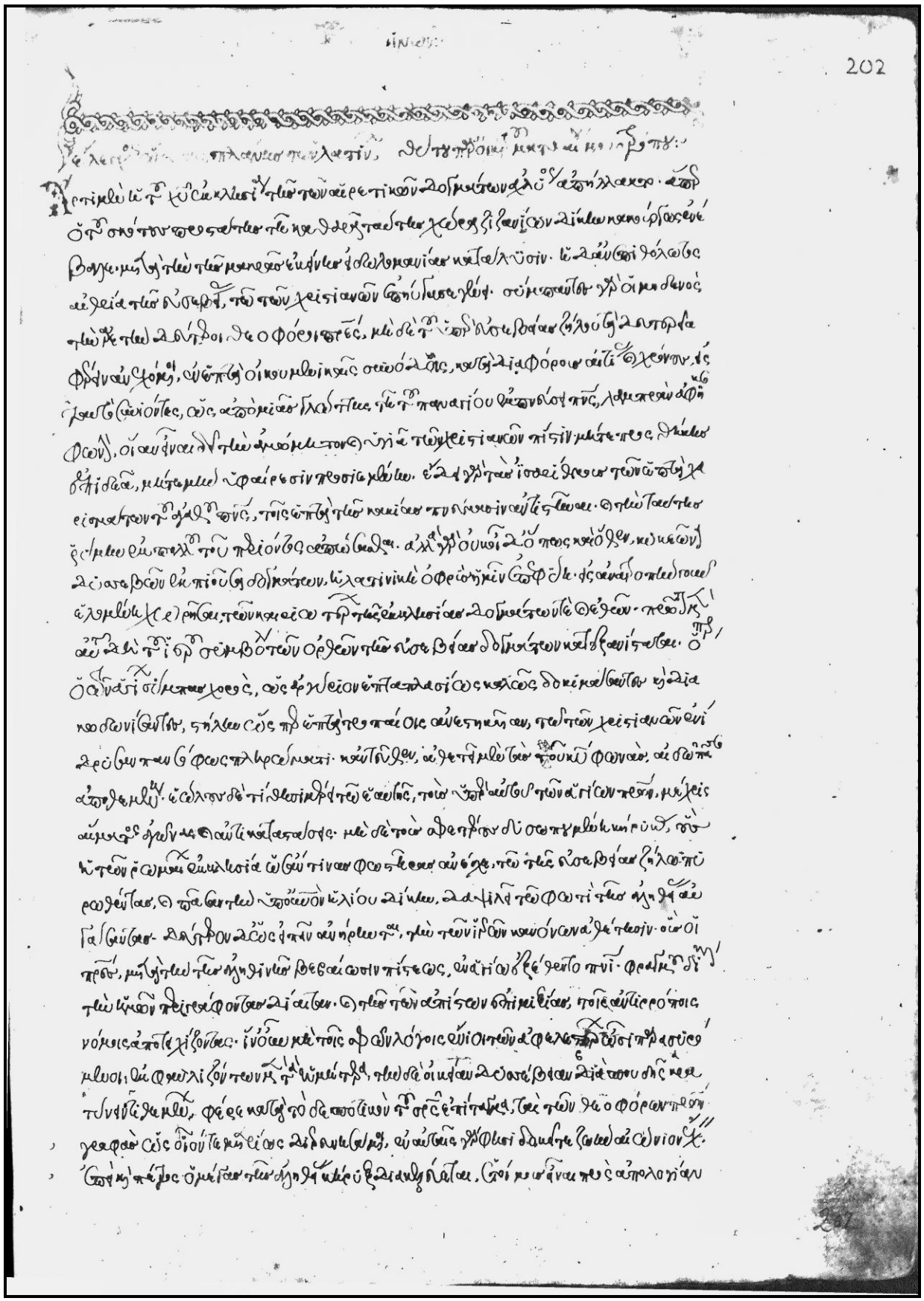
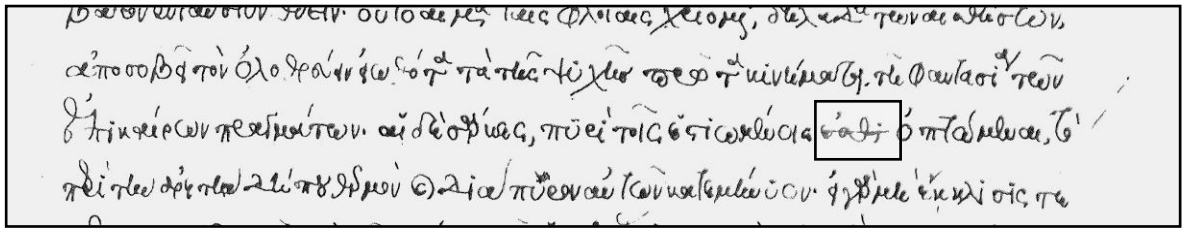
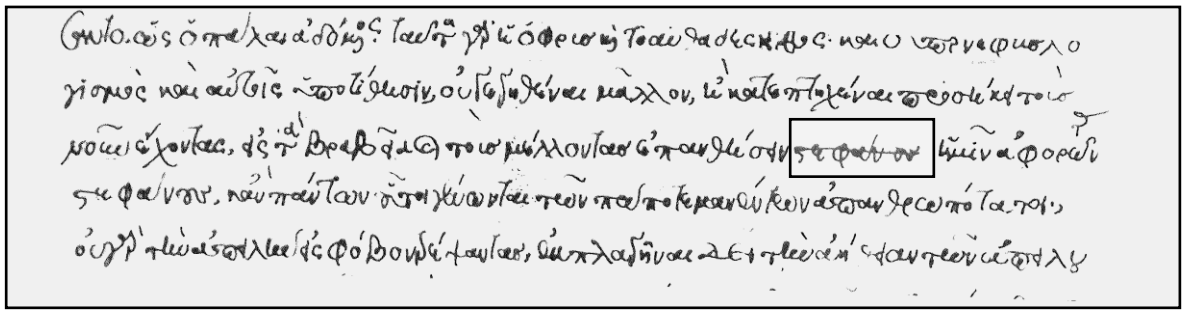


**PLATE 12**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 202r (AD 1417/26)
Hand of Stephanos of Medeia



f. 217r



f. 232v

**PLATE 13**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), ff. 217r and 232v,
Hand of Stephanos of Medeia

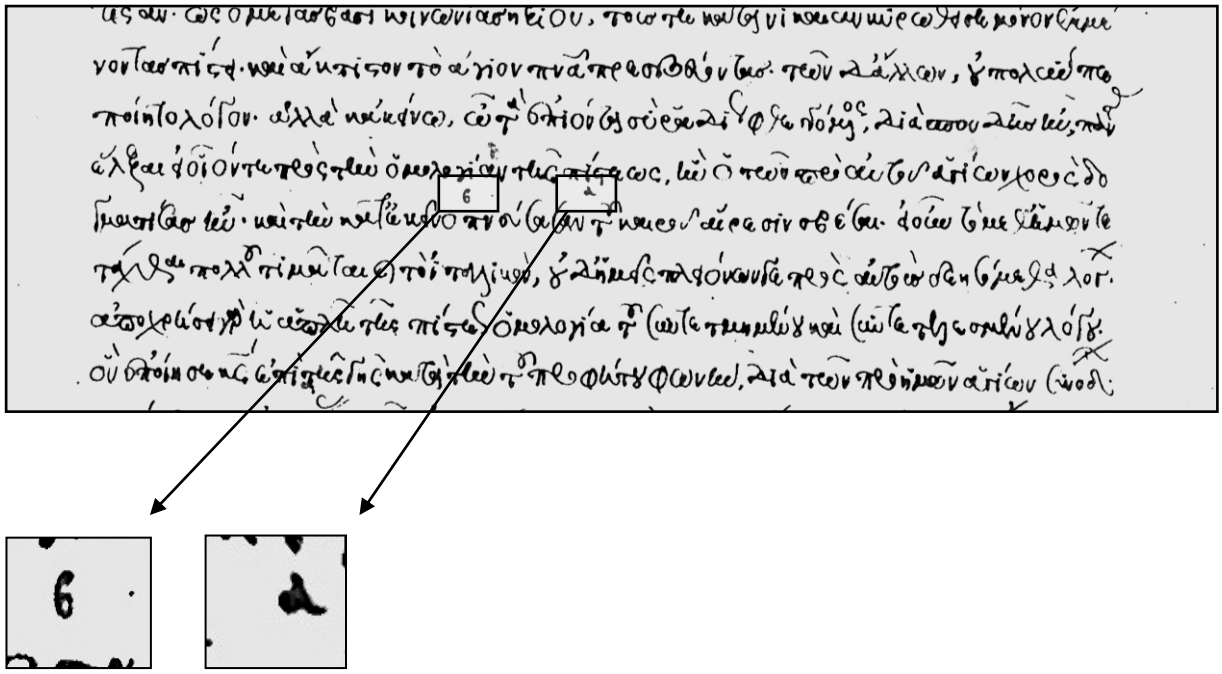



**PLATE 14**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 229r,
Hand of Stephanos of Medeia

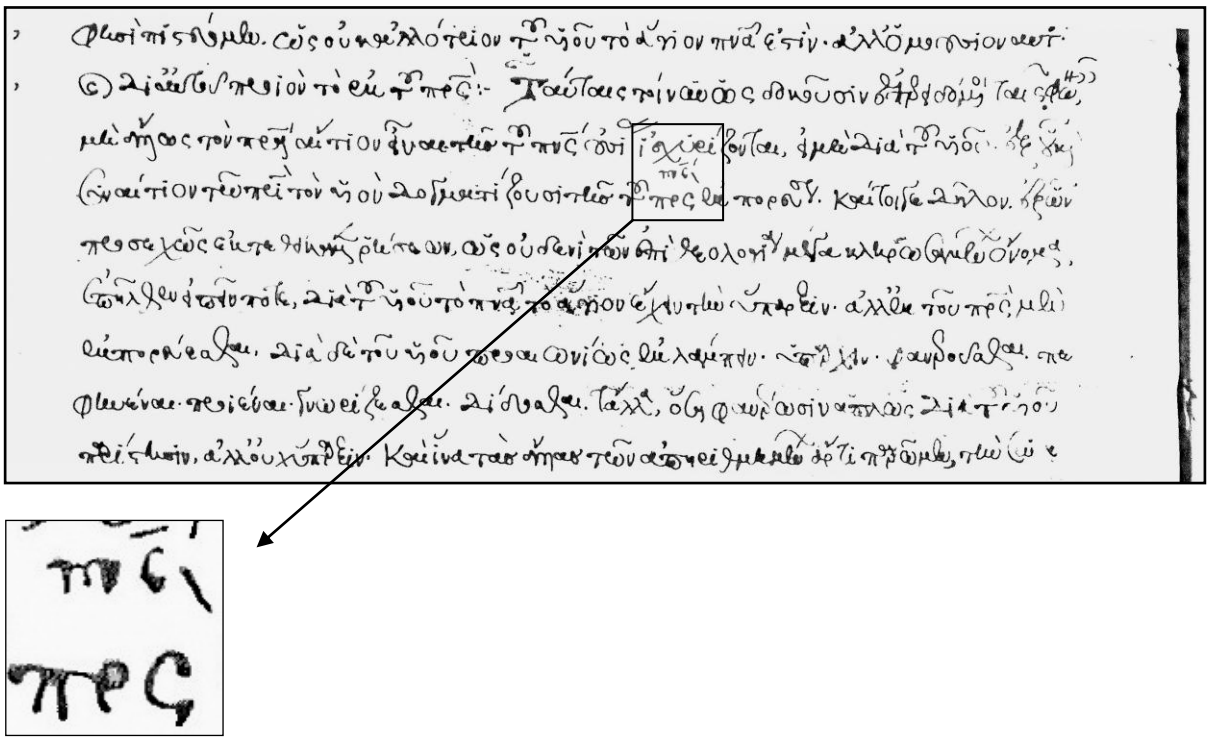


**PLATE 15**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 204v,
Hand of Stephanos of Medeia

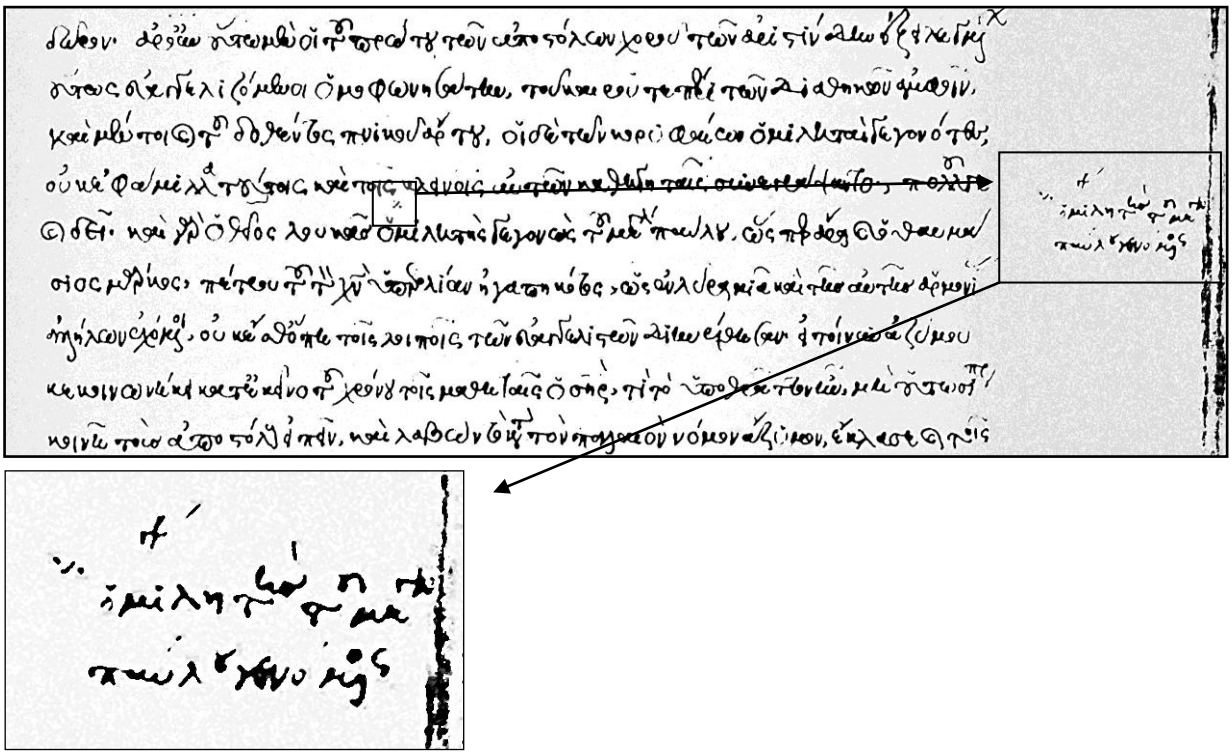


**PLATE 16**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 221r,
Hand of Stephanos of Medeia

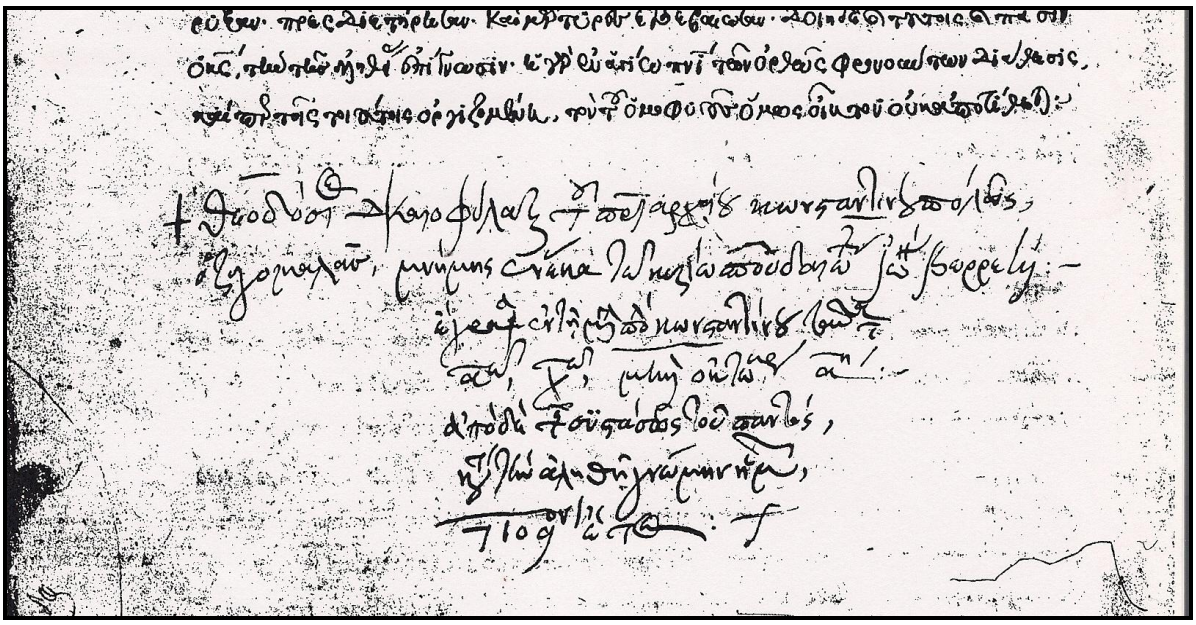


**PLATE 17**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 233r,
Colophon by Theodosios Zygomalas

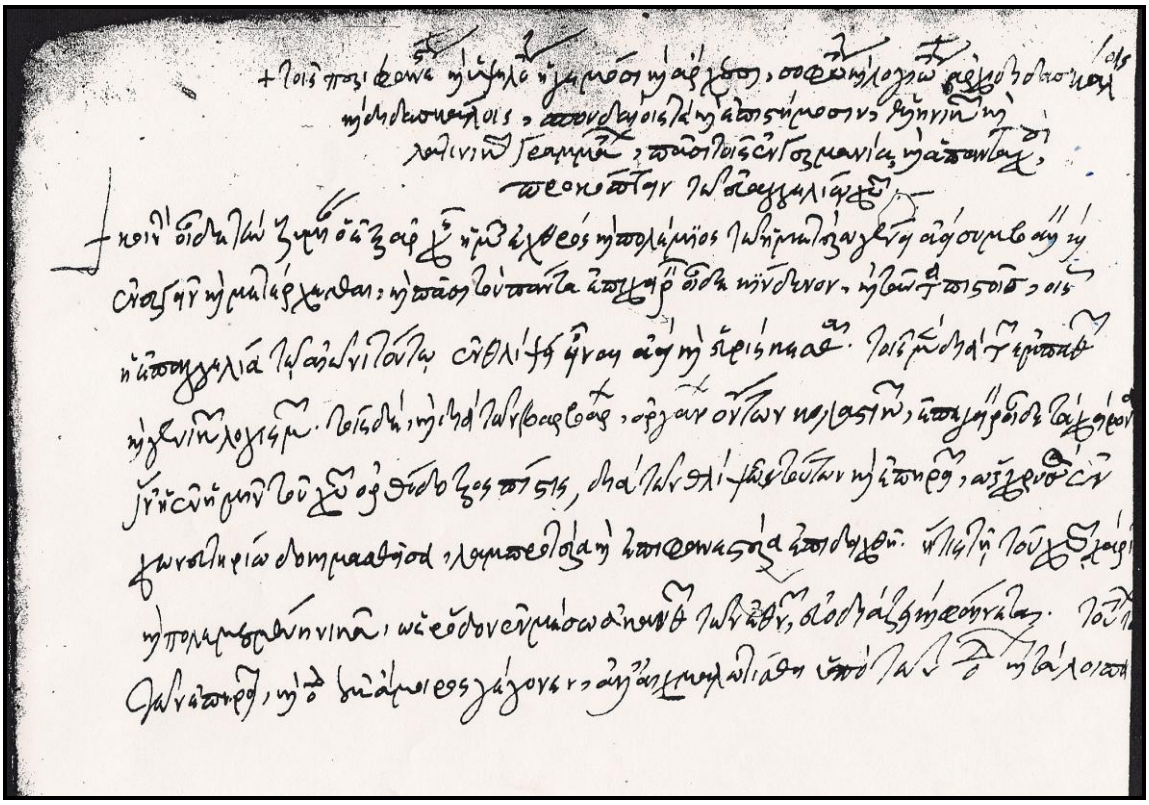


**PLATE 18**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. IXv,
Hand of Theodosios Zygomalas

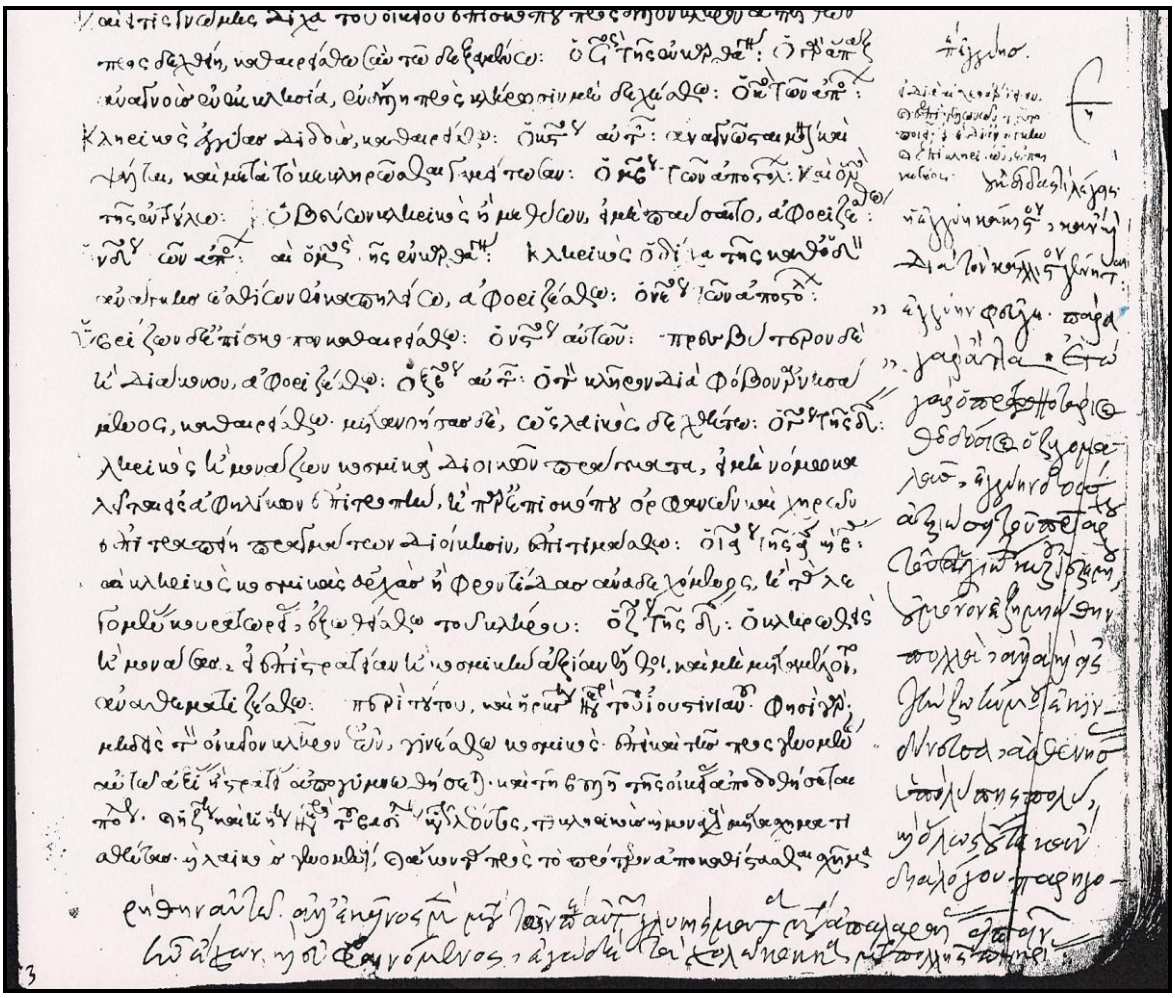


**PLATE 19**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 167r

Main text by Stephanos of Medeia and marginal notes by Theodosios Zygomalas

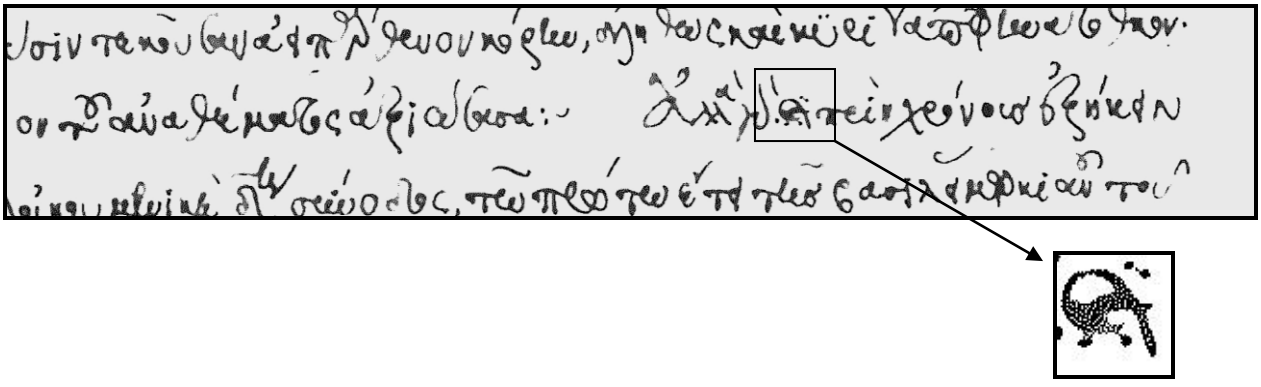


**PLATE 20**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 167r, correction included in *punctis*

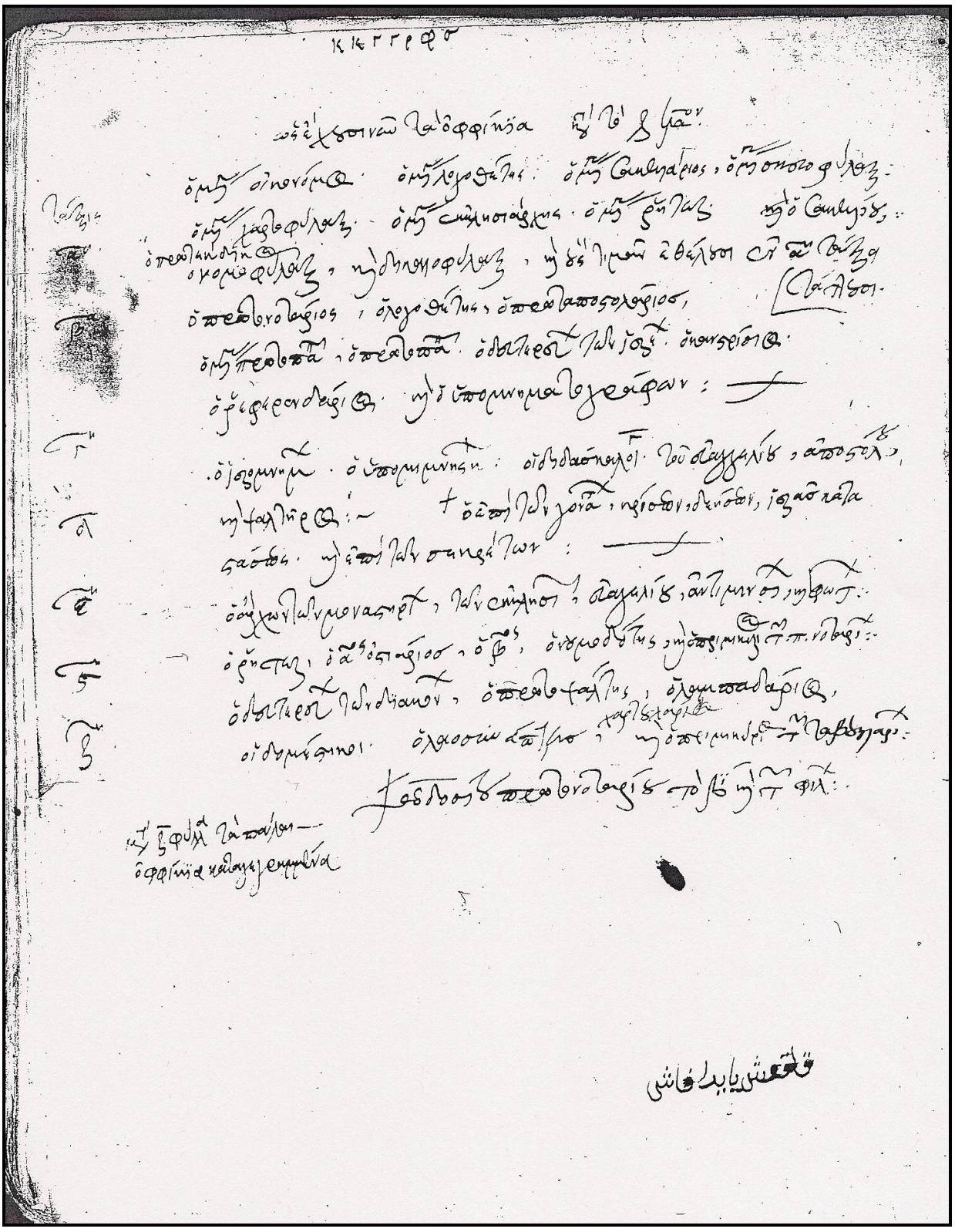


**PLATE 21**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. 192v

Hand of Theodosios Zygomalas, *The present state of the* offikia

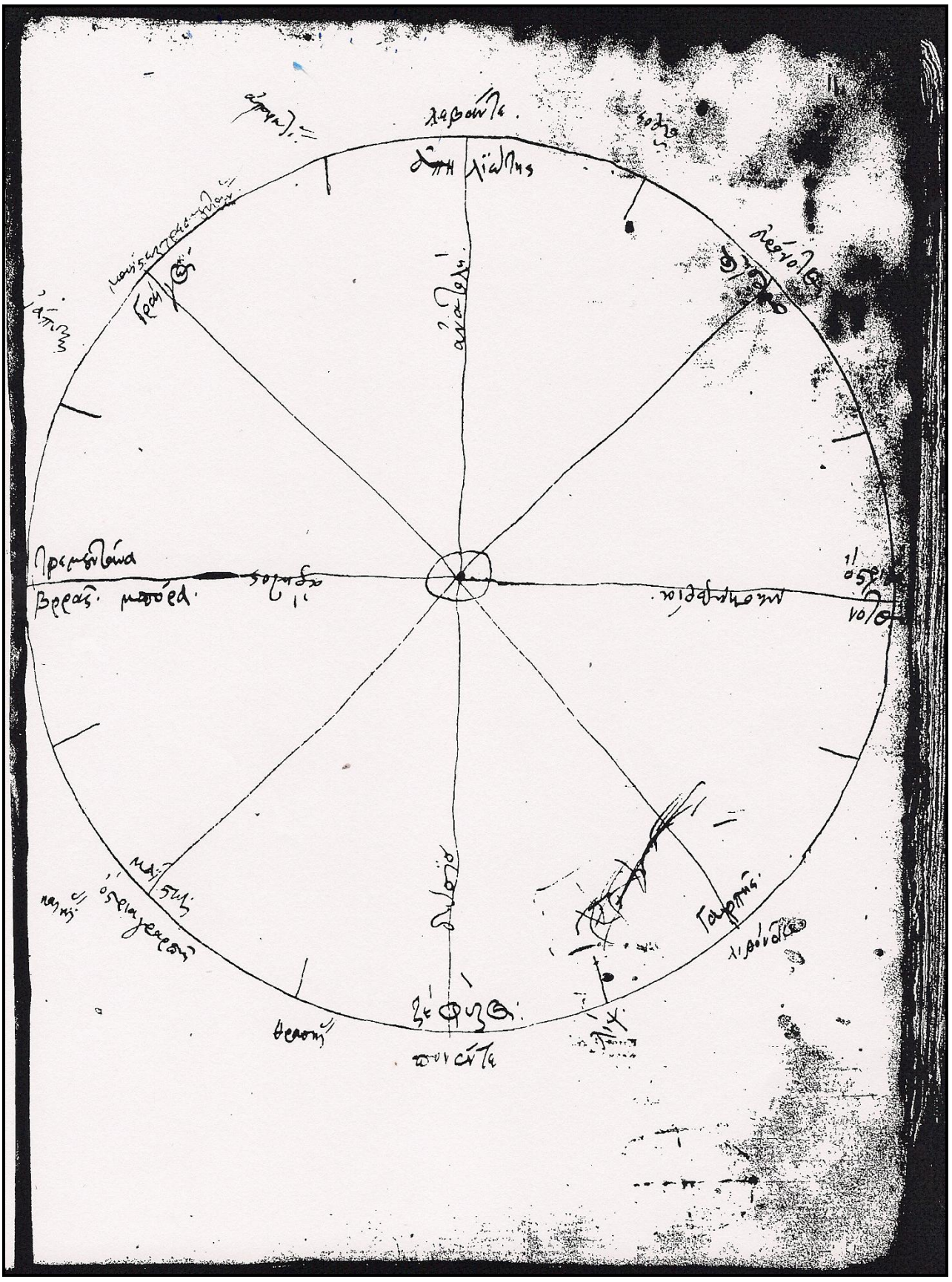


**PLATE 22**

*Cambridge, University Library, MS. gr.* Dd.II.51(83), f. IIr

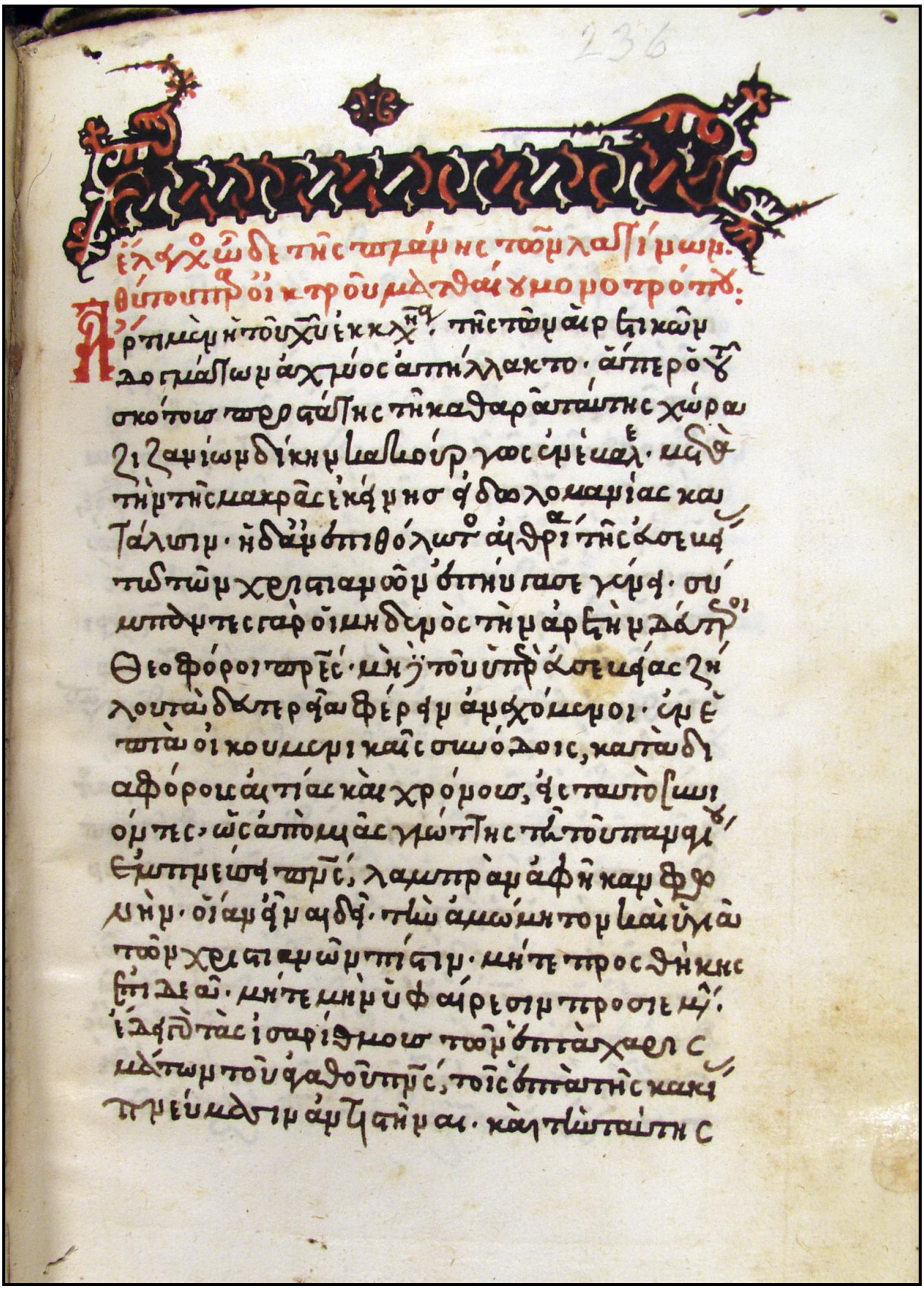


**PLATE 23**

*Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428, f. 236r (15th century)

Hand **A**

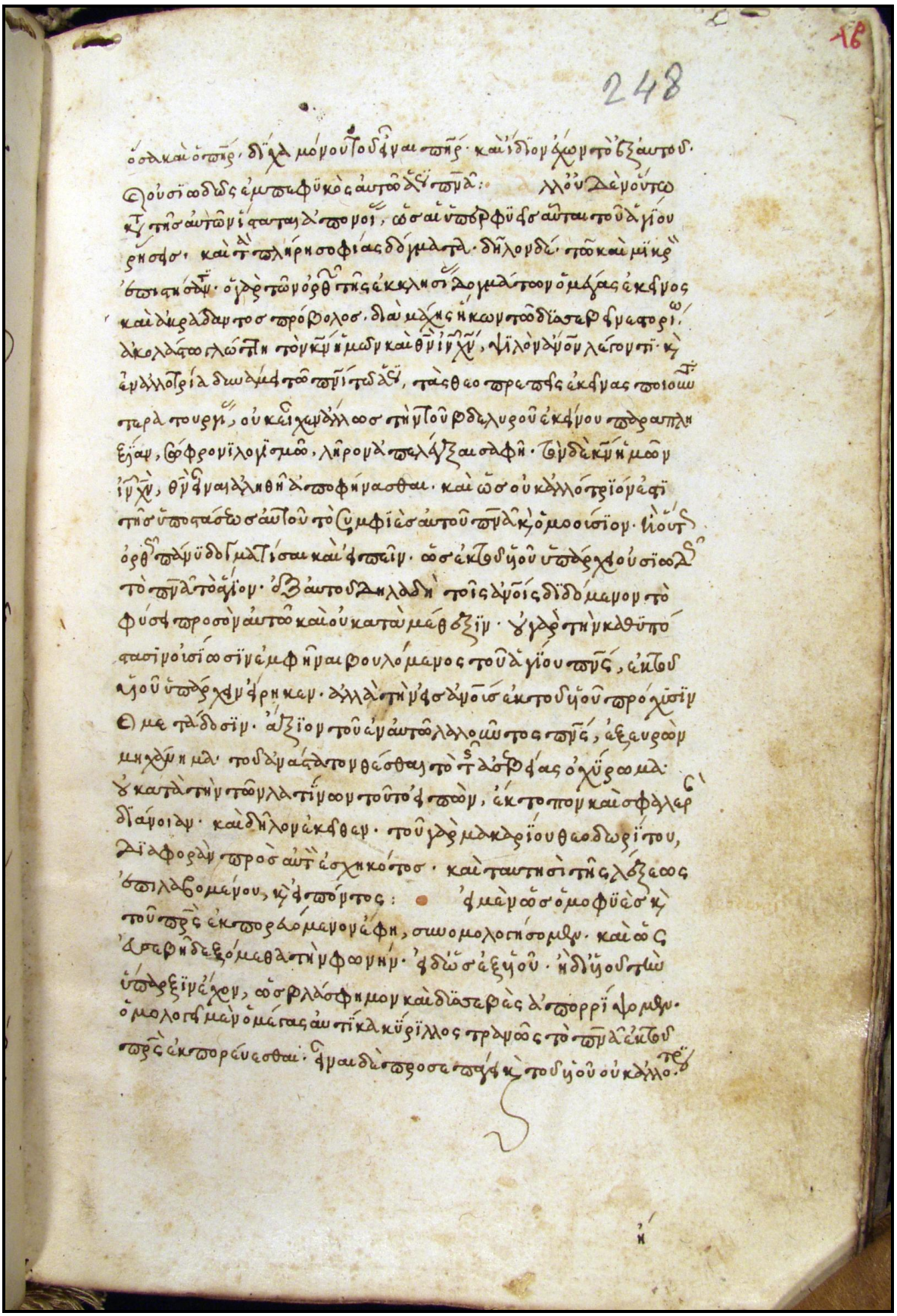


**PLATE 24**

*Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428, f. 248r,
Hand **B**

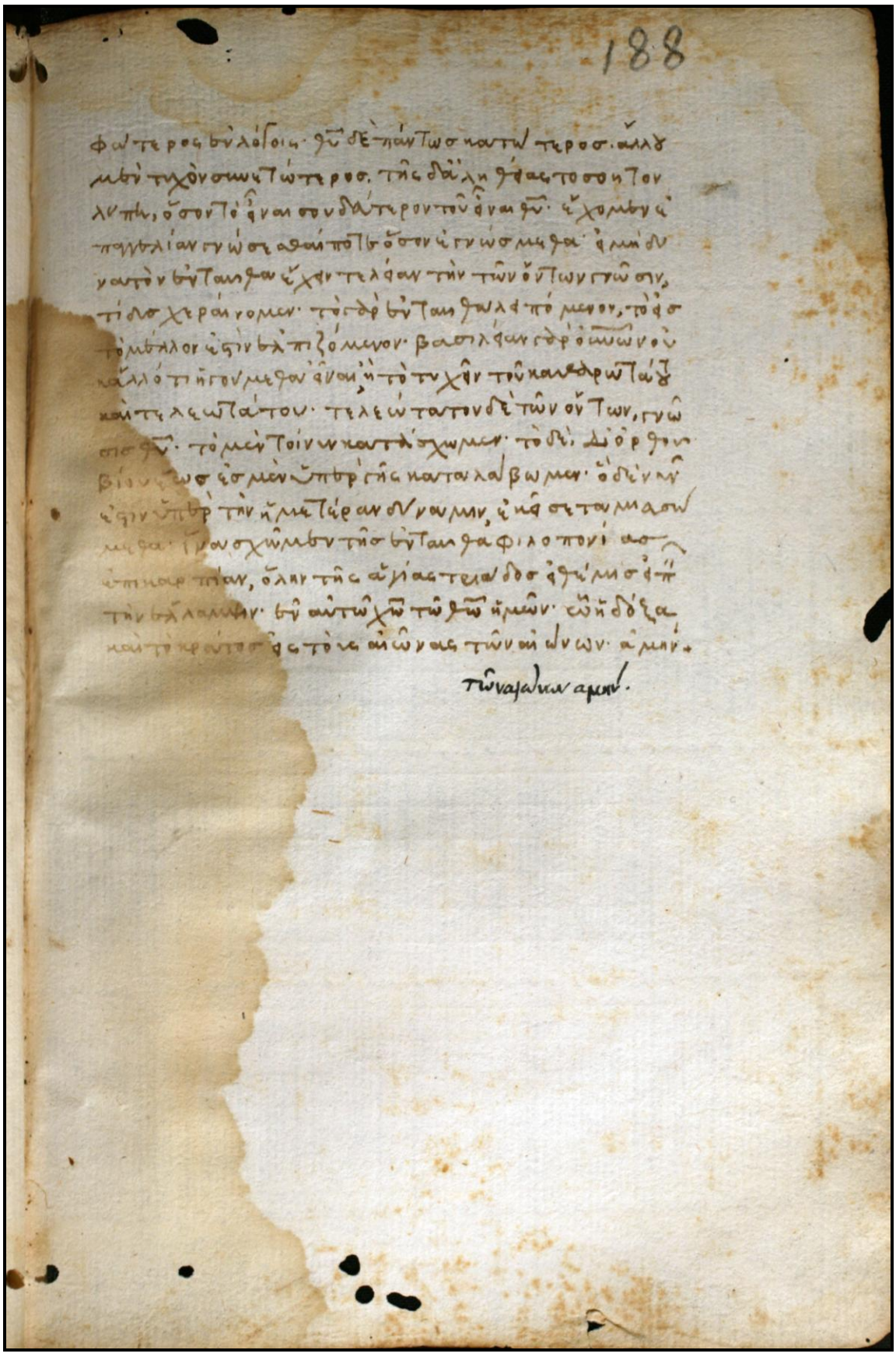


**PLATE 25**

*Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428, f. 188r,
Hand of George Baiophoros

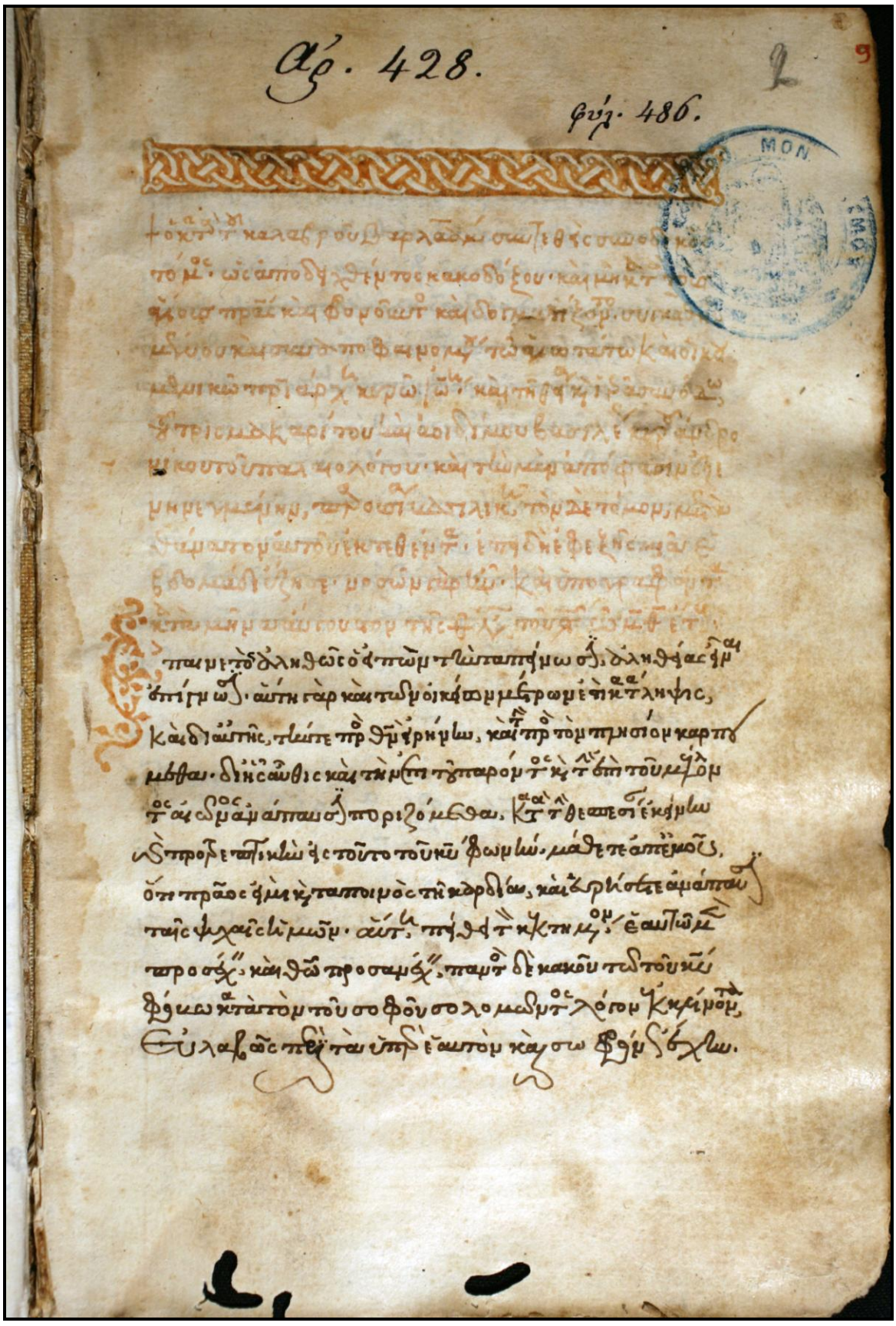



**PLATE 26**

*Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, MS.* 428, f. 2r,
Hand **B**

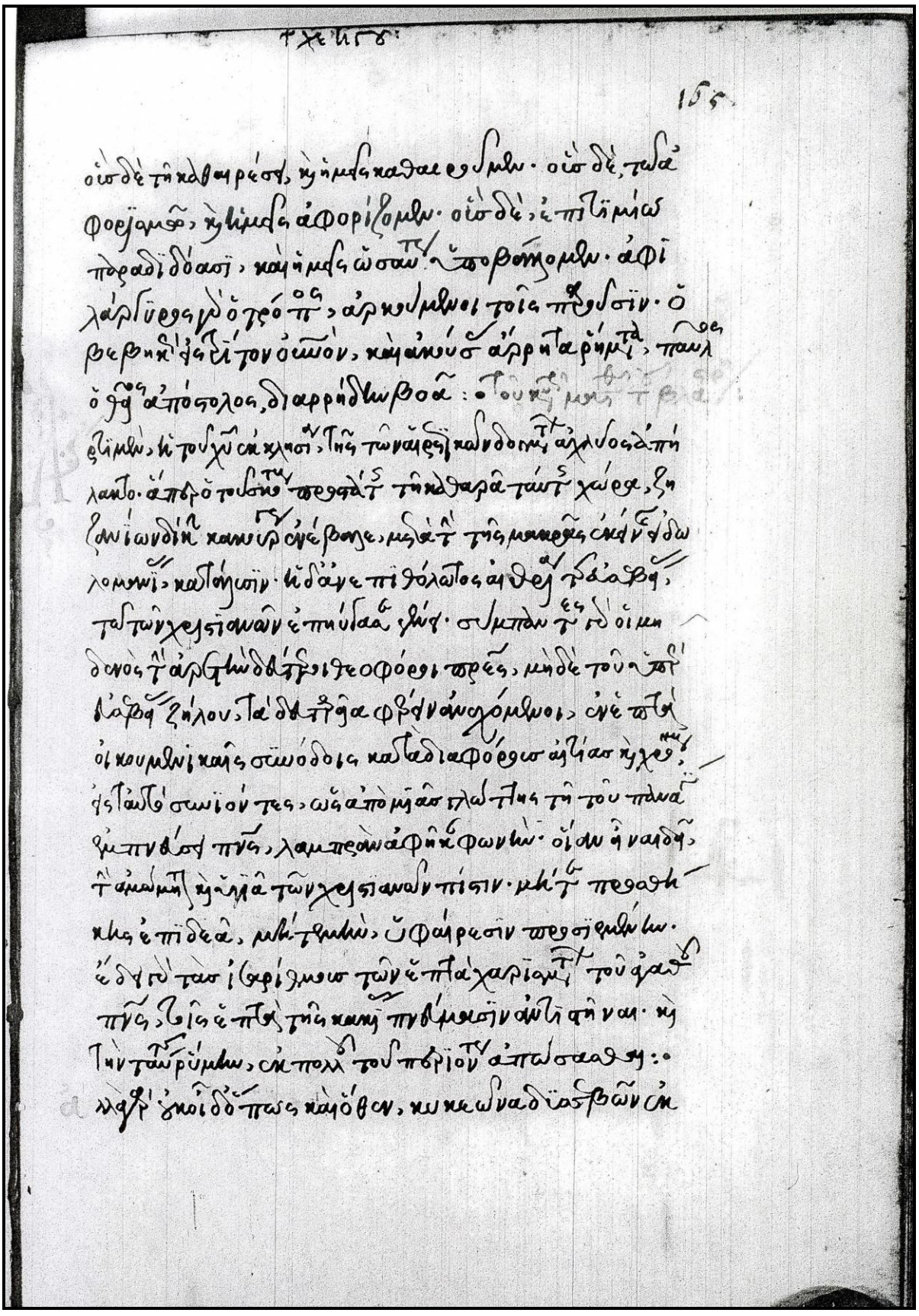


**PLATE 27**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 165r (AD 1450/51),
Hand **A**

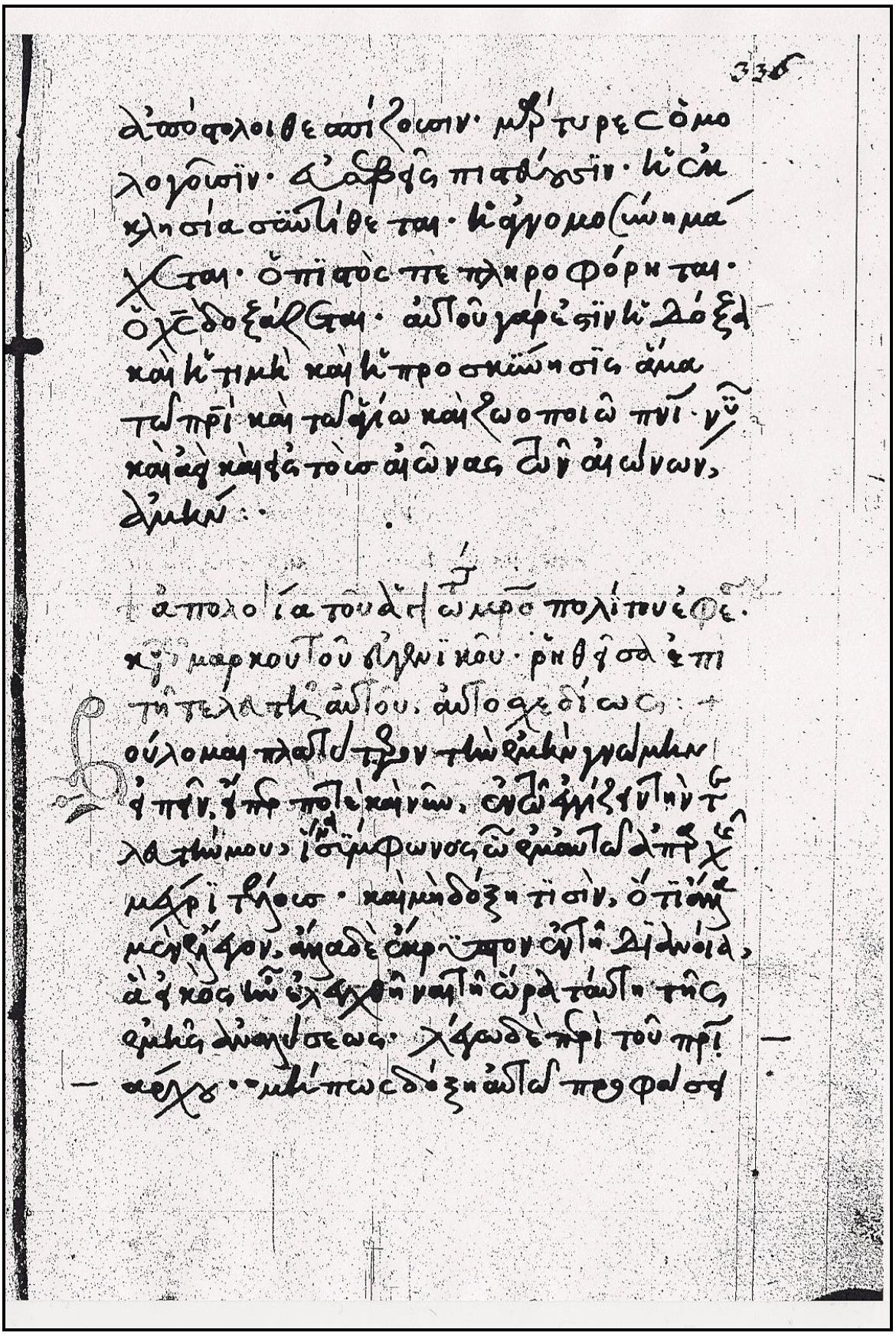


**PLATE 28**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 336r,

Hand **A**

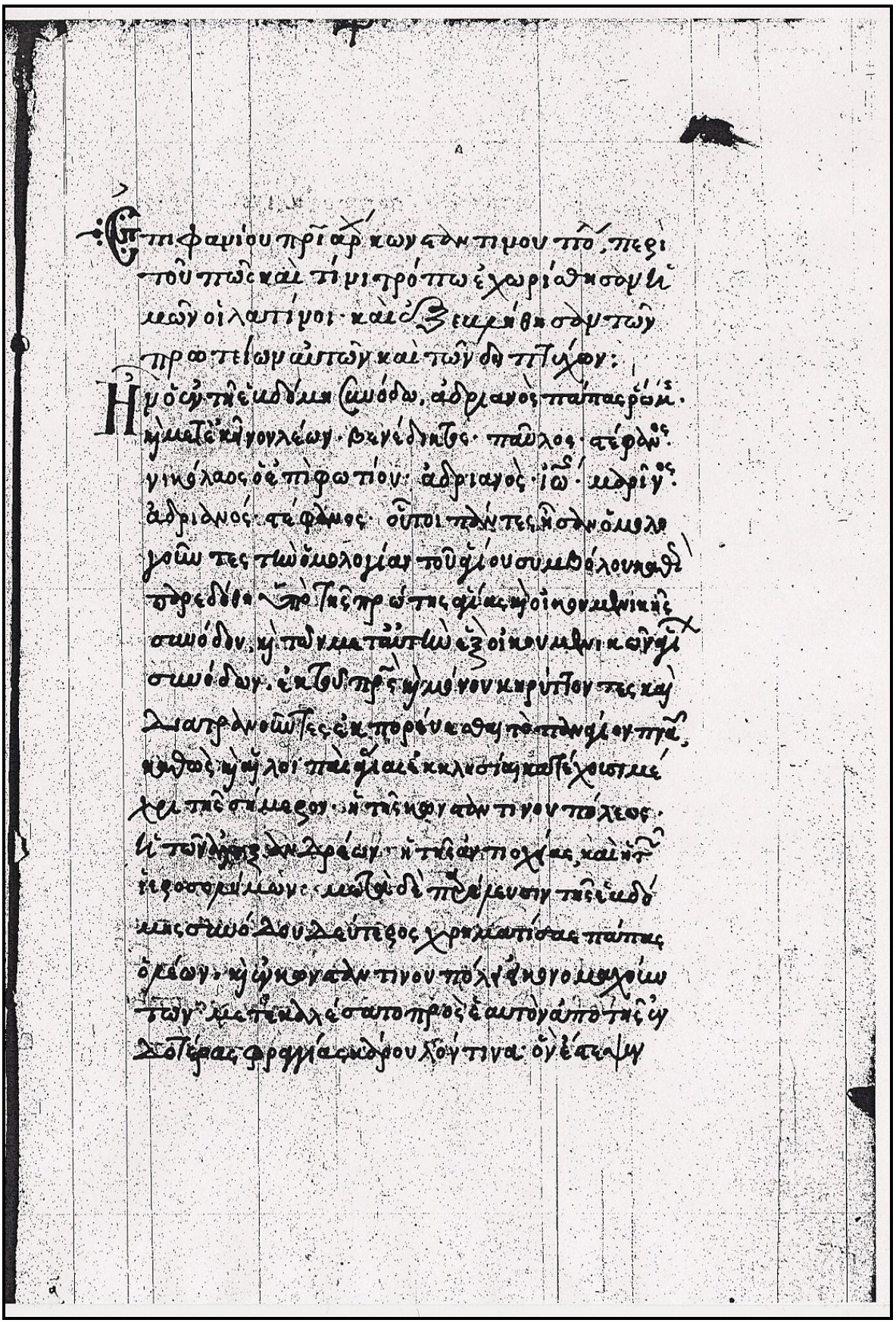
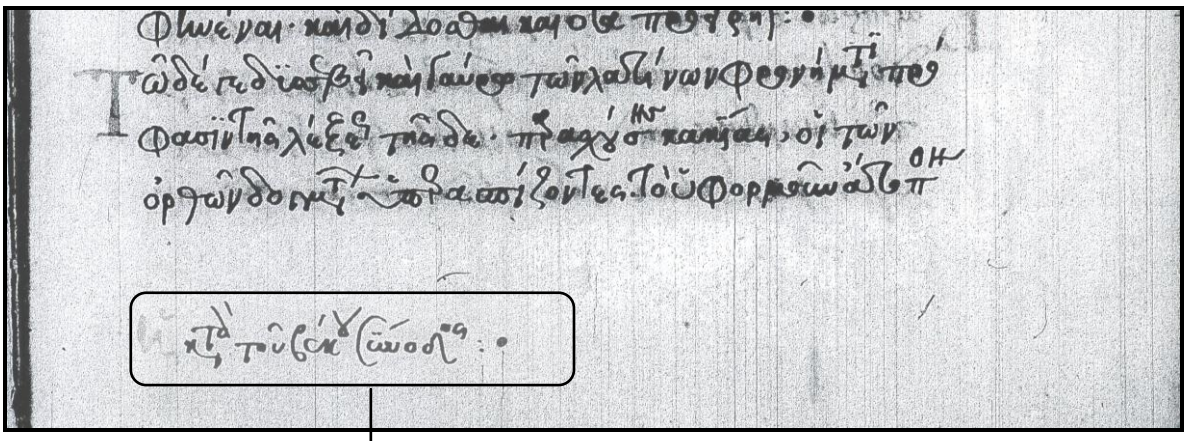


**PLATE 29**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 85r,

Hand **B**



ἡ κ(α)τὰ τοῦ βέκου σῦνοδος:·

**PLATE 30**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 174r, bottom margin, Hand **A**

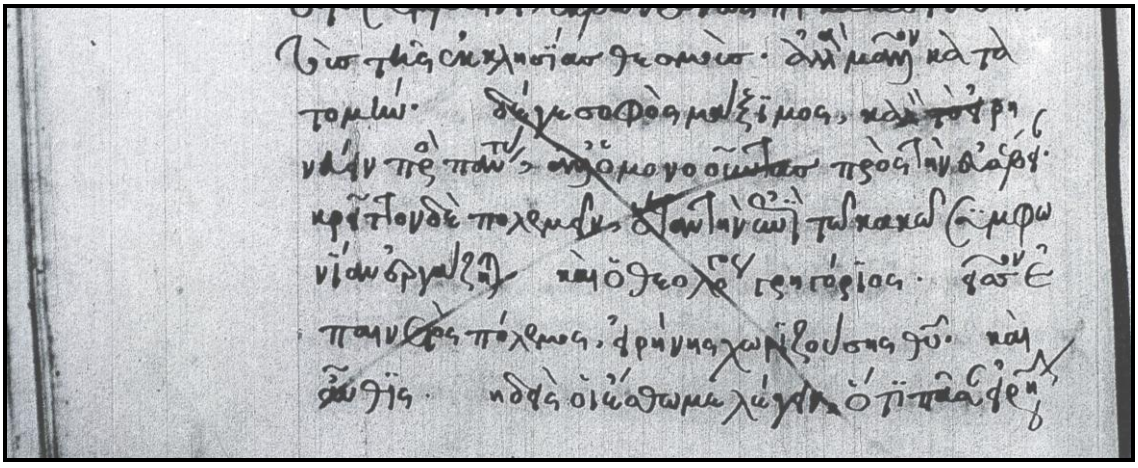


**PLATE 31**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 224v

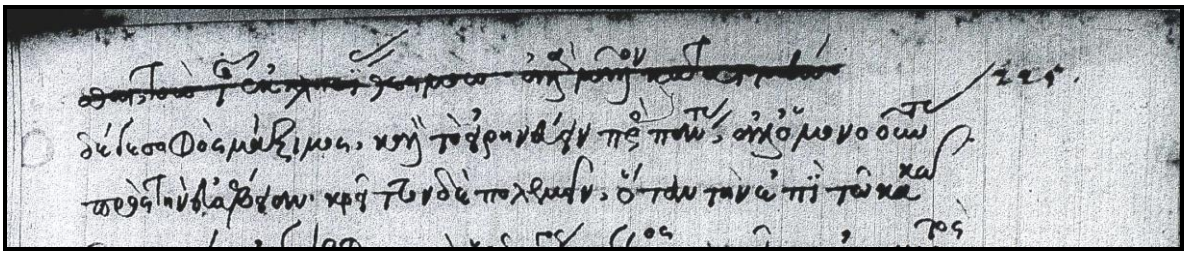
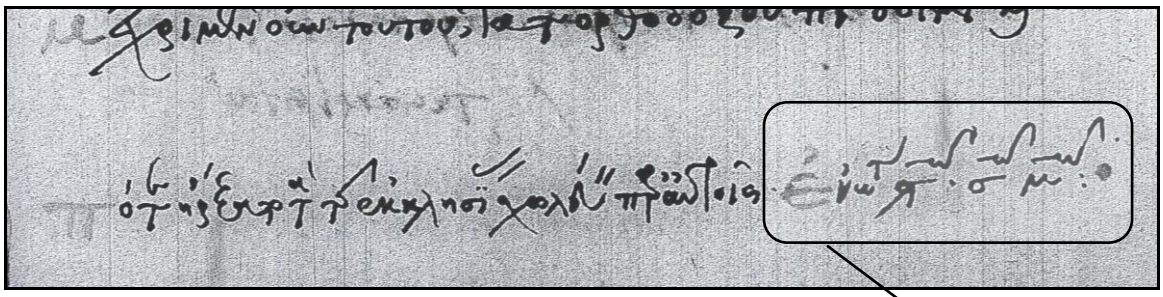


**PLATE 32**

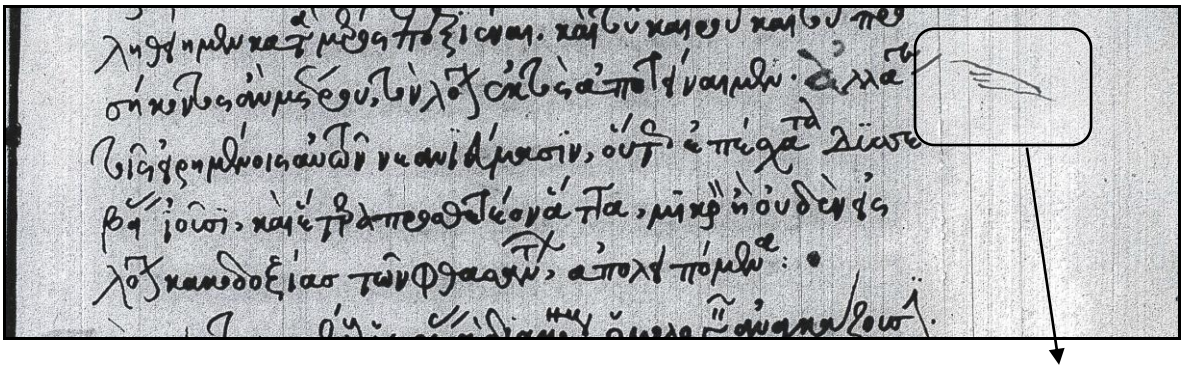
*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 225r



ἐν ἔτ(ει) ,Cῳ σῳ μῳ

**PLATE 33**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 216r



Hand indicating the point of departure of Dositheos edition

**PLATE 34**

*Munich, National Library, MS. graecus* 256, f. 213r

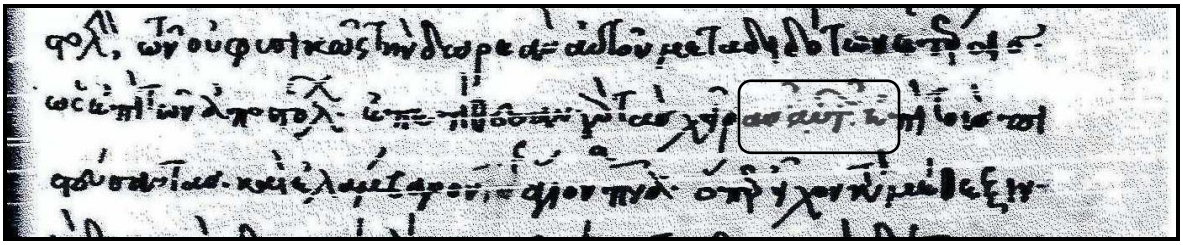


**PLATE 35**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 484, (16th century), f. 10r, correction included in *punctis*

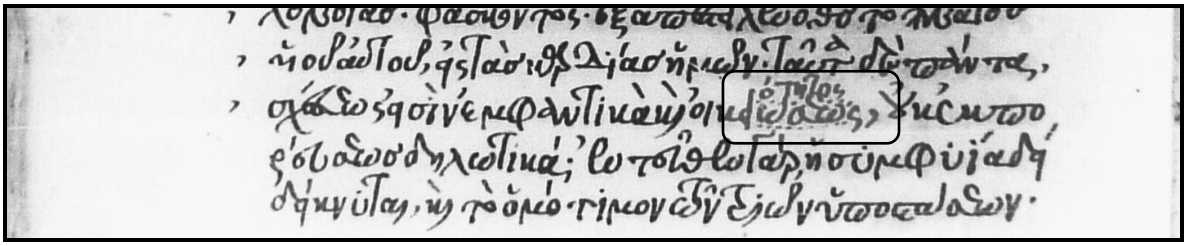


**PLATE 36**

*Athos, Iveron MS.* 678 (Lambros 4798) (16th century), f. 316v, correction included in *punctis*

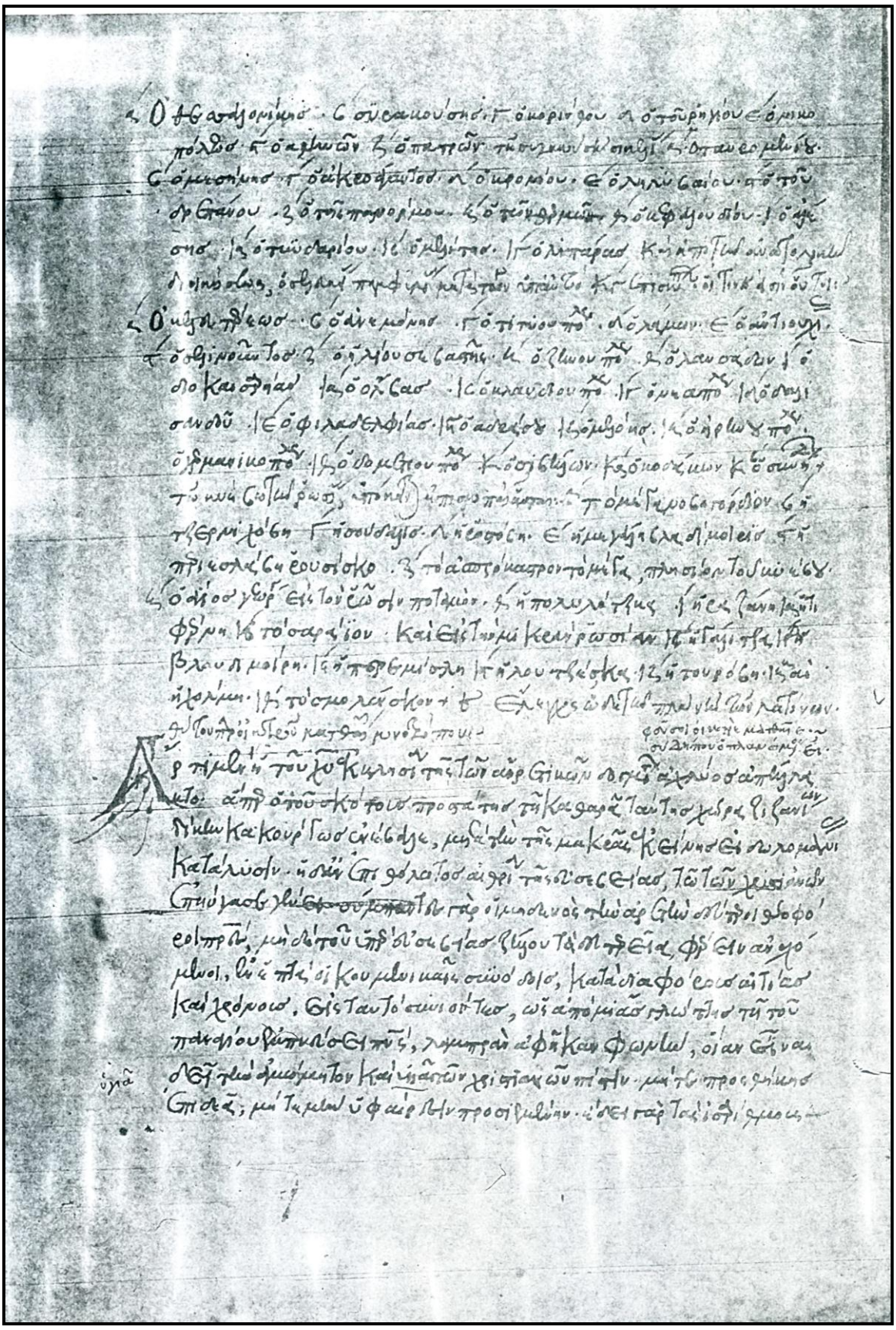


**PLATE 37**

*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Palatinus graecus* 256, f. 333v (AD 1449)

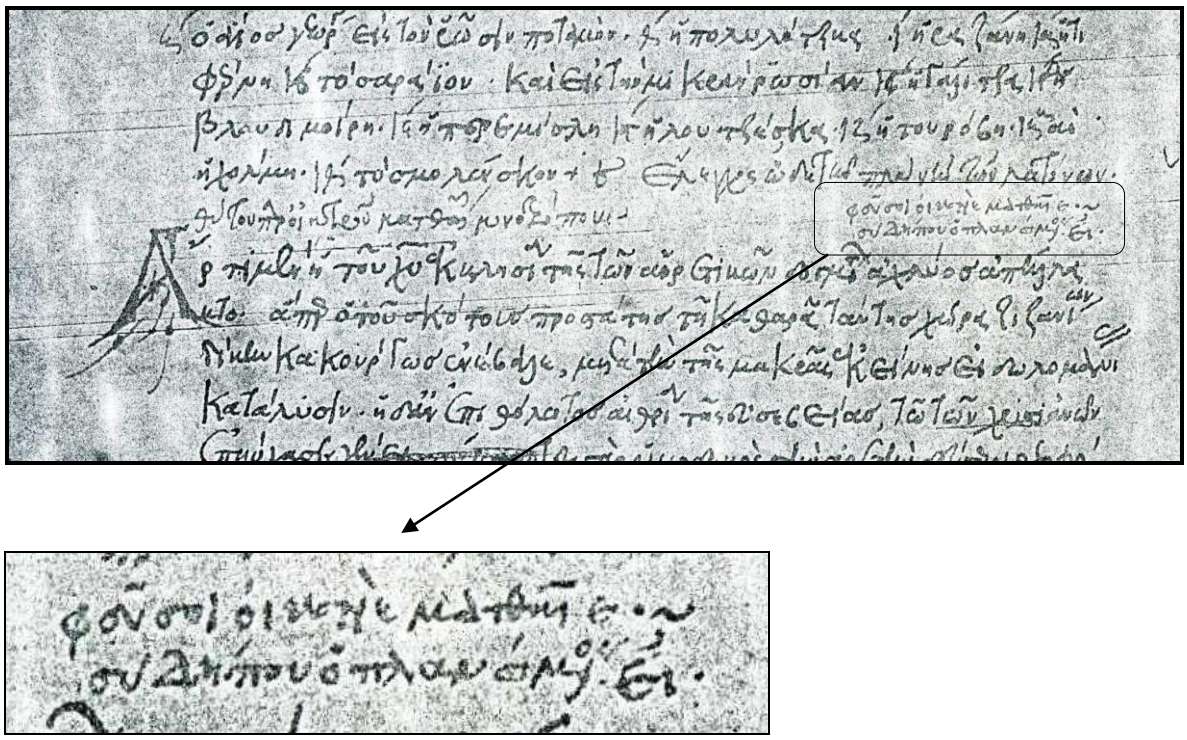
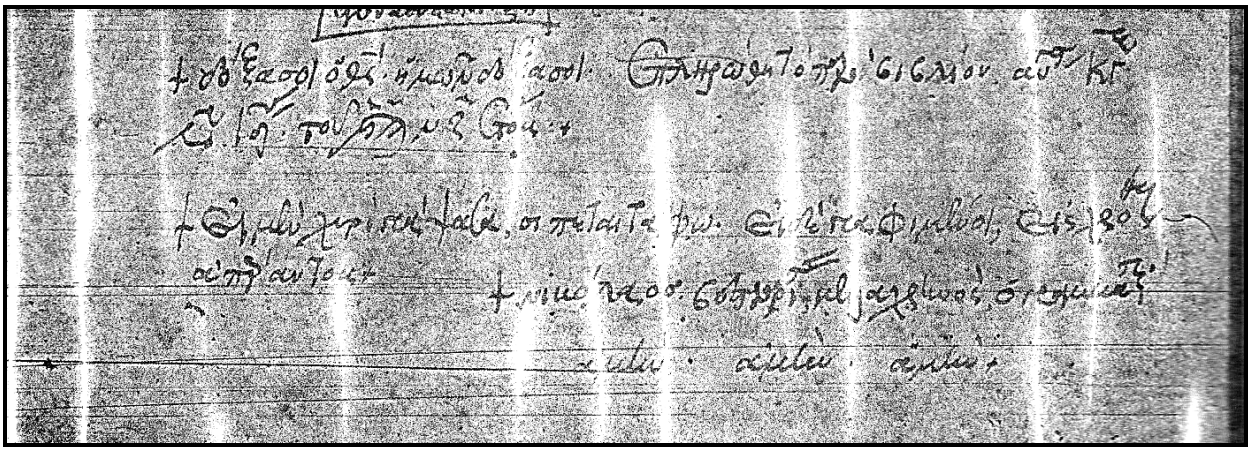


**PLATE 38**

*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Palatinus graecus* 256, f. 333v,
Marginal note, Hand **B**



**Colophon:** δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοι· ἐπληρώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον,
αὐγούστου κγ' | ἰνδίκτ(ου) ιδ' τοῦ ,ϛϡνζ' ἔτους. |
+ εἰ μὲν χυρὶ γράψασα, σίπεται τάφῳ· εἰ δὲ γραφι μένοι, εἰς χρόνους
| ἀπέραντους +
+ νικόλαος, βεστιαριτ(ής) μελαχρινὸς, ὁ γραμματικὸς· |
ἀμὴν· ἀμὴν· ἀμὴν +

**PLATE 39**

*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Palatinus graecus* 256, f. 389v,

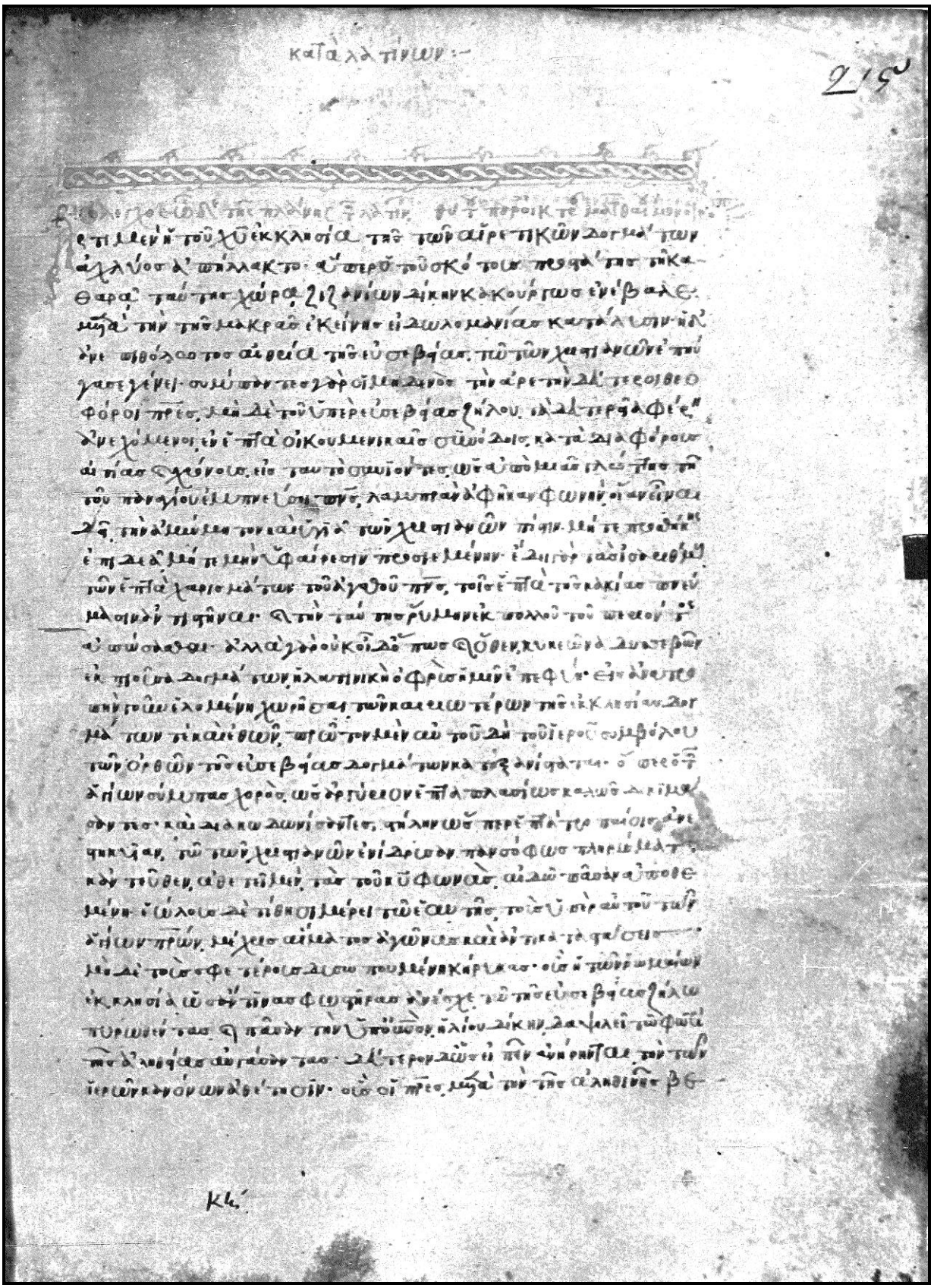
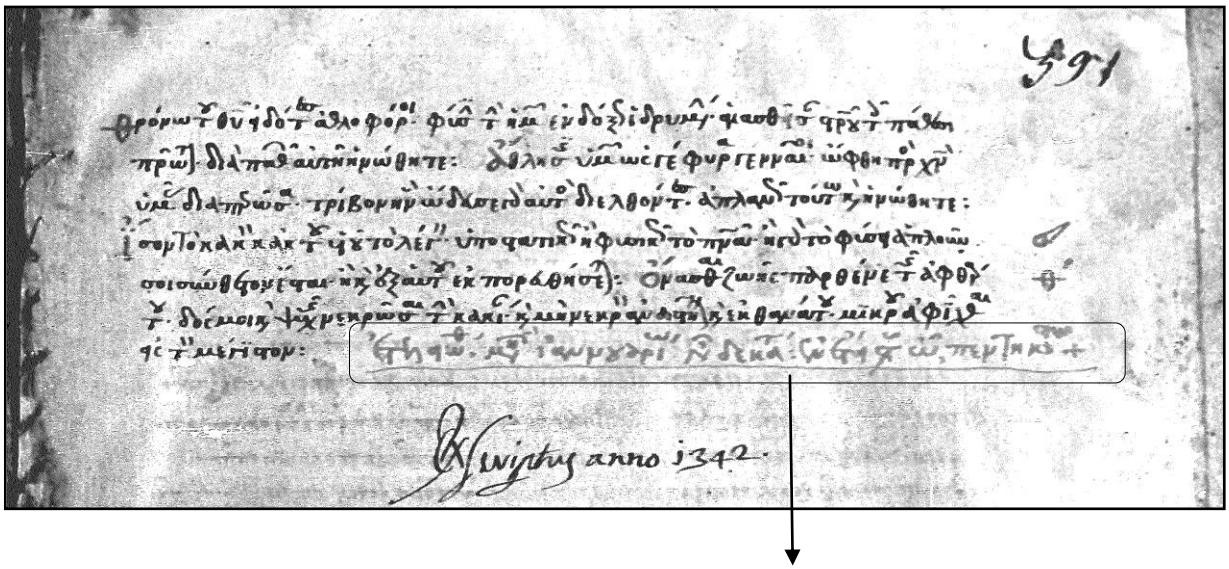


**PLATE 40**

*Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 149 (327/CL), f. 215r (AD 1342)



**Colophon:** ἐτελειώθει, μην(ὶ) ἰανουαρίῳ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) δεκάτ(ης): ἐν ἔτει ,στω, πεντηκοστὸ (Anno Mundi 6850 = 1342 AD)

**PLATE 41**

*Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 149 (327/CL) f. 391r

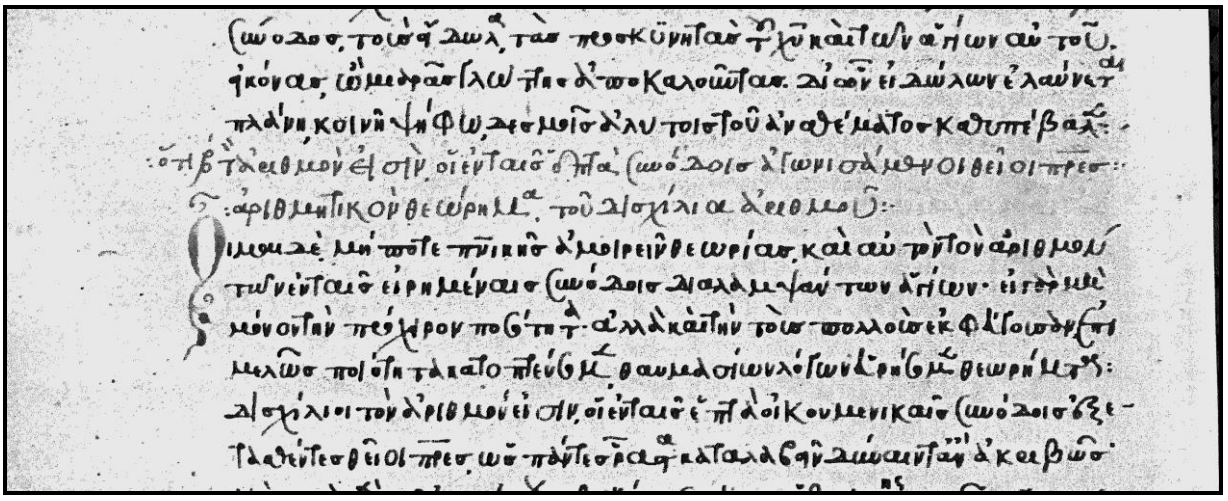


**PLATE 42**

*Moscow, Synodal Library, MS. gr.* 149 (327/CL) f. 247v

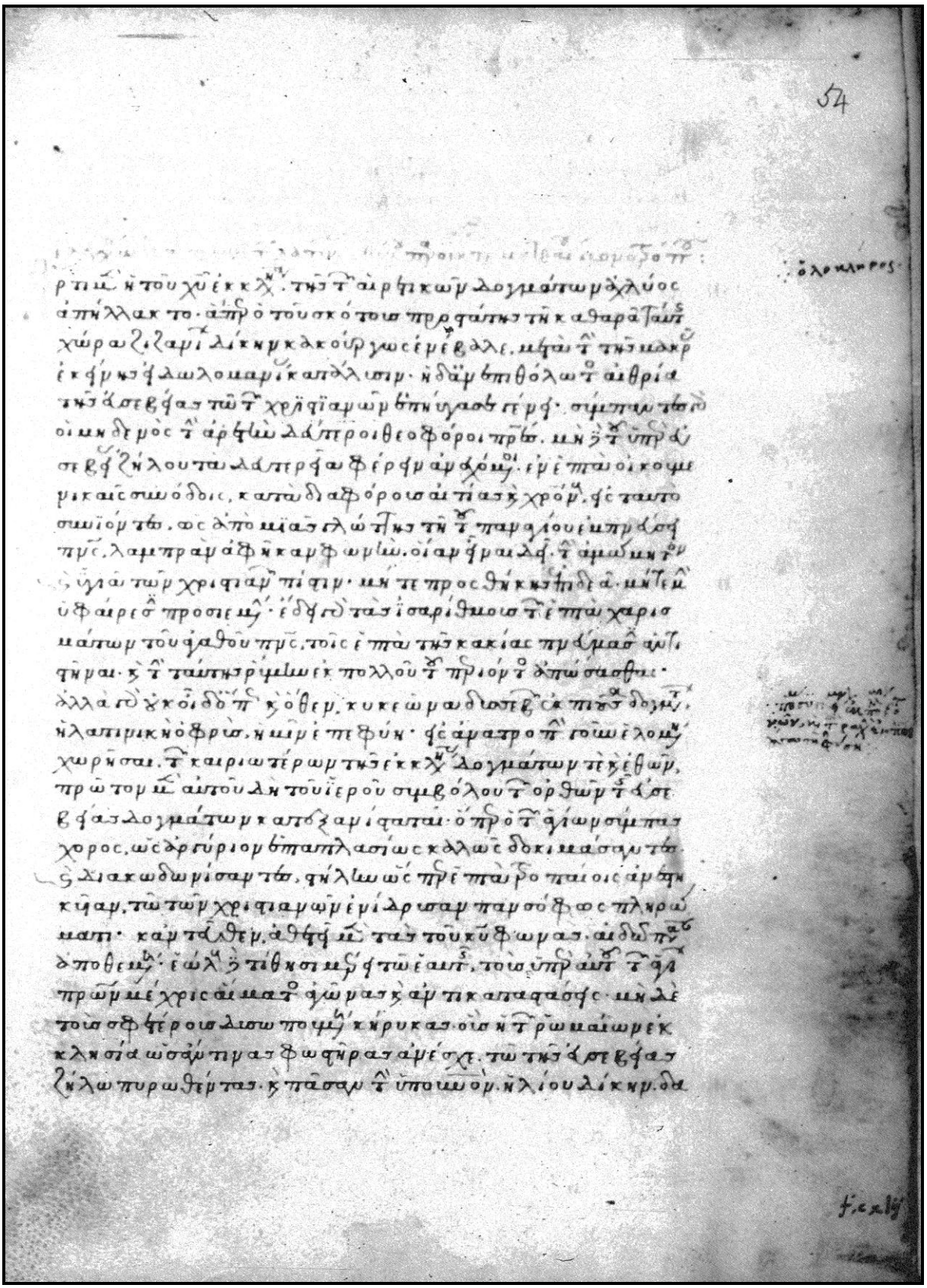


**PLATE 43**

*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci, Selden.* 44 (Arch. Seld. B.49), f. 54r

(14th century)

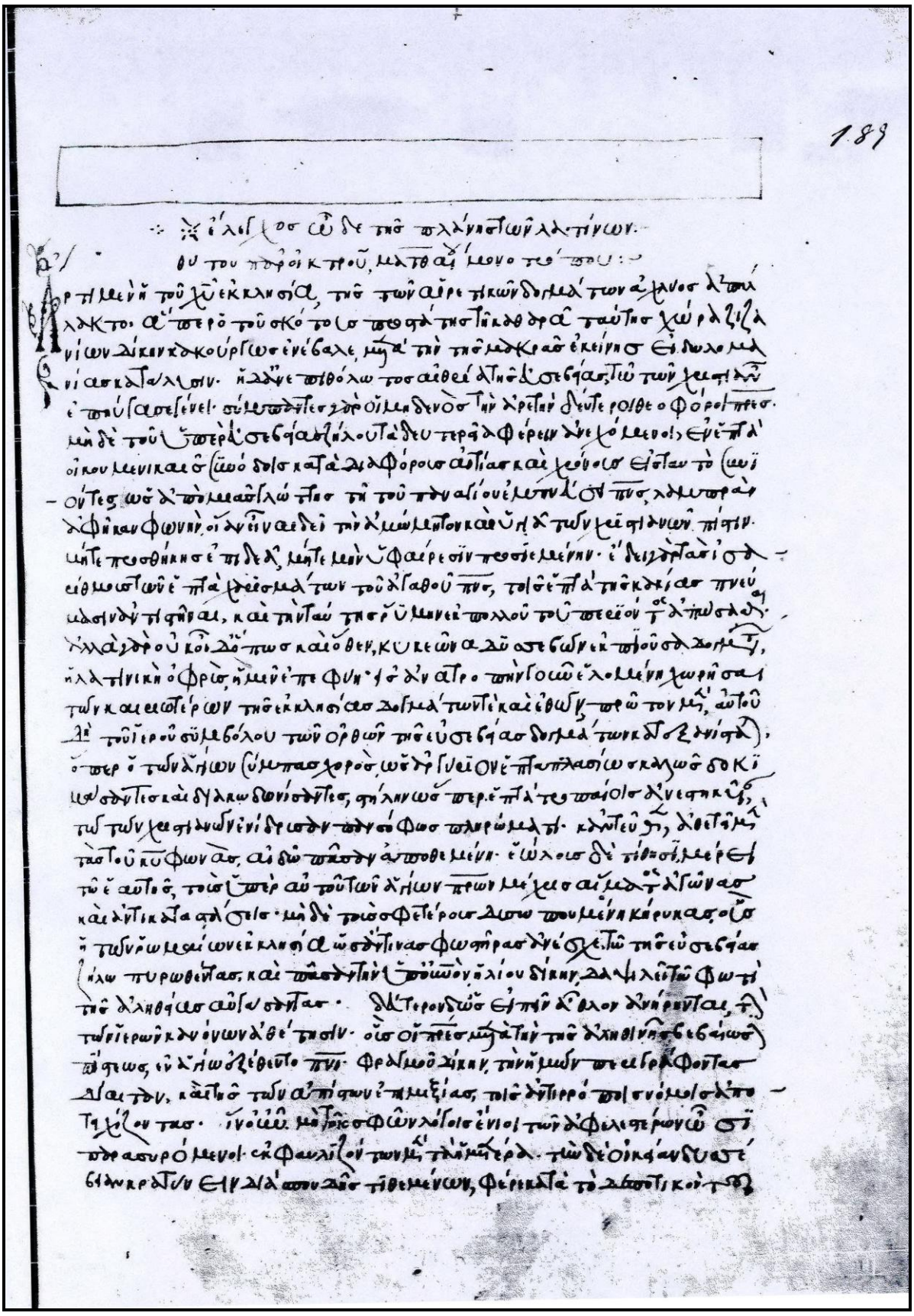


**PLATE 44**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 480, f. 189r (14th century)

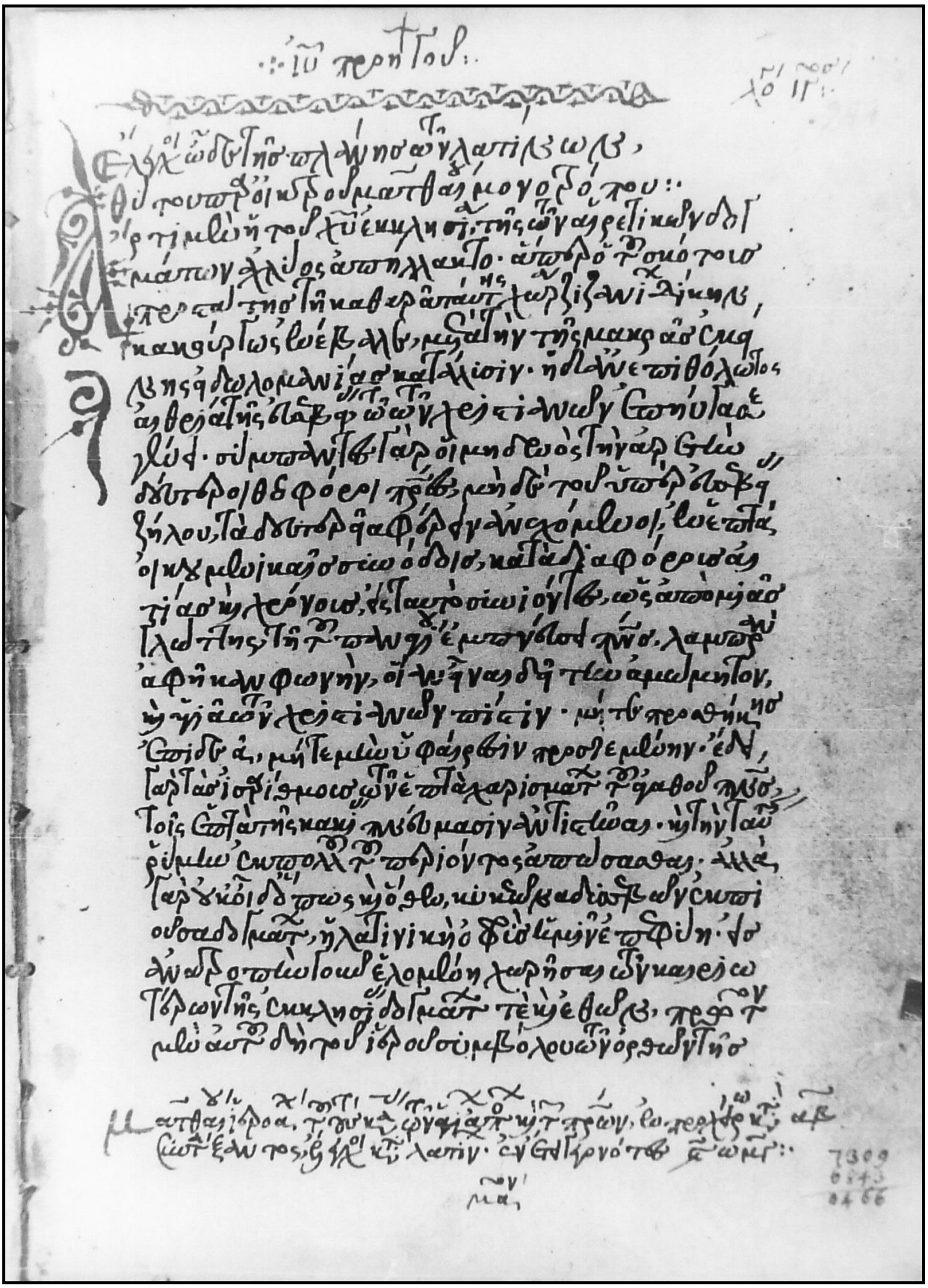
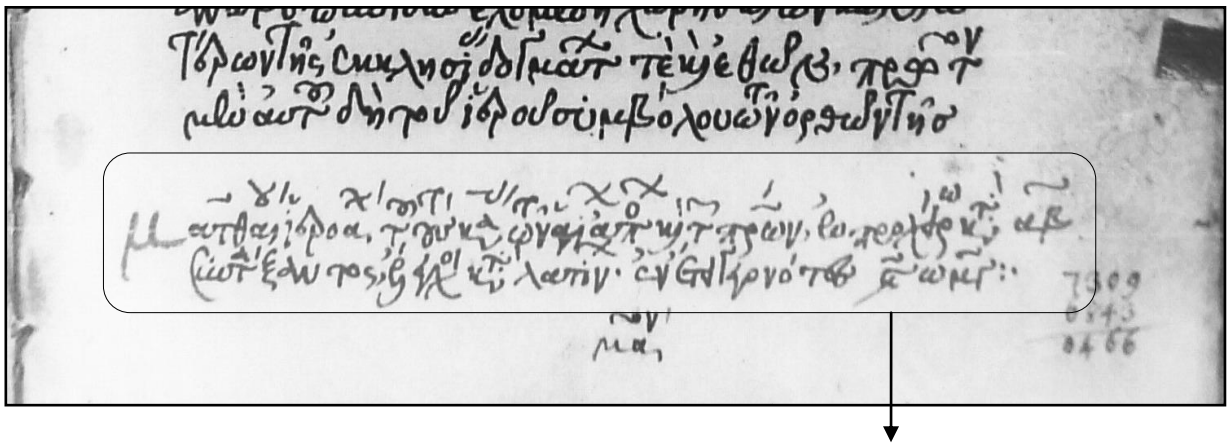


**PLATE 45**

*Athos, Iveron MS.* 678 (Lambros 4798), f. 299r (16th century)



**Colophon:** Ματθαίου ἱερο(μον)άχ(ου) τοῦ τοὺς καν(όν)(ας) τῶν ἁγί(ων) ἀπο(στόλων) κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) π(ατέ)ρων, ἐν προχείρω κ(α)τ(ὰ) α(λφά)β(ητον) | συντάξαντος, ἔλεγχοι κ(α)τ(ὰ) λατίν(ων)· ἐν ἔτει γεγονότες ,ϛωμγ′ (Anno Mundi 6843 = 1335 AD)

**PLATE 46**

*Athos, Iveron MS.* 678 (Lambros 4798), f. 299r, bottom margin

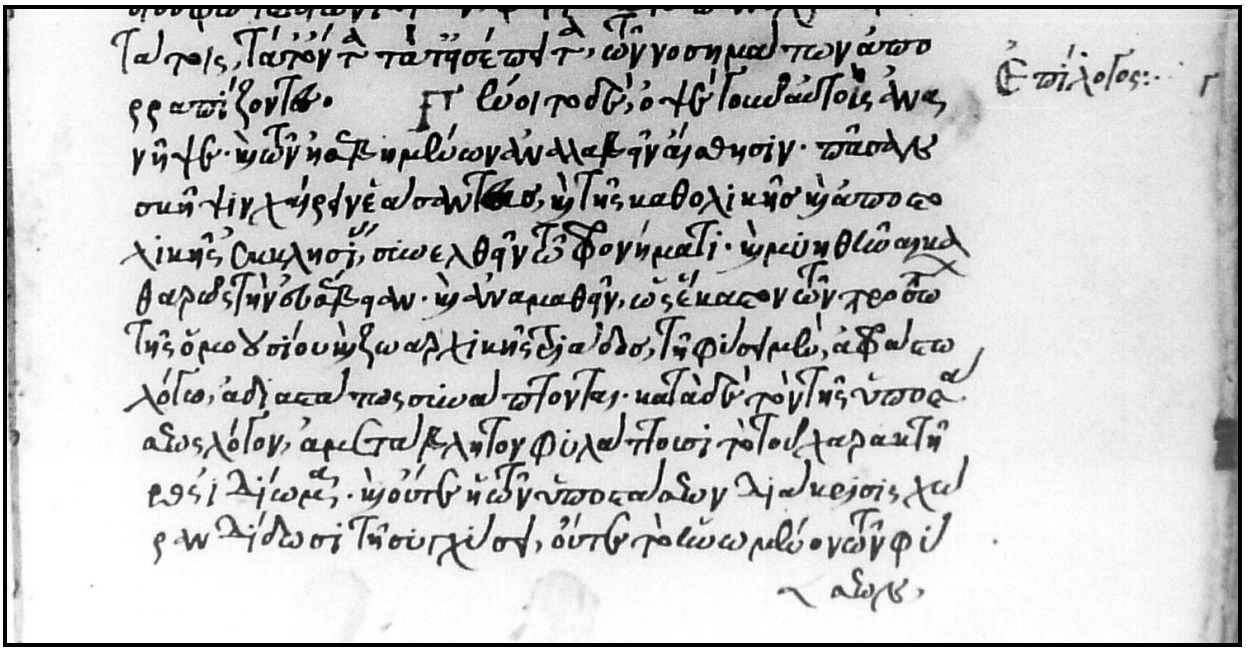


**PLATE 47**

*Athos, Iveron MS.* 678 (Lambros 4798), f. 363r

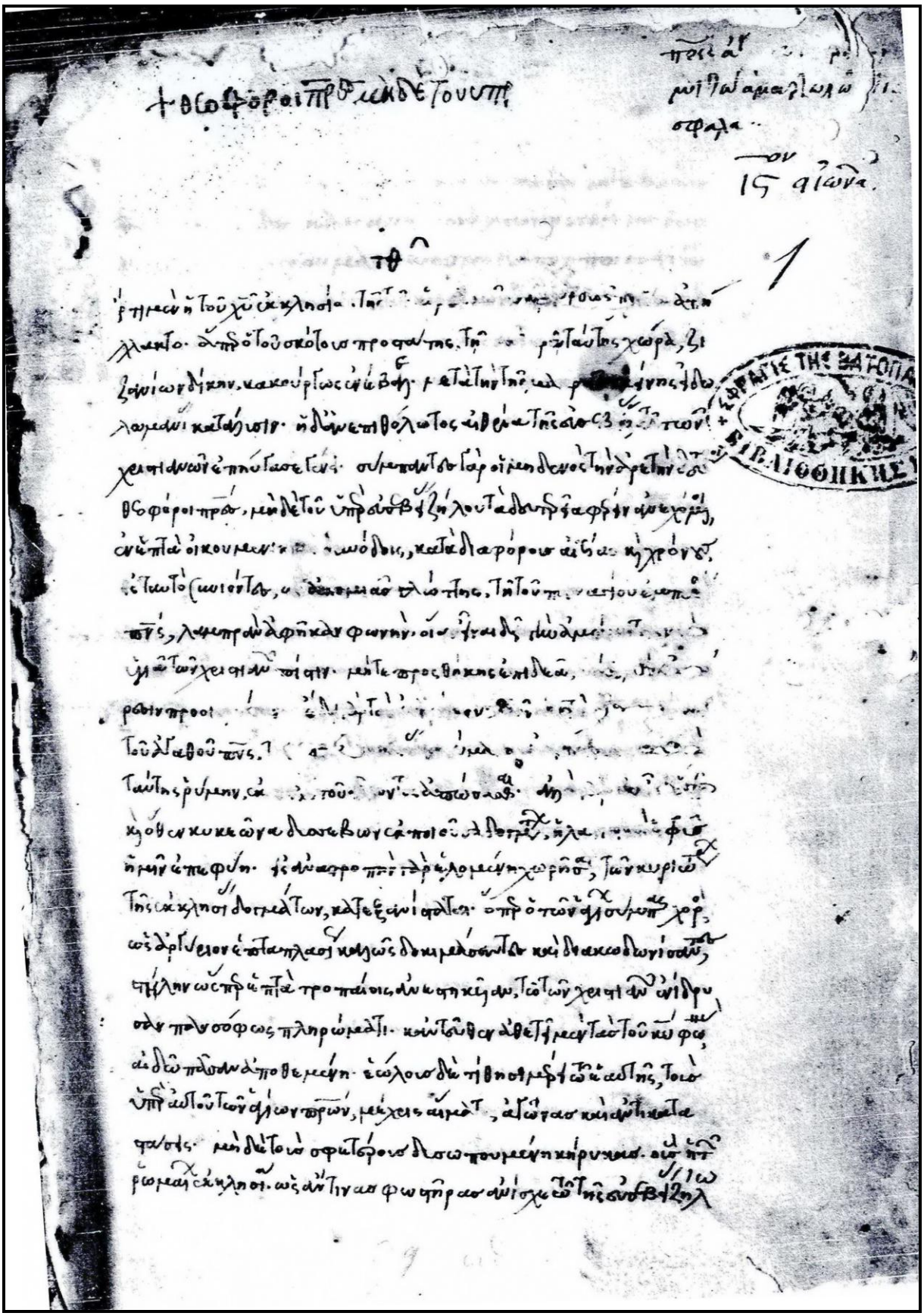


**PLATE 48**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 484, f. 1r (16th century), Hand **A**

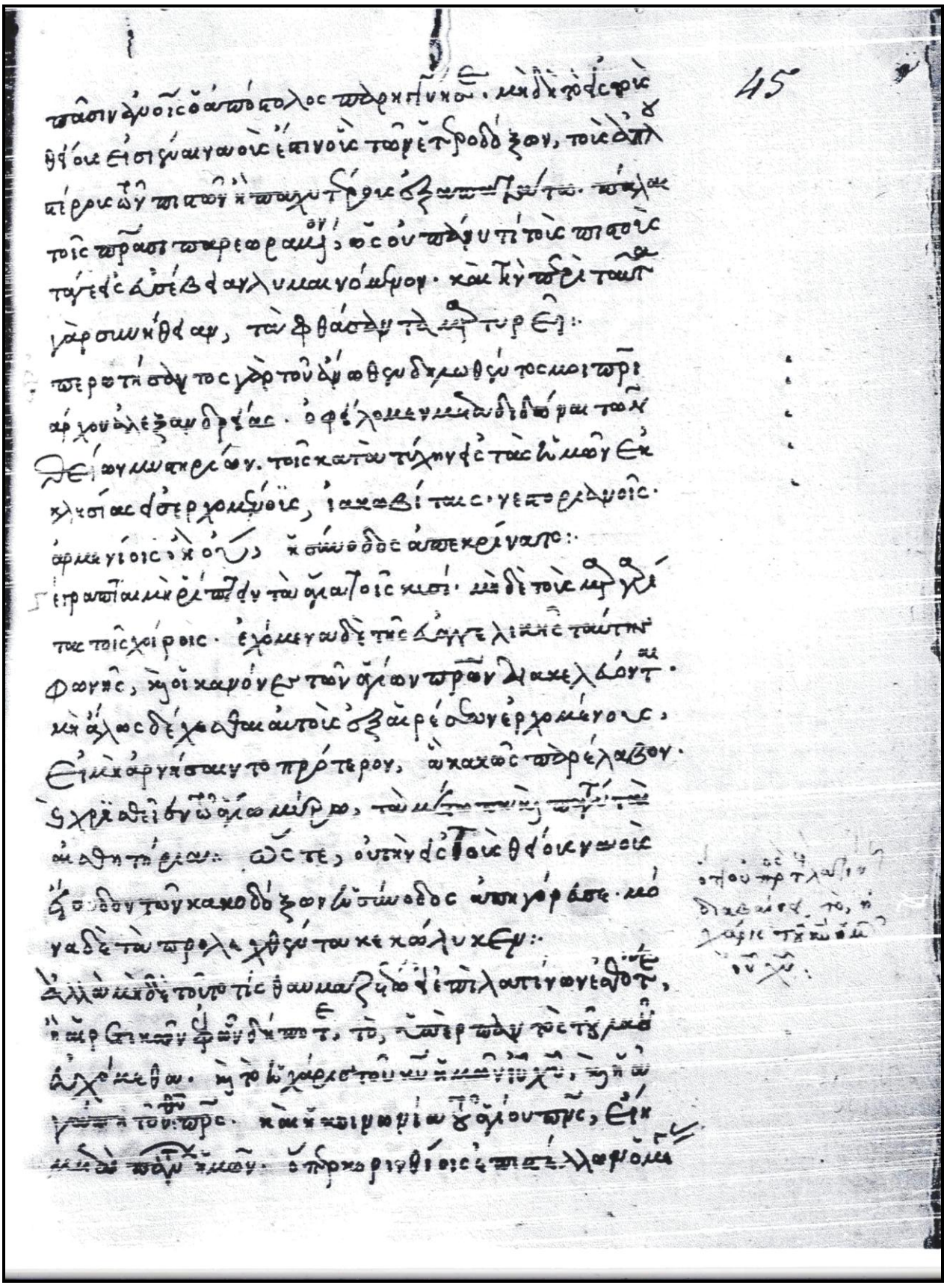


**PLATE 49**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 484, f. 45r, Hand **B**

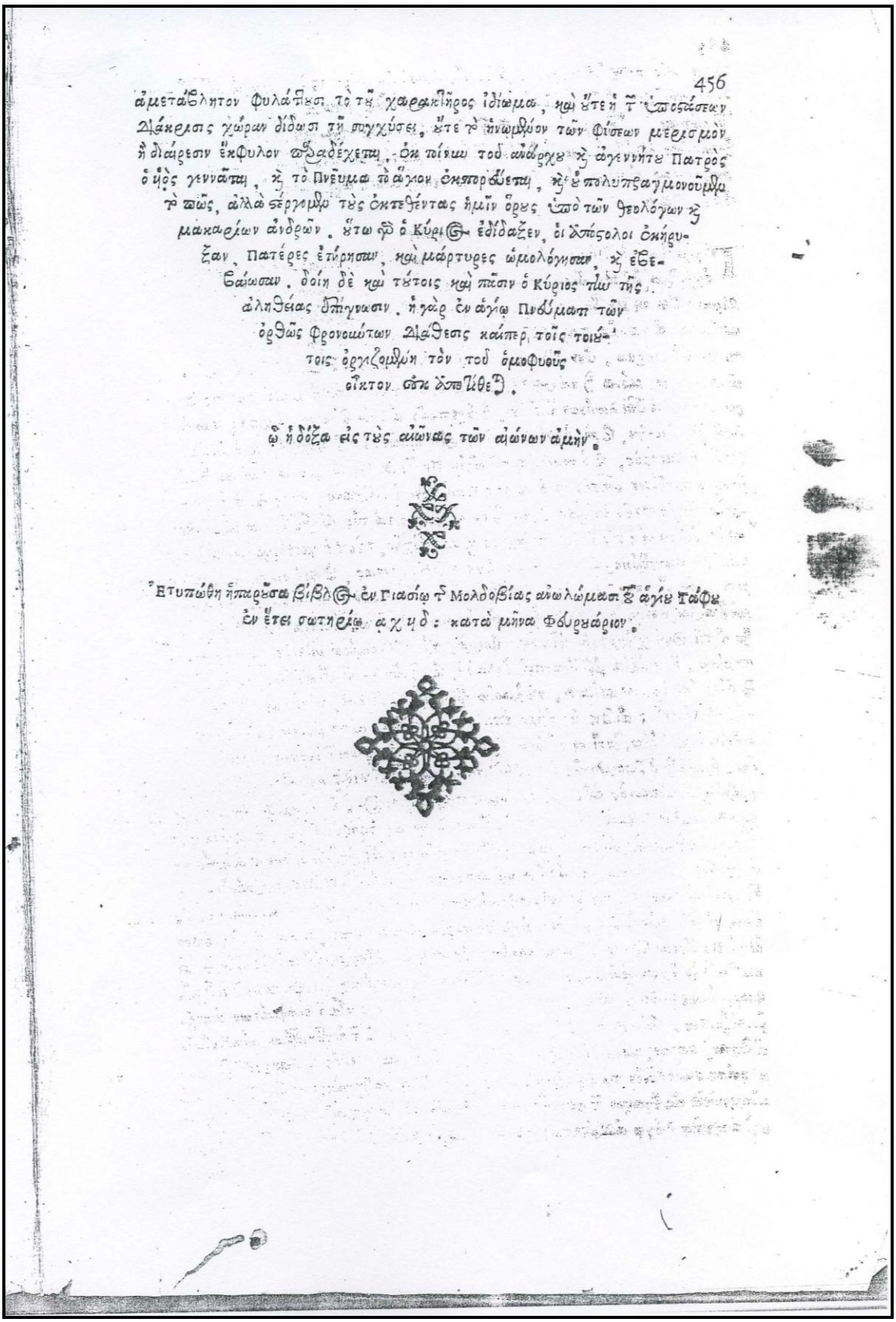
μῶν θεῖος γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς ὀπαλὺ μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ζωόδον ἀκμάσας ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ γράμμασιν ἐθεολόγησεν ἐκ τῆς Πατρὸς μόνου προβάλλεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Ζαχαρίας ὁ πέντε καὶ εἰκοστὸς καὶ ἑκατὸν ὕστερον ἔτος τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα εἰς ἑλληνίδα ἑρμηνεύων. Φωνῆς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἁγίου ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς προέρχεται, καὶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ μένει καὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦτο μαθὼν ἰδάντα τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν ἐπ' αὐτόν. λέων δὲ ὁ βενέδικτος ὁ μεγάλος ῥώμης ὕστερον ὀρχιερεὺς ἑλληνιστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν μυσταγωγίαν ὁμοφωνεῖ τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως, ἐντερφύμην, τῆς ἁγίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίας ἐνομοθέτησαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ σεσηπὸς τῆς Παλαμᾶ βλασφημίας ἀναζήσῃ πρόφασιν. ὅτι ὁ ἱερὸς λέων ἡ τῆς ἁγιοφυλακίου τῆς ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας αὐτόχειρ ἀποίδας δύο τοῖς ἱεροῖς κειμηλίοις ζωαποτεθησαμένοις ἐξήνεγκεν ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐχύσας τὸ δυσεβὲς τῆς πίστεως ἔκθεσιν, καὶ τούτας ἐνώπιον ἀπαναγνωσθῆναι πρὸ ῥωμαϊκῆς πληθύος ἐθεσπίσατο. ἡ μέχρι τοῦ προλεχθέντος σεργίου πατριάρχου κωνσταντινουπόλεως οἱ ῥώμης ἀρχιερεῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης συναλλαγὴν τῆς ἰδίας θρησκείας ὑπερέμπαντες ὑπηρόλητοι πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας θρόνους τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως ἀπαραλάκτως ἐφύλαττον. ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν. ὁ υἱὸς καὶ θεαυτότης τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι μυσταγωγεῖ. καὶ τίς ὑπόληψις διδάσκαλον ἄλλον, εἰμὴ σαφῶς μέμνηνεν.

Ἔπεται βιβλίου βλασφήμου μέρη τῶν λατίνων.

Ἀλλὰ γε τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτῶν νεανιεύμασιν, ὅτως ἐπ' ἔχατα δυσεβείας ἴσα, καὶ ἕτερα προσθετέον ἄττα, μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν εἰς λόγον καθοδοξίας τῶν φθασάντων ὑποκειπόμενα. τοὺς γὰρ χειροτονημένους ἱερεῖς καὶ διακόνους ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκάζουσιν γεμεῖν, τελέως μετάγειν τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀφιέζειν τῶν νομίμως ἀζδυχθεισῶν αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν μήτε καινὴν τῆς θείας γραφῆς, μήτε ἰδίαν τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ὑπερεφέρεσθαι. ἐξ ὧν παράλογον πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων γλώσσης ἐχρησμόδοτησε καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν ἐπεσφόρησεν. ὁ δὲ αὖ τῶν θείων πατέρων χορὸς τοὺς αὐθεκάστου γνώμην τὰ τούτων μὴ προσειλημένους θεσπίσματα τῶν πρώτων ἀφειδῶς ἠλωτρίωσεν ὁμηγύρεως. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἱερὸς κανὼν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἕκτης ζωόδου, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν καθαργέλῃ ις: τοῖς τῷ κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένοις εἰς ἀναγνώσας ἔτι καὶ ψάλτας τελέσαι συγχωρεῖ νομίμως γαμεῖν, μετὰ δέγε τὸ εἰς βαθμὸν προαχθῆναι ὑποδιακόνου, ἢ διακόνου, ἢ πρεσβυτέρου οὐκέτι. ὁ δὲ ε: τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τὸν προφάσει εὐλαβείας τὴν ἑαυτῆς γυναῖκα ἐκβάλλοντα ὑπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον ἀφορίζει. μέχρις ἂν αὖθις προσλάβηται, ὑπομένουσι. ὁ καθαιρεῖ. ὅγε μὴν κβ: τῆς ς: ζωόδου μόνους τοὺς ὀρχιερεῖς ἀπαίρεσθαι τοῦ τῆς χειροτονίας νόμιμον ἔχειν γυναῖκα τὸ ὀρχῆμον ἐντεῦθεν τῷ θεῷ προμηθέμενοι ἐκκλησίας. τῶν ἱερέων δὲ καὶ διακόνων ὁ ιγ: τῆς αὐτῆς ζωόδου κανὼν ἐξεπίτηδες ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ λατίνων καθαπόρμου ἐκκλησίας, καὶ φανερῶς ἀναστέπων τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις κρατῆσαι τοιοῦτον ἔθος, ἡμεῖς φησὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐῤῥώσθη τὰ σωσικέσια βουλόμεθα τῶν ἀξίως τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἠξιωμένων, ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν τὸν ὑλογηθέντα τῇ τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίᾳ γάμον ὑβρί-

**PLATE 50**

Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem ed., *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, (Jasi, 1692-94), p. 441



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ἀμετάβλητον φυλάττουσι τὸ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἰδίωμα, καὶ οὔτε ἡ τῶν ὑποστάσεων
διάκρισις χώραν δίδωσι τῇ συγχύσει, οὔτε τὸ ἡνωμένον τῶν φύσεων μερισμὸν
ἢ διαίρεσιν ἔκφυλον παραδέχεται, ἐκ τοίνυν τοῦ ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀγεννήτου Πατρὸς
ὁ υἱὸς γεννᾶται, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦμεν
τὸ πῶς, ἀλλὰ στέργομεν τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἡμῖν ὅρους ὑπὸ τῶν θεολόγων καὶ
μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξεν, οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐκήρυ-
ξαν, Πατέρες ἐτήρησαν, καὶ μάρτυρες ὡμολόγησαν, καὶ ἐβε-
βαίωσαν. δοίη δὲ καὶ τούτοις καὶ πᾶσιν ὁ Κύριος τὴν τῆς
ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν. ἡ γὰρ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τῶν
ὀρθῶς φρονούντων διάθεσις καίπερ τοῖς τοιού-
τοις ὀργιζομένη τὸν τοῦ ὁμοφυοῦς
οἶκτον οὐκ ἀποτίθεται.

ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

Ἐτυπώθη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐν Γιασίῳ τῆς Μολδοβίας ἀνωλώμασι τοῦ ἁγίου Τάφου
ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ ᾳχυδ: κατὰ μῆνα Φευρουάριον.

**PLATE 51**

Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem ed., *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, p. 456

*excidente, alius electus est? Hunc in modum itaque quinque Patriarchas Constantinopolitanos Isaacius spatio nouem annorum, quibus imperium tenuit, creauit, nulla ratione motus, aut criminum aduersus Canones reos, sed simpliciter, & proprio arbitrio, & appetitu hunc quidem deprimens, illum vero exaltans. Et nihilominus ex his nemo, aut ex illis, qui ab ipsis ordinati sunt, reiectus ab Ecclesia est. Quod vero fœliuius est, vel vt verius dicam, tanta dignitate indignius, omnes hi sub eiusdem Isaacij Imperio vitam ducebant: quod illius dominatus exiguo tempore perdurauit.* Et tu non vereris dicere, *mundum ætate prouectiorem vindicias dedisse secundum libertatem: & mortales plurimos a Photij exemplo didicisse, istos Salmoneas contemnere, qui tonitrua excitant*, &c. Paparum ne, an Imperatorum tonitrua sunt truciora, horribiliora, immaniora? Et tamen post exemplum Photij vindicias dedere secundum libertatem, & didicere Salmoneas contemnere. *Quando iam Photius vominus sui iuris securus sedebat in solio a Paparum contumelijs, dum vixit.* Age prome exempla Paparum, qui simili crudelitate lacerarint Patriarchas Constantinopolitanos, etiam postquam exemplo Photij Papatus iugum excusserunt. Excommunicarunt Patriarchas, sed hæreticos, Schismaticos, contumaces, delectos ad omne facinus: vitæ & morum summa probitate præditos, & Catholicæ veritatis aduersus hostes propugnatores, summis gratijs, & fauoribus prosecuti sunt. Aliud est sibi fingere tonitrua, & tum demum argutari, aliud rem, vti est, recolere, & tum demum statuere, Creyghtone *in his dudum versate*. Et hanc securitatem iuris sui in solio Patriarchali constabiliuit Photius Patriarchis Constantinopolitanis dum vixit, cum eos retraxit a Paparum obsequio. Sed de his altera vice in exercitationibus nostris aduersus Syropulum. Neque hic transilienda sunt, quæ ex Schismaticorum, vanissimis promptuarijs colligit Matthæus Hieromonachus contra Pontificiorum incolumitatem. Ταύτῃ τοίνυν



**PLATE 52**

Leo Allatius ed., *In Roberti Creyghtoni* (Rome, 1665), p. 331

ἐρῶν τὲν τῆ ὀρθῆν δογμάτων, καὶ κανόνων διαφορὰν περὶ τὸ Λατινικὸν ἔτω δυσαρδύζαν γένος λίαν ὑποφαλῶς περὶ τὰ μάγιστα διαπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ τὲν Ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἰδιώτην λαχόντα Μιχαὴλ, ὑπὸ τὲν ἐπωνυμίαν Κηρουλάριος, καὶ περίεργον ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν νομίζας, τὸ σπᾶσαι δ' ἀκακίας τύτων φορᾶν, οἰκειωθὲν ἤθεσι Σιώδοντ, καὶ ψήφῳ τύτες κοινῷ δ' καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεμε. παρὲ μὲν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Μονομάχος. παρὲν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀντιοχείας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Βελγαρίας, καὶ ὁ Κύπρυ, καὶ δ' ἐκκλησίας ὅσον ἐλλόγιμώτερον, καὶ σοφώτερον. ὁ μὲν τοι Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, εἰ καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι τῆ πόλεων τελικαῦτα ἐκ ἦσαν ἐπιχωριάζοντες, τὰ πραχθέντα δ' ὅμως καὶ προσεπήνεσαν, καὶ ἐπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ δ' σφῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνίας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Πάπαν ἀπώσαντο, ὡς αὐτὸ δὴπε μαρτυρεῖ τὰ πραίσματα, μηδ' ὁμιᾶς τῆ τεσσάρων ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς κοινωνίαν εἰσέτι καὶ νεῦ ἢ Πάπαν προσιεμένης, τὸ τόδον καὶ ἐξάλλοτριον τ' λατινικῶν μυζαπλομένης δογμάτων. εἰ τύνυν ἔτως δ' ἔχει, εἰ τότε παλαίες κεκρίκασιν, τίς ἔτως ἢ παρὰ ἀκρίβειαν δ' κολος, ἢ τῆ κοινῶν ἔξω λογισμῶν, ὅστις αὖ τύτοις, καὶ δ' ἐν ἕθεσι προστρήσεως ἀδ' ἐῶς τὰ νεῦ μεῖαδ' οἵης ἄγε δὴ, ἵνα τ' ἄλλα παρῇ, τὸ τῆ Ἀρειμίνων γένος αὐτᾶς ἀσεβείαις καὶ πονηροῖς δόγμασι προσδεξάμενοι, τὲν ἕνωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀνασάζαντο, τὲν φίλων καὶ μόνων ὑποταγὲν αὐτῶν νομιζόμενοι. *Hanc itaque rectorum dogmatum, & Canonum apud gentem Latinam inualescentem, & circa potissima etiam atque etiam longe auiam a vera ratione vagantem, qui tum Constantinopolitanæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula tractabat Michaël cognomento Cerularius, & similem eorum improbitatem impedire, & illius impetum continere supra suas vires esse intelligens, Oecumenicam Synodum coëgit, & communi eos calculo a Catholica Ecclesia abscidit. Aderant siquidem Imperator Constantinus Monomachus; aderant & Antiochenus, & Bulgariæ, & Cypri Metropolitæ; & Ecclesiastici ordinis quotquot eruditione, ac sapientia luculentiores habebantur. Alexandrinus vero, atque Hierosolymitanus., licet tum in Regina Vrbium non commorarentur, acta nihilominus & laudarunt, & comprobarunt, & a sua communione ipsi quoque Papam eiecerunt, vt res ipsæ testantur, cum*

*ex qua-*

**PLATE 53**

Leo Allatius ed., *In Roberti Creyghtoni* (Rome, 1665), p. 332

**PLATE 54**

*Athos, Vatopedi MS.* 483, f. 2r (16th century)

## ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| p. 8, § 3.4 | **FOR** | († 2008) | **READ** | (†2008) |
| p. 10 | **FOR** | (Athens, 1962-68) | **READ** | (Athens, 1962-1968) |
| p. 10 | **AFTER** | Illinois, 2000) | **ADD** | LSJ<br>Liddell, H.G. & R. Scott (cont. H.S. Jones) eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1953[9]) |
| p. 10 | **AFTER** | Sources in Translation | **ADD** | Papanikolaou & Demakopoulos, *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*<br>A. Papanikolaou & G.E. Demakopoulos, eds., *Orthodox Readings of Augustine* (New York, 2008) |
| p. 10 | **FOR** | Kazhdan et al. eds. , | **READ** | Kazhdan et al. eds., |
| p. 10 | **FOR** | *Christian Church,* | **READ** | *Christian Church* |
| p. 11 | **FOR** | *SVQ* | **READ** | *SVThQ* |
| p. 14 | **FOR** | *MS.* 484, | **READ** | *MS.* 484 |
| p. 17, n. 12.3 | **FOR** | *Fourtheenth* | **READ** | *Fourteenth* |
| p. 18, n. 31.2 | **FOR** | *Othrhodox* | **READ** | *Orthodox* |
| p. 18, n. 31.3 | **FOR** | *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* | **READ** | *SVThQ* |
| p. 18, n. 31.2 | **FOR** | Cannon | **READ** | Canon |
| p. 18, n. 31.5 | **FOR** | Cannon | **READ** | Canon |
| p. 19, n. 33.1 | **FOR** | *Realia Byzantina* (2009) | **READ** | *Realia Byzantina*, eds. S. Kotzabassi & G. Mavromatis, Byzantinisches Archiv 22 (Berlin-New York, 2009) |
| p. 22.13 | **FOR** | simple-minded | **READ** | less sophisticated |
| p. 23, § 1.3 | **AFTER** | [2] | **ADD** | [43a] For a comprehensive historical discussion of the *filioque,* see now A.E Siecienski, *The Filioque, History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford, 2010). |
| p. 24, § 2.4 | **AFTER** | translator), | **ADD** | [46a] The possibility that Blastares used patristic *florilegia* should not be ruled out as we shall see (below, pp. 30-34). |
| p. 25, § 1.10 | **FOR** | Calabrian)[48]: | **READ** | Calabrian):[48] |
| p. 26, § 2.12 | **AFTER** | other: | **ADD** | [50a] On the eternal and temporal manifestation of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, articulated by George of Cyprus in the *Tomos* and his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, see A. Papadakis, 'Beyond the *Filioque* Divide: the Late Thirteenth Century Revisited', *SVThQ* 55.2 (2011), 148-150. |
| p. 28, § 2.3 | **FOR** | above [**4**.16-22]): | **READ** | above, p. 25 [**4**.16-22]): |
| p. 29, § 3.3 | **FOR** | himself | **READ** | oneself |
| p. 38, § 2.4 | **AFTER** | Son. | **ADD** | [72a] On the distinction between the formulae *ὑπάρχειν* with reference to the the eternal and temporal manifestation of the Spirit |

* p. 8, § 3.4 = page 8, paragraph 3, line 4; p. 18, n. 31.2 = page 18, note 31, line 2.

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | *from* and *through* the Son, and *ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν* with reference to the eternal emanation of the Spirit *through* the Son, articulated by George of Cyprus in the *Tomos* and his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, see A. Papadakis, 'Beyond the *Filioque* Divide: the Late Thirteenth Century Revisited', *SVThQ* 55.2 (2011), 148-150. |
| p. 30, § 1.7 | **AFTER** | Augustine | **ADD** | [51a] On Augustine's reception in the Orthodox tradition, see Papanikolaou & Demakopoulos, *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*. |
| p. 31, § 2.5 | **AFTER** | position | **ADD** | [55a] On a similar use by Gregory Palamas of another passage from Augustine's *De Trinitate,* see R. Flogaus, 'Inspiration-Exploitation-Distortion: The Use of St Augustine in the Hesychast Controversy', in *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, pp. 78-79. |
| p. 31, § 2.6-7 | **FOR** | So far-Latin, | **READ** | Apart from the list of Latin legal terms which Matthaios compiled (see above, p. 17), there is no evidence to support that he possessed advance knowledge of Latin, |
| p. 31, n. 53.3 | **AFTER** | 933.59-64 | **ADD** | On a discussion of Planoudes' translation of this passage, see E. Fisher, 'Planoudes' *De Trinitate,* the Art of Translation, and the Beholder's Share', in *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, pp. 49-53. |
| p. 32, § 3.3 | **FOR** | Πατρός | **READ** | Πατρὸς |
| p. 32, col. b, § 5.3 | **FOR** | **proceedes** | **READ** | **proceeds** |
| p. 32, n. 61.3 | **AFTER** | n. 23 | **ADD** | see also Flogaus, 'Inspiration-Exploitation-Distortion: The Use of St Augustine in the Hesychast Controversy', in *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, p. 71 with n. 37. |
| p. 35, n. 4.4 | **FOR** | ante-dates | **READ** | post-dates |
| p. 36, n. 71.2 | **FOR** | Πνεύματος', | **READ** | Πνεύματος»', |
| p. 40, § 4.4 | **FOR** | Sabellius[75], | **READ** | Sabellius,[75] |
| p. 50, § 3.5 | **FOR** | [15.1-5]. | **READ** | [**15**.1-5]. |
| p. 58, n. 96.2 | **FOR** | *SVQ* | **READ** | *SVThQ* |
| p. 59, § 1.15 | **FOR** | as if were | **READ** | as it were |
| p. 61, § 4.1 | **FOR** | Easter | **READ** | Passover |
| p. 67, § 1.21 | **FOR** | As fas as | **READ** | As far as |
| p. 68, § 2.15 | **FOR** | Easter | **READ** | Passover |
| p. 69, § 2.12 | **FOR** | Easter | **READ** | Passover |
| p. 70, § 2.6 | **FOR** | Easter | **READ** | Passover |
| p. 73, § 1.13 | **FOR** | Easter | **READ** | Passover |
| p. 82, § 1.16 | **FOR** | μετιόντα). [115] | **READ** | μετιόντα).[115] |
| p. 85, n. 121.1 | **FOR** | Plate 33 | **READ** | *apparatus criticus,* [**43**.Tit] |
| p. 88 § 2.2 | **AFTER** | similarities: | **ADD** | [131a] For the published text by other authors of Synoptic Accounts of the seven ecumenical councils see: Rhalles & Potles, |

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| | | | | *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1952), pp. 389-392 (Neilos); pp. 370-374, (Adespoton); pp. 375-388 (Photios). |
| p. 89, n. 132.1 | **DELETE** | *Athens*-pp. 176-183 and | | |
| p. 89, n. 132.5 | **FOR** | (Rome, 1996.) | **READ** | (Rome, 1996) |
| p. 91, § 2.2 | **FOR** | expansion | **READ** | extension |
| p. 91, § 2.3 | **AFTER** | (30) | **ADD** | (or third power?) |
| p. 94, § 2.3 | **FOR** | unconvincing | **READ** | unconvincing' |
| p. 104, n. 154.3 | **FOR** | p. 44, nn. 75-76; | **READ** | p. 45, nn. 81-82; |
| p. 108, n. 166 | **FOR** | Plate 27. | **READ** | p. 167. |
| p. 110, n. 172.2 | **FOR** | κ(α)τ' α(λφά)β(ητον) | **READ** | κ(α)τ(ὰ) α(λφά)β(ητον) |
| p. 110, § 2.12 | **FOR** | Octomber 1342 | **READ** | October 1342 |
| p. 111, § 2.15 | **AFTER** | Philosopher, | **ADD** | [180a] On Joseph the Philosopher, see *PLP* 9078. |
| p. 112, § 1.20 | **FOR** | *incipts* | **READ** | *incipits* |
| p. 113, § 1.2 | **FOR** | *incipts* | **READ** | *incipits* |
| p. 126, § 1.2 | **AFTER** | μαθητεύσας | **ADD** | (with different ending, which includes an addition by Neophytos Prodromenos)[197a] cf. B. Kalogeropoulou-Metallinou, *Ὁ μοναχὸς Νεόφυτος Προδρομηνὸς καὶ τὸ θεολογικό του ἔργο* (Athens 1996), pp. 97 and 112. |
| p. 126, § 3.7 | **FOR** | Unedited-137.24ff. | **READ** | Ed. G. Papamichael, 'Ὁμολογία Γρηγορᾶ', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 11 (1913), pp. 70-77. |
| p. 134, § 4.8 | **FOR** | pp. 172-174 | **READ** | pp. 174-175 |
| p. 141, § 1.15 | **FOR** | *c.*1450/1 | **READ** | *c.*1450/51 |
| p. 146, § 5.5 | **FOR** | (Athens, 1952), | **READ** | (Athens, 1852), |
| p. 149, § 4.1 | **FOR** | ***kins*** | **READ** | ***kin*** |
| p. 153, § 4.1 | **FOR** | (ff. 299v- 307v) | **READ** | (ff. 299v-307v) |
| p. 238 | **FOR** | σύνοδος α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ στ′ ζ′ \| τιη′ ρν′ σ′ χλ′ ρξε′ ρο′ τξζ′ ,β | **READ** | σύνοδ(ος) α′/τιη′ <+> β′/ρν′ <+> γ′/σ′ <+> δ′/χλ′ <+> ε′/ρξε′ <+> Ϛ′/ρο′ <+> ζ′/τξζ′ <=> ,β |
| p. 243, § 2.2 | **AFTER** | differences | **ADD** | not found in the rest witnesses |
| p. 273 [**2**.7] | **FOR** | *ὅν* | **READ** | *ὄν* |
| p. 273 *apparatus criticus* § 3.3-4 | **FOR** | **7.** ὄν BDO | **READ** | **7.** ὅν ACGLMVWZ |
| p. 431, [**45**.90] | **FOR** | *ἐστὶν* | **READ** | *ἐστίν* |
| p. 463, col. a, § 1.1 | **AFTER** | **Vaticana** | **ADD** | *MS. Barberinus gr.* 405 |
| p. 463, col. a, § 1.3 | **AFTER** | *MS. Palatinus gr.* 256 | **ADD** | *MS. Vaticanus gr.* 1104 |
| p. 463, col. a, § 1.4 | **AFTER** | *MS. Urbanus graecus* 32 | **ADD** | **Biblioteca Valliceliana, Rome**<br>*MS.* 159 (LIII) |
| p. 463, col. b, § 7.3 | **AFTER** | *MS.* 428 | **ADD** | **Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine**<br>*MS.* 1706 |
| p. 464 | **FOR** | *Kirche*, ed. | **READ** | *Kirche*, eds. |
| p. 464 | **FOR** | (Freiburg, 1957-68), | **READ** | (Freiburg, 1957-1968) |
| p. 464 | **FOR** | *A Greek-English Lexicon,* ed. | **READ** | *A Greek-English Lexicon,* eds. |

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| p. 478, §1.2 | **FOR** | *SVQ* | **READ** | *SVThQ* |
| p. 478 | **ADD** | Fisher, E., 'Planoudes' *De Trinitate,* the Art of Translation, and the Beholder's Share', in *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, pp. 41-61. | | |
| p. 478 | **ADD** | Flogaus, R., 'Inspiration-Exploitation-Distortion: The Use of St Augustine in the Hesychast Controversy', in *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, pp. 63-80. | | |
| p. 481 | **ADD** | Papadakis, A., 'Beyond the *Filioque* Divide: the Late Thirteenth Century Revisited', *SVThQ* 55.2 (2011), 141-163. | | |
| p. 482 | **ADD** | Siecienski, A.E., *The Filioque, History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford, 2010). | | |
| p. 482, §2 | **FOR** | *Realia Byzantina* (2009), | **READ** | *Realia Byzantina*, eds. S. Kotzabassi & G. Mavromatis, Byzantinisches Archiv 22 (Berlin-New York, 2009), |
| p. 483, §13 | **FOR** | *SVQ* | **READ** | *SVThQ* |
| p. 483, §14 | **FOR** | *Othrhodox* | **READ** | *Orthodox* |
| p. 483, §14 | **FOR** | Cannon | **READ** | Canon |
| p. 483, §15 | **FOR** | Cannon | **READ** | Canon |
| Plate 35 | **FOR** | *MS.* 484, | **READ** | *MS.* 484 |