

**MARKOS EUGENIKOS'S
FIRST ANTIRRHETIC AGAINST
MANUEL CALECAS'S
ON
ESSENCE AND ENERGY**

**Editio princeps
with Introduction and Commentary**

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**Thesis submitted
for the degree of Ph.D.**

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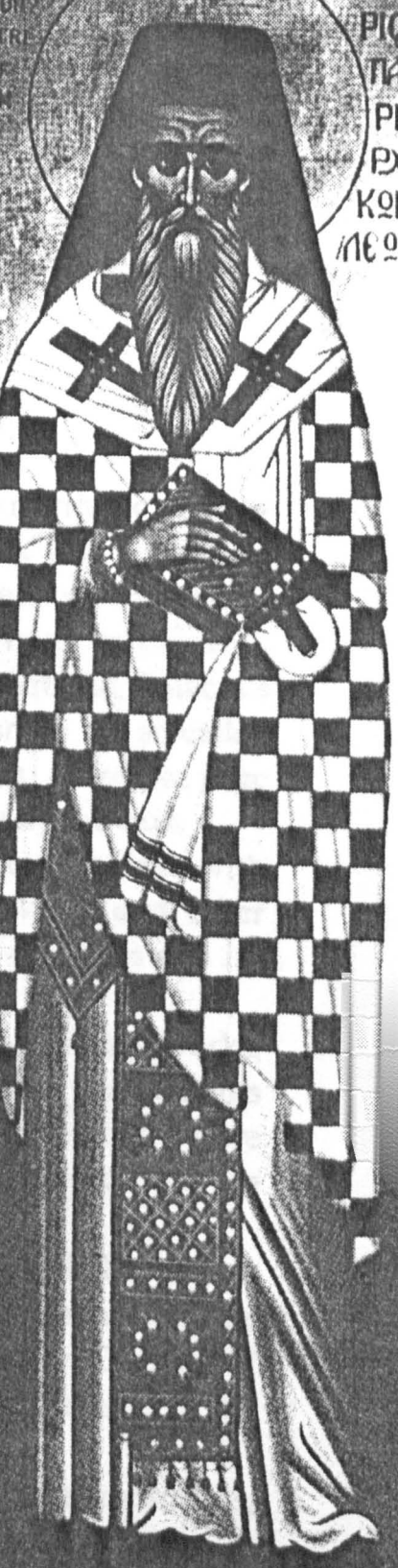
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Ο ἅγιος
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Ο ἅγιος ΜΑΡΚΟΣ
ΤΗΣ ΕΦΕΣΟΥ
Ο ΕΥΓΕΝΙΚΟΣ

Ο ἅγιος ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΟΣ
ΑΝΘΙΜΟΣ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΛΟΣ
ΑΝΘΙΜΟΣ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΛΟΣ
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ἌΓΙΟΝ ὍΡΟΣ ἀπὲς ΧΕΙΡ ΜΟΝΑΧῸ
ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪ ΜΠΟΚΙΝΗ

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis presents an *editio princeps* of the First Antirrhetic of Markos Eugenikos (1392-1444) against Manuel Calecas's « On essence and energy». The Antirrhetic is edited from the Ms. Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49 which has been collated with the other surviving manuscript, Athous Iberiticus 4765 (645). Markos refutes, in this Antirrhetic, Calecas's accusations against the Synodal Tome of 1351 and generally the so-called Palamite theology. The work is full of patristic quotations. A bottom page apparatus fontium and an apparatus lectionum accompany the text.

The Introduction is divided into four chapters. Chapter one deals with the life of Markos. A careful reading of his unedited works and other sources produced more information concerning his life, activities and influence.

Chapter two gives a very detailed account of all his published works, seventy four, and unpublished works, thirty-three. All the manuscripts which contained these works are listed. Some works which until now were wrongly attributed to him are once and for all eliminated. The editions are also given with an evaluation of each one.

The third chapter examines the background to the Antirrhetic. Our research established that the «forerunner» of Gregory Palamas was the Patriarch Germanos II and not, as it was accepted until now, Gregory of Cyprus. In this chapter, the most important anti-and pro-Palamites of the first half of the fifteenth century are also examined.

Chapter four is divided into four sections: the text; the manuscripts; the relationship of the manuscripts and the present edition.

I have also included, after the text, an appendix with two sets of diagrams which appear in the margins of the manuscripts to elucidate passages in the Antirrhetic.

Finally, a commentary concludes the thesis, which clarifies the text when necessary.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Corpora

<i>BEΠ</i>	<i>Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων</i>
<i>CFHB</i>	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
<i>CSHB</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>ΕΠΕ</i>	<i>Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας</i>
<i>Mansi</i>	<i>T.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>J.P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>R. Graffin - F. Nau, Patrologia Orientalis</i>

2. Other Collections and periodicals

<i>AB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>ACF</i>	<i>Acta Concilii Florentini</i>
<i>AEp</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς</i>
<i>AG</i>	<i>Acta Graeca</i>
<i>An</i>	<i>Ἀνάπλασις</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου</i>
<i>ASl</i>	<i>Acta Slavica</i>
<i>Ath</i>	<i>Ἀθηνᾶ</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>Bess</i>	<i>Bessarione</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Cahiers archeologiques</i>
<i>DCT</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i>
<i>DIEE</i>	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i>
<i>DOS</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Studies</i>
<i>E</i>	<i>Ἐκκλησία</i>

- ECR *Eastern Churches Review*
 EEBS *'Επετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
 EF *Estudis Franciscans*
 EPh *'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*
 EP *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes*
 GP *Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς*
 JEH *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
 JOBG *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
 KCh *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ*
 Kl *Κληρονομία*
 MA *Μέγας Ἀθανάσιος*
 MCh *Μικρασιατικὰ Χρονικὰ*
 MB *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη (see short titles under Papadopoulos - Kerameus, MB)*
 MM *Miklosich, F and Muller, J., Acta et Diplomata graeca (see short titles)*
 NA *Νέον Ἀθήναιον*
 OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
 ODM *Orientalium Documenta Minora (see short titles)*
 OT *'Ορθόδοξος Τύπος*
 OW *Orthodox Word*
 PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*
 PP *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακὰ (see short titles under Lampros)*
 REB *Revue des Études Byzantines*
 REG *Revue de l' Orient Chretien*
 S *Σωτήρ*
 SBN *Studi Bizantini e Neollinici*
 ST *Studi e Testi*
 Th *Θεολογία*
 TDCO *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium (see short titles under Jugie, TDCO)*
 ZHT *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologies (see short titles under Jahn)*
 ZK *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

SHORT TITLES

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE OF MARKOS

Markos Eugenikos was born in Constantinople in 1392. He was baptized Manuel after his paternal grandfather Manuel Eugenikos¹ about whom Markos does not speak.

It would be tempting to identify him with Kyr. Manuel Eugenikos the famous Constantinopolitan iconographer who sometime between 1384 and 1392 was invited to Calendzhiha in Georgia to execute frescoes for the church of St. George². This supposition is strengthened by the fact that both Manuel and his brother John wrote ecphraseis or aesthetic appreciations on various Byzantine and Italian icons and paintings³. The aesthetic knowledge they display presupposes a close contact with art that could have originated within the family milieu. Just as their love for hymnography was inspired by their father, it is possible that their appreciation of the visual arts derived from their grandfather.

Manuel's father George Eugenikos was anagnostes and protonotarios⁴. According to a synodal letter which the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki Isidoros Glabas drafted in 1391⁵, George Eugenikos was ordained deacon by him on the 20th of March, possibly in St. Sophia, in the presence of another fourteen Metropolitans of the endemousa synod. This would indicate that George even at an early stage in his career enjoyed both respect and prominence in the City.

Though his ordination aroused certain objections on the grounds that before his marriage he was engaged to another woman «δι' ἐγκολπίων» a synodal court, under Isidoros Glabas, ruled that he could be ordained since he had not even met his first betrothed who was by then dead⁶.

Just before his ordination to the diaconate George married Maria, daughter of an otherwise unknown physician called Lucas. She gave birth to two sons, Manuel and John.

Though of modest wealth the family of Eugenikos was one of the most respected among the well-established aristocratic families of the City. George had first joined the Patriarchal staff as a notarios and was successively promoted to protonotarios, protekdikos, sakellion⁷ and chartophylax⁸. He was a highly educated man and possessed a reflective and devout nature as the acolouthia he composed in honour of St. Spyridon demonstrates⁹. This spiritual aspect of his personality was inherited by both sons who were to follow his example and become distinguished hymnographers of the Orthodox Church.

Manuel's early years were spent in the shadow of the Turkish siege which lasted for eight years from 1394-1402. The terrible conditions are described by his father in the encyclical he drafted for Patriarch Matthew in 1400. He speaks of famine, murders, robberies, of social disorder and demoralisation, of utter confusion, of the peoples' despair and fear of being deserted by their leaders. The Emperor John VII, then Manuel II's vice-gent, with some reason, was suspected of negotiating with the Turks to hand the City over to the Sultan; while Patriarch Matthew was accused, unjustly, of secretly contacting Bayezid to arrange for his personal safety in the event that the City fell to the Turks¹⁰.

In these early years Manuel studied under his father who, besides his duties in the patriarchate, ran a well-known private school. After his father's death in 1405 he was sent by his family to study under the most famous teachers of the period, John Chortasmenos, later Metropolitan of Selymbria, and the Platonic philosopher and mathematician George Gemistos-Plethon¹¹. There is no evidence, however to substantiate V. Grumel's statement that Markos had also studied under Manuel Chrysokokkes, Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios¹². At least as far as Bryennios was concerned we know that he was in Cyprus from 1406-1412 on a patriarchal mission and therefore could not have possibly taught Markos at that time¹³, though later on he might have done so. Upon completion of his studies, though still young, about 18 years of age, Markos assumed full responsibility for his father's private school¹⁴, and within a very short time he was recognized as one of the most brilliant young teachers in the City, and according to the historian Ducas «a master of Hellenic learning»¹⁵. Here at his school he taught a number of young men who were later to play an important role in the destiny of the Empire. The most outstanding of these were George Courteses-better-known as Gennadios Scholarios – the first Patriarch of Constantinople after the Turkish conquest¹⁶, Theodoros Agalianos (who later became Theophanes of Medeia)¹⁷ and his own brother John¹⁸. During this period he was ordained as anagnostes by Patriarch

Euthymios who also awarded him the ecclesiastical officium rhetor of the notaries¹⁹.

His spiritual development and direction was already apparent; for while still a layman and headmaster of his school, he adopted the life-style of a monk. This as he records in his «Confession of faith» was in conformity with his devout upbringing based on the traditional doctrines of Orthodoxy²⁰. His deep belief and spirituality inclined him to the teachings of Gregory Palamas, the leader of the Orthodox party in the dispute with Barlaam, known as the Palamite or «hesychast» controversy which occurred in the mid-fourteenth century. For though the dispute had been supposedly resolved, the issues raised during that controversy remained very much alive in the subsequent decades. Eugenikos followed fervently the teaching of Palamas and adopted a firm stance towards the opposition and openly criticized those who were influenced by the Latins. It would be, however, untrue to say that Markos set himself against any dialogue between the Orthodox and Catholic Church. This is proved by the praises he bestowed on Patriarch Euthymios who as a hieromonk was sent by Manuel Palaeologos as ambassador to Pope Urban VI to hold discussions with the Latins on matters of faith in 1385²¹.

The year 1416 proved a turning point in his life for at the death of Patriarch Euthymios²², Markos composed the first of his hymns which were to establish him as a hymnographer, a career he was to follow to the end of his life. Apart from its poetical qualities and the light it sheds on the pro-Palamite stance adopted by Euthymios who «reproved the malignant followers of the futile Akindynos»²³ this laudatory canon is important in that it stresses the problems which the Church faced at the time vis a vis imperial authority. It is quite clear that he was not afraid to criticize, though in a restrained manner, the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy and to praise the Patriarch's «God-like zeal to protect the Patriarchal office»²⁴. This is undoubtedly a reference to the stand Patriarch Euthymios took against imperial policies which he thought aimed at the submission of the Church to the state.

Manuel Eugenikos's close association with Patriarch Euthymios and his fame as a brilliant teacher and a man of letters could not escape the notice of the erudite and tolerant Emperor Manuel II who befriended him and showed deep trust in his literary talents, to the extent of giving him his manuscripts to correct²⁵. His connections with the Palace, the Patriarchate and the educated circles of Constantinople augured a promising career in Constantinople, but young Manuel craved for the simple monastic life and decided to withdraw from society and become a monk. His convic-

tion was shared by his friend Dorotheos, son of the Great Sakellarios Balsamon. Having made his decision to embrace the monastic life, Manuel *proceeded to sell all his personal property and having distributed the proceeds among the poor he set off for the island of Antigone, one of the Princes Islands in the Propontis.* There he became a monk choosing for his spiritual father the famous hesychast Symeon who gave him the tonsure and the monastic name Markos, probably after Markos the Athenian. He was then aged twenty-six²⁶. Of his stay in this beautiful island in the sea of Marmara there is no information but since it is known that at that time the only monastery existing on the top of the island's solitary mountain was dedicated to the Holy Transfiguration²⁷, it is not unreasonable to assume that Markos stayed in that Monastery or at a hermitage nearby. The fact that Markos did not enter a monastery in the capital but instead chose to go to a small island to take the habit, shows clearly that he intended to pursue an eremitical life, away from the cares and pre-occupations encountered in a city. His peaceful eremitical life, however, was cut short after two years as a result of the incessant danger from Turkish marauders. In 1422 Markos returned to the relative safety of Constantinople with his elder. At that time, the most flourishing monastery in the capital was St. George of Mangana to which the pair retired²⁸. Here the rich library of the monastery²⁹ acted as a source of inspiration for Eugenikos without however weakening his resolution to persevere with the spiritual struggles practised at Antigone. Rather, he intensified his ascetic labours in his determination, as he viewed it, to purify his soul³⁰.

One of the first spiritual products of Markos's pen were the «Eight paracletic canons against the eight general temptations»³¹. The titles of these canons, which are against gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, anger, boredom, vainglory, pride, unfold lucidly his monastic philosophy. These, as well as the «Paraenetic chapters» which he was to write later on, containing such advice as: «You must make your body a slave through fasting, vigil, hard labour and reading of the holy Scriptures», and «Do not love the World and you shall never feel sorry; despise it and you shall always be happy»³², leave no doubt as to the spiritual direction Markos chose to follow. He admired the great ascetics of the Orthodox Church, and this is shown in his poems and liturgical offices in honour of the great hermits Markos the Athenian³³, St. Onouphrios³⁴, St. Elias³⁵, St. John of Damascus³⁶ and St. Gregory Palamas³⁷.

Yet he could not totally ignore the fact that, though he was living a hermit's life, it was incumbent on him to assume certain «social responsibilities». So he came out of his «retirement» on the occasion of John VIII's

enthronement for which event he composed a small prayer, which was probably read during the service, invoking God to give the new Emperor «the mildness of David, the wisdom of Solomon and the justice of both»³⁸. It is beyond doubt that Markos had known John in the past through the old Emperor, Manuel II. But on this occasion he took the opportunity to renew his relationship with John by sending him a letter in the shape of a short encomium, at the end of which he advised the Emperor «to turn all his concern inwardly, in order that he may become worthy of the heavenly kingdom as well»³⁹. Thus began a friendship between the two, and Markos became a member of John's circle of friends who often indulged in theological discussions. During one of these gatherings which extended into the early hours, the Emperor asked Markos about the fairness of the punishments which sinners will receive after death, because, as he put it, even God seems to say in the Scriptures that «the mind of man lies in wickedness»⁴⁰.

Markos in response composed a short treatise which he delivered before the Emperor. This speech for various reasons is highly interesting. First Markos stresses and vehemently defends the Palamite theology while attacking «the sycophants and the accusers of the theologians» who reject the distinction in God of the essence and the energy⁴¹. This would indicate that the anti-Palamites were very active during this time since Markos considered it necessary to defend the official doctrine of the Church in the presence of the Emperor. He also rejected the Origenic teaching about the restoration of all things to their previous state by pointing out that «God himself said that hell is eternal»⁴² and «It is just, according to the sinner's choice, to fall for ever from God, whom he chose to disregard for ever and to lose also those ephemeral things which he had preferred, since they were not created to last for ever»⁴³. Secondly, the treatise is significant in that it reflects the high quality of his theological and encyclopaedic knowledge. In his very vivid treatment of the subject in the form of questions and answers, he quotes ancient writers like Plutarch, Philo, Aristotle, Philolaos, Plato and Isocrates. Moreover in the course of this speech he raises fundamental questions on inner and outer freedom by quoting St. John Chrysostom's words «what would outer freedom profit us when the most important thing within us (i.e. the soul) is shamefully and miserably enslaved?»⁴⁴. He concludes his speech, by insisting on the Emperor's greater responsibility to God. He says «Be aware that for the following two reasons God will bring you to greater account. First because you, as an Emperor, have more power than all other men to act according to your will, since not all can do what they will, and secondly, because you must present

yourself to your subjects as a type and an example of every good. For all men look up to the Emperor and emulate him, and it is neither possible for any action which is done by the Emperor to escape their notice nor to fail to be imitated when it becomes known, be it good or bad. For this reason, as one who has to render account not only for himself but also for all his subjects, you must follow God's commandments and the holy laws, and lead them to obedience and the respect of these laws in order that, though now you are ruling in subordination to Christ, you may also reign together with Him in eternal life hereafter and be worthy of his everlasting glory with his saints»⁴⁵.

These exhortations shed light on Markos's conception of the function of the Emperor. For him, a ruler's main task was not only the protection of his country's boundaries, but also the protection, or rather, the preparation of his subjects' souls for eternal life. So what really mattered to Markos was not this life, but the life to come, and all his actions and thoughts were governed and directed by this principle. Life, as he conceived it, did not end here. Therefore it was useless for men to strive hard for the things of this World and ignore totally the life to come. This preoccupation however with life after death did not isolate him from the sorrows and happiness of his friends. So when the Emperor was cured miraculously from a paralysis of his feet as real «τρόφιμος καὶ θεραπευτὴς τοῦ λόγου» and well aware that «ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡμᾶς εὐεργετῶν»,⁴⁶ he composed a thanksgiving canon to Christ⁴⁷. Nor did he omit to praise the Emperor warmly by composing a short poem in Homeric language⁴⁸, when John made a donation for the restoration of the monastery of Mangana and granted property to the monks so that they could carry out their monastic duties without financial difficulties. The same concern for the well-being of his friends is also reflected in the paracletic canon and a liturgical office Markos composed in honour of St. Theodosia who cured the paralysed feet of the Patriarch Joseph II (1416-39)⁴⁹.

It was probably Markos's hymnological talent that drew the Patriarch Joseph's attention to him and he ordered him to compose on his behalf a canon to the archangel Michael⁵⁰. It is possible that his friendship with the Patriarch dates from this period although the Synaxarion makes no mention of this, presumably because of Joseph's subsequent pro-unionist stand in the Council of Ferrara-Florence that went contrary to Orthodox beliefs.

His profound interest for individuals extended to the community he lived in. This is revealed in his moving monody which he composed in 1430⁵¹ and in which like a new Jeremiah he lamented the calamities of

Thessaloniki when the city fell to the Turks⁵². He castigates vehemently both the Latins who stood by their ships ready to set off when they realized that the city could not be saved, and the leaders who sailed shamelessly away aboard their ships instead of staying there to fight and die for their city. His praise is reserved only for the defenders who were fighting courageously on the walls. His patriotic feelings and deep distress flow unhindered in his monody and his sorrow becomes deeper still when he sees that the simple people are those who really suffer, while politicians and members of the aristocracy always find a way out of such calamities.

We do not know exactly when Markos became a priest, but it is quite possible that his ordination took place after 1426, when he was in his mid-thirties. This assumption is supported by two facts: first, when in 1426 Markos addressed the new Emperor with his short eulogy he maintained that this was his «first product of his literal labours»⁵³, and secondly the Synaxarion states that he was ordained priest when he had written many works⁵⁴. In other words an early date for his ordination cannot be posited. According to the same source Markos assumed the priesthood under pressure and with reluctance⁵⁵; though there is no evidence who brought to bear pressure on him to be ordained, we may venture the supposition that one may have been the abbot of his monastery of Mangana, hieromonk Makarios Koronas, and the other the Patriarch Joseph. The first looked upon Markos as his possible successor while the second would have been eager to include him among the ranks of his clerics. He was most probably ordained by the Patriarch himself though the Synaxarion makes no mention of this.

His ordination meant new duties for Markos in that he would have taken his turn in the services and in general liturgical life of the monastery, probably becoming a confessor. Nevertheless he did not neglect his writing. His fame as a hymnographer had already spread abroad and some Cretans asked him to write a laudatory speech and compose an acolouthia in honour of the Prophet Elias⁵⁶. At that time, together with the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki Symeon, Markos was considered the most important hymnographer of the Orthodox Church. His love for the ecclesiastical services and his concern that the laity should participate fully in the holy service led him to write a simple short treatise on the subject. In the introduction he expresses his deep sorrow because «the cares of every-day life drive away and remove the kingdom of God, which is within us» and in a quasi self-confession, he reveals that «the constant and unceasing memory of God in the heart is sweet and the illumination, which derives from it, is ineffable»⁵⁷. He also interpreted, with some comments, three canons of St.

John of Damascus⁵⁸.

But his most important theological works are his treatises on the Palamite controversy. As has been mentioned above, Markos's pro-Palamite beliefs were known even before he became a monk, but since his settling in the monastery of Mangana apart from reading in detail both the Fathers of the Church and what had been written so far on the controversy, he would have had probably the opportunity to meet the famous learned Palamite theologian Joseph Bryennios. He certainly regarded himself as Joseph's spiritual son and through him of Palamas. This is indicated by the short poem he composed for the tomb of Joseph in the monastery of Charsianitou, calling upon him «to remember his spiritual sons»⁵⁹.

His writings had already established him as the leading Palamite theologian of his age, and this prompted some well-known confessors to write to him seeking answers to some difficult theological problems. One of them was Isidoros who wrote a letter asking him whether the limits of life are fixed in the sense of being defined by God, or whether death is brought about by nature itself and by external circumstances. Markos put forward his view in a letter to Isidoros that, according to Scholarios, was read publicly at the church of Pephneromenos⁶⁰, near Mangana, and in the presence of the Emperor. In this Markos maintained that «not every human life is fixed nor every death of the just and the friends of God, of whom not even a hair is lost without God's will»⁶¹. This view was not the official doctrine of the Church which had not yet formulated its tenet on this particular issue. And Markos, rhetoric apart, seems to have been aware that his views might not be acceptable to the Church, for he closed his letter by saying that if his beliefs were true this was entirely due to Isidoros's prayers; if, however, erroneous, his own (Markos's) paucity of perception and his illness should be blamed⁶². His suspicion as to the correctness of his views proved right for it seems that his answer gave rise to a controversy, probably after his death. Theophanes of Medeia, one of his disciples, who believed both in Markos's sanctity and Orthodoxy argued that the letter had been drafted in a hurry and that Markos was simply putting forward his own view since the Church had not yet at the time expressed its belief on the matter⁶³.

Markos's whole energy and thought were dominated by the Palamite controversy which touched upon the essential tenets of Orthodoxy. He therefore used every opportunity to put forward the cause of Orthodoxy. Hence in the funeral oration he was asked to deliver on the death of the hieromonk Makarios Koronas, the abbot of the monastery of Mangana, and most probably in the presence of the Emperor and the Patriarch, he

returned to the subject once more. Markos began his oration by extolling the work of St. John Climacus which had guided the abbot's life and in accordance with its teaching Makarios had ascended step by step the Divine Ladder until he had reached its final rank: «the prize of the call from above» and «where there was rest from every act and vision»⁶⁴.

In the course of the oration Markos touched upon the various steps and conduct of Makarios's life, particularly his refusal of high ecclesiastical office and his self-exile from Thessaloniki after the city's fall in 1387⁶⁵. He then moved to the peroration by appealing to the audience not to mourn for Makarios who was a just man, respected and blessed, «but rather mourn for ourselves for we have been left in evil, seeing our race totally humiliated and subjected to the enemies and have to bear the continuous and heavy sufferings inflicted upon us from above, and witness our fathers day by day departing from us. To whom then should we entrust ourselves? Whom shall we have as communicants and relievers of our pains? Whom shall we have as champions of our faith? Who are those who will be interceding with God on our behalf?»⁶⁶. Markos's lament is both passionate and genuine. He sees clearly that the end of the once famous City is approaching and that this end is hastened by the loss of men like Makarios Koronas, Joseph Bryennios and Makarios Makres; the champions of Orthodoxy.

During these years important developments in the ecclesiastical sector took place. In response to the Byzantine proposals for the convocation of a Union Council, the Pope Martin V sent his envoys to Constantinople. The Latin delegation was headed by father Anthony da Massa. On 19 October 1422 the Latins met the Greeks, under the chairmanship of the Patriarch Joseph II in St. Sophia⁶⁷. This meeting has escaped the notice of modern scholars so far, it seems worthwhile to examine it briefly. Anthony de Massa brought to the Patriarch nine chapters or proposals for a Union-Council which Pope Martin V drafted after he had received the Byzantine delegation.

The Pope having welcomed the prospect of the Union in his first chapter, quite undiplomatically, in the second wrote that the Greeks were at that time suffering from the infidel attacks and atrocities because of the schism of the Church⁶⁸. Such a perfunctory assessment of the situation instead of creating a friendly atmosphere in which differences could be discussed, elicited the counter accusation that as long as the five patriarchs were united in faith the Church prospered but when the «sower of tare» took away the best part of the Church (i.e. the Church of Rome) disaster ensued⁶⁹.

In the third chapter the Pope enquired whether the Greeks

were willing to conclude a union with the Latins according to the latter's faith, as the Greek ambassadors had told him⁷⁰. The Patriarch denied that the ambassadors were empowered to give such promises to the Pope, which promises were in total contrast with the contents of the patriarchal and imperial letters presented to him⁷¹. The Patriarch's answer was to affirm his deep belief in the Orthodox dogma and state that the Byzantines were not ready to set aside all which they had received from Christ and his Apostles, for the expectation of Western military aid⁷². The seventh chapter returned to the crucial issue as to whether the Greeks were ready to accept Union according to the faith which the holy Church of Rome held and whether they were ready to submit the Orthodox Church to Rome⁷³. Joseph, once more, gave a negative reply stating that the Orthodox were holding fast to the common confession, of the united Church, in regard to the Holy Spirit. Then he asked the Latins «if we were to submit to you on your terms how would it be possible for our people, through whom every dogma is approved, to follow us? And if we were questioned by them, what would our reply be to justify ourselves?»⁷⁴.

In his eighth chapter the Pope promised military aid from the kings of Aragon, Castile and Portugal but only on condition that the Byzantines would submit their Church to him⁷⁵. Joseph thanked the Pope for his kind offer and declared that «the aid is real, only when it does not cause more damage to the one it purports to help and does not bring about the loss of his soul for a seemingly temporal benefit»⁷⁶. Joseph could perceive already that a union with the Latin Church would involve the acceptance of its dogmas, and especially the Filioque, and this would mean that the Orthodox Church would fall into heresy and thus be unable to save the souls of her followers. And concluding his antirrhetic he said «I hate the offer which is the cause of damage and I do not want honour which is mother to dishonour». Nevertheless in his final words he stressed his sincere desire for a canonical council which would work accordingly to the tradition of the saints⁷⁷.

There is no doubt that the Patriarch spoke in accordance with the beliefs held by the Church. These followed the traditional Orthodox line and on certain issues were totally opposed to the views of the Latins.

Markos Eugenikos who was probably at that time in Antigone, when he learned about the Orthodox stand of the Patriarch, sent him a warm letter congratulating him and insisting that the Orthodox should neither be frightened nor ashamed of the external enemies and the internal false-Christians and enemies of the Holy Spirit⁷⁸.

Despite Markos's reaction, which most probably represented a large

section of the clergy, both sides involved in the negotiations considered that, despite the failure of these preliminary attempts, they should continue to seek ways to convene a Council. In fact the great champion of the Council, Pope Martin V⁷⁹ succeeded before his death in laying the foundation of the projected Council which was announced in writing in 1430⁸⁰.

It stipulated that the Emperor, the four Patriarchs of the East and other clerics and laymen should assemble in a city on the eastern Italian coast to participate in a synod with the Latin Church. The total cost for the preparation and the execution of this operation was to be paid by the Pope who was also to provide two ships and three hundred cross-bowmen for the protection of the capital. A provision also was included under which the Latins undertook to transport home the Byzantines in case the union failed to be achieved. Hence when the new Pope Eugenius IV, the hard-working and energetic Augustinian, assumed his pontifical duties in 1431, he found this bilateral agreement as a legacy from his predecessor and devoted all his energy and efforts to try and persuade the Greeks to assemble at an Oecumenical Council.

Constantinople in the mid 1430's became a diplomatic battleground between envoys of the Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel. This Council had been originally convoked by Martin V but after his death the fathers participating in it took over and challenged both the authority of the Pope Eugenius and the Roman Curia. At this time each party was trying with the other to win the Greeks over to its side. Though the Emperor and the Patriarch were endeavouring to keep both sides satisfied, nevertheless they could not possibly entertain the idea of taking part in a Council where the Pope of Rome or his personal representative were not present. However their attitude was not entirely correct, because the second Oecumenical Council, which took place in Constantinople was neither convened by a Pope nor was he or any of his representatives present. But the Latin Church accepted it as canonical.

On 7 September 1434 the fathers of the Council of Basel, without the knowledge of Pope Eugenius IV, issued the decree «Sicut pia mater» which was the agreement with the Greeks about the projected Council and which ran on similar lines as the previous one entered into with Pope Martin V, and which was eventually accepted by Eugenius.

By 1436 the two Churches had agreed on the Council and the Emperor sent an envoy to the Eastern Patriarchs and prelates to invite them to the projected Council. He also dispatched an ambassador to the Empire of Trebizond and Iberia to invite prelates and representatives of their rulers to the Council. All expenses, which also included presents for those invited,

were paid by John of Ragusa, the representative of the Council of Basel in Constantinople. But the Turks did not allow the Eastern Patriarchs to come to Constantinople, so these had to appoint proxies. The Patriarch of Alexandria appointed the Metropolitan of Heracleia and the hieromonk Markos Eugenikos; the Patriarch of Antioch appointed the Metropolitan of Ephesos Josaphat and the confessor Gregory; and the Patriarch of Jerusalem the hieromonks Dionysios and Isodoros⁸². The Emperor also assembled the most prominent theologians and lay-officials, among whom the Metropolitans of Ephesos and Heracleia, the hieromonk Markos Eugenikos and George Scholarios, who were to deliberate about the forthcoming Council⁸³. Markos and Scholarios were entrusted with the task of studying the book of Neilos Kabasilas, most probably «De primatu papae», and to collect books which might prove useful for their discussion. Throughout these early preparations, they worked closely with the Emperor John VIII⁸⁴.

It seems certain that during this preparatory stage, the Byzantines were in contact with the Latins who were in their turn preparing themselves for the projected Council. There is no available information which would indicate that there was even the slightest degree of animosity between the two sides at this juncture. On the contrary there is evidence to suggest that there was a measure of co-operation. According to the author of the *Acta Graeca*, Markos lent some of his manuscripts to the papal envoy Nicholas of Cusa for copying⁸⁵. This strongly indicates that Markos, far from being against any union-discussions at least at this stage, was striving with all his might to prepare well the ground for such an important assembly of the two Churches. Nor was there any indication of disagreement between the Greeks at this point. In fact when in 1436 the future pro-unionist Isidoros, abbot of St. Demetrios's monastery in Constantinople and envoy of the Emperor to the Council of Basel⁸⁶, was consecrated Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, Markos Eugenikos sent a very warm and personal letter congratulating him on his elevation to such an important See. Markos truly rejoiced at Isidoros's consecration and forgot, as he says, all his hardships (probably by this he meant the pains caused by his chronic disease). At the same time recognizing the outstanding qualities in Isidoros he prayed that the Church should consecrate more men like him to look after its affairs which have fallen so low and had almost reached nothingness. For it was only this way that the fortunes of the Church could improve⁸⁷. Markos was well aware that the majority of the Orthodox prelates of his time were not up to the expected spiritual standard and the joy which fills his heart at the thought of Isidoros's consecration is sincerely felt. On the other hand there may be (though not necessarily so) a hint of uneasiness

towards Isidoros's changing attitudes. Though we have no evidence that Isidoros had expressed pro-unionist views at this stage, the very fact that Markos saw fit to advise him in the course of this letter to keep the ecclesiastical canons unswervingly and to remember the city which nourished, educated and honoured him with such an office, might suggest that the two were already moving apart.

Meanwhile, as the preparation for the Council continued unceasingly, the relations between the Pope and the Council of Basel were becoming more tense, with the result that there was a split amongst the ranks of the Council; the majority, following the Pope's advice opted for Florence. The outcome of this was that between September and October 1437 both the papal fleet and that of the Council of Basel arrived in Constantinople each one with instructions to take the Greeks to its own destination. The animosity among the two fleets was so great that the Emperor had to take measures to prevent them from coming to blows⁸⁸. Pero Tafur who was at that time in Chios and in contact with a senior member of the Basel delegation, gave a very vivid account of these events. The embassy from Basel is described by him as « very rich and magnificent, composed of well selected men. But when the Venetians heard of it and saw the great prejudice which was being stirred up against Pope Eugenius, who was a Venetian, they sent out another embassy to the Emperor and they armed themselves ready to fight. Thereupon the Emperor let it be known that he would go with neither embassy, but that he intended to go with his own ships and he asked them to depart and not to hinder his passage and they had to agree... When the others (those of Basel) had departed, they (of the Pope) returned and took the Emperor within a few days and carried him to Italy⁸⁹». The Greeks witnessing these disagreements raised objections about their own departure to Italy. They advised the Emperor not to go, because the time did not seem appropriate. Similarly the ambassadors of the Council of Basel made identical recommendations to the Emperor and the Patriarch. But the Emperor stood firm to his decision to go to Italy⁹⁰ and chose the papal fleet, a resolution which has been considered by a modern historian a «triumph for the Pope, which came to him at a time when he could and would use it to press home his advantage against the Council (of Basel)»⁹¹. It was finally agreed that it should take place in Ferrara.

While all the Eastern participants were preparing to set sail for Italy, Joseph, Metropolitan of Ephesos died in 1437⁹² and the Emperor brought pressure to bear on Markos Eugenikos to accept the See of Ephesos⁹³ despite his vehement protestations that he did not wish to become a bishop.

(Markos, at that time, was suffering greatly from a chronic disease which was causing him intense pain and he much preferred the solitude of the monastery, rather than having such responsibility thrust upon his shoulders)⁹⁴. However the Emperor was inflexible in his decision and Markos had to give in to John's wishes. At the same time with Markos, Bessarion and Dionysios were consecrated Metropolitans of Nicaea and Sardis respectively. These three were appointed as the chief spokesmen of the Orthodox Church at the Council⁹⁵. Markos because of his reputation as a holy man and his theological knowledge, was regarded as the chief delegate of the Orthodox party during the Council⁹⁶. He certainly appreciated the arduousness of the task and the difficulties that lay ahead, as his prayer to the Holy Trinity, pleading for help and enlightenment fully demonstrates⁹⁷.

The Greek delegates numbering seven hundred people, amongst whom were included the Patriarch and twenty metropolitans, set sail on 27 November 1437 for Ferrara reaching Venice on 4 February 1438⁸³. On 18 February 1438 Pope Eugenius sent a letter to Amadeus of Savoy in which he disclosed what he hoped to achieve from this Council: «Soon the Greeks will come from Venice, viz. the aforesaid Emperor and the Patriarch with all their followers, procurators also of the Armenians and some other, so that we seem to hold that most holy union already in our hands»⁹⁹. The arrival of the Greeks therefore supplied the Pope with a powerful weapon, namely the recognition of him as the first Patriarch of Christ's Church, which he used effectively against the fathers of the Council of Basel who, on 24 January 1438, had suspended and deprived him of all pontifical power, which they then transferred to the Council itself¹⁰⁰. It appears therefore that the Pope wanted the union partly perhaps for personal reasons to boost his prestige and reaffirm his authority as Vicar of Christ on earth.

All the historians who wrote about this Council, which called itself Oecumenical, omitted to mention a very serious breach of convention which the previous seven Oecumenical Councils of the united Church, had observed, namely, the reading and approval of the decisions of the immediately previous Council. Moreover all the previous Councils were united in faith and the five Patriarchs (the first in honour being that of Rome) or their representatives assembled in order to condemn a certain heretic or a group of heretics and formulate the beliefs of the Church on certain essential points. But no Oecumenical Council ever assembled with one of its leading Churches holding opposing dogmatical views from the other sister Churches on certain fundamental issues or not being in communion with them for a long time. Despite the good-will shown by both sides for the Union, the two Churches were not well prepared for such a meeting which

was to take place under heavy pressure on both sides. The Pope was struggling to preserve his authority which was then being challenged by the fathers of Basel, while the Eastern prelates were urged by the Emperor, trying to save the City from the Turks, to come to a speedy agreement. Further, the ill-fated Union of Lyon (6 July 1274) had left in the Greek mind an everlasting bitterness and suspicion coupled with the belief that the Latins were heretics, a belief which entered into the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church through the Synodikon. Moreover the writings of such popular saints as Photios, the equal to the apostles, and Gregory Palamas had exercised a potent influence on the people highlighting the main differences which divided the two Churches. Of these, first and foremost was the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, the so-called Filioque clause, which the Western Church had added unilaterally to the Creed; the question of Purgatory, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the precise moment at which the Eucharistic miracle occurs and finally the primacy of the Pope of Rome.

In the opening meeting the two delegations agreed to conduct preliminary deliberations for four months in the hope that both the Latin Synod of Basel which was still opposing the Pope, and more European princes would send representatives¹⁰¹. During this interlude the powerful cardinal Julian Cesarini hoping to create a friendly atmosphere invited Markos, his brother John the Nomophylax and the Metropolitan Dorotheos of Mytilene to a dinner party. Markos was unwilling to accept such an invitation since the Patriarch had prohibited his clergy from attending dinners given by the Latins; but succumbing to the pressure put upon him by his brother and Dorotheos, he went to Julian's quarters, where they dined and talked on spiritual subjects. In the end the learned cardinal requested from Markos, whom he seemed to esteem greatly and whom he considered as the de facto spiritual leader of the Byzantine delegation, to write something in praise of the Pope for his efforts towards union. Markos was sceptical about this but pressed by Cesarini and Dorotheos, he decided to write his «Oratio ad Eugenium Papam Quartum».

Markos began his oration with words of optimism and fervour «Today is the beginning of the universal joy; today the spiritual rays of the sun of peace rise before the whole World; today the parts of the body of the Lord for many years divided and broken hurry for union with each other». Then with great respect and politeness he addressed the Pope and begged him to remove the two innovations which the Latin Church had introduced: the addition of the Filioque clause to the Creed and the use of the unleavened bread for the Eucharist. And echoing the words of Photios he reminded

the Pontiff that those who had introduced these innovations and had divided the Church would receive greater punishment than those who crucified Christ¹⁰². This oration, understandably, did not please Cesarini who immediately passed it on to the Emperor, John, who according to Syropoulos, showed extreme displeasure towards Markos for he considered that his prelate had acted without consulting him. He wished in fact to bring him before a synodal court but thanks to Bessarion, who at that time seemed to be well-disposed to Markos, the matter was resolved peacefully¹⁰³.

In May 1438, after requests from the Pope, committees of prelates and theologians were appointed from each side to hold preliminary discussions. In the first meeting, which took place in the sacristy of the church of St. Francis, Cesarini delivered the opening speech and Markos in reply said that they had come to Ferrara, having despised hardships and dangers, in order, to discuss the holy work of union¹⁰⁴. The cardinal praised him for this reply, but the Orthodox delegates were deeply critical of him because his reply lacked Cesarini's eloquence. For this reason the Metropolitan of Nicaea, Bessarion, was chosen to speak henceforth¹⁰⁵. Some delegates, among them Syropoulos, reminded Markos in a friendly way how courageously the two men, Joseph Bryennios and Makarios Makres, whom he greatly respected and loved, would have acted had they been present at the union-Council. It is known that both men had not declared themselves against such a meeting and that Bryennios in fact had said that he would be willing to participate and present the Orthodox view in such a Council¹⁰⁶. These words made a deep impression on Markos, who in the following three meetings spoke more boldly and with eloquence¹⁰⁷.

During the third meeting Cesarini urged the Greeks to discuss their differences with the Latins. He enumerated the following differences with the Latins: The Procession of the Holy Spirit, the use of leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Purgatory and the primacy of the Pope. The Greeks, however, were not willing to discuss the two first differences before the four months, during which the preliminary discussions were to be considered, had elapsed. Accordingly after deliberations with the Emperor they chose to discuss the third and fourth point of difference, giving the option to the Latins to choose which of these two subjects they wished to consider first. The Latins opted for the subject of Purgatory and so the real discussions for union now began. The Latin theologians, according to Robert Ombres¹⁰⁸, came to Ferrara not only with a whole elaborate intellectual tradition of reflection on Purgatory, but also with a Latin piety shaped by works of art, liturgies, sermons, the gaining of indulgences, guilds and confraternities directed towards the plight of those in purgatory, a tradition

which the Greeks lacked. However the Emperor appointed Markos and Bessarion as spokesmen for the Orthodox party and while Bessarion confessed that he could not say anything about this topic, Markos assured the Emperor that he had much to say¹⁰⁹. The discussions began on 4 June and the first speaker was the learned cardinal Julian who gave an exposition of the Latin teaching on Purgatory. Markos replied briefly saying that the differences of the two Churches on this topic were not great and he asked for Cesarini's speech in writing in order that he might study it before answering¹¹⁰. In the next session Markos read his first homily on Purgatory. He began by affirming that the Greeks should answer the Latin teaching with love, though at the same time keeping to their Orthodox faith and their ecclesiastical dogmas¹¹¹. Then he proceeded to quote from Cesarini's speech the Latin teaching about Purgatory «if those who truly repent have died in love before bearing fruits worthy of their repentance for their transgressions or offences, their souls are cleansed after death by the purgatorial punishments. The help given by the living faithful in the form of liturgies, prayers, alms-giving and other works of piety, aid them by alleviating them of these punishments¹¹². In his reply to this teaching Markos agreed that the reposed in Faith are helped by the liturgies and prayers and alms-giving performed on their behalf by others and that this ecclesiastical custom had been in force for a long time. «But that the souls are delivered by means of some purgatorial punishment and temporal fire which possesses such power, this», he said, «we do not find clearly written either in the prayers and hymns for the dead or in the writings of the teachers»¹¹³. On the other hand Markos accepted that the faithful who have died and committed no mortal sins «are cleansed from these sins not by any purgatorial fire and definite punishment in the purgatory; but by the very departure from the body, through fear itself, as St. Gregory the Dialogos clearly states». According to Gregory's teaching «the souls are cleansed after the departure from the body, either by remaining in this earthly place before they come to worship God and become worthy of the blessed, or if their sins were serious and needed more time to be cleansed are kept in hell, which is conceived not in terms of a place of fire and torment, but of custody and prison»¹¹⁴.

By this exposition Markos became the first and until today the last Orthodox theologian to formulate a coherent belief on this difficult topic and to set out clearly the Orthodox teaching on the state of the souls after death. With his four homilies on Purgatory which he delivered during this period, but especially with the first one, Markos was forced to tackle the Orthodox teaching on this complex subject. Since then no Orthodox theolo-

gian attempted Markos's doctrine on Purgatory which was tacitly accepted by his Church. Markos's replies, however, did not bring any agreement on this issue, so it had to be discussed again the following year in Florence. The discussions on Purgatory do not seem to have been regarded by some Latin delegates as being of primary importance. The main issue for them still remained the Filioque which was inextricably interwoven with the energies and essence of God. That this was so is indicated by the speech Andreas of Rhodes made at the end of this session of Purgatory. Suddenly and without any explanation he raised the matter of the difference between the essence and the energies in God and called upon the Greeks to reply. But Markos having in mind the explicit instructions not to discuss this subject at all, refused to answer¹¹⁵.

It is clear that the Emperor was fully aware that the Orthodox prelates and many of the Orthodox representatives held totally opposing views on this topic. One cannot but wonder whether Andreas had any discussions behind the scenes with Bessarion who had written a letter to him, and got a reply, while on his way to Italy for the Council, expressing his own grave doubts about the correctness of the Orthodox Church on this issue¹¹⁶. It is possible therefore that Andreas seeing that the Catholic view on the subject might get a favourable hearing by some of the delegates tried to force the issue into the open.

Whatever the case, by the end of the unofficial discussions between the two Churches, the morale of the Greeks became low and two of them, the senior Metropolitan of Heracleia and the Nomophylax John Eugenikos, also a learned theologian, tried unsuccessfully to escape from Venice¹¹⁷. The reasons for their wanting to leave for Constantinople are not clear. It may have been simply because of the outbreak of pestilence, the famine and the local political instability as John Eugenikos mentions in his Oration¹¹⁸, or in fact he may have wished to return to Constantinople on the instructions of his brother in order to organize the anti-unionist struggle by preparing the ground beforehand.

This view may well be supported by the evidence given by Markos's disciple, the Metropolitan Theophanes of Medeia, who was at that time in Constantinople. He wrote that God's providence prohibited his sailing to Florence in order to remain «sperm to Israe», i.e. people who would not sign the Union-decree, and who would be at the Capital, preparing thus, the ground for the anti-unionist struggle¹¹⁹.

Thus after a long delay the official discussions opened with a ceremony on the 8 October 1438. Markos as the chief spokesman addressed the meeting and stressed the point that the deliberations should be conducted

in the spirit of love.¹²⁰ The first topic agreed to be discussed was the addition of the Filioque to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed by the Latins. This addition was the most important subject which divided the two Churches and was introduced into the Creed in 589 by the third Council of Toledo. The aim of the fathers of Toledo had been to strengthen the deity of Christ and combat the neo-Arian tendencies which probably troubled the life of the local Church; it was later adopted by the Frankish theologians. Photios, the polymath Patriarch of Constantinople, was the first Eastern theologian to attack the Filioque clause, saying that it was deserving a thousand anathemas¹²¹. And the so-called Union - Council of 879-880, which reinstated Photios with the assent of Pope John VIII's legates, and abrogated the Council of 869-870, decreed, with the full agreement of the Pope and the four Patriarchs of the East, that «if anyone should dare to formulate another Symbol contrary to this holy one or to add or subtract something from it, and be audacious enough to call it Creed, he will be condemned and excommunicated from every Christian confession». ¹²² Pope John VIII's letter to Photios affirming his strong opposition to those who accepted the Filioque clause was included in the Acta of this Synod. It states that the Patriarch's representatives «found us to preserve the Symbol unchanged as it had been originally given to us and neither having added or deducted anything, because we know exactly that a severe punishment is awaiting those who dare such things...and we consider those who added the Filioque to be on the side of Judas, because they had dared the same thing with him, not of course handing the Lord's body to death, but dividing and renting asunder the faithful who are the parts of His body». Moreover the Pope assured the Oecumenical Patriarch (Photios) that he would do his best, without the use of force, to persuade those who added the Filioque to withdraw it from the Symbol hoping that «in a short period of time they will abandon the blasphemy»¹²³.

Thus the Orthodox Church in agreement with the Latin Church had condemned the Filioque as a heretical addition, as early as the end of the ninth century. Despite the Pope's hope, however, the Filioque remained part of the Creed in the West and thus continued to be the main point of contention between the two Churches. In the thirteenth century it was once more declared a heresy in the Synodikon drafted by Patriarch Germanos II (1220-1240) «with the full agreement of the Orthodox Church and the rest of the Patriarchs». This Synodikon placed an anathema on «those who do not accept the holy Symbol, which is recited daily by the Orthodox in the holy liturgy, to be the unchanged and genuine one, which was sent out, by the First and Second Councils in accordance with the gospels, and

affirmed by the rest, but instead they changed this and say «And to the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the life-giver which proceeds from the Father and the Son. By so doing not only do they transgress the Synodical traditions of the holy Fathers and the holy and God - taught apostles but also the commandments of our true God and Saviour Jesus Christ»¹²⁴. This tradition regarding the West as heretical because of the inclusion of the Filioque continued to be upheld by later theologians, notably St. Gregory Palamas, Neilos Cabasilas, St. Symeon of Thessaloniki and Joseph Bryennios. Markos was therefore entering the discussion against the addition of the Filioque having behind him a Byzantine theological tradition which stretched more than five hundred years and whose exponents included among them men whom the Eastern Church honoured as saints. Therefore though he knew the historical circumstances that necessitated the inclusion of the Filioque in the West, nonetheless Markos adhered faithfully to the tradition of his Church.

In the first session Markos began his speech by appealing to the Council in a spirit of charity: «Since», he said, «we assembled here by the grace of the omnipotent God, with the same zeal and wish for this holy task of peace and union of the Churches, this love should also be preserved sincerely and purely throughout the proceedings and on all the subjects which will come under discussion. And if anyone utters a word which might seem to be hard or harsh, let this be attributed to the difference of language and dogmas, but let love towards the person be preserved». After this short introduction Markos proceeded straight to the main subject of his speech by declaring that the Filioque was the original reason for the schism¹²⁵. Then following the method which Palamas used in his second treatise against the Latins, he first proved that the addition, even in the case that it was right, was totally uncanonical since the Canons of the Oecumenical Councils prohibit any addition to the Creed at all, and secondly, notwithstanding this, the actual addition was in fact dogmatically wrong¹²⁶. In order to support his first contention he insisted that the Council, following the ancient tradition of the Oecumenical Councils should read the decisions adopted in the previous ones and show that the present Council agreed totally with them¹²⁷. Despite initial Latin objection on this, thanks to the firm stand which the Byzantine delegation took on this issue, the Council was persuaded to go through the resolutions adopted in the former Councils. Therefore in the third session excerpts from the Councils as well as comments on them by St. Cyril of Alexandria were read out by Markos who proceeded to give some explanation on each item. He particularly insisted on the so-called unionist letter of St. Cyril to John of Antioch

where the former wrote that not even a word of the Nicene Creed should be changed. His comments were «you heard, fathers, that the saint rejects any addition or subtraction even of a syllable or a word (from the Creed), nor does he give such permission to himself or others. This letter», Markos continued, «was read with others in the Fourth Oecumenical Council and it was accepted and confirmed as being a second foundation of faith after the Symbol»¹²⁸. All the excerpts which were read insisted that the faith, handed down by the Fathers, should not be changed in any way. So Markos at this stage of the proceedings had won a notable victory because he succeeded in showing that the Latins with the addition to the Creed had not adhered faithfully to the Canons of the Councils. His lucid explanation won him, according to Syropoulos, the respect of all Latin monks and lay officials who were present at the meeting¹²⁹. However he failed to convince the Latin hierarchy whose chief spokesman Cesarini brought before the Council a codex written in Latin, containing the Canons of the Seventh Oecumenical Council with the Filioque added to the profession of faith. The Greek delegation and particularly its advisor Plethon showed that the codex had been falsified¹³⁰. Therefore subsequent discussions were focused on the question of whether the Filioque was an addition and as such prohibited by the Councils, or a development and clarification. So by 13th December when the last session in Ferrara took place, the progress made towards agreement on the Filioque was negligible. It must however be stated that the Latins through their eloquent speakers succeeded in making an impact on some educated Greek prelates like Bessarion, Isidoros and Dorotheos who began to reflect whether the Filioque was in fact so heretical as they had previously thought¹³¹.

As soon as the preliminary discussions had come to an end, it was rumoured that the Council was being transferred to another city¹³². On 2 January 1439 the Greek delegation learnt from the Emperor and the Patriarch that the decision to continue the discussions in Florence had already been taken¹³³.

There were a number of reasons for this move to the Medicean City. Syropoulos's explanation that the reason for this transfer was to discourage the Greeks from any attempt to escape, since Florence was further from the sea than Ferrara, can safely be rejected¹³⁴. The writer of the *AG* states that the reason for this transfer was the plague which fell upon the city of Ferrara¹³⁵. This is confirmed by the great Greek scholar Ambrose Traversari, superior General of the Camaldolese, who was also a papal envoy and official interpreter of the Council. In a letter addressed to his friend Cosimo de Medici he writes that he will try to transfer the Council to Pisa «occasio-

ne pestis quae hic coepit» and that «Graeci ad unum omnes ferme istuc adpetur»¹³⁶. John Eugenikos is in agreement with this but he gives the political uncertainty as a further reason for the transfer¹³⁷. Pero Tafur who happened to arrive at Ferrara when the Pope was preparing to set out for Florence is more explicit on this. He states that it was rumoured that the Duke of Milan was lying in wait with the intention of capturing the Pope¹³⁸. To what extent this was so is difficult to tell, on the other hand the rumours reflect the political instability which seems to have been a factor in the Council being transferred to Ferrara. There was however a further reason of equal importance, and this was that the Pope was bankrupt and the Medici promised him financial assistance¹³⁹.

According then to the decision taken, the Greeks arrived at Florence at the beginning of February 1439 and a month later, on 2 March, the dogmatic discussions began. The principal speakers were Markos Eugenikos and John Montenero. Both men were trying with sincerity to present as clearly as they possibly could the respective positions of their Churches on the subject under discussion. But they were facing profound difficulties of which the most serious was the disagreement of the patristic texts which they employed to support these arguments.

In the sixth session on 14 March the eloquent speaker Montenero asked Markos whether the Spirit given by the Son is Creator or creature. He went on to affirm that two things exist in the World, the Creator and the creatures and that the Holy Spirit is Creator but his energies are creatures. He concluded his argument by asking «is this Holy Spirit which God poured richly upon us through Jesus Christ a creature?». Markos did not answer even when John repeated his question and the writer of *Acta Graeca* wrongly concluded that he was silent for a long time because he had nothing to say. This was not so. But Montenero's assertion, that the Creator's energies are creatures went counter to the decisions of the Constantinopolitan synod of 1351 which adopted, as dogma of the Orthodox Church, the teaching that the energies of God are not created. Markos's answer would inevitably have involved raising the controversial subject of the distinction between the energies and essence in God. But any discussion on this subject had been strictly forbidden by the Emperor. It was in fact for this reason that Markos had remained silent. It was left to the Emperor to save the situation; he intervened and stopped the discussion at this point¹⁴⁰.

The subsequent five sessions in Florence failed to bridge the difference between the two Churches. Moreover Montenero's assertion that the Latins accepted one origin for the Holy Spirit namely its procession both from the Father and the Son, was bound to cause the first serious rift within the

Byzantine ranks¹⁴¹. Thus the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit became the central issue. Markos spoke for the most part of the seventh session which took place on 17 March and showed that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father. In his conclusion he summed up by saying «for all these reasons we showed ourselves that we agree with the Holy Scriptures and with the holy Fathers and teachers and that we have neither changed nor falsified, nor added or removed or introduced any innovations in the divine dogmas which were given from above. We beseech once more your love and honour to agree with us and the holy Fathers, and not to recite in the churches or accept anything beyond what they have said but to be satisfied with them alone, so that by saying and thinking the same, with one voice and one heart, we may together glorify the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, to whom all glory and worship in saecula saeculorum for ever and ever: Amen»¹⁴².

This was the last major speech which Markos delivered in Florence, for in the final two sessions he was absent from the discussions. From his concluding words, one sees that he had not moved at all from his original position, namely, that the addition was contrary to the Scriptures and decisions of the Councils and that it was essential for the Latins to drop it in order to pave the way to the union. But the Latins also remained entrenched in their position and John Montenero in his final speech, in the same session, reiterated that the Latins accepted one principle and one cause of the Holy Spirit and anathematized those who held to two principles and two causes. Montenero's repeated assertion brought about the final split in the ranks of the Greeks. First of all the Emperor, whose theological knowledge could not be compared at all with that of Markos, was so much impressed by the Orthodoxy of Montenero's assertion that he requested him to give it in writing, and afterwards ordered the Greeks to read it and think about the union¹⁴³. The fact that the Greek prelates did not react adversely to Montenero's assertion would indicate their inadequate knowledge of Orthodox theology, for Palamas nearly a century earlier confronting a similar statement, put forward by the Calabrian monk Barlaam, had written: «As long as the Latins say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or from both, but not only from the Father, then the Holy Spirit's principle of deity cannot be one»¹⁴⁴.

At this eighth session which was convened after the request of the Latins in order to reply to Eugenikos's speech, made in the sixth session on the procession of the Holy Spirit, John Montenero noting Markos's absence boasted that his opponent was not there because he had been defeated and was at a loss. But the Emperor explained Markos's absence

by saying that the Greeks at present did not wish to say anything and for this reason Markos had not come with them¹⁴⁵.

Markos himself subsequently wrote that he did not attend the sessions because he was ill. Syropoulos, however, gives a different reason for Markos's absence. He states that because of the sophistic, quarrelsome and unreceptive attitude of the Latins Markos wanted to put an end to those fruitless discussions, and that he was encouraged in this by the Emperor¹⁴⁶. This may well be so, but the Emperor's motive must have been different from Markos's. John VIII was anxious to sign the Union of the Churches and therefore he wanted to avoid any prolonged and fruitless disputations which delayed this final act. And he may have regarded Markos's presence at this stage of the proceedings as an impediment to his goal.

John Montenero, speaking for eight hours in the last session, successfully presented to the Greeks a whole chain of eastern and western patristic quotations which according to his interpretations agreed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. His excellent way of presentation had a double success. Isidoros of Russia and Bessarion of Nicaea were convinced by these arguments entirely and came to believe wholeheartedly that, since the Eastern and Western saints agreed about the Filioque, there was no barrier which prevented the Union. Both prelates expressed these views publicly without any reservation at a session of their synod. In this meeting Markos seeing that the Latins remained entrenched in their beliefs, in desperation called them openly not only schismatics but heretics and said that the Orthodox Church had not dared to call them so, because many nations followed Rome's teaching¹⁴⁷. To this bold statement Bessarion reacted angrily and the Metropolitan Dorotheos of Mytilene and Methodios of Lacedaemon abused and rushed to attack Markos¹⁴⁸. Markos's outburst, albeit undiplomatic, sprang, as we have seen, from a long tradition of Orthodox theologians who regarded the Filioque addition as a heresy. This tradition ranged from dogmatic and polemical works to saints' lives and hymns, as for example the hymn the canonist John Zonaras addressed to St. Mary: «may you, o Virgin, protect your flock and remove from it the terrible heresy of the Italians who dogmatize two principles on the one nature, by confessing two processions of the creating all Spirit, strangely and unfamiliarly, save us from their heresy»¹⁴⁹. And above all Markos must have had in mind the Synodikon of the Patriarch Germanos II, a saint of the Orthodox Church, which condemned the Latins. (This Synodikon has not yet been published but it is mentioned by John Eugenikos in his polemic against the union decree)¹⁵⁰. This tradition was particularly strong during the hesychast controversy. Palamas used even stronger

language than Markos when he called the Latins «faithful servants of Satan, the father of heresies»¹⁵¹. Moreover Markos was not the only one to follow this tradition. Among his contemporaries St. Symeon of Thessaloniki (+1429) in his Dialogue «Contra Haereses» included the Latins among the heretics¹⁵². So when Markos openly called the Latins heretics he was standing on firm Orthodox ground and was just using a term which saints of his Church, who were also learned theologians, had employed before him. Bessarion on the other hand who rejected Markos's statement seemed to ignore this long tradition in the Orthodox Church¹⁵³.

The Greek contingent, both clerical and lay, tired and disappointed from the prolonged disputations which ended in stalemate decided not to participate in any further discussion with Latins. So they chose a delegation consisting of Markos, Isidoros, Syropoulos and the Great Chartophylax Balsamon to visit the Pope and ask him whether there was another way to achieve union¹⁵⁴. This move in itself shows that the resistance of the Greeks was beginning to crumble, while the Latins from now on were to gain the upper hand in all subsequent discussions. Pope Eugenius IV after hearing the message of the Greeks, reminded them that he had done all that it was required of him, he had spent money and laboured for the purpose of union while they, from the beginning had adopted an indifferent manner. Then he put forward by way of a quasi-ultimatum four points for consideration: first, whether they accepted the Latin proof of the Filioque and if not to state specifically their objections; secondly, to put forward any such proof deriving from the Holy Scriptures which opposed the Latin arguments; thirdly, to present Scriptural texts supporting that their view was holier than the Latin; and finally he suggested that if they did not wish to consider his proposals then a meeting should be called at which both the Latins and the Greeks should take an oath to accept the opinion of the majority¹⁵⁵.

The Pope's decisive stance seeming to order them to come to a decision threw the Greeks into despondency for they did not know what to do and were unwilling once more to embark on arguments and counter arguments with the Latins. But the Metropolitan of Mytilene who saw no objection to the Filioque clause urged his troubled compatriots to proceed towards union, insisting that there was no difference between their Symbol and the Latin Symbol with its addition, both of which he considered to be right¹⁵⁶. Still not convinced the Greeks sent yet again the same delegates to the Pope and, declining the offer of any further discussion, asked him once more to consider whether there was any other means of attaining union. During these difficult times for the Greeks, Bessarion struck, in a sense, the final blow against their remaining unity by delivering a very eloquent

oration in support of the Union. He began his speech by saying that the cause of the schism was the unilateral addition to the Creed by the Latins without consulting the other Churches¹⁵⁷. (Bessarion here is mistaken for apart from rejecting the unilateral addition all the Eastern Churches considered the Filioque clause heretical). Then he proceeded to bridge the two sides by declaring, contrary to his Church teaching, that: «The holy Eastern Fathers say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and from the Father through the Son. What then are we saying? Are the two statements mutually exclusive? God forbid! for «to proceed from the Father» is neither against nor contrary to the «proceed from the Father and the Son»¹⁵⁸. Then he reminded his compatriots that «the only refuge from the dangers left to us are the Latins and the union with them»¹⁵⁹. He closed his speech by fervently appealing to the patriotic feelings of his fellow Greeks to agree with him to the union and warned them that if they were to reject it, then he would not be responsible for the terrible consequences which would take place in their country left of its own to fight the Turks¹⁶⁰.

Bessarion's oration greatly pleased the polymath Traversari who seems to have had very close contacts with some Greeks, especially Bessarion from whom he was able to learn what was going on in their private meetings. In a letter to Cesarini, Traversari praised highly «our friend Bessarion» who among other things believed that «the Filioque was rightly added to the Creed». He went on to say that the protosyncelos Gregory and very many other Greeks were in tears after listening to Bessarion's moving call for union¹⁶¹.

Bessarion's speech can be regarded to a certain extent as the manifesto of the Greek pro-unionist party which was launched at that time. The Orthodox theology was then put aside and what now began to be important was arithmetic, i.e. how many supported Bessarion's line and how many Markos's, with the Byzantines forgetting that Markos stood for the theology of such saints and doctors of their Church as Photios, Germanos II, Palamas, Neilos Cabasilas, Symeon of Thessaloniki and others who with their writings had vigorously combated the «Latin heresy» of Filioque for six centuries. Henceforth the atmosphere in the meetings of the Greeks was always charged with tension. Syropoulos describes a scene during a heated discussion between the leaders of the two «parties», Bessarion and Markos, at which the former called the other «devil man» and the latter accused the first of being a slave (meaning probably to the Pope) and acting in a servile role¹⁶². Such scenes were then regular occurrence, and most certainly not edifying.

On the 11th of April a large delegation of Latin theologians, headed

by the powerful cardinal Cesarini and carrying out papal instructions came to the Patriarchal quarters. The learned cardinal urged the Greeks strongly to resume discussions with the Latins and accused Markos of departing from the deliberations because he did not know what to reply¹⁶³. It is true that Markos had unofficially resigned from his post as spokesman of the Greek delegation; the reason, however, was not that he could not cope with the arguments put forward by the Latins, but rather because he thought his task was made impossible by his opponents within the Greek contingent. Hence he could not present convincingly the theology of his Church, based on the writings of the Fathers, when he had fellow Orthodox delegates either rejecting or disputing it. He discerned that the scales were tipping towards the pro-unionist party which was headed by Bessarion, with the apparent full support of both the Patriarch and the Emperor and therefore considered it fruitless to insist. It was at this point that the Latins detecting a divided Greek delegation took advantage of the situation and sent the Byzantines a draft on the Filioque for acceptance¹⁶⁴. Though this seemed unsatisfactory to the great majority of the Greeks, the pro-unionists Bessarion, Isidoros, Dorotheos, and Gregory did not reject it, but the anti-unionists and Markos entirely repudiated it as containing «the opposite teaching to what our Church believes», i.e. the Filioque¹⁶⁵. The Greek delegation afterwards sent to the Latins its own declaration for union which mainly stressed the fact that the Father is the ultimate source of existence of both the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The Latins raised twelve points on which they asked for clarification¹⁶⁶, but the Greeks did not reply¹⁶⁷. The Greek resistance to the Latin demands finally crumbled when during voting thirteen delegates accepted the Filioque and union with the Latins against five who opposed it¹⁶⁸. As was to be expected when the Greeks accepted the most controversial Latin dogma, the Latins proceeded to demand the correction and alteration of some customs in the Orthodox Church that seemed to them to be incorrect¹⁶⁹. During those critical hours the Greeks lost their ailing aged Patriarch Joseph, who died on June 10, 1439, thus being deprived of their spiritual leader, who had consecrated most of the learned metropolitans to the episcopate¹⁷⁰. He had made his last will and testament shortly before his death in which, according to the *AG*, he accepted the dogmas of the Latin Church, the Pope as the vicar of Christ on earth and the doctrine of Purgatory¹⁷¹. His confession did not affect the deliberations for union, nevertheless it shows that the Patriarch had been persuaded of the correctness of the Latin dogmas. (It must be noted that for unknown reasons neither Syropoulos, nor Scholarios, Amirutzes, John or Markos Eugenikos

mention this confession in their works written subsequently). The loss of the Patriarch who was held in great respect by the Emperor, was a severe blow to the disputing Greeks. He had shown himself a moderating influence by his impartiality and willingness to listen to complaints and try to reconcile opponents, though not always successfully.

After his death the divided Greek Synod could not even consent to appoint a *locum tenens*. The most senior Bishop of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, according to the rules of seniority, was the Metropolitan of Ephesos, since the Metropolitan of Caesarea, the first Metropolis of the Constantinopolitan throne, was not present at the Council. But his anti-unionist stance precluded his assuming this position. Nor would he have accepted it since the decision of the Council went counter to his beliefs. The Emperor was virtually forced to carry on the duties of the Patriarch and emerged as the undisputed leader of the Greeks. The ecclesiastical affairs were probably dealt by a small group of prelates (Isidoros, Bessarion, Dorotheos and the confessor Gregory) under the Emperor's chairmanship. The Pope was fully aware of the pro-unionist support and took the opportunity when he invited these three prelates in order to express his condolences at the Patriarch's death, to urge them to consider and settle the questions of the leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist; Purgatory; the primacy of the Pope; the addition to the Creed and the consecration of the Eucharist¹⁷². Though on this occasion the three Metropolitans agreed with the Latin view that the holy offerings are sanctified (turned into the body and blood of Christ) by the words of the presiding priest and not by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the Emperor turned to Markos for advice and bade him write an exegesis on the subject¹⁷³. Markos in response wrote the *Libellus on the consecration of the Holy Eucharist* where with reference to the earliest liturgical texts of Saints James, Clement, Basil and John Chrysostom, he proved that the Orthodox Church had remained faithful to the writings of the holy Apostles and the Fathers of the Church on this matter. It is almost certain that this work was never read publicly. Its strong language and criticism of the Latin ritual on the question of the consecration of the Eucharist ended in an uncompromising note «these proofs are enough to convince those who persistently argue, who for this reason, would be eligible for pity, both for their double ignorance and the depth of their callousness»¹⁷⁴. His closing words reflect the bitterness he felt towards the Latins. He was no longer prepared to use pleasant words or moderate his language when speaking about the Latins, because he was convinced that there was not even the slightest possibility of either changing their views or them paying attention to their opponents' arguments.

Meanwhile the Pope, believing sincerely in the holiness of his task of uniting the two Churches, urged again the Emperor and his Metropolitans (Markos was not present at that meeting) to abandon their indecisiveness which barred the way to the union. He then appointed the Spanish monk John Montenero to speak about the primacy, and Ambrosio Traversari on the subject of leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist¹⁷⁵. The impact of these speeches was decisive. After the meeting the Greeks gathered at the royal quarters and called on the Emperor to complete the task of unification assuring him that they entirely agreed with the Latin statement on these points¹⁷⁶. There is no reason to question the veracity of the *AG*, which provides this information. For by then, the pro-unionist party of Bessarion had totally defeated the anti-unionists of Markos whose objections now carried no weight in the meetings. The Emperor however, none too satisfied with these divisions among his delegation, invited the Metropolitans of Ephesos and Heracleia along with Nicaea and Russia in an attempt to persuade the former to accept the majority decision. The abortive result of this meeting is summed up succinctly by the *AG*, with the proverb «ἔμεινεν ὁ κολιός, κολιός»¹⁷⁷. Despite this rebuff John VIII was still anxious to maintain the unity of his Church and showed himself tolerant towards Markos on two occasions. The first was after the announcement of the date of the signing of the union decree when Markos became anxious lest he should be forced to sign the decree against his will, or be punished for refusing to do so. He therefore asked the Despot Demetrios to visit the Emperor on his behalf and plead with him to grant him, as a reward for his labours, exemption from putting his signature to the decree, as well as safe passage home. After considerable efforts Demetrios succeeded in persuading his brother, the Emperor, to grant Markos's request¹⁷⁸. The second occasion was when Bessarion and Isidoros proposed that anathemas should be inserted in the decree against those who objected to the Union. But the Emperor mindful of the unity among his people and Church rejected the proposal outright¹⁷⁹.

The actual decree was drafted in Greek not by Bessarion or any other of his learned companions but by Ambrosios Traversari, and when Bessarion tried to make some stylistic emendations, the Latins objected and scrutinized carefully each one of his suggestions¹⁸⁰. Though one appreciates the difficult task of translating concepts from one language into another - presumably in this case from Latin into Greek - and the possibility of inadvertent errors creeping in, no doubt there was suspicion and lack of trust. This was no isolated incident, but it reflects the hardening position of the papacy who having secured the Greek acceptance of the Filioque

and the authority of the Pontiff¹⁸¹ proceeded in demanding changes in the Greek «mistaken practises»¹⁸². This showed clearly that the Latins, had begun to consider and treat their eastern brothers as members of a subordinated Church, an attitude of mind which augured ill for the future relations of the two Churches.

Finally on 5 July 1439 a decree of union beginning «Laetentur caeli»¹⁸³ was signed by the Greeks, though many of them, according to Syropoulos, did so with reluctance and because of fear of the Emperor¹⁸⁴. In fact some of the delegates refused to sign the decree at all: The Metropolitan of Stavroupolis, Isaias, the two representatives of the Georgian Orthodox Church—an unknown Metropolitan and a layman, who both escaped before the signing ceremony¹⁸⁵. It is also worthy of mention that an important absentee from the Council was the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, considered in antiquity as the second of Christian Churches, whose prelate, after the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was the fifth in seniority among the Orthodox prelates. However there is no doubt that the great majority of the signatories acted of their own free will, having accepted the Latin dogmas as correct¹⁸⁶. Though John Eugenikos is perhaps right in insisting that the signing of the decree by the proxies of the Eastern Patriarchs was contrary to the written instructions given by the Patriarchs¹⁸⁷. His statement is corroborated by Syropoulos who says that the Patriarchs had given written instructions to their proxies to agree with the union only on condition that it was in agreement with the decisions of the earlier Oecumenical Councils and the Fathers of the Church. They also instructed them to see that nothing was added to or removed from the faith¹⁸⁸. The Georgian bishop, for example had shown the Greeks a written instruction of the Patriarch of Antioch bidding them not to accept any alteration to the Creed¹⁸⁹. The subsequent stance of the Eastern Patriarchates towards the union would seem to confirm the allegation both of Eugenikos and Syropoulos that the Eastern representatives had in fact acted contrary to the guidance given from their superiors¹⁹⁰. Whatever the case, on the day of the decree they placed their signatures. When it was the Pope's turn to put his name to the document he enquired whether Markos had also signed it and on receiving a negative reply he said «then we have not accomplished anything»¹⁹¹. The Pope's remark clearly indicates that he was fully aware of the significance of Markos's refusal to sign the decree. He knew very well that the most able theologian and the senior hierarch of the Orthodox delegation was bent on becoming the fiercest opponent of the Union and that the theological weapons of the pro-unionists might not be strong enough to combat those of Markos. Fearful therefore that Markos could

easily wreck the Union, the Pope sent a message to the Emperor requesting him to send Markos to him in order that he might be judged by a synodal court for his disobedience to comply with the majority verdict. The Emperor, however, both mindful of the unity of his people and the tradition of his Church, refused to satisfy the Pope's demand insisting that the Orthodox synod was the only appropriate body which had the right to examine this case¹⁹². Eugenius IV, however, did not give in to this refusal nor allow himself to be thwarted to his purpose of having Markos appear before him. He therefore sent three more messages to the Emperor demanding to see Markos. After obtaining verbal reassurances that the Pope was not going to use any force against the Metropolitan of Ephesos, the Emperor finally decided to send Markos to him. Calling Markos into his presence he asked him to appear before the Pope and to reply without fear to the questions the Pontiff was to put to him.

When Markos arrived at the Pope's apartments he greeted him and sat down immediately saying that he was suffering from his kidneys and feet and was unable to stand. Then the Pope strove to persuade him to follow the Council's decision by telling him that he would be treated as a heretic, would lose his See and would be ex-communicated. Markos remained adamant. He replied that all Oecumenical Councils so far had condemned first the heresy and then the heretics. In accordance with this principle the Pope would have first to condemn his beliefs, and if these proved to be the Orthodox dogma, as indeed they were, and therefore, acceptable to the Orthodox World, as Orthodox dogma, how then could he be liable to condemnation? When Markos finished his apologia, he was allowed to leave¹⁹³. But the impression which he probably left to the Pope was that the Union would fail to win acceptance among the Orthodox people. The Pope's disappointment is clearly reflected in the letter he wrote later to the Latin bishop of Corone: «Meanwhile there was present that wretched Ephesian, spewing out his poisonous thought everywhere. If the Emperor had consented to his being punished as he deserved, in the same way as Constantine so memorably permitted the punishment of Arius, that poison of the Church, you would have had far fewer adversaries. These things, venerable brother, we think to be serious enough, but particularly serious is the fact that together with so much hope both time and expense have been wasted»¹⁹⁴. Though the Council had failed in its Oecumenical aims, Pope Eugenius IV as a result of the short-lived Union nonetheless had succeeded in strengthening his position in his dispute with the fathers of Basel. This has been regarded as the great achievement of the Council of Florence for «it secured the victory of the Popes in the struggle of papacy versus council,

and the survival of the traditional order of the Church»¹⁹⁵.

When the Emperor had completed his mission in Florence, he left for Venice taking the Metropolitan of Ephesos with him in his retinue to whom he gave rest and protection during the journey. From there the Greeks sailed home on the 19th of October, 1439. Markos travelled on board the imperial galley, as the Emperor had promised him¹⁹⁶. On their way to Constantinople they put in at Corcyra and Methone. In both places the people openly protested their disapproval of the Union. In Methone the Emperor and his retinue stayed for five days¹⁹⁷. It is possible that here Markos took the opportunity to discuss the events of Ferrara-Florence and he may have made some acquaintances, one of them being the priest George with whom he later corresponded¹⁹⁸. From Methone they sailed to Euboea where again the Orthodox population demonstrated its disapproval of the Union. They remained on the island for twenty-five days¹⁹⁹. Markos probably stayed at the house of a prominent Euboean called Constantine Kontopetres²⁰⁰. From Euboea the Emperor and his retinue sailed for Constantinople and arrived there on the first of February 1440, after a journey which had lasted three and a half months. The people of Constantinople gave a hostile reception to the pro-unionists; they had learnt beforehand (according to Agallianos) that their Orthodox faith had been destroyed by an «evil union»²⁰¹. And according to the historian Ducas, the Metropolitan of Heracleia and others openly confessed that «they had sold their faith, exchanged piety for impiety, and having betrayed the pure sacrifice, they became azymites»²⁰². In contrast, according to the Greek Catholic bishop Joseph of Methone, the faithful of Constantinople worshipped the Metropolitan of Ephesos, in the same way as Jews worshipped Moses and considered Markos a saint²⁰³. For they looked upon Markos as the only one who had the ability and courage to defend their faith and who had refused to pollute himself by receiving gold²⁰⁴. These people, who were subsequently to form the great anti-unionist party in the City, believed that many delegates had returned from Italy rich²⁰⁵. This of course was an exaggeration. There may have been some who received gifts but this in itself is no evidence for corruption. But Markos's supporters had by then learned that the Pope had granted an annual pension of 300 florins to Bessarion, while he remained in Constantinople and that he was prepared to double it if he moved to the papal court²⁰⁶. Dorotheos of Mytiline, another strong supporter of the Union, was granted a similar pension²⁰⁷. Isidoros was appointed apostolic legate to Russia and towards the end of that year he and Bessarion were to be made cardinals²⁰⁸. These advancements were used by the anti-unionists as ammunition with which to carry on their struggle against

the Union which they finally won.

The election of a new Patriarch was delayed because the Emperor went into mourning at his wife's death. So that it was only in April 1440 that he sent his officials to the Metropolitan of Ephesos wishing to bring pressure to bear on him to accept the Patriarchal office. But Markos stood firm and rejected the highest pastoral office for the sake of his belief²⁰⁹. He knew beyond doubt that if elected to the patriarchal throne, he would be unable to follow an anti-unionist line, but on the contrary he would have been expected to carry out measures which would have consolidated the Union. His example was followed by two more prominent prelates, the Metropolitans of Heracleia and Trebizond who had already recanted and had finally rejected the decree they had signed. The Emperor faced with this impasse had no other alternative but to choose the Latinophile Metropolitan of Cyzicus Metrophanes as the new Patriarch, and he was consecrated on 4 May 1440²¹⁰. On assuming his new duties Metrophanes lost no time in sending letters to the Orthodox people instructing them to follow the Union and taking measures against all those who opposed it²¹¹. In those difficult days Markos came under heavy pressure and fearing persecution from his enemies²¹², he resolved to escape from the capital through Prousa to his Metropolitan See of Ephesos. The date of his departure was 4 May 1440²¹³. The prayer he composed on the occasion of his arrival in Ephesos probably dates from this period. It reflects both his profound sadness at seeing the former glorious See of Ephesos now a ruined, insignificant town under Turkish occupation, and his wish, with God's help, to become a good shepherd to his flock²¹⁴. He proved this to be so with the enormous concern he showed for the welfare of the Christian community. He visited churches, ordained priests, comforted widows and orphans, exhorted and instructed his flock²¹⁵. These activities came to an end when he became seriously ill and therefore could no longer fulfil his duties. Besides, his concern for his flock had aroused the displeasure of the Turkish authorities which prevented him from carrying out his pastoral duties, since as he himself wrote to hieromonk Theophanes of Euripos, he held no official appointment (ὄρισμόν αὐθεντικόν) from the Patriarch²¹⁶.

While in Turkish-held Ephesos Markos continued to conduct the anti-unionist struggle in the Capital. For example when he learned that Scholarios was cooperating with the unionists, Markos sent him a stiff letter expressing his displeasure for his change and reminding him that ecclesiastical affairs had never been put right by following a middle course, because there was no middle way between truth and falsehood. He utterly rejected his opponents' arguments that the Union was

made for the good of the motherland, in that Byzantium would now receive Western help against the Turks. His refusal to believe in this probably sprung from the case of Thessaloniki which, though under Latin protection, nevertheless had been captured by the Turks. Markos urged Gennadios to resign his imperial post and devote his whole self to the Lord²¹⁷. By then he too had come to realize that it was impossible to serve his flock in Turkish-held Ephesos and decided to retire to Mount Athos and dedicate the rest of his life to prayer. On his way to Athos his ship put in at Lemnos where he disembarked to rest, but he was recognized immediately, apprehended by imperial soldiers and put under house arrest²¹⁸. The reason for this must be that Markos was considered by the Byzantine authorities to be the greatest obstacle to their efforts to implement the Union. He was however allowed some freedom of movement for he seems to have met some of the islanders, among them a certain hieromonk and confessor, named Arsenios, with whom he had discussion on ecclesiastical problems²¹⁹. While still on Lemnos he managed to dispatch a strongly worded encyclical letter to all Orthodox Christians including those living in the islands, presumably Cyprus, Crete and Rhodes which were under Latin rule. Markos appealed to them to defend their faith and not cooperate in any way with the unionists and the Latins²²⁰. This shows that Markos was by then the undisputed leader of the anti-unionists in the Constantinopolitan Church.

His confinement on the island lasted for two years. On 4 August 1443 he was freed but unable to go to Mount Athos; he returned in triumph to Constantinople where the people, according to his Synaxarion, welcomed him as a new confessor²²¹. He commemorated this event by composing a thanks-giving epigram to the seven martyrs of Ephesos on whose feast day he was released from prison²²².

Once back in Constantinople, though we have no specific information about his whereabouts, one might assume that he stayed at his old monastery, from where he now began to prosecute the anti-unionist campaign with vigour. We learn from a letter which he sent to the hieromonk Joachim the Sinaite that he had no permission to officiate in the City, undoubtedly on the order of the unionist Patriarch Metrophanes²²³. He also wrote to the abbot of Vatopedi informing him that monks from Vatopedi who happened to be at that time in the City, encouraged and comforted him. He also confessed his great desire to go and spend the rest of his life there and appealed to the monks, there, to remain united and to reject the false Union²²⁴. Another very interesting letter of Markos dating from this period was sent to a certain monk Theodosios, whom he knew from the time of

the Patriarchate of Euthymios and who had left his monastery and began openly to criticize and abuse the monastic life. Markos, strove to persuade Theodosios to return to his monastery, reminding him of his previous devout life and warning him of the future consequences of his actions. Reflecting on his own life and isolation he wrote «but now, though I openly oppose the Latins, nevertheless I consider myself and my life to be more happy than that of the Emperor and I do not mean the present one, but also of all other Emperors who were admired in the past»²²⁵.

This passage seems to be indicating that though he still remained the inspiration of the anti-unionists, Markos had begun to turn his mind away from political entanglements. In fact he even refused to meet the papal envoys who had come to Constantinople to hold discussions on the question of the union²²⁶. He had made clear his position in Florence and was not going to re-enter into discussions on a subject which as far as he was concerned was closed.

The vicissitudes he encountered in these last years of his life certainly contributed to the deterioration of his already poor health. And when he realised that the end of his life was approaching he called Scholarios to his death bed and in the presence of his other disciples, gave his last advices, re-affirming at the same time his belief in the anti-unionist campaign. It seems that as a result of these instructions the Iera Synaxis or Holy Gathering was formed in order to carry out the struggle against the Union more methodically. «Coryphaios» of this synaxis was, according to Agallianos, who was one of its most energetic members and founders, Gennadios and one of its most formidable opponents and persecutors was Isidoros of Russia. The core of the Iera Synaxis were Gennadios Scholarios, Theodoros (Theophanes) Agalianos, the confessor Isidoros (later Patriarch of Constantinople) and John Eugenikos²²⁷. He also left instructions to the effect that the unionist Patriarch or any other of his collaborators should be barred from attending his funeral or his memorial service²²⁸. Finally, he asked Scholarios to undertake the leadership of the anti-unionist cause. This last act of defiance may well be considered as his greatest triumph for «he could not have chosen a better successor for his purpose»²²⁹. A fortnight later on the 23rd of June 1444 Markos died at the age of fifty-two²³⁰ and was buried with the honours of a confessor at the monastery of Mangana²³¹. His successor as the leader of the anti-unionist campaign, George Scholarios, delivered the funeral oration²³² while John Eugenikos composed an acolouthia or a liturgical office for his brother.

In 1456 Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios issued a synodical decree and declared Markos as saint of the Orthodox Church establishing January

the 19th, the day which his relics were translated to the monastery of St. Lazarus in Galata, after the fall of Constantinople, as the day of his commemoration²³³. However the official canonization had to wait until February 1734. The synod of the Oecumenical Patriarchate presided over by Patriarch Seraphim, issued a decree declaring that:

«Our holy Eastern Church of Christ recognizes, honours and accepts this holy Markos Eugenikos of Ephesos, as a holy man, God-bearer, ardent zealot of piety and protector and most courageous defender of our holy dogmas and true faith, and imitator and equal in greatness to the holy theologians and adornments of the ancient Church»²³⁴.

Markos has been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented by some Western scholars, and this is probably due to the fact that important sources were not available to them. His activities during the Council of Florence and its aftermath, his tenacity to the Orthodox teaching, his refusal to compromise gave the West the impression of a rigid and narrow mind, unwilling to recognize excellence in his opponents. In contrast the Christian East considered and still considers and honours him as a pillar of Orthodoxy and a new confessor of the Faith. The great Greek scholar Prof. Spyridon Lampros evaluating the role of Markos in the Council of Florence, considered it to be as important as that of St. Athanasios of Alexandria in the First Oecumenical Council; while the R. Rev Dr. Kallistos Ware considers the Encyclical Letter of Markos as being one of the chief Orthodox doctrinal statements since 787²³⁶.

The Metropolitan of Ephesos was not anti-western or a fanatic and narrow-minded monk who en bloc rejected the thought of the Catholic Church; on the contrary he both respected and was interested in St. Augustine and when he was in Italy he bought some of his works, translated into Greek by the Latinizer Demetrios Cydones, and brought them to Constantinople²³⁷.

Though trained as a theologian he was a cultured man with wide interests. A talented hymnographer²³⁹, he also appreciated beauty from wherever it came, and was capable of admiring, for example, an Italian work of art and be so influenced by it as to express his admiration and feelings in writing²⁴⁰. He was equally interested in astronomy and in the works of Aristotle. The first is attested by a surviving work on astronomy and the latter by a letter of Scholarios addressed to Markos and begging him to examine a commentary he wrote on an Aristotelian work²⁴¹.

Markos's contribution to his Church did not come to an end with his early death. As a spiritual teacher of great importance, he produced worthy disciples and associates who upheld his inspiration and vision during the

beginning of the dark and apocalyptic times of the Turkish occupation. These were the Patriarchs Gennadios II Scholarios (1454-56 and 1462-63)²⁴², Isidoros II (1456-1463)²⁴³, Markos II (1466-67)²⁴⁴, Dionysios I (1467-1472 and 1489-1491)²⁴⁵, Joachim I, disciple of Dionysios I, (1498-1502 and 1504-1505)²⁴⁶. But two other of his disciples should be mentioned for their untiring and vigorous efforts to defend Orthodoxy: his own brother John, who was the real soul of the anti-unionist campaign, and his relative Theodoros Agallianos. The Metropolitan of Ephesos was not simply an anti-Latin polemist and this has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Nicol by his statement that «much attention has been drawn to his anti-Latin fulmination but very little to his ascetic and spiritual writings»²⁴⁷. And it is not a mere coincidence that two of his leading disciples, Gennadios and Dionysios, when they resigned from the patriarchal throne went to live as monks in monasteries in Northern Greece. But this demonstrates the enormous influence the ascete Markos had on them.

Markos was above all an ascetic who was forced reluctantly by circumstances to become a polemicist and leader of the anti-unionist struggle. He was deeply committed to the tradition of his Church and no amount of political advantages to be had by the union could persuade him to accept any compromise. His loyalty remained always to the Church and not to the Empire, to the spiritual rather than the physical well-being of his people. A careful study of all his works will significantly contribute to a re-evaluation of the personality of this outstanding and controversial figure of the first half of the 15th century.

Meanwhile, the honours which his Church bestowed upon him and the esteem and popularity which even today, a time which is not so characterised by its religious zeal, he enjoys among all Orthodox people all over the World, confirm the fact that Markos acted in a way which the Orthodox faithful desired and expected of him.

II. PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED WORKS

The compilation of a catalogue of Markos's works is not an easy task, taking into consideration the fact that many manuscripts in the monasteries and sketes of Mount Athos and elsewhere are still uncatalogued¹ and others, which are in the catalogues, had either been destroyed or stolen². Another great obstacle which a researcher has to face is the inadequate and, in some cases, erroneous description of manuscripts, given in the catalogues².

The first scholar who compiled a full catalogue of Markos's works was the late Mgr L. Petit⁴. A more systematic and complete catalogue was made by K. Mamoni⁵. (N. Oeconomidis wrote a review on Mamoni's thesis and corrected her catalogue⁶). More recent are the catalogues of C. Tsirpanlis⁷, D. Stiernon⁸ and I. Bulovič⁹.

All the catalogues, however, had mistakes which can be generally divided into two categories: first, the wrong attribution of works to Markos¹⁰ and second, the addition to the catalogue as a complete work parts from a particular work which appears in a manuscript under a different title¹¹.

During our research, we managed to find 232 manuscripts (Mamoni found only 146) which contain works of Markos Eugenikos. But we are certain that there are more manuscripts, especially in Mount Athos, which contain mainly hymnological works of Markos¹². The most rewarding moment of our search for manuscripts was when we discovered recently a manuscript of which no other researcher whoever compiled a catalogue of Markos's works knew about the existence. This manuscript is the *Oxonien-sis Holkham 78 (115)* and it contains only works of Markos¹³.

Though every possible effort was made to compile an accurate catalogue it would nevertheless, be very naïve to think that this catalogue is devoid of mistakes.

A. PUBLISHED WORKS OF MARKOS EUGENIKOS

1. *Κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον πατριάρχην Εὐθύμιον*

Inc. Τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἡ μεγίστη θάλασσα τῶν προσηκόντων τῷ σῶ περιφανεῖ βίῳ.

Des. Ὁ λαμπρὸς Εὐθύμιος, ἱεραρχῶν κλέος τὸ περίφημον ἀνευφημείσθω πιστῶς.

Editions:

1. Legrand, *REG*, 5 (Paris, 1892), 442-426.
2. Diamantopoulos, *EPh*, 9 (Alexandria, 1912), 124-127.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Parisinus gr. 2075, ff. 335-337.

The manuscript was written by Markos's brother John in 1439 when he was returning to Constantinople from Florence.

Both editions are inadequate to meet satisfactory standards of a good edition. The canon consists of forty-five hymns. Legrand and Diamantopoulos agree completely only in twelve hymns. Their disagreements in the remaining thirty-three hymns amount from the omission of an article to the omission of two lines in hymn thirty-three. In hymn seven there are four differences. The edition of Legrand is better than Diamantopoulos who seemed to have difficulties in reading the manuscript correctly though he writes on page 133 that the manuscript «is easily readable». Diamantopoulos, however, writes a brief but good commentary on the historical references which are contained in the canon. He did not know about Legrand's edition.

A new edition is needed.

The canon was composed in 1416, the year of the Patriarch's death, when Markos was a layman.

2. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἰακώβου τοῦ Πέρσου*

Inc. Ὁ μὲν βραβευτῆς ὑπὲρ φύσιν πάλης κάτεισι λαμπρῶς οὐρανοῦ.

Des. Πρόστηθι, μαρτύρων κλέος, οἰκτροῦ Μανουήλ, εὐτελοῦς ἀναγνώστου.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *MB*, p. 103.
2. Vasilievskij, *Sinod. Kod.*, pp. 74-75.

I could not find a copy of this edition.

3. Mamoni, *Th*, 25 (Athens, 1954), 573. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 86.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis, 192, f. 46^v.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus thought that this manuscript was possible written by Markos himself (*Parartema*, pp. 47-48), but Professors Vojatzides in *PP I*, p. 259 and Tomadakis in *Ath. 57* (Athens, 1953), 67-68, correctly do not accept his view. Mamoni published Papadopoulos-Kerameus's edition. This very significant manuscript which contained almost all the works of Markos was written, most probably, for the Patriarch Dionysios I, a spiritual son of Markos, who retired to the Monastery of Cosinitza. Unfortunately it was taken by Bulgarian soldiers during the First World War.

The poem was written before 1418 when Markos was still a layman and signed it with his baptismal name Manuel.

3. *Εἰς τάφον τῶν τέκνων κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Τζαμπλάκωνος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ*

Inc. Οἶον καθ' ἡμᾶς εἶδεν ἡ φύσις πάθος! οἶον συνέκοψε φυτὸν ἀθρόον.

Des. Καὶ τῶν μοναστῶν τῆς φίλης συναυλίας, δεῖται συνιστᾶν τῷ Θεῷ τοὺς φιλάτους.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 573. Mamoni, *Markos*, pp. 86-87.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 79.

Mamoni again published Kerameus's edition.

From the poem we learn that «λοιμὸς γὰρ ἐξαίσιος ἄρδην ἐκτέμνων τὴν ἀρτίβλαστον τῶν νέων ἡλικίαν». This plague, which cost the lives of Demetrios's children, broke out between the years 1416-1420 according to the historian Phrantzes, *Chron.*, pp. 109, 113. So from such internal information we can assign this work of Markos as belonging to his first works. He might have written this poem when he was still ἀναγνώστης and layman or when he went to the island of Antigone to become a monk.

4. *Εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς πορνικοῦ λογισμοῦ ὡς ἐκ προσώπου γυναικὸς*

Inc. Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν.

Des. Καὶ τῆς μελλούσης μακαριότητος, ἐνθα εὐφραινομένων πάντων ἡ κατωκία. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 635 (Athens, 1985), 3.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 75-

Mega Spelaion 48, ff. 100^v-

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 888-890.

This edition was based on the third manuscript. Markos probably wrote this prayer when he was a young monk.

5. *Μάρκου πρὸς τὸν Οἰκουμενικὸν*

Inc. Παναγιώτατέ μου δέσποτα καὶ οἰκουμενικὲ πατριάρχα, πέποιθα εἰς Θεὸν τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν.

Des. Τελευταῖον συναπέλθοιμεν, τοῦτο εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερόμενοι, τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

Editions:

1. Lampros, *PP I*, pp. 17-18.

2. Petit, *PO 17*, pp. 475-476. Petit, *Marci Opera*, pp. 167-168.

3. Tomadakis, *Epistolographia*, pp. 104-106.

Manuscripts:

Undated:

Vindobonensis theol. gr 203, ff. 34^v-36.

Petit based his edition on the surviving manuscript and on Lampros's edition. He also translated it into Latin.

Tomadakis published Petit's edition.

The opinion of scholars as to the actual person to whom this letter is addressed is widely varied. Lampros in a small introduction (*op. cit.*, p. 9) thinks that the letter was written to Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople before the Council of Florence. However Diamantopoulos, *Th*, 1 (1923), 130-131, disagrees with Lampros and the librarian Tengnagel of the Vienna Library who accepted Markos as the author of this letter. Diamantopoulos says that the events which are mentioned therein cannot be referred either to Patriarch Joseph or to Manuel II and John VIII. He finds it also difficult to believe that Markos could ever describe these two emperors, who were his friends, as «tyrants». Finally he concludes that this letter, taking into consideration its beginning, should have been written long before and hence not by the Metropolitan of Ephesos. But Petit (*DTC-9II-1985*), strongly supports the view that this letter came from the pen of

Markos and is addressed to the Patriarch of Constantinople Metrophanes. Petit based his conclusion on the last line of the composition, which is similar to that of Markos's encyclical letter to all the Christians.

We think that this letter was written by Markos and sent to Patriarch Joseph, most probably from Antigone. Markos learned about the Orthodox stand of Joseph during the discussions in 1422 with a Latin delegation, (Laurent, *Le pape*, 5-60), and sent him this communication congratulating him. Since no previous scholar was aware of these discussions it was impossible to identify with certainty the recipient of the letter in question.

6. *Εὐχή εἰς τὸν βασιλέα*

Inc. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας.

Des. Εὐχαῖς καὶ δεήσεσι τῆς πανάγνου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

Lampros edited this short work of Markos from a copy which Professor Litzika made for him.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 75.

Saec XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 887-888.

It is surprising that this work is not referred to at all among the works of Markos by Petit, Mamoni and Tsirpanlis.

This work was written in 1425, after July 21, on the occasion of the enthronement of Emperor John VIII.

7. *Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον ἀπορήσαντα*

Inc. Σὺ μὲν, ὦ θεϊότατε βασιλεῦ, οὐ διαλείπεις ἡμᾶς ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ πάντων εὐεργετῶν.

Des. Τῆς λαμπρᾶς ὄντως ἐκείνης καὶ αἰδίου δόξης μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἀξιούμενος.

Editions:

1. Jahn, *ZHT*, 12 (1845), 46-73.

2. Lampros, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

3. Tomadakis, *EEBS*, 22 (Athens, 1953), 118-130.

4. Oeconomidis, *MCh.*, 8 (Athens, 1958), 13-29.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 86 (B33), ff. 132^v, 167, 167^v.

Athous Iberiticus 4251 (131) ff. 150^v-167^v.

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 140-154^v.

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 15-27.

Monacensis 495, ff. 9-21.

Parisinus gr. 963, ff. 300-313.

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, ff. 134^v-142^v.

(The Ambrosianus manuscript contains extracts from this work).

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 901-920.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 479-497^v.

Athiniensis (Benakeion) 272, ff. 213-215.

Athous Iberiticus 329 (164).

Athous Iberiticus 678 (129).

Mosquensis 244 (Vladimir), ff. 1-5.

(The two Athonite manuscripts contain only extracts from this work).

Saec. XVIII

Athiniensis (Kolyva) 127, ff. 159^v-

Saec. XIX

Athous Vatopedinus 509, ff. 1-(not complete).

Jahn edited this work from the manuscript Monacensis 495 which is without title and beginning. In his short introduction, he mentions also the manuscript Parisinus gr. 963 which contains the same work complete. The edition is very good and the correction of the text and the comments are most competently done.

Professor Lampros edited the beginning of this work, which thought belonged to John Eugenikos, from the Romanian manuscript. Lampros did not know anything about Jahn's edition, nor did he check any manuscripts to see that the work is attributed to Markos. Professor Tomadakis, *Ath*, 62 (Athens, 1953), 64-65, tries to correct Lampros and attributes it to George Amiroutzes!

Tomadakis, like Lampros, was unaware that Jahn edited this feature, so he edited it again from the Vatopedinus manuscript. However Tomadakis made a serious mistake, because without carefully examining the manuscripts which contain works of Markos, he attributed this particular work to the philosopher George Amiroutzes. And when later on he learned about Jahn's edition, he did not change his mind, but he insisted that he was right, ignoring the fact that there are fifteen manuscripts which contain

this work under the name of the Metropolitan of Ephesos. F. Dölger, in *BZ*, 54 (1954), 187-188, proves that Tomadakis is wrong and that this item is without any doubt from the pen of Markos.

Oeconomidis made, so far, the best edition. He based his edition on four manuscripts. In pp. 31-33, Prof. Oeconomidis edited from the manuscript Athiniensis (Benakeion) 272 extracts from this work of Markos which appeared under the titles «Γνωμαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐφέσου περὶ ὄρου ζωῆς καὶ περὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεως» and «Ἀναλογίαι τῶν ἀπειλουμένων κολάσεων πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα». Oeconomidis also rejected Tomadakis's argument. The introduction is very interesting.

Part of this important philosophico-theological work was translated into Modern Greek by M. Pilavakis, *MA*, 7 (London, 1982).

As happens with the great majority of Markos's works, there is no internal evidence to indicate the possible date during which it was written. We think, however, that it was composed by Markos when he was still a young monk in the first years of John's reign.

8. Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον

Inc. Δῶρόν τοι τοῦτο μικρόν, ὃ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς γεωργίας προσφέρω.

Des. Μετὰ τῆς παρούσης ἀξιωθῆς, ἧς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀπάντων μείζον οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100.
2. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34 (part), 259-264.

Allatius quoted some lines from this work with a Latin translation, *Octava Syn.*, p. 554.

Kayser, *Pilos.*, p. XVI, republished the above mentioned lines with minor corrections.

Migne, *PG* 160, 1104, published again Allatius's quotations with some minor corrections, as Kayser.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 17 (A 80 inf), ff. 233.

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 27-29.

Parisinus gr. 2005, f. 3.

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, f. 142^v.

Saec. XV-XVI

Scorialensis E. 11. 17. 295, ff. 207-209.

Saec. XVI

Athous Dionysianus 274, ff. 286-294.

Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis 331, 11.

Saec. XVII

Athous Dionysianus 163, 15.

Athous Dionysianus 275, ff. 190-195^v.

Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 60, ff. 265-270.

Saec. XVIII

Athiniensis (Kolyva) 127, ff. 192^v.

Kerameus's edition is an uneritical one and was published in a rush by the editors of the periodical who in three cases tried to correct it.

Lampros edited this work, originally without having knowledge of Kerameus's edition. He used the Ambrosianus 17 manuscript which contains a smaller version of this work. Then he reedited it in pp. 260-264 and based his new edition on Kerameus's, on the Dionysani manuscripts and on his original edition. The new edition with a very good critical apparatus is the best which exists up to this time. But since more than half of the manuscripts which contain this work are totally ignored, a new edition based on all the manuscripts is needed.

From the opening of this letter-encomium «Δῶρόν τοι τοῦτο μικρόν, ὃ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς γεωργίας προσφέρω, καθάπερ ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν ἐμῶν πόνων», we learn that this work belongs to the early writings of Markos. It was most probably composed some time after the accession to the throne of the Emperor John when Markos was still a monk at Mangana.

9. *Στιχηρὰ προσόμοια εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Αἰκατερίναν*

Inc. Ἐκ βασιλίδος φυλῆς καταγομένη, ὅτε ὁ σωτήριος πόθος ἐξέκαυσε.

Des. Παρέστηκας ἰλεομένη αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ τελοῦσι τὴν ἀεισέβαστον μνήμην σου.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *MA*, 8 (1982), 3-4; *Acolouthia*, pp. 31-33.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49, ff. 105-106^v.

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 178^a.

As is mentioned in the small introduction of this edition, these hymns were composed by Markos, probably when he was a monk.

10. *Στιχηρὰ εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους Ἰσαποστόλους βασιλεῖς Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἑλένην*
Inc. Ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐπιστρέψας ἐκ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης εἰς ἀληθινήν.

Des. Τῇ μακαρίᾳ μητρὶ Ἑλένη ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *MA*, op. cit., 4; *Acolouthia*, pp. 34-35.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49, f. 106^v.

This work is not mentioned at all among the works of Markos by Petit, Mamoni, Tsiapanlis and Bulovič.

Markos, in these hymns, portrays the Emperor Constantine I, as a faithful, Godfearing and ideal Christian leader - a prototype for the kings.

Markos composed these hymns, possibly when he was a monk.

11. *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν ὄσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἰωάννην τὸν Δαμασκηδόν*

Inc. Ὁ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτὴν ἔνοικον ἔχων, ὅτε ὁ δυσώνυμος ῥαγδαῖον ἔπνευσε.

Des. Ὑμνοὶς ἱεροῖς κατακοσμήσαντα ἢ χρεωστικῶς ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων τιμῶσα εἰς αἰῶνας δοξάζει θεόσοφοι.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *MA*, 9 (1982), 1-4; *OT*, 547 (1983), 3; *Acolouthia*, pp. 37-47.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 135-140^v.

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49, ff. 6-10.

From the ἀκροστιχίς, we learn that Markos composed this work when he was a monk.

12. *Κανόνες παρακλητικοὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον*

I. Κανὼν πρῶτος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς: Ἀπάρχομαί σοι τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, Κόρη. Μάρκος.

Inc. Ἀρχόμενοι σήμερον τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν μηνῶν, ἀρχόμεθα λογικοῖς ἄνθεσι.

Des. Καὶ ἐκ ποικίλων δειγῶν ἀνασωθεῖσαν, καὶ νῦν ὡς μάλιστα σοι προσανέχουσιν.

II. Κανὼν δεύτερος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς: Τὴν ἐν μάχαις ἄγρυπνον ὑμῶ

προστάτιν. Μάρκος.

Inc. Τῆ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ροπῆ πεποιθώς, πανύμνητε, καὶ τῆ ἀγρύπνω θαρρῶν προστασία σου.

Des. Τρέμοντας αἰσχύνη καὶ λύπη, περιπαθεῖς ὅτι πονηρίας πικρὰς ἐμελέτησαν κατὰ τῆς κληρονομίας σου.

III. Κανὼν τρίτος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Τὴν τῶν νόσων λύτεραν αἰνῶ παρθένον. Μάρκος.

Inc. Τῆς τρυφῆς ὁ χειμάρρους, τὸ ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον ὕδωρ ὁ ἀενάως προχέων Ἰησοῦς.

Des. Τὴν τοῦ γένους προστατίν, ρῦσαι δεόμεθα, πάσης συμφορᾶς τοὺς σοὺς δούλους, ὑπέραγνε.

IV. Κανὼν τέταρτος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Χαίροις χαρᾶς ἔκφανσις, ἀρᾶς ἡ λύσις. Μάρκου.

Inc. Χαρᾶς ἡμῖν πρόξενος, ἀδιδόχου γεγέννησας, χαρὰν ἀίδιον Χριστὸν γεννήσασα.

Des. Τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνας σοφοῖς καὶ δικαίοις εἶη σου τὸ ὄνομα εἰς αἰῶνας ὑμνούμενον.

V. Κανὼν πέμπτος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Ἡ κοσμοχαρμόσυνος ὑμνεῖσθω Κόρη. Μάρκου.

Inc. Ἦκουσιν ἐν νεφέλαις οἱ θεῖοι μυσταγωγοί, τοῦ τῆς χάριτος λόγου.

Des. Τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν ἔχομεν τῶν σῶν, ρῦσαι δεόμεθα, τὴν σὴν ποιμνην τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς.

VI. Κανὼν ἕκτος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Τὴν τοῦ γένους σώτειραν εὐρύθμως ᾄδω. Μάρκος.

Inc. Τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης συντρέχουσιν ἄκρα πρὸς μίαν σύμπνοιαν καὶ διὰ σοῦ τὸν Θεόν.

Des. Μεσίτης γὰρ ἡμῶν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ πρέσβις ὑπάρχεις ἄπαυστος.

VII. Κανὼν ἑβδομος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Ἐτι προσαιδῶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν μητέρα. Ὁ Μάρκος.

Inc. Ἐχουσα τῆς σοφίας, τὸν χορηγὸν πειθαρχοῦντα, ταῖς σαῖς παρακλήσεσιν, υἱοπρεπῶς χορήγησον.

Des. Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀπολιόρκτητον ταῖς τῆς μητρὸς σου εὐχαῖς.

VIII. Κανὼν ὄγδοος, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Ἐσχατος ὕμνος τῆ πανυμνήτῳ γέρας. Μάρκος.

Inc. Ἐκ τῶν περάτων θεαρχίῳ νεύματι, συναθροισθέντες εἰς ἓν, οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ μύσται.

Des. Λιθομαρμαρόχρυσια ἱερά, κειμήλια καὶ σκεύη. Μεγάλη σου ἡ δόξα ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ, Θεόνυμφε.

Editions:

1. Oeconomus, *Anecdota*, pp. 89-132.
2. Eustratiadis, *Theot.*, pp. 100-103, 224-227, 331-335.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 199-227.

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 324, ff. 46^v-71^v.

Saec. XVII

Athiniensis (Benakeion) 292, ff. 1-48.

Athous Iberiticus 4642 (522), ff.

Athous Vatopedinus 1039 ff. 1-

Saec. XVIII

Athiniensis (Gennadios), ff. 1-35^v.

Athous Dionysianus 697, ff..

Athous Iberiticus 2052 (6), ff. 1-

Athous Koutloumousianus 62, ff. 58-110.

Athous Xeropotaminus 2584 (251), ff. 197-216.

Kalaurytensis (Leukasio) 2, ff. 9^v-13^v (a part of this work).

Mega Spelaion 84, ff. 1-

The first manuscript from Kyriazis's Library has not yet been catalogued.

Saec. XIX

Athous Iberiticus 2053 (7), ff.

Athous Lavrentinus 2022 (55), ff.

Athous Panteleemonensis 6241 (734), ff. 145-

Athous Panteleemonensis 6370 (863), ff.

Athous Panteleemonensis 6372 (865), ff.

Athous Vatopedinus 1030, ff. 1-

Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis 40, ff. 1-28^v.

Saec. XX

Athous Kausokalyvitanus 140 (54), ff. 1-43.

Undated:

Andrianopolitanus 12, ff.

The edition of Oeconomos is an uncritical one and is based on the now burned manuscript of the monastery of Mega Spelaion. We managed to find a copy of this book in the library of the Athonite Monastery of Xero-

potamou.

Eustratiadis edited only the first three canons from two manuscripts of Mount Athos and took into account Oeconomos's edition. However, both editions are inadequate. Eustratiadis's edition is better than that of Oeconomos.

St. Nikodemos Hagioritis, the famous 18th century intellectual monk, published in his book *Στέφανος τῆς ἀειπαρθένου, ἤτοι Θεοτοκάριον νέον, ποικίλον καὶ ὠραιότατον ὀκτώηχον περιέχον ἐξήκοντα δύο κανόνας πρὸς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον, μελουργηθέντα ὑπὸ εἰκοσιδύω ἱερῶν καὶ θεσπεσίων μελωδῶν*, (Venice, 1796) pp. 119- , a canon which he attributed to Markos Eugenikos. Kerameus, Mamoni, Tomadakis and Bulovič accept this canon as one of the eight composed by Markos. But after examination we discovered that this canon does not belong to Markos.

Oeconomos in his book *Τὰ σωζόμενα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ συγγράμματα*, I, (Athens, 1862), pp. 561-562 says that this work was written by Markos after 1442. He based his assumption on internal evidence and particularly on the references in some hymns to an outbreak of a plague and scorching weather which Oeconomos says occurred in 1446, i.e. after the death of Markos! We think that Markos composed this work when he was still a monk and this assumption is supported by the ἀκροστιχίς of the first canon which is contained in the manuscript Vindobonensis theol. gr. 324 which reads «Ἀπάρχομαι τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, Κόρη. Μάρκου». If Markos was a hieromonk at that time, when he wrote it - the possibility that he wrote it when he was a bishop is excluded - he would have mentioned it in the ἀκροστιχίς as he did in other cases.

13. Στίχοι ἱαμβικοὶ εἰς τὴν Ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον

Inc. Ἡ τῶν χερουβιμ ὑπερανωκισμένη καὶ τῶν Σεραφίμ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν πυρφόρων.

Des. Καὶ τοῦτον οἰκεῖν ἀξιοῦσα τὸν δρόμον, ἀφ' ἐστίας, ὃ φασιν, ἡμᾶς εὐλόγει.

Editions:

Karmiris, *E*, 32 (Athens, 1955), 17.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis, 386, f. 60^v.

This is probably an early work of Markos which he had penned when he returned to Constantinople from the island of Antigone. This assumption is, we think, strengthened by the invocation of Markos in the last but

one verse «Καὶ τοῦτον οἰκεῖν ἀξιοῦσα τὸν δόμον».

14. *Εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ὀνούφριον*

Inc. Τὴν τῶν καλῶν γύμνωσιν ἠμφιεσμένον.

Des. Δεῖξας με γυμνὸν τῶν παθῶν τῆς αἰσχύνης.

Editions:

Karmiris, *op. cit.*, 17.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis, 386, f. 60^v.

It was probably, again, set to paper when Markos was a monk and was calling upon the great ascetic father Onouphrios «Δεῖξας με γυμνὸν τῶν παθῶν τῆς αἰσχύνης».

15. *Στίχοι θρηνητικοὶ εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Μαγγάνων ἀψίδας*

Inc. Ἀψίδας εὐπαγέας χρόνος ἐνθάδε λῦσε παλαιός, ἀλλὰ ρ' αὐτὰς ἀνέγειρε διαπρεπέως ἀραρυίας.

Des. Βασιλέα σὸν Ἰωάννην ἐρίτιμον ξὺν Μαρίῃ βασιλίδι θεόφρονι πορφυροβλάστῳ.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, 572. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 85.

Kerameus's edition is very bad, though the editors of the journal tried to correct it, but apparently without success. Kerameus, *DIEE* (Athens, 1885), 681-682, corrected some mistakes of other poems but he did not touch the poem under discussion.

Mamoni reedited this poem and corrected the mistakes of the previous edition.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 45^v.

Markos wrote this poem to thank the Emperor John VIII Palaeologos who built the arches of the monastery of Mangana which «χρόνος ἐνθάδε λῦσε παλαιός». The poem is full of Homeric words and it belongs most probably to the early works of Markos which he completed when he was a monk.

16. *Εἰς τὸν δσιον Μάρκον τὸν ἀσκητὴν*

Inc. Τὸν Μάρκον ἄλλον Μάρκον ἢ θεία χάρις εὐαγγελιστὴν ἐν μονασταῖς

δεικνύει.

Des. Τῶν ἀρετῶν πρόθυμος ὑπῆν ἐργάτης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐτράνωσεν ἐνθέοις λόγοις.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
2. Lampros, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
3. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 572. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 86.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 46.

Saec. XVI

Mosquensis 424 (Vladimir), f. 180.

Lampros published this work as a work of Scholarios.

Mamoni published Kerameus's edition.

Markos composed also a liturgical office in honour of the great ascetic father Markos the Athenian.

We think that this work was written when Markos was still a monk.

17. Στίχοι εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ κυροῦ Μακαρίου μοναχοῦ ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ξανθοπούλων

Inc. Ὁ μὲν πολὺς ἄνθρωπος οἶεται τάφοις μετὰ τελευτήν.

Des. Ἦν ἐκ νέου σύνοικον ἔσχε καὶ φίλην φερωνύμως ἄρα γε μακαριστέος.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 573. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 86.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 79.

Mamoni's edition is identical to that of Kerameus .

We do not know anything, apart from the few items of information which are given in this work by Markos, about the monk Makarios who lived in the monastery of Xanthopouloi. It is likely that he was an uneducated but holy monk whose death was not recorded by any historian of that time, so we have no knowledge when this poem was written. We do not agree with Dr David Balfour, *Symeon*, pp. 284-285, who says that this epigram was composed by Markos Eugenikos the melodist. But he is right not only to doubt but to reject any suggestion that this epigram was composed for the tomb-stone of the hieromonk and confessor of the Emperor Manuel II, Makarios of the Xanthopouloi.

18. *Ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τάφον τοῦ κυροῦ Μακαρίου μοναχοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Χάλκη*

Inc. Νήσῳ ἐνὶ κραναῇ, τῇ Χάλκην οὔνομα ἔθεντο.

Des. Τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Μακάριος ἐτήτυμον οὔνομα λάχειν.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 574. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 87.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 80.

Mamoni published Kerameus's edition.

Again we do not know more about this second Makarios except that he was a holy monk who spent his monastic life in the island of Chalkis. Hence we cannot date this work with any accuracy.

19. *Στίχοι εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀντίπαν*

Inc. Τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν τοὺς ὀδόντας συντρίβειν, βρῶσιν λογικὴν.

Des. Ὁ καλλιμάρτυς Ἀντίπας ἔχει γέρας τοὺς συντριβέντας ἰατρεύειν ἀλύπως.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 574. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 88.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 80^v.

Mamoni published Kerameus's edition without any alterations.

We think that Markos wrote this poem when he was still a monk.

20. *Στίχοι εἰς εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοδοσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγιώτατον πατριάρχην κυρὸν Ἰωσήφ, θεραπευόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας, ἐπιφανείση σὺν ἀγγέλῳ καθ' ὕπνου*

Inc. Ὁ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἰθύνων πόλιν ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι ποιμὴν ποιμένων.

Des. Ὁ δ' ἐξαναστάς αὐτίκα ῥωμαλέως ὤφθη βαδίζων ὁ προτοῦ σχεδὸν λίθος.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 575. Mamoni, *Markos*, pp. 88-89.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 81.

Mamoni published Kerameus's edition.

Markos wrote four short works to honour St. Theodosia who cured Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople.

21. Ἐτεροι (στίχοι εἰς εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοδοσίαν)

Inc. Οὕτως ἐφάνη κατ' ὄναρ ὡς ἐγράφη, τὴν τῶν ποδῶν ἴασιν.

Des. Μακρὰν ὀδύνην ἀπελαύνει τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὰ μέλη ῥώννυσι τὰ παρειμένα.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 575. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 89.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f...

Mamoni reedited this work from the edition of Kerameus.

It was most probably written when Markos was a monk.

22. Στίχοι εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ εἰς τὴν στήλην τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ προφυρογεννήτου· Εἰς τὴν πύλην τῆς Κορίνθου

Inc. Ἄστεος τήνδε πύλην ἄθρει μοι ξένη, ἦν ποτε, φεῦ τῆς τροχαλοπεπρωμένης.

Des. Σκόπει τε λοιπὸν ὅσον οὗτος ἐν βίῳ λαμπρὸν ἀπηνέγκατο πάμμεγα κλέος.

Editions:

Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-444.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XVI

Monacensis 13, f. 71.

We have no other indication to show that this work belongs to Markos apart from the title which reads: Μάρκου μοναχοῦ, στίχοι εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον etc. From this reference Prof. Lampros thought that the work was most probably from the pen of Markos.

Prof. Oeconomidis, *AP*, 19 (Athens, 1954), 369 quotes Lampros's acceptance of this composition as belonging to Markos, without raising any objections.

We think that we can safely include it among the writings of the Metropolitan of Ephesos. It is interesting also to note that Markos's brother John wrote an encomium for the city of Corinth.

There is no internal evidence which will help us to date this work with any precision, but it was probably produced when Markos was a monk.

23. *Στιχηρὰ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν Παλαμᾶν*

Inc. Ὁ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός ἡγιασμένος, ὅτε τὸν ἐπίκηρον βίον κατέλιπες.

Des. Τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπόθησας βλέπων, ἧς τυχεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς πρέσβευε.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 580 (1983), 3.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV-XV

Monacensis 256, ff. 42-44.

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 140^v-142.

Markos, probably, composed these hymns when he was a monk.

24. *Κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα Ἰάκωβον τὸν Πέρσην, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς αὐτῆ· Τὸν Πέρσην Ἰάκωβον ἐν ἤσμασι τοῖσδε λιγαίνω*

Inc. Τὸν ἄφθαρτον στέφανον ὃν ὁ Δεσπότης ἠτοίμασε τοῖς σοῖς ἀριστεύμασι.

Des. Προσφερόμενον ὡς ἐξ εὐτελοῦς διανοίας ὕμνον ἀποδεξαμένη, σῶζε ἡμᾶς τῶν δεινῶν.

Editions:

Hannick, *Stud.*, pp. 105-110.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 191-196.

Undated

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 186, ff. 151^v-160.

Hannick's edition is very good.

John Eugenikos composed also a canon to St. Jacob the Persian which was published by Hannick.

From the title we learn that Markos composed this work when he was a hieromonk.

25. *Περὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων τῇ θεῖα εὐχῇ ῥημάτων ἢ τοῦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ Γιὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησον με*

Inc. Ὅση μὲν ἡ τῆς εὐχῆς δύναμις καὶ οἷα δωρεῖται τοῖς κεκρημένοις.

Des. Οἷς ἢ διὰ χρόνου μελέτη καὶ ἀσκησις ἔδωκε τοῦτο, διαβατικοῖς γενομέ-

vois καὶ Θεῷ πλησιάσασιν.

Editions:

Bulovič, *Kl*, 17 (Thessaloniki, 1979), 345-351.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 1-9.

Monacensis 256, ff. 304-

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 94^v-97^v.

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana, 452, pp. 878-884.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 942^v-946^v and 956^v.

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 166-168.

Oxoniensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 25-29^v.

Bulovič's edition is a critical one and it is based on three manuscripts. Bulovič also translated this work into Serbian and published it in *Teoloski Pogledi*, 1-2 (Belgrade, 1974), 89-93.

The editors of *Φιλοκαλία*, (Venice, 1782), cc 1163-1167, published this work translated into Modern Greek, but under the heading of «An unknown saint's marvellous speech».

There is no internal evidence as to when it was written, but we think that Markos wrote this work when he was a hieromonk.

26. Ἐφραῖμ ὁσία

Inc. Καὶ νεκρόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν συγκινοῦντα.

Des. Ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ παρεστὼς διωπνίζει καὶ τῶν παρόντων αἰσθέσθαι ποιεῖ.

Editions:

1. Kayser, *Philos*, pp. 142-154.

2. Allatius, *Octava Syn.*, pp. 544-545.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 115-118.

Guelferbytanus Gudiani gr. 82, ff. 158-160.

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 21.4, ff. 131-

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 74.13, ff. 223-224.

Parisinus gr. 1295, ff. 101-103^v.

Urbinas 134, ff. 164-165.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 131-

Kayser published an uncritical edition of the text which, however, he enriched with a carefully made apparatus fontes. The edition is based on the manuscript Guelferbytanus Gudiani gr. 82.

Allatius quoted some lines from this oratorical exercise with a Latin translation. He omitted, however, the correct title, naming it «Ecphrasis animam agentis». Diamantopoulos, *Markos*, p. 268 made the same mistake, following Allatius, and translated the Latin title into Greek as «Ἐκφρασις τῆς διαθέσεως».

Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.*, p. 495, followed by Martin, *Ephraim*, 217-218, attributed wrongly this work to John Eugenikos.

Muñoz, *Le ἐκφράσεις*, pp. 139-142 translated this work into Italian, in an article dealing with the *Ἐκφράσεις*. He thinks that Markos, when he was writing this *ἐκφράσις*, had before him an icon of the funeral of St. Ephraem the Syrian. He supports his view by comparing a small icon, made by John Zanfurnari showing St. Ephraem's funeral, with the *ἐκφράσις* of Markos. He also says that Markos described a larger icon since there are many details. Martin, *op. cit.*, 217-218) wrote that the author followed the pattern of ancient writings such as the Imagines of Philostratos. This oratorical exercise is a highly vivid and excellent description of an icon which shows the scene of St. Ephraim's burial.

From the manuscript Urbinas 134, we learn that Markos wrote it when he was a hieromonk, probably before 1430.

27. Μάρτυρες στεφανῖται

Inc. Χαρίεν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀγωνιζομένους τουτοσί τοὺς ὀπίτας.

Des. Ἐπ' αὐτῷ γέγραφεν ἵνα μήποτ' αὐτῷ θεατῆς ἐπιλίπη.

Editions:

Kayser, *Philos.*, pp. 154-163.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 115-118.

Guelferbytanus Gudiani gr. 82, ff. 161-163.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 99-101.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 131-

An uncritical edition of the text with a very rich apparatus fontes. Again Markos describes with success an icon which shows a group of martyrs. There is no internal evidence to date this work, but like the previous one it was probably written when Markos was a hieromonk.

28. *Τῇ Θεοῦ μητρὶ προσφωνηματικὴ ἔκφρασις*

Inc. Ὡ Θεοῦ μητερ, πότερον ἐπίτηδες σοι τὸ σιγᾶν, ἔμπρους πάντη τᾶλλα δοκοῦσα.

Des. Τῷ παιδί βούλεσθαι διαλέξασθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑποχωρεῖν ἤδη πείθει καὶ σιγᾶν ἐξῆς.

Editions:

Boissonade, *Anecdota*, pp. 335-340.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Parisinus gr. 2075, ff. 184-.

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 936-944.

The edition is based on one manuscript and was published as a work of John Eugenikos. This work belongs to the rhetorical works known as *ἐκφράσεις*. Markos describes most vividly an icon of the Mother of God bearing in her arms her son. Mary addresses her son in a very moving way and Jesus replies to his mother. It is strange that no scholar who wrote on Markos managed to find out that this work was published more than a century ago. All the scholars include this work among the unpublished works of the Metropolitan of Ephesos.

We disagree with Yioblakis, *Eugenikos*, p. 115, who includes this work among the dubious ones of John Eugenikos. Markos has paraphrased three lines from two short Marian poems of the ecclesiastical writer Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. See Papadopoulos - Kerameus in *BZ*, 11(1902), 46.

He wrote this work probably when he was a hieromonk.

29. *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως*

Inc. Τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως δόγμα παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησιν οὐδενὸς ἠξίωτο λόγου.

Des. Ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

Schmemmann, *Th*, 22 (1951), 52-60, *Pensée Orthodoxe*, 9 (1951), 137-154 and *GP*, 23 (Thessaloniki, 1951), 34-43, 230-241.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 101-108.

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 47-52^v.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 67-75.

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, ff. 127-130.

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 853-872.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 437-447.

Monacensis 29, ff. 165-170.

Oxonensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 64^v-73^v and part in ff. 196^v-204^v.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 249^v-253.

Shmemann's edition is based on the manuscripts Parisinus gr. 1292 and Athiniensis 2972. There is a very brief but clear introduction and at the end a most interesting chapter in which Prof. Shmemann tries to identify the person or persons against whom Markos composed the work. Since the neopagans were the people who disputed the immortality of the body, Shmemann thinks that Gemistos Plethon was among them. He also states that Markos adopts a Palamite terminology in these pages.

We agree with Shmemann that the Metropolitan of Ephesos is attacking probably the neoplatonic doctrines represented and presented at that time by the philosopher Plethon and his followers who «'Ανθρωπίνοις ἐπόμενοι λογισμοῖς οὐ φασι δυνατόν εἶναι τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ εὐπρεπές, οὔτε μὴν ὅλως ἐν χρεία τὸ σεσηπὸς τοῦτο καὶ διεφθαρμένον ἀναβιώσκεσθαι» (*Th.*, op. cit., 53).

Since the existing edition is based on two manuscripts of which the Athiniensis 2972 is full of mistakes, a new edition is needed to take into account all the manuscripts. Mgr Petit mentions only four manuscripts containing this work (*DTC*, 9 II, 1978).

There is no indication about the date at which it was written but we think that Markos compiled it when he was a hieromonk.

30. Ἐξήγησις τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας

Inc. Ἔδει μὲν κατὰ τὴν κελεύουσαν ἐντολὴν ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι.

Des. Καὶ μεγαλύνειν σὺν αὐτῇ τὸν Κύριον, εὐχαριστεῖν τε ἀξίως τῆς τηλικαύτης χάριτος.

Editions:

1. Dositheos, *Symeon*, pp. 379-391.

2. Migne, *PG* 160, 1164-1200.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 55-69^v and 113-135^v (part of this work).

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 455^v-466.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4408 (288), ff. 219^v-229.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 842-843 (part of this work).

Mosquensis 244 (Vladimir), ff. 5-12.

Oxoniensis Holkham 78(115), ff. 30-52.

Parisinus gr. 1389, ff. 290-310.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Britannicus (Londinensis) add. 18, 190, ff. 192-199.

Saec. XVII

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 50, ff. 2-22.

Bucharest Academia Romana 205, ff. 110-125.

Dositheos published an uncritical edition of the text. Migne republished Dositheos's edition with a Latin translation.

Lampanitziotis, *Symeon*, pp. 446-560 translated Dositheos's edition into Modern Greek. The monk J. Askantharos published Lampanitziotis's translation, *Symeon*, pp. 358-362. Since then more reprints appeared, the most recent in Thessaloniki by B. Regopoulos.

All editions are inadequate and a new edition is needed. Prof. John Phountoulis of Thessaloniki University is planning to re-edid it.

This work was, again, probably written by Markos, and delivered as a speech, when he was a hieromonk.

31. *Εἰς τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητόν· "Ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν"*

Inc. Τρεῖς ἐμφαίνει τὰς ἀτοπίας τὸ ἀποστολικὸν τοῦτο ῥητόν.

Des. Οἶον τὸ μὴ ἐκ συνουσίας, τὸ χωρὶς ἀμαρτίας, τὸ μὴ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Editions:

Vatopedinos, *S*, 13 (Athens, 1890), 65-71.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 77-82.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 62-66^v.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 405-410^v.

Oxoniensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 59-64^v.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 238-240.

An uncritical edition based on the manuscript Vatopedinus 478. The

editor adds an apparatus fontes and comments of the content of the text. He stresses the fact that Markos uses Greek philosophy, in this work, and particularly Aristotle and Plotinus to dissolve all the objections which are raised against this apostolic saying. However this work must be edited again taking into account all the manuscripts, and be commented on more carefully.

There is no internal evidence as to when it was written but probably Markos wrote and delivered this sermon when he was a hieromonk.

32. *Περὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ Πνεύματος*

Inc. Οἱ καρποὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰρηνται μὲν διὰ τὸ δηλωτικὸν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Des. Ὁ Θεός, ἡ κορυφή καὶ τελειότης τῶν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

Vatopedinos, *op. cit.*, 341-342.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, f. 108.

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 54^v-55.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 98-98^v.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 447-448.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), f. 944.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, f. 253.

Saec. XVII

Mosquensis 44 (Vladimir), ff. 114-115.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Panteleemonensis 5846 (339), ff. 105^v-107^v.

Again it is an uncritical edition of the text based on the manuscript Vatopedinus 478. This short sermon explains the Pauline verse «Ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη, χαρὰ, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρησιμότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραότης, ἐγκράτεια» (Ga 5,22). "Markos", Vatopedinos states, "based his explanation on the commentary of Zigabenos on the Epistle to the Galatans". This short sermon was probably written and delivered by Markos when he was a hieromonk.

33. *Κεφάλαια παραινετικά πάνυ ωφέλιμα*

Inc. Σπούδαζε όταν σὲ ἔρχωνται λογισμοὶ πονηροὶ εὐθέως δι' ἐξαγορεύσεως τούτους διώκειν.

Des. Οὐχὶ ἄνθος καὶ χόρτος; οὐ ρεῦμα καὶ παραρρέον καὶ διήγημα καὶ μῦθος;

Editions:

1. Norov, *Anecdota*, pp. 44-53.

2. *S*, 15 (1892), 314.

3. *EA*, 16 (1896), 248.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Parisinus suppl. gr. 64, ff. 45^v-47^v.

Norov published an uncritical edition with a Russian translation.

Soter and *Ekklesiastiki Alethia* published chapters 17-21 from Norov's edition.

Oeconomos in his book «*Βίος Γρηγορίου μητροπολίτου Εἰρηνοπόλεως καὶ Βατοπεδίου*», (Athens, 1881), p. 70, suggested seven corrections of Norov's edition with which we fully agree.

This work was again probably written when Markos was a hieromonk.

34. *Λύσεις ἀποριῶν*

I. Inc. Ἀπορία· Εἰ αἱ Σοδόμων πόλεις Τύριοί τε καὶ Σιδώνιοι, δυνάμεις ἰδόντες μετενόησαν ἄν.

Des. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν οικείων ἡμῖν καὶ συνήθων φωνῶν ἡ γραφή πολλοῦ διαλέγεται καὶ οὕτω τὰ κατάλληλα ἐπιτίθησι φάρμακα.

II. Inc. Ἀπορία· Πολλὴν τινα δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμοι τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν εὐρυχωρίαν τεμεῖν.

Des. Πρὸς τε τὰ παρόντα εὐδαιμονήσομεν καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς ἔξομεν.

III. Inc. Ἀπορία· Εἰ καὶ ἡ σμικροτάτη πίστις, ὡς ἰσομεγέθης εἶναι κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὄρη μεθίστησι.

Des. Καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ἄρμασιν, ὁ λεγῶν δὲ ὕστερον δισχιλίους χοίρους συμπαραλαβὼν ἐποντώθησαν.

IV. Inc. Ἀπορία· Εἰ διὰ τὸ αὐτοκίνητον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀθάνατος εἶναι δείκνυται.

Des. Μόνη ἄρα ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ λογικὴ ψυχὴ αὐτοκίνητός τε καὶ ἀεικίνητος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀφθαρτος.

Editions:

1. M. Evangelidis, *Εικοσιπενταετηρίς τῆς Καθηγεσίας Κωνσταντίνου Σ. Κόντου*, (Athens, 1893), pp. 387-397.
2. N. Politis, *EEBS*, 37 (1969-1970), 343-364.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 98-101 (part of this work).

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 71-75 (part of this work).

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 82^v-94^v.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 421-437.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 843 (part of this work).

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 84-85 (part of this work).

Oxoniensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 81^v-95.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 243^v-249^v (part of this work).

Saec. XVIII

Athous Panteleemonensis 5846 (339), f. 75^v (part of this work).

Evangelidis published only an uncritical edition of part four, made from a copy of the Athous Vatopedinus 478. There is a good introduction on this ethico-philosophical work. However the title given «Λύσις τῆς ἀπορίας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰωάννου Παλαιολόγου» is wrong since none of the nine existing manuscripts describe it in these terms. Thus the two manuscripts, Parisinus gr. 1292 and Athiniensis 297, which contain all the questions have this question as number four of the ἀπορίαι. Unfortunately none of the scholars who have compiled catalogues of the works of Markos, corrected this mistake.

Politis made a very good critical edition of the first three questions from four manuscripts, with a brief introduction, comments and apparatus fontes. But he also fails to correct Evangelidis's mistake.

This work was probably again written when the Metropolitan of Ephesos was a hieromonk at Mangana.

35. Πρὸς Ἰσιδώρον ἱερομόναχον περὶ ὄρων ζωῆς αἰτήσαντα

Inc. Οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἠπόρεις, ὦ μακάριε δέσποτα, τοῦ ζητουμένου τὴν λύσιν ἐξευρεῖν.

Des. Τὸ δὲ τῇ νῦν ἐνοχλοῦση μάλιστα ἀσθενεῖα, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ταῦτα μόλις εἰπεῖν καὶ συντάξαι συγκεχωρήμεθα.

Editions:

1. Boissonade, *Anecdota*, pp. 349-362.

2. Migne, *PG* 160, 1193-1200.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athiniensis (Voulis) 229, ff. 1-4.

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 33-45.

Parisinus gr. 963, ff. 313^v-

Parisinus gr. 2075, ff. 237-

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, ff. 130^v-134^v.

Saec. XV-XVI

Philippicus 1483 (now Berolinensis 79), ff. 80^v-85^v.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4449 (329), f. 174 (a part of this work).

Bucharest Academia Romana 262, ff. 380-388.

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 145-149.

Saec. XVII

Athiniensis (Benakeion) 272, ff. 213-215 (a part of this work).

Athous Panteleemonensis 5775 (268), ff. 87-

Saec. XVIII

Ancyranus (Bibl. Soc. Turgue Histoire) 71, ff. 269-272^v.

Athous Esphigmenou 2108 (95), ff.

Athous Lavrentinus 1866-Ω-56, ff. 285-

Saec. IXX

Athiniensis (Benakeion) 30, ff. 94-97^v.

Boissonade's edition is a critical one with an apparatus fontes and it was based on three manuscripts. Migne published Boissonade's edition.

Markos in this work answers a question put to him by the hieromonk Isidoros, abbot of the monastery of Xanthopouloi (See Balfour, *Symeon*, p. 285) and Patriarch of Constantinople after Gennadios, (Lavriotis-Eustratiadis, *Katalogos*, p. 429). This work caused some controversy. Thus Theophanes of Medeia in his work «Περὶ Προνοίας» (Lavriotis-Eustratiadis, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-430) and Gennadios Scholarios (*PG* 160, 1127) disagree with some views expressed in this work.

Markos wrote this work when he was a hieromonk.

36. *Συναξάριον Συμεῶν Μεταφραστοῦ*

Inc. Ὁ τοὺς βίους ζῶν ἐκφράσας τῶν ἁγίων τοῖς ἁγίοις σύνεστι λιπῶν τὸν βίον.

Des. Τιμώμενόν τε καὶ προσκυνούμενον, ἦτις ἐκ τῶν ὁδηγῶν τὴν ἐπώνυμIAN κεκλήρωται.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.
2. Vasilievskij, *Sinod. Kod.*, pp. 74-75.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff.

Prof. Tomadakis, «Εἰς Συμεῶνα τὸν Μεταφραστήν», *EEBS*, 23 (1953), 120-129, quotes many lines from Kerameus's edition and stresses the difference between Psellos's and Markos's Synaxarion of Symeon. Mamoni and Tomadakis accept that Markos's source of information is the *'Εγκώμιον* of Psellos. However the Synaxarion of Markos gives us more historical information about the life of Symeon than the work of Psellos. Markos wrote this Synaxarion as a part of a service which he composed for St. Symeon.

This work was probably written when Markos was a hieromonk.

37. *Εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ Ἀσάνη κυροῦ Ἰσαακίου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγονῆς ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου*

Inc. Ἄλλὰ τί μοι, βέλτιστε, σωμάτων τύπους καὶ τὴν ἀπαστράπτουσαν ἐκ τούτου χάριν.

Des. Συνιστοροῦσιν οἱ τεκόντες τῷ πάπῳ καὶ προσπαραγράφουσιν ἐν στίχοις τάδε.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.
2. Sakellion, *AEp*, p. 2 (Athens, 1886), 241.
3. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.
4. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 573-574. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 87.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 79.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 1075, ff. 109^v-110.

Kerameus's edition is an uncritical one.

Sakellion again published an uncritical edition of the text but he added some notes on the family of Asan and thinks that this epigram was written for the younger of the two Isaacs who belonged to the Asan family.

Lampros's edition is a critical one based on the surviving manuscripts and the two already mentioned editions. Lampros attributed this work to John Eugenikos. Mamoni published Kerameus's edition with some corrections.

It is very interesting to note that John Eugenikos in his «Ἐπιτάφιος τῷ

αὐθεντοπούλω», Legrand, *DIEE*, I (1883-1884), 455-458, copied many lines from this work, having suffered according to Sakellion, «στιχουργικὴν στείρωσιν».

Markos wrote this epigram in 1429, the year of Isaac's death. See *PLP*, 1-2, (Vienna, 1976), p. 139.

38. *Περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου*

Inc. Οὐχ ἤκιστα μέντοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καιροῦ, καθ' ὃν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θεωρημάτων.

Des. Ἐνίστατο μὴ τὰ ἐκείνων δήπου φρονῶν· παρανομίας γὰρ ταύτη ποιῶν ἐάλω ἂν τῆς ἐσχάτης.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 564; 565 (1983).

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athiniensis (Voulis) 289, ff. 52-55^v.

The edition is enriched with an apparatus fontes and a short introduction.

Markos wrote this work when he was a hieromonk.

39. *Τροπάρια εἰς τὸν μέγαν προφήτην Ἡλίαν*
(Στιχηρὰ)

Inc. Ὁ ἐν πυρίνῳ τεθρίπῳ διανύσας τὴν ξένην καὶ ἄτρεπτον ἀνθρώποις, ἄνοδον.

Des. Ἐνδοξε, τῷ δεσπότῃ πρεσβεύων τοῦ σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 567 (1983), 1.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 196^v.

Saec. XV-XVI

Oxoniensis Baroccianus 145, f. 110.

Saec. XVI

Querinus A. III. 3, ff. 52-

Oxoniensis Miscellaneus 242, f. 267.

These hymns are part of an unpublished liturgical office composed by Markos for St. Elias the prophet. This edition is based on the manuscript Oxoniensis Miscellaneus 242, which contains only the edited hymns.

Markos composed this acolouthia when he was a hieromonk.

40. Στίχοι εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ διδασκάλου κυροῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Χαρσιανίτου.

Inc. Οὐδέν τε καινὸν εἰ σιγᾷ κωφὸς λίθος τὴν ἔνθεον σάλπιγγα σιγῶσα φέρων.

Des. Μέμνησο καὶ νῦν τῶν ποθεινῶν σου τέκνων, Θεῶ παρεστῶς τῇ μεγάλῃ Τριάδι.

Editions:

1. Bryennios, 3 (1784), pp. 17-18.
2. Eustratiadis, *EPh*, 2 (1908), 17.
3. Kalogeras, *Markos*, p. 8.
4. Tomadakis, *Bryennios*, pp. 11-12.
5. Basileiadis, *Markos*, p. 45.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 19, f. 45

Vindobonensis philol. gr. 195, f. 179.

Saec. XVI

Mosquensis 414 (Vladimir), ff. 255-256.

Eustratiadis edited this epigram, ignoring the edition of Boulgaris, as an unpublished work of Markos which was written for the Patriarch Joseph the second of Constantinople! S. Reggos (*EPh*, op. cit., 17) corrected Eustratiadis and rightly pointed out that the epigram was composed for Joseph Bryennios. Kalogeras, Tomadakis and Basileiadis published Boulgaris's edition. Kalogeras and Basileiadis did not publish the whole epigram in their books. Boulgaris edited the epigram from the manuscript Mosquensis 414 while Eustratiadis from Vindobonensis gr. 195. The first manuscript contains three more verses than the second one and the verse no 10 is different from that of the second manuscript. All the editions are uncritical. A new edition is therefore needed.

This epigram was written either in 1430 or 1431 by Markos.

41. Στίχοι ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς Ἰωσήφ τὸν Βρυέννιον

Inc. Ἐνθάδε θεῖον Ἰωσήφ γαῖα κάλυψε θανόντα.

Des. Τοῦ γε θεηγορήσι λαίνετο πείρατα γαίης.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, op. cit., p. 102.
2. Mamoni, *Th*, op. cit., 571. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 85.
3. Tomadakis, *Ath*, 57 (1953), 61, note 4.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 45.

Vindobonensis philol. gr. 195, f. 179.

Saec. XVI

Mosquensis 414 (Vladimir), ff. 255-256.

Mamoni and Tomadakis published Kerameus's edition. This work was again written either in 1430 or 1431 by Markos.

42. Στίχοι εἰς τάφον κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Λεοντάρη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Πέτρας

Inc. Ζητεῖς θεατά, τὸν μέγαν Λεοντάρην, ἐκεῖνον αὐτόν, οὗ βλέπεις τὴν εἰκόνα;

Des. Γέρας τὸ λαμπρὸν μνήμα τουτί λαμβάνει, τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄληστον ὡς γέρας ἔχων.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

2. Sakellion, *AEp*, *op. cit.*, 239.

3. Lampros, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

4. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 574. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 88.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 79.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 1075, f. 109.

Sakellion added in his edition some notes about General Leontaris's renowned military career.

Lampros attributed this work to John Eugenikos. His edition is based on the two manuscripts and on the two previous editions.

Mamoni published Kerameus's edition with some minor corrections.

Markos wrote this epigram in 1431, the year of Leontaris's death. See *PLP*, 5-6, (1981), p. 162.

43. Ἴτεροι ἡρωϊκοὶ

Inc. Ἐνθάδε κάλλιπε σῶμα ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀπαίρων κόσμου παμμέδοντος ἐὺς θεράπων.

Des. Ἀγγελικοῖς τε χοροῖσι σύνεστι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσθλοῖς, ἄφθιτον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα διηγεκέως βεβαιῶσιν.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 574-575. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 88.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 79.

Mamoni published Papadopoulos's edition with some minor corrections.

We learn from the epigram that General Leontaris, at the end of his successful career, entered the famous monastery of Petra and became a monk taking the monastic name Daniel. See *PLP*, op. cit., p. 162.

This epigram was again written by Markos in 1431.

44. *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικά κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν περὶ διακρίσεως θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας*

Inc. Εἰ ταῦτόν ἐστι Θεοῦ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια τὰ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἔσται.

Des. Οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν μυστηρίων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιφοιτᾷ τοῖς κατὰ τῷ βίῳ κεκαθαρμένοις.

Editions:

1. Argentis, *Rant.*, pp. 221-227.
2. Pissideios, *Rant.*, pp. 221-229.
3. Gass, *Mystic*, pp. 217-232.
4. Jugie, *TDCO*, pp. 102-103.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Iberiticus 4765 (645), ff. 84^v-93^v.

Mega Spelaion 48, ff. 65^v-73^v.

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49, ff. 92-101.

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 279, ff. 1-11.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 614-621.

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 252, ff. 440-443^v.

Mosquensis 249 (Vladimir), ff. 231-233 (part of this work).

Saec. XVII

Athous Panteleemonensis 2775 (268), ff. 77-87.

Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis 68, ff. 1-.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Lavrentinus 1931 - Ω - 119, ff. 131-

Athiniensis (Kolyva) 127, ff. 147-15.

Nausianus 9, ff. 1-28. . . .

Argentis's edition is an uncritical one and badly prepared.

Pissideios published Argentis's edition. Gass's edition, again, is an uncritical one but with an apparatus fontes.

Jugie edited only a chapter, which is missing from the two previous editions, from the manuscript Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49. He also translated it into Latin.

Contos, K. in his doctoral thesis «*Saint Gregory Palamas with a critical text of the Contra Acindynum*», (Los Angeles, 1963), p. 76, translated chapter three into English.

Markos wrote this work probably with the two antirrhetics against Manuel Calecas in the 1430s.

45. *Ταμβοί εἰς τάφον τοῦ μακαρίτου κυροῦ Μακαρίου τοῦ Κορώνα*

Inc. Ὁ πάντα κινῶν καὶ μεταφέρων χρόνος ἔκρυσσε καὶ νῦν τὸν φαινὸν ἀστέρα.

Des. Ἔργοις τε καὶ δόγμασιν ὀρθοδοξίας, ὄλος πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν ἠγλαϊσμένος.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

2. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 572. Mamoni, *Markos*, pp. 85-86.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 46.

Mamoni again published Kerameus's edition with some corrections.

Markos composed this epigram between 1431-1436. Koronas could not have died in 1445 (*PLP*, 6-7, p. 47), otherwise Markos (+ 1444) could not have written this epigram.

46. *Τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ*

Inc. Τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ μου δεσπότη καὶ θειοτάτῳ καὶ πανιερωτάτῳ μητροπολίτῃ Κιέβου.

Des. Φωστήρων τῆς οἰκουμένης καταριθμήσαι τοῖς ἀκηράτοις στεφάνοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνδιαπρέποντα.

Editions:

Mercati, *Isidoro*, pp. 154-156.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV-XV

Vaticanus gr. 706, ff. 182-183^v.

We agree with Mercati and Petit who include this letter among the works of the Metropolitan of Ephesos. Markos wrote it to congratulate hieromonk Isidoros on his becoming Metropolitan of Kiev and Russia. The advice given to the new primate «*Τῆρει τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς νόμους ἀπαρεγκλίτους ἅτε προβεβλημένος αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος*», can only have come

from Markos's pen.

Markos probably copied the words «εὐξαίμην τοιούτου δέκα» from his teacher Chortasmenos's letter to the Metropolitan of Serrae Matthew (Hunger, *Chort.*, p. 185).

The Metropolitan of Ephesos wrote this letter in 1436, the year of Isidoros's elevation to the Metropolitan See of Kiev.

47. *Ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τάφον κυροῦ Ἐλευθερίου Ἀμοιρούτζη ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι*

Inc. Ποῦ δὲ λόγοι πτερόεντες; ἐς ἡέρα. Ποῦ νεότητος ἄνθος ἐρατεινῆς; διόλωλε.

Des. Αὐτοκασιγνήτων τε γλυκὺς χορὸς ἄγαν ἀπαλῶν ἄφθιτον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα διηνεκέως βεβαῶτες.

Editions:

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
2. Tomadakis, *op. cit.*, 62.
3. Mamoni, *Th*, *op. cit.*, 575. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 89.

Manuscripts:

Saec XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 81^v.

Tomadakis and Mamoni published Kerameus's edition with some corrections.

Cardinal Bessarion wrote heroic verses on the death of Eleutherios Amiroutzes (Tomadakis, *op. cit.*, 60-61). The information given by both Markos and Bessarion about Amiroutzis is the same. Tomadakis, *op. cit.*, 63, thinks that this work was written before 1437, however the *PLP*, 1-2, p. 77, puts the death of Amiroutzes in 1437.

48. *Εὐχὴ περιεκτικὴ εἰς τὴν ζωοποιὸν Τριάδα*

Inc. Ἐθαυμαστώθη ἡ γνῶσις σου ἐξ ἐμοῦ, Τριάς ἀγία καὶ προσκυνητὴ ὑπέριμμε.

Des. Δόξης καὶ θεωρίας ἐμπλησθῆναι εὐδόκησον ὅτι εὐλογητὸς εἶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

1. Politis, *EEBS*, 35 (1966), 223-226.
2. Basileiadis, *Markos*, pp. 48-49.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 24, cod. 13, ff. 239^v-241.

Saec. XVI

Athous Dionysianus 3760 (226), ff. 180^v-182.

Politis's edition is an uncritical one based on the Athous Dionysianus manuscript, with some useful comments.

Basileiadis published some lines from the previous edition.

Both Politis and Basileiadis think that this short prayer was written before the departure of the Greeks to Italy in 1438. Politis based his conclusion on internal evidence and especially on verses 39-40 and 43-44, but according to the Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 24 manusecript, this work was written when Markos was still a hieromonk and so not later than 1437, the year of his elevation to the Metropolitan See of Ephesos.

49. *Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπῃ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης, Μάρκος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν πιστῶν παροικίας*

Inc. Σήμερον τῆς παγκοσμίου χαρᾶς τὰ προοίμοια· σήμερον αἱ νοηταὶ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡλίου.

Des. "Ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

1. Blastos, *Markos*, pp. 44-48; *Dokimion*, pp. 135-140.
2. Diamantopoulos, *Markos*, pp. 82-87.
3. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-270.
4. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 336-341; *Marci Opera*, pp. 28-33.
5. Gill, *AG*, pp. 28-34.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 653 (P 261 sup.), ff. 9^v-11^v.

Parisinus gr. 2075, ff. 327-333.

Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 171, ff. 2^v-6^v.

Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 285, ff. 2^v-4^v.

Saec XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 606-

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri, ff. 431^v-440.

Mosquensis 249 (Vladimir), ff. 221-

Oxonienis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 150^v-154^v.

Parisinus gr. 423, ff. 7^v-9^v.

Parisinus gr. 429, ff. 1^v-5^v.

Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 389, ff. 3^v-

Saec. XVII

Parisinus Suppl. gr. 475, ff. 48-55.

Blastos published an uncritical edition of the text based only on one, now lost, manuscript of the Athonite skete of St. Anne.

Diamantopoulos published Blastos' s edition without mentioning its editor.

Lampros's edition is again an uncritical one.

Petit's edition is the best, with critical notes, an apparatus fontes, comments and a Latin translation. Petit based his edition on three manuscripts and he took into consideration Blastos's edition.

Gill's edition is very good.

Markos wrote this letter at the beginning of 1438 when the Greeks and the Latins held their first discussions.

50. *Ἀντιρήσεις τῶν λατινικῶν κεφαλαίων, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ προέτεινον περὶ τοῦ περκατορίου πυρὸς*

Inc. Ἐπειδὴ μετὰ ἀγάπης ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν εἰρημένα ὀφείλομεν.

Des. Κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκαθαίρειν, ὡς προσδοκωμένης ἐτέρας καθάρσεως.

Editions:

1. *EA*, I (1880), 5-6, 18-19, 34-35, 51.
2. Petit, *PO* 15, pp. 39-60.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 47^v-54.

Athiniensis (Voulis), 289, ff. 11-22^v.

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 1-14.

Oxoniensis Laudianus 22, ff. 1-17^v.

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 7-13.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 3-16.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 896, ff. 193-

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 303^v-321.

Athous Lavrentinus 214. M 113, ff. 1-27 (ff. 2-15 are missing).

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 204, ff. 15-

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 105-110.

Parisinus gr. 1261, ff. 1-13.

Parisinus gr. 1286, ff. 271-283.

Parisinus gr. 1327, ff. 251-258.

Parisinus gr. 1389, ff. 258-268.

Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 403, ff. 1-16.

Vindobonensis philol. gr. 68, ff. 18-54.

Saec. XVI - XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 200-206^v.

Saec. XVII

Ambrosianus 764 (2192 sup.), ff. 1-10.

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 344, ff. 643-655.

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 473, ff. 35-64.

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 595-600.

Napolitanus gr. 40, ff. 1 – (10 lines from the end are missing).

Parisinus Mazar. gr. 19 (2148), ff. 118-

Parisinus Coislin. 289, ff. 1-29.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Esphigmenou 2108 (95), ff. 1-

Bucharest Academia Romana 190, ff. 28-39.

Constantinopolitanus 287, ff. 117^v-

Constantinopolitanus 428, ff. 2-

The first edition is an uncritical one and based on the manuscript Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 344 (35).

Petit made a critical edition of the text, with a Latin translation, based on nine manuscripts and on the previous edition.

Pogodin, *Mark*, pp. 58-73, translated it into Russian. An English translation from Pogodin's book appeared in the *OW*, 79 (California, 1978), 59-65, 87-89.

Markos wrote this work in June 1438.

51. Ἀπολογία πρὸς Λατίνους δευτέρα, ἐν ἧ ἑκτίθησι καὶ τῆς τῶν Γραικῶν Ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν

Inc. Πολλῆς μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρεῦνης δεῖται καὶ συζητήσεως ὅσα τῶν δογμάτων.

Des. Σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Παναγίῳ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

1. *EA*, op. cit, 67-68, 106, 120-121, 135-137, 151-153, 201-202, 217-218, 268-270.

2. Petit, *PO* 15, pp. 108-151 and *De Purg.*, pp. 60-103.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 70^v-85.

Athiniensis (Voulis) 289, ff. 22^v-48.

- Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 15-
 Oxoniensis Laudianus 22, ff. 17^v-55^v.
 Parisinus gr. 218, ff. 17-41.
 Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 16-45.
 Saec. XVI
 Ambrosianus 896, ff. 199-
 Athiniensis 2972, ff. 321-362^v.
 Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 711-
 Athous Lavrentinus 2146. M. 133, ff. 27-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 204, ff. 31^v-
 Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 110-123.
 Parisinus gr. 1261, ff. 13-39^v.
 Parisinus gr. 1286, ff. 283^v-311.
 Parisinus gr. 1389, ff. 268-
 Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 403, ff. 16^v-
 Saec. XVI - XVII
 Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 206^v-222.
 Saec. XVII
 Ambrosianus gr. 764 (2192 sup), ff. 10^v-
 Athiniensis (Benakeion) 272, ff. 438-447 (part of this work).
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 35, ff. 655-
 Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 610-
 Parisinus Coislin. 289, ff. 29-91.
 Saec. XVIII

- Athous Esphigmenou 2108 (95), ff. -
 Bucharest Academia Romana 190, ff. 39-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 428, ff. 25-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 287, ff. -

The first edition is an uncritical one.

Petit's edition is a critical one with a Latin translation. He based his edition on seven manuscripts and took into account the previous edition.

Pogodin, *Mark*, pp. 118-150, translated it into Russian.

An English translation of chapters 3 and 10 appeared in the periodical *OW*, op. cit., 90-91.

This work was written by Markos in June 1438.

52. Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἀπορίας καὶ ἐρωτήσεις ἐπὶ ταῖς ῥηθείσαις ὁμιλίαις παρὰ τῶν καρδινάλιων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λατινικῶν διδασκάλων

Inc. Ἐπειδὴ σαφέστερον ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖτε καὶ καθαρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠρωτημένοις.

Des. Ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μόνον αἰτησαμένῳ τὸν παράδεισον αὐτὸν ὁ μεγαλόδω-
ρος ἐπεδαψιλεύσατο.

Editions:

1. *EA*, op. cit., 270-271, II (1881), 158-162.
2. Petit, *PO* 15, pp. 152-168 and *De Purg.*, pp. 104-120.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

- Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 65^v-70^v.
 Athiniensis (Voulis), ff. 1-11.
 Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 46-
 Oxoniensis Laudianus 22, ff. 55^v-68^v.
 Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 41-50.
 Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 45-56.

Saec. XVI

- Ambrosianus gr. 896, ff. 205-
 Athiniensis 2972, ff. 362^v-378.
 Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 71-
 Athous Lavrentinus 2146. M. 113, ff. 90-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 204, ff. 69-
 Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 123-
 Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 403, ff. 53 - (ff. 67-68 are empty).

Saec. XVI - XVII

- Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 222-228.

Saec. XVII

- Ambrosianus gr. 764 (2192 sup), ff. 30^v-
 Athiniensis (Benakeion) 272, ff. 424-438.
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 35, ff. 682-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 473, ff. 64-71.
 Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 613-618.
 Parisinus Coisl. gr. 33, ff. 232-239^v.

Saec. XVIII

- Athous Esphigmenou 2108 (95), ff.
 Athous Lavrentinus 1138 (154), ff. 110-
 Bucharest Academia Romana 190, ff. 64-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 287, ff. 194-214.
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 428, ff. 81-

Saec. XVIII - XIX

- Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 233, ff.

The first edition is an uncritical one.

Petit edited this work with a Latin translation, critical notes, com-

ments, but he used only four manuscripts and took into account the previous edition.

Markos wrote this speech and delivered it in June 1438.

53. *Συλλογισμοὶ δέκα δεικνύντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι πῦρ καθαρτήριον*

Inc. Τῶν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξαν ὁρώντων ἕτερος ἐτέρου τελευτέρον ὄρᾳ.

Des. Ἄλλὰ μόνον διαφορὰν ἀπολαύσεως. Οὐκ ἄρα πῦρ καθαρτήριον νομιστέον.

Editions:

Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 422-425 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 114-117.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XVI

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 525, ff. 277^v-278^v.

Petit also translated this work into Latin.

The Metropolitan of Ephesos wrote this work in 1438.

54. *Συλλογιστικὰ κεφάλαια πρὸς Λατίνους*

Inc. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον ἢ ὡς δύο ὑποστάσεων.

Des. Ἡ πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τί ἔτι Μακεδονίῳ Λατῖνοι μέμφονται, καθαρῶς αὐτοὶ πνευματομαχοῦντες;

Editions:

1. Pissideios, *Rant.*, pp. 202-221.

2. Koutounios - Vendotis, *Kephalaiia*, pp. 7-85.

3. Boulgaris, *Adam*, pp. 709-741.

4. Hergenroether, *PG* 161, 12-244.

5. Vatopedinos, *S*, 13 (1890), 71-77.

6. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 368-415 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 60-107.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Monacensis gr. 256, ff. 49-

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 57-59.

Mega Spelaion 48, ff. 75-

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 10. cod. 20. 14. ff. 148-

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 424-451.

Saec. XV - XVI

Monacensis gr. 27, ff. 180-

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 270-284.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 899, ff. 121-142.
 Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 606-614.
 Athiniensis 2972, ff. 264-295^v (the beginning is missing).
 Bucharest Academia Romana 190, ff. 1-28.
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 252, ff. 431^v-440.
 Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 2-
 Mosquensis 249 (Vladimir), ff. -
 Parisinus gr. 1286, ff. 1-24^v.
 Vindobonensis philol. gr. 68, ff. 69-83.

Saec. XVII

Athiniensis (Moschona) 410 (233), ff. 1-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 68, ff. 40-
 Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 526, ff. 5-24^v.
 Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 561-568.
 Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 144, ff. 384-

Saec. XVIII

Athous Iberiticus 4830 (710), ff. 93^v-
 Athous Lavrentinus 1931-Ω-119, ff. 113-131.

Saec. XIX

Athiniensis (Sarrou) (83) 126, ff. 1-107.
 Ancyranus (Bibl. Soc. Turgue Histoire) 126, ff. 1-

The first three editions are uncritical.

Hergenroether made a critical edition with a Latin translation and comments but he took into account only three manuscripts.

Vatopedinos edited only chapter 38 of this work as a different work of Markos under the title «Περὶ ὁμοουσιότητος τοῦ Υἱοῦ». This chapter is contained alone in the manuscript Vatopedinus 478 from which Vatopedinos edited it with an apparatus fontes and some comments.

Petit's edition is the best. It is based on three manuscripts, taking also into account all the previous editions except Vatopedinos's. There is also a Latin translation.

The Metropolitan of Ephesos wrote this work in 1439, when he was in Florence.

55. Συλλογαὶ ἃς συνελεξάμεθα μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀκριβείας ἐκ τε προφητῶν καὶ εὐαγγελίων, ἀποστόλων τε καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μαρτυροῦσαι κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ

Inc. Τοῦ Δαυὶδ λέγοντος, ψαλμὸς λβ'· Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν'.

Des. Φανερούμενον καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὑπαρξιν.

Editions:

Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 342-367 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 33-59.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653 ff. 26-33^v.

Saec. XVI

Mosquensis 240 (Vladimir), ff. 76-89.

Saec. XVII

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 622-635.

Petit based his edition on one manuscript only, but he enriched it with a very accurate apparatus fontes and some comments. He translated it into Latin.

It is very interesting to note that this work is preserved in the manuscripts of Moscow as it was originally written by Markos, i.e. as an answer to the request of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologos. Demetrakopoulos (*Ellas*, pp. 101-102), quotes the beginning of this work: «Ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς φροντίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας μέλει τῷ ἐνθέῳ κράτει σου, θεοφρούρητε, θεόστεπτε, νέε Κωνσταντῖνε, ἅγιε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ζήτησιν ἡ ἅγια βασιλεία σου ἔθετο τοῦ ἐπισωρευθῆναι χρήσεις γραφικὰς παριστώσας, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνον ἐκπορεύεται...».

Markos wrote this work in 1439.

56. Ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τῶν δεσποτικῶν ῥημάτων ἀγιάζονται τὰ θεῖα δῶρα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχῆς καὶ εὐλογίας τοῦ ἱερέως δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

Inc. Ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν διαδεξαμένων αὐτοὺς διδασκάλων.

Des. Ἐλεεῖσθαι ἂν εἶεν δίκαιοι τῆς διπλῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τῆς εἰς βάθος πορώσεως.

Editions:

1. De Saintes, *Liturgiae*, pp. 138-144.

2. Migne, *PG* 160, 1080-1089.

3. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 426-434 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 118-126.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 3-6.

Monacensis 256, ff. 127-.

Saec. XV

Oxoniensis Laudianus 22, ff. 69-76^v.

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 121-125.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 598, ff. 52-58.

Ambrosianus gr. 716, ff. 233-235^v.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 621-

Athous Lavrentinus 2146. M. 133, ff. 137-

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 204, ff. 435-

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 321, ff. 66-77.

Parisinus gr. 1216, ff. 50-57.

Saec. XVII

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 618-622.

Parisinus gr. 290, ff. 3-17^v.

Saec. XVIII

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 428, ff. 123-133.

Saec. XIX

Athous Panteleemonensis 5806 (299), ff. 306^v-

De Sainctes is the first scholar who printed a work of the Metropolitan of Ephesos in 1560. This edition is not a critical one but it is accompanied by a good Latin translation in pp. 28-29.

Migne published De Sainctes's edition.

Petit's edition is a critical one with a Latin translation, based on three manuscripts and taking into account the first edition.

Markos wrote this work when he was in Florence in 1439.

57. *Ῥήσεις τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγουσας τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*

Inc. Ὁ μέγας φησὶν Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ Σεραπίωνα ἐπιστολῇ.

Des. Καὶ μὴδ' ἠντιναοῦν ἔχειν παραίτησιν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀπεφῆ-
νατο.

Editions:

1. Vatopedinos, *S*, 12 (1899), 333-341.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 167-191.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 295-303.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Xenophontinus 721 (19), ff. 15-

Vatopedinos published an uncritical edition of the text, enriched with an apparatus fontes and comments; a new edition is, however, needed.

Vatopedinos thinks that this is the second part of the work «Συλλογαί

ἄς συνελεξάμεθα...»

Markos also wrote this work in 1439.

58. Ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἐκτεθεισα ἐν Φλωρεντία κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Λατίνους γενομένην σύνοδον

Inc. Ἐγὼ τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς εὐσεβέσι καὶ τῆ ἁγία Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Des. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς πατέρας, τοῦτο εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἐνθεν ἀποφερόμενος, τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

Editions:

1. Dositheos, *TA*, pp. 586-598.
2. Parios, *Antipapas*, pp. 169-174.
3. Blastos, *Markos*, pp. 63-67 and *Dokimion*, pp. 155-160.
4. Doukakis, *Synax.*, pp. 410-414.
5. Hergenroether, *PG* 160, 16-105.
6. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 435-442 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 127-134.
7. Karmiris, *Dogm.*, pp. 355-358.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 15^v-20.

Monacensis 256, ff. 123-

Oxonienis Baroccianus 91, ff. 139 - (only extracts from this work).

Saec. XV

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 10, ff. 94-

Mega Spelaion 62, ff. 333-

Monacensis 145, ff. 191-194.

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 502^v-504^v.

Parisinus gr. 2075, ff. 333-334^v.

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, ff. 152^v-

Saec. XV - XVI

Philippicus 1483 (now Berolinensis 79), ff. 70^v-

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 817-

Athous Iberiticus 4798 (678), ff. -

Ambrosianus gr. 899, ff. 115-118.

Athiniensis 652, ff. -

Bucharest Academia Romana 262, ff. 373-

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri, ff. 386^v-

Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis 370, ff. 355-

Mosquensis 242 (Vladimir), ff. 60-

Mosquensis 243 (Vladimir), ff. 112-113.

Parisinus gr. 1259, ff. 4-6.

Parisinus gr. 1286, ff. 181-184^v.

Parisinus gr. 1327, ff. 248-251.

Peireusis 23039, ff. -

Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 403, ff. 99-

Saec. XVII

Athiniensis (Benakeion) 272, ff. 416-421.

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 131, ff. 365-

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 554-556.

Oxoniensis Seldenianus 42, ff. 151-157.

Parisinus Mazar. gr. 19 (2148a), ff. 15-18.

Saec. XIX

Athous Panteleemonensis 5806 (299), ff. 294-

Undated:

Marcianus gr. 589, ff. 205-

Vaticanus gr. 1428, ff. 210^v-241^v.

Dositheos's edition is an uncritical one.

Blastos and Doukakis published Dositheos's edition.

Hergenroether's edition is an uncritical one. There is also a Latin translation.

Petit's edition is a critical one based on six manuscripts and taking into account Dositheos's and Hergenroether's editions. Petit translated it into Latin.

Karmiris's edition is based on the two previous editions.

The Metropolitan of Ephesos wrote this work in 1439.

59. Ἐκθεσις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου, τίνι τρόπῳ ἐδέξατο τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀξίωμα, καὶ δήλωσις τῆς συνόδου τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ γενομένης

Inc. Ἐγὼ διὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας.

Des. Ἡ διεστραμμένοις τισὶ τὴν γεγεννημένην ἔνωσιν οὐ παρεδεξάμην.

Editions:

1. *ACF*, 4 (Rome, 1612), pp. 667-692.

2. Binius, *Acta*, pp. 943-978.

3. Lambecius, *Concilia*, cc. 677-740.

4. Hardouin, *Acta*, cc. 549-600.

5. Migne, *PG* 159, 1025-1093.

6. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 443-449 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 135-141.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Matritensis 77, ff. 309-

Monacensis 256, ff. 118-123.

Oxoniensis Baroccianus 91, ff. 138^v (part of this work).

Saec. XV

Mega Spelaion 62, ff. 327-

Monacensis 145, ff. 188-191.

Oxoniensis Baroccianus 114, ff. 149^v - (part of this work).

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 451-456.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 899, ff. 118-120.

Athiniensis 652, ff. 4-7.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 816-

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. -

Oxoniensis Laudianus 73, ff. 74-

Saec. XVII

Athous Panteleemonensis 5628 (122), ff. 227-

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 554-

Saec. XIX

Athous Panteleemonensis 5806 (299) ff. 292-

The first edition is an uncritical one and accompanied by a Latin translation made by Matthew Karyophilis. This work is included in a refutation of Joseph, bishop of Methone.

All the other editors, except Petit, published the first edition.

Petit based his edition on three manuscripts and the previous edition. He translated the text into Latin taking into account the translation of Karyophilis.

Markos probably wrote this work when he returned to Constantinople from Florence.

60. *Διάλογος οὗ ἢ ἐπιγραφὴ· Λατῖνος, ἢ Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ προσθήκης*

Inc. Λατῖνος· θαυμάζω πῶς ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖται περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ προσθήκης.

Des. Οὐκ ἠδέσθησαν ὁμῶς αὐτὴν ἐξελεῖν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς παραδοῦναι.

Editions:

1. Hergenroether, *PG* 160, 1000-1101.

2. Vatopedinos, *S*, op. cit., 235-247.

3. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 415-421 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 107-113.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Monacensis 256, ff. 587-590.

Saec. XV

Athiniensis 34, ff. 25.

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 68-

Saec. XV - XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 839-847.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 393-399^v.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 818-

Saec. XVI - XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 233^v-236.

Hergenroether published an uncritical edition of the text based on the manuscript Monacensis 256 which does not contain the whole work (155 lines are missing). He also translated it into Latin.

Vatopedinos's edition is also uncritical and based on the manuscript Athous Vatopedinus 478. It has a very good introduction and comments. Vatopedinos thinks that this work is just a summary of what Markos said in the fifth meeting at Florence.

Petit based his edition on one manuscript and took into account the two previous editions. He translated this work into Latin.

Markos wrote this work, probably, in Constantinople in 1440.

61. *Περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀργυροπούλου γνώμην ἀντιφερόμενον*

Inc. Ὁ Θεός, φῶς ὄν ἀκρότατον καὶ ἀδιάδοχον, ὑπέστησε τοὺς ἀγγέλλους φῶτα δεύτερα.

Des. Τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τοῦ λέγειν περίεστι. Ἀρκεῖ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς μὴ πάντα φιλονεϊκῶς ἐνισταμένους.

Editions:

Lampros, *Argyropouleia*, pp. 120-125.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 7-9.

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 73-

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 29-33.

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49, ff. 101-105.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 58-62.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 1787, ff. 236-238.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 917-917^v (part of this work).

Oxoniensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 53^v-59.

Saec. XVI - XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 236-238.

Saec. XVII

Parisinus Mazar. gr. 19 (2148a), ff. 61-

Lampros edited this work from the manuscript Parisinus gr. 1292 which is attributed by the catalogue-compiler, though with some doubt, to Scholarios. Lampros also attributed it to Scholarios. But both P. Kerameus, (*MB*, op. cit., pp. 95-96) and Vatopedinos (*S*, op. cit., 2, 6), describing the manuscripts Cosinitzensis 192 and Athous Vatopedinus 478 state clearly that this is a genuine work of Markos.

We disagree with Mamoni (*Markos*, p. 49), who says that this refutation was written against John Argyropoulos's work «Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως» (*PG* 158, 991-1008). Comparison of these two works easily reveals that they have nothing in common and that they are dealing with different subjects. Markos wrote this work against the false views expressed orally or in writing by the Latinophile Professor John Argyropoulos. We do not know the particular work of Argyropoulos, but from his works which have already been published none deals with the subject of angels.

The edition of Lampros is inadequate and a new edition is needed.

We agree with Mamoni that Markos wrote this work after his return to Constantinople, but not necessarily in 1440.

62. Τοῦ Ἐφέσου πρὸς Θεοφάνην

Inc. Τιμιώτατε ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ποθεινότετε καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατε πάτερ.

Des. Ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν δυσωπούμενος, αἴτινες οἶησαν ἀεὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Ὁ Ἐφέσου καὶ πάσης Ἀσίας Μάρκος.

Editions:

1. Demetrakopoulos, *Ellas*, pp. 106-107.
2. Dräseke, *ZK*, 12 (Gotha, 1891), 104-105.
3. Lampros, *PP*, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
4. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 480-481 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 172-174.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Monacensis 256, ff. 155^v-156.

Demetrakopoulos's edition is not a critical one.

Dräseke published the previous edition with some corrections.

Lampros edited the text from the manuscript Monacensis 256 and

took into account the two previous editions.

Petit's edition is the best and it has also a Latin translation.

Markos addressed this letter to Theophanes from Constantinople in 1440.

63. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἐφέσου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τινὰ πρεσβύτερον Γεώργιον τοῦνομα ἐν τῇ Μεθώνῃ σταλεῖσα

Inc. Ἐντιμότητα πρεσβύτερε καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ ποθεινότητα ἀδελφὲ κύρ Γεώργιε.

Des. Φύλασσε τὴν καλὴν παρακαταθήκην τῆς πίστεως, τὰς βεβήλους καινοφωνίας παντελῶς ἐκτρεπόμενος. Ὁ Ἐφέσου Μάρκος.

Editions:

1. Simonidis, *Theol. Graphai*, pp. 211-214.
2. Dräseke, *ZK*, op. cit, 108-112.
3. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 470-474 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 162-166.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 6-7.

Matritensis 77, ff. 326-

Monacensis 256, ff. 39-

Saec. XV

Athous Lavrentinus 1626. A. 135 ff. 277-

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 454-455^v.

Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 604 (it is contained in parts).

Saec. XV - XVI

Vaticanus Ottob. gr., ff. 219^v-221.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 652, ff. 8-9.

Oxoniensis Laudianus 73, ff. 76^v-

Simonidis published an uncritical edition of the text based, most probably, on the manuscript Oxoniensis Laudianus 73 and not on an Athous Dionysianus as he says. There are many mistakes.

Dräseke published Simonidis' s edition correcting the mistakes and adding an apparatus fontes and comments.

Petit based his edition on four manuscripts and on the previous editions. There is also a Latin translation.

We learn from the manuscript Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 604 that the Greek--Latin Archbishop of Collossae Andreas, wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Methoni trying to refute the accusations of Markos, contained in this letter, against the Pope and the Latin customs. He ended his letter warning Markos «Agnosce igitur, Ephesine, ... aeterno tamen cum ceteris

haeresiarchis crusiaberis igne», G. Hofman, S.J., «Testimonium ineditum Andreae Archiepiscopi Rhodi de Marco Eugenco», *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIII (Belgrade, 1937), p. 20.

Markos wrote this work in 1440 from Constantinople.

64. *Εὐχή ἐπιβατήριος*

Inc. Ἡ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων τὰ πάντα δ' ἀπειρόδωρον ἀγαθότητα μεγαλοφυῶς ὑποστησαμένη παντοκρατῆς σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Des. Καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 636 (1985), 3.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 69^v-

Saec. XV - XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 884-886.

Saec. XVI

Oxoniensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 52-53^v.

This edition was based on the second manuscript, because at that time we did not know of the existence of the third manuscript, and it is enriched with an apparatus fontes.

Markos wrote this prayer on his first visit to his diocese after his secret escape from Constantinople in 1440.

65. *Τῷ Σχολαρίῳ ὁ Ἐφέσου.*

Inc. Ἐνδοξότατε, σοφώτατε, λογιώτατε καὶ ἐμοὶ ποθεινότατε ἀδελφεὲ καὶ κατὰ πνεῦμα υἱέ.

Des. Ὅς σὲ διαφυλάττει παντὸς ἀνώτερον ἀνιαροῦ συναντήματος. Ὁ ταπεινὸς Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου καὶ πάσης Ἀσίας Μάρκος.

Editions:

1. Allatius, *In Creyghtoni*, pp. 88-93.

2. Demetrakopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

3. Hergenroether, *PG* 160, 1090-1096.

4. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

5. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 460-464 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 152-156.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 2-3.

Monacensis 256, ff. 133-136.

Saec. XV

Athous Iberiticus 4251 (131), ff. 70^v-

Medicaeus Laurentianus gr. 13 Plut. 74, ff. 296-

Mega Spelaion 45, ff. 1040-

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 125^v-127.

Parisinus gr. 1310, ff. 39-40.

Taurinensis gr. 161, ff. 8-

Saec. XV - XVI

Parisinus gr. 1295, ff. 19^v-20^v.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 899, ff. 142-143^v.

Athiniensis 652, ff. 10-11.

Bucharest Academia Romana 262, ff. 388-

Mosquensis 440 (Vladimir), ff. 76-77.

Mosquensis 495 (Vladimir), ff. 75^v-

Oxoniensis Laudianus 73, ff. 77-78.

Parisinus gr. 1327, ff. 247^v-248.

Scorialensis Y. III. 7, ff. 3-4^v.

Saec. XVII

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 131, ff. 307^v-

Parisinus Suppl. gr. 619, ff. 93^v-

Parisinus Mazar. gr. 19 (2148a), ff. 7^v-

Saec. XVII - XVIII

Athiniensis 66, ff. 249-250.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Lavrentinus 1415-K128, ff. 163-.

Saec. XIX

Athiniensis (Benakeion) 30, ff. 99^v-100^v.

Undated

Andrianopolitanus 43

Parisinus gr. 3104, ff. 10-

Allatius published an uncritical edition of the text with a Latin translation.

Demetrakopoulos published a part of the previous edition.

Hergenroether's edition is based on the manuscript Monacensis 256 and takes into account the first edition. There is also a Latin translation and some comments.

Lampros's edition is a critical one based on four manuscripts. He took into account Allatius's edition but totally ignored Hergenroether's. Proba-

bly he was not aware of its existence. Diamantopoulos, «Σπ. Λάμπρου, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά», *Th*, 1 (1923), 131, tried unsuccessfully «to correct» a correct line of Lampros's edition.

Petit's edition is the best. It is based on six manuscripts and takes into account all the previous editions. There is also a Latin translation.

We know from Scholarios's reply that this letter was written from Ephesos, after Markos's escape to his Metropolitan See, in 1440.

66. *Τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν νήσων εὕρισκομένοις Χριστιανοῖς, Μάρκος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς τῶν Ἐφεσίων Μητροπόλεως ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν*

Inc. Οἱ τὴν κακὴν ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωσίαν αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.

Des. Τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

1. Oecoum. Syn., cc. 708-755.
2. Lambecius, *op. cit.*, cc. 739-784.
3. Hardouin, *op. cit.*, cc. 601-670.
4. Binius, *Concilia*, cc. 991-1722.
5. Dositheos, *TA*, pp. 581-586 and part in *TCh*, pp. 631-633.
6. Norov, *Anecdota*, pp. 22-42.
7. Migne, *PG* 160, 111-204.
8. Blastos, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-119.
9. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 449-459 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 141-151.
10. Karmiris, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-362.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Matritensis 77, ff. 309-312.

Monacensis 256, ff. 281-287.

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus gr. 252, ff.

Athous Iberiticus 4502 (382), ff. 749-

Athous Lavrentinus 1262 (135), ff. 273-277.

Cyprius (Archiepiskopis) 34, ff. 25-

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 10, cod. 20.14, ff. 94-

Mega Spelaion 62, ff. 319-

Monacensis 145, ff. 195-200.

Parisinus gr. 1191, ff. 25-29^v.

Vaticanus gr. 1759, ff. 143-149.

Saec. XV - XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4476 (356), ff. 263-

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 847.

Parisinus gr. 1295, ff. 156-159^v.

Sinaiticus 1140, ff. -

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 384^v-393.

Athous Iberiticus 4798 (678), ff. -

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 204, ff. 39^v-399^v.

Monacensis 54, ff. 310-

Mosquensis 242 (Vladimir), ff. 76-79.

Mosquensis 248 (Vladimir), ff. 47-

Parisinus gr. 1286, ff. 241-

Parisinus gr. 1327, ff. 113-

Scorialensis Y. II. 4. 256, ff. 251-259.

Scorialensis Y. III. 18. 338, ff. 75-86.

Sinaiticus 1145, ff. -

Saec. XVI - XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 230^v-233^v.

Saec. XVII

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 31, ff. 309^v-

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 558-561.

Mosquensis 444 (Vladimir), ff. 119-

Parisinus Mazar. gr. 19 (2148a), ff. 23^v-27.

Parisinus Suppl. gr. 619, ff. 95-

Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 219, ff. 3 - (part).

Saec. XVIII

Bucharest Academia Romana 190, ff. 75-

The first edition was published with a reply by Gregory Mamas and a Latin translation by Caryophillis.

Lambecius, Hardouin, Binius and Migne published the first edition.

Dositheos's edition is an uncritical one.

Norov published an uncritical edition with a Russian translation.

Blastos published Dositheos's edition.

Petit published a critical edition of the text based on three manuscripts and took into account the previous editions. There is also a Latin translation.

Karmiris based his edition on the manuscript Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri and Petit's edition. There is also a very good introduction and some comments.

Ostroumoff translated a part of this encyclical in Russian in his book *The history of the Council of Florence*, (Moscow, 1847). This book was translated into English by B. Popoff in London, 1861. Since then two photographic reprints have appeared, one in 1962 and the other in 1971. There is also an English translation of this encyclical letter which was published as a small booklet by Eastern Orthodox Books, St. Mark of Ephesus Bookstore. (Massachusetts, 1978).

This work was written by Markos between 1440-1442 when he was in prison on the island of Lemnos.

67. *Τῷ ὀσιωτάτῳ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ καὶ σεβασμιωτάτῳ δεσπότη καὶ ἀδελφῷ κυρῷ Θεοφάνει εἰς τὸν Εὐρίπον*

Inc. Ὅσιώτατε ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ποθεινότατε.

Des. Τοῖς ξενοδόχοις ἡμῶν μετόνοια καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ εὐλογία. Ὁ Ἐφέσου Μάρκος. + Ἰουνίου ις ᵂ.

Editions:

1. Hergenroether, *PG* 160, 1095-1110.
2. Demetrakopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-104.
3. Dräseke, *op. cit.*, 105-107.
4. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.
5. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 480-482 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 172-174.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Monacensis 256, ff. 279^v-280^v.

Hergenroether translated this work into Latin.

Petit's edition is again the best and it has also a Latin translation.

Markos wrote this letter on the 16th of June 1441 from the island of Lemnos.

68. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τῶν ἀγίων τριῶν παίδων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*

Inc. Σπήλαιον ὑμᾶς εἶχε νεκρούς, ὡς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀμυδρῶς ἐν εἰκόνι.

Des. Ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολυθῆναι φθάσας, ἐν τῷδε τῷ πίνακι τὴν χάριν γράφω.

Editions: ...

1. Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.
2. Petit, *ROC*, 23 (1922-1923), 414.
3. Mamoni, *Th. op. cit.*, 572. Mamoni, *Markos*, p. 86.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 46^v.

Petit and Mamoni published Kerameus's edition.

Petit translated it into French.

Markos wrote this short poem on the 4th of August 1442.

69. *Κὺρ Μάρκου Ἐφέσου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ πρὸς τὸν καθηγούμενον τῆς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει μονῆς Βατοπεδίου*

Inc. Ὅσιώτατε ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ καθηγούμενε τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει σεβασμίας καὶ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου.

Des. Ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν δεήσεσιν ὑπερεύχεσθαι. Αἱ ἅγιοι ὑμῶν εὐχαὶ εἶψαν μετ' ἐμοῦ. Ὁ Ἐφέσου Μάρκος.

Editions:

1. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-36.2. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 477-479 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 169-171.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XVI

Scorialensis III. Y. 7, ff. 1-2^v.

Both editions are based on the Scorialensis manuscript which contains the whole work. Petit's edition is better than Lampros's, with some comments, an apparatus fontes and a Latin translation.

This work appears also under different headings. In the manuscript of Mega Spelaion it is referred to as «Μάρκου Ἐφέσου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀγιορείτας διχιστατοῦντας διὰ τὸ λατινικὸν δόγμα» and in the manuscript of Vlachos's Library in Venice, mentioned by Demetrakopoulos (*op. cit.*, p. 102), as «Πρὸς τοὺς εἰς ὄρος τοῦ Ἄθωνος ἀσκοῦντας περὶ Λατίνων».

This letter was probably written from Constantinople between 1442-1444 when Markos had returned from his detention in Lemnos.

70. *Μάρκου τοῦ Ἐφέσου πρὸς τινὰ Ἰωακείμ Σιναΐτην*

Inc. Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἐν μοναχοῖς καὶ πνευματικοῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ ποθεινοτάτῳ.

Des. Νεῶλω, Κρητικῷ ὄντι καὶ σαβουροκεφάλῳ τυχόν. Αἱ δὲ ἅγιοι σου εὐχαὶ εἶψαν μεθ' ἡμῶν.

Editions:

1. Karmiris, *E*, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Alexandrinus Patriarchalis 243 (308), ff. 264^v-265^v.

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 32, ff. -

Saec. XV - XVI

Vaticanus gr. 57, ff. -

Saec. XVI

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 324, f. 68.

Saec. XVII

Athous Iberiticus 4416 (296), ff. 269-

Athous Iberiticus 5441 (1321), f. -

Karmiris published an uncritical edition of the text based on the manuscript Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 324. Prof. Karmiris made some very good comments on the subject of this letter. In some manuscripts this work is found under the heading «Περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν Φώτων, ἦτοι τῶν δώδεκα ἡμερῶν». This seemed to have escaped the notice of some scholars (Mamoni, Tsirpanlis and Stiernon) who included it as a different work, among the unpublished works of the Metropolitan of Ephesos. We disagree with Kamiris that this work was written by Markos when he was at Lemnos between 1440-1442. We think that he wrote it from Constantinople between 1442-1444, because he says «οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄδειαν ἐνεργεῖν τι ἱερατικῶν ὅλως».

71. Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀρσένιον

Inc. Τιμιώτατε ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ποθεινότατε ἀδελφὲ κὺρ Ἀρσένιε.

Des. Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *MA*, 8 (1982), 2-3 and *OT*, 546 (1983), 3.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Britannicus (Londinensis) add. 34060, f. 348^v.

This work has escaped the notice of all the scholars who have either prepared and published catalogues of the works of Markos or dealt with the Metropolitan of Ephesos in their doctoral theses.

Markos wrote this letter after his return from Lemnos to Constantinople between 1442-1444.

72. *Πρὸς Θεοδόσιον μοναχὸν ἐκπεσόντα*

Inc. Ἐγὼ σε πλησίον ὄντα μαθῶν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ πόρρω διέστηκας.

Des. Ὅτι μηδὲ συμβουλευόντος ἐταίρου τὴν σεαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἠγάπησας.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 556 and 557 (1983), 3.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653, ff. 11^v-15^v.

The edition is enriched with an apparatus fontes.

Markos wrote this letter from Constantinople between 1442-1444, i.e. after his return from Lemnos.

73. *Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου κὺρ Μάρκου, λύσις ἀποριῶν σατράπου τινὸς*

I. Inc. Ἐρώτησις. Ποίου σχήματός ἐστιν ὁ Θεός;

Ἀπόκρισις. Ὁ Θεὸς σχῆμα οὐκ ἔχει.

Des. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη.

II. Inc. Εἷς ὁ οὐρανός ἐστιν ἢ πολλοί; Ἀπορία.

Ἀπόκρισις. Εἷς μὲν ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανός.

Des. Τὰς τῶν ἐπτὰ πλανωμένων ἄχρι καὶ τῆς σελήνης ἐναντίως αὐτῇ κινουμένας.

III. Inc. Τί δὲ οὐρανός;

Ἀπόκρισις. Ὁ μὲν προφήτης Ἡσαΐας περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φησι.

Des. Τῷ γὰρ κύκλῳ κινεῖται κίνησιν μόνον, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπ' εὐθείᾳ φέρεσθαι πεφυκότων.

IV. Inc. Τί ἐστιν ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς;

Ἀπόκρισις. Ἡ γῆ μέση κεῖται τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου.

Des. Καὶ μέση τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ὡς εἴρηται πανταχόθεν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ ἀήρ.

V. Inc. Ἐρώτησις. Εἰ ὄλη ἡ Θεότης κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄλη ἐσαρκώθη ἐν τῇ Παναγίᾳ.

Des. Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου γένηται κάτω καὶ μὴ σύγχυσις περὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων παρακολουθήση.

VI. Inc. Ἐρώτησις. Εἰ ὁ δαίμων πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως ἦν;

Des. Πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἠῦτομόλησαν καὶ οὕτω δικαίως σὺν αὐτῷ καταδικασθῶσιν.

VII. Inc. Ἐρώτησις. Πῶς εἶπεν ὁ δαίμων πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν. Ἐὰν πεσῶν

προσκυήσης μοι'.

Des. Προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Γραφῶν βέλεσι κατατρώσας καὶ τὴν νίκην ἡμῖν δι' ἑαυτοῦ παραδούς.

VIII. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: 'Ο παράδεισος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστι ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

Des. Αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐν τῷ ἄδη καθάπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ κεκλεισμένοι ὑπάρχουσι.

IX. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: 'Η κόλασις αἰώνιος ἐστι ἢ οὐ;

'Απόκρισις: Τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαίου ὄντος καθάπερ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ.

Des. 'Απελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον'.

X. Inc. Τὰ τετράποδα ζῶα καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἔχουσι κρίσιν ἢ οὐ;

Des. Ὦν δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ παντελῶς ἀφανίζονται, πῶς ταῦτα κρίσεως ἢ κατακρίσεως πειρασθήσονται;

XI. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: Παντὸς ἐνεργουμένου ἐν τῷ σώματι ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φαύλου, σύμβουλός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ οὐ;

Des. Καὶ ἄμφω συναπολαύουσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἢ συγκαταδικάζονται.

XII. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: 'Ο ἄνθρωπος διὰ πόσων στοιχείων συνίσταται καὶ ποίων;

Des. 'Ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν στοιχείων ἐν πλεονάσαν, μεγάλους κινδύνους καὶ μεταβολὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀπεργάζεται.

XIII. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: Οἱ συμβαματικοὶ θάνατοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄρον ἔχουσιν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἢ οὐ;

Des. Καὶ ἐξ ἀμελείας καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμπτωμάτων τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχουσι.

XIV. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: Οἱ ἐπερχόμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σωματικοὶ πειρασμοί, τοῦ δαίμονός εἰσιν ἢ παρὰ Θεοῦ;

Des. Ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τοῖς πειραζομένοις γίνεται ποικίλως ὑπὸ τῆς προνοίας οἰκονομούμενα.

XV. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: Πῶς οἱ εὐάρεστοι ἄνθρωποι τῷ Θεῷ πένονται καὶ λιμώττουσι, καὶ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ εὐτυχοῦσι;

Des. 'Τεθλιμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, πλατεῖα δὲ καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν'.

XVI. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: Μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ αἰῶνος, τί γενήσεται ὁ κόσμος οὗτος καὶ ὁ οὐρανός;

Des. Τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως μόνος εἶδεν ὁ καὶ συστήσας τὸν κόσμον Θεὸς καὶ διαλύσων αὐτόν.

XVII. Inc. 'Ερώτησις: Μετὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰ αἰῶνας ἐστι τέλος τοῦ κόσμου ἢ οὐ;

Des. Καὶ ὡσπερ οὗτος ἄδηλός ἐστιν, οὕτω κάκεινον ἄδηλον εἶναι πάση γεννητῇ φύσει νομίζειν.

XVIII. Inc. Πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος, ποῖόν ἐστι τῶν λοιπῶν ἰσχυρότερον;

Des. Τὴν συμμετρίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναλώσαντος, ἵνα πάλιν ἀνακαινισθῶσι πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν.

XIX. Inc. Ἐρώτησις· Αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἐπίστανται;

Des. Τὴν ἀπόφασιν λοιπὸν ἐκδέχονται τοῦ Κριτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον καταδίκην εἰς τὰς ἀπεράντους κολάσεις.

Editions:

Pilavakis, *OT*, 575, 586 (1983); *MA*, 10 (1983) only question XVII; *OT*, 616 (1984); 634 (1985).

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV - XV

Monacensis 256, ff. 136-143.

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus gr. 653 (P. 261 sup.), ff. 94-97.

Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 127-133.

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, ff. 148-

Vindobonensis philol. gr. 195, ff. 189^v-190 (It contains only the first question).

Saec. XV - XVI

Parisinus Suppl. gr. 64, ff. 48^v-50.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 899 (C. 259, inf.), ff. 151-

We edited the questions I-IX from the manuscript Ambrosianus 653 and for the rest we took also into account the manuscript Parisinus gr. 1218. However a new edition based on more manuscripts is needed and we hope to do it in future. We think that the anonymous σατράπης is the last Prime Minister of the Byzantine Empire Loucas Notaras who had also asked John Eugenikos some questions about theological problems (See Lampros, *PP I*, pp. 147-150). Though there is no internal evidence to indicate the date during which it was written, we think that Markos wrote this work between 1442-1444. The anonymity of the recipient may support our view.

74. Λόγοι τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μάρκου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐφέσου, οὗς εἶπε πολλοῖς τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἱερομονάχων καὶ μοναχῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐν τῇ

ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ μετέστη πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· ἀπομνημονευθέντες δὲ συνεγράφησαν
παρὰ τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου ἱερομνήμονος

I. Inc. Βούλομαι πλατύτερον τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην εἰπεῖν, εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν.
Des. Μέχρις ἂν δῶ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν καλὴν διόρθωσιν καὶ εἰρήνην τῆς Ἐκκλησίας
αὐτοῦ.

II. Εἶτα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν Σχολάριον ἐπιστρέψας εἶπεν·
Inc. Εἰσὶ τινες ὕλαι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐγὼ ἤδη λήθην
ἔσχον.

Des. Καὶ μὴ ἀηδῶς ἀποβιώσω, ὡς ἀπεγνωκῶς τὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διόρθω-
σιν.

Editions:

1. Dositheos, *TA*, pp. 26-28.
2. Renaudot, *Genn. patr.*, pp. 70-77.
3. Norov, *Anecdota*, pp. 54-59.
4. Simonidis, *Theol. Graphai*, pp. 44-46.
5. Migne, *PG* 160, 529-538.
6. Dräseke, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-115.
7. Petridis, *An*, 360 (Athens, 1905), 6.
8. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-41.
9. Petit, *PO* 17, pp. 484-489 and *Marci Opera*, pp. 176-181.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XIV-XV

Athous Docheiariou 2789 (115), ff. -
Oxoniensis Baroccianus 91, f. 137^v (only fragments).

Saec. XV

Mega Spelaion 62, ff. 312-313.
Parisinus gr. 1218, ff. 275-277.

Saec. XV - XVI

Monacensis 256, ff. 336-341.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus gr. 899, ff. 148^v-150^v.
Athous Iberiticus 4449 (329), ff. -
Athous Iberiticus 4798 (678), ff. -
Mosquensis 242 (Vladimir), ff. 117-122.
Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 267-268.
Oxoniensis Laudianus 73, ff. 78^v-
Vallicellanus 9 (F 58), ff. 271-273^v.
Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 205, ff. 123-

Saec. XVII

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 55, ff. 316-

Mosquensis 250 (Vladimir), ff. 484-

Saec. XVIII

Athous Iberiticus 5428 (1308), ff. -

Bucharest Academia Romana 190, ff. 81-82.

Vallicellanus 183, ff. 14-15.

Saec. XIX

Atheniensis (Benakeion) 30, ff. 97^v-98^v.

Athous Panteleemonensis 5806 (299), ff. 299-300.

Athous Panteleemonensis 6099 (592), pp. 57-59.

Undated:

Andrianopolitanus 43 (1290). ff.-

Parisinus gr. 3104, ff. 1-

Toletanus Capitul ecclesiae cathedralis 9-20, ff. 126-128^v.

Dositheos's edition is an uncritical one.

Renaudot published an uncritical edition with a Latin translation.

Norov again published an uncritical edition with a Russian translation.

Simonidis edited only the second part of this work.

Dräseke published Simonidis's edition with corrections.

Petridis published some lines from this work.

Lampros based his edition on the manuscript Mosquensis 423 (Vladimir) and took into account Simonidis's and Dräseke's editions.

Petit based his edition on five manuscripts and the previous editions were taken into account. There is also a Latin translation.

B. UNPUBLISHED WORKS OF MARKOS EUGENIKOS

1. *Κανόνες ὀκτώ παρακλητικοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὀκτώ γενικῶν λογισμῶν*

I. Κανὼν πρῶτος κατὰ γαστριμαργίας, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς αὕτη· Τῆς ἀλόγου
ῥῦσαί με δεσποίνης, Λόγε, τὸν Σὸν Μάρκον.

Inc. Τῆς ἐν παραδείσῳ γλυκερᾶς διαγωγῆς ἐκπεσῶν ὁ ταλαίπωρος, πάθει
δεδούλωμαι.

Des. Ὑπέραγνε δέσποινα, τὰ ἄνω καὶ φρονεῖν με καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι ἀξίως.

II. Κανὼν δεύτερος κατὰ πορνείας, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς· Ἐν δευτέροις φύγοιμι
τὸν λάγνον κύνα. Ὡδὴ Μάρκου.

Inc. Ἐν τιμῇ υἰότητος Πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενος, ἀναισθητῶν οὐ συνῆκα τῆς χάριτος.

Des. Ἀνθρωπίνοις φανέντα, καθ' ἔνωσιν ἄρρητον συνδραμούσης εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον.

III. Κανὼν τρίτος κατὰ φιλαργυρίας, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Τρίτον μέλισμα κατὰ φιλαργυρίας. Μοναχοῦ Μάρκου.

Inc. Τῆς τρυφῆς ὁ χειμάρρου ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον ὕδωρ, ὁ ἀεννάως προχέων διδαχῶν ἄφθονα νάματα.

Des. Ἐρασθεῖς σου τοῦ κάλλους ἐν σοὶ κατεσκήνωσε· καὶ ὑπερτέραν σε τῶν ἀγγελικῶν διακόσμων ἀνέδειξεν.

IV. Κανὼν τέταρτος ἐπὶ λύπῃ, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Φάρμακον ὧδε τῷ πάθει τῷ τῆς λύπης. Μοναχοῦ Μάρκου.

Inc. Φωτὶ με καταύγασον τῷ ἀνεσπέρῳ, Φιλάνθρωπε, τὸ σκότος ἐλαύνων μου τῆς ἀθυμίας μακράν.

Des. Τῷ βάθει τῶν ἀγενῶν λογισμῶν κατακειμένην, Δέσποινα, ψυχὴν μου ὕψωσον, ἐλευθέρῳ ὄμματι τὸν ἥλιον προΐδειν καί... διὰ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς Θεόν.

V. Κανὼν πέμπτος κατὰ ὀργῆς, φέρων ἀκροστιχίδα τήνδε· Ὀργῆς τὸ πέμπτον κατεπάδω προσφόρως. Ἔπος Μάρκου.

Inc. Ὅλος ἀπλοῦς ὑπάρχων ἐν παραδείσῳ ποτέ, ζωὴν ἄμοχθον ἔζων καὶ ἀμιγῆ τοῦ χείρονος.

Des. Καὶ ρῦσαί με παθῶν καὶ τῶν πειρασμῶν, ὅπως βίον ἀνετον καὶ ἀσφαλῆ ζῶν διαπαντὸς ὕμνοις γεραίρω σε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ προστάτιν μου.

VI. Κανὼν ἕτερος κατὰ ἀκηδίας, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς ἦδε· Ἀκηδίας μοι δεσμὰ λύσον παντάναξ, σῶ δούλῳ Μάρκῳ.

Inc. Ἄνω στρατιαί σε ἀγγέλων ὕμνουσι καὶ κάτω, Δέσποτα, βροτῶν συστήματα καὶ ἀκαμάτως διήκεις.

Des. Ὡ λαμπὰς τῆς ζοφώδους διανοίας μου, ὦ καλή μου προστάτις, ὦ πάντων ἀγαθῶν χορηγός, κὰν τῷ μέλλοντι σύ μου πρόστηθι.

VII. Κανὼν ἕτερος κατὰ κενοδοξίας, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Δόξης κενῆς φύσημα κατενεκτέον, ἀμαρτωλῷ Μάρκῳ.

Inc. Δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους κατὰ παθῶν ἐνδυσόν με, σοφία καὶ δύναμις Θεοῦ ἡ ἐνυπόστατος.

Des. Καὶ ὕψωσον πρὸς δόξαν, τὴν θεϊκὴν τῆς δόξης τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταφανήσαντα.

VIII. Κανὼν ὄγδοος κατὰ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Τέλος διώκω τὴν μεγάλαυχον νόσον, ὁ ἄθλιος Μάρκος.

Inc. Τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ ἀκοιμήτῳ ὄμματι, ὁ ἐπιβλέπων τὴν γῆν ποιῶν αὐτὴν

τρέμειν, παντοκράτορ Κύριε.

Des. Καὶ δός μοι πρὸς ἡμέραν, ἀπταίστως καταντῆσαι, τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ σου τὴν ἀνέσπερον.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 92-109^v.

Saec. XV - XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 942-999.

Parisinus suppl. gr. 64, ff. 45-47 (only the first canon).

Saec. XVIII

Athous Panteleemonensis 5846 (339), ff. 29-54^v.

2. *Ἰδιόμελον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀνδρέαν*

Inc. Ὁ πρωτόκλητος μαθητῆς καὶ μιμητῆς τοῦ πάθους.

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis, ff. 18.

3. *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὰ ἅγια πάθη ἧς τὸ πρῶτον τροπάριον ἀρχεται*

Inc. Σήμερον τὰ τίμια δορυφορούμενα πάθη.

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 127-133.

4. *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀλέξιον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ Θεοῦ*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 150-155.

5. *Στιχηρὰ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Παρασκευὴν*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 155^v.

6. *Στιχηρὰ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Συμεὼν τὸν μεταφραστὴν*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, f. 155^v.7. *Στιχηρὰ προσόμοια εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θεοπάτορα Ἰωακείμ καὶ Ἄνναν*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 164.

8. *Κανὼν παρακλητικός τε καὶ χαριστήριος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὀσιομάρτυρα καὶ θαυματουργὸν Θεοδοσίαν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν ἀναρρώσει τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωσήφ, μετρίως μὲν παρ' αὐτῆς δεδομένην, μείζονι δὲ καὶ τελείᾳ προσδοκωμένην, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς: Θεοδοσίην ἱατείραν λυσιμελέων ἀναμέλψω Μάρκος*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 166 - 169.

9. *Ἀκολουθία εὐχαριστήριος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὀσιομάρτυρα καὶ θαυματουργὸν Θεοδοσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῆς θαυματουργηθείσῃ τῶν ποδῶν ἀναρρώσει τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωσήφ*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 169-

10. *Ἐτέρα ἀκολουθία εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοδοσίαν*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. ...

11. *Κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον τῶν δυνάμεων Μιχαήλ, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Τὸν πρῶτον ὕμνῳ τῶν ἀσωμάτων νόων. Μάρκος*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 227-

12. *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν ὄσιον Μάρκον, οὗ ἡ μνήμη τῇ πέμπτῃ Μαρτίου*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 178v-

13. *Κανὼν εἰς τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου ... Δαμασκηνοῦ, ἐξηγηθεῖς μὲν παρὰ διαφόρων, πλατύτερον ὡς ὀράται δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυρί(ου) Μάρκου τοῦ καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν τῷ ὄντι Εὐγε- νικοῦ*

Inc. Τὰ ἐφύμνια ταῦτα ὕμνεϊ ἐν μελέεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς εὐεπίας ἤγουν εὐαρμό- στους.

Des. Ἦτοι τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ὡς ζωοποιοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ δηλαδὴ τῶν Φώ- των.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 506 (M 15 sup.), ff. 184v-192.

Saec. XV-XVI

Vaticanus gr. 952, ff. 18-23.

14. *Ἔτερος κανὼν εἰς τὰ ἅγια Φῶτα φέρων ἀκροστιχίδα τήνδε δι' ἠρωελεγειῶν*

Inc. Σήμερον ὁ ἀγαθὸς παῖς τοῦ παμβασιλέως Θεοῦ βαλὼν καὶ πλήξας τῷ θεοφθεγγεῖ πυρσῷ.

Des. Καὶ ἐξουδενώσας τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ σκότους μεταβιβάσεις ἡμᾶς εἰς ζωὴν ἀθάνατον.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 506 (M 15 sup.), ff. 192v-198.

Saec. XV-XVI

Vaticanus gr. 952, ff. 23-27^v

15. Ἐτερος κανὼν ὁμοίος, ὡς τινὲς μὲν λέγουσι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰω(άνν)ου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἀρκλᾱ, οἷς καὶ ἐγὼ συντίθεμαι, εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Πεντηκοστὴν

Inc. ὦ Λόγε, ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθεὶς πέμψας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τοῦ Πατρός.

Des. Ἀλλοίωσιν ξένην καὶ παράδοξον δοξάζομεν καὶ τιμῶμεν τὴν μίαν τρισυπόστατον φύσιν.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 506 (M15 sup.), ff. 198-210?

Saec. XV-XVI

Vaticanus gr. 952, ff. 28-33.

We fully agree with Kominis, *Greg. Pardos*, p. 119 who says that the view expressed above about the real author of the canon does not belong to Markos but to the copier.

16. Διὰ τί ἡ Θεότης Μονὰς καὶ Τριάς ἐστὶν καὶ πρόεισι μὲν ἄχρι Τριάδος, οὐ μὴν δὲ περαιτέρω καὶ διὰ τί μὴ ἐστὶ δυάς;

Inc. Πρὸς μὲν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐρώτησιν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπόκρισις· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τις οὕτως ἐστὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Des. Ὅτι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν τρία τὸν Θεὸν ὄντα καὶ ἓν εἶναι ἀνάγκη.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 59-62.

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 113-

Medicaeus Laurentianus Plut. 74, ff. 262^v-264.

Mega Spelaion 48, ff. 101^v-

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 380-384^v.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 229-230.

Undated.

Constantinopolitanus (Megalis Scholis) 36, ff. 103-105.

17. Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ ὡραϊότατον, ἡ λεγομένη νήψεως καὶ νίψεως, νοδς δηλαδὴ καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων,

φέρουσα συνεχῶς τὸ φρικτὸν μὲν τοῖς δαίμοσιν ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ γλυκύτατον

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 147-150.

18. *Κανὼν εὐχαριστήριος εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἰώμενον πᾶσαν νόσον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν, Ἰαθέντος παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὄλου τῶν ποδῶν πάρεσιν, οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Παντοδύναμον ἰητῆρα Χριστὸν μεγαλύνω ὁ Μάρκος*

Inc.....

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 184

19. *Προσφώνησις ἱκετήριος τῷ μεγαλομάρτυρι Γεωργίῳ*

Inc. Ἄριστε ἀθλητῶν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ὄθεν ἄρξομαι τῆς ἱκεσίας ταυτησί προσφωνήσεως.

Des. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς παρὰ Θεῶ μαρτυρία ἀξιώσον βιοτῆς, ἔνθα εὐφραινομένων...

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 77-

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 891-895.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 943^v-944^v (a part of this work).

20. *Κανὼν εἰς τὰ ἐννέα τάγματα τῶν Ἀσωμάτων οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχίς· Τοῖς ἐννέα τάγμασιν ὡδὰς ἐννέα Μάρκος μοναχὸς Εὐγενικὸς ἐξάδω*

Inc. Τὸν τῶν αὐλῶν οὐσιῶν διάκοσμον ἀνευφημησαι τολμῶν ἐν ὕλικῇ γλώσση καὶ ρυπῶσι χεῖλεσι.

Des. Θαρροῦντα προστασία τῆς δίκης τῆς μελλούσης, Θεομακάριστε, διάσωσον.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 191-

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 49, ff. 1-5^v.

Saec. XVI

Athous Dionysianus 4063 (529), ff. 119-128^v.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Kausokalyvitanus 97 (11), ff. 1-12.

We have prepared an edition of this work, which is going to be published in *Κληρονομία* based on the two available manuscripts Oxoniensis Can. and Athous Dionysianus. The manuscript Athous Kausokalyvitanus was missing from the Library of the skete of Ioasaphaioi in 1983 when we visited the place and tried to use it for our edition. It was probably stolen.

21. *Ὁμιλία ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου πατρὸς κυροῦ Μακαρίου τοῦ Κορωνᾶ*

Inc. Ὁδῶ τινι ἔοικεν ἢ πρόσκαιρος αὕτη ζωὴ, πολλοὺς τοὺς ὀδοιπόρους ἐχούση.

Des. Σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπαγγελμένης ἀξιωθῆναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεως, ὧν γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Scorialensis III-Ω-2, ff. 144^v-147^v.

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 921-

Saec. XVI

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 164-166.

We are preparing an edition based on the first two manuscripts. We were not able to get a microfilm of the third manuscript.

22. *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἕνα, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκωθέντα Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, εἰς τοὺς ἀσωμάτους καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ἅπαντας, ἧς ἡ ἀκροστιχίς: Μάρκου ἱερομονάχου*

Inc. Μέγα τὸ εὐσεβὲς κήρυγμα πάσης διανοίας ὑπερέχων· εἷς γὰρ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν.

Des. Ἐν μάχῃ στρατηγέτην, ἐν ζάλῃ κυβερνήτην, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀκατάβλητον.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 142-

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 324, ff. 40-46^v.

Saec. XVI

Athous Dionysianus 4063 (529), ff. 106-118^v.

We are preparing an edition based on the Vindobonensis and Athous Dionysianus manuscripts.

23. *Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κὺρ Διονυσίῳ περὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος*

Inc. Ἐζητημένον τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Θεολόγῳ τὸ περὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος.

Des. Λήθης ὑποκρυφθήτω μυχοῖς, ἵνα μὴ τῇ εἰκαιολογίᾳ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀποκναίῃ.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 85-

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 12-15.

Cyprius (Archiepiscopus) 34, ff. 183-185.

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff 78^v-82.

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 872-877.

Saec. XVI

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 416-421.

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 902-903.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 242-243^v.

Saec. XVII

Mosquensis 444 (Vladimir), ff. 115-119.

24. *Μονωδία εἰς τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*

Inc. Ὡ πικρᾶς ἀγγελίας, ὦ συμφορᾶς ἀπευκταίας, ὦ βαρυτάτου πάντων, ὅσα ὁ χρόνος ἤνεγκε δυσπραγῆματος. ἔάλω Θεσσαλονίκη φεῦ, καὶ ὑπέπεσε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἢ καλλίστη τῶν πόλεων, ὁ τῆς δύσεως ὀφθαλμός, τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ ἄγαλμα. πῶς ἤνεγκεν ἰδεῖν ὁ ἥλιος τὸ τοσοῦτον κακόν; πῶς οὐ συνέπεσεν ὁ οὐρανός; πῶς οὐ διελύθη τὸ πᾶν;

Des. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ μὴδ' ἐν ἑτέρον εἶχον εἰσενεγκεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· καθάπερ οὖν οὐδὲ Θεσσαλονίκη κειμένη, τοῦ θρήνου χάρις, ὅς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀξίως, ἀλλά γε πρὸς δύναμιν, εἰρηται· τὸ γὰρ ἀξίως εἰπεῖν ἐκείνης, οὔτε ζώσης ὑπῆρξεν εἰς ἔπαινον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων οὔτε ἀπογενομένης εἰς θρήνον. ὑμεῖς δὲ κάκεινη δότε τὴν χεῖρα τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκον, χρηστοὶ δὲ φανέντες τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαγομένοις, καὶ ταύτην ἐστῶσαν ἅπασι τρόποις ὡς ἔχει φυλάξατε.

We shall include this work among the unedited ones of Markos, because P. Kerameus published only 601 words out of the 3567 (*Parartema*, pp. 52-53).

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 82-92.

Saec. XVI

Oxoniensis Holkham 78(115), ff. 185-196^v.

The sudden and unexpected discovery of this monody will contribute greatly to a new understanding of Markos's political ideas and especially how he faced the imminent threat of the Turkish forces which were closely surrounding the City. Though we have already prepared the text of this monody for edition, nevertheless we cannot resist the temptation to reveal some important points in the present work. But before proceeding further, we must categorically state that Mamoni (*Markos*, p. 56) was wrong, and this of course was due to the fact that she had not seen the text of this monody, when she wrote that Markos's source of information about the fall of Thessaloniki was John Anagnostes's account of this event (Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, *PG* 156, 588-628B). Mamoni gives two reasons to support her assumption: first, that the events which are described in this monody are closely related to those of Anagnostes, and second, Markos follows the same severe style, without many rhetorical expressions, of Anagnostes and in certain cases there is a similarity in some expressions, as for example in the beginning of the respective works. Anagnostes begins «Ἐπασχεν οὖν τῶν Λατίνων κρατούντων ἡ πόλις» and Markos «Ἐκαμνεν ἡ βελτίστη πάλαι».

Mamoni's first argument is not very strong because a historian is bound to follow the sequence of events as they take place, so both Markos and Anagnostes had to follow this rule. However, a close comparison of the two historical accounts of this sorrowful event shows clearly that Markos's source of information was *not Anagnostes's description*. And this can be easily proved by the following three items of information which are given exclusively by Markos: a) That Cretans were fighting side by side with the defenders of Thessaloniki (f. 189). b) That the conqueror Murad went to the church of St. Demetrios and gave thanks «ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τὸν τοῦ Μωάμετ Θεόν, τὸν ὀλόσφυρον δηλονότι καὶ καμηλώδη» (f. 189^v). c) That the Turks maltreated St. Symeon of Thessaloniki's dead body «οὗ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν διορύξαντες ὑπὸ μανίας ἀλόγου· ἠκίσαντό τε ὡς δυνατόν, καὶ διέβριψαν» and the reason was that «ὑπὸ Λατίνοις γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, αἰτιώτατον μάλιστα δεδογμένον» (f. 191).

The second assumption of Mamoni is also extremely weak. A prolific writer like Markos could not copy or imitate the work of an otherwise

totally unknown writer, John Anagnostes, who made his meteoric appearance in the late Byzantine era's literary circles, with this description and a short monody on the capture of Thessaloniki (PG 156, 628C-632) and then sank into oblivion. The language of Markos is very rich, his account being adorned with quotations and words from such writers like Homer, Herodotos, Sophocles, Thucydides, Demosthenes and Plutarch.

Returning back, now, and examining the content of the monody in question, we are amazed to learn that Markos composed this historical account like Thucydides as a «κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰεὶ» (I,22). In fact he says «καὶ στηλογραφῶ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εἰς ἔνδειξιν» (f. 192).

Markos was well aware of the Turkish plans to conquer not only the City, and destroy the Greek race, but also to become the predominant power in the World «Οὐκέτι κατέχειν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ φόνιοι θῆρες ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξᾶραι ἅπαν τὸ γένος διανοοῦνται καὶ μόνοι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων ἐγκρατεῖς καταστῆναι, τάχα δὲ δὴ τοῦτό γε καὶ ἰσχύσουσιν». He knew that «οὐ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁ ἀντίχριστος ἐπιστήσεται καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ζυγὸν ἐπιθήσει, προσδόκιμος ἤδη ὢν, ἐκνευρισμένοις δὲ καὶ δεδουλωμένοις» (f. 192^v). But Markos is not a prophet of evil. He is a pragmatist and as such he tries to find the reason for Thessaloniki's fate and suggest solutions to his fellow citizens, who were listening him delivering this monody, probably during a memorial service for the dead of Thessaloniki, that they may avoid a similar disaster for their capital. So he asks a rhetorical question «ζητήσωμεν τοιγαροῦν πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅθεν τὸ τοσοῦτον κακόν, καὶ τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς τοσαύτης ἐγκαταλείψεως» and he answers it with Thucydidian words: «ῥαθυμίαν φαίην ἂν ἔγω γε συνελών» (cf. Thuc. 2.41; ff. 193^v-194). Therefore *apathy* and *indifference* were the real causes of Thessaloniki's capture. And these ingredients bring «ἐν μὲν ψυχᾷς ἀμαρτίας, ἐν δὲ σώμασι νόσους, ἐν ἔθνεσι δὲ πολέμους, ἐν δὲ πολιτείαις στάσεις, ἐν δὲ πόλεσιν ἀλώσεις» (f. 194). Further in diagnosing the mortal disease which struck Thessaloniki, he says «τοιούτον δῆτι καὶ τὸ ἐκείνης πάθος τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν· εἴπερ ἀμαρτιῶν συνδρομή, συμβουλίαν τε καὶ ἀμέλειαν προσλαβοῦσα, ὢν ἀπάντων ἡ ῥαθυμία πρόξενος, οὕτως αὐτὴν κατεβάπτισεν». Then addressing his fellow citizens states «ἃ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς παραμυθίαν ἔσται τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν φυλακὴν ἂν ἐθέλωμεν, ταῦτα καὶ ἀλλήλοις διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ποιῶμεν, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ρίζαν καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἀνελόντες ἢ γεγονὸς τὸ νόσημα συγεξέκοψαν, εἰ μήπω προεφυλάξαντο, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἡμῖν, ὁμόσε τῇ τῶν κακῶν τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ ἰτέον» (f. 194^v). Consequently the citizens of Constantinople should, according to Markos, repair the walls of their city which were «πολλαχόθεν διερρώγοτων» (f. 195) because «τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν

δύναμιν οὕτως ἀνυπόστατον γενομένην, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει διαγωνίσασθαι τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντος· ὅτι μὴ τῇ τούτων ὀχυρότητι σὺν Θεῷ πιστεύοντας» (f. 194^v). The indifference of his fellow citizens was something that worried Markos and forced him to use strong language. He criticizes the rich citizens who build luxurious houses or spend their money foolishly. And immediately afterwards reminds the women of Constantinople how women of past times saved their country by giving «τῶν ἑαυτῶν κόσμον ἅπαντα» (f. 195). He then appeals to their patriotic feelings «τί δὴ οὖν τούτου κάλλιον ἔργον ἡμῖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἱερόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ δημόσιον... τί οὐκ ἐκείνας μιμεῖσθαι, καιρὸν ἔχουσαι;» and he proceeds to warn them that if they do not contribute to the repair of the walls then «τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς Θεσσαλαῖς παθεῖν».

In this campaign for the fortification of the City no one should, according to Markos, remain inactive; even the poor and the monks could contribute «τί δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ μηδὲν ἔχοντες, ἢ μηδὲν ἔχειν δοκοῦντες; λέγω δὲ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ναζιραῖους, καὶ ὄσοις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὁ βίος, καὶ ἐπιδεῆς ἡ χορηγία τῶν ἀναγκαίων· εἰσὶ καὶ ὑμῖν χεῖρες καὶ γούνατα, καὶ ἰσχύς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ στιβαροῖς μέλεσι· τούτοις εἰς καλὸν κεχρημένοι, πολλοῦ τιнос ἄξιοι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε» (ff. 195^v-196). And calls upon his listeners «δεῦρο δὴ οὖν ἅπαντες ὄλη ψυχῇ, μιᾶ γνώμῃ, τοῦ προκειμένου γινόμεθα, πάντες αὐτόκλητοι καὶ αὐτοκέλευστοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἴωμεν» and he has another advice to give: «μὴ οὖν ἀρξάμενοι, εἴτα μαλακισθέντες ἐνδῶμεν, ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίσι δελεασθέντες... τὸ δ' ἀρξάμενον εἴτα παρῆναι, χεῖρον ἢ μηδὲ ἀρξασθαι». These are words which pour strongly out of a heart which really loves the motherland. Closing his address, he declares: «ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖν εἰδῶσι καὶ βουλομένοις, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσιν, οἷόν τινα παρακλητικὰ προσέθηκα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ἐν ἑτερον εἶχον εἰσενεγκεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, καθάπερ οὐδὲ Θεσσαλονίκη» (f. 196). He concludes his monody by admonishing his fellow citizens to help the refugees who flock from Thessaloniki to their city.

The brief examination of some points of this important monody helps us to shed some light on Markos's political ideas and to realize that he was also concerned for the physical survival of the Byzantine Empire, but not of course at the expense of the Orthodox faith.

The views expressed on this monody by J. Tsaras in his article «Τὸ χειρόγραφον 192 τῆς μονῆς Κοσνίτσα (Εἰκοσιφίνισσας) καὶ Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός», *Βυζαντιακά*, 4 (Thessaloniki, 1984), 161-167, are totally unacceptable.

This work was most probably written immediately after the capture of Thessaloniki by the Turks on the 29th of March 1430.

25. *Ἐπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον μέγαν προφήτην καὶ θεόπτην Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεοσβίτην, Μάρκου ἱερομονάχου*

Inc. Ἐδει μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡμῖν οὐρανοδρόμου τοῦ λόγου συνεπαρθῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ.

Des. Τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV-XVI

Oxoniensis Baroccianus 145, ff. 98-109^v.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 918-

Querin. A. III. 3, ff. 43^v-52.

Oxoniensis Holkham gr. 78, ff. 1-24^v.

Oxoniensis Leicester 91, ff. 38-54^v.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 50, ff. 26-49.

26. *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον μέγαν προφήτην καὶ Θεόπτην Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεοσβίτην*

(Κανῶν)

Inc. Τῆς παγκοσμίου συντελείας.

Des. Θανάτου εἰσέτι κρεῖττον διέμεινας, ἄρμα πυρὸς ἠνιόχευσας αἰθέριος ἀνυψούμενος, ἰκέτευε τοῦ σωθῆναι.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 196-

Saec. XV-XVI

Oxoniensis Baroccianus 145, ff. 110-112^v.

Saec. XVI

Oxoniensis Miscellaneus 242, ff. 267-

Querin. A. III. 3, ff. 52-

The Oxoniensis Miscell. contains only four hymns (*στιχηρά*) from the acolouthia which we have published in *OT*, 567, 1.

27. *Θεωρία εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ παραβολῇ τάλαντων*

Inc. Ὁ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα πεπιστευμένος οὐ τῇ ποσότητι μόνον τὰ πλείω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ποιότητι.

Des. Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Vatopedinus 478, ff. 82-

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 9-

Parisinus gr. 1292, ff. 75^v-78^v.

Saec. XVI

Ambrosianus 205 (C 114 sup.), ff. 27^v-

Athiniensis 2972, ff. 412-416.

Athous Iberiticus 4449 (329), ff. 380-

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 944^v-945^v.

Mosquensis 245 (Vladimir), ff. 83-

Oxoniensis Holkham 78 (115), ff. 73^v-77.

Saec. XVI-XVII

Sinaiticus 1787, ff. 240^v-242^v.

Saec. XVIII

Athous Panteleemonensis 5846 (339), ff. 107^v-112^v.

Marcianus 127, f. 54.

28. *Μέθοδος εἰς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συστάντας νέους προχείρους κανόνας τοὺς καλουμένους κύκλους ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου τινος καλουμένου Ἰακῶβ*

Inc. Ἡ τῶν κανόνων τούτων σύστασις γέγονεν μὲν παρά τινος τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ μαθηματικῶν.

Des. Καὶ οὕτω κατεληφότες ἀκριβῶς ἐσόμεθα καὶ τούτων τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἐκλειψιν.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Ambrosianus 409 (G 69 sup.), ff. 319-

Athous Vatopedinus 188, ff. 107-

Vaticanus gr. 1879, ff. 231-248.

Saec. XVI

Constantinopolitanus, S. Sepulcri 317, ff. 90-115.

Mercati, *Isidoro*, 42-46, discusses briefly this astronomical work.29. *Διάλογος Ἰσίδωρος ἢ περὶ ὑπακοῆς*

Inc. Ἦθελον, ὦ πάτερ, ὀλίγα ἄττα περὶ ὑπακοῆς ἀκούσῃ σου διαλεγομένου μεγάλα γὰρ μοι δοκεῖς.

Des. Καὶ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θελήματος καθορμήσειε, προῖκα μεταδιδούς ὑπ' ἐλέους, τῶν ἐτέροις μεγάλων πόνων ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδίδω.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Cosinitzensis 192, ff. 52-

Saec. XV-XVI

Bucharest Academia Romana 452, pp. 834-838.

Saec XVIII

Athous Panteleemonensis 5846 (339), ff. 71-75^v.

We are preparing an edition of this work.

30. *Περὶ τοῦ ἀζύμου*

Inc. Ἐξῆς δὴ ἐστὶ θεωρητέον, τὰ τῆς τελουμένης πρὸς αὐτῶν φημί τῶν
Λατίνων ἀζύμου θυσίας.

Des. Καὶ ὑπεξίστασθαι τὰ γε μὴν τῆς κρείττονος ἐλπίδος, μετ' ἐλευθερίας
εἰσάγεσθαι.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athiniensis (Voulis), 289, ff. 49-51^v.

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), ff. 697-698.

Athous Lavrentinus 2146 (M 133), ff. 150-

31. *Λατίνων ἔνστασις μετὰ Ρωμαϊκῶν λύσεων*

Inc. Ὁ πάπας τοῦ ἀποστόλου διάδοχος καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ ὀνομάζεται.

Des.....

Manuscripts:

Saec. XVI

Athous Iberiticus 4508 (388), f. 707^v-

Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 252, ff. 481-482^v.

Undated:

Constantinopolitanus (Zographeion) 32, ff. 369-372.

32. *Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις θεολόγοις καὶ διδασκάλοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μάρκου ἀρχιεπισκόπου
Ἐφέσου, ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν θεοπαράδοτον εὐχὴν τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὃ ἐν τοῖς
οὐρανοῖς*

Inc. Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ χάριτι καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ ἐν προσκυνητῇ Τριάδι δοξα-
ζομένου ἑνὸς Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Ἀμήν.

Des. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη'.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Parisinus gr. 2075, ff. 385-393.

Saec. XVII

Parisinus Suppl. gr. 475 (It was copied from the previous one).

Undated:

Vindobonensis philol. gr. 195, ff. 181-190.

A. Yiomblakis, *Eug*, p. 151, includes this work among those of John Eugenikos. Father Bulovič following Yiomblakis did not mention this work in his doctoral thesis. Mamoni and C. Tsirpanlis also avoided including it among Markos's works. L. Petit in *DTC.*, op. cit., 1976, suggested that this item should be excluded from Markos's writings.

However this work *does belong* to Markos Eugenikos and this is well proven by the title in the Vindobonensis manuscript. Since the Parisinus gr. 2075, which is an autograph of John Eugenikos, contains other productions of Markos's, even if John wrote «τοῦ αὐτοῦ» in the beginning of this work, and the previous one was actually belonging to him, still this can be considered a mistake of John and it should not be taken as proof for attributing this work to Markos's brother.

We are preparing a critical edition of this work.

33. *Πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα κατὰ Μανουὴλ τῷ Καλέκα*

Inc. Πολλάκις ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν γεγονῶς ἐπεζήτησα, τί ποτε ἦν ἄρα τὸ αἰτιον.

Des. Καὶ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν Ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ σφετέρῳ κακῷ νεανιευσάμενος.

Manuscripts:

Saec. XV

Athous Iberiticus 4765 (645), ff. 45-84.

Mega Spelaion 48, ff. 35-65^v.

Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. ff. 55-92.

We are preparing a critical edition of this work.

III. THE BACKGROUND TO THE ANTIRRHETIC

For a clearer understanding and assessment of Markos Eugenikos's refutation of Manuel Calecas's work *About the Essence and the Energy* it is essential to examine very briefly the dispute that arose over the distinction in God between the «essence» and «energy». This distinction became the focal point in the Palamite controversy which broke out in the last decades of the thirteenth century. At this stage of research, while a significant number of theological works on this particular issue still remains unpublished, it is impossible to give a definitive account of this controversy. Nevertheless recent study has shown that contrary to the belief held in the West¹, this doctrine did not originate in the thirteenth century². The distinction in fact goes back to the Church Fathers and in particular to the Cappadocians who differentiated between the essence of God, which they considered inaccessible, and his energy, which can become accessible to human beings. This doctrine remained part of the Orthodox tradition. It was discussed in the time of Photios, and certainly both St. Symeon the New Theologian and Nicholas of Methone were clearly aware of this distinction. But it was further developed and elucidated in the course of time, and in particular during the discussions they had with Latin theologians in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

It was Patriarch Germanos II (1222-1240) who first formulated clearly the distinction between essence and energy in this period. His contribution was acknowledged by the Palamites, as is shown by the statement of Philotheos Kokkinos (1354-55 and 1364-76) that «Germanos took the teaching about the holy energy and grace and illumination from the ancient Fathers and theologians. He taught most excellently and proved that the energy was originated from the Holy Trinity, and though it differs from its nature, it is coeternal and united with it and belongs essentially to it and it is undivided from it. He also taught about its participation and he said that the saints do not partake of hypostasis or essence of the Spirit, because

creatures cannot partake at all of the holy essence and hypostasis, only of the holy energy and grace and illumination which is by itself simple and undivided, though it is divided and varies in its divisions according to the holy goodness»³.

A contemporary of Germanos II, the hieromonk Hierotheos - possibly of Mt. Latros - can be considered one of the most able Orthodox theologians who contributed to the «formulation» of the distinction between the energies and essence in God. Though all of his works are unedited, nevertheless, we are informed in two very informative articles by hieromonk G. Patacsi, who is preparing an edition of these works, that Hierotheos wrote that the Holy Spirit appeared not with His essence but with His gifts, and the gift is neither essence nor God, but natural energy⁴.

It is very possible that when the works of Hierotheos are published, the now totally unknown hieromonk might emerge as the most important forerunner of Palamas and contribute to dispelling the accusation that Palamas formulated a theology of his own.

A further and profoundly important step towards the formulation of the doctrine was made by Gregory of Cyprus (1283-89) with regard to the Filioque question and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Gregory utterly rejected the expression that the Holy Spirit proceeds «from the Son», but he accepted that the Holy Spirit proceeds «through the Son» and he contrived a new theological term «the eternal manifestation»⁵.

In the conciliar Tomos which was approved by the synod of 1285, Gregory, explaining the controversial phrases of St. John of Damascus that the Spirit proceeds «through the Son», says: «According to the common opinion of the Church and the teaching of the saints, the Father is the root and source of both Son and Spirit, and the only source of divinity and the only cause. And if some of the saints say that the Spirit also proceeds through the Son, this phrase points to the eternal manifestation. It does not mean the pure procession of the Spirit which originates from the Father, otherwise this would deprive the Father of being the only cause and source of divinity, and would prove the Theologian who says that «All which the Father possesses the Son also possesses except causality as a false theologian»⁶.

Gregory therefore following the Patristic literature accepts without question the fact that the Father is the only cause of divinity, but he shows clearly the eternal relation which exists between the Son and the Spirit: «For it is accepted that the Paraclete shines forth and shows itself eternally through the Son, just as the light shines from the sun through its rays. This also manifests the bestowing, giving and sending of the Spirit to us. It does

not, however, mean that it exists through the Son and from the Son, and that it comes into existence through him and from him»⁷.

The explanation given by Gregory, that the eternal shining forth of the Spirit through the Son denotes also the «bestowing, giving and sending» of it to us, make it crystal clear that what the Son shows are the energies of the Holy Spirit, since Orthodox theology accepts and teaches that the assense of the Holy Spirit (as well as that of the other two persons of the Trinity) is incommunicable.

Unfortunately some conservative bishops led by Metropolitan Theoleptos of Philadelphia, the spiritual teacher of Palamas, misunderstood Gregory's distinction between «procession» and «manifestation» and how these two processes were occurring simultaneously. The misunderstanding was further compounded by an erroneous commentary on the Tomos by an uneducated monk called Markos, who was connected with Gregory. Gregory's opponents insisted that, since the Patriarch who had read Markos's work did not correct it, it meant that he had given his approval. Though subsequently Gregory denounced Markos's commentary, nevertheless he was forced to resign.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate and tragic incident there is no doubt, as Gregory's works attest, that the Patriarch has taught «ad mentem patrum». This is confirmed by the profound influence he exercised on Palamas and Palamite theologians, like Philotheos Kokkinos, Joseph Kalothetos, Markos Eugenikos and Gennadios Scholarios who praised him highly.

The distinction between «essence» and «energy» became the main issue in the Palamite controversy which arose with Barlaam's contention that God in his essence was unknowable. Palamas rejected this and restated the traditional view, namely, that though the essence of God remained inaccessible and unknowable, God became accessible and knowable to human beings through his uncreated energies. This controversy ostensibly came to an end with the Constantinopolitan Councils of 1347, 1351 and 1368 which adopted the teaching of Palamas as the official doctrine of the Orthodox Church. The antagonism however persisted well into the fifteenth century with which we are concerned here.

The most important and influential representative of the anti-Palamite faction without any doubt was Manuel Calecas, a disciple of Demetrios Cydones. He joined the Dominican Order and ended his life in a Dominican monastery on the island of Mytilene in 1410. Just at the turn of the fifteenth century, with the encouragement of his teacher Demetrios Cydones, he wrote to Joseph Bryennios who was then in Crete rebuking him for

supporting Palamite theology on the subject of the difference between essence and energy in God⁸. His participation in the controversy is of interest. For Calecas in his dispute with Bryennios drew his arguments from Thomas Aquinas whose teachings on this point were diametrically opposed to those of Palamas. He adopted the same line of argument in his analysis of the Synodal Tomos of 1351.

It is clear from the surviving evidence, though not all of those who took part in the dispute left written works, that disputation among theologians was not an isolated incident, and that the issue on the contrary was very much alive in the fifteenth century for Calecas to consider it necessary to re-open the «Palamite» controversy.

The purpose of writing this work, as he states in his introduction, was «to clarify the decision of the Council of 1351»⁹. But far from clarifying or explaining the text of the Synodal Tomos, Calecas proceeded to an all out attack against it and particularly against Gregory Palamas, whom he considered the chief architect of this synodal decision. In the course of his critique Calecas quotes extensively from Palamas's works with the sole purpose of refuting them. His line of argument is similar to that he adopted in his letter to Bryennios. He draws his material from Aquinas as well as from Demetrios Cydones's work «Against Palamas»¹⁰. He does not always state his source, but the line of argument he adopts follows strictly the propositions advanced by his teacher a few decades earlier. This would suggest that the controversy had received a fresh impetus in this period and that Cydones's works had perhaps by then become inaccessible to the public so that Calecas felt it incumbent on him to disseminate his teacher's beliefs.

Not all anti-Palamites were as prolific or important as Manuel Calecas. Maximos Chrysoberges brother of the Archbishop Andreas of Rhodes, was another Greek intellectual who became a Dominican monk during Calecas's time and who also took part in the controversy. But Maximos, unlike Manuel, limited himself to refuting Palamism either orally or in letters, as the extant letter he sent to the Cretans¹¹ demonstrates. Joseph Bryennios¹² mentions a discussion he had with Maximos during which the subject of the distinction between the essence and the energy was touched upon. Among the arguments brought to bear on this occasion in support of the Latin view and in an attempt to persuade him, Bryennios maintains, was the belief that God helps the Latins more than the Orthodox¹³.

Maximos's brother, Andreas, a Dominican monk, and later Roman Catholic archbishop of Rhodes and Nicosia of Cyprus, also took part in the controversy. He played an important role in the Council of Ferrara-

Florence in 1438-39 as a member of the Latin delegation and one of its chief spokesmen¹⁴. He had studied Latin theology in Padua and therefore was well informed on Thomist teaching. But as he was involved in various papal missions he wrote no major work to support his ideas. He only left a short but important treatise which he composed in response to a letter of inquiry sent to him by Bessarion. This work¹⁵ deals exclusively with the Palamite controversy and is heavily based on the work of Prochoros Cydones «About the essence and the energy in God»¹⁶, Which in turn is dependent on the «Summa Contra Gentiles» of Thomas Aquinas which Demetrios had translated into Greek¹⁷.

Another active anti-Palamite was the third brother, Theodoros Chrysoberges. Following in the steps of his two brothers he too became a Dominican monk and was later elevated to the Latin archbishopric of Olena. He was involved in the discussions for the convention of the Council and was sent as an imperial ambassador to Pope Martin V¹⁸. Unfortunately no work of his, if ever he wrote one, has survived.

But perhaps one of the most educated anti-Palamites who was subsequently destined to play an important role in the West was cardinal Bessarion. Ten years younger than Markos Eugenikos, he was to follow a road completely different from Markos.

It is very important to consider why Bessarion who, like Markos, had been taught by the same teachers John Chortasmenos and George Gemistos Plethon, was eventually converted to Catholicism. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that both these teachers who had probably a profound impression on Bessarion taught philosophy and mathematics but not theology and especially the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church, though Chortasmenos was a pro-Palamite.

Bessarion, a bright young boy, came to Constantinople with his patron the Metropolitan of Trebizond Dositheos in 1416 and very soon entered a monastery in Selymbria, attending a seminar to study literature under the direction of John Chortasmenos, who had become Metropolitan of Selymbria having adopted the monastic name Ignatios. Later he studied under the famous teacher George Chrysococces and had as a fellow student the well known Italian humanist Francesco Filelmo¹⁹ through whom he «had learnt of the exciting new intellectual developments in the revival of classical learning in the West»²⁰.

In 1423 he was tonsured a monk and two years later ordained a deacon in Constantinople²¹. It is important to note that Bessarion was only 22 when he became deacon despite the Holy Canons' prescription that the minimum age for such an ordination was 25. One may conclude that

Bessarion's monastery where he took his vows was not strictly adhering to the rules for otherwise it should have never authorised such an ordination which was violating the Holy Canons²². It is possible that he only nominally belonged to a monastery and was free to pursue his intellectual pursuits. This seems to be supported by the fact that he undertook missions abroad on behalf of the Emperor as he himself says in his «Encyclical letter to the Greeks»²³.

This is not an exaggeration since, we know, that while still a deacon Bessarion was sent as an imperial ambassador to the Court of Trebizond to arrange an alliance and seek the hand of the daughter of the Emperor of Trebizond for John VIII Palaeologos²⁴. He carried out both these tasks successfully. From an early age therefore he was destined to be a diplomat, a service which he liked and was later on to carry out for the Popes of Rome.

In 1430, again below the age of 30 required by the Holy Canons, he was ordained priest²⁵. But being not a hieromonk attached to a strict monastery or having to observe the monastic typicon, he was free to travel to the Peloponnese and study for some years under the famous Platonic philosopher Plethon²⁶. When he returned to Constantinople, he was honoured by the Emperor by being appointed abbot of the imperial monastery of St. Basil in 1436²⁷. A year later and at the young age of 34 he was consecrated Metropolitan of Nicaea then under Turkish rule, but which he never visited²⁸. It is possible that during the period he spent as an abbot he became familiar with Palamite theology. The philosophical spirit of Bessarion seems to have been greatly troubled by this encounter with Palamism which he probably could not comprehend being not in tune with its mystical aspects²⁹. He was by training a classicist who had not like Markos Eugenikos, concentrated on theology, but having certain knowledge of theological works he could later on as metropolitan expound on theological issues, as indeed did the neo-pagan Gemistos Plethon on the Filioque³⁰. Bessarion's elevation to the See of Nicaea, according to Capranica in his Funeral Oration on him, was due to the close friendship he enjoyed with the Emperor's brother Theodore II, whom he had first met in the Peloponnese³¹. In other words, Bessarion does not seem to have had a rigorous theological training, nor was he considered an outstanding theologian by the clerical circles in Constantinople at the time. For during the preliminary discussions between the Emperor and the Church for the projected Council, Bessarion was not included among the Orthodox theologians who were to participate in them. The task was assigned to Anthony of Heracleia, Markos Eugenikos, Gregory the Confessor, Kritopoulos, George Scholarios and others³². Nor was he appointed as a proxy by any Eastern Orthodox Patriarch in the first place³³.

That he was out of tune with certain aspects of the Orthodox tenets and that he was moving towards Catholicism may be gauged from the two letters he wrote to the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Rhodes, Andreas Chrysoberges, to discuss certain problematic passages he had come across in Thomas Aquinas.

Before examining the contents of the letter it is perhaps worth-while to examine simply the action of Bessarion in sending this letter to Andreas. It would have been of no paramount interest if such a letter had been written and sent by a lay delegate for example, such as Scholarios or Gemistos. But for the Metropolitan of Nicaea, the eighth high ranking bishop of the Patriarchal hierarchy and one of the chief spokesmen of the Greek delegation to express his doubts on the tenets of his Church and seek advice from a Catholic Archbishop seems inappropriate to say the least³⁴. His action was contrary to the Holy Canons of the Orthodox Church since at his consecration as bishop he took an oath on the Gospel to obey and observe the Holy Canons which stipulated that doctrines accepted by the Orthodox Church should be adhered to without question. The infringement of the Canons was punishable by defrockment and excommunication. When he took the oath, Bessarion must have known that Palamism was already an official doctrine of the Church and therefore the right course of action would have been for him to tender his resignation before he set out to represent his Church in the Council of Ferrara when he discovered that he could not uphold its tenets.

Of these two letters he sent to Chrysoberges only the second survives. The first never received a reply, due probably to the fact that Andreas was very busy with papal missions and thus unable to reply and Bessarion had to write a second time pressing him for an answer³⁵. By then he was already a bishop and on his way to Ferrara as a delegate to the Council. The year was 1437 and the letter was written from Modon³⁶ begging Andreas to write to him «something new and important and fittingly wise»³⁷. This letter which has been preserved in Andreas's answer who quoted it verbatim, is of great interest, for it enables us to pinpoint more accurately the approximate date of Bessarion's conversion.

Bessarion in his letter to Andreas raise certain controversial passages he had come across in Thomas Aquinas whom he most probably had read in the original³⁸, though he may not have read the whole of the *Summa Theologica*³⁹. These passages, as he wrote, aroused in him a certain anxiety and he sought Andreas's advice: «What makes us really wonder is the question of the holy essence and energy. Your reverence knows very well that various opinions have been put forward in our Greek Church and it

was confirmed and decreed that the holy essence should be regarded as being different from its holy energy»⁴⁰. Then he proceeds to say that though the blessed Thomas considers the holy energy as being the same as holy essence, yet in some passages he seems to distinguish them. If this were so, undoubtedly Bessarion could see that the two views, that of Aquinas and Palamas, were in fact identical. And what he had come to regard as heretical turned out to be, or so it seemed, the beliefs of the Catholic Church as well. What is of interest at this point is that his insistence and anxiety to be advised on this issue may not be simply academic, but may in fact indicate that even before his consecration Bessarion had adopted the Catholic beliefs, for otherwise his urgent disquiet would be inexplicable⁴¹.

The new uncertainty created by the contradictory passages probably increased the sense of guilt he must have felt. For, having accepted the honour his Church has bestowed on him by elevating him to the See of Nicaea and appointing him a delegate, far from upholding her tenets he had already committed himself to Catholicism. Hence his plea to Andreas for an explanation, probably in the hope that this would dispel his sense of culpability by reassuring him that indeed his Church had erred on certain matters from God's will and therefore he was duty bound to seek truth elsewhere. «How, most wise father», he wrote, «can that assembly of Christians be and be called the Catholic and Apostolic Church which on the first article of faith has expressed contradictory views and thus decreed strongly each one should express it. How then such a Church which is moved and governed by the founder of truth would teach falsehood about Him? For it is common opinion that a contradiction cannot be true. There was a time when our Church believed that nothing was uncreated except the three Persons of the divinity and that all the perfections of the Holy Trinity were identical with her. Sometime after the Church decreed the opposite. I do not know by what she had been persuaded to do so and thus she instructed (her members) to believe this as a pillar of faith, calling uncreated not only the three Persons and the all above essence and nature but also a host of endless kinds and species of deities, inferior and superior». Then he comes to the most crucial point of his letter: «And since the Church has once departed from the truth, it seems that this is not the Church in which the Lord promises to stay until the end of the centuries, because that staying cannot be otherwise understood than as its being maintained by Him always on the foundation of truth and since it has once erred, it seems to us that this is not the Church to which the Lord promises to stay until the end of the World»⁴².

The opening and final words of this letter leave no doubt that Bessarion had wholeheartedly rejected Palamism and had already moved towards Catholicism. Andreas's reply as it was expected did nothing but confirm Bessarion in his newly found faith. He assured him that Thomas «the protector of the true faith», meaning probably that Palamas was the protector of the false faith, held fast to the belief that the essence and the energy in God are identical⁴³. Given the evidence contained in this letter it is clear that Bessarion had questioned the canonicity of his Church on the most important article of faith and had committed himself to Roman Catholicism before his departure to the projected Council⁴⁴. So an ardent follower of Barlaam and Akindynos, the heresiarchs⁴⁵ dressed as a metropolitan of the Orthodox Church⁴⁶ was accompanying the Byzantine delegation to Italy.

If this was the case with Bessarion, it is clear that Markos Eugenikos was left to all intents and purpose the only delegate to uphold the tenets of the Eastern Church. Had Bessarion declared his belief, it is most probable that, in accordance with the Canons of the Church, he would have been defrocked. But what is certain is that his mental defection went a long way to weakening the Greek delegation.

If the anti-Palamite Latinizing faction prided itself on such formidable figures, those who opposed it had also distinguished personalities in their ranks. One of them was Demetrios Chrysoloras who came from Thessaloniki. He was a philosopher, astronomer and adviser to the Emperor Manuel Palaeologos⁴⁷. Demetrios was a strong supporter of the Palamite theology and an admirer of Neilos Cabasilas in whose defence he composed an antirrhetic work⁴⁸ criticising the treatise Demetrios Cydones wrote against Cabasilas⁴⁹. Chrysoloras composed it in the form of an imaginary dialogue supposedly conducted between Neilos Cabasilas, Thomas Aquinas, Demetrios Cydones and himself. In this dialogue he tried to show the enormous distance that existed between the hesychast and the Latin theology, though unlike other anti-Latin writers he adopted a mild tone towards Thomas Aquinas⁵⁰. This was probably due to the fact that he was not a cleric or a monk and he might have had some friends among the anti-Palamites whom he did not wish to offend.

Probably one of the most active Palamites of that period was the abbot of the famous monastery of Stoudios and later Patriarch Euthymios. A highly educated man, he was sent to Italy as imperial envoy by the Emperor Manuel in order to discuss the projected Union-Council⁵¹. Unfortunately he seems to have written no work on the Palamite controversy, but according to the information contained in the Canon Markos Eugenikos' compo-

sed in honour of him, Euthymios was involved in discussions with supporters of Akindynos whom he criticized many times, though he failed to persuade and prevent them from joining the Latin Church⁵².

An equally distinguished figure and one of the most prominent apologists and champions of Orthodoxy during those troubled years was Symeon, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki (1416/17-1429). He was born in Constantinople and entered the monastery of Xanthopouloi. Before his elevation to the See of Thessaloniki, Symeon was a well known confessor and preacher in the Byzantine capital. Gennadios Scholarios was among those who listened to his sermons with pleasure⁵³. One may presume that among the subjects with which he dealt in his sermons were the questions of the Filioque and the difference between the essence and the energy in God; this presumption is strengthened by the writings which he penned later on these subjects.

Symeon wrote a «Dialogue against the heresies»⁵⁴ where he devoted chapters 19-22 to the «Latin heresies». He also sharply attacked the leaders of the anti-Palamite camp, Barlaam and Akindynos and devoted chapter number 30⁵⁵ to a critique of them and of Gregoras. In this work, following the path of the traditional theologian, he praised and extolled Palamas and his supporters Philotheos Kokkinos, Neilos of Thessaloniki, Nikolaos Cabasilas and Theophanes of Nicaea⁵⁶, while at the same time he strongly refuted the teaching of Barlaam⁵⁷. Symeon attacked fiercely the Caledonian philosopher Barlaam, in a letter which he sent to a zealot Orthodox in Crete, who was greatly worried about the ecclesiastical situation on his island⁵⁸. In this letter, Symeon deals simply with the Filioque question and the distinction between the essence and the energy, though not so clearly with the latter problem. He also advises the unknown Cretan to remain a faithful supporter of the Orthodox faith. From this letter it seems clear that the Cretan was probably a lay-theologian and a preacher and that he had influence on a circle of Orthodox Christians. From another letter Symeon wrote to Makarios Makres, friend and fellow theologian, we learn that he had sent letters to various people, most of whom were probably clerics, urging them to be rather cautious on the projected Union-Council. These letters were received by the recipients with mixed feelings and in some cases they were the cause of disturbances⁵⁹. Unfortunately the names of the addressees are not known. Makarios's reply to Symeon who asked for more information on the subject, has not been found so far. But one thing seems to be certain that those who protested against Symeon's letters were influential members of the Church who were in favour of a Union-Council. An interesting question which arises is whether those people had

any connection with the anti-Palamites of the Capital. It is clear therefore that Symeon was conducting his campaign against the Latins not only in his See but also abroad.

His close friend Makarios Makres or Makros was born in Thessaloniki and early in his life entered the monastery of Vatopedi of Mount Athos. He was later invited by the Emperor Manuel Palaeologos to undertake the renovation of the imperial monastery of Pantokrator, where he also became abbot⁶⁰. Makarios was also a friend of Sphranzes⁶¹. However for unknown reasons the Patriarch Joseph II considered him to be a heretic⁶², while the pro-unionist Sphrantzes admired him and considered him to be a holy man⁶³. A logical explanation of this divergence of opinion might be that Makarios, despite his being sent together with Iagaris to the Pope as imperial ambassador to make arrangements for the forthcoming Union Council, was perhaps regarded, together with his friend Symeon of Thessaloniki, as one of the two main obstacles to the realization of the Council. The Patriarch and his advisers who supported the projected Council may have been concerned about the possible influence men like the «fanatic» Makarios could exercise on others, particularly since Makarios had backed up Symeon's strongly anti-unionist stance⁶⁴. This had already aroused complaints among some of the anti-Palamites and the matter was referred to the Patriarch. There is no doubt that Makarios was critical of Rome, for he wrote a treatise consisting of ten chapters against the Latins⁶⁵, in which work one can see clearly his hostile attitude towards the Latin Church in contrast to his total devotion to the established Palamite theology. It appears that Makarios was a leading figure in the Palamite dispute in Constantinople. Consequently, when he died in 1431, he left behind him the legacy of an Orthodox zealot⁶⁶ and his monastic community honoured him as a saint. Seven years after his death, some Greek delegates at the Council of Florence called upon Markos Eugenikos to imitate Makarios and speak fearlessly and with courage in defence of the Orthodox doctrine⁶⁷.

In contrast to Makarios, Joseph Bryennios (1350-1431/32) was one of the most famous theologians of his epoch and a prolific writer. He was born in Constantinople and became a hieromonk at the famous monastery of Stoudios. He travelled extensively abroad on ecclesiastical missions to Cyprus and Crete. He was a fierce opponent of the anti-Palamites and familiar with the works of Thomas Aquinas which had been translated into Greek. Though he was very careful not to speak openly against the Latins, since he was obliged to travel in territories which were occupied by them, in his works he stated clearly his criticisms against Latin theology. On one occasion during a dialogue he held with the Greek Dominican monk Maxi-

mos Crysoberges in Crete⁶⁸, Bryennios vehemently attacked the Thomistic theology, accusing its author of being influenced by Platonic philosophy⁶⁹.

Among the Latinizers whom Bryennios knew well was the famous Demetrios Cydones, then in Venice, to whom he sent a letter expressing his sorrow that the latter had become a Roman Catholic and as a close friend begging him to return to his mother Church⁷⁰. Similarly Bryennios severely criticized all the Greeks who joined the Latin Church⁷¹. The language he used in his works was however moderate for he saw the Latinizers as his compatriots and tried tactfully to persuade them to return to their original Church, a method which appears to have been highly effective if the information given by Scholarios that Cydones confessed to Bryennios his intention to return to Orthodoxy is true⁷². Unfortunately Cydones did not live long enough to verify this information. At the end of his mission abroad Bryennios settled in Constantinople. He did not remain idle in his monastery, but he led an active life both as a teacher and a preacher. A short sermon on the Transfiguration which he probably delivered in a church, shows his intensity and involvement in the Palamite controversy⁷³. In it he tries hard to persuade his congregation that the light of the Transfiguration was not created (this was a subject on which Palamites and anti-Palamites held totally opposing views), and considers all those who dispute this, namely the anti-Palamites, as enemies of the saints and the truth⁷⁴. Similarly he delivered an oration in the Triclinium in the Palace-probably in the presence of the Emperor and his court⁷⁵ – on the subject of the holy energy. In this oration he displayed his patristic knowledge by quoting seventeen Fathers of the Church in support of the distinction between the essence and the energy in God. He called upon his audience to choose between the Fathers on one hand and Akindynos and Barlaam on the other⁷⁶. In this sermon too, he displayed his moderate approach despite his strong feelings on the subject by assuring his listeners that he would pray for both those who accept the distinction between essence and energy and those who reject it, so that the former would remain firm in their faith and the latter would refrain from this heresy⁷⁷.

From the subject of Bryennios's speeches we may conclude that there were a considerable number of Byzantines who either totally rejected or doubted the correctness of the Palamite teaching and it was this section of Constantinopolitan society that he tried to influence. Another subject which he considered of primary importance and about which he held discussions both with papal ambassadors visiting Constantinople and Byzantine Latinizers was the procession of the Holy Ghost⁷⁸. Unfortunately the names of these Byzantines are not revealed because there was always the

possibility that they might rejoin the Orthodox Church⁷⁹. Bryennios was not against a Union-Council and had said that if God permitted such a Council, he would have attended it and spoken in it⁸⁰. In fact he delivered a speech in the Synodal Hall of the Great Church - probably in the presence of the Patriarch and the Synod - advising them how to act in order to succeed in their objections in the Union-Council⁸¹.

The last known «defender of Orthodoxy» was the teacher of both Markos Eugenikos and Bessarion. John Chortasmenos, later Ignatios, Metropolitan of Selymbria. In a letter sent to Atoumes he praises highly his dead friend Theodoros Antiochites for his total opposition to the Filioque. In the same letter he considers piety to be related to the truth of doctrines and the correct belief about God⁸². This is a clear indication that Chortasmenos was a traditional Orthodox and as such a pro-Palamite. His anti-Latin feelings are expressed in a letter sent to the teacher Joseph Bryennios when the latter returned from his mission to Cyprus. Praising Bryennios and his fellow envoys, he says that they proved that the Cypriots, contrary to the instructions of the Church, were in communion with the Latins on the island, and that the most important thing «even if the Latins became blue in the face from lying against us», is the accuracy of doctrine⁸³. But perhaps the most interesting document we have which indicates the Orthodox feelings of Chortasmenos is a letter addressed to the humanist, Manuel Chrysoloras who had secretly joined the Catholic Church⁸⁴. Chortasmenos begs Manuel to make an open profession of faith in order that he (Chortasmenos) may be able to answer those who accused Manuel as being a Lati-nophron. Though from the published works of Chortasmenos one can conclude that he was not a great theologian - he was however a good philologist - nevertheless he was a traditional Orthodox respecting the doctrines of his Church and considering the Latins as heretics. So the conclusion of Father Stormon that Bessarion «Deep down, stands closer to his spiritual master Chortasmenos, man of letters and model of sanctity, than to the brilliant philosophical figure of Pletho»⁸⁵ cannot be supported by his extant works. Chortasmenos, the admirer of Bryennios could never have even contemplated rejecting Palamism; whether he found time to study it or not, he was humble enough to accept it without question since he believed that this was accepted by his Church.

It is thus evident that the Palamite controversy was still a raging issue during the first half of the fifteenth century. Therefore it would have been totally inconceivable for a man like Markos Eugenikos, a future «unflinching champion of Orthodoxy» not to have taken a leading part.

IV. TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS

A. TEXT

The First Antirrhetic of Markos Eugenikos which is edited below, was written against Manuel Calecas's *About the essence and energy*. It is his most important work and the last to be written in the Palaeologan period¹. Its structure follows the traditional pattern of antirrhetics which consists of criticism and commentary. Extracts from the work which are to be refuted are quoted and juxtaposed to Biblical and patristic quotations which prove the work to be conceived on erroneous lines and contrary to the accepted tenets of the Church. In addition the author brings to bear his own explanation and clarification on the disputed points.

Markos wrote two Antirrhetics against Calecas' s *About the essence and energy* and though both deal with the same subject, that is, the refutation of Calecas's work against the Synodal Tome of 1351², nevertheless he considered his First as a separate work from his Second Antirrhetic³. The closing lines of the First «ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἰτέον, ἐν οἷς ἀγωνιστικώτερον συνίσταται τῇ ἰδίᾳ θέσει» (p. 234, 20-21) confirm that this is so. In addition the quoted words suggest that Calecas himself had divided his work into two parts, though this is not apparent in the Migne edition, and that Markos in his refutation followed strictly the order of *About the essence and energy*. In his introductory note (Προθεωρία) to these works, Markos stated the reasons for writing his Antirrhetics and called upon his readers to consider his works as a compilation of Biblical and patristic quotations with his own interpretation and arguments not used before in the Palamite controversy (p. 157,01). From the wealth of Biblical and patristic quotations and the way he handles his material, it becomes apparent that Markos was in total command of his subject and as an experienced theologian could offer his own personal contribution to the Palamite theology, he also made it quite clear that those who wished

to read more polemical and detailed accounts on this subject should consult the works of the fathers who had confronted the heresy at its inception, that is the works of Gregory Palamas and Philotheos Kokkinos.

Markos begins his exposé and step by step refutation of Calecas's views (ληρήματα). He first deals with the distinction between the energies and essence in God (pp. 164, 29-168, 25). He then moves on to an examination of the word Θεότης denoting the energy of God and the usage of the word in the patristic context (pp. 168, 26-173, 19). Having defined this term he proceeds to reject the argument of Calecas, namely, that the names attributed to God and which describe his energies are merely verbal points. Markos, following in the steps of the earlier Palamite theologians, maintains that the «πράγματα ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰς οὐσιώδεις δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας» (pp. 173, 20-180, 3). Then he goes on to explain how there are many distinctions in God between the essence and the energy (pp. 180, 4-181, 31) and that the energy of God can become visible through his grace (pp. 181, 31-190, 30). The holy energy is «inferior» in relation to the essence which is «transcendental» (ὑφειμένη καὶ ὑπερκειμένη θεότης) (pp. 191, 1-197, 7). He maintains that the distinctions in God between energy and essence do not create division in Him (pp. 197, 8-202, 14) and that man's deification is uncreated and without beginning (pp. 202, 15-204, 28). He returns once more to the subject of holy essence and energy and accepts the patristic axiom that the holy nature begets, and the energy creates and that the faithful can receive and see solely the holy energy (pp. 204, 29-211, 15). But in order that God can be seen through his grace the faithful must undergo a particular change (pp. 211, 16-213, 30). So fundamental he considers this to be that he repeats and insists that the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit is not given to human beings, but what is actually given is its grace and energy (pp. 213, 31-215, 29). And that all the names given to God refer to His energies and not to His essence which is and will always be unknown to human beings (pp. 215, 30-217, 28).

Having refuted Calecas on these points he further adduces evidence from his Palamite predecessors Germanos II and Gregory of Cyprus, who held similar views on this matter (pp. 217, 29-220, 2). He returns to the subject of energy where he utterly rejects Calecas's statement that God can create and govern everything with one power or energy (pp. 220, 3-226, 26). He argues that the holy energies and essence do not create a composition in God (pp. 226, 27-234, 23). He brings his Antirrhetic to a close by summarizing briefly his previous arguments and stating that there is one God in essence, power and energy according to the conception and sayings of the theologians (p.

232, 35-36).

The date of the composition of the First Antirrhetic is difficult to ascertain, but judging from the contents it seems that it belongs to the pen of a mature Markos, and was most probably written in the 1430' s when he was a hieromonk at the monastery of Mangana. This may be partly supported by the fact that Markos in his Antirrhetic, though he attacks Aristotle and the Thomistic theology, nevertheless avoids mentioning Thomas Aquinas by name. He may have done this on purpose because he did not wish to affect the discussions for the convocation of a Union Council then taking place in Constantinople.

The language of the Antirrhetic offers no difficulties. Markos occasionally uses archaisms while with his quotations from Greek authors and myths shows that he had an excellent classical education.

Even if only this Antirrhetic had survived from the works of Markos, it would be no exaggeration to say that it would have been enough to include him among the last great theologians of the late Palaeologian era and earned him the title of «doctor» of the Orthodox Church. For Eugenikos is able not only to present the correct patristic quotations to combat the arguments of Calecas, but is also capable of giving an explanation which is in accordance with the tradition of Orthodox belief and proving his opponent's erroneous conception. The «theology» of Markos, like that of Palamas, was heightened by his excellent classical education but it was also «a product» of his personal ascetical and mystical life. For like all the great doctors of the Orthodox Church he too combined these two qualities: good education and mystical life. It is on the strength of these qualities, clearly manifested by the trilogy, if it is legitimate to use this term, he composed in support of Palamism, that Markos Eugenikos can be regarded as the last most important Palamite theologian of the Byzantine era.

B. MANUSCRIPTS

The First Antirrhetic has been handed to us in three manuscripts.

1. A = *Oxoniensis Canonicianus* gr 49^a:

Fifteenth century⁵. Western paper with at least three different types of water marks. 160 numbered folios. The first folio with the contents is not numbered and folios 159-160 are left blank. The text is written in single columns of 24 lines. 140 × 220 mm; written surface, 95 × 150 mm.

Collation: 8 × 12.

Scribe: Theodoros Agallianos⁶. Folios 105-105^v as well as the titles in 55 and 92 and the marginalia were written by two different hands. F. 105^v was written by another hand. In the present edition have been included only the marginalia written by Agallianos in red ink.

Decoration: Ornate initials (ff. 10^v, 11, 55, 106^v, 133).

Inks: Brown and black for text; red for titles and some marginalia.

Binding: Red leather with decoration in front and back. The binding dates from the XVth century and it was probably made in Constantinople.

Previous Owners: The first owner was most probably Theodoros Agallianos. The manuscript was later acquired by the Venetian Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805) who was a passionate collector of manuscripts, statues, medals and books. In 1817 the Bodleian Library bought his large collection of manuscripts (2045 mss. included 128 Greek) for the astronomical sum of £5444⁷. This manuscript was written in two different periods since the works of Markos are written in brown ink and the rest in black.

Contents:

ff. 1-6 Canon to the nine orders of the incorporeal

ff. 6-11 Acolouthia and Canon to St. John of Damascus

ff. 11-55 First Antirrhetic against Calecas

ff. 55-92 Second Antirrhetic against Calecas

ff. 92-101 Syllogistic chapters against the followers of Akindynos

ff. 101-105 Antirrhetic against the sophist Argyropoulos' s work about the angels

ff. 105-105^v Hymns to St. Catherine

f. 105^v Hymns to Sts. Constantine and Helen

ff. 106-133 Theodoros Agallianos's First treatise against his accusers

ff. 133-153 Ibid., Second treatise against his accusers

ff. 153-155^v Ibid., a letter to the monk Ignatios

ff. 155^v-156 Ibid., a letter to the hieromonk Joseph.

Marginalia in different hands:

Καλέκας (158, 4-6); Θ^{ος} κανὼν συνόδου (159, 8-9); νέοις τούτοις αἰρετικοῖς (159, 29-32); τὴν ἀντιλογίαν (160, 6); θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν (160, 8-10); θεῖαν οὐσίαν (160, 10-11); βασιλείας Καντακουζηνοῦ (160, 18-20); Γρηγοῤῥᾶς (160, 20-22); Παλαμᾶς (160, 21-23); τὰ τῶν ἀγίων δόγματα (160, 28-30); ἀληθείας δύναμιν (161, 1-3); διχῆ διελῶν (161, 3-14); Γρηγοῤῥᾶ (161, 18-19); Παλαμᾶ Τόμον (161, 26-27); βασιλεύοντος Ἀνδρονίκου (162, 7-10); τρισὶ μεγίστοις συνόδοις (162, 16-18); Καντακουζηνοῦ (162, 20-21); διάκρισις θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας (162, 21-23); Βαρλαάμ (162, 22-24); Ἀκίνδυνος (162, 23-25); Ζ^{ης} καὶ Ζ^{ης} συνόδου (162, 30-33); μίαν Ἐκκλησίαν (163, 1-2); Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βέκκου (163, 17-18); τὴν ἄκτιστον καὶ αἰῶδιον καὶ θεοποιὸν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύ-

ματος (163, 29-8, 2); περί τοῦ φωτός τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως (164, 19-22); καὶ θείας οὐσίας (164, 22-24); διάκρισιν οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας (165, 5-8); Διονυσίου (165, 15); πρόοδος (165, 17); διάκρισις (165, 18); ἄσχετοι μεταδόσεις (165, 19-70); μεταδόσεις (165, 20); Μάξιμος (165, 24-26); διάκρισις θεία (165, 26-29); κοιναί (165, 29-30); τίνι τρόπῳ πληθύνεται ὁ Θεός (165, 30-10, 2); ἥλιος (166, below 12-3); πρόοδον φησὶν τὴν θείαν ἐνέργειαν (166, above 1. 3-5); Διονύσιος (166, 7-8); διάκρισις θεία τίς ἐστίν (166, 8-10); διάκρισις Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ (166, 16-18); αὐτοῦ (166, 18-19); κενὲ θεολόγε (166, 26-27); ἰουδαϊκὴν (166, 27-29); Ἑλλήνων (166, 29-30); Ἀριστοτέλης (167, 2); οὐσίαν ἐνεργῆ, θελητικὴν, παντοδύναμον ἐννοοῦμεν (167, 8-11); ἔργα φύσεως καὶ θελήσεως (167, 12-16); Ἰουστίνος κατὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους (167, 19-21); οὐκ ἄλλο τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἄλλο τὸ λέγεσθαι (167, 21-23); Ἰουστίνου (167, 24-27); ὑπάρχει ἄλλο (167, 29-31); καὶ τὸ ἐνυπάρχει (167, 31-32); τὸ ὄν ἄλλο (168, 3-4); καὶ τὸ προσὸν ἄλλο (168, 5-7); ἐνεργείας, οὐσίας, διάκρισις (168, 12-14); τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ Θεότητα καὶ ἄκτιστον ὁμολογοῦσι (168, 14-17); Νύσσης (168, 30-13, 2); τῶν περὶ αὐτήν (169, 6-7); ἐνέργεια (169, 14-16); Διονυσίου (170, 1-3); ὅτι ἡ ἐνέργεια (170, 3-4); Ἀθανασίου (170, 4-5); ἐνέργειά ἐστι (170, 4-6); ἐνεργείας (170, 5-8); ἄλλης, ἄλλη (170, 13-15); Σύνοδος ζⁿ (170, 17-18); Συνόδου ζ^{ns} (170, 20-21); Βασιλείου (170, 28-30); ἐν μόνον (171, 11-12); εἰς μίαν Θεότητα καὶ εἰς μίαν τὴν Θεότητα (171, 14-16); δύναμις μία, τὴν τε δημιουργικὴν καὶ προνοητικὴν (171, 17-22); Ἀθανασίου (174, 1-2); Μαξίμου (174, 14-15); Μαξίμου (174, 20-21); Κυρίλλου (176, 20-22); Χρυσοστόμου (176, 26-21, 2); αἰρετικ[οῖ] (177, 7-8); ἀγιωσύνης Πνεῦμα ἐπαγγελίας (177, 8-12); τίνα τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ τὴν φύσιν δηλοῦντα, καὶ τίνα τὴν χάριν (177, 27-28); συνουσίωται τὰ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα (177, 30, 178, 2); ἐμφύσημα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν (182 above 1. 2-5); Διονυσίου (182, 15-17); Μαξίμου (182, 26-27); Δαμασκηνοῦ (183, 6-7); Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης (183, 19-22); καταφατικὴν, στερητικὴν (194, 26-28); δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργεῖαι (198, 3-5); ἡμεῖς μιμούμεθα τὸν Θεόν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνος (198, 26-30); φύσις καὶ ἐνέργεια οὐ ταυτόν (205, 12-15); Μαξίμου (213, 8-9), λάβετε, φάγετε...Χρυσοστόμου (213, 18-20); Πνεύματος οὐσίαν, ὑπόστασιν (219, 14-16); χάριν, δωρεάν (219, 26-27); Βασιλείου (219, 29-31); ἐνέργεια (219, 31-32); τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα καὶ γραφόμενα, ὀνόματά εἰσι τῶν θείων αὐτοῦ ἐνεργειῶν (220, 13-17); Μαξίμου (226, 10-11); μίαν τὴν θείαν ἐνέργειαν ἐξ ἧς αἱ πολλαὶ θεῖαι (226, 12-17); κοινή (226, 17-20); ἀνούσιον καὶ μὴ ὑφεστῶς (228, 9-11); φυσικῶς καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ ἀκτίστως καθ' αὐτὰ ὑφεστῶσι (228, 21-27); συνθέσεις (228, 27-28); τὸ φυσικόν (229, 7-8); τὸ δίκαιον (229, 8-9); τὸ φιλόανθρωπον (229, 9-10); τὸ δημιουργικόν (229, 10-11); ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζομεν τὸν Θεόν (229, 18-22); ἐνεργείας (229, 23-24); Γρηγορίου Νύσσης (230, 4-6), τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ ἄκακον, τὸ ἀνάλλοιω-

τον, οὐκ οὐσία Θεοῦ (230, 10-17); ἄλλο οὐσία καὶ ἄλλο τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὀνόματα (230, 16-19); ὁ Νύσσης (231, 6-9); παράδειγμα (231, 10-12), Μάξιμος (231, 27-30); αἱ συνθέσεις (231, 31-32).

Errors due to confusion of sounds:

a) Itacisms affecting εἰ, ἦ): thus μοιρακίων for μειρακίων (158, 23); συμφωνεῖ for συμφωνῆ (159, 18).

b) Confusion of ο and ω: Thus τὸν for τῶν (221, 22) φιλολοίδωρον for φιλολοίδορον (231,1).

Other errors:

πολλὰ for πολλάς (168, 8); ἀναλοίωτον for ἀναλλοίωτον (179, 11); κουργίας for κακουργίας (194, 31); ἐμβάλειν for ἐμβάλλειν (200, 6); πολὰς for πολλάς (201, 31); ἀγέννητον for ἀγένητον (202, 22); Νύσης for Νύσσης (216, 16); ἐ for ἐν (217, 23); αὐτῶς for αὐτῶν (225, 13); προητικὸν for προνοητικὸν (229, 10).

Omissions:

There is only one serious omission instead of φύσεως ἢ θέωσις, he wrote only θεώσεως (202,7).

2. B = *Athous Iberiticus* 4765 (645)⁸:

Fifteenth century, paper, 94 folios numbered in tens. Ff. 35 to 44 are numbered successively then ff. 46 and 93 are numbered. From f. 45^v, another numbering begins, on the top of the folio there is always the fixed number 39 while the number at the bottom, which starts from 1, increases regularly up to 39 (f. 84) which is the end of the Second Antirrhetic. Then the regular numbering in tens continues until the end of the manuscript. Ff. 21 and 21^v are displaced before f. 2. The προθεωρία and the beginning of the Antirrhetic is missing. The text starts from «εἰ καὶ ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ λόγος» (p. 162,30) and is written in single columns of 23 lines 200 × 280 mm; written surface, 130 × 200 mm.

Hands: a) ff. 1^v-8; 9-12; 13^v-16 (f. 6^v the first five lines are written by the usual hand, the same happens with the 9 first lines of f. 9 and the 4 first lines of f. 13^v).

b) The remaining text of the manuscript belongs to a calligraphic hand.

Decoration: Ornate initials (ff. 45, 84^v)

Binding: Leather with decoration. The binding dates from the XVth century and it was probably made in Constantinople

Contents:

ff. 1-44^v First Antirrhetic against M. Calecas

ff. 45-84 Second Antirrhetic against M. Calecas

ff. 84^v-93^v Syllogistic Chapters against the followers of Akindynos.

Marginalia:

Βαρλαάμ (163, 23-24); Μαξίμου (165, 24-25); Διονυσίου (166, 6-7); Δαμασκηνοῦ (167, 13-14); Ἰουστίνου (167, 26-27); Νύσσης (168, 31-13, 2); Διονυσίου (169, 30-14, 1); Ἀθανασίου (170, 3-4); Ἀθανασίου (174, 2-4); Νύσσης (174, 8-9); Μαξίμου (174, 14-15); Θεολόγου (176, 9-11); Κυρίλλου (176, 20-21); Χρυσοστόμου (177, 1); Βασιλείου (177, 24-25); Νύσσης (178, 19-21); Βασιλείου (179, 3-5); Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου (180, 21-22); ἐρώτησις (180, 31); ἀπόκρισις (181, 2); Μαξίμου (181, 14-16); Διονυσίου (182, 15-16); Μαξίμου (182, 27-29); Δαμασκηνοῦ (183, 6-8); Ἀνδρέου (183, 21-22); Δαμασκηνοῦ (184, 11-12); Βασιλείου (184, 75-26), Χρυσοστόμου (184, 31-32); Νύσσης (186, 6); Βασιλείου (186, 33-31, 1); Κυρίλλου (187, 4-5); Μαξίμου (187, 26-27). Νύσσης (188, 1-2); ἐξοφθαλμισταί (188, 19-20); Βασιλείου (190, 9-10); Βασιλείου (190, 24-25); μεταφραστήν (191, 2-3). Διονυσίου (191, 21-22); Ἀθανασίου (194, 9-10) Βασιλείου (197, 5-6); Μαξίμου (197, 18-19); Μαξίμου (201, 32-46, 2); Βασιλείου (203, 23-24); Ἀθανασίου (205, 7-8); Κυρίλλου (205, 9-11); Βασιλείου (205, 13-14); Δαμασκηνοῦ (205, 16-17); Μαξίμου (205, 20-21); Θεολόγου (207, 12-14); Ἀθανασίου (207, 16-17); Χρυσοστόμου (208, 26-29); Δαυῖδ (209, 7-8); Δαμασκηνοῦ (209, 8-10); Βασιλείου (210, 9-11); Μαξίμου (210, 22-23); Κυρίλλου ἐν τοῖς Θησαυροῖς (210, 26-31). Δαμασκηνοῦ (211, 27-29); Κοσμᾶ (212, 2-3); Μαξίμου (213, 6-8); Χρυσοστόμου (213, 19-22); Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῇ λεγομένη Ὀδηγῷ (217, 22-28): Ἰσίδωρον, Κάλλιστον, Φιλόθεον (218, 3-6). Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου (218, 15-18). Γρηγορίου Κυπρίου (219 2-6); Θεολόγου (222, 16-18); Διονυσίου (222, 24-26); Ἀθανασίου (223, 2-3); Βασιλείου (224, 8-11); Σύνοδος Ε' (225, 16-19); Ἀποστόλου (226, 5-6); Μαξίμου (226, 9-10) Δαμασκηνοῦ (228, 29-31); Βασιλείου (229, 3-4); Νύσσης (230, 5-6); Θεολόγου (230, 10-11); Νύσσης (231, 6-8); Μαξίμου (231, 30-31).

Errors due to confusion of sounds:

Confusion of ο and ω: thus ὄσω, for ὄσον (173, 29).

Other errors:

μεταβαλόμενος for μεταβαλλόμενος (183, 9); καταιωνήσω for καταιωνίσω (187, 23); ὑπερξήρηται for ὑπεξήρηται (195, 7); καταβαίνειν for μεταβαίνειν (197, 21); αὐτῆ for αὐτό (202, 13); ποιήματα for κτίσματα (204, 13); καταδεξάσθωσαν for καταδειξάσθωσαν (230, 4); αὐτῷ for αὐτοῦ (230, 5).

Omissions:

τῶν (165, 12); τάδε (169, 1); τῆς ὑποστάσεως (176, 9); ἐστιν (194, 14); τοῦ (218, 22); καί (221, 1); καί (233, 3).

3. C = *Mega Spelaion* 48^o:

Fifteenth century, paper 0,21 × 014 containing 105 folios. This manuscript was destroyed in the great fire which burnt down the Library of the monastery of Mega Spelaion on 17 July 1935¹⁰.

Previous Owner: the great logothetes John, whose name appeared on f. 12.

Contents:

- f.2 Markos Eugenikos· Προθεωρία on the Antirrhetics against Calecas
 ff. 4-35 Ibid., First Antirrhetic against Calecas
 ff. 35-65^v Ibid., Second Antirrhetic against Calecas
 ff. 65^v-73^v Ibid., Syllogistic Chapters against the followers of Akindynos
 ff. 73^v-75 Nilos Kabasilas· How the heresy of Akindynos is the forerunner of anti-Christ
 ff. 75-100^v Markos Eugenikos· Syllogistic chapters against the Latins
 ff. 100^v-101^v Ibid., A prayer on behalf of a woman for deliverance from a lascivious war
 ff. 101^v-104 Ibid., Why deity is unity and trinity...
 ff. 104^v-105 Ibid., A letter to George Scholarios.

C. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Since we have only two manuscripts available for this edition, and the second one is mutilated, the task of establishing a stemma is not an easy one. A closer examination seems to suggest that *A* and *B* are independent of each other. The following differences are found in *B*: λεγομένην και νοουμένην for νοουμένων και λεγομένων (175, 18); the addition of the words: οὕτως after παντάπασι (176, 2), Χριστῶ after δεσπότη (176, 14); τῇ after ἐν (178, 14), πρώην after Μαξίμου (178, 26); βουλόμενον for πειρώμενον; κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο after μακαριώτεροι (188, 8), τὸ after οὔσι (188, 27), εἰς after Δανιήλ (189, 13); γοῦν for οὖν (191, 13); τινὰς εἰσάγει for εἰσάγει τινὰς (192, 13); τῶν after κατά (192, 26); καταβαίνειν for μεταβαίνειν; σαφῶς after οὐσίαν (197, 25); αὐτομετοχαί for μετοχαί (199, 6); εἰρημένοις for προειρημένοις (200, 13); πάντων τούτων for τούτων πάντων (200, 22); ποιήματα for κτίσματα (204, 13); ἑαυτοῦ for αὐτοῦ (205, 3); οὐσιώδη τῆς Θεότητος ἐνέργειαν for οὐσιώδη ἐνέργειαν τῆς Θεότητος (205, 9); ταύτην for αὐτήν (206, 4); τοὺς οὐρανοὺς after Χρυσορρήμων (212, 27); Θεοῦ after τοῦ (214, 2); τὸ Πνεῦμά φησι for φησὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα (214, 13); οὐ μόνον after φαμέν (219, 32); και οὕτω after ἂν (223, 22); ζωοποιῶ τοῦ Θεοῦ for τοῦ

Θεοῦ ζωοποιῶ (224, 5); καθάπερ for καθά (227, 7); καὶ after ἄν (228, 8); καὶ after σοι (228, 19); γλῶτταν for γλῶσσαν (230, 29); ὡς ἐπόμενον ἄτοπον ταῖς Βαρλααμίτισι δόξαις for ὡς ἐπόμενον ταῖς Βαρλααμίτισι δόξαις ἄτοπον (233, 20).

D. THE PRESENT EDITION

Since the First Antirrhetic is preserved completely by *A*, this edition is consequently based on this manuscript. The fact also that the copyist of *A* is Theodoros Agallianos, Markos' s faithful disciple and relative, who preserved for posterity the last words of his dying teacher, gives this manuscript a preeminence over the other two manuscripts. In this edition, I did not adhere to the original punctuation of the manuscript, but instead I introduced both conventional punctuation and accentuation. The apparatus criticus is divided into two sections:

- a) variants of mss.
- b) references to sources.

THE FIRST ANTIRRHETIC

ΠΡΟΘΕΣΙΑ

Τὸ μὲν κινητικὸν αἴτιον τοῦ συντάγματος, εἶτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τελει-
 κόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπός, αὐτὸ φησὶ, περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς μάλαιστα.
 τὸ δὲ εἰδικόν τε καὶ παραδειγματικὸν ἔνδον λέγομεν· ὅτι τοῦ ἐναν-
 τίου περὶ ἀ-δοκεῖ τῆ ἀιρέσει συμπῶνεῖν βῆτα τὸν ἄγωνα ποιησα-
 μένου καὶ κατεξείρετον ἐν τούτῳ μεγάλαυχοῦντος, ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ
 ἀπὸ οικειῶν λογισμῶν φθεγγόμενον, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν καὶ ἡμᾶς
 ἐπομένους ἐκείνῳ ταῖς κακῶς ἐκλήθηθεῖσας χρῆσασαι παρὰ τῶν
 ἁγίων ἀντιπαρταίθεναί τὰς ὑγιῶς ἐχοῦσας, ἀλλὰ ὡς τε καὶ τῶν
 ἡμῶν πατέρων, οἱ τὴν ἀίρεσιν ἐξάρχησθε ἐστηλίτευσαν, μεγάλαυχο-
 ῶς ὅτι μάλαιστα καὶ σπουδαίως ὑπερμαχοῦντων τοῦ δόγματος
 καὶ γεωμετρικαῖς, ὁ φασιν, ἀνάγκαις ὡς ἀκριβῶς τε καὶ ὑγιῶς
 ἐχει δεικνύντων, περὶ τὸν ἦν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπέξινεαι τοῖς παρ' ἐκεῖ-
 νων ἐν εἰρημένους. τοῦς μὲν ἁγωνιστικοῦς τε καὶ διεξοδικῶς τε-
 ρους λόγους, ὅς μαθεῖν βουλόμενος, ἐπ' ἐκείνους χῶρεται· τὸ δὲ
 παρὸν ἴστω συλλογὴ μόνον εἶναι χρῆσων Ἰραφικῶν καὶ πατρι-
 κῶν μετὰ τινος ἐπεργασίας βραχείας. εἰ καὶ ἁγωνιστικῶς ἐσχη-
 μάσται, πρὸ ἀνάγκης, ἐχει γὰρ μὴν οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας
 διανοίας, οὐδὲν ἴστω πρὸς εἰρημὸν εἰρημὸν εἰρημὸν εἰρημὸν εἰρημὸν
 ὑπὸθεσιν· εἰ δὲ ποι καὶ τραχύτερον φέρεται κατὰ τοῦ πρὸς ὄν ὁ
 λόγος, παραίρεται τοῦς ἐντυγχάνοντας μὴ καταγινώσκειν, εἰ
 πρὸς τοσαύτην σκαθίτηα καὶ σκκοφαντίαν ἐνιστάμενοις οὐκ
 ἠδυνήθη παντάπασι καθεκτῶς ἔχειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τις τοῦτο διε-
 φνε τῶν ἐπιβουλομένων τοιοῦτοις λόγοις, καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ
 γνωριστικὸν ἐπῶνυμον τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχ ἦτρον κακῶνυμον ὄν ἢ
 ὅσον δοκεῖ τοῦ/καλοῦ μετέχειν, ἠνάγκασεν ἡμᾶς ἐτέρας αὐτῷ
 κληθεῖς προεξυρίσκειν, ἄς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δηλαδὴ προεξένησε
 τοιαύτην τολμήσας ἀποστασίαν. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τὴν λέγομένην
 Ὀδηγὸν βίβλον τοῦ θεοφόρου πατρὸς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Ζιναίτου
 διηγήθεν, εἴσεται μετρίως ἡμᾶς ἢ τὸ εἰκὸς εἰδίδου χρῆσασαι-
 λους τῷ λόγῳ.

30
 25
 20
 15
 10
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111

110

ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΚΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΕΩΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑΣ

Μάρκου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐφέσου
τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ,

f11

5

Πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν εἰρημένων Μανουὴλ τῷ Καλέκα
Κατὰ τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ Τόμου,
λόγος ἀντιρρήτικὸς πρῶτος
ἢ Περί διακρίσεως θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας.

Ἦστος μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τῶν ἐκ τῆς συμμορίας ἐκείνης 10
ἐπιθεμένων τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, δοκῶν δὲ ἀφελέστερον ἦφθαι τῶν
πρὸς αὐτὴν λόγων, ὁ δ' ἐξῆς προΐων οὐδεμίαν ὕβρεως καὶ συκο-
φαντίας ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολείπει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πατέρας καὶ τῆς αἰρέ-
σεως ἀρχηγούς ἐν πᾶσι μιμούμενος. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐβούλοντο
πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας υἱοὶ τὴν γιγνομένην αὐτῇ χάριν εἰσφέ- 15
ροντες, τοὺς ὕβριστὰς αὐτῆς μυσάττεσθαι πρὸς ἀξίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐν
γράμμασιν αὐτῶν βλασφημίας ἅπασιν τρόποις ἐξαφανίζουσιν, οὐκ
ἂν ᾤθηεν δεῖν οὐδενὸς ἄπτεσθαι τό γε ἐπὶ τῇ νῦν ὑποθέσει λό-
γου, καιρὸν τε οὐδένα νομίζων εἶναι, τῆς αἰρέσεως ἤδη προτε-
θηκυίας, καὶ ἅμα περὶ τὸ λέγειν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀδρανῶς ἔχων καὶ 20
θεολογικῆς ἕξεως ἄμοιρος ὢν. ἐπεὶ δέ – ὦ τῆς συμφορᾶς! – ἄπερ
ὑπὸ σκότον ἐκεῖνοι συνέθηκαν καὶ μόγις που δύο καὶ τρισὶ τῶν
αὐτοῖς φοιτῶντων ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ μεираκίων ὑπέδειξαν, οἱ
ἡμέτεροι νῦν εἰς φῶς / τολμῶσι προάγειν καὶ που παρβησιάζε- 25
σθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς ὑγιῶς ἔχουσι συνεστάναι. τίς ἂν ἐνέγκαι
τὴν τοιαύτην λύμην σιγῇ παρελθεῖν καὶ μὴ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀλη-
θείας τὸ ψεῦδος ἐπανιστάμενον ἀπελέγξαι καὶ δεῖξαι τοῦθ'

15

20

25

f11^v

23. μοιρακίων A

12. ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει, D. 54,4

22. ὑπὸ σκότον E Or. 1488

26. 2 Ti 2,15

ὅπερ ἐστὶ, κἂν ἐπικεχρωσμένη τῇ πιθανότητι παράγη τοὺς ἐκ ματαιότητος ἢ φιλοπραγμοσύνης, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν. αὐτῷ προσέχοντας;

Ἔδει γὰρ αὐτοὺς μῆτε σοφωτέρους ἑαυτοὺς μῆτ' ἀσφαλε-
 ττέρους κρίνειν τῶν κανόνων τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ 5
 τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πείθεσθαι νόμοις, οἳ καθάπαξ διορίζονται τὰ
 τοιάδε τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐξαλείφειν τε καὶ πυρὶ διδόναι. αὐτί-
 κα ὁ μὲν τῆς Ζ^{ης} συνόδου κανὼν Θ^{ος} οὕτω φησὶν ἐπὶ λέξεως:

Ἴπαντα τὰ μεираκιώδη ἀθύρματα καὶ μανιώδη βακχεύματα,
 τὰ ψευδοσυγγράμματα τὰ κατὰ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων γενό- 10
 μενα, δέον δοθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλε-
 ως, ἵνα ἀποτεθῶσι μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν αἵρετικῶν βιβλίων. εἰ
 δέ τις εὐρεθῆι ταῦτα κρύπτων, εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρε-
 σβύτερος ἢ διάκονος εἴη, καθαιρείσθω, εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἢ μο-
 ναχός, ἀφορίζεσθω. 15

ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς νόμος:

Ἐὰ κοινὰ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν Πορφυρίου καὶ ἄλλων συγ-
 γράμματα καιέσθωσαν καὶ ὅσα μὴ συμφωνῆ ταῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ
 καὶ Ἐφέσῳ συνόδοις καὶ Κυρίλλῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὧν
 οὐκ ἔξεστι παρεξιέναι τὴν πίστιν. οἳ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα βιβλία 20
 ἔχοντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐσχάτως τιμωροῦνται.

καὶ ἕτερος αὐθις:

Ἐοἶ ἔχοντες τὰ Σεβήρου συγγράμματα καὶ μὴ καίοντες
 αὐτὰ χειροκοποῦνται.

καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁ ἐν / βασιλεῦσι μέγιστος Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν τῷ 25 f12
 κατὰ Ἀρείου νόμῳ τάδε φησὶν:

Ἐἴ τις σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ Ἀρείου συνταγὴν φωραθῆι κρύψας
 καὶ μὴ εὐθέως προενεγκῶν καὶ πυρὶ καταναλώσας, τούτῳ
 θάνατος ἔσται ζημία: παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ κε-
 φαλῆς ὑποστήσεται τιμωρίαν. 30

ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔδει φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τοῖς νέοις τούτοις αἵρετικοῖς,
 οἳ τοσοῦτον ἐφιλονείκησαν κατόπιν θέσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐν
 ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ὕβρεσιν, ὅσον καὶ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ πάντας σχεδὸν

17. κοινὰ om A

18. συμφωνεῖ A

9. Mansi 13,430B

17. Codex Justinianus 1.1.3:1-3 (448AD)

23. Codex Justinianus 42.1.2

27. Fontem non inveni

ὑπερέβαλον. ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἢ περιεργία καὶ τὸ καινότερων ἀεὶ γλί-
 χεσθαι ἴτην ἀκοὴν κνηθομένους, ὃ φησι Παῦλος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστρέχοντες λόγοις οἱ ἀφυλάκτως ἔχοντες πε-
 ριπεύονται τῷ χαλκῷ, καὶ διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας – οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν
 ἄλλως, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπολέσθαι – τὸ δηλητήριο ὄλον ἐκπίνουσιν. 5
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἰτέον δὲ ἡμῖν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλο-
 γίαν, ἐπειδὴ γε εἰς ἀνάγκην κατέστημεν αὐτὴν προστησαμένοις
 τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων βλασφημουμένην παντοδύναμον
 θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν.

Ἐσκοπὸς αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, φησί, τὴν περὶ τοῦ 10
 ζητήματος τῆς θεῖας οὐσίας καὶ θεῖας ἐνεργείας παρὰ τῆς
 Συνόδου προενεχθεῖσαν ἀπόφασιν σαφέστερον ἐξυφᾶναι,
 ὡς ἂν οἱ τε ἐξ ἀπλότητος ἀγνοοῦντες μάθωσιν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ
 τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον Ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἀγνοηθήσεται· καὶ δὴ
 καὶ οἱ τοὺς ἄλλους προχείρως ἢ μᾶλλον ἀλόγως καὶ κα- 15
 κοήθως συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες ἐλεγχθῶσιν
 ἀδικοῦντες.

Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν γεγονότα / Συνοδικὸν f12^v
 Τόμον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ
 καὶ τῆς σὺν ἐκείνῳ φατρίας. αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντειπὼν 20
 Γρηγορᾶς ἐξηλέγχθη παρὰ τε τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Γρηγορίου Θεσσα-
 λονίκης καὶ τοῦ ἐν πατριάρχαις λάμπσαντος Φιλοθέου μακροῖς
 ἑκατέρου λόγοις, μὴ μόνον αἰσχυρῶς περικόψας τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ
 ἰσχυρότατα τῶν ἐκεῖ κειμένων, ὀλίγοις δὲ τισιν εὐεπιχειρήτοις 25
 αὐτῷ δόξασιν ἐπιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δι' ὑπερβολὴν
 μανίας παραγνωρίζων καὶ ὡς τῆς Συνόδου δῆθεν τοῖς τῶν ἀγίων
 ῥήμασιν ἐπιφυόμενος· τούτοις καὶ γὰρ ἅπας σχεδὸν ὁ Τόμος
 ἐξύφανται· καθάπερ οἱ κύνες ἀντὶ τῶν βαλλόντων τοὺς λίθους
 δάκνουσι, οὕτως αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν ἀγίων ῥήματα βλασφημῶν ὡς 30
 ἡμέτερα τούτοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐντυχὼν ὁ νῦν οὗτος δογματιστῆς
 καὶ πολέμιος. καὶ γὰρ ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπιέναι λό-
 γους, οὐχ ἵνα τι κερδάνη πάντως ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα διαστρέψη καὶ
 κακουργήσῃ, καθὰ καὶ δειχθήσεται, ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται καὶ
 ἐπαγγέλλεται τὴν ἀπόφασιν αὐτὸς τῆς Συνόδου ἰσαφέστερον

28. κύνες A

2. 2. Τι 4,3

4. R 16, 18

10. Μανουὴλ Καλέκα, Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας, PG 152,284B

14. 1 Κο 14,38

34. PG 152, 284B

ἐξυφαίνειν, ἵνα τοὺς διαβάλλοντας, φησίν, ἄδικοῦντας ἐλέγξῃ. θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν δύναμιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐτόλμησεν ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι τὴν ἀντίρρησην, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ὀφθαλμιῶντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀντιβλέπειν, ἀλλὰ προσποιεῖται μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι τὸν ὅλον Τόμον εὐρεῖν, μέρη δὲ τινα δέξασθαι 5 πρὸς τινος τῶν ἐταίρων, καὶ οὗτος αὐθις ἡμῖν ὡς ἐξηγησάμενος πάρεισιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιλέξων· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔκλειψαι τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐθέλων, οὕτω διατίθεται τὸ προκείμενον./ ἵνα μὴ αὐτόθεν ἀπάγῃ 13 τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους· οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη πόρρω τῆς αὐτῶν κακουργίας, ὃ γε μὴν ἐνταῦθα ῥητὸν ὡς ἀποστολικὸν τίθησιν, οὐκ 10 οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ παρά τινος τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξεῖλεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ Γραφὰς ἰδίας αὐτὸς ἀναπλάσας εἶχε. κινδυνεύει γοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἀγνοοῦντας ἀγνοηθήσεσθαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὑπὸ του. διχῆ δ' οὖν ἅπαντα διελὼν ἃ συνέθηκε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆ, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, σαφηνεῖα τοῦ Τόμου προσαναλίσκει, τοῖς δὲ ἐξῆς τὰ τε 15 δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς συμφωνεῖν ῥητὰ συμφορήσας ἐνέθηκε καὶ τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ διαστρέφων παρεξηγεῖται καὶ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ μεταφέρει τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ. καίτοι γε, εἰ ἀντιλέγειν ἠδύνατο γνησίως καὶ κατὰ νόμους, ὃ δὴ καὶ πολλὰ βούλεται, τί μὴ ὁμόσε κεχώρηκε τοῖς ἐκεῖ λεγομένοις; τί δὲ ἡμῖν σαφηνεῖας 20 ἔδει καὶ ἀναπτύξεως καὶ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγραμμάτων; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε κατ' ἴχνος ἴωμεν τοῦ δειλοῦ τούτου καὶ πανούργου θηρίου καὶ ἥ μὲν ἂν κακουργῆ τε καὶ διαφθείρῃ, τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν ὅπλοις βάλλωμεν, ἥ δ' ἂν παρεξίῃ, συνυπερβαίνωμεν·

Ἦν δὴ τα ἀπόφασιν ὅλη Σύνοδος ἀποφνημαμένη καὶ συγγραψαμένη – δεῖ γὰρ ἐπιτεμεῖν – ὡς στήλην Ὁρθοδοξίας ἐαυτῇ προὔθηκε· καὶ δὴ καὶ Τόμον τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ταύτην ἐπονομάζεσθαι διωρίσατο. 25

ποῦ τοῦτο καὶ πότε διωρίσατο, βέλτιστε; πῶς δ' ἂν ὅλη Σύνοδος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις, οὔσα καὶ βασιλέως εὐσεβοῦς προκαθεζομένου, 30 μόνῳ τῷ Παλαμᾶ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἀνέθετο; ὁρᾷς ὡς οὐδέν σοι μέλει τοῦ μὴ ἀλῶναι ψευδόμενος, ὅπου γε ἐναργῶς

5. PG 151,780D-781

7. Aeschin., In Ctesiph. 3,35

13. I Ko 14, 38

25. PG 152,284B

30. PG 152,332B

32. Hdt. 7,102

οὕτω / τὰ ψεύδη λέγων οὐκ ἐγκαλύπτῃ; τοιαῦτα δέ σου καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς·

f13^v

Τοῦτο μέντοι γνώριμον ταῖς διανοίαις τῶν τὰ παρόντα ἀναγνωσομένων προῦποκείσθω, ὡς ἦν καιρός, ὅτε ἡ Ἐκκλησία αὕτη τῆς ἀποφάσεως ταύτης πρότερον ἑτέραν 5 ἑναντίαν ἐξήνεγκε· καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν αἱ προβᾶσαι συνοδικαὶ πράξεις ἐπὶ τούτοις, βασιλεύοντος Ἀνδρονίκου, καὶ τὰ ἱστορούμενα περὶ τούτων·

Τίς ἂν ἔτι θαυμάσειεν εἰ τὰς θεολογικὰς φωνὰς οἱ παραχαράκται τῶν θείων οὗτοι δογμάτων παρερμηνεύουσιν. ὁ κοινόν 10 ἔστιν ἅπασι τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς, ὅπου γε τὰ χθὲς καὶ πρῶην γενόμενα καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων μὲν κηρυττόμενα διὰ δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἔτι περιόντων συμμαρτυρούμενα, οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἀθετοῦσι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑναντίον μετάγουσι; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔτι περὶ τῶν θείων λέγοντες πιστευθεῖεν, οἱ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω ψευδόμενοι καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς 15 τάναντία σφίσι φρονοῦντας καὶ λέγοντας ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι παραιτούμενοι; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς τρισὶ μεγίσταις συνόδοις ἡ Ἐκκλησία, τῇ μὲν ἔτι ζῶντός τε καὶ παρόντος τοῦ ἐν βασιλεῦσι διαπρέψαντος Ἀνδρονίκου, τῇ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὧδε μεταχωρήσαντος, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ καὶ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ βασιλεύοντος, 20 μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διὰ πάντων ἐξήνεγκε γνώμην περὶ τῆς θεουργοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ χάριτος, ὡς διακέκριται πῃ τῆς θείας οὐσίας; ἢ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ Βαρλαάμ τε καὶ Ἀκίνδυνος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Γρηγορᾶς ἐδογματίζον; ὧν ὁ μὲν τῆς προτέρας, Ἀκίνδυνος δὲ γε τῆς μετ' αὐτήν, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν συνόδων ἄθλον ἐγένοντο 25 στηλιτευθέντες, / ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' ὁ τῷ ψεύδει σκεπασθήσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, οὗτος οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ συντάγματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἀν τῷ τέλει τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τίθησι καὶ μὴ δεῖν πείθεσθαι τῇ τάναντία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποφαινομένη, φησὶν, Ἐκκλησία. καίτοι γε, εἰ καὶ ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τῆς 30 Ζ^{ης} τε καὶ Ζ^{ης} τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ τε τῶν Μονοθελητῶν καὶ ἢ τῶν Εἰκονομάχων αἵρεσις ηὔξηθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη καὶ αὐθις ἀνετράπη καὶ κατελύθη. τί οὖν; διὰ τοῦτο τὰς θείας ἐκεῖνας Συνόδους ἑρίῳ στέψαντες ἀποπέμψομεν, ὅτι

f14

15. καὶ καὶ add A

πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐναντία ψῆφος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξήνεκτο; ἢ
 τὴν μὲν Ἐκκλησίαν αἰεὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν νομιουῦμεν, οὐ τοῖς τό-
 ποις, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου φρονήματος χαρακτήρι, καθ' ὃν
 καὶ αἱ κατὰ πάσης Ἐκκλησίαι τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἄγια Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἄποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία 5
 καλοῦνται; τοὺς δὲ κατὰ καιροῦς ἐπεισφρήσαντας αὐτῇ λυμεῶνας οὐ πλήρωμα Ἐκκλησίας, οὐδὲ
 ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, ἀλλὰ ἄλκυους βαρεῖς ἠγησόμεθα
 κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ ποιμνίου μὴ φειδομέ-
 νους· τοιοῦτος ἄρα καὶ ὁ ἐν ταῖς Συνόδοις ταύταις πατριαρχῶν
 διεδείχθη, μεταθέμενος γὰρ εἰς τὸναντίον φρόνημα καὶ ἅ κατέ- 10
 λυσε τῶν βαρλααμιτῶν δόγματα, ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐγ-
 χειρῶν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἑαυτὸν δὲ δήπου παραβάτην συνέ-
 στησε· καὶ τάχα που τὰ ἐκείνου γράμματα καὶ τὰς ψυχρὰς βοη-
 θείας, ἃς Ἀκινδύνῳ καὶ τοῖς ταῦτά φρονουῦσι προσένεμε τῆς τῶν
 πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων συγχύσεως αὐτῷ συνεργούσης, ὁ ψευδο- 15
 λόγος οὗτος ἀπόφασιν / ἐναντίαν καλεῖ· τὰ δὲ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μὲν
 προσῆκεν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν, οὐ μᾶλλον γε ἢ τὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βέκκου
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων καινοτομίας καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐνεωτέρισε
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ γε συγγραψαμένῳ τὴν δικαίαν ὕστερον ἐπήνεγ-
 κε καταδίκην, ἐπεὶ τοί γε αἱ συνοδικαὶ ψῆφοι διὰ τῶν ἐκτεθέν- 20
 των τότε ἱερῶν τόμων δηλαὶ καθίστανται. διηγούμενοι μὲν γὰρ
 τὰ γεγονότα φασὶν ὅτι περ·

Ἄκουσας ὁ Βαρλαάμ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μοναχῶν λεγόντων
 ὡς ἀπὸ παραδόσεως ἐχόντων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, ὅτι οἱ
 διὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγιασμένοι τὰς καρδίας, 25
 ἐλλάμπεις θείας μυστικῶς καὶ ἀπορρήτως ἐγγινομένας αὐ-
 τοῖς δέχονται, κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν ὡς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ
 Θεοῦ μεθεκτὴν λεγόντων. τῶν δὲ ἀπολογουμένων οὐ τὴν
 οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄκτιστον καὶ αἴδιον καὶ θεοποιὸν χάριν
 τοῦ Πνεύματος διθεῖας αὐτοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἐγκλημὰ προστρί- 30
 ψασθαι ἐπεχείρησεν·

ἀποφαινόμενος δὲ αὐθις ὡς·

9. Ἰωάννης ὁ Καλέκας, marg. A

21-23. Τόμος κατὰ τοῦ Βαρλαάμ, marg. A

4. Mansi 3,565

7. Act 20, 29

11. Ga 2,18

23. PG 151, 680AB

25. Mt 5,8

Ἐκοινή συνοδικῇ ψήφῳ, ἅτε κακῶς καὶ ἐπισφαλῶς τοῖς
 θείοις ἐπιβαλὼν ὁ αὐτὸς Βαρλαάμ καταψηφισθεῖς, συγ-
 γνώμην ἐπὶ τούτοις δῆθεν ἠτήσατο, καὶ γοῦν ἀποφαινόμε-
 θα ὡς, εἰ μὲν ἐνδείξεται ἀληθῶς μετάνοιαν καὶ οὐδαμῶς
 οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων λέγων καὶ συγγραφόμενος 5
 φωραθείη, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀποκήρυκτος ἔσται καὶ
 ἀποτετημένος τῆς Ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Καθολικῆς καὶ
 Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου τῶν Χρι-
 στιανῶν συστήματος· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τις ἕτερός τι τῶν ὑπ'
 ἐκείνου βλασφημῶς καὶ κακοδόξως κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν, 10
 μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας αὐτῆς, λαληθέντων ἢ συγγρα-
 φέντων φανείη πάλιν τῶν μοναχῶν κατη/γορῶν ἢ ὄλως f15
 τούτων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καθαπτόμενος, τῇ αὐτῇ καταδίκη
 παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος καθυποβαλλόμενος ἀποκήρυ-
 κτος ἔσται καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀποτετημένος τῆς Ἁγίας τοῦ 15
 Χριστοῦ Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ
 ὀρθοδόξου τῶν Χριστιανῶν συστήματος'.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἀοίδιμος βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ Τόμῳ περὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου φωτὸς τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως
 οὕτω φησίν· 20

Ὡς, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὕψος θεωρίας ἀνέδραμον ἐν τῷ
 Θαβῶρ οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μύσται, χάριν καὶ δόξαν εἶδον θεῖαν,
 ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν τὴν χορηγοῦσαν τὴν χάριν· καὶ
 γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐκείνην ὑπὸ τῶν θείων λογίων μεμνημένοι ἀμέ-
 θεκτον, ἄληπτον, ἀόρατον καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίαις 25
 καὶ ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεσι'.

Ταῦτα ἐναντιουμένων ἐστίν, εἰπέ μοι, τοῖς ὕστερον δεδογμένοις
 ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λεγόντων τε καὶ φρονούντων; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 τὰ ἐξῆς προχωρῶμεν· σκοπὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος, οὐχ
 ὥσπερ οὗτος τὰ τῆς Συνόδου ἴσαφέστερον ἐξυφαίνειν', αὐτὰ δὲ 30
 γυμνὰ τὰ τούτου ληρήματα παρατιθέναι, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐν αὐ-

31. παρατιθέναι: παρατίθεσθαι B

1. PG 151, 691D-692A

21. PG 151, 688B

22. Mc 9,2-9,

30. PG 151, 284B

τοῖς αἰσχος διάδηλον ἦ· τὰ γὰρ προτεθέντα τῇ Συνόδῳ κεφάλαια ἀπαριθμησάμενος ἐπιφέρει·

Ἐφανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ ἀποφάσεως ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῆς διακρίσεως ἐκείνης προτιθέασι, καθ' ἣν ὁ εἷς Θεὸς ἀφθέγκτως ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι διακρίνεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινὰ ἄλλην διάκρισιν ἐπινοηθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς, καθ' ἣν, ὡς βούλονται, διακρίνεται αὐτὸς ὁ τρισυπόστατος Θεὸς εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνεργεῖαν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνεργείας·

/τί δὲ ὁ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐνοῦν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ διακρίνειν σπεύδων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ θεῖα ἦνωταί τε καὶ διακέκριται, Διονύσιόν φημι τὸν σοφόν, ἡμῖν ἐπόμενος τὴν τοιαύτην διάκρισιν παραδέδωκε· φησὶ γὰρ ἐν β^ω κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ Περί τῶν θείων ὀνομάτων, ὃ Περί ἠνωμένης καὶ διακεκριμένης θεολογίας τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει, μετὰ τὸ τὴν κατὰ τὰς θείας ὑποστάσεις διάκρισιν παραδοῦναι·

Ἄυται αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀφθεγκτον ἔνωσίν τε καὶ ὑπαρξίν ἐνώσεις τε καὶ διακρίσεις· εἰ δὲ καὶ θεῖα διάκρισις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγαθοπρεπῆς πρόοδος τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς θείας ὑπερηνωμένως ἑαυτὴν ἀγαθότητι πληθυνούσης τε καὶ πολλαπλασιαζούσης, ἠνωμένοι μὲν εἰσι κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν διάκρισιν αἱ ἄσχετοι μεταδόσεις, αἱ οὐσιώδεις, αἱ ζωώσεις, αἱ σοφοποιήσεις, αἱ ἄλλαι δωρεαὶ τῆς πάντων αἰτίας ἀγαθότητος, καθ' ἃς ἐκ τῶν μετοχῶν καὶ τῶν μετεχόντων ὑμνεῖται τὰ ἀμεθέγκτως μετεχόμενα·

καὶ ὁ θεῖος Μάξιμος ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τὸ αὐτὸ ῥητὸν ἐξηγούμενος οὕτω φησὶ·

Ἐτὰ περὶ τῆς ἀφράστου Τριάδος μέχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων προόδου νῦν θεολογεῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἄλλον λόγον διάκρισις θεῖα, ἡ διὰ πλῆθος ἀγαθότητος πρόοδος τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν πολυειδίαν τῆς δημιουργίας τῆς ἀοράτου καὶ τῆς ὀρατῆς, κοιναὶ δὲ εἰσι τῆς τρισυποστάτου διακεκριμένης ἐνάδος αἱ δημιουργικαὶ πρόνοιαί τε καὶ ἀγαθότητες·

καὶ αὐθις·

Ἐπληθύνεσθαι λέγεται ὁ Θεὸς τῷ καθ' ἕκαστον εἰς παρα-

12. β^ω: δευτέρῳ B

12. τῶν om B

3. PG 152, 285D; PG 151, 725D

15. PG 3, 641D-644A

26. Μαξίμου Ὁμολ., Σχόλια εἰς τὸ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων, PG 4, 221 AB

33. PG 4, 232C

116

γων των οντων βουληματα προνοητικα προοδους πολ-
λαπλασιασμενος, μενει δε αμεριστως εις, ωστε ηλιος
ακτινας πολλας ποτε/μων και μενων εν τη ενοτητα.

και αυθις

5

Προοδον φησιν ενταυθα την θειαν ενεργειαν, ητις πασαν
ουσιαν παρηγαγε.

και ο μεγας Διονυσιος αυθις εν τω αυτω κεφαλαιω

Διακρισιν θειαν ειπαι φαιεν, ως ειρηται, τας αγαθορπε-

10

πεις της θεαρχειας προοδους δωρουμενη γαρ πασι τοις
ουσι και υπερχεουσα τας των ολων αγαθων μετουσιας.

ηνωμενω μεν διακρινεται, πληθυνεται δε ενικως και πολ-

λαπλασιαζεται εκ του ενος ανεκφοιτητως.

και αυθις

15

Ταυτας ημεις τας κοινας και ηνωμενας της ολης Θεοτητος
διακρισεις εκ των εκφαινουσων αυτας εν τοις λογιοις θεω-

νητων δυναησαι κατα το δυνατον περιρασθηθα.

Αρ ου δοκουσι σοι διακρινειν εν τούτοις οι θεολογοι τον

20

ενα θεον εις τας εαυτου ενεργειας, ου τη παρ ημων επινοηθειση
διακρισει χρωμενοι, την δε χειρα κινουντες ως εκ πυξιδος του

Πνευματος; η και ουτοι πολυθεοι τιτες εοικασιν ειναι πολλαπλα-

σιαζεσθαι τε και πληθυνεσθαι τον θεον λεγοντες; ταυτα γαρ

ημων εν τοις εξης ο της μοναρχιας ακριβης προηγορος κατα-

φασκερις; αλλ ακουσον ως εχει δοξης περι τουτων η Εκκλη-

25

σια ταχα γαρ αν τι συνειης, μαλλον δ αυτος μεν ου καν ετι συν-
ειης την εσχατην υπελθων ανοιαν, τοις δ υπο σου περηγημε-

νοις ταμα γενοιτο τα λεγομενα. ημεις, ω κενε θεολογε και δει-

σιδαιμον μονοθεε, τον ενα θεον ημων ουτε κατα την ιουδαιικην

συστολην και ταπεινοτητα περικυπτουμεν, ως αμωρον Υιου και

Πνευματος ειναι των ομοφωων τε και ομοδοξων, ουτε αυ κατα

την ελληνηικην / ματαιοτητα και μυθολογίαν, θεων μεν υποβιβη-

30 116v

αφθονια γεραπομεν. τι δε; εν ακλοτητι δηθεν φυλαττειν εθελον-

32. τονδε Α

5. PG 4.309A

8. PG 3.649B

14. PG 3.652A

22. Sir. 12.3,21

26. Jc 2,20

τες αὐτό, τοῦθ' ὄπερ ἐστίν, ἐνέργειαν εἶναι νομίζομεν; ταῦτα γὰρ ὑποθέμενος ὁ κακοδαίμων οὐχ ἦττον ἢ δαιμόνιος Ἀριστοτέλης συναϊδίον τε τῷ Θεῷ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ τῆδε πάντα τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας ἄμοιρα ἐδογματίσεν ἀκολουθῶς· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἐνέργειαν ὄντα μὴ ἐνεργεῖν ἐξ αἰδίου εἰκὸς οὔτε περὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς. 5
 ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχοντα διικνεῖσθαι ποικίλης τινὸς δεόμενα διεξαγωγῆς καὶ οἰκονομίας. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἡμᾶς, οὐχ οὕτως ἡ ἡμετέρα θεολογία φρονεῖν ἐξεπαίδευσεν· οὐσίαν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἔνεργῆ, θελητικὴν, ἄπαντοδύναμον ἐννοοῦμεν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως, ἀχρόνως καὶ αἰδίως Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ὑποστάντων, 10
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς θελήσεώς τε καὶ ἐνεργείας, τῆς αἰσθητῆς τε καὶ νοητῆς κτίσεως· καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς Ἰωάννης ἀριδῆλως θεολογεῖ φάσκων·

Ἔργον μὲν θείας φύσεως ἡ προαιώνιος καὶ αἰδῖος γέννησις· ἔργον δὲ θείας θελήσεως ἡ κτίσις· 15

οὕτω καὶ Θεῷ τὸ προσῆκον σέβας φυλάττεται καὶ τῆ κτίσει τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποδίδεται μήθ' Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος εἰς κτίσμα ἑκατοστάτων ἡμῶν μήτε τῆς κτίσεως εἰς θεϊκὴν ἀξίαν ἀναγομένης. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ταῖς ἀριστοτελικάϊς ἀντικαθιστάμενος δόξαις Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ μάρτυς φιλοσοφεῖ· ἐν γὰρ τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἐρωτήσεων, τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄλλο τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἄλλο τὸ βούλεσθαι ἐν τῷ Θεῷ· ὁ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ βούλεται καὶ ὁ βούλεται καὶ ἔστι / καὶ οὐδεμία διαίρεσις ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὸ αὐτοπάρακτον εἶναι τὸν Θεόν· ἐλέγχων αὐτοὺς ὁ μακάριος οὕτω φησί· 20
 f17

Τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχοντος, οὐσίαν μὲν πρὸς ὑπαρξιν, βούλησιν δὲ πρὸς ποιήσιν, ὁ ἀπορρίπτων οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλήσιν τὴν διαφοράν, καὶ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἀπορρίπτει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν, ὑπαρξιν μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ποιήσιν δὲ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων· 25

καὶ αὐθις· 30

Ἐἰ ἄλλο τὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ἐνυπάρχειν – καὶ ὑπάρχει μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία, ἐνυπάρχει δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡ βουλή –, ἄλλη ἄρα ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλη ἡ βουλή·

καὶ πάλιν·

10. ὑποστάτων Α

3. Arist. Op. V f. 17,147^d 10

9. PG 151,725C

14. PG 94,813A

17. PG 151,725B

21. Ἰουστίνου, Ἐρωτήσεις χριστιανικάι, PG 6,1428D–1429A

26. PG 6,1429C; BEP 4,160

31. PG 6,1432A

Τὸ βούλεσθαι ἢ οὐσία ἐστὶν ἢ πρόσεστι τῇ οὐσία. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὐσία ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βουλόμενος· εἰ δὲ πρόσεστι τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἐστίν· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ προσὸν ταυτό'.

καὶ πάλιν·

5

Ἐἰ πολλά μὲν βούλεται ὁ Θεός, πολλά δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἄρα ταυτόν παρὰ Θεῶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι.

τούτων τὰ ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ κείμενα καὶ πολλὰς ἐτέρας καὶ σαφεῖς μαρτυρίας ὁ παραβλῶψ οὗτος παραδραμῶν αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἐκθεμέ-
νους τὸν Τόμον ὡς παρ' ἑαυτῶν εἰσάγοντας τὴν διάκρισιν· καὶ
μεταξὺ τινὰ προσθεῖς, εἶτα συμπεραίνων ἐπάγει·

10

Ἐκ τούτων δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἣν διακρίνεσθαι τῆς οὐσίας λέγουσι, ταύτην καὶ Θεότητα καὶ ἄκτιστον ὁμολογοῦσι· διὸ καὶ περὶ δύο καὶ πολλῶν θεοτήτων διαφορουσῶν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος. σαφέστερον δὲ δείκνυται καὶ
ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Παλαμᾶ τοῦ ταύτης τῆς ἀποφάσεως
καὶ δόξης προστάντος, σχεδὸν μὲν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῦτο κατασκευάζοντος, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, Ἐταῖς πνευματοκινήτοις τῶν πατέρων ἐπόμενοι ψήφοις'. Βαρ-
λαάμ γὰρ οὗτος / καὶ Ἀκίνδυνον ἐν τούτοις διασύρων
φησί· καταβοῶσι τῶν στεργόντων τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους ὁμολογίαν ὡς δύο θεότητας ἀκτίστους ὅπως δὴποτε λεγόντων, ὑπερκειμένην καὶ ὑφειμένην, μὴ συνορῶντες ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους ἡμῶν πατέρας ἀναφέρεται τὸ δῆθεν ἐγκλημα τοῦτο'.

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20 f17^v

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Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ Θεότης ἐνεργείας ἐστὶν ὄνομα καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς θείας οὐσίας, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς δὴ που Θεότητος ἐνίοτε καλουμένης, ὡς καὶ τούτου μόνου τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτῶν ἐκδηλον εἶναι. τοῦτο οὐχ ἡμέτερός ἐστι λόγος οὐδὲ συνάγεται παρὰ τῆς Συνόδου, τῶν δὲ ἀγίων πατέρων ἐστὶν ἀναμφισβητήτως καὶ φανερῶς.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεότητος Υἱοῦ

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8. *πολλά A*

31. *Νύσσης, marg. A*

1. PG 6,1433B

6. PG 6,1433B; BEΠ 4,161

12. PG 152,288C

18. Chr. Pal. 1, 263

καὶ Πνεύματος λόγῳ τάδε φησί·

Ἐφασίν· οἱ ἀρειανοὶ δηλονότι, φύσεως εἶναι σημαντικὴν τὴν Θεότητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ φάμεν ὅτι ὄνομα σημαντικὸν ἢ θεία φύσις ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἢ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔχει· ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ λέγεται, εἴτε παρὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συνηθείας εἴτε παρὰ τῆς θείας 5
Γραφῆς, τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἀποσημανθέντων ἔστι τι· αὐτὴ δὲ ἢ θεία φύσις ἀφραστός τε καὶ ἀνεκφώνητος μένει, ὑπερβαίνουσα πᾶσαν τὴν διὰ φωνῆς σημασίαν·

καὶ μετὰ τινά·

Ἐοῦκοῦν οὐχὶ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν θεατικὴν δύναμιν ἢ τῆς Θεότητος προσηγορία παρίστησι· 10

καὶ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀβλάβιον·

Ἐθεὸς ἐνεργοῦντα δηλοῖ, Θεότης δὲ ἐνέργειαν· οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἐνέργεια, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνεργοῦν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν· 15

καὶ ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Εὐστάθιον ἐπιστολῇ πάλιν·

Ἐοῦκοῦν ἢ τῆς ἐνεργείας ταυτότης ἐπὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἀγίου δείκνυσι σαφῶς τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτον. ὥστε, κἂν φύσιν σημαίη τὸ τῆς Θεότητος ὄνομα, / κυρίως καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι τὴν προσηγορίαν 20 f18
ἐφαρμόζεσθαι ταύτην ἢ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότης συντίθεται. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐνδειξιν τὴν προσηγορίαν τῆς Θεότητος φέρουσιν οἱ πάντα κατασκευάζοντες·

καὶ μετὰ τινά· 25

Ἐοῦκοῦν ἐξουσίας τινός, εἴτε ἐποπτικῆς εἴτε ἐνεργητικῆς, ἐνδειξιν ἢ προσηγορία φέρει·

καὶ ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον αὐθις·

Ἐκαὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς Θεότητος ὄνομα, εἴτε τὴν ἐποπτικὴν εἴτε τὴν προνοητικὴν ἐξουσίαν σημαίνει, οἰκείως εἶχε πρὸς τὸ 30
ἀνθρώπινον·

1. τάδε om B

2. PG 46,573CD

10. PG 46,576A

13. PG 45,124-125A; Jaeger 3,1

17. PG 32,693C-696A

23. He 3,4

26. PG 32,696A

29. Fontem non inveni

καὶ ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος·

Ἐοότης ἐστὶν ἡ πάντα θεωμένη πρόνοια.

ὅτι δὲ ἡ πρόνοια ἐνέργεια, μάρτυς ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος γράφων·

Ὅ κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόνοιαν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσιώδη τῆς Θεότητος ἐνέργειαν.

ταῦτα οἱ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλοι καὶ φωστῆρες οὗτοι διαρρήδην φασίν. εἰ δὲ δύο καὶ πολλαὶ θεότητες ἐκ τούτων συνάγονται, ἄρ' οὐ καθὼς αὐτὸς εἰσάγεις τὸν Παλαμᾶν λέγοντα, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀναφέρεται τὸ ἔγκλημα τοὺς εἰπόντας; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἡμῶν πατέρων ὑπεραπολογούμενοι λέγομεν ὅτι μίαν Θεότητα πρεσβεύειν ἡ Ἐκκλησία παρέλαβεν, οὐχ ὡς καθ' ἑνὸς σημαινομένου, τῆς φύσεως δηλονότι μόνης τοῦ ὀνόματος λεγομένου· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁρᾶς ὡς οὐ δοκεῖ τοῖς ἁγίοις; ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης ἐνεργείας, οὔτε μὴν ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης φύσεως Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὄντων. οὕτω γὰρ αἱ πολλαὶ θεότητες εἶχον ἂν χώραν, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμένη Ἐκτὴ Σύνοδος ἐν πέμπτῳ τόμῳ τῆς ἐνδεκάτης πράξεως διορίζεται·

Ἐὸς καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Θεός, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ τρία Θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, οὐδὲ ἄλλος Θεὸς ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ ἄλλος πάλιν Θεός τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπεὶ μὴδ' ἄλλη φύσις ὁ Πατὴρ, μὴδ' ἄλλη φύσις ὁ Υἱός, μὴδ' ἄλλη πάλιν φύσις τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ διαφοροὺς θεοὺς ἐκτεχνάζεται καὶ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφοροὺς ἐκτίκει θεότητας; ἀλλὰ Θεὸς μὲν ὁ Πατὴρ, Θεὸς δὲ ὁ Υἱός, Θεὸς δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς μιᾶς ἀμερίστως καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς τὰ τρία πρόσωπα πληρούσης Θεότητος.

καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Εὐστάθιον ἐπιστολῇ πάλιν·

Ἐἴτε ἐνεργείας ὄνομα ἡ Θεότης, ὡς μίαν ἐνέργειαν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὕτω μίαν φασὲν εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θεότητα, εἴτε καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας, φύ-

3. Ἀθανασίου, marg. A

20. Συνόδου ς ; marg. A

2. PG 3,969C

4. M. Ἀθανασίου, Κηρυκτικὸν εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου, PG 28,924B; BEΠ 36,208

20. Mansi 11,469

31. PG 32,696B; Courtonne II, 141; BEΠ 55,21A

σεως ἐνδεικτικόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς Θεότητος ὄνομα διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐρίσκειν ἐν τῇ φύσει παραλλαγὴν. οὐκ ἀπεικόντως μίᾳς Θεότητος τὴν Ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὀρίζομεθα·

καὶ ὁ Νύσσης ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀβλάβιον αὐθις·

Ἐκθὸ μία καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ἢ εἰρημένη ἐνέργεια, μία καὶ ἡ Θεότης καὶ εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν. 5

ἀκούεις ὅπως τὴν μίαν Θεότητα καὶ τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν ἐκλαμβάνειν προσῆκε τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀκολουθοῦντας; σὺ δὲ τί λέγεις. τί δογματίζεις ὁ καινὸς τῶν θείων ὀνομάτων ἐξεταστής; ἐπειδὴ, φησὶν, ἐν μόνον ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσία Θεότης ὀνομαζομένη, διὰ τοῦτο μίαν Θεότητα πρεσβεύειν φαμέν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν Εὐνομίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀρειανοῖς ὁμόλογος εἶ κατὰ τοῦτο, ἄλλοι τε εἰρήκασι καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τοῖς ἁγίοις δῆλον· ἄλλ', ὡς κάθαρμα, κατὰ τὸν σὸν τοῦτον διορισμόν, οὐκ εἰς μίαν Θεότητα πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν τὴν Θεότητα λέγειν ἐχρῆν καὶ μηδέποτε ἄνευ τοῦ / ἄρθρου τοῦτο προφέρειν, ἵνα μὴ, ἐπὶ διαφορῶν μὲν λεγομένη, μία δὲ ὁμῶς οὔσα, τῶν τριῶν προσώπων ἢ Θεότης νομίζοιτο· καθάπερ καὶ δυνάμεις μία φαμέν τῶν τριῶν, ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ Θεότης. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει δυνάμιν τὴν τε δημιουργικὴν καὶ τὴν προνοητικὴν καὶ ἔτι τὴν θαυματουργικὴν παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων νοεῖσθαι. αὐταὶ δὲ διαφέρουσι πάντως ἀλλήλων, ἵκαν αὐτὸς διαρραγῆς· εἰς ἐν ἐφελκόμενος καὶ ταυτίζων· εἰ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν δυνάμεις ἐν τῷ Θεῷ λέγονται, κατὰ γὰρ τὸν μέγαν Διονύσιον· 10 15

Ἐξουσίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὡς πᾶσαν δυνάμιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ προέχων καὶ ὑπερέχων. 25

πολλαὶ δὲ θεότητες οὐδαμῶς, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θεότης ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως λέγεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς θεότησιν ἀνάγκη τοὺς θεοὺς συνεισάγεσθαι, ἢ δὲ δυνάμεις οὐδέποτε ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως, ὡσπερ οὖν οὐδ' ἢ ἐνέργεια· 30
Ἐξουσίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἐνέργεια, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Κύριλλον, ὁ αὐτόν·

24-27. Διονυσίου, ἐν π^ω τοῦ Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων, marg. A

31-32. Κυρίλλου, ἐν ιε^ω τῶν Θησαυρῶν, marg. A

5. cf. PG 45,125A

14. Ar. Pl. 454

22. D. 18,21, cf. 87

25. PG 3,889D

31. Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἡ βίβλος τῶν θησαυρῶν, PG 75,312C

31. Ps 13,1-52,1
24. PG 151,725C
14. Eccl 12,13
9. PG 89,76C
6. Art. Nu. 398
4. Plut. Mor. 149D

14-15. Ζολομῶντος, marg. A

δια τοῦτο καὶ δυναμεις καὶ ἐνέργειαι πληθυντικῶς ἐκφέρονται
καὶ νοοῦνται καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς ὁ Θεὸς πληθυνθεῖσθαι τε καὶ πολλα-
πλασιαζεῖσθαι λέγεται, καθάπερ ἤκουσας. ἀλλὰ τῆς μιᾶς Θεότη-
τος αὐθις ἐξέχη κλαυθμηρῶν ὡσπερ τὰ νεογνά καὶ δέδιας
μη τῆς ἐνεργείας Θεότητος λέγομένης πολλαίς Θεότησι περι-
πέσης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρωπότης, ὡ μῶρε, λέγοιτο μὲν ἂν ἡ φύσις
αὐτῆ, καθ' ἣν ἐσμεν ἀνθρωποι, λέγοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ εἰ τι τῆς φύσεως
ἴδιον, οἷον ἡ τε λογικὴ δύναμις, ἢ μάλα ταῦτα ἄλλων ζώων ἄν-
θρώπος διακρίνεται καὶ τὸ γλαστικόν τε καὶ ὀρθοπικτικόν τε
κόν' καὶ εἰ τι τοιοῦτον, κυριώτερον δὲ πάντων ἡ τοῦ ἀναθρεῖν, ἃ
ὅσπερ, δυναμεις, ἂφ' ἧς / καὶ παρονομάζεται, καθά φησι καὶ ὁ
Θεὸς Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Ζιναίτης ἐν τῇ Ὁδηγῶ λέγομένῃ βιβλῶ.
ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζολομῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαιοπραγεῖν τινα καὶ ἀστειον
εἶναι τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα διορίζεται. Τὸν Θεὸν γάρ, φησι, φο-
βῶν καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ φυλάττει. τοῦτο γάρ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ
πρὸς γε εἰ τι τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ σῶστημα ἀνθρωπότης κα-
λεῖται, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πολλαὶ ἀνθρωπότητες ἢ εἰσιν ἢ λέγον-
ται. εἰ δὲ ἐνθα πολλοὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρωποι μία ἀνθρωπότης.
διὰ τὸ μὴ χωρὶς εἶναι τὰ φυσικὰ τῆς φύσεως, ἐν ἢ θεωροῦνται,
πῶς, ὅπου Θεὸς εἰς καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν, αἱ πολλαὶ Θεότητες ἐξουσι-
αῶν, τί δὲ καὶ τὸν Παλαμᾶν αἰτιῶν καὶ προφάσεις εἰς μέσον, ὅτι
περ ὅσως τὴν φωνὴν παρεδέξατο καὶ προήνεγκε ταύτην ἐν τοῖς
αὐτοῦ γράμμασι; μάλα ἴστα μὲν Ὀὐ περὶ φωνῶν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ὡς
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολογουμένους ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ φησιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πραγμά-
των καὶ δόξης ὀρθῆς. ὡς γὰρ ἡμῶν ταῦτα λέγοντων καὶ συναγόν-
των ὑποτιθέμενος αὐτὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶπεν ὅτι τοῦτων οὐτως
ἐχόντων τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐχρῆν ἐγκρατεῖν, εἴπερ ἐχρῆν. εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν
ἄφρονος μελετώμενον ἐτόλμησεν ἐξεῖπαι καὶ γραφῆ παραδοῦ-
ναι, ὅτι Ὀὐκ ἐστὶ Θεός, εἰ μὲν οὐν τὰς φωνὰς αἰτιῶν, σαυτὸν ἂν
εἰς αἰτιῶσθαι δίκαιος, τὸν πρῶτον εἰπόντα τὸ δὲ σφρημον. εἰ δὲ
τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἀπολελογηται μὲν αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦτου

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25
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15
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199v

μακρὰ καὶ διὰ μακρῶν, ἡ θεολόγος τῷ ὄντι γλῶσσα καὶ λογικὴ
καὶ φιλόσοφος, καὶ πρόκειται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκεῖνα τῆς τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ὑγιουῶς περὶ πάντα καὶ ἀκριβοῦς / διανοίας σαφῆ δείγμα- f20
τα, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα ἄτοκον εἶναι μετρίως καὶ ὡς οὐ
δύο καὶ πολλαὶ θεότητες οὐδ' ἀριθμὸς ὅλως ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας δό- 5
ξης εἰσάγεται, σεσαφηνίσται. ἀλλ' ὁ γε ἐκ τοῦ Κατὰ Βαρλααμί-
την καὶ ὀρθοδόξου διαλόγου προσέθηκεν, ὡς·

Ἄϊ ἄλλαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀγίοις λεγόμεναι θεότητες, εἴτε μία
εἴτε δύο εἴτε πλείους·

οὐχ οὕτως εὔρηται κείμενον, ἀλλ' οὕτως· 10

Ἐἰ δὲ τις ἄλλη τῶν ἐνεργειῶν παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων λέγοιτο Θε-
ότης, εἴτε μία εἴτε δύο εἴτε πλείους·

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑποθέμενος ἀραρότως, ὡς εἴρηται, δύο καὶ πολλὰς θε-
ότητας εἰσάγειν ἡμᾶς, ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐκ τούτου πρόεισι μείζον καὶ
ἀτοπώτερον ἔγκλημα, ὡς νομίζει καὶ φησιν· 15

Ἔτι δὲ τὰ διακρινόμενα ταῦτα ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, εἴτ' οὖν αἱ θεό-
τητες αὗται οὐ λόγῳ διακρίνονται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράγμα-
τα τυγχάνει ὄντα, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὀνόματα, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ
πολλῶν κατασκευάζουσι·

καὶ ἐξῆς, τὰ ἐξ ὧν τοῦτο κατασκευάζουσι τίθησι τὴν μὲν οὖν 20
τῶν πολλῶν θεοτήτων φωνὴν ὅτι περ ὅλως οὐ παραδεχόμεθα·
καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εἴρηται· τὰς δὲ θείας δυνάμεις καὶ
ἐνεργείας καὶ ἀπλῶς εἴ τι τῷ Θεῷ πρόσσεσι φυσικῶς καὶ οὐσιω-
δῶς, εἰ μὴ πράγματα διαρρήδην κηρύττομεν, αἰσχυνοίμεθα ἂν.
εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν πρᾶγμα μὲν τι ἡ ἀρετὴ, πρᾶγμα δὲ ἡ σοφία, πρᾶγμα 25
δὲ αὐτὴ πάλιν ἡ ἐπιστήμη, πῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ψιλὰ καὶ ἔρημα ταῦτα
πραγμάτων ὀνόματα μόνον ὑποληφθήσεται, ὅτι τὰ προσόντα φυ-
σικῶς καὶ ἐξ αἰδίου τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχει τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπικτήτων,
ὅσον τῶν μὴ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα εἰπεῖν; παρίτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ θεολόγοι
πάλιν ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν τὴν δόξαν πιστούμενοι· καὶ 30

1. γλῶσσα B

6. ἐκ: ὡς B

29. ὄσω B

4. Pl. Rep. 506e

8. PG 152,288D

11. Chr. Pal. 2,189

16. PG 152,288D

α^{ος} ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς / κατὰ Νίκαιαν Συνόδου
 διαλέξει τὸ Ἰάντα ὄσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμά ἐστιν' ἐξηγούμενος
 οὕτω φησὶν' f20^v

Ἰούχ ἐνεκεν κτιστῶν πραγμάτων τοῦτο ἔφη ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸ
 Ἰάντα ὄσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ', ἀλλ' ὄσα ἀνήκε τῇ Θεότητι τοῦ 5
 Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἴδια ἔφη ὁ Κύριος, οἶον τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ
 ἀφθαρτον, τὸ ἀτρεπτον, τὸ ἀκατάληπτον, τὸ δυνατόν, τὸ
 προγνωστικόν'.

καὶ ὁ Νύσσης ἐν α^ω λόγῳ τῶν Ἀντιρρήτικῶν

Ἰού γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τι τῷ λογισμῷ διαβάντα τῶν περὶ τὸν 10
 Θεὸν εὐσεβῶς λεγομένων ἐντυχεῖν ἐτέρῳ πράγματι ἢ νοή-
 ματι, ὃ τῆς ῥηθείσης ἀρχαιότητος ὑπεραρθῆναι δυνήσε-
 ται'.

καὶ ὁ θεῖος ὁμολογητῆς Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Πύρρον διαλέξει,
 τὴν τῶν φύσεων ἐνωσιν ἐνέργειαν λέγοντα, ἐπειδὴ φησιν' 15

ἸἩ ἐνωσις σχέσις ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πρᾶγμα· σχέσις ἄρα καὶ οὐ
 πρᾶγμα ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνέργεια'.

ὡς αὐτὸς δηλονότι τὴν ἐνέργειαν πρᾶγμα οἰόμενος, ἦν δὴ καὶ
 ἄκτιστον καὶ διαφέρουσαν τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διαλέξει
 δεικνύς, οὕτω φησὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν Πύρρον' 20

ἸἘτι ἢ κτιστὴν ἢ ἄκτιστον λέγειν ταύτην ἀναγκασθήσεσθε
 τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἐπειδὴ μέσον κτιστῆς καὶ ἀκτίστου οὐδεμία
 ὑπάρχει τὸ σύνολον· καὶ εἰ μὲν κτιστὴν αὐτὴν φήσετε, κτι-
 στὴν καὶ μόνην δηλώσει φύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἄκτιστον, ἄκτιστον
 καὶ μόνην χαρακτηρίσει οὐσίαν· δεῖ γὰρ πάντως κατάλλη- 25
 λα ταῖς φύσεσι τὰ φυσικὰ εἶναι, καὶ πῶς δυνατόν τῆς κτι-
 στῆς φύσεως καὶ ἠργμένης ἄκτιστον εἶναι τὴν ἐνέργειαν; ἢ
 τῆς ἀκτίστου καὶ ἀνάρχου κτιστὴν καὶ ἠργμένην καὶ πεπε-
 ρασμένην;'

1. πρῶτον B

9. πρῶτω B

20. Μαξίμου, marg. A

2. Jo 16,15

4. PG 28,920C

10. PG 45,432C

16. PG 91,340D-341A

21. PG 91,341A

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐθις, ἐν πρ^ω κεφαλαίῳ τῆς τῶν Θεολογικῶν δευτέρας ἑκατοντάδος·

Ἔστι τι πρᾶγμα ὑπὲρ αἰῶνας ἢ ἀκραιφνῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλεία· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θέμις εἰπεῖν ἤρχθαι ἢ φθάνεσθαι ὑπὸ αἰῶνων καὶ χρόνων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείαν·

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ἰδοῦ παρὰ / τῶν ἀγίων ἤκουσας καὶ πράγματα ὄντα τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰς οὐσιώδεις δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ προσέτι ἄκτιστα καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰῶνας·

f21

Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ πράγματα, φησὶν, αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐταὶ καὶ τῷ τῆς Θεότητος ὀνόματι προσαγορεύονται ἓναι, τί γε ἄλλο ἢ αἱ πολλαὶ θεότητες αὐθις εἰσάγονται; ὥστε, ὃ τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὁ Παλαμᾶς ἀρνεῖται, τοῦτο τοῖς πράγμασι τίθεται καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην μόνον τῶν ἀπλουστέρων, οὔτε ἐφρόνησα, φησί, τό τοιοῦτον οὔτε φρονῶ·

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καὶ τοιαῦτα ἅττα ἐφεξῆς συνείρει 'φλυαρῶν καὶ πτερυγίζων'. ἄλλ', ὧ βέλτιστε, τὰς πολλὰς θεότητας ἡμεῖς οὔτε λέγομεν οὔτε φρονοῦμεν, μὴ γένοιτο· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργειαν, εἰ καὶ ἀχώριστον τῆς φύσεως ἴσμεν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν νοουμένην καὶ λεγομένην, οἷον τὴν ἀγαθότητα, τὴν σοφίαν, τὴν πρόγνωσιν, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει· Θεότητα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐτ' εἰπεῖν οὐτ' ἐννοῆσαι δυνατόν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως τέθεται τοῦνομα. ἀλλ' εἴτε τὴν θεατικὴν, εἴτε τὴν καυστικὴν καὶ ἐξαναλωτικὴν, εἴτε τὴν διὰ πάντων χωρητικὴν δύναμιν ἐθέλοι τις ἐννοεῖν Θεότητα λέγων, ἐπὶ πάσας γὰρ ταύτας τὰς ὑπολήψεις ἀγόμεθα διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀγίοις, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν, ἢ ταῦτα πρόσεστι, συννοεῖν ἀναγκάζεται, καθάπερ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα λέγων, εἰ τύχοι τὴν ἀναθεωρητικὴν δύναμιν, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν συνενένοησεν· οὐκ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ πολλὰς θεότητας λέγειν ἢ ἐννοεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡ φύσις τῷ πλήθει συνδιασχίζεται. μία τοιγαροῦν ἢ Θεότης, ἐπειδὴ Θεότης ἢ φύσις, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἔστιν ὧν ἐπιλέγεται τοῦνομα.

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1. ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔκτῳ B

18. λεγομένην καὶ νοουμένην B

3. PG 90,1165A

9. PG 152,289ABC

13. PG 151,725A

15. Ar. Pl. 575

/ Φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε τὸ νῦν εἶναι, καὶ μάλα θαρρόντως, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν ἡ Ἐκκλησία παντάπασιν ἤλαυνε, λέγω δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν θεοτήτων φωνήν, οὕτως οὐκ οἶδε δουλεύειν συλλαβαῖς τε καὶ λέξεσιν, ἔνθα ὁ νοῦς ὑγιής. εἰ μὴ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἐκκλί-
 νουσαν ἀπληστίαν καὶ τὸ λαβὴν τινα δοῦναι τοῖς ἐκείνων μυθεύ-
 μασι περισταμένη· οὐδὲ γὰρ 'πολλὰ πνεύματα' παραιτεῖται λέ-
 γειν, κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν, καίτοι γε μιᾶς καὶ ἀπλῆς οὔσης τῆς
 σεπτῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως, ἅπερ, ὅτι μὲν αἱ ἐνεργεῖαι
 εἰσι τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως, τοῦ Θεολόγου λέγοντός
 ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι·

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Ἔας γὰρ ἐνεργείας, φησί, τοῦ Πνεύματος πνεύματα φίλον
 τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ καλεῖν·

ὅτι δὲ ἄκτιστα, δῆλον μὲν καὶ αὐτόθεν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις τολμήσειε
 φάναι μὴ παντάπασι μεμηνώς, κτίσματα τῷ δεσπότῃ ἐπαναπε-
 παῦσθαι· δῆλον δὲ ἐξ ὧν ὁ μὲν εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ
 Ἀποκαλύψει ταῦτα θεολογῶν ἐνώπιον εἶναι τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ
 Θεοῦ διδάσκει· ὁ δὲ θεσπέσιος Κύριλλος αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου τὸ
 ῥητὸν ἐξηγούμενος, αὐτὸ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμά φησιν εἶναι τὸ τῷ
 Χριστῷ ἐπαναπεπαυμένον ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργείαις.

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Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φησι, καίτοι γεγωνώς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς
 ἀνάλωτος ἦν ἁμαρτίαις, ἐπανεπαύσατο τῇ ἀνθρώπου φύσει
 τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πρώτῳ καὶ ὡς ἐν
 ἀπαρχῇ τοῦ γένους δευτέρᾳ, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπαναπαύσῃται
 καὶ μείνῃ λοιπὸν ταῖς τῶν πιστευόντων διανοίαις ἐμφιλο-
 χωροῦν· οὕτω γὰρ που καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἰωάννης τεθεῶ-
 σθαί φησι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφοιτῆσαν τὸ Πνεῦμα μεϊνάν τε
 ἐπὶ Χριστόν·

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καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος Ἰωάννης ἐν τῷ Περί τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
 λόγῳ·

2. post παντάπασιν add οὕτως B

9. τῆς ὑποστάσεως om B

9. Θεολόγου, marg. A

14. post δεσπότῃ add Χριστῷ B; φάναι AB

19. Κυρίλλου, marg. A

6. Is 2,3

11. PG 36,432C; Is 11,2

16. Ap 1,4

20. PG 70,313A-D

25. cf. Jo 1,32

Ἐπαναπαύσεται, φησίν, ἐν αὐτῷ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, ὧδε τὸ ὄνομα τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος./ λοιπὸν τὰ χαρίσματα ἔστιν ἡ φύσις τοῦ Πνεύματος σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν ἑαυτῷ κτισθῆναι αἰτεῖ. Ἐκτετακέναι δὲ εὐθέως τοῖς ἐγκάτοις οὐ κτισθῆναι λοιπὸν, ἀλλ' ἐγκαινισθῆναι, καὶ ἑνὶ Πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶς στηριχθῆναι. τοῦτέστι χαρίσματι ἡγεμονεύοντι τῶν παθῶν καὶ κρατοῦντι τῶν ἡδονῶν. ταῦτα ἡμῖν εἴρηται περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θεϊκῆς αὐθεντίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰ ἐνεργήματα διαφορᾶς. οἱ δὲ αἰρετικοὶ ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι, ὅταν λέγη Πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἢ ἐπαγγελίας, τῶν δωρεῶν μέμνηται, αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνάγουσι λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔδωκεν. εἶδες, φησίν, ὅτι δῶρόν ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ; ἀνέγνω τὰ τῶν δωρεῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν φύσιν ἀνήγαγον, δέον νοῆσαι τίνα τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ τὴν φύσιν δηλοῦντα καὶ τίνα τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ τὴν χάριν ἐρμηνεύοντα.

f22

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Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ παρεκβατικώτερον ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἄχρηστά γε πρὸς τοὺς τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα, δηλαδὴ τὰ πνευματικὰ χαρίσματα, διαιροῦντας τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς οἶεσθαι – φεῦ τῆς παραφορᾶς! – κτίσματα εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα τῆς μὲν Γραφῆς ὀφθαλμοῦς Κυρίου ταῦτα καλοῦσης ἐπιβλέποντας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, τοῦ δὲ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου σῶμα τοῦ Πνεύματος αὐτὰ ταῦτα καλοῦντος.

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Ἐἶποι καὶ γὰρ ἄν τις, φησίν, ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον συλλογιστικοῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα χαρίσματα ἐστὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὡς περὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει, τὸ δὲ καθ' ἑνὲν τῶν χαρισμάτων δάκτυλος.

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οὕτως αὐτῷ τῷ Πνεύματι τὰ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα συνουσίωται, οἳ δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνίασιν, ὅτι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς περιπίπτουσι καὶ τοῖς

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25–26. Βασιλείου, marg. A

1. PG 52,819DE

3. Is 11,2

4. Ps 50,12

5. Ps 50,12

6. Ps 50,14

22. De 11,12

25. PG 29, 717A

πρὸς οὓς ἠὺτομόλησαν Λατίνοις ἐναντιοῦνται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸ
μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν / δι' ἔμφυσῆματος' παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου δοθὲν f22^v
οὐκ ἔτι ἢ ὑπόστασις ἔσται τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ τι κτίσμα· καὶ
γὰρ ἦν ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν χάρισμα· καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Παύλῳ 'Πνεῦ-
μα', ἐν ᾧ ἐλάλει μυστήρια, κτίσμα· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ 'Χριστὸς ὁ ἐν 5
αὐτῷ λαλῶν' κτίσμα· καὶ θαυμάζω πῶς οὐ 'φεύγουσιν ἑαυτοῦς'
ἐπὶ τοιαύτας ἀσεβείας ὑποφερόμενοι.

ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανέλθωμεν·

Ἐνόματά ἐστι, φησί, τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα τῷ λόγῳ δια-
φέροντα μόνον· 10

σκινδαψοὺς ἄρα ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀναπλάττεις τὰ θεῖα ὀνόματα
καὶ τραγελάφους τινὰς ἀνυπάρκτους φωνὰς καὶ εἰς ἀέρα ρεού-
σας; οὐδὲ τὸν σὸν Ἀριστοτέλην αἰδούμενος, ὅς τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα
τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ νοημάτων, τὰ δὲ νοήματα τῶν πραγμάτων 'σύμβολα'
ἔφησεν 'εἶναι'. πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ διαφέροιν ἀλλήλων τῷ λόγῳ μὴ 15
πραγμάτων ὄντα σημαντικὰ καθ' ὧν λέγονται; τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν αὐ-
θις πᾶσαν ὑπερβέβηκεν ἀλογίαν· οἱ γὰρ λόγοι πραγμάτων εἰσι
λόγοι πάντως, οὐ ψιλῶν φωνῶν καὶ ῥημάτων. ὄρα δὲ καὶ τὸν μέ-
γαν Γρηγόριον τὸν τῆς Νύσσης ἀντιφθεγγόμενον αὐθις τοῖς σοῖς
δόγμασιν· 20

Ἡ κυριότης', ἐν τοῖς κατ' Εὐνομίῳ φησίν, 'οὐχὶ οὐσίας
ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορία
τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνδείκνυται, ἄλλος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ
ἕτερος ὁ τῆς φύσεως λόγος'.

ὅτι δὲ ἡ βασιλεία 'πρᾶγμά τε καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰῶνας' τοῦ σεπτοῦ Μαξι- 25
μου ἤκουσας λέγοντος καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐθις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς·

14. post ἐν add τῆ B .

21. Νύσσης, marg. A

26. Μαξίμου, marg. A

26. post Μαξίμου add πρώην B

2. Jo 20,22

4. 1 Κο 14,2

5. 2 Κο 13,3

6. Arist. Hi. 4,1166^b, 14

9. PG 152, 288D

11. cf. Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου, Λόγος κε', PG 35,1205B

14. Arist. ε 1,16^a4 .

21. PG 45,736A

25. PG 90,1165A

Καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ὧν ἡ σημασία θέσεώς τινός ἐστιν ἐνδεικτική καὶ ὑπάρξεως, οὐκ αὐτῆς τῆς θείας φύσεως, ἀλλὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν εὐσεβῶς θεωρουμένων τὴν ἐνδειξιν ἔχει·

καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασιλεῖος ἐν α^ω λόγῳ τῶν Ἀντιρρήτικῶν·

Ἦως οὐ καταγέλαστον τὸ δημιουργικὸν οὐσίαν εἶναι λέγειν, 5

τὸ προνοητικὸν / πάλιν οὐσίαν, τὸ προγνωστικὸν f23

ῶσαύτως καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν οὐσίαν τίθεσθαι;

καὶ εἰ ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς ἓν σημαινόμενον τείνει, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ταῦτὸν ἀλλήλοις δύνασθαι τὰ ὀνόματα, ὡς

ἐπὶ τῶν πολυωνύμων, ὅταν Σίμωνα καὶ Πέτρον καὶ Κηφᾶν 10

τὸν αὐτὸν λέγωμεν. οὐκοῦν ὁ ἀκούσας τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον τοῦ Θεοῦ

πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον ὑπαχθήσεται· καὶ ὁ ἀκούσας τὸ ἀμερές,

πρὸς τὸ δημιουργικὸν ἀπενεχθήσεται· καὶ ταύτης

τί ἂν γένοιτο τῆς συγχύσεως ἀτοπώτερον, ἀφελόμενον τὴν

ἰδίαν ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομάτων σημασίαν, ἀντινομοθετεῖν τῇ 15

τε κοινῇ χρήσει καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος·

ἀκούεις ὡς οὐτ' ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας τίθενται τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτὸ πάντα

δυνάμενα, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πολυωνύμων, οὔτε μὴν ἀνύπαρκτα

καὶ ἀσήμαντά ἐστιν; ἐκάστῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδιον ὑποβέβληται σημαι-

νόμενον νόημα; εἰ δὲ νόημα, δηλονότι καὶ πρᾶγμα· νόημα γὰρ 20

ἄνευ πράγματος ὑποθέσθαι τῶν ἀμηχάνων, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ λό-

γον ἄνευ νοήματος. σὺ δ' οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἡσχύνθης κοινὸν

ὄνομα κατὰ πολλῶν οὕτω καὶ διαφερόντων λεγόμενον· τὰ γὰρ

κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔχοντα πρᾶγματα πάντως ἐστίν, οὐκ ὀνόματα μόνον,

εἰ μὴ ὀνομάτων ὄνομα φαίης εἶναι ταῖς σαῖς ἐπόμενος ὑπο- 25

θέσει. τί δέ, ἢ Περί θείων ὀνομάτων θαυμαστὴ πραγματεία τοῦ

θαυμαστοῦ τῷ ὄντι Διονυσίου περὶ ἀνυπάρκτων τινῶν ἢ καθ'

ἐνός μόνου καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων δοκεῖ σοι τὴν πρόθεσιν πε-

ποιῆσθαι; σχολῇ γ' ἂν τινα πείσαις, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀκριβῶς τῇ δια-

νοίᾳ τῆς βίβλου παρηκολουθηκότων. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν σου τὴν 30

δόξαν αὐτοῦ σου διατρανοῦντος / ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀκουσόμεθα καὶ

σὺν Θεῷ φάναι τελέως ἐλέγξομεν. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἰτέον τὰ

πολλὰ τῶν μεταξὺ ληρημάτων καὶ τῆς ἐνεσπαρμένης χλεῦγς καὶ

f23^v

3-4. Βασιλείου, marg. A

4. τῷ πρώτῳ B

11. ἀναλοίωτον A

32. φᾶναι AB

1. Fonten non inveni

5. PG 29,528B; BEΠ 52,168

ὑβρεως ὑπερβαίνοντας· τὸ γὰρ καθ' ἓν ἅπαντα διέναι πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἐξελέγγειν πειρώμενον οὐδὲν εἰς μοχθηρίαν καὶ ἀηδίαν ἐλλείπει τοῦ τὴν Αὐγείου κόπρον ἀνακαθᾶραι.

‘Οὐχ ἀπλῶς’, φησίν, ‘οὕτω τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν πρὸς ἄλληλα διελόντες οἱ τῆς Συνόδου καὶ δια- 5
φέρειν εἰπόντες ἠρκέσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς τρόποις ἐπ’ αὐτῶν διακρίσεως καὶ ἀντιθέσεως ἐχρήσαντο, ὧν κατ’ οὐδένα δυνατὸν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν πραγματικῶς εἰς ἓν συμβῆναι καὶ μίαν εἶναι Θεότητα, ὡς οὗτοι γε τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἐξαπατῶσιν’.

ἀλλ’ οὐτε τοὺς τῆς διακρίσεως τρόπους οἴκοθεν εἰσηνέγκαμεν οἱ ἐγκαλούμενοι φήσαιεν ἂν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων φωνὰς ἐκκέκωφας, τὴν τε οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἓν εἶναι πραγματικῶς, οὐδὲν ἢ διάκρισις ἐμποδῶν· εἰ γὰρ ἔνθα τέλειαι ὑποστάσεις καὶ καθ’ αὐτὰς οὐσαι καὶ θεωρούμεναι Πατρός, Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὐδὲν ἢ διάκρισις τῇ ἐνώσει λυμαίνεται· μία γὰρ ἓν τοῖς τρισὶν ἢ Θεότης καὶ τὰ τρία ἓν τὰ ἐν οἷς ἢ Θεότης, ὅπου μὴ καθ’ αὐτὴν ὑφεστᾶναι τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλ’ ἐνυπάρχειν τε καὶ ἐνθεωρεῖσθαι τῇ οὐσίᾳ φαμέν, πῶς οὐχ ἓν μετ’ αὐτῆς ἔσται καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἓν;

‘Ἡ μὲν γὰρ διάκρισις ἐπινοία’, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀναστάσιον, ‘ἢ δὲ ἔνωσις πραγματικὴ ἀχώριστος· περὶ τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἢ ἐνέργεια, ταύτης δὲ ἀχώριστος ἢ οὐσία καθέστηκε’.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐθις·

‘Ἐνθα ἂν ἢ ἐνέργεια φανῆ, συνθεωρεῖται ταύτη καὶ ἢ οὐ- 25
σία, ἐξ ἧς προέρχεται· ἐκάτερον γὰρ ἀπερίγρα/πτον καὶ f24
διὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἀχώριστα’.

ἰδοῦ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου καὶ τὸ ἐκάτερον ἤκουσας, ὅπερ ἐπὶ δύο λέγεται πάντως, καὶ τὸ ἀχώριστα παντελῶς εἶναι καὶ προσέτι τὸ ἓν εἶναι πραγματικῶς, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς φρονοῦμεν, ταῦτα 30
κηρύττομεν. ἀλλὰ πῶς, φησίν, ἂ πρὸ μικροῦ ἔλεγεσ πράγματα εἰ-

2. πειρώμενον: βουλόμενον B

16–17. Θεότης, marg. A

21–25. Ἀναστασίου Συναίτου, marg. A

30–31. ἐρώτησις, marg. A

3. Theocr. 25,7ff; Diod. 4,13,3

4. PG 152,292A

21. Fontem non inveni

25. Sakkos 1,2,5

1-2. ἀπόκρσις, marg. A
16. Μαζίμου, marg. A

να καὶ αὐτὰ θεωροῦμενα, νῦν ἐπινοοῖά μὲν λέγεις εἶναι διαπε-
ρὰ, πράγματα δὲ ἀδιαίρετα: ὅτι τοῖ, ὡ φιλότης, οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι τό
πράγματι δὲ οὐ διήρηται μέχρῃς ἄν ἠνωμένα τυγχάνῃ. καὶ αἱ ἐν 5
Χριστῷ δὲ συνελάβουσαι διτταὶ φύσεις οὕτω μὲν ἠνωται. πα-
ραγωγῆς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἐν τι πράγμα καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἄρε-
τέλασαν, ὡς μηκέτ' ἄλλως ἢ ἐπινοοῖά μὲν διακεκρίσθαι, οὐ μὴν
δια τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πράγματα εἶναι ταύτας ἀφαιρησόμεθα. μίαν οὖν
γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἀσύγχυτοι μετὰ τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἐκατέρω ἰδιωμάτων. εἰ 10
τοῖν ἐπι τῶν οὐσιῶν οὕτω, καὶ οὐσιῶν διαφόρων ἐπι τοσοῦτον
καὶ οὕτως ἀντικειμένων, πολλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅταν ὁ λόγος ἢ περὶ οὐ-
σίας καὶ ἐπεργείας, ὧν ἡ ἐνωσις πραγματικώτερα καὶ τὸ παρὰ πα-
ναχώριστος. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ συνθεσις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδαμῶς.
15 Τῶν γὰρ ἐν ὑπόστασει ὄντων, οὐ τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ θεωροῦμε-
νων αἱ συνθεσις εἰσι,
Μᾶζμος ὁ θεὸς φησι· οὐδὲν ἄρα ποσεισταται, τὸ πράγματα εἰ-
ναὶ τῷ πράγματι ἠνωσθαι τὰς ἐπεργείας. εἰεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφεξῆς
ἐκτιθέμενος τοὺς διακρίσεως τρόπους ὁ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς
20 Ζυνοδου / σαφέστερον ἐξυφάσαι προθέμενος, ὡς ἐν ἀρχαῖς
ἐμεγαλαυχέιτο, φεῦ, ὅσην μὲν τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν, ὅσην δὲ τὴν
ἡλβην καὶ εἰρωφίαν, ὅσην δὲ τὴν ψευδολογία καὶ κακοϋφίαν
ἐναρηπύζατο. τῆς γὰρ θείας Ζυνοδου λιτῶς ἄγαν καὶ ἀπεριτῶς
25 Χρησαμένης τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁγίων περὶ διακρίσεως οὕτως
ὡς ἔχουσι μὲν παρὰ θείας φωνῆς, ὁ τὴν κακίαν φιλότιμος
οὕτος ἐκείνας μὲν παρὰ τῆς, τεχνολογεί δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφειδῶς ἢ
σπερμολογεί μᾶλλον καὶ ματαῖς καὶ τοὺς τῆς διακρίσεως πρό-
πους εἰκοσι καὶ ὀκτώ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπαυξάνει. τι τοῦτο τεχνῶ-
30 μενος; ἵνα τὴν ἐπεργείαν τῆς οὐσίας ἐκτοπίσας εἰσάπαν καὶ δια-
στήσας μακροῖς τοῖς ὅροις, οὕτως ἢ δὴ βεβαίως ἠμᾶς ὡς οὐο καὶ
πολλῶν θεοτήτων περὶ βεβυτάς ἀπελέγῃ. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκαστῷ

κλοπήν καὶ βωμολοχίαν αὐτόθεν οὕσαν δῆλην παραλειπτέον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου τὸν κόρον φεύγοντος, ὅπου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατασκευῆς τινος ἔδοξε δεῖν καὶ διεξοδικωτέρου λόγου καὶ μαρτυρίας, ταῦτα προοιστέον εἰς μέσον, ἵν' ἴδωμεν εἴτε θεολογεῖ καὶ σαφηνίζει τὰ τῆς Συνόδου εἴτε θεομαχεῖ καὶ διαβάλλει, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἅ προέθετο· τὸν γὰρ ἱβ^{ον} τρόπον τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐκτιθέμενος·

Τὴν μὲν οὖν οὐσίαν, φησίν, ἀόρατον, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν ὀρατὴν δογματίζουσι·

καὶ ἐξῆς τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φωτὸς παρατίθησιν, ὧ σοφιστὰ κακίας! πῶς ὀρατὴν εἰπὼν τὸ ἐν Πνεύματι ὑπεκράτησας; οὔτε γὰρ ὀρατὴν ἀπλῶς οὔτε νοητὴν ἡμεῖς Θεότητα τὴν ἐνέργειαν, εἴτ' οὖν τὸ θεῖον φῶς δογματίζομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ πνευματικοῖς γενομένοις τοῖς ὀρῶσί τε καὶ νοοῦσι· καὶ παρίτω πάλιν ὁ ἱερός Διονύσιος / συμμαρτυρήσων ἡμῖν·

“Ὅταν γάρ, φησίν, ἄφθαρτοι καὶ ἀθάνατοι γενώμεθα καὶ τῆς χριστοειδοῦς καὶ μακαριωτάτης ἐφικώμεθα λήξεως, πάντοτε σὺν Κυρίῳ, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, ἐσόμεθα, τῆς μὲν ὀρατῆς αὐτοῦ θεοφανείας ἐν πανάγνοις θεωρίαις ἀποπληρούμενοι φανοτάταις ἡμᾶς μαρμαρυγαῖς περιουαζούσης, ὡς καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ θειοτάτῃ Μεταμορφώσει, τῆς δὲ νοητῆς αὐτοῦ φωτοδοσίας ἐν ἀπαθεί καὶ ἀύλω τῷ νῷ μετέχοντες·

ἤκουσας ὀρατὴν θεοφάνειαν; ἀλλ' ἐν πανάγνοις θεωρίαις ἤκουσας νοητὴν φωτοδοσίαν; ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπαθεί καὶ ἀύλω τῷ νῷ, τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἄνευ Πνεύματος γενέσθαι τῶν ἀμηχάνων· καὶ γὰρ ὁ θειότατος Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ εἰς τὴν Μεταμόρφωσιν θεωρίᾳ τὸν τρόπον τῆς θέας ἐκείνης παραδηλῶν·

Ἐκ τῆς σαρκός, φησίν, ἐπὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα μετέβησαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι πρὶν τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἀποθέσθαι ζωὴν τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἐνεργειῶν, ἣν αὐτοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐνήργησε περιελὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς νοερᾶς δυνάμεως τῶν παθῶν τὰ κωλύματα, δι' οὗ καθαρθέντες τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ

8. PG 152,296A

13. Chr. Pal. 3,281

16. PG 3,592B

18. 1 Th 4,17

29. PG 91,128A

φόβῳ κρατούμενοι, μύσαντες τὰς αἰσθήσεις πᾶσαν νοερὰν
κίνησιν καὶ ἀντίληψιν παντελῶς ἑαυτῶν ἀποσπᾶσαντες,
οὕτω κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὑπέρφωτον καὶ ἀόρατον
γνόφον τῷ Θεῷ συνεγένοντο τῷ μηδὸλως ὄρᾶν τὸ ὄντως
ὄρᾶν εἰσδεδεγμένοι·

5

ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἶδον τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν ἤκουσας καὶ ὅπως εἶδον τῶν
θεολόγων ἀκούεις, ὡς ἐγχωροῦν ἦν εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκρι-
βῶς· καὶ ὅτι ὁ εἶδον ἢ τῆς Θεότητος ὑπῆρχεν ἀκτίς ἐκ τῆς ἀμώ-
μου σαρκὸς ἐκείνης πηγάζουσα, ὅτι δὲ καὶ φυσικὴ αὕτη καὶ
ἄναρχος, εἴτ' οὖν ἄκτιστος καὶ τῷ Θεῷ συναΐδιος, ἄκουε τοῦ Δα- 10
μασκηνοῦ πάλιν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ λόγῳ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λέγοντος·

/ Ἐμπροσθεν τῶν μαθητῶν μεταμορφοῦται ὁ αἰεὶ ὡσαύτως
δεδοξασμένος καὶ λάμπων ἀστραπῇ τῆς Θεότητος· ἀνά-
ρχος γὰρ ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθείς, τὴν φυσικὴν ἀκτίνα ἄναρ-
χον κέκτηται τῆς Θεότητος καὶ ἢ τῆς Θεότητος δόξα καὶ 15
δόξα τοῦ σώματος γίνεται·

f26

τὴν οὖν θεῖαν ταύτην ἡμεῖς ἐνέργειαν, ἢ τοὺς μαθητὰς φωτοφα-
νῶς περιήστραψε, φύσει μὲν ὀρατὴν οὐδαμῶς, – ἢ γὰρ ἂν ὤφθη
καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοι δὴ πού περὶ τὸ ὄρος, ὡς εἰ-
κός, ἐτύγγανον ὄντες–, θεῖα δὲ χάριτι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος 20
ὀρωμένην ἀοράτως καὶ νοουμένην ἀγνώστως τιθέμεθα, καὶ κατὰ
ταύτην φαμέν τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὀρατὸν ὅπωςδὴποτε γίνεσθαι
συγκαταβάσει καὶ χάριτι τὸν κατ' οὐσίαν ἀόρατον· εἰ δὲ τοῖς
ἀγίοις συμφώνως ἢ μή, πάρεστιν αὕτις ὄρᾶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέγας
Βασιλείος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον περὶ Τριάδος· 25

Ἐἰ ἀληθινόν, φησί, φῶς ὁ Υἱὸς ἦν, 'τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὁ
φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον', ὁ δὲ
Θεός, φησί 'φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον'· τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσιτον πάν-
τως καὶ ἀληθινὸν καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἀπρόσιτον, ὅποτε καὶ
πεπτῶκασιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ Υἱοῦ 30
ἀτενίσαι μὴ δυναθέντες διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀπρόσιτον φῶς·

ὁ δὲ Χρυσόστομος θεολόγος ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν Ὁζίαν περὶ τῶν Σε-
ραφίμ λέγων·

12–13. *Δαμασκηνοῦ*, marg. A

25–26. *Βασιλείου*, marg. A

32–33. *Χρυσοστόμου*, marg. A

1. cf. *Με* 9,6

12. *PG* 96,564B

26. *Fontem non inveni*; *Jo* 1,9

28. *1 Ti* 6,16

30. cf. *Mt* 17,6

Τίτος ἔνεκεν, εἰπέ μοι, φησί, καλύπτουσι τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ
 προβάλλονται τὰς πτέρυγας ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ φέρεται τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 θρόνου λαμπουσαν ἀστραπὴν καὶ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἐκείνας·
 καίτοι γε οὐκ αὐτὸ ἀκραιὸν ἔωρων τὸ φῶς, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν
 ἀκραιφνὴ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ συγκρατᾶσθαι ἢ τὰ ὄφθαλμοι.
 5 τὶ δὲ ἐστὶ συγκρατᾶσθαι; / ὅταν μὴ ὡς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς φαίνη-
 ται, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ δυνάμενος αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν οἷός τ' ἐστίν, οὐ-
 τως αὐτὸν δεῖκνυῖ, ἐπιμετρῶν τὴν ἀσθενεῖάν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
 τῆς ὄψεως τὴν ἐπιδείξιαν. ὥστε, κἂν τοῦ προφήτου λέγον-
 10 τοῦτο υποκριτεύσης, ὅτι τὴν οὐσίαν εἶδεν ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' αὐ-
 τὴν τὴν συγκρατᾶσθαι, καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἀμυδρότερον ἤπερ αὐ-

126v

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐθιγὲν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων.
 ἀνθρῶν δυνάμεις.

15 Τῆς ἀφάρτου τὰ ζεραφίμ ἀπολαύοντα δόξης τοῦ Κτιστοῦ
 καὶ τὸ ἀμύχτανον ἐνοπριζόμενα κάλαος, οὐ λέγω αὐτὸ
 ἐκεῖνο, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆ φύσει ἀκατανόητον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἀθεώρητον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἀτοπὸν ἐστὶ τὸ οὕτω
 20 περὶ αὐτοῦ υπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐγγυρόθεν, ὅσον
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκτίδος ἐκείνης ἰσχύουσι καταλάμπασθαι· ἐπειδὴ
 δὴνεκὼς λαίτουργοι κὺκλῳ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου, ἐν
 δὴνεκὲι χαρὰ διατελοῦσιν, ἐν αἰδίῳ εὐφροσύνῃ ἐν ἀγα-
 λιάσει ἀκαταμάστον.

ἀκούεις ὅτι καὶ ταῖς περὶ Θεὸν πρώταις δυνάμεσι, μῆτι γε ἀνθρώ-
 25 ποῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ γένεσιν καὶ φθορᾶν, ἀληπίτος μὲν καὶ ἀθέατος ἢ οὐ-
 σία ἐκείνη, θεατὴ δὲ ἢ δόξα καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης καὶ αὐτὴν συγκατα-
 βᾶσει μόνῃ καὶ χάριτι; πῶς δὲ ἄρα καὶ συμβιβᾶσθαι τὸ τε Θεὸν
 οὐδέ τις ἐώρακε πῶποτε· καὶ τὸ τοῦς καθαροῦς τῆ καρδίᾳ τὸν
 Θεὸν ὄψεσθαι; τάχα που τὴν ἐκ τῶν δημιουργημάτων γῶσιν
 30 ὄρασιν εἰρησθαι νομίσεις, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ μελλόντος ἢ
 ἐπαγγεῖα, καθ' ὃ τὰ δημιουργήματα παρελεύσεσθαι, μόνῃ δὲ

τοῖς ἀξίοις ἢ πρὸς πρόσωπον ἐλπίζεται θεωρία· ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων οὐχ ἢ τῆς οὐσίας γινώσκεις, ὡς δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀγίοις, ἀλλ' / ἢ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἡμῖν περιγίνεται· καὶ τοῦτο ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φωστήρ, ὁ Νυσσαέων Γρηγόριος ἐν τῇ τῶν Μακαρισμῶν ἐξηγήσει φησίν·

f27

5

Ἡ θεία φύσις αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό, ὅτι ποτέ ἐστι κατ' οὐσίαν, πάσης ὑπέρκειται καταληπτικῆς ἐπινοίας, τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ὁ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φύσιν, ἄλλω λόγῳ καὶ ὁράται καὶ καταλαμβάνεται ὁ ἀόρατος καὶ ἀπερίληπτος, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ τῆς τοιαύτης κατανοήσεως τρόποι. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐμφαινομένης τῷ παντὶ σοφίας τὸν ἐν σοφίᾳ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότα στοχαστικῶς ἰδεῖν· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ κτίσει βλέποντες κόσμον ἔννοιαν οὐ τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς σοφίας τοῦ τὰ πάντα σοφῶς πεποιηκότος ἀνατυπούμεθα, κἂν τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς τὴν αἰτίαν λογισώμεθα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ κτίσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πάλιν καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου ἑωρακέναι λέγομεν τὸν Θεόν, τῆς ἀγαθότητος, οὐ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν περινοίᾳ γενόμενοι. οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων· ὁ γὰρ τῇ φύσει ἀόρατος ὁρατὸς ταῖς ἐνεργείαις γίνεται ἐν τισὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ιδιώμασι καθορώμενος· ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπει μόνον τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ ἢ διάνοια, τὸ ἔκ τινος ἐνεργείας τὸν ἐνεργοῦντα δύνασθαι τοιοῦτον ἀναλογίσασθαι·

10

15

20

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

Ἔτι δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ μακάριον θέαμα, ὁ ἀγιασμός, ἡ καθαρότης, ἡ ἀπλότης, πάντα ταῦτα τὰ φωτοειδῆ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἀπαυγάσματα;

25

καὶ αὖθις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς·

Ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον πάντων τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων τε καὶ οὐρανίων κάλλος, ὃ τὸν καθαρὸν τῇ καρδίᾳ βλέπειν ὁ ἀψευδῆς ἀπεφήνατο λόγος, κρεῖττον τε πάσης ἐλπίδος ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐκ στοχασμῶν εἰκασίας ἀνώτερον·

30

/καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν β^φ λόγῳ τῶν Ἀντιρρήτικῶν·

f27^v

6-7. Νύσσης, marg. A

33. Βασιλείου, marg. A

6. PG 44,1268BCD-1269AB

25. PG 44,1272C

29. Fontem non inveni

30. Mt 5,8

Ἐν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας αὐ-
τῆς, ἐνδεικτικὰ ἐστὶ τὰ ποιήματα, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν
τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναγκαίως παρίστησι·

καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν τοῖς Θησαυροῖς·

Ἐν δὲ ἐπίκτητον τῶν θεῶν ιδιωμάτων· ἐκ μέντοι τῶν 5
ἀποτελεσμάτων, δηλαδὴ τῶν κτισμάτων, κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας ταύτας, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν ὁ Θεὸς ὁρᾶται·

Ἄρα νῦν γοῦν ταῖς τοσαύταις φωναῖς καὶ μαρτυρίαις ὑπέ-
πτηξας; ἢ καὶ ἔτι ἄρ' ἔτι γρύζειν τολμᾶς· καὶ κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς
ἀνδρίζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ὁράσεσιν ἀπιστεῖν; τοῦ γὰρ ἀοράτου 10
παντάπασις ἐνταῦθα δοκεῖς ἔχουσαι τῷ ὁρατῷ πολεμῶν. τὸ μὲν
οὖν ἀγνοεῖν καὶ διαπορεῖν οὐπω πάνυ μεμπτόν· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἴ τις
ἐκ γενέσεως ὦν τυφλός, ἔπειτα ἠπόρει περὶ φωτὸς καὶ χρωμά-
των, μέμψιν ἂν ὑπέσχε δικαίαν, οὐδέ γε, εἴ τις ἄπειρος ὦν, ἠμφι-
γνόει περὶ τοῦ νήχεσθαι πρὸς εἰδότας. τὸ δὲ παντάπασις οὕτω 15
διαπιστεῖν καὶ τοῖς πείρα μαθοῦσι διὰ τέλους ἐρίζειν, ἰουδαϊκὸν
ἀντικρυς, ἵνα μὴ λέγω δαιμονιώδες· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τοῦ Στεφάνου
τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὀπτασίαν ἐκείνην διηγουμένου τε ἀκούοντες καὶ
τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπορρήτῳ αἴγλη λελαμπρυσμένον ὁρῶντες, οὐχ
ὅπως οὐδὲν ἔπαθον πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἢ τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὄψα 20
βύσαντες δίκην ἀσπίδος· ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον ὤρμησαν τοῦ δικαίου.
φέρε δὴ πάλιν ἐπαντήσω σου τὸ τῆς πωρώσεως ἔλκος καὶ κα-
ταιωνίσω τὴν ἀπιστίαν ταῖς τῶν πατέρων φωναῖς· οὐ γάρ μοι
σχολὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ φάρμακα πλάττειν, ἐνὸν τοῖς ἐκείνων
χρησθαι πεπονημένοις. ὁ τοίνυν θεϊότατος Μάξιμος τὸ θεολογι- 25
κὸν ἐξηγούμενος·

/ Ἄψευδῆ νυκτὸς αὐτὸν ὄψιν ὑπολαμβάνω, φησί, λέγειν 128
ὀπτασίαν τινὰ θεῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἐκ πολλῆς καθα-
ρότητος ἄκραν ἀπάθειαν καὶ σαρκὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀγίων
ὑποπίπτουσαν· 30

καὶ ὁ τῆς Νύσσης ποιμὴν Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἐπι-

3-5. Κυρίλλου, marg. A

22. καταγωνίσω B

27-28. Μαξίμου, marg. A

31. Νύσσης, marg. A

1. PG 29, 648A; BEP 52,216

5. Fontem non inveni

9. Ar. Pl. 454

17. Act 7,56

20. Ps 57,5

27. Fontem non inveni

ταφίω, τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ φησι·

Ἐκατελάμφθη τῷ φωτὶ διὰ τῆς βάτου ὁ Μωϋσῆς. ἔχομέν τι
συγγενὲς τῆς ὀπτασίας ταύτης καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου εἶπειν, ὅτι
νυκτὸς οὐσης γίνεται αὐτῷ φωτὸς ἔλλαμψις κατὰ τὸν οἶ-
κον προσευχομένῳ, αὔλον δέ τι τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο ἦν, θεία δυ- 5
νάμει καταφωτίζον τὸ οἶκημα·

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἑωρακότες καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἑωρακόσι πιστεύοντες, οἱ
καὶ μακαριώτεροι κριθεῖεν ἂν, ὡς ὁ κυριακὸς ἀπεφήνατο λόγος.
σὺ δὲ ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπινοίαις καὶ διαιρέσεσιν ὑποβάλλεις τὰ ὑπὲρ
φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἄκτιστόν τε καὶ αὔλον· οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὀφθαλμοῖς 10
ληφθῆναι δισχυρίζῃ, μήτε τῇ θείᾳ χάριτι καὶ συγκαταβάσει τὸ
θαῦμα διδούς, ὡς τῶν θεολόγων ἀκούεις, ἧτις κατὰ τὴν ἐνέρ-
γειαν δήπου γίνεται μόνην· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡ φύσις ἑαυτῆς καταβαίη
μὴ πεφυκυῖα, μήτε τῇ τῶν ὁρώντων ἀναγωγῇ καὶ καθάρσει· καὶ
τῇ μὲν ἐναντία δυνάμει δίδως ἐνεργεῖν τι περὶ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας 15
ᾧψεις, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὰς ποιεῖν καὶ μεταποιεῖν εἰς τὸ παρά φύ-
σιν, ὥστε, ἂ μήτ' εἰσι μήθ' ὑποστῆναι δύνανται τὸ παράπαν, δο-
κεῖν ὁρᾶν. δηλοῦσι δὲ οἱ θαυματοποιοὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο
τέχνην ποιούμενοι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἤδη λαχόντες.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱστορουμένων / ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐναργῶς, ὅτι 20 f28^v
δὴ τῆς τῶν ὁρώντων ᾧψεως πάθος ἐστὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πλέον οὐ-
δέν· ὃ τε γὰρ κατὰ Πέτρον τὸν μέγαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος μάγου με-
ταβληθεὶς Φαῦστος καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀσκητὴν Μακάριον ἀλ-
λοιωθεῖσα γυνὴ τὴν μορφήν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεπιμαρτυροῦσιν
ἡμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα καὶ οὕτω παρά φύσιν διατιθέασιν τὰς 25
τῶν ὁρώντων ᾧψεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν· Θεὸν δέ, εἶπέ μοι, τὸν πάντα
δυνάμενον, παρ' οὗ τοῖς οὔσι τὸ εἶναι καὶ τοῖς μὴ οὔσι καλεῖσθαι
πρὸς γένεσιν, οὐκ ἂν οἶη δρᾶσαί τι περὶ τὰς ᾧψεις ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖτ-
τον, ὡς ὑπὲρ φύσιν αὐτὰς διαθεῖναι, καὶ ταῦτα δὴ πρὸς τὸ ὄν; πῶς
γὰρ οὐκ ὄν, ᾧ Θεοῦ φωναὶ καὶ διδασκάλων λόγοι καὶ πατέρων 30
αἰδῶς, ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλεία, ἦν ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς θεασαμέ-

8. post μακαριώτεροι add κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο B

19-20. ἐξοφθαλμισταί, marg. A

25. διατιθεῖσιν AB

27. post οὔσι add τὸ B

28. οἶει AB

2. PG 46,809C

7. cf. Jo 20,29

22. Act 8,9· 18-24; Κλήμεντιος, Τοῦ Πέτρου ἐπιδημιῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή, PG 2,460AB

24. PG 34,180D-181C

31. Act 1,3; Lc 22,29

νοις πρὸ ἡμερῶν, ἢ τοῦ Πατρὸς δόξα, μεθ' ἧς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐλεύσεται κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, τὸ φῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, ἢ φυσικὴ καὶ συναΐδιος ἀκτις τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ λαμπρότης, ἢ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεύματος Θεότης, ἐν Υἱῷ μονογενεῖ ἀπαστράπτουσα;

5

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἴσως ἠγώνισται διὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ μέτρον φιλονεικοῦντας· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶμαι μὴ ὅτι τὸ ἄκτιστόν τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἄϋλον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κτιστῶν τι καὶ ἠργμῆτων, ὑπὲρ αἴσθησιν δὲ ὅμως φυσικῇ τι καὶ κτιστῇ δυνάμει θεατὸν εἶναι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἄγγελος ὄφθειν. νοῦς ὢν ἀσώματος, μή τις ἐγγενομένης πνευματικῆς δυνάμεως τοῖς ὀρώσιν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ τούτων παρασκευῇ καὶ καθάρσει τὸ πᾶν δώσομεν, ὅπου γε Δανιὴλ τοσοῦτον κεκαθαρμένος μικροῦ καὶ ἐξέθανε τὸν μουῦντα ἄγγελον προσιδῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τῇ τῶν διατιθέντων τὴν / ὄρασιν ἀγγέλων συγκαταβάσει καὶ οἶον παχύτητι καὶ περιβολῇ· τοῦτο γὰρ τισιν ἔδοξεν. ἢ γὰρ ἂν ὁ τῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ προσλαλῶν ἀρχιστράτηγος ὤφθη πᾶσιν ἐξῆς, ὅσοι τότε περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς εἰκός, ἦσαν στρατηγὸν ὄντα· ἀλλ' οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν ἐκείνην οὐδεὶς εἶδεν οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ἤκουσε. τί δὲ τὸ κυριακὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν σῶμα μεταστοιχειωθὲν ἤδη πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν, ὥστε διὰ κεκλεισμένων θυρῶν εἰσιέναι; πότερον φυσικῇ καὶ αἰσθητικῇ δυνάμει θεατὸν ἦν; καὶ πῶς οὐ πᾶσιν ἐξῆς ὤφθη, τοῖς δὲ ἀποστόλοις, οἷς ἔμελλε ἰμάρτυσι τῆς ἀναστάσεως· χρήσεσθαι, μόνοις, καὶ τούτοις ἐφόσον ἐβούλετο καὶ ἡνίκα καὶ ὅπου; πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπήγει τοσαῦτα πρότερον ἀκηκοόσι περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ τοσοῦτους νεκροὺς ἀναστάντας θεασαμένοις, εἰ μὴ τινα ἀλλοίωσιν αὐτοί τε περὶ ἑαυτοῦς καὶ περὶ τὸν ὀρώμενον ἐθεώρουν; ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς χαρᾶς ἠπίστουν, ὡς ἤκουσας· πῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅλως, εἰ μὴ μεγάλη δυνάμει πεισθέντες, δι' ἧς καὶ τὸ

10

f29

15

20

25

13. post Δανιὴλ add εἰς B

1. cf. Mt 26,31

10. cf. PG 4,32AB

13. Da 8,17

16. Josua 5,14

20. Jo 20,19-26; cf. 1 Κο 15,53

23. Act 1,8

24. Mc 16,14

28. Lc 24,41

29. Act 4,33

μαρτύριον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπεδίδουν; τί δὲ ἢ πρὸς Λουκᾶν καὶ Κλεόπαν ἐντυχία βούλεται δι' ἑτέρας μορφῆς; καὶ ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἐποχὴ καὶ αὐθις διάνοιξις ἢ τε ἐπομένη τούτων μὲν ἐπίγνωσις, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀφάντωσις; ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τῇ τοῦ ἀναστάντος βουλήσει τε καὶ δυνάμει, δι' ἧς περὶ τοὺς ὄρωντας ἐνήργει τὰς ἐμφανείας ἐκείνας ἀπάσας προσμαρτυροῦσι. τίνες οὖν ἄνθρωπινοι λογισμοί, τίνες δὲ ἐπίνοιαι, δειλὰ καὶ ἐπισφαλῆ πράγματα, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, δυνήσονται τὰ θειότατα παραστήσαι τῷ λόγῳ, τρόπους τε / καὶ αἰτίας ὡς ἔχουσι διελέσθαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι;

5.

f29^v

10

Ἐπίστις ἡγείσθω τῶν περὶ Θεοῦ λόγων, ὁ μέγας ἔφη Βασιλείος: ἐπίστις καὶ μὴ ἀπόδειξις; ἐπίστις ὑπὲρ τὰς λογικὰς μεθόδους τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς συγκατάθεσιν ἔλκουσα, ἐπίστις οὐχὶ γεωμετρικαῖς ἀνάγκαις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείαις ἐγγινομένη· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωσιν, ὡς τὰ λόγια φησιν, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ συνῶσιν.

15

ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸς μὲν τὰ θεῖα τῶν θεαμάτων Φινεὺς ἄντικρυς, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἠθρεύειν λέξεις; καὶ λύγκεσθαι ὀξύτερος, ὅπερ αἰεὶ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς ἔθος, ἐπὶ τὸν Παλαμᾶν αὐθις ἐναποσκήπτει τὸν τῆς πικρίας ἰὸν καὶ ῥήσεις τινὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ παράγει διασύρων καὶ κερτομῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνος ὀρατὴν Θεότητα φαίνεται προσειπών. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ τοῦ θεολόγου μικροῦ στεροτέρα καὶ ὄψεως ἕτερόν τί σοι δοκεῖ παρὰ τὸ ὀρατὴ βούλεσθαι, ὡς ἔγωγε, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι, τί μὴ τοῦ οὐρανοφάντορος ἀκούεις, τοῦ θεοφόρου φημί Βασιλείου, λέγοντος ἐν τοῖς Ἠθικοῖς, ἐν ἐξηγήσει τοῦ τῶν Ψαλμῶν μδ^{ου}.

20

25

Κάλλος τοῦ ὄντος δυνατοῦ –περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος– ἡ νοητὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεωρητὴ Θεότης; καὶ μετὰ μικρόν· εἶδον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος Πέτρος καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς Βροντῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ὑπερλάμπον τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου λαμπρότητα καὶ τὰ προοίμια τῆς ἐνδόξου αὐτοῦ παρουσίας ὀφθαλμοῖς λαβεῖν κατηξιώθησαν.

30

10–11. Βασιλείου, marg. A

23–24. Βασιλείου, marg. A

1. Lc 24,16; Troparion, E' Ἐωθινὸν Ὀκτωήχου

7. Wi 9,14

11. Ἀσκητικαὶ διατάξεις, PG 31,1377

15. Is 7,9

18. cf. And. I,9 (ῥήματα θηρεύειν)

21. Fontem non inveni

22. Fontem non inveni

26. ΕΠΕ 2,749; Ps 44,4

27. Mt 17,1–2; Mc 9,2–3

τι δὲ μὴ τὸν ἐνθεον μεταφραστὴν βλασφημῆις, τὸν τῶν θεολό-
γων ἐξοχώτατον Ἰωάννην, ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν υπομνηματι λέγοντα:
Ἄντην τὴν τοῦ Λόγου Θεοῦ ἡμεῖς παραγυμνωθεῖσαν ἐπι-
στροφῆς ἰδεῖν.

5 ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους ἀφῆις, ἐπὶ τὸν μαθητὴν ὄλαις φέρη ταῖς
/φορὰς τῶν, διαβάλλεις τὸν ἀνδρα διαστρέφων τοὺς ἐκείνου
λόγους καὶ περικόπτων τὴν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ὑπερκειμένον τε καὶ
ὑφείμενον διακρίσιν ἐπισταγῶν ἐκ τῆς Πρὸς Ἀκτιδύων ἐπι-
στολῆς τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου τὰς πολλὰς, ἃς περιθρυλλοῦσι καθ'
ἡμῶν, θεοτήτας ὑπερκειμένας καὶ ὑφείμενας ἐπισυστήσαι πι-
πᾶται, καίτοι γε ἐκείνου τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προκειμένον ἔχοντος ἐν ἐκεί-
νοις τοῖς λόγοις τὴν τῆς μηδὲς Θεοῦ ἰδέσθαι, ἰδόμεν οὐκ
ὅπως μὲν ἐκείνος ἠκριβώμενος τῷ λόγῳ ἐχρησάτο τῷ μακαρίῳ
Διονυσίῳ ἐπιμένον, ὅπως δὲ ὁ λυμῶν οὗτος τὰ ἐκείνου κατέτε-
μεν.

15 Ἰδίως γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Παλαμάς ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀκτιδύων αὐτοῦ
ἐπιστολῇ, τὰδε φησὶν. Ἔστιν ἄρα Θεοῦ ὑφείμενη δῶρον
οὗσα τῆς ὑπερκειμένης.
20 οὗτω μὲν ὁ σκκοφάντης, ὁ δὲ θεηγόρος ἐκείνος τὸ τοῦ ἰεροῦ Διο-
νυσίου ποταῖας, ἐρωτήσαντι τ' αὐτῷ.
25 Πῶς ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ ὑπὲρ θεαρχίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἀγαθαρχίαν; ἀποκρινόμενος. εἰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαθότητα
νοήσας αὐτὸ τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ θεοποιοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοποιοῦ
δῶρον, τῆς οὗτω λεγομένης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαθότητος, ὡς
30 θεαρχίας καὶ ἀγαθαρχίας ὁ πάσης ἀρχῆς ὑπεράρχιος ἐστὶν
ἐπέκεινα, εἴτα ἐπάγει. ἔστιν ἄρα Θεοῦ ὑφείμενη κατὰ
τοὺς θεοσκόπους θεολόγους, ὡς κἀνταῦθ' εἶπεν ὁ μέγας
Διονύσιος, ἡ θέσσις δῶρον οὕσα τῆς ὑπερκειμένης οὐσίας
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

1-2. μεταφραστῆν, marg. A
13. γούν B
21-22. Διονυσίου, marg. A
27-28. Παλαμά, marg. A

3. Fontem non inveni
6. PG 152, 297C
11. Chr. Pal. 1,306
17. PG 152, 297D
18. Chr. Pal. 1,306
22. PG 3, 1068-69; Chr. Pal. 1,306

ἄρα σύμφωνος ὢν τῷ μεγάλῳ Διονυσίῳ, τῶν σῶν ἐρεσχελιῶν
 ἀνώτερός ἐστιν ὁ Παλαμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ταύταις ὑπάγονται:
 σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν φήσαιο σύ γε τῶν ἱερῶν θεολόγων, ὁ Θεότητος μὴ
 φειδόμενος. / ἦν γοῦν ἔχεις δόξαν περὶ τῆς Θεότητος ταύτης, ἣς 5 f30^v
 ἐπέκεινα τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, δηλαδὴ κατ' οὐσίαν, ὁ μέγας εἶρηκε 5
 Διονύσιος, οὐδὲν δεῖ κάμνειν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μαιεύοντας·
 αὐτὸς γὰρ ταύτην μετὰ μικρὸν ἀποτέξεις ἢ ἐκτρώσεις μᾶλλον καὶ
 ἀπορρίψεις ὡς πονηρὸν κύημα, ὃ καὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ προσραγὲν, οἶδας
 δὲ ἦτις ἡ πέτρα, συντριβήσεται καὶ διαφθαρήσεται καὶ τὸ τῶν
 Βαβυλωνίων νηπιῶν πείσεται κακὸν καλῶς ἀπολλύμενον. 10

Εἶεν· ἀλλ' ἔκ γε τῆς εἰρημένης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ ὑφέσεως
 ὕλην λαβῶν, τεχνολογεῖ πάλιν ὁ ματαιόφρων καὶ ἀκολουθήσεις
 εἰσάγει τινὰς καὶ θέσεις, ποιότητάς τε καὶ ποσότητας, ὧν οἱ τῆς
 Συνόδου 'τὸ παράπαν οὐδ'' ἐμνημόνευσαν. τὸν γοῦν ἱη^{ov} τρόπον 15
 τῆς διαφορᾶς, ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν, φησιν, ἐπινηνοημένον, εἰσάγει 15
 'κατ' ἀναγκαίαν ἀκολούθησιν'· ἀλλ' ἔγω γε, 'Θεὸς οἶδεν', ὀκνῶ
 προσθεῖναι τὰ ἐφεξῆς καὶ μονονουχὶ ναυτιῶ τὴν ἀπόνοιάν τε καὶ
 ἄνοιαν τοῦ δυστήνου τοῦδε ἀνθρωπαρίου κατανοῶν· τὸ μὲν ὅτι
 τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων κακοῖραφει, τὸ δ' ὅτι καὶ λήσειν ἤλιπ-
 σεν ὅλως τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας νουνεχῶς. ἀνάγκη δὲ ὅμως φέρειν 20
 τὴν ἀηδῖαν, ἅπαξ εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους καθέντα λόγους· εἰρησθαι
 γὰρ φησιν ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ·

"Ὅτι ἡ μὲν θεία οὐσία προηγεῖται ὡς τὸ κατὰ γνώμην, ἡ δὲ
 θεία ἔπεται ἐνέργεια ὡς τὸ παρὰ γνώμην· ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ
 μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου πειρῶνται δεικνύναι, εἰρηκότος κατ' 25
 ἄλλην ἔννοιαν κατὰ ἀρειανῶν οὕτως· 'εἰ τὸ βούλεσθαι
 περὶ τῶν μὴ ὄντων διδόασι τῷ Θεῷ, διατὶ τὸ ὑπερκεῖμενον
 τῆς βουλήσεως οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκουσι τοῦ Θεοῦ'; καὶ πάλιν

13. τινὰς εἰσάγει B

14. τὸ om A

25. δεικνῦναι AB

26. post κατὰ add τῶν B

10. Ps 136,9

13. PG 152,300B

14. Hdt. I,32

16. PG 152,300D

16. 2 Ko 12,2-3

23. PG 152,300D

25. PG 26,149C

λέγοντος, ὡςπερ ἀντίκειται τῇ βουλήσει τὸ παρὰ γνώμην, / οὕτως ὑπέρκειται καὶ προηγείται τοῦ βούλεσθαι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν. f31

οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς Συνόδου πατέρες τὰ ῥητὰ μόνον εἰπόντες εἰς δῆλωσιν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπερθέσεως ἀπηλλάγησαν, 5 οὐδὲν ἐπεξεργασάμενοι. παρελθὼν δὲ ἡμῖν ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος ἐξηγητής, ἴδωμεν ὅπως ἀναπτύσσει τὸν νοῦν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε τῶν χρησαμένων εἴτε τοῦ πρώτως εἰπόντος· μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων νοῦν ὑγιῶς ἔθηκεν· ἐπάγει γὰρ ἀντικρυς φάσκοντας.

Ἦς ἐπεὶ τῆς βουλήσεως ὑπέρκειται τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ἢ δὲ 10 θεία βούλησις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια, ὑπέρκειται ἄρα καὶ τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας τὸ κατὰ φύσιν·

πρὸς ὃν οὐδ' ἂν τι βλέψαι δεδύνηται· ὃ δὲ ὡς ἄτοπον ἐπάγει συλλογιζόμενος, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀντικρυς ἀναφέρεται καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον πολεμῶν ὁ κατάρατος αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν οὐδ' αἰσθάνεται. τί γὰρ φησιν; 15

Ἄλλ' οὕτω φησὶν ὁ διδάσκαλος· ὑπέρκειται καὶ προηγείται τοῦ βούλεσθαι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡςπερ ἀντίκειται τῇ βουλήσει τὸ παρὰ γνώμην· καὶ ὁ παραλογισμὸς· ὡς ἄρα λοιπὸν πρὸς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ παρὰ γνώμην, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκολουθήσιν ἔψεται καὶ ἡ θεία ἐνέργεια τῇ θείᾳ οὐσίᾳ· 20

εὐγε τῆς σοφῆς ἀναλογίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως! αὕτη ἐστὶν ἢ ἑτέρα διάνοια, δύστηνε, καθ' ἣν ἔλεγες τὸν μέγαν τὸ ῥητὸν εἰρηκέναι; ποίαν δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθήσιν ὅλως εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παρὰ γνώμην πρὸς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν; ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐκείνου λοιπὸν ἀπολογητέον. ἀντικεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ εἶρηκε τῇ βουλήσει τὸ παρὰ γνώμην, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ προηγεῖσθαι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ βούλεσθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκ τούτων ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ἄκρων ἀκολουθήσις; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπ' 25

9. φάσκοντες AB

1. cf. PG 152,300D

10. PG 152,300D

17. PG 152,300D-301A; cf. PG 26,453B; cf. Chr. Pal. 3,114

ἀμφοῖν / τῶν διαστημάτων ἢ ἀκολούθησις. ὡς ἐπεσθαι τὸ μὲν
 μείζον τῷ μείω, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ ἐσχατῷ· μάλλον δὲ αὐτὴν ἡμεῖς ἐκ-
 θώμεθα τὴν διανοίαν τοῦ ἀγίου σαφέστερον, ἢ ὁ σκολιός οὗτος
 ἀποκρυψάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν φθυσίαν ταύτην εἰπάτε· τῶν γὰρ
 ἀπειανῶν ἐκ διαίρεσεως εισαγόντων ὡς ἡ βουλήσει τὸν Υἱὸν
 εἰπένησεν ὁ Πατήρ ἢ παρὰ γῶμην, ἴν, εἰ μὲν παρὰ γῶμην, καὶ
 τις ὁ βιασάμενος ἐπενεγκῶσιν, εἰ δὲ ἐκ βουλήσεως, κτίσμα λοι-
 πὸν ἀποδείξωσι – καὶ γὰρ ἢν ὡμολογημένον ὡς τὰ ἐκ βουλήσεως
 κτίσματα – τὸ ἀμφικρημον ἐκκλίνων ὁ μέγας.

10 Τὸ μὲν ἀντικείμενον, φησι, τῆς βουλήσεως ἐωράκασιν οἱ
 αἰπετικοί, τὸ δὲ μείζον καὶ ὑπερκείμενον οὐ τεθωρηκασί.
 ὡστερ γὰρ ἀντικείται τῇ βουλήσει τὸ παρὰ γῶμην, οὕτως
 ὑπερκείται καὶ προηγείται τοῦ βουλέσθαι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν.

15 τουτέστιν, ὡστερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ὡστερ ἐκείνοι διαποδύτες εἰσά-
 γουσι, τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῇ βουλήσει τὸ παρὰ γῶμην, οὕτως ἐστὶν
 ἀληθές καὶ ὁ παραλείπουσι, τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ βου-
 λέσθαι, ἐπίτου οὐν ἀναφανέντος παρὰ τὰ ἀντικείμενα τῆς οὐσίας.

20 ἐξ αὐτῆς ἂν εἴη γεννηθείς ὁ Υἱός καὶ οὐτε ἐκ τῆς βουλήσεως
 οὐτε μὴν παρὰ γῶμην, ὡς ἐκείνοι ἠνάγκασον, οὕτω μὲν ὁ μέγας
 εἶρηκε τὸ βῆτον, οὕτω δὲ ἐξείληφασιν οἱ χρῆσάμενοι, οὕτω δὲ ὁ
 παραλογιστῆς οὗτος διέσπεψε, ταῦτον ποίων ἀντικρυς, ὡστερ

25 ἀν εἰ τις εἰρηκός, ὡστερ ἀντικείται τῷ λογικῷ τὸ ἀλογον,
 οὕτως ὑπερκείται καὶ προηγείται τοῦ λογικοῦ ὁ νοῦς, εἰπεῖθ' οὐ-
 τος συνελογίζετο, ὡς ἀρα πρὸς τὸν νοῦν τὸ ἀλογον, οὕτως ἐπεται
 καὶ τῷ νοῦ τὸ λογικόν, ὡστερ ἐστὶ γελόιον οὐχ ἡτίον ἢ ὄσον ἀλο-

30 γον· ἐκ γὰρ στερητικῆς τε καὶ καταφατικῆς οὐ καταφατικόν,
 ἀλλὰ στερητικὸν συνάγεται τὸ συμπέρασμα· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν
 προγεγραμμένων, οὗτος μὲν οὐν ἡμῖν ὁ συλλογισμὸς οἰχεται
 φροδοός, ὡστερ ἢν, ἐλέγχθεις, οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ᾧ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἂν τις
 τεκμηρηάτο τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας, ὅσης μὲν ἀλογίας καὶ ἀμα-

35 θίας, ὅσης δὲ ἀνοίας ὁμοῦ καὶ κακουργίας γλήρη τυγχάσει.
 Εἰκοστόν δὲ φησὶν διαφοράς ἴσῃον αὐτοῖς

14. εἶναι om B
 31. κουργίας A
 10. PG 26, 453B
 28. Ar. Ach. 210

μεμυθολογησθαι κατὰ ποσότητα· ὅτι ἡ μὲν θεία οὐσία ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὑπέρκειται, ἡ δὲ θεία ἐνέργεια ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὑφέϊται· καὶ τοῦτο παριστάν ἐθέλοντες, ἐπηρεάζουσι τὸν θεῖον συκοφαντοῦντες Μάξιμον, περιφανέστατα τὴν τοιαύτην παράθεσιν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων εἰρηκότα, ὅτι πάντων τῶν μετεχόντων καὶ μεθεκτῶν ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερεξῆρται· ὅπερ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς, ἣν εἶπον, ἀκτίστου φυσικῆς καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξέλαβον·

πάλιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν τῆς Συνόδου πατέρων τὸ ῥητὸν ἀπλῶς ἐκθεμένων, ὁ μυθολόγος ὡς ἀληθῶς οὗτος διαφορᾶς τρόπον ἐντεῦθεν ἀναπλασάμενος κατὰ ποσότητα τοῦτον ὠνόμασεν, εἶτα καὶ ἦν ἔχει δόξαν περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἐξήνεγκε, τὰ μεθεκτὰ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μετέχοντα κτίσματα εἶναι ἀποφαινόμενος. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οὐ τοῖς σοῖς προσέξομεν λήροις, ἕως ἂν αὐτοῦ τούτου, τοῦ μεγάλου φημί Μαξίμου, διαιροῦντος ἀκούωμεν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ κτίσει προσνέμοντος, τὰ μεθεκτὰ δὲ ἀναρχά τε καὶ ἄκτιστα καὶ περὶ Θεὸν οὐσιωδῶς θεωρούμενα διαρρήδην θεολογοῦντος· φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μῆ^{ον} τῆς τῶν Θεολογικῶν / πρώτης ἑκατοντάδος·

Ἔργα μὲν Θεοῦ χρονικῶς ἠργμένα τοῦ εἶναι ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ εἶναι μετέχοντα, οἷον αἱ διάφοροι τῶν ὄντων οὐσίαι· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὄν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν τοῦ εἶναι πρεσβύτερον· ἦν γὰρ ποτε ὅτε τὰ ὄντα μετέχοντα οὐκ ἦν. Θεοῦ δὲ ἔργα οὐκ ἠργμένα τοῦ εἶναι χρονικῶς, τὰ ὄντα μεθεκτὰ, ὧν κατὰ χάριν μετέχουσι τὰ ὄντα μετέχοντα, οἷον ἡ ἀγαθότης καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι ἀγαθότητος ἐμπεριέχεται λόγῳ, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσα ζωὴ καὶ ἀθανασία καὶ ἀπλότης καὶ ἀτρεψία καὶ ἀπειρία καὶ ὅσα περὶ αὐτὸν οὐσιωδῶς θεωρεῖται, ἅτινα καὶ ἔργα Θεοῦ εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἠργμένα χρονικῶς· οὐ γὰρ ποτε πρεσβύτερον ἀρετῆς τὸ οὐκ ἦν, οὐδέ τινος ἄλλου τῶν εἰρημένων κἂν τὰ μετέχοντα αὐτῶν κατ' αὐτὰ ἦρκεται τοῦ εἶναι χρονικῶς· ἀναρ-

7. ὑπεξῆρται A, ὑπερεξῆρται B;

8. ἡς A

20. σ^{ns} B

20-21. Μαξίμου, marg. A

1. PG 152,301B

6. PG 151,746C

21. PG 90,1100C-1101A

χος γὰρ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τὸν χρόνον ἑαυτῆς πρεσβύτερον, οἷα τὸν Θεὸν ἔχουσα τοῦ εἶναι μονώτατον αἰδίως γεννήτορα·

καὶ ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸ πάλιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ν^{ον}.

Τὰ ἀθάνατα πάντα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀθανασία, καὶ τὰ ζῶντα πάντα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ τὰ ἅγια πάντα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀγιότης, καὶ τὰ ἐνάρετα πάντα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀγαθότης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα πάντα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ὄντοτης, Θεοῦ προδήλως ἔργα τυγχάνουσι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ εἶναι χρονικῶς ἠργμένα – ἦν γὰρ ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν – τὰ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι χρονικῶς οὐκ ἠργμένα· οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀγαθότης καὶ ἀθανασία καὶ ἀγιότης·

ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ μεθεκτὰ πάντα ἄκτιστα καὶ οὐ κτιστὰ κατὰ τὰ μετέχοντα, αὐτὸς ἔφα, καὶ οὐ δεῖ προστιθέναι, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δυνάμεις εἰσὶ καὶ ἐνέργειαι τῆς θείας φύσεως / προϊοῦσαι καὶ ἐκείνης ἀχώριστοι μένουσαι, τοῦ θείου Διονυσίου λέγοντος ἄκουσον ἐν ια^ω τοῦ Περι θείων ὀνομάτων, ὅπερ Εἰρήνης τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει

Ἄυτοεῖναι καὶ αὐτοζωὴν καὶ αὐτοθεότητά φαμεν, ἀρχικῶς μὲν καὶ θεϊκῶς καὶ αἰτιατικῶς τὴν μίαν πάντων ὑπεράρχιον καὶ ὑπερούσιον ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν, μεθεκτῶς δὲ τὰς ἐκδιδομένας ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀμεθέκτου προνοητικὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν αὐτοουσίωσιν, αὐτοζώωσιν, αὐτοθέωσιν, ὧν τὰ ὄντα οἰκειῶς ἑαυτοῖς μετέχοντα καὶ ὄντα καὶ ζῶντα καὶ ἐνθεά ἐστι καὶ λέγεται·

ἀλλὰ πῶς, φησί, τὰ ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὑφειμένα ἐν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ περὶ Θεὸν οὐσιωδῶς δύνανται θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι πραγματικῶς; τί δὲ καὶ ὅλως αὐτὸ τοῦτο βούλεται τὸ ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως; πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ οἱ πρῶτως εἰπόντες ἀποκρίνασθαι δίκαιον καὶ τὸν 'λόγον ὑποσχεῖν' ἐγκαλούμενοι τῶν οἰκειῶν λόγων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἅπαξ ὁμολογήσασι μαθηταῖς εἶναι τὰ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐξεστι πολυπραγμονεῖν. ὁμως δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον ἀπαντησόμεθα πρὸς τὴν μέμψιν, χρέος ἀναγκαιότατον τοῖς πατράσιν τινῶντες τὴν ὑπὲρ

18–19. Διονυσίου, marg. A

24–26. ἐρώτησις, marg. A

29–30. ἀπόκρισις, marg. A

αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπολογία. ἐροῦμεν οὖν ὡς δι' αὐτὸ τὸ μεθεκτὰ εἶ-
 ναι καὶ πρὸς τὰ μετέχοντα καταβαίνειν καὶ οὕτω τρόπον τινὰ μετ'
 αὐτῶν ἐν γίνεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὑφείσθαι λέγον-
 ται τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίας.

Ἄι μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ, φησὶν ὁ μέγας Βασιλείος ἐν 5
 τῷ Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον, ἔπρὸς ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐ-
 σία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος'.

f33^v

ὅτε οὖν ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν οἶον κτιζόμενα τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ ἄκτιστα θεω-
 ροῦνται, τῆνικαῦτα τῇ πρὸς τὰ μετέχοντα ἀποβλέψει, καθὸ καὶ
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνομάζονται, πάντων ὁμοῦ τούτων ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὁ 10
 Θεὸς ὑπερέχειν εἴρηται. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπερέχοι τὸ παντάπασιν
 ἄληπτον καὶ ἀμέθεκτον καὶ ἀόρατον τοῦ ὁπώσποτε ληπτοῦ καὶ
 μεθεκτοῦ καὶ γνωστοῦ; ἀλλὰ πῶς ἢ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπεροχὴ καὶ
 ὑφεις οὐ διαίρεσιν ἀπεργάζεται; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκτίς 15
 τοῦ ἡλίου, καθ' ἣν φωτιζόμεθά τε καὶ θερμαινόμεθα, ἢ ἄλλος
 ἡλιος ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὅλως ἡλίου κεχώρισται, καίτοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡλιος
 ἔσθ' ὅτε προσαγορευομένη.

Ἐπληθύνεσθαι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς λέγεται, Μάξιμος ὁ θεῖός φησι,
 ἔκαστον εἰς παραγωγὴν τῶν ὄντων βουλήματι,
 προνοητικαῖς προόδοις πολλαπλασιαζόμενος, μένει δὲ 20
 ἀμερίστως εἷς, ὡσπερ ἡλῖός ἀκτῖνας πολλὰς προπέμπων
 καὶ μένων ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι'.

καὶ αὐθις ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἐν κζ^ω τῆς γ^{ης} ἑκατοντάδος τῶν Περι
 ἀγάπης, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰ πάλιν, δηλαδὴ
 κατ' οὐσίαν, οὕτω θεολογεῖ 25

Ἄλλο Θεὸς γάρ, φησὶν, αὐτοῦπαρξίς ὣν καὶ αὐτοαγαθότης
 καὶ αὐτοσοφία, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ
 ταῦτα πάντα, οὐδὲν ἔχει τὸ σύνολον ἐναντίον'.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀνωτέρω Διονύσιον παρηγάγομεν, τὸ αὐτὸ
 λέγοντα αὐτοεῖναί τε καὶ αὐτοουσίωσιν καὶ αὐτοζωὴν καὶ αὐτο- 30
 ζώωσιν καὶ αὐτοθεότητα καὶ αὐτοθέωσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοεῖναι μὲν καὶ

2. μεταβαίνειν A

4-6. Βασιλείου, marg. A

18-19. Μαξίμου, marg. A

25. post οὐσίαν add σαφῶς B

5. BEP 55,283

18. PG 4,232C

26. PG 90,1025A

31. cf. PG 3,956A

αυτοζωην και αυτοθεοτητα εν τω Θεω θεωρουμενα ταυτα γαρ δηλαδη την/θειαν ουσιαν αυτοουσιωσιν δε και αυτοζωωσιν και αυτοθεωσιν εν ημιν θεωρουμενα παλιν τοις κατ' αυτα κτισθη-
νοις τε και τελευτουμενοις, επι και δι' αυτων κοινωσι γινόμεθα
θειας φουσεως. ως ο θεσπεσιος εφη Πέτρος. οθεν και δυναμεις
τε και ενεργειαι αι αυται καλουνται. δυναμεις μεν ως εν Θεω και
περι Θεου προαιωτως ουσαι και μενουσαι. ενεργειαι δε ως περι
ημης ενεργουσαι τους υπο χρονον. ει δε και του λεγοντος ηκου-
σας.

10

Μονος ο Θεος μετεχεται μόνον, η δε κτισις μετεχει μόνον
του ειναι, αλλ' ου μεταδιδωσι του ειναι.
τα μετεχόμενα ταυτα ουτε εκτος αν ειη του Θεου. μετεχόμενα
γαρ ουτε κτισματα. ει γαρ κτισματα, μεθεξείδητου και αυτα ετε-
ρων, κακενα αλλων, και τουτο ετ' απειρον.
Αλλα γαρ εντευθεν και κα^{ον} διαφορας τροπον, ως παρ
εισενηγμενον εισάγει, κατὰ ποιότητα τουτον αποκάλω.

15

...Οτι η μεν ουσια του Θεου, ως τα οντα αγια, υπερεχει, η δε
ενεργεια, ως τα οντα αγια, υπερεχεται, ας υπερθεσεις
και υφεσεις κατὰ ποιότητα απο δυο τιων μαλιστα κατα-
σκευάζειν αυτους φησι του μεγαλου Διονυσιου φητων, και
τουτο παντη παρὰ τον του αγιου τουτου σκοπον, ενος μεν
φητου του Ιαω την απορριαν εξαλυσοντος, ζητουντι παρὰ
του διδασκαλου τουτου, πως ο παντων επεκεινα και υπερ-
θεαρχιαν και αγαθαρχιαν εστι, και δεικνυντος αγαθαρχιαν
και θεαρχιαν λεγεσθαι την αφ' ημων προς τον Θεον σχεσι
και μηησιον. επι και ημεις μιμουμεθα Θεον, ουχ ημας
εκεινος, ητις και αρχη εστι του θεουσθαι και αγαθουσθαι
τα θεουμενα και αγαθουνομενα, καθ' ην θεουνται και αγαθου-
νονται, και επιφεροντος συμπρασματος. ο πασης αρ-
καθοσον ο αμνηνητος και ασχτος υπερεχει των μιμησεων

30 134v

25

20

134

5. 2 Pe 1,4
11. Fontem non inveni
18. PG 152,301C-304B; PG 151,746C D
24. PG 3,1068A
30. PG 3,1069A

καὶ τῶν σχέσεων καὶ τῶν μιμουμένων καὶ τῶν μετεχόντων· ἑτέρου δὲ ῥητοῦ διασαφούντος· πῶς ἅγιος ἁγίων λέγεται καὶ Θεὸς θεῶν καὶ Κύριος κυρίων καὶ Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων; καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τῷ ταῦτα λέγειν δηλοῦντος, ὅτι καθόσον ὑπερέχουσι τῶν οὐκ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα ἅγια ἢ 5
θεῖα ἢ κύρια ἢ βασιλικά καὶ αὐτῶν μετεχόντων αἰ μετοχαί, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ὑπερίδρυνται πάντων τῶν ὄντων ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ πάντων τῶν μετεχόντων καὶ μετοχῶν ὁ ἀμέθεκτος αἴτιος·

τὸ μὲν οὖν δεύτερον τῶν ῥητῶν ὅλον ἐκθέμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν 10
τρόπον τῆς ὑπεροχῆς ἀπεδρέψατο, τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ φάσκων αὐτοὺς ὑπερέχουσαν εἰρηκέναι, ὡς τὰ ὄντα ἅγια, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν ὑπερεχομένην, ὡς τὰ οὐκ ὄντα ἅγια. σὺ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ληρεῖς, οὐχ ἡμεῖς, οἱ τῆς Συνόδου φήσαιεν ἄν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν κεφαλήν τὸ βλάσφημον τράποιτο· λοιδορεῖς γὰρ οὐχ ἦττον ἡμᾶς ἢ 15
τὸν εἰπόντα διδάσκαλον, τοῦθ' ὁ κὰν τοῖς ὀπισθεν εἰργάσω τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον διαβάλλων· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου λόγων κακῶς συνέθηκας. οὕτω κὰνταῦθα τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἁγίων πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ὄντα ὑπεροχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θεῖαν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν κακῶς μετέθηκας. οὐδὲ 20
ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς φειδόμενος βλασφημεῖν. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ παραγαγεῖν αὐθις ἐπὶ διαβολῇ πολλὰ τῶν/τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἐπιφέρει; f35

Ἄναφαίνεται δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ἕκτος τις τρόπος ὑπεροχῆς· ὅσω γὰρ τὰ κτίσματα ὑφεῖται ὧν μετέχουσι μετοχῶν, τοσοῦτω καὶ αἰ μετοχαὶ αὐταὶ τῆς οὐσίας ὑφεῖνται τοῦ Θεοῦ· 25
δῆλον γὰρ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ῥητοῦ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ τῶν δογμάτων τούτων πατρός, τοῦ Παλαμᾶ δηλονότι· τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον ἔχει·

φεῦ, ὁ ἀσφαλὴς θεολόγος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ πρὸ μικροῦ διασύρων, ἀσεβειάν τε καὶ ἄνοιαν τοῦ μεγάλου Διονυσίου καταγινώσκει καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥητοῦ δῆλον εἶναι τὸ ἀσεβὲς διορίζεται· εἰ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν 30

6. αὐτομετοχαὶ B

23. post. τρόπος add τῆς B

2. PG 3,972B; PG 151,756A; cf. Ap 17,14· 18,16

17. cf. PG 152,300D

23. PG 152,305A

ἀναλογίαν εἰπὼν τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, πῶς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς εἶη τοῖς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήμασιν ἔνοχος, ἀσεβέστατε καὶ ἀνοητότατε τὰ μεγάλα; καὶ πόσω βέλτιον ἦν; ἐπισκέψασθαι βέλτιον τὸ ῥητὸν καὶ μικρὰ πονήσαντα τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου σκοπὸν εἰσδῦναι, τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ὁδηγούσης, ἢ πάθει τυφλῶ καὶ μανίᾳ χρώμενον ὁδηγῶ, 5
κατὰ βυθῶν ἀσεβείας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν, τοὺς θεολόγους ἰταμῶς οὕτως ἀσεβείας γραφόμενον·

Φέρε δὴ οὖν ἡμεῖς πάλιν, οἱ γὰρ τῆς Συνόδου πατέρες οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προσέθηκαν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεπείγοντα προχωροῦντες, ἐπεξέλθωμεν τῷ ῥητῷ καὶ τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου νοῦν ἀναπτύξωμεν. 10
τὴν γὰρ θεϊαν οὐσίαν, καθὸ ἐστὶ μόνον ἀπλῶς, οὕτω καὶ ἀπολύτως ὑμνῆσαι προθέμενος – δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν προαναγεγραμμένων

ὅπερ ὁ θεῖος Μάξιμος ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις πρὸ μικροῦ κεφαλαίοις, πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν μεθεκτῶν τε καὶ μετεχόντων ὑπερτιθεὶς αὐτὴν, ἢ ἀμέθεκτόν τε καὶ ἄσχετον / τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα μικροῦ καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς συμφώνως ἐνέταξε· πλὴν ὅσον 15 f35^v
ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπειράκις ἀπείρωσ, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο, τὴν ἀναλογίαν οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε, καθ' ὅσον ὑπερέχουσι φάσκων τῶν οὐκ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα ἅγια, δῆλον δὲ ὡς ἀπειράκις ἀπείρωσ, ἀντικείμενα γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶν μετεχόντων αἰ αὐτομετοχαί (δῆλον δὲ ὡς ἀπειράκις ἀπείρωσ; αἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄκτιστοι, τὰ δὲ κτιστά) κατὰ τοσοῦτον 20
ὑπερίδρυται τούτων πάντων ὑφὲν νοουμένων, οἷα δὴ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχετικῶς ἐχόντων, ὁ ἀμέθεκτος αἴτιος, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἀπειράκις ἀπείρωσ δηλαδὴ κατ' οὐσίαν. οὕτω μὲν οἱ θεολόγοι σύμφωνοι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διατελοῦσιν ὄντες; καὶ οἱ 25
τῆς Συνόδου πάλιν αὐτῶν ἅπασιν τούτοις καλῶς αὐτοῖς κεχρημένοι. σὺ δέ, ἄθλιε, ταῖς μετοχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς μετέχουσιν οὐδεμίαν διαφορὰν παραλείπων, ἐπεὶπερ ἄμφω κτιστὰ δογματίζεις, οὐδὲν ἄλλο λέγεις ἢ – ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τι παραπληκτίσω, ταῖς σαῖς ἐπόμενος ὑποθέσειςιν – ὅτι καθόσον ὑπερέχουσι τῶν μετεχόντων αἰ 30
αὐτομετοχαί (δῆλον δὲ ὡς οὐδέν, ἐπεὶπερ ἄμφω κτιστά), κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἀμφοῖν ὁ ἀμέθεκτος ὑπερέχει, δῆλον δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὡς οὐδέν· κτίσμα ἄρα κατὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους καὶ ὁ Θεός. καὶ οὕτω

6. ἐμβάλλειν A

13. εἰρημένοις B

15. ἀμέθεκτος, ἄσχετος A B

22. πάντων τούτων B

τὸν Παλαμᾶν καὶ τὴν Σύνοδον διαβάλλειν ἐθέλων, πονηρὸν κτί-
 σμα γέγονας καὶ Θεὸν ἐζημιώθης ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἵνα αὐτὸς τὴν πί-
 στιν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ῥητῷ, κατ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κε-
 κακούργηκε· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον, οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνετέλει, περικόψας ὁ
 πατραλοίας ὡσπερ ἡμίτομον ἔθηκεν ἔνθα τινὰ καὶ λαβὴν αὐτῷ 5
 ἐδόκει δίδόναι / τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς αὐτὸ ἀναπληρώσωμεν αὐθις, οἱ 136
 τῆς ἀληθείας οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τῆς τῶν πατέρων τιμῆς προνοοῦντες·
 φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον ὁ ἱερός Διονύσιος, ἐρωτήσαντα·

Ἰπῶς ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ ὑπὲρ θεαρχίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 ἀγαθαρχίαν; εἰ Θεότητα καὶ ἀγαθότητα νοήσῃς, αὐτὸ τὸ 10
 χρῆμα τοῦ θεοποιῦ καὶ ἀγαθοποιῦ δώρου καὶ τὸ ἀμίμη-
 τον μίμημα τοῦ ὑπερθέου καὶ ὑπεραγάθου, καθ' ὃ θεούμεθα
 καὶ ἀγαθυνόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ-
 σθαι καὶ ἀγαθύνεσθαι τοῖς θεουμένοις καὶ ἀγαθυνομένοις,
 ὁ πάσης ἀρχῆς ὑπεράρχιος καὶ τῆς οὕτω λεγομένης Θεό- 15
 τητος καὶ ἀγαθότητος, ὡς θεαρχίας καὶ ἀγαθαρχίας, ἐστὶν
 ἐπέκεινα, καθόσον ὁ ἀμίμητος καὶ ἄσχετος ὑπερέχει τῶν
 μιμήσεων καὶ σχέσεων καὶ τῶν μιμουμένων καὶ μετεχόν-
 των·

ὄρα μοι τὸν θεολόγον ἐνταῦθα, καὶ χρῆμα εἴτ' οὖν πρᾶγμα κα- 20
 λοῦντα τὸ θεοποιὸν δῶρον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀπη-
 γόρευες, καὶ θεαρχίαν εἴτ' οὖν θέωσιν καὶ Θεότητα. σὺ δὲ ταῦτα
 παραδραμών ὡς μὴδ' εἰρημένα, τῷ μιμήματι καὶ τῇ μιμήσει προσ-
 φύη καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν σχέσιν καὶ μίμησιν θεαρ-
 χίαν λέγεσθαι καὶ Θεότητα διατείνει, μάλα σεμνῶς τε καὶ ἀπο- 25
 δεικτικῶς ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς μιμούμεθα Θεόν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνος. οὐκ-
 οὔν, ὧ θαυμάσιε, φυσικὴν τινὰ ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότητα ἢ ἐκ σπου-
 δῆς καὶ μελέτης προσγινομένην τὴν θεαρχίαν ταύτην αὐτὸς νομί-
 ζεις, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ κτίσμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίσματος κτίσμα,
 φεῦ, τὴν Θεότητα δογματίζεις· οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ τὰς πολλὰς εἰσά- 30
 γων θεότητος καὶ τοσοῦτον διαφερούσας; ἀλλ' ἄκουε τοῦ θειο-

8-10. Διονυσίου, marg. A
 30. πολὰς A

2. 1 Ti 1,19

4. 1 Ti 1,9

9. PG 3,1068A-1069A

τάτου / Μαξίμου λέγοντος·

· Πάσχομεν ὡς ὑπερφύσιν οὐσαν κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐ
ποιοῦμεν τὴν θέωσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν φύσει δεκτικὴν τῆς
θεώσεως δύναμιν·

καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐν τῇ εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν θεωρίᾳ· Παύλῳ δὲ εἰ μὲν 5
ἐκφορὰ ἦν,

· Οὐκ ἔστι παράδοξον τὸ γινόμενον, εἰ κατὰ δεκτικὴν δύνα-
μιν φύσεως ἢ θέωσις ἦν· φύσεως γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως ἔργον.
ἀλλ' οὐ Θεοῦ δῶρον ἢ θέωσις ἔσται καὶ δυνησεται καὶ φύ- 10
σει Θεὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος εἶναι, καὶ κυρίως προσαγορεύεσθαι
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο καθέστηκεν ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστου τῶν ὄν-
των δύναμις ἢ φύσεως πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ἀπαράβατος κίνη-
σις. πῶς δὲ καὶ ἐξίστησιν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν θεούμενον ἢ θέωσις
εἰ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς φύσεως αὐτὴ περιεῖληπται, συνιδεῖν οὐκ 15
ἔχω·

ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ φύσει ἢ θέωσις, οὐδὲ κατ' ἐπιτηδειότητα καὶ
σπουδὴν ἡμετέραν, πλειόνων εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ὄντων, ἀρκεῖ τοσαῦ-
τα. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀγέννητος αὕτη καὶ ἄκτιστος, ὁ αὐτὸς αὐθις ἐν τοῖς
εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα σχολίοις ῥητῶς ἀποφαίνεται φάσκων·

· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, πρεσβεία Θεοῦ καὶ 20
παράκλησις πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δι' Υἱοῦ σαρκωθέντος καὶ μι-
σθὸν δωρουμένου τοῖς πειθομένοις αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πα-
τέρα καταλλαγῆς, τὴν ἀγέννητον θέωσιν· ἀγέννητον δὲ λέγω
θέωσιν τὴν κατ' εἶδος ἐνυπόστατον ἔλλαμψιν ἣτις οὐκ ἔχει 25
γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπινόητον ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις φανέρωσιν·

καὶ ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν·

· Ἄπατωρ, ἀμήτωρ καὶ ἀγενεαλόγητος, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμε-
ρῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ἀναγέγραπται ὁ μέγας Μελχι-
σεδέκ, ὡς ὁ ἀληθὴς τῶν θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ

1-3. Μαξίμου, marg. A

8. φύσεως ἢ οἱ A; θεώσεως A

14. αὐτὸ A

18. τοῖς: τῇ A

18-19. Μαξίμου, marg. A

· 2. ἀγέννητον A

2. PG 90,324A

7. PG 91,1237B; cf. 2 Κο 12,2

20. PG 90,637D; 644D

27. PG 91,1141A; He 7,3

28. Gn 14,18

διεσάφησε λόγος, ου δια την φύσιν την κτιστην και εξ ουκ
 όντων, καθ' ην του είναι ηρξάτο και εληξεν, αλλά δια την
 χάριν την θείαν και άκτιστον / και άει ούσαν υπέρ πάσαν
 5 και πως γάρ ουκ άκτιστός τε και άναρχος, η και τους μετέχοντας
 αυτής, άναρχους τε και άτελευτήτους κατ' αυτήν άπεργάζομενη:
 φησι γάρ ο αυτός περι του αυτού πάλιν.
 Τέγονεν άναρχος και άτελευτήτος ο Μελαχισδέκ, την
 10 χρονικην μηκέτι φέρων εν έαυτώ κινουμένην ζώην, την
 άρχην και τέλος έχουσαν και πολλοίς δογουμένην παθημα-
 σι, μόνην δε την θείαν του ένοικησαντος λόγου και άϊδιου
 και μηδενί θανάτῳ παρατουμένην.
 Ο του άει ευ είναι λόγος κατά χάριν τοις άξίοις παραγινε-
 15 ται, τον Θεόν έπιφροόμενος, τον πάσης άρχης και τέλους
 κατά φύσιν άνώτερον, ποιούντα τους άρχην έχοντας κατά
 φύσιν και τέλος, άναρχους κατά χάριν και άτελευτήτους.
 αλλά πως η αυτή θεως σχεσις τε ειρηται και έτι μηησις τε και
 20 ινα της ούσιας άσχετου και καθ' αυτήν νοουμένης διακριθῆ. μι-
 ησις δε, ως δι' αυτής ημών μηημάτων ειτ' ον όμοιωμάτων
 άποτελούμενων Θεού, μηηματα δε ως κατ' αυτήν ποφουμένων
 και οίον ειπειν εικονιζόμενων.
 Καλλος γάρ, φησιν ο μέγας Βασίλειος εν τοις Ψαλμοίς,
 25 'άληθινόν και έρασμιώτατον, μόνῳ τῷ τον κεκαθαρ-
 μένω θεωρητόν, τό περι την θείαν και μακαρίαν φύσιν
 έστιν, ου ο ένατενίστας ταις μακαριυταις και ταις χάρισι
 μεταλαμβάνει τι απ' αυτού, ωσπερ από τινος βαφης αιγλην
 30 τινά άθηράν εις την οικείαν όψιν άναρχωννυόμενος.
 30 θεεν και τῷ μηηματι τό άμημητον πρόσκειται ουδέποτε γάρ η
 άνθρωπινη / καλοκαγαθία την του Θεού φθάσαι δυνήσεται καν

137v
 30
 25
 20
 15
 5
 137

8. PG 91,1144C
 14. Fontem non inveni
 24. Ψαλμοίς: Ηθικοίς Α
 23-24. Βασιλείου, marg. Α
 20. και και Α
 7-8. Μαξίμου, marg. Α
 5. η: ο Α

24. PG 29,317B; BE17 52,59

ὁπώσποτε κατ' αὐτὴν μορφωθῆ· εἰ δὲ κατὰ σέ σχέσις οὐσα κτιστή τε καὶ ἐκτός ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὸς τί ἂν εἶη σχέσις εἰπέ μοι; σχετοῦ γὰρ ἢ σχέσις· ἄσχετον δὲ τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, καθὸ ἐστιν, ἤκουσας. οὕτω δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀλλοτριοῖς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων, κτίσμα ἄθλιον ὄντως καὶ ἀχάριστον πεφηνῶς, ὡς 5
τέ σοι καὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον αὐθις οὐ μικρῶς ἐπισκῆπτειν ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιρρήτικοῖς οὕτωςι λέγοντα·

Ἄθλια μὲν πάντη τὰ πεποιημένα πρὸς Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δόξης ἀπολειπόμενα κατὰ τὴν κτιστὴν φύσιν, εἰ μὴ μετέχοι Θεότητος· ἀνάξιος δὲ ὁ λόγος περὶ Θεοῦ τοῦ 10
γυμνῆν ὡσπερ καὶ ἔρημον ἑαυτοῦ περιορᾶν τὴν κτίσιν. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἢ κτίσις οὕτως ἄθλία οὔτε Θεὸς οὕτως ἀδύνατος, ὥστε τὴν ἀγίαν μετάδοσιν μὴ διαπέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα·

πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν οὐσα μόνον πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν μίμησις ὡς αὐτὸς διορίζη, μίμημα ἀμίμητον ἢ αὐτὴ καλεῖται; τούτου γὰρ λόγον 15
οὐδ' ἀναπλάσαι ῥαδίως εὐρήσεις· τοιοῦτον ἐξηγητὴν ἄρα τῶν ἱερῶν θεολόγων καὶ τῆς Συνόδου σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἔδωκας φέρων.

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς προχωρῶμεν τοσοῦτον ἐπισημηνάμενοι πάλιν, ὡς ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Βαρλααμίτην καὶ Ὁρθόδοξον διαλόγου διαβάλλων τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον ἔθηκεν, οὕτως ἐκεῖ κείμενον 20
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν·

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν Διονύσιον προαγαγεῖν· οὗτος γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανέστερον καὶ τὴν θέωσιν λέγει τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεότητα καὶ ταύτης ὑπερκειμένην τὴν οὐσίαν·

Ἐκβ^{ος} τρόπος αὐτοῖς προσεξεύρηται τῇ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν 25
ἀποβλέψει ὅτι ἢ μὲν θεία ἐνέργεια ἀπεργαστικὴ τῶν ἐκτός ἐστιν, ἢ δὲ θεία οὐσία / οὐδενὸς ἀπεργαστικὴ τῶν ἐκτός·

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιπαρεξάγομεν ἡμεῖς, ὡ βέλτιστε, τὴν θείαν ἐνέργειαν τῇ θεία οὐσία, οὐδ' ἀνά μέρος αὐτὰς διαιροῦντες ἰστώμεν, ὡς τὴν μὲν ἐκτοπίσαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἢ περ αὐτὸς ληρεῖς, τὴν δὲ 30
ἀντεισάξαι· ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεολόγοις συμφώνως τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς τὰ ποιήματα προάγειν φαμέν (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὁμο-

7-8. Βασιλείου, marg. A

13. κτίσματα: ποιήματα B

8. PG 29,724B; CPG 257I (Dubia et spuria) (Didymus)

22. PG 152, 304D; Chr. Pal. 2,183

26. PG 152,305B

οὐσία τῷ Θεῷ) ἐκ δὲ τῆς φυσικῶς καὶ οὐσιωδῶς ἠνωμένης αὐτῆ
καὶ ἀχωρίστου παντάπασιν ἐνεργείας, εἴτ' οὖν τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργείας κτίζειν καὶ συνέχειν καὶ προνοεῖσθαι φαμεν,
ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τεχνίτης οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς
ἐνούσης αὐτῷ τεχνικῆς δυνάμεως δημιουργεῖ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας
τὰ τῆς τέχνης. ταῦτα σαφῶς μὲν καὶ εἰς πλάτος ὁ Τόμος δια-
λαμβάνει, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος γράφων

Ἐν κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόνοιαν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐργά-
ζεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσιώδη ἐνέργειαν
τῆς Θεότητος.

καὶ ὁ θεὸς Κύριλλος ἐν ιε^ω τῶν Θεσαυρῶν

Ἐν τῷ μὲν ποιεῖν τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐστὶ, φύσεως δὲ τὸ γεννᾶν,
φύσις δὲ καὶ ἐνέργεια οὐ ταῦτόν.

καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος αὐθις

Ἐν τῷ ποιούμενον, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ποιούντος ἐστὶ.

καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Δαμασκηνός

Ἐν τῷ κτίσει εἰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
Θεοῦ οὐσίας. καὶ πάλιν ἔκτισις δὲ καὶ ποιήσις τὸ ἔξωθεν,
καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ κτίζοντος καὶ ποιούντος γενέ-
σθαι τὸ κτιζόμενον καὶ ποιούμενον ἀνόμοιον παντελῶς.

καὶ ὁ θεὸς Μάξιμος ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Διονύσιον Σχολίσις

Ἐν τῷ προόδῳ φησὶν ἐνταῦθα τὴν θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν, ἣτις πᾶσαν /
οὐσίαν παρήγαγε.

τὸ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς θείας οὐσίας οἶεσθαι τὰ ποιήματα, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις ἀτόποις καὶ τρεπτὴν αὐτὴν ἀποφαίνει, ὅπερ τῷ Ὁριγένοι
προφέροντι ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ θεία Σύνοδος, Ε^η δὲ ἄρα τῶν οἰκουμε-
νικῶν ἦν, ἐπισκῆπτουσα τοιάδε φησὶν

3. αὐτοῦ A

7-8. Ἀθανασίου, marg. A

9. οὐσιώδη τῆς Θεότητος ἐνέργειαν B

11-12. Κυρίλλου, marg. A

14-15. Βασιλείου, marg. A

16-18. Δαμασκηνοῦ, marg. A

21. Μαξίμου, marg. A

25-27. τῆς Ε^{ης} συνόδου, marg. A

26. πέμπτη B

6. PG 151,736B-740A

8. PG 28,924B

12. PG 75,312C

15. cf. PG 151,736B

17. PG 94,812B-C

18. PG 151,736C

22. PG 151,747A

“Ο Θεός”, φησιν ὁ Ὠρίγένης, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ κτίζειν ἐλθῶν
 εἰς τὸ κτίζειν, πάντως ἐτράπη ἀφ’ ἐτέρου εἰς ἕτερον· ἡμεῖς
 δὲ λέγομεν ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐτράπη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν
 ἐνέργειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ κατ’ αὐτήν· εἶχε μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὴν
 δύναμιν τοῦ κτίζειν καὶ δημιουργεῖν, ἐνεργήθη δὲ ἡ τοιαύ- 5
 τη δύναμις, ὅτε ἐβουλήθη ὁ Θεός’.

εἶεν, ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ τὰ ἐξῆς εἰς ἀντίρρησην προτιθέσθαι, πάσης μὲν
 φλυαρίας καὶ κωμωδίας πλήρη τυγχάνοντα, τὸ ἰσχυρὸν δὲ οὐδὲν
 οὐδαμῶθεν οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἔχοντα; τό γε μὴν ἀσεβὲς τοῦ
 συγγραψαμένου τοσοῦτον ἐμφαίνοντα, ὅσον καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἂν 10
 ἀποπηδήσαντα τὸν νουνεχῶς ἐπιόντα φυγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ ὧν τὴν Σύν-
 οδον καὶ τὸν Παλαμᾶν αἰτιᾶται, δείκνυται προδήλως αὐτός οὐκ
 ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ προάγων τὰ κτίσματα δυσσεβῶς
 τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν δήπου τὴν θεϊαν οὐσίαν μεθεκτὴν 15
 εἶναι οἰόμενος συμφώνως τοῖς μασσαλιανοῖς, οὓς ἡ κατ’ αὐτῶν
 θεία Σύνοδος ἀπορραπίζουσα·

Γίνεται τις ἐπιδημία τοῦ Παρακλήτου’, φησί, ‘καὶ ἐνοικεῖ
 τοῖς ἀξίοις ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς ἔχει φύσεως ἢ Θεότης’.

ἀλλὰ τό γε δοκεῖν ἐκείνοις, ταῦτα λέγειν αἰσχυρόμενος ὁ γεννά- 20
 δας, ἐτέρωθεν τῆ Συνόδῳ τὸν μῶμον προσάπτει καὶ ῥῆσιν τινα
 τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Παλαμᾶ προχειρισάμενος περιστρέφει, καὶ ὡς
 φθαρτικὴν τὴν θεϊαν οὐσίαν λέγοντας διαβάλλει. τίς δὲ ἡ ῥῆσις;

Ἄυτῇ / τοίνυν, φησί, καθ’ αὐτὴν ἢ θεία μετεχομένη φύσις 25
 ἢ φυρμὸν πείσεται ἢ τὴν παθητὴν ἐξαναλώσασα φθάσει
 φύσιν πρὶν ἂν ληφθῇ’, καὶ ἐπιφέρει συλλογιζόμενος, ‘τὸ δὲ
 ἐξαναλίσκειν τὴν ἐπίκτηρον ταύτην φύσιν φάσκειν, τίνος
 ἐτέρου ἢ τοῦ φθείροντος θετέον’; καὶ μετὰ μικρόν· ‘ἐκ δὲ
 τούτων πολλά τε ἅμα καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐ μικρὸν ἄτοπον περὶ τὴν
 σάρκωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου συνάγεται· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ μακαρία 30
 καὶ ἀειπάρθετος Θεοτόκος, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς πανάγων καὶ
 παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων δανεισαμένη τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ σάρκα

4. κατ’ αὐτήν· κατὰ ταύτην B
 16–19. συνόδου κατὰ μασσαλιανῶν, marg. A

1. Mansi 9,489

17. The decisions of this provincial synod which took place in 390AD are not
 saved. cf. Λόγος Θεολ. (4), Barbel, p. 214; PG 36,132B; Chr. Pal. 3,144

23. PG 152,309AB; Chr. Pal. 3,359

καὶ συλλαβοῦσα καὶ βαστάσασα καὶ τεξαμένη αὐτὸν τὸν Θεάνθρωπον Λόγον, οὐκ ἀνάλωται οὐδ' ἔφθαρται ὅσον κατ' αὐτούς, οὐκ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ συνείληφε Λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἐνέργειαν. ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος μεταβολῆς, οὐ μικρὰ οὐδ' ὀλίγα τὰ ἄτοπα κατ' αὐτούς ἀνακῦπτει.

σύ οὖν ἄρα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν ἡμῖν τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ Παρθένῳ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ὑπολαμβάνεις, καὶ οὐδὲν κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν λεγομένων Βογομίλων αἰρετικῶν διενήνοχας, οἱ τοὺς κατ' αὐτούς θεοφορουμένους, θεοτόκους ἀποκαλοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἄκουε τοῦ θεολογικωτάτου τῶν Γρηγορίων τὴν διαφορὰν ἐναργῶς ἐκδιδάσκοντος:

Ἐχριστὸς γάρ, φησί, διὰ τὴν Θεότητα, χρίσις γὰρ αὕτη τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖα κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους χριστοὺς ἀγιάζουσα, παρουσία δὲ ὄλου τοῦ χρίοντος.

καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου λέγοντος:

Ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐπήγγελται, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὴν Παρθένον καὶ εἰ ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὐ παρηκολούθησε σάρκωσις, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Παρθένῳ / ἡ δύναμις ἐσαρκώθη, οὔτε τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐνηνθρώπησε.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα:

Δυνάμεως καὶ Πνεύματος ἐπλήσθη ἡ Παρθένος πρὸς ἀγιασμὸν μέντοι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ σωτήριον κῆμα· καὶ οὕτως ἀκολουθῶς ἐν αὐτῇ, οὐ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅλον τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος, αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρχίθεος καὶ ὑπεράρχιος τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπόστασις ἐσαρκώθη καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησε· προαπεδείχθη γὰρ ὅτι, ὡς περὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ κατὰ θεολογίαν προτέθειται, οὐχ ὑπόστασις ἑκαστον λέγεται, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν κατ' οὐσίαν ἰδίᾳ

13-14. Θεολόγου, marg. A

16-17. Ἀθανασίου, marg. A

14. PG 36, 132B; PG 151,748AB

18. PG 28,929A

24. PG 28,929D; cf. Lc 1,35

27. Col 2,9

διερμηνευόμενα, οὕτω καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια περὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν οὐσιωδῶς ἀναφέρεται·

καὶ τοῦ θεοφόρου Μαξίμου ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Διονύσιον Σχολίοις·

Ἐν τῶν ἁγίων θρόνων τάγμα θεοφόρον εἶπεν, ὡς φέρον 5
ἐπαναπαυόμενον νοητῶς τὸν Θεόν· ἡ δὲ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου λέγεται θεοφόρος, ὡς φέρουσα τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον καθ' ἔνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον, αὐτοῦ σὰρξ καὶ λεγομένη καὶ ὑπάρχουσα κυρίως κατὰ ἀλήθειαν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν ὡς εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν Θεόν, ἀρρήτω τε 10
λόγῳ καὶ ἀνενοήτῳ τῇ διανοίᾳ, θεοφόροι καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγονται·

καὶ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐν τῇ τῶν Ψαλμῶν ἐξηγήσει·

Ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ, ὁ Θεός, ὅτι ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, τὸ μέρος λέγει τῆς ἐνεργείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Παράκλητος μερίζεται· 15

ἀκούεις ὅπως ἐν μὲν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Παρθένῳ αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπόστασις τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ παραγέγονεν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐσαρκώθη καὶ ἐνηθρώπησεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐνέργειά τις καὶ δύναμις εἶτ' οὐκ ἐνεργείας μέρος /, ἢ καὶ τὴν Παρθένον προλαβοῦσα ἡγίασεν, ὅθεν οὐ δὴ σάρκωσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαίως παρηκολούθησεν; ἀλλὰ πῶς Ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν ἐν τῇ Παρθένῳ γέγονε; πῶς δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πανταχοῦ πάρεστι; εἶπέ μοι σὺ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ γὰρ σοὶ λέξω τὸ δεύτερον· ὅτι γὰρ κάκεινο ἀκατάληπτον, μάρτυς ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς ἐν τῷ 20 f40
πρῶτῳ Περί Ἀκαταλήπτου λέγων·

Ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ ὅτι φοβερῶς ἐθαυμαστώθης· εὐχαριστῶ σοὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἀκατάληπτον ἔχω Δεσπότην, οὐ περὶ οὐσίας ἐνταῦθα λέγων, ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὠμολογημένον ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι παρήκε· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πανταχοῦ 30
παρεῖναι τὸν Θεὸν τοῦτό φησι, δεικνὺς ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶδε πῶς πανταχοῦ πάρεστι·

2-3. Μαξίμου, marg. A

11-13. Χρυσοστόμου, marg. A

26. α^φ B

27. Χρυσοστόμου, marg. A

5. PG 4,68AB

14. PG 55,186; 2 Ko 1,22· 5,5; Eph 1,13· 14

22. Troparion of Pentecost, Δοξαστικὸν Κυριακῆς Πεντηκοστῆς

27. PG 48,705; PG 138,14

πῶς δὲ αὐθις τοῦ πανταχοῦ παρόντος, οὐ τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας μετέχουσιν οἱ μετέχοντες: πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀποβάλλουσιν αὐτήν, εἶπέ μοι, εἰ μὴ ἐνέργεια ἦν ἡ μετεχομένη: τὸ γὰρ τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν προσγίνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπογίνεσθαι φάναι πάσης ἀτοπίας πέρα τυγχάνει· ὅτι δὲ ἀποβάλλουσι, μάρτυς μὲν ὁ Σαοῦλ οὐκ ἀποβεβληκῶς μόνον τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν προσειληφῶς· μάρτυς δὲ ὁ Δαυῖδ τῷ Θεῷ ψάλλων, 'Τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον μὴ ἀντανέλης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ'. ταῦτα θεολογεῖ μὲν ὁ Δαμασκηνός· Ἰωάννης λέγων·

'Πᾶσι μὲν ἐγκέκραται ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὴν συνεκτικὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἐν ἐκάστῳ φύσεως, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς καὶ Θεὸς τῷ προσλήμματι καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐγκαταμέμικται'.

καὶ ὁ θαυμαστὸς δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῦ λόγῳ φιλοσοφεῖ, παρ' οὗ τὴν ῥῆσιν αὐτὸς περικόψας οὐ κατ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον / ἢ κατὰ σαυτοῦ προήνεγκας· λέγει καὶ γάρ·

'Ἰκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πεῖσαι μήτε κτιστὴν ὑπάρχειν τὴν διδομένην καὶ λαμβανομένην τοῖς κεχαριτωμένοις τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν, αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μήτε τὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐδενὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν οἰκείαν οὐσίαν δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἐνὶ ληπτὴν αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τινὶ καὶ μὴ δύο φύσεων ἀποδείξαι τὸ λαβόν, ἐκ θείας δηλονότι καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης συγκείμενον φύσεως, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶπερ ἐνωθεῖη ταύτῃ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ὅπερ ἀμφοτέρων προῦφεστώτων, καὶ ταῦτα κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν τῶν συντιθεμένων ἀδύνατον. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλὰ φύσιν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀναλαβών, καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἠνώθη ταύτῃ· καθ' αὐτὴν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐνωθεῖσα φυρμὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ δράσει καὶ πείσεται. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ ἠνωμένα ἀφύρτως ἑτεροοῦσια ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν κέκτηται. αὐτὴ τοίνυν καθ' αὐτὴν ἡ θεία μετεχομένη τε καὶ λαμβανομένη φύσις ἢ φυρμὸν πείσεται ἢ τὴν παθητὴν ἐξαναλώσασα φθάσει φύσιν πρὶν ἂν ληφθῇ, τοῦτό γε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον· 'οὐδεὶς' γάρ, φησὶν, ὄψεται τὸ πρόσωπόν

4. φᾶναι AB

7-8. Δαυῖδ, marg. A

9-11. Δαμασκηνοῦ, marg. A

15-16. Παλαμᾶ, marg. A

5. 1. Ki 18 . .

7. Ps 50, 13

10. Fontem non inveni

16. Chr. Pal. 3, 359

33. Ex 33, 20

μου και ζήσεται', και 'οὐδεις ἔστη ἐν ὑποστήματι και οὐσία Κυρίου', κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'και Θεοῦ φύσιν ἢ εἶδεν ἢ ἐξηγόρευσεν'. εἰ δ' ὄψιν οὐδεις ἂν ἐνέγκοι, πῶς μετοχὴν; διὰ τοῦτο οἱ θεοφόροι πατέρες κατ' οὐσίαν τὸν Θεὸν ἀμπαν ἀμέθεκτόν τε και ἄληπτον ἀπεφήναντο'. 5

ὁρᾶς ὅπως τῆς θεολογικῆς ἀκριβείας ἔχεται διὰ πάντων ὁ νέος οὕτοσι θεολόγος ὡς ἀληθῶς, και τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θείους πατέρας ὁμολογίας και συμφωνίας; οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁ ἐγκαλεῖς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τέθεικε· τοῦ δὲ θεοφόρου πατρὸς Βασιλείου / λέγοντος ἀκούσας· 10

"Ἰδὼν", Ἰεζεκιήλ, τὸ ὁμοίωμα τῆς δόξης και οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν δόξαν, ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου. εἰ δὲ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμοίωμα θεαθὲν φόβον και ἀγωνίαν ἐνεποίει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, αὐτὸν εἶ τις ἐθεώρησε τὸν Θεόν, πάντως ἂν ἀπηλλάττετο κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· 'οὐδεις ὄψεται τὸν Θεόν και ζήσεται'". 15

πῶς δὲ και οὐκ ἄλογον τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ὑπόθεσιν λεγομένων ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ δυνατὸν αὐτὸς εἶναι λέγεις τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μετέχεσθαι ἢ ὁρᾶσθαι, εἰπέ φανερῶς και οὐκέτι σοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδεις λόγος, μετὰ τῶν μασσαλιανῶν ἱσταμένῳ και τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀνθισταμένῳ. τοῦτο μὲν τῷ θεοφόρῳ και ὁμολογητῇ Μαξίμῳ λέγοντι· 20

"Ὁ τοῖς οὐσι μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχων μεθεκτός, κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον μετέχεσθαι τοῖς δυναμένοις βουλόμενος, τοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν κρυφίου παντελῶς οὐκ ἐξίσταται". 25

τοῦτο δὲ τῷ θειοτάτῳ Κυρίλλῳ, 'Κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸν Θεὸν ὁρᾶσθαι' σαφῶς ἀποφαινομένῳ. εἰ δὲ μέχρι γοῦν τούτου αἰδῆ τὴν εὐλάβειαν και τὸ ἀσεβὲς περιστάσαι, τί τὰ ἐπόμενα ἄτοπα τῷ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν εἰρημένῳ πολυπραγμονεῖς; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ και πολλὰ ἕτερα ἀνακύπτει 30

9-11. Βασιλείου, marg. A

21-24. Μαξίμου, marg. A

24-27. Κυρίλλου, marg. A

1. Je 23,18

2. PG 36,52B; Barbel, p. 100

11. BEΠ 57,290; Ez 1,28

15. Ex 19,9-25· 20,18-19· 33,20; Judges 6,22-23· 13,22; Is 6,5

23. PG 90,1101A; (PG 151,685C-686A; PG 90,180C)

25. Fontem non inveni

τοῦ ἐνὸς ὑποτιθεμένου, οἷον δὴ τὸ μερίζεσθαι τὴν θεϊαν οὐσίαν
καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλέον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἔλαττον μετεχομένην εἶναι, τὸ
προσγίνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπογίνεσθαι, τὸ δίδοσθαι τε καὶ ἀποστέλ-
λεσθαι καὶ ἐκχεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτό τισι καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ δι' αἰτίαν,
τὸ μεταδίδοσθαι τοῖς μήπω μετασχοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν προειληφό- 5
των. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετεχόντων ἕκαστος ἐκ δύο οὐσιῶν
ἔμελλεν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστόν, εἴπερ οὐσία ἦν ἡ μετε-
χομένη. τούτοις προσκείσθω / καὶ ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐλαύνεις, τὸ ἐξα- 641^v
ναλίσκειν τὴν παθητὴν φύσιν, πρὶν ἂν ληφθῇ· οὐ γὰρ θεολογῶν
τε καὶ δογματίζων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπόμενον τιθεῖς ἄτοπον καὶ τοῦτο 10
τὴν θεϊαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐμφαῖνον, ἐξ εὐλαβείας οὐκ ἐξ ἀτόπου δό-
ξης, εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος ὅπερ εἶπεν· ὡσπερ οὖν ἔχει καὶ τὸ θεολο-
γικὸν ἐκεῖνο·

Ἵνα χωρηθῇ μετρίως γοῦν γενητῇ φύσει καὶ ὅσον ἀσφα-
λὲς ὁ ἀχώρητος· 15

τὸ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν Θεοτόκον, παντὸς ἐξηρήσθω λόγου, μόνον
τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὑπερφυῶν ὑπερφυέστατον θαῦμα τυγχάνον καὶ
πάσης νοήσεως ἀνωτέρω. ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεός τὸ ἑαυ-
τοῦ παντοδύναμον ἐπιδειξάι ἠθέλησε, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ αὐτῇ διὰ
Πνεύματος ἀγίου δαψιλεστέρα χάριτι προσρυσθέντος καὶ δυνάμε- 20
ως θείας προκαθαρθείσῃ·

Ἐδυνάμεως γάρ', φησὶν ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, 'καὶ Πνεύμα-
τος ἐπλήσθη ἡ Παρθένος, πρὸς ἀγιασμὸν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐ-
τῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ σωτήριον κύημα'.

καὶ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μόνην τὴν πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν γενητὴν 25
φύσιν ἀπλῶς 'πῦρ καταναλίσκον' ὁ Θεὸς εἴρηται· καὶ μάρτυς ὁ
Δαμασκόθεν ἐνθεὸς μελωδὸς προσάδων αὐτῇ τῇ παναμώμῳ
Παρθένῳ·

Ἐβάτος ἐν ὄρει πυράφλεκτος καὶ δροσοβόλος κάμινος
Χαλδαϊκῇ σαφῶς προγράφει σε, θεόνυμφε· τὸ γὰρ θεῖον 30
ἄϋλον ἐν ὑλικῇ γαστρὶ πῦρ ἀφλέκτως ἐδέξω·

καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ Φῶτα τροπαρίοις, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου·

20-23. Ἀθανασίου, marg. A

27-30. Δαμασκηνοῦ, marg. A

9. PG 152,309A

14. Chr. Pal. 2,402

22. Fontem non inveni' cf. PG 28, 929D

26. De 9,3

29. Fontem non inveni

Ἐπιφάνειος, Ἐπιφάνειος, Ἐπιφάνειος.
καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς Κοσμᾶς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Προδρόμου·

Ἔνα σὲ ὕδασι ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, Πατὴρ χαρακτήρ
αἰδίου ἐκπλύνω, καὶ χόρτος ὢν πυρὶ ψαύσω τῆς σῆς Θεό-
τητος·

5

εἰ δὲ καὶ φθορὰ ἐστὶν οὐχ ἡ παντελὴς ἀναίρεσις τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλ'
ἢ πρὸς ἕτερον εἶδος / μεταβολή. τί τὸ ἄτοπον, εἰ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
λόγον καὶ φθαρτικὴν τις εἶναι φαίη τὴν θεϊαν φύσιν; περιουσίαν
γὰρ τινα δυνάμεως ἐνδείκνυσιν ὁ εἰπὼν, ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ πῦρ
ὑπερβολῆ δυνάμεως ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ μακρὰν ὕλην ἐξαναλίσκει,
οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν αὐτὴν μεταβάλλον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀέρα διὰ τῆς ἐξατμί-
σεως ἀναχέον. εἰ δὲ μήθ' ἡ μακαρία Παρθένος ἔφθαρται μήθ' ὁ
Βαπτιστὴς ἐφαψάμενος μήθ' ἕτερός τις, ἀλλ' ἑτέρα δυνάμει συν-
τηρούμενα, τῇ συνεκτικῇ καὶ φρουρητικῇ, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ Μωϋσῆς
σκεπασθεῖς. ἄξιός Θεοῦ τροπικῶς ὀνομαζομένης, εἶδεν αὐτοῦ
τὰ ὀπίσθια, τοὺς τῶν ὄντων λόγους, τῆς τοῦ προσώπου θέας,
ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς οὐσίας, εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπηγορευμένης, καίτοι δε-
θέντι τοσαῦτα καὶ οὕτως ὑπερβαίνον. οὐ γὰρ ἀλόγως ἐνεργοῦσιν
αἱ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ δυνάμεις, ὡσπερ ἡ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καυστικὴ μονομερὴς
οὐσα καὶ ἄλογος, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει μετροῦνται πρὸς οἰ-
κονομίαν τῆς γεννητῆς φύσεως. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κα-
λῶς ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν περιήγαγε. πῶς γὰρ ἐκδέξη τὴν ὡς μελῶν,
παρὰ τῇ Γραφῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ποικίλην διάθεσιν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὰς φύ-
σει προσούσας αὐτῷ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας; οὐ γὰρ δὴ χεῖρες
καὶ πόδες, ὄμματα τε καὶ καρδία καὶ στόμα καὶ χεῖλη καὶ τὰ λοι-
πὰ τῶν μελῶν σωματικῶς πρόσσεσι τῷ Θεῷ·

f42

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Ἔνα σὲ ὕδασι ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, Πατὴρ χαρακτήρ
αἰδίου ἐκπλύνω, καὶ χόρτος ὢν πυρὶ ψαύσω τῆς σῆς Θεό-
τητος·

ὁ δὲ ἐλέγομεν, πάρεστι μὲν ἅπασιν ὁ Θεός, εἴτ' οὖν ἐν πᾶσιν

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2. Κοσμᾶ, marg. A

26-29. Χρυσοστόμου, ἐν τῇ τοῦ π^{ου} ψαλμοῦ ἐξηγήσει, marg. A

27. τοὺς οὐρανοὺς om A

1. Fontem non inveni

3. Κοσμᾶ Ἱεροσολυμίτου, Ἔγγραφοι, PG 98,468A; He 1,3

10. cf. Jc 3,5

15. Ex 33,18-23

27. PG 55,115; Ps 8,4

ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἀνακεκρᾶσθαι πᾶσιν οὐτ' οὖν ἠνῶσθαι καὶ ἐν
 μετ' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι ἢ ὑπ' αὐτῶν μετέχεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ / τοῖς f42^v
 ἁγίοις δέδοται μόνοις, εἰς ἄκρον κεκαθαρμένοις, καὶ τούτοις ὁ
 μὲν τρόπος ἄγνωστος, τοσοῦτον δὲ γνώριμον μόνον, ὅτι μὴ κατ'
 οὐσίαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινα θεϊαν ἐνέργειαν τε καὶ χάριν ἢ μετοχή. 5
 ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν, κατὰ τὰ φυσικῶς καὶ ἐξ αἰδίου προσόντα τῷ
 αἰδίῳ Θεῷ·

Ἦ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλεία· Μάξιμός φησιν ὁ τῷ ὄντι μέ-
 γιστος, ἑτῶν προσόντων τῷ Θεῷ φυσικῶς ἀγαθῶν κατὰ χά-
 ριν ἐστὶ μετάδοσις'. 10

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὖθις·

Ἐάντα ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ὁ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τεθεωμένος
 ἔσται, χωρὶς τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ταυτότητος'.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· περὶ δέ γε τῶν μυστη-
 ρίων, τίς οὐκ οἶδε, ὡς ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις ἐπιφοιτῶσα, κατὰ 15
 τοὺς ἱεροὺς θεολόγους, Ἦ καὶ ἐν τῇ Παρθένῳ τὴν θεοφόρον
 σάρκα συστησαμένη', ὡς ὁ μέγας φησὶ Βασίλειος, ἑἰς τὸ τεθεω-
 μένον ἐκεῖνο σῶμα καὶ αἷμα ταῦτα μετασκευάζει'; ταύτην γὰρ
 καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄνωθεν ἐπικαλεῖται, καὶ μάρτυς ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυ-
 σοῦς ἐν τῷ γ^ω Περί ἱερωσύνης λέγων· 20

Ἔστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ
 ἅγιον καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται, οὐχ ἵνα τίς λαμ-
 πᾶς ἄνωθεν ἀφεθεῖσα καταναλώσῃ τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλ' ἵνα
 ἢ χάρις ἐπιπεσοῦσα τῇ θυσίᾳ δι' ἐκείνης τὰς ἀπάντων
 ἀνάψῃ ψυχᾶς καὶ ἀργυρίου λαμπροτέρας ἀποδείξῃ πεπυ- 25
 ρωμένου'.

καὶ μετὰ μικρόν·

Ἦ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀνθρωπεῖα ψυχὴ τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο
 τῆς θυσίας ἐβάστασεν, ἀλλὰ ἄρδην ἅπαντες ἂν ἠφανίσθη-
 σαν, εἰ μὴ πολλὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος ἦν ἢ βοήθεια ;' 30

οὐκ ἄρα καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σὲ καὶ τὴν
 σὴν, ἑοὺ μικρὰ οὐδ' ὀλίγα τὰ ἄτοπα ἀνακύπτει'. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἕτερόν

6-9. Μαξίμου, marg. A

17-19. ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν λόγῳ, marg. A

20-22. Χρυσοστόμου, marg. A

8. PG 90,1168C

12. Fontem non inveni

16. Fontem non inveni

21. PG 48,642

28. PG 48,643

32. PG 152,309B

τι ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπόστασιν, πῶς αὐτὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιφοιτῶσα, / τῇ δὲ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει τὸ σῶμα κτίζεται καὶ νῦν μεταβάλλεται; ἔπεται γὰρ ἢ μὴ ταύτην ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπόστασιν εἶναι τὴν σαρκωθεῖσαν, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς πω τῶν ἀθέων αἰρετικῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐξειπεῖν, ἢ σαβέλλειός τις σύγχυσις καὶ ἀνάλυσις Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἐν ταυτῶ γινομένων, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἡμᾶς, οὐχ οὕτω διδάσκουσιν οἱ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθηγεμόνες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Χρυσόστομος θεολόγος τὸ ψαλμικὸν ἐξηγούμενος, 'ἐξεχύθη χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου', φησί:

Ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ χάρις, δι' ἧς ἐδίδασκε, δι' ἧς ἐθαυματοποιεῖ; τὴν χάριν ἐνταῦθα λέγει τὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν σάρκα, 'ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ Πνεῦμα', φησί, 'καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν καὶ μένον ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ'. πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἐξεχύθη εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκείνον, οὐ γὰρ 'ἐν μέτρῳ' δίδωσιν ἐκείνῳ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ὀλόκληρον τὴν χάριν ὁ ναὸς ἔλαβεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρόν τι καὶ ῥανίδα ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης ἔσχομεν, 'ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος γάρ', φησὶν, 'αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν', ὡς ἂν εἰποῖ τις, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερβλύζοντος, ἐκ τοῦ περιττεύοντος.

ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασιλείος ἐν β^ω τῶν Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον·

Ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀγίου κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τέκνον φωτὸς χρηματίζειν, δόξης αἰδίου μετέχειν.

ἀκούεις ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῶν διδασκάλων λεγόντων, ὡς ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις ἦν, ἢ εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκχυθεῖσα ἐκείνον καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεταδιδομένη; εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν εἰρηται 'πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς', ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως

2. post τοῦ add Θεοῦ B

11-12. Χρυσοστόμου, marg. A

13. φησὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα A

19-21. Βασιλείου, marg. A

9. Ps 44,3

11. PG 55, 185-186

13. Jo 1,33

16. Eph 4,7

18. Jo 1,16

22. Fontem non inveni

28. Col 2,9

ὡς καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν ὑπόστασιν ἢ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ταύτῳ
γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθῶς ἢ συσσερκεῖσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἄλληλα / φύ- f43^v
ρεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σαβελλίου παραπληξίαν·

Ἐσαρκωθείσα γάρ·, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Σιναΐτης,
ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασις, οὐ συνεσάρκωσεν ἑαυτῇ τὴν ἀγεν- 5
νησίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκπορευτικὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ
θείου Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ φυσικὰ τῆς Τριά-
δος ιδιώματα, τουτέστι τὸ ἄναρχον, τὸ ἄκτιστον, τὸ ἀπερί-
γραφτον, τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον, τὸ ἀδιάδοχον, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ
ζωοποιόν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀπαραλλάκτως καὶ ἰσοφυ- 10
ῶς καὶ ὁμοίως ὄρῶνται ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ
καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, τούτου χάριν εἴρηται ἑκατοικεῖν
ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος· καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο εἴ-
ρηται τέλειος ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν Θεότητι·

καὶ μετὰ μικρόν·

Ἐταῖς οὖν φυσικαῖς ιδιότησι, πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότη- 15
τος·, ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, ὁρᾶται ἐν τῷ
Χριστῷ·

αὕτη τοιγαροῦν ἢ κοινὴ τῆς Τριάδος χάρις, ἢ φυσικῶς καὶ ἀνάρ-
χως προσοῦσα τῇ μιᾷ καὶ ἀνάρχω φύσει, τότε μὲν εἰς τὸν ναὸν 20
ἐκεῖνον ἐξεχύθη καὶ ᾤκησε· νῦν δὲ τὸν ἄρτον εἰς τὸ καθ' ὑπό-
στασιν ἐνθὲν τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ σῶμα μεταποιούσα, δι' αὐτοῦ με-
ταδίδοται πάλιν καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἀγιάζει· καὶ οὕτως οὐδὲν
ἄτοπον ἔπεται τούτων οὕτω πιστευομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ἄτοπον
ἀναιρεῖται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου γίνεται·

Ἀυτοὶ τοίνυν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τὸ πᾶν ἀπονέμοντες, ἀκολουθῶς
καὶ Θεότητα κυρίως ἀποκαλοῦσι καὶ ζωὴν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ
τ' ἄλλα ἀπολελυμένως· καὶ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν οὐσίαν
ταῦτα εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι πιστεύουσι·

καὶ μάλα μὲν οὖν ἀκολουθῶς ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην, οὐ τοῖς προαποδε- 30
δειγμένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις πᾶσι καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ
αὐτῇ· κἂν μὴ ὡς / προσῆκε ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐκλαμβάνης, εἰ γὰρ ἢ
θεῖα οὐσία παντάπασιν ἄληπτος καὶ ἀμέθεκτος, ἀνώνυμός τε καὶ f44

2-3. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ις^ω βιβλίου τοῦ λεγομένου Ὁδηγοῦ,
marg. A

4. PG 89,264C

12. Col 2,9

16. PG 89,265A

26. PG 152,309D-312A

ὑπερώνυμος ὑμνεῖται τοῖς θεολόγοις, πῶς οὐκ ἂν, εἴ τι καὶ ὀνομάζοιτο ἐκ τῆς ἀχωρίστως ἠνωμένης αὐτῇ ἐνεργείας, ἥτις καὶ λαμβάνεται καὶ μετέχεται καὶ ὀράται καὶ ὀνομάζεται, χάριτι μέντοι καὶ αὐτῇ – διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ χάρις καλεῖται – τοῦτ' ἂν ὀνομάζοιτο; ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἡμέτερα, παρίτωσαν οἱ θεολόγοι πάλιν, 5
 δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰ εἰρημένα κρατύνοντες· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεῖος Διονύσιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἠνωμένης καὶ διακεκριμένης θεολογίας·

Ἐἰ τὴν ὑπερούσιον κρυφίότητα Θεὸν ἢ ζωὴν ἢ οὐσίαν ἢ φῶς ἢ λόγον ὀνομάσαιμεν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον νοοῦμεν ἢ τὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῆς προαγομένης δυνάμεις, ἐκθεωτικὰς ἢ οὐσιοποιοὺς ἢ ζωογόνους ἢ σοφοδώρους· αὐτῇ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πασῶν τῶν νοερῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἀπόλυσιν ἐπιβάλλομεν'. 10

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὖθις·

Ἐξουσία ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὡς πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν προέχων καὶ ὑπερέχων'. 15

καὶ ὁ Νύσσης Γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον ἀντιρρήτικοῖς·

Ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοῦ φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐποπτικῆς ἐνεργείας κεκρατηκέναι κατελαβόμεθα, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τούτου μερικὴν τινὰ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἐνέργειαν διδαχθέντες, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς ἐν περινοίᾳ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης οὐκ ἐγενόμεθα'. 20

καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Εὐστάθιον ἐπιστολῇ·

Ἡ τῆς ἐνεργείας ταυτότης ἐπὶ Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου δείκνυσι σαφῶς τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαράλλακτον. ὥστε καὶ φύσιν σημαίνει τὸ τῆς Θεότητος ὄνομα, κυρίως καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐφαρμόζεσθαι ταύτην, ἢ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότης συντίθεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὴν / τῆς φύσεως ἔνδειξιν τὴν προσηγορίαν τῆς Θεότητος φέρουσιν οἱ πάντα κατασκευάζοντες'. 25 f44^v

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

Ἐξουσία ἐστὶν οὐκ εἴτε ἐποπτικῆς εἴτε ἐνεργητικῆς ἔνδειξιν ἢ προσηγορία φέρει· ἢ δὲ θεία φύσις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς 30

6-7. Διονυσίου, marg. A

16. Νύσσης A

16-17. Νύσσης, marg. A

21-22. Βασιλείου, marg. A

8. PG 3,645A; PG 151,743B

14. PG 3,889D

17. PG 45,1105C-1108B; Jaeger 1,396-397; Chr. Pal. 2,319

22. PG 32,693D-696A; (151,742BC)

30. PG 32,696A

ἐπινοουμένοις ὀνόμασι καθὸ ἐστὶ μένει ἀσήμαντος, ὡς ὁ
ἡμέτερος λόγος'.

καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν·

Ἐἴτε οὖν ἐνεργείας ὄνομα ἢ Θεότης, ὡς μίαν ἐνέργειαν
Πατρός, Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὕτω μίαν φασὲν εἶναι 5
καὶ τὴν Θεότητα· εἴτε καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας φύ-
σεως ἐνδεικτικόν ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Θεότητος ὄνομα, διὰ τὸ
μηδεμίαν εὐρίσκειν ἐν τῇ φύσει παραλλαγὴν, οὐκ ἀπεικό-
τως μιᾶς Θεότητος τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὀριζόμεθα'.

καὶ ἐν τῷ α^ϥ τῶν Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον· 10

Τί ἐξαιρετόν τῃ γνώσει τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου
Πνεύματος καταλείψουσιν, εἴπερ αὐτοὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς
ἔχουσι τὴν κατάληψιν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς
ἀγαθότητος καὶ τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Μονογενεῖ τὴν
θεωρίαν προσνείμαντες, σύμμετρον ἑαυτοῖς θήσονται τῆς 15
οὐσίας τὴν κατανόησιν· πᾶν γὰρ που τὸ ἐναντίον, εἰκὸς αὐ-
τὴν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπερίοπτον εἶναι παντί, πλήν ἢ τῷ Μο-
νογενεῖ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ
Θεοῦ ἀναγομένους ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων τὸν ποιη-
τὴν ἐννοοῦντας', τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας 20
λαμβάνειν τὴν σύνεσιν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ
Θεοῦ, ὃ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ Θεὸς ἐφάνέρωσε'.

καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Σιναΐτης ἐν βίβλῳ τῇ λεγομένῃ
Ὁδηγῷ·

Τὸ Θεὸς ὄνομα οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς Θεότητος σημαίνει· 25
ἀκατάληπτος γὰρ αὕτη καὶ ἀνώνυμός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς θε-
ωρητικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργείας Θεὸς εἴρηται/, ὡς φησὶν ὁ
ἅγιος Διονύσιος· f45

τί οὖν, ἄθλιε, τοὺς ἁγίους ἀφείς, τὸν Παλαμᾶν αἰτιᾶ καὶ τοὺς πα-
τριάρχας; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνὶ σχεδὸν ῥήματι παρεκβαίνουσιν οὗτοι τὰ 30

23. ε A

23-25. Ἀναστασίου, marg. A

4. PG 32, 696BC

11. Fontem non inveni

19. R 1,20

21. R 1,19

25. PG 89,53C

29. cf. PG 152,309CD; 312A-D

παρ' ἐκείνων τεθεολογημένα· τὸ γάρ τοι κἀνταῦθα ὡς παρὰ τῆς
 Πρὸς τὸν Κυζίκου ἐπιστολῆς ἐκληφθέν, οὐδ' εὐρεῖν ἔστιν ὄλως
 ἐκεῖ κείμενον, ὑβριστικῶς γε μὴν ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος,
 πρῶτον ἡμῖν καὶ β^{ov} πατριάρχην καὶ γ^{ov} ἀποκαλεῖ τῆς ἀναισχυν- 5
 τίας! ἀλλ' οὐ α^{ος} καὶ β^{ος}, ὧ πατραλοῖα καὶ τοῦ ἀναθέματος
 κληρονόμοι, πολλοστὸς δὲ τούτων ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκεί-
 νων ἀρχιερέων διάδοχος γνήσιος, ἐν τε βίου λαμπρότητι καὶ
 ἀκριβεῖα δογμάτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παλαιοῖς ἐκείνοις, ὡς ἐν ἅπασι
 συμφωνοῦσι, τὰ εἰρημένα δηλοῖ, θῶμεν δέ τινα καὶ τῶν πρὸ μι-
 κροῦ διαπρεψάντων ἐν τῷδε τῷ θρόνῳ δυνάμει λόγου καὶ πνεύ- 10
 ματος, ἴν' ἴδωμεν, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἐκείνοις οὗτοι σύμφρονες καὶ ὁμό-
 δοξοὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰστάμενοι. Γερμα-
 νὸς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος, ὁ τῇ πρὸς τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον ὁμωνυμία νέος
 ἐπικληθεῖς, Πρὸς Λατίνους γράφων, τὰ προῤῥηθέντα τῷ μεγάλῳ
 Ἀθανασίῳ ἐν τῇ εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμὸν ὁμιλίᾳ πρότερον ἀνα- 15
 γνούς, ἐπιφέρει·

Ἔορᾶς ὡς, ὅταν λέγωσιν οἱ πατέρες τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
 ἐπιφοιτᾶν καὶ ἐνσκηνοῦν τοῖς ἁγίοις, οὐ τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐ-
 τήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν φασί·

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίλλου πάλιν ἐκθέμενος·

Ἀπολύων ἀμαρτίας τὸν αὐτῷ προσκείμενον, τῷ ἰδίῳ λοι-
 πὸν καταχρίει Πνεύματι· ὅπερ ἐνίησι μὲν αὐτός, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ
 Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος, καὶ ἐξ ἰδίας ἡμῖν ἀναπηγάξει φύσε-
 ως, ἐπιφέρει· Ἐνταῦθα τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν προ-
 δῆλως τῆς / μακαρίας Τριάδος, φησίν, ἕκ τε τοῦ Πατρὸς 25 f45^v
 καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου προχεομένην Πνεύματος, κα-
 θὼς αὐτὸς ὁ προφήτης φησίν· Ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός
 μου, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς ταυτότητος τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὸ ταῦτὸν
 τῆς οὐσίας παραστήσῃ·

3-4. Ἰσίδωρον, marg. A

4. τρίτον B

4-6. Κάλλιστον, Φιλόθεον, marg. A

5. πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος B

15-18. Γερμανοῦ τοῦ νέου, marg. A

22. τοῦ om B

2. PG 152, 312D

3. PG 152,312A; 309C; 312D

17. PG 151,910C

21. Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας. Πρὸς βασιλέα Θεοδόσιον. PG 76,1188C; PG 151,910D

27. Joel 3,1; 2,28; Act 2,17

ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κύρου τὸν αὐτὸν κοσμητὰς θρόνον τῆς βασιλείδος
 Πρηόπιος, πρὸς τὸν λατινόφωνα Βέκκον ἀποτεινόμενος, τὰδε
 φησίν.

5 Οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ οὐτος, ἀληθινή τις θεία οὐσία· εἰ γὰρ ἔξα-
 πτέρυγα ζεραφὶμ ὃν στέγουσιν ὅλας φέρει τὴν ἐκ τῆς
 θείας φύσεως ἐκτεταμένην αἰγλήν τε καὶ λαμπρότητα.
 πῶς ἔχεται λόγου δεκτικὴν εἶναι ὅλας τὴν ὑλαίαν ἐπικη-
 ρὸν ἠμετέρων φύσιν, αὐτῆς τῆς θείας οὐσίας; ἀπᾶς ἡμῖν
 τοῦτο κεχαρισται, ἐν τῇ ἀφῆρῆτῶ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῶ καὶ ὑπέρ
 φύσιν ἐνώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, Κυρίου δὲ καὶ ζωτήροιο
 10 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐδοκία Πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ
 ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ ἦν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 δύο φέρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐσίας, Θεότητα τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα.
 ἡμῶν δὲ τοῖς κρείττοσι χορηγείται, οὐχ ἡ τοῦ παναγίου
 15 Πνεύματος οὐσία τε καὶ ὑπόστασις – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀληθινή
 θεία οὐσία καὶ μεριστή καὶ ποικιλομένη· ἀλλ᾽ ἡ γὰρ ἔστιν
 αὐτὴ καὶ παντὶ ἀσχετος καὶ ἀμέθεκτος, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἐκείθεν
 ἐκτεταμένη θεία καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸς καὶ ἐνιαία αἰγλή τε καὶ
 χάρις καὶ ἐνέργεια τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος, ἡ ἀπᾶς καὶ
 20 ἀμερῶς καὶ ταύτως καὶ ὁλοκῶς καὶ ἐνιαύως αἰληζομένη
 ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθέου μίας τρισυποστάτου φύσεως, καὶ ταύτην
 ποικιλομένην καὶ κατακερματισμένην ἐν μεριστοῖς ἀμε-
 ριστως· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ μέτρον ἐκᾶστου τῆς ἀφῆρῆς οἱ κρείτ-
 25 τῶνες ἐπισπῶνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν μάλλον, οἱ δὲ ἧττον ταύτην
 εἰσὸδεύονται καὶ θεοὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς κατὰ χάριν καὶ μέθεξιν /
 25 146
 30 καὶ Θεότητα καὶ Θεὸν καὶ θεοποιόν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀπᾶς καὶ
 ἀσωμάτου φύσεως, τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ οὐσίᾳ λόγον ἐπιδέχεται
 καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια, φησὶν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιρρη-
 τικοῖς, ἔπει καὶ ἡλὶόν φαμεν αὐτὸν τὸν ἡλιακὸν δίσκον,

2-5. Πρηόπιου τοῦ Κυρίου, marg. A

7. post ὑλαίαν add καὶ B

28. καὶ om A

32. post φαμέν add οὐ μόνον B

2. PG 151, 916A

4. PG 151, 916B-D

32. Fontem non inveni

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεπομένην αἴγλην τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν”.

τί ταῦτά σοι διαφέρειν δοκοῦσι τῶν νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ καὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν εἰρημένων; ἄρ’ οὐχὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κινούμενοι Πνεύματι τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδογματίσαν; ἀλλὰ σκοπῶμεν τὰ ἐφεξῆς· 5
 Ἐδοκοῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐλάσαι τὴν θρησκείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν κατὰ μίαν δύναμιν τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα δύνασθαι παράγειν καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διοικεῖν καὶ σφάζειν δι’ ἄκραν τελειότητα καὶ ἀπλότητα καὶ ἔνωσιν, ἀλλὰ ταύτη 10
 μὲν τόδε καὶ δι’ ἄλλης ἄλλο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐκείνο. ὁ γὰρ εἰς πατριάρχην αὐτοῖς τελέσας, ὡς εἴρηται τρίτος, ἐν οἷς ἐξέθετο κεφαλαίοις, ἐν ὀγδῶφ τούτων, φησί, Ἐνόματα τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα καὶ γραφόμενα, εἰσὶν ὀνόματα τῶν 15
 θείων ἐνεργειῶν αὐτοῦ, ἡγουν ἔχει ὁ Θεὸς δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσιν, εἴτε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην λέγοις ζωὴν εἴτε τὴν θείαν, καὶ λέγεται ἐκείνη ἢ ἐνέργεια Θεοῦ ζωὴ· ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἐν τοῖς 20
 φωτιζομένοις τὸ φῶς καὶ λέγεται ἐκείνη ἢ ἐνέργεια φῶς· πρὸ δὲ τούτων ὁμοίως ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς θεουμένοις τὴν θέωσιν καὶ λέγεται ἐκείνη ἢ ἐνέργειά Θεότης. / ταύτας οὖν ὀπηνίκα μὲν διακεκριμένας ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων φασί, πληθυντικῶς αὐτὰς θείας ἐνεργείας 25
 καὶ θεότητος προσονομάζουσιν, ὅτε δὲ ἡνωμένως, καθάπερ καὶ ἓνα κόσμον τὸ πᾶν εἰώθαμεν λέγειν, ὡς ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἐνεργείας τὸν λόγον ποιοῦνται, διὸ καὶ ζητοῦσιν ἐν τῷ τῶν 30
 ζητημάτων αὐτῶν δῶ, εἴ γε ἡ φωνὴ τῆς Θεότητος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας ὑμνηται, ἀφ’ ὧν δ’ ἐκεῖνος εἴρηκεν ἔχειν τὸν Θεὸν ἐνέργειαν ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσιν, εἴτε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην λέγοις ζωὴν εἴτε τὴν θείαν, δηλοῖ γίνονται ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ μιᾷ δοξάζουσιν ἐνέργειά ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ μιᾷ σοφία σοφίζε-

12-13. Φιλόθεος, marg. A

6. PG 152,312D-313C

12. Fontem non inveni

26. PG 151,732B

28. Fontem non inveni

σθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν
καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ὁμοίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ βούλεται αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ
ὁμολογίᾳ τοῦ Τόμου, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖ-
σθαι, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ κτιστῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ αἰδίων καὶ ἀκτί-
στων δύναται λέγεσθαι· ἐκ τούτων οὖν ὡσπερ ἓνα τινὰ 5
διάκοσμον αὐτὰς ἐπισωρεύοντες, αὐτὴν εἶναι φασὶ τὴν
κληρονομίαν ἀπάντων τῶν δικαίων·

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς μῆκος ἐπίτηδες ἐξεθέμην, ἵν' ὅσον μὲν ἐν
αὐτοῖς τὸ κακὸν ἦεν, ὅσον δὲ τὸ ἀσυνάρτητον, ὅσον δὲ τὸ γε-
λοῖον καὶ ἄτοπον τοῦ καταπτύστου τούτου διαδειχθῇ· καθάπερ 10
γὰρ τινὰς συντιθεῖς γρίφους ἢ μειρακίων δῆμῳ κατ' ἀγορὰν παι-
ζόντων διαλεγόμενος, οὕτω ταῦτα συνείρει, πρὸς ἓν τοῦτο μόνον
βλέπων καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιούμενος, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ τῶν φωνῶν κτύπου
τοὺς ἀκούοντας συναρπάσας, πλείστοις τῷ δοκεῖν ἀτόποις ἡμᾶς
περιβάλη· τὰ μὲν οὖν οὐδένα λανθάνειν οἶομαι, τῶν μὴ πάνυ τὸν 15
νοῦν πρὸς ἑτέροις ἐχόντων· / δύο γε μὴν ἄξιον ἐπιστήσαντα συν-
ιδεῖν, κενοδοξίαν τε ἄκραν τοῖς λόγοις ἐμφαινομένην, ἀφ' ἧς
οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐπιδείκνυται τῶν εἰρημένων παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
καὶ ἅμα τὴν περὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον δόγμα τῆς γνώμης σαθρότητα· σκο-
πεῖτω γὰρ τις, ὅτω μέτεστι πίστεως ὑγιουῶς, τί ποτε αὐτὸν ἠνάγ- 20
καζεν, ἕτερ' ἅττα προθέμενον ἐξαρχῆς, μεταξὺ τὰ τοιαῦτα σπερ-
μολογεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτον διαλεγόμενος, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν
τοῦ Γρηγοῦρα ἢ Κυδῶνη ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ὁμοίων ἐμνήσθην,
ὥστε καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα κἄν προσιδεῖν ἐβδελυξάμην ἢ καὶ μετὰ χει-
ρας λαβὼν ὅ,τι τάχος ἀπέρριψα· εἰ μὴ ἢ τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἀνάγκη 25
κατήπειγε λοιπὸν παρακολουθεῖν, οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν
ἕκαστος οὕτως ἔχων ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ κακοδαίμων οὗτος περὶ τὰ οἰ-
κεῖα μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀβεβαίως ἔχων, ἐπιζητεῖ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναν-
τίοις εἴη τὸ ἀληθές, οὐδὲν δὲ εὐρίσκων, εἰς γὰρ κακότεχνον ψυ-
χήν, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται σοφία, λέξεις λοιπὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποσυλᾶ 30
καὶ ὕλην αὐτὰς ποιεῖται κακολογίας, ποριζόμενος ἅμα καὶ δόξαν
πολυμαθίας· ἀνέχεται οὖν ὁ δαίμων πάντα μεταμορφούμενος

1. καὶ post σοφίζεσθαι om B

22. τὸν A

3. Fontem non inveni

11. cf. Mt 11,16

29. Sap 1,4

κατὰ τὸν Πρωτέα ἐκείνον, οὐχ ὅσον παρεξηγούμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐναντίας καὶ ἀλλοκότους ἐννοίας ἅπαντα μεταφέρων καὶ οὕτω 'παίζων ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς' ἢ παιζόμενος μᾶλλον καὶ καταγέλαστος αὐτὸς γινόμενος, ἵνα μῶμον ἐτέροις προστρίψῃται, θαυμασίως μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς οἶεται κατὰ μίαν δύναμιν τὸν Θεὸν τὰ πάντα παράγειν καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ σῶζειν· θαυμασίως δὲ ἀντιλέγει τῷ πατριάρχῃ 'διαφόρους δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας' λέγοντι, ὥσπερ ἂν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Θεὸν ἐκείνος ἔλεγε τὰ πάντα παράγειν, ἢ σύνθετον / οὕτως ἢ ἀτελῆ τοῦτον εἰσηγεν ἢ μὴ τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀκριβῶς συμφθεγγόμενος ἦν· τάχα γάρ που δυνάμεις οὗτος ἀκούων, μέρη τινὰ συμπληρωτικὰ τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἀκούειν ἠγεῖται ἢ περὶ Θεὸν οὐσίας ἐτέρας ἐξωθεν ὑφεστῶσας, ὥσπερ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις αἷς ἔμελλε χρῆσεσθαι συνεργοῖς. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ πατριάρχης, ὃ βέλτιστε, πρῶτος τὰς δυνάμεις εἶρηκεν, οὐδὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ταύτας εἰσήγαγε· παρὰ δὲ τινων λαβῶν καὶ ὅπως, εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰρήσεται· φησὶ τοίνυν ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος Γρηγόριος·

Ἦλιον ἐνεθυμήθην καὶ ἀκτῖνα καὶ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα δέος μὴ τὸν Πατέρα μὲν οὐσιώσωμεν, τ' ἄλλα δὲ μὴ ὑποστήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις Θεοῦ ποιήσωμεν ἐνυπαρχούσας οὐχ ὑφεστῶσας·

ἀκούεις τῆς θεολόγου φωνῆς δυνάμεις Θεοῦ λεγούσης ἐνυπαρχούσας, οὐ καθ' αὐτὰς ὑφεστῶσας, αἷς καὶ μᾶλλον οἰκείως ἔχειν λεγόμενα τὴν ἀκτῖνά τε καὶ τὸ φῶς; τί δ' ὁ θεῖος Διονύσιος ὅταν λέγῃ·

Ἐξουσίαν τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν προέχοντά τε καὶ ὑπερέχοντά;

τί δ' ὅταν λέγῃ·

Ἐξουσίαν ἢ ζῶν ἢ οὐσίαν ἢ φῶς ἢ λόγον οὐδὲν ἕτερον νοεῖν ἢ τὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκ Θεοῦ προαγομένας δυνάμεις, ἐκθεωτικὰς

7. post ἐνεργείας scripsit et deinde delevit ἐν τῷ Θεῷ B
15-18. Θεολόγου, marg. A
23-26. Διονυσίου, marg. A

3. Fontem non inveni
7. Fontem non inveni
18. ΕΠΕ 4,250
26. PG 3,889D
29. PG 3,645A

ἢ οὐσιοποιούς ἢ ζωογόνους ἢ σοφοδώρους;
ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων·

Ἔο παντοδύναμος, φησί, καὶ παντέλειος τοῦ Πατρὸς Λό-
γος ἐπιβάς τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις
ἐφαπλώσας, τὰ πάντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν συνέχει καὶ συσφίγγει. 5

τί οὖν ἄρα καὶ οὗτοι πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἐν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ
λέγοντες, πολυμερῆ τὸν Θεὸν ἢ ἀτελῆ φρονοῦσιν ἢ μὴ δι' ἑαυτοῦ
τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο παράγοντα; πῶς δὲ καὶ κατὰ μίαν δύναμιν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ
/ πάντα παράγει καὶ διοικεῖ καὶ σφύζει; ἄρ' ὅτι τῇ δημιουργικῇ f48
μὲν δυνάμει οὐ δημιουργεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προνοεῖται, τῇ προ- 10
νοητικῇ δὲ αὐθις οὐ προνοεῖται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημιουργεῖ, καὶ
οὕτω πάσαις τὰ πάντα ἢ μιᾷ τινι τούτων τὰ πάντα ἢ παρὰ ταύτας
έτέρα; εἰ μὲν οὖν πάσαις τὰ πάντα καὶ οὕτω πολλαί· εἰ δὲ μιᾷ τινι
τούτων, σκέψει τίνα τῶν πασῶν ἀποδώσεις; τῇ μὲν γὰρ δημιουρ- 15
γικῇ δυνάμει καταπαῦσαι τὸν Θεὸν ἤκουσας ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι κατ' αὐτὴν ἐνεργεῖν, εἰ μὴ πού τι βουλη-
θείη θαυματουργῆσαι· τῇ δὲ προνοητικῇ καὶ συνεκτικῇ, τοῦ
Σωτῆρος ἀκούεις λέγοντος· Ὁ Πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται,
καγὼ ἐργάζομαι. ποτέραν οὖν ἂν ἔλοιο τούτων ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν,
οὕτως οὐσῶν διαφορῶν; εἰ δὲ παρὰ ταύτας έτέρα, γελοῖον μὲν ἂν 20
εἶη τὴν μὴ δημιουργικὴν οὐσαν δημιουργεῖν ἢ μὴ προνοητικὴν
προνοεῖσθαι, δύνάμεις δ' ὅμως οὐσα διακριθείη ἂν τῆς θείας οὐ-
σίας, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τῇ ἐνώσει λυμαίνεται. πῶς δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνθρω-
πίνην ζωὴν καὶ θεῖαν ἐνεργουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως,
θεῖαν ζωὴν ἐξέλαβε, καθ' ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ζῆ; 25

Ἐἴηλοι γάρ, φησί, γίνονται ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ μιᾷ δοξάζου-
σιν ἐνεργεῖα ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν
ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν.

ἄρα γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτω τὸν νοῦν διασεσεισμένος ἐν οἷς ὑπι- 30
σχνεῖται θεολογεῖν καὶ τὰ δόγματα ἀναπτύσσειν ὡς μήδ' ἐπαῖειν
ἂ λέγει; δῆλον γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῖς βραχὺ συνιέναι δυναμένοις ἐν-
ταῦθα, ὅτι θεῖαν ζωὴν, οὐ καθ' ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ζῆ, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν οἱ ἄν-

2-3. Ἀθανασίου, marg. A

22. post ἂν add καὶ οὕτω B

3. PG 25,84B

15. Gn 2,2

18. Jo 5,15

26. PG 152,313B

θῶποι ζῶσι θείως, ὁ πατριάρχης εἶρηκεν, ἥτις οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐπιγίνεται τῇ προσκαίρῳ ταύτῃ ζωῇ· εἶτε γάρ· φησι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εἰποὺς ζωὴν, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ζῶμεν, εἶτε τὴν θείαν, ἢ ὑπὲρ φύσιν / οἱ ταύτης ἠξιομένοι, μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ζωοποιῶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἐνεργοῦνται ποικίλως ἐαυτὴν μεριζούση πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν τῶν ὑποδεχομένων, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αὐτῆς ἀπολαύειν, ἐφ' ᾧ μόνον εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ εὖ εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αἰεὶ εὖ εἶναι, θέσει καὶ χάριτι θεοῦ γενομένους·

f48^v

5

Ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι γάρ, φησί, τὸ ἅγιον, ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιρρητικοῖς ὁ μέγας Βασιλεῖος, ἀπρόσιτον τῇ φύσει, χωρητὸν δι' ἀγαθότητα, πάντα μὲν πληροῦν τῇ δυνάμει, μόνοις δὲ ὄν μεθεκτὸν τοῖς ἀξίοις, οὐχ ἐνὶ μέτρῳ μετεχόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως διαιροῦν τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀπλοῦν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ποικίλον ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὅλον ἐκάστῳ παρὸν καὶ ὅλον ἀπανταχοῦ ὄν, ἀπαθῶς μεριζόμενον καὶ ὀλοσχερῶς μετεχόμενον κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος, ἥς ἢ χάρις τῷ ἀπολαύοντι ὡς μόνῳ παροῦσα καὶ γῆν ἐπιλάμπει καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ τῷ ἀέρι ἐγκέκραται·

10

15

καὶ αὐθις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς·

20

Ἐν τῷ κινήθῃ κίνησιν αἴδιον ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ζῶν ἅγιον ἐγένετο. ἔσχε δὲ ἀξίαν ἄνθρωπος, Πνεύματος εἰσοικισθέντος ἐν αὐτῷ, προφήτου, ἀποστόλου, ἀγγέλου Θεοῦ, ὡν πρὸ τούτου ἡ γῆ καὶ σποδός·

καὶ αὐθις·

25

Ἦν προῖεται ζωὴν εἰς ἄλλου ὑπόστασιν τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐ χωρίζεται αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἢ συνοῦσα θερμότης, τὸ δὲ ἦν παρέχει τῷ ὕδατι ἢ τινὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τὴν ζωὴν καὶ οἱ μετέχοντες αὐτοῦ ζῶσι θεοπρεπῶς, ζωὴν θείαν καὶ οὐράνιον κεκτῆμενοι·

30

5. Ζωοποιῶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Β

10-12. Βασιλείου, marg. A

2. cf. p. 220, I5-I6

10. PG 32, 108C-109 A

21. PG 29, 769B; BEΠ 52, 228

24. Gn 18, 27

26. PG 29, 772 BC

τίνας ἂν τις ἐπιζητήσῃ τούτων ἐναργεστέρως εἰκόνας ἢ ἀποδεί-
 ξεις ἀκριβεστέρως τῶν θείων δυνάμεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν: ὡς γὰρ ἡ
 τοῦ ἡλίου θερμαντικὴ δύναμις διὰ τῆς ἀκτίνος προῖεμένη, κατὰ
 τὸν μέγαν Διονύσιον φάναι, / ποικίλως ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσιν ἐνεργεί
 καὶ μονοειδὲς ἐπιλάμπουσα φῶς, ἀνανεοῖ καὶ τρέφει καὶ
 φρουρεῖ καὶ τελειοῖ καὶ διακρίνει καὶ ἐνοῖ καὶ ἀναθάλλει καὶ γό-
 νημα εἶναι ποιεῖ καὶ αὖξει καὶ ἐξαλλάττει καὶ ἐνιδρύει καὶ ἐκφύει
 καὶ ἀνακινεῖ καὶ ζωοῖ πάντα, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἕκαστον οἰκείως
 ἑαυτῷ τοῦ ταύτου καὶ ἐνὸς ἡλίου διὰ τῆς ἀκτίνος μετέχει, τὸν αὐ-
 τὸν τρόπον ἢ ζωτικὴ καὶ ζωοποιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις, ἀμερίστως
 μεριζομένη, τὰ πάντα ζωοῖ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἕξιν, καὶ ὡς
 μὲν ἀχώριστος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργεῖν λέγεται, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς κατ'
 αὐτὴν ἐνεργεῖ, ὡς δὲ ἐν μεριστοῖς γινομένη καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποικί-
 λως μετεχομένη, ἢ αὐτὴ δὴ ποὺ καὶ ἐνεργεῖσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ
 ἐν τῷ τεχνίτῃ τέχνη καὶ ἐνεργεῖ περὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ παρ' αὐτῷ νοου-
 μένη, καὶ ἐνεργεῖται πάλιν ἐν τούτοις λαμβανομένη·

Ἐἶχε μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὴν τοῦ κτίζειν δύναμιν ὁ Θεός', τῆς
 Ἐ^{ης} Συνόδου λεγούσης ἤκουσας, ἔνηργήθη δὲ ἡ τοιαύ-
 τη δύναμις, ὅτε ἐβουλήθη ὁ Θεός'.

καὶ οὕτως οὐδὲν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἄτοπον ἐκ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνεργεῖν
 τε λέγειν καὶ ἐνεργεῖσθαι· ταύτη μὲν οὖν ἔχει, τὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων
 δογμάτων εἰλικρινὲς καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὁ παραπλήξ οὗτος βαττολογεῖ.
 αἰτιᾶται δὲ ἡμᾶς, οὐ πληθυντικῶς μόνον τὰς θείας δυνάμεις καὶ
 ἐνεργείας προφέροντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπισωρεύοντας, φησὶν, ὡς ἓνα
 τινὰ διάκοσμον καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν ταύτας ἀποκαλοῦντας· τὰς
 γὰρ πλατωνικὰς ιδέας, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ νοῦν στρέφων, ὤθη
 τοιαύτας τινὰς ἡμᾶς ὑποτίθεσθαι τὰς θείας δυνάμεις, μηδὲ τοῦτο
 συνιδεῖν ἑαθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγούσης αὐτὸν ἐμπληξίας, ὅτι σωρεία τε
 καὶ διάκοσμος ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὰ ὑφεστῶτων, οὐ τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ /
 θεωρουμένων, καὶ ταῦτα φυσικῶς καὶ ἐξ αἰδίου, λέγεσθαι δύνα-
 ται· αἱ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεις ἐνιαίως ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀχρόνως
 προῦφεστῶσαι κατὰ μίαν ἔνωσιν ἄρρητον, προαγόμεναι δὲ ἐν

4. φάναι A B

13. αὐτῶς A

17-19. τῆς Ἐ^{ης} συνόδου, marg. A

4. cf. PG 4,232C

17. Mansi 9,489

20. cf. PG 152,309B

23-25. cf. PG 152,313AC

χρόνω καὶ πληθυνόμεναι κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος, οἱ θεολόγοι φασίν, εἰς τὴν πολυειδίαν τῆς δημιουργίας, παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσι τότε ἐνιαῖον, καθὸ καὶ μία ἐνέργεια λέγονται, καὶ τὸ διακεκριμένον, καθὸ πολλαί· τὸ μὲν τῶ ὑποκειμένῳ, καθὸ καὶ μετὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἢ ἐνέργεια ἓν, τὸ δὲ τῇ χρονικῇ διαιρέσει, 'δαι- 5
 ρέσεις γάρ', φησὶ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος, 'χαρισμάτων εἰσί, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα', καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῶν οὔτε διακρινόντων δέονται, κατὰ τὸν φρενοβλαβῆ τοῦτον, οὔτε μὴν σωρευόντων. ἀκουέτω δὲ καὶ τοῦ θείου Μαξίμου περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργειῶν προόδου θεολογοῦντος· φησὶ καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἰωάννην Σύμπονον ἐπιστολῇ· 10

Ἡμεῖς, κατὰ τοὺς θείους πατέρας, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ἀναριθμήτους τὰς θείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπικὰς ἐπιστάμεθα ἐνεργείας, ἀλλὰ μίαν τὴν θεῖαν, ἐξ ἧς αἱ πολλαὶ θεῖαι, καὶ μίαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἐξ ἧς αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπιναι· μίαν γὰρ τὴν θεῖαν αὐτοῦ ὡς 15
 Θεοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνέργειαν οἶδαμεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἔχει κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐξ ἧς εἶπον αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ἀναρίθμητοι καὶ θεῖαι κυρίως προέρχονται ἐνέργειαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μιᾶς αἱ κατὰ δημιουργίαν ἐνέργειαι, αἱ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, αἱ κατὰ κρίσιν, αἱ κατὰ συνοχήν, αἱ κατὰ 20
 γένεσιν τῶν ὄντων καὶ πρόοδον, αἱ θεῖαι πᾶσαι καὶ ἀόριστοι·

καὶ αὐθις·

'Αἱ ἐνέργειαι οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐσίαι, οὐδὲ καθ' ἑαυτάς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τυγχάνουσι καὶ δίχα ταύτης τὸ εἶναι οὐκ ἔχουσιν'. 25

'Ἄλλ' ἵνα τὰ μεταξὺ παραδράμω τὸν κόρον ἀποποιούμενος, ἐν οἷς ἐρεσχελεῖ μὲν τὰ συνήθη καὶ βατταρίζει, / μασσαλιανὸς 150
 δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀναφαίνεται, τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεθεκτὴν ἡγούμενος εἶναι, τρόπον ἓνα διαφορᾶς ἐκ συκοφαντίας τελευταῖον συμπλάσας, οἷόν τι μηχανήμα τῶν καιρίων, ἐπαφίησι καθ' ἡμῶν· 30

'Τετόλμηται γὰρ αὐτοῖς', φησὶ, 'καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἡ μὲν οὐσία ἀθάνατός ἐστι δι' ἑαυτὴν, ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια, διὰ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀθάνατος, δι' ἑαυτὴν δὲ νέκρωσις· καὶ φησι Παλαμᾶς

8-11. Μαξίμου, marg. A

5. 1 Ko 12,4

11. Fontem non inveni

24. Fontem non inveni

31. PG 152,316B

ἐν τῷ Περι θείας καὶ θεοποιῦ μεθέξεως· εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ-
τον τὸν τρόπον καὶ ζῶσιν ἀθάνατα καὶ τεθνήκασι, καὶ πολ-
λοὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ζώντων νεκροί, καθάπερ ὁ ζωῆς καὶ θανά-
του Κύριος ἔδειξεν· ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ Θεότης νέκρωσις, ἀθά-
νατος κατὰ φύσιν μένουσα·

5

ἄρ' οὐ δῆλον γέγονεν ἅπασιν ἐκ τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων, ὅτι ῥημάτων
ψόφους εὐρεσιλογῶν ἡμῖν ἐπισείει, καθά τινα μορμολύκεια; τοῦ-
τό γε μὴν ὁ συκοφάντης οὕτω παρέφθειρε καὶ διέστρεψεν, ὡς
μηδὲν εἶναι παντάπασι πρὸς τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ ἁρμονίαν.
οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖ κείμενον, ὡς τὰ τε βιβλία συμμαρ-
τυρεῖ καὶ ἡ ὑφή τοῦ λόγου προσαναγκάζει· ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ ψυχῆς
νέκρωσις, ἀθανάτου κατὰ φύσιν μενούσης· νῦν οὖν εἰ βούλει,
διαφορᾶς τρόπον ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελε, κάθαρμα· τίνα δοκεῖς φοβή-
σειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ληρῶν καὶ συμπλάττων; ἀλλ' ἴσως γε οὐ φοβή-
σειν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτησειν ἠλπισας τοὺς ὑποκλίνοντάς σοι τὰ ὧτα
κατὰ πολλὴν ἄνοιαν, καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ καὶ ὁ ὄφεις ἀρχῆθεν
τοῦτο καὶ ἠλπισε καὶ ἐτέλεσεν·

10

15

Ὅτῳ τοίνυν κατὰ τούτους καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῆς διαφορᾶς
καὶ ἀντιθέσεως τρόπους τὸν ἓνα Θεὸν εἰς οὐσίαν / καὶ
ἐνέργειαν διελόντες, ἔπειτα ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μὴ ἡ οὐσία καὶ τὸ
ἀνούσιον, καὶ τὸ ὑφεστῶς καὶ μὴ ὑφεστῶς, καὶ τὸ ὄρατον
καὶ ἀόρατον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀντιθέσεων εἰς ἓν συνερχό-
μενα σύνθεσιν ἐποίουν – σύνθετον γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν
καὶ διαφόρων συγκείμενον ἢ τὸ πολλοῖς εἰς ταῦτο συνιοῦ-
σιν ἀπαρτιζόμενον, κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεολόγων ἀπλανῆ διδα-
σκαλίαν – δισχυρίζονται μὴ γίνεσθαι σύνθεσιν ἐκ τε τῆς
οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὧν φρονοῦσιν αὐτοὶ πραγματικῶς
διαφόρων συνυπάρχειν αὐτῇ παρὰ πάντα λόγον καὶ πᾶσαν
διδασκαλίαν τῶν ἱερῶν διδασκάλων·

f50^v

20

25

ἦκεν ὁδῶ βαδίζων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνοδίαις καὶ παραφοραῖς ἐκτρεπό-

30

7. καθάπερ B

1. Chr. Pal. 3,144

4. Mt 8,22

7. Ar. Ra. 492

11. Chr. Pal. 3,144

16. Gn 2,1

18. PG 152,317D-320A

μενος, ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἔγκλημα τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτ' ἄρα τοὺς μακροὺς ἐκείνους ἀνείλιπτε δρόμους, διαφορᾶς
 τρόπους ὡς πλείστους ἀνερευνῶμενος, ἵνα τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς οὐ-
 σίας ἐπὶ πολὺ διαστήσας, εἶτα συνάψαι ἐπιχειρῶν, τὴν σύνθεσιν
 εὖρη προφαινομένην οἷόν τι πονηρῶ τεχνίτη κακὸν ἀποτελέ- 5
 σμα· ἐκ μὲν οὖν ὧν ἐνταῦθα ὑβριστικῶς τὴν θεϊαν ἐνέργειαν ὀνο-
 μάζει, λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδεμίαν διδούς σύνθεσιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀνού-
 σιον καὶ μὴ ὑφεστῶς ὄλως, τίνα ἂν σύνθεσιν ἀπεργάσαιτο; ἀλλ'
 οὔτε τὸ παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀνούσιον, ὡ σοφιστά, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὸ 10
 παρὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἤδη καὶ ἄδικον, οὔτε τὸ μὴ καθ' αὐτὸ ὑφε-
 στῶς ἤδη καὶ μὴ ὑφεστῶς ὄλως ἢ ἀνυπόστατον, οὔτε κατὰ τὸ
 ὄρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον οὐδεμία ἀντίθεσις, ὡς μὴ εἶναι ξυμβῆναι. κα-
 θάπερ οὖν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς, εἰ ὄρατὴν ἐν Πνεύματι τὴν ἐνέρ-
 γειαν κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους τιθέμεθα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τὸν Θεόν. ταῦ- 15
 τα μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ βλασφημῶς τε καὶ ἀθέως, καθ' ἑαυτοῦ δ' ὁμως
 εἶρηκε· διαβάλλει δ' αὐτὸ ἡμᾶς ὡς πραγματικῶς / διάφορα συνυ- 15f51
 πάρχοντα τῇ οὐσίᾳ φρονοῦντας, τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ φυσικὰ ἰδιώματα,
 τὰ πράγματα εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πραγματικῶς διαφέρειν μεταλαμβά-
 νων. ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ὡ διαβόλε – τοῦτο γὰρ σοι πρεπωδέ-
 στατον ὄνομα – τὰ πράγματα εἶναι καὶ πραγματικῶς διαφέρειν· 20
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους φρονου-
 μεν, ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἀποδέδεικται, φυσικῶς καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ
 ἀκτίστως ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίᾳ τιθέμενα· τὸ δὲ
 πραγματικῶς διαφέρειν ἀπαγορεύομεν ἅτε τοῖς καθ' αὐτὰ ὑφε-
 στῶσι προσῆκον καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἐπινοίᾳ μόνον, ὡς εἶρηται. διακρι- 25
 νομένοις. οὕτω δὲ οὐδὲ σύνθεσις ἐκ τούτων ἔσται τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 οὐσίᾳ, καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους ἐξῆς ἅπαντας, οὐ τῷ γράμι-
 ματι μόνον, ἰουδαϊκῶς, ὡς αὐτὸς ληρεῖς, ἐπομένων ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ
 πολλῶ πρότερον τοῖς νοήμασι· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ θε-
 ολογικώτατος Ἰωάννης· 30

Ἦ ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος διδάσκει ἀπλοῦν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον καὶ μίαν
 ἀπλὴν ἔχειν ἐνέργειαν ἀγαθὴν, πᾶσι τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦσαν
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα·

8. post *ἀν*. add *καὶ B*

19. post *σοι* add *καὶ B*

29–30. *Δαμασκηνοῦ*, marg. *A*

ὁ δὲ οὐρανοφάντων Βασιλείος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον. ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀρειανῶν οὕτως·

Ἄπλοῦς· φησίν, ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀπαριθμῆσθαι γνωστὸν, τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶ, πρὸς ὅπερ ὁ μέγας ἀποτεϊνόμενος, τοῦτο δέ, φησί, σοφισμὰ ἐστὶ μυρίας τὰς 5 ἀτοπίας ἔχον· τοσοῦτων γὰρ τῶν ἀπριθμημένων ὄντων, πότερον ταῦτα μιᾶς οὐσίας ὀνόματα: καὶ ἰσοδυναμεῖ ἀλλήλοις τὸ φοβερὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ δημιουργικόν, τὸ προγνωστικόν καὶ τὸ ἀνταποδοτικόν, τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ τὸ προνοητικόν: ἢ ὅπερ ἂν τούτων 10 εἴπωμεν, οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν δηλοῦμεν· εἶπερ γὰρ τοῦτο/λέγουσι, μὴ ἐρωτάτωσαν εἰ τὴν οὐσίαν οἶδαμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ πυνθανέσθωσαν ἡμῶν εἰ φοβερὸν οἶδαμεν τὸν Θεὸν ἢ εἰ δίκαιον ἢ φιλάνθρωπον. ταῦτα ὁμολογοῦμεν εἰδέναι· εἰ οὖν ἄλλο τι λέγουσι τὴν οὐσίαν, μὴ παραλογοῖσθωσαν 15 ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ἀπλότητος· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὡμολόγησαν ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο εἶναι τὴν τε οὐσίαν καὶ τῶν ἀπριθμημένων ἕκαστον. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἐνέργειαι ποικίλαι, ἡ δὲ οὐσία ἀπλή. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζειν λέγομεν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, τῇ δὲ οὐσίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσεγγίζειν οὐχ ὑπισχνούμεθα· αἱ μὲν γὰρ 20 ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐσία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος·

καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιρρητικοῖς ὁ αὐτός·

Οἱ δεικτικοὶ τῆς ιδιότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ τρόποι τὸν τῆς ἀπλότητος λόγον οὐ παραβλάπτουσιν ἢ οὕτω γε πάντα ὅσα περὶ Θεοῦ λέγεται, σύνθετον ἡμῖν τὸν Θεὸν ἀναδείξει· καὶ ὡς 25 ἔοικεν, εἰ μέλλοιμεν τὴν τοῦ ἀπλοῦ καὶ ἀμεροῦς ἐννοιαν διασῶζειν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἐροῦμεν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ πλὴν τὸ ἀγέννητον, καὶ παραιτησόμεθα αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν ἀόρατον, ἄφθαρτον, ἀναλλοιώτον, δημιουργόν, κριτὴν καὶ πάντα ὅσα νῦν εἰς 30 δοξολογίαν παραλαμβάνομεν, ἢ δεχόμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα, τί καὶ ποιήσωμεν; πότερον εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἅπαντα φέροντες καταθήσομεν; οὐκοῦν οὐχὶ μόνον σύνθετον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοιομερῶν συγκείμενον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξομεν, διὰ

1. Βασιλείου, marg. A

10. προπτικόν A

τὸ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὑφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομάτων σημαίνεσθαι·
 ἄλλ' ἔξω τῆς οὐσίας ἐκκληψόμεθα; ὃν περ ἂν τοίνυν ἐπ'
 ἐκείνων ἐκάστου λόγον ἐπινοήσωσι, τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
 τοῦ ἀγεννήτου προσηγορίας καταδειξάσθωσαν·

καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα, Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς 5
 Νύσσης, ἐν οἷς Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον / γράφει

f52

ἽΤίς ὁ διφυᾶ τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι λέγων, πλήν σου, τοῦ πᾶσαν
 ὀνόματος ἔννοιαν τῆ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσία συμφύοντος καὶ
 μηδὲν ἔξωθεν προσεῖναι λέγοντος, ἄλλ' ἕκαστον τῶν περὶ
 τὸ θεῖον ὀνομάτων τῆ οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγκεντρίζοντος;·

10

καὶ ὁ Θεολόγος Γρηγόριος·

Ἦ καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸ ἄκακον καὶ τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον οὐ-
 σία Θεοῦ, ἄλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, πολλαὶ οὐσῖαι Θεοῦ καὶ οὐ μία, ἢ
 σύνθετον ἐκ τούτων τὸ θεῖον· οὐ γὰρ ἀσυνθέτως ταῦτα, εἴ-
 περ οὐσῖαι·

15

βλέπεις τοὺς διδασκάλους οὐ διακρίνοντας μόνον τὰ περὶ Θεὸν
 ὀνόματα τῆς οὐσίας (ἄλλο γάρ, φησίν, ἢ οὐσία καὶ ἄλλο τῶν
 ἀπληριθμημένων ἕκαστον) καὶ οὕτως ἀσύνθετον δηλαδὴ τὸν
 Θεὸν πρεσβεύοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς οὐσίαν ταῦθ' ἅπαντα τιθεμέ-
 νοις ἀντιπεριστάντας τὸν ὄνειδον τῆς συνθέσεως, οἱ δὲ εἰσὶν εὐ-
 νομιανοὶ καὶ ἀρειανοὶ καὶ οἱ κατὰ σὲ νῦν οὗτοι βαρλααμίται. οὐ
 γὰρ ἀσυνθέτως ταῦτα φησίν, εἴπερ οὐσῖαι. τί οὖν καὶ ποιήσεις,
 ἵνα τοῖς ἐκείνων χρήσωμαι ῥήμασι; πότερον εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ταῦ-
 τα φέρων ἅπαντα καταθήσεις; τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ποιεῖς πολλα-
 χοῦ, τοῖς εὐνομιανοῖς ἐπόμενος, ἄλλ' οὕτω γε, οὐ σύνθετον μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοιομερῶν συγκείμενον τὸν Θεὸν ἀποδεί-
 ξεις διὰ τὸ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὑφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομάτων σημαίνε-
 σθαι· κωλύει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπαναλαμβάνειν, ἄλλ' ἔξω τῆς οὐσίας
 ἐκλήψη; τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρότερον ἂν ἔλοιο, τὴν γλῶσσαν προέ-
 σθαι ἢ τοῖς ἀγίοις ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τουτοισί διδα-
 σκάλοις· μὴ δυνάμενος οὖν ἐκείνους κακῶς λέγειν, ἐπὶ τούτους

20

25

30

4. καταδεξάσθωσαν B

5. αὐτῷ B

6-7. Νύσσης, marg. A

10-12. Θεολόγου, marg. A

29. γλῶπταν B

31. γοῦν B

τὸ φιλολοίδωρον τρέπεις καὶ τὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ῥητὸν ἐκθέμε-
νος ὑβριστικῶς ἐπιφέρεις/

f52^v

Ἐὰν ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι πολλὴν ἄνοιαν μαρτυρεῖ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, οὐδὲ χρὴ
λέγειν.

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους παρέξομαι μικροῦ καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι 5
τὰ αὐτὰ φθεγγομένους· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὕτω παύσαιο τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖ-
νον μανίας·

Ἐὔρετό τις· φησὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ὁ μέγας Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς
Νύσσης. Ἐγεωμετρίαν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὑπειλήφθω καὶ
ἀστρονομίας εὔρετῆς εἶναι, ἰατρικῆς τε πάλιν καὶ γραμμα- 10
τικῆς καὶ γεηπονίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων
τινῶν· ἄρ' ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἐπι-
τηδευμάτων περὶ τὴν μίαν θεωρεῖται ψυχὴν, σύνθετος διὰ
τοῦτο ἢ ψυχὴ νομισθήσεται; καὶ τοί γε πλεῖστον διαφέρει 15
τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν σημαινόμενον, τῆς ἀστρονομικῆς
ἐπιστήμης, καὶ ἢ γραμματικῆς πρὸς τὴν γεωμετρίαν οὐδε-
μίαν κατὰ τὸ σημαινόμενον τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχει, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν
ἢ ναυτηλία καὶ ἢ γεηπονία, ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ τὴν μίαν ψυ-
χὴν ἐκάστου τούτων τὸν λόγον δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀθροισθῆναι
καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πολυσύνθετος ἢ ψυχὴ γίνεται, οὐδὲ πάντα 20
τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πρὸς ἓν σημαινόμενον
ἀνακίρναται. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς διὰ τοσοῦτων
ὀνομάτων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν λεγομένων, οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν ἀπλό-
τητα βλάπτεται, πῶς ἂν τις οἰηθεῖ τὸν Θεόν, εἰ σοφὸς καὶ
δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀίδιος καὶ πάντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ κα- 25
λοῖτο ὀνόματα, εἰ μὴ μία πᾶσι νομισθεῖ τοῖς ὀνόμασι
σημασία, ἢ πολυμερῆ γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐκ μετουσίας τούτων, τὸ
τέλειον ἑαυτῷ συναγείρειν τῆς φύσεως·

καὶ ὁ θεῖος Μάξιμος, ἢ τῶν ὁμολογητῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκρό-
της, ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Πύρρον διαλέξει, πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτω φησὶν· 30

Ἄρα ὅτι ἐκ τούτου πλανᾶσθε, ἐκ τοῦ / πάντῃ ἀγνοῆσαι,
ὅτι αἱ συνθέσεις τῶν ἐν ὑποστάσει ὄντων καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐν
ἐτέρῳ θεωρουμένων εἰσί; καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν φρόνημα πάν-

f53

1. *φιλολοίδωρον A*

3. PG 152,320D

8. PG 45,1077AD

31. PG 91,296B

των καὶ τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θεο-
σόφων μυσταγωγῶν ἵ

τινι τούτων, εἰπέ μοι, προσαναθήσεις τὴν ἄνοιαν; τῶν γὰρ εἰρη-
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου, τὸ μὲν ἄτερος τῶν διδασκάλων εἶπε,
θάτερον δὲ ὁ λοιπός, ὃ δὴ καὶ κοινὸν φρόνημα πάντων εἶναι τῶν 5
διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν ἔξω σοφῶν μεμαρτύρηκε. λέληθας τοίνυν
σαυτὸν ἀμύητον ἀποφαίνων ἀπάντων ἐξῆς, ἵνα μηδὲν εἶπω
πλέον, ὡς ἀνόητον τοῦτο παραγραφόμενος.

Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτός τι δοκεῖ
λέγειν, διαληψόμεθα τελεώτερον· νῦν δ' ἡμῖν οἶμαι τὰ ῥήματα 10
μόνα τῶν θεολόγων ἀρκεῖν, ὡσπερ τινὰ τρόπαια πρὸς ταῖς ἄλ-
λαις καὶ ταυτησί τῆς μοχθηρᾶς αἰρέσεως ἀνεστῶτα· τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς,
δάκρυσι μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπαλείφειν ἢ γράμμασιν ἀντιλέγειν.
οὕτω πᾶσαν ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ συκοφαντίας κατό- 15
πιν ἐᾶ· τοὺς γὰρ παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους αἰρετικούς μιμούμενος, οὔτε
διαφορὰν ἀγωνιστικῶν τε καὶ διδασκαλικῶν λόγων ὑπ' ἀμαθίας
ἐώμενος συνιδεῖν οὔτε μὴν ἀκαινοτομήτους τοὺς λόγους ὑπὸ βα-
σκανίας ἢ κακουργίας, ὡς ἔχουσι, προτιθείς· ἐκεῖνα ἐπικαλεῖ τῷ
μεγάλῳ Γρηγορίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πατρᾶσιν, ὧν ἀφόρητος 20
μὲν ἡ ἀκοή τοῖς αὐτόθεν σκοποῦσι, κατάπτυστος δὲ ἡ διάνοια
τοῖς τὸ βάθος λογιζομένοις· ὅτι γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν μό-
νον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι τε / καὶ λέγεσθαι τοῖς 25
ἀγίοις συμφώνως φασί, θεοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπιφημίζει τοῖς φιλοθέ-
οις, ὁ τῆς ἀθείας προήγορος, καὶ δὴ τινὰς ῥήσεις αὐτῶν περικό-
ψας καὶ λυμηνάμενος, ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνοι περὶ ἐνεργείας ἢ φωτὸς
θείου τὸν λόγον ποιοῦνται· περὶ γὰρ τούτων καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν, ὡς
Θεὸν ἕτερον ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ὑφεστῶτα τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἢ τὸ
φῶς λεγόντων καταβοᾶ, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἥλιον τὴν ἀκτῖνα
καλοῦσι, δυοῖν ἡλίῳν προῦφερε δόξαν ἢ καὶ τοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν
νοῦν τιθεμένοις, ὡς ἕτερον νοῦν εἰσάγουσιν ἐλοιδορεῖτο. τοῦτο 30
δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον ἐστίν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι δύο φασὶν ἡλίους ἢ
δύο νοῦς, οὔθ' οὗτοι δύο θεοὺς ἢ πολλοὺς, κἂν περὶ ἐνεργείας ὡς
Θεοῦ μνημονεύωσι· τὸ γὰρ τὰ ἐνυπάρχοντα καλεῖν ἐκ τῶν οἷς
ἐνυπάρχει, συναπτόντων οὐ διαιρούντων ἐστίν.

Εἷς οὖν Θεός, ἐν οὐσίᾳ τε καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ κατὰ 35
τοὺς θεολόγους νοούμενος καὶ λεγόμενος· ἐπεὶ καὶ παράδοξον
ἄλλως, εἰ τὰ τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ Θεοῦ παριστῶντα, ταῦτ' εἰς πολλὰ
τὸν Θεὸν διαιρήσει· ἓν γὰρ, φασίν, οὐσία, μία δύναμις, μία

ἐνέργεια, μία δόξα, μία βασιλεία, μία χάρις'. πῶς οὖν ἄ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἐνοῦσι· κοινὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ φυσικὰ τῶν τριῶν, ταῦθ' ὡς διαιροῦντα καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἰστώντα ὑποληφθήσεται; οὐχ οἶον δὲ καὶ ὧν προὔβαλετο ῥήσεων, κατατεμῶν καὶ διαφθείρας, τὸν νοῦν ἐκθέσθαι τινάς, ἴν' αὐτοῦ κὰν τούτοις ἢ κακουργία διαδειχθῇ· 5
καὶ γὰρ εἰσάγει τὸν Παλαμᾶν, ἐν τῷ β^ω τῶν κατὰ τῶν δευτέρων τοῦ Βαρλαάμ, ὃν ἐπιγράφει Κατάλογος τῶν ἐκβαινόντων ἀτόπων, οὕτωςί λέγοντα·

Ἐοὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ πέρ εἰσι τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ δὲ ὑπερούσιος οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ παντάπασιν ἀμέθεκτος, / 10 f54
ἔστιν ἄρα τι μεταξὺ τῆς ἀμεθέκτου οὐσίας καὶ τῶν μετεχόντων, δι' οὗ ταῦτα τοῦ Θεοῦ μετέχουσι'. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα, Ἐδεῖ δὴ ζητεῖν ἡμᾶς Θεὸν ἕτερον, οὐκ ὄντα μόνον αὐτοτελεῖ, αὐτενέργητον, αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ θεώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθόν. καὶ ἀπλῶς δεῖ ἡμᾶς ζητεῖν Θεὸν οὕτω πως μεθεκτόν'. 15

τίνος οὖν χάριν ἐνταῦθα τὰ μεταξὺ καὶ ἄ φησιν ὀλίγα παρείλετο; ἴν' ὡς οἰκείαν τοῦ Παλαμᾶ δόξαν, τὸ 'δεῖ ζητεῖν ἡμᾶς Θεὸν ἕτερον', περὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας δῆθεν λεγόμενον ἐπαγάγη, τὸ δ' ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἐπόμενον ταῖς Βαρλααμίτισι δόξαις ἄτοπον καὶ οὐ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τέθεικε· καὶ δῆλον ἐξ ὧν οὗτος παρέλιπε· φησὶ καὶ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς τὸν Βαρλαάμ ἐκεῖνον ἀποτεινόμενος. 20

Ἦ τῆς ζημίας! διέστησας ἡμᾶς Θεοῦ, τὸ συνδοῦν ἐκ μέσου ποιησάμενος καὶ 'χάσμα μέγα' καὶ ἀδιάβατον μεταξὺ θέμενος ἐκεῖνου καὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ διοικήσεως τῶν γενητῶν. 'δεῖ δὴ ζητεῖν ἡμᾶς Θεὸν ἕτερον', καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. 25

ἀκούεις, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν κακοδαίμονα Βαρλαάμ ὁ μέγας φησίν, ὡς εἰ μὴ δοίης τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεὸν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις μεθεκτόν, ὃς καὶ τῆ οὐσία ἀμέθεκτος, 'δεῖ ζητεῖν ἡμᾶς Θεὸν ἕτερον', ὧ καὶ τὸ μεθεκτόν πρόσσεστι; τοιαῦτά σου καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν 30
καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κομψὰ παρευρήματα καὶ τοιαύταις ἄρα θηρολεξίαις τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν αἰρήσειν ἤλπισας. ἀλλὰ τὰ γε περὶ τοῦ

20. post ἐπόμενον add ἄτοπον B

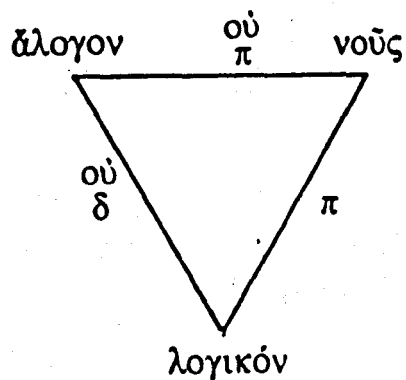
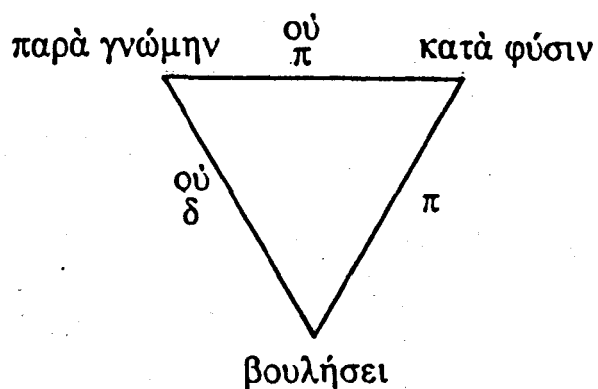
30. καὶ post σου om B.

φωτός αὐτῷ και τῆς θείας χάριτος και θεώσεως ὡς εκ τῶν του
 Παλαμά λόγων ἐξεληγήμενα, ποτιθῆναι μὲν ἐνταυθοι περιττόν.
 αὐτὰ γε μὴν καθ' αὐτὰ τοῖς νονεχῶς μετιοῦσιν ἀναγινωσκόμενα,
 τὸ τε ψυχικὸν αὐτοῦ φρόνημα και δαιμονιώδες / ἐναργῶς παρὰ-
 στήσει και ὡς ἀπιστεῖ καθάπαξ πάση μετοχῇ θείᾳ και ἐμφανείᾳ, 5
 και παντάπασι τὸν Θεὸν χωρίζει τῆς γεννητῆς φύσεως χλευαστι-
 κῶς γὰρ ὁ τάλας ἐκαμβάσει τὰ θεία και ἀνιέρως τοῖς ἰεροῖς ἐπι-
 τίθεται και τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὁ χοῖρος καταπατεῖ, πλὴν ὅσον οὐ
 παρὰ τοὺς εἰπόντας, δια τοῦτο και οὐκ ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς πηγυσιν,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ πηγνυται πρόδηλον γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ μῖσος, ἢ 10
 μανία τε και ὁ φθόνος ὅψ' ὧν διαπρίζεται, κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς μάλιστα
 φθαρτικὰ πᾶθη τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὅσον ἐτέρων, τί οὐν
 ἀν τις ἀναλέγοιτο πάντα ἐξῆς, ὅσα τὸν ἀναίτιον ὁ ἀναίδης αἰτία-
 ται, τὰ μὲν ἦδη πρότερον εἰρημένα τε και ἐληλαμένα και γὰρ 15
 οὐδ' ὀκνεῖ πολλακίς τὰ αὐτὰ περιστέφω, ἵνα τι δυνήθῃ μόνον
 τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δόξη λυπηνασθαι, τὰ δὲ τὸ σαθρὸν τε και καταγέ-
 λαστον οἰκοθεν ἔχοντα και μηδ' ἠστυσοῦν δεόμενα τῆς ἀντι-
 λογίας ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιησάμενος ἔργον, ἐν λόγοις ἀσχη-
 μονῆσαι και οἷον φασιν ἐξορχήσασθαι, τοιοῦτον ἐαυτὸν παρὰ τι- 20
 θῆσι; τὰ μὲν οὐν εἶτερον, ἐπι δὲ τὰ δευτέρα τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἰτε-
 ον, ἐν οἷς ἀγωνιστικώτερον συνίσταται τῇ ἰδίᾳ θέσει, λογισμοῖς
 τε χρωμένους οὐκ ἀσθενεῖν, ὡς οἰεταί, και ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν οὐκ
 ὀλίγα παρὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας.

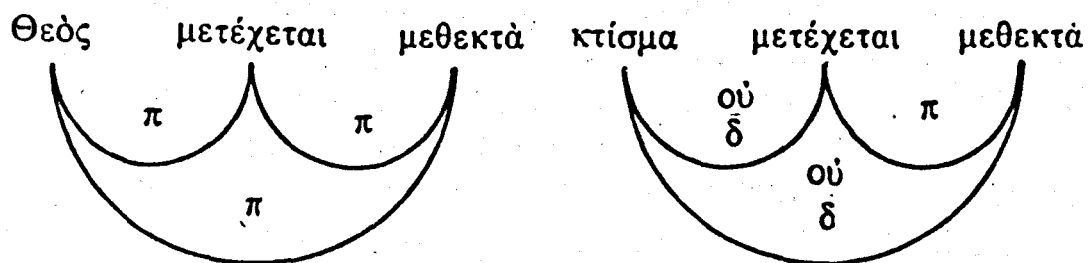
FS4V

APPENDIX

f. 31^v A; f. 20^v B



f. 34 A; f. 23 B



According to L. Petit, *PO.* 17, p. 372, littera π, id est πᾶς significatus propositio universalis affirmativa; littera οὐδ, scilicet οὐδεῖς, notari solet propositio universalis negativa.

COMMENTARY

158, 10-12 Ὑστατος μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τῶν ἐκ τῆς συμμορίας...τῆ Ἐκκλησίᾳ: This refers to Calecas who was considered the last anti-Palamite of that generation. The other prominent members of the συμμορία were Calecas's teacher Demetrios Cydones and his brother Prochoros, the historian Gregoras, Barlaam and Akindynos. Philotheos Kokkinos also uses the word συμμορία to denote the followers of Barlaam and Akindynos (*PG* 151, 774B).

158, 14-18 ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐβούλοντο πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας... ἄπτεσθαι: Markos's reason for composing the Antirrhetic was to prevent Orthodox believers from falling under the influence of anti-Palamite heretical writings.

158, 19-20 τῆς αἵρέσεως ἤδη προτεθηκυίας: This refers to the Constantinopolitan Synod of 1351 which approved the teaching of Palamas as Orthodox and condemned his opponents Barlaam and Akindynos as heretics. Though the Synod was not an Oecumenical one, nevertheless its decisions were accepted by the other Orthodox Churches.

158, 21-25 ἄπερ ὑπὸ σκότον ἐκεῖνοι συνέθηκαν...συνεστᾶναι: Markos seems to imply here that the anti-Palamites of his time had shown themselves bolder than those of the previous century. The cautious attitude of the earlier generation is confirmed by Cantacuzenus (iv, 24, vol. 2, p. 171) who states that the Barlaamites discussed and wrote about their heresy in secret, and by Philotheos Kokkinos (*PG* 151, 780D) who says that «ἐπεὶ τὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν δεδοίκασι πλήρωμα παρῤῥησιάζεσθαι καὶ δημοσιεύειν οὐ τολμῶσι τὴν ὕβριν». It is possible that in Markos's time a considerable number of anti-Palamites, who still belonged to the Orthodox Church, tried to combat Palamism from within the Church.

159, 4-7 ἔδει γὰρ αὐτούς...πυρὶ διδόναι: This is a clear warning of Markos

to the «Orthodox» anti-Palamites to adhere to the Canons of their Church which had condemned the teaching which they were now propagating, and cease considering themselves wiser than the Canons of the Holy Ghost. For Markos, absolute obedience to the Canons was essential for every Orthodox.

159, 8 ὁ μὲν τῆς Ζ' Ἱερατικῆς Συνόδου κανὼν Θ': This Canon, formulated at the seventh Oecumenical Council in 787, obliges every Christian who possessed heretical books against the icons to hand them over to the archdiocese of Constantinople. Concealment of such books would be punishable; if the culprit happened to be a cleric he would be defrocked, and if a layman anathematized. Markos believed that the provisions of this Canon applied even to those who not only kept but even dared to circulate heretical books against Palamas.

159, 16 ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς νόμος: Markos mentions three imperial laws, one of Constantine the Great and two of Justinian I, which declared the possession of heretical books illegal and imposed capital punishment on the transgressors.

159, 26 Ἄρειος: Arius (250-336) priest and heresiarch from Alexandria, who rejected the divinity of Christ. He was condemned as a heretic by the First Oecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. His heresy, however, troubled the Church for many centuries. See *DTC*, Tom. I, cols 1779-1781.

159, 31 ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔδει φυλάττειν...αἰρετικοῖς: This can be considered clearly as a criticism of both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities which failed to enforce the provisions of the laws against the culprits. It is not surprising that the anti-Palamites were not punished by either authority. For such a punishment would have most probably jeopardized the deliberations for the projected Union-Council then in progress.

160, 2-7 ἐκ γὰρ τούτου...εἰς ἀνάγκην κατέστημεν: Again Markos stresses the fact that, given the reluctance of the ecclesiastical and civic authorities to deal with heresy, he was obliged to write this work in order to protect those who might fall under the influence of Calecas.

160, 18-20 ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος...ἐκείνῳ πατρίας: The Synodal Tome, against which Calecas wrote a refutation was approved by the third Synod of Constantinople in 1351. This Synod was summoned by the Emperor John Cantacuzenus in the palace of Blachernae on the 27th of May 1351 at which Palamas, then Archbishop of Thessaloniki and his opponents – the Metropolitans of Ephesos and Ganos, Gregoras the historian and De-

xios – were also present (Barlaam and Akindynos were already dead). This Synod defrocked the two Metropolitans and anathematized Barlaam and Akindynos and all those who supported their teaching. (Cantac., IV, 23, vol. 2, pp. 168-169; Gregoras XVIII, 8, vol. 2, pp. 905-907).

160, 19 ἐπὶ βασιλείας τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ: John VI Cantacuzenus, Emperor of Byzantium 1347-1354, was a faithful supporter of Gregory Palamas and played a fundamental role in the condemnation of Palamas's enemies. After his abdication he became a monk and spent many years writing his history and works against the anti-Palamites. See Nicol, *Kant.*, pp. 35-103.

160, 20-21 αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ...ἀντιπεῖν Γρηγοῤῃς: Gregoras (1291/1360) wrote ten antirrhetics against the Synodal Tome of 1351. The text, which has survived in the manuscript Laur. Plut. LVI, 14, ff. 1-159, remains still unpublished and therefore it is impossible to assess the influence which might have exercised on Manuel Calecas. Gregoras's antirrhetics were refuted by both Palamas who wrote four antirrhetics (Prof. Chrestou is preparing an edition) and by Philotheos who composed his refutation at the request of the Emperor John Cantacuzenus who had sent him the refutation of Gregoras (Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 379-382; Romanidis, *Romaioi*, pp. 46-47; *PG* 151, 773-774B; *PLP*, 11, pp. 234-235).

160, 22 τοῦ Πατριάρχου λάμπσαντος Φιλοθέου: Patriarch of Constantinople (1353-54 and 1374-76) was born in Thessaloniki in 1300. He became a monk in Mt. Sinai and later an abbot in the monastery of Great Lavra in Mt. Athos. He was one of the most faithful disciples of Palamas whom he canonized as a saint (*PLP*, V, pp. 204-206).

160, 33-5, 1 ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται...ἀδικούντας ἐλέγξει: Calecas was very careful to stress in the beginning of his refutation that his purpose was not to attack the Orthodox Church but rather to explain clearly the Synodal Tome so that he might prevent any unfair criticisms of the Church. But Markos thinks that this was a pretext and that Calecas's real aim was to launch an attack on the Church.

161, 3-4 οἱ ὀφθαλμιούντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀντιβλέπειν: He uses a simile between the Tome and the sun, both symbols of truth. Just as those who suffer from sore eyes cannot look straight at the sun, so Gregoras and his follower Calecas did not bear to face and proclaim the refutation against the Tome.

161, 4-5 ἀλλὰ προσποιεῖται μὴ... Τόμον εὔρειν: In his refutation against the Synodal Tome, Gregoras maintained that he was unable to find the

complete text of the Tome (*PG 151, 779B*). According to Philotheos Kokkinos, whom Eugenikos follows, the Tome was read publicly by Galesiotis, the philosopher Maximos and himself and that the three original copies of the Tome were circulated and copied freely and that copies of these had reached Thessaloniki and Mount Athos. The assumption therefore was that Gregoras had seen the complete version despite his denial (*PG 151, 781A*).

161, 5-6 πρὸς τινος τῶν ἐταίρων: The disciple of Gregoras who brought him sections of the Synodal Tome was called Agathangelos (*PG 151, 779B*).

161, 6-7 ὡς ἐξηγησάμενος πάρεισιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιλέξων: cf. Philotheos's remark on Gregoras «μηδὲ ἀντιπεῖν τοῖς ἐμφορομένοις τῷ ἱερῷ Τόμῳ» (*PG 151, 782A*). Both Gregoras and Calecas were cautious not to be seen to attack the Orthodox Church.

161, 10-11 ῥητὸν ὡς ἀποστολικόν...τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξεῖλεν: Calecas paraphrasing St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians (14, 38) writes «ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἀγνοηθήσεται» while St. Paul's exact words are «εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοεῖτω». Calecas's quotation changes the meaning of St. Paul's saying, since in St. Paul there is no threat to the Christians «the ignorant will be ignored», as Calecas's quotation means. That is why Markos accuses him immediately as having «ἀναπλάσας ἰδίας γραφάς».

161, 13-14 οὐκ οἶδα ὑπὸ τοῦ ...συνέθηκεν: It seems certain that Markos had some sort of a text in front of him, probably an introduction, which Calecas wrote for his work and in which he stated clearly that he had divided his work into two parts: the first one being devoted to the clarification of the Synodal Tome, the second to the presentation of Biblical and patristic quotations supporting Calecas's arguments.

161, 17-18 τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ...τὸ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ: Markos criticizes Calecas for having followed Gregoras's antirrhetic very closely without putting forward any new ideas.

161, 18-21 καίτοι γε εἰ ἀντιλέγει...συγγραμμάτων. Markos insists that Calecas's motives for writing his work was not to clarify the Synodal Tome, but on the contrary to discredit Gregory Palamas. For if Calecas had succeeded in breaking the Orthodox confidence in Palamas, then the Synodal Tome, which Calecas wrongly maintained was written by Palamas, would have become no more than a dead letter.

161, 31-32 ὁρᾷς ὡς οὐδέν...μὴ ἀλῶναι ψευδόμενος: Markos accuses Calecas's of openly lying when he says that the Synod of 1351 decided to call its Tome the «Tome of Palamas». He regarded this simply as Calecas's

ploy to mislead the Orthodox by identifying the Synodal Tome as Palamas's work and thus disassociating it from the traditional doctrines of the Church.

162, 4-6 ἡ Ἐκκλησία...ἐτέραν ἐναντίαν ἐξήνεγκε: Calecas writing about half a century after the Council of 1351 tried hard to persuade the Palamites of his time that the very same Church which had approved Palamas's theology, had rejected it earlier on in the reign of Andronicus. However there is no evidence so far to substantiate Calecas's claim supported later by Bessarion (*OCP*, 4 (1938), 346-48) that Constantinople rejected Palamism.

162, 17 τρισὶ μεγίστοις συνόδοις: The first Palamite Council was convened in June 1341 in St. Sophia, and was presided over by the Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologos. It condemned Barlaam and published a Synodal Tome (*PG* 151, 679-692 & *MM* I, pp. 202-216; *Cantac.*, II, 40, vol. 1, pp. 551-555; *Gregoras*, XI, 10, vol. 2, pp. 557-559). On February 8, 1347, a second Council took place in the imperial palace presided over by the Empress Anne and Cantacuzenus and a new Tome was issued confirming that of 1341 (*MM* I, pp. 243-255) and excommunicating the monk Akindynos, a follower of Barlaam (*Cantac.*, IV, 3, vol. 3, p. 24; *Gregoras*, XV, 9, vol. 2, p. 783). The third Council was convened and presided over by the Emperor John Cantacuzenus in the palace of Blachernae in May 1351. It condemned Gregoras and issued a Synodal Tome (*PG* 151, 717-762); (*Cantac.* IV, 23, vol. 3, pp. 166-168; *Gregoras* XVIII, 8, vol. 2, p. 905). In the words of Professor Meyendorff the Synod of 1351 was the most solemn act by which the Orthodox Church confirmed the doctrine of Gregory Palamas. See Meyendorff, *Palamas*, p. 100.

162, 18-19 τοῦ ἐν βασιλεῦσι διαπρεύσαντος Ἀνδρονίκου: Andronicus III Palaeologos, Emperor (1328-1341). He was a friend of John Cantacuzenus. He convened and presided over the Synod of 1341 which condemned Barlaam.

162, 23 Βαρλαάμ: Barlaam the Calabrian (1290-1348) was a Greek-Italian monk and philosopher. He was responsible for the outbreak of the Palamite controversy. After his condemnation by the Synod of 1341, he returned to Italy. Converted to Roman Catholicism he was consecrated Latin bishop of Gerace. Most of his works are still unedited. See *PLP*, I, pp. 26-28.

162, 23 Ἀκίνδυνος: Gregory Akindynos (1300-1348) monk and disciple of both Gregory Palamas and Barlaam. After Barlaam's departure to Italy he

became the leader of anti-hesychasts or anti-Palamites. See *PLP*, I, pp. 45-47.

162, 30-7,2 τῆς Σ^{ης} καὶ Ζ^{ης} τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν...ἐξήνεκτο: Markos acknowledges that in the case of the Sixth and Seventh Oecumenical Councils the Orthodox Church took decisions which were against those which had been taken by previous Councils convened by the heretic patriarchs who had then occupied the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. But here Markos stresses the fact that not even a robber Council was convened during the Palamite controversy which rejected Palamism. The Sixth Oecumenical Council was convoked by the Emperor Constantine IV (668-685) in Constantinople in 680. It condemned the heresy of Monothelism by accepting the two wills in Christ. The Seventh Oecumenical Council was convoked by the Empress Irene (797-802) in Nicaea in 787. It condemned the iconoclasts and restored the veneration of icons in the Orthodox Church. See Hefèle, *His. Conc.*, III A, pp. 539-98; III B, pp. 741-794.

163, 2-4 τὴν μὲν Ἐκκλησίαν αἰεὶ μίαν...τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου φρονήματος χαρακτῆρι: This important statement expresses the essence of Markos's ecclesiological belief, namely that the Church is not considered Orthodox on account of its location but on account of its adherence to the Orthodox dogma. That is why Markos did not hesitate to sever his links with the hierarchy of his Church when it signed the Union with Rome.

163, 9-10 τοιοῦτος ἄρα καὶ ὁ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις ταύταις πατριαρχῶν διεδείχθη: John Calecas, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1334-1347, was a friend of Cantacuzenus. But during the civil war he gave his support to his adversary Empress Anne of Savoy. In the Palamite controversy he sided with Akindynos. See *PLP*, V, pp. 26-27.

163, 10-15 μεταθέμενος γὰρ εἰς τὸναντίον φρόνημα...αὐτῷ συνεργούσης: Patriarch John Calecas sided with Akindynos against Palamas and in November 1344 he convened the endemousa Synod which deposed and excommunicated the elected Palamite metropolitan of Monembasia Isidoros. It also excommunicated Palamas who at that time was imprisoned. That John Calecas acted against Palamas and Isidoros because of the political instability existing in Constantinople at the time, is confirmed by the Patriarch Ignatios of Antioch who wrote that Isidoros was not a loyal supporter of the Empress, but that instead he had given his allegiance to Cantacuzenus, this being one of the reasons why he was deposed. (*Cantac.*, II, 40, vol. 1, pp. 556-557; Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 200-205).

163, 16-19 τὰ δὲ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μὲν προσῆκε...ἐνεωτέρισε πρὸ αὐτοῦ: Markos

compares Calecas's actions with those of Beccos and declares that because both ἐνεωτέρισαν their decisions and writings cannot be sanctioned by the Orthodox Church. John XI Beccos was Patriarch of Constantinople from 1275-1282. Though initially anti-Latin, he later became pro-Latin and did his utmost to impose the Union of Lyon (1274) on the Byzantine Church. Having failed to do so, he was forced to abdicate and finally condemned by the Synod of Blachernae in 1285. Gregory Palamas wrote an antirrhetic against Beccos's work «Epigraphae». See *PLP*, I, pp. 51-52.

163, 19-20 συγγραψαμένω τὴν δικαίαν ὕστερον ἐπήνεγκε καταδίκην: Patriarch John Calecas was deposed by the Council of 1347. On this, see the informative article of G.T. Dennis «The deposition of the Patriarch John Calecas», *JÖBG*, 9 (Vienna, 1960), 51-55.

164, 27-28 ταῦτα ἐναντιουμένων ἐστίν, εἰπέ μοι... λεγόντων τε καὶ φρονοῦντων: Markos after quoting three extracts from the Synodal Tome of 1341 goes on to ask Calecas whether these extracts were in opposition to the decisions taken later by the Church on the same subject. Given the evidence we possess, Calecas's accusation that the Orthodox Church took contradictory decisions on the Palamite theology is untenable.

164, 29-31 σκοπὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν...γυμνὰ τὰ τούτου ληρήματα παρατιθέναι: See Introduction, Chapter IV.

165, 3-8 φανερόν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ...οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν: Calecas could not comprehend that «αὐτὸς ὁ τρισυπόστατος Θεὸς εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν διακρίνεται». This was the difficulty of all anti-Palamites, and Calecas being a Dominican, and an ardent Thomist, followed the teaching «Nihil intus est in Deo praeter essentiam eius» (*Summa Contra Gentiles* I, 21).

165, 10-11 Διονύσιόν φημι τὸν σοφόν: Four theological treatises dated from the beginning of the sixth century are ascribed to St. Dionysios the Areopagite, a disciple of St. Paul. See *DTC*, Tom. 4, cols 429-436.

165,24 ὁ θεῖος Μάξιμος: St. Maximos the Confessor (580-662) a monk and an outstanding theologian. He fought the heresy of Monophysitism and wrote exegetical and ascetical works. See *DTC*, Tom. 10, cols. 448-459.

165, 17-20 ἄρ' οὐ δοκοῦσί σοι διακρίνειν ἐν τούτοις οἱ θεολόγοι...πυξίδος τοῦ Πνεύματος: The «θεολόγοι» refers to St. Dionysios the Areopagite and Maximos the Confessor from whose works he quotes to show that these two fathers had accepted the distinction of essence and energy in God.

166, 20 πολύθεοι: The anti-Palamites used this term to describe their opponents, on the grounds that they maintained that God had many energies which they called deities.

166, 24-25 οὐ κἄν ἔτι συνείης τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπελθὼν ἄνοιαν: A clear reference to Calecas's conversion to Roman Catholicism and his alienation from the traditional Orthodox thought that rendered him incapable of understanding arguments on the subject of θέωσις.

166, 25-16 τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ πεπληγμένοις, ἴαμα γένοιτο τὰ λεγόμενα: What prompted Markos to write his Antirrhetic was his wish to cure those who had been affected by Calecas's work.

166, 26-27 κενὲ θεολόγε καὶ δεισιδαῖμον μονόθεε: «Empty theologian and superstitious monotheist». Philotheos Kokkinos on Gregoras «κενὲ θεολόγε» (PG 151, 816D).

166, 27-32 τὸν ἕνα Θεόν... σατραπῶν ἀφθονία γεραίρομεν: Markos states that the Orthodox do not follow the Jews who deny the three persons in God, not the pagans who believe in a multitude of gods.

166, 32-11, 1 ἐν ἀπλότι δῆθεν φυλάττειν...ἐνέργειαν νομίζομεν: Though he does not name Thomas Aquinas this is a direct attack on his theology which accepted that the essence and the energy in God were identical. See *Summa Contra Gentiles* II 9 (X 88b).

167, 2 ὁ κακοδαίμων οὐχ ἦττον ἢ δαιμόνιος Ἀριστοτέλης: Though an Aristotelian, Markos is not prevented by his admiration from attacking him and calling him devilish. As he says in his Second Antirrhetic, he considered Aristotle to be the leader of this heresy (Oxon. Canon. gr. 49, f. 66). Aristotle equated the existence of God with the World and accepted that the creation is alien to His Providence. (Arist. Op. V, f17. k1477a10). This would mean that God's energies are not involved in the existence and the maintenance of the World.

167, 7-8 ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἡμᾶς...θεολογία φρονεῖν ἐξεπαίδευσεν: This is a very important statement for Markos here clearly distinguishes between the Catholic rational theology, which was influenced heavily by Aristotle, and the Orthodox theology of the hesychasts which was a reaffirmation of the traditional spirituality of the Eastern Church.

167, 8-12 οὐσίαν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἐνεργῆ...καὶ νοητῆς κτίσεως: He suddenly summarizes the essential points of the Orthodox theology: that the essence of God is active, willing and omnipotent, that from God's

nature came the Son and the Holy Ghost before ages and eternally, and that from His will and energies came the creation.

167, 12 Δαμασκηνὸς Ἰωάννης: St. John of Damascus (645-750) a monk, theologian and hymnographer. He fought iconoclasm and wrote dogmatic, ascetical, exegetical and hymnographical works. See *DTC*, Tom. 8, cols 693-751.

167, 20 Ἰουστῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος: St. Justin, martyr, philosopher and a great Christian apologist, lived in the second century. See *DTC*, Tom. 8, cols. 2228-2290.

168, 9 ὁ παραβλῶψ οὔτος: Philotheos Kokkinos uses the same word against Gregoras in his third antirrhetic (*PG* 151, 804D).

168, 31 Γρηγόριος Νύσσης: St. Gregory of Nyssa (335-394), St. Basil's brother, fought the Pneumatomachians and wrote dogmatic, ascetical and exegetical works. See *DTC*, Tom. 6, cols 1847-1852.

170, 3 ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος: St. Athanasios, Patriarch of Alexandria (328-373). He was a leading figure in the First Oecumenical Council of Nicaea which condemned Arius. He wrote many works of which the best known are his discourses against the followers of Arius. See *DTC*, Tom. 1A2, cols 2143-2178.

170, 9-10 εἰσάγεις τὸν Παλαμᾶ λέγοντα... τὸ ἔγκλημα τοὺς εἰπόντας: Palamas was accused by Calecas of having introduced the name deity (θεότης) to denote the energies in God. Markos adduces patristic quotations which justify fully the use of such a term and proceeds to attack Calecas, for he considered that by implication Calecas's criticisms were directed against the Fathers as well.

170, 30 ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος: St. Basil the Great (329-379) Metropolitan of Caesarea one of the greatest theologians of the Orthodox Church and a prolific writer. He is considered the founder of coenobitic monasticism. He wrote ascetical, exegetical works as well as works against Eunomios. See *DTC*, Tom. 2, cols 441-445.

171, 12-13 Εὐνομίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀρειανοῖς ὁμολογος... ἄλλα τε εἰρήκασι: Markos here has in mind the passage in the Synodal Tome of 1351 which calls the anti-Palamites followers of Eunomios and Arius (*PG* 151, 739B). Eunomios (335-394), Metropolitan of Cyzicus. He was a pro-Arian and both Sts. Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa wrote works against his heretical teachings. See *DTC*, Tom. 5, cols 1501-1514; Romanidis, *Romaioi*, pp. 110-111.

171, 28-30 ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θεότης ἔστιν...οὐδ' ἡ ἐνέργεια: The word Θεότης can be also employed to denote the nature of God but the words δύναμις or ἐνέργεια can never be used to denote the nature of God. Markos supported this statement with patristic quotations.

171, 31 τὸν θεῖον Κύριλλον: St. Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria (?-444) and a fierce opponent of the Nestorians. He played a leading role in the Third Oecumenical Council of Ephesos in 431. He wrote exegetic, dogmatic and polemic works. See *DCT*, Tom. 3, cols 2476-2527.

172, 11-12 ὁ θεῖος Ἀναστάσιος: St. Anastasios of Sinai (7th century) monk and theologian fought against the heresy of Monophysitism. See *DCT*, Tom. 1A1, cols 1167-1168 and Sakkos.

173, 5-6 καὶ πολλαὶ θεότητες οὐδ' ἀριθμὸς ὅλως... σεσαφηνίσται: Markos made it quite clear on the basis of patristic quotations and his own exegesis that the use of the word Θεότης for the energies does not at any point suggest that there are many gods.

173, 6-7 ἀλλ' ὃ γε ἐκ τοῦ Κατὰ Βαρλααμίτην...προσέθηκεν: Calecas is accused of following Barlaam in his interpretation of the concept of deity and having distorted gravely the Palamite text.

176, 1-2 φαίην δ' ἂν ἐγωγε...ἡ Ἐκκλησία παντάπασιν ἤλαυνε: Markos put forward the explanation that the Church was forced by the heretics to employ the term θεότητες to denote the energies. But he was aware that no theological term could accurately denote the attributes of God that are incomprehensible.

176, 9 τοῦ Θεολόγου λέγοντος: St. Gregory of Nazianzus known as the Theologian, was Patriarch of Constantinople (381-390), and a friend of St. Basil. He presided over the Second Oecumenical Council which condemned the followers of Macedonius. His most famous works are the five Theological Orations. See *DTC*, Tom. 6, cols 1839-1844.

176, 28 Χρυσόστομος Ἰωάννης: St. John Chrysostom (344-407) Patriarch of Constantinople a great Father of the Church and a prolific writer. He wrote theological treatises and commentaries on the Bible. See *DTC*, Tom. 8, cols 660-690.

177, 29-22, 1 οὕτως αὐτῷ τῷ Πνεύματι... Λατίνοις ἐναντιοῦται: The refusal

of Calecas and the anti-Palamites to accept that the gifts (or the energies) of the Holy Ghost belong essentially to It, conflicted also with the tenets of the Latin Church which they had joined.

178, 11-12 σκινδαψοὺς ἄρα... καὶ τραγελάφους: «So and so...and goat-stag» St. Gregory the Theologian (Or. 25, *PG* 35, 1205B) used the same words and Philotheos Kokkinos on Gregoras (*PG* 151, 777C). See also the comment on τραγέλαφοι in A.C. Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, (Washington, 1983), p. 418.

179, 23-25 τὰ γὰρ κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔχοντα πράγματα... φαίης εἶναι: Markos returns again to the point which he had previously dealt with and, having presented new patristic evidence, he declares that those who have names are real entities and not verbal points. What Markos was anxious to show was that the names which refer to God are not simply words but they represent a πράγμα. Therefore the energies, identified with the names of God-for God's names derive from the ways He makes himself known to us - are real things distinguished however from His essence on which they rest.

179, 29-30 σχολῆ γ' ἂν τινα πείσαις...οἶμαι παρηκολουθηκότων: Markos believes that Calecas would be unable to persuade those who read the book of Dionysios «On the divine names». In this book, which exercised a great influence on many Christian writers, Dionysios emphasizes again and again that God is nameless but possesses all names: «Thus, then, to the cause of everything (God) which is also above all creation, both the nameless (essence) and that which has names of all things (energy) will be appropriate, in order that It may truly be the Kingdom of all things» (*PG* 3, 596C). From such statements the mystical Fathers of the East drew their distinction between the essence and the energy in God: what is nameless is God's essence and what possesses all names is His energy. And these names are real things and not mere verbal sound. Both St. Maximos the Confessor and Thomas Aquinas wrote commentaries on this work (*PG* 4, 15-432; Parma edition of Aquinas, Tom. XV, *Opusculum* vii, pp. 259-405).

180, 2-3 τὸν ἐξελέγχειν πειρώμενον...τὴν Αὐγείου κόπρον ἀνακαθᾶραι: Markos was not very happy that he was obliged to reply to Calecas's refutation. It was very hard for him to have to clean the κόπρος, namely the accusations against Palamas and the decisions of the 1351 Council. For the cleaning of the stables of Augéas see the unpublished M. Phil. thesis of S. Gibbon, *The Labours of Heracles*, (London, 1975), pp. 209-224.

181, 28-29 καὶ τοὺς τῆς διακρίσεως τρόπους... τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπαυξάνει: Cale-

cas in his analysis of the Synodal Tome, maintained that he had traced twenty-eight ways of distinguishing between the essence and the energy. Markos here seems to deride Calecas in that not only he had followed Cydones who had detected twenty different ways in the Synodal Tome, but he had added (ἀριθμὸν ἐπαυξάνει) another eight. (PG 154, 853B).

183, 21 Ἀνδρέας ὁ Κρήτης: St. Andrew of Crete (660-740) a theologian and one of the best hymnographers of the Orthodox Church. See *DTC* Tom. 1A1, cols 1182-1184 1 and the unpublished thesis of Mary Cunningham, *Andreas of Crete's Homilies on Lazaros and Palm Sunday: A Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary*, (Birmingham, 1983).

187, 16 διαπιστεῖν καὶ τοῖς πεῖρα μαθοῦσι: Markos attacks Calecas's refusal to accept the teaching of the Fathers concerning the visibility of God's glory which they derived from their own personal experience and spiritual struggles for deification (θέωσις) by grace. This was a point of fundamental divergence between the Eastern and Western theology which emphasized human wisdom and reason.

187, 22-23 φέρε δὴ πάλιν ἐπαντλήσω σου...καὶ καταϊωνίσω: «I shall pour over... and I shall foment» Markos, as the grandson of a doctor, uses medical terminology here seeing himself as a doctor and Calecas as the patient who needed treatment urgently.

188, 18-23 δηλοῦσι δὲ οἱ θαυματοποιοὶ μέχρι... Μακάριον: The magicians were always part of society and since ancient times used to amuse their audience with clever tricks. It would have been very interesting if we had more information available about them during those critical times for the Byzantine society. Markos refers to two cases of magical influence. In the first case the form of Faust changed into that of the magician Simon, and in the second the form of a woman was transformed into a mule. But in both cases the men of God, Peter the apostle and the ascete Makarios, were able to see through to the real forms of those unfortunate persons. The devil operating through the magicians' plots could not deceive them. For some information about magicians, see Ph. Koukoule, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ*

πολιτισμός, I, (Athens, 1948), pp. 136-139 and III (1949), p. 256 and the unpublished thesis of R. Greenfield, *Traditions of belief in late Byzantine demonology*, (London, 1985).

190, 16 Φινεύς ἄντικρυς: Calecas's methods are compared with those of the mythical Phineus who, according to the Greek mythology, was the son of Agenor, King of Salmydessus, a city of Thrace. Apollo gave him the gift of prophecy. However because of his disobedience to the gods he was punished with blindness. See Diod. Sic. IV 43, 44; Apollodorus 19, 21, III, 15, 3.

191, 5-6 τοὺς διδασκάλους ἄφεις ἐπὶ τὸν μαθητὴν ὄλαις φέρη ταῖς προθυμίαις: Palamas is here called the μαθητὴς of the Fathers and Calecas is accused of attacking Palamas while he lacks the strength to assail his teachers whom Palamas followed faithfully.

191, 20 οὕτω μὲν ὁ συκοφάντης: Calecas is here called «sycophant», because he distorted the words of Palamas.

192,6 οὐδὲν δεῖ κάμνειν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μαιεύοντας: Markos is here employing the Socratic method, of midwifery (See Plato Theaetetus 146b). He sees his role as that of a midwife, and believed that with his Antirrhetic he would have forced Calecas to abort his wicked offspring, namely his belief about the deity.

192, 13-14 οἱ τῆς Συνόδου: The Synod of 1351.

196, 31-33 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἅπαξ ὁμολογήσασι μαθηταῖς... πολυπραγμονεῖν: The disciples should not inquire too inquisitively into the works of their teachers. That was a rule for Markos, who always tried to follow the Fathers and teachers of the Church as a humble disciple.

196, 33-41, 1 ἀπαντησόμεθα πρὸς τὴν μέμψιν... ταύτην ἀπολογία: The disciple had, according to Markos, the duty to answer the accusations levelled against their teachers. And that was precisely what forced Markos to write this Antirrhetic.

198, 6-7 δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐνέργειαι αἱ αὐταὶ καλοῦνται: The powers and the energies are identical in God, according to the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church.

203, 5-6 καὶ πᾶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄκτιστός τε... ἀπεργαζομένη: The holy grace is both uncreated and without beginning and it bestows the same qualities on the holy men. So men can become gods with the aid of the holy grace.

203, 30-48, 1 οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη καλοκαγαθία... μορφωθῆ: Again a very important statement which stresses the total incapability of human goodness to reach that of God. Whatever the human beings can achieve in their spiritual growth, is granted by the grace of God.

204, 4-5 οὕτω δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν... τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων: The refusal to accept the difference between the essence and the energies in God leads to the Aristotelian principle that God is totally strange to His creatures.

204, 32-33 τὴν θεϊαν οὐσίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ ποιήματα προάγειν: The Orthodox belief about the creation of the World is mentioned here. The creatures are not created by the essence of God but by His energies, otherwise, as Markos argues they would have been consubstantial with Him. To support his statement Markos cites, among others, a patristic quotation from St. Cyril of Alexandria «The work of energy (of God) is to create while that of nature is to give birth, therefore nature and energy (in God) are not identical» (*PG 75, 312 C and Text, p. 205, 12-13*).

205, 25 Ὠριγένης: Origen, priest and theologian, lived in the end of the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century. His father was the martyr Leonides. Origen studied philosophy and devoted his life to preaching and writing exegetical works which influenced greatly later Fathers of the Church. Origen's works were declared by the Fifth Oecumenical Council as heretical.

205, 26 θεία Σύνοδος Ε': The Fifth Oecumenical Council was convoked by the Emperor Justinian I (527-565) in Constantinople in 553. It condemned the three Chapters of Nestorius. On this see Hefèle, *His. Conc.*, III A, pp. 68-105.

207, 10 Βογομίλων αίρετικῶν: The Bogomils were heretics and their faith was a mixture of Manichaeism and Paulicianism. They took their name after their founder Pope Bogomil. For a fuller account see S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, (Cambridge, 1946); D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, (Oxford, 1948 and 1972).

210, 6-8 ὅπως τῆς θεολογικῆς ἀκριβείας ἔχεται... καὶ συμφωνίας: There was no doubt in Markos's mind that Gregory Palamas was not an innovator of a new theology, but he was only a faithful pupil of the Church Fathers.

212, 2 Κοσμᾶς: St. Cosmas the Melodist (706-760), bishop of Maiuma and a gifted hymnographer of the Orthodox Church. See *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 4, p. 360.

215, 3 τὴν τοῦ Σαβελλίου παραπληξίαν: Sabellios, a third century heretic denied the hypostasis of the Son. For a fuller account see A. Von Harnack, *History of Dogma*, tr. N. Buchanan, 7 vols. (London 1896-99), Vol. 3, pp. 1-118.

218, 4 Πρῶτον ἡμῖν καὶ β^{ον} πατριάρχην καὶ γ^{ον} ἀποκαλεῖ: The three pro-Palamite Patriarchs whom Calecas failed to mention by name were:

1) Isidoros, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1347-1350. He was a close collaborator of Gregory Palamas, and fought with all his might to defend hesychasm against the teachings of Barlaam and Akindynos. See D. Tsamis, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἀγιολογικὰ ἔργα*, (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 327-423.

2) Callistos I from 1350-1354 and 1355-1363, a Palamite and a monk on Mount Athos was called to the patriarchal throne by John Cantacuzenus. See *PLP*, V, pp. 44-46 and the unpublished thesis of D. Gone, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α΄*, (Athens, 1980).

3) Philotheos Kokkinos. See above (160,22).

221, 23 τῶν τοῦ Γρηγοῦ ἢ Κυδῶνη ἢ τινος ἄν ἄλλου: The refutation of Markos against Calecas, led him to go through the works of Gregoras, Demetrios, and Prochoros Cydones and other anti-Palamite writers. Demetrios Cydones (1324-1397) was born in Thessaloniki where he studied under Nilus Cabasilas and Isidoros Boucheiras future Patriarch of Constantinople. He became a close friend of Cantacuzenus and later of John V Palaeologos and served both of them as chief minister. He was converted to Catholicism and he translated into Greek a number of Latin works including the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and the *Summa Theologica* of Aquinas. He was the fiercest anti-Palamite and he transmitted this enmity to his disciple Manuel Calecas. For his life in general see R.J. Loenertz, *Correspondence* 2 vols., *ST*, 186, 208 (1956-60) and «Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analysées et datées», *OCP*, 23 (1957), 114-44 and the most recent word of A.C. Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*.

221, 1 κατὰ τὸν Πρωτέα: Proteus was, according to Greek mythology, an old man with the gift of prophecy, but he was unwilling to prophesy to men and when forced he would try to avoid this by assuming various shapes. (*Odyssea* IV. 35 and Virgil, *Georgics*, IV. 386).

223, 29 ἄρα γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτω τὸν νοῦν διασεσεισμένος: Markos abuses Calecas on the grounds that he had totally distorted an extract from Patriarch Philotheos's work (*PG* 152, 313 B).

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. MM II, no. 599, p. 427.
2. H. Belting «Le peintre Manuel Eugenikos de Constantinople, en Géorgie, *CA*, 28 (Paris, 1979), 103-114.
3. For further information see the articles: I. Muñoz, *Le έκφράσεις*, pp. 139-142. II. D.I. Pallas, «Αί αισθητικαί ιδέαι τῶν Βυζαντινῶν πρὸ τῆς Ἀλώσεως», *EEBS*, 34 (1965), 314-331. III. D.I. Pallas «Εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀγίου Εὐσταθίου στὴ Σαλαμίνα», *Χαριστήριον εἰς Α.Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, (Athens, 1966), pp. 328-369.
4. Darrouzès, *Regestes I*, VI, p. 357. It is tempting to ask why George had not met his fiancée. Was it because she was not residing in Constantinople and if so could it be possible that his father Manuel Eugenikos engaged his young son with a Georgian girl while he was working in Georgia?
5. Oudot, *Acta*, pp. 112-114.
6. Idem., p. 112. Patriarch Matthew I with his Ὑποτύπωσις of 1398 prohibited his clergy to perform μνηστειὰν δι' ἐγκολπίων with the threat of defrockment on the grounds that «ὁ τοιοῦτος δεσμός καὶ πλείων ὄρκου ἐστίν, ὡς ἐνέχυρον γὰρ δίδονται παρ' ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν αἱ δεσποτικαὶ καὶ θεῖαι εἰκόνες· εἶθ' ὡς ψιλὸν δεσμόν καταλύοντες τοῦτον, εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐπιτορκίας ἐμπίπτωσιν βάραθρον» (Oudot, *op. cit.*, p. 152).
7. MM II, no. 535, p. 326; no. 570, p. 385; no. 572, p. 388; no. 599, p. 427; Oudot, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 156, 158.
8. MM II, no. 654, p. 507.
9. Pilavakis, *Acolouthia*, pp. 7-30.
10. Schreiner, p. 111, 6; p. 110, 5; MM II, no. 626, pp. 463-67.
11. Synaxarion (Petit), 213; Syropoulos V, 30, p. 284.
12. V. Grumel, «Marc d' Éphèse, Vie-écrits-doctrine», *EF*, 36 (Barcelona, 1925), 425-439.
13. Tomadakis, *Bryennios*, pp. 25-26.
14. Contra Ephesium, *PG* 160, 16A.
15. Ducas (B), p. 213.
16. Scholarios, IV, p. 117.

17. Patrinellis p. 93; Lavriotis-Eustratiadis, *Katalogos*, p. 429.
18. Synaxarion (Petit), 234.
19. Diamantopoulos, *EPh*, 9 (1912), 127, 132; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, p. 134, 2; Patrinellis, p. 93.
20. *PO* 17, p. 297.
21. Cydones, II, pp. 241-42.
22. V. Laurent, «Les dates du patriarcat d'Euthyme II de Constantinople», *BZ*, 54 (1961), 329-332.
23. Diamantopoulos, *EPh*, 129.
24. Idem., 133.
25. Synaxarion (Petit), 214.
26. Idem., 214.
27. Janin, *Les Églises*, pp. 63-64.
28. Synaxarion (Petit), 214.
29. Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-76. G. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, DOS, XIX (Washington, 1984), pp. 366-371.
30. Synaxarion (Petridis), 102.
31. Buch. Acad. Rom., Cod. 452, pp. 942-1000.
32. Norov, *Anecdota*, pp. 44, 46.
33. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *MB*, 15 (1884), p. 102.
34. Karmiris, *E*, 32 (1955), 17.
35. Partly edited by M. Pilavakis, *OT*, 567 (1983), 1.
36. Pilavakis, *Acolouthia*, pp. 37-47.
37. Idem., *OT*, 580 (1983), 3.
38. Lampros, *PP* I, pp. 31-32.
39. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
40. Oeconomidis, *MCh*, 8 (1959) 13-14.
41. Idem., 14.
42. Idem., 27.
43. Idem., 24.
44. Idem., 28.
45. Idem., 29.
46. Idem., 13.
47. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Parartema*, p. 98; Cosinitzensis, codex 192. ff. 184-187.
48. Idem., *MB*, p. 103.
49. Cosinitzensis, *op. cit.*, f. 169; Papadopoulos-Kerameus *Parartema*, p. 98.
50. Cosinitzensis, *op. cit.*, f. 227; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
51. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53. (We discovered a manuscript containing this monody which we shall edit in the near future).
52. Thessaloniki was captured on the 29th of March 1430. Schreiner, pp. 398-399.
53. Lampros, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 33.
54. Synaxarion (Petit), 215.

55. Synaxarion (Petridis), 102.
56. Contra Ephesium, *PG* 160, 185.
57. Expositio officii Ecclesiastici, *PG* 160, 1164 AB.
58. Vatic. gr. 952, ff. 18-33.
59. Bryennios, III, pp. 17-18.
60. Scholarios, I, p. 428.
61. De vitae Termino, *PG* 160, 1200 C.
62. Idem., 1200 CD.
63. Lavriotis-Eustratiadis, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-30. See also some very interesting comments on Markos's work made by B.N. Tatakis, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ φιλοσοφία*, (Athens, 1977), pp. 275-277.
64. Buch. Acad. Rom. 452, p. 923; Scorialensis III-0-2, f. 145.
65. Idem., p. 927; f. 146.
66. Scorialensis III-0-2, f. 147^v.
67. Laurent, *Le pape*, 5-60.
68. Idem., 36.
69. Idem., 37.
70. Idem., 37-38.
71. Idem., 39.
72. Idem., 40-41.
73. Idem., 44.
74. Idem., 45.
75. Idem., 45-46.
76. Idem., 46.
77. Idem., 47.
78. *PO*, 17, pp. 337-38.
79. Gill, *Counc.*, pp. 16-45.
80. *EP*, doc. 26, p. 20; Cecconi, *Concilio*, doc. VI.
81. Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-84.
82. Syropoulos, III, 3, pp. 162-64.
83. Idem., III, 8, p. 168.
84. Idem., III, 10, p. 170.
85. *AG*, p. 91.
86. Syropoulos, II, 23, pp. 126-28.
87. Mercati, *Isidoro*, pp. 154-156.
88. Syropoulos, III, 15, pp. 176-78.
89. Tafur, p. 112.
90. Syropoulos, III, 18-19, p. 180.
91. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Theophanes of Medeia wrote that the Emperor, the Patriarch and the others had been persuaded by the papal representatives after they held many private and public discussions (Patrinellis p. 94).
92. Syropoulos, III, 11, p. 172.
93. The Metropolitan See of Ephesos was the third in rank after the Oecume-

nical Patriarchate and the Metropolis of Caesarea. Since the Metropolitan of Caesarea was not present at the Council, Markos was the most senior prelate after the Patriarch. See Darrouzès, *Notitiae*.

94. Syropoulos, X, 9, pp. 482-84; *PO* 17, p. 305.

95. *Idem.*, III, 23, p. 184. Bessarion wrote that he was consecrated bishop on 11 November 1437. The same day might have been also consecrated Markos and Dionysios. (Schreiner, p. 659).

96. Syropoulos, V, 31, p. 286; Ducas (B), p. 213.

97. *EEBS*, 35 (1966), 223-226.

98. Schreiner, p. 398, 9; p. 631, 1; *Patrinellis*, p. 95.

99. Gill, *Eug.*, p. 101.

100. *Idem.*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

101. *AG*, p. 10.

102. *PO* 17, pp. 198-203.

103. Syropoulos, V, 3-4, pp. 258-60.

104. *Idem.*, V, 7, p. 262.

105. *Idem.*, V, 10, p. 264.

106. Bryennios, I, p. 483.

107. Syropoulos V, 12-13, pp. 266-68.

108. Ombres, *Purgatory*, 7.

109. Syropoulos, V, 26, p. 280.

110. *AG*, p. 20; Syropoulos, V, 28, p. 282.

111. *PO* 15, p. 39.

112. *Idem.*, p. 39.

113. *Idem.*, p. 40.

114. *Idem.*, pp. 40-41.

115. Syropoulos, V, 38, p. 292.

116. *OCP*, 4 (1938), 329-71.

117. Syropoulos, VI, 17, p. 308.

118. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-76.

119. *Patrinellis*, p. 95.

120. Syropoulos, VI, 27, pp. 326.

121. Epistola XII, *PG* 102, 736.

122. *Mansi*, XVII, cols 520-21.

123. *Idem.*, cols 524-25.

124. Dositheos, *TK*, pp. 250-51.

125. *AG*, p. 49.

126. *Chr. Pal.*, I, pp. 78-153.

127. *AG*, p. 53.

128. *Idem.*, pp. 73-74.

129. Syropoulos, VI, 32, p. 332.

130. *Idem.*, VI, 31, pp. 330-332; *PO* 17, p. 300.

131. Beis. *Epistola ad Alex. Lascaris*, *PG* 161, 340.
132. Syropoulos, VII, 22, p. 372.
133. *Idem.*, VII, 30, p. 382.
134. *Idem.*, VI, 17, p. 308.
135. *AG*, pp. 224-25.
136. Traversari, *Ep.*, XI, col. 341. (11/3/1438).
137. Lampros, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-76.
138. Tafur, p. 226.
139. See J. Gill, «The Cost of the Council of Florence», *OCP*, 22 (1956), 229-318.
140. *AG*, pp. 345-46.
141. *Idem.*, p. 351.
142. *Idem.*, p. 382.
143. *Idem.*, pp. 391-92.
144. *Chr. Pal.*, I, p. 209.
145. *AG*, pp. 393-94.
146. Syropoulos, VIII, p. 394.
147. *AG*, pp. 400-1.
148. Syropoulos, IX, 10, p. 444.
149. Canon in *Deiparam*, *PG* 136, 421 B.

150. Dositheos, *TK*, p. 248. The first Orthodox theologian who tried in a way to give an Orthodox explanation to the Filioque was the Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory of Cyprus. In his Tomos of 1285, he rejected emphatically the existence of the Holy Spirit «through» or «from» the Son (*PG* 142, 236C), but he dared bravely, with the introduction of a new theological term «the eternal manifestation» of the Spirit, to accommodate into the mainstream of Orthodox theology the statement of St. John of Damascus that the Father «is the projector of the manifesting Spirit through the Word» (*De Fide Orthodoxa*, *PG* 94, 848D). But this «revolutionary» term caused an uproar, in the ranks of the conservative Byzantine theologians of his time, which had as a result his forced resignation from the patriarchal office (*Pachymeres*, II, vol. II, pp. 130-131). It must be stated, however, that Gregory's theological explanation of «through the Word», that is «through the Son», could not aid at all the discussions on the Filioque in Florence. This is supported by the evidence given by Syropoulos who says that when the Metropolitan of Heracleia tried to produce Gregory's Tomos, during discussions among the Greeks, he was attacked fiercely by the confessor Gregory and the other unionists with the silent approval of the Emperor (IX, 9, pp. 422-444). About Gregory of Cyprus see also A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, (New York, 1983).

151. *Chr. Pal.*, I, p. 24.
152. *PG* 155, 197 D.
153. *AG*, p. 401.
154. Syropoulos, VIII, 21, p. 408; *AG*, p. 404.
155. *AG*, pp. 404-5.
156. *Idem.*, pp. 405-6.
157. *PG* 161, 548.
158. *Idem.*, 555 B.

159. Idem., 609 A.
160. Idem., 611-612 AB.
161. Traversari, *Ep.*, no. 52. (21/4/1438).
162. Syropoulos, IX, 11, p. 446.
163. *AG*, pp. 410-11.
164. Syropoulos, VIII, 30, pp. 416-18.
165. Idem., VIII, 31, p. 418.
166. Idem., VIII, 43, pp. 430-32; *AG*, p. 416.
167. Idem., IX, 6, p. 438; *AG*, pp. 416-17.
168. Syropoulos, IX, 20, p. 454.
169. Idem., X, 1, p. 474.
170. Idem., IX, 38, p. 472; *AG*, p. 444; Schreiner, p. 631, 3.
171. *AG*, pp. 444-45. T. Frommann in his book *Kritische Beitræge zur Gecchichte der Florentiner Kircheneinigung*, (Halle, 1872), p. 82, rejected the genuinity of Joseph's profession of faith. E. Tantalidis, also rejected it, *Παπιστικῶν ἐλέγχων*, 2, (Constantinople, 1850), p. 252.
172. *AG*, p. 446.
173. Syropoulos, X, 3, p. 478.
174. *PO* 17, p. 296.
175. *AG*, p. 448.
176. Idem., p. 450.
177. Idem., p. 450.
178. Syropoulos, X, 9, pp. 482-84.
179. Idem., X, 10, p. 484.
180. Idem., X, 5, p. 480.
181. *EP*, docs 178-82, p. 82.
182. *AG*, p. 468.
183. Idem., p. 459; Syropoulos, X, 13, pp. 492-94; Schreiner, p. 631, 4.
184. Syropoulos, X, 12, pp. 490-92.
185. Idem., X, 13, p. 494; IX, 26, p. 462; *ODM*, doc. 34, p. 44.
186. Theophanes of Medeia, however, wrote that those who signed the decree in Florence were, according to their confessions, forced to do so and for this reason the Orthodox Church afterwards pardoned them (*Patrinellis*, pp. 136-7).
187. Dositheos, *TK*, p. 209.
188. Syropoulos, III, 5, p. 166.
189. Idem., I, 26, p. 462.
190. *ODM*, doc. 45, pp. 68-72.
191. Syropoulos, X, 15, p. 496.
192. Idem., X, 18, pp. 502-4; *AG*, pp. 469, 470, *ASI*, p. 65.
193. Syropoulos, X, 23, pp. 508-10.
194. *EP*, doc. 243, pp. 17-18.
195. Gill, *Counc.*, p. 411.
196. Syropoulos, XI, 4, p. 524.

197. *Idem.*, XI, 14, p. 536.
198. *PO* 17, pp. 332-336.
199. Syropoulos, XI, 16, 18, p. 538.
200. *PO* 17, p. 344.
201. Patrinellis, p. 96.
202. Ducas (B), pp. 215-16.
203. *Disceptatio pro Conc. Florent.*, *PG* 159, 992 C.
204. *PG* 159, 1024 C.
205. Joseph of Methone in his refutation against Markos wrote that participants in the Council returned to Constantinople rich, *PG* 159, 1080 C.
206. *EP*, doc. 196, p. 88.
207. *Idem.*, doc. 197, p. 89.
208. *Idem.*, docs 202-4, pp. 93-96; Bessarion was made cardinal on 10 December 1440, (Schreiner, p. 659, 6).
209. Syropoulos, XII, 4, pp. 548.
210. *Idem.*, XII, 5, pp. 550-52; Schreiner, p. 632, 8.
211. Oudot, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
212. Agallianos described very vividly the sufferings and persecutions which the anti-unionists endured during those difficult times. (Patrinellis, p. 96).
213. Syropoulos, XII, 10, p. 556; *PO* 17, p. 342.
214. Pilavakis, *OT*, 636 (1985), 3; Ephesos was completely destroyed by Timur between August and September 1402. (Schreiner, p. 113, 11d).
215. Synaxarion (Petit), 216.
216. *PO* 17, p. 342.
217. *Idem.*, pp. 322-26.
218. *Epistola ad Vatopedinos*, *PO* 17, p. 342; Synaxarion (Petit), 216.
219. Pilavakis, *MA*, 8 (1982), 2; *OT*, 546 (1983), 3.
220. *PO* 17, pp. 311-21. Joseph of Methone in his Synaxarion Conc. Florent. wrote that the activities of Markos had greatly influenced the Cretans against the union, (*PG* 159, 1105 B).
221. Synaxarion (Petit), 216.
222. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *MB*, 15 (1884), pp 102-103.
223. Karmiris, *E*, 32 (1955), 16.
224. *PO* 17, pp. 339-41.
225. Pilavakis, *OT*, nos. 466-67 (1983).
226. Chalcocondyles, II, p. 295; Mercati, *Bess*, 36 (1920), 139. Joseph of Methone wrote, however, that Markos had a couple of meetings with Christophoros of Corone (a papal representative), but afterwards he stopped, *PG* 159, 1105 B.
227. Patrinellis, p. 97.
228. *PO* 17, pp. 346-7, 349.
229. Gill, *Pers.*, p. 64.
230. Synaxarion (Petit), 216-217.

231. Synaxarion (Petridis), 107.

232. Scholarios, I, pp. 247-254.

233. Joseph of Methone (1429-1500), an associate of Bessarion, wrote in his dissertation «Pro Conc. Florent.», *PG* 159, 1357B, that the Orthodox of his time venerated Palamas and Markos as saints and had also made them icons. And a 15th century manuscript calls Markos «the father and teacher among the saints» (Lampros, *op. cit.*, p. κε'). So there is not even the slightest suspicion that the veneration of Markos as a saint had not started immediately after his death.

234. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Markos*, 56. *Mansi*, 37, col. 1003.

235. Lampros, *op. cit.*, p. ιη'.

236. T. Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, (London, 1983), p. 211.

237. Bandini, *Catal.*, I, XXX, p. 248.

238. Mercati, *Isidoro*, pp. 42-46.

239. G. Papadopoulos, a writer on ecclesiastical music recognized the talent of Markos as a hymnographer. See *Επισκόπησις Βυζαντινῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς*, (Athens, 1904) p. 82.

240. Kayser, *Philos.*, pp. 142-154.

241. Scholarios, IX, p. 116.

242. See T. Zesis, *Γεννάδιος Β' Σχολάριος, Βίος - Συγγράμματα - Διδασκαλία*, (Thessaloniki, 1980).

243. *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 20.

244. Markos Xylokaravis was an exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Crete. Joseph of Methone in his «ὑποθήκαι» to the priests of Crete referred to Xylokaravis as a leading anti-unionist. (B. Laurdas, «Κρητικά παλαιογραφικά», *KCh*, 5 (1951), 253, 260). There is no doubt that Xylokaravis was an ardent supporter of Eugenikos, whose influence on the Orthodox of Crete should be the subject of another study. It is worth to mention that two Venitian officials who lived in Crete in the 16th century, mentioned in their reports to the Venitian senate that Markos's works are circulated among the faithful, who also honoured him as a saint, and exert a great influence on them. See Z. Tsirpanlis, *Τὸ κληροδότημα τοῦ καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος γιὰ τοὺς φιλενωτικούς τῆς Βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης*. (Thessaloniki, 1967), pp. 170, 304, 315, 317.

245. *Ecthesis Chronica*, pp. 30-31.

246. *Idem.*, pp. 56-57.

247. Nicol, *Church*, p. 110.

CHAPTER TWO

1. There are about 500 uncatalogued mss. in the Monastery of Great Lavra, 250 in Docheiariou, 100 in Philotheou and many others in other monasteries and sketes.

2. Perhaps the most important manuscript which was destroyed by fire was the Mega Spelaion 48 (see chapter III). Other manuscripts which we found out were not in existence any more are: a) Cod. A. VI. 16. 66; b) Cod. E.II.17.295; c) Cod. H.V.5.417; d) M.I.1.604 which were in the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial (Madrid). The most valuable

manuscript which was taken away was the Consintenzis 192, most probably belonging to Markos's disciple Patriarch Dionysios I of Constantinople. This manuscript, which contained almost all the hymnological works of Markos, was removed by Bulgarian soldiers during the First World War, and it is now, together with many other manuscripts taken from the monastery of Eikosphinissa in Northern Greece, deposited, according to Prof. Chrestou, director of the Patriarchal Institute for Patriistic Studies of Thessaloniki, in the Bulgarian Academy of Science in Sophia, and inaccessible to scholars.

3. Some examples of erroneous description are:

- a) Scorialensis 54 = R-III-201, ff. 1^v-7 and 10^v-12.
- b) Vaticanus Ottob.gr. 219, ff. 1-2.
- c) Athous Iberiticus 4765 (645).
- d) Alexandrinus Patriarchalis 341 (M. 133), ff. 124^v-128^v. On this see N. Politis, *EEBS*, 39-40 (1972-73), 386-402.

The Escorial X-11 15.354 and X-1 16.355 do not contain any works of Markos.

4. Marc Eugenicos, *DTC*, 9. II, (Paris 1927), 1972-1982. Before Petit, A. Demetrakopoulos *Ellas* pp. 99-102 and Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.*, pp. 116-117 published small catalogues of Markos's works.

5. Mamoni, *Th*, 553-563. Mamoni, *Markos*, pp. 66-76.

6. N. Oeconomidis, «Βιβλιοκρισία, Κυριακῆς Γ. Μαμώνη, Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός, βίος καὶ ἔργον. Μελέτη γραμματολογικῆ. Διατριβή», *AP*, 19 (Athens, 1954), 370; *Idem.*, «Σύμμεικτα περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ», *NA*, 1 (Athens, 1955), 280. See also Mamoni's reply in *Ath*, 59 (Athens, 1955), 201.

7. C. Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicos and the Council of Florence a historical re-evaluation of his personality*, (Thessaloniki, 1974) and (New York, 1979), pp. 109-118. Tsirpanlis copies the catalogue of Mamoni.

8. D. Stiernon, «Marc Eugenicos archevêque d' Ephese, 1394-1445» *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 64-65, (Paris, 1977), pp. 269-272.

Stiernon based his catalogue on the previous one.

9. I. Bulovič, *Τὸ Μυστήριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι διακρίσεως τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιον Μάρκον Ἐφέσου τὸν Εὐγενικόν*, (Thessaloniki, 1983). Bulovič again based his catalogue on the previous one though, unlike Tsirpanlis and Stiernon, he made some corrections (pp. 568-569).

10. The following works were attributed to Markos and included among his unedited works:

a) *Ἡ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρουσία*, (Vatic. Ottob. gr. 219, ff. 1-2). This is chapter 72 of St. Andreas of Caesarea's Commentary on Revelation which was published in *PG* 106, 453D. Bulovič used parts of this work in his thesis, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 327, 452, 453.

b) *Ἐπιστολὴ εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου*, (Philippicus 1483, ff. 75^v-79). This is a letter of Patriarch Germanos II of Constantinople and it was published, with a very informative introduction, by Prof. Gill, *B*, 44 (1974), 138-151 and reprinted in *Church Union - Rome and Byzantium (1204-1453)*, (London, 1979), pp. 138-151.

c) «Ἀκέφαλον» *Τοῦ Ἐφέσου Μάρκου* (Scorialensis 54 (R III-20), ff. 1-13. This is a work of Demetrios Cydones about the procession of the Holy Spirit.

d) *Συνθέσεις ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς* (Hierosolymitanus Patriarchalis 146). This work was composed by Markos Eugenikos, a monk from the monastery of Xanthopouli, who lived after Markos of Ephesos. See S. Eustratiadis, *Ἀγιορειτικῶν κωδίκων, Παράρτημα: Ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ μελογράφοι*, (Paris, 1925) p. 72. N. Oeconomidis, *AP*, *op. cit.*, 370; *NA*, *op. cit.*, 280. Mamoni,

Ath., op. cit., 201).

11. Such works are:

a) *Λιβέλλος Μάρκου τοῦ Ἐφέσου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν πάπαν καὶ κατὰ ἀζύμων* (Part of Τῶ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης, Μάρκος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν πιστῶν παροικίας, *PO* 17, pp. 336-341).

b) *Περὶ ἐξομολογήσεως* (Part of Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἀπορίας..., *PO* 15, pp. 15-16).

c) *Τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς περὶ τῆς ὁγδόης συνόδου* (Part of Τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν νήσων εὕρισκομένοις Χριστιανοῖς, *PO* 17, pp. 449-459).

d) Ἀπολογία Γρηγορίου τοῦ Μεγάλου, ἐξαχθεῖσα ἐκ διαφόρων πατέρων. (Part of Γρηγορίου ἱερομονάχου, Ἀπολογία εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἐφέσου ἐπιστολήν, *PG* 160, 112-128D). The work «Τῆ Θεοῦ μητρὶ προσφωνηματικὴ ἔκφρασις which in the catalogues is registered as unpublished, (Bulovič quoted parts of this in his thesis, op. cit., pp. 26, 406, 426, 431, 434, 435 from the manuscript Bucharest Academia Romana 452) was published by Boissonade, *Anecdota*, pp. 335-340, in 1884!

12. A good example is the Dionysianus 4063 (529) which contains two works of Markos, neither of which Lampros nor any other scholar spotted.

13. We think that it is worthwhile to give the contents of this manuscript which contains among, others the μονωδία on the fall of Thessaloniki which until now was considered to be lost for ever, since it was contained only in the stolen manuscript of Eikosiphinissa. The description Ruth Harbour in the *Bodleian Library Record*, Vol. VI, No. 5, (Oxford, 1960), p. 607, is not only inadequate but is also misleading, because it stated that from f. 53^v begins the work *De angelis* of Gennadios Scholarios. In fact this work belongs to Markos and there is no work of Gennadios in this manuscript. The 16th century manuscript (from the collection of the Cretan priests Morozenos) contains the following works:

ff. 1-24^v A sermon on prophet Elias

ff. 25-29^v On the Jesus prayer

ff. 30-52 A commentary on the Divine Services

ff. 52-53^v A prayer on Markos's arrival to Ephesos

ff. 53^v-59 On angels against Argyropoulos

ff. 59-64^v On the apostolic saying «he lowered himself...»

ff. 64^v-73^v On the resurrection

f. 60^v empty

f. 73^v three lines from the Monody on the fall of Thessaloniki written by mistake, are crossed over

ff. 73^v-77 A sermon on the parable of the five talents

ff. 77^v-81 A sermon on the Lord's body

ff. 81^v-95 Answers to questions

ff. 95^v-96^v empty

ff. 97-108 First speech on the Purgatorium

ff. 108^v-136 Second on the Purgatorium

ff. 136^v-148 Replies to the questions of cardinals and other

Latin teachers concerning the Purgatorium

ff. 148^v-150^v Syllogistic Chapters against the Latins (Chapter 38)

ff. 150^v-154^v To Pope Eugenius IV

ff. 155-161^v First session (*AG*, pp. 49-58)

ff. 162-166 Second session (*AG*, pp. 59-66)

ff. 166-177 Third session (AG, pp. 66-84, 18. A quarter of f. 177 is empty)

f. 177^v empty

ff. 178-179 Third session (AG, pp. 86-88).

ff. 179-184^v Part of the tenth session (AG, pp. 187-194, 25)

[Father Gill who wrote a thesis on «*The manuscript tradition of the Practica of the Council of Florence*», (London, 1949) was not able to find this manuscript and include it among the 34 which contain the whole or parts of the Practica. According to father Gill's division of the manuscripts of the Practica, *op. cit.*, p. 43, this manuscript belongs to the first family which includes those which transmit a short version of this work].

ff. 184^v-185 Part of Synodikon which refers to Markos [This synodal term was first published by Papadopoulos - Kerameus, *Markos*, 60, from an unknown 15th century manuscript copied by Nikolaos Karatzas in 18th century. Since there is no other known surviving manuscript containing this work and there is always the suspicion that somebody might have forged Karatzas's passage, we think that it is useful to publish here the whole synodal term on Markos which is the following:

Μάρκου τοῦ μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ γενομένου ἀοιδίμου μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου, τοῦ καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ παντοίας σοφίας εἶδεσιν οὐδενὸς τῶν παλαιῶν διδασκάλων ἀπολειφθέντος ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις τούτοις καιροῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὀπωσοῦν λόγου καὶ σοφίας μετεσχηκόσι, καθηγεμόνος γενομένου καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν συγγράμμασι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν κατακοσμήσαντος μετ' εἰρήνης, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀγῶνας μετὰ Λατίνων καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κἀνταῦθα γενναίως ἐνστησαμένου, ὡς ἐξάρχου κεχειροτονημένου παρά τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ οὕτω περιφανῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πᾶσιν νικῆσαντος, ὡς μὴ μόνον τοῖς οἰκείοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ὑπερθαυμασθῆναι τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρῆρησιαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, εἰ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀσυνειδήτως, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης συνέθεντο τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐκεῖ, εἶτα μεταβαλόντες ἐνταῦθα μετέγνωσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς νῦν ἐπικρατησάσης ἡμῖν ὑπεραγάθῳ προνοίᾳ Θεοῦ, περὶ τὰ πάτρια δόγματα ἀκριβείας, καὶ τελείας τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων ἀποστροφῆς, μόνον σχεδὸν μετὰ Θεὸν ἐν ἡμῖν αἰτίου γεγενημένου καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν πίστιν βεβαίους στηρίζαντος, τοὺς δὲ ὑποσαλευθέντας ἐπαναγαγόντος, καὶ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην ἐκλείποντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν αἰδίου καὶ μακαρίαν εὐτυχῶς μετατεθέντος ζωὴν, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.

1. τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*

3. ὑστάτοις: ὑστέροις, *Idem.*, *op. cit.*

4. κατακοσμήσαντος τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, *Idem.*, *op. cit.*

8. ὑπερθαυμασθῆναι: ὑπερθαυμαστῆναι, Oxon. Holkham.

9. ἐνταῦθα om, *Idem.*, *op. cit.*

10. post ἐπικρατησάσης add. ἐν, *Idem.*, *op. cit.*

13. ἐκλείποντος: ἐκλελοιπότης, *Idem.*, *op. cit.*]

ff. 185-196^v Monody on the fall of Thessaloniki

ff. 196^v-204^v Part of the sermon On the resurrection.

CHAPTER THREE

1. H. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, (Munich, 1959), p. 323.

2. Patacsi, *Palamism*, 68.

3. PG 151, 914B.

4. G. Patacsi, «Le hiéromoine Hierothée. Théologien du Saint Esprit», *KI*, 13B (1981), 222. See also Patacsi, *op. cit.*, 64-71.
5. *PG*, 142, 250BC.
6. *Idem.*, 241A.
7. *Idem.*, 210C.
8. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 454-73.
9. *PG* 152, 285B.
10. *PG* 154, 837-864C.
11. *Idem.*, 1217-1230.
12. Bryennios, I, pp. 407-423.
13. *Idem.*, III, p. 148; Tomadakis, *Bryennios*, p. 96.
14. Syropoulos, V, 7, p. 262, VI, 27, p. 326. About the activities of Andreas before the Council of Florence see M. Laurent O.P., «L'activité en Orient d' Andre Chrysobergés O.P. sous le pontificat de Martin V (1418-1431)», *EO*, 34 (1935), 413-438.
15. Candal, *Andr. Rdod.*, 329-337.
16. *PG* 151, 1191-1217.
17. Papadopoulos, *Metaphrasis*, pp. 96-97, 110.
18. V. Laurent, «Martin V et le Patriarche Joseph II», *REB*, 20 (1967), 37.
19. *Franciceci Filelfi viri grece et latine erudissimi epistolarum familiarum libri xxxvii ex eius exemplari transumpti*. (Edited by G. Alemannus with a preface by N. Ferretus), (Venice, 1502), p. 41.
20. Nicol, *Church*, pp. 370-371.
21. Schreiner, p. 659.
22. Rhallis-Potlis, p. 337.
23. *PG* 161, 461D.
24. Loenertz, *Biographie*, 131-132.
25. Schreiner, p. 659. Rhallis-Potlis, p. 337.
26. Mohler, *Bessarion*, III, p. 406.
27. *Idem.*, p. 407.
28. Schreiner, p. 659.
29. Father E. Stormon in his excellent article «Bessarion before the Council of Florence, a survey of his early writings (1423-1437), *Maistor Byzantine Studies* (=Maistor in honour of Prof. Browning) 10 (1983), 128-56, shows clearly that the main interests of the young humanist Bessarion were not in theology but rather in literature and philosophy. Fr. Stormon also notes that Bessarion's «piety», genuine and constant as it was, was not of a mystical kind, and that he was rather suspicious of the aims of the hesychastic monks (with whom probably felt very little in common, in any case, because of the prevalent distrust among them of secular and especially classical learning), p. 143.
30. *PG* 160, 975-980.
31. Mohler, *op. cit.*, p. 407.
32. Syropoulos, III, 8, p. 168.
33. *Idem.*, III, 23, p. 184.
34. Father Stormon writes «Rather startling language this, from one who was to be the

second Greek orator at the Council». (*op. cit.*, 144). For the rank of the Metropolis of Nicaea see Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, p. 393.

35. One may wonder why Bessarion did not preserve the two letters, which he sent to Andreas among his works in the manuscript Marc. Gr. 533 which he so studiously and carefully edited and handed over to posterity. Was this a simple error or was this omission on purpose? Since there is no positive evidence, he must be given the benefit of the doubt.

36. It is doubtful that Bessarion, in writing this letter, was acting as a spokesman of a group who shared his doubts and who were travelling with him to Italy, because if the content of this letter had been leaked, or even if a rumour was heard, then Bessarion would have been defrocked and humiliated.

37. Candal, *op.cit.*, 348.

38. Prof. E. Mioni believes that Bessarion knew Latin before his voyage to Italy and that while he was in the Peloponnese in the 1430's, he translated a part of Peter Lombard's Sentences. If this view is accepted then it seems pretty sure that Bessarion, contrary to what father Stormon thinks, was in the line of succession to the «Latinophrones» of Byzantium. See «Bessarione scribà», *Miscelanea Marciana di Studi Bessarione scriba*, (Padua, 1976), p. 270.

39. Father Stormon points out correctly that Bessarion had not studied all Aquinas's works or even the main ones because if «he had, these questions would have answered themselves» (*op. cit.*, 145).

40. Candal, *op. cit.*, 346.

41. The famous scholar Ludwig Mohler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 96-97, wrote that Bessarion had recognized the Orthodoxy of Filioque, even before the Union Council. He based his statement on the assumption that Bessarion wrote, before the Council, his refutation of Palamas's Epigraphae against John Beccos (PG 161, 244-310). However more research is needed in order to accept fully the validity of this bold statement.

42. Candal, *op. cit.*, 346-348.

43. *Idem.*, 370.

44. J. Gill, «The sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist», *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei*, (Padua, 1976), p. 125.

45. Synodikon Orthodoxias, *Triodion*, pp. 162-164.

46. N. Tomadakis, «Oriente e Occidente all epoca de Bessarione» *SBN*, 5 (xv, 1968), 33.

47. Syropoulos, II, 3, p. 102; III, 12, pp. 172-74.

48. Papadopoulos, *Metaphrasis*, p. 145.

49. *Idem.*, p. 85.

50. *Idem.*, pp. 146-47.

51. Diamantopoulos, *EPh.*, 9 (1912), 129.

52. *Idem.*, 129.

53. Scholarios, I, p. 506.

54. PG 155, 33-176.

55. *Idem.*, 117D-120A.

56. *Idem.*, 144AC.

57. *Idem.*, 144C-145AB.

58. PG., 155, 145B-157A.

59. Balfour, *Symeon*, pp. 94-97.
60. *Idem.*, p. 94.
61. *DIEE*, 3 (1889), 459-467; Balfour, *op. cit.* pp. 214-216.
62. *PG* 156, 1043C.
63. *Idem.*, 1043B.
64. Balfour, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
65. Dositheos, *TK*, pp. 412-420.
66. *PG.*, 156, 1043.
67. Syropoulos, *V*, 12, p. 266.
68. Bryennios, *I*, pp. 407-23.
69. *Idem.*, p. 414.
70. *Idem.*, *III*, pp. 133-35.
71. *Idem.*, *I*, pp. 475-76.
72. Dositheos, *TA*, p. 7.
73. Bryennios, *III*, pp. 25-36.
74. *Idem.*, p. 36.
75. *Idem.*, *II*, pp. 112-140.
76. *Idem.*, p. 113.
77. *Idem.*, p. 140.
78. *Idem.*, *I*, pp. 424-42.
79. *Idem.*, pp. 443-68.
80. *Idem.*, p. 468.
81. *Idem.*, pp. 449-50.
82. Hunger, *Chort.*, p. 148.
83. *Idem.*, pp. 161-62.
84. *Idem.*, pp. 179-80.
85. Stormon, *op. cit.*, 145.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The other pro-Plamite works are: The Second Antirrhetic against Calecas and the Syllogistic chapters against the followers of Akindynos.

2. *PG* 151, 717-762

3. M. Jugie (*TDCO*, 2 (1933), p123), believed that the three pro-Palamite works of Markos formed one work divided into three parts since in all extant manuscripts these works follow each other. G. Mercati assumed that Markos was misled by an extract of Calecas's work (*PG* 152, 389A), in which he says: «We have said these things in the first speech, where we have shown the faith of these men», and wrote two antirrhetics, (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 77).

4. H.O. Coxe made an inadequate description of this manuscript in his *Catalogi codicum mss. Bibliotheca Bodleiana, t.I, recensioem codicum graecorum continens*, (Oxford, 1853).

5. At the bottom (left side) of folio 125^v there is a date 6976-7 or 1468-69. We can accept this as the date which the second part of the manuscript, which contains the works of Agallia-

nos, was written. The watermarks also suggest a similar date. Neither Coxe nor Patrinellis spotted this date.

6. E. Gamillscheg and D. Harfinger identified Agallianos as the scribe of this manuscript. See *Repertorium der Grieschischen Kopisten 800-1600*, I, p.83; Patrinellis, pp. 89-90.

7. W.D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, (Oxford, 1890, 1984), pp. 299-302.

8. Prof. S. Lampros in his *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II, (Cambridge, 1900), p. 189, attributed the works of this manuscript to Gregory Palamas. Mgr. L. Petit assumed (*DOT*, col. 1982) that the major part of this manuscript is an autograph of Markos, but without adducing any evidence. This cannot be accepted. It is interesting to note that among the books of the scribe John Doceianos, Lampros (*PP*, I, pp. 254-255) mentions a volume containing Markos's works against Calecas. One wonders whether this manuscript is that of Iviron.

9. N.A. Bees, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου*, t.1, (Leipzig et Athens, 1915 pp. 50-51).

10. M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs*, I (Paris, 1958), p. 121.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Abbreviations

- p.13,29: EA Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια
p.14,25: Études for Études

Short Titles

- p.15: Balfour... should be written before Bandini...
p.16,21: Leipzig for Leipzig
p.18,7: B. Gregoriadis made a photographic reprint of these books in Athens, in 1972
p.21,1,add: Tsirpanlis, C. Tsirpanlis, Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence, a historical re-evaluation of his personality (Thessaloniki, 1974) and (New York, 1979)

I. The Life of Markos

- p.23,16: "was suspected" should be written after "vicegerent"
p.23,29: "possibly" should be written after "not"
p.24,9: occured for occurred
p.24,26: vis a vis for vis-à-vis
p.24,32: state for State
p.26,23: Origenic for Origenist
p.27,9: live for life
p.27,38: his for the
p.27,39: Jeremiah for Jeremias
p.28,14: literal for literary
p.28,27: "the" should be added after "in"
p.29,7: 'probably' should be written after 'would'
p.29,22: "to become" should be added after "not"
p.30,24: "father Anthony" for "the priest Antonio"
p.30,26: "This" for "As this"
p.30,27: tare for tares: "Anthony" for "Antonio"
p.30,32: "in the second wrote" should be written after "chapter"
p.31,2: ambassadors for ambassadors
p.31,8 : "expectation" for "sake"
p.31,30: accordingly for according
p.32,13: "the" for "a"
p.32,21: "the authority of" should be written after "challenged"
p.32,26: were for was
p.32,39: Trebizoned for Trebizond
p.33,3: Constantinopole for Constantinople
p.33,7: Isodoros for Isidoros
p.33,8: whom for them
p.33,17: "information" should be written after "no"
p.33,35: have for had
p.33,36: "in" should be added after "only"
p.35,5: with for as
p.35,15: 1438(83) for 1438(98)
p.35,21: therefore for thus
p.35,28: wrote for have written
p.35,29: "have" should be added after "Oecumenical"
p.35,35: "to" should be added after "and"
p.35,37: "dogmatic views" should be written after "opposing"; "those of" should be added after "opposing"
p.36,5: Lyon for Lyons
p.37,36-40: The Latin... purgatory for "The Latin... purgatory"
p.38,19: "the reposed" for "those who repose"
p.39,1: attempted for challenged

- p.39,8: of for on
- p.39,35: "sperm to" for "seed for"
- p.40,10: 'of' should be added after 'deserving'
- p.40,19: representatives for representatives; "us to preserve" for "that we have preserved"
- p.41,3: Son for Son"
- p.41,4: God - taught for God-taught
- p.41,10: "back" should be added after "stretched"
- p.42,19: sush for such
- p.42,39: interpeter for interpreter
- *p.43,26: "the" should be added after "of"
- *p.43,39: "from" should be written after "procession"
- p.44,5: "showed" for "have shown"; "that we" for "to"
- p.44,36: "after" for "at"
- p.45,15: way for style
- p.45,33: "from it" for "it from"; "strangely and unfamiliarly", 1.35, should be written after "who"
- p.45,34: "creating all" for "all creating"
- p.46,12: "the" should be added after "with"
- p.46,25: "the thesis" should be added after "supporting"
- p.46,38: was for were
- p.47,16: of for on
- p.47,32: "the" should be added after "of"
- p.47,33: in for at
- p.49,13: "carry on" for "undertake"
- p.49,15: "with" should be added after "dealt"
- p.49,19: "took the opportunity", ls 17-18, should be written after "death"
- p.50,25: signuature for signature
- p.50,35: strutinized for scrutinized
- p.50,38: "no doubt" should be written after "was"
- p.50,39: but for and
- p.51,2: practises for practices
- p.51,9;18: The for the
- p.52,2;12: sent for send
- p.52,3: "to comply" for "in not complying"
- p.52,4: "mindful" should be written before "both"
- p.52,7: to for in
- p.52,8: to for from
- p.52,19: ex-communicated for excommunicated
- p.52,26: to for on
- p.53,3: "with him in his retinue" should be written after "taking"
- p.53,19: they had for having
- p.53,26: "the" should be added after "as"
- p.54,25: "to be so with" for "by"
- p.55,3: sprung for sprang
- p.55,15: discussion for discussions
- p.55,27: thanks-giving for thanksgiving
- p.55,31: prosecute for promote
- p.56,18: realised for realized
- p.56,22: out for on
- p.56,23: "Gennadios", 1.24, should be written after "was"
- p.56,27: Agalianos for Agallianos
- p.57,1: "one" should be added after "day"
- p.57,14: "to" for "for"
- p.57,25: block;"en bloc" should be written after "rejected"
- p.57,33: "be" for "of being"
- p.57,37: commentary for work; an Aristotelian work for the defence of Aristotle. For more details see the recent book of C.M. Woodhouse, George Gemistos Plethon: the last of the Hellenes, (Oxford,1986) pp. 237-38.
- p.58,3: Sophronios (1463-64) should be added after Isidoros II.V. Laurent (Syropoulos, pp.16-19) thinks that Patriarch Sophronios was the
- *p.43,2: adpetur for adpetunt

- former great ecclesiarch Sylvestros Syropoulos.
 p.58,5: "disciples" should be written after "other"
 p.58,10: by for in
 p.58,20: loyatly for loyalty
 p.58,26: "at" should be added after "today"
 p.58,26-27: characterised for characterized
 p.58,28: "in a way which" for "as"

II. Published and Unpublished Works

- p.59,4;13: had for have
 p.59,10: on for of
 p.59,15: work for works
 p.59,19: in for on
 p.60,19: "that of" should be added after "than"
 p.61,3: possible for possibly
 *p.61,30: might for may; "an" should be added after "still" and "a"
 after "and"
 p.61,45: Vojatzides for Vojatzidis
 p.62,27: small for short
 p.62,36: should for would
 p.64,27: competendly for competently
 pp.64,69,79,81,83,84,85,89,93,94,95,96,98,100,101,104,106,108,110,123,124,
 131, 80 : Athiniensis for Atheniensis
 p.64,28: 'he' should be added after 'which'
 p.64,29: Romanian for Rumanian
 p.64,34: feature for text
 p.65,4: "made... edition" for "has published the best edition, so far"
 p.66,10: uneritical for uncritical
 p.66,14: smaller for shorter
 p.66,35 'Cosinitzensis...' should be written before Oxoniensis...
 p.68,20: "Ἡκουσιν : Ἡκουσιν
 p.71,10: "It" for "Again this"
 p.72,14: published for republished
 p.72,15: "also" should be written after "Markos"
 p.72,29: if for of
 p.75,29: "also" should be written after "Eugenikos"
 p.75,34: ἐλέησον for ἐλέησόν
 pp.77,2;35;81,1;84,24;86,16;89,39;93,6;114,9: fontes for fontium
 p.78,2 : ἐπίτηδες for ἐπίτηδές
 p.79,11;13;16;18: Shmemann for Schmemann
 p.80,13: 'Bucharest...' should be written before 'Oxoniensis...'
 p.80,14: republised for republished
 p.80,21: re-edid for re-edit
 p.80,24: (Phil.2,7) should be added after "
 p.84,22: IXX for XIX
 p.84,25: published for republished
 p.86,33: 'Oxoniensis...' should be written before 'Querinus...'
 p.87,21: the second for II
 pp.88,23;89,5: General for Strategos
 pp.88,23;28.89,5: Leontaris for Leontares
 p.89,35: 'Atheniensis...' should be written before 'Athous...'
 p.89,38: published for republished
 p.90,8: We are preparing a new edition
 p.91,23: Amiroutzis for Amiroutzes
 p.92,8: manusecript for manuscript
 p.93,19: The Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies
 of Thessaloniki produced a photographic reprint of
 this volume in 1985
 p.94,12: 'Parisinus Coislin...' should be written before Parisinus
 Mazar...'
 p.94,33: (1881) should be added after 218
 *p.61,13: "he" should be added after "and"

- p.94,34: 268 for 269.
- p.95,28: 'Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 287...' should be written before 'Constantinopolitanus S. Sepulcri 428...'
- p.97,1: manuscripts for manuscripts
- p.97,14: "also" should be added after "work"
- p.97,33: 'Medicaeus...' should be written before 'Mega Spelaion...'
- p.98,3: "Atheniensis..." should be written before "Athous..."
- p.98,21: 'Ancyranus...' should be written before 'Atheniensis...'
- p.101,34: "Ambrosianus..." should be written before "Athous Iberiticus 4508"
- p.101,35: "Atheniensis..." should be written after "Ambrosianus"
- p.104,23: ἀγγέλλους : ἀγγέλους
- p.105,17: Professor for teacher
- p.106,3: add: He says in reply to the latter's letter that he did not consider it wise to hand his (Theophanes's) treatise (probably against the Union) to the Emperor. The text of this treatise is preserved in ms Athous Iberiticus 381 ff 59-69 and we are hoping to publish it.
- p.106,6;112,7;113,24;124,12;126,4;
- p.108,23: 'Parisinus Mazar...' should be written before Parisinus Suppl...'
- p.110,32: B. Rhegopoulos produced a photographic reprint of this book in Thessaloniki in 1985. The part of this Encyclical is on pp.597-599. The last five lines, however, do not belong to this work
- p.112,20: Lampos's for Lampros's
- p.112,31: κοθεινοτάτω : κοθεινοτάτω
- p.113,18: Kamiris for Karmiris
- p.116,30: "the" should be added after "in"
- p.116,31: Prime Minister for Megas Doukas
- p.118,27: The first part of this work from Dositheos's edition with a modern Greek translation appeared recently in the Athonite periodical St. Agathangelos Esphigmenitis (Daphne) 99 (1977), 2-4.
- p.120,17: "192" should be added after "Cosinitzensis"
- p.123,16-17: "does... copier" for "is to be attributed to the scribe"
- p.127,17: accumption for assumption
- p.128,5: like for as
- p.128,8: "from Mamoni" should be added after "learn"
- p.128,11: "not only" should be written after "plans"
- p.128,13: World for world
- p.128,20: 'to' should be added after 'listening'
- p.128,33: "he" should be added after "citizens"
- p.128,38: ἀρχηγῶ should be added after κακῶν
- p.129,11: "they will" should be added after "then"
- p.129,16: ναζιραλους : Ναζιραλους
- p.129,22: another for more
- p.130,12: 'Querin...' should be written before 'Oxoniensis Leicester...'
- p.133,6: "avoided including" for "failed to include"
- p.133,13: "belonging to" for "by"

III. The background to the Antirrhetic

- p.134,the title: The background to the writing of the Antirrhetic
- p.134,29: "the" should be added after "of" and "of the" after "or"
- p.135,30: "mean" for "refer to"; which for who
- p.135,34: as for to be
- p.136,5 : make for makes
- p.136,7: assence for essence
- p.136,20: has for had

- p.138,8: "Which" for "which"
 p.138,14: convention for convening
 *p.139,15;25: "being not" for "not being"
 p.139,30: acording for according
 p.140,2: guaged for gauged
 p.140,34: raise for raised
 p.141,5: "that of" for "those of"
 p.141,15: has for had
 p.141,24: "how" should be added after "strongly"
 p.141,36;39: promises for promised
 p.143,22: 'fiercely' should be written after 'Symeon'
 p.143,22: Calebrian for Calabrian
 p.145,9: peruade for persuade
 p.145,26: chose for choose
 p.145,38: "with" should be written after "discussions"
 p.146,4: probalby for probably
 * p.138,34: Filelmo for Filelfo

IV. Text and Manuscripts

A. Text

- p.147,10: esscence for essence
 p.147,17: word for work
 p.147,23: (p.157,01) for (p.157,17-19)
 p.148,4: expose for exposé
 p.148,10: points for fictions
 p.148,17: transental for transcendental
 p.148,25: 'does' should be added after 'fundamental'
 p.148,26: considers for consider
 p.149,6: 'he' should be dropped out
 p.149,8: covocation for convocation
 p.149,10-11: occassionally for occasionally
 p.149,15: Paleologian for Paleologan

B. Manuscripts

- p.149,29: handed for transmitted
 p.150,10: manuscrit for manuscript
 p.151,7;26: 1 for l
 p.152,5: caffecting for affecting
 p.152,30: usual for second
 p.154,11: Nilos for Neilos
 p.154,15: war for temptation
 p.154,22: νοουμένων καὶ λεγομένων : νοουμένην καὶ λεγομένην
 p.154,25: (180,2) should be added after κειρώμενον
 p.154,27: (197,2) should be added after μεταβαίνειν

The Text

- p.157,1: f10v
 p.157,14: οὖν should be added after μὲν
 p.157,18: πρὸς ἀνάγκης : πρὸς ἀνάγκην
 p.157,26: f11
 p.157,27: προεξευρίσκειν : προσεξευρίσκειν
 p.160,fn14: 1 Ko 14,38 for cf.1 Ko 14,38
 p.162,fn3: PG152, 184B-185A for PG152,284C-285A
 p.164,fn21: PG151,688B for PG151,688C
 p.164,fn22: Mc9,2-9 for cf. Mc9,2-9
 p.164,fn30: PG151,284B for cf. PG151,284B

- p.165,fn3: PG152,285D for PG152,285CD
pp.166,24;243,4: ΟΥ ΚΑΥ : ΟΥΚ ΑΥ
- p.167,fn21: PG6,1428D-1429A for PG6,1422D
- p.168,fn18: Chr. Pal. 1,263 for Chr. Pal. 2,263
- p.168 : add fn23. Chr. Pal. 2,270
- p.169,fn13: PG45,124-125A; Jaeger 3, 1 for PG151, 1013D;
cf.PG45, 124D-125D; Jaeger 3,1, p.46
- p.169,fn23: He^{3,4} for cf. He^{3,4}
- p.172,fn9: PG89,76C for PG89, 76BC
- 172,fn 10: Pl. Cra 399c
- p.174,fn4: PG28,820C for PG151,862C;cf.28,920C
- p.175,fn9; PG152,289ABC for cf.PG152,289BC
- p.176,fn20: PG70,313A-D for PG70,313D
- p.177,fn1: PG52, 819DE for Is11,2: PG52,817
- p.177: 'fn3' should be omitted
- p.177,fn4: Ps50,12 for Ps50,12; PG52,819
- p.178,17 : cf.Pl. Cra 399c
- p.179,fn1: Fonten for Fontem
- p.179,fn5: PG29,528 for PG29,528BC
- p.182,25: αὐλῶ : αὐλῶ
- p.182,fn13: Chr. Pal. 3,281 for Chr. Pal.3,282
- p.182,fn16: PG3,592B for PG3,592BC
- p.182,fn29: PG91,128A for PG91,1125D-1128A
- p.183,fn14: PG96,569A for PG96,568D-569A
- p.183,fn15: Ps126,11 for Ps76,11
- p.183,fn26: cf.Lc9,3 for cf.Lc9,31
- p.185,fn10: Js6,1 for Is6,1
- p.185,fn27; 'Mt5,8' should be omitted and added to fn28
- p.186,6: οὐ : οὐ
- p.187,fn17: Act7,56 for cf. Act 7,56
- p.188: 'cf' should be added before fns 22,24 and 31
- p.189,fn1; cf.Mt26,31 for cf.Mt25,31
- p.189: 'cf' should be added before fns 13,16,20,23,24,28 and 29
- p.189,fn16: Josua for Joshua
- p.190,20: αὐτοῦ : αὐτοῦ
- p.190,22: στεροτέρα : στερότερα
- p.191,fn22: PG3,1068-69 for PG3,1068A-69A
- p.195,7: ὑπερεξήρηται : ὑπερεξήρηται
- p.195,fn6: PG90,1101A should be added before PG151,746C
- p.195,fn7 (references to sources): cf.PG3,720B; PG4,280CD
- p.197: fn31 for fn30
- p.198,7: τὲ : τε
- p.199,fn2: PG151,756A; cf.Ap17, 14,18,16 for cf.PG151, 756A;
cf.Ap 17,14;19,16
- p.199,fn23: PG152,305A for PG152,305AB
- p.202,2: ὑπερφύσιν : ὑπὲρ φύσιν
- p.202: fn5,cf.PG36,52C should be added
- p.203: 'Ps29,8' should be added in fn24
- p.205,fn15: 'cf' should be omitted
- p.206,fn17: "The....saved" for fontem non inveni
- p.206,fn23: Chr. Pal.3,359 for Chr. Pal. 3,360
- pp.207,10;249,26: Βογομίλων : βογομίλων
- p.208,fn27: PG138,14 for Ps138,14
- p.209,fn16: Chr. Pal. 3,359 for Chr. Pal. 3,359-60
- p.210,11: ἰδὼν, Ἰεζεκιήλ : ἰδὼν, Ἰεζεκιήλ
- p.210: 'cf' should be added in fn 15
- p.210,fn23: PG90,1101A (PG151,685C-686A; PG90,180C) for PG90
1180C; PG151,754A
- p.211,fn22: Fontem non inveni;cf. PG28, 929D for PG 28, 929D
- p.214,19: εἶποι τις : εἶποι τις
- p.216,fn17: PG45,1105C-1108D for 1108AB
- p.217,fn11: Fontem non inveni for PG29, 544B

- p.217,fn25; PG89,53C for PG89,68A;cf.3,969C
 p.218,14: ἐπικληθεῖς : ἐπικληθεῖς
 p.218,fn27: Joel 3,1; 2,28 for Joel 2,28
 p.219: 'fn2' should be omitted
 p.221,28: μὲν : μέν
 p.222,26: Θεὸν : θεόν
 p.222, fn3: Fontem non inveni for PG61,551;PG60,674;PG63,191
 p.223, fn18: Jo5,15 for Jo5,17
 p.224,3: φησι : φησὶ, ζῶν : ζῶήν
 p.225,15:τεχνητά : τεχνητὰ
 p.226,3: τότε : τό τε
 p.227,fn1: Chr. Pal.3,144 for Chr. Pal.2,144 PG154,853B
 p.227: 'cf' should be added in fn4
 p.227,fn11: Chr. Pal. 3,144 for Chr. Pal.2,144
 p.227,fn16: Gn2:1 for cf.Gn3
 p.228,7: εαυτὸν : εαυτὸν
 p.229,fn3: PG32,868C-869A for PG32,868D-869AB
 p.230,fn12: PG36,88D for PG36,88B
 p.231,fn8: PG45,1077AD for PG45,1077CD
 p.232,32: πολλοὺς : ,πολλοῦς
 p.233,9 : ἐπειδὴ : ἐπειδὴ
 p.233,fn24: Jo16,26 for Lc16,26

Appendix

- p.235,1: f31v A; f20v B for A,f31v;B,f20v: cf. p194
 p.235,2: f34A;f23B for A,f34;B,f23;cf. p198
 p.235,3: significatus for significatur
 p.235,3: "See also N. Blemmidae , Epi^otome Logica, PG142, 957, AB" should be added after "negativa"

Commentary

- * p.240,37: Barlaam for Barlaam
 p.238,13: 'it' should be added after 'which'
 p.238,29: Calaeacas's for Calecas's
 p.239,2: Galesiotis for Galesiotes
 p.239,15: "while....are" for "but the Byzantine version Markos was using had:"
 p.239,17: "that" should be added after "Christians"
 p.239,31: succeeded for succeeded
 p.239,36: Calecas's for Calecas
 p.240,24-25: the Synod... Palamas for "the Synod... Palamas"
 * p.241,3: 162,30-7,2 for 162,30-163,1
 p.242,33: 165 for 166
 p.243,5: allienation for alienation
 p.243,8: 166,25-16 for 166,25-26
 p.243,16: not for nor
 p.243,17: 166,32-11, 1 for 166, 32-167, 1
 p.243,25: "equated...World" for "posited the eternity of the world"
 p.244,21: θεότης : Θεότης
 p.245,7-8: exegetic, polemic for exegetical, polemical
 p.245,18: 'gravely' should be written after 'having'
 p.245,33: 177,29-22, 1 for 177,29-178, 1
 + p.247,3: "had" should be written after "only" p.247,10: Bermingham for Birmingham
 p.247,26: Faust for Faustus
 p.248,13: faithfully for faithfully
 p.248,27: disciple for disciples
 p.248,33: πᾶς : πῶς
 p.249,1: 203,30-48, 1 for 203,30-204, 1
 p.249;206,15-16: "τοῖς μασσαλιανοῖς ...θεῖα Σύνοδος": St. Amphilochios of Iconium presided over the anti-Messalian Council of Side in 394 A.D. For more details see S.J. Damasceni; De heresibus liber,
 + pp.246,7;252,16: Washigton for Washington
 p.246,II: "those who" for "things which"

- PG94,736A-737C and Photii Bibliotheca-cod LII,PG103,88B-89C
 p.249,19: 'greatly' should be written after 'which'
 p.250,30: word for work
 p.250,34: 35 for 365

Notes

Chapter One

- p.251,9: fiancée for fiancée
 p.251,14: to perform for performing
 p.251,15: ἔστιν : ἔστιν
 p.254,1: Caesareia for Caesarea
 p.254,6: "The... Dionysios" for "Markos and Dionysios may have been also consecrated on the same day"
 p.255,21: to for for
 p.255,26: Word for Word"
 p.258,5: "icons of" should be written after "made"
 p.258,22,23: Xylokaravis for Xylokaraves
 p.258,26: to mention for mentioning
 p.258,28: are for were
 p.258,29: exert for exerted

Chapter Two

- p.258,38: "out were" for "are"
 p.259,28;31: "the previous one" for "Mamoni's"
 p.260,21: "by" should be added after description; Harbour for Barbour
 p.260,22: stated for states
 p.260,29: to for at
 p.260,40;41;43: "the Purgatorium" for "Purgatory"
 p.261,7: father for Father
 p.261,10;14: term for statement

Chapter Three

- p.262,19: Francicei for Franciscei
 p.262,33-34: 'Maistor Byzantine Studies (=Maistor in honour of Prof. Browning) 10 (1983)' for 'Byzantine Studies, 10.1 (Canberra,1983)'
 p.262,35: "he" should be added after "whom"
 p.262,36: 'he' should be added after "whom"
 p.263,15: succesion for succession
 p.263,23: "the" should be added after "of"

Chapter Four

- p.264,29: Plamite for Palamite.
 p.264,39: which for when

ὁσωναίος

