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**MARIE MEË**



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It goes without saying that if this edition leaves anything to be desired, it is the author who bears the responsibility.

Bart Janssens,  
Leuven,  
All Saints' Day 2001.



## WORKS CITED IN ABBREVIATION

- AB:** *Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie – A Journal of Critical Hagiography*, Brussels, 1882- .
- ACO:** *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berlin – Leipzig, 1914-1940; ed. J. STRAUB, Berlin, 1971-1984; ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin, 1984-1995.
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- BZ:** *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Leipzig – Munich – Stuttgart, 1892- .
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- CCCM: *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Turnhout, 1966- .
- CCSG: *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, Turnhout – Leuven, 1977- .
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- COMBEFIS: F. COMBEFIS (ed.), *S. Maximi Confessoris, Graecorum Theologiae eximiiue Philosophi, Operum Tomus primus (secundus). Ex probatissimis quaeque mss. Codicibus, Regiis, Card. Mazarini, Sequierianis, Vaticanis, Barberinis, Magni Ducis Florentinis, Venetis, etc. eruta, nova Versione subacta, Notisque illustrata*, 2 vol., Paris, 1675 (reprinted in PG 90 and 91).
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- OLP: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, Leuven, 1970- .
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- PG: *Patrologiae Cursus completus ... Series Graeca ... (Patrologia Graeca)* accurante J.-P. MIGNE, 161 vol., Paris, 1857-1866.
- PL: *Patrologiae Cursus completus ... Series Latina ... (Patrologia Latina)* accurante J.-P. MIGNE, 221 vol., Paris, 1844-1864.
- PLP: *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik I)*, 12 vol., *Addenda* and index, Vienna, 1976-1996.
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## MAXIMUS' WORKS CITED IN ABBREVIATION

- Add.*: *Addimenta e variis codicibus (CPG 7707)*
- Amb.Io.*: *Ambigua ad Iohannem (CPG Supplementum 7705 [2])*
- Amb.Thom.*: *Ambigua ad Thomam (CPG Supplementum 7705 [1])*
- Cap.XV*: *Capita XV (CPG 7695)*
- Car.*: *Capita de Caritate (CPG 7693)*
- Div.Cap.*: *Diversa capita ad Theologiam et Oeconomiam spectantia deque virtute et vitio (CPG 7715)*
- DP*: *Disputatio cum Pyrrho (CPG 7698)*
- EOD*: *Expositio orationis dominicae (CPG 7691)*
- Ep.*: *Epistulae XLV (CPG 7699)*
- EPs59*: *Expositio in psalmum LIX (CPG 7690)*
- Ep.sec.*: *Epistula secunda ad Thomam (CPG 7700)*
- LA*: *Liber asceticus (CPG 7692)*
- Myst.*: *Mystagogia (CPG 7704)*
- Opusc.*: *Opuscula theologica et polemica (CPG 7697)*
- QD*: *Quaestiones et Dubia (CPG 7689)*
- QTh.*: *Quaestiones ad Thalassium (CPG 7688)*
- QTheop.*: *Quaestiones ad Theopemptum (CPG 7696)*
- Th.Oec.*: *Capita Theologica et Oeconomica (CPG 7694)*



# INTRODUCTION

## PRELIMINARIES

### I. *Introductory thesis*

This volume presents a critical edition of two works by Maximus the Confessor (ca 580 – 662):

1. the so-called *Ambigua ad Thomam* (*Amb. Thom.*; *CPG Supplementum* 7705 [1]);
2. the *Epistula secunda ad eundem* (*Ep. sec.*; *CPG* 7700), closely related to *Amb. Thom.*

It might be argued that the first of these works is not complete in itself in the strictest sense since it is often bracketed together with Maximus' *Ambigua ad Iohannem* (*Amb. Io.*; *CPG Supplementum* 7705 [2]) under the collective name of *Ambiguorum liber*. However, *Amb. Io.* clearly constitute a separate, independent work<sup>(1)</sup>, while, as we will show, the name *Ambiguorum liber* is a fairly recent appellation.

### II. *Terminology*

The Greek title of *Amb. Thom.* is *Περὶ διαφόρων ἀπόρων τῶν ἀγίων Διονυσίου καὶ Γρηγορίου, πρὸς Θωμᾶν τὸν ἡγιασμένον*. The use of the term *ambigua* in the Latin title goes back indirectly to John Scot Eriugena (ca 810 – ca 877), who made a Latin translation of Maximus' *Ambigua ad Iohannem*. In the *prooemium* the translator describes this work, which has no proper title in the manuscripts, as follows: 'de quorundam in sermonibus beatissimi Gregorii theologi *ambiguorum*, hoc est intellectu difficilium, explanationibus' (my italics)<sup>(2)</sup>.

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(1) About the close relationship that nevertheless exists between *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*, see my article *Does the Combination of Maximus' Ambigua ad Thomam and Ambigua ad Iohannem go back to the Confessor himself?*, to appear in *Sacris Erudiri*.

(2) JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. 3, 7-9. In the Latin table of contents of *Amb. Io.* (JEAUNEAU, *o.c.*, p. 7-9), which the editor claims to be a translation of a lost Greek one (*o.c.*, p. LXVI-LXVII), the term *ambiguum* appears another 16 times. In addition Eriugena translated the Greek 'ἄπορον' by 'ambiguum' also in *QTh.* 38, 10 (LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. 255) and particularly in *QTh.* 39, 59 (*ibid.*, p. 261).

Thomas Gale, the first editor of both *Amb. Thom.* and (the first part of) *Amb. Io.* (1681), adopted Eriugena's terminology, albeit hesitantly and even then only in the introduction and the notes<sup>(3)</sup>. However, as proper title for *Amb. Thom.* he opted for the translation 'Epistola ... ad Thomam de diversis *quaestionibus* ex SS.PP. Dionysio et Gregorio petitis' (my italics)<sup>(4)</sup>.

Franz Öhler took over parts of Gale's introduction in the *prae-fatio* to his collective edition of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* (1857), and so was certainly acquainted with the term *ambigua*<sup>(5)</sup>. Yet he preferred *Amb. Thom.* to be titled 'De variis *difficilibus locis* SS.PP. Dionysii et Gregorii' (my italics)<sup>(6)</sup>.

It was not until the reprint of Öhler's edition by J.-P. Migne in PG 91 (1860) that the term *ambigua* finally became institutionalised: Migne had '*Ambiguorum liber*' printed at the top of every right-hand page as a collective name for both *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*

### III. *Authenticity and Testimonia*

#### 1. *The manuscript witnesses (direct and indirect tradition)*

##### a. *Amb. Thom.*

No manuscript of the direct or indirect tradition attributes *Amb. Thom.* to an author other than Maximus. This comes as no surprise since Maximus' name is mentioned in the *inscriptio* of the work (*prol.*, 3-5).

Only in some manuscripts is Maximus' name found in full at the beginning of the text: μαξιμου in *Ath*<sup>(7)</sup>, μαξιμου μοναχοῦ in *Za*, μαξιμου ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ in *H*, τοῦ ἁγίου μαξιμου in *Z*, *Y* and *Venetus*, *Marcianus gr. 155*, and τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις μαξιμου in *B*. Whenever, as is the case in most manuscripts, *Amb. Thom.* are transmitted in a corpus of Maximus' works, we find indications such as τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαξιμου (in *Am*), τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου μαξιμου (in *Ib*), or simply τοῦ αὐτοῦ (in all other manuscripts).

(3) See GALE, in the 'Testimonia', f. §§ 3<sup>r-v</sup> and *Appendix*, p. 81.

(4) GALE, *Appendix*, p. 46.

(5) See ÖHLER, p. VII (= PG 91, 1029-1030).

(6) Öhler did not have a separate title for *Amb. Io.* In his edition, *Amb. Io.* forms one work with *Amb. Thom.*

(7) For the sigla, see the lists on p. XXVI (direct tradition) and p. LVII (indirect tradition).

b. *Ep.sec.*

The three surviving witnesses of *Ep.sec.* all give Maximus as the author. *Vaticanus gr. 1809* (siglum *V*) mentions Maximus in the *inscriptio* (see *Ep.sec.*, *prol.*, 3-4). *Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48* (our *Ga*), in which *Ep.sec.* is found immediately following *Amb. Thom.*, has τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν by way of a title. Finally, *Parisinus gr. 1277* (*Ka*) has the following title: ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ μαξίμου πρὸς τὸν κύριον θωμᾶν.

2. *Testimonia*

Judging from the manuscript tradition, the authenticity of *Amb. Thom.* and *Ep.sec.* is beyond doubt. Even so, a number of early *testimonia* are listed below.

a. the *Bibliotheca* of Patriarch Photius, *codex 194* <sup>(8)</sup>:

Γράφει δὲ (*sc.* ὁ ἅγιος Μάξιμος) καὶ πρὸς Θωμᾶν τινα, αἰτησάμενον ῥητῶν τινῶν ἀπορουμένων ἐπιλύσεις. Τὰ δὲ ῥητὰ τοῦ Θεολόγου τέ ἐστι Γρηγορίου καὶ τοῦ θείου Διονυσίου, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ περὶ υἱοῦ εἰς τὸ “Διὰ τοῦτο μονὰς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κινήθεισα” καὶ ἐξῆς· καὶ “Μονάδος μὲν κινήθεισης διὰ τὸ πλούσιον”, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου εἰρητικοῦ· β’ εἰς τὸ “ἐνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ” καὶ ἐξῆς· τρίτον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου εἰς τὸ “οὗτος γὰρ ὁ νῦν σοι καταφρονούμενος”, καὶ ἐξῆς. Τέταρτον εἰς τὸ “Ὡς μὲν γὰρ λόγος οὔτε ὑπήκοος ἦν οὔτε ἀνήκοος” καὶ ἐξῆς. Τοῦ δὲ γε θεσπεσίου Διονυσίου εἰς τὸ “πῶς φῆς Ἰησοῦς ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις οὐσιωδῶς συντεταγμένος” καὶ ἐξῆς, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα διάφορα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θωμᾶν πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ οἶον ἐπανάληψιν ἐνίων ῥητῶν τῶν προσαφημισθέντων ἐκ τῆς θεολογικῆς συντάξεως ποιεῖται, καὶ πρὸς γε τὸ “διὰ μέσου νοὸς ὁμιλήσας σαρκί” ἕως <sup>(9)</sup> “τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκνικήσαντος” ὁμοίως ἐρμηνεύει. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις.

From Photius' accurate information with regard to addressee and content we can safely infer that he had before him a manu-

(8) HENRY, *Bibliothèque*, III, p. 87, 22 – p. 88, 39.

(9) In both the edition and the translation Henry has treated ἕως as if it were a part of the quotation from Gregory.

script containing both *Amb. Thom.* and *Ep. sec.*, both attributed to Maximus. It is all the more striking that Henry failed to recognize even *Amb. Thom.* in Photius' description.

b. *Contra Constantinopolitanos*, l. 26-27<sup>(10)</sup>:

Ἴδου μετὰ χειρας τῶν Ἀπόρων ἢ βίβλος αὐτοῦ, ἦν πᾶσα φύσει ἐθαύμασεν καὶ θαυμάζει, καὶ ἔτι θαυμαστωθήσεται (ALLEN-NEIL, *Scripta*, p. 231).

The indication τῶν Ἀπόρων ἢ βίβλος is considered by Pauline Allen to be a reference to 'Max. *Ambig. PG 91, 1032-1417*' (i.e. both *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*). Without further specification however, the indication ἄπορα could just as well allude to Maximus' *QTh.* (11) or *QD* (12), to name but two.

c. the catalogue of Maximus' works in the so-called *Additamentum* to the Greek *Vita* (BHG 1234) (13):

Ἀλλὰ γάρ οὐδὲν ἤττον ὄψεται τις τὸ τούτου ἀνηγμένον ἐν λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πονηθεῖσιν αὐτῷ σχολίοις περὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου συγγράμματα ἐντυχάν' τούτων γὰρ ὡς ἴσμεν τὰ πολλὰ δύσληπτα ὄντα καὶ οὐ σαφῆ τὴν δῆλωσιν ἔχοντα καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα δογματῶν ἔχεται καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Τριάδι θεολογίας, αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις εἶδε νοῦν καὶ φωτὶ γνώσεως θειοτέρας εἰς τὸ ἐπιδηλότερον ἦγαγεν, οὐκ ἐννοία μόνον καὶ θεωρία μυστικωτέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ φράσει ὑπερ-φερεῖ καὶ λόγῳ περικαλεῖ τὴν ἐξήγησιν διαθέμενος.

In τὰ σχόλια περὶ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου συγγράμματα Devreesse recognizes what he calls '*Ambiguum Liber* (P.G., XCI,

(10) An anonymous work by one of Maximus' followers; see BRACKE, *Vita*, p. 174-178, and particularly ALLEN-NEIL, *Scripta*, p. xxiii (introduction) and 229-232 (edition). A certain *terminus post quem* for the document is the trial of Maximus in 662 (see ALLEN-NEIL, *o.c.*, p. xxiii, and WINKELMANN, *Streit*, p. 155, n° 152). BRACKE, *Vita*, p. 175-176, suggests the death of the emperor Constans II in 668 as a *terminus post quem* (lines 11-12 allegedly allude to the latter's violent death), and the sixth Oecumenical Council (680/1) as a *terminus ante quem*.

(11) See the title of *QTh.* to begin with: ... περὶ διαφόρων ἀπόρων τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς (LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. 17).

(12) As noted by BRACKE, *Vita*, p. 123, n. 4. See also DECLERCK, *QD*, p. ccxviii ('*Le florilège du Vind.phil.gr. 149*'), and my own article *An unnoticed witness of some works of Maximus the Confessor: Atheniensis, EBE, Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου 37*, in: *Byzantion* 70 (2000), p. 242-262.

(13) DEVREESE, *Vie*, p. 21, 11-19.



1032-1417)' (14), that is, both *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* Bracke seems to follow suit (15).

If this identification is correct, it is noteworthy that *Amb. Thom.* and/or *Amb. Io.* are here explicitly called 'σχόλια' (16), to be placed on a par with the *Scholia in Corpus Areopagiticum* (CPG 7708) attributed to Maximus (17).

d. the catalogue of Maximus' works in the Saint's βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἄθλησις, edited by Epifanovich (the so-called *Recensio Mosquensis*, BHG 1233m):

... ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου τὰ δυσληπτότερα τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις νοῆσαι αὐτὸς θεωρητικῶς πᾶσιν ἐτράνωσεν (18).

Once more Bracke takes this to be an allusion to '*Ambiguum Liber*' (19).

e. in the so-called ἄθλησις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ (*Epitome*, BHG 1236), also edited by Epifanovich (20), there is a catalogue identical to the one in the above-cited document BHG 1233m so that Epifanovich did not consider it necessary to re-edit it.

Despite the testimony of a number of documents that without doubt precede the earliest surviving manuscripts of Maximus' works, the only conclusion that can confidently be drawn from this survey is the fact that *Amb. Thom.* and *Ep. sec.* were available in Constantinople in Photius' day. All other indications have proved to be too vague to enable us to recognize our works with any satisfactory degree of certainty.

(14) *Art. c.*, p. 21, n. 2.

(15) *Vita*, p. 270 ('*Ambiguum Liber*'). In *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 103-104 the author, from the fact that Dionysius the Areopagite is not mentioned, concludes that we are dealing with a description of *Amb. Io.* alone.

(16) Note that also in the manuscript tradition *Amb. Io.* are sometimes called 'σχόλια ... εἰς τὸν θεολόγον'; see JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. XII and n. 15.

(17) There is as a matter of fact an explicit reference to the scholia on Dionysius in the continuation of the cited fragment (see DEVREESE, *Vie*, p. 21, 9 - p. 22, 1).

(18) EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy*, p. 5, 21-23.

(19) *Vita*, p. 363.

(20) *O. c.*, p. 21-22.

IV. *Historical background*

As a result of Emperor Heraclius' (610-641) christological discussions with Bishop Cyrus of Phasis (Lazica) in the year 626, the latter asked Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople (610-638), for a clear statement on the single or double energy in Christ<sup>(21)</sup>. Sergius was able to win Cyrus for the new compromise doctrine of monoenergism<sup>(22)</sup> and in 631 Cyrus became patriarch of Alexandria. In this capacity he succeeded in reconciling the so-called Theodosians, an Alexandrian monophysite community, with the imperial 'orthodoxy' (3 June 633)<sup>(23)</sup>. The main bridge between both religious convictions was the affirmation of one single *θεανδροική ἐνέργεια*<sup>(24)</sup> in the incarnate Christ, by which He was said to have accomplished both the divine and the human in His actions.

But the compromise met with vehement resistance - especially from Sophronius, the later patriarch of Jerusalem, and so in August 633<sup>(25)</sup> Sergius banned any discussion on the number of energies in Christ (the so-called *Ψῆφος*). In his *Epistula synodalis*, which he sent to his colleagues when he became patriarch of Jerusalem (early 634), Sophronius kept to the letter of the ban, but did not fail to profess, albeit implicitly, the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon (two energies in Christ, one divine and one human)<sup>(26)</sup>.

About the same time Maximus the Confessor (ca 580 - 662), then residing in Sophronius' former monastery of *Euclatas* near Carthage, entered into the monoenergist controversy at the request of a number of old acquaintances. Following the example of his friend Sophronius, Maximus steered a cautious course at first but quite soon adopted a more rigid position towards the

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(21) See WINKELMANN, *Streit*, p. 36, and p. 57-58, n° 18-19.

(22) On the origins of the doctrine, see WINKELMANN, *o.c.*, p. 36, and ALLEN-NEIL, *Scripta*, p. XI-XII (*Historical background of the monothelite controversy*).

(23) See WINKELMANN, *o.c.*, p. 66-67, n° 27.

(24) The term originated in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's fourth letter to the monk Gaius (see *infra*).

(25) See WINKELMANN, *Streit*, p. 73-74, n° 36.

(26) See SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone*, p. 83-91.

new 'heresy' <sup>(27)</sup>, a position he was not to change until his death in 662 <sup>(28)</sup>.

## V. Contents

### 1. *Amb. Thom.*

The first work to be edited in this volume consists of Maximus' exegesis of five excerpts from orations 23, 29 and 30 by Gregory of Nazianzus the Theologian. In addition it contains an extensive analysis of the fourth letter of (Pseudo-)Dionysius the Areopagite to the monk Gaius <sup>(29)</sup>. The exegeses are preceded by a dedication 'to the holy servant of God, spiritual father and teacher, master Thomas' (*Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*), and conclude with a plea for sympathy to the same Thomas (and his brothers?) (*Amb. Thom.* V, 297-308).

The annotated places, which even at first sight bear out the central position of christology in *Amb. Thom.* are:

*Amb. Thom.* I: GREG. NAZ., *Or. 29 (De filio I)*, 2, 13-14 (*SChr.* 250, p. 180) and *Or. 23 (De pace II [III])*, 8, 9-11 (*SChr.* 270, p. 298);

*Amb. Thom.* II: GREG. NAZ., *Or. 29 (De filio I)*, 18, 21-25 (*SChr.* 250, p. 216);

*Amb. Thom.* III: GREG. NAZ., *Or. 29 (De filio I)*, 19, 1-10 (*SChr.* 250, p. 216-218);

*Amb. Thom.* IV: GREG. NAZ., *Or. 30 (De filio II)*, 6, 5-20 (*SChr.* 250, p. 236);

*Amb. Thom.* V: PS. DION. AREOP., *Ep. 4 ad Gaium*.

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(27) Maximus' indomitability is already foreshadowed in *Ep. sec.* III, 76-84. However, it is only after Sophronius' death in 638 that the full weight of leading the Orthodox 'party' came to rest on his shoulders.

(28) After his tongue had been cut out and his right hand cut off Maximus, already over eighty years old, was exiled to Lazica. Weakened and exhausted, he died shortly after his arrival, in Fort Schemaris (13 August 662).

(29) For Maximus, Dionysius the Areopagite could not have been anyone else but the real convert of the apostle Paul. See V. CROCE, *Tradizione e ricerca. Il metodo teologico di san Massimo il Confessore (Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 2)*, Milan, 1974, p. 85 and p. 95-96.

2. *Ep. sec.*

The addressee must have expressed his dissatisfaction with the all too moderate course which Maximus had been following in *Amb. Thom.*, for in *Ep. sec.* I and II Maximus resumes his review of Gregory's *Or.* 29, 2, 13-14 and *Or.* 23, 8, 9-11 (see *Amb. Thom.* I) and *Or.* 29, 19, 7-9 (see *Amb. Thom.* III), while *Ep. sec.* III is structured around Maximus' own words (*Ep. sec.* III, 2-8 = *Amb. Thom.* V, 93-98).

In *Ep. sec.* Maximus' explicit references to Severian monophysitism and his personal resistance to the regulations of the *Psephos* have by now brought him dangerously close to overt insubordination with regard to the official imperial and patriarchal policy.

Once more we find a preceding dedication full of praise of Thomas (*Ep. sec.*, *prol.*), and a conclusion in which Maximus pleads for sympathy for his imperfections (*Ep. sec.* III, 85-97).

VI. *Dating*1. *Amb. Thom.*

In modern literature *Amb. Thom.* are commonly dated '634 or shortly thereafter' <sup>(30)</sup> since it is widely assumed that Maximus was acquainted with Sophronius' confession of faith in his *Epistula synodalis*, dating from the beginning of 634 <sup>(31)</sup>. However, Bellini considers it not proven that Maximus knew Sophronius' *Epistula*, or even Sergius' *Psephos*, so he goes no further than accepting 6 June 633 as the definite *terminus post quem* <sup>(32)</sup>.

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(30) See BALTHASAR, *Gnostische Centurien*, p. 150-152; ID., *Kosmische Liturgie*, p. 71; SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 39; LARCHET, *Ambigua*, p. 13 and n. 20; ID., *Divinisation*, p. 16-17; ID., *Opuscles*, p. 12-13. Though referring to von Balthasar, GARRIGUES, *Charité*, dates *Amb. Thom.* 'vers 635'.

(31) See SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone*, p. 90. WINKELMANN, *Streit*, p. 82, n° 45, referring to Bréhier, accepts 'end 634' as a dating.

(32) BELLINI, *Maxime interprète*, p. 41-42, particularly n. 19. In chapter seven of the compromise text signed on that day by Cyrus of Alexandria and the monophysite community of his city the patriarch interpreted Dionysius the Areopagite's famous 'μία (sic) θεανδρική ἐνέργεια' in a monoenergetic sense, thus succeeding in reconciling the monophysites with Constantinople. When dealing with this passage in *Amb. Thom.* V, Maximus reacts precisely against this 'falsification' (μία in stead of *καινή τις*) by Cyrus and/or Sergius (see *Amb. Thom.* V, 237-238).

Although it might indeed be hard to prove Maximus' acquaintance with Sophronius' *Epistula synodalis* at the time of *Amb. Thom.*, his conspicuous avoidance of the expression *δύο ἐνέργειαι* does suggest that he was aware of the 'ban' of the *Psephos*, which he initially accepted<sup>(33)</sup>.

## 2. *Ep. sec.*

*Amb. Thom.* provide us with a definite *terminus post quem* for *Ep. sec.*

At the time of his *Date-list*, Sherwood was not yet acquainted with *Ep. sec.* Neither does Canart mention any date in his edition of this work. Riou<sup>(34)</sup>, followed by Larchet<sup>(35)</sup>, propose a date of 'début' or 'printemps 640' for *Ep. sec.*, but do not give any evidence to support this.

However, there is no reason to assume that there would have been so long an interval between *Amb. Thom.* and *Ep. sec.*<sup>(36)</sup>.

## VII. Identity of the addressee, Thomas

Thomas is addressed as *ἡγιασμένος δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 3; *Ep. sec.*, *prol.*, 2), which probably indicates that he was a monk<sup>(37)</sup>. Indeed, this Thomas has traditionally been identified with the *κύριος ἀββᾶς Θωμᾶς*, mentioned in Maximus' *Ep.* 40<sup>(38)</sup>. Moreover, on the basis of his relation with Stephanus (see *infra*) it is assumed that this Thomas was a monk in the Philip-picus monastery near Constantinople, where Maximus had spent

(33) See Maximus' *Ep.* 19, PG 91, 589C-597B, and the analysis of WINKELMANN, *Streit*, p. 77, n° 42.

(34) A. RIOU, *Le monde et l'Église selon Maxime le Confesseur (Théologie historique 22)*, Paris, 1973, p. 202.

(35) *Ambigua*, p. 13; *Divinisation*, p. 17; *Opuscules*, p. 13.

(36) GARRIGUES, *Charité*, p. 115, n. 2 takes the same view. Rather surprisingly, as it contradicts his dating on p. 17 of the same work, also LARCHET, *Divinisation*, p. 289, n. 55 writes: 'La Lettre 2 à Thomas a été écrite quelques mois après les *Ambigua ad Thomam*.'

(37) On *ἡγιασμένος* as term of address for monks, see LAMPE, *s.v.* *ἀγιάζω*, A.2c.

(38) See COMBEFIS in PG 91, 636, n. 3; BALTHASAR, *Gnostische Centurien*, p. 150-152; SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 64 (*Index III*); MAHIEU, *Travaux*, p. 144-145; CANART, *Deuxième lettre*, p. 425-426.

a part of his monastic life. This would agree with the fact that Maximus calls him his spiritual father and teacher.

On the basis of the sole manuscript witness, the *Florentinus, Mediceus-Laurentianus Plut. LVII, 7* (s. xi), f. 2, B. Markesinis is currently preparing a new edition of *Ep. 40* to replace Combefis' rather poor edition (*PG 91, 633C1-636A13*). In the manuscript the letter is not addressed to Thalassius - as in Combefis' edition - but πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν, i.e. to Στέφανον θεοφιλέστατον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον, the addressee of *CPG 7707 (30)*, which directly precedes *Ep. 40* in the manuscript (f. 1<sup>v</sup>-2) <sup>(39)</sup>. This Stephanus is assumed to have been a monk and abbot in the Philippicus monastery in Chrysopolis <sup>(40)</sup>.

What follows here is first of all a rereading of *PG 91, 633D4-636A9* on the basis of the *Florentinus, Mediceus-Laurentianus Plut. LVII, 7*, as this passage is central to my argument:

Πλὴν ἐγὼ δέσποτά μου εὐλογημένε, τῆς ὑμετέρας παμφοῦς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τελειότητος τὴν κέλευσιν πληρῶσαι ἔτοιμότατος, παντὸς ὀνειδούς καὶ ψόγου τυχὸν ἐμβῆναι μέλλοντος, τῆς ἐμῆς ἀμαθοῦς ἐπὶ τοῦτο προπετείας ἕνεκεν παρὰ τῶν φιλοσχωμμόνων, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην ἀνωτέρω τιθέμενος.

Εἰ μέντοι κελεύσητε τῷ ἡγιασμένῳ (?) κυρίῳ ἀββᾶ Θωμᾶ, τούτῳ προθύμως ὑπουργῆσαι τῷ πράγματι, παρέχοντες δηλαδὴ τὴν ἀρχοῦσαν ὕλην, ὡς οἶμαι, διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος, τὴν τοιαύτην ὑμῶν τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος πληρῶσαι κέλευσιν δύναται <sup>(41)</sup>.

The content of the entire letter can be summarized as follows: Stephanus has written approvingly about and to Maximus, suggesting that the latter would be the very person for a task which he has in mind. Maximus declines Stephanus' praise but expresses his willingness to undertake the task in question. However, should Stephanus order the reverend Thomas to start writing the

(39) Apart from *CPG 7707 (30)* (EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy*, p. 84-85) and *Ep. 40*, also *Ep. 23* is addressed to the same Stephanus.

(40) See SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 33 and 50. From *CPG 7707 (30)*, labelled 'ep. B' by Sherwood, we learn that Stephanus was not actually living in Constantinople itself, though he was not far away either (see EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy*, p. 85, 10-14).

(41) Our thanks are due to B. Markesinis, who has consulted the manuscript *in situ*.

work, then he (Thomas) would, given enough time, certainly complete it successfully.

In view of the politico-religious situation at the time it is not unreasonable to assume that the work in question was meant to take a stand with regard to the burgeoning monoenergism. If we now relate these facts to *Amb. Thom.*, and it is certainly tempting to do so<sup>(42)</sup>, then it appears that it was indeed Thomas to whom Stephanus assigned the task of devoting a work to the issue of the energies. But in his turn Thomas passed the mission on to Maximus, his emigrated but not forgotten former disciple. Hence Maximus' words of praise for the humility of his teacher, who was putting to his disciple questions to which he himself has long known the answer (*Amb. Thom., prol., 16-18*).

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(42) See GARRIGUES, *Charité*, p. 52-53, and LARCHET, *Ambigua*, p. 13-14. Starting from the false assumption that Thalassius was the addressee of *Ep. 40*, SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 34 assumed that the work mentioned in the letter could be identified with *QTh*.

## CHAPTER I: DESCRIPTION OF THE WITNESSES

### A. Ambigua ad Thomam

#### 1. Direct tradition

##### List of manuscripts

- A* *Romanus, Angelicus gr. 120* (s. XI), f. 115-119<sup>v</sup>  
*Am* *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus B 137 sup.* (c. 1600), f. 68-71<sup>v</sup>  
*Ba* *Athous, Batopediou 475* (s. XIII<sup>ex</sup>-XIV<sup>in</sup>), f. 25<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>  
*D* *Monacensis gr. 83* (s. XV), f. 128<sup>v</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>  
*Dd* *Cantabrigiensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis Dd.II.22* (s. XIV), f. 40-43  
*G* *Guelferbytanus, Gudianus gr. 39* (s. XIII-XIV), f. 104-116  
*Ga* *Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48* (s. XII<sup>in</sup>), f. 117-139<sup>v</sup>  
*H* *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus H 45 sup.* (s. IX), f. 7-8<sup>v</sup>  
*I* *Vaticanus gr. 505* (a. 1520), f. 68-72<sup>v</sup>  
*J* *Athous, Panteleimonos 548* (s. XV), f. 10-18  
*K* *Vaticanus, Barberinianus gr. 587* (s. XVI), f. 1-11<sup>v</sup>  
*L* *Vaticanus gr. 507* (a. 1344), f. 209<sup>v</sup>-217<sup>v</sup>  
*M* *Monacensis gr. 363* (s. XIII-XIV), f. 76-81  
*Mosq* *Mosquensis, Bibliothecae Synodalis gr. 324 (Vladimir 444)* (s. XVI-XVII), f. 23<sup>v</sup>-31  
*N* *Parisinus, Coislinianus 90* (s. XII/XIV), f. 141<sup>v</sup>-147  
*O* *Venetus, Marcianus gr. 136* (s. XIII), f. 118<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>v</sup>  
*P* *Parisinus gr. 1097* (a. 1055), f. 195<sup>v</sup>-210<sup>v</sup>  
*Par* *Parisinus gr. 886* (s. XIII), f. 130<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>  
*Q* *Oxonienis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Baroccianus 128* (s. XI<sup>ex</sup>), f. 39<sup>v</sup>-51  
*Re* *Vaticanus, Reginensis gr. 37* (s. XV), f. 120<sup>v</sup>-135  
*S* *Vindobonensis, Suppl. gr. 1* (s. XIV), f. 384-389<sup>v</sup>  
*Sin* *Sinaiticus gr. 1726* (s. XVI<sup>ex</sup>), f. 25-31<sup>v</sup>  
*Sup* *Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 228* (s. XVI), f. 54-58<sup>v</sup>  
*T* *Parisinus gr. 888* (s. XVII), f. 296<sup>v</sup>-320  
*†Taur* *Taurinensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis C.III.3* (s. XI<sup>in</sup>), f. 108-112  
*Va* *Vaticanus gr. 1502* (s. XII), f. 83-89  
*Y* *Vaticanus gr. 504* (a. 1105), f. 116<sup>v</sup>-117 in mg.; f. 117<sup>v</sup>-118  
*Z* *Parisinus gr. 1094* (s. XIV-XV), f. 61-68



Chronological survey of the witnesses:

IX	1
X	-
XI	4 <sup>(1)</sup>
XII	4
XIII	2
XIII-XIV	3
XIV	4 <sup>(2)</sup>
XIV-XV	1
XV	3
XVI	4
XVI-XVII	2
XVII	1

In all there are 29 manuscript witnesses of *Amb. Thom.*, which reveals a lasting interest in the work since around the year 1000.

*Ba* Athous, *Batopediou* 475 (s. XIII<sup>ex.</sup>-XIV<sup>im.</sup>), f. 25<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>

The description of this manuscript in the catalogue of Eustratiades-Arcadios<sup>(3)</sup> has been supplemented by Van Deun<sup>(4)</sup>. The manuscript is also mentioned by Lamberz<sup>(5)</sup>, who is currently preparing a new catalogue of all the Vatopedi manuscripts, and is briefly described by Allen-Neil<sup>(6)</sup>.

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(1) The manuscript *Taur*, which was lost in a fire in 1904 (see *infra* p. XLVIII), has nevertheless been included in this survey.

(2) A number of folia from the twelfth-century manuscript *N* were replaced in the fourteenth century. For this reason *N* has been counted twice in this survey.

(3) *Κατάλογος*, p. 95-96.

(4) *Opuscula*, p. XXVI-XXVII.

(5) E. LAMBERZ, *The Library of Vatopaidi and its Manuscripts*, in: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi. Tradition - History - Art*, Mount Athos, 1998, vol. 2, p. 573.

(6) See *Scripta*, p. XXIV and particularly p. 4. Of the 'scripta vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia', *Ba* contains the *Relatio Motionis* (CPG 7736; f. 38-44); the *Epistula Maximi ad Anastasium* (CPG 7701; f. 44<sup>r-v</sup>); the *Disputatio Bizyae* (CPG 7735; f. 44<sup>v</sup>-53) and the *Hypomnesticum (partim)* (CPG 7968), appended to the end of the *Disputatio Bizyae* (f. 53<sup>r-v</sup>).

The folia 1-100 contain a remarkable collection of works by or about Maximus. The reader will find a detailed table of contents in the description by Van Deun. It will suffice here to indicate that *Amb. Thom.* (f. 25<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>) are immediately preceded by *Myst.*, *EOD*, *EPs59* (*partim*) and *Ep.* 11, and followed by a series of letters (*Ep.* 5, 23, 30, 25, 31, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 21). It is evident that the compiler of *Ba*, whose name and origins are unknown, selected freely from the body of Maximus' works (7), with more than one manuscript at his disposal.

For the contents of the second part of the manuscript (f. 100<sup>v</sup>-167), written by a second hand of the same period, see once again the description by Van Deun (8).

If the manuscript was indeed written on Mount Athos, as suggested by Allen-Neil (9), it has probably never left that location.

*J Athous, Panteleimonos 548* (s. xv), f. 10-18

The description by Lambros (10) has been supplemented by Laga-Steel (11) and Van Deun (12), while J. Noret has studied the last folia of this manuscript (f. [347]-[350]) (13). In its present state *J* contains (the remains of) at least three originally independent manuscripts (14). Only the present f. 1<sup>v</sup>-244 and 335-342 have works of Maximus (15).

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(7) See the comparative tables in VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LII-LV. Furthermore, within the tradition of the so-called *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*, *Ba* is one of the few manuscripts that transmit *Amb. Thom.* but not *Amb. Io.*

(8) The four major works by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (*Coel. Hier.*, *Ecl. Hier.*, *Div. Nom.* and *Myst. Theol.* [*partim*]) fill the majority of the folia in question.

(9) *Scripta*, p. XXIV.

(10) *Katálogos*, II, p. 393-394.

(11) *QTh.*, I, p. xc.

(12) *Opuscula*, p. LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.

(13) J. NORET, *Le dernier binion du manuscrit Pantéléimon 548: du Jean Climaque avec des scholies, partiellement inédites*, in: A. SCHOORS - P. VAN DEUN (ed.), *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (OLA 60), Leuven, 1994, p. 251-256. The folia in question are not numbered.

(14) New quire numberings begin on f. 245 and 293 (the  $\alpha$  on f. 293 designating the beginning of the quire is not to be found but the one indicating the end of the quire on f. 300<sup>v</sup> is there).

(15) The recto side of f. 1 is not on our microfilm. In all probability it has remained blank.

Folio 1<sup>v</sup> transmits the ode to Maximus, on which see Laga-Steel (16), followed by a fragment of Maximus' *Ep.* 13 which has so far escaped notice: ἐνδιαθέτως κτήσασθαι τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὴν ταπεινώσιν - καὶ ἄφες πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου (Ps. 24, 18) (PG 91, 509D2-512A14). Another three short, unidentified fragments ensue: 1. *inc.* ὁ θεωρητικὸς καὶ ὁ πρακτικὸς λόγος· κατὰ θεωρίαν γὰρ ὁ αὐγουστίνος - *expl.* συγκαλύπτουεν τὴν αἰσχύνην αὐτῶν, being an interpretation of the Fall of man, with a reference to Saint Augustine; 2. *inc.* μᾶλλον θεωροῦνται οἱ ὑπερήφανοι τοῦτο δύνασθαι ὃ δύναται ἄγγελος - *expl.* ὅπερ ἐκπλήττονται οἱ μὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυνάμενοι; 3. *inc.* τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας (John 15, 26; see 1John 4, 6) ὃ ὁ κόσμος οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν - *expl.* ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος.

At least three anonymous, fifteenth-century scribes have been at work in the manuscript, while f. (348)-(349), stemming from an older manuscript, can be dated to the fourteenth century (17). *J* bears the names of three or four different owners (18), but apart from that nothing is known about its later history.

*Dd* Cantabrigiensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis *Dd.II.22* (s. XIV), f. 40-43

This manuscript, one of the numerous copies of the 'popular' *Vaticanus gr. 1502*, has been described by H. Luard (19) and P. Van Deun (20). It contains only works of Maximus, one of which is *Amb. Thom.* (f. 40-43).

Dated by Luard to the fourteenth century, nothing is known about the origins of the manuscript. However, Thomas Gale has provided us with a possible clue as to its later history. In his search for the Greek text of *Amb. Io.* for his 1681 edition, Gale had to fall

(16) *QTh.*, I, p. XC; see *ibid.*, p. LII, n. 120 for an edition of the poem, based on *Vaticanus gr. 1502* (our *Va*).

(17) See NORET, *art. c.*, p. 251-252 and n. 4.

(18) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXXXVIII, in which the notes in question are edited.

(19) <H. R. LUARD>, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1856 (reprinted Munich - Hildesheim, 1980), p. 47-53.

(20) *Opuscula*, p. XXVII; *id.*, *LA*, p. LIX.

back on his contacts on the Continent<sup>(21)</sup>. This might indicate that at that time *Dd* had not yet been transferred to Cambridge, or even to England.

**Ga** *Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48 (s. XII<sup>m</sup>)*, f. 117-139<sup>v</sup>

This manuscript, once owned by Thomas Gale<sup>(22)</sup>, is the only direct witness of *Amb. Thom.* and *Ep. sec.* together in one codex<sup>(23)</sup>. The description in the catalogue of James<sup>(24)</sup> has been supplemented by Kotter<sup>(25)</sup> and Canart<sup>(26)</sup>.

The manuscript's place of origin is unknown. On the basis of the script it is commonly assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century<sup>(27)</sup>. *Ga* is the work of two scribes, the first being responsible for f. 1-21, the second for f. 23-168<sup>(28)</sup>. With regard to content the caesura is to be found between f. 149bis and 150bis<sup>(29)</sup>: f. 1-149bis contain a selection of Maximus' letters, while the sec-

(21) Eventually Gale obtained the text, copied from a Parisian manuscript, thanks to the efforts of Émeric Bigot.

(22) Hence siglum *Ga*.

(23) The *editio princeps* of both our texts (Gale, 1681 and Canart, 1964 respectively) was based on (among others) this *Cantabrigiensis*.

(24) M. R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1902, p. 230-232.

(25) B. KOTTER, *Die Überlieferung der Pege Gnoseos des hl. Johannes von Damaskos (Studia Patristica et Byzantina 5)*, Ettal, 1959, p. 21, n° 164 (description of the Damascene part of our manuscript; see *infra*) and p. 121 (place in the *stemma*).

(26) CANART, *Deuxième lettre*, p. 419-420. Canart labelled the manuscript with the siglum *C*.

(27) See CANART, *o.c.*, p. 419, adopted by BRACKE, *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 104, n. 29. JAMES, *o.c.*, p. 230, assigned *Ga* to the thirteenth century.

(28) Folio 22 is blank. In all the manuscript contains 168 folia, 150 of which are original, the remaining being seventeenth-century paper supplements (see *infra*). Between f. 19 and 20, and likewise between f. 75 and 76, there is one unnumbered folium. Furthermore, f. 3 and f. 149-150 have been counted twice (in the latter case the sequence is: 149, 150, 149, 150. Following CANART, *l.c.*, I have renumbered the last two as 149bis and 150bis respectively). On the other hand the foliation jumps from f. 62 to f. 64, and from 139 to 141 (see *infra*), albeit without any loss of text, while f. 44, 46 and 143 have disappeared after the foliation had been added.

(29) Quite probably the present f. 150bis even marks the (mutilated) beginning of an originally separate manuscript, since f. 154 shows the figure  $\gamma'$ , designating a separate quire numbering of the second part (see CANART, *o.c.*, p. 419-420 and

ond part of the manuscripts (f. 150bis-168) transmits the remainders of John Damascene's *Dialectica brevior*<sup>(30)</sup>.

With respect to f. 137-149bis James' analysis is somewhat lacking in clarity<sup>(31)</sup>, while Canart's is not entirely correct<sup>(32)</sup>. The situation appears to be: f. 137-145 form one quaternion (designation  $\overline{\text{iv}}$  on f. 137), its foliation jumping from 139 to 141. The quaternion's third folio (f. 139) has been replaced by a seventeenth-century addition<sup>(33)</sup>, while the corresponding sixth folio (f. 143) is missing, resulting in a loss of text<sup>(34)</sup>. From this it could be inferred that the missing f. 140 never existed, so that in our manuscript *Amb. Thom.* were immediately followed by *Ep. sec.*, as suggested by Bracke<sup>(35)</sup>. Folia 146-149bis are the remains of another quaternion. In this case the first (between f. 145 and f. 146) and the last folia (between f. 149bis and f. 150bis) have disappeared<sup>(36)</sup>. These losses must have occurred before the present foliation was added.

The seventeenth-century additions, as well as a number of marginal notes, were added by the English humanist Patrick Young

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p. 420, n. 1). Moreover, in the upper margin of f. 147, one can read, possibly in the handwriting of Thomas Gale, the following note: 'in this book is 150 leaves'.

(30) Before f. 150bis and between f. 153 and 154, 154 and 155, 155 and 156, 157 and 158, and 158 and 159, at least one folium is in each case missing. Kotter's analysis of this part of the manuscript is incomplete. Here is the full table of the contents: c. 13 (*inc. mut. PG 94, 576B11 [διαρεί]ται*), c. 14-17, c. 29 (up to 589C3 λέγεται δε πάλιν ἀ[νυπόστατον]), c. 6b (from 549D13 τοῦ ἄλλου [*sic*]), c. 7-8 (up to 552D8 ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ σύν[τομοι]), c. 42 (from 612A11 [ποτὲ] μὲν), c. 44 (up to 616B3 ὑπόστασιν σύνθετον οἶον[εἰ]), c. 49 (from 624C9 ὥσπερ σίτος) - 50 (up to 628D5 καὶ ἐτέ[ρων]), c. 50 (from 632A2 οὐδὲ τὰ ἄτομα) - 51 (up to 633B9 ἐξῆς [*sic*] δυσ[μετάβλητος]), c. 62 (from 653A14 ἀγρόν) - 65, c. 67-68, c. 66; finally, the so-called 'Zusatzkapitel' (*inc. Τὸ γένος διαρείται - expl. ποτὲ δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός*; see KOTTER, *o.c.*, p. 2, and *id.*, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 1 [PTS 7], Berlin, 1969, p. 142-146 for the edition of this *ἔτερον κεφάλαιον*).

(31) *O.c.*, p. 231.

(32) *O.c.*, p. 419. Canart himself had already indicated that his was but a provisional reconstruction of the quire.

(33) As a result, the origin of the last part of *Amb. Thom.* (V, 280/281 [σαρκώσεως] - 308), which was copied from *Oxoniensis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Barocianus 128* (our Q), differs from that of the first part of the work (see *infra*, n. 37).

(34) See *Ep. sec.* I, 19/20.

(35) *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 104, n. 30: 'We doubt whether f. 140 ever existed'.

(36) See the loss of text in *Ep. sec.* II, 29/30 and III, 64 respectively.

(Patricius Junius, 1584-1652)<sup>(37)</sup>. Also Thomas Gale (1635-1702), who owned the manuscript after Young, left a number of notes in the margins, together with the (mainly bibliographical) details on f. I, which was added later.

The Maximus section of our manuscript contains the following interesting collection of letters<sup>(38)</sup>:

- f. 1-4: *Ep.* 8, including the report on the obligatory christening of African Jews and Samaritans in the *versio brevior*<sup>(39)</sup>. The text is mutilated and ends with τῆς ἀγίας<sup>(40)</sup>;
- f. 4-8: ἴσον ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης πρὸς τὸν κύριον Ἰωάννην τὸν σοφιστὴν παρὰ Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ (*Ep.* 6);
- f. 8-19<sup>v</sup>: *Ep.* 13;
- f. 19<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>: *Ep.* 14 (f. 22 is blank: there is a lacuna in the text from προὔτιμησα [PG 91, 537C3; f. 21<sup>v</sup>] to τε τῶν διωκόντων [544A13; f. 23]);
- an as yet unedited 'appendix' has been attached to *Ep.* 14 (f. 23<sup>v</sup>)<sup>(41)</sup>. *Inc.* Διὰ ταύτης δέ μου τῆς συλλαβῆς - *expl.* τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Eph.* 4, 13);
- f. 24-64: *Ep.* 12;
- f. 64<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>: unedited letter of recommendation for one Zacharias, addressed to Johannes Cubicularius (*CPG* 7703)<sup>(42)</sup>. *Inc.* Ὅ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως - *expl.* ὑμᾶς δεχομένους αὐτόν;

(37) See JAMES, *o.c.*, p. 230; on Patrick Young and his collection of manuscripts, see also *ibid.*, p. x-xi. Young's additions, at least those concerning *Amb. Thom.*, were copied from *Oxoniensis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Baroccianus 128* (as had already been suggested by JAMES, *o.c.*, p. 231). This is proven by the following errors and variant readings which the two have in common: the omission - by haplography - of μήτε - ἔνωσιν in *Amb. Thom.* V, 283; γενήσεσθέ for γένεσθέ in V, 301; ἀρχῶν (*sic*) ἔστιν for ἀρχῶν ἔστιν in V, 303. See *supra*, n. 33.

(38) A similar collection is reviewed in Photius, *Bibliotheca, codex 194* (ed. HENRY, *Bibliothèque*, III, p. 84-88).

(39) As edited by EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy*, p. 84 (n° 29), and DEVRESSE, *Fin inédite*, p. 34-35, n. 3. On an inserted sheet of paper (f. 3bis) P. Young added the *versio fusior* of the report, as edited by DEVRESSE, *l.c.*, and reprinted by J. STARR, *St. Maximos and the forced baptism at Carthage in 632*, in: *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 16 (1940), p. 192-196, in particular p. 194.

(40) EPIFANOVICH, *l.c.*, l. 11; DEVRESSE, *o.c.*, p. 34, l. 2 *ab imo* and p. 35, n. 3, l. *ult.*

(41) The 'appendix' in question will be edited by B. Markesinis, to whom I owe this identification.

(42) Also to be edited by B. Markesinis.

- f. 65<sup>v</sup>-89: *Ep.* 1;
- f. 89<sup>v</sup>-117: *Ep.* 15;
- f. 117-139: *Amb. Thom.*, here classified under the letters. As a consequence the scribe did not copy the actual title, only the *inscriptio* (*Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 3-5) of the work. The title was added at a later date by P. Young;
- f. 140 is non-existent (see *supra*);
- f. 141-150: *Ep. sec.*, with two lacunae and a mutilated ending (see *supra*);
- f. 150<sup>v</sup>-149bis<sup>v</sup>: *Ep.* 25, addressed to the abbot John in our manuscript, and not to Conon as edited in PG 91, 613A5.

G *Guelferbytanus, Gudianus gr. 39* (s. XIII-XIV), f. 104-116

Once part of the impressive library of M. Gude (Gudius) (1635-1689) this manuscript was purchased in 1710 for the *Herzog August Bibliothek* in Wolfenbüttel, together with the main part of Gude's library<sup>(43)</sup>. Sadly, the earlier history of the codex remains unknown except for the surmise that it originated in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin<sup>(44)</sup>.

It is on this *Gudianus* that F. Öhler based his edition of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*, reprinted later in PG 91. The editor's description of his manuscript reads as follows: 'Codex Gudianus, quo usus sum, descriptus est ab Ebert in Catalogo librorum manuum scriptorum bibliothecae ducalis Guelferbytanæ; est membranceus sæc. XIII., continens folia in quarto, quod dicunt, centum sexaginta quattuor<sup>(45)</sup>, estque tam eleganter tamque accurate con-

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(43) As can be gathered from the auction catalogue of Gude's library: <KILONIUS>, *Bibliotheca ... libris instructissima ... et manuum scriptorum codicum ... apparatu cum nulla privatarum comparanda a viro illustri domino Marquardo Gudio congesta*, Hamburg, 1706, p. 534-535 (n° 44). Based to a considerable extent on Kilonius' description is the description of the manuscript in the old catalogue of the *Herzog August Bibliothek* by F. A. EBERT, *Die Bildung des Bibliothekars*, 2. *Zur Handschriftenkunde*, 2. *Bibliothecae Guelferbytanæ codices graeci et latini classici*, Leipzig, 1827, p. 112.

(44) See *infra*.

(45) This should be 264 (written) folia; the total number (blank folia included) is 274.

scriptus ut non solum alii inde libri possint egregie emendari atque suppleri, sed ipse ad hoc Διαφόρων Ἀποριῶν (sic) opus interpretandum alterius libri auxilium non desiderarem' (46).

The contents of G are (47): an extensive *pinax* of Maximus' works in the manuscript, subdivided into 185 (ϠπϠ) items (f. 1-6) (48); *Car*, which was added at a later date (f. 6<sup>v</sup> and in the margins of f. 7-66) (49); *Opusc.* 13; *Ep.* 6-7, 11; *EOD*; *Ep.* 4, 8-9, 1, 19, 12-13, 15; *Amb. Thom.* (f. 104-116); *Amb. Io.*

My dating of G (s. XIII-XIV instead of XIII), as well as the above suggestion about the manuscript's origin, are based on Van Deun's notes on the possible relation between this manuscript and *Vaticanus gr. 508* (50). In any case a *terminus ante quem* for G is provided by its copy (as far as *Amb. Thom.* are concerned anyway) L, finished in July 1344 (51).

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(46) ÖHLER, p. VII-VIII (= PG 91, 1029-1030). Though Öhler knew of other witnesses to the text (through Combefis, Fabricius [see *Bibliotheca graeca*, vol. 8, Hamburg, 1717, p. 764-765] and others), he thought so highly of the *Gudianus* that he felt no need for any other manuscript.

(47) See also the description of the manuscript by F. KÖHLER, *Die gudischen Handschriften. Die griechischen Handschriften* bearbeitet von F. Koehler. *Die lateinischen Handschriften* bearbeitet von G. Milchsack (*Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* 4), Wolfenbüttel, 1913, p. 29-31 (catalogue reprinted as *Die gudischen Handschriften. Codices Guelferbytani Gudiani graeci und Gudiani latini* [Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Die alte Reihe. Nachdruck der Ausgabe 1884-1913, vol. 9], Frankfurt am Main, 1966). Köhler's description has been supplemented by VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

(48) *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.* and the *ambigua* I-V were given numbers  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$  to  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\zeta}$ .

(49) For this reason the work is not mentioned in the *pinax*; see KÖHLER, *o.c.*, p. 30, and VAN DEUN, *o.c.*, p. LXXXVII, n. 59. *Car* was probably not added before the year 1344, when a copy of G was made in which *Car* is absent (see below, n. 51).

(50) See *o.c.*, p. XXVII and n. 33 (on *Vaticanus gr. 508*, siglum *Gal*), and p. LXXXVII with n. 62 (dating of G). Our *Gudianus* and the *Vaticanus* in question each contain about half of the Maximus corpus as is found in *Romanus*, *Angelicus gr. 120*.

(51) See p. LIII and LXXXVI-LXXXVII. L was possibly written in Thessalonica, which would corroborate the hypothesis of G's origin in the eastern Mediterranean.



*Am* *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus B 137 sup.* (c. 1600), f. 68-71<sup>v</sup>

A fairly recent and rather carelessly written paper manuscript copied around 1600 together with *Ambrosianus B 139 sup.* <sup>(52)</sup> by the Scottish humanist David Colvill <sup>(53)</sup>, *Am* is nonetheless worth our special attention, since until recently it was assumed to be a copy of the early eleventh-century *Taurinensis C.III.3*, which was lost in a fire in the Turin National Library in 1904 <sup>(54)</sup>.

In *Am* Colvill copied the following works of Maximus: *QTh.* (f. 1-67<sup>v</sup>), *Amb. Thom.* (f. 68-71<sup>v</sup>), *Amb. Io.* (f. 72-129<sup>v</sup>) and *Myst.* (f. 131-139) <sup>(55)</sup>. When we add to these the contents of *Ambrosianus B 139 sup.*, as listed by Van Deun <sup>(56)</sup>, it turns out that only *Ep. 11* is missing with regard to the full contents of *Taur* as found in the description by Pasinus <sup>(57)</sup>. Apparently Colvill himself noticed this omission sometime afterwards, and subsequently added the missing work on the last folium of our manuscript (f. 139<sup>r-v</sup>).

Colvill's complete manuscript collection apparently ended up in the *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* in Milan, the city where he died in 1629 <sup>(58)</sup>. Laga-Steel have argued that the suspected exemplar of the two manuscripts which Colvill dedicated to the works of Maximus, viz. the lost *Taurinensis C.III.3*, once resided in the library of the Dukes of Savoy, where Colvill could have found and copied it <sup>(59)</sup>.

(52) Together, both manuscripts form an extensive corpus of Maximus' texts. See the description in MARTINI-BASSI, *Catalogus*, p. 165-166 and 166-167, and also LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLIII-XLVI; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXV, p. LVII-LVIII and LXVI; ID., *LA*, p. LXVII.

(53) Colvill left his name on f. 139 of our manuscript: δαδ κόλβιλλος ὁ σκοτεῦς. On Colvill, see LAGA-STEEL, *o.c.*, p. XLV-XLVI, and VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXV.

(54) See LAGA-STEEL, *l.c.*, and VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, *l.c.*, as well as our own description of *Taurinensis C.III.3* (*†Taur*) on p. XLVIII-XLIX. B. Markesinis, however, questions this hypothesis.

(55) Folio 130<sup>r-v</sup> has remained blank.

(56) *Opuscula*, p. XXV, n. 15, and *LA*, p. LXVII.

(57) See J. PASINUS - A. RIVAUTELLA - F. BERTA, *Codices manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Taurinensis Athenaei per linguas digesti, et binas in partes distributi, in quantum prima Hebraei, et Graeci, in altera Latini, Italici, Gallici*, vol. 1, Turin, 1749, p. 94-96 (XXV.b.V.5). LAGA-STEEL, *o.c.*, p. XLIV have convincingly argued that *Taur* did contain *Ep. 13* and *15*, despite the fact that they are not mentioned by Pasinus.

(58) And not 1632, as had hitherto been assumed (with thanks to B. Markesinis for this information).

(59) See LAGA-STEEL, *o.c.*, p. XLV-XLVI.

*H Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus H 45 sup. (s. IX), f. 7-8<sup>v</sup>*

The second part of this manuscript (f. 9-60) dates from the eleventh century and contains a number of poems by Gregory of Nazianzus. It can therefore be safely excluded from this survey<sup>(60)</sup>. Instead, we will treat *H* here as a ninth-century manuscript of which only eight folia have survived. On f. 7-8<sup>v</sup> we find *Amb. Thom., prol.* and I, 1-30 (up to the word οὐτως)<sup>(61)</sup>. From Muratori's notes<sup>(62)</sup> it appears that the mutilation of the codex must have occurred before 1709. There is no indication of the origin or history of the manuscript.

Apart from the above-mentioned fragment of *Amb. Thom.*, *H* contains a number of (partly unedited) fragments of Hesychius of Jerusalem's *Scholia in prophetas minores* (CPG 6558) in a deviant, abbreviated text type<sup>(63)</sup>. More specifically it concerns:

(60) See the description in MARTINI-BASSI, *Catalogus*, p. 522-524. For a reconstruction of this part of the codex and a detailed table of contents, see N. GERTZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz*, vol. 2: *Die Gedichtgruppe I*. Mit Beiträgen von M. SICHERL (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. N.F., 2. Reihe: *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz* 4), Paderborn - Munich - Vienna - Zurich, 1986, p. 162-165. See also W. HÖLLGER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz*, vol. 1: *Die Gedichtgruppen XX und XI*. Mit Vorwort und Beiträgen von M. SICHERL und den Übersichtstabellen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz von H. M. WEHRHAHN (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. N.F., 2. Reihe: *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz* 3), Paderborn - Munich - Vienna - Zurich, 1985, p. 89-90; GERTZ, *o.c.*, p. 165-167 and 180 ('Gesamtstemma'); F. E. ZEHLES - M. J. ZAMORA, *Gregor von Nazianz. Mahnungen an die Jungfrauen (Carmen 1, 2, 2). Kommentar ... mit Einleitung und Beiträgen von M. SICHERL* (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. N.F., 2. Reihe: *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz* 13), Paderborn - Munich - Vienna - Zurich, 1996, p. 30-31.

(61) For a facsimile of f. 3, see W. WATTENBACH, *Scripturae graecae specimina in usum scholarum*, Berlin, 1936<sup>4</sup>, p. 6 (tab. xv).

(62) L. A. MURATORIUS, *Anecdota Graeca quae ex mss. codicibus nunc primum eruit, Latio donat, Notis, & Disquisitionibus auget* L. A. M. Serenis. Raynaldi I. Ducis Mutinae, &c. Bibliothecarius, Padua, 1709, p. 5-6 (not numbered).

(63) See A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens des Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 2)*, Berlin, 1914, p. 432-433, n. 2 (on in *Abdiam*); R. DEVREESE, *Chaînes exégétiques*, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, vol. 1, Paris, 1928, col. 1146 (*idem*); M. STARK, *Hesychius von Jerusalem, Scholien zum Propheten Joel*, in: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 37 (1994), p. 38 (on in *Ioel*). In addition our manuscript is mentioned in: R. MENNES, *Hesychius van Jeruzalem. Inventaris van de*

- f. 1-3: in *Ioel*, from 2, 7<sup>(64)</sup>; ed. M. STARK, *o.c.*, p. 40-44 (l. [78]-237)<sup>(65)</sup>;
- f. 3-4<sup>v</sup>: in *Abdiam*; ed. M. FAULHABER, *Die Propheten-Cate-  
nen nach römischen Handschriften (Biblische Studien 4, 2-3)*,  
Freiburg i. Br., 1899, p. 21-26;
- f. 4<sup>v</sup>: in *Ionam* 2, 1-3 (*expl. mut.*); ed. Y.-M. DUVAL, *Le  
livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, Paris,  
1973, vol. 2, p. 633-635, fragm. 3 and 5<sup>(66)</sup>;
- f. 5-6<sup>v</sup>: in *Habacuc*, from 2, 5 (*inc. mut.*): *ineditum*;
- f. 6<sup>v</sup>-7: in *Sophoniam*, 1, 2-10: *ineditum*<sup>(67)</sup>.

**D** *Monacensis gr. 83* (s. xv), f. 128<sup>v</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>

Little or nothing is to be added to I. Hardt's<sup>(68)</sup> and P. Van Deun's<sup>(69)</sup> detailed descriptions of this fifteenth-century manuscript. Apart from works by Titus of Bostra, John Damascene and Theodore Balsamon, to name but three, it contains a collection of Maximus' works (f. 50<sup>v</sup>-263<sup>v</sup>), among them *Amb. Thom.* (f. 128<sup>v</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>). This collection is prefaced by a long *pinax* (f. 45-50), subdivided into 185 items.

It remains unknown who wrote the manuscript or where it originated. We do know that it was in the possession of Johann Jakob Fugger (1516-1575) before being transferred to the *Hofbibliothek* (as it was then called) in Munich in 1571<sup>(70)</sup>.

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*Griekse handschriftelijke overlevering met de uitgave en vertaling van het Groot Commentaar op psalm 100 en 102* (M.A. thesis, 2 vol.), Ghent, 1971, vol. 1, p. 101, and T. SCHERMANN, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae. Indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini (BSGRT)*, Leipzig, 1907, p. xxxii (Schermann, who did not collate the manuscript, erroneously assumed that *H* was a witness to the recension of the prophets' lives he was editing, wrongly attributed to Hesychius [see *o.c.*, p. xxx-xxxii and 99-103]).

(64) Since f. 1 is illegible on our microfilm, I have here relied on the above-mentioned catalogue of MARTINI-BASSI, p. 522.

(65) Edition based on, among others, our manuscript: see *o.c.*, p. 37 and the apparatus on p. 44.

(66) Duval mentioned our manuscript on p. 632 and 634.

(67) On (possible) further witnesses of these last two fragments see the list of manuscripts in RAHLFS, *o.c.*, p. 432-433, section γ, and MENNES, *o.c.*, p. 97-108.

(68) *Catalogus*, I, p. 467-477.

(69) *Opuscula*, p. LXXXIV-LXXXV.

(70) See VAN DEUN, *o.c.*, p. LXXXIV and n. 37-38. On the relationship between the Fuggers and the Munich library, see B. MONDRAIN, *Copistes et collectionneurs de*

*M* *Monacensis* gr. 363 (s. XIII-XIV), f. 76-81

I. Hardt's dated though detailed catalogue provides us with a description of this manuscript<sup>(71)</sup>. It has been supplemented by Laga-Steel<sup>(72)</sup> and P. Van Deun<sup>(73)</sup>. I have also had the occasion to refer to B. Markesinis' as yet unpublished edition of Maximus' *Opuscula*, in which the editor proposes to shift the dating of *M* from the twelfth to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century on the basis of palaeographical data (the so-called *Fettaugen-Mode*)<sup>(74)</sup>, a suggestion which I have accepted.

It has been suggested that the manuscript originated in Constantinople, where, as we learn from a note in the manuscript itself, it was still to be found in 1509<sup>(75)</sup>. The later history of *M* has also been traced by Van Deun<sup>(76)</sup>. In 1806 it was transferred to the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (then called the *Hofbibliothek*) in Munich.

*Mosq* *Mosquensis, Bibliothecae Synodalis* gr. 324 (Vlad. 444), (s. XVI-XVII), f. 23<sup>v</sup>-31

This manuscript has been described by Archimandrite Vladimir<sup>(77)</sup>, whose description has been supplemented by Fonkich-Poljakov<sup>(78)</sup>. It has also been mentioned by Laga-Steel<sup>(79)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(80)</sup>, but unfortunately they had no opportunity to consult it<sup>(81)</sup>.

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*manuscripts grecs au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: le cas de Johann Jakob Fugger d'Augsbourg*, in : BZ 84 (1991-1992), p. 354-390; O. HARTIG, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger (Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse 28, 3)*, Munich, 1917.

(71) *Catalogus*, IV, p. 56-70.

(72) *QTh.*, I, p. LI.

(73) *Opuscula*, p. XXXI-XXXII; ID., *LA*, p. LXVIII-LXIX.

(74) I wish to thank B. Markesinis, who kindly let me consult his descriptions of this and other manuscripts.

(75) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXXI-XXXII, and *LA*, p. LXVIII-LXIX.

(76) *LA*, p. LXIX.

(77) VLADIMIR, *Sinodal'noj Biblioteki*, p. 679-682.

(78) *Rukopisi*, p. 147-148.

(79) *QTh.*, II, p. XLI and n. 61.

(80) *Opuscula*, p. CIII-CIV.

(81) The manuscript will be thoroughly described by B. Roosen, whose de-

*Mosq* is a large sixteenth- or seventeenth-century paper manuscript (I + 403 f.) written in three different hands and originating from the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos. It is one of the manuscripts and books that were removed from the Holy Mountain to Moscow by Arsenij Sukhanov in 1654<sup>(82)</sup>.

Folia 22-95 contain a collection of Maximus' works, including *Amb. Thom.* Here is the full table of contents for this part of the manuscript: *QTh.*, *prol.* (f. 22-23), followed by the *quaestiones* 1-2 (f. 23<sup>r-v</sup>); *Amb. Thom.* (f. 23<sup>v</sup>-31); several extracts from *Amb. Io.* (f. 31-42)<sup>(83)</sup>; *Th. Oec.* (f. 45-64; f. 43-44 are missing); the first century of *Div. Cap.* (f. 64<sup>v</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>); *EOD* (f. 77-87<sup>v</sup>; f. 75-76 are blank); *Ep.* 9 (up to καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι παραιτήση [PG 91, 448B2]) (f. 88); another extract from *Amb. Io.* (f. 88<sup>v</sup>-91<sup>v</sup>); and finally *CPG* 7707 (10) (f. 93-95)<sup>(84)</sup>, edited by Epifanovich on the basis of this manuscript<sup>(85)</sup>.

Q *Oxoniensis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Baroccianus 128* (s. XI<sup>ex.</sup>), f. 39<sup>v</sup>-51

This manuscript, containing mainly works of Maximus, has been described by Coxe<sup>(86)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(87)</sup>. Among the works of the Confessor (f. 1-217) we find *Amb. Thom.* (f. 39<sup>v</sup>-51) preceded only by the letters 12-13 and 15 and followed by the letters 19, 6-7, 11, *EOD*, *Ep.* 4, 8-9 and 1 (f. 1-96). Folia 97-217<sup>(88)</sup> contain *DP*, *LA*, *Car*, *Th. Oec.* and *Cap. XV*, while f. 218 is blank.

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scription I have been able to consult, for which I express my gratitude. I have borrowed some of the following from the introduction to his forthcoming re-edition of the so-called *Addimenta*, originally edited by Epifanovich (see *infra*).

(82) On Sukhanov's expedition to Mount Athos, see J. NORET (ed.), *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (CCSG 9), Turnhout - Leuven, 1982, p. xxx-xxxI and n. 64.

(83) These extracts will be identified in B. Roosen's description.

(84) Folio 92 is blank.

(85) *Materialy*, p. 29-33.

(86) H. O. COXE, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensio nem codicum graecorum continens*, Oxford, 1853, col. 207-209.

(87) *Opuscula*, p. xciii-xciv; *LA*, p. lxxi-lxxii.

(88) Folio 97 also marks the beginning of a new quire numbering (f. 97 = α), though the scribe remains the same throughout the entire manuscript (with the exception, of course, of the replacement folia [see *infra*]).

The second part of this manuscript (f. 219-264) includes a number of ascetic texts by several authors (e.g. Antonius 'Melissa' and John of Carpathus).

Since our *Amb. Thom.* have not suffered from the mutilation of the original manuscript and subsequent replacement of the lost folia by a later hand<sup>(89)</sup> Q can safely be regarded as an eleventh-century witness here.

According to a note on f. 263<sup>v</sup> the manuscript was once in the possession of a certain Γεράσιμος before it was transferred to Oxford in 1650 at the latest<sup>(90)</sup>.

The selection and sequence of Maximus' texts in Q hint at a connection with the so-called *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*<sup>(91)</sup>, though this assumption is not entirely confirmed by the form of the text<sup>(92)</sup>.

*N Parisinus, Coislilianus 90 (s. XII/XIV), f. 141<sup>v</sup>-147*

This codex, containing only works of Maximus, has been the object of study by Devreesse<sup>(93)</sup>, Laga-Steel<sup>(94)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(95)</sup>. A number of folia of the original twelfth-century parchment manuscript, which once belonged to the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, were replaced in the fourteenth century by the same number of paper folia<sup>(96)</sup>. One of the two scribes responsible for this has already been identified as Nicephorus Moschopoulos, metropolite of Crete at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century<sup>(97)</sup>. The second, identified by B. Markesinis, is Georgius Pepagomenos, a little known scribe of the fourteenth century. Moschopoulos is responsible for f. 96-

(89) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xciv and n. 108; ID., *LA*, p. lxxii.

(90) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xciv and n. 110-111 (the note on f. 263<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript is edited by VAN DEUN, *l.c.*, n. 110).

(91) This assumption is primarily valid for f. 1-96; for the sequence of the works in the *Corpus*, see the list in VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. lii.

(92) See *infra*, p. cxviii-cxix (Classification of the Witnesses).

(93) *Coislin*, p. 78-79.

(94) *QTh.*, I, p. liv-lvi.

(95) *Opuscula*, p. xxxii-xxxiv; ID., *LA*, p. lxxxvi-lxxxvii.

(96) See DEVREESSE, *Coislin*, p. 79.

(97) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xxxiv, n. 84; VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 340; *Repertorium*, I, 303; II, 417; III, 492.

103<sup>v</sup>, 136-144<sup>v</sup> and 256-257 and Pepagomenos for f. 257<sup>v</sup>-279. Finally, the original ending of *N* has been replaced by a number of folia from another twelfth-century manuscript (f. 280-283)<sup>(98)</sup>.

Folia 141<sup>v</sup>-147 contain *Amb. Thom.* This means that the first part of our text (f. 141<sup>v</sup>-144<sup>v</sup>; *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.* up to V, 79 [ἐπεπόρευτο, πε]) has been copied by Moschopoulos, whereas the remaining part (f. 145-147; *Amb. Thom.* V, 79 [ῥιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης] - 308) is the original twelfth-century text. In the classification of the witnesses it is therefore possible that a distinction will have to be made between the text of the replacement folia and that of the original manuscript (f. 141<sup>v</sup>-144<sup>v</sup>, *s.* XIV and f. 145-147, *s.* XII respectively).

In the seventeenth century *N* belonged to the collection of Pierre Séguier (1588-1672), chancellor of France. This collection is known to be the nucleus of the present-day *fonds Coislin* of the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris<sup>(99)</sup>.

*Par* Parisinus gr. 886 (*s.* XIII), f. 130<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>

This magnificent parchment manuscript, a faithful copy of *Romanus*, *Angelicus gr. 120*, can be assigned to the thirteenth century on the basis of palaeographical data<sup>(100)</sup>. G. Mahieu<sup>(101)</sup> - like R. Bracke after him<sup>(102)</sup> - dated the manuscript to the twelfth century, albeit tacitly, apparently influenced by F. Sevin (1682-1741). The latter, who had been responsible for the Greek manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Royale* since 1737<sup>(103)</sup>, had noted on

(98) DEVRESSE, *l.c.* The folia in question contain Maximus' *Div. Cap.*, I, 1-97.

(99) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXXIV and n. 86-88, and *id.*, *LA*, p. LXXXVII with n. 341.

(100) See also OMONT, *Inventaire*, I, p. 166; CERESA-GASTALDO, *Car*, p. 37 and n. 32; LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLVIII-XLIX; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXXVI-XXXVII; *id.*, *LA*, p. LXXXIII-LXXXIV.

(101) *Travaux*, p. 237-242.

(102) *Vita*, p. 191, n. 8 (with a reference to H. BORDIER, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1885, p. 222, and to an oral statement from R. S. Nelson). The author quotes the opinions of these two art historians to shift the dating of the manuscript to the end of the twelfth century.

(103) See OMONT, *Inventaire*, *Intr.*, p. VII-VIII and p. XXIX; *ibid.*, p. XXXII<sup>quater</sup> the reader will find a specimen of Sevin's handwriting (n° VI).

*Par*'s flyleaf (the present f. I): 'Codex pulcherrimus 12 saeculo scriptus quo continetur sancti Maximi operum pars major quam recensere velle supervacuum foret; eo enim praecipue codice usus Combefisius novam Maximi editionem publicavit'. It seems that G. Malieue's special interest in *Par* <sup>(104)</sup> is due to his erroneous assumption, probably based on Sevin's note, that Combefis' edition (1675) was based on this manuscript.

We do not know by whom or where the manuscript was copied. Brought from Italy by Raphaël Trichet du Fresne († 1661) and transferred to the *Bibliothèque Royale* in 1662, *Par* was indeed at Combefis' disposal while preparing his Maximus edition but our collations have shown that the editor only copied from *Par* the scholia <sup>(105)</sup> and a couple of variant readings, so that this manuscript can on no account be labelled his 'manuscrit de base' <sup>(106)</sup>.

*T*     *Parisinus gr.* 888 (s. xvii), f. 296<sup>v</sup>-320

This manuscript has been described by Omont <sup>(107)</sup>, whose description has been supplemented by Van Deun <sup>(108)</sup>. It contains exactly the same selection of Maximus' works as *Parisinus gr.* 1097 <sup>(109)</sup> in precisely the same order. The (anonymous) scribe faithfully copied even the colophon of his exemplar (f. 296<sup>r-v</sup>), but on the other hand he omitted the original *pinax* of *P* (f. 1-2). As was the case in *P*, it is only after the colophon that *Amb. Thom.* are to be found (f. 296<sup>v</sup>-320).

Considering the fact that *P* has been in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* in Paris since 1599, we must assume that *T* was copied in France, which might explain the large number of mistakes. In any event the manuscript was part of the collection of Jean-Baptiste Colbert

(104) See his extensive description of the manuscript, mentioned above, n. 101.

(105) On these scholia, see p. XLVII (description of *Romanus*, *Angelicus gr.* 120).

(106) See *infra*, p. CXXIX (Previous Editions). LAGA-STEEL, *o.c.*, p. LXXXV-LXXXIX, and VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXXVI (*EP559*) and CLXII (*EOD*) came to the same conclusion.

(107) *Inventaire*, I, p. 167-168.

(108) *Opuscula*, p. XXXIX-XI; see also *ibid.*, p. CXXXI, where the author describes the manuscript as a 'πέλαγος σφαλμάτων'.

(109) Manuscript *P* in our edition (see p. XLIII-XLV).



(1619-1683) before its transfer - between 1728 and 1732 - to the royal library together with the other *codices Colbertini* <sup>(110)</sup>.

**Z** *Parisinus gr. 1094* (s. XIV-XV), f. 61-68

Of South Italian provenance, this paper manuscript dates to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century <sup>(111)</sup>. It has been described by Omont <sup>(112)</sup>, Mahieu <sup>(113)</sup>, Laga-Steel <sup>(114)</sup> and Van Deun <sup>(115)</sup>. Combefis used this manuscript to prepare his intended edition of *Amb. Io.* <sup>(116)</sup>, and labelled it 'codex Regius'.

Z contains only works of Maximus, written in one and the same (anonymous) hand. Folia 61-68 contain *Amb. Thom.*, preceded by the letters 6-7, 11 and 8-9 (f. 52-59) <sup>(117)</sup> and followed by *Amb. Io.* (f. 68-159).

The later history of Z remains unknown, except for the fact that it belonged to the collection of the kings of France since the first half of the sixteenth century <sup>(118)</sup>.

**P** *Parisinus gr. 1097* (a. 1055), f. 195<sup>v</sup>-210<sup>v</sup>

This manuscript, on the basis of which Combefis intended to edit *Amb. Thom.* <sup>(119)</sup>, has been described by Omont <sup>(120)</sup>, Mahieu <sup>(121)</sup>, Sotiropoulos <sup>(122)</sup> and Van Deun <sup>(123)</sup>. Among the works of Maximus which it contains are mainly letters (*Ep.* 1-39), apart from which P contains *Myst.*, *EOD*, *EPs59* and *Amb. Thom.* (f. 195<sup>v</sup>-210<sup>v</sup>).

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(110) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXXIX and n. 123-124.

(111) See VAN DEUN, *o.c.*, p. CII-CIII.

(112) *Inventaire*, I, p. 219.

(113) *Travaux*, p. 150-151.

(114) *QTh.*, I, p. LXX-LXXII.

(115) *L.c.*; see also *ibid.*, p. I, n. 10.

(116) See MAHIEU, *Travaux*, p. 161.

(117) Folia 59<sup>v</sup>-60<sup>v</sup> are blank.

(118) See VAN DEUN, *o.c.*, p. CIII and n. 169.

(119) See *infra*, p. CXXIX.

(120) *Inventaire*, I, p. 219.

(121) *Travaux*, p. 151-152.

(122) *Myst.*, p. 143-144.

(123) *Opuscula*, p. XXXV-XXXVI.

With the exception of f. 211<sup>r-v</sup> the manuscript is the work of a single scribe whose name is revealed in the colophon (f. 195)<sup>(124)</sup>: Παῦλος, of whom nothing is known. The same colophon informs us that the manuscript was completed in January 1055<sup>(125)</sup>, though its place of origin is not indicated. *P*'s later history on the other hand is well known and has been traced by Van Deun<sup>(126)</sup>.

On f. 1-2 the scribe has given a *pinax* of the contents of the manuscript, though *Amb. Thom.* are not included. Moreover, *Amb. Thom.* are the very last work to have been copied and thus even follow the colophon (f. 195 as mentioned above).

Finally f. 211<sup>r-v</sup>, the last folium, contains the following fragments in at least three different hands that do not seem much younger than the rest of the manuscript:

- f. 211: Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carmen morale* 30 (CPG 3035 [2], 30 = *Carm.* I, 2, 30), verses 1-4 (PG 37, 908Ab14 [ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων] - 909Aa3 [εὐπορεῖν κακῶς])<sup>(127)</sup>;
- *ibid.*: Ps.-IOH. CHRYSOST., *De patientia* (CPG 4693; PG 63, 940, l. 21 *ab imo* - l. 14 *ab imo*)<sup>(128)</sup>. The prayer - minus the final line - is found ascribed to Ephraem in Pseudo-Maximus' *Loci communes*, PG 91, 721A11-B2 (= *prologus*)<sup>(129)</sup>;
- f. 211<sup>r-v</sup>: another excerpt of John Chrysostom's above-

(124) See K. LAKE - SILVA LAKE, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (*Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera*. First Series, 4), Boston (Mass.), 1935, pl. 276 for a reproduction, and VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xxxv (and n. 95) for an edition of the colophon.

(125) More precisely it is the part of the manuscript preceding *Amb. Thom.* that was completed in January 1055. *Amb. Thom.* were added at a later date, albeit by the same hand (see *infra*).

(126) *Opuscula*, p. xxxv-xxxvi and n. 97-99. On the collection of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, to which *P* belonged at one time, see also: R. BALADÍF, *Contribution à l'histoire de la collection Ridolfi. La date de son arrivée en France*, in: *Scriptorium* 29 (1975), p. 76-83: the collection arrived in France from Italy in 1560 at the earliest. Once in France, it became part of the collection of Catharine de' Medici. From there *P* found its way into the *Bibliothèque Royale* in 1599.

(127) Entitled Ἡθικὰ παραγγέλματα κατ'ἀφάβητον, this poem has also been published anonymously together with a similar work (*inc.* ἀρχὴν νόμιζε τῶν ὅλων εἶναι θεόν) in: *Ρωμανὸς ὁ Μελωδός. Παράρτημα τῆς ἀγιορειτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης* 1 (1932), p. 20-21, on the basis of *Parisinus gr.* 343, f. 100.

(128) See also CPG 4687.

(129) See CPG 4007, *note*.

- mentioned *Oratio de patientia*, lines PG 63, 940, l. 2 *ab imo* ([π]ορεύου εἰς τὰ ὀπήσω [*sic*] μου) - 941, l. 13 (Ἀμήν);
- f. 211<sup>v</sup>: some 'bits and pieces', written upside down: ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ υἱοῦ | μηδὲν σοὶ | καὶ τὸ (*sic*) δι|<sup>(130)</sup>.

*Sup* Parisinus, *Suppl. gr.* 228 (s. xvi), f. 54-58<sup>v</sup>

The description of this manuscript in the catalogue of H. Omont<sup>(131)</sup> has been revised and extended by P. Van Deun<sup>(132)</sup>. *Sup* bears a close resemblance to *Vaticanus*, *Reginensis gr.* 37 (our *Re*). The most notable difference between the two manuscripts is the fact that in *Sup* the following texts have been added after *Amb. Thom.* by the same hand:

- *Amb. Io.*, PG 91, 1061-1388B3 (f. 59-137; *expl.* ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς), immediately and without any apparent connection followed by:
- GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 28, 25, 5 (καὶ φιλότεχνον) - 31, 42 (ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα) (f. 137, l. 14 *ab imo* - f. 139). This fragment bears the caption τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν θεῶ χάρις.

Lastly f. 140 contains a brief excerpt from the *Constitutiones apostolicæ*<sup>(133)</sup> written in a different hand.

The scribe who is responsible for the greater part of the manuscript<sup>(134)</sup> has been identified as Ἰωάννης Ναθαναήλ<sup>(135)</sup>. In the seventeenth century *Sup* was in the collection of Gerasimos Blachos (1605/7 - 1685)<sup>(136)</sup>, who kindly placed it at the disposal of F. Combefis<sup>(137)</sup>.

(130) The right side of f. 211 has been cut over the whole length of the folio, causing the loss of the missing syllables or words. As far as the last two lines are concerned, see Mt. 27, 19 (μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ).

(131) *Inventaire*, III, p. 235.

(132) *Opuscula*, p. xcvi-xcviii.

(133) M. METZGER (ed.), *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, vol. 1: *Livres I et II* (*SChr.* 320), Paris, 1985, II, 49, 1, 1 (p. 292) - II, 50, 1, 7 (p. 294) (see VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xcvi, n. 127). Folia 139<sup>v</sup> and 140<sup>v</sup> are blank.

(134) With the exception of f. 42<sup>r-v</sup> and 140<sup>r</sup>.

(135) See *Repertorium*, I, 173; II, 231; III, 285. In *Repertorium*, II, 231 'Gregorius v. Nyssa' should read 'Gregorius v. Nazianz'. This confusion originated from the description of the manuscript in Omont's catalogue.

(136) See BRACKE, *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 101-102, n. 17.

(137) See p. cxxx of this edition in dealing with the previous editions.

In the *pinax* (f. III-IV)<sup>(138)</sup>, copied by the same scribe, *Amb. Thom.* form the last entry ( $\lambda\delta$ ). The subsequent texts (f. 59-140; see *supra*) have not been listed in the *pinax*, neither have they been numbered in the manuscript itself<sup>(139)</sup>.

As will be shown further on, *Re* and *Sup* are closely related; they are actually copies of the same exemplar. This leaves us with two possible explanations concerning the presence of *Amb. Io.* in *Sup* and their absence from *Re*: either *Amb. Io.* were added in *Sup* at a later date, or they were left out of *Sup*'s twin manuscript *Re*. The *pinax* offers the only clue: as this *pinax*, which is identical in both *Re* and *Sup*, does not mention *Amb. Io.*, it seems safe to conclude that the work was not found in their common ancestor. It appears then that *Amb. Io.* were added in *Sup* at a later date, albeit by the same scribe.

*A Romanus, Angelicus gr. 120 (s. XI), f. 115-119<sup>v</sup>*

This famous manuscript, devoted solely to the works of Maximus, has been extensively described and studied in previous works on the Confessor<sup>(140)</sup>. It can be assigned to the eleventh century. There is no indication as to where or by whom the manuscript was copied. We do know that prior to its transfer to the West it was owned by the monastery τοῦ Χαρσιανίτου in

(138) Folia I-II are blank.

(139) Even though *Amb. Io.* (f. 59-137) have not been numbered as a whole, a (partial) numbering of the various subdivisions of the work can be found. *Amb. Io., prol.* has not been numbered; *Amb. Io. I* =  $\bar{\alpha}$ ; *Amb. Io. II* =  $\bar{\beta}$ ; *Amb. Io. III-V* and the first 'theories' of *Amb. Io. V* have been counted, but not numbered. The θεωρία τῆς ἱεριχοῦς καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ περιόδων (PG 91, 1120A14; f. 72) has been numbered  $\bar{\beta}$ . A new numbering starts on f. 83<sup>v</sup>: the θεωρία εἰς τὸν μωϋσῆν καὶ τὸν ἡλίαν (*sic*) (PG 91, 1161A1) is  $\bar{\alpha}$ . This new numbering extends beyond the end of the very long *Amb. Io. V*. Thus *Amb. Io. VI* (PG 91, 1205D1; f. 94<sup>v</sup>) is  $\bar{\lambda}\zeta$ , etc. It stops at *Amb. Io. IX* (PG 91, 1212B11) numbered  $\bar{\mu}$ , after which no more numbering can be seen.

(140) See, apart from the catalogue by G. MUCCIO – P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALLIERI, *Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae*, in: *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 4 (1896), p. 159-161 (reprinted in Christa SAMBERGER [ed.], *Catalogi codicum graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis italicis asservantur in duo volumina collati et novissimis additamentis aucti*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1968), also BRACKE, *Vita*, p. 189-196; LAGASTEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLVII-XLVIII; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXIV-XXV; ID., *LA*, p. XCIII-XCIV.

Constantinople, founded in the middle of the fourteenth century<sup>(141)</sup>. Later on it turned up in the library of Giovanni Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona (1524–1543), the library of the Sforzas in Rome, founded by Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518–1564), and the collection of Cardinal Domenico Passionei (1682–1761)<sup>(142)</sup>. In 1762 *A* was transferred to the *Bibliotheca Angelica* together with the rest of Passionei's collection<sup>(143)</sup>.

In the margins of *A* a hand that is also responsible for a large number of corrections, has added a series of scholia, part of which are directed against Νεῖλος, surnamed ὁ Καλαβρός<sup>(144)</sup>. These scholia can be dated to between 1086 and 1092<sup>(145)</sup>.

*Sin*     *Sinaiticus gr. 1726* (s. XVI<sup>ex</sup>), f. 25–31<sup>v</sup>

In the greater part of this late witness, to which P. Van Deun has devoted an article<sup>(146)</sup>, the hand of the sixteenth-century Cretan humanist, author, editor and manuscript collector Maximus Margunios can be recognized<sup>(147)</sup>.

(141) See the note of ownership on f. 297<sup>v</sup>, edited by VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xxv, n. 11.

(142) See A. Piccolomini's *praefatio* to the above-mentioned catalogue of Muccio – Franchi de' Cavalieri, in: *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 4 (1896), p. 10–15 and p. 16, n. 1.

(143) See Paola MUNAFÒ – Nicoletta MURATORE, *La Biblioteca Angelica*, Rome, 1989, p. 44–45.

(144) See e.g. Appendix I (Marginalia), *ad Amb. Thom.* III, 32/34: ἔχουε νεῖλε καὶ σίγα, καὶ μὴ σόβει. The Nilus in question was involved in the philosophico-religious controversy in which also Michael Psellus and Nilus' 'compatriot' John Italus took part. Around 1087 Nilus was condemned for heresy (see also J. Noret's article mentioned below).

(145) See J. NORET, *Une allusion à Léon de Chalcédoine et non à un ps.-saint Cédonius. Datation des scholies de l'Angelicus gr. 120*, in: *AB* 108 (1990), p. 320–322.

(146) P. VAN DEUN, *Le Sinaiticus graecus 1726 de Maxime Margounios: son contenu et son modèle*, in: *Byzantion* 60 (1990), p. 436–440. The manuscript had already been briefly described by V. N. BENESHEVICH, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, III, 1: *Codices numeris 1224–2150 signati*, Saint Petersburg, 1917 (reprint Hildesheim, 1965), p. 170, and more extensively by VAN DEUN himself, *Opuscula*, p. xxxviii–xxxix.

(147) It concerns f. 1–38<sup>v</sup> and 68–213<sup>v</sup> (see VAN DEUN, *art.c.*, p. 437). On Margunios' life and works, see G. PODSKALSKY, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*, Munich, 1988, p. 135–151 (including a bibliography in n.

*Sin* contains a *pinax* of Maximus' works in Margunios' hand (f. 23)<sup>(148)</sup> immediately followed by *Amb. Thom.* (f. 25-31<sup>v</sup>)<sup>(149)</sup>. Elsewhere in the manuscript (f. 39-213<sup>v</sup>) we find Maximus' *Ep.* 6-7, *Amb. Io.*, *Ep.* 8-9 and 12, *DP*, *Opusc.* 1-3 and 7-9, *EP*:59 and Pseudo-Maximus' dialogues *de sancta Trinitate* 1-5 (CPG 2284).

After his death Margunios' Greek manuscripts were transferred to the *μετόχιον* of St. Catherine's monastery in Candia (Iraklio, Crete), possibly the scholar's birthplace. From there, a part of his library, including *Sin*, found its way to St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, around 1699<sup>(150)</sup>.

† *Taur Taurinensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis C.III.3* (s. xi<sup>in.</sup>), f. 108-112

This manuscript, which according to Pasinus' catalogue<sup>(151)</sup> was written in the eleventh century by the scribe Theophanes<sup>(152)</sup>, was lost in a fire in the Turin National Library in the night of 25-26 January 1904<sup>(153)</sup>.

Fortunately the manuscript is not completely 'lost'. Apart from the above-mentioned description in Pasinus' catalogue it is often assumed that the Scottish humanist David Colvill copied

563 [p. 135-136]); on Margunios' activities as a scribe, see VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 285-286, and *Repertorium*, I, 259; II, 356; III, 427.

(148) As demonstrated by VAN DEUN, *art.c.*, p. 438-440, this *pinax* is a copy of the table of contents of *Monacensis gr. 363* (our *M*). The number and sequence of works do not correspond to the actual contents of *Sin*.

(149) Folia 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup> are blank.

(150) See VAN DEUN, *art.c.*, p. 438 and n. 9.

(151) J. PASINUS - A. RIVAUTELLA - F. BERTA, *Codices manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei per linguas digesti, et binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima Hebraei, et Graeci, in altera Latini, Italici, et Gallici*, vol. 1, Turin, 1749, p. 94-96 (n° XXV.b.V.5).

(152) See PASINUS, *o.c.*, p. 96: 'In fine haec habentur: ἐγράφη χειρὶ Θεοφανῶ ἀμαρτολοῦ' (sic Pasinus), viz. the famous scribe Θεοφάνης τῶν Ἰβήρων, whose dated manuscripts were written between 1004 and 1023 (see *Repertorium*, I, 136; II, 180; III, 230).

(153) Obviously G. de Sanctis was mistaken when he reported that the manuscript had been damaged by water but was nonetheless fully legible (see *Inventario dei codici superstiti Greci e Latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, in: *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 32 [1904], p. 399).

*Taur* in two volumes around 1600<sup>(154)</sup>. The manuscript must at that time have been part of the collection of the Dukes of Savoy, which is known to have been the nucleus of the present Turin National Library manuscript collection.

From Pasinus' catalogue we learn that *Taur* contained *Amb. Thom.* on f. 108-112<sup>(155)</sup>: τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ διαφόρων ἀπορίων (*sic* Pasinus) τῶν ἀγίων Διονυσίου καὶ Γρηγορίου πρὸς Θωμᾶν τὸν ἡγιασμένον.

*K Vaticanus, Barberinianus gr. 587 (s. XVI), f. 1-11<sup>v</sup>*

In addition to the very brief description by S. de Ricci<sup>(156)</sup>, this manuscript has also received attention from P. Sherwood<sup>(157)</sup>, who dated it to the sixteenth century. There are no indications as to scribe, origins or later history of the manuscript.

*K* contains an extensive collection of the works of Maximus. Apart from *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*, these are mainly letters: *Amb. Thom.* (f. 1-11<sup>v</sup>); *Amb. Io.* (f. 11<sup>v</sup>-154)<sup>(158)</sup>; *CPG* 7707 (32) (f. 160-161)<sup>(159)</sup>; *Ep.* 14 (f. 161<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 8 (f. 164<sup>v</sup>-166<sup>v</sup>), addressed to Sophronius and including the report on the obligatory christening of African Jews and Samaritans in the *versio brevior*<sup>(160)</sup>; *Opusc.* 8 (f. 166<sup>v</sup>-173<sup>v</sup>); *Opusc.* 9 (f. 173<sup>v</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>); *Opusc.* 7 (f. 180-186<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 6 (f. 187-190); *Ep.* 7 (f. 190-192); *Ep.* 2 (f. 192<sup>v</sup>-198); *Ep.* 3 (*inc. mut.*; f. 198-199); *Ep.* 12 (f. 199<sup>v</sup>-217<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.*

(154) These are the present *Mediolanenses, Ambrosiani B 137 sup.* and *B 139 sup.* See our description of the first (*Am*), on p. xxxv.

(155) Or f. 111<sup>v</sup>. In any event - that is, again according to Pasinus - on f. 112 begin *Amb. Io.* On the contents of *Taur*, see also LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLIII-XLIV, and particularly VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XL-XLI.

(156) *Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina*, in: *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 (1907), p. 124.

(157) *Earlier Ambigua*, p. 2.

(158) In spite of the fact that *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* are to be found at the beginning of the manuscript, the scribe adopted the numbering which he found in his exemplar (*Vaticanus gr. 504* as it will be seen), starting with  $\mu\zeta$  for *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*

(159) Folia 154<sup>v</sup> to 159 are probably blank (they are not on our microfilm); f. 159<sup>v</sup> too is blank.

(160) As edited by EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy*, p. 84 (n° 29), and DEVRESSE, *Fin inédite*, p. 34-35, n. 3 (see also SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 28).

13 (f. 217<sup>v</sup>-226); *Ep.* 17 (f. 226<sup>v</sup>-228); *Ep.* 18 (f. 228-230<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 11 (f. 230<sup>v</sup>-232<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 21 (f. 232<sup>v</sup>-233); *Ep.* 22 (f. 233<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 23 (f. 233<sup>v</sup>-234); *Ep.* 32 (f. 234<sup>r-v</sup>); *Ep.* 33 (f. 234<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 34 (f. 234<sup>v</sup>-235); *Ep.* 35 (f. 235<sup>r-v</sup>); *Ep.* 24 (f. 235<sup>v</sup>-237); *Ep.* 10 (f. 237<sup>v</sup>-239); *Ep.* 25 (f. 239<sup>r-v</sup>); *Ep.* 9 (f. 239<sup>v</sup>-241); *Ep.* 26 (f. 241<sup>r-v</sup>); *Ep.* 27 (f. 241<sup>v</sup>-242<sup>v</sup>); *Ep.* 28 (f. 243); *Ep.* 29 (f. 243<sup>r-v</sup>); *Ep.* 30 (f. 244<sup>r-v</sup>); *Ep.* 31 (f. 244<sup>v</sup>-245); again *Ep.* 8 (f. 245-247<sup>v</sup>)<sup>(161)</sup>.

On f. 247<sup>v</sup>-249, preceded by an unidentified poem (*inc.* ναὶ ζυγὸς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν - *expl.* τοῖς ὀρώσι προδευκνύει) and a *quaestio ascetica* inspired by John Climacus<sup>(162)</sup>, there is yet another work of Maximus, viz. a unique combination of *Ep.* 5 and 4<sup>(163)</sup>: *Ep.* 5 *expl. mut.* ποιητὰς ἀποφανθῆναι (f. 249, l. 3; PG 91, 424B12), supplemented by the ending of *Ep.* 4 (PG 91, 420B1-C1 ταῦτα μὲν [*sic*] - δόξαν καὶ βασιλείαν). A part of *Opusc.* 1 (PG 91, 9A1-12C3; f. 249<sup>v</sup>-250) and again *Ep.* 23 (*expl. mut.* τοῦ παιδὸς [PG 91, 608A12]; f. 250) conclude this list<sup>(164)</sup>.

Y *Vaticanus gr. 504* (a. 1105), f. 116<sup>v</sup>-117 *in mg.*; f. 117<sup>v</sup>-118

This manuscript is one of the oldest Greek paper codices known to us<sup>(165)</sup>. As well as containing works by, among others,

(161) In this case the version as edited in PG 91, 440C1-445B12, and addressed to Ἰορδάνη πρεσβυτέρω.

(162) On both items see *Vaticanus gr. 504*, f. 108, and the description of this manuscript by DEVRESSE, *Codices 330-603*, p. 343.

(163) This arrangement can also be found on f. 153<sup>v</sup>-154 of *Vaticanus gr. 504* (see DEVRESSE, *o.c.*, p. 345-346), which will prove to be *K*'s exemplar (see below p. cv-cvi).

(164) Folium 250<sup>v</sup>, the last page of the manuscript, is not on our microfilm. In all probability it is blank. It may also have been glued to the cover.

(165) A number of texts, including those we are concerned with, have nevertheless been written on parchment (see *infra*). The manuscript has always enjoyed a great amount of scholarly attention. See, apart from DEVRESSE, *Codices 330-603*, p. 338-349, e.g. J. IRIGOIN, *Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin*, in: *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), p. 194-204 (in particular p. 198-199 and 202); LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. LIX-LX; C. DE VOCHT, *L'« as de pique » hors d'Italie?*, in: *Byzantion* 51 (1981), p. 628-630. For the complete bibliography see the following repertoria: CANART - PERI, *Sussidi*, p. 440-441; BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia*, p. 831-832; CERESA, *Bibliografia (1981-1985)*, p. 346; *id.*, *Bibliografia (1986-1990)*, p. 433. The manuscript has also been mentioned by VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LVII.



John of Damascus, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Pseudo-Nonnus, it boasts a unique collection of *Maximiana* (f. 3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>, 81<sup>v</sup>-148, 150<sup>v</sup>-162 and 194<sup>v</sup>-196<sup>v</sup>). It was completed on 6 July 1105 by the hieromonk Ἰωάννης<sup>166</sup>, known to us only from this manuscript<sup>167</sup>. In his forthcoming edition of the so-called *Addimenta*, which will include a detailed description of Y, B. Roosen is inclined to treat the indication τοῦ Χάλ<sup>δ</sup> as a reference to the former Mount Athos monastery τοῦ Χάλδου<sup>168</sup>. Nothing is known about Y's later history except that it must have been transferred to the *Bibliotheca Vaticana* by the early sixteenth century at the latest<sup>169</sup>.

The compiler of the collection clearly had access to more than one manuscript<sup>170</sup>. *Amb. Thom.* (f. 116<sup>v</sup>-117 *in mg.* and f. 117<sup>v</sup>-118) are immediately followed by *Amb. Io.* (f. 118-138<sup>v</sup>) - a situation not at all uncommon in many of our witnesses - but the context in which both texts are found is unique: they are preceded by Ps.-Nonnus' commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' orations 4, 5, 39 and 43 (f. 111-115<sup>v</sup>; *CPG* 3011), and Maximus' own *Opusc.* 14 and *Cap. XV* (f. 115<sup>v</sup>-116<sup>v</sup>, partly *in margine*)<sup>171</sup>. Following *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* we find *Opusc.* 7, *Car* and *Ep.* 14 (f. 138<sup>v</sup>-145).

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(166) See the scribe's note on f. 197: ἐτελειώθη δὲ ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐν τῷ ἔτει ρχιγ', ἰνδ. ιγ' μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ ἕκτῃ, γραφεῖσα χειρὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐτελοῦς μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Χάλ<sup>δ</sup>.

(167) See *Repertorium*, III, 313.

(168) See also DE VOCHT, *art.c.*, p. 628-629, who, apart from Athos, also mentions Trebizond and its environs as a possible place of origin.

(169) As can be gathered from the mention of Y in the inventory of Fabio Vigili (around 1510); see DEVREESE, *Fonds grec*, p. 174.

(170) Y contains, for instance, both versions of Maximus' *Ep.* 8 (f. 107<sup>v</sup>-108 and 150<sup>v</sup>-151 respectively). See SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 28, and DEVREESE, *Fin inédite*.

(171) The explicit indication τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου (instead of τοῦ αὐτοῦ or τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου) at the beginning of *Amb. Thom.* seems to indicate that Y follows a different tradition with regard to *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* than for the immediately preceding *Opusc.* 14 and *Cap. XV*. On the other hand *Opusc.* 7 immediately following *Amb. Io.* has been introduced with the simple τοῦ αὐτοῦ, possibly indicating that it was copied from the same manuscript as the foregoing works.

Perhaps due to a shortage of paper *Amb. Thom.* (and *Cap. XV*) have been copied partly in the margins of two parchment folia containing parts of two works by Gregory of Nazianzus<sup>(172)</sup>:

- the original text on f. 116<sup>r-v</sup> is GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 6, 16, 10 (p. 162, καὶ νηῶν πληρώματα) - 19, 3 (p. 168, ἔτι πολλῶ δει[νότερον];
- on f. 117<sup>r</sup> (<sup>173</sup>): GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 23, 8, 8 (p. 298, νοούμενόν τε καὶ λαμβανόμενον) - 10, 11 (p. 300, τριάς ὡς ἀ[ληθῶς]) (<sup>174</sup>).

It is worth noting that on f. 84 (*ad Th. Oec.* II, 21) there is an anti-*Nilus* scholium similar to the ones that have been discussed in connection with *Romanus, Angelicus gr.* 120 (<sup>175</sup>): ὄρα ἄφρον νεῖλε· ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος <σω>ματικῶς (Col. 2, 9).

#### I *Vaticanus gr.* 505 (a. 1520), f. 68-72<sup>v</sup>

This faithful copy of *Vaticanus gr.* 1502 has been thoroughly described by Devreesse<sup>(176)</sup>, Laga-Steel<sup>(177)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(178)</sup>. According to the colophon on f. 320<sup>v</sup> the manuscript was completed by the *primicerius* and *skeuophylax* Nicetas of Symi<sup>(179)</sup> on 24 May 1520. By 1533 I had already entered the *Bibliotheca Vaticana*<sup>(180)</sup>.

(172) This is probably the reason why our manuscript is also mentioned in the *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, vol. 5, n° 42, as if the text of *Amb. Thom.* served as an actual set of marginal notes on the works of Gregory.

(173) From f. 117<sup>v</sup> on Maximus' works are again written on the entire surface of the folia.

(174) Coincidentally *Or.* 23, 8, 9-11 (p. 298) is also the subject of *Amb. Thom.* I.

(175) See *supra*, p. XLVII.

(176) *Codices 330-603*, p. 349-352.

(177) *QTh.*, I, p. LI-LIV.

(178) *Opuscula*, p. XXIX-XXX; *id.*, *LA*, p. CI-CII.

(179) On this scribe see VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 337; *Repertorium*, III, 489.

(180) See DEVREESSE, *Fonds grec*, p. 277, n° 204; Devreesse's hesitant identification is corroborated by M. R. DILTS - M. L. SOSOWER - A. MANFREDI, *Librorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Index a Nicolao De Maiorani compositus et Fausto Saboeo collatus Anno 1533 (Studi e Testi 384)*, Vatican City, 1998, p. 40, n° 309.

The manuscript is solely devoted to works of Maximus, which are preceded by a *pinax* <sup>(181)</sup>. *Amb. Thom.* are on f. 68-72<sup>v</sup>.

*L* Vaticanus gr. 507 (a. 1344), f. 209<sup>v</sup>-217<sup>v</sup>

This manuscript contains a large - if personal - collection of works of Maximus <sup>(182)</sup>. From the colophon on f. 319<sup>v</sup> we learn that it was compiled in 1344 by Demetrius Kabasilas, also known as Kaniskes <sup>(183)</sup>, who must have had access to more than one exemplar <sup>(184)</sup>. We know that Kaniskes was a scribe and ecclesiastical official in Thessalonica <sup>(185)</sup>, where, as a consequence, our manuscript may well have originated.

According to a note on f. 7<sup>v</sup> *L* was part of the collection of Johannes Eugenicus, νομοφύλαξ and διάκονος <sup>(186)</sup>, immediately before its transfer to the *Bibliotheca Vaticana* around the middle of the fifteenth century <sup>(187)</sup>.

In the case of *Amb. Thom.* *L* is a copy of *G* <sup>(188)</sup>. *Amb. Thom.* are preceded by *Ep.* 4, 8-9, 1, 19, 12-13 and 15, and followed by *Amb. Io.* and *QTh.* The complete table of contents can be found in Van Deun <sup>(189)</sup>, who has supplied the necessary additions to the de-

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(181) This *pinax*, a copy of the lost *pinax* in *Va*, has been adapted to match the actual contents of the manuscript (see LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. LIV; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LVI, n. 19 and in particular p. LVIII, n. 29).

(182) See DEVRESSE, *Codices 330-603*, p. 354-357; A. TURYN, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi (Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi 28)*, Vatican City, 1964, p. 143-146; LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. LXIV-LXV; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXX-XXXI.

(183) See VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 102 and n. 9; *Repertorium*, III, 163. The colophon has been edited by VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xxx, n. 52.

(184) See *infra*.

(185) See *PLP*, vol. 5, p. 9 (n° 10085, Καβάσιλας, Δημήτριος Κανίσκης). H.-V. BEYER, *Demetrios Kabasilas, Freund und späterer Gegner des Gregoras*, in: *JÖB* 39 (1989), p. 135-177, in particular p. 140-144, recounts the scribe's life and career.

(186) See *PLP*, vol. 3, p. 115-116 (n° 6189, Εὐγενικός, Ἰωάννης). See also *Repertorium*, II, 217; III, 270.

(187) See DEVRESSE, *Fonds grec*, p. 25 ('L'inventaire de Cosme de Montserrat', n° 185).

(188) See below, p. LXXXVI-LXXXVII. Thus *L* provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for *G*, namely July 1344 (see the colophon mentioned *supra*).

(189) *Opuscula*, p. xxx-xxxI.

scriptions by Devreesse<sup>(190)</sup> and Laga-Steel<sup>(191)</sup>. With some exceptions (*LA*, *Car*, *Th. Oec.*, *Cap. XV*, *Comp.* and *Vita*) *L* contains the same texts as those transmitted in the corpus of Maximus' works in *Romanus*, *Angelicus gr. 120*. However, *L* opens with the second part of this corpus and closes with its first part. This is easily explained by the fact that our manuscript was not copied directly from *A* but stems from *A*'s two copies, *Gudianus gr. 39* (our manuscript *G*) and *Vaticanus gr. 508*<sup>(192)</sup>, which each contain about half of the corpus in *A*.

*L* does not include *Car*, even though it does appear in *G*. But in *G*, *Car* was added at a later date, probably after Kaniskes had finished, in other words not before 1344 at the earliest<sup>(193)</sup>, because it would be very unlikely that the scribe, who was painstakingly compiling such an extensive corpus of Maximus' texts, would have left out an entire work.

*Va*     *Vaticanus gr. 1502* (s. XII), f. 83-89

This luxurious and, judging by its numerous copies, very popular manuscript has been extensively analysed by Giannelli<sup>(194)</sup>. It has received further attention from Laga-Steel<sup>(195)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(196)</sup>.

*Va* is solely devoted to Maximus' works. On f. 83-89 we find *Amb. Thom.*, only preceded by *QTh.*<sup>(197)</sup> and followed by *Amb. Io.* Laga-Steel's research<sup>(198)</sup> has established the dating to the

(190) *Codices 330-603*, p. 354-357.

(191) *QTh.*, I, p. LXIV-LXV.

(192) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXV, where *Vaticanus gr. 508* has been given the siglum *Gal*.

(193) See the description of *G* on p. xxxiv, n. 49.

(194) C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1485-1683 (Bybliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, Vatican City, 1950, p. 32-36.

(195) *QTh.*, I, p. L-LI.

(196) *Opuscula*, p. XLI-XLII; *LA*, p. CV-CVI.

(197) The original *pinax*, which is transmitted in various copies of *Va*, has disappeared from *Va* itself.

(198) See *QTh.*, I, p. I and n. 112, p. LX and p. LXXXI-LXXXII. GIANNELLI, *l.c.*, dates the manuscript to the eleventh-twelfth century, while Sotiropoulos, who mentions it very briefly in his edition of Maximus' *Myst.*, p. 147-148, assigns it to the eleventh century.

twelfth century<sup>(199)</sup>, while Constantinople is taken to be its place of origin<sup>(200)</sup>. In any case the manuscript belonged to a certain *ἱερομόναχος Μάρκος*. Later it became part of the library of the *Collegium Anglicanum* in Rome before being transferred to the *Bibliotheca Vaticana* in 1614<sup>(201)</sup>.

*Re Vaticanus, Reginensis gr. 37 (s. xv), 120<sup>v</sup>-135*

The selection and sequence of works in this manuscript, which is solely devoted to Maximus<sup>(202)</sup>, are by and large identical to *Sup* and also to the first part of the corpus as found in *A*. The most notable exceptions are *QTh.*, which are the first text in *A* but are not found in *Re*, and *Amb.Io.*, which are found in *Sup* but not in *Re*.

Folia 120<sup>v</sup>-135 contain *Amb.Thom.*, the last text in the manuscript<sup>(203)</sup>.

There is no indication as to where or by whom the manuscript was copied, though we do know that it was part of the library of Queen Christina of Sweden at the end of the seventeenth century<sup>(204)</sup>.

*O Venetus, Marcianus gr. 136 (s. XIII), f.118<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>v</sup>*

Dated by Mioni<sup>(205)</sup> to the thirteenth century, this manuscript is a copy of 'popular' *Vaticanus gr. 1502 (Va)*. Consequently it has received ample attention in previous editions of Maximus'

(199) The *terminus post quem* is 1105, whereas the oldest known copy of *Va* is our *M*, dated, as mentioned above, to the thirteenth-fourteenth century.

(200) See DE VOCHT, *Note additionnelle*.

(201) See GIANNELLI, *o.c.*, p. 36.

(202) See the (all too brief) description in H. STEVENSON SR., *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, Rome, 1888, p. 28, and the analysis by VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xcv-xcvi.

(203) In the *pinax* (f. 1-3) *Amb.Thom.* are not numbered (they should have been  $\overline{\lambda\delta}$ ); in the text itself (f. 120<sup>v</sup>) they are indeed numbered as  $\overline{\lambda\delta}$ .

(204) See *Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican. Réédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles (Studi e Testi 238)*, Vatican City, 1964, p. 49.

(205) MIONI, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 189-191.

works<sup>(206)</sup>. Both the *Vaticanus* and its copy are generally assumed to have originated in Constantinople<sup>(207)</sup>.

Folia 118<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>v</sup> contain *Amb. Thom.* However, due to the loss of one folium between f. 125 and 126, the text ends abruptly at l. 287 (ἀνθρω|) of *Amb. Thom.* V<sup>(208)</sup>.

A note on f. 380 reveals the name of the scribe: John (χειρ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἰωάννου). According to a note on f. 380<sup>v</sup> another John, ἱατρὸς in Constantinople<sup>(209)</sup>, owned the manuscript at the close of the fourteenth century. O then came into the hands of Cardinal Bessarion<sup>(210)</sup>, who later donated it to the *Marciana*.

S *Vindobonensis, Suppl. gr. 1* (s. XIV), f. 384-389<sup>v</sup>

This fourteenth-century manuscript, described in the catalogue of Hunger-Hannick<sup>(211)</sup>, has also been dealt with by Laga-Steel<sup>(212)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(213)</sup>. It consists of three parts, of which only the middle part (f. 244-410<sup>v</sup>) contains works of Maximus, preceded by a *pinax* (f. 244<sup>r</sup>)<sup>(214)</sup>. *Amb. Thom.* are to be found on f. 384-389<sup>v</sup>, followed by the beginning of *Amb. Io.*<sup>(215)</sup>. The se-

(206) See LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. LI-LIV (on the various copies of *Va*); VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XCIII; ID., *LA*, p. CXXIV.

(207) See DE VOCHT, *Note additionnelle*.

(208) Because of this loss the first lines of *Amb. Io.* immediately following *Amb. Thom.* in the manuscript (f. 126-221) have disappeared as well (*inc. mut. καὶ μεγάλου διδασκάλου* [PG 91, 1065A1]).

(209) See *PLP*, vol. 4, p. 145 (n° 8440-8442), and vol. 6, p. 104 (n° 14115 and 14116) with references.

(210) See MIONI, *o.c.*, p. 190, and VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, *l.c.*

(211) H. HUNGER - C. HANNICK, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 4: Supplementum Graecum*, Vienna, 1994, p. 1-5.

(212) *QTh.*, I, p. XLIX-L.

(213) *Opuscula*, p. XCVI.

(214) The first part of the codex (f. 1-242; the folia 242<sup>v</sup>-243<sup>v</sup> are blank) contains works of Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, the third part (f. 411-412) is devoted to Michael Psellus. In passing it should be pointed out that the 'Liste von Themen' (f. 2<sup>v</sup>-3) mentioned by HUNGER-HANNICK, *o.c.*, p. 1, is nothing more than an enumeration of the 24 chapters of Maximus' *Mystagogia* (see SOTIROPOULOS, *Myst.*, p. 197, 201, 204, 205, 206, 217, 219, 223, 224, 225, 226, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237 and 242), a work which is nonetheless not included in S.

(215) The text ends abruptly on PG 91, 1168A3 (μηνύματα).

lection and sequence of the texts is exactly the same as in the first part of *Romanus*, *Angelicus gr. 120* (our *A*).

The origin of the manuscript is unknown, though we do know that the Italian humanist Apostolo Zeno presented it to Emperor Charles VI in 1723<sup>(216)</sup>.

2. Indirect tradition

a. Primary witnesses

List of manuscripts:

- Ath* *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis (olim Constantinopolitanus), Metochiou Panagiou Taphou 37* (s. XVIII), f. 10<sup>r-v</sup>  
*B* *Vaticanus gr. 511* (s. XI), f. 31-33  
*Da* *Athous, Dionysiou 274* (a. 1647), f. 124<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>  
*Da'* *Athous, Dionysiou 274* (a. 1647), f. 357-365<sup>v</sup>  
*Di* *Athous, Dionysiou 275* (s. XVII<sup>med.</sup>), f. 122<sup>v</sup>-124<sup>v</sup>  
*Ge* *Genavensis, Bibliothecae Publicae et Universitatis 32* (s. XIV<sup>in.</sup>), f. 133<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>  
*Ib* *Athous, Iberon 386* (s. XVI), f. 250-257<sup>v</sup>  
*Ma* *Monacensis gr. 10* (s. XVI<sup>med.</sup>), f. 679<sup>v</sup>-684; f. 685<sup>v</sup>-686; f. 686  
*Mo* *Monacensis gr. 225* (s. XIII), f. 31<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>; f. 35<sup>r-v</sup>; f. 35<sup>v</sup>  
*Sg* *Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 270* (s. XVII<sup>ex.</sup>), f. 496-500  
*Ven* *Venetus, Marcianus 504* (s. XV<sup>med.</sup>), f. 210<sup>v</sup>-211<sup>v</sup>; f. 211<sup>v</sup>-212  
*Za* *Vaticanus gr. 2195* (s. IX-X), p. 263-270

Chronological survey of the witnesses:

IX-X	1
XI	1
XII	-
XIII	1
XIV	1
XV	1
XVI	2
XVII	3
XVIII	1

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(216) See VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. xcvi and n. 123.

Among this total of eleven primary witnesses of the indirect tradition <sup>(1)</sup>, there is none of the twelfth century. The number of witnesses slightly increases in more recent times.

*Ath*     *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis (olim Constantinopolitanae), Metochiou Panagίου Τάφου 37 (s. xviii), f. 10<sup>r-v</sup>*

This late paper witness has been briefly described in the catalogue of Papadopoulos-Kerameus <sup>(2)</sup>. We provided further details in a recent article <sup>(3)</sup>. It will therefore be sufficient to mention here that f. 10<sup>r-v</sup> contains *Amb. Thom.* I, 1-38, copied – as the scribe himself has noted – ἐκ τῆς χειρογράφου βίβλου τῆς ἐν βεμβράναις (*sic*) τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ μαξιμίμου ἦν εὗρον ἐν τῷ σινᾶ. The existence of such a parchment Sinai manuscript containing *Amb. Thom.* is unknown to us <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Da-Da'*     *Athous, Dionysiou 274 (a. 1647), f. 124<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup> et iterum f. 357-365<sup>v</sup>*

This voluminous miscellany (599 folia), finished on 5 December 1647 <sup>(5)</sup>, contains a large collection of *Maximiana* along with many other texts.

The extensive though somewhat inaccurate description of the manuscript by S. Lambros <sup>(6)</sup> has been supplemented by Lagastel <sup>(7)</sup>, but the description in the forthcoming edition of Maximus' *Opuscula* by B. Markesinis, which offers an analysis of all

(1) *Da* and *Da'* have been counted as a single witness.

(2) A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. 4, Saint Petersburg, 1899, p. 57-58.

(3) B. JANSSENS, *An unnoticed witness of some works of Maximus the Confessor: Atheniensis, EBE, Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου 37*, in: *Byzantion* 70 (2000), p. 242-262.

(4) See JANSSENS, *art. cit.*, p. 245 and n. 16.

(5) See the note on f. 8 (*pinax*). B. Markesinis has been able to determine that the hand which wrote this note is also responsible for some folia in the actual manuscript. See the description of the manuscript in his forthcoming edition of Maximus' *Opuscula*.

(6) *Κατάλογος*, I, p. 392-396.

(7) *QTh.*, II, p. xxiv-xxv; all fragments of *QTh.* in the manuscript have been identified by B. Markesinis.



*Maximiana* in the manuscript, is our main source of reference<sup>(8)</sup>. A reproduction of f. 487<sup>v</sup>-489 can be found in J. Scharf<sup>(9)</sup>.

In connection with *Amb. Thom.*, two parts should be distinguished:

- f. 124<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup> (10) (siglum *Da*) contain *Amb. Thom.* up to V, 168 (διδάσκαλος). The fragment is preceded by a passage from Maximus' *Ep.* 15 (f. 111-124<sup>v</sup>), and immediately followed by five fragments from *Amb. Io.* (f. 138-221) (11).
- f. 357-365<sup>v</sup> (*Da'*) contain only *Amb. Thom.* V, though this time in its entirety (l. 1-308). The text is preceded by fragments from the works of Nemesius of Emesa (12), Philip-  
pus Solitarius (Monotropos) (13) and (Pseudo-)Cyril of Alexandria (14), and is followed by Maximus' *Opusc.* 5 (f. 365<sup>v</sup>-367<sup>v</sup>) and eleven fragments from *Amb. Io.* (f. 367<sup>v</sup>-402) (15).

The second 'version' of *Amb. Thom.* in the manuscript has been written by the same (or at least a very similar) hand.

(8) We would like to thank the author who has been so kind as to inform us about the results of his research.

(9) J. SCHARF, *Die Briefe des Patriarchen Photius an die italischen Bischöfe Marinus, Gauderich und Zacharias*, in: *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky*, vol. 1 (*Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines* 8/1), Belgrade, 1963, two unnumbered pages after p. 266.

(10) In the manuscript a more recent folia numbering has been added above the older one. The numbering of the latter lags by 8 to 9 folia (see also LAGASTEEL, *QTh.*, II, p. xxiv, n. 7). Lambros refers to the older numbering; together with most modern editors I prefer the more recent one.

(11) For the identification of these fragments, see the above-mentioned description by B. Markesinis.

(12) Folia 342-355<sup>v</sup> contain *De Natura Hominis*, 1 (CPG 3550), attributed in the manuscript to Gregory of Nyssa (ed. M. MORANI, *Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis* [BSGRT], Leipzig, 1987, p. 1, 2 - 16, 10).

(13) Folia 355<sup>v</sup>-356 contain *Dioptra*, I, 10 (ed. SPYRIDON Lauriotes, in: *Ὁ Ἄθως. Ἀγιορειτικὸν Περιοδικόν*, 1 [1919], Athens, 1920, p. 54, [6-35]). On the author and his work see also V. GRUMEL, *Remarques sur la Dioptra de Philippe le Solitaire*, in: *BZ* 44 (1951), p. 198-211.

(14) Folio 356<sup>v</sup>, *inc.* Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας. Σημειωτέον, ὅτι ὡς πεντάτροπός ἐστιν ἡ φύσις - *expl.* ὁ δὲ τούτων δημιουργός θεός ὑπὲρ φύσιν καὶ ὑπερούσιος. For the first part of the fragment, see Meletius monachus, *De Natura Hominis*, PG 64, 1304D12-1305A8 (CPG 3550 n). Meletius' work is closely related to, though not to be confused with Nemesius' *De Natura Hominis*.

(15) For the identification of these fragments, see again the above-mentioned description by B. Markesinis.

**Di** *Athous, Dionysiou 275* (s. xvii<sup>med.</sup>), f. 122<sup>v</sup>-124<sup>v</sup>

Another voluminous seventeenth-century<sup>(16)</sup> miscellany, resembling *Dionysiou 274*, again containing an extensive collection of *Maximiana*. S. Lambros' description<sup>(17)</sup> has been supplemented by Laga-Steel<sup>(18)</sup>, relying on research by J. Noret and B. Markesinis. A complete description by the latter, in which all the *Maximiniana* will be identified, has not as yet been published<sup>(19)</sup>.

Only one passage from *Amb. Thom.* appears in the manuscript, viz. *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 1-52, preceded by fragments from *QTh.* and *Ep.* 12-13 and 15 (f. 58-122<sup>v</sup>), and followed by two fragments from *Amb. Io.* (f. 124<sup>v</sup>-126<sup>v</sup>)<sup>(20)</sup>.

**Ib** *Athous, Iberon 386* (s. xvi), f. 250-257<sup>v</sup>

A detailed table of contents of this manuscript, which in its present state deals mainly with the hesychastic controversy, has recently appeared in P. Van Deun's edition of Maximus' *LA*<sup>(21)</sup>. Some details of a codicological nature will be found in B. Roosen's forthcoming edition of Epifanovich's *Additamenta*.

Our attention is mainly drawn to f. 244-274, which are almost exclusively devoted to Maximus' works: folia 250-257<sup>v</sup> contain *Amb. Thom.* V, 1-308, preceded by a part of the *Variae Definitiones* (CPG 7697 [14]; f. 248<sup>v</sup>-250)<sup>(22)</sup>, and immediately followed by the first part of the *LA* (f. 257<sup>v</sup>-271)<sup>(23)</sup> and five excerpts from *Amb. Io.* (f. 271<sup>v</sup>-274)<sup>(24)</sup>.

(16) The possessor's note on f. 2<sup>v</sup> (+ ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς τὸ σκευοφυλάκιον. α̅χ̅ν [= 1650]) confirms the palaeographical dating of the manuscript.

(17) *Katálogo*, I, p. 396-399.

(18) *QTh.*, II, p. xxv-xxvi.

(19) See B. Markesinis' forthcoming edition of Maximus' *Opuscula*.

(20) For the identification of these fragments, see the above-mentioned description by B. Markesinis.

(21) See VAN DEUN, *LA*, p. xxxix-xlii.

(22) Up to PG 91, 153B1/2 (κίνησις).

(23) Up to l. 530 (καὶ ἐὰν πονηρόν).

(24) These fragments have been identified by VAN DEUN, *l.c.*, p. xlii, n. 116.

Though the various works are numbered in the margins, *Amb. Thom.* V has not been given a separate number. Thus in this manuscript it appears to be a part of n<sup>o</sup> λ̄η (*Variae Definitiones*).

There is no indication as to the scribe or the later history of the manuscript.

Ge *Genavensis, Bibliothecae Publicae et Universitatis 32* (s. XIV<sup>in.</sup>), f. 133<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>

This manuscript, containing only works of Maximus, is an outsider in every respect. For one, the scribe certainly had several witnesses of Maximus' works at his disposal. From these he compiled a personal collection<sup>(25)</sup>. With respect to *Amb. Thom.* this personal touch is revealed in the fact that only the *ambigua* in connection with Gregory have been copied (viz. *Amb. Thom.* I-IV; f. 133<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>), while the scribe took quite some trouble to erase any reference to Dionysius the Aeropagite in the title and the prologue. In the critical apparatus *ad prol.*, 1-52, the reader will see that this *damnatio memoriae* has not always been carried out with great subtlety.

On the basis of the watermarks in the paper Declerck has been able to date the manuscript to the beginning of the fourteenth century<sup>(26)</sup>. The scribe identifies himself in the colophon on f. 208 (not 208<sup>v</sup>) as protopapas Ἰωάννης from Πεδιάς (Central Crete), who is only known to us from this manuscript<sup>(27)</sup>.

The manuscript must have been in the possession of the city of Geneva by 1620, since it was mentioned along with *Genavensis gr. 33* in the 'Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Genevensis ex ordine alphabeti dispositus Anno 1620'<sup>(28)</sup>.

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(25) See the extensive description of the manuscript by DECLERCK, *QD*, p. XLV-XLVIII (in particular p. XLVI). The manuscript has also been mentioned in VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XXVIII-XXIX. Neither Omont nor Laga-Steel mention the presence of (a part of) *Amb. Thom.* in our manuscript: see H. OMONT, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse: Bâle, Berne, Einsiedeln, Genève, St. Gall, Schaffhouse et Zürich*, in: *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886), p. 434-435, and LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XXVIII, n. 61.

(26) *O.c.*, p. XLVII-XLVIII. OMONT, *l.c.*, had dated the manuscript, albeit hesitantly, to ca 1400.

(27) See VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 184.

(28) See the edition of this catalogue in B. GAGNEBIN, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Genève*, in: *Genava. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire*. N.S., 2 (1954), p.

**Ma** *Monacensis gr. 10* (s. XVI<sup>med.</sup>), f. 679<sup>v</sup>-684; f. 685<sup>v</sup>-686; f. 686

Folia 520-692 of this voluminous miscellany contain an important collection of writings attributed to Maximus<sup>(29)</sup>. Folia 679<sup>v</sup>-684 contain *Amb. Thom.* V, immediately followed by *Amb. Io.*, PG 91, 1257C7-1261A10 (ἐκ τοῦ περὶ υἱοῦ πρώτου λόγου - ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν) (f. 684-685<sup>v</sup>) and *Amb. Thom.* I (f. 685<sup>v</sup>-686).

Finally, on f. 686 we find a striking fusion of *quaestio* 50 of Maximus' QD with a fragment of *Amb. Thom.*: under the title τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Μαξίμου) πῶς χρὴ νοεῖν τὸ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ λεγόμενον σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου (= QD 50, 1-2), one can read *Amb. Thom.* II, 6-9 (σαρκός)<sup>(30)</sup>, into which one phrase taken from Dionysius the Areopagite and another from Gregory of Nazianzus have been interpolated<sup>(31)</sup>.

On f. 692<sup>v</sup>, the scribe of this part of the manuscript identifies himself as follows: ἐμμανουῆλος εὐβενεῖς (sic) ὁ ἐκ μονεμβασίας ἔγραψε. All known manuscripts by this Emmanuel are dated between 1548 and 1556<sup>(32)</sup>. The scribe probably worked under the authority of Johann Jakob Fugger, which would explain the presence of 17 codices by his hand in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*<sup>(33)</sup>.

**Mo** *Monacensis gr. 225* (s. XIII), f. 31<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>; f. 35<sup>r-v</sup>; f. 35<sup>v</sup>

The first part of this manuscript (f. 1-40), once a separate volume, is almost exclusively devoted to Maximus the Confessor, whereas the second part (f. 41-373) contains works of Nicephorus Blemmydes. In the course of the nineteenth century the manuscript received ample scholarly attention, resulting in two descriptions: the first by I. Hardt in the catalogue of the (then) Royal Li-

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105-109, more specifically p. 108. See also ALLEN-NEIL, *Scripta*, p. 153 (on *Genensis gr. 33*).

(29) For the complete table of contents, see HARDT, *Catalogus*, I, p. 48-85, supplemented by DECLERCK, QD, p. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII.

(30) See also Declerck's critical apparatus ad QD 50, 3-5 (p. 43).

(31) See Appendix II, ad *Amb. Thom.* II, 9.

(32) See DECLERCK, *o.c.*, p. LXXXVIII and n. 202, and further VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 117; *Repertorium*, I, 113; II, 145; III, 188.

(33) See also *supra*, p. XXXVII-XXXVIII, n. 70.

brary of Bavaria<sup>(34)</sup>, and the second by A. Heisenberg, who used the manuscript for his *editio princeps* of Blemmydes' *Curriculum Vitae*<sup>(35)</sup>. These descriptions are supplemented by Declerck<sup>(36)</sup>, Munitiz<sup>(37)</sup>, and very recently by B. Markesinis<sup>(38)</sup>.

In his article Markesinis has succeeded in identifying the scribe of the Maximus section as George of Cyprus, also known as Gregory II, patriarch of Constantinople. The author has also been able to date the first part of *Mo* to between about 1270 and 1280.

Nothing is known about the later history of the manuscript, apart from the fact that it was transferred to Munich, once again through the library of the Fuggers<sup>(39)</sup>.

On f. 31<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup> we find *Amb. Thom.* V, while *Amb. Thom.* I can be read on f. 35<sup>r-v</sup>. Between them, on f. 34<sup>v</sup>-35, we find *Amb. Io.*, PG 91, 1257C7-1261A10 (ἐκ τοῦ περὶ υἱοῦ πρώτου λόγου - ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν)<sup>(40)</sup>. Finally, on f. 35<sup>v</sup> is the unique fusion of Maximus' QD 50, 1-2 with *Amb. Thom.* II, 6-9 (σαρκός) which we have discussed in our description of *Ma*.

*Sg* Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 270 (s. xvii<sup>ex.</sup>), f. 496-500

This seventeenth-century paper manuscript has been described by H. Omont<sup>(41)</sup>. Under the heading 'Greek manuscripts and papers of E. Bigot' it has also been mentioned by L. E. Doucette<sup>(42)</sup>. Only a small part of the manuscript is related to Maximus. We will therefore limit ourselves here to these few folia (f.

(34) HARDT, *Catalogus*, II, p. 462-471.

(35) A. HEISENBERG (ed.), *Nicephori Blemmydae Curriculum vitae et Carmina* (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1896, p. xxv-xxvii.

(36) QD, p. LXXXVIII and CLXVII.

(37) J. A. MUNITIZ (ed.), *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae necnon Epistula universalior* (CCSG 13), Turnhout - Leuven, 1984, p. xviii-xxiv.

(38) B. MARKESINIS, *Le Monacensis gr. 225, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>, et Georges de Chypre, alias Grégoire II de Constantinople*, in: *BBGG. N.S.*, 54 (2000), p. 259-273.

(39) See MUNITIZ, *o.c.*, p. xx-xxi, and *supra*, our description of *Ma*.

(40) For this particular fragment from *Amb. Io.* in combination with *Amb. Thom.* I, see also our descriptions of *Be* (below, p. LXXII-LXXIII) and *Ma* (above, p. LXII).

(41) *Inventaire*, III, p. 241-242.

(42) L. E. DOUCETTE, *Emery Bigot, Seventeenth-century French Humanist*, Toronto - Buffalo, 1970, p. 180.

488-501)<sup>(43)</sup>, copied, as has been suggested, by the well-known French scholar Émeric Bigot (1626-1689)<sup>(44)</sup>.

Folia 488-490<sup>v</sup> contain a *pinax* of works by Maximus<sup>(45)</sup>. However, this *pinax* does not correspond to the actual content of Sg but to that of manuscript *Par*, of which Sg will be shown to be a partial copy. In the margins of the *pinax* the same hand has added references to the edition of Combefis. Thus 1675 can be accepted as a *terminus post quem*.

On f. 496-500 we find *Amb. Thom.* until V, 41 (expl. 'ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους etc.').

Since there is no reference to this manuscript in the *catalogus librorum* of the Bigot family<sup>(46)</sup> it is safe to assume that it was not or was no longer part of the *Bibliotheca Bigotiana* when this collection was auctioned in 1706, after which the majority of its contents was transferred to the French *Bibliothèque Royale*<sup>(47)</sup>.

It is well known that Bigot kept in close touch with the Maurists of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Probably because of this connection Bigot's manuscript was kept in the abbey of Saint-Germain until the end of the eighteenth century, when it became number 270 of the *Supplément grec* of the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

#### B *Vaticanus gr. 511* (s. XI), f. 31-33

This manuscript consists of three parts, the first of which contains a remarkable selection of works by or about Maximus (f. 1-78)<sup>(48)</sup>, viz.:

(43) Of these, folia 491<sup>r-v</sup>, 493<sup>v</sup>-495<sup>v</sup> and 501<sup>r-v</sup> are blank.

(44) On Bigot's life and works see the above-mentioned study by Doucette.

(45) The title of *Amb. Thom.* is on f. 489 of this *pinax*, followed by a long incipit (up to *prol.*, 11 [καὶ κρῖσεως λόγος]).

(46) See *Bibliotheca Bigotiana seu catalogus librorum quos (dum viverent) summa cura et industria, ingentique sumptu congessere Viri Clarissimi D.D. uterque Joannes, Nicolaus, et Lud. Emericus Bigotii, domini de Sommesnil, & de Cleuville, alter Praetor, alii Senatores Rothomagenses*, Paris, 1706 (pars V: *Catalogus codicum manuscritorum bibliothecae Bigotianae*).

(47) On the auction and the auction catalogue, see also L. DELISLE, *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta. Catalogue des manuscrits rassemblés au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle par les Bigot, mis en vente au mois de juillet 1706, aujourd'hui conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Rouen, 1877; OMONT, *Inventaire*, I, p. x; DOUCETTE, *o.c.*, p. 48 and n. 122.

(48) See DEVRESSE, *Codices 330-603*, p. 364-367.

- f. 1-31: the so-called first recension of the *Vita S. Maximi* (BHG 1234)<sup>(49)</sup>;
- f. 31-33: a fragment of *Amb. Thom.*, viz. *Amb. Thom. V*, 200 (οὐ) - 308;
- f. 33-34<sup>v</sup>: *Capita x de voluntatibus et energiis* (CPG 7707 [19]; ed. EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy*, p. 66-67)<sup>(50)</sup>;
- f. 34<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>, 49-56<sup>v</sup>, 41-48<sup>v</sup>, 57-61: *DP* (PG 91, 288-353)<sup>(51)</sup>;
- f. 61-65<sup>v</sup>: *Theodori Byzantini diaconi quaestiones cum Maximi solutionibus* (CPG 7697 [19]; PG 91, 216-228).

The remaining contents of this part of the manuscript (f. 65<sup>v</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>), together with the contents of the second and third part (f. 79-142<sup>v</sup> and f. 143-204<sup>v</sup> respectively), which contain no texts of Maximus, are described in Devreesse's catalogue<sup>(52)</sup>.

The fragment from *Amb. Thom. V* has been entitled and introduced in a unique way: τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις μαζίμου εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀγίου κυρίλλου (sic !): καινήν τινα καὶ (sic) θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς τὰς τῶν γενησομένων ἀμφιβολίας ὁ διδάσκαλος, καὶ οἷον ἀποκρουόμενος ταύτας φησὶν· οὐ κατὰ θεὸν etc. The formula εἰδῶς ... ὁ διδάσκαλος ... φησὶν seems to refer to the beginning of l. V, 200. It could thus be concluded that B's scribe or his predecessor has deliberately excerpted the passage from a (more) complete copy of *Amb. Thom.*

While preparing his edition F. Combefis had a copy of B at his disposal<sup>(53)</sup>.

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(49) See HAGIOGRAPHI BOLLANDIANI - P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Ad Catalogum codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae supplementum*, in: *AB 21* (1902), p. 7; DEVREESE, *Vie*, p. 5-49 (in particular p. 10-11); BRACKE, *Vita*, p. 285-293 (in particular p. 286-287).

(50) A new edition by B. Roosen is forthcoming.

(51) See M. DOUCET, *Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus. Introduction, texte critique, apparat et notes*, vol. 2, p. 482-484, p. 494 and p. 507.

(52) *Codices 330-603*, p. 365-367. The so-called 'Iconophile Florilegium of Nicetas of Medicion' (f. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>v</sup>) has also been analysed by A. ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 34), Washington D.C., 1996, p. 103-106 and p. 350-351 (Appendix IV).

(53) See *infra*, p. cxxx (Previous Editions).

*Za* *Vaticanus gr. 2195* (s. IX-X), p. 263-270

This old parchment manuscript has been described by S. Lilla<sup>(54)</sup> and in more detail by S. Lucà<sup>(55)</sup>. It is also mentioned and briefly described by Lietzmann<sup>(56)</sup>, Schwartz<sup>(57)</sup> and Allen<sup>(58)</sup>.

The codex consists of two parts. Our attention here is mainly drawn to the first part (p. 1-318). Dating from the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century at the latest, it was written in a scriptorium in the eastern part of the empire, possibly in the capital itself. The scribe has remained anonymous, though Lucà attributes two more manuscripts to the same hand<sup>(59)</sup>.

The manuscript contains only one Maximus fragment, namely *Amb. Thom.* V, 1-308 (p. 263-270), introduced by the title μαξιμίμου μοναχοῦ πρὸς θωμάῃν τὸν ἡγιασμένον. The mention of the addressee seems to indicate that the scribe or his predecessor has deliberately excerpted the fragment from a complete copy of *Amb. Thom.*

The fragment is immediately preceded by Justinianus' *Contra Monophysitas* (p. 208-263; CPG 6878)<sup>(60)</sup>, and followed by Photius' *De S. Spiritus Mystagogia* (p. 271-317; PG 102, 280-392).

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(54) S. LILLA, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 2162-2254 (Codices Columnenses) (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, Vatican City, 1985, p. 124-128.

(55) S. LUCÀ, *Nota sul Vaticano greco 2195*, in: *BBGG. N.S.*, 39 (1985), p. 15-34. Lilla and Lucà apparently were unaware of each other's studies.

(56) H. LIETZMANN, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule. Texte und Untersuchungen*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 103.

(57) E. SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, Milan, 1973<sup>2</sup>, p. 171 ('Bemerkungen').

(58) Pauline ALLEN (ed.), *Diversonum postchalconensium auctorum collectanea I* (CCSG 19), Turnhout - Leuven, 1989, p. 395-396. *Za* is *codex unicus* for Eustathius monachus' *Epistula de duabus naturis* (CPG 6810), edited by Allen (o.c., p. 391-474).

(59) See S. LUCÀ, *Il codice A.I.10 della Biblioteca Durazzo-Giustiniani di Genova*, in: *BBGG. N.S.*, 35 (1981), p. 133-163, and *id.*, *Il Diodoro Siculo Neap. B.N. gr. 4\* è italogreco?*, in: *BBGG. N.S.*, 44 (1990), p. 33-75.

(60) Edited on the sole basis of *Za* by E. SCHWARTZ, o.c., p. 5-79.



The second part of the manuscript (p. 319-410)<sup>(61)</sup> has been dated by Lucà to the eleventh century. It contains nine letters by Photius<sup>(62)</sup>.

After its transfer to the West (certainly not before the eleventh century)<sup>(63)</sup> it was part of the collection of Cardinal Johannes de Salviatis (Giovanni Salviati) (1490-1553). From the beginning of the eighteenth century it was in the possession of the Colonna family, until it was purchased for the Vatican library along with the other *codices Columnenses* by Angelo Mai in 1821<sup>(64)</sup>.

*Ven Venetus, Marcianus gr. 504 (s. xv<sup>med.</sup>), f. 210<sup>v</sup>-211<sup>v</sup>; f. 211<sup>v</sup>-212*

This fifteenth-century paper manuscript, once part of the library of Cardinal Bessarion, will be described in B. Markesinis' forthcoming edition of Maximus' *Opuscula*. In his description the author will identify the numerous fragments of Maximus' texts that appear in this miscellany<sup>(65)</sup>. Of interest here is the collection of *Maximiana* on f. 203-218, in which there are two fragments of *Amb. Thom.* :

- f. 210<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 *ab imo* - f. 211<sup>v</sup>, l. 1: *Amb. Thom.* IV, 54-90 (ἀλλότριον - αὐτός);
- f. 211<sup>v</sup>, l. 2 - f. 212, l. 1: *Amb. Thom.* V, 73-96 (τῆν - φύσις).

It has been established that the scribe of this part of the manuscript was Manuel Ducas Atrapes, an assistant of Bessarion<sup>(66)</sup>. Inspection of the various watermarks in the manuscript shows that it must have originated in Italy between 1438 and 1461<sup>(67)</sup>.

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(61) The second scribe actually began his work on p. 317, which, as p. 318, had initially remained blank.

(62) See LUCÀ, *Nota*, p. 28, and further the edition of Photius' letters (R. LAOURDAS - G. WESTERINK, *Photius. Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vol. 1 [BSGRT], Leipzig, 1983), where the manuscript is mentioned on p. VII-VIII and XIV.

(63) See LUCÀ, *Nota*, p. 28, and ID., *Il Diodoro Siculo*, p. 43.

(64) See LUCÀ, *Nota*, p. 29-34, and LILLA, *o.c.*, p. XIV-XXII.

(65) For earlier descriptions of *Ven*, see MIONI, *Thesaurus*, II, p. 347-351, and LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, II, p. XXXVIII-XLI.

(66) See MIONI, *o.c.*, p. 347. On Atrapes, see VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, p. 275; *Repertorium*, I, 246; II, 338; III, 407; *PLP*, vol. 1, p. 156 (n° 1654).

(67) See again MIONI, *l.c.*

b. *Amb. Thom.* used as scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus and Dionysius the Areopagite

*Amb. Thom.* could be considered to be a collection of lengthy scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus' orations and Dionysius the Areopagite's fourth letter to the monk Gaius. Indeed, we have found fragments of *Amb. Thom.* in the margins of a number of manuscripts containing those works.

As far as *Amb. Thom.* V (the exegesis of Dionysius' fourth letter) is concerned, this is only the case, as far as I know, in *Parisinus*, *Coislinianus* 253 of the ninth-tenth century. In our edition this manuscript has been assigned the siglum C.

C The manuscript has been described by Devresse<sup>(68)</sup>. In the volume the works of Dionysius – we find his famous fourth letter on f. 206<sup>r-v</sup> – are surrounded by the actual *Scholia in Corpus Dionysiacum* (CPG 6852; cf. CPG 7708) in majuscule script. In the margins and between the lines of f. 206–208 a hand of the twelfth century has added to these *Amb. Thom.* V, 7–308, preceded by the indication μαξιμ<ου>. At a more recent date the upper margin of the manuscript has been cut off, resulting in the loss of lines V, 76 (μη) – 79 (ἐπεπόρευτο), 137 (Πῶς) – 138 (ἀνενέργητος), 208 (ἐσχηκῶς) – 210 (ἄμα) and 267 (τῶ) – 269 (φυ).

Probably for lack of space the scholiast has not always copied the actual fragments of Dionysius' letter cited by Maximus. Whenever this is the case, he merely refers to the proper place in the main text by way of a reference mark<sup>(69)</sup>.

The use of *Amb. Thom.* as marginal scholia has had some consequences for our text: after one of the above-mentioned references to the main text of Dionysius' letter, Maximus' exegesis is introduced by τοῦ αὐτοῦ (l. 36). This addition has not been noted in the *apparatus criticus*. Furthermore, the text of *Amb. Thom.* fills a lot more space than just the margins around *Ep.* 4. As a result the system of reference is not always very clear, forcing the reader to jump backwards and forwards and thus obscuring the unity of the work. But apart from these few modifications the scholiast has not intervened in Maximus' text.

(68) *Coislin*, p. 231–232, in particular p. 232, where the author has identified *Amb. Thom.* V.

(69) This is the case for lines V, 34–35, 41–43, 50–51, 66–67, 73 and 168–171.

Using the much-praised *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, I have been able to detect quite a number of excerpts from *Amb. Thom.* in the margins of manuscripts containing the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus. However, only one of them (viz. X; see *infra*) has been included in the *apparatus criticus*. The other fragments are either too short or have been adapted too much to their new context to contribute anything to our *apparatus*.

We find excerpts from *Amb. Thom.* in the following manuscripts:

*Amb. Thom.* I, 15 (καὶ Πνεῦμα) - 37 (περὶ τε τοῦ εἶναι) (*inc. et des. mut.*)

in *Parisinus gr. 551* (s. XII), f. 24<sup>v</sup>, *ad μονάδος μὲν - διὰ τὸ τέλος* (GREG. NAZ., *Or. 23*, 8, 9-11 [p. 298]);

*Amb. Thom.* II, 6-41 (with considerable modifications)

in *Vaticanus gr. 469* (s. XI), f. 244<sup>v</sup>, *ad θεῶ παθητῶ κατὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (GREG. NAZ., *Or. 30*, 1, 10-11 [p. 226]);

*Amb. Thom.* III, 33-38

in *Oxoniensis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Baroccianus 181* (s. XI<sup>ex</sup>), f. 13, *ad καὶ γέγονεν εἰς* (GREG. NAZ., *Or. 29*, 19, 8 [p. 218]);

in *Patmiacus gr. 36* (s. XI), f. 119, *ad eundem locum*;

in *Vaticanus gr. 462* (s. XI), f. 80<sup>v</sup>, *ad eundem locum*;

*Amb. Thom.* IV, 19-51 and 79 (δι' ἐκάστου) - 109 (πόσον) (with considerable modifications)

in *Vaticanus gr. 469* (s. XI), f. 246, *ad Ὡς μὲν γὰρ Λόγος - καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας* (GREG. NAZ., *Or. 30*, 6, 5-20 [p. 236]).

X The only manuscript containing the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus which we have included in our *apparatus criticus* is *Vaticanus gr. 475* (s. X). In our edition the manuscript has been assigned the siglum X.

The manuscript, originating from Southern Italy, has been described by Devreesse<sup>(70)</sup> and Somers<sup>(71)</sup>.

(70) DEVREESSE, *Codices 330-603*, p. 262-267.

(71) VÉRONIQUE SOMERS, *Histoire des collections complètes des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 48)*, Louvain-la-Neuve,

In the margins of f. 125<sup>v</sup> (*ad Διά τοῦτο μονάς – μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη; Or. 29, 2, 13-14 [p. 180]*) we find *Amb. Thom.* I, 1-38. The fragment seems to have been written in the same minuscule hand as the main text<sup>(72)</sup>.

As a result of pollution and damage the beginning of the fragment has become illegible. It is therefore not clear whether the text has been explicitly ascribed to Maximus. Also, the first few lines of the excerpt have been considerably modified. The text in the manuscript runs as follows:

<... τὴν> δοκοῦσαν εἶναι διαφωνίαν σκοπήσεις εἰς τὸ διὰ τοῦτο μονάς ἀπαρχῆς εἰς δυάδα κινήσεισα· μέχρι τριά<δος ἔστη,> καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ μονάδος μὲν κινήσεισης διὰ τὸ πλούσιον, δυάδος δὲ <ὑπερβαθείσης· ὑπ>ὲρ γὰρ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐξ ὧν τὰ σώματα, τριάδος δὲ ὀρισθείσης διὰ τὸ τέλειον. τὴ<ν ἀληθῆ συμφωνίαν ἀ>πορήσεις· οὐκ ἔστι [γὰρ] κατ'ἔννοιαν etc. (*Amb. Thom.* I, 9). These initial modifications have not been noted in the *apparatus criticus*.

c. *Amb. Thom.* in *catenae*, *florilegia* and other secondary witnesses

*Catenae*

Fragments from *Amb. Thom.* are conspicuously absent from *catenae*. The obvious reason for this is the fact that in *Amb. Thom.* Maximus does not comment very often on passages from Scripture. We can cite only a few examples:

1. in *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 36-39 Maximus alludes to and cites John 16, 33 and 14, 21-22, which led to the lines cited being inserted into two different *catenae* on John:
  - in the *catena* on the Gospel according to John by Nicetas of Heraclea (*CPG C 144*), we find them accompanying John 14, 21<sup>(73)</sup>, while

1997, p. 643-648. The manuscript is also briefly mentioned in *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, vol. 5, p. 65-66.

(72) See also SOMERS, *o.c.*, p. 643. Apart from our fragment there are a number of short marginal notes in a more recent handwriting.

(73) This information has been most kindly conveyed to me by B. Roosen.

- in the *catena* - or rather 'commentary' - in *Vaticanus gr. 349* (s. XII) <sup>(74)</sup> (CPG C 147.2), we find them on f. 359<sup>v</sup>, *ad ἐγὼ νενί-  
κηκα τὸν κόσμον* (John 16, 33; f. 360);
- 2. *Amb. Thom.* III, 41 ([οἱ] ἀπολείψει) - 49 (πιστεύσαντες) are to be found on f. 362 of the same *Vaticanus gr. 349*, *ad θέ-  
λω - κόσμου* (John 17, 24) <sup>(75)</sup>.

It is important to state here that *Vaticanus gr. 349* is not a *catena stricto sensu* but rather an extensive series of texts from the Fathers, which have been inserted, probably by the scribe of the manuscript himself, into the margins of the four Gospels. The scholia on the Gospels according to Matthew and Marc (CPG C 116 and C 126.2 respectively) in *Vaticanus gr. 349* have already been analyzed by P. Van Deun <sup>(76)</sup>, while B. Roosen is preparing an analysis of the *catena* on the Gospel according to John in the same manuscript (CPG C 147.2).

#### *Florilegia*

In the chapter entitled ὅτι θεϊκῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ὁ εἶς καὶ μόνος ἐνήργει Χριστὸς τὴν διπλῆν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἐνέργειαν etc. of the *Doctrina Patrum* (c. 15, p. 91-104), a Greek dyothelite anthology of the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, we find two fragments from *Amb. Thom.* They are: *Amb. Thom.* V, 210-212 (θεανδρικῶς - πεπολιτευμένος) and 217-220 (Εἰ - ἐνέργειαν) (*Doctr. Patr.*, p. 98, 1-7). In the manuscripts these fragments follow an excerpt from Dionysius' *Ep. 4* (*Doctr. Patr.*, p. 97, XXI, 13-18 = *Ep. 4*, p. 161, 5-10), one after the other and without indication of their author <sup>(77)</sup>.

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(74) The presence in the manuscript of excerpts from Pseudo-Maximus' *Diversa capita* suggests the year 1105 as a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the *catena* (see VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CXLVI with references).

(75) Again, I owe this information to B. Roosen.

(76) See P. VAN DEUN, *Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les chaînes sur l'Évangile de Matthieu*, in: A. SCHOORS - P. VAN DEUN (ed.), *Philohistōr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (OLA 60), Leuven, 1994, p. 295-328, in particular p. 316-328; ID., *Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les chaînes sur l'Évangile de Marc*, in: OLP 25 (1994), p. 169-173.

(77) However, the majority of the manuscripts have marked the excerpt of *Amb. Thom.* as 'σχόλιον' (see *Doctr. Patr.*, p. 98, *app.*).

On f. 195-198 of *Venetus, Marcianus gr. 155*, which was copied about the middle of the fourteenth century by seven different scribes<sup>(78)</sup> and was once in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion, we find a *florilegium* entitled ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁμοιον ἦν πλὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Also in this *florilegium* we find some excerpts from the works of Maximus the Confessor<sup>(79)</sup>, one of them, on f. 195<sup>r-v</sup>, being *Amb. Thom. IV, 1-39* (παθῶν). The first part of the fragment is introduced with the indication 'τοῦ θεολόγου'<sup>(80)</sup>.

In the *Collectio definitionum* of manuscripts *Romanus, Angelicus gr. 58*, f. 245, l. 11-20, and *Scorialensis Y.III.8*, f. 247<sup>v</sup>, l. 19-26, we find, in the chapter entitled περὶ μονάδος καὶ τριάδος, *Amb. Thom. I, 23-31* (Μονὰς - ὑφ'εστῶσα (sic) τριαδικῶς), in both cases followed by the θεωρία περὶ τοῦ τίς ἢ ἐν τριάδι ἐνότης (*Amb. Io., PG 91, 1193D7-1196A5*)<sup>(81)</sup>.

#### Other secondary witnesses

*Be Athous, Batopediou 32* (s. xv<sup>in</sup>), f. 155<sup>v</sup>-156

A concise description of this manuscript, the unique witness of the unpublished works of Constantine Asanes (1358-1415)<sup>(82)</sup>, can be found in the catalogue of Eustratiades-Arcadios<sup>(83)</sup>. The

(78) See MIONI, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 225-228, and in particular p. 225. The manuscript has also been mentioned by LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, II, p. xxxviii.

(79) See MIONI, *o.c.*, p. 228 and LAGA-STEEL, *l.c.*, for the identification of these fragments.

(80) As a consequence both MIONI, *l.c.*, and *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, vol. 6, p. 251 have divided the fragment into an excerpt from Gregory (f. 195; in reality *Amb. Thom. IV, 1-18*) and an excerpt from Maximus (f. 195<sup>r-v</sup>; *Amb. Thom. IV, 19-39*). What seems to confirm that the complete fragment has been copied from a manuscript containing *Amb. Thom.*, is the addition of τὰ ἡμέτερα (see l. IV, 15 in our edition), which is absent from the manuscript tradition of Gregory's *Or. 30* (as far as can be judged from the edition in *SChr.* 250, p. 236; see also *Repertorium Nazianzenum, l.c.*, where this 'strange' addition is noted).

(81) An analysis of this *florilegium* has been made by B. Markesinis, who has been so kind as to communicate the above information to us.

(82) On the author and his works, entitled *Ἀκριβῆς πίστις* in the manuscript, see *PLP*, vol. 1, p. 141 (n° 1503).

(83) *Κατάλογος*, p. 12.

manuscript will also be described in E. Lamberz' new catalogue of all Vatopedi manuscripts<sup>(84)</sup>.

The codex, written by an anonymous fifteenth-century scribe, contains but three short fragments from Maximus' works (μαζίμου τὸ τοῦ θείου):

- f. 153<sup>v</sup>, l. 7 *ab imo* – f. 155<sup>v</sup>, l. 7 *ab imo*: *Amb. Io.*, PG 91, 1257C7-1261A10 (ἐκ τοῦ περὶ υἱοῦ πρώτου λόγου – ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν);
- f. 155<sup>v</sup>, l. 7 *ab imo* – f. 156, l. 4 (τοῦ αὐτοῦ): *Amb. Thom. I*, 32-38 (Εἰ – γνῶσις);
- f. 156, l. 4-87 (τοῦ αὐτοῦ): *Amb. Io.*, PG 91, 1232B6-9 (ἄπειρον δὲ – παντελῶς ἄναρχον).

All three passages explain the use of the words κινεῖσθαι and κίνησις in relation to the divinity. They were included as *Λόγος ιε'* in the works of Constantine Asanes.

*Ka* Parisinus gr. 1277 (s. XIII), f. 249<sup>v</sup>

Our attention is drawn to f. 244-271 of this composite codex. They are made of eastern bombycine and contain works of Michael Psellus, Maximus the Confessor, Theophylact of Ochrid and Pseudo-Nonnus. In addition, on f. 261<sup>v</sup> there is the lemma of a *novella* of Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078).

Due to *Ka*'s composite nature there are no clues whatsoever as to the scribe, origin or history of the folia which are of interest to us here.

The manuscript, one of only three primary witnesses of *Ep. sec.*, will be further dealt with elsewhere in this edition<sup>(85)</sup>. It will suffice here to mention that on f. 249<sup>v</sup>, as a part of Maximus' *QD* (transmitted on f. 247<sup>v</sup>-261<sup>v</sup>), we find the peculiar fusion of *QD* 50, 1-2 and *Amb. Thom. II*, 6-9, already mentioned in the descriptions of our manuscripts *Ma* and *Mo*<sup>(86)</sup>.

(84) Dr Lamberz has been so kind as to send us a copy of the description of the manuscript, to appear in his new catalogue. *Be* is also briefly mentioned in E. LAMBERZ, *The Library of Vatopaidi and its Manuscripts*, in: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi. Tradition - History - Art*, Mount Athos, 1998, vol. 2, p. 574.

(85) See *infra*, p. LXXVI-LXXX.

(86) See *supra*, p. LXII and LXIII. It will be shown later (p. CXT) that – as far as this specific fragment is concerned – *Mo*, dated to between about 1270 and 1280, may be considered to be a copy of *Ka*.

d. *Amb. Thom.* cited in Byzantine authors

Apart from the above-cited *Bibliotheca* by Photius<sup>(87)</sup>, we have found references to *Amb. Thom.* in the works of the following Byzantine authors:

- a vague reference to *Amb. Thom.* I (and/or *Ep. sec.* I) in George Acropolites' *In Gregorii Nazianzeni sententias*. Talking about the meaning of, among other things, Gregory's expression *μονὰς εἰς δυνάδα κινήθεισα μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη*, George comments:

ἀλλ' ἄπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξηγούμενοι - λέγω δὲ τὸν μέγαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Μάξιμον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν - εἰς πλάτος ἦ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν διασαφούντες εἰρήκεσαν, ἐκεῖνά μοι καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος Βλεμμύδης) πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐφθέγγετο<sup>(88)</sup>.

- a reference to *Amb. Thom.* III, 39-44 in Michael Psellus' *Opusculum theologicum* 59 (*In illud 'hic, quem nunc contemnis, quondam et super te erat'*):

ὅθεν καὶ θαυμάζω ὅπως ποτὲ Μάξιμος ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῦτον τὸν λόγον (sc. ἵνα γένωμαι τοσοῦτον θεὸς ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος) ἐρωτηθεὶς, ἀπεριμερίμως πρὸς τὸν εἰρηκότα ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὸ τοῦτο φήσας, ὅπερ ἡμεῖς νῦν εὐθύναντες ἐξηλέγξαμεν<sup>(89)</sup>.

- a quotation of the definition of *πολιτεία* (*Amb. Thom.* V, 260-261) in Pseudo-John Zonaras' lexicon:

πολιτεία· (πρᾶξις ἦ) βίος κατὰ νόμον φύσεως διεξαγόμενος<sup>(90)</sup>.

- in the same lexicon, s.v. *περίφρασις*, we also find a possible allusion to *Amb. Thom.* V, 218:

... περίφρασις δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου φωνὴ ἢ θεανδρική· εἰ γὰρ καὶ δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου, ἀλλὰ θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ὠμολόγησε καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας<sup>(91)</sup>.

(87) See our Preliminaries, p. xvii-xviii.

(88) A. HEISENBERG (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 2, Leipzig (BSGRT), 1978 (= 1903), p. 71, 4-8.

(89) P. GAUTIER (ed.), *Michaelis Pselli Theologica*, vol. 1, Leipzig (BSGRT), 1989, *Opusc.* 59, l. 168-170 (p. 234).

(90) I. A. H. TITTMANN (ed.), *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon*, vol. 2, Amsterdam, 1967 (= Leipzig, 1808), col. 1565.

(91) *Ibid.*, col. 1534. However, the definition of *περίφρασις* as found in Zonaras might also be an allusion to e.g. Ioh. Damasc., *Exp. Fid.*, 63, 44-45 (Λέγεται δὲ ὁ τρόπος οὗτος περίφρασις, ὅταν τις δύο τινὰ διὰ μιᾶς περιλάβῃ λέξεως; ed. B.



e. A mediaeval Latin translation of some fragments

In a letter written in Latin and dated 26 June 1329 the Franciscan monk Angelus Clarenus (Pietro da Fossombrone, ca 1252 – 1337)<sup>(92)</sup> rather unsatisfactorily translated a number of passages from *Amb.Thom.* V<sup>(93)</sup> and *Amb.Io.* These passages have been identified by S. Gysens<sup>(94)</sup>. As far as *Amb.Thom.* are concerned, they are:

*Amb.Thom.* V, 171 (Τὰ) – 176 in VON AUW, *o.c.*, p. 224, 19-25;

*Amb.Thom.* V, 200 (οὐ) – 205: *ibid.*, 30-34;

*Amb.Thom.* V, 226 (Τίς) – 231 (οὐδέτις): *ibid.*, 25-30.

The fragments are introduced by the phrase ‘... ut docet ille sanctus, vere monachus Maximus doctor, exponens *epistulam sancti Dyonisi (sic) ad Gaium monachum*’.

The evidence being so tenuous, it has not been possible to identify the Greek manuscript on which Clarenus’ translation was based, nor even the family to which it belongs. As a matter of fact we cannot even be sure whether Clarenus translated these excerpts from a Greek manuscript containing the complete text of *Amb.Thom.* (or *Amb.Thom.* V): the source of the translation could equally be an anthology.

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KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2 [PTS 12], Berlin - New York, 1973, p. 161-162), or to Maximus’ own *Opusc.* 7, PG 91, 84D9-85A1 or *Opusc.* 8, PG 91, 100C8-9 (‘περιφραστικῶς’).

(92) Under the papacy of Bonifatius VIII (1294-1303) Clarenus spent some years in Greece, where he learnt Greek and translated quite a few Greek patristic texts. See also JEAUNEAU, *Amb.Io.*, p. LXXI-LXXII (on Clarenus as the possible author of the so-called *Auctoritates sancti Maximi*), and S. GYSENS, *Les traductions latines du Liber Asceticus (CPG 7692) de saint Maxime le Confesseur*, in: *Augustiniana* 46 (1996), p. 314-315.

(93) See Lydia VON AUW (ed.), *Angeli Clareni Opera. I. Epistole (Fonti per la Storia d’Italia 103)*, Rome, 1980, p. 224-225 (*Ep.* 44).

(94) *Art.c.*, p. 315, n. 18. See also VON AUW, *o.c.*, p. 224, n. 1, who in the Latin text has only recognized ‘des affirmations semblables’. For the passage that runs from ‘Intellexerunt’ to ‘tradiderunt sancti’ (VON AUW, *o.c.*, p. 224, 34 – 225, 3), which was not identified by Gysens, cf. *Amb.Io.*, PG 91, 1149D5-1152A2 (πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πάλαι πρὸ νόμου ἁγίους – προεβλήθησαν ἔξεμπλάριον).

B. *Epistula secunda ad eundem*

## 1. Primary witnesses

## List of manuscripts:

- Ga* *Cantabrigiensis*, *Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48* (s. XII<sup>m</sup>), f. 141-150  
*Ka* *Parisinus gr. 1277* (s. XIII), f. 247<sup>r-v</sup>  
*V* *Vaticanus gr. 1809* (s. X<sup>ex.</sup>), f. 195<sup>v</sup>-196 and 216<sup>v</sup>-217

*Ga* *Cantabrigiensis*, *Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48* (s. XII<sup>m</sup>), f. 141-150

For the description of this manuscript, see p. xxx-xxxiii of the present volume.

*Ga* is the only real direct witness of *Ep.sec.* Unfortunately, a number of folia are missing from this very important witness with resultant lacunae in both *Ep.sec.* I and II<sup>(1)</sup>, while the text ends abruptly at line 64 of *Ep.sec.* III. We cannot therefore afford to neglect the testimony of either the *Parisinus* or the *Vaticanus*, though strictly speaking these manuscripts belong to the indirect tradition.

*Ka* *Parisinus gr. 1277* (s. XIII), f. 247<sup>r-v</sup>

The complete manuscript, made up of parts of several older manuscripts, has been described by H. Omont<sup>(2)</sup>, P. Van Deun<sup>(3)</sup> and G. Papagiannis<sup>(4)</sup>. Furthermore it has been mentioned or partially described by S. L. Epifanovich<sup>(5)</sup>, F. Halkin<sup>(6)</sup>,

(1) See lines 19/20 and 29/30 respectively.

(2) *Inventaire*, I, p. 284-285.

(3) *Opuscula*, p. xc-xci.

(4) *Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments (Meletemata. Beiträge zur Byzantinistik und neugriechischen Philologie 7/1)*, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 38-39.

(5) See *infra*, n. 11.

(6) *Manuscripts grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique (Subsidia hagiographica 44)*, Brussels, 1968, p. 152 (with reference to Theodoros Prodromus' *Tetrasticha de festis Domini et Deiparae* [BHG<sup>n</sup> 1617tb] on f. 199-201 of our manuscript; see the edition by Papagiannis, mentioned above, n. 4).

A. Smets – M. van Esbroeck<sup>(7)</sup>, H. Hörner<sup>(8)</sup>, E. A. de Mendietta – S. Y. Rudberg<sup>(9)</sup>, R. Bracke<sup>(10)</sup>, J. Declerck<sup>(11)</sup>, W. Höllger<sup>(12)</sup> and E. V. Maltese<sup>(13)</sup>. See also our own brief mention of the manuscript *supra*, p. LXXIII in discussing the indirect tradition of *Amb. Thom.*

Where, when or by whom the manuscript was assembled in its present form remains unknown. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the Latin *pinax* compiled by J. Boivin (1633-1726)<sup>(14)</sup> on three paper pages inserted at the beginning of the volume.

With regard to the present edition I will confine myself to f. 244-271<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript, which, according to Declerck, find their origin in a thirteenth-century scriptorium in the eastern part

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(7) *Basile de Césarée. Sur l'origine de l'homme (Hom. x et xi de l'Hexaéméron)* (SChr. 160), Paris, 1970, p. 132 (with reference to both *Sermones de creatione hominis* [CPG 3215-3216; BBU II, 2, p. 1201-1206] on f. 46-54<sup>v</sup> of our manuscript).

(8) *Auctorum incertorum vulgo Basilii vel Gregorii Nysseni Sermones de creatione hominis. Sermo de paradiso (Gregorii Nysseni Opera. Supplementum)*, Leyde, 1972, p. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII (with reference to the above-mentioned *Sermones de creatione hominis*, which in our manuscript have been ascribed to Basil).

(9) *Basile de Césarée. La tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'hexaéméron (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 123)*, Berlin, 1980, p. 102-104.

(10) BRACKE, *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 99, n. 10.

(11) QD, p. LV-LVII. Declerck only describes f. 244-271<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript, which is exactly the part that will attract our attention here (see *infra*). BRACKE, *l.c.*, and DECLERCK, QD, p. LV and n. 84 – apparently independently from each other – both mention the *Parisinus* as a new, albeit only partial, witness to *Ep.sec.* Both scholars seem to have ignored the fact that already Epifanovich had indicated the existence of a 'Letter to Thomas' in our *Parisinus* (see *Materialy*, p. XXIII). However, Epifanovich does not seem to have realized that this 'letter' was a separate work by the Confessor and thus lists it as being a part ('one title') of *Amb. Thom.*

(12) *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz*, vol. 1: *Die Gedichtgruppen XX und XI (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. N.F., 2. Reihe: Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz 3)*, Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zurich, 1985, p. 84-85 (with reference to the poems by Gregory of Nazianzus on f. 202-242<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript).

(13) *Un nuovo testimone dell'epistola di Psello a Giovanni Xifilino (Paris. gr. 1277)*, in: *Byzantion* 57 (1987), p. 427-432 (see *infra* in dealing with f. 264-271<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript).

(14) On Boivin's *pinax*, see DECLERCK, *o.c.*, p. LVII and n. 88.

of the empire<sup>(15)</sup>. The folia are of poor quality bombycine on which the ink is easily smudged, which sometimes makes the text hard to read.

What follows is a detailed analysis of the contents of these folia based on an *in situ* examination and primarily meant to be a supplement to the mentioned descriptions by Declerck and Van Deun:

- f. 244-247: τοῦ ψελλοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ μιχαήλ τὸν δούκαν. *Inc.* οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ψαλτήριον - *expl.* τὴν ἄρρητον τῶν ψαλμῶν θεωρίαν: Psellus' *Poema 1 (In inscriptiones psalmonum)* (16). The editor indicates that he has neglected the testimony of our *Ka* because 'atramentum ita diffluxit ut in charta maculata permulta evanuerint' (17);
- f. 247<sup>r-v</sup>: ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ μαξίμου πρὸς τὸν κύριον θωμᾶν (18). *Inc.* ὑπόστασιν μὲν σοφίας - *expl.* τῶν προταθέντων ἀρχόμενος, which is the prologue to Maximus' *Ep.sec.* The fragment was undoubtedly separated on purpose;
- f. 247<sup>v</sup>-261<sup>v</sup>: τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς πεύσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις. *Inc.* τίνες ἀρεταὶ ψυχῆς - *expl.* καθαρὸν ἐμφαίνει: Maximus' *QD*, selection I (until I, 79, 17; ed. DECLERCK, *QD*);
- f. 261<sup>v</sup>: the lemma (without the corresponding text) of a *novella* of Emperor Michael VII Ducas, dated to between 1071 and 1078: (νεαρά *in mg.*) τοῦ βασιλέως κῦρ μιχαήλ τοῦ δούκα: θεσπίζουσα τοὺς κάστρα λαμβάνοντας οἴουσδητινας κᾶν ὅπως ταῦτα λάβωσιν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ προσώπῳ ταῦτα κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὰς δωρεάς (19);

(15) *O.c.*, p. LV-LVI. If we accept *Mo* to be a partial copy of *Ka* (see *infra*, p. CXI), we can postulate 1270-1280 as a *terminus ante quem* for *Ka* (see *supra*, p. LXIII).

(16) Ed. L. G. WESTERINK, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata (BSGRT)*, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1992, p. 1-13. In the same edition, p. 72-76 we also find Psellus' *De septem conciliis (Poema 4)*, on which see VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XC (*Parisinus gr. 1277*, f. 196).

(17) *O.c.*, p. x.

(18) *Ka* is the only witness of *Ep.sec.* to have handed down the text with a proper title.

(19) F. DÖLGER - P. WIRTH, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Reihe A: *Regesten*, Abteilung I: *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des*

- f. 261<sup>v</sup>-262<sup>v</sup>: στίχοι ἀνακρέοντειοι τοῦ ἠφαίστου τοῦ γεγονότος ἀρχιεπισκόπου βουλγαρίας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐταδέλφῳ (μτ ν.) αὐτοῦ δημητρίῳ (?) τελευτήσαντι. *Inc.* δακρῶν θέλω – *expl.* δακρῶν τίς καταπαύσει: Theophylact of Ochrid's *Poésie* 14<sup>(20)</sup>;
- f. 262<sup>v</sup>: τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν στίχοι ἱαμβικοί. *Inc.* τίς συστελεῖ βίαιον ὄρμην – *expl.* ταυτὶ προσδέχου: id., *Poésie* 15<sup>(21)</sup>;
- f. 262<sup>v</sup>-263<sup>v</sup>: τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ βασιλέως κῦρ ἀδριανῷ. *Inc.* εἰ μὲν καὶ τὸ σὸν ὕψος – *expl.* (mut.) τὴν κακοήθειαν πλοῦστοι: id., *Ep.* 5<sup>(22)</sup>;
- f. 263<sup>v</sup>: συναγωγή καὶ ἐξήγησις ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ φῶτα λόγοις. *Inc.* οἱ ἀνόητοι θεολόγοι τῶν ἐλλήνων – *expl.* (mut.) ἐν τισὶ τόποις: Ps.-Nonnus, *In Or. XXXIX Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarius*, hist. 1 and 2<sup>(23)</sup>. Our *Ka* has not been used in Nimmo Smith's edition. It had, however, been mentioned before in an article by the same author<sup>(24)</sup>;
- f. 264-271<sup>v</sup>: seven letters by Michael Psellus:
  1. f. 264-267<sup>v</sup>: *ad Iohannem Xiphilinum*<sup>(25)</sup>. *Inc.* τῷ μοναχῷ κῦρ ἰωάννη τῷ ξιφιλίνῳ τῷ γενομένῳ πατριάρχῃ κωνσταντινουπόλεως, which means that the author of the letter, i.e. Michael Psellus, is

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*oströmischen Reiches*, 2. Teil: *Regesten von 1025-1204*, Munich, 1995<sup>2</sup>, p. 68, n° 1012.

(20) Ed. P. GAUTIER, *Théophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, Traités, Poésies* (CFHB 16/1), Thessalonica, 1980, p. 369-375 (edited on the basis of our *Parisinus*).

(21) Ed. GAUTIER, *o.c.*, p. 377 (also edited on the basis of our *Parisinus*, which is the only witness for both 'poésies' mentioned). Gautier's edition of both poems in CFHB is a re-edition of ID., *L'Épiscopat de Théophylacte Héphaïstos, archevêque de Bulgarie*, in: *Revue des Études byzantines* 21 (1963), p. 171-174 and 174-175.

(22) Ed. P. GAUTIER, *Theophylacti Achridensis Epistulae* (CFHB 16/2), Thessalonica, 1986, p. 143-145 (edited on the basis of, among other manuscripts, our *Parisinus*). The text in our manuscript breaks off at p. 145, l. 37 of the edition.

(23) Ed. Jennifer NIMMO SMITH, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii* (CCSG 27, *Corpus Nazianzenum* 2), Turnhout, 1992, p. 217 – 220, 8.

(24) *A revised List of the Manuscripts of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentaries*, in: *Byzantion* 57 (1987), p. 103 and n. 100.

(25) See V. GRUMEL, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les Actes des Patriarches*, fasc. 2-3: *Les Regestes de 715-1206*, Paris, 1989<sup>2</sup>, p. 389.

not mentioned. The letter was edited by K. N. Sathas on the basis of *Parisinus gr. 1182* (s. XIII)<sup>(26)</sup>. A new edition was made by U. Criscuolo, who used *Ka* as one of the witnesses<sup>(27)</sup>;

2. f. 268: *ad Eustratium*<sup>(28)</sup>;
3. f. 268-269: *ad Aristenum notarium (ineditum)*;
4. f. 269<sup>r-v</sup>: *ad Iohannem monachum*<sup>(29)</sup>;
5. f. 269<sup>v</sup>: *ad patriarcham Michaellem Caenularium*<sup>(30)</sup>;
6. f. 270-271: *ad Eustratium* (see *supra*, 2) (*ineditum*);
7. f. 271<sup>r-v</sup>: *ad Paraspondylum*<sup>(31)</sup>.

V *Vaticanus gr. 1809* (s. x<sup>cx</sup>), f. 195<sup>v</sup>-196 and 216<sup>v</sup>-217

It seems natural to divide the description of *Vaticanus gr. 1809* into two: the manuscript has been written partly in 'normal' characters and partly in tachygraphic - or rather brachygraphic<sup>(32)</sup> - script. Maximus the Confessor is the most frequently quoted author in both parts of the manuscript<sup>(33)</sup>.

(26) K. N. SATHAS, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, vol. 5, *Pselli Miscellanea*, Venice - Paris, 1876, p. 444-451, n° 175. Sathas' edition has been reprinted in D. A. ΖΑΚΥΘΙΝΟΣ, *Βυζαντινά κείμενα (Βασική βιβλιοθήκη Ἀετοῦ)*, vol. 3), Athens, 1957, p. 183-188.

(27) Michele Psello, *Epistola a Giovanni Xifilino (Hellenica et Byzantina Neapolitana. Collana di Studi e Testi 14)*, Naples, 1990<sup>2</sup>. The other manuscripts on which Criscuolo's edition was based are *Parisinus gr. 1182* also used by Sathas, and *Vaticanus, Barberinianus gr. 240* (s. XIII).

(28) Ed. SATHAS, *o.c.*, p. 372, n° 124.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 262, n° 27.

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 290-291, n° 58.

(31) *Ibid.*, p. 234-238, n° 8.

(32) See N. P. CHIONIDES, *Il sistema brachigrafico italo-bizantino*, in: N. P. CHIONIDES - S. LILLA, *La brachigrafia italo-bizantina (Studi e Testi 290)*, Vatican City, 1981, p. 7-66, and in particular p. 11 (about the difference between tachygraphic and brachygraphic script).

(33) In normal script we find Maximus' *QTh.* (f. 1-194<sup>v</sup>), *EOD* (f. 197-213) and *QTheop.* (f. 254<sup>v</sup>-255<sup>v</sup>). As far as the brachygraphic part of the manuscript is concerned see *CPG* 7709. In addition there are four fragments from *Opusc.* 1, two from *Ep.sec.* (cf. *infra*), two from *Opusc.* 20, once again the above-mentioned *QTheop.*, a fragment from *Ep.* 11 and one from *Ep.* 4. All the fragments have been edited by M. GITLBAUER, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809*, vol. 1-2 (*Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 28 and 34), Vienna, 1878 and 1884.

There is a detailed description of the manuscript by P. Canart<sup>(34)</sup>. In addition *V* has been mentioned in the editions of Maximus' works by Canart himself<sup>(35)</sup>, Laga-Steel<sup>(36)</sup> and Van Deun<sup>(37)</sup>. How great an interest the scholarly world has taken and is still taking in this remarkable manuscript can be deduced from the numerous publications cited in the bibliographical repertories of Vatican manuscripts<sup>(38)</sup>.

The excerpts from *Ep. sec.* in *V*, all in brachygraphic script, are:

- f. 195<sup>v</sup>a3 – 196b23<sup>(39)</sup> = *Ep. sec.* III, 1-58 (ἐπίδειξις) and again 65-97;
- f. 216<sup>v</sup>b9 – 217a25<sup>(40)</sup> = *Ep. sec., prol.*, 2-43.

The fragments have been transcribed and edited by Gitlbauer<sup>(41)</sup> and transcribed a second time, albeit only in part, by Chionides-Lilla<sup>(42)</sup>. Chionides, who attributes both excerpts to different scribes, dates their activity to about 970<sup>(43)</sup> and relates them to the first, so-called 'Calabrian', period in the development of the Italo-Byzantine brachygraphic system<sup>(44)</sup>.

A note proves that the manuscript once belonged to the library of the famous monastery of Grottaferrata<sup>(45)</sup>. About the middle

(34) *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1745-1962 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, vol. 1, Vatican City, 1970, p. 173-178. *Addenda et corrigenda, ibid.*, vol. 2, Vatican City, 1973, p. xxxvii.

(35) *Deuxième lettre*, p. 420-423.

(36) *QTh.*, I, p. XIX-XX.

(37) *Opuscula*, p. c.

(38) CANART – PERI, *Sussidi*, p. 646; BUONOCORE, *Bibliografia*, p. 929; CERESA, *Bibliografia (1981-1985)*, p. 399; ID., *Bibliografia (1986-1990)*, p. 452.

(39) Reproduction in GITLBAUER, *o.c.*, vol. 2, pl. 2 and 3; CHIONIDES-LILLA, *o.c.*, pl. 17-18.

(40) Reproduction in GITLBAUER, *o.c.*, vol. 2, pl. 11-12; reproduction of f. 217 in CHIONIDES-LILLA, *o.c.*, pl. 19.

(41) *O.c.*, vol. 1, p. 39-42 and 56-60 respectively (transcription), and p. 83-85 and 93-94 respectively (edition).

(42) *O.c.*, p. 51 (Chionides) and 159-171 (Lilla).

(43) With a possible error of ten years in either direction (*o.c.*, p. 29). As far as the problem of the different hands in *V* is concerned see also GITLBAUER, *o.c.*, vol. 1, p. 25-30; CANART, *Deuxième lettre*, p. 423 and n. 2; ID., *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1745-1962*, vol. 1, p. 177.

(44) *O.c.*, p. 29-30 and 42-43.

(45) See f. I: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἦν τῆς μονῆς τῆς κρυπτοφέρρης. On the connection between our manuscript and the monastery of Grottaferrata see also LILLA, *Il*

of the sixteenth century it may well have been part of the library of Cardinal Cervini (later Pope Marcellus II)<sup>(46)</sup>, before, again via Grottaferrata, entering the *Bibliotheca Vaticana* on 12 December 1615<sup>(47)</sup>.

As has been said, *V* contains only the prologue and chapter three of *Ep.sec.* There is no doubt whatsoever that this is the result of a deliberate decision: both fragments, which represent separate entities within *Ep.sec.*, are surrounded by other excerpts from the works of Maximus and other authors. Furthermore, the indications *καὶ μετ'ὀλίγα* and *εἰς τὸ τέλος*<sup>(48)</sup> provide sufficient proof of the activity of an excerptor.

As far as the prologue is concerned, we know of two more witnesses, viz. *Ga* and *Ka* (see *supra*). For *Ep.sec.* III we have, apart from *V*, the testimony of *Ga*, but the fact that the latter abruptly breaks off on line III, 64, makes *V* the *codex unicus* for lines III, 65-97.

## 2. Secondary witnesses

### a. An excerpt from *Ep.sec.* as a scholium to Maximus' *Opusculum* 1

*Ep.sec.*, *prol.*, 5-10 has been used as a scholium on Maximus' own *Opusc.* 1, PG 91, 9A16 (*ad πρόσωπον*). The fragment, as printed in PG 91, 37C3-9, runs:

... Ὑπόστασιν γὰρ σοφίας, τὴν ἀρετὴν· οὐσίαν δὲ φασιν ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν σοφίαν. Διὸ τῆς μὲν σοφίας ἀπλανῆς ἔκφανσις ἐστίν, ὁ τρόπος τῆς τῶν θεωρητικῶν ἀγωγῆς· τῆς ἀρετῆς δὲ βάσις, ὁ λόγος τῆς τῶν πρακτικῶν θεωρίας καθέστηκεν. Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ χαρακτήρ ἀψευδέστατος, ἢ πρὸς τὸ κυρίως ὄν ἀκλινήσῃ ἐνατένισις.

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testo tachigrafico del "De Divinis Nominibus" (Vat. gr. 1809) (*Studi e Testi* 263), Vatican City, 1970, p. 8-14.

(46) Sedit 9-30 April 1555. See G. MERCATI, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo* (*Studi e Testi* 68), Vatican City, 1935, p. 200-202 ('Sulla venuta dei codici del Cervini nella Vaticana e la numerazione loro'). The criticism of Mercati's interpretation by R. DEVREESSE, *Les manuscrits grecs de Cervini*, in: *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), p. 250-270 (in particular p. 258, n. 29) has been refuted by LILLA, *o.c.*, p. 14-15 and n. 8.

(47) LILLA, *o.c.*, p. 15 and n. 2; P. CANART, *Les Vaticani graeci 1487-1962. Notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (*Studi e Testi* 284), Vatican City, 1979, p. 193-199 and p. 248.

(48) See *Ep.sec.* III, 64/65 and 84/85.



Combefis notes that he took this and other scholia 'ex V. cl. Raph. Dufrenii cod. nunc Regio' <sup>(49)</sup>, which is today's *Parisinus gr. 886* (our *Par*) <sup>(50)</sup>. The excerpt is to be found in the right-hand margin of f. 218 of the manuscript <sup>(51)</sup>.

b. *Ep.sec.* in Byzantine authors

Apart from the above-mentioned *Bibliotheca* by Photius <sup>(52)</sup> and the possible allusion in George Acropolites <sup>(53)</sup>, I have found excerpts from *Ep.sec.* in only one other Byzantine author: the fourteenth-century historian Nicephorus Gregoras cites *Ep.sec.* I, 40-41 (= *Amb. Thom.* I, 21-23) and 30-32 (πληθυντικόν) in his *Byzantina historia*, XXX, 13 (= PG 149, 260B3-9) <sup>(54)</sup>. The fragment reads: Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, «μονὰς γὰρ», φησὶν (sc. ὁ θεῖος Μάξιμος), «ἡ θεότης, καὶ οὐ δυὰς, καὶ τριάς, ἀλλ'οὐ πλῆθος, ὡς ἀναρχος, ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀστασίαστος». Καὶ πάλιν, «Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ φύσει μονώτατον τέλειον, τὸ ἀσύνθετον καὶ ἀσκέδαστον καὶ φεῦγον ἐπιτήσης <sup>(55)</sup> τό τε καθ'ὑπόστασιν μοναδικὸν καὶ τὸ καθ'ὑλὴν δυϊκὸν καὶ τὸ κατ'οὐσίαν πληθυντικόν».

(49) PG 91, 37, n. 16.

(50) See p. XLII.

(51) *Par* itself is a copy (see below p. LXXXV-LXXXVI) of *Romanus Angelicus gr. 120* (our *A*), where we find the excerpt in the lower margin of f. 200.

(52) See p. XVII-XVIII.

(53) See p. LXXIV.

(54) Ed. I. BEKKER, *Nicephori Gregorae Historiae Byzantinae libri postremi (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae)*, Bonn, 1855.

(55) Following the *codex unicus* for this passage, in our edition (*Ep.sec.* I, 31) we have accepted the form ἐπίσης rather than ἐπίσης or ἐπιτήσης, not least of all since this form apparently belongs to Maximus' idiom (see e.g. QD 27, 7; QTh. 64, 413, *app.* and QTh. 64, 566, *app.*)

## CHAPTER II: CLASSIFICATION OF THE WITNESSES

### A. Ambigua ad Thomam

I. The family that unites the following groups of manuscripts: *A Par Sg G L D S*; *Re Sup*; *Am*; *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib*; *Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*. We shall call this large family 'a'.

1. The sub-family that unites *A Par Sg G L D S* and *Re Sup*: 'b'

#### a. *A Par Sg G L D S*

Given the fact that *Amb. Thom.* are a relatively short text, we can cite only one obvious error to prove the unity of the group *A, Par, Sg, G, L, D* and *S*, and even then we are forced to leave aside for now the case of manuscripts *Sg* (that transmits the text only up to V, 41) and *G L D*. These will be discussed later. We nevertheless do consider them to be part of the group.

The above-mentioned error is the omission of *σαρκός - κεχωρισμένα* (V, 201/203) in *A, Par* and *S*<sup>(1)</sup>, and, connected with this, the reading *σαρκός* for *θεότητος* (V, 203) in *A<sup>p.corr.</sup>, Par* and *S*.

In addition to this omission we can, in order to prove the unity of the group *A, Par, Sg, G, L, D* and *S*, also refer to the marginal notes that are common to all members of this group<sup>(2)</sup> and that are not to be found anywhere else in the entire manuscript tradition. As stated above, these notes can be dated to the end of the eleventh century<sup>(3)</sup>.

The validity of our argument is further corroborated by the

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(1) And coincidentally also in manuscripts *J* and *Mosq*, since the error we are talking about is an omission by haplography, a well-known trap in which more than one scribe could have been caught independently one from the other. We shall soon make it clear that *J* and *Mosq* do not belong to the same family as *A, Par, Sg, G, L, D* and *S*. They do not, for one, share the marginal notes with which we are about to deal.

(2) The texts of the notes can be found in Appendix I. In manuscript *Sg* we find only one of the notes; on f. 498 we read - not without difficulty: <ἄκου>ε Νεῶλε, καὶ σίγα, καὶ <μὴ σό>βει (see Appendix I, *ad Amb. Thom.* III, 32/34).

(3) See the description of manuscript *A* on p. XLVII.

following variant readings, probably all of them deliberate alterations:

- the addition of τὸν before ἄνθρωπον (*prol.*, 13) in *A Par Sg GLD S*;
- the transposition of κυρίως after τροπῆς (III, 27) in *A Par Sg GLD S*;
- the omission of τε (IV, 53) in *A<sup>p.corr.</sup> Par Sg GLD S*;
- ἐνήργει for ἐνεργῶν (IV, 79) in *A Par Sg G<sup>a.corr.</sup> D S<sup>(4)</sup>*;
- the addition of τῆ or τῆ before φύσει (IV, 95) in *A<sup>p.corr.</sup> Par Sg GLD S*;
- the addition of τῶν before Μανιχαίων (V, 45) in *A<sup>p.corr.</sup> Par GLD S<sup>(5)</sup>*;
- the addition of καὶ before τὴν (V, 111) in *A<sup>p.corr.</sup> Par GLD S*;
- the transposition of ἀλλήλοις after ἔχων (V, 186/187) in *A Par GLD S*;
- the addition of ὧν after δὲ (V, 261) in *A<sup>p.corr.</sup> Par GLD S*.

Of this group *A* is the only witness without readings peculiar to it. We can therefore consider it to be the common ancestor of *Par*, *Sg*, *G*, *L*, *D* and *S*. As can be seen from the majority of the cases cited above, *Par*, *Sg*, *G*, *L*, *D* and *S* must have been copied after the corrections in *A* had been made<sup>(6)</sup>.

Some of the corrections in *A* could have been conjectures of the corrector – such as the ones cited above, while for others the corrector must have referred to a manuscript. Examples of this second category are: the addition of the originally omitted ἐνώσει τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς in IV, 102; the addition of the originally omitted ἔχων - τρόπων in V, 159/160; the addition of the originally omitted ἔχουσα in V, 175; the addition of the originally omitted οὐχ' in V, 179; the addition of the originally omitted εἶποι in V, 241, and possibly also αὐτὰ for αὐτοῦ in V, 198 (see the critical apparatus on p. 29). It has been impossible to determine upon which tradition the corrector of *A* is dependent in these cases.

(4) *G<sup>p.corr.</sup>* reads ἐνεργῶν, while *L* reads ἐνεργεῖ.

(5) As has been said manuscript *Sg* transmits the text only up to V, 41.

(6) The previous editors of Maximus' works came to the same conclusion; see LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLVIII; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXIII and CXXIII; ID., *LA*, p. CXXXVI.

*Par Sg*

It has already been established by the previous editors of the works of Maximus that manuscript *Par* is a very faithful copy of *A* with practically no variant readings or errors of its own<sup>(7)</sup>. With the late seventeenth-century manuscript *Sg* it shares a very small number of variant readings which we cannot find anywhere else in the tradition. We therefore consider these two manuscripts to form a sub-group. The readings that demonstrate their relationship are: διδαχθῆναι for διαδειχθῆναι in III, 43; ἀπάτην for ἀπάτης in IV, 66; and the omission of οὖν in IV, 91<sup>(8)</sup>.

Of these two, manuscript *Sg* is the only one to have its own errors and variant readings<sup>(9)</sup>. It can therefore be considered to have been copied from *Par*<sup>(10)</sup>.

*GLD*

Manuscripts *G*, *L* and *D* share two peculiarities which we do not find anywhere else in the entire manuscript tradition of the text. Apart from the addition of τῶ before θεῶ in *prol.*, 21, we find the note οὔτε - σαρκί (*ad V*, 252/254 [Οὐδενὶ - ἔνωσιν]), that *A* has in the margin<sup>(11)</sup>, *in textu* in *G*, *L* and *D*<sup>(12)</sup>.

(7) See LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLVIII-XLIX; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LVI, LXIII and CXXIII; ID., *LA*, p. CXXXVII.

(8) The only other readings proper to *Par* – in that part of the text for which the testimony of *Sg* is no longer available – are: the omission of ἡμῶν in V, 97; ὑποστατικὴν for συστατικὴν in V, 111; and κινήτος for κινήτικος in V, 192.

(9) Examples of the errors and readings proper to *Sg* are: σοφία for σοφίας in *prol.*, 9; ἀπαξίωσας for ἀπηξίωσας in *prol.*, 17; αἰώνιων for αἰώνων in *prol.*, 21; the omission of ἔστιν in *prol.*, 38; παντος (*sic*) for πάντως in I, 36; ἐψυχωμένος for ἐψυχωμένης in II, 33; κατηγορουμενος (*sic*) for κατηγορούμενον in II, 38; τῆ ἁμαρτία for τῆς ἁμαρτίας in III, 24; με for ἐμέ in IV, 7; καὶ καὶ (*sic*) for ὅτι καὶ in IV, 20; κατεχόμενος for κατεχομένους in IV, 44; the omission of τῆν<sup>2</sup> in IV, 56; τιμᾶται for τιμᾶ in IV, 58; ὁμοσώματος (*sic*) for νόμου σώματος in IV, 62; the omission of τε in IV, 86; ἐκεῖνο for ἐκεῖνος in IV, 101; πάντα for τὰῦτα in IV, 112; ἐνεργείαν (*sic*) for ἐνέργειαν in V, 16; ὑποφηνάμενος for ἀποφηνάμενος in V, 25; the omission of ἀληθῶς in V, 34.

(10) This is corroborated by the fact that on f. 488-490<sup>v</sup> *Sg* has a *pinax* that does not reflect the actual contents of the manuscript, but that of *Par*. See the description of *Sg* on p. LXIV, and also VAN DEUN, *LA*, p. CCLXVI.

(11) See Appendix I.

(12) Furthermore, the addition of τοῦ θεολόγου after τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου (I, 1) is common only to *G*, *L*, *D* and *Ba*, while the omission of γάρ (V, 42) is only to be found in *G*, *L*, *D*, *Re* and *Sup*.

As *G* is the only manuscript within this sub-group to contain no readings proper to it, we can assume that it is the common ancestor of *L* and *D* <sup>(13)</sup>.

Some examples of the variant readings and errors proper to *L* are: *σωματικὴν* for *συστατικὴν* in *V*, 111; *σωζομένων* for *σεβαζομένων* in *V*, 176; the omission of *καὶ τὸ καυστικόν - τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικόν* in *V*, 273/275; the omission of *τῶ<sup>2</sup>* in *V*, 307; the omission of *ἀμήν* in *V*, 308. Examples of the variant readings and errors proper to *D* are: *αὐτοῖς* for *αὐτῆς* in *I*, 38 <sup>(14)</sup>; the omission of *ἦ* in *V*, 58; the omission of *μὴ* in *V*, 76; the omission of *τῶ* in *V*, 113; the omission of *θεὸς<sup>1</sup>* in *V*, 227; the omission of *καὶ<sup>1</sup>* in *V*, 229 <sup>(15)</sup>; the omission of *τῶ<sup>2</sup>* in *V*, 274.

As has been said, *G* transmits all the peculiarities of *A<sup>p.corr.</sup>*, thus showing its dependence on the latter. On one or two occasions though it would seem that the scribe of *G* also had access to a better or at least a more complete tradition. The two places are: *IV*, 79, where *G<sup>p.corr.</sup>* corrects the reading *ἐνήργει* of *A*, and particularly *V*, 201/203, where *G* (and its copies *L* and *D*) transmit the lines that have been omitted in *A*. Any attentive scribe could have noticed this omission, so it comes as no surprise that the scribe of *G* tried to fill the gap. It has not been possible to determine by which tradition *G* was influenced at these two places <sup>(16)</sup>.

## S

The last manuscript of this group is *S*. The readings, again very few, proper to the manuscript are: *τὸ* for *τὸν* in *prol.*, 40 <sup>(17)</sup>; the omission of *ἦ<sup>1</sup>* in *IV*, 21; the transposition of *κατὰ τοῦτον* after *ἀληθῶς* in *IV*, 60/61; *ἀφθέκτου* for *ἀφθέγκτου* in *V*, 38 <sup>(18)</sup>; *φύσειν* for *φύσει* in *V*, 82; the addition of *αὐτὴν* after *τῆν* in *V*, 99; *τὸν*

(13) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CXXIV-CXXV, who came to the same conclusion.

(14) In common with *O*, *Q* and *Da*.

(15) In common with *Re* and *Sup*.

(16) Professor C. Laga, who is currently preparing the critical edition of Maximus' *Amb.Io.*, has informed us that on the basis of the manuscript tradition of that very large work, he too has come to the conclusion that the *Gudianus gr. 39* (*G*) has been contaminated by a very good tradition.

(17) In common with *Re* and *Sup*.

(18) In common with *Z*.

... λόγον for τῷ ... λόγῳ in V, 159; finally, the omission of ἀμῆ-  
χανον in V, 188.

b. *Re Sup*

Manuscripts *Re* and *Sup* behave rather independently. They have many errors in common against the rest of the tradition: τὴν ψυχὴν for τῆς ψυχῆς in *prol.*, 26; ἀπεστραμμένην for ἀπεστραμμένον in *prol.*, 35; αὐτουργῶς for αὐτουργῶν in II, 33; ῥύσει for φύσει in III, 27; κατὰ τὴν for κατ'αὐτὴν in III, 43; τῶν ἐκείνων for τῶν ἐκείνου in IV, 9; χωρῆσαι μὲν for χωρῆσαιμεν in IV, 12; ἡμᾶς for ἡμῶν in IV, 39; σωματικώτερον for σωστικώτερον in IV, 83; ἔμφασιν for ἔκφασιν in V, 57; ὑπερούσιοι for ὑπερούσιος in V, 202; finally, ἦ for ἡ in V, 239.

The relationship between *Re* and *Sup* is further established by the following variant readings which they have in common: τοῦ ἀγίου for τῶν ἀγίων in the title; the omission of καὶ in *prol.*, 4; φιλοῦλω for φιλύλω in *prol.*, 38; τὸ ἐνάγειν for τὸν ἐναγῆ in *prol.*, 39; τὸ for τὸν in *prol.*, 40; the transposition of ἡμῶν after σωτηρίαν in II, 33; the omission of νῦν in III, 17; ὑπεισεκρίθη for ἐπεισεκρίθη in IV, 40; τὸν ἄνθρωπον for ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν in V, 28; the omission of γὰρ in V, 42; the omission of τῷ in V, 113; τὸ for τῷ in V, 179; θατέραν for θατέρου in V, 189; the addition of οὐκ in V, 195 and the omission of μὴ in V, 196; the omission of καὶ<sup>1</sup> in V, 229<sup>(19)</sup>; συνάξει for συνεισάξει in V, 239/240; the omission of τὰ<sup>1</sup> in V, 244.

Both *Re* and *Sup* also show a fair number of readings peculiar to each of them<sup>(20)</sup>, which prove their independent descent from a common ancestor<sup>(21)</sup> which we shall call 'x'.

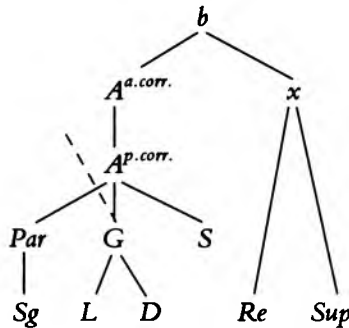
(19) In common with *D*.

(20) Examples of the variant readings and errors proper to *Re* are: ἑαυτοῦ for θεοῦ in *prol.*, 13; παρητήσαμεν for παρητησάμεν in *prol.*, 41; the omission of μὴ in II, 16; χαρίτων for χάριτι in III, 46 (in common with *Da*; see Appendix II); μόνον for μόνου in III, 47; ὄλην for ὄλον in IV, 6; παθήμασι for πάθει in IV, 15 (in common with *Da*; see Appendix II); the transpositions in IV, 21-22; the transposition of φύσει after γίνεται in IV, 33; δεικνύσαι for δεικνῦσα in IV, 36; παραλαμβάνων for παραβάντων in IV, 55; μέγα for μέγαν in IV, 61; τῆ for τὸ in IV, 101; the omission of εἰ in IV, 109; the omission of τοῦ in V, 2; φυσικῆς for φυσικῶς in V, 18; πρὸ for πρὸς in V, 38; the inversed word order in V, 71; ὁ for ὡς in V, 88; αὐτὴν for ἀμφοῖν in V, 107; ἀποτέλεσμα for ἀποτελέσματα in V, 164; ἐκφαντικῶς for ἐκφαντικός in V, 193; μὴ τὸ ἄλλον ἐν ἑτέρῳ for μηδετέρῳ in

*A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup*

On the basis of a number of errors in *Amb. Thom. V* we can assume a relationship between *A<sup>a.corr.</sup>* on the one hand and the subgroup *Re Sup* (= *x*) on the other. These errors are: the omission of ἐν in V, 58; ἀφθαρσίαν for ἀφασίαν in V, 63; θεότης for θεότητος in V, 111; συνῆλθε for συνῆψε in V, 156; finally, the omission of εἶχεν in V, 172 (22). Since *Re* and *Sup* do not have the readings that have been quoted above to prove the unity of the family *A Par Sg G L D S* (23), they cannot possibly stem from *A<sup>a.corr.</sup>* directly. We therefore hypothesize a common ancestor 'b' for *A<sup>a.corr.</sup>* and *Re Sup* (= *x*). This hypothesis is further corroborated by the following variant readings common only to *A<sup>a.corr.</sup>* and *Re Sup*: the omission of τοῦ in V, 30; and the addition of ὁ before λόγος in V, 128 (24).

The relationships that have been established above can be illustrated as follows:



V, 229; the variant word order in V, 261/262; οικείας for ἰδίας in V, 287. — Examples of the variant readings and errors proper to *Sup* are: προληφθείσης for προσληφθείσης in II, 9 (in common with *Z* and *Ga*); ὅλος for ἄλος in II, 10 (in common with *Am*); δογματίζοντος for δογματίζοντας in II, 28; ἐπεδείκνυσο for ἐπεδείκνυτο in IV, 70; τῷ for τὸ in IV, 101 (in common with *Am*); συντεταγμένως for συντεταγμένος in V, 4; οὐδὲν for οὐ δὲ in V, 178; σιδήρω for σιδήρου in V, 274.

(21) VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CXXVIII, came to the same conclusion.

(22) The case of V, 162 can perhaps also be added to this list: we find the correct reading τῆ in *A correctus* and *Re correctus*, while *Sup* shares the reading τὴν with *Re<sup>a.corr.</sup>*, *Am* and *Ba*.

(23) See p. LXXXV.

(24) See also the *stemma* of the family 'd' in VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CXXIX.

2. Manuscripts *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'*, *Di* and *Ib*: 'd'

Two errors prove the unity of the following group of manuscripts: *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da* <sup>(25)</sup>, *Da'* <sup>(26)</sup>, *Di* <sup>(27)</sup> and *Ib* <sup>(28)</sup>. These errors are: ἐν πάθει for ἐμπάθειαν (IV, 42) in *N*<sup>corr.</sup>, *Ba*, *Z* and *Da*, and the omission of οὐκ (V, 109) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib* <sup>(29)</sup>. We therefore hypothesize a common ancestor 'd' for manuscripts *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'*, *Di* and *Ib*.

Eight more variant readings prove the validity of our argument. These are:

- ἡττωμένω (-νω) for ἡττημένω (*prol.*, 36) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da* and *Di*;
- the transposition of ὁ Λόγος after μεμένηκε (II, 20/21) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z* and *Da* <sup>(30)</sup>;
- the omission of ἐκ - οὐσίας (V, 43) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib*;
- αὐτῶ (-τῶ) for ταυτῶ (V, 120) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib*;
- the omission of τὰς (V, 130) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib*;
- the omission of τε (V, 148) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib*;
- the omission of ἡ (V, 152) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib*;
- ἄνθρωπος, ὧν for ἄνθρωπος ὧν (V, 291) in *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da'* and *Ib* <sup>(31)</sup>.

Each of these seven manuscripts also has its own variant readings and errors, which proves that none of them could have been the ancestor of any one of the other six. We can, however, distinguish between two sub-families within this family of seven:

a. *Da Da' Di Ib*: 'f'

In V, 68, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib* share the suspect reading ἐν νηδύι against *N Ba Z* and the complete manuscript tradition, which reads ἐν εἴδει. The reading ἐν νηδύι is therefore an innovation of

(25) Manuscript *Da* transmits the text only up to V, 168.

(26) Manuscript *Da'* only transmits *Amb. Thom. V*.

(27) Manuscript *Di* only transmits *Amb. Thom., prol.*

(28) Manuscript *Ib* only transmits *Amb. Thom. V*. The readings of the partial witnesses of this family (*Da*, *Da'*, *Di* and *Ib*) have not been included in the critical apparatus but can be found in Appendix II.

(29) On the very partial witness *Di*, see below.

(30) And also in *Ga*.

(31) And also in *Re Sup* and *Q*.



manuscripts *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib* and as such it is sufficient to hypothesize a common ancestor for these three witnesses, which we shall call 'f'.

*Da* and *Di*

Except in those cases where the readings of *Di* are unique in the tradition (κατέστησε for κατέστησας in *prol.*, 14; πασῶν for πᾶσαν in *prol.*, 22; and γεγενημένων for γεγενημένον in *prol.*, 26), it always shares its readings with *Da*, except for two cases where *Da* in its turn is isolated in the tradition (the omission of τοῖς in *prol.*, 41, and the omission of μᾶλλον in *prol.*, 44), and one case where *Da* shares a reading only with *Ba* (τὸν νοῦν for τὸ νοεῖν in *prol.*, 48). Although the basis for a comparison is very small<sup>(32)</sup>, these readings show that it is possible to hypothesize a common ancestor for *Da* and *Di*, which we shall call 'g'<sup>(33)</sup>.

*Da Da' Ib*

We consider that manuscript *Ib* stems independently from the ancestor 'f' (see above), which it has in common with *Da* and *Da'*<sup>(34)</sup>, since almost without exception<sup>(35)</sup> *Ib* agrees with *Da* and *Da'* whenever these two share a common reading<sup>(36)</sup>.

Since both *Da* and *Da'* also have their own variant readings and errors<sup>(37)</sup>, we can hypothesize that they too stem from 'f' independently one from the other.

(32) As has been pointed out *Di* only has *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, i.e. 52 lines in our edition.

(33) See also LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, II, p. xxvi, who came to the same conclusion.

(34) Our argument seems to be corroborated by the fact that all three manuscripts are relatively recent and originated on Mount Athos.

(35) Two exceptions are V, 2 and V, 28. At these two places it is not at all improbable that the scribe of *Ib* eliminated the strange readings of *Da* and *Da'*.

(36) The variant readings proper to *Ib* are: οἱ ὁ μὲν (*sic*) for οἰόμενον in V, 9; ἀλλὰ for ἀλλ' in V, 34 (in common with *Za*); ἔκφασιν for ἔκφανσιν in V, 57; the omission of αὐτὸν - φυσικῶς in V, 87/88; the omission of πάντα in V, 93; the addition of γὰρ after ἀνθρώπων in V, 183; the omission of γὰρ in V, 238; ἔχει for ἔχων in V, 243; συνεχόμενος for συνεχόμενον in V, 248; ἀπλῆ for ἀπλῶς in V, 249; μόνον for μόνην in V, 300.

(37) Examples of the variant readings of *Da* are: the addition of θείας καὶ before ἀγίας in V, 7; the omission of αὐτῆς in V, 17; οὖν for γοῦν in V, 22, etc. Examples of the variant readings of *Da'* are: πρεπούσης for προσούσης in V, 18; the omission of ὅτι - θεός in V, 33/34; the omission of γὰρ in V, 36, etc.

b. *N Ba Z*: 'e'

In IV, 63, manuscripts *N*, *Ba* and *Z* share the transposition of ἐνεργοῦς (*N* reads ἐναργοῦς) after ἐστὶν not only against *Da*, but against the complete manuscript tradition. Although this variant does not offer absolute proof, we nevertheless think it sufficient to hypothesize a common ancestor for *N*, *Ba* and *Z*, which we shall call 'e'.

It has not been possible to establish any closer relationships within the sub-family *N Ba Z*: each of its three members has its own errors and variant readings, the latter often resulting from a desire to correct the obvious errors of their common ancestor. When two of the three manuscripts that form this sub-family share an obvious error - and this happens only rarely - we find that it is not always the same two manuscripts. Thus in IV, 60, *N* and *Z* share the reading ἐκουσίων against *Ba*, that reads ἐκουσίως<sup>(38)</sup>, while in II, 38, *Z* and *Ba* share the erroneous κατηγορουμένων against *N*, that has κατηγορούμενον<sup>(39)</sup>. We therefore consider *N*, *Ba* and *Z* to stem independently from their common ancestor 'e'.

*N*

The first part of the text in manuscript *N* (up to *Amb. Thom.* V, 79 [ἐπεπόρευτο, πε]) was copied in the fourteenth century to replace the original twelfth-century pages<sup>(40)</sup>. However, the errors and variant readings cited above to prove the relationship between manuscripts *N*, *Ba*, *Z*, *Da*, *Da'*, *Di* and *Ib* show that the textual tradition of *Amb. Thom.* is the same for both parts of manuscript *N*. The fourteenth-century replacements must have been copied from an exemplar which was closely related to the original text, possibly even directly from the twelfth-century original.

Variant readings and errors of some relevance proper to *N* are not very numerous: the omission of τῶν ἀνέκαθεν in *prol.*, 21;

(38) And even then the scribe of *Ba* has probably corrected the obviously erroneous reading ἐκουσίων which he found in his exemplar.

(39) In this case too, it is not impossible that the scribe of *N* came to the correct reading by mere conjecture.

(40) See the description of the manuscript on p. XL-XLI.

the addition of  $\delta$  before  $\mu\eta\pi\omega$  in *prol.*, 30; the transposition of  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$  after  $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  in *prol.*, 50/51;  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in IV, 63; the evident errors  $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\nu$  for  $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\nu$ , and  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\eta$  against  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\eta$  in *Ba*, *Z* (and *Da*) in IV, 74; the omission of  $\tau\epsilon$ , and the reading  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omega\varsigma$  for  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\omega\delta\varsigma$  in IV, 86; the reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\upsilon\chi\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$  in V, 48 and 206, against  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\psi\upsilon\chi\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$  in *Ba* and *Z*; finally, the omission of  $\tau\omicron$  in V, 194.

In a number of cases the original readings of *N* have been corrected by what seems to be a hand of the fourteenth century<sup>(41)</sup>. Thus we find:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$  (*sic*) as a correction for  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\iota$  in IV, 42; the addition of the words  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu - \tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\nu$  in V, 159/160; the addition of the omitted  $\mu\eta$  in V, 194;  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  for the *ante correctionem* reading  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  in V, 197/198; finally,  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  for the *ante correctionem* reading  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\nu\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  in V, 306/307. From two cases it would appear that *N correctus* is related to *Va* and *C*, viz. V, 261, where *N correctus* shares with *Va* and *C* the addition of  $\acute{\omega}\nu$  after  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , and V, 298, where *N correctus*, *Va* (probably *post correctionem* as well) and *C* have inserted  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  between  $\tau\eta\nu$  and  $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ .

#### *Ba*

The manuscript has a fair number of variant readings, most of them deliberate<sup>(42)</sup>:  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , and  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$  for  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$  in *prol.*, 26; the omission of  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  in *prol.*, 43<sup>(43)</sup>; the transposition of  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  before  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  in *prol.*, 44<sup>(44)</sup>; the addition of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon$  after  $\Gamma\rho\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  in I, 1;  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$  for  $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$  in I, 11; the addition of  $\delta$  before  $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in I, 16; the addition of  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$  after  $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$  in II, 3;  $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in II, 8; the transposition of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  after  $\varphi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in II, 12/13; the omission of  $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in II, 21; the transposition of  $\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (*sic*) after  $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in II, 36; the omission of  $\Lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$  in III, 33; the transposition of  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$  after  $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ , and the reading  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$  (*sic*) for  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$  in IV, 7; the omission of  $\Delta\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  -  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\nu$  in IV, 9/10;  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}$  for  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in IV, 18;  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$  (*sic*) for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ , and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  in IV, 37;  $\tau\alpha\upsilon$ -

(41) These corrections are probably part of the 'restaurations' that were carried out in *N* at the beginning of the fourteenth century (see above).

(42) Especially the large number of transpositions.

(43) In common with *Re Sup*, *Ge* and *H*.

(44) In common with *Y<sup>a</sup>.corr.*

τότητα for ταυτότητι in IV, 47; the omission of ἵνα in IV, 48; the omission of τῆ χάριτι, and the addition of τοῦ before πάθους in IV, 51; the transposition of ἡμῖν before ἐκουσίως in IV, 60; πρῶτον for πρᾶττων in IV, 72; the omission of τοῦ before πειραστοῦ in IV, 108; αὐτὸς for αὐτὸ in V, 5<sup>(45)</sup>; πάσης for πᾶσι in V, 8; the omission of τὴν in V, 9; the transposition of θεὸς after σαρκωθεὶς in V, 12/13; the transposition of παντάπασι after ἡμετέρων in V, 22/23; the transposition of ἄνθρωπον after αὐτόν in V, 28<sup>(46)</sup>; the omission of ἀληθῶς in V, 31; the omission of τί in V, 37; the addition of τὴν before ἰδίαν in V, 38<sup>(47)</sup>; the transposition of ἀνδρὸς after χωρὶς in V, 41/42; ἑαυτὴν for αὐτὴν in V, 52/53; ὑπερουσίως for ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν in V, 67; the addition of τὴν before κίνησιν in V, 88; τὴν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκε τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν for τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκεν in V, 97/98; the transposition of αὐτὴν after ἀμφοῖν in V, 107; the transposition of ἄνθρωπος after αὐτὸς in V, 134; τὴν for τῆ in V, 162<sup>(48)</sup>; the alternative word order ἦν ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιος for ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιος ἦν in V, 182; ἀλυμάντους for ἀλυμάντως in V, 186; the long omission – by haplography – of οὔτε – μόνον in V, 202/204; χαρακτηριστικόν for χαρακτηριστικὴν in V, 225; the omission of τῆ in V, 230; τούτου for τοῦτο in V, 243<sup>(49)</sup>; the addition of τῶν αἰώνων after εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας in V, 308<sup>(50)</sup>.

Some of *Ba*'s own readings can be attributed to the scribe's efforts to repair the text or clarify Maximus' prose: e.g. the transposition of ἡμῖν in IV, 60, where *Ba* also has the correct reading ἐκουσίως against the rest of its family and all manuscripts going back to hyparchetype 'a' that we shall establish below<sup>(51)</sup>; the case of V, 239, where *Ba* is the only member of its family to have the correct reading ἡ (against ἦ in *N*, *Z*, *Da*' and *Ib*); the transposition of ἐκστάσης after ἐνεργείας in V, 282.

(45) In common with *Re*.

(46) In common with *Za* and *Da Da*'.

(47) In common with *A<sup>p</sup>.corr.*

(48) In common with *Re<sup>a</sup>.corr.* *Sup* and *Am*.

(49) In common with *A<sup>a</sup>.corr.* and *B*.

(50) In common with *Q*, *Mo* and *C*.

(51) See p. CII-CIII.

In V, 275 too, *Ba* stands alone against all other members of its family, except *N correctus*: *N<sup>a.corr.</sup>*, *Z*, *Da'* and *Ib* <sup>(52)</sup> add *καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸν* between *τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικόν* and *καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸς*. The words are absent from *Ba*, whose scribe has correctly understood that they had been repeated by accident.

Z

Being of South Italian origin, *Z* is the only member of its family that cannot be directly related to Mount Athos, which already marks out the manuscript as special. In addition, it has a fairly large number of remarkable proper readings, most of them unique in the manuscript tradition. Examples are: *ἡγαπημένω* for *ἡγιασμένω* and *καὶ πνευματικῶ πατρὶ* for *πατρὶ πνευματικῶ* in *prol.*, 3; the omission of *θεοῦ* in *prol.*, 13; the omission of *καὶ ὑφισταμένη* *τριαδικῶς* in I, 31; *τρόπου* for *τρόπον* in I, 35; *ὑπεδέχето* for *ἐπέδέχето* in II, 15; the omission of *τὰ* in II, 23; *ἡμῶν* for *ἡμῖν* in II, 31; the omission of *ἀληθῶς* in II, 36; *τῇ φύσει* for *τὴν φύσιν* in III, 19; the addition of *τῆς* before *σαρκώσεως* in III, 29; the omission of *δὲ* in IV, 13; *ἄνθρωπος* for the first *ἄνθρωπον* in IV, 35; *τὸ παθητὸν* for *τῶ παθητῶ* in IV, 42; the omission of *τοὺς* in IV, 64; *ἐπὶ τοῦτο* for *ἐπιστοῦτο* in IV, 75 <sup>(53)</sup>; the omission of *κατ'ἄμφω* - *ἦν* in IV, 77/78; *αἴτιον* for *αἴτιος* in V, 4; the transposition of *ἀληθῶς* after *ἄνθρωπος* in V, 6; the omission of *τὲ* in V, 14; the omission of *γὰρ* in V, 29; the omission of *δὲ* in V, 31; *ὑπερούσιον* for *ὑπερούσιος* in V, 32; the omission of *αὐτὸ* in V, 37; the omission of *ὁ* in V, 43; *καὶ* for *ὁ ἀεὶ* in V, 50; *προληφθείσης* for *προσληφθείσης* in V, 105; *θεῖος* for *θείως* in V, 169 <sup>(54)</sup>; the omission of *ἀποδιδούς* in V, 177; *συνελθόντες* for *συνελόντες* in V, 178; *ὁ* for *ὦ* in V, 187; *οὐ* for *μὴ* in V, 194; *ψιλλῆς* for *γυμνῆς* and vice versa in V, 232/233; *μύθων* for *μύθοις* in V, 242; the addition of *καὶ* before *θεότης* in V, 251; the omission of *ἐφάνη* in V, 262; the addition of *τῆς* after *καὶ* in V, 284; *γένουισθέ* for *γένεσθέ* in V, 301 <sup>(55)</sup>.

(52) Together with *Am* and *Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>*.

(53) In common with *Re Sup.*

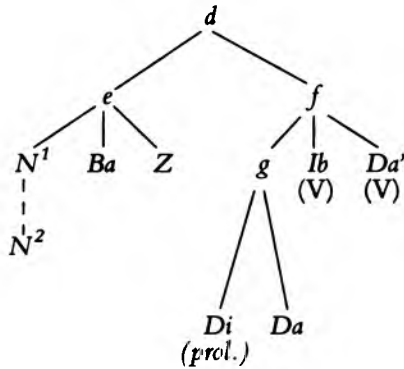
(54) In common with *Re Sup.*, *Y*, *Q* and *Ga.*

(55) In common with *Mo* and *Za.*

In the following cases *Z* stands alone against all other members of its family: in IV, 5/6, *Z* restores the words *καὶ δούλοις* after *τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις* in the quotation from Gregory, whereas these two words have been omitted in *N*, *Ba* and *Da*; in V, 36, *Z* reads *τῷ*, while *N*, *Ba*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib* read *τὸ*; in V, 140, *Z* has the nominative *σπορὰ*, while in *N*, *Ba*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib* we find the dative *σπορᾶ* or *σπορᾷ*; finally, in V, 274, *Z* reads the article *τοῦ* that has been omitted in *N*, *Ba*, *Da'* and *Ib*.

From one of these cases in particular it would appear that the scribe of *Z* also had access to a second exemplar: in V, 73, *Z* has the quotation from Dionysius which is – evidently by mistake – absent from *N*, *Ba*, *Da* and *Da'* (56). As a consequence, *Z* is the only member of its family to have restored the reading *διαπλαττόμενον* (V, 72), whereas *N*, *Ba*, *Da*, *Da'* and *Ib* have *διαφυλαττόμενον*, which is better adapted to the lacunary text form in those manuscripts.

The relationships that have been established for manuscripts *N* *Ba* *Z*; *Da* *Da'* *Di* *Ib* can be illustrated as follows:



(56) *Ib<sup>a.corr.</sup>* also has the quotation (see Appendix II, *ad Amb. Thom.* V, 73). The fact that *Ib<sup>a.corr.</sup>* had a much larger quotation here than just *καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐνήργει τὰ ἀνθρώπου* seems to indicate that the scribe of *Ib* did not copy these lines from his original exemplar, but from a manuscript containing the works of Pseudo-Dionysius. However, when he noticed in his first exemplar that Maximus had slightly adapted the structure of Dionysius' letter, the scribe of *Ib* erased the complete quotation, including the words *καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐνήργει τὰ ἀνθρώπου*.

3. Manuscripts *Va*, *M*, *Sin*, *O*, *J*, *Mosq*, *I* and *Dd*

To prove the relationship between manuscripts *Va*, *M*, *Sin*, *O*, *J*, *Mosq*, *I* and *Dd* we can cite only one obvious error, viz. the addition of ἐὰν and the omission of γὰρ (V, 258), common only to these manuscripts. In addition we can refer to the reading συνελόντως for συνελόντες (V, 178) in *Va*, *M*, *Sin*, *O*, *J*, *I* and *Dd*, while *Mosq* has συνελόντος. As the reading συνελόντως is nowhere to be found in the complete manuscript tradition of Dionysius' fourth letter<sup>(57)</sup>, nor anywhere else in the tradition of Maximus' *Amb. Thom.*, it can be considered to be an innovation proper to manuscripts *Va*, *M*, *Sin*, *O*, *J*, *I*, *Dd* (and *Mosq*).

As can be seen in Appendix I, *Va* has a small number of marginal notes: τὸ «ἐν» δηλαδὴ and τὸ «εἷς» ad τὸ μὲν and τὸ δὲ respectively (III, 37 and 38)<sup>(58)</sup>; ὁ νοῦς πρόδηλος, ἀλλ' ἄδηλος ἢ φράσις ad V, 249/251; finally, ὄρος πολιτείας ad V, 260/261<sup>(59)</sup>. The same four notes are also to be found in *I*. The first two can also be found in *O* and *Dd*, and the third in *J* and *Mosq*<sup>(60)</sup>.

The argument can be corroborated by the following variant readings:

- the omission of μὴ and the reading τριάδος for δυάδος (I, 11) in *Va*<sup>p.corr.</sup> *M Sin I Dd*<sup>(61)</sup>;
- the addition of ἔστιν after πλοῦτος (I, 16) in *Va*<sup>p.corr.</sup> *M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*;
- κατὰ ἄνεσιν for κατ' ἄνεσιν (IV, 43) in *Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*;
- the addition of ἐνεργείας after οἰκείας (V, 279/280) in *Va*<sup>p.corr.</sup> *M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*<sup>(62)</sup>.

Since *Va* is the only manuscript of this sub-family that does not have any variant readings or errors peculiar to it we can con-

(57) See the critical apparatus incorporating the readings of 73 witnesses, in A. M. RITTER (ed.), *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 2 (PTS 36), p. 161.

(58) These two notes are also found in manuscript *Ge*.

(59) In common with *Am*, *N*, *Y* and *Ib*.

(60) *M* and *Sin* have no marginal notes at all.

(61) The testimony of *O*, *J* and *Mosq* could not be taken into account because of the omission of the words ἐνωτικωτέραν - πάλιν (I, 10-11) in those manuscripts.

(62) It is not impossible that *Va correctus* here has the correct reading. The addition of ἐνεργείας is unique in the manuscript tradition except for manuscript *C*.

sider it to be the common ancestor of *M*, *Sin*, *O*, *J*, *Mosq*, *I* and *Dd*<sup>(63)</sup>. As has become clear from the majority of the cases mentioned above, *M*, *Sin*, *O*, *J*, *Mosq*, *I* and *Dd* must have been copied from *Va correctus*<sup>(64)</sup>. The same conclusion can also be drawn from the following cases:

- ἀπόρων for ἀποριῶν (*tit.*) in *Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> M Sin O J I Dd*<sup>(65)</sup>;
- the addition of ἐνώσει τὸ καθ' ἡμέρας (IV, 102) in *Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> M O I Dd; om. J Mosq*<sup>(66)</sup>;
- the addition of γὰρ (V, 41) in *Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> M Sin O J I Dd*<sup>(67)</sup>;
- the reading ἦν ἀληθῆς for ἦν, ἀληθεῖς (V, 130) in *Va<sup>e.corr.</sup> M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*.

#### a. *M* and *Sin*

Manuscripts *M* and *Sin* share three readings against the rest of the manuscript tradition, viz. δι'δν for Διὸ in IV, 36; διάθεσιν for διαίρεσιν in V, 216; and αὐτὸ for αὐτόν in V, 263. As *Sin* is the only manuscript to have its own readings<sup>(68)</sup> we consider it to have been copied from *M*<sup>(69)</sup>.

(63) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXVII-LXIX and p. CXVII-CXXII, who came to the same conclusion.

(64) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXVII-LXVIII and p. CXVIII.

(65) The testimony of *Mosq* could not be taken into account because of an omission in the title of *Amb. Thom.* in that manuscript.

(66) The testimony of *Sin* could not be taken into account because of the absence of f. 27<sup>v</sup>-28 on our microfilm. On 24 August 1998 Archimandrite Symeon, Grammateus of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, informed us by letter that the Monastery was then in the process of adding new equipment to its microfilm photography facilities and that it would send us the microfilm requested as soon as possible.

(67) The γὰρ is absent from *Mosq*.

(68) We do find two readings proper to *M* (viz. τρόπων for τρόπον in I, 35; and κλήρους for λήρους in a quotation from Gregory in V, 45) but they are so obviously erroneous that the scribe of *Sin*, the well-known sixteenth-century Cretan humanist Maximus Margunios, could have easily corrected them.

(69) The readings proper to *Sin* are: χόρον βοηθοῦντος for χορηγοῦντος in *prol.*, 47/48; the addition of τοῦ before θεοῦ in I, 8; the omission of καὶ τῶν ὅσα σώματος in III, 17; αὐτῶ for ἐαυτῶ in IV, 7 (in common with *Ba*); ὅσον for ὅσω in V, 56 (in common with *Re*, *G* and *D*); the omission by haplography of κατὰ φύσιν γενέσεως, καὶ δίχα τῆς in V, 68; οὐσίαν for ἰδίαν in V, 86; αὐτῇ ἀμφοῖν for ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν in V, 114; finally, the omission by haplography of ἡγουν - ἀνδρικῶς in V, 210.



b. *O, J and Mosq*

Manuscripts *O, J* and *Mosq* share the omission of ἐνωτικωτέραν - πάλιν (I, 10-11) against the other members of their family<sup>(70)</sup>. Two more omissions are common to *O* and *J*<sup>a.corr.</sup> only, viz. the omission by haplography of τὸ μὲν, τῶν εὐγνωμονεστέρων in IV, 3/4, and, also by haplography, that of πόσον δὲ συγχωρούμεθα in IV, 17/18<sup>(71)</sup>. As both *O* and *J* also have a small number of variant readings and errors proper to each of them, we consider them both to stem independently from a common ancestor, which we shall call 'γ'.

The variant readings and errors proper to *O*, except for a number of cases related with itacism and accentuation, are: δριάδος for τριάδος in I, 12; ταχύτητα for παχύτητα in III, 7; αὐτοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ in IV, 16; ἐνωτικώτερον for ἐνικώτερον in IV, 82<sup>(72)</sup>; the addition of τοῦ before ἀνθρώπου in V, 101; the omission of ἔχων - τρόπων in V, 159/160<sup>(73)</sup>; the omission of τὰ in V, 211; finally, τμητικὸν for τμητικῶ and the omission of τὸ τοῦ πυρός καυστικόν in V, 274/275.

The variant readings and errors proper to *J* are: ἦ for ἡ in I, 22; τριάδος for μονάδος in I, 28; the omission of καθ' ἡν in II, 20; the addition of καὶ after δουλικὰ in IV, 68; the transposition of ὁ αὐτὸς before ἦν in IV, 85; the omission of ἐνώσει τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς in IV, 102<sup>(74)</sup>; φυσικῶς for φυσικῶν in V, 157; φυσικῶς for φυσικῆς in V, 164; the omission by haplography of σαρκὸς - κεχωρισμένα in V, 201/203<sup>(75)</sup>; the omission, again by haplography, of καὶ μένει θεὸς in V, 227.

(70) These words were also absent from *Va*<sup>a.corr.</sup>; we find them written in the left margin of *Va*'s f. 83<sup>v</sup>.

(71) The corrector of *J* must have had access to a second exemplar to supplement these omissions. See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CXIX-CXX and n. 28, who came to the same conclusion.

(72) In common with *Va*<sup>p.corr.</sup> and *I*.

(73) These words were also absent from *Va*<sup>a.corr.</sup>; we find them written in the left margin of *Va*'s f. 87<sup>v</sup>.

(74) These words were also absent from *Va*<sup>a.corr.</sup>; we find them written in-between the columns of *Va*'s f. 85<sup>v</sup>.

(75) In common with *A* and its descendants, except *G*.

Except when it has variant readings and errors that are unique in the tradition, manuscript *Mosq* can almost without exception be seen to follow *J*<sup>(76)</sup>.

We consider *Mosq* to have been copied from *J*<sup>(77)</sup>. As has become clear from the above-mentioned omissions in IV, 3/4 and IV, 17/18 that have been made good by the corrector of *J*, *Mosq* must have been copied from *J correctus*.

c. *I* and *Dd*

Manuscripts *I* and *Dd* both have a very small number of variant readings proper to each of them. We therefore consider them to stem independently from *Va correctus*<sup>(78)</sup>.

The variant readings and errors proper to *I* are: ἐνωτικώτερον for ἐνωτικωτέραν in I, 10; φύσεως for φύσει in II, 32; the omission of δὲ in IV, 13<sup>(79)</sup>; ἐαυτῶν for ἐαυτῷ in IV, 78; ἐνωτικώτερον for ἐνικώτερον in IV, 82<sup>(80)</sup>; ὡς for εἰς in V, 38.

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(76) What follows is a selection from the numerous readings and errors proper to *Mosq*: the omission of Περὶ - Γρηγορίου in the title; the addition of καὶ before πνευματικῶ in *prol.*, 3; the omission of θεοῦ in *prol.*, 13; προθεμμένων for προσθεμένων in *prol.*, 21/22; the omission of μοι in *prol.*, 36; the omission of πλέον - τούτοις in *prol.*, 42/43; the omission of φεύγων in *prol.*, 45; πορίζεται for πορίζεσθαι in *prol.*, 50; the omission of εἰς τὸ in II, 1; αὐτῆ for αὐτῆς in II, 8/9; ἐπιδέχετο for ἐπεδέχετο and τῆ for τῆς in II, 15; the omission of παθητός in II, 22; the omission of ἐκ - λόγου in III, 1; the transposition of νῦν after σὲ in III, 14; the omission of ἐμὲ in IV, 7; συγκατάβασιν for σύγκρασιν in IV, 9; ἀγαθός and φιλόανθρωπος for ἀγαθὸν and φιλόανθρωπον respectively in IV, 33/34; μετέδωκεν for μεταδεδωκεν in IV, 45; the omission of τοῦ in IV, 56; the omission of φύσει in IV, 91; the addition of οὐ after ἧς in V, 19; ἀφθέγκου for ἀφθέγκτου in V, 38; ἀρρητον for ἀπόρητον in V, 39; the repetition of the words τε - παντός (V, 53/55) between παντός and δείξας in V, 55; the omission of ἦ in V, 58; the addition of τοῦ before ἀνθρώπου in V, 73; αὐτὴν for ἀμφοῖν in V, 114; the omission of εἶπερ τῶν ἀντικειμένων in V, 144/145; ἐμφαντικός for ἐκφαντικός in V, 193; the omission of ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος - πεπολιτευμένους in V, 204/205; ποσότητος ἢ καινότητος for ποσότητος ἢ καινότης in V, 239; the addition of τὸν before βίον in V, 261; finally, the omission of τὲ in V, 297.

(77) What seems to corroborate this hypothesis is the fact that both manuscripts are connected with Mount Athos, *J* belonging to the library of the Russian Monastery of Saint Panteleimon, *Mosq* having been taken from the Monastery Iviron to Moscow by Arsenij Sukhanov in 1654.

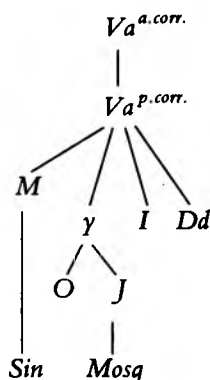
(78) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXVIII and p. CXIX, and ID., *LA*, p. CXXXIII-CXXXIV, who came to the same conclusion.

(79) In common with *Z*.

(80) In common with *Va*<sup>corr.</sup> and *O*.

The variant readings and errors proper to *Dd* are: the addition of γὰρ after φθορὰν in II, 39; the addition of ἄνθρωπος after γενόμενος in III, 23; οὐσιώδους for οὐσιώδεις in IV, 76; the omission of μὲν in V, 105.

The relations that have been established immediately above can be illustrated as follows:



4. The family that unites *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib; Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd* and *Am*: 'c' (see 2 and 3)

There is one passage that possibly suggests a closer relationship between *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib* on the one hand, and the family of *Va* on the other, viz. *Amb. Thom.* V, 274/276 where *N<sup>a.corr.</sup>, Z, Da', Ib* and *Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>* transmit the rather careless exemplar of a scribe who has written: τῷ τοῦ σιδήρου τμητικῷ τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικόν· καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸν καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸς ὁ σίδηρος. None of the descendants of *Va* have these words, which is normal, considering the fact that *M, Sin, O, J, Mosq, I* and *Dd* were all copied after the corrector of *Va* had erased them. The words are also absent from *Ba*: as mentioned before, the scribe of *Ba* on more than one occasion tried to clarify or repair the text. We also know that he had access to more than one exemplar. If we accept the hypothesis formulated immediately above, we can easily accept that the words καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸν were left out by the scribe of *Ba*.

On the basis of the same evidence we suggest that manuscript *Am*, which until recently was believed to be a late copy of the

lost *Taurinensis*, *Bibliothecae Nationalis C.III.3*<sup>(81)</sup>, also belongs to this family: *Am* too has the addition of καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸν between τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικόν and καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸς.

We therefore hypothesize a common ancestor for *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib*; *Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd* and *Am*, which we shall call 'c'<sup>(82)</sup>.

5. The family that unites *A Par Sg G L D S*; *Re Sup*; *Am*; *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib*; *Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*: 'a' (see 1 and 4)

Three errors prove the existence of a large family that unites the following families: *A Par Sg G L D S*; *Re Sup*; *Am*; *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib*; *Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd*. All these manuscripts have a common ancestor which we will call 'a'. In fact this common ancestor is what former editors of Maximus' works have called the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*<sup>(83)</sup>. The three errors in our text that prove its existence are:

- the omission of οὐ - ἐνωτικώτερον (IV, 82/83) in *A Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da Va*<sup>(84)</sup>;
- the omission of ἐνώσει τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς (IV, 102), apparently robbing the sentence of its meaning, in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>*;
- the omission of ἔχων - τρόπων (V, 159/160) in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ba Z Da Da' Ib Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>*.

The argument can be corroborated by the following variant readings:

- the omission of ἐστὶν (V, 3) in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da Da' Ib Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>*<sup>(85)</sup>;

(81) See LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLIII-XLVII; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LVII-LVIII, p. LXVI and p. CXV; ID., *LA*, p. CXLII. However tempting this hypothesis might be, B. Markesinis, in preparing his edition of Maximus' *Opuscula* and of Maximus' letters, recently has come to question it.

(82) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. LXVI and p. CXV, who came to the same conclusion.

(83) See LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. XLII-XLIII; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. L-LX and LXII; *ibid.*, p. CVI-CXIII: ID., *LA*, p. CLV-CLVII.

(84) The same omission is also to be found in *Ven*.

(85) The *copula* has also been omitted in two witnesses of Dionysius' fourth letter, viz. *Parisinus gr. 443* (Pg) and *Parisinus gr. 935* (Pp), both of the thirteenth century (see the critical apparatus in A. M. RITTER [ed.], *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 2 [PTS 36], p. 160).

- the omission of τὴν (V, 87) in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da Da' Ib Va* <sup>(86)</sup>;
- the reading ἡγιασμένω for ἡγιασμένοι (V, 297) in *Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da' Ib Va*; *A* has ἡγιασμένοι but this is clearly the result of a correction, so that we can conclude that the reading ἡγιασμένω was common to all representatives of the *Corpus*.

In addition, we can refer to the following errors that are common to at least some of the *Corpus* manuscripts and that could easily have been corrected in the remaining witnesses:

- the error οὐχὶ οὐ for οὐχ'οὐ (IV, 23) in *Re Sup Am Ba Z* <sup>(87)</sup>;
- the error ἴσος or ἴσοσ for ἴσως (IV, 51) in *Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da Va*;
- the error τὴν for τῆ (V, 162) in *Re<sup>a.corr.</sup> Sup Am Ba* and probably also in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup>*;
- the erroneous addition of οὐ after ὅτι (V, 180) in *Re Sup Am N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>* <sup>(88)</sup>;
- the erroneous omission of μὴ (V, 194) in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; *Z* has οὐ which probably indicates that the scribe of this manuscript too had noticed the omission of the negation in his exemplar;
- the error φώνητέ or φωνῆτέ for φάνητέ (V, 299) in *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Am N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Z Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>*. This last error is in fact a very interesting one, since the mistake of α for ω is typical of early minuscule script. We can therefore conclude that the hyparchetype 'a' was already written in that script <sup>(89)</sup>.

Finally, there is the suspect reading ἄνθρωπος, ὦν for ἄνθρωπος ὦν (V, 291) in *Re Sup N Ba Z Da' Ib* <sup>(90)</sup>.

Looking at all these variant readings and errors for which we hold the scribe of hyparchetype 'a' responsible, the question arises whether we cannot also trace back to the same hyparchetype the erroneous addition of καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸν between τὸ τοῦ

(86) The article has also been omitted in *Ven* (see below).

(87) The reading οὐχὶ for οὐχ' is also found in *A*, *Da* and *Y*.

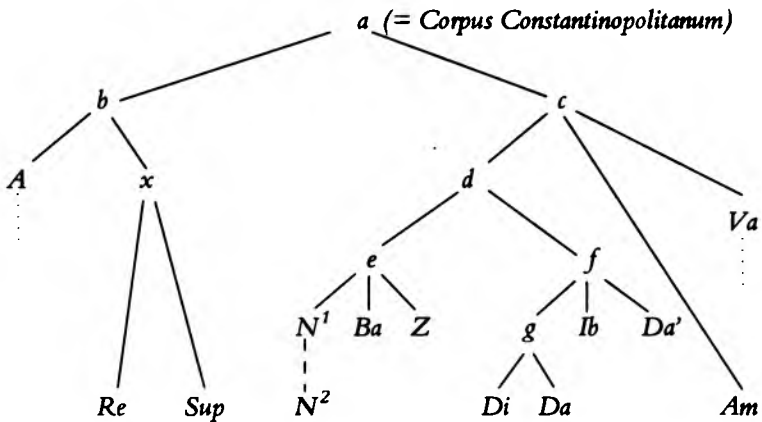
(88) The negation has also been added in *Q*.

(89) See also VAN DEUN, *LA*, p. CLVII, who came to the same conclusion on the basis of a different palaeographic argument, viz. the mistake of ρ for ν.

(90) And also in *Q*.

πυρὸς καυστικόν and καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸς (V, 275) on the basis of which we have hypothesized a common ancestor 'c' for *N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib*; *Va M Sin O J Mosq I Dd* and *Am*<sup>(91)</sup>. This would result in the elimination of 'c' from our *stemma codicum* and a quadripartite instead of bipartite division of the descendants from 'a'.

The relationships that have been established can be illustrated as follows:



We have so far successfully classified twenty-five manuscript witnesses of *Amb. Thom.* The eighteen manuscripts that remain to be classified are: *Ath B Be C Ga Ge H K Ka Ma Mo P Q T Ven X Y* and *Za*.

Of these manuscripts there is one, the very fragmentary witness *Ven*<sup>(92)</sup>, that can possibly be connected with the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*, the existence of which has been proved above: in the fragment from *Amb. Thom.* V, *Ven* has the omission of τὴν (V, 87) in common with *A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am N Ba Z Da Da' Ib Va* (= 'a'), whereas in the fragment from *Amb. Thom.* IV, *Ven* does not have the words ἐνικώτερον – παντελῶς (IV, 82/83), which closely

(91) See *supra*, p. CI-CII, number 4.

(92) *Ven* transmits two fragments from *Amb. Thom.*, viz. IV, 54 (ἀλλότριον) – 90 (αὐτός), and V, 73 (τὴν) – 96 (φύσις).

resembles the omission of οὐ – ἐνωτικώτερον, that we have qualified as an error proper to the manuscripts of the *Corpus* ('a').

It is therefore not impossible that manuscript *Ven* has to be assigned to the large family of the *Corpus*, but given the manuscript's fragmentary testimony it has not been possible to determine to which sub-family it would in that case belong.

None of the remaining witnesses exhibits the totality of the errors that have been enumerated above as being typical of the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum* ('a').

## II. Y and K

Of the remaining witnesses, manuscripts Y and K - the former completed on 6 July 1105, the latter dated to the sixteenth century - behave rather independently. They share a number of errors that are unique in the complete manuscript tradition: the omission (by haplography) of τέχνη - ἡμέτερα in IV, 15/17<sup>(93)</sup>; σαρκικῶς for σαρκικὰ in IV, 69; the omission of τὰ θεῖα in V, 201; πληρώσοντες for πληρώσοντας in V, 306/307.

In addition Y and K share a marginal note that is found nowhere else in the manuscript tradition, viz. *ad Amb. Thom.* V, 112 (see Appendix I).

The relationship of Y and K is further demonstrated by the following variant readings that they have in common: the omission of δὲ in I, 6; the reading τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου τοῦ πρώτου for Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρώτου λόγου in II, 1; δ for 'Ως in IV, 2; the omission of γὰρ in IV, 19; οὐ δ'αὐ for οὐ δ'αὐτοῦ in IV, 82; ἀρειοπαγίτου for ἀρεοπαγίτου in V, 2<sup>(94)</sup>; the transposition of αὐτῆς after ἐνεργείας in V, 106; the addition of ἡ before μήτηρ in V, 149.

Of these two Y is the only manuscript without its own variant readings and errors. We can therefore hypothesize it to be the ancestor of K<sup>(95)</sup>. Furthermore a number of readings in K reveal

(93) In common only with *Mosq.*

(94) In common with *Da* and *Da'* (see Appendix II).

(95) Examples of the very numerous variant readings and errors proper to K are: ἀγίου for ἀγίων in the title; γεγενημένην for γεγενημένον in *prol.*, 26 (in common with *Ba*); ἐμφανιζομένην for ἐμφανιζόμενον in *prol.*, 27; ἀπεστραμμένην for ἀπεστραμμένον in *prol.*, 35 (in common with *Re Sup*); μέσω for μέσος in *prol.*, 43; the transposition of μᾶλλον before αἰροῦμαι in *prol.*, 44 (in common with

that the manuscript is a direct copy of *Y*, probably made by a scribe who cannot have been very experienced. For example, the transposition of μάλλον before αἰροῦμαι (*prol.*, 44) has been corrected in *Y* by means of a superposed β and α, which the scribe of *K* has either not noticed or not understood; the reading πεφρονεῖς for περιφρονεῖς (III, 6) can be explained by the use of an abbreviation for περι- in *Y*; the nonsensical reading πάντητα (III, 7) in *K* can be explained by the specific way the word παχύτητα has been written in *Y*; etc. <sup>(96)</sup>.

Given the fact that *Y* was already present in the Vatican Library in 1510 <sup>(97)</sup>, it is very possible that *K* was copied from *Y* after that date in Rome itself.

#### a *Y*

Manuscript *Y* has two suspect readings in common with the above-mentioned *Corpus Constantinopolitanum* (= 'a'), viz. ἀποριῶν for ἀπόρων in the title of the work, common to the *Corpus* manuscripts and *Y* <sup>(98)</sup>; secondly, the suspect reading ἦν, ἀληθεῖς for ἦν ἀληθῆς in *V*, 130, again common to the *Corpus* manuscripts and *Y* only <sup>(99)</sup>. One obvious error, ἐκουσίων for ἐκουσίως (IV, 60), can be found in all *Corpus* manuscripts except *Ba*, as well as in *Y* and *Q*, while the erroneous εἶπερ for ἦπερ (IV, 111) can be found in all *Corpus* manuscripts, *Y* and *Ga*.

In addition *Y* shares the marginal note ὄρος πολιτείας (*ad V*, 260/261) with the *Corpus* representatives *Am*, *N*, *Va* and *Ib*, and also with *Q* <sup>(100)</sup>.

As has become apparent from the editions of other works of Maximus, *Y* is an important witness but one that is hard to classi-

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*Y*<sup>a.corr.</sup> and *Ba*); ὁ λόγος for ὄλος in II, 7; πεφρονεῖς (*sic*) for περιφρονεῖς in III, 6; πάντητα (*sic*) for παχύτητα in III, 7; the omission of ἐν in IV, 7; μὲν for δὲ<sup>1</sup> in *V*, 105, etc.

(96) Two more arguments can be added to corroborate this hypothesis: in *K* Maximus' *Ep.* 3 (f. 198-199) has the same initial mutilation (*inc.* ἔργων γὰρ [PG 91, 408D5]) as in *Y* (f. 94<sup>v</sup>); secondly, in *K* the prologue to *Amb. Thom.*, although appearing at the very beginning of the manuscript, is numbered μζ as in *Y*, where it appears on f. 116<sup>v</sup> (see *supra*, p. XLIX, n. 158).

(97) See p. LI and n. 169.

(98) *Va*<sup>p.corr.</sup> and its descendants have ἀπόρων.

(99) *A*<sup>c.corr.</sup> and *Va*<sup>c.corr.</sup> and their respective descendants have ἦν ἀληθῆς.

(100) See Appendix I.



fy<sup>(101)</sup>. As has already been said in the description of the manuscript<sup>(102)</sup>, the scribe of *Y* must have had access to more than one exemplar. Thus, for instance, he has copied Maximus' *Ep.* 8 twice, in two different versions. In Maximus' *Myst.*, currently being edited by C. Boudignon, the synthetic character of *Y* is proved by two textual features, viz. a γρ(ἀφεται) in the prologue<sup>(103)</sup>, and a double title for chapter 4, each of them representing a different tradition. We should therefore take into account the possibility that *Y* contains a contaminated text.

It could then be hypothesized that, as far as *Amb. Thom.* are concerned anyway, *Y* is a heavily corrected version of the text as found in the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*, leaving uncorrected only the small number of rather unimportant suspect and erroneous readings in the title, in IV, 60; IV, 111 and V, 130<sup>(104)</sup>.

The relationship between *Y* and the *Corpus* that can be assumed on this textual basis, seems to be confirmed by two more elements: first of all we find *Amb. Thom.* immediately followed by *Amb. Io.* in both collections<sup>(105)</sup> (although the contexts in which both works are to be found, are completely different in *Y* and the *Corpus*). Secondly there is, on *Y*'s f. 84 (*ad Th. Oec.* II, 21), an anti-*Nilus* scholium (ὄρα ἄφρον νεῦλε· ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς [Col. 2, 9]) similar to the ones

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(101) For *QTh.*, for instance, manuscript *Y* has been shown to be related to the *Corpus* by means of an hypothetical ancestor φ, common to ψ (= the *Corpus*) and *Y*'s exemplar for *QTh.*, viz. *Mosquensis, Bibliothecae Synodalis 151 (Vlad. 200)*; see LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. LIX-LX and the *stemma codicum* on p. CX-CXI.

(102) See above, p. LI.

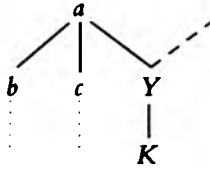
(103) As will become clear from Dr Boudignon's critical apparatus, the indication γρ(ἀφεται) does in this case indeed refer to a different text tradition.

(104) See above. - As it is, of course, very hard if not impossible to obtain an absolutely clear picture of the position of a contaminated witness in a *stemma*, we cannot exclude the possibility that *Y* is related to the *Corpus* in the way that has been suggested by Laga-Steel for *QTh.* (see above, n. 101), viz. by way of a common ancestor, that would in that case be responsible for the errors that are common to *A, Re Sup, Am, N Ba Z Da Da' Di Ib* and *Va*, but remain absent from *Y*. Since this possibility remains open, in the critical apparatus *Y* has not been classified within the large family 'a'.

(105) On this question, see also the article I am preparing *Does the Combination of Maximus' Ambigua ad Thomam and Ambigua ad Iohannem go back to the Confessor himself?*, to appear in *Sacris Erudiri*.

that have been discussed in connection with *Romanus, Angelicus gr. 120 (A)*, itself a representative of the *Corpus* <sup>(106)</sup>.

With due reservations the relationships that have been established above, can be illustrated as follows:



### III. *P* and *T*

Manuscripts *P* and *T* – the former completed in January 1055 or shortly thereafter <sup>(107)</sup>, the latter a seventeenth-century ‘πέλαγος σφαλάτων’ <sup>(108)</sup> – share the following errors that, although not very numerous, provide sufficient proof of the relationship between both manuscripts:

- τούτοις for τούτων in I, 18;
- the addition of ἦ (*sic*) before πῶς in I, 32;
- the omission (by haplography) of ἐκεῖνος - ὅσον in IV, 101/102;
- ἑαυτῆς for ἑαυτῆ in V, 239;
- τὴν for τῆ<sup>2</sup> in V, 276.

The hypothesis is corroborated by the following variant readings that the two have in common: οὕτω for οὗ τῶ in *prol.*, 16; ἐπιδέχεται for ἐπεδέχετο in II, 15; ὑπάρχη for ὑπάρχει (V, 34) in *P<sup>P.corr.</sup>* and *T*; ὁμολογήσομεν for ὁμολογήσωμεν (V, 112) in *P<sup>P.corr.</sup>* and *T*.

Of these manuscripts *P* is the only one that does not have variant readings and errors peculiar to it <sup>(109)</sup>. We therefore consider

(106) See above, p. LIH (description of *Y*) and p. XLVII (description of *A*). In the right-hand margin of *A*'s f. 273 (also *ad Th. Oec.* II, 21) there is a similar scholium, albeit without the explicit mentioning of Nilus (ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα).

(107) See above, p. XLIV.

(108) As it has been characterized by VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CXXXI; see also the description of the manuscript, above, p. XLII-XLIII.

(109) Some examples of the numerous variant readings and errors proper to *T* are: περὶ for πατρὶ in *prol.*, 3; συμπλαρούμενος for συμπληρούμενος in *prol.*, 10;

it to be the ancestor of *T*<sup>(110)</sup>. In all probability *T* has even been copied directly from *P* by a scribe who was not very familiar with Greek manuscripts, to say the least: not only has he copied even his exemplar's colophon, which in the manuscript immediately precedes our text, he has also introduced a number of errors that can be explained by the characteristics of the script of *P*. For example, the reading *συμμετρήψας* in *T* (for *συμμετρήσας*; *prol.*, 16) can be explained by the specific form of the second *-σ-* in *P*; the reading *ταράττινος* for *παρά τινος* (IV, 53) in *T* can be explained by the fact that the letter *π* is not very clear in *P*; the reading *μετ'* for *μαθών* (*ibid.*) in *T* can be explained by the use of an abbreviation for the ending *-ών* (actually *-ῶν*) in *P*; the reading *ἐκφαντικόν* for *ἐκφαντικός* (V, 193) in *T* can be explained by the fact that *P*<sup>*a.corr.*</sup> too had *ἐκφαντικόν*, which was later corrected by a *-σ supra lineam*; etc.

The linear relationship can be illustrated as follows:



#### IV. *Mo*, *Ma* and *Ka*

##### 1. *Mo* and *Ma*

Manuscripts *Mo* and *Ma* transmit *Amb. Thom.* I and V, albeit in reversed order and separated by a fragment from *Amb. Io.*<sup>(111)</sup>. Both *Monacenses* share the following errors which prove their relationship: *ταυτότης* for *ὀντότης* (I, 25); *αὐτὰ* for *αὐτήν* (I, 34);

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*μίψει* for *μίξει* in *prol.*, 15; *συμμετρήψας* for *συμμετρήσας* in *prol.*, 16; *αἰσχρότοτον* (*sic*) for *ἐσχηκότων* in *prol.*, 25; *ταράττινος* (*sic*) for *παρά τινος* and *μετ'* for *μαθών* in IV, 53; *ἐχούσιως* (*sic*) for *ἐκουσίως* in IV, 60; *ὥσπερ* for *ἥπερ* in IV, 111; *ἀφοριζόμενος* for *ἀφορίζομεν* in V, 28; *μὲν* for *μὴ* in V, 33; *τοῦ θεοῦ* for *τουθ'* in V, 96; *ἀφαντασιαστῶς* (*sic*) in V, 97; *ἐκφαντικόν* for *ἐκφαντικός* and *ὑπῆρχες* for *ὑπῆρχε* in V, 193 (*P*<sup>*a.corr.*</sup> too had *ἐκφαντικόν*); *εὐγιασμένοι* for *ἡγιασμένοι* in V, 297.

(110) See also VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. XLVIII-XLIX and p. CXXX-CXXXI, who came to the same conclusion.

(111) See the description of these manuscripts, above, p. LXII-LXIII. This special feature already offers us a clue as to a possible relationship between *Mo* and *Ma*.

ἐξῆπται for ἐξῆκται (V, 60)<sup>(112)</sup>; δηλοῦσθαι for δηλούσης (V, 63); τρόπον for λόγον (V, 161); finally, ἑαυτοῦς for ἑαυτοῖς<sup>(113)</sup> (V, 292) (in common with B).

The argument is corroborated by the numerous variant readings that *Mo* and *Ma* have in common, most of which are unique in the manuscript tradition: the omission of Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου – λόγου (I, 1); the omission of εἰς<sup>2</sup> – ἔστη (I, 2/3); εἰς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου εἰρηνικοῦ for τοῦ αὐτοῦ – εἰς τὸ (I, 3/4); the transposition of τὴν before τῆς (I, 12); the addition of ἐστὶν after γάρ (I, 23); the omission of ἐπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν (V, 2); the transposition of ἀληθῶς after ὦν (V, 13/14); the transposition of φυσικὴν after ἐνέργειαν (V, 16); the transposition of παντάπασι τῶν ἡμετέρων after σαρκωθέντα (V, 22/23); the reading πλεῖον for πλέον (V, 56); the transposition of αὐτὸν after κύουσα (V, 69/70); ἐπορεύετο for ἐπεπόρευτο (V, 79)<sup>(114)</sup>; the transposition of αὐτὸν after ἄνθρωπον (V, 87); ἀφαιρούμενοι for ἀφαιρούμεθα (V, 111); the addition of τοῦ before Ἰησοῦ (V, 119); the omission of τίς and the transposition of αὐτοῦ after παντελῶς (V, 126/127); the addition of ἦν before ἐνεργῶν (V, 131); the addition of τῆς before φύσεως (V, 145); ἐπινοηθεῖν for ἐπινοηθήσεται (V, 146); the transposition of ἡ Παρθένος after ὑπερφυῶς (V, 146/147); δι-εξέλθοι for διέλθοι (V, 168); the omission of λόγους (V, 186); τραπόμενος for τρεπόμενος (V, 229); the omission of ἦ (V, 249) (in common with B); the transposition of Πνεύματι after γεννῶν (V, 305/306); finally, the omission of σὺν – Πνεύματι (V, 307/308).

As *Ma* is the only witness to have its own variant readings and errors, we can safely consider it to have been copied from *Mo*<sup>(115)</sup>. For Maximus' *QD*, J. Declerck has come to the same

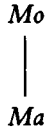
(112) This reading was also found in one manuscript witness of Pseudo-Dionysius' third letter, viz. the tenth-century *Londinensis, Bibliothecae Britannicae, Add. 18231 (Lc)*, but in that manuscript it was later corrected (see the critical apparatus in A. M. RITTER [ed.], *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 2 [PTS 36], p. 159).

(113) *Mo*<sup>a corr.</sup> had ἑαυτοῖς.

(114) In the complete manuscript tradition of Pseudo-Dionysius' *De divinis nominibus* this reading is found in only one witness, viz. *Vaticanus gr. 373 (Ve)* of the eleventh-twelfth century; see the critical apparatus in SUCHLA (ed.), *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 1, *De divinis nominibus* (PTS 33), p. 133, ad *Div. Nom.* II, 9, 10.

(115) Variant readings and errors proper to *Ma* are: ἔτι for ἐστὶ in I, 9 and V, 223; the omission of ἡ μονὰς – φυσικῶς in I, 23/25; γενομένη for γινομένη in I, 37; τρανότητα for τρανότατα in V, 22; ἀληθῶς for ἀληθῶς in V, 31; οὐσιώμενος

conclusion<sup>(116)</sup>. The linear relationship that has been established between these two manuscripts, can be illustrated as follows:



2. *Ka*

This is probably the appropriate place to discuss another short text which has been, as far as we know, transmitted in only three witnesses: in *Mo*, *Ma* and *Ka* we find a unique fusion of Maximus' QD 50, 1-2 and *Amb. Thom.* II, 6-9<sup>(117)</sup>. The text is completely identical in *Mo* and *Ma*, while these two differ from *Ka* in two respects: in the 'title' of the fragment (= QD 50, 1-2), *Mo* and *Ma* have ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ συμβόλῳ against ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ in *Ka* (and in QD). In addition, *Mo* and *Ma* have the reading αὐτὸς for αὐτῆς (II, 8/9). Since αὐτὸς is not found in a single witness of *Amb. Thom.* except *Mo* and its copy *Ma*, it must be seen as an innovation by the scribe of *Mo*. Therefore - as far as this particular fragment is concerned anyway - *Ka* may be considered to be the ancestor of *Mo*<sup>(118)</sup>.

Regardless of this, it is not impossible that in writing αὐτὸς, *Mo* has come closer to what Maximus himself could have written<sup>(119)</sup>. If indeed αὐτὸς should be accepted as the correct reading,

for οὐσιωμένος in V, 43; ὄλην for ὄλην in V, 47; μεταβλητικῶς for μεταβατικῶς in V, 78/79; οὐσιώδη for οὐσιώθη in V, 139; τὸν for τὴν in V, 155; ἦν for ἔν' in V, 194; καὶ for τοῦ in V, 305.

(116) See QD, p. CLXVII.

(117) See Appendix II, *ad Amb. Thom.* II, 1-5 and 9.

(118) See also DECLERCK, QD, p. CLXVII, who did not judge this relationship between *Ka* and *Mo* to be impossible. Of course these few lines are a very small basis for a comparison and therefore the readings of both witnesses are given in Appendix II, *ad Amb. Thom.* II.

(119) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* IV, 75 (τάς τε φύσεις ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν); IV, 77/78 (κατ'ἄμφω τάς φύσεις ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν); V, 128/129 (τάς τε τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεις ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν); *Ep. sec.* II, 82/83 (μετὰ τῶν φύσεων ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν); *Opusc.* 1, PG 91, 32C6-7 (φύσεις δύο, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις); *ibid.*, 36B5 (Ἰὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς φύσεων ὑπόστασις ἦν); *ibid.*, 36B7 (ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν); etc.

then it is clear that the complete manuscript tradition of *Amb. Thom.* is here corrupt.

At this point in our investigation, which has so far allowed a very large number of variant readings to be excluded as being more or less recent innovations of a secondary nature, it has become necessary to investigate closely two variant readings (V, 163/167) in which a deliberate alteration of the original text can be proved. The passage reads:

Ἀμέλει ἐξουσία (ἐξουσίας Q Mo Za Ga P)<sup>(120)</sup>, γνώμης (omitted by Mo Za Ga P) ἔργα πεποιηκῶς τὰ πάθη τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀνάγκης ἀποτελέσματα φυσικῆς, ἔμπαλιν ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσει παθητὸν διεξῆλθεν, | ἐξουσία, γνώμη (again omitted by Mo Za Ga P) κινητὸν δείξας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πεφυκὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν | εἶναι γνώμης κινητικόν.

That the word γνώμη (V, 166) must have been present in the original text is easily confirmed by the fact that Maximus, as a rhetorical feature, opposes γνώμη κινητὸν (V, 166) to γνώμης κινητικόν (V, 167). The reason why the first γνώμης (V, 163) and the above-mentioned γνώμη (V, 166) have been omitted by a number of manuscripts (viz. Mo, Za, Ga and P) is easily understood: Maximus himself at one time<sup>(121)</sup> said that it is, properly speaking, impossible to use the word γνώμη when talking about Christ since this term indicates the result of an internal deliberation of someone who does not know everything. Christ, being God, could not possibly have ever deliberated and therefore never had a γνώμη. Thus one can talk of γνώμη only in relation to humans, who are not perfect and therefore do not know everything<sup>(122)</sup>. It thus becomes very clear why the second γνώμης of the fragment (V, 167) has not been altered in the complete manuscript tradition of *Amb. Thom.* - it is said of us, humans - while the first two occurrences, obviously relating to the γνώμη of

(120) It goes without saying that here, as in the following lines, manuscripts Mo and P are always followed by their descendants, viz. Ma and T respectively (see above, p. cviii-cix [P T] and cix-cxi [Mo Ma]).

(121) See DP, PG 91, 308C14-312C9.

(122) Maximus' argument was repeated by John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei*, 58, 155-185 (see B. KOTTER [ed.], *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2 [PTS 12], Berlin - New York, 1973, p. 143-144).

Christ, have been removed. What has made this omission even easier is the fact that by simply adding a -ς to the first ἐξουσία, one obtains a sentence with an altered meaning, but not without a meaning.

In conclusion, it can be said that two points have been established:

1. it is highly probable that *Mo*, *Za*, *Ga* and *P* stem from a common ancestor, the scribe of which has then to be held responsible for the deliberate alteration of the text. Let us call this common ancestor 'm' <sup>(123)</sup>;
2. as far as the relative dating of the above-mentioned texts is concerned, we have to conclude that *Amb. Thom.* were written before *DP*. However, this comes as no surprise, since J. Noret has already shown that the latter could very well be the result of a rather late redaction <sup>(124)</sup>.

#### V. *H Ga P; Mo Za*

Now that on the basis of a single albeit convincing argument a common ancestor 'm' for *Mo*, *Za*, *Ga* and *P* has been hypothesized, an attempt must be made to shed some light on the relationships between the different representatives of this family.

##### 1. The sub-family *H Ga P*

#### *Ga* and *P*

There is one obvious error that can be quoted in order to prove the relationship between manuscripts *Ga* and *P*, viz. ἐνεργεῖ for ἐνήργει in V, 136.

The argument is further corroborated by the following variant readings that the two manuscripts have in common: the omission of τοῦ<sup>2</sup> in I, 37 <sup>(125)</sup>; the addition of δ before Λόγος in IV, 19; and πιστώσῃται for πιστώσεται in V, 137.

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(123) Although it does not seem very probable, we can, of course, never completely rule out the possibility that exactly the same alteration was made on two different occasions in the tradition.

(124) See J. NORET, *La rédaction de la Disputatio cum Pyrrho (CPG 7698) de saint Maxime le Confesseur serait-elle postérieure à 655?*, in: *AB* 117 (1999), p. 291-296.

(125) In common with *Be* and *X*.

Manuscripts *Ga* and *P* also have their own variant readings and errors<sup>(126)</sup>. They must therefore be considered to stem independently from a common ancestor which we shall call 'h'<sup>(127)</sup>.

#### *H* and *Ga*

Manuscript *H* only has a small portion of the text, viz. up to I, 30 (οὕτως). Leaving aside the relatively large number of cases where *H* is isolated in the manuscript tradition, the manuscript shares one error with *P* (viz. the reading τοῦ for τοὔτο in I, 2), as well as two errors and a suspect reading with *Ga*: ὄντως for ὄντος in *prol.*, 52 (error); κατακρίνωμεν for κατακριθῶμεν in I, 19 (error)<sup>(128)</sup>; finally, the omission of τοῦ in *prol.*, 31 (suspect reading). We therefore – with due reservations – take *H* to be part of the same family as *Ga* and *P*.

Taking into account the variant readings and errors proper to *H*<sup>(129)</sup>, it might be considered that the manuscript independently stems from the ancestor 'h' that it shares with *Ga* and *P*. How-

(126) The variant readings and errors proper to *Ga*, apart from the numerous errors connected with itacism, are: the omission of ὡς in *prol.*, 12; ἐγκαταλείψμενοις for κεκαλεισμένοις in *prol.*, 41; the omission of ἐξ ἀγνοίας τῆς φύσεως in II, 24; the addition of εἰς τὸ in III, 1; the omission of τῆς φύσεως in IV, 27; the omission by haplography of συγχωρούμεθα – καθ' ἡμᾶς in IV, 102; the addition of δὲ after μὴ in V, 28; ἄρρητον for ἀπόρρητον in V, 39; the omission of the second ἐν in V, 44; the omission of οὐσίαν in V, 78; the omission by haplography of γνώσκοντες – ἐστὶν in V, 116/117; ἀνέτιος (*sic*) for ἀνετος in V, 179; the addition of τῆς after ἀντιδόσει in V, 277/278. – The variant readings and errors proper to *P*, that are not very numerous, have already been enumerated above, p. CVIII, to prove the relationship between *P* and *T*.

(127) The very fragmentary witness *Be*, that only has *Amb. Thom.* I, 32-38, is in these six lines identical to *Ga* and to *Ga* only, sharing with that manuscript the addition of ἡ before ὑπεράπειρος in I, 32, and the already mentioned omission of τοῦ<sup>2</sup> in I, 37. This might indicate a certain relationship between *Ga* and *Be*, but of course it is not possible to come to any real conclusion on the basis of such a fragmentary testimony.

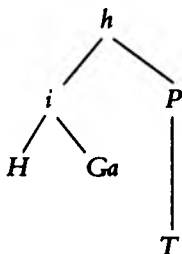
(128) There is not a trace of the reading κατακρίνωμεν in the tradition of Gregory's *Or.* 38 (as far as can be judged from the critical apparatus in *SChr.* 358, p. 118 [*ad l.* 17]) or anywhere else in the tradition of *Amb. Thom.*

(129) The variant readings and errors of any relevance proper to *H* are: καταστήσας for κατέστησας in *prol.*, 14; πεπείσμεθα for πεπεῖσθαι in *prol.*, 28; ἐαυτοῖς for αὐτοῖς in *prol.*, 29; κελευσμένοις for κεκαλεισμένοις in *prol.*, 41; τούτοις for τούτων in *prol.*, 43 (in common with *Ge*); the omission of ὡς in *prol.*, 44; the addition of τοῦ before ὄντος in *prol.*, 52; the omission of δὲ in I, 5; δόμοτιος for δόμοτιμος in I, 15; finally, τριας (*sic*) for μονὰς in I, 30.



ever, *H* can in all probability be considered to be closer to *Ga* than to *P* since the only error that *H* shares with *P* (τοῦ for τοῦτο in I, 2) is so obvious that it could have well been corrected by *Ga*<sup>(130)</sup>. We therefore, with due reservations, hypothesize a common ancestor for *H* and *Ga*, which we shall call 'i'.

The relationships that have been established so far, can be illustrated as follows:



## 2. A sub-family *Mo Za*?

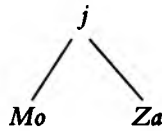
There is a small number of arguments in favour of hypothesizing a closer connection between manuscripts *Mo* and *Za*<sup>(131)</sup>: *Za* shares with *Mo* and *Re* the reading αὐτῆς for αὐτῆν in *Amb. Thom.* V, 56, and with *Mo* and *Z* the variant reading γένοισθέ for γένεσθέ in V, 301. Finally, *Mo* and *Za* have μόνω for μόνον (in V, 10) in common with a *Y*.

However, both *Mo* and *Za* are mainly characterized by a good number of their own errors and variant readings<sup>(132)</sup>. For lack of firm proof of a closer relationship between both manuscripts, *Mo* and *Za* should be considered to represent two independent traditions inside a larger family which we shall call 'j'.

(130) This hypothesis seems to be corroborated also by *Amb. Thom.* I, 10, where *H* shares with *Ga* and a number of other witnesses, but not *P*, the erroneous reading ἐνικωτέρων for ἐνωτικωτέρων.

(131) The latter, of the tenth century, has only *Amb. Thom.* V.

(132) Examples of the errors and variant readings proper to *Za* are: μόνης for μόνη in V, 14; οὖν for γοῦν in V, 22; the transposition of δηλονότι after σαρκός in V, 48; the addition of καί after ἵνα in V, 58; ἀφθεγξίαν for ἀφασίαν and δηλοῦσαν for δηλούσης in V, 63; the omission of εἰπεῖν in V, 64; ἰδιοποιουμένην for εἰδοποιουμένην in V, 88/89; etc. — On *Mo* see below.



### 3. A special case: *Mo*

As has been said in the description of this thirteenth-century witness<sup>(133)</sup>, B. Markesinis has succeeded in identifying the scribe of the Maximus section of *Mo* as George of Cyprus, also known as Gregory II, patriarch of Constantinople<sup>(134)</sup>. We know from George's own correspondence that he was in the habit of constantly trying to correct his manuscripts<sup>(135)</sup>. This characteristic of his work is once again confirmed by the large number of readings peculiar to *Mo* in that part of the manuscript that is of interest to us here<sup>(136)</sup>. As can be seen from the list, George's major concern is to create a text that is both clear and correct<sup>(137)</sup>.

In dealing creatively, so to speak, with Maximus' words, George has in three cases come to share a reading with the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum* and *Y*: the omission of γάρ in V, 41<sup>(138)</sup>; ἀφαντάστως for ἀφαντασιάστως in V, 97<sup>(139)</sup>; and the transposition of μεσῖται before τῆς in V, 302. Since all three cases can be regarded as being rather small, perhaps even obvious, alterations without any influence on the meaning of the text, they cannot be considered to indicate any actual relationship between *Mo* and the *Corpus*.

Of course, the possibility of a relationship between *Mo* and the *Corpus* can never be completely ruled out, but it would be much

(133) See above, p. LXII-LXIII.

(134) See B. MARKESINIS, *Le Monacensis gr. 225, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>, et Georges de Chypre, alias Grégoire II de Constantinople*, in: *BBGG. N.S.*, 54 (2000), p. 259-273, especially p. 264-272.

(135) See MARKESINIS, *art.cit.*, p. 272 and n. 65; on George's independent attitude with regard to his manuscripts, see also *ibid.*, p. 264.

(136) The errors and variant readings proper to *Mo* (and its copy *Ma*) have been enumerated above, p. CIX-CX.

(137) See e.g. the transpositions in I, 12; V, 13/14; V, 16; V, 22/23; V, 69/70; etc.; the addition of ἐστὶν after γάρ (I, 23); the reading ἐπορεύετο for ἐπετόρευτο (V, 79); etc.

(138) Also in common with Q.

(139) Also in common with Q and C.

more difficult to explain how the numerous characteristic errors of the *Corpus* could have disappeared from *Mo* without leaving a trace than to accept that *Mo* and the *Corpus* have a small number of rather unimportant variant readings in common by coincidence.

VI. Q and Ge

These are two interesting manuscripts: Q is a rather good witness of the eleventh century, while Ge is a fourteenth-century manuscript, whose scribe compiled a personal corpus of Maximus' works, but, at the same time, introduced a large number of errors<sup>(140)</sup>.

Q and Ge share the following variant and suspect readings, hinting at a relationship between them:

- the suspect transposition of χύσιν before τοῖς ἀγίοις (*prol.*, 22/23)<sup>(141)</sup>;
- the suspect transposition of ἐδίψησε and ἠγωνίασε in IV, 62<sup>(142)</sup>;
- the reading ἀποκαθάρας for ἀποκαθήρας in IV, 93<sup>(143)</sup>;
- finally, in I, 38, Q has τοῖς αὐτοῖς δεκτικοῖς, while Ge has τῆς αὐτῆς δεκτικῆς for τοῖς αὐτῆς δεκτικοῖς. Might we assume that the manuscripts' common ancestor here had the erroneous τῆς αὐτῆς δεκτικῆς, which was left unaltered by Ge but on the other hand 'hyper-corrected' by Q?

The small number of suspect readings common to Q and Ge that have been enumerated immediately above, together with the large number of errors and variant readings proper to each of the manuscripts<sup>(144)</sup> apparently indicate that Q and Ge share a common, albeit rather distant, ancestor which we will call 'I'.

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(140) See the description of both manuscripts on p. xxxix-xi (Q) and p. lxi (Ge). As has been said in the description, Ge does not transmit *Amb. Thom.* V.

(141) Indeed, the transposition prevents a correct understanding of the sentence.

(142) Not only does this transposition alter the word order as it is found in Gregory's *Or.* 38, it also separates the verbs ἐπέινησε and ἐδίψησε that logically belong together (see also *Amb. Thom.* V, 91).

(143) In common with P.

(144) The errors and variant readings of Q are: the omission by haplography of διά - ὑπερβαθείσης (I, 4/5); πάθος for πάχος in III, 21; the omission by haplography of Τῶν - παράβασις in IV, 22/23; ἐνωτισθεῖς for ἐρωτηθεῖς in IV, 54;

Even at first sight, manuscript Q bears a remarkable resemblance to the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum* (= 'a'): the contents of the first part of Q<sup>(145)</sup> are – with the exception of *QTh.*, *Opusc.* 13 and *Amb.Io.*, which are absent from Q – identical to the first part of the contents of manuscripts *A*, *Taur*, *N* and *Va*<sup>(146)</sup>. Furthermore, the sequences of *Ep.* 6-7, 11, *EOD*, *Ep.* 4, 8-9, 1, and of *Ep.* 12-13, 15, *Amb.Thom.* are exactly the same in Q as in *A*, *Taur* and *N*, and roughly the same as in *Va*<sup>(147)</sup>. Finally, the last four works in Q, viz. *LA*, *Car*, *Th.Oec.* and *Cap.XV*, are also found in the same sequence in *A* and *Taur*, and partly – without

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ταύτην for ταύτης in IV, 59; δημιουργοῦντα for δημιουργοῦσαν in IV, 71; ἀπαλλαγῆ for ἐπαλλαγῆ in IV, 74 (in common with *Ba* and *Z*); ἀληθῶς for ἀληθῶν in IV, 85; the conjecture σωζόμενας for σωζόμενος in IV, 87/88; the omission of τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν in IV, 104. Also in *Amb.Thom.* V, for which we cannot take into account the testimony of *Ge* (see *supra*), Q has a number of proper variant readings and errors, most of which are unique in the tradition: ὑπὲρ οὐσίου for ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν in V, 67; ὁμολογήσομεν τὴν οὐσίαν for τὴν οὐσίαν ὁμολογήσωμεν in V, 112; ἦν for ὦν in V, 183; the omission of ἐσχηκῶς in V, 208/209; the omission of τρόπος in V, 217 and that of δεικνὺς in V, 228; συνάξει for συνεισάζει in V, 239/240 (in common with *Re* and *Sup*); the omission by haplography of μῆ-τε – ἐνωσιν in V, 283. – A large number of variant readings proper to *Ge* are found in the introductory lines of *ambigua* I to IV. The same goes for the prologue, that has clearly been modified in this witness so as to erase every reference to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Other examples of the numerous variant readings and errors proper to *Ge* are: the addition of χαίρειν after μαθητῆς in *prol.*, 5; πληρούμενος for συμπληρούμενος in *prol.*, 10; the omission of ζῶντα in *prol.*, 24; the omission of λόγων καὶ in *prol.*, 27; the transposition of πνεῦμα after λαβῶν in *prol.*, 30; τούτοις for τούτοις in *prol.*, 44 (in common with *H*); οἱ ὄντες for οἶόν τε in *prol.*, 49; μηνάς for μονάς in I, 2; the omission of δοκοῦσαν εἶναι in I, 8; ἀφιλότιμος for ἀφιλότιμον and ἐν for ἐνὶ in I, 13; the omission of τοῦτο in I, 20; the addition of ἡ before συμπληρουμένη in I, 27; the omission of καὶ σαρκωθέντι in II, 4/5; εἶτα for εἶπερ in II, 33/34; ὑστέρησις for ἡ στέρησις in II, 39; μορφήν for μορφή in IV, 5, 25 and 31; the addition of τὰ before τῆς in IV, 18; ὡσπερ for ὅπερ in IV, 29; ὄλην for ὄλον in IV, 36; διότι for δι'ὅ τῃ in IV, 39; τὸ αὐτότητι for ταυτότητι in IV, 47; γεγονῶς for γένος in IV, 73; αὐτοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ in IV, 80; ἐνικώτερον for ἐνωτικώτερον in IV, 83; the transposition of καὶ<sup>1</sup> before Διατοῦτο in IV 83/84; παθητῶς for καὶ παθητὸς in IV, 88; finally, the omission of φύσει in IV, 101.

(145) I.e. up to *DP*; see the description of the manuscript on p. xxxix.

(146) For the sequence in the *Corpus* manuscripts, see the comparative list in VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. lII-lIII.

(147) In *Va*, *Amb.Thom.* follow *QTh.* at the beginning of the manuscript.

*Cap. XV* – in *Va* <sup>(148)</sup>. This parallelism in both contents and sequence indicates that *Q*'s (first) exemplar must have been in one way or another related to the *Corpus*.

Both *Q* and *Ge* also share a small number of variant readings with the *Corpus* and *Y*, viz. the omission of *τοῦ* in *prol.*, 29; the reading *ληφθεις* for *διαληφθεις* in *prol.*, 44; the omission of *τῶ*<sup>2</sup> in *II*, 4; *θεῖα* for *θεϊκὰ* in *IV*, 72. *Q* also shares the marginal note *ὄρος πολιτείας* (*ad V*, 260/261) with the *Corpus* representatives *Am*, *N*, *Va* and *Ib*, and also with *Y* <sup>(149)</sup>.

In addition, in the following places *Q* shares a reading with *a Y* and one or two other manuscripts: the omission of *γὰρ* in *V*, 41, common to *Q*, *a Y*, and *Mo*; and *ἀφαντάστως* for *ἀφαντασιάστως* in *V*, 97, common to *Q*, *a Y*, *Mo* and *C*.

This might indicate that *Q* and *Ge*, like *Y*, represent a corrected version of the text as found in the so-called *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*. However, it is more probable that *Q* and *Ge* stem from an ancestor that they have in common with the *Corpus*. This is the best way to account for the complete absence of the large number of *Corpus* errors from *Q*, while at the same time it explains the fact that this manuscript has three sequences of texts which are also found in this *Corpus*. We will call this common ancestor 'k'.

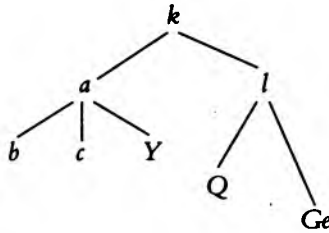
A number of cases clearly show that *Q*'s scribe had more than one exemplar at his disposal, or at least that he did not hesitate to alter his text. This is most prominently the case in *IV*, 87/88, where *Q* has *σωζομένας* for *σωζόμενος*. This reading is unique in the tradition and is probably a conjecture by the scribe of *Q*. In addition there is the above-mentioned case of *V*, 163, where *Q* has *ἐξουσίας* for *ἐξουσία* in common with *Mo*, *Ma*, *Za*, *Ga*, *P* and *T*, but also has the words *γνώμης* (*V*, 163) and *γνώμη* (*V*, 166) that are absent from these witnesses. It is not impossible that here too the scribe of *Q* has written *ἐξουσίας* for *ἐξουσία* by mere conjecture.

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(148) The same sequence is also found in manuscripts *Scorialensis Y.III.3* (s. x-x1) and *Parisinus, Coislinianus 267* (s. x11), both of South Italian origin. It therefore seems to predate the actual *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*.

(149) See Appendix I.

These complex relationships can be illustrated as follows:



## VII. *Ath*, *B*, *C* and *X*

There remain only four partial witnesses which present difficulties, since the fragment that they transmit does not contain any conclusive evidence which would permit them to be assigned to any of the families or groups of manuscripts that have been established above. We shall therefore present these four witnesses alphabetically by their siglum.

### 1. *Ath*

As mentioned before <sup>(150)</sup>, manuscript *Ath* – a carefully written eighteenth-century paper codex – has only *Amb. Thom.* I, copied, as indicated by the scribe himself, from a Sinai manuscript written on parchment. The existence of such a manuscript is unknown to us.

It has not been possible to connect *Ath*'s text with any other witness in the entire manuscript tradition. In fact *Ath* has a very good text <sup>(151)</sup> without any errors or variant readings proper to it except for the unique introduction of the fragment <sup>(152)</sup> and one marginal sub-title <sup>(153)</sup>.

### 2. *B*

The partial witness *B* of the eleventh century has introduced its fragment from *Amb. Thom.* V in a way which is unique in the tra-

(150) See *supra*, p. LVIII.

(151) The text of *Amb. Thom.* I, being very short, is in itself very stable as can be seen from the critical apparatus: in this section of the text errors and variant readings are almost exclusively peculiar to individual manuscripts.

(152) See Appendix II, *ad Amb. Thom.* I, 1.

(153) See Appendix I, *ad Amb. Thom.* I, 8.

dition<sup>(154)</sup>. In the rest of the fragment too *B* has a large number of variant readings and errors that are not found anywhere else in the entire manuscript tradition.

However, *B* shares an error and a variant reading with *Mo*, viz. the omission of  $\eta$  in V, 249 (variant reading), and  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (V, 292) in *B* and *Mo*<sup>*p.corr.*</sup> (error). It also shares three variant readings with *Za*, viz.  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  for  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$  in V, 251;  $\delta$  for  $\phi$  in V, 252; finally, the omission of  $\tau\tilde{\omega}^1$  in V, 307.

The evidence being so small, nothing more can be said other than that *B*, itself an early witness, reflects an ancient tradition of the text, as is the case for the text in *Mo* and *Za*. This is not enough to hypothesize a connection between *B* and *Mo* *Za* since the error and variant readings could just as easily have occurred twice independently.

### 3. C

Manuscript *C* (*s. XII*), in which *Amb. Thom. V* serves as a marginal commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Ep. 4 ad Gaïum*, has a good text with very few variant readings or errors. In fact *C* has only one obvious error, viz.  $\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\iota$  for  $\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\upsilon$  in V, 274, which it shares – by coincidence, it would seem – with *Sup*. In addition we find  $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  for  $\tilde{\eta}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$  (V, 130) in *C*<sup>*p.corr.*</sup>, which is unique in the tradition, but as can be seen from the critical apparatus, these few words have been the subject of corrections in more than one manuscript<sup>(155)</sup>.

Nothing can be deduced from these very few examples with regard to the place of *C* in our *stemma codicum*. However, it is clear that *C* agrees with *Va*<sup>*p.corr.*</sup> in most cases<sup>(156)</sup>. Whenever *C* does not agree with *Va*, it seems to agree with *Q*<sup>(157)</sup>.

(154) See the critical apparatus *ad* V, 200.

(155) In *Va* especially, the (correct) reading  $\tilde{\eta}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$  is the result of a particularly blatant correction; is it possible that *Va* had  $\tilde{\eta}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  before the last correction?

(156) See especially the addition of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  after  $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in V, 279/280, that *C* has in common only with *Va*<sup>*p.corr.*</sup>.

(157) See especially the transposition of  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  after  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$  in V, 47, and the reading  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}$  in V, 301, both common only to *C* and *Q*.

The totality of the cases seem to point to the possibility of a double source for *C*'s text, viz. manuscripts *Va* and *Q*, but the evidence is too small to come to any further conclusions.

4. *X*

Manuscript *X* (*s. x*) transmits *Amb. Thom.* I as a marginal commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus' *Or.* 29<sup>(158)</sup>. It is one of the earliest manuscript witnesses which we possess.

*X* shares the erroneous ὄν τὸ τῆς for ὄντότης (I, 25) with *Re Sup*<sup>(159)</sup>. Apart from that it shares the omission of τοῦ<sup>2</sup> (I, 37) with *Ga P* (variant reading). Finally *X* also has an error proper to it, viz. ὁμοτίμος for ὁμότιμος (I, 15).

It is clear that the evidence cited above is at once too meagre and too contradictory to allow any conclusions as to the position of *X* in the *stemma codicum*. The sole conclusion is that ὄν τὸ τῆς for ὄντότης (I, 25) and the omission of τοῦ<sup>2</sup> (I, 37) are very ancient readings.

VIII. *Stemma codicum*

If all the relationships that have been established above are combined, the following over-all *stemma codicum* emerges<sup>(160)</sup>:

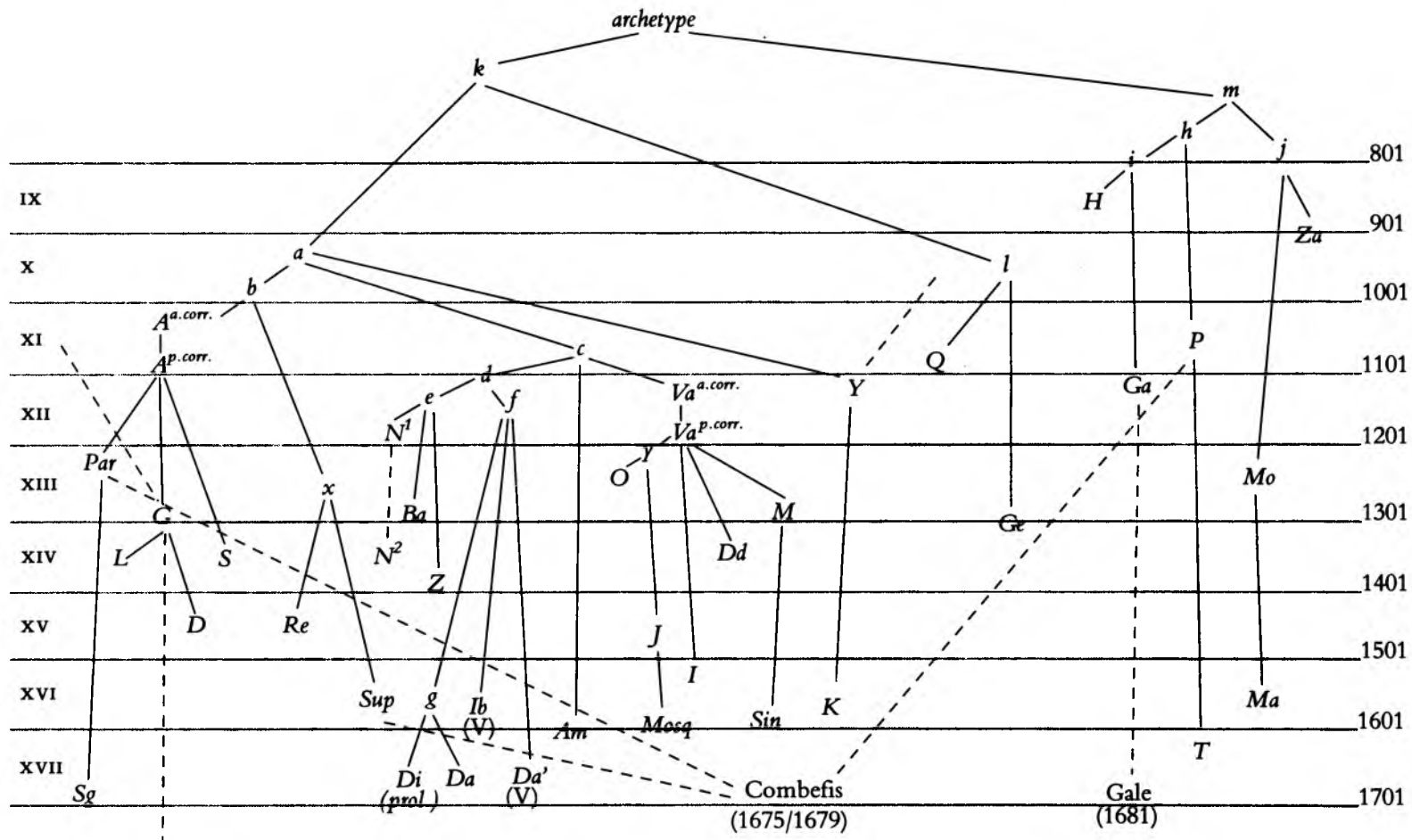
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(158) See above, p. LXIX-LXX.

(159) However, *Re* and *Sup* also have adapted the immediately preceding adjective ἐνυπόστατος to the neuter ἐνυπόστατον, while *X* has ἐνυπόστατος ὄν τὸ τῆς ὁμοουσίου τριάδος.

(160) As can be seen, the editions of Combefis (1675/1679; the third volume, which was to include *Amb. Thom.*, never appeared in print), Gale (1681), Öhler (1857) and *PG* (1860) have already been incorporated in the *stemma codicum*. These editions will be discussed in the next chapter.





Öhler (1857)  
 |  
 PG (1860)

Combefis  
 (1675/1679)

Gale  
 (1681)

IX. *Choice between the variant readings*

As is apparent from the classification of the witnesses and from the *stemma codicum*, the tradition of *Amb. Thom.* can be considered as being roughly bipartite:

1. the tradition of the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum stricto sensu* (= hyparchetype *a*);
- 1a. manuscripts *Y Q Ge*, which are definitely related to the *Corpus*, but which – for various reasons – cannot be assigned an exact position inside the *stemma*. They may therefore be considered to occupy a middle position between the *Corpus* and the tradition of *Ga* and *P*;
2. an independent tradition, characterized mainly by *Ga* and *P*, these two being the only representatives of their tradition to transmit the complete text.

Whenever 1 and 1a offer a variant reading against 2 – and this happens relatively rarely – the choice between them is a matter of judgment. Thus in *prol.*, 29 we have written τοῦ κατὰ χάριν, not κατὰ χάριν; in *prol.*, 44 we have written διαληφθεῖς, not ληφθεῖς<sup>(161)</sup>; in II, 4 we have written τῷ διὰ σέ, not διὰ σέ<sup>(162)</sup>; in IV, 19 we have written θεὸς Λόγος, not θεὸς ὁ Λόγος<sup>(163)</sup>; in IV, 72 we have written τὰ θεϊκά, not τὰ θεῖα<sup>(164)</sup>; finally, in V, 97, following the tradition of *Ga* and *P*, we have written ἀφαντασιάστως, not ἀφαντάστως<sup>(165)</sup>.

In all other cases (see e.g. *tit.*; *prol.*, 31; IV, 23; V, 130; V, 302; etc.) the distribution of the witnesses over the variant readings has dictated the choice of the variants.

(161) Our choice is based primarily on the identical expression μέσος διαληφθεῖς in Maximus' *QTh.* 61, 54 (ed. LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, II, p. 87).

(162) Our choice has been influenced by the Gregory tradition in which τῷ διὰ σέ κενωθέντι is the reading of all the witnesses that have been used in the critical edition (see the critical apparatus in *SChr.* 250, p. 216).

(163) Our choice is based on Gregory's text 'Ὡς μὲν γὰρ Λόγος ... 'Ὡς δὲ δούλου μορφῇ (see *Amb. Thom.* IV, 2: 4/5 and 25).

(164) We have written τὰ θεϊκά σαρκικῶς because this seems to correspond better to τὰ σαρκικά θεϊκῶς (IV, 68/69).

(165) Manuscripts *Mo* and *C* too have ἀφαντάστως. However, the reading ἀφαντασιάστως is confirmed by *Ep.sec.* III, 7 where both witnesses (*Ga* and *V*) have ἀφαντασιάστως. Furthermore ἀφαντασιάστως is found in Maximus' *Opusc.* 1, PG 91, 32B1-2, while we know of no place in Maximus' works where he has written ἀφαντάστως.

From a textcritical point of view *Amb. Thom.* represent a relatively easy text with a broad and stable tradition. However, in the small number of cases – all of them relatively unimportant – where the two traditions oppose each other as clearly distinguished entities, the editor has no other means of making a choice than to rely on his own judgment. In the cases enumerated above there is therefore the possibility of error.

Finally, attention must be drawn to two places in *Amb. Thom.* where the text of the archetype has been established but where the question arises whether the entire tradition has been corrupted, viz. II, 8/9, where αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις γέγονε might be expected for αὐτῆς ὑπόστασις γέγονε<sup>(166)</sup>; and V, 279/280, where the word ἐνεργείας might be expected in the phrase τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οὐκείας ἀνέκπτωτον<sup>(167)</sup>. The variant readings of IV, 87-88 and V, 262 (κατὰ ταυτὸν/κατ' αὐτόν) pose a similar problem.

## B. Epistula secunda ad eundem

### I. Ga, Ka, V

*Ga* is the *codex unicus* for *Ep. sec.* I, II and III, 58 (ἔξει) – 64, while *V* is the *codex unicus* for *Ep. sec.* III, 65-97. This means that the testimony of the three primary witnesses *Ga*, *Ka* and *V* can only be taken into account for the prologue to *Ep. sec.* In addition, *Ep. sec.* III, 1-58 (ἐπίδειξις) has been transmitted by two of the witnesses, viz. *Ga* and *V*.

There are no obvious errors that would prove a closer relationship between our manuscripts. In the places enumerated below, two manuscripts do share an error between them, but since errors, or rather mistakes, of this kind are so frequent in Byzantine

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(166) See above, p. cxi, n. 119, where a number of parallel passages have been cited suggesting that it would be more in keeping with Maximus' style to write αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις γέγονε.

(167) 'ἐνεργείας' has indeed been added after οὐκείας in *Va<sup>p.corr.</sup>* and *C*. The scribe of *B* too felt the need to add something but his solution – the addition of οὐσίαις after οὐκείας – is less appropriate.

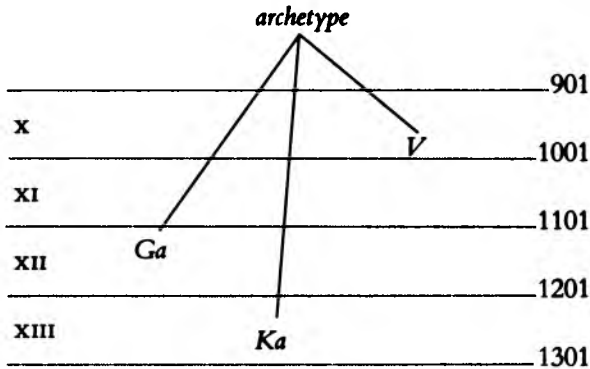
manuscripts, they cannot be taken into account for our purposes here:

- in *prol.*, 2/4, *Ga* and *Ka* share the omission of the *inscriptio* (Γῶ - μαθητής);
- in *prol.*, 16, *Ka* and *V* share the erroneous γεννητῶν for γεννητῶν;
- in *prol.*, 29, *Ga* and *Ka* share the erroneous κόκκον for κόκκων;
- in *prol.*, 31, *Ga* and *V* share the reading κρείττω for κρείττον<sup>(168)</sup>;
- in III, 27, *Ga* and *V* share the erroneous πρὸς ὀμιλοῦντας for προσομιλοῦντας.

It will be clear that none of these cases sufficiently prove any close relationship between the witnesses *Ga*, *Ka* and *V*. They are therefore considered to represent three independent traditions of *Ep. sec.*

II. *Stemma codicum*

The foregoing can be illustrated as follows:



(168) It is noteworthy that three early and very good manuscript witnesses of Maximus' *LA* share a similar error: ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρω for ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον (*LA*, 11) in manuscripts *Vaticanus*, *Palatinus gr.* 49 (*P*), *Athous*, *Koutloumoussiou* 616 (*Ki*) and *Mosquensis*, *Bibliothecae Synodalis* 209 (*Vlad.* 180) (*VI*) (see VAN DEUN, *LA*, p. CCXXVIII). Could it be possible that this particular reading (-ω for -ων) is part of Maximus' idiom?

## III. Choice between the variant readings

Finally a word or two must be said about the way in which a choice between the variant readings has been made.

For those sections of the text that have been transmitted by one witness only, that witness has, of course, been followed, albeit with caution. In all cases but one (I, 2)<sup>(169)</sup> interventions refer to grammatical or orthographical errors (see I, 15; I, 36; II, 26; II, 35; II, 54/55; II, 87).

In the section of *Ep. sec.* III that has been transmitted by two witnesses (viz. *Ga* and *V*), there is only one place where a choice between them had to be made: in III, 41, following *V* we have chosen *βεβαιουμένην*<sup>(170)</sup>, not *βεβαιουμένης*. In one case (III, 27) the common reading of both manuscripts has been rejected as being 'erroneous', or rather typical of a certain period<sup>(171)</sup>.

In the prologue, that has been transmitted by all three witnesses, it has not been necessary to select a variant reading on the basis of a conjectural judgment as only one is obviously correct:

- on one occasion only, all three manuscripts have a different reading (*prol.*, 23), but two of them are clearly erroneous;

- in a number of cases, two witnesses share a reading against the third. However, it is clear from the above list<sup>(172)</sup> that in these cases the reading shared by the majority of the manuscripts is without exception one of the typical scribal mannerisms that are so frequent in the manuscripts of the Byzantine period. Therefore we have in such cases always chosen against the majority.

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(169) In *Ep. sec.* I, 2 we have supplemented *εἰς διὰ δα* between the words *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* and *κινήθεισα*, referring to both *Amb. Thom.* I, 2 and Gregory's *Or.* 29, 2, 13 (p. 180).

(170) In this case our choice is based on the expression *βεβαία πίστῳσις* in *QTh.* 22, *scholia*, 11 (ed. LAGA-STEEL, *QTh.*, I, p. 143).

(171) There was a time not long after the minuscule script – and with it the consequent use of accents – had been introduced, that the prefixes of compound verbs had an accent of their own. Obviously we have written *προσομιλοῦντας*, not *πρὸς ὁμιλοῦντας*.

(172) See p. CXXVI.

## CHAPTER III: PREVIOUS EDITIONS

### A. Ambigua ad Thomam

#### 1. The intended edition by François Combefis (1675/1679)

The learned French Dominican François Combefis (1605-1679)<sup>(1)</sup> planned the edition of Maximus' complete works in three volumes. However, the third and last volume of his edition never appeared in print, though its intended contents are revealed by the successive versions of the editor's prospectus of the project<sup>(2)</sup> and by his preface to the first and second volumes, which appeared simultaneously in 1675<sup>(3)</sup>: apart from the *Scholia in corpus Areopagiticum* (CPG 7708) and the *Computus ecclesiasticus* (CPG 7706), the third volume was to include both *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*<sup>(4)</sup>. Quétif-Échard state that the third volume was ready to go to print when Combefis died on 23 March 1679<sup>(5)</sup> but that due to the careless treatment of the manuscript the pages were dispersed and partially lost. As a consequence Combefis' Latin translations of the texts and his annotations were lost.

Échard saw what was left of Combefis' notes in the library of the monastery in the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris<sup>(6)</sup>. By the end of the nineteenth century the files had been transferred to the *Ar-*

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(1) For Combefis' biography see *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati ... Inchoavit R.P.F. J. QUÉTIF, absolvit R.P.F. J. ÉCHARD*, vol. 2, Paris, 1721, p. 678-679; R. COULON, *Combefis*, in: A. VACANT - E. MANGENOT (ed.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 3, Paris, 1908, col. 385-387; A. DUVAL, *Combefis*, in: G. JACQUEMET (ed.), *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, vol. 2, Paris, 1949, col. 1333-1334; MAHIEU, *Travaux*, p. 125-126; J. RICHARDOT, *Combefis*, in: R. D'AMAT (ed.), *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, vol. 9, Paris, 1961, col. 360.

(2) On these successive reports see B. JANSSENS, *François Combefis and the Edition of Maximus the Confessor's Complete Works*, in: *AB* 119 (2001), p. 357-362.

(3) COMBEFIS, vol. 1, f. (\*v<sup>v</sup>) (= PG 90, 55-56).

(4) See also QUÉTIF-ÉCHARD, *o.c.*, p. 682-684, and FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca graeca*, vol. 13, p. 789. JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. XII, n. 21, supposedly citing one of Combefis' prospectuses, in fact via Fabricius cites the reconstruction of Combefis' third volume by Quétif-Échard.

(5) *O.c.*, p. 684: 'Tomus ille tertius praelo paratus erat'.

(6) See *l.c.*: 'inter codd. MSS Bibliothecae nostrae servatur'. The note on Combefis in *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* had been drafted by Quétif and was later revised by Échard.

*chives nationales* in Paris, where H. Omont examined them while preparing his catalogue of that library <sup>(7)</sup>.

The files containing *Amb. Thom.* are:

- *M. 834, 1, f. 137-140<sup>v</sup>* (= *Amb. Thom., prol., 1 – IV, 26* [συγκατέβη]), and
- *M. 831, 1, f. 141-148<sup>v</sup>* (= *Amb. Thom. IV, 26* [τοῦς] – V, 308) <sup>(8)</sup>.

The text is based on at least three manuscripts for at the beginning of *Amb. Thom.* we read (in Combefis' own handwriting): 'Ex Reg(io) cod(ice) collato cum <\*\*\*> Raphael(is) Dufresne et <abbatis> Blachi'. We shall now attempt to identify these manuscripts.

Our collations have shown that the 'Regius codex' on which Combefis primarily based his edition can be identified with today's *Parisinus gr. 1097* (a. 1055), manuscript *P* in our edition <sup>(9)</sup>. In the extant versions of Combefis' prospectus this 'Regius' is the only manuscript explicitly mentioned for *Amb. Thom.*, which seems to suggest that the editor obtained the remaining two, viz. the codices of du Fresne and Blachos, at a relatively late stage.

The 'codex Raphael(is) Dufresne' (Raphaël Trichet du Fresne) is now *Parisinus gr. 886* (s. XII<sup>ex.</sup>), manuscript *Par* in the present edition. Combefis noted some peculiarities of this codex in the margin of his text, accompanied by the siglum 'Fr.' <sup>(10)</sup>.

(7) See *Inventaire*, III, p. 357.

(8) It is noteworthy that Combefis himself has only been responsible for some marginal notes and corrections, but did not copy the main text. The title of the work, that has been written in Combefis' hand, is: Τοῦ ὁσίου Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ, Περὶ διαφορῶν (*sic*) ἀποριῶν (*sic*) τῶν ἁγίων Γρηγορίου καὶ Διονυσίου, πρὸς Θεωμᾶν τὸν ἡγιασμένον.

(9) Some examples that prove the relationship between *P* and Combefis' (first draft of the) text are: τριάδος for δυάδος (I, 11) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; τούτους for τούτων (I, 18) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; ἀπολήψει for ἀπολείψει (III, 41) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; φαίνων for φαῖνον (IV, 107) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; αὐτήν for αὐτῇ (V, 18) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.1</sup>*; οὐ for μὴ (V, 28) in *P<sup>p.corr.</sup>* and *Comb*; the omission of γνώμης (V, 163) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; the omission of γνώμη (V, 166) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; ἐαυτῆς for ἐαυτῇ (V, 239) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; the omission of γὰρ (V, 258) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; τὴν for τῆ<sup>2</sup> (V, 276) in *P* and *Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>*; γέννησθέ for γένεσθέ (V, 301) in *P* and *Comb*.

(10) Examples are the marginal notes, written in Combefis' own hand, in *M. 834, 1, f. 137* ('Fr. Τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς ἀγαθότητος'); *ibid.*, f. 139 ('Fr. πῦρ ταῦτα τεφροῦν φρυγανώδεις αἰρέσεις'); etc.; in *M. 831, 1, f. 147<sup>v</sup>* ('Fr. Οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ

The 'codex abbat(is) Blachi', called 'V.', 'Ven.' or 'Venet(us)' by Combefis, can be identified with today's *Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 228* (s. XVI), manuscript *Sup* in our edition<sup>(11)</sup>. It was sent to Combefis from Venice by the well-known Cretan bishop and humanist Gerasimos Blachos (1605/7 - 1685)<sup>(12)</sup>.

The most recent version of Combefis' prospectus, dated 29 November 1660<sup>(13)</sup>, reveals that the editor, unknowingly at the time, also had access to a fourth witness for (the final part of) *Amb. Thom.*, viz. *Vaticanus gr. 511* (s. XI; *B* in our edition)<sup>(14)</sup>.

Finally, there are some cases where the editor goes against the manuscript witnesses at his disposal without saying so<sup>(15)</sup>.

## 2. The actual *editio princeps* by Thomas Gale (1681)

In 1681 the Anglican priest Thomas Gale, *Regius Professor of Greek* at Cambridge and subsequently High Master of the school of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, published *Amb. Thom.* and (the

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φύσιν' etc.); *ibid.*, f. 148<sup>v</sup> ('*Fr. Προνοίας ἐστὶ*' etc.). These are the marginal notes that have been mentioned in the description of manuscript *A* (see *supra*, p. XLVII). They are edited on the basis of *A* in Appendix I.

(11) See also BRACKE, *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 101-102, n. 17(c). This identification is corroborated by the following examples: ἔμφασιν for ἔφερανσιν (V, 57) in [*Re.*] *Sup* and *Comb<sup>in m2</sup>* ('*V. ἔμφασιν*'); the addition of ὁ before λόγος (V, 128) in [*A<sup>corr.</sup>*, *Re.*] *Sup* and *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>*; the addition of καὶ before τὰ (V, 163) in [*Re.*] *Sup* and *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>*.

(12) See COMBEFIS, vol. 1, f. (\*VI\*) (= PG 90, 59-60). On Blachos' cooperation with Combefis, see V. N. ΤΑΤΑΚΙΣ, *Γεράσιμος Βλάχος ὁ Κρήσις (1605/7 - 1685). Φιλόσοφος, θεολόγος, φιλόλογος (Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 5)*, Venice, 1973 (especially p. 17-18, 22-23, 38 and 49).

(13) See JANSSENS, *art.cit.* It is not impossible that it was Lucas Holstenius who informed Combefis about the manuscript (see COMBEFIS, vol. 2, p. 707 [= PG 91, 285-286]).

(14) That Combefis eventually did use *B* is easily proved by the following examples: the addition of καὶ before Πῶς (V, 227), common to *B* and *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>* only; φύσει for φύσιν (V, 251) in *B* and *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>*; the repetition of καινόν (V, 263) in *B* and *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>* only; the addition of οὐσίας after οἰκείας (V, 279/280) in *B* and *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>* only.

(15) Some examples of Combefis' interventions in the text are: αὐτὸς for αὐτὸ in V, 5 and 13; γνώμης for γνώμη (V, 166) in *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>*; the addition of ἡ before θεότης in V, 251; the omission of τούτῳ in V, 267; ἐκδεχομένου for ἐκδεχομένῳ (V, 301) in *Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup>*.



first part of) *Amb. Io.* as an appendix to his (anonymous) edition of John Scotus Eriugena's *Periphyseon* <sup>(16)</sup>. Because of Scotus' allegedly heretical doctrine Gale's edition and with it its 'Maximian' appendix was placed on the catholic *Index librorum prohibitorum* by a decree dated 3 April 1685 <sup>(17)</sup>.

In Scotus' *Periphyseon* Gale had found a number of quotations (translated into Latin) from Maximus' *Amb. Io.* <sup>(18)</sup>, a work that was at that time unknown to him: as we have said, François Combefis would have published it in the third volume of his edition, had not his death in the spring of 1679 prevented this volume from appearing. Gale's interest in the work had been aroused and after having tried – apparently without success – to obtain Combefis' notes <sup>(19)</sup>, he went to look for the Greek original of *Amb. Io.*

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(16) *Joannis Scoti Eriugena de Divisione Naturae libri quinque diu desiderati. Accedit Appendix ex Ambiguis S. Maximi Graece et Latine*, Oxford, 1681, *Appendix*, p. 1-45 (*Amb. Io.*, PG 91, 1061-1116D [διδάσκεισθαι ἕχνεσιν]); p. 46-70 (*Amb. Thom.*). Gale's name does not appear before p. 46 of the *Appendix*, viz. as translator of *Amb. Thom.*: 'Interprete Tho. Gale Anglo'. As is apparent from the list of Gale's publications in the article *Gale* by G. GOODWIN, in: L. STEPHEN – S. LEE (ed.), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7, Oxford – London, s.d., p. 819, it was not unusual for the author to publish his works anonymously. For Gale's biography see apart from GOODWIN, *art.c.*, p. 818-820, also JEAUNEAU, *Traduction*, p. 136-140 (= ID., *Études érigéniennes*, p. 426-430).

(17) See *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Innoc. XI. P.M. iussu editus Vsque ad Annum 1681. Eidem accedit in fine Appendix usque ad Mensem Iunij 1704*, Rome, 1704, p. 353 (i.e. in the *Appendix*, that runs from p. 301 to p. 401): 'Joannis Scoti Eriugena de diuisione naturae libri quinque, &c. Accedit Appendix ex ambiguis Sancti Maximi Graecè, & Latinè. Oxonii 1681. Dec. ut supra (sc. Decr. Sacrae Congregationis Indicis 3. Apr. 1685)'. See also H. J. FLOSS, in: *PL* 122 (Paris, 1853), col. 441-442. I. P. SHELDON-WILLIAMS (ed.), *Iohannis Scotti Eriugena Periphyseon (De Divisione Naturae) Liber Primus (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 7)*, Dublin, 1968, p. 26, dates the decree 5 September 1684, with a reference to 'the 1930 edition (Rome)' of the *Index* (l.c., n. 1). É. JEAUNEAU (ed.), *Iohannis Scotti seu Eriugena Periphyseon Liber primus (CCCM 161)*, Turnhout, 1996, p. LXIX-LXX, gives the same date without any indication of his source.

(18) See JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. LXXIX-LXXX ('Liste des *Ambigua* cités par Jean Scot'), where 76 quotations from or allusions to *Amb. Io.* are identified in Scotus' *Periphyseon*. See also the list on p. LXXXIII of Jauneau's edition, which includes another eight hitherto unidentified quotations from Maximus in the *Periphyseon*.

(19) See a letter from Gale to Mabillon dated 29 April 1679 and quoted by JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. XLI-XLII. At that time Combefis' notes were still kept in the library of the monastery at the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris (see *supra*).

In a manuscript in his personal library, now *Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48* (siglum *Ga* in our edition), Gale did find *Amb. Thom.* and the rare *Ep. sec.* but not *Amb. Io* <sup>(20)</sup>. The editor therefore turned to his learned colleagues on the European mainland. Eventually, together with a copy of John Scotus' Latin translation, Gale obtained the Greek original, copied from today's *Parisinus gr. 886*, thanks to the assistance of Émeric Bigot. However, by mistake Gale had received only a very small part of the text (viz. PG 91, 1061-1116D [διώδευσαν ἔχουσιν]) but he decided to publish it anyway, along with the corresponding part of Scotus' Latin translation.

But let us return to Gale's edition of *Amb. Thom.* Although it was not what he had been looking for, Gale decided to publish this work too <sup>(21)</sup>. For his edition he did not use any manuscript other than the above-mentioned *Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48*, which he called 'codex meus' <sup>(22)</sup>. His own Latin translation accompanied the Greek text <sup>(23)</sup>.

The following examples sufficiently prove that Gale's edition of *Amb. Thom.* is based on *Ga*: διὰ for ὑπὲρ γάρ (I, 5) in *Ga*<sup>in mg.</sup> and Gale <sup>(24)</sup>; the erroneous identification as a quotation from Gregory of lines II, 23/25 in *Ga* and Gale; the addition of εἰς τὸ after ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου (III, 1) in *Ga* and Gale; ἀπολήψει for ἀπολείψει in III, 41 (*Ga* reads ἀπολήψει); the omission of συγχωρούμεθα – καθ' ἡμᾶς (IV, 102) in *Ga* and Gale; ἀμάρτη for ἀμάρτοι in V, 15/16 (*Ga* reads ἀμάρτη [*sic*]); ἄρρητον for ἀπόρρητον (V, 39) in *Ga* and Gale; the omission of ἐν<sup>2</sup> (V, 44), of οὐσίαν (V, 78) and of ἦ (V, 115) common to *Ga* and Gale only; ἀναίτιος for

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(20) On f. I of the manuscript Gale noted: 'Ambigua non extant'. It is clear that in Gale's opinion only what we now call *Amb. Io.* was to be referred to as 'Ambigua'.

(21) GALE, *Appendix*, p. 46-70. For some notes on the text, see *ibid.*, p. 82.

(22) GALE, f. §§ 3<sup>v</sup> ('Testimonia'): 'Quae hic in fine legis, accepta mecum refer ... codici meo, qui complurimas ejusdem Maximi lucubrations continet'.

(23) See the above-cited note 'Interprete Tho. Gale Anglo' (GALE, *Appendix*, p. 46).

(24) In *Ga* this variant reading has been added by the English humanist Patrick Young. Young probably copied the reading from a manuscript of the works of Saint Gregory (see the critical apparatus in *SChr.* 270, p. 298, *ad* 8, 10).

ἀνετος (V, 179) in *Ga* and *Gale* (*Ga* reads ἀνέτιος); συμφουείας for συμφουίτας (V, 226) in *Ga* and *Gale*.

Knowingly or not, *Gale* is also responsible for a considerable number of alterations to the Greek text of *Amb. Thom.* The most obvious one is probably the addition of Ἐπιστολή πρώτη to the title of the work. Other examples are: τὸν ἐν ἄγει for τὸν ἐναγῆ in *prol.*, 39; the omission of ἡ μονᾶς in I, 30; ἐπεσθαι for ἔσεσθαι in III, 48; ἀσύγχυτος for ἀσυγχύτους in IV, 87; ἀφθεγγήτου for ἀφθέγκτου in V, 38; δι' αὐτῆς for διὰ τῆς in V, 80; the addition of καὶ before κινουμένη in V, 110; ὁμολογήσαμεν for ὁμολογήσωμεν in V, 112; οὐτ' ἔτι ἐστὶν for οὐτε ἐστίν, οὐτε τί ἐστίν in V, 126; ἀνθρωπικῆν for ἀνθρωπίνην in V, 152; δικτοῦ and δικτῆν for διττοῦ and διττῆν in V, 219; ποιούμενον for ποιουμένου in V, 223; κἂν for οὐκ ἂν in V, 237; οὐ διπλῆν for οὐ δὲ πλάστης in V, 241; ἕτερον for θᾶτερον in V, 278; ἡγιασμένε for ἡγιασμένοι in V, 297; ἐκδεχομένου for ἐκδεχομένῳ in V, 301.

Part of *Gale's* *praefatio* as well as his Latin translation of *Amb. Thom.* together with his (partial) edition of John Scotus' Latin translation of *Amb. Io.* were reprinted by Franz Öhler and from there found their way into volume 91 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* <sup>(25)</sup>.

As has been mentioned, *Gale* had found not only *Amb. Thom.* but also *Ep. sec.* in his manuscript *Ga*. However, he decided not to edit it, 'quoniam nihil fere ea continebat aliud, quam haec prima' (*sc. Amb. Thom.*, called Ἐπιστολή πρώτη by *Gale*) <sup>(26)</sup>.

### 3. The edition by Franz Öhler (1857): *textus receptus*

During the revolution of 1848 Franz Öhler <sup>(27)</sup> had begun, 'ad consolandum animum', to prepare an edition of *Amb. Thom.* and the first edition of the complete text of *Amb. Io.* Öhler's edition was printed in 1857. Although he knew of several other witnesses

(25) See *infra*. *Gale's* integral *praefatio* together with his edition of Scotus' Latin translation of *Amb. Io.* were also included in *PL* 122, 87C-100D and 1193C-1222B respectively.

(26) See *GALE*, *Appendix*, p. 82 (= *PG* 91, 1031-1032, n. 1).

(27) For a short biographical note on Öhler (13 March 1817 - 30 September 1866), see F. A. ECKSTEIN, *Nomenclator philologorum*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 411.

of *Amb. Thom.* and/or *Amb. Io.* <sup>(28)</sup>, Öhler thought so highly of 'his' *Guelpherbytanus*, *Gudianus gr. 39*, our manuscript G, that he did not think it necessary to consult any other manuscript <sup>(29)</sup>.

For *Amb. Thom.* and the first part of *Amb. Io.* (up to PG 91, 1116D) the editor compared his Greek text with Gale's *editio princeps* (1681) <sup>(30)</sup> and reprinted from there the Latin translations by John Scotus (*Amb. Io.*, [partim]) and Gale himself (*Amb. Thom.*) <sup>(31)</sup>. From PG 91, 1118 on Öhler himself translated *Amb. Io.* into Latin <sup>(32)</sup>.

As has been said, Öhler almost completely relied on G for his edition of *Amb. Thom.* A notable consequence of this choice is the insertion of τοῦ θεολόγου after τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου in line I, 1 of our text.

Furthermore, the editor is to be held responsible for a number of reading errors. Examples are: ἐνικώτερον for ἐνωτικώτερον in IV, 83 <sup>(33)</sup>; the omission of ἁγίου in V, 2; δὲ for τε in V, 53; δὲ for τε in V, 207; τινα for τινες in V, 222; τρόπον for τροπήν in V, 277.

In a number of cases, Öhler included his own misreadings in the text, while he mentioned the correct readings as though they

(28) Viz. via Fabricius and Gale's *praefatio*; see ÖHLER, *Praefatio*, p. VII-VIII (= PG 91, 1029-1032).

(29) See our description of the manuscript on p. XXXIII-XXXIV. It was the then president of the *Bibliotheca Guelpherbytana*, K. Ph. Ch. Schönemann (1801-1855), who had drawn Öhler's attention to the manuscript. Öhler mentions him in his *praefatio* (p. VI [= PG 91, 1027-1028]). On Schönemann see the corresponding article by P. ZIMMERMANN, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 32, Leipzig, 1891, p. 291-293.

(30) See, apart from the various notes with references to Gale's edition, also the following places where Öhler seems to have adopted Gale's text, without always explicitly saying so: the addition of εἰς τὸ in III, 1; ἀπολήψει for ἀπολείπει in III, 41; the remarkable presence of the words οὐ δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν up to ἐνωτικώτερον in IV, 82/83; αὐτός for αὐτὸ in V, 5; οὐ διπλήν for οὐ δὲ πλάστης in V, 241.

(31) Öhler made a few corrections to Gale's translation; see the notes in PG 91, 1033-1034; 1047-1048, n. 75; 1053-1054, n. 14.

(32) See the subtitle of Öhler's edition: '... et in latinum sermonem interpretatus post J. Scoti et Th. Gale tentamina, nunc primum integre edidit Franc. Oehler'. Öhler did not seem to be aware of the fact that Scotus' translation of the complete *Amb. Io.* had been preserved. At any rate, he did not bother to look for it.

(33) Öhler probably misread ἐνικώτερον for ἐνωτικώτερον in Gale's edition; see *supra*, n. 30.

were erroneous readings in Gale's edition (see, e.g., the above-mentioned cases in V, 53; V, 207 and V, 277).

#### 4. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (1860<sup>1</sup>)

In 1860 Öhler's edition was reprinted by J.-P. Migne in volume 91 of his *Patrologia Graeca*. There are only two places in the text where we have detected Migne's influence on Öhler's text, viz. in V, 116 (a 'normalisation' of *συνομολογήσωμεν* into *συνομολογήσομεν*) and in V, 159 (*ἔχον* for *ἔχων*). Furthermore, Migne has introduced two erroneous references to G's foliation, viz. in PG 91, 1036A (f. 105<sup>v</sup> does not begin with *ὁμότιμος* [*Amb. Thom.* I, 15] but only with *-τιμος*, as had been correctly indicated by Öhler), and *ibid.*, 1057B (f. 115 does not begin with *τριας* [*Amb. Thom.* V, 251] but with *Οὔτε γὰρ* etc.<sup>(34)</sup>), as had been correctly indicated by Öhler).

On p. vi of his *praefatio* Öhler had - by mistake rather than ignorance - attributed John Scotus' *Periphyseon* to Maximus. Migne tacitly corrected Öhler's slip of the pen (see PG 91, 1029-1030).

An 'improved' version of Migne's text appeared in 1978, with an introduction and notes by D. Stăniloae<sup>(35)</sup> and a Modern-Greek translation by Ignatios Sakalis. The first of the intended three volumes contains text and translation of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* up to PG 91, 1128D4. It would appear that volumes two and three were never published.

The intended 'improvements' are in reality restricted to a rather small number of typographical alterations. 'In a small number of cases' the editor also claims to have preferred variant readings 'of the manuscripts'. Unfortunately he does not indicate where exactly or on the basis of which manuscripts so that this Greek re-edition can hardly be called critical<sup>(36)</sup>.

Finally, 1989 saw a re-edition of volumes 90 and 91 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* by I. K. Diotis. The volumes are prefaced by an

(34) See Appendix I, *ad Amb. Thom.* V, 252/254.

(35) Stăniloae's introduction (p. 13-51) has been translated from French into Greek by Anna I. Sakali.

(36) The scheduled 'necessary information concerning the edition of the text', should have appeared in the third volume.

ample introduction in both Greek and English by G. D. Dragas and an *Index locorum S. Scripturae* by S. N. Sakkos and P. P. Koulemanis has been appended<sup>(37)</sup>.

### B. *Epistula secunda ad eundem*

Although in his manuscript *Ga* Thomas Gale did find the rare *Ep. sec.* immediately following *Amb. Thom.*, he decided not to edit the former because, in his opinion, it merely repeated the latter. Frans Öhler did not question this decision.

Already in 1878 Michael Gitlbauer published some fragments of *Ep. sec.* from the *Vaticanus gr. 1809* (siglum *V* in the present edition) but the *editio princeps* of the work by Mgr Paul Canart did not appear until 1964. Canart based his edition on the two above-mentioned manuscripts *Ga* and *V*.

Since that time a third (partial) witness has been discovered, viz. *Parisinus gr. 1277 (Kā)*. Furthermore, in 1981 there appeared a new, albeit partial, transcription of those parts of *V* which are written in brachygraphic script<sup>(38)</sup>. For these reasons, as well as for the sake of completeness, a new critical edition of *Ep. sec.* has not been considered superfluous.

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(37) J.-P. MIGNÉ, *Ἑλληνική Πατρολογία (Patrologia Graeca)*, vol. 90-91, Athens, 1989.

(38) Viz. in: N. P. CHIONIDES – S. LILLA, *La brachigrafia italo-bizantina (Studi e Testi 290)*, Vatican City, 1981.

## RATIO EDENDI

In editing *Amb. Thom.* and *Ep. sec.* we have obviously followed the general editorial practices of the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*. These practices can be summarized by stating that we have followed the usage of the best manuscripts as far as possible and justifiable. Similarly, for those parts of *Ep. sec.* that have been transmitted by only one manuscript that *codex unicus* has been followed as far as possible; only obvious grammatical or orthographical errors have been emended<sup>(1)</sup> on the basis of the general usage of the better manuscripts.

With regard to the way in which the edited texts are presented, the editor is responsible for the arrangement of the separate *ambigua* or chapters into paragraphs. The first paragraph of every *ambiguum*, indicating the text that will be discussed, has been printed in a larger script: in manuscripts written in ancient minuscule these paragraphs have been written in small uncials.

As is customary in the CCSG, Biblical passages have been printed in italics, while other quotations are printed in a finer type in so far as they have been quoted literally.

Under the text the reader will find two apparatuses, viz. the apparatus of the sources and the critical apparatus. The former lists all Biblical, patristic and other sources quoted or alluded to by Maximus<sup>(2)</sup>. In the second apparatus the sigla of the manuscripts that have been taken into account for that specific part of the text are always given first. Then follow all relevant variant readings and errors of the witnesses listed.

In the right-hand margin are found the references to the editions of the texts that were authoritative until now, viz. PG 91 for *Amb. Thom.*, and the edition by Mgr Canart in *Byzantion* 34 (1964) for *Ep. sec.* The beginning of a new column (*Amb. Thom.*)

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(1) See what has been said above on the subject of the choice between the variant readings, p. cxxvii.

(2) Full bibliographical data will be found in the *Index aliorum fontium* (p. 60-68).

or page (*Ep.sec.*) in those editions has been indicated in our text by means of a vertical line (|).

In addition to all proper names the three Persons of the Holy Trinity have been written with a capital letter (Πατήρ, Υἱός and Πνεῦμα); as have Λόγος as the second Person of the Trinity, 'titles' such as Ἀρεοπαγίτης, Παρθένος and Χριστός, and the collective nouns Ἀπολιναριστής, Ἀρειανός and Χριστιανός<sup>(3)</sup>.

The choice between variant readings has already been dealt with<sup>(4)</sup>.

With regard to the punctuation and the orthography of the texts, the majority of the earliest and most important manuscript witnesses have been followed in all cases<sup>(5)</sup>.

#### Punctuation

The most obvious result of following the usage of the manuscripts in this matter is the punctuation after ὁ μὲν and ὁ δὲ when these are used as pronouns, not as articles<sup>(6)</sup>.

#### Orthography

As a result of the principle adopted, the reader will find a number of 'inconsistencies' in the orthography of the texts that will be explained immediately below, where we present the most obvious divergences from the traditionally accepted rules of orthography.

(3) Apart from Πατήρ, Υἱός, Πνεῦμα and Λόγος, all these words are to be found in the Index nominum et vocum ex eis formatarum (p. 57).

(4) See above, p. cxxiv (*Amb. Thom.*) and p. cxxvii (*Ep.sec.*).

(5) On the general usage of Byzantine manuscripts in the matter of punctuation, accentuation and orthography, see the series of articles by J. NORET, *Quand donc rendrons-nous à quantité d'indéfinis, prétendument enclitiques, l'accent qui leur revient?*, in: *Byzantion* 57 (1987), p. 191-195; ID., *Notes de ponctuation et d'accentuation byzantines*, in: *Byzantion* 65 (1995), p. 69-88; ID., *L'accentuation de τε en grec byzantin*, in: *Byzantion* 68 (1998), p. 516-518. In addition see also the introductions to previous volumes of the CCSG, e.g. M. HOSTENS (ed.), *Anonymi auctoris Theognosiae (saec. IX/X) Dissertatio contra Iudaeos* (CCSG 14), Turnhout – Leuven, 1986, p. XLII-LV; VAN DEUN, *Opuscula*, p. CLXIX-CLXXII; J. NADAL CAÑELLAS (ed.), *Gregorii Acindyni refutationes duae operis Gregorii Palamae cui titulus Dialogus inter Orthodoxum et Barlaamitam* (CCSG 31), Turnhout – Leuven, 1995, p. LXXXIV-XCI.

(6) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* III, 37/38; IV, 34/35; etc. In some manuscripts an alternative to this particular punctuation is the double accentuation of μὲν and δὲ.



*Word division*

Following the majority of the best manuscripts we have always written *τουτέστι*(ν) <sup>(7)</sup>, never *τουτ'έστι*(ν), as well as *έπίσης* <sup>(8)</sup>, not *έφ'ίσης*, and *γούν* <sup>(9)</sup>, not *γ'ούν*. We have, however, written *διατούτο* in most cases <sup>(10)</sup>, but sometimes also *διά τουτο* <sup>(11)</sup>; similarly, in most cases *διό* <sup>(12)</sup>, but of course *δι'ό* in *Amb. Thom.* IV, 39 (... *τό χειρόν, δι'ό τῆ φύσει τό παθητόν έπεισεκρίθη*). In *Amb. Thom.* V, 153 we have written *δι'όλου*, not *διόλου*, and in *Ep. sec.* II, 82 we have written *δηλον ότι*, not *δηλονότι*.

The negations *μή δέ* and *ού δέ* are always divided but *ούδέτερος* and *μηδέτερος*, like *ούδεις* and *μηδεις*, have been written in one word: as is proven by the additional *δέ* in *Amb. Thom.* V, 277, the element *-δ'* in the compound *ούδέτερον* had lost its value as an adversative particle.

*Iota subscriptum*

Although the *iota adscriptum* or *subscriptum* is absent from most of our older witnesses, for reasons of clarity, a *iota subscriptum* has been systematically written whenever it helps to identify a grammatical form, for example in the dative singular of nouns.

*Coronis*

Our manuscripts seldom have a *coronis* on *ταυτόν* <sup>(13)</sup> and never on *ταυτότης* <sup>(14)</sup>, but they do have one on such easily recognisable compounds as *τάναντία* <sup>(15)</sup>, *κάν* <sup>(16)</sup>, *κάν* <sup>(17)</sup> and *κάνταυθα* <sup>(18)</sup>.

(7) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* IV, 25; 31; 32; 37; 68; 72; 79; V, 113; 235; etc.

(8) See *Ep. sec.* I, 31. — About the preservation of the form *έπίσης* rather than *έπίσης* or *έπ'ίσης*, see above, p. LXXXIII, n. 55.

(9) See *Amb. Thom.* V, 22.

(10) See *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 24; IV, 9; 58; 83/84; *Ep. sec.*, *prol.*, 28; II, 52; etc.

(11) See *Amb. Thom.* I, 2; IV, 68; *Ep. sec.* I, 2; III, 48, and of course *Amb. Thom.* III, 6/7 (*διά τουτο ... ότι*).

(12) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 41; V, 249; *Ep. sec.*, *prol.*, 6; etc.

(13) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* V, 211; 253 (bis); 257; 262; etc.

(14) See e.g. *Ep. sec.* I, 18; II, 23; 57; etc.

(15) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* V, 247.

(16) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* V, 278; 280; etc.

(17) See e.g. *Ep. sec.*, *prol.*, 39; I, 45; etc.

(18) See *Ep. sec.* III, 17.

*Accentuation*

We have followed the majority of the manuscripts in writing a grave before the comma, not an acute.

It is especially with regard to the accentuation of the so-called enclitics that following the usage of the manuscripts can lead to 'unusual' and even 'inconsistent' results. In general, all the cases that we will present seem to comply with the rules that have been formulated by J. Noret<sup>(19)</sup>:

- the particle  $\tau\epsilon$  followed, immediately or not, by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is sometimes enclitic and sometimes orthotonic, without any apparent influence on the meaning of the phrase<sup>(20)</sup>. As a rule  $\tau\epsilon$  is always enclitic after the article and after a preposition<sup>(21)</sup>;
- $\tau\iota\varsigma$  is orthotonic in *Amb. Thom.* V, 37 and 39 ( $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon \tau\acute{\iota}$ ), and in *Amb. Thom.* V, 126 ( $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{\omicron}$ ...). In both cases the accent serves to stress the meaning "any ... at all" after the negation<sup>(22)</sup>;
- the present indicative of  $\varphi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$  is never enclitic<sup>(23)</sup>;
- the present indicative of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$  is enclitic or orthotonic, apparently depending on its connection to the previous<sup>(24)</sup> or the following word(s)<sup>(25)</sup> respectively. However, preceded by  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , the present forms of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$  are always enclitic<sup>(26)</sup>;
- in the case of a sequence of enclitics, the first word, if it is a compound with  $-\pi\epsilon\rho$ , receives two accents, while the last enclitic does not have any accent<sup>(27)</sup>.

(19) See above, the publications mentioned in n. 5.

(20) Especially when followed immediately by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ,  $\tau\epsilon$  has a tendency of being orthotonic: in our texts 20 out of 22 accentuated  $\tau\epsilon$  are immediately followed by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ; on the other hand, 13  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  are preceded by an enclitic  $\tau\epsilon$ .

(21) See NORET, *L'accentuation de  $\tau\epsilon$* , p. 517-518 and n. 6 (read 'Thomam' for 'Iohannem').

(22) See NORET, *Quand donc rendrons-nous*, p. 194-195 ('2<sup>e</sup> règle').

(23) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* II, 23; III, 12; IV, 19; 36; 48; V, 27; etc.

(24) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* IV, 21; V, 14; 106; 218; *Ep. sec.* I, 21.

(25) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* IV, 24; *Ep. sec., prol.*, 6; II, 42 (bis); etc.

(26) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* I, 10; 24; 27; V, 57; etc.

(27) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* IV, 29 ( $\delta\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ ); V, 36 (idem); 96 (idem); 104 (idem); *Ep. sec.* III, 79 ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ ); etc.

οὐχ', *ephelestic* -v and *euphonic* -ς (οὐτω/οὐτως)

- the negation οὐχ is considered to be the elided form of οὐχί and subsequently is always written οὐχ' <sup>(28)</sup>;
- an *ephelestic* -v is written without exception whenever the following word - whether or not preceded by a punctuation mark - begins with a vowel <sup>(29)</sup>. In a few cases, before a consonant too we find an *ephelestic* -v. Here too the presence of a punctuation mark does not seem to have any influence on the presence or absence of the *ephelestic* -v <sup>(30)</sup>, although in the majority of the cases in which we have preserved an *ephelestic* -v before a consonant, the *ephelestic* -v is immediately followed by a punctuation mark <sup>(31)</sup>;
- the situation with regard to the *euphonic* -ς is similar to that of the *ephelestic* -v: before a vowel it is written without exception <sup>(32)</sup>, while before a consonant we find both οὐτω and οὐτως <sup>(33)</sup>.

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(28) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 7; III, 35; etc.

(29) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.*, *prol.*, 13 (πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπον); 38 (ἐστὶν ἀνεπίγνωστος); I, 10/11 (ἐστὶν ὑπερβαθῆναι); 30 (ὑφέστηκεν, ἐπειδή); II, 17 (προσένειμεν, αὐτοῦ); etc.

(30) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* I, 27 (ἐστὶν μονάδων); III, 35 (εἶπεν, δεικνύς); V, 50 (Ἔστιν δὲ); 153 (περικεχώρηκεν, μηδὲν).

(31) See, apart from the cases mentioned in the foregoing note, also I, 29; V, 177; 200.

(32) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* I, 30 and 31; V, 194; etc.

(33) See e.g. *Amb. Thom.* V, 274 (οὐτω καὶ) and 280 (οὐτως καὶ).



**MAXIMI CONFESSORIS  
AMBIGVA AD THOMAM**

## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

### *Traditio manuscripta*

<i>A</i>	<i>Romanus, Angelicus gr. 120 (s. XI)</i>
<i>Am</i>	<i>Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus B 137 sup. (c. 1600)</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr. 511 (s. XI)</i>
<i>Ba</i>	<i>Athous, Batopediou 475 (s. XIII<sup>ex</sup>-XIV<sup>im</sup>)</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>Parisinus, Coislinianus 253 (s. IX-X)</i>
<i>Ga</i>	<i>Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48 (s. XII<sup>im</sup>)</i>
<i>Ge</i>	<i>Genavensis, Bibliothecae Publicae et Universitatis 32 (s. XIV<sup>im</sup>)</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus H 45 sup. (s. IX)</i>
<i>Mo</i>	<i>Monacensis gr. 225 (s. XIII)</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>Parisinus, Coislinianus 90 (s. XII/XIV)</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>Parisinus gr. 1097 (a. 1055)</i>
<i>Q</i>	<i>Oxonienis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Barocianus 128 (s. XI<sup>ex</sup>)</i>
<i>Re</i>	<i>Vaticanus, Reginensis gr. 37 (s. XV)</i>
<i>Sup</i>	<i>Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 228 (s. XVI)</i>
<i>Va</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr. 1502 (s. XII)</i>
<i>X</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr. 475 (s. X)</i>
<i>Y</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr. 504 (a. 1105)</i>
<i>Z</i>	<i>Parisinus gr. 1094 (s. XIV-XV)</i>
<i>Za</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr. 2195 (s. X)</i>
 <i>a</i>	 <i>A Re Sup Am N Ba Z Va</i>

### *Editiones*

<i>Comb</i>	the intended edition by François Combefis (1675/1679)
<i>Gale</i>	the <i>editio princeps</i> by Thomas Gale (1681)
<i>Öhler/PG</i>	the edition by Franz Öhler (1857), reprinted in PG 91
<i>Migne (PG)</i>	Jacques-Paul Migne's interventions in Öhler's text

Περὶ διαφόρων ἀπόρων τῶν ἁγίων Διονυσίου καὶ  
Γρηγορίου, πρὸς Θωμᾶν τὸν ἡγιασμένον

PG 91, 1032

PROL. Τῷ ἡγιασμένῳ δούλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὶ πνευματικῶ καὶ δι-  
δασκάλῳ, κυρίῳ Θωμᾶ, Μάξιμος ταπεινὸς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς,  
5 ἀνάξιος δούλος καὶ μαθητής.

Ἀπλανοῦς θεωρίας ἐξ ἐμμελοῦς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῆς, ἐξιν  
λαβὼν ἀναλλοίωτον, οὐχ' ἀπλῶς σοφίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κάλλους αὐ-  
τῆς, θεῶ λίαν ἡγαπημένε, γέγονας ἐραστῆς σωφρονέστατος.  
Σοφίας δὲ κάλλος ἐστίν, γνώσις ἔμπρακτος, ἢ πράξις ἔνσοφος,  
10 ὧν ἐστὶ χαρακτήρ, ὡς δι' ἀμφοῖν συμπληρούμενος, ὁ τῆς θείας  
προνοίας καὶ κρίσεως λόγος, καθ' ὃν αἰσθήσει τὸν νοῦν συμ-  
πλέξας διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἔδειξας ὡς ἀληθῶς πῶς ὁ θεὸς  
κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ποιεῖν πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπον, τόν τε πλοῦτον  
τῆς ἀγαθότητος κατέστησας γνώριμον, πολυτελῶς τῇ καλῇ  
15 μίξει τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν σεαυτῷ δεικνύς τὸν θεὸν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς  
σωματούμενον· οὐ τῷ ὕψει συμμετρήσας μιμῆσει τὴν κένω-

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6/7 Clem. Alex., Strom. VI, VII, 61, 3, p. 463, 1 7/8 Sap. 7, 30 et 8, 2 8  
(θεῶ - ἡγαπημένε) cf. Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 10, p. 208, 5-6 12/13 Ge. 1, 27 et 5,  
1 13/14 Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 11, 7 (p. 124); id., Or. 45, PG 36, 632A6-7 15 Greg.  
Naz., Or. 38, 11, 5 (p. 124); id., Or. 45, PG 36, 632A4

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Tit.: A Re Sup Am NBa Z (bis) Va (=a)  
Y Q Ge HP

1 Περὶ] Ἐπιστολῇ πρώτῃ *praem. Gale* ἀποριῶν A Re Sup Am NBa Z  
Va<sup>a. corr.</sup> (=a) Y τῶν ἁγίων Διονυσίου καὶ] τοῦ ἁγίου Ge τῶν ἁγίων] τοῦ  
ἁγίου Re Sup, ἁγίων Am 2 Γρηγορίου] τοῦ θεολόγου *add. Ge*

Prol.: A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (=a)  
Y Q Ge H Ga P

3 ἡγιασμένῳ Ga, ἡγαπημένῳ Z πατρὶ πνευματικῶ] καὶ πνευματικῶ  
πατρὶ Z 4 καὶ] *om. Re Sup* 5 μαθητής] χαιρείν *add. Ge* 8 ἐραστὸς  
Sup 10 πληρούμενος Ge 12 ὡς] *om. Ga* 13 θεοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ Re, *om. Z*  
ἄνθρωπον] τὸν *praem. A* 14 καταστήσας H 16 οὐ τῷ] οὕτω P

σιν, ἕως ἐμοῦ κατελθεῖν οὐκ ἀπηξίωσας, ἐκεῖνα ζητῶν ὧν πεπονθῶς ἔχεις τὴν εἶδησιν.

- Εἰσὶ δὲ Διονυσίου καὶ Γρηγορίου κεφάλαια, τῶν ἁγίων  
 20 ἐκείνων ὑπερευφήμων τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, τῆς ὄντως 1032/1033  
 ἐκλογῆς τῶν ἀνέκαθεν κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων θεῶ προσ-  
 θεμένων, τῶν πᾶσαν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν ἐφικτὴν τοῖς ἁγίοις χύ-  
 σιν τῆς σοφίας εἰσδεξαμένων, καὶ τῇ ἀποθέσει τῆς κατὰ φύ-  
 25 σιν ζωῆς, ψυχῆς οὐσίαν πεποιημένων, καὶ διατοῦτο ζῶντα  
 μονώτατον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐσχηκότων, καὶ τὸ δὴ μείζον εἰπεῖν,  
 ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς γεγεννημένον, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἔργων  
 τὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ νοημάτων πᾶσιν ἐμφανιζόμενον, ὡς ἐντεῦ-  
 30 θεν ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκ εἶναι πεπεισθαι τὰ προταθέντα, Χριστοῦ  
 δὲ, τοῦ κατὰ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἑαυτὸν ὑπαλλάξαντος.  
 30 Ἄλλὰ πῶς εἶπω κύριον Ἰησοῦν, μήπω πνεῦμα λαβῶν ἀγίο-  
 τητος; Πῶς λαλήσω τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ μογγιλάλος  
 καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῇ σχέσει προσηλώσας τῶν φθειρομένων; Πῶς  
 ἀκουστάς ποιήσω κἄν τινὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ, ὁ κωφὸς καὶ τὸ  
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκουστικὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πάθη φιλίαν ἔχων  
 35 παντελῶς ἀπεστραμμένον τοῦ Λόγου τὴν μακαρίαν φωνήν;  
 Πῶς ἐμφανῆς ὁ Λόγος γενήσεται μοι τῷ ἡττημένῳ τῷ

21 Eph. 3, 11; cf. Rom. 8, 28; Eph. 1, 11 22/23 Ps. Dion. Ar., Coel. Hier., VII, p. 28, 6 30/31 cf. I Cor. 12, 3 31 (λαλήσω - κυρίου) Ps. 105, 2; cf. Mc. 7, 37 (μογγιλάλος) Is. 35, 6; Mc. 7, 32 33 (ἀκουστάς ... αὐτοῦ) Ps. 105, 2 (κωφός) Is. 35, 5; Mc. 7, 32 36 (ἐμφανῆς - μοι) cf. Sap. 1, 2; Io. 14, 21

A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (=a)  
 Y QGe HGaP

17 ἀπαξιώσας Ge 19 Διονυσίου καὶ] om. Ge 19/20 τῶν - ἀνδρῶν] τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκείνου ὑπερφήμου (sic) τὲ καὶ μακαρίου ἀνδρός Ge 20 ὑπερευ-  
 φήμων H 21 τῶν ἀνέκαθεν] om. N 22/23 χύσιν] *insp. a.* τοῖς Q Ge 23 εἰσδεξάμενον Ge, εἰσδεξάμενων (sic) H τῇ] τὸ Ge 24 πεποιημένον Ge ζῶντα] om. Ge 25 ἐσχηκότα Ge δεῖ P 26 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς Ba, αὐτῷ Ge τῆς ψυχῆς] τὴν ψυχὴν Re Sup γεγεννημένην Ba 27 λόγων καὶ] om. Ge 28 ἐκείνων] ἐκείνω Ge πεπεισμεθα H προτεθέντα ZGe 29 τοῦ] om. aYQGe αὐτοῖς] ἑαυτοῖς H, αὐτῷ Ge 30 εἶπῶ H μήπω] μηπῶ H, ὁ *praet. N* πνεῦμα] *insp. p.* λαβῶν Ge 31 τοῦ] om. H Ga μογγιλάλος Q<sup>a</sup>corr. P, μογγιλάλος A Re Sup NBaZ, μογγιλάλος Am Y 33 κἄν τινὰς A Re Sup NBaZ Va, κἄν τινὰς Y, κἄν τινὰς H 35 ἀπεστραμμένην Re Sup 36 ἡττημένῳ NBaZ



κόσμῳ, νικᾶν τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμφανίζεσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ  
 πεφυκῶς, εἶπερ φιλόλῳ διαθέσει κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἀνεπί-  
 γνωστος; Πῶς οὐ τολμηρὸν τοῖς ἀγίοις τὸν ἐναγῆ, καὶ τοῖς  
 40 καθαροῖς ἐγχειρεῖν τὸν ἀκάθαρτον;

Διὸ παρητησάμην ἂν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις ἐγχειρή-  
 σιν, τὸν τῆς προπετείας ψόγον φοβούμενος, εἰ μὴ πλέον ἐδε-  
 δοίκεν τῆς ἀπειθείας τὸν κίνδυνον. Δυοῖν οὖν τούτοις μέσος  
 διαληφθεὶς, τῆς προπετείας αἰροῦμαι μᾶλλον τὸν ψόγον ὡς  
 45 ἀνεκτότερον, φεύγων ὡς ἀσύγνωστον τῆς ἀπειθείας τὸν κίν-  
 δυνον, καὶ τῇ μεσιτεῖα τῶν ἀγίων, καὶ βοηθεία τῶν ὑμετέρων  
 εὐχῶν, Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν χορη-  
 γοῦντος τὸ νοεῖν εὐσεβῶς καὶ λέγειν δεόντως, περὶ ἐκάστου  
 50 κεφαλαίου τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὡς οἶόν τε ποιήσομαι σύντομον  
 (πρὸς γὰρ διδάσκαλον ὁ λόγος, μικροῖς πορίζεσθαι μεγάλα δυ-  
 νάμενον), ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεόφρονος, ὡς μᾶλ-  
 λον ἡμῖν ὄντος τῷ χρόνῳ προσεχεστέρου.

37 (νικᾶν - κόσμον) Io. 16, 33 (οὐκ - κόσμῳ) Io. 14, 22 39 Ps. Dion.  
 Αγ., Ep. 10, p. 208, 8 43 Greg. Naz., Or. 2, 113, 5-6 (p. 234) 45/46 ibid. 47  
 Tit. 2, 13

A Re Sup Am N Ba Z Va (= a)  
 Y Q Ge H Ga P

38 φιλόλῳ Re Sup 39 οὐ] om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> τοῖς ἀγίοις] τῷ ἀγίῳ Ge  
 τὸν ἐναγῆ] τὸ ἐνάγειν Re Sup, τὸν ἐν ἄγει coní. Gale 40 τὸ Re Sup 41 παρη-  
 τήσαμεν Re κεκελευμένοις Z, κελευσμένοις H, ἐγκεκελευσμένοις Ga  
 42 ψόγον Re<sup>a.corr.</sup> 43 Δυοῖν] δι' οἶν Z οὖν] om. Re Sup Ba Ge H τούτοις  
 Ge H, τοῦ τοῖν Ga (τούτοις corr. Gale) 44 διαληφθεὶς] ληφθεὶς a Y Q Ge  
 μᾶλλον] μαλλό (sic) H, trsp. a. αἰροῦμαι Ba Y<sup>a.corr.</sup> ὡς] om. H 45 ἀσύγνω-  
 στον Ga 46 τοῦ ἀγίου Ge ἡμετέρων Ga Gale 48 τὸ νοεῖν] τὸν νοῦν  
 Ba δεόντως] δέοντος Ge, δὲ ὄντως (sic) H 49 οἶόν τε] οἱ ὄντες Ge 50  
 μεγάλα] trsp. p. δυνάμενον (l. 50-51) N 51 - I, 1 ἀπὸ - Γρηγορίου] om. Ge  
 52 ὄντος] ὄντως H Ga, τοῦ praem. H

I Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Υἱοῦ πρώτου λόγου, εἰς τὸ Διά τοῦτο μονάς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς δυάδα κινηθεῖσα, μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη. Καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου | Εἰρηνικοῦ, εἰς τὸ Μονάδος μὲν κινηθείσης διὰ τὸ 1033/1036  
 5 πλούσιον, δυάδος δὲ ὑπερβαθείσης (ὑπὲρ γὰρ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐξ ὧν τὰ σώματα), τριάδος δὲ ὀρισθείσης διὰ τὸ τέλειον.

Εἰ μὲν τὴν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι διαφωνίαν δοῦλε θεοῦ σκοπήσας, τὴν ἀληθῆ συμφωνίαν ἠπόρησας, οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἔνοιαν τούτων  
 10 τῶν φωνῶν ἐνωτικωτέραν εὑρεῖν. Ταυτὸν γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπερβαθῆναι δυάδα, καὶ μὴ στῆναι μέχρι δυάδος, καὶ πάλιν ὀρισθῆναι τριάδα, καὶ μέχρι τριάδος στῆναι τῆς μονάδος τὴν κίνησιν, εἰ-  
 15 περ μοναρχίαν πρεσβεύομεν, οὐκ ἀφιλότιμον, ὡς ἐνὶ προσώπῳ περιγεγραμμένην, ἣ πάλιν ἄτακτον, ὡς εἰς ἄπειρον χεομένην,  
 ἀλλ' ἦν ὁμότιμος φύσει τριάς, Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα συ-

2/3 Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 2, 13-14 (p. 180) 4/7 id., Or. 23, 8, 9-11 (p. 298)  
 10/11 (ὑπερβαθῆναι δυάδα) supra, l. 5 11 (μὴ - δυάδος) cf. supra, l. 2-3 11/  
 12 (ὀρισθῆναι τριάδα) supra, l. 6 12 (μέχρι - στῆναι) supra, l. 3 (τῆς - κίνη-  
 σιν) cf. supra, l. 2 et 4 12/13 (εἴπερ - πρεσβεύομεν) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 2, 6-7  
 (p. 178) 13 (ἀφιλότιμον) id., Or. 23, 8, 13 (p. 298) 13/14 (ὡς - περι-  
 γεγραμμένην) cf. eund., Or. 29, 2, 7-8 (p. 178) 14 (ἄτακτον) id., Or. 23, 8,  
 14 (p. 298) (εἰς - χεομένην) ibid., 8, 13 (p. 298) 15/16 (ἀλλ' ἦν - συνίστησιν)  
 cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 2, 9 (p. 178)

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
 Y QGe Mo HGa P X (pro l. 1-9 cf. introd. p. LXX)

1 Τοῦ - λόγου] ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου γρηγορίου· περὶ υἱοῦ Am, om. Mo Γρηγορίου] τοῦ θεολόγου add. Ba Öhler/PG (e Gud. gr. 39) 2 εἰς τὸ] om. Ge τοῦτο] τοῦ HP μηνάς (sic) Ge 2/3 εἰς<sup>2</sup> - ἔστη] om. Mo 3/4 τοῦ αὐτοῦ - εἰς τὸ] εἰς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου εἰρηνικοῦ Mo 3 τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] om. Am 4/5 διὰ - ὑπερβαθείσης] om. Q 5 δὲ] om. H ὑπὲρ γὰρ] διὰ Ga<sup>in mg. (manu Pat- rick Young)</sup> Gale 6 δὲ] om. Y 8 δοκοῦσαν εἶναι] om. Ge 9 συμφωνία H ἠπορήσας Am 10/11 ἐνωτικωτέραν - πάλιν] om. Va<sup>a.corr.</sup> 10 ἐνωτικωτέραν N Ba Mo H Ga Gale Öhler/PG 11 δυάδα] τριάδα Ba καὶ<sup>1</sup> - μέχρι] iter. Z μὴ] om. Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> δυάδος] τριάδος Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> 12 τὴν] τῆσ. a. τῆς Mo 13 πρεσβεύομεν Sup Ga ἀφιλότιμος Ge ἐνὶ ἐν Ge 14 εἰς] om. Ge 15 ἦν Sup NBa, ἦν Ge ὁμότιμος (sic) H, ὁμοτίμως X

νίστησιν ἅγιον, ὧν πλοῦτος ἢ συμφυῖτα καὶ τὸ ἐν ἕξαλμα τῆς λαμπρότητος, οὔτε ὑπὲρ ταῦτα τῆς θεότητος χεομένης, ἵνα μὴ δῆμον θεῶν εἰσαγάγωμεν, οὔτε ἐντὸς τούτων ὀριζομένης, ἵνα μὴ πενίαν θεότητος κατακριθῶμεν.

- 20 Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν αἰτιολογία τοῦτο τῆς ὑπερουσίου τῶν ὄντων αἰτίας, ἀλλ' εὐσεβοῦς περὶ αὐτῆς δόξης ἀπόδειξις, εἶπερ μονάς, ἀλλ' οὐ δυάς, καὶ τριάς, ἀλλ' οὐ πλῆθος ἢ θεότης, ὡς ἄναρχος, ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀστασιαστος. Μονάς γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἢ μονάς. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν κατὰ διαστολῆς συστολήν, ἵνα
- 25 χεθῆ φυσικῶς εἰς πλῆθος ὀδεύουσα, ἀλλ' ἐνυπόστατος ὄντοτης ὁμοουσίου τριάδος. Καὶ τριάς ἀληθῶς ἢ τριάς, οὐκ ἀριθμῶ λυομένῳ συμπληρουμένη. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν μονάδων σύνθεσις, ἵνα πάθῃ διαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνούσιος ὑπαρξίς τρισυποστάτου μονάδος. Μονάς γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἢ τριάς, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστίν, καὶ τριάς ἀλη-
- 30 θῶς ἢ μονάς, ὅτι οὕτως ὑφέστηκεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μία θεότης, οὐσά τε μοναδικῶς, καὶ ὑφισταμένη τριαδικῶς.

- Εἰ δὲ κίνησιν ἀκούσας, ἐθαύμασας πῶς ὑπεράπειρος κινεῖται θεότης, ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐκείνης τὸ πάθος, πρῶτον τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον αὐτῆς ἔλλαμπομένων, καὶ οὕτω τὸν τοῦ πῶς αὐτὴν ὑφε-
- 35 στάναι τρόπον φωτιζομένων, εἶπερ τὸ εἶναι τοῦ πῶς εἶναι πάντως προεπινοεῖται. Κίνησις οὖν θεότητος, ἢ δι' ἐκφάνσεως γινομένη περὶ τε τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ πῶς αὐτὴν ὑφεστάναι, τοῖς αὐτῆς δεκτικοῖς καθέστηκε γνῶσις.

16/17 (ὧν - λαμπρότητος) id., Or. 40, 5, 8-10 (p. 204) 17/19 (οὔτε - κατακριθῶμεν) id., Or. 38, 8, 15-17 (p. 118); id., Or. 45, PG 36, 628C10-12 26 (τριάς - τριάς) id., Or. 23, 10, 11 (p. 300) 26/27 (οὐκ - λυομένῳ) ibid., 10, 16 (p. 302) 27/28 (Οὐ - διαίρεσιν) cf. ibid., 10, 11-13 (p. 300)

A Re Sup Am N Ba Z Va (= a)  
Y Q Ge Mo H <sup>usque ad οὕτως (l. 30)</sup> Ga P X

16 πλοῦτος] ὁ *praem.* Ba, πλοῦτός ἐστιν Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> 18 εἰσαγάγομεν  
Re<sup>a.corr.</sup> τούτοις P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> 19 κατακρίνωμεν H Ga 20 τοῦτο] om.  
Ge 23 γὰρ] γὰρ ἐστίν Mo 25 φυσικῶν Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> ἐνυπόστατον  
Re Sup<sup>a.corr.</sup> ἐνυπόστατον (sic) Gale ὄντοτης] ὄν τὸ τῆς Re Sup X Gale, ταυτότης  
Mo 26 ἢ] om. Am 27 συμπληρουμένη] ἢ *praem.* Ge 29 οὗτός H 30  
ἢ μονάς] ἢ τριάς (sic) H, om. Gale ἐφέστηκεν Am 31 καὶ - τριαδικῶς]  
om. Z 32 πῶς] ἢ (sic) *praem.* P ὑπεράπειρος] ἢ *praem.* Am Ga 33 ἐκεί-  
νοις Ga 34 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> αὐτὴν] αὐτὰ Mo 35 τρόπου Z  
36 κίνησιν Ge θεότης A<sup>a.corr.</sup> ut v. 37 γενομένη Ge τοῦ] om.  
Ga P X 38 τῆς Ge αὐτοῖς Q δεκτικῆς Ge

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρώτου λόγου, εἰς τὸ Ἐνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑψηλότερα πρόσαγε τῇ θεότητι καὶ τῇ κρείττονι φύσει | παθῶν καὶ σώματος, τὰ δὲ ταπεινότερα τῷ συνθέτῳ καὶ τῷ διὰ σὲ κενωθέντι καὶ 5 σαρκωθέντι, οὐδὲν δὲ χειρόν εἶπεῖν καὶ ἀνθρωπισθέντι.

Ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος, ὅλος οὐσία πλήρης ὑπάρχων (θεὸς γάρ), καὶ ὑπόστασις ὅλος ἀνελλιπής (Υἱὸς γάρ), κενωθείς μὲν, σπορὰ γέγονε τῆς οἰκείας σαρκός, ἀρρήτῳ δὲ συλλήψει συντεθείς, αὐτῆς ὑπόστασις γέγονε τῆς προσληφθείσης σαρκός. Καὶ τούτῳ 10 τῷ καινῷ μυστηρίῳ κατ'ἀλήθειαν ἀτρέπτως ὅλος γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, δύο φύσεων, ἀκτίστου τὲ καὶ κτιστῆς, ἀπαθοῦς τὲ καὶ παθητῆς, ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν, πάντας ἀνελλιπῶς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ὧν ὑπόστασις ἦν λόγους ἐπιδεχόμενος.

Εἰ δὲ πάντας οὐσιωδῶς ὧν ὑπόστασις ἦν τοὺς φυσικοὺς 15 ἐπεδέχετο λόγους, αὐτῷ συνθέτῳ γενομένῳ τῇ προσλήψει τῆς σαρκός κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, πᾶν σοφῶς ὁ διδάσκαλος, ἵνα μὴ ψιλὰ νομισθῇ, τὰ τῆς οἰκείας σαρκός πάθη προσένειμεν, αὐτοῦ τὲ τῆς σαρκός ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ κατ'αὐτὴν ἀληθῶς ὄντι θεῷ παθητῷ κατὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

1/5 Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 18, 21-25 (p. 216) 4 (κενωθέντι) cf. Phil. 2, 7 5  
 (σαρκωθέντι) cf. Io., 1, 14 7 (κενωθείς) cf. Phil. 2, 7; cf. etiam supra, 1. 4 15  
 supra, 1. 4 17 Greg. Naz., Or. 30, 1, 8-9 (p. 226) 18/19 ibid., 1, 10-11 (p. 226)

A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (=a)  
 Y Q Ge GaP

1 Τοῦ - λόγου] τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου τοῦ πρώτου Y, om. Ge Τοῦ αὐτοῦ] *ισp.*  
*p.* λόγου Am αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] om. Z Ga δὲ] om. Am 3 παθῶν] ψυχῆς *add.*  
 Ba 4 τῷ<sup>1</sup>] τῇ Am Z τῷ<sup>2</sup>] τὸ Ga, om. aYQ Ge 4/5 καὶ σαρκωθέντι] om.  
 Ge 6 πλήρης] καὶ *praem.* Am 8 οἰκείας] ἰδίας Ba 9 προληφθείσης Sup  
 Z Ga 10 ὅλως Sup Am 12 ἀνελλιπῶς] *ισp. p.* φυσικοὺς (l. 13) Ba 13 ὧν  
 Ge λόγους] τοὺς *praem.* P<sup>corr.</sup> 15 ὑπεδέχετο Z, ἐπιδέχεται P 16 μὴ]  
 om. Re

- 20 Οὐσίας τοίνυν καθ'ἣν καὶ σαρκωθείς ἀπλοῦς ὁ Λόγος μεμ-  
νηκε, καὶ ὑποστάσεως καθ'ἣν προσλήψει σαρκὸς γέγονε σύν-  
θετος, καὶ θεὸς παθητὸς οἰκονομικῶς ἐχρημάτισε, δεικνὺς τὴν  
διαφορὰν ὃ διδάσκαλος, ταῦτα φησὶν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ τῆς ὑποστά-  
σεως κατηγοροῦντες ἐξ ἀγνοίας τῆς φύσεως, λάθωμεν κατὰ  
25 τοὺς Ἀρειανούς θεῶ φύσει παθητῶ προσκυνοῦντες.  
Οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνθρωπισθέντι προσέθηκεν, οὐ  
μόνον διὰ τοὺς Ἀρειανούς, ἀντὶ ψυχῆς τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τοὺς  
Ἀπολιναριστὰς, ἄνουν τὴν ψυχὴν δογματίζοντας, καὶ τούτῳ  
τῷ τρόπῳ τὸ τέλειον τῆς καθ'ἡμᾶς τοῦ Λόγου περιτέμνον-  
30 τας φύσεως, καὶ φύσει θεότητος παθητὸν αὐτὸν ποιουμένους,  
ἀλλ'ἵνα καὶ δειχθῆ τέλειος ἡμῖν γεγονὼς κατ'ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρω-  
πος ὁ μονογενῆς θεός, ὡς δι'ἐνεργούς φύσει σαρκὸς, νοερῶς τε  
καὶ λογικῶς ἐψυχωμένης, αὐτουργῶν τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν, εἴ-  
περ κατὰ πάντα χωρὶς μόνης ἁμαρτίας, ἧς οὐδεὶς τῆ φύσει  
35 παντελῶς ἐνέσπαρται λόγος, ἀλλ'οὐ χωρὶς φυσικῆς ἐνερ-  
γείας ἀληθῶς γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ἧς ὁ λόγος, ὄρος τῆς οὐσίας  
ἐστίν, πάντας χαρακτηρίζων φυσικῶς οἷς κατ'οὐσίαν ἐμπέ-  
φυκεν. Τὸ γὰρ κοινῶς τὲ καὶ γενικῶς τινῶν κατηγορούμενον,  
ὄρος τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας ἐστίν, οὐ πάντως ἢ στέρησις, φθορὰν  
40 ἐργάζεται φύσεως, εἴπερ οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων τοῦ φύσει πεφυ-  
κότος στερούμενον, ὅπερ ἦν μένει σωζόμενον.

20 supra, l. 5; cf. etiam Io. 1, 14 21/22 (σύνθετος) supra, l. 4 22 (θεὸς -  
οἰκονομικῶς) cf. supra, l. 18-19 26 supra, l. 5 32 Io. 1, 18 34 Hebr. 4, 15

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
Y Q Ge Ga P

20 ὁ Λόγος] *trsp. p.* μεμνήκε (l. 20-21) NBa Z Ga 21 σαρκὸς] *om.* Ba  
22 παθητῶς Am 23/25 ἵνα - προσκυνοῦντες] *ut textum Gregorii erronee indicant*  
Ga Gale Ohler/PG 23 τὰ] *om.* Z 24 ἐξ - φύσεως] *om.* Ga λάχωμεν  
Sup<sup>a.corr.</sup> 28 δογματίζοντος Sup 30 αὐτὸν] τὸν *praem.* A<sup>a.corr.</sup> 31 ἡμῶν  
Z κατὰ Re Ge 33 ἐμψυχωμένης Re Sup Ba<sup>p.corr.</sup> Z Ge, ἐμψυχομένης  
Ga αὐτουργῶς Re Sup ἡμῶν] *trsp. p.* σωτηρίαν Re Sup 33/34 εἴπερ]  
εἶτα (*sic*) Ge 36 ἀληθῶς] *om.* Z ὄρος] *trsp. p.* οὐσίας Ba 38 κατηγο-  
ρουμένων Ba Z 39 αὐτῶν] *om.* Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> ἢ στέρησις] ὑστέρησις Ge 40/  
41 πεφυκότως Ge

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου· Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ νῦν σοι καταφρονούμενος, ἦν ὅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ σέ ἦν, ὁ νῦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀσύνθετος ἦν. Ὁ μὲν ἦν διέμεινεν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦν προσέλαβεν. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ἀναιτίως (τίς γὰρ αἰτία θεοῦ;), 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον γέγονε δι' αἰτίαν (ἡ δὲ ἦν, τὸ σέ σωθῆναι τὸν ὑβριστὴν, ὃς διὰ τοῦτο περιφρονεῖς θεότητα, ὅτι τὴν σὴν παχύτητα κατεδέξατο), διὰ μέσου νοὸς ὁμιλήσας σαρκί, καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ κάτω θεὸς, ἐπειδὴ συνανεκράθη θεῷ, καὶ γέγονεν εἷς, τοῦ 10 κρείττονος ἐκνικήσαντος, ἵνα γένωμαι τοσοῦτον θεὸς ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος.

Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ νῦν σοι καταφρονούμενος φησὶν, ἦν ὅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ σέ ἦν, παντὸς αἰῶνος δηλονότι καὶ πάσης δι' ἑαυτὸν ὑπάρχων ἐπέκεινα φύσεως, καὶ ὑπ' ἄμφω νῦν διὰ σέ γεγένηται 15 θέλων, ὁ νῦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀσύνθετος ἦν, τὴν τε φύσιν ἀπλοῦς καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἅτε δὴ μόνον θεὸς, γυμνὸς σώματος καὶ τῶν ὅσα σώματος, καὶ νῦν προσλήψει σαρκὸς ψυχὴν ἐχούσης νοεράν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν γέγονε, τὴν ὑπόστασιν σύνθετος, διαμείνας ὅπερ ἦν, τὴν φύσιν ἀπλοῦς, ἵνα σέ σώσῃ τὸν ἄνθρω-

1/11 Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 19, 1-10 (p. 216-218) 4 Io. 1, 1 5/6 (σωθῆναι - ὑβριστὴν) cf. I Tim. 1, 13 et 15 12/13 supra, l. 1-2 15 supra, l. 2-3 16/17 Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 13, p. 42, 2-4; cf. ibid., 25, p. 46, 13-14 17 (προσλήψει σαρκὸς) cf. ibid., 14, p. 42, 4-5 18/19 supra, l. 3 19/20 (ἵνα - ἄνθρωπον) cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 14, p. 42, 4-5

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
Y Q Ge Ga P

1 Τοῦ - λόγου] om. Ge Τοῦ αὐτοῦ] om. Am αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] om. Re Sup  
λόγου] εἰς τὸ add. Ga Gale Öhler/PG οὕτως Ge Ga 8 ἄνθρωπος] om.  
A<sup>a.corr.</sup> 9 συνεκράθη Am 10 γένομαι Ba Z Ge Ga 14 ἄμφων Am 16  
ὑπόστασιν (sic) P 17 νῦν] om. Re Sup 19 τῇ φύσει Z σώσει Ge<sup>a.corr.</sup>

20 πον. Ταύτην γὰρ τῆς σαρκικῆς αὐτοῦ μόνην αἰτίαν ἔσχε γεννή-  
σεως, τὴν σωτηριάν τῆς φύσεως, ἧς ὑπελθὼν καθάπερ τι πάχος  
τὸ παθητὸν, διὰ μέσου νοὸς ὠμίλησε σαρκί, γενόμενος ἄνθρω-  
πος, ὁ κάτω θεὸς, πάντα ὑπὲρ πάντων γενόμενος ὅσα ἡμεῖς,  
πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας· σῶμα, ψυχὴ, νοῦς, δι' ὅσων ὁ θάνατος,  
25 τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τούτων, ἄνθρωπος, θεὸς ὁρώμενος διὰ τὸ νοού-  
μενον.

Αὐτὸς οὖν κυρίως δίχα τροπῆς πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσει πα-  
θητὸν κενωθείς ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀληθῶς διὰ  
σαρκώσεως γενόμενος αἰσθησιν, θεὸς ὁρατὸς, καὶ κάτω θεὸς  
30 προσηγορεύθη, διὰ σαρκὸς φύσει παθητῆς τὴν ὑπεράπειρον ἐμ-  
φανῆ ποιησάμενος δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ συνανεκράθη θεῷ προδή-  
λως ἢ σὰρξ, καὶ γέγονεν εἷς, τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκνικήσαντος,  
ὑποστατικῆ ταυτότητι κυρίως αὐτὴν τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου  
θεώσαντος.

35 Εἷς δὲ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ἐν ὁ διδάσκαλος εἶπεν, δεικνύς ὅτι  
κάν τῆ ταυτότητι τῆς μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως, μεμένηκεν ἡ φυσικὴ  
τῶν ἠνωμένων ἑτερότης ἀσύγχυτος, εἶπερ τὸ μὲν, ὑποστάσεως,  
τὸ δέ, φύσεως ὑπάρχει δηλωτικόν.

Τὸ γὰρ ἵνα γένωμαι τοσοῦτον θεὸς ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος,  
40 οὐκ ἐμὸν λέγειν τοῦ ῥυπωθέντος τῆ ἀμαρτία, καὶ τελείως τῆς  
ὄντως οὐσης ἀνορεκτοῦντος ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀπολείψει  
τελεία τῆς φύσεως, ἐκ μόνης γνωριζομένων τῆς χάριτος, καὶ  
μελλόντων ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον διαδειχθῆναι δυνάμεως,  
ὅσον ὁ φύσει θεὸς τῆς ἡμῶν σαρκωθείς ἀσθενείας μετείληφεν,

22/23 (διὰ - θεὸς) supra, l. 7-9 23/26 (πάντα - νοούμενον) Greg. Naz., Or.  
30, 21, 7-10 (p. 272) 23 (πάντα ... γενόμενος) I Cor. 9, 22 24 (πλὴν - ἀμαρ-  
τίας) cf. Hebr. 4, 15 29 supra, l. 8-9 31 supra, l. 9 32 supra, l. 9-10 35  
supra, l. 9 39 supra, l. 10-11 43/44 (τοσοῦτον ... ὅσον) supra, l. 10-11 et 39

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
Y Q Ge Ga P

21 πάθος Q 24 ὅσον Ba 27 κυρίως] *ms. p.* τροπῆς A φύσει] ῥύ-  
σει Re Sup 29 σαρκώσεως] τῆς *praem.* Z 32 καὶ] *iter.* Am 33 προ-  
λαβόντος A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Λόγου] *om.* Ba 39 γένομαι Ge Ga 41 ἀπολήψει Ga,  
ἀπολήψει P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> Gale Ohler/PG 43 κατ' αὐτὴν] κατὰ τὴν Re Sup, τῶν  
*praem.* Re<sup>a.corr.</sup>

- 45 ἀντιμετρομένης ὡς οἶδεν αὐτὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ κενώσει, τῆς τῶν  
 χάριτι σωζομένων θεώσεως, ὅλων θεοειδῶν, καὶ ὅλου θεοῦ  
 χωρητικῶν καὶ μόνου γενησομένων. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τελείωσις  
 πρὸς ἣν σπεύδουσιν οἱ ταύτην ἀληθῶς ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν  
 πιστεύσαντες.

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46/48 Greg. Naz., Or. 30, 6, 38-39 (p. 238)

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A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (= a)  
 Y QGe GaP

45 ἀντιμετρομένης] ἄρτι μετρομένης Z 46 χαρίτων Re 47  
 χωρητικόν Ga<sup>a.com.</sup> μόνον Re 48 ἔπεσθαι Gale



| Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ Υἱοῦ λόγου, εἰς τὸ  
 Ὡς μὲν γὰρ Λόγος, οὔτε ὑπήκοος ἦν, οὔτε ἀνήκοος.  
 Τῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ταῦτα καὶ τῶν δευτέρων, τὸ μὲν,  
 τῶν εὐγνωμονεστέρων, τὸ δὲ, τῶν ἀξίων κολάσεως. Ὡς  
 5 δὲ δούλου μορφῇ, συγκαταβαίνει τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις καὶ  
 δούλοις, καὶ μορφοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον, ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
 ἐμὲ φέρων μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν, ἵνα ἐν ἑαυτῷ δαπανήσῃ τὸ  
 χεῖρον, ὡς κηρὸν πῦρ, ἢ ὡς ἀτμίδα γῆς ἢ ἥλιος, ἀγῶ  
 μεταλάβω τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν σύγκρασιν. Διατοῦτο  
 10 ἔργω τιμᾶ τὴν ὑπακοὴν, καὶ πειρᾶται ταύτης ἐκ τοῦ  
 παθεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸν ἢ διάθεσις, ὥσπερ οὐ δὲ ἡμῖν,  
 εἰ μὴ καὶ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων χωρήσαιμεν. Ἔργον γὰρ  
 ἀπόδειξις διαθέσεως. Οὐ χεῖρον δὲ ἴσως κάκεινο ὑπο-  
 λαβεῖν, ὅτι δοκιμάζει τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπακοὴν, καὶ πάν-  
 15 τα μετρεῖ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πάθεσι τὰ ἡμέτερα, τέχνη φι-  
 λανθρωπίας, ὥστε ἔχειν εἰδέναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἡμέ-  
 τερα, καὶ πόσον μὲν ἀπαιτούμεθα, πόσον δὲ συγχωρού-  
 μεθα, λογιζομένης μετὰ τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας.

Ὡς μὲν γὰρ φύσει θεὸς Λόγος, ὑπακοῆς φησὶ καὶ παρακοῆς  
 20 πάντως ἐλεύθερος, ὅτι καὶ φύσει πάσης ἐντολῆς ὡς κύριος

2/18 Greg. Naz., Or. 30, 6, 5-20 (p. 236)    5 Phil. 2, 7    10/11 (ἔργω - πα-  
 θεῖν) cf. Hebr. 5, 8    19 supra, l. 2

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
 Y Q Ge Ga P

1 Τοῦ - λόγου] ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ υἱοῦ λόγου τοῦ αὐτοῦ γρηγορίου Am,  
 om. Ge 2' Ως] ὁ Y Λόγος] θεὸς Z<sup>a. corr.</sup> 3 Τῶν] τὸν Ga δευτέρων]  
 δευτέρω Q 5 μορφῇ Re Sup NBa Q Ga P<sup>a. corr.</sup>, μορφῇ Am Z, μορφῆν Ge (cf. in-  
 fra, app. crit. ad IV, 25 et 31) συγκαταβαίνον (sic) Ge 5/6 καὶ δούλοις] om.  
 NBa 6 ὅλην Re 7 ἐμὲ] *trsp. p.* φέρων Ba αὐτῷ Ba 9 ἐκείνων  
 Re Sup 9/10 Διατοῦτο - ὑπακοὴν] om. Ba 12 καὶ] om. Ba Z χωρήσαι  
 μὲν Re Sup 13 δὲ] om. Z 15 παθήμασι Re 15/17 τέχνη - ἡμέτερα] om.  
 Y 18 μετὰ] καὶ τὰ Ba τῆς] τὰ *praem.* Ge 19 γὰρ] om. Y Λόγος] ὁ  
*praem.* Ga P

ὑπάρχει δοτῆρ, ἣς ἡ μὲν ὑπακοή, τήρησις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ παρακοή, παράβασις. Τῶν γὰρ φύσει κινουμένων, ὁ κατ'ἐντολήν νόμος καὶ ἡ κατ'αὐτὸν πλήρωσις ἐστὶ καὶ παράβασις, οὐχ'οὐ φύσει τὸ εἶναι στάσις ἐστίν.

- 25 Ὡς δὲ δούλου μορφῇ, τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπος φύσει γενόμενος, συγκατέβη τοῖς ὁμοδόλοις καὶ δούλοις, μορφωθεὶς τὸ ἄλλότριον, ἅμα τῇ φύσει, καὶ τὸ καθ'ἡμᾶς τῆς φύσεως ὑποδύς παθητόν. Ἄλλότριον γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀναμαρτήτου, τὸ τοῦ ἁμαρτήσαντος ἐπιτίμιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ διὰ τὴν παράβασιν κα-
- 30 τακριθὲν τῆς ὅλης φύσεως παθητόν.

- Εἰ δὲ κενωθείς μὲν, δούλου μορφῇ, τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπος, συγκαταβάς δὲ, μορφοῦται τὸ ἄλλότριον, τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπος φύσει γίνεται παθητὸς, κένωσις ἄρα περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλόανθρωπον θεωρεῖται καὶ συγκατάβασις, ἡ μὲν,
- 35 ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς, ἡ δὲ, φύσει παθητόν ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς ὄντα δεικνύσα γεγενημένον. Διὸ φησὶν ὁ διδάσκαλος | ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐμὲ φέρων μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν, τουτέστι τὴν ἀνθρωπίαν φύσιν ὀλόκληρον, ἐνώσει τῇ καθ'ὑπόστασιν, μετὰ τῶν αὐτῆς ἀδιαβλήτων παθῶν οἷς ἡμῶν δαπανήσας τὸ χεῖρον, δι'ὃ τῇ
- 40 φύσει τὸ παθητόν ἐπεισεκρίθη (λέγω δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρακοῆς νόμον τῆς ἁμαρτίας, οὗ κράτος ἐστὶν ἡ παρὰ φύσιν τῆς ἡμε-

1041/1044

25/27 supra, l. 4-6 31/32 cf. supra, l. 25-27 36/37 supra, l. 6-7 38/39  
 (τῶν ... ἀδιαβλήτων παθῶν) Cyrill. Alex., Ep. 45, p. 155, 22; Leont. Byz., C. Nest. et Eutychn. II, PG 86<sup>1</sup>, 1337A1-2; Eulog. Alex. (?), In fest. palm., 8, PG 86<sup>2</sup>, 2925C2-3; Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 450, 18-19; ibid., p. 458, 6 39 (δαπανήσας - χεῖρον) supra, l. 7-8 40/41 Rom. 7, 23

A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (= a)  
 Y QGe GaP

21 ὑπακοῆ] παρακοῆ Re τήρησις] παράβασις Re παρακοῆ] ὑπακοῆ Re 22 παράβασις] τήρησις Re 22/23 Τῶν - παράβασις] om. Q  
 23 οὐχὶ A Re Sup Am Ba Z<sup>a.corr.</sup> Y οὐ] οὐ Re Sup Am Ba Z 25 μορφῇ Sup Ga, μορφῇ Re Gale Ohler/PG, μορφὴν Ge (cf. app. crit. ad IV, 5 et 31) 27 τῆς φύσεως] om. Ga Gale 28 ἀναμαρτήτων Am 29 ὡσπερ Ge 31 κενωθείς] καίνωθεις (sic) Ge μορφῇ A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Am NBaYQ<sup>p.corr.</sup> Ga Comh μορφῇ Sup Gale Ohler/PG, μορφῆς Q<sup>a.corr.</sup>, μορφὴν Ge (cf. supra, app. crit. ad IV, 5 et 25) 33 φύσει] *trsp. p.* γίνεται Re παθητὸς, κένωσις] παθητὸς κενωθείς, (sic) Ga αὐτῶν Ge Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> 35 ἄνθρωπον] ἄνθρωπος Z 36 δεικνύσαι Re ὅλην Ge 37 τουτέστι] τέστι (sic) Ba ἀνθρωπίαν Ga, ἀνθρωπίην Ba Gale 39 ἡμᾶς Re Sup δι'ὃ τῇ] διότι Ge 40 ὑπεισεκρίθη Re Sup

τέρας γνώμης διάθεσις, ἐμπάθειαν τῷ παθητῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐπεισάγουσα κατ'ἀνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν), οὐ μόνον σέσωκεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας κατεχομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ θείας δυνάμεως  
 45 μεταδέδωκεν, ἐν ἑαυτῷ λύσας ἡμῶν τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, ψυχῆς ἀ-  
 τρεψίαν, καὶ σώματος ἀφθαρσίαν ἐργαζομένης ἐν τῇ περὶ τὸ  
 φύσει καλὸν τῆς γνώμης ταυτότητι, τοῖς ἔργω τιμᾶν τὴν χά-  
 ριν σπουδάζουσιν. Ὅπερ οἶμαι διδάσκων ὁ ἅγιος φησίν· ἵνα ἐν  
 ἑαυτῷ δαπανῆσῃ τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς κηρὸν πῦρ, ἢ ὡς ἀτμίδα γῆς  
 50 ἥλιος, καὶ γὰρ μεταλάβω τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν σύγκρασιν, κα-  
 θαρὸς δηλαδὴ τῇ χάριτι πάθους ἴσως ἐκείνω γενόμενος.

Οἶδα δὲ καὶ λόγον ἕτερον περὶ τοῦ μορφοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον, παρά τινος ἀγίου σοφοῦ τε καὶ λόγον καὶ βίον μαθῶν. Ἐλεγε γὰρ ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐκείνος, ἀλλότριον εἶναι τοῦ Λόγου φύσει τὴν  
 55 ὑπακοήν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὴν ὑποταγήν, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παραβάντων τὴν ἐντολήν ἐκτίσας, ὄλην εἰργάσατο τοῦ γένους τὴν σωτη-  
 ρίαν, ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος τὸ ἡμέτερον.

Διατοῦτο ἔργω τιμᾶ τὴν ὑπακοήν, νέος Ἀδὰμ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πα-  
 λαιοῦ φύσει γενόμενος, καὶ πειρᾶται ταύτης ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν,  
 60 διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκουσίως ἡμῖν ἐνεχθεὶς παθημάτων, εἴπερ κατὰ  
 τοῦτον ἀληθῶς τὸν μέγαν διδάσκαλον ἐκοπίασε καὶ ἐπείνησε  
 καὶ ἐδίψησε καὶ ἠγωνίασε καὶ ἐδάκρυσε νόμῳ σώματος, ὃ

43/44 Greg. Naz., Or. 30, 3, 5 (p. 230) 44/45 (θείας - μεταδέδωκεν) cf. II Petri 1, 3-4 48/50 supra, l. 7-9 52 supra, l. 6, 26-27 et 32 56/57 Ps. 73, 12 57 cf. supra, l. 16-17 58 supra, l. 9-10 58/59 (νέος - γενόμενος) cf. I Cor. 15, 45 59 supra, l. 10-11 61/62 Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 15, 2-3 (p. 138); id., Or. 45, PG 36, 660C2-3; cf. et infra, V, 91-92

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (=a)

Y Q Ge Ga P

42 ἐμπάθειαν] ἐν πάθει N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ba Z, ἐνπάθειαν (sic) N<sup>p.corr.</sup> τὸ παθητὸν  
 Z 43 κατὰ Va 47 ταυτότητα Ba, τὸ αὐτότητι Ge 48 ἵνα] om. Ba,  
 ἵν' Z 49 αὐτῷ Q<sup>a.corr.</sup> 51 τῇ χάριτι] om. Ba πάθους] τοῦ *paem.*  
 Ba ἴσος Sup Am Va, ἴσος Re NBa Z ἐκείνο Ge, ἐκείνο (sic) Ga 52 δὲ]  
 om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> καὶ] om. Am 53 τε] om. A<sup>p.corr.</sup> λόγον καὶ βίον] βίον καὶ λό-  
 γον Ba 54 ἐνωτισθεὶς Q<sup>c.corr.</sup>, ἐνωτηθεὶς Q<sup>a.corr.</sup> ut v. 55 παραλαμβάνων  
 Re 56 ἐκτίσας Ga ὄλην] ὁ μὲν Am 59 ταύτην Q 60 ἐκουσίων  
 A Re Sup Am NZ Va Y Q ἡμῖν] *insp. a.* ἐκουσίως Ba 61 τούτων Ge Ga μέ-  
 γα Re ἐπείνασε A Re Q 62 ἐδίψησε] ἠγωνίασεν Q Ge ἠγωνίασε] ἐδί-  
 ψησεν Q Ge

δὴ σαφῆς ἐνεργοῦς ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις διαθέσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς  
 τοὺς ὁμοδούλους τὲ καὶ δούλους τεκμήριον συγκαταβάσεως.  
 65 Δεσπότης γὰρ φύσει μεμένηκε, καὶ δούλος δι' ἐμὲ τὸν φύσει  
 δούλον γενόμενος, ἵνα ποιήσῃ δεσπότην τοῦ δι' ἀπάτης τυραν-  
 νικῶς κυριεύσαντος.

Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν δουρικὰ δεσποτικῶς ἐνεργῶν, τουτέστι τὰ  
 σαρκικὰ θεϊκῶς, τὴν ἀπαθῆ καὶ φύσει δεσποζουσαν ἐν τοῖς  
 70 σαρκικοῖς ἐπεδείκνυτο δύναμιν, διὰ πάθους τὴν φθορὰν ἀφανί-  
 ζουσαν, καὶ διὰ θανάτου ζωὴν δημιουργοῦσαν ἀνώλεθρον. Τὰ  
 δεσποτικά δὲ πράττων δουρικῶς, τουτέστι τὰ θεϊκὰ σαρκικῶς,  
 τὴν ἄφατον ἐνεδείκνυτο κένωσιν, διὰ σαρκὸς παθητῆς τὸ γένος  
 ἅπαν τῇ φθορᾷ γεωθὲν θεωργοῦσαν. Τῇ γὰρ τούτων ἐπαλλαγῇ  
 75 σαφῶς ἐπιστοῦτο τὰς τε φύσεις ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν, καὶ  
 τὰς αὐτῶν οὐσιώδεις ἐνεργείας ἤγουν κινήσεις, ὧν αὐτὸς ἔνω-  
 σις ἦν ἀσύγχυτος, μὴ δεχομένη διαίρεσιν κατ' ἄμφω τὰς φύσεις  
 ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν, εἴπερ ἑαυτῷ προσφυῶς, μοναδικῶς  
 τουτέστιν ἐνοειδῶς ἐνεργῶν, καὶ δι' ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γι-  
 80 νομένων, τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεότητος ἀχωρίστως συνεκ-  
 φαίνων τῆς οἰκείας σαρκὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν.

Αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐνὸς ὄντος οὐδὲν ἐνικώτερον, | οὐ δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν 1044/1045  
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παντελῶς ἐνωτικώτερον ἢ σωστικώτερον. Διατοῦ-  
 το καὶ πάσχων, θεὸς ἦν ἀληθῶς, καὶ θαυματουργῶν, ἄνθρωπος

63 (ἐνεργοῦς - διαθέσεως) cf. supra, l. 12-13 63/64 (τῆς συγκαταβάσεως)  
 cf. supra, l. 5-6

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
 Y Q Ge Ga P

63 ἐνεργοῦς] ἐναργοῦς N Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>, *trsp. p.* ἐστὶν NBa Z 64 τοὺς] om.  
 Z τὲ] om. Am 65 μεμένηκε P φύσει<sup>2</sup>] *trsp. p.* δούλον (l. 66) Z 66  
 ποιήσει Z Ga 69 σαρκικά] σαρκικῶς Y 70 ἐπεδείκνυστο Sup 71 δη-  
 μιουργοῦντα Q, δημιουργοῦσαν ἄν (sic) Ge<sup>p.corr.</sup> ἀνώλεθρον Am Ba Ge P  
 Comb 72 πράττων] πρώτων Ba θεῖα a Y Q Ge 73 γένος] γεγονῶς (sic)  
 Ge 74 γεωθὲν] θεωθὲν Re<sup>a.corr.</sup> θεωργοῦσαν A Am, γεουργοῦσαν N  
 ἀπαλλαγῇ Ba Z Q, ὑπαλλαγῇ N 75 ἐπιστοῦτο] ἐπὶ τοῦτο Re Sup Z ὧν]  
 ὧν Ge 77/78 κατ' ἄμφω - ἦν] om. Z 79 ἐνεργῶν] ἐνήργει A, ἐνεργεῖν  
 Y ὑπ'] ὑπὲρ Sup 80 αὐτοῦ Ge 82 ἐνωτικώτερον Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> 82/83 οὐ -  
 ἐνωτικώτερον] om. a; *habet autem Öhler/PG (ex editione Gale?)* 82 οὐ δ' αὐτοῦ]  
 οὐ δ' αὐ Y 83 ἐνωτικώτερον] ἐνικώτερον Ge Öhler/PG σωματικώτερον  
 Re Sup 84 καί'] *trsp. a.* διατοῦτο (l. 83-84) Ge

- 85 ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς, ὅτι καὶ φύσεων ἀληθῶν καθ' ἑνωσιν ἄρρη-  
τον ὑπόστασις ἦν ἀληθής· αἷς καταλλήλως τε καὶ προσφυῶς  
ἐνεργῶν, ἐδείκνυτο σώζων αὐτὰς ἀληθῶς, ἀσυγχύτους σωζόμε-  
νος, εἴπερ ἀπαθῆς μεμένηκε φύσει καὶ παθητὸς, ἀθάνατος καὶ  
90 θνητὸς, ὁρατὸς καὶ νοούμενος, ὡς φύσει θεὸς καὶ φύσει ἄν-  
θρωπος ὁ αὐτός.  
Οὕτω μὲν οὖν κατ' ἐμὲ φάναι τιμᾶ τὴν ὑπακοὴν ὃ φύσει  
δεσπότης, καὶ πειρᾶται ταύτης ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν, οὐχ' ἵνα σώσῃ  
μόνον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἅπασαν φύσιν ἀποκαθήρας τοῦ χείρονος,  
ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπακοὴν δοκιμάσῃ, *μανθάνων* τῇ  
95 πείρᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὃ πᾶσαν γνῶσιν φύσει πε-  
ριγράφων, πόσον μὲν ἀπαιτούμεθα, πόσον δὲ συγχωρούμεθα  
πρὸς τὴν τελείαν ὑποταγὴν, δι' ἧς προσάγειν πέφυκε τῷ Πατρὶ  
τοὺς σωζομένους, κατ' αὐτὸν φανέντας τῇ δυνάμει τῆς χάρι-  
τος.  
100 Ὡς μέγα καὶ φρικτὸν ὄντως τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας μυστή-  
ριον. Ἀπαιτούμεθα γὰρ ὅσον ἐκεῖνος φύσει τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς,  
συγχωρούμεθα δὲ ὅσον αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐνώσει τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς,  
εἰ μὴ που γνώμης φιλαμαρτήμονος ἕξις ποιεῖται κακίας ὕλην,  
τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν. Καὶ δηλὸς ἐστὶ ταύτης ὑπάρχων  
105 τῆς ἐννοίας ὃ πολὺς οὗτος διδάσκαλος, τοῖς ἐξῆς αὐτὴν βε-

88/90 cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 14-15, p. 42, 5-9 91 supra, l. 10 92 supra, l.  
10-11 94 supra, l. 14 94/95 (μανθάνων - καθ' ἡμᾶς) cf. Hebr. 5, 8 et supra, l.  
10-11 96 supra, l. 17-18 97/98 (προσάγειν - σωζομένους) cf. I Petri 3,  
18 101 supra, l. 17 102 supra, l. 17-18

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (=a)  
Y Q Ge Ga P

85 ἀληθῶν] ἀληθῶς Q 86 ἀληθῆς] ἀληθῆς Ge Ga<sup>p.corr.</sup>, ἀληθεῖς  
Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> τε] om. N προσφυῶς] προσφόρως N 87 ἀσύγχυτος Gale  
87/88 σωζόμενος] *intellige med.; sic codd. omnes praeter Q, qui conī. σωζόμενας (an rec-  
te?)* 88 μεμένηκε P καί] om. Ge παθητῶς Ge 91 τιμᾶν Am  
93 ἀποκαθίρας Ga, ἀποκαθάραις Q Ge P 95 φύσει] τῇ *praem.* A<sup>p.corr.</sup> 96  
πόσον] ποσὸν Re Sup συγχωρούμεθα Re Sup 98 κατὰ ταῦτόν A<sup>a.corr.</sup>  
100 φρικτὸν Ge 101/102 ἐκεῖνος - ὅσον] om. P 101 φύσει] om. Ge τῷ  
Sup Am, τῇ Re 102 συγχωρούμεθα - καθ' ἡμᾶς] om. Ga Gale ἐνώσει -  
καθ' ἡμᾶς] om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am NBa Z Va<sup>a.corr.</sup> (=a) 104 τῆς - ἀσθένειαν]  
om. Q δῆλως (sic) Ga

βαιῶν. Φησὶ γάρ· Εἰ γὰρ τὸ φῶς ἐδιώχθη διὰ τὸ πρόβλημα, φαῖνον ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ (τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ), ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης σκοτίας (τοῦ πονηροῦ λέγω καὶ τοῦ πειραστοῦ), τὸ σκότος πόσον, ὡς ἀσθενέστερον; Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ἐκείνου διαφυ-  
 110 γόντος παντάπασιν, ἡμεῖς ποσῶς καὶ καταληφθείημεν; Μεῖζον γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ διωχθῆναι, ἢπερ ἡμῖν τὸ καταληφθῆναι, παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς ταῦτα λογιζομένοις.

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106/112 Greg. Naz., Or. 30, 6, 21-27 (p. 236-238) 106/107 Io. 1, 5 107/108 (ὑπὸ - σκοτίας) cf. Lc. 22, 53; Col. 1, 13 108 (τοῦ πονηροῦ) Mt. 5, 37 et 39 etc. (τοῦ πειραστοῦ) cf. Mt. 4, 3 (σκότος) cf. Eph. 5, 8

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A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (=a)  
 Y QGe GaP

106 πρόβλημα Q<sup>p.corr.</sup> 107 φαίνων Re<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ge Ga P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> 108 τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] om. Ba 109 ἀσθενέστερον (sic) Ge εἰ] om. Re, ἡ Ga 110 καὶ] om. Re Sup N Ba Ge P καταλειφθείημεν Ba P 111 ἐκεῖνο (sic) Ba εἴπερ aY Ga (cf. app. crit. ed. Greg. Naz., p. 238) 112 ταῦτα λογιζομένοις] καταλογιζομένοις Am

V Εἰς τὴν πρὸς Γάϊον τὸν θεραπευτὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρειοπαγίτου, ἐπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν.

Πῶς φῆς Ἰησοῦς ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα, πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις οὐσιωδῶς συντεταγμένος; Οὐ δὲ γὰρ ὡς αἴτιος ἀνθρώ-  
 5 πων ἐνθάδε λέγεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὄλην  
 ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ὢν.

Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ἐκδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς, ὡς  
 πάντων αἴτιος ὁ θεὸς, πᾶσι σημαίνεται τοῖς | τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πα-  
 ρηγημένων ὀνόμασιν, οἰόμενον τυχὸν καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν  
 10 τούτῳ μόνον τῷ τρόπῳ πάλιν ἄνθρωπον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι,  
 τούτοις τὸν θεραπευτὴν Γάϊον ἐπανορθοῦται τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὁ πο-  
 λὺς Διονύσιος, διδάσκων ὡς οὐχ' ἀπλῶς ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς σαρ-  
 κωθεὶς λέγεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὄλην ἀ-  
 ληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἧς μόνη τὲ καὶ ἀληθῆς ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις,  
 15 ἢ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῆς συστατικὴ δύναμις· ἦν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρ-

1045/1048

3/6 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 160, 3-5 7/9 (Ἐπειδὴ - ὀνόμασιν) cf. eund., Div.  
 Nom., I, 6, p. 118, 11 - p. 119, 9 13/14 supra, l. 5-6 14/19 (ἦς - ὄν) cf. Greg.  
 Nyss., Ad Zenod., p. 14, 4-5; ibid., p. 15, 10; (ἦς - ἰδιότητος) cf. Sophr. Hieros., Ep.  
 synod., p. 446, 19-21

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
 Y Q Mo Za Ga P C<sup>inde ab Ἐπειδὴ (l. 7)</sup>

1 Εἰς] πρὸς θωμᾶν τὸν ἡγιασμένον *praem.* Za Γάϊον] ἐπιστολὴν *add.*  
 Za ἐπιστολὴν] ἐπιστολὴ Za 1/2 τοῦ - Ἀθηνῶν] *trsp.* p. τὴν Am 2  
 ἁγίου] *om.* Ohler/PG τοῦ] *om.* Re ἀρειοπαγίτου Y ἐπισκόπου  
 Ἀθηνῶν] τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαξίμου *add.* Am, *om.* Mo 3 φησιν Ba, φησὶν Y Mo  
 ἐστὶν] *om.* A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Am N Ba Z Va<sup>a.corr.</sup> (= a), *add.* p. ἀνθρώποις (l. 3-4)  
 A<sup>p.corr.</sup> 4 συντεταγμένως Sup αἴτιον Z 5 αὐτὸς Re Ba Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> Gale  
 Ohler/PG 6 ἀληθῶς] *trsp.* p. ἄνθρωπος Z 8 πᾶσι] Va<sup>c.corr.</sup>, πάσης Ba, πᾶσαν  
 Re Am 9 τὴν] *om.* Ba 10 τούτων Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> μόνῳ a Y Mo Za 12 θεὸς]  
*trsp.* p. σαρκωθεὶς (l. 12-13) Ba 13 αὐτὸς Za<sup>a.corr. ut v.</sup> Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> αὐτοκατου-  
 σίαν C 13/14 ἀληθῶς] *trsp.* p. ὢν Mo 14 μόνης Za τῆ] *om.* Z 15 ἦν  
 Ga 15/16 ἀμάρτοι] ἀμάρτη (*sic*) Ga, ἀμάρτη Gale, *tr.* *add.* Am

τοι τῆς ἀληθείας, φυσικὴν φήσας ἐνέργειαν, κυρίως τὲ καὶ  
 πρώτως χαρακτηριστικὴν αὐτῆς, ὡς εἰδοποιὸν ὑπάρχουσαν κί-  
 νησιν γενικωτάτην, πάσης τῆς φυσικῶς αὐτῇ προσούσης πε-  
 ριεκτικὴν ιδιότητος, ἧς χωρὶς μόνον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὡς μό-  
 20 νου τοῦ μηδαμῶς ὄντος κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν μέγαν διδάσκαλον,  
 οὔτε κίνησιν οὔτε ὑπαρξιν ἔχοντος.

Τρανότατα γοῦν διδάσκει, μηδὲν ἠρῆσθαι παντάπασι τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων τὸν θεὸν σαρκωθέντα, πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ἐπεὶ μὴ  
 δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἦν, οὐχ' ἀπλῶς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ κατ' οὐσίαν  
 25 ὄλην ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον ὄντα διαρρήδη ἀποφηνάμενος· οὐ κυ-  
 ρίως εἶναι διὰ τῶν ἐπαγομένων, καὶ τὴν κλησὶν ἀνθρωπικῶς  
 οὐσιωθέντος διατεινόμενος φησίν· Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν οὐκ  
 ἀνθρωπικῶς ἀφορίζομεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν δογ-  
 ματίζομεν, τέμνοντες τὴν ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν ἔνωσιν. Οὐσιωδῶς γάρ,  
 30 ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὡς ἀνθρώπων αἰτίου, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ φύσει θεοῦ καθ' ἡ-  
 μᾶς ἀληθῶς οὐσιωθέντος, τὸ ἄνθρωπος ὄνομα λέγομεν. Οὐ δὲ  
 γὰρ ἄνθρωπος μόνον, ὅτι καὶ θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς, οὐ δὲ ὑπερούσιος  
 μόνον, ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς, εἶπερ μὴ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος,

19/21 Ps. Dion. Ar., Eocl. Hier., II, p. 69, 10-11 23 (πλὴν - ἀμαρτίας) cf.  
 Hebr. 4, 15 24/25 supra, l. 5-6 26/27 (ἀνθρωπικῶς οὐσιωθέντος) cf. Ps.  
 Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 9, p. 133, 7-8; id., Ep. 4, p. 160, 8-9 27/28 ibid., p. 160, 5-  
 6 28 (μὴ - ἄνθρωπον) cf. Procl. Const., Hom. I, 2, p. 103, 24; ibid., 8, p. 106, 17;  
 ibid., 9, p. 107, 5; Leont. Byz., C. Nest. et Eutyech. I, PG 86<sup>1</sup>, 1281C9; Greg. Ant.,  
 Hom., PG 88, 1877B5; Theod. Rhait., Praep., p. 199, 9-10 30/31 (καθ' ἡμᾶς - οὐ-  
 σιωθέντος) cf. Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 9, p. 133, 7-8; id., Ep. 4, p. 160, 8-9  
 31/32 ibid., p. 160, 6 32/33 ibid., p. 160, 7 33/34 (μὴ - θεός) cf. Procl. Const.,  
 Hom. I, 2, p. 103, 23-24; ibid., 8, p. 106, 17; ibid., 9, p. 107, 5; Leont. Byz., C. Nest. et  
 Eutyech. I, PG 86<sup>1</sup>, 1281C9; Greg. Ant., Hom., PG 88, 1877B5; Theod. Rhait., Praep.,  
 p. 199, 9-12

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16 φυσικὴν] *trsp. p.* ἐνέργειαν Mo φήσας] φείσας Ba Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup>, φύσεως  
 Re 18 φυσικῆς Re αὐτὴν P Comb<sup>a.corr.1</sup>, αὐτοῦ *vel* αὐτῷ Comb<sup>a.corr.2</sup> 18/  
 19 περιεκτικῆς A Q Za, περιεκτῶν Am 19 ὦν Ga, ὄν P 22 οὖν Za  
 παντάπασι] *trsp. p.* ἡμετέρων (l. 23) Ba 22/23 παντάπασι - ἡμετέρων] *trsp. p.*  
 σαρκωθέντα Mo 24 τῆς] *om.* Re αὐτοκατουσίαν C 26 ἀνθρωπι-  
 κὸς Q<sup>a.corr.</sup> 28 ἀφορίζομεν Ga μῆ] *om.* P<sup>a.corr.</sup>, οὐ P<sup>b.corr.</sup> Comb δὲ *add.*  
 Ga ἄνθρωπον] τὸν *praem.* Re Sup, *trsp. p.* αὐτὸν Ba Za αὐτὸν] *om.* Re  
 Sup 29 γὰρ] *om.* Z 30 ὡς ἀνθρώπων] A<sup>c.corr.</sup> τοῦ] *om.* A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re  
 Sup 31 ἀληθῶς] *om.* Ba λέγωμεν Ga δὲ] *om.* Z 32/33 οὐ - μόνον]  
*om.* Am 32 ὑπερούσιον Z 33 μῆ] *om.* P<sup>a.corr.</sup>, μήτε P<sup>b.corr.</sup>



μήτε γυμνός ὑπάρχει θεός, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς ὁ διαφε-  
 35 ρόντως φιλόανθρωπος.

Ἄπειρω γὰρ πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀλη-  
 θῶς αὐτὸ φύσει τὸ ποθούμενον γέγονε, μήτε τί πεπον-  
 θῶς εἰς ἰδίαν οὐσίαν πρὸς τῆς ἀφθέγκτου κενώσεως, μήτε  
 τί τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης διὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητον πρόσληψιν ἀμείψας ἢ  
 40 μειώσας τὸ σύνολον φύσεως, ὧν ὁ λόγος κυρίως αὐτῆς κα-  
 θέστηκε σύστασις, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους (ὅτι θεϊκῶς, ἀνδρὸς γὰρ  
 χωρὶς) καὶ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους (ἀνθρωπικῶς γὰρ, ὅτι νόμῳ κυή-  
 σεως) ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπων οὐσίας ὁ ὑπερούσιος οὐσιωμένος. Οὐ  
 γὰρ ψιλὴν μόνην ἐφάντασεν ἡμῖν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐν εἶδει σαρκὸς  
 45 διαμόρφωσιν, κατὰ τοὺς Μανιχαίων λήρους, ἢ σάρκα συνου-  
 σιωμένην οὐρανόθεν ἑαυτῷ συγκατήγαγε, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀπολι-  
 ναρίου μύθους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὄλην ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος  
 γεγονῶς, προσλήψει δηλονότι σαρκὸς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης,  
 ἐνωθείσης αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν.

34 (γυμνός ... θεός) cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 25, p. 46, 13-14 34/35 Ps. Dion.  
 Ar., Ep. 4, p. 160, 7-8 37/38 (μήτε - κενώσεως) cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 243, PG 46,  
 1108A14-15 et Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 10, p. 135, 6 38 (κενώσεως) cf. Phil. 2,  
 7 41 (ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους) Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 160, 8 41/42 (θεϊκῶς -  
 χωρὶς) Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 16, p. 42, 13 42 (καὶ - ἀνθρώπους) Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep.  
 4, p. 160, 8 42/43 (ἀνθρωπικῶς - κυήσεως) Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 16, p. 42, 14  
 43 (ἐκ - οὐσιωμένος) Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 160, 8-9 43/45 (Οὐ - δια-  
 μόρφωσιν) cf. Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 450, 9-10 45 Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 26,  
 p. 46, 17 45/47 (σάρκα - μύθους) cf. Apol. Laod., Demonstr., fragm. 17, p. 209, 17-  
 20; ibid., fragm. 36, p. 212, 24-26; Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 30, p. 48, 9; id., Ep. 202, 12, p.  
 92, 5-7 47 supra, I. 5-6

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34 ὑπάρχη P<sup>a.corr.</sup> θεός] οὐ δὲ ὑπερούσιος μόνον add. Am ἀλλὰ  
 Za 36 τὸ NBa 37 αὐτὸ φύσει] αὐτοφύσει Va Za C Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> φύσει Z  
 αὐτὸ] ὡς add. Mo<sup>a.corr.</sup> τί] om. Ba 38 εἰς] τὴν add. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ba πρὸ Re  
 ἀφθέκτου Z, ἀφθεγγήτου Gale 39 ἄρρητον Ga Gale πρόσλειψιν Re  
 Sup 41 ἀνθρώπου Re Sup, ἀνθρωπον Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> ἀνδρός] τισρ. p. χωρὶς (I. 42)  
 Ba γάρ] om. A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va<sup>a.corr.</sup> (= a) Y Q Mo 42 ἀνθρωπον  
 Mo γάρ] om. Re Sup 43 ἐκ - οὐσίας] om. NBa Z ὁ] om. Z 44 ἐν<sup>2</sup>  
 om. Ga Gale εἶδη P 45 τοὺς] τῶν add. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> 46 συγκατάγαγε Am  
 47 αὐτοκατουσίαν C ἀληθῶς] τισρ. p. ἄνθρωπος Q C 48 δηλονότι] τισρ. p.  
 σαρκὸς Za ἐμψυχωμένης Re Sup Ba Z

50 Ἔστιν δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπερουσιότητος ὑπερπλήρης ὁ αἰεὶ  
 ὑπερούσιος. Οὐ γὰρ ὑπεξεύχθη τῇ φύσει γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.  
 Τούναντίον δὲ μᾶλλον συνεπήρην ἑαυτῷ τὴν φύσιν, ἕτερον αὐ- 1048/1049  
 τὴν ποιήσας μυστήριον, αὐτὸς τε μείνας παντάπασιν ἀληπτος,  
 καὶ τὴν οἰκειὰν σάρκωσιν, λαχοῦσαν γένεσιν ὑπερούσιον, μυ-  
 55 στηρίου παντὸς δείξας ἀληπτοτέραν, τοσοῦτον καταληπτὸς  
 δι' αὐτὴν γεγονῶς ὄσω πλέον ἐγνώσθη δι' αὐτῆς ἀληπτότερος.

Κρύφιος γὰρ ἔστι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔκφασιν, φησὶν ὁ διδά-  
 σκαλος, ἢ ἵνα τὸ θεϊότερον εἴπω, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκφάνσει. Καὶ  
 τοῦτο γὰρ Ἰησοῦ κέκρυπται, καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οὐδὲ νῶ τὸ  
 60 κατ' αὐτὸν ἐξῆκται μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγόμενον ἄρρητον  
 μένει, καὶ νοούμενον ἄγνωστον. Τί τούτου πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν  
 θείας ὑπερουσιότητος γένοιτ' ἂν ἀποδεικτικώτερον, ἐκφάνσει  
 τὸ κρύφιον, καὶ λόγῳ τὴν ἀφασίαν, καὶ νῶ δηλούσης τὴν κα-  
 θ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀγνωσίαν, καὶ τὸ δὴ μείζον εἰπεῖν οὐσιώσει τὸ ὑ-  
 65 περούσιον;

Ἀμέλει τῇ ταύτης περιουσία, καὶ εἰς οὐσίαν ἀληθῶς  
 ἐλθὼν, ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν οὐσιώθη, τοὺς νόμους δηλαδὴ καινοτομή-  
 σας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν γενέσεως, καὶ δίχα τῆς ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐν εἴδει  
 σπορᾶς ἀληθῶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος. Καὶ δηλοῖ Παρθένος αὐ-  
 70 τὸν ὑπερφῶς κύουσα τὸν ὑπερούσιον Λόγον, χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς

50/51 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 160, 9-10 57/61 id., Ep. 3, p. 159, 6-10 62  
 (ὑπερουσιότητος) supra, l. 50 62/64 (ἐκφάνσει - ἀγνωσίαν) cf. supra, l. 57-  
 61 64/65 (οὐσιώσει - ὑπερούσιον) cf. supra, l. 43 66/67 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4,  
 p. 160, 10-11 67/68 (τοὺς - γενέσεως) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 39, 13, 8-9 (p. 176)  
 69/70 (Καὶ - κύουσα) Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 160, 12; cf. Mt. 1, 18-25; Lc. 1, 26-38 et 2,  
 1-14 70 (τὸν - Λόγον) Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 6, p. 130, 6 (χωρὶς ἀν-  
 δρὸς) Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 16, p. 42, 13

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50 ὁ αἰεὶ] καὶ Z 52/53 ἑαυτὴν Ba 53 τε] δὲ Öhler/PG ἄληπτος]  
 ἄπειρος Z 56 αὐτῆ] αὐτῆς Re Mo Za ὅσον Re Öhler/PG πλεῖον  
 Mo 57 ἔμφασιν Re Sup 58 ἵνα] καὶ add. Za ἐν] om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup  
 60 αὐτῶν Re ἐξῆπται Mo 63 ἀφθαρσίαν A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup, ἀφθεγξίαν Za  
 δηλοῦσθαι Mo, δηλοῦσαν Za 64 δὴ] δεῖ Z<sup>a.corr.</sup> εἰπεῖν] om. Za 66 πα-  
 ρουσία Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> εἰς] ἐκ A<sup>a.corr.</sup> 67 ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν] ὑπερουσιῶς Ba, ὑπὲρ  
 οὐσίου (sic) Q 69/70 αὐτὸν] trsp. p. κύουσα Mo 70 τὸν] om. Gale

ἐκ τῶν αὐτῆς παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων ἀνθρωπικῶς ξένω παρὰ τὴν φύσιν θεσμῶ διαπλαττόμενον.

- Καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνήργει τὰ ἀνθρώπου, τὴν τῶν στοι-  
 χείων ἀπαθῶς καινοτομήσας φύσιν ταῖς βάσει. Καὶ δηλοῖ  
 75 σαφῶς ὕδωρ ἄστατον, ὕλικῶν καὶ γεηρῶν ποδῶν ἀνέχον βάρ-  
 ος, καὶ μὴ ὑπεῖκον, ἀλλ' ὑπερφυεὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸ ἀδιάχυτον  
 συνιστάμενον, εἶπερ ἀληθῶς ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ, σωματικὸν ὄγκον  
 ἔχουσι καὶ ὕλης βάρος, τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ ἄστατον οὐσίαν μετα-  
 βατικῶς ἐπεπόρευτο, περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους,  
 80 καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεότητος ἀχωρίστως διὰ τῆς με-  
 ταβάσεως συνεκφαίνων τῆς οἰκείας σαρκὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν  
 ἐνέργειαν, εἶπερ φύσει ταύτης ἢ μεταβατικῇ καθέστηκε κίνη-  
 σις, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ἠνωμένης αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ὑπεραπέιρου  
 καὶ ὑπερουσίου θεότητος.  
 85 Ἄπαξ γὰρ ἀνθρωπικῶς οὐσιωθεὶς ὁ ὑπερουσίος Λόγος, με-  
 τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας ἀμείωτον εἶχεν ὡς ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
 τὴν γενικῶς αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον χαρακτηρίζουσαν τῆς οὐσίας  
 κίνησιν, πᾶσιν οἷς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐνήργει φυσικῶς εἰδοποιουμέ-  
 νην, εἶπερ ἀληθῶς γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ἀναπνέων, λαλῶν, βα-  
 90 δίζων, χεῖρας κινῶν, προσφυῶς ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι χρώμενος εἰς

71/72 (ἐκ - διαπλαττόμενον) Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 9, p. 133, 8-9 73  
 id., Ep. 4, p. 160, 11-12 74/77 (Καὶ - συνιστάμενον) ibid., p. 160, 12 - p. 161, 2  
 77/79 (ἀβρόχοις - ἐπεπόρευτο) id., Div. Nom., II, 9, p. 133, 10-11 79 Mt. 14, 26;  
 Mc. 6, 48-49; Io. 6, 19 85 cf. supra, l. 43 et Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 6, p. 130,  
 5-6; ibid., 9, p. 133, 7-8 89 (λαλῶν) Mt. 9, 18; ibid., 12, 46; Mc. 2, 2; Lc. 9, 11; Io. 1,  
 37 etc. 89/90 (βαδίζων) cf. Mt. 4, 12-13; ibid., 13, 1; Mc. 13, 1 etc. 90 (χεῖρας  
 κινῶν) cf. Mt. 8, 3; Mc. 1, 41; ibid., 8, 23 et 25; Lc. 5, 13; ibid., 13, 13 etc. 90/91  
 (προσφυῶς - αἰσθητῶν) cf. Mc. 13, 2; Lc. 2, 46 etc.

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71 ἀνθρωπικῶς αἱμάτων παρθενικῶν Re 72 τὴν] om. Z δια-  
 φυλαττόμενον N Ba 73 Καὶ - ἀνθρώπου] om. N Ba ἐνείργει Ga  
 ἀνθρώπινα Gale 75 ἀνέχον] Z<sup>c corr.</sup> 75/76 βάρος] N<sup>c corr.</sup> 76 τὸ] om.  
 Am 78 οὐσίαν] om. Ga Gale 79 ἐπεπορεύετο Am Gale, ἐπορεύετο Mo  
 περιπατῶν] καὶ praem. Q<sup>a corr.</sup> 80 διὰ τῆς] δι' αὐτῆς Gale 87 τὴν] om. A<sup>a corr.</sup>  
 Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a) αὐτὸν] tsr. p. ἄνθρωπον Mo 88 κίνησιν] τὴν  
 praem. Ba ὡς] ὁ Re ἐνείργει Ga 88/89 ἰδιοποιουμένην Za

ἀντίληψιν τῶν αἰσθητῶν, πεινῶν, διψῶν, ἐσθίων, ὑπνῶν, κοπιῶν, δακρύων, ἀγωνιῶν, καίτοι δύναμις ὧν αὐθυπόστατος, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, οἷς, αὐτουργικῶς ψυχῆς δίκην φυσικῶς τὸ συμφυῆς σῶμα κινούσης, τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν φύσιν κινῶν,  
 95 ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένην ἀληθῶς καὶ λεγομένην, ἢ κυρίως εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς δίχα τροπῆς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ πραγματικῶς ἢ φύσις γενόμενος, ἀφαντασιάστως τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκεν.

Οὐκ ἀνείλεν οὖν τὴν συστατικὴν τῆς προσληφθείσης οὐσίας 1049/1052  
 100 ἐνεργείαν, ὥσπερ οὐ δ' αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν ὁ διδάσκαλος εἰπὼν· Ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν οὐσιώθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνήργει τὰ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ἔδειξεν ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὴν καινότητα τῶν τρόπων, ἐν τῇ μονιμότητι τῶν φυσικῶν σωζομένην λόγων, ὧν χωρὶς, οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐστὶν.

105 Εἰ δὲ φῶμεν ὡς τῆς μὲν προσληφθείσης οὐσίας θέσις, τῆς δὲ συστατικῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ἀφαίρεσις, ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἐστὶν ἀπόφασις, τίνι λόγῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἴσως τεθείσαν, τῆς μὲν, ὑπαρξίν, τῆς δὲ, πάντως ἀναίρεσιν σημαίνουσαν δείξομεν; Ἦ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ περ οὐκ αὐτοκίνητος ἢ προσληφθεῖσα φύσις ἐ-  
 110 στὶν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἠνωμένης αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀληθῶς κινουμένη θεότητος, τὴν συστατικὴν αὐτῆς ἀφαιρούμεθα κινήσιν, μὴ

91/92 (πεινῶν - ἀγωνιῶν) cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 102, 24, p. 82, 4-7; id., Or. 29, 18, 10-11 (p. 214); ibid., 20, 4-18 (p. 220); id., Or. 38, 15, 2-3 (p. 138); id., Or. 45, PG 36, 660C2-3 et supra, Amb.Thom. IV, 61-62 91 (πεινῶν) Mt. 4, 2; ibid., 21, 18; Lc. 4, 2 (διψῶν) Io. 19, 28; cf. ibid., 4, 7 (ἐσθίων) Mt. 9, 11; ibid., 11, 19 etc. (ὑπνῶν) cf. Mt. 8, 24; Mc. 4, 38; Lc. 8, 23 91/92 (κοπιῶν) Io. 4, 6 92 (δακρύων) Io. 11, 35 (ἀγωνιῶν) cf. Lc. 22, 44; Mt. 26, 37; Mc. 14, 33 101/102 supra, l. 67 et 73

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92 δυνάμει Re, δυνάμεις Sup 97 ἀφαντάστως a Y Q Mo C 97/98 τὴν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκε τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ba 99 ἂν εἶλεν Re Sup 101 ἐνεργεῖ Ga 102 τὴν τοῖν Z κενότητα Ba 105 προσληφθείσης Z 106 αὐτῆς] *ισp. p.* ἐνεργείας Y 107 αὐτὴν] *ισp. p.* ἀμφοῖν Ba ἀμφοῖν] αὐτὴν Re 108 δείξωμεν Ga 109 οὐκ] *om.* NBa Z 110 κινουμένη] καὶ *praem.* Gale 111 θεότης A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup τὴν] καὶ *praem.* A<sup>p.corr.</sup> ἀφαιρούμενοι Mo 111/112 μὴ δὲ Q<sup>a.corr.</sup>

δ'αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν ὁμολογήσωμεν, οὐκ αὐθυπόστατον φανεί-  
σαν, τουτέστι καθ'ἑαυτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κατ'ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν  
οὐσιωθέντι θεῷ Λόγω τὸ εἶναι λαβοῦσαν, ἴσην ἐπ'ἀμφοῖν τὴν  
115 αἰτίαν ἔχοντες τῆς παραιτήσεως· ἢ καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τῇ φύσει  
συνομολογήσωμεν, ἥς χωρὶς, οὐ δὲ φύσις ἐστὶ, γινώσκοντες  
ὡς ἕτερος μὲν ὁ τοῦ εἶναι λόγος ἐστὶν, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ τοῦ πῶς  
εἶναι τρόπος, ὁ μὲν, τὴν φύσιν, ὁ δὲ, τὴν οἰκονομίαν πιστούμε-  
νος, ὧν ἡ σύνοδος, τὸ μέγα τῆς ὑπερφουῶς Ἰησοῦ φυσιολογίας  
120 ποιησαμένη μυστήριον, σωζομένην ἔδειξεν ἐν ταυτῷ τὴν δια-  
φορὰν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν, τὴν μὲν, ἀδιαιρέτως ἐν  
τῷ φυσικῷ θεωρουμένην λόγῳ τῶν ἠνωμένων, τὴν δὲ, ἀσυγ-  
χῶτως ἐν τῷ μοναδικῷ γνωριζομένην τρόπῳ τῶν γινομένων.

Τί γὰρ καὶ τίς, ποῦ τε καὶ πῶς φύσις ἔσται, συστατικῆς ἔρη-  
125 μος γενομένη δυνάμει; Τὸ γὰρ καθόλου μηδεμίαν ἔχον δύ-  
ναμιν, οὔτε ἐστὶν, οὔτε τί ἐστίν, οὔτε ἔστι τίς αὐτοῦ παν-  
τελῶς θέσις, φησὶν ὁ πολὺς οὗτος διδάσκαλος. Εἰ δὲ τού-  
των λόγος οὐδεὶς, εὐσεβῶς ὁμολογεῖσθαι χρὴ τὰς τε τοῦ Χρι-  
στοῦ φύσεις ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν, καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ φυσικὰς  
130 ἐνεργείας ὧν αὐτὸς ἔνωσις ἦν ἀληθῆς κατ'ἀμφοῦ τὰς φύσεις,  
εἴπερ ἑαυτῷ προσφυῶς, μοναδικῶς ἡγουν ἐνοειδῶς ἐνεργῶν,  
καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀχωρίστως τῇ θεϊκῇ δυνάμει συνεκφαίνων  
τῆς οικείας σαρκὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Πῶς γὰρ ἔσται φύσει θεός,  
καὶ φύσει πάλιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς, οὐκ ἔχων ἀνελλιπῶς τὸ

119 Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 9, p. 133, 11-12      125/127 *ibid.*, VIII, 5, p. 203,  
2-4

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112 τὴν - ὁμολογήσωμεν] τὴν ὁμολογήσωμεν τὴν οὐσίαν Q<sup>a.corr.</sup>, ὁμολο-  
γήσωμεν τὴν οὐσίαν Q<sup>p.corr.</sup>, τὴν οὐσίαν ὁμολογήσωμεν Za P<sup>p.corr.</sup> Öhler/PG, τὴν  
οὐσίαν ὁμολογήσαμεν (*sic*) Gale 113 τῷ] *om.* Re Sup 115 παρατήσεως (*sic*)  
Re ἦ] *hanc litteram videtur oblitus esse rubricator in Ga, om.* Gale 116 συνομολο-  
γήσωμεν Z Za P C Comb Migne (PG) 116/117 γινώσκοντες - ἐστίν] *om.* Ga  
119 Ἰησοῦ] τοῦ *praem.* Mo 120 ποιησάμενος Ba αὐτῷ NBa Z 126 οὐ-  
τε<sup>1</sup> - ἐστίν<sup>2</sup>] οὐτ'ἔτι ἐστίν Gale τίς] *om.* Mo αὐτοῦ] *trsp. p.* παντελῶς (*l.*  
126-127) Mo 127 οὗτος] καὶ μέγας *add.* Mo 128 λόγος] ὁ *praem.*  
A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> 129 φύσεις] Z<sup>c.corr.</sup> 130 ἦν ἀληθῆς] A<sup>c.corr.</sup>  
Va<sup>c.corr.</sup>, ἦν, ἀληθεῖς Re Sup Am N Ba Z Y, ἦν, ἀληθῆς C<sup>a.corr.</sup>, ἦν, ἀληθῶς  
C<sup>p.corr.</sup> τὰς] *om.* N Ba Z 131 ἐνοειδῶς Ga (*corr.* Gale) ἐνεργῶν] ἦν  
*praem.* Mo 134 ἄνθρωπος] *trsp. p.* αὐτὸς Ba ἀνελλιπῶς Re Sup Am Za Ga

135 φύσει κατ'ἄμφω πεφυκός; Τί τε καὶ τίς ὑπάρχων γνωσθή-  
σεται, μὴ πιστούμενος οἷς ἐνήργει φυσικῶς, ὅπερ ἔστι μὴ τρε-  
πόμενον; Πῶς δὲ πιστώσεται, καθ' ἕν τῶν ἐξ ὧν, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ  
ἄπερ ἔστιν ἀκίνητος μένων καὶ ἀνενέργητος;

Ἦπερ οὐσίαν οὖν οὐσιώθη, γενέσεως ἀρχὴν καὶ γεννήσεως  
140 ἐτέραν τῇ φύσει δημιουργήσας, συλληφθεὶς μὲν, σπορὰ τῆς  
οἰκειίας σαρκός, τεχθεὶς δὲ, σφραγίς τῆς παρθενίας τῇ τεκούσῃ  
γενόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἀμίκτων ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀντίφασιν δείξας  
συναληθεύουσαν. Ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ παρθένος καὶ μήτηρ, καινο-  
τομοῦσα τὴν φύσιν τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, εἴπερ τῶν  
145 ἀντικειμένων παρθενία καὶ γέννησις, ὧν ἐκ φύσεως οὐκ ἂν τις  
ἐπινοηθῆσεται σύμβασις. Διὸ καὶ θεοτόκος ἀληθῶς ἡ Παρ-  
θένος, ὑπερφυῶς δίκην σπορᾶς συλλαβοῦσα τὴν τεκούσα τὸν  
ὑπερούσιον Λόγον, ἐπέπερ τοῦ σπαρέντος τὴν καὶ συλληφθέν-  
τος, κυρίως ἢ τίκτουσα, μήτηρ.

150 Καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνήργει τὰ ἀνθρώπου, κατ' ἄκραν ἔνω-  
σιν δίχα τροπῆς συμφυεῖσαν δεικνύς τῇ θεϊκῇ δυνάμει τὴν  
ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀσυγχύτως ἐνωθεῖ-

1052/1053

137 (ἐξ ὧν) Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 20, p. 44, 11; cf. id., Or. 2, 23, 5 (p. 120); Cyrill. Alex., Ad Theodos., 24, p. 57, 17-18; id., C. Nest. II, prooem., p. 33, 13-14; id., De incarn., 694, 35-36 (p. 240); Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 434, 21; ibid., p. 438, 15 (ἐν οἷς) cf. Cyrill. Alex., Ep. 39, p. 18, 25; Def. fid. Chalc., p. 129, 30; Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 434, 21 138 (ἄπερ ἔστιν) cf. Def. fid. Chalc., p. 129, 25; Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 438, 15-16 139 supra, l. 67 et 101 139/140 Sap. 7, 5 143/144 (καινοτομοῦσα - φύσιν) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 39, 13, 8-9 (p. 176) et supra, l. 67-68 147/148 Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 6, p. 130, 6 et supra, l. 70 150 supra, l. 73 et 101-102

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135 πεφυκός (sic) Q<sup>a.corr.</sup> 136 ἐνεργεῖ Ga P (an recte?) 137 πιστώσθη-  
ται Ga P (an recte?) 138 μὲν ὧν Am 139 ἀρχῇ Re, ἀρχῇ Sup 140 σπορᾶ  
A<sup>a.corr.</sup> NBa QP, σπορᾶ Re Sup Mo Comb<sup>corr.</sup> Gale Ohler/PG 142 αὐτοῖς Ga  
143 αὐτῇ Ga 144 εἴπερ] εἰ (sic) praem. Ba 145 παρθενία] τε add. Za φύ-  
σεως] τῆς praem. Mo 146 ἐπινοηθῆσεται A<sup>a.corr.</sup>, ἐπινοηθεῖη Mo ἀληθῶς] τisp.  
p. Παρθένος (l. 146-147) Z<sup>a.corr.</sup> 146/147 ἡ Παρθένος] τisp. p. ὑπερφυῶς Mo  
147 τῇ] om. Am τελοῦσα Am τῶν Re<sup>a.corr.</sup> 148 Λόγον] om. Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>  
τῇ] om. NBa Z 149 μήτηρ] ἢ praem. Y 150 ἐνεργεῖ Ga 152 ἀνθρωπικὴν  
Gale ἢ] om. NBa Z

σα τῇ φύσει, δι' ὅλου περιεχώρηκεν, μηδὲν ἀπόλυτον παντά-  
 πασιν ἔχουσα, καὶ τῆς ἠνωμένης αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν κευωρι-  
 155 σμένον θεότητος. Ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἀληθῶς τὴν ἡμῶν οὐσίαν  
 οὐσιωθεὶς ὁ ὑπερουσίος Λόγος, συνῆψε τῇ καταφάσει τῆς  
 φύσεως, καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς φυσικῶν καθ' ὑπεροχὴν τὴν ἀπόφασιν,  
 καὶ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν τοῦ πῶς εἶναι τρόπον  
 ἔχων συνημμένον τῷ τοῦ εἶναι λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, ἵνα καὶ τὴν  
 160 φύσιν πιστώσῃται τῇ τῶν τρόπων καινότητι μὴ δεχομένην κα-  
 τὰ τὸν λόγον ἀλλοίωσιν, καὶ δείξῃ τὴν ὑπεράπειρον δύναμιν,  
 ὡσαύτως κὰν τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων γενέσει γνωριζομένην.

Ἄμελει ἐξουσία, γνώμης ἔργα πεποιηκῶς τὰ πάθη τῆς φύ-  
 σεως, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀνάγκης ἀποτελέσματα φυσικῆς, ἐμ-  
 165 παλιν ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσει παθητὸν διεξῆλθεν,  
 ἐξουσία, γνώμη κινήτων δείξας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πεφυκὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν  
 εἶναι γνώμης κινήτικόν, ὅπερ τοῖς ἐξῆς σαφηνίζων φησὶν ὁ δι-  
 δάσκαλος: Τί ἂν τις τὰ λοιπὰ πάμπολλα ὄντα διέλθοι, δι' ὧν ὁ  
 θεῖως ὄρων ὑπὲρ νοῦν γινώσεται καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπία  
 170 τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καταφασκόμενα, δύναμιν ὑπεροχικῆς ἀποφάσεως  
 ἔχοντα; Τὰ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως πάντα μετὰ τῆς φύσεως κατὰ  
 σύλληψιν ἄρρητον ὑποδύς ὁ ὑπερουσίος Λόγος, οὐδὲν εἶχεν  
 ἀνθρώπινον φυσικῶ λόγῳ καταφασκόμενον, ὃ μὴ καὶ θεῖον

153/155 (δι' ὅλου - θεότητος) cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 31, p. 48, 18-20 155/  
 156 supra, l. 101 et 85 168/171 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 161, 3-5 172 supra, l.  
 156 173 supra, l. 170

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154 καὶ] om. Za 154/155 κευωρισμένων Re Sup 156 συνῆψε] Q<sup>c</sup> corr.,  
 συνῆλθε A<sup>a</sup> corr. Re Sup τῇ] τῆς Mo<sup>a</sup> corr. καταφύσει (sic) Q 157 ἀπό-  
 φανσιν Za 158 τὸν] τῶν N<sup>a</sup> corr. Ba Z 158/159 τρόπον - εἶναι] om.  
 Q<sup>a</sup> corr. 158 τρόπον] N<sup>c</sup> corr., τρόπων Ba Z 159 ἔχον Migne (PG) 159/160  
 ἔχων - τρόπων] om. A<sup>a</sup> corr. Re Sup Am N<sup>a</sup> corr. Ba Z Va<sup>a</sup> corr. (= a) 159 τῷ] τὸ  
 Y 160 κενότητι P<sup>a</sup> corr. 161 λόγον] τρόπον Mo 162 τῇ] A<sup>c</sup> corr., τὴν  
 Re<sup>a</sup> corr. Sup Am Ba τῶν] τῷ (sic) A ut v. 163 ἐξουσία] Comb<sup>c</sup> corr., ἐξουσίας  
 Q Mo Za Ga P γνώμης] om. Mo Za Ga P Comb<sup>a</sup> corr. τὰ] καὶ praem. Re Sup  
 Comb<sup>p</sup> corr. 164 ἀποτελεσμα Re 164/165 ἐμπαλιν ἢ] εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἢ (sic)  
 Za 166 γνώμη] om. Mo Za Ga P Comb<sup>a</sup> corr., γνώμης NBa Z Va C Comb<sup>p</sup> corr.  
 168 πάμπολα (sic) Re Sup Ga διεξέλθοι Mo 169 θεῖος Re Sup Z Y Q Ga  
 νοῦν] νῦν Sup<sup>a</sup> corr. 172 εἶχεν] om. A<sup>a</sup> corr. Re Sup

- ἦν, τρόπῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀποφασκόμενον, ὧν ὑπὲρ νοῦν ὡς  
 175 ἀναπόδεικτος ὑπῆρχεν ἢ γινώσις, μόνην κατάληψιν ἔχουσα τὴν  
 πίστιν τῶν γνησίως τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεβαζομένων μυστήριον,  
 οὔτινος ὡσπερ συνοπτικὸν τὸν λόγον ἀποδιδούς φησί· Καὶ  
 γὰρ ἵνα συνελόντες εἴπωμεν, οὐ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ὅτι φύσει  
 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἀνάγκης ἀνετος ἦν, τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐχ' ὑπαχθεὶς  
 180 θεσμῷ τῆς γενέσεως, οὐχ' ὡς μὴ ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι κατ' οὐσίαν ὄ-  
 λην ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ἦν, φύσει τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φυσικῶν ἀνε-  
 χόμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ περ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιος ἦν,  
 ὅπερ ἡμεῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἄνθρωπος ὧν, ἀνθρώπων ἐπέκεινα,  
 καινότητι τρόπων ὅπερ οὐχ' ἡμεῖς τὴν φύσιν περιγράφων, καὶ 1053/1056  
 185 ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος γεγωνὸς, τοὺς ὑπὲρ φύσιν  
 τρόπους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ φύσιν λόγους ἀλυμάντως ἀλλήλοις  
 ἔχων συνημμένους, ὧν ἀμήχανος ἢ σύμβασις ἦν, αὐτὸς ὧ μη-  
 δέν ἐστὶν ἀμήχανον, ἀληθῆς γενόμενος ἔνωσις, μηδετέρῳ τὸ  
 παράπαν ὧν ὑπόστασις ἦν, θατέρου κειωρισμένως ἐνεργῶν,  
 190 δι' ἑκατέρου δὲ μᾶλλον πιστοῦμενος θάτερον, εἴπερ ἄμφω κατ' ἀ-  
 λήθειαν ὧν.  
 Ὡς μὲν θεὸς, τῆς ἰδίας ἦν κινητικὸς ἀνθρωπότητος, ὡς  
 ἄνθρωπος δὲ, τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἐκφαντικὸς ὑπῆρχε θεότητος, θεϊκῶς

174 (τρόπῳ - ἀποφασκόμενον) cf. supra, l. 170-171 (ὑπὲρ νοῦν) supra, l.  
 169 177/178 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 161, 5-6 180 ibid., p. 161, 6 180/181 su-  
 pra, l. 5-6 182 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 161, 6; cf. Hebr. 5, 1 183 Ps. Dion. Ar.,  
 Ep. 4, p. 161, 6-7; cf. Hebr. 5, 1 184/185 ibid., p. 161, 7

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174 τῷ] τὸ Ba P 175 κατάληψιν A<sup>c corr.</sup> ἔχουσα] om. A<sup>a corr.</sup> 176  
 μυστήριον σεβαζομένων A<sup>a corr.</sup> 177 ἀποδιδούς] om. Z 178 συνελόντως Va,  
 συνελόντες Z εἴπομεν Za οὐ δὲ] οὐδὲν Sup 179 ἀνετος] ἀνέτιος Ga,  
 ἀνάτιος Gale (cf. autem transl. «expers») τῷ] τὸ Re Sup οὐχ' om. A<sup>a corr.</sup>  
 180 ὅτι] οὐ add. Re Sup Am N<sup>a corr.</sup> Va<sup>a corr.</sup> Q 182 ἦν ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιος Ba 183  
 ὧν] ἦν Q 184 περιγραφῶν Ga, περιγράφομεν Za 185 γεγωνὸς N, γεγω-  
 νὸς Ga, γενόμενος Za 186 λόγους] om. Mo ἀλυμάντως (sic) Q, ἀλυ-  
 μάντους Ba 186/187 ἔχων ἀλλήλοις A 187 ὧ] ὁ Z 188 ἐστὶν] om.  
 Za 189 θατέραν Re Sup 193 ἐκφαντικῶς Re, ἐκφαντικῶς (sic) Q, ἐκ-  
 φαντικὸν P<sup>a corr.</sup>



195 μέν ἴν' οὕτως εἶπω τὸ πάσχειν ἔχων (ἐκούσιον γάρ), ἐπεὶ μὴ  
 ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ἀνθρωπικῶς δὲ τὸ θαυματοργεῖν (διὰ  
 σαρκὸς γάρ), ἐπεὶ μὴ γυμνὸς ὑπῆρχε θεός, ὡς εἶναι τὰ μὲν πά-  
 200 θη θαυμαστά, τῇ κατὰ φύσιν θεϊκῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πάσχοντος και-  
 νιζόμενα, τὰ δὲ θαύματα παθητὰ, τῇ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 θαυματοργοῦντος παθητικῇ δυνάμει συμπληρούμενα τῆς σαρ-  
 205 κῶς, ὅπερ εἰδῶς ὁ διδάσκαλος φησίν· Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ κατὰ  
 θεὸν τὰ θεῖα δράσας, ὅτι μὴ μόνον θεϊκῶς κεχωρισμένα σαρκὸς  
 (οὐ γὰρ ὑπερούσιος μόνον), οὔτε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατὰ ἄνθρω-  
 πον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον σαρκικῶς κεχωρισμένα θεότητος (οὐ γὰρ  
 ἄνθρωπος μόνον), ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος θεοῦ, καινὴν τινα τὴν θε-  
 205 ανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος.

Καὶ γὰρ προσλήψει σαρκὸς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης ἀληθῶς  
 ἄνθρωπος γεγωνῶς ὁ διαφερόντως φιλόανθρωπος, τὴν τε θεϊκὴν  
 ἐνέργειαν καθ' ἑνωσιν ἄρρητον τῇ συμφυΐα τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐ-  
 210 σχηκῶς ἀνδρωθεῖσαν, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκε,  
 θεανδρικῶς, ἡγουν θεϊκῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀνδρικῶς, τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ

194/196 (μὴ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ... μὴ γυμνὸς ὑπῆρχε θεός) cf. supra, l. 33-  
 34 200/201 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 161, 7-8 202 (οὐ - μόνον) supra, l. 32-  
 33 202/203 (οὔτε - ἄνθρωπον) Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 161, 8-9 203/204 (οὐ -  
 μόνον) supra, l. 31-32 204/205 Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p. 161, 9-10 206/207 su-  
 pra, l. 34-35 210 (θεϊκῶς - ἀνδρικῶς) Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 16, p. 42, 13 210/  
 211 (τά - δράσας) supra, l. 201-202

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194 εἶπω οὕτως A<sup>a.corr.</sup> τὸ] om. N μὴ] om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Re Sup N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>,  
 οὐ Z 195 ἀνθρωπικῶς] οὐκ praem. Re Sup 196 μὴ] om. Re Sup 197 θεϊ-  
 κὴν Am<sup>a. vel p.corr.</sup> 197/198 καινιζόμεθα N<sup>a.corr.</sup> 198 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὰ A<sup>p.corr.</sup> Y Mo  
 (an recte?) 200 οὐ] τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις μαζίμου εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀγίου κυρίλλου  
 (sic) καινὴν τινα καὶ (sic) θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς τὰς τῶν γε-  
 νησομένων ἀμφιβολίας ὁ διδάσκαλος, καὶ οἷον ἀποκρουόμενος ταύτας φησίν·  
 praem. B 201 τὰ θεῖα] om. Y 201/203 σαρκὸς - κεχωρισμένα] om. A (habet  
 autem Gud. gr. 39) 202 ὑπερούσιοι Re Sup 202/204 οὔτε - μόνον] om. Ba  
 203 θεότητος] σαρκὸς A<sup>p.corr.</sup> οὐ] ποῦ Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> 204 ἄνθρωπον Za  
 ἀλλὰ Za 206 ἐμψυχωμένης Re Sup Ba Z Ga Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> 207 γέγονεν B  
 τε] om. Za, δὲ Ohler/PG 208 συμφυεῖα Ga, συνφυεῖα (sic) Gale 208/209  
 ἐσχηκῶς] om. Q

τὰ ἀνθρώπινα δράσας, ἢ σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν, θεϊκὴν ἐν ταυτῷ  
καὶ ἀνδρικήν ἐνέργειαν πεπολιτευμένος.

- Οὐκοῦν ἀποφάσει τῆς τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πρὸς ἄλ-  
ληλα διαιρέσεως, τὴν τῆς ἐνώσεως κατάφασιν ὁ σοφὸς ποιησά-  
215 μενος, τὴν φυσικὴν τῶν ἡνωμένων διαφορὰν οὐκ ἠγνόησεν. Ἡ  
γὰρ ἔνωσις τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀπώσαμένη, τὴν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἐλώ-  
βησεν. Εἰ δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς τὸν λόγον ὁ τῆς ἐνώσεως τρόπος  
ἔχει σωζόμενον, ἄρα περίφρασις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου φωνή, κα-  
ταλλήλῳ κλήσει τοῦ διττοῦ τὴν φύσιν Χριστοῦ τὴν διττὴν πα-  
220 ραδηλοῦντος ἐνέργειαν (εἶπερ φύσει τὲ καὶ ποιότητι κατ'οὐδένα  
τρόπον ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως ὁ τῶν ἡνωμένων οὐσιώδης μεμειώται  
λόγος), ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὥς τινες ἀποφάσει τῶν ἄκρων, τινὸς μέσου  
ποιουμένου κατάφασιν. Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ τι μέσον ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ,  
τῇ τῶν ἄκρων ἀποφάσει καταφασκόμενον.
- 225 «Καινήν» μὲν, ὡς καινοῦ μυστηρίου χαρακτηριστικὴν, οὗ λό-  
γος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπόρητος τρόπος | τῆς συμφυΐας. Τίς γὰρ ἔγνω  
πῶς σαρκοῦται θεὸς, καὶ μένει θεός; Πῶς μένων θεὸς ἀληθής,  
ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ἀληθής, ἄμφω δεικνὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀληθῶς ὑπάρξει  
φυσικῇ, καὶ δι' ἑκατέρου θάτερον, καὶ μηδετέρῳ τρεπόμενος;

1056/1057

212 supra, l. 205 213/217 (Οὐκοῦν - ἐλώβησεν) cf. Cyrill. Alex., C. Nest.  
II, 6, p. 42, 35; Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 438, 11-14 218/220 (περίφρασις -  
ἐνέργειαν) cf. Io. Scyth., Schol. in Ep. 4 Dion., PG 4, 536A4-5; Sophr. Hieros., Ep.  
synod., p. 456, 13-18 219 (διττοῦ τὴν φύσιν) cf. Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p.  
438, 16 222/223 Pyrrh. Const., Tom. dogm., p. 152, 37-38 (= p. 608, 3) 223  
(Οὐκ - Χριστοῦ) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 31, 6, 14-17 (p. 286) 224 supra, l. 222-  
223 225 supra, l. 204 226 (ὁ - συμφυΐας) cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 31, p. 48, 20

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (= a)  
Y Q Mo Za Ga P C B

212 πεπολιτευμένος ἐνέργειαν C<sup>a.corr.</sup> 214 τὴν - ἐνώσεως] om. B 217  
διαφορᾶς] διαφορὰν (sine acc.) B<sup>a.corr.</sup> τρόπος] om. Q 218 παράφρασις  
Mo ἁγιωτάτου B 219 κλήσει] καὶ add. B δικτοῦ et δικτὴν (sic)  
Gale 222 τινες] τινι Öhler/PG ἀποφάσει] καταφασκόμενον καινήν μὲν,  
ὡς καινοῦ μυστηρίου (cf. l. 224-225) add. N<sup>a.corr.</sup> 223 ποιούμενον Gale 225  
Καινήν] καὶ νῦν Z<sup>a.corr.</sup> χαρακτηριστικόν Ba οὐ Re Sup B, οὐ (sic) Ga  
226 συμφυΐας Ga Gale γὰρ] om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup> 227 Πῶς] καὶ praem. B  
Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> 228 ἄμφω] τοίνυν B δεικνὺς] om. Q 229 καί<sup>1</sup>] om.  
Re Sup ἑκατέρου] ἀμφοτέρου B (cf. l. 269 et 270) μηδετέρῳ] μὴ τὸ ἄλλον  
ἐν ἑτέρῳ Re, μὴδ' ἕτερον (sic) Za, μὴδὲν B τραπόμενος Mo

- 230 Ταῦτα μόνη πίστις χωρεῖ, σιγῇ τιμῶσα τὸν Λόγον, οὔτινος τῇ φύσει, τῶν ὄντων ἐμπέφυκε λόγος οὐδεὶς. «Θεανδρικὴν» δέ, οὐχ'ὡς ἀπλῆν, οὐ δὲ πρᾶγμα τι σύνθετον, καὶ ἡ μόνης γυμνῆς κατὰ φύσιν θεότητος, ἡ μόνης ψιλῆς ὑπάρχουσαν ἀνθρωπότητος, ἡ συνθέτῳ φύσει τινῶν ἄκρων μεταιχιμῶ προσήκουσαν,
- 235 ἀλλ'ἀνδρωθέντι θεῷ τουτέστι τελειῶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντι προσφουεστάτην.
- Οὐ δ'αὖ πάλιν «μίαν», ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως νοηθῆναι τῆς καινῆς, καθά τισιν ἔδοξεν, ἢ μιᾶς δυναμένης. Ποιότητος γάρ, ἀλλ'οὐ ποσότητος ἢ καινότης, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἑαυτῇ συνει-
- 240 σάζει τοιαύτην (εἴπερ πάσης φύσεως ὄρος, ὃ τῆς οὐσιώδους αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας καθέστηκε λόγος), ἦν οὐ δὲ πλάστης εἶποι ποτ'ἂν τραγελάφων μύθοις φιλοτιμούμενος. Πῶς δὲ καὶ τούτου δοθέντος, ὃ τοῦτο πεφυκῶς μίαν ἔχων ἐνεργεῖαν, καὶ ταύτην φυσικῆν, ἐπιτελεῖσι τῇ αὐτῇ τὰ θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη, λόγῳ
- 245 φύσεως ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα, δίχα στερήσεως ἐπισυμβαιούσης τῇ ἀπογενέσει τῆς ἕξεως; Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων μιᾶ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τάναντία πέφυκε δρᾶν, ὄρω τὲ καὶ λόγῳ συνεχόμενον φύσεως.

230 Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., I, 3, p. 111, 6    231 supra, I. 204-205    232/234 (μόνης - ἀνθρωπότητος) cf. supra, I. 33-34 et 194-196    234 cf. Apol. Laod., Syllog., fragm. 113, p. 234, 13-20    235 supra, I. 204; cf. et Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, 21, p. 44, 14    237/241 (Οὐ - λόγος) cf. Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 446, 13-14    237/238 (μίαν - δυναμένης) cf. Sev. Ant., Ad Io., p. 309, 20-22    237 (μίαν) Cyrus Alex., Satisf., 7, p. 598, 21 (= p. 134, 19)    237/238 (ὡς - δυναμένης) Pyrrh. Const., Tom. dogm., p. 152, 35-36 (= p. 608, 1-2)    241/242 (ἦν - τραγελάφων) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 31, 6, 16-17 (p. 286)

A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (=a)  
Y Q Mo Za GaP C B

230 τῇ] om. Ba    232 πρᾶγμα τι] πραγμάτων B    ἦ] om. B    γυμνῆς] ψιλῆς Z    233 κατὰ φύσιν] κατὰφασιν Za    ψιλῆς] γυμνῆς Z    234 μετεχμίων (sic) B    235 ἀλλὰ ἀνδρωθέντος (sic) Θεοῦ B    ἐνανθρωπίσαντι Z<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ga, ἐνανθρωπήσαντος B    237 οὐκ ἂν] καὶ Gale    239 ἦ] ἡ Re Sup NZ    φύσις Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> ut v.    ἐαυτῆς P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>    239/240 συνάζει Re Sup Q, συνεισαύξει Z    241 οὐ δὲ πλάστης] οὐ δὲ πλαστής Ga, οὐ διπλῆν Gale Öhler/PG    εἶποι] om. A<sup>a.corr.</sup>, εἶπη Ga    242 τραγελάφον B    μύθων Z, μύθους Za    243 τοῦτο] τούτου A<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ba B    244 τὰ'] om. Re Sup    244/245 λόγῳ - διαφέροντα] om. B    245/246 συμβαιούσης B    246 τῆς ἕξεως] transp. ante τῇ Za<sup>a.corr.</sup>    μιᾶ] τῇ praem. B    247 τὰ ἐναντία B

Διὸ μίαν ἀπλῶς ἢ φυσικὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ θεότητος καὶ σαρκὸς  
 250 ἐνέργειαν λέγειν οὐ θέμις, εἴπερ μὴ ταυτὸν ποιότητι φυσικῆ  
 θεότης καὶ σὰρξ, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσιν, καὶ γενήσεται τετράς ἢ τριάς.  
 Οὐδενὶ γὰρ ὧ πέφυκεν εἶναι διὰ τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν Πατρὶ καὶ  
 Πνεύματι ταυτὸν ὁ Υἱὸς, γέγονε ταυτὸν τῇ σαρκὶ διὰ τὴν ἔνω-  
 σιν, κἄν πεποίηκεν αὐτὴν ζωοποιὸν ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἔ-  
 255 χουσαν τὸ φύσει θνητὸν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τρεπτῆς ὑπάρχων δειχθήσε-  
 ται φύσεως, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς σαρκὸς εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀλ-  
 λουίωσας, καὶ ταυτὸν πεποιηκῶς τῇ φύσει τὴν ἔνωσιν.

Τὴν γὰρ θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν ὡς ἀπεδόθη νοήσωμεν, ἣν  
 ἡμῖν οὐχ' ἑαυτῷ πολιτευσάμενος, τὴν φύσιν τοῖς ὑπὲρ φύσιν  
 260 ἐκαίνισε. Πολιτεία γὰρ ἐστίν, βίος κατὰ νόμον φύσεως διεξα-  
 γόμενος. Διπλοῦς δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὁ κύριος, εἰκότως βίον ἔχων  
 ἐφάνη κατάλληλον, νόμῳ τὲ θείῳ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῳ κατὰ ταυτὸν  
 ἀσυγχύτως συγκεκροτημένον, καινὸν καὶ αὐτὸν, οὐχ' ὡς μόνον  
 265 ξένον τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ παράδοξον καὶ οὐπω τῇ φύσει τῶν  
 ὄντων διεγνωσμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρακτῆρα καινῆς τοῦ καινῶς  
 βιώσαντος ἐνεργείας, ἣν θεανδρικήν τυχόν προσηγόρευσε ὁ  
 τῷ μυστηρίῳ τούτῳ κλησὶν ἐπινοήσας ἀρμόδιον, ἵνα δείξῃ τὸν  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἔνωσιν τῆς ἀντιδόσεως τρόπον, κατ' ἐπαλ-  
 λαγὴν τὰ φυσικῶς ἑκατέρῳ μέρει τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσόντα, θα-

249/251 cf. Eulog. Alex., Dub., p. 153, 6-8 (= PG 91, 265A5-6) 258/259 su-  
 pra, l. 204-205 266 *ibid.*

A Re Sup Am NBa Z Va (=a)  
 Y Q Mo Za Ga P C B

249 Διὸ] *hanc vocem sequitur rasura 3-4 litt. in Va* 249/250 μίαν - ταυτὸν] *om.*  
*Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>* 249 ἢ] *om.* Mo B σαρκὸς] ἀνθρωπότητος B 251 θεότης] καὶ  
*praem.* Z, ἢ *praem.* Comb φύσει Za B Comb<sup>P.corr.</sup> γενήσεται] γενήσεται B  
 252 ὧ] ὁ Za B 253 ταυτὸν<sup>2</sup>] *om.* B 254 πεποίηκεν] πέφυκεν Z αὐ-  
 τὴν] ἑαυτὴν Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> ἐνώσει Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> 255 καὶ] *om.* B ὑπάρχων  
 Za P<sup>P.corr. ut v.</sup> 258 Τῇ] ἐάν *praem.* Va<sup>e.corr.</sup> γὰρ] *om.* Va<sup>e.corr.</sup> P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>  
 ἀπεδόθη] Am νοήσωμεν Z 258/259 ἣν ἡμῖν] ἡνίκα B 259 τοῖς] τῶν  
 Am 261 δὲ] ὧν *add.* A<sup>P.corr.</sup> κύριος] ὧν *add.* N<sup>P.corr.</sup> Va C 261/262 ἔχων  
 ἐφάνη κατάλληλον] ἐφάνη ἔχων κατάλληλον Re, ἐφάνη κατάλληλον ἔχων Mo,  
 ἔχων κατάλληλον Z 262 τῷ] τῷ *add.* Am κατὰ ταυτὸν] κατ' αὐτὸν A<sup>a.corr.</sup>  
 Re Sup Am NBa Z Va<sup>a.corr.</sup> (=a) Za Ga P<sup>a.corr.</sup> B 263 καινὸν] *iter.* B Comb<sup>P.corr.</sup>  
 καὶ] *om.* Ba Za 264 τοῖς] τῆν (*sic*) B 267 τούτῳ] *om.* Comb ἐπινοήσας]  
 καινουρήσας B 268 τρόπων] P<sup>a.corr.</sup> 269 ἑκατέρῳ] ἀμφοτέρω B (*cf.* l. 229  
 et 270)

270 **τέρω πεποιημένον, χωρίς τῆς ἑκατέρου μέρους πρὸς θάτερον κατὰ τὸν φύσει | λόγον μεταβολῆς καὶ συμφύρσεως.**

1057/1060

Ἵσπερ γὰρ τοῦ πυρακτωθέντος ξίφους τὸ τμητικὸν γέγονε καυστικόν, καὶ τὸ καυστικὸν τμητικὸν (ἡνώθη γὰρ ὡσπερ τῷ σιδήρῳ τὸ πῦρ, οὕτω καὶ τῷ τοῦ σιδήρου τμητικῷ  
275 τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικόν), καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικὸς ὁ σίδηρος, ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ τμητικὸν τὸ πῦρ, ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν σίδηρον, οὐδέτερον δὲ τροπὴν τῇ καθ' ἑνωσιν ἀντιδόσει πρὸς θάτερον πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερον κὰν τῇ τοῦ συγκειμένου καθ' ἑνωσιν ἰδιότητι μεμένηκε τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείας ἀνέκπτωτον, οὕτως κὰν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως, θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης ἡνώθη καθ' ὑπόστασιν, μηδετέρας τῆς φυσικῆς ἐκστάσης ἐνεργείας διὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν, μήτε μὴν ἄσχετον αὐτὴν κεκτημένης μετὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν, καὶ τῆς συγκειμένης καὶ συνυφεστῶσης διακεκριμένην.

285 Ὅλη γὰρ τῇ δραστικῇ δυνάμει τῆς οἰκείας θεότητος ὁ σαρκωθείς Λόγος ὄλην ἐσχηκῶς συμφυεῖσαν καθ' ἑνωσιν ἄλυτον τὴν παθητικὴν τῆς ἰδίας ἀνθρωπότητος δυνάμιν, ἀνθρωπίνως θεὸς ὢν ἐνήργει τὰ θαύματα, διὰ σαρκὸς φύσει παθητῆς συμπληρούμενα, καὶ θεϊκῶς ἀνθρωπος ὢν διεξίηι τὰ

272/284 cf. e.g. Chrysipp., fragm. 471, p. 153, 8; fragm. 473, p. 155, 30-32; Orig., Princ. II, 6, 6, 182-192 (p. 320); Nemes. Emes., Nat. hom., 8, p. 64, 10-11

A Re Sup Am NBaZ Va (=a)  
Y Q Mo Za Ga<sup>usque ad θείας (l. 280)</sup> p C B

270 πεποιημένων P<sup>a.corr.</sup> ἑκατέρου] ἀμφοτέρου B (cf. l. 229 et 269)  
272 πυρακτωθέντος ξίφους] πυρὸς ἐνωθέντος ξίφει B 273 καὶ - καυστικόν<sup>2</sup>] om. B 273/274 ὅπερ Am 274 τῷ<sup>1</sup>] om. A Am 274/275 τὸ τοῦ σιδήρου τμητικὸν τῷ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικῶ (sine acc.) Za 274 τοῦ] om. NBa σιδήρου] σιδήρῳ Sup, σιδήρῳ C 275 καυστικόν] καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικόν (sic) add. Am N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Z Va<sup>a.corr.</sup> μὲν] om. Am 276 τῇ<sup>2</sup>] τὴν P Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup> 277 τροπῇ Comb<sup>a.corr.</sup>, τρόπον Öhler/PG τῇ] τὴν Q, om. B 277/278 ἀντιδόσει] τῇ add. Ga Gale, ἢ ἀντίδοσιν B 278 θάτερον] ἕτερον Gale κὰν] κὰν Z, om. Re τῇ] τὴν Z 279/280 οἰκείας] ἐνεργείας add. Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> C (an recte?), οὐσίας add. B Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> 282 τῆς] iter. Z ἐκστάσης] trsp. p. ἐνεργείας Ba, ἐκστάση B ἐνεργείας] om. B 283 μήτε - ἑνωσιν] om. Q 284 καὶ] τῆς add. Z συνεφεστῶσης Am διακεκρυμμένην Z 285 ὄλος B 286/287 ἄλυτον] ἄρρητον Z<sup>a.corr.</sup> 287 ἰδίας] οἰκείας Re 288 ἐνεργεῖ B 289 ἀνθρωπος] om. Am διεξίηι A AmYP, διεξίη B, illegib. Z

- 290 πάθη τῆς φύσεως, κατ'ἐξουσίαν ἐπιτελούμενα θεϊκῆν, ἄμφω  
 δὲ μᾶλλον θεανδρικῶς, ὡς θεὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὢν, τοῖς  
 μὲν, ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοῖς ἀποδιδούς, φανέντας ὅπερ γεγόναμεν, τοῖς  
 δὲ, διδοὺς ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῶ, γενομένους ὅπερ παρέδειξε, καὶ δι'  
 295 ἄμφοτέρων πιστούμενος τὴν τῶν ἐξ ὧν, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἄπερ  
 ὑπῆρχεν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς μόνος ἀληθῆς καὶ πιστὸς, καὶ ὅπερ ἐ-  
 στι παρ'ἡμῶν ὁμολογεῖσθαι βουλόμενος.

- Ὅν ἔχοντες, ἡγιασμένοι, λόγῳ τὲ καὶ βίῳ μορφούμενον, μι-  
 μήσασθε τὴν μακροθυμίαν, καὶ τὴν παρούσαν δεχόμενοι γρα-  
 φὴν, φάνητέ μοι τῶν ἐμφερομένων φιλόανθρωποι κριταί, νι-  
 300 κῶντες συμπαθεία τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ὑμῶν ὀλισθήματα, μόνην  
 ταύτην ἐκδεχομένῳ τῆς εὐπειθείας ἀντίδοσιν, καὶ γένεσθέ μοι  
 τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσίται καταλλαγῆς, εἰρήνην δημιουργοῦντες  
 τὴν πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσαν, ἧς αὐτὸς ἄρχων ἐστὶν ὁ σωτὴρ,  
 305 ἔξει πρακτικῆ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ταραχῆς ἐλευθερῶν τοὺς φο-  
 βουμένους αὐτὸν, καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, Πνεύματι  
 γεννῶν δι'ἀγάπης καὶ γνώσεως τοὺς τὸν ἄνω κόσμον πληρώ-  
 στοντας. Αὐτῷ δόξα μεγαλωσύνη κράτος, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ  
 ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

294/295 cf. supra, l. 137-138 297/298 (μιμήσασθε - μακροθυμίαν) cf. Eph.  
 5, 1 et I Tim. 1, 16 302/303 (εἰρήνην - ὑπερέχουσαν) Phil. 4, 7 303 (ἄρχων)  
 Is. 9, 6 304/305 (τοὺς - αὐτὸν) Ps. 24, 14; 32, 18; 102, 11, 13 et 17; 146, 11 etc. 305  
 (Πατὴρ - αἰῶνος) Is. 9, 6 306/307 Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 2, 9-10 (p. 106) 307  
 (δόξα μεγαλωσύνη κράτος) Iudas 25

A Re Sup Am N Ba Z Va (= a)  
 Y Q Mo Za P C B

290 πάθη τῆς] παθητῆς Am κατ'ἐξουσίαν - ἄμφω] καθὸ B 291  
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν] ἄνθρωπος, ὢν Re Sup N Ba Z Q 292 ἡμᾶς] καθ' praem. Am  
 ἑαυτοὺς Mo<sup>p.corr.</sup> B 293 γενόμενος Za παρέδειξε] ἡμᾶς praem. Ba καὶ]  
 om. B 294 τὴν] τὰ Z ut v. 295 καὶ πιστὸς] om. B 297 ἡγιασμένοι] A<sup>c.corr.</sup>  
 ut v., ὑγιασμένοι P, ἡγιασμένῳ Re Sup Am N Ba Z Va, ἡγιασμένῳ Gale, ἡγιασμὸν  
 B 298 τὴν] αὐτοῦ add. N<sup>p.corr.</sup> Va<sup>p.corr.</sup> ut v. C 299 φωνήτε A<sup>a.corr.</sup> N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Va<sup>a.corr.</sup>,  
 φωνήτε Am Z 301 ἐκδεχόμενοι Za, ἐκδεχομένου Comb<sup>p.corr.</sup> Gale γένεσθαί  
 Re, γένησθε Q C, γένοισθε Z Mo Za, γένησθε P Comb 302 μεσίται] trsp. a. τῆς  
 a Y Mo 304 πρακτικῆ] πράτους B 304/305 φοβουμένους αὐτὸν] δεομενους  
 (sine acc.) αὐτοῦ B 305 Πνεύματι] trsp. p. γεννῶν (l. 306) Mo 306 γεννῶν]  
 γεμῶν (sine acc.) B 306/307 πληρώσοντες Y, πληρώσαντας A Am N<sup>a.corr.</sup> Ba Z Mo  
 Q B πληροῦντας Za 307 δόξα] ἡ praem. Za μεγαλωσύνη] om. Mo 307/  
 308 σὺν - Πνεύματι] om. Mo 307 τῶ] om. Za B 308 αἰώνας] τῶν αἰώνων  
 add. Ba Q Mo C Gale, τῶν αἰώνων (sic) add. B

**EIVSDEM  
EPISTVLA SECVNDA  
AD EVNDEM**

## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

### *Traditio manuscripta*

- Ga* Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O.3.48 (s. XII<sup>in</sup>)  
*Ka* Parisinus gr. 1277 (s. XIII)  
*V* Vaticanus gr. 1809 (s. X<sup>ex</sup>)

### *Editiones*

- Canart* P. CANART, *La deuxième lettre à Thomas de S. Maxime le Confesseur*, in: *Byzantion* 34 (1964), p. 429-445  
*Gitlb.* M. GITLBAUER, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809*, vol. 1 (*Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 28), Vienna, 1878, p. 83-85 and 93-94  
*Lilla* fragments of *V* transcribed by S. Lilla in: N. P. CHIONIDES – S. LILLA, *La brachigrafia italo-bizantina (Studi e Testi* 290), Vatican City, 1981, p. 159-171



Πρὸς τὸν κύριον Θωμᾶν

PROL. | Τῷ ἡγιασμένῳ δούλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὶ πνευματικῶ καὶ *Byzantion*  
 διδασκάλῳ κυρίῳ Θωμᾶ, Μάξιμος ταπεινὸς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς, 34 (1964),  
 ἀνάξιος δούλος καὶ μαθητῆς. p. 429

- 5 Ὑπόστασιν μὲν σοφίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὐσίαν δὲ φασὶν ἀρετῆς  
 εἶναι τὴν σοφίαν. Διὸ τῆς μὲν σοφίας ἀπλανῆς ἔκφανσις ἐστὶν  
 ὁ τρόπος τῆς τῶν θεωρητικῶν ἀγωγῆς, τῆς ἀρετῆς δὲ στερέ-  
 μνιος βᾶσις ὁ λόγος τῆς τῶν πρακτικῶν θεωρίας καθέστηκεν,  
 ἀμφοτέρων δὲ χαρακτήρ ἀψευδέστατος, ἡ πρὸς τὸ κυρίως ὄν  
 10 ἀκλινῆς ἐνατένισις, ἣν ἐπιμερίζεται πόθος καὶ φόβος, ὁ μὲν,  
 τῷ κάλλει προσάγων, ὁ δὲ, τῷ μεγέθει καταπλήττων τοῦ κτί-  
 σαντος, ἐξ ὧν ἡ καθ' ἑνωσιν ἀκραιφνῆς τῶν ἀξίων πρὸς τὸν  
 θεὸν γίνεται σύγκρασις, ἐκεῖνο θέσει ποιουσα τοὺς πάσχοντας,  
 ὅπερ φύσει τὸ ποιῶν ὀνομάζεται.
- 15 Πάντων οὖν ταύτας, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἡγιασμένε, προκρίνας  
 τῶν γενητῶν, τὴν μὲν σοφίαν ἔδειξας ἀπλανῶς ἐκφαινομένην

2/4 Amb.Thom., prol., 3-5 9/10 (ἡ - ἐνατένισις) cf. Bas. Caes., Auct. mal.,  
 PG 31, 349A6 10/12 (ὁ - κτίσαντος) cf. Sap. 13, 5

Tit.: Ga Ka

1 Πρὸς] ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἀγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ μαξίμου  
 praem. Ka, τοῦ αὐτοῦ praem. Ga κύριον Θωμᾶν] αὐτόν Ga

Prol.: Ga KaV

2/4 Τῷ - μαθητῆς] om. Ga Ka 6 ἐστὶν] om. Ga 7 τῆς<sup>2</sup>] om. V 7/8  
 στερέμνιος V<sup>a</sup>. corr. ut vid. 9 ἀψευδέστατος] vix legib. in Ka ὄν V<sup>a</sup>. corr., ὧν  
 Ga 10 φόβος καὶ πόθος Ka 12 ἐξῶν V ἡ] discerni non potest in Ka  
 ἀκραιφνῆς] ἀκριβῆς Ka ut v. 15 εἰ καὶ τις] οἰκέτης Ga<sup>a</sup>. corr., οἰκέτις Ga<sup>p</sup>. corr.,  
 εἰ καὶ τις (sic) Ga<sup>in mg. (manu Patrick Young?)</sup> προσκρίνας V<sup>a</sup>. corr. 16 γεννητῶν  
 KaV ἐκφαινόμενος Ka ut v.

τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν πραττομένων, τὴν ἀρετὴν δὲ στερρῶς βεβαιου-  
 μένην παρέστησας τῷ λόγῳ τῶν νοουμένων, ἀμφοτέρων δὲ  
 χαρακτηῖρα, τὴν πρὸς τὸ κυρίως ὄν πεποίηκας σύννευσιν, πόθῳ  
 20 καὶ φόβῳ συγκρατουμένην τοῦ κτίσαντος, καθ' ἣν ὄλος ὄλω  
 θεῷ σχέσει πνευματικῇ συγκραθεῖς, ἀψευδῶς διὰ πίστεως πε-  
 ριπατεῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐν εἶδει τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετουσίαν, ἥς ἡ θέ-  
 ωσις δήλωσις, ἐκείνοις σε μόνοις σημαίνουσα, δι' ὧν ὁ θεὸς  
 τοῖς ὑπὸ γένεσιν καθίσταται γνώριμος. Ἐντεῦθεν μόνην τῆς  
 25 θεοποιῶν γνώσεως ἀσκήσας τὴν ἀπλησίαν, ἀεικίνητον ἔχεις  
 τὴν ἔφεσιν, πόθου πατέρα ποιουμένην σοι τὸν κόρον, παρα-  
 δόξως ἐπιτείνοντα τῇ μεταλήψει τὴν ὄρεξιν.

Διατοῦτο πάλιν ὁ μαργαρίτης ἐρωτᾷς τὸν πηλὸν, ὁ τιθηνού-  
 μενος ἐπὶ κόκκων, τὸν κοπρίαν περιβαλλόμενον, ὁ καθαρὸς τε  
 30 λέγω καὶ φωτεινὸς καὶ μηδὲν ὕλης φέρων τεκμήριον, τὸν  
 σαρκικὸν καὶ μηδὲν κρεῖττον ταύτης εἶναι τῆς λυομένης πε-  
 πεισμένον ζωῆς, ὁ τοῖς λαμπροῖς ἐντροφῶν καὶ διαπύροις  
 νοῆμασι, τὸν μόνην γνώρισμα | βίου πεπονημένον τὴν τῶν πα-  
 429/431 θῶν δυσωδίαν, καὶ βιάζῃ με τὸ βᾶρος μὴ φέροντα τῆς κατ' ἄ-  
 35 κρον σου θεομιμήτου κενώσεως, πάλιν πνευματικῶν ἄψα-  
 σθαι λόγων, τὸν οὐπω μὴ δ' αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς πρακτικῆς εἰληφῶτα  
 Ἰωάννου τὸ βάπτισμα, μὴ ὅτι γε εἶ ἔστι Πνεῦμα ἅγιον διὰ  
 θεωρίας ἀκηκόετα πνευματικῆς.

19 (τὴν - σύννευσιν) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 2, 10-11 (p. 178) 21/22 II Cor. 5,  
 7 28 cf. Mt. 7, 6 28/29 Lament. 4, 5 37/38 Act. 19, 2-3

Ga KaV

17 τοῦ τρόπου Ka 19 ὄν V<sup>a.corr.</sup> 20 συναρτουμένην V τοῦ κτί-  
 σαντος] *discerni non potest in Ka* 21 πνευματικῶς Ka 21/22 περιπατεῖς] *dis-*  
*cerni non potest in Ka* 23 σε μόνοις] σεμνοῖς Ga Canart, γενομένοις V 26/27  
 κόρον, παραδόξως] κόρον παραδόξως, V 28 ἐρωτᾷς] *vix legih. in Ka* τὸν  
 πηλὸν] *discerni non potest in Ka* 29 κόκκων Ga Ka περιβαλλόμενον (*an recte?*)  
 Ga 31 κρεῖττω Ga V ταύτης εἶναι] ταυτησοῦν Ka 32 διαπείροις  
 Ga 33 τῶν] *om. V* 34 βιάζει V τῆς] τὸ V<sup>a.corr.</sup> 34/35 κατ' ἄκραν Ga  
 Canart 35 σου] *om. erronee Lilla* καινώσεως Ga 36 τῶν Ga 37 εἶ  
 ἔστι] εἶτε V

Πλὴν ἐγχειρῶ, κἄν προπετέες τὸ γινόμενον (τί γὰρ ἀμαθοῦς  
 40 διδάσκοντος προπετέστερον;), τὴν σὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ δεσπότου  
 μου καὶ πατρὸς ἡγιασμένου πληρῶν, οὗ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐρειδό-  
 μενος, καὶ τοῦτον κεφαλαιώδη ποιούμεαι τὸν λόγον, ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 πρώτου τῶν προταθέντων ἀρχόμενος.

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Ga Ka V

39 Πλὴν] καὶ *εἰσπνεε προετ.* Lilla γινόμενον] λεγόμενον V<sup>a.corr.</sup> *ut v.*  
 42 τούτων Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup> κεφαλαιοειδί (sic) V, κεφαλαιοειδή Gith. ποιούμεν  
 V 43 πρώτου τῶν] πρὸ τούτων V προταθέντος V ἀρχόμενον  
 Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup>

I

Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Υἱοῦ πρώτου λόγου, εἰς τὸ Διά τοῦτο μονὰς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς <εἰς δυάδα> κινή-  
 θείσα, μέχρι τριάδος ἔσται. Καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ  
 δευτέρου Εἰρηνικοῦ, εἰς τὸ Μονάδος μὲν κινήθεισης διὰ  
 5 τὸ πλούσιον, δυάδος δὲ ὑπερβαθείσης (ὑπὲρ γὰρ τὴν  
 ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐξ ὧν τὰ σώματα), τριάδος δὲ ὀρι-  
 σθείσης διὰ τὸ τέλειον.

Ἐπειδὴ συναρμοσθῆναί σοι τὰς ἐν ταῦτοις διαφοροὺς τοῖς  
 λόγοις αἰτίας τῆς κινήσεως τῆς ὑπερανάρχου μονάδος ἐκέλευ-  
 10 σας, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀμνοντα παῦσαι τῆς ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἀπορίας, ἐγὼ  
 δέσποτα θεοτίμητε, μίαν ὄρω, καίτοι τὴν ψυχῆς ὄψιν ἀφηρη-  
 μένος διὰ τὸ πάχος τῆς διανοίας, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἀμ-  
 φοῖν νοουμένην, ἣν αὐτὸς σαφῆ τε καὶ τρανὴν καὶ μηδὲν ἔ-  
 χουσαν γριφῶδες καθίστησιν ὁ διδάσκαλος, ἐν μὲν τῷ περὶ  
 15 Υἱοῦ λόγῳ φάσκων· Ἡμῖν δὲ μοναρχία τὸ τιμώμενον, μοναρ-  
 χία δὲ, οὐχ' ἦν ἐν περιγράφει πρόσωπον (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐν  
 στασιάζον πρὸς ἑαυτὸ πολλὰ καθίστασθαι), ἀλλ' ἦν φύσεως  
 ὁμοτιμία συνίστησι, καὶ γνώμης σύμπνοια, καὶ ταυτότης κι-  
 νήσεως, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐν, <τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ σύννευσις> ...

[deest folium unum in Ga]

20 | ... ] π' ἀμφοῖν ταύτην εἶναι φημί τῆς κινήσεως, τὴν ἀνθρω- 431/433  
 πίνην περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἢ μονὰς τριάς ἐστι γνῶσιν, ἀδυνατοῦσαν

1/7 Amb.Thom. I, 1-7      15/19 Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 2, 6-11 (p. 178)

Ga

2 εἰς δυάδα] om. Ga, suppleni ex Amb.Thom. et Greg. Naz.      15 Υἱοῦ] υἱῷ Ga,  
 corr. Canart      17 στασιάζων Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup>      ἑαυτῷ Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup>      18 συνίστησιν  
 Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup>      ταυτότης] ταυτό coeperat scribere Ga      19 τῶν - σύννευσις] suppleni e  
 Greg. Naz.

συνημμένως ιδεῖν τὸν τε τοῦ εἶναι λόγον, καὶ τὸν τοῦ πῶς ὑφεστάναι τῆς θεότητος τρόπον κατὰ τὴν ἄμα συνέκρανσιν.

- Μονὰς οὖν κινεῖται διὰ τὸ πλούσιον, ἵνα μὴ πένης εἴη θεό-  
 25 τῆς, ἰουδαϊκῶς συστελλομένη τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς προσώπου περι-  
 γραφῇ, ὑπερβαίνεται δὲ δυὰς, ἵνα μὴ σῶμα τὸ θεῖον ὑπο-  
 ληφθῇ, ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ εἶδει καὶ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ σχήματι θε-  
 ωρούμενον, ὀρίζεται δὲ τριάς διὰ τὸ τέλειον, ἵνα μὴ στα-  
 σιαστικὸν εἴη τὸ θεῖον, ἑλληνικῶς ἐν πλήθει μυθολογούμενον.  
 30 Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ φύσει μονώτατον τέλειον, τὸ ἀσύνθετον καὶ ἀσκέ-  
 δαστον, καὶ φεῦγον ἐπίσης τό τε καθ'ὑπόστασιν μοναδικόν, καὶ  
 τὸ καθ'ὑλὴν δυϊκόν, καὶ τὸ κατ'οὐσίαν πληθυντικόν· ὅπερ καὶ  
 35 καὶ πάλιν ὀρισθῆναι τριάδα, καὶ μέχρι τριάδος στῆναι τῆς μο-  
 νάδος τὴν κίνησιν, εἶπερ μοναρχίαν πρεσβεύομεν, οὐκ ἀφιλότι-  
 μον, ὡς ἐνὶ προσώπῳ περιγεγραμμένην, ἢ πάλιν ἄτακτον, ὡς  
 εἰς ἄπειρον χεομένην, ἀλλ'ἦν ὁμότιμος φύσει τριάς, Πατὴρ  
 καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα συνίστησιν ἅγιον». Καὶ πάλιν· «Εἶπερ  
 40 μονὰς, ἀλλ'οὐ δυὰς, καὶ τριάς, ἀλλ'οὐ πλήθος ἢ θεότης, ὡς  
 ἄναρχος, ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀστασίαστος».

- Οὐδὲν οὖν οἰκονομήσας ἀπέκρυψα τῶν ἀπορηθέντων πάτερ  
 ἡγιασμένε, λόγῳ τινὶ μυστικωτέρῳ κρείττοσιν ἀκοαῖς ταμειυ-  
 σάμενος (τίς γὰρ σοῦ τῶν θείων ἢ χωρητικώτερος ἢ ἐξαγγελ-  
 45 τικώτερος;), ἀλλὰ πάντα κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξεῖπον δύναμιν, κἄν ὁ  
 παρ'ἐμοὶ λόγος διὰ πενίαν ὡς ἔδει τὸ προταθὲν οὐκ ἐπλάτυεν.

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24 supra, I, 4-5    24/25 (ἵνα - θεότης) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 23, 8, 12 (p. 298)    25 (ἰουδαϊκῶς) cf. ibid., 8, 14 (p. 298)    25/26 (συστελλομένη - περι-  
 γραφῇ) cf. eund., Or. 29, 2, 7-8 (p. 178); cf. et Amb.Thom. I, 13-14    26 supra, I,  
 5    28 supra, I, 6-7    28/29 (ἵνα - μυθολογούμενον) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 29, 2, 2-  
 4 (p. 178)    33/39 Amb.Thom. I, 10-16    39/41 ibid., 21-23    46 (διὰ πενίαν)  
 cf. infra, II, 17

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Ga

31 ἐπίσης sic Ga (vide supra, p. LXXXIII, n. 55)    36 πρεσβεύομεν  
 Ga 43/44 ταμειυσάμενος] τὰ μὴ γευσάμενος Ga<sup>4.corr.</sup>

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου, εἰς τὸ Διὰ μέσου νοὸς ὀμιλήσας σαρκί, καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ κάτω θεός, ἐπειδὴ συνανεκράθη θεῷ, καὶ γέγονεν εἷς, τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκνικήσαντος.

- 5 | Οὐ δὲ τοῦτο πάτερ ἡγιασμένε παρέδραμον ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσάν μοι δύναμιν, καὶ τὸ τῆς διανοίας χωρητικὸν, ἐποίησάμην ἐν τῷ πεμφθέντι χάρτη τὴν δεοῦσαν βάσανον, εἰπών· « Αὐτὸς οὖν κυρίως δίχα τροπῆς πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσει παθητὸν κενωθείς ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀληθῶς διὰ σαρκώσεως γενόμενος αἴσθησιν, θεὸς ὄρατός, καὶ κάτω θεὸς προσηγορεύθη, διὰ σαρκὸς φύσει παθητῆς τὴν ὑπεράπειρον ἐμφανῆ ποιησάμενος δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ συνανεκράθη θεῷ προδήλως ἢ σὰρξ, καὶ γέγονεν εἷς, τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκνικήσαντος, ὑποστατικῇ ταυτότητι κυρίως αὐτὴν τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου θεώσαντος ».

15 Πῶς οὖν ἦν ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν ἐτέρως, δοῦλε θεοῦ, λόγῳ τὲ καὶ διανοίᾳ πτωχεύοντι, τὸν περὶ τούτου τρανότερον ποιήσασθαι λόγον; Εἶπον γὰρ ὅτι σὰρξ συνανεκράθη θεῷ, καὶ γέγονεν εἷς, τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκνικήσαντος. Καὶ τίνι λόγῳ πάλιν, πῶς τὲ καὶ 20 πόσον ἢ ἐκνίκησις γέγονεν δεικνὺς ἐπήγαγον, « ὑποστατικῇ ταυτότητι » φάμενος « κυρίως αὐτὴν τοῦ προσλαβόντος Λόγου θεώσαντος », ἵνα παραστήσω σαφῶς ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστατικῆς ταυτότητος πεποίηκεν σαρκωθείς τὴν ἐκνίκησιν ὁ Λόγος· πῶς τὲ καὶ πόσον, ὅτι « κυρίως » καὶ ὅσον θεῶσαι τὸ προσληφθέν

1/4 Amb.Thom. III, 7-10      8/15 ibid., 27-34      17 (διανοία πτωχεύοντι)  
 cf. Mt. 5, 3; Lc. 6, 20 (app); cf. et supra, Ep.sec. I, 46      18/19 supra, l. 12-14      20/  
 22 supra, l. 14-15      24 (κυρίως) supra, l. 14

Ga

18 σὰρξ] an praemittendum < ἡ > ?

25 καθ'ύποστασιν. Εἰ γὰρ σπορά γέγονε τῆς οἰκείας σαρκός, δίχα τροπῆς κενωθείς ἀφράστως ὁ Λόγος, αὐτὸν δηλονότι προσληφθεῖσα κυρίως ἢ σὰρξ ἔσχεν ὑπόστασιν, τῷ κατ'αὐτὴν λόγῳ (φημί τὴν ὑπόστασιν) πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ διαφέρουσα. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν πρὸς τὸν Λόγον ...

[deest folium unum in Ga]

30 ... τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεῖραν εἰληφέναι πιστεύων τὸν κύριον καθ'ὀμοιότητα τὴν ἡμετέραν χωρὶς μόνης ἀμαρτίας.

Κατ'ἄλλον γὰρ λόγον, οὐσιωδῶς χαρακτηρίζοντα τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν φύσιν, τὴν ἐκνίκησιν γεγενῆσθαι, λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐν ποιότητι φυσικῇ διαφορὰν τῆς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης σαρκός ἀγνοήσωμεν μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, ἐκνικηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, καὶ μηδὲν τῆς οἰκείας τεκμήριον παρεχομένην ὑπάρξειωσ. | Ὅπερ Σευῆρος οἰηθείς ὁ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἀπολιναρίου μαθητῆς δυσσεβέστερος, μίαν φύσιν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐδογματίσεν σύνθετον, καὶ μίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, Πατρὸς 435/437

40 τὲ καὶ μητρὸς ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸν φανερώς ἀλλοτριώσας κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Εἰ γὰρ σύνθετος φύσις κατὰ Σευῆρον ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ φύσει πάντως σύνθετος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Εἰ δὲ φύσει σύνθετος ὁ Χριστὸς, ἄρα καὶ φύσει Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Εἰ δὲ φύσει κατὰ Σευῆρον Χριστὸς ἐστὶν 45 ὁ Χριστός, οὔτε τῷ Πατρὶ οὔτε τῇ μητρὶ ἐστὶν ὁμοούσιος, εἴπερ μὴ φύσει Χριστὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, ἢ φύσει Χριστὸς ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ φύσις ἔσται μεταίχιμος ὁ Χριστός, κατάλληλον ἔχουσα τὴν ἐνέργειαν, οὐσιωδῶς αὐτὴν χαρακτηρίζουσαν, ὅπερ ἀμήχανον.

25 (σπορά - σαρκός) Amb.Thom. II, 7-8 26/27 (αὐτὸν - ὑπόστασιν) cf. ibid., 8-9; cf. infra, I. 77-78 31 Hebr. 4, 15; cf. et Amb.Thom. II, 34 37/39 cf. Sev. Ant., Ad Io., p. 310, 3-4; Apol. Laod., Hom. assumpt., fragm. 111, p. 233, 27-29; id., C. Diod., fragm. 119, p. 236, 22-27; Polem. Apol., C. Timoth., fragm. 174, p. 274, 18-19; Eunom. Ber., Ad Zos., fragm. 178, p. 276, 23-25; Iul. Apol., Ad Polem., fragm. 180, p. 277, 10 47 (φύσις - Χριστός) cf. Amb.Thom. V, 234

Ga

26 καινωθῆς (sic) Ga 35 ἐμψυχομένης Ga, ἐμψυχωμένης Canart 39 συνθέτην Canart

Μέσσην γὰρ τινὰ τούτων φύσιν, θεοῦ δηλαδή καὶ ποιήματος, ἤ-  
 50 τοι μηδετέρου μετέχουσιν, ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν σύνθετον, οὐ δ' ἂν οἱ  
 τοὺς τραγελάφους πλάττοντες ἐννοήσαιεν.

Διατοῦτο μῆτε τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγνοήσωμεν, ἵνα μὴ λάβῃ χώραν  
 ἢ Νεστορίου διαίρεσις, ξένης εἰδωλολατρείας ἡμῖν γινομένη δη-  
 μιουργός, μῆτε τὴν διαφορὰν ἀθετήσωμεν, ἵνα μὴ σχοίη πα-  
 55 ρείσδυσιν ἢ προπετῆς Ἀπολιναρίου συναίρεσις, προσφάτου φύ-  
 σεως ἡμῖν ἐπεισάγουσα γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν, εὐσεβῶς ἐν τῇ  
 ταυτότητι τῆς τῶν οὐσιωδῶς διαφερόντων γνωρίσωμεν μιᾶς  
 ὑποστάσεως, τὴν δὲ, ἐν τῇ ἐτερότητι τῆς τῶν καθ' ὑπόστασιν  
 ἡνωμένων ὁμολογήσωμεν φυσικῆς ιδιότητος, μηδὲν θατέρου.  
 60 φυσικὸν ὑποτέμνοντες ἢ παρακλέπτοντες ἢ παραφθείροντες,  
 ἵνα μὴ τὸν τοῦ εἶναι τὲ καὶ πεφυκέναι λόγον κατὰ τι λω-  
 βώσαντες, τὸ πᾶν ἐλλείψωμεν (ἀτελοῦς γὰρ φύσεως λόγος  
 οὐδεὶς), καὶ κατακριθῶμεν ἀτελοῦς σωτηρίας μοῖραν λαχεῖν, ἢ  
 τῆς ὅλης τελείως ἐκπεσεῖν, δι' ὑποστολὴν ἢ ἄγνοιαν παθόντες ἢ  
 65 δράσαντες καθ' ἑαυτῶν ταύτης τὴν ἀλλοτρίωσιν.

Ὁ γὰρ φύσει θεός, γενόμενος φύσει κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος,  
 ὅλως ἐστὶ θεὸς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς,  
 πάντα δι' ὅσων καταλαμβάνεται φυσικῶς, τούτων ἑκάτερον  
 ἔχων ἀνελλιπῶς, πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ἣν νοῦς παρὰ φύσιν  
 70 ἐφεῦρεν κινούμενος, ἐπεὶ | οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς, 437/439  
 εἴπερ ἐλλιπῶς καθ' ἑκάτερον ἔχων πιστεύεται. Εἰ δὲ ἄμφω κυ-  
 ρίως ἐστὶν, ὡς πάντα δι' ὅσων θεωρεῖται φυσικῶς, τούτων ἑκά-  
 τερον ἔχων ἀνελλιπῶς, ὡς ἀπεδόθη γεγενῆσθαι νοήσωμεν τὴν  
 ἐκνίκησιν, πιστεύοντες ὅτι κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ποιητῆς,  
 75 ἀτρέπτου μεινάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς θεότητος, ἐν μήτρα παρθενικῇ  
 συλληφθεὶς ὡς ἠθέλησεν, οἰκείαν τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν ἐποίησα-

49/51 Greg. Naz., Or. 31, 6, 14-17 (p. 286); cf. et Amb.Thom. V, 223-224 et 241-  
 242 69/70 (πλὴν - κινούμενος) cf. Amb.Thom. II, 34-35; cf. et Hebr. 4, 15

Ga

54/55 παρείσδυσιν] παρ' εἰσδησιν Ga, παρ' εἰσδυσιν Canari 61/62  
 λωβώσαντες] sic Ga (cf. autem ἐλώβησεν, supra, Amb.Thom. V, 216-217) 71 πι-  
 στεύεται Ga<sup>corr.</sup> ut v.



- το φύσιν, ὑπόστασις αὐτῆς ἀφράστως ἐξ αὐτῆς γενόμενος τῆς συλλήψεως· καθ' ἣν (φημί δὲ τὴν φύσιν) ἐκ μητρὸς γεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὁ πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐκ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένος, ἄνθρωπος
- 80 ἦν ἀνελλιπῶς ἔχων κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡσπερ καὶ θεός. Εἰ δὲ φύσει καθ' ἑκάτερον τούτων ὁ αὐτὸς εἶχεν ἀνελλιπῶς (κατ' ἄμφω γὰρ τέλειος), δηλὸν ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φύσεων ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις ἦν, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οὐσιώδεις εἶχεν κινήσεις ὧν αὐτὸς ἔνωσις ἦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ φυσικᾶς, τρόπῳ τῷ καθ' ἔνωσιν ἀσυγ-
- 85 χύτως ἀλλήλαις συμφυείσας, ὧν χωρὶς οὐ δὲ τί, τίς τὲ καὶ πῶς ὧν ἐγνωρίζετο, κἂν Ἀπολινάριος καὶ Σευῆρος ἐξέλειπον, ἐλλείψεις ποιούμενοι τῶν φυσικῶν τῆς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς ιδιωμάτων, ἵνα μόνην τὴν ἐν σχήματι σαρκὸς ψιλὴν διαμόρφωσιν, ἢ κλῆσιν εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον, μανιχαϊκῶς
- 90 τῷ θεῷ περιθέντες, τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὸν δείξωσιν ἐστερημένον τοῦ πράγματος.

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77/78 cf. supra, I. 26-27    79 cf. Symb. Const. (381) p. 244, 3-4    82/84 cf. Amb.Thom. IV, 75-77 et V, 128-130    85/86 cf. ibid. V, 135-138    88/90 cf. Amb. Thom. V, 43-45; cf. et Sophr. Hieros., Ep. synod., p. 450, 9-10

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Ga

84 φυσικᾶς] φυσικῶν *coni. Canart*    85 συμφυείσας] συμφυείσων (*sic*) *coni. Canart*    87 ἐμψυχομένης Ga, ἐμψυχωμένης *Canart*

Ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν πρὸς Γαῖον ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Διο-  
 νυσίου ἐξηγήσεως, εἰς τὸ « καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, οἷς,  
 αὐτουργικῶς ψυχῆς δίκην φυσικῶς τὸ συμφυῆς σῶμα  
 κινούσης, τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν φύσιν κινῶν, ὡς αὐτοῦ  
 5 καὶ γενομένην ἀληθῶς καὶ λεγομένην, ἣ κυρίως εἰπεῖν,  
 αὐτὸς δίχα τροπῆς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἔστιν πραγματικῶς ἡ φύ-  
 σις γενόμενος, ἀφαντασιάστως τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονο-  
 μίαν πεπλήρωκεν ».

Ἄγαμαί σε τῆς σοφίας, ὄντως ἡγαπημένε, καὶ οὔποτε παύ-  
 10 σομαι τὸ στερρὸν ταύτης καταπληττόμενος. Ἐρωτῶν γὰρ δι-  
 δάσκεις, καὶ μαθητιῶν σοφίζεις, καὶ χθαμαλούμενος ἀνάγεις,  
 καὶ | διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία κατορθοῖς, τὴν σωτήριον 439/441  
 τοῦ κυρίου καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐν πᾶσιν τέ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐκ-  
 μιμούμενος κένωσιν· παρ' οὗ τὸ πνεῦμα λαβὼν τῆς πραότητος,  
 15 ἄπταιστον διδασκαλίαν, καὶ ταύτην πεποιήκας τὴν ἐρώτησιν,  
 εἰπὼν « Πότερον πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τὴν κίνησιν, μίαν  
 εἶναι καὶ θεῖαν φαμέν, ἣ κἀνταῦθα τῆς μεσιτευούσης τῷ θεῷ  
 Λόγῳ καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ ψυχῆς ἡ κίνησις φυλάττεται, ἐφ' ἣν καὶ τὰ  
 πάθη τῆς σαρκὸς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεσπεσίου Γρηγορίου φυσικῶς  
 20 ἀνάγεται ὄρον; », καὶ δι' ὀλίγων συλλαβῶν πάντας μῆσας τῆς  
 εὐσεβείας τὴν εἶδησιν, καὶ δείξας ὡς οὐδὲν τῆς ὄντως ἀλη-  
 θείας ἀναλωτότερον, φευγούσης μὲν τὴν ἐν λόγοις τῶν φιλο-

2/8 Amb.Thom. V, 93-98 12/14 (τὴν - κένωσιν) cf. Ps. Dion. Ar., Ep. 4, p.  
 160, 7-8 14 I Cor. 4, 21; Gal. 6, 1 17/18 Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 13, 29-30 (p. 134);  
 id., Or. 45, PG 36, 636A1-3 21/24 (ἀληθείας ... ἐπιζητούσης ... ἄρτους ἀζύ-  
 μους) cf. I Cor. 5, 8

Ga V

3 αὐτουργικός V φυσικός V συμφυῆς V 5 ἣ] om. V 6 πραγ-  
 ματικός V ἣ] om. V 12 ἐναντία] ἐνάνα (sic) V 13 καὶ] om. Gtllb. 14  
 τὸ] τῷ V πνεῦμα] πρι (ε παρα) V, πνεύματι scrips. Gtllb. 17 θεῷ] θεῖω conl.  
 Gtllb. 22/23 φιλονίκων Ga

νείκων ὀχλαγωγίαν, ἐπιζητούσης δὲ καθάπέρ τινας ἄρτους  
 ἀζύμους τοὺς διὰ πτωχείαν πνεύματος ἄλμης ἐλευθερώσαι  
 25 παθῶν, καὶ πειρασμῶν ὥσπερ κυμάτων ἀπαλλάξαι βιωτικῶν  
 ἄλιευτικῶς δυναμένους, καὶ μηδὲν φαρισαϊκὸν ὑπομένοντας  
 καὶ φρυσωμένους, τῷ πυρὶ προσομιλοῦντας τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ  
 διατοῦτο πιστευομένους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· μεθ' ὧν ἐπιζητηθεὶς ἡ-  
 γιασμένε διὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν διάθεσιν, εὐρεθεὶς τὲ καὶ πιστευθεὶς  
 30 τοῦ λόγου τὴν διακονίαν, οὐκ ἀξίαν ἐπίθετον ἀνθρωπίνῃ  
 ψήφῳ προσγενομένην ἐπὶ τοῦτο λαχῶν, ἀλλὰ θεόκριτον καὶ  
 τῇ καθάρσει τοῦ βίου κατάλληλον χάριν λαβῶν, ἀποστολικῶς  
 τὸν περὶ τῆς σαρκώσεως τοῦ κυρίου λόγον ἐκδιδάσκεις, διὰ  
 μέσης ψυχῆς νοεραῶς αὐτὸν ἐνωθῆναί τε τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ κινήσαι  
 35 ταύτην πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῆς διατεινόμενος, καὶ τοὺς Γρηγορίου τοῦ  
 πάνυ λόγους, ὄρον εὐσεβείας τιθέμενος, ἵνα μάθωμεν ὡς ἡ  
 προσληφθεῖσα φύσις ἐν τῇ τηρήσει διασῶζεται τῆς συστατι-  
 κῆς αὐτῆς οὐσιώδους κινήσεως, ἥς χωρὶς ἀληθῆς εἶναι παν-  
 τάπασιν ὁ τῆς οἰκονομίας οὐ δύναται λόγος, οὐκ ἔχων ἐν  
 40 Χριστῷ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν πίστῳσιν φύσεως διὰ τῆς οὐσιώ-  
 δους αὐτῆς βεβαιουμένην κινήσεως, ἥς ἄρνησις ἐστίν, ἢ τῆς  
 οὐσίας ἥς ἐστίν, ἀναίρεσις.

Καὶ δηλοῖ τοῦτο σαφῶς ὁ τῶν μαινομένων χορὸς, Σίμωνος  
 λέγω καὶ Βαλεντίνου καὶ Μάνεντος, Ἀρείου τὲ καὶ Ἀπολινα-  
 45 ρίου, καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Διοσκόρου καὶ Τιμοθέου καὶ Σευήρου  
 τοῦ κακῶς τὴν Χριστιανῶν | ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ πολλῶν χρωσθέντος  
 προσηγορίαν, τῇ ἀναιρέσει τῆς προσληφθείσης φύσεως τὴν  
 τῆς κινήσεως αὐτῆς συνεπαγόμενος ἄρνησιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μό-

441/443

24 (πτωχείαν πνεύματος) cf. Mt. 5, 3; Lc. 6, 20 (app) 26 (ἀλιευτικῶς) cf.  
 Greg. Naz., Or. 23, 12, 12 (p. 304) 30 Act. 6, 4 33/34 Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 13,  
 29-30 (p. 134); id., Or. 45, PG 36, 636A1-3; cf. et supra, l. 17-18

## Ga V

27 προσομιλοῦντας] πρὸς ὁμιλοῦντας *codd.* 28 διατοῦτω (*sic*) Ga<sup>a.corr.</sup>,  
 διὰ τοῦ V<sup>a.corr.</sup> 28/29 ἡγιασμενη (*sic*) *erronee* Lilla 37 τῆ] *om.* V 41 βε-  
 βαιουμένης Ga 44 βαλεντίου Ga ἀρίου V 45 καὶ] *om.* V<sup>a.corr.</sup> 47/  
 48 τὴν - αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ V

νην διάκενον σαρκὸς εἰκόνα φασματωθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν σαρ-  
 50 κὸς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης ἀληθῶς δίχα τροπῆς οὐσιωθέντα φύ-  
 σιν λέγων τὸν κύριον, ἵνα μίαν τὴν τε φύσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ  
 τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ταύτην θεϊκὴν δογματίσας, δείξῃ τὴν θείαν  
 οὐσίαν, ἣ δοκῆσει παίζουσαν, ἀπατηλῶς προσποιουμένην τὰ  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἣ τραπέισαν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς ἡμῶν ὑποπίπτου-  
 55 σαν. Τούτων ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἡ μία Χριστοῦ φύσις καὶ κίνησις,  
 τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ δοκῆσει παίζουσα θεότης τὰ σαρκικὰ, καὶ παρὰ  
 φύσιν τοῖς σαρκὸς ὑποπίπτουσα, τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ μίαν τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπίδειξις, ἔξει  
 μὲν δυνάμεως φυσικῶς προβαλλομένου τὰ θαύματα, στερήσει  
 60 δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ταύτης ὑποπίπτοντος τοῖς παθήμασιν, τούτων  
 ἐστὶ τὸ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν καὶ  
 δύναμιν, ἀπαθῆ τέ καὶ παθητὸν διορίζεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι  
 πίστεως συγκεχυμένης ἐπιδοξότερον· ὧν τὸ ἀπερρίφθαι Χρι-  
 στοῦ ...

[Explicit Ga]

[Καὶ μετ'ολίγα]

65 ... Ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ με-  
 γάλου Δαυὶδ ἀκηκόαμεν λέγοντος, καὶ πάντων αὐτὴν νικητι-  
 κὴν ὡς μόνην ἰσχυρὰν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑσδρα σαφῶς μεμαθήκαμεν.  
 Οὐσίωσις γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ, καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θειοτέρων  
 τοῦ εἶναι λόγων ἀρραγῆς βᾶσις καθέστηκεν, παντὸς καὶ λόγου  
 70 καὶ πράγματος τοῖς χωροῦσιν ὡς ἔστιν ἀπλανῶς ποιουμένη τὴν  
 δῆλωσιν.

Εἰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὡς ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν ὑπέγραψεν ὁ λόγος,  
 οὐδὲν ἀληθείας ἀναγκαιότερον. Πᾶν οὖν εἴ τι κυρίως ἀλη-

57/58 cf. Iul. Apol., Ad Polem., fragm. 180, p. 277, 11-12 63/64 (τὸ ἀπερ-  
 ρίφθαι Χριστοῦ) cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 16, PG 35, 945C15 65 Ps. 118, 160 66/67  
 I Esdr. 3, 12 et 4, 35

Ga<sup>usque ad l. 64</sup> V<sup>usque ad ἐπίδειξις (l. 58) et inde a l. 65</sup>

50 νοερᾶς V ἐμψυχωμένης Ga Canart, ἐμψυχωμένην V 68 Οὐ-  
 σίωσις] οὐσίς V<sup>a.corr.</sup>

75 θές, πάντως και ἀναγκαῖον. Οὐκοῦν εἶπερ τὸν Χριστὸν οὐσία τε  
 και φύσει κυρίως ἀληθινὸν θεὸν, και τὸν αὐτὸν οὐσία τε και  
 και φύσει κυρίως ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι πιστεύομεν, οὐδὲν τοῦ  
 και τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω νοεῖν τε και λέγειν ἀναγκαιότερον, και διὰ τοῦ  
 και δηλοῦντος τὸ ποσὸν ἀριθμοῦ, μόνης τῆς οὐσιώδους διαφορᾶς  
 και τῶν ἐξ ὧν, ἐν οἷς τε και ἅπέρ ἐστιν αἰεὶ μὲν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν | 443/445  
 80 πίστωσιν, μάλιστα δὲ λόγου και καιροῦ τὸν ὀρθὸν παραγρά-  
 και φροντος λόγον, ἡνίκα χρῆ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνίστασθαι και τὴν περι  
 και αὐτὴν ἐμφανῆ ποιεῖσθαι διάθεσιν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον δικαιωθῶμεν  
 και εὐσεβῶς καρδίᾳ πιστεύοντες, ἀλλὰ και σωθῶμεν στόματι παν-  
 και ταχοῦ πᾶσιν ὀρθῶς ὁμολογοῦντες. ...

[Εἰς τὸ τέλος]

85 ... Ἄλλ'εὖ γε, τιμία μοι κεφαλῆ, νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον γε-  
 και νοῦ μοι φιλανθρωπότατος τῶν γεγραμμένων κριτῆς, και το-  
 και σουτον ὅσον ἐμαυτοῦ καθ'ὑφρῆσιν ἀρετῆς ἐγενόμην κατώτερος,  
 και τῇ φθορᾷ τῶν παθῶν τὴν νοεράν τῆς ψυχῆς κατέπειρα δύ-  
 και ναμιν, ἵνα τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ἐμῆς εὐπεριστάτου κακίας τῷ μεγέθει  
 90 τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς περιγράψας, παρακαλέσῃς με, γεγεννημένον ὡς  
 και ἄσκὸν ἐν πάχνη, τῷ τε κρυμῷ πεφρυγμένον τῆς ἀμαρτίας, και  
 και τῇ μνήμῃ συνεσταλμένον τῶν αἰωνίων κολάσεων, και ποιήσῃς  
 και νέον τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τῆς παλαιότητος, και μόνου τοῦ κατὰ Χρι-  
 και στὸν μυστικώτερου λόγου χωρητικὸν, ὧ κρυφίως ἢ τοῦ πνευ-  
 95 ματός σοι ἦνωται ζέσις, ἀνακινουῦσά τε και οἶον διαθερμαίνου-  
 και σα τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς μόνην τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ κτίσαντος· ὧ ἡ δόξα  
 και και τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

79 cf. Amb.Thom. V, 137-138 et 294-295 83/84 Rom. 10, 10 89 (ὄγκον -  
 και κακίας) cf. Hebr. 12, 1 90/91 Ps. 118, 83 92/93 (ποιήσῃς - παλαιότητος) cf.  
 και Col. 3, 9-10; Eph. 4, 22-24 94/95 Greg. Naz., Or. 17, PG 35, 965B1

V

88 κατέπειρα] scrips. Gütbl., κατέπειρα V



## APPENDIX I

### The marginalia

As none of the marginal notes found in the manuscripts stem from the archetype, the reader will find them edited in this appendix rather than in the actual edition. The references given are to the chapters and lines of the present edition.

*Amb.Thom., ad tit.* : περί τῶν ἀπόρων τοῦ ἁγίου γρηγορίου Q

*Amb.Thom., prol.*

13/14 (*ad τὸν - ἀγαθότητος*): τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς ἀγαθότητος A (*Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 13, 34-35 [p. 134]; id., Or. 45, PG 36, 636A7-8*)

37 (*ad νικᾶν - κόσμον*): ὄρα τὸ ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον A (*cf. Io. 16, 33*)

*Amb.Thom. I*

8: Εἶ] ἐξήγησις μαξιμίμου *praem. Ath*

*Amb.Thom. II*

1: Τοῦ] ἐρώτησις *praem. Ka (trad. indir.)*

6: Ὁ] ἀπόκρισις *praem. Ka (trad. indir.)*

11/17 (*ad δύο - προσέειμεν*): πῦρ ταῦτα, τεφροῦν φρουγανώδεις αἰρέσεις A (*cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 43, 32, 11-12 [p. 196] et ibid., 67, 6-7 [p. 272]*)

*Amb.Thom. III*

3 (*ad ἀσύνθετος*): ὅτι διπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν τὸν χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντες, σύνθετον τὴν φύσιν λέγειν οὐ τιθέμεθα· ὑπόστασις γάρ ἐστι σύνθετος μία, διπλοῦς τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ σύνθετος φύσει· καὶ τὸ ξένον θαύμαζε τοῦ μυστηρίου Y

12/14 (*ad ἦν - φύσεως*): οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ χρόνον ὡς σὺ καὶ φύσιν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ χρόνου καὶ φύσεως καὶ κινήσεως πάσης καὶ στάσεως A

32/34 (*ad καὶ - θεώσαντος*): ἄκουε νεῖλε καὶ σίγα, καὶ μὴ σόβει A

35/38 (*ad Εἷς - δηλωτικόν*): ἀλλαχοῦ ἀδιάφορον εἶναι λέγει τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ εἷς· προελθὼν γὰρ μετὰ τῆς προσλήψεως ἐν φησιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ' εἷς, τὸ ἐκ μερῶν ὅλον οὕτω καλῶν A (*cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 13, 25-26 [p. 132-134]; id., Or. 45, PG 36, 633D5*)

37 (*ad τὸ - ὑποστάσεως*): τὸ «ἐν» δηλαδή Va Ge

38 (*ad τὸ - φύσεως*): τὸ «εἷς» Va Ge

*Amb.Thom. IV*

28/30 (*ad τὸ - παθητόν*): ὄρα τί ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως παθητόν A

35 (*ad παθητόν*): ὅτι παθητόν, τὰ ἀδιάβλητα λέγει πάθη Y

39/43 (*ad δι' ὃ - ἐπίτασιν*): σκόλιον· τὸ πάθος ἀσθένεια ἐστὶ φυσικῆ (*sic*)· ἡ δὲ ἐμπάθεια γνώμης ἀσθένεια Ga

*Amb.Thom. V*

1/2 (*ad Εἷς - Ἀθηνῶν*): πρὸς γάϊον Q

3 (*ad Πῶς φῆς*): ἐρώτησις Ib (*trad. indir.*)

32/35 (*ad Οὐ - φιλόανθρωπος*): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y (in mg. α')*

43 (*ad ἐκ - οὐσιωμένος*): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y (in mg. β')*

50/51 (*ad Ἔστιν - ὑπερούσιος*): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y (in mg. γ')*

66/67 (*ad Ἀμέλει - οὐσιώθη*): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y (in mg. δ')*

73 (*ad Καὶ - ἀνθρώπου*): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y (in mg. ε')*

83/84 (*ad τῆς - θεότητος*): ἡνωμένος ὁ θεὸς λόγος Ib (*trad. indir.*)

90 (*ad προσφῶς - χρώμενος*): σημείωσαι Za

103 (*ad τῶν φυσικῶν ... λόγων*): τοὺς φυσικοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ἐκλέξῃ (*sic*) λόγους A

- 112 (*ad* αὐθυπόστατον): ὄρα τί τὸ αὐθυπόστατον *A*, ἴδε τὸ αὐθυπόστατον: ὅτι οὐ τὸ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑποστᾶν (*sic*), ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ δυνάμενον εἶναι σημαίνει: οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτοκίνητον (*cf. p. 24, l. 109*) νοητέον, τὸ μετὰ τὸ ἀπαξ κινήθησθαι, ἢ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γενέσθαι, κινεῖσθαι δυνάμενον *Y*
- 117: τοῦ εἶναι *Ib* (*trad. indir.*); 117/118: τοῦ πῶς εἶναι *Ib* (*trad. indir.*)
- 120/121 (*ad* τὴν - ἐνεργειῶν): διαφορὰ ἐνεργειῶν *Ib* (*trad. indir.*)
- 125/126 (*ad* Τὸ - δύναιμι): τὸ καθόλου μὴδὲ μίαν ἔχον δύναιμι *Ib* (*trad. indir.*)
- 129/130 (*ad* τὰς - ἐνεργείας): φυσικαὶ ἐνεργεῖαι *Ib* (*trad. indir.*)
- 162 (*ad* τῶν ἐναντιῶν): τῶν θαυμάτων καὶ τῶν παθημάτων *Mo*
- 168 (*ad* Τί ἄν τις): κείμ<ενον> *Ib* (*trad. indir.*)
- 168/171 (*ad* Τί - ἔχοντα): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y* (*in mg. ζ'*)
- 177/178 (*ad* Καὶ - ἦν): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y* (*in mg. ζ'*)
- 180/183 (*ad* οὐχ' ὡς - ἐπέκεινα): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y* (*in mg. η'*)
- 184/185 (*ad* καὶ - γεγονώς): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y* (*in mg. θ'*)
- 200/203 (*ad* Καὶ - δράσας εἰ οὔτε - ἄνθρωπον): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y* (*in mg. ι'*)
- 204/205 (*ad* ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος - πεπολιτευμένος): *excerpta Dionysii numeravit Y* (*in mg. ια'*)
- 238/241 (*ad* Ποιότητος - λόγος): εἰ ποσότητος φησὶ καὶ οὐ ποιότητος ἢ καινότης τῆς θεανδρικής ἐνεργείας, πάντως καὶ φύσιν μίαν ἑαυτῇ συνεισάξει: ὡν γὰρ ἐνεργεῖα μία, καὶ φύσις μία, καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν *Mo* (*cf. Greg. Nyss., De or. dom., III, p. 41, 6-7 [app.]; Ps.-Bas., Adv. Eunom. IV, 1, PG 29, 676A2; Severian. Gabal. [?], De fide, PG 60, 769, l. 61; etc.*)
- 240/241 (*ad* εἶπερ - λόγος): διπλῆν ὁμολογεῖν τοῦ χριστοῦ τὴν ἐνεργεῖαν, εὐσεβέστατον, σύνθετον δὲ ἀσεβέστατον: καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν χριστὸν διπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν πιστεύοντες, σύνθετον τὴν φύσιν οὐ λέγομεν· καὶ ἡ αἰτία διήλη *Y*
- 247/248 (*ad* ὄρω - φύσεως): ἴδε τί ὄρος καὶ τί λόγος φύσεως καὶ ὅτι λόγος φύσεως τὸ εἶναι· ὄρος δὲ ἢ τοῦ εἶναι δύναμις ἔστι καὶ ἐνεργεῖα: ὡν ἄνευ οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν, οὐ δ' ὑφέστηκε· λόγος οὖν φύσεως καὶ ὄρος ταύτης, πρᾶγμα ἔστιν ἐνούσιον καὶ ἐνυπόστατος ὑπαρξίς *A*, ὅτι οὐ ταυτὸν ἐνυπόστατον καὶ ὑπόστασις· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόστασις τὸν τινὰ δηλοῖ· τὸ δὲ ἐνυπόστατον, τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ ἡ μὲν, πρόσαιπον ὀρίζει τοὺς χαρακτηριστικοὺς ιδιώμασι· τὸ δὲ ἐνυπόστατον, τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ συμβεβηκὸς δηλοῖ, ὃ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι *A* (= *Leon. Byz., C. Nest. et Eutych. I, PG 86<sup>1</sup>, 1277C13-D6*)
- 249/251 (*ad* Διὸ - τριάς): ὁ νοῦς πρόδηλος, ἀλλ' ἄδηλος ἢ φράσις *Va*
- 252/254 (*ad* Οὐδενὶ - ἔνωσιν): οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν, οὔτε κατὰ δύναιμι, οὔτε κατ' ἐνεργεῖαν, γέγονε ταυτὸν φησὶ τῇ σαρκὶ *A* (*in textu habent Öhler/PG e codice Gudiano gr. 39*)
- 260/261 (*ad* Πολιτεία - διεξαγόμενος): ὄρος πολιτείας *Am N Va Y Ib*, ὄρος πολιτείας· πολιτεία ἐστὶ, βίος κατὰ νόμον φύσεως διεξαγόμενος *Q*
- 272 (*ad* Ὡσπερ - ξίφους): σημειώσαι ὠραῖον *Za*
- 291/293 (*ad* ταῖς - παρέδειξε): προνοίας ἐστὶ, μὴ μόνον φυλάξει κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιῆσαι θείαν, ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τελείως ποιωθεῖσαν, τὴν γνώμην, κατὰ τὴν ἐπίκτητον σοφίαν *A* (= *Max. Conf., QTh., 55, schol. 21, 202-205*)

*Ep. sec. III*

- 10/11 (*ad* Ἐρωτῶν - σοφίζεις): ὠραῖον *V*
- 21/22 (*ad* οὐδὲν - ἀναλωτότερον): σημειώσαι *V*
- 24/25 (*ad* διὰ - παθῶν): σημειώσαι *V*
- 30/31 (*ad* οὐκ - προσγενομένην): ὠραῖον *V*
- 33/34 (*ad* διὰ - σαρκί): σημειώσαι *V*
- 43 (*ad* ὁ - χορός): αἰρετικῶν χορός *Ga*



## APPENDIX II

### Variant readings of indirect witnesses

In this appendix the reader will find the variant readings of those indirect witnesses of *Amb. Thom.* that have not been incorporated into the *apparatus criticus*.

They are: *Ath Be Da Da' Di Ib Ka Mo* and *Ven* (see p. LVIII-LXIII, LXVII and LXXII-LXXIII for the description of those manuscripts).

*Amb. Thom., tit. : Da Di*

1 ἀπόρων] ἀποριῶν *Da Di*

*Amb. Thom., prol. : Da Di*

14 κατέστησας] κατέστησε *Di* 22 πᾶσαν] πασῶν *Di* 26 γεγενη-  
 μένον] γεγενημένων *Di* 28 ἐκείνων] ἐκείνω *Da Di* 29 τοῦ] *om. Da*  
*Di* 31 μογγιλάλος] μογγίλαλος *Da Di* 33 κᾶν τινας] κᾶν τινὰς *Da*  
*Di* 36 ἤττημένω] ἤττωμένω *Da Di* 41 τοῖς] *om. Da* 44 διαληφθεῖς]  
 ληφθεῖς *Da Di* μᾶλλον] *om. Da* 48 τὸ νοεῖν] τὸν νοῦν *Da*

*Amb. Thom. I: Ath Be* <sup>a l. 32 usque ad 38</sup> *Da*

1 Τοῦ - λόγου] ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν πρώτου λόγου τοῦ ἱεροῦ γρηγορίου  
*Ath* 4 μὲν] δὲ *Da* 5/6 ὑπὲρ - ὀρισθείσης] *om. Da* 18 θεῶν] θεὸν  
*Da* 25 χεθῆ] σχεθῆ *Da* 32 ὑπεράπειρος] ἡ *praem. Be* 37 τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] *om.*  
*Be* 38 τοῖς] τῆς *Da* αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς *Da*

*Amb. Thom. II: Da Ka* <sup>a l. 1 usque ad σαρκός (l. 9)</sup> *Mo* <sup>a l. 1 usque ad σαρκός (l. 9)</sup>

1/5 ἐκ - ἀνθρωπισθέντι] πῶς χρῆ νοεῖν τὸ ἐν τῷ (ἀγίω *add. Mo*) συμβόλω  
 λεγόμενον· σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου *Ka Mo*  
 (= *Max. Conf., QD 50, 1-2*) 4 τῷ<sup>1</sup>] τῆ *Da* τῷ<sup>2</sup>] *om. Da* 5 ἀνθρωπι-  
 σθέντι] ἐνανθρωπίσαντι *Da* 8/9 αὐτῆς] αὐτός *Mo* 9 προσληφθείσης] ἐκ  
 τῶν παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων *add. Ka Mo* (= *Ps. Dion. Ar., Div. Nom., II, 9, p. 133 8-9; cf.*  
*et Amb. Thom., V, 71*) σαρκός] προκαθαρθείσης κατὰ τὴν θεολόγον φωνὴν τῆς  
 παρθένου καὶ ψυχῆν καὶ σάρκα τῷ πνεύματι *add. Ka Mo* (*cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 38, 13*  
*23-24 [p. 132]; id., Or. 45 PG 36, 633D2-3*) 20 ὁ Λόγος] *insp. p.* μεμένηκε (*l. 20-*  
*21*) *Da* 26 εἰπεῖν] *om. Da* 28 τοῦτω] τοῦτο *Da* 33 ἐψυχωμένης] ἐμ-  
 ψυχωμένης *Da* αὐτουργῶν] αὐτουργός *Da e corr.* 38 κατηγορούμενον]  
 κατηγορουμένον *Da*

*Amb. Thom. III: Da*

10 γένωμαι] γένομαι *Da* 19 ἦν] *om. Da* 31 συνανεκράθη] συνεκράθη  
*Da* 40 λέγειν] λέγει *Da* 42 γνωριζομένων] γνωριζομένω *Da* 46  
 χάριτι] χαρίτων *Da*

*Amb. Thom. IV: Da Ven* <sup>a l. 54 (ἀλλότριον) usque ad l. 90 (αὐτός)</sup>

1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ υἱοῦ δευτέρου λόγου *Da* 5 μορφή] μορφῆ (*sic*)  
*Da* 5/6 καὶ δούλοις] *om. Da* 6 ὄλον] ὄλων *Da* 8 ἦλιος] ὁ *praem. Da*  
 15 πάθεισι] παθήμασι *Da* 20 πάντως] παντελῶς *Da* ὡς] ὁ *Da* 23  
 οὐχὶ *Da* 31 μορφή] μορφῆ *Da* 37 ἐμὲ] *om. Da* <sup>a corr.</sup> 42 ἐμπάθειαν] ἐν  
 πάθει *Da* 51 ἴσος] *Da* 53 ἀγίου σοφοῦ] τεῖ σοφοῦ τε ἀγίου *Da* 60

ἐκουσιως] ἐκουσιών *Da Vén* 60/61 κατὰ - διδάσκαλον] ἀληθῶς *Vén* 61  
 ἐπεινήσε] ἐπεινάσε *Vén* 63 σαφής] σαφές *Vén* 64 τοῦς] *om. Vén* 69/71  
 ἐν - ἀφανίζουσαν] *om. Vén* 71 ἀνώλεθρον] ἀνώλεθρον *Da* 72 δὲ] *om.*  
*Vén* θειά] θεία *Da Vén* 74 ἐπαλλαγῆ] ἀπαλλαγῆ *Da* 75 ἐπιστοῦτο]  
 ἐπὶ τοῦτο *Vén* 79/80 γινομένων] γινομένων *Vén* 82/83 ἐνικώτερον -  
 παντελῶς] *om. Vén* οὐ - ἐνωτικώτερον] *om. Da* 89 ὁρατὸς] ἀόρατος  
*Da* 101 τὸ] τῷ *Da* 102 ἐνώσει - καθ' ἡμέας] *om. Da*

*Amb. Thom. V: Da* <sup>a</sup> l. 1 *usque ad l. 168* (διδάσκαλος) *Da' Ib Vén* <sup>a</sup> l. 73 (τὴν) *usque ad l. 96* (φύσις)

2 Ἄρειοπαγίτου] ἀρειοπαγίτου *Da Da'* 3 Πῶς] εἰς τὸ *praem. Ib* <sup>in mg.</sup>  
 ἐστίν] *om. Da Da' Ib* 7 τῆς] θείας καὶ *add. Da* 8 πᾶσι] πᾶσαν *Da*  
*Da' Ib* <sup>a. corr. ut v.</sup> 9 οἴομενον] οἱ ὁ μὲν (*sic*) *Ib* 10 μόνον] μόνω *Da Da' Ib*  
 17 αὐτῆς] *om. Da* 18 προσούσης] πρεπούσης *Da'* 22 γοῦν] οὖν *Da* 27  
 διατεινόμενος] διατεινόμενος *Da* 28 ἀνθρωπον] *isr. p. αὐτὸν Da Da'* 33/  
 34 ὅτι - θεός] *om. Da'* 34 ἀλλ' ἀλλὰ *Ib* 36 γὰρ] *om. Da'* πόθω] ἀγα-  
 θότητι καὶ *praem. Da'* τῷ] τὸ *Da Da' Ib* 41 γάρ] *om. Da Da' Ib* 42/43  
 ἀνθρωπικῶς - κινήσεως] *isr. p. οὐσιωμένος Da'* 43 ἐκ - οὐσίας] *om. Da Da'*  
*Ib* 48 νοερώς] νοεράς *Da* ἐψυχωμένης] ἐμψυχωμένης *Da Da' Ib* 53  
 ποιήσας] *iter. Da'* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 57 ἔκφρασιν] ἔκφρασι *Ib* 62 θείας ὑπερουσιότη-  
 τος] *om. Da* 63 λόγῳ] λόγον *Da'* 66 Ἀμέλει] ἀμέλη *Da* 67 ὑπὲρ οὐ-  
 σίαν] ὁ ὑπερούσιος *Da'* 68 εἶδει] νηδύι *Da Da' Ib* 72 διαπλαττόμενον]  
 διαφυλαττόμενον *Da Da' Ib* 73 Καὶ - ἀνθρώπου] *om. Da Da' Ib* <sup>a. corr.</sup>, καὶ δηλοῖ  
 παρθένος ὑπερφυῶς κύουσα (*cf. l. 69-70*) καὶ ὕδωρ ἄστατον, ὑλικῶν καὶ  
 γεηρῶν ποδῶν ἀνεχόν βάρος καὶ μὴ ὑπέικον, ἀλλ' ὑπερφυεὶ δυνάμει, πρὸς τὸ  
 ἀδιάχυτον συνιστάμενον (*cf. l. 74-77*) *add. Ib* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 73/74 τὴν - βάσει] *om.*  
*Ib* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 76 μὴ] *om. Vén* 79 ἐπεπόρευτο] ἐπεπορευέτο *Da'* 80 ἐαυτοῦ]  
 αὐτοῦ *Vén* διὰ τῆς] αὐτοῦ *add. Vén* 86 καὶ] *om. Da'* 87 τὴν] *om. Da Da'*  
*Ib Vén* 87/88 αὐτὸν - φυσικῶς] *om. Ib* 89 εἴπερ] ὡς (*sic*) *Vén* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 93  
 πάντα] *om. Ib* 96 τροπῆς] τρόπης (*sic*) *Da'* 97 ἀφαντασιώστας] ἀφαν-  
 τάστας *Da Da' Ib* 99 προσληφθείσης] προληφθείσης *Da'* 102 ἐπ'] ἐν  
*Da'* 103 φυσικῶν] *Da'* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 108 ἀναίρεσιν] ἀναίρεσιν *Da* 109 οὐκ] *om.*  
*Da Da' Ib* 120 ταυτῶ] αὐτῷ *Da Da' Ib* 124 καὶ τίς] *om. Da'* <sup>a. corr.</sup> ποῦ]  
 καὶ *praem. Da* 126 αὐτοῦ] *isr. p. παντελῶς (l. 126-127) Da'* 130 ἦν ἀληθῆς]  
 ἦν, ἀληθεῖς *Da Da' Ib* τάς] *om. Da Da' Ib* 131 ἐαυτῶ] αὐτῷ *Da'* 133  
 γὰρ] καὶ *add. Da* 134 ἀνελλιπῶς] ἀνελλειπῶς *Da'* 140 σπορά] σπορᾶ *Ib*  
 σπορᾶ *Da Da'* 143 καὶ παρθένος] *iter. Da'* 143/144 καινοτομοῦσα] καινο-  
 τομοῦσαν *Da'* 144 τὴν φύσιν] τῆ φύσει *Da* 148 τὲ] *om. Da Da' Ib* 152  
 ἦ] *om. Da Da' Ib* 158 τὸν] τῶν *Da* τρόπων] τρόπων *Da Da' Ib* 159/160  
 ἔχων - τρόπων] *om. Da Da' Ib* 160 μὴ] καὶ *praem. Da'* 166/168 γνώμη -  
 διδάσκαλος] *in mg. habet Da* 172 ὑποδύς] ὑποδείς *Da'* 176 σεβάζομενον]  
 σεβάζομένω *Da'* 178 εἴπωμεν] εἴπομεν *Da'* οὐ δὲ ἀνθρωπος ἦν] *in mg.*  
*habet Da'* 179 τῷ] τῶν *Da'* 180 θεσμῶ] θεσμῶν *Da'* 183 ἀνθρώπων]  
 γὰρ *add. Ib* 185 γεγονῶς] γεγονός *Da' Ib* 197 κατὰ φύσιν] καταφύσει  
*Da'* 206 ἐψυχωμένης] ἐμψυχωμένης *Da'* 212 πεπολιτευμένους] πολι-  
 τευσάμενος *Ib* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 218 σωζόμενον] σωζόμενος *Da'* 221 τῶν ἠνωμένων]  
 τῷ ἠνωμένω *Da'* οὐσιώδης] οὐσιώδεις *Da'* 230 μόνη] μόνα *Da'* 238  
 γὰρ] *om. Ib* 239 ἦ] ἡ *Da' Ib* 243 ἔχων] ἔχει *Ib* 248 συνεχόμενον] συ-  
 νεχόμενος *Ib* 249 Διὸ] διὰ *Da'* ἀπλῶς] ἀπλῆ *Ib* 254 ζωοποιόν]  
 ζωοποιῶ *Da'* 259 οὐχ'] *Ib'* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 262 κατὰ ταυτὸν] κατ' αὐτὸν *Da' Ib*  
 274 τοῦ] *om. Da' Ib* 275 καυστικόν] καὶ γέγονε μὲν καυστικόν (*sic*) *add. Da'*  
*Ib* 291 ὦν] ὦν *Da' Ib* 295 ὑπῆρχεν - ὅπερ] *om. Ib* <sup>a. corr.</sup> 297 ἠγιασμένοι]  
 ἠγιασμένω *Da' Ib* 300 μόνην] μόνον *Ib* 301 γένεσθῆ] γένεσθαί *Da'* <sup>a. corr.</sup> *Ib*

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